Tsez Syntax: A Description

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Foreword
This description of Tsez syntax was created as part of the volume “A Grammar of Tsez” prepared by Bernard Comrie and myself. Because this work is still a draft, chapters are not numbered, and each chapter has its own example numbering. I will be grateful for comments, criticisms, and suggestions.

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Abbreviations


Additional abbreviations, not present in the Leipzig list:

ATTR—attributive form
EXCL—exclamative particle
HYP—hypothetical particle
IND,EVID—indirect evidence
IR—indexical reading
OBL—oblique form (a free-standing form)
OS—oblique stem
SR—shifted reading
UNCERT—particle of uncertainty
VAL—validator particle

Complex glosses consist of two or more simple glosses, divided by a dot, e.g., PST.WIT.NEG ‘Witnessed past negative’.

Gender classes are indicated by Roman numerals, with genders I-IV distinguished in the singular, and IPl and nIPl distinguished in the plural. For nouns in absolutive, we indicate gender after the case gloss, e.g., ABS.III ‘Gender III, absolutive’. For those noun phrases whose gender may vary and is determined contextually, it is shown in parentheses, e.g., ABS.(II).

Compound lexical items are presented with the = sign, for example, \textit{muži=q'uri} ‘bedding’, \textit{gaga=cagari} ‘be smooth, even’.
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Noun Phrase

1 General remarks

A noun phrase can be expressed by a pronoun, by a head noun preceded optionally by various modifiers, or by one of a number of nominalized verb phrase structures. The latter are discussed in the chapters on nominalizations and complement clauses. Noun phrases can occur in argument positions or they can serve as complements to postpositions—the latter are discussed in the chapter on adverbial and postpositional phrases. Predicate nominals are discussed in the chapter on predicate phrase.

Some examples of noun phrases are given below. Example (1) illustrates pronouns in the noun phrase position:

(1) a. Di-q ḥanoquno ḫeb (yol).
   1SG-POSS.ESS forty year be.PRS
   ‘I am forty years old.’

   b. Eli sadaq b-ik’-ān.
   I PL.ABS.(IPL) together I PL-go-FUT.DEF
   ‘We will go together.’

Tsez does not have third person pronouns; the language uses demonstratives in this function. An example containing two noun phrases expressed by demonstratives is given below:

(2) Žed-ā yiła ē’aq’ir-no.
   DEM.IPL-ERG DEM.NL.ABS kill-PST.NWIT
   ‘They killed it.’ (of an animal)

The following example has two full noun phrases, both with modifiers:

(3) Dā-z yway-ā yisi uži han-si.
   1SG-GEN2 dog-ERG DEM.I boy.ABS.I bite-PST.WIT
   ‘My dog bit this boy.’

NPs can also be expressed by a substantivized adjective (4), participle (5), demonstrative (6), numeral (7), or deverbal noun (8):

(4) B-ʾeγa-t’a-ni-z-ā b-ʾeže-t’a-ni-za-s hurmat
    I-PL-young-DISTR-DEF- PL.OS-ERG I-PL-old-DISTR-DEF- PL.OS-GEN1 respect.ABS.III
    b-oγ-x.
    III-do-PRS
    ‘The young respect the old.’

(5) Ō-āγu-rn-ā magalu eser-si.
    1-come-PST.PTCP-DEF-ERG bread.ABS.III ask-PST.WIT
    ‘The one who came asked for bread.’
Nominalized verb phrases in NP positions are illustrated below. Example (9) shows a nominalized clause in the absolutive position, and example (10) shows a masdar clause in the sub-ablative form.

(9) [Eni-y-ä kid becizi y-āy-ru-li] elu-r r-iy-x. mother-OS-ERG girl.ABS.II praise II-do-PST.PTCP-NMLZ.ABS.IV 1PL-LAT IV-know-PRS

‘We know that Mother praised the girl.’

(10) [Debe-r ne-ƛ-ani]-ƛ-āy r-ahir-x-ānu re-ƛ. 2SG-LAT give-MASD-SUB-ABL IV-boil-PRS-NEG meat.ABS.IV

‘I am not boiling the meat just to give it to you.’ (based on Imnajšvili 1963:237)

2 Generic noun phrases

Tsez does not have determiners; the meaning of definiteness or specificity is conveyed by several other means, including definiteness marking on noun-modifying adjectives or participles (discussed in section 3.3 below), word order, and the use of demonstratives (see section 4.1 below). Generic noun phrases do not differ in form from non-generic ones. Generic forms of mass nouns appear in the singular:

(11) Mesed xiriyaw (yoł). gold.ABS.III expensive be.PRS

‘Gold is expensive.’

If a mass noun is used in the plural form, that form refers to kinds:

(12) Elu-s bat’=bat’iyaw akri-bi (yoł). 1PL-GEN1 various cheese-PL.ABS.nIPL be.PRS

‘We have different kinds of cheeses.’

Generic forms of count nouns usually appear in the plural:
The generic reading is often suppressed in nouns that appear post-verbally, at the right periphery of the clause, as that position is associated with topichood. Compare (13a) to (14), which does not have a generic reading:

(14) R-exu-s bibidoqudi-bi.
    nIPL-die-PST.WIT dinosaur-PL.ABS.nIPL
    “As for dinosaurs, they died out.”
    #’Dinosaurs are extinct.’

As long as the noun phrase appears preverbally, the generic reading can be associated with any case form; compare the generic genitive in (15) and lative/absolutive in (16):

(15) K’et’u-s uyno k’onč’u (yol).
    cat-GEN1 four leg.ABS.III be.PRS
    ‘A cat has four legs.’
(16) Xex-zā-r maroženi r-eti-x.
    child-PL.OS-LAT ice cream.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS
    ‘Children like/want ice-cream.’

Noun phrases in Tsez are strictly head final, and many of the concepts conveyed by post-nominal PPs in languages such as English are expressed by prenominal modifiers, most commonly genitives and relative clauses (for the latter, see the chapter on relative clauses).

In what follows, we will first discuss noun modification by adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals, then turn to quantifiers and measure phrases, and lastly to NPs containing genitive expressions. The order of elements in the noun phrase is addressed in section 9.

3 Agreement and concord in the noun phrase

3.1 Case concord

Many (not all) modifiers show case concord with the head noun; the distinction is between the direct form, used with the head noun in the absolutive case, and the oblique form, used elsewhere.¹ Modifiers that have two distinct forms include attributives with the suffix –si (oblique suffix –zo); numerals; a subset of demonstratives (section 4.1); and adnominal genitives

¹ We will be referring to this formal contrast as “direct vs. oblique”; we mark only the oblique form explicitly in the glosses.
(direct form genitive 1 in -s, and oblique form genitive 2 in -z, discussed in section 5). The examples below show case concord on an adjective, a demonstrative, a numeral, and an adnominal genitive. More examples will appear in the individual sections.

(17) a. sasaqo-si/ža zaman
    morning-ATTR/DEM time.ABS.III
    ‘morning time/that time’

    b. sasaqo-zo/ne zaman-a-l
    morning-ATTR.OS/DEM.nI.OS time-OS-CONT.ESS
    ‘in the morning time/at that time’

(18) a. oč’ino otaxi
    nine  room.ABS.IV
    ‘nine rooms’

    b. oč’ira  otax-ā
    nine.OS room-IN.ESS
    ‘in nine rooms’

(19) a. ʕaƛ̌o-s  xalq’i
    village-GEN1 people.ABS.IPL
    ‘villagers’ (lit.: village’s people)

    b. ʕaƛ̌o-z  xalq’i-mo-r
    village-GEN2 people-OS-LAT
    ‘to (the) villagers’

3.2 Agreement in the noun phrase

Not all adjectival modifiers register agreement with the head noun; in that regard this category is similar to verbs which also include just a subset of agreeing forms. Those adjectival modifiers that have a prefixal agreement slot show obligatory agreement with the head noun in gender, distinguishing four genders in the singular and two in the plural. The agreement prefixes on adjectives are the same as the agreement prefixes on verbs (see also chapter “Agreement”). For example:

(20) a. Ø-exora  žek’u
    i-tall  person.ABS.I
    ‘a tall person/man’

    b. y-exora  y’anabi
    II-tall  woman.ABS.II
    ‘a tall woman’

    c. b-exora  got’i
    III-tall  haystack.ABS.III
    ‘a high haystack’

    d. r-exora  y’un
    IV-tall  tree.ABS.IV

The attributive suffix distinction si/zo and the genitive suffix distinction s/z (discussed in section 5 below) are presumably related, at least etymologically, although the relationship between them does not precisely match any synchronically valid morphophonemic rule.
Case concord with the head noun is marked only on those attributive modifiers that are derived with the suffix –si. Compare the invariant use of a regular adjective (ixiw) in (21) and a definite adjective (with –ni) in (22) with the direct–oblique contrast in (23):

(21) a. Sis ixiw cey b-ay-n.
one big eagle.abs.iii iii-come-pst.nwit
‘A big eagle flew in.’ (Yizaläy hîč’e’ a ixiw šebi yok?:2)

b. Ixiw t’ek-zo šila-z-ä eqer-no.
big billy.goat-gen2 horn-pl.os-in.ess put-pst.nwit
‘(The eagle) put (it) between the horns of a big billy goat.’
(Yizaläy hîč’e’ a ixiw šebi yok?:3)

(22) Tuturu-ni xex-z-ä y’ež-e-ni eniw q’awaridi y-o-y-x.
naughty-def child-os-erg ii-old-def mother.abs.ii sad ii-do-prs
‘The naughty children have upset the grandmother.’

(23) Q’uq’uta-zo palatenc-ä q’uq’uta-si reλ’a-bi bac’ad
dirty-attr.os towel-erg dirty-attr hand-pl.abs.nilpl clean
r-äd-inê’i.
ilpl-do.fut-NEG
‘A dirty towel will not make dirty hands clean.’

Some demonstratives agree with the head noun in gender, but only distinguish gender I from the rest of the genders (nI), in both the singular and the plural. The agreeing demonstratives maintain the same I/nI gender distinction when they are used as noun phrases, most often in the function of a third person pronoun—consider example (2) above. For further details, see chapter “Agreement”.

4 Expression of definiteness on adjectival and participial modifiers

Definiteness can be expressed by the suffix –ni on any attributive modifier, be it a relative clause, an adjective, or an attributive noun/noun phrase modifying a noun with a unique, definite, or familiar interpretation. Definite marking is illustrated in (24) and (25) for a relative clause, in (26) for an adjective, and in (27) for a locative expression used as a dependent.3

(24) Ø-ik’i-xo-si-ni uži
I-go-prs-attr-def boy
‘the boy who is going (e.g. as opposed to others)’

3 Attributive forms that register case concord still show concord when the suffix –ni follows the attributive suffix (as in (24) and (27)).
Definite marking is preferred once a referent has been introduced, especially in contexts of contrast. Consider the following examples. In (28) and (29), the referent is first introduced as a noun phrase with an indefinite adjective and subsequently referred to with a noun phrase containing a definite adjective. The head noun can be omitted if it is modified by a definite adjective, as shown below; such omissions are quite common in texts and spontaneous speech.

(28)  Dä-r  b-ukay-s  sis b-ˤeżeli(*-ni) is.
    I SG-LAT III-see-PST.WIT one III-big-DEF ox.ABS.III
    Za  b-eˤeżeli(*-ni)  (is)  γun-o-x-ayor  b-ik‘i-s.
    DEM III-big-DEF ox.ABS.III tree-OS-AD-ALL III-go-PST.WIT
    ‘I saw a big ox. The big ox/the big one went toward a tree.’
    (based on Imnajšvili 1963: 71)

(29)  Dey  c‘uda heneš-no  ičiw  heneš-no  zow-s.
    I SG.GEN1 red apple.ABS.III-and green apple.ABS.III-and be-PST.WIT
    Neša-r  c‘uda-ni  (heneš)  gurow  b-et-inč’u.
    DEM.NI-LAT red-DEF apple.ABS.III except III-want-PST.WIT.NEG
    ‘I had a red and a green apple. She only wanted the red one.’

In the following example, the context implies that there are only two rams; the first one is introduced by the indefinite sis ‘one’, and the other noun phrase is marked for definiteness:

(31)  Sis  aluk’a  side-ni  q‘aba  miƛ‘-bi  r-ihanay-xosi
    one white one-DEF black ram-PL.ABS.NIPL  nIPL-fight-PRS.PTCP
    yoł.
    AUX.PRS
    ‘Two rams, one white, the other black, are fighting.’ (ʕAliqilič:116)
Definite modifiers are used in discourse-linked wh-phrases with the overall interpretation ‘which X’. Indefinite modifiers are judged marginal in such expressions:

(33) Didiw b-igu-ni/??b-igu kamanda b-eti-x-ä debe-r?
which I PL-good DEF/IPL-good team.ABS.IPL I PL-like PRS-INTERR 2SG-LAT

‘Which strong team do you like?’

Definite modifiers are also used in forms of address, which appear in the absolutive:

(34) dey Ø-igu-ni uži…
1SG.GEN I-good DEF boy.ABS.I

‘my good boy/my dear son…’

(35) hudu, xiriyaw-ni…
yes dear/expensive DEF

‘yes, my dear’

As examples (28) and (29) indicate, the marking of definiteness on the adjectival modifier is independent of whether or not a demonstrative is present in the noun phrase.

Some examples with definiteness marked on modifiers appeared earlier in this chapter; consider nominalized adjectives with the definite marker in (4), (5), and definite adjectives in (44a,b) and in (22). Adjectives and participles marked for definiteness with the suffix –ni do not distinguish between direct and oblique forms; for instance, the example in (32) shows the definite adjective modifying a head noun in the lative.

5 Distributive marking in the noun phrase

The distributive suffix -t’a occurs widely and can combine with any category except finite verbs. The general function of -t’a is to mark distributivity; the relevant distribution can occur over a plural entity, a plural eventuality, or a plurality of times or locations. Such distributive ambiguity (ranging over participants and events) is well attested cross-linguistically (cf. Gil 1982, 1988, 1992; Choe 1987; Zimmermann 2002; Schwartzschild 1996; 2011; Cabredo Hofherr and Laca 2012, a.o.).

In order to discuss distributive marking in Tsez, we will start by introducing the notions of distributive key and distributive share (following Gil’s work). Distributive key is a concept that forces the plural reading. In that sense, its function is similar to that of a wide-scope-taking

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4 For the use of the distributive suffix outside noun phrases, see CH. YY[PredP] and CH. YY[Adverbial clauses].
expression. It defines the domain within which entities are distributed. **DISTRIBUTIVE SHARE** designates the entities that are distributed, thus resembling a narrow-scope-taking expression. In the famous sentence below, a set of unhappy families defines the domain in which distribution occurs. This set of families serves as the distributive key; the way in which they are unhappy is the distributive share linked to the unhappy families:

(36) Every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way. (Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*)

For a distributive reading to hold, there has to be a pairing of key and share, although these expressions do not have to be explicit.

The statement in (36) is actually only the second part of the maxim; in the original text of *Anna Karenina*, (36) is preceded by the following statement:

(37) Happy families are alike.

In (37), there is no distribution; the set of happy families is not broken into units, each with its own mode of happiness. Instead, the happy families can be viewed as an aggregate (a collective). Within that aggregate, the units can still be recognized as separate, distinct entities. Such recognition of separate units would amount to **individuation**: the distinctness of an entity from its own background. So, if (37) presents ‘happy families’ as an aggregate, the example below individuates those families:

(38) Every happy family is the same.

English uses the same word, *every*, both in distributive expressions and in expressions of individuation, and it seems that the two concepts receive the same encoding across languages.

We are now ready to address the distribution and meaning of the suffix **–t’a**; in our discussion, we will be relying on the notions of distribution (with key and share as important pairings) and individuation.

To begin, the suffix **–t’a** can combine with any expression except finite verb form. In CH. YY[Adverbial Clauses], we discuss clausal distributive phrases, with **–t’a** occurring on the head of a converbal clause. In this chapter, we will concentrate on the use of **–t’a** with constituents of a noun phrase. In terms of distribution, we find that **–t’a** can appear either on the head noun or on a subconstituent within a noun phrase. In terms of meaning, **–t’a** encodes both distribution over sets, and individuation within a set. Although at first sight these distributional and interpretive properties of **–t’a** may seem distinct (and it may also seem that **–t’a** has many other disparate functions), we propose that they should be unified under the following principle:

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5 We are grateful to David Gil for proposing this analysis to us. The unified approach to **–t’a** is similar to his analysis of Georgian distributives (Gil 1988). The contrast between (59a) and (59b) is reminiscent of the contrast between non-reduplicated and reduplicated expressions in Georgian, where reduplication forces the distributive reading.
(39)  –t’a marks a constituent that it attaches to as distributive share; this share then selects an overt or presupposed element as its key.

This principle accounts for event distributivity, with the distributively-marked noun phrase looking outside for its key, which can be an adverb, the predicate, or a contextually recoverable item. In this function, the suffix appears on the head noun. But the principle in (39) also explains distributivity internal to a noun phrase, where the modifier marked with –t’a is the share and the head noun is its key, and the modifier distributes over its head NP-internally. Ambiguity arises only with numerical modifiers, which are typically interpreted as distributive share, but can also be interpreted as individuating. In what follows, we present the application of this general principle in different contexts.

If the distributive marker –t’a appears on the head of a noun phrase, it marks that noun phrase as distributive share, in other words, as a referent whose distribution has to be evaluated with respect to either the event denoted by the predicate or another referent named or presupposed in the clause. For example, the sentence below can only mean that the girl stayed in the cowshed multiple times, not that she stayed in multiple cowsheds, although such a meaning is perfectly plausible from the standpoint of world knowledge. The cowshed is the distributive share, and the event of being frequently locked up is the distributive key.

(40)  Šomorax-no ziya-de puräza reču-ƛ-t’a
       often-TOP cow-APUD.ESS near cowshed-CONT.ESS-DISTR
       yiz-ä ża y-iši-x zow-n.
       DEM.IPL-ERG DEM.ABS.(II) II-lock.up-IPFV.CVB be.PST-PST.NWIT

   ‘They often locked her up in the cowshed next to the cow.’  (Best’al kid:4)
   NOT: ‘They locked her up in cowsheds next to a cow.’

In the next example, the singular noun mił’i ‘ram’ occurs with the distributive suffix. The sentence encodes an event that is distributed over a plurality of times; the same ram comes back each day to lick the salt. Again, the ram is the distributive share and the adverbial phrase ‘every day’ is the distributive key.

(41)  Šibaw ɣud-ƛ’o šuda-ƛ’-āy ciyo r-ag-ani-x
       every day-SUPER.ESS grave-SUPER-ABL salt.ABS.IV IV-lick-MASD-AD.ESS
       sis .ixiw mił’i-t’a b-ay-x zow-n.
       one big ram.ABS.III-DISTR III-come-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.NWIT

   ‘Every day a big ram would come to lick salt off the gravestone.’  (Mił’i:5)

Let us now turn to the use of –t’a on NP-internal modifiers, starting with count nouns. Noun phrases with a modifier marked with –t’a are typically plural. The main function of –t’a, in keeping with principle (39) above, is to indicate that items within the set denoted by a plural noun phrase are recognized as separate — that is, are individuated. To illustrate, imagine a bunch of red flowers. This bunch can be described as an aggregate of flowers without special attention being paid to its individual units, or as a collection within which each separate flower is recognized. To express the aggregate meaning, Tsez uses a noun phrase with a regular adjective, and to express the individuated meaning, it employs the distributive marker on the adjective:
Several Tsez nouns have the same form in the singular and plural; for example, *xexbi* ‘child; children’, *y’anabi* ‘woman; women’; *šebin* ‘thing; things’; *boc’i*/*boc’a* ‘wolf; wolves’. If such nouns occur with a modifier that does not have the –*t’a* suffix, they are ambiguous between singular and plural; if accompanied by a distributive modifier, they are necessarily interpreted as plural.⁶ Compare the meaning difference between (43a) and (43b):

(43) a. *lalay-xosi* *xexbi*
  cry-PRS.PTCP child.ABS
  ‘a crying child; crying children’

b. *lalay-xosi-t’a* *xexbi*
  cry-PRS.PTCP-DISTR child.ABS
  ‘crying children’
  NOT: ‘a crying child’

The individuating function of -*t’a* is further confirmed by its co-occurrence with definite marking. The suffix –*t’a* is strongly preferred when the adjective is marked as definite with the suffix –*ni*, as in (44a-b) (see also the nominalized adjectives with –*t’a* in example (4) above and (45c) below).

(44) a. *c’uda-t’a-ni* *ged-ma-bi*
  red-DISTR-DEF garment-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
  ‘the red dresses’

b. *t’ek-mo-za-s-t’a-ni* *humer-ya-bi*
  book-OS-PL.OS-GEN1-DISTR-DEF page-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
  ‘the pages of books’

Examples in (45) all involve what Schwartzschild (2011) calls “stubbornly distributive predicates” such as ‘big’ or ‘tall’. Regardless of the context or noun that these predicates combine with, they always impose a distributive interpretation; note that –*t’a* cannot be omitted.

It is possible that the distributive interpretation in (45a, b) is reinforced by the fact that the head nouns denote paired objects. However, in (45d), the head noun is neither a denotation of a finite set nor definite, yet the distributive marking is still required:

(45) a. *r-exora-**(t’a)* *ah-ya-bi*
  nIPL-tall-DISTR ear-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
  ‘long ears’

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⁶ If the modifier shows agreement with the head noun, then the difference between the singular and plural agreement markers on the verb means that this ambiguity does not arise.
b. kot’on-*t’a  ʃɔγ-re-bi  
short-DISTR  leg-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘short legs’  
c. r-ʔe-y*-t’a-ni  miʃa-r-bi  
nIPL-small-DISTR-DEF  vein-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘the small blood vessels’  
d. r-ʔe-z*e-t’a  ɣ’utk-a-bi  
nIPL-big-DISTR  house-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘big buildings’  

The modifier combining with –t’a can be an adjective, as already shown in examples (42b), (44a), and (45a-c). It can also be a demonstrative (46), an adverb or postposition used attributively (47), a participle (48) (see also (43b)), or a relative clause (49).  

(46)  nediw-t’a  gulu-bi  
such-DISTR  horse-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘such horses’  

(47)  a. sidä sidde  igo-t’a  q’ano šud-bi  
REFL-APUD.ESS  next-DISTR  two  grave-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘two graves next to each other’ (Bilq’isdi:60)  
b. ruɣu-l  xizay-t’a  gulu-bi  
footprint-CONT.ESS  behind-DISTR  horse-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘horses whose steps one follows’  

(48)  a. r-olʔ-ixo-t’a  ziya-bi  
nIPL-be.sick-PRS.PTCP-DISTR  cow-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘sick cows’  
b. ƛäxu-ru-t’a  xexbi  
leave-PST.PTCP-DISTR  children.ABS.nIPL  
‘abandoned children’  

(49)  a. reb-l-s  r-ic’xo-t’a  ḥuru-bi  
meat-OS-GEN1  nIPL-fill-PRS.PTCP-DISTR  tray-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘trays filled with meat’  
b. boc’-ʔ  zey-z-ā  r-exu-r-āsi-t’a  
wolf-ERG  bear-PL.OS-ERG  nIPL-die-CAUS-RES.PTCP-DISTR  
posu  
cattle.ABS.nIPL  
‘the cattle killed by wolves and bears’ (ʕAt’idno, Q’arumno:42)  

Genitive adnominal modifiers can take the distributive suffix as long as the genitive denotes a material or a general property (see section 5.2 below), as in (44b) above and in the example below:  

(50)  a. ʂomoy-s-t’a  ah-ya-bi  
donkey-GEN1-DISTR  ear-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  
‘donkey ears’ (NOT: ‘the ears of a certain donkey’)  
b. qaci-s-t’a  kuro-bi
However, if the genitive denotes a genuine possessor or appears in a measure phrase (see 5.3 below), the distributive suffix is unacceptable:

(51) a. #b-exa-ru-za-s-t’a ƛuza-bi
    IPL-die-CAUS-PST.PTCP-OS-GEN1-DISTR bone-PL.ABS.nIPL
    (‘the bones of those who were killed’)

b. #ciyo-s-t’a  t’akan-bi
    salt-GEN1-DISTR glass-PL.ABS.nIPL
    (‘cups of salt’)

If an adnominal genitive is phrasal, the distributive suffix can appear on one of its subconstituents, thus circumventing the restrictions illustrated in (51). For example, in (52), the distributive suffix appears on the adverbial hemedur, a subconstituent of the nominalized relative clause; the nominalized participle appears as the adnominal genitive:

(52) [Hemedur-t’a b-exa-[r]ru-z-a-s ƛuza-bi
    such-DISTR IPL-die-CAUS-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OS-OS-GEN1 bone-PL.ABS.nIPL
    yol yizi.
    be.PRS DEM.PL.ABS
    ‘These are the bones of those who were killed for that reason.’ (Babiwn, užin, Okun:17)

A distributive modifier can co-occur with a numeral in the collective form, as in the following example (the collective suffix is optional). The use of the collective form underscores the notion of plurality, and the use of the modifier with –t’a indicates individuation within that set.

(53) łˤono(-n) bercinaw-t’a  kid-ba-bi
    three-COLL beautiful-DISTR girl-PL.OS-PL.ABS.IPL
    ‘(the) three beautiful girls’

Let us now turn to mass nouns. Mass nouns denote an aggregate with poorly distinguished units, so the use of the distributive suffix on adnominal modifiers of mass nouns may appear incongruous. The differences are indeed subtler than what we observed with count nouns, but some interpretive generalizations still emerge. Consider the following three sentences:

(54) a. Eni-y-ä  gimušaw  qiqi  r-oy-x.
    mother-OS-ERG tasty  porridge.ABS.IV IV-do-PRS
    ‘Mother makes/is making good porridge.’

b. Eni-y-ä  gimušaw-t’a  qiqi  r-oy-x.
    mother-OS-ERG tasty-DISTR porridge.ABS.IV IV-do-PRS
    ‘Mother makes good porridge (generally).’

c. Eni-y-ä  gimušaw  qiqi-t’a  r-oy-x.
    mother-OS-ERG tasty  porridge.ABS.IV-DISTR IV-do-PRS
‘Mother regularly makes good porridge.’

Example (54a) can refer to a single event, including an ongoing one. Example (54b) describes the general quality of mother’s porridge, and (54c) means roughly “every time mother cooks she makes good porridge”. Thus, in (54b) ‘tasty’ is the distributive share, and ‘porridge’ is the key, as in the examples above with count nouns. Here, the head noun is mass, coming without a prototypical unit of counting. However, the distributive marking forces the hearer to construct such a unit, and the obvious choice is portions of, implying that every portion of porridge that Mother makes is delicious; hence, the reading “generally”, indicating a habitual interpretation. In (54c), ‘tasty porridge’ is the distributive share, and the associated event is the key: every cooking (key) results in tasty porridge. This reading makes (54c) most appropriate when used as a commentary on Mother’s qualifications as a cook (so-called dispositional interpretation). In both (54b) and (54c), the use of the distributive marker rules out the episodic interpretation.

Finally, let us examine adnominal numerals. Such numerals easily combine with the distributive suffix, but the interpretation of noun phrases with distributive numerals is unlike what we observed for noun phrases with other types of modifiers. A noun phrase modified by cardinal numeral with the suffix –t’a can have the reading of individuation or distributivity. For instance, (55) could mean either that they had two or three animals and these animals are viewed as individuated, or that each person in the group had two or three animals (distributive reading):

(55) Žedu-s qⁿano-ʔono-t’a posu-re-s šebin
DEM.IPL-GENI two-three-DISTR cattle-OS-GENI thing.ABS.IV
zow-s.
be.PST-PST.WIT
‘They had two or three heads of cattle.’ (individuation)
‘They had two or three heads of cattle each.’ (distributive)

Likewise, in the following example with a suffix on the numeral, the preferred interpretation of the noun phrase is distributive, with ʔoʔano-t’a tetrad ‘seven notebooks’ functioning as a distributive share; however, the interpretation that we bought seven individuated notebooks is also possible.

(56) El-ä ʔoʔano-t’a tetrad y-is-si.
IPL-ERG seven-DISTR notebook.ABS.II II-take-PST.WIT
‘We bought seven notebooks each.’ (distributive)
‘We bought seven notebooks.’ (individuation)

Distributive phrases with the numeral ‘one’ are comparable to those phrases where –t’a appears on a head count noun without a numeral. Compare (57) and (58), which seem to be truth-conditionally equivalent; our consultants consider them completely interchangeable:

(57) Nel-ä sis-t’a heneš xex-za-r teš-si.
DEM.NI-ERG one-DISTR apple.ABS.III child-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘She gave the children an apple each.’

(58) Nel-ä heneš-t’a xex-za-r teš-si.
DEM.NI-ERG apple.ABS.III-DISTR child-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘She gave the children an apple each.’

When used without the distributive marker, the sentence represented in (57) and (58) has a different meaning; the interpretation here is that there was one apple which the children may have to share.

(59) Ne-ł ċaħex-za-r teł-si.
DEM.nI-ERG apple.ABS.III child-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘She gave the children an apple.’ (e.g., to split amongst them)

More generally, if a noun phrase appears without the distributive marker, it can be construed as referring to an aggregate collective, something that is impossible for the distributive form. Compare (60a) and (60b); in (60a), two interpretations are possible: either each ring is expensive (the distributive reading) or individual rings may be inexpensive, but as a totality, the rings are costly. In (60b), however, only the distributive reading is possible; each ring must be expensive on its own.

(60)  a. xiriyaw baśiqoy-bi
    expensive ring-PL.ABS.nIPL
  b. xiriyaw-t’a baśiqoy-bi
    expensive-DISTR ring-PL.ABS.nIPL
    ‘expensive rings’

6 Noun phrases with attributive modifiers

Attributive modifiers of nouns include adjectives proper; participles; relative clauses of different types, including participial relatives (see the chapter on relative clauses); derived attributive modifiers; demonstratives; numerals; and quantificational expressions.

The examples in this chapter have already illustrated a number of adjectival modifiers; cf. (20), (22), (23), (26), (29) through (34). See also the chapter on attributive phrases for more details on adjectival phrases and Chapter YY for adjectival morphology. Some examples of participles have also appeared earlier in this chapter, e.g., (24), (43), (48), (49), (52). For details of relative clauses (which include but are not limited to participial relatives), see the chapter on relative clauses, and for the formation of participles, see CH.YY[VERB MORPHOLOGY].

Attributive modifiers can also be derived from a variety of categories (nouns, noun phrases, adverbs, postpositions) with the help of the attributive morpheme –si (direct form)/-zo (oblique form). The examples in (61a-d) show attributive modifiers derived from oblique forms of nouns and those in (62a,b) show modifiers derived from oblique forms of demonstratives. Finally (62a, b) illustrate attributives derived from adverbs (see also the chapter on adjectival phrases for further examples and discussion). In terms of their function in the noun phrase, attributive modifiers are not different from adjectives proper.

(61)  a. ƛ’ā-ł o-si uži
    roof-SUPER.ESS-ATTR boy.ABS.I
    ‘the boy on the roof’
b. žek’u-l-er-si žek’u
   person-CONT-LAT-ATTR person.ABS.I
   ‘a person that made something out of himself’ (lit.: into the midst of people’s person)
c. q‘im-zo oz-ā-si ƛexu
   self-GEN2 eye-IN.ESS-ATTR log.ABS.II
   ‘the beam in one own’s eye’
d. nuc-o-ƛ’o-si t’ut’
   honey-OS-SUPER.ESS-ATTR fly.ABS.III
   ‘bee’ (lit.: fly that is on honey)

(62)  a. nesi-r-si daru
   DEM.I-LAT-ATTR medication.ABS.III
   ‘a medication for/against him’ (Riynoxu:25)

b. żedu-qo-si posu
   DEM.IPL-POSS.ESS-ATTR cattle.ABS.IV
   ‘the property on them/related to them’

(63)  a. elo-si li
   there-ATTR water.ABS.IV
   ‘the water over there’

b. heme-si halt’i
   so-ATTR work.ABS.III
   ‘such work’

6.1   Noun phrases with demonstratives

Demonstratives and their derivation are described in Ch. YY. Recall that demonstratives distinguish three degrees of deixis: “this”, “that (visible), and “that, yonder (invisible)”. All types of demonstratives can occur with nouns, and these demonstratives always precede the head noun. While common nouns in the singular belong to four genders, demonstratives distinguish only gender I vs. the other genders:

(64)  a. yeda/enda/yisi uži
   this.I/that.I/that.I boy.ABS.I
   ‘this/that boy’

b. yedu/endu/yi kid
   this.nI/that.nI/that.nI girl.ABS.II
   ‘this/that girl’

The following demonstratives do not have gender distinctions in the singular: ža ‘this’, howža ‘that’. Older descriptions of Tsez mention gender distinctions in plural demonstratives (Bokarev 1959: 198; Ḣmnadojo 1963: 101-116), but these seem to have disappeared from the modern language, at least in some dialects:

(65)  a. izi(-ri)/enzi(-ri) uži-bi
   this.PL/that.PL boy-PL.ABS.IPL
   ‘these/those boys’

b. izi(-ri)/enzi(-ri) kid-ba-bi
   this.PL/that.PL girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
'these/those girls'

Some demonstratives show case concord with the head noun, following the distinction between direct (co-occurring with the absolutive) and oblique (co-occurring with all other cases). Thus:

(66)  a. \( \text{ža} \ \text{žek’u} \)  
DEM man.ABS.I  
‘this man’

b. \( \text{nesä} \ \text{žek’u-r} \)  
DEM.I.OBL man-LAT  
‘to this man’

(67)  a. \( \text{ža} \ \text{k’et’u} \)  
DEM cat.ABS.III  
‘this cat’

b. \( \text{neša} \ \text{k’et’u-r} \)  
DEM.nI.OBL cat-LAT  
‘to this cat’

A number of demonstratives have lost the direct–oblique contrast; a comparison with earlier descriptions of Tsez suggests that the loss of this contrast is ongoing.\(^7\)

When two or more nouns modified by demonstratives are coordinated, it is typical for the demonstrative to be repeated even when both forms are the same:

(68)  a. \( \text{ža} \ \text{kid-no} \) *(ža) \( \text{uži-n} \)  
DEM girl.ABS.II-and DEM boy.ABS.I-and  
‘this girl and this boy’

b. \( \text{yizi} \ \text{kid-ba-bi-n} \) *(yizi) \( \text{uži-bi-n} \)  
DEM girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL-and DEM boy-PL.ABS.IPL-and  
‘these girls and these boys’

c. \( \text{ža} \ \text{kid-no} \) \( \text{yizi} \) \( \text{uži-bi-n} \)  
DEM girl.ABS.II-and DEM boy-PL.ABS.IPL-and  
‘this girl and these boys’

(69)  a. \( \text{yizi} \ \text{kid-ba-bi-n} \) *(ža) \( \text{uži-n} \)  
DEM girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL-and DEM boy.ABS.I-and  
‘these girls and this boy’

b. \( \text{ža} \ \text{kid-no} \) \( \text{uži-n} \)  
DEM girl.ABS.II-and DEM boy.ABS.I-and  
‘this girl and a/some/the boy’

If the first coordinated noun is in the plural, the plural demonstrative can be understood only as modifying that noun (i), not the entire coordinated noun phrase (ii):

---

\(^7\) There is some dialectal variation with respect to which demonstratives have a specialized oblique form (Bokarev 1959: 198; Imnajšvili 1963: 101-116).
Plural demonstratives modifying several coordinated singular nouns are judged as awkward and dispreferred:

(71) #izi(-ri) kid-no uži-n
DEM.PL girl.ABS.II-and boy.ABS.I-and
‘these girl and this boy’

Demonstratives are commonly used to indicate the definiteness of a noun phrase, whereas the numeral *sis* ‘one’ is used to underscore indefiniteness. However, such use is never grammaticalized, and the respective modifiers can be omitted in context.

### 6.2 Noun phrases with numerals

#### 6.2.1 Cardinal numerals

Numerals appear as modifiers of nouns and, as such, precede nouns. Nouns modified by a numeral are not marked for plural; consider example (1) above and the examples below. As (72) shows, a noun modified by a numeral is singular for the purposes of verbal agreement as well; the verb AGR-*oja* agrees with the absolutive ‘two-three friends’ in the singular.

(72) Nes-ä qˤano-*fono-n halmay-no sadaq
DEM.I-ERG two-three-COLL friend.ABS.I-TOP together Ø-oɣ-no.
I-take/pull-PST.NWIT
‘He put two or three friends together.’ (based on Ražbadinno, Tawadin: 72)

(73) Nesi-s *fono uži zow-n.
DEM.I-GEN1 three boy.ABS.I be-PST.NWIT
‘He had three sons.’

Numerals modifying an overt head noun often occur in the collective form, as in (72). This form is not used when the numerical expression is used predicatively:

(74) [Eli] [fono(*-n) halmay zow-s].
IPL.ABS three-COLL friend.ABS.I be-PST.WIT
SUBJECT PREDICATE
‘We were three friends.’

Cardinal numerals show case concord with the head noun; they distinguish two forms: the direct form co-occurring with the absolutive, as in the examples above, and the oblique form co-occurring with all other cases. The formation of direct and oblique forms is discussed in Ch. YY.

Compare the direct form of the numeral ‘three’, above, and its oblique form below.
In complex numerals, all the subconstituents of the numeral appear in the oblique form:

(76) oc’ira  Ḩora  uţi-r
ten.OBL  three.OBL  boy-LAT
‘to thirteen boys’

A numeral preceding two or more nouns coordinated with ‘and’ can take scope over the first noun or over the entire noun phrase. Thus, the following example can mean ten animals all together (cats and puppies) or eleven animals (ten cats and a puppy). The second reading, however, is less preferred; it requires a slightly longer pause between the coordinated constituents.

(77) oc’ino  k’e’tu-n  k’uci-n
ten  cat-ABS.III-and  puppy-ABS.III-and
‘ten cats and puppies’
(i) ten [cats and puppies]  
(ii) [ten cats] and a puppy

Approximate amounts are expressed by a numeral in the equative form in –ce, usually followed by the adjective AGR-iłe ‘similar’, which agrees with the head noun. The numeral in such forms does not show case concord with the head noun. For example, in (78), ‘three’ is in the direct form because the head noun is in the absolutive, and in (79), it is in the direct form again, although the head noun is not in the absolutive case:

(78) Dā-q  Ḩono-ce  y-ile  Šurūš  (yol).
1SG-POSS.ESS  three-EQUAT  II-similar  rouble.ABS.II  be.PRS
‘I have about three roubles.’

(79) Nes-ä  kayaŋ  Ḩono-ce  b-ile  sašat-y-ā
dem.I-ERG  letter.ABS.II  three-EQUAT  III-similar  hour-OS-IN.ESS
cax-sis.  write-PST.WIT
‘He wrote the letter in about three hours.’

6.2.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed from cardinal ones with the addition of the form āliwuāliwu (originally the past participial of the verb eļa ‘say’, a non-agreeing verb). Ordinal numerals have the same direct/oblique distinction observed in the cardinals. Compare simple numerals in (80) and compound numerals in (81):
Since ordinal numerals show the same case concord with nouns as cardinals do, we can conclude that the participial form marking ordinality is frozen and no longer functions as a participle; if it did function as a participle, the numeral would be part of the relative clause and would always appear in the same form. The form appearing in (80b) would be unmotivated.

### 6.2.3 Fractions

The word for ‘half’ is AGR-ōlik’u, which is used as a prenominal modifier agreeing with its head in gender. This word is different in its function from all other words and expressions representing parts/fractions. It has distinct direct and oblique forms:

(82) Di b-ōlik’u micxir pasad b-oys.
    I SG.ERG III-half money.ABS.III spending III-do-PST.EVID
    ‘I spent half of the money.’

(83) Di debe-r b-ōlik’a saʕat-y-a kwat’izi
    I SG.ABS 2 SG-LAT III-half.OS hour-OS-IN.ESS waiting
    y-oq-xo.
    II-become-PRS
    ‘I (woman speaking) have been waiting for you for half an hour.’

Fractions other than ‘half’ are represented by complex expressions including the word but’a ‘part, fraction, share’ (gender III). The denominator appears as a numerical expression in the cont-ablative, preceding the numerator. Some examples with the numerator in the absolutive case are presented below:

(84) a. ñora but’a-l-āy qʕano but’a
    three.OBL part-CONT-ABL two part.ABS
    DENOMINATOR NUMERATOR
    ‘two thirds’ (lit.: from three parts two parts)
If a fractional expression bears a case other than absolutive, the numeral in the numerator also
appears in the oblique form, as shown in the example below. Compare the oblique form q’una ‘two’ in the numerator, with the direct form q’ano in the result below. The details of the
structure are shown in (85b):

(85) a. Biłläira but’a-l-āy sis but’a
eight.OBL part-CONT-ABL one part.ABS
oc’ira illira-l-āy q’una but’a-ƛ’a-o-r
ten.OS six.OS-PART-CONT-ABL two.OBL part-SUPER-LAT
kur-nāy biłläira but’a-l-āy q’ano but’a
throw-COND eight.OBL part-CONT-ABL two part.ABS.II
y-od-in.
II-do-FUT
‘One eighth plus two sixteenths will make two eighths.’
b. [pro biłläira but’a-l-āy sis but’a
[[eight.OBL part-CONT-ABL] one part].ABS
oc’ira illira-l-āy q’una but’a-ƛ’a-o-r
[[ten.OB six.OB-PART-CONT-ABL] two.OS part].SUPER-LAT
kur-nāy] pro biłläira but’a-l-āy q’ano but’a
throw-COND [eight.OBL part-CONT-ABL two part].ABS.II
y-od-in.
II-do-FUT
1
(“If one throws 1/8 on 2/16, one will make 2/8.”)

6.3 Quantified noun phrases

A number of quantificational modifiers are formed on the basis of the indeterminate element nāsi (direct form)/nāz- (oblique form) ‘which; some’. This form can be traced back to the
combination of the adverbial nā ‘where’ and the attributive suffix –si, from which it still has a
direct and an oblique form. However, we consider it synchronically indivisible. The forms below
are derived from nāsi with the addition of particles (we present the direct and oblique forms
separated by a slash). As in a number of other cases, the topic particle –ƛa and the contrastive
particle –go are used to derive more specific forms from indeterminates:
These modifiers contain elements corresponding to discourse particles (-n(o) marks topic, -ƛa marks ‘as for’ topics, and -go indicates contrast), but it is unclear whether these particles are synchronically still segmentable in (86a-c). The quantificational modifier nāsigo alternates with the composite nāsigo AGR-ọqin, where ọqin can be decomposed into the future of the verb AGR-ọqa ‘become’ and the quotative marker ƛi. Within this composite form, nāsigo does not alternate between direct and oblique.

Other quantificational modifiers which distinguish between the direct and oblique forms are based on the numeral sis ‘one’ (see example (7) above for the oblique form sida):

The following quantificational modifiers do not distinguish between direct and oblique forms:

(86)  a. nāsin/nāzon (< nāsi-n)
    ‘all’ some-and
 b. nāsiƛa/nāzọƛa (< nāsi-ƛa)
    ‘some, certain’ some-TOPIC
 c. nāsigo/nāzogo (< nāsi-go)
    ‘whichever’ some-CONTRASTIVE

(87)  a. sis(kin)/sida(kin) (< sis-kin)
    ‘some’ (in affirmative contexts) one-FOC
    b. sis(kin)/sida(kin)
    ‘any, none’ (under the scope of negation)

(88)  a. boƛ’araw
    ‘any’ (free choice)
 b. AGR-āttiru
    ‘any’ (free choice)
 c. AGR-iq-iAGR-āqiru
    ‘any’ (free choice), reduplicated participial form of –iqa ‘get, receive’
 d. didiwiki
    ‘any, none’ (under the scope of negation)
 d. didiw
    ‘such’, ‘which; what/what kind’ (in questions)
 e. šomo/dice
    ‘how many/how much’ (used in questions)
 f. šomolala/dicełala
    ‘several’
 g. žiwžiw
    ‘every’
h. šibaw
    ‘each’
i. c’ik’iw
    ‘all’
j. AGR-aq’u
    ‘many, much’
k. _surfaw  
‘many, much; numerous’

l. _xoli  
‘many, much’

m.  Dahaw  
‘few, little’

n.  t’ak’i  
‘few, little; a few, a little’

o.  muk’uce  
‘a little’ (only with mass nouns)

The meanings of nāsin and c’ik’iw, on the one hand, and žiwžiw and šibaw, on the other, seem very close, and in fact native speakers often offer nāsin as their first choice for expressions denoting an exhaustive set. However, these modifiers have distinct morphological and syntactic properties. First, the words nāsin ‘all’ and c’ik’iw ‘all’, when modifying a count noun, combine with a head noun in the plural; the words žiwžiw and šibaw co-occur with singular head nouns. Compare the following examples:

(89) a. Nāsin  kid-ba-bi/*kid  
guruļ-xo.
all  girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL/girl.ABS.II  cry-PRS
‘All the girls are crying.’

b. Žiwžiw  kid/*kid-ba-bi  
guruļ-xo.
every  girl.ABS.II/girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  cry-PRS
‘Every girl is crying.’

(90) a. C’ik’iw  es-na-bi/*esiw  
ido  yoł.
all  sibling-PL-PL.ABS.IPL/sibling.SG.ABS.I/II  at.home  be.PRS
‘All the siblings are home.’

b. Šibaw  esiw/*es-na-bi  
ido  yoł.
every  sibling.SG.ABS.I/II/sibling-PL-PL.ABS.IPL  at.home  be.PRS
‘Every sibling is home.’

Only nāsin and c’ik’iw, but not žiwžiw or šibaw, can modify mass nouns:

(91) a. Nāsin/c’ik’iw  ciyo  
li-s.
all/all  salt.ABS.II  be.over-PST.WIT
‘All the salt has run out.’

b. *Žiwžiw/šibaw  ciyo  
liy-s.
every/each  salt.ABS.II  be.over-PST.WIT

Only noun phrases containing nāsin/c’ik’iw, but not žiwžiw or šibaw, can combine with collective predicates; thus, (92b) is as unacceptable as its English translation:

(92) a. Nāsin  kid-ba-bi  
sadaq  guruļ-xo.
all  girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL  together  cry-PRS
‘All the girls are crying together (in unison).’
Quantificational modifiers are not used in expressions of time and place such as ‘every year, ‘any day’, ‘every village’, etc. Such expressions of time and place are represented by spatial forms of the respective nouns (‘day’, ‘year’, ‘village’, etc.) and are discussed in the chapter on adverbial phrases; see also the denominal form sasagazdā in example (93) below.

Below, we present examples of quantified noun phrases used in clauses:

(93) Sasaqazdā neš-ā r-a'q’u cet’o-bi hašu-x.
every morning DEM.nI-ERG nIPL-many pill-PL.ABS.nIPL drink-PRS
‘She takes (lit.: drinks) many pills every morning.’

(94) hūl neš-ā dahaw cet’o-bi hašu-za-š.’
yesterday DEM.nI-ERG few pill-PL.ABS.nIPL drink-NMLZ-SUPER.ESS
neš-as b-igu hal zow-nč’u.
DEM.nI-GEN1 III-good health.ABS.III be-PST.WIT.NEG
‘Because she took too few pills yesterday, she was not feeling well.’

(95) Neš-ā didiwikin cet’o-bi haš-inč’u.
DEM.nI-ERG any pill-PL.ABS.nIPL drink-PST.WIT.NEG
‘She did not take any pills.’

(96) Elu-z magazin-yā nāšīša kanpit-ya-bi teš-xo.
1PL-GEN2 store-IN.ESS some candy-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL give-PRS
‘There is some candy in our store.’

(97) Nāsīg o b-oqšin magalu b-is-o.
whatever III-whatever bread.ABS.III III-take.IMPER
‘Buy whatever bread there is.’

(98) Siskin t’ek ānu dā-q.
any book.ABS.II be.PRS.NEG 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘I don’t have any books.’

(99) Bol’araw xex-za-r kanpit-ya-bi r-eti-x.
any child-OS-LAT candy-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-like-PRS
‘Any child likes candy.’

(100) Nāzon xex-za-r maroženī r-eti-x.
all.OBL child-OS-LAT ice cream.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS
‘All children like ice cream.’

A more detailed discussion of quantified expressions with discourse particles can be found in the chapter on particles.

7 Noun phrases with nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers of nouns do a great deal of work in Tsez noun phrases, introducing a variety of concepts ranging from possession to complement clauses with a head noun. These widely varied conceptual relations are uniformly encoded by the genitive suffix on the adnominal modifier that precedes the head noun. As with some other modifiers, adnominal genitives show
concord with the head noun, appearing in the direct form (Genitive 1) when the head noun is in the absolutive, and in the oblique form (Genitive 2) with all other forms of the head noun.

Genitive markers can only combine with a noun; if a given modifier is not nominal, it must be substantivized in order to combine with the genitive. For example, the past participle formed from AGR-egir ‘send’ is nominalized with the abstract suffix -li below, and this form can appear as an adnominal genitive modifying the word ‘reason’. The nominalized participle still retains its agreement with the absolutive object, which allows the hearer to deduce in this particular case that the person sent somewhere was a man:

(101) Ø-egä-ru-li-s bahana
     1-send-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN1 reason.ABS.III
     ‘the reason for sending someone’

7.1 Adnominal possessor

Tsez does not distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession. Possessive phrases consist of an adnominal genitive (possessor) followed by the head noun (possession). Possessors can be expressed by a pronoun, noun, substantivized or nominalized expression—i.e., any form that can appear as a noun phrase (see section 1 above). Some examples of pronominal possessors follow (note that 1sg and 2sg pronouns have an irregular form in genitive 1; see Ch. YY [pronouns]):

(102) a. dey/debi mec
     1SG.GEN1/2SG.GEN1 language.ABS.III
     ‘my/your language’

     b. žedu-s q’ut’i
     IPL.GEN1 agreement.ABS.III
     ‘our agreement’

     c. nesi-s xabar
     DEM.I.GEN1 news.ABS.III
     ‘his news’

     d. gamuš-yo-s šilu
     bull-OS.GEN1 horn.ABS.II
     ‘bull’s horn’

Examples of possessors expressed by a noun phrase, with and without modifiers, are shown below. In (103c), the possessor in the genitive is modified by a relative clause.

(103) a. bahadur-e-s pikru
     brave.man-OS.GEN1 thought.ABS.III
     ‘the brave man’s idea’

     b. ža čało-s raśali
     DEM village-GEN1 edge.ABS.IV
     ‘the edge of this village’
c. [nes-ä y-ow-xosi] kid-b-es eni-babiw
   DEM.nI-ERG II-marry-PRS.PTCP girl-OS-GEN1 parents.ABS.IPL
   ‘the parents of the girl he is going to marry’

Next, we show examples of possessors expressed by substantivized expressions, with an
attributive oblique stem:

(104) Ø-eyno-xo-zo-s moči
     I-work-PRS-ATTR.OS-GEN1 space.ABS.III
     ‘the place of the one who worked’

(105) y-ig-a-z-as hal
     II-good-OS-ATTR.OS-GEN1 health.ABS.III
     ‘the health of the good one (female)’

(106) Ø-exu-r-ani-s murad
     I-die-CAUS-MASD-GEN1 goal.ABS.III
     ‘the goal to kill’ (lit.: the goal of killing) (Imnajšvili 1963:238)

In principle, possessive phrases can be iterated indefinitely, although such recursive phrases are
rare in naturally occurring discourse. Some examples:

(107) Raẓbadin-zo halmay-za-z ūla-o-s kid-ba-bi
     Rajbaddin-GEN2 friend-PL.OS-GEN2 village-GEN1 girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
     ‘girls from Rajbaddin’s friends’ village’

(108) ne lā kid-b-ez eni-babiw-z yũtka-z q’awari-λ’o
     DEM.nI.OBL girl-OS-GEN2 parents-GEN2 house-GEN2 roof-SUPER.ESS
     ‘on the roof of the house belonging to that girl’s parents’

As these examples show, the genitive can express general possession, part-whole relationships,
and some general affinity relations. Possessive phrases with the genitive are also used in proper
names, with the genitive corresponding to the last name, and the head noun, to the first name.
Thus:

(109) a. ūsumaxan-is ūumar
     Umaxan-GEN1 Omar
     ‘Omar Umaxanov’

b. karamazow-za-s es-na-bi
    Karamazov-PL.OS-GEN1 sibling-PL-PL.ABS(.IPL)
    ‘the brothers Karamazov’

Possessive phrases can also denote the author of some work, although in this particular function
the genitive can alternate with a relative clause modifying the head noun. For example:

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8 See Ch. YYY for a description of the traditional clans known as tuqum’s.
(110) a. Tolstoy-a-s roman
Tolstoy-OS-GEN1 novel.ABS.II
‘Tolstoy’s novel’
b. Tolstoy-ä câx-ru roman
Tolstoy-ERG write-PST.PTCP novel.ABS.II
‘a/the novel written by Tolstoy’

Without a proper context, possessive expressions may be ambiguous:

(111) Mażid-e-s surat
Madjid-OS-GEN1 picture.ABS.III
‘Madjid’s picture’
(a picture of Madjid; a picture made by Madjid; a picture belonging to Madjid)

If two genitives with different meanings modify the same noun, their order is fixed: the genitive of possessor precedes the genitive of author. Unlike the recursive possessive phrases shown above, such phrases can have multiple direct genitives. For example, in (112b), the noun phrase is grammatical in the irrelevant meaning “the novel by the teacher that belongs to Tolstoy,” and (112c) could mean something bizarre like “the novel by Tolstoy who belongs to the teacher.”

(112) a. učitel-e-s Tolstoy-a-s roman
teacher-OS-GEN1 Tolstoy-OS-GEN1 novel.ABS.II
‘the/a novel by Tolstoy that belongs to the teacher’
b. *Tolstoy-a-s učitel-e-s roman
Tolstoy-OS-GEN1 teacher-OS-GEN1 novel.ABS.II
‘the/a novel by Tolstoy that belongs to the teacher’
c. *učitel-e-z Tolstoy-a-s roman
teacher-OS-GEN2 Tolstoy-OS-GEN1 novel.ABS.II
‘the/a novel by Tolstoy that belongs to the teacher’

7.2 Adnominal genitive in the function of attributive modifier

A genitive can denote the source or material from which the referent of the head noun is made; for example:

(113) a. micxir-yo-s aka
silver-OS-GEN1 bracelet.ABS.III
‘a silver bracelet’
b. gere-s t’as
iron-GEN1 washbasin.ABS.III
‘an iron washbasin’
c. noxu-s ƛ’uˤ
straw-GEN1 roof.ABS.III
‘a straw-covered roof’
Such noun phrases can co-occur with a preceding genitive denoting possessor, with fixed order as discussed in section 5.1: the possessor genitive must precede the other genitive:

(114) a. [zair-e-s] [micxir-yo-s] aka
    Zaira-OS-GEN1 silver-OS-GEN1 bracelet.ABS.III
    ‘Zaira’s silver bracelet’

  b. *[micxir-yo-s] [zair-e-s] aka
      silver-OS-GEN1 Zaira-OS-GEN1 bracelet.ABS.III

(115) a. [dä-z xex-za-s] [ɣun-o-s] q’uti
    1SG-GEN2 child-OS-GEN1 tree-OS-GEN1 box.ABS.IV
    ‘my children’s wooden box’

  b. *ɣun-o-s dä-z xex-za-s q’uti
      tree-OS-GEN1 1SG-GEN2 child-OS-GEN1 box.ABS.IV

In the proverb in (116), the two possessor genitive phrases are expressed by substantivized participial constructions, and the genitives immediately preceding the head noun *dunyal* denote material:

(116) [B-od-a käƛ’i-ru-za-s] [hiso-s] dunyal,
    III-do-INF learn-PST.PTCP-PL.OS-GEN1 wool-GEN1 world.ABS.III

[b-ac’-a käƛ’i-ru-za-s] [rili-s] dunyal.
    III-eat.TR-INF learn-PST.PTCP-PL.OS-GEN1 butter-GEN1 world.ABS.III

‘Nothing ventured, nothing gained.’ (lit.: the ones who learn how to make (things) get the woolen [–rich] world; the ones who learn how to eat get the butter world)

7.3 Measure phrases

There are no special constructions for measure phrases. Most of the things that normally fall into this category are expressed in Tsez by a noun phrase where the head noun, denoting unit or measure, follows the genitive form of the noun denoting the measured/quantified substance:

(117) substance-GEN unit-of-measure
    MODIFIER HEAD NOUN

For example:

The Russian version of “The Wizard of Oz” was known as *Volšebnik izumrudnogo goroda* (“The Wizard from the Emerald City”), and the corresponding Tsez equivalent proudly exhibits its multiple genitive 1s:

(i) izumrud-e-s šahar-yo-s šeyx
    emerald-OS-GEN1 city-OS-GEN1 wizard.ABS.1
This is the main strategy for encoding container measures, weights, or units of mass nouns such as sand or rice. Genitive measure phrases can be used interchangeably with equative phrases, where the measure/quantity appears as the equative modifier of the noun that denotes the substance being measured. Thus:

(119) \[ \text{unit-of-measure-EQUATIVE} \quad \text{substance-GEN} \]
\[ \quad \text{MODIFIER} \quad \text{HEAD NOUN} \]

The minimal pair in (120) and (121) illustrates these two patterns; (120) is a measure phrase patterned on (117), and (121) is patterned on (119):

(120) bix-e-s \quad q’og
\text{grass/hay-OS-GEN1} \quad \text{armful.ABS.IV}
‘an armful of hay’

(121) q’og-ce bix
\text{armful-EQUAT} \text{grass/hay.ABS.IV}
‘an armful of hay’
The following two examples illustrate a genitive phrase (122) and an equative modifier (123) producing the same measure phrase. The difference in the head nouns is reflected in agreement; in (122), the head noun is the unit of measure (‘cup’), modified by the genitive with a relative clause attached; in (123), it is the substance (‘blood’), which has two separate modifiers, the relative clause and the equative modifier:

(122) [[[Dä-z lagi-l-äy b-ołäx-ru] iyo-s] zok’i]
1SG-GEN2 body-CONT-ABL III-appear-PST.PTCP blood-GEN1 mug.ABS.IV
GENITIVE MODIFIER HEAD NOUN
lagi-q r-ihi-näy…
body-POSS.ESS IV-put-COND
‘If you spread a cup of blood from my body on your body…’

(123) [[[Dä-z lagi-l-äy b-ołäx-ru] [zok’i-ce] iyo]
1SG-GEN2 body-CONT-ABL III-appear-PST.PTCP mug-EQUAT blood.ABS.III
RELATIVE CLAUSE MODIFIER EQU.MODIFIER HEAD NOUN
lagi-q b-ihi-näy…
body-POSS.ESS III-put-COND
‘If you spread a cup of blood from my body on your body… ’ (ʕAliqilič:80)

The equative measure construction is used to denote abstract expressions of amount; such abstract expressions never appear in the genitive. Compare the following examples, which include expressions of distance (124) or time (125):

(124) a. Ḥalt’uqan-z-ä q’ano kilometra-ce ec’no huni worker-PL.OS-ERG two kilometer.ABS-EQUAT new road.ABS.IV
r-oy-s.
IV-do-PST.WIT
‘The workers built two kilometers of the new road.’
b. *Ḥalt’uqan-z-ä ec’no huni-s q’ano kilometra worker-PL.OS-ERG new road-GEN1 two kilometer
r-oy-s.
IV-do-PST.WIT
(125) a. T’o fora saʕat-yā-ce halt’i (yol).
here three.OBL hour-IN.ESS-EQUAT work.ABS.III be.PRS
‘There are three hours of work here.’
b. *T’o halt’i-s fono saʕat (yol).
here work-GEN1 three hour.ABS.III be.PRS

The following examples illustrate the use of the equative construction for amount expressions:

(126) ʕAli Ø-āš-ru-(li)-ce Ø-iš-a k’w’eze Ali.ABS.1 I-eat.INTR-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-EQUAT I-eat-INF.ABS.IV be able
r-äq dä-q.
IV-become.FUT 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘I can eat as much as Ali ate.’ (lit.: it is possible for me to eat…)
‘Yesterday he drank as much as Ali did on Sunday.’

7.4 Genitive forms of numerals

Genitive forms of numerals mainly combined with head nouns to express properties: figure/number, date, or size. For example:

(128) a. bišomr-a-s tarix
tarix
hundred-OS-GEN1 number.ABS.II
‘the number 100’ (lit.: the number of one hundred)
b. išlr-a-s surat
six-OS-GEN1 picture.ABS.II
‘the image of 6’ (lit.: six’s image)
c. q’unaqur-a-z razmer-a-de
forty-OS-GEN2 size-OS-APUD.ESS
‘about size forty’

8 Nouns taking clausal complements

Head nouns such as ‘news’, ‘story’, ‘rumor’,10 ‘claim’, ‘fact’, ‘suggestion’, and so on can take complement clauses; such nouns often but not always correspond to equivalent complement-clause-taking verbs. Clausal complements to nouns can be encoded in two main ways. First, finite clausal complement may be introduced by the quotative enclitic –ƛin (see the chapter on nominalizations for details). For example,

(129) [ža gulu-ƛ’ zow-no-ƛin] xabar
DEM.ABS horse-SUPER.ESS climb-PST.nWIT-QUOT story
‘the story/news that s/he rode a horse’

(130) [t’ok’ow b-ik’aičin-ƛin] r-exu-x-anu-si roži
any.more III-go-FUT.NEG-QUOT IV-die-PRS.NEG-ATTR word
‘the firm (lit.: undying) promise that it [the rooster] won’t go there anymore’
(Onočun mamalayn:24)

Such complements are possible but quite rare. One should be careful not to confuse them with quotative complements of complex verbs consisting of a nominal component such as ‘promise’, ‘word’, ‘thought’ plus a light verb. Complements of nouns cannot be separated from the head noun by material that does not belong in the same noun phrase. For instance, in (130), both the

10 These three meanings are expressed by the common Tsez noun, xabar. In the glosses, we indicate the translation that is most appropriate in a given context.
complement clause and the modifier *rexuxanusi* ‘undying’ belong to the head noun *roži*. By contrast, complement clauses selected by verbs can be dislocated from the head. In (131), the complement clause introduced by the enclitic –ƛin is separated from the noun *roži* by the ergative subject, which indicates that this clause is a complement of the complex verb *roži teł*- ‘promise’.

(131) [Xexbi r-odi-näy mi āłi-ru-∅ di-n children.ABS.nIPL nIPL-do-COND 2SG.ERG say-PST.PTCP-ABS.IV 1SG.ERG-TOP r-od-ān-ƛin] xedi-y-ā-n roži teł-no. IV-do-FUT.DEF-QUOT husband-OS-ERG-TOP word.ABS.IV give-PST.nWIT

‘If we have children, I will do what you say,’ the husband promised.’ (Hasanno Ḥusenno:7)

A much more common way of expressing a complement to a nominal head is through a nominalized participial clause, which attaches to the noun by a genitive, just as nominal modifiers do (see section 5).

Two participles can appear as predicates in nominalized clausal complements: the past participle in –ru and the present participle in –xosi. These participles also appear as predicates of relative clauses (see the chapter on relative clauses). A noun complement clause with a past participial predicate has the final nominalizer –li (which can be omitted; see the chapter on complement clauses, section 5). The nominalized participial clause appears in the genitive, attached to the head noun. Whether or not the nominalizer is used, Tsez treats the resulting structure as a noun phrase; this suggests that (132a) is just an abbreviated version of (132b), with the nominalizer -li omitted. The omission of the linking genitive after the suffix -li is impossible, as shown in (132b):

(132) a. [xalq’i-mo-r mesed b-āsrul]s xabar people-OS-LAT gold.ABS.III III-find-PST.PTCP-GEN1 news

b. [xalq’i-mo-r mesed b-āsrul]-*(s) xabar people-OS-LAT gold.ABS.III III-find-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN1 news ‘the news/story that the people found gold’

(133) [Yodu qaca r-ay-ēr-ru]-s kayat DEM firewood.ABS.IV IV-come-CAUS-PST.PTCP-GEN1 letter.ABS.II neł. elu-ᵣ. give.IMPER 1SG-LAT

‘Give us a letter that we brought you this firewood.’ (Shaitli dialect, from İmnajšvili 1963:236)

If the nominalizer is not used, judgments on the acceptability of the non-genitive-linked variant are unclear; compare (132a, b) and (134).

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11 The order shown here is preferred, given that the complement clause is the longer segment, and such segments tend to appear at the left edge of the noun phrase (see section 9). Still, the opposite order, with the attributive modifier preceding the complement clause, is also possible.
(134) xalq’i-mo-r  mesed  b-äsrü  xabar
   people-OS-LAT  gold.ABS.III  III-find-PST.PTCP  news
   ‘the news that the people found gold’

As with other genitive dependents of nouns, the genitive here shows case concord with the head
noun; compare (132a, b), where the head noun is in the absolutive, and (135), where it is in an
oblique case:

(135) xalq’i-mo-r  mesed  b-äsruli-z  xabar-yo-l
   people-OS-LAT  gold.ABS.III  III-find-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN2 news-OS-CONT.ESS
   ‘in the news/in the story that the people found gold’

If the predicate of the complement clause is a present participle,
it can also combine with the
nominalizing suffix –lı. In such instances, the participle must appear in the oblique form, with
the suffix –z(o)–, as shown below. Note that in (136), the complement-taking noun xabar is in the
absolutive but only the oblique form of the participle is allowed. This morphological property
sets complement clauses apart from relative clauses with the present-participial predicate; in the
latter, the participle can appear in the direct form in –si if the head noun is in the absolutive. The
substantival clause in –zo(-lı) is attached to the head noun by the genitive:

(136) a. yedu kamanda  putbol-ye-r  b-eži-xo-(si-)s  xabar
   DEM team.ABS.IPL football-OS-LAT  IPL-win-PRS-ATTR.OS-NMLZ-GEN1 news
   ‘the news of this team winning in football’
   b. *yedu kamanda  putbol-ye-r  b-eži-xo-si-(si-)s  xabar

The similarity between relative clauses and complement clauses is well known cross-
linguistically, and for some languages, it is possible that only one type of clause is used (see
Matsumoto 1988, 1997 for be similar proposal concerning a potential syntactic identity between
relative clauses and complement clauses in Japanese). In Tsez, however, the two types of clauses
may be similar, but they are not identical.

9    Appositives

Appositive phrases are composed of two noun phrases, one of which expands or clarifies the
meaning of the other, as in the English you travelers or we the linguists... We will refer to the
identified portion (you, we in the English example) as the “antecedent”, and the noun phrase that
expands its meaning (travelers, the linguists in the English example) as the “identifier”.

In Tsez appositive phrases, the antecedent appears in the absolutive, and the identifier appears in
the case determined by its function in the clause. For example, in (137), eli is the antecedent, and
q’iunel, the identifier; in (138), we find two appositive phrases, one in the ergative case (dey
y’iway walizā), the other in the absolutive (visi uži ‘ısa).

12 As in (131), the suffix li can be omitted.
‘This unnecessary thing has happened between the two of us.’

‘My dog, Wali, bit this boy, Isa.’

10 **Coordination of nouns**

Below, we will be using the term ‘coordinate structure’ to refer to a combination of two or more nouns linked by ‘and’ (conjunction) or ‘or’ (disjunction). Nouns in a coordinate structure can be expressed in any of the previously identified nominal forms: by a pronoun, by a head noun preceded by various modifiers, or by a nominalized verb phrase. Neither of the coordination strategies described below is exclusive to noun phrases; they are also used to coordinate adjectival phrases, adverbial phrases, and postpositional phrases, but not finite verbs.

Nominal coordinate structures with the conjunction ‘and’ are produced by appending the postnominal affix –*(n)o* to each coordinated element. Two or more nouns, or noun phrases, can be coordinated in this manner, provided that –*(n)o* is repeated on each coordinate (see also examples (29), (68)-(71), and (77)).

As (138)-(143) show, coordination with –*(n)o* is the same regardless of the grammatical form of the noun phrase, as it attaches to all case forms as well as to forms with the equative markers –*ce* and -*q’ay*. The coordinating particle always follows the case marker and other markers.
Disjunction is expressed by the particle *ya*, which precedes each subconstituent of the disjunction:

(144) a. *ya di ya ža
   or 1SG.ABS or DEM.ABS
   ‘either I or s/he’ (absolutive)

   b. *ya eni-y-ā ya babi-y-ā
   or mother-OS-ERG or father-OS-ERG
   ‘either Mother or Father’ (ergative)

   c. *ya lā-d ya sap’on-yo-d
   or water-INS or soap-OS-INS
   ‘either with water or with soap’

As these examples demonstrate, the cases of the conjoined nouns must match; indeed, non-matching cases are not allowed in coordinate structures, regardless of whether the nouns are linked with ‘and’ or with ‘or’. Consider the following ungrammatical examples.

(145) a. *ya eniw ya babi-y-ā
   or mother.ABS.II or father-OS-ERG
   (‘either Mother or Father’)

   b. *eni-y-ā-n babiw-no
   mother-OS-ERG-and father.ABS.I-and
   (‘Mother and Father’)

   c. *ʕali-r-no maduhal-qo-n
   Ali-LAT-and neighbor-POSS.ESS-and
   (‘to Ali and the neighbor’)

   d. *bahadur-no ray-μo-l-no
   brave man.ABS.I-and battle-OS-CONT.ESS-and
   (‘a hero and in the midst of battle’)

Example (145c) is particularly instructive: both lative and poss-essive case can be used to denote recipients (the difference between the two is determined by the permanence of the transfer — permanent transfer is associated with a lative recipient; temporary transfer with a poss-essive recipient), yet despite performing the same role in the clause, the two nouns cannot be combined in a coordinate structure. Additionally, example (145d) shows that, although postpositional phrases and some adverbial phrases can be coordinated (see also data in the chapter on adverbial phrase) noun phrases do not easily coordinate with either of these categories.

However, the identity requirement for nominal cases inside a coordinate structure only holds true for the core argument cases (absolutive, ergative, genitive, and lative). For cases outside this set, nouns in non-matching forms may conjoin. For example:

(146) ɣʕutk-o-q-no  bay-μo-x-āz-a-n
   house-OS-POSS.ESS-and  orchard-OS-AD-DISTAL-IN.ESS-and
   ‘around the house and behind the orchard’
This suggests a fundamental difference between core argument cases and spatial forms; the latter conjoin like adpositions rather than nouns (note that the English equivalents, which contain PPs, are also grammatical).

Within a coordinate structure, the leftmost noun binds the nouns on its right but not vice versa. A reflexive or personal pronoun with the focus enclitic –tow or the contrastive enclitic –gon cannot occur on the leftmost noun within a coordination.13 These facts suggest that coordination in Tsez is asymmetrical, with the first conjunct binding any subsequent one(s).

(147) šahar-y-āy-no ḍāḥ-ā-yor-no
city-OS-IN.ABL-and village-IN-VERS-and
‘away from the city and into the village’

(148) a. ḡwāy-no nelā-s k’uci-bi-n
dog.ABS.III-and DEM.nI-GEN1 puppy-PL.ABS.nIPL-and
‘a/the dogi and its/ik puppies’
b. ḡwāy-no nelā-s-tow/nelā nelā-s
dog.ABS.III-and DEM.nI-GEN1-FOC/REFL nI-GEN1
k’uci-bi-n
puppy-PL.ABS.nIPL-and
‘a/the dogi and itsi puppies’
c. nelā-s k’uci-bi-n ḡwāy-no
DEM.nI-GEN1 puppy-PL.ABS.nIPL-and dog.ABS.III-and
‘its/ik puppies and a/the dogi’
d. *nelā nelā-s k’uci-bi-n ḡwāy-no
REFL nI-GEN1 puppy-PL.ABS.nIPL-and dog.ABS.III-and

(149) a. xan-no nesi-s-gon ḍono uži-n
king.ABS.I-and DEM.I-GEN1-CONTR.TOP three boy.ABS.I-and
‘the king and his three sons’ (the title of a fairy tale)
b. *nesi-s-gon ḍono uži-n xan-no
DEM.I-GEN1-CONTR.TOP three boy.ABS.I-and king.ABS.I-and

(150) a. ya sult’an ya nesi-s esiw
or Sultan.ABS.1 or DEM.I-GEN1 sibling-ABS.(I)
‘Sultani or hisi/k brother’
b. ya sult’an ya nesi-s-tow/nesä nesi-s esiw
or Sultan.ABS.1 or DEM.I-GEN1-FOC/REFL.I-GEN sibling-ABS.(I)
‘Sultani or hisi brother’
c. ya nesi-s esiw ya sult’an
or DEM.I-GEN1 sibling-ABS.(I) or Sultan.ABS.1
‘his/i brother or Sultan’
d. *ya nesä nesi-s esiw ya sult’an
or REFL.I-GEN sibling-ABS.(I) or Sultan.ABS.1

13 For details on dedicated reflexives and reflexive interpretations induced by the focus enclitic –tow, see CH. YY[BINDING].
11 Order of elements inside a noun phrase

Aside from demonstratives, genitives, and the various attributive forms described above, a head noun can also be modified by a relative clause. A detailed discussion of relative clauses is presented in a separate chapter; here we concern ourselves only with the order of the various modifiers inside a noun phrase. The typical order of modifiers in Tsez is fairly consistent with the order of adjectives proposed for adjectival hierarchies cross-linguistically (Dixon 1982; Sproat and Shih 1991; Cinque 1994), thus:

(151) Value > Size > Shape > Age > Color > Provenance > Purpose

The order shown in (151) is more of a tendency than a rigid hierarchy. Compare the following example, where the denotation of provenance can appear in at least two positions without a detectable difference in intonation:

(152) a. xiriyaw r-e gelameču cibaru expensive IV-small round worn-out
c’uda-ni itali-ya-s ɣˤanaza-s ɣˤanta
red-DEF Italy-OS-GEN1 women-GEN1 bag.ABS.IV
b. itali-ya-s xiriyaw r-e gelameču cibaru
    Italy-OS-GEN1 expensive IV-small round worn-out
c’uda-ni ɣˤanaza-s ɣˤanta
red-DEF women-GEN1 bag.ABS.IV
‘an expensive small old round Italian-made red women’s purse’

Of course, such heavily attributive expressions are rare; in naturally occurring discourse, one normally encounters a noun phrase with fewer modifiers.14

If a noun phrase includes a demonstrative and other modifiers, the demonstrative always appears at the left edge, even if the noun phrase includes a relative clause:

(153) a. yedu xiriyaw mašina DEM expensive car.ABS.III
    ‘this expensive car’
b. *xiriyaw yedu mašina

(154) a. yisi Tolstoy-ä cäx-ru(-ni) lena y-exora t’ek
    DEM Tolstoy-ERG write-PST.PTCP-DEF five II-long book.ABS.II
    ‘these five long books written by Tolstoy’
b. *Tolstoy-ä cäx-ru(-ni) yisi lena y-exora t’ek
Tolstoy-ERG write-PST.PTCP-DEF this five II-long book.ABS.II

Relative clauses typically appear before other modifiers but after demonstratives (see also special cases discussed in section 3.7.1). Consider the following examples:

14 See sections 7.1 and 7.2 above for the relative order of some genitive forms.
These tendencies in precedence are probably due to the size of the respective modifiers; as noted above, in general, longer modifiers tend to precede shorter ones, as shown by the following example where two adjectival phrases precede the numeral sis ‘one’:

(157) [xizor šila-bí  yoł-äsi, k’iri his-no backward horn-PL.ABS.nIPL be.PRS-RES above spring.wool.ABS.IV-and r-aq‘-äsi] sis mił‘i IV-appear-RES.PTCP one ram.ABS.III ‘one ram, with horns rolled in backwards and covered with newly grown wool’

(‘Aliqilič: 18)
Discontinuous noun phrases are possible, but subject to several constraints that we outline below. For ease of exposition, we present two types of discontinuity separately: discontinuous genitives expressing possessor, and discontinuous attributive modifiers (demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, relative clauses).

### 12.1 Discontinuous adnominal genitive

Possessor genitives (in contrast to other genitive relations, discussed in section 5 above) can be separated from the head noun. Such discontinuity is dispreferred, but is not judged ungrammatical. It seems to be associated with a specific pragmatic context, namely contrastiveness of the genitive referent, which is why it is most accepted in contexts where such a contrast is made explicit, as in (161b):

(161) a. Neγwāy-ā [pat’i-s k’et’u] ħan-si.  
   Fatima-GEN1 cat.ABS.III bite-PST.WIT  
   ‘This dog bit Fatima’s cat.’  

b. [Pat’i-s] neγwāy-ā [k’et’u-n] ħan-no  
   Fatima-GEN1 cat.ABS.III-and bite-CVB  
   [ʕali-z k’e’t’u-q] moļu ħi-s.  
   Ali-GEN2 cat-POSS.ESS nail/claw.ABS.II II-put-PST.WIT  
   ‘Fatima’s cat, this dog bit, and Ali’s cat, it scratched.’

(162) a. [ʕali-s kid-ba-bi] bercinaw yoł.  
   Ali-GEN1 beautiful be.PRS  
   ‘Ali’s daughters are beautiful.’

b. [ʕali-s] bercinaw yoł [kid-ba-bi].  
   Ali-GEN1 beautiful be.PRS daughter-OS-ABS.nIPL  
   ‘Ali’s daughters are beautiful.’

It is important to distinguish this type of discontinuity from constructions with external possessors expressed by the genitive, as in the example below (see also the chapter on basic clause types). In the external possessive construction, the genitive and the noun phrase associated with it do not form a constituent. This construction is limited to a small set of intransitive unaccusative predicates (‘be’, ‘stay’, ‘become’). Discontinuous noun phrases, on the other hand, appear in clauses with all kinds of predicates.

(163) [Pat’i-s] idu [k’et’u] yoł.  
   Fatima-GEN1 at.home cat.ABS.III be.PRS  
   ‘Fatima has a cat at home.’

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15 Here and below, the relevant continuous and discontinuous constituents are shown in square brackets.
‘Ali had beautiful daughters.’

The discontinuity illustrated in (161b) and (162b) is subject to further restrictions. First, the displacement is unidirectional; the genitive has to precede the head noun it is separated from. Compare the grammatical example in (161b) to the ungrammatical discontinuity in the following example:

(165) *[k’et’u-n] nela γˤlay-ā [pat’imat-is] han-no …
cat.ABS.III-and DEM.nl dog-ERG Fatima-GEN1 bite-CVB

Second, the genitive can separate from the head noun only if that noun appears in one of the core cases: absolutive or ergative. Compare the following two clauses:

(166) a. *[Neła kid-be-z] t’ek [maduhal-ā] y-is-si.
   DEM.nl girl-OS-GEN2 book.ABS.II neighbor-ERG II-take-PST.WIT
   ‘This girl’s neighbor took the book.’
   b. **[Neła kid-be-z] t’ek [maduhal-q-āy] y-is-o.
   DEM.nl girl-OS-GEN2 book.ABS.II neighbor-POSS-ABL II-take-IMPER
   (‘Take the book from this girl’s neighbor.’)

One could hypothesize that the latter restriction is related to the difference between genuine cases, which are licensed by the verb, and cases introduced by an adposition present in the structure. Discontinuity, which is a case of subextraction, is only possible with verb-licensed noun phrases, where no adposition intervenes to block the extraction. However, the power of this explanation is complicated by the behavior of noun phrases in the lative. As we discuss in Ch. YY [Cases], lative is one of the spatial cases, and it combines freely with spatial forms indicating a given reference point (in-lative, super-lative, etc.). It can also combine directly with a noun, in which case it resembles the dative of more familiar languages, expressing a recipient or experient. When the lative-marked noun phrase denotes a recipient or experiencer, the discontinuity discussed in this section becomes marginally possible. Thus:

(167) a. ʕAl-ā [esiw-z qizanyo-r] γˤutku r-oy-s.
   Ali-ERG sibling-GEN2 family-LAT house.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.WIT
   ‘Ali built a house for his sibling’s family.’
   sibling-GEN2 Ali-ERG family-LAT house.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.WIT
   ‘Ali built a house for his sibling’s family.’

We are inclined to take this data point with caution, given that the judgment is marginal. However, the discontinuity in (167) may indicate that the Tsez lative form is gradually turning into an argument case in situations where it marks experiencer, goal, and recipient (and appears without any spatial marking). In these cases, the lative may possibly be licensed directly by a relevant predicate (such as predicates of transfer and some psychological state predicates); see Comrie and Polisky (1998) for similar considerations. Meanwhile, the lative that participates in the spatial system still remains very much a spatial case, licensed by an adposition. If this
hypothesis is on the right track, then a historically single case form is developing into two distinct yet homophonous case markers in the modern language. The permeability of lative-dative noun phrases to sub-scrambling, illustrated in (167b), then provides a counterexample to the idea that all experiencer noun phrases are licensed by an adposition (Landau 2010). If a universal experiencer-licensing adposition were present, we would incorrectly expect (167b) to be ungrammatical.

Discontinuous noun phrases are also possible when the genitive modifies the noun that is part of a complex predicate. For example, the intransitive predicate rok’u roƛ- ‘worry about someone/something’ consists of the noun rok’u ‘heart’ and the verb AGR-ơƛ- ‘be ill’. The experiencer is encoded by the genitive modifying rok’u and the stimulus appears in the ad-essive form. The genitive experiencer can be separated from rok’u, as in (168c):

(168) a. Uži-x [eniw-s rok’u] r-ơƛ-xo.
   boy-AD.ESS mother-GEN1 heart.ABS.IV IV-be.ill-PRS
   b. [Eniwi-s rok’u] r-ơƛ-xo uži-x.
   mother-GEN1 heart.ABS.IV IV-be.ill-PRS boy-AD.ESS
   mother-GEN1 boy-AD.ESS heart.ABS.IV IV-be.ill-PRS
   ‘Mother worries about the boy (son).’

In (169), the discontinuous genitive is separated from the absolutive object, which forms a complex transitive predicate with the light verb AGR-ơd- ‘do’:

(169) a. Xalq’i-m-ä [b-eże-t’a-ni-za-s hurmat ]
   people-OS-ERG I PL-old-DISTR-DEF- PL.OS-GEN1 respect.ABS.III
   b-øy-x.
   III-do-PRS
   ‘People respect seniors.’ (lit.: do the elders’ respect)
   b. [B-eże-t’a-ni-za-s] xalq’i-m-ä [hurmat]
   I PL-old-DISTR-DEF- PL.OS-GEN1 people-OS-ERG respect.ABS.III
   b-øy-x.
   III-do-PRS
   ‘People respect seniors.’

12.2 Other prenominal modifiers in discontinuous phrases

Prenominal modifiers other than the genitive of possession can also be separated from the head noun; candidates include demonstratives, adjectives, participial relative clauses, and numerals — i.e., the class of attributive modifiers. For example:

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16 See Ch. YY [ARG STR] for many more similar examples.
The weather is/has become good.

(He) saw a/the snake going up a tree. (based on QAliqilič:109)

Once upon a time, there was a fox sitting under a tree. (Qลำnán, zirun:1)

A rich man’s son day after day continued to wither away. (Allahes ašuni:12)

Just as we saw with discontinuous possessive phrases, we observe restrictions on discontinuity in attributive phrases. First, the displacement is unidirectional; the modifier has to precede the head noun it has separated from. Compare the grammatical example in (172) and the ungrammatical discontinuity in the following example:

Once upon a time, there was a fox sitting under a tree.

Second, the genitive can separate from the head noun only if that noun appears in the absolutive or ergative, or possibly the lative, case. Compare the following examples; as (175b) indicates, the sentence is grammatical when the noun phrase is contiguous:

Additionally, there seems to be a preference for light modifiers in discontinuous phrases, although as the examples above attest, longer constituents can be displaced as well.

It is possible that discontinuous modifiers have become reinforced under influence from Russian, where discontinuous adjectival modifiers are quite common (see Zemskaja 1979; 2004; Fanselow and Féry in press). For example, the questions with discontinuous noun phrases below might be direct calques from the Russian question shown in (178b), or they might simply be coming into wider use under the influence of a comparable Russian structure. They still stand out; generally, Tsez does not permit discontinuity in wh-questions (see the chapter discussing interrogative clauses).

(176) a. Sasaq [didiw hawa-baq] r-oq-xosi (yol)?

tommorow what weather.ABS.IV iv-become-PRS.PTCP be.PRS
b. Sasaq [didiw]r-oq-xosi (yol) [hawa=baq]? tomorrow what IV-become-ABS.PRS.PTCP be.PRS weather.ABS.IV
   ‘What will the weather be like tomorrow?’

(177) a. [Didiw γudi] yaq‘ul (yol)?
    what day.ABS.IV today be.PRS
    ‘What day is it today?’

b. [Didiw] yaq‘uł yol [γudi]?
    what today be.PRS day.ABS.IV
    ‘What day is it today?’

(178) a. [Kakoj den’] segondja? Russian
    what.ATTR.NOM day.NOM today
    ‘What day is it today?’

b. [Kakoj] segondja [den’]?
    what.ATTR.NOM today day.NOM
    ‘What day is it today?’

In conclusion, Tsez nouns phrases can include attributive or genitive-marked modifiers as well as modifying relative clauses. Noun phrases are strictly head-final, but the order of elements in the prenominal domain is not rigidly fixed. Discontinuous noun phrases are possible, but their distribution is constrained by the case of the head noun and the relative order of dislocated material: heads cannot precede their dependents. Within a noun phrase, we find grammatical marking for definiteness (on attributive modifiers), distributive marking, and case concord; this results in a situation where some (not all) modifiers appear either in a direct form (when the head noun is in the absolutive case) or an oblique form (when the head is in any other form).
Nominalizations

1 General remarks

In this chapter, we will consider deverbal nominal expressions, which include deverbal nouns in –ni, deverbal nouns in –si/-zo (derived from participles), infinitives, masdars, and clausal nominalizations in –li. These expressions appear in the same positions as noun phrases (with individual differences in the distribution that we will discuss below) and internally all have the strict head-final order, with the predicate in the final position. Regardless of the details of their derivation, all deverbal nouns belong to gender IV, which is the gender for many abstract expressions. All the nominalizations discussed in this chapter can be coordinated in the same manner as simple nouns: with the enclitic –n(o) on each constituents for conjunction, and the proclitic yā on each constituent for disjunction. Such coordination is impossible for verbs proper—compare the coordination of masdars in (1) with the attempted coordination of finite verbs in (2b):

(1) ža berten-yo-l-er goł’-ani-x-no
DEM.ABS(I) wedding-OS-CONT-LAT invite-MASD-AD.ESS-and
Ø-ay-ir-ani-x-no
I-come-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS-and
‘to invite him to the wedding and to bring (him there)’

(2) a. ğAl-ā ža berten-yo-l-er goł’i-n
Ali-ERG DEM.ABS(I) wedding-OS-CONT-LAT invite-PFV.CVB
Ø-ay-ir-si.
I-come-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘Ali invited him to the wedding and brought (him there).’ (lit.: having invited to the wedding, brought)
b. *ğAl-ā ža berten-yo-l-er goł’i-s-no
Ali-ERG DEM.ABS(I) wedding-OS-CONT-LAT invite-PST.WIT-and
Ø-ay-ir-si-n.
I-come-CAUS-PST.WIT-and

The expression of verbal arguments differs across nominalizations. For deverbal nouns in –ni and nominalized attributive forms in –si/-zo, the arguments inside the noun phrase have to appear in the genitive. All the other nominalizations preserve the argument case-marking of the verbs from which they derive; in other words, there is no difference between case encoding in these nominalizations and the corresponding finite clauses.

2 Deverbal nouns in –ni

Deverbal nouns in –ni can be formed only from intransitive verbs, and their sole argument, if expressed, must appear in the genitive. This argument corresponds to the absolutive subject of the verbal base. Compare the intransitive sentence in (3) and the corresponding deverbal noun in (4):

(3) ža berten-yo-l-er goł’-ani-x-no
DEM.ABS(I) wedding-OS-CONT-LAT invite-MASD-AD.ESS-and
Ø-ay-ir-ani-x-no
I-come-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS-and
‘to invite him to the wedding and to bring (him there)’

(4) ža berten-yo-l-er goł’-ani-x-no
DEM.ABS(I) wedding-OS-CONT-LAT invite-MASD-AD.ESS-and
Ø-ay-ir-ani-x-no
I-come-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS-and
‘to invite him to the wedding and to bring (him there)’
The limitation of deverbal nouns to a subset of intransitives is not unique to Tsez. For instance, some Salish languages show a division between the nominalization of intransitive verbs (occurring with the sole argument expressed as possessor) and the nominalization of transitive and ditransitive verbs, which exhibit a sentential linking pattern (cf. Kuipers 1974:41-43 for Shuswap, and Kroeber 1999: Ch. 3 for the family in general).

Deverbal nouns in –ni can be modified by adjectives but not by adverbs. In (5), the verb leynad- ‘condition oneself (physically), get fit’ occurs with the adverb AGR-ig ‘well’, but the corresponding deverbal noun takes the adjective AGR-igu ‘good’, as in (6). Note also that the adverb in (5) agrees with the absolutive argument in gender, while the adjective in (6) agrees with the deverbal noun.

(5) Uži Ø-ig łeynay-x.
    boy.ABS.1 I-well condition-PRS
    ‘The boy exercises a great deal.’
(6) uži-s r-igu/*Ø-ig/*r-ig łey-ni
    boy-GEN1 IV-good/I-well/IV-well condition-DVB
    ‘the boy’s good exercising

If a noun is derived from an agreeing verb, the agreement is retained from the corresponding finite clause. For instance,

(7) a. Gulu b-eynay-x.
    horse.ABS.III III-work-PRS
    ‘The/A horse works/is working.’
b. Gulu-bi r-eynay-x.
    horse-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-work-PRS
    ‘(The) horses are working.’
(8) a. gulú-s b-ey-ni
    horse-GEN1 III-work-DVB
    ‘the/a horse’s work/working’
b. gulú-za-s r-ey-ni
    horse-PL.OS-GEN1 nIPL-work-DVB
    ‘(the) horses’ work/working’

Even if a deverbal noun agrees with the erstwhile absolutive in a gender other than IV, as in (8a), its own gender is fixed as IV.
Derivation with –ni is quite productive, but some intransitive verbs are considered awkward with this suffix. The main restriction has to do with whether the underlying verb is process denoting or result denoting (cf. Grimshaw 1990). If a process interpretation is readily available for the intransitive verb in question, the -ni nominalization is judged acceptable; if a process interpretation is dispreferred, such nominalizations are rejected. For example, deverbal nouns from verbs such as ‘die’, ‘come’, ‘appear’, ‘become’, or ‘find’ are considered incongruous. However, if the process interpretation can be contextually forced, the respective nominalizations become more acceptable. Consider the following example:

(9) ?nesi-s r-exora nex-ni
    DEM.I-GEN1 IV-long come-DVB
    ‘his long arrival’

Because of this requirement for a process interpretation, deverbal nouns formed from iterative verbs with the suffix –nad- are particularly common (compare AGR-eyni and leyni above), although the suffix itself is never preserved in the nominalization. This, in turn may create an impression that ni- nominalizations are limited to unergative verbs (see CH. YY[Basic clause types]), but as we just noted, the main restriction is that the nominalization must have an event/process interpretation, which is orthogonal to unaccusativity. Unaccusative predicates that denote durative events, such as quq- ‘dry’, at’il- ‘become wet’, lico- ‘mix’, AGR-izi ‘rise’, permit nominalization with –ni. For instance:

(10) šeƛ’u-s quq-ni
clothes-GEN1 dry-DVB
    ‘the clothes’ drying’
(11) cement-e-s lico-ni
cement-OS-GEN1 mix-DVB
    ‘cement’s being prepared’ (lit.: mixing)
(12) magalu-s b-ƛaƛo-ni
    bread-GEN1 III-become.stale-DVB
    ‘bread’s staling, getting stale’

A large number of deverbal nouns with –ni denote sounds, and the nominalization process can be used productively to create new sound-denoting words. The most common nouns in –ni and their corresponding verbs are listed below. In (13), we show verbs with meanings other than sound emission, while (14) presents sound-emission examples. In all these instances, the derivation is based on the verbal root, with suffixes (–nad-, -ƛad-, or ƛ-) omitted. Root-final w undergoes a change to p before -ni; cf. hapni and napni below.

(13) AGR-et'- ‘tear away’      AGR-et-ni ‘tearing away, escape’
     hahαƛad- ‘scratch oneself’      haha-ni ‘scratching’
     laxλ-/lahλ- ‘move, shake’      lah-ni ‘trembling, fear’
     zeq’ƛ- ‘twitch’
     AGR-iš- ‘eat (intr.)’      AGR-iš-ni ‘having a meal’
     ƛaƛa- ‘itch’
     q'aroƛ- ‘boil’

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Some deverbal nouns have acquired a particular meaning: for instance, ṭołni ‘illness’ (from ṭoł- ‘hurt’), r’večni ‘vomit’. Finally, very occasionally, we find a deverbal noun in –ni that appears to derive from a transitive verb: consider caxni ‘writing’ (derived from the transitive cax- ‘write’) and čokni ‘rinse’ (derived from the transitive čok- ‘rinse’). There is evidence in these cases that the original verbs underwent detransitivization prior to denominalization: caxni takes only an agentive genitive, and no object can be expressed; conversely, čokni can only occur with the genitive of the object:

(14) ƛ.’awƛ- ‘slurp’ ƛ.’ap-ni ‘slurping’
č’ąšnād- ‘cry, throw a tantrum’ č’aaš-ni ‘crying; temper tantrum’
c’oc’oład- ‘suck’ c’oc’o-ni ‘sucking; sucking noise’
čačaład- ‘scream, yell’ čača-ni ‘screaming’
xirład- ‘sniffle’ xir-ni ‘sniffles; sniffling’
didinad- ‘be annoying; make noise’ didi-ni ‘bothering, noise’
ľepnad- ‘sob’ ľep-ni ‘sobbing’
qoqoł- ‘laugh’ qoqo-ni ‘laughtering’
t’eknad- ‘tick’ t’ek-ni ‘ticking’
lalada- ‘babble’ lala-ni ‘babbling’
šepł-/šewł- ‘whisper’ šep-ni ‘whispering’
bubul- ‘mumble’ bub-ni ‘mumbling’
hehł- ‘wheeze’ heh-ni ‘wheezing’
c’ekł- ‘chirr’ c’ek-ni ‘chirring’
harł- ‘snore’ har-ni ‘snoring’
zuzuł- ‘buzz’ zuz-ni ‘buzzing’
ruruł- ‘buzz’ ruru-ni ‘buzzing’
imol- ‘moo’ imo-ni ‘mooing’
q’oq’oł- ‘cluck’ q’oq’o-ni ‘clucking’
hawł- ‘bark’ hap-ni ‘barking’
nawł- ‘meow’ nap-ni ‘meowing’
hhihł- ‘neigh’ hhihi- ‘neighing’
‘o’oł- ‘bray; crow (as a rooster)’ ‘o’o-ni ‘braying; crowing’
b’ešeł- ‘bleat’ b’eše-ni ‘bleating’
q’w’arł- ‘oink’ q’w’ar-ni ‘oinking’
guruł- ‘howl’ gur(a)-ni ‘howling’
q’w’aq’w’al- ‘caw (as a crow); croak (as a frog)’ q’w’aq’w’a-ni ‘cawing; croaking’

(15) a. ŽAli-s caxni
      Ali-GEN1 writing
         ‘Ali’s writing’

b. *kaɣat-yo-s/kaɣat caxni
      letter-OS-GEN1/letter.ABS.II writing
         (‘the writing of a/the letter’)

(16) a. haqu-s čokni
      mouth-GEN1 rinsing
         ‘the rinsing of mouth’
Deverbal nouns in \(-ni\) cannot be derived from negative or optative verb forms, nor can they be derived from complex verbs.

Deverbal nouns in \(-ni\) have the same distribution as regular nouns, being able to appear in any position in the clause. Compare the use of deverbal nouns as an ergative subject and as an adjunct in the examples below:

(17) hap-n-ä eli b-izi-r-x-ānu.
    bark-DVB-ERG 1PL.ABS(.IPL) IPL-rise-CAUS-PRS-NEG
    ‘Barking does not wake us up.’

(18) łep-ni-s payda šebi (yol-ā)︖
    sob-DVB-GEN1 profit.ABS.III what.ABS be.PRS-INTERR
    ‘There is no need to sob.’ (lit.: What is the use of sobbing?)

3 Nominalizations in \(--si/zo\)

3.1 Event nominalizations

Imnajšvili (1963:237) indicates that participles ending in the attributive suffix \(--si\) (direct form)/\(--zo\) (oblique form) can be used as noun phrases, both in the affirmative and in the negative. He offers the following examples:

(19) Cax-xo-zo aki-k’-si di.
    write-PRS-ATTR.OS.ERG tired-TR-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS
    ‘Writing tired me out.’

(20) Cax-xo-zo-q/cax-xo-zo-d aki-l-si di.
    write-PRS-ATTR.OS-POSS.ESS/write-PRS-ATTR.OS-INS tired-ITR-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS
    ‘I got tired from writing.’

Such noun phrases are event nominalizations. These nominalizations are typically derived using the abstract nominalizing suffix \(--li\), although the suffix itself is frequently omitted. The forms below are preferred by our consultants over the examples in (19) and (20):

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1 This phrase can be interpreted, incongruously, as “the rinsing of the boy (in smth)”, which is consistent with (16a).

2 The ergative in (19) appears to end in \(--o\); however, this is simply the zero ending of the oblique stem. For most nouns, the ergative is identical to the in-essive, ending in \(--ā/-ā\), but with some nouns, it takes the null ending (see CH.YY[case forms]). Nominalized forms in \(--zo\) normally have the null ending, although variation occurs even within a single text. For example, in the fairy tale “Beliquanbi”, we find both esixozo and esixozā ‘the one who tells’. See also the variation in marking in (33a,b) and (34) below.
‘Writing tired me out.’

‘I got tired from writing.’

Among its many uses, the suffix –łi derives nominalized tensed clauses, which are discussed in section 6 below. However, the distribution of deverbal abstract nouns in –s/-zo (with or without –łi) is different from that of nominalized clauses. As we saw in (19) and (21), derived nouns can appear as ergative subjects. Nominalized clauses cannot appear in this function. Nominalized clauses can include an object, but the addition of an object renders (19) and (21) ungrammatical.

(23) *[Kayat cax-xo-zo-[l]̣-ā aki-k’-si di.
letter.ABS.II write-PRS-ATTR.OS-NMLZ-ERG tired-TR-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS
(‘Writing a letter tired me out.’)

However either of the core arguments of a transitive verb can be represented in the nominalization if expressed by the genitive. Compare (23) and the following examples; in (24), the object of ‘write’ is expressed by the genitive, and in (25), it is the subject:

(24) [Kayat-yo-z cax-xo-zo-[l]̣-ā aki-k’-si
do.write-GEN2 write-PRS-ATTR.OS-NMLZ-ERG tired-TR-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS
(‘The writing of a/the letter tired me out.’)

(25) [Uži-s cax-x-ānu-si(-łi)] eniw-z rok’-l’o
boy-GEN1 write-PRS-NEG-ATTR(-NMLZ) mother-GEN2 heart-SUPER.ESS
nexi-ł-xo. come-ITR-PRS
(‘The son’s not writing saddens Mother.’ (lit.: comes upon Mother’s heart)

Two genitives in the same nominalization are impossible; since only one argument can be represented by the genitive in such deverbal nouns, that noun’s status as an agent or patient may be ambiguous out of context, as in the following example:

(26) Madina nesi-z Ø-ał.’ir-zo-l’o hayran
Madina.ABS.II DEM.I-GEN2 I-deceive-ATTR.OS-SUPER.ESS surprised
y-oq-si. II-become-PST.WIT
(‘Madina was surprised by his deception.’ (he is the deceiver)
(‘Madina was surprised by his being deceived.’)
Deverbal nouns in \(-si/-zo\) cannot be derived from complex verbs with a nominal component, even if that nominal component is in the genitive:

(27) *Eniw  kumak/kumak-yo-z  b-odi-x-zo-ƛ’o
     mother.ABS.II help.ABS.III/help-OS-GEN2 III-do-PRS-ATTR.OS-SUPER.ES
     γˤayˤu  y-izi-x.
     happy II-rise-PRS
     (‘Mother is happy because of being helped/helping.’)

However, complex verbs consisting of a non-nominal component and a light verb can produce event nominalizations. Compare the verb γˤayˤu AGR-iz- ‘be happy’ (lit.: happy rise), shown in (27), with its event nominalization in (28):

(28) Eniw-z  γˤayˤu  y-izi-xo-zo   kid  γˤayˤu
     mother-GEN2 happy II-rise-PRS-ATTR.OS.ERG girl.ABS.II happy
     y-izi-r-xo.
     II-rise-CAUS-PRS
     ‘Mother’s being happy makes the daughter happy.’

Like nominalizations in \(-ni\), event nominalizations can combine with adjectives, but not adverbs. For example:

(29) Žuka/*žuk  cax-xo-zo   aki-k’-si  di.
     bad/badly write-PRS-ATTR.OS.ERG tired-TR-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS
     ‘Bad writing tired me out.’
     NOT: ‘Writing badly tired me out.’

Event nominalizations in \(-si/-zo\) are very rare. We have not observed them in texts, and although they are accepted in elicitations, speakers prefer clausal nominalizations in \(-li\), discussed in section 6 below.

3.2 Participant nominalizations

The suffix \(-si/-zo\), often followed by the definite suffix \(-ni\), can be used to derive nouns denoting objects or persons as well as events. When deriving event nominalizations, \(-si/-zo\) combines with verbs only; when deriving entity nominalizations, it combines with a much wider range of categories: other nouns (30), noun phrases (31), adverbs (32), adjectives, numerals, and verbs (33). Typically \(-si/-zo\) appears on the attributive modifier of a head noun (‘person’, ‘thing’, etc.); the head noun itself can also be omitted, in which case the substantivized modifier combines with case markers directly. For instance,

(30) meši-za-xo-zo-r
     calf-PL.OS-PRS-ATTR.OS-LAT
     ‘to the calf shepherd’ (lit.: to the (one) at calves)

\(^3\) This example shows two different forms of the ergative—see footnote 2 above.
These examples suggest that noun phrases in –si/-zo are simply relative clauses with a null head. Consistent with the general properties of participial relative clauses (see Ch. YY [relative clauses]), such expressions preserve the argument structure of the verb they are derived from. For example,

(34) Heresi mec esi-xo-z-ā/esi-xo-zo
deceitful language.ABS.III tell-PRS-ATTR.OS-ERG/tell-PRS-ATTR.OS.ERG
eši-n…
say-PST.nWIT
‘The liar said…’ (lit.: the one telling lies)’ (Beliganbi:5,14)

Since these apparent nominalizations are relative clauses, it is also understandable that they can include adverbs. Compare example (29) above and the following example:

(35) Žuk cax-xo-zo Žuk t’et’er-xo.
badly write-PRS-ATTR.OS.ERG badly study-PRS
‘The one who writes badly studies badly.’

4 Infinitive and infinitival clauses

Affirmative infinitival predicates end in –a, which is affixed to the last consonant of the stem. The negative form of the infinitive is -ā(n)č’i, but sometimes the converbal negation –(n)č’ey is used in its place.

Infinitival clauses employ the same case marking as finite clauses. Thus, a finite verb that takes an ergative agent and absolutive patient takes the same argument structure when used as an infinitive, and so on. Agreement in infinitival clauses also parallels that of finite clauses in occurring with the absolutive argument alone. Some examples:

(36) rek-ā hišimuku r-a‘y-a
key-ERG lock.ABS.IV IV-open-INF
‘for the/a key to open the/a door’

(37) xexza-r ecno-ni igruška šuš’-a
children-LAT new-DEF toy.ABS.IV forget-INF
‘for the children to forget (about) the new toy’

(38) debe-q  či:l.'u  y-izi-r-oł-a
2sg-POSS.ESS  lid.ABS.II  II-rise-CAUS-POT-INF
‘for you to lift the/a lid’

(39) nesi-q  xabar  es-oł-äči
DEM.I-POSS.ESS  news.ABS.III  say-POT-NEG.INF
‘for him not to tell the news’

Infinitival clauses can include adverbs, as shown in (40). Adjectives can be used inside infinitiveal clauses to modify a noun (if there is an appropriate one), but not the infinitive itself. In (41), bigu can be interpreted only as a modifier of keč’:

(40) b-ig  keč’  qał-a
III-well  song.ABS.III  sing-INF
‘to sing well’

(41) b-igu  keč’  qał-a
III-good  song.ABS.III  sing-INF
‘to sing a good song’

Infinitival clauses are widely used in several functions: as complements of impersonal, raising and control verbs (see CH.YY[Clausal complements]); as relative clauses (see CH.YY [relative clauses]); and as exclamatives (see CH. YY[exclamatives]). However, they do not appear as ergative subjects or as complements of adpositions, as they cannot combine with any overt case markers.

The infinitive of the verb ‘be’ has different forms depending on tense/aspect: yola for present/progressive and zowa for non-present/completive in the affirmative; ânu for present and zowânc’i/zownc’ey for past in the negative. Whereas the verb ‘be’ is commonly omitted as a copula or auxiliary in root clauses, it has to be preserved in infinitival clauses. For example:

(42) neło-ł’  cax-äsi  yol-a
DEM.nI-SUPER.ESS  write-RES  be.PRS-INF
‘to be written on it’

(43) doxtur-łun  zow-a
doctor-as  be.PST-INF
‘to have been (worked as) a doctor’

It is not uncommon to find the verb AGR-oq- ‘become’ functioning as a copula or light verb in masdar and infinitival clauses as well. In most cases, the interpretation of AGR-oq- as a copula is very close to the interpretation of ‘be’. Compare the example in (43) where ‘be’ is used, and the example below, which shows the use of AGR-oq-:

(44) šopir-ľi-łun  b-oq-a
driver-NMLZ-as  IPL-become-INF
‘to be drivers’ (of several people, with a group that includes males)
5 Masdars and masdar clauses

The Arabic term *masdar* ‘verbal noun’ is widely used in the Caucasiological literature to denote non-finite verb forms that combine verbal and nominal properties. For Tsez, the verbal properties of masdars include (i) finite-clause-type argument marking and agreement, (ii) co-occurrence with adverbs rather than adjectives, (iii) the availability of optative marking, and (iv) the availability of negation. The primary nominal characteristic of masdars is their ability to appear with case-marking; as we show below, masdars can appear in a number of cases but not in the absolutive. Furthermore, masdars can combine with particles that do not occur with finite verbs, such as -ƛa, -gon, -tow, etc.

Masdar predicates in the affirmative can be derived from infinitives by adding the suffix –*ni*, which we already saw in section 2. The affirmative masdar suffix –*ani* is presumably derived from the combination of the infinitival suffix –*a* and the definite suffix –*ni*, although synchronically the suffix is no longer compositional. In the negative, the suffix expands to –*ā*(n)*č*’ini or –*(n)*č*’ey* (the latter is probably transferred to masdars from converbal clauses).

Some examples of masdar clauses:

(45) eli sid-qo sis b-il-ani
1PL.ABS.IPL one-POSS.ESS one I PL-be similar-MASD
‘our being similar to each other’

(46) dey rok’u r-iq’-ani
1SG.GEN heart.ABS.IV IV-approach-MASD
‘my heart being calm’

(47) ŋuŋyay-mo eniw moł-a-x-āy č’ari-k’-ānč’ini
noise-OS.ERG mother.ABS.II dream-OS-AD-ABL wake-TR-MASD.NEG
‘noise not waking Mother up from her sleep’

Like infinitival clauses, masdar clauses can be modified by adverbs, but not adjectives:

(48) [Adab žuk/*žuka b-exu-r-ānč’ini]-r Ō-āk’-i-n mi elo-r!
respect.ABS.II badly/bad III-die-CAUS-MASD.NEG-LAT I-go-PROH 2SG.ABS(.I)
there-LAT
‘So that you would not break the rules badly, don’t go there.’

The similarity between infinitival clauses and masdar clauses goes beyond their suffixal and adverbial parallels; the two types of clauses have similar (but not identical) distributions in that both can serve as relative clauses (Ch. YY[relative clauses]) and also as complements of control verbs (CH. YY[Clausal complements]). Unlike infinitives, however, masdars clearly specify goal-oriented events. This interpretation prevents them from appearing as complements of impersonal and raising predicates (see CH. YY[cлаusal complements]).

Masdar clauses never appear in the absolutive case; for (45) through (47) to be integrated into clause structure, the masdar predicate has to bear one of the oblique cases: typically genitive, lative, ad-essive, or cont-lative. In the examples below, masdar clauses are shown in brackets.
‘The king sent that boy with the goal of having him killed by the wolf.’ (lit.: … the wolf him killing’s goal) (Imnajšvili 1963:238)\(^4\)

‘The king tied her to a pole so that (any) person walking by could spit at her.’ (Beqes Š’Uneyzat:55)

‘I agree to betroth (lit.: send) the girl to this boy.’ (Imnajšvili 1963:238)

‘I escaped death (lit.: run away from dying).’ (Imnajšvili 1963:238)

‘Watch what he is going to eat!’ (based on Imnajšvili 1963:238)

‘That boy has learned to hunt wild game.’ (based on Imnajšvili 1963:238)

‘He was filling the place where the nail was so that it would not be known to Chan-Girey.’ (Imnajšvili 1963:237)

‘He began to look for scissors.’ (Bilq’isdi:26)

\(^4\) Imnajšvili (1963:238) presents this example with genitive 1 on the masdar clause, which seems to be a typo.
The lative and ad-essive forms, which seem to be interchangeable, are most common with masdar nominalizations. These forms appear in control complements, adjunct purpose clauses, and masdar relative clauses, as illustrated below:

(57) Eniw razi y-oq-xo zow-n-ānu
   mother.ABS.II agreeing II-become-PRS AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG
   [ža sid-xo-kin y-egir-ani]-x.
   DEM.ABS(.II) one-AD.ESS-FOC II-send-MASD-AD.ESS
   ‘Mother refused to give her to anyone in marriage.’ (Allahes ašuni:11)

(58) Dahaw-gon fiyad mi [mow nexw-ani]-r.
   a.little-CONTR.TOP cry.IMPER 2SG tear.ABS.II come-MASD-LAT
   ‘You cry a little so that a tear would drop (come out).’ (ʕAliqilič:44)

(59) Mi [dā-de-r b-iḥad-ani]-x b-oq
   2SG.ABS.III 1SG-APUD-LAT III-fight-MASD-AD.ESS III-become.IMPER
   mahor!
   ‘Come outside to fight with me!’ (addressing a dragon) (ʕAliqilič:186)

(60) [Mežu-q es-ani]-x kesu dā-q ḡexu-s.
   2PL-POSS.ESS tell-MASD-AD.ESS tale.ABS.III 1SG-POSS.ESS remain-PST.WIT
   ‘I have a story to tell you.’

However, masdar clauses cannot be used as ergative subjects. Compare the grammatical example in (61) with a regular noun phrase and the ungrammatical one in (62) with the masdar clause in the ergative:

(61) Yiła kes-ā uži-za-q siskin moūli-x-ānu.
    DEM tale-ERG boy-PL.OS-POSS.ESS anything.ABS.IV teach-PRS-NEG
    ‘This story is not going to teach the boys anything.’

(62) *[Nes-ā kesu es-an]-ā uži-za-q
    DEM.I-ERG tale.ABS.III tell-MASD-AD.ESS boy-PL.OS-POSS.ESS
    siskin moūli-x-ānu.
    anything.ABS.IV teach-PRS-NEG
    (‘Telling this story is not going to teach the boys anything.’)

### 6 Nominalizations in -li

The suffix –li derives abstract nouns from nouns, adjectives, adverbs/postpositions, and numerals (see CH.YY [Noun derivation]). It is also used to derive clausal nominalizations when it attaches to a past or present participle. For example, the clause in (63) is nominalized and embedded under the verb čuq’- in (64). Note that the predicate ‘be’ starts out in the present tense form, but is turned into a past (perfective) participle, which is then nominalized. The nominalized clause preserves the case marking of the original finite clause.

(63) Ža bašiq’oy neļa kid-be-z baši-l-si yoł.
    DEM ring.ABS.IV DEM.nI.LS girl-OS-GEN2 finger-CONT-ESS-ATTR be.PRS
    ‘This ring is from that girl’s finger.’
Example (65) shows a predicate in the present tense, and (66) provides its nominalized form:

(65) Dey qoqolu marha-ƛ’ r-egir-xo.
1SG.GEN1 laughter.ABS.IV fable-SUPER.ESS IV-send-PRS

‘I am laughing at a tall tale.’

(66) [Dey qoqolu marha-ƛ’ r-egir-xosi-li]
1SG.GEN1 laughter.ABS.IV fable-SUPER.ESS IV-send-PRS.PTCP-NMLZ debe-r r-iy-x.
2SG-LAT IV-know-PRS

‘You know that I am laughing at a tall tale.’

In (67), the predicate is in the unwitnessed past, and the embedded clause contains the nominalized past participle in the cont-ablative form:

(67) Bikor-ä nesi-z gug-y-ä kuła r-oy-n.
snake-ERG DEM.I-GEN2 back-OS-IN.ESS sleeve.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.NWIT

‘The snake tricked him.’ (lit.: made a sleeve in his back)

(68) Beliqa-ä żedu-[didur bikor-ä nesi-z]
hunter-ERG DEM.IPL-POSS.ESS how snake-ERG DEM.I-GEN2
gug-y-ä kuła r-ay-[zo]-äy esi-n.
snake-OS-IN.ESS sleeve.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-CONT-ABL tell-PST.NWIT

‘The hunter told them how the snake had tricked him.’ (Sadaq’a:16)

Nominalizations with the past participle are much more common than nominalizations with the present participle; it appears that the use of the past participle is the default, while the present participle is used in nominalizations to emphasize the ongoing character of an event. Tsez does not have sequence of tenses, so the tense of the nominalization is interpreted relative to the tense of the embedding predicate.

Nominalized clauses appear in a wide variety of functions: as complements of verbs (mostly verbs of cognition and perception, as shown in (64) and (66)), as adjuncts, and as complements to nouns such as ‘news’, ‘rumor’, ‘fact’, ‘puzzle’, and so on (see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]). The first of these uses is the most common.

(69) Yiz-ä [nes-ä äli-ru-li]-xo-r rekar-bi
DEM.nIPL-ERG DEM.I-ERG ask-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-AD-LAT key-PL.ABS.nIPL
yisi-qo-r tel-ƛ-no.
DEM.I-POSS-LAT give-PST.NWIT

‘Because he was asking, they gave him the keys.’ (based on Kidbes hunar:54)
Despite their wide range of functions, nominalized clauses in –li cannot appear in the ergative or absolutive subject position. For instance, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

(73) *[Yedu kamanda putbol-ye-r b-ʕāži-ru-li] xabar ānu. news be.PRS.NEG

(‘That this team won in football is not news.’)

(74) *[Uži Ō-āy-ru-li]-ā eniw yʕay/u boy.ABS.I I-come-PST.ERG mother.ABS.II happy y-izi-r-si. II-rise-CAUS-PST.WIT

(‘That the son arrived made Mother happy.’)

This restriction has nothing to do with the abstract suffix itself, as abstract nouns are generally permitted in the subject position. For example, (75) illustrates an ergative subject, and (76), an absolutive subject expressed by an abstract noun:

(75) Nesi-z ħadur-lā nesā nesi-r kumak b-o-y-x.

‘His preparation helps him.’

(76) Č’alK’in-lij liy-s.

‘The boredom is gone.’

The suffix –li in nominalized clauses is often omitted, which may give an impression that these clauses are simply participial. However, Tsez treats the nominalized structure as a noun phrase, which means that when it is attached to a head noun there is a linking genitive, as illustrated in (71) and (72).

Nominalized clauses with –li differ from infinitival and masdar clauses in their lack of transparency. Their constituents cannot be bound from the matrix clause, and they do not interact
scopally with material in the higher clause (see CH. YY[Agreement] for details). Negation in the matrix clause cannot license negative polarity items in the nominalized clause; for example, in (77), the negation on the matrix predicate does not license *didurkin* in the nominalized clause:

(77)  *Nesi-q
   nɛl-ą
   [didur-kin
   eɬ-a
   r-āy-xosi
   yāl-ru-ऱ]
   moɭi-nč’i.
   be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
   teach-PST.WIT.NEG
   (‘She did not teach him how to say anything.’)

This opacity in -ɛl nominalizations sets them apart from infinitives and masdars, which are fully transparent (consider the material in sections 4 and 5 above).

To summarize the data discussed in this chapter, we present the main nominalization types and their properties in the following table.
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Predicate phrase

1 General remarks

The predicate phrase can consist of a verb alone, with the verb being simplex or complex; it can also be expressed by a series of verbs forming a complex verbal predicate, or by a copula with a predicative component. The head of a predicate phrase appears in a tensed form in finite clauses, in a converbial form in converbial clauses, in a participial or masdar/infinitive form in relative clauses, and in a nominalized form in complement clauses (see CH.YY[Clausal complements]). Regardless of finiteness, the predicate agrees with the absolutive argument in gender and number (for those verbs that have an agreement marking slot—see CH.YY[VERB MORPH]). There are no dedicated markers of a predicate phrase. In non-finite clauses, the linear position of the predicate is strictly determined: it must appear clause-finally. In root clauses, the finite predicate phrase can appear in any position (see CH.YY[Word order]).

In this chapter, we will first discuss different types of predicates and then address the marking of grammatical categories on predicates in finite and dependent clauses.

2 Verbal predicates

2.1 Simplex verbs

Intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and polytransitive verbs can form a predicate phrase in root and embedded clauses. All verbs agree with the absolutive argument, and with the exception of the biabsolutive construction, there can be only one absolutive argument per clause. For examples of intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and polytransitive clauses, see CH.YY[Basic clause types].

2.2 Compound verbs

Tsez has a number of verbs that consist of two simplex verbs juxtaposed in a single predicate (such compounding is indicated by the = sign). If both elements of a compound verb have an agreement slot, they both show agreement. However, only the last verb in a compound can be inflected with (non-)finite affixes or combine with the causative suffix. Thus, from the standpoint of predicate phrase formation, such compounds are not different from simplex verbs.

Consider the following example, where the compound verb is AGR-ĭži=AGR-øy-:

(1) Eniw q’im-ä y-ĭži=y-øy-xo.
    mother.ABS.II head-ERG II-carry-II-pull-PRS
    ‘Mother has a headache.’ (lit.: the head carries-pulls mother)

In the examples below, the predicate phrase is AGR-øy=tix- (lit.: come=set), and only the first constituent of the compound shows agreement. Only the second constituent carries the causative suffix:
The following compound verbs are used regularly. While the list below is representative, it is not exhaustive, since new compound verbs can be created using the same method; in addition, we do not show causatives that can be derived from these verbs.

(3)  

a. AGR-ał‘=ʕał‘ir-  
speak=cheat  ‘chatter, jabber’  [ABS]  
b. AGR-ał’a=k’ič’-  
saddle=load  ‘load up (usu. of a horse, mule)’  [ERG, ABS]  
c. AGR-egי=AGR-et’ur-  
be.loose=pull  ‘separate; steal’  [ERG, ABS]  
d. AGR-ezu=AGR-οł’-  
look=stop  ‘look over, scan’  [ABS, SUPER-ESS]  
e. AGR-et’u=k’οł’/-  
tear.away=run  ‘run around; jump’  [ABS]  
f. AGR-ehna=AGR-ik’-  
walk=go  ‘behave; be well-behaved’  [ABS]  
g. AGR-izi=AGR-ał’/-  
rise=fall  ‘rest’  [ABS]  
h. AGR-iš=AGR-ut/-  
eat=turn  ‘eat’  [ABS]  
i. AGR-iš=hał/-  
eat=drink  ‘carouse’  [ABS]  
j. AGR-οł’i=AGR-eg/-  
hurt=split  ‘split, splinter’  [ABS]  
k. gaga=cagari-  
be.slippery=be.even  ‘be smooth, even’  [ABS]  
l. całi=AGR-οł’/-  
throw=stop  ‘throw around, scatter’  [ERG, ABS]  
m. AGR-οł’u=AGR-izi/-  
stop=rise  ‘stumble’  [ABS]  
n. AGR-ihu=AGR-ič/-  
go.in=stay  ‘go back’  [ABS]  
o. k’ek’=AGR-ik’/-  
move=go  ‘swing’  [ABS]  
p. k’οł’i=c’ox-  
run=get.stuck  ‘run iteratively’  [ABS]  

2.3 Complex verbs

Complex verbs are composed of a predicative part and a light verb. The intransitive light verb is AGR-oq- ‘become’, the transitive light verb is AGR-od- ‘do’, and the ditransitive light verb is ‘give’ (teƛ- and neƛ-, depending on the direction of transfer).

The predicative complement can be represented by an adjective, participle, adverb/postposition, borrowed verb (mostly Avar and Russian verbs), or noun. In term of morphosyntax, the main contrast is between predicative nouns in the absolutive form and all other categories. The inclusion of an absolutive noun in a complex predicate affects the valency of the light verb, because that predicative noun obligatorily counts as its absolutive argument. Meanwhile, non-nominal predicative complements or nouns in non-absolutive form do not change verbal valency.

To illustrate, let us consider the light verb AGR-od- ‘do’, which is transitive. If this verb combines with a noun in the absolutive, the nominal predicative complement appears as its absolutive object. The resulting complex verb is transitive, with the object position already occupied; the verb agrees with the absolutive object. It then takes an ergative subject. For example, the verb AGR-od- combines with the noun ʕumru ‘life’ to form the complex verb ʕumru bod- ‘live’, whose subject appears in the ergative:

(4) a. El-ä b-ig ʕumru b-oy-x.
   IPL-ERG III-well life.ABS.III III-do-PRS
   ‘We live well.’ (lit.: we do life well)
   b. El-ä b-igu ʕumru b-oy-x.
   IPL-ERG III-good life.ABS.III III-do-PRS
   ‘We lead a good life.’

If the corresponding event structure calls for yet another participant, that participant must be expressed in a non-absolutive case. In the next example, the same light verb combines with the noun kumak/kumek ‘help’, takes it as the absolutive object, and agrees with it. The event structure of “help” presupposes the agent (helper) and the recipient of the helping. This recipient could presumably be expressed as the object of the verb, but since the absolutive object position is already taken, the tertiary participant cannot appear in the absolutive (5a). It is instead expressed by a noun phrase in the lative (5b). A common strategy is to express the additional argument as the possessor of the absolutive subject or object in the complex verb, as shown in (5c); since this possessor phrase modifies the absolutive noun phrase, it is always in the genitive 1 form.

(5) a. *Ramazan-ä ƛɨrba kumak
   Ramazan-ERG guest.ABS.I/II help.ABS.III
   b-oy-s/Ø-oy-s/y-oy-s.
   III-do-PST/WIT/I-do-PST/WIT/II-do-PST/WIT
   (‘Ramazan helped the guest.’)

1 The acceptability of genitive possessors with complex verbs varies across lexical items; for example, with kumak bod- the preference is for the lative (as in (5b)).
Let us now consider the light verb AGR-øq- ‘become’. Since this verb is intransitive, the appearance of an absolutive predicative nominal fills its sole valency. If another argument is presupposed by the corresponding event structure, it has to be expressed in one of the oblique cases or as the adnominal genitive of the predicative nominal. Consider the complex verb asar boq- ‘be influential; be consequential’, where asar is a noun in gender III. If this verb is used in a clause that also includes the mention of the source of influence, that source should appear as a genitive, and the target of influence is in a local case:

(6) B-ʕež-e xalq’i-mo-r b-oq-xo kino-s asar.
III-big people-OS-LAT III-become-PRS movie-GEN1 influence.ABS.III
‘Cinema has a great deal of influence on people.’

When a complex verb is composed of a noun in non-absolutive form or any other category combined with a light verb, no valency change happens. Extremely common among such predicative elements are Avar verbs, which are typically borrowed in the infinitival form, ending in –zi/-ze; the agreement necessitated by Avar is not reflected in such borrowings.

Compare the examples above and the combination of AGR-ød- with the Avar loan bak’ar(i)zi ‘accumulate, collect’. The resulting complex verb remains transitive and can take an absolutive object. The agreement on the complex verb now depends on the gender of the specific object it takes:

(7) a. Nes-ä posu₂ bak’arzi r-oy-s.
DEM.I-ERG wealth.ABS.IV collect IV-do-PST.WIT
‘He accumulated wealth.’

b. Micxir-yo-l šuš-ani-r-ä nece-gon
money-OS-CONT.ESS bury-MASD-LAT-INTERR so.much-CONTR.TOP
ža bak’arzi b-oy-x?
DEM.ABS(.III) collect III-do-PRS
‘You can’t take it with you when you die.’
(lit.: Are you accumulating it so that you would be buried in all that money?)

In the next example, the complex verb is composed of an Avar borrowing and the light verb AGR-øq, which agrees with the absolutive subject in gender I. In addition, the complex verb in the relative clause, halag AGR-ød- ‘excite, lead to commotion’ is composed of the light verb

2 The word posu literally means ‘cattle’ but it is typically used to refer to material wealth.
AGR-od- and the predicative component halag, which does not determine agreement on the verb; the verb agrees with the head noun (the subject of the matrix clause) in gender I:

(8) ʕIšq'-ä  halag  Ø-ädi-ru  şoloqan  şek’u
    passion-ERG  excited  I-do-PST.PTCP  young  person.ABS.I
darsi-mo-ƛ’o-r-ä  reşizi  Ø-oq-xo?
    lesson-OS-SUPER-LAT-INTERR  manage  I-become-PRS

‘Is it possible for a young man consumed by love to have time for his studies?’
(ʕArabuzan:21)

Russian loans are clearly on the rise, and their use with AGR-od- and AGR-oq- is very productive. This is a recent development that has resulted from the growing use of Russian among Tsez speakers. Imnajšvili (1963: 254-255) notes and discusses Avar loans but hardly mentions any Russian loans as predicative components in complex verbs. The transitivity of a borrowed item in the source language does not matter; for instance, in (9) and (10), the Russian verb is intransitive, marked with the reflexive -sja (somnevatsja ‘doubt’) but it can be used in a complex transitive verb as well:

(9) Ža  samnewatsa  Ø-oq-xo.
    DEM.ABS(.I)  hesitate  I-become-PRS

‘He is not sure.’

(10) Nel-ä  mi  samnewatsa  y-oy-n.
    DEM.nI-ERG  2SG.ABS(.II)  hesitate  II-do-PST.nWIT

‘She made you (speaking to a woman) hesitant.’

The advent of Russian borrowings has led to the development of complex verb doublets, the interpretive differences among which are not always clear. Compare kumak bod- ‘help’, which appeared above, and pamagat AGR-od- ‘help’, from the Russian infinitive pomogat’ ‘help’:

(11) Kid-b-ä  eniw  pamagat  y-oy-x.
    girl-OS-ERG  mother.ABS.II  help  II-do-PRS

‘The girl helps Mother.’

 Aside from infinitives, predicative complements that do not elicit agreement include Avar and Arabic borrowings which are used adverbially or attributively; for example, ruhun AGR-od- ‘teach’ and ruhun AGR-oq- ‘learn’ (ruhun is a converbal form of the verb ‘learn’ in Avar), halal AGR-od- ‘allow’ and halal AGR-oq- ‘be possible, be allowed’ (from Arabic ُجَالِل ‘permissible’).

In the next example, the light verb AGR-oq- combines with the adverb/postposition ƛ’irāy to form the complex verb ‘forgive’. This verb takes an absolutive subject (the agent of forgiving) and an oblique object (the recipient of forgiveness); the inclusion of the adverb does not affect the valency of the intransitive AGR-oq-.

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3 Note that the Russian verb takes a dative object, so one could expect the Tsez complex verb to take the absolutive and lative, but instead it appears as a standard ergative-absolutive predicate.
Only the synchronic status of a predicative component in Tsez matters for the purposes of the nominal vs. non-nominal distinction, not its original status in some other language or at an earlier stage of Tsez. For example, in the complex verb *mahrüm* AGR-*oda* ‘deprive’, *mahrüm* is treated as a non-nominal predicative complement, although the original Arabic word may have entered the language as an adjective or as a noun (*mahrüm* ‘deprived’). In *mişayät* bod-* ‘disturb, interfere with’, the Russian loan is actually a verb form but it is treated as a gender III noun for the purposes of complex verb formation.

Complex verbs with the agreed-with predicative absolutive differ from the rest of complex verbs in the degree to which the predicative complement is tied to its light verb. Predicative absolutive complements can have their own modifiers, most often genitive (5c), but others as well (see (4b)), while non-nominal complements cannot. Absolutive predicative complements can be separated from their light verbs, whereas for all the other predicative complements, such separation is judged very awkward. Compare the following examples based on the material presented above:

(13) a. *T’o b-oøy-x ſumru el-ä.*
    here III-do-PRS life.ABS.III 1PL-ERG
    ‘We live here.’ (compare (4))

b. ſUmru el-ä b-oøy-x t’o.
    life.ABS.III 1PL-ERG III-do-PRS here
    ‘Here, we live.’ (implies contrast with a different activity in another location)

(14) a. *Y-oq-xo λ’irāy debe-ƛ’ eniw.*
    II-become-PRS 2SG-LAT mother.ABS.II
b. *λ’irāy eniw y-oq-xo debe-ƛ’.*
    from.above mother.ABS.II II-become-PRS 2SG-LAT
    (‘Mother forgives you.’) (compare (12))

Finally, as the next example demonstrates, complex verbs can be non-compositional; consider the psych-collocation in the next example:

(15) Rok’u-ł gʷandi y-oq-si.
    heart-CONT.ESS pit.ABS.II II-become-PST.WIT
    ‘Sadness occurred.’ (lit: a pit in the heart happened/began)

It is sometimes hard to draw the line between semantically transparent and non-compositional complex verbs. Other examples of complex verbs with at-least-partially obscured semantics are given below (cases other than the absolutive subcategorized for by a given complex verb are given in brackets):
(16) Intransitive
a. rok’u     r-ay-       [GEN, SUPER-ESS]
   heart.ABS.IV IV-come
   ‘believe, trust’

b. rok’u     r-ex-       [GEN, SUPER-ESS]
   heart.ABS.IV IV-die
   ‘regret’

c. rok’u     madahar r-oq- [GEN, SUB-ABL]
   heart.ABS.IV outside IV-become
   ‘be disgusting’

(17) Transitive
a. rok’-ƛ’o  AGR-is-     [ERG, ABS]
   heart-SUPER.ESS take
   ‘remember’

b. xot’-āy  li  haƛ-   [ERG, GEN2]
   leg/foot-IN.ABL water.ABS.III drink
   ‘obey s.o.’

(18) Ditransitive
a. ʕazab   teƛ-     [ERG, LAT]
   torture.ABS.III give-
   ‘torture’

b. iyah    neƛ-     [ERG, LAT]
   patience.ABS.III give-
   ‘try hard’

3  Restructuring predicate phrases

Complex predicate phrases can be formed by restructuring verbs, including the following: AGR-ay- ‘must’; the modal AGR-āsu- ‘may’; the verb AGR-oq- in the modal meaning ‘can, be able to’; the complex modal behizi AGR-oq- ‘can; be allowed to’; the verb AGR-ič- in the meaning ‘continue’, the verb xec- ‘leave; allow’, the verb AGR-et- in the meaning ‘want’, and the specialized use of the verb AGR-ēsu- ‘appear’ in conditionals. These verbs combine with a predicate (simplex or complex verbal predicate; copular predicate) to form a complex predicate phrase. For example, as a freestanding verb, AGR-āy- ‘must’ takes an absolutive clausal argument, while as a restructuring predicate, it shares the arguments of the verb it combines with; thus, in (19, 20), it takes an ergative and absolutive DP argument and agrees with the absolutive:

(19) [Nes-ā yedu t’ek t’et’r-a] [r-āy].
    [DEM.I-ERG DEM book.ABS.II read-INF].ABS.IV IV-must
    ‘He must read this book.’

(20) [Nes-ā] [yedu t’ek] [t’et’r-a y-āy].
    DEM.I-ERG DEM book.ABS.II read-INF II-must
    ‘He must read this book.’
For restructuring clauses, see CH. YY[Clausal complements].

4 Copular predicates

Copular constructions are formed with the verbs ‘be’, AGR-\textit{aq}– ‘become’, and AGR-\textit{ič}– ‘stay’. The verb ‘be’ is irregular; its present tense form is \textit{yol} in the affirmative and \textit{ānu} in the negative; in the past forms, the stem \textit{zow-} is used, which receives standard endings of tense and negation. ‘Be’ does not have a future form, and the relevant notion is expressed either by the present tense, or by the future tense of the other two copular verbs.

The syntax of copular clauses is discussed in CH. YY [Basic clause types]; here we will concentrate on the internal composition of predicate phrases with a copula.

The predicative complement of a copula can be expressed by a noun phrase (noun, pronoun, proper name, infinitival or masdar clause) or a modifier phrase (numeral, adjective, participle, or demonstrative).

4.1 Predicate phrase with a predicate nominal

Predicate nominals are expressed by a noun phrase in the absolutive. In the examples below, we show predicate phrases in brackets:

(21) A: [\textit{šebi} \textit{zow-\textit{ā}}] ža?
\quad \text{what.ABS \hspace{1em} be.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR DEM.ABS}
\quad ‘What was that?’

B: (Ža) [di \textit{zow-s}].
\quad \text{DEM.ABS \hspace{1em} 1SG.ABS \hspace{1em} be.PST-PST.WIT}
\quad ‘That was me.’

B’: (Ža) [žedu \textit{zow-s}].
\quad \text{DEM.ABS \hspace{1em} DEM.PL.ABS \hspace{1em} be.PST-PST.WIT}
\quad ‘That was them.’

(22) Debe-r \textit{šebi} y-\textit{eti-xo-si} [ža \textit{yol}].
\quad 2SG-LAT \hspace{1em} who.ABS(.II) \hspace{1em} II-like-PRS-ATTR DEM.ABS(.II) \hspace{1em} be.PRS
\quad ‘Who you really like is her.’

(23) [\textit{sida} \textit{\textit{λebs-s}} \textit{xexbi} (\textit{yol})] di-n Abakar-no
\quad \text{one.OBL \hspace{1em} year-GEN1 children.ABS \hspace{1em} be.PRS 1SG.ABS-and Abakar.ABS-and}
\quad \text{mahamarasul-no.}
\quad \text{Mohammedrasul.ABS-and}
\quad ‘I, Abakar, and Mohammedrasul are contemporaries (lit.: children of one year).’

An infinitival phrase can also be a predicate nominal; if a copula shows agreement, it always agrees with that phrase in gender IV. Note that in the following example, the referent of the implicit subject of the infinitive is a female, and the infinitive shows gender II agreement, but the copula AGR-\textit{ič}– shows agreement in gender IV.
A masdar clause in the function of a predicate nominal appears in the lative or ad-essive form. Compare (24) and (25):

(24) Debi halt’i  [ʕaƛ-ā-ɣor  y-ik’-a  r-ič-as].
   2SG GEN1 work.ABS.III village-IN-VERS II-go-INF IV-stay-FUT
   ‘Your job will be to go to the village.’

(25) Debi  halt’i  [ʕaƛ-ā-ɣor  y-ik’-ani-x  r-ič-as].
   2SG GEN1 work.ABS.III village-IN-VERS II-go-MASD-AD.ESS IV-stay-FUT
   ‘Your job will be to go to the village.’

Predicate nominals can also be expressed by nouns, pronouns, or demonstratives in a non-absolutive form. For example, statements about possessive attribution feature a predicate nominal in the genitive:

(26) Yedu  t’ek  debi/muʕalim-e-s  yoł?
    DEM book.ABS.II 2SG GEN1/teacher-OS-GEN1 be.PRS
    ‘Is this book yours/the teacher’s?’

Copular predicates can also include adverbs/postpositions in the predicative function. In those instances, the postpositional phrase includes an implicit nominal complement, and such a complement can also be made explicit. Consider (27) and (28) and see also CH.YY [Adverbial phrase] for a discussion of the adverb–postposition ambiguity.

(27) li  (q’oc’oƛ-ā)  teł  yoł.
    water.ABS.IV barrel-IN.ESS inside be.PRS
    ‘Water is inside (the barrel).’

(28) Cey  (im-yo-ƛ’)  ƛ’iri  zow-s.
    eagle.ABS.III tree-OS-SUPER.ESS above be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘The eagle was above/on the tree.’

4.2  **Predicate phrase with a predicate attributive**

An adjective, participle/participial relative clause, numeral, or attributive demonstrative can combine with a copula to form a predicate phrase with a predicate attributive. All these forms can also function as adnominal modifiers, and there is no difference between the forms that are used predicatively and the ones that are used adnominally. Definite adjectives can occur both attributively and predicatively. Collective numerals, marked with –n(o), are also possible in the predicative position. Examples (29b) and (30b) illustrate the use of predicative adjectives in the regular and definite forms, respectively.

(29) a.  sadaqaw  baha
    equal  price.ABS
    ‘same price’

   b.  Eli  [sadaqaw  yoł].
    IPL.ABS  equal  be.PRS
    ‘We are the same age (lit.: same).’
The following example shows the use of a numeral in the predicative function. Note that when the numeral modifies the head noun, as in (31a), the noun is not marked for plural (see CH.YY[Noun phrase]), but when the numeral occurs predicatively (in (31b)) the corresponding subject is in the plural.

(31) a. łeno kid  
    five girl  
    ‘five girls’

b. Ne-la-s kid-ba-bi [łeno zow-s].  
    DEM.nI-GEN1 girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL five be.PST-PST.WIT  
    ‘She had five daughters.’ (lit.: her girls were five)

If an attributive form can show agreement, it agrees with the subject of the copular clause (see also CH. YY[Basic clause types]).

5 Grammatical categories expressed in the predicate phrase

The following table shows the grammatical categories of a Tsez verb. All predicate phrases, be they dependent or finite, can be marked for agreement, causative, potential modality, negation, and Aktionsart (iterative marking); thus, slots -1 through 5 are filled in predicate phrases in both finite and non-finite form. The following categories can be expressed only on finite predicates: tense, mood (optative/non-optative), evidentiality, and polarity (slots 6-10). For the relevant categories and their marking, see CH. YY.
Table 1. Verbal form: Grammatical categories and their slots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Aktionsart</th>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Low negation</th>
<th>Non-finiteness</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>High negation</th>
<th>Evidentiality</th>
<th>Polarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>I-IV sg</td>
<td>-Vr-1'</td>
<td>Iterative/Absence of iterative</td>
<td>Potential/unspecified</td>
<td>Infinitive/Masdar/Pst.ptcp</td>
<td>Optative/unspecified</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>Witnessed/Non-witnessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IPL/ nIPL</td>
<td>-k'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Can be iterated.
Attributives: Adjectival phrases and the expression of comparison

1 General remarks

An adjectival phrase consists of the head attributive expression, preceded optionally by degree expressions and complements (provided that the adjective/attributive expression is a complement-taking one). Predicative adjectives are discussed mainly in Ch. YY, YY, and YY [PredP; Basic clause types; Agreement], but see also below for the discussion of comparatives and superlatives.

The boundary between adjectives and participles is rather fluid, so it is possible that some adjectives are actually participles (see Ch. YY [Adjective formation]) or are diachronically related to participles. Consider some examples where the distinction between adjective and participle is not clear:

(1) a. č’uräsi (č’ur-a)
   bright  shine-INF
b. AGR-iyäsi (AGR-iy-a)
   ripe  ripen-INF
c. AGR-ic’äsi (AGR-ic’-a)
   full  become full/fill up.INTR-INF

Examples (2a-f) list non-derived adjectives with meaning typically associated with adjectival semantics. This list is by no means exhaustive and is given mainly for illustrative purposes. Note also that some of the meanings associated with adjectives (for example: material, source) can be expressed by the genitive form of a relevant noun—see Ch. YY [Noun phrase].

(2) a. Color terms
   aluk’a ‘white’
   q’aba ‘black’
   c’uda ‘red’
   ič’iw/ič’iy ‘yellow’
   niga ‘blue; navy blue; green’
   asbile ‘light blue’
   ečya(si) ‘green’
   zira ‘gray’
   y’ač’i ‘motley-colored’
   sasìw ‘dark’
b. Age and size terms
AGR-‘eye ‘young; small’
AGR-‘eže ‘big; grown; old’
AGR-‘ečru ‘old’
AGR-exora ‘tall, long’
k’ot’ono ‘short (in length or height)’
AGR-ečiw/AGR-ečiy ‘fat’
t’erenaw ‘thin, lean’
dadaru ‘thin, not thick’
holyu/holiw ‘thick, wide’

c. Temperature terms
AGR-oč ’iw ‘cold’
tatanu ‘warm’

d. Terms referring to strength and health
zap’ana ‘strong’
toxaw ‘weak’
sayaw ‘healthy’
rolnoxu ‘sick, ill’
untaraw ‘ill’

e. Shape terms
AGR-uxxor ‘direct, straight’
asíw ‘flat’
q’ic’iramu ‘square’
gelmač ‘u ‘round’
w’ak’ana ‘bent, crooked, uneven’

f. Assessment terms
AGR-igu ‘good’
žuka ‘bad’
bercinaw ‘beautiful, pretty’
suružaw ‘ugly, unattractive’
AGR-o’q’iw/AGR-o’q’yu ‘difficult; heavy’
kikiw/kikyu ‘lightweight’
piharaw ‘easy’

A number of adjectives are borrowed from Avar, with frozen gender agreement markers; such adjectives can be recognized by the ending -aw (cf. bercinaw or t’erenaw above). These adjectives do not show gender agreement in Tsez.¹

¹ In Avar, most adjectives show gender agreement suffixally, with the four singular gender markers –w, -y, -b, and –l. Some adjectives, however, combine suffixal gender markers with prefixal ones (w-, y-, b-, and r-, correspondingly).
Tsez also uses a productive strategy of attributive derivation, where any form other than a finite verb (or the absolutive form of the noun—see below) can be made into an attributive modifier via the addition of the suffix –si (see Ch. YY [Morphology] for details and CH. YY[Noun phrase] for more examples). Some examples of derived attributives, which we will refer to as adjectives, for consistency, are shown below. Adjectives can derive from non-absolutive forms of common nouns, from place names, from numerals, or from adverbs (in the examples below, we show adjectives modifying nouns). We have not observed any derivation of adjectives from absolutive nominal forms (except, of course, in cases where the absolutive form and the oblique stem are the same).

(3) derived attributives

a. sasa-qo-si zaman
   morning-SUPER.ESS-ATTR time.ABS.III
   ‘morning, morning time’

b. xan-de-si raʕat’atel
   khan-APUD.ESS-ATTR servant.ABS.I
   ‘servant accompanying the khan’

c. łora γud-e-r-si halt’i
   three.OBL day-OS-LAT-ATTR work.ABS.III
   ‘three days of work (three-day-long work)’

d. qido-qo-si saʕat
   wall-POSS.ESS-ATTR clock.ABS.III
   ‘wall clock’

e. saʕat-yä-si saʕat
   hour-IN.ESS-ATTR hour.ABS.III
   ‘every hour’ (lit.: hourly hour)

f. araq’i-qo-si sik
   moonshine-POSS.ESS-ATTR skin.container.ABS.IV
   ‘leather container for keeping moonshine’

g. q’una-ƛ’o-si tupi
   two.OS-SUPER.ESS-ATTR rifle.ABS.IV
   ‘double-barreled rifle’

h. ʕomoy-s-ce-si ah-ya-bi
   donkey-GEN1-EQUAT-ATTR ear-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
   ‘donkey ears’

i. ader-si
   before-ATTR
   ‘old, prior, former, ancient’

j. t’o-si
   here-ATTR
   ‘local’

k. nesi-r-si
   DEM.I-LAT-ATTR
   ‘pertaining to him’

\(^2\) The word saʕat means ‘hour, clock, watch’; we gloss it according to the context.
As discussed in Ch. YY [Noun phrase], adjectives agree with the head noun in gender, have optional plural marking with the distributive suffix –t’a, and can be marked for definiteness of the head noun with the suffix –ni. Some adjectives also show case concord with the head noun (unless they are marked for definiteness); concordant adjectives distinguish between two forms, the direct form (modifying the head noun in the absolutive) and the oblique form (modifying all other noun forms).

2 Internal structure of an adjectival phrase

2.1 Complement-taking adjectives

Adjectives and derived attributives can take complements expressed by any type of noun phrase, in a variety of cases or postpositional forms. Adjectival phrases are strictly head-final, so the complement selected by the adjective/attributive always precedes the head. Some examples:

(4) ix-a-ƛ’ raziyaw
    spring-OS-SUPER.ESS happy, cheerful
    happy about spring’

(5) t’et’ra-ni-x/t’etr-a ħadur-si
    study-MASD-AD.ESS/study-INF ready-ATTR
    ‘ready to study’

(6) uži Ø-ik’i-z-ā-ƛ q’warid
    boy.ABS.I 1-go-NMLZ-OS-SUPER.ESS sad
    ‘sad because of/about the boy leaving’

(7) sasaq-azo-l xizay-si
    morning-OS-CONT.ESS following-ATTR
    ‘following the morning’

(8) nesi-q b-il-āsi
    DEM.I.OS-POSS.ESS IPL-similar-RES.PTCP
    ‘(those) resembling him (pl.)’

The complement of the adjective AGR-ile ‘similar’ appears either in the equative form or in the absolutive form. In either form, AGR-ile agrees with the head noun. For example:

(9) babiw-ce Ø-ile/y-ile uži/kid
    father-EQUAT 1-similar/II-similar boy.ABS.I/girl.ABS.II
    ‘the/a son/daughter (almost) like Father’

(10) babiw Ø-ile/y-ile uži/kid
    father.ABS 1-similar/II-similar boy.ABS.I/girl.ABS.II
    ‘the/a son/daughter like Father’

There is an interpretive difference between the two forms; the form with the equative implies a weaker similarity. Accordingly, this form is used in expressions of approximate quantity, for example:
‘He wrote the letter in about three hours.’

Imnajšvili (1963: 216) also mentions deverbal adjectives ending in –li, which resemble participles in that they retain the arguments of the verb they derive from. For example, the verb AGR-ayr- ‘bring’ (causative of AGR-ay- ‘come’) takes the ergative agent and the absolutive patient. The derived adjective AGR-ayrali has the same arguments; thus:

(12) neš-ōb-ayrali garpuz
    DEM nI.ERG III-bring-ADJ watermelon.ABS.III
    ‘the watermelon that she brought’ (Imnajšvili 1963: 216)

Such complement-taking adjectives seem closer to participles; they are not widely used in current language.

2.2 Degree expressions modifying the adjective

Adjectives can be preceded by a degree expression, such as bešun ‘extremely’, hič’č’a ‘very, most’, caq ‘very, strongly, extremely’, ŋezí’an ‘extremely’, ŋuraw ‘very; enough’; 3 ŋeziyaw ‘enough’, xec ‘enough’, ěla ‘sufficiently’; t’āki ‘slightly, a bit’, ence ‘somewhat’. 4 For example:

(13) ence tutunu šeķ’u
    somewhat dirty clothes.ABS.IV
    ‘slightly dirty clothes’

Since adverbs and adjectives in Tsez are in most cases indistinguishable in form (see Ch. YY [Adverbs] and YY [Adverbial phrase]), most degree expressions can also be used adjectivally (with the exception of (h)ič’č’a and bešun). For example:

(14) a. ŋela biš’wa
    sufficient food.ABS.III
    ‘sufficient food’

b. t’āki halt’i
    slight work.ABS.III
    ‘light work’

If an adjectival phrase includes several words that can express degrees, only the leftmost one is interpreted as a degree denotation.

3 There is also an adjective ŋuraw ‘numerous’.

4 The degree denotations hič’č’a and bešun are also used to form superlatives: see section 4 below.
2.3 Agreement and concord in the adjectival phrase

The head of an adjectival or attributive phrase agrees in gender with the noun modified by it; see CH. YY [Agreement] for details. Adjectives that end in the attributive suffix –si (see section 1 above) distinguish two forms: direct in –si and oblique in –z(o). The direct form appears with the head noun in the absolutive, and the oblique form modifies nouns in all other cases and forms. For example:

(15) a. č’urä-si otaxi-bi
   bright-ATTR room-PL.ABS.nIPL
   ‘bright rooms’

   b. č’urä-zo otaxi-z-ä
   bright-ATTR.OS room-PL.OS-IN.ESS
   ‘in bright rooms’

(16) a. huday-ƛ’-äy-si(-ni)   mužmar
   next-SUPER-ABL-ATTR-DEF Friday.prayer.ABS.III
   ‘(the) next Friday prayer’

   b. huday-ƛ’-äy-zo-ni    mužmar-ƛ’o
   next-SUPER-ABL-ATTR.OS-DEF Friday.prayer-SUPER.ESS
   ‘at the next Friday prayer’

Adjectives can also be marked for definiteness, with the suffix –ni, as in (16) above. For details of definiteness marking, which pertains to the structure of the noun phrase, see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]. See also that chapter for the relative order of multiple nominal modifiers.

3 Comparatives

In our discussion of comparatives, we will be using the following terminology to refer to the constituents of a comparative construction:

(17) The African elephant is tall  -er   than   the Asian elephant

TARGET OF  GRADABLE COMPARATIVE STANDARD STANDARD OF
COMPARISON  PREDICATE MORPHEME MARKER COMPARISON

by about a meter.

AMOUNT

PHRASE

Comparison can be used in expressions of similarity and difference, which we discuss in turn below.

3.1 Expression of similarity

The expression of similarity includes the phrase denoting the standard of comparison with the equative particle –ce. It is then followed by the gradable adjective denoting the property under consideration. The particle –ce combines only with nominal expressions, however complex (cf. the complex noun phrase in (22)). The following examples illustrate similarity phrases:
In the following examples, adjectival phrases expressing similarity are shown as part of the main clausal predicate. Note that the nominalizing suffix –li (as in (24)) can be omitted in casual speech:

In the following examples, adjectival phrases expressing similarity are shown as part of the main clausal predicate. Note that the nominalizing suffix –li (as in (24)) can be omitted in casual speech:

(23) Heresi mec-re-s huni k’et’u-s k’onč’u-ce deceitful language-OS-GEN1 road.ABS.IV cat-GEN1 leg-EQUAT k’ot’ono r-iči-xosi.
short IV-stay-PRS.PTCP
‘The road traveled by deceitful language is as short as a cat’s leg.’
(proverb used in the meaning “Rumors travel fast.”)

(24) Eni-y-ä hak’o r-āy-ru-(hi)-ce r-igu mother-OS-ERG father- EQUAT father-PR.S.
xinkal.ABS.IV IV-do-PTCP-NMLZ-EQUAT IV-good be.PST.PTCP.WIT sibling-OS-ERG potatoes.ABS.III fry-PRS.PTCP-NMLZ-TOP
‘Sister was as good at frying potatoes as mother was at making dumplings.’ (lit.: Sister frying potatoes was as good as mother making dumplings.)

Equatives in –ce can also serve to express approximate similarity. In this use, they often combine with the agreeing adjective AGR-ile ‘similar, like’ (the corresponding adverb AGR-ile is shown in CH. YY [Adverbial phrase]). For example:

boy.ABS.I father-EQUAT I-similar I-become-RES
‘The boy is almost as tall as (his) father.’

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5 Truncation of isi ‘snow’.
Participial phrases with –ce are used in comparative correlative, for example (see also CH. YY[Relative clauses] for further discussion):

(26) [Už-ä inkar b-ädi-ru-ce ža y-ære-gon…]

boy-ERG refusal.ABS.III III-do-PST.PTCP=EQUATDEM.ABS.(II) II-big-CONTR.TOP

‘The more the boy refused, the more she insisted (lit.: … turned above).’ (ʕAliqilič:80)

3.2 Comparative expressions

Tsez does not have an overt comparative morpheme meaning ‘more’ or ‘less’. Comparatives of superiority are expressed by putting the standard of comparison in the super-ablative form, which precedes the gradable adjective. Consider the following example:

(27) Zarema-tow-ƛ'-äy bercinaw
Zarema-FOC-SUPER-ABL beautiful

‘more beautiful than even Zarema’

As long as the standard of comparison is expressed by a nominal form (a noun proper or a nominalized expression), the comparative construction is grammatical. In the examples below, we show adjectival phrases of comparison as they are used in clauses:

(28) ʕali irbahin-ƛ’-äy Ø-exora (yol).
Ali.ABS Ibrahim-SUPER-ABL 1-tall be.PRS

‘Ali is taller than Ibrahim.’

(29) ʕali-r irbahin-ƛ’-äy r-igu q’amat-ya-bi
Ali-LAT Ibrahim-SUPER-ABL nIPL-good grade-OS.PL-PL.ABS.nIPL

‘Ali gets better grades than Ibrahim.’

(30) Dow-ƛ’-äy bercinaw-n dow-zo-ƛ’-äy bercinaw
2SG-SUPER-ABL beautiful-and 2SG-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL beautiful

hara,’ yol-äsi-n dä-r dunyal-zo gug-yo-ƛ’
voice.ABS.III be.PRS-RES-and 1SG-LAT world-GEN2 dorsum-OS-SUPER.ESS

aɣi b-ukay-nč’u.
bird.ABS.III III-see-PST.NEG

‘I have not seen in this world (lit. over the back of the world) a bird more beautiful than you and a voice more beautiful than yours.’ (ʕवैदिन जिरुन:3)

(31) Yaq’uł hul-zo-ƛ’-äy tatanu (yol).
today yesterday-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL warm be-PRS

‘Today is warmer than yesterday.’

(32) Pat’i dey didur pikru
Fatima.ABS 1SG.GEN so thought.ABS.III

yäl-ru-zo-ƛ’-äy bercinaw (yol).
be-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL beautiful be-PRS

‘Fatima is more beautiful than I thought.’ (lit.: … than my thought being so)
All these examples suggest that Tsez comparatives are phrasal in nature; the standard of comparison has to be a noun phrase, which is typical of phrasal but not clausal comparatives. This is further confirmed by the behavior of comparatives that refer to actions; the verbs encoding such actions can appear in the infinitive (or masdar) form, but never in any other form. An exception arises when the verb is explicitly substantivized, as esayxo-zo-ƛ’-āy in the example below (the verb AGR-et- ‘like’ agrees with the infinitival clause meš-kuro raʔla, marked by brackets, in gender IV):

(36) a.  Madina-r  šeł’u  esayxo-zo-ƛ’-āy
      Madina-LAT clothes.ABS.IV wash-PRS-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL
      [meš-kuro  r-aʔλ-a  r-eti-x.]
      broom-washtub.ABS.nIPL nIPL-apply-INF.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS
      ‘Madina likes cleaning more than washing clothes.’

     b.  *Madina-r  šeł’u  esayxo-ƛ’-āy  meš-kuro
            Madina-LAT clothes.ABS.IV wash-PRS-SUPER-ABL broom-washtub.ABS.nIPL
           r-aʔλ-a  r-eti-x. nIPL-apply-INF.IV IV-like-PRS

     c.  *Madina-r  šeł’u  esayxo-zo-ƛ’-āy
            Madina-LAT clothes.ABS.IV wash-PRS-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL
           meš-kuro  r-aʔλi-x  r-eti-x. broom-washtub.ABS. nIPL nIPL -apply-IPFV.CVB IV-like-PRS

If the amount phrase is present in a comparative, it appears in the in-essive form, thus:
(37) Pat’i Zarema-ƛ’āy q’腈una Ġeb-ā
Fatima.ABS Zarema-SUPER-ABL two.OBL year-IN.ESS
y-ʕeże (yol).
y-old be.PRS
‘Fatima is two years older than Zarema.’

(38) Yaq’ùł ḿera garadus-y-ā huł-ゾ-ƛ’āy
today five.OBL degree-OS-IN.ESS yesterday-ATTR.OS-SUPER-ABL
tatanu (yol).
warm be.PRS
‘It’s five degrees warmer today than yesterday.’

Tsez does not seem to have comparatives of inferiority. In expressing such a comparison, speakers generally use the negative form of equative expressions, for example:

(39) Ẓa uży ʕali-ce ʕadalaw ānu.
DEM boy.ABS.I Ali-EQUAT foolish be.PRS.NEG
‘This boy is not as stupid as Ali.’ (intended meaning: “This boy is less stupid than Ali”)

4 Superlatives

The concept of the superlative is expressed in several ways, none of which is exclusive to the expression of superlativity.

Under one strategy, the superlative reading can be expressed by combining the relevant adjective with one of the following degree expressions: bešun ‘extremely’, (h)ič’č’a ‘very, most’, caq’ ‘very, strongly, extremely’. As with comparatives, the standard of comparison appears in the super-ablative form:

(40) (Nāzon komanda-ƛ’āy) Germaniya-za-s (komanda)
all.OBL team-SUPER-ABL Germany-OS.PL-GEN1 team.ABS.III
(h)ič’č’a b-igu yol.
most III-good be.PRS
‘(Of all the teams,) the German team is the best.’

(41) Nāzon c’alduqan.za-ƛ’āy ġali hič’č’a
all.OBL student-OS.PL-SUPER-ABL Ali.ABS.I most
‘aq’luwav (yol).
clever be.PRS
‘Of all the students, Ali is the smartest.’

When the adjective with the superlative interpretation is used non-predicatively, it has to appear in the definite form:

(42) (H)ič’č’a Ø-igu*(-ni) už-ā berhentli r-is-si.
most I-good-DEF boy-ERG victory.ABS.IV IV-take-PST.WIT
‘The best boy won.’

6 Bokarev (1959: 195) lists only the intensifier caq’; our consultants prefer hič’č’a and bešun.
The superlative form, as a regular form, can also be used with a null head, in which case the definite suffix is also obligatory:

(43)  (H)iċ’ċ’a  Ø-igu-n-ä/* Ø-ig-ä  berhentli  r-is-si.
     most  I-good-DEF-ERG/I-good-ERG  victory.ABS.IV  IV-take-PST.WIT
     ‘The best one won.’

(44)  Hiċ’ċ’a-n  q’aba  hiċ’ċ’a-n  kokoru  hiċ’ċ’a-n  ʕedeʕaraw
     most-and  black  most-and  soft  most  quick
     šebin  šebi  (yol)?
     thing.ABS.IV  what.ABS.IV  be.PRS
     ‘What is the blackest, the softest, and the quickest thing (in the world)?’
     (ʕAq’ilawni kid:5)

Another strategy consists of using a reduplicated adjective to mark the superlative; the superlative reading of these adjectives is reinforced when they co-occur with the standard of comparison in the super-ablative. Compare:

(45)  pro  nāzon-ƛ’-āy  r-ig-r-igu  rok’ura-bi
     all.OBL-SUPER-ESS  nIPL-good.RED  earring-PL.ABS.nIPL
     r-ok’ek’-si
     nIPL-steal-PST.WIT
     ‘They stole the best earrings of all.’

Such reduplication is often accompanied by the focus enclitic –tow, which can appear on the first reduplicate, the second, or both:

(46)  a.  k*a xa-k*a xa-tow  berten
     soon.RED-FOC  wedding.ABS.III
     b.  k*a xa-tow-k*a xa  berten
     soon-FOC-soon  wedding.ABS.III
     c.  k*a xa-tow  k*a xa-tow  berten
     soon-FOC  soon-FOC  wedding.ABS.III
     ‘the soonest wedding; a wedding to be held as soon as possible’

Reduplication with focusing is also used with the numeral sis to express the meaning ‘the only’, e.g.,

(47)  sis-tow  sis  (yāl-ru-ni)  esiw
     one-FOC  one  be.PRS-PST.PTCP-DEF  sibling.ABS.I/II
     ‘the only sister/brother’

Reduplication is not exclusive to the expression of the superlative; reduplicated adjectives can have a more general meaning of intensification, cf. (48):
(48) Di r-ig-r-igu rok’ura-bi r-is-si.
1SG.ERG nIPL-good.RED earring-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-take-PST.WIT
‘I bought really nice earrings.’

As (49) shows, reduplication is possible with non-gradable adjectives as well, in which case it serves to express emphasis or surprise.

(49) a. Nesi-q-or meq’aw micxir b-ay-n.
DEM.I-POSS-LAT false money.ABS.III III-come-PST.NWIT
‘He got counterfeit money.’

b. Nesi-q-or meq’-meq’aw micxir b-ay-n.
DEM.I-POSS-LAT false.RED money.ABS.III III-come-PST.NWIT
‘He got COUNTERFEIT money.’

In a strategy reminiscent of reduplication, two instances of the same adjective, with the first iteration in the sub-ablative form, also denote a superior quality:

(50) a. r-igu-ƛ-āy r-igu biš’w’a
iv-good-SUB-ABL iv-good food.ABS.IV
‘the best food’ (Qacis gulu:50)

b. moʾli-xo-z-a-ƛ-āy moʾli-xo-si žek’u
teach-PRS-ATTR.OS-OS-SUB-ABL teach-PRS-ATTR person.ABS.I
‘the most learned man’
Adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases

1 General remarks

Adverbial phrases can be expressed by an adverb proper,\(^1\) by a postpositional phrase or noun phrase in one of the oblique case forms, or by a converb, possibly with accompanying complements. Example (1) shows adverbial phrases with an adverb as head, example (2) presents NP- and PP-based adverbial phrases, and example (3) illustrates the converbal strategy:

(1) a. Xexbi žigon guruži-s.
    child.ABS again cry-PST.WIT
    ‘The child cried again.’

b. Talihq’ayaw mi dā-r y-ukay-nē’i.
    unfortunately 2SG.ABS.II 1SG-LAT II-see-NEG
    ‘Unfortunately I won’t see you (speaking to a woman).’

c. El-ä hudun ḥyṛ-ān yedu halt’i.
    1PL-ERG probably finish-FUT.DEF DEM.nI work.ABS.III
    ‘We will probably finish this work.’

d. Keč’oł’āz y-iči.
    left II-stay.IMPER
    ‘Sit on the left (speaking to a woman).’

(2) a. Debe-z pikru-xo-r nāzon debe-r-ā
    2SG-GEN² thought-AD-LAT all.ERG 2SG-LAT-INTERR
    kumak b-od-a b-ay-x?
    help.ABS.III III-do-INF III-must-PRS
    ‘In your opinion, does everyone have to help you?’

b. Nes-ä (sidā) saʕat-y-ā-r b-oy-s
    DEM.I-ERG one.OBL hour-OS-IN-LAT III-do-PST.WIT
    Ža halt’i.
    DEM work.ABS.III
    ‘He completed this work in an hour.’

c. Nes-ä (sidā) saʕat-y-ā Ø-eynoy-s.
    DEM.I-ERG one.OBL hour-OS-IN.ESS III-work-PST.WIT
    ‘He worked for an hour.’

d. Učitel-bi otpusk-a-ł at’ono-q b-ik’i-x.
    teacher-Abs.PL.IPL leave-OS-CONT.ESS summer-POSS.ESS IPL-go-PRS
    ‘Teachers go on leave in the summer.’

\(^1\) A number of words that we identify as adverbs proper can be diachronically related to oblique nominal forms as well; for example, talihq’ayaw in (1b) is can be traced back to the historically decomposable form "talih-q’ay-aw ‘luck-CARITIVE-ATTR’, and keč’oł’āz in (1d) goes back to keč’-o-ƛ’-āz ‘left-OS-SUPER.ESS-DISTAL’.
Since clauses headed by a converb constitute a large portion of Tsez adjunct clauses, they can all be considered adverbial phrases as well. Nevertheless, we defer our discussion of converbal clauses to Ch. YY [Adverbial clauses] and will concentrate in this chapter on adverbial phrases consisting of adverbs proper and of nominals in various oblique forms.

2 Agreement and expression of plurality in adverbs

2.1 Agreement

Some adverbs have an agreement slot and agree with the absolutive argument; in (4), the adverb AGR-uygon agrees with the absolutive in gender II, and in (5), the adverb AGR-əƛə agrees with the absolutive in gender III. If an adverbial phrase includes an agreeing degree modifier, that modifier also shows agreement, as demonstrated by (5) where AGR-a’q’u also has gender III agreement:

(4) Nes-ä kayat y-uygon y-egir-si.
   DEM.I-ERG letter.ABS.II II-already II-send-PST.WIT
   ‘He already sent the letter.’

(5) Že gulu b-a’q’u b-aƛə b-ik’i-x.
   DEM horse III-much/many III-fast III-go-PRS
   ‘This horse runs very fast.’

The main agreeing adverbs are as follows:

(6) a. AGR-aq’u ‘much, many’
   b. AGR-aq’ut’a ‘loud’
   c. AGR-əƛə ‘fast’
   d. AGR-ig ‘well’
   e. AGR-ig-žuk ‘so so’ (lit.: well badly)
   f. AGE-ile ‘similarly; as X’
   g. AGR-uy ‘truly’
   h. AGR-uygon ‘already’

2 The adverbs containing uy can all be traced to the same lexical item in (6g), but their synchronic meanings are quite different, so we list them separately.
Some adverbs, related to verbs that have an agreement slot, nevertheless have a frozen agreement marker and do not change depending on the gender of the absolutive argument. For example, *retintow* ‘deliberately, on purpose’ (diachronically related to AGR-*et-* ‘like, want’) or *riyinč’ey* ‘by accident’ (diachronically related to AGR-*iy-* ‘know’) have the frozen gender marker *r-. In (7), the verb agrees with the absolutive in gender III but the adverb appears in the frozen form; in (7), the object is in gender I but the adverb appears with the frozen prefix *r-. The adverbial use of *riyinč’ey* is different from the use of the perfective converb of AGR-*iy-* ‘know’, in the negative form (AGR-*iyinč’ey* ‘unknown, unnoticed’), which agrees with the absolutive argument (see CH. YY[Adverbial clauses]).

(7) Neł-ä retintow murad goł’-inč’u.
DEM.nI-ERG on.purpose Murat.ABS.I call-PST.NWIT.NEG
‘She purposely did not invite Murat.’

(8) Kid-b-ä riyinč’ey ɣway b-egir-si.
girl-OS-ERG accidentally dog.ABS.III III-send-PST.WIT
‘The girl accidentally let the dog out.’

If an adverbial phrase is expressed by a converbal phrase, then agreement is determined by the argument structure of the converb. For example, in (3a), repeated below, the converb form is intransitive, has an overt agreement slot, and agrees with the unexpressed subject coreferential with ‘the calves’:

(9) Meši-bi, [pro, nā-gon r-oq-lin]
calf-PL.ABS.nIPL where-CONTR.TOP nIPL-become-CONC.CVB
r-iči-n.
nIPL-stay-PST.NWIT
‘The calves stayed wherever they liked.’ (=3a)

In (3b), the converb form is transitive, also has an agreement slot, and agrees with the absolutive object ‘song’, as shown in (10a). The object can also be expressed inside the converbal phrase as in (10b); it still determines agreement on the converb.

(10) a. Šal-ä [pro, haraš, b-oym, k’eči, qa’ši-x.
Ali-ERG loud III-do-PFV.CVB song.ABS.III sing-PRS
b. Šal-ä [k’eči, haraš, b-oym, pro, qa’ši-x.
Ali-ERG song.ABS.III loud III-do-PFV.CVB sing-PRS
‘Ali sings loudly.’ (=3b)

Adverbs can combine with the distributive suffix –*t’a* (see Ch. YY [Noun phrase] and YY [Adjective phrase]); this strategy is particularly common with the adverb *ence* ‘a little; somewhat’. The distributive suffix provides the additional meaning of intensification, as in (11b), and/or the notion of an event in progress, as in (12b), which emphasizes the process of listening.
(11) a. Ence Ø-iš.
a.little 1-eat.INTR.IMPER
‘Eat a little!/Eat small amounts.’ (addressing a male)
b. Ence-t’a Ø-iš.
a.little-DISTR 1-eat.INTR.IMPER
‘Eat slowly!’ (addressing a male)

(12) a. R-ig ŋenekizi r-oq xabar-ya-qo-r.
nI PL-well listen nI PL-become.IMPER story-OS-POSS-LAT
‘Listen carefully to the story.’ (addressing a group of people)
b. R-ig-t’a ŋenekizi r-oq xabar-ya-qo-r.
nI PL-well-DISTR listen nI PL-become.IMPER story-OS-POSS-LAT
‘Pay close attention to the story.’ (addressing a group of people)

3 Internal structure of an adverbial phrase

Adverbs proper can be modified by a number of degree expressions, such as bešun ‘extremely’, hič’č’a ‘very, most’, caq’ ‘very, strongly, extremely’, ĭzi’an ‘extremely’; ĭziyaw ‘enough’, xec ‘enough’, ela ‘sufficiently’, t’āki ‘slightly, a bit’, ence ‘a little; somewhat’. The degree expression always precedes the adverb. For example:

(13) hič’č’a kwaxatow
very/most soon
‘very soon; the soonest’
(14) c’aq’ harihun
very slowly
‘very slow’
(15) c’aq’tow nagah
completely suddenly
‘completely unexpectedly’
(16) AGR-a’q’u AGR-aƛo
much/many fast
‘very fast’ (see (5) above)
(17) ence(-tow) xexliƛ.’
somewhat-FOC fast
‘a bit too fast’

Of the degree expressions presented here, t’āki and ence(-tow) can also appear as independent adverbials. For example:

(18) Ža ence(-tow) liy’onił-xo.
DEM.ABS.(I/II) somewhat-FOC limp-PRS
‘S/he limps a bit.’

There are no degree adverbials with the meaning ‘almost’ or ‘approximately’. To convey such a meaning, Tsez uses comparatives of similarity, which we discuss in the next section.
4 Degrees of comparison in adverbial phrases

Comparison in gradable adverbs is expressed the same way as comparison in adjectives (see Ch. YY [Adjectival phrase]). The comparison of similarity is expressed by an adverbial phrase with the equative –ce, optionally followed by AGR-ile ‘similar(ly)’. For example:

(19) Nes-ä harihun-ce (b-ile) halt’i b-o-y-n.
DEM.I-ERG slowly-EQUAT III-similarly work III-do-PST.WIT
‘He did the work almost slowly.’

Recall that Tsez does not have an overt comparative morpheme meaning ‘more’ or ‘less’. Comparatives of superiority are expressed by putting the standard of comparison in the superablative form, which precedes the gradable adverb. For example:

(20) ʕal-ä irbahin-ƛ’-āy Ø-‘āl’o xibaƛ’ k’oƛi-x.
Ali.ABS Ibrahim-SUPER-ABL i-fast running run-PRS
‘Ali runs faster than Ibrahim.’
(21) Pat’imat-ä Zaira-ƛ’-āy [haraƛ b-o-y-n] k’eč’ q’al’i-x.
Fatima-ERG Zaira-SUPER-ABL loud III-do-GER song.ABS.III sing-PRS
‘Fatima sings louder than Zaira.’
(22) Nes-ä yiƛ’a sual-yo-r neƛ’a-ƛ’-āy xizaƛor
DEM.I-ERG DEM.nI question-OS-LAT DEM.nI-SUPER-ABL later
żawab neƛ-si.
answer.ABS.III give-PST.WIT
‘He answered that question after her (later than her).’

In the following example, the adverbial phrase is assessed against the standard of comparison expressed by a noun modified by a relative clause (lit.: ‘the whistle that Ibrahim hit’):

(23) ʕal-ä k’eč haraƛ b-o-y-n q’al’i-x
Ali-ERG song.ABS.III loud III-do-GER sing-PRS
irbahin-ƛ y-‘āk’-ru šaru-ƛ’-āy.
Ibrahim-ERG II-hit-PST.PRTCP whistle-SUPER-ABL
‘Ali sings louder than Ibrahim whistles.’ (lit. Ali sings louder than Ibrahim’s whistling)

The superlative meaning in adverbs can be encoded by the degree expressions bešun ‘extremely’ or hič’č’a ‘very, most’, which precede the gradable adverb (24), by (partial) reduplication (25),3 or by the addition of the focus particle to the head of the adverbial phrase (26). Reduplication is not available to adverbial converbal phrases.

(24) a. ʕal-ä k’eč hič’č’a haraƛ b-o-y-n q’al’i-x
Ali-ERG song.ABS.III most loud III-do-GER sing-PRS
---
3 For reduplication of adverbs and adjectives, see Ch. YY.
None of the three strategies described here is exclusive to the expression of the superlative. For instance, reduplicated adverbs can simply have the meaning of intensification, as shown in (27) for a gradable adverb and in (28) for a non-gradable one (see Ch. YY [Adjectival phrase] for the same generalizations with respect to adjectives).

(27) Ader-tow idu zow-s yedu kid.  
before-FOC home be.PST-PST.WIT DEM girl.ABS.II
‘That girl was home the earliest.’

(28) Xexbi žig-žigon guruƛi-x.  
child.ABS again.REM cry-PRS
‘The child is crying yet again.’

5 Adverbial phrases by subtype

The following subsections present main types of adverbial phrases based on their meaning. We include indeterminate and negative adverbs within each section, although some general patterns emerge. In particular, adverbs expressing indefiniteness can be derived from the base adverb with the addition of the particles –ƛa and –go(n), which derive existential and free choice expressions respectively. Other types of adverbs can be derived via suffixation: adverbs expressing the additional meaning of intensification can be derived with the distributive suffix –t’a; universally quantified adverbs are formed with the suffix tow/–tew; and negative-polarity adverbs are derived with the suffix –kin (we gloss both –tow and -kin as focus particles).

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4 For the difference between the two particles, see CH. YY[Particles].
5.1 Adverbial phrases of manner

Adverbial phrases of manner include AGR-ig ‘well’ (cf. the adjective AGR-igu ‘good’), žuk ‘badly’ (cf. the adjective žuka ‘bad’), AGR-ig-žuk ‘somehow (usu. with negative connotations)’,5 AGR-ʔaʔo ‘quickly’, AGR-ile ‘similarly; as’, harihun ‘slowly’, t’uban ‘completely’ (an Avar borrowing), c’ik’iw ‘completely, in full’, halica ‘with difficulty’, nadaḥ ‘suddenly; unexpectedly’,6 etc. Some examples:

(29) Mašina harihun hon-ƛ’o-yor b-izi-s.
car.ABS.III slowly mountain-SUPER-VERS III-rise-PST.WIT
‘The car went slowly up the hill.’

(30) Nes-ä č’obogo ŋ’utku r-oy-s.
DEM.I-ERG in.vain house.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.WIT
‘He built a house for nothing.’

The use of the super-essive form of nouns offers a productive pattern for deriving manner adverbials, especially from nouns denoting motion or sound emission. For example:

(31) a. dur(i)-mo-ƛ’
chase/running-OS-SUPER.ESS
‘hastily; in running’
b. loč-a-ƛ’
dance-OS-SUPER.ESS
‘(in) dancing’
c. guru-ƛ’
cry/weeping-SUPER.ESS
‘(in/by) crying’
d. qaʔ-no-ƛ’
scream-NMLZ-SUPER.ESS
‘(in/by) screaming’

Some such adverbials seem completely lexicalized, and their connection to the corresponding nouns is no longer synchronically perceived; for example, (31a, b) are perceived as indivisible adverbs and are listed as such in Xalilov’s dictionary (Xalilov 1999). The pattern illustrated in (31d) deserves special mention; here, the adverbial is derived from a nominalized form of the verb qal-/q’al- ‘scream’. Such nominalized forms of intransitive verbs are very common (see CH. YY[Nominalizations]) and they, in turn, provide material for the corresponding adverbials. Such adverbials often combine with verbs of motion or (dis)appearance to express the manner in which the event develops. For example:

(32) Id-āz-ay durmoƛ’ b-oxi-s k’et’u.
house-DIST-IN.ABL in.running III-appear-PST.WIT cat.ABS.III
‘The cat rushed out of the house.’

5 These adverbs are formed from the corresponding adjectives via truncation.
6 Nadaḥ is also used as the opening adverb in conditional clauses, see CH. YY[Converbal clauses].
We also find a similar use of converbal clauses as manner-encoding satellites with verbs of motion; see CH. YY[Adverbial clauses] for details.

Moving on to other uses of manner adverbs, in (33a), we find the manner adverbial encoded by a spatial form of the equative phrase ‘as at home’, with the second component agreeing with the absolutive; in (33b), the same adverbials are used without spatial marking:

(33)  
a. Yedu kid [idu y-il-ā]/ 
DEM girl.ABS.II home.ADV II-similar-IN.ESS/ 
[y‘utk-ā y-il-ā] y-iči-x. 
home-IN.ESS II-similar-IN.ESS II-stay-PRS
b. Yedu kid [idu y-ile]/ 
DEM girl.ABS.II home.ADV II-similar / 
[y‘utk-ā y-ile] y-iči-x. 
home-IN.ESS II-similar II-stay-PRS

‘This girl behaves as if she were at home.’

Indefinite manner adverbials include didurḷa, AGR-ig-ţuk, and didurgon. The former two adverbials both express the meaning ‘somehow’, with an adverse or negative connotation:

(34) Ža dā-l-xor didurḷa yoł. 
DEM.ABS 1 SG-CONT-VERS somehow be.PRS

‘His attitude toward me is not great.’ (lit.: he to me somehow is)

The manner adverbials didurnokin and siskin (derived from the word sis ‘one’, with the focus marker –kin) are negative polarity items and cannot appear without negation:

(35) Nes-ā darsi siskin/didurnokin b-oy-inč’u. 
DEM.I-ERG lesson.ABS.III anyhow/anyhow III-do-PST.nWIT.NEG

‘He did not prepare the lesson at all/in any way.’

The semantics of ‘too’, ‘also’ is expressed by adding the marker –n ‘and’ to the relevant constituent (see Ch. YY [Noun phrase] and CH.YY [Particles] on the use of –n in coordination). The particle –n does not combine with finite verbs; otherwise it can co-occur with any constituent. Consider some examples:

(36) Eḵ’i di-n zow-s maskuwa-ň. 
last.year 1 SG.ABS-and be.PST-PST.WIT Moscow-CONT.ESS

‘I also visited Moscow last year.’

(37) Eḵ’i maskuwa-ň-no zow-s di. 
last.year Moscow-CONT.ESS-and be.PST-PST.WIT 1 SG.ABS

‘Last year I was in Moscow as well.’

There are two markers –n(o) in Tsez; in addition to the linking –n(o), we find a topic-marking particle (see Ch. YY [Particles]), so a question arises as to whether these functions can be
distinguished. Taken out of context, the two examples above can also mean ‘As for me, I was in Moscow last year’ and ‘In Moscow, I was (there) last year’; thus, they are ambiguous. However when \(n\) is used in the meaning of ‘also, too’, the constituent that it attaches to can appear anywhere in the preverbal domain, but never postverbally. So, while (37) is ambiguous between the topic interpretation of ‘in Moscow’ and the interpretation ‘in Moscow as well’, the example below can have only one interpretation:

\[
\text{(38) } \text{Eλ}’i \text{ di zow-s maskuwa-l-no.} \\
\text{past 1SG.ABS be.PST-PST.WIT Moscow-CONT.ESS-TOP} \\
\text{‘In Moscow, I was there last year.’} \\
\text{NOT: ‘Last year I was in Moscow as well.’}
\]

Manner adverbials can also appear as depictives, usually associated with the highest argument; for example:

\[
\text{(39) } \text{Nes-ä sual-yo-r xizaz/adâz žawab neλ-si.} \\
\text{DEM.I-ERG question-OS-LAT lastly/before answer.ABS.III give-PST.WIT} \\
\text{‘He answered that question lasti/*k/firsti/*k.’} \\
\text{(= he was the first/last to answer that question; NOT: that question was the first he answered)}
\]

\[
\text{(40) } \text{Eniw-r kid adâz y-ukay-s.} \\
\text{mother- LAT girl.ABS.II before II-see-PST.WIT} \\
\text{‘Mother saw the girl firsti/*k.’} \\
\text{(=Mother was the first to see the girl; NOT: the girl was the first person that Mother saw)}
\]

Manner adverbials do not have a dedicated position in the clause. They can appear immediately preceding the verb, as in (35), (39), (40), between the subject and objects, as in (30), or sentence-initially, as below:

\[
\text{(41) } \text{Hemedur-tow ža xabar nesi-z b-‘eže-t’a-ni} \\
\text{so-FOC DEM news.ABS.III DEM.I-GEN2 IPL-big-DISTR-DEF} \\
\text{es-na-za-λ’o-r-no b-ay-n.} \\
\text{sibling-PL-OS.PL-SUPER-LAT-and III-come-PST.nWIT} \\
\text{‘In such a way, the news also reached his older brothers.’} \\
\text{(Aelä bečed adiru miskin žek’u:24)}
\]

If the adverbial phrase is expressed by a converb, with or without complements, its preferred position is to the left of other objects and sometimes even before the subject; this is a reflection of the more general preference for placing longer constituents before shorter ones in the
preverbal domain.\(^7\) Compare the following example, which includes a converbal phrase expressing manner and a light adverb of manner (which is closer to the verb):

\[(42)\]  
\[
\text{Nes-ä [sida baši-q } \text{ pro}_i r\text{-ixi-n]} \\
\text{DEM.I-ERG one.OBL finger-POSS.ESS IV-hang-PFV.CVB} \\
\text{aždaḥ-e-s q’im}_i \text{ [xexliḷ’]} r\text{-ayr-no.} \\
\text{dragon-OS-GEN1 head.ABS.IV quickly IV-bring-PST.NWIT} \\
\text{‘With one finger, he quickly brought the dragon’s head.’ (based on ‘Aliqilič: 102)}
\]

In addition to adverbial phrases expressed by adverbs or noun phrases in spatial forms, a number of converbal clauses can express manner adverbs; these are discussed in CH.YY[Adverbial clauses].

### 5.2 Adverbial phrases denoting location

Many adverbial phrases expressing location are formed on the basis of demonstratives (see Ch. YY and YY) or place names. The essive form denotes location in/on/at a place, the ablative form denotes location away from some place, and the lative and versative forms denote location in the direction of a given place. The group of adverbs expressing the general meaning ‘everywhere’ is particularly numerous; a number of these adverbs include reduplicated forms, as well as compounds expressing locations viewed as opposites (up and down, left and right). In the examples below, we show the morphological make-up of these adverbs, but it is important to keep in mind that they are probably viewed as unitary expressions:

\[(43)\]  
\[
a. \text{ ciq=beqaq (< ci-qo-beq-a-q)} \\
\text{everywhere forest-POSS.ESS-southern.slope-OS-POSS.ESS} \\
b. \text{ c’ik’iwuzax (< c’ik’iw-yu-za-x)} \\
\text{everywhere complete-ATTR-OS-AD.ESS} \\
c. \text{ bit=nitor (< bitor-bitor)} \\
\text{everywhere around-around} \\
d. \text{ ƛ’iri=wāl (ƛ’iri-w̱al)} \\
\text{everywhere up-below} \\
e. \text{ ilo=int’o (ilo-int’o)} \\
\text{everywhere here-there} \\
f. \text{ keč’oł.’ār=kut’yoł.’ār (keč’o-ƛ’-ār-kut’yo-ƛ’-ār)\(^8\)} \\
\text{everywhere left-SUPER-VERS-right-SUPER-VERS}
\]

Indefinite locative adverbs are formed from the indeterminate nā ‘where’ in the in-essive, in-lative/in-versative and in-ablative forms. The indefinite form ‘somewhere; wherever’ (in a location) can also be expressed converbally by nāgon AGR-oqlin (see (3a) above).

---

\(^7\) The ordering generalizations outlined in this section pertain specifically to manner adverbs and not to adverbial phrases in general. We discuss word order generalizations for other kinds of adverbs in the relevant sections.

\(^8\) The suffix -ār is a contraction of the versative suffix -āyor.
(44) a. nāľā
   ‘somewhere’ (in a location)
b. nārlā/nāyorľā
   ‘somewhere’ (toward a location)
c. nāyľa/nazayľa
   ‘from somewhere’
d. nāntow
   ‘everywhere’

As with manner adverbials, the addition of –kin to the indeterminate adverb results in a negative polarity item:

(45) Mi nāsinan zow-s amma di-gon
    2SG.ABS everywhere be.PST-PST.WIT but 1SG.ABS-CONTR.TOP
   nāsikin zow-nč’u.
   anywhere.NPI be.PST-PST.NEG
   ‘You have been everywhere but I have not been anywhere.’

In a great number of instances, location adverbials are expressed by noun phrases in spatial cases as well as by frozen nominal forms. For example, the adverbial ‘at home’ is idu, and directional adverbs ‘away from home’ and ‘home’ are formed with the addition of the ablative and lative/versative affixes accordingly. Common spatial forms used to express location adverbials are cont-essive (cf. maskuwa-l ‘in Moscow’ in (36)-(38) above) and in-essive, for location, cont-ablative/in-ablative for direction away, and cont-lative/versative, in-lative/versative for direction toward.

A common way of denoting locations is by using spatial forms of the past participle. It is possible for the participle to appear with the head noun meči/ moči ‘place; field’, in which case the head noun takes all the spatial marking. More commonly, though, the participle (with or without dependents) appears without a head noun, as a headless relative clause (see CH. YY[Relative clauses]). Compare the following minimal pair. In (46a), the participle modifies the head noun meči, which appears in the super-lative form. In (46b), there is no head noun, and the substantivized participle takes the spatial marking and functions as a locative expression.

(46) a. Ža [yizi xan yāł-ru] mečo-ľ’o-r
    DEM.ABS(.I) DEM.I king.ABS.I be.PRS-PST.PTCP place-SUPER-LAT
   Ø-ik’i-n.
   I-go-PST.NWIT
   ‘He went up to the place where the king lived/was.’
b. Ža yizi xan yāł-(ru-)zo-ľ’o-r
    DEM.ABS(.I) DEM.I king.ABS.I be.PRS-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL-SUPER-LAT
   Ø-ik’i-n.
   I-go-PST.NWIT
   ‘He went up to the place where the king lived/was.’
In its oblique form with the attributive suffix –zo, the past participle combines with a variety of spatial endings, such as the in-essive (in the sense of “most general location”) as well as the ablative, lative, or versative forms of the IN, CONT, or POSS series. In naturally occurring texts, the participial suffix –ru is omitted, but as shown below, it can be present:

(47) [Č’anya k’äl-či-(ru)-z-ä] cek’i-n k’äläi.
goat.ABS.III jump-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL-IN.ESS kid.ABS.III-and jump.FUT
‘Where there’s smoke, there’s fire.’ (lit.: the kid will jump where the goat jumps)

(48) [Oz-e-r r-ukäy-nč’i-z-ä] r-uq’el.
eye-OS-LAT nIPL-see-PST.PTCP.NEG-ATTR.OBL-IN.ESS nIPL-hide.IMPER
‘Hide where his eyes won’t see you.’ (addressing animals) (K’et’un zirun:23)

(49) [Debe-r r-äti-(ru)-z-ä] Ø-ik’i.
2SG-LAT IV-want-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL-IN.ESS 1-go.IMPER
‘Go where you wish.’ (speaking to a man)

(50) [Mi xäci-(ru)-z-äy] Ø-ay-ä?
2SG.ABS(.I) leave-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL-IN.ABL 1-come-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Did you come from where (they) left you?’

(51) Žedu netin-tow beli-ƛ’
DEM.ABS.IPLL always-FOC hunting-SUPER.ESS
[buq b-ätu-(ru)-z-ä-yor]-t’a b-ik’i-x
sun.ABS.III III-be.lost-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL-IN-VERS-DISTR ÏPL-go-IPFV.CVB
zow-n.10
be.PST-PTCP.NWIT
‘They always went to hunt in the direction where the sun sets.’ (Ł’onu esiw:9)

Forker (2013: 252-254) reports the same use of HINUQ participial constructions in the expression of location.

Adverbial phrases denoting location have two typical positions inside a clause: at the left edge, where they are interpreted as scene-setting expressions, providing the general coordinates of an event, and in the middle field of the clause, usually after the subject and other arguments. If the subject is indefinite, as in presentational clauses, it follows any adverbials; if definite, it precedes them. Compare (52), which introduces a measure of silver as a new referent, and (53), where ‘silver ring’ is definite:

(52) Elo tel ukr-s sah eqr-äsi yol.
there inside silver-GEN1 measure.ABS.III put-RES be.PRS

9 This example may be structurally ambiguous; the second person absolutive mi may be interpreted with the converb, as we show in brackets, but it may also be part of the matrix clause.

10 This example illustrates the set expression buq bätuzä ‘in the west; at the sundown’, which appears in the versative form but can also appear in the essive, ablative or lative. The opposite expression, buq bolëxzä ‘in the east (lit.: where the sun rises)’ is also widely used and can appear in different spatial forms.
‘Inside there, there is a measure of silver.’ (Aliqilič: 10)

(53) Dey ukr-š b'ašiqy elo tel eqr-äsi yoł.  
1SG.GEN1 silver-GEN1 ring.ABS.III there inside put-RES be.PRS
‘My silver ring is inside there.’

5.3 Adverbial phrases of time

As adverbials of place, many temporal adverbials are expressed by nouns in spatial forms. For example, ża'qul ‘today’, ya'qul ‘today’, hul ‘yesterday’ are frozen forms with the cont-essive suffix –l; the word hulzak ‘(on) the day before yesterday’ can be diachronically traced to the nominalization of hul (hulz-), appearing in the super-essive form. The word yude ‘tomorrow’ is probably a frozen in-essive of yudi ‘day’. The adverbial yudes literally means ‘daily’ but it is often interpreted as ‘always’.

The stems buqboλ ‘at dawn, in the morning’ and buqbeta- ‘at dinner-time’ are frozen forms of the noun buq ‘sun’ that combine with the agreeing verbs AGR-oλ- ‘rise’ and AGR-et- ‘be lost’.\(^{11}\)

These stems further combine with spatial markers to form time adverbials, for example:

(54) a. buqboλ-ay  
sunrise-ABL  
‘since morning’

b. buqbeta-x  
sundown-AD.ESS  
‘in the evening, at dinner time’

Example (54a) and the examples below show that temporal adverbs can carry lative and ablative affixes. We have already observed this pattern in adverbs of location.

(55) a. ża'qul-äy/ya'qul-äy  
today-ABL/today-ABL  
‘since now; from now on’

b. sasaq-o-r  
morning-OS-LAT  
‘by tomorrow, by the morning’

A number of adverbial phrases are expressed by complex nominals in a spatial form. For example:

(56) [yud-e-s yud-e-r] yud-bi r-e'yu-l-xo.  
day-OS-GEN1 day-OS-LAT day-ABS.PL.N I PL nI PL-short-INTR-PRS  
‘Days are getting shorter day by day.’

\(^{11}\) In section 5.2, we showed how these forms produce converbal phrases of location; in such phrases, the noun buq is separate from the verb and the verb stem can undergo change. In the temporal phrases, however, buq cannot be separated from the verb and the verb stem does not change.
(57) [Huday ṣeb-ā] b-ay-ān.
next year-IN.ESS I PL-come-FUT
‘We will come next year.’

There is no set adverbial phrase meaning ‘once upon a time’; a typical opening line of a fairy tale, where such a phrase is to be expected, consists of a combination of the affirmative and negative forms of the verb ‘be’ followed by the name of the referent being introduced:12

(58) Zow-n-ƛāx zow-n-ānu-ƛāx onočú-n
be.PST-PST.NWIT-QUOT be. PST-PST.NWIT-NEG-QUOT hen.ABS.III-and
mamalay-n.
rooster.ABS.III-and
‘Once upon a time there lived a chicken and a rooster.’ (Onočun mamalayn:1)

Adverbial expressions of time occur at the left edge of the sentence if they serve as scene-setting expressions, situating the entire state of affairs in time; compare examples (36)-(38), (56), (57).

5.4 Adverbial phrases of frequency and order

The main non-derived adverbs in this subclass are:

(59) a. žigon ‘again’
b. žigoł’aiy ‘once again’
c. žād ‘yet’ (typically used with negation)
d. AGR-uygon ‘already’
e. ū ‘already’
f. netintow/netin/netinon ‘always’
g. yudes ‘always’ (lit. daily, see section 5.3)

The adverb ‘again’ can be used to indicate both repetition (the eventuality repeats itself) and restitution (the original state of affairs is restored). For example, (60) could either mean that Zarema left the window slightly open again, as she has done before (the repetitive reading) or that the window is slightly open, as it was before, due to Zarema’s action (the restitutive reading):

(60) Žigon aki r-a‘yił’ xec-is Zarem-ā.
again window.ABS.IV IV-ajar leave-PST.WIT Zaema-ERG
‘Zarema left the window ajar again.’
REPETITIVE: opened the window again
RESTITUTIVE: the window is again open

The two readings can be disambiguated by placing the adverb immediately before the constituent it takes scope over. Compare the ambiguous (60) and the unambiguous examples below; in (61a) ‘again’ precedes the adverb r-a‘yił’, and in (61b), it precedes the main verb.

12 In fairy tales, these V-not-V forms often appear with the quotative affix –ƛāx, which combines with non-witnessed verb forms (as opposed to –ƛin, which does not impose restrictions on the tense forms it combines with). See Ch. YY [Particles] and see also Imnajšvili (1963: 274).
A number of adverbs with the general meaning ‘once’ or ‘rarely’ are derived from the adverbial stem sos- ‘once’; in particular,

(62) a. sosit’a (from sosi-t’a)
    ‘once’ once-COLL
b. sosi/sossi/sososi (possibly partial reduplication of sosi)
    ‘seldom’
c. sosoxay (from sos-o-x-áy)
    ‘occasionally’ once-OS-AD-ABL

The example below, from a fairy tale, illustrates the use of sosit’a:

(63) Nel-ä elu-r li nei-xosi [yoł] ƛeb-a-x-áy
    neighbor.ABS.(II) three.ABS.I water.ABS.III give-PRS.PTCP be.PRS year-OS-AD-ABL
    sosit’a el-ä neł-á-r y-ác’-ani-x kid teł-náy.
    once 1PL-ERG DEM.nI-LAT II-eat-MASD-AD.ESS girl.ABS.II give-COND
    ‘It [dragon] gives us water if once a year we give him a girl for him to eat.’ (ʕAliqilić:49)

Event frequency can also be expressed by the adessive form of numerals, as in the example below:

(64) Maduhal Ŋora-x y-ay-x.
    neighbor.ABS.(II) three.OS-AD.ESS II-come-PRS
    ‘The neighbor has stopped by three times.’

The same form is used to express multiplication:

(65) Q’un-a-x q’ano uyno (yoł).
    two.OS-AD.ESS two four be.PRS
    ‘Two by two is four.’

Ordinal numerals with the additive particle –gon form adverbials denoting ordered sequences. Compare Ŋora-x ‘three times’ in example (64) above and Ŋono-ālır-ȓu-gon ‘thirdly’ in (66):

(66) neił sual-yo-r žawab Ŋono-ālır-ȓu-gon b-od-a
    DEM.nI question-OS-LAT answer.ABS.III three-ORD-ADD III-do-INF
    b-áy.
    III-must
‘This question should be addressed (answered) in the third place.’

In texts, we also find a combination of the two strategies: the numeral in the adessive form combining with ä̃liru-gon, as in the example below (the form k’ox is used in alternation with q’ˑunax):

\[(67)\pro_1 \ k’o-x-ä̃liru-gon \ pro_2 \ b-ok’-no.\]

\[pro.\text{ERG} \ \text{two-AD.ESS-ORD-ADD} \ pro.\text{ABS.(III)} \ \text{III-hit-PST.NWIT}\]

‘(The hen) hit (the frog) for a second time.’ (Onočun mamalayn:16)

The simple adverb ži can be used alone to denote ‘already’; for example:

\[(68) \ B-ä̃ti-ru \ mašina \ ži \ q’ač’azi \ b-äq-inč’i.\]

\[\text{III-turn-PST.PTCP} \ \text{car.ABS.III} \ \text{already} \ \text{repair} \ \text{III-become.FUT-NEG}\]

‘The overturned car is already beyond repair.’

It can also appear in combination with AGR-uygon, as in the next example. In that case, AGR-uygon must appear closer to the verb; therefore, (69c) is judged unacceptable:

\[(69) \ a. \ Mi \ ži \ Ø-uygon \ Ø-iš-ä?\]

\[2\text{SG.ABS.(I)} \ \text{already} \ \text{I-already} \ \text{I-eat.ITR-PST.WIT.INTERR}\]

\[b. \ Ži \ mi \ Ø-uygon \ Ø-iš-ä?\]

\[\text{already} \ 2\text{SG.ABS.(I)} \ \text{I-already} \ \text{I-eat.ITR-PST.WIT.INTERR}\]

‘Have you already eaten?’

\[c. \ #Ži \ Ø-uygon \ ži \ Ø-iš-ä?\]

\[2\text{SG.ABS.(I)} \ \text{I-already} \ \text{I-eat.ITR-PST.WIT.INTERR}\]

The adverb žäd ‘yet’ is a negative polarity item, appearing only with negation:

\[(70) \ a. \ Ža \ žäd \ y-äk’i-nč’u/*y-äk’i.\]

\[\text{DEM.ABS} \ \text{yet} \ \text{II-go.FUT-FUT.NEG/II-go-FUT}\]

‘She has not yet left.’

\[b. \ Dä-r \ žäd \ r-iy-x-*(ānu).\]

\[1\text{SG-LAT} \ \text{yet} \ \text{IV-know-PRS-NEG}\]

5.5 Adverbial phrases denoting reason, cause, or purpose

The majority of adverbial phrases denoting reason and cause are expressed by converbs (see CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]). Purpose can also be expressed by infinitival or masdar clauses that appear as complements of control verbs (CH. YY [Clausal complements]) or as relative clauses (CH. YY [Relative clauses]). Noun phrases in two spatial forms can express the adverbial meanings of purpose and cause. The first is the sub-ablative form, which is used in a meaning comparable to the English ‘for the sake of’, but can also be interpreted as ‘because of’:

\[(71) \ Nes-ä \ Ža \ micxir-yo-ƛ-äy \ r-odi-s.\]

\[\text{DEM.I-ERG} \ \text{DEM.ABS.(IV)} \ \text{money-OS- SUB-ABL} \ \text{IV-do-PST.WIT}\]

‘He did that for the money.’ (for the sake of money)
Because of you, Father did not go to work. (for your sake; because of you)

These examples show nouns proper in the sub-ablative form; masdar clauses, which constitute complex noun phrases, can also appear in the sub-ablative. For instance:

(73) 
Nes-ä ža [xabar b-iy-ani-]ƛ-āy r-odi-s.  
DEM.I-ERG DEM.ABS.(IV) news.ABS.III III-know-ABL IV-do-PST.WIT  
('He did that to find out the news.')

(74) 
[hak’o-m-ƛe-r-ce šebin r-iqir-ani]-ƛ-āy  
xinkal-OS-SUB-LAT-EQUAT thing.ABS.IV IV-catch-MASD-SUB-ABL  
Ø-eynog-ani x moči-n k’edi-n Ø-oq-āsi  
i-work-MASD-AD.ESS place.ABS.III-and look.for-PFV.CVB I-begin-RES.PTCP  
yol. be.PRS  
('He began to look for a place to work because of the need to earn his daily bread.')

Causes and reasons that cannot be identified as a purpose set by a sentient agent do not appear in this form. Compare (72) and the following example, in which use of the sub-ablative form (ʕabdalliƛāy) would entail that the main participant has control over his folly or had it set as his goal:

(75) 
*Nes-ä ža ʕabdalli-ƛ-āy r-odi-s.  
DEM.I-ERG DEM.ABS.(IV) foolishness-SUB-ABL IV-do-PST.WIT  
('He did that out of foolishness.') (for the sake of foolishness)

In such instances, when the speaker needs to express a cause over which the participant has no control, Tsez uses noun phrases in the super-essive distal form. For example,

(76) 
Nes-ä ža ʕabdalli-ƛ'-āz(a)  
DEM.I-ERG DEM.ABS.(IV) foolishness-SUPER.ESS-DIST r-odi-n r-āsu.  
IV-do-PFV.CVB IV-may  
('He probably did that out of foolishness.')

(77) 
Žuka hawa=baq’-yo-ƛ’-āz(a) awariya-bi r-oq-xo.  
bad weather-OS-SUPER.ESS-DIST accident-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-become-PRS  
('Accidents happen because of bad weather.')

Noun phrases in a spatial form expressing reason can be quite long and complex. Consider the following example, where two other adverbial phrases also appear in the same super-essive distal form to encode spatial relations proper (‘on the left’ and ‘on the side’):

(78) 
Ža dā-r r-iy-s [huni-x  
DEM.ABS.(IV) 1SG-LAT IV-know-PST.WIT road-AD.ESS
'I knew that because a bee was flying at the right side of the road.’ (Xanno, nesisgon fonu užin:97)

Finally, masdar clauses can also appear in the super-essive to indicate reason, but this is very rare:

(79) yudi-asol. r-iq-ani-ƛ’-āz awariya-bi
weather.ABS.IV IV-get-MASD-SUPER.ESS-DIST accident-PL.ABS.nIPL
r-oq-si.
IIIPL-become-PRS
‘The accidents happened because the weather got bad.’

Various forms of the indeterminate šidā (the in-essive form of sis ‘one’) and of the indefinite pronoun šebin can also be used as adverbial phrases expressing reason/purpose and cause. Note that the form of the indefinite pronoun appears in the sub-ablative case for reason/purpose and in the super-essive distal case for expressing cause, paralleling the forms of the corresponding noun phrases above.

(80) a. šida-go(n)
why-CONTR.TOP
‘for some reason’
b. šida-ƛa
why-TOP
‘for a certain reason’
c. šida-kin
why-FOC
‘for no reason’ (negative polarity item)

(81) a. lina-ƛ-āy-n
what-SUB-ABL-INDEF
‘for some reason’
b. lina-ƛ-āy-kin
what-SUB-ABL-FOC
‘for no reason’ (negative polarity item)

(82) a. lina-ƛ’-āz-no
what-SUPER.ESS-DIST-INDEF
‘on account of some cause’
b. lina-ƛ’-āz-ƛa
what- SUPER.ESS-DIST-TOP
‘for certain causes’

13 This form is rarely used.
b. lina-ƛ’-āz-kin  
what- SUPER.ESS-DIST-FOC  
‘for no cause/reason’ (negative polarity item)  
For example:

(83) Žedu esa=risa¹⁴ r-iy-x-ānu-xo-zo lina-ƛ-āy-n  
DEM.PL.ABS whatever.thing.ABS.IV IV-know-PRS-NEG-ATTR.OBL what-SUB-ABL-INDEF  
da’ba b-oy-s.  
dispute.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT  
‘They had a falling out for no good reason.’  

The adverbial phrase ‘for no reason’ can also be expressed by the set phrase AGR-ōllā AGR-āčizər, whose decomposition and literal meaning are shown in (84a); however, our representation of the underlying interpretation should not be taken to imply that the phrase is still perceived as compositional.

(84) a. AGR-ōllā AGR-āči-z-ā-r  
middle stay.PST.PTCP-OS-IN-LAT  
“towards standing in the middle”  
b. Eniw [y-ōllāi=y-āčizār] uži-ƛ’-or bixzi y-oq-xo.  
mother.ABS.II II-for no reason boy-SUPER-LAT angry II-become-PRS  
‘Mother is angry with the boy for no reason.’

The words denoting cause (bahana) and goal or purpose (murad) are nouns and are rarely used. Some examples:

(85) Šebi xel-mo-s bahana zow-ā?  
what.ABS death-OS-GEN1 cause.ABS.III be.PST-PST.WIT-INTERR  
‘What was the cause of death?’  
(86) Nesi-s murad ānu.  
DEM.I-GEN1 goal.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG  
‘He does not have a purpose/goal.’

The set expression šidašin ešiliri ‘the reason being; so’ (lit.: why-QUOT say-COND.IRR.CVB) is used at the beginning of a clause, regardless of its predicate type or finiteness. For instance, in (87), this expression is used in a finite clause. Unlike other adverbs, šidašin ešiliri does not appear clause-medially:

(87) a. Šidašin ešiliri šayt’an-z-ā dā-r ṣaq’uba  
the.reason.being devil-OS.PL-ERG 1PL-LAT torment.ABS.III  
neš- xo.  
give-PRS  
‘The reason being that demons torment me.’ (Riyxanoku:25)  
b. *Šayt’an-z-ā dā-r šidašin ešiliri ṣaq’uba

¹⁴ Esa-risa literally means ‘to say-to take’.
5.6 Viewpoint adverbials and expression of probability and possibility

Viewpoint adverbials are often expressed by noun phrases in various oblique forms and by attributive phrases with adjectival or participial heads. For noun phrases, the most common form expressing viewpoint is the form of the ad-lative, for example:

\[(88) \text{[Dā-z pikru-x-or]} \text{ nesi-r kitay-s mec} \]
\[1SG-GEN2 \text{ thought-AD-LAT DEM.I-LAT China-GEN1 language.ABS.III} \]
\[b-ig \text{ b-iy-x.} \]
\[III-well \text{ III-know-PRS} \]

'In my opinion (lit.: by my thought), he knows the Chinese language well.'

Noun phrases expressing viewpoint can be quite complex; a common form is the nominalized ad-lative past participle (cf. İmnaşvili 1963: 226-227). Naturally occurring examples do not include the nominalized –łu, but this suffix can be artificially restored, indicating that adverbial clauses like the ones shown below are ad-lative noun phrases:

\[(89) \text{Xizyo [babi-y-ā āā̇i-ru-[li-]xo-r]} \text{ ža uži} \]
\[then father-OS-ERG say-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-AD-LAT DEM boy.ABS.I bazargan-za-r teł̆-no. \]
\[merchant-OS.PL-LAT give-PST.NWIT \]

'And then, according to Father’s instructions, he gave the boy to the merchants.' (Mołu:14)

\[(90) \text{[Už-ā mā'li-ru-[li-]xo-r]} \text{ hemedur-tow dā-r} \]
\[boy-ERG teach-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-AD-LAT so-FOC 1SG-LAT mōła-I r-ukay-s. \]
\[dream-CONT.ESS IV-see-PST.WIT \]

'I saw it in my dream just as the boy said (lit.: taught).’ (Mołu:48)

Examples of attributive phrases used to express viewpoint adverbials:15

\[(91) \text{[Taliḥq’ayaw] mezi dā-r b-ukay-nč’i.} \]
\[unfortunately 2PL.ABS 1SG-LAT IPL-see-FUT.NEG \]

'Unfortunately I won’t see you.'

\[(92) \text{Taliḥk’in di idu-gon zow-s.} \]
\[fortunately 1SG.ABS at home-CONTR.TOP be.PST-PST.WIT \]

'Fortunately, I was already at home.'

\[(93) \text{a. Neširu [čara ānu-si] hor-o} \]
\[in.the.evening necessity.ABS.IV be.NEG-ATTR come-IMPER el-zero-or. \]

15 In (91) and (92), the viewpoint adverbials are formed on the basis of the noun taliḥ ‘happiness’.
The expression of possibility and probability is not limited to adverbial phrases; these notions can also be conveyed by particles (see CH.YY[Particles]), adverbial clauses (see CH.YY[Adverbial clauses]), and dedicated verb forms, particularly the optative and the potential (see CH.YY[verb tense]). Within the adverbials, common expressions include *hudun* ‘probably’ (from *hudu* ‘yes’); *umgo/ungo* ‘indeed, truly’, and *beyu/a/behila* ‘maybe’. Consider the following examples:

(94) El-ä hudun arbaʕ-ƛ’o-r liy-ir-an
    1PL-ERG probably Wednesday-SUPER-LAT end-CAUS-FUT.DEF
    yedu halt’i.
    DEM work.ABS.III
    ‘We will probably finish this work by Wednesday.’

The adverbial *umgo/ungo*, which often appears with the focus particle –*tow*, must precede the focused constituent. For example, in the sentence below, the focus is on the embedded predicate:

(95) Dä-r [huł nel-ä micxir umgo(-tow)]
    1SG-LAT yesterday DEM.NI-ERG money.ABS.III indeed-FOC
    b-iqä-ru-li] r-iy-x.
    III-catch-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PRS
    ‘I know that she did in fact receive the money yesterday.’

The constituent under the scope of *umgo/ungo* and AGR-*uy* is the item that is asserted in an affirmative sentence, questioned in an interrogative sentence, and negated in a negative one. If the questioned constituent is the verb phrase, the adverbial also receives the interrogative marker—compare (96a), where the constituent in question is Muhammed, and (96b), where it is the verb phrase:

(96) a. Mi umgo-tow mahama-qo-r-äh xabaryay-x?’
    2SG.ABS indeed-FOC Muhammed-POSS-LAT-INTERR speak-PRS
    ‘Are you going to talk to MUHAMMED?’

b. Mi mahama-qo-r umgo-tow-äh xabaryay-x?’
    2SG.ABS Muhammed-POSS-LAT indeed-FOC-INTERR speak-PRS
    ‘Are you definitely going to talk to Muhammed?’

The adverbial *umgo/ungo* is probably derived diachronically from the particle AGR-*uy* and the contrastive suffix –*go*; AGR-*uy* serves as the validator clitic and occurs only in root clauses. We discuss this particle in more detail in CH.YY[Particles]).
6 Postpositional phrases

6.1 Adverbs vs. postpositions

It is not always easy to separate adverbs and postpositions in Tsez, and this distinction is particularly difficult with adverbial expressions of place (and by extension, temporal sequence), because many such expressions naturally encode the relationship between two entities — figure and ground. The main difficulty has to do with the fact that locatives and some other adverbials can occur on their own or can follow a noun in one of the spatial forms. In the latter case, the adverb is optional. Consider the following examples:

(97) a. Aɣi ƛ’iri č’iwƛi-x.
bird.ABS.III up chirp-PRS
‘A bird is chirping above.’

b. Yun-o-ƛ’ (ƛ’iri) aɣi č’iwƛi-x.
tree-OS-SUPER.ESS up bird.ABS.III chirp-PRS
‘A bird is chirping up on the tree.’

If (97a) is used to describe the bird in relation to a tree, the bird is understood to be above the tree, not in the tree; in (97b), the bird is up on the tree, and ƛ’iri can be easily omitted. The difference in meaning suggests that the use of ƛ’iri in (97a) is adverbial, while the use in (97b) is postpositional. Likewise, the form bitor is ambiguous between the readings ‘there (in the direction of)’ and ‘because of, on account of’. In the former meaning, it is likely to be adverbial, as it does not have to have a complement. In the latter meaning, it occurs with a nominal complement and appears to be a well-behaved postposition, but is nevertheless itself omissible:

(98) a. Di bitor Ø-izi-s.
1SG.ABS.(I) away 1-rise-PST.WIT
‘I (man speaking) went away.’

b. Dow-ƛ-āy (bitor) Ø-ik’i-nē’u.
2SG-SUB-ABL because 1-go-PST.NEG
‘I did not go because of you.’

However not all words that appear ambiguous between an adverb and a postposition show differences in meaning, and the meaning criterion is quite limited in its scope.

A number of ambiguous items combine with particular forms of nouns, which suggests that they are postpositions (adverbs do not take complements and do not impose selectional restrictions on the lexical items they combine with). For example, the words purho/purlāz ‘near, by, beside’ combine only with animate nouns in the apud-essive:

(99) a. Surat-yo-l di sult’an-de/*sult’an-xo/*sult’an-qo
picture-OS-CONT.ESS 1SG.ABS S-APUD.ESS/S-APUD.ESS/S-POSS.ESS
purlāz yoł.

16 The expression honde purlāz ‘beside the mountain’ seems to be an exception, but one could argue that the mountain is somehow personified.
beside be.PRS

‘In the picture I am beside/next to Sultan.’

b. *Surat-yo-ł di k’onk’a-de purlāz
picture-OS-CONT.ESS 1SG.ABS bicycle-APUD.ESS beside

yoł.
be.PRS

(‘In the picture I am beside/next to the bicycle.’)

Assuming this criterion is more reliable, we may identify purho/purlāz as postpositions. However, they can still occur without a nominal complement, suggesting that Tsez allows the omission of complements of postpositions. We know that it allows the omission of arguments, but the omission of adpositional complements is cross-linguistically more unusual. The following examples show that such omission is indeed possible in Tsez:

(100) a. Ža’qul-no hamay-bi (sult’an-de) purho yoł
today-TOP friend-PL.ABS.IPL/nIPL S-APUD.ESS beside be.PRS
amma huł-gon żek’u-s żek’u-bi sult’an-de
but yesterday-CONTR.TOP man-GEN1 man-ANS.PL.1PL S-APUD.ESS
purlāz zow-s.
beside be.PST-PST.WIT
b. Ža’qul-no hamay-bi sult’an-de purho yoł
today-TOP friend-PL.ABS.IPL/nIPL S-APUD.ESS beside be.PRS
amma huł-gon żek’u-s żek’u-bi (sult’an-de)
but yesterday-CONTR.TOP man-GEN1 man-ANS.PL.1PL S-APUD.ESS
purlāz b-iči-xosi zow-s.
beside IPL-stay-PRS.PTCP be.PST-PST.WIT

‘Today, friends are standing beside Sultan, but yesterday, strangers were standing beside (Sultan).’

(101) a. Pat’i (ʕali-ł) xizazā, eniw
Fatima.ABS.II Ali-SUB.ESS behind mother.ABS.II
ʕali-ł adazā y-iči-x.
Ali-SUB.ESS in.front ii-stay-PRS
b. Pat’i (ʕali-ł) xizazā, eniw
Fatima.ABS.II Ali-SUB.ESS behind mother.ABS.II
ʕali-ł adazā y-iči-x.
Ali-SUB.ESS in.front ii-stay-PRS

‘Fatima was standing behind Ali, and mother, in front of him.’

Therefore, in the following example, it is possible to imagine a missing complement of purho:

(102) Xex-bi pro purho zow-s.
child-PL.ABS.nIPL beside be.PST-PST.WIT

‘The children were on the sidelines.’

Omission works both ways in putative postpositional phrases; not only can the nominal be omitted, as we just showed, but the adverb/postposition can also be omitted in certain cases,
without a perceptible change in meaning. We present multiple examples of adverb/postposition omission in section 6.2 below. Ideally, this criterion could be used to show that elements that undergo omission are not heads, and hence not postpositons. However, we see two considerations against using this criterion. First, silent heads are generally possible, and the omission of P would be no exception. Second, as the data in section 6.2 suggest, the omissibility of a particular adverb/postposition may also be sensitive to interpretation.

Yet another criterion that can be used to distinguish adverbs from postpositions has to do with displacement. It should presumably be possible to separate adverbs from their associated nominals, whereas postpositions and nominals should be constrained to appear together. Compare example (97b) above to the following example, where the noun in the spatial form is separated from the adverb.17

(103) \( \text{ɣun-o-ǎ} \)’ ayi ǎ’iri č’iwǎi-x.

\text{tree-OS-SUPER.ESS bird.ABS.III up chirp-PRS}

‘A bird is chirping up there on the tree.’

Similarly, in the following sentence, the spatial noun and the word sadaq ‘together’ can be separated:

(104) a. \text{Kid eni-ya-de sadaq y-ay-si.}

\text{girl.ABS.II mother-OS-APUD.ESS with/together II-come-PST.WIT}

b. \text{Eni-ya-de kid sadaq y-ay-si.}

\text{mother-OS-APUD.ESS girl.ABS.II with/together II-come-PST.WIT}

‘The girl came together with Mother.’

In contrast, compare the sentences below, in which ‘olo ‘because of’ and dandi-(r) ‘across’ cannot be separated from the nominals they select:

(105) a. \text{Dow-ǎ-āy ūolo xexbi ūòl’u-s.}

\text{2SG-SUB.ESS because child.ABS.III fall-PST.WIT}

‘The child fell because of you.’

b. *\text{Dow-ǎ-āy xexbi ūolo ūòl’u-s.}

\text{house-OS-SUB.ESS child.ABS.III because fall-PST.WIT}

(106) a. \text{Dow-ǎ-āy ūolo xexbi ūòl’u-s.}

\text{2SG-SUB.ESS because child.ABS.III fall-PST.WIT}

‘The child fell because of you.’

b. *\text{Dow-ǎ-āy xexbi ūolo ūòl’u-s.}

\text{house-OS-SUB.ESS child.ABS.III because fall-PST.WIT}

(107) a. \text{ɣuṭk’-o-ǎ dandir mašina eqr-o.}

\text{house-OS-SUB.ESS across/against car.ABS.III put-IMPER}

‘Park the car across from the house.’

17 Testing the separation of a nominal and associated postposition/adverb is limited by the fact that adverbs denoting specific location or order generally do not appear postverbally (see Ch. YY [WORD ORDER]). Thus, all the dislocations have to happen in the preverbal domain.
Using this criterion, we can qualify the following words as more postposition-like, as they cannot separate from their associated nominals:

(108) a. adāz/adāy
in front, ahead, before (location in space or time)
b. bitor
away
c. dandi/dandir
across, against
d. ˤolo
because of
e. purho/purlāz (with animate)
beside, next to
f. qˤida
under
g. šet’u/šet’ur
around
h. soder
after, following
i. xizāz/xizāy
after, behind (location in space or time)

In contrast, the following lexical items can separate from their associated nominals, which arguably makes them more adverb-like:18

(109) a. igo/igor/igāy
around, nearby
b. λ’iri/λ’iray
above
c. madah/madahor
outside/in the direction of outside
d. sadaq
together, with
e. taq/taqor/taqāy

18 In both sets of lexical items, (108) and (109), the number of options increases when these lexical items combine with spatial suffixes—consider telā/telxor/telay/telāzay in (80f), which can be analyzed as in-essive, ad-lative or in-ablative (without or with the distal affix) forms. What remains unclear is whether or not this (at least diachronically) clear sequence of affixes still has a compositional meaning in the current language. Furthermore, some of the items that we identify as more adverb-like have direct correspondents among the postposition-like; for instance, xizor (109h), and xizāy/xizāz in (108i).
over there, on the other side/to the other side/from the other side
f. tel/telā/telxor/telāy/telāzay
inside/in the direction of inside/from inside/from inside

under, below
g. wahho/ wah(h)or/walāy
h. xizor
behind
i. xizyo/xizyo’ay
later, next/next time

However, the adverbial status of these words may still be compatible with their double function, as adverbs and as postpositions (or alternatively, as intransitive and transitive postpositions).

Yet another difference between postpositions proper and adverbs has to do with the way they participate in coordination. In order to apply the coordination diagnostic, we must recognize two separate subtypes of coordination: coordination of two or more postpositional phrases each of which is headed by the same postposition, and coordination of two or more postpositional phrases headed by different postpositions.

When coordinated postpositional phrases are headed by the same postposition, the lexical items listed in (109) combine with the coordinating –n directly, and the associated nominals are not marked for coordination. The adverb/postposition, although identical, cannot be omitted:

(110) a. eni-ya-de  sadaq-no kid-ba-de
    mother-OS-APUD.ESS together-and girl-OS-APUD.ESS
    sadaq-no
together-and
    ‘with mother and daughter’

b. *eni-ya-de-n (sadaq) kid-ba-de-n
    mother-OS-APUD.ESS-and together girl-OS-APUD.ESS
    sadaq
sadaq-no

(111) a. q’oc’ōl-ā tel-no ġoh-ā tel-no
    barrel-IN.ESs inside-and pot-IN.ESs inside-and
    ‘inside the barrel and the pot’

b. *q’oc’ōl-ā-n (tel) ġoh-ā-n tel
    barrel-IN.ESs-and inside pot-IN.ESs-and inside

In contrast, the lexical items that we identified as postpositions proper (108) on the basis of their inability to dislocate away from the associated noun never combine with –n(o) ‘and’. Instead, this linking element attaches to the complement noun. The adverb/postposition in the first conjunct can be omitted:

(112) a. istowli-λ-no (xizāz) iškap-yo-λ-no xizāz
    table-SUB.ESS-and behind wardrobe-OS-SUB.ESS-and behind
    ‘behind the table and wardrobe’
b. *istowli-ƛ xizāz-no iškap-yo-ƛ xizāz-no
table-SUB.ESS behind-and wardrobe-OS-SUB.ESS-and behind

(113) a. t’et’ra-ni-ƛ-āy-no (ˤolo) micxir-ƛ-āy-no ˤolo
study-MASD-SUB-ABL-and money-SUB-ABL-and because of
‘because of studies and money’
b. *t’et’ra-ni-ƛ-āy ˤolo-n micxir-ƛ-āy ˤolo-n
study-MASD-SUB-ABL because-and money-SUB-ABL because of-and

This difference in coordination is typologically unusual; we would expect the coordinating
enclitic –n(o) to appear on the adverbial/postpositional head. We hypothesize that the pattern in
(112) and (113) may have to do with the redundancy of such items as xizāz or ˤolo. It is already
possible to arrive at the relevant locational or causal interpretation just on the basis of the
respective sub-essive and sub-ablative forms.

If two or more phrases headed by a postposition/adverb are conjoined, the linking enclitic –n(o)
can appear twice, but marking on the postposition/adverb is necessary. Thus:

(114) istowli-ƛ(-no) xizāz-no qˤuri-ƛ’o(-n) ƛ’iri-n
table-SUB.ESS-and behind-and chair-SUPER.ESS-and above-and
‘behind the table and above the chair’

To summarize, the diagnostics available to us (omission of the complement, separability,
coordination) do not produce unequivocal results. One could take the differences presented here
to reveal the boundary separating adverbs from postpositions, or one might conclude that a
number of lexical items are ambiguous, either between adverbs and postpositions, or between
intransitive and transitive postpositions.

6.2 Postpositional or suffixes?

Two items that seem to be postpositional in nature apparently take absolutive complements.
However, the status of these items as postpositions is not entirely clear. The form lun ‘as; in the
capacity as’ is a borrowing from Avar, where it can combine with oblique forms. It may be in
transition between a postposition and an affix; for Hınıq, Forker (2013: 432) characterizes lun
as an enclitic; Creissels (2010) identifies the cognate form in Akhvakh as a case-marking suffix
expressing a temporary state of the referent. For Tsez, we tentatively analyze lun as a suffix that
attaches to the direct form of nouns (that’s how we represent it in the examples above). If this
analysis is on the right track, lun does not pose a counterexample to the generalization that
postpositions take complements in cases other than the absolutive.

The main use of lun in Tsez is to encode the meaning ‘in the capacity of; considered as’. It often
combines with nouns or noun phrases denoting professions or occupations, as in (115) below.
However, it can also combine with abstract nouns denoting professions, as in (116).19

19 In examples (115)–(117), the predicates are intransitive, with the subject in the absolutive and
the phrase headed by lun interpreted as an adjunct. In (118), the compound verb rik’zi AGR-iy- is
transitive, with the phrase headed by lun an adjunct as well.
(115) Ža reyun-os bet’er-lun wišzi er-si.
DEM.ABS district-GEN1 head-as appoint set.up-PST.WIT
‘They appointed him the head of the district.’

(116) Uži-bi šopir-li-lun b-oq-xo
boy-PL.ABS.IPL driver-NMLZ-as IPL-become-PRS
‘The boys work as drivers.’

(117) Ža best’al-lun Ø-a’qil-si.
DEM.ABS orphan-as I-grow-PST.WIT
‘He grew up an orphan.’

(118) Nāzön maskuwa bercinaw šahar-lun rik’zi
all.ERG Moscow.ABS.III beautiful city-as count
b-iy-x.
III-know-PRS
‘All consider Moscow a beautiful city.’

Forker (2013: 432-433) reports that lun in Hinuq can also combine with participial forms, and at least in one instance, with a noun phrase in a spatial form (her example (772b)). We have not been able to observe similar uses in Tsez.

Another Avar borrowing is a longer postposition of which lun is a subcomponent: sabablun ‘for the sake of, because of, on the account of’.20 This form is used rarely and also takes an absolutive complement, which seems to alternate with a genitive:

(119) a. Xexbi sabablun Ø-ay.
children.ABS for the sake of I-come.IMPER
b. Xex-za-s sabablun Ø-ay.
children-OS-GEN1 for the sake of I-come.IMPER
‘Come for the sake of the children.’

7 Exception phrases

An example of the exceptive construction in English is as follows, where except one is the exception phrase introduced by the exceptive marker (except), and all children is the standard of comparison:

(120) All children, except one, grow up.
STANDARD EXCEPTION PHRASE
OF COMPARISON

Tsez exceptive markers include xecin ‘except, beside’, lexuzał ‘or except, beside’, gurow/gurew ‘except’, and taraw ‘except’ (the latter two are used only with negative predicates). We separate exception phrases from clear adverbial phrases and from clear postpositional phrases for several

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20 This postposition can be decomposed into the noun sabab ‘reason’ and the postposition lun.
reasons. First, although the exceptive markers \textit{xecin} and \textit{lexuzə\textquoteleft or} resemble postpositions in that they combine with noun phrases, \textit{lexuzə\textquoteleft or} is unlike a postposition in that it does not select the case of its complement. Meanwhile, \textit{gurow/gurew} and \textit{taraw} can combine with other categories, not just noun phrases. Next, unlike genuine adverbs, the words meaning ‘except’, ‘but’ cannot appear without or be separated from the complement whose content they delimit. There are differences among the existing exception phrases in Tsez that suggest that these items are not a homogenous group, but we present them all together on the basis of their general meaning.

The lexical item \textit{xecin} ‘except’ is a converbal form of the verb \textit{xec-} ‘leave behind’, whose use is illustrated in (121), where it takes the absolutive object. This particular converbal form may be undergoing a re-analysis as a special exceptive marker, but it has not changed its case-assigning properties; it always combines with a noun phrase in the absolutive and cannot be separated from it (122b):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(121)] Mariyat-ä t’ek’ iškol-ä xec-si.
\textit{Mariyat-ERG book.ABS.II school-IN.ESS leave-PST.WIT}
\textit{‘Mariyat left the book at school.’}
\item[(122)] a. Eniw xecin nāsin kino-me-l-xor
\textit{mother.ABS.II except ALL.ABS.IPL cinema-OS-CONT-VERS}
b-ik’i-s.
\textit{IPL-go-PST.WIT}
\textit{‘Aside from mother, everyone went to the movies.’}
\item[(122)] b. *Eniw nāsin kino-me-l-xor xecin
\textit{mother.ABS.II all.ABS.IPL cinema-OS-CONT-VERS except}
b-ik’i-s.
\textit{IPL-go-PST.WIT}
\end{enumerate}

The exceptive marker \textit{xecin} always combines with the absolutive; in (122a), the case of the exception phrase and the case of the standard of comparison match, but such matching is not required. In the next example, the standard of comparison appears in a form different from the absolutive:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(123)] Eli mariyat xecin nāzon c’alduqan-za-qo-r
\textit{1 PL.ABS mariyat. ABS.II except all.OBL student-OS.PL-POSS-LAT}
xabaryay-s.
talk-PST.WIT
\textit{‘We talked to all the students except Mariyat.’}
\end{enumerate}

\textit{Xecin} only combines with noun phrases, so if the exception phrase is not an NP, it has to be substantivized or nominalized. For example, in (124), the verb must appear in the infinitival or masdar form, and cannot remain finite:

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(124)] halt’izi y-oq-a/ halt’izi y-oq-ani/ *halt’izi y-oq-xo
\textit{work II-become-INF/work II-become-MASD/work II-become-PRS}
xecin y-oq-xo ža nān-tew y-util-xo.
\end{enumerate}
except II-become-PRS DEM.ABS.(II) somewhere-FOC II-manage-PRS

‘She does everything except working.’

The exceptive ƛexu-za-ƛ’-or is a nominalization of the verb ƛex- ‘remain, stay behind’ in the super-lative (ƛ’-or). The markers ƛexuzal’or, gurow/gurew and taraw combine with noun phrases in any form; the case of the noun phrase has to match the case of the phrase that serves as the standard of comparison. We will consider ƛexuzal’or first. Compare example (123) with xecin and the following example with ƛexuzal’or, where the standard of comparison and the noun phrase in the exception phrase both appear in the poss-lative:

(125) Eli mariyat-qo-r ƛexuzal’or c’alduqan-za-qo-r
1PL.ABS mariyat-POSS-LAT except student-OS.PL-POSS-LAT
xabaryay-né’i. talk-PST.WIT.NEG
‘We did not talk to the students except Mariyat.’

(126) Eli ğudes halt’-o-l-xor ƛexuzal’or
1PL.ABS daily work-OS-CONT-VERS except
b-ik’i-x hat’an-ƛ’o
Sunday-SUPER.ESS
‘We go to work every day except Sunday.’

These examples show that the exceptive marker ƛexuzal’or is compatible with both affirmative and negative predicates; the same goes for xecin. By contrast, the exceptive markers taraw and gurow/gurew are negative polarity items; they can only be licensed in the presence of a negation main predicate and they cannot occur in questions.

Consider the following examples. In (127), taraw/gurow combines with the ergative, and the clause also has the ergative subject lukin, a negative polarity item:

(127) ƛ’iri b-äs-ru-ni halt’i ahmad-á taraw/gurow ɭu-kin
above III-take-PST.PTCP-DEF work.ABS.III Ahmed-ERG except/except who.ERG-FOC
b-o-y-inč’u/*b-o-y-s.
III-do-PST.NEG/III-do-PST.WIT
‘Nobody except Ahmed did the work they took upon themselves.’

In the proverb in (128), taraw also occurs with the ergative; the subject of the main clause is simply understood:

(128) ɬud-ā taraw ɬek’u-s ɬamal b-it’zi b-ād-inč’i.
grave-ERG except man-GEN1 character.ABS.III III-straight III-do.FUT-NEG
‘You can’t teach an old dog new tricks.’ (lit.: Nothing but the grave will straighten out the man’s nature/character)

Similarly, in (129), taraw combines with the lative experiencer, and the standard-of-comparison experiencer is presupposed:
(129) Allah-e-r taraw r-āy-inē’ī.  
God-OS-LAT except IV-know.FUT-NEG  
‘Who knows.’ (lit.: nobody but God will know (smth.))

**Taraw** and **gurow/gurew** can combine with noun phrases (as above) as well as adverbial phrases:

(130) Sossi gurow b-āk’-inē’i meži elo-r.  
once except IPL-go.FUT-NEG 2PL.ABS.IPL there-LAT  
‘You will only go there once.’ (lit.: you will not go there except one time)

(131) ġirba hul taraw maduhal-qo-r xabaryay-nē’u.  
guest.ABS.I/II yesterday except neighbor-POSS-LAT talk-PST.WIT.NEG  
‘Except yesterday, the guest did not talk to the neighbor.’

The two constituents in the exceptive phrase — the standard of comparison and the exception phrase — must belong to the same category. Consider the following example, where the standard of comparison is a noun phrase (**didiwnokin mumpašat** ‘any benefit) and the exception phrase is a verbal nominalization:

(132) Neļ-q-āy didiwnokin mumpašat ānu, ġadadä  
DEM.nI-POSS-ABL any.ATTR benefit.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG in.vain  
käki-ru-li gurow.  
feed-PTS.PTCP-NMLZ except  
‘What good is it to have it (calf) except that we feed it for no good reason.’ (lit.: there is no benefit from it except feeding in vain) (Riynoxu:35)

Recall that **taraw** and **gurow/gurew** require negation on the main predicate. Although such sentences are judged to be awkward, it is possible to put a verb in the affirmative before **taraw** or **gurow/gurew**. Compare (127) with the following examples in which the affirmative and the negative versions of **boy-** are contrasted explicitly.\[21\]

(133) ġiri b-ās-ru-ni hålt’i ahmad-ā b-oy-si  
above III-take-PST.PTCP-DEF work.ABS.III Ahmed-ERG III-do-PST.WIT  
taraw/gurow țukin b-oy-inē’u.  
extexcept/except anyone.ERG III-do-PST.WIT.NEG  
‘Ahmed did the work he took upon himself, nobody (else) did.’

Polarity reversal is typical of so-called free exceptives (clausal exceptives), in which the exceptive phrase expresses an exception to a generalization stated in a separate clause (Hoeksema 1995; Soltan 2014). The properties of **taraw** and **gurow/gurew** exception phrases suggest that they are free exceptives. In contrast, the exception phrases headed by **xecin** and **kexuza\’or** seem to fit the profile of phrasal exceptives; they are not associated with polarity reversals, they are more restricted in the categories they can combine with (only noun phrases),

\[21\] As we show in CH.YY[Adv clauses], Tsez has extremely limited ellipsis of finite verb forms; however, the omission of the affirmative version of the finite verb in examples such as (133) appears to be a plausible source of the exceptive constructions with **gurow** and **taraw**.
and they cannot combine with another predicate. Compare the grammatical sentence in (133) and the following ungrammatical sentences:

(134) *Eniw y-ik’i-nči xecin nāsin kino-me-l-xor
mother.ABS.II II-go-PST.NEG except ALL.ABS.IPL cinema-OS-CONT-VERS
b-ik’i-s.
IPL-go-PST.WIT
(‘Aside from Mother, everyone went to the movies.’)

(135) *Eli ħudes halt’-u-l-xor b-ik’i-x hat’an-ƛ’o
1PL.ABS daily work-OS-CONT-VERS IPL-go-PRS Sunday-SUPER.ESS
ƛ’exuzał’or b-ik’i-nč’u.
except IPL-go-PRS.NEG
(‘We go to work every day except Sunday.’)
Part 2: Clauses

Basic clause types
Interrogatives
Exclamatives
Basic clause types

1. Argument structure and verb types: General remarks

Like other languages of the Nakh-Dagestanian family, Tsez displays a robust correspondence between intransitive and transitive verbs: most (but not all) intransitives have corresponding transitives, and vice versa. In terms of the direction of derivation, there is a preference for basic one-place verbs or predicates with derived transitive forms. Thus, we can characterize Tsez as an “intransitive language” (see Comrie 2000a, b for a discussion, and see Ch. YY [VERB derivation]). Because Tsez has an extensive set of spatial markers, it tends to avoid unspecified local arguments; as a consequence, local subjects, as in Berlin was swarming with tourists or or local objects as in They entered the cave, are not observed.

We have not been able to observe instances of non-standard valence patterns in which a verb fails to take an absolutive argument (cf. Haspelmath 1993: 269, 280ff. for such patterns in Lezgian). A possible exception to this statement arises with the modal verb AGR-äsu/AGR-esu, which is discussed in CH. YY [Clausal complements].

All intransitive verbs take an absolutive subject, although this fact may be obscured by argument drop (a common phenomenon in Tsez, allowing any contextually recoverable argument to be omitted) and by the infrequency of absolutive agreement, which is only visible on a subset of verbs and predicative complements. Since both subjects and objects in Tsez can be discontinuous (see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]), discontinuity cannot be applied as a subject diagnostic either. In the discussion below, we will present evidence for subjecthood that draws on the individual subtypes of intransitive verbs (section 2). Transitive verbs take ergative and absolutive arguments (see section 3), and regardless of their argument structure, all verbs agree with the absolutive argument. For details of Tsez agreement, see CH. YY [Agreement]. Finally, there are several specialized constructions, including the potential construction (section 3.2) and the affective construction (section 5).

Unlike other Dagestanian languages, Tsez does not have labile verbs, i.e. verbs which can be used both as transitives and intransitives (see Erschler 2014 for a bibliography and short discussion, and see Forker 2013: 492-494 for such verbs in the closely related language Hinuq). Thus, members of the inchoative-causative alternation, such as the English melt or dry, are always distinguishable in Tsez by their morphology. Tsez also diverges from other languages in its group in that it does not have antipassives (see Forker 2013: 519-522 on Hinuq antipassive; van den Berg 2000 on Bezhta antipassive).

In this chapter, we concentrate only on verbs that take noun-phrase arguments; verbs that take clausal arguments are discussed in Ch. YY [Clausal complements]. Many of the same verbs appear in both chapters, and in fact, some examples in this chapter show clausal arguments. There is only a small subset of modal verbs that co-occur exclusively with clausal complements. Otherwise, all verbs capable of combining with a clausal argument can also take noun phrases in the same argument position.
In the discussion of argument structure below, we will make the following distinctions:

(i) between intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs—these will be discussed in separate sections  
(ii) between simple and complex (compound) verbs

Within complex verbs, there is a further distinction based on the category of the predicative complement that occurs with the light verb (the intransitive AGR-oq- ‘become’, the transitive AGR-od- ‘do’, and the ditransitive ‘give’). When a predicative complement is expressed by a noun in the absolutive, that noun fills the absolutive position and the verb agrees with it. Consequently, complex verbs with AGR-oq- have their single argument position filled; complex verbs with AGR-od- have their absolutive object position filled and only the ergative slot unfilled. Other types of predicative complements do not fill an argument slot and do not determine agreement. See CH. YY [Predicate phrase] for further discussion.

In addressing argument structure, it is hard to completely disregard the grammatical functions associated with various arguments, so some of that discussion will be brought up in this chapter.

2. **Intransitive verbs**

2.1. **Unergatives vs. unaccusatives**

Intransitive verbs always have an absolutive argument, which can be omitted when contextually recoverable.

Based on a combination of morphological and semantic characteristics, we can divide Tsez intransitive verbs into unergatives and unaccusatives. Unergative verbs can receive the frequentative/iterative suffix –nad--; such verbs are typically agentive, which is a common pattern for unergatives cross-linguistically. However, as (3) shows, unergatives do not necessarily have an animate subject.

(1) a. Bˤeƛ’ r-a’q’u r-et’u-x.  
    sheep.PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-much nIPL-tear.away-PRS  
    ‘The sheep separate/tear away a lot.’

b. Bˤeƛ’ r-a’q’u r-et’u-nay-x.  
    sheep.PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-much nIPL-tear.away-ITER-PRS  
    ‘The sheep often separate/tear away.’

(2) a. Uži-bi k’oší-s.  
    boy-PL.ABS.IPL run-PST.WIT  
    ‘The boys ran.’

b. Uži-bi k’ọk’a-nay-s.  
    boy-PL.ABS.IPL run-ITER-PST.WIT  
    ‘The boys kept running.’

(3) a. fi ča’ƛi-x.  
    water.ABS.IV jet-PRS
‘Water is jetting.’

b. li ča'ňa-nay-x.
water.ABS.IV jet-ITER-PRS

‘Water keeps jetting.’

A number of onomatopoetic verbs describing sounds (laughing, braying, clucking, croaking, chirping, etc.) also form iteratives and therefore qualify as unergatives, for example:

(4) a. B'eč' b'ešel’i-x.
sheep.ABS.IV bleat-PRS

b. B'eč' b'ešel’a-nay-x.
sheep.ABS.IV bleat-ITER-PRS

‘(The) sheep are bleating.’

The suffix –nad- is impossible with unaccusatives, and which additionally often have non-agentive semantics. Compare the unergatives above and the unaccusatives in the following examples:

(5) a. Ža čanya b-a’q’u b-eti-x.
DEM goat.ABS.III III-much III-disappear-PRS

‘This goat is often lost.’

b. *Ža čanya b-a’q’u b-eti-nay-x.
DEM goat.ABS.III III-much III-disappear-ITER-PRS

(6) a. Buq č’ur-si.
sun.ABS.III shine-PST.WIT

‘The sun was shining.’

b. *Buq č’ura-nay-s.
sun.ABS.III shine-ITER-PST.WIT

Quite a few unaccusative verbs have the intransitive suffixes –l- or –x-, which are typical for verbs derived from adjectives or adverbs (see CH. YY [verb derivation]). Regardless of the agent-like or patient-like status of their sole argument, intransitive verbs all have subjects in the absolutive; there is no evidence of split intransitivity in terms of argument realization.

A significant number of complex intransitive predicates are formed with the unaccusative light verb AGR-oq- ‘become’. Again, all these verbs take an absolutive argument. Below are some examples of complex verbs with a non-nominal predicative complement; in such instances, the light verb agrees with the absolutive subject:

(7) Gamač c’aq’tow guguru y-oq-xo.
stone.ABS.II completely round II-become-PRS

‘The stone has become completely round.’

(8) Cadara-bi kunč’izi r-oq-xo.
star-PL.ABS.nIPL shine nIPL-become-PRS

‘The stars are shining.’
In complex verbs with a predicative nominal, the referent of the logical subject appears in an oblique case, often in the genitive (9)-(12), in which case it is structurally a modifier of the absolutive argument, or in the lative (13)-(14):

(9) Žedu-s dašba b-oq-si.
DEM.PL.I-GEN I dispute.ABS.III III-become-PST.WIT
‘They had a falling out.’ (lit.: their dispute happened)

(10) Xex-za-s ɣalmaɣal r-oq-xo.
children-OS-GEN IV row.ABS.IV IV-become-PRS
‘The children are arguing.’ (lit.: the children’s argument is happening)

(11) Elu-z halt’-s gagat’u y-oq-no.
1PL-GEN2 work-GEN1 bottom.ABS.II II-become-PST.WIT
‘All our work was for nothing.’ (lit.: our works’ bottom occurred)

(12) Elu-s žaq r-oq-xo ɣed-ya-z mec-re-x-or
cax-a.
1PL-GEN1 habit.ABS.IV IV-become-PRS Tsez-OS-GEN2 language-OS-AD-LAT
write-INF
‘We are getting used to writing in Tsez.’ (lit.: our habit … becomes)

(13) Nesi-r zahmat r-oq-si.
DEM.I-LAT hardship.ABS.IV IV-become-PST.WIT
‘He had some difficulties.’ (lit.: difficulties happened to him)

(14) Iškola-r zaral b-oq-si.
school-LAT losses.ABS.III III-become-PST.WIT
‘The school had financial losses.’ (lit.: losses happened to school)

2.2. Impersonal contexts

Impersonal constructions always have their understood argument in the absolutive. Abstract nouns in Tsez belong to gender IV, as do some other arguments reviewed in this section, so if a verb shows agreement in an impersonal construction, it is in gender IV.

It is common to find impersonal constructions with meteorological verbs, which are often taken cross-linguistically to be valent. However, meteorological descriptions in Tsez allow for the introduction of the absolutive argument yudi ‘day’ (gender IV) or hawa-baq’ ‘weather (lit.: air-sun)’ (gender IV), and if a meteorological predicate can manifest agreement, it registers agreement in gender IV regardless of the presence of an overt absolutive argument. Consider the following examples, where (15a) shows overt agreement and (15b) does not:

(15) a. pro/yudi r-oč’iw yōl.
day.ABS.IV IV-cold be.PRS
‘It is cold.’

b. pro/yudi tatanu yōl.
day.ABS.IV warm be.PRS
‘It is warm.’

Another typical impersonal context for valent verbs is as predicates to clausal arguments. Such predicates, many of them adjectival, combine with a clausal argument expressed by an infinitival
phrase (16), a masdar (17), or a nominalization (18). All clausal arguments belong to gender IV, so again, if the verb registers agreement, it is in gender IV as well.1

(16) a. [Xabar teqr-a] r-oˤq’yu yəł.
news.ABS.III listen-INF IV-difficult/tiring be.PRS
‘It is tiring to listen to the news.’
‘To listen to the news is tiring.’
b. [Sapar b-od-a] holiw r-oq-xo.
travel.ABS.III III-do-INF free/easy IV-become-PRS
‘It has become easy to travel.’
‘Traveling has become easy.’

(17) [Qˤim-ä qˤim-e-s mec b-iy-r-ani-x]
one.REFL-OS-GEN1 language.ABS.III III-know-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS
ḥažetaw šešbin (yəł).
important thing.ABS.IV be.PRS
‘It is important to know one’s own language.’

(18) [Nes-ä elu-q-or xabar es-a b-āy-xosi
DEM.I-ERG 1PL-POSS-LAT news.ABS.III tell-INF IV-must-PRS.PTCP
yāl-ru-li] ʕaźaibaw zow-s.
be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ surprising be.PST-PST.WIT
‘That he was supposed to tell us the news was surprising.’
‘It was surprising that he was supposed to tell us the news.’

However, it is unclear from a superficial investigation of the phrases in (16), (17), (18) whether the clausal complement is a genuine syntactic subject or whether there is a null pronominal in the subject position (this would be similar to English translations with the impersonal *it*). The word order in root clauses is quite free, so it does not allow us to draw definitive conclusions either, but the basic word order patterns suggest that clausal arguments are not true subjects. While there are no restrictions on inanimates in the ergative position (see section 3 below), clausal complements cannot appear in the transitive subject position. Consider the following contrast:

(19) a. Nesi-z xabar-y-ä mi hayran y-oy-ä?
DEM.I-GEN2 news-OS-ERG 2SG.ABS.(II) surprised II-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Did his news surprise you?’ (addressing a woman)
b. *[Eli b-āy-ru-li]-z-ä mi hayran
1PL.ABS.(IPL) 1PL-come-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-OS-ERG 2SG.ABS.(II) surprised
y-oy-ä?
II-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
(‘Did it surprise you that we came?’) (addressing a woman)

1 Agreement inside the infinitival clause has no effect on the gender of the clausal complement—cf. (16b), where the infinitive agrees with the noun *sapar* in gender III. The entire infinitival complement is still gender IV. Agreement interaction across clauses is discussed in Ch. YY [LDA].
In no other contexts do we find a difference between clausal and non-clausal complements in Tsez, so a restriction against ergative (but not absolutive) clausal subjects would be unexpected.

2.3. Copular constructions

The Tsez copular verb is also used as an auxiliary in the formation of periphrastic tense forms. The paradigm of the copula is given in Ch. YY. The main forms are yol [non-past] (marked as PRS in the glosses) and zow-[past]. Some copular clauses also use the verbs AGR-oq- ‘become; be’, AGR-ič- ‘stay’, and AGR-ožix- ‘rise, appear’. In this section, we will consider three main types of copular clauses: predicational, specificational, and identificational (Dixon 2010; Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2005; Partee 1986, a.o.). A number of other structures that also employ the verbs ‘be’, ‘become’ will be discussed in sections 2.4 and 2.5 below.

The subject of a copular clause, regardless of the finer clausal details, is always in the absolutive, and if the copula includes an agreeing complement, agreement occurs with the subject. For instance:

(20) Yedu muq b-ošäsi yol.
DEM line.ABS.III III-curved be.PRS
‘This line is curved.’

The omission of the copula in main clauses is pervasive, both in spontaneous speech and in narratives. Once a copular clause is embedded, the copula reappears.

In main clauses, predicational, specificational, and identificational copular constructions are identical. Consider the following predicational copular clauses, in which the complement can be expressed by any category other than a finite verb: an adjective, a noun, a participial phrase, or a noun with a modifying numeral.

(21) Näsín [raziyaw yol/b-ič-x/b-oq-xo].
all.ABS.(IPL) content be.PRS/IPL-stay-PRS/IPL-become-PRS
‘Everyone is happy.’ (predicational)
(22) Mariyat žād [c’äl dúqan ānu].
Mariyat.ABS.II still student be.PRS.NEG
‘Mariyat is not a student yet.’
(23) Elī [Fono halmay zow-s].
IPL.ABS three friend.ABS.I be-PST.WIT
‘We were three friends.’

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2 Here and below we identify the predicate in square brackets.
In a specificational copular clause, the subject of the copular clause names a property and the complement of the copula identifies that property. Among other possibilities, the subject of a specificational copular clause can be expressed by a headless relative clause, as in (27).3

(24) Di-n [Ø-ay-āsi zow-s].4
  1SG.ABS-TOP 1-come-RES.PTCP AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘I am the one who arrived.’

(25) Nesi-ƛ’ ci-gon [ʕUmarqilič-ƛ in
  DEM.I-SUPER.ESS name.ABS.III-CONTR.TOP Umarqilib-QUOT
  zow-n/*b-ič-i-n/*b-oq-no].
  be.PST-PST.nWIT/III-stay-PST.nWIT/İPL-become-PST.nWIT
‘His name was Umarqilib.’ (ʕAliqilič:3)

(26) Dow-ƛ’o ci [šow/šebi (yol)/*b-oq-x-ā/
  2SG-SUPER.ESS name.ABS.III what/what be.PRS/III-become-PRS-INTERR/
  *b-oļ.ix-ā]? III-appear-PRS-INTERR
‘What is your name?’ (lit.: the name on you…)

(27) Dā-r Ø-eti-xosi [dey halmay
  1SG-LAT 1-like-PRS.PTCP 1SG.GEN friend.ABS.I
  yol/*Ø-oq-xo/*Ø-ič-x].
  be.PRS/*I-become-PRS/*I-stay-PRS
‘It’s my friend that I really like.’

The subject of identificational copular clauses is usually a demonstrative. For example:

(28) Ža [debe-r dey wasiyat yol/*b-oq-xo].
  DEM 2SG-LAT 1SG.GEN1 will.ABS.III be.PRS/III-become-PRS
‘This is my bequest (intended) for you.’ (ʕAliqilič:81)

(29) Yedu [šebi čalamali r-ič-a r-äy-x]? DEM what wonder.ABS.IV IV-stay-INF IV-must-PRS
‘What kind of wonder could this be?’ (ʕAliqilič:125)

As these examples show, the use of all types of copular verbs is quite free in predicational clauses but is more restricted in the other two copular types, where in particular AGR-oq- is not accepted.

3 Specificational copular clauses show two types of connectivity, in agreement and in reflexive binding. We discuss these phenomena in the respective chapters (CH. YY[AGR]. CH. YY[BIND]).
4 The interpretation of this clause may follow either the copular clause structure shown here or a structure involving a complex verb form and the auxiliary ‘be’ (see CH. YY for verbal paradigm).
The word order in main clause copular constructions is extremely free. In particular, the complement of the clause can be separated from the copular verb, which means that there is room for ambiguity. For instance, the following orders are both possible:

(30) a. B-äži-ru kamanda nemcaw-za-s yol. IPL-lead-PST.PTCP team.ABS.IPL German-PL.OS-GEN1 be.PRS ‘The winning team is German.’ (specificational) ‘The German (team) is the winning team.’ (identificational)

b. Nemcaw-za-s b-äži-ru kamanda yol. German-PL.OS-GEN1 IPL-lead-PST.PTCP team.ABS.IPL be.PRS ‘The winning team is German.’ (specificational) ‘The German (team) is the winning team.’ (identificational)

Nevertheless, some generalizations emerge, in addition to the copula variation already noted. The overall preference is to have the copular subject precede the copular complement, which means that the preferred interpretation for (30a) is specificational, and for (30b), identificational. The subject can follow the copula, whereas the complement cannot. Consider the following examples (where, of course, the disambiguation crucially depends on the presence of an overt copula). In (31a), the predicate is preposed and the subject is nemcawzas (kamanda). In (31b), the subject is bäžiru kamanda, and the only interpretation available is that of a specificational copular clause. In (32a), we observe an identificational copular clause with a demonstrative as subject; as (32b) shows, the placement of the complement after änu is ungrammatical.

(31) a. [B-äži-ru kamanda yol] nemcaw-za-s (kamanda). IPL-lead-PST.PTCP team.ABS.IPL be.PRS German-PL.OS-GEN1 team.ABS.IPL ‘The German (team) is the winning team.’ (identificational)

b. [Nemcaw-za-s yol] b-äži-ru kamanda. German-PL.OS-GEN1 be.PRS IPL-lead-PST.PTCP team.ABS.IPL ‘The winning team is German.’ (specificational)

(32) a. [Endiw dä-zo-q’aw änu] žedu. DEM 1SG-ATTR.OS-EQUAT be.PRS.NEG DEM.PL.ABS ‘They are not like the one I have.’ (Xanes ‘ono užin, sis kidno:29)

b. *änu endiw dä-zo-q’aw žedu. be.PRS.NEG DEM 1SG-ATTR.OS-EQUAT DEM.PL.ABS

In questions formed on the basis of the copular clause, the interrogative marker attaches to the complement of the predicate, regardless of its placement in the clause. For instance:

(33) Debi-yä nece huinaw rež. zow-n? 2SG.GEN1-INTERR so.much delicious meat.ABS.IV be.PST-PST.NWIT ‘That so very delicious meat was yours?’ (Aliqilič:161)

(34) a. Debi babiw-ä učitel (yol)? 2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I-INTERR teacher be.PRS ‘Is the teacher your father?’

NOT: ‘Is your father a teacher?’
b. Debi babiw učitel-ä (yol)?

2SG.GEN1 father.ABS1 teacher-INTERR be.PRS

‘Is your father a teacher?’

NOT: ‘Is the teacher your father?’

In embedded copular clauses, the order subject >> complement >> copula is fixed. Thus, the sentences below are unambiguous:

(35) a. Debe-r r-uy-ä r-iy-x-äänu [b-äži-ru

2SG-LAT IV-VAL-INTERR IV-know-PRS-NEG IPL-lead-PST.PTCP

kamanda nemcaw-za-s yäl-ru-li]? team.ABS.IPL German-PL.OS-GEN1 be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ

‘You really don’t know that the winners were the German team?’

b. Debe-r r-uy-ä r-iy-x-äänu [nemcaw-za-s

2SG-LAT IV-VAL-INTERR IV-know-PRS-NEG German-PL.OS-GEN1

b-äži-ru kamanda yäl-ru-li]? IPL-lead-PST.PTCP team.ABS.IPL be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ

‘You really don’t know that the German team was the winner?’

2.4. **Existential verbs and existential clauses**

Tsez does not have a separate verb meaning ‘exist’; existential constructions have the verb ‘be’ as their predicate. Existential clauses and possessive clauses (section 2.5 below) are structured similarly. They necessarily include the verb of existence (which can be omitted in main clauses) and the absolutive pivot: the expression denoting the entity whose existence is under discussion.

Word order plays a crucial role in distinguishing existential constructions from locative constructions. The order of constituents in the main clause is generally quite free, and noun phrases can appear both before and after the verb (see CH. YY [Word order]). Despite this relatively free word order, the existential pivot must precede the verb of existence, preferably immediately adjacently. The locative and/or temporal expression serving as the scene-setter for the existential either appears to the left of the pivot, on the left periphery of the existential clause, or after the verb. For example, in (38), the scene-setting locative expression is nelä yunoł.’ l’iri ‘up on that tree’, and the pivot is ceyes xexoyabi tel yoläsi muži ‘a nest with eaglets in it’.

(36) Howži t’o r-od-a šebin ānu.

now here IV-do-INF thing.ABS.IV be.PRS.NEG

‘There is nothing to do here now.’ (ʕAliqilič:123)

(37) Nelä-q sidā pu-r-ƛ.’-áz-a aluk’a-t’a,

DEM.nI-POSS.ESS one.OBL side-OS-SUPER-DIST-IN.ESS white-DISTR

sidā pu-r-ƛ.’-áz-a c’uda-t’a heneš-yabuy

one.OBL side-OS-SUPER-DIST-IN.ESS red-DISTR apple-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL

zow-n.

be.PST-PST.nWIT

‘On one side it [the tree] had white apples, and on the other side red apples.’ (Xanes ĩono užin, sis kidno:72)
If the locative phrase and the pivot both precede the verb but appear in the order pivot >> locative, the sentence loses its existential interpretation and becomes a statement about the location of the nest, as in (39a). Similarly, if the absolutive noun phrase appears after the verb, it cannot be interpreted as an existential pivot (with one exception, which we will discuss below). The relevant example is (39b). See also Testelec (1997: 267) for similar discussion and examples from related languages.

(39) a. Cey-e-s xexoy-a-bi tel yol-āsi
    eagle-OS-GEN1 youngling-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL inside be.PRS-RES
    muži nelā yun-o-ƛ’īri zow-n.
    nest.ABS.III DEM.nI.OBL tree-OS-SUPER.ESS above be.PST-PST.nWIT
    ‘A/the nest with eaglets in it was up on that tree.’ LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION

b. Nelā yun-o-ƛ’īri zow-n
    DEM.nI.OBL eagle-OS-GEN1 youngling-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL inside be.PST-PST.nWIT
    cey-e-s xexoy-a-bi tel yol-āsi muži.
    nest.ABS.III DEM.nI.OBL tree-OS-SUPER.ESS above be.PST-PST.nWIT
    ‘The nest with eaglets in it was up on that tree.’ LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION

In (40a), we find an existential construction with the scene-setting expression in the postverbal position. If the pivot in (40a), appears postverbally, the sentence becomes a (non-existential) statement about the location of a widow (regardless of the position of the locative) (40b-d):

(40) a. Sis q’orolay zow-n nelā yũutk-ā tel.
    one widow.ABS.II be.PST-PST.nWIT DEM.nI.OBL house-IN.ESS inside
    ‘There was a widow inside that house.’ EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTION

b. Zow-n sis q’orolay nelā yũutk-ā tel.
    be.PST-PST.nWIT one widow.ABS.II DEM.nI.OBL house-IN.ESS inside
    ‘One widow was inside that house.’ LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION

c. Zow-n nelā yũutk-ā tel sis q’orolay.
    be.PST-PST.nWIT DEM.nI.OBL house-IN.ESS inside one widow.ABS.II
    ‘One widow was inside that house.’ LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION

d. Nelā yũutk-ā tel zow-n sis q’orolay.
    DEM.nI.OBL house-IN.ESS inside be.PST-PST.nWIT one widow.ABS.II
    ‘One widow was inside that house.’ LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTION

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5 Postverbal subjects are typically interpreted as definite or specific, as discussed in CH. YY [INF STR].
Tsez does not have determiners, so the expression of (in)definiteness is achieved via a combination of word order, topic marking, and contextual factors. In the existential construction, the pivot cannot appear with the topic markers –n(o) and –gon (see CH. YY [Particles]). If –n(o) is used with the pivot, it can only be interpreted as the linking particle. For example:

(41) Nelä ɣˤutk-ä têl sis qʼorolay-n
DEM.nl.OBL house-IN.ESS inside one widow.ABS.II-and
nela-s kid-no zow-n.
DEM.nl.OBL-GEN1 girl.ABS.II-and be.PST-PST.nWIT
‘Inside that house there was a widow and her daughter.’ (ʕAliqilič:32)

If the constituent that precedes the existential predicate combines with the contrastive topic marker –gon, the sentence cannot be interpreted as existential:

(42) Nelä ɣˤutk-ä têl sis qʼorolay-gon
DEM.nl.OBL house-IN.ESS inside one widow.ABS.II-CONTR.TOP
zow-n.
be.PST-PST.nWIT
‘As for a widow, she was inside that house.’
NOT: ‘Inside that house there was a WIDOW.’

Normally the order of constituents in the existential construction is scene-setting expression—existential pivot—existential verb, as shown in several examples above. A regular deviation from that order is observed in story openings, where the first element is the predicate, followed by the pivot. For example:

(43) Zow-n-ƛax zow-n-čʼey-ƛax b’eɫo-n,
BE.PST-PST.nWIT-QUOT be.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG-QUOT pig.ABS.III-and
bocʼ-i-n, ziru-n, qʼay-no.
wolf.ABS.III-and fox.ABS.III-and hare.ABS.III-and
‘Once upon a time, there lived a pig, a wolf, a fox, and a hare.’ (K’etʼus hunar:1)

Note that this story-opener does not include a scene-setting expression, so the order existential predicate >> pivot may serve to differentiate this construction from a categorical structure such as the one shown in (39). With the exception of story-openers, existential pivots cannot follow the existential predicate. Meanwhile, as examples (39) and (42) show, intransitive subjects outside existentials have more placement options.

Another point of difference between intransitive subjects (including subjects of unergatives) and existential pivots is that intransitive subjects can bind reflexives in their own clause, while pivots cannot. Consider the following sentence, which can only be a statement about the devil’s location, but not an existential statement (the corresponding English existential is equally unacceptable).

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6 See also Ch. YY [ADvP] for a discussion of this construction.
In sum, we find structural evidence in support of the distinction between absolutive subjects in non-existential intransitive clauses and existential pivots. As we show in the next section, there is a strong similarity between existential pivots and nouns denoting possessa in possessive clauses; both types of clauses include existential predicates.

### 2.5. Intransitive verbs in possessive clauses

Tsez does not have a transitive verb with the meaning ‘have’, and possession is expressed by a particular subtype of the existential clause, which features the verb ‘be’ (vol in the present and zow- in the past), the inchoative ‘become’ (AGR-oq-), or more rarely such verbs as ‘appear’ or ‘arrive’. All these verbs take the absolutive argument denoting the possessorum as their subject, and the denotation of the possessor appears in genitive 1 (GEN1) for permanent possession and possess-essive (POSS.ESS) for temporary possession. There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Tsez.

Similarities between non-possessive existential constructions and possessive constructions are therefore due to the shared predicate meaning ‘be’. The two constructions also have similar word order properties, with the absolutive noun phrase appearing immediately before the verb in both. In the existential construction, the scene-setting expression appears in one of the spatial forms or is expressed by an adverbial phrase; the external possessor in the possessive construction has more restricted encoding criteria. The genitive of the external possessor typically appears either on the left edge of the clause, as in examples (45)-(48), or on the right, as in example (50). While other placements are less acceptable, they are not impossible, as (51) shows; in that example, a heavy constituent (mi elo k’irir iziranix) modifying the absolutive precedes the genitive of external possession.

Some examples:

(45) Nesi-s rok’-λ’o-si šebin r-oq-no.

(46) Sidā eniw-s r-oq-a-r-is-a šebin one.OBL mother-GEN1 IV-do-INF-IV-take-INF thing.ABS.IV koλ’i-x-ānu-si kid zow-n.

(47) Šoloq-za-s zigara b-olλi-x.

young person-PL.OSS-GEN1 complaint.ABS.III III-appear-PRS
‘The young people have a complaint.’ (Ražbadinno, Tawadin:13)

(48) Nél šahar-y-ā teł sid xan-e-s kid
dem.nI.OBL city-OS-IN.ESS inside one.OBL king-OS-GEN1 girl.ABS.II
zow-n.
be.PST-PST.NWIT
‘In that city, a king had a daughter.’ (Xanes føno užin, sis kidno:7)

If the genitive-absolutive order is reversed, the sentence loses its possessive interpretation and has the meaning of a specificational copular clause (see also ex. (34) above).

(49) Mašina murray-e-s zow-s.
car.ABS.III Murad-OS-GEN1 be.PST-PST.WIT
‘The car was Murad’s.’
NOT: ‘Murad had a car.’

As the following examples indicate, the same genitive-absolutive alignment is observed under negation as well:

(50) T’o r-od-a šebin ānu xex-za-s.
here IV-do-INF thing.ABS.IV be.PRS.NEG child-OS-GEN1
‘Children have nothing to do here.’

(51) Mí elo λ’iri-r Ø-izi-r-ani-x elu-s
2SG.ABS.(I) there above-LAT 1-rise-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS 1PL-GEN1
res-no mahal-no ānu.
possibility.ABS.III-and might.ABS.III-and be.NEG
‘We have no ability or might to lift you up there.’ (ʕAliqilič:113)

(52) Dey eλ’i at’ono-λ’ otpuska ānu.
1SG.GEN1 past summer-SUPER.ESS vacation.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
‘I did not have a vacation last summer.’

As mentioned earlier (Ch. YY[Case system]), Tsez grammar encodes a contrast between permanent and temporary possession. In possessive intransitive clauses, the use of the genitive indicates permanent possession and the use of the poss-essive indicates temporary possession. Compare the following examples:

(53) Murad-e-s mašina zow-ā?
Murad-OS-GEN1 car.ABS.III be.PST-INTERR
‘Did Murad have (own) a car?’

(54) Murad-qo mašina zow-ā?
Murad-POSS.ESS car.ABS.III be.PST-INTERR
‘Did Murad have a car (for temporary use)?’

The difference between the possessor genitive in the possessive constructions and the genitive accompanying the predicative nominal in complex verbs (as in examples (9), (10), (11), (12) above) is more nuanced. Absolutive noun phrases in Tsez can be discontinuous (see CH. YY
[Noun phrase]), so the separation of the genitive and the noun it modifies is to be expected. Following this logic, we could potentially analyze possessive constructions the same way: the genitive modifies the pivot, and possessive clauses are simply existentials that lack a scene-setting expression. Then a sentence like (48), with irrelevant details omitted, would literally mean, “His daughter existed.” Thus:

(55)  
[Nesi-s     kid]   zow-s.  
DEM.1-GEN1  girl.ABS.II   be.PST-PST.WIT  
PIVOT  EXISTENTIAL PREDICATE  
‘He had a daughter.’

Two considerations suggest that this analysis is incorrect. First, discontinuous noun phrases are subject to the restriction that the modifier cannot follow the head noun (see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]). In possessive sentences, however, the possessor can easily appear after the verb—see example (50) above. Second, the possessor genitive in possessive constructions can bind the absolutive complement, whereas the possessor genitive inside a noun phrase cannot:7

(56)  
Yilha  k’et’u-s  nelä  nele-s  bet’erhan  yol-ä?  
DEM.nI  cat-GEN1  REFL.nI-GEN1  master.ABS.I  be.PRS-INTERR  
‘Does this cat have an owner?’

(57)  
*[Madina-s  nelä  nele-s  q’as]   t’ubazi b-oq-si.  
Madina-GEN1  REFL.nI-GEN1  wish.ABS.III  fulfill III-become-PST.WIT  
(Madina’s own wish became true.’)

Based on these considerations, we suggest that the genitive in possessive sentences is a separate constituent from the existential genitive modifier, and it maps onto the highest argument in the possessive clause. The example (48) above will thus have the following structure:

(58)  
[nesi-s] [kid]   zow-s.  
DEM.1-GEN1  girl.ABS.II  be.PST-PST.WIT  
HIGHEST  PIVOT  EXISTENTIAL  
ARGUMENT  PREDICATE  
‘He had a daughter.’

The genitive is therefore similar to the scene-setting expressions we observe in genuine existential sentences (see section 2.4 above). As a genitive of the external possessor functioning at the clause level, the possessive genitive contrasts with the adnominal genitive (see König and Haspelmath 1998; Lander 2008; Payne and Barshi 1999; Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992, a.o.

7 As with existentials proper, the possessum cannot antecede its own reflexive in the possessor phrase:

(i)  
*Nesä  nesi-z  k’et’u-s  bet’erhan  yol.  
REFL.I-GEN2  cat-GEN1  master.ABS.I  be.PRS  
(‘The cat’s owner exists.’)
for the distinction between external possessors and adnominal possessors). The use of genitive to express the external possessor is quite common in the Nakh-Dagestanian family; for example, it is observed in Archi (Kibrik 1977), as well Tsez’s immediate family group: Avar (Alekseev and Ataev 1997: 46), Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 42ff.), Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 70), and Hınıq (Forker 2013: 534, 555).

2.6. The accidental construction

In the accidental construction, the predicate (usually denoting a state) is intransitive, but the clause can include a poss-essive adjunct referring to the inadvertent agent. Intransitive verbs that participate in this construction are unaccusative.

(59) a. Aki r-exu-s.
  window.ABS.IV IV-break.ITR-PST.WIT
  ‘The window broke.’

b. Eniw-q aki r-exu-s.
  mother-POSS.ESS window.ABS.IV IV-break.ITR-PST.WIT
  ‘Mother accidentally broke the window.’ (‘The window broke on mother.’)

(60) a. Uži bet’u-k’ołanay-x.
  boy.ABS.I jump-PRS
  ‘The boy is jumping.’

b. *Eniw-q uži bet’u-k’ołanay-x.
  mother-POSS.ESS boy.ABS.I jump-PRS
  (‘The boy is jumping on mother’s watch.’)

The state of affairs denoted by the accidental construction is perceived as something that was unintended by the agent (see Kittilä 2007a for an overview and discussion of cross-linguistic distribution). For instance, in (59b), the continuation ‘but she wanted it that way’ is infelicitous, as indicated in the example below:

(61) Eniw-q aki r-exu-s
  mother-POSS.ESS window.ABS.IV IV-break.ITR-PST.WIT
  (#amma howži neło-s murad b-oý-s).
  but that DEM.n1-GEN goal.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT
  ‘Mother accidentally broke the window (#but that was her goal.’)

The transitive equivalent of (59b), involving a volitional agent, has the predicate AGR-exur-‘break (tr.)’ (exu-r- ‘break.ITR-CAUS’). In that construction, the continuation indicating the agent’s intent is felicitous:

(62) Eni-y-a aki r-exu-r-si
  mother-ERG window.ABS.IV IV-break-CAUS-PST.WIT
  (amma howži neło-s murad b-oý-s).
  but that DEM.n1-GEN goal.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT
  ‘Mother broke the window (but that was her goal.’)
The word order in the accidental construction is not rigid; however, we note a strong preference for placing the noun phrase expressing the inadvertent agent at the left or right periphery of the clause; orders such as (63a) are judged awkward:

(63) a. #Tor besuroqu-za-q yanq’izi r-oq-si.
    net.ABS.IV fisherman-PL.OS-POSS.ESS drown IV-become-PST.WIT
b. Besuroqu-za-q tor yanq’izi r-oq-si.
    fisherman-PL.OS-POSS.ESS net.ABS.IV drown IV-become-PST.WIT
c. Tor yanq’izi r-oq-si besuroqu-za-q.
    boat.ABS.IV drown IV-become-PST.WIT fisherman-PL.OS-POSS.ESS

‘The net sank on the fishermen.’

The accidental construction is not the only one where the agentive participant appears in the poss-essive form. It may be possible to find a general meaning component for poss-essive noun phrases denoting participants with incomplete agency, but even if so, it is still important to differentiate several constructions involving the poss-essive agent, including the accidental construction and the potential construction discussed in section 3.2 below.

2.7. Intransitive symmetrical predicates

Symmetrical predicates such as ‘collide’, ‘marry’, and ‘meet’ entail that the main participant in an event is a plurality of individuals. Tsez has two ways of expressing such a plurality: either the subject is expressed in the plural (or by a coordinate noun phrase; see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]) or the subject is expressed in the singular accompanied by a subcategorized adjunct in an oblique form. Consider both options for the verbs meaning ‘mix’:

(64) a. Q’ano huni-bi lic’ox-xo.
    two road-PL.ABS.nIPL mix-PRS
    ‘The two roads intersect.’
b. Łāłaru-ni huni cibaru huni-ł lic’ox-xo.
    narrow-DEF road.ABS.IV old road-CONT.ESS mix-PRS
    ‘The narrow road intersects with the old road.’
(65) a. Isi-n qema-n lic’ox-si.
    snow.ABS.II-and rain.ABS.IV-and mix-PST.WIT
    ‘Snow and rain mixed.’
b. Isi qema-l lic’ox-si.
    snow.ABS.II rain-CONT.ESS mix-PST.WIT
    ‘The snow mixed with the rain.’
(66) a. Nuci-n ye’ay-n r-ig łek’i-x.
    honey.ABS.IV-and milk.ABS.II-and nIPL-well mix-PRS
    ‘Honey and milk mix well.’
b. Nuci ye’ay-ł łek’i-s.
    honey.ABS.IV milk-CONT.ESS mix-PST.WIT
    ‘The honey mixed with the milk.’ (lit.: in milk)
The verb ‘collide’ takes the absolutive subject and an adjunct in the cont-essive (for animates) and poss-essive (for inanimates, even the ones that are mobile).\(^8\)

\[(67)\] a. \textbf{Irbahin-no halmayı-no č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} Ibrahim.ABS.I-and friend-ABS.I-and collide-PST.WIT 
‘Ibrahim and his friend collided.’ (~quarreled)

b. \textbf{Irbahin halmayı-e-ł č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} Ibrahim.ABS.I friend-OS-CONT.ESS collide-PST.WIT 
‘Ibrahim collided with a friend.’ (~quarreled)

\[(68)\] a. \textbf{K’onk’a-n mašina-n č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} bicycle.ABS.III-and car-ABS.III-and collide-PST.WIT 
‘A bicycle and a car collided.’

K’onk’a mašina-q č’ayi-s. 
\hspace{2cm} bicycle.ABS.III car-POSS.ESS collide-PST.WIT 
‘A bicycle collided with a car.’

The compound verb ‘meet’ can take an absolutive subject and an adjunct in the apud-essive:

\[(69)\] a. \textbf{Halma-ğ bi k’w eze b-oq-si.} 
\hspace{2cm} friend-PL.ABS.IPL meet IPL-become-PST.WIT 
‘The friends met.’

b. \textbf{Žedu halmay-za-de k’w eze b-oq-si.} 
\hspace{2cm} DEM.PL.ABS.(IPL) friend-PL.OS-APUD.ESS meet IPL-become-PST.WIT 
‘They met with friends.’

The verb AGR-\textit{ihanad}– ‘fight’ can take a plural absolutive subject or a subject with an adjunct in the apud-lative:

\[\text{(i)}\] a. \textbf{Irbahin k’onk’a-q č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} Ibrahim.ABS.I bicycle-POSS.ESS collide-PST.WIT 
‘Ibrahim collided with a bicycle.’

b. \textbf{#Irbahin-no k’onk’a-n č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} Ibrahim.ABS.I-and bicycle-ABS.III-and collide-PST.WIT 
(‘Ibrahim and a bicycle collided.’)

\[\text{(ii)}\] a. \textbf{K’onk’a k’et’u-ł č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} bicycle-ABS.III cat-CONT.ESS collide-PST.WIT 
‘A/the bicycle collided with a/the cat.’

b. \textbf{#K’onk’a-n k’et’u-n č’ayi-s.} 
\hspace{2cm} bicycle-ABS.III-and cat-ABS.III-and collide-PST.WIT 
(‘A/the bicycle and a/the cat collided.’)

\(8\) If one of the participants is animate and the other inanimate, the construction with an adjunct is strongly preferred over the construction with a coordinate DP. Thus:
a. Žedu b-ihanay-s.
DEM.PL.ABS.(IPL) IPL-fight-PST.WIT
‘They fought (against) each other.’

b. Žedu tušman-za-de-r b-ihanay-s.
DEM.PL.ABS.(IPL) enemy-PL.OS-APUD-LAT IPL-fight-PST.WIT
‘They fought (against) the enemy.’

The verb AGR-ik’- ‘go’ used in the meaning ‘marry’ (only about a woman) combines with the ad-essive adjunct and does not allow a coordinate structure subject:9

Dey kid ma ħama-zʕ Ali-x y-ik’i-x.
1SG.GEN daughter.ABS.II Mohammed-GEN2 Ali-AD.ESS II-go-PRS
‘My daughter is going to marry Ali Magomedov.’

2.8. **An idiomatic expression with an intransitive subject**

Subject idioms are generally less common than idiomatic expressions with objects, and we would like to mention several of them here. We have been able to observe at least one idiomatic expression with the absolutive subject:

Ziru ƛuƛi-x.
fox.ABS.III give.birth-PRS
‘It is a sun shower (clear-sky hail).’ (lit.: fox is giving birth)10

See also section 3.1.3 for idiomatic expressions with ergative noun phrases.

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9 The meaning of ‘marry’ for males is expressed by a transitive predicate baru y-ow- ‘wife II-bring’; the name of the bride can appear in place of baru ‘wife’ thus:

(i) a. ʕAl-ä zarema y-ow-si.
Ali-ERG Zarema.ABS.II II-bring-PST.WIT
‘Ali married Zarema.’

b. ʕAl-ä baru y-ow-si.
Ali-ERG wife.ABS.II II-bring-PST.WIT
‘Ali got married.’

10 There must be some mythological connection between sun-showers and foxes, because a number of languages (including some southwestern English dialects) refer to sun-showers as “a fox’s wedding” or “a fox giving birth”. See [http://linguistlist.org/issues/9/9-1795.html](http://linguistlist.org/issues/9/9-1795.html) for a collection of data and further references.
3. Transitive verbs

Verbs with two or more arguments form two main constructions: the ergative construction and the potential construction. Since there is no difference between transitive and ditransitive constructions with respect to the encoding of the agent and patient, we will discuss the encoding of those argument in this section, and in section 4, we will concentrate on the encoding of the third argument of ditransitives.

3.1. Ergative construction

3.1.1. Simple verbal predicates

The basic construction for two-place non-affective predicates is the ergative construction, in which the subject argument appears in the ergative, the object argument is in the absolutive, and the agreement, if visible, is with the absolutive argument.

(73) Zir-ä k’et’u nelä nelö-de sadaq idu-ɣor
    fox-ERG cat.ABS.III together home-VERS
    b-iži-n. III-lead-PST.nWIT
    'The foxi took the cat with himi to hisi home.' (based on K’et’un zirun:9)

A large number of transitive verbs that are causativized from intransitives take ergative and absolutive arguments. For example, the intransitive verb *quq-* ‘be dry; dry up (intr.)’ turns into a transitive with the addition of the causative suffix:

(74) a. Moči beq-ā-r quqi-x.
    field.ABS.III sun-IN-LAT dry-PRS
    'The ground dries up in the sun.'

   b. Beq-ä moči quq-ir-xo.
    sun-ERG soil.ABS.III dry-CAUS-PRS
    'The sun dries up the ground.'

This last example and the examples below show that the ergative-absolutive construction can be used with inanimate agents:

(75) Ĺal-ā as r-iqir-si.
    wind-ERG sky.ABS.IV IV-catch-PST.WIT
    'The wind fogged up (lit.: caught) the sky.'

(76) C’i-d-ā ėaʕur y-iku-r-si.
    fire-ERG mill.ABS.II II-burn.INTR-CAUS-PST.WIT
    'Fire burnt the mill.'

(77) hukumat-y-ā xalq’i b-aw’ir-xo.
    government-OS-ERG people.ABS.IPL IPL-deceive-PRS
    'The government deceives/is deceiving people.'

(78) Heneš-yo-z yun-ā gagali b-oŋ-no.
    apple-OS-GEN2 tree-ERG flower.ABS.III III-pull-PST.nWIT
‘The apple tree blossomed.’ (lit.: pulled flower)

(79) Xirix-y-ā qaca r-eč’-xo.
saw-OS-ERG firewood.ABS.IV IV-cut-PRS
‘A/the saw saws firewood.’

(80) Yīlā rek-ā hišimuku r-a’yi-x.
DEM key-ERG lock.ABS.IV IV-open-PRS
‘This key opens the lock.’

(81) Šud-ā taraw ŋek’u-s ŋamal b-it’zi b-ād-inē’i.
grave-ERG except man-GEN1 character.ABS.III III-straight III-do.FUT-NEG
‘You can’t teach an old dog new tricks.’ (lit.: Nothing except the grave will straighten out
the man’s nature/character)

We did not find restrictions on the use of inanimates in the ergative. However, there are some
word order differences worth noting. While animate unergatives can appear anywhere in the
clause (with the preferred positions being at the left edge, SOV, and after the verb, XOVSS), some
inanimate unergatives are judged most natural when they follow rather than precede the object.
Compare (75)-(81) above, in which the inanimate ergative preceded the object, with the
following naturally occurring examples:

(82) Ziru ǧlar-ā b-is-no.
fox.ABS.III belly-ERG III-take-PST.nWIT
‘The fox had a bad stomach ache.’ (lit.: the stomach took the fox)

(83) ǧirba k’ic-ā ǧi=š xo.
guest.ABS.(I) tooth-ERG I-take-PRS
‘The guest has a bad toothache.’ (lit.: the tooth takes the guest)

(84) Eniwi q’im-ā y-išt=ʔ-o xo.
mother.ABS.II head-ERG II-carry=II-pull-PRS
‘Mother has a headache.’ (lit.: the head carries-pulls Mother)

In these instances, typically representing situations of discomfort, the ergative noun phrase
expresses the cause for discomfort and the absolutive is the patient. Note that the verb is clearly
transitive, and agrees with the absolutive argument. The ergative can precede the object,
although this order is judged less natural:

(85) #K’ic-ā ǧirba ʔi=x xo.
tooth-ERG guest.ABS.(I) I-take-PRS
‘The guest has a bad toothache.’ (lit.: the tooth takes the guest)

Judgements become sharper if the ergative noun phrase follows the verb. In contrast to other
clauses with ergative noun phrases, postverbal ergatives for these expressions are considered
unacceptable. Compare the acceptable (86) (based on (75)) and the unacceptable (87), based on
(82):

(86) As r-iqir-si ǧal-ā.
sky.ABS.IV IV-catch-PST.WIT wind-ERG
‘The wind fogged up the sky.’
(87) #Ziru b-is-no ḡar-ā.
    fox.ABS.III III-take-PST.NWIT belly-ERG
    (‘The fox had a bad stomach ache.’)

It is possible that these word order differences have something to do with animacy, but consider the following example where the ergative is again inanimate, and the absolutive object denotes a human:

(88) a. Zaman-ā yedu żek’u Ø-is-no.
    time-ERG DEM man.ABS.I I-take-PST.NWIT
b. Yedu żek’u Ø-is-no zaman-ā.
    DEM man.ABS.I I-take-PST.NWIT time-ERG
    ‘Time took away this man.’

In another special use of the ergative-absolutive construction with an inanimate ergative, the same noun appears in both cases, with the absolutive preceding the ergative; such sentences are interpreted as representing internally-caused events. Their predicates are clearly transitive, as indicated by the ergative argument and, sometimes, the presence of causative marking on the verb. This construction is not very productive.

(89) C’i c’i-d-ā r-iku-r-xo.
    fire.ABS.IV fire-OS-ERG IV-burn-CAUS-PRS
    ‘Fire burns.’

(90) Hek’u hek’-ā b-ahi-r-xo.
    potato.ABS.III potato-ERG III-boil-CAUS-PRS
    ‘The potatoes are boiling.’

Since the ergative and in-essive forms of most Tsez nouns are identical, one could imagine that the transitive with the internal-causation reading takes a null ergative pronoun, and the form glossed as ergative is actually in-essive. Thus, (89) could be hypothetically represented as (91), with the null pronominal ergative:

(91) pro c’i c’i-d-ā r-iku-r-xo.
    fire.ABS.IV fire-OS-IN.ESS IV-burn-CAUS-PRS
    ‘Fire burns.’

At least two considerations argue against such a representation. First, there are some nouns, a subset of nominals with the oblique stem in –o, that have a zero ending in the ergative (see CH. YY [Case morphology]). Such ergatives, which differ in form from the in-essive, occur in the construction discussed here, indicating strongly that the second noun is indeed ergative, not in-essive:

(92) Nur nur-ā/nur-mo-Ø qašik’-er-xo.
    light.ABS.III light-ERG/light-OS-ERG shine-CAUSE-PRS
    ‘The light is shining.’

(93) Čuret’ čuret’-y-ā/čuret’-yo-Ø bok’-xo.
Second, it is normally possible to replace a null pronoun with an overt noun phrase without a change in meaning. No such replacement is available in (89). Compare (89) with the example below, where the hypothetical null pronoun is replaced with an overt ergative noun phrase; the sentence no longer has the interpretation of an internally caused event:

(94) Šayt’an-z-ä c’i c’i-d-ä r-iku-r-xo.
devil-OS-ERG fire.ABS.IV fire-OS-IN.ESS IV-burn-CAUS-PRS
‘Devil is burning fire inside the fire.’

A common use of the internally-caused ergative construction is found with the word ‘rain’. While the intransitive verb AGR-ay ‘come’ can be used to express the event of rain falling (95), we also found the (di)transitive verb AGR-egir- ‘send’ used without a subject in this context (96a). The alternative, with the ergative noun phrase ‘rain’ present, is considered possible but redundant and therefore awkward (96b).

(95) Qema r-ay-x.
rain.ABS.IV IV-come-PRS
‘It is raining.’

(96) a. Qema r-egir-xo.
rain.ABS.IV IV-send-PRS
‘It is raining.’
b. #Qema qem-ä r-egir-xo.
rain.ABS.IV rain-ERG IV-send-PRS
‘It is raining.’

Generic transitive constructions with an arbitrary animate subject often express that subject with a null pronominal. This use is quite common in proverbs and set expressions; consider the following example:

(97) proarb q’im-zo oz-ä-si lexu y-ukay-x-ānu
self-GEN2 eye-IN.ESS-ATTR log.ABS.II II-see-PRES-NEG
žek’u-z oz-ä-si mus b-ukay-x.
man-GEN2 eye-IN.ESS-ATTR hair.ABS.III III-see-PRES
‘Why worry about a speck in your friend’s eye when you have a log in your own?’ (lit.: one does not notice a log in his own eye but sees a tiny hair in another’s eye)

Several properties of the ergative's syntactic distribution distinguish it from the absolutive object and identify its higher position in the syntactic structure compared to the object. In the ergative construction, the ergative noun phrase can antecede a reflexive in the absolutive position, but not the other way around (see CH. YY [Reflexives and anaphora]). Additionally, the ergative, but not the absolutive, forms a dependency with the subject or object of the higher clause in embedded infinitival and masdar clauses (thus participating in subject/object control), see CH. YY [Complement clauses]. Finally, the ergative and absolutive noun phrases differ with respect
to the formation of masdar relative clauses (CH. YY [Relative clauses]). Independent evidence shows that masdar relative clauses can relativize on any argument except the highest one (the subject); for instance, absolutive subjects cannot relativize in masdar relative clauses. All these properties identify the ergative noun phrase as subject and the absolutive noun phrase as object.

3.1.2. Complex transitive predicates

A great number of transitive predicates are complex, consisting of the light verb AGR-śa-‘do; make’ and a preverbal component. Such verbs are the transitive counterparts of intransitive light verb constructions with –oq-. Two patterns of agreement are observed in transitive light verb constructions (see CH. YY [PredP] for a detailed discussion). If a complex verb includes a non-nominal predicative complement, the light verb agrees with the absolutive argument outside the complex predicate. For example, žažaru AGR-śa-‘thin out’ agrees with bix in (98), and garzi AGR-śa-‘ask for, request’ agrees with āq’lu and then with posu in (99).

(98) Nes-ā bix žažaru r-oy-s.
DEM.I-ERG grass.ABS.IV thin IV-do-PST.WIT
‘He thinned the grass.’

(99) āq’lu garzi b-od-o, posu garzi
advice.ABS.III request III-do-IMPER wealth.ABS.III request
b-ādi-n.
III-do-PROH
‘Ask for wisdom, not for riches.’ (lit.: request advice, do not request riches)

Many other complex verbs are represented by a combination of a noun in the absolutive and AGR-śa-‘do, make’, where that noun serves as the absolutive object of the clause and the light verb agrees with it. A good number of nouns co-occurring with light verbs are part of the Tsez nominal lexicon (including earlier borrowings). The noun takes the place of the absolutive object, and the participant that corresponds to the notional patient of the event is then expressed either as an adnominal genitive (as in (100)) or as a noun phrase in a spatial form:

(100) B-śeya-t’a-ni-z-ā b-śež-t’a-ni-za-s hurmat
IPL-young-DISTR-DEF-PL.OS-ERG IPL-old-DISTR-DEF-PL.OS-GEN1 respect.ABS.III
b-oy-x.
III-do-PRS
‘The young respect the old.’ (hurmat bod- ‘respect’)

(101) Kid-b-ā eniw-q/eniw-r kumak b-oy-x.
girl-OS-ERG mother-POSS.ESS/mother-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-PRS
‘The girl helps mother.’ (kumak bod- ‘help’)

(102) Aždah-ā nesi-z k’onē’-a-š raq r-oy-s.
dragon-ERG DEM.I-GEN2 leg-SUPER.ESS wound.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.WIT
‘The dragon wounded him in the leg.’ (raq rod- ‘wound’)

(103) Nes-ā mežu-r gap y-oy-x.
DEM.I-ERG 2PL-LAT joke.ABS.II II-do-PRS
‘He is joking with you.’ (gap yod- ‘joke’)

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Example (104) shows the use of the ergative construction for expressing the notion of occupation: the light verb combines with the abstract nominal derived from the profession/occupation title:

(104)  
\begin{align*}
\text{\ హద్\ష-\ఐ} & \text{\ శొపు-\పర-\లి} \quad \text{\ ర-\యు-\ె-} \\
\text{Hadji-ERG} & \text{driver-NMLZ.ABS.IV} \quad \text{IV-do-PRS} \\
\text{‘Hadji works as a driver.’ (‘does driverhood’)}
\end{align*}

The use of light verbs for complex-verb derivation is very productive. Some of the nouns occurring with AGR–od- are new borrowings, mostly from Russian—and they are not always nouns in the source language. For example, in (105), the two recent Russian borrowings are indeed nouns, but in (106), the borrowing mişayat comes from a verb (either third-person singular or, less likely, infinitive), yet the light verb agrees with mişayat in gender III as if it were a noun.11

(105)  
\begin{align*}
\text{\ హాకిం-\ఐ} & \text{\ యుడు} \quad \text{\ సాంరయా} \quad \text{b-od-a} \\
\text{boss-ERG} & \text{tomorrow} \quad \text{meeting.ABS.III} \quad \text{III-do-INF} \\
\text{plan} & \text{b-oy-s} \\
\text{plan.ABS.III} & \text{III-do-PST.WIT} \\
\text{‘The boss planned to have a meeting tomorrow.’}
\end{align*}

(106)  
\begin{align*}
\text{\ మేస-\ఐ} & \text{\ డా-\ర} \quad \text{mişayat} \quad \text{b-oy-x} \\
\text{2PL-ERG} & \text{1SG-LAT} \quad \text{interference.ABS.III} \quad \text{III-do-PRS} \\
\text{‘You are in my way.’ (lit.: you are doing bothering to me)}
\end{align*}

All the complex transitive verbs shown above take the absolutive and ergative, but the other arguments presupposed by their argument structure have to be expressed in oblique cases, as shown.

### 3.1.3. Idiomatic expressions with the ergative subject

Finally, we would like to mention several idioms that take an ergative subject. Subject idioms with transitive verbs are generally quite rare; in English, just a couple such subject idioms, such as (Has the) cat got your tongue?, compete with a plethora of object idioms. Tsez exhibits the same misbalance, with multiple object idioms and, as far as we have seen, just a couple of idiomatic expressions with the ergative subject. The first one has to do with astronomical eclipses; it can appear with two different interchangeable verbs (‘eat’ and ‘catch’):

(107)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} \quad \text{T’ont’oh-\ఐ/t’unt’uh-\ఐ\ బుంq’} \quad \text{b-\ac’-xо.} \\
\text{darkness-ERG} & \text{sun.ABS.III} \quad \text{III-eat.TR-PRS} \\
\text{‘There is a solar eclipse.’ (lit.: darkness eats the sun)}
\end{align*}

\(\text{b.} \quad \text{T’ont’oh-\ఐ/t’unt’uh-\ఐ\ బుc} \quad \text{b-iqir-no.} \\
\text{darkness-ERG} & \text{moon.ABS.III} \quad \text{III-catch-PST.nWIT}
\)

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11 One could argue that the infinitive is a nominal form; however, Avar infinitives in –ze/-zi do not have nominal properties when they occur in constructions with a light verb. The infinitival status of these forms in Avar is therefore irrelevant.
‘There was a lunar eclipse.’ (lit.: darkness caught the moon)

Another idiomatic expression is as follows:

(108) Žek’u-z k’et’-ä aw b-iqär-inč’i.
    person-GEN2 cat-ERG mouse.ABS.III III-catch.FUT-NEG
    ‘Your neighbor’s cat won’t catch your mice.’ = ‘Do not expect help from strangers.’
    (lit.: someone else's cat won’t catch a mouse)

There is another subject idiom that involves the ergative of e ‘blood’; this expression is most often used when describing the behavior of animals that are acting dangerous or belligerent, for example:

(109) E-y-ä debi ywāay b-iq’-ur-xosi (yol).
    blood-OS-ERG 2SG.GEN1 dog.ABS.III III-burn.ITR-CAUS-PRS.PTCP be.PRS
    ‘Your dog is being aggressive.’ (lit.: blood is burning your dog)

When used to describe a person’s behavior, this idiom conveys irony or sarcasm, talking about someone who lost their temper. Thus:

(110) Sułli-n e-y-ä ūa Ø-ik’-ur-si.
    suddenly-and blood-OS-ERG DEM.ABS(.I)-and I-burn.ITR-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘And suddenly he blew a gasket.’ (lit.: … blood burned him)

3.2. Potential construction

If a transitive verb appears in the optative or in the potential form in –el, its agent will appear in the poss-essive and its patient in the absolutive. Compare the transitive clause in (111a) and the optative form in (111b). (112) contrasts a transitive clause (a) with its potential-form counterpart (b):

(111) a. El-ä yedu t’ek t’et’er-si.
    1PL-ERG DEM book.ABS.II read-PST.WIT
    ‘We read that book.’

    b. Elu-q yedu t’ek t’et’r-*(oƛ).
    1PL-POSS.ESS DEM book.ABS.II read-OPT
    ‘We are able to read that book.’

(112) a. El-ä yedu t’ek t’et’er-si.
    1PL-ERG DEM book.ABS.II read-PST.WIT
    ‘We read that book.’

12 Recall that the optative is a regular tense-aspect-mood form in Tsez, and thus largely in complementary distribution with other tense-aspect-mood forms. The potential suffix derives a new verb stem which can then be conjugated in the usual way. See CH. YY[VERB MORPH] for details.
b. Elu-q yedu t’ek t’et’ra-*(!)-xo.
1PL-POSS.ESS DEM book.ABS.II read-POT-PRS
‘We are/will be able to read that book.’

In complex verbs, the light verb appears in the optative or potential form:

(113) a. Besuroqu-z-ä riło yank’izi r-oq-si.
fisherman-PL.OS-ERG boat.ABS.IV drown IV-do-PST.WIT
‘The fishermen sank the boat.’

b. Besuroqu-za-q riło yank’izi r-oy*(ƛ)-xo.
fisherman-PL.OS-POSS.ESS boat.ABS.IV drown IV-do-OPT-PST.WIT
‘The fishermen could sink the boat.’

(114) a. Doxtur-ä rołnoku-ni-r kumak b-oy-s.
doctor-ERG sick.person-DEF-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT
‘The doctor helped the patient.’

b. Doxtur-qo nesä nesi-r kumak b-oy-*(ƛ)-xo.
doctor-POSS REFL.I-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-OPT-PRS
‘The doctor is able to help himself.’

In addition to the productive use of transitive verbs in the potential construction, the same construction also occurs with several intransitive verbs: AGR-iz- ‘rise’, AGR-et’w- ‘tear, be torn’, liy- ‘be over, end’, AGR-iq- ‘be gotten, be obtained, be found’, and AGR-eɣw- ‘be defeated’ (Imnajšvili 1963: 262-263). These verbs do not have to appear in the optative or potential form (although they can do so when contextually appropriate), but in all instances, their inadvertent subject appears in the poss-essive and the patient in the absolutive. Thus:

(115) Nesi-q b-izi-s meši.
DEM.I-POSS.ESS III-rise-PST.WIT calf.ABS.III
‘He was able to lift the calf.’ (lit.: the calf rose on him)

(116) R-at’u-yä dow-qo yedu roč?
IV-tear.FUT-INTERR 2SG-POSS.ESS DEM rope.ABS.IV
‘Will you be able to tear this rope?’ (lit.: will this rope be torn on you)

(117) Liy-x-ānu dā-q ža raład.
end-PRS-NEG 1SG-POSS.ESS DEM sea.ABS.IV
‘I cannot drink up (finish) this sea.’

(118) Debi baru y-exu-s dā-q.
2SG.GEN1 wife.ABS.II II-die-PST.WIT 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘I accidentally killed your wife.’ (lit.: your wife died on me)

(119) Nesi-q b-iqi-n boko.13

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13 Imnajšvili (1963: 263) discusses the contrast between sentences such as (119), with the inadvertent agent in the poss-essive, and (i), where the lative form denotes a recipient. The inadvertent agent is construed as more active, more involved in the process of obtaining something, than the recipient.
The use of the poss-essive form for encoding the inadvertent or potential agent in these constructions is not accidental. As we have seen in other instances, the poss-essive form is also used to encode the recipient in a temporary transfer (section 2.5) and the inadvertent agent in an accidental clause (section 2.6). The poss-essive form is also found on causees in causatives (see section 6 below). In all these instances, the noun phrase in the poss-essive encodes a participant whose engagement in the event is not long-term or completely volitional. Yet another use of this form is observed in impersonal constructions with infinitival clausal complements, discussed in Ch. YY [Clausal complements]. With respect to reflexive binding, the poss-essive noun phrase in the potential construction behaves as a subject—it binds the absolutive argument, and cannot be bound by it (see CH. YY [Reflexives and anaphora]).

4. Ditransitives

4.1. Verbs of transfer

The inventory of verbs of transfer is not very large; it includes the verbs of giving, as well as ‘teach’, ‘send’, and ‘show’. Verbs indicating motion toward a goal or recipient, such as ‘throw’ and ‘kick’, do not act as ditransitives. Within the verbs of transfer, the patient (object of transfer) is always in the absolutive. The only alternation is observed in the form of the recipient or goal, which varies depending on whether the transfer is permanent or temporary and, for inanimate goals, on their location in space.

The verbs of giving, teƛ- ‘give (away from the speaker/agent)’ and neƛ- ‘give (toward the speaker/agent)’ take the agent in the ergative, the object of transfer in the absolutive, and the recipient in the lative or poss-essive/poss-lative. The choice between the lative and forms of the possessive series is determined by whether the transfer is permanent (lative) or temporary (poss-essive or poss-lative); consider a similar contrast in the intransitives of possession in section 2.5 above. The contrast between permanent and temporary possession typically plays out when the object of transfer is a tangible, material thing; when metaphoric transfer applies to answers, permissions, thoughts, and other abstract objects, the recipient always appears in the lative.

Some examples describing the transfer of tangible objects:

(121) Nes-ä  ża  kayat  kid-be-qo-r  teƛ-si.
DEM.I-ERG DEM letter.ABS.II girl-OS-POSS-LAT give-PST.WIT

(i)  Nesi-r  b-iqi-n  boko.
DEM.I-LAT III-be.gotten-PST.WIT fur coat.ABS.III
‘He received a fur coat.’
‘He gave that letter to the girl.’

(122) ʕAdal-qo-r qaca-s c’araʃ teƛ, c’odor-qo-r fool-POSS-LAT wood-GEN1 dishes.ABS.III give.IMPER smart.person-POSS-LAT
pak-mo-s c’araʃ teƛ.
copper-OS-GEN1 dishes.ABS.III give.IMPER
‘Don’t waste your breath on fools.’ (lit.: Give wooden dishes to the fool, give copper dishes to the smart one)

(123) Nel-ä elu-r li nел-xosi [yol] λeb-a-x-äy DEM.nI-ERG 1PL-LAT water.ABS.III give-PRS.PTCP be.PRS year-OS-AD-ABL
sosit’a el-ä nela-r y-ac’-ani-x kid teƛ-näy.
one 1PL-ERG DEM.nI-LAT II-eat-MASD-AD.ESS girl.ABS.II give-COND
‘It [the dragon] gives us water if once a year we give him a girl for him to eat.’
(ʕAliqilič:49)

(124) Es-na-z-ä eniw-r xiriyaw saj�at teƛ-si.
sibling-PL-OS-ERG mother-LAT expensive gift.ABS.III give-PST.WIT
‘The siblings gave Mother an expensive gift.’

(125) El-ä dow-qo-r bišom y’uruš q’arza nел-ān.
1PL-ERG 2SG-POSS-LAT hundred rouble.ABS.II debt give-FUT.DEF
‘We will loan you a hundred roubles.’

Examples of abstract transfers:

(126) Mi dä-r izmu nел-nay…
2SG.ERG 1SG-LAT permission.ABS.III give-COND.CVB
‘If you give me your permission…’

(127) Tawad-ä yisi-r žawab teƛ-no.
Tawadi-ERG DEM-LAT answer.ABS.III give-PST.WIT
‘Tawadi gave them the answer.’ (Ražbadinno Tawadinno:83)

(128) Ražbadin-ä-n barā-n Tawadi-r b-ežе barkala
Rajbaddin-ERG-and wife-ERG-and Tawadi-LAT III-big thanks.ABS.III
tеƛ-no.
give-PST.WIT
‘Rajbaddin and his wife thanked Tawadi profusely.’ (Ražbadinno Tawadinno:200)

All three main arguments of the verbs ‘give’ can be omitted in context; if absent, they are still understood as involved in the event. If the immediate context does not disambiguate the participants, the null pronominals can be interpreted indefinitely. Consider some examples:

(129) Učitel-ä ża kayат kid-be-qo-r teƛ-si.
teacher-ERG DEM letter.ABS.II girl-OS-POSS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘The teacher gave that letter to the girl.’

(130) pro ża kayат kid-be-qo-r teƛ-si.
ERG DEM letter.ABS.II girl-OS-POSS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘S/He/Someone gave that letter to the girl.’

(131) Učitel-ä pro kid-be-qo-r teƛ-si.
teacher-ERG ABS girl-OS-POSS-LAT give-PST.WIT
‘The teacher gave it/something to the girl.’

(132) Učitel-ä ža kayat pro teš-si.
teacher-ERG DEM letter.ABS.II LAT/POSS.ESS give-PST.WIT
‘The teacher gave that letter to him/her/someone.’

(133) A: Mi irbahin-e-r mixir teš-ä?
2SG.ERG Ibrahim-OS-LAT money.ABS.II give-PST.INTERR
‘Did you give Ibrahim (the) money?’

B: Hudu, pro pro pro teš-si.
yes give-PST.WIT
‘Yes, I did.’

There are two verbs meaning ‘teach’, mo’il- and the causative of t’et’r- ‘learn, read’. With both verbs, the agent is expressed in the ergative, the patient (object of instruction) in the absolutive, and the recipient in the poss-essive. For example:

(134) Učitel-ä q’uya-hukmat-yo-l-zo žek’u-za-q
teacher-ERG foreign-government-OS-CONT-ATTR.OS person-PL.OS-POSS.ESS
cezi-ya-s mec mo’li-x/t’et’r-er-xo.
Tsez-OS-GEN language.ABS.III teach-PRS/learn-CAUS-PRS
‘The teacher is teaching the Tsez language to foreigners.’

(135) R-igu šebin mo’li-n zow-n-ānu mi
tell-PFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG 2SG.ERG
dā-q.
IV-good thing.ABS.IV 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘You have told me the wrong thing.’ (lit.: you have not taught me a good thing)
(ʕAliqilič:88)

The verb meaning ‘send’ is the lexicalized causative of the inchoative verb AGR-eg- ‘open up, set loose, break free’; it take the ergative agent, absolutive patient, and a recipient/goal in one of a number of spatial forms. Animate recipients are typically encoded in the lative or poss-essive; inanimate goals showing destination can appear in a number of essive, lative, or versative forms with different reference points, depending on the context.

(136) El-ä eniw-qo-r kayat y-eger-si.
1PL-ERG mother-POSS-LAT letter.ABS.II II-send-PST.WIT
‘We sent the/a letter to Mother.’

(137) Babi-y-ä Sult’an šahar-y-ä-r/šahar-y-ä-yor Ø-egir-xo.
father-OS-ERG Sultan.ABS.II city-OS-IN-LAT/city-OS-IN-VERS I-send-PRS
‘Father is sending Sultan to the city.’

With a female patient and the goal in the ad-essive, ‘send’ carries the specialized meaning ‘marry off’:

(138) Di dow-zo Goqi-x kid y-egir-ān.
1SG.ERG 2SG-ATTR.OS Goqi-AD.ESS girl.ABS.II II-send-FUT.DEF
‘I will give my daughter in marriage to your Goqi.’ (Goqin zirun:12)
The verb AGR-ukar- ‘show’ is the causative of AGR-ukad- ‘see (be visible)’, with the agent in the ergative, the recipient (causee) in the poss-essive, and the object in the absolutive:

(139) Eni-y-ä kid-be-q misal b-uka-r-si.
    mother-OS-ERG girl-OS-POSS.ESS example.ABS.III III-see-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘Mother gave (showed) the girl an example.’

(140) Učitel-ä xex-za-q kino r-uka-r-si.
    teacher-ERG child-OS-POSS.ESS movie.ABS.IV IV-see-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher showed the children a movie.’

The order of objects in the ditransitive structure is quite free, with no restrictions based on animacy or definiteness. As in other structures, there are two main tendencies in the preverbal domain: first, longer constituents appear before shorter ones; second, informationally given material precedes new material. To illustrate the latter tendency, consider that the order in (140) is more likely to correspond to the English double object construction (which is what is used in the translation), whereas the order in the following example is best represented by the English dative construction:

(141) Učitel-ä kino xex-za-q r-uka-r-si.
    teacher-ERG movie.ABS.IV child-OS-POSS.ESS IV-see-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher showed a/the movie to the children.’

In the following example, the existence of the people receiving gifts is presupposed; what matters is who receives which gift. The optional coordinating ‘and’ appears on the presupposed material:

(142) Lic’o=ric’ak’-no! Teł. gagali-bi(-n) baru-qo-r,
    mix.up-PROH give.IMPER flower-PL.ABS.nIPL-and wife-POSS-LAT
teł maroženį(-n) xex-za-qo-r.
    give.IMPER ice-cream.ABS.IV-and child-OS-POSS-LAT
    ‘Don’t mix them up! Give the flowers to the hostess (lit.: to the wife) and ice-cream to the children.’

4.2. Verbs of speaking

Several verbs of speaking act as ditransitives as well: es-, eł-, esir-, and mol.14 With these verbs, the agent appears in the ergative and the noun phrase denoting what is spoken or asked appears in the absolutive. This absolutive position can be equally filled by a noun phrase or pronoun, a

14 The verb xabaryad- ‘speak, talk’ is intransitive; the example below illustrates its use:

(i) Xexbi xabaryad-a b-uygon b-oq-si.
    child.ABS.III speak-INF III-already III-become-PST.WIT
    ‘The child already started talking.’
clausal nominalization, or a full clause with the quotative suffix –ƛin. The encoding of the addressee varies by verb, as we show below. Sound-emission verbs denoting manner (such as šupi-šepƛ- ‘whisper’, bubulƛ-/wuwulƛ- ‘mumble’, ħarƛ- ‘snore’, qʷæqʷʷʕalƛ- ‘croak’, ħeħƛ- ‘wheeze’, zuzulƛ- ‘buzz’, etc.) are always intransitive.

The ditransitive verb es- means ‘tell’, with the addressee in the poss-lative:

(143) Eniw-qo-r yedu xabar es-o.
mother-POSS-LAT DEM.nI news.ABS.III tell-IMPER
‘Tell Mother this news.’

If contextually recoverable, all the arguments of es- can be omitted, for example:

(144) pro pro pro es-ā-č’in.
tell-FUT-NEG
‘(I) won’t tell.’

The ditransitive verb eƛ- means ‘speak; say’, and the addressee is again in the poss-lative. As with es-, all the arguments of eƛ- can be omitted if they are recoverable from context. Compare the following examples without and with the addressee:

(145) pro eƛi-x ža elu-s mah yot-āsi
ERG say-PRS DEM.ABS.(I) 1PL-GEN1 spirit.ABS.III be.PRS-RES
žek’u zow-n-ƛin.
man.ABS.I be.PST-PST.NWIT-QUOT
‘They say that he was the man who belonged to our spirit.’ (ʕAliqilič:173)

(146) Ażdaḥ-ā (yisi-qo-r) roži eƛi-n-ānu.
dragon-ERG DEM.I-POSS-LAT word.ABS.IV say-PST.NWIT-NEG
‘The dragon did not say a word (to him).’ (ʕAliqilič:58)

The difference between the meanings of es- and eƛ- can also be demonstrated by the difference in meaning between their past participles. Compare:

(147) a. [āsi-ru] roži
tell-PST.PTCP word.ABS.IV
‘the word that was repeated (re-told) to s.o.’

b. [xabar āsi-ru] žek’u
story.ABS.III tell-PST.PTCP man.ABS.I
‘the man that told a/the story; story teller’

(148) a. [āli-ru] roži-n r-āq-inč’i, ʕomoy-ce
say-PST.PTCP word.ABS.IV-and IV-become.FUT-NEG donkey-EQUAT
boc’i-n b-āq-inč’i.
wolf.ABS.III-and III-become.FUT-NEG
‘Not all things come true.’ (lit.: spoken word does not get fulfilled, and one that is donkey-like does not turn into a wolf)

b. [roži āli-ru] žek’u
The causative of *es-* is the ditransitive verb *esir*-‘ask’ (lit.: make tell). Its agent appears in the ergative, its addressee in the poss-essive (thus conforming to the pattern of causee encoding: see section 6.2 below), and the noun phrase referring to the questioned element appears in the absolutive. All three core arguments can be omitted, but are contextually presupposed. Consider an example with all the participants overtly expressed (149) and another example where both objects are omitted (150):

(149) “Mi šebi žek’u t’o-r Ø-ay-āsi-ƛin?”
2SG.ABS what.ATTR man.ABS.I here-LAT 1-come-RES-QUOT
esir-no aždah-ā yisi-q.
ask-PST.NWIT dragon-ERG DEM.I-POSS.ESS

“Who are you, the one who came here?” the dragon asked him.’ (ʕAliqilič:189)

(150) Nes-ä pro pro esi-x-ānu.
DEM.I-ERG ask-PRS-NEG

‘He has not asked.’

The verb ‘answer’ is a complex form, consisting of *žawab* ‘answer’ in the absolutive and one of the two verbs of giving (depending on the direction). Hence it is naturally ditransitive; the agent appears in the ergative, and the recipient of the answer in the lative:

(151) C’alduqan-ä učitel-e-r żawab b-ig teł-si.
student-ERG teacher-OS-LAT answer.ABS.III III-well give-PST.WIT

‘The student answered the teacher well.’

The equivalent of ‘answer a question’ is the same complex verb, with the word *sual* ‘question’ appearing as a genitive modifier of *žawab*, or as a noun phrase in the lative:

(152) a. Nes-ä yedu [sual-e-s żawab] yisi-r
DEM.I-ERG DEM question-OS-GEN1 answer.ABS.III DEM.I-LAT
teł-inč’u.
give-PST.WIT.NEG
b. Nes-ä yedu [sual-e-r] [žawab] yisi-r
DEM.I-ERG DEM question-OS-LAT answer.ABS.III DEM.I-LAT
teł-inč’u.
give-PST.WIT.NEG

‘He did not answer that question.’

A number of complex predicates are used to denote particular speech situations: the giving of thanks; greeting; leave-taking. These verbs are typically formed by the combination of a noun with the meaning ‘thank you’, ‘hello’, ‘good-bye’, ‘congratulations,’ and the transitive light verb AGR-*od*-‘do’. The recipient of the speech act appears in the lative or poss-lative, with the choice of a particular form lexically specified for each predicate. For example:
33

(153) a. Bar-ä maduhal-qo-r hiƛ’i=baq’i r-oy-s.
wife-ERG neighbor-POSS-LAT greetings.ABS.NIPL nIPL-do-PST.WIT
b. Bar-ä maduhal-qo-r salam/worč’ami b-oy-s.
wife-ERG neighbor-POSS-LAT greetings.ABS.NIPL III-do-PST.WIT

‘The wife said hello to the neighbor.’

(154) a. Už-ä eniw=babiw-r q’omexlik’ b-oy-x.
boy-ERG parents-LAT good-bye.ABS.III III-do-PRS

‘The boy says good bye to his parents.’

b. Už-ä eniw=babiw-r barkala b-oy-s.
boy-ERG parents-LAT thanks.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT

‘The boy thanked his parents.’

The verb ‘congratulate’ is formed via the combination of a non-nominal component and the same light verb:

(155) Debe-r ecno-ni ƛeb barkizi y-oy-x (di).
2SG-LAT new-DEF year.ABS.II congratulate II-do-PRS 1SG.ERG

‘I wish you a happy new year!’ (lit.: I congratulate the new year to you)

Compare the case frame of barkizi AGR-od- with the English congratulate someone on/for something, which takes the recipient of good wishes as the direct object and the denotation of the special reason as a prepositional phrase. The Tsez verb seems to show a reversal of such a frame, with the reason as the absolutive object and the recipient of good wishes in the lative. This alternative linking (as compared to the one found in more familiar languages) brings us to a whole group of verbs which we will be referring to as “ditransitive transitives”. They are discussed in the next section.

4.3. Verbs of contact: “Locative transitives”

Tsez has a sizeable group of verbs all of which express physical contact or connection of some kind and which have three arguments: the agent in the ergative, the instrument or medium of contact in the absolutive, and the object with which contact is established in one of the spatial forms. For example, consider the verb AGR-ih-, which is semantically the broadest among the verbs of this group, with meanings including ‘spread, stroke, smear, scratch, paint’ (Xalilov 1999: 62). We will be using the more general English equivalent ‘put’, which can also take a direct object and adpositional complement (another possible English equivalent is ‘apply something to something’). In (156), AGR-ih- means ‘stroke’; the absolutive object expresses the instrument, and the recipient of stroking, the cat, is expressed in the poss-essive:

(156) Kid-b-ä k’et’u-q reƛ’a r-ih-i-s.
girl-OS-ERG cat-POSS.ESS hand.ABS.IV IV-put-PST.WIT

‘The girl stroked a cat.’ (lit.: put hand onto the cat)

15 hiƛ’i=baq’i is the Tsez word denoting greetings, and the words used in (153b) are Avar borrowings.
In the next example, the same verb can be translated as ‘spread’:

(157) Kid-b-ä magalu-ƛ’ rił r-ihi-s.
girl-OS-ERG bread-SUPER.ESS butter.ABS.IV IV-put-PST.WIT
‘The girl spread butter over the bread.’ (lit.: put butter on the bread)

In (158), the closest English equivalent is ‘wipe’:

(158) Eni-y-ä aki-q at’iw č’orto r-ihi-x.
mother-OS-ERG window-POSS.ESS wet rag.ABS.IV IV-put-PRS
‘Mother is wiping the window with a wet cloth.’

In the next example, the same verb corresponds to the English ‘iron’:

(159) Kid-b-ä ged-mo-ƛ’ ito r-ihi-x.
girl-OS-ERG dress-OS-SUPER.ESS iron.ABS.IV IV-put-PRS
‘The girl is ironing a dress.’

And finally, in (160), the closest correspondence to AGR-ih- is ‘paint’:

(160) El-ä λex-e-ƛ lak b-ihi-s.
1PL-ERG ceiling-OS-SUB.ESS paint.ABS.III III-put-PST.WIT
‘We painted the ceiling.’

Other uses, which we will not illustrate here, include molu y-ih- ‘scratch (lit.: nail/claw put)’, q’alam b-ih- ‘cross out (lit.: pencil put)’, and meš b-ih- ‘sweep (lit.: broom put)’.

In all these uses, the only set of cases available to AGR-ih- is what is shown above; no alternations of the type found in the English *spray* or *load* verbs are possible; compare the grammatical example in (157) and its ungrammatical counterpart with an attempted object-marking alternation:

(161) *Kid-b-ä magalu rił-e-d b-ihi-s.
girl-OS-ERG bread.ABS.III butter-OS-INS III-put-PST.WIT
(‘The girl spread the bread with butter.’)

Other verbs which belong to the same group as AGR-ih- include: cał- ‘throw’; AGR-egir- ‘hit (lit.: send)’; AGR-ok’ ‘hit’; AGR-al- ‘hit’; AGR-izir- ‘hit’ (causative of ‘rise’); AGR-itit- ‘touch’ (glossed as ‘join’ below);¹⁶ AGR-oy ‘scratch’; AGR-al- ‘sweep’; AGR-ic’ ‘fill’, and its

¹⁶ This verb has a different use as an intransitive, in an idiom with the word ‘tooth’:

(i) Yedu xabar dä-z k’ica-ƛ b-ití-x.
dem story.ABS.IPL 1SG.GEN2 tooth-SUB.ESS III-touch-PRS
‘This story annoys me.’/ ‘I am sick and tired of this story.’
more specific realizations *uba* b-ic’- ‘kiss (kiss fill)’, *alni* b-ic’- ‘hug (hug fill)’, *meč’o* b-ic’- ‘embrace (neck fill)’, and *muq’u* b-ic’- ‘gulp (gulp fill)’; *uba* b-od- ‘kiss (kiss do), *alni* b-od- ‘hug (hug do)’; *ša’qu kuč’- ‘wet with urine (urine drop)’; *meš(-kuro) r-a’č- ‘sweep, clean (broom(-washbasin) put/deploy)’. With all these verbs, the instrument is in the absolutive, and the object involved in the contact is in one of the oblique forms, often in the poss-essive because this is the form encoding the recipient of a (temporary) transfer. Some examples:

(162) Nes-ä bero-q mec b-iti-s.
DEM.I-ERG icicle-POSS.ESS tongue.ABS.III III-join-PST.WIT
‘He touched the icicle with his tongue.’ (lit.: joined his tongue on to the icicle)

(163) Nel-ä halt’u-q halt’i b-iti-x-ānu.
DEM.II-ERG work-OS-POSS.ESS work.ABS.III III-join-PRS-NEG
‘She doesn’t lift a finger.’ (lit.: does not join work to work)

(164) Eni-y-ä xex-za-q uba b-ic’-si.
mother-OS-ERG child-OS-POSS.ESS kiss.ABS.III III-fill-PST.WIT
‘Mother kissed the child.’

(165) Nes-ä la-s muq’u b-ic’-si.
DEM.I-ERG water-GEN1 gulp.ABS.III III-fill-PST.WIT
‘He took a gulp of water.’

(166) Čanaqan-ä zey-s/zey-qo tupi cašī-n.17
hunter-ERG bear-GEN1/bear-POSS.ESS rifle.ABS.IV throw-PST.NWIT
‘The hunter shot (at) the bear.’ (lit.: threw rifle)

(167) Nes-ä dā-z ḋara-ł besi cašī-s.
DEM.I-ERG 1SG-GEN2 belly-CONT.ESS fist.ABS.IV throw-PST.WIT
‘He hit me in the stomach with his fist.’ (lit.: threw fist…)

(168) Nela ḡana-za-s noci cašī-o!
DEM.nI.OBL woman-OS-GEN1 saliva.ABS.II throw-IMPER
‘Spit at this woman!’ (lit.: throw this woman’s saliva) (Beqes ŦUneyzat:87)

(169) Xex-z-ä γeš’o-x-or ša’qu kuči-n.
child-OS-ERG pants-AD-LAT urine.ABS.IV drop-PST.NWIT
‘The child wet his pants.’

(170) Už-ā q’ir-yo-ł ok’o b-ok’-si.
boy-ERG plank-OS-CONT.ESS nail.ABS.III III-fill-PST.WIT
‘The boy hit a nail into the plank.’

(171) Čanaqan-ä gulu-z gugyo-λ ěuret’/besi
hunter-ERG horse-GEN2 back-SUPER.ESS whip.ABS.III/fist.ABS.III
b-ok’-si.
III-hit-PST.WIT
‘The hunter hit the horse on the back with a whip/fist.’

(172) Uži-z r eš’a-λ č’ir y-al-xo babi-y-ā.
boy-GEN2 hand-SUPER.ESS belt.ABS.II II-hit-PRS father-OS-ERG
‘Father hits the boy on the hand with a belt.’
As with the ditransitive verbs of transfer, all three arguments are presupposed by the argument structure of the respective verbs, but they do not have to be expressed if they are contextually recoverable. For example, in (156) above, it is possible to omit the absolutive reƛa ‘hand’ (the verb still agrees with it. Likewise, cali- in (166) or (167) can occur without the overt absolutive. In examples such as (171), it is possible to omit the absolutive or the super-essive, and furthermore, the head of the oblique noun phrase gugyo-ƛ ‘can be omitted just as well, in which case the sentence can be understood as meaning ‘the hunter hit the horse with a whip/fist’, with no particular part of horse in mind. Similarly, the mention of the boy’s hand can be omitted in (172), and then the sentence can be understood more generally, as ‘father hit the boy with a belt’. All these omissions may create the impression that these verbs have an unusual case frame.

Presumably, if the object of contact appears in an oblique case, it could have consequences for the grammar of resultatives. Resultatives are associated with the internal argument of a verb, as in the English examples below, where the river is the subject of an unaccusative, and the table is the object of wipe (see Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001 for discussion and extensive references).

(173) The river froze solid.
(174) She wiped the table clean.

If the object is not expressed as a direct internal argument, this could imply that a resultative construction is not available. Tsez does not have resultatives in the English sense, and the meaning corresponding to the English resultatives is conveyed by different means. For instance, in the following examples, the resultant state is expressed by the main predicate, and the event leading to it is expressed by a complex noun phrase in a spatial form. This complex noun phrase is based on a masdar clause (indicated by brackets):

(175) a. [Nel-ȳ ċ’orto pro t-ih-ani]-ƛ-āy istoli, DEM.nI-ERG rag.ABS.IV IV-put-MASD-SUB-ABL table.ABS.IV
   bac’adaw r-oq-xo. clean IV-become-PRS

b. [Nel-ȳ ċ’orto istoliw-qi pro t-ih-ani]-ƛ-āy
   DEM.nI-ERG rag.ABS.IV table-POSS.ESS IV-put-MASD-SB-ABL
   bac’adaw r-oq-xo. clean IV-become-PRS

‘The table became clean on the account of her (i.e. Mother’s) wiping it.’

It remains to be seen whether the use of locative-theme verbs of contact and the absence of resultatives are in fact related, and whether the “locative transitives” described here correlate with some other properties of Tsez. Verbs of contact, with the instrument in the absolutive and the object of contact in some oblique form, have been observed in other languages of the Nakh-Dagestanian family: in Ingush (Nichols 2011: 467-470), in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 269-270), as well as in the close Tsez relatives Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 332) and Hinuq (Forker 2013: 485-486). A similar phenomenon has also been noted in other languages of the Caucasus (cf. Catford 1976: 44, who comments on such verbs in Northwest Caucasian languages). It is
therefore possible that locative transitives represent an areal feature; if so, this shared feature of the verbal lexicon could be explored in connection with other properties of Nakh-Dagestanian or Caucasian languages more generally.

5. Affective construction and cognition/perception verbs

5.1. Affective construction

Tsez, like many other Dagestanian languages, has a separate affective construction (also called the “experiencer construction”), which typically involves a verb denoting perception or cognition. Several verbs that occur frequently in this construction include: AGR-ukʷad- ‘see’, AGR-iy- ‘know, understand’, ko∂- ‘know, be trained, prepared for something’, AGR-et- ‘like, love, want, need’, teq- ‘hear’, AGR-ac- ‘dislike’, AGR-es- ‘find’, čuq- ‘recognize, understand’, šuλ- ‘forget’. They all share the same marking on their arguments: the experiencer, which is in most cases animate, appears in the lative form, and the stimulus is in the absolutive. The verb agrees with the absolutive argument and appears intransitive, an issue we will revisit at the end of this section.

Some examples of the affective construction follow, with more literal equivalents offered in parentheses:

(176) Nesi-r baru y-ukay-nē’i.
DEM.I-LAT wife.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT.NEG
‘He did not see (his) wife.’ (lit.: the wife was not visible to him)

(177) Dā-r nesi-s ʕamal b-aci-x.
1SG-LAT DEM.I-GEN1 character.ABS.III III-dislike-PRS
‘I can’t stand his personality.’ (lit.: his personality is distasteful to me)

(178) Elo-gon yisi-r surat-ce bercinaw kid
there-CONTR.TOP DEM.I-LAT picture-EQUAT beautiful girl.ABS.II
y-esu-n.
II-find-PST.NWIT
‘And there, he found a picture-perfect beautiful girl.’ (ʕAliqilič:168)
(lit.: a … girl turned out…)

(179) ƛirba-r bišʷa r-eti-x.
guest-LAT food.ABS.IV IV-want-PRS
‘The guest wants food.’ (lit.: the food is wanted to the guest)

(180) Elu-r mašina c’aq’ b-et-äsi yōł.
1PL-LAT car.ABS.III very III-want-RES.PTCP AUX.PRS
‘We badly need a car.’ (lit.: car is wanted to us)

(181) Q’orola-z idu kid yāl-ru-li esna-za-r
widow-GEN2 at.home girl.ABS.II be-PST.PTCP-NMLZ sibling-PL.OS-LAT
čuqʷ-no.
understand-PST.NWIT
‘The brothers understood that the girl was at the widow’s house.’ (based on ʔOƛ:no esiwn, sis esiyn:37)
(lit.: that the girl was at the widow’s house was understandable to the brothers)
Some other affective predicates in this group are derived on the basis of the verbs listed above. For example, ‘smell’ is mah b-iy-, literally ‘to know a smell’, and ‘taste’ is t’ašam b-iy-/gimu y-iy-, literally meaning ‘to know a taste’; in each case, the word ‘smell’ or ‘taste’ is in the absolutive argument position and the stimulus is expressed as the abnominal genitive (the complex noun phrase expressing stimulus is shown in brackets below):

(183) Dä-r [gagali-s mah] b-iy-x.
1SG-LAT flower-GEN1 smell.ABS.III III-know-PRS
‘I smell flowers.’ (lit.: flower’s smell is known to me)

(184) [Ci-yo-s t’ašam] b-iy-ä deb-er?
salt-GEN1 taste.ABS.III III-know-INTERR 2SG-LAT
‘Did you taste the saltiness?’ (lit.: salt’s taste is known to you)

Questions that arise in the analysis of the affective construction have to do with the status of the associated verbs (are these verbs transitive or intransitive?) and with the status of the absolutive and lative noun phrases (are they both arguments? which one is the subject?).

We will defer answering these questions to section 6.4, where we discuss the causativization of verbs that appear in the affective construction; to anticipate that discussion, we will show that these verbs are not a homogeneous class, but that they differ in their causativization, reflexivization characteristics, and participation in masdar relative clauses.

### 5.2. Perception and cognition verbs outside the affective construction

Not all predicates denoting internal or psychological states appear in the affective construction. For instance, such a common verb as AGR-uƛ’- ‘fear; be afraid’ is a regular intransitive predicate, with the experiencer in the absolutive and the stimulus in the poss-essive:

(185) [Yedu kid] [meži-z Y’ay-q] y-uƛ’-xo.
DEM girl.ABS.II 2PL-GEN2 dog-OS-POSS.ESS II-fear-PRS

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18 The verb ‘forget’ has another case frame, with the experiencer in the absolutive and the stimulus in the sub-ablative form:

(i) Xexbi šuƛ’i-s ecno-ni igruška-ƛ-äy.
children.ABS.(nIPL) forget-PST.WIT new-DEF toy-SUB-ABL
‘The children forgot (about) the new toy.’

This development may be due to influence from Russian, where the verb zabyvat’ o NP ‘forget about’ takes the nominative subject and a prepositional object.
‘This girl is afraid of your dog.’ (lit.: fears on your dog)

(186)  
\[ [B-\text{aq}'u-si \quad \text{xalq}'i] \quad [\text{samolyot-\text{\textlambda}o} \quad \text{zow-ani-q}] \]  
IPL-many-ATTR people.ABS.IPL plane-SUPER.ESS climb-MSD-POSS.ESS  
EXPERIENCER STIMULUS  
b-\text{\textlambda}'-xo.  
IPL-fear-PRS  
‘Many people are afraid to fly.’ (lit.: fear on climbing on the plane)

Imnajšvili (1963: 263) lists the verb AGR-\text{\textlambda}'- among the intransitive verbs that participate in the potential construction (see section 3.2 above). However, unlike the poss-essive noun phrase that occurs with such intransitive verbs as AGR-iq-, AGR-izı-, etc., the stimulus in the poss-essive has no subject properties. As (186) shows, it is the absolutive, not the poss-essive, that determines control. In contrast to the other intransitive verbs that occur in the potential construction, the absolutive of AGR-\text{\textlambda}'- can bind the poss-essive but not vice versa:

(187)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{a.} & \quad \text{\textlambda}'\text{w}ay \quad \text{nelā} \quad \text{nelo-}z \quad \text{\textlambda}edu-q \quad \text{b-\text{\textlambda}'-xo.} \\
& \quad \text{dog.ABS.III} \quad \text{REFL.nl-GEN2} \quad \text{shadow-POSS.ESS} \quad \text{III-fear-PRS}  \\
& \quad ‘The dog is afraid of its own shadow.’  
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}  
\text{b.} & \quad *\text{Nesā} \quad \text{nesi-s} \quad \text{\textlambda}'\text{w}ay \quad \text{bet'erhan-qo} \quad \text{b-\text{\textlambda}'-xo.} \\
& \quad \text{REFL.I-GEN1} \quad \text{dog.ABS.III} \quad \text{master-POSS.ESS} \quad \text{III-fear-PRS}  \\
& \quad (‘\text{His} \text{i dog is afraid of the owner},’)
\end{align*}

It is possible that at some stage, the verb AGR-\text{\textlambda}'- patterned with several other intransitives that participate in the potential construction, as reflected in Imnajšvili’s description. However, at the current stage of language use, this verb’s argument mapping is as shown in (185).

The next psychological predicate we will consider is the intransitive complex verb ʕažaib AGR-oq- ‘be surprised’, which takes an absolutive subject experiencer and a stimulus in the super-essive:

(188)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Dow-zo} \quad \text{ʕamal-yo-\text{\textlambda}'} \quad \text{eli} \quad \text{ʕažaib} \quad \text{b-oq-si.} \\
& \quad \text{2SG-GEN2} \quad \text{deed-OS-SUPER.ESS} \quad \text{1PL.ABS} \quad \text{surprised} \quad \text{IPL-become-PST.WIT}  
\end{align*}

‘We were surprised by your behavior.’

A number of intransitive complex verbs denoting psychological states are psych-collocations with the nominal component rok’u ‘heart’. The experiencer typically appears as the adnominal possessor of the absolutive, and the stimulus is in one of spatial forms. For example:

(189)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Eniw-s} \quad \text{rok’u} \quad \text{uži-x} \quad \text{r-ol-xo.} \\
& \quad \text{mother-GEN1} \quad \text{heart.ABS.IV} \quad \text{boy-AD.ESS} \quad \text{IV-hurt-PRS}  
\end{align*}

‘Mother worries about the boy/son.’ (lit.: mother’s heart hurts at the boy)

(190)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Uži-s} \quad \text{kid-b-ā} \quad \text{rok’u} \quad \text{r-ay-s.} \\
& \quad \text{boy-GEN1} \quad \text{girl-OS-IN.ESS} \quad \text{heart.ABS.IV} \quad \text{IV-come-PST.WIT}  
\end{align*}

‘The boy fell in love with the girl.’ (lit.: boy’s heart came into the girl)

(191)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{Nesi-q} \quad \text{dey} \quad \text{rok’u} \quad \text{r-ay-x.} \\
& \quad \text{DEM.I-POSS.ESS} \quad \text{1SG.GEN1} \quad \text{heart.ABS.IV} \quad \text{IV-come-PST}  
\end{align*}
‘I have confidence in him.’ (lit.: my heart comes upon him)

(192) Zarema-GEN1 hear.ABS.IV stay.behind-PRS neighbor-OS-SUPER.ESS

‘Zarema is jealous of her neighbor.’ (lit.: Z’s heart stays on the neighbor)

When such set phrases are used in utterances, the noun phrase rok’u may even be omitted, which may create an impression of clauses without an absolutive argument. However, the absolutive rok’u is always understood.

6. Causatives

Tsez has several causative affixes (see CH. YY[VERB DER]), among which the suffix –Vr- is most productive, deriving causatives from all kinds of simple verbs. The suffix –k’- derives transitive verbs from intransitives in –l-, which are in turn derived from non-verbal stems. Among complex verbs, the alternation between the intransitive light verb AGR-oq- and the transitive light verb AGR-od- also creates inchoative—causative pairs. There is no morphological causative of the verb ‘be’. The interpretation of causatives is largely dependent on context, with the same form being able to express direct and indirect causation (see especially 6.4 below).

6.1. Causative of intransitive

Causatives formed from intransitive non-affective verbs are transitive; the causer appears in the ergative, and the causee in the absolutive. For instance:

(193) a. Eniw kid-be-ƛ’o-r žuka-t’a-ni qimat-yo-za-ƛ-äy
mather.ABS.II girl-OS-SUPER-LAT bad-DISTR-DEF grade-OS-PL.OS-SUB-ABL
duduɣ-xo.
berate-PRS

‘Mother is railing at the girl for the bad grades.’

b. Eni-y-ä kid žuka-t’a-ni qimat-yo-za-ƛ-äy
mother-OS-ERG girl.ABS.II bad-DISTR-DEF grade-OS-PL.OS-SUB-ABL
duduɣ-ir-xo.
berate-CAUS-PRS

‘Mother is berating the girl for the bad grades.’

(194) a. Nuci y’ai-ɣ łek’i-s.
honey.ABS.IV milk-CONT.ESS mix-PST.WIT

‘The honey mixed with the milk.’ (lit.: in milk)

b. Eni-y-ä nuci y’ai-ɣ łek’i-r-si.
mother-OS-ERG honey.ABS.IV milk-CONT.ESS mix-CAUS-PST.WIT

‘Mother mixed honey with milk.’ (lit.: in milk)

(195) a. Šeƛ’u at’i-l-si.
clothing.ABS.IV wet-INTR-PST.WIT

‘The clothes got wet.’

b. Qem-ä Šeƛ’u at’i-k’-si.
rain-erg clothing.abs.iv wet-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘Rain made the clothes wet.’

(196) a. Uži k’ik’e-l-si.
    boy.ABS.I teased-INTR-PST.WIT
    ‘The boy got teased.’ (with the implication that he got upset because of teasing)

    b. Kid-b-ä uži k’ik’e-k’-si.
girl-OS-ERG boy.ABS.I teased-CAUS-PRS
    ‘The girl is teasing/ridiculing the boy.’

Thus, causatives of intransitives are regular transitive verbs, with the agent (causer) in the ergative and causee in the absolutive case. With the exception of frozen forms, causativization adds a participant, and that participant is always mapped into the agent or agent-like argument of a given event.

6.2. Causative of transitive

Causatives of transitives are formed by adding the suffix –\(r\)- to the verb stem. The resulting verb is ditransitive, with the causer in the ergative and the original absolutive object retaining its marking. The form of the causee depends on animacy. If the noun phrase denoting causee is perceived as animate, it appears in the poss-essive; if inanimate, it appears in the sub-essive. The majority of transitive causees are animate, which may create an impression that the poss-essive is the only encoding option, but it is not. Consider the following examples:

(197) a. Allah-ä malaik-za-q/*malaik-za-ƛ c’ob
    God-ERG angel-PL.OSS.PESS/angel-PL.SUB.PESS mercy.ABS.III
    b-od-ir-no.
    III-do-CAUS-PST.NWIT
    ‘God made the angels bring mercy.’

    b. Allah-ä qema-ƛ/*qema-q raƛ’
    God-ERG rain-SUB.PESS/rain-Poss.PESS land.ABS.IV
    at’i-k’-er-no.
    wet-TR-CAUS-PST.NWIT
    ‘God made rain irrigate the earth.’

Examples of transitive causatives have already appeared above, cf. (139), (140). The argument encoding in these causatives is similar to that observed in the regular ditransitive, but there, the recipient is in the lative/poss-lative, whereas the animate causee in the ditransitive causative appears in the poss-essive:

    DEM.I-ERG DEM letter.ABS.II girl-OS-Poss-LAT give-PST.WIT
    ‘He gave that letter to the girl (temporarily).’

    b. Nes-ä ža kàyat kid-be-q t’et’r-er-si.\(^{19}\)
    DEM.I-ERG DEM letter.ABS.II girl-OS-Poss.PESS read-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘He made the girl read that letter.’

\(^{19}\) The verb t’et’r-er- can also be used in the meaning ‘teach’, as shown in section 5.1 above.
The marking of causativity on transitives is quite common and such clauses often appear where one would expect object control clauses introduced by the verbs ‘ask’, ‘order’ or ‘remind’. The difference between volitional (indirect) and non-volitional (direct) causation is determined on the basis of context. The next sentence is ambiguous between direct and indirect causation:

(199) Eni-y-ä kid-be-q ac y-uq-ir-si.
mother-ERG girl-OS-POSS.ESS door.ABS.II II-close-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘Mother made the girl close the door.’
‘Mother reminded the girl to close the door.’

As with other verbs, arguments of causatives can be omitted if they are contextually recoverable:

(200) Doxtur-ä xex-za-q ḥaλu-r-no.
doctor-ERG child-OS-POSS.ESS drink-CAUS-PST.nWIT
‘The doctor made the child drink.’

6.3. Polyvalent causatives

Causative of ditransitives have four arguments, with the causee in the ergative, the causer in the poss-essive and the remaining arguments preserving the case forms of the base clause. This leads to a tritransitive or polyvalent construction (see Kittilä 2007b for a discussion of such constructions from a typological perspectives). For example:

(201) Učitel-ä sult’an-qo kid-be-r t’ek
teacher-ERG Sultan-POSS.ESS girl-OS-LAT book.ABS.II
teł’-er-si.
give-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘The teacher made Sultan give the book (back) to the girl.’

(202) Eni-y-ä kid-be-q žiγon ged-mo-ɬ
mother-OS-ERG girl-OS-POSS.ESS again dress-OS-SUPER.ESS
ito r-ih-i-r-si.
iron.ABS.IV IV-put-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘Mother made the girl iron the dress again.’

(203) Eniw=babi-y-ä učitel-qo uži-q darsi
parents-OS-ERG teacher-POSS.ESS boy-POSS.ESS lesson.ABS.III
moɬ’-ir-xo.
teach-CAUS-PRS
‘The parents are making the teacher teach the boy.’
‘The parents are asking the teacher to teach the boy.’

Since some ditransitive verbs already subcategorize for noun phrases in the poss-essive and causativization adds a poss-essive causee, it is possible to have two (or more) identically marked constituents in this construction, as in example (203) above. In this case, discriminating the roles of the two poss-essive arguments is facilitated by context, but in principle, such sentences can be ambiguous; for instance, in (204), either Sultan or the girl can be interpreted as the causee.
Speakers rely on word order to resolve the ambiguity, with the first poss-essive interpreted as the causee:

(204) a. Učitel-ä sult’an-qo kid-be-q
    teacher-ERG Sultan-POSS.ESS girl-OS-POSS.ESS
    sual bič’zi b-o-y-er-si.
    question.ABS.III understand III-do-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher made Sultan explain the question to the girl.’

b. Učitel-ä kid-be-q sult’an-qo
    teacher-ERG girl-OS-POSS.ESS Sultan-POSS.ESS
    sual bič’zi b-o-y-er-si.
    question.ABS.III understand III-do-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher made the girl explain the question to Sultan.’

Another disambiguation strategy is to mark the causee with the topic marker –n(o), thus:

(205) Ḥakim-ä učitel-qo-n xex-za-q
    boss-ERG teacher-POSS.ESS-TOP child-OS-POSS.ESS
    kino r-uka-r-er-si.
    movie.ABS.IV IV-see-CAUS-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The boss made/asked the teacher (to) show the children a movie.’

Heavy causatives such as the ones presented here may not get used too frequently but our elicitations show that they are certainly possible.

6.4. Causative of cognition/perception verbs

For cognition/perception verbs with a lative experiencer and an absolutive stimulus, we observe two main patterns of causativization. One pattern creates transitive verbs, the other, ditransitive. Causativization of perception and cognition verbs outside the affective construction follows standard rules of causative formation for intransitives or transitives (see section 6.4.3 for the discussion of ‘fear’).

6.4.1. Transitivity of cognition/perception verbs

With a subset of cognition/perception verbs, namely, ‘know’, ‘forget’, ‘find’, and the verbs denoting the four non-visual senses (‘hear’, ‘feel’, ‘taste’, ‘smell’), causativization creates volitional verbs whose agent corresponds to the experiencer in the affective construction. This is represented schematically in (206):

(206) affective: Experiencer-LAT Stimulus-ABS V
    causative Agent-ERG Stimulus-ABS V-CAUS
To illustrate, compare the verb AGR-es- ‘find’, which combines with the absolutive stimulus and lative experiencer, and its causative counterpart AGR-esur- ‘find; look for’, which takes an ergative agent and absolutive stimulus/patient.\(^{20}\) The verb changes from intransitive to transitive, and the roles change, with the experiencer now denoting the agent-like argument, but no new participants are introduced.

(207) a.  Aho\(^{c}\)-r  meši  b-esu-s.  
    shepherd-LAT  calf.ABS.III  III-find-PST.WIT  
    ‘The shepherd found the calf.’ [LAT-experiencer, ABS-stimulus]

b.  Ah-ä  meši  b-esu-r-si.  
    shepherd-ERG  calf.ABS.III  III-find-CAUS-PST.WIT  
    ‘The shepherd discovered/looked for the calf.’ [ERG-agent, ABS-stimulus]

(208) a.  Debe-r  äël-ru  šebin  teq-yä?  
    2SG-LAT  say-PST.PTCP  thing.ABS.IV  hear-INTERR  
    ‘Did you hear/understand what was said?’ [LAT-experiencer, ABS-stimulus]

b.  Uži-z-ä  eniw=babi-y-ä  äël-ru  šebin  teq-er-xo.  
    boy-PL.OS-ERG  parents-OS-ERG  say-PST.PTCP  thing.ABS.IV  hear-CAUS-PRS  
    ‘The sons (boys) listen to what their parents say.’ [ERG-agent, ABS-stimulus]

(209) a.  Nesi-r  mi  r-oy-xosi  šebin  r-aci-x.  
    DEM.I-LAT  2SG.ERG  IV-do-PRS.PTCP  thing.ABS.IV  IV-dislike-PRS  
    ‘He does not like what you are doing.’

b.  Nes-ä  mi  r-ädi-ru  šebin  r-ac-ir-no.  
    DEM.I-LAT  2SG.ERG  IV-do-PST.PTCP  thing.ABS.IV  IV-dislike-CAUS-PST.WIT  
    ‘He took offense at what you did.’

Likewise, with the complex verb ‘smell’, the experiencer in the affective construction corresponds to the agent-like argument in the transitive clause:

    Madina-LAT  flower-GEN1  smell.ABS.III  III-know-PST.NWIT  
    ‘Madina felt the scent of flowers.’ [LAT-experiencer, ABS-stimulus]

    Madina-ERG  flower-GEN1  smell.ABS.III  III-know-CAUS-PST.WIT  
    ‘Madina smelled flowers.’ [ERG-agent, ABS-stimulus]

The verb šul]- ‘be forgotten’ takes the experiencer in the lative and the stimulus in the absolutive (see (182) above), whereas its causative counterpart takes the ergative agent/experiencer and the

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\(^{20}\) Whether the stimulus actually becomes a patient in the ergative construction is a contentious issue. We will continue to refer to that participant as stimulus, with the understanding that it corresponds to a patient-like (theme-like) argument.
absolutive stimulus. Given its semantics, it is not surprising that the corresponding causative verb is often used in imperatives:

(211) pro ac hiš-a šuλ’-är-no/*šuλ’-no!
    ERG door.ABS.II close-INF forget-CAUS-PROH/be.forgotten-PROH
    ‘Don’t forget to close the door!’

In some cases, the interpretive contrast between the intransitive psychological predicate and its transitive counterpart is quite subtle. Compare the intransitive AGR-iy- ‘know; happen to know’ and the transitive AGR-iy-r- ‘know; get to know’. Example (212) is an appropriate comment on someone who grew up in a place where it was hard to learn Russian; (213) seems to emphasize commitment to knowing and maintaining one’s language.

(212) Neł-a-r ʕurus mec b-iy-x-ānu.
    DEM.nI-LAT Russian language.ABS.III III-know-PRS-NEG
    ‘She does not know the Russian language.’

(213) [Qˤim-ä qˤim-e-s mec b-iy-r-ani-x]
    own-OS-GEN1 language.ABS.III III-know-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS
    hažetaw šebin (yol).
    important thing.ABS.IV be.PRS
    ‘It is important to know one’s own language.’ (=3 above)

Similarly, (214) may be a statement about an accidental encounter, while in (215) the implication is that an intentional effort is being made.

(214) Dā-r ža uži ged-mo-x-or Ø-iy-s.
    1SG-LAT DEM boy.ABS.I garment-OS-AD-LAT I-know-PST.WIT
    ‘I recognized (knew) that boy by his shirt.’

(215) Ah-ā nesi-s b’eλ’ʌ’u šila-za-x-or
    shepherd-ERG DEM.I-GEN sheep(.SG).ABS.III horn-PL.OS-AD-LAT
    b-iy-r-si.
    III-know-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The shepherd recognized (knew) his sheep by its horns.’

6.4.2. Ditransitivization of cognition/perception verbs

In the second pattern of causativization of cognition/perception verbs, a new participant is introduced as the causer, creating a three-place predicate. Consider the causative of –et- ‘like, want’; causativization adds a causer, the experiencer becomes the causee in the poss-essive, and the stimulus remains in the absolutive. To represent this schematically:

(216) affective: Experiencer-LAT Stimulus-ABS V
    causative Agent-ERG Causee-POSS-ESS Stimulus-ABS V-CAUS

Consider the causativization of AGR-et- ‘like; love; want’:
Likewise, the causative of AGR-\textit{ukad-} `see (be visible)` is the ditransitive verb AGR-\textit{ukar-} `show`, which we already discussed in section 4.1. Here, the agent appears in the ergative, the recipient-turned-causee appears in the poss-essive, and the absolutive encodes the stimulus/patient.

The same causativization pattern can be found with complex verbs of cognition/perception. Compare the intransitive verb \textit{bič’zi AGR-oq-} `be clear, be understood` and its transitive counterpart \textit{bič’zi AGR-od-} `make clear, explain`:

\begin{verbatim}
(218) (kid-be-q) sual bič’zi b-oq-x-ānu.
girl-OS-POSS.ESS question.ABS.III understand III-become-PRS-NEG
`The question was not understood.'//`The girl does not understand the question.'
(219) Učitel-ā (kid-be-q) sual bič’zi
teacher-ERG girl-OS-POSS.ESS question.ABS.III understand
b-oys.
III-do-PST.WIT
`The teacher explained the question (to the girl).'
\end{verbatim}

Note that finer semantic distinctions within the class of cognition/perception verbs do not predict which of the two patterns of causativization will occur. The verb `like` causativizes using the schema in (216), and verb `dislike` uses the opposite pattern, (206); causativization turns the verb of seeing into a ditransitive, and the other four sense verbs into transitives.

The differences among the causativization patterns of cognition/perception verbs opens up larger questions concerning both the underlying structural differences among these verbs and the grammatical functions of the experiencer and stimulus in the affective construction. We have already mentioned that the verbs appearing in the affective construction seem intransitive, and the lative noun phrase can be easily omitted. However, the argument structure of a verb like `be known` or `be visible` presupposes not only the stimulus but also the experiencer of knowledge or sight. This being the case, the lative noun phrase can express either an argument or what some researchers call an obligatory adjunct (cf. Grimshaw and Vikner 1993; Golberg and Ackerman 2001). Assuming that both noun phrases, the lative and the absolutive, are obligatory in the affective construction, the next question is which of these phrases (if either) acts as the subject. There are several possibilities: the lative is the subject and the absolutive the object; the absolutive is the subject and the lative is the (indirect) object; neither noun phrase is the subject.

We find that the difference in causativization corresponds to additional differences in at least three other domains. The first has to do with reflexivization. The details are given in CH. YY [Reflexives and anaphora], but in a nutshell, verbs which causativize into transitives (section
6.4.1—we will refer to them as ‘know’-verbs) have the lative argument binding the absolutive but not vice versa, and verbs that causativize into ditransitives (section 6.4.2—we will refer to them as ‘like’-verbs) allow binding both ways, from the lative to the absolutive and vice versa. Another area of divergence between the two types of cognition/perception verbs has to do with coreference across clauses, in particular between a pronominal or demonstrative antecedent and the emphatic particle –tow (CH.YY [Reflexives and anaphora]). The lative experiencer of ‘know’-verbs has priority over the absolutive in determining coreference across clauses; with ‘like’-verbs, both noun phrases seem to have equal access to such coreference (see CH. YY [Reflexives and anaphora]). Finally, the two classes of cognition/perception verbs differ with respect to formation of masdar relative clauses (CH. YY [Relative clauses]). With ‘know’-verbs, only the absolutive argument can be relativized with a masdar clause; with ‘like’-verbs, both the absolutive and the lative can produce masdar relatives.

A summary of the differences between the two types is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Structural differences across cognition/perception verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Causativization</th>
<th>Reflexive binding</th>
<th>Coreference across clauses</th>
<th>Relativization with masdar relative clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘know’, ‘hear’, ‘feel’, ‘forget’, ‘find’, ‘dislike’</td>
<td>Creates transitive volitional verbs with experiencer as ergative argument</td>
<td>LAT binds ABS; *ABS binds LAT</td>
<td>LAT has priority over ABS</td>
<td>*LAT ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’, ‘like/love/want’</td>
<td>Creates ditransitive verbs with experiencer mapping to causee; adds a causer argument</td>
<td>LAT binds ABS; ABS binds LAT</td>
<td>LAT and ABS are equal in maintaining coreference</td>
<td>LAT ABS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent evidence shows that masdar relative clauses can relativize on any argument except the highest one; for instance, ergative noun phrases and absolutive subjects cannot relativize this way (CH. YY [Relative clauses]). This observation suggests an explanation for the differences between ‘know’-verbs and ‘like’-verbs. With ‘know’-verbs, the lative noun phrase appears to be a non-canonical subject (as has been observed with subjects of cognition/perception verbs across a number of languages; cf. Croft 1993, Blake 2001, Butt 2006 for a discussion, and see Pylkkänen 1999 for a similar pattern in Finnish). Evidence from other clause types demonstrates independently that Tsez subjects cannot be reflexive (see CH. YY [Reflexives and anaphora]), so the asymmetrical reflexivization observed with ‘know’-verbs follows if the lative is a subject. Finally, since Tsez is an “intransitive language”, where the causative pattern (deriving transitive verbs from intransitive) is more prevalent than the anticausative pattern (deriving intransitive verbs from transitive; commonly found in Romance or Slavic), the causativization of non-volitional verbs as volitional transitives is part of the larger pattern.
To represent the structure of ‘know’-verbs schematically, let us revisit the sentence (207a), repeated below:

(220) Ahōʔ-r meši b-esu-s.
     shepherd-LAT calf.ABS.III III-find-PST.WIT
     SUBJECT OBJECT

With ‘like’-verbs, the lative argument is not a subject; it is a structurally prominent additional argument of an unaccusative predicate, added through a process akin to applicativization. Such predicates have been described as applicative unaccusatives (see Režić 2008 for the term and for the analysis of the Basque gustatu ‘like’), and their experiencer arguments as “i-nominals” (the term from Moore and Perlmutter 2000). Applicative unaccusatives have two schematic realizations. In the schema shown in (221a), they have an expletive subject, and the internal argument of the verb appears in its base position. In this realization, the applied (indirect) object is higher than the base object and can bind it. Alternatively, in the schema shown in (221b), the internal argument of the applicative unaccusative raises to the subject position, in which case it is now higher than the lative object and can bind it. This results in the appearance of symmetrical reflexivization in clauses with ‘like’-verbs.

(221) a. expl debe-r čorpa b-eti-x-ānu.
     SUBJECT 2SG-LAT soup.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS-NEG
     OBJECT OBJECT

b. čorpa debe-r b-eti-x-ānu.
     soup.ABS.IV 2SG-LAT IV-like-PRS-NEG
     SUBJECT OBJECT

6.4.3. ‘Fear’/‘frighten’

Recall that the verb AGR-uʔ ‘fear; be afraid’, although semantically a psychological state verb, is structurally a regular intransitive. Its experiencer appears in the absolutive and its stimulus in the super-essive:

(222) [Yedu kid] [meži-z ʕsway-q] y-uʔ-xo.
     DEM girl.ABS.II 2PL-GEN2 dog-OS-POSS.ESS II-fear-PRS
     EXPERIENCER STIMULUS

‘This girl is afraid of your dog.’ (lit.: fears on your dog)

Accordingly, AGR-uʔ’ is causitivized following the intransitive pattern, with the absolute experiencer corresponding to the absolute causee of the transitive verb AGR-uʔ’-er- ‘frighten’ and the ergative causer denoting the source of fear. Causative verbal forms are ambiguous between direct and indirect causation; these interpretations are distinguished contextually. Therefore, it is possible to find ‘frighten’ expressing both direct and indirect events of making someone scared:
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(223) a. Meži-ziɣi-wəay-ä kid y-uɬ’-er-xo.
2PL-GEN dog-ERG girl.ABS.II II-fear-CAUS-PRS
‘Your dog frightens the girl.’

b. Xexbi (aʔdahо-za-q) r-uɬ’-er-xo
children.ABS.nIPL dragon-PL.OS-POSS.ESS nIPL-fear-CAUS-PRS
eniw=babi-y-ä.
parents-OS-ERG
‘Parents frighten children (with dragons).’

7. Biabsolutive construction

In the biabsolutive construction, the two core arguments, corresponding to the ergative and the absolutive of a transitive or ditransitive verb, both occur in the absolutive form. This change in case marking is accompanied by changes in agreement, which we show below. Two main biabsolutive patterns are observed; in one, the predicate consists of the imperfective converb with the auxiliary ‘be’, and in the other, the predicate includes the imperfective converb, the resultative participle of the verb AGR-ič- ‘stay’, and the auxiliary ‘be’.\(^{21}\) Compare the ergative construction in (224) with its biabsolutive counterparts:

(224) Už-ä aho y-eč’-xo (yol/zow-s).
boy-ERG tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘The boy is/was cutting a/the tree.’

(225) Uži aho y-eč’-xo (yol/zow-s).
boy.ABS.II tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘The boy is/was cutting a/the tree.’

(226) Uži aho y-eč’-xo/*Ø-eč’-xo Ø-ič-äsi/*y-ič-äsi
boy.ABS.II tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB /I-cut-IPFV.CVB I-stay-RES/I-stay-RES
(yol/zow-s).
AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘The boy is/was (in the state of) cutting a/the tree.’

In the discussion below, we will be referring to the už-ä-type noun phrase in (225) and (226) as the “agent absolutive,” and to the aho-type noun phrase as the “patient absolutive.”

Since auxiliaries are freely omitted in root clauses (as we indicate by putting them in parentheses in (225) and (226)), the difference between the ergative construction and the biabsolutive in (225) is just in the case marking of the agent argument. In (226), the difference in agreement becomes apparent, however; the notional verb ‘cut’ agrees with the patient ‘tree’ but the resultative participle of the verb AGR-ič- ‘stay’ agrees with the agent. Alternative agreement is impossible, as indicated in the examples above.

\(^{21}\) The contrast between transitive ergative constructions and biabsolutive (or binominative) constructions is quite common in Nakh-Dagestanian languages (see Kibrik 1975 for one of the earliest discussions, Forker 2012 for an overview, and Gagliardi et al. 2014 for a detailed syntactic analysis).
The biabsolutive construction is optional and alternates with the ergative construction. Possibly as a result of this alternation, it is rather rare, despite the fact that its building blocks (the converb and the resultative participle) are actually quite common in spoken language and in narrative texts. When the biabsolutive is used, its interpretation includes two salient components. First, the construction is interpreted as progressive or durative, and for the subtype with AGR-\textit{ič-\text{-äsi}}, as indicating a continuous state. Indeed, we find that the biabsolutive construction is natural with such adverbs as ‘still’, ‘already’, ‘all the time’, but is judged as infelicitous in the presence of ‘sometimes’:

\begin{verbatim}
(227) Kid źäd Hak’ô b-oy-x y-ič-äsi yol.
girl.ABS.II still xinkal.ABS.III III-do-IPFV.CVB II-stay-RES AUX.PRS
‘The girl is still busy making dumplings.’
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
(228) #Ŭži sosit’a/zama= zamanyox aho y-eč’-xo
boy.ABS.I sometimes/from.time.to.time tree.ABS.II II-cut IPFV.CVB Ø-ič-äsi zow-s.
I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
(‘The boy was sometimes cutting a/the tree.’)
\end{verbatim}

The second meaning component of the biabsolutive construction is an emphasis on the state of the agent participant; speakers suggest that the agent is somehow foregrounded and the agent’s involvement in the event is particularly noticeable. Similar observations concerning the emphasis on the agent have been made for biabsolutive constructions in other Nakh-Dagestanian languages (Kazenin 1998; Forker 2012); Forker (2012) refers to such emphasis as “agent focusing”.

The foregrounding of the agent referent goes hand-in-hand with the perception of the agent as affected by the ongoing state of affairs denoted by the construction. Because these auxiliary constructions have a clear aspectual reading, it is also possible to imagine that they should be possible with intransitive verbs, but identifying biabsolutive constructions based on intransitives is more difficult because the subject does not change its case marking. Further evidence that the biabsolutive construction generally emphasizes the state of the agent comes from manner adverbials. In the biabsolutive construction, manner adverbials describing the way an event develops can only refer to the event expressed by the converb; meanwhile outside that construction, manner adverbials can modify any predicate. Consider the following example, where the agreeing adverb ‘fast’ can apply to the manner of the letter-reading but not to the father’s state:

\begin{verbatim}
(229) a. Debi babiw y-\textit{õaλo}/*Ø-\textit{õaλo} kayat t’et’er-xo
2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I II-fast/I-fast letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB
Ø-ič-äsi zow-s.
I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
b. Debi babiw kayat y-\textit{õaλo}/*Ø-\textit{õaλo} t’et’er-xo
2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I letter.ABS.II II-fast/I-fast read-IPFV.CVB
Ø-ič-äsi zow-s.
I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘Your father was engaged in quickly reading a/the letter.’
\end{verbatim}
In contrast, the agreeing adverb ‘already’ can relate to either of the subevents, but with different interpretations:

(230) a. Debi babiw Ø-uygon kayat t’et’er-xo
    2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I I-already letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB
    Ø-ič-äsi zow-s.
    I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘Your father was already engaged in reading a/the letter.’ (“already” refers to the state of being engaged)

b. Debi babiw y-uygon kayat t’et’er-xo
    2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I II-already letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB
    Ø-ič-äsi zow-s.
    I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘Your father was engaged in already reading a/the letter.’ (“already” refers to the event of reading)

In addition to its agreement and case marking properties, the biabsolutive construction has more rigid word order than its ergative counterpart. While all six orders of subject, object, and verb are possible in (224), in the biabsolutive construction, the object cannot follow the verb and cannot appear directly before the subject on the same side of the verb:

(231) a. Uži aho y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s. [SOV]
    boy.ABS.I tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘The boy is/was cutting a/the tree.’

b. Aho y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s uži. [OVS]
    tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT boy.ABS.I
    ‘The boy is/was cutting a/the tree.’

c. *Aho uži y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s. [*OSV]
    tree.ABS.II boy.ABS.I II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT

d. *Y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s aho uži. [*VOS]
    II-cut- IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT tree.ABS.II boy.ABS.I

e. *Y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s uži aho. [*VSO]
    II-cut- IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT boy.ABS.II tree.ABS.I

f. *Uži y-eč’-xo yol/zow-s aho. [*SVO]
    boy.ABS.III II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS/AUX.PST-PST.WIT tree.ABS.II

Although the object cannot precede the subject absolutive in OSV order and cannot follow the verb altogether, it can be separated from the verb, as we see in example (229b).

Inanimate agents are impossible in the biabsolutive construction; compare the ergative construction in (76), repeated below (with irrelevant glossing details omitted), and its ungrammatical biabsolutive counterpart:

(232) C’i-d-ä ḥa‘yur y-ikur-xo.
    fire-ERG mill.ABS.II II-burn-PRS
    ‘Fire burns the mill.’
Inadvertent agents and experiencers are also impossible in the biabsolutive construction; thus, cognition/perception verbs such as those discussed in section 5 do not appear in this construction:

(234) Madina-r [gagali-s mah] b-iy-x.
Madina-LAT flower-GEN1 smell.ABS.III III-know-PRS
‘Madina smells flowers.’

Madina.ABS.II flower-GEN1 smell.ABS.III III-know-IPFV.CVB II-stay-RES AUX.PRS
(‘Madina is smelling flowers.’)

There is one exception to the ban on experiencers in the biabsolutive construction, in the case of the verb AGR-et- ‘love, like, want’. This verb can appear in the biabsolutive construction, but only with a highly restricted meaning. While (236) is ambiguous out of context, the biabsolutive construction in (237) can have only the meaning ‘want’, but not ‘like’ or ‘love’:

(236) Xex-za-r sayyat b-eti-x yoł.
child-OS-LAT gift.ABS.III III-want-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS
‘Children like/want a/the gift.’

(237) Xex-bi sayyat b-eti-x r-ič-äsi yoł.
child-ABS.(nIPL) gift.ABS.III III-want-IPFV.CVB nIPL-stay-RES AUX.PRS
‘Children want (are wanting) a gift.’

One could argue that liking something is a less volitional process than wanting something; that would account for the data in (237). Based on this data point and the fact that only animate agents are allowed in the biabsolutive construction, we can conclude that the agent of this construction must be volitional.

As long as the restrictions on the semantics of the agent are met, both transitive and ditransitive verbs, and even polytransitive causatives, can appear in the biabsolutive construction. For example,

(238) Učitel-bi xex-za-q kino r-uka-r-xo
teacher-PL.ABS.IPL child-OS-POSS.ESS movie.ABS.IV IV-see-CAUS-IPFV.CVB
b-ič-äsi zow-s.
IPL-stay-RES AUX.ST-PST.WIT
‘The teachers were showing the children a movie.’

The agent absolutive in both biabsolutive structures can be replaced with a wh-word and appear with the topic particles –ño and –gon. It can also undergo relativization, although relative clauses formed from the biabsolutive construction without -ičäsi are indistinguishable from relative
clauses formed from the corresponding ergative construction (thus, examples (239b) and (240b) have the same form):

(239) a. Už-ā aho y-eč'-xo zow-s.  
    boy-ERG tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT  
    ‘The boy was cutting a/the tree.’  

b. [aho y-eč'-xo zāw-ru] uži  
    tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.PTCP boy  
    ‘the boy who was cutting a/the tree’

(240) a. Uži aho y-eč'-xo zow-s.  
    boy.ABS.II tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT  
    ‘The boy was cutting a/the tree.’  

b. [aho y-eč'-xo zāw-ru] uži  
    tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.PTCP boy  
    ‘the boy who was cutting a/the tree’

(241) a. Uži aho y-eč'-xo Ø-ič-äsi  
    boy.ABS.II tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB I-stay-RES  
    zow-s. AUX.PST-PST.WIT  
    ‘The boy was (in the state of) cutting a/the tree.’  

b. [aho y-eč'-xo Ø-ič-äsi zāw-ru] uži  
    tree.ABS.II II-cut-IPFV.CVB I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.PTCP boy  
    ‘the boy who was (in the state of) cutting a/the tree’

So far, we have described both types of the biabsolutive construction together. However, they also demonstrate some differences, particularly with respect to wh-question formation, topic marking, and adverb placement.

In the biabsolutive construction without the resultative participle, the patient absolutive can be replaced with a wh-word, can undergo relativization, and can appear with topic particles. For example:

(242) a. Uži šebi r-eč'-xo zow-ä?  
    boy.ABS.I what.ABS.IV IV-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR  
    ‘What was the boy cutting?’  

b. [uži y-eč'-xo zāw-ru] aho  
    boy.ABS.I II-cut-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.PTCP tree  
    ‘the tree that the boy was cutting’

In the biabsolutive construction with the resultative participle, the absolutive patient cannot be replaced with a wh-word, cannot undergo relativization and cannot appear with topic particles. To illustrate:\(^{22}\)

\(^{22}\) Example (243a) is acceptable as an echo question: “The boy was busy cutting WHAT?” Evidence for the “echo” nature of this question comes from word order. Unlike regular questions,
Finally, the two constructions differ with respect to adverbial scope and placement. Consider the behavior of an agreeing adverbial such as AGR-uygon ‘already’, which was introduced in (230) above. We repeat the examples from (230) below, modified to show the possible omission of the resultative participle.

(244) a. Debi babiw Ø-uygon kayat t’et’er-xo
   2SG GEN1 father.ABS.I I-already letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB
   (Ø-ič-äsi) zow-s.
   I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
   ‘Your father was already engaged in reading a/the letter.’

   b. Debi babiw y-uygon kayat t’et’er-xo
      2SG GEN1 father.ABS.I II-already letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB
      (Ø-ič-äsi) zow-s.
      I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT
      ‘Your father was engaged in already reading a/the letter.’

As (244) shows, in both biabsolutive subtypes, the agreeing adverbial can precede the absolutive patient and can agree with either the agent or patient. However, if the same adverb appears between the absolutive patient and the verb, a distinction emerges: both agreements are still possible in the biabsolutive construction without the resultative participle, but only agreement with the patient is possible in the construction with the resultative participle:

(245) a. Kayat y-uygon/Ø-uygon t’et’er-xo zow-s
     letter.ABS.II II-already/I-already read-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT
     debi babiw.

the wh-word in echo-questions can appear postverbally (see CH. YY [Interrog] for regular versus echo questions), and a variation on (243a) with a postverbal wh-word is also possible:

(i) Uži r-eč’-xo Ø-ič-äsi zow-ä šebi?
   boy.ABS.I IV-cut-IPFV.CVB I-stay-RES AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTER what.ABS.IV
   ‘WHAT was the boy cutting?’
\[2SG.GEN1 \text{father.ABS.I}\]

‘Your father was already engaged in reading a/the letter.’

‘Your father was engaged in already reading a/the letter.’


AUX.PST-PST.WIT 2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I

‘Your father was engaged in already reading a/the letter.’

NOT: ‘Your father was already engaged in reading a/the letter.’

These differences suggest that the biabsolutive construction without the resultative participle is monoclausal; the combination of the converb and the auxiliary creates a complex verb form with a dedicated aspectual meaning (see Comrie 2000a for further discussion). An adverb that agrees with either of the absolutives is free to find a place anywhere in that monoclausal structure.

The biabsolutive construction with the resultative participle, by contrast, has two separate clausal domains, one containing the absolutive patient and the converb, the other containing the absolutive agent and the resultative form. For clarity, we represent these domains schematically using the order OVS:

(246) a. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[[ABS-patient V-CVB]} \\
\text{stay-RES AUX ABS-Agent]} \end{array}
\]

\text{LOWER DOMAIN} \quad \text{HIGHER DOMAIN}

b. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[[kayat t’et’er-xo]} \\
\text{Ø-ič-äsi yoł debi babiw]} \end{array}
\]

letter.ABS.II read-IPFV.CVB I-stay-RES AUX.PRS 2SG.GEN1 father.ABS.I

Here, the absolutive patient is in the embedded structure, from where it is inaccessible to relativization and question formation. This embedded clause can take its own adverbial scope, separate from the adverbial scope of the higher clause (see Gagliardi et al. 2014 for a detailed syntactic analysis). Other researchers have suggested that different syntactic structures may correspond to otherwise similar constructions. For example, Harris and Campbell (1995: section 7.4.3) discuss two biabsolutive constructions in Avar, suggesting that one is monoclausal, while the other may not be. Harris and Campbell's discussion suggests that there are other biabsolutive “types” in the Nakh-Dagestanian family as well. If so, it may be useful to investigate diachronic pathways from one structure to the other: should one expect the development of a monoclausal structure from a biclausal one, or vice versa? What might trigger such a development?

8. Summary

This chapter presented the main argument structure types for Tsez verbs and introduced the main types of clauses formed by such verbs. By way of summary, we present the clauses discussed above in a table.

Table 2. Main clause types in Tsez

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Questions

Tsez questions are constructed using the general interrogative marker -(y)ä, the distribution of which is subject to phonological rules (see CH. YY). If combining with a verb in any affirmative form other than the witnessed past, the suffix can often be omitted, in which case the question interpretation must be inferred from prosody and general context.

1 Yes-no questions

1.1 Matrix clause yes-no questions

Yes-no (polar) questions are formed by adding the interrogative suffix to the questioned constituent. In a neutral yes-no question (asking whether the proposition is true or not), the interrogative appears on the finite verb, as shown in the following examples. In forms other than the witnessed past, the interrogative marking is optional (as shown in (1) and (2)), and the difference between declaratives and interrogatives can be expressed by intonation alone, with interrogatives associated with the rising contour (more on that below).

(1) Qema r-egir-xo/r-egir-x-ä?
   rain.ABS.IV IV-send-PRS/IV-send-PRS-INTERR
   ‘Is it raining?’
(2) B-ukay-x(-ä) elo-s bitay qala?
   III-see-PRS-INTERR there-GEN1 far.away fortress.ABS.III
   ‘Do you see the fortress over there?’ (ʕAliqilič:114)
(3) Yol-ä mežu-l tel yila’ gulu-ƛ’
   be.PRS-INTERR 2PL-CONT.ESS among DEM.nI.OS horse-SUPER.ESS
   zow-ani-x bažari yol-äsi źek’u?
   climb-MASD-AD.ESS capability.ABS.III be-RES person.ABS.I
   ‘Is there a man among you who has the ability to ride this horse?’ (Qacis gulu:19)

If the predicate is expressed by a complex verb, the interrogative marker appears on the finite part of the predicate, thus:

(4) Mi di y-ow-a yol-ä?
   2SG.ERG 1SG.ABS.(II) II-take-INF be.PRS-INTERR
   ‘Are you going to take me as your wife?’ (Qacis gulu:11)
(5) Dä-q aq’lu mo主办方-xosi 0-oq-ä mi?
   1SG-POSS.ESS sense.ABS.III teach-PRS.PTCP i-become-INTERR 2SG.ABS.(I)
   ‘Are you here to teach me?’
(6) Dey gulu b-et’u-n koł’-ä?
   1SG.GEN1 horse.ABS.III III-tear.away-PFV.CV run-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Did your horse gallop?’

In negative polar questions, the interrogative suffix follows negation. Again, except in the witnessed past, the interrogative marker is often omitted:
(7) Dey humukuli b-ukay-nč'-ä?
1SG.GEN1 camel.ABS.III III-see-PST.NEG-INTERR
‘Haven’t (you) seen my camel?’

(8) Nelo-s hažat ānu/an-ä debe-r?
DEM.nI-GEN1 necessity/ABS.IV be.PRS.NEG/be.PRS.NEG-INTERR 2SG-LAT
‘Don’t you need that?’ (lit.: is there not its necessity to you?)

If a clause includes the validator adverbial AGR-uy ‘indeed, certainly’ (see CH. YY [Adverbial phrase] and CH. YY [Particles]), the interrogative marker attaches to it, and the general interpretation of the question is the same as if it were on the verb. The following questions, with the intransitive verb AGR-ơɬ- (whose absolutive subject is presupposed but not expressed) are truth-conditionally equivalent:

(9) a. Debi r-uy-ä r-ơɬ-xo?
2SG.GEN1 IV-indeed-INTERR IV-hurt-PRS
‘Are you ill?’ (Bašiqőy:32)

b. Debi r-ơɬ-x-ä?
2SG.GEN1 IV-hurt-PRS-INTERR
‘Are you ill?’

If the interrogative suffix appears on a constituent other than the finite form of the predicate, that constituent is in focus. The interrogative suffix cannot be omitted in such questions. There is no difference in finiteness between questions with the focus on the predicate and questions with the focus on some other constituent. In that respect, Tsez is different from some other languages of the family, where non-predicate polar questions require that the main verb appear in a non-finite form (see Kibrik 1999: 453-455 for Tsaxur).

Compare (2), which questions the ability of the addressee to see the fortress, and (10), where the goal is to ascertain whether the object in sight is a fortress or not:

(10) B-ukay-x elo-s bitay qala-yä?
III-see-PRS there-GEN1 far.away fortress.ABS.III-INTERR
‘Is it the fortress over there that you see?’

Likewise, compare (1), which is an information question about the weather, and (11), where the question pertains to the type of precipitation that is falling from the sky.

---

1 If AGR-uy is present in a clause, the interrogative marker typically combines with it. The

(i) ??/*Debi r-uy r-ơɬ-x-ä?
2SG.GEN1 IV-indeed IV-hurt-PRS-INTERR
(‘Are you ill?’)

2 Yes-no questions of this kind are often translated into English as clefts, but there is no cleft structure in the original.
If a constituent inside a complex verb is questioned, only that part is in focus. For example, in (12), the focus is on teaching:

(12) Dā-q aqˤɨlu mo-libi-xosi-yā Ø-oqno
     1SG-POSS.ESS sense.ABS.III teach-PRS.PTCP-INTERR i-become-INTERR mi?
     2SG.ABS(.I)
     ‘Is it to teach me that you are here?’

In (13), the question asked is not whether the glove is or is not special, but about the degree to which it is different from all other gloves:

(13) Ža debi relʾiqqoy batʾiyaw-tow-ā r-ič-a r-āy-x?
     DEM 2SG.GEN1 glove.ABS.IV different-FOC-INTERR IV-stay-INF IV-must-PRS
     ‘This glove of yours must be really special, mustn’t it?’ (lit. is it really special that your glove must be) (Xanes Fono u žin, sis kidno:30)

As examples (12) and (13) indicate, the focus of a yes-no question can also be on a subconstituent. To illustrate further, compare the following examples. In (14), the question is about the event of bringing wet firewood. In (15), the focus of the question is on the agent (whether the one that brought the wet firewood was the rooster or not), and in (16), the focus is on the object (whether what the rooster brought in was wet firewood or not). In (17), however, the focus is on a subconstituent of the noun phrase: did the rooster bring wet firewood, or dry firewood?

(14) Mamalay-ā atʾiw-tʾa qaca r-ay-r-ā?
     rooster-ERG wet-DISTR firewood.ABS.IV IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT.INTERR
     ‘Did he regularly bring wet firewood?’ (based on Onočun mamalayn:4)

(15) Mamalay-ā-yā atʾiw-tʾa qaca r-ay-r-si?
     rooster-ERG-INTERR wet-DISTR firewood.ABS.IV IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT
     ‘Was it the rooster that regularly brought wet firewood?’

(16) Mamalay-ā atʾiw-tʾa qaca-yā r-ay-r-si?
     rooster-ERG wet-DISTR firewood.ABS.IV-INTERR IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT
     ‘Was it wet firewood that the rooster regularly brought?’

(17) Mamalay-ā atʾiw-tʾa-yā qaca r-ay-r-si?
     rooster-ERG wet-DISTR-INTERR firewood.ABS.IV IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT
     ‘Is it true of the firewood that the rooster regularly brought that it was wet?’

In the next two sentences, the yes-no question is either about the entire event (18), or about the manner of that event (19); in the latter case, the interrogative marker appears on the adverb:

(18) Ža durimoʔ’ Ø-ay-ā?
Most subconstituents can be the focus of yes-no questions, but we find at least two exceptions. First, the interrogative is considered unacceptable on the genitive in measure phrases. Normally adnominal genitives can combine with the interrogative marker, so measure phrases clearly stand out in that regard.\(^3\)\(^4\)

Next, the placement of the interrogative marker on constituents of light verbs is often judged awkward, as shown by the next two examples:

The examples presented so far also show that the word order in root polar questions is completely free and is not different in any way from the word order in declaratives. However, one may notice that the interrogative marker that attaches to non-verbal constituents appears only in the preverbal domain. This is not accidental. Postverbal material is generally interpreted as backgrounded, given information, and that information-structural status is incompatible with the focusing associated with questions. As we will show below, genuine (non-reprisal) wh-words are also impossible in the postverbal position. Interrogative markers observed in postverbal position of what look like yes-no questions are a sign of exclamatives, not interrogatives proper (see CH. YY [Exclamatives]).

In terms of prosody, the focus of the yes-no question (the word combining with the interrogative particle) has a rising contour on the syllable preceding the suffix \(-(y)ä\) and a falling contour on –

\(^3\) Recall that these genitives were also inaccessible to relativization, even with resumption (see CH. YY [Relative clauses]).

\(^4\) We mark the unacceptable examples as # because it is unclear whether they are judged ungrammatical or infelicitous.
(y)ä itself. This is similar to the pattern described for yes-no questions in Bagwali (Kibrik 2001: 47-48). In polar questions that ask whether the proposition is true or not, there is strong focal prominence on the verb, regardless of the presence of the interrogative suffix.

If a yes-no question is in the affirmative, it can be answered in several ways. First, the answer can be simply hudu ‘yes’ or anu ‘no’. For example:

(24) A: Debi zaman yol-ä?
   2SG.GEN1 time.ABS.III be.PRS-INTERR
   ‘Do you have time?’
B: Hudu/Anu.
   ‘Yes./No.’

Second, it is possible to reply with the word that is the focus of a given question, in the appropriate polarity. For example, consider the answer to the question below (note that the agreement in the answer has to match the agreement in the question):

(25) A: Mež-ä ¿umru b-ig-ä b-oy-x?
   2PL-ERG life.ABS.III III-well-INTERR III-do-PRS
   ‘Do you live well?’ (is it well that you live?)
B:  B-ig/b-ig-änd.
   III-well/III-well-NEG
   ‘Yes./No.’

The two answer strategies can also be combined. Finally, it is in principle possible to repeat the whole clause (with the appropriate polarity), but this is quite artificial.

In answers to a yes-no question with negative polarity, the negative answer confirms the speaker’s assessment that a given eventuality does not or did not take place. In such confirming negative answers, however, the use of the particle anu ‘no’ is not allowed. For instance:

(26) A: Debe-r maroženi r-eti-x-an-ä/r-eti-x-änd?
   2SG-LAT ice.cream.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS-NEG-INTERR/IV-like-PRS-NEG
   ‘You don’t like ice cream, right?’
B: (*Anu)r-eti-x-änd.
   no IV-like-PRS-NEG
   ‘No, I don’t.’

A reply in the affirmative indicates that the listener rejects the speaker’s assessment. The use of hudu in such replies is possible:

(27) A: Debe-r maroženi r-eti-x-an-ä/r-eti-x-änd?
   2SG-LAT ice.cream.ABS.IV IV-like-PRS-NEG-INTERR/IV-like-PRS-NEG
   ‘You don’t like ice cream, right?’
B: (Hudu)r-eti-x.
yes IV-like-PRS
‘Yes I do.’

1.2 Embedded yes-no questions

Embedded yes-no questions appear with the quotative –ƛìn. Their structure and properties are no different from those of matrix yes-no questions. The order of constituents in the question introduced by –ƛìn remains as free as in questions in independent clauses.

In (28), the yes-no question with the interrogative on the predicate (telx̂a) is embedded under the verb ‘say’.

(28) Tusnaq’-ā-zo uži-r tel-ƛ-x-ā mi
jail-IN. ESS-ATTR. OS boy-LAT give-PRS-INTERR 2 SG. ERG
izmu gulu-ƛ’ zow-ani-r-ƛin… eƛ-ƛ-n.
permission.ABS. III horse-SUPER. ESS climb-MASD-LAR-QUOT say-PST. N.WIT
‘(She) asked him if he gave his permission to the young man in jail to ride the horse.’
(Qacis gulu:24)

In the next example, the embedded question has negative polarity, and the reply, which confirms that the addressee did not see the camel, is also negative.

(29) Dey ħumukuli b-ukay-ń’é-ƛ-ƛin esir-zaƛ’
1 SG. GEN I camel.ABS. III III-see-NEG-INTERR-QUOT ask-CAUSAL. I. CVB
yiz-ƛ b-ukay-ń’é-u-ƛ-in ot’ b-is-xo.
DEM. I PL-ERG III-see-PST. WIT. NEG-QUOT refusal. ABS. III III-take-PRS
‘When I asked them if they had seen my camel, they insist(ed) that they had not.’
(Xanno, nesigson ʕono užin:85)

2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions require coordination of two or more interrogative clauses with the particles ya...ya or yagi...yagi ‘either or’. The first particle in such chains can be omitted. For example:

(30) (Ya) y-ik’i-x(-ā) ya y-iči-x(-ā)?
or II-go-PRS-INTERR or II-stay-PRS-INTERR
‘Are you going or staying?’ (addressing a woman)

(31) (Yagi) eƛ’i-yā yeda žek’u Ō-ex-āsi, yagi
or last.year-INTERR DEM person.ABS. I I-die-RES or
žiƛbo-yā?
this.year-INTERR
‘Did this man die last year or this year?’ (Ećruni žek’un, Soloqanawni užin:30)

If the disjunction applies to predicates, the use of ya...ya or yagi...yagi is necessary, as in (30). However, if the alternatives are not expressed by the predicate, it is sufficient for each of the questioned constituents to combine with the interrogative marker, as in the following example:
As with yes-no questions, the syllable preceding –(y)ä has the rising tone, and the interrogative marker has the falling tone. There is also a prosodic boundary (probably a new onset) between the two interrogative phrases.

3  Wh-questions

Interrogative words are part of the set of indeterminate (indefinite) lexical items, which means that they can have an interrogative proper interpretation or an indefinite interpretation (for further discussion of the indefinite series, see Ch. YY[Particles]). For example, the word šebi ‘what/who’ can also mean ‘something’, and its interpretation depends on the nature of the clause in which it occurs.\(^5\) Wh-words can occur in genuine information questions as well as in echo (or reprise) questions. The latter are requests for clarification, in which the speaker asks for a whole or partial repetition of the preceding (or presupposed) utterance, typically because s/he did not hear properly or understand what was said (Bolinger 1957, 1978, 1987; Blakemore 1994; Sobin 1990; Noh 1995; a.o.).

Care should be taken to distinguish the two types of questions. In what follows, we will first discuss regular wh-questions, without the echo interpretation, and then will turn to echo questions in section 3.4.

3.1  Matrix wh-questions

3.1.1  Possible interrogative structures

An interrogative phrase can generally have two positions, although the details are more fine-grained, as we show below. First, an interrogative phrase can appear in the same position as the questioned constituent (in situ), but only as long as that constituent is in the preverbal domain (35a). Next, it can appear in a clause-initial position (35b). We illustrate these options for an object wh-question based on (34):

(34) Už-ä yedu t’ek kid-be-r teč-si.

(35) (a) Howła imad-ał hič’č’a ixiw šebi yol: is-ä,
DEM.nI.OS tale-OS-CONT.ESS most big who.ABS be.PRS bull-INTERR
cey-ä, t’eka-yä, aho-yä, ziru-yä,
eye-INTERR billy.goat-INTERR shepherd-INTERR fox-INTERR
q’orol y’ānabi-yä?
widowed woman-INTERR
‘Who is the biggest one in this tale: The bull, the eagle, the goat, the shepherd, the fox, or the widow?’ (Yīzałāy hič’č’a ixiw šebi yol?:18)
(b) Hobo-yä hik’e-yä yizi b-exu-x?
now-INTERR later-INTERR DEM.IPL IPL-die-PRS
‘Are they going to die now or later?’ (Qacis gulu:42)

\(^5\) When referring to objects, šebi is gender IV, as shown in glosses below. Its gender can also shift depending on context; such cases will be indicated separately.
Since the order in the preverbal domain is quite free, the in-situ position is not always distinguishable from an immediately preverbal position. Thus, (35a) can alternate with (36). Without further probing, it is impossible to tell if the word orders in (35a) and (36) correspond to the same baseline sentence or two different ones.

(35) a. Už-ä šebi kid-be-r teƛ-ää?
   boy-ERG what.ABS.IV girl-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘What did the boy give to the girl?’

b. Šebi už-ä kid-be-r teƛ-ää?
   what.ABS.IV boy-ERG girl-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘What did the boy give to the girl?’

Also, non-interrogative constituents are quite common in the postverbal domain, making it difficult to identify the actual position of a wh-word; for example, in (37), the only constituent in front of the verb is the wh-word.

(37) Šebi nāƛ. mi dā-r?
    what.ABS give.FUT 2SG.ERG 1SG-LAT
    ‘What will you give me?’

Barring such instances, Tsez wh-questions offer the speaker the choice between clause-initial wh-words and wh-words in situ.

Interrogative phrases corresponding to arguments are typically in situ; meanwhile, the preferred position for adjunct/adverbial interrogative expressions is clause-initial. For instance, all factors being equal, (35a) and (36) are preferred over (35b), but (38a) is preferred over (38b):

(38) a. Neti yedu šebin r-oq-ää?
    when DEM thing.ABS.IV 4V-become-PST.WIT.INTERR
b. Yedu šebin neti r-oq-ää?
    DEM thing.ABS.IV when 4V-become-PST.WIT.INTERR
    ‘When did that happen?’

While non-interrogative constituents can freely occur after the verb (cf. (37)), interrogative phrases cannot appear post-verbally, regardless of their argument/adjunct status. Compare the grammatical declarative in (39) and the ungrammatical interrogatives in (40a-c):

(39) Už-ää teƛ-si yedu t’ek kid-be-r.
    boy-ERG give-PST.WIT DEM book.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT
    ‘The boy gave this book to the girl.’

(40) a. *Už-ää teƛ-ää šebi kid-be-r?
Multiple wh-questions within a single clause are possible, although dispreferred. Multiple
fronted wh-words are ungrammatical. Thus, multiple wh-questions are only possible when one of
the interrogative phrases is fronted, and the rest appear in their base positions. If the wh-phrases
in a multiple wh-question are all clausal arguments, their order is determined by their
hierarchical structure. For example, in (41), the ergative wh-word can appear in the clause-initial
position (in which case it is impossible to tell whether it has been fronted or appears in situ), but
the lative wh-word cannot precede it:

(41) a. Łu t’ek ła-r teł-ä?
   who.ERG book.ABS.II who-LAT give-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Who gave the book to whom?’

b. *Łā-r łu t’ek teł-ä?
   who-LAT who.ERG book.ABS.II give-PST.WIT.INTERR

Similarly, in (42), the ergative wh-word must precede the absolutive object interrogative; the
opposite order is impossible:

(42) a. Łu šebi r-oy-x?
   who.ERG what.ABS.IV IV-do-PRS
   ‘Who is doing what?’

b. *Šebi łu r-oy-x?
   what.ABS.IV who.ERG IV-do-PRS

In a biabsolutive construction without the resultative participle, only one argument can be
questioned at a time, but that argument can be either agent or patient:\[6\]

(43) a. Eniw šebi r-oy-x zow-ä?
   mother.ABS.II what.ABS.IV IV-do-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘What was mother making?’

b. Šebi čorpa r-oy-x zow-ä?
   who.ABS.I/II soup.ABS.IV IV-do-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Who was making soup?’

c. *Šebi šebi r-oy-x zow-ä?
   who.ABS.I/II what.ABS.IV IV-do-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR
   (‘Who was making what?’)

\[6\] We defer discussion of wh-questions in the biabsolutive construction with the resultative
participle to section 3.1.2.
In a question with multiple wh-adjuncts, only one wh-word can be fronted.\(^7\)

\[(44)\]

a. \(\text{Nā nel-ā źa neti es-ā?}\)
   where DEM.nI-ERG DEM.ABS when say-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Where and when did she say that?’

b. \(\text{Neti nel-ā źa nā es-ā?}\)
   when DEM.nI-ERG DEM.ABS where say-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘When and where did she say that?’

c. *\(\text{Neti nā nel-ā źa es-ā?}\)
   when DEM.nI-ERG DEM.ABS say-PST.WIT.INTERR

If a multiple wh-question has an argument and an adjunct interrogative, either of them (but not both) can appear at the clause-initial position. The fronting of an adjunct is always preferred, so (45a) is judged more favorably than (45b):

\[(45)\]

a. \(\text{Nā uż-ā šebi t’et’er-xo?}\)
   where boy-ERG what.ABS.IV read-PRS
   ‘Where does the boy read what?’

b. \(\text{Šebi uż-ā nā t’et’er-xo?}\)
   what.ABS.IV boy-ERG where read-PRS
   ‘Where does the boy read what?’

c. *\(\text{Šebi nā uż-ā t’et’er-xo?}\)
   what.ABS.IV where boy-ERG read-PRS

d. *\(\text{Nā šebi uż-ā t’et’er-xo?}\)
   where what.ABS.IV boy-ERG read-PRS

The examples below illustrate some basic questions (note that in a number of the examples below, the actual interrogative predicate is omitted).

\[(46)\]

\(\text{Šebi hal?}\)
   what state/health.ABS.III
   ‘How are things?’

\[(47)\]

\(\text{Šebi debe-r r-oq-no?}\)
   what.ABS.IV 2SG-LAT IV-become-PST.nWIT
   ‘What happened to you?’

\[(48)\]

\(\text{Šomo de-be-q λeb?}\)

\(^7\) Such multiple adjunct questions are judged particularly awkward, and speakers generally offer to break them into several independent questions, for example:

\[(i)\]

\(\text{Nā nel-ā źa es-ā? Neti}\)
   where DEM.nI-ERG DEM.ABS say-PST.WIT.INTERR when
   (es-ā)?
   say-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Where did she say that? When?’
how many 2SG-OS-POSS.ESS year.ABS.II
‘How old are you?’

(49) Dow-ƛ’o ci šebi?
2SG-SUPER.ESS name.ABS.III what
‘What is your name?’ (lit.: name on you…)

(50) Dice ƛ’exora (yol) ƛ’Alí?
how much i-long be.PRS Alí
‘How tall is Alí?’

(51) Dice-zá-ƛ’ teλ-xo?
how much-OS-SUPER.ESS give-PRS
‘How much are you asking?’ (as in a sale)

(52) Łu ża r-øy-ä?
who.ERG DEM.ABS(IV) IV-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Who did that?’

(53) Eni-y-ä lu-r sayyat b-is-ä?
mother-OS-ERG who-LAT gift.ABS.III III-take-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘For whom did mother buy a/the gift?’

(54) Nā mi halt’izi ƛ’oq-xo?
where 2SG.ABS(.I) work i-become-PRS
‘Where do you work?’

(55) Nā-r (Ł-ik’i-x)?
where-LAT i-go-PRS
‘Where are you going?’ (addressing a man)

(56) Neti b-ik’-ān idu-ɣor?
when 1PL-go-FUT.DEF home-VERB
‘When are we going home?’

(57) Didur ża r-øy-x?
how DEM.ABS(.IV) IV-do-PRS
‘How is this done?’

(58) Śida nedur r-øy-ä?
why so IV-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Why did you do such a thing?’

The compound wh-expressions didur-šebi ‘how-what’ and šebi-didur ‘what-how’, which seem to be in free variation, are used the same way as the absolutive šebi, but with the additional connotation of surprise:

(59) Didur=šebi r-øy-no?
what IV-become-PST.nWIT
‘What on earth happened?’

Tsez puts its rich case system to work by utilizing different forms of the word šebi to express distinct interrogative meanings. In particular, various forms of šebi can be used to express questions about reason and manner; such questions occur in addition to questions formed with the dedicated adverbial wh-words šida ‘why’ and didur ‘how’ (shown above).
(60) Łina-q mi nece qʷərid y-oq-xo?
what-POSS.ESS 2SG.ABS(.II) so sad II-become-PRS
‘Why are you so sad?’ (lit.: on what…)

(61) Łina-r ža šebin r-ow-ä mi?
what-LAT DEM thing.ABS.IV IV-bring-PST.WIT.INTERR 2SG.ERG
‘What did you bring this for?’

(62) Łina-x r-iy-ä?
what-AD.ESS IV-know-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘How do you know?’

(63) Babiya-ä mi lina-ł xizay Ø-egir-ä?
father-ERG 2SG.ABS(.I) what-CONT.ESS behind I-send-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘What did Father send you for?’

(64) T’ok’ow elu-r lina-s qʷərili yoł?
more 1PL-LAT what-GEN1 woe.ABS.IV be.PRS
‘What else should we worry about?’ (lit.: more to us what’s woe is?)

The predicative component of a copular clause can also be questioned; in such cases, the copula itself may be omitted (as is often the case in regular copular clauses, see CH. YY [Basic clause types]). Most commonly, the interrogatives šebi ‘what; who’ and didiw ‘what; which’ are found in that predicative position. For example:

(65) Mi šebi (yoł)?
2SG.ABS who/what be.PRS
‘What are you?’ (usually asked about profession, occupation)

(66) Ža debi λe didiw zow-n?
DEM 2SG.GEN1 bridge.ABS.III what.ATTR be.PST-PST.nWIT
‘That bridge of yours was of what kind?’ (Goqin zirun:20)

(67) Yizi didiw xalq’i (yoł)?
DEM.IPL.ABS what.ATTR people.ABS.IPL be.PRS
‘What kind of people are they?’

The wh-expression can be separated from the copula, as in the following example:

(68) Šebi ža nediw baharči Ø-ołi-x-ä?
what/who DEM such hero.ABS.I 1-appear-PRS-INTERR
‘Who is that brave man?’ (ʕAliqilič:98)

8 In traditional texts, we also find the following version of this question, which is considered stylistically charged. The sentence in (64) was offered instead of (i):

(i) T’ok’ow elu-r qʷərili lina-s?
more 1PL-LAT woe.ABS.IV what-GEN1 (Hibos hunar:27)
‘What else is there for us to worry about?’
Attributive and genitive modifiers of nouns can be questioned only in situ, in contrast to constituent wh-phrases, which can be displaced. In the next example, *didiw* ‘what; which’ can appear inside the noun phrase *didiw gedobi* but cannot be dislocated to the clausal periphery (69b). Note that non-interrogative attributive modifiers can be discontinuous, as shown by (70b) (see also CH. YY [Noun phrase]).

(69)  
\[ \text{a. Debe-r didiw gedo-bi r-eti-x?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{2SG-LAT} & \text{what.ATTR} & \text{shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘What shoes do you like?’} \]  
\[ \text{b. *Didiw debe-r gedo-bi r-eti-x?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{what.ATTR} & \text{2SG-LAT} & \text{shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS} 
\end{array} \]  

(70)  
\[ \text{a. Debe-r cuda gedo-bi r-eti-x-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{2SG-LAT} & \text{red shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS-INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘Do you like red shoes?’} \]  
\[ \text{b. Cuda debe-r gedo-bi r-eti-x-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{red 2SG-LAT} & \text{shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS-INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  

In the following examples, the genitive of possessor appears in the interrogative; it cannot be discontinuous either. Non-interrogative adnominal genitives, on the other hand, can be displaced (CH.YY [Noun phrase]).

(71)  
\[ \text{a. Debe-r lu-s kid y-ukay-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{2SG-LAT} & \text{who-GEN1 girl.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘Whose daughter did you see?’} \]  
\[ \text{b. *Lu-s debe-r kid y-ukay-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{who-GEN1 2SG-LAT girl.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  

(72)  
\[ \text{a. En’i lu-s kid y-ik’-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{last.year who-GEN1 girl.ABS.II II-go-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘Whose daughter left last year?’} \]  
\[ \text{b. *Lu-s eń’i kid y-ik’-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{who-GEN1 last.year girl.ABS.II II-go-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  

(73)  
\[ \text{a. Lu-z esi-y-ä baru y-ow-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}  
\text{who-GEN2 sibling-OS-ERG wife.ABS.II II-bring-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘Whose brother got married?’ (lit.: brought wife)} \]  
\[ \text{b. *Lu-z baru esi-y-ä y-ow-ä?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}  
\text{who-GEN2 wife.ABS.II sibling-OS-ERG II-bring-PST.WIT.INTERR} 
\end{array} \]  

Inanimate adnominal genitives are grammatically possible but rare. They are mainly observed in some set expressions such as the ones below:

(74)  
\[ \text{Łina-s hal yisi-ń’ yolo?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{llll}  
\text{what-GEN1 state.ABS.III DEM.I-SUPER.ESS be-PRS} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘What is weighing on him?’ (lit.: state of what is on him?) (based on Eniws esiw:35)} \]  

(75)  
\[ \text{Mi lina-s pikru b-oy-x?} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{lll}  
\text{2SG.ERG what-GEN1 thought.ABS.III III-do-PRS} 
\end{array} \]  
\[ \text{‘What are you thinking about?’ (lit.: thought of what…)} \]
Complements of postpositions can be questioned only in situ. Compare the grammatical question in (76a) and the ungrammatical (76b), where the wh-word has been dislocated:

(76) a. Nes-ä yiña sual-yo-r ħā-ħ’-āy xizaz
   DEM.I-ERG DEM.nI question-OS-LAT what-SUPER-ABL behind
   żawab neħ-ā?
   answer.ABS.III give-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Who did he answer after?’

b. *ḷā-ḥ’-āy nes-ā yiña sual-yo-r xizaz
   what-SUPER-ABL DEM.I-ERG DEM.nI question-OS-LAT behind
   żawab neħ-ā?
   answer.ABS.III give-PST.WIT.INTERR

Regular interrogative phrases in Tsez appear with prominence on the question word, followed by a falling contour, as shown in the charts below. Pitch prominence is observed in all three positions associated with wh-words (clause-initial, immediately preverbal, and in situ), but it seems stronger when a wh-word is in situ.

This pattern is different from the pattern in English, where pitch prominence is associated with echo-questions, but it is similar to the pattern found in Japanese (Ishihara 2002, 2007), where regular interrogative phrases are also prominently accented.

Figure 1. Pitch contour for the question šebi ṭroqā? ‘What happened?’
3.1.2 Impossible interrogative structures

The use of wh-phrases is extensive; however, it's not unconstrained. The following expressions cannot be questioned:

(77) Expressions that cannot be questioned in wh-interrogatives:
   a. subconstituents of coordinate structures
   b. the absolutive patient in the biabsolutive construction with the resultative participle AGR-ičäsi
   c. constituents of participial relative clauses
   d. constituents of complements to nouns
   e. constituents of adverbial clauses

We illustrate these constraints in turn. Wh-questions formed from a subconstituent of a coordinate structure are impossible, which indicates that Tsez wh-questions are sensitive to the coordinate structure constraint (Ross 1967). The constraint applies equally to coordination with ‘and’ and ‘or’:

(78) *Nes-ä šebi-n Sult’an-no goł’-ä?
    DEM.I-ERG who.ABS.I/II-and Sultan.ABS.I-and call-PST.WIT.INTERR
    (“Did he call who and Sultan?”)

(79) *Yagi eł’i yagi neti elu-s žek’u-bi
    or last.year or when 1PL-GENI person-PL.ABS.IPL
    b-ex-ä?
    1PL-die-PST.WIT.INTERR
    (“Did your people die last year or when?”)
Forker (2013:750) indicates that in Hinuq, one of the subconstituents in a coordinate structure can be questioned. We have not been able to obtain the same result for regular wh-questions in Tsez; however, such forms are possible as echo questions, which we will discuss in section 3.4.

In the biabsolutive construction with the resultative participle AGR-\textit{ičäsi}, it is impossible to form a wh-question from the patient (object). Compare the examples in (43) above and their counterparts with AGR-\textit{ičäsi}:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(80)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item a. *Eniw \textit{šebi} r-oy-x y-ič-äsi
\textit{mother.ABS.II what.ABS.IV IV-do-IPFV.CVB II-stay-RES}
\text{zow-ä?}
\text{AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR}
\text{(`What was mother making?')} \\
\item b. \textit{Šebi čorpa r-oy-x y-ič-äsi}
\textit{who.ABS.I/II soup.ABS.IV IV-do-IPFV.CVB II-stay-RES}
\text{zow-ä?}
\text{AUX.PST-PST.WIT.INTERR}
\text{(`Who was making soup?')} \\
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

It is impossible to question constituents of participial relative clauses. Thus:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(81)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item *[Na-z-äy y-äy-ru] kid y-ukay-x debe-r?
\textit{where-OS-ABL II-come-PST.PTCP girl.ABS.II II-see-PRS 2SG-LAT}
\text{(`You see a girl who is coming from where?')} \\
\item *[Ła-r tāš-ru] micxir b-ok’ek’-ä žed-ä?
\textit{who-LAT give.PST.PTCP money.ABS.III III-steal-PST.WIT.INTERR DEM.IPL-ERG}
\text{(`They stole the money that had been given to whom?')} \\
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

Nominalized participial clauses can also appear in the adnominal genitive, as complements of nouns such as ‘fact’, ‘rumor’, ‘news’ (see CH. YY [Noun phrase]). Wh-questions of such complement clauses are equally impossible, reflecting adherence to the complex noun phrase constraint on wh-questions (Ross 1967).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(82)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item *[Xalq’i-mo-r šebi r-ās-ru]-s xabar
\textit{people-OS-LAT what.ABS.IV IV-find-PST.PTCP-GEN1 news. ABS.III}
\text{teq-ä?}
\text{hear-PST.WIT.INTERR}
\text{(`What did you hear the news that people found?')} \\
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

Wh-questions formed from constituents of adverbial clauses are ungrammatical. In a number of instances, adverbial clauses are based on nominalized participial clauses, so one could imagine that the same constraint examined above for relative clauses proper continues to apply. For example, the adverbial clause of simultaneity is produced from the ablative form of a nominalized participial clause:
However, it is equally impossible to form wh-questions from constituents of adjunct clauses which are not derived from participles. Consider the conditional clause below:

(85) *[Becaw-ni źek’-ä šebi oz-za-q r-ihi-näy]
blind-DEF person-ERG what.ABS.IV eye-PL.OS-POSS.ESS IV-put-COND

nel-ä kanli b-ay-r-xo?
DEM.nI-IN.ESS light.ABS.III III-come-CAUS-PRS

(“What is it that if the blind man puts on his eyes, they will see again (lit.: he will bring light into it)?”)

3.1.3 Answers to wh-questions

The reply to a wh-question must match the case form of the wh-word. For example, the answer to (86-A) must be in the ergative, and the answer to (87-A), in the lative.

(86) A: Łu ża r-oy-ä?
who.ERG DEM.ABS(IV) IV-do-PST.WIT.INTERR

‘Who did that?’

B: ġAl-ä/*ċAli.
Ali-ERG/Ali-ABS

‘Ali.’

(87) A: Eni-y-ä łu-r sayyat b-is-ä?
mother-OS-ERG who-LAT gift.ABS.III III-take-PST.WIT.INTERR

‘For whom did mother buy a/the gift?’

B: Mariyat-e-r/*Mariyat/*Mariyat-qo-r.
Mariyat-OS-LAT/Mariyat-ABS/Mariyat-POSS-ESS

‘For Mariyat.’

If the interrogative expression refers to an attributive constituent of a noun phrase or to the adnominal genitive, the head noun can be omitted from the answer. For example:

(88) A: Didiw gedo-bi r-eti-x?
what.ATTR shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS

‘What shoes would you like?’

B: R-ätiru italiya-s (gedo-bi).
n1PL-any Italy-GEN1 shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL

‘Any Italian ones.’

(89) A: Łu-z esi-y-ä baru y-ow-ä?
who-GEN2 sibling-OS-ERG wife.ABS.II II-bring-PST.WIT.INTERR

‘Whose brother got married?’ (lit.: brought wife)
(Dā-z) iškola-zo halmaɣ-e-z (esi-y-ä).
1SG-GEN school-ATTR.OS friend-OS-GEN sibling-OS-ERG
‘(My) school friend’s (brother).’

If an interrogative phrase is expressed by an adverbial, the answer appears in the form appropriate to the verb or postposition associated with it. For example, the expression of time in the reply below requires the use of the super-essive form, while the expression of reason can appear in the distal super-essive or in the sub-ablative:

(90) A: (Mi) neti Ø-ik’i-x?
2SG.ABS(I) when I-go-PRS
‘When are you going?’
B: Oc’ira-ƛ.
nine.OS-SUPER.ESS
‘At nine o’clock.’

(91) A: (Mi) šida nedur r-od-ä?
2SG.ERG why so IV-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Why did you do such a thing?’
B: ʕAbdal-l-ƛ’-āz/micxir-ƛ-āy.
foolishness-SUPER.ESS-DIST/money-SUB-ABL
‘Out of stupidity/for the money.’

If a question is in the affirmative but the answer to it is negative, that answer must include both a negative verb and the negative polarity item triggered by it. Negative polarity items are derived either from interrogative expressions or from universally quantified expressions with the addition of the scalar focus particle –kin (see CH. YY [Particles]). The particle itself does not impart the negative reading, and this reading is only assumed under negation. However, in negative answers to wh-questions, the negative verb can actually be omitted, leaving only the polarity item, which continues to carry the negative interpretation. Consider the following examples:

(92) A: lä-r yedu t’ek teλ-ä mi?
who-LAT DEM book.ABS.II give-PST.WIT.INTERR 2SG.ERG
‘Whom did you give this book?’
B: i. lä-r-kin (teλ-ınc’u).
who-LAT-FOC give-PST.WIT.NEG
ii. lä-r-no-kin (teλ-ınc’u).
who-LAT-UNIV-FOC give-PST.WIT.NEG
‘Nobody.’

3.2 Embedded wh-questions

The most common way of expressing what may count as an embedded wh-question is by introducing it with the quotative –ƛin (see CH. YY [Complement clauses]). Some wh-questions are clearly reported speech, as in the following example, where there is a pause between the reported constituent and esirno:
The rooster asked, “Who did that to you?” (Onočun, mamalayn:19)

The next example includes a vocative, which indicates reported speech as well:

(94)  “Hoboy-gon šebi r-oq-no, ziru-ƛin?” esir-no
now-CONTR what.ABS.IV IV-become-PST.nWIT fox-QUOTE ask-PST.nWIT
ze-bi.
bear-ERG
‘“And now what happened, Fox?” asked the bear.’ (Zirun zeyn:21)

In CH. YY [Complement clauses] we show that –ƛin can also introduce genuine embedded complements. The following example is less clear; in isolation it could be either reported speech or a finite complement clause:

(95)  Už-ä gulu-q esir-no [yedu šebi
boy-ERG horse-POSS.ESS ask-PST.nWIT DEM what.ABS
šebi]-ƛin.
thing.ABS.IV-QUOTE
‘The boy asked the horse what that thing was.’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:200)
‘The boy asked the horse, “What is that thing?”’

Finite clausal complements with interrogatives manifest indexical shift in the same way declarative complement clauses do; when indexical shift is possible embedded questions are not definitely distinct fro, reported speech. For instance, the following example, which includes an embedded question, is ambiguous out of context. It could either have the regular indexical interpretation (IR) or the shifted interpretation (SR) where the second person pronoun is interpreted as referring to ‘Mother’:

(96)  Babi-y-ä eniw-q [nā-r mi
father-OS-ERG mother-POSS.ESS where-LAT 2SG.ABS(.II)
y-ik’-ä]-ƛin esir-xo.
II-go-PST.WIT.INTERR-QUOT ask-PRS
‘Father is asking Mother where you (=female addressee) went.’ (IR)
‘Father is asking Mother where she (=mother) went.’ (SR)

Wh-questions can also be embedded in nominalized clauses in –li (see CH.YY [Complement clauses]). For example:

(97)  Babiw-r [nā-r eniw y-āk’i-ru-li] r-iy-x-ānu.
father-LAT where-LAT mother-ABS.II I-go-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PRS-NEG
‘Father does not know where Mother went.’
In these clauses, the embedded wh-word has to remain in situ; crucially, it cannot take scope over the material in the matrix clause (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001: 603-604). In other words, there is no Tsez equivalent of sentences such as the English (98):

(98) What did Mother say [(that) the children saw _ ]?

The corresponding Tsez sentence only has the meaning of a yes-no question; the speaker is inquiring whether or not Mother expressed, stated or asked about what the children saw.

(99) Eni-y-ä [xex-za-r šebi r-ukäy-ru-li]
    mother-OS-ERG child-PL.OS-LAT what.ABS.IV IV-see-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
eƛ-ä/esir-ä?
say-PST.WIT.INTERR/ask-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Did Mother say/ask what the children saw?’
NOT: ‘What did Mother say/ask that the children saw?’

This construction is therefore minimally different from an affirmative sentence with an embedded wh-question:

(100) Eni-y-ä [xex-za-r šebi r-ukäy-ru-li]
    mother-OS-ERG child-PL.OS-LAT what.ABS.IV IV-see-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
eƛi-s/esir-si.
say-PST.WIT/ask-PST.WIT
‘Mother said/asked what the children saw.’

The closely related Hinuq also disallows wide scope interpretation of wh-expressions in embedded interrogatives with a nominalized verb (Forker 2013: 753, examples (1408a,b)).

Tsez does not show evidence of sluicing. In contexts where sluicing is observed, we find nominalized clauses containing interrogative phrases. The wh-word and the nominalized predicate cannot be deleted, but the rest of the material can be left out. All told, it seems that Tsez only allows pseudo-sluicing. For example (the pseudo-sluice is shown in brackets):

(101) Ža kʷaxat’o Ø-äy amma
    DEM.ABS(.I) soon i-come.FUT but
    [neti *(Ø-ay-xosi(-li))]
    when i-come-PRS.PRTCP-NMLZ iv-know-PRS-NEG
‘He will arrive soon but I don’t know when.’

(102) Łu-ƛ’a dow-ƛ’-or qaƛi-s amma
    someone.ERG-INDEF 2SG-SUPER-LAT call-PST.WIT but
    [tu yâl-ru(li)]
    who.ERG be-PST.PRTCP-NMLZ iv-know-PRS-NEG
‘Someone called you but I don’t know who.’
While the predicate cannot be omitted from indirect fragment questions, fragments in direct questions can be reduced to just the interrogative expression. For example:

(103) A: Łu-ƛa dow-ƛ’-or qaƛi-s.
someone.ERG-INDEF 2SG-SUPER-LAT call-PST.WIT
‘Someone called you.’
B: Łu?
who.ERG
‘Who?’

(104) A: Načalnik-ä łą-r-łą premiya teł-no.
boss-ERG someone-LAT-INDEF bonus.ABS.III give-PST.NWIT
‘The boss paid someone a bonus.’
B: a. Łā-r-no dice-n?
who-LAT-and how.much-and
b. Dice-n lā-r-no?
how.much-and who-LAT-and
‘How much and to whom?’

Note that wh-words can be coordinated in the fragment questions, but they never get coordinated with –n(o) ‘and’ outside such fragments (see section 3.1.1).

3.3 Discourse-linking

Discourse-linked interrogative phrases imply the existence of a context set of familiar entities. For example, in the question Which dish did you eat?, there must exist a set of dishes from which the choice is to be made (Pesetsky 1987, Enç 1991). Discourse-linked interrogatives contrast with non-discourse-linked interrogative pronouns such as who, which carry no necessary implication about familiar discourse entities. In Tsez, the discourse-linked phrase ‘which X’ is formed with the dedicated modifier nāsi(ni). This is an attributive form of the adverb nā ‘where’; nāsi(ni) also includes the definite suffix –ni. Both nāsi and nāsini occur in texts, but nāsini seems preferred in spoken language. This adjective distinguishes between the direct and oblique form.

Nāsi(ni) is incompatible with questions about properties or kinds. Compare the dialogue below, using didiw ‘what, which’, where the answer ‘any Italian shoes’ is acceptable, and the infelicity of that answer in the following dialogue. A felicitous answer is shown in B’:

(105) A: Nāsi-ni gedo-bi r-eti-x?
which-DEF shoe-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-want-PRS
‘Which shoes would you like?’
B: #R-ātiru italiya-s.
n1PL-any Italy-GEN1
‘Any Italian ones.’
B’: Inziri.
DEM.PL
‘These ones.’
Some other examples:

(106) Nāsi(-ni) ged debe-r y-eti-x?
which-DEF dress.ABS.II 2SG-LAT II-like-PRS
‘Which dress do you like?’

(107) Nāzo-ni kid-b-ā nāsi-ni ziya t’et'-ā?
which.OS-DEF girl.OS-ERG which-DEF cow.ABS.III milk-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Which girl milked which cow?’

(108) Nāzo-ni otax-ā doxtur-ā xal b-oxy-x?
which.OS-DEF room-IN.ESS doctor-ERG looking.ABS.III III-make-PRS
‘In which room does the doctor see patients?’ (lit.: does the looking)

Didiw ‘what; which’ can combine with nouns in non-discourse linked interrogatives, as in the question about kinds displayed in (88) above, or in the next example.

(109) Nes-ā didiw šebin k’ed-ā?
DEM.I-ERG what.ATTR thing.ABS.IV look.for-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘What (what thing) did he look for?’

In a proper context, however, didiw NP can also receive a discourse-linked interpretation. For instance, in (110), a familiar set is established overtly by the postpositional phrase mežul tel ‘among you’, and the phrase didiw žek’ā is interpreted as discourse-linked:

(110) Mežu-l tel didiw žek’-ā dey gulu
2PL-CONT.ESS inside what.ATTR person-ERG 1SG.GEN1 horse.ABS.III
zow-ā?
climb-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Which of you rode (lit.: climbed) my horse?’

The same holds for the wh-word šebi used attributively; in a rich context, it can also receive a discourse-linked interpretation. For example, in the following question, the speaker has in mind a familiar set of the dragon’s female victims:

(111) Šebi kid [aždaň-e-r teľ-ani-x]
what girl.ABS.II dragon-OS-LAT give-MASD-AD.ESS
y-ow-ā?
II-take-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Which girl did you bring (take) to give to the dragon?’ (based on ŠAliqilič:96)

See also CH. YY [Agreement] for a discussion of discourse-linked interrogative phrases and their interaction with long-distance agreement.

Wh-interrogatives that are not discourse-linked show superiority effects, as in English. Questions such as Who saw what? are possible, but questions like *What who saw? are not (see examples (41) and (42) above). When an interrogative expression is discourse-linked, it can appear at the
left periphery of a clause and/or can precede another interrogative. The superiority effects disappear. For example:

(112) Nāsi gulu łu b-is-ā?
    which horse.ABS.III who.ERG III-take-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘Which horse did who buy?’

3.4  Wh-echo questions

In general, an echo-focused phrase can be a normal phrase (a polar or yes-no echo question) or a wh-word (a constituent or wh-echo questions). Here we will concentrate only on wh-echo questions. In such echo questions, the interrogative phrase is not associated with new information; its main function is to request a clarification or re-iteration of what has already been said. Although wh-questions proper and echo questions often overlap, languages have subtle ways of distinguishing them. For example, in the German example below, the stress pattern distinguishes the echo question from a regular one, if only for a subset of wh-words (Reis 1991; Truckenbrodt 2013):

(113) Hans hat es WOfür/*woFÜR gekauft.
    Hans has it what-for bought
‘Hans has bought this for WHAT?’

One of the clues identifying echo-questions is prosody. For example, in English, an echo-question involves an echo-focused phrase that bears L+H* intonation with a HH% boundary tone (Bolinger 1987; Artstein 2002).

In Tsez, echo questions and regular wh-questions differ, although subtly. The first difference has to do with word order. Echo questions in Tsez can have an interrogative in the postverbal position, which is off limits to regular wh-questions. Recall the ungrammatical examples in (40a-c) and compare the acceptable questions below.10 These questions MUST have an echo interpretation; the speaker can utter them only if s/he did not hear or understand what the boy gave to the girl. Such questions end with a slight rising contour.

(114) a. Už-ā teš-ā kid-be-r šebi?
    boy-ERG give-PST.WIT girl-OS-LAT what.ABS.IV
b. Už-ā kid-be-r teš-ā šebi?
    boy-ERG girl-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT what.ABS.IV
‘The boy gave the girl WHAT?’

We also noted, in section 3.2, that regular interrogatives in embedded nominalized questions do not take scope outside of their clause. When a wh-word can be interpreted clearly as an echo

9 Multiple wh-questions are still dispreferred even if they include discourse-linked interrogatives, so examples like this one are only available in elicitations.

10 In such echo questions, the preference is for the wh-word to appear in the final position, which is why only two options are shown.
interrogative, it can take scope over the matrix clause. For example, consider the following context. If B did not catch what A was saying, the echo question below is acceptable, and in that case, šebi ‘who’ takes wide scope. The question means ‘Who did he say was wrong?’, not ‘Did he say “Who is wrong”?’, as noted for (99) above.

DEM.I-ERG say-PST.WIT Alí wrong be.PRST-QUOTE
‘He said, “Ali is wrong.”’

B. Nes-ä šebi ʕayibiyaw yâl-ru-li
DEM.I-ERG who.ABS wrong be.PRST-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
eƛ-ä?
say-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘He said that WHO is wrong?’

Echo phrases in constituent questions are known to take the widest scope possible (Bolinger 1987; Noh 1995), so this result is in keeping with the general observations on the difference between regular wh-questions and echo questions.

If a wh-word appears preverbally, the differences between regular and echo questions become more subtle. Recall that regular wh-phrases bear pitch prominence followed by a falling contour. Preverbal interrogative phrases in Tsez echo questions also bear prominence, but this prominence is followed by a rise, not a fall. Although we have not had a chance to investigate this contrast instrumentally, it seems less pronounced than the difference in pitch found in English. This in turn raises questions about the prosodic signatures of echo questions in languages such as Tsez or Japanese, where the interrogative phrase can remain in situ.

If we assume both the difference in placement and the tentative prosodic difference just discussed, we can test the appearance of echo questions in contexts where regular wh-questions are impossible (see section 3.1.2 above). Cross-linguistically, echo questions are known to be insensitive to island constraints, so one would expect Tsez echo questions to follow that pattern. This expectation is confirmed. The first example is straightforward: since the coordinate structure can follow or precede the interrogative verb, the postverbal position is in and of itself a sign of an echo question. In both positions, the question is interpreted as a request for a reprise or clarification:

(116) Nes-ä goƛ’-ä šebi-n Sult’an-no?
DEM.I-ERG call-PST.WIT.INTERR who.ABS.I/II-and Sultan.ABS.I-and
‘He called WHOM and Sultan?” (cf. the ungrammatical (78))

(117) Nes-ä šebi-n Sult’an-no goƛ’-ä?
DEM.I-ERG who.ABS.I/II-and Sultan.ABS.I-and call-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘He called WHOM and Sultan?’ (cf. the ungrammatical (78))
Recall that discontinuous wh-words are impossible, as illustrated in (71) above. However, discontinuity is possible with echo questions. Thus, in reply to (118-A), one could use the echo question in (118-B):\(^{11}\)

(118)  
A:  Pat’i-s  kid  y-ukay-s.  
Fatima GEN girl.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT  
‘I saw Fatima’s daughter.’  
B:  Łu-s  debe-r  kid  y-ukay-ä?  
who GEN1 2SG-LAT girl.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR  
‘You saw WHOSE daughter?’

Questions in which the interrogative phrase appears in a relative or adjunct clause do not offer the variation in word order needed to separate the readings; the interrogative is always preverbal. However, the instances where such interrogative phrases are allowed are invariably interpreted as requests for clarification and reprisal. Some examples:

(119)  
A:  [Nesi-z-tow  hakim-qo  tāl-ru]  micxir  
DEM.I-GEN2-FOC boss-POSS give.PST.PTCP money.ABS.III  
b-ok’ek’-si  rasul-ä.  
III-steal-PST.WIT Rasul-ERG  
‘Rasul stole the money that they gave to his boss.’  
B:  Nes-ä  [lu-q  tāl-ru]  micxir  
DEM.I-ERG who-POSS give.PST.PTCP money.ABS.III  
b-ok’ek’-ä?  
III-steal-PST.WIT.INTERR  
‘He stole the money that had been given to WHOM?’

(120)  
[Łina-q-āy  ʕiyay-xosi]  kid  y-ay-ä?  
what-POSS-ABL cry-PRS.PTCP girl.ABS.II II-come-PST.WIT.INTERR  
‘The girl who was crying WHY came here?’

\(^{11}\) The echo interrogative can also occur post-verbally:

(i)  
Debe-r  y-ukay-ä  ńu-s  kid?  
2SG-LAT II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR who-GEN1 girl.ABS.II  
‘You saw WHOSE daughter?’

The separation of the genitive and the noun, so that one would appear pre-verbally and the other post-verbally, is not allowed under any interpretation:

(ii)  
*Debe-r  ńu-s  y-ukay-ä  kid?  
2SG-LAT who-GEN1 II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR girl.ABS.II

(iii)  
*Debe-r  kid  y-ukay-ä  ńu-s?  
2SG-LAT girl.ABS.II II-see-PST.WIT.INTERR who-GEN1
We can summarize these preliminary observations on the differences between regular wh-words and echo wh-words as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Regular Wh-words</strong></th>
<th><strong>Echo Wh-words</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-verbal placement</td>
<td>Impossible</td>
<td>Possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible in islands</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takes scope over the entire utterance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosodic signature</td>
<td>Prominence with declining contour</td>
<td>Prominence without declining contour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exclamatives

Exclamative utterances are used to express surprise at the presence or intensity of a certain property, which has exceeded the speaker’s expectations (cf. Grimshaw 1979; Michaelis 2001). As Michaelis puts it, exclamatives imply “a non-canonical situation … whose absence a speaker would have predicted, based on a a priori assumption or set of assumptions, e.g. a stereotype, a set of behavioural norms, or a model of the physical world” (Michaelis 2001: 1039).

Cross-linguistically, exclamatives have a number of recurrent properties. In particular:

(1) Properties of exclamatives
a. Co-occurrence with interjections that emphasize the speaker’s affective stance
b. Use of free-standing noun phrases
c. Presence of degree adverbs, indicating reference to a particular scale
d. Use of question words, which also reflects the scalar character of exclamatives
e. Similarity to the complements of factive verbs, which can be explained by the fact that exclamatives contain a presupposed proposition (Grimshaw 1979)

Tsez uses several patterns to express exclamatives: noun phrases without a verb, wh-questions, and non-witnessed past-tense verb forms. All these patterns can be accompanied by exclamative interjections and often co-occur with a wh-word. All types of exclamative sentences can be embedded, but only under the quotative –ƛin. The main interjections found in exclamatives are as follows:

(2) a. aʔa, ƛ’eq ‘no, no way’
   b. ay, ah, alā ‘ouch’
   c. aha(h) ‘yes, oh yes, so, aha’
   d. Ø-ey/y-ey ‘hey’ (addressing a man/a woman)
   e. ha, hay expressions of general surprise
   f. hale, wele, were ‘whoa’
   g. he ‘hey, here’
   h. hē, hēhe, hehe ‘gee’
   i. ho ‘here’
   j. oh ‘oh; alas’
   k. puh, puy, puy-pay expressions of disgust
   l. wah, wah ‘wow’
   m. walla(h), aman-allah, ‘Oh my God; gosh’
   n. way ‘oh no; woe’

Noun phrases in the exclamative function (1b) are not very common. These noun phrase exclamatives are often set expressions, such as the ones shown in (5), (6) and (7):

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1 Ey can be used for both males and females, by yey is only female-oriented.
Free-standing infinitival or masdar clauses can be used as exclamatives. For example:

(8) Šahar-y-a-yor Ø-ik’a-
   city-OS-IN-VERS 1-go-INF
   ‘Oh, to go to the city!’

(9) Xabar es-ānè’ini!
   news.ABS.III say-MASD.NEG
   ‘Not to tell the news!’

A number of Nakh-Dagestanian languages use nominalized clauses as exclamatives — cf. Kalinina (2011) on such exclamatives in Archi, Avar, and the closely related Bezhta. Tsez does not seem to follow this strategy; although the nominalizing suffix -li is in wide use in Tsez, nominalized exclamatives with that suffix are rejected. Compare the well-formed verbal exclamative in (10) and its ungrammatical nominalized counterparts in (11a,b):

(10) Dice Ø-3-eženi babiw harƛ̡i-x!
   how.much 1-old father.ABS.1 snore-PRS
   ‘Does grandfather snore!’ (lit.: how much grandfather snores!)

(11) a. *Dice Ø-3-eženi babiw harƛ̡i-x-li!
   how.much 1-old father.ABS.1 snore-PRS-NMLZ
   b. *Dice Ø-3-eženi babiw harƛ̡a-li/harƛ̡-ru-li!
   how.much 1-old father.ABS.1 snore-NMLZ/snore-PST.PCP-NMLZ
   (‘Does grandfather snore!’)

The two most common ways of conveying exclamative content in Tsez are through questions with an interrogative particle (typically on the degree adverb or wh-word), and through verbs in the non-witnessed past tense. We will examine each of these strategies in turn.

Consider the following interrogative clause:
(12) Didur dow-qo ža k’ezi r-oq-x-ä?
   how 2SG-POSS.ESS DEM.ABS(.IV) able IV-become-PRS-INTERR
   ‘How do you get to do that?’

This question can be used as a genuine information question, but it can also indicate surprise, in which case its meaning is close to that of an exclamative. If the interrogative enclitic appears on the wh-word, and not on the predicate, the utterance is interpreted as exclamative:

(13) Didur-ä dow-qo ža k’ezi r-oq-xo!
   how-INTERR 2SG-POSS.ESS DEM.ABS(.IV) able IV-become-PRS
   ‘The thing you did!’/‘Really?’ (lit.: how you were able to do that?)

Similarly, (14) is a question (albeit an odd one), while (15) is a clear exclamative:

(14) Ža q’urumsaq (yol-ä)?
    DEM.ABS rascal be.PRS-INTERR
    ‘Is s/he a rascal?’

(15) Oh, mi nedur-ä/didur-ä q’urumsaq!
    oh 2SG.ABS so-INTERR/how-INTERR rascal
    ‘Oh what a rascal you are!’

In the next minimal pair, (16) can be a genuine question or, given the proper context, an exclamative. Meanwhile, (17), with the interrogative marker on the postverbal locative expression, is unambiguously exclamative; postverbal expressions are interpreted as given, backgrounded information (see CH.YY [Word order]), and the appearance of an interrogative marker on the non-focused material resolves the ambiguity in favor of the exclamative:

(16) Hoboy dā-de-si-tow žek’u ānu-yā t’oro?/!
    now 1SG-APUD.ESS-ATTR-FOC man.ABS.I be.PRS.NEG-INTERR here
    ‘Isn’t there anyone close to me in age here?’
    ‘There is nobody close to me in age here!’

(17) Hoboy dā-de-si-tow žek’u ānu t’oro-yā!
    now 1SG-APUD.ESS-ATTR-FOC man.ABS.I be.PRS.NEG here-INTERR
    ‘There is nobody close to me in age here!’

When used in a question proper, the interrogative particle can attach to different constituents, as shown in (18) and discussed in CH.YY [Interrogatives], but crucially it cannot appear on more than one constituent. Meanwhile, exclamatives allow for multiple occurrences of the interrogative particle, as illustrated in (19):

(18) a. Sis-ā q’wariši b-ay-si nel-λ’o?
    one-INTERR hardship.ABS.III III-come-PST.WIT DEM.mI-SUPER.ESS
    ‘Was it (only) one hardship that she had?’ (lit.: did one hardship come upon her?)

b. Sis q’wariši b-ay-ā nel-λ’o?
    one hardship.ABS.III III-come-PST.WIT.INTERN
    DEM.mI-SUPER.ESS
‘Did she experience hardship?’

(19) Sis-ā q’warili b-ay-ā nel-ƛ’o!
      one-INTERR hardship.ABS.III III-come-PST.WIT INTERR DEM.nI-SUPER.ESS
      (‘Did she experience hardship?’)
      ‘How she suffered!’

Turning now to the use of wh-words with the interrogative marker, we have already noted that nedur ‘so, such’, and didur ‘how’ often appear interchangeably in exclamatives; cf. (15) and another example below:

(20) Oh nedur-ä/didur-ä ločyaƛ’ k’oľi-x debi
      wow so-INTERR/how-INTERR dancing run-PRS 2SG.GEN1
esiw!
sibling.ABS.1
      ‘How well your brother dances!’

Other wh-words can also appear with the interrogative marker in exclamatives. Compare the regular question in (21) and the corresponding exclamative in (22):

(21) Howži šebi-tow r-ädi-yä?
      now what.ABS.IV-FOC IV-do.FUT-INTERR
      ‘What should I do now?’
(22) Šebi-tow-ä/R-aq’u-tow-ä r-ädi!
      what.ABS.IV-FOC-INTERR/IV-many/much-FOC-INTERR IV-do.FUT
      ‘How much to do!’

Dice ‘how much/many’ is the most common wh-expression used in exclamatives. Unlike degree expressions and other wh-words, dice in exclamatives does not take the interrogative marker. In principle, this expression can co-occur with an interrogative marker; it is only in exclamatives that such a combination is disallowed. The interrogative marker appears on the predicate instead, as in regular questions:

(23) a. Oh dice di akil-ä!
      oh how.much 1SG.ABS get.tired-PST.INTERR
      ‘Oh how tired I am!’
b. *Oh dice-yä di akil-xo/akil-si.
      oh how.much-INTERR 1SG.ABS.get.tired-PRS/get.tired-PST.WIT
(24) a. Dice ixiw mił’i zow-ä ent’o!
      how.much big ram.ABS.III be.PST-PST.WIT INTERR here
      ‘What a big ram was here!’ (Babiwn uzin Okun:47)
b. *Dice-yä ixiw mił’i zow-s ent’o!
      how.much-INTERR big ram.ABS.III be.PST-PST.WIT here
(25) a. Dice zaman b-ik’i-x-ä.
      how.much time.ABS.III III-go-PRS-INTERR
‘How much time has passed?’ (question) / ‘How much time has passed!’ (excl.)

b. B-aq³'u-yā zaman b-ik³'i-x!
   III-many/much-INTERR time.ABS.III III-go-PRS
   ‘How much time goes by!’

We hypothesize that this restriction may follow from the pervasive exclamative use of *dice*, rather than from a structural constraint. Because *dice* is such a common marker of exclamatives, it may be construed synchronically as a particle rather than as a regular interrogative expression, and that may prevent it from co-occurring with the interrogative marker.

A common way of conveying exclamative meaning is through the use of a non-witnessed past tense predicate. Compare example (10) above and its non-witnessed past tense counterpart below, which can be used to comment on the snoring that is going on at the moment of the utterance:

(26) *Dice O³-eženi babiw harāl-n!
   how.much 1-old father.ABS.I snore-PST.nWIT
   ‘Does grandfather snore!’

The next example illustrates the use of the unwitnessed past in addressing a villain:

(27) Oh mi q’urumsaq zow-n!
   oh 2SG.ABS rascal be.PST-PST.nWIT
   ‘Oh what a rascal you are!’

Unwitnessed past is not typically used in statements about the speaker’s own experiences or cognitive states, since the speaker is assumed to have direct evidence of those. Consequently, the use of this predicate form with the first person is one of the clearest indications that the tense has been chosen to mark an exclamative. Consider the following example, which has a clear exclamative interpretation:

(28) Waḥ... mo³q³'oy sadaq ānu-si gulu
   whoa bridle.ABS.IV together be.PRS.NEG-ATTR horse.ABS.III
tel³-xosi moçi žād dā-r b-ukad-āsi zow-nč’u!
give-PRS.PTCP place.ABS.III yet 1SG-LAT III-see-RES be-PST.nWIT
   ‘Whoa, I have never seen a place where they sell a horse separate from a bridle!’
   (Babiwn, užin, Okun:51)

The interrogative and unwitnessed-past methods of expressing an exclamative are not mutually exclusive; for instance, in (29), both strategies co-occur and are reinforced by the use of the degree expression *nedur*:

(29) Oh mi nedur-ā q’urumsaq zow-n!
   oh 2SG.ABS such-INTERR rascal be.PST-PST.nWIT
   ‘Oh what a rascal you are!’ ((GAliqilič:71)
Like some other Daghestanian languages, Tsez can make use of a specialized variant of the verb *ez*”- ‘look’ to signal the exclamative reading. This verb, used either in the perfective converbal form or in the imperative form, expresses an exclamative utterance with the quotative enclitic – `lin. Normally *ez*”- ‘look’ does not combine with quotative complement clauses, so this specialized use is unambiguously associated with the exclamative interpretation.

(30) Dice bercinaw r-igu še`l’u r-iži-x-`lin
how.much beautiful IV-good clothes.ABS.IV IV-rise-PRS-QUOT
b-ezu-n näsin xalq’i-n šexu-n!
IPL-look-PFV.CVb all people.ABS.IPL-TOP remain-PST.nWIT
‘The people were in awe, “How many beautiful nice clothes there are!”’ (Zirun, habi hannoo:7)

(31) Nes-ä r-a’q’u besuro-bi r-iqir-si-`lin Ø-ezu!
DEM.I-ERG n1PL-many fish-PL.ABS.n1PL n1PL-get-PST.WIT I-look.IMPER
‘How many fish he caught!’ (lit.: look that he caught many fish)

Complements of factive verbs in Tsez are introduced by the quotative –`lin, but that marker also introduces a wide range of other finite complement clauses; there is no evidence to show that exclamatives are similar to factive complements in any special way (cf. (1e) above).

Finally, exclamative constructions can include the emphatic particle –wa, which appears on the word immediately preceding the verb, regardless of that word’s constituency. For example, in (32), -wa appears on the pivot of an existential; in (33), it appears on the subject; in (34), on one constituent of a complex verb:

(32) Gulu-`la pro b-iqi-s, idu r-ac’a-
horse.ABS.III-TOP GEN1 III-be.gotten-PST.WIT home IV-eat.TR-INF
šebin-wa ánu!
thing.ABS.IV-EXCL be.PRS.NEG
‘A horse, he got, but there is nothing to eat at home!’ (Imnajšvili 1963:273)

(33) Oh dice di-wa akil-ä!
oh how.much 1SG.ABS-EXCL get.tired-PST.INTERR
‘Oh how tired I am!’

(34) Oh nedur łočya’-wa k’oži-x debi esiw!
wow so dancing-EXCL run-PRS 2SG.GEN1 sibling.ABS.I
‘How well your brother dances!’

2 See Kalinina (2011) for the use of verbs ‘see’ and ‘look’ as exclamative markers in other Dagestanian languages.
Part 3: Sentences
   Complement clauses
   Relative clauses
   Adverbial clauses
   Clausal coordination: The linking of finite clauses
Complement clauses

1 General remarks

Tsez exhibits the following main types of clausal complements (see also CH. YY[NMLZ]):

(1) Types of clausal complements
   a. restructuring constituents
   b. infinitival clauses
   c. masdar clauses
   d. nominalized clauses with the suffix –li
   e. finite complement clauses introduced with the quotative enclitic -ƛin

Clausal complements always belong to gender IV, as do abstract nouns derived with the suffix –li (see also CH. YY[GENDER] and CH.YY [ARG STR]).

A small number of modal and aspectual verbs do not combine with noun phrase arguments and co-occur only with clausal complements. Aside from these verbs, discussed in sections 2 and 3, all verbs capable of combining with a clausal argument also permit nominal arguments in the same structural position. For example, the verb ‘forget’ can take a clausal complement or a noun phrase complement:

(2) [Ac hiš-a] šuƛ’är-no!
    door.ABS.II close-INF forget-PROH
    ‘Don’t forget to close the door!’

(3) Reka-bi šuƛ’är-no!
    key-PL.ABS.nIPL forget-PROH
    ‘Don’t forget the keys!’

Modal verbs represent typical restructuring predicates, presented in section 2 of this chapter. Modal and aspectual verbs also take infinitival complements, which will be discussed in section 3. Section 4 presents verbs that take control complements, which can be expressed by infinitival or masdar clauses; these verbs include aspectual verbs, ‘try’, ‘remember’, ‘forget’, ‘promise’, ‘hope’, ‘fear’, ‘agree’, ‘refuse’, ‘decide’, ‘teach’, etc. Section 5 introduces verbs that take nominalized complements in –li; these verbs are exclusively verbs of perception and cognition. In section 6, we present and analyze verbs that take clauses marked by the quotative –ƛin, probably the largest group of clausal-complement-taking verbs, with verbs of speech and propositional attitude most prominent in that group.

Some verbs can take more than one type of clausal complement; for example, šuƛ’ir- ‘forget’ (causative of šuƛ’-) takes infinitival/masdar complements, as shown in (2) above, but it also takes quotative complements, just like its English counterpart (forget to and forget that). The verb AGR-oq- presents a particularly complex picture. As we saw in CH.YY [ARG STR], AGR-oq- combines with a predicative complement to form a complex predicate. In this use, we translate
the verb as ‘become’ for consistency, although the meanings ‘happen’ or even ‘be’ are also possible. Combining with an infinitive, AGR-oq- means ‘begin’ and functions as a raising or control verb. This function is discussed in sections 3 and 4. Finally, in combination with a converb, AGR-oq- has the modal meaning ‘be able to; can’ (as shown in section 2). It is possible that several verbs AGR-oq- exist in the Tsez lexicon, each with its own meaning (‘become; be’, ‘begin’, ‘be able to’), related to the others only diachronically. Alternatively, one could imagine a single verb whose different interpretations are determined by the categories it combines with: with a predicative complement, it is a light verb; with an infinitival clause, it is a raising or control verb; with a masdar clause, it is unambiguously a control verb; with a converb, it functions as a modal.

Researchers face similar dilemmas in descriptions of familiar languages such as English: is there one verb ‘begin’, or two (Perlmutter 1970)? We will proceed without taking a stand on this issue, but for expository reasons, we will be glossing the different uses of AGR-oq- differently, as ‘can’ (under restructuring), ‘become’ (as a raising verb), and ‘begin’ (as a control verb).

AGR-oq- is not the only highly polysemous verb found in Tsez. AGR-et-, which can be either a restructuring predicate or a complement-clause-taking predicate, has several meanings: ‘want’, ‘like’, ‘love’. However, only in the meaning ‘want’ can it function as a complement-clause-taking or restructuring verb. This is unsurprising, as cross-linguistically, it is quite common for ‘want’ to appear as a restructuring predicate (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983; Cinque 2006: 57-60, 103; den Dikken 2004; Givón 2009: Ch. 4; Wurmband 2004, 2007, a.o.).

2 Restructuring constructions

Restructuring (also known as “clause union” in Relational Grammar) is a process that unites two clauses to yield a single complex predicate consisting of two (or more) verbs, not necessarily in the same form. The selecting (highest) verb in the resulting monoclausal structure is often a modal or an auxiliary of some kind; this verb is the only one that can assume grammatical markings of finiteness, such as tense or polarity. The verbs in the complex predicate share their arguments, and the entire clause can have only one tense specification. The uniqueness of tense specification separates restructuring predicates from predicates that take clausal complements and form biclausal structures. However, as we already mentioned, several verbs can appear both as restructuring light verbs and as a complement-clause-taking verbs.

The restructuring verbs are the modal AGR-ay- ‘must’; the modal AGR-āsu- ‘may’; the verb AGR-oq- in the modal meaning ‘can, be able to’ (co-occurring with a converb);\(^1\) the complex modal behizi AGR-oq- ‘can, be allowed to’; the verb AGR-ēc- in the meaning ‘continue’; the verb xec- ‘leave; allow’; the verb AGR-et- in the meaning ‘want’; and the specialized use of the verb AGR-esu- ‘appear’ in conditionals. Of these, the modals AGR-āy-, AGR-āsu-, and behizi AGR-oq- ‘can’ seem to be the only Tsez verbs that do not combine with non-clausal arguments.

\(^1\) Inability is often expressed by the complex verb hal ānu, literally “strength not-be”, which can take an infinitival or masdar relative clause; see CH. YY [Relative clauses] for masdar relative clauses.
The use of AGR-\textit{ay}- ‘must’ is illustrated in the following examples:

(4) Es-na-za-s dašba b-oq-a b-āy-inč’i.  
\quad sibling-PL-OS-GEN1 dispute.ABS.III III-become-INF III-must-PRS.NEG  
\quad ‘Siblings should not quarrel.’ (lit.: siblings’ dispute must not happen)

(5) Ža debi reλ’iqoy bat’iyaw-tow-ā r-ič-a r-āy-x?  
\quad DEM 2SG.GEN1 glove.ABS.IV different-FOC-INTERR IV-stay-INF IV-must-PRS  
\quad ‘This glove of yours must be really special, mustn’t it?’ (Xanes ĭono užin, sis kidno:30)

(6) El-ā paprus šis-a r-āy-inči.  
\quad 1PL-ERG cigarette.ABS.IV pull-INF IV-must-PRS.NEG  
\quad ‘We must not smoke.’

The verbs AGR-\textit{äsu}- ‘may’ and AGR-\textit{esu} (in the conditional form) represent specialized uses of the verb AGR-\textit{esu} ‘be found; appear’, although it is unlikely that the regular and specialized uses of this verb are synchronically perceived as connected. AGR-\textit{äsu}- ‘may’ appears only as a restructuring verb, while the conditional AGR-\textit{esu} can also take clausal complements with the quotative -\textit{ƛ}in. This latter construction will be discussed later in this chapter (see also CH.YY\{ADJUNCT cl\}).

(7) Ža ša šaq’u-ro-s mah yol-āsi b-oq-no  
\quad DEM wine.ABS.III urine-OS-GEN1 smell.ABS.III be.PRS-RES III-become-PFV.CVB  
\quad III-may  
\quad ‘This wine may have acquired the smell of urine.’ (lit.: this wine may have become one where the urine smell exists) (Xanno, nesisgon ĭono užin:82)

(8) Nela-s kayat šul’i-n y-āsu debe-r.  
\quad DEM.nI-GEN1 letter.ABS.II forget-PFV.CVB II-may 2SG-LAT  
\quad ‘You possibly forgot her words.’

(9) Irbahin-e-r yedu halt’i b-eti-x b-āsu.  
\quad Ibrahim-OS-LAT DEM work.ABS.III III-like-IPFV.CVB III-may  
\quad ‘Ibrahim may like this work.’

(10) Debe-r Ža y-iy-xo y-āsu-nč’i.  
\quad 2SG-LAT DEM.ABS(.II) II-know-IPFV.CVB II-may-PST.NEG  
\quad ‘You may not have known her.’

(11) Irbahin-ä yedu halt’i b-odi-n b-āsu.  
\quad Ibrahim-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-like- PFV.CVB III-may  
\quad ‘Ibrahim may have done this work.’

(12) Mi y-ik’i-n y-esu-näy…  
\quad 2SG.ABS(.II) II-go-CVB II-appear-COND.CVB  
\quad ‘Assuming you go…’ (to a female addressee)

(13) Meži dā-k’ bužzi b-oq-xo  
\quad 2PL.ABS.(IPL) 1SG-SUPER.ESS trust IPL-become-IPFV.CVB  
\quad b-esu-nč’i-näy…  
\quad IPL-appear-NEG-COND.CVB  
\quad ‘If you don’t believe me…’ (ṢAliqilič:104)
The restructuring use of AGR-\textit{oq-} as ‘can, be able to’ and AGR-\textit{ič-} ‘stay’ is limited to combinations with converbs; when used with infinitives, these verbs take a clausal complement (see sections 3 and 4).

(14) Neła k’et'-ä aw b-iqir-xo b-oq-n-ānu.
\textit{DEM.nI cat-ERG mouse.ABS.III III-catch-IPFV.CVB III-can-PST.nWIT-NEG}
‘That cat could not catch a mouse.’

(15) Paraxataw ūmru b-odi-n b-ič-x nes-ā.
\textit{quiet life.ABS.III III-do-PFV.CVB III-stay-PRS DEM.I-ERG}
‘He led a quiet life.’

(16) Ražbadin halmay-qo-r Ø-uzu-n Ø-ič-x.
Ražbadin.ABS.I friend-POSS-LAT I-look.for-PFV.CVB I-stay-PRS
‘Rajbadin keeps waiting for his friend.’ (Ražbadinno Tawadin:73)

(17) Xex-z-ā xabar teq-er-no b-ič-ix.
\textit{child-OS-ERG story.ABS.III hear-CAUS-PFV.CVB III-stay-PRS}
‘The children kept listening to a/the story.’

All the verbs we have discussed so far inherit the subcategorization frame of the verb with which they form a complex predicate. For instance, in (9), AGR-\textit{āsu} is part of a complex predicate that takes a lative experiencer and an absolutive stimulus, whereas in (11), it belongs to a regular transitive predicate that takes an ergative agent and absolutive patient. These case frames are determined by the verbs AGR-\textit{et-} ‘want’ and AGR-\textit{od-} ‘do, make’, respectively.

The following verbs retain their own case frame when combining with a converb or an infinitive: \textit{xec-} ‘leave; allow’, \textit{behizi} AGR-\textit{oq-} ‘can; be allowed to’, and AGR-\textit{et-} ‘want’.

The transitive verb \textit{xec-} ‘leave’ is commonly used with regular noun phrases in the meaning ‘leave’, as illustrated in (18), or in the meaning ‘cross, pass’:

(18) Sis-tow sis t’eka xeci-n yiz-ā xizor.
\textit{one-FOC one billy.goat.ABS.III leave-PST.nWIT DEM.nIPL-ERG behind}
‘They had kept only one billy goat.’ (C’irdux:19)

As a restructuring verb, \textit{xec-} bears the meaning ‘let; allow’. It combines with converbs, mostly the perfective converb, and contributes a telic interpretation. In its restructuring use, it takes the ergative subject and shares the absolutive object with its converb.

\[\text{\small \textit{xec-} with a noun phrase complement is used as a story-opener in traditional texts:}\]

(i) Esi-n šebi xeci-n šebi….
\textit{tell-PST.nWIT what.ABS.IV leave-PST.nWIT what.ABS.IV}
‘Once there was, once there was not…’ (lit.: what \textit{[they]} told, what \textit{[they]} left out)
The complex modal behizi AGR-oq- ‘can; be allowed to’ (behizi is the Avar verb ‘be possible’) combines with infinitival complements and conveys general ability or permission; as such, it permits both a deontic and an epistemic interpretation. It always takes the presumed agent in the poss-essive, for instance:

(21) a. Nesi-q ža t’ek y-is-a behizi
DEM.I-POSS.ESS DEM book.ABS.II II-take-INF possible
y-oq-inč’i.
II-become-PRS.NEG
‘He is not allowed to take this book.’
b. *Nes-ä ža t’ek y-is-a behizi
DEM.I-ERG DEM book.ABS.II II-take-INF possible
y-oq-inč’i.
II-become-PRS.NEG
(22) Nex-a behizi y-äq-ä?
come-INF possible II-become.FUT-INTERR
‘Can I come in?’ (a woman speaking)
(23) Qˤuy-z-i-x pro y-ik’a behizi y-äq-inč’i.
other-ATTR.OBL-OS-AD.ESS ABS.II II-go-INF possible II-become.FUT-NEG
‘She cannot marry another man.’ (Bilq’isidi:44)

The restructuring verb AGR-et- ‘want’ combines with infinitives and always takes the experiencer in the lative form, even if the verb it combines with requires an ergative subject, as in (26) below.

(24) Kid-be-r yedu t’ek y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu.
girl-OS-LAT DEM book.ABS.II II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG
‘The girl does not want to buy this book.’
(25) Debe-r xabar b-iy-a b-eti-x-ā?
2SG-LAT story.ABS.III III-know-INF III-want-PRS-INTERR
‘Do you want to know the story/the news?’
(26) Elu-q-or xabar b-egir-a b-eti-x nesi-r/*nes-ä/*ža.
1PL-POSS-LAT news.ABS.III III-send-INF III-want-PRS-DEM.I-LAT/DEM.I-ERG/DEM.ABS
‘He wants to tell us the story/the news.’ (lit.: send us the story/news)

All the restructuring verbs register agreement, and their agreement must match the agreement on the lower verb (see CH.AGR and some discussion below).
Restructuring verbs differ from complement-clause-taking verbs in that they are able to select a wider range of verb forms than those listed in (1); in particular, they select not only infinitives, as in (4) through (6) and (22) through (26), but also perfectives ((7), (8), (11), (12), (15), (16), (17), (19), (20)) and imperfectives ((9), (10), (13), (14)) as converbs. Table 1 summarizes the basic properties of restructuring predicates.

Table 1. Restructuring predicates and their distributional properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Selected non-finite form</th>
<th>Case assignment determined by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGR-āy</td>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>Lower verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-āsu</td>
<td>‘may’</td>
<td>Perfective/imperfective converb</td>
<td>Lower verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-esu-COND</td>
<td>‘assuming; if’</td>
<td>Perfective/imperfective converb</td>
<td>Lower verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-oq-</td>
<td>‘can, be able to’</td>
<td>Perfective/imperfective converb</td>
<td>Lower verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-ič-</td>
<td>‘continue, keep at’</td>
<td>Perfective/imperfective converb</td>
<td>Lower verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xec-</td>
<td>‘leave; stop’</td>
<td>Perfective/imperfective converb</td>
<td>Higher (light) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behizi AGR-oq-</td>
<td>‘can, be allowed to’</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>Higher (light) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGR-et-</td>
<td>‘want’</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>Higher (light) verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a restructuring predicate appears in a main clause, word order is no more constrained than it is in regular clauses with non-complex predicates. In addition, the verbs that comprise the restructuring predicate can be separated from each other. We will first illustrate the freedom of word order in restructuring clauses with an uninterrupted predicate. Consider the permutations of word order available for examples (8) and (24):

(27) a. Nela-s kayat šuł’i-n y-āsu debe-r.
     DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II forget-PFV. CVB II-may 2 SG-LAT (OVS)

b. Debe-r šuł’i-n y-āsu nela-s kayat.
     2SG-LAT forget-PFV.CVB II-may DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II (SVO)

c. Debe-r nela-s kayat šuł’i-n y-āsu.
     2SG-LAT forget-PFV.CVB II-may DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II (SOV)

d. Nela-s kayat debe-r šuł’i-n y-āsu.
     DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II forget-PFV.CVB II-may 2 SG-LAT (OSV)

e. Šuł’i-n y-āsu nela-s kayat debe-r.
     forget-PFV.CVB II-may DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II (VOS)

f. Šuł’i-n y-āsu debe-r nela-s kayat.
     forget-PFV.CVB II-may 2SG-LAT DEM.ni GEN1 letter. ABS. II  (VSO)

‘You possibly forgot her words.’

(28) a. Kid-be-r yedu t’ek y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu.
     girl-OS-LAT DEM book. ABS. II II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG (SOV)

b. Yedu t’ek kid-be-r y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu.
     DEM book. ABS. II girl-OS-LAT II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG (OSV)

c. Kid-be-r y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu yedu t’ek.
     girl-OS-LAT II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG DEM book. ABS. II (SVO)
d. Yedu t’ek y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu kid-be-r.  
DEM book.ABS.II II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG girl-OS-LAT (OVS)
e. Y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu kid-be-r yedu t’ek.  
II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG girl-OS-LAT DEM book.ABS.II (VSO)
f. Y-is-a y-eti-x-ānu yedu t’ek kid-be-r.  
II-take-INF II-want-PRS-NEG DEM book.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT (VOS)

‘The girl does not want to buy this book.’

The following examples, related to (4) and (24), show that the verbs in the complex predicate can be separated by intervening material and can appear in a different order:

sibling-PL-OS-GEN1 dispute.ABS.III III-must-PRS.NEG III-become-INF
b. Es-na-za-s b-oq-a daš’ba b-āy-inč’i.  
sibling-PL-OS-GEN1 III-become-INF dispute.ABS.III III-must-PRS.NEG

‘Siblings should not quarrel.’

(30) a. Kid-be-r yedu t’ek y-eti-x-ānu y-is-a.  
girl-OS-LAT DEM book.ABS.II II-want-PRS-NEG II-take-INF
b. Y-eti-x-ānu kid-be-r y-is-a yedu t’ek.  
II-want-PRS-NEG girl-OS-LAT II-take-INF DEM book.ABS.II

‘The girl does not want to buy this book.’

When a restructuring clause is embedded, only verb-final orders are possible, and the light verb must appear last. Compare the grammatical (29a), with a restructuring predicate in the main clause, and the ungrammatical (31b,c):

(31) a. Mežu-r r-iy-x esna-za-s daš’ba b-oq-a  
2PL-LAT IV-know-PRS sibling-OS.PL-GEN1 dispute.ABS.III III-become-INF
b-āy-inč’-ru-li.  
III-must-NEG-PST.PTCP-NMLZ

‘You know that siblings should not quarrel.’

b. *Mežu-r r-iy-x esna-za-s daš’ba  
2PL-LAT IV-know-PRS sibling-OS.PL-GEN1 dispute.ABS.III
b-āy-inč’-ru-li b-oq-a.  
III-must-NEG-PST.PTCP-NMLZ III-become-INF

c. *Mežu-r r-iy-x esna-za-s daš’ba  
2PL-LAT IV-know-PRS sibling-OS.PL-GEN1 dispute.ABS.III
b-āy-inč’i b-āq-ru-li.  
III-must-NEG III-become-PST.PTCP-NMLZ

Restructuring clauses denote events that are perceived as unitary. Accordingly, restructuring clauses can have only one adverbial quantification and only one temporal specification. For example, the following sentence can only mean that someone had an obligation to make two key turns or to lock two locks on the same door, not that he had two separate obligations to close the door.
Likewise, the following sentences are ungrammatical because they attribute two separate temporal specifications to the subevents expressed by the restructuring predicate:

\[(33) \ *hak’o \ yude \ b-od-ani-x \ zaq’u b-ay-x \]
\[dumpling.ABS.III \ tomorrow \ III-do-MSD-AD.ESS \ today \ III-must-PRS \]
\[eni-y-ä. \ mother-OS-ERG \]
\[ʻToday mother has the obligation to make dumplings tomorrow.ʻ\]

\[(34) \ *Zaq’u \ kid-be-r \ yedu \ t’ek \ yude \ y-is-a \]
\[today \ girl-OS-LAT \ DEM \ book.ABS.II \ tomorrow \ II-take-INF \]
\[y-eti-x-änu. \ II-want-PRS-NEG \]
\[ʻToday the girl does not want to buy this book tomorrow.ʻ\]

Negation is possible on either verb, with a slight variation in interpretation. Below, (35a) means that it is desirable for Father to not eat sugar, while (35b) means that Father is not allowed to eat sugar. Only the latter kind of negation takes scope over the entire restructuring predicate:³

\[(35) \ a. \ \text{Babi-y-ä} \ \text{čakar} \ b-ac’-āč’i-ni-x \ b-ā-y-x. \]
\[\text{father-OS-ERG} \ \text{sugar.ABS.III} \ III-eat.TR-NEG-MSD-AD.ESS \ III-must-PRS \]
\[ʻFather must avoid sugar.ʻ \ (must [not eat] sugar) \]
\[b. \ \text{Babi-y-ä} \ \text{čakar} \ b-ac’-ani-x \ b-ā-y-nē’u. \]
\[\text{father-OS-ERG} \ \text{sugar.ABS.III} \ III-eat.TR-MSD-AD.ESS \ III-must.FUT-NEG \]
\[ʻFather must not eat sugar.ʻ \]

These properties become important in disentangling the monoclausal use of AGR-āy- and AGR-et- from their use in biclausal constructions, where they take a clausal complement. We will turn to this use in the next section. First, however, we will discuss coordination of restructuring verbs.

³ Negation in Tsez is not uncommon in nominalizations and infinitival/masdar clauses, and it receives a different interpretation in such instances than it does in finite contexts. Thus, sentences such as (35a) are in principle possible; however, there is a preference in such cases to treat AGR-āy as a matrix verb and the whole structure as biclausal. This leads to a different agreement pattern on the matrix verb. In (i), the embedded clause headed by the masdar is an argument of the modal and it agrees with the masdar clause in gender IV.

\[(i) \ \text{Babi-y-ä} \ \text{čakar} \ b-ac’-āč’i-ni-x \ r-ā-y-x. \]
\[\text{father-OS-ERG} \ \text{sugar.ABS.III} \ III-eat.TR-NEG-MSD-AD.ESS] \ IV \ IV-must-PRS \]
\[ʻFather must avoid sugar.ʻ \ (must [not eat sugar]) \]
Coordination of finite verbs in Tsez is virtually unknown; occasional paratactic coordinations are observed, but finite coordination with the standard enclitic –n(o) ‘and’, which coordinates all other categories, is not possible. In order to express something like, ‘Am I allowed and do I have to come in?’, one restructuring predicate remains finite and the other attaches to it in an adjunct clause. However, such adjunction renders the sentence ambiguous, as shown in the two interpretations of (36) and (37): either the entire event is questioned (i), or just the event expressed in the main clause is questioned (ii).

(36) (Nex-a) behizi y-oq-no di nex-a
    come-INF possible II-become-PFV.CVB I SG.ABS(.II) come-INF
    y-āy-ā?
    II-must-INTERR
(i) ‘Am I allowed and do I have to come in?’
(ii) ‘Since I am allowed to, do I have to come in?’

(37) Dā-r nex-a r-eti-n di nex-a
    1 SG-LAT come-INF IV-want-PFV.CVB I SG.ABS(.II) come-INF
    behizi y-oq-ā?
    possible II-become-INTERR
(i) ‘Do I want and am I allowed to come in?’
(ii) ‘Since I want to, can I come in?’

Even if the coordinated restructuring predicates use the same light verb, they still need to appear separately. This is illustrated in (38), where one of the conjoined predicates appears as a converb. In (38a), the absolutive Pat’i is interpreted as belonging with the adjoined converbal clause, while the ergative Pat’ā is part of the main clause. The converbal adjunct is center embedded between that ergative and the rest of the clause.4

(38) a. Pat’i/Pat’-ā i/Pat’-ā i
    Fatima.ABS.II/Fatima-ERG idu-r oč’ira-λ’o-r y-ay-a
    home-LAT nine.OBL-SUPER-LAT II-come-INF
    y-āy-n pro1 t’ek t’et’r-a y-āy-x.
    II-must-PFV.CVB ERG book.ABS.II read-INF II-must-PRS
b. pro1 idu-r oč’ira-λ’o-r y-ay-a
    Fatima.ABS.II home-LAT nine.OBL-SUPER-LAT II-come-INF

4 Alternatively, the first conjunct can be adjoined as a converbal clause, and the modal retained only in the main clause. Such sentences are scopally ambiguous; the modal may scope over the main predicate (a) or over the whole sentence (b):

(i) [Pat’-ā i cen-no r-is-no] pro1 idu-r
    Fatima-ERG dairy.ABS.IV-and IV-take-PFV.CVB home-LAT
    oč’ira-λ’o-r y-ay-a y-āy.
    nine.OBL-SUPER-LAT II-come-INF II-must
(a) ‘Fatima will have bought dairy products and must be home by nine.’
(b) ‘Fatima must, having bought dairy products, be home by nine.’
y-āy-n      Pat’-āi       t’ek       t’et’r-a       y-āy-x.
II-must-PFV.CVB   Fatima-ERG   book.ABS.II   read-INF   II-must-PRS
‘Fatima must be home by nine and must read a book.’

3   Biclausal structures with infinitival complements: Impersonal and raising constructions

3.1   General remarks

A number of one-place predicates can take an infinitival clausal complement. Such predicates typically have evaluative semantics. For example,

(39)   [C’i   er-a]  onoč-a-r  isal-xo    zow-n.
fire.ABS.IV  put-INF  hen-OS-LAT  be.difficult-IPF.CVB AUX.PST-PST.NWIT
‘It was hard for the hen to light a fire.’ (Onočun, mamalayn:4)

Although there are many verbs with a dedicated intransitive suffix –ł-, they typically do not have evaluative meaning and do not combine with clausal arguments (an exception is the verb isal- ‘be difficult’). Instead, many evaluative predicates are formed by combining a predicative complement and an intransitive light verb ‘be’ or ‘become’ (see CH. ARG STR and AGRee). For example:

(40)   [Paprus  ḵis-a]  haramaw⁵ (yoł).
cigarette.ABS.IV  pull-INF  harmful  be.PRS
‘Smoking is harmful.’ (lit.: to smoke cigarettes is ....)

(41)   [ʕaraq’i  ḥaš-a]  haramaw  r-iči-x.
booze.ABS.III  drink-INF  harmful  IV-stay-PRS
‘To drink alcohol continues to be harmful.’

(42)   [Q’olho  eš-ani-x]-no   [zaryadka
ball.ABS.III  perform-MSD-AD.ESS-and  physical.exercise.ABS.III
b-od-ani-x]-no  r-igu  yoł  saxli-mo-r.
III-do-MSD-AD.ESS-and  IV-good  be.PRS  health-OS-LAT
‘It is good for one's health to play ball and do regular physical exercise.’

(43)   [Xan-zo  meč-ā-r  Ø-iz-ani-r]  xan-ḥ-‘āy
king-GEN2  place-IN-LAT  I-rise-MSD-LATking-SUPER-ABL
c’aqaw-z-i-r  mumpašataw  ānu.
superior-ATTR.OBL-OS-LAT  useful  be.PRS.NEG
‘It is useless for the one who is better than the king to rise to the royal position.’
(based on Bokarev 1959: 212)

In addition to their occurrence with evaluative predicates, a number of verbs can also appear with infinitival (but not with masdar) complements; these include AGR-oq- ‘become’, the complex modals behizi AGR-oq- ‘can; be allowed; be permitted’ and k’weze AGR-oq- ‘can; be able to’,

⁵ The adjective haramaw is derived from the Arabic word haraam ‘forbidden’.
the modal AGR-āy, and the aspectual verbs AGR-ič- ‘stay; continue’, liy- ‘stop’, and xec- ‘stop, leave behind’. The resulting structure is illustrated in (44) for ‘stop’ and in (45) for ‘be able to’. Most of these verbs also function as restructuring predicates, which were discussed in section 2; we will address the differences between these two uses below. Restructuring verbs can combine with converbs, whereas a clausal complement in a biclausal construction cannot have a converbal predicate. This distribution limits the possible ambiguity between restructuring and complement-clause-taking verbs.

(44) [Isi y-ay-a ] liy-si.
    snow.ABS.II II-come-INF stop-PST.WIT
    ‘It stopped snowing.’

(45) Dā-q kʷeze r-āq [saʕat-y-ā-r oc’ino
    1SG-POSS.ESS able IV-become.FUT hour-OS-IN-LAT ten
    kilometra xec-a].
    km leave-INF
    ‘I can run (lit.: leave behind) ten kilometers in an hour.’

A question arises: do clausal arguments with an infinitive/masdar predicate appear in subject position, or are they extraposed in an impersonal-type construction with a null pronominal in subject position? This latter scenario would make the construction similar to the English translations with the impersonal it. (46) presents a schematic representation of this contrast: (46a) shows a clausal subject structure, and (46b), an impersonal structure, with a silent expletive pronoun in the subject position:

(46) a. [ʕaraq’i haƛ-a] haramaw r-iči-x.
    booze.ABS.III drink-INF harmful IV-stay-PRS
    SUBJECT PREDICATE
    ‘To drink alcohol continues to be harmful.’

b. pro [ʕaraq’i haƛ-a] haramaw r-iči-x.
    ABS.IV booze.ABS.III drink-INF harmful IV-stay-PRS
    SUBJECT EXTRAPPOSED COMPLEMENT PREDICATE
    ‘It continues to be harmful to drink alcohol.’

We have touched on this issue in CH. YY[ARG structure], where we offered some considerations in support of the impersonal structure in (46b); in particular, we noted in this connection that clausal subjects in the ergative position are impossible.

Cross-linguistically, modals and aspectual verbs often have an impersonal use, so (46b) is also feasible from the typological standpoint, at least for some of the verbs listed above. The analysis is also realistic in light of the fact that, as we show below, the modals found in biclausal structures are typically epistemic, a trend that is also common for impersonal and raising predicates. In the rest of this chapter, we will refer to verbs that combine with infinitival complement clauses as “impersonal.” This “impersonal” use will be contrasted to the use of a subset of such verbs as raising predicates (section 3.3) and as control predicates (section 4).
Infinitival clauses must occur as complements to the higher verb in the complex predicate; as such, their position with respect to the verb is quite free. As long as the internal integrity of the complement is preserved (see (53) below), it can appear to the left or to the right of the predicate. The placement is determined by information-structural considerations and often by the size of the complement; longer complements tend to be placed at the left sentential periphery.

As example (42) shows, complements embedded under the same verb can be coordinated, which introduces yet another dimension of difference between complement-clause-taking verbs and restructuring verbs.

### 3.2 Impersonal constructions with infinitival complements

#### 3.2.1 Clauses with complement-clause-taking modal verbs

In addition to forming monoclausal structures, AGR-āy can also take an infinitival clausal complement, producing a biclausal structure. Compare (47) and (48), which on the surface differ only in agreement; in (48), the modal takes gender IV marking, thus agreeing with the entire infinitival clause:

\[
(47) \text{Irbahin-ä yedu halt’i b-od-a b-āy.} \quad \text{Ibrahim-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF III-must}
\]

‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

\[
(48) \text{[Irbahin-ä yedu halt’i b-od-a]} \quad \text{r-āy.} \\
\text{[Ibrahim-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF].IV IV-must}
\]

‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

The two sentences seem close in meaning, an issue we will return to later in this section. Structurally, however, they are different. (47) is monoclausal, with the complex verb AGR-ōd-AGR-āy taking an absolutive object and an ergative subject; (48), on the other hand, is biclausal: the modal AGR-āy takes a clausal complement, which accounts for the gender IV agreement.\(^6\)

The difference in agreement is not the only property that separates (47) and (48). In (47), the ergative and the absolutive may appear in any order with respect to the verb (as shown in (45)), while in (48), rāy cannot intervene between the absolutive and the infinitive, and both noun

\(^6\) If the absolutive noun phrase is also gender IV, it is impossible to distinguish the two readings on the basis of agreement. For example, (i) is ambiguous out of context; the verb AGR-āy might agree with either the noun phrase tupi or the clausal complement nesä tupi caša. This ambiguity is reflected in the ambiguity of adverbial quantification (compare (i) with (32) above).

\[
(47) K’ox nes-ā tupi caš-a r-ay-x \\
\text{twice DEM.I-ERG gun.ABS.IV throw-INF IV-must-IPFV.CVB}
\]

zow-s.  
AUX.PST-PST-WIT  
‘He had to shoot twice.’ (two shots)  
‘Twice, he had to shoot.’ (two obligations)
phrases must precede the infinitive (below, we only show the relevant possibilities illustrating the contrast):

(49) a. Irbahin-ä yedu ħalt’i b-od-a b-āy. (SOV)
    Ibrāham-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF III-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

b. Yedu ħalt’i b-od-a b-āy Irbahin-ä. (OVS)
    DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF III-must Ibrāham-ERG

c. B-āy b-od-a yedu ħalt’i Irbahin-ä. (VOS)
    III-must III-do-INF DEM work.ABS.III Ibrāham-ERG

(50) a. Irbahin-ä yedu ħalt’i b-od-a r-āy. (SOV)
    Ibrāham-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

b. *Yedu ħalt’i b-od-a r-āy Irbahin-ä. (OVS)
    DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must Ibrāham-ERG

c. *R-āy b-od-a yedu ħalt’i Irbahin-ä. (VOS)
    IV-must III-do-INF DEM work.ABS.III Ibrāham-ERG

Next, in (47), the case of the agent is fixed; it has to be ergative since the complex predicate ‘must do’ is transitive. The ergative in (48), however, can alternate with a poss-essive noun phrase:

(51) Irbahin-ä/Irbahin-qo yedu ħalt’i b-od-a r-āy.
    Ibrāham-ERG/Ibrāham-POSS.ESS DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

Recall that poss-essive is the form associated with potential or inadvertent agency (see CH.YY[ARG STR]). This suggests that the ergative appears when its presence is determined by the restructuring predicate or the embedded verb, and the poss-essive appears when it is called for by the matrix verb in a biclausal structure. This is represented schematically in (52). Note that in (52b,c), the modal verb shows agreement with the infinitival clause in gender IV.

(52) a. Irbahin-ä yedu ħalt’i b-od-a b-āy.
    Ibrāham-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF III-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

b. [Irbahin-ä yedu ħalt’i b-od-a] r-āy.
    Ibrāham-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

[c. Irbahin-qo [yedu ħalt’i b-od-a] r-āy.
    Ibrāham-POSS.ESS DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must
    ‘Ibrahim must do this work.’

We will return to the meaning of (51) and (52c) at the end of this section.
Word order permutations support these distinctions; in (52b), the ergative cannot follow rāy because it is not in the main clause, but in (52c), the possessive easily appears in the postverbal domain.

(53) a. *[Yedu halt’i b-od-a] r-āy Irbahin-ā.

DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must Ibrahīm-ERG

(‘Ibrahim must do this work.’) EMBEDDED ERG

b. [Yedu halt’i b-od-a] r-āy Irbahin-qo.

DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must Ibrahīm-POSS.ESS

‘Ibrahim must do this work.’ MATRIX CLAUSE POSS-ESS

Unlike the monoclausal restructuring constructions discussed above, biclausal sentences can include adverbials that scope either over the state of affairs expressed in the embedded clause, or over the state of affairs denoted by the matrix verb. Compare example (32) above and the corresponding biclausal examples. Example (54a) can refer to either two closings or two obligations; this ambiguity arises because k’ox can be interpreted either as part of the infinitival clause (54b) or as part of the matrix clause (54c):

(54) a. K’ox nes-ā ac y-uq-a r-āy-x

twice DEM.I-ERG door.ABS.II II-close-INF IV-must-IPF.CVb

zow-s.

AUX.PST-PST-WIT

‘He had to close the door twice.’

‘Twice, he had to close the door.’

b. [k’ox nesā ac yuqa] rāyx zow

(55) [Nes-ā ac k’ox y-uq-a] r-āy-x zow-s.

DEM.I-ERG door.ABS.II twice II-close-INF IV-must-IPFV.CVb AUX.PST-PST-WIT

‘He had to close the door twice.’ (two closings, *two obligations)

(56) K’ox r-āy-x zow-s [nes-ā ac y-uq-a].

twice IV-must-IPFV.CVb AUX.PST-PST-WIT DEM.I-ERG door.ABS.II II-close-INF

‘Twice, he had to close the door.’ (two obligations, *two closings)

In (55) and (56), the placement of the adverbial resolves the ambiguity; in (55) it is clearly inside the embedded clause, and in (56), in the matrix clause.

The differences in meaning between restructuring sentences and biclausal sentences are often very subtle, and the discussion in this chapter cannot do them justice. However, some considerations can be offered. With ‘must’, restructuring corresponds mainly to deontic modality, indicating a set of obligations imposed on the referent. The biclausal construction is more appropriate in the epistemic context, where it reflects the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed in a given utterance. Since restructuring is used to express deontic modality, it is not surprising that the sentence below is judged infelicitous:

(57) #Mi oē’ira-ƛ’o-r idu-r y-ay-a
The biclausal equivalent of (57) is judged fully acceptable, as it corresponds to the epistemic reading just like the corresponding English *must* in the translation:

(58) Mi oč’ira-ƛ.o-r idu-r y-ay-a
2SG.ABS(.II) nine.OBL-SUPER-LAT home-LAT II-come-INF
r-āy-x/r-āy.
IV-must-PRS/IV-must.FUT
‘You must come home at nine.’

A deontic interpretation requires that the participant responsible for a given event be volitional or sentient; hence the correlation between deontic readings of modals and the use of control structures. No such requirement is observed with epistemic readings. If we now consider the subject idioms discussed in CH. YY[ARG STR], we find that they are impossible with restructuring ‘must’ but acceptable with clausal-complement-embedding ‘must’. Thus, the idiomatic expression *ziru* *lu* *li* *ix* loses its non-compositional meaning under restructuring but retains it in the biclausal example below:

fox.ABS.III give.birth-INF III-must
‘The fox had/has to give birth.’ (odd but acceptable)
NOT: ‘There must be a sun shower.’ (completely impossible)

b. [Ziru ƛuƛ-a] r-āy.
[fox.ABS.III give.birth-INF].ABS.IV IV-must
‘A sun shower (clear-sky hail) must be happening.’

Further evidence for the deontic:monoclausal/epistemic:biclausal distinction comes from the acceptability of these two interpretations in conditional clauses. The deontic reading is appropriate in such clauses, but the epistemic reading is odd (see Papafragou 2006 for a discussion and further references therein):

(60) Uži-bi idu b-ič-a b-āy-nāy eniw
boy-PL.ABS.IPL at.home IPL-stay-INF IPL-must-COND mother.ABS.II
woxzi y-oq-as.
joyful II-become-FUT
‘If the boys have to be home mother will be happy.’ (it is the boys’ obligation to be home)

(61) #Uži-za-q howži idu b-ik’-a r-ay-nāy
boy-OS.PL-POSS.ESS now at.home IPL-go-INF IV-must-NEG-COND
eniw woxzi y-oq-as.
mother.ABS.II joyful II-become-FUT
‘If it must be the case that the boys are home now mother will happy.’
Since epistemic modality deals with the speaker’s assessment of the proposition expressed by a given utterance, such assessment cannot be reported as a factual statement. As a result, epistemic modals cross-linguistically resist appearing in the complements of factive predicates. Tsez data are consistent with this generalization; consider (62), where ‘must’ agrees with the entire infinitival clause in gender IV. This and similar examples are judged odd:

(62) #[[Yilha q’arza nesi-z rok’-λ’o b-ay-r-a]
DEM debt.ABS.III DEM.I-GEN2 heart-SUPER.ESS III-come-CAUS-INF
r-äy-ru-li]
IV-must-PST.PTCP-NMLZ sažaibaw (yol).

‘It is surprising that he must remember this debt.’

Since epistemic modals express the speaker’s commitment to and assessment of a given proposition, clauses with such modals can include the mention of a referent that stands to benefit from the state of affairs expressed in the relevant utterance. In other words, if the current state of affairs is such that Ibrahim wins the race, then that outcome may be good for himself, for his team, for his coach, etc. The beneficiary of the event is expressed in Tsez by a noun phrase in the poss-essive, as in (51) and (52c) above. In this particular example, the beneficiary and the agent are the same person, but that does not have to be the case. Consider the following example, where the beneficiary is the coach, expressed by a poss-essive noun phrase, and the agent of the embedded infinitival clause is Ibrahim, expressed by an ergative noun phrase:

(63) Terenir-qo [irbahin-ä berhenli r-iqir-a] r-äy-x.
coach-POSS.ESS Ibrahim-ERG victory.ABS.IV IV-catch-INF IV-must-PRS

‘It must be good for the coach that Ibrahim wins.’

If we now revisit (51) with the beneficiary construal in mind, it can be interpreted as “It must be good for Ibrahim to do this work,” a reading that is again in keeping with the epistemic meaning ‘must’.

The distribution of the deontic and epistemic meanings of AGR-äy in Tsez is of general interest because it does not quite match the accepted cross-linguistic pattern whereby deontic modality is expressed by control structures, and epistemic modality, by raising structures. Here we find deontic modality linked to restructuring, and epistemic modality to the impersonal biclausal construction. The two modalities still exhibit a structural contrast, but the specific mechanism of contrast differs cross-linguistically.

The complex modal behizi AGR-oq- ‘can; be allowed to’ is sometimes used as an impersonal verb, in which case its agreement pattern is fixed in gender IV: behizi roq-. Its impersonal use is not common, and it seems that the restructuring construction is preferred. It is often used in the set phrases below, which do not have an overt complement. The presupposed clausal argument in these sentences could be either a noun phrase or an infinitival complement.

(64) a. Behizi r-äq.
possible IV-become.FUT
‘That’s fine.’/ ‘That’s allowed.’

b. behizi r-oq-näy…
possible IV-become-COND.CVB
‘if possible…’

3.2.2 Clauses with other complement-clause-taking intransitive verbs

Other verbs that take infinitival clausal complements include the aspectual verbs AGR-\(\text{oq}^-\) in the meaning ‘become; begin’, AGR-\(\text{ič}^-\) in the meaning ‘continue’, \(\text{liy}^-\) ‘stop’, and \(\text{xec}^-\) ‘stop, leave behind’; the verb ‘be’, and the verb AGR-\(\text{et}^-\) ‘want’. For example, in (65), the absolutive object of the infinitival clause is in gender II, but the verb AGR-\(\text{oq}^-\) agrees with the entire clause in gender IV:

\[
(65) \quad \text{[Xex-z-ä ciyo y-ac’-a] r-oq-si.} \\
\quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{child-OS-ERG} & \text{salt.ABS.II} & \text{II-eat-INF} & \text{IV-become-PST.WIT} \\
\end{array} \\
\quad \text{‘It came to be for the child to eat salt.’/ ‘The child began to eat salt.’}
\]

In (66), AGR-\(\text{ič}^-\) also agrees with the entire clausal complement:

\[
(66) \quad \text{[Neła k’et-ä aw-bi r-iqir-a] r-iči-xosi} \\
\quad \begin{array}{lllll}
\text{DEM.nl cat-ERG mouse-PL.ABS.nI} & \text{nI-catch-INF} & \text{IV-stay-PRS.PTSP} \\
\end{array} \\
\quad \text{be.PRS} \\
\quad \text{‘The cat keeps catching mice.’ (lit.: “It continues for the cat to catch mice.”)}
\]

As with the clausal complement of ‘must’, the biclausal structure is supported not only by agreement facts (which are not always present, as \(\text{liy}^-\) and \(\text{xec}^-\) do not mark agreement) but also by word order permutations. The constituents of the infinitival clause can freely move around inside that clause as long as they precede the infinitive. Consider word order permutations in example (65):

\[
(67) \quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{a. [Xex-z-ä ciyo y-ac’-a] r-oq-si.} \\
\quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{child-OS-ERG} & \text{salt.ABS.II} & \text{II-eat-INF} & \text{IV-become-PST.WIT} \\
\end{array} \\
\quad \text{‘It came to be for the child to eat salt.’/ ‘The child began to eat salt.’}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{b. [Ciyo xex-z-ä y-ac’-a] r-oq-si.} \\
\quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{salt.ABS.II} & \text{child-OS-ERG} & \text{II-eat-INF} & \text{IV-become-PST.WIT} \\
\end{array} \\
\quad \text{‘It came to be for the child to eat salt.’/ ‘The child began to eat salt.’}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{c. *[Ciyo y-ac’-a xex-z-ä] r-oq-si.} \\
\quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{salt.ABS.II} & \text{II-eat-INF} & \text{child-OS-ERG} & \text{IV-become-PST.WIT} \\
\end{array} \\
\text{d. *[Xex-z-ä y-ac’-a ciyo] r-oq-si.} \\
\quad \begin{array}{llll}
\text{child-OS-ERG} & \text{II-eat-INF} & \text{salt.ABS.II} & \text{IV-become-PST.WIT} \\
\end{array} \\
\end{array}
\]

The entire infinitival clause can also move as a unit; compare (67) and (68). However, as (69) shows, constituents of an infinitival complement cannot be displaced outside of that complement:
(68)  R-oq-si  [xex-z-ä  ciyo  y-ac’-a].
    IV-become-PST.WIT  child-OS-ERG  salt.ABS.II  II-eat-INF
    ‘It came to be for the child to eat salt.’ / ‘The child began to eat salt.’

(69)  a.  *[Xex-z-ä  y-ac’-a]  r-oq-si  ciyo.
    child-OS-ERG  II-eat-INF  IV-become-PST.WIT  salt.ABS.II

    b.  *Xex-z-ä  r-oq-si  [ciyo  y-ac’-a].
    child-OS-ERG  IV-become-PST.WIT  salt.ABS.II  II-eat-INF
    (‘It came to be for the child to eat salt.’ / ‘The child began to eat salt.’)

Also on par with epistemic ‘must’, impersonal sentences with aspectual verbs can include the mention of a referent that is affected, positively or negatively, by a given eventuality. The expression of this referent must occur in the main clause, not the infinitival complement. If a human participant stands to benefit from an event, he or she is usually expressed in the possessive; if a non-human participant is perceived as affected, it is usually expressed in the lative, as illustrated in (42) above (the lative can also be used with human participants, as in (43)).8

The impersonal use of the aspectual verb AGR-oq-/AGR-oq-NEG is often associated with the interpretation ‘was (not) meant to be’, as in the following examples. The infinitival clause in (70) is intransitive, with an absolutive subject ‘weather’, and the possessive form eluq is interpreted together with the matrix verb:

(70)  a.  Elu-q  [hawa=baq  tatanu  yol-a]
    1PL-POSS.ESS  weather.ABS.nIPL  warm  be.PRS-INF
    r-oq-inč’u.
    nIPL-become-PST.WIT.NEG
    ‘It is not meant for us to enjoy warm weather.’ (lit.: for the weather to get warm)

    b.  *[Hawa=baq  elu-q  tatanu  yol-a]
    weather.ABS.nIPL  1PL-POSS.ESS  warm  be.PRS-INF
    r-oq-inč’u.
    nIPL-become-PST.WIT.NEG

In (71a), the embedded verb t’et’ra ‘study’ requires that its subject appear in the ergative, so the possessive phrase must be in the matrix clause. The possessive can freely move within the matrix clause, but as (71b) shows, it cannot appear inside the infinitival clause:

(71)  a.  Nesi-q  [institut-y-ä  t’et’r-a]
    DEM.I-POSS.ESS  institute-OS-IN.ESS  study-INF
    r-oq-n-ānu.
    IV-begin-PST.nWIT-NEG
    ‘It was not meant to be for him to go to college.’ (lit.: to study at the institute)

    b.  *[Institut-y-ä  nesi-q  t’et’r-a]
    institute-OS-IN.ESS  DEM.I-POSS.ESS  study-INF

8 The lative is also used with ‘hen’ in example (39) above; the sentence comes from a fairy tale where the hen may be personified, but this is apparently not reflected in the marking.
This use of AGR-oq-/AGR-oq-NEG finds parallels in the use of the verb ‘be’ with infinitival complements, which also bear the typical interpretation ‘it was (not) meant to be’. For instance:

(72) a. [Mi-n y-ex-a] zow-s.
    2SG.ABS(.II)-and II-die-INF be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘And you would have been meant to die.’ (Łux di yik’a yāy?:34)

    b. Zow-s [mi-n y-ex-a].
       be.PST-PST.WIT 2SG.ABS(.II)-and II-die-INF
       ‘And you would have been meant to die.’

(73) [Neła k’et-ā aw b-iqir-a] zow-nē’u.
    DEM.nl cat-ERG mouse-ABS.III III-catch-INF be.PST-PST.WIT.NEG
    ‘It was not meant to be for that cat to catch a mouse.’

Unlike the corresponding clauses with AGR-oq- in (71a) and (70), impersonal constructions with ‘be’ are judged infelicitous or downright unacceptable with a possessive or lative constituent in the main clause:

(74) ??/*Elu-q [elā-r b-ik’-a] zow-nē’u.
    1PL-POSS.ESS there-LAT 1PL-go-INF be.PST-PST.WIT.NEG
    (‘It was not in the cards for us to get there.’)

Finally, the verb AGR-et- ‘want’ can also take an infinitival complement. For example:

(75) [Šahar-y-ā łex-ani-x] r-eti-x murad-e-r.
    city-OS-IN.ESS remain-MSD-AD.ESS IV-want-PRS Murad-OS-LAT
    ‘Murad wants to stay in the city.’

(76) [Už-ā šopir-li r-od-a] r-eti-x-ānū babiw-r.
    boy-ERG driver-ABSTR.ABS.IV IV-do-INF IV-want-PRS-NEG father-LAT
    ‘The father does not want the boy to work as a driver.’

In (75), AGR-et- ‘want’ agrees with the entire clausal complement (the agreement in (76) is ambiguous, because the absolutive šopirli in the embedded clause is also gender IV). In further contrast with restructuring clauses, where all the arguments of the complex predicate have to be shared, the embedding verb and the infinitive in clausal-complement-taking constructions can each have their own arguments. This is clear in (76), where the infinitive roda takes the ergative and absolutive arguments, and the matrix verb retix takes the experiencer in the lative and the clausal complement in the absolutive position.

### 3.3 Raising constructions: Aspectual verbs with infinitival complements

In addition to forming impersonal biclausal constructions, aspectual verbs can participate in a subject-to-subject raising construction, where the understood subject of the embedded clause is structurally represented as the subject of the matrix verb. Compare the impersonal construction
in (77), where the matrix verb agrees with the infinitival clause (or corresponding expletive) in
gender IV, and its raising counterpart in (78):

(77) [Nela ay-ä ko y-ac'-a]
[DEM.nI bird-ERG raspberry.ABS.II II-eat.TR-INF].IV
r-iči-xosi yoł.
IV-stay-PRS.PTSP AUX.PRS
‘This bird keeps eating (the) raspberries.’ IMPERSONAL

(78) Ža aɣi [ko y-ac'-a] b-iči-xosi yoł.
DEM bird.ABS.III raspberry.ABS.II II-eat.TR-INF III-stay-PRS.PTSP be.PRS
‘This bird keeps eating (the) raspberries.’ SUBJECT-TO-SUBJECT RAISING

No constituent other than the subject can undergo raising to the matrix clause. (79) shows the
ungrammatical raising of the absolutive object:

(79) *Ko y-oq-si [neɣa y-ac'-a].
raspberry.ABS.II II-become-PST.WIT DEM.nI  bird- ERG II-eat-INF
(‘This bird began to eat raspberries.’)

The impersonal and raising constructions differ in several respects. First, since the aspectual
verbs are all intransitive, the case of the raised subject is always absolutive, regardless of the case
exhibited by the same constituent in the embedded clause (of course, if the embedded clause is
intransitive, the difference is not apparent). Second, the matrix verb agrees with the raised
absolutive subject, not with the clausal complement; again, if the raised absolutive is gender IV
or if the verb does not mark agreement, the difference in agreement patterns is not apparent. The
raised subject can occupy different positions in the matrix clause, something that is impossible
for constituents of the infinitival clause. Compare (67) above and the examples below:

(80) a. Xexbi b-oq-si [ciyo y-ac'-a].
child.ABS.III III-become-PST.WIT salt.ABS.II II-eat-INF
b. B-oq-si [ciyo y-ac'-a] xexbi.
III-become-PST.WIT salt.ABS.II II-eat-INF child.ABS.III
c. B-oq-si xexbi [ciyo y-ac'-a].
III-become-PST.WIT child.ABS.III salt.ABS.II II-eat-INF
‘The child began to eat salt.’

In contrast to control predicates, which we will discuss in section 4, raising verbs do not impose
any selectional restrictions on their subjects. That means that inanimate subjects or
subconstituents of idioms (idiom chunks) can freely appear as raised subjects. In (81), the raised
subject is inanimate, and in (82a) it is part of the idiomatic expression ziru ƛukt (see also (59)
above), which does not lose its idiomaticity under raising (compare the impersonal construction
in (82b)):

(81) [Gut kur-a] b-oq-si pečč.
smoke.ABS.II throw-INF III-begin-PST.WIT furnace.ABS.III
‘The furnace began to smoke (to send out smoke).’
If the highest argument of the embedded clause in a raising construction is lative (e.g., for verbs of cognitive or psychological states) or poss-essive (e.g., in the accidental construction, CH. YY[ARG STR]), the case form of the argument is not preserved under raising, but changes to the absolutive. Compare the following examples:

(83) a. ƛirba-ɾ biša r-eti-x.  
‘The guest wants food.’ (lit.: the food is wanted to the guest)  

b. ƛirba [biša r-et-a] Ø-oq-si.  
‘The guest began to be hungry (lit.: to want food).’  

‘The guest began to want (lit.: to want food).’

(84) a. Besuroqu-za-q tor yanq’izi r-oq-si.  
‘The net sank on the fishermen.’  

‘The net began to sink on the fishermen.’  

‘The net began to drown on the fishermen.’

Interpretive differences between impersonal constructions and raising constructions are quite subtle, and the two structures are often offered interchangeably by our consultants. The subtle differences have to do with the perception of prominence, something that is hard to assess out of context. Roughly, if the entire event is perceived as prominent, the impersonal construction is warranted, whereas if the prominence is placed on the referent of the subject, the raising construction is more appropriate (see Langacker 1995, Grimm 2010 for a discussion of such perceptual prominence relations). Thus, when answering a question like the one posed in (85A), a Tsez speaker is more likely to use a raising construction:

(85) A: ła-ɬ xizāy debi rok’u r-oɬ-xo?  
‘Who are you worried about?’  

B: [ʕaraq’i haɬ-a] Ø-iči-x ʕali.
On the other hand, if a general description of events is being offered, for instance in response to the question in (86A), the impersonal construction is quite appropriate:

(86)  
A: Šebi hal?  
what.ABS health.ABS.III  
‘How are things?’

B: [ʕal-ʕa ʕaraq’i ʰaλ-a] r-iči-x.  
Ali-ERG booze.ABS.III drink-INF IV-continue-PRS  
‘Ali continues to drink.’

All types of infinitival complements discussed in this section are transparent with respect to negation, binding, scope, relativization, and wh-question formation. The negation on the main clausal predicate can determine the presence of a negative polarity item inside the infinitival clause; for example, the negation on ‘want’ in (87) licenses the negative polarity item nārkin ‘anywhere’ inside the infinitival clause:

(87) [Uži nā-r-kin Ø-ik’a-a] eniw-r r-eti-x-ānu.  
boy.ABS.I where-LAT-FOC I-go-INF mother-LAT IV-want-PRS-NEG  
‘Mother does not want the boy to go anywhere.’

Reflexive binding into the infinitival complement is possible and occurs in the same manner as clause-internal binding (Ch. YY[bind]). Constituents of an infinitival clause can be relativized and questioned the same way that constituents of the matrix clause can (see CH. YY[RCs]; CH. YY[wh]). As we show in section 4, masdar complement clauses are equally transparent, whereas nominalized clauses with -łi and finite clausal complements with -ƛin are not.

4 Biclausal structures with infinitival and masdar complements: Control constructions

4.1 General remarks

In control clauses, such as (88), the subject you is semantically linked both to the matrix verb try and to the embedded verb make happy. Such double semantic linking separates control from raising, where the subject is semantically linked only to the embedded verb.

(88) If you try to make everyone happy, everyone will be happy but you.

With the exception of the evaluative intransitive predicates ‘be easy’, ‘be difficult’, ‘be useful’, illustrated in (42) and (43), the verbs we have discussed up to this point take clausal complements only with the infinitival predicate, not the masdar predicate. Masdar clauses are understood as describing goal-oriented events, hence their subject has to be volitional and/or sentient (capable of goal-setting). This connotation makes masdars inappropriate with raising predicates (whose subject does not have to be volitional or sentient) but fitting for control
predicates. With control predicates, infinitival and masdar clauses seem interchangeable. For example:

(89) Babi-y-ä [sult’an šahar-y-ä-yor Ø-egira-ani-x/Ø-egira-a]  
     father-OS-ERG Sultan.ABS.I city-OS-IN-VERS i-send-MASD-AD.ESS/i-send-INF  
     hukmu b-oy-s.  
     decision.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT  
     ‘Father decided to send Sultan to the city.’

The distinction between the two types of complements is subtle. Typically, the choice of a masdar clause entails that the event expressed in the clause is perceived as a specific (as opposed to a more general) goal. In some instances, the choice between a masdar and an infinitive may be informed by the degree to which a certain event is considered typical or mundane. For example, asking someone to close the door or to mail a letter is expressed by an infinitival clause, but asking someone to write down a commentary or help another person with a difficult task is more appropriately encoded by a masdar clause. The infinitival clause is joined to the higher verb without any case marking. Masdar clauses, meanwhile, appear in two forms, lative and ad-essive; we have not been able to determine interpretive differences between these forms. Imnajšvili (1963: 237) lists them both and indicates that the ad-essive form is more common to the Asakh dialect.

Control verbs are known to impose selectional restrictions on their arguments (subject or object, depending on the type of control), and such selectional restrictions are observed in Tsez. Inanimate noun phrases cannot participate in control constructions. For that reason, the following example is ungrammatical, although the underlying ergative construction is fully acceptable (see CH.YY [ARG STR]):

(90) *šal-ä [as r-iqir-a] baybik b-oy-x.  
     wind-ERG sky.ABS.IV IV-catch-INF beginning.ABS.III III-do-PRS  
     (‘The wind is beginning to fog up the sky.’)

The control relationship can be established only between the subject of an embedded infinitive or masdar and the subject or object of the higher clause. As the following example shows, control between the subject of the matrix clause and the object of the embedded clause is impossible:

(91) *Sult’an-ä [babi-y-ä šahar-y-ä-yor Ø-egira-ani-x/Ø-egira-a]  
     Sultan-ERG father-OS-ERG city-OS-IN-VERS i-send-MASD-AD.ESS/i-send-INF  
     hukmu b-oy-s.  
     decision.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT  
     (‘Sultan decided for father to send him to the city.’)

A subconstituent of the subject or object of a control verb also cannot determine the control relation. For example, (92) can only be interpreted as meaning that the director made the decision to send Sultan to the city, not that the father made that decision.

(92) Babiw-z direktor-ä [Sult’an šahar-y-ä-yor
Verbs that impose strict requirements on the arguments in the control relation are known as obligatory control verbs (Davies and Dubinsky 2004: Ch. 1), and we will concentrate on such verbs in the discussion below. For brevity, we will be referring to these as “control verbs,” presupposing their obligatory control characterization.

As with impersonal and raising verbs, the position of an infinitival/masdar clause with respect to the verb is quite free. As long as the internal integrity of the complement is preserved, it can appear to the left or the right of the predicate. The placement is determined by information-structural considerations as well as the size of the complement; longer complements tend to be placed at the left sentential periphery (see CH.YY[Word order] for more discussion).

Control complements, like noun phrases, can be conjoined with the enclitic –n(o) on each conjunct. For example:

(93) ʕal-ā kul er-xo [masukuw-ā-ɣor
Ali-ERG hope.ABS.III put-PRS Moscow-IN-VERS
Ø-ik’-ani-x]-no [mašina b-is-ani-x]-no.
I-go-MASD-AD.ESS-and car.ABS.III III-take-MASD-AD.ESS-and
‘Ali hopes to go to Moscow and to buy a car.’

The predicate of infinitival and masdar control complements can optionally carry the quotative marker –ƛin. For example:

(94) ʕal-ā kul er-xo [masukuw-ā-ɣor Ø-ik’-ani-x-ƛin].
Ali-ERG hope put-PRS Moscow-IN-VERS I-go-MASD-AD.ESS-QUOT
‘Ali hopes to go to Moscow.’

(95) ʕal-ā [šebin r-od-a-ƛin] šuλ`ir-no.
Ali-ERG thing.ABS.IV IV-do-INF-QUOT forget-PST. nWIT
‘Ali forgot what needs to be done (what to do).’

This kind of marking, also attested in Hinuq (Forker 2013: 617-618), is quite rare. It is more common with infinitival and masdar adjunct clauses (see Ch. [ADV CL]), and is very unusual with control clauses. When present, this marking does not change the transparency of an infinitival or masdar complement (see CH.YY [Binding] for the transparency of these complements to binding). In the following examples, the matrix subject binds reflexives inside the control complement regardless of the presence of the quotative, and the constituents of the main and masdar clauses scopally interact with each other. For instance, (97) could mean that a particular boy took it upon himself to bring all the balloons, or that for every available balloon there was a boy that was going to bring it. Such ambiguity would not be possible if the masdar clause were not transparent.
The lack of a syntactic contribution from -\(\lambda in\) in these instances is in contrast with the syntactic role of quotative complements in finite clauses (see section 6 below), which are never transparent. It seems that the presence of the quotative on masdar and infinitival clauses serves a subtle pragmatic function, underscoring the hypothetical, future-oriented nature of the event under consideration.

4.2 Subject control constructions

4.2.1 Forward control

Tsez has a sizeable number of subject control verbs, all of which take infinitival or masdar complements. Only a few of the verbs in this group are simple verbs; the majority are complex. A number of these complex subject control verbs include as their predicative component an abstract lexical item borrowed from Arabic.

Of these verbs, ‘try’, ‘take upon oneself’, and ‘forget’ (98a-c) are transitive and take a complement clause as the absolutive object. ‘Try’ and ‘take upon oneself’ show invariant agreement in gender IV with the complement clause in absolutive position. The verb \(\text{šu}\lambda\text{ir-}\) is the transitive (causative) form of the verb \(\text{šu}\lambda\text{-}\) ‘forget’, which takes a lative and absolutive. The former combines with the ergative experiencer and absolutive subject. Not surprisingly, it is often used in the prohibitive form, illustrated in (101).

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\(9\) We include the verb \(\lambda\text{ir-}\) AGR-is- ‘take upon oneself’ in the simple-verb group, to distinguish it from the complex verbs which otherwise include an object and a light verb.
boss-ERG [mistake.ABS.III correct III-do-MASD-AD.ESS].IV
λ.’iri r-is-si.
upon IV-take-PST.WIT
‘The boss took it upon himself to correct the mistake.’

(101) [Ac hiš-a] šuš’är-no!
door.ABS.II close-INF forget-PROH
‘Don’t forget to close the door!’

The verb ‘know; be prepared’ (98d) combines with the clausal complement in the absolutive position (where it alternates with a regular noun phrase) and the controller in the lative.

(102) Debe-r [ža hiš.’oqu r-eňnoy-r-a-kin]
2SG-LAT DEM handkerchief.ABS.IV IV-work-CAUS-INF-FOC
koš.’i-xosi yol-ā?
know-PRS.PTCP be.PRINT
‘Are you prepared to at least put this handkerchief to work?’ (Barkat yoľäsi hiš.’oqu:31)

This verb is very commonly used in a set expression ‘not know what to do/where to go’, where it alternates between taking a clausal complement, as in (103a), and taking a nominal complement modified by an infinitival or masdar relative clause, as in (103b), where roda šebin is a noun phrase:

(103) a. [šebin r-od-a] koš.’i-nč’ey
thing.ABS.IV IV-do-INF know-NEG
‘not know what to do’ (“not know what things to do”)

b. [[r-od-a] šebin] koš.’i-nč’ey
IV-do-INF thing.ABS.IV know-NEG
‘not knowing what to do’ (“not know things that have to be done”)

The other control verb with a lative experiencer is AGR-et-; this verb is generally polysemous but, in the control structure, is used only in the meaning ‘want; need’. For example:

(104) Elu-r [b-iš-ani-x] r-eti-n.
1PL-LAT [1PL-eat.INTR-MASD-AD.ESS].IV IV-want-PST.NWIT
‘We want/need to eat.’ (Barkat yoľäsi hiš.’oqu:31)

In section 2, we observed the use of AGR-et- as a restructuring predicate with the meaning ‘want’. In both uses, the denotation of the lative is limited to animate participants. The restructuring verb does not combine with masdars, only with infinitives, so the use of the masdar in (104) is a clear sign of a biclausal control structure (however, as we shall see from the examples below, infinitival control complements are also possible). In the restructuring use of this verb, all the clausal constituents move around freely, as shown in (28); in the control use, the constituents of the masdar or infinitival clause can only move in the left periphery of the embedded verb. The meaning difference between the restructuring and the control uses of AGR-et- seems subtle, and we can only offer some observations here. The control use is associated with the interpretation that the desire is somehow imposed on a person by external
circumstances, rather than coming from within. Probably related to this observation is the fact that, when used as a control verb, AGR-\textit{et} typically appears in the non-witnessed form in the past, thus accentuating the fact that the desire or need is perceived as greater than the participant’s internal state. Based on this distinction, ‘need’ seems to be the most accurate translation of the control use, while ‘want’ is more appropriate for the restructuring use.

\begin{align*}
(105) & \quad \text{Xexlił’} \quad \text{b'aylay} \quad \text{mahor} \quad \text{r-oχik’}, \quad \text{pro} \\
& \quad \text{quickly} \quad \text{dagger.ABS.IV} \quad \text{outside} \quad \text{IV-deliver.IMPER} \quad \text{1SG.LAT} \\
& \quad \text{gulu} \quad \text{b-exad-a} \quad \text{r-eti-n.} \\
& \quad \text{[horse.ABS.III} \quad \text{III-slaughter-INF].ABS.IV} \quad \text{IV-want-PST.nWIT} \\
& \quad ‘\text{Quickly bring me the dagger, I need to slaughter the horse.’ (Babiwn, užin, Okun:54)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(106) & \quad \text{Dā-r} \quad \text{[źek’u-de} \quad \text{kec-a]} \quad \text{r-eti-n.} \\
& \quad \text{1SG-LAT} \quad \text{[man-APUD.ESS} \quad \text{sleep-INF].IV} \quad \text{IV-want-PST.nWIT} \\
& \quad ‘\text{I needed to sleep with a man.’ (Xanno: 66)}
\end{align*}

The intransitive verb AGR-\textit{utik’} have time to; manage’ occurs mostly with infinitival/masdar clauses; its use with postpositional phrases is possible but rare. Compare:

\begin{align*}
(107) & \quad \text{Howzi bišʷa} \quad \text{r-ac’-a-kin} \quad \text{Ø-utik’-x-ānu.} \\
& \quad \text{now} \quad \text{food.ABS.IV} \quad \text{IV-eat.TR-INF-FOC} \quad \text{1-have.time-PRS-NEG} \\
& \quad ‘\text{I (man speaking) don’t even have the time to eat.’ (Eniws esiw:75)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(108) & \quad \text{Yedu} \quad \text{halt’i-de-r} \quad \text{Ø-utik’-x-ānu.} \\
& \quad \text{dem} \quad \text{work-apud-lat} \quad \text{1-have.time.to-PRS-NEG} \\
& \quad ‘\text{I don’t have time for this work.’}
\end{align*}

The following complex verbs all take infinitival or masdar complements and function as subject control predicates. Their argument structure and respective case marking is the same as that of the light verbs on which they are based; thus, verbs formed with AGR-\textit{oq-} take the absolutive controller, while all the other verbs in (109) express the controller in the ergative.

\begin{align*}
(109) & \quad \text{Subject control verbs: Complex verbs} \\
\text{a.} & \quad \text{q’ač’azi AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{get ready’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{hadur/hatur AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{be ready’} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{razi AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{agree’} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{q’abul AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{agree; concede’} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{muk’ur AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{agree’} \\
\text{f.} & \quad \text{mut’tiš AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{agree’} \\
\text{g.} & \quad \text{ruhun AGR-oq} \quad ‘\text{learn’} \\
\text{h.} & \quad \text{xalbik(i) bod-} \quad ‘\text{try’ (lit.: attempt make)} \\
\text{i.} & \quad \text{baybik(i) bod-} \quad ‘\text{begin’ (lit.: beginning make)} \\
\text{j.} & \quad \text{hukmu bod-} \quad ‘\text{decide’ (lit.: decision make)} \\
\text{k.} & \quad \text{inkar bod-} \quad ‘\text{refuse’ (lit.: rejection make)} \\
\text{l.} & \quad \text{kul er-} \quad ‘\text{hope’ (lit.: hope put)}
\end{align*}
m. purma tel-\(^{10}\) ‘accede’ (lit.: consent give)
n. roži tel-\(\) ‘promise’ (lit.: word give)

Here are some examples of control constructions; they are quite common in spontaneous speech and narratives.

(110) Di \[besuro-bi r-iqir-ani-x\] ruhun Ø-oq-a Ø-āy.
    1SG.ABS.(i) fish-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-get-MSD-AD.ESS learn i-become-INF i-must
    ‘I must learn to catch fish.’ (Besurozaqu: 3)

(111) Boc-ā \[keč’ q’alα-a\] baybik b-odi-n.
    wolf-ERG song.ABS.III sing-INF beginning.ABS.III III-do-PST.NWIT
    ‘The wolf began to sing a song.’ (Didur ʕomoyā boc’a k’irik’no:20)

(112) Xan-e-z kid-b-ā \[ža-x y-ik’-ani-x\] inkar
    king-OS-GEN2 girl-OS-ERG DEM-AD.ESS II-go-MSD-AD.ESS refusal.ABS.III
    b-odi-n. III-do-PST.NWIT
    ‘The king’s daughter refused to marry him.’ (Xanes ūono užin, sis kidno:9)

(113) Sidakin kid-b-ā \[nesi-x y-ik’-ani-x\] roži
    any.OBL girl-OS-ERG DEM.I-AD.ESS II-go-MASD-AD.ESS word.ABS.IV
    tel- xo zow-n-ānu. give-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.NWIT-NEG
    ‘No girl would promise to marry him.’ (Hibos hunar:4)

(114) [Bilq’isdi xan-łun xec-ani-x] žamačat razi
    Bilq’isdi.ABS.II king-as leave-MASD-AD.ESS society.ABS.IPL agree
    b-oq-no. IPL-become PST.NWIT
    ‘The locals agreed to make Bilq’isdi the leader (of the village).’ (Bilq’isdi:59)

Some verbs that tend cross-linguistically to behave as control verbs (cf. Davies and Dubinsky 2004: 11-12), such as ‘remember’, are missing from both lists in (98) and (109). This is not an accidental oversight; the meaning of ‘remember’ and certain other verbs is typically rendered by a higher verb with an embedded clause introduced by the quotative –\(\)lin (see section 6 below). Furthermore, several of the verbs listed as control verbs, especially the complex ones, can take both infinitival/masdar complements and quotative complements.

4.2.2 Backward control

In all the examples considered so far, the direction of the control relation is forward: the matrix argument provides the referential identity of the understood embedded subject of an infinitival or masdar clause. The opposite situation is in fact impossible; compare the well-formed example (112) and its ungrammatical counterpart below, where the subject is expressed in the embedded clause:

(115) *[ža-x xan-e-s kid y-ik’-ani-x] inkar

\(^{10}\) Complex verbs with ‘give’ have two forms, \(\)tel- and \(\)ne\(\)-, depending on the direction of the transfer (away from vs. toward the speaker/attitude holder).
DEM-AD.ESS  king-OS-GEN1  girl.abs.II  II-go-MSD-AD.ESS  refusal.abs.III
b-odi-n.
III-do-PST.nWIT

(‘The king’s daughter refused to marry him.’)

The forward (or downward, depending on one’s view of grammar) direction of the control relation, where the referential identity of the understood embedded subject determines the identity of the embedded subject, is cross-linguistically very common. A priori, however, there is no reason to rule out an inverse (backward, upward) control relation, where the matrix argument is silent and its referential identity depends on the overt embedded argument. This is a particularly reasonable assumption in the case of Tsez, where infinitival and masdar clauses in principle allow the expression of all the verbal arguments in the same cases as in a tensed clause (see CH.YY[NMLZ]). At least four control predicates, AGR-oq- ‘begin’, AGR-ih-‘start, begin’, AGR-ik- ‘begin (lit.: go)’,11 and AGR-ič- ‘continue’ exhibit this inverse pattern, which has become known as backward control (see Fukuda 2008 for an overview of the phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective and Polinsky and Potsdam 2002 for a detailed syntactic analysis of the Tsez pattern).12 All these verbs are intransitive. In the examples below, these verbs, as matrix predicates, seem to agree with the embedded ergative argument (yisā in (116); beliqa in (117), nelā in (118); yedā in (119)), which is otherwise impossible in Tsez (see CH.YY[AGR]).

Moreover, alternative agreement is impossible; the verbs in (116) through (119) cannot show gender IV agreement (the default agreement with the infinitive or expletive subject).

(116) Sosisi  [yis-ā   esi-n`ey]   Ø-ič-x/*r-ič-x.
at.first   DEM.I-ERG   say-NEG.INF  I-stay-PRS/IV-stay-PRS

‘At first he persisted in not telling the answer.’ (lit.: he continued not to tell)
(based on §Aq’ilawni kid:9)

(117) [Beliqa-ā  kawu-bi  ser-a]   Ø-ihu-n/*r-ihu-n.
hunter-ERG  gate-PL.ABS.IPL  unlock-INF  I-begin-PST.nWIT/IV-begin-PST.nWIT

‘The hunter began to unlock the gates.’ (T’omceni žek’un, ŝoflows beliqa:36)

(118)  [Ne-ā  bix  kos-a]   y-oq-no/*r-oq-no.
DEM.nI-ERG  grass.abs.III  mow-INF  II-begin-PST.nWIT/IV-begin-PST.nWIT

‘She began to mow the grass.’ (C’irdux:48)

(119) [Yed-ā  q’irič’   k’ed-ani-le-r]   Ø-oq-no/
DEM.I-ERG  scissors.abs.IV  look.for-MASD-CONT-LAT  I-begin-PST.nWIT
*roq-no.
IV-begin-PST.nWIT

‘He began to look for scissors.’ (Bilq’isdi:26)

The expression of the corresponding absolutive argument in the matrix clause is impossible:

(120) *Sosisi   [esi-n`ey]   ža   Ø-ič-x.
at.first   say-NEG.INF   DEM.ABS(.I)  I-stay-PRS

(‘At first he persisted in not telling the answer.’)

11 AGR-ik’- is used as a control verb only in the meaning ‘begin’, not in the meaning ‘go’.
12 To the best of our knowledge, the pattern was first noted in Kibrik (1981: 38-39).
Likewise, it is impossible to express both arguments simultaneously in the infinitival/masdar clause and the matrix clause:

(122) *Ne-ä bix kos-a] ża y-oq-no.
DEM.nI-ERG grass.ABS.III mow-INF DEM.ABS(.II) II-begin-PST.nWIT

(123) *Ziru ƛ u-ƛ-a] b-ihu-x.
fox.ABS.III give.birth-INF III-begin-PRS

The verbs that appear in the backward control construction have other uses. The verbs AGR-oq- and AGR-ič- were discussed in section 3, where we showed that they can appear as raising verbs. Outside its control use, the verb AGR-iḥ- is interpreted as ‘go outside’. However, in non-control uses, the backward-control-permitting verbs do not impose selectional restrictions on their complements; furthermore, they can appear only in the matrix clause. In the control use discussed here, noun phrases expressing non-volitional subjects or idiom chunks are impossible. For example:\(^{13}\)

(124) *[T’ont’oḥ-ä buq’ b-ac’-a] b-iči-x.
darkness-ERG sun.ABS.III III-eat.TR-INF III-stay-PRS

Thus, whether the control structures presented here instantiate a special use of these verbs or represent several homophonous verbs, they need to be accounted for.

There is sufficient evidence that the ergative noun phrase in these sentences occurs within the embedded clause. That noun phrase can switch its position only with other elements in the embedded clause. Compare (117) and the well-formed example in (125), where noun phrases in the embedded clause change position, with the unacceptable (126a,b), where the same constituents are displaced into the matrix clause.

(125) [Kawu-bi beliqan-ä ser-a] Ø-ihu-n.
gate-PL.ABS.nIPL hunter-ERG unlock-INF I-begin-PST.nWIT

‘The hunter began to unlock the gates.’

(126) a. *[Kawu-bi ser-a] Ø-ihu-n beliqan-ä.
gate-PL.ABS.nIPL unlock-INF I-begin-PST.nWIT hunter-ERG

b. *[Beliqan-ä ser-a] Ø-ihu-n kawu-bi.
hunter-ERG unlock-INF I-begin-PST.nWIT gate-PL.ABS.nIPL

\(^{13}\) This sentence can be interpreted with the non-idiomatic meaning, “The fox got out to give birth”, but that is not relevant for our discussion.
These facts strongly suggest that the construction is indeed biclausal and that the ergative argument is in the embedded infinitival/masdar clause. Equally crucial is the observation that there is a silent matrix subject in (116)-(119), which obligatorily corefers with the embedded subject. Evidence for the presence of that subject comes from reflexivization and long-distance agreement, as we will discuss immediately below.

Tsez reflexives are local and must have a c-commanding antecedent (CH.YY[BINDING]). For example, in (127), only the embedded subject can act as an antecedent for the compound reflexive; the “work” referred to can be Ibrahim’s work, but not the boss’s work.

(127) hakim-qo [irbahin-ä nesä nesi-s halt’i b-od-a] r-äy.
    boss-POSS.ESS Ibrahim-ERG REFL.I-GEN1 work.ABS.III III-do-INF IV-must
    ‘For the boss’s sake, Ibrahim must do his work.’

However, in (128) below, nesä nesir is licensed and interpreted as co-referential with the ergative noun phrase, despite the fact that the reflexive appears to be structurally higher than the ergative expression.

(128) Nesä nesi-qo-r [Irbaň-ä yedu halt’i b-od-a] Ø-ihu-x.
     REFL.I-POSS-LAT Ibrahim-ERG DEM work.ABS.III III-do-INF I-begin-PRS
     ‘Ibrahim begins to do this work for himself.’

These facts can be accounted for by the presence of a silent matrix subject that c-commands the reflexive and co-refers with the ergative NP. This possibility is represented schematically in (129) for the sentence in (128):

```
|--------- COINDEXATION----------------------------------|
(129) i nesä i nesi-qo-r Ø-ihu-x [irbaň-ä yedu halt’i
    REFL.I-POSS-LAT Ibrahim-ERG DEM work.ABS.III
    |_______|
    REFLEXIVE BINDING
    b-od-a].
    III-do-INF
    ‘Ibrahim begins to do this work for himself.’
```

The pattern of long-distance agreement also points to the presence of a silent matrix subject (see CH. YY[AGR]). Under long-distance agreement, a matrix verb exceptionally agrees with an absolutive argument in an embedded clause, which is interpreted as a topic. For example:

(130) Dä-r [debi kid y-äy-ru-li] y-iy-x.
     1SG-LAT 2SG.GEN1 girl.ABS.II II-come-PST.PTCP-NMLZ II-know-PRS
     ‘I know that your daughter has arrived.’

Long-distance agreement can only cross one clause boundary at a time. Given this single-clause-boundary restriction as well as the restriction that agreement must be with the absolutive, there is no way to explain the long-distance agreement between the embedded absolutive argument and the matrix verb unless there is a silent absolutive subject in the clause immediately dominated by
the verb ‘know’. This silent subject can properly induce long-distance agreement on the higher verb:

(131) Dä-r [[debe-z kid-b-ä micxir b-is-a] 1SG-LAT 2SG-GEN2 girl-OS-ERG money.ABS.III III-take-INF
     __i y-äq-ru-l] y-iy-x. II-begin-PST.PTCP-NMLZ II-know-PRS
     ‘I know that your daughter began to receive money.’

We are thus left with the conclusion that several Tsez verbs instantiate the cross-linguistically less common, yet not impossible pattern of obligatory backward control. The control verb takes an obligatorily silent subject and the embedded infinitival or masdar clause includes the coreferential subject in the ergative or absolutive case. Since the control relation is based on the presence of a sentient and volitional referent, experiencers and inadvertent agents cannot be expected in such constructions; thus, subjects of embedded infinitival or masdar clauses under backward control are either ergative (if the embedded predicate is transitive) or absolutive (if the embedded predicate is intransitive). It is possible that the pattern of backward control in Tsez is found with these particular control verbs because they are highly polyseous. Under such circumstances, the use of a particular pattern may allow the language learner and speaker to distinguish between the raising/impersonal constructions discussed in section 3, and the control structures discussed here.

4.3 Object control

Object control verbs are less numerous than subject control verbs in Tsez, for two unrelated reasons. First, many situations involving object control can be expressed by a verb denoting the base event in the causative form (see Nedjalkov and Silnitsky 1973, who discuss the polysemy of causative affixes and identify control-predicate-like meaning as one of the currently attested meanings). Recall that Tsez causatives can carry the meaning of either direct or indirect causation, and this polysemy allows speakers to use causatives to express meanings associated with verbs like ‘ask’, ‘order’, and ‘tell’, which are typically control predicates. For instance, the meanings of ordering, requesting, etc., are conveyed by causatives in the following examples.

(132) Yił-ä nesi-q žedu-ƛ’o-si qaca
      DEM.nI-ERG DEM.I-POSS.ESS DEM.IPL-SUPER.ESS-ATTR firewood.ABS.IV
      r-et’ur-er-no. IV-pluck-CAUS-PST.NWIT
      ‘She told/ordered him to chop firewood instead of them.’ (Hibos hunar:48)

(133) Kid-be-q y’ay bobori-k’-er-xo eni-y-ä.
girl-OS-POSS-ESS milk.ABS.II warm-TR-CAUS-PRS mother-OS-ERG
      ‘Mother is asking/telling/ordering the girl to warm up the milk.’

The second reason for the paucity of object control verbs in Tsez has to do with the availability of quotative constructions in this language (section 6). As with subject control constructions, quotatives are often used in contexts where object control is typically found in other languages.

However, some object control verbs can be found. They include:
(134) Object control verbs: Simple verbs
a. AGR-egir- ‘send’
b. esir- ‘ask’
c. mˤoˡ- ‘teach’
d. xec- ‘allow’

The verb AGR-egir- ‘send’ is particularly common as a control predicate. For example:

(135) Ø-eźe-ni est-y-ā Ø-eźe-ni esiw [zeru
ɪ-big-DEF sibling-OS-ERG ɪ-small-DEF sibling.ABS(.1) malt.ABS.III
lek’-ir-a] Ø-egir-no.
mix-CAUS-INF 1-send-PST.nWIT
‘The older brother sent the younger one to make malt.’ (ʕoƛ:no esiwn, sis esiyn:22)

Complex verbs that take infinitival or masdar control complements are listed below.

(136) Object control verbs: Complex verbs
a. q’æc’azi AGR-od- ‘prepare; make ready’
b. izmu teƛ- ‘allow’ (lit.: permission give)
c. ixtiyar teƛ- ‘permit’ (lit.: indulgence give)
d. ruhun AGR-od- ‘teach, train’
e. t’amizi AGR-od- ‘force’

Some examples:

(137) Yil-ā harihun hemedur [sis r-od-a]
dem.nl-ERG slowly so one IV-do-INF
pro t’amizi Ø-odi-n.
ABS.II force 1-do-PST.nWIT
‘And so she slowly forced him to do one thing (after another).’ (Hibos hunar:12)

As example (138) shows, the nominal part of a complex control verb can be separated from the light verb:

(138) Uži-r teƛ-x-ā mi izmu
boy-LAT give-PRS-INTERR 2SG.ERG permission.ABS.III
[gulu-ł’ zow-ani-r]?
horse-SUPER.ESS climb-MASD-LAT
‘Do you give the boy permission to get on the horse?’ (Qacis gulu:24)

Within object control, there is no evidence of the backward control pattern.16

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14 Recall that xec- can be used as a restructuring verb (see section 2), in which case it combines with a converb. As a control verb, it combines with an infinitival or masdar complement.

15 See also example (19) above.
As was the case with infinitival clauses that occur with raising and impersonal predicates (section 3), infinitival and masdar control complements are transparent to binding, relativization, wh-question formation, and negative-polarity-item licensing from the matrix clause. For instance, in (139), the negation on the matrix verb determines the presence of the negative polarity item *sidxokin* ‘to anyone’ in the masdar clause:

(139) Eniw razi y-oq-xo zow-n-ānu [ža
moter.ABS.II agreeing ii-become-PRS AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG DEM.ABS(.II)
sid-xo-kin y-egir-ani]-x.
one-AD.ESS-FOC ii-send-MASD-AD.ESS
‘Mother refused to give her to anyone in marriage.’ (Allahes ašuni:11)

5 Biclausal structures with nominalized complements

In nominalized clausal complements marked with the suffix –*li*, the predicate appears in either the past participial form in –*ru* or the present participial form in –*xosi*. If the predicate of the corresponding embedded clause includes the copula ‘be’, that copula appears in its participial form as well: *yāl-ru* for the present (non-past) form, and *zāw-ru* for the past form. Whereas the copula can easily be omitted in matrix clauses, as we have seen in many examples throughout this work, no such omission is possible in the nominalized clause. With the past participle, the complement clause has relative past time reference, and with the present participle, relative present or future time reference.

The nominalizer –*li* can be readily omitted (see CH. YY[NMLZ]), in which case a nominalized clause is indistinguishable from a participial relative (CH.YY[RCs]). For instance, Imnajšvili (1963:236-237) presents the following examples without –*li*, for which our consultants usually suggest reinstating the marker:

(140) Di y-ok’āk’-ru[-li] r-iy-no žedu-r. 1SG.ABS(.II) ii-steal-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PST.nWIT DEM.IPL-LAT ‘They found out (knew) that I was kidnapped.’ (Imnajšvili 1963:236)

(141) Di Ø-oļ’u-xosi[-li]-n r-ij-ir-si; neti 1SG.ABS(.I) i-fall-PRS.PTCP-NMLZ-and IV-know-CAUS-PST.WIT when di Ø-exu-xosi[-li] debe-r r-āy-ā? 2SG-LAT 1SG.ABS(.I) i-die-PRS.PTCP-NMLZ 2SG-LAT IV-know.FUT-INTERR ‘You knew that I fell; will you know when I die?’ (Imnajšvili 1963:237)

The two clauses can of course be distinguished by their function; a nominalized clause appears as a complement to a verb, and a relative clause is adnominal. In the examples below, we always show the nominalizer –*li* for expository purposes.

16 Backward object control is attested in Malagasy (Potsdam 2009).
Nominalized clausal complements are impossible in impersonal constructions such as the ones discussed in section 3.2 above. Compare the well-formed example in (39), repeated below, and the ungrammatical (143):

(142) [C‘i er-a] onoč-a-r isal-xo zow-n.
fire.ABS.IV put-INF hen-OS-LAT be.difficult-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.nWIT
‘It was hard for the hen to light a fire.’ (Onočun, mamalayn:4)

(143) *[Onoč-ä c‘i er-xosi-li] lazataw zow-n.
hen-ERG fire.ABS.IV put-PRS.PTCP-NMLZ pleasant be.PST-PST.nWIT
(‘That the hen was lighting a fire was pleasant.’)

The verbs that take nominalized tensed complements with the nominalization marker –li are mostly cognition and perception verbs, with a lative experiencer and the clausal complement in the absolutive position. For those verbs that mark agreement, the matrix verb agrees with the complement clause in the absolutive position. A number of verbs that take nominalized complement clauses also register long-distance agreement with the embedded absolutive (under proper information-structural conditions), as discussed in CH.YY [AGR].

(144) a. AGR-iy- /AGR-iy-r
   ‘know’/ ‘inform, remind’
b. AGR-ukad-/AGR-uka-r
   ‘see’/ ‘show’
c. AGR-ac-
   ‘dislike, disprefer’
d. bič’zi AGR-oq-/ bič’zi AGR-od-
   ‘be clear’/ ‘explain, make clear’
e. rok’-λo-r AGR-ay- / rok’-λo-r AGR-ay-r
   heart-SUPER-LAT come/ heart-SUPER-LAT come-CAUS
   ‘remember, memorize’/ ‘make remember’
f. rok’-e-r AGR-it-
   heart-OS-LAT touch
   ‘learn, internalize’
g. teq-
   ‘hear’
h. čuq-
   ‘recognize, understand’
i. šuλ’-
   ‘forget’

In addition, verbs of speech also take nominalized complements, although such complements are less common than finite complements, which will be discussed in section 6 below. For example:

(145) Žoy-ä [babič-ä lina-l xizay Ø-egä-ru-li]
lad-ERG father-ERG what-CONT.ESS behind 1-send-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
esi-n.
tell-PST.nWIT
The youngster explained (‘told’) what the father had sent him for." (Eniws esiw:68)

The predicate of the nominalized clause must appear as its final constituent; material in front of the predicate can move around freely inside the clause. For instance, in the following sentence, the embedded predicate is let ‘ix yärlulid; as long as it stays in the final position in the nominalized clause, all other orders are acceptable:

(146) a. [Nel-ä ža bełʼq "u b-ac'-ani-x let’i-x
DEM.n1-ERG DEM sheep.ABS.III III-eat-MASD-AD.ESS pick-PRS
yärlu-li] nesi-r čuqô-no.
be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ DEM.I-LAT recognize-PST.NWIT
b. [Ža bełʼq "u nel-ä b-ac'-ani-x let’i-x
DEM sheep.ABS.III DEM.n1-ERG III-eat-MASD-AD.ESS pick-PRS
yärlu-li] nesi-r čuqô-no.
be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ DEM.I-LAT recognize-PST.NWIT
c. [Ža bełʼq "u b-ac'-ani-x nel-ä let’i-x
DEM sheep.ABS.III III-eat-MASD-AD.ESS DEM.n1-ERG pick-PRS
yärlu-li] nesi-r čuqô-no.
be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ DEM.I-LAT recognize-PST.NWIT
‘He recognized that she was picking that sheep to eat.’ (K’eneč’ :10)

(147) *[Ža bełʼq "u b-ac'-ani-x let’i-x yärlu-li
DEM sheep.ABS.III III-eat-MASD-AD.ESS pick-PRS be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
nel-ä] nesi-r čuqô-no.
DEM.n1-ERG DEM.I-LAT recognize-PST.NWIT

No material inside the nominalized clause can be dislocated into the matrix clause. Observe the following minimal pair. In (148b), the absolutive demonstrative ža appears outside the embedded clause, and the result is ungrammatical:

(148) a. [Ža nesi-s uži yärlu-li]
DEM.ABS(.1) DEM.I-GEN1 boy.ABS.1 be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
Ø-iy-n.
1-know-PST.NWIT
‘He knew that that was his son.’ (Babiwn užin Okun:78)
b. *[Nesi-s uži yärlu-li] Ø-iy-n
DEM.I-GEN1 boy.ABS.1 be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ 1-know-PST.NWIT
ža.
DEM.ABS(.1)

Negative polarity items inside nominalized clauses cannot be licensed by negation on the main predicate. In (149), the negative polarity adverbial didurnokin is appropriately licensed by the negative predicate in the embedded clause; in (150), the negation is too far away from the negative polarity item, and the sentence is ungrammatical, just like its English equivalent.

(149) Učitel-e-r [už-ä darsi didurnokin
teacher-OS-LAT boy-ERG lesson.ABS.III anyhow
b-äy-inč’i-ru-li] bič’zi r-oq-si.

III-do-NEG-PST.PTCP-NMLZ understand IV-become-PST.WIT

‘The teacher understood that the boy did not prepare the lesson at all.’

(150) *Učitel-e-r [už-ā darsi didurnokin
teacher-OS-LAT boy-ERG lesson.ABS.III anyhow
b-äy-ru-łi] bič’zi r-oq-inč’u.

III-do-PST.PTCP-NMLZ understand IV-become-PST.WIT.NEG

(‘The teacher did not understand that the boy prepared the lesson at all.’)

In CH.YY [AGR, LDA], we show that the material inside the nominalized clause cannot interact scopally with the constituents of the matrix clause. Wh-words inside a nominalized complement cannot take scope over the matrix clause. For instance, (151) means ‘Did you understand who stole the money?’ but not ‘Who did you understand stole the money?’.

(151) [lu micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yāl-ru-li]

who.ERG money.ABS.III III-steal-PRS.PTCP be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
debe-r čuq-ä?

2SG-LAT understand-PST.WIT.INTERR

‘Did you understand who was stealing the money?’

Embedded nominalizations can be coordinated. For example:

(152) Xan-e-r bič’zi r-oq-no [elo q’ano c’ohor

king-OS-LAT understand IV-become-PST.NWIT there two thief.ABS.1
zāw-ru-łi]-n [sisi-ni-gon el-āy Ø-oxi-n

be.PST-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-and other-DEF.ABS(.I)-CONTR there-ABL 1-run-PFV.CVB
Ø-äk’i-ru-łi]-n.

1-go-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-and

‘The king understood that there had been two thieves and that the other one had run away from here.’ (Q’ano guluči sis aqiw esnabi:25)

Nominalized complement clauses typically occur in the object position immediately before the complement-taking verb (preceded by the lative argument), or at the left edge of the sentence, as in (151). In elicitations, native speakers usually place nominalized complement clauses before the verb, but text examples also instantiate postverbal placement.

6 Finite clauses with the enclitic –ľin

6.1 General remarks

The quotative enclitic –ľin (glossed as QUOT) typically serves to mark clausal complements. This enclitic probably developed from a truncated form of the verb eľin ‘said.PAST.NON-WITNESSED’ (root eľ-). In addition to combining with finite clause, –ľin can also combine with quoted fragments smaller than a clause. In particular, it always appears on proper names when those names are predicative nominals, as in the following example:

(153) Nesi-ľ’ ci-gon ʕUmarqilič-ľin zow-n.
DEM.I-SUPER.ESS  name.ABS.IV-CONTR  Umarqili-QUOT  be.PST-PST.NWIT
‘His name was Umarqili.’ (ʕAliqili:1)

This usage is related to the presence of the verb eƛ- ‘say’ in the resultative participial form, which is more often than not omitted. This resultative participle is overt in the following example, where a proper name is introduced:

(154) Sis  zow-n-ƛaƛx  [Goqi-ƛin  eƛ-äsi]  miskinaw
one  be.PST-PST.NWIT-QUOT  Goqi-QUOT  say-RES.PTCP  poor
žek’u.
person.ABS.I
‘Once there lived a poor man called Goqi.’ (Goqin zirun:1)

Complements marked with -ƛin are extremely common and are selected by a wide variety of verbs, from verbs of speech to propositional attitude verbs to a large number of control verbs. It is probably easier to list the verbs that do not take quotative complements; these include some restructuring predicates, the modal and aspectual verbs discussed in section 3, subject control verbs (section 4.2.2), the verb AGR-ulʔ- ‘fear; be afraid’, the verb AGR-egir- ‘send’, and the verbs ruhun AGR-oq- ‘learn’/ruhun AGR-od- ‘teach’.

In texts, the embedding verb can be omitted, leaving -ƛin as the only signal of reported speech or of the embedded structure; this is particularly common for the verbs of speaking and propositional attitude verbs. As a result, the sentence may contain multiple occurrences of –ƛin in the absence of a matrix verb, as in the following example. The first and the last clauses in (155) appear with –ƛin, and both represent reported speech, presumably embedded under the presupposed verbs of speaking.

(155) [Ø-eñooy-xo-zo  gurow  žek’u-r  dä-de  idu  Ø-ič-a
1-work-PRS-ATTR.OBL  except  person-LAT  1SG-APUD.ESS  home  1-stay-INF
moči  ānu-ƛin],  [eniw=babiy-ä  nesi-s  nesi-r
place.ABS.III  be.PRS-NEG-QUOT  parents-ERG  DEM.I-GEN1  DEM.I-LAT
laşli-n  tel-ƛ-no],  [O-eye-ni  uži  mahor
lamb.ABS.II-and  give-PFV.CVb  1-young-DEF  boy.ABS.I  outside-LAT
Ø-ox-ir-no],  [debe-r  r-āti-z-a  Ø-ik’i-n
I-run-CAUS-CVB  2SG-LAT  IV-want-ATTR.OBL.DIST-VERS  I-go-PFV.CVb
Šumru  b-od-o-ƛin].
life.ABS.III  III-do-IMPER-QUOT
‘There is no place at my home except for those who work’, the parents [said], [then]
gave him his little lamb, and chased the youngest son out, [telling him] that he should go
where he wants and live [there].’ (λelä bečed ädiru miskin žek’u:8)

The clause marked by –ƛin is finite; the predicate of that clause has tense marking and polarity suffixes. In particular, clauses marked by –ƛin can include interrogative marking (156), or imperative marking (155) on the embedded predicate. Although exclamatives do not have a dedicated marker they can also appear with –ƛin, as shown in (157).
(156) [Yila čant-ā-kin an-ā r-ac’-ani-x
DEM.nl bag-IN.ESS-FOC be.PRS.NEG-INTERR IV-eat.TR-MASD-AD.ESS
šēbin-ƛin] rok’-ƛ’ o-r r-ay-n.
thing.ABS.IV-QUOT heart-SUPER-LAT IV-come-PST.nWIT
(He) tried to recall whether there was something to eat in that very bag.’ (lit.: recalled wasn’t there something to eat… ) (Ceyes sayyat:37)

(157) [Wah žigon šebi-tow nesi-r r-eti-n-ƛin]
whoa again what.ABS.IV-FOC DEM.I-LAT IV-want-PST.nWIT-QUOT
esir-no nel-ā.
ask-PST.nWIT DEM.nl-ERG
‘Whoa, what else does he want!’ she exclaimed. (C’irdux:36)

Clauses marked by –ƛin can be coordinated:

(158) Di šul’-ir-si [magazine-y-ā-γor y-ik’-ān-ƛin]-no
1SG.ERG forget-CAUS-PST.WIT store-OS-IN-VERS II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT-and
[kayat y-eger-ān-ƛin]-no.
letter.ABS.II II-send-FUT.DEF-QUOT-and
‘I (woman speaking) forgot to go to the store and to mail a letter.’ (lit.: forgot that I was going and that I was sending…)

Clauses set off by –ƛin can also occur iteratively; in the following example, the first complement is embedded under a cognition verb, whose own clause is embedded under a verb of speaking:

(159) [[Dä-l-er hal-ruh r-ay-n-ā-ƛin]
1SG-CONT-LAT [health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL nIPL-come-PST.nWIT-INTERR-QUOT
r-iy-r-a r-eti-n-ƛin] eľi-n cey-ä.
IV-know-CAUS-INF IV-want-PST.nWIT-QUOT say-PST.nWIT eagle-ERG
‘The eagle said, ‘I want to find out if my might has come back to me.’ (based on Ceyes sayyat:8)

If a given matrix verb has agreement marking, that verb agrees with the complement clause in gender IV. For instance, in (160), the complement clause is in the absolutive position of the complex verb rok’ƛ’ or AGR-ay ‘remember, recall (lit.: come upon heart)’. The complement clause is either the subject or the extraposed sentential complement of the unaccusative predicate ‘be bad’; if the latter, the predicate agrees with the silent expletive pronoun in gender IV. The two analytical options are shown in (160-i) and (160-ii):

(160) [Mi hemedur q’waridi y-oq-xo-ƛin] žuka
2SG.ABS(II) so sad II-become-PRS-QUOT.ABS.IV bad
r-oq-si.
IV-become-PST.WIT
‘It was not good that you (speaking to a woman) were so sad.’

i. [Mi hemedur q’waridi yoqxoƛin] žuka r-oqsi.
SENTENTIAL SUBJECT PREDICATE
ii. expl [mi hemedur q’waridi yoqxoƛin] žuka r-oqsi.
In the following example, a finite clausal complement is embedded under the conditional AGR-esu-näy, and the embedding verb agrees with the complement in gender IV:

(161) [Debe-q kid y-od-ir-ol-ƛ-ƛ in] r-esu-näy…
‘If you could have a daughter…’

An absolutive constituent inside a quotative complement can never induce long-distance agreement, which makes these clauses different from the nominalized complements, as shown in (162). Example (162b) is minimally different from (162a) in that the complex matrix verb harizi AGR-od- agrees with the embedded absolutive baša in gender III, but because LDA is impossible over the quotative, this agreement renders the sentence ungrammatical.

(162) a. [Behizi r-oq-näy, dā-q baša possible IV-become-COND.CVB 1SG-POSS.ESS finger.ABS.III
     b-ati-n-ƛ-ƛ in] di debe-q harizi r-oy-x.
     III-put-PROH-QUOT 1SG.ERG 2SG-POSS.ESS requestIV-do-PRS
‘If possible don’t touch me, I am begging you.’ (Xanno, nesisgon .getFont užin:108)

b. *[Dā-q baša b-āti-n-ƛ-ƛ in] di debe-q harizi r-oy-x.
     1SG-POSS.ESS finger.ABS.III III-put-PROH-QUOT 1SG.ERG
dobe-q harizi b-oy-x.
     2SG-POSS.ESS request III-do-PRS

Constituents of the clause with the quotative marker cannot interact scopally with constituents of the higher clause. In particular, a negative verb that takes a finite complement clause cannot license negative polarity items inside that complement clause; thus, in (163), the negative polarity item sidxokin ‘anyone’ cannot be licensed by negation on the higher verb:

(163) *Eniw razi y-oq-inč’u [kid sid-xo-kin
     mother.ABS.II agree II-become-PST.NEG girl.ABS.II one.OBL-AD.ESS-FOC
     y-egir- xo-ƛ-ƛ in].
     II-send-PRS-QUOT
(‘Mother did not agree to marry (lit.: send) the girl off to anyone.’)

No material from a finite complement can be dislocated into the matrix clause. Compare the well-formed example (156) above and its ungrammatical counterpart where the locative constituent yila čantākin is dislocated to the matrix clause:

(164) *[An-ā r-ac’-ani-x šebin-ƛ-ƛ in]
     be.PRS.NEG-INTERR IV-eat.TR-MASD-AD.ESS thing.ABS.IV-QUOT
     yila čant-ā-kin rok’-ƛ’or r-ay-n.
     DEM.nI bag-IN.ESS-FOC heart-SUPER-LAT IV-come-PST.nWIT
(‘(He) tried to recall whether there was something to eat in that very bag.’)
Typically, a clause marked with -ƛin linearly precedes the verb that takes that complement, but the complement can also appear further to the left of its selecting verb. The availability of a postverbal position for a clause marked by the quotative varies depending on the type of the matrix verb. For instance, building on example (159), the following order, where the predicate riya retin ‘want to know’ precedes the quotative complement, is unacceptable:

(165) #Dä-r  r-iy-r-a  r-eti-n  dä-l-er  
1SG-LAT  IV-know-CAUS-INF  IV-want-PST.nWIT  1SG-CONT-LAT  
hal-ruh  r-ay-n-ā-ƛin.  
[health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL  nIPL-come-PST.nWIT-INTERR-QUOT  
(‘I want to find out if my might has come back to me.’)

With verbs of speech and propositional attitude verbs, finite clausal complements can follow the verb quite easily. Building on example (159) again, the orders in (166a, b) are both quite common (with a pause between the matrix verb and the rest of the sentence, indicated by # below):

(166) a. Cey-ä  eƛi-n#  dä-l-er  hal-ruh  
eagle-ERG  say-PST.nWIT  1SG-CONT-LAT  [health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL  
1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS II-go-FUT.DEF  
hal-ruh  r-ay-n-ā-ƛin.  
[health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL  nIPL-come-PST.nWIT-INTERR-QUOT  
(‘The eagle said, “I want to find out if my might has come back to me.”’)

b. Cey-ä  pikru  b-oy-n#  dä-l-er  
eagle-ERG  thought.ABS.III do-PST.nWIT  1SG-CONT-LAT  
1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS II-go-FUT.DEF  
[health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL  nIPL-come-PST.nWIT-INTERR-QUOT  
(‘The eagle was thinking, “Has my might come back to me?”’)

6.2 Two functions of -ƛin

So far we have concentrated on general properties of quotative clauses without establishing more fine-grained distinctions, in particular, treating matrix verbs that can combine with quotative clauses as a homogeneous class. This was a simplification however. Consider the following contrast. Example (167) shows a root clause, where the word order is completely free (we do not show all the orders because the relevant factor is what appears in the final position).

(167) a. Di  magazine-y-ā-yor  y-ik’-ān.  
1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS II-go-FUT.DEF  

b. Magazine-y-ā-yor  y-ik’-ān  di.  
store-OS-IN-VERS II-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(.II)  

c. Di  y-ik’-ān  magazine-y-ā-yor.  
1SG.ABS(.II) II-go-FUT.DEF store-OS-IN-VERS  
(‘I (woman speaking) am going to the store.’)
Depending on the matrix verb, the word order possibilities for a clause like (167) combined with the quotative enclitic vary. In (168), where the matrix verb is ‘to complain’, all the orders available in the matrix clause are possible in the clause marked with –ƛ:

(168) a. Di ʕarza boy-s [di magazine-y-ʔor
1SG.ERG complain-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS
y-ik’-ān-ƛin].
II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) complained that I have to go to the store.’
b. Di ʕarza boy-s [magazine-y-ʔor
1SG.ERG complain-PST.WIT store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
y-ik’-ān di-ƛin].
II-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(.II)-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) complained that I have to go to the store.’
c. Di ʕarza boy-s [di y-ik’-ān
1SG.ERG complain-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) II-go-FUT.DEF
magazine-y-ʔor-ƛin].
store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) complained that I have to go to the store.’

Furthermore, in such sentences, –ƛ in can occur more than once:

(169) Di ʕarza boy-s [di-ƛin magazine-y-ʔor
1SG.ERG complain-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II)-QUOT store-OS-IN-VERS
y-ik’-ān-ƛin].
II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) complained that I have to go to the store.’

But in the following examples, with the matrix verb ‘to forget’, only one word order is possible in the embedded clause, verb-final (other constituents in the embedded clause can switch the order as long as they precede the verb):

(170) a. Di šuƛ’-ir-si [di magazine-y-ʔor
1SG.ERG forget-CAUS-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS
y-ik’-ān-ƛin].
II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) forgot to go to the store.’ (lit.: that I was going to the store)
b. *Di šuƛ’-ir-si [magazine-y-ʔor
1SG.ERG forget-CAUS-ST.WIT store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
y-ik’-ān di-ƛin].
II-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(.II)-QUOT
‘I (woman speaking) forgot that I have to go to the store.’
c. *Di šuƛ’-ir-si [di y-ik’-ān
1SG.ERG forget-CAUS-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) II-go-FUT.DEF
magazine-y-ʔor-ƛin].
store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
The doubling of the enclitic, as in (169), is impossible:

(171) Di šuƛ’-ir-si [di-(*)ƛin] magazine-y-a-yor
     1SG.ERG forget-CAUS-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS.(II)-QUOT store-OS-IN-VERS
     y-ik’-ān-ƛin].
     II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
     ‘I (woman speaking) forgot to go to the store.’ (lit.: that I was going to the store)

The difference between ‘complain’ and ‘forget’ is that the latter verb requires a genuine embedded clause, i.e., a clausal complement, whereas ‘complain’ (as well as ‘say’) is more flexible, being compatible with a complement clause and a direct quotation. Compare a similar contrast in English:

(172) a. She complained, ‘Oh, I need to go to the grocery store’.
     b. She complained that she needed to go to the grocery store.
(173) a. *She forgot, ‘Oh, I need to go to the grocery store’.
     b. She forgot that she needed to go to the grocery store.

The enclitic –ƛin appears in both contexts, introducing a complement clause and introducing direct quotation (DQ). This means that it has two distinct functions: (i) marking genuine complementation, as a complementizer introducing a finite clausal complement (FCC below); and (ii) introducing quoted direct speech (DQ). Unambiguously embedding predicates such as ‘forget’ or ‘want’ require that their embedded clauses have a strictly verb-final order, which is consistent with the word order of all other embeddings in Tsez (relative clauses, infinitival and masdar clauses, and nominalized clauses). When –ƛin marks a direct quotation, that clause is not embedded, which is why all word orders available in independent (root) clauses are still possible.

If we now turn to those verbs that allow both finite complement clauses and direct quotation, a question arises as to how complementation and direct quotation can be distinguished. Unless the word order is straightforward, as in (174) below, it is not immediately obvious which function –ƛin serves in these cases (and, consequently, what type of clause the matrix verb takes, DQ or FCC).

(174) [Dā-z ža-s halmay-bi yoł yizi-ƛin]
     1SG-GEN2 son-GEN1 friend-PL.ABS.IPL be.PRS DEM.IPL.ABS-QUOT
     esi-n nes-ā Ražbadin-qo.
     say-PST.NWIT DEM.I-ERG Rajbaddin-POSS.ESS
     ‘‘They are my son’s friends,’’ he said to Rajbaddin.’ (Ražbadinno, Tawadin:165)

That leaves a large body of clauses marked with –ƛin that are ambiguous between a finite-complement-clause interpretation and direct quotation. A similar functional ambiguity is observed in Tatar, where the respective quotative marker is ambiguous between a complementizer and an introducer of direct speech (Podobryaev 2014). Yet another, more complex diagnostic separating FCC and DQ (and accordingly, the two functions of –ƛin) stems from the phenomenon of indexical shift, which we turn to below.
6.3 Indexical shift in finite complement clauses

Consider the following Tsez sentence:

(175) Irbahin-ä [di ṣayibiyaw yol-ƛin] eƛi-x.

Ibrahim-ERG 1SG.ABS wrong/foolish be.PRS-QUOT say-PRS

(i) ‘Ibrahim says that I was wrong.’
(ii) ‘Ibrahim says that he was wrong.’

The interpretation of this sentence relies on the interpretation of the indexical I. In general terms, an indexical expression is a word or phrase whose meaning is not determined in the lexicon; instead, its reference is associated with different referents or meanings on different occasions. Indexical expressions include first and second person pronouns, as well as deictic words such as today, now, here, or that.\(^{17}\)

In English, the literal translation of (175) is unambiguous; it can only mean “Ibrahim says that I was wrong”. The meaning of I is fixed by the reference to the speaker of the utterance, never in reference to the attitude holder (Ibrahim). In Tsez, however, (175) is ambiguous out of context. It could either mean that the speaker of the utterance is wrong (i) or that Ibrahim, the speaker in the reported context (~attitude holder), is wrong (ii). In other words, the utterance context calls for interpretation (i), because all the indices in the utterance are interpreted in relation to the speaker (I); meanwhile the local context imposes interpretation (ii). This latter interpretation involves indexical shift: a shift in the interpretation of the indexical expression (in this case I) from the (expected) utterance context to the context of Ibrahim’s speech act.

(176) **Indexical shift**

A phenomenon wherein the semantic value of an indexical expression can be changed from being determined by the utterance context to being determined by the context of the reported speech act.

Under undexical shift, one can observe two readings, not one; the expected reading, determined by the context (we will be referring to it as indexical reading, IR), and the shifted reading (SR), which is made available by the context of the reported speech act, with the attitude holder rather than the speaker of the utterance serving as the reference point.

The phenomenon of indexical shift, which philosophers of language have explicitly rejected (see Kaplan 1977; 1979/1989) on the assumption that the semantic values of I, you or now are innately identified with their referents, has nevertheless proven quite pervasive across a number of languages. So far, it has been documented in Navajo (Speas 1999), Donno So (Culy 1994), Amharic (Schlenker 1999, 2003), Nez Perce (Deal 2012), Matses (Munro et al. 2012), Slave

\(^{17}\) Another way to capture the shifting nature of indexicals is to analyze them as having two kinds of meaning (Kaplan 1989, a.o.). The first kind of meaning is often called ‘character’ or ‘linguistic meaning’; the second sort is often called ‘content’. Using this terminology, we can say that I has a single character (or linguistic meaning), but may have different contents depending on the context.
Rice (1986), Uyghur (Sudo 2012; Shklovsky and Sudo 2014), Zazaki (Anand 2006; Anand and Nevins 2004), Tatar (Podobryaev 2014), Aghem (Hyman 1988; Hyman and Polinsky 2009), Gokana (Hyman and Comrie 1981), several other West African languages (Nikitina 2012, 2013), and a number of sign languages (Zucchi 2004, Quer 2005). Within Nakh-Dagestanian, indexical shift (not under that name) has been documented at least in Hinuq (Forker 2013: 662-664), a language closely related to Tsez; in Udi (Schütze 1994: 500); in Kryz (Authier 2009: 289ff.); in Chechen (Nichols 1994a: 61), and in Ingush (Nichols 1994b: 128).

6.3.1 Indexical shift contexts

Tsez clearly belongs on the list of indexical-shifting languages. Indexical shift from the speaker to an attitude holder is permitted in, and only in, finite complement clauses. This is where the difference between such clauses and direct quotation becomes relevant again. Compare the following example (a variation on example (168) above):

(177) a. Mariyat-ä ʕarza boy-s [di magazine-y-ɑ-yor
Mariyat-ERG complain-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS
y-ik’-ɑn-λin].
II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
‘Mariyat complained that I have to go to the store.’ (IR)
‘Mariyat complained that she has to go to the store.’ (SR)

b. Mariyat-ä ʕarza boy-s [magazine-y-ɑ-yor
Mariyat-ERG complain-PST.WIT store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
y-ik’-ɑn di-λin].
II-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(.II)-QUOT
‘Mariyat complained, “I have to go to the store.”’ = ‘Mariyat complained that she has to go to the store.’
NOT: ‘Mariyat complained that I have to go to the store.’ (IR)

c. Mariyat-ä ʕarza boy-s [di y-ik’-ɑn
Mariyat-ERG complain-PST.WIT 1SG.ABS(.II) II-go-FUT.DEF
magazine-y-ɑ-yor-λin].
store-OS-IN-VERS-QUOT
‘Mariyat complained, “I have to go to the store.”’ = ‘Mariyat complained that she has to go to the store.’
NOT: ‘Mariyat complained that I have to go to the store.’ (IR)

These examples show that indexical shift is possible only under genuine embedding (which is signaled by the surface verb-final order) but not under direct quotation as in (177b,c).

Further, indexical shift is possible only under finite-clause embedding, not in other types of embedded clauses. Compare the finite clause in (178a), which allows indexical shift, to the nominalized clause in (178b), which does not.

(178) a. Žoy-ä neło-qo-r [babiɣ-ɑ di
lad-ERG DEM.nI-POSS-LAT father-ERG 1SG.ABS(.I)
Ø-egir-si-λin] esi-n.
I-send-PST.WIT-QUOT tell-PST.nWIT
Indexical shift is possible only within complements embedded under certain propositional attitude and speech verbs. With other verbs, indexical shift is unacceptable. For example, it is impossible with the verb ‘try, attempt’, as in the next example:

[Di nesi-x y-ik’-inč’u-ƛin] xan-e-z kid-b-ä
1SG.ABS(.II) DEM.I-AD.ESS II-go-FUT.NEG-QUOT king-OS-GEN2 girl-OS-ERG
xalbiki b-odi-n.
attempt.ABS.III III-do-PST.nWIT

‘The king’s daughter tried to make sure that I (woman speaking) would not marry him.’
NOT: ‘The king’s daughter tried not to marry him.’

The verbs that allow indexical shift are as follows:\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{align}
\text{(179)} & \quad \text{Verbs that allow indexical shift} \\
\text{a.} & \quad \text{AGR-ukad- ‘see’; moƛax AGR-ukad- ‘see in a dream’} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{bičzi rod- ‘explain’} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{buž(z)i AGR-oq- ‘believe’} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{eƛ- ‘say’} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{es- ‘tell’; heresi es- ‘lie’} \\
\text{f.} & \quad \text{esir- ‘ask’} \\
\text{g.} & \quad \text{harizi rod- ‘request, ask’} \\
\text{h.} & \quad \text{kul er- ‘hope’} \\
\text{i.} & \quad \text{ƛ’iräy AGR-oq- ‘apologize’ (lit.: pull someone from above)} \\
\text{j.} & \quad \text{ƛ’iräy AGR-oq- ‘be forgiven’ (lit.: from above become)} \\
\text{k.} & \quad \text{ƛ’iri ris- ‘promise’ (lit.: take upon)} \\
\text{l.} & \quad \text{pikru bod- ‘think’ (lit.: do thought)} \\
\text{m.} & \quad \text{p’alanaad- ‘brag, lie’} \\
\text{n.} & \quad \text{roķ’u roƛ- ‘worry’ (lit.: heart hurts)} \\
\text{o.} & \quad \text{šuƛ’-/šuƛ’-ir- ‘be forgotten/forget’} \\
\text{p.} & \quad \text{N+ teƛ- ‘give’} \\
\text{q.} & \quad \text{izmu teƛ- ‘allow, permit’ (lit.: give permission)} \\
\text{r.} & \quad \text{roži teƛ- ‘promise’ (lit.: give word)} \\
\end{align}

\textsuperscript{18} This list may not be exhaustive; it was established on the basis of narrative texts and elicitations, but we cannot exclude the possibility that other verbs may also permit indexical shift.
q. t’et’r- ‘read’

r. čarza bod- ‘complain’ (lit.: make complaint)

Only personal pronouns shift, regardless of their function in the embedded clause. We have already seen examples of a shifted pronoun in the subject position; in the next sentence it appears as the adnominal genitive:

(181) [Dey uži halaq’ Ø-oq-xo Ø-ik’i-x-ƛ̱i]
    lSG.GEN boy.ABS skinny l-become-IPFV.CVB l-go-PRS-QUOT
    nel-ä eƛ̱i-s.
    DEM.nl-ERG say-PST.WIT

‘She said that my son is getting skinnier and skinnier.’ (IR)
‘She said that her son is getting skinnier and skinnier.’ (SR)

This example indicates that the structural position of the pronoun does not affect the possibility of indexical shift.

Next, indexical shift is equally possible for second person pronouns, for example:

(182) Irbahin-ä zarema-qo-r [mi ƛ̱ir-äy]
    Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT 2SG.ABS(.II) above-ABL
    y-oq-si-ƛ̱i
    II-become-PST.WIT-QUOT tell-PST.WIT

‘Ibrahim told Zarema that you (female addressee) are forgiven.’ (IR)
‘Ibrahim told Zarema that shei was forgiven.’ (SR)

(183) [Debe-r r-oq-si-ƛ̱i] ƛ̱ir-äy ža
    2SG-LAT nIPL-become-PST.WIT-QUOT above-ABL DEM.ABS(.II)
    y-oγ-no.19
    II-pull-PST.nWIT

‘(They) apologized to her for treating you badly.’ (IR)
‘(They) apologized to her for treating her badly.’ (SR) (Isis rigi:15)

Since Tsez freely allows the omission of argument (and adjunct) noun phrases, a question arises: is the same sentence ambiguous with a null pronoun? As (184) shows, it is not only ambiguous, but also has additional, unanticipated interpretations (the addressee of the utterance was wrong; a third party was wrong):

(184) Irbahin-ä [pro ƛ̱ayibiyaw yoł-ƛ̱i] eƛ̱i-x.
    Ibrahim-ERG 1SG.ABS wrong/foolish be.PRS-QUOT say-PRS

‘Ibrahim says that I was wrong.’ (IR)
‘Ibrahim says that you were wrong.’ (IR)

19 In the context of the fairy tale from which this sentence it is taken, it is unambiguously interpreted as shifted. The verb AGR-oq- ‘become’ is used in the embedded clause of an idiomatic reading; with a lative object, it means ‘to be unpleasant/nasty to someone’.

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‘Ibrahimi says that he/she/they was/were wrong.’
While personal pronouns shift, the index of temporal or locative deictic expressions does not. In (185), *ɣude* ‘tomorrow’ could in principle mean ‘the day after the moment of the utterance [now]’ or ‘last Sunday’. Yet the sentence below can describe Ibrahim’s, not the speaker’s plans, and still refer to the day after the time of the utterance, not the Sunday of last week. The direct-quotation reading is the only one where *ɣude* refers to the previous Sunday.

(185) [Di *ɣude* kino-me-xor Ø-ik’-ān-ลān] eλ’i 
*šamat-λ’o* eλi-s irbahin-ā.  
Saturday-SUPER.ESS say-PST.WIT Ibrahim-ERG

(i) ‘Ibrahim said last Saturday that I was going to the movies tomorrow.’  (IR)
(ii) ‘Ibrahim said last Saturday that he was going to the movies tomorrow.’  (SR)
(iii) ‘Ibrahim said last Saturday, “I am going to the movies tomorrow.”’  (DQ)

In (186) we find the adverb *elo*, which is potentially ambiguous between ‘here’ and ‘there’. Regardless of the interpretation of the sentence as indexical or shifted, this adverb still has the same interpretation, indicating that locative deictic phrases do not shift either.

(186) [Elo dā-q qʾano k’onk’a zow-n-ลān] 
*nesi-r* bič’zi r-oq-no. 
DEM.I-LAT understand IV-become-PST.nWIT

‘He understood that I must have had two bicycles there/here.’
‘He, understood that he, must have had two bicycles there/here.’

These examples show that indexical shift is not a free-for-all process and is constrained by certain principles. The restriction against shifting the meaning of ‘tomorrow’ is not unique to Tsez (Navajo seems to have the same restriction, see Speas 1999). However, less is known about the properties of indexical shift beyond the domain of pronouns, so cross-linguistic generalizations in this domain may be premature.

Overall, indexical shift is very common in texts and in spontaneous discourse. Occasionally, when several clausal complements occur one after another, it is possible to see an embedding with demonstratives, where no possibility for shifting exists, followed by another embedded complement with first or second pronoun, which does allow for indexical shift. Here is a typical example from a text:

(187) Tawad-ä harizi r-odi-n Ražbadin-qo 
Tawadi-ERG request.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.nWIT Rajbaddin-POSS.ESS
[nesi-s-no halmay-λi-s-no siršay’a hadur 
DEM.I-GEN1-and friend-NMLZ-GEN1-and horses.ABS.nIPL ready 
*r-od-o-ลān*, nIPL-do-IMPER-nWIT]
‘Tawadi asked Rajbaddinj to get hisi and the friendsk’ horses ready, [and said] “Wei+j+k must go back right away.” (Ražbadinno Tawadin:85)

The first embedded clause (nesisno halmaɣł isno siršaw’a hadur rodožin) includes a demonstrative, which is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of the main clause (Tawadi); this is consistent with the generalizations outlined above. The addressee is also male, so there is a potential for ambiguity, but the absence of –tow signals coreference with the subject, not the addressee. The embedded clause is closed off by –ƛin. In the next embedded clause, presumably embedded under the presupposed verb ɛlin ‘said’, we find the first person pronoun ʒedu, which is shifted; its index is associated with the attitude holder and his referential group, not the speaker and hearer of the utterance. Examples like this indicate that indexical shift is clause-bound and does not spread over the entire discourse. However, the order of embedded clauses that places the non-shifted clause before the shifted clause (no shift >> shift) is strongly preferred over the opposite order (shift >> no shift).

6.3.2 Properties of indexical shift in Tsez

Studies of indexical shift have uncovered a number of recurring properties associated with such shifting, and in this section, we will present several such properties which are found in Tsez as well. The presence of these properties offers further support for the conclusion that Tsez indeed has indexical shift.

The first such property involves the distinction between de dicto (‘what is said’) and de re (“related to a particular thing”) descriptions (Quine 1980). Suppose Mary knows of Bill under two guises. Under one, which could be the guise of the company boss, Mary thinks of Bill as a conscientious character who would not engage in rummaging through people’s offices in the evening and blogging or tweeting about what was found there. Under the other guise, the person she saw sneaking out of her office late in the evening, she thinks of him as a suspicious character nosing around. The first guise is associated with the term ‘Boss’, and the second, with the term ‘Snitch’. On that distinction, the following sentence is false; it is impossible to alternate ‘Boss’ and ‘Snitch’ freely without violating the truth conditions on Mary’s beliefs:

(188) Mary believes that the Boss is the Snitch.

The infelicity of (188) is the key to the semantic distinction between de dicto and de re construals:

(189) Semantically de re/de dicto:
An expression is semantically de re only in the case that it permits substitution of a co-designating term without the violation of truth conditions (salva veritate). Otherwise, it is semantically de dicto.

Quotations do not support de re construal, under which a noun phrase is interpreted as denoting a
specific individual. Imagine that Ibrahim met Ali but does not know that Ali is actually the boss. The English sentence in (190a) would then be inappropriate to describe Ibrahim’s encounter, because the noun phrase the boss must be interpreted de dicto. Instead, (190b) should be used.

(190)  a. Ibrahim said, “I have spoken to the boss of the company.”
    b. Ibrahim said, “I have spoken to Ali.”

But in Tsez, if the speaker wants to describe to a third party that Ibrahim has spoken to Ali, the equivalent of (190a) is completely felicitous:20

(191) [Di ḥakim-qo xabaryay-si-ƛin] dā-q eƛi-s
     1SG.ABS(.I) boss-POSS.ESS talk-PST.WIT-QUOT 1SG-POSS.ESS say-pst.WIT
    irbahin-ä.
    Ibrahim-ERG
    ‘Ibrahim told me that he had talked to Ali.’ (lit.: I spoke to the boss)

Thus, the description ‘the boss’ in (191) is interpreted de re, despite the presence of the quotative marker on the embedded clause. This indicates that the clause marked by –ƛin is a genuine embedding, and one that allows indexical shifting.

Next, wh-words in genuine quotatives do not interact with the material of a higher clause. In the following English sentences, what in the quoted question does not take scope over the word say:

(192)  a. Ibrahim said, “What don’t you understand?”
    b. Did Ibrahim say, “What don’t you understand?’

In Tsez, however, the corresponding sentence involves indexical shift and šebi ‘what’ takes scope over the eƛ-:

(193) Irbahin-ä [dā-r šebi r-iy-x-ānu-ƛin]
     Ibrahim-ERG 1SG-LAT what.ABS.IV IV-know-PRS-NEG-QUOT
     eƛ-ä?
     say-PST.WIT.INTERR
     ‘What did Ibrahim say that I did not know?’ (IR)
     ‘What did Ibrahim; say that he; did not know?’ (SR)

Another recurrent property of indexical shift is the property known as shift-together. If a finite clausal complement includes a first and a second person pronoun, these pronouns either do not shift, or have to shift together. In the following sentence, only two interpretations are possible:21

(194) Irbahin-ä zarema-q-or [di dow-ƛ’o-r

20 See Deal (2012) for similar observations in Nez Perce.
21 The embedded verb in (194) overtly marks gender agreement. If the speaker of that utterance is a woman, ambiguity does not arise and only the shifted interpretation is possible (the embedded verb would have to be marked for gender II to reference the female speaker).
Likewise, if an embedded clause has two instances of the same pronoun, both have to be indexical or both have to shift. It is impossible to have just one shifted item.

These shift-together facts are consistent with observations on indexical shift in other languages, where the same constraint applies (see Anand and Nevins 2006 for Zazaki; Podobryaev 2014 for Tatar). The existence of this constraint suggests that the mechanism that is responsible for indexical shift takes scope over the entire embedded clause, not just a particular pronoun.

So far we have concentrated on singular pronouns. The data on plural pronouns are much less clear; since Tsez does not have inclusive/exclusive distinctions in the plural, indexical shift is not as apparent. When a plural personal pronoun is used, there is often a possibility that the attitude holder is included in the relevant group. However, in contexts where the contrast is presented in such a way that the attitude holder and the referents of the plural pronoun are well differentiated, both readings are possible, just like in the singular:

Let us now turn to the encoding of third persons. To indicate third persons, Tsez uses only demonstratives. Recall that there are no third person pronouns except the silent one (pro); that
silent pronoun can participate in indexical shift, as shown above in example (184). Embedded
demonstratives however can never refer to utterance speakers and their addressees. As for the
attitude holder and his/her addressee, those referents can be expressed by demonstratives in finite
embedded clauses. Compare the now familiar example with a demonstrative in place of the first
person pronoun:

(198) Irbahin-ä [ţa ʕayibiyaw yo-ɿin] eɿi-x.
    Ibrahimi-ERG DEM.ABS wrong/foolish be.PRS-QUOT say-PRS
    ‘Ibrahimi says that he was wrong.’

Example (198) is ambiguous: ţa may refer to the attitude holder or to yet another third person.
Because it is impossible to tell whether there is an omitted argument represented by a pronoun or
a demonstrative, we find the same type of ambiguity in sentences with argument drop; consider
the example with multiple ambiguity in (184) above.

6.3.3 Forcing or avoiding indexical shift

Let us revisit the sentence that we started this discussion with:

(199) Irbahin-ä [di ʕayibiyaw yo-ɿin] eɿi-x.
    Ibrahimi-ERG 1SG.ABS wrong/foolish be.PRS-QUOT say-PRS
    ‘Ibrahim says that I was wrong.’ (IR)
    ‘Ibrahimi says that he was wrong.’ (SR)

Of course, sentences of the sort discussed here are not always ambiguous, and it takes serious
elicitation work to explore the possibilities present in Tsez, or any other language for that matter.
In addition to the general context, which comes to the rescue when ambiguities between
indexical and shifted interpretations arise, two disambiguating strategies deserve mention here:
use of the focus particle –tow and agreement.

The use of the focus enclitic –tow is a allows Tsez speakers to distinguish the indexical and the
shifted readings leaving no room for ambiguity. The presence of –tow on a potentially
ambiguous pronoun categorically blocks the indexical interpretation. In other words, -tow blocks
the indexical reading.

(200) If a potentially ambiguous pronoun in a finite complement clause is marked with the
focus enclitic –tow, only the shifted interpretation is possible.

Compare (201a) and (201b) for first person and (202a) and (202b) for second person:

(201) a. Nes-ä [dä-q qˤanoquno ɿeb yo-ɿin]
    DEM.I-ERG 1SG.POSS.ESS forty year.ABS.III be.PRS-QUOT
    eɿi-s.
    say-PST.WIT
    ‘He said that I was 40 years old.’ (IR)
    ‘He, said that he, was 40 years old.’ (SR)

b. Nes-ä [dä-q-tow qˤanoquno ɿeb yo-ɿin]
‘He i said that he i was 40 years old.’ (SR)
NOT: ‘He i said that I was 40 years old.’ (IR)

(202) a. Di Sult’an-e-r [dow-de sadaq šahar-y-ā-γor]
   1 SG.ERG Sultan-OS-LAT 2 SG-APUD.ESS with city-OS-IN-VERS
   Ø-ik‘-ān-λin] roži teλ-si.
   1-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT word.ABS.IV give-PST.WIT
‘I (man speaking) promised Sultan to go to the city with you.’ (IR)
‘I (man speaking) promised Sultan, to go to the city with himi.’ (SR)
b. Di Sult’an-e-r [dow-de-tow sadaq šahar-y-ā-γor]
   1 SG.ERG Sultan-OS-LAT 2 SG-APUD.ESS-FOC with city-OS-IN-VERS
   Ø-ik‘-ān-λin] roži teλ-si.
   1-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT word.ABS.IV give-PST.WIT
‘I (man speaking) promised Sultan to go to the city with himi.’ (SR)
NOT: ‘I promised Sultan to go to the city with you.’ (IR)

When an embedded clause includes more than one pronoun that could potentially undergo indexical shift, the enclitic can appear on all of them or on just one of them. It usually appears on the pronoun that is structurally more prominent, but that does not seem to be a categorical constraint. Compare the well-accepted (203a,b) and the more marginal, albeit not impossible, (203c):

(203) a. Irbahin-ā Zarema-q-or [di-tow
   Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT 1 SG.ABS(.I)-FOC
   dow-λ’o-r-tow bixzi Ø-oq-si-λin] eλi-s.
   2 SG-SUPER-LA-FOC angry 1-become-PST.WIT QUOT say-PST.WIT
b. Irbahin-ā Zarema-q-or [di-tow dow-λ’o-r
   Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT 1 SG.ABS(.I)-FOC 2 SG-SUPER-LAT
   bixzi Ø-oq-si-λin] eλi-s.
   anger 1-become-PST.WIT QUOT say-PST.WIT
c. ?Irbahin-ā Zarema-q-or [di dow-λ’o-r-tow
   Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT 1 SG.ABS(.I) 2 SG-SUPER-LAT-FOC
   bixzi Ø-oq-si-λin] eλi-s.
   angry 1-become-PST.WIT QUOT say-PST.WIT
   ‘Ibrahim i told Zaremak that he i was angry with herk.’ (SR)

However if the particle –tow appears on some other constituent, not on one of the expressions whose reference can shift, it does not interact with indexical interpretations and cannot block the indexical reading. Thus, the following sentence is still ambiguous:

(204) Mariyat-ā ġarza boy-s [di
   Mariyat-ERG complain-PST.WIT 1 SG.ABS(.II) store-OS-IN-VERS-FOC
   y-ik‘-ān-λin].
   II-go-FUT.DEF-QUOT
‘Mariyat complained that I have to go to the store.’ (IR)
‘Mariyat complained that she has to go to the store.’ (SR)

This last example is a reminder that the focus enclitic –tow is not found only under indexical shift; it is also regularly deployed in the marking of reflexive or reciprocal readings on regular pronouns or demonstratives (see CH.YY [Binding]) and more generally, in contexts where a normally expected interpretation has to be rejected. Its overall function, in most general terms, can be described as that of indicating that standard expectations in a given context have to be reversed or abandoned.

A standard expectation is that the pronouns in an embedded finite clause will continue pointing to the same referents as their counterparts in the matrix clause. The appearance of –tow signals that the relevant pronouns have to be disjoint in reference from the matrix arguments. Put differently, the use of the focus marker blocks the indexical reading, one that can be considered more expected or standard—after all, it was for a reason that many philosophers of language considered indexical shifts monstrous.

The enclitic –tow can also appear in contexts like the one illustrated in (205) below. Its addition in such sentences makes coreference with the attitude holder very unlikely or even impossible (judgments vary depending on the lexical verb and on the context). For example:

(205) Irbahin-ä Zarema-q-or [ža-tow neło-λ’o-r]
Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT DEM.ABS-FOC DEM.nI-SUPER-LAT
bixzi Ø-oq-si-λin] eλís.
angry 1-become-PST.WIT-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ibrahim i told Zaremak that he/*??i was angry with herk/n.’

Subject expressions are often privileged in maintaining coreference across clauses (see Ariel 1990; Gundel et al. 1993; Miltsakaki 2001; Kehler et al. 2007; van Valin and LaPolla 1997, among others for evidence and discussion), and such coreference in (205) may fall within normal expectations. If so, the use of the focus particle reverses this expectation, hence the unlikely coreference between Irbahinä and ža-tow. But we also know that clausal constituents other than subjects are less likely to maintain coreference across clause. So if the explanation for (205) is on the right track, we may see a different pattern when –tow is added to a lower constituent. Indeed, in (206), where focus appears on the super-lative complement, the judgments regarding coreference between Zarema and nełɔł’or are very similar to those for (205).

(206) Irbahin-ä zarema-q-or [ža neło-λ’o-r-tow]
Ibrahim-ERG Zarema-POSS-LAT DEM.ABS DEM.nI-SUPER-LAT-FOC
bixzi Ø-oq-si-λin] eλís.
angry 1-become-PST.WIT-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ibrahim i told Zaremak that he/*im was angry with herk/n.’
Generally, judgments on the coreference between noun phrases and demonstratives are more flexible than the corresponding judgments on coreference among pronouns and reference between noun phrases (denoting attitude holders and their addressees) and pronouns.\(^{22}\)

The use of \(-tow\) has a categorical effect, completely blocking one of the interpretations, which suggests that it is a properly grammatical mechanism. In addition, various contextual factors can distinguish the two readings, making one of them less plausible or implausible. Agreement is one of such factors. If the predicate of the embedded clause marks agreement, and the speaker and attitude holder (or their respective addressees) differ in gender, gender distinctions help disambiguate between indexical and shifted readings. In (207a), the embedded verb shows gender I agreement. If the speaker of that utterance is a man, the sentence is ambiguous, but if the speaker is a woman, she must use (207b), with gender II agreement (see also (182) above, where agreement also helps in disambiguation).

(207) a. Irbaħin-ā zarema-q-or [di dow-ƛ’o-r
\(\text{Ibrahim-ERG } Zarema-\text{POSS-LAT} \quad 1SG.ABS(I) \quad 2SG-SUPER-LAT\)
bixzi Ŧ-oq-si-ƛin] eƛi-s.
angry 1-become-PST.WIT-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ibrahim told Zarema that I (a man speaking) was angry with you.’ (IR)
‘Ibrahimi told Zaremak that hei was angry with her\(\text{ī}.\)’ (SR)
b. Irbaħin-ā zarema-q-or [di dow-ƛ’o-r
\(\text{Ibrahim-ERG } Zarema-\text{POSS-LAT} \quad 1SG.ABS(II) \quad 2SG-SUPER-LAT\)
bixzi y-oq-si-ƛin] eƛi-s.
angry II-become-PST.WIT-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ibrahim told Zarema that I (a woman speaking) was angry with you.’ (IR)
#‘Ibrahimi told Zaremak that hei was angry with her\(\text{ī}.\)’ (SR)

The disambiguating role of agreement is certainly limited, both by contextual factors (who is speaking and about whom) and by the range of verbs that actually mark agreement.

7 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined monoclausal constructions with restructuring verbs and a variety of clausal complements, namely: infinitival clauses, masdar clauses, nominalized clauses, and finite complement clauses. Despite the differences in their structure and relationship with the matrix verb, all these clauses share some properties; they all have the same case-licensing and agreement characteristics as independent finite clauses, and they are strictly predicate-final (verb-final). Some other of their properties are summarized in the table below.

\(^{22}\)An alternative to the use of the focus enclitic is the placement of emphatic pitch on the pronoun that undergoes indexical shift. Normally, pronouns are de-accented, so pitch prominence can be perceived as another way of indicating that normal expectations are not met. Pitch is often associated with focus; the fact that it can be used in lieu of \(-tow\) may follow from this association. However, we have not been able to investigate pitch placement instrumentally, so this observation requires further verification.
Table 2. Basic properties of clausal complements in Tsez

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Embedded predicate</th>
<th>Complementizer</th>
<th>Syntactically transparent</th>
<th>Relationship to the matrix verb</th>
<th>Notable properties</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infinitival clause</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Control complement</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Backward control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masdar clause</td>
<td>Masdar</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Control complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalized clause</td>
<td>Participle-based nominalization in –li</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Clausal complement</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Long-distance agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finite clause</td>
<td>Finite predicate</td>
<td>-ƛin</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Clausal complement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finite clause</td>
<td>Finite predicate</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct quotation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Relative clauses

Tsez has several types of relative clauses: participial relatives, masdar/infinitival clauses, and free relatives. If a relative clause has an external head noun, that head noun always follows the relative clause (see CH. YY [Noun phrases] for details). For the relative order of relative clauses and other modifiers in the noun phrase, see the chapter on noun phrase structure as well.

1 Participial relative clauses

1.1 Relativization of main clause constituents

Participial relatives are the most common type of relative clause in Tsez. The verb of the relative clause can appear in two participial forms: past participle and present participle. These participles must appear in the final position inside the relative clause. In terms of morphology, the past participle behaves exactly like an adjective, and in particular it does not show case concord based on the case of its head noun. By contrast, the internal structure of the present-participial form corresponds to that of the finite present tense, and is followed by the attributive morpheme –si. This morpheme differs depending on the case of the head noun: direct (-si) appears when the head noun is absolutive, and oblique (-zo) appears when the head noun is in any other form. See CH. YY[MORPH] for the details of participle formation.\(^1\) Compare (1a), (1b), where the form of the participle remains the same regardless of the case in the head noun, versus (2a),(2b), where the participle’s ending changes depending on the absolutive/non-absolutive case of the head noun. The difference between the participial forms in (1) and (2) suggests that Tsez participles do not form a coherent class (see Comrie 2002 for further discussion). This conclusion is further underscored by the fact that past participles cannot inflect for mood whereas present participles can; this is clear from the appearance of the latter in the optative (see CH. YY[Predicate phrase]). However, from the standpoint of relative clause formation, the overall behavior of present and past participles is uniform.

(1) a. \([el-ä r-ädi-ru]\) q’äuri
   1PL-ERG IV-do-PST.PTCP chair.ABS.IV
   ‘the chair that we made’

   b. \([el-ä r-ädi-ru]\) q’äuri-ƛ
      1PL-ERG IV-do-PST.PTCP chair-SUPER.ESS
      ‘on the chair that we made’

(2) a. \([el-ä r-oy-xo-si]\) q’äuri
   1PL-ERG IV-do-PRS-ATTR chair.ABS.IV
   ‘the chair that we make/are making’

   c. \([el-ä r-oy-xo-zo]\) q’äuri-ƛ
      1PL-ERG IV-do-PRS-ATTR.OBL chair-SUPER.ESS
      ‘on the chair that we make/are making’

\(^1\) A more accurate morphemic analysis and gloss for the present participle would be -xo-si –PRS-ATTR, as shown in (2). For the purposes of this chapter, however, we will be adopting the participial gloss as a shorthand.
The participial predicate of a relative clause can appear with the definite suffix –ni, as shown for the participle räc’ru in the following example:

(3) [Yiła-s posu r-äc’-ru]-ni boc’i-n zey-bi-n
    DEM.nI-GEN1 cattle.ABS.IV IV-eat.TR-PST.PTCP-DEF wolf.ABS.III-and bear-ABS.PL.nIPL
    r-èsu-n.
    nIPL-see-PST.nWIT
    ‘(She) saw the wolf and the bears that had eaten her cattle.’ (Isis rigli:14)

Tsez also has deverbal adjectives in –li, which bear the past tense interpretation. They resemble participles in that they retain the case frame of the verb they are derived from. For instance, the verb teł- ‘give’ takes the ergative agent, absolutive patient and lative or possessive recipient. The adjectival participle tełali ‘given’ has the same case frame:

(4) [nesi žek’-ō teł-a-li-ni] heneš
    DEM.I person-ERG give-INF-PTCP-DEF apple. ABS.III
    ‘the apple given by that man’ (Imnajšvili 1963: 216)

The forms in –li are very rare, probably obsolete, and we will not discuss them below.

All the examples presented so far happen to be object relatives. However, Tsez relativization appears to be ubiquitous. All Tsez constituents can be relativized with a participial relative, including some presupposed but unexpressed adjuncts. We illustrate the details of participial relative clause formation with the baseline sentence in (5).

(5) Už-ä kayată kid-be-r teł-si/teł-xo.
    boy-ERG letter.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT give-PST.WIT/give-PRS
    ‘The boy gave/gives a letter to the girl.’

(6) subject relative clause
    [kayat kid-be-r tāl-ru/teł-xosi] uži
    letter.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT give-PST.PTCP/give-PRS.PTCP boy.ABS.I
    ‘the boy that gave/gives a letter to the girl’

(7) object relative clause
    [už-ä kid-be-r tāl-ru/teł-xosi] kayat
    boy-ERG girl-OS-LAT give-PST.PTCP/give-PRS.PTCP letter.ABS.II
    ‘the letter that the boy gave/gives to the girl’

(8) recipient relative clause
    [už-ä kayat tāl-ru/teł-xosi] kid
    boy-ERG letter.ABS.II give-PST.PTCP/give-PRS.PTCP girl.ABS.II
    ‘the girl to whom the boy gave/gives the letter’

(9) temporal adjunct relative clause
    [už-ä kayat kid-be-r tāl-ru/teł-xosi] saʕat
    boy-ERG letter.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT give-PST.PTCP/give-PRS.PTCP hour.ABS.III
    ‘the hour at which the boy gave/gives the letter to the girl’
locative adjunct relative clause

\[
\text{[už-ä kayat kid-be-r tāλ-ru/teλ-xosi] otaxi}
\]

\[
\text{boy-ERG letter.ABS.II girl-OS-LAT give-PST.PTCP/give-PRS.PTCP room.ABS.IV}
\]

‘the room where the boy gave/gives the letter to the girl’

The next set of examples shows that it is possible to relativize an instrument:

(11) Už-ä ˁu-no-d ažo y-eĉ’-si.

\[
\text{boy-ERG axe-OS-INS tree.ABS.II II-cut-PST.WIT}
\]

‘The boy cut the tree with an axe.’

(12) [už-ä ažo y-āč’-ru] ˁo

\[
\text{boy-ERG tree.ABS.II II-cut-PST.WIT axe.ABS.IV}
\]

‘the axe that the boy cut the tree with’

Scene-setting expressions in existential clauses such as (13) and genitives of external possession in possessive clauses such as (15) also relativize freely. Compare the following examples:

(13) Nesi-ƛ’ qʷariili zow-s.

\[
\text{DEM.I-SUPER.ESS sadness.ABS.IV be.PST-PST.WIT}
\]

‘There was sadness about him.’ (lit.: on him)

(14) [nesi-ƛ’ zāw-ru] qʷariili

\[
\text{DEM.I-SUPER.ESS be.PST-PST.PTCP sadness.ABS.IV}
\]

‘the sadness that there was about him’

(15) Kid-be-s mesed-yo-s nak’ila yoł.

\[
\text{girl-OS-GEN1 gold-OS-GEN1 little.finger.ABS.III be.PRS}
\]

‘The girl has a golden little finger.’ (lit.: a little finger of gold)

(16) [mesed-yo-s nak’ila yāl-ru]-ni kid

\[
\text{gold-OS-GEN1 little.finger.ABS.III be.PRS-PST.PTCP-DEF girl.ABS.II}
\]

‘the girl that has a golden little finger’ (Allahes ašuni:20)

There is no overt nominal reference to the head noun within the relative clause, and resumptive forms (such as demonstratives) are impossible inside the relative clause. Compare the valid instrumental relative in (12) with its unacceptable counterpart in (17). This comparison confirms that participial relative clauses in Tsez are formed using the gap strategy. The absence of resumption will be important when we compare these relative clauses to some other types below.

(17) *[už-ä nelo-d/nelo-d-tow ažo y-āč’-ru] ˁo

\[
\text{boy-ERG DEM.nI-INS/DEM.nI-INS-FOC tree.ABS.II II-cut-PST.WIT axe.ABS.IV}
\]

‘(the axe that the boy cut the tree with it’)

As examples (6) through (10), (12), (14), (16), and (18) show, all other noun phrases in the relative clause retain the same form they have in a finite clause; based on this observation, we can conclude that there is no change in the relative clause construction depending on the function of the head noun within the relative clause.
The participial predicate agrees with the absolutive noun phrase inside the relative clause, as shown in (1), (2), (3), and (12) above. If the relativized noun phrase is in the absolutive position inside the relative clause, the participle agrees with that head noun, as in example (18a) below, which may create an impression that the participle agrees with the head noun. However, as (18b) shows, the function of the head noun in the matrix clause is irrelevant; the participle only cares about the absolutive inside the relative clause.

(18) a. [už-ä kid-be-qo-r y-egä-ru/y-egir-xosi] kayat
    boy-ERG girl-OS-POSS-LAT II-send-PST.PTCP/II-send-PRS.PTCP letter.ABS.II
    ‘the letter that the boy sent/sends to the girl’

b. [už-ä kid-be-qo-r y-egä-ru/y-egir-xosi] kayat-yo-l
    boy-ERG girl-OS-POSS-LAT II-send-PST.PTCP/II-send-PRS.PTCP letter-OS-CONT.ESS
    ‘in the letter that the boy sent/sends to the girl’

Despite the freedom of relativization in Tsez, relativization of the dependent adnominal genitive, in which the head noun functions as possessor, is either rejected by native speakers or considered marginal, as in (20):

(19) a. Uži-s γʷay b-oxi-n b-ik’i-s.
    boy-GEN1 dog.ABS.III III-run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.WIT
    ‘The boy’s dog has run away.’ (lit.: went running)

b. Uži-z γʷay-ä di han-si.
    boy-GEN2 dog-ERG 1SG.ABS bite-PST.WIT
    ‘The boy’s dog has bit me.’

(20) a. *[γʷay b-oxi-n b-äk’i-ru] uži
    dog.ABS.III III-run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
    (‘the boy whose dog has run away’)

b. ??[γʷay-ä di hän-ru ] uži
    dog-ERG 1SG.ABS bite-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
    (‘the boy whose dog bit me’)

We speculate, however, that this is not the result of a specific restriction against relativizing of genitives, but rather the result of pragmatic factors. First, there are nearly always other, more natural ways of constructing such relative clauses. The three main compensatory strategies are as follows: (i) expressing the adnominal genitive as the external possessor and relativizing the external possessor; (ii) using a relative clause where a resumptive demonstrative is co-indexed with the head noun, and (iii) attaching a nominalized relative clause as the genitive modifier of the head noun.

The following example illustrates compensatory strategy (i); the baseline sentence is shown in (21a), and the relative clause, with the external possessor as the head noun, in (21b). External possessors relativize freely, so this strategy allows speakers to circumvent some of the restrictions on the relativization of adnominal possessors.

(21) a. Yedu žek’u-s mec-yo-za-ƛ’-ay-gon r-exora-t’a
    DEM person-GEN1 arm-OS-OS.PL-SUPER-ABL-CONTR.TOP nIPL-long-DISTR
    The boy’s arm is a long stick.
kiki-bi yoł.
breast-PL.ABS.nIPL be.PRS
‘This man has breasts longer than his arms.’

b. [mec-yo-za-ƛ’-ay-gon r-exora-t’a
arm-OS-OS.PL-SUPER-ABL-CONTR.TOP nIPL-long-DISTR
kiki-bi yoł-äsi] žek’u
breast-PL.ABS.nIPL be- RES.PTCP person.ABS.I
‘the man whose breasts are longer than his arms’ (Beqes 'Uneyzat:186)

A relative clause with a resumptive demonstrative co-indexed with the head noun (compensatory strategy (ii)) is shown in the pair of examples below:

(22) a. [nesi-s-tow γʷay b-oxi-n b-äk’i-ru] uži
DEM.I-GEN1-FOC dog.ABS.III III-run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
‘the boy whose dog has run away’
b. [nesi-z-tow γʷay-ä di hän-ru] uži
DEM.I-GEN2-FOC dog-ERG 1SG.ABS bite-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
‘the boy whose dog bit me’

If a nominalized relative clause appears as the genitive modifier of the head noun (compensatory strategy (iii)), the head noun is also co-indexed with a resumptive demonstrative in the nominalization. Thus:

(23) a. [nesi-s-tow γʷay b-oxi-n b-äk’i-ru-li]-s uži
DEM.I-GEN1-FOC dog.ABS.III III-run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN1
boy.ABS.I
‘the boy whose dog has run away’ (lit.: the boy of his dog running away)
b. [nesi-z-tow γʷay-ä di hän-ru-li]-s uži
DEM.I-GEN2-FOC dog-ERG 1SG.ABS bite-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN1 boy.ABS.I
‘the boy whose dog bit me’ (lit.: the boy of his own dog biting me)

These compensatory strategies aside, the fact that the relative clause contains no reference to the head noun means that the hearer must use other criteria, such as the argument structure or frame (in the sense of Fillmore 1982) of the verb, in order to reconstruct the relation between the head noun and the rest of the relative clause; since genitives are not part of the argument structure or frame, they cannot be readily retrieved in this way. And, in fact, when the relationship between the relativized possessor and the noun phrase in the relative clause is transparent, as it is in the case of kinship or whole-part relations, the respective relative clause becomes much more acceptable. Compare the next example pairs (see also Comrie and Polinsky 1999):

(24) a. Uži-s babiw Ø-exu-s.
boy-GEN1 father.ABS.I 1-die-PST.WIT

---

2 We will discuss more examples of this kind at the end of section 1.1.
‘The boy’s father died.’

b. [babiw O-áxu-ru] uží
father.ABS.I 1-die-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
‘the boy whose father died’

girl.OS-GEN1 foot.ABS.III III-hurt-PRS
‘The girl’s foot hurts.’

b. [xot’o b-oł-xosi] kid
foot.ABS.III III-hurt-PRS.PTCP girl.ABS.II
‘the girl whose foot hurts’

Tsez does not have possessor raising or external possessor constructions of the type ‘the father died on the boy’ or ‘the foot is hurting the girl’, so these constructions cannot be a plausible source for (24b) and (25b).

Relative clauses where the head noun functions as the standard of comparison, as in (26b), are impossible. We hypothesize that this restriction is due to the fact that the standard appears in a particular spatial form; once relativized, it cannot retain this form, and the head noun simply cannot be interpreted in relation to the relative clause:

(26) a. Pat’i Zarema-ƛ’āy q’un-a 1’eb-ā
Fatima.ABS.II Zarema-SUPER-ABL two-OBL year-IN.ESS
y’eže (yol).
II-old be.PRS
‘Fatima is two years older than Zarema.’

b. *[Pat’i q’un-a 1’eb-ā y’eže yäl-ru] kid
Fatima.ABS two-OBL year-IN.ESS II-old be.PST.PTCP girl.ABS.II
(‘the girl that Fatima is two years older than’)

In principle, relativization of the nouns that occur in (one of the many) spatial forms is possible. Consider the following sentence:

(27) Ažo-m-ƛ’o cey b-ič-ix.
tree-OS-SUPER.ESS eagle.ABS.III III-stay-PRS
‘A/The eagle is on the tree.’

It is possible to relativize ‘tree’ in (27) to give (28), but the idea that the eagle is specifically on the tree, rather than at or near the tree, is lost, because of the failure of Tsez relative clauses to encode explicitly the role of the referent of the head noun in the relative clause:

(28) [cey b-äči-ru] ažo
eagle.ABS.III III-stay-PST.PTCP tree.ABS.II
‘the tree where a/the eagle is’

Tsez has another way of encoding the notion of ‘on’, namely by using the postposition ƛ’iri ‘above’, which combines with a preceding noun in the super-essive case, as in (29):
(29) Ažo-‐m-λ’o  λ’iri  cey  b-ič-ix.
    tree-OS-SUPER.ESS above  eagle.ABS.III III-stay-PRS
    ‘A/The eagle is up on the tree.’

One can form a relative clause as in (30):

(30) [cey  λ’iri  b-äč-ru]    ažo
    eagle.ABS.III above  III-stay-PST.PTCP  tree.ABS.II
    ‘the tree up on which a/the eagle is’

At least at first sight, this clause appears to involve relativization of the object of the postposition of (29), together with postposition stranding. However, as we discussed in CH. YY [Adverbial phrase], in addition to its role as a postposition, as in (29), λ’iri (and likewise other local postpositions) can also function as an adverbial, as in the examples of (31a, b), which illustrate different positions of the adverbial in the clause:

(31) a. λ’iri  cey  b-iči-x.
    above  eagle.ABS.III III-stay-PST
b. cey  λ’iri  b-iči-x.
    eagle.ABS.III above  III-stay-PST
    ‘A/The eagle is above.’

This being the case, it is possible to analyze λ’iri in (30) not as a stranded postposition, but rather as an adverb. The interpretation is thus more akin to ‘the tree such that the eagle is above’, with the relation between the tree and the adverb established in terms of semantic well-formedness and pragmatic plausibility. Indeed, one might even question whether λ’iri is a postposition in (29), although our current understanding of the structure of (29) suggests that it is. For instance, it is not possible to put λ’iri anywhere other than immediately after ažomλ’o and retain the intended meaning, as shown by (32) (compare it with the acceptable (29)):

(32) *λ’iri  ažo-‐m-λ’o  cey  b-ič-ix.
    above  tree-OS-SUPER.ESS eagle.ABS.III III-stay-PST
    (‘A/The eagle is on the tree.’)

We have already mentioned the possibility of relative clauses where the head noun, corresponding to an adnominal genitive inside a noun phrase within the relative clause, is represented by a resumptive demonstrative—consider examples (22a,b) above. Such relativization of genitives seems to be quite common, and it is available to different types of genitives, including the genitive of possessor, the whole-part genitive (leg of a chair; below), and the genitive of property (color of paint; below):

(33) [Neλo-s-tow  🍁oλ’  r-äci-ru]    belay
    DEM.nI-GEN1-FOC  handle.ABS.IV IV-break-PST.PTCP  dagger.ABS.IV
    ec’no-si  zow-s.
    new-ATTR  be.PST-PST.WIT
‘The dagger whose handle broke was new.’

(34) [Debe-r neło-s-tow λ’er b-ät’i-ru]   lak
   2SG-LAT DEM.mi-GEN1-FOC color.ABS.III III-like-PST.PTCP paint.ABS.III
magazin-y-ā tēƛ-xo.
store-OS-IN.ESS give-PRS
‘The (wall) paint whose color you like (lit.: that you like its color) is on sale at the store.’

However, genitives in measure phrases (see CH. YY [Noun phrase], section 3.7.3) cannot be relativized even with such resumption. The following relative clause is ungrammatical:

(35) *[di neło-s-tow t’akan y-āsi-ru]   ša
   1SG.ERG DEM.mi-GEN1-FOC glass.ABS.II II-take-PST.PTCP wine.ABS.III
ceq’iła yoł.
sour be.PRS
(‘the wine that I bought a glass of is sour’)

A similar restriction against the relativization of genitives in measure phrases is observed in Bagwali, although in that language, non-measure genitives relativize without resumption in the relative clause (Kibrik 2001: 498-99).

1.2 Relativization of constituents inside embedded clauses

We have so far discussed the accessibility of main clause constituents to relativization, and we now turn to the relativization of constituents that appear in embedded clausal complements. These are instances where a relative clause includes a clausal complement in which the gap plays a role, as in the English the movie [that Mary believes [John likes __ ] ] or the city [that John decided [to visit ___ next summer]].

Relativization of constituents inside infinitival or masdar clauses proceeds in the same way as relativization of main clause constituents. Compare:

   wolf-ERG song.ABS.III shout-INF beginning.ABS.III III-do-PST.NWIT
   ‘The wolf began to sing a song.’ (Didur Šomoyä boc’a k’irik’no:20)
b. [boc’-ä [q’ał-a]   baybik   b-äy-ru]   keč’
   wolf-ERG sing-INF beginning.ABS.III III-do-PST.PTCP song.ABS.III
   ‘the song that the wolf began to sing’

(37) a. Dä-r [čirah b-it’r-a]   šuł.’i-s.
   me-LAT light.ABS.III III-extinguish-INF forget-PST.WIT
   ‘I forgot to turn off (extinguish) the light.’
b. [dä-r [b-it’r-a]   šäł.’i-ru]   čirah
   me-LAT III-extinguish-INF forget-PST.PTCP light.ABS.III
   ‘the light that I forgot to turn off’

(38) a. [Mi-n y-ex-a]   zow-s.
   2SG.ABS(.II)-and II-die-INF be.PST-PST.WIT
   ‘And you had been meant to die.’ (Łux di yik’a yāy?:34)
b. [[y-ex-a]   zäw-ru]   kid
Likewise, constituents inside nominalized embedded clauses can undergo relativization. For example, (39b) relativizes the object and (39c), the subject of the embedded clause shown in (39a). Such clauses can show long-distance agreement (see CH. YY [Agreement]); in (39), long-distance agreement is shown alternating with properly local agreement. Relativization takes place regardless of the agreement on the embedding verb:

(39) a. [Nel-ä micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yääl-ru-li]
   DEM.nI-ERG money.ABS.III III-steal-PRS.PTCP be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
   xan-e-r b-iy-n/r-iy-n
   king-OS-LAT III-know-PST.nWIT/IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

b. [[nel-ä b-ok’ek’-xosi yääl-ru-li] xan-e-r
   DEM.nI-ERG III-steal-PRS.PTCP be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ king-OS-LAT
   b-äy-ru/r-äy-ru] micxir
   III-know-PST.PTCP/IV-know-PST.PTCP money.ABS.III
   ‘the money that the king knew she was stealing’

b. *[micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yääl-ru-li] xan-e-r
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

b. *[micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin] xan-e-r
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

b. *[micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin] xan-e-r
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

Examples (39b) and (39c) contrast with the clearly ungrammatical clauses that arise when relativization is attempted on a constituent inside a finite complement clause with the quotative marker -ƛin.

(40) a. [Nel-ä micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin]
   DEM.nI-ERG money.ABS.III III-steal-PRS.PTCP be.PRS-QUOT
   xan-e-r r-iy-n
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

b. *[nel-ä b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin] xan-e-r
   DEM.nI-ERG III-steal-PRS.PTCP be.PRS-QUOT king-OS-LAT
   r-äy-ru] micxir
   IV-know-PST.PTCP money.ABS.III
   (‘the money that the king knew she was stealing’)

b. *[micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin] xan-e-r
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’

b. *[micxir b-ok’ek’-xosi yol-ƛin] xan-e-r
   king-OS-LAT IV-know-PST.nWIT
   ‘The king knew that she was stealing the money.’
Let us now consider so-called double relativization: the relativization of constituents that appear in relative clauses, as in *the dog that its master that it always waited for died*. In some languages, for instance, in Japanese or Korean, such clauses are acceptable if there is a connection between the events represented in the two relative clauses or if the respective heads are in a kinship or whole-part relationship (Haig 1976, 1996; Na and Huck 1993; Han and Kim 2004). In Tsez, such relativization is impossible even if the relevant contextual conditions are met:

(41) *[[c’aq žäk’-ru] mamalay b-äx-ru] uži
very hit-PST.PTCP rooster.ABS.III III-die-PST.PTCP boy.ABS.I
(‘the boy that the rooster that he hit very badly died’)

(42) *[[hičča b-äti-ru] kamanda b-äyu-ru] balešik
most IPL-like-PST.PTCP team.IPL IPL-lose-PST.PTCP fan.ABS.I
(‘the fan whose team that he likes best lost’)

We now turn to what looks like relativization across the boundary of an adverbial clause. In Tsez, nearly all adverbial clauses are non-finite, making use of a rich array of converbs (see CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]).

In some instances, relativizing constituents of adverbial clauses turns out to be perfectly acceptable, as in the case of the object of a conditional clause, shown in (43):

(43) a. Yedu bĩš⁶⁴a r-äc’-näy mi untizi Ø-äq.
DEM food.ABS.IV IV-eat.TR-COND.CVB 2SG.ABS(.I) sick I-become.FUT
‘If you eat this food, you will get sick.’

b. [[r-äc’-näy] mi untizi Ø-oq-xosi] bĩš⁶⁴a
IV-eat.TR-COND.CVB 2SG.ABS(.I) sick I-become-PRS.PTCP food.ABS.IV
‘the food that, if you eat it, you’ll get sick’ (speaking to a man)

Similarly, (44b), which is based on (44a) and includes a temporal clause, is judged acceptable when a context is established of looking for a bush whose blooming is known to be a harbinger of spring:

(44) a. Qaraq-y-ä gagali b-oỹ-nosi ix b-äy.
bush-OS-ERG flower.ABS.III III-pull-ANT.CVB spring.ABS.III III-come.FUT
‘When the bush blooms, spring will come.’

b. [[gagali b-oỹ-nosi] ix b-ay-xosi] qaraq
flower.ABS.III III-pull-ANT.CVB spring.ABS.III III-come-PRS.PTCP bush.ABS.II
‘the bush that, when it blooms, spring will come’

Such relative clauses, although similar to the other ones we have discussed in this chapter, differ from them in at least one respect: they freely allow the presence of a demonstrative (with or without the enclitic –tow) that is coreferential with the head noun. (We have already observed the

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3 Since the verb *untizi AGR-oq* shows gender agreement, the gender of the addressee is recoverable.
use of such demonstratives in examples (22) and (23) above, where the demonstrative was coreferential with the noun modified by the relative clause or the adnominal genitive). To illustrate, compare the ungrammatical example in (17) above with the fully grammatical versions of (43b) and (44b) featuring resumptive demonstratives:

(45) \[\text{ža } \text{ai-tow} \text{ r-ac’-näy} \text{ mi untizi} \]
\[\text{DEM.ABS/DEM.ABS-FOC IV-eat.TR-COND.CVB 2SG.ABS(.I) sick} \]
\[\text{Ø-oq-xosi} \text{ biš”a_i} \]
\[\text{i-become-PRS.PTCP food.ABS.IV} \]
\[\text{‘the food that, if you eat it, you’ll get sick’} \]

(46) \[\text{neł-ä i/neł-äi-tow gagali b-oγ-nosi} \text{ ix} \]
\[\text{DEM.nI-ERG/DEM.nI-ERG-FOC flower.ABS.III III-pull-ANT.CVB spring.ABS.III} \]
\[\text{b-ay-xosi} \text{ qaraq} \text{ i} \text{ III-come-PRS.PTCP bush.ABS.II} \]
\[\text{‘the bush that, when it blooms, spring will come’} \]

Not only can the head noun be resumed by a demonstrative, as in these examples, but it can also be coreferential with a noun inside the relative clause. Compare (45) and the following example, where the word biš”a is coreferential with the noun phrase ža zaq’um ‘this poison/biterness’.

Note that in this case, the agreement in the embedded conditional clause is no longer gender IV but gender III, as determined by zaq’um:

(47) \[\text{ža zaq’um_i b-ac’-näy} \text{ mi untizi} \]
\[\text{DEM poison/bitterness.ABS.III III-eat.TR-COND 2SG.ABS(.I) sick} \]
\[\text{Ø-oq-xosi} \text{ biš”a_i} \]
\[\text{i-become-PRS.PTCP food.ABS.IV} \]
\[\text{‘the food that, if you eat it, you’ll get sick’} \]

Given these examples, it is likely that the “gap” in embedded adjunct clauses within relative clauses is a null pronoun (which can alternate with overt expressions, as in (45) through (47)). The relationship between the head noun and the gap in the embedded adjunct clause is that of coreference, determined by the plausibility of context. The participial clause gap we discussed earlier in this section does not allow for such an alternation with overt expressions.

1.3 Gapless adposition

Let us now turn to gapless relative clauses (also known as pseudo-relative clauses). In a noun phrase containing such a relative clause, the head noun does not correspond to any gap position inside the relative. Gapless relative clauses are widely attested in Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin. Consider the following example from Japanese:

(48) \[\text{sakana-ga yakeru nioi} \text{ Japanese} \]
\[\text{fish-NOM burn smell} \]
\[\text{‘the smell of fish burning’} \]

Gapless adpositions are possible but quite rare in Tsez. We have not found gapless relative clauses in narrative texts, but they are accepted in elicitation. For example:
A preferred way of modifying a head noun, which may call for a gapless relative, is to use an adnominal noun modifier in the genitive case. For instance, (49) can be expressed as (50), where ‘making wine’ is represented as a nominalization in -li; this nominalization then appears as the adnominal genitive modifying the head noun mah:

(49) [ša b-ādi-ru] mah
       wine.ABS.III III-do-PST.PTCP smell.ABS.III
‘the smell of wine being made’

(50) [ša b-ādi-ru-li]-s mah
       wine.ABS.III III-do-PST.PTCP-NMLZ-GEN1 smell.ABS.III
‘the smell of wine being made’

The comparison between (49) and (50) bring us to the question of whether or not a participial clause placed before a head noun can receive other interpretations, such as that of a complement clause dependent on the head noun; Matsumoto (1988; 1997) argues for precisely such a syntactic identity between relative clauses and nominal-headed complement clauses in the case of Japanese. In Tsez, however, these two types of clauses have different properties. For complement clauses selected by such nouns as ‘news’, ‘rumor’, ‘fact’, etc., see Ch. YY [Noun phrase].

1.4 Participial relative clauses with a null head

The examples presented so far all show participial relative clauses with an overt external head. However, relative clauses without such an overt head are also possible. When a relative clause occurs without an overt head, it typically features the definite attributive marker –ni; the past participle can also optionally take the attributive suffix –si, as shown in (51) below. Compare example (7) above and its null-headed counterparts, shown below in the absolutive and postpositional forms. Such relative clauses always have a definite interpretation:

(51) [už-ā kid-be-r te̱l-ru(-si)-ni] meča
       boy-ERG girl-OS-LAT give-PST.PTCP-ATTR-DEF instead
‘the thing that the boy gave to the girl’

(52) [už-ā kid-be-r te̱l-xo-zo]-z meča
       boy-ERG girl-OS-LAT give-PRS-ATTR.OBL-GEN2 instead
‘instead of the thing that the boy gives to the girl’

Headless relative clauses with the past participle in –zo- are often used to express spatial relations, and in that function they appear in various spatial forms (see Ch. YY [Adverbial phrase] for details).

Headless participial relative clauses are also used in comparative correlatives of the type illustrated by the English the more the merrier. In such comparative correlatives, the relative clause always appears with the equative suffix –ce, and the parallel clause is expressed by a regular finite construction. In the following examples, we show the relative clauses in brackets:
Comparative correlatives are not the only correlative constructions found in Tsez; the other types, which are formed somewhat differently, will be discussed in Section 3.

2 Masdar and infinitival relative clauses

2.1 Masdar and infinitival clauses: Relative vs. purpose clauses

Relative infinitive clauses, as non-finite modifiers of nouns, are quite common. In English, they can be illustrated by sentences such as:

(57) a. This is [a hard nut [to crack]].
    b. Here is [the table [to put the lamp on]].
    c. Here’s [a new neighbor [for mom to bicker with]].

In the noun phrase the table [to put the lamp on], the infinitive clause corresponds to the finite clause on which one could/should/will put the lamp. Such relative clauses have attracted the attention of many researchers (e.g., Berman 1974a, b; Bolinger 1988; Faraci 1974; Fleischer 2008; Green 1973; 1992; Geisler 1995, among others). The details of infinitival relatives in English and other familiar languages tend to be quite complex, but in general, such clauses often have a modal reading (a table on which one could put the lamp) and also a purposive reading. The latter use often makes infinitival relative clauses hard to distinguish from purpose adjunct
clauses expressed by infinitives (see Simonin 2011 for a detailed discussion). When an infinitival clause is used to denote purpose, it does not syntactically form a unit with the head noun and therefore does not depend on the head noun for placement or identification. There are quite a few diagnostics that distinguish the two uses of infinitival clauses, which we discuss below.

Tsez infinitival and masdar relative clauses always express a property that can be understood as *available for potential use*. For example, in (58), we find a description of some general ability that could be used in order to lift the main character of a fairy tale into a higher world. In (59), there is an implication of “any set of things that can be done,” while (60) bears an implication of “any set of places to which one could escape”:

(58) [mi elo ƛ’iri-r Ø-izi-r-ani-x]
    2SG.ABS.(1) there above-LAT 1-rise-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS
    res-no maħal-no possibility.ABS.III-and might.ABS.III-and
    ‘ability and might to lift you up there.’ (ʕAliqilič:113)

(59) [r-od-a-r-is-a] šebin
     IV-make-INF-IV-take-INF thing.ABS.IV
     ‘things to do’ (Eniwn kidno:1)

(60) [Mi ži da-q-äy Ø-ok’l-a] moči änu.
    2 SG.ABS(.I) now 1 SG-POSS-ABL I-run.away-INF place.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
    ‘Now there is no place for you to run away from me.’ (K’eneč’:39)

Infinitival and masdar relative clauses modify nouns denoting something that is generally necessary in order for a potential event to take place. Because of the general potential interpretation, such noun phrases often occur with intensional predicates (‘look for’, ‘know’) and in questions or statements concerning the availability of an item. For example,

(61) [At’ q’uq’-ani-r] ħi r-oq-inči.
    dough.ABS.IV knead-MASD-LAT water.ABS.IV IV-become-PST.WIT.NEG
    ‘There was no water to knead the dough.’ (ʕAliqilič:43)

(62) Učitel-ä [xex-z-ar r-ukad-ani-x] kino
    teacher-ERG child-OS-LAT IV-see-MASD-AD.ESS movie.ABS.IV
    k’edi-x.
    look.for-PRS
    ‘The teacher is looking for a movie for the children to see.’

(63) [Gulu-ƛ’ zow-ani-x] bażari yol-ä debi?
    horse-SUPER.ESS climb-MASD-AD.ESS skill.ABS.III be.PRS-INTERR 2SG.GEN.1
    ‘Do you know how to ride a horse?’ (lit.: do you have the skill for climbing on a horse?)

(64) [R-ac’-a] šebi-n yol-ä debe-q?
    IV-eat.TR-INF thing.ABS.IV be.PRS-INTERR 2SG-POSS.ESS
    ‘Do you have something to eat?’

In infinitival and masdar relatives, the subject (or the highest argument, to be more precise) can be mentioned inside the relative clause, just as in English (57c). Unlike English, arguments in Tsez masdars and infinitives have the same case marking as in finite clauses, so the case on the subject of a relative clause can be ergative, lative, absolutive, or possessive; for instance:
The pragmatic and semantic factors that determine the choice between an infinitive and masdar seem quite nuanced. In general, masdar relative clauses are more common in texts, but speakers readily replace them with infinitival relatives and do not perceive a significant meaning change. Likewise, if a masdar clause is used, the masdar predicate can appear either in the lative or in the adessive without creating a discernible meaning difference.

As in English, it may not be immediately obvious how to draw the line between the use of an infinitival/masdar clause as a relative clause and its use as a purpose clause. For instance, in the following example, the masdar clause ša bodanix ‘to make wine’ can denote either the property of the grapes (grapes intended for wine-making) or the purpose of pressing those grapes:

(69) Di [ša b-od-ani-x] k’udi q’uqi’i-λ’orey
1SG wine.ABS.III III-do-MASD-LAT grapes.ABS.III press-DUR.I.CVB
‘While I was pressing grapes to make wine…’ (Xanno, nesisgon 1ono užin: 81)

It is impossible to avoid ambiguity in all cases, but several properties differentiate genuine purpose clauses (containing an infinitival or masdar predicate) from their corresponding relative clauses. First, recall that all noun phrases in Tsez are head-final, so the relative clause cannot follow the head noun, whereas a purpose clause, which does not depend structurally on a noun phrase, can follow it. In the next example, the masdar clause follows the noun phrase hic’’e’a riguni šeł’u’n gulun, so it is clearly a purpose clause. Likewise, in (71), the masdar clause with the predicate riyanix follows the possible head noun (zaman), thus appearing as a purpose, not relative, clause:

(70) Xan-ä hic’’e’a r-igu-ni šeł’u-n gulun
king-ERG most nIPL-good-DEF clothes.ABS.IV-and horse.ABS.III-and
[nesi-r r-iž-ani-x] ziru-qo-r tel-.no.
DEM.I-LAT nIPL-carry-MASD-AD.ESS fox-POSS-LAT give-PST.nWIT
‘The king gave the best clothes and horse to the fox so that it would bring them to him.’
(Goqin zirun:25)

(71) Debe-r zaman b-ay-n [nā-r [t’et’r-a]
2SG-LAT time.ABS.III III-come-PST.nWIT where-LAT study-INF
It is time for you to decide (lit.: know) where to go to study.

Purpose clauses can appear without any head noun, whereas the omission of a head noun with relative clauses of this type is impossible:

\[(72) \text{unto-de dandir } \text{ha\textsuperscript{λ}-ani-x/ha\textsuperscript{λ}-ani-r}\]

\[\text{sickness-APUD.ESS against drink-MASD-AD.ESS/drink-MASD-LAT}\]

\[^{(}\text{daru}\text{)}\]

\[\text{medicine.ABS.III}\]

‘medicine to take against illness’

A purpose clause can be embedded under another purpose clause, whereas double relativization is impossible with masdar or infinitival relative clauses. Compare the following examples. In (73), the infinitival clause Goqi owa takes an embedded masdar clause (xanqo ukaranix). In (74), the noun li ‘water’ is modified by a masdar clause ha\textsuperscript{λ}anix ‘to drink’, but the masdar clause embedded under it can only be interpreted as a purpose clause.

\[(73) \text{Ziru } k’\text{o\textsuperscript{λ}}\text{-i-n } b-\text{ik’i-n } [[\text{xan-qo}}\text{fox.ABS.III run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.NWIT king-POSS.ESS}}\text{Ø-uka-r-ani-x}]}\text{Goqi } \text{Ø-ow-a}.\]

\[\text{I-see-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS Goqi.ABS.I I-bring-INF}\]

‘The fox went running to get (bring) Goqi to show him to the king.’ (Goqin zirun:13)

\[(74) \text{Nes-\text{ä } esir-no } yi\text{-q-ay } [\text{ha\textsuperscript{λ}-ani-x}}\text{hal } b-\text{q’a-q’i-ani-x}]}\text{li.}\]

\[\text{strength.ABS.III III-increase-MASD-AD.ESS water.ABS.IV}\]

‘He asked her for water to drink so that he could increase his strength.’

The infinitival or masdar predicate in a purpose clause can optionally appear with the quotative marker –\text{\textsuperscript{λ}}\textbf{lin}, as shown below. But such marking is impossible in infinitival and masdar relative clauses. Thus, the two uses of infinitival/masdar relative clauses form a minimal pair:

\[\text{[unto-de dandir } \text{ha\textsuperscript{λ}-ani-x]-li}\]

\[\text{sickness-APUD.ESS against drink-MASD-AD.ESS-NMLZ}\]

‘(something) to take against illness’

\[\text{[unto-de dandir } \text{ha\textsuperscript{λ}-a]-li}\]

\[\text{sickness-APUD.ESS against drink-INF-NMLZ}\]

If the entire complex noun phrase with an infinitival or masdar relative has to refer to an unspecified or generic entity, it occurs with the head noun šebi\textsuperscript{n} ‘thing’ or źek’\textsuperscript{u} ‘person’.

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\[^{4}\text{Masdar (but not infinitival) relative clauses can be nominalized with the abstract suffix –\text{\textsuperscript{λ}}\textbf{li}, but such nominalizations, while technically grammatical, are dispreferred:}\]

\[\text{[unto-de dandir } \text{ha\textsuperscript{λ}-ani-x]-li}\]

\[\text{sickness-APUD.ESS against drink-MASD-AD.ESS-NMLZ}\]

‘(something) to take against illness’
Finally, purpose clauses depend on the main predicate for their interpretation, and relative clauses depend on the head noun. In several examples above, a head noun modified by a masdar/infinitival relative clause appeared with such verbs as ‘be’ or ‘become’, which do not combine with purpose clauses.

2.2 The highest argument/subject restriction

Infinitival and masdar relative clauses allow for the relativization of all constituents except the highest argument of the relative clause. We will first list some typical examples of relative clauses. For instance, “ditransitive transitives”, discussed in CH. YY [Basic clause types], freely allow relativization on both of their objects, in the absolutive and in an oblique case:

(77) [ged-mo-ƛ’ r-ih-ani-x] ito
clothes-OS-SUPER.ESS IV-put-MASD-AD.ESS iron.ABS.IV
‘the/an iron to iron clothes’
(78) [ito r-ih-ani-x] ƛ’iriku-bi
iron IV-put-MASD-AD.ESS kerchief-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL
‘kerchiefs to iron’
(79) [ok’o-bi r-ok’a-ani-r] kʷart’a
nail-ABS.PL IV-hit-MASD-LAT hammer.ABS.IV
‘a/the hammer to hammer in nails’
(80) [kʷart’a r-ok’a-ani-r] ok’o-bi
hammer.ABS.IV IV-hit-MASD-LAT nail-PL.ABS.nIPL
‘nails to hammer in’

Example (81) shows relativization on an instrument/medium:

(81) [awtobus-a-ƛ’-no poezd-a-ƛ’-no b-ik’-ani-x]
bus-OS-SUPER.ESS-and train-OS-SUPER.ESS-and IPL-go-MASD-AD.ESS
belet
ticket.ABS.II
‘ticket to go on bus and train’

5 Control complement clauses can also appear with -ƛ’in, as discussed in CH. YY[COMPL CL].
Examples (82) through (84) show relativization on various locative expressions:

(82) \[\text{kec-ani-x diwan} \]
\[\text{sleep-MASD-AD.ESS couch.ABS.IV} \]
\‘a/the couch to sleep on’

(83) \[\text{ʕimru b-od-ani-r} utku \]
\[\text{life.ABS.III III-do-MASD-LAT house.ABS.IV} \]
\‘a house to live in’

(84) \[\text{magalu b-is-ani-x} magazin \]
\[\text{bread.ABS.III III-take-MASD-AD.ESS store.ABS.IV} \]
\‘a/the store to buy bread at’

While the relativization of adjuncts is possible, relativization of subjects is not. The noun phrase below can be interpreted only as “the horse for someone on which to gallop on the road” (since the verb shows agreement, the understood subject could be either an animal, belonging to gender III, or a group of people whose denotation belongs to IPL); the intended interpretation in (85), where the subject is relativized, is impossible:

(85) *[\text{huni-ƛ} b-et’u-n k’oƛ-a} gulu \]
\[\text{road-SUPER.ESS III-tear.away-PFV.CVB run-INF horse.ABS.III} \]
\‘the/a horse to gallop on on the road’

Likewise, the following noun phrase with an intransitive masdar clause can only be interpreted as indicating the doctor to talk to, not the doctor who would do the talking. In (86a), there is no ambiguity, because the second-person singular \text{mi} can only be absolutive or ergative, and its absolutive status clearly qualifies it as the subject of the masdar. In (86b), the literal meaning is “your doctor to talk to,” and in principle, an interpretation is possible in which the doctor is somehow connected to the addressee of the utterance and will do the talking. With a masdar relative, on the other hand, this interpretation is completely ruled out:

(86) a. \[\text{mi xabary-ani-x doxtur} \]
\[2SG talk-MASD-AD.ESS doctor.ABS.I \]
\‘the/a doctor for you to talk to’

b. \[\text{xabary-ani-x debi doxtur} \]
\[\text{talk-MASD-AD.ESS 2SG.GEN1 doctor.ABS.I} \]
\‘the/a doctor for you to talk to’
\‘your doctor for someone to talk to’
\NOT: ‘your doctor who will talk’

In transitive and ditransitive clauses with a masdar/ininitival predicate, the ergative cannot be relativized:

(87) \[\text{c’alduqan-z-ä žawab teƛ-ani-x] sual-ya-bi} \]
\[\text{student-OS.PL-ERG answer.ABS.III give-MASD-AD.ESS question-OS.PL.ABS.nIPL} \]
\‘questions for (the) students to answer’

(88) *[\text{sual-yo-s žawab teƛ-ani-x] c’alduqan-bi} \]
In the affective construction (see CH. YY [Basic clause types]), we find two separate patterns. Those verbs that causativize into transitives (‘know’, ‘hear’) permit only relativization of the absolutive argument. Thus, their lative arguments behave as subjects with respect to relativization. Compare example (66) above and the ungrammatical (89):

(89) *[Čorpa-s tašam b-iy-ani-x] ɣˤana-bi
    *soup-GEN taste.ABS.III III-know-MASD-AD.ESS women-ABS.PL.nI 
    be.PRS.NEG-INTERR
    (‘Aren’t there any women to taste soup?’)

Those verbs of cognition and perception that form ditransitive causatives (e.g., ‘see’, ‘like, want’) allow for relativization of both noun phrases in the affective construction. Compare the following examples:

(90) Učitel-ä [xex-za-r r-ukad-ani-x] kino k’edi-x.
    teacher-ERG child-OS.PL-LAT IV-see-MASD-AD.ESS movie.ABS.IV look.for-PRS
    ‘The teacher is looking for a movie for the children to see.’

(91) Žed-ä [yedu halt’i b-eta-ani-x] žek’u-bi
    DEM.I.PL-RG DEM work.ABS.III III-want-MASD-AD.ESS person-ABS.PL.IPL
    žin k’edi-x.
    still look.for-PRS
    ‘They are still was looking for people who would want this work.’ (lit.: to want this work)

The verbs that appear in the accidental construction are structurally identical to masdars and infinitives, but their semantics is probably incompatible with the purposive/goal-oriented reading of masdar clauses, and speakers reject such readings in general, regardless of the constituent that is relativized. In the potential construction with the predicate in the potential or optative form, the poss-essive agent cannot be relativized with a masdar, but all other constituents can:

(92) K’et’u-q besuro b-ac’a-l-xo.
    cat-POSS.ESS fish.ABS.III III-eat-POT-PRS
    ‘The cat could eat (the) fish.’

(93) a. [k’et’u-q b-ac’a-l-ani-x] besuro
    cat-POSS.ESS III-eat-POT-MASD-AD.ESS fish.ABS.III
    ‘fish for the cat to eat’

b. [k’et’u-q besuro b-ac’a-l-ani-x] k’ot’i
    cat-POSS.ESS fish.ABS.III III-eat-POT-MASD-AD.ESS small.plate.ABS.III
    ‘a plate for the cat to eat fish on/from’

c. *[besuro b-ac’a-l-ani-x] k’et’u
    fish.ABS.III III-eat-POT-MASD-AD.ESS cat.ABS.III
    (‘the/a cat able to eat fish’)

(question-OS-GEN1 answer.ABS.III give-MASD-AD.ESS student-PL.ABS.IPL
(‘(the students to answer a/the question’)
In existential and possessive clauses, the pivot (possessum) can be relativized, but the scene-setting expression and the possessor noun phrase cannot. Compare:

(94) Yiła kid-be-s kidila yoł.
DEM girl-OS-GEN1 doll.ABS.II be.PRS
‘That girl has a doll.’

(95) a. [yiła kid-be-s yol-ani-r] kidila
DEM girl-OS-GEN1 be.PRS-MASD-LAT doll.ABS.II
‘a doll for that girl to have’

b. *[kidila yol-ani-r] kid
doll.ABS.II be.PRS-MASD-LAT girl.ABS.II
(‘a girl to own a doll’)

Since relative clauses with infinitival or masdar predicates are often hard to distinguish from purpose clauses with the same predicate, one may even get an impression that subject relativization is possible; consider, for example, the sentence below, which may at first glance be interpreted as something like, “The people destined to look for money came”:

(96) [Micxir k’ed-ani-x] żek’u-bi b-ay-s.
money.ABS.III look.for-MASD-AD.ESS person-PL.ABS.IPL IPL-come-PST.WIT
‘People came here to look for money.’

However, the masdar clause in this sentence can be separated from its apparent head noun, which indicates that it is a purpose clause:

(97) Żek’u-bi b-ay-s [micxir k’ed-ani-x].
person-PL.ABS.IPL IPL-come-PST.WIT money.ABS.III look.for-MASD-AD.ESS
‘People came here to look for money.’

And if the semantics of the matrix predicate is such that it does not combine with a purpose clause, then the masdar becomes impossible:

(98) *Dä-r [micxir k’ed-ani-x] żek’u-bi
1SG-LAT money.ABS.III look.for-MASD-AD.ESS person-PL.ABS.IPL
b-ukay-s.
IPL-see-PST.WIT
(‘I saw the people to look for money.’)

### 2.3 Comparison between participial and infinitival/masdar relatives

The main difference between participial relatives and relative clauses with a masdar or infinitive has to do with modality. Infinitival/masdar relative clauses express some general property of the head noun, which could potentially be put to use by the agent. Such an agent is either presupposed, as for instance, in (61), or overtly mentioned in the relative clause, as in (86) or (87).
Structurally, we already showed that infinitival/masdar relative clauses cannot relativize the subject or the highest structural argument. No such restriction is found in participial relative clauses.

Infinitival/masdar relative clauses can include a reflexive whose antecedent is in the matrix clause. For example:

(99) [Nešä nešä-s ac y-a²ɣ-ani-x] hal änu
REFL.nI-GEN1 door.ABS.II II-open-MASD-AD.ESS ability.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
dä-z ečuy-s.
1SG-GEN2 grandmother-GEN1
‘My grandmother, cannot even open her door.’

On the other hand, a reflexive inside a participial relative clause cannot be bound by an external antecedent:

(100) *Kid-b-ä tungi [nešä nešä-ä tel zäw-ru]-zo
girl-OS-ERG jug.ABS.III DEM.nI-IN.ESS-FOC inside be.PST-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OBL
li-d esay-s.
water-INS wash-PST.WIT
(‘The girl washed the jug with the water that was in itself.’)

Participial relative clauses in which the head noun is the nominal component of a complex verb are well formed; in contrast, infinitival/masdar clauses with nouns embedded in complex verbs are impossible. Observe the following contrast.⁶

(101) a. [ʕal-ä irbahin-e-r b-ädi-ru] kumak
Ali-ERG Ibrahim-OS-LAT III-do-PST.PTCP help.ABS.III
‘Ali’s help to Ibrahim’ (lit: the help that Ali did for Ibrahim)
b. *[ʕal-ä irbahin-e-r b-od-ani-x] kumak
Ali-ERG Ibrahim-OS-LAT III-do-MASD-AD.ESS help.ABS.III
(102) a. [ʕal-ä er-xosi] kul
Ali-ERG put-PRS.PTCP hope.ABS.III
‘the hope that Ali has’ (lit.: puts)
b. *[ʕal-ä er-ani-r] kul
Ali-ERG put-MASD-LAT hope.ABS.III

2.4 Modal existential relatives with the infinitival or masdar predicate

Infinitival and masdar clauses can form existential relative clauses, which appear without an external head. Such clauses have the general structure shown below:

(103) [Wh-expression Verb-INF/Verb-MASD]

⁶ In the complex verb kumak bod- ‘help’, the light verb agrees with the absolutive kumak in gender III.
These relative clauses fit the profile of so-called modal existential constructions (see Šimik 2013 for an overview and discussion); such constructions are typically associated with stative verbs, most often the existential (although some other verbs can also be used, as we show below).

To illustrate, let us first consider such clauses occurring in the pivot position in a construction that is close in meaning to the existential construction ‘there is/are + NP’ (e.g., *There’s something to eat*) or to the possessive construction (e.g., *Ali has a place to go*). For example:

(104) a. Howt’a [nā-r Ø-ik’-a] ānu.
    there where-LAT 1-go-INF be.PRS.NEG
b. [Nā-r Ø-ik’-a] ānu howt’a.
    where-LAT 1-go-INF be.PRS.NEG there
   ‘There is nowhere to go from there.’ (lit.: there is not where to go)
c. *Ø-ik’-a howt’a nā-r ānu.
   1-go-INF there where-LAT be.PRS.NEG

    girl-OS-POSS.ESS what.ABS.IV tell-MASD-AD.ESS be.PST-PST.NWIT-NEG
b. [Šebi es-ani-x] zow-n-ānu kid-be-q.
    what.ABS.IV tell-MASD-AD.ESS be.PST-PST.NWIT-NEG girl-OS-POSS.ESS
   ‘The girl had nothing to say.’ (lit.: there was no what to say…)
c. *Kid-be-q šebi zow-n-ānu es-ani-x.
    girl-OS-POSS.ESS what.ABS.IV be.PST-PST.NWIT-NEG tell-MASD-AD.ESS

In (104) and (105), the respective infinitival and masdar clauses appear without an external head and have the interpretation typical of a modal existential relative (cf. Grosu 1994, 2004; Caponigro 2003; Šimik 2013). As the examples above show, these modal existential relatives serve as the pivot of the existential or possessive clause. The next example shows that the wh-word has to appear as the first constituent of such relative clauses; this characteristic differentiates this subtype of relatives from other types (including other infinitival and masdar clauses), where the word order before the predicate is generally free:

    DEM.I-POSS.ESS when village-IN-LAT 1-go-INF be.PRS.NEG
   ‘He does not have the time to go to the village.’ (lit.: when to go to the village)
b. ??/*Nesi-q [šal-ā-r neti Ø-ik’-a] ānu.
    DEM.I-POSS.ESS village-IN-LAT when 1-go-INF be.PRS.NEG

Modal existential relatives are most common in existential or possessive clauses, but they can occur with other predicates as well. Mostly these are intensional predicates such as ‘look for’, ‘believe’, ‘need’, or ‘want’. For example:

(107) Nes-ă [lu-q xabary-ani-x] k’edi-x.
    DEM.I-ERG who-POSS.ESS talk-MASD-AD.ESS look.for-PRS
   ‘He is looking for someone to talk to.’
(108) Nela-r [nā xaltizi y-oq-a] y-eti-xosi zow-s.
    DEM.II-ERG where work II-become-INF II-want-PRS.PTCP be.PST-PST.WIT
   ‘She needed a place to work.’ (lit.: where to work)
With the exception of ‘why’, and ‘how’, all wh-words can occur in such existential relatives. In addition, since infinitival and masdar relatives have a subject restriction (see 2.2 above), a wh-word in the subject position of such relative clauses is impossible. Finally, modal existential relatives with complex wh-words are rejected (although it is unclear whether they are ungrammatical or merely infelicitous). Thus:

(109) #Nes-ä [nāzo doxtur-qo xabary-ani-x] k’edi-x.

(lit.: “He is looking for which doctor to talk to.”)

Modal existential relative clauses cannot appear with a head noun; compare the headless relative in (107) and its ungrammatical externally headed counterpart below:

(110) *Nes-ä [lu-q xabary-ani-x] žek’u-bi k’edi-x.

(’He is looking for people to talk to.’)

If an infinitival/masdar relative clause does not include a wh-word, then it can appear with an external head. This means that it is possible to construct a minimal pair of existentially interpreted infinitival/masdar relative clauses, as schematized below:

(111) [Wh-expression Verb-INF/Verb-MASD] *Head Noun

(112) […] Verb-INF/Verb-MASD] Head Noun

The option in (112), with semantically light heads such as ‘person’, ‘thing’, ‘time’, ‘place’, etc., is a common alternative to the headless type in (111). Compare the headless relative in (105) to the existentially interpreted headed relative clause below, whose head noun is šebin ‘thing’. Note that the order of the masdar and the head noun cannot be reversed:

(113) a. Kid-be-q [es-ani-x] šebin
     girl-OS-POSS.ESS tell-MASD-AD.ESS thing.ABS.IV
     r-iq-n-ānu.
     IV-be.had-PST.NWIT-NEG
     ’The girl had nothing to say.’ (lit.: thing for saying)

b. *Kid-be-q šebin [es-ani-x]
     girl-OS-POSS.ESS thing.ABS.IV tell-MASD-AD.ESS
     r-iq-n-ānu.
     IV-be.had-PST.NWIT-NEG

Interpretive differences between existential headless relatives and existential relatives with a semantically light external head such as (113) are very subtle. Generally, speakers use these two types of relatives interchangeably in elicitations and spontaneous discourse. However, the

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7 This contrasts with the grammaticality of free relatives with complex wh-words (see section 4 below).
difference becomes more apparent if we contrast a genuine existential relative and a relative clause with an indefinite in the head noun position. Compare the following two sentences:

(114) a. Dey [nā-r Ø-ik’a] ānu.
    1SG.GEN1 where-LAT 1-go-INF be.PRS.NEG
    ‘I don’t have where to go (man speaking).’

   b. Dey [nā-r Ø-ik’a] moči-kin ānu.
    1SG.GEN1 where-LAT 1-go-INF place.ABS.III-FOC be.PRS.NEG
    ‘I don’t have anywhere to go.’

The only way to express the exhaustive reading is by using a headed relative clause, as in (114b).

3  Definite free relative clauses and correlative clauses

3.1 General remarks

Free relative clauses with a definite interpretation (as opposed to the existential interpretation discussed in section 2.4, and ever-free relatives, which we will address below) can be illustrated by the following English examples, where the free relative is shown in brackets. Crucially, the free relative appears in an argument and adjunct position, have the category of the wh-word, and can alternate with regular noun phrases—for instance, what Fred offered to her can be replaced by it or his gift (see Bresnan and Grimshaw 1978 for a discussion):

(115) a. [What Fred offered to her] went into the trash. (Baker 1995: 206)
    b. I did not see [whoever you saw].
    c. They will be [however tall their father is].

In addition to such free relatives we also find correlatives. In a correlative construction, the correlative clause is an adjunct to the main clause, and both clauses include explicit reference to the notional head. The following English example illustrates the pattern. The headless relative clause whatever proposal he made corresponds to the proform it in the main clause. In contrast to free relatives, correlative clauses do not replace arguments; the proform corresponding to a correlative clause appears in the argument position, as in (116); if a proform is impossible in a certain position, the correlative construction is impossible, as shown by (117).

(116) [Whatever proposal he made] she rejected it.  
    
    CORRELATIVE CLAUSE

(117) *[However tall their father is] she will be it.  
    
    CORRELATIVE CLAUSE

Hindi correlatives are among the most commonly cited instances of this construction (cf. Dayal 1996). For example, in (118), the bracketed material is a correlative clause, and vo is the proform corresponding to that clause in the main clause of the correlative construction:

(118) [Jo laRkii khaRii hai] vo lambii hai.  
    rel gril standing is that tall is
‘The girl who is standing is tall.’ (lit.: which girl is standing, she is tall)

3.2 Tsez free relatives/correlatives: Structure

Tsez has a clausal form which is superficially ambiguous between free relatives and correlatives. It is a clause that is formally identical to a wh-question; it includes a wh-word and an interrogative predicate. As some examples below show, the wh-expression does not have to appear at the left edge and can be placed anywhere in the preverbal domain inside the relative clause. This makes this type different from the modal existential relative clauses discussed in section 2.4 above; in those clauses, the wh-expression has to be clause-initial.

The homophony with the interrogative form is not accidental. In many languages with free relative clauses, one can make the claim that they have a structure partially similar to that of wh-questions, although it is clear that the two structures are not identical. Indeed, in English, one finds a difference between the root wh-question *Whoever did you see?*, with obligatory subject–auxiliary inversion, and the relative clause *whoever you saw*, without inversion (see Baker 1995: Ch. 7 for an extensive discussion). In Tsez, however, the two constructions are formally identical. In most tense–aspect–mood formations, Tsez uses the same verb form in an interrogative as in a declarative sentence, so the identity of free relatives and interrogatives is obscured. In the past witnessed tense, however, there is a distinction: declarative sentences have the suffix -si, whereas interrogative sentences have the suffix -ä, as illustrated in the following example:

(119) Nāsi uži hič’č’a adāz Ø-ay-ä/*Ø-ay-si?
    which boy.abs.1 most first i-come-pst.wit.interrr/i-come-pst.wit
    ‘Which boy came first?’

Even though the relative clause does not function as a question in speech-act terms, nonetheless it must have the form of an interrogative, as shown below:

(120) Nāsi uži hič’č’a adāz Ø-ay-ä(-si)/*Ø-ay-si,
    which boy.abs.1 most first i-come-pst.wit.interr-attr/i-come-pst.wit
    di ža žek’-si.
    1sg.erg dem.abs beat-pst.wit
    ‘I beat the boy who came first.’ (lit.: which boy came first, I beat him)

Tsez is not the only language of its family that forms free relative clauses based on the interrogative; the attributive use of interrogatives is also found in Tsaxur (Kibrik 1999: 462-463).

Clauses that are homophonous with the interrogative clause can be used either as free relatives or as correlatives, with subtle differences which we will discuss in more detail in the next section. The general formation of these clauses can be schematized as follows:

(121) [Wh-expression    Verb-INTERR]
Several properties distinguish free relatives from correlatives; we will discuss these properties in section 3.3 below, and here we will mention just one of them. One of the differences has to do with the fact that only free relatives but not correlatives can have the attributive suffix –si (–zo in the oblique form), which follows the interrogative suffix, thus:

(122) [Wh-expression Verb-INTERR-ATTR]

However this suffix is often omitted, as in other cases we have discussed in this chapter, which makes (121) and (122) indistinguishable. For the purposes of the structural formation, we will continue considering free relatives and correlatives together, but it is important to keep in mind that the attributive suffix is exclusive to free relatives.

The pattern presented in (121) is extremely productive and can be used to relativize any position in a clause. For example, assuming sentence (123) as the baseline, a series of headless relative clauses/correlative clauses can be formed. We show them with the optional attributive suffix, which is only available in the free relative use:

(123) hul babi-y-ä uži žek’-si.
    yesterday father-OS-ERG boy.ABS hit-PST.WIT
    ‘Yesterday Father beat/hit the boy.’

(124) free subject relative/correlative
    hul (lu) uži žek’-ä(-si)
    yesterday who.ERG boy.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘the one that beat the boy yesterday’

(125) free object relative/correlative
    hul babi-y-ä (šebi) žek’-ä(-si)
    yesterday father-OS-ERG who/what.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘the one/whom that Father beat yesterday’

(126) free temporal adjunct relative/correlative
    neti babi-y-ä uži žek’-ä(-si)
    when father-OS-ERG boy.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘when(ever) Father beat the boy’

(127) free locative adjunct relative/correlative
    nā babi-y-ä uži žek’-ä(-si)
    where father-OS-ERG boy.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘where/wherever Father beat the boy’

(128) free causal adjunct relative/correlative
    šida babi-y-ä uži žek’-ä(-si)
    why father-OS-ERG boy.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘for what(ever) reason Father beat the boy’

Free relatives/correlatives with complex wh-expressions are possible but dispreferred; compare (125) and the following examples. The dispreference is particularly strong for complex wh-expressions in situ; (129b) is fully acceptable, and (129a) is questionable at best:

(129) a. ??hul babi-y-ä didiw/nāsi uži žek’-ä(-si)
yesterday father-OS-ERG what/which boy.ABS.I hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR

b. didiw/nāsi uži babi-y-ā huł žek’-ā(-si)
what/which boy.ABS.I father-OS-ERG yesterday hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
‘whichever boy that Father beat yesterday’

With a few exceptions, Tsez does not allow multiple wh-questions (see CH. YY [Interrogatives]), and we were unable to find multi-head correlatives of the type noted for Hungarian (Lipták 2005) and some other languages.

To summarize, the form of free relatives/correlatives mirrors the form of interrogative clauses with a wh-word, although it is only in the past witnessed form that this form is distinct from the declarative.

3.3 Differences between free relatives and correlatives

We already mentioned that free relatives and correlatives differ in that only the former but not the latter can take the attributive suffix –si/-zo. However, the direct attributive marker is easily deleted—many instances of its deletion appear throughout this grammar. If so, the two clauses may appear indistinguishable, thus:

(130) [huł babi-y-ā šebi žek’-ā(-si)] Ø-ik’i-s.
yesterday father-OS-ERG who/what.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
I-go-PST.WIT
‘Whoever Father beat yesterday left.’

Only free relatives however can appear in argument positions (see section 3.2), thus, co-occurring with case markers. The absolutive is unmarked, as in (130), and so far, all our examples have featured relative clauses in the absolutive noun phrase position. If a free relative is used in a position other than the absolutive, the oblique attributive form has to be present. Compare (130) and (131):

(131) huł babi-y-ā (šebi) žek’-ā-(zo-)r magalu
yesterday father-OS-ERG who/what.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR.OBL-LAT bread.ABS.III
tel! give.IMPER
‘Give the bread to the whoever Father beat yesterday.’

The clause combining with the lative marker in (131) is an unambiguous free relative; if a correlative is used, neither the attributive marker nor the case marker can be used, and the correlative clause is resumed by a proform in the main clause; such a proform is impossible with a free relative, as shown by (133):

(132) [huł babi-y-ā šebi žek’-ā*(zo-r)] magalu
yesterday father-OS-ERG who/what.ABS hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR.OBL-LAT bread.ABS.III
tel! DEM-LAT give.IMPER
‘Whoever Father beat yesterday, give him bread.’

(133) [huł babi-y-ā šebi žek’-ā-zo-r] magalu
Likewise, the following pair of examples presents an unambiguous contrast between a free relative in the ergative subject position, (134), and a correlative whose proform appears as the ergative subject, (135):

(134) [Nāsi uži hič’č’a adāz Ø-ay-xo-z-ä] (*hemes-ä) which/what.ABS.I hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR.OBL-LAT bread.ABS.III
[•••](•••) teš! DEM-LAT give.IMPER
‘Whoever Father beat yesterday, give him bread.’

(135) [Nāsi uži hič’č’a adāz Ø-ay-xo(*-si)] hemes-ä ahi b-od-o.
which/what.ABS.I hit-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR.OBL-LAT alarm.ABS.III
‘The boy who comes first is to sound the alarm.’

In examples (133) and (135), we observe overt preforms nesir and hemesā. However, Tsez has extensive argument drop, which means that the proform corresponding to the correlative clause can be missing. The result is the ambiguity between free relatives and correlative clauses in the absolutive position.

Since only free relatives are possible in argument positions, it is free relatives but not correlative clauses that are found in the absolutive subject position of specificational copular clauses (see CH. YY [Agreement] and CH. YY [Reflexives]). For instance, in the following example, the subject of a cleft is a headless relative clause deber yetixosi ‘one you like’ (speaking of a woman, since the verb agrees with the absolutive in gender II):

(136) [Debe-r (šebi) y-eti-xo(-si)] mi-tow yoł.
2SG-LAT who.ABS(.II) II-like-PRS-ATTR 2SG.ABS-FOC be.PRS
‘Who you really like is yourself.’

The final difference between free relatives and correlative clauses has to do with the restrictions on relativization. Recall that regular externally headed participial clauses do not allow relativization of adnounal genitives and standards of comparison (see section 1.1). The same constraint seems to hold for free relatives. In (137), the attempted free relative is formed on the adnounal genitive; the occurrence of the oblique attributive form and of case marking unambiguously qualifies this expression as a free relative but not a correlative. The sentence is ungrammatical, thus confirming that free relatives obey the same relativization constraints as externally headed relatives:

(137) *Eniw [nāzo uži-z γʷay-ā mi mother.ABS.II which.OBL boy-GEN2 dog-ERG 2SG.ABS
In contrast, correlatives do not have any restriction and in particular they permit the relativization of adnominal genitives and standards of comparison. Thus, the following counterpart of (139) is fully acceptable:


‘Mother is upset with whoever it is such that his dog bit you.’

And in the following example, the anaphoric demonstrative, which does not distinguish gender in the absolutive, is ambiguous between referring to the dog and to its owner:

(139) [Nāzo uži-z γʷay-ä mi han-ä] šulʾ-ir ža!

‘Which boy’s dog bit you, forget it/him.’

The crucial differences between free relatives and correlatives are summarized in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Free relative</th>
<th>Correlative clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>takes the attributive suffix –si/-zo</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combines with case marker</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>requires a proform in the main clause</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appears as subject of specificational copular clauses (clefts)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obeys restrictions on the relativization of certain positions</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4  Free relative clauses with free choice interpretation

The notion of free choice, signaling uncertainty, indifference, or a universal implication, is expressed by concessive clauses, whose predicate is the concessive converb in –lin. Concessive clauses correspond to ever-free relatives in other languages, as attested by their English translations.

(140) [Eni=babi-y-ä esir-lin] nes-ä esi-x

’Parents ask concessively: their child tells.’
‘Although his parents kept asking, he would not tell.’

In concessive correlatives, the concessive clause includes a wh-word with the contrastive topic particle –gon, which forms free-choice (FC) expressions (see CH. YY [Particles]). Compare (140) and its free-choice free relative counterparts in (141) and (142):

(141) [Eni=babi-y-ä dice-gon esir-lin] nes-ä
parents-OS-ERG how.much-FC ask-CONCESS.CVB DEM.I-ERG
esi-x zow-n-ānu.
tell-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG
‘No matter how much his parents asked, he would not tell.’ (Allahes ašuni:13)

(142) [Eni=babi-y-ä lu-r-gon esir-lin] nes-ä
parents-OS-ERG who-LAT-FC ask-CONCESS.CVB DEM.I-ERG
esi-x zow-n-ānu.
tell-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG
‘No matter how much his parents asked, he would not tell.’ (Allahes ašuni:13)

Concessive clauses with the verb AGR-oq ‘become’ (which is semantically quite light) represent one of the most neutral ways of encoding free-choice phrases. In such clauses, the absolutive subject of AGR-oq is either expressed by the interrogative, as in (147) below, or is coreferential to the absolutive noun phrase in the main clause, as in (143):

(143) [lina-r-gon pro_i r-oq-lin] bix_i telx
what-LAT-FC IV become-CONCESS.CVB grass.ABS.IV give.IMPER
nesi-r!
DEM.I-AT
‘Give him hay for whatever he needs it for.’ (Imnjajšvili 1963:131)

Concessive clauses are headless, and they can be cross-referenced by an anaphoric expression in the main clause. For example, the concessive clause in (144) is resumed by the anaphorically interpreted nāsin ‘all’:

(144) [Neł-ä šebi-gon r-oy-lin] nāsin gimušaw (yoł).
DEM.nl-ERG what.ABS.IV-FC IV-do-CONCESS.CVB all.ABS.IV tasty be.PRS
‘Whatever she makes tastes good.’ (lit.: whatever she makes all is tasty)

(145) [la-de-gon mi Ø-içi-lin] neduga-ni-q-āy
who-APUD.ESS-FC 2SG(.I) I-stay-CONCESS.CVB such-DEF-POSS-ABL
r-iqi-xosi (yol).
IV-be.gotten-PRS.PTCP AUX.PRS
‘Whoever you hang out with you learn from them.’

(146) [Nā-r-gon y-ik’i-lin] huni bit’izi r-oq-oł!
where-LAT-FC II-go-CONCESS.CVB road.ABS.IV smooth IV-become-OPT
‘Wherever you go (speaking to a woman) have a safe journey.’

(147) [Šebi b-oq-lin] goł’-o žedu t’o-r!
who.ABS(.IPL) II-become-CONCESS.CVB call-IMPER DEM.ABS(.IPL) here-LAT
‘Call whoever you can.’ (a group of people including males)

Concessive relative clauses can include complex wh-expressions, as illustrated below. This property sets them apart from modal free relatives and definite free relatives, which are incompatible with such complex interrogative phrases.

(148) [Nāsi baru y-ow-lin] nel-qo-r Ŝenekizi which wife.ABS.II II-bring-CONCESS.CVB DEM.nI-POSS-LAT listen Ø-oq. i-become.IMPER
‘Whichever wife you choose (lit.: take), listen to her.’

Another way of expressing free choice is by participial relatives which combine with semantically light head nouns such as ‘thing’, ‘person’, ‘place’, etc. For example:

(149) [Q’arƛ ’o Ø-izi-xosi] Žek’u reʃizi Ø-oq-xosi (yol) early I-rise-PRS.PTCP person.ABS.I prepare I-become-PRS.PTCP AUX.PRS r-aq’u šebin r-od-a. IV-many thing.ABS.IV IV-do-INF
‘The early bird catches the worm.’ (lit.: a person that rises early is prepared to do many things)

(150) [Buži(zi) yāl-ru] šebin t’ubazi r-oq-xosi (yol). belief be.PR.S-PST.PTCP thing.ABS.IV fulfilled IV-become-PRS.PTCP AUX.PRS
‘Whatever you hope for will come true.’ (lit.: a thing that belief is in will come true)

(151) [Allah-ä nāł-ru] Žena-ƛ razi b-oq-a b-āy God-ERG give-PST.PTCP thing.OBL-SUPER.ESS agree IPL-become-INF IPL-must eli. IPL.ABS.IPL
‘We should accept whatever God gives us.’ (lit.: agree on the thing that God gives)
Adverbial clauses

1 General remarks

The majority of Tsez adverbial clauses have a converb as their predicate. A converb is a verbal form that depends syntactically on another verb form that is not its argument. Converbs can be defined negatively as forms that can neither be the only predicate of a simple sentence, nor clausal arguments (Nedjalkov 1995: 97; Haspelmath 1995).

Tsez has a rich system of converbs. The formal marking of converbs is quite diverse, and we will discuss individual converbs below, but for the purposes of classification, two main subtypes can be recognized:

(i) primary converbs, derived from the present tense form of the verb
(ii) specialized converbs

Primary converbs include the perfective (completive) converb in \(-n(o)\) and the imperfective converb in \(-x(o)\). These converbs can be used as predicates of adverbial clauses but they also combine with auxiliaries to form complex tense forms. Both these converbs have suffixes that are homophonous with the suffixes of tense forms used in independent clauses (the unwitnessed past and simple present, respectively).

Specialized converbs only occur as predicates of adverbial clauses, and they constitute the bulk of the material discussed in this chapter. Both sets of converbs can be expressed by simple and complex verbs, and some specialized converbs can be periphrastic. All converbal clauses are predicate-final, but the word order before the predicate can be relatively free and is subject to some general principles that are discussed in CH. YY [Word order].

There is clear distributional evidence that converbs constitute non-finite forms of the verb. Tsez has a series of enclitics that can combine with any category but finite verbs. These include the focus markers \(-tow\) and \(-kin\), the topic markers \(-n(o)\) (plain topic) and \(-gon\) (contrastive topic), the coordinator \(-n(o)\) ‘and’, and the distributive suffix \(-t'a\). These markers freely combine with converbs (although the suffix \(-t'a\) is more selective, co-occurring with only a subset of converbs, as we discuss below). For example:¹

(1) Xan-e-s kid-gon [ʃiyay-x-tow] ʃiyay-x
    king-OS-GEN1 girl.ABS.II-CONTR.TOP cry-IPFV.CVB-FOC cry-IPFV.CVB
    y-ič-āsi zow-n.
    II-stay-RES.PTCP AUX.PST-nPST.WIT
    ‘The king’s daughter kept crying.’ (lit.: stayed crying really crying) (Qacis gulu:14)

¹ Here and below we indicate the boundaries of converbal clauses by brackets.
As she reached with her hand (lit.: when she sent her hand) to catch it, the pigeon flew away…’ (based on Moƛu:67)

‘Although the youngest sister insisted (lit.: sent dispute) that they should go quickly to get home before it gets dark, they did not listen to her.’ (Č’ikayn, murin, hiƛun:7)

Finite verbs can be coordinated asyndetically or with such conjunctions as *amma* ‘but, but never with the coordinating enclitic *–n(o)*; see also CH. YY [Coordination] and CH. YY [Particles]. Meanwhile, converbs easily combine with *–n(o)*, as shown in (3) and (55) below. This again sets converbs apart from finite verbs.

With the exception of some coordinate structures (CH.YY [Coordination]), the main way of linking event sequences in a complex sentence is through the use of converbs. Such complex sentences can include a string of converbal clauses but may have only one finite clause. Sentences formed by joining one or more converbal clauses to a finite clause are referred to as “clause chains” (Longacre 1985: 263ff.; Foley and van Valin 1984: ch. 6), a widespread phenomenon found across many languages. While clause chains are not unique to Nakh-Dagestanian, these languages make extensive use of such chains; see Good (2003) for Chechen, Nichols (2011) for Ingush, Forker (2013: Ch. 7, 21, 25) for Hinuq, Kibrik (2001: 595-612) for Bagwali, Kibrik (1999: 542-545) for Tsaxur, and Haspelmath (1993: 303-309) for Lezgian.

The clause chain structure is often reinforced by the addition of the enclitic *–n(o)* ‘and’ to the constituent immediately preceding the converb. For example, in (6), *–n(o)* appears on the non-verbal part of the complex predicate, *qʷwirid* ‘sad’, and in (22), it appears on the noun phrase *eniw* ‘mother’. See also examples (27), (30), (31), (41) below, and see Forker (2013: 543) for a similar pattern in Hinuq. Care should be taken to distinguish the clause-chaining use of *n(o)* from its topic-marking function (the topic-marking *–n(o)* is not limited positionally to the immediate preverbal constituent), and from the regular ‘and’, which appears on two or more constituents (see also CH. YY [Particles]). The clause-chaining *–n(o)* is always optional, and its presence or absence does not correlate with the coordinate vs. subordinate status of the converbal clause in which it appears (see section 5).

In what follows, we will first present different types of converbs (sections 2 and 3), then turn to coreference across converbal clauses (section 4); we address the status of these clauses as coordinate or subordinate in section 5. In addition to the converbal clauses, clauses with masdar/infinitival predicates and clauses with attributive predicates can also be used adverbially, and we will present such clauses in sections 6 and 7 respectively.
2 Converbs and their properties

2.1 Primary converbs

2.1.1 Perfective converb

The perfective converb in \(-n(o)\) is probably the most frequently used member of its class; it is also, semantically, the least specified. Its form in \(-n(o)\) is homophonous with the unwitnessed past form in the affirmative. Under negation, the two forms differ; negative unwitnessed past has the suffix \(-ānu\), but the negative perfective converb has the suffix \(-ičˈey\). Only the finite form can occur in the interrogative. As we already mentioned above, only the converb can co-occur with topic and focus markers.

The converbal and finite forms also differ in their time reference; the time reference of a converbal clause is dependent on the time of the main clause, which means that a perfective converbal clause can have present or future time reference. Such time reference is impossible for finite verbs, which express exclusively the past. In (4), the future temporal reference of the converb is determined by the main predicate biyrān:

(4) Elo-r Ø-ikˈi-n ne
    there-LAT 1-go-PFV.CVB DEM.ni-GEN1 adres
    address.ABS.III
    b-iy-r-ān
di.
    III-know-CAUS-FUT.DEF 1SG.ERG

‘I will go there and find out her address.’

In example (5) below, the event of eavesdropping, expressed by the converb tegerno, is in the future and takes its time reference from the purpose masdar esanix. Meanwhile, the main predicate egirno is in the unwitnessed past.

(5) Xan-ā wazir Ø-egir-no [[že-dā elo tel
    king-ERG vizier.ABS.I 1-send-PST.nWIT DEM.IPL-ERG there inside
    b-ād-iru xabar-no
dem.I-POSS.ESS tell-MASD-AD.ESS
    III-do-PST.PTCP conversation.ABS.III-and
    hear-CAUS-PFV.CVB after
    nesi-q es-ani-x].

‘The king sent his vizier to eavesdrop on their conversation in there so that he could tell him about it thereafter.’ (Xanno, nesisgon ḋono užin:49)

Another dissimilarity between the converb and the homophonous unwitnessed past form has to do with evidentiality. Whereas unwitnessed past refers to situations for which the speaker does not have direct evidence, the perfective converb may refer to situations where the speaker is/was present. This is particularly clear in reports about emotions and internal states. With finite verbs denoting past emotions, it is normal to use the unwitnessed form in speaking about second or third person; after all, the speaker does not have direct access to the internal state of such persons and can only make judgments about that internal state by inference. On the other hand, when
reporting one’s own emotional state, the speaker can use witnessed past. Perfective converbs are quite natural in reports of a speaker’s emotions, with the finite verb appearing in the witnessed past form. For example:

(6) [Qwːarid-no y-oq-no] dā-q šebin-kin
    sad-and II-become-PFV.CVBJ 1SG-POSS.ESS thing.ABS.IV-FOC
    r-uq’ik’-a kʷeze y-oq-inč’u.
    IV-hide-INF able II-become-PST.WIT.NEG
    ‘I was upset and could not hide anything.’ (woman speaking)

2.1.2 Imperfective converb

This converb has the suffix –x(o), which is homophonous with the suffix of the present tense. As with the perfective converb, this converb takes its temporal reference from the main predicate, while the temporal reference of a predicate in the present tense is specified. Imperfective converbal clauses can be combined with finite clauses whose predicates are in the past or future, and the interpretation of the converbal clause (as denoting an event that is simultaneous with the event described in the main clause) is determined by the finite verb’s tense. For example, in (7), the converb bears past time reference, due to the tense of the finite predicate:

(7) [Išam-t’a b-is-xo] caƛi-n.
    aim.ABS.III-DISTR III-take-IPFV.CVBJ throw-PST.WIT
    ‘He aimed and made a shot.’ (Hasanno Hussenno:61)

2.2 Specialized converbs

Specialized converbs are formed by a series of suffixes attached to the verb stem. The rules determining stem alternations are discussed in CH. YY [VERB MORPH], so in this chapter we will only focus on the suffixes used with the stem.

The majority of specialized converbs have spatial suffixes. Spatial suffixes are also used to derive adverbial expressions from nouns (see CH.YY [Adverbial phrases]), which underscores the similarity between adverbial clauses and adverbial phrases. Several converbs are formed by combining the verb stem with a suffix from the SUPER series: super-essive –ƛ’(o), and (a suffix built upon) super-lative: -ƛ’o-rey. These converbs, illustrated for the verb ‘read’ below, have the general semantics of simultaneity. We gloss converbs in -ƛ’orey as “durative I”, in contrast with another durative form which will be presented shortly.

(8) t’et’er-ƛ’o
    read-SIM.CVBJ
    ‘while reading’
(9) t’et’er-ƛ’orey
    read-DUR.I.CVBJ
    ‘during/in/while reading’

The suffix of the AD series –x(o) appears in the converb in –xoy, thus:
A number of converbs are formed with the suffix –za; this suffix then combines with spatial markers, such as in-essive, super-essive, etc. Each of these za-based forms has a specific interpretation, although the causal converbs in –zaƛ’ and –zaq are used interchangeably. Thus:

(11) t’et’er-zaƛ’
read-CAUSAL.I.CVB (<SUPER.ESS)
‘because one reads’

(12) t’et’er-zaq
read-CAUSAL.I.CVB (<POSS.ESS)
‘because one reads’

(13) t’et’er-zaƛ’ or
read-POST.CVB (<SUPER-LAT)
‘before/until reading’ (see also example (3) above)

The durative converb in –zey is probably based on the form in –za as well:

(14) t’et’er-zey
read-DUR.II.CVB (<SUPER-LAT)
‘during/in/while reading’

In addition to converbs formed with spatial suffixes, Tsez has a terminative converb, formed with the suffix –ace, based on the equative suffix –ce. Thus:

(15) t’et’r-ace
read-TERM.CVB
‘till one reads; as long as one reads’

Two converbs may be diachronically related to participles. These are the immediate anterior converb in –run (<ru-n) and the anterior converb in –nosi (<no-si, where si is the attributive suffix).

(16) t’et’är-un (<t’et’är-run)
read-IMM.CVB
‘as soon as one reads’

(17) t’et’er-nosi
read-ANT.CVB
‘after reading’

There are three conditional converbs: non-counterfactual converb in –näy and counterfactual ending in –lī and –liri. In the glosses, we mark the non-counterfactual converb as “conditional,” without further qualification, and add CF for the other two converbs.
Concessive converbs are formed by the addition of the suffix –lin:

(20) t’et’er-lin  
read-CONC.CVB  
‘although one reads/read; despite reading’

The table below summarizes the converbs presented in this section. Some converbs only occur in the affirmative, and we indicate that in the table as well. We again illustrate these converbs using the verb t’et’r- ‘read’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Converb</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Occurs in the negative form</th>
<th>Example (affirmative/negative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-n(o)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-no/t’et’r-in?ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-x(o)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>t’et’er-xo/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>-nosi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-nosi/t’et’r-in ‘i-nosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate anterior</td>
<td>-run</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’är-un/t’et’är-in ‘i-run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>-?‘(o)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>t’et’er-?‘o/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative I</td>
<td>-?’orey</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>t’et’er-?’orey/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative II</td>
<td>-zey</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>t’et’er-zey/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posterior</td>
<td>-za? ‘or</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-za? ‘or/t’et’r-in ‘i-za? ‘or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>-ace</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>t’et’r-ace/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal I</td>
<td>-za? ‘/ -zaq</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-za? ‘/t’et’r-in ‘i-za? ‘, t’et’er-zaq/t’et’r-in ‘i-zaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal II</td>
<td>-xoq</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-xoq/t’et’r-in ‘i-xoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional, non-counterfactual</td>
<td>-náy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-náy/t’et’r-in ‘i-náy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional, counterfactual</td>
<td>-li/- liri</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-li(ri)/t’et’r-in ‘i-li(ri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>-lin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>t’et’er-lin/t’et’r-in ‘i-lin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this table shows, temporal converbs constitute the largest portion of the Tsez converbal lexicon. In the next section, we will explore the meaning and usage of various converbs.
3 Types of converbal clauses based on their meaning

3.1 Temporal converbal clauses

Several converbs can express temporal relations, and their relationship to the predicate of the main clause can be characterized according to two criteria: (i) is the event denoted by the converbal clause contemporaneous with the event in the main clause, or does it precede or follow that event? and (ii) is the event denoted by the converbal clause construed as durative or not?

3.1.1 Clauses with perfective and imperfective converbs

As we already mentioned, the converb in –n(o) is semantically the most neutral form of the event converb. Although the converb itself is completive/perfective, it is widely used in expressing both simultaneous and sequential events. When joined to another clause, it can be rendered in English as ‘and’ (expressing simultaneity) or ‘and then’ (expressing sequentiality). For example, in (21), -n(o) has a clear simultaneous reading, and in (22), it has a clear sequential reading:

(21) [ʕAČq'ay-n] mekoy-xosi yoł xexoy-bi.
   be.thirsty-CVB be.hungry-PRS.PTCP be.PRS young.animal-PL.ABS.nIPL
   ‘The young animals are thirsty and hungry.’

(22) [Sosi eniw-n goł’i-n] xabar es-o.
   at.first mother.ABS.II-and call-CVB news.ABS.III tell-IMPER
   ‘First call Mother and then tell the news.’

Clause chains with multiple perfective converbs are extremely common, and constitute a typical way of obtaining cohesion in a narrative sequence. The following example illustrates a particularly long sentence with three perfective converbs (rišin, kurno, and xecin). The converbal clauses with the predicates rišin and xecin are joined to the main clause, and the converbal clause whose predicate is kurno is embedded under the converbal clause aybi idutow xecin ‘left the birds at home’.

(23) [Boc’a-n zey-bi-n yuro yāl-zā
   wolves.COLL.ABS.nIPL-and bear-PL.ABS.nIPL-and cattle.ABS.nIPL be.PRS-LCV.CVB
   reč’-u-λ ayń-a tel r-iši-n]
   calf.shed-OS-SUB.ESS cowshed-IN.ESS inside nIPL-drive.into-PFV.CVB
   [ay-bi [giri-ma-bi-n kur-no] idu-tow
   bird-PL.ABS.nIPL pole-PL-PL.ABS.nIPL-and throw-PFV.CVB home-FOC
   xecin-n] beli-s čanya-bi-n reso-bi-n
   leave-PFV.CVB wild.goat-GEN1 goat-PL.ABS.nIPL-and roe-PL.ABS.nIPL-and
   čolow yāl-zā hiya-r r-eģir-no.
   straw.ABS.IV be.PRS-LCV.CVB hayloft-LAT nIPL-send-PST.NWIT
   ‘(She) drove the wolves and bears into the calf-shed of the cow-shed where the cattle were; she left the birds in the house, having put up poles, and she let the wild goats and roes in the hayloft where there was straw.’ (Isis rigli:7)

In a particular subcase of its simultaneous use, the perfective converb denotes the manner in
which a given event proceeds; thus, this type of converbal clause can be used in the function of a manner adverbial. Verbs of motion are most commonly used in this function, specifying in more detail the general motion expressed by the finite verb. For example,\(^2\)

\[(24)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{a.} & [\text{Už}i-\text{bi}_i & b-\text{et}'u-n] & pro_i & k'\text{o}l\text{anay}-x. \\
\text{boy-PL.ABS.IPL} & \text{IPL-jump-PFV.CVB} & \text{run-PRS} \\
\text{b.} & Uži-\text{bi}_i & [pro_i & b-\text{et}'u-n] & k'\text{o}l\text{anay}-x. \\
\text{boy-PL.ABS.IPL} & \text{IPL-jump-PFV.CVB} & \text{run-PRS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The boys are jumping up and down.’

Sometimes the expression of manner can have additional connotations as well; for instance, ‘frightened’ in (25) could be interpreted either as the manner of the running or the reason for the running:

\[(25)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{B-}^\text{³}u\text{ḥ}'-\text{no} & k'\text{et}'u & b-\text{ox}-\text{xo}.
\text{III-be.afraid-PFV.CVB} & \text{cat.ABS.III} & \text{III-run-PRS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The cat is running in fear (frightened).’

In the next example, we find a particularly long string of converbs specifying the abrupt, rapid manner of motion. The converbal string bet’un k’ol-in is identical to the string shown in (24) (the verb k’ol- takes a converbal clause); it is then joined to the verb AGR-iz- ‘rise’, and the whole converbal string is associated with the main predicate:

\[(26)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Boc}'i & b-\text{et}'u-n & k'\text{o}l-i-n & b-\text{izi}-n \\
\text{wolf.ABS.III} & \text{III-jump-PFV.CVB} & \text{run-PFV.CVB} & \text{III-rise-PFV.CVB} \\
b-\text{oxi}-n & \text{el-\text{ā}y.} \\
\text{III-run-PST.NWIT} & \text{there-ABL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The wolf jumped up and ran away.’

Some other examples illustrating converbal manner clauses are provided below. In (27), the manner converbal clause žarno yiyn’ey ‘lit.: (she was) unknown to the young man’ is embedded in the perfective converbal clause with the predicate yoqno. Note that in this example, although the lower converbal clause denotes manner, its constituent is still marked with \(-n(o)\) ‘and’:

\[(27)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
[Sasaqozox & [ža-r-no & y-iy-n\text{'ey}] & \text{maho-r-no} \\
early.in.the.morning & \text{lad-LAT-and} & \text{II-know-PFV.CVB.NEG outside-LAT-and} \\
y-oq-no] & q'\text{orol-ā} & ža-z & \text{babiw-q} & \text{esi-n} \\
\text{II-become-PFV.CVB} & \text{widow-ERG} & \text{lad-GEN2} & \text{father-POSS.ESS} & \text{tell-PST.NWIT} \\
nesi-λ' & yāl-ru & q'\text{wari}l-\text{ā}y. \\
\text{DEM.I-SUPER.ESS} & \text{be.PRS-PST.PTCP} & \text{sadness-CONT-ABL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘In the morning the widow slipped outside unnoticed by the young man and told his father about the woes that befell him.’ (Allahes ašuni:21)

\(^2\) In this example, uži bi could either be part of the converbal clause or the matrix clause; we present both schematics.
This use of perfective converbs as denoting the manner of motion allows us to characterize it as a
path-incorporating language in terms of Talmy’s classification of motion verb constructions
(Talmy 1972, 1975, 1985, 2000; see also Croft 2003: 220-224; Rappaport Hovav and Levin
2001). Talmy’s classification is based on the grammatical encoding of the two semantic
components of the motion event—manner and path. The manner-incorporating type, instantiated
by English, expresses manner of motion in the main verb. The path-incorporating type,
exemplified by Spanish, encodes path in the main verb and encodes manner in a separate,
satellite construction. Tsez is clearly a member of this type. The manner of motion is expressed
primarily by perfective converbs, but occasionally, other types of converbs can serve that role as
well.

In terms of word order, converbal clauses most commonly appear before the main predicate,
either at the left periphery of the sentence, or as a center embedding. An example of center
embedding is shown in (23) above, where the clause with the converbal predicate kurno is center-embedded in another
converbal clause. These are just preferences, and there are no categorical restrictions preventing
a converbal clause from following the finite clause, as in the following text example:

(28) K’et’u-z elo aw yol-ƛ.in rok’-ƛ.o-r-no
cat-GEN2 there mouse.ABS.III be.PRS-QUOT heart-SUPER-LAT-and
r-ay-n [[b-et’u-n] b’eƛ.-e-z q’im-ƛ.o-r
IV-come-PST.NWIT III-jump-PFV.CVB aper-OS-GEN2 head-SUPER-LAT
k’oƛi-n].
runch-PFV.CVB
‘When it (the cat) saw that, it thought that it was a mouse that jumped on the aper’s
head.’ (K’et’us hunar:17)

The imperfective converb refers to events that occur simultaneously with the main event, which
mean that it overlaps in function with the perfective converb. The main difference between the
two converbs has to do with their aspectual interpretation. The imperfective converb often
underscores the ongoing nature of the event. For example, in (29), the emphasis is on the event-
in-progress nature of withering away, as accentuated by the adverbial phrase ‘day after day’:

(29) Bečedaw žek’u-s [yud-ƛ.’āy yud-ƛ.o-r halaq’
rich man-GEN1 day-POSS-ABL day-POSS-LAT emaciated
Ø-oq-xo] uži Ø-ik’i-x zow-n.
I-become-IPFV.CVB boy.ABS.I I-go-IPFV.CVB be.PST-PST.NWIT
‘Day after day a rich man’s son continued to wither away.’ (Allahes ašuni:12)

Similarly, in (30), the use of the imperfective converb emphasizes the ongoing nature of
speaking; the use of the ing-form in the English translation is intended to reflect that. In (31), all
the events are construed as punctual:
Because imperfective converbs denote ongoing events, they are infelicitous with individual-level predicates. This kind of infelicity mirrors the English situation, in which individual-level predicates are incompatible with the progressive, cf.:

(32) a. *Kim is knowing mathematics/the answer.
   b. *The mountain was being tall.
   c. ?Sandy was being able to lift 60 lbs.

Whereas regular present tense use of individual-level predicates is completely acceptable, these predicates are rejected in simultaneous imperfective converbal clauses; our informants offer perfective converbs (or other forms) instead. Compare the contrast between (33a) and (33b):

(33) a. *[Alpawit  b-iy-x]   pat’i-r   hašiw
    alphabet.ABS.III III-know-IPF.CVB Fatima-LAT thick
    t’ek-ma-bi    t’et’r-a  r-eti-x.
    book-OS.PL-PL.ABS.nIPL read-INF IV-like-PRS

b. [Alpawit  b-iy-n]   pat’i-r   hašiw
    alphabet.ABS.III III-know-PFV.CVB Fatima-LAT thick
    t’ek-ma-bi    t’et’r-a  r-eti-x.
    book-OS.PL-PL.ABS.nIPL read-INF IV-like-PRS

‘Fatima knows the alphabet and likes to read thick books.’

Imperfective converbal clauses often include distributive expressions, primarily noun phrases or adverbs marked with the distributive suffix –t’a (see CH.YY [Noun phrase] for a detailed discussion of this suffix). We found 82 instances in folklore texts (Abdulaev and Abdulaev 2010) of the distributive marker –t’a appearing on a constituent of a converbal clause. Of these 82 occurrences, –t’a appeared with the imperfective converb in 68 instances (cf. example (7) above), and only in ten cases did it appear with the perfective converb. Of the other occurrences, there were three distributive phrases in the causal converbal clause, and one in the anterior converbal clause. The low numbers for causal and anterior clauses are not surprising, since their predicates are specialized, rare converbs. However, perfective and imperfective converbs have comparable frequency, so the imperfective bias of distributive expressions is quite striking. To add to these statistics, we also observed that the distributive suffix appeared on the converb itself; there were 17 instances where the suffix occurred with the imperfective converb, as
illustrated in (34):³

(34)  Nela-r  r-iy-x  [babiy-ä  [uźni-q-āy  b-is-xo-t’a]
     DEM.nl-LAT  IV-know-PRS  father-ERG  boy-POSS-ABL  III-take-IPFV.CVB-DISTR
     micxir  c’i-da-yor  kur-xosi
     money.ABS.III  fire-APUD-VERS  throw-PRS.PTCP
     yāl-ru-li],
     be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
     ‘She knows that father takes money from the son and throws it into fire.’
     (Debi xarţi anu yedu:13)

The correlation between the event-in-progress interpretation and the presence of distributive expressions is consistent with the general semantics of distributivity, which involves a distribution of described eventualities over different locations, different times, and/or different participants. In fact, eventualities that are thought of as extended in space and/or time are often expressed by imperfectives in languages with the perfective/imperfective distinction. To put this differently, both the distributive and the imperfective have a plural/repetitive semantic component. It is therefore no accident that there is a connection between distributive marking and the imperfective converb. That, in turn, raises the question of which converbs can and cannot combine with the distributive marker. Within the primary converbs, the perfective converb is incompatible with the distributive. Compare the following examples, where the distributive expression is possible in the perfective converbal clause (35a), but actual distributive marking of the converb is ungrammatical (35b):

(35)  a.  [Micxir  babiy-ä  łoż-uyrax  c’i-da-γor-t’a
      money.ABS.III  father-ERG  three-four.times  fire-APUD-VERS-DISTR
      kur-no]  Ø-ik’i-n.
      throw-PFV.CVB  I-go-PST.NWIT
      ‘Father threw money into the fire three or four times and left.’ (based on Debi xarţi anu yedu:10)

b.  *[Micxir  babiy-ä  łoż-uyrax  c’i-da-γor
      money.ABS.III  father-ERG  three-four.times  fire-APUD-VERS
      kur-no-t’a]
      Ø-ik’i-n.
      throw-PFV.CVB-DISTR  I-go-PST.NWIT
      ‘Father threw money into the fire three or four times and left.’ (based on Debi xarţi anu yedu:10)

Note that both forms, the imperfective and the perfective, are homophonous with tensed forms,

³ In five other instances, –t’a occurred with the terminative converb, as in the example below:

(i)  Howzi  hudu  żedu  xexbi  ax
     now  so  DEM.PL  children.ABS(.IPL)  stomach.ABS.IV
     r-oq-ace-t’a  b-iš-no.
     IV-become-TERM.CVB-DISTR  I.PL-eat.ITER-PST.NWIT
     ‘Since then, the children ate till they were full.’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:81)
so their contrast with respect to distributivity cannot be explained just by similarity to tense. Furthermore, the fact that a converb denotes an ongoing event is not sufficient to allow it to combine with –t’a. The durative converbs in -ƛ’orey and –zym and the simultaneity converb in -ƛ’o do not combine with the distributive suffix either. Thus:

(36)  
  a. *t’et’er-ƛ’orey-t’a  
      read-DUR.I.CVBDISTR  
  b. *t’et’er-zey-t’a  
      read-DUR.II.CVBDISTR  
  c. *t’et’er-ƛ’o-t’a  
      read-SIM.CVBDISTR

To anticipate the facts presented below, we find that only two converbs, imperfective and terminative, can be marked with the distributive -t’a.

3.1.2 Clauses with specialized temporal converbs

Anterior and immediate converbs indicate that the event expressed in the converbal clause precedes the event in the main clause. For example:

(37)  
  [Ixl-da-xo-si zaman b-ay-nosı]  żed-ä  
  spring-OS-AD.ESS-ATTR time.ABS.III III-come-ANT.CVB DEM.IPL-ERG  
  sadaqay moči b-iłi-n.  
  together field.ABS.III III-plough-PST.NWIT  
  ‘After spring came they ploughed together.’ (Zirun zeyn:3)

(38)  
  [hału-xo-zo-x-āy Ø-uy-xo-r Ø-ay-nosi]  xan-ä  
  drink-PRS.PTCP-OS-AD-ABL I-truly-AD-LAT I-come-TEMP.CVB king-ERG  
  esir-no…  
  ask-PST.NWIT  
  ‘After the king became sober again he asked…’ (Bown bownč’ey, zown, zownč’ey, besuroza at’es riłini rac’xo:38)

The immediate anterior converb also denotes a preceding event, but as its name suggests, it emphasizes immediate precedence. This is often translated with the English ‘as soon as’, as in the following example:

(39)  
  Ža gulu [sis čuret’ b-āk’-run] hawa-ƛ’  
  DEM horse.ABS.III one whip.ABS.III III-hit-IMM.CVB air-SUPER.ESS  
  b-ık’i-n.  
  III-go-PST.NWIT  
  ‘As soon as it received one touch of the whip, that horse would fly (lit.: go) up in the air.’  
  (Qacis gulu:16)

Causal converbs can also express precedence (see also Imnajšvili 1963: 225-226). Examples (40) and (41) illustrate this use of causal converb I (in example (40), the converb is embedded in a relative clause:
(40) [Y-eye-zal’] kid žäk’-inë’-ru eni-y-a
II-young-CAUSAL.I.CVB girl.ABS.II beat-NEG-PST.PRT mother-OS-ERG
xizyo nelâ nela-s λ’ontu-bi žek’-a r-äy.
later REFL.nI-GEN1 knee-ABS.PL.nIPL beat-INF nPL-must
‘A mother who did not beat her daughter when she was little will have to beat her own knees later.’

(41) [[Idu-r-no Ø-ay-n] [w̃ale-ð q̃im-no kur-no]
home-LAT-and I-come-PFV.CVB down-LAT head.ABS.IV-and throw-PFV.CVB
xediw Ø-ići-zaq] bar-ä esir-no…
husband.ABS.I I-stay-CAUSAL.I.CVB wife-ERG ask-PST.nWIT
‘When/because the husband came home hanging his head, the wife asked…’ (Eniws esiw:28)

Example (42) and (43) show the temporal use of causal converb II, which is also common; the temporal interpretation of this converb is typically associated with the meaning ‘as soon as’:

(42) [Ža r-ukay-xow] k’et’u-z elo aw yol-šin
DEM.ABS.IV IV-see-CAUSAL.II.CVB cat-GEN2 there mouse.ABS.III be.PRS-QUOT
rok’-λ’o-r-no r-ay-n b-et’u-n b’eš-e-z
heart-SUPER-LAT-and IV-come-PST.nWIT III-jump-PFV.CVB aper-OS-GEN2
q’im-λ’o-r k’oli-n.
head-SUPER-LAT run-PFV.CVB
‘As soon as/because it (the cat) saw that, it thought that it was a mouse that jumped on the aper’s head.’ (K’et’us hunar:17)

(43) [Di y-ok’ el-xoy-tow] esir-a ø-ay-si že
1SG.ABS(.II) II-tear.away-CAUSAL.II.CVB-FOC ask-INF I-come-PST.WIT DEM.ABS(.I)
dâ-z obiz esiy-de-r.
1SG-GEN2 father-GEN2 sibling-APUD-LAT
‘As soon as I escaped he went to my father’s sister to ask (for my hand in marriage).’

Turning now to simultaneous converbs, the event expressed by such a converb occurs at the same time as the event encoded in the main clause. For example:

(44) Nes-ä žedu … [r-egi-ł’] r-egir-no
DEM.I-ERG DEM.PL.nIPL nIPL-be.loose-SIM.CVB nIPL-send-PFV.CVB
xec-äsi zow-n.
leave-RES.PTCP AUX.PST-PST.nWIT
‘He left them free.’ (lit.: sent them being free) (Wasiyat:3)

(45) haži-n q’un-a-n esna-z-ä ged-ma-bi
exchange-PST.nWIT two.OS-COLL sibling-OS.PL-ERG garment-OS.PL-PL.ABS.nIPL
[huni-x r-ik’i-ł’-tow].
road-AD.ESS nIPL-go-SIM.CVB-FOC
‘The two sisters traded dresses while on the road (as they were going on the road).’
(Eniwn,  Ponon kidno:32)
With the simultaneous converb, the “ongoing/durative” interpretation of the event is optional; durativity can be inferred, as in (45), but it is not an obligatory component of the converbal meaning. Meanwhile, the two durative converbs specifically serve to emphasize the ongoing nature of the event they denote. For example:

(46) Neširu maħo-r y-oq-ƛ’orey, didiw-ƛa ƛa-s
in.the.evening outside-LAT II-become-DUR.I.CVB which-INDEF who-GEN1
yāl-ru r-iy-x-anu-si r-ile q’alu-quy
be.PRS-PST.PTCP IV-know-PRS-NEG-ATTR IV-similar noise-rumpus.ABS.IV
teq-no.
hear-PST.NWIT
‘In the evening, as she was walking outside, she heard some strange (lit.: unknown what or whose) noise.’ (Isis rigli:4)

(47) Di ša b-od ani-x k’udi q’uq’i-ƛ’orey
1SG.ERG wine.ABS.III III-do-MASD-AD.ESS grapes.ABS.III mix-DUR.I.CVB
eło set’u b-ut-āsi hadam-bi b-oq-si.
there around IPL-turn-RES.PTCP person-PL.ABS.IPL IPL-become-PST.WIT
‘When I was mixing the grapes to prepare wine, people were standing there around (me).’
(based on Xanno, nesisgon łˤon užin:81)

(48) [Haq-ā Ø-ogu-n] heresi mec esi-xosi-ni
mouth-IN.ESS I-stretch-PFV.CVB false language.ABS.III tell-PRS.PTCP-DEF
λex-āsi yāł-zay] b-uy-xo-r mec
remain-RES.PTCP be-DUR.II.CVB III-real-AD-LAT language.ABS.III
esi-xosi-ni hal-a-r-no Ø-olix-no.
tell-PRS.PTCP-DEF state-OS-LAT-and I-appear-PST.NWIT
‘While the lying one stayed with his mouth agape, the truthful one came to the rescue.’ (Beliqanbi:16)

As far as we can tell, the two durative converbs have the same meaning, but their distribution is different. The form in –zay/-zey (durative II) occurs mainly with the verb ‘be’, whereas the form in -ƛ’orey (durative I) is found elsewhere. As a result, durative I seems more common, if only because it can occur with more verbs.

Finally, two temporal converbs are used to express events that follow the event denoted by the main predicate. The most common of these is the posterior converb, illustrated in the following examples (see also example (3) above). The posterior converb denotes an event that occurs after the event expressed in the main clause:

(49) [Ciyo-s put b-agī-zA’h’or] żek’u-s hal
salt-GEN1 bushel.ABS.III III-lick-POST.CVB man-GEN1 state.ABS.III
b-āy-nē’i.
III-know.FUT-NEG
‘Before you choose a friend eat a bushel of salt with him.’ (lit.: one will not know the man’s character until they lick a bushel of salt)

(50) [Ża b-ay-zA’h’or] łono-n esna-bi
DEM.ABS(.III) III-come-POST.CVB three-COLL sibling-PL.ABS.IPL
The three brothers crossed the river (lit.: pulled the river) and escaped to the other side before it (=the dragon) came.’ (C’iɣruk’:30)

The terminative converb denotes the end point of the event expressed in the main clause, so it presupposes a tighter connection between the two events than the posterior converb does. For example, in (51), *ax roqace* ‘till the stomach is full (lit.: becomes)’ sets the end point of eating. Note that this converb, like the imperfective converb above, combines with the distributive suffix.

(51) Howži hudu žedu xexbi ax
now then DEM.IPL children.ABS(.IPL) stomach.ABS.IV
r-oq-ace-t’a b-iš-no.
IV-become-TERM.CVB-DISTR IPL-eat.INTR-PST.NWIT
‘After that the children ate till they were full.’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:81)

Terminative and posterior converbs often combine with the focus particle –kin (see CH. YY [Particles]), which serves to emphasize the endpoint of the event denoted by the converbal predicate. The particle –kin is particularly common in negative contexts, and it typically appears on a converb joined to a clause with a negative predicate. For example:

(52) [Qahli b-egira-ce]-kin b-iči-nč’u.
dawn.ABS.III III-send-TERM.CVB-FOC III-stay-PST.WIT.NEG
‘They did not even wait till dawn.’

(53) [ɣudi q’aši-Zaš ‘or]-kin žedu bužzi
day.abs.iv dawn-POST.CVB-FOC DEM.ABS(.IPL) believe
b-oq-no-ānu.
IPL-become-PST.NWIT-NEG
‘Before the day came (lit.:dawned) they could not believe it.’

We summarize the Tsez inventory of temporal converbs in the following table.
Table 2. Temporal converbs
(C: event expressed by the converb; M: event expressed by the main predicate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation to the event expressed in the main clause</th>
<th>Expression of an ongoing/durative event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>C precedes M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>C precedes M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate anterior</td>
<td>C precedes M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>C and M are coextensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>C and M are coextensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative I</td>
<td>C and M are coextensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative II</td>
<td>C and M are coextensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posterior</td>
<td>C follows M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>C follows M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Manner converbal clauses

There are no dedicated manner converbs, but temporal converbs are often used to express the manner of an event. The perfective converb is the most common predicate in manner adverbial clauses. We have already presented instances of this converb’s manner use (see section 2.1.1). Sometimes, the manner reading of the perfective converb may not be fully distinguishable from the temporal reading. For instance, in the next example, we find two perfective converbs; both can be interpreted temporally (“they ate when they sat down for a moment” and “the mirror appeared when it fell out”) or as denoting manner (“they ate being seated for a moment” and “the mirror appeared by falling out”):

(54) Elo  q‘ida-n  b-iči-n  b-iš-λ’oräy  Ø-eye-ni
esiw-s  ham-āy  č’ikay  [y-ɔoλ’un]  y-ɔolix-no.
brother-GEN1 chest-IN.ABL glass.ABS.II II-fall-PFV.CVB II-appear-PST.NWIT
‘When they were eating seated there for a brief moment, the mirror fell out of from under
the younger brother’s shirt.’ (Łux di yik’a yay?:23)

Imperfective converbal clauses can also express manner; in the following example, the imperfective converbal clause is coordinated with the perfective converb and the frozen converbal retinč’ey ‘unwillingly’ (from the negative perfective converb of AGR-et- ‘want’).

(55) Ža  [rok’u-n  q’uq’i-x-no]  [retinč’ey-no]
dem.abs.(1) heart.abs.IV-and mix-IPFV.CVB and unwillingly-and
[q‘arid-no  Ø-oq-no-n]  Ø-ik’i-x  zow-s.
sad-and  I-become-IPFV.CVB-and  I-go-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘He went grudgingly, against his will, and in sadness.’

The idiomatic expression rok’u q’uq’- means ‘to be reluctant’.
The imperfective converb, which is identical to or synonymous with the main predicate, can be used to express manner and/or intensity of an event. An example of such use was already presented in (1) above, where the intensity is further underscored by the use of the focus particle on the converb. Another example is shown below:

(56) ŠAraq’i  ħału-x  ħału-s  nes-ä. 5
     booze.ABS.III  drink-IPF.CVB  drink-PST.WIT  DEM.I-ERG
     ‘He got really drunk on booze.’ (lit.: he drinking drank…)

3.3 Converbal clauses expressing cause or reason

Two converbs form cause/reason clauses: the causal converb -zaḥ’/-zaq, which is used most commonly, and the converb –xo/xoy, which is quite rare.6 Some examples:

(57) [Yedu  q’ut’u   teḥ-xo   b-oq-zaḥ’]    yila-s
     DEM  jug.ABS.III  give-IPF.CVB  III-become-CAUSAL.I.CVB  DEM.II-GEN1
     hunar-no   es-o   mi   dä-q.
     skill.ABS.III-and  tell-IMPER  2SG.ERG  1SG.
     ‘Since you are selling this jug (for so much money) tell me what it does.’ (Łux di yik’a yay?10)

(58) [Čot-no7  dá-ḥ’-āy-gon   b-ig   b-iy-xoṣ]
     counting-ABS.III-TOP  1SG-SUPER-ABL-CONTR.TOP  III-well  III-know-CAUSAL.II.CVB
     magazine-y-ä   Ò-içi   mi.
     store-OS-IN.ESS  i-stay.IMPER  2SG.ABS.i
     ‘Since you know how to count (counting) way better than I, you stay in the store.’
     (after Imnajšvili 1963:226)

(59) Ža   hoboy  [pro  Šumru-n   b-eyur-zaḥ’]

5 In principle, two structures could underlie this sentence; the object Šaraq’i can be interpreted with either the gerund or the main predicate, thus:

(i)  [proi  Šaraq’ik  ħaḷu-x]  prok  ħaḷu-s  nes-ä.
     boozे.ABS.III  drink-IPF.CVB  drink-PST.WIT  DEM.I-ERG

(ii) Šaraq’ik  [proi  prok  ħaḷu-x]  ħaḷu-s  nes-ä.
     boozе.ABS.III  drink-IPF.CVB  drink-PST.WIT  DEM.I-ERG

Both structures are possible in Tsez (see section 4 for more discussion), and without a more detailed analysis, including prosodic information, it is impossible to decide in favor of one or the other.

6 This converb is presented in Imnajšvili (1963: 226), but we found very few instances of it in texts and speakers never offer it as their first choice.

7 The word for ‘counting’ here is čot, from the Russian ščot. Imnajšvili (1963) lists this word, but it is not included in Xalilov (1999). Čot and its variant šot are both accepted but do not seem to be widely used, and the word hisab ‘math; counting’ is preferred.
DEM.ABS(.I) thus life.ABS.III-and make.less-CAUSAL.I.CVB
parti-le-r Ø-oq-äsi zow-s.
party-CONT-LAT become-RES.PTCP be.PST-PST.WIT
‘So he joined the (Communist) party because he lied about his age (lit.: made his life
smaller).’

(60) Žed-ää [ža hemece Ø-eti-zaq]
DEM.IPL-ERG DEM.ABS(.I) so love-CAUSAL.I.CVB
ƛ’at’u-mo-ƛ’-no Ø-egir-no.
whim-OS-SUPER.ESS-and send-PST.WIT
‘Because they loved him they indulged his every whim (lit.: sent him up to his whim).’
(Debi xarži anu yedu:3)

The form in –zaq (but not in –zał’) is found in the set phrase γ’ay’u AGR-izizaq ‘being happy’
(lit.: happiness rising), which is used without a noticeable causal interpretation. This use is
illustrated in (61), where we also find a regular causal converbal clause with the predicate in -zał’:

(61) [Idu-r saɣli-ƛ’ q₃ano-n esna-bi
home-LAT health-SUPER.ESS two-COLL sibling-PL.ABS(.IPL)
b-ay-zał’] [ɣ₂ay’u [b-izi-zaq] eni-babiw-r
IPL-come-CAUSAL.I.CVB happiness.ABS.III IPL-rise-CAUSAL.I.CVB parents-LAT
b-iči-n] moči b-iqi-x zow-n-ānu.
III-stay-PFV.CVB place.ABS.III III-be.got-PFV.CVB be.PST-PST.neg
‘Because/When the brothers came home safe, their parents were so happy that they could
not contain themselves.’ (lit.: … happiness, as it rose, stayed with the parents, and there
was no place to be obtained) (Hasanno Huseynno:64)

As these examples show, a typical position for causal clauses is either preceding the clause they
are associated with, or center-embedded, as in (59) and (60). There is no categorical restriction
against placing causal clauses after the main sentence, but such an order is not found in texts and
is never offered as speakers’ first choice.

Temporal converbs can also be used to express cause or reason. Consider the following example,
which also illustrates that converbs can be coordinated, provided that they are associated with a
single finite clause:

(62) Elo-gon c’āč’ane-l-no [yā simindi
there-CONTR.TOP Chechnya-CONTR.ESS-TOP or corn.ABS.IV
r-įx-a kol’i-nčey] [yā b-eynod-a b-iz-a
IV-cutlivate-INF know-PFV.CVB.neg or IPL-work-INF IPL-rise-INF
kol’-inčey] ġuraw qvarili r-ay-si
know-PFV.CVB.neg numerous hardship.ABS.IV IV-come-PST.WIT
axo-s.
stomach-GEN1
‘And there, in Chechnya, because we did not know how to sow corn or how to run a
household (lit.: to stand to work), we suffered a lot of hardship.’
3.4 Conditional converbal clauses

Tsez has separate converbs for non-counterfactual (factual, predictive) and counterfactual conditional clauses. Non-counterfactual conditional clauses use the converb ending in the suffix –näy (–näy). For example,

(63) [Tatanu ɣudi r-oq-näy]  eli  ker-ä-ɣor
warm  day.ABS.IV  IV-become-COND.CVB 1PL.ABS(.IPL)  river-IN-VERS
esanad-a  b-ik’-ān.
wash-INF  I-PST.IMP.DEF
‘If it gets warm we will go swim in the river.’

Non-counterfactual conditional converbs are often found in proverbs, as shown in the examples below:

(64) [Reƛ’a ƛaƛa-näy]  micxir  b-āqi,
hand.ABS.IV  itch-COND.CVB  money.ABS.III  III-become.FUT
[rori ƛaƛa-näy]  huni-x  Ø-āgi.
foot.ABS.III  itch-COND.CVB  road-AD.ESS  I-stretch.FUT
‘If you hand itches, you will get money; if your foot itches, you will be on the road.’

(65) [Allah-ä  c’ax-inč’i-näy] ʕarada-z
God-ERG  c’ax-see-INF-NEG-COND.CVB  cannon-GEN2
hut’-ā-r  kur-no-kin  Ø-āxu-nč’i.
opening-IN-ALL  throw-PFV.CVB-FOC  I-die.FUT-NEG
‘A man does not die if he is not meant to die.’ (lit.: If God does not write (it), one won’t die even if they throwing one into the opening of a cannon)

(66) [Baru kec-näy]  ɣutku-n  kāc.
wife.ABS.II  sleep-COND.CVB  house.ABS.IV  sleep.FUT
‘The home of a lazy woman suffers.’ (lit.: if the wife sleeps, the house will also sleep)

(67) [Zahmatli b-ikad-a b-et-inč’i-näy]  moči
hardship.ABS.III  III-see-INF  III-want-NEG-COND.CVB  field.ABS.III
b-ƛ-incey  xec.
III-plant-PFV.CVB.NEG  leave.IMPER
‘If you don’t want to see any hardship don’t start anything.’ (lit.: … leave the field unplanted) (Khalilov 1999: 122)

The counterfactual conditional (glossed as CF) is expressed by the converb in li or –liri, where the former is probably a truncation of the latter. Compare (63) and (68):

(68) [Tatanu ɣudi r-oq-li(ri)]  eli  ker-ä-ɣor
warm  day.ABS.IV  IV-become-COND.CVB.CF 1PL.ABS(.IPL)  river-IN-VERS
esanad-a  b-ik’-a  zow-s.
wash-INF  I-PST.IMP.DEF  be.PST-PST.WIT
‘If it had been warm we would have gone to swim in the river.’
The predicate of the consequent (apodosis) clause in expressions of conditional meaning does not have a special form; instead, it appears in a regular tense form (past, present, future). In counterfactual conditionals, the predicate of the consequent is typically in the past tense, consider (68) above (cf. Iatridou 2000 for the stability of the cross-linguistic generalization that counterfactuality relies on the morphology of past tense).

Although the contrast between (63) and (68) is quite clear and mirrors the difference between non-counterfactual and counterfactual conditionals in other languages, Tsez also uses the difference between the two converbs to express the likelihood of an event in the future (see Iatridou 2000 for similar cross-linguistic tendencies). If a future hypothetical event is viewed as likely, the converb in –näy is used, but if the prospects of an event are considered dim, the counterfactual converb is called for. Compare (69) and (70). In (69), the speaker signals his assessment that his listeners are likely to desire to hear stories, whereas in (70), the speaker views the need to marry another woman as unlikely (and undesirable).

Example (70) illustrates yet another property of conditional converbs. In this example, there is only one conditional converb, yowliri ‘if (I) took’; however this converbal clause also has a perfective converbal clause adjoined to it [mi yowan yoqinč’ey] ‘unable to take you [as my wife]’. This perfective converbal clause is interpreted under the scope of the conditional, and the result is that both eventualities, the inability to marry the addressee and the betrothal to a different woman, are conceptualized as hypothetical events. Such linking of converbs, where only one converb is marked as conditional but takes adjoined converbs under its scope, is the preferred option of expressing that several events are viewed as hypothetical or counterfactual. Further still, such linking is the only option if the two or more events are viewed as causally or temporally related, as is the case in (70), where the speaker is unable to marry the girl he loves and as a consequence has to marry another person. If two events are viewed as relatively independent of each other, then the corresponding conditional converbal clauses can be

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8 See CH. YY [Clausal compl] on the use of AGR-oq- ‘be able to’ as a restructuring verb that combines with perfective or imperfective converb.
conjoined, either using the coordinator –(n(o) ‘and’, or by parataxis (see section 5 for further discussion of such linking). But using such converbal coordination for (70) is judged infelicitous, because the coordination of converbs leads to the perception that the two events are unrelated:

(71) #[[Mi y-owa-n y-oq-inč’i-liri]-n q’u ya
2SG.ABS.II II-take-PFV.CVB II-be.able-NEG-COND.CVB.CF-and other
y’anabi y-ow-liri]-n…
woman.ABS.II II-take-COND.CVB.CF-and
(‘If I could not marry you, and if [unrelatedly] I married a different woman …’)

Conditional clauses often although not always correspond to presupposed context; that context needs to be assumed in order to make predictions as to what happens next. This makes the antecedent clause of a conditional sentence similar to a topic/discourse-old expression, something that has been noted by a number of researchers (cf. Haiman 1978, Comrie 1986, Bhatt and Pancheva 2006, Constant 2014; see also Iatridou 2013 for criticism and alternative discussion). Conditional converbal clauses can combine with topic particles, which reinforces their topic interpretation. For example, in (72), the conditional converbal clause precedes the finite clause expressing the consequent of the respective conditional and is overtly marked as topic, which signals its discourse-old interpretation:

(72) [B-aq’u micxir b-oq-näy]-λa, [qala-m-ä-yor-no
III-much/many money.ABS.III III-become-COND.I.CVB-TOP fortress-OS-IN-VERS-and
Ø-izi-n, Ø-ik’-än di nel-dä-yor].
i-rise-PFV.CVB I-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(i) DEM.II-APUD-VERS
‘If I am/were rich I would/will go up into the fortress and go to her chambers.’
(K’ešonad mi, pakmos ŋabasil!:17)

However conditional clauses do not always express presupposed context and can be overtly marked with a focus particle as well, as shown in (73):

(73) [B-aq’u micxir b-oq-näy]-kin, [qala-m-ä-yor-no
III-much/many money.ABS.III III-become-COND.I.CVB-FOC fortress-OS-IN-VERS-and
Ø-izi-n, Ø-ik’-än di nel-dä-yor].
i-rise-PFV.CVB I-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(i) DEM.II-APUD-VERS
‘Even if I were rich I would go up into the fortress and go to her chambers.’ (based on K’ešonad mi, pakmos ŋabasil!:17)

In examples (72) and (73), the converbal clause precedes the finite clause; in this position, a converbal clause can be interpreted either as topic or as focus. Converbal conditional clauses that follow the finite clause are more restricted in their interpretation. Postverbal material in Tsez has a strong topic, discourse-old interpretation in general (see CH.YY [Word order] for a discussion). So if a conditional converbal clause, which expresses the conditional antecedent, follows the finite clause then that clause has to be interpreted as backgrounded, topic-like, given material. Such a postposed clause can receive overt topic marking, as shown in (74), but cannot be focused, as (75) illustrates. Example (74) would be most appropriate if the speaker’s affluence
has already been under discussion; it it has not been explicitly brought up in preceding discourse, than (72) is more felicitous.

(74) [Qala-m-ä-yor-no Ø-izi-n, Ø-ik’-ān di nel-dā-yor] fortress-OS-IN-VERS-and 1-rise-PFV.CVB 1-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(1) DEM.nI-APUD-VERS [b-aq’u micxir b-oq-näy](ā). III-much/many money.ABS.III III-become-COND.I.CVB-TOP 'If I had a lot of money/If I am/were rich I would/will go up into the fortress and go to her chambers.' (based on K’ešonad mi, pakmos ʕabasi!:17)

(75) [Qala-m-ä-yor-no Ø-izi-n, Ø-ik’-ān di nel-dā-yor] fortress-OS-IN-VERS-and 1-rise-PFV.CVB 1-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(1) DEM.nI-APUD-VERS [b-aq’u micxir b-oq-näy](*-kin). III-much/many money.ABS.III III-become-COND.I.CVB-FOC 'If I had a lot of money/If I am/were rich I would/will go up into the fortress and go to her chambers.' (based on K’ešonad mi, pakmos ʕabasi!:17)

Conditional converbal clauses can include the adverb nagah, which serves to emphasize the hypothetical nature of a given event. Outside conditionals nagah means ‘suddenly; unexpectedly’, but in conditional clauses its meaning is close to ‘in case’. If nagah is used in a conditional clause, it has to appear at the left edge of that clause. By comparison, when it appears in other types of clauses, there are no strict constraints on its placement.9 For instance:

(76) [Nagah xalq’i-mo huni-za-x (*nagah) ruh-č’agoyaw in.case people-ERG road-OS.PL-AD.ESS in.case life-living (*nagah) šebin q*arid r-o y-x r-esu-näy] in.case thing.ABS.IV sad IV-do-IPFV.CVB IV-find-COND.CVB mi ža x*asar r-od-o. 2SG.ERG DEM.ABS(.IV) rescue IV-do-IMPER 'In case you find that someone starts hurting the animals on the way, come to their rescue.' (Barkat yoläsi hił.’oqu:4)

The difference between the two uses of nagah can be underscored by the fact that both forms can co-occur in a conditional, as shown below:

(77) [Nagah yudi nagah tatanu r-oq-näy] eli in.case day.ABS.IV suddenly/*in.case warm IV-become-COND.CVB 1PL.ABS(.IPL) ker-ā-yor esanad-a b-ik’-ān. river-IN-VERS wash-INF 1PL-go-FUT.DEF 'In case it suddenly gets warm we will go swim in the river.'

---

9 One could compare the two uses of nagah with two uses of the English once, which can appear as a clause opener of a conditional (also at the left edge of the clause) as well as an adverb with the meaning ‘(for) one time’; the two can also co-occur:

(i) Once you have done that once there will be no problem understanding the process.
The expression behizi roqny (lit.: possible IV-become-COND) is used idiomatically in requests, with the meaning ‘please; if possible’.

Non-counterfactual and counterfactual conditional semantics can also be expressed by a finite clause with the contrastive particle yoli ‘however; in contrast’ (from yol-li, the conditional converb of the present form of ‘be’). This type of conditional is not converbal, and we discuss it in CH.YY [Coordination].

3.5 Concessive converbal clauses

The predicate of a concessive converbal clause bears the suffix –lin. For example:

(78) ŋomoy hon-λ’o-r-go b-ox-ir-lin
    donkey.ABS.III mountain-SUPER-ALL-CONTR.TOP III-run-CAUS-CONCESS.CVB
    ih-ā xwar-l’o-r b-ik’i-xosī yoł.
    river-IN.ESS grass-SUPER-ALL III-go-PRES.PRT be.PRES
    ‘A leopard cannot change its spots.’ (lit.: even if you chase a donkey over to the mountains, it will come back to the river to graze grass.)

Concessive clauses can appear both before or after the clause they adjoin to. Compare (78) and (79):

(79) Howži biš’ab r-ac’-a-kin Ø-utik’-x-ānu
    now food.ABS.IV IV-eat.TR-INF-FOC I-have.time-PRS-NEG
    [gug-yo-q r-oq-lin].
    back-OS-POSS.ESS IV-become-CONCESS.CVB
    ‘Now I don’t even have the time to eat the food although it is plentiful (lit.: is upon my back).’ (Eniws esiw:75)

Concessive clauses are widely used as free-choice free relatives in correlative constructions (see CH. YY [Relative clauses]), as illustrated by the example below:

(80) As-āy c’a-bi r-āq-inči [dice-gon
    sky-ABL star-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-be.got.FUT-NEG how.much-FC
    Ø-ezu-Ø-Ø-īči-lin].
    I-look-PFV.CVB I-stay-CONCESS.CVB
    ‘No matter how much you stare, you won’t get stars from the sky.’

Sometimes causal converbal clauses have a use similar to concessive clauses; consider example (97) below.

3.6 Converbal clauses in expression of comparison

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10 See also example (3) above, which contains a concessive converbal clause.
Typically, comparison is expressed by noun phrases, with the standard of comparison in the super-ablative form (see Ch. YY [Adverbial phrase] and CH.YY [Adjectival phrase]). However, there are also some converbal clauses that can be used to denote the standard of comparison. Most commonly, the standard of comparison is expressed by a clause with the posterior converb as predicate. For example:

(81) [Žek’u-z rał’-mä xan-lun Ø-iči-zał’or]  
person-GEN2 land-OS-IN.ESS king-as 1-stay-POST.CVB  
dä-z-tow rał’-mä laŋ-lun r-igu dä-r.  
1SG-GEN2-FOC land-OS-IN.ESS slave-as IV-good 1SG-LAT  
‘I would rather be a slave in my land than the king in someone else’s land.’  
(ʕAliqilič:111)

4 Coreference across converbal clauses and word order preferences

Regardless of the type of converb, there are no restrictions on coreference between the arguments of a converbal clause and the finite clause it is adjoined to. The arguments of two or more clauses do not have to be coreferential at all, as in the following example:

(82) [Oz-e-s oz-ł’o rok’u r-ay-nč’ey]  
eye-OS-GEN eye-SUPER.ESS heart.ABS.IV IV-come-PFV.CVB.NEG  
proarb b-ολ’o m’ali er-no.  
III-middle nose.ABS.III set-PST.NEV  
‘Since the eyes could not agree with each other, they put a nose in the middle.’ (lit.: the eye’s heart did not come on the eye…)

It is common for subjects and objects to be in a position of advantage in controlling coreference across clauses, so instances where the subject of a perfective converbal clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause are quite common, as in (21) through (23) above; however, this does not rule out other possibilities of coreference. If a sentence includes several converbal clauses, multiple relations of coreference can be established within it. For instance, in (83), the subject of the first converbal clause, eženî esiw ‘the older brother’, is coreferential with the possessive noun phrase nesiq ‘to him’ in the clause headed by the causal converb. The causal converbal clause is embedded in the perfective converbal clause, whose understood object is coreferential with the object of the matrix clause, cugu ‘barrel’.

(83) [Xizyo-gon Ø-šeže-ni esiwj Ø-ik’i-n] [nesi-qi-no  
then-CONTR.TOP 1-old-DEF sibling.ABS(.1) 1-go-PFV.CVB DEM.1-POSS.ESS-and  
šebin r-oq-inč’i-zał’]  
things.ABS.IV 1V-become-NEG-CAUSAL.1.CVB head.ABS.IV  
λ’iyo-ho-r proj r-ut-ir-no ]  
down-LAT IV-turn-CAUS-PFV.CVB barrel.ABS.IV throw-PST.NWIT  
‘Then the older brother went, and because he could not do anything (lit.: thing did not become), they turned the barrel upside down (lit.: turning the barrel down threw it).’  
(ʕOłno esiwn, sis esiyn:26)
These examples already indicate that coreference is not sensitive to the form of the nominal; in (83), the absolutive in the first converbal clause is co-indexed with the poss-essive in the second, causal converbal clause. Similarly, in the next example, the lative experiencer of the converbal clause *eyen* *esiwr* ‘younger brother’ is coreferential with the understood ergative subject of the main clause. In addition, the head noun of the relative clause headed by the participle *bezuxosi* (from the intransitive verb AGR-*ez*- ‘look’) is co-indexed with the understood object of the imperfective converbal clause (*bazaryá *telxo*), which is embedded inside the relative clause.

(84)  
\[
\text{[Ø-eye-ni} \quad \text{esiw-r};] \quad \text{[[bazar-y-ā} \quad \text{pro}_k \quad \text{tel- xo}]
\]
\[
\text{i-young-DEF} \quad \text{sibling-LAT} \quad \text{market-OS-IN.ESS} \quad \text{give-IPFV.CVB}
\]
\[
b-quez-osi] \quad \text{č’ikay-n}_k \quad \text{y-ukay-n}] \quad \text{pro}_i \quad \text{bazargan-qo}
\]
\[
\text{IPL-look.at-PRTCP} \quad \text{glass.ABS.II-and} \quad \text{II-see-PFV.CVB} \quad \text{merchant-POSS.ESS}
\]
\[
esir-no…
\]
\[
\text{ask-PST.NWIT}
\]
\[
‘The younger brother saw the mirror that was sold at the market and asked the merchant…’ (lit.: saw the glass that people looked at as one was selling it at the market…) (Łux di yik’a yay?:18)
\]

In the next sentence, the two perfective converbs indicate a sequence of events; the sequential reading is reinforced by the connective –n(o) in each of the converbal clauses. The clause chain involves the same participants, Goqi and Fox. *Goqi* is the subject in the first converbal clause, where *zirā* is inside the relative clause modifying the head noun *linaʔ-’no* ‘thing’ (the relative clause is shown in brackets as well). In the second converbal clause, both main participants are expressed by demonstratives, and the omitted subject in the finite clause refers to Goqi and Fox together; since Goqi is a male, the intransitive verb agrees with that omitted subject in IPL:

(85)  
\[
\text{[Goqi;}_i \quad [zir-ā_k \quad āli-ru] \quad \text{lina-‘l-’no}
\]
\[
\text{Goqi.ABS.I} \quad \text{fox-ERG} \quad \text{say-PRTCP} \quad \text{what-SUPER-ESS-INDEF}
\]
\[
\text{bużi-n} \quad \text{Ø-oq-no}] \quad \text{[nes-ā_i} \quad \text{ẓa}_k \quad \text{idu-yor-no}
\]
\[
\text{believe-and} \quad \text{i-become-PFV.CVB} \quad \text{DEM.I-ERG} \quad \text{DEM.ABS.II} \quad \text{home-VERS-and}
\]
\[
b-iži-n] \quad \text{q’ano-n} \quad \text{sadaq} \quad \text{pro}_i+k \quad \text{b-iči-x}
\]
\[
\text{III-lead-PFV.CVB} \quad \text{two-COLL} \quad \text{together} \quad \text{IPL-stay-IPFV.CVB}
\]
\[
zow-n.
\]
\[
\text{AUX.PST-PST.NWIT}
\]
\[
‘Goqi believed what Fox said, took him home, and the two of them started living together.’ (Goqin zirun:3)
\]

All these examples confirm that anaphoric relations across the boundaries of converbal clauses are quite free. This fact, combined with the general tendency of the language to drop noun phrases both in argument and adjunct positions, results in clause chains with multiple omitted nominal expressions. The omission can take place equally in converbal and main clauses. In sum, a converbal clause can include either a null pronominal or a demonstrative coreferential with a fully specified noun phrase in a finite clause; the opposite coreference pattern, in which a noun phrase in a converbal clause is coreferential with a null pronominal or a demonstrative in a finite clause, is equally possible.
While there are no grammatical constraints on omission, we find a strong word order preference: if an overt expression and a null pronominal are co-indexed, it is more natural for the overt expression to appear first. In other words, (86a) is preferred to (86b):

(86)  
\[ a. \quad \text{overt expression precedes null pronominal} \]
\[ b. \quad \text{null pronominal precedes overt expression} \]

This is a manifestation of a more general dispreference for cataphora, a dispreference that Tsez shares with many other languages. Tsez also exhibits a preference for placing converbal clauses before the main clause. This is not a robust constraint (we have seen instances of the opposite order throughout this chapter), but rather a tendency. If we now combine the two tendencies (preference for anaphora over cataphora and preference for converbal-before-main clause order), two main strategies of clause linkage emerge. First, converbal clauses containing an overt noun phrase tend to be followed by main clauses containing an unexpressed coreferential noun phrase. Second, converbal clauses tend to be center-embedded (we will return to this issue in the next section). Thus:

(87)  
\[ a. \quad [\text{overt-expression}_i \ldots \text{CONVERB}] \quad pro_i \quad \text{MAIN-PREDICATE} \]
\[ b. \quad \text{overt-expression}_i \quad [pro_i \quad \text{CONVERB}] \quad \text{MAIN-PREDICATE} \]

The common occurrence of (87a) may create an impression that overt nominal expressions have to occur in converbal clauses, but this tendency is simply a side effect of the preferences discussed here.

5 \hspace{1em} \textbf{Coordination or subordination?}

In the examples presented in the chapter so far, we have observed clause linkages where a single finite clause combines with one or more non-finite (converbal) clauses that linearly precede, follow, or appear center-embedded in the finite clause.

A structure with a single finite verb and a series of non-finite verbs is expected to show properties of subordination — that is, the elements should be joined in such a way that one of them is dominated by the other. Such syntactic subordination is contrasted with coordination, in which two or more elements are joined in such a way that any one element could be the head of the structure, and no single element is clearly dominant. Despite this seemingly straightforward distinction and the expectation that clause chains should be instances of clausal subordination, a number of researchers, including those who work on Nakh-Dagestanian languages, have shown that the situation with clause chains is more complex. In a nutshell, the finite/non-finite distinction is not always sufficient to identify a subordinate structure, and clause chains can have either subordination-like or coordination-like properties. In other words, overt structural asymmetry, in which one of the clauses in a sentence has a non-finite predicate, may not be sufficient to rule out coordination. For Nakh-Dagestanian languages, the difficulties inherent in determining the type of linkage in clause chains are discussed by Haspelmath (1995; 2004); van den Berg (2004); Creissels (2010); Kazenin and Testelec (2004); Jeschull (2004); Forker (2013: Ch.20-22).
To distinguish between coordination and subordination, researchers have proposed a number of criteria, some of which are presented in Table 3 below (we have excluded the criteria that are inapplicable to Tsez; for a full list of criteria, see Haspelmath 1995; Kazenin and Testelec 2004; Kwon and Polinsky 2008). As we just mentioned, however, the presence of a non-finite predicate does not necessarily qualify the structure as subordinate; this suggests that the criteria listed in Table 3 may not be absolute. At best, they should be understood as a cluster of diagnostics.

Table 3. Criteria for distinguishing coordination and subordination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coordination</th>
<th>Subordination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overt structural asymmetry (e.g., one of the clauses has a non-finite predicate)</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate structure constraint observed</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same illocutionary force in all clauses</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center embedding</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward pronominalization</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gapping</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We will start by briefly illustrating these diagnostics using English data.

(88)  *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Ross 1967)

In a coordinate structure,

a. no conjunct may be moved,

b. nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct

The coordinate structure constraint is supposed to be inviolable within coordinate structures, as shown by the following English example, where who is displaced from a coordinate noun phrase:

(89)  *Who did you invite [ ___ and Pat]?*

Nevertheless, acceptable violations of the coordinate structure constraint have long been noted for English (Ross 1967, Schmerling 1975, Goldsmith 1985, Lakoff 1986, Kehler 2002). For example, extraction out of a single conjunct can occur when and is paraphraseable by nonetheless. Consider (90), where how much belongs only in the first conjunct:

(90)  *How much can you drink ___ and still stay sober?*

Lakoff (1986) notes a similar type of case, in which the relationship between the conjuncts is construed as that of result. In such a case, and is paraphraseable by and therefore or and as a result. Again, the extraction is only out of the first conjunct:

(91)  *That’s the stuff [that the guys in the Caucasus drink ___ and live to be a hundred].* (Lakoff 1986), attributed to Farley)

Note that such acceptable violations are often accompanied by a mismatch in illocutionary force; for instance, in (90), one of the clauses conjoined by and is declarative and the other, interrogative.
Next, center embedding is ungrammatical under coordination but acceptable in subordinate structures, as shown by the following English contrast:

(92)  
(a) John, while everyone was talking about center embedding, fell asleep.  
(b) *John, and everyone was talking about center embedding, fell asleep.

Center embedding can be considered a particular subcase of a more general property separating coordination and subordination: under coordination, the respective positions of the joined clauses are generally fixed, whereas under subordination, they can be changed.

The difference between coordination and subordination is also observed in coreference relations. In (93), *she and Emma* can corefer, but in (94) such coreference is impossible. A pronoun, demonstrative or epithet in the first coordinate clause cannot be coreferential with a lexically specified noun phrase in the next coordinate clause:

(93) When she, leaves the house *Emma always locks the door twice.*
(94) She, leaves the house and Emma always forgets her keys.

Finally, gapping is possible under coordination, but impossible under subordination:

(95)  
(a) Ed will buy a Toyota and John will buy a Volvo  
(b) *Ed will buy a Toyota whereas John will buy a Volvo

If we now attempt to apply this cluster of properties to Tsez, we find that converbal clauses are not uniform in terms of subordination/coordination. Some converbal clauses show unequivocal properties of subordination. In particular, they allow violations of the coordinate structure constraint, do not share illocutionary force with the finite clause, can be center-embedded (see (22), (27), (28), (29), (34), (39), (41), (44), (54), (55), (59), (60), (83) above), and do not permit gapping. In sentences with such converbal clauses, a non-reprise (non-echo) question can be asked of the main clause, but not the embedded clause.

The following examples serve as further illustrations. In (96), a question is asked only of the finite clause, and the converbal clause does not share polarity with the main clause:

(96)  
[Maħ in r-ok’-nosi] ziru-q yun-ā r-oł’u-x?
tail.ABS.IV IV-hit-ANT.CVB fox-POSS.ESS tree.ABS.IV-INTERR IV-fall-PRS  
‘Can the fox make the tree fall when it hits it with its tail?’ (lit.: is it the tree that falls on the fox when (it) hits (its) tail (on it))
NOT: ‘Can the fox hit the tree with its tail, and can the tree fall?’

In (97), the wh-question is asked only of the main clause. If the two clauses were coordinated, the question below would be in violation of the coordinate structure constraint:

(97)  
[Sadaq ūo-n r-iž-āsi zow-zał’]  
together axe.ABS.IV-and IV-carry-RES.PTCP be.PST-CAUSAL.I.CVB  
yaq’ul-gon šida mi at’iw qaca  
today-CONTR.TOP why 2SG.ERG wet firewood.ABS.IV
r-ay-r-ä?
IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT.INTERR
‘And today, why did you bring wet firewood? Didn’t you have your axe with you?’
(Onočun mamalayn: 11)

The next example shows two conditional clauses (each containing an anterior converbal clause); they are paratactically joined, and precede the main clause, which is a question (*t’ok’ow elur q’w'arili linas? ‘from what will we have more trouble?’). Again, the polarity of the converbal clauses is different from that of the main clause:

(98) [[Ačq’ay-nosi] ža be.thirsty-ANT.CVB DEM.ABS(III) III-hit-ATTR.OS-IN.ESS drink-MASD-AD.ESS
li-n r-olix-näy] [[mekoy-nosi-gon] hemedur-tow
water.ABS.IV-and IV-appear-COND.CVB be.hungry-ANT.CVB-CONTR.TOP so-FOC
biš’a-n r-iqi-näy] t’ok’ow elu-r q’w’arili
food.ABS.IV-and IV-be.got-COND.CVB more 1PL-LAT woe.ABS.IV
lina-s? what-GEN1
‘If drinking water appears where we hit it on the ground when we are thirsty and the food likewise appears when we are hungry, what else is there to worry about?’ (Hibos hunar:27)

The examples below illustrate relativization out of a finite clause with the converbal clause inside that finite clause. Such relativization violates the coordinate structure constraint (88); the fact that this relativization is possible out of the finite clause, without a parallel extraction from the converbal clause, indicates that the converb and the finite clause are not coordinated.

(99) a. [ɣʷˤad-ä q’w’wa-q’w’wa-q’w’wa-ƛ’in harał’ b-äy-run] crown-ERG caw-caw-caw-QUOT voice.ABS.III III-do-IMM.CVB
haqo-ƛ’-āy reƛ. q’w’id’a-r r-ƛ’ału-u-n.
mouth-SUB-ABL meat.ABS.IV down-LAT IV-fall-PST.NWIT
‘The crow began to caw, and the meat fell out of its beak.’ (Y’w’adin, zirun:5)

b. [ɣʷˤad-ä q’w’wa-q’w’wa-q’w’wa-ƛ’in harał’ b-äy-run] crown-ERG caw-caw-caw-QUOT voice.ABS.III III-do-IMM.CVB
haqo-ƛ’-āy q’w’id’a-r r-ƛ’ału-ƛ-u-ru] reƛ.
mouth-SUB-ABL down-LAT IV-fall-PST.PTCP meat.ABS.IV
‘the meat that fell out of its beak as soon as the crow began to caw’

(100) a. [Elo-si li there-ATTR water.ABS.IV drink-CAUS.COND.CVB i-die-SUPER.ESS-ATTR
žek’u č’agu Ø-oq-xo.
person.ABS.I alive i-become-PRS
‘If you make him drink the water over there, the dying person will come alive.’
(Łux di yik’a yay?:12)

b. [elo-si li there-ATTR water.ABS.IV drink-CAUS.COND.CVB alive i-become-PRS.PTCP
žek’u person.ABS.I] ě’agu Ø-oq-xosi
‘the person that comes alive if he is made to drink the water over there’

Backward pronominalization of the highest argument, similar to that illustrated in the English example in (93), is fully acceptable in Tsez. In (101a), the absolutive subject in the converbal clause is expressed by a demonstrative, coreferential with a lexically specified noun phrase in the main clause (the reverse anaphoric dependency is shown in (101b)). In (102a), the highest argument in the lative is also expressed by a demonstrative, coreferential with a lexically specified noun phrase in the main clause.

(101) a. \[žaₙⁱ žedu-deₜ₉ i proₜₗ i go-ᵣ Ø-ᵣ-nosi \]
   \[DEM.ABS(.I) DEM.IPL-APUD.ESS close-LAT i-come-ANT.CVB \]
   yisi žek’-äi proₜₗ salam te₉-ᵣ-si.
   DEM person-ERG greeting.ABS.III give-PST.WIT
   ‘Having come up to them, this man greeted them.’
   b. \[žek’ₙᵣ proₜₗ i go-ᵣ Ø-ᵣ-nosi \]
   \[DEM.IPL-APUD.ESS close-LAT i-come-ANT.CVB \]
   proₜₗ žedu-qo-ᵣ₉
   person.ABS.I DEM.IPL-POSS-LAT
   salam te₉-ᵣ-si.
   greeting.ABS.III give-PST.WIT
   ‘The man came up to them and greeted them.’

(102) a. \[nesi-ᵣᵣ miخir b-esu-zał’ \]
   \[DEM.I-LAT money.ABS.III III-find-CAUSAL.I.CVB \]
   ali₉ᵣ anyhow Ø-ᵣ-εyno-ᵣ-nē’u.
   1-work-PST.WIT.NEG
   ‘Because he found money, Ali did not work at all.’
   b. \[ali-ᵣᵣ miخir b-esu-zał’ \]
   \[DEM.I-LAT money.ABS.III III-find-CAUSAL.I.CVB \]
   Ø-ᵣ-εyno-ᵣ-nē’u.
   1-work-PST.WIT.NEG
   ‘Because Ali found money, he did not work at all.’

Consistent properties of subordination are found in clauses with concessive, conditional, causal, terminative, anterior, immediate anterior, and posterior predicates. We can conclude that these are bona fide adverbial clauses.

Clauses with perfective, imperfective, durative, and simultaneous converbs present a more complex picture. With respect to these converbs, the following generalization emerges: if the events denoted by a converbal clause and the main clause are perceived as causally linked, the converbal clause shows all the properties of subordination: it permits center-embedding, violation of the coordinate structure constraint, and cooccurrence with a non-reprisal (non-echo) wh-word in the main clause. If, however, the two events are viewed as parallel and unrelated to each other, the converbal clause shows all the properties of a coordinate conjunct, with the exception of the finite marking on the verb.

In principle, it is almost always possible to construe a connection between events, so the real test of the proposed generalization comes from those instances where the link between the two events is explicitly canceled. Consider a situation where one person is laughing and the other is crying;
the situation is inherently ambiguous, as the two events are unrelated, but may be connected. The following sentence can be understood either to mean that Fatima is upset at Ayshat, or that Fatima is crying for another reason (or for no reason whatsoever):

(103) \[Ayšat\, qoqol-äsi\, y-oq-ƛ’o\] pat’i \[ʕiya-xosi\] (yol), be.PRS
‘Ayshat is laughing and Fatima is crying.’ (ambiguous)

If a clause with the simultaneous converb is embedded in the main clause, the causal link between the two events is emphasized; the interpretation that Fatima is crying for no reason or for reasons that have nothing to do with Ayshat is rejected.

(104) Pat’i \[Ayšat\, qoqol-äsi\, y-oq-ƛ’o\] Ayshat.ABS.II laugh-RES.PTCP II-become-SIM.CVB ʕiya-xosi (yol). be.PRS
‘Fatima is crying as (because) Ayshat is laughing.’
NOT: ‘Fatima happens to be crying while Ayshat is laughing.’

The causal interpretation is also enforced if the converbal clause appears after the finite clause, as shown below. Recall that subordination is often associated with greater positional flexibility of the embedded clause in relation to the matrix clause.

(105) Pat’i ʕiya-xosi (yol) \[Ayšat\, qoqol-äsi\, y-oq-no\], Ayshat.ABS.II laugh-RES.PTCP II-become-PGV.CVB
‘Fatima is crying as (because) Ayshat is/was laughing.’
NOT: ‘Fatima happens to be crying and Ayshat is/was laughing.’

However, if the main clause contains an overt rejection of any connection between the two events, the two clauses need to be encoded as structurally parallel. In (106), the causal link between the two events is explicitly canceled, and the events expressed in these two clauses can only be construed as parallel. As a result, the converbal clause can no longer be treated as subordinate, which in turn rules out center embedding and violations of the coordinate structure constraint:

(106) *Pat’i \[Ayšat\, qoqol-äsi\, y-oq-ƛ’o\] Ayshat.ABS.II laugh-RES.PTCP II-become-SIM.CVB
endurtow/bahana-tow ānu-si ʕiya-xosi (yol).
simply/reason-FOC be.PRS.NEG-ATTR cry-PRS.PTCP be.PRS
(‘Fatima is crying for no reason and Ayshat is laughing.’)

(107) *[[Ayšat\, qoqol-äsi\, y-oq-ƛ’o\] Ayshat.ABS.II laugh-RES.PTCP II-become-SIM.CVB simply
bahana-tow ānu-si ʕiya-xosi] kid
reason-FOC be.PRS.NEG-ATTR cry-PRS.PTCP girl.ABS.II
These facts, achieved through targeted elicitations, support the generalization above. To recapitulate, if two events are construed as unrelated, the structural relationship between the converbal construction and the main clause shows coordinate structure properties (with the exception of the converbal–finite distinction). If two events are viewed as related, the converbal clause has the properties of a subordinate (adjoined) structure. The overall generalization bears a striking similarity to the set of principles proposed by Kazenin and Testelec (2004).

When two events are construed as unrelated, we also observe the omission of the converb (gapping), as shown below. This type of omission is generally quite rare in Tsez, and is primarily observed with imperfective converbs, as in (108) and (109).

(108)  [Dey  eniw  ūaƛ-ā  y-iči-x]  ūali-s
   1SG.GEN1 mother.ABS.II village-IN.ESS II-stay-IPFV.CVB  Ali-GEN1
babīw  ūahar-y-ā  ū-iči-xosi  yōl.
father.ABS.I  city-OS-IN.ESS  I-stay-PRS.PTCP  be.PRS

‘My mother lives in the village, and Ali’s father, in the city.’

(109)  Eƛ’i-si  rīłu  ūek’u-s  r-iči-xosi
   last.year-ATTR  field.ABS.IV  person-GEN1  IV-stay-PRS.PTCP this.year-ATTR
   ūīk’im-e-s  r-iči-xosi  (yōl).
field.ABS.IV  self-OS-GEN1  IV-stay-PRS.PTCP  be.PRS

‘One ploughs last year’s field for someone else, and this year’s field, for oneself.’

When two events are construed as unrelated, we also observe the omission of the converb — and therefore constitutes what is called “backward gapping.” Forward gapping, with the omission of the main verb, is completely ungrammatical:

(110)  *[Dey  eniw  ūaƛ-ā  y-iči-x]  ūali-s
   1SG.GEN1 mother.ABS.II village-IN.ESS II-stay-IPFV.CVB  Ali-GEN1
babīw  ūahar-y-ā  ū-iči-xosi  yōl.
father.ABS.I  city-OS-IN.ESS  I-stay-PRS.PTCP  be.PRS

(‘My mother lives in the village, and Ali’s father, in the city.’)

---

11 If speakers are offered a structure with gapping and asked to reinstate the missing verb, they always include the imperfective converb as well. In support of the general tendency to avoid gapping altogether, Testelec (1997:264) presents the following example (we modify his transcription and glossing for consistency with ours):

(i)  Q’ida  ū-āči-ru  Mahama  *(yōl),  hečk’er
down  I-stay-PST.PTCP  Mohammed.ABS.I  be.PRS  standing
   ū-āči-ru  ūali  yōl.
   I-stay-PST.PTCP  Ali.ABS.I  be.PRS

‘Mohammed is sitting and Ali is standing.’
One could question whether (108) or (109) are actually instances of converb omission. In principle, one could analyze these examples as instances of right node raising, where the two conjoined constituents simply share the verb, as shown in (111) (cf. Hartmann 2000; Johannessen 1998, a.o.). However, such verb sharing is not attested otherwise in Tsez. Furthermore, if the verb were shared, it should be possible to see resolved agreement in ipl gender (see CH. YY [Agreement]), but such agreement is completely ungrammatical in (111):

(111) [Dey eniw ʕaƛ-ä]  
[ʕali-s babiw šahar-y-ä]  
Ali-GEN1 father.ABS.I  city-OS-IN.ESS  
Ø-iči-xosi/*b-iči-xosi  yōł.  
I-stay-PRS.PTCP/IPL-stay-PRS.PTCP  be.PRS  
'My mother lives in the village, Ali’s father, in the city.'

Thus, sentences with perfective, imperfective, durative, and simultaneous converbal clauses can show either properties of coordination or properties of subordination. Researchers have tried to account for the unexpected mix of coordination and subordination properties in terms of a mismatch between semantic and syntactic clause linkage types (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997), a continuum between coordination and subordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984), and an appeal to structural ambiguity (Goodall 1987; Kazenin and Testelec 2004; Kwon and Polinsky 2008). If structural ambiguity is assumed, the choice between coordination and subordination is determined on semantic grounds (Na and Huck 1992, Kehler 2002). The structural ambiguity approach, in which a semantically or pragmatically determined choice between subordination and coordination is offered, is effective when applied to sentences such as (103) in Tsez.

Converbal–main clause combinations such as (103) either manifest all the properties associated with coordination or all the properties associated with subordination (see Table 3). We have not observed in-between cases indicative of a continuum, as has been described for other languages. In other words, the properties associated with sentences such as (104) and (106) are internally consistent. This fact, in turn, suggests that there is a regular correspondence between the semantic connection between two clauses and the structural representation of that linkage.

We can now revisit the converbs presented in Table 1 and update the list to include the data on (i) co-occurrence with the distributive suffix –t’a, and (ii) the way in which a given converb is linked to the main clause: via coordination or via subordination.

Table 4. Tsez converbal clauses and their main properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Converb</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Occurs in the negative form</th>
<th>Combines with distributive -t’a</th>
<th>Linked to finite clause via</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-n(o)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination/Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-x(o)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Subordination/Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anterior</td>
<td>-nosi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate anterior</td>
<td>-run</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>ḷ’(o)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination/Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative I</td>
<td>ḷ’orey</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination/Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative II</td>
<td>-zey</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination/Coordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posterior</td>
<td>-zâ’</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>-ace</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal I</td>
<td>-zâ’/-zaq</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal II</td>
<td>-xoy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional, realis</td>
<td>-nây</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional, irrealis</td>
<td>-li/- liri</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>-lin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6 Masdar and infinitival clauses as purpose clauses

Masdar and infinitival clauses appear as complements of control clauses (see CH. YY [Complement Clauses]) and as relative clauses, also with a purposive interpretation (see CH. YY [Relative clauses]). These clauses are thus consistently used to express purpose and goal, and their appearance as adverbial purpose clauses is yet another manifestation of that general meaning. Infinitival and masdar purpose clauses are often observed in sentences where the main predicate is a verb of motion or existence, but they are not limited to those possibilities.

In examples (112) through (116), we observe infinitival clauses denoting purpose. As example(116) shows, the subject of the purpose clause can be different from the subject of the main clause.

(112) Meži ŋono-n-tow [esir-a] dâ-de-r nex-lin…
2SG.ABS three-COLL-FOC ask-INF 1SG-APUD-LAT come-CONCESS.CVB
‘Although all three of you come here in order to ask me to marry (one of you)…’ (Łux di yik’a yay?:5)

(113) [Šebin r-oγ̣-a] hor-o
thing.ABS.IV IV-pull-INF come-IMPER
‘Come pull this out.’ (Yizaläy hič’č’a ixiw šebi yoř?:8)

(114) Q’ano-n es-na-bi [č’ad-m-āy micxhr b-ow-a]
two-COLL sibling-PL-PL.ABS(IPL) ruins-OS-IN.ABL money.ABS.III III-take-INF
b-ık’i-n.
IPL-go-PST.NWIT
‘The two brothers went to take money from the ruins’ (Aelä bečed adiru miskin žek’u:27)

(115) Nesi-s uži-bi b-ık’i-n…
DEM.I-GEN1 boy-PL-ABS.IPL IPL-go-PST.NWIT
[babiw-s irsi žedâ žedu-λ bîl’zi b-od-a].
father-GEN1 inheritance.ABS.III REFL.IPL-SUB.ESS divide III-do-INF
‘The sons went in order to divide their father’s inheritance.’
In order for the boy to study science, his father asked the mullah for advice.

Masdar clauses are used more often than infinitival clauses to express purpose, perhaps because of the subtle interpretive differences between these two non-finite forms: masdars generally have a more salient interpretation of goal (see also CH. YY [Clausal complements]). Masdar purpose clauses are illustrated in the following examples. As with control complements, masdar clauses cannot appear without case marking, and the most common marking is that of ad-essive or lative:

In infinitival or masdar purpose clauses, the predicate can optionally combine with the quotative marker -ƛin, as for example in (120) and (121), where we use parentheses to indicate the optional status of this marker.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^\text{12}\) This use of the quotative marker is also observed with infinitival/masdar complements of control clauses, but never with infinitival/masdar relative clauses (see CJ. YY[COMPL CL] and CH. YY[RCs]).
‘They will send it (the box) back so that it can be repaired.’ (based on K’ešonad mi, pakmos ʕabasi!::46)

In addition, the quotative marker appears on purpose clauses with the predicate in the definite future form, as illustrated in example (2), which we repeat below. The purpose clause biqirânłin is adjoined to the converbal clause nelä reł’a regirnosi ‘she reached with her hand’. Such purpose clauses cannot appear without the quotative marker:

(122) [[B-iqir-ān-*($\lambda in$)] nel-ā reł’a r-egir-nosi-gon]

III-catch-FUT.DEF-QUOT DEM.I-ERG hand.ABS.IV IV-send-ANT.CVB-CONTR.TOP
t’umi b-oxi-n el-āy…
pigeon.ABS.III III-fly-PST.NWIT there-ABL
‘As she reached with her hand (lit.: when she sent her hand) to catch it, the pigeon flew away…’ (based on Mołu:67)

A similar use of the quotative in purpose clauses is observed in Hınıq, where it also appears with infinitival/masdar clauses and with the intentional future, which is a close equivalent to the Tsez future definite (see Forker 2013: 617-619).

7 Adverbial clauses with a participial predicate

Adverbial clauses that take a participle as predicate are not typical, but resultatives or present participles denoting an event/state concomitant with the main event are common. In that use, participles form manner or depictive adverbial clauses. For example:

(123) [Mekod-āsi-n akil-āsi-n tatu]

be.hungry-RES.PTCP-and be.tired-RES.PTCP-and strength.ABS.III
b-ex-āsi-n yeda elo tel-xo-r Ø- ik’i-n.
III-die-RES.PTCP-and DEM.I.ABS there inside-AD-LAT I-go-PST.NWIT
‘Hungry, tired, and with no energy left, he went in there.’ (ʕAliqilič:167)

(124) ʕiyay-x-tow ʕiyay-xosi idu-yor y-ay-s kid.
cry-IPFV.CVB-FOC cry-PRS.PTCP home-VERS II-come-PST.WIT girl.ABS.II
‘The girl came home crying unconsolably.’

In summary, Tsez uses its rich converbal system to express the majority of adverbial clauses, primarily temporal, manner, concessive, conditional, and causal clauses. Purpose clauses are different from the rest of the adverbial clauses because their predicates are typically masdars or infinitives. By way of summary, we present the main mappings between adverbial clause types and the mode of their expression in Tsez.
Table 5. Adverbial clauses and their mode of expression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial clause type by meaning</th>
<th>Mode of expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>Clauses with temporal converbs, primary and specialized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Perfective converbal clause; imperfective converbal clause; participial clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause/reason</td>
<td>Clauses with causal adverbs; perfective converbal clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Clauses with masdar or infinitival predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Clauses with conditional converbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>Clauses with concessive converbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>Clauses with posterior verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The linking of finite clauses

In this chapter, we will consider sentences composed of two or more finite clauses. Such sentences are instances of clausal coordination, with or without an overt conjunction.

For coordination of noun phrases, see CH. YY [Noun phrase]; for coordination of clausal complements, see Ch. YY [Clausal complements], and for coordination vs. subordination of converbal clauses, see CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]. Coordination of finite clauses is on the rise in Tsez, probably under the influence of Russian, but it would be incorrect to attribute all of Tsez clausal coordination to that influence. An examination of older texts, including those in Imnajšvili (1963), shows that some coordination was present in the language even before Russian influence became such a significant factor. Asyndetic (paratactic) coordination is particularly prominent. This type of coordination is available for declarative, imperative, and interrogative clauses.

1  Asyndetic (paratactic) coordination

The following example illustrates asyndetic coordination of declarative clauses. In the first clause, the absolutive noun phrase ɣˤutkabi ‘houses’ appears in the right periphery; the presence of the absolutive in this position unambiguously identifies the clause as finite, since embedded clauses are strictly verb-final. The subject of the first clause is coreferential with the omitted subject of the second clause:

(1) [Qˤuna-n es-na-z-ä r-igu-t’a r-odi-n
  two-OS-COLL sibling-PL-PL.OS-ERG nIPL-good-DISTR nIPL-do-PST.nWIT
  yˤutka-bi-n], [paraxat ʕumru b-odi-x
  house-PL.ABS.nIPL-and restful life.ABS.III III-do-IPFV.CVB
  pro i b-iči-n].
  IPL-stay-PST.nWIT
  ‘The two brothers built nice homes and led a quiet life.’ (Miƛ’i:72)

In (1), the absolutive noun phrase at the end of the first finite clause appears with the enclitic –n(o), which reinforces the link between this clause and the next one. Recall that –n(o) often appears on the immediately preverbal constituent of converbal clauses (CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]) to indicate clause linkage. When finite clauses are coordinated, –n(o) either appears on the very last constituent of the first clause (as in (1)), or, if the clause is verb-final, on the immediately preverbal constituent, as in the example below:

(2) [Dey žuka qizan-no ānu], [dā-r kamuraw
  1SG.GEN1 bad family.ABS.III-and be.PRS.NEG 1SG-LAT lacking
  šebin ānu].
  thing.ABS.IV be.PRS.NEG
  ‘I have a good family and I lack for nothing.’

1 Throughout this chapter, we indicate the boundaries of conjoined finite clauses in brackets. Unless necessary for our discussion, we do not mark converbal clauses that may appear internal to finite clauses.
Two or more imperative clauses can be coordinated asyndetically, as in example (3) below, but such coordinate imperatives are dispreferred. Instead, speakers use a converbal clause adjoined to a finite imperative clause, as in (4):

(3) [Debe-r  r-āti-z-ā  Ø-ik‘],  [Šumru  b-od-o].
   2SG-LAT  IV-like-ATTR.OS-IN.ESS  I-go.IMPER  life.ABS.III  III-do-IMPER
   ‘Go wherever you like and live (there).’

(4) [[Debe-r  r-āti-z-ā  Ø-ik‘i-n]  Šumru  b-od-o].
   2SG-LAT  IV-like-ATTR.OS-IN.ESS  I-go-PFV.CVB  life.ABS.III  III-do-IMPER
   ‘Go wherever you like and live (there).’ (Aelā bečed adiru miskin žek’u:8)

Declarative and imperative clauses can be coordinated asyndetically, as in the example below. In such coordinations, there is often an implicit causal link between the event expressed in the declarative clause and the event expressed by the imperative, and the order is typically declarative-before-imperative.  

(5) a. [Mi  di  saγ  y-oy-s],  [dā-x  hor-o].
   2SG.ABS(.II)  1SG.ERG  cure  II-do-PST.WIT  1SG-AD.ESS  come-IMPER
   ‘I brought you back to health, so now marry me!’ (Łux di yik’a yay?:31)

b. ??[Dā-x  hor-o],  [mi  di  saγ  y-oy-s].
   1SG-AD.ESS  come-IMPER  2SG.ABS(.II)  1SG.ERG  cue  II-do-PST.WIT
   INTENDED: ‘Marry me, because I brought you back to health.’

Examples (6) through (8) illustrate the coordination of interrogative clauses; in (6) and (8), the interrogative suffixes are expressed in each clause, but in (7) they are omitted; this omission occurs frequently regardless of coordination (see CH. YY [Interrogatives]).

(6) [Debe-r  di  y-eti-x-ā],  [mi  di]
   2SG-LAT  1SG.ABS(.II)  II-love-PRS-INTERR  2SG.ERG  1SG.ABS(.II)
   y-ow-a  yol-ā]?
   II-take-INF  be.PRS-INTERR
   ‘Do you love me, will you marry me?’ (Qacis gulu:11)

(7) [Šebi  mež-ār  r-oq-āsi],  [lina-q  meži  fiyay-x]?
   what.ABS.IV  2PL-LAT  IV-become-RES.PTCP  what-POSS.ESS  2PL.ABS  cry-PRS
   ‘What happened to you, why (on account of what) are you crying?’ (ŠAliqilič:90)

2 It is more typical for an imperative clause to have an adjoined converbal clause; compare the following paraphrase of (5a) and see Ch. YY [Adverbial clauses] for more discussion.

(i) [Mi  di  saγ  y-oy-no]  [dā-x  hor-o].
   2SG.ABS(.II)  1SG.ERG  cure  II-do-PFV.CVB  1SG-AD.ESS  come-IMPER
   ‘I brought you back to health, marry me!’ (lit.: Me having brought you back to health, marry me)

3 Note the postverbal material in each of the finite questions in (8).
The question in (8) is interpreted as an alternative question, but this is alternative interpretation is pragmatically inferred; it is not encoded in any special way in the clause:

(8) [Mi debez xalq’i-mo-ƛ’-ä bużzi Ø-äq],
2SG.ABS(.I) 2SG-GEN2 people-OS-SUPER.ESS-INTERR believe I-become.FUT
[aq’iw mah yol-äsi ensi żek’u-ƛ’-ä
strange smell.ABS.III be.PRS-RES.PTCP DEM person-SUPER.ESS-INTERR
bużzi Ø-äq]?
believe I-become.FUT
‘Are you going to believe your people or are you going to believe this man who smells of foreign lands?’ (ʕAliqilić:102)

If clauses connected asyndetically express events that are viewed as divergent or contrastive, the second clause can include the “viewpoint” adverbial hudun ‘still, nevertheless’. For example:

(9) [Mežu-r-no r-iy-x], [ža hudun di mežu-l-äy
2PL-LAT-TOP IV-know-PRS DEM.ABS(.IV) nevertheless 1SG.ABS.II 2PL-CONT-ABL
side-r gurow y-äq-inč’i].
one-LAT except II-become.FUT-NEG
‘You know this; no matter what, I will belong to only one of you.’ (Łux di yik’a yay?:5)

Sentences with hudun thus resemble sentences linked by the conjunction amma (see section 2), and speakers often use them interchangeably, however, hudun is an adverb, not a conjunction and can occur in unconnected clauses just as well, as in the following example where hudun appears as a regular adverb inside an adjunct clause:

(10) Zir-ä hudun zey muk’ur-no b-odi-n,
fox-ERG nevertheless bear.ABS.III concurring-and III-do-PFV.CVB
q’änno-n żedu hunix r-oq-no.
two-ADD DEM.ABS.(nIPL) road-AD.ESS nI PL-become-PST.nWIT
‘Even so the fox managed to convince the bear, and the two of them got going.’ (Zirun zeyn:41)

It is not always possible to tell the difference between, on the one hand, two separate finite clauses, one of which includes hudun, and, on the other hand, a pair of conjoined clauses with hudun, without assessing their prosody, so text examples may be ambiguous. Prosodically, a separate finite clause preceding the clause with hudun has a more pronounced falling contour than the first of a pair of conjoined clauses. Further differences may arise based on coreference rules discussed in section 4.

2 Syndetic coordination

The main coordinating conjunctions are amma ‘but’ and ya... ya (variant yagi... yagi) ‘either or’. The use of amma is illustrated in the following example; note that both clauses are clearly finite, with a noun phrase in the postverbal domain in each clause:
The use of *ya... ya* (variant *yagi... yagi*) is observed in disjunctive sentences; occasionally only one of the two elements of this complex conjunction is expressed.

The two variants of the disjunctive conjunction can also be mixed, as in the example below, where the first question has *ya*, and the second, *yagi*. This example instantiates a particularly common use of *ya... ya* as a linker between two or more interrogative clauses (compare a similar question with asyndetic coordination in (8) above):

(13) Ya [di b-odi-xosi adab=ḥurmat-ā debe-z or 1SG.ERG III-do-PRS.PTCP respect.ABS.III-INTERR 2SG-GEN2 rok’-e-r ʻeze b-oq-inč’u] *yagi* hear-OS-LAT enough III-become-PST.WIT.NEG or [dā-z halmay-z-ā debe-r rok’-e-r r-eti-x-ānu-si 1SG-GEN2 friend-PL.OS-ERG 2SG-LAT heart-OS-LAT IV-like-PST-NEG-ATTR ʻebin-ā r-o’d-āl? thing.ABS.IV-INTERR IV-do-PST.WIT.INTERR ‘Do you not feel I am giving you enough respect, or did my friends do something that was not to your liking?’ (Raḥbadinno, Tawadin:82)

Next, two finite clauses can be joined using the complex expression *šidaḥin ešili/ešiliri*, which is morphologically decomposed as follows:

(14) šida-šilin ešili(ri) why-QUOT say-COND.CVB.IRR ‘if I/one were to say why’
This expression is used in the meaning of ‘because; the reason being’; for instance:

(15) [Debi-n kid-ba-bi ne-la-r howzi ħaram 1SG.GEN1-and girl-PL.OS-PL.ABS.NIPL DEM.nI-LAT now forbidden r-oq-si], [šidaļin=e)xili ža aždah b-exu-r-si].
    nIPL-become-PST.WIT because DEM dragon.ABS.III III-die-CAUS-PST.WIT
‘The dragon won’t get my daughters anymore because the dragon was killed.’
(ʕAliqili:97)

(16) [Di sabaw-yu-bi-n cax-xosi ānu], 1SG.ERG talisman-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL-TOP write-PRS.PTCP be.PS.NEG
    [šidaļin=e)xiliši šayt’an-z-ā dā-r ʕaq’uba ne-xo],
    because devil-PL.OS-ERG 1SG-LAT torment.ABS.III give-PRS
    amma [dey nesi-r-si sis daru yol],
    but 1SG.GEN1 DEM.I-LAT-ATTR one medicine.ABS.III be.PRS
‘I don’t create talismans because demons would torture me (for doing that) but I have a
potion against him.’ (Riynoxu:25)

Although we show šidaļin e)xiliši as part of one of the conjoined clauses, we hypothesize that
it may be in the process of developing into a conjunction. Unlike hudun, it cannot be used
adverbially and seems to be limited to its syndetic function.

3 The particle -yoli in finite clause coordination

In a special case of finite clause linkage, one of the finite clauses has its predicate marked
with the enclitic particle –yoli. The clause with –yoli serves as the antecedent (protasis) of the
conditional, and the other finite clause expresses the consequent (apodosis). We can represent
this structure schematically as follows:

(17) [ … Finite Predicate-yoli] [ …. Finite Predicate]
    ANTECEDENT (PROTASIS) CONSEQUENT (APODOSIS)

The particle -yoli is probably a contraction of yol-li be.PRS-COND.CVB, literally meaning ‘if it
was/were’. It is widely used as a marker of contrastive topics, including but not limited to topics
that can be marked by as for (Gundel 1974, 1985; Reinhart 1981; see Constant 2014: Ch. 1,
for a helpful discussion of the terminology). In that particular use, -yoli does not combine with
finite verbs, and the details of that use are presented in CH. YY [Particles]. For the current
discussion, we will concentrate on cases where –yoli appears on finite predicates, as indicated in
the schematics in (17) and as shown in (18a) and (19a).

A comparison between examples (a) and (b) in (18) (19) shows that only the examples with -yoli
have a clear conditional interpretation. The parallel examples without that particle can be
interpreted as paratactic coordinations, but the cause-effect connection between the two clauses
is absent (it can of course be inferred, in an optional way), and the hypothetical reading of the
events is also missing. Thus, the conditional interpretation is dependent on the presence of -yoli;
placing the particle on a finite verb makes that a conditional, and the absence of the particle does
not allow for a conditional interpretation.
(18) a. [Dä-z č’ikay-ä mi y-uk-ar-si-yoli]
   1SG-GEN2 mirror-ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-see-CAUS-PST.WIT-COND
   [di mi y-ow-s].
   1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-take-PST.WIT
   ‘If my mirror had shown you, I would have married you.’

b. [Dä-z č’ikay-ä mi y-uk-ar-si],
   1SG-GEN2 mirror-ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-see-CAUS-PST.WIT
   [di mi y-ow-s].
   1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-take-PST.WIT
   ‘My mirror showed you; I married you.’

(19) a. [Dä-z č’ikay-ä mi y-uk-ar-xo-yoli]
   1SG-GEN2 mirror-ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-see-CAUS-PRST-COND
   [di mi y-ow-ān].
   1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-take-FUT.DEF
   ‘If my mirror shows/showed you, I will/would marry you.’

b. [Dä-z č’ikay-ä mi y-uk-ar-xo].
   1SG-GEN2 mirror-ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-see-CAUS-PST.WIT
   [di mi y-ow-ān].
   1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS(.II) II-take-FUT.DEF
   ‘Mirror shows you; I will marry you.’

The particle –yoli can co-occur with finite predicates in different tenses. Depending on the tense of the predicate marked with –yoli and the tense of the predicate in the consequent, the conditional can be interpreted as referring to the past, present, or future. For instance, in the example below, the predicates in the consequent appears in the future tense, and the sentence can be interpreted as either counterfactual (i) or hypothetical (ii):

(20) [Dow-qo-r b-eč’-no b-igu hibo neλ-si-yoli],
   2SG-POSS-LAT III-cut-PFV.CVB III-good stick.ABS.III give-PST.WIT-COND
   [nel-ā-n ŋuraw b-igu kumak b-ädi].
   DEM.nI-ERG-and enough III-good help.ABS.III III-do.FUT
   (i) ‘If they had cut out and given you a good stick it would also have been of great help.’
   (ii) ‘If they cut out and gave you a good stick it would/will also be of great help.’
   (Ečruni żek’un, ʕoloqanawni užin:25)

In the following example, the predicate of the consequent is in the past tense, and the sentence has to be interpreted as counterfactual:

(21) [Q’og-ce bix eqr-si-yoli q’ida
   armful-EQUAT hay.ABS.IV put-PST.WIT-COND down
   Ø-āči-z-ā] [kokoru q’iž-ci r-oq-xosi
   1-stay-ATTR.OS-IN.ESS soft cushion.ABS.IV IV-become-PRS.PTCP
   zow-s].
   be.PST-PST.WIT
   (i) ‘If one had put an armful of hay at the place where (I) sat, that would have made for a soft cushion.’
   (Ečruni żek’un, ʕoloqanawni užin:23)
The marking of topic and conditional by the same exponent is not unique to Tsez; such marking has been noted in several other languages, Turkish in particular (Haiman 1978).

"The most immediate connection between the syntactic categories of topic and conditional is manifested in those languages where the regular mark of the conditional is also the regular mark of the topic. I know of two languages where this identity holds. If the analysis of topics defended here is accurate, there are doubtless others ... One such language is Turkish, where the conditional suffix -sA, suffixed to an NP, establishes it as a contrastive topic.” – (Haiman 1978: 577)

Just as -yoli, the Turkish –sA combines with a tensed predicate; moreover, it can be followed by agreement morphology. Haiman suggests that that there is a deep similarity between conditionals and topics, and he gives the following definitions for the two to bring out their parallels:

(22) "A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse." (Haiman 1978: 583)

(23) "The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse." (Haiman 1978: 585)

Not all conditional antecedents can be interpreted as topics or as discourse-old material, but -yoli is limited to those antecedents that are topical or given. This limitation is apparent from its inability to mark conditional antecedents when they are focused. Consider the following contrast. In (24), the conditional describes a set of circumstances under which the event described in the consequent can be true, and that set of circumstances can be interpreted as discourse-old, backgrounded, given information, or using Haiman's terms, as “the framework which has been selected for the following discourse”. In this context, the use of –yoli is accepted. In (25) and in (26), the conditional antecedent is in focus, and the use of –yoli is impossible (the required meaning can be expressed by a conditional converb; see CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]). Assuming that (non-contrastive) topic and (non-contrastive) focus are mutually exclusive; the distribution shown in the examples below confirms the connection between the use of –yoli as a conditional marker and the topic/background status of the respective conditional clauses.

(24) [Meži b-ik’i-no-si 2PL.ABS(IPL) IPL-go-PST-ATTR (yoli-yoli)] [di-n y-āk’i]. be.PRS-COND 1SG.ABS(.II)-and II-go.FUT

(25) *[Meži b-ik’i-no-si 2PL.ABS(IPL) IPL-go-PST-ATTR (yoli-yoli)] taraw [di y-āk’i-inč’i]. be.PRS-COND except 1SG.ABS(.II)

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4 See Bach (1972); Lambrecht (1994); for Tsez, see also Polinsky and Potsdam (2001).
II-go-FUT-NEG
(‘I will not go unless y’all go.’)

(26) *[Meži b-ik’i-no-si (yol)-yoli]-kin [di 2PL.ABS(IPL) IPL-go-PST-ATTR be.prs-COND 1SG.ABS(II)
y-āk’-inč’i].
II-go-FUT-NEG
(‘I will not go even if y’all go.’)

Further still, material appearing on the right periphery of a clause, after the finite predicate, has a
strong topic/discourse-old interpretation (see CH. YY [Word order] for a detailed discussion). Conditional antecedent clauses with –yoli most commonly precede their consequent clauses. However such an antecedent clause can also follow the consequent; in such a case, the
information expressed in the antecedent clause must be interpreted as discourse-old, given. For example, in (27b), the information in the antecedent clause (“if I do the reading”) has to be interpreted as something that has already been brought up in preceding discourse; if no such discussion has taken place, only (27a) is appropriate.

(27) a. [Di 1SG.ERG teter-xo-yoli] [mi 2SG.ERG kaɣat cax-a
read-PRS-COND letter.ABS.II write-INF
y-āy].
II-must
b. [Mi 2SG.ERG kaɣat cax-a y-āy] [di 1SG.ERG teter-xo-yoli].
letter.ABS.II write-INF II-must 1SG.ERG read-PRS-COND
‘If I read, you have to write a/the letter.’ (presupposes a prior discussion of who does the reading)

Turning now to the contrastive component of conditionals, many conditional structures imply the choice between two contrasting scenarios: p and ¬p. As Constant (2014:320-321) suggests, “with few exceptions, if you utter a conditional, I can reasonably respond with “And if not?” The contrastive function of -yoli is therefore warranted when it appears on a finite predicate of a clause that is interpreted as a conditional antecedent.

It is subject to a debate whether or not the contrastive topic marking on noun phrases is the same
as the marker that appears on finite verbs to bring out the conditional interpretation; see Iatridou
(2014) for a discussion of the Turkish –sA and some arguments against Haiman’s proposal that one and the same suffix appears in two related functions. We do not take a stand on this issue; for the ease of exposition, we gloss –yoli uniformly as contrastive topic (CONTR.TOP) when it appears on constituents other than finite verbs and as conditional (COND) when it appears on finite verbs. Thus:

(28) If –yoli appears on a finite verb, the clause where this verb is predicate must have a
conditional interpretation; in all other contexts, –yoli marks a contrastive topic.

We would like to emphasize that the enclitic -yoli is not a conjunction, nor does it form
converbs. First, as we already noted, it appears on all kinds of constituents, both noun phrases
and predicates. Second, clauses with yoli-marked predicates are clearly finite; the verb can
appear in any tense and the word order is typical of finite clauses and permits postverbal material—see examples (21) and (29). These facts indicate that –yoli is not a converbal suffix, unlike the suffixes of the conditional converbs discussed in CH. YY [Adverbial clauses].

Finite clauses with the predicate marked with -yoli do not always appear followed by an overt consequent. They can also occur as complete sentences on their own, with the material expressed in the consequent simply inferred. Compare the following example, where the implied contrast in (29) is between having and not having a wonderful leather bag; as in the examples above, without –yoli the sentence would have a simple possessive interpretation in the past (“I had such a leather bag to keep food.”):

(29) Dey-n zow-s-yoli biš-ad-yo-qo-r hemediw
1SG.GEN1-and be.PST-PST.WITCOND eat-ITER-OS-POSS-LAT such
ēāuk'.
leather.bag.ABS.IV
‘If (only) I also had such a leather bag to keep food.’ (Xanes užin kidno:25)

In the minimal pair below, (30a) is a genuine yes-no question with the presupposition that nobody has the right answer. The answer to that question could be ‘yes’ or ‘no’, depending on whether it is true that the right answer is amiss or not. Meanwhile, (30b) does not require a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer; instead, it asks a substantive question: what should be done if nobody has the right answer? In other words, the addition of -yoli turns a yes-no question into a fragment question, with the conditional expressed and the consequent serving as the focus of the query (see Constant 2014: 350 for a similar contrast in Mandarin questions).

(30) a. Bit’araw žawab la-r-kin b-iy-x-ān-ā?
correct answer.ABS.III someone-LAT-FOC III-know-PRS-NEG-INTERR
‘Is it true that nobody knows the correct answer?’

b. Bit’araw žawab la-r-kin
correct answer.ABS.III someone-LAT-FOC
b-iy-x-ān-ā-yoli?
III-know-PRS-NEG-INTERR-COND
‘What if nobody knows the correct answer?’

A finite clause expressing the consequent of a conditional often includes the word lemu(ri). Consider the example below, noting that we will delay categorizing this lexical item for now and represent it in the glosses simply as lemu:

(31) [Nela ziy-s hoši-s r-eže-gon r-eye-t’a
dem.nI cow-gen1 hide-gen1 nIPL-big-CONTR nIPL-small-DISTR
t’it’ur-bi r-oys-yoli]
top nIPL-DO-PST.WIT-CONTR.TOP
piece-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-pl-big-CONTR TOP
[beže-gon b-aq’u
III-big-CONTR III-many/much

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5 A fragment or truncated question is one where there is a necessarily presupposed component which is recoverable but not expressed (cf. Constant 2014: 327).
łemu dā-r micxir b-äqi].

‘If I had cut the cowhide into even smaller pieces, I would have made even more money.’

(Q’orolas uži:62)

(32) [Mi sadaq zow-s-yoli] [q’un-qo-n sadaq]
2SG together be.PST-PST.WIT-CONTR.TOP two-POSS.ESS-TOP together
b-iq-as ża łemu].

‘If you had been with me, together the two of us could have captured it (the ram).’

(Babiwn, užin, Okun:27)

Unlike –yoli, lemu seems to be a freestanding element, rather than an enclitic. Imnajšvili (1963:272) characterizes it as a particle occurring primarily with verbs. However, as the examples above attest, it has a broader distribution and a more defined meaning, and furthermore it does not lean on any other clausal constituent, the way enclitic particles in Tsez do (see CH.YY [Particles]). All of these facts qualify lemu as an adverb rather than a particle. Its placement in clauses also matches that of an adverb: it may occur at the left periphery of the clause, at the right periphery, or preverbally.

The main function of lemu(ri) is to indicate that a given state of affairs may hold if a given condition is met. In that general function, lemu is found not only in finite clauses joined with finite conditional clauses containing –yoli, but also in clauses joined with conditional converbal clauses with predicates in –näy and –li(ri), and in concessive converbal clauses in –lin (see CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]). In all these uses, lemu seems to have the general function of indicating the hypothetical nature of the consequent, and we therefore propose to gloss it as ‘hypothetical consequence’ (HYP.CONS). In addition to this function, it conveys the desirability of the hypothetical event, which is why it is rejected in clauses expressing negative consequences such as (33):

(33) [Nagah mi ża teλ-näy] [di]

suddenly 2SG.ERG DEM.ABS give-COND.CVB 1SG.ABS(.I)
Ø-exu-xosi yoł (*lemu)].

I-die-PRS.PTCP be.PRS HYP.CONS

‘If you sold it I would die.’ (based on Babiwn, užin, Okun:47)

The following examples illustrate the use of lemu in the consequent of a concessive and conditional antecedent and in separate finite clauses; note that these later clauses could be interpreted as having an implicit conditional antecedent:6

(34) [proi b-oč’č’iw b-oq-lin] [buqi lemu].

III-cold III-become-CONC.CVB sun.ABS.III HYP.CONS

‘If only the sun were not so hot (lit: although cold…)’ (Xalilov 1999:173)

(35) [Ażdah b-ex-ur-näy] [kid-ba-bi xasar

6 Imnajšvili (1963:272) characterizes the use of lemu in separate finite clauses as conjunction-like and translates it as ‘but then; so then’ (Russ. a to).
dragon.ABS.III III-die-CAUS-COND.CVBagirl-PL.OS-PL.ABS.nIPLsafe
r-äqlemu].
nIPL-become.FUTHYP.CONS
‘If the dragon were killed (lit.: if someone killed the dragon) the girls would be saved.’
(based on ΣAliqilič:97)
(36)  Ĺemu b-ōləlik’u ric’q’i xan-q-āy b-āqi.
HYP.CONSIII-halfriches.ABS.IIIking-POSS-ABLIII-be.gotten.FUT
‘So then half of the king’s riches could become yours.’ (Qˤano halmay:19)
(37)  Yˤay-n y-aqˤāł Ĺemu.
milk.ABS.II-andII-increase.FUTHYP.CONS
‘Then milk would also be more plentiful.’ (Qˤay:38)

The appearance of Ĺemu in a clause conjoined with another clause, where the predicate is marked with –yoli, is therefore a particular subcase of the more general adverbial use of Ĺemu(ri).

4 Coreference across conjoined finite clauses

In CH. YY [Adverbial clauses], we examined coreference across converbal clause boundaries and showed that it is quite free. In particular, a converbal clause can include either a null pronominal or a demonstrative pronoun coreferential with a fully specified noun phrase in a finite clause; the opposite coreference pattern, whereby a noun phrase in a converbal clause is coreferential with a null pronominal or demonstrative in a finite clause, is equally possible.

Coreference across coordinated finite clauses is more restricted, and we will examine it in several stages: first, with respect to subject/highest argument antecedents, and then with respect to all other antecedents. For each of these subcases, we also need to distinguish between third person arguments and pronouns expressing speech act participants.

Third persons can be denoted by a demonstrative, a null pronominal, or a fully specified noun phrase. Coreference between a demonstrative or a null pronominal subject in the first finite clause and a fully specified noun phrase, regardless of its function, in the subsequent clause is impossible—compare the following example and its English counterpart, both of which are unacceptable when they exhibit coreference between the pronoun in the first clause and a noun phrase in the second:7

(38)  [Ža/proi y-ay-s], [Pat’içek Ŧiyay-xosi yol].
DEM.ABS.IIII-come-PST.WITFatima.ABS.II cry-PRS.PTCPbe.PRS
‘Shei came and Fatimak is crying.’
NOT: ‘Fatimak came and shek is crying.’

7 In the following examples, we hold gender constant across the arguments to avoid additional disambiguation cues.
The opposite pattern is fully acceptable (the disjoint reading is also possible in this case):  

(39) [Pat’iₖ y-ay-s], [ža/pro₁ ſiyay-xosi yōł].  
Fatima.ABS.II II-come-PST.WIT DEM.ABS(.II) cry-PRS.PTCP be.PRS  
Fatimaₖ came and sheₖ is crying.  
Fatimaₖ came, and sheₖ is crying.

The disjoint reading can be enhanced by the use of the focus particle –tow on the demonstrative:  

(40) [Pat’iₖ y-ay-s], [ža-tow ſiyay-xosi yōł].  
Fatima.ABS.II II-come-PST.WIT DEM.ABS(.II)-FOC cry-PRS.PTCP be.PRS  
Fatimaₖ came and sheₖ is crying.  
Fatimaₖ came, and sheₖ is crying.

The pattern illustrated here stays the same even if the two clauses each have their highest argument expressed by a different case form. In the next sentence, the highest argument of the first finite clause is the external possessor (genitive) and the highest argument of the second clause is the absolutive subject:

(41) a. [Micxir ānu nel-qo₁] amma [Pat’iₖ y-ik’-ₖ y-āy].  
money.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG DEM.II-POSS.ESS but Fatima.ABS.II  
It must II-go-INF  
Sheₖ/*k does not have money but Fatimaₖ has to leave.  

b. [Micxir ānu Pat’i-qk] amma [žaₗ y-ik’-ₗ y-āy].  
money.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG Fatima-POSS.ESS but DEM.ABS(.II)  
It must II-go-INF  
Fatimaₖ does not have money but sheₗ/k has to leave.

Turning now to speech act participants, they can be expressed by either overt pronouns or by null pronominals. In several examples above, we have shown that overt pronouns are repeated in both finite clauses in a clausal coordinate structure—consider (5), (6), (7), (8), and (9). It is also possible for both pronouns to be omitted in the second clause, as in example (42) below, but it is generally unacceptable to omit the first pronoun and keep the one in the subsequent finite clause(s), as shown in (43).  

8 See also example (1), with the same coreference pattern; the antecedent, expressed by a noun phrase, appears in the first finite clause and is coindexd with a null pronominal in the second clause.

9 See CH. YY[binding] and CH.YY[compl clauses] for similar use of the particle –tow in establishing coreference.

10 Exceptions to this generalization have to do with what is known as “diary drop”: the omission of subject pronouns or nouns in simple declarative sentences (Haegeman 1990, 1997). In (42) and (43), we find interrogatives that do not allow such diary drop.
If, however, the antecedent in the first finite clause is not the subject or the highest structural argument, it can be expressed by a demonstrative or even a null pronominal coreferential with a lexically expressed noun phrase in the next clause. For example:

(44) [Nela-r  ža₁i,  Ø-ʕaq‘u  Ø-eti-x  zow-n],
    DEM.nI-LAT  DEM.ABS(.I)  I-many/much  I-love-IPFV.CVB  be.PSP-PST.nWIT
    [hudun Musa₁i  hi‘ar  ânu-si  Ø-iči-x
    nevertheless Musa.ABS.I  care.ABS.III  be.PRS.NEG-ATTR  I-stay-IPFV.CVB
    zow-n].
    AUX.PST-PST.nWIT
    ‘She was madly in love with him; nevertheless Musai did not pay attention to that.’
    (Qacis gulu:7)

(45) [Ziru  nel-λ’o-r₁  nex-xo-yoli]  [k’et’u₁i
    fox.ABS.III  DEM.nI-POSS-LAT  come-PRS-CONTR.TOP  cat.ABS.III
    yun-o-q-āy  b-ok’-as].
    tree-OS-POSS-ABL  III-escape-FUT
    ‘If a fox attacks iti (lit.: comes upon it), a cati will escape from the tree.’

In summary, the rules of coreference across finite clauses are similar to those observed in more familiar languages such as English. However, since Tsez also uses null pronominals, there are more coreference options, as illustrated in the examples above.
Part 4: Clause level phenomena
  Agreement
  Reflexives and anaphora
  Particles
  Word order and information structure
Agreement and concord

1. General remarks

There are two domains of agreement in Tsez: the noun phrase and the clause. Within noun phrases, certain modifiers agree with the head noun in gender and number. Modifiers also show grammatical concord with the head noun in case. Within clausal syntax, the predicate and some adverbs agree with the absolutive noun phrase in gender and number. In a distinct case of long-distance agreement, such predicate agreement crosses the boundary of a tensed clause.

In what follows, we will discuss these instances of agreement in turn. Before we do so, we would like to remind our readers of the morphology of agreement and the composition of gender classes in Tsez. Agreement is marked by prefixes, which are given in Table 1. The prefixes that appear on verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gender I</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gender II</td>
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<td>Gender III</td>
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Not only do we find syncretism among the prefixes, but we also observe that only a subset of Tsez agreeing categories show agreement overtly (see CH. YY [Verb morphology]). If we assess the percentage of agreeing categories within their respective classes, agreeing verbs, adjectives, and adverbs make up only a small proportion of total verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in the dictionary (27% of verbs, 4% of adjectives). However, agreeing verbs and adjectives are highly frequent. In a corpus of child-directed speech, the majority of verb types and a minority of adjective types showed agreement (i.e., 60% of the different verbs that appeared in the corpus were agreeing verbs; 35% of the different adjectives were agreeing adjectives). Within tokens (the number of occurrences), however, the majority of both verbs and adjectives showed agreement—i.e., 84% of verbal tokens and 77% of adjectival tokens agreed with an associated noun phrase (Gagliardi and Lidz 2014: 68). In our own count of adverbial types and tokens within a set of over one hundred randomly selected adverbially modified clauses from Abdulaev and Abdulaev (2010), we observed only three types that took agreement (AGR-ˤaƛo ‘quickly’, AGR-ig ‘well’, and AGR-ˤaʔu ‘many, much, very’), and a

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1 Estimating the percentage of adverbs is challenging because many adverbial phrases are expressed either by a noun in a spatial form or by a converbal clause.
These numbers indicate that Tsez makes up for the paucity of agreeing items in its lexicon by using those items quite extensively. As a result, agreement is very frequent in the language system and is highly visible to a child language learner (for the discussion of L1 agreement acquisition in Tsez, see Gagliardi and Lidz 2014).

2. **Agreement and concord within a noun phrase**

Adjectival modifiers that have an agreement prefix slot show obligatory agreement with the head noun in gender:

![Image]

If two nouns of different genders are joined in a coordinate noun phrase, the gender agreement on their modifiers must be resolved. Resolved agreement defaults to the plural (this contrasts, however, with the more complex gender agreement found among coordinate noun phrases within clauses, which will be discussed in section 3.2 below). The rules are as follows:

![Image]

The order of nouns within the coordinate noun phrase does not matter. However, some examples below are ambiguous; ambiguity arises when the plural gender marker on the adjective is homophonous with the singular gender marker that matches the first of the coordinated nouns. For instance, *bexora žek’ubi* in (4b) can mean ‘tall people’ on its own:
(3) a. b-exora uži-n kid-no
   I PL-tall boy.ABS.I-and girl.ABS.II-and
   'tall [boy and girl]' /NOT ‘a tall boy and a girl’
b. b-exora kid-no uži-n
   I PL-tall girl.ABS.II-and boy.ABS.I-and
   ‘tall [girl and boy]’ /NOT: ‘a tall girl and a boy’

(4) a. b-exora Žek’u-bi-n y’utku-n
   I PL-tall person.ABS.IPL-and house.ABS.IV-and
   'tall [people and house]' // ‘tall people and a house’
b. b-exora y’utku-n Žek’u-bi-n
   I PL-tall house.ABS.IV-and person.ABS.IPL-and
   ‘tall [house and people]’ /NOT: ‘a tall house and people’

(5) a. r-igu t’ek-no kino-n
   nPL-good book.ABS.II-and movie.ABS.IV-and
   ‘good [book and movie]’ /NOT: ‘a good book and a movie’
b. r-igu kino-n t’ek-no
   nPL-good movie.ABS.IV-and book.ABS.II-and
   ‘good [movie and book]’/ ‘a good movie and a book’

In section 3.2, we discuss resolved vs. closest conjunct agreement on verbs agreeing with coordinate phrases and show that closest conjunct agreement is widespread. Within nouns, the agreement on the adjective is typically resolved, but occasionally one finds instances of closest conjunct agreement as well, where the modifier agrees only with the adjacent conjunct. For example, (6) may be used in the meaning of (5a). Such examples are quite rare, however, and when elicited in isolation are judged awkward or inappropriate. This finding contrasts with the pervasive closest agreement in the verbal domain.

(6) y-edu t’ek-no kino-n
    II-good book.ABS.II-and movie.ABS.IV-and
    'good [book and movie]'

When two or more nouns are joined by ya ‘or’, we find a preference for repeating the adjective on each of the conjuncts, with the agreement determined only by each individual noun (7b,c); examples such as (7a) are considered awkward or confusing:

(7) a. #r-igu ya t’ek ya kino
    nPL-good or book.ABS.II or movie.ABS.IV
    ('good book or movie’)
b. ya r-igu kino ya y-igu t’ek
    or IV-good movie.ABS.IV or II-good book.ABS.II
    'a good movie or a good book’
c. ya y-igu t’ek ya r-igu kino
    or II-good book.ABS.II or IV-good movie.ABS.IV
    ‘a good book or a good movie’
A special case of agreement is observed with two noun phrases combined paratactically in one compound noun, for example, hal-ruh ‘might (lit.: health-strength)’ or y’ana-xediw ‘couple (lit.: woman-husband)’, eni-babiw ‘parents (lit.: mother-father)’. These compound nouns follow the agreement rules presented in (2). For example, both hal and ruh are gender III nouns but the compound hal-ruh is nIPL; conversely, the compounds y’ana-xediw and eni-babiw are gender IPL, following rule (2a). Since even though the words for ‘woman’ and ‘mother’ belong to gender II, the words for husband and father belong to gender I and therefore determine agreement. It may be tempting to treat such compound nouns as separate lexical items, which is not improbable for such set phrases as y’ana-xediw ‘couple’ or eni-babiw ‘parents’. However, compounding of this sort is extremely productive, and compounds, often involving reduplication, are created quite regularly, including ones with borrowed new words, as in (13) (where pamidor is a borrowing from Russian) and in (14).

(8) šeλ’u=boλ’u  
[clothes.IV=clothes.IV].nIPL  
‘clothes’

(9) muži=q’uri  
[bed.III-bench.IV].nIPL  
‘bedding’

(10) meš(i)=kuro  
[broom.IV-washtub.IV].nIPL  
‘house cleaning supplies’

(11) hawa=baq  
[air.IV-sun.III].nIPL  
‘weather’

(12) hiƛ’i=baq’i  
[care.III-life.III].nIPL  
‘greetings’

(13) pamidor-mumidor  
[tomato.III-tomato.III].nIPL  
‘vegetables’

(14) ewro-dolar  
[euro.II-dollar.II].nIPL  
‘hard currency’

Since speakers use this model very productively, it is unlikely that all such compound nouns can be listed in the lexicon. In light of the productivity of this pattern, it may make sense to treat at least the less common compounds as paratactic noun phrases, whose agreement is determined by the regular rules presented in (2) above. However, these compound nouns never trigger closest conjunct agreement with an adjective (as in (6) above) or with the verb (as will be discussed in section 3.2), and this sets them apart from regular coordinate noun phrases.

Concord within the noun phrase is based on the binary distinction between absolutive case and all other forms of the head noun. The following modifiers have direct and oblique forms: attributives in –si, some demonstratives (see CH. YY for details), numerals, and adnominal genitives. For attributives and adnominal genitives, the direct/oblique distinction is associated
with the markers –s- and –z- respectively (glossed as ATTR). In demonstratives and numerals, the marking of this distinction is more varied. Consider some examples below, and see also CH. YY [Noun phrase] for more examples and discussion.

(15) **concord in attributive adjectives**
    a. huday-ƛ’-ay-si(-ni) mużmar
        next-SUPER-ABL-ATTR-DEF Friday.prayer.ABS.III
        ‘(the) next Friday prayer’
    b. huday-ƛ’-ay-zo-ni mużmar-ƛ’o
        next-SUPER-ABL-ATTR.OS-DEF Friday.prayer-SUPER.ESS
        ‘at the next Friday prayer’

(16) **concord in adnominal genitives** (GEN1 vs. GEN2)
    Gamuš-yo-z-ä ahozi-z oz-āy is-e-s
    ox-OS-PL.OS-ERG shepherd-GEN2 eye-IN.ABL bull-OS-GEN1
    c’i’yu y-oġ-no.
    shoulder.blade.ABS.II II-pull-PST.NWIT
    ‘The oxen pulled the bull’s shoulder-blade out of the shepherd’s eye.’
    (based on Yizałål hič’č’a ixiw šebi yoł?:10)

(17) **concord in numerals**
    a. oc’ino ŧono saŋat
        ten three hour.ABS.III
        ‘thirteen hours’
    b. oc’ira ŧora saŋat-y-ä
        ten.OS three.OS hour-OS-IN.ESS
        ‘in thirteen hours’

(18) **concord in demonstratives**
    a. yedu gulu
        DEM horse.ABS.III
        ‘this horse’
    b. yiła gulu-ƛ’
        DEM.OS horse-SUPER.ESS
        ‘on this horse’

3. **Agreement within the clause**

3.1. **Agreement is always with the absolutive**

As mentioned above, verbs and agreeing predicative complements (and those adverbs that can show overt agreement) all agree with the absolutive argument—the sole argument of an intransitive verb and the object of a verb with two or more arguments. Any other agreement is
ungrammatical, as is the absence of agreement if an agreement slot is present. Such agreement is therefore never optional. For example:

(19) intransitive verb
   Isi *(y)-ay-s.
   snow.Abs.II II-come-PST.WIT
   ‘It snowed.’

(20) transitive verb
   Uži-z-ä t’ek y-is-si/*b-is-si/*is-si.
   boy-PL.Os-ERG book.Abs.II II-take-PST.WIT/*IPL-take-PST.WIT/take-PST.WIT
   ‘The boys bought a book.’

Predicative adjectives agree with the absolutive argument as well; if the verb that the predicative adjective combines with also has an agreement slot, the verb shows agreement too.

(21) Yedu halt’i b-²eye ānu.
    DEM.nI work.Abs.III III-small be.PRS.NEG
    ‘This work is not light.’

If the predicative complement is expressed by a participle, that participle agrees with the absolutive it selects. Thus, an intransitive participle agrees with the absolutive subject of the clause it is derived from, and a transitive or ditransitive participle agrees with its verb’s absolutive object (see CH. YY [Relative clauses] for details).

(22) a. Nesi-r šebin r-ig r-iy-x.
    DEM.I-LAT thing.Abs.IV IV-well IV-know-PRS
    ‘He is knowledgeable.’ (lit.: knows things well)
    b. [šebin r-ig r-iy-xosi] žek’u
    thing.Abs.IV IV-well IV-know-PRS.PTCP person
    ‘the person who is knowledgeable (knows things well)’

    cat-ERG mouse-PL.Abs.nIPL nIPL-catch-PST.WIT/nIPL-catch-PRS
    ‘The cat caught/catches mice.’
    b. [k’et-ä r-iqā-ru/r-iqir-xosi] awbi
    cat-ERG nIPL-catch-PST.PTCP/nIPL-catch-PRS.PTCP mice
    ‘(the) mice that the cat caught/catches’
    c. [aw-bi r-iqā-ru/r-iqir-xosi] k’et’u
    mouse-PL.Abs.nIPL nIPL-catch-PST.PTCP/nIPL-catch-PRS.PTCP cat
    ‘the cat that caught/catches mice’

If a participial clause, with or without its constituents, appears as a predicative complement, it retains the agreement marking of the corresponding finite verb. For example, in (24) the

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2 In the singular, the absence of agreement can be construed as marking gender I, whose agreement marker is null.
predicate is *riyxosi oqsi*. The corresponding verb AGR-*oq-* agrees with the absolutive subject ‘this student’ in gender I, but the participle maintains the agreement form determined by the corresponding finite clause in (22b): 3

(24) Ža c’alduqan r-ig r-iyxosi Ø-oq-si.
    DEM student.ABS.(I) IV-well IV-know-PRS.PTCP I-become-PST.WIT
    ‘This (male) student became very knowledgeable.’

Likewise, the following statement about a cat’s hunting talents includes a participle that continues to agree with the absolutive denoting mice, even though this noun phrase is not actually present:

(25) Elu-s k’et’u r-iqir-xosi/b-iqir-xosi änu.
    1PL-GEN1 cat.ABS.III nIPL-catch-PRS.PTCP/III-catch-PRS.PTCP be.PRS.NEG
    ‘Our cat does not catch mice.’ (lit.: is not catching)

Verbs of motion often combine with converbs forming complex predicate structures; if all the constituents of such a complex verbal structures have an agreement slot, agreement appears multiple times. For example, in (26), we find two such complex verbal structures. The predicate of the embedded converbal clause *k’oš’in* takes the agreeing converb *bet’un*, and the main predicate *boxis* (itself an agreeing one) combines with the agreeing manner converb *bizin*:

(26) Boc’i b-et’u-n k’oši-n b-izi-n b-oxi-s
    wolf.ABS.III III-jump-PFV.CVB run-PFV.CVB III-rise-PFV.CVB III-run-PST.WIT
    el-äy.
    there-ABL
    ‘The wolf jumped quickly and ran away.’ (lit.: having jumped running rising ran) (based on K’et’un zirun:28)

In complex verbs consisting of a noun and a light verb, the light verb always agrees with that noun. If the light verb is intransitive, the noun takes the position of the sole absolutive argument: consider *xot’o bič-* in (27), *ro’ku rik’-* in (28), or *roʎ’i boq-* in (29):

(27) Dey q’eca-l xot’o b-ič-x.
    1SG.GEN1 mud-CONT.ESS foot.ABS.III III-stay-PRS
    ‘I stepped in the mud.’ (lit.: my foot stays in dirt)

(28) Eniw-s rok’u q’idar r-ik’i-n.
    mother-GEN1 heart.ABS.IV down IV-go-PST.PWT
    ‘Mother calmed down.’ (lit.: Mother’s heart went downward)

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3 The object of ‘know’ can appear in any gender, so the agreement on –*iyxosi* could vary. However, when ‘know’ is used generically as in (24), the presupposed object is taken to be gender IV, the gender of abstract nouns. In (25), the presupposed object can either be gender nIPL (any animals the cat could catch) or gender III (any singular animal the cat could catch).
(29) Babiw-s b-oq-ä... mesed-yo-z t’akan-yo-qo-r
father-GEN III-become-PST.WIT.INTERR gold-OS-GEN2 glass-OS-POSS-LAT
roŋ’i?
love.ABS.III
‘Did the father fall in love with a glass filled with gold?’ (Besurozaqu:66)
(lit.: did the father’s love with a glass filled with gold happen?)

If the light verb is transitive, the noun takes the position of its absolutive object, as ʕumru bod- in (30), or huni ric- in (31). See CH. YY [Basic clause types] and CH. YY [verb derivation] for details.

(30) El-ä b-ig ʕumru b-oy-x.
1PL-ERG III-well life.ABS.III III-do-PRS
‘We live well.’ (lit.: we do life well)

(31) Žek’u-z žek’u-za-l-or huni r-ic-o!
person-GEN2 person-PL.OS-CONT-LAT road.ABS.IV IV-tie-IMPER
‘Watch after (the) strangers.’ (lit.: tie the road…)

In the biabsolutive construction without the resultative participle, the converb always agrees with the patient absolutive:

(32) a. Kid ʕak’o b-oy-x zow-s.
girl.ABS.II xinkal.ABS.III III-do-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT
‘The girl was making dumplings.’

In the biabsolutive construction with the resultative participle AGR-ičäsi (see CH. YY [Basic clause types]), that participle always agrees with the agent absolutive; the converb agrees with the patient absolutive. No other agreement options are available:

(33) a. Kid ʕak’o b-oy-x y-ič-äsi yoł.
girl.ABS.II xinkal.ABS.III III-do-IPFV.CVB II-stay-RES.PTCP AUX.PRS
‘The girl is busy making dumplings.’

3.2. Resolved vs. closest conjunct agreement

If a coordinate noun phrase appears in the absolutive position, there are two agreement options: resolved agreement (agreement with the entire noun phrase) or agreement with only one of the conjuncts (closest conjunct agreement). Resolved agreement is illustrated for English in the (a) examples below; closest conjunct agreement, where the verb agrees only with the conjunct that is next to it, is shown in the (b) examples.
(34) a. A Scotsman, an Englishman and an Irishman are sitting in a bar in New York…
b. A Scotsman, an Englishman and an Irishman is sitting in a bar in New York…

(35) a. There are a philosopher and a linguist in the room.
b. There is a philosopher and a linguist in the room.

Tsez has both patterns of agreement. When two or more nouns are joined within a coordinate
noun phrase, resolved agreement follows the rules outlined for adjectival agreement with
coordinated nouns in (2a, b): if at least one noun belongs to gender I, gender agreement is in IPL;
otherwise, gender agreement is in nIPL.

The following examples illustrate these principles in verbal resolved agreement; they also show
that the order of nouns inside the coordination, and the order of the agreeing element and the
noun phrase, do not play a role in resolved agreement:

(36) a. Uži-n kid-no b-ik’i-s.
    boy.ABS.I-and girl.ABS.II-and IPL-go-PST.WIT
    ‘A boy and a girl left.’
b. B-ik’i-s k’et’u-n uži-n.
    IPL-go-PST.WIT cat.ABS.III-and boy.ABS.I-and
    ‘A cat and a boy left.’

(37) a. Kid-no ayi-n rorżizi r-oq-si.
    girl.ABS.II-and bird.ABS.III-and flying nIPL-become-PST.WIT
    ‘A girl and a bird flew.’
b. Q’edar r-ˤaƛ’i-s q’abi-n saʕat-no.
    downward nIPL-fall-PST.WIT tray.ABS.IV-and clock.ABS.III-and
    ‘A tray and a clock fell down.’

Nouns conjoined with ‘or’ can also determine plural agreement, as shown below. This contrasts
with the facts on adjectival agreement with such nouns (see section 2 above).

(38) Ya q’ec ya isi r-oŋ-o.
    or dirt.ABS.IV or snow.ABS.II nIPL-pull-IMPER
    ‘Clean up either the dirt or the snow.’

(39) Ya gulu ya mašina r-eger-xo nes-ä.
    or horse.ABS.III or car.ABS.III nIPL-send-PRS DEM.I-ERG
    ‘He is sending either a horse or a car.’

Under closest conjunct agreement, the verb agrees with the coordinate noun phrase that is closest
to it. Since an agreeing verb can either precede or follow the noun phrase it agrees with, the
choice of closest conjunct is determined by the relative position of the verb and the noun phrase.
Compare the following examples:

(40) a. Ya uži ya kid y-eger-xo nes-ä.
    or boy.ABS.I or girl.ABS.II II-send-PRS DEM.I-ERG
    DEM.I-ERG I-send-PRS or boy.ABS.I or girl.ABS.II
‘He is sending either a son or a daughter.’

(41)  
(a) Baša-n k’icu-n y-oł-xo.
      finger.ABS.III-and tooth.ABS.II-and III-hurt-PRS
(b) B-oł-xo baša-n k’icu-n.
      III-hurt-PRS finger.ABS.III-and tooth.ABS.II-and

‘A finger and a tooth hurt.’

Closest conjunct agreement is quite frequent in texts and spontaneous speech. Consider some text examples:

(42) Xalq’i-n ʕaƛ-no b-ukay-nosi…
    people.ABS.III-and village.ABS.III-and III-see-ANT.CVB
    ‘When they saw the people and the village…’ (Č’ikayn, murin, hižun:29)

(43) Mesed-yo-s sah-no t’as-no reł’iqoy-n
    gold-OS-GEN1 measure.ABS.IV-and washbasin.ABS.III-and glove.ABS.IV-and
    pandur-no b-oγ-no xan-ez kid-be-q-äy.
    lute.ABS.III-and III-pull-PST.WIT king-GEN2 girl-OS-POSS-ABL
    ‘He took away from the king’s daughter, the measure of gold, the washbasin, the glove,
    and the lute.’ (Xanes łˤono užin, sis kidno:97)

Closest conjunct agreement is possible only under adjacency; it becomes impossible if the agreeing constituent and the absolutive noun phrase are separated by intervening material (see also Benmamoun et al. 2009 for further discussion). Even compound verbs present an obstacle to closest conjunct agreement: compare (37a) above and its unacceptable counterpart below:

(44) *Kid-no aγi-n roržizi b-oq-si.
    girl.ABS.II-and bird.ABS.III-and flying III-become-PST.WIT
    (‘A girl and a bird flew.’)

When asked to adjudicate instances of closest conjunct agreement, speakers’ judgments vary; sometimes the same example receives a positive and a negative assessment on different days. Even minor lexical changes in an example may sway judgments. Meanwhile, resolved agreement is always judged acceptable, although closest conjunct agreement is preferred over resolved agreement with disjunctive phrases such as (40). Overall, Tsez judgments on closest conjunct agreement are reminiscent of the judgments of English respondents queried by Green (1984) on sentences such as (34b) or (35b) above—except that we did not have the luxury of consulting nineteen Tsez speakers.

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4 Although both nouns are gender III, the resolved agreement would have been nIPL.

5 Green writes: “[N]o two of [19 consultants] accepted exactly the same set of sentences, … vacillating from moment to moment or day to day about whether certain examples were acceptable or not” (Green 1984: 29).
Finally, closest conjunct agreement is never observed with paratactically conjoined compound nouns such as those shown in examples (8) through (14) above. For instance, in the example below, the verb has to agree with the compound noun hal-ruh in gender nIPL. Only one pattern of agreement is possible despite the adjacency of the noun and the verb:

(45) Nesi-l-er hal-ruh
    DEM.I-CONT-LAT [health.ABS.III-strength.ABS.III].nIPL
    r-ay-ä/*b-ay-ä?
    nIPL-come-PST.INTERR/III-come-PST.INTERR
    ‘Did his might come back to him?’

3.3. Concord in specificational copular clauses

The subject position of a specificational copular clause is filled by a headless relative,6 and the predicate consists of the copula and its predicative complement, which can be expressed by a number of categories. If the predicative complement is a noun, it shows case concord with the presupposed head of the headless relative.

We will first illustrate this concord for a headless relative with an intransitive predicate. Consider the following baseline sentence:

(46) Debi uži žek’u-z žek’u-qo-r xabaryay-s.
    2SG.GEN1 boy.ABS.I person-GEN2 person-POSS-LAT speak-PST.WIT
    ‘Your son was talking to a stranger.’ (lit.: to a person’s person)

Two headless relatives can be formed from (46), one denoting the person doing the speaking (47a), and one denoting the person spoken to (47b). In both cases, the wh-word inside the headless relative clause, namely, the absolutive šebi or the poss-lative luqor, can be omitted:

(47) a. (šebi) žek’u-z žek’u-qo-r xabaryay-ä-si
    who.ABS person-GEN2 person-POSS-LAT speak-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘(one) who was talking to a stranger’

b. (lu-qo-r) debi uži xabaryay-ä-si
    who-POSS-LAT 2SG.GEN1 boy.ABS.I speak-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    ‘(one) whom your son was talking to’

When such a headless relative clause appears as the subject of a specificational copular clause, the predicative complement must match the case of the gap/wh-word. In (48a), the gap corresponds to the absolutive noun phrase (the wh-word šebi), and the predicative nominal must be in the absolutive as well. In (48b), the wh-word is in the poss-lative (the gap corresponds to a poss-lative nominal), and the predicative nominal must appear in that form and no other:

6 See CH. YY[RC] for more on headless relatives, and CH.YY [Binding] for connectivity effects in reflexives associated with headless relatives.
The same case matching holds regardless of the transitivity of the headless relative clause; compare the following examples, where (49) is the baseline sentence:

(49) Eni-y-ä bazar-y-äy kunta b-is-si.
    mother-OS-ERG market-OS-IN.ABL dress.ABS.III III-take-PST.WIT
    ‘Mother bought a dress at the market (lit.: from the market).’

In the copular clauses below, the predicative complement again matches the case of the wh-word/gap in the headless relative:

(50) a. [(lu) bazar-y-äy kunta b-is-ä-si]
    who-ERG market-OS-IN.ABL dress.ABS.III III-take-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    dä-z eni-y-ä/*eniw (yol).
    1SG-GEN2 mother-OS-ERG/mother.ABS be.PRS
    ‘It is my mother who bought a dress at the market.’

b. [(šebi) eni-y-ä bazar-y-äy b-is-ä-si]
    what.ABS.(III) mother-OS-ERG market-OS-IN.ABL III-take-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR
    bercinaw kunta (yol).
    beautiful dress.ABS.III be.PRS
    ‘It is a beautiful dress that mother bought at the market.’

The examples in (50) point to another property of agreement in copular clauses: if the referent of the absolutive is known or presupposed, the verb in the headless relative agrees with the corresponding noun phrase in gender. The wh-word šebi does not have a fixed gender; its gender is assigned based on the context or the lexical properties of the verb it pairs with. For example, when šebi occurs with the verbs of motion AGR-ay or AGR-ik’-i, it is assumed to reflect an animate noun; in this case, it can occur in gender I, II, or III, but not IV, in the singular. When its verbal context suggests that šebi is reflecting an inanimate noun with unspecified gender, šebi appears in gender IV. However, in (50b), the verbal form b-isäsi shows agreement in gender III, matching the gender of the word ‘dress’. Similarly, in the following example, the predicative nominal has to be in gender II because the predicate of the headless relative, the participle y-ičixosi, agrees with a gender II noun:
Accordingly, in (52), the presupposed predicative nominal is either gender I plural or gender III singular:

(52) a. [(Šebi) zarema-r b-et-ä-si]  
   whoABS.(IPL) Zarema-LAT IPL-like-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR  
   Šali-n pat’i-n yoł.  
   Ali.ABS.I-and Fatima.ABS.II-and be.PRS  
   ‘It was Ali and Fatima who/that Zarema liked.’

b. [(Šebi) zarema-r b-et-ä-si]  
   what.ABS.(III) Zarema-LAT III-like-PST.WIT.INTERR-ATTR  
   elu-s sayyat yoł.  
   1PL-GEN.I gift.ABS.III be.PRS  
   ‘It was our gift that Zarema liked.’

4. Agreement under restructuring

The agreeing restructuring verbs are: the modal AGR-ay- ‘must’; the modal AGR-äsu- ‘may’; the verb AGR-oq- in the modal meaning ‘can, be able to’ (co-occurring with a converb), and complex modals formed with this verb; the verb AGR-ič- in the meaning ‘continue’; the verb AGR-et- in the meaning ‘want’; and the specialized use of the verb AGR-esu- ‘appear’ in conditionals. For details on the use of restructuring verbs, see CH. YY [Complement clauses]. These verbs obligatorily agree with the absolutive argument they share with the lower verb in the complex predicate structure. No other agreement is possible.

Consider the examples below. In (53), the modal AGR-äy is part of the complex predicate with a transitive infinitive, and in (54), the same modal forms a complex predicate with an intransitive verb. In both examples, the agreement is uniformly with the absolutive.

(53) Xalq-em-ä  žuka šebin eλ-a r-äy-inč’i.  
   people-OS-ERG bad thing.ABS.IV say-INF IV-must-NEG  
   ‘People should not (lit.: must not) say bad things.’

(54) Ža debi reλ’iqoy bat’iyaw-tow-ä r-ič-a r-ay-x?  
   DEM 2SG.GEN.I glove.ABS.IV different-FOC-INTERR IV-stay-INF IV-must-PRS  
   ‘That glove of yours must be really special, mustn’t it?’ (Xanes łono užin, sis kidno:30)

In (55), the verb AGR-oq- as ‘can’ also forms a complex predicate with a transitive verb, showing appropriate agreement, with the absolutive.

7 It does not matter whether or not the lower verb itself shows agreement.
(55) Neša k’et’-ā aw b-iqir-xo b-oq-n-ānu.  
DEM.nI.OBL cat-ERG mouse.ABS.III III-get-IPFV.CVB III-can-PST.nWIT-NEG  
‘That cat could not catch a mouse.’

In the following examples, the modal ‘may’ forms complex predicates with different types of verbs but the agreement is invariably with the absolutive argument:

(56) Irbahine-e-r yedu halt’i b-et-a b-āsu.  
Ibrahim-OS-LAT DEM work.ABS.III III-like-INF III-may  
‘Ibrahim may like this work.’

(57) Nesa c’alduqan-qo tetrād  
DEM.I.OBL student-POSS.ESS notebook.ABS.II  
gug-a/gugi-n y-āsu-nč’i.  
disappear-INF/disappear-PFV.CVB II-may-NEG  
‘This student may not lose a notebook.’ (lit. It may not be that a notebook disappears on this student)

Several of these restructuring verbs can also function as verbs that take a genuine clausal complement, forming a biclausal construction, and since the meaning differences between these constructions may be very subtle, agreement becomes one of crucial diagnostics for differentiating between a biclausal structure and a restructuring clause. The details of biclausal structures are presented in CH. YY [Complement clauses].

5. Long-distance agreement

5.1. The phenomenon

Long-distance agreement (often appearing under the abbreviation LDA in the literature) arises when the absolutive argument in an embedded clause, which is itself in the absolutive argument position, determines agreement on the predicate of the clause immediately above it. For example, in (58), the matrix verb AGR-ukad- ‘see’ agrees with the absolutive noun phrase elus yʷay ‘our dog’ contained in the embedded nominalized clause (that clause is shown in brackets):

(58) Dā-r [elu-s yʷay k’et’u-za-ł xizay k’āli-ru-li]  
1SG-LAT 1PL-GENI dog-ABS.III cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ  
b-ukay-s.  
III-see-PST.WIT  
‘I saw how our dog was chasing cats.’ (lit.: ran behind cats)

In (59), the verbal part of the compound verb ‘remember’ (lit. ‘come upon heart’) agrees with the absolutive of the embedded clause, pat’i, in gender II:

(59) Nesi-r rok’-ƛ’o-r y-ay-n [nāzon

8 This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as “transparent agreement” (see Corbett 2006:65).
As these preliminary examples show, long-distance agreement is possible regardless of the position of the complement clause in relation to the agreeing verb; in (58) the verb follows the clausal complement, and in (59), it precedes it.

Long-distance agreement alternates with a pattern where the verb agrees with the entire complement clause in gender IV (clauses, as derived abstract nouns, are always gender IV); compare the agreement pattern in (58) with the one in (60), and the pattern in (59) with the one in (61). Below, we will be referring to the latter pattern as “properly local agreement”.

(60) Dä-r [elu-s ɣֹwٌay k’èt’u-za-l xizay]
1SG-LAT [1PL-GEN1 dog-ABS.III cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’äli-ru-li] r-ukay-s.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV IV-see-PST.WIT
‘I saw that our dog was chasing cats.’/ ‘I saw our dog chase/chasing cats.’

(61) Nesi-r rok’-λ’o-r r-ay-n [näzon]
DEM.I-LAT heart-SUPER-LAT IV-come-PST.nWIT [all.OS
c’alduqan-za-λ’äy pat’i hič’č’a ‘aq’luyaw
student-PL.OS-SUPER-ABL Fatima.ABS.II most clever
yäli-ru-li]
be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV
‘He remembered that Fatima was the smartest among the students.’

The choice between the two agreement patterns is determined by information-structural considerations, which we discuss in section 5.3 below.

Generally, long-distance agreement takes some effort to spot because several conspiring factors may obscure it. First, only some Tsez verbs show agreement overtly anyway. Next, since long-distance agreement alternates with properly local agreement (as shown in (60) and (61)) the difference between the two cannot be observed if the embedded absolutive is also gender IV or nIPL. Finally, long-distance agreement is only possible if the clausal complement is a nominalization in –li; as we show in (66), verbs that take complements with quotative -λín never show long-distance agreement (and verbs that take infinitival complements show agreement under restructuring, as discussed in section 4). Taking all these restrictions into consideration, we find that the following predicates can participate in long-distance agreement when they take a nominalized clausal complement:

(62) a. AGR-iy-
‘know’

b. AGR-ukad-
The number of long-distance-agreeing predicates can be increased by adding their causative counterparts: AGR-iyr- ‘let s.o. know, make known’ (causative of (62a)), AGR-ukar- ‘show’ (causative of (62b)), bičzi AGR-od- ‘make clear; explain’ (causative of (62d)), and so on.

5.2. Structure conditions on long-distance agreement

Long-distance agreement is only possible if the clausal complement is itself in the absolutive argument position. For example, in (63), the clausal complement appears in an oblique form and long-distance agreement is impossible:

(63) Nesi-r [yedu t’ek t’et’ä-ru-[li]-r
DEM.I-LAT DEM book.ABS.II read.PRS-PST.PTCP-[NMLZ]-LAT
kumak b-od-o/*y-od-o.
help.ABS.III III-do-IMPER/IPl-do-IMPER
‘Help him with the reading of this book.’

In (64), the absolutive noun phrase eli also appears in an adjunct clause and the main clause already has an absolutive subject eniw. The lower absolutive cannot compete because it is inside the clause, which is not in the absolutive position:

(64) Eniw [mi eli b-äx.’ä-ru-[li]-]k
mother.ABS.II 2SG.ERG IPl.ABS.IPl IPl-deceive-PST.PTCP-[NMLZ]-SUPER.ESS
hayran y-oq-si/*b-oq-si.
surprised II-become-PST.WIT/IPl-become-PST.WIT
‘Mother was surprised that you deceived us.’ (lit.: at your deceiving us)

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9 When clausal nominalizations appear in cases other than the absolutive, the nominalizer –li is not present. The verb stays in the perfective participle form, indicating nominalization. For such instances, we show the morpheme –li and the corresponding gloss NMLZ in brackets.
In the next example, the candidate absolutive noun phrase ƛirba appears in an adjunct clause and long-distance agreement is again impossible. (Note that, crucially, šida 'why' is the matrix question-word, and not part of the periphery of the embedded clause.)

(65) ƛirba debe-r Ø-esu-näy šida mi r-iy-r-inč’u/*Ø-iy-r-inč’u?
IV-know-CAUS-PST.WIT.NEG/1-know-CAUS-PST.WIT.NEG
‘If you noticed the guest why did you not make that known?’

Long-distance agreement is only possible if the clausal complement is a nominalization in –li. Verbs that take infinitival complements show agreement under restructuring (see CH.clausal compl), and verbs that take complements with the quotative -ƛin never show long-distance agreement. Compare (59), and (66):

(66) Nesi-r rok’-ƛ’o-r r-ay-n/*y-ay-n
dem.I-LAT heart-SUPER-LAT IV-come-PST.NWIT/II-come-PST.NWIT
[näzon c’aldoqan-za-ƛ’äy pat’i hič’č’a ɪaq’luyaw
[all.os student-PL.OS-SUPER-ABL Fatima.ABS.II most clever
yol]-ƛ.in.
be.PRS-QUOT].ABS.IV
‘He remembered that Fatima was the smartest among the students.’

If several clauses are embedded one under another, long-distance agreement cannot take place through more than one clause; in other words, long-distance agreement is clause-bounded. This is not the only instance where Tsez syntax shows a strong insistence on clause-boundedness; wh-movement is also clause-bounded, as shown by the data from embedded interrogatives (see Ch. YY “Interrogatives” and see also Polinsky and Potsdam 2001:599-600, for a discussion).

(67) *[ [Elu-s ɣwˤay k’et’u-za-ł xizay
[1PL-GEN dog-ABS.III cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’äli-ru-ńi] dä-r b-äci-ru-ńi] debe-r b-iy-x.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV 1SG-LAT III-dislike-PST.PTCP-NMLZ 2SG-LAT III-know-PRS
‘You know that I can’t stand that our dog chases cats.’

Next, if several clauses are embedded one under another long-distance agreement cannot skip an intervening clause and be registered only on a higher verb. ¹⁰

(68) *[ [Elu-s ɣwˤay k’et’u-za-ł xizay
[1PL-GEN dog-ABS.III cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’äli-ru-ńi] dä-r r-äci-ru-ńi] debe-r b-iy-x.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV 1SG-LAT IV-dislike-PST.PTCP-NMLZ 2SG-LAT III-know-PRS

¹⁰ Of course, properly local agreement on both embedding verbs, AGR-ac- and AGR-iy-, is fully acceptable.
‘(You know that I can’t stand that our dog chases cats.)’

This unusual pattern of agreement raises the question of whether the agreed-with noun phrase is actually present in the same clause as the agreeing verb. To represent this schematically, one could imagine that the actual absolute noun phrase was in the clause above the clausal complement, not inside the clausal complement. This structure is shown in (69), with the English translation illustrating a similar type of construction (where our dog is a complement of see):

(69) Dä-r elu-s Ꙫwɔy [k’et’u-za-l ꙳ixay
1SG-LAT 1PL-GEN1 dog-ABS.III [cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’äli-ru-li] b-uķay-s.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV III-see-PST.WIT
‘I saw our dog [chasing cats].’

One of the considerations against (69) has to do with the numerous instances in which the absolutive noun phrase is separated from the agreeing higher verb and found in the middle of the embedded clause, as for example in (61). In no other instances are Tsez clausal complements discontinuous, so proposing a discontinuity under long-distance agreement is unmotivated.

Another analytical possibility is prolepsis: the appearance of a proleptic or “prothetic” pronoun, which anticipates the actual DP that the verb seems to agree with; in such a structure, the agreement is actually with the proleptic pronoun. On one implementation of this proposal, the silent anticipatory pronoun occurs in the matrix (higher) clause and is simply coreferential with the absolute noun phrase in the lower clause, as shown in the following representation:

(70) Dā-r pro/*ža [elu-s ꙳wɔy ꙳i k’et’u-za-l ꙳ixay
1SG-LAT DEM.ABS [1PL-GEN1 dog-ABS.III cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’äli-ru-li] b-uķay-s.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ].ABS.IV III-see-PST.WIT
‘I saw our dog [chasing cats].’ (lit.: “I saw of iti that our dogi was chasing cats.”)

Prolepsis is attested across a number of languages, see Frantz (1978; 1980) for proleptic agreement in Blackfoot (Algonquian), and see Branigan and MacKenzie (2002) for arguments against prolepsis in another Algonquian language, Innu-aimûn. See also Polinsky (2003) and Davies (2005) for a more general discussion of prolepsis and further references.

A consideration against prolepsis is the fact that the hypothetical null pronoun or demonstrative in the higher clause can never be overt, as we show in (70). Noun phrase omission is very common in Tsez, but in all other cases, the missing constituent can be overtly represented, so the absence of an overt form in (70) would be mysterious on a prolepsis analysis.

An additional consideration against both (69) and (70) comes from observations of quantifier scope and scope of numerical phrases. If the agreed-with absolute noun phrase were indeed in the same clause as the higher agreeing verb, then we would expect that the agreed-with absolute noun phrase could interact with other constituents in that clause; in particular, it should be able to take scope over these constituents, leading to ambiguities in meaning.
Independent evidence shows that Tsez has both surface and inverse quantifier scope. Consider the ambiguity in (71), which permits two interpretations: a single girl was carrying all the balloons (a/one > every), or for each balloon, there was a girl carrying it (every > a/one). Such scopal ambiguity is very similar to what is observed in the English equivalent of (71).

(71) Sida ŋid-b-ä šibaw šar b-ow-xo zow-s.
one.OS girl-OS-ERG every balloon.ABS.III III-carry-IPFV.CVB AUX-PST.WIT
‘One/A girl was carrying every balloon.’ (a/one > every; every > a/one)

However, the absolutive noun phrase that induces long-distance agreement does not interact scopally with constituents of the higher clause. If that absolutive noun phrase were present in the higher clause we would expect the same ambiguity we see in (71). But the example in (72) is unambiguous; it can only be interpreted to mean that a single person saw the demise of ten balloons. This is unexpected if the noun phrase oc’ino šar is in the same clause as sida žek’ur, but is consistent with the conception that these two noun phrases are in different clauses. We conclude that long-distance agreement occurs across a clausal boundary.

(72) Sida žek’a-r [oc’ino šar pâäl-ru-li]
one.OS person-LAT ten balloon.ABS.III burst-PST.PTCP-NMLZ b-ukay-s.
III-see-PST.WIT
‘Someone saw how ten balloons burst.’ (someone > ten; *ten > someone)

The final structural condition on long-distance agreement has to do with locality. Although the agreed-with absolutive noun phrase and the agreeing verb are in different clauses, they have to be structurally close to each other, and cannot be separated by intervening material that blocks long-distance agreement. Such intervening material includes complementizers like -ƛin (recall example (66) above, which showed that long-distance agreement is impossible across –ƛin) or wh-words, which are structurally higher than topics (see Polinsky and Potsdam 2001 for a detailed structural analysis). For example, only properly local agreement is possible in (73) and (74), where the wh-words ‘who’ and ‘where’ intervene to block the agreement between the embedded absolutive and the higher verb.

(73) Eniwa-r [lu sult’an gâl-ru-li]
mother-LAT who.ERG Sultan.ABS.I call-PST.PTCP-NMLZ r-iy-s/*Ø-iy-s
IV-know-PST.WIT/I-know-PST.WIT
‘Mother knew who had called Sultan.’

(74) Dâ-r r-iy-x-änu/*y-iy-x-änu [na-z-äy]
1SG-LAT IV-know-PRS-NEG/II-know-PRS-NEG where-OS-IN.ABL yedu kid y-äy-ru-li.
DEM.nl girl.ABS.II II-come-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
‘I don’t know where this girl comes from.’

Long-distance agreement as a syntactic phenomenon has generated quite a bit of interest in the literature; for various syntactic analyses, see Polinsky (2000), Polinsky and Potsdam (2001).
Genuine cross-clausal long-distance agreement has been observed in Algonquian languages (see Bruening 2001 for Passamaquoddy; Branigan and MacKenzie 2002 for Innu-aimûn; Lochbiler 2012 for Ojibwe), possibly in Greek and Romanian (Alexiadou et al. 2012), and in at least some other Nakh-Dagestanian languages (see Forker 2013: 628-638 for long-distance agreement in Hinuq; Khalilova 2009: 383-390 for long-distance agreement in Khorwash, and van den Berg 1995: 190, 211, 240 for Hunzib examples). In these languages, the agreed-with embedded argument is interpreted as a discourse topic, as a contrastive constituent, or both. Care should be taken, however, to distinguish between long-distance agreement that takes place across a clause boundary, as in Tsez, and agreement that operates over several verbal constituents which form a complex verb phrase (as under restructuring, which was discussed in section 4 above); see Polinsky (2003) for further discussion.

5.3. The choice between two agreement patterns

The choice between long-distance agreement and properly local agreement is determined by the information-structural status of the absolutive noun phrase that triggers agreement. In Tsez, long-distance agreement occurs when the absolutive noun phrase is identified as having topic properties. A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition “if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent; ... a constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent” (Lambrecht 1994: 131). Establishing topic and focus interpretations requires relying on the context in which an utterance is used, which is why some examples with and without long-distance agreement may seem unclear out of context. Particularly telling with respect to Tsez long-distance agreement are those expressions that cannot induce such agreement. They fall consistently into the class of phrases that cannot be interpreted as topics.

In particular, noun phrases denoting non-specific referents cannot be topics. Dedicated non-topics include quantified expressions, expressions in the form ‘such a …’, and noun phrases whose reference depends on an antecedent (reflexives). Noun phrases from these categories can never determine long-distance agreement in Tsez. In (75), the embedded absolutive is the understood negative polarity item; in (76), it is the weakly quantified expression ‘many people’, which can be interpreted as an existential phrase; in (77), it is the noun phrase ‘such a dress’; and in (78), it is a compound reflexive.

(75) Dā-r r-iy-x/*Ø-iy-x [mi taraw tel-xor pro
1SG.DAT IV-know-PRS/I-know-PRS 2SG.ABS except inside-VERS ABS.I Ø-āq-inč’i-ru-li].
i-become-NEG-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
Ø-āq-er-Ø-p-Ø-i-l].
I know that nobody except you came in.’

(76) Dā-r r-iy-x/*b-iy-x [b-ʔaq’u-si xalq’i
1SG.DAT IV-know-PRS/IPL-know-PRS IPL-many-ATTR people.ABS.IPL
samolyot-λo zow-ani-q b-ʔāł-ru-li.
plane-SUPER.ESS climb-MSD-POSS.ESS IPL-fear-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
‘I know that many people are afraid to fly.’

(77) Dā-r [nel-ä nesiw kunta y-is-a y-äy-ru-li]
1SG-LAT DEM.II-ERG such dress.ABS.II III-take-INF III-must-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
riy-x/*iy-x.
IV-know-PRS/II-know-PRS
‘I know that she must buy such a dress.’

(78) Da-r [nel-ä nelä ža yägi-ru-li] r iy-x/
1SG-LAT DEM.nl-ERG REFL.nl.ABS II-send-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PRS
*y-iy-x.
II-know-PRS
‘I know that she sent herself.’

Existential pivots likewise fail to induce long-distance agreement:

(79) Da-r [eniq micxiū yäl-ru-li] r iy-x/
1SG-LAT mother-POSS.ESS money.ABSS.III be-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PRS
*b iy-x.
III-know-PRS
‘I know that Mother has money.’ (lit.: I know that there is money on Mother)

Topic and focus are normally mutually exclusive (although see some additional considerations below), and absolutive noun phrases explicitly marked for focus (with the focus particles –kin or –tow)\(^1\) cannot induce long-distance agreement. Compare example (58) above and the following sentence where ‘dog’ is in focus:

(80) Da-r [elu-s ḡwāy-kin/ḡwāy-tow k’et’u-za-l xizay
1SG-LAT 1PL-GEN dog-ABS.III-FOC/dog-ABS.III-FOC cat-PL.OS-CONT.ESS behind
k’āthi-ru-li] r-ukay-s/*b-ukay-s.
run-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-see-PST.WIT/I1-see-PST.WIT
‘I saw that it was our dog that was chasing cats.’

Generic sentences are often characterized as lacking a topic, and indeed, if a genuine generic clause is embedded under one of the long-distance-agreement-taking verbs, only local agreement is possible. For example, in (81a) we find an embedded generic statement, whereas (81b) is interpreted as a comment on certain properties of the earth, and is judged odd:

(81) a. Nāzon r iy-x [dunyal buq-qo şet’u
all.OS IV-know-PRS earth.ABSS.III sun-POSS.ESS around
b-ātī-ru-li].
III-turn-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
‘Everybody knows that the earth rotates around the sun.’

b. #Nāzon b iy-x [dunyal buq-qo şet’u
all.OS III-know-PRS earth.ABSS.III sun-POSS.ESS around
b-ātī-ru-li].
III-turn-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
‘As for the earth, everybody knows that it rotates around the sun.’

\(^1\) For details on the use of these particles, see Ch. YY[Particles].
Now that we have identified the expressions that are unable to determine long-distance agreement, let us consider the eligible absolutes. Three groups of expressions are permitted under long-distance agreement: topics proper, contrastive topics, and discourse-linked wh-words. In the following excerpt, the camel is an established topic and the matrix clause shows long-distance agreement with the inferential topic (“its right leg”), represented by the absolute argument _nelas kut’yos k’önč’u_; this constituent is the main topic in its clause (“its right leg is limping”), embedded under AGR-iy- ‘know’:

(82) Debe-r ža humukuli b-ukay-n b-esu-nč’i-näy
   2SG-LAT DEM camel.ABS.III III-see-PVF.CVB III-appear-NEG-COND.CVB
   na-z-äy debe-r neša-s kut’yos k’önč’u
   where-OS-IN.ABL 2SG-LAT DEM.nI-GEN1 right leg.ABS.II
   šiq’ono yäl-ru-hi y-iy-x?
   limping be.PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ II-know-PRS
   ‘Assuming you have not seen that camel, how (lit.: from where) do you know that its right leg is limping?’ (Xanno, nesisgon ŋono užin:88)

In the same text, as the protagonists are discussing the aforementioned camel (which they have not seen but can describe based on the traces the camel left), that camel is clearly a topic, and the demonstrative _ža_ associated with it in the example below determines long-distance agreement on the converb:

(83) [Ža nediw yäl-ru] mi b-iy-r-zał’…
   DEM.ABS(.III) such be.PRS-PST.PTCP 2SG.ERG III-know-CAUS-because
   ‘Since you learned what it [the camel] is …’ (Xanno, nesisgon ŋono užin:19)

While main clause topics are normally marked with the enclitic –n(o), the presence of that enclitic on the embedded absolute noun phrase under long-distance agreement is judged redundant. This suggests that –n(o) and long-distance agreement serve the same function. Compare the root clause with a no-marked topic in (84a) and the same clause under embedding in (84b):

(84) a. Nes-ä eniw-n goł.’i-s.
   DEM.I-ERG mother.ABS.II-TOP call-PST.WIT
   ‘Mother, he called.’

b. Debe-r [nes-ä eniw(-n) gäl.’i-ru-li]
   2SG-LAT DEM.I-ERG mother.ABS.II-TOP call-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
   y-iy-ä?
   II-know-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Speaking of Mother, did you know that he called her?’

A contrastive topic is a special subtype of topic, which not only identifies the referent that the sentence is “about”, but also instructs the listener to construct a contrast set and then select an item out of that set (see further discussion in CH. YY [Particles]). Such topics, often explicitly compared with other members of the contrast set, also permit long-distance agreement. For
example, in (59), which is repeated below, Fatima can be construed as the referent selected out of the contrast set ‘all students’.

(85) Nesi-r rok’-ƛ’o-r y-ay-n [nāzon DEM.I-LAT heart-SUPER-LAT II-come-PST.nWIT [all.OS c’ālduqan-za-ƛ’āy pat’i hič’č’a ṣa’q’luyaw student-PL.OS-SUPER-ABL Fatima.ABS.II most clever yāl-ru-li]. be_PRS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ.ABS.IV
‘He remembered that FATIMA was the smartest among the students.’

Contrastive topics in Tsez are often marked with the enclitic –gon, and if an absolutive nominal with that enclitic appears in a clausal complement, long-distance agreement is necessary. Consider the following:12

‘I will find out that the YOUNGER BROTHER has gone (there).’

Contrastive sets also play a role in the interpretation of discourse-linked phrases (including wh-words). It is possible to draw a distinction between discourse-linked interrogatives like which person (which implies the existence of a set of people from which one needs to make a choice) and regular (non-discourse linked) interrogatives such as who, which do not carry such an implication (see Pesetsky 1987 and much subsequent literature on this distinction; see also our discussion in CH. YY [Interrogatives]). Discourse-linked phrases imply the existence of a familiar set, and are therefore good candidates for topichood. On the other hand, discourse-linked phrases also have an interrogative interpretation, which makes them focus-like (see Radó 1997; Rizzi 2004 for a discussion of this interpretive duality). The topic interpretation allows discourse-linked wh-phrases to determine long-distance agreement, especially when the discourse-linking is made explicit by the presence of which. Two modifiers encode the meaning ‘which’ in Tsez: nāsi (lit.: where-ATTR) and didiw. In the following examples, the discourse-linked wh-phrase ‘which camel’ licenses long-distance agreement in (87), as does the wh-phrase ‘which old woman’, in (88):

(87) [Didiw humukuli b-äk’i-ru(-li)] b-iy-r-ān. what.ATTR camel.ABS.III III-go-PST.PTCP-NMLZ III-know-CAUS-FUT.DEF
‘I will find out which camel has left (from here).’ ((Xanno, nesisgon ˈono užin:17)

‘Don’t you know which old woman died?’

12 As with regular topics, the presence of –gon on the embedded absolutive is often judged redundant.
Plain wh-words are normally not discourse-linked, but given a specific context, they can be interpreted as such. Thus, it is typically within sentences with plain wh-words in the embedded absolutive position that one finds variation between long-distance and properly local agreement. The presence of long-distance agreement with an embedded absolutive wh-expression implies a limited range of felicitous answers; wh-expressions that do not trigger long-distance agreement do not impose a finite set of possible answers on the question at hand. Thus, in extended contexts, regular wh-phrases can also receive a discourse-linked interpretation. For instance, in the following example, there is a clearly delimited group (two or three people), from whom a single member (the one who did the talking) must be selected. Although the wh-word is just a regular one (šebi), it can be interpreted as discourse-linked. Without such a context, the only acceptable agreement would be the properly local pattern, shown in (90):

\[(89) \text{Q’ano-łono } \text{žek’u } \text{yisi-de } \text{dandir } \text{nex-no}\]
\[\text{two-three person.ABS.I DEM.I-APUD.ESS across come-PFV.CVB}\]
\[\text{šebi } \text{yisi-q } \text{xabaryä-ru-li } \text{Ø-iy-x-ānu.}\]
\[\text{who.ABS(.I) DEM.I-POSS.ESS talk-PST.PTCP-NMLZ I-know-PRS-NEG}\]
\[\text{‘Two or three people came up to him but (I) don’t know who [among them] talked to him.’}\]

\[(90) \text{Šebi } \text{yisi-q } \text{xabaryä-ru-li } \text{r-iy-x-ānu.}\]
\[\text{who.ABS DEM.I-POSS.ESS talk-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-PRS-NEG}\]
\[\text{‘(I) don’t know who talked to him.’}\]

A non-discourse-linked wh-word always blocks long-distance agreement, regardless of what element has induced that agreement. The word ‘why’ is a typical interrogative expression that does not show discourse-linked properties. Compare (86) and the following example, where long-distance agreement with the absolutive topic is blocked by šida ‘why’:

\[(91) [\text{Šida esiw } \text{Ø-āk’i-ru-li} ] \text{r-iy-r-ān/}\]
\[\text{why sibling.ABS(.I) I-go-PST.PTCP-NMLZ IV-know-CAUS-FUT.DEF/}\]
\[*\text{Ø-iy-r-ān.}\]
\[\text{I-know-CAUS-FUT.DEF}\]
\[\text{‘I will find out why Brother left.’}\]

Likewise, long-distance agreement with a discourse-linked absolutive is impossible, as shown in the following example:\textsuperscript{13}

\[(92) \text{Debe-r } [\text{šida } \text{nāsi } \text{ɣ’anabi } \text{y-āx-ru-li}] \text{2SG-LAT why which woman.ABS.II II-die-PST.PTCP-NMLZ}\]
\[\text{r-iy-x-ā/*y-iy-x-ā?}\]
\[\text{IV-know-PRS-INTERR/II-know-PRS-INTERR}\]
\[\text{‘Do you know which woman died why?’}\]

\textsuperscript{13} In general, Tsez does not permit multiple wh-questions (see CH.YY [Interrogatives]), but a discourse-linked wh-phrase is compatible with another wh-phrase.
An utterance can have more than one topic, and these topics are hierarchically arranged (see Polinsky and Potsdam 2001; Polinsky 2002 for more discussion). The absolutive topic can only induce long-distance agreement when it is the highest topic in a given sentence. This is consistent with the locality condition discussed in section 5.2; the agreeing verb and the agreed-with noun phrase should not be separated by other material that may have topic properties. For example, (93) is a statement about what the girl did to the jam and tea, but the main topic is ‘the girl’, which is in the ergative case and therefore cannot license long-distance agreement, and although the absolutive in the embedded clause is also understood as a topic it cannot determine long-distance agreement.

(93)  [Yedu  kid-b-ä,  [pro,  wareniya  magala-ƛ’  r-ih-no]]
      DEM  girl-OS-ERG  jam.ABS.IV  bread-SUPER.ESS  IV-put-PFV.CVB
      čay  b-uq‘äk’-ru-li]  r-ukay-s/*b-ukay-s.
      tea.ABS.III  III-hide-PST.PTCP-NMLZ  IV-see-PST.WIT/III-see-PST.WIT
‘I saw this girl spread the jam over bread and hide the tea.’

These examples underscore the fact that long-distance agreement in and of itself is a means of indicating that a given absolutive noun phrase is the main topic. We could therefore compare the use of long-distance agreement in Tsez to the marking of a constituent with a special topic particle, like Japanese *wa*. In those contexts where long-distance agreement is in principle possible, like in (93), its presence identifies the absolutive as the main topic, and its absence indicates that some expression other than the absolutive is the main topic.
The expression of reflexive and reciprocal meanings. Anaphora

1 General remarks

Tsez uses several means of expressing the identity of the primary participants in an event and, correspondingly, the identity of their denotations in a clause or sentence. The main strategies include: use of verbs with an inherently reflexive or reciprocal reading (section 2); use of complex reflexives/reciprocals dedicated to expressing the coreference between two noun phrases (section 3); use of the focus enclitic –tow to mark a pronoun or demonstrative coreferential with an antecedent (section 4). To anticipate the discussion below, complex reflexives/reciprocals are strictly local, and forms in –tow are used to track coreference across clauses.

2 Verbs with reflexive and reciprocal meaning

Many constructions that would be expressed as overt reflexives in some other languages are expressed as intransitives, i.e. lexical or intrinsic reflexives, in Tsez. In this respect, Tsez parallels English, except that Tsez overtly distinguishes transitive and intransitive verb stems, as we showed in CH. YY [VERB MORPHOLOGY]. Thus, the normal translation of ‘Fatima is washing (herself) (in the river)’ uses the intransitive verb esanad- ‘wash’ (cf. transitive esad- ‘wash’), as in the example below:\n
(1) Pat’i ker-ā y-esanay-xo.
Fatima.ABS.II river-IN.ESS II-wash-PRS
‘Fatima is washing (herself) in the river.’

(2) Debi yw’ay hih-xo yoł.
2SG.GEN1 dog.ABS.III scratch-IPFV.CVB AUX.PRS
‘Your dog is scratching (itself).’

Likewise, intransitive symmetrical predicates, discussed in CH. YY [Basic clause types], can readily assume a reciprocal interpretation. For example:

(3) yudes sasaq-āz-a elo-r-no r-ay-n ... mił’-bi
daily morning-DIST-IN.ESS there-LAT-and nIPL-come-PFV.CVB ram-PL.ABS.nIPL
r-ihanay-xosi yoł.
nIPL-fight-PRS.PTCP AUX.PRS
‘Every day since morning, (two) rams go there and are fighting (with each other).’
(ʻAliqilič:117)

In some cases other constructions are used, as in (4) and (5), which include transitive verbs, and (6), which illustrates a “locative transitive” (see CH. YY [Argument structure]):

1 Compare the transitive counterpart of this verb in (64).
In all such instances, the reflexive or reciprocal interpretation is determined by context or general world knowledge.

3 Dedicated reflexive/reciprocal forms: Distribution within a clause

In this section, we discuss binding within a clause. For binding within a noun phrase, see Ch. YY [Noun phrase]. Unless explicitly stated below, compound reflexives are in complementary distribution with regular pronouns/demonstratives.

The use of a reflexive/reciprocal element does not affect the transitivity of a clause; the compound form appears in (non-subject) argument position, in the same case as an equivalent non-reflexive argument.

3.1 Reflexive/reciprocal formation

All reflexives and reciprocals in Tsez are complex, consisting of two parts. Tsez uses two strategies to derive complex reflexives and reciprocals, both of which involve repetition of the relevant pronoun or demonstrative (for details, see CH.YY [DEMS]). In one of these formations, the first component of the complex reflexive appears in the ergative, and the second component appears in the case required by the verb or postposition. The case of the compound reflexive is therefore expressed by the second component. For example, in (7a), the compound reflexive is in the poss-lative form, and in (7b) it appears in the absolutive. This formation is available for all cases other than the ergative.

(7) a. el-ä elu-qo-r
    1PL-ERG 1PL-POSS-LAT
    ‘to ourselves’

b. el-ä eli
    1PL-ERG 1PL.ABS
    ‘ourselves’

In the second formation, the order of the constituents in the compound reflexive is reversed, and the case called for by the verb or postposition in question appears on the first constituent; the second constituent is in the absolutive. This formation is available for all cases other than the ergative and the absolutive.
First- and second-person reflexives are formed using pronouns. Third person is expressed by demonstratives, and these demonstratives are used to form reflexives as well. For ease of presentation, we will be referring to all these forms as reflexives.

In the third-person singular, the reflexive consists of two forms of the demonstrative ża, the oblique stem of which differs by gender (*nes-* for gender I, *nel-* for all other genders). Thus, the third-person singular reflexive shows gender concord with the antecedent. Third-person plural uses the demonstratives żedi (gender I) and żedu (all other genders), also showing gender concord with the antecedent.

In addition to the use of pronouns (for first and second person) and demonstratives (for third person), Tsez uses compound forms with the noun q'ˤim ‘head’ to encode generic reflexives; such forms are only used with generic animate antecedents, for example:

\[
\text{(9) a. } \text{proarb } q'ˤim-ä q'ˤim-λ.'o-r boko b-ay-r-xosi} \\
\text{self-ERG self-SUPER-ALL felt.cloak.ABS.III III-come-CAUS-PRES.PRT}
\]

\[
\text{(yol).} \\
\text{be.PRS}
\]

\[
\text{b. } \text{proarb } q'ˤim-λ.'o-r q'ˤim boko b-ay-r-xosi} \\
\text{self-SUPER-ALL self.ABS felt.cloak.ABS.III III-come-CAUS-PRES.PRT}
\]

\[
\text{(yol).} \\
\text{be.PRS}
\]

‘Everybody is looking out for Number One.’ (li.: one brings a felt cloak for oneself)

\[
\text{(10) a. } \text{[proarb } q'ˤim-ä q'ˤim-e-s mec} \\
\text{self-ERG self-OS-GEN1 language.ABS.III} \\
\text{b-iy-r-ani-x] hażetaw šebin } (\text{yol}). \\
\text{III-know-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS important thing.ABS.IV be.PRS}
\]

\[
\text{b. } \text{[proarb } q'ˤim-e-s q'ˤim mec} \\
\text{self-OS-GEN1 self.ABS language.ABS.III} \\
\text{b-iy-r-ani-x] hażetaw šebin } (\text{yol}). \\
\text{III-know-CAUS-MASD-AD.ESS important thing.ABS.IV be.PRS}
\]

‘It is important to know one’s own language.’

Plural reflexives can also receive a reciprocal interpretation, as shown in the translations below. In most cases, the choice between the reflexive and reciprocal readings is determined contextually. In the description below, for ease of exposition, we will be referring to the relevant forms as “reflexives,” regardless of their potential reciprocal interpretation.
The compounds [sidā sīs-/sid-ABS] and [sid-ABS sīs] ‘one another’ have a dedicated reciprocal interpretation, just as their English counterparts do. These compounds also have two formations. In the first formation, the first component is the ergative sidā, and the second component takes the form called for by the verb or postposition. In the second formation, the first component appears in the form called for by the verb or postposition, and the second component is the invariable sīs ‘one’. For example:

(11) Žed-ā sidā sīs žek’-si.
    DEM.IPL-ERG RECP.ABS hit-PST.WIT
    ‘They beat/hit each other.’
(12) y’ana-z-ā sīs sida-r muri-bi teš-ši.
    woman-PL.OS-ERG RECP-LAT needle-PL.ABS.nIPL give-PST.WIT
    ‘The women gave each other needles.’

In the discussion below, we will assume the information presented here and will only show the case of the entire reflexive, without identifying its component parts. The binding principles discussed in the subsequent sections pertain equally to all the types of anaphors presented in this section, namely pronominal reflexives, demonstrative reflexives, generic reflexives with q’im, and reciprocals with sīs.

3.2 Reflexives/reciprocals in intransitive clauses: The absolutive noun phrase as antecedent

Let us consider some simple cases first. With some principled exceptions to be discussed below, an intransitive absolutive argument can bind a reflexive in its own clause. In (13), the intransitive verb AGR-ez- ‘look at’ takes the absolutive subject and a super-lative adjunct; the reflexive appears in the super-lative form.

(13) a. (Di) dā-š o-r di y-ezu-s.
    1SG.ABS(.II) 1SG.REFL.SUPER-LAT II-look-PST.WIT
    ‘I (woman speaking) looked at myself.’
b. (Mi) dow-š o-r mi y-ezu-s.
    2SG 2SG.REFL.SUPER-LAT II-look-PST.WIT
    ‘You (addressing a woman) looked at yourself.’
c. Madina nelā nelā-š o-r y-ezu-s.
    Madina.ABS.II REFL.nI.SUPER-LAT II-look-PST.WIT
    ‘Madina looked at herself.’

The opposite pattern is impossible: the super-lative cannot bind the absolutive argument. The ungrammaticality is pretty much the same as in the English translation of the following sentence:

(14) *Nelā ža Madina-š o-r y-ezu-s.
    REFL.nI.ABS Madina-SUPER-LAT II-look-PST.WIT
    (“Herself looked at Madina.”)

In (15), the intransitive predicate is the complex verb šak AGR-oq- ‘doubt’ (“be doubtful”):
(15) a. (Di) dä-ƛ'-āy di  šak  Ø-oq-xo.
    1SG.ABS(.I) 1SG.REFL.SUPER-ABL doubtful 1-become-PRS
    ‘I (man speaking) doubt myself.’
b. (mi) dow-ƛ'-āy mi  šak  Ø-oq-xo.
    2SG(.II) 2SG.REFL.SUPER-ABL doubtful 1-become-PRS
    ‘You (addressing a man) doubt yourself.’
c. ŠAli  nesä  nesi-ƛ'-āy  šak  Ø-oq-xo.
    REFL.I.SUPER-LAT doubtful 1-become-PRS
    ‘Ali doubts himself.’

The antecedent of the reflexive does not have to precede it; it can also follow, as shown below:

(16) Nesä  nesi-ƛ'-āy  šak  Ø-oq-xo  ŠAli.
    REFL.I.SUPER-LAT doubtful 1-become-PRS  Ali.ABS.I
    ‘Ali doubts himself.’

While the antecedent can occur in different positions in the clause, postverbal reflexives are dispreferred in elicitations, with judgments ranging from outright rejection to strong dispreference; we have not found postverbal reflexives in texts either.² (See more discussion of the postverbal domain in CH. YY [Word order].)

(17) a. ??/*ŠAli  šak  Ø-oq-xo  nesä  nesi-ƛ'-āy.
    Ali.ABS.I doubtful 1-become-PRS REFL.I.SUPER-LAT
    b. ??/*Šak  Ø-oq-xo  ŠAli  nesä  nesi-ƛ'-āy.
    doubtful 1-become-PRS Ali.ABS.I REFL.I.SUPER-LAT
    c. ??/*Šak  Ø-oq-xo  nesä  nesi-ƛ'-āy  ŠAli.
    doubtful 1-become-PRS REFL.I.SUPER-LAT Ali.ABS.I
    (‘Ali doubts himself.’)

An antecedent in the absolutive can bind a reflexive in the adnominal genitive modifying a constituent in the same clause:³

(18) a. (Di) däz  di  otax-ā  zow-s.
    1SG.ABS 1SG.REFL.GEN2 room-IN.ESS be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘I was in my room.’
b. (Mi) debe-z  mi  otax-ā  zow-s.
    2SG 2SG.REFL.GEN2 room-IN.ESS be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘You were in your room.’

² To anticipate the discussion in section 4 below, this is one of several points of divergence between compound reflexives and regular pronouns/demonstratives with the particle –tow.

³ The examples in (19) include idiomatic expressions meaning ‘to annoy’, literally ‘rise in the tooth’ and ‘attach oneself to the tooth’.
(19) a. ʕAli nesä nesi-z-tow k’ic-ā Ø-iz-āsi.
   Ali.ABS.I REF.I.GEN2-FOC tooth-IN.ESS II-rise-RES
   ‘Ali annoys even himself.’

b. Es-na-bi žedā žedu-z k’ica-ƛ
   sibling-PL-PL.ABS.IPL REFL.PL.GEN2 tooth-SUB.ESS
   b-iti-s.
   I PL-touch-PST.WIT
   ‘The siblings annoy each other/themselves.’

c. ʕIsa-n ʕali-n žedā žedu-ƛ raziyaw
   Isa.ABS.I-and Ali.ABS.I-and REFL.PL-SUPER.ESS content
   zow-n.
   be.PST-PST.nWIT
   ‘Isa and Ali were happy with each other/themselves.’

(20) Tawadi nesä nesi-z meż-ā kec-no.
   Tawadi.ABS.I REFL.I-GEN2 bed- IN.ESS sleep-PST.nWIT
   ‘Tawadi slept in his own bed.’ (based on Ražbadinno, Tawadin:79)

And the absolutive can also antecede a reflexive inside a postpositional phrase:

(21) Babiw nesä nesi-z ŋ’utk-o-q šet’ur Ø-ići-x.
   father.ABS.I REF.I.GEN2 house-OS-POSS around I-stay-PRS
   ‘Father is (somewhere) around his house.’

A compound reflexive is impossible with antecedents that are subconstituents of clause constituents. For example, in (22), the adnominal genitive cannot antecede the reflexive (note that because the noun ‘bull’ is gender III, there is no gender ambiguity in the interpretation of the reflexive; it can only refer to the teacher):

(22) *[Učitel-e-s is] nesä nesi-z roč-yo-x-āy b-egi-s.
   teacher-OS-GEN1 bull.ABS.III REF.I.GEN2 rope-OS-AD-ABL III-get.loose-PST.WIT
   (‘The teacher’s bull broke away from his rope.’)

There are no restrictions on the animacy of the antecedent. The following examples illustrate inanimate antecedents:

(23) Dunyal neł-a-q ža šet’u b-uti-x.
   earth.ABS.III REF.I.POSS.ESS around III-turn-PRS
   ‘The earth turns around itself.’

(24) Yedu lak nelā nel-ƛ'-āy qiqi-x.
   DEM paint.ABS.III REF.I-SUPER-ABL get.bad-PRS
   ‘This paint is getting bad from/by itself.’

So far the pattern we see is unsurprising; the absolutive argument, which looks like a subject, binds reflexives in its own clause. However there are several subtypes of intransitive clauses where the absolutive cannot antecede a reflexive but can be bound by some other constituent. We turn to these clauses in the next section.
3.3 Reflexives/reciprocals in existential, possessive, and accidental clauses

Recall that existential, possessive, and accidental clauses include both an absolutive noun phrase and an additional expression denoting the scene (in existentials), possessor (in possessive clauses), or inadvertent agent (in accidental clauses)—these expressions can be characterized as obligatory adjuncts (see CH YY [Basic clause types]). The table below represents this schematically:

Table 2. Constructions with intransitive predicate and obligatory adjuncts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Obligatory Adjunct</th>
<th>ABS Argument</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential clause</td>
<td>Scene-setting expression</td>
<td>Existential pivot</td>
<td>BE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive clause</td>
<td>Possessor (GEN or POSS-ESS)</td>
<td>Possessum</td>
<td>BE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accidental clause</td>
<td>Inadvertent agent (POSS-ESS)</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Unaccusative verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these clauses, the absolutive constituent can antecede a reflexive in any constituent other than the obligatory adjunct.

(25) Nełá nela-z ciq-qo bikori-ażdah zow-n/
    REF.L.II-GEN2 forest-POSS.ESS snake-dragon.ABS.III be.PST-PST.WIT/
    b-iči-n.
III-stay-PST.WIT
‘A/The evil snake_i was in its_i forest.’
NOT: ‘There was an evil snake_i in its_i forest.’

(26) Nesā nesi-z idu žek’u yol-ā?
    REF.L.I-GEN2 home person.ABS.I be.PRS.INTERR
‘Is there someone_i in hisj/*i home?’

In the following example we see that the absolutive in a possessive clause cannot antecede a reflexive in the possessor genitive or in any other constituent of the possessive clause:

(27) *Nesā nesi-z k’et’u-s bet’erhan yol.
    REF.L.I-GEN2 cat-GEN1 master.ABS.I be.PRS
(‘The cat’s owner exists.’)

Examples (28), (29) show that the absolutive cannot antecede a reflexive in the noun phrase denoting the inadvertent agent:

(28) *Eniw mother.ABS.II nela-q/nela-q ža ček’-si.
    REF.L.II-POSS.ESS hit-PST.WIT
(‘Mother accidentally hit herself.’)

(29) *Kid girl.ABS.II nela-z/nela-z ža eniw-q y-eč’e-l-si.
    REF.L.II-GEN2 mother-POSS.ESS II-cut-INTR-PST.WIT
(‘Her mother accidentally cut the girl.’)
In contrast, scene-setting expressions in existentials, possessors in possessive clauses, and inadvertent agent noun phrases in accidental clauses can antecede reflexives, for example:

(30) Maʔqir-zo ciq-qo nelä nela-s bikori-aždah  
     far-OS forest-POSS.ESS REFL.nI-GEN1 snake-dragon.ABS.III  
     zow-n.  
     be.PST-PST.nWIT  
     ‘In the faraway forest there was itsi (own) evil snake.’

(31) Yiła k’et’u-s nelä nela-s bet’erhan yoł-ä?  
     DEM.nI cat-GEN1 REFL.nI-GEN1 master.ABS.I be.PRS-INTERR  
     ‘Does this cat have an owner?’

(32) Eniw-q nelä ża żek’-si.  
     mother-POSS.ESS REFL.nI.ABS hit-PST.WIT  
     ‘Mother accidentally hit herself.’

(33) Kid-be-q nelä nela-s/nela-s ża baša b-eč’e-l-si.  
     girl-OS-POSS.ESS REFL.nI-GEN1 finger.ABS.III III-cut-INTR-PST.WIT  
     ‘The girl accidentally cut her own finger.’

While the absolutive noun phrase cannot bind the obligatory adjunct, it can antecede reflexives in other constituents. For example:

(34) Uži-s k’et’u nelä nela-z xoxoya-za-de yoł.  
     boy-GEN1 cat.ABS.III REFL.nI-GEN2 youngling-PL.OS-APUD.ESS be.PRS  
     ‘The boy has a cat i with itsi kittens.’

3.4 Reflexives/reciprocals in clauses with cognition/perception verbs

Recall that the cognition/perception verbs discussed in Ch.YY [Basic clause types] take the lative experiencer and absolutive stimulus. Depending on the number of arguments (i.e. transitive versus ditransitive), these verbs show two different patterns of causativization, though the case-marking pattern is the same (CH. YY [Basic clause types, Section 6.3]). The patterns are as follows:

(35) Pattern 1: Transitive verb

      affective:  Experiencer-LAT  Stimulus-ABS  V
                       |               |               |
      causative:  Agent-ERG  Stimulus-ABS  V-CAUS

(36) Pattern 2: Ditransitive verb

      affective:  Experiencer-LAT  Stimulus-ABS  V
                       |               |               |
      causative:  Agent-ERG  Causee-POSS-ESS Stimulus-ABS  V-CAUS

We find that the difference in causativization corresponds to differences in the way reflexive binding is structured. Psychological verbs which causativize following Pattern 1 (‘know’-verbs,
see CH. YY [Basic clause types]) show the lative argument binding the absolutive, but not the other way around.4

(37) a. Irbahin-e-r  nesir ža surat-yo-l  Ø-esu-s.  
Ibrahim-OS-LAT  REFL.I.ABS  picture-OS-CONT.ESS  I-find-PST.WIT  
‘Ibrahim found himself in the picture.’

b. *Irbahin  nesä nesi-r/nesir ža surat-yo-l  Ø-esu-s.  
Ibrahim.ABS  REFL.I-LAT  picture-OS-CONT.ESS  I-find-PST.WIT

(38) a. Eniw-r  nela-r ža šuł’.i-x.  
mother-LAT  REFL.nI.ABS  forget-PRS  
‘Mother forgets about herself.’

b. *Eniw  nelä nela-r/nela-r ža šuł’.i-x.  
mother.ABS  REFL.nI-LAT  forget-PRS

(39) a. Yila kid-be-r  nela-r ža y-iy-x-ānu.  
DEM.nI.OS  girl-OS-LAT  REFL.nI.ABS  II-know-PRS-NEG  
‘This girl does not know herself.’

b. *Yedu kid  ne  nela-r/nela-r ža y-iy-x-ānu.  
DEM.nI.OS  girl.ABS.II  REFL.nI-LAT  II-know-PRS-NEG

In contrast, those cognition and perception verbs that causativize as ditransitives, following Pattern 2 (‘like’-verbs), allow binding both ways, from the lative to the absolutive and from the absolutive to the lative:

(40) a. Eniw-r  nela-r ža y-ukay-s.  
mother-LAT  REFL.nI.ABS.(II)  II-see-PST.WIT  
‘Mother saw herself.’

b. Eniw  nel-ä nela-r  y-ukay-s.  
mother.ABS.II  REFL.nI-LAT  II-see-PST.WIT  
‘Mother saw herself.’

(41) a. Madina-r  nela-r ža y-eti-x.  
Madina-LAT  REFL.nI.ABS.(II)  II-like-PRS  
‘Madina loves herself.’

b. Madina  nel-ä nela-r  y-eti-x.  
Madina.ABS.II  REFL.nI-LAT  II-like-PRS  
‘Madina loves herself.’

(42) a. ḤIsa-r-no  ḤAli-r-no  žedā  žedu  b-eti-x.  
Isa-LAT-and  Ali-LAT-and  REFL.PL.IABS(éro)  IPL-like-PRS  
‘Isa and Ali like each other/theirseves.’

b. ḤIsa-n  ḤAli-n  žedā  žedu-r  b-eti-x.  
Isa.ABS.I-and  Ali.ABS.I-and  REFL.PL.IABS-LAT  IPL-like-PRS  
‘Isa and Ali like each other/theirseves.’

4 There is only one formation for the reflexive in the absolutive position, which explains the unique form used in the (a) examples here.
### 3.5 Reflexives/reciprocals in transitive and ditransitive clauses

In transitive and ditransitive clauses, the ergative noun phrase can antecede the reflexive in the absolutive position; the opposite pattern is impossible. For example:

(43) a. Eni-y-ä nelä ža  duduy-ir-xo.
    mother-OS-ERG  REFL.nI.ABS.II  berate-CAUS-PRS
    ‘Mother is berating/scolding herself.’

       mother.ABS.II  REFL.nI-ERG  berate-CAUS-PRS

(44) a. Es-na-z-ä žedä žedu-qo-r  ʁaʁat-yä-ʁi.
    nIPL-send-PST.WIT
    ‘The siblings sent each other/themselves letters.’

       sibling-PL-PL.ABS.IPL  REFL.IPL-ERG  mother-POSS-LAT  IPL-send-PRS
    (‘The siblings send each other/themselves to Mother.’)

(45) a. Xalq’-i-m-ä … žedä žedu-s  c’ik’iw  ʕaɤ-ʁi.
    people-OS-ERG  REFL.IPL-GEN1  entire  village.ABS.III-and
    kuši-n.
    demolish-PST.WIT
    ‘The people demolished their entire village.’ (Yizalāy hii‘č’e ixiw ʃebi yołʔ:12)

   b. Žed-ä  xalq’-i-mo-s  c’ik’iw  ʕaɤ-ʁi.
       DEM.IPL-ERG  people-OS-GEN1  entire  village.ABS.III
       kuši-n.
       demolish-PST.WIT
    ‘They demolished the people’s entire village.’

A gap in the reflexive paradigm underscores the impossibility of another argument binding a reflexive in the ergative position; there are no reflexive forms of the ergative. For most nouns, the ergative coincides with the in-essive form, and in-essive reflexives are possible, but they cannot be used as ergatives.

If the antecedent is a subconstituent of the ergative noun phrase, reflexivization is impossible:

(46) *Uçitel-e-z  ʃiy’ay-ä  nesä ža  han-si.
    teacher-OS-GEN2  dog-ERG  REFL.I.ABS  bite-PST.WIT
    (‘The teacher’s dog bit himself.’)

In addition to serving as antecedent to a reflexive in the absolutive, the ergative noun phrase can also serve as the antecedent of a reflexive in other case forms, as illustrated in (48), or a reflexive which is a subconstituent of its clause-mate noun phrase. To illustrate the latter, in (48), the ergative antecedes the adnominal genitive in the absolutive noun phrase, and in (49), in the adnominal genitive of the poss-essive causee. In (50) the ergative serves as the antecedent to the adnominal genitive within a lative noun phrase:
‘Ali and Ibrahim are reading about themselves/each other in the newspaper.’

‘He does not respect himself.’

‘Sultan showed a movie to his children.’

‘Ali built a house for his family.’

In ditransitive or causative-of-transitive clauses, the recipient/causee, which appears in an oblique form, cannot antecede a reflexive in the ergative position:

(51) *Es-na-za-qo-r̲n̲a-z-ːa-ne-ːa-s u-ːi ŧ-e-xu-.y-s.

(52) a. Neₗa ɣʔa-na-z-ːa  ne-ːa-s u-ːi ʔ-e-xu-.

b. ??/Nela ɣʔa-na-z-ːa ʔ-e-xu-  ne-ːa-s u-ːi.

‘That woman killed her own son.’

Again, as with intransitives, there are no restrictions on the animacy of the antecedent. Consider the following example:

(53) Hawa=baq’-oq-ːa ne-ːa ţa r-ːaλ’ir-nč’u.

‘Weather does not deceive itself.’

Though unable to bind the ergative, the absolutive can antecede reflexives in other constituents of a transitive/ditransitive clause. In the next pair of sentences, it is possible to tell which noun phrase antecedes the reflexive because the reflexive shows gender concord with the antecedent; in (54a), it matches the gender I feature of uṭā ‘boy’, and in (54b) it matches the gender II feature of the noun phrase ac ‘door’:

In ditransitive or causative-of-transitive clauses, the recipient/causee, which appears in an oblique form, cannot antecede a reflexive in the ergative position:

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(52) a. Neₗa ɣʔa-na-z-ːa  ne-ːa-s u-ːi ʔ-e-xu-.

b. ??/Nela ɣʔa-na-z-ːa ʔ-e-xu-  ne-ːa-s u-ːi.

‘That woman killed her own son.’

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If both the ergative and absolutive noun phrases anteceding a reflexive have the same gender feature, this may result in ambiguity, as in the next example. The preferred reading is still ‘Ali’, which means that the preferred association is between the reflexive and the structurally superior argument:

(55) ʕAl-ä  wac’al-qo  nesi-l-äy  esir-si.
      Ali-ERG cousin-POSS.ESS  REFL.I-CONT-ABL  ask-PSTWIT
      ‘Ali asked his cousin about himselfj.’

The marginal ability of a poss-essive noun phrase to antecede a reflexive, as in (55), disappears if the reflexive precedes the poss-essive; compare (55) and (56):

(56) ʕAl-ä  nesi-l-äy  wac’al-qo  esir-si.
      Ali-ERG  REFL.I-CONT-ABL  cousin-POSS.ESS  ask-PSTWIT
      ‘Ali asked his cousin about himselfj/*j.’

In the alternating sentence where the reflexive is replaced with a regular demonstrative, the preference flips; now ‘cousin’ is the preferred antecedent, and this preference persists despite changes in word order:

(57) a. ʕAl-ä  wac’al-qo  nesi-l-äy  esir-si.
      Ali-ERG  cousin-POSS.ESS  DEM.I-CONT-ABL  ask-PSTWIT

b. ʕAl-ä  nesi-l-äy  wac’al-qo  esir-si.
      Ali-ERG  DEM.I-CONT-ABL  cousin-POSS.ESS  ask-PSTWIT
      ‘Ali asked his cousin about himselfj’/??himselfj.’

In the potential construction, the poss-essive agent can antecede a reflexive in the absolutive position, but the opposite pattern is impossible, regardless of word order:

(58) a. Doxtur-qo  nesä nesi-s  kumak  b-oy-l-xo.
      doctor-POSS  REFL.I-GEN  help.ABS.III  II-do-POT-PRS
      ‘The/A doctor is able to help himself.’

b. *Nesä nesi-q  doxtur-e-s  kumak  b-oy-l-xo.
      REFL.I-POSS  doctor-OS-GEN  help.ABS.III  III-do-POT-PRS

---

5 In our earlier work (Polinsky and Comrie 2003) we reported the opposite pattern, but this finding did not withstand scrutiny.
In the biabsolutive construction, the agent, represented by the first absolutive noun phrase preceding the verb, can antecede a reflexive in the second absolutive position, as in (59a).\(^6\) It can also appear postverbally and bind the preverbal reflexive, as in (59b).

\[(59)\]
\[
a. \text{Fatima.ABS.II nelä ža } y-ži-y-oγ-xo \quad (y-ič-äsi)
\]
\[
b. \text{Fatima.ABS.II Pat’i y-ži-y-oγ-xo } (y-ič-äsi)
\]

However, the opposite pattern, whereby the reflexive appears before the preverbal absolutive antecedent, is impossible:

\[(60)\]
\[
*Nelä ža Pat’i y-ži-y-oγ-xo } (y-ič-äsi)
\]

\[3.6\] Dedicated reflexive/reciprocal forms across clauses

Compound reflexives are locally bound; their antecedents have to be in the same clause (with the exception of reflexives in infinitive and masdar clauses, which we discuss below). Antecedent-reflexive coreference across the boundary of a tensed complement clause is impossible. This is shown below with an example involving a nominalized clause (61) and a clause introduced by the quotative particle –ƛ in (62).\(^7\) The embedded clauses are shown in brackets.

\[(61)\]
\[
\text{Kid-be-r [eni-y-ā ža/*nelä ža beczi y-āy-ru-li]}
\]
\[
\text{hear-PST.nWIT ‘The girl heard that mother praised heri/j/*herself.’}
\]

\[(62)\]
\[
\text{ʕAl-ā [Pat’-ā nesi-r/*nesä nesi-r kumak b-oy-xosi-ƛ in]}\]
\[
\text{say-PSTWIT ‘Ali i said that Fatima was helping himi/j/*himself.’}
\]

---

\(^6\) The lexical verb appearing in (59) and (60) is a compound AGR-ɨz-AGR-oy-, literally ‘carry-pull’; each component of the compound shows gender agreement.

\(^7\) Coreference in clauses introduced by –ƛ in is actually more complex than described here, as it involves indexical shifts, which we discuss in CH. YY. For present purposes, it is only important that dedicated reflexives are not allowed in such clauses.
Likewise, antecedents cannot bind compound reflexives inside tensed relative clauses (shown in brackets). For example:

(63) *ʕAl-ä-n Irbahin-ä-n [żedä żedu-l-äy gazyat-’ø
Ali-ERG-and Ibrahim-ERG-and REFL.PL.I-CONT-ABL newspaper-SUPER.ESS
cäx-ru] šebin t’et’er-xo.
write-PST.PTCP thing.ABS.IV read-PRS
(‘Ali and Ibrahim are reading the thing written about themselves in a newspaper.’)

(64) *Kid-b-ä tungi [nelä nel-ä teł zäw-ru]-zo
girl-OS-ERG jug.ABS.III REFL.nI-IN.ESS-FOC inside be.PST-PST.PTCP-ATTR.OS
li-d esay-s.
write-INS wash.TR-PST.WIT
(‘The girl washed the jug with the water that was in itself.’)

The only case where locality is not observed is across the boundary of an infinitival or masdar complement (see CH.YY [Complement clauses]). In Tsez, infinitival and masdar complements are transparent to a number of syntactic processes, so this behavior of reflexives is unsurprising. In the following example, the reflexive can refer back to Ali:

(65) ʕAl-ä Pat’i-q [nesä nesi-r kumak b-od-a] esir-xo.
Ali-ERG Fatima-POSS.ESS REFL.I-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-INF ask-PRS
‘Ali is asking Fatima to help himi (lit.: himself).’

Also in contrast to participial relative clauses, compound reflexives can occur inside infinitival and masdar relative clauses, provided that they are bound from outside that clause:

(66) Kid-be-s [nelä nela-s at’ q’uq’-ani-r] li
girl-OS-GEN1 REFL.nI-GEN1 dough.ABS.IV knead-MASD-LAT water.ABS.IV
r-oq-inč’i.
IV-become-PST.WIT.NEG
‘The girl had no water to knead heri dough.’ (based on ʕAliqilič:43)

(67) [Nelä nela-s ac y-a‘y-ani-x] hal ānu
REFL.nI-GEN1 door.ABS.II II-open-MASD-AD.ESS ability.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
dä-z ečuy-s.
1SG-GEN2 grandmother-GEN1
‘My grandmotheri cannot even open heri door.’

However, if the infinitival or masdar clause contains a noun phrase that is an appropriate antecedent for a reflexive inside that clause, the local antecedent takes precedence over the long-distance one. Consider the following sentence:

(68) Pat’-ä kul er-xo [eni-y-ä nelä neło-z
Fatima-ERG hope.ABS.III put-PRS mother-OS-ERG REFL.nI-GEN2
maduhal-e-r kumak b-od-a]
neighbor-OS-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-INF
‘Fatima hopes that Mother will help her neighbor.’

Both potential antecedents of the reflexive, ‘Fatima’ and ‘Mother’ are of the same gender, so it is theoretically possible for nelà neloz to be interpreted as coreferential with either of them. There is a strong preference, however, for interpreting the reflexive as coreferential with the subject of the infinitival clause rather than the subject of the matrix clause. We officially classify coreference with the matrix subject as “highly questionable,” but for some lexicalizations, our consultants reject it altogether.

4 Reflexive/reciprocal interpretation of regular pronouns and demonstratives

In addition to the use of dedicated reflexive pronouns, Tsez can also convey reflexive/reciprocal meaning through the use of a regular pronoun or demonstrative combined with the emphatic enclitic –tow (dialectal variant –tew). In CH. YY [Particles], we identify –tow as one of the focus particles; it combines with noun phrases only. Its most general meaning can be described as the reversal of expectations: “based on expectations of the relationships between the referents or events, pick the (most) unlikely one.” To illustrate the use of –tow, let us start with a simple example. Example (69a) presents a simple statement about the weather. The addition of –tow in (69b) turns it into a comment on an unexpected weather event.

(69) a. Isi y-ay-x. snow.ABS.II II-come-PRS
   ‘It is snowing.’ (lit.: snow is coming)

b. Isi-tow y-ay-x. snow.ABS.II-FOC II-come-PRS
   ‘It is even SNOWING.’

In (70), the violation of expectation is stated explicitly in the sentence; the father does not want the son to go fishing, but the son still does. The noun phrase uži appears with the particle –tow:

(70) łˤono-äƛiru –tow yude-l-no babiw-s hal
   three-ORD day-CONT.ESS-TOP father-GEN1 state.ABS.III
   b-ayr-inèy besuro-za-l’o-r uži-tow Ø-ik’i-n.
   III-bring-PFV.CV,Neg fish-OS-POSS-LAT boy.ABS.I-FOC 1-go-PST.NWIT
   ‘On the third day, against Father’s wish (lit.: not bringing Father’s state), the SON went fishing.’ (Besurozaqu:9)

This particle can also combine with the familiar compound reflexive. In (71a), the absolutive subject expectedly binds a reflexive in the adnominal genitive of the ad-essive noun phrase. In (71b), where that reflexive appears with the focus particle, the interpretation is that the boy was supposed to go with someone else (or on the road suggested by someone else); instead, contrary to expectation, he chose his own way.

(71) a. Uži nesä nesi-z huni-x Ø-ik’i-x.
   boy.ABS.I REFL.I-GEN2 road-AD.ESS 1-go-PRS
‘The boy goes his own way.’

b. Uži nesā nesi-z-tow huni-x Ø-ik’i-x.
boy.ABS.1 REFL.I-GEN2-FOC road-AD.ESS 1-go-PRS
‘The boy goes his OWN way.’

In (71b), the use of –tow does not alter the relationship between the antecedent and the compound reflexive, but when used with a regular pronoun or demonstrative, it does. Compare the following two sentences, which are close to (71a,b) but contain a simple demonstrative instead of a compound reflexive:

(72) a. Uži nesi-z huni-x Ø-ik’i-x.
boy.ABS.1 DEM.I-GEN2 road-AD.ESS 1-go-PRS
‘The boy i goes hisj/*i way.’

b. Uži nesi-z-tow huni-x Ø-ik’i-x.
boy.ABS.1 DEM.I-GEN2-FOC road-AD.ESS 1-go-PRS
‘The boy i goes hisi/*j own way.’

When a noun phrase that can serve as an antecedent occurs in the same clause as a pronoun, a standard expectation is that the two NPs point to different participants, as in the case of (72a). The addition of the focus particle reverses this standard expectation, and the result is a reading in which both expressions indicate the same referent, as in (72b).

Recall an earlier example, repeated below, which contained a compound reflexive whose antecedent was ambiguous, but showed preference for the ergative:

(73) ʕAl-ä wac’al-qo nesâ nesi-l-äy esir-si.
Ali-ERG cousin-POSS.ESS REFL.I-CONT-ABL ask-PSTWIT
‘Ali i asked his cousinj about himselfi/?j.’

When it includes a regular demonstrative with –tow, the sentence has the opposite interpretation:

(74) ʕAl-ä wac’al-qo nesi-l-äy-tow esir-si.
Ali-ERG cousin-POSS.ESS DEM.I-CONT-ABL-FOC ask-PST.WIT
‘Ali i asked his cousinj about himj/*himselfi.’

Compound reflexives and regular pronouns/demonstratives can be co-indexed with an antecedent regardless of word order. For expressions with –tow, word order matters. Compare example (74) with the following sentence, where the pattern of coreference has been reversed:

(75) ʕAl-ä nesi-l-äy-tow wac’al-qo esir-si.
Ali-ERG DEM.I-CONT-ABL-FOC cousin-POSS.ESS ask-PSTWIT
‘Ali i asked his cousinj about himselfi/*himj.’

In addition to free variation within a single clause, tow-forms and dedicated reflexives are also in free variation in infinitival and masdar clauses (recall that dedicated reflexives can accept antecedents across the boundary of such clauses). Compare example (67) above, repeated below
as (76), and its *tow*-form counterpart:

(76) [Nelä nela-s ac y-aˤ-y-ani-x] hal ãnu
REFL.nI-GEN1 door.ABS.II II-open-MASD-AD.ESS ability.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
dä-z ečuy-s.
1SG-GEN2 grandmother-GEN1
‘My grandmother cannot even open her door.’

(77) [Nela-s-tow ac y-aˤ-y-ani-x] hal ãnu
DEM.nI-GEN1-FOC door.ABS.II II-open-MASD-AD.ESS ability.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG
dä-z ečuy-s.
1SG-GEN2 grandmother-GEN1
‘My grandmother cannot even open her door.’

If the embedded infinitival or masdar clause contains a potential local antecedent for a regular pronoun or demonstrative, the addition of *–tow* tilts the balance of coreference in favor of the long-distance antecedent. For example, in the sentence below, which is only minimally different from (68) above, the use of *–tow* makes the interpretation ‘Fatima’s neighbor’ most likely; the interpretation ‘Mother’s neighbor’ is judged highly unlikely or even unacceptable. Therefore, in this context, the *tow*-form and the dedicated reflexive constitute a minimal pair.

(78) Pat’-ä kul er-xo [eni-y-ä nelo-z-tow
Fatima-ERG hope.ABS.III put-PRS mother-OS-ERG DEM.nI-GEN2-FOC
maduhal-e-r kumak b-od-a]
neighbor-OS-LAT help.ABS.III III-do-INF
‘Fatima hopes that Mother will help her neighbor.’

We have observed that dedicated reflexives are close to unacceptable in the postverbal position. No such restriction is observed with *tow*-forms, and in fact, quite a few of these reflexives occur postverbally. Compare the unacceptable example below, repeated from (52), and its counterpart with a *tow*-form:

(79) ??/*Nela yˤana-z-ä Ø-exuy-s nelä nela-s uži.
DEM.nI woman-OS-ERG I-kill-PST.WIT REFL.nI-GEN1 boy.ABS.1
(‘That woman killed her own son.’)

(80) Nela yˤana-z-ä Ø-exuy-s nela-s-tow uži.
DEM.nI woman-OS-ERG I-kill-PST.WIT DEM.nI-GEN1-FOC boy.ABS.1
‘That woman killed her own son.’ (after Imnajšvili 1963:125)

Naturally, when two expressions occur in what seems to be a free variation, a question arises as to what kind of difference may exist between them. First of all, as we just noted, the distribution of dedicated reflexives is subject to more rigid structural constraints than the distribution of *tow*-forms, which is determined largely on the basis of plausible coreference. Second, there seems to be a preference for the use of dedicated reflexives in infinitival clauses. Other than that, as far as we can tell, the use of a *tow*-form entails greater emphasis; after all, this is the form associated with an element of surprise or violated expectations.
The particle –tow is offered in elicitions and also occurs in narrative texts. In addition, in texts we find another information-structural marker, the contrastive topic marker –gon (see CH.YY [Particles]). This particle can also be used to indicate coreference between an unlikely antecedent and a subsequent pronoun or demonstrative. For instance, -gon is used in the title of one of the Tsez fairy tales (Abdulaev and Abdulaev 2010), shown in (81), and it can be replaced by –tow in this context with no change in interpretation (Higgins, 1979):8

(81) xan-no nesi-s-gon ʃono uži-n
king.ABS.1-and DEM.1-GEN1-CONTR three boy.ABS.1-and
‘the king and his three sons’

(82) xan-no nesi-s-tow ʃono uži-n
king.ABS.1-and DEM.1-GEN1-FOC three boy.ABS.1-and
‘the king and his three sons’

To summarize the discussion in sections 3 and 4, reflexive/reciprocal relationships in Tsez are strictly local. With the exception of infinitival and masdar clauses, which do not have their own tense, reflexive/reciprocal relationships cannot be established across a clausal boundary. This raises the question of how, if at all, coreference is established across clauses. We discuss this question in other chapters (CH. YY [Coordination] and CH. YY [Adverbial clauses]). To summarize the relevant discussion in that chapter, we show that regular pronouns and demonstratives are the primary devices used to establish coreference between two expressions in different clauses.

5 Copular clauses and reflexive/reciprocal expressions

Binding relations are put to the test in examples such as the English sentences below, where the reflexive is interpreted properly without the relevant antecedent (see Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2005 for a detailed discussion). In the examples below, the subject is a relative clause and the reflexive is contained in the predicate, but that predicate is not connected to the antecedent inside the relative clause. The phenomenon in question is known as connectivity: the binding relation is established in the absence of a clause-mate antecedent.

(83) [What she is good at] [is talking about herself].
   SUBJECT   PREDICATE

(84) [What every racetrack driver likes] [is his car].
   SUBJECT   PREDICATE

Across languages, constructions like these often use a relative clause in the subject position, and Tsez is no exception. Tsez has a headless relative clause, the details of which we discuss in CH. YY [Relative clauses]. The examples below show headless relatives with predicates in the present and past tense.9 The wh-word in such headless relative clauses can be omitted:

---

8 On the other hand, when asked whether –gon can replace –tow in the examples presented earlier in this chapter, our consultants prefer to keep –tow.
9 See CH. YY [RCs] for details on headless relatives.
When used as subjects of specificational clefts, these relative clauses can be followed by a predicate-internal reflexive. The case of the reflexive matches the case of the wh-word:

(87) (łu-r) §Al-ä micxir teł-ä-si nesä nesi-r
who-LAT Ali-ERG money.ABS.III give-PST.INTERR-ATTR REFL.I-LAT zow-s.
be.PST-PST.WIT
‘To whom Ali gave money was to himself.’

(88) (Šebi) Zarema-r y-eti-xo-si nelä ža (yol).
who.ABS.(II) Zarema-LAT II-like-PRS-ATTR DEM.ABS-FOC be.PRS
‘Whom Zarema likes is herself.’

A dedicated reflexive can also alternate with a regular pronoun or demonstrative with the enclitic –tow, again matching in case with the wh-word. Although the form in –tow can be used in the predicate of the specificational cleft, it seems less preferred.

(91) (łu) §Ali-s mašina b-ecur-ä-si nesä-tow/
who.ERG Ali-GEN¹ car.ABS.III III-break-PST.INTERR-ATTR DEM.I-ERG-FOC
*nesä nesä zow-s.
REFL.I-ERG be.PST-PST.WIT
‘It was Ali himself who broke his car.’ (lit.: who broke Ali’s car was himself)

To conclude, Tsez has a whole range of words and phrases used to express coreference with a lexically specified antecedent. When the antecedent is local, Tsez uses compound reflexives
whose distribution is constrained by standard binding principles. When binding is impossible, the language resorts to coreference; under coreference, the focus particle \(-tow\) is used to constrain the range of possible antecedents.
Particles

Particles are short invariant words that serve a grammatical or information-structural function. None of the particles considered here affect the truth conditions of the sentence they occur in, either because the sentence is not a statement to begin with, or because only its conditions of use are affected. Most Tsez particles are enclitic (there are no proclitics in the language at all) and appear at the right edge of the word, following suffixes. Several particles can co-occur, and their order in such co-occurrences is not random. We are reasonably sure that the items described in this section are particles. Nevertheless, the distributional criteria are much less clear than for such categories as nouns and verbs, so it is not always easy to distinguish between enclitics and suffixes.  

1 Topic-marking particles

There are four main particles in this group: -ƛa, -n(o),–gon, and -yoli. All these particles have a variety of specific meanings that nevertheless can be subsumed under a more general meaning. With the exception of–yoli, the particles presented in this section do not combine with finite verbs. The same three particles participate in the derivation of quantified expressions whose paradigm is discussed in section 3.

Following Reinhart (1981), we define “topic” roughly as “the entity that the sentence adds new information about.” We refer to this standard type of topic as an “aboutness topic”. We also recognize the notion of “contrastive topic”. This type of topic has been defined in very different terms by different researchers. Some scholars define it as a topic that is explicitly contrasted to some other members of a contrast set. Under such a definition, it is critical to know whether “topic” is understood as a semantic, syntactic, or pragmatic notion. Different approaches bring different assumptions about the nature of topichood, which in turn alter the notion of “contrastive topic” as well. There are also researchers who understand contrastive topic as its own basic information-structural category; for these authors, the definition of “topic” is irrelevant to the determination of a contrast (see Constant 2014: Ch. 1, for a discussion of these approaches). In this chapter, we adopt a maximally inclusive approach, assuming that as long as the conception of a contrastive set is available, one can talk about a contrastive topic.

1.1 –ƛa

The particle –ƛa marks external topics; its general meaning is ‘as for; speaking of’, but without the pronounced contrastive reading that is observed with the particles –yoli and –gon, discussed below.

External topics introduced by –ƛa can but do not necessarily have a structural representation in the clause. They normally appear at the left edge of the clause and can be separated from the rest of the clause by a pause. For example:

---

1 See Forker (2013: 412) for similar difficulties in distinguishing enclitics and suffixes in HINUQ.
At the root clause level, topics can appear in the preverbal and postverbal domains. However, topics marked with –\( \lambda \)a are infelicitous postverbally. Compare example (3), where the topic phrase can appear sentence-initially, with the following example:

(4) \#pro/nes-\( \lambda \)a

\( \lambda \)a horse

\( \lambda \)a horse

‘A horse, he got.’

The particle –\( \lambda \)a also appears attached to conditional and concessive converbs, which underscores the backgrounded, presuppositional status of the clauses headed by these converbs (see CH. YY [Coordination] and CH. YY [Adverbial clauses] for the topic status of conditionals). For example:

(5) \[B-aq^n\u \ micxir b-oq-näy]-\( \lambda \)a qala-m-\( \lambda \)-yor-no

III-much/many money.ABS.III III-become-COND.I.CVb-TOP fortress-OS-IN-VERS-and

Ø-izi-n, Ø-ik-\( \lambda \)-ān di nel-dā-yor.

I-rise-PFV.CVb I-go-FUT.DEF 1SG.ABS(1) DEM.nI-APUD-VERS

‘If I had a lot of money I would go up into the fortress and go to her chambers (lit.: …go toward by her).’

(Imnajšvili 1963:273)

Expressions marked with –\( \lambda \)a are limited to root clauses and cannot occur in clausal nominalizations in –\( li \) or masdar/infinitival clauses (see CH. YY [Complement clauses]). Within root clauses, these expressions typically occur in the clause-initial position, as attested in the examples above.

The particle –\( \lambda \)a is also used to derive indefinite expressions from interrogatives; this use is discussed in section 3 below.
1.2 –yoli

The particle –yoli is probably a contraction of yol ‘be.PRS’ and the conditional marker –li. Like –gon, which is discussed in section 1.3 below, it marks contrastive topics, but its distribution is broader than that of –gon, as it can attach to finite verb. In combining with finite verb, -yoli appears on the predicate of a clause that encodes the antecedent of a conditional, as shown below. For the details of –yoli in conditionals, see CH. YY [Coordination].

(7) Mi y-ik’-āsi zow-s-yoli, elo-tow łemu
2SG.ABS(.II) II-go-RES.PTCP be.PST-PST.WIT-CONTR.TOP there-FOC HYP.CONS
łāxu.
remain.FUT
‘If you had gone there you would have stayed there.’ (Besurozaqu:35)

In the rest of this section, we will concentrate on the use of –yoli with constituents other than finite clauses. Since –yoli expresses contrast, its use requires the establishment of a relevant contrastive set, either explicitly or contextually. In the following example, ‘treasure’ and ‘wisdom’ are explicitly compared, and yolı appears with the noun phrase aq ‘lu ‘advice’:

(8) Ukru dā-q-āy kʷaxa-tow łāy, aq’lu-yoli
silver.ABS.III 1SG-POSS-ABL soon-FOC stop.FUT advice.ABS.III-CONTR.TOP
net-āy netintow dā-de sadaq 1āxu.
when-ABL always 1SG-APUD.ESS together remain.FUT
‘Silver will run out quickly; but as for advice, it will stay with me forever.’
(Hasanno Husenno:23)

In (9) and (10), the referent is selected from a defined set (several brothers) and explicitly contrasted to the other members of that set; again, –yoli appears on the relevant noun phrase expressing contrastive topic:

(9) Øśeye-ni esi-y-ā-yoli sīsxoli riłu-n
1-young-DEF sibling-OS-ERG-CONTR.TOP alone cultivated.land.ABS.IV-and
r-īli-n…
IV-plough-PFV.CVB
‘As for the younger brother, he was ploughing alone…’ (λelä bečed adiru miskin źek’u:4)

(10) ‘Aliqilič-yoli yudes neširu-x-āy babiw-z
Aliqilič.ABS.1-CONTR.TOP daily evening-AD-ABL father-GEN2
šuda-λ’o-r-t’a Ø-ik’i-x…
grave-SUPER-LAT-DISTR 1-go-PRS
‘As for Aliqilič, every evening he went to his father’s grave…’ (‘Aliqilič:17)

In the following example, -yoli appears on a constituent whose referent is contrasted to a contextually inferable set; thus, it still carries the contrastive meaning. The implication in the response below is that someone (but not the speaker) went to the meeting:

(11) A: Sabraniya liy-ā?
meeting.ABS.IV end-PST.WIT INTERRUPT
‘Is the meeting over?’

B. Di-yoli y-ik’i-nč’us.

1SG.ABS.(II)-CONTR.TOP II-go-PST.WIT.NEG

‘As for me, I (woman speaking) did not go.’

The particle -yoli is not limited to nominal constituents. It can occur with adverbial phrases as well. For example;

(12) Mečo-t-xor-yoli di-tow y-ik’i-s.

field-CONT-VERS-CONTR.TOP 1SG.ABS.II-FOC II-go-PST.WIT

‘To the fields, I am going.’ (lit.: I am gone)

Like –ƛa, -yoli is limited to root clauses and cannot occur in clausal nominalizations in –li, in masdar/infinitival clauses, or in relative clauses.

1.3 –gon

The particle –gon is formed by the emphatic particle –go (a borrowing from Avar) and the particle –n(o) just discussed. Synchronically, –gon seems to function as a single unit; however, there are instances when it still alternates with –go, in particular in concessive clauses, which will be discussed below.

The main function of –gon is to mark contrastive topic. In the following example, the contrast set is introduced explicitly, and –gon appears on the name of one of the members of that set.

(13) λ’ir-āy λ’iy-or y-oλ’u-n q’ano k’emot’ y-āy,

above-ABL down-LAT II-fall-PFV.CVBS two trunk.ABS.II II-come.FUT

sid-ā “qurun-qaran-ƛin” qālī, side-n-ā-gon

one-ERG qurun-qaran-QUOT shout.FUT one-DEF-ERG-CONTR.TOP

“c’urun-c’aran-ƛin” qālī.

c’urun-c’aran-QUOT shout.FUT

‘Two trunks will fall down from above; one will make the noise “qurun-qaran”, and the other, “c’urun-c’aran”.’ (Best’al kid:59)

In the example below, the preceding context implies a contrast (a character in a fairy tale is undergoing magical transformations), and the next sentence starts with a contrastive topic:

(14) Kurzak’u-ƛ’o-r-gon Oku-n Ø-uti-n neł-ƛ

falcon-SUPER-LAT-CONTR.TOP Oku.ABS.I-and I-turn-PRF.CVBS DEM.nI-CONT.ESS

xizāy k’ōlī-n.

behind run-PST.NWIT

‘Oku then turned into a falcon and rushed after it (=the horse).’ (Babiwn, užin, Okun:60)

A contrast set may simply be presupposed, and the only overtly mentioned member can then appear marked with –gon, as in the following example, where ‘we’ is implicitly contrasted with other groups of people:
In root clauses, contrastive topics with –gon are quite common postverbally; the postverbal placement is associated with the topic interpretation, and material marked with –gon is a good fit for this interpretation. For example:

(16) Ža armi-ñ Ø-iţi-n el-ā-za-gon.  
DEM.ABS.(i) army-CONT.ESS 1-lead-PST.NWIT there-ABL-DIST-CONTR.TOP  
'They recruited him in the army right from there.'

All told, the placement of topics marked with –gon is not limited to the clause-initial position, as is reportedly common for contrastive topics in Nakh-Dagestanian languages (see Testelec 1997: 263-264 for a discussion). As he saw above, contrastive topics with –yoli are also quite free in their placement. It remains to be seen whether this flexibility of linear position is observed in other languages of the family.

Another major function of –gon is to indicate repetition and/or addition (Imnajšvili 1963:273). A similar function is observed for the cognate particle in Hinuq (Forker 2013: 415-417). Although this function may be related to the contrastive topic function diachronically, we recognize it as a separate one in the current state of the language and refer to it as additive (ADD). Additive particles are attested cross-linguistically, for example, in Quechua (Cole 1982: 164, 169). The additive function is typically observed with numerals and adverbs; for example:

(17) Ø-ay-n sis-gon žek’u.  
1-come-PST.NWIT one-ADD person.ABS.1  
'Another person came.' (Imnajšvili 1963:273)

(18) k’ox-äž.iřu-gon  
twice-ORD-ADD  
‘for a/the second time’

(19) sasaq-gon  
tomorrow-ADD  
‘again tomorrow’

(20) huday-gon  
next-ADD  
'(the) next day’

Some adverbs with the particle –gon are lexicalized and their meanings are quite different from the corresponding adverbs without –gon; for example žigon ‘again’ (ži ‘now’), dahawgon ‘more, more so’ (dahaw ‘a little’), xizyogon ‘again’ (xizyo ‘afterwards’), AGR-uygon ‘already’ (AGR-uy ‘really; indeed’).
Finally, -gon is used to derive free choice expressions from interrogative words or phrases. Free-choice items with -gon are often found in concessive converbal clauses, as shown below (see also CH.YY [Relative clauses] and CH.YY [Adverbial clauses]). In this use, -gon alternates with the particle –go.

Some examples (see also example (6) above):

(21) Dice-gon bar-ä eλi-lin šebin-kin
how.much-CONTR.TOP wife-ERG say-CONCESS.CVB thing.ABS.IV-FOC
r-oy- xo zow-nč’us.
IV-do-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT.NEG
‘No matter what his wife said, he did not lift a finger.’

(22) Dice-go zahmat b-oq-lin
how.much-CONTR.TOP hardship.ABS.III III-become-CONCESS.CVB
yil-ä ziru-r xexoy kur-no.
DEM.nI-ERG fox-LAT youngling.ABS.III throw-PST.NWIT
‘No matter how hard it was, it (the bird) threw its chick to the fox.’
(Debeq ža äsisrus haqu yoč’ik’oł:7)

1.4  –n(o)

The particle –n(o) is structurally ambiguous between a linking particle (which we gloss as ‘and’) and a topic particle. The linking functions are all related, as we show below. The topic-marking function may be related to the linking functions diachronically, but in the current use, the two functions differ sufficiently; in particular, they exhibit different distributions. As a topic-marking particle, -n(o) is incompatible with the other topic particles discussed in this section: -gon, -yoli, and –λa, because its co-occurrence with them would lead to duplication in the expression of the same notion. Likewise, as a topic marker, -n(o) cannot co-occur with the focus particles –tow or -kin because topic and focus are mutually exclusive. However, when it is used as a linking element, -n(o) can combine with these particles. We will discuss examples of such co-occurrence in section 1.4.1.

The topic-marking –n(o) and the linking –n(o) can also themselves co-occur, for example, in the following exclamative utterance, where the coordinate phrase ‘Musa and Ali’ is marked as a single topic:

(23) Mus-ä-n(o-n) Șal-ä-no-n  ža-wa r-oy-n!
[Musa-ERG-and-TOP Ali-ERG-and]-TOP DEM.ABS.IV-EXCL IV-do-PST.NWIT
‘For Musa and Ali, to do that!’

Based on these facts, we distinguish two separate homophonous particles, the linking –n(o) and the topic-marking –n(o).
1.4.1 The linking –n(o)

If -n(o) is used iteratively, it becomes a marker of coordination, conjoining all categories except finite verbs. This function is described in CH.YY [Noun phrase], CH.YY [Adverbal clauses], and CH.YY [Nominalizations]. When joining constituents within a coordinate structure, –n(o) attaches to the head of each constituent and cannot be omitted.

A coordinate structure can be topicalized or focused with the help of information structure-marking particles. In such a case, an information structure-marking particle appears at the right edge of the relevant constituent, thus following the linking –n(o). For example, in (23) above, the entire coordinate noun phrase is topicalized, with the topic-marking –n following the final coordinating –n. In (24) below, the contrastive topic is the coordinate noun phrase zirun k’et’un, and the particle –yoli appears after –n:

(24) [Ziru-n k’et’u-n]-yoli boc’-ä-n zey-ä-n
fox.ABS.III-and cat.ABS.III-and-CONTR.TOP wolf-ERG-and bear-ERG-and
b-ay-ä[r]-ru dawla-ƛ’ žin yol-ƛax.
b-III-CAUS-PST.PTCP prey-POSS.ESS now be:prs- INDIRECT.EVID
‘As for the fox and the cat, they came upon the prey that the wolf and the bear had
brought.’ (K’et’un zirun:31)

The next function of –n(o) can be characterized as that of ancillary clause linkage. In these contexts, -n(o) is optional, although native speakers prefer to see it used and comment on its presence as indicative of authentic, well-flowing texts. In this function, -n(o) appears on the immediately preverbal constituent of a converbal clause; its presence underscores the connection between the converbal clause and the clause it is joined with (see CH.YY [Adverbal clauses]). The particle can be used in a similar way under the coordination of finite clauses, where it either appears on the immediate preverbal constituent (if the finite clause is verb final), or on the last constituent in the right periphery of the finite clause. The three contexts are illustrated below using similar baseline sentences. This function of –n(o) is dependent on linear order only and is not sensitive to constituency; for example, it can attach to a subconstituent of a light verb, to a clausal constituent, or to a subconstituent of a discontinuous noun phrase.

(25) **converbal clause—finite clause**
[Roqiqr elu-r zurma-q’ili-s ruk’-no
at.midnight 1PL-LAT zurma-drum-GEN1 loud.sound.ABS.IV-and
teq-no] mol-a-x-äy č’ari-l-si eli.
hear-PFV.CVIB dream-OS-AD-ABL wake-INTR-PST.WIT 1PL.ABS
‘At midnight we heard loud sounds of music and woke up.’

(26) **two finite clauses, the first clause is verb-final**
Roqiqr elu-r zurma-q’ili-s ruk’-no
at.midnight 1PL-LAT zurma-drum-GEN1 loud.sound.ABS.IV-and
teq-si, mol-a-x-äy č’ari-l-si eli.

---

2 See also example Error! Reference source not found.) below, where –n(o) appears in the same function, on the constituent preceding the perfective converb.
two finite clauses, the first clause has postverbal material

In both of these functions, that of a genuine coordination marker and that of ancillary clause linkage, -n(o) appears in contexts where two or more parallel structures are joined together. Its next function, conveying the meaning of ‘also’, ‘too’, is also contingent on parallelism, but that parallelism may be contextual rather than structural. For instance, in (28) and (29), parallelism is made explicit (the director does what father did; tomorrow will be like today), but in (30) and (31), parallelism is simply inferred.

(28) Babi-y-ä uži šahar-y-ä-r Ø-egera-ani-x ħukmu
father-OS-ERG boy.ABS.i city-OS-IN-LAT1-send-MASD-AD.ESS decision.ABS.III
b-oï-n director-y-ä-n b-oï-x.
III-do-PFV.CVB director-OS-ERG-and III-do-PRS
‘Father decided to send the boy to the city and the director has decided that too.’

(29) Yaq’ul Ø-i-ле yude-n goƛ’a Ø-äy nesi-q
today 1-similar tomorrow-and call-INF 1-must DEM.I-POSS.ESS
di 1SG.ABS(.I) home-VERB
‘Tomorrow also, just as today, he has to invite me home.’ (Wasiyat:17)

(30) Zir-ä mati-n b-iqir-si.
fox-ERG duck.ABS.III-and III-catch-PST.WIT
‘The fox caught a duck too.’ (in addition to other catch)

(31) Bahana-r šel’ur-qo xur-no b-ihi-s.
reason-LAT clothing-POSS.ESS stain.ABS.III-and III-put-PST.WIT
‘For looks, he made his clothing stained (with dirt) too.’ (Δelā bećed adiru miskin żek’u:7)

In its linking function, -n(o) follows other particles. Compare example (24) above, where the coordinating –n(o) precedes –yoli, and the following example, where –n appears at the very right edge of the contrastive topic expression, connecting it to the rest of the utterance:

(32) li ğaš-a-yoli-n y-et-as yedu.
water.ABS.IV drink-INF-CONTR.TOP-and II-want-FUT DEM.ABS(.II)
‘But/and I may need this at least for drinking water.’ (Besurozaqu:14)

Similarly, in the next example, the linking –n follows the focus particle –tow:

(33) yowlo-tow-n Ø-ège-ni esiw-n muk’ur Ø-oq-no.
there-FOC-and I-young-DEF sibling.ABS(.I)-TOP confess I-become-PST.nWIT
‘And right there, the youngest brother confessed to everything.’ (Xanno, nesisgon Fono užin:134)

The table below presents a summary of the functions associated with the linking –n(o).

Table 1. Linking particle –n(o) and its functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main function and meaning</th>
<th>Tied to a particular linear position</th>
<th>Tied to a particular structural position</th>
<th>Requires structural parallelism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coordinating conjunction ‘and’</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Appears on the heads of conjoined phrases</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘and’ in clausal coordination and clause linkage</td>
<td>Yes: immediately preverbal (and last postverbal if available)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘and’ = ‘also’</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.2 –n(o) as a topic marker

The next function of –n(o) is that of marking a sentence topic. Unlike the particle –ƛa, which marks what can be characterized as ‘aboutness’-topics or external topics, –n(o) marks topics that appear internal to clause structure. Topics marked with –n(o) are often (although not always) continuing topics, ones that can be expressed by a pronoun or a demonstrative.

In its topic-marking function, –n(o) can appear on a constituent in any position in the clause. We noted above that topics marked with –ƛa are unacceptable or at least strongly dispreferred in the postverbal position; topics marked with –n(o) are quite common postverbally. Postverbal constituents tend to have a topic interpretation (see CH.YY [Word order]), and the appearance of the topic marker reinforces that. When the marker appears with a postverbal pronoun or demonstrative, it is sometimes judged redundant, as in (35):

(34) a. Ukru-micxir-yo-z gonad-ƛ’o-r-no kʷeze b-oq-no ānu
gold-silver-OS-GEN2 pit-SUPER-LAT-TOP meet IPL-become-PST.NWIT NEG žedu.

b. Kʷeze b-oq-no ānu žedu ukru-micxir-yo-z
meet IPL-become-PST.NWIT NEG DEM.PL.ABS.IPL gold-silver-OS-GEN2

‘The pit with treasures they did not find.’ (based on Λelä bečed adiru miskin žek’u:29)

(35) a. Di-n čiq-e-s xan yoł.
1SG.ABS-TOP forest-OS-GEN1 king.ABS be.PRS

b. Čiq-e-s xan yoł di(-n).
forest-OS-GEN1 king.ABS be.PRS 1SG.ABS-TOP

‘I am the king of the forest.’
The topic particle $n(o)$ can appear on noun phrases, as in the examples above, and also on adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases, as illustrated below:

(36) Tax-mo-ƛ-no k’emot’-yo-s xal b-od-o.
    couch-OS-SUB-TOP box-OS-GEN1 looking.ABS.III III-do-IMPER
    ‘Under the couch, look for a/the box.’

In the absence of context, it is not always possible to tell apart the functions of $n(o)$ as a linking particle and as a topic marker. For example, in the next sentence, $n(o)$ appears on the noun phrase immediately preceding the converb *zown*. It could equally play a role as an ancillary clause-linkage device or mark the word *guluƛ’* as topic, which is warranted by the broader context (where that horse is introduced in the preceding sentence).

(37) Guluƛ’-no zow-n … Mus-ä čuret’
    horse-SUPER-ESS-TOP/and climb-PFV.CV B Musa-ERG whip.ABS.ABS
    b-ok’-nosi, … yizira-bi xan-zo y’utk-o-x
    III-hit-ANT.CV B DEM-PL.ABS.IPL king-GEN2 house-OS-AD.ESS
    igo-r b-ay-n.
    near-LAT IPL-com-PST.NWIT
    ‘They took the horse, and as soon as Musa cracked his whip, they were at the king’s palace.’ (Qacis gulu:39)

The particle $n(o)$ is also used to derive universally-quantified expressions from interrogatives; we discuss this function in section 3 below.

1.5 Co-occurrence of topic-marked constituents in a sentence

The particles discussed in this section all encode information-structural distinctions and in that function, they cannot be added iteratively to a single constituent, so sequences such as *X-gon-no, *X-no-yoli*, etc. are impossible. The exception is the linking $n(o)$, which can combine with information-structural particles (see section 1.4.1 above).

The particles do not co-occur on a single constituent, but it is possible for a clause to have a contrastive topic and a regular topic, as in the examples below. The usual linear order is as follows: external topic with -ƛa—contrastive topic—regular topic. It is rather unnatural for all three topic types to be represented in the same utterance, and the examples below show just two expressions at a time.

(38) a. Že-ƛa Abakar-ƛ’-āy-gon ader Ø-exu-s.
    DEM.ABS.(I)-TOP Abakar-SUPER-ABL-CONTR.TOP before I-die-PST.WIT
    ‘As for him, he died before Abakar.’
b. #Abakar-ƛ’-āy-gon že-ƛa ader Ø-exu-s.
    Abakar-SUPER-ABL-CONTR.TOP DEM.ABS.(I)-TOP before I-die-PST.WIT
(39) a. Elo-gon ē’ač’an-e-ńo [yā simindi
    there-CONTR.TOP Chechnya-CONT.ESS-TOP or corn.ABS.IV
    r-ił-a koł’i-nčey] [yā b-eynod-a b-iz-a
    IV-cutlivate-INF know-PFV.CV.B NEG or IPL-work-INF IPL-rise-INF
A rising alternates with strong prosodic prominence on the focused constituent, which is pronounced with typical of sentences in the affirmative, general focus marker and constituent.

The particle -kin can be loosely translated as ‘indeed’ or ‘even’ and it can occur with any clausal constituent or subconstituent other than the finite predicate. Thus, it combines the properties of a general focus marker and a scalar focus marker. The general focus reading, close to ‘indeed,’ is typical of sentences in the affirmative, and in that function -kin is optional. The use of -kin alternates with strong prosodic prominence on the focused constituent, which is pronounced with a rising-falling intonation.

### Table 2. Tsez topic-marking particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Contrastive</th>
<th>Co-occurrence restrictions</th>
<th>Possible in embedded clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-za</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Impossible on finite verbs</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yoli</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Impossible on finite verbs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gon</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Impossible on finite verbs</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2 Focus-marking particles

#### 2.1 -kin

The particle -kin can be loosely translated as ‘indeed’ or ‘even’ and it can occur with any clausal constituent or subconstituent other than the finite predicate. Thus, it combines the properties of a general focus marker and a scalar focus marker. The general focus reading, close to ‘indeed,’ is typical of sentences in the affirmative, and in that function -kin is optional. The use of -kin alternates with strong prosodic prominence on the focused constituent, which is pronounced with a rising-falling intonation.
verbal negation 

expressions that are interpreted as such contexts;

But in the following contextually. For example, the expression marked with –kin can appear either fronted or in a regular position appropriate for a given clausal constituent:

(42) Nesi-q(−kin) dey kid y-uy-xo-r
DEM.1-POSS.ESS-FOC-HYP 1SG.GEN1 girl.ABS.II II-true-AD-LAT
y-ut-ān.
II-turn-FUT.DEF
‘He is the one that is able to return my daughter to me (lit.: to turn my daughter back).’

In this example, the constituent focused with –kin may appear fronted; however, the sentence-initial position is just what is typical of the potential agent in the poss-essive. The following example shows that the expression marked with –kin can appear either fronted or in a regular position appropriate for a given clausal constituent:

(43) a. Hudu(-kin) żed-ā hal b-ay-r-xo.
so-FOC DEM.IPL-ERG health.ABS.III III-come-CAUS-FUT.DEF
b. Żed-ā hudu(-kin) hal b-ay-r-xo.
DEM.IPL-ERG so-FOC health.ABS.III III-come-CAUS-FUT.DEF

‘It is in such a way that they will be useful.’

The scalar focus reading ‘even’ is also possible in the affirmative, where it is often determined contextually. For example, the following sentence is ambiguous out of the context:

(44) Nela-s kuc-kin-wa b-igu ānu!
DEM.nI-GEN1 appearance.ABS.III-FOC-EXCL III-good be.PRS.NEG
‘It is her face that is ugly!’
‘Even her face is ugly!’ (Bašiq oy:25)

But in the following sentence, the reading is clearly ‘even’, and there is no ambiguity:

(45) Sidā side-r sisini muhu-kin b-ołi b-ok’-xo
RECP-LAT single seed.ABS.III-FOC III-half III-hit-IPFV.CV
zow-n.
AUX.PST-PST.NWIT
‘They used to split even a single seed to share with each other.’ (Zirun, yâw adin:3)

Overall, the scalar function of the particle –kin is particularly apparent in negative contexts. In such contexts, –kin has the meaning ‘even; at least’ and often marks negative polarity items or expressions that are interpreted as such. However, the negative reading is contributed by the verbal negation in this case, not by –kin itself.

(46) B-ołik’u-ni-gon sida q’orol y’ana-za-s
III-half-DEF-CONTR.TOP one.OBL widowed woman-OS-GEN1
kuł a-rod-a-ce-kin feze b-öq-no ānu.
sleeve.ABS.IV IV-make-TERM.CV enough III-become-PFV.CV be.PRS.NEG
‘From the other half (of the hide), they could not even make a sleeve for the (giant) widow.’ (Yizaläy hič’č’a ixiw şebi yoł?:17)

(47) Biš*a r-ac’a-kin Ø-utik’-x-ānu.
food.ABS.IV IV-eat.TR-INF-FOC I-manage-PRS-NEG
‘I cannot even manage to eat.’

(48) Nes-ä xabar-kin b-oy-nč’u.
DEM.I-ERG story.ABS.III-FOC III-do-PST.WIT.NEG
‘He did not say a word.’

(49) Eniw razi y-oq-xo zow-nānu ŋa
mother.ABS.II agree II-become-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.nWIT-NEG DEM.ABS(.II)
sid-xo-kin y-eqir-ani-x.
one-AD.ESS-FOC II-send-MASD-AD.ESS
‘Mother refused to give her away in marriage to any suitor.’ (Allahes ašuni:11)

As a scalar particle, –kin is used to derive negative polarity items from interrogatives and from universally quantified expressions (see section 3 below).

2.2 –tow

The emphatic particle –tow is widely used and combines with all categories except the finite form of the verb. Its characterization is similar to the characterization of its Hinuq counterpart offered by Forker (2013: 423), who writes that “the overall function of –tow is the expression of emphasis and contrast. It highlights linguistic items that contradict the expectations of the hearer.” Although a precise semantic analysis of –tow is rather elusive, two properties are important in defining the meaning of this particle: the notion of contrast and the notion of reversal of expectations.

The particle is commonly found with adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses (with the latter, it attaches to the converbal predicate), where it serves to intensify the expression of place, manner, location, or reason conveyed by the adverbial. This emphatic nature of –tow becomes clear from the comparison of bare adverbials to adverbials accompanied by the particle:

(50) a. hudayzikö
‘the next day’
b. hudayzikö-tow
next.day-FOC
‘the very next day’

(51) a. lil-yo-x
shore-OS-AD.ESS
‘at the river bank/at the shore’
b. lil-yo-x-tow
shore-OS-AD.ESS-FOC
‘right at the river bank/shore, at the very edge of a river bank/shore’

(52) a. nedur
‘so; in such a way’
b. nedur-tow
so-FOC
‘exactly that way’

(53) a. dahaw
‘a little; some’
b. dahaw-tow
Below we present examples of –tow combining with the converb predicate of adverbial clauses:

(54) Howža ƛ.eli b-ăy-run-tow, neła-s eniw
   DEM.nl lamb.ABS.III III-do-IMM.CV-BFOC DEM.nl-GEN� mother.ABS.(III)
   b-exu-s.
   III-die-PST.WIT
   ‘As soon as the lamb was born, its mother died.’ (Xanno, nesisgon ṭono užin:75)

(55) Xan-e-s kid-gon ṭiyay-x τiyay-x
    king-OS-GEN� girl.ABS.II-CONTR.TOP cry-IPFV.CV-BFOC cry-IPFV.CV-BV
    zown-n.
    AUX.PST-PT.NWIT
    ‘As for the king’s daughter, she was crying her eyes out (lit.: really crying cried).’
    (Qacis gulu:14)

(56) B-ex-ur-a-tow b-ex-ur-x yil-ä di!
    III-die-CAUS-INF-FOC III-die-CAUS-PRS DEM.nl-ERG 1SG.ABS.(III)
    ‘It (=the cat) is going to kill me (=the wolf)!’ (K.’et’un, zirun…:28)

(57) B-iš-ƛ’oräy-tow b-ex-ur-än yizi.
    Ipl-eat.intr-DUR.I.CV-BFOC Ipl-CAUS-FUR.DEF DEM.Ipl.ABS
    ‘They will die right away, while they are eating.’ (Qacis gulu:40)

When used with noun phrases, -tow often serves to express the notion that the referent’s participation is unexpected, out of the ordinary, or surprising. For example, (58) can be used in response to a request to look for something; the expectation is that the speaker will do the looking, and the speaker rejects that assumption.

(58) Mež-ä-tow xal b-od-o!
    2PL-ERG-FOC looking.ABS.III III-do-IMPER
    ‘You yourselves go look.’

Example
(59) implies that the father is opposed to marrying the girl to the speaker:

(59) Di-ƛa mi y-ow-än … debe-z-tow
    1SG.ERG-CONTR.TOP 2SG.ABS.(II) II-take-FUT.DEF 2SG-GEN2-FOC
    babi-y-ä y-egir-näy.
    father-OS-ERG II-send-COND.CONV
    ‘As for me, I will of course marry you if only your father would agree to give you to me in marriage.’ (Qacis gulu:12)

Finally, the following sentence can only be uttered if there was no wind in the forecast.

(60) Łaci=muši-tow r-izi-s.
    wind.ABS.IV-FOC IV-rise-PST.WIT
‘A strong wind blew.’ (implication: unexpectedly)

The role of –tow as an expression of the reversal of expectations is particularly apparent in its use with pronouns and demonstratives, which need to be associated with a cross-clausal antecedent. There are several core cases where –tow helps establish and maintain coreference. First, as we discuss in CH.YY [Complement clauses], if a potentially ambiguous pronoun in a finite complement clause is marked with the focus enclitic –tow, only the shifted interpretation is possible. Compare (61a) and (61b) for first person pronouns. In (61a), both readings of ḏāq are possible: in the first reading, ḏāq points to the speaker (indexical reading) and the other, it indexes the attitude holder (shifted reading). In (61b), only the shifted reading is possible. The particle therefore reinforces whatever interpretation is less expected or likely:

(61) a. Nas-ā [ḏā-q qʷanoquno ġeb yot-ƛin]  
    DEM.I-ERG Isg-poss.ess forty year.abs.iii be.prs-quot  
    eƛi-s.  
    say-pst.wit  
    ‘He said that I was 40 years old.’  
    ‘Hei said that hei was 40 years old.’

b. Nas-ā [ḏā-q-tow qʷanoquno ġeb yot-ƛin]  
    DEM.I-ERG Isg-poss.ess-foC forty year.abs.iii be.prs-quot  
    eƛi-s.  
    say-pst.wit  
    ‘Hei said that hei was 40 years old.’ (SR)  
    NOT: ‘Hei said that I was 40 years old.’ (IR)

In a related pattern of use, -tow accompanies demonstratives and pronouns to establish a coreferential reflexive/reciprocal interpretation in non-local contexts, namely across clauses (recall that compound reflexives are strictly local; see CH.YY [Reflexives and anaphora]). Compare the ill-formed compound reflexives in relative clauses and the licit use of a tow-form in the parallel examples:

(62) a. *ʕal-ā-n Irbahin-ā-n [žeďā ġedu-l-āy gazyat-l’o  
    ali-erg-and Ibrahim-erg-and refl.pl.i-cont-abl newspaper-super.ess  
    čəx-ru] ġebi-n t’et’er-xo.  
    write-pst.ptcp something.abs.iv-inDef read-prs  
    (‘Ali and Ibrahim are reading the thing written about themselves in a newspaper.’)

b. ʕal-ā-n Irbahin-ā-n [žeďu-l-āy-tow  
    ali-erg-and Ibrahim-erg-and dem.pl.i-cont-abl-foC  
    gazyat-l’o čəx-ru] ġebi-n t’et’er-xo.  
    newspaper-super.ess write-pst.ptcp something.abs.iv-inDef read-prs  
    (‘Ali and Ibrahim are reading the thing written about themselves in a newspaper.’)

(63) a. Kid-b-ā tungi [nelā nel-ā tel zāw-ru]-zo  
    girl-os-erg jug.abs.iii refl.nl-in.ess inside be.pst-pst.ptcp-attrib.obl  
    li-d ġebi-s.  
    water-ins wash-pst.wit  
    (‘The girl washed the jug with the water that was in itself.’)
In (64a), in the absence of –town, the demonstrative in the complement clause is interpreted ambiguously (as referring to Ali or to a third party); in (64b), the form with –town is interpreted as referring to Ali and Ali only:

(64) a. §Al-ā [Pat’-ā nesi-r kumek
Ali-ERG Fatima-ERG DEM.I-LAT help.ABS.III
b-oy-xosi-ƛin] eƛi-s.
III-do-PRS.PTCP-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ali, said that Fatima was helping himii.’

b. §Al-ā [Pat’-ā nesi-r-town kumek
Ali-ERG Fatima-ERG DEM.I-LAT-FOC help.ABS.III
b-oy-xosi-ƛin] eƛi-s.
III-do-PRS.PTCP-QUOT say-PST.WIT
‘Ali, said that Fatima was helping himii+1.’

The antecedent and the town-form can be separated by more than one clause:

(65) §Al-ā eƛi-x [Irbahin-e-r r-iy-x [Pat’-ā
Ali-ERG say-PRS Ibrahim-OS-LAT IV-know-PRS Fatima-ERG
nesi-r-town kumek b-oy-xosi-ƛin]].
DEM.I-LAT-FOC help.ABS.III III-do-PRS-QUOT
‘Ali, says that Ibrahim knows that Fatima is helping himi.’

If only one noun phrase can be construed as the antecedent of a town-form across clauses (either because it is the only antecedent present, or because the gender feature on the demonstrative matches the gender feature of that noun phrase alone), the grammatical function of the antecedent does not matter. If, however, there are several potential antecedents present, their structural relationship appears to play a role. The noun phrase that occupies the higher structural position is the likeliest antecedent for coreference across clauses if the coreferential pronoun or demonstrative appears without -town. The addition of –town again serves to reverse this expectation, and the coreference is established with the less likely antecedent: one in a lower structural position. For instance, in (66a), the ergative subject is a better antecedent than the poss-essive argument; but in (66b), the presence of -town on the demonstrative reverses that expectation in favor of the poss-essive:

(66) a. Tawad-ā nesi-s roλ’i b-ãq-ru-ni
Tawadi-ERG DEM.I-GEN love.ABS.III III-become-PST.PTCP-DEF
kid Ražbadin-qo y-uka-r-no.
girl.ABS.II Rajbadin-POSS.ESS II-see-CAUS-PST.NWIT
‘Tawadii showed Rajbadinj the girl that heii+2 had fallen in love with.’
2.3 –uy

The interpretation of the particle AGR-uy is close to ‘indeed, certainly’; we will characterize it as a validator particle (VAL) which indicates a strong degree of certainty on the part of the speaker. The particle agrees with the absolutive argument of the clause:

(67) Hul b-uy nel-ä micxir b-iqir-si.
yesterday III-VAL DEM.ni-ERG money.ABS.III III-catch-PST.WIT
‘It was indeed yesterday that she received the money.’

This particle has the properties of a second-position clitic; it attaches to the right edge of the first clausal constituent (not necessarily the first word in a clause).3 In the next two examples, the first constituent is a single word:

(68) Micxir b-uy hul b-iqir-si nel-ä.
money.ABS.III III-VAL yesterday III-catch-PST.WIT DEM.ni-ERG
‘It was indeed (the) money that she received yesterday.’

(69) B-iqir-si b-uy micxir nel-ä hul.
III-catch-PST.WIT III-VAL money.ABS.III DEM.ni-ERG yesterday
‘She did receive the money yesterday.’

In the following examples, the validator clitic follows an entire adverbial, infinitival, or masdar clause:

(70) [Xex-z-ä xabar teq-er-no] b-uy b-ič-ix.
child-OS-ERG story.ABS.III hear-CAUS-PFV.CVIV III-VAL III-stay-PRS
‘The children were listening with rapt attention.’ (lit.: stayed indeed listening to the story)

(71) [Gut kur-a] r-uy r-oq-si pečë.
smoke.ABS.II throw-INF IV-VAL IV-begin-PST.WIT furnace.ABS.III
‘The furnace began to smoke really bad.’

(72) [Masukuw-ä-yor Ø-ik’-ani-x] b-uy kul er-xo Šal-ä.
Moscow-IN-VERS i-go-MASD-AD.ESS III-VAL hope.ABS.III put-PRS Ali-ERG
‘Ali hopes to go to Moscow indeed.’

AGR-uy can appear only once in a clause, so the following sentence is ungrammatical:

3 In narrative texts, we have found several examples where AGR-uy does not appear at the edge of the first constituent, but these are judged awkward when tested in elicitations.
AGR-uy resembles the validator clitics that have been described for Quechua (see Cole 1982: 164-168). As in Quechua, the Tsez validator clitic associates with the focus of the clause, is limited to root clauses, and can only occur once in a clause. A priori, there is no pragmatic or semantic reason that a focus expression should be limited to the root clause. We hypothesize that the restriction has to do with the structural size of the root clause as compared to the embedded clause; the latter may not have a structural position in which to host the focused constituent.

3 Topic and focus particles in the formation of quantified expressions

3.1 The formation of quantificational expressions

The particles –ƛa, -n(o), -gon, and –kin serve to derive quantified expressions from interrogative words/expressions and from the numeral sis ‘one’. The derivation is extremely regular, as the table below shows.
Table 3. Tsez quantificational expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Existential</th>
<th>Universal</th>
<th>Negative polarity</th>
<th>Negative polarity</th>
<th>Free choice any</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Šebi</td>
<td>What/Who</td>
<td>Šebi-ša</td>
<td>Šebi-n</td>
<td>Šebi-ša</td>
<td>Šebi-ša</td>
<td>Šebi-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šow</td>
<td>What/who</td>
<td>Šow-ša</td>
<td>Šow-no</td>
<td>Šow-ša</td>
<td>Šow-ša</td>
<td>Šow-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā</td>
<td>Where</td>
<td>Nā-ša</td>
<td>Nā-n</td>
<td>Nā-ša</td>
<td>Nā-ša</td>
<td>Nā-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāsi</td>
<td>WhichDET</td>
<td>Nāsi-ša</td>
<td>Nāsi-n</td>
<td>Nāsi-ša</td>
<td>Nāsi-ša</td>
<td>Nāsi-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didiw</td>
<td>What/Which</td>
<td>Didiw-ša</td>
<td>Didiw-no</td>
<td>Didiw-ša</td>
<td>Didiw-ša</td>
<td>Didiw-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neti</td>
<td>When</td>
<td>Neti-ša</td>
<td>Neti-n</td>
<td>Neti-ša</td>
<td>Neti-ša</td>
<td>Neti-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dice</td>
<td>How much</td>
<td>Dice-ša</td>
<td>Dice-no</td>
<td>Dice-ša</td>
<td>Dice-ša</td>
<td>Dice-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somo</td>
<td>How many</td>
<td>Somo-ša</td>
<td>Somo-no</td>
<td>Somo-ša</td>
<td>Somo-ša</td>
<td>Somo-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šida</td>
<td>Why</td>
<td>Šida-ša</td>
<td>Šida-ša</td>
<td>Šida-ša</td>
<td>Šida-ša</td>
<td>Šida-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didur</td>
<td>How</td>
<td>Didur-ša</td>
<td>Didur-no</td>
<td>Didur-ša</td>
<td>Didur-ša</td>
<td>Didur-gon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>Sis-ša</td>
<td>Sis-no</td>
<td>Sis-ša</td>
<td>Sis-ša</td>
<td>Sis-gon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a given form changes according to case, the particle always follows the case endings; for example:

(74)  
  a. šebi-ša  
       what-TOP  
       ‘something’
  b. lina-qo-r-ša  
       what.OBL-POS-LAT-TOP  
       ‘to something’

(75)  
  a. nā-r-ša  
       where-LAT-FOC  
       ‘to nowhere’
  b. na-z-āy-ša  
       where-DIST-ABL-FOC  
       ‘from nowhere’

However, if two quantificational forms are coordinated, the linking -n(o) follows the particles:

---

4 Šebi and šow are dialectal variants.
3.2 An overview of the series

The topic particle –ƛα, which we gloss as indefinite in this function, combines with interrogative expressions to form existential expressions with the core meaning ‘some’. Such existential expressions are possible in any type of clause, be it declarative, interrogative, or exclamative. For example:

(77) a. .lu-ƛα debe-ƛ,’ xal b-oy-s.
    who.ERG-INDEF 2SG-SUPER.ESS looking.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT
   ‘Someone was looking for you.’

b. .lu-ƛα dāw-ƛ’o xal b-oy-ā?
    who.ERG-INDEF 1SG-SUPER.ESS looking.ABS.III III-do-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘Was someone looking for me?’

When used in a negative clause, existential expressions do not acquire a negative polarity interpretation:

(78) Šomo-ƛα surat xec-ač’in.
    some-INDEF picture.ABS.III leave-FUT.NEG
   ‘Several pictures won’t last (lit.: be left).’
   NOT: ‘No pictures will last.’

The topic particle –n(o) derives universally quantified expressions, as shown in (79), with the exception of the form šebin, which is lexicalized in the meaning ‘thing’ and cannot be used to denote ‘all’ (the word nāsi is used in its stead)—compare (80).\(^5\) We gloss –n(o) in this function as universal (UNIV):

(79) Meši-bi nā-r-no k’olā-x zow-s.
    calf-PL.ABS.NPL where-LAT-UNIV run-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT
   ‘The calves were running in all directions (everywhere).’

(80) Nāzon yedu … łoč-ya-ƛ’ y-oy- xo
    all.ERG DEM.ABS(.II) dance-OS-SUPER.ESS II-pull-IPFV.CVB
    zow-n.

\(^5\) The expressions involving na- ‘where’ vary depending on the spatial form, indicating stative location and direction toward/away from a reference point. In addition, in the universal series we find the form naysinan ‘everywhere’, which historically was probably compositional, as shown below:

(i) nāy-si-na-n
    where.ABL-ATTR-DEF.OBL-TOP
‘Everybody (lit.: all) was inviting her to dance.’ (Bašiq’oy:29)

The universal reading is often reinforced by the focus particle –tow, as shown in (81) Meši-bi nā-r-no-tow k’oši-x zow-s. calf-PL.ABS.nPL where-LAT-UNIV-FOC run-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT ‘The calves were running all over the place.’

(82):

(81) Meši-bi nā-r-no-tow k’oši-x zow-s. calf-PL.ABS.nPL where-LAT-UNIV-FOC run-IPFV.CVB AUX.PST-PST.WIT ‘The calves were running all over the place.’

(82) Nāzon-tow yedu … łoč-yā-ƛ’ y-oγ-xo all.ERG-FOC DEM.ABS(.II) dance-OS-SUPER.ESS II-pull-IPFV.CVB zow-n. AUX.PST-PST.nWIT ‘Everybody was inviting her to dance.’

In some instances, the topic particle and the particle –tow seem no longer synchronically divisible from the interrogative. This is the case with the expression netintow ‘always’, which includes neti ‘when’ and -n and –tow. (In example (8) above we present it as a unit.)

Negation takes scope over universal expressions, thus giving them the flavor of negative polarity items. For example:

(83) Neti-n t’ut’-ƛ’o-r-kin rel’a r-iz-ir-inē’u nes-ā. when-UNIV fly-SUPER-LAT-FOC hand.ABS.IV IV-rise-CAUS-PST.WIT.NEG DEM.I-ERG ‘He can’t say boo to a goose.’ (lit.: never lifted his hand over a fly)

The particle –gon/-go derives free-choice expressions which regularly appear in concessive clauses. Examples of such clauses can be found in CH.YY [Adverbial clauses]. See also example (6) earlier in this chapter.

The particle -kin serves as a marker of negative polarity items; it is used to derive two sets of negative polarity any, one formed from interrogatives, the other from universal expressions. Regardless of their morphological make-up, the expressions with -kin carry existential quantificational force.

The system presented here is reminiscent of indeterminate expressions in such languages as Japanese or Korean (see Haspelmath 1997; Shimoyama 2008; Giannakidou 2000; Gil and Tsoulas 2009). In Japanese and Korean, indeterminates receive the interrogative interpretation when they associate with the overt interrogative particle (which is attached to the predicate). Tsez indeterminates also receive their interrogative interpretation in the presence of an interrogative operator; however, recall that the interrogative may not always have a morphological realization (see CH.YY [Interrogatives]).
The presence of two series of negative polarity items is cross-linguistically less common. The interrogative-based series is a typical one, and there are multiple cross-linguistic correlates to it, including the Japanese and Korean systems just mentioned (see Haspelmath 1997: Ch.8 for further cross-linguistic parallels). The universal-based series is less typical, although elements of such polarity systems are observed even in familiar languages like English, where at all is a negative polarity item, or French, where tout à fait is also widely used under negation. Partial doubling of negative polarity items is observed in Mandarin, where wh-words may function as polarity-sensitive items of some kind and carry an indefinite meaning, but there is also another NPI-like element whose morphological form is based on ‘all’ (ren-he); see Hsieh (2012). Likewise, in Turkish, certain polarity items are based on universally quantified expressions (Kornfilt 1997: 126-128). In Tsez, however, the paradigm is almost complete, and universal-based negative polarity items are not limited to adverbials. In the following subsection, we present more details of the two series of negative polarity items.

3.3 Negative polarity items

The two series derived with the particle –kin overlap in their interpretation but show systematic differences in distribution. They are summarized in the following table, and we illustrate them below.

Table 4. Differences in the distribution of interrogative-based and universal-based negative polarity items in –kin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Universal-based NPIs</th>
<th>Interrogative-based NPIs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence in infinitival or masdar clauses under matrix negation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence as an adnominal modifier</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-occurrence with the adverbial t’ok’aw/t’ok’ow ‘further; more’</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence in negative imperatives (prohibitives)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence in generic statements</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infinitival clauses and masdar clauses are transparent to binding and negation, so a negative predicate that dominates such clauses can license a negative polarity item inside them. The polarity items licensed in this way are always based on universal expressions. For example:

(84) a. Nā-r-no-kin b-ik’-a koł’-inč’i žedu-r.
where-LAT-UNIV-FOC IPL-go-INF know-PST.WIT DEM.IPL-LAT
‘They did not know where to go.’ (lit.: they did not know anywhere to go to)

b. *Nā-r-kin b-ik’-a koł’-inč’i žedu-r.
where-LAT-FOC IPL-go-INF know-PST.WIT DEM.IPL-LAT

Just as negative polarity items can be licensed across the infinitival or masdar boundary in the verbal domain, they can be licensed across the noun phrase boundary in the nominal domain. We thus find adnominal modifiers, expressed either by a genitive or an attributive phrase, licensed by
matrix negation. Again, only universal-based negative polarity items are possible. Consider the following example, where one type of genitive negative polarity item is illustrated, and see example (88) below for the same pattern with the attributive didiw:

(85) lina-s-no-kin/*lina-s-kin pikru ānu dey.
    what-GEN1-UNIV-FOC/what-GEN1-FOC thought.ABS.III be.PRS.NEG 1SG.GEN1
    ‘I have no idea.’

In negative clauses with the adverbial t’ok’ow/t’ok’aw, only universal-based negative polarity items are possible; the general meaning is that of any more in English. Compare the clause with this adverb in (85a), in which only one type of polarity item is possible, and the clause without t’ok’ow in (85b), where both types are allowed:

(86) a. Žed-ä la-l-no-kin/*la-l-kin t’ok’ow
    DEM.IPL-ERG who-CONT.ESSENT-IND/who-CONT.ESSENT-FOC more
    halikataw šebin r-oy-n-ānu,
    vile thing.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.NWIT-NEG
    ‘They no longer did bad things to anyone.’ (Aelä bečed adiru miskin žek’u:32)
b. Žed-ä ła-l-no-kin/ła-l-kin halikataw
    DEM.IPL-ERG who-CONT.ESSENT-IND/who-CONT.ESSENT-FOC vile
    šebin r-oy-n-ānu.
    thing.ABS.IV IV-do-PST.NWIT-NEG
    ‘They did not do bad things to anyone.’

It appears that the role of t’ok’ow/t’ok’aw is to reinforce the notion that the set whose existence is negated is complete.

Negative imperatives (prohibitives) co-occur only with universal series-based quantified expressions, thus:

(87) Mi lina-q-no-kin/*lina-q-kin ḥayran
    2SG.ABS(I) what-POSS.ESSENT-UNIV-FOC/what-POSS.ESSENT-FOC surprised
    y-āq-no.
    II-BECOME-PROH
    ‘Don’t be surprised by anything.’

(88) lu-qo-r-no-kin/*lu-qo-r-kin didiw-no-kin/*didiw-kin
    who-POSS.LAT-UNIV-FOC/who-POSS.LAT-FOC what-UNIV-FOC/what-FOC
    xabar b-āy-no.
    conversation.ABS.III III-do-PROH
    ‘Don’t talk to anyone.’ (lit.: don’t make any conversation with anyone)

Non-specific negative polarity expressions, derived from interrogatives, are found in generic statements, such as the proverb in (89). In such contexts, universal-based negative polarity items do not occur:

(89) Žek’u-z rok’-š.o-si ła-r-kin/*ła-r-no-kin
Both types of negative polarity items can occur in conditional clauses with negative predicates, but they give rise to different readings in that context. Compare the following contrast:

(90) ća lu-qo-r-kin xabary-inč’i-nāy mi-gon
DEM.ABS who-POSS-LAT-FOC speak-NEG-COND.CVB 2SG.ABS-CONTR.TOP
šibaw maduhal-qo-r/*nesi-qo-r xabarayad-a r-āy.
every neighbor-POSS-LAT/DEM.I-POSS-LAT speak-INF IV-must
‘If s/he does not talk to anyone, you should speak to all the neighbors/*to him.’

(91) ća lu-qo-r-no-kin xabary-inč’i-nāy mi-gon
DEM.ABS who-POSS-LAT-UNIV-FOC speak-NEG-COND.CVB 2SG.ABS-CONTR.TOP
šibaw maduhal-qo-r/nesi-qo-r xabarayad-a r-āy.
every neighbor-POSS-LAT/DEM.I-POSS-LAT speak-INF IV-must
‘If s/he does not talk to anyone/someone, you should speak to all the neighbors/to him.’

In (90), the use of the interrogative-based negative polarity item in the antecedent gives rise to a meaning that is close to free choice (“if she does not talk to anyone/whoever”); this expression is interpreted as non-specific and the determiner nesiqor, coindexed with the negative polarity item in the apodosis of the conditional, is infelicitous, the same way it is infelicitous in the following English example:

(92) I have not been able to find any good cobbler in this town, but she found one/#him.

In contrast, the negative polarity item in ) can be interpreted existentially, and coindexation with nesiqor is possible.

Finally, universal-based negative polarity items can be interpreted as meaning ‘not a single X’, as in example (93) below.

(93) a. la-r-no-kin y-ukay-nčey yedu kid idu-yor
who-LAT-UNIV-FOC II-see-IPFV.CVB.NEG DEM girl.ABS.II home-VERS
y-ik’i-n.
II-go-PST.nWIT
‘Without a single person seeing her, the girl went into the house.’ (Bašiq’oy:30)
b. la-r-kin y-ukay-nčey yedu kid idu-yor
who-LAT-FOC II-see-IPFV.CVB.NEG DEM girl.ABS.II home-VERS
y-ik’i-n.
II-go-PST.nWIT
‘Without anyone seeing her, the girl went into the house.’ (Bašiq’oy:30)
The differences between the two series of negative polarity items are quite subtle, and further work may be needed to determine if additional distinctions exist.

4  Clausal particles

Most of the particles discussed so far can be defined negatively by their inability to associate with finite verbs (the only exception above is the particle –voli, which combines with finite verbs). The particles discussed in this section are in essence clausal; they often attach to the predicate or some other constituent, but their non-truth-conditional import extends to the entire utterance. Regardless of their attachment site, they all share the same property: namely, they can only appear in root clauses.

4.1  –čo , -če(y)

The general meaning of -čo/-če(y) is ‘indeed, already, definitely, let’s’; it puts special emphasis on the command, question, or exclamation, regardless of its attachment site. It is possible that čey is actually a combination of –čo and –ey (see section 4.2 below), but currently -čo and –čey are used interchangeably, so any diachronic connection is obscured.

This particle appears with verbs in the imperative or optative, and with interrogative verbs (cf. Imnajšvili 1963: 270). For example:

(94) Hay hor-o-čo, babi-la-bi.
hey come-IMPER-EMPHX father-DIMIN-PL.ABS.IPL
‘Come, come my dears.’ (ʕAliqilič:1)

(95) Nāsin xalq’il b-ay-oł-čey.
all people.ABS.IPL 1PL-come-OPT-EMPHX
‘Let all the people come in!’

(96) Šebi-čo di r-od-ān, nā-r-čo k’oł-ān?
what.ABS.IV-EMPHX 1SG.ERG IV-do-FUT.DEF where-LAT-EMPHX run-FUT.DEF
‘What oh what will I do, where oh where will I go?’ (C’irdux:51)

The particle -čo/-če(y) does not occur in simple declarative clauses, which is probably due to the incompatibility of its meaning with the meaning of such clauses.

In interrogative clauses the particle appears either on the verb or on the interrogative expression:

(97) a. Šebi-čey yil-ā r-ādi?
what.ABS.IV-EMPHX DEM.nI-ERG IV-do.FUT
b. Šebi yil-ā r-ādi-čey?
what.ABS.IV DEM.nI-ERG IV-do.FUT-EMPHX
‘Really, what can she do?’

The particle can also appear on interjections associated with vocatives and exclamatives (see Ch.YY [Exclamatives]).

(98) Way-čo, baharči, Ø-egi-x-wa mi dā-q.
Unlike some other verbal particles, -čo/-če(y) can be doubled in an utterance; compare (98) and (99):

(99) Way-čo, baharči, Ø-egi-x-wa mi-čo dä-q.
o.dear brave.man 1-tear.away-PRS-EXCL 2SG.ABS.1-EMPH 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘Oh brave man, I cannot hold on to you!’

4.2 –ey

This particle appears only in root interrogatives and is possible in both yes-no questions and wh-questions. It usually follows the verb or another constituent marked with the interrogative suffix -(y)ā, but it can also occur on interrogative words, as in (101b) below. When combining with the interrogative suffix, -ey causes the ā in that suffix to be deleted, which suggests that -ey is a genuine suffix rather than a particle. However, we still chose to include it in this chapter, given its irregular occurrence and the general meaning of vagueness, doubt, or uncertainty that it adds to the interpretation of a question.6 For example, the disjunctive question in (100b) is minimally different from its counterpart in (100a) in being less precise and implying that the speaker is not quite certain as to what s/he is seeing:

(100) a. Elo ŋomo-yā gulu-yā?
there donkey.ABS.III-INTERR horse.ABS.III-INTERR
‘Is it a donkey or a horse there?’
b. Elo ŋomo-ey gulu-ey?
there donkey.ABS.III-INTERR-UNCERT horse.ABS.III-INTERR-UNCERT
‘Could it possibly be a donkey or a horse there?’ (Imnajšvili 1963:270)

If a question is not disjunctive, the particle can appear only once, either on the predicate or on the wh-word, as shown below:

(101) a. Šebi nela-r ela-q žukli
what.ATTR DEM.nI-LAT 1PL-POSS.ESS badness.ABS.IV
r-oq-ān-ey?
IV-become-FUT.DEF-UNCERT
b. Šebi-ey nela-r ela-q žukli
what-UNCERT DEM.nI-LAT 1PL-POSS.ESS badness.ABS.IV
r-oq-ān?
IV-become-FUT.DEF
‘What kind of misfortune (bad thing) could we arrange for her?’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:39)

In this last example, the particle –ey appears on the verb in the future definite form, and the potential agent (the poss-essive) is indeed first plural. However, with this particle, the usual

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6 Imnajšvili (1963:270) characterizes this particle as marking “indirect questions”, but based on the examples he provides, it conveys indecision and uncertainty nonetheless.
restriction of future definite to the first person does not hold, and the highest argument could be second or third person; for example:

(102) Žaq’ul-gon nā-r-ey mi dā-q-āy
today-CONTR.TOP where-LAT-UNCERT 2SG.ABS(.i) 1SG-POSS-ABL
Ō-ok’l-ān?
1-escape-FUT.DEF
‘Where oh where can you escape from me today?’ (C’irdux:80)

4.3 –wa, -ba

The particle *wa* (-ba) functions as an optional marker of exclamatives. The overall function of –wa is to reinforce the exclamative nature of the utterance, but we have not been able to determine its more specific semantic contribution. The particle –wa is compatible with the particle -čo-/če(y) discussed above.

This particle can appear on the predicate of the exclamative, as in (103a), or on some other constituent of an exclamative clause, as in (103b). It cannot, however, be doubled, as (103c) shows. It is possible in negative exclamatives, as shown in (104) and (105):

(103) a. Šahan-y-a-yor Ō-ik’-a-wa!
city-OS-IN-VERS 1-go-INF-EXCL
b. Šahan-y-a-yor-wa Ō-ik’-a!
city-OS-IN-VERS-EXCL 1-go-INF
‘Oh, to go to the city!’
c. #Šahan-y-a-yor-wa Ō-ik’-a-wa!
city-OS-IN-VERS-EXCL 1-go-INF-EXCL

(104) Way-čo, baharči, Ō-egi-x-wa mi dā-q.
o.dear-EMPH brave.man 1-tear.away-PRS-EXCL 2SG.ABS.I 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘Oh brave man, I cannot hold on to you!’ (Aliqilič:154)

(105) Idu r-ac’-a šebin-wa ānu!
home IV-eat.TR-INF thing.ABS.IV-EMPH be.PRS.NEG
‘There is nothing to eat at home!’ (Imnajšvili 1963:273)

Furthermore, -wa can follow another particle; in the next example, it attaches to the particle -lax (see section 7 for the discussion of -lax):

(106) Žoř-e-l-no axran-li r-od-er-xo-lax-wa!
war-OS-CONT.ESS-TOP guard-NMLZ.ABS.IV IV-do-CAUS-PRS-INDIRECT.EVID-EXCL
‘In wartime, they apparently still need the work of guards!’

4.4 –da

The particle –da expresses the speaker’s certainty about the future and can be translated as ‘maybe’. It occurs only in clauses whose predicate is in the definite future. As with the particle –ey (section 4.2 above), the usual restriction of future definite to first person does not apply in the
presence of -da, and hypothetical sentences with this particle can have non-first person subjects as well. Consider example (107):

(107) Yedu b-ʊλ’-ān-da/*b-ʊλ’-as-da.
     DEM.nL.ABS(III) III-fall-FUT.DEF-HYP III-fall-FUT-HYP
     ‘This thing may fall down.’ (‘This thing will maybe fall down.’)

In the following sentence, the lative argument is first person, so the future definite tense is warranted. The particle –da adds the same hypothetical reading to the sentence as in (107).

(108) Sis nela-r-no kur-no sis-kin dā-r
     one DEM.nL-LAT-and throw-PVF.CVB one-FOC 1SG-LAT
     ƛex-ān-da/*ƛex-as-da.
     remain-FUT.DEF-HYP/remain-FUT-HYP
     ‘I will throw it one (chick), and maybe I will have at least one left.’
     (Debeq ʒa äsirus haqu yoč’ik’ʊλ:10)

The particle can also occur in negative future sentences; in those sentences, ‘maybe’ takes scope over negation, as indicated by the example below:

(109) Yedu b-ʊλ’-āčin-da.
     DEM.nL.ABS(III) III-fall-FUT.DEF.NEG-HYP
     ‘Maybe this thing will not fall down.’
     NOT: ‘This thing is not likely to fall down.’ (it is not the case that this thing may fall down)

The particle -da does not necessarily appear on the predicate; it can also follow a different constituent, as in (113) and (114). In that case, it still takes scope over the entire clause; compare (107) and (109) with the following examples:

(110) Yedu-da b-ʊλ’-ān.
     DEM.nL.ABS(III)-HYP III-fall-FUT.DEF
     ‘This thing will maybe fall down.’
(111) Yedu-da b-ʊλ’-āčin.
     DEM.nL.ABS(III)-HYP III-fall-FUT.DEF.NEG
     ‘Maybe this thing will not fall down.’

The particle –da can only appear once in a clause, so the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(112) *Yedu-da b-ʊλ’-ān-da.
     DEM.nL.ABS(III)-HYP III-fall-FUT.DEF-HYP
     (‘This thing will maybe fall down.’)

Finally, as examples (113) and (114) show, the particle –da often co-occurs with expressions that bear the focus particle –kin. In textual examples, the majority of sentences where –da occurs also
include a *kin*-marked expression, and –*da* can attach to that expression, following –*kin*. For example:

(113) Nesi-q-kin-da        dey        kid        y-uy-xo-r
     DEM.I-POSS.ESS-FOC-HYP 1SG.GEN.I girl.ABS.II II-true-AD-LAT
     y-ut-ān?
     II-turn-FUT.DEF
     ‘What if he is the one that is able to turn my daughter back?’
     (Xanes ḳono užin, sis kidno:90)

(114) R-ac’-a šebin-kin-da   t’o   tel    r-esʷ-ān!
     IV-eat.TR-INF   thing.ABS.IV-FOC-HYP   there    inside   IV-find-FUT.DEF
     ‘What if there is something to eat inside!’ (Zirun, Ŷʷadin:41)

4.5  –*xa*

This enclitic is an Avar loan; in Avar it has an emphatic function, indicating that the speaker has a strong commitment to or investment in a given eventuality. The same epistemic commitment, which signals that the speaker has enough evidence to be sure about the proposition in question, is carried over to Tsez. Most commonly, –*xa* occurs on finite verbs and interjections, but it can also occur on other clausal constituents, in which case it still takes scope over the entire clause. The next example shows the variable positions of –*xa*:

(115) a.  Ele-xa,   ža   Oḵoyo  di     yoł.
       here-EMPH    DEM   Oḵoyo.ABS.I   1SG.ABS(.I)   be.PRS

       b.  Ele   ža   Oḵoyo  di    yoł-xa.
       here    DEM   Oḵoyo.ABS.I   1SG.ABS(.I)   be.PRS-EMPH
       ‘So, I am that very Oḵoyo.’ (based on Oḵoyo:13)

The particle is mentioned in Imnajšvili (1963) and is also used in Hinuq, likewise as a borrowing from Avar (Forker 2013: 425-426), but it is not widely used in Tsez.

5  The vocative particle –*yu*

The particle –*yu* is a vocative marker, mainly used with kinship terms; it combines with the oblique stem of the corresponding noun; for example:

(116) Lē,  kid-be-yu!
      hey    girl-OS-VOC
      ‘Hey, girl/daughter!’

(117) Uži-za-yu!
      boy-OS.PL-VOC
      ‘Boys/Sons!’

(118) Lē,  xedi-yu  (<  xedi-y-yu)
      hey   husband-VOC   husband-OS-VOC

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7 If asked to modify such examples, speakers allow the placement of –*da* on the verb, so this is clearly possible, but the tendency to combine –*kin* and –*da* is apparent from the examples.
‘Hey, husband!’

6 The quotative particle –šin

We gloss the particle –šin uniformly as a quotative marker, but as the discussion below shows, its functions actually vary between that of a quotative marker and a generalized complementizer. This particle is extremely frequent, as numerous examples throughout this grammar show.

Diachronically, it is probably derived from the unwitnessed past form of the verb ši- ‘say’ (šin), which appears as the matrix verb in (119) below. As a genuine quotative, this particle marks reported speech, appearing on the last word of the quoted material, regardless of the word order of the clause:

(119) Y-eże-ni esi-y-ä eši-n … nāzon debe-z
   ii-young-DEF sibling-OS-ERG say-PST.NWIT all.OBL 2SG-GEN2
   nukar-za-z gulu-za-ši ‘iri kur-ani-x
   bodyguard-OS.PL-GEN2 horse-OS.PL-SUPER.ESS above throw-MASD-AD.ESS
   xaliča-bi r-iš-ān di-šin.
   rug-PL.ABS.NLPL nlPL-weave-FUT.DEF 1SG.ERG-QUOT
   ‘The younger sister said, … ‘I will be weaving saddle covers for all your bodyguards.’
   (Beqes ŠUNeyzat:19)

The quotative can appear multiple times, usually on the first and last word of a direct quotation, for example:

(120) Šebi-šin debe-r r-etí-x-ä-šin nes-ä
    what.ABS.IV-QUOT 2SG-LAT IV-want-PRS-INTERR-QUOT DEM.I-ERG
    esir-si.
    ask-PST.WIT
    ‘“What do you want?” asked he.’

As an extension of its quotative function, –šin marks proper nouns when they are introduced as names of people, places, or things, as in the following example, where the characters all have silly names.\(^8\)

(121) Sida ʃomoy-ä eši-n dā-ši ‘iri Hišo-šin
    one.OBL donkey-ERG say-PST.NWIT 1SG-SUPER.ESS.name.ABS.III Close-QUOT
    yol-šin, side-n-ä-gon ʃAbdal yol-šin,
    be.PRS-QUOT one.OBL-DEF-ERG-ADD Idiot be.PRS-QUOT
    ʃFora-āžir-ä-gon Qəclusão-šin yol-šin.
    three.OBL-ORD-ERG-ADD Shouting-QUOT be.PRS-QUOT
    ‘One donkey said, “My name is Shut,” the other donkey said, “My name is Idiot,” and the third one said, “My name is Shouter.” ’ (Sis boc’i, ʃono ʃomoyn:9)

In addition to its quotative function, -šin is also used as a genuine complementizer introducing

\(^8\) Note that one of the names appears without the quotative marker, which confirms that it is optional in this function.
finite complement clauses. The differences between its use as a quotative and complementizer are discussed in CH.YY [Clausal complements].

Finally, this particle is used to mark purpose clauses with the predicate in the future definite tense. This use of the future definite is not restricted to first person subjects, as the following example shows:

(122) Ža gagali b-et'-ur-ān-ƛin ralad-yo-z
DEM flower.ABS.III III-tear.away-CAUS-FUT.DEF-QUOT sea-OS-GEN2
lil-yo-xar y-ik’i-n ža-s eniw.
shore-OS-AD.VERS II-go-PST.NWIT boy-GEN1 mother.ABS.II
‘The boy’s mother went to the seashore to pick that flower.’ (Eniwn, 껏on kidno:35)

Purpose clauses can also have a masdar predicate, and –ƛin can attach to those as well; in such instances it is optional:

(123) Nes-ä daru b-is-si [unto-de dandir
DEM.I-ERG medicine.ABS.III III-take-PST.WIT sickness-APUD.ESS against
ha-ƛ-an-x-(ƛin)]
drink-MASD-AD.ESS-QUOT
‘He bought a medication to take against sickness.’

In summary, the particle –ƛin has three main functions, which may all be related: marking direct quotation, appearing as a complementizer on finite embedded clauses, and marking purpose clauses by attaching to the predicate in the future or masdar form.

7 The particle –ƛax

The particle –ƛax is probably a frozen present tense form of the verb eƛ- ‘say’ (Imnajšvili 1963:274), but unlike the related –ƛin, which also derives from that verb, it is not a quotative marker in the proper sense. It occurs primarily with verbs in the unwitnessed past, to emphasize the indirect, non-evidential nature of the information conveyed by the verb. Thus, it serves as a marker of an indirect evidential. Typical fairy tale openers have a verb marked with –ƛax, for example:

(124) Zow-n-ƛax zow-n-ānu-ƛax sis
be.PST.NWIT INDIRECT.EVID be.PST.NWIT-NEG IND.EVID one
ɣ’ana-xediw.
wife-Husband.ABS.IPL
‘Once upon a time there lived a married couple.’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:1)

In the following example, which is not formulaic, the non-evidential interpretation contributed by the particle is more apparent:

(125) Ĉ’uharaw šeƛ’u-n šeƛ’un idu-z-ā,
luxurious clothes.ABS.IV-and put.on-PFV.CVB home-DISTAL-IN.ESS
mada-za-x O-ahna-O-ik’i-x yol-ƛax xan.
‘The king put on his royal robes and apparently went back and forth around the house and outside.’ (Beqes ʕUneyzat:43)
Word order and information structure

1  Head-final properties

Tsez has a number of properties characteristic of head-final languages. Its noun phrases, adverbial phrases, adjectival phrases, relative clauses, converbal clauses, masdar clauses, and infinitival clauses are all head-final. The language is strictly postpositional. All other factors being equal, the auxiliary follows the lexical verb, and in complex verbs, the non-verbal constituent (noun, adverb, or other) precedes the light verb. Interrogative markers are suffixal, as are negation and causative marking; however, agreement with the absolutive is marked with a prefix. Coordination is expressed by the enclitic –n(o) attached to each of the conjoined expressions. The order of personal names and surnames in Tsez is also typical of head-final languages: surname first, with the personal (first) name appearing in the final position. In traditional Tsez names, the closest equivalent to a surname is either the father’s name in the genitive, as in (1a), or the name of the clan (tuqum), also in the genitive, as shown in (1b). In such instances, the order surname >> personal name naturally follows from the order adnominal genitive >> head noun. However, even if a surname is foreign and is not represented as genitive, the same order is maintained, as shown in (2).

(1)  a.  Paxruddin-e-s  Ayṣat
    Paxruddin-OS-GEN1  Ayshat
    ‘Ayshat, Paxruddin’s daughter’
   b.  Budum-za-s  Abakar
    Budum-OS.PL-GEN1  Abakar
    ‘Abakar from the Budum clan’

(2)  a.  Puškin Aleksandar
    ‘Alexander Pushkin’
   b.  Yašin Lew
    ‘Lev Yashin’

Names also precede titles; for example:

(3)  a.  Mahama reyun-yo-s  bet’er
    Mohammed district-OS-GEN1  master
    ‘Head of District Administration Mohammed’
   b.  Raziyat doxtur
    Raziyat  doctor
    ‘Doctor Raziyat’
   c.  c’aq’aw  Suleyman  xan
    magnificent Suleiman  king
    ‘Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent’

For the order of constituents inside a noun phrase, see CH.YY [Noun phrase]. For adverb and adverbial clause placement tendencies, see CH. YY [Adverbial phrase] and CH.YY [Adverbial clauses] respectively.
2 Word order in root clauses: A brief overview

As we already noted, dependent clauses are strictly head-final. Despite the heavy clustering of prominent head-final properties, however, root clauses in Tsez are not rigidly verb-final, and there is some flexibility in the preverbal/postverbal area. There is no difference between declarative, interrogative, and exclamative clauses with respect to word order.

As a head-final language, Tsez does not have many verb-initial orders, but such orders are not impossible. VS structures are regularly observed in story openers, even with wh-words, which are otherwise unacceptable in this context (see CH. YY [Interrogatives]):

(4) Esi-n šebi, xeci-n šebi…
say-PST.NWIT what leave-PST.NWIT what
‘Once upon a time’/ ‘What should I tell…’

(5) Zow-n-ƛax sis c’odoraw xan.
be.PST-PST.NWIT one rich king.ABS.I
‘There lived a rich king.’

Beyond these story-openers, the VS or VO order can be understood as a side effect of argument drop. Tsez allows argument drop for subjects and objects, leading to the appearance of verb-initiality. For example, in (6), the subject is omitted and the sentence has (apparent) verb-initial order. In (7), if the object’s referent of the object is clear from the context, the object itself can be dropped; the subject appears postverbally (we will return to this point in section 3), and the whole sentence again has a verb-initial surface order:

(6) pro b-egir-si huni-x ƛirba-bi.
IPL-send-PST.WIT road-AD.ESS guest-PL.ABS(.IPL)
‘(She/He/They) sent the guests on their way.’

(7) pro r-egir-si nes-ä.
IV-send-PST.WIT DEM.I-ERG
‘He sent (it).’

In a similar vein, presentational constructions, which usually have the order scene-setting expression >> predicate >> subject, as in (8a), may omit the scene-setting expression, again yielding the appearance of verb-initial order, as in (8b):

(8) a. Id-āz-ay b-ołi-x qaci-s gulu.
home-DIST-IN.ABL III-appear-PRS wood-GEN1 horse.ABS.III
‘Out of the house appeared a wooden horse.’

b. B-ołi-x qaci-s gulu.
III-appear-PRS wood-GEN1 horse.ABS.III
‘A wooden horse appeared.’

Despite relatively free word order in root clauses, there are certain constructions where word order plays a disambiguating role. First, in existential and possessive clauses, the order of the existential pivot and scene-setting expression or possessor affects the interpretation. If a clause is interpreted as existential or possessive, the pivot has to precede the verb and follow the scene-
setting expression / possessor. For example, (9) has an existential interpretation, but (10) can be interpreted only as a statement about location (see also CH.YY [Basic clause types]).

(9) K’emot-y-ä   kid   zow-s.
    trunk-OS-IN.ESS girl.ABS.II be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘There was a girl in the trunk.’

(10) Kid k’emot-y-ä   zow-s.
    girl.ABS.II trunk-OS-IN.ESS be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘A/The girl was in the trunk.’
    NOT: ‘There was a girl in the trunk.’

The sentence in (11) is a possessive clause, but (12) is a copular clause with the genitive appearing as a predicative nominal:

(11) Kid-be-s k’et’u   zow-s.
    girl-OS-GEN1 cat.ABS.III be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘A/the girl had a cat.’

(12) K’et’u kid-be-s   zow-s.
    cat.ABS.III girl-OS-GEN1 be.PST-PST.WIT
    ‘The cat belongs to the girl.’ (lit.: is girl’s)
    NOT: ‘A/the girl had a cat.’

Another clausal domain where word order plays a disambiguating role is in polyvalent causatives, which may include multiple poss-essive noun phrases. Consider (13), which in principle has two interpretations, with Sultan or the girl interpreted as the causee. Word order is used to resolve this ambiguity: the first poss-essive is always interpreted as the causee (see also CH.YY [Basic clause types] for more discussion):

(13) a. Učitel-ä   sult’an-qo   kid-be-q
    teacher-ERG   Sultan-POSS.ESS girl-OS-POSS.ESS
    sual bič’zi b-o-y-er-si.
    question.ABS.III understand III-do-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher made Sultan explain the question to the girl.’

b. Učitel-ä   kid-be-q   sult’an-qo
    teacher-ERG   girl-OS-POSS.ESS Sultan-POSS.ESS
    sual bič’zi b-o-y-er-si.
    question.ABS.III understand III-do-CAUS-PST.WIT
    ‘The teacher made the girl explain the question to Sultan.’

Word order also plays a role in the interpretation of ditransitives. Tsez does not have a double object construction, and in ditransitives, the theme appears in the absolutive and the recipient/goal in the lative, poss-essive or poss-lative. All other factors being equal, the order recipient >> theme >> predicate leads to an English double-object-like interpretation, while the order theme >> recipient >> predicate is associated with an English dative-like interpretation. Compare:
(14) a. Nes-ä  uži-q  ʕaq’lu  moňl-si.
   DEM.I-ERG  boy-POSS.ESS  advice.ABS.III  teach-PST.WIT
   ‘He gave the boy advice.’
b. Nes-ä  ʕaq’lu  uži-q  moňl-si.
   DEM.I-ERG  advice.ABS.III  boy-POSS.ESS  teach-PST.WIT
   ‘He gave advice to the boy.’

Since root clauses are also located postverbally, in the position typically associated with
given/backgrounded information (see section 3 below), the placement of one of the objects after
the verb allows speakers to manipulate interpretation in predictable ways. Thus, (15a) is close to
(14a) in interpretation, and (15b) is like (14b).

   DEM.I-ERG  advice.ABS.III  teach-PST.WIT  boy-POSS.ESS
   ‘He gave the boy advice.’
b. Nes-ä  uži-q  moňl-si  ʕaq’lu.
   DEM.I-ERG  boy-POSS.ESS  teach-PST.WIT  advice.ABS.III
   ‘He gave advice to the boy.’

The word order generalizations presented here are strong tendencies, not ironclad rules, and they
are sensitive to such properties of constituents as specificity (referentiality), information-
structural status, and weight. In the next two sections we will explore word order in the
postverbal and preverbal domains.

3 Postverbal domain (root clauses only)

To explore the differences between verb-final clauses and verb-medial clauses, let us first
consider the following minimal pair:

(16) a. Däz  esi-yä  bercinaw  ged  y-is-si.
   1SG.GEN2  mother-ERG  beautiful  dress.ABS.II  II-take-PST.WIT
b. Bercinaw  ged  y-is-si  däz  esi-yä.
   beautiful  dress.ABS.II  II-take-PST.WIT  1SG.GEN2  mother-ERG
   ‘My mother bought a beautiful dress.’

The prosodic contours of these sentences are shown in the figures below.
Figure 1. Prosodic contours: verb-final and verb-medial declarative clauses.

The two sentences share a similar falling contour. Furthermore, the first constituent (subject or object) of each clause receives prominence, with a peak on the head of the constituent (esiyọ in (a) and ged in (b)). In both examples, the last slot is also prosodically prominent. However, the contour in the postverbal domain is slightly higher, and there is longer break between the predicate and the postverbal DP. Additionally, there is a secondary fall on the predicate in (16b), which suggests that yissi in (16a) is in some kind of a default (unmarked stress) position. These
prosodic observations are preliminary, and more work is needed to explore the differences between verb-final and verb-medial structures in Tsez and related languages. In the remainder of this section we will concentrate on structural properties of the postverbal domain.

As long as a clause is not embedded, postverbal material is possible in all types of sentences: declarative, interrogative, or exclamative. Negation on the matrix predicate does not prevent the appearance of postverbal material. Some examples:

(17) Xizzo y-ok’el-si nesi-d-äy.
then II-escape-PST.WIT DEM.I-APUD-ABL
‘Then I finally escaped from my marriage to him.’

(18) Šezeš’an č’ič’iru zow-nč’-ä ža?
extremely vigorous be.PST-PST.NWIT.NEG-INTERR DEM.ABS(I)
‘Wasn’t he in extremely good health?’

(19) Hemece-wa Ø-eże yoł Sultan dā-λ’-äy!
so-EXCL 1-big be.PRS Sultan.ABS.I 1SG-SUPER-ABL
‘Sultan is so much older than me!’

(20) Kid-ba-bi bat’iyaw żuka ánù dā-q.
girl-OS-PL.ABS.nIPL other bad be.PRS.NEG 1SG-POSS.ESS
‘My daughters are good.’ (lit: I don’t have other bad girls)

Despite the relative flexibility of the material appearing in the postverbal position, some restrictions apply. The first has to do with the referential (specific) nature of the postverbal material. Non-referential (non-specific) expressions cannot occur postverbally. This restriction means that existential and universal expressions, free choice or negative polarity items, and reflexives cannot follow the predicate. Compare the following minimal pairs:

(21) a. Šebi-λa žedu-qo-r r-oq-si.
what.ABS.IV-INDEF DEM.IPL-POSS-LAT IV-become-PST.WIT
‘Something happened to them.’

b. *Žedu-qo-r r-oq-si šebi-λa.
DEM.IPL-POSS-LAT IV-become-PST.WIT what.ABS.IV-INDEF

(22) a. Nes-ä nāsin b-ał’ir-xosi yoł.
DEM.I-ERG all.ABS.IPL IPL-deceive-PRS.PTCP be.PRS
‘He deceives everyone.’

DEM.I-ERG IPL-deceive-PRS.PTCP be.PRS all.ABS.IPL

(23) a. Yila kid-be-r sis-kin šebin kʷeze
DEM.nI.ATTR girl-OS-LAT one-FOC thing.ABS.IV meet
IV-become-PRS-NEG
‘This girl will not get anything.’ (Eynayru gurow išxosi anu:21)

b. *Yila kid-be-r kʷeze r-oq-x-ānu
DEM.nI.ATTR girl-OS-LAT meet IV-become-PRS-NEG
sis-kin šebin.
one-FOC thing.ABS.IV
Furthermore, wh-words can only appear postverbally if they are part of an echo-question rather than a genuine information question. Compare the following examples, where (25b) can only be used if the speaker did not hear, or forgot, the name (see also CH. YY[Interrogatives]).

(25) a. Šebi debe-z babiw-ƛ’o ci (yol-ä)?
    what 2SG-GEN2 father-SUPER.ESS name.ABS.III be.PRS-INTERR
    ‘What is your father’s name?’

b. Debe-z babiw-ƛ’o ci (yol-ä) šebi?
    2SG-GEN2 father-SUPER.ESS name.ABS.III be.PRS-INTERR what
    ‘Your father’s name is WHAT?’
    NOT: ‘What is your father’s name?’

In yes-no questions, where the interrogative marker can attach to almost any constituent or subconstituent of the question other than the predicate, such interrogative expressions must occur preverbally. Compare the following two examples. Example (26) is ambiguous between a genuine yes-no question concerning the truth of the proposition ‘the one who is tired is Mother’, and an exclamative. Example (27), on the other hand, cannot be interpreted as a question, because the non-predicate constituent that combines with the interrogative marker is postverbal; in this position, the questioned constituent must be non-focused, and hence incompatible with an interrogative reading. The utterance is unambiguously exclamative.

(26) Eniw-ä akił-no?!
    mother.ABS.II-INTERR get.tired-PST.nWIT
    ‘Is it Mother that is tired?’
    ‘Is Mother tired!’

(27) Akił-no eniw-ä!
    get.tired-PST.nWIT mother-INTERR
    ‘Is Mother tired!’

Overall, the expressions that cannot occur in the Tsez right periphery are those items that cannot be topics, either because they are referentially dependent on an antecedent (the way reflexives are), or because they are not under the presupposition of existence (as quantified expressions are).

Consistent with this generalization, we find that the material that actually occurs in the postverbal domain is associated with the topic interpretation. For instance, postverbal subjects are commonly expressed by pronouns or demonstratives, which are typical topics. In a hundred clauses of a dialogical text (“Ayshat”), we find 39 clauses with postverbal material, of which 25 have postposed pronouns or demonstratives. Pronouns and demonstratives are typical continuing
topics, and the right periphery seems to be a natural place for them.\(^1\) In the same sample, we find that out of 39 postverbal constituents, 28 are subjects. The correlation between subjects and topics is well known, and these data are again consistent with an association between the postverbal domain and topichood. It is important to underscore that the postverbal position is not the only place where such topics can occur; nevertheless, it is certainly a common place for them in root clauses.

Additional support for the correlation between postverbal placement and topic interpretation comes from restrictions on focus-marked expressions. Setting aside contrastive material, topic and focus are mutually exclusive (see Bach 1972; Büring 1997; Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 2007, a.o. for a detailed discussion). Assuming that the postverbal domain is topic-oriented, we can expect that focused material will be either impossible or severely restricted in this position. This expectation is borne out by the language data. Recall that there are two focus particles, \(-{kin}\) and \(-{tow}\). Material with the particle \(-{kin}\) is unacceptable in the postverbal domain, thus:

\[(28)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{Es-na-bi} \quad \text{halma-y-za-λ’-áy-kin} \quad \text{b-ok’el-si.} \\
\text{sibling-PL-PL.ABS(IPL)} \quad \text{friend-OS.PL-SUPER-ABL-FOC} \quad \text{IPL-tear.away-PST.WIT}
\]
‘The brothers got separated even from their friends.’

\[
b. \quad \#\text{Es-na-bi} \quad \text{b-ok’el-si} \quad \text{halma-y-za-λ’-áy-kin.} \\
\text{sibling-PL-PL.ABS(IPL)} \quad \text{IPL-tear.away-PST.WIT} \quad \text{friend-OS.PL-SUPER-ABL-FOC}
\]

The situation with the particle \(-{tow}\) is more nuanced. Generally, material marked with \(-{tow}\) is unacceptable or marginally acceptable postverbally. For instance, in the following example, \(-{tow}\)’s postverbal placement is dispreferred:

\[(29)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{Ne} \quad \text{a-ɣ-bi} \quad \text{idu-tow} \quad \text{xec-xosi} \quad \text{(yol).} \\
\text{DEM.nI-ERG} \quad \text{bird-PL.ABS.nIPL} \quad \text{at.home-FOC} \quad \text{leave-PRS.PTCP} \quad \text{be.PRS}
\]
‘She keeps birds at home.’

\[
b. \quad \#\text{Ne} \quad \text{a-ɣ-bi} \quad \text{xec-xosi} \quad \text{(yol)} \quad \text{idu-tow.} \\
\text{DEM.nI-ERG} \quad \text{bird-PL.ABS.nIPL} \quad \text{leave-PRS.PTCP} \quad \text{be.PRS} \quad \text{at.home-FOC}
\]

However in addition to its work as a focus marker, \(-{tow}\) is also regularly used to indicate coreference between a pronoun/demonstrative and an antecedent, either in the same clause or across clauses (see CH. YY [Particles], CH.YY [Reflexives and anaphora], and CH.YY[Coordination]). In this function, the particle is fully acceptable postverbally; this discrepancy accounts for the contrast between regular demonstratives and pronouns, which can appear postverbally, and reflexives, which cannot, as shown in (30):

\[(30)\]
\[
a. \quad \text{Di} \quad \text{dā-λ’o-r di} \quad \text{y-ezu-s.} \\
\text{1SG.ABS(.II)} \quad \text{1SG.REFL.SUPER-LAT} \quad \text{II-look-PST.WIT}
\]
‘I (woman speaking) looked at myself.’

\[
b. \quad \*\text{Di} \quad \text{y-ezu-s} \quad \text{dā-λ’o-r di.} \\
\text{1SG.ABS(.II)} \quad \text{II-look-PST.WIT} \quad \text{1SG.REFL.SUPER-LAT}
\]

--

\(^1\) New topics, including topics which are introduced by the particle \(-{λa}\), do not appear in the right periphery (see CH. YY[PART]).
(31) a. Di dä-ƛ’o-r-*((tow)) y-ezu-s.
   1SG.ABS(.II) 1SG-SUPER-LAT-FOC II-look-PST.WIT
   ‘I (woman speaking) looked at myself.’

b. Di y-ezu-s dä-ƛ’o-r(-tow).
   1SG.ABS(.II) II-look-PST.WIT 1SG-SUPER-LAT-FOC
   ‘I (woman speaking) looked at myself.’

In (30b), the reflexive pronoun cannot appear postverbally because it does not have independent reference, and therefore does not meet the criteria for inclusion in the postverbal domain. A regular pronoun meets those criteria and can appear preverbally or postverbally, as in (31); in both placements, it can still be co-indexed with the subject. Note that the focus particle –tow is optional postverbally, whereas it is obligatory in the preverbal domain.

The postverbal domain can include more than one constituent; in such instances, the order of constituents is quite flexible, and we can only suggest some tendencies. The first tendency is a preference for placing the subject to the right of all other material; for example, although both (32a,b) are acceptable, there is a slight preference for (32a):2

(32) a. B-ay-si [armi-l-āz-ay] [es-na-bi].
   IPL-come-PST.WIT army-CONT-DISTAL-ABL sibling-PL.ABS(.IPL)
   ‘The brothers came back from serving in the army.’

b. B-ay-si [es-na-bi] [armi-l-az-āy].
   IPL-come-PST.WIT sibling-PL.ABS(.IPL) army-CONT-DISTAL-ABL
   ‘The brothers came back from serving in the army.’

The second tendency has to do with the size of constituents. In the postverbal domain, longer constituents tend to follow shorter ones, just as they do in familiar languages such as English. This preference often outweighs the subject-final preference. Consider the following examples. In (33), the subject demonstrative že is lighter (shorter) than the object, which appears last; likewise, in (34), a sizeable directional phrase, which includes a relative clause, follows the demonstrative subject.3 In (35), there are three postverbal constituents; the adverbial precedes the subject, and the heavy object again appears last.

(33) Di y-ok’el-xoy-tow esir-a Ø-ay-si
   1SG.ABS(.II) II-tear.away-CAUSAL.II.CVB-FOC ask-INF I-come-PST.WIT
   [že] [dā-z] [obi-z esiy-de-r].
   DEM.ABS(.I) 1SG-GEN2 father-GEN2 sibling-APUD-LAT
   ‘As soon as I was divorced from him, he went to ask for my father’s sister’s hand.’

(34) B-ay-n [yizi] [aziroy-n xalq’i-mo-l-āy
   IPL-come-PST.nWIT DEM.PL(.IPL) freeze-PFV.CVB people-OS-CONT-ABL
   bero-bi r-āq-ru hon-ƛ’o-r].
   ice-PL.ABS.nIPL nIPL-become-PST.PTCP mountain-SUPER-LAT
   ‘They went up to the mountain that was formed from frozen people.’

---

2 Here and below, we use brackets to show the pertinent constituents.
3 The heavy postverbal constituent in (34) is structurally complex, including a relative clause which in turn includes a converb. We do not mark this additional constituency with brackets.
4 Preverbal domain

Preverbal placement is quite flexible but several generalizations emerge. We will first consider the position immediately before the verb. Any expression in that position, regardless of its constituent status, combines with the linking particle –n(o) if the clause in question is converbal, adjoined to another clause. See Ch. YY[Adverbial clauses] for details.

Negative polarity items tend to appear in the immediate preverbal position. Consider the following examples. In (37), there are two negative polarity items, the adverbial netinkin and the adnominal modifier łinasnokin.

(36) Nel-ä yisi-qo-r xabar-kin b-oy-n-ānu.
DEM.nI-ERG DEM.I-POSS-LAT conversation.ABS.III-FOC III-do-PST.nWIT-NEG
‘It [=the dragon] would not talk to him.’ (ʕAliqilič:59)

(37) Nes-ä neti-n-kin łina-s-no-kin pikru
DEM.I-ERG when-UNIV-FOC what-GEN1-UNIV-FOC thought.ABS.III
b-oy-xosi zow-s
III-do-PRS.PTCP be-PST.WIT
‘He never paid any attention to anything.’

Adverbs on the other hand do not have a strong association with the preverbal position. They can appear in the middle field before the verb, at the beginning of the clause, or postverbally (see example (35) above). See Ch. YY [Adverbial phrase] for details.

In a reasonable number of head-final languages, the immediate preverbal position is associated with focus or new information (cf. Kiss 1998 for Hungarian; Lambrecht 1994 for a general discussion; Yamashita et al. 2011 for syntactic and processing considerations, and Testelec 1997: 267-271 for Nakh-Dagestanian languages). This association is rather weak in Tsez. Preverbal material can be in focus, but focus can also appear anywhere in the clause, and constituents with focus particles can appear anywhere in the preverbal domain. For example, the focus particles –tow and –kin can appear on any constituent, and that constituent does not have to move closer to the verb when it is overtly marked as focused.

(38) Debe-q-no hemedur-tow harizi r-oy-x di.
2SG-POSS.ESS-and so-FOC requestIV-do-PRS 1SG.ERG
‘I am asking you the same thing.’ (Xanno, nesisgon Fono uźin:119)

(39) Hemedur-tow huni-x dandir c’äx-ru xalq’i-mo ḥaľu-n.
so-FOC road-AD.ESS across hit-PTCP people-OS.ERG drink-PST.nWIT
‘The people he met also drank (water) the same way.’ (ʕAliqilič:60)

(40) Kid-b-ä nelā nela-s k’et’u iškola-yr-kin b-iž-s.
girl-OS.ERG REFL.nI-GEN1 cat.ABS.III school-IN.VERS-FOC III-lead-PST.WIT
‘The girl took her cat TO SCHOOL.’
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(41) Idu-kin xexbi q’ecenyay-x.
   at.home-FOC chidren.ABS.PL argue-PRS
   ‘Children argue AT HOME.’

Likewise, wh-words, which are focus elements, can but do not have to be preverbal or in the left clausal periphery. Consider some examples below and see CH.YY [Interrogatives] for more discussion:

(42) Yedu šebin neti dow-qo r-oq-ä?
   DEM thing.ABS.IV when 2SG-POSS.ESS IV-become-PST.WIT.INTERR
   ‘When did that happen to you?’

(43) Howži fina-s hal debe-λ’ (yol)?
    now what-GEN1 condition.ABS.III 2SG-POSS.ESS be.PRS
    ‘What is weighing upon you now?’

(44) Žed-ä šebi istowli-λ’ er-ä?
    DEM.IPL-ERG what.ABS(.IV) table-SUPER.ESS put-PST.WIT.INTERR
    ‘What did they put on the table?’

The placement of šida ‘why’ is an exception to this generalization; this interrogative expression tends to appear clause-initially.

(45) a. Šida yedu wâl-er r-ešnad-a
    why DEM.ABS(.IV) downward-LAT IV-drip-INF
    r-oq-ä?
    IV-become-PST.WIT.INTERR
    ‘Why did it (=the roof) begin dripping water?’ (ʕAliqilič:34)

b. ??Yedu wâl-er šida r-ešnad-a
   DEM.ABS(.IV) downward-LAT why IV-drip-INF
   r-oq-ä?
   IV-become-PST.WIT.INTERR

(46) a. Šida mi yaq’ul-gon at’iw qaca
    why 2SG.ERG today-CONTR.TOP wet firewood.ABS.IV
    r-ay-r-ä?
    IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT.INTERR
    ‘And today, why did you bring wet firewood?’ (Onočun, mamalayn:5)

b. ??Mi yaq’ul-gon šida at’iw qaca
   2SG.ERG today-CONTR.TOP why wet firewood.ABS.IV
   r-ay-r-ä?
   IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT.INTERR

c. ?? Mi yaq’ul-gon at’iw qaca šida
   2SG.ERG today-CONTR.TOP wet firewood.ABS.IV why
   r-ay-r-ä?
   IV-come-CAUS-PST.WIT.INTERR

Example (46a) illustrates yet another word order tendency: topic-marked constituents do not have to undergo displacement, but can appear in the middle field of a sentence, in a position
which can be characterized as \textit{in situ}. The placement of \textit{yaq’ulgon} illustrates this possibility. The examples below illustrate the same option for constituents marked with the particles –\textit{yoli} and -\textit{n(o)}:

(47)  \textit{Žedu-r} Ø-ukay-nč’i-z-ā-γor ža-yoli xexliḵ.’
DEM.IPL-LAT  I-see-NEG-ATTR.OBL-IN-VERS DEM.ABS(.I)-CONTR.TOP quickly Ø-ik’i-n.
I-go-PST.NWIT
‘As for him, he quickly went to a place where they could not see him.’
(based on Hibos hunar:54)

(48)  Nes-ā t’akan-y-ā-r b-āy-ru mesed-no
DEM.I-ERG glass-OS-IN-LAT III-come-PST.PTCP gold.ABS.III-TOP
hiḵ’oq-a-x b-ut-ir-no.
handkerchief-OS-AD.ESS III-turn-CAUS-PST.NWIT
‘The gold that appeared in the glass, he put inside a handkerchief.’
(based on Besurozaqu:17)

It seems that particle marking is sufficient and that Tsez feels no need to mark the information-structural status of a given constituent by word order. Topicalized adjuncts, however, do tend to be fronted (see also Polinsky and Potsdam 2001 for a discussion and syntactic analysis). This tendency of the language to front adjuncts — and note that it is only a tendency — is independent of these adjuncts’ being marked with topic particles. For example, consider the near minimal pair below, where the adjunct may appear with or without a particle and is fronted in regardless.

(49)  Žek’u-z čaƛ-ā-γor q’\textit{aršel-yo-λ’} Ø-ik’i-n ža.
person-GEN2 village-IN-VERS need-OS-SUPER.ESS I-go-PST.NWIT DEM.ABS(.I)
‘He went to another village out of need.’

(50)  Ečru-ní čaƛ-ā-γor-gon yedu uži Ø-egir-si babi-y-ā.
old-DEF village-IN-VERS-CONTR.TOP DEM boy.ABS.I I-send-PST.WIT
father-OS-ERG
‘As to the old village, Father sent the boy there.’

The final generalization that we will discuss here has to do with the size (weight) of constituents. We noted that, postverbally, heavy constituents tend to follow lighter ones, thus instantiating a pattern that can be described as ‘short-before-long’. In the preverbal domain, we find a mirror image of this principle, the ‘long-before-short’ effect; all factors being equal, long constituents appear further away from the verb. Compare examples (34) and (35) above and the preferred order of their constituents when they appear preverbally; in the corresponding examples (51) and (52), the long-before-short order is desirable:

(51)  a. \textit{[Aziroyn} xalq’i-mo-l-āy bero-bi
freeze-PFV.CVB people-OS-CONT-ABL ice-PL.ABS.\text{NPL}
\text{r-āq-ru} hon-\text{λ’}o-r] [yizi] b-ay-n.
\text{NPL-become-PST.PTCP} mountain-SUPER-LAT DEM.PL.(\text{IPL}) I-pl-come-PST.NWIT
b. ??[Yizi] [aziroy-n xalq’i-mo-l-äy bero-bi DEM.PL(.IPL) freeze-PFV.CVB people-OS-CONT-ABL ice-PL.ABS.nIPL r-äq-ru hon-l’o-r] b-ay-n. nIPL-become-PST.PTCP mountain-SUPER-LAT I.PL-come-PST.nWIT

‘They went up to the mountain that was formed from frozen people.’

(52) a. [Uži-s muʃ'alim] [maho-r] Ø-egiri-në’u nes-ä. boy-GEN1 teacher.ABS.I outside-LAT I-send-PST.WIT.NEG DEM.I-ERG

b. ?[Maho-r] [uži-s muʃ'alim] Ø-egiri-në’u nes-ä. outside-LAT boy-GEN1 teacher.ABS.I I-send-PST.WIT.NEG DEM.I-ERG

‘He did not let the son’s teacher go outside.’

Compare also the examples in (14a,b), where the subject and both objects are of equal weight, and the following example, where the longer constituent appears first:

(53) Dice ixiw ʕaq’lu nes-ä dâ-q moľ-ä!

how.much big advice.ABS.III DEM.I-ERG 1SG-POSS.ESS teach-PST.WIT.INTERR

‘What great advice he gave me!’ (Wasiyat:48)

The tendency to place long constituents before short ones is attested in other head-final languages (Yamashita and Chang 2001; Yamashita et al. 2011). Yamashita and Chang’s (2001) main evidence for this tendency comes from Japanese, which is rigidly verb-final. At the end of their paper, they raise the question of word order in the postverbal domain, for those head-final languages that allow postverbal material. We can now weigh in on this debate with evidence from Tsez: in this language, the long-before-short preference in the preverbal domain is mirrored by a short-before-long preference postverbally. A similar combination of preferences is found in Basque (Erdocia et al. 2012) and Finnish (Mitchell 2012), which suggests that the tendencies are common and warrant further cross-linguistic examination.

Long constituents tend to express new information, which requires more detailed lexical specification. After all, if a referent has already been introduced, its identity is already known and one can refer to it using a short description, a demonstrative, or a pronoun (null or overt). Thus, “long” in the preverbal domain tends to mean “non-topical” — but it is typical of topical constituents to appear close to the beginning of a sentence, away from the verb. Therefore, the long-before-short preference may be at odds with the topic-before-focus preference, thus putting pressure on head-final languages. Inasmuch as these tendencies may be in conflict, Tsez is in an opportune position, for at least two reasons. First, as we just noted, Tsez topics are not required to displace to the left; they can stay in situ. Second, as we saw earlier in this chapter, light topics, which are hearer-old or discourse-old, commonly occur postverbally, thus leaving the preverbal domain for constituents that are comparable from an information-structural standpoint. As for hearer-new or discourse-new topics, which have just been introduced, inferred, or switched to (from a previous topic), they tend to be lexically specified (Gundel 1985; Gundel 1988; Gundel et al. 1993; Prince 1992; Lambrecht 1994), so their appearance in the initial position of an utterance meets both the need to put longer constituents before shorter ones (the need necessitated by head-final preferences) and the need to start an utterance with topic rather than comment.