

Tsezian Languages

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1. Sociolinguistic Situation¹

The Tsezian (Tsezic, Didoic) languages form part of the Daghestanian branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) language family. They form one branch of an Avar-Andi-Tsez grouping within the family, the other branch of this grouping being Avar-Andi.

Five Tsezian languages are conventionally recognized: Khwarshi (Avar x^warši, Khwarshi aλ'ilqo), Tsez (Avar, Tsez cez, also known by the Georgian name Dido), Hinuq (Avar, Hinuq hinuq), Bezhta (Avar bežt'a, Bezhta bežλ'a, also known by the Georgian name Kapuch(i)), and Hunzib (Avar, Hunzib hunzib), although the Inkhokwari (Avar inxoq^wari, Khwarshi iqqo) dialect of Khwarshi and the Sagada (Avar sahada, Tsez soλ'o) dialect of Tsez are highly divergent. Tsez, Hinuq, Bezhta, and Hunzib are spoken primarily in the Tsunta district of western Daghestan, while Khwarshi is spoken primarily to the north in the adjacent Tsumada district, separated from the other Tsezian languages by high mountains. (See map 1.) In addition, speakers of Tsezian languages are also to be found as migrants to lowland Daghestan, occasionally in other parts of Russia and in Georgia. Estimates of the number of speakers are given by van den Berg (1995) as follows, for 1992: Tsez 14,000 (including 6,500 in the lowlands); Bezhta 7,000 (including 2,500 in the lowlands); Hunzib 2,000 (including 1,300 in the lowlands); Hinuq 500; Khwarshi 1,500 (including 600 in the lowlands).

Each Tsezian language is the basic oral means of communication in its community, and is learned as first language by children in that community. None of the Tsezian languages was developed as a written language, and Avar and Russian are the written languages used locally, including in schools. Knowledge of Avar and Russian is usually better among men than among women. Influence of Georgian and Arabic, has left traces in lexical loans, mainly for new artefacts from Georgian and religious terminology from Arabic. The influence of Avar has been much more intense: in principle, virtually any Avar word can be taken over into a Tsezian language; Russian is having an important effect not only lexically, but also syntactically and stylistically, on the

languages. Thus, while the Tsezian languages are not in foreseeable danger of extinction, they are undergoing rapid change under outside influence. At present, some Tsezian languages, in particular Tsez itself, are being developed in a small way as written languages for purposes of recording traditional folklore, etc.; a Cyrillic script based on that of Avar is used. Given the typological similarities between Avar and Tsezian phonologies, this works well, although some phonemic distinctions (e.g. vowel length and pharyngealization in Tsez) sometimes go unrepresented.

The present study deals with Tsez, more specifically the Tsebari (Avar *cebari*, Tsez *ceboru*) subdialect of the Asakh (Avar, Tsez *asaq*) dialect; other main dialects of Tsez are: Mokok (Avar *moq'oq'*, Tsez *newo*), Kidero (Avar *kidero*, Tsez *kidiro*), and Sagada (Avar *sahada*, Tsez *soλ'o*).

2. Phonology

2.1. Phoneme Inventory

Tables 1-2 present the segmental phonemes of Tsez. In Table 1, the three series of plain stops are, in order: voiceless nonejective, voiceless ejective, voiced; the two series of affricates are voiceless nonejective, voiceless ejective; the two series of fricatives are voiceless and voiced.

Tsez has no phonemic glottal stop, although a nonphonemic glottal stop occurs before word-initial nonpharyngealized vowels, e.g. *aw* [ʔaw] 'mouse'.

The pharyngealized consonants shown in Table 1 can occur word-initially, -medially, and -finally; they pharyngealize an immediately following vowel. (In part of the Tsez-speaking area, including the Tsebari subdialect, the expected /x^ʕ/ has been shifted to /ħ/; compare Tsebari *ħiš-a*, Mokok *x^ʕiš-a* 'lock-INF'.) In addition, Tsez has a phonetically identical pharyngealization that can occur only with word-initial (C)V sequences, as in *ʕo* 'ax', *ʕ^ʕono* 'six'; we represent this pharyngealization by means of a superscript symbol after the consonant (if any) and before the vowel. Words with initial ^ʕV, though phonetically [ʕV^ʕ], behave as vowel-initial for purposes of class agreement, cf. *b-^ʕaλ'u-x* 'III-fall-PRS'. The precise phonological analysis of pharyngealization in Tsez remains controversial: Starostin (1987: 465-6) and Nikolayev and Starostin (1994: 59, 115), like Bokarev (1959), treat it as a vocalic feature, while Kodzasov (1986; Kibrik and Kodzasov 1990: 315, 318) argues that phonetically the locus of pharyngealization in Tsez is the consonant of a CV sequence. See also Maddieson et al. (1996). On the analysis adopted here, segmental /ʕ/ occurs only in loans.

Labialized consonants occur only prevocally and, other than in loans from Avar, primarily in certain morphological forms, often as the result of the morphophonemic loss of the vowel /u/ before another vowel, e.g. stem -esu- ‘find’, infinitive -es^w-a. We represent labialized consonants as C^w, though it may well be that phonologically this should be analyzed as a phoneme sequence Cw. Most consonants are attested labialized, with the exception of labials, n, l, y, and ʕ (though r^w does occur, as do q^{ʕw}, q^{ʕw}, and y^{ʕw}).

Table 1: Tsez Consonants (Nonlabialized, Nonpharyngealized)

	Plain stop		Affricate		Fricative		Nasal	Liquid	Semivowel
Bilabial	p	p'	b					m	w
Dental	t	t'	d	c	c'	s	z	n	r
Lateral				ʎ	ʎ'	ʎ			l
Palatal				č	č'	š	ž		y
Velar	k	k'	g						
Uvular		q'		q		x	ɣ		
Pharyngealized		q' ^ʕ		q ^ʕ			ɣ ^ʕ		
Pharyngeal						ħ	ʕ		
Glottal						h			

The long vowel ā occurs only in native words and only under certain morphological conditions, for instance as the result of vowel lengthening in some verb forms, e.g. -iš- ‘eat’, future indefinite -āš. In the Asakh dialect, all vowel qualities are neutralized under lengthening to ā. Other dialects (e.g. Mokok) also have a low front vowel, representable as ä, and some also have a long mid back rounded vowel ō .

Table 2: Tsez Vowels (Nonpharyngealized)

	Short			Long	
	Front	Central	Back		Central
High	i		u		
Mid	e		o		
Low		a			ā

2.2. Phonotactics

By far the most common syllable structure in native words is CV. Syllable-final consonants are also frequent morpheme-finally, whether or not word-finally, but are rare morpheme-medially. Syllable-initial vowels are found only word-initially, and phonetically take a prothetic $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɰ}}$ (if nonpharyngealized) or $\underset{\sim}{\text{ɰ}}$ (if pharyngealized). Examples: besuro ‘fish’, genitive 1 besuro-s, kid ‘girl’, asa ‘mountain ash’, omoy ‘donkey’, is ‘bull’, equative 1 is-ce, qondu ‘cave’, oc’c’ino ‘ten’. Morpheme-medial clusters of two consonants are frequent in loans, e.g. aq’lu ‘wisdom, intellect’ (from Arabic via Avar), wacʃal ‘cousin’ (from Avar). Some dialects, including Mokok and Kidero, allow syllable-finally w/yC clusters, e.g. Mokok zow-s ‘be-PSTWIT’ (Tsebari zow-si).

2.3. Prosodic Features

Kibrik and Kodzasov (1990: 329) and Nikolayev and Starostin (1994: 115) note the existence of prosodic contrasts in Tsez words, but we have not investigated the area of prosody further.

2.4. Phonological and morphophonemic alternations

The major general phonological and morphophonemic processes are as follows:

1. A vowel is dropped before another vowel, e.g. besuro ‘fish’, in:essive besur-ā, -ik’i- ‘go’, infinitive -ik’-a, haqu ‘mouth’, in:essive haq-ā. However,

1a. Final u of a verb stem is realized as labialization of the preceding consonant before a vowel, e.g. -esu- ‘find’, infinitive -es^w-a.

2. Clusters of two consonants word-finally or of three consonants word-medially are broken up by inserting the vowel e, e.g. is ‘bull’, lative is-er, -iš- ‘eat’, causative -iš-er- (e.g. present -iš-er-xo, but infinitive -iš-r-a, where the environment for e-insertion is not met). However,

2a. After y, i is inserted rather than e, e.g. zey ‘bear’, genitive 1 zey-is.

3. Verbs have a stem used in certain forms, for instance the future indefinite, which involves lengthening of the vowel before the last consonant of the stem, e.g. -iš- ‘eat’, future indefinite -āš, -ik’i- ‘go’, future indefinite -āk’i. The lengthened vowel, under appropriate circumstances, may be the inserted vowel, e.g. t’et’r- ‘read’, future indefinite t’et’ār.

4. Some inflectional suffixes have the shape -CV, but drop the final vowel word-finally after a vowel. Compare is ‘bull’, super:essive is-λ’o, super:lative is-λ’o-r with besuro ‘fish’, super:essive besuro-λ’, super:lative besuro-λ’o-r. Such suffixes are represented as -λ’(o), etc.

There are other, more sporadic morphophonemic alternations. For instance, the past participle of the verb t’et’r- ‘read’ is t’et’ār-u (<-- t’et’r- + past participle suffix -ru), which involves simplification of rr to r. The fourth morphological group of verbs involves an alternation between stem-final d and y (section 3.3.1).

3. Inflectional Morphology

3.1. Gender-Class

Tsez has four noun classes in the singular; in the plural, there is a two-way distinction between class I and classes II-IV. Noun class is shown only by (i) the class agreement prefixes on most vowel-initial adjectives and verbs, some adverbs, and several postpositions (section 5.2.1) and particles; (ii) the forms of certain pronouns and numerals, which have the two-way opposition I versus II-IV (section 3.2.3-4). The class prefixes referred to in (i) are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Tsez Class Prefixes

	Singular	Plural
I	∅-	b-
II	y-	
III	b-	r-
IV	r-	

Class I consists of all and only nouns referring to male humans. The core of class II is comprised of nouns referring to female humans, although it also contains a number of inanimate nouns, especially ones denoting flat or pointed objects. The core of class III is comprised of nouns referring to animals, though it also contains a number of inanimate nouns and the nouns ‘child’ and ‘devil’. Class IV contains only inanimate nouns. Both formal and semantic principles seem to be involved in the assignment of inanimate nouns to classes (see

Comrie and Polinsky in press b, c; Polinsky and Jackson in press for details). One formal principle is that derived inanimate nouns are usually assigned to class IV, e.g. abstract nouns with the suffix -li (see also 4.2 for the class of compound nouns). We know of one noun with singular and plural classes that do not match: xex-bi ‘child, children’ is class III in the singular, but class I in the plural.

3.2. Nominal Word Classes

3.2.1. Nouns

Tsez nouns distinguish overtly the categories of number and case. Number is a binary distinction between singular and plural. For nearly all nouns, the singular is unmarked, the plural suffixed. The regular plural suffixes are absolutive -bi, oblique -za- (to which latter further case suffixes are added), e.g. besuro ‘fish’, plural absolutive besuro-bi, lative besuro-za-r. A small number of nouns take an alternative absolutive plural suffix -a, e.g. y^ʕul ‘stone’, plural absolutive y^ʕul-a, lative y^ʕul-a-r or, with etymologically double plural marking, y^ʕul-a-za-r. Two nouns use what is etymologically a plural form as both singular and plural, namely y^ʕana-bi ‘woman, women’, xex-bi ‘child, children’; noun class agreement, however, goes with the singular or plural sense.

The nonlocal cases are: absolutive -Ø, ergative -ā (identical to in:essive) for most nouns but -Ø for some nouns with an oblique stem ending in -o, genitive 1 -s (used as attribute to an absolutive head noun), genitive 2 -z (used as attribute to an oblique head noun), lative -r, instrumental -d, and two equatives, in -ce and -q’āy. The singular forms of besuro ‘fish’ and is ‘bull’ are:

Abs	<u>besuro</u>	<u>is</u>
Erg	<u>besur-ā</u>	<u>is-ā</u>
Gen 1	<u>besuro-s</u>	<u>is-es</u>
Gen 2	<u>besuro-z</u>	<u>is-ez</u>
Dat	<u>besuro-r</u>	<u>is-er</u>
Instr	<u>besuro-d</u>	<u>is-ed</u>
Equ 1	<u>besuro-ce</u>	<u>is-ce</u>
Equ 2	<u>besuro-q’āy</u>	<u>is-q’āy</u>

The equative 1 seems clearly to be a case, on the basis of its attachment to oblique stems, e.g. ca-dara-ce ‘like a star’ (ca, oblique stem ca-dara- ‘star’), but it can also attach to case-marked forms of nouns, e.g. besuro-s-ce ‘like a fish’s’.

The same suffixes are used in the plural, e.g. besuro-bi, besuro-z-ā, besuro-za-s, etc.

The local cases form a rich array distinguishing seven locational series multiplied by four directional series multiplied by a non-distal versus distal (‘over there’) opposition, as in Tables 4–5. The suffixes shown with parenthetical o occur with this vowel except word-finally after a vowel, thus is ‘bull’, is-xo, is-xo-r, but besuro ‘fish’, besuro-x, besuro-xo-r.

Table 4: Tsez Local Cases (Non-Distal)

	ESS	LAT	ABL	ALLAT	
IN	-ā	-ā-r	-āy	-āyor	‘in (a hollow obj)’
CONT	-ł	-ł-er	-ł-āy	-ł-xor	‘in (a mass), among’
SUPER	-ł’(o)	-ł’o-r	-ł’-āy	-ł’-āyor, -ł’-ā-r	‘on (horizontal)’
SUB	-ł	-ł-er	-ł-āy	-ł-xor	‘under’
AD	-x(o)	-xo-r	-x-āy	-x-āyor, -x-ā-r	‘at’
APUD	-de	-de-r	-d-āy	-d-āyor, -d-ā-r	‘near’
POSS	-q(o) ‘at’	-qo-r ‘to’	-q-āy ‘from’	-q-āyor, -q-ā-r ‘towards’	‘on (vertical)’

Table 5: Tsez Local Cases (Distal)

	ESS	LAT	ABL	ALLAT
IN	-āz	-āz-a-r	-āz-ay	-āz-a
CONT	-ł-āz	-ł-āz-a-r	-ł-āz-ay	-ł-āz-a
SUPER	-ł’-āz	-ł’-āz-a-r	-ł’-āz-ay	-ł’-āz-a
SUB	-ł-āz	-ł-āz-a-r	-ł-āz-ay	-ł-āz-a
AD	-x-āz	-x-āz-a-r	-x-āz-ay	-x-āz-a
APUD	-d-āz	-d-āz-a-r	-d-āz-ay	-d-āz-a
POSS	-q-āz	-q-āz-a-r	-q-āz-ay	-q-āz-a

The main complication in Tsez noun morphology is that a large number of nouns have a stem, used before inflectional suffixes, that is distinct from the absolutive singular. Some nouns with such a distinct stem use it before local case suffixes and equative -ce, while other such nouns use their absolutive

singular as stem here (except for the IN series, where the same stem as in nonlocal oblique cases is used). Some nouns use different stems (one of which may be the same as the absolutive singular) before some combination of oblique singular, absolutive plural, and oblique plural. In addition, many nouns allow variants. The most frequent difference between the absolutive singular and the stem used for other forms is the insertion of a final segment or segment sequence in the latter, e.g. *mec* ‘tongue’, in:essive *mecr-ā*, lative *mecr-er*, super:essive *mecr-eλ’*, plural absolutive *mecr-ebi*, lative *mecr-eza-r*. But *li* ‘water’ adds *-ā-* in the singular oblique (e.g. genitive 1 *lā-s*), but *-da-* in the plural absolutive (*lida-bi*). Non-absolutive singular stems ending in *o* usually shift this to *a* in the absolutive plural, e.g. *giri* ‘pole’, singular genitive 1 *girimo-s*, plural absolutive *girima-bi*, genitive 1 *girimo-za-s*. The most frequent additions in the oblique stem are *-mo*, *-m* (these two largely in complementary distribution), *-r*, and *-yo*. Some nouns have more idiosyncratic relations between the absolutive singular and the stem used before case or number suffixes, such as loss of a final vowel (e.g. *boc’i* ‘wolf’, genitive 1 *boc’-es*) or even a longer sequence (e.g. *ozuri* ‘eye’, genitive 1 *oz-es*), internal vowel change (e.g. *buq* ‘sun’, genitive 1 *beq-es*); these processes can even be combined (e.g. *esiy* ‘brother’, plural absolutive *esna-bi*, *moči* ‘place’, genitive 1 *meč-o-s*). There are, however, no instances of suppletion in noun morphology.

3.2.2. Adjectives, Adverbs, and Postpositions

True adjectives, adverbs, and postpositions in Tsez show no morphology other than class prefixes for some items beginning with a vowel. Adjectives borrowed from Avar appear in an invariable form in Tsez, with the petrified final consonant *-w* (corresponding to Avar class I), e.g. *bac’adaw* ‘clean’.

In addition, Tsez forms translation equivalents of adjectives by means of the genitive suffix *-s*, oblique *-z*, and the linker *-si*, oblique *-zo*. The genitive suffix is attached to noun stems, e.g. *ger-es bełay* (iron-GEN1 dagger) ‘iron dagger’; the attributive suffix is attached to other items, such as oblique case forms of nouns, as in ^ʔ*aλ-ā-si xalq’i* (village-IN:ESS-LNK1 people) ‘people [living] in the village’ (see also 5.1), and certain verbal forms, e.g. *ex^w-ā-si uži* ‘dead boy’, where *ex^w-ā-si* is the resultative participle of *-exu-* ‘die’ (section 3.3.4).

3.2.3. Pronouns

Morphologically, Tsez has distinct classes of personal pronouns (first and second person only—third person pronouns are expressed as demonstratives, že ‘he, she, it’, žedi ‘they’), demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

The first and second person singular pronouns are unusual in having a single form for both absolutive and ergative: di ‘I’, mi ‘you’. The oblique stem of ‘I’ is dā-, and that of ‘you’ is debe- before a syllable-final consonant (e.g. absolutive debe-r), dow- before a syllable-initial consonant (e.g. apud:essive dow-de). Both pronouns have irregular genitive 1: dey ‘my’, debi ‘your’ (the genitive 2 is regular: dā-z, debe-z).

The first and second person plural pronouns eli ‘we’, meži ‘you-all’ have the regular absolutive versus ergative distinction; they also make a class distinction in oblique cases, with stems I elu-, mežu-, II-IV ela-, meža-. In addition to the regular genitives elu-s, ela-s, elu-z, ela-z, mežu-s, mežu-z, meža-s, meža-z, they also have special genitive 1 forms eli, meži, genitive 2 eli-z, meži-z, used where the possessor is a close group, typically a family; compare eli eniy ‘our mother’ with elu-s ‘aλ ‘our village’. These same special genitive forms are also found with the demonstrative žedi in the meaning ‘they’: genitive 1 žedi, genitive 2 žedi-z for a close group possessor, genitive 1 žedu-s, genitive 2 žedu-z for all other possessors.

The demonstrative pronouns make a class distinction I versus II-IV in the oblique forms, the proximal demonstratives also in the absolutive singular. The class distinction is obligatory in the oblique singular, but generalization of the class I form, to varying degrees, is found in the absolutive singular of the proximal demonstrative and in the oblique plural. The oblique forms given below are used attributively, and also serve as a base to which other case suffixes can be attached in nonattributive use. The base forms of the proximal demonstrative, which occurs only prefixed, are singular absolutive I -da, II-IV -du, oblique I -si, II-IV -la (which may optionally be reduced to -l word-finally after a vowel), plural absolutive -ziri, oblique I -zi, II-IV -za. The prefixed forms are ye-da (with yi- rather than ye- except in the singular absolutive), ey-da, and how-da. The base forms of the distal demonstrative, which can occur in isolation, are singular absolutive že, oblique I nesi, II-IV neło, neł, plural absolutive žedi, oblique I žedu, II-IV žeda. The prefixed forms are el-že (with irregular singular oblique forms I enesi, II-IV eneł(o)) and how-že (with irregular singular oblique forms I hemesi, II-IV hemeł(o)).

The interrogative pronouns make no distinction of humanness in the absolutive (šebi ‘who, what’), but have distinct oblique stems lā- ‘who’, lina-

‘what’. The human interrogative pronoun has an irregular ergative lu, while the nonhuman one has regularly lin-ā.

3.2.4. Numerals

Used attributively, numerals distinguish a nominative and an oblique form. When used nonattributively, the oblique form serves as a stem to which case suffixes are attached. (In addition, there are specifically class I oblique forms with final -e rather than -a, but the forms in -a can also be used with class I nouns.) The simple numerals are given in Table 6. ‘100’ has an alternative form bišom, which is preferred before -no in compound numerals.

Table 6: Tsez Simple Numerals

	Absolutive	Oblique
1	sis	sida
2	q’ ^ʕ ano	q’ ^ʕ una
3	ɬ ^ʕ ono	ɬ ^ʕ ora
4	uyno	uyra
5	ɬeno	ɬera
6	iɬno	iɬira
7	ʕoλno	ʕoλλora
8	biλno	biλλira
9	oc’č’ino	oc’č’ira
10	oc’c’ino	oc’c’ira
20	qu	qura
100	bišon	bišonra
1000	ʕazar	ʕazarra

There are two ways of forming the teens. The first has the structure oc’c’ino followed by the unit, e.g. oc’c’ino sis ‘11’; its oblique form is oc’c’ira sida, while in nonattributive use only the last component is further declined, e.g. oc’c’ira sida-r. The second method uses the unit in modified form with the suffix -oc’i; this form cannot be declined, and only the first method is possible in oblique cases; the forms are set out in Table 7.

Table 7: Tsez Teens (Second Formation)

11	siy-oc’i
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- 12 q'^say-oc'i
- 13 ɬ^soy-oc'i
- 14 uw-oc'i
- 15 ɬew-oc'i
- 16 iɬ-oc'i
- 17 ^soλ-oc'i
- 18 biλ-oc'i
- 19 eč'-oc'i

The Tsez numeral system from 20 to 99 is vigesimal, the relevant products of 20 being: q'^sano-qu '40', ɬ^sono-qu '60', uyno-qu '80'; the oblique forms simply add -ra. The higher hundreds and thousands are expressed as 'two hundred', etc. The thousands, hundreds, twenties, and numerals below 20 are combined, from higher to lower, each element linked to the following by -no, e.g. q'^sano bišom-no ɬ^sono-qu-no oc'c'ino iɬno '276'.

3.3. Verbs

3.3.1. Overview

Tsez verbs fall into four morphological groups according to the final segment of the stem. The first group consists of all verbs with stems ending in a consonant (other than those in the fourth group). The second group consists of all verbs with stems ending in -i. The third group consists of all verbs with stems ending in -u. The fourth group consists of all verbs with variant stems ending in -d/-y; in general, the variant in -d occurs before a vowel (e.g. infinitive -ex^wad-a 'slaughter'), the variant in -y elsewhere (e.g. present -ex^way-xo, future indefinite -ex^wāy, causative -ex^way-r-, with the y remaining before an inserted vowel, e.g. causative present -ex^way-ir-xo). The only truly irregular verb is 'to be', which has suppletive stems yol (present), ānu (e.g. present negative ānu), zow- (e.g. past unwitnessed zow-no, past witnessed zow-si); several forms of the paradigm are missing, and are replaced by forms of -iči- 'be located' or -oq- 'stay; become'.

3.3.2. Tense-Mood-Aspect

Tsez has five simple indicative tense-aspect forms: past unwitnessed -n(o), past witnessed -s(i), present -x(o), future definite -an, future indefinite -Ø but with vowel lengthening, e.g. -iš- 'eat', -iš-no, -iš-si, -iš-xo, -iš-an, -āš, -esu- 'find', -esu-n, -esu-s, -esu-x, -es^w-an, -āsu. The past witnessed has a special

form used in Wh-questions, with the suffix -ā, e.g. -iš-ā, -es^w-ā; other tense-aspects use their ordinary forms in Wh-questions. In yes-no questions, -ā is added to the finite verb form (e.g. present -ik'i-x-ā), but again the past witnessed is exceptional, taking a special suffix -iyā (after consonants), -yā (after vowels), e.g. -iš-iyā, -esu-yā. The future forms have an almost complementary distribution across persons: the definite is used with first person, the indefinite is used with second and third.

In addition, there are periphrastic forms. The combination of the infinitive with the present tense of 'be' gives emphatic future, e.g. -ik'-a yoł 'shall go'. The progressive uses the imperfective gerund and the appropriate tense-aspect of the auxiliary 'be', e.g. -ik'i-x zow-si 'was going'. The completive uses the perfective gerund and the auxiliary 'be', e.g. -ik'i-n zow-si 'had gone'. The perfect uses the resultative participle and the auxiliary 'be', e.g. -ik'-āsi zow-si 'had gone'. The present participle with the auxiliary 'be' gives an intentive, e.g. -ik'i-xo-si zow-si 'intended to go'. Resultatives use the imperfective or perfective gerund plus the resultative participle of -iči- 'be located' and the auxiliary 'be', e.g. -ik'i-n -ič-ā-si zow-si 'was gone'; -ik'i-x -ič-ā-si zow-si 'was in the state of being on his way hence'.

The second-person imperative has a zero suffix for simple intransitive verbs, e.g. -ik'i 'go!', the suffix -o for transitive and derived intransitive verbs, e.g. t'et'r-o 'read!'. The optative is formed from the imperative with a final -λ, e.g. t'et'r-o-λ 'let him read' (see also 5.3.3).

3.3.3. Negation

Negation is expressed basically by a suffix -č'V, though with several idiosyncrasies. Using the stem -ik'i-, the forms are past unwitnessed -ik'i-č'ey, past witnessed -ik'i-č'u-s (also: -ik'i-č'u, with no tense suffix), present -ik'i-x-ānu (cf. ānu, the suppletive negative of present yoł 'be'), future definite -ik'-ā-č'i-n, future indefinite -āk'i-č'i. Prohibition is expressed by the portmanteau suffix -no with vowel lengthening, e.g. -āš-no 'don't eat!', with addition of λ for the negative optative: -āš-no-λ 'let him not eat!'

3.3.4. Nonfinite Forms

Participles form a unified class in terms of their external syntax, but not in terms of their internal structure. The past participle in -ru (with vowel lengthening) behaves like an adjective, and is thus invariable except for class agreement, e.g. -āš-ru 'having eaten'; its negative has the suffix -č'i before the past participle suffix, e.g. -āš-č'i-ru 'not having eaten'. The resultative

participle in -ā-si (e.g. -es^w-ā-si ‘in the state of having found’) and the present participle in -xo-si (e.g. -esu-xo-si ‘finding’) contain the attributive suffix -si, and thus have oblique forms in -ā-zo, -xo-zo. The present participle negates as expected, with addition of -si to the negative present (e.g. -ik’i-x-ānu-si ‘not going’), but the negative resultative participle is a portmanteau adjective form in -ani (e.g. -ik’-ani ‘in the state of not having gone’).

Tsez has a rich set of converbs (gerunds, verbal adverbs), and the following list, illustrated by -ik’i- ‘go’, should not be taken as exhaustive. Converbs derive from the verb stem, sometimes with vowel lengthening, with the help of a locative series marker, sometimes preceded by the suffix -za-. Converbs used for expressing temporal relations are set out in Table 8.

Table 8. Temporal converbs

Relationship between the action expressed by the main verb (M) and by the converb (C)	Form	Additional characteristics
C and M are simultaneous	ik’i-x	manner of action
	ik’i-λ’	punctual
	ik’i-λ’orey	simple simultaneous
	ik’i-zey	simple simultaneous
C precedes M	ik’i-n	manner of action
	ik’i-nosi	simple anterior
	āk’i-run	immediate anterior
C follows M	ik’i-zaλ’or	simple posterior
	ik’-a-ce	terminative

The perfective (completive) and imperfective (durative) converbs are identical in form to the past unwitnessed and present respectively. Other converbs are locative (-āk’i-z-ā), causal (e.g. -ik’i-xoy, -ik’i-za-λ’, -ik’i-za-q), two conditionals (-ik’i-nāy, -ik’i-ti), concessive (-ik’i-tin). See also 5.5.2.

The infinitive takes the suffix -a, e.g. -iš-a ‘to eat’, -ik’-a ‘to go’. A verbal noun (masdar) has the suffix -(a)ni, e.g. -iš-ani ‘eating’, reč’-ni ‘cutting’.

3.3.5. Potential and Causative Forms

Two derived forms are sufficiently productive to be considered part of the paradigm, the potential in -l̥ (see also 4.1.3) and the causative in -r (see also 5.2.3), e.g. from -iš- ‘eat’ potential -iš-eł- (before a vowel, -iš-l̥-), causative -iš-er- (before a vowel, -iš-r-).

3.4. Particles

Tsez has a rich set of particles, most of them occurring as clitics and expressing various communicative functions. For example, the particle -tow is used for general emphasis and -kin is used for general emphasis and focusing; the particle -gon marks a contrastively topicalized constituent. Free particles include hudu ‘yes’, āy ‘no’, and the negative particle ānu.

4. Word Formation

4.1. Derivation

4.1.1. Noun-forming suffixes:

-qu added to oblique stems forms agent nouns and names designating containers: magala-qu ‘baker’; boc’-a-qu ‘wolf-trap’ (where -a is the plural suffix). For agent nouns, this suffix alternates with the less productive Avar suffix -qan: qido-qu/qido-qan ‘mason’.

-k’u forms names of instruments or evaluative names of persons, usually from the iterative verb stem: ’uλ’no-k’u ‘coward’ (’uλ’- ‘be afraid’), ’iya-k’u ‘cryer’ (’iyad- ‘cry, weep’).

The suffix -łi forms abstract nouns from the singular absolutive of nouns denoting people, e.g. laγ-łi ‘slavery’ (laγ ‘slave’), učitel-łi ‘teaching’ (as occupation; učitel ‘teacher’, from Russian). More typically, -łi is added to adjectives: bercin-łi ‘beauty’ (bercinaw ‘beautiful’; note the truncation of the termination including the Avar class suffix -w). If the adjective changes for class, the class IV form is used: r-ig(u)-łi ‘grace, kindness’ (-igu ‘good’; truncation of the final vowel is preferred in the Asakh dialect). For -łi nominalizing clauses, see section 5.5.5.

The non-productive derivational suffix -ni forms abstract nouns from verb stems as well as onomatopoeic nouns: reč’-ni ‘sharpness’ (reč’- ‘cut’), ’oy-ni ‘mooing’ (’oy ‘moo’). (See section 3.3.4 for the role of -ni in forming the masdar.)

-q'oy/-qoy/-hoy (dialectal variants -q'ow, -q'u) derives the word for an enveloping object from a singular oblique noun stem: reλ'i-qoy 'glove' (reλ'a 'hand').

-bi/-zi attaches to place names, deriving names of residents: newo-bi/newo-zi 'resident of Mokok'.

-yo added to the lative singular form derives nouns with the general meaning 'possessing X': kot'u-r-yo 'bearded man' (kot'u 'beard').

4.1.2. Adjective-forming suffixes:

Two suffixes, -šay and -xu, form adjectives with the meaning 'containing/possessing X' from an oblique nominal stem. -šay implies that the contained object is inseparable or inalienable: čakaryo-šay čay 'sweet (lit. sugar-containing) tea'; -xu implies that the contained object is separable, e.g. ciyo-xu raλ 'soil with crystals of salt'; but in modern Tsez this semantic difference is becoming obscure, e.g. q'ot'ur-za-xu ged and q'ot'ur-za-šay ged 'shirt with buttons'.

-tay is the caritive suffix ('lacking X'), deriving adjectives from an oblique nominal stem: ciyo-tay 'unsalted'.

-mu derives adjectives from a singular absolutive noun: boryo-mu 'sickly' (boryo 'sore, wound'), from other adjectives: at'i-mu 'unripe' (at'iy 'wet'), and from verbs: šakarya-mu 'jealous' (šakaryad- 'be jealous').

4.1.3. Verb-forming suffixes:

-k'- derives transitive verbs from qualitative adjectives (at'i-k'- 'dampen, soak', cf. atiy 'wet'), adverbs (bito-k'- 'move', cf. bittay 'over there'), and a small group of intransitives in -x- (ħic'o-k'- 'unite', cf. ħic'ox- 'mix (vi)').

-ħ- and -x- derive intransitive verbs from a similar group of qualitative adjectives and adverbs: at'i-ħ- 'become wet', ade-x- 'move forward' (cf. adāy 'in front').

For causative and potential derivatives, see section 3.3.5. Some morphological causatives are lexicalized, having no equivalent noncausative (e.g. t'et'-r- 'read') or an idiosyncratic meaning (e.g. egi-r- 'send', cf. egi- 'fade; tear oneself away').

4.2. Compounding and reduplication

Compounding is found in nouns, verbs, and more rarely, adjectives and adverbs. Examples of compound nouns include: eni-obi-y (variant eni-obu) 'parents (mother-father)', hot'o-č'el 'stirrup (foot-place)', rigu-žuka 'anything

(good-bad)’. Only the last member of the compound noun inflects. If one of the compound elements belongs to class I singular, the compound is assigned to class I plural (e. g. eni-obi), otherwise to class II plural.

Examples of compound adjectives and adverbs are: niga-c’uda ‘bruised (green-red)’; taqqa-naqqa ‘back and forth (on that side-on this side)’.

Examples of compound verbs include: -ik’i-nex- ‘go back and forth (go-come)’, t’it’i-eč’- ‘hash (tear-cut up)’. If a verb inflects for class in isolation, it does so too as a component of a compound verb.

Compounding sometimes involves truncation of the final segment: λ’iri-ku ‘shawl’ (λ’iri ‘above’, kur- ‘throw’), and can co-occur with suffixation: debi-dey-ti ‘quarrel, dividing up (your-my-NMLZ)’.

Reduplication is used to derive nouns, often with a change in the initial syllable of the second component: xisi-basi ‘changes’, bix-mix ‘herbs’. Reduplication is also used in onomatopoeia (e.g. hi-ħi ‘neigh’) and to intensify the meaning of adjectives and verbs (e.g. r-oč’i-r-oč’iy ‘very cold’, ok’-ok’- ‘stab repeatedly’).

Verbal compounding is a highly productive way of forming new verbs by combining a lexical item with the Tsez verb -oq- ‘stay, become’ or -od- ‘do’. The notional component is often borrowed from or via Avar (infinitives, masdars, adjectives and nouns) or Russian (infinitives and nouns). For example: t’amizi -od- ‘cause’ (Avar t’amize ‘to force’), woržizi -oq- ‘fly’ (Avar -oržize ‘to fly’), xabar b-od- ‘talk’ (Arabic via Avar xabar ‘story’), bercin -oq- ‘be decorated’ (Avar bercinaw ‘beautiful’), razwod b-od- ‘divorce’ (Russian razvod ‘divorce’), paradat -od- ‘sell’ (Russian prodat’ ‘to sell’). Some compounds containing a nominal component have a fixed class prefix, usually class III (but note sapu y-od- ‘destroy’, class II).

Besides regular compounds, whose semantics is quite transparent, Tsez has a few lexicalized compounds with other verbs: rok’-λ’o-r r-ay- ‘remember (heart-SUPER-LAT arrive)’, rok’u r-exu- ‘feel pity (heart die)’. The verb riλu riλ- ‘plough (ploughing:field plough)’ includes a cognate object.

5. Syntax

5.1. Structure of the NP

A noun phrase can be represented by a noun with modifiers, or a pronoun, or a substantivized expression. Substantivized expressions include participles with the nominalizing suffix -ti (see section 5.5.4 below), masdars, and substantivized restrictive adjectives, which all inflect for case:

Verbs and adverbs agree in class with the absolutive argument, regardless of the transitivity of a clause.

If several absolutives are linked by the conjunction -n(o) ‘and’, then usually if at least one of the nominals belongs to class I singular, the agreement is class I plural, otherwise, it is class II plural (the same agreement principle is observed with compound nouns, see 4.2):

- (4) a. kid-no uži-n b-ay-si
 girl:ABS-and boy:ABS-and IPL-come-PSTWIT
 ‘A boy and a girl arrived.’
 b. kid-no meši-n r-ay-si
 girl:ABS-and calf:ABS-and IIPL-come-PSTWIT
 ‘A girl and a calf arrived.’

5.2.2. Basic Clause Types

5.2.2.1. Copular clauses

The copula combines with predicative adjectives and noun phrases.

- (5) ʼali-s obiy aho yoł
 Ali-GEN1 father shepherd be:PRS
 ‘Ali’s father is a shepherd.’

Copular clauses describing environmental conditions are occasionally impersonal, requiring class IV agreement:

- (6) ciq-qo r-oč’iy zow-si
 forest-POSS:ESS IV-cold be-PSTWIT
 ‘It was cold in the forest.’

5.2.2.2. Clauses with one-place verb

One-place verbs form intransitive clauses, with the argument in the absolutive case, irrespective of volitionality:

- (7) is b-exu-s
 bull:ABS III-die-PSTWIT
 ‘The bull died.’
 (8) ečru žek’u qoqołi-s

old man:ABS laugh-PSTWIT
'The old man laughed.'

5.2.3.3. Clauses with two- and three-place verbs

In the ergative clause, the agent is in the ergative case, and the patient is in the absolutive:

(9) žek'-ā gulu žek'-si
man-ERG horse:ABS hit-PSTWIT
'The man hit the horse.'

Both the ergative and the absolutive noun phrases can be omitted if they are recoverable from the context.

A number of verbs describing physical action take the instrument in the absolutive and the patient in an oblique case. If the patient is animate, it appears in the genitive 2, being linked to the recoverable body-part nominal in a locative case:

(10) žek'-ā gulu-z (gugyo-λ') čuret' b-ok'-si
man-ERG horse-GEN2 back-SUPER:ESS whip:ABS III-hit-PSTWIT
'The man hit/whipped the horse.'

Ditransitive verbs take the agent in the ergative, the patient in the absolutive, and the recipient in the lative if the transfer of possession/information is permanent, but in a locative case if the transfer is temporary or incomplete:

(11) a. ʔal-ā kidb-er surat teλ-si
Ali-ERG girl-LAT picture:ABS give-PSTWIT
'Ali gave the girl a picture (for good, e.g. as a gift).'
b. ʔal-ā kidbe-q-or surat teλ-si
Ali-ERG girl-POSS-LAT picture:ABS give-PSTWIT
'Ali lent the girl a picture.'

(For ditransitive causative verbs, see section 5.2.3.1.)

The affective clause has a perception verb or a psychological verb as predicate; the experiencer is in the lative case and the stimulus in the absolutive:

- (12) aħo-r meši b-esu-s
 shepherd-LAT calf:ABS III-find-PSTWIT
 ‘The shepherd found the calf.’

The potential clause is used with the potential form of a transitive verb (potential forms of intransitive verbs retain a single argument in the absolutive):

- (13) k’et’u-q y^ʕay ħaλu-ł-xo
 cat-POSS:ESS milk:ABS drink-POT-PRS
 ‘The cat can drink (the) milk.’

Lexically intransitive verbs can occur in a similar construction, with the theme in the absolutive and the agent in the poss:essive, with the meaning of an involuntary action:

- (14) uži-q č’ikay y-exu-s
 boy-POSS:ESS glass:ABS II-break(vi)-PSTWIT
 ‘The boy accidentally broke the glass.’

The biabsolutive clause occurs with two types of analytical verbal predicates: the participial predicate expressing durative action and the transitive subject resultative. The durative predicate can occur in the ergative or (preferably) the biabsolutive construction:

- (15) uż-ā/uži t’ek t’et’er-xo zow-si
 boy-ERG/:ABS book:ABS read-IPFVCVB be-PSTWIT
 ‘The boy was reading a book.’

The transitive subject resultative expresses the state of the subject resulting from the respective action, and can occur only in the biabsolutive construction. It can be formed only from those transitives which can form an ergative clause and then exclusively from those which express an action with observable consequences:

- (16) uži/*uż-ā žin t’ek t’et’er-xo Ø-ič-āsi yoł
 boy:ABS/-ERG still book:ABS read-IPFVCVB I-be-RES be:PRS
 ‘The boy is still engaged in reading a book.’

5.2.3. Valency-changing mechanisms

Tsez has no labile verbs.

5.2.3.1. Causativization

The causative suffix -r- derives transitive verbs from intransitive or affective verbs, and ditransitive verbs from transitive verbs; in the latter, the causee appears in the poss:essive case.

- (17) obiy-ā kid y-oxi-r-si
father-ERG girl:ABS II-run-CAUS-PSTWIT
'The father made the girl run.'
- (18) aḥ-ā meši b-esu-r-si
shepherd-ERG calf:ABS III-find-CAUS-PSTWIT
'The shepherd found the calf.'
- (19) aḥ-ā čanaq'an-qo zey žek'-er-si
shepherd-ERG hunter-POSS:ESS bear:ABS hit-CAUS-PSTWIT
'The shepherd made the hunter hit the bear.'

5.2.3.2. Detransitivization

Detransitivization takes place in the biabsolutive construction described above. Some verbal meanings are expressed by suppletive intransitive-transitive pairs: -ac'- 'eat (vt)', -iš- 'eat (vi)':

- (20) a. ^ʕal-ā biš^wa r-ac'-xo
Ali-ERG food:ABS eat-PRS
'Ali drinks alcohol.'
- b. ^ʕali Ø-iš-xo
Ali:ABS I-eat-PRS
'Ali drinks.'

5.2.4. Word Order

Tsez is a head-final language: it uses postpositions, prenominal relative clauses, adjectives, genitives, and numerals, and places dependent clauses before main clauses. In clauses with several nominals, the neutral order is (i) Agent (Experiencer), (ii) Recipient (Addressee, Goal, Beneficiary), (iii) Patient, (iv) Locative, (v) Instrument; the order of locative and instrumental can vary. The order of NPs can vary, adhering to the general principle that linear positions closer to the beginning of a sentence are more topical and positions

closer to the end of a sentence are more focused. Despite the strong head-final features, the position of the predicate is often clause-medial and even clause-initial rather than clause-final. The clause-initial position of the verb seems to be limited to narrative. The V-medial order is common in everyday speech and seems to be increasing.

Sentential adverbials expressing time and place can occur sentence-initially if they describe the situational background or preverbally if they are focused.

5.3. Major Sentence Types

For declarative sentences, see section 5.2.2.

5.3.1. Interrogative sentences

Yes-no questions are marked by the interrogative suffix -(y)ā which is added to the constituent which is the focus of the question. The focused constituent usually remains in situ.

- (21) a. k'et'u ɣ^sutk-ā yoł-ā
 cat:ABS house-IN:ESS be:PRS-INT
 'Is the cat in the house?'
 b. k'et'u-yā ɣ^sutk-ā yoł
 'Is it the cat that is in the house?'
 c. k'et'u ɣ^sutk-ā-yā yoł
 'Is it in the house that the cat is?'

In Wh-questions, the position of a wh-word depends on whether it is replacing an argument or an adjunct. The fronting of a wh-word is obligatory or strongly preferred for adjuncts (22) but rather uncommon for arguments (23). In those cases when an argument wh-word is fronted, it receives a restricted, discourse-linked interpretation—compare (23a) and (23b).

- (22) a. neti obiy kidir-ā-ɣor Ø-ik'i-x
 when father:ABS Kidero-IN-DIR I-go-PRS
 b. ??obiy kidir-ā-ɣor neti Ø-ik'i-x
 father:ABS Kidero-IN-DIR when I-go-PRS
 'When is father leaving for Kidero?'
- (23) a. kidb-ā šebi t'et'er-xo
 girl-ERG what:ABS read-PRS

‘What is the girl reading?’

b. šebi kid-b-ā t’et’er-xo

‘Which thing is the girl reading?’

Constituents of a noun phrase or of an embedded clause can also be questioned but the wh-word has to remain in the embedded clause and cannot take matrix scope:

(24) a. ^ʕal-ā neti obiy kidir-ā-γor Ø-ik’i-x-λin
Ali-ERG when father Kidero-IN-DIR I-go-PRS-that
eλ-ā
say-PSTWIT:INT

‘Ali said that father was leaving for Kidero when?’

#‘When did Ali say that father was leaving for Kidero?’

b. *neti ^ʕal-ā obiy kidir-ā-γor Ø-ik’i-x-λin
when Ali-ERG father Kidero-IN-DIR I-go-PRS-that
eλ-ā
say-PSTWIT:INT

‘When did Ali say that father was leaving for Kidero?’

Multiple Wh-questions are rare, and the order of Wh-words is fixed, cf. (25a) and (25b):

(25) a. ɬu šebi r-oy-xo
who:ERG what:ABS IV-do-PRS

b. *šebi ɬu r-oy-xo

‘Who is doing what?’

In questions, the verb appears in the declarative form in all tenses except the past witnessed affirmative, where special forms are used (see section 3.3.2).

5.3.2. Negation

Sentential negation is expressed by negative forms of the verb (see section 3.3.3). Multiple negation is impossible. Constituent negation is expressed by the negative particle ānu following the negated constituent:

(26) di t’ek γiyi ānu t’et’er-xo
I:ABS book:ABS slowly not read-PRS

‘I am not reading slowly.’

5.3.3. Commands

Direct commands are expressed by the imperative and prohibitive forms of the verb:

- (27) ik’i/āk’i-no
go:IMPR/go-PROHIBITIVE
‘Go./Don’t go.’

The optative, which is frequent in formulaic expressions, can express a command directed to someone other than the addressee:

- (28) debe-r huni r-egir-oλ
you-LAT road:ABS IV-send-OPT
‘Bon voyage (lit. may it send the road to you).’

5.4. Coordination

Noun phrases are coordinated by means of -n(o); see (4). Coordination of clauses is rare; coordinate clauses are not linked by conjunctions:

- (29) werharaw q’ay-λ’o āči,
winner shepherds’ cabin-SUPER:ESS be:FUTINDEF
q’uraw ‘iyat’a āči
loser at the herd be:FUTINDEF
‘The winner gets the best (lit. the winner will be at the shepherd’s cabin, the loser will be with the herd) .’

Coordination is also observed in conditional sentences with the conjunction yofi:

- (30) a. tatanu yudi r-oq-xo yofi eli ker-ā-yor
warm day IV-become-PRS CND we river-IN-DIR
esanad-a b-ik’-an
bathe-INF IPL-go-FUTDEF
‘If the day would become warm, we would go to the river.’
b. tatanu yudi r-oq-si yofi eli ker-ā-yor
warm day IV-become-PSTWIT CND we river-IN-DIR

esanad-a b-ik'-a zow-si
 bathe-INF IPL-go-INF be-PSTWIT

‘If the day had become warm, we would have gone to the river.’

(Conditionals can also be expressed by means of converbs, see 3.3.4.)

5.5. Subordination

5.5.1. Relative Clauses

The predicate of a relative clause is a participle. Arguments and adjuncts are accessible to relativization using the same participial form:

- (31) a. uḷ-ā kidb-er gagali teḷ-si/teḷ-xo
 boy-ERG girl-LAT flower:ABS give-PSTWIT/give-PRS
 ‘The boy gave/gives a flower to the girl.’
- b. kidb-er gagali tāḷ-ru/teḷ-xosi uḷi
 girl-LAT flower:ABS give-PSTPRT/give-PRSPRT boy
 ‘the boy who gave/gives a flower to the girl’
- c. uḷ-ā gagali tāḷ-ru/teḷ-xosi kid
 boy-ERG flower:ABS give-PSTPRT/give-PRSPRT girl
 ‘the girl to whom the boy gave/gives a flower’
- d. uḷ-ā kidb-er tāḷ-ru/teḷ-xosi gagali
 boy-ERG girl-LAT give-PSTPRT/give-PRSPRT flower
 ‘the flower that the boy gave/gives to the girl’
- e. uḷ-ā kidb-er gagali tāḷ-ru/teḷ-xosi yudi
 boy-ERG girl-LAT flower:ABS give-PSTPRT/give-PRSPRT day
 ‘the day on which the boy gave/gives a flower to the girl’

Constituents of embedded clauses can also be relativized. Possessive phrases cannot in general be relativized.

- (32) ʿal-ā r-od-a baybik b-āy-ru yʿutku
 Ali-ERG IV-do-INF beginning III-do-PSTPRT house
 ‘the house that Ali began to build’

- (33) *uḷ-ā ʿoḷʿ r-ec^wār-u eniy
 boy-ERG spindle:ABS IV-break-PSTPRT mother
 ‘the mother whose spindle the boy broke’

mother-ERG bread:ABS leave-LCV-DIR boy:ABS I-go-PSTWIT
 ‘The boy went to the place where mother left the bread.’

Example of a causal adverbial clause:

- (39) obiy Ø-ay-zaλ’/-zaq uži γ^ςay^ςu Ø-izi-s
 father:ABS I-come-CCV boy:ABS glad I-become-PSTWIT
 ‘The boy was happy that/because the father had come.’

5.5.3. Clauses With an Infinitive or Masdar

Infinitival clauses occur with modal verbs (e.g. -āy ‘must’, koλ’- ‘be able’), phasal verbs (e.g. baybik b-od- ‘begin’, -oq- ‘become’—often in the meaning ‘set to’), verbs of motion, psychological verbs (e.g. -eti- ‘want’, -^ςuλ’- ‘be afraid’), and with t’amizi -od- ‘cause’. The ad:essive case of the masdar, expressing purpose more strongly than the infinitive, can also be used with some of these verbs:

- (40) a. dā-r new-ā-γor uytow ik’-a r-eti-n
 I-LAT Mokok-IN-DIR just:so go-INF IV-want-PSTUNW
 ‘I wanted to go to Mokok just for the heck of it.’
 b. dā-r new-ā-γor (*uytow) ik’-ani-x r-eti-n
 I-LAT Mokok-IN-DIR just:so go-MSD-AD:ESS IV-want-PSTUNW
 ‘I wanted to go to Mokok [on purpose].’

Clauses with the masdar in the poss:essive case occur with psychological verbs:

- (41) eniy sasaq irbahin ay-ani-q
 mother:ABS tomorrow Ibrahim:ABS come-MSD-POSS:ESS
 y-^ςuλ’-no y-ič-āsi yoł
 II-afraid-IPFVCVB II-be-RES be:PRS
 ‘The mother is afraid that Ibrahim will come tomorrow.’

5.5.4. Complement Clauses

Typically, the predicate of a complement clause is a participle, marked optionally by the nominalizing suffix -łi:

- (42) obi-r uži-r magalu b-āti-ru-łi
 father-LAT boy-LAT bread:ABS III-want-PSTPRT-NMLZ

r-iy-si

IV-know:PSTWIT

‘The father knew that the boy wanted bread.’

5.5.5. Reported Speech

In reported speech introduced by a speech act verb, the last word of the reported speech is marked by the suffix *-λin*; the last word does not have to be the predicate of the reported speech. Pronominal deixis remains as in direct speech:

- (43) ʿal-ā dā-q quno oc’c’ino q’ʿano λeb yoł-λin
Ali-ERG I-POSS:ESS twenty ten two year be:PRS-that
eλi-s
say-PSTWIT

‘Ali said that he was 32 years old.’

- (44) šebi ay-ā-λin eniy-ā esir-si
who:ABS come-PSTWIT:INT-that mother-ERG ask-PSTWIT

‘The mother asked who had arrived.’

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Footnotes

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²The bibliography provides a comprehensive list of references on Tsez proper and more general references on the other Tsezian languages; a detailed bibliography on the other languages is available from the listed sources.

Abbreviations

ABL - Ablative

ABS - Absolutive

AD - Localization 'at'

APUD - Localization 'nearby'

CAUS - Causative

CCV - Causal Converb

CND - Conditional

DIR - Directive

DISTR - Distributive

ERG - Ergative

ESS - Essive

FUT - Future

GEN1 - Genitive 1

GEN2 - Genitive 2

IMPR - Imperative

IPFVCVB - Imperfective Converb

IN - Localization 'in a hollow space'

INF - Infinitive

INTNS - Intensifier

INT - Interrogative

LAT - Lative

LCV - Locative Converb

LNK1 - Linker 1

LNK2 - Linker 2

MSD - Masdar

NEG - Negation

NMLZ - Nominalizer

OBL - Oblique
OPT - Optative
PSTWIT - Past Witnessed
PSTUNW - Past Unwitnessed
PSTPRT - Past Participle
PFVVCVB - Perfective Converb
PL - Plural
POSS - Possessive
PRS - Present
PRSPRT - Present Participle
POT - Potential
RES - Resultative
RESTR - Restrictive
SUPER - Localization 'on'
TCV - Temporal Converb

The roman numerals I–IV are used to indicate noun classes. To avoid confusion, the first person singular pronoun is glossed 'me'.