The Present and the Future within the Lezgic TAM systems: 
synchronic and diachronic regularities
Présent et Futur dans les systèmes aspecto-temporels du groupe lezgi: 
régularités synchroniques et diachroniques
Формы настоящего и будущего времени в лезгинских языках: 
sинхронные и диахронические закономерности

INTRODUCTION
The Lezgic group within the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) family includes nine languages –
LEZGIAN, TABASSARAN, AGUL, TSAKHUR, RUTUL, KRYZ, BUDUGH, ARCHI and UDI.
Peculiarities of Lezgic tense and aspect systems:
• most “core” tense and aspect forms are analytical, at least historically, and have more or less 
transparent structure (of course, the original structures undergo morphologization and at present 
stage they can be morphologically rather tight);
• these forms originate from very simple grammatical patterns with copulas (there are almost no 
constructions with auxiliaries apart from ‘be, become’);
• these forms are most often based on such non-finite categories as a CONVERB, a PARTICIPLE, and an 
INFINITIVE.

Those tense and aspect forms will be examined below whose main function is to express present 
time reference and future time reference (as a rule, these forms are derived from the Imperfective stem or 
sometimes a special Infinitive stem).

There are four most wide-spread source patterns for the Present/Future forms:
• “Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula”,
• “Imperfective Converb + (Existential) Copula”,
• “Imperfective Participle + (Existential) Copula”,
• “Infinitive + (Existential) Copula”.

COMPONENT PARTS OF SOURCE PATTERNS
The three non-finite categories which appear in the patterns.
The Infinitive is a form heading purpose clauses (e.g. with motion verbs) and complement clauses of modal / phasal (and sometimes other) verbs.

AGUL – the Infinitive marker is -s (< Proto-Lezgian Dative case).
(1) ...Xalan棘er.i-l-di q-uš.u-ne zun Xuš.ur uc.a-s. 
Khalandzhar-Super-Lat Re-go.Pf-Pft I [field-Pl mow.Ipf-Inf] 
(And then) I went again to Khalandzhar to mow the field.
(2) ruš.a-s uč.i-n jerXe č'ar-ar q’at’q’.a-s ƙande-a. 
girl-Dat [self-Gen long hair-Pl cut_off.Ipf-Inf] want-Prs
The girl wants to cut off her long hair.

1 All Agul (Huppuq’ dialect) examples are from [Майсак, Мерданова 2002] and texts recorded in Huppuq’ in 2003-2004.
The Imperfective Converb is a form heading adverbial clauses and expressing a simultaneous situation, manner or circumstance:

**AGUL** – the Imperfective Converb marker is -j (< -ji < -ri < -di).

\(3\) gad.a kitab ruX.a-j qadark.u-na-a.
The boy is lying down, reading a book.

The Imperfective Participle is a form heading relative clauses and expressing quality (actual or permanent):

**AGUL** – the Imperfective Participle is not marked, being identical to the IPF stem.

\(4\) sa Xidirnebi aR.a gada...
one Khidirnebi say.Ipf boy
a boy whose name is Khidirnebi (lit. who is called Khidirnebi)

The THREE TYPES OF COPULAS which appear in the patterns. The Existential Copula is used for characterization, identification, and taxonomy.

**AGUL** – the copula is e, i or wu (dialectal varieties).

\(5\) me-wur ze ruš-ar e.
this-Pl my daughter-Pl Cop
These are my daughters.

**RUTUL** – the copula is \(j=i>i\) (with class prefix, here class IV), short variant \(i\).

\(6\) Xuk šil-di w=i>i.
tree green-Atr 1=Cop
The tree is green. [Махмудова 2002]

**KRYZ\(^2\)** – the “unaccented” copula is \(e\|\|ja\) (with class suffix, here zero marked class I).

\(509\) yif mić-a-ya-ni
might dark-COP.N-PAST
La nuit était sombre.

The Locative Copula is used in locative clauses (sometimes in possessive as well).

**AGUL** – the original locative copula is \(a\), which has several prefixal derivatives – \(ʔa(j)-a\) ‘be inside’, \(ke(j)-a\) ‘be in contact’, \(qa(j)-a\) ‘be behind; possess’, etc., cf.:

\(7\) sa ruš, pakizat krasnadar.dı aja, saja, ?u ruš
one daughter Pakizat Krasnodar:In In:LocCop other two daughter
hame Quruh.a-ʔ a ze, allah.li-s šukur x.u-raj.
this Kurah-In LocCop my Allah-Dat glory become.Pf-Juss
One daughter Pakizat lives (= is) in Krasnodar, my two other daughters are in this Kurah, thanks God.

**RUTUL** – the locative copula is \(ʔa\) (with a prefix of the ‘inside’ localization).

\(8\) za-Xda kitab ?a-diš.
I-Post:Ess book LocCop-Neg
I don’t have a book. [Махмудова 2001: 86]

**KRYZ** – the locative copula is \(ʔaʒa\) (with a prefix of the ‘inside’ localization).

\(539\) aru-c kutul-a sasila tike yit ʃaco 
bear-G basket-IN a.little piece honey be in
Il y a un peu de miel dans la ruche.

\(^2\) All Kryz (Alik dialect) are from [Authier, to appear 2007]. The transcription and numbers of examples are kept.
In some languages there is only a General Copula (Existential/Locative) used in all contexts.

**ARCHI**³ – the copula is *i* (with class prefix, here class IV with zero prefix).

(9) adam inžit ar-lu bošor w=i tow.  
[person worry do.lpf-Part man] 1=Cop  
*He is a man who bothers other people.*

(10) uXurčaj marXälä b=i.  
field:Pl:In snow 3=Cop  
*There is snow on the fields.*

**TSAKHUR**⁴ – the copula is *wo=d* (last consonant is a class marker, here class IV).

(11) ja|q jug=ba wo=b.  
road good=Adv.3 Cop=3  
*The road is good.*

(12) Xoče Gaje.j-kₙ, awu=b wo=b=na.  
snake stone-Cont under=3 Cop=3=Atr  
*The snake is under the stone.*

**PATTERN 1. “INFINITIVE + (EXISTENTIAL) COPULA”**

**Major path** (Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Archi):

“Infinite + Copula” > Future (‘will do’) / Obligation (‘has to, need to’), intention (‘is going to’)

**AGUL** – the main Future form

*aq’a-s-e* ‘will do’ < *aq’a-s + e*, with the Existential copula

(13) zun aHa x.u-guna, aHa Xal Ruš.a-s-e.  
I big become.Pf-when big house take.lpf-Inf-Cop  
*(A little boy says:) When I grow up, I will buy a big house.*

**RUTUL** – the main Future form

*kixi-s-i* ‘will write’ (the final -i is often dropped) < *kixi-s + i*, with the Existential copula

(14) wa la.ʒ.a?a-naqun, za la?a-s-i.  
you(Sg):Erg Neg+put_on-Cond I:Erg put_on-Inf-Cop  
*If you won’t put it on, I will put it on (about clothes).* [Махмудова 2001: 142]

**TSAKHUR** – the main Future (“Potentialis”) form

*āqas* ‘will open’, with a zero copula (maybe an Existential copula like *i* was lost)

(15) zi wa-s meXₙ hā?-as alli ma?allim-ni Xizan-ni halk’ē.  
I(Erg) you(Sg)-Dat tale do-Pot Ali teacher-AObl family-AObl about  
*I will tell you a story about the family of Ali the teacher.*

**TSAKHUR** – Prospective (‘going to’) / Debitive (‘has to’)

*āqas-od* ‘will open’ < *āqas + wo=d*, with the General copula (final consonant is a class marker)

(16) daK-ē źīga ez-as-o=d.  
father-Erg field plough-Pot-Cop=4  
*Father is going to | has to plough the field.*

³ All Archi examples are from [ Кибрик 1977]. The transcription has been slightly modified.

⁴ All Tsakhur (Mishlesh dialect) examples are from [ Кибрик, Тестелец (ред.) 1999]. The glosses have been simplified.
ARCHI – the Debitive (deontic) form

\( \text{deq'les wi} \) ‘he has to go’ \( \sim \text{deq'le-s} + w=i \), with the General copula (here class I prefix)

(17) zon duXlaì,a-k deqle-s d=i.
I mill-Lat go-Inf 2=Cop
I (woman) need to go to the mill.

Related pattern (Lezgian) – structurally, but not etymologically parallel:

“Purpose Converb + Copula” > Prospective, intentional (‘is going to’, ‘is about to’)

LEZGIAN – Prospective (“Periphrastic Future”)

\( \text{qa'chu-dajwal ja} \) ‘is going to take’ \( \sim \text{qa'chu-dajwal} + ja \)
{-dajwal is a Purpose converb: Future participle (-da = Future/Habitual, -j= participle) + -wal, a nominalizer productively used with adjectives and participles [Haspelmath 1993: 147-148, 392].}

(18) i muq'ara či k'ala.i-n qaw.u-z raq' čugwa-da-j-wal ja.
this soon we:Gen house-Gen roof-Dat iron pull-Fut-Part-Nmz Cop
Our house’s roof is soon going to be covered with iron. [Haspelmath 1993: 147]

❖ Semantic development:
‘X has a purpose / an obligation to do V’ > ‘X is going to do / has to do V’ > ‘X will do V’

TABASSARAN, KRYZ, BUDUGH seem to lack the “Infinitive + Copula” pattern.

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PATTERN 2. “IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB + LOCATIVE COPULA”

There is one path of development, and the resulting meanings are rather restricted.

Major path (Lezgian, Agul, South Tabassaran, Rutul, Kryz):

“IPF Converb + Locative Copula” > Present (Progressive, Continuous, Habitual)

LEZGIAN – the main Present form

\( \text{ijiz-wa} \) ‘is doing, (habitually) does’ \( \sim \text{iji-z + awa} \)

(19) za fabrika.d-a, zi juldaš.di zawod.d-a k'alaX-za-wa.
I:Erg factory-In my friend:Erg plant-In work-Conv:Ipf-LocCop
I (work) at a factory, my friend works at a plant. [Талибов 1966: 574]

AGUL – the main Present form

\( \text{aq'a(j)-a} \) ‘is doing, (habitually) does’ \( \sim \text{aq'a-j + a} \parallel \text{aja} \)

(20) haraj-ar m-aq'a, ruš.a dars-ar aq'a.a-a.
Don’t shout, the girl is doing her lessons (at the moment).

SOUTH TABASSARAN – the main Present form

\( \text{ap'ur-a} \) ‘is doing, (habitually) does’ \( \sim \text{ap'ur-i + a} \)

(21) ja malla-nasrúdin, haz q'llálq liyur-a?
Voc Molla-Nasreddin why back look.Ipf:Conv-LocCop
Hey, Molla Nasreddin, why are you looking back? [Магометов 1965: 355]
**RUTUL** – the main Present form

 kirxe-re a ‘is writing, (habitually) writes’ < kirxe-re + a

(22) huR_al kir?e-r a.

rain begin.Ipf-Conv LocCop

*The rain is starting.* [Alekseev 1994: 232]

**KRYZ** – the Progressive (“progressif constatif”), a peripheral form

kurac-ra ũaža ‘is slaughtering’ < kurac’-ra + ũaža

**Semantic development:**

‘X is engaged in V-ing, being inside the process’ > ‘X is V-ing’

*Usually gives rise to the main present tense form of the language (the General Present). Originally this is very probably the Progressive (cf. Kryz form), which later undergoes aspectual generalization*.5

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**PATTERN 3. “IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB + (EXISTENTIAL) COPULA”**

An interesting pattern, as meanings of resulting forms vary among the languages. However, all resulting meanings can be viewed as stages on a single grammaticalization path.

**A. Major path**, the ‘present/habitual’ variety (Archi, Tsakhur, Agul, Rutul):

“IPF Converb + (Existential) Copula” > Present (Progressive, Continuous, Habitual)

**ARCHI** – the main Present form

arXaråi i ‘is lying down’ < arXar-ši + i, with the General copula

(23) ez jakt ko noc’ parXar-ši i.

I:Dat above bird fly.Ipf-Conv Cop

*A bird is flying above me.*

**TSAKHUR** – the main Present form

ğa ‘opens, is opening’, there is no copula (probably the existential copula like *i was lost); this variant of Present is identical to the IPF converb

(24) jiš-di bala-b.iš-e... cåX-na miz Xalrqök-x-e.

our-AObl child-Pl-Erg Tsakhur-Atr language study-Ipf


Tsakhur-AObl language-Atr tale-Pl poem-Pl read-Ipf

*(It is already three years that in primary school) our children study Tsakhur, read tales and poems in Tsakhur.*

**TSAKHUR** – Present Continuous (“Durative”)

ąda-wo=d ‘is opening’ < ada + wo=d, with the General copula

(25) hiwág-a wo-b gade-ji ičí.

play-Ipf Cop=HPI boy-and girl

*(Out there in the street) a boy and a girl are playing.*

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5 Typologically, one of major grammaticalization paths for progressives; cf. [Bybee et al. 1994: 127-137], where locative expressions occupy the first place among progressive sources, or [Heine, Kuteva 2002], where paths like IN (SPATIAL) > CONTINUOUS, LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS, LOCATIVE COPULA > CONTINUOUS are considered.
RUTUL – Present Habitual

\(kìrxe-re\) (i) ‘writes habitually’ (the final -i is often dropped) < \(kìrxe-re + i\), an Existential copula

(26) iz-ði ~ badu hâmmeše suvırq'a-r.
    my-Atr trousers always tear.Ipf-Conv
    My trousers always tear. [Alekseev 1994: 231]

AGUL – Present Habitual (+ Narrative, peripheral)

\(aq'a-j-e\) ‘does habitually’ < \(aq'a-j + e\), with the Existential copula

(27) ze ču ču para p'ap'uc-ar du.a.j-e.
    my brother:Erg many cigarette-Pl draw.Ipf-Conv-Cop
    My brother smokes a lot.

Cf. a narrative use (“historical present”):

(28) bic'i či ag.aq'arq'a-j-e dad.a-s. ag.aq'arq'.u-na.
    little sister show.Ipf-Conv-Cop father-Dat show.Pf-Conv
    My brother's sister many cigarette draw.Ipf:Conv-Cop
    My brother's sister smokes a lot.

Cf. a use in rhetorical questions, with a modal nuance:

(29) najč \(\mathcal{J}, a-j-e\) ge?
    where go.Ipf-Conv-Cop that
    Where on earth can he go?! (He has nowhere to go.)

B. Major path, the ‘future’ variety (South Tabassaran, Lezgian, Kryz):

“IPF Converb + Existential Copula” > Future / Hypothetical Future

SOUTH TABASSARAN – Habitual / Future / Narrative
(In NORTH TABASSARAN – only Habitual)

\(ap'ur-u\) ‘habitually does, will do’ < \(ap'ur-i + wu\), with the Existential copula

Habitual use:

(30) xadnu ign-ar urgu-r.
    in_summer harvest-Pl reap.Ipf:Conv-Cop
    They usually reap harvest in summer. [Шихалиева 2004: 55]

Cf. a possibilitive reading, which is close to future:

(31) č'al āj-dr-u Xu-jir.i pul na?a-n ĩuwr-u?
    language know-Neg-Part dog-Pl:Erg money where-Elat take.Ipf:Conv-Cop
    (Molla Nasreddin asked the dogs to pay for his ox, but...) Where the dogs which don’t speak (human) language can take the money from? [Магометов 1965: 357]

Future use:

(32) uzu ĩejet, uzu uwu-z sab uźwal ap'ur-za.
    I let go:Imp I you(Sg)-Dat one good do.Ipf:Conv-Cop:1Sg
    Let me go, one day I will do you a good thing. [Магометов 1965: 362]

Narrative use:

(33) Rlär-u, Rlär-u, alaqur-u muRa-z sab wiču-un har.
    go.Ipf:Conv-Cop go.Ipf:Conv-Cop meet.Ipf:Conv-Cop this-Dat one apple-Gen tree
    [One day a poor man went to Allah to ask for help.] So he goes and goes, and he meets an apple-tree... [Магометов 1965: 370]
LEZGIAN – Habitual / Future / Narrative

**iji-da** ‘will do; habitually does’ < probably *iji-d + a, see below

Habitual use:

(34) **ič** tar.a-n k'anik awat-da.
    apple tree-Gen under fall-Hab
    (As people say,) The apple falls under the tree. [Haspelmath 1993: 220]

Future use (it is the main Future form):

(35) **pača** čun šeher.di-z **fi-da**.
    tomorrow we town-Dat go-Hab
    Tomorrow we will go to the town. [Талибов 1966: 574]

Narrative use:

(36) req'e a-bur.a-l sa kesib kas **halt-da**.
    road:InEss this-Pl-Super one poor person meet-Hab
    this mullah-Pl-Dat greeting give-Conv:Pf leave_behind-Conv:Pf go-Hab
    (One day three mullahs went for a walk.) On the road they meet a poor man. After greeting them, he goes further, leaving them behind. [Camupa 1976: 270]

Is **da**-form an instance of “Imperfective Converb + Existential Copula” pattern? Sometimes -da is treated as a variant of a copula (along with ja, where d- and j- are former class markers) [Haspelmath 1993: 116]. Another hypothesis is that -da includes an “adjectival suffix” and a copula *a [Алексеев 1985: 98]. However, it is probable that -da < *-d (converb) + ja (copula). In closely related languages forms corresponding to Lezgian **da**-forms include an converbial suffix -di + locative copula a, cf.:

- **statives**: Lezgian *k'an-da* ~ Agul (Burkikhan) *kan-di a* ‘wants, loves’,
- **predicatives**: Lezgian *širin-da* ~ Agul *širin-di a* ‘is tasty’ (< *širin* ‘sweet, tasty’).

So it is very plausible that -da in Lezgian Future/Habitual comes from a converb in -d and a copula (j)a (which in Lezgian is an Existential Copula).

KRYZ – Generic / Hypothetical Future (“L’éventuel”)

**kurac'ra** ‘will (probably) slaughter’ < *kurac'r-a + e*(unstressed copula, here class I/IV)
- *a is a suffix of a manner converb, originally the In-essive case*

Generic use (“Eventuel proverbial”):

1339 **girt- acabar**, **qi- yts'-ra**, **ic q'ara**, **ši- u-ru**
    all-HPL PV-put.on EVT RLFF naked he=F-EVT.F needle
    Elle habille tout le monde, et elle est toute nue (l’aiguille).

Hypothetical Future use (“La prédiction à l’éventuel se définit comme non dépendante du locuteur, par opposition au futur”):

1341. **zin cudur v-ar!**
    friend F-do.IMP enemy=E 1 PV-F-catch-EVT.F kill.F-FUT.F
    Cache-moi ! Un ennemi va m’attraper; et (s’il m’attrape) me tuera sûrement!

Semantic development:

The original structure “IPF Converb + Copula” means simply ‘X is V-ing’ (very literally, ‘exists in V-ing manner’), so the original progressive/continuous meaning is not surprising. It becomes general Present, i.e. a neutral imperfective form (cf. Archi, Tsakhur).

In a system where another Present form appears (e.g. based on a locative construction), the “IPF Converb + Copula” structures become ‘old presents’ (cf. Rutul, where only habitual use is left).
In some languages the polysemy seems a bit "strange": ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’, ‘habitual’ + ‘future’, ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’ + ‘future’. This is explained by the fact that other functions of such ‘old presents’ – first of all ‘present imperfective’ – are already taken over by other, ‘younger’ presents.

Also, another Future may exist in such a system, in this case the distribution of the ‘old present’ form may become even more restricted.

**A general path** of ‘present’ > ‘future’ development (Path 1 + Path 2) ⁶

“IPF Converb + Existential Copula” >
> Present Progressive, Continuous (+ Narrative) >
> Present Habitual, Generic >
> Possibility > Future, Hypothetical Future

A schematic representation of the ‘new present’ and ‘new future’ expansion.

An ‘old present’ distribution:


An ‘old present’ distribution after the ‘new present’ and ‘new future’ expansion:


NEW PRESENT (e.g. locative)

NEW FUTURE (e.g. purposive/deontic)

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**PATTERN 4. “IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE + EXISTENTIAL COPULA”**

Another pattern showing variation along the Present ~ Future scale.

**Major path** (Agul, South Tabassaran, Lezgian, Rutul, Kryz):

“IPF Participle + Existential Copula” > Habitual, Generic / (Hypothetical) Future

**RUTUL** – Habitual / Generic

ha?ad i || j-i?i ‘habitually does’ < ha?a-d + i || j-i?i (short || long form of copula)
{ -d is an attributive marker}

(37) išk’il-maše alk, all-bir Xuk-uma ha?a-d i.
sparrow-Pl+Erg nest-Pl tree-Pl+In do.Ipf-Atr Cop
Sparrows usually make nests on trees. [Махмудова 2001: 70]

**AGUL** – Habitual / Generic / Hypothetical Future

aqa‘f-e ‘do as a rule; (I assume) will do’ < aqa‘a-f + e
{ -f is a nominalizing adjective/participle marker (Nom.Sg)}

(38) mal-ar-i ?tuk‘-er ?yt‘a-f-e, jašk ỹyt‘a-f-ţawa.
cattle-Pl-Erg grass-Pl eat.Ipf-Nmz-Cop meat eat.Ipf-Nmz-Cop:Neg
Cattle eat grass and **do not eat** meat.

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⁶ Cf. also the discussion of ‘old presents’ in general in [Haspelmath 1998], and the grammaticalization path from habituals to futures in [Tatevosov 2005] (on the basis of the Andic languages data).
Hypothetical Future use:

(39) \( \text{iš} \ \text{ʔurd-ana} \ \text{pàra} \ \text{iš-p-ar} \ \text{uR.a-f-e}. \)  
this year winter-Adv many snow-Pl fall.Ipf-Nmz-Cop  
*(This summer is very hot.)* *I suppose it will snow* heavily in winter.

UDI – Modal Future / Generic / Narrative

\( \text{bak-o} \) ‘will possibly be’ < \( \text{bak-} + \text{-o} \), probably a former Imperfective participle

\{ -o is a nominalizing adjective/participle marker (Nom.Sg) \}

Modal Future use:

(40) Two brothers share a house. Brother living on the ground floor began to destroy his part of a house. His brother from the upper floor asks:

\( \text{ pój bezi kož ala ŝur=eq- ŝ-o?} \)

Ptc1 my house above remain=3Sg=LV-Fut:Mod

*And will my upper house remain* (~ is it possible that it remains intact)? [Keçaari 2001: 130]

Generic use (widespread in proverbs):

(41) \( \text{taj-nuT Xod-en Xoži te=ne sak-o} \)

branch-without tree-Erg shadow Neg=3Sg drop-Fut:Mod

*A tree without branches does not throw a shadow.* [Keçaari 2001: 106]

Narrative use (peripheral):

(42) \( \text{me qon{ši... boč-k-in boš čaṗ=e=bak-o} } \)

this neighbour barrel-Gen inside hide=3Sg=LV-Fut:Mod

*(The moment the car carrying a big barrel was about to leave,) the neighbour (jumps into the car and) hides in the barrel.* (Nizh text, 2004)

KRYZ – the main Future form

\( \text{kurac’i-ja} \) ‘will slaughter’ < \( \text{kurac’-i} + \text{ja} \)

\{-i is a participle marker\}

786. \( \text{zin li-yi-yar-iz} \ \text{šamal da-ár-na vun, riq’ar-lya vun} \)

1 say.IPF-PART-PL-D feat Neg-do-IF 2 die-FUT 2

*Si tu n’exécutes pas ce que je dis, tu mourras.*

What we see here is the same (like in the “IPF Converb + Copula” pattern) grammaticalization path from the general present meaning to habitual and generic, and then to the future meaning.

However, it seems that here it is not Progressive that is a first stage. The original structure describes a quality, so it is probable that forms like Agul \( \text{aq’u-f-e} \) or Rutul \( \text{ha’u-d i} \) have never expressed Progressive, but originated already as Habitual / General Present forms.

❖ **Semantic development:**

‘X has a property of V-ing’ > ‘X is (habitually) V-ing’

A *general path* of ‘present’ > ‘future’ development:

“IPF Participle + Existential Copula” >  
> Present Habitual / Generic >  
> Possibility > Future / Hypothetical Future.

LEZGIAN, TABASSARAN and ARCHI seem to lack the “Imperfective Participle + Copula” pattern.
CONCLUSIONS

- There are many parallel developments of similar grammatical patterns in different Lezgic languages; sometimes these parallels are only structural, sometimes they are etymological as well; but there are no patterns common to ALL Lezgic languages.

- All that may mean that TAM systems of modern Lezgic languages are rather “young”, i.e. these structures do not have to be traced back to the Proto-Lezgic stage (note also their typological and areal prevalence).

- ‘New Presents’ (progressives) usually come from a “locative” model IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB + LOCATIVE COPULA, or a simple “manner” model IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB + COPULA. They very soon become General Presents.

- Habituals usually come from a “quality” model IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE + COPULA, or from ‘New Presents’ via their generalization.

- Futures usually appear as a last stage of Habituals/Generics evolution, via possibilitive meaning; there is also a “deontic” model INFINITIVE + COPULA which is rather restricted.

- Although the paths for the grammaticalization of Futures are very restricted, it can be said that the future tense is well grammaticalized (in contrast to many languages of Europe, cf. Dahl 2000: “One areal feature of future time reference in European languages can be formulated in negative terms: it tends to be left ungrammaticalized or only partly grammaticalized”). As a rule, in Lezgic TAM systems the main Future tense does not coincide with the main Present tense.*

References

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* Main abbreviations: 1, 2, 3, 4 = class markers; 1Sg/Pl, 2Sg/Pl, 3Sg/Pl = person markers; Adv – adverb; AOb – oblique attributive; Atr – attributive; Cond – conditional; Cont – ‘contact’ localization; Conv – convert; Cop – copula; D(at) – dative; Elat – elative; Erg – ergative; Ess – essive; Evt – “L’éventuel”; Fut – future; Fut:Mod – modal future; G(en) – genitive; Hab – habitual; HPI – human plural; Imp – imperative; In – ‘in’ localization; Inf – infinitive; Ipf – imperfective; Juss – jussive; Lat – lative; LocCop – locative copula; LV – light verb; Neg – negation; Nnz – nominalizer; Part – participle; Pf – perfective; PfP – perfective past; Pl – plural; Post – ‘post’ localization; Pot – “Potentials”; Proh – prohibitive; Prs – present; PtcI – particle; Re – repetitive; Res – resultative; Sg – singular; Super – ‘super’ localization; Voe – vocative.