1. The area and the speakers

*Agul č'al* or *агульский язык* in Russian, or *AGUL* (also spelled *AGHUL*) is a language of the Lezgic branch within the Nakh-Daghestanian, or East Caucasian, family. Other Lezgic languages are *LEZGIAN*, *TABASSARAN*, *TSAKHUR*, *RUTUL*, *BUDUGH*, *KRYZ*, *ARCHI* and *UDI*.

According to the official 2002 census, there are 28297 ethnic Aguls in Russia (11065 in urban and 17232 in rural areas).

There are 29399 Agul speakers in Russia, of these 25447 in Dagestan (ca. 90% of speakers are Aguls, and apart from them Lezgians, Dargins, Tabassarans, i.e. those peoples with which mixed marriages are most common).

The original Agul-speaking area is Southern Dagestan. Most part of the speakers live in the Agul and the Kurah districts of Dagestan (*Агульский район*, *Курахский район*) in 19 mountain villages; plus there are those who resettled to the lowlands, but not many of them live in compact groups.

The dialectal diversity of Agul is considerable: there are seven dialects, namely *CENTRAL AGUL*, *KEREN*, *HUPPUQ’*, *GEQUN*, *TSIRKHE*, *QUSHAN*, and *FITE*. The three major dialects are spoken in seven (CENTRAL), six (KEREN) and three (QUSHAN) villages respectively, each of other four dialects is spoken only in one village. Phonological, morphological and lexical differences do not impede mutual intelligibility between the dialects; only QUSHAN dialect is hardly understandable by speakers of other varieties (QUSHAN speakers themselves usually have some knowledge of CENTRAL AGUL).

All Aguls are almost exclusively first-language speakers; the overwhelming majority of them also speaks Russian. Most speakers of the HUPPUQ’ and the KEREN dialects also have a good command of Lezgian which is the dominant indigenous language of the Kurah district where these dialects are spoken, whereas many Aguls from TSIRKHE speak Dargwa.

Written from early 1990s, Cyrillic alphabet close to Lezgian one. There are so far textbooks for 1st and 2nd classes, some poetry collections, the Gospel of Luke.
2. An overview of basic grammatical features
The examples below are drawn from the dialect of ḥupuq' (ca. 600 speakers).

**PHONOLOGY**

Vowels:  i  ü  u  (rare ones are given in brackets; e  (o)  /o/ mainly occurs in Russian loans)  (ä)  a

Consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occlusive</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ć</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>p:</td>
<td>t:</td>
<td>ć:</td>
<td>k:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ejective</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>ć'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fricative:

| voiced          | z | ʒ | x | ɣ |
| voiceless       | f | ș | x | χ |

Nasals:  m  n
Liquids:  l  r
Glides:  j  w

**NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY**

There is no noun class (also lost in Lezgian and Udi).

Nouns inflect for **number** and **case**, both are marked by suffixes. In the ḥupuq’ dialect the noun paradigm includes 50 forms (= 2 numbers × 25 cases).

Singular is not marked; most productive plural affixes are -ar, -er, -jar (there are also some nouns with non-productive plurals). There seem to be no nouns that cannot have plural.

The Absolutive case is not marked. All other cases are derived from an oblique stem, whose formation is often idiosyncratic; most common oblique markers are -i, -a, -e, -ü, -u, -ji, -di, -du, -ura, -ira, -ala, -una. The Ergative is a bare oblique stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG (zero)</th>
<th>PL (-jar)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSOLUTIVE</strong></td>
<td>gada ‘boy, son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ERGATIVE</strong></td>
<td>gada.ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATIVE</strong></td>
<td>gada.ji-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENITIVE</strong></td>
<td>gada.ji-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMITATIVE</strong></td>
<td>gada.ji-qaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative case markers consist of two parts:
- the first one specifies the localization of an object with respect to a reference point:
  - **ANTE**  ‘before, in front of’
  - **APUD**  ‘near’
  - **IN**  ‘inside (a container)’
  - **INTER**  ‘in a mass or between objects’
  - **SUB/CONT**  ‘below or in contact’ (in most other dialects -k SUB and -k CONT are opposed; in ḥupuq’ they merged in one form)

1 Epiglottal stop, one of the rarest phonemes in the world’s languages.
SUPER ‘on an upper surface’
POST ‘behind’
• the second one points at the direction of movement or absence of movement:
LATIVE ‘towards’
ELATIVE ‘from’ (used with a prolative/translative value, i.e. ‘through’/‘along’)
ESSIVE ‘without motion’, zero marked (may be used with a lative value)

Cf. a locative paradigm of the word cil ‘wall’ (oblique stem cil.i-).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ESSIVE (zero)</th>
<th>LATIV (-di)</th>
<th>ELATIVE (-as)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>cil.i-ʔ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>cil.i-ʔ-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>cil.i-ʕ</td>
<td>cil.i-ʕ-di</td>
<td>cil.i-ʕ-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPER</td>
<td>cil.i-l</td>
<td>cil.i-l-di</td>
<td>cil.i-l-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB/CONT</td>
<td>cil.i-k</td>
<td>cil.i-k-di</td>
<td>cil.i-k-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APUD</td>
<td>cil.i-w</td>
<td>cil.i-w-di</td>
<td>cil.i-ʕ-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTE</td>
<td>cil.i-h</td>
<td>cil.i-h-di</td>
<td>cil.i-h-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POST</td>
<td>cil.i-q</td>
<td>cil.i-q-di</td>
<td>cil.i-q-as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of **locative forms used in locative contexts**

(note a frequent correspondence between locative case markers and verbal prefixes):

(1) dad šahar.di-ʔ a-a.
father city-IN {IN} be-PRS
*Father is in the city now.*

(2) guni xit.ʕa-ʕ fərx.u-ne.
bread water-INTER {INTER} get.PF-PFT
*Bread fell into water.*

(3) sufra.ji-l kitab alde-a.
     table.cloth -SUPER book {SUPER} be-PRS
*There is a book on a table-cloth.*

(4) req.ʕ-u-h-as hatː-u šünük:!
     road-ANTE-ELAT {ANTE} take.out-IMP child
*Take the child away from the road!*

(5) cil.i-k ɣaliča kix!
     wall-SUB/CONT carpet {SUB/CONT} put(IMP)
*Hang the carpet on the wall! {the CONT meaning}*

(6) kitan diwan.i-k kücuč’.u-ne.
     cat sofa-SUB/CONT {SUB/CONT-LAT} climb.PF-PFT
*The cat creeped under the sofa. {the SUB meaning}*

(7) karawut.i-q-di hiʃ.i-ne ge-wur, ʃinux.u-ne.
     bed-POST-LAT run.away.PF-PFT DEMG-PL hide.PF-PFT
*They ran away behind the bed and hid there.*

The **DATIVE** is used instead of an (absent) In-lative:

(8) ezir fajš.u-ne me ha-te idemi derben.di-s, ha-te čauču-n ɣul.َا-s…
at.last take.away.PF-PFT DEMM ha-DEMNT man Derbent-DAT ha-DEMNT brother-GEN house-DAT
*At last we took this man to Derbent, to brother’s house.*
Examples of locative forms used in non-locative contexts:

(9) gada.ji nüте kant’.ala-l-di guni at’.a-a.
    boy(ERG) sharp knife-SUPER-LAT bread cut.IPF-PRS
    The boy is cutting bread with a sharp knife. {Instrument}

(10) ruš.a-w-di tin sumk:a!
    girl-APUD-LAT give(IMP) bag
    Give the bag to the girl! {Prospective temporal possessor}

(11) ayıp ça awala idem-ar.i-f-as, kasib-ar.i-f-as mazdik-ar lix.a-s x.a-duj.
    then before man-PL-APUD-ELAT poor-PL-APUD-ELAT mosque-PL build.IPF.IPF-INF become.IPF-PST:NEG
    And before people, poor people could not built mosques. {Subject of possibility}

(12) we χul.a-l-as ze χal bat’ar-f e.
    your(SG) house-SUPER-ELAT my house beautiful-N COP
    My house is more beautiful than yours. {Standard of comparison}

(13) wa-l-as wul.a-l-as ze
    you(SG)-SUPER-ELAT all laugh.IPF-PRS
    Everybody laughs at you. {Object with ‘laugh’-verb}

(14) ruš xit.a-q š.u-ne.
    girl water-POST go.PF-PST
    The girl went to bring water. {Purpose of motion}

(15) ze čuću-s bengiš-ar.i-q-as guć’a-dawa.
    my brother-DAT bear-PL-POST-ELAT be.afraid-PRS:NEG
    My brother is not afraid of bears. {Stimulus with ‘fear’-verb}

Note that COMITATIVE is a recent grammaticalization of a Post-essive in -q + stative converb qaž ‘being with’ (which also includes a Post locative prefix), cf:

dada-qaj < dada-q qa-j
    ‘with father’ ‘being near (behind) father’

(16) ruš dad.a-qaj mexteb.i-s š.u-ne.
    girl father-COMIT school-DAT go.PF-PFT
    The girl went to school with her father.

PRONOUNS

There are five personal pronouns:

zun ‘I’  xin ‘we (including you)’  čin ‘we (without you)’
wan ‘you (Sg)’  čun ‘you (Pl)’

Note the inclusive/exclusive distinction, and the Absolutive/Ergative syncretism.

There are no personal pronouns for the third person, the demonstratives are used for that. The demonstrative system is built on a quaternary opposition:

me ‘close to speaker’ ~ le ‘close to addressee’ or ‘far and above’
    ~ ge ‘far and below’ ~ te ‘far from both’

When it is necessary to oppose objects closer to the speaker vs. to the addressee, the me vs. le distinction is used. As the distal deixis is concerned, apart from a non-specified te one can emphasize that the objects is higher or lower (in vertical dimension) that the interlocutors.
ADJECTIVES

Adjectives — as well as participles, genitives etc. — when nominalized, inflect for number and case, taking a special nominalization marker -f (in Absolutive singular) or -t- (otherwise). Apart from this the declension is like with nouns; see a partial paradigm of *bat’ar* ‘beautiful’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-f</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ːi</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ar.i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ːi-n</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ar.i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ːi-s</td>
<td><em>bat’ar</em>-t-ar.i-s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) hal kühne-t-ar.i-n eːxtiːlat-ar, gaf-ar-ar aha-t-ar x.a-a terela...
    now old-N-PL-GEN talk-PL word-PL-PL big-N-PL become.IPF-PRS probably

Now the talks of old people (= of those who are old) are probably too long...

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

There is no class agreement (which was lost), neither person agreement (which did not develop, in contrast to Tabassaran or Udi). Still the paradigm is rather rich.

Verbs inflect for aspect, tense and mood. Aspect is marked by vocalic suffixes (-u, -i for perfective or -a, -e for imperfective), and participles and converses derive rather symmetrically from each of the two aspectual stems. E.g. the root of the verb ‘to read’ is *ruχ-*; the aspectual stems are *ruχ*-u- (perfective) and *ruχ*-a- (imperfective), and the main non-finite forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle 1</th>
<th>Perfective aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-u(-f)</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a(-f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converb</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-u-na</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle 2</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-u-naje(-f)</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a-je(-f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle 3</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-u-nde(-f)</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a-jde(-f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative participle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a-ǯe(-f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-a-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masdar (verbal noun)</td>
<td><em>ruχ</em>-u-b</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negation is marked on these forms by means of a prefix *d-// dα-.*

Most TMA forms are analytical and are composed of converses, participles or an infinitive and one of two auxiliaries — copula *e* ‘is’ and a locative verb *aa* ‘is inside’. Negative forms use suppletive negative auxiliaries (copula *dawa*, a locative verb *adawa*). Both auxiliaries can have a present or a past tense form, which gives the following core paradigm (see table).

By using the question forms of auxiliaries — *e-wa* ‘is it?’ and *a-wa* ‘is it inside?’ with a question suffix -wa — yes/no-question forms are derived from the analytical forms given in the table (see also examples below).

Note that stative verbs do not have aspectual stems and their paradigm is very reduced. Statives are:
- *e* ‘is’ (copula),
- *aa* ‘is inside’ (and other prefixal derivatives),
- *amea* ‘stay, remain inside’ (and other prefixal derivatives)
- *haa* ‘know’, *ita* ‘be ill; ache’, *guč’a* ‘be afraid’, *kandea* ‘love, want, need’.
## Converb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective subsystem</th>
<th>Imperfective subsystem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Perfective past**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-n-e` || `ruχ.u-n-dawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-j-e` || `ruχ.a-j-dewa`

**Non-actual past**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-n-ij` || `ruχ.u-n-duj`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-j-i` || `ruχ.a-j-duj`

**Resultative**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-na(j)-a` || `ruχ.u-n-adawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a(a)-j-e` || `ruχ.a(a)-j-dewa`

**Present Habitual**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.a(1)-a` || `ruχ.a(1)-adawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a(1)-ij` || `ruχ.a(1)-duj`

**Past Habitual**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.a(2)-a` || `ruχ.a(2)-adawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a(2)-ij` || `ruχ.a(2)-duj`

**Converb**

- Present copula: `ruχ.u-n-e`
- Past copula: `ruχ.u-n-ij`

**Participle 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective subsystem</th>
<th>Imperfective subsystem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Experiential past**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-f-e` || `ruχ.u-f-tawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-f-e` || `ruχ.a-f-tawa`

**Non-actual Experiential**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-f-ij` || `ruχ.u-f-tuj`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-f-ij` || `ruχ.a-f-tuj`

**Participle 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective subsystem</th>
<th>Imperfective subsystem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Resultative/Experiential**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-naje-f-e` || `ruχ.u-naje-f-tawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-je-f-e` || `ruχ.a-je-f-tawa`

**Past Resultative/Experiential**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.u-naje-f-ij` || `ruχ.u-naje-f-tuj`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-je-f-ij` || `ruχ.a-je-f-tuj`

**Infinitive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective subsystem</th>
<th>Imperfective subsystem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aff.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Future**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.a-s-e` || `ruχ.a-s-tawa`
- Negative: `ruχ.a-s-ij` || `ruχ.a-s-tuj`

**Irrealis**
- Affirmative: `ruχ.a-s-ij` || `ruχ.a-s-tuj`

Apart from Irrealis, other moods include:
- **Imperative** (e.g. `ruχ` ‘read!’), usually a bare root
- **Prohibitive** (e.g. `ma-ruχ-a` ‘do not read!’), a negative counterpart of the Imperative, having a special circumfixal marker `ma-…-a`
- **Jussive** (e.g. `ruχ-u-raj` ‘let him read!’), derived from a perfective stem
- **Future Conditional** (e.g. `ruχ-u-či` ‘if s/he reads…’), derived from a perfective stem.

Also, with the help of Conditional auxiliaries `ej-či` ‘if it is’ and `aj-či` ‘if it is inside’ core analytical forms from the table above can derive all sorts of Conditionals.

(18) ja allah, p.u-na-a, za-k-as ha-mi-sa-l sa dar x.u-raj...

VOC: Allah, say.PF-RES-PRS I-SUB/CONT-ELAT ha-DENM-LOC-SUPER one tree become.PF-JUSS

Oh, Allah, — she said, — let me (= from me) become a tree right here.

(19) ja allah… za-k-as = ra ha-mi-sa-l sa dar aq’-e…

VOC: Allah I-SUB/CONT-ELAT= & ha-DENM-LOC-SUPER one tree do-IMP

Oh, Allah, and from me also make a tree here…

(20) naq’ uṣ.u-naj-či, iże x.a-s-ij.

yesterday rain.PF-RES-COND good become.PF-INF-COP:PST

If it rained yesterday, it would have been good.

---

2 The affirmative Imperfect is identical to Past Habitual.
**DERIVATION**

**Verbal prefixation:** a set of locative prefixes and a repetitive prefix. The locative prefixes (like locative cases) consist of two parts — localization markers and direction markers; the latter can be absent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Localization markers</th>
<th>Direction markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IN</strong></td>
<td>LAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\varnothing$ - $a$ - ($\varnothing$ - $a$)</td>
<td>-$\cdot$ -$\cdot$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTER</strong></td>
<td>ELAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\cdot$ - $a$-</td>
<td>-$at$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APUD</strong></td>
<td>-$\cdot$ -$\cdot$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$h$, $hu$, $hi$-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANTE</strong></td>
<td>$\cdot$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$q$, $qa$, $qi$, $qu$-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB/CONT</strong></td>
<td>DOWN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k$, $ke$, $ki$, $kü$-</td>
<td>-$a$-, -$da$-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUPER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$al$, $l$, $ala$, $la$-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) za-w sa $i$-z $e$ kitab fa-$\cdot$-arx.u-ne.
I-APUD one good book APUD-LAT-get.PF-PFT
I got one good book.

(22) h-ut-ix ustul ze $ü$-di-ix.$a$-.
ANTE-ELAT-put(IMP) table my in.front-ELAT
Take away the table from me.

(23) kitan ustul.i-l(-di) al-$\cdot$-u$ü$.a-a.
cat table-SUPER(-LAT) SUPER-UP-climb.IPF-PRS
The cat is climbing on the table.

(24) gada.$jī$ $\cdot$-ad.i-l-as ixp: al-a-jx.$a$-a.
boy(ERG) roof-SUPER-ELAT snow SUPER-DOWN-put.IPF-PRS
The boy is throwing snow from the roof.

Repetitive prefix (its variants are $q$-, $qa$-, $qu$- and $qi$-) looks similar to the POST localization, but they are distinct and can co-occur. It usually expresses repetition or backward movement.

$qu$-$\cdot$-as ‘go back’, $qu$-$\cdot$-xas ‘bring back’, $qu$-$\cdot$-hatas ‘send back’
$q$-$\cdot$-as ‘say again’, $qa$-$\cdot$-uturfas ‘look again’
$qa$-$\cdot$-i$\cdot$-as ‘put in again’ (< i$\cdot$-as ‘put in’ with the IN prefix)
$qa$-$q$-$\cdot$-i$\cdot$-as ‘put behind again’ (< $q$-$\cdot$-i$\cdot$-as ‘put behind’ with the POST prefix)

**Complex verbs:** nouns, adjectives, bound stems + “light verbs” $aq$’as ‘do, make’ and $xas$ ‘become’ (more rarely, with $ic$’as ‘give’, $j$-r$\cdot$ras ‘beat’, etc.). The syntactic status of the nominal (pre-verbal) part can be different in different verbs.

(25) dad.$a$ gada.$jī$-s un-$aq$’.$a$-a.
father(ERG) boy-DAT sound(ABS)-do.IPF-PRS
Father is calling the boy.

(26) gada.$jī$ ru$\cdot$-a-s ber$\cdot$-rem $p$-e$\cdot$-k$\cdot$-e-$q$’.$u$-ne.
boy(ERG) girl-DAT dress(ABS) gift(ABS??)-do.PF-PFT
The boy presented a dress to the girl.

(27) $šünukt$-ar.$i$ qen$\cdot$-fet-ar $gunt$’-$aq$’.$a$-a.
child-PL(ERG) candy-PL(ABS) <gathering>-do.IPF-PRS
Children are gathering candies.
We become glad, that it is such a good thing.

**SENTENCE PATTERNS**

Core argument of an intransitive verb (S) = ABSOLUTIVE

(28) čin šad-x.u-ne, le يمة-f e p.u-na
we:EXCL glad-become.PF-PFT DEML good-N COP say.PF-CONV

*We become glad, that it is such a good thing.*

Agent of a transitive verb (A) = ERGATIVE, Patient of a transitive verb (O) = ABSOLUTIVE

(29) ze dad mask:aw.di-as ỵab aldark.u-na-a.
my father(ABS) Moscow-{IN}ELAT back return.PF-RES-PRS

*My father has come back from Moscow.*

(30) dad.a guni ᐞut’.u-ne.
father(ERG) bread(ABS) eat.PF-PFT

*Father ate bread.*

Experiencer = DATIVE (with verbs like *ag.as* ‘see’, *un-xas* ‘hear’, *ṭa* ‘know’, *k:anda* ‘love, want, need’ and others):

(31) za-s we ruš ag.u-ne.
I-DAT your(SG) daughter(ABS) see.PF-PFT

*I saw your daughter.*

In some verbs of physical action the DATIVE rather marks the patient, and the optional ABSOLUTIVE argument denotes the instrument:

(32) dad.a degi-s (ʁPaused) jarhu-ne.
father(ERG) donkey-DAT stone(ABS) hit.PF-PFT

*Father hit the donkey (with a rock).*

Possessor is expressed by the APUD-ESSIVE (temporary possession) and the POST-ESSIVE (permanent possession):

(33) za-w nis=na guni fa-a.
I-APUD cheese(ABS)=and bread(ABS) {APUD}be-PRS

*I have cheese and bread with me. (So, we can take a snack now.)*

(34) za-q ḥu ruš=na sa gada qa-a.
I-POST two daughter(ABS)=and one son(ABS) {POST}be-PRS

*I have two daughters and one son.*

**NOMINAL PREDICATION**

(35) aṅul-ar darustan.di-? jašamiš-x.a-je χalq’ e.
[Agul-PL] [Daghestan-IN <live>-become.IPF-PART2 people] COP

*The Aguls are people living in Daghestan.*

(36) p’ap’ruc du.u-b ㈱e kar dawa.
cigarette draw.PF-MSD [good affair] COP:NEG

*Smoking is a bad thing (= is not a good thing).*

Number agreement in the nominal predication:

(37) a. ḥač širin-f e.
   apple tasty-N COP
   *Apple is tasty.*

b. ḥač-ar širin-t-ar e.
   apple-PL tasty-N-PL COP
   *Apples are tasty.*
**Valence Increase and Decrease**

**Causative construction** with the auxiliary verb *aq‘as* ‘do, make’ and the Infinitive of the main verb. The Causer is marked by the Ergative, and there are two strategies for encoding of the Causee. The Causee either keeps the case marking assigned by the main predicate, cf.:  

(38) a. kitan hiš.i-ne.
   cat(ABS) run.away.PF-PFT
   *The cat ran away.*

   b. baw.a kitan hiš.a-s q’.u-ne.
      mother(ERG) [cat(ABS) run.away.IPF-INF] do.PF-PFT
      *Mother made the cat run away (e.g. she made a noise and the cat woke up).*

(39) a. dad.a-s wuri un-x.u-ne.
   father-DAT all(ABS) sound-become.PF-PFT
   *Father heard everything.*

   b. baw.a dad.a-s wuri un-x.a-s q’u-ne.
      mother(ERG) [father-DAT all(ABS) sound-become.IPF-INF] do.PF-PFT
      *Mother made father hear everything.*

(40) a. gada.ji şurpa ʕut’.u-ne.
    boy(ERG) soup(ABS) eat.PF-PFT
    *The boy ate the soup.*

   b. baw.a gada.ji şurpa ʕut’a-s q’.u-ne.
      mother(ERG) [boy(ERG) soup(ABS) eat.IPF-INF] do.PF-PFT
      *Mother made the boy eat the soup (e.g. she threatened not to let him go for a walk).*

Alternatively, the Causee is encoded by the Apud-essive or the Apud-elative (only for transitive and intransitive verbs, not for sentience verbs):

(41) baw.a gada.ji-w // gada.ji-f-as hiš.a-s q’u-ne.
    mother(ERG) boy-APUD boy-APUD-ELAT run.away.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
    *Mother made the boy run away.*

(42) baw.a gada.ji-w // gada.ji-f-as şurpa ʕut’a-s q’u-ne.
    mother(ERG) boy-APUD boy-APUD-ELAT soup(ABS) eat.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
    *Mother made the boy eat the soup.*

(43) baw.a *dad.a-w // *dad.a-f-as wuri un-x.a-s q’u-ne.
    mother(ERG) father-APUD father-APUD-ELAT all(ABS) sound-become.IPF-INF do.PF-PFT
    *Mother made father hear everything.*

The Involuntary Agent Construction: the Involuntary Agent is marked by the Apud-elative. Only available for intransitive verbs denoting a change of state and labile (S=O) verbs. The latter include lexemes like *arīs* ‘break (tr, intr)’, *atuzas* ‘spill (tr, intr)’, *at’usas* ‘stop burning (tr, intr)’, *daqas* ‘open (tr, intr)’, *čurqas* ‘explode (tr, intr)’, *č’urχas* ‘tear apart (tr, intr)’, *č’ut’as* ‘bend (tr, intr)’, *k’es* ‘kill/die’, *rūxes* ‘boil, cook (tr, intr)’, *uc’as* ‘melt (tr, intr)’, *ugas* ‘burn (tr, intr)’ etc.

(44) a. kitab gul.u-ne.
    book(ABS) get.lost.PF-PFT
    *The book got lost.*

   b. *gada.ji kitab gul.u-ne.
      boy(ERG) book(ABS) get.lost.PF-PFT
      *The boy lost the book.*

   c. gada.ji-f-as kitab gul.u-ne.
      boy-APUD-ELAT book(ABS) get.lost.PF-PFT
      *The boy lost the book.*
(45) a. nek: atuz.u-ne. milk(ABS) spill.PF-PFT
b. baw.a nek: atuz.u-ne. mother(ERG) milk(ABS) spill.PF-PFT
The milk spilt. Mother spilled the milk.
c. baw.a-f-as nek: atuz.u-ne. mother-APUD-ELAT milk(ABS) spill.PF-PFT
(It so happened that) Mother accidentally spilled the milk.

SUBORDINATION
Relative clauses: headed by participles; usually head-final

• PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE
(46) me=ra ze k’il.i-l ad.i kar e sara.
DEM=RE my head-SUPER come.PF affair COP PTCL
This one is also an incident that happened to me, y’know.

• IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE
(47) ze saje gada e, igrumudin aɾ.a gada e…
my other son COP [Igramudin say.IPF] son COP
This is my other son, this is my son who’s name is (= who is called) Igramudin.

Complement clauses: headed by converbs, participles, infinitive, masdar

• INFINITIVE
(48) ruʃ.a-s uč.i-n jerče č’ar-ar q’at’-q’.a-s kande-a.
girl-DAT [REFL-GEN long hair-PL piece-do.IPF-INF] want-PRS
The girl wants to cut off her long hair.

• PERFECTIVE CONVERB
(49) wun ita-a, duč.tir.di-s un-aq’.u-na k:and-e.
you(SG) be.ill-PRS [doctor-DAT sound-do.PF-CONV] need-COP
You are ill and (you) should call a doctor.

• PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE
(50) za-s ha-a ge qaj.i-f.
I-DAT know-PRS [DEMG RE:come.PF-N]
I know that s/he came.

• MASDAR
(51) šünük-ar.i aɾa-t-ar.i-l ubur lix.i-b lazim e.
child-PL(ERG) big-N-PL-SUPER ear {SUPER} put.PF-MSD necessary COP
Children should respect (lit. put an ear to) elders.

• “PUNA”-STRATEGY (p.u-na ‘having said’ is a perfective converb of ‘to say’)
(52) qaj.i-guna čin ha-mi-ʃti qatq’.u-ne baw-ar.i-s,
RE:come.PF-TEMP we:EXCL ha-DEMMA-ADV narrate.PF-PFT mother-PL-DAT
ha-mi-ʃti kar x.u-ne p.u-na.
[ha-DEMMA-ADV(GEN)affair become.PF-PFT] say.PF-CONV
And when we returned, we told our parents that such and such thing happened.

Adverbial clauses: mainly headed converbs (general perfective and imperfective converbs as well as special temporal, conditional, causal etc. forms), also by infinitives, participles.
• **PERFECTIVE CONVERB**

(53) at’.u-na ṭu-d = ra χil-ar, at.u-na či qaj-ne me.

He cut off both sister’s hand, left here there and returned.

• **IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB**

(54) gada kitab ruχ.a-j qadark.u-na-a.

A boy is lying down reading a book.

• **INFINITIVE** (marks purpose, usually with motion verbs)

(55) hat.a-a me-wr.i me ruš = ra gada = ra adark.a-s jac-ar.i-q-ti.

They send these boy and girl to look for the bulls.

• **SPECIALIZED CONVERB IN -χildi** (marks purpose)

(56) za-k-as ha-mi-sa-l sa dar x.u-raj… daχu baw da-q-ag.a-χildi

Let me become a tree right here... so that I do not see the stepmother again..

**QUESTIONS**

**Yes/no-questions:** a special set of verbal forms with a question form of an auxiliary

(57) hara, nurutin k’.i-ne-wa?

Oh, did Nurudin die?

(58) gamuš ha-j-e-wa wa-s?

Do you know (what is) a buffalo?

**Wh-questions and focus construction**

Wh-questions: no special verb marker

Cleft sentences: focus part + copula + the rest, headed by a nominalized participle

(60) a. fiš qaj-ne?

Who came?

b. fiš e qaj.i-f?

Who (exactly) came?

(61) a. fi lix.a-a ge-wur.i?

What are they building?

b. fi e ge-wur.i lix.a-je-f?

What (exactly) are they building?
3. History and current state of research

Previous studies:

Dirr A. Агульский язык. Тифлис, 1907. (Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа. Вып. 37.)

Шаумян Р. М. Грамматический очерк агульского языка. М.; Л., 1941.

Магометов А. А. Агульский язык: Исследования и тексты. Тбилиси, 1970.


Agul dialects documentation project (in 2004—2006 and 2008—2009 supported by grants from Max Plant Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology)

Participants: Dmitry Ganenkov, Timur Maisak, Solmaz Merdanova (Moscow)

Goals:
1. collect texts from all seven dialects of Agul (about 40 hours of texts already recorded),
2. transcribe, translate and gloss these audio recordings (at least the best of them),
3. write a grammatical sketch based on the Huppuq’ dialect,
4. collect a Huppuq’ dialect lexicon (as much as possible),
5. collect basic grammatical information from other dialects (phonetics, morphology),
6. collect a comparative dialect lexicon (basic vocabulary including about 1000 words),
7. suggest a proto-Agul grammatical and lexical reconstruction.

Some papers by the Moscow project:

• Locative cases and locative prefixes:


Ганенков Д.С., Майсак Т.А., Мерданова С.Р. Пространственные и непространственные значения локализации APUD «воке ориентира» в агульском языке // Горы языков.. и еще один: К 100-летию Евгения Алексеевича Бокарева. М., 2006.

• Verbal categories:


Майсак Т.А., Мерданова С.Р. Будущее время в агульском языке в типологической перспективе // Вопросы языкознания. 2003. №6.


• Causatives, unintentional agent:


Daniel M., Maisak T., Merdanova S. Causatives in Agul // Proceedings of LENCA-2 (submitted)

Даниэль М. А., Майсак Т.А., Мерданова С. Р. Казативы, деказативы и лабильность в агульском языке // Исследования по глагольной деривации. М., 2008.