

# Morphology, semantics and syntax of participles in Agul

## 0. General information

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

Ergative language with (predominantly) agglutinative morphology and a rich case system. There is no nominal class category (which was lost), nor person agreement. The basic word order is SOV (though in principle the word order is rather free), dependents as a rule precede heads.

On the whole, the difference between finite and non-finite forms in Agul is rather clear (at least in comparison with some other Daghestanian languages): in general, converbs, infinitives and participles can head independent sentences only being parts of analytical forms with auxiliaries.

At the same time, the distribution of participles is rather wide, probably wider than that of prototypical participles and prototypical non-finite forms, cf. also [Мерданова, Калинина 2002].

Below we will show the use of participles in the following contexts:

- relative clauses (here the participial strategy is the main one),
- complement clauses (one of the means of encoding),
- adverbial clauses (one of the means of encoding),
- analytical TMA forms,
- focus construction (here the participial strategy is the main one),
- independent sentences (peripherally, in a special pragmatic context).

## 1. Basic syntax of participles

The external syntax of participles is the same as that of adjectives, i.e. in the attributive position they appear in the **unmarked** form, and in the position of NP head they substantivize and get the special **nominalization marker** (and the corresponding case/number inflections).

### ADJECTIVE AS ATTRIBUTE

(1) c'aje kitab	c'aje kitab.i-ʔ	c'aje kitab-ar
new book	new book-IN	new book-PL
<i>new book</i>	<i>in a new book</i>	<i>new books</i>

### PARTICIPLE AS ATTRIBUTE

(2) dad.a ruχ.u kitab(-ar)	dad.a ruχ.u kitab(-ar).i-ʔ
[father(ERG) <u>read.PF</u> ] book(-PL)	[father(ERG) <u>read.PF</u> ] book(-PL)-IN
<i>a book (books) read by father</i>	<i>in a book (books) read by father</i>

The nominalization marker of adjectives and participles is *-f* (in Absolutive Singular) or *-t-* (otherwise). Apart from this the declension is like with nouns: the Absolutive is unmarked, all other cases are derived from an oblique stem (marker *-i*) both in singular and plural. Cf. a partial paradigm of an adjective *bat'ar* 'beautiful' and a perfective participle *ruχ.u* (< *ruχas* 'to read').

	SG	PL		SG	PL
ABSOLUTIVE	bat'ar-f	bat'ar-t-ar		ruχ.u-f	ruχ.u-t-ar
ERGATIVE	bat'ar-t.i	bat'ar-t-ar.i		ruχ.u-t.i	ruχ.u-t-ar.i
GENITIVE	bat'ar-t.i-n	bat'ar-t-ar.i-n		ruχ.u-t.i-n	ruχ.u-t-ar.i-n
DATIVE	bat'ar-t.i-s	bat'ar-t-ar.i-s		ruχ.u-t.i-s	ruχ.u-t-ar.i-s
COMITATIVE	bat'ar-t.i-s	bat'ar-t-ar.i-s		ruχ.u-t.i-s	ruχ.u-t-ar.i-s

#### ADJECTIVE AS NP HEAD

- (3) te bic'i kapur fašaw... bic'i-f ke-a, aHa-f wa?...  
 DEMT little dagger bring(IMP) little-N {SUB/CONT}be-PRS big-N not  
*Bring that little dagger... there is a little one (hanging on a wall), not a big one...*

#### PARTICIPLE AS NP HEAD

- (4) ...q'ul?an-ar ruχ.a-t:ar a-ji ha-li-sa-?.  
 [Koran-PL read.IPF-N-PL] {IN}be-PST ha-DEML-LOC-IN  
*...there were those who (can) read Koran there.*

## 2. The paradigm of participles and their semantics

Verbal paradigm is rather rich: there is a considerable number of non-finite forms (two converbs, seven participles, one infinitive and one masdar, and a series of adverbial converbs), and many finite forms which are mainly analytical and contain an auxiliary.

There are two aspectual stems marked by vocalic suffixes (-u, -i for perfective or -a, -e for imperfective), and participles and converbs derive symmetrically from each of them.

Cf. the root *ruχ-* 'to read', its aspectual stems are *ruχ.u-* (perfective) and *ruχ.a-* (imperfective), and the main non-finite forms are as follows:

	Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
Participle 1	<i>ruχ.u(-f)</i>	<i>ruχ.a(-f)</i>
Converb	<i>ruχ.u-na</i>	<i>ruχ.a-j</i>
Participle 2	<i>ruχ.u-naje(-f)</i>	<i>ruχ.a-je(-f)</i>
Participle 3	<i>ruχ.u-nde(-f)</i>	<i>ruχ.a-jde(-f)</i>
Optative participle	—	<i>ruχ.a-že(-f)</i>

**Negation** is marked (on non-finite forms in general) by means of a prefix *d-* // *da-*.

	Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
Participle 1	<i>da-ruχ.u(-f)</i>	<i>da-ruχ.a(-f)</i>
Converb	<i>da-ruχ.u-na</i>	<i>da-ruχ.a-j</i>
Participle 2	<i>da-ruχ.u-naje(-f)</i>	<i>da-ruχ.a-je(-f)</i>
Participle 3	<i>da-ruχ.u-nde(-f)</i>	<i>da-ruχ.a-jde(-f)</i>
Optative participle	—	<i>da-ruχ.a-že(-f)</i>

There is a number of **stative verbs** that have only one stem; their paradigm is reduced and they have from one to three participles (roughly corresponding to imperfective participles 1-3):

- *e* 'is' (copula), participle *ide(-f)*
- *aa* 'is inside' (and other prefixal derivatives), participle *aje(-f)*
- *amea* 'stay, remain inside' (and other prefixal derivatives), participle *ame(-f)*
- *Haa* 'know', *it:aa* 'be ill; ache', *guč'aa* 'be afraid', *k:andea* 'love, want, need', participles *Ha(-f)* 'knowing', *it:a(-f)* 'ill; aching', *guč'a(-f)* 'afraid', *k:ane(-f)* 'beloved, wanted', etc.

Most TMA forms are analytical and are composed of a converb, a participle or an infinitive and one of two auxiliaries — copula *e* ‘is’ and a locative verb *aa* ‘is inside’ (see section 6 for details). Note that participle 2 and participle 3 are also analytical historically (now these forms are completely bound), and they have clear structural parallels among finite forms, cf.:

Imperfective converb + auxiliary ‘be inside’	PRESENT <i>ruχ.a-ja, ruχ.a-a</i> < <i>ruχ.a-j aa</i> [CONV:IPF + ‘be in’:PRS]	IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 2 <i>ruχ.a-je(-f)</i> < <i>ruχ.a-j aje(-f)</i> [CONV:IPF + ‘be in’:PART]
Imperfective converb + copula	HABITUAL <i>ruχ.a-j-e</i> < <i>ruχ.a-j e</i> [CONV:IPF + COP:PRS]	IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 3 <i>ruχ.a-jde(-f)</i> < <i>ruχ.a-j ide(-f)</i> [CONV:IPF + COP:PART]
Perfective converb + auxiliary ‘be inside’	RESULTATIVE <i>ruχ.u-na-ja, ruχ.u-na-a</i> < <i>ruχ.u-na aa</i> [CONV:PF + ‘be in’:PRS]	PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 2 <i>ruχ.u-naje(-f)</i> < <i>ruχ.u-na aje(-f)</i> [CONV:PF + ‘be in’:PART]
Perfective converb + copula	PERFECTIVE PAST <i>ruχ.u-ne</i> < <i>ruχ.u-na e</i> [CONV:PF + COP:PRS]	PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 3 <i>ruχ.u-nde(-f)</i> < <i>ruχ.u-na ide(-f)</i> [CONV:PF + COP:PART]

There are certain semantic nuances related to the origin of participles 2 and 3, as opposed to the “unmarked” participle 1.

### Semantics of perfective participles

- Participles 1 and 3 are largely synonymous (participle 1 occurs in the corpus much more often), and have a general perfective meaning, cf. *ruχ.u* // *ruχ.u-nde kitab* ‘a book that was read’.
- Participle 2 has a perfect/resultative meaning and describes the resultative stage relevant at reference point, cf. *ruχ.u-naje kitab* ‘a book that has been read’.

- (5) Ha-j-dewa, ge-wur x.u kar e, da-x.u kar...  
know-CONV-COP:NEG DEMG-PL [become.PF] affair COP [NEG-become.PF] affair  
*I do not know whether this is a thing that really happened or not.*
- (6) me uč.i-s, me χil-ar at’.u xir.a-s aκ.a-a mi...  
DEMM REFL-DAT DEMM [hand/arm-PL cut.PF] woman-DAT say.IPF-PRS DEMM(ERG)  
*He says to her, to the woman whose hands were cut off...*
- (7) k’.i-nde č:uč:u-n t:ur za-s Ha-j-dewa, k’.al an-dawa.  
[kill.PF-PART3] brother-GEN name I-DAT know-CONV-COP:NEG in\_memory {IN}stay-PRS:NEG  
*I do not know the name of the brother that was killed, do not remember.*
- (8) hal č.a-s zun qat:aq’.a-s-e za-s habaw.a qat:aq’.u-nde sa q’isa.  
now you(PL)-DAT I tell.IPF-INF-COP [I-DAT grandmother(ERG) tell.PF-PART3] one story  
*Now I will tell you a story that my grandmother told me.*
- (9) hal alčarx.a-a mi-s čüngür jarH.a-j uq’.u-naje dar.ala wart.a-l  
now meet.IPF-PRS DEMM-DAT chungur beat.IPF-CONV [sit.PF-PART2] tree(GEN) up-SUPER]

sa gada.

one boy

*And then he meets a boy sitting on a tree playing chungur (a stringed musical instrument).*

- (10) uže uχ.u-na pijan x.u-naje-t:-ar e wuri.  
already drink.PF-CONV [drunk become.PF-PART2-N-PL] COP all  
*They all have already drunk and are completely drunk.*

### Semantics of imperfective participles

- Participle 1 usually denotes permanent properties (is often found in constructions with personal names) and can also have potential meaning
- Participle 2 often has durative/progressive meaning, cf. *ruχ.a-je kitab* ‘a book that is being read now’
- Participle 3 expresses habitual meaning or future meaning/(pre)destination, cf. *ruχ.a-jde kitab* ‘a book that will be read’

- (11) x.u-ne, x.u-ndawa = ɤaj lemert = na žumart aχ.a žu ču.  
become.PF-PFT become.PF-PFT:NEG=CIT [Lemert=and Dzhumart say.IPF] two brother  
*There lived (= there were, there weren't) two brothers called Lemert and Dzhumart.*
- (12) da-žik'.a sa tuk e wun.  
[NEG-find.IPF] one flower COP you(SG)  
*You are a flower that is impossible to find. {from a song}*
- (13) aχp:a ruχ.a-t:-ar = ra a-a... q:urʔan ruχ.a-t:-ar = ra a-a če Hüri-ʔ...  
then [read.IPF-N-PL]=& {IN}be-PRS [Koran read.IPF-N-PL]=& {IN}be-PRS our:EXCL village-IN  
*Also, there are those who (can) read, in our village there are those who read Koran.*
- (14) qat:ik'.a-je žiga.ji-l fac.u-ne.  
[steal.IPF-PART2] place-SUPER catch.PF-PFT  
*They caught (him) at the place of robbery (lit. at the stealing place).*
- (15) o, xä-s ag.ar-q'.a-je žalamat e me, p.u-na-a.  
INTJ [we:INCL-DAT see-do.IPF-PART2] miracle COP DEMM say.PF-RES-PRS  
*{When a hen turned into a cat,} they said: “Oh, this is a miracle that (God) is showing to us!”*
- (16) sift:a χul.a-ʔ q:ulgun-ar q'.a-jde žiga q'.u-na-a zun...  
at first house-IN [prayer-PL do.IPF-PART3] place do.PF-RES-PRS I  
*At first I made in the building a place for prayer (lit. a prayer-doing place).*
- (17) řut'.a-jde k:art:uf-ar masa c'.a-jde-t:-ar.i-q-as žüre q'-e.  
[eat.IPF-PART3] potatoes-PL [for\_pay give.IPF-PART3-N-PL-POST-ELAT] separate do-IMP  
*Separate the potatoes that are for eating from those that are for selling.*

### Semantics of the Optative participle (‘one to whom I wish that...’)

- (18) žennet žik'.a-že-f  
[paradise find.IPF-OPT-N]  
*one, to whom I wish to find paradise*
- (19) k'il at'.a-že ruš  
[head cut off.IPF-OPT] girl  
*a so-and-so girl (naughty, etc.), lit. “a girl to whom I wish that her head be cut off”*

- (20) žan žümür jeryxe x.a-že-ti-ar, bayt:lu x.a-že-ti-ar.  
 dear [life long become.IPF-OPT-N-PL] [happy become.IPF-OPT-N-PL]  
*(You,) my dear, those who's life let be long, those whom I wish to be happy.*

### 3. Participles in relative clauses

The participial strategy of relative clause formation is the main one (there are no relative pronouns, resumptive pronouns or anything like that). The internal syntax of participles in a relative clause is the same as that of finite verbs. As a rule, the participle occurs at the very end of a relative clause, though not always (cf. (9)). Relative clauses usually precede their heads, although the post-position can be also found in texts.

From the semantic point of view, relative clauses can be both restrictive and non-restrictive:

- (21) mašin iže hik.a-s ha-je Hamid qaj-ne.  
 [car good drive.IPF-INF know-PART] Hamid RE:come:PF-PFT  
*Hamid came, who drives a car very well.*

- 1. ‘there is one Hamid in our village, and he can drive a car very well; he came’
- 2. ‘there are two Hamids in our village, one of them can drive a car very well, and the other cannot drive at all; the one that can drive came’

Agul participles are neutral with respect to ‘voice’, i.e. there are no distinction between “active” vs. “passive” participles like in many European languages.

Also, there seem to be not much syntactic restrictions on what can be relativized.

#### **ARGUMENT OF AN INTRANSITIVE VERB**

- (22) Hup:aqan.di k'.i-na-a qat:k'.a-s ad.i-naje ukri.  
 shepherd(ERG) kill.PF-RES-PRS [steal.IPF-INF come.PF-PART2] thief  
*The shepherd killed the thief, who (Absolutive)<sup>1</sup> came to steal.*

#### **AGENT, PATIENT AND BENEFICIARY**

- (23) šünük:i-s q:enfet-ar i xir uš.u-ne.  
 [child-DAT candy-PL give:PF] woman go.PF-PFT  
*The woman who (Ergative) gave candies to a child went away.*
- (24) ge xir.a šünük:i-s i q:enfet-ar širin-ti-ar e.  
 [DEMG woman(ERG) child-DAT give:PF] candy-PL tasty-N-PL COP  
*Candies that (Absolutive) the woman gave to the child are tasty.*
- (25) ge xir.a q:enfet i šünük: šad x.u-ne.  
 [DEMG woman(ERG) candy give:PF] child glad become.PF-PFT  
*The child to whom (Dative) that woman gave candies became glad.*

#### **EXPERIENCER AND STIMULUS**

- (26) šahar ag.u šünük: degiš x.a-j-e.  
 [city see:PF] child change become.IPF-CONV-COP  
*A child who (Dative) has seen a city changes.*

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<sup>1</sup> It is shown in brackets, what case should be assigned to relativization target (which is not expressed in a relative clause).

- (27) wa-s ag.u šahar an-dawa.  
 [you(SG)-DAT see.PF] city {IN}stay-PRS:NEG  
*Now there is no city that (Absolutive) you saw before.*

### POSSESSOR AND POSSESSUM

- (28) kitab-ar qa-je ruš.a-s dars-ar iže har-x.u-b lazim e.  
 [book-PL {POST}be-PART] girl-DAT lesson-PL good know-become.PF-MSD necessary COP  
*The girl that (Post-essive) has books should learn her lessons well.*
- (29) ruš.a-q qa-je kitab-ar wuri c'.a-je-ti-ar e.  
 [girl-POST {POST}be-PART] book-PL all give.IPF-PART2-N-PL COP  
*All the books that (Absolutive) the girl has are new.*

### ADDRESSEE

Cf. numerous examples with proper names: the original construction is “they say N (name) to X (person)”, i.e. the person X is conceptualized as the Addressee.

- (30) lemert=na žumart aḥ.a řu ču  
 [Lemert=and Dzhumart say.IPF] two brother  
*two brothers who (Dative) are called Lemert and Dzhumart*

### INSTRUMENT

- (31) dad.a jak: jarH.a jak'. Hüte q'.u-na k:and-e.  
 [father(ERG) meat beat.IPF] axe sharp do.PF-CONV need-COP  
*One needs to sharper the axe with which (Super-lative) father chops meat.*

### COMITATIVE (VS. CAUSE)

The exact semantic role is inferred from the lexical semantics of a predicate; the most natural interpretation is chosen, cf.:

- (32) xe gada-jar uq:u-f-e me ruš.a-qaj || ruš.a-q-as.  
 our:INCL boy-PL fight.PF-N-COP DEMM girl-COMIT girl-POST-ELAT  
*Our boys fought with this girl // because of this girl.*
- (33) xe gada-jar uq:u ruš šuw.a-s š.u-ne.  
 [our:INCL boy-PL fight.PF] girl husband-DAT go.PF-PFT  
*The girl with whom (Comitative) // <sup>??</sup>because of whom (Post-relative) our boys fought married.*

### LOCATIVE (a very frequent type)

- (34) ja suw-ar, hawa suw-ar, žejran-ar gul.u suw-ar...  
 VOC mountain-PL high mountain-PL [gazelle-PL get\_lost.PF] mountains-PL  
*Oh mountains, high mountains, mountains where gazelles got lost... {from a song}*
- (35) č:em at'.u-nde aš e sara.  
 [butter {IN}pour.PF-PART3] pilaw COP PTCL  
*This is a pilaw where one pours butter, you see.*

The same problem of finding an appropriate interpretation also exists here; in most cases it becomes clear from the lexical semantics of verbs (esp. when they contain locative prefixes), cf.:

- (36) kitan-ar alkuč'.a-je dar  
 [cat-PL {SUPER-UP}climb.IPF-PART2] tree  
*a tree on which a cat usually climbs*

(37) qizil-ar kičik'.i-naje dar  
 [gold-PL {SUB/CONT-LAT}put.PF-PART2] tree  
*a tree under which gold has been hidden (buried)*

(38) ulud a-je dar  
 [hole {IN}be-PART] tree  
*a tree in which there is a hole*

(39) čuwal χup:aq qa-je dar  
 [sack behind {POST}be-PART] tree  
*a tree behind which there is a sack*

In some cases there can be more than one locative interpretation:

(40) wun cac adarx.u dar  
 [you(SG) last\_tear {IN-DOWN}fall.PF] tree  
*a tree from which // under which you fell down last year*

### **TEMPORAL (a very frequent type)**

(41) k:alχuz-ar x.u-guna, me st:alin p:ač:ah x.u ara.ji...  
 collective\_farm-PL become.PF-TEMP DEMM [Stalin governor become.PF] period(TMR)  
*(It all happened) when collective farms appeared, in the period when Stalin was a ruler.*

(42) jac-ar da-q-žik'.i wayt:una, baw.a ɤ.a-j-e, wa?...  
 [bull-PL NEG-RE-find.PF] time(TMR) mother(ERG) say.IPF-CONV-COP not  
 mič'e x.u wayt:una hat.a-a ʔu-d = ra šünük:-ar uč.i-n.  
 [dark become.PF] time(TMR) send.IPF-PRS two-N=& child-PL REFL-GEN  
*When (= in the time when) they did not find the bulls, the stepmother says: "No!" ... and when (= in the time when) it became dark, she sends away her both children.*

### **NP FROM A SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENT**

The verb 'want' has a complement headed by a perfective converb, cf.:

(43) za-s gada.ji q:unši-s k'ež lik'ina k:ande-a.  
 I-DAT [boy(ERG) neighbour-DAT letter write.PF-CONV] want-PRS  
*I want the boy to write a letter to our neighbour.*

AGENT INSIDE A COMPLEMENT

(44) za-s q:unši-s k'ež lik'.i-na k:ande-je gada.  
 [I-DAT neighbour-DAT letter write.PF-CONV want-PART2] boy  
*the boy whom I want to write a letter to our neighbour*

PATIENT INSIDE A COMPLEMENT

(45) za-s gada.ji q:unši-s lik'.i-na k:ande-je k'ež  
 [I-DAT boy(ERG) neighbour-DAT letter write.PF-CONV want-PART2] letter  
*the letter which I want the boy to write to our neighbour*

ADDRESSEE INSIDE A COMPLEMENT

(46) za-s gada.ji k'ež lik'.i-na k:ande-je q:unši  
 [I-DAT boy(ERG) letter write.PF-CONV want-PART2] neighbour  
*the neighbour to whom I want the boy to write a letter*

### NP FROM AN ADVERBIAL CLAUSE

- (47) wun me jamak ʕut'.u-guna, ʕan it:ar-x.a-a.  
you(SG) DEMM food eat.PF-TEMP bowels ill-become.IPF-PRS  
*When you eat this food, your bowels will ache.*
- (48) wun ʕut'.u-guna, ʕan it:ar-x.a-je jamak  
[you(SG) eat.PF-TEMP bowels ill-become.IPF-PART2] food  
*a food such that when you eat it, your bowels ache*

### NO PARTICULAR ARGUMENT (!)

Relativization targets do not have any corresponding syntactic position in a relative clause. Here, only a contextual semantic relation exists between the referent described by a relative clause and some (unexpressed) participant related to the situation described by a relative clause.

- (49) qu-ʕ.a-je-f-e čin fi.ti-s... k'.i-nde küče.ji-l-di.  
RE-go/come.IPF-PART2-N-COP we:EXCL what-DAT [die.PF-PART3] street-SUPER-LAT  
*And then we go to what... to the street where the dead person lived (lit. to the dead street).*
- (50) xilik'.i jak:ar fatq.a-f-ij wow-mi-sa-q...  
[die(of animals).PF] meat-PL throw.IPF-N-COP:PST wow-DEMM-LOC-POST  
*They used to throw meat of dead animals (lit. dead meat) here.*
- (51) ic'.a-j x.u-ne mi-s ha-te ʕarx.a darman-ar = ra.  
give.IPF-CONV become.PF-PFT DEMM-DAT ha-DEMT [fall asleep.IPF] medicine-PL=&  
*Then they began to give him soporific (lit. sleeping medicine).*
- (52) jak: ug.a-je ni?  
[meat burn.IPF-PART2] smell  
*a smell of burning meat (lit. a meat-burning smell)*
- (53) dad qaj.i un ruq'.u-ne-wa wa-l-di?  
[father RE:come.PF] sound reach.PF-PFT-Q you(SG)-SUPER-LAT  
*Did you hear that father came? (≈ Did a father-coming sound reach you?)*

Such relativization type has been noticed in Daghestanian languages before, see esp. [Comrie, Polinsky 1999] for a detailed treatment of Tsez relativization, and also [Даниэль, Ландер 2008] with similar examples from Archi and Udi.

The nature of constraints on relativization should be probably regarded as semantic-pragmatic, and not syntactic, cf. [Comrie, Polinsky 1999: 82-83]:

The precise nature of the relationship between the null and the head NP is determined by semantic linking rules which are probably language-specific. However, there seems to be a general semantic tendency which is as follows. The hearer has to assign a plausible interpretation to the association between the head NP and an unexpressed constituent in the attributive clause. This assignment of a plausible interpretation is based on the concept of frame (Fillmore 1982; 1985): hearers have in mind a system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them they have to understand the whole structure in which it fits. If a plausible interpretation can be assigned, as has been the case in the examples examined so far, then the resulting relative clause construction is judged acceptable. If no such plausible interpretation can be assigned, then the resulting relative clause is judged unacceptable.

#### 4. Participles in complement clauses

Complement clauses are headed by converbs, infinitive, masdar (the latter inflected for a necessary case), and participles. The type of encoding depends on the complement-taking predicate and is semantically-oriented to a considerable degree, cf. [Ganenkov 2006].

Only substantivized participles, and only in the Absolutive Singular form in *-f* appear in complements.

##### Predicates taking complements headed by participles:

- predicates of knowledge: *Haa* ‘know’, *Harxas* ‘find out’, *Haraq’as* ‘let know’, *k’alas* *ŋas* ‘forget’, *k’al quŋas* ‘remember’, *ƙawurdi arxas* ‘understand’
- perception predicates: *ag’as* ‘see’, *un-xas* ‘hear’, *hülük’es* ‘seem’
- commentative predicates: *Hajif e* ‘be sorry’, *šad e* ‘be glad’

(54) dad.a-s Ha-a me gada-ji peʔ qat:k’.i-f.

father-DAT know-PRS [this boy-ERG hen steal.PF-N]

*Father knows that this boy has stolen a hen.*

(55) Har-aq’.a-j-dewa mi uč.i-n ɣil-ar uč.i-n č:uč:u q’at’-q’.u-f.

know-do.IPF-CONV-COP:NEG DEMM(ERG) [REFL-GEN hand/arm-PL REFL-GEN brother(ERG) piece-do.PF-N]

*...But she does not tell (= let know) that her brother cut off her hands.*

(56) zun šad e wun ge aq’.u-f.

I glad COP [you(SG) DEMG do.PF-N]

*I am glad that you did it.*

##### Contrast between different participles (with the same main predicate):

(57) za-s Ha-a dad naq’ qaj-naje-f.

I-DAT know-PRS [father yesterday RE:come:PF-PART2-N]

*I know that father came yesterday.*

(58) za-s Ha-a dad bagah qu-ŋa-je-f.

I-DAT know-PRS [father tomorrow RE-go/come.IPF-PART2-N]

*I know that father will come tomorrow.*

##### Contrast between different variants of complement encoding:

SUBSTANTIVIZED PARTICIPLE VS. IMPERFECTIVE CONVERB with perception predicate:

(59) za-s ge quŋa-je-f ag.u-ne.

I-DAT [DEMG RE:go/come.IPF-PART2-N] see.PF-PFT

*I saw that he was going to leave (i.e. I understood this fact).*

(60) za-s ge quŋa-j ag.u-ne.

I-DAT [DEMG RE:go/come.IPF-CONV] see.PF-PFT

*I saw him leave (i.e. the process of his leaving).*

SUBSTANTIVIZED PARTICIPLE VS. MASDAR with knowledge predicate:

(61) dad.a-s Ha-a me gada-ji peʔ qat:k’.i-f.

father-DAT know-PRS [DEMM boy(ERG) hen steal.PF-N]

*Father knows that this boy has stolen a hen.*

(62) dad.a-s gada-ji peʔ qat:k’.i-b.a-k-as Ha-a.

father-DAT [boy(ERG) hen steal.PF-MSD-SUB/CONT-ELAT] know-PRS

*Father knows about boy’s stealing a hen.*

## 5. Participles in adverbial clauses

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

Only substantivized perfective Participle 1, and only in the Absolutive Singular form in *-f* appear in such clauses. The meaning is both temporal and causal; it is emphasized that the main situation occurred immediately after the situation described in the adverbial clause.

(63) dad qaj.i-f, šünük:-ar sekin x.u-ne.  
 [father come.PF-N] child-PL quiet become.PF-PFT  
*As soon as father came, children became quiet.*

(64) uš.u-ne me-wur, uš.u-na mi rak:a-l-di ruq'.u-f tufang jarH.a-j-e.  
 go.PF-PFT DEMM-PL go.PF-CONV DEMM(ERG) [door-SUPER-LAT reach.PF-N] gun beat.IPF-CONV-COP  
*So they went there, they went, and when they come right to the door, he shoots from a gun.*

(65) it:ar-x.u-na dad = ra qa-k'.i-f, aɣp:a baw = ra q-uš.u-ne.  
 [be\_ill-become.PF-CONV father=& RE-die.PF-N] then mother=& RE-go.PF-PFT  
*When father got ill and died, then step-mother left (us) too.*

## 6. Participles in verbal analytical forms

Core finite TMA forms are analytical and are composed of converbs, 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).

	Perfective subsystem		Imperfective subsystem	
	AFF.	NEG.	AFF.	NEG.
<b>Converb</b>	<b>Perfective past</b>		<b>Present Habitual</b>	
+ present copula	<i>ruχ.u-n-e</i>	<i>ruχ.u-n-dawa</i>	<i>ruχ.a-j-e</i>	<i>ruχ.a-j-dewa</i>
	<b>Non-actual past</b>		<b>Past Habitual</b>	
+ past copula	<i>ruχ.u-n-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.u-n-duj</i>	<i>ruχ.a-j-i</i>	<i>ruχ.a-j-düj</i>
<b>Converb</b>	<b>Resultative</b>		<b>Present</b>	
+ present ‘is in’	<i>ruχ.u-na(j)-a</i>	<i>ruχ.u-n-adawa</i>	<i>ruχ.a(j)-a</i>	<i>ruχ.a-dawa</i>
	<b>Past Resultative</b>		<b>Imperfect<sup>2</sup></b>	
+ past ‘was in’	<i>ruχ.u-na-ji</i>	<i>ruχ.u-n-aduj</i>	<i>ruχ.a-ji</i>	<i>ruχ.a-duj</i>
<b>Participle 1</b>	<b>Experiential past</b>		<b>Present Generic</b>	
+ present copula	<i>ruχ.u-f-e</i>	<i>ruχ.u-f-tawa</i>	<i>ruχ.a-f-e</i>	<i>ruχ.a-f-tawa</i>
	<b>Non-actual Experiential</b>		<b>Past Generic</b>	
+ past copula	<i>ruχ.u-f-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.u-f-tuj</i>	<i>ruχ.a-f-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.a-f-tuj</i>
<b>Participle 2</b>	<b>Resultative/Experiential</b>		<b>Intentional future</b>	
+ present copula	<i>ruχ.u-naje-f-e</i>	<i>ruχ.u-naje-f-tawa</i>	<i>ruχ.a-je-f-e</i>	<i>ruχ.a-je-f-tawa</i>
	<b>Past Resultative/Experiential</b>		<b>Intentional future in the past</b>	
+ past copula	<i>ruχ.u-naje-f-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.u-naje-f-tuj</i>	<i>ruχ.a-je-f-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.a-je-f-tuj</i>
<b>Infinitive</b>			<b>Future</b>	
+ present copula	—		<i>ruχ.a-s-e</i>	<i>ruχ.a-s-tawa</i>
			<b>Irrealis</b>	
+ past copula			<i>ruχ.a-s-ij</i>	<i>ruχ.a-s-tuj</i>

<sup>2</sup> The affirmative Imperfect is identical to Past Habitual.



- b. hūni e ča-f-as gul.u-f dar.a-ŋ.  
 cow COP we:EXCL-APUD-ELAT get\_lost.PF-N wood-INTER  
*It was THE COW that we lost in the wood.*

FOCUSING THE ADDRESSEE

- (71) a. zun č:ič:i-s jaɣluq: i-nduj.  
 I sister-DAT shawl give:PF-PFT:PST:NEG  
*I did not give a shawl (headscarf) to my sister.*
- b. č:ič:i-s ij zun jaɣluq: da-i-f.  
 sister-DAT COP:PST I shawl NEG-give:PF-N  
*It was (my) SISTER to whom I did not give a shawl (headscarf).*

FOCUSING THE POSSESSOR

- (72) a. č:uč:u-q mašin qa-a.  
 brother-POST car {POST}be-PRS  
*My brother has a car.*
- b. č:uč:u-q e mašin qa-je-f.  
 brother-POST COP car {POST}be-PART-N  
*It is (my) BROTHER who has a car.*

FOCUSING THE LOCATION

- (73) a. če ɣal hup:uq'.a-ʔ a-a.  
 our:EXCL house Huppuq'-IN {IN}be-PRS  
*Our house is in the Huppuq' village.*
- b. če ɣal hup:uq'.a-ʔ e a-je-f.  
 our:EXCL house Huppuq'-IN COP {in}be-PART-N  
*It is IN HUPPUQ' (and not anywhere else) where our house is.*

FOCUSING A DEPENDENT WITHIN A NP:

The focus marker (copula) cannot occur inside the NP, it only follows the head. The particular focused element of NP is then additionally emphasized prosodically, cf.:

- (74) ze q:unší-n ɣul.a-n ɤad.i-k e lif-ar ke-je-f.  
 [my neighbour-GEN house-GEN roof-SUB/CONT] COP pigeon-PL {SUB/CONT}be-PART-N  
*It is at our NEIGHBOUR'S roof where there are pigeons.*
- (75) dad.á-n Hajwan.di-n lak e arf.u-f.  
 [father-GEN horse-GEN leg] COP break.PF-N  
*It was my FATHER'S horse who's leg was broken.*

**The reduction of TMA oppositions in focus constructions:**

Indicative finite forms are analytical and can include (apart from participles) converbs and infinitive. However, only participles can occur in sentences with a focus — that means, that in sentences with a focus there is a certain neutralization of TMA oppositions, as two or three non-focused sentences have one and the same focused equivalent, cf.:

	neutral	with focus	participle
PERFECTIVE PAST	<i>ruχ.u-ne</i>	... <i>e ruχ.u-f</i>	Participle 1 (PF)
EXPERIENTIAL	<i>ruχ.u-f-e</i>		
RESULTATIVE	<i>ruχ.u-na(j)-a</i>	... <i>e ruχ.u-naje-f</i>	Participle 2 (PF)
EXPERIENTIAL/RESULTATIVE	<i>ruχ.u-naje-f-e</i>		
PRESENT HABITUAL	<i>ruχ.a-j-e</i>	... <i>e ruχ.a-f</i>	Participle 1 (IPF)
GENERIC PRESENT	<i>ruχ.a-f-e</i>		
PRESENT	<i>ruχ.a-(j)a</i>	... <i>e ruχ.a-je-f</i>	Participle 2 (IPF)
INTENTIONAL FUTURE	<i>ruχ.a-je-f-e</i>		
FUTURE	<i>ruχ.a-s-e</i>		

EXPERIENTIAL PAST AND PERFECTIVE PAST > COPULA + PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 1

- (76) a. zun **up.u-f-e** wa-s li-k-as.  
 I say.PF-N-COP you(SG)-DAT DEML-SUB/CONT-ELAT  
*I have told you about that.*
- b. zun **e** wa-s li-k-as **up.u-f.**  
 I COP you(SG)-DAT DEML-SUB/CONT-ELAT say.PF-N  
*It was ME who has told you about that.*
- (77) a. dad **qaj-ne.**  
 father RE:come:PF-PFT  
*Father returned.*
- b. dad **e qaj.i-f.**  
 father COP RE:come.PF-N  
*It was FATHER who returned.*

RESULTATIVE/EXPERIENTIAL AND RESULTATIVE > COPULA + PERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 2

- (78) a. zun **ruχ.u-naje-f-e** le kitab.  
 I read.PF-PART2-N-COP DEML book  
*I have read this book.*
- b. zun **e** le kitab **ruχ.u-naje-f.**  
 I COP DEML book read.PF-PART2-N  
*It was ME who has read this book.*
- (79) a. hul-ar **ad.i-na-a** xe χul.a-s.  
 guest-PL come.PF-RES-PRS our:INCL house-DAT  
*Guests have come to our house.*
- b. xe χul.a-s **e** hul-ar **ad.i-naje-f.**  
 [our:INCL house-DAT] COP guest-PL come.PF-PART2-N  
*It was TO OUR HOUSE that guests have come.*

GENERIC PRESENT AND HABITUAL > COPULA + IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 1

- (80) a. žurd.ana    ixp:-ar    **ux.a-f-e.**  
 winter(TMR)    snow-PL    **fall.IPF-N-COP**  
*Snow (usually) falls in winter.*
- b. žurd.ana    **e**    ixp:-ar    **ux.a-f.**  
 winter(TMR)    **COP**    snow-PL    **fall.IPF-N**  
*It is IN WINTER when snow (usually) falls.*
- (81) a. gada.ji    **ruχ.a-j-e**          kitab-ar.  
 boy(ERG)    **read.IPF-CONV-COP**    book-PL  
*The boy has a habit of reading books.*
- b. gada.ji    **e**          kitab-ar    **ruχ.a-f.**  
 boy(ERG)    **COP**    book-PL    **read.IPF-N**  
*It is THE BOY who has a habit of reading books.*

PRESENT, INTENTIONAL FUTURE AND FUTURE > COPULA + IMPERFECTIVE PARTICIPLE 2

- (82) a. dad    šahar.di-as    **quf̣̌.a-a.**  
 father    city-IN:ELAT    **RE:go/come.IPF-PRS**  
*Father is coming back from the city right now.*
- b. dad    šahar.di-as    **quf̣̌.a-je-f-e.**  
 father    city-IN:ELAT    **RE:go/come.IPF-PART2-N-COP**  
*Father intends to come back from the city (soon).*
- c. bagah    dad    šahar.di-as    **quf̣̌.a-s-e.**  
 tomorrow    father    city-IN:ELAT    **RE:go/come.IPF-INF-COP**  
*Tomorrow father will come back from the city.*
- d. dad    **e**          šahar.di-as    **quf̣̌.a-je-f.**  
 father    **COP**    city-IN:ELAT    **RE:go/come.IPF-PART2-N**  
*It is FATHER who is coming now // is going to come // will come from the city.*

## 8. Participles heading independent clauses

Only in special pragmatic context, in question-answer pairs like:

- (83) — fi    e    q'.u-f,       fi    haraj    e?  
 what    COP    do.PF-N       what    shout    COP  
*What happened, what's that noise about?*
- fi = ra,    q:unši-jar    aluH.a-je-f.  
 what=&    [neighbour-PL    quarrel.IPF-PART2-N]  
*Nothing (serious), the neighbours quarrel.*

but not, in this context:

- \*fi = ra,    q:unši-jar    aluH.a-je-f-e.    (analytical form)  
 what=&    neighbour-PL    quarrel.IPF-PART2-N-COP
- \*fi = ra,    q:unši-jar    e    aluH.a-je-f.    (focus construction with a copula)  
 what=&    neighbour-PL    COP    quarrel.IPF-PART2-N

- (84) — fi e gi wa-s q'.u-f?  
 what COP DEMG(ERG) you(SG) do.PF-N  
*What did he do to you? (Why are you so angry at him?)*
- zun uč.i-qaj da-fajš.u-f.  
 [I REFL-COMIT NEG-take\_with.PF-N]  
*He did not take me with him!*

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