Morphology, semantics and syntax of participles in Agul

0. General information

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.

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 in a new book new books

**PARTICIPLE AS ATTRIBUTE**

(2) dad.a ruχ.u kitab(-ar) dad.a ruχ.u kitab(-ar).i-ʔ

[father(ERG) read.PF] book(-PL) [father(ERG) read.PF] book(-PL)-IN

a book (books) read by father in a book (books) read by father

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’).
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle 1</td>
<td><em>ruχ.u</em>(-f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converb</td>
<td>*ruχ.u-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle 2</td>
<td>*ruχ.u-naje(-f)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participle 1</td>
<td><em>da-ruχ.u</em>(-f)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*da-ruχ.u-naje(-f)</td>
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Negation is marked (on non-finite forms in general) by means of a prefix *da-*/ *da-*/.

There is a number of static 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’, *ita* ‘be ill; ache’, *guč*‘aa’ ‘be afraid’, *kande* ‘love, want, need’, participles *hα(-f) ‘knowing’, *ita(-f) ‘ill; aching’, *guč’α(-f) ‘afraid’, *kande(-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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Imperfective participle 2</th>
<th>Imperfective participle 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective converb + auxiliary ‘be inside’</td>
<td>$\text{ruk}.x.a-ja$, $\text{ruk}.x.a-a$ &amp; $\text{ruk}.x.a-je(-f)$ &amp; $\text{ruk}.x.a-jd(-f)$</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&lt;$\text{ruk}.x.a-ja aa$ &amp; &lt;$\text{ruk}.x.a-je(-f)$ &amp; &lt;$\text{ruk}.x.a-jd(-f)$</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective converb + copula</td>
<td>[CONV:IPF + ‘be in’:PRS]</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;$\text{ruk}.u-na aa$ &amp; &lt;$\text{ruk}.u-nde(-f)$ &amp; &lt;$\text{ruk}.u-naje(-f)$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective converb + copula</td>
<td>[CONV:PF + ‘be in’:PRS]</td>
<td>[CONV:PF + ‘be in’:PART]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. $\text{ruk}.x.u \parallel \text{ruk}.x.u-nde \text{kitab}$ ‘a book that was read’.
- Participle 2 has a perfect/resultative meaning and describes the resultative stage relevant at reference point, cf. $\text{ruk}.x.u-naje \text{kitab}$ ‘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 aš.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 čuču-n tur 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 ča-s zun qataq’.a-s-e za-s habaw.a qataq’.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.alal wart.a-l
now meet.IPF-PRS DEMM-DAT chungur beat.IPF-CONV [sit.PF-PART2 tree(GEN) up-SUPER]
And then he meets a boy sitting on a tree playing chungur (a stringed musical instrument).

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.α-je kitab ‘a book that is being read now’
- Participle 3 expresses habitual meaning or future meaning/(pre)destination, cf. ruχ.α-jde kitab ‘a book that will be read’

There lived (= there were, there weren’t) two brothers called Lemert and Dzhumart.

Also, there are those who (can) read, in our village there are those who read Koran.

Separate the potatoes that are for eating from those that are for selling.

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

‘a girl to whom I wish that her head be cut off’
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:

\[(21)\]  
\[
\text{mašin iže hik.a-s} \quad \text{ha-je} \quad \text{hamid qaj-ne.}
\]

Hamil 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 may European languages.

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

ARGUMENT OF AN INTRANSITIVE VERB

\[(22)\]  
\[
\text{hupaːqan.di k’.i-na-a qatk’.a-s ad.i-naje uṣrī.}
\]

The shepherd killed the thief, who (Absolutive)\(^1\) came to steal.

AGENT, PATIENT AND BENEFICIARY

\[(23)\]  
\[
\text{šünük:.i-s qenfet-ar} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{xir uṣ.üş-ne.}
\]

The woman who (Ergative) gave candies to a child went away.

\[(24)\]  
\[
\text{ge xir.a šünük:.i-s i qenfet-ar širin-t-ar e.}
\]

Candies that (Absolutive) the woman gave to the child are tasty.

\[(25)\]  
\[
\text{ge xir.a qenfet i šünük: šad x.ush-ne.}
\]

The child to whom (Dative) that woman gave candies became glad.

EXPERIENCER AND STIMULUS

\[(26)\]  
\[
\text{šahar ag.u šünük: degiš x.a-j-e.}
\]

A child who (Dative) has seen a city changes.

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\(^1\) 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 ṣahar 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 iše har-x.u-b lazim e.


The girl that (Post-essive) has books should learn her lessons well.

(29) ruš.a-q qa-je kitab-ar wuri c’.a-je-t-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 ʒumart aɾ.ə ʔu ču

[Lemert=and Dzhumart say. IPF two brother

two brothers who (Dative) are called Lemert and Dzhumart

INSTRUMENT

(31) dad.a jak: jah.ə jah’ ʃuite 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 ruʃ šuw.a-s š.u-ne.

[our:INCL boy-PL fight.PF] girl husband-DAT go.PF-PFT

The girl with whom (Comitative) // ??because of whom (Post-ellative) our boys fought married.

LOCATIVE (a very frequent type)

(34) ja suw-ar, hawa suw-ar, ʃejran-ar gul.ə 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) čem at’.u-nde aʃ 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 alsuč’a-je dar


a tree on which a cat usually climbs
(37) qizil-ar kichi’i-naje dar
a tree under which gold has been hidden (buried)

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

(39) cuwal qupaq qa-je dar
[sack behind 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 fall.PF] tree
a tree from which // under which you fell down last year

TEMPORAL (a very frequent type)

(41) kalchuz-ar x.u-guna, me stalin pačah 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’ik’i waχt:una, baw.a k.a-j-e, wa’...
[bull-PL NEG-RE-find.PF] time(TMR) mother(ERG) say.IPF-CONV-COP not
mič’e x.u waχt:una hat.a-a ?u-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 qunši-s k’e3 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 qunši-s k’e3 lik’.i-na k:ande-je gada.
[1-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 qunši-s lik’.i-na k:ande-je k’e3
the letter which I want the boy to write to our neighbour

ADDRESSEE INSIDE A COMPLEMENT

(46) za-s gada.ji k’e3 lik’.i-na k:ande-je qunši
[1-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 itar-x.a-a.
you(SG) food eat.PF-TEMP bowels ill-become.IPF-PRS
When you eat this food, your bowels will ache.

(48) wun ʕut’.u-guna, ʕan itar-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 kūče.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-i wow-mi-sa-q…
They used to throw meat of dead animals (lit. dead meat) here.

(51) ic’.a-j x.u-ne mi-s ha-te kər-x.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: ḥa-a 'know', ḥaraxas ‘find out’, ḥaraq ‘as ‘let know’, k’alas ḥa-as ‘forget’, k’al qu’as ‘remember’, kawurdi arxas ‘understand’
• perception predicates: a(point of view) ‘see’, un-xas ‘hear’, hülük ‘es ‘seem’
• commentative predicates: ḥajif e ‘be sorry’, ṣad e ‘be glad’

(54) dad.a-s ḥa-a me gada-ji pe? qatk’.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 ḥa-il-ar uč.i-n ġuču q’at-q’.u-f.  
know-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 ʂad 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 ḥa-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 ḥa-a dad bagah qu-ţi-a-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 qu-ţi-a-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 qu-ţi-a-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 ḥa-a me gada-ji pe? qatk’.i-f.  
father-DAT know-PRS [DEMM boy(ERG) hen steal.PF-N]  
Father knows that this boy has stolen a hen.

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 conversbs (general perfective and imperfective conversbs 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) itar-x.u-na ː dad = ra qa-k’.i-f, aχrp: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 conversbs, 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfecctive subsystem</th>
<th>Imperfective subsystem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFF.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Converb</strong> + present copula</td>
<td>Perfecctive past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-n-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ past copula</td>
<td>Non-actual past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-n-ij</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Converb</strong> + present ‘is in’</td>
<td>Resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-na(j)-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ past ‘was in’</td>
<td>Past Resultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-na-ji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participle 1</strong> + present copula</td>
<td>Experiential past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-f-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ past copula</td>
<td>Non-actual Experiential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-f-ij</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participle 2</strong> + present copula</td>
<td>Resultative/Experiential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-naje-f-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ past copula</td>
<td>Past Resultative/Experiential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.u-naje-f-ij</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infinitive</strong> + present copula</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruχ.a-s-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ past copula</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² The affirmative Imperfect is identical to Past Habitual.
Morphologically all these forms are rather tight, and the non-finite part cannot be easily separated from an auxiliary (in most cases only by an additive particle =ra ‘also, even’).

Only 4 of 7 participles occur in analytical forms (not both Participles 3 and not Optative particle). Case marking of arguments is determined by the main verb (not the auxiliary), and there is no number agreement with a plural Absolutive S/P.

7. Participles in focus constructions

Focus is expressed by cleft sentences:
[focus part] + COPULA + [the rest, headed by a nominalized participle]

(66) a. fiš qaj-ne? who RE:come:PF-PFT
     Who came?

b. fiš e qaj.i-f? who COP RE:come:PF-N
     Who (exactly) came?

(67) a. fi lix.a-a ge-wur.i? what build:IPF-PRS DEMG-PL(ERG)
     What are they building?

b. fi e ge-wur.i lix.a-je-f? what COP DEMG-PL(ERG) build:IPF-PART2-N
     What (exactly) are they building?

Only participles 1 and 2 (i.e. those that also occur in analytical forms) can participate in focus construction.

Although there is a copula, syntactically focus constructions are distinct from nominal predication headed by a participle: in focus constructions the participle always occurs in the Absolutive Singular, and there is no number agreement (unlike in cases where the participle heads nominal predication), cf.:

(68) a. gada-jar.i ǯinawur-ar fac.u-ne.
     boy-PL(ERG) wolf-PL catch:PF-PFT
     Boys caught wolves.

b. gada-jar.i e ǯinawur-ar fac.u-f (*fac.u-t:-ar).
     boy-PL(ERG) COP wolf-PL catch:PF-N catch:PF-N-PL
     It were THE BOYS who caught wolves. [focus cleft]

c. gada-jar ǯinawur-ar fac.u-t:-ar (*fac.u-f) e.
     The boys are those who caught wolves. [nominal predication]

Focusing of different arguments:

FOCUSING THE AGENT

(69) a. čːučːu me k’eǯ lik’.i-ne.
     brother(ERG) DEMM letter write:PF-PFT
     Brother wrote the letter.

b. čːučːu e me k’eǯ lik’.i-f.
     brother(ERG) COP DEMM letter write:PF-N
     It was BROTHER who wrote the letter.

FOCUSING THE PATIENT

(70) a. ča-f-as hũi gul.u-ne dar.a-ţi.
     we:EXCL-APUD-ELAT cow get_lost:PF-PFT wood-INTER
     We lost the cow in the wood.
b. ʜǔnĩ ɢa-f-asp. ɡul.u-f ɡa-品牌形象木.
   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. ʨiːciː-s  jakluːq:  i-nduj.
   I  sister-DAT  shawl  give:PF-PFT:PST:NEG
   I did not give a shawl (headscarf) to my sister.

b. ʨiːciː-s  iŋ  ʨiːciː-s  jaŋkuːq:  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. ʨıːuɕ-ŋ  maɕin  qa-a.
   brother-POST  car  {POST}be-PRS
   My brother has a car.

b. ʨıːuɕ-ŋ  e  maɕin  qa-je-f.
   brother-POST  cop  car  {POST}be-PART-N
   It is (my) BROTHER who has a car.

FOCUSING THE LOCATION
(73) a. ʨe  χal  ḥupuq'-a?-ʔ  a-a.
   our:EXCL  house  Huppuq'-IN  {IN}be-PRS
   Our house is in the Huppuq' village.

b. ʨe  χal  ḥupuq'-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  qumści-n  ɣul-a-n  ka-ad.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) ɗad.á-n  hajwan-di-n  lak  e  ʔar-ʕu-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.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>Neutral Form</th>
<th>Focus Form</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Past</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-ne</td>
<td>... e ruχ.ϕ-f</td>
<td>Participle 1 (PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-f-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-na(j)-a</td>
<td>... e ruχ.ϕ-naje-f</td>
<td>Participle 2 (PF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential/Resultative</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-naje-f-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Habitual</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-a-j-e</td>
<td>... e ruχ.ϕ-a-f</td>
<td>Participle 1 (IPF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generic Present</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-a-f-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-a(j)a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentional Future</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-a-je-f-e</td>
<td>... e ruχ.ϕ-a-je-f</td>
<td>Participle 2 (IPF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>ruχ.ϕ-a-s-f-e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Experiential Past and Perfective Past > Copula + Perfective Participle 1**

(76) a. zun up.ϕ-f-e wa-s li-k-as.
   1 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.ϕ-f.
   1 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.ϕ-naje-f-e le kitab.
   1 read.PF-PART2-N-COP DEML book
   I have read this book.

b. zun e le kitab ruχ.ϕ-naje-f.
   1 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.
(80) a. ?urd.ana ixp:-ar Ṣuk.a-f-e.
    winter(TMR) snow-PL fall.IPF-N-COP
    Snow (usually) falls in winter.

b. ?urd.ana e ixp:-ar Ṣuk.a-f.
    winter(TMR) COP snow-PL fall.IPF-N
    It is IN WINTER when snow (usually) falls.

(81) a. gada.ji Ṣuχ.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 Ṣuχ.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 Ṣuχ.a-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 Ṣuχ.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 Ṣuχ.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 Ṣuχ.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, qunši-jar aluh.a-je-f.
    what=& [neighbour-PL quarrel.IPF-PART2-N]
    Nothing (serious), the neighbours quarrel.

But not, in this context:

*fi = ra, qunši-jar aluh.a-je-f-e. (analytical form)
    what=& neighbour-PL quarrel.IPF-PART2-N-COP

*fi = ra, qunši-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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