

**Tense, aspect, modality
and finiteness
in East Caucasian languages**

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The Present and the Future within the Lezgian tense and aspect systems*

Abstract

This paper discusses those finite verb forms found in the Lezgian languages whose main function is to express present or future time reference. As a rule, such forms are built on imperfective non-finite forms and include a present copula. The following source patterns which usually give rise to Presents and Futures in these languages are analysed in detail: the Infinitive Pattern (“Infinitive + Copula”), the Locative Pattern (“Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula”), the Imperfective Converb Pattern (“Imperfective Converb + Copula”), and the Participle Pattern (“Imperfective Participle + Copula”). The grammaticalization paths of these patterns have much in common, in particular the semantic development from ‘present’ to ‘future’.

0. Introduction

The tense and aspect systems of languages belonging to the Lezgian group of the Nakh-Daghestanian (East Caucasian) family share the following important features – some of which are certainly not restricted to this particular group, but can be viewed as defining the typological profile of the family as a whole:

- most finite indicative verb forms are **analytic**, at least historically, and have a more or less transparent structure: although at the present stage they can be rather tight in morphological terms (and, strictly speaking, synthetic), their original periphrastic structure very often remains evident;
- such analytic forms are most often made up of one of three independently existing **non-finite forms** (participle, converb and infinitive) together with a **copula** (a defective stative verb meaning ‘be, exist’ or ‘be inside’);

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- non-finite forms (at least participles and converbs) are regularly marked for either **perfective** or **imperfective aspect**, and as a rule are derived from the corresponding verb stems: these thus give rise to what may be called the “perfective” and “imperfective” subsystems within the tense and aspect system;
- as the copula may appear in the **present** or in the **past** form, there also exist “present” and “past” subsystems, which are independent of the perfective vs. imperfective opposition.

Note that while forms in the perfective domain almost always describe situations with past time reference (the most typical examples being preterites, perfects and resultatives), forms belonging to the imperfective domain may describe situations located in the past or the non-past. The time reference of such forms depends on the tense of the copula: forms with the present copula (or lacking the copula altogether) are presents or habituals, and forms with the past copula are imperfects or past habituals, etc. It is important to note that forms with future time reference can be found only in the imperfective domain, and some languages do not even possess specialized future tenses, future time reference being expressed instead by a polysemous imperfective form (e.g. the habitual/future). On the other hand, in some languages futures constitute a separate subsystem and do not belong to the morphological domain of the imperfective or the perfective forms – this may happen, for example, if the future is based on a non-finite form derived from a special stem (e.g. the infinitive).

In this paper I will discuss those verb forms found in the Lezagic languages whose main function is to express **present** or **future time reference**. As a rule, such forms are found at the intersection of the imperfective subsystem and the non-past subsystem, i.e. they are built on imperfective non-finite forms and (normally) include a present copula; the range of these forms can be extended by means of constructions involving infinitives. A typical Lezagic tense and aspect system would include a generalized Present¹ (expressing a wide range of imperfective meanings) and a Habitual; a dedicated Future can be also found fairly often. Alongside these, there may be a place for a dedicated Present Progressive or Present Continuous, additional variations on Habituals/Generics, or additional modal Futures.

In the following I will restrict myself to those forms whose inner structure is transparent, or can at least be determined with some certainty on the basis of intra-group comparison. In particular, I will focus on the most widespread **source patterns** which give rise to Present and Future forms. These patterns are listed below, and each of them will be considered in detail in sections 2 to 5, with their instantiations in particular languages:

¹ In this paper, I follow the convention of using capital letters to refer to language-specific grammatical categories, while categories in the universal sense are designated by lower case.

- “Infinitive + (Nominal) Copula”, or the *Infinitive Pattern*,
- “Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula”, or the *Locative Pattern*,
- “Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula”, or the *Imperfective Converb Pattern*,
- “Imperfective Participle + (Nominal) Copula”, or the *Participle Pattern*.

These patterns cover the majority of tenses expressing present and future time reference in Lezgetic languages (tenses with a different or unknown origin are quite rare). Thus the study of these patterns makes it possible to determine the major paths of the grammaticalization of presents and futures in these languages. I will take into account data from all nine languages comprising the Lezgetic group, namely Lezgian, Tabassaran, Agul, Tsakhur, Rutul, Kryz, Budugh, Archi and Udi, together with the most important dialectal varieties (note that some Tabassaran, Agul, and Rutul dialects are so diverse that mutual intelligibility within a single language can be problematic). These data are taken from published grammatical descriptions for these languages, as well as from my own fieldwork on Agul, Tsakhur and Udi. The least comprehensive data are available for Budugh, and it will probably be underrepresented in this paper; however, some important information about the Budugh tense and aspect system can be also drawn from (AUTHIER, this volume). For an overview of the verb system of Archi, see also (CHUMAKINA, this volume).

1. Component parts of the patterns

Before I turn to an overview of the patterns attested, I would like to introduce the necessary terminology used for the component parts of these patterns, i.e. for non-finite categories and types of copulas.

1.1. Non-finite categories

There are three non-finite categories which normally appear in the analytic verb forms of the Lezgetic languages.

With the term **Infinitive** (also called the “purposive form” or “supine” in grammars) I refer to a form heading purpose clauses, as in (1) from Agul or (2) from Tsakhur with motion verbs:

- (1) Agul, Huppuq’ dialect (Text, 2005)
 ...*χalanžer-il-di* *quš-u-ne* *zun χup:-ur* *uc-as.*
 Khalandzhar-SUPER-LAT go.back-PF-PFCT 1SG [field-PL **mow-INF**]
 ‘{And then} I went again to Khalandzhar **to mow** the field.’

- (2) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 504]²
iči: ha(ɾ)k'in-na hiwe:g^w-as
 girl.II II.go.away.PF-ATR [II.walk-POT]
 'The girl went **for a walk**.'

Lezgian Infinitives are also often used in the complement clauses of modal and phasal verbs ('begin', 'want', 'be able', and others). Sometimes the range of functions of Infinitives in the Lezgian languages is regarded to be too wide to be subsumed under some typologically consistent "infinitive prototype" (cf. ILJEVSKAJA & KALININA 2002); however, I have decided to retain this term as it occurs frequently in grammars.³

The second non-finite category is the **Imperfective Converb**, i.e. a form heading adverbial clauses and expressing a simultaneous situation, manner or circumstance, cf. (3) from Archi and (4) from Agul:

- (3) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 248]
χit:a q'ɔ(ɾ)di-li e(ɾ)di-li jo-w lo,
 then I.sit.down.PF-CVB I.COP.PST-EVID this-I child.I
č'ut da(ɸ)χir-ši
 [jug.III III.beat.IPF-CVB]
 'And then this boy was sitting, **rocking** the jug.'

- (4) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
gada kitab ruχ-a-j qadark-u-naa.
 boy [book read-IPF-CVB] lie.down-PF-RES.PRS
 'The boy is lying down, **reading** a book.'

As a rule, Imperfective Converbs in Lezgian languages are derived from the Imperfective verb stem by means of a special converbial affix, which is not usually identical to the affix used with the Perfective Converb. Archi and Agul are examples of this situation, as the Imperfective Converb markers in these languages are *-ši* and *-j* (< **-di*) respectively, while the Perfective Converb markers are *-li* and *-na*.

Finally, the **Imperfective Participle**, also derived regularly from the Imperfective verb stem, is a form heading relative clauses and expressing a quality (actual or permanent), cf. (5) from Rutul and (6) from Agul:

² In examples taken from published sources the transcription has been slightly modified for reasons of consistency. If glosses were provided in the original, they have also been made consistent and simplified in some respects, which are not relevant for the present discussion.

³ Note, for example, that even given the wide range of functions performed by the Tsakhur Potentialis vis-a-vis the "infinitive prototype" (e.g. it can have its own subject and does not occur with phasal verbs), E. A. LJUTIKOVA and A. A. BONCH-OSMOLOVSKAJA claim that "the confrontation of Potentialis with the infinitive is typologically justifiable"; cf. (KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 504).

- (5) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 154]
 zer *w-ez-e-d* žigaa
 [cow.III III-milk-IPF-ATR] place
 ‘a place where cows **are (usually) milked**’
- (6) Agul, Huppuq’ dialect (Elicited example)
 dad-a jak: jarh-a jak’w
 [father-ERG meat **beat-IPF**] axe
 ‘the axe **with which** father **chops** meat’

It is important to mention that the difference between finite and non-finite verb forms may be blurred in the East Caucasian languages, and sometimes a non-finite form can also be used as the head of a clause⁴. Thus, while the majority of indicative tense and aspect forms represent combinations of a non-finite form and a copula, in some cases such an analysis is problematic; cf. below, the discussion of certain Tsakhur and Kryz synthetic tenses which happen to be completely identical to non-finite forms (i.e. they lack a copula).

1.2. Copulas

Three types of copulas can be distinguished which appear as auxiliary verbs in the patterns under discussion here. In fact, copulas are the most prevalent type of auxiliary verb in the analytic forms of the Lezgian languages; apart from them only the regular verb ‘be, become’ is widely used, with some other auxiliaries being restricted to certain periphrases (such as the continuative with the verb ‘stay, remain’ in Lezgian or Agul) or special syntactic constructions (e.g. periphrastic causatives with the verbs ‘do, make’ or ‘give’). I will not treat analytic forms with the auxiliary ‘be, become’ here, as they seldom enter the core of the tense and aspect system; moreover, they are morphologically secondary because this auxiliary itself normally occurs in one of the “primary” analytic forms employing the copula.

As regards the copulas themselves, they are morphologically defective in the sense of having a reduced verbal paradigm – finite forms of copulas are normally just two in number, namely present and past.

I will call the first type of copula a **Nominal Copula**, following the use of this term by STASSEN (2005), among others. This is the prototypical copula used for characterization, identification, and taxonomy, as illustrated in the following examples from Kryz, Rutul and Agul:

⁴ For details, see (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007), and also chapter two of (KALININA 2001).

- (7) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 203]
zin q'arvand=e⁵.
 1SG shepherd=COP.M
 'I **am** a shepherd.'
- (8) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 187]
žijran žag^war w-i?i.
 fallow.deer.III white III-COP
 'The fallow-deer **is** white.'
- (9) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
me-wur ze ruš-ar e
 this-PL my daughter-PL COP
 'These **are** my daughters.'

While all other Lezgian languages display what have been called “verbal” copula constructions (CURNOW 2000), Udi is unique within this group in possessing an “inflectional” copula construction – that is, the role of Nominal Copula is played by personal agreement markers⁶, cf.:

- (10) Udi, Nizh dialect [KECHAARI 1996: 5]
šeir te=zu.. alim=zu
 poet NEG=1SG teacher=1SG
 'I **am** not a poet. I **am** a teacher.'
- (11) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 13]
me elem zom elem=e
 this donkey trained donkey=3SG
 'This donkey **is** a trained one.'

Another type of copula, which I will call a **Locative Copula**, is in fact a locational stative verb (also defective) meaning ‘be inside’; following the descriptive tradition I would like to retain the term ‘copula’ for this type of verb as well. The use of the Lezgian Locative Copulas is exemplified below with sentences from Agul, Kryz and Rutul. Note that outside locative clauses as such, Locative Copulas can be also found in possessive clauses, as in (14b):

- (12) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
berhem sunduq'i-? a-a
 dress box-IN **be.in-PRS**
 'The dress **is in** the box.'

⁵ The equals sign “=” is used to separate clitics.

⁶ For a very detailed account of the Udi personal markers, including diachronic issues, see (HARRIS 2002). Note also that in Udi there is a “verbal” copula *bu* that tends to occur in locative and possessive clauses, though it is not used as an auxiliary.

- (13) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 118]
aru-ž kut-ula sasila tike jit řaža
 bee-GEN basket-IN a.little piece honey **be.in.PRS**
 ‘**There is** a small quantity of honey in the hive.’
- (14a) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 208]
ja vi, ja zi řal-a řa-diř-ij.
 or 2SG or 1SG house-IN **be.in-NEG-PST**
 ‘Neither you nor I **was** at home.’
- (14b) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 80]
za-řda wařt řa-diř
 1SG-POST time **be.in-NEG.PRS**
 ‘I **don’t have** time.’

A number of Lezgian languages possess several locational stative verbs, which each make use of a different locative preverb: e.g. Lezgian *aw-a* ‘exist, be inside’, *al-a* ‘be on’, *gal-a* ‘be behind’, *gw-a* ‘be near’, *kw-a* ‘be under or in contact with’, or Kryz *řa-ža* ‘be inside (a container)’, *ča-ža* ‘be inside (a mass)’, *ke-ža* ‘be under or in front of’, *vi-ža* ‘be on’, *va-ža* ‘be in close contact’, *su-ža* ‘be there, exist’. Of all these, only the verb meaning ‘be inside’ will be considered below, as it is the only representative of its class used as an auxiliary.

From the historical point of view, the distinction between the Nominal Copula (*i) and the Locative Copula (*a) probably goes back to the Proto-Lezgian stage, cf. (ALEKSEEV 1985: 97–98; NIKOLAYEV & STAROSTIN 1994: 252) for discussion. However, at the synchronic level some of the Lezgian languages do not have the opposition between the Nominal and the Locative Copula and thus one and the same element is used in both types of contexts. Such situation is characteristic of Archi, Tsakhur and Budugh, which can be said to possess **General Copulas**.

In Archi this copula is *w-i*, *b-i* etc. with class prefixes. This is obviously related to the Nominal Copulas of the languages seen above; either the Locative Copula has never existed in Archi, or it has been lost:

- (15) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 244]
adam inžit ar-t:u bořor w-i to-w.
 [person worry do.IPF-PTCP man.I] **I-COP** that-I
 ‘He **is** a man who bothers other people.’
- (16) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 160]
uxurčaj marx:āla b-i
 field.PL.IN snow.III **III-COP**
 ‘There **is** snow on the fields.’

In Tsakhur the General copula is *wo-* (with suffixal class markers), which is probably a reflection of the same Proto-Lezgian **i*⁷, although the possibility cannot be totally excluded that it is an innovative copula:

- (17) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 434]
jaʂq jug-ba wo-b
 road.III good-ADV.III COP-III
 ‘The road **is** good.’
- (18) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 125]
χoče gaje-jkʰ awu-b wo-b-na
 snake.III stone-SUB under-III COP-III-ATR
 ‘The snake **is** under the stone.’

In Budugh, the copula is an invariable *vi* (or *i* after consonants in unstressed position), and its use is quite similar (ALEKSEEV 1994a: 283–284).

The data on Lezgian copulas are summarized in Table 1.

| Language | Copula type | Examples (present tense, affirmative) |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| Agul (Huppuqʼ dialect) | Nominal Copula | <i>e</i> |
| Agul (Huppuqʼ dialect) | Locative Copula | <i>a</i> <i>aa</i> <i>aja</i> (‘inside’ localization) |
| Budugh | General Copula | <i>vi</i> <i>i</i> |
| Archi | General Copula | <i>w-i</i> , <i>b-i</i> , etc. (with class prefixes) |
| Kryz (Alik dialect) | Nominal Copula | <i>-ja</i> <i>-e</i> , <i>-ju</i> , <i>-ja-b</i> <i>-e-b</i> (with class marking) ⁸ |
| Kryz (Alik dialect) | Locative Copula | <i>ʃaʒa</i> (‘inside’ localization) |
| Lezgian | Nominal Copula | <i>ja</i> |
| Lezgian | Locative Copula | <i>awa</i> (‘inside’ localization) |
| Rutul (Mukhad dialect) | Nominal Copula | <i>w-iʔi</i> , <i>j-iʔi</i> , etc. (with class prefixes) |
| Rutul (Mukhad dialect) | Locative Copula | <i>ʔa</i> (‘inside’ localization) |
| Tabassaran (Southern dialect) | Nominal Copula | <i>wu</i> |
| Tabassaran (Southern dialect) | Locative Copula | <i>a</i> |
| Tsakhur (Mishlesh dialect) | General Copula | <i>wo-r</i> , <i>wo-b</i> , <i>wo-d</i> , etc. (with class suffixes) |
| Udi | Nominal Copula | <i>=zu</i> (1SG), <i>=nu</i> (2SG), <i>=ne</i> <i>=e</i> (3SG), etc. (enclitic person markers) |
| Udi | Locative Copula | <i>bu</i> |

Table 1: Copulas in the Lezgian languages

⁷ Cf. Nominal Copulas *wu* || *wuʔu* in Tabassaran and *wu* in the Qushan dialect of Agul, or *vi* in Budugh and *bu* in Udi; this initial *w-* || *b-* may be a lexicalized (“petrified”) prefix for the neutral class. As for the Locative Copula with the form **a*, it is not impossible that in Tsakhur this has become lexicalized as the postposition *a-d* ‘inside’ (with a suffixal class marker), cf. *χa: a-d* ‘in the house’.

⁸ The Nominal Copula in Kryz is atonic; according to (AUTHIER 2009), in existential contexts the stressed variant of this copula is used (namely, *jaʂ*, *jaʂu*, *jaʂa-b*).

2. The Infinitive (Purposive) Pattern

The first pattern I would like to discuss consists of the Infinitive (or “Purposive”) form of the verb together with a copula; I will also refer to this as the Infinitive Pattern for short. It is a good pattern with which to begin this overview, as its semantic development is rather straightforward: there is basically one major path of development seen in the Lezgian languages, leading to the obligation or intention meaning first, and finally to the future meaning.

Both Nominal Copulas and General Copulas can appear in this pattern, whereas Locative Copulas as such are not attested. As for the form of the main verb, in four languages – namely Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, and Archi – the Infinitives have the suffix *-s* and go back to the Proto-Lezgian Infinitive, whose marker is very likely the Proto-Lezgian Dative case suffix **-s* (see SCHULZE 1982: 185, 250; ALEKSEEV 1985: 100 for discussion). In other Lezgian languages – Lezgian, Kryz and Tabassaran – Infinitives in *-s* also exist, although they are not used in any tense and aspect constructions (on a special case observed in Udi, see below)⁹.

The initial stage of the evolution of the Infinitive pattern can be illustrated by Archi, where the relevant construction (called “Debitive” in the grammatical description) has deontic meaning – ‘have to do, need to do’; it is also reported that this form is “comparatively rare” (KIBRIK 1977: 206–207). In all the examples given in the Archi grammar the main participant of the situation is human, cf.:

(19) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 206]

| | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>zon</i> | <i>duxʷat:-ak</i> | <i>d-eqʷe-s</i> | <i>d-i</i> |
| 1SG | mill-LAT | II-go-INF | II-COP |

‘I (woman) **need to go** to the mill.’

(20) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 206]

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|----------|
| <i>un</i> | <i>lagum</i> | <i>χabu-s</i> | <i>i</i> |
| 2SG | song.IV | IV.sing-INF | I.COP |

‘You (man) **have to sing** a song.’

The meaning of one corresponding construction in Tsakhur is wider, as it can denote both obligation (‘has to do’) and intention (‘is going to do’) on the part of the participant; thus, examples like (21) are ambiguous:

(21) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 269]

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| <i>dak:-e:</i> | <i>žiga</i> | <i>ez-as-o-d</i> |
| father-ERG | field.IV | IV.plough-POT=COP-IV |

‘Father **is going to plough** || **has to plough** the field.’

⁹ In Lezgian, the form in *-z* going back to the Proto-Lezgian Dative is not only the Infinitive, but also the Imperfective Converb, and will be treated in section 2.

As in Archi, this construction is rather peripheral in Tsakhur. However, there is another Tsakhur form instantiating the Infinitive pattern, which is the main Future form of the language (called “Potentialis” in the grammar by A. E. KIBRIK et al.). It is identical with the Infinitive, also called “Potentialis”, and does not make use of a copula. Unlike the copular form, the main Future has a more neutral meaning, which, at the same time, is centred around the intentional (‘is going to do’) or prospective (‘is about to happen’) domain: for example, it can express typical intentional and scheduled futures (especially with 1st person subjects as in (22) and (23)), and it is also possible in prospective contexts like (24), where the situation is viewed as imminent.¹⁰

- (22) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 255, 778]
 zɪ wa-s meɣ^w ha:ʔ-as aʕli: maʕʔallim-ni
 1SG.ERG 2SG-DAT tale.III III.do-POT Ali teacher-ATR
 χizan-ni haʕk'e:
 family-ATR about
 ‘I **will tell** you a story about the family of Ali the teacher.’
- (23) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 252]
 gi:qa ši iʕləmiʕ-eb>x-es deʕ.
 tomorrow we work-HPL.become-POT COP.NEG
 ‘{According to our contract,} We **do not work** tomorrow.’
- (24) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 251]
 gʕoʕi: gʕoʕ-as.
 rain.IV IV.fall-POT
 ‘{There are dark clouds on the horizon, so it seems} **It is going to rain.**’

The situation in Rutul is parallel to that found in Tsakhur, as here also the Infinitive pattern underlies the main Future form of the language. The only difference is that (at least in some dialects of Rutul) there is an overt Nominal Copula in this construction, while in others the Future is simply identical to the Infinitive:

- (25) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 142]
 wa laʕʒaʔa-naqun, za laʔa-s-i
 2SG.ERG NEG.put.on-COND 1SG.ERG put.on-INF-COP
 ‘If you won’t put it on, I **will put it on.**’

¹⁰ There is another variant of the Future form, the so-called “attributive Potentialis”, which is more inclined towards hypothetical and predictive semantics; see (KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 253–255) for the discussion of the semantic nuances associated with the two variants of the Future. The opposition between “attributive” and “non-attributive” forms covers all the core tense and aspect forms in Tsakhur and is based on the presence vs. absence of the attributive marker, whose presence makes the corresponding form identical to a participle.

- (26) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 233]
iz-dì *šu* *jiq'as-di* *armij* *girga-s*
 my-ATR brother next.year army.IN **take-INF**
 'My brother **will be taken** into the army next year.'

Note that even though the Future form in Rutul can appear morphologically identical to the Infinitive in affirmative contexts, the two are clearly distinguished under negation. In the Lezgian languages non-finite forms, including Infinitives, normally take prefixal (or infixal) negation¹¹, whereas Futures, like other finite forms, use negative copulas, cf. (27). This may show that the original structure of the Future form is in fact "infinitive + copula" and not a bare infinitive; the absence of a copula may be explained by its phonological loss (natural for an enclitic element) or other considerations. The case of the Tsakhur Future is more problematic, as it can have both a periphrastic negative equivalent, as in (23) with the negative copula *deš*, and a morphological negative equivalent, as non-finite forms do. Cf. (28a), where negation is prefixed to the Infinitive of the light verb *ixes* 'be, become' (which heads the complement of the modal verb 'need, must') and (28b) where the finite Future is marked with a negative prefix. This may show that the analysis of the Tsakhur Future as a former periphrastic form with a copula is disputable, and it may in fact have originated as a bare infinitive used as the head of a finite clause.

- (27) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUDOVA 2001: 207]
za *ja* *lešu-s-i* *ja* *lešu-s-diš*
 1SG.ERG or **take-INF-COP** or **take-INF-COP.NEG**
 'Either I **shall buy** it, or I **shall not buy** it.'

- (28a) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 825]
ma-ni *jed-a:ši-l-qa* *ge:b*
 this-ATR woman-PL-SUPER-ALL much-HPL
in'ammiš-d-e(w)x-es *w-uk:an*
believe-NEG-HPL.become-POT HPL-need.IPF
 'One should not **trust** these women at all'.

- (28b) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 806]
za-l-e *guž-na-ba* *balkan* *ho?o:k-a-na*
 1SG-SUPER-EL force-ATR-ADV.III horse.III III.drive-IPF-ATR
insan *d-ex-es*
 man.I **NEG-I.become-POT**
 '{In our region} There will be no one who rides a horse better than me.'

¹¹ Cf. negative prefixes/infixes in conditional converbs in (25) from Rutul and (62) from Lezgian.

Returning to instances of the Infinitive pattern, in Agul we find another case where the main Future form, with a very general meaning, is built on the Infinitive (with the enclitic Nominal Copula always overtly present), cf.:

- (29) Agul, Burshag dialect (Text, 2006)

When the shepherd decided to kill the snake, the latter said:

jawaš, p-u-naw, zun wa-s üžwa'l q'as-u
 wait say-PF-PFCT 1SG 2SG-DAT good **do-INF-COP**
 'Hold on, it said, I **will do** you a good thing.'

- (30) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)

zun aħa x-u-guna, aħa χal kuš-as-e
 1SG big become-PF-when big house **take-INF-COP**
 'A little boy says: } When I grow up, I **will buy** a big house.'

Besides the (Proto-Lezgian) Infinitives in *-s*, one can find a similar pattern with other verb forms expressing purposive meaning. Thus, in Lezgian there exists a peripheral "Periphrastic Future", which includes a Purpose Converb in *-dajwal* (where *-daj* is a Future participle¹² and *-wal* is a nominalizer used productively with participles and adjectives), and the Nominal Copula. The Purpose Converb itself is one of the main means of expressing purpose, and it is normally used in clauses having a subject of their own (e.g. 'Read aloud, so that I may hear it') (HASPELMATH 1993: 392). The Periphrastic Future built on this form has a clear intentional/prospective meaning, cf.:

- (31) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 147]

ada i daš-lar-iz c'iji ümür
 that.ERG this mountain-PL-DAT new life

xi-da-j-wal ja
bring-FUT-PTCP-NMLZ COP

'He is **going to bring** a new life into these mountains.'

- (32) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 147]

i muq'wara či k'wal-in q:aw-uz raq'
 this soon our house-GEN roof-DAT iron

č'ugwa-da-j-wal ja
pull-FUT-PTCP-NMLZ COP

'Our house's roof is soon **going to be covered** with iron.'

Like the similar deontic/intentional/prospective forms in Archi and Tsakhur, the Lezgian Periphrastic Future is peripheral within the tense and aspect system. On the whole, we can assume that constructions based on the Infinitive pattern originally emerge as specific means of expressing deontic or intentional meaning, and this development is clearly based on the existence of a purposive semantic component: 'X has a purpose to do P' > 'X should/intends to do P'. Later on these forms undergo semantic generaliza-

¹² On the Lezgian Future/Habitual form in *-da* see section 4 below.

tion, and become common means of expressing future time reference (as happened in Agul and Rutul): ‘X should/intends to do P’ > ‘X will do P’. The main Future in Tsakhur without a copula also illustrates this latter possibility of moving into the core of the tense and aspect system.

The development of future tenses from grammatical forms expressing obligation, predestination and (at the next stage) intention is widespread cross-linguistically; cf. the discussion of some typological data in (BYBEE et al. 1994: 258–264). Parallel cases of the use of the Infinitive pattern can be found in other East Caucasian languages as well: for example, in Avar the combination of the Infinitive and the present copula has deontic and prospective meaning, cf. *do-w w-ač'-ine w-ugo* [that-M M-come-INF M-COP] ‘he has to / is going to come’ (MALLAEVA 1998: 123). In a number of Tsezic languages similar forms based on Infinitives are obligative or prospective Futures and coexist with more neutral synthetic future forms: cf. “Planned Future” in Tsez or “Preparative” in Bezhta (ALEKSEEV & RADZHABOV 2004: 140–142; KIBRIK & TESTELETS 2004: 257).

As I have already noted, in about half of the Lezgian languages – namely Tabassaran, Kryz, Budugh and Udi – there are no (known) instances of the Infinitive pattern leading to obligation meaning or beyond that to future meaning.¹³ Given this fact, together with the general typological prevalence of the semantic development “purposive > obligation / intention > future”, it can be claimed that the Infinitive pattern cannot be traced back to the Proto-Lezgian stage. The existing cases are reasonably independent at the Lezgian group level, although common origin is quite probable at the subgroup level (e.g. in the Tsakhur-Rutul branch).

The data for the Infinitive pattern in the Lezgian languages are summarized in Table 2.

| Language | Meaning label | Main verb form | Copula type | Example |
|----------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|--|
| Agul | Future | Infinitive | Nominal Copula | <i>aq'as-e</i> ‘will do’ (<i>< aq'a-s + e</i>) |
| Archi | Deontic (“Debitive”) | Infinitive | General Copula | <i>deq'es wi</i> ‘has to go’ (<i>< deq'e-s + w-i</i>) |
| Lezgian | Prospective (“Periphrastic Future”) | Purpose converb (based on a Future participle) | Nominal Copula | <i>q:aču-dajwal ja</i> ‘is going to take’ (<i>< q:aču-dajwal + ja</i>) |
| Rutul | Future | Infinitive | Nominal Copula | <i>kixis(-i)</i> ‘will write’ (<i>< kixi-s + i</i>) |
| Tsakhur | Prospective/Deontic | Infinitive | General Copula | <i>a:qas=o-d</i> ‘will open’ (<i>a:qas + wo-d</i>) |
| Tsakhur | Future (“Potentialis”) | Infinitive | (no copula) | <i>a:qas</i> ‘will open’ (= Infinitive) |

Table 2: The Infinitive Pattern in the Lezgian languages

¹³ For another semantically related pattern in Kryz and Budugh, see AUTHIER, this volume).

3. The Locative Pattern

While the Infinitive pattern serves as one of the main sources for future tenses in the Lezgian languages, the pattern including the Imperfective Converb and the Locative Copula (hence the ‘Locative pattern’) is one of the main sources for present tenses. And just as in the case of the Infinitive pattern the future meaning is not the first stage of semantic development, likewise in the case of the “Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula” pattern the general present meaning is preceded by a more restricted aspectual notion of progressive or continuous.

The first stages of the evolution of forms built on the Locative pattern can probably be illustrated with data from Kryz. Along with the main Present form (to be discussed later in section 4), there is a peripheral Progressive construction, or “progressif constatif”, referring to ongoing dynamic situations:

- (33) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 276]
ik-re ki sa-b buʔu aʒdaha ʃaʃxva-ra
 look-PRS PTCL one-F large dragon.F **F.arrive-MANNER**
ʃaʒu
be.in.PRS.F
 ‘He sees that a big dragon **is approaching** (him).’

Note that the manner converb in Kryz (also in Budugh) is historically formed by means of the Inessive marker *-a(ʃ)*, which is typologically not unusual (for example, cf. French *en faisant*, lit. ‘in doing’); for details, see (AUTHIER 2010). Thus, the locative component ‘be inside’ is marked in the Progressive construction twice – both in the converb and in the Locative Copula, which contains the Inessive preverb *ʃa-*.

The Locative pattern is present in most other Lezgian languages which possess a specialized Locative Copula, namely in all three languages of the East Lezgian branch and in Rutul. In all these cases the Locative pattern gives rise to the main Present form, which bears a very general meaning (progressive/continuous/habitual), cf. the following examples:

- (34) Lezgian [TALIBOV 1966: 574]
za fabrika-da, zi juldaš-di zawod-da
 1SG.ERG factory-IN my friend-ERG plant-IN
kʷalax-z-awa
work-CVB.IPF-LOCCOP
 ‘I (work) at a factory, my friend **works** at a plant.’
- (35) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 355]
ja malla-nasrüdün, haz qʷäläq liyur-a?
 VOC Mullah-Nasreddin why back **look.IPF.CVB-LOCCOP**
 ‘Hey, Mullah Nasreddin, why **are you looking** back?’

- (36) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
haraj-ar m-aq'-a, ruš-a dars-ar
 shout-PL PROH-do-PROH girl-ERG lesson-PL
aq'-a-j-a
do-IPF-CVB-LOCCOP
 'Don't shout, the girl **is doing** her lessons.'
- (37) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 232]
hux^{wal} kir?e-r a
 rain **begin.IPF-CVB LOCCOP**
 'The rain **is starting**.'

In Archi and in Tsakhur there are no special Locative Copulas (forms with the Imperfective Converb and the General Copula in these languages will be discussed later), and in Udi the locative/possessive copula *bu* is not used in any tense or aspect constructions. Note also that the converb markers used in the Locative pattern (as illustrated above) need not be etymological equivalents in those languages which do possess it. Although it is not impossible that the Agul Imperfective Converb marker *-j* || *-ri* || *-di* (morphological and dialectal variants) is historically identical to the Tabassaran *-ri* and the Rutul *-r* || *-ra* || *-re*, the Lezgian suffix *-z* clearly has another etymology. In Lezgian the Imperfective Converb is identical to the Infinitive, and their common marker *-z* goes back to the Proto-Lezgian Dative case. It is very likely that the imperfective (or “simultaneous”) converb use has developed on the basis of the temporal meaning of the Dative (‘at the time of V-ing’), which we also see in nominal forms like *jif-iz* ‘at night’, *gat-uz* ‘in the summer’, *alataj jis-uz* ‘last year’, etc. (HASPELMATH 1993: 89–90, 209)¹⁴. So again it is not necessary, and not even possible, to trace the Locative model as such back to the Proto-Lezgian stage.

Once again, from a typological point of view the development of locative constructions into progressives and later into general imperfectives is very common. Such constructions originally emphasize the location of a participant “in the midst” of an activity (‘X is in V-ing’), the locative notion itself being expressed either by an auxiliary verb such as ‘be in’, ‘stay’, ‘sit’ or ‘live’, or by the use of adpositions like ‘in’, ‘at’ or ‘on’ (as an example of the latter strategy, cf. Dutch *Ik ben aan het gaan* ‘I am going’, lit. ‘I am **at the going**’) (HEINE et al. 1991: 36). In some languages “double” locative marking both on the main verb and on the auxiliary is possible, as we have seen in Kryz. For details, see also the lexicon of grammaticalization paths (HEINE & KUTEVA 2002), where such developments as “IN (SPATIAL) > CONTINUOUS”, “LOCATIVE > CONTINUOUS”, “LOCATIVE COPULA > CONTINUOUS” are considered in a large

¹⁴ The same case ending underlies the Kryz simultaneity converb (“converbe simultané”) in *-žiz*, cf. (AUTHIER 2009: 137).

number of the world's languages. Various types of locative expressions are also discussed among the main historical sources for progressives in (BYBEE et al. 1994: 127–137).

In this regard, nothing could prevent individual Lezgian languages from independently innovating progressives and presents on the basis of the Locative pattern (though again, on a group level, e.g. for Agul and Tabassaran, a common historical origin is probable).

The data for the Locative pattern in the Lezgian languages are summarized in Table 3.

| Language | Meaning label | | Main verb form | Copula type | Example |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| Agul | Present (general) | (gen-) | Imperfective Converb | Locative Copula | <i>aq'aj-a</i> 'is doing, does' (<i>< aq'a-j + a aja</i>) |
| Kryz | Present progressive | Pro- | Imperfective Converb | Locative Copula | <i>kurac'ra šaža</i> 'is slaughtering' (<i>< kurac'-ra + šaža</i>) |
| Lezgian | Present (general) | (gen-) | Imperfective Converb | Locative Copula | <i>ijiz-wa</i> 'is doing, does' (<i>< iji-z + awa</i>) |
| Rutul | Present (general) | (gen-) | Imperfective Converb | Locative Copula | <i>kixere a</i> 'is writing, writes' (<i>< kirxe-re + a</i>) |
| Tabassaran (South) | Present (general) | (gen-) | Imperfective Converb | Locative Copula | <i>ap'ur-a</i> 'is doing, does' (<i>< ap'ur-i + a</i>) |

Table 3: The Locative Pattern in the Lezgian languages

3.1. A special case of the Locative model in Udi

Although Udi has been described above as a language lacking the Infinitive pattern, one of the core tense and aspect forms of this language is clearly based on the Infinitive. This is the general Present form in *-(e)sa*, which is unanimously recognized by Udi researchers as being derived from the Infinitive in *-es* (cf. the Infinitive *bak-es* 'be, become' and the Present *bak-(e)sa* 'is, becomes')¹⁵. Cf. the following examples of the Present use; in all of them the personal agreement clitic is located outside the verb form, on a constituent immediately preceding the verb:

¹⁵ The "e" given in brackets is retained in the Vartashen dialect of Udi and is regularly dropped in the Nizh dialect in the Present tense and in the case forms of the Infinitive, all of which have the stress on the syllable after *-es*. All our examples given below are from the Nizh dialect. Note that the form *äšbesa* 'works' in (39) taken from a written source would be pronounced in speech as *äšp:sa*, with vowel drop and the devoicing of /b/ between two voiceless sibilants.

- (38) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)
häjsä aʁala=ne eʃ-sa
 now rain=3SG come-PRS
 ‘It is raining now.’
- (39) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 41]
käpräš-än zavot:-a=ne äš-b-esa
 Kepresh-ERG plant-DAT=3SG work-do-PRS
 ‘Kepresh works at a plant.’
- (40) Udi, Nizh dialect [AYDINOV & KEÇAARI 1996: 26]
jan sa kala aʒiz-e=jan bak-sa
 1PL one big village-DAT=1PL be-PRS
 ‘We live in a big village.’

It is not so clear what the exact origin of the Present form is, although its connection with the Infinitive is obvious. Wolfgang Schulze suggests that this form should be regarded as based on the same pattern “masdar/infinitive + copula” as the Lezgian Present (cf. *qačuz-wa* ‘is taking’, from *qačuz* ‘while taking’ and *awa* ‘is inside’) or the Future in Agul (cf. *aq’as-i* ‘will do’ from *aq’as* ‘to do’ and *i* ‘is’). An Udi Present such as *aq:-sa* ‘is taking’ should thus be seen as a combination of the infinitive *aq:-es* ‘to take’ and a copula **a* subsequently lost in Udi. As for its semantic evolution, it is assumed that the original future meaning gradually shifted towards the present imperfective (SCHULZE 1982: 153–154); see also discussion in (SCHULZE, to appear).

However, this proposal seems untenable for several reasons. To start with, I am not at all convinced that it is possible to treat the structures underlying the Lezgian Present and the Agul Future as representatives of a single pattern; as I have tried to show above, these are in fact two different patterns with quite different histories. The Udi Infinitive cannot be directly compared to the Lezgian form in *-z*, which also functions as the Imperfective Converb (such a function is impossible for the Udi Infinitive). Note also that Infinitives as such (i.e. bare Infinitives) do not generally combine with Locative Copulas in the Lezgian languages, only with Nominal Copulas. There is no other independent evidence for the very existence of a Locative Copula like **a* in Udi; it may well be that it never existed in the language. And finally, even if we suppose that a copula like **a* had existed in Old Udi and even if it had been used with the Infinitive to form the future tense (according to the Infinitive pattern discussed above), it would be very strange to find this form as the main Present in the modern language. Below in sections 3 and 4 we will discuss in detail the evolution of presents into futures (via habitual/generic meaning), but the opposite evolution, from future to present, seems unlikely.

In my opinion, the history of the Udi Present is simpler than Schulze suggests (for a treatment of this issue see also (MAISAK 2008)). First of all,

one should take into account the fact that Infinitives in Udi (as opposed to many other Lezgian languages) can be inflected for case, and the Present tense is identical to one of the Infinitive case forms, namely the Dative in *-a*. Thus, the Infinitive in the Dative also ends in *-(e)s-a*, and it is distinguished formally from the Present tense only in one verb, *pes* ‘say’, which has a suppletive Present with the stem *nex-* ‘say:PRS’. The Dative of the Infinitive is a non-finite form which is used in purpose clauses (with motion verbs) and in the complement clause of the verb *burqes* ‘begin’, cf.:

(41) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2004)

bez viči-mux mälim-i t:oʃk
 my brother-PL teacher-GEN near
zom-bak-s-a=t:un tac-e...
 trained-be-INF-DAT=3PL go-PFCT
 ‘My brothers used to go to the teacher **to study**.’

(42) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2006)

bur=jan=q-sa gärgür-b-s-a arux-o lax-i.
 begin=1PL=STEM-PRS mix.up-do-INF-DAT fire-DAT put.on-AOR
 ‘{After we have put all the ingredients into the pan,} we start **to mix them up**, having put (the pan) on the fire.’

In view of this obvious formal identity it seems justified to relate the Present tense to the Dative case of the Infinitive, without looking for other sources for the final *-a* in *-sa*. As concerns the semantic grounds for such a development, it should be kept in mind that the Udi Dative, as well as denoting the recipient and the (definite) patient, also expresses direction and location (cf. *baneksa urusat:-a* ‘s/he lives in Russia’ or *tacene urusat:-a* ‘s/he went to Russia’), and this locative meaning seems to be historically original¹⁶. It is thus quite natural that one of the Dative Infinitive’s meanings should have been ‘location inside a process’, cf. a putative reconstructed example **uk-es-a* [eat-INF-DAT] as ‘inside eating’.

Being used with the personal agreement markers (which also function as Nominal Copulas in Udi), the Dative Infinitive came to lie at the centre of a typical Locative model ‘X is located inside the process P’, which has already been discussed above. Although formally different (“Imperfective Converb + Locative Copula” in one case and “locative form of a main verb + Nominal Copula” in the other), these constructions both evolve into Progressives (‘X is P-ing’) and then to general Presents, along a typologically prevalent grammaticalization path¹⁷.

¹⁶ The suffix *-a* of the Udi Dative most probably goes back to the Proto-Lezgian inessive case, as suggested by E. A. Bokarev (BOKAREV 1960), cf. also (SCHULZE 1982: 250, 255).

¹⁷ The Udi Present can thus be regarded as a member of the family of “inessive verb forms” alongside with the Budugh and Kryz manner converbs and the Futures/Habituals based on them (see below). Note that in Budugh the use of inessive verb forms is also attested in complements of the verb ‘to begin’ (AUTHIER 2010), as seen in (42) from Udi.

It is remarkable that the Udi Present seems to be the only form within the Lezgian group that is based on the Locative case of the Infinitive. But a similar pattern is attested in some Turkic languages of the area, including Azerbaijani and Turkish: e.g. present imperfectives like *yaz-maq-da-yam* ‘I am currently writing’ consist of the infinitive in *-maq* in the Locative case in *-da* (*-yam* is the first singular personal suffix); cf. some discussion in (SEREBRENNIKOV & GADZHIEVA 1979: 169). It is far from obvious, however, whether this is an independent development, or whether this correspondence should be taken as evidence of the direct influence of the Azerbaijani verb system on Udi (or vice versa).

4. The Imperfective Converb Pattern

The pattern employing the Imperfective Converb and the Nominal (or General) Copula is an interesting one, as it is present in almost all the Lezgian languages with considerable variation in the meanings it bears. Both present and future tense forms can be based on this pattern, in contrast with the two patterns already discussed, which are restricted to expressing either present imperfective meaning (the Locative pattern) or future meaning (the Infinitive pattern). The data for the pattern are summarized in Table 4.

Below I will argue that all the resulting meanings observed in forms based on the Imperfective Converb pattern can be viewed as stages along a single grammaticalization path. However, for the sake of clarity, it will be better to divide the forms to be discussed into two groups depending on their basic meaning.

| Language | Meaning label | Main verb form | Copula type | Example |
|----------|---|----------------------|----------------|--|
| Agul | Present Habitual / Predictive Future (+ Narrative) | Imperfective Converb | Nominal Copula | <i>aq'aj-e</i> ‘does habitually’ (< <i>aq'a-j + e</i>) |
| Archi | Present (general) | Imperfective Converb | General Copula | <i>arxarši i</i> ‘is lying down’ (< <i>arxar-ši + i</i>) |
| Budugh | Future (“éventuel”) | Manner Converb | (no copula) | <i>si?ira</i> ‘will do; (habitually) does’ |
| Budugh | Present Continuous | Manner Converb | General Copula | <i>si?ira-vi</i> ‘is doing, does’ (< <i>si?ir-a + vi</i>) |
| Kryz | Hypothetical Future / Present Habitual (“Éventuel”) | Manner Converb | (no copula) | <i>kurac'ra</i> ‘will (probably) slaughter’ (< <i>kurac'r-a + class suffixes</i>) |
| Lezgian | Future / Present Habitual (+ Narrative) | Imperfective Converb | Nominal Copula | <i>iji-da</i> ‘will do; habitually does’ (< <i>*iji-d + a</i>) |

| Language | Meaning label | Main verb form | Copula type | Example |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Tabassaran (North) | Present Habitual | Imperfective Converb | Nominal Copula | <i>ip'ud-ur</i> 'habitually does' (<i>< ip'ur-di + jur</i>) |
| Tabassaran (South) | Future / Present Habitual (+ Narrative) | Imperfective Converb | Nominal Copula | <i>ap'ur-u</i> 'habitually does, will do' (<i>< ap'ur-i + wu</i>) |
| Rutul | Present Habitual | Imperfective Converb | Nominal Copula | <i>kirxere (i)</i> 'writes habitually' (<i>< kirxe-re + i</i>) |
| Tsakhur | Present (general) | Imperfective Converb | (no copula) | <i>a:qa</i> 'opens, is open- ing' (= verb) |
| Tsakhur | Present Conti- nuous ("Durative") | Imperfective Converb | General Copula | <i>a:qa=wo-d</i> 'is open- ing' (<i>< a:qa + wo-d</i>) |

Table 4: The "Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula" pattern in the Lezgif languages

4.1. Present and Habitual

In two Lezgif languages possessing General Copulas, the Imperfective Converb pattern has become the source for the language's main present tense.

The first of these is Archi, where the generalized Present built on the Imperfective Converb can express the whole range of imperfective meanings: see e.g. (43) with a progressive and (44) with a habitual interpretation.

(43) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 188]

ez jat:ik noc' parxar-ši i
1SG.DAT above bird.IV fly.IPF-CVB IV.COP
'A bird **is flying** above me.'

(44) Archi [KIBRIK 1977: 188]

un šumebos ork'in-ši w-i?
2SG what.number study.IPF-CVB 1-COP
'In which (class at school) **do** you **study**?'

In Tsakhur the situation with the Present tense is more complicated, resembling that seen with the Future/Prospective (see section 2 above). The main Present, with a wide semantic spectrum, is simply identical to the Imperfective Converb¹⁸, and there is no copula – as already noted above,

¹⁸ Again, I am discussing here only the "non-attributive form" of the Present, which does not have an attributive marker (the difference in use of the two variants is not significant for the present discussion, but see (KIBRIK & TESTELETS (eds.) 1999: 407-419) for some observations dealing with the communicative oppositions between the attributive and non-attributive verb forms).

judging from the Rutul data we can suspect that the former Nominal Copula might have been lost for phonetic reasons:

- (45) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 785]
aš:i, zi magazin baklamiš-aʔ-a, waɣt
 PTCL 1SG.ERG shop.IV **close-IV.do-IPF** time.III
a<p'>k'in-na.
 III.go.away.PF-ATR
 'Well, I **am closing** the shop, the time has passed.'
- (46) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 773]
jīš-di bala-biš-e... c'aʃχ-na miz ɣaʃqoɣ-e
 our-ATR child-PL-ERG Tsakhur-ATR language.III **III.study-IPF**
c'aʃχ-ni miz-en naʃil-bi, šeʔir-bi qaʃdaq-a.
 Tsakhur-ATR language-ATR tale-PL poem-PL **NPL.read-IPF**
 'Our children **have been studying** Tsakhur and **reading** Tsakhur
 tales and poems {in primary school for three years already}.'

Another Tsakhur form from the present imperfective domain involves the General copula *wo-d* and functions as a Present Continuous ("Durative"), preferred for ongoing situations, cf.:

- (47) Tsakhur, Mishlesh dialect [KIBRIK & TESTELETS 1999: 229]
hiwaɣ^w-a wo-b gade=ji: iči.
HPL.play-IPF COP-HPL boy.I=and girl.II
 '{Out there in the street} A boy and a girl **are playing**.'

In three other Lezgian languages the main Presents are built on the Locative pattern, and the "Imperfective Converb + Nominal Copula" pattern gives rise to Habituals. In Rutul the enclitic Nominal Copula *-i* is not present in this form in some dialects, and in this case the Habitual is formally identical to the Imperfective Converb, as in Tsakhur (or in Kryz, see below), cf.:

- (48) Rutul, Luchek dialect [ALEKSEEV 1994b: 231]
iz-di badu hāmmēše suvuɣ^w-r.
 my-ATR trousers always **tear.IPF-CVB**
 'My trousers always **tear**.'

The use of the parallel form in North Tabassaran can be illustrated with the following example from the Khanag dialect studied by Peter Uslar back in the 1870s (for the South Tabassaran Future/Habitual, see the next section):

- (49) Tabassaran, Northern dialect [USLAR 1979: 232]
duka-n šir-iʔ besčinči-ri ižur-ar jamiš-ar
 that-GEN vineyard-IN gardener-ERG good-PL fruit-PL

ip'ur-d-ur:

do.IPF-CVB-COP

‘In his garden the gardener **grows** good fruit.’

In most Agul dialects nothing happens to the Nominal Copula (which has the shape *e*, *i* or *wu*) in the Present Habitual, although in some dialects where it appears as *i* it is absorbed by the Imperfective Converb marker *-ri* || *-di*¹⁹. Cf. some typical uses of the Present Habitual:

- (50) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
 ze č:uč:u p:ara p'ap'ruc-ar **du-a-j-e**
 my brother.ERG many cigarette-PL **draw-IPF-CVB-COP**
 ‘My brother **smokes** a lot.’
- (51) Agul, Keren dialect (Kurdal text, 2005)
 xin p:ara **w-a²-j-e**
 1PLI many **go-IPF-CVB-COP**
 ‘{Not many young people remain in our village.} Many of us **go away**.’

The Habitual in Agul is polysemous and deserves a special mention at this point. Beyond typical habitual contexts, it is widely used in all dialects as a narrative tense or “historical present” (alongside the main Present tense, as well as the Perfect and the Resultative, which are the main tenses occurring in narrative), cf.:

- (52) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)
 bic'i či **ag^warq'-a-j-e** dad-as. ag^warq'-u-na,
 little sister **show-IPF-CVB-COP** father-DAT show-PF-CVB
 me murad-a ramazan-ar χ-as **Ω^w-a-j-e**
 this Murad-GEN Ramazan-PL bring-INF **go-IPF-CVB-COP**
 š-u-na **χ-a-j-e**
 go-PF-CVB **bring-IPF-CVB-COP**
 ‘{Once my father went to ask for a girl’s hand in marriage.} (They) **show** a younger sister to my father. After they have showed (her), this Murad’s son Ramazan and others **go** to take the bride. They go and **bring** (her).’

One peculiar use of the Habitual in the Huppuq' dialect is found in some types of modal utterances, e.g. in rhetorical questions like:

¹⁹ As an example cf. the Tsirkhe dialect, whose Imperfective Converb *arq'a-ri* ‘while doing’ is identical to the Present Habitual *arq'a-ri* ‘does (habitually)’, although originally the latter comes from **arq'a-ri-i* with the Nominal Copula *i*. The negative counterparts of the two forms are not identical: contrast the prefixed Imperfective Converb *d-arq'a-ri* ‘while not doing’ and the Present Habitual with a negative copula *arq'a-j-dawa* ‘does not (habitually)’, where the converbial marker *-ri* becomes *-j*.

- (53) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
naj-č *ʃw-a-j-e* *ge?*
 which-LAT **go-IPF-CVB-COP** that
 'Where on earth **can** he **go**?! (i.e. he has nowhere to go)'

In the Keren dialect of Agul the scope of the Present Habitual is even wider, as it is used as a future tense as well (along with the main Future form based on the Infinitive)²⁰; cf. the following examples from the texts recorded in the villages of Richa and Kurdal:

- (54) Agul, Keren dialect (Richa text, 1955) [MAGOMETOV 1970: 217]
ic'u-d *keje-f* *q:izil* *c'a-j-e* *hagi*
 ten-NMLZ be.in.contact-NMLZ gold **give-IPF-CVB-COP** that
ʔat:riw-u-t:-is.
 take.out-PF-NMLZ-DAT
 ' {My gold has fallen into the pit.} I **will give** a 10-rouble gold coin to the person who takes it out.'

- (55) Agul, Keren dialect (Kurdal text, 2005)
za-š, *aʁ-a-a,* *imenna* *hale* *wa-qaj* *paj*
 1SG-ERG say-IPF-PRS exactly this 2SG-COM **part**
aq'a-j-e *ze* *dewlet,* *aʁ-a-a.*
do-IPF-CVB-COP my wealth say-IPF-PRS
 ' {You are the best person I've ever met.} It's you with whom I **will share** my wealth, he says.'

Given the Habitual/Future polysemy in the Keren dialect, the Agul situation can be viewed as intermediate between the pure Present/Habitual meaning and those cases where the "Imperfective Converb + (Nominal) Copula" pattern serves as the basis for the main Future tense of the language.

4.2. Future

Although in the Keren dialect of Agul the Present Habitual can be used as a means of expressing future time reference, there is also a special dedicated Future based on the Infinitive pattern (see above). In the other two East Lezgian languages the main Future tense and the Present Habitual are one and the same form, and it is hard to decide whether their basic synchronic meaning should be considered Habitual or Future.

In South Tabassaran, for example, forms like *ap'ur-u* 'habitually does, will do' (which historically consists of the Imperfective Converb *ap'ur-i*

²⁰ NADIR SULEJMANOV in fact seems to consider this meaning as the basic one for this form, calling it the General Future ("buduščee obšee"), cf. (SULEJMANOV 1981: 147; 1993: 146–147). However, even in the Keren dialect this form is not restricted to future time reference.

and the Nominal Copula *wu*) are the main means of conveying habitual and generic meanings, cf.:

- (56) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [SHIKHALIEVA 2004: 55]
xadnu ignar urgur-u
 in.summer harvest.PL reap.IPF.CVB-COP
 ‘It is customary to harvest in summer.’
- (57) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 344]
helek-ži ɸ^ʃ-ä-rqji müh hül-iz
 rapid-ADV go-IPF-PTCP river sea-DAT
qurq’-dar.
 reach.IPF.CVB-COP.NEG
 ‘{A proverb.} A river with a rapid current **does not reach** the sea.’

Sentences like (57) are in fact ambiguous: (57) may mean both that a river with a rapid current **does not usually reach** the sea, and that it **cannot reach** the sea. The possibilitive reading of the form is also illustrated in (58) below – what is described here is not some habit or regularity, but the very (im)possibility of the situation:

- (58) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 357]
č'al äj-dr-u xu-jir-i pul naʔa-n
 language know-NEG-PTCP dog-PL-ERG money where-EL
tuwr-u?
 take.IPF.CVB-COP
 ‘{Mullah Nasreddin asked the dogs to pay for his ox, but} Where **can** dogs, which don’t speak (human) language, **get** the money from?’

The use illustrated in (58) is close to the epistemic uses of the future tense in many languages: for example, (58) translates into English as “Where **will** dogs... **get** the money from?” as well.²¹ At the same time, the dedicated Habitual of South Tabassaran can express other types of future meaning, e.g. describing a person’s intentions; cf. (59) where the first singular agent personal marker ousts the copula:

- (59) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 351]
uzu uč^wu-z sa-b mutmu ulupur-za
 1SG.ERG 2PL-DAT one-N thing show.IPF.CVB-1SG
 ‘{You all stand still!} I **am going to show** you one thing.’

Finally, the same form is widely used as a narrative tense, cf.:

- (60) Tabassaran, Southern dialect [MAGOMETOV 1965: 370]
ɸ^ʃ-är-u ɸ^ʃ-är-u alaqr-u miɸa-z
 go.IPF.CVB-COP go.IPF.CVB-COP meet.IPF.CVB-COP this-DAT

²¹ Note that in the Russian translation in (MAGOMETOV 1965: 358) the future tense is used: cf. *Jazyka ne znajuščije sobaki otkuda dadut?* (lit. ‘will give’).

sab wič-un har.
 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...’

The next language to be discussed is Lezgian, which is probably the best-known Caucasian language to display Habitual/Future polysemy, having been discussed in a typological paper by HASPELMATH (1998). The Lezgian synthetic verb form in *-da* is the main means of expressing different types of future meaning, cf.:

(61) Lezgian [TALIBOV 1966: 574]
p:ak:a čun šeher-diz fi-da
 tomorrow we town-DAT go-FUT
 ‘Tomorrow we **will go** to the town.’

(62) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 394]
abur-uz mixi jad gu-n t-awu-r-t’a,
 they-DAT clean water give-MSD NEG-go.PF-PTCP-COND
čük^w-er gürčeg ja-z amuq’-da-č
 flower-PL beautiful COP-CVB remain-FUT-NEG
 If one doesn’t give them clean water, the flowers **will not stay**
 beautiful.’

It also functions as a Habitual, although the habitual domain has been largely taken over by the dedicated Present form based on the Locative pattern (see above). Nonetheless, the form *-da* is still widely used in proverbs and also, according to HASPELMATH (1993: 141), “in more formal styles”, as opposed to the colloquial language:

(63) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 220]
ič t:ar-an k’anik awat-da
 apple tree-GEN under fall-FUT
 ‘{As people say,} The apple **falls** under the tree.’

A special use of the Future/Habitual mentioned by HASPELMATH (1993: 142; 1998: 32) is found in “stage directions” such as (64) from a play. This is obviously a subtype of the narrative use, which is also characteristic of this Lezgian form:

(64) Lezgian [HASPELMATH 1993: 466, 469]
perde agal že-da
 curtain closed become-FUT
 ‘The curtain **closes**.’

(65) Lezgian [KHALILOV & AKHLAKOV 1976: 270]
req’e a-bur-al sa kesib kas halt-da am
 road-IN this-PL-SUPER one poor person meet-FUT this

feq'i-jr-iz *salam* *ga-na* *eläč'-na*
 mullah-PL-DAT greeting give-CVB.PF leave.behind-CVB.PF
fi-da.

go-FUT

{One day three mullahs went for a walk.} On the road **they meet** a poor man. After greeting them, he **goes by**, leaving them behind.'

An excursus on the origin of the Lezgian Future/Habitual

The problem with the Lezgian *da*-form is that its historical morphological structure is rather obscure and it is not obvious whether it is an instance of the Imperfective Converb pattern at all. It has been suggested that the suffix *-da* might have originated as a variant of the copula, where the initial *d-* was a lexicalized class marker (HASPELMATH 1993: 116) (in that case *j-* in the modern Nominal Copula *ja* would probably reflect the marker of another nominal class). Another hypothesis is that the *da*-form is derived from a substantivized participle with the suffix **-d* (ALEKSEEV 1985: 98). The latter suggestion is based on the fact that in many Lezgian languages the substantivizing affix of adjectives and participles is *-d-* (in Lezgian proper it is *-di* in the Absolute and *-da* in oblique cases in the singular). Although Alekseev does not say what the source for the final *-a* in the Lezgian Future/Habitual could be, it is not necessarily the copula *ja* – it is in principle possible that *-da* is the lexicalized inessive or ergative case of the Old Lezgian substantivized participle (these two cases are identical in some classes of words, including adjectives, cf. absolute *jaru-di* 'red one' vs. ergative/inessive *jaru-da*). If it was the inessive, then the Future/Habitual may have been another member of the family of "inessive verb forms" already discussed above. However, further study is needed to corroborate this idea, and below I will consider another scenario.

In my opinion, it is highly probable that the now bound morpheme *-da* historically represents a contraction of the converbial affix **-d* (or maybe **-di*) with the Nominal Copula, which appears as *ja* in the modern language. The reason for this is the functional parallelism between this *-da* and the combination of the converbial/adverbial suffix *-di* + the Locative Copula *a* in closely related East Lezgian languages (here I will restrict myself to presenting the Agul data). The first parallel concerns the formation of stative verbs, which in Lezgian have the suffix *-da* in the (affirmative) present tense, cf. *k'an-da* 'wants, loves', *t'a-da* 'is ill; aches', or *či-da* 'knows'. The corresponding statives in Agul include the suffix *-ri* || *-di* (this is exactly the suffix found in Imperfective converbs of dynamic verbs²²) and the Locative Copula *a*, cf. *k'an-di a* 'wants, loves', *it:a-ri a* 'is ill; aches', or *ħa-ri a* 'knows' in the Burkikhan dialect.

²² Due to the regular phonological change /d/ > /r/ > /j/ (after a vowel) the original **-di* still appears as *-di* only after stems ending in sonorants (cf. *arq'a-ri* 'while doing' vs. *ic'an-*

Another case is the formation of predicatives, which may be viewed as a subclass of the stative verbs, derived from adjectives on a regular basis: they also have the suffix *-da* in Lezgian (cf. *širin-da* ‘is tasty’ from *širin* ‘sweet, tasty’, or *gišin-da* ‘is hungry’ from *gišin* ‘hungry’), while in Agul the adjective is marked with the adverbial suffix *-di* and is used in combination with the Locative Copula (cf. *širin-di a* ‘is tasty’, or *ʔažiz-di a* ‘is unhappy’). The converbial and the adverbial *-di* certainly represent one and the same affix in diachronic terms, and can also be found in some temporal adverbs derived from nouns, such as *jaκ-di* ‘all day long’ from *juκ* ‘day’ with apophony.

Given the existence of such clear parallels in the forms of statives and predicatives, I find it plausible that the structure of Futures/Habituals in these languages is also parallel, i.e. that the modern *-da* suffix in the Lezgian Future/Habitual comes from a former converb in **-d* (or **-di*) and a copula **a*, whose combination has undergone morphologization and become totally fused. One weakness of my proposal is of course the fact that I am comparing the Nominal Copula *ja* in Lezgian with the Locative Copula *a* in Agul. As pointed out above, in Lezgian the Locative Copula proper is *awa*, derived from *ja* (or at least from the same source from which *ja* is derived) by means of a locative preverb meaning ‘inside’. We cannot say now whether Lezgian previously possessed another Nominal Copula, or whether this *ja* (or **a*) once served as both the Nominal and the Locative Copula, to be reanalysed later as a Nominal Copula only. However this may be, it is obvious that the Lezgian *ja* and the Agul *a* go back to one and the same historical source.

These is further evidence in favour of the proposed analysis (and against the “inessive” hypothesis) from the Akhty dialect of Lezgian, where instead of *da*-forms like *fi-da* ‘will go, goes’ we find forms ending in *-za*, e.g. *fi-za* ‘will go, goes’. According to (GAJDAROV 1961: 48–49), this *-za* does not reflect the sound change */d/ > /z/*, which occurs in the Akhty dialect only before */i/*, but points to the alternative origin of the Future/Habitual. In this dialect it is probably derived from the Imperfective Converb in *-z* and the Nominal Copula *ja* || *je*; the polysemy displayed by the Akhty form is exactly the same as that in the literary language (i.e. ‘future’ + ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’, cf. also the present tense of the statives e.g. *k’an-za* ‘wants, loves’). This therefore provides another reason to believe that the *da*-form represents the same pattern, although with a different, and now “opaque”, converb marker.

One more example of forms displaying Future/Habitual polysemy can be found in Kryz. The form known as the “éventuel”, i.e. something like

di ‘while giving’ in Burkikhan), and in some dialects it has become *-j* in all positions after the loss of final sonorants in the Imperfective stems (cf. *arq’a-j* ‘while doing’ and *ic’a-j* ‘while giving’ in Huppuq’).

the Uncertain Future²³, consists of a manner converb plus the agreement suffixes, and it is one of the two future tenses found in the language. Unlike the main Future form built on the participle, which will be treated below in section 5, the “éventuel” describes a prediction whose fulfilment does not depend on the speaker, in contrast to the Future (“La prédiction à l’éventuel se définit comme non dépendante du locuteur, et s’oppose au futur”, cf. (AUTHIER 2009: 268)). It is found in examples such as:

- (66) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 268]
dušman-žir zin j-u-rq-ru ruq’-iju.
 enemy-ERG 1SG PV-F-catch-EVT.F F.kill-FUT.F
 ‘{Please, hide me!} The enemy **will** (possibly) **catch** me, and (if he catches me), will certainly kill me!’

- (67) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 269]
a-n-ir hičvaxt ža-z riš vuc’-da-b
 3-H-ERG never 1PLE-DAT girl.F give-NEG.EVT-F
 ‘He **will never give** us his daughter!’

This form is also found in generic sentences (Authier’s “proverbial” use), which is reminiscent of the range of the *da-* form in Lezgian, cf. a riddle and a description of a regularity rooted in “folk biology” as examples:

- (68) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 386]
girt-ažbar xi-ǰc’-ra, iž q’ara šī-u-ru. (rib)
 all-HPL PV-put.on-EVT RFL naked be-F-EVT.F needle.F
 ‘{A riddle.} She **dresses** everybody, but **stays** naked herself (a needle).’

- (69) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 341]
yar-idiz hač’ di-b-qa-ži žan vuc’-da-d
 snake-DAT star.F NEG-F-see-SEQ soul.N give-NEG.EVT-N
 ‘{A proverb.} A snake **does not die** without seeing a star.’

The “éventuel” is not identical to the bare manner converb in Kryz, as it takes suffixal class markers, though it may be that this agreement strategy appeared secondarily by analogy with the Present tense (Gilles Authier, p.c.). At the same time, the negative form is not symmetrical with the positive in structure and adds a suffixed copula (cf. above *da-b*, *da-d*, etc.), whereas the manner converb has prefixal or infixal negation.

The situation in Budugh, which also has an “éventuel” based on the same manner converb, is slightly different – in contrast to Kryz, this tense form does not contain class agreement suffixes. Semantically this is the main Future tense in Budugh, cf.:

²³ The term “éventuel” was introduced in (LAZARD 1975: 353) as a cover term for those verb forms which refer to irrealis (including future and potential) and habitual situations.

- (70) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 77, 166]
 ulu χila zin za-va-z paga kilaxan
 this horse.III 1SG 1SG-2SG-DAT tomorrow back
ölsül-a
III.turn.CAUS.IPF-EVT
 ‘I shall **give** this horse **back** to you tomorrow.’

Apart from its future use, this form also occurs in generic statements, cf.:

- (71) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 31]
 buluttu hava.ž-a č'uval-ber *šalgol-a*
 misty weather-IN sheep-PL **get.lost.IPF-EVT**
 ‘When it is misty, the sheep (usually) **get lost**.’
- (72) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 135]
 řari xor ug-u tov-una *šorq'ar-a*
 good dog.III self-AD/GEN fireplace-IN **III.die.IPF-EVT**
 ‘{A proverb.} A good dog **dies** near its fireplace.’

In the negative it has exactly the same form as the negative manner converb, with a negative prefix or infix and not a negated copula as in other analytic forms, cf.:

- (73) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 152]
 a-n-iz vin *iderqir-a*
 this-H-DAT 2SG **NEG.see.IPF-EVT**
 ‘{If you hide behind the bed,} he **won't see** you.’
- (74) Budugh [MEJLANOVA 1984: 117]
 savřa oχ kilaxan *odolsal-a*
 III.throw.PF arrow.III back **NEG.III.go.back.IPF-EVT**
 ‘{A proverb.} An arrow that has been shot **does not come back**.’

It is thus tempting to consider this Budugh form as originating in the finite use of a manner converb without the involvement of the copula. At the same time, there is another form in Budugh based on the manner converb which does include a copula, namely the Progressive Present form, which consists of this converb and the General Copula *vi*. This form is mainly used as a Present Continuous to describe ongoing situations, cf.:

- (75) Budugh [ALEKSEEV 1994a: 278]
 a-n-a χab-ar ird *eχčir-a-vi*
 this-H-IN/GEN arm-EL blood.IV **IV.flow.IPF-CVB-COP**
 ‘Blood **is flowing** from his arm.’

4.3. Semantic development of the pattern: from progressive to future

As we have seen in the previous sections, realizations of the Imperfective Converb pattern are rather numerous in the Lezgian languages. In fact, almost all of them have forms going back to this pattern, Udi appearing to be the only exception.

The meanings of these forms are rather heterogeneous, ranging from the Present Continuous (in Tsakhur and Budugh) to the Future Uncertain (in Kryz). In most languages the corresponding forms are polysemous, and this polysemy at first glance seems somewhat “strange”, as such diverse functions as ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’, ‘habitual’ + ‘future’, or ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’ + ‘future’ can be combined in one and the same form. However, from the typological point of view there is nothing exceptional in such combinations of functions, and examples from other language families, including Turkic, Uralic, Semitic and Dravidian among others, suggest that we are dealing here with a common path of grammatical development.

This path seems to have been first discussed by JOAN BYBEE et al. (1994: 277) who try to explain the fact that in some languages “future is coupled with uses which are just a subset of the general present uses”, suggesting that “the future use of a present is a late development”, and the unusual polysemy appears when “a newly developed present has taken over the early core uses of the present and left the old present to serve a miscellaneous set of functions”. MARTIN HASPELMATH (1998) has considered this development in more detail, suggesting a scenario of diachronic development comprising two independent grammaticalization paths, one leading from progressives to habituais and another from progressives to futures (one of the polysemous forms he discusses is precisely the Lezgian Future/Habitual in *-da*). In HASPELMATH’s view, future and habitual themselves are “a temporal meaning and an aspectual meaning which share no obvious common traits” (HASPELMATH 1998: 32), and their combination within one and the same form becomes possible only as a “side effect” of a change from a new progressive to a more general present tense, which pushes the old present to a more marginal position, leaving it to express only a subset of its former functions.

Some weaknesses of HASPELMATH’s proposal were criticized by Sergei TATEVOSOV (2004, 2005), who pointed out that postulating an independent ‘progressive’ > ‘future’ grammaticalization path leads to some incorrect predictions. In particular, he emphasized the fact that progressives are most typically combined with a particular type of future meaning, namely that of the scheduled future (cf. *I am leaving tomorrow*), although forms displaying Future/Habitual polysemy do not necessarily occur in such contexts and can be restricted to the expression of predic-

tive future (which is not normally associated with progressives at all).²⁴ Given that predictive uses are only possible for general present imperfectives but not for progressives, it is clear that a certain implicational relationship holds between ‘habitual’ and ‘predictive’: only a present tense expressing ‘habitual’ meaning can express ‘predictive’ as well. In TATEVOSOV’s proposal ‘habitual’ and ‘predictive future’ are located on a single grammaticalization path, being connected by the ability and possibility meanings (cf. BYBEE et al. 1994) for details concerning the evolution in the modality domain):

- (76) progressive > habitual > ability > root possibility >
 > epistemic possibility > predictive future >
 > prospective/intentional future

The principle underlying the connection between habitual and ability meanings is very simple: it says that “if X performs P regularly, then s/he is able to perform P”. The link between ability and possibility is also quite natural, and we have seen above that the Lezgetic data give some examples of Habitual forms used in possibilitive contexts: cf. (53), (57), or (58) above. So it is not in fact the case that future and habitual “share no obvious common traits”, as HASPELMATH puts it.

Given the original “Imperfective Converb + Copula” structure, the original meaning of the Lezgetic forms discussed above should be progressive, i.e. just ‘X is P-ing’ (or, very literally, ‘X exists in a P-ing manner’). In the modern languages we do not see dedicated progressives based on this pattern, which may be not so surprising as “pure” progressives are very rare in East Caucasian languages (one of a few existing examples in Kryz was discussed above), probably because they very soon turn into general-purpose present imperfectives. The Present Continuous forms in Tsakhur and Kryz occupy an intermediate position between dedicated progressives and generalized present imperfectives, as they are preferred in the description of ongoing events although they do not possess the lexical restrictions characteristic of progressives cross-linguistically (i.e. restrictions of co-occurrence to dynamic predicates only). General Presents based on the Imperfective Converb pattern are found now in Archi and Tsakhur (without a copula in the latter), which are both languages lacking the Locative pattern. From the semantic point of view, the present tenses in these languages can be located at the left edge of the scheme in (76).

In Rutul and the three East Lezgetic languages, on the other hand, the main generalized Presents are based on the Locative pattern, while the Imperfective Converb model gives rise to Habituals and/or Futures, sometimes with additional modal or narrative uses. These forms seem to be “old presents”, ousted by the locative periphrases from the “core” imperfective domain.

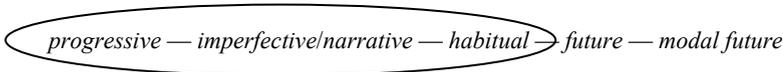
²⁴ It is noteworthy that the data corroborating TATEVOSOV’s approach were drawn from another group of Nakh-Daghestanian languages, namely the Andic group (Bagwalal, Godoberi and Karata).

“Old presents” in these languages have moved from the far left edge of the scheme (76) and gradually travel farther and farther away from it; see also the diagram below for a simplified illustration of the process.

Finally, the “éventuel” in Budugh and Kryz, based on the manner converb, seems to have undergone the same evolution, being restricted now to the expression of future and habitual. It is notable, however, that the habitual domain proper has already been conquered by “younger” Presents in these languages (and in Lezgian), meaning that outside the future the relevant forms are primarily used in generic contexts. The movement of such forms towards the right edge of the scheme in (76) is thus even more evident.

It is also no accident that in Kryz and in Agul (esp. the Keren dialect) the polysemous Habituals/Futures appear only in predictive and hypothetical future contexts, which is the first stage in the future time reference domain according to TATEVOSOV’s insightful proposal (note also that in both languages more neutral future forms also exist). Only in Lezgian has the Habitual/Future become a “true” generalized Future, approaching the final stage of the “present > future” evolution.

A general-purpose Present distribution (circled):



Distribution of the Old Present after the expansion of the New Present and New Future:

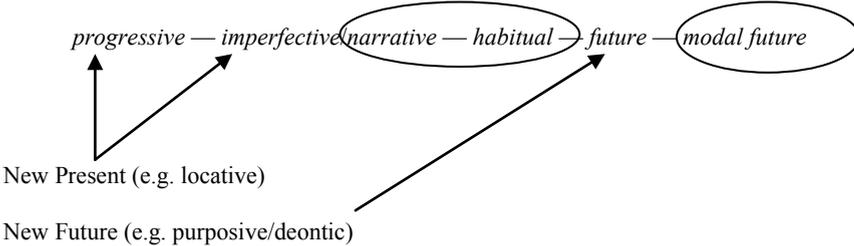


Diagram 1: A schematic representation of the ‘new present’ and ‘new future’ expansion

5. The Participle Pattern

The last pattern which I will discuss in this paper makes use of the Imperfective Participle and the Nominal Copula (this will be also referred to as the Participle pattern for short). The forms representing this pattern are usually polysemous, and the path of their semantic evolution is basically the same as with forms based on the Imperfective Converb. The construction with the participle is more restricted, however (for example, it seems to be unknown to Lezgian, Tabassaran and Archi).

The participle itself can appear within this pattern either in the attributive form or in the nominalized form. The first type is attested in Rutul, where forms with an attributive marker *-d* occur both as attributes (cf. *jax-a-dedemi* ‘a running man’) and in periphrastic constructions. On the other hand, in Agul the form used in the attributive position is unmarked (cf. *ħup:-ar uz-a azal-ar* ‘enclosures where sheep are milked’, where the participle *uz-a* is identical to the bare Imperfective stem), while as part of a periphrastic construction it would bear the nominalization marker *-f* (absolute singular).²⁵

In Rutul the combination of the Imperfective Participle and the Nominal Copula is used as a dedicated Habitual, although this form is very peripheral (it seems to be rare, and it is mentioned only by SVETLANA MAKHMUDOVA, who gives just a couple of examples of its use)²⁶, cf.:

- (77) Rutul, Mukhad dialect [MAKHMUĐOVA 2001: 70]
išk'il-maše a^ŋk^wa^ŋl-bir χuk-uma haʔ-a-d i
 sparrow-PL.ERG nest-PL tree-PL.IN do-IPF-ATR COP
 ‘Sparrows **usually make** nests in trees.’

It should be borne in mind that this is not the main means of expressing habitual meaning, as in Rutul there exists another dedicated Habitual with the Imperfective Converb, as well as the generalized Present form based on a Locative pattern (see above).

In Agul the Habitual based on the Participle pattern is also just one of a range of devices used for habitual marking (cf. (MAISAK & MERDANOVA 2003) for a more elaborate discussion); it is preferred in generic sentences like:

- (78) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)
mal-ar-i ʔük'-er ſut'-a-fe jak:
 cattle-PL-ERG grass-PL eat-IPF-NMLZ-COP meat
ſut'-a-f-t:awa.
 eat-IPF-NMLZ-COP.NEG
 ‘Cattle **eat** grass and **do not eat** meat.’

- (79) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2004)
χumb-ar ſ^w-a-f-t:awa naq^w-ar-il-di, e-wa?
 woman-PL go-IPF-NMLZ-COP.NEG grave-PL-SUPER-LAT COP-Q
 ‘{When there is a funeral,} Women **do not normally go** to the graveyard, do they?’

²⁵ It is important that in periphrastic forms the nominalization marker is always found in the absolute singular, and the participle does not display number agreement, which points to a considerable degree of grammaticalization with respect to the original identification/characterization structure.

²⁶ According to GILLES AUTHIER (p.c.), in Southern Rutul, for example in the village of Shin, a participle can be used without a copula in such contexts.

The same form often occurs in modal utterances with a deontic nuance, emphasizing that the situation should occur in due order (cf. 81), or in questions with a nuance of impossibility, referring to a situation which is hardly imaginable in the given circumstances (cf. 82):

- (80) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)

An old man tells a young man to mount the horse, but the young man refuses:

waʔ, p-u-ne=kaʃ, jaš x-u-naʃe idemi
 no say-PF-PFCT=QUOT age become-PF-RES.PTCP man
aluq'a-fe

mount-IPF-NMLZ-COP

'No, – said (he), – it is an old man that **should sit** (on a horse).'

- (81) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Text, 2005)

A man has tied his donkey to a tree and asks whether it can be stolen. His friends calm him down:

waʔ, aʃ-a-j-e, we degi na
 no say-IPF-CVB-COP your donkey who:ERG
qat:k'a-fe *aʃ-a-j-e.*

steal-IPF-NMLZ-COP say-IPF-CVB-COP

'Oh no, – they say, – who **can steal** your donkey? – they say.'

However, this is not the only meaning of the participial Habitual, as it can refer to future situations as well. In this case the speaker makes the assumption that the situation will take place, drawing a certain inference from some observable state of affairs, cf.:

- (82) Agul, Huppuq' dialect (Elicited example)

t:iʔ ʔurd-ana p:ara iʃp:-ar uʃ-a-fe

this.year winter-ADV many snow-PL **fall-IPF-NMLZ-COP**

'{This summer is very hot.} **I suppose it will snow** heavily in winter.'

An interesting case is observed in Udi, which also possesses a verb form displaying similar polysemy. The form with suffix *-o*, derived from the Imperfective stem, is described by WOLFGANG SCHULZE as a Modal Future (in Udi there is also a semantically neutral and monosemic Future form in *-al-*), cf. (SCHULZE 1982: 157; SCHULZE-FÜRHOFF 1994: 476). This is true for the Nizh dialect, as this form is used mainly to refer to possible events in the future whose realization can be expected, although without certainty, cf.:

- (83) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 130]

Two brothers share a house. The brother living on the ground floor begins to destroy his part of the house. His brother from the upper floor asks:

p:oʝ bezi k:oʒ ala *čur-e-k-oʒ*
 PTCL my house above **remain=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD**
 ‘Well, and **will** my upper house **remain** (~ is it possible that it remains intact)?’

(84) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 137]

Two fellow-villagers, at odds with each other, found themselves near a fast-flowing river. One of them suggests crossing the river holding hands in order not to be swept away by the current:

xe-naxun č:er-i-t:-uxun oša p:urun
 water-ABL go.out-AOR-NMLZ-ABL after again
oro-jan-bak-a

quarrel=1PL=be-FUTMOD

‘And after we come out of the water, we **will** (be able to) **quarrel** again.’

At the same time, the use of this form is also attested in generic statements, mostly proverbs and descriptions of traditional customs. Judging from the oral corpus of the modern Nizh dialect, it seems that this use is almost absent in real speech, although it is quite widespread in Udi writings – for example, in the collection of Udi proverbs published in (KEÇAARI 2001) most sentences contain exactly this form. Cf. (85) from this collection, as well as an elicited example given as an illustration of the typical use of the *bak-o* form:

(85) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 106]

taj-nut: xod-en xoži *te=ne sak-a*
 branch-without tree-ERG shadow **NEG=3SG drop-FUTMOD**
 ‘A tree without branches **does not throw** a shadow.’

(86) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)

amdar-i p:aʔ pul=*e bak-a*
 person-GEN two eye=**3SG be-FUTMOD**

‘A human being **has** two eyes (~ normally has, should have).’

The most frequent use of the form occurs with the verb *bakes* ‘be, become’ in the possibilitive construction – ‘it is possible that P’, which is semantically intermediate between ‘P usually happens’ and ‘P will happen’. Such a use is found in the construction with the Infinitive, expressing the participant’s ability (‘can, be able’) or external possibility of occurrence (‘it is allowed, there are no obstacles’); note also that the third singular form of this verb *ba=ne=k-o* has been lexicalized as a modal word meaning ‘maybe, possibly’:

(87) Udi, Nizh dialect (Elicited example)

xod-al laj-es *te=n bak-o*
 tree-SUPER climb-INF **NEG=3SG be-FUTMOD**

‘You **cannot** (= are not able to) climb this tree.’

- (88) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2006)
lap t:e sox-o t:ul-urux=al ba=ne=k-o
 very that one-NMLZ grapes-PL=also **be=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD**
haʹvq:-es.
 gather-INF
 ‘{With the help of a special basket} All other sorts of grapes **can**
 be gathered as well.’
- (89) Udi, Nizh dialect [KEÇAARI 2001: 129]
 After a cow has been lost, a father tells his son to go to the
 marketplace and search there:
ba=ne=k-o čur t:axaj=e tac-e.
be=3SG=STEM-FUTMOD cow there.LAT=3SG go-PFCT
 ‘**Maybe** it is there that the cow went.’

Finally, one more use of the Modal Future/Habitual can be found in modern Udi speech in narratives, that of the “historical present”. This discourse strategy is marginal in comparison to the use of the Preterite and the main Present in the central strand of the narrative, but still it is found in a few narratives from our corpus²⁷, cf.:

- (90) Udi, Nizh dialect (Text, 2004)
 The moment the car carrying a big barrel is about to leave, the
 neighbour jumps into the car.
me q:onšl... bočk:-in boš čap:e=bak-o
 this neighbour barrel-GEN inside **hide=3SG=be-FUTMOD**
 ‘(Then) this neighbour **hides** in the barrel.’

The origin of the Udi Modal Future is not clear, and WOLFGANG SCHULZE even suggests that although a native origin cannot ultimately be ruled out for this form, it is more likely to have been borrowed from some variety of Northwest Iranian (SCHULZE, to appear). Alternatively, the suffix *-o* may reflect the copula **wu*, which in modern Udi exists in the form *bu* (SCHULZE 1982: 159). However, I think that it is possible to relate the Modal Future to the (former) Imperfective participle, for the following reasons. First, the Modal Future is derived from the Imperfective stem of the verb, as can be seen clearly in suppletive verb stems (e.g. cf. *uk:-o* ‘will say’ vs. *p-e* ‘said’, or *ex-o* ‘will come’ vs. *har-e* ‘came’). So it is highly probable that the original meaning of the form was imperfective. And second, the only Udi morpheme synchronically resembling *-o* is the nominalizing adjective/participle (absolutive singular) marker, cf. *busa* ‘hungry’ ~ *busa-o* ‘a hungry one’, or *avabakes* ‘to know, to learn’ ~ *avabakal-o* ‘a knowing person, an expert’. Thus on both formal and semantic grounds I suppose that the Udi Modal Future might have appeared

²⁷ According to ALICE HARRIS (p.c.), the same use of the Modal Future is found in the fairy tale recorded by her in 1989 in Okt’omberi (representing the Vartashen dialect of Udi).

originally as an instance of the Imperfective Participle Copula pattern (see (MAISAK 2008) for additional discussion).

Finally, in Kryz we see a monosemic Future form based on the Participle pattern; it is the main future tense of the language, with a more neutral meaning as opposed to that of the modalized “éventuel” already discussed.

- (91) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 266]
 sus *ɛ^wa-jn-i* *jif-una* *vun* *riq'ar-tja*
 bride PV.F-take.PF-PTCP night-IN 2SG **die-FUT**
 ‘You **will die** the night you marry.’

- (92) Kryz, Alik dialect [AUTHIER 2009: 266]
 mad lu *azar-žikar* *ku-rzar-ida-r.*
 again this illness-SUB.EL **PV-stand.up-FUT.NEG-M**
 ‘He **will not recover** from this illness.’

Now, what we see in the examples of the Habitual/Future forms based on the Participle pattern is the same semantic development from general present meaning to habitual and generic, and then to future meaning (see diagram 1). However, it seems that in this case the progressive was never found as an initial stage in the development. The original structure with the participle describes a quality – something like ‘X is one who does P’ – and not involvement in a dynamic activity as in the case of the ‘X is P-ing’ construction with the converb. So it is most plausible that forms like Agul *aq'a-fe* or Rutul *haʔa-d i* have never expressed progressive meaning, but originated initially as habitual or general present forms²⁸.

Similar developments of verb forms based on participles are attested in other East Caucasian languages as well: for example, in Avar the Present Continuous consists of the Imperfective Participle and the copula (MAL-LAEVA 1998: 120–122). In Southern Akhvakh, a language from the Andic group, the same structure is used as the main Future form (CREISSELS 2006), illustrating the transition of the present imperfective to the future. Note also that in the related Andic language Bagwalal the Habitual with possibilitive and epistemic future uses is simply identical to the Imperfective Participle (TATEVOSOV 2005) and thus represents the “habitual to future” evolution of a form which has probably never contained a copula.

²⁸ Such a development is perfectly admissible in the approach outlined by TATEVOSOV, but poses problems for HASPELMATH’s proposal, which relies on independent grammaticalization paths (‘progressive’ > ‘habitual’ and ‘progressive’ > ‘future’). In fact, HASPELMATH himself admits the possibility of Habituals originating directly from the participle construction (HASPELMATH 1998: 35, fn.), although he does not seem to consider it relevant for his diachronic scenario.

| Language | Meaning label | Main verb form | Copula type | Example |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| Agul | Habitual / Modal Future | Imperfective Participle | Nominal Copula | <i>aq'af-e</i> 'habitually does; (I assume) will do' (< <i>aq'a-f + e</i>) |
| Kryz | Future (main form) | Imperfective Participle | Nominal Copula | <i>kurac'i-ja</i> 'will slaughter' (< <i>kurac'-i + ja</i>) |
| Rutul | Habitual (peripheral form) | Imperfective Participle | Nominal Copula | <i>ha?ad i j-i?i</i> 'habi- tually does' (< <i>ha?a-d + i j-i?i</i>) |
| Udi | Modal Future /Generic (+ Narrative) | Imperfective Participle (?) | (no copula) | <i>bak-o</i> 'will possibly be' (cf. -o adjective/ parti- ciple nominalizer) |

Table 5: The Participle pattern in the Lezgian languages

6. Conclusions

Beside the present and future tense forms of the Lezgian languages considered in this paper there are many others which have remained beyond its scope. The origin of some of these forms is obscure, and they do not yet belong to the core of tense and aspect systems (for one example cf. the Archaic Future in *-di* in Lezgian). By contrast, other such forms represent new periphrases which are rather transparent structurally and whose meaning is more or less compositional (cf. constructions with the auxiliary 'be, become' in a number of languages, or forms like *aq'ajefe* 'does' in Agul consisting of the Imperfective converb *aq'aj* and the analytic form *ajef-e* with the participle *aje-f* of the locative verb 'be inside').

Nonetheless, by my estimation the overwhelming majority of tenses expressing present or future time reference are covered by the four patterns I have discussed. On the basis of the investigation undertaken above we can thus make generalizations about how the tense and aspect systems of the Lezgian languages are shaped (in this particular domain) and how they have come to be the way they are. We may draw the following generalizations on the prevalent grammaticalization paths for Lezgian Present and Future tenses:

- “New” Presents (Progressives) usually come from a Locative pattern consisting of the Imperfective Converb and the Locative Copula ('is inside doing'), or from a simple “manner model” consisting of the Imperfective Converb and the Copula ('is doing'). These New Presents very soon become General Presents, which seem to be ubiquitous grammatical forms in Nakh-Daghestanian languages.
- Habituals and Generics usually come from a dedicated “quality model” with the Imperfective Participle and the Copula ('has the quality of doing'), or from New Presents via their gradual generalization.

Although the core progressive/continuous use of former General Presents can be lost, the narrative use is relatively stable and often remains, resulting in the ‘habitual’ + ‘narrative’ polysemy.

- Futures often appear as a final stage in the evolution of General Presents, via possibilitive meaning (‘usually does’ > ‘is able to do’ > ‘will possibly do’ > ‘will do’). There also exists a dedicated “deontic model” for Futures built on the Infinitive or Purposive and the copula, which is rather restricted within the group.

Note that although the paths for the grammaticalization of future tenses are very restricted, the future is on the whole well grammaticalized in the Lezgetic languages – an average Lezgetic tense and aspect system is rich enough to include a separate Future which does not coincide with the main Present form. In this respect a contrast can be observed with European languages, in which, according to DAHL (2000: 325), “one areal feature of future time reference... can be formulated in negative terms: it tends to be left ungrammaticalized or only partly grammaticalized”.

Finally, the data presented in this paper clearly show that there have been many parallel developments of similar grammatical patterns in different Lezgetic languages, which certainly comes as no surprise. These parallels can be both structural and etymological at once, when one and the same pattern is used and the marking of the component parts of these patterns is cognate (obviously, this situation is more often found at the group level, affecting e.g. East Lezgetic only or Kryz and Budugh only). At the same time, the parallels can be structural only, namely when the patterns are identical but the morphological material (e.g. converb or participle markers) is language-specific. Importantly, there are no patterns common to *all* Lezgetic languages – though an exception may be the construction employing the Imperfective converb, which is most widespread within the group (and outside the group as well). As we have seen, there are many similar patterns and grammaticalization paths in other languages of the area, and in many other languages of the world, so in principle these patterns are *not* necessarily to be traced back to the Proto-Lezgetic stage. They may be genuinely Proto-Lezgetic, but they may not be – given the typological and areal prevalence of such developments, independent origin in more than one language (after the break-up of the proto-language) is quite probable.

On the whole, the modern tense and aspect systems of the Lezgetic languages give the impression of being rather “young” (though this is certainly a relative evaluation, given that Proto-Lezgetic unity may well date to over 3.5 millennia ago). So far, we do not know what the tense and aspect system of the proto-language was like, and it is not impossible that it was quite different from an average modern Lezgetic system.

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|--------|----------------------------|
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person | LAT | lative |
| 1PLI | first person plural inclusive | LOCCOP | locative copula |
| 1PLE | first person plural exclusive | M | masculine |
| I, II, III, IV | gender | MSD | masdar (verbal noun) |
| ABL | ablative | N | neutral |
| ADV | adverb | NEG | negative |
| ALL | allative | NMLZ | nominalization |
| AOR | aorist | NPL | non-human plural |
| ATR | attributive | PF | perfective |
| CAUS | causative | PFCT | perfect/perfective past |
| COM | comitative | PL | plural |
| COND | conditional | POST | localization 'post' |
| COP | copula | POT | potentialis |
| CVB | converb | PROH | prohibitive |
| DAT | dative | PRS | present |
| EL | elative | PST | past |
| ERG | ergative | PTCL | particle |
| EVID | evidential | PTCP | participle |
| EVT | "éventuel" (verb form) | PV | preverb |
| F | feminine | Q | question |
| FUT | future | QUOT | quotative |
| FUTMOD | modal future | RES | resultative |
| GEN | genitive | SEQ | sequential (converb) |
| H | human | SG | singular |
| HPL | human plural | STEM | detached part of verb stem |
| IN | localization 'in' | SUB | localization 'sub' |
| INF | infinitive | SUPER | localization 'super' |
| IPF | imperfective | | |

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