

The Lak Language – Лакку маз

A Quick Reference

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Note: This overview does **not** represent a full coverage of Lak. The reader should at any rate refer to the bibliography given at the end of this presentation. The sections on morphosyntax and syntax conform to what can be called the ‘typological format’ as used in standard functional descriptions of language. Also note that a number of Lak grammatical categories are a matter of dispute. The view taken in this presentation does not necessarily reflect the opinion of others doing research on Lak! All possible errors are mine!

Comments, suggestions, and corrections please mail to W.Schulze@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

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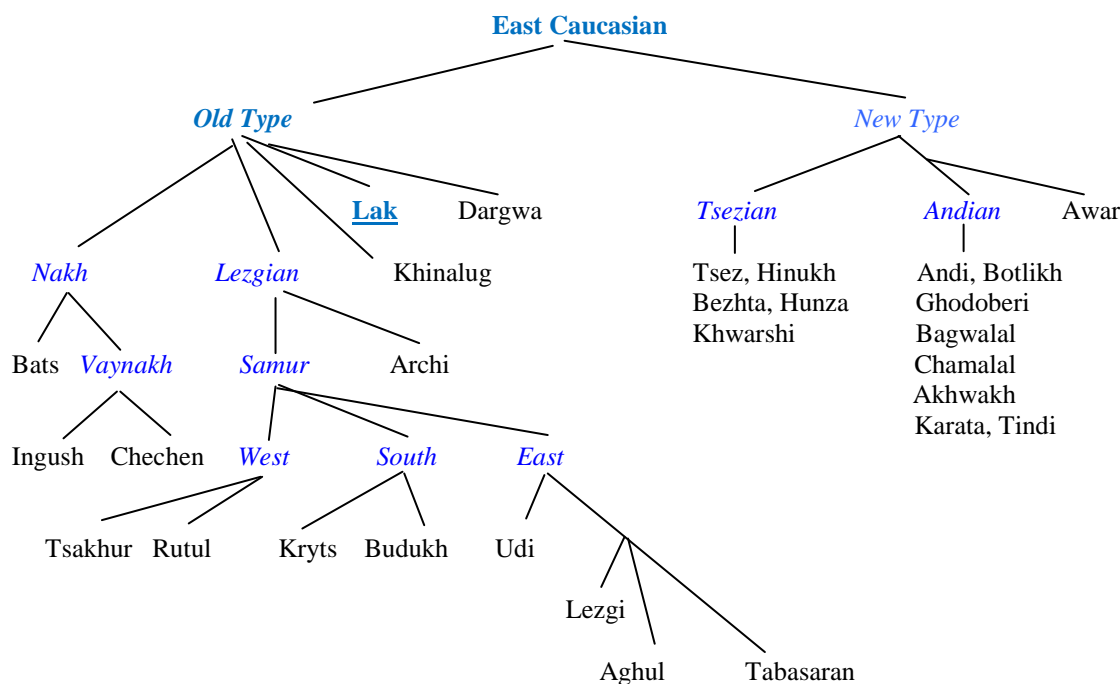
1. General Information

Name: *lak:u maz* (лакку маз)

Genetic affiliation:

East Caucasian, ‘old Type’ (see <http://www.lrz-muenchen.de/~wschulze/kaukhist.pdf>), separate branch.

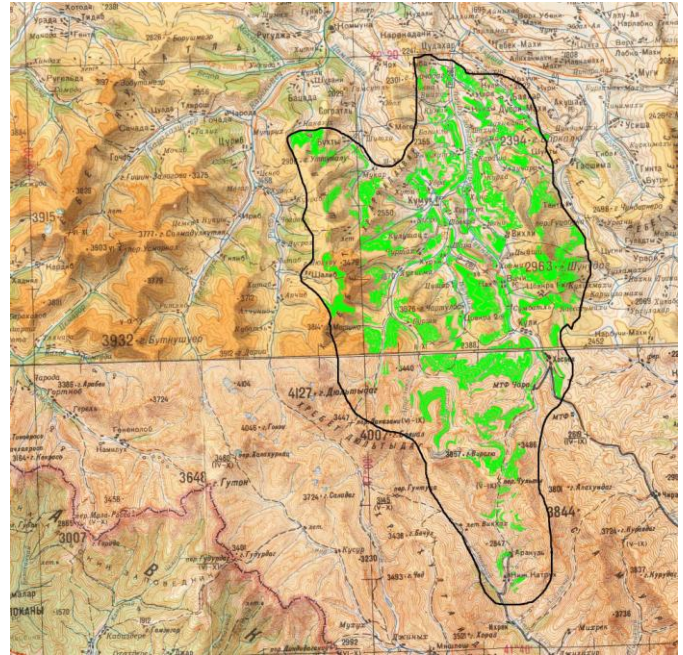
Closer relationship: Dargi, important isoglosses with Nakh (Chechen, Ingush, Bats)



Number of speakers: ~ 90.000 – 100.000

Written language: Yes (Cyrillic-based alphabet, see below)

Location: Central Dagestan:



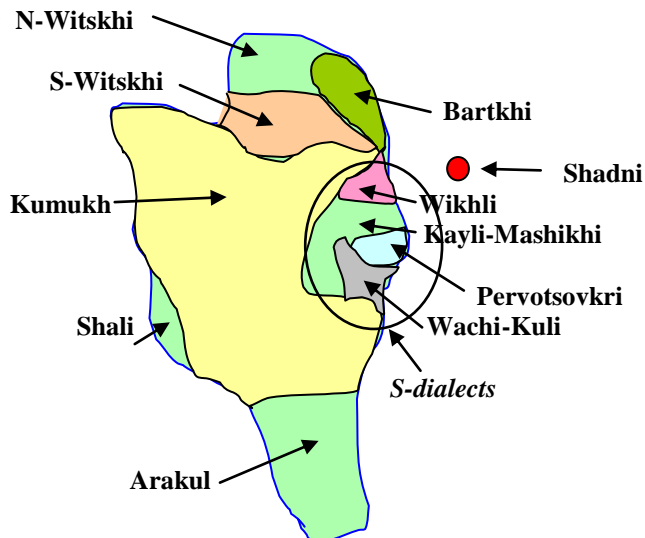
Towns and villages (in Lak orthography, incomplete list!):

Lakskij Rayon: Къуба, Чара, Ккуркли, Кума, Кlundы, Хъараша, Унчукотль, Гъумучи, Хъуна, Хъури, Кубра, Ури, Шовкра, Щара, Хурхи, Клулушац, Хулиσμα, Бурши,

Kkul Rayon: Къани, Вихъли, Ккули, Хайхи, Цъйши, Ваччи, Кая, Сумбатль, Щушар, Цшовкра-2, Хосрех, Цшовкра-1

Others: Аракул, Новолакрей, Тухчар, Гамиях, Новочуртах, Дучи, Ахар, Новокули, Новолакское, Чапаево, Анжи, Каспийск, Щурагъ, Москва...

Dialects: N-Witskhi



Grouping:

Sh-dialects

Arakul, Bartkhi, Shadni, Kumukh, Witskhi, Shali

S-dialects

Wikhli, Pervotsovskri, Kayali-Mashiki; Wachi-Kuli

Earlier writing traditions: Arabic (until 1928), Latin (until 1938)

Early sources:

- * Translation of the Muḥammad Eulogy *al-burda* (by al-Buṣṭī) ~ 1700.
- * Medical book, translation of the *Tuxfat al-mu'minīn* (al-Djeilemi) (1734), preseved as a copy by Khadži-Ali from Khanar (1774).
- * Lak version of the Derbend-Name (by Mirza Khaydar, called Verizov) ~ 1800.

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2. Phonology / Writing System

1. Consonants

Transcription / 'Caucasianists' Style'

	Stops				Affricates				Spirants			Nasals	Approximants
	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gem		
Bilabial	b	p	pʰ	p:								m	w
Dento-Alveolar	d	t	tʰ	t:		c	cʰ	c:	z	s	s:	n	r / l
Palatal						č	čʰ	č:	ž	š	š:		
Labio-Palatal						čʷ	čʷʰ	čʷ:	žʷ	šʷ	šʷ:		
Velar	g	k	kʰ	k:						χ	χ:		y
Labio-Velar	gʷ	kʷ	kʷʰ	kʷ:						χʷ	χʷ:		
Uvular		q	qʰ	q:					ǰ	x	x:		
Labio-Uvular		qʷ	qʷʰ	qʷ:					ǰʷ	xʷ	xʷ:		
Pharyngeal										ħ			
Laryngeal										h			

Transcription / IPA

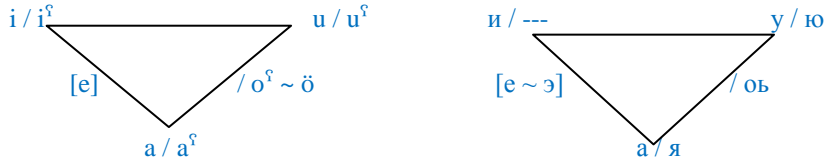
	Stops				Affricates				Spirants			Nasals	Approximants
	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gem		
Bilabial	b	p	pʰ	p:								m	w ~ β
Dento-Alveolar	d	t	tʰ	t:		ts	tsʰ	ts:	z	s	s:	n	r / l
Palatal						tʃ	tʃʰ	tʃ:	ʒ	ʃ	ʃ:		
Labio-Palatal						tʃʷ	tʃʷʰ	tʃʷ:	ʒʷ	ʃʷ	ʃʷ:		
Velar	g	k	kʰ	k:						x	x:		j
Labio-Velar	gʷ	kʷ	kʷʰ	kʷ:						xʷ	xʷ:		
Uvular		q	qʰ	q:					ʁ	χ	χ:		
Labio-Uvular		qʷ	qʷʰ	qʷ:					ʁʷ	χʷ	χʷ:		
Pharyngeal										ħ			
Laryngeal			ʕ							h			

Writing System

	Stops				Affricates				Spirants			Nasals	Approximants
	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Vd	Vl	Gem		
Bilabial	ḅ	n	nl	nn								м	в
Dento-Alveolar	ḁ	m	ml	mm		ц	цl	цц	з	с	сс	н	р / л
Palatal						ч	чl	чч	ж	ш	ш		
Labio-Palatal						чв	чlчlв	ччв	жв	шв	шв		
Velar	г	к	kl	kk						хб	хбхб		й
Labio-Velar	гв	кв	klв	kkв						хбв	хбхбв		
Uvular		хб	кб	кб					гб	х	хх		

Labio-Uvular		хъб	кбл	къкъб					зъб	хб	ххб		
Pharyngeal										хл			
Laryngeal			б							зб			

2. Vowels



Cumulation: Consonants in Caucasian languages

	Stops					Affricates					Spirants				N.	Ap.
	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Gem/Gl	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem	Gem/Gl	Vd	Vl	Gl	Gem		
Bilabial	b	p	p'	p:							v	f	f'	f:	m	w ~ β
Dento-Alveolar	d	t	t'	t:	t:'	dz	ts	ts'	ts:	ts:'	z	s	s'	s:	n	r / l
Dento-Labial	d ^w	t ^w	t ^{w'}	t: ^w	t: ^{w'}	dz ^w	ts ^w	ts ^{w'}	ts: ^w	ts: ^{w'}	z ^w	s ^w	s ^{w'}	s: ^w		
Alveo-Palatal						dʒ	tʃ	tʃ'			ʒ	ʃ	ʃ'			
Labio-AlvPal						dʒ ^w	tʃ ^w	tʃ ^{w'}			ʒ ^w	ʃ ^w	ʃ ^{w'}			
Palatal						dʒ	tʃ	tʃ'	tʃ:	tʃ:'	ʒ	ʃ	ʃ'	ʃ:		
Labio-Palatal						dʒ ^w	tʃ ^w	tʃ ^{w'}	tʃ: ^w	tʃ: ^{w'}	ʒ ^w	ʃ ^w	ʃ ^{w'}	ʃ: ^w		
Lateral							ɬ	ɬ'	ɬ:	ɬ:'		ɮ	ɮ'	ɮ:		
Labio-Lateral							ɬ ^w	ɬ ^{w'}	ɬ: ^w	ɬ: ^{w'}		ɮ ^w	ɮ ^{w'}	ɮ: ^w		
Velar	g	k	k'	k:	k:'						ɣ	x		x:		j
Labio-Velar	g ^w	k ^w	k ^{w'}	k: ^w	k: ^{w'}						ɣ ^w	x ^w		x: ^w		
Uvular	ɢ	q	q'	q:	q:'						ʁ	χ		χ:		
Labio-Uvular		q ^w	q ^{w'}	q: ^w	q: ^{w'}						ʁ ^w	χ ^w		χ: ^w		
Pharyngeal											ʕ	ħ				
Labio-Pharyng.											ʕ ^w	ħ ^w				
Laryngeal			ʕ									h				

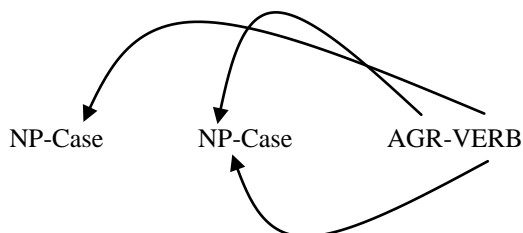
Black: Lak, **Blue/Green:** + other ECL, **Blue:** + specifics of WCL

[up]

2. Morphosyntax

2.1 Head- and Dependent Marking: Mixed

Basic type:



2.2 Case marking on nouns:

	SG	PL
ABS	BF	BF + PL
OBL	BF + SA:SG + CASE	BF + SA:PL + CASE

BF = Base Form, ABS = Absolutive (\emptyset), OBL = Oblique cases
SA = Stem Augment (lexical-based, in parts classifying)

Case forms

Absolutive	- \emptyset
Genitive~Ergative(~Instrumental)	-l
Dative	-n
General Ablative	-š:a
Comitative	-š:al
Instrumental, Causal	-ynu
Comparative	-yar
Possessive/Adessive	-(a)x̂
General Allative	-x̂:un
Circumessive	-xlu

Case/Series of Locatives

	CASE	SERIES	IN	ON	BEHIND	BELOW	AT	AT (emph.)
			IN	SUPER	POST	SUB	AD	AD ₂
ESSIVE	Exact	- \emptyset	-wu-	-y-	-x(u)-	-lu-	-č'a-	-c'(u)-
	Region	-x	-wux	-yx	-xux	-lux	---	-c'ux
LATIVES	AB-	-a(tu)	-wa(tu)	-ya(tu)	-xa(tu)	-la(tu)	-č'a(tu)	-c'a(tu)
	DIR-	-n-CL-ay	-wun-CL-ay	-yn-CL-ay	-xun-CL-ay	-lun-CL-ay	-č'an-CL-ay	-c'un-CL-ay
	AD-	-n	-wun	-yn	-xun	-lun	-č'an	-c'un

[Note: The functional description varies from author to author]

2.3 Noun Classes: Basically covert (no marking on nouns, but on dependent constituents)

Historically four classes, based on the distribution SG/PL:

	Original System		Lak		
	SG	PL	SG	PL	
I	*w-	*b-	\emptyset -, -w-, -u- (-b-)	b-	
II	*r-	*b-	d-, -r-, -n-, -l-	b-	
III	*b-	*d-	b-, -w-, -m-, -p:-	b-	
IV	*d-	*d-	d-, -r-, -n-, -l-	d-	
V			b-, -w-, -m-, -p:-	d-	(only q:at:a 'house')

Competing classifications

	SA with Deixis	Definite Attributive Marker
I	-na-	-ma
II	-ni-	-mur
III	-ni	-mur
IV	-ni-	-mur
PL	-ni	-mi

Semantic classes (Kumukh Type)

- I Male human beings
- II Historically: Female human beings, now only for older women
- III Historically: Radial category, including referents that are positive/relevant for Lak society
- IV Historically: Radial category, including referents that are less positive/relevant for Lak society

Classes III and IV now have a mixed character. III also includes children and younger women.

2.4 Qualitative Attributes (no case marking) (= referential forms):

	General		Specific	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
I	-s:a		-ma	-mi
II			-mur	
III			-mur	
IV			-mur	

2.5 Pronouns

2.5.1 Personal Pronouns (no ergative case; S=A;O)

	SG		PL	
	ABS	OBL	ABS	OBL
1	<i>na</i>	<i>t:u-</i>	<i>žu</i>	<i>žu-</i>
2	<i>ina</i>	<i>wi-</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>zu-</i>

Inklusive: *žu k'iyagu* (= ,we, the TWO')

Exclusive: *žuwa k'iwas:a* and variants

Third Person = Deixis / *ga* and *tā* represent the preferred anaphora

2.5.2 Deixis

	Referential	Verbal
As such	DX+SA-	DX+SA + COP
Qualifying	DX	DX:ADV

Subcategorization:

	Kumukh	Bartkhi	Arakul
π prox	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wa</i>
π med	<i>mu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>muw</i>
π dist→	<i>tā</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>hawa</i>
π dist↑	<i>k'(")a</i>	<i>k'a</i>	<i>ho</i>
π dist↓	<i>g(")a</i>	<i>g(")a</i>	<i>ho</i>

	Early Lak DPs	Adverbs
π prox	* <i>wa</i>	<i>ši-k:u</i>
π med	* <i>mu</i>	<i>mi-k:u</i>
π dist→	* <i>ta:</i>	<i>ti-k:u</i>
π dist↑	* <i>k'w'a</i>	<i>k'i-k:u</i>
π dist↓	* <i>g" a</i>	<i>g"i-k:u</i>

Inflection:	I	II-IV	I-II PL	III-IV
ABS	-∅	-∅	-y	-y
OBL	-na-	-ni-	-nna-	-nnu-

2.5.3 Reflexives

	I	II	III	IV
1sg	<i>na-wa</i>	<i>na-ra</i>	<i>na-wa</i>	---
2sg	<i>ina-wa</i>	<i>ina-ra</i>	<i>ina-wa</i>	---
3sg ABS	<i>cu-(wa)</i>	<i>cu(-rda)</i>	<i>cu(-p:a)</i>	<i>cu-ra</i>
3sg OBL	<i>ca-C((m)-a)</i>	<i>ci-C(-a)</i>	<i>ci-C-(C'/ra)</i>	<i>ci-C-(C'/ra)</i>
1pl	<i>žu-wa</i>	<i>žu-wa</i>	<i>žu-wa</i>	----
2pl	<i>zu-wa</i>	<i>zu-wa</i>	<i>zu-wa</i>	----
3pl ABS	<i>ciw(p:a)</i>	<i>ciw(p:a)</i>	<i>ciw(p:a)</i>	<i>ciw/rda</i>
3pl OBL	<i>ca-C(-(m)a)</i>	<i>ca-C(-(m)a)</i>	<i>ca-C(-(m)a)</i>	<i>ca-C-(C'/ra)</i>

[C = Case; C' = assimilated to consonant of case morpheme]

2.5.4 Interrogative Pronouns

	ABS	OBL	
,who'	<i>cu</i>	<i>š:i-</i>	
,what'	<i>ci</i>	<i>s:a-</i>	
,which'		<i>cukuns:a / cukun-ma/-mur/-mi</i>	[lit.: Who [is said]...]
,who'		<i>cu-ma/-mur/-mi</i>	
,how many/much'		<i>cimi ~ ciks:a</i>	
,how'		<i>cukun</i>	
,why'		<i>ciwan</i>	[lit. <i>ci-w-a-n</i> what-III-do-inf]
'where?'		<i>č^wu</i>	
'where to?'		<i>čun</i>	
'where from?'		<i>č^wa</i>	

2.5.5 Indefinite pronouns

I	II	III	IV	PL
		<i>ciriw</i> <i>cuyaw</i> <i>cis:ariw</i>		
<i>cu-unugu</i>	---	<i>cu-bun(u)gu</i>	<i>ci-dunugu</i>	<i>ca-bunugu</i>

2.5.6 Negative pronouns

Interrogative + *-č^waw ~ -k^wuy*

2.6 Numerals

2.6.1 Cardinals

		I	II	III	IV
1	<i>ca</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
2	<i>k'i</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
3	<i>šan</i>	<i>-a (-n- > m-)</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-na</i>
4	<i>muq'</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
5	<i>x:u^š</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
6	<i>ra^šx</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
7	<i>arul</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-la</i>
8	<i>ma^šy</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
9	<i>urč'</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>
10	<i>ac'</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ra</i>

11-19 *ac'-niya NUM* [*ac'-n-iya* = 10 + SA-SUPER:ABL]

21-29 *q:u-niya NUM*

30-39 *zuwal-liy NUM*

40 *muq'-c'al...*

50 *x:u^šc'al...*

60 *ra^šxc'al...*

70 *arule'al...*

80 *ma^šyc'al...*

90 *urč'^wc'al...*

100 *t:urš*

Nominalized: ABS NUM + CL (*-wa/*-ra/*-ba/*-da)
OBL NUM + SA [+masc/-masc] + Case

2.6.2 Ordinals

NUM + *-l-čin-* + *-s:a, -ma, -mur, -mi* [Group]
NUM + *-l-ku* [Individuals]

2.6.3 Multiplicatives

NUM + *-lla* (V_), *-illa* (C_)

2.6.4 Grouping

NUM+ NUM: *k'i-k'i-wa* (III) ,by two') etc.

2.7 Verb

2.7.1 Basic characteristics

- * TAM: Tripartite system: PAST vs. PRES vs. FUT (gerund~participle-/infinitive-based)
- * Strong tendency towards analytic TAM constructions
- * Class agreement
- * Hierarchic person agreement marking (floating personal agreement markers (fPAM))
- * Prefixing (class and (older) preverbs) – suffixing (TAM) – cliticizing (fPAM)
- * Aspect/aktionsart opposition via stem formation
- * (Historically): Transitive/Intransitive distinction via thematic vowels (*-a-/*-i- vs. *-u-)

2.7.2 Basic pattern of synthetic TAM-forms

	STEM		
	STEM:PAST	STEM:nonPAST	
		PRES	FUT
Option	Unmarked <i>-∅-</i>	Progressive <i>-l-[†]</i> (following the root) <i>*-n- / *-r-</i> <i>Suppletion</i> <i>Underived</i> [[†] Historically an Antipassive marker]	Iterative <i>-aw-</i> (following the root) <i>Suppletion</i>
CL	PAST	PRES	FUT
fPAM	<i>yes</i>	<i>in parts</i>	<i>in parts</i>
Marker	<i>in parts</i>	<i>in parts</i>	<i>in parts</i>
Options	<i>-n(u)</i>	<i>-a(y)</i> <i>Stem suppletivism</i> <i>Change of -C in root</i>	<i>-an (=Infinitive)</i> <i>Stem suppletivism</i> <i>Change of -C in root</i>

Example *čič-* ,to write'

	PAST	<i>či-CL-ču-nu</i>	<i>či-CL-č-lu-nu</i>	<i>či-CL-č-awu-nu</i>
	PRES	<i>čič-ay</i>	<i>čič-l-ay</i>	<i>čič-aw-ay</i>
	FUT	<i>čič-an-</i>	<i>čič-l-an-</i>	<i>čič-aw-an-</i>
<i>-nu</i>	>	past forms		
<i>-ay</i>	>	present, past, conditional, potential, imperative		
<i>-Vn</i> (infinitive base)	>	future, optative, conditional		

Underived progressive stems (examples):

č:van 'want'
t'un 'say'
x:an 'seem'
zun 'work'

Some verbs lack a non-progressive:

š:aran ‘boil’
šanan ‘sleep’
zanan ‘walk’

Placement of *-l-* marker (durative, progressive):

1. Historically (C)VC-roots: (C₁)VC₂-*la*-C₂-

CL-it- > *CL-it-la-t-* ‘let’
las- > *las-la-s-* ‘take’
bus- > *bus-la-s-* ‘say’

2. Historically C-roots: C-l(a)-

č-ič- > *či-č-la-* ‘write’

Opposition Confirmative vs. Inferential/Dubitative (*-k:ar-*):

na *čič-ay-s:a-ra* *čağar* (Conf. Present, non-progressive)

I:ABS write-PRES-ASS-SAP:SG letter:ABS

‘I do write a letter’

na *či-č-ay* *u-nu-k:ar* *čağar* (Past)

I:ABS write-PRES I:be:PRES-DUB letter:ABS

‘Apparently, I write a letter.’

‘Apparential’ (, it seems to X): Construction based: Participle (*-s:a*) + *x:ay CL-u-fPAM*

na *duš* *čağar* *čič-l-ay* *b-u-s:a* *x:-ay* *u-ra*
 I:ABS girl letter write-DUR-PRES III-be:PRES-PART seem-PRES I:be:PRES-SAP:SG

‘it seems to me that the girl is writing a letter.’

2.7.3 TAM-Forms (TV = Thematic vowel)

BASE	TAM-Frame	Form	Type of fPAM	
Ger.Pres	PRES. STEM	-TV-y (here: TV= -a)		
	Plein Present	<i>-a</i>	1.,2.Sg	<i>-ra</i>
		<i>-a</i>	1.,2.pl.	<i>-ru</i>
		<i>-ay</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>
	Durative Present	<i>-ay CL-u-</i>	1.,2.Sg	<i>-ra</i>
		<i>-ay CL-u-</i>	1.,2.Pl	<i>-ru</i>
		<i>-ay CL-u-</i>	3.	<i>-r</i>
	Durative Past	<i>-away</i>	1.,2.	<i>-w</i>
		<i>-away</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>
	Perfect Categorical	<i>-a</i>	1Sg.	<i>-w</i>
		<i>-a</i>	1Pl.	<i>-rdu</i>
	Conditional Present	<i>-awiya</i>	1. Sg/Pl	<i>-w</i>
	Potential	<i>-aw</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-a</i>
		<i>-aw</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-u</i>
		<i>-aw</i>	3.	<i>-i</i>
	Assertive Present	<i>-ays:a</i>	1.,2.Sg	<i>-ra</i>
		<i>-ays:a</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-ru</i>
		<i>-ays:a-</i>	3.	<i>-r</i>
	Assertive Past	<i>-ays:iya</i>	1.,2. Sg/Pl	<i>-w</i>
		<i>-ays:iya</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>
	Gerund Present	<i>-ay</i>		

	Gerund Present Durative	<i>-ayn-CL-a</i>			
	Gerund Locative	<i>-ayniy</i>			
	Gerund Time (parallel)	<i>-ayni</i>			
	Gerund Time (post)	<i>-ay(niy)kun</i>			
	Gerund Modal	<i>-aywaxur</i>			
	Gerund Conditional	<i>-ayniya</i>			
	Gerund Conditional Assertive	<i>-ays:aniya</i>			
	Gerund Conditional Present	<i>-arča(n)</i>			
	Participle Present	<i>-ays:a</i>			
	Participle Present Durative	<i>-ayn-CL-as:a</i>			
Ger.Past	PAST STAMM	TV -u- + -nu // CL			
	Past	<i>-na</i>	1.,2. Sg/Pl	<i>-w</i>	
		<i>-na</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>	
	Past Archaic	<i>-u</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-ra</i>	
		<i>-u</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-ru</i>	
		<i>-u</i>	3.	<i>-ri</i>	
	Aorist (Preterite)	<i>-n-</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-na</i>	
		<i>-n-</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-nu</i>	
		<i>-n-</i>	3.	<i>-ni</i>	
	Past Assertive	<i>-s:a</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-ra</i>	
		<i>-s:a</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-ru</i>	
		<i>-s:a</i>	3.	<i>-r</i>	
	Pluperfect	<i>-s:iya</i>	1.,2. Sg/Pl	<i>-w</i>	
		<i>-s:iya</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>	
		Gerund Past Durative	<i>-n-CL-a</i>		
		Gerund Past Locative	<i>-niy</i>		
		Gerund Past Time (parallel)	<i>-ni</i>		
		Gerund Past Time (post)	<i>-kun</i>		
		Gerund Past Modal	<i>-naxur</i>		
		Gerund Past Conditional	<i>-niya</i>		
		Gerund Past Conditional Assertive	<i>-s:aniya</i>		
		Participle Past	<i>-s:a</i>		
	Infinitiv	Infinitive	<i>-Vn</i>		
		Future Categorical	<i>-Vn</i>	1.Sg	<i>-na</i>
			<i>-Vn</i>	1.Pl	<i>-nu</i>
		Optative	<i>-Vn-nu</i>	1.Pl	<i>-ča</i>
			<i>-Vn-na</i>	1. Sg, 2.,3. Pl	<i>-w</i>
Future Assertive		<i>-Vn-s:a</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-ra</i>	
		<i>-Vn-s:a</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-ru</i>	
		<i>-Vn-s:a</i>	3.	<i>-r</i>	
Future Conditional		<i>-Vn-s:iya</i>	1.,2. Sg/Pl	<i>-w</i>	
		<i>-Vn-s:iya</i>	3.	<i>-Ø</i>	
Intentional		<i>-Vn-t'is:a</i>	1.,2. Sg	<i>-ra</i>	
		<i>-Vn-t'is:a</i>	1.,2. Pl	<i>-ru</i>	
		<i>-Vn-t'is:a</i>	3.	<i>-r</i>	
		Gerund Future	<i>-Vn-nu</i>		
		Gerund Future Durative	<i>-Vn-CL-a</i>		
		Gerund Future Intentional	<i>-Vn-t'iy</i>		
		Gerund Future Intentional Durative	<i>-Vn-t'in-CL-a</i>		
		Gerund Future Time (parallel)	<i>-Vn-in</i>		
		Gerund Future Time (ante)	<i>-Vn-c'a</i>		
		Gerund Future Conditional	<i>-Vn-t'iniya</i>		
		Gerund Future Conditional Assertive	<i>-Vn-t'is:aniya</i>		
		Participle Future	<i>-Vn-(nu)-s:a</i>		
		Participle Future Durative	<i>-Vn-CL-s:a</i>		
		Participle Future Intentional	<i>-Vn-t'is:a</i>		
		Participle Future Intentional Durative	<i>-Vn-t'in-CL-s:a</i>		

Imperative

Transitive: *-a* or *-i*
Intransitive: *-u*

E.g.
busan IMP *bus-i* 'say'
lasun IMP *las-i* 'take'
bačín IMP *bač-u* 'go'
lač'un IMP *lač'-u* 'fix oneself'

Note: Durative > Intransitive

buslan IMP *bus-la-s-u* 'say:DUR'
laslan IMP *las-la-s-u* 'take:DUR'

Imperative Stem: 2sg 2pl Hortative (3sg/pl)
-Ø *-(ya)ra* *-ča*

Prohibitive: *ma-* + *-ara* *-ari*
Position of *-ma-*: Prefixing (e.g. *ma-čič-ari* 'do not write (pl)!') or endoclititic (e.g. *čič-ma-č-ari*)

Interrogative (polar questions): *-w* (e.g. *ina u-w-k'(u)-ra-w?* 'did you (sg.) come?'
ta uč'-ay-wa-w 'does (s)he come?')

Negation: *q:a-*
Position of *q:a-*: Prefixing (e.g. *q:a-b-i-w-k'u-nu* 'it wasn't')
Endoclititic (e.g. *čič-q:a-ču-nu b-u-r* 'has not written')

2.7.4 Light verbs/Auxiliaries used to derive analytic TAM forms and diathesis:

1. CL-*u-* (pres) - CL-*i-* (past) / Negative copula: *-q:a-*

e.g. *čič-w-ču-nu* *b-u-r*
write-III- $\$$:PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
'has written.'
čič-w-ču-nu *b-i-ya*
write-III- $\$$:PAST-PAST III-be:PAST
'had written.'

2. CL-*a-* (pres) - CL-*u-* (past) > Causatives
3. CL-*i-*-CL-*k'* 'become' > Inchoative
4. *xun* ~ *ša-* (durative *qanan*, iterative *šawan*) > Anticausative
5. *uč'in* (past *ku-*) 'say' > Factitive

2.7.5 Class marking (S, A, or O):

1. Historically basic verb stems:

a. CV(C)- > Ø-
b. VC- > CL-VC

2. Historically derived verb stems (old preverbs or reduplication):

a. CVC- > CV-CL-C-
b. V-C- > CL-V-CL-C-

Example for 2b.: *-i-k'*- ‘become’

	Reconstructed	Actual form
I	* <i>w-i-w-k'</i> -	<i>Ø-i-w-k'</i> -
II	* <i>r-i-r-k'</i> -	<i>d-i-r-k'</i> -
III	* <i>b-i-b-k'</i> -	<i>b-i-w-k'</i> -
IV	* <i>d-i-d-k'</i> -	<i>d-i-r-k'</i> -

Note: Second part of discontinuous lexeme is glossed by ‘\$’ (!):

<i>b-a-w-ču-nu</i>	<i>b-ur</i>
III-go-III-\$:PAST-PAST	III-COP:PRES-nSAP:S
‘it/she went’	

2.7.6 Floating Personal Agreement Markers[†] (fPAM; see TAM table above for application):

		Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV
1sg	SAP	<i>-r-a</i>	<i>-r-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-w</i>
2sg					
3sg	nSAP	<i>-r < *-r-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
1pl	SAP	<i>-r-u</i>	<i>-r-u</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-w</i>
2pl					
3pl	nSAP	<i>-r < *-r-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>

† *-r-* is assimilated to preceding *-n-* or *-l-*.

Agreement patterns of fPAM:

a. Non-Assertive

1. In intransitive clauses: S (Subjective)
2. In transitive clauses: Hierarchic (A (Agentive) or O (Objective)):

		O					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
A	1SG	---	O	A	---	O	A
	2SG	O	---	A	O	---	A
	3SG	O	O	O	O	O	O
	1PL	---	O	A	---	O	A
	2PL	O	---	A	O	---	A
	3PL	O	O	O	O	O	O

b. Assertive

Always O

c. *-la-*durative:

1. In intransitive clauses: S (Subjective)
2. In transitive clauses: SAP>SAP: A; else: O

		O					
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
A	1SG	---	A	A	---	A	A
	2SG	A	---	A	A	---	A
	3SG	O	O	O	O	O	O
	1PL	---	A	A	---	A	A
	2PL	A	---	A	A	---	A
	3PL	O	O	O	O	O	O

2.8. Adverbs

Lexical or derived from adjectives with the help of *-nu ~ -na*
In parts CL agreement with S or A:

ḫ:inč'u-n-a-y ahead-ADV-I-LOC 'he went ahead.'
la-w-gu-na go-I-\$.PAST-SIMPLE:PAST:nSAP

ga-y DIST-PL:ABS
murḫ-ru tree-PL
š:u ʕli-n-ma green-ADV-III
b-ik'ay-s:a-r III-be:PRES-PRES-ASS-nASP
daiman k'in-t:u-l-gu always winter-PL-GEN-FOC
ḡin-t:u-l-gu summer-PL-GEN-FOC
 'These trees are always (in) green in winter and in summer.'

2.9 Postpositions

Lexical, agreeing in case with corresponding locative case

2.10 Focus marker:

- a. fPAM
- b. -gu

2.11 Conjunctions

anma ~ amma 'but' (Arabic)
agar 'if' (Persian)
wa 'and' (Arabic)
ya 'or' (Persian)
gu 'and, focus'
ča 'if'
gu-ma 'also'
ča-gu 'and if, even if'
ya-gu 'or'
nu-gu 'although'

2.12 Interjections

ma 'come on!'
da 'hey!' (towards man)
il 'hey!' (towards woman)
yawa 'attention!'
di 'yes'
yux 'no' (Qumüq)
CL-q:a-r 'is not, no' (CL-be:NEG-nSAP)

2.13 Particles

-x: ʷa 'but'
-ča 'but'
-x:uraw 'really?, perhaps'
-niya 'well, but'
-q'ay 'however'

[up]

3. Syntax

3.1 Basic clausal patterns

Intransitive: S (Subjective) : Always ABS, CL, fPAM

ba-w-čü-nu III-go-III-\$.PAST-PAST
b-u-r III-be:PRES-nSAP
marak'an Marakan(III)
bu ʕt:ul-s:a high-ATTR
barzunt:a-y-x mountain:PL:OBL-SUPER-ESS:REG
 'Marakan was going (around) on [lit.: in the region of] high mountains.'

Transitive Clauses: **A (Agentive) (ERG) > O (Objective) (ABS)**
Agreement: CL [basically past]: O (and A), fPAM: A or O (see above)

ta-na-l *d-a-r-x:u-nu* *d-u-r* *k'ili*
DIST-SA[MASC]-ERG IV-buy-IV-\$.:PAST-PAST IV-COP:PRES-nSAP saddle(IV).
‘He has bought a saddle.’

Pattern:

	AGR		CASE
	CL	fPAM	
A	Ø	nSAP	ERG
O	IV	---	ABS

3.2 Demotion of A > IO (verba sentiendi)

ut:i *t:un* *nawa* *b-i-w-č'-an-ni-n*
now I:DAT I:III:REF III-die-III-\$.:PRES-INF-SA[-MASC]-DAT
haž-li-y-n *h-an* *č-ay* *b-u-r*
hadzh-SA-SUPER-ALL go-INF want-PRES III-be:PRES-nSAP
‘Now I want to go on the hadzh before (lit: to) I die.’

Pattern:

	AGR		CASE
	CL	fPAM	
A>IO	Ø	---	DAT
O>S	III	nSAP	ABS

3.3 Assertive Split (see [fPAM schema](#)) [Agreement-based, fPAM and CL]

ta-na-l *at:-ay* *na*
DIST-SA[MASC]-ERG hit-PRES I:ABS
‘He hits me.’

ta-na-l *at:-ay-s:a-ra_i* *na_i*
DIST-SA[MASC]-ERG hit-PRES-ASS-SAP:SG I:ABS
‘He definitely hit me.’

3.4 -la-Split (see [fPAM schema](#)) [Agreement-based, fPAM and CL]

na *at:a-a-ra* *tā*
I:ABS hit-PRES-SAP:SG DIST:ABS
‘I hit him (just now).’

na *at:-ay-s:a-r* *tā*
I:ABS hit-PRES-ASS-nSAP DIST:ABS
‘I definitely hit him.’

na *at-la-t-i-s:a-ra* *tā_i*
I:ABS hit-DUR-\$.-PRES-ASS-SAP:SG DIST:ABS
‘I’m definitely hitting him.’

3.5 Person split [Case-based]

SAP: Neutral [S=A=O] (Old: Ergative: S=O;A)
nSAP: Ergative [S=O;A]

na at:-a-ra iā
 I:ABS hit-PRES-SAP:SG he:ABS
 ‘I hit him.’

ta-na-l at:-ay na
 DIST-SA[MASC]-ERG hit-PRES I:ABS
 ‘He hits me.’

3.6 Summary of fPAM / CL-based splits:

	A → O			
	SAP → SAP	SAP → nSAP	nSAP → SAP	nSAP → nSAP
non-Assertive	O	A	O	O
Assertive	O	O	O	O
-la-Assertive	A	A	O	O

3.7 Diathesis

a. A-promotion (foregrounding) [only in analytic TAM-constructions] [‘Bi-Absolutive construction’]

Unmarked: *bu-t:a-l b-a-w-x:u-nu b-u-r ču_i*
 father-SA-ERG III-buy-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP horse:ABS
 ‘Father has bought a horse.’

Pattern:

	AGR				CASE
	Verb Stem		Copula		
	CL	fPAM	CL	fPAM	
A	∅	---	---	fPAM	ERG
O	IV	---	IV	---	ABS

A-promotion: *p:u b-a-w-x:u-nu ∅-u-r ču*
 father:ABS III-buy-III-\$.PAST-PAST I-be:PRES-nSAP horse:ABS
 ‘[It was] father who] has bought a horse.’

Pattern:

	AGR				CASE
	Verb Stem		Copula		
	CL	fPAM	CL	fPAM	
A	∅	---	I	fPAM	ABS
O	IV	---	---	---	ABS

Origin: Clefting of A > S in clefted existential clausal [‘[it was]x [who]...’]

Function: Backgrounding of A, foregrounding of A, ~ habitual etc.

Mixed pattern:

bu-t:a-l b-a-w-x:u-nu ∅-u-r ču
 father-SA-ERG III-buy-III-\$.PAST-PAST I-be:PRES-nSAP horse:ABS
 ‘Father has bought a horse.’

Pattern:

	AGR				CASE
	Verb Stem		Copula		
	CL	fPAM	CL	fPAM	
A	∅	---	I	fPAM	ERG
O	IV	---	---	---	ABS

b. Causative (LV: CL-*a-n* ‘do’)

örč’-al *t:uč* *čağar* *čič-in* *b-u-n-ni*
 boy-ERG I:AD:LOC letter:ABS write-INF III-do:PAST-PAST-nSAP
 ‘The boy had me write a letter.’

Pattern (pending on [splits](#)):

		A	AO[†]	O
CASE		ERG	AD:LOC	ABS
AGR	fPAM	+	---	---
	CL	---	---	+

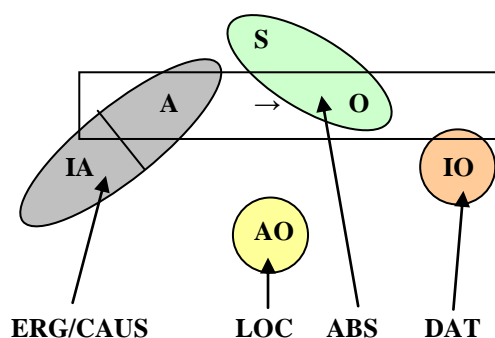
† Note: AO = embedded agent

c. Passives/Antipassives: None (Old Antipassive has become grammaticalized as Durative)

3.8 Indirect relational primitives:

IO (indirect objective): **DAT**
IA (indirect agentive): **ERG** [controlled instrument]
 CAUS [general instrumental]

3.9 Summary of relational primitives:



3.10 Verbal possession:

[Por = Possessor, Pum = Possessum]
 Por-LOC/GEN Pum-ABS V-AGR:Pum

3.11 Word order:

Most usual pattern:

S	LOC		V
A	O		V
A	O	IO	V
A	O	IA	V
A	OA	O...	V

Word order variation carries topical functions.

3.12 Noun Phrase

DX[:AGR] – NUM[:AGR] – ATTR[:AGR] – N
Pum:GEN – Por:CASE

16	woman	š:ar, qamitaipa	čubux	dišehli	q'ālsag	zan	gadin
17	man	adimina, čuw	išu	itim	ma ^ʃ asag	mard	kiši
18	person	insan, adiminal insan	adamar	insan	sag	nafar	adam
19	bird	lelux:i	q'uš	nük'	hazilg	pandare	quš
20	dog	k:ač:i	x ^ʃ a	kic'	ž ^ʃ aliy	sag	it, köpək
21	louse	nac'	nec'	net	mez	šepeš	bit
22	tree	murx	xod	tar	ga	deraxt	acağ
23	seed	hanna; quwa, k:uk:u, tuxum	cil, tum	cil, tum	gi	dāne, toxm	toxum
24	leaf	č'ap'i	xazal	peš	ğa	barg	yarpaq
25	root	marx:a; daidiqu	tum, č'um	duwul	ovla	riše	kök
26	bark	k:iri	čəšq'əna	čkal	čhor	pust	qabıq
27	skin	burčü; k:iri, k:amara	t'ol	xam	c'uoka, niñ	pust	dəri
28	flesh	biši; dik'	eq'	yak	dulx	gušt	ət
29	blood	o ^ʃ , o ^ʃ :tu	p'i	iwi	c'iy	xun	qan
30	bone	t:apk'	u ^ʃ q'e ^ʃ n	k'arab	t'exk	ostoxān	süyük
31	grease, oil	a ^ʃ hušiwu; mai; ha	čayl	maq', pi	muñ, deatta	roğan	piy, quyruq
32	egg	k:unuk	qoqla	kaka	fu'	toxm	yumurta
33	horn	qi; k'uru	q'a ^ʃ nc	karč	mu ^ʃ a	šāx	buynuz
34	tail	mah	o ^ʃ žil	tum	c'og	dom	guyruq
35	feather	t'imu	posposk'al	c'akul	bedargj	par	lələk
36	hair	č'ara	pop	č'ar	mos-	mu	saç
37	head	bak'	bul	q'il, kelle	kuorta	sar	baş
38	ear	wič'i	imux	yab	lergj	guš	gulaq
39	eye	a ^ʃ	pul	will	b ^ʃ argj	češm	göz
40	nose	may; q:ip:a	bo ^ʃ xmo ^ʃ ğ	ner	merž	bini, damāğ	burun
41	mouth	q'ac'	žomox	siw, k'uf	bagie	dahān	ağız
42	tooth	k:arč:i	ulux	sas, swax	cergj	dandān	diş
43	tongue	maz	muz	mez	mot:	zabān	dil
44	claw	šāp'i, bač'i	č'āč'ik'	kak	m ^ʃ ār	nāxun	caynaq
45	foot	č:an	tur	k ^w 'ač	kog	pā	ayağ
46	knee	nik	k'a ^ʃ k'a ^ʃ p'	met	guo	zānu	diz
47	hand	ka, xat', q'ulbas	kul	ğil	kulgj	dast	əl
48	belly	lāq'a	xorag	rufun	kit	šekam	garın
49	neck	q:aq:ari	ozan	xew, gardan	foart	gardan	peysər boyunen ardı
50	breast(s)	qazam, k:uk:u	c'ic'ik'	mam, xur	t'ār	pestān	döş, sinə
51	heart	q:ük'	uk'	rik'	dog	del	dil
52	liver	t:ilik'	žežär	leq'	dixk	jegar	qara ciyər
53	drink	q'ač'an	uğ-	q ^h un	mal-	nušid-	içmək
54	eat	kanan, dukan	uk-	t'ün	-u'-	xord-	yemək
55	bite	qapan; q'ac'a t'un	k'aš-	k'as-	carg tuox-	gazid-	sancmaq
56	see	č'alan, k:ak:an, x:al qanan	ak'-, be ^ʃ ğ-	akun	(b ^ʃ arg) g-	did-	görmək
57	hear	x:al ban	imux lax-	wan x'un	xoz-	šenid-	gulaq asmaq
58	know	k'ulnu bik'an, xawar bik'an	aba	či-	xov-	dānest-	bilmək
59	sleep	šanan	bask'-	ksun	nab -u	xābid-	yatmaq
60	die	bič'an, lič'i xun	bi-, p'u-	q'in	-al-	mord-	ölmək

61	kill	liqan, q:upar dan	besb-	q'in	-ie-	košt-	öldürmək
62	swim	huzun	oc'k'alp-	sirnaw awun	niek –u	šenā kard-	üzmək
63	fly	lex:an	purp-	luw gun	ġat:	parid-	uçmaq
64	walk	leč'in; liqan	horob-	q:eq'ün	liel-	rāh raft-	getmək
65	come	buč'an	eġ-	atun	ħa- -iel-	āmad-	gelmek
66	lie	ut:u bišen	bask' -	q:atkun	ul-	xābid-	uzanmaq
67	sit	š:a ⁵ bik'an	arc-	acuq'un	-āġa-	nešast-	oturmaq
68	stand	ac'an	čurd-	aq: ^w azun	ura-lāt:-	istād-	durmaq
69	give	bulun; k:ak:an ban	tad-	gun	(-a)-	dādan	vermək
70	say	halha t'un; busan	p-	luhun	āl-	goft-	demək
71	sun	barġ	be ⁵ ġ	raġ	mālx	āftāb, xoršid	günəş
72	moon	barz	xač	warz	but:	māh	ay
73	star	c'uku	qabun	ġed	soedq'a	setāreh	ulduz
74	water	š:in	xe	yas	xiy	āb	su
75	rain	haral	aġala	marf	doġa	bārān	yaġış
76	stone	čaru	že ⁵	q:°an	qier	sang	daş
77	sand	q:un	kum	q:um	ġum	māseh	qum
78	earth	duniāl	očal	čil, naq ^w	leatta	zamin	yer
79	cloud	t:urlu	asoy	cif, bulux	moarx	abr	bulud
80	smoke	purk'u	k'uyn	gum	k'ur	dud	tüstü
81	fire	c'u; cani	arux	c'ay	c'i	āteš	od, alov
82	ash	lax	iq' ~ žeq'	rüq ^h	yoq'	xākestar	kül
83	burn	č:uč'an	bačukt' -	kun, aq:uġun	-āġ-	suxt-	yandırmaq
84	path	x:ullu, ārx:i	yaq'	req ^h	niq'	rāh	yol
85	mountain	zunt:u	burux	saw, daġ	loam	kuh	daġ
86	red	a ⁵ t'ul	čo ⁵ ča ⁵	yaru	c'ie	qermez	al, qırmızı
87	green	š:u ⁵ lli	däy, gög	q:acu	beac:ara	sabz	yaşıl
88	yellow	qaqi	ne ⁵ šum	q ^h ipi	wažaġa	zard	sarı
89	white	k'a ⁵ la	mac'i	lacu	k'ay	sefid	aġ
90	black	luq'i	ma ⁵ yin	č'ulaw	wearža	siyāh	qara
91	night	ħ:u	šu, bias	yif	biysa	šab	gecə
92	hot	k'iri	iġarix	ifey	d ⁵ ayx	dāġ	isti
93	warm	heli	gam	čimi	mela	garm	ılıq
94	cold	da ⁵ rqu	mi	meq'i	šiyla	sard	soyuq
95	full	durc'u; dia ⁵ l, uc	buy	ac'ay	-izā-	pur	tam, bütöv
96	new	c'u	tāzā, hāsā, ini	c'i ⁵ yi	kerda	tāze	yeni
97	good	x:ui	šawat', šel	k ^h san	dika	xub	yaxşı
98	round	k:urk:i	k'ak'anik'	elq: ^w ey	geriga	gerd	kirdə
99	dry	q'awq'un	q'ari	q'uru	yaq'a	xošk	quru
100	name	c'a	c'i	t'°ar	c'i	nām	ad

[up]

6. Sample text with interlinear glosses (Žirkov 1955:140-141)

Text in original orthography (slightly corrected):

Аттитти бивкІун бур кѣабивкІун бур кѣабивкІунгу циванссия ца шяраву ца Дигьил Абли тІисса ца кѣуржа ивкІун ур. Ганал бивкІун бур ца хъинну кІулли бугъайсса ччиту. Га ччитул цІагу маракІан диркІун дур. маракІаннул кІулли бугълай Дигьил АличІа ацІния ххюра шин бартларгун бур. Ца къини бувккун маракІаннул Аблихъ увкуну бур. Аблий ттул ххирасса халлу ттул вичІа кѣуллугъ буллай ацІния ххюра шинни. Утти на хъунмагу хъанан бивкІун бура янин чанигу чан хъанан бивкІун бур ккарччивгу дагълай дур утти ттун нава бивчІаннин хІажелийн гъан чай бур. На вихъ хъинну тавакъю буллай бура на хІажелийн тІайла букки куну. Дигьил Аблил куну бур: Агъ ттул ххирасса ччитуй ттун гъаксса кѣаччиссия ина ттуятува личІин хъуну амма цивави тти вин муқун ччан бивкІунахъур вин ччимур банна. На ина хъиннува ххарину тІайла букканна куну бур. Мичча

Дигьил Аьлил мугьлат бакъа ивсса ивну ххуллинмай хъинхъинсса азихъру хIадур бувну бур. Ччат бившуну чулу ччанну шархъун бакъухъру аьрайн гъавкуртту бувну бур. Яла хъунмасса дяъватгу бивчуну ччиту хIажелин тIайла бувккун бур. Бавчуну бур маракIан бюхттулсса барзунттайх майдансса ардайх хъунмасса ратIавух азихърал ххуржинттугу хъарайх дирицуну. Най най га азихъгу бухлавгун бувххун ккагуккашилну гъарахъхъун биривну атилгу хъуну. ЧIарахърал вацIравун бивну бур. МаракIаннул тикку вацIлул дянивсса ца къанив гъантта бикIан къасттирай ликказанну дурну дур. ЦIан лакълан диркIун дур. МаракIан дякъия ца буххансса кIанттух лаглан бивкIун бур. Яла ганин цакуну ца цухъ бакIрайн дагъну цивун бувххун гъургъу дурицуну шанан бивкIун бур.

Transcription with glosses:

at:i-t:i *b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-r* *q:a-b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-r*
 now-RED III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP NEG-III-be-III-\$.be-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP

q:a-b-i-w-k'u-n-gu *ci-w-an-s:-iya* *ca* *ša řa-wu*
 NEG-III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST-FOC what-III-DO:PRES-INF-ASS-PAST:DUR one village-IN:ESS

ca *dihil* *äli* *t'i-s:a* *ca* *q:uža* *i-w-k'u-n* *u-r.*
 one Dihili Äli named-ATTR one old=man I:be-I-\$.PAST-PAST I:be:PRES-nSAP
 'Now, there was, there wasn't - and what to do if there wasn't - in a village an old man named Dihil Äli.'

ga-na-l *b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-r*
 DIST↓-SA[MASC]-GEN III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP

ca *qin-nu* *k'ul-li* *buh-ay-s:a* *č:itu.*
 one good-ADV mouse-PL catch-PRES-ATTR cat.
 'He had a cat that was nicely catching mice.'

ga *č:itu-l* *c'a-gu* *marak'an* *d-i-r-k'u-n* *d-u-r.*
 DIST↓ cat-GEN name-FOC Marakan IV-be-IV-\$.PAST-PAST IV-be:PRES-nSAP
 'And the name of that cat was Marakan.'

marak'an-nu-l *k'ul-li* *buh-la-y* *dihil-Äli-č'a*
 Marakan-SA-ERG mouse-PL catch-DUR-PRES Dihil-Äli-AD:ESS

ac'-n-iy-a *x:u^lra šin* *bart-la-r-gu-n* *b-u-r.*
 ten-SA-SUPER-ABL five-IV year top-go-IV-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'Marakan fulfilled fifteen years of catching mice at Dihil-Äli.'

ca *q'ini* *b-u-w-k:u-n* *marak'an-nu-l*
 one day III-go:PAST-III-\$.PAST-PAST Marakan-SA-ERG

äli-č *u-w-ku-nu* *b-u-r.*
 Äli-ADESS III:say-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'One day passed (by), [and] Marakan said to Äli:

äli-y *t:ul* *x:ira-s:a* *xallu* *t:ul* *wič'a* *q:ulluğ*
 Äli-VOC I:POSS lovely-ATTR lord I:GEN you:SG:AD:ESS service

b-ul-l-ay *ac'-n-iy-a* *x:u^lra šin-ni.*
 III-do:PRES:DUR-DUR-PRES ten-SA-SUPER-ABL five-IV year-nSAP
 'Oh may belvoed lord, my serving you ist (now for) fifteen years.'

ut:i *na* *qun-ma-gu* *qan-an* *b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-ra*
 now I:ABS old-III-FOC become:DUR-INF III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-SAP:SG
 'Now I am becoming old.'

a^lni-n *čani-gu* *čan* *qan-an*
 eye-SA-DAT light-FOC few become:DUR-INF

b-i-w-k'u-n *b-u-r*
 III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'And the light has diminished with respect to [my] eyes.'

k:arč:i-w-gu *d-ah-l-ay* *d-u-r*
 tooth-PL-FOC IV-fall=out-DUR-PRES IV-be:PRES-nSAP
 'And [my] teeth are falling out.'

ut:i *t:un* *na-wa* *b-i-w-č'-an-ni-n*
 now I:DAT I-III:REF III-die-III-\$.PRES-INF-SA[-MASC]-DAT

haž-li-y-n *h-an* *č-ay* *b-u-r*
 hadzh-SA-SUPER-ALL go-INF want-PRES III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'Now I want to go on the hadzh before (lit: to) I die.'

na *wiċ* *qin-nu* *tawaq:u^f* *b-ul-l-ay* *b-u-ra*
 I:ABS you:SG:ADESS good-ADV plea III-do:DUR-DUR-PRES III-be:PRES-SAP:SG

na *haž-li-y-n* *t'ayla* *b-uk:-i* *ku-nu*
 I:ABS hadzh-SA-SUPER-ALL directly III-let=go-IMP:TRANS:2SG say:PAST-PAST
 'I am asking you [very] much to let [me] go on the hadzh.'

dihil-äli-l *ku-nu* *b-u-r.*
 Dihil-Äli-ERG say:PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'Dihil-Äli said:'

ah *t:ul* *x:ira-s:a* *č:itu-y* *t:un* *hak-s:a*
 oh I:POSS lovely-ATTR cat-VOC I:POSS sure-ATTR

q:a-č:i-s:iya *ina* *t:u-y-atu-wa* *lič'in* *ġu-nu*
 NEG-wish:PRES-ASS-PAST:DUR you:SG I:OBL-SUPER-ABL-and let-INF become:PAST-PAST
 'Oh my beloved cat, I wouldn't really want to let you (away) from me.'

amma *ci-w-a-wi* *t:i* *win*
 but what-III-do-POT:nSAP now you:SG:DAT

mukun *č:a-n* *b-i-w-k'u-n-aġur*
 so wish-INF III-be-III-\$.PAST-PAST-GER:MOD

win *č:i-mur* *b-a-n-na.*
 you:SG:DAT wish:PRES-ATTR:III III-do:PRES-INF-SAP:SG
 'But what can I do? - now that you are wishing so (much), I will do what you want.'

na *ina* *qin-nu-wa* *x:ari-nu* *t'ayla*
 I:ABS you:SG:ABS good-ADV-and happy-ADV directly

b-uk:-an-na *ku-nu* *b-u-r.*
 III-let=go-INF-SAP:SG say:PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 'I will nicely and happily let you go go directly.'

mič:a *dihil-äli-l* *muhlat* *b-a-q:a*
 from=here Dihi-äli-ERG hesitation III-do:PRES-NEG

i-w-s:a *i-w-nu* *x:ul-l-i-n-m-ay*
 I:reach-I-ASS I:reach-I-PAST way-SA-SUPER-ALL-III-DIR

qin-qin-s:a *aziq-ru* *ħadur*
 good-good-ATTR food-PL preparing

b-u-w-nu *b-u-r.*
 III-do:PAST-III-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘Then Dihil-Āli did not hesitate and – reaching and having reached [on] the way he prepared very good food.’

č:at *b-i-w-š:u-nu* *čulu* *č:an-nu* *šar-š-un*
 bread III-bake/hit-III-\$.PAST-PAST dry leg-ADV boil-AC-PAST

baq:uq-ru *ärayn=hawk:ur-t:u* *b-u-w-nu* *b-u-r.*
 halwa-PL milk=bread-PL III-do:PAST-III-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘He baked bread, boil [the meat of] dry legs (= ham) and made halwa (and) milk bread.’

yala *qun-ma-s:a* *da^šwat:-gu* *b-i-w-ču-nu* *č:itu*
 then big-III-ATTR prayer-FOC III-spread-III-\$.PAST-PAST cat

haž-l-in *t’ayla* *b-u-w-k:u-n* *b-u-r.*
 Hadzh-SA-ALL directly III-go-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘Then, having spoken out a strong prayer, the cat went out directly for the Hadzh

b-a-w-ču-nu *b-u-r* *marak’an* *bu šxt:ul-s:a* *barzunt:a-y-x*
 III-go-III-\$.PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP marakan high-ATTR mountain:PL-SUPER-ESS:REG

maydan-s:a *ar-da-y-x* *qun-ma-s:a* *rat'-a-w-ux*
 wide-ATTR plain-PL-SUPER-ESS:REG big-III-ATTR gorge-PL-IN-ESS:REG

aziq-ra-l *x:uržin-t:u-gu* *qa-ra-y-x* *d-i-r-š:u-nu.*
 food-PL-GEN bag-PL-and shoulder-PL-SUPER-ESS:REG IV-hit-IV-\$.PAST-PAST.
 ‘Marakan went on high mountains, wide plains, deep (lit. big) gorges [and] the food bags hit on [its] shoulders.’

n-ay *n-ay* *ga* *aziq-gu* *bux-la-w-gu-n*
 go:DUR:PRES go:DUR:PRES DIST↓ food-and end-go-III-\$.PAST-PAST

b-u-w-x:u-n *k:a-gu-k:ašil-nu* *ğara-š:un*
 III-become=tired-III-\$.PAST-PAST RED-FOC-hungry-ADV rain-ALL

b-iri-w-nu *atil-gu* *šu-nu.*
 III-fall-III-PAST wet-FOC become:DUR:PAST-PAST
 ‘Going, going that food, too, came to an end, it [Marakan] bcame tired, it became very hungry and wet because of the falling rain.’

č’araq-ra-l *wac’-ra-w-un* *b-i-w-nu* *b-u-r.*
 Zakatal-PL-GEN wood-PL-IN-ALL III-go-III -PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘It went into the woods of the Zakatal[s].’

marak’an-nu-l *tik:u* *wac’-lu-l* *da šn-i-w-s:a* *ca* *q’an-i-w*
 Marakan-SA-GEN there wood-SA-GEN middle-SA-IN:ESS-ATTR one clearing-SA-IN:ESS

hant:a *b-ik’-an* *q’ast:-ir-ay*
 24=hours III-be-INF goal-PL-SUPER:ESS

lik:azannu *d-u-r-nu* *d-u-r.*
 sleeping=place IV-reach-IV-\$.PAST IV- be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘There, with the goal to stay 24 hours on a clearing in the middle of the woods, Marakan reached a sleeping place.’

c’an *laq’-l-an* *d-i-r-k’u-n* *d-u-r.*
 darkness close-DUR-INF IV-be-IV-\$.PAST-PAST IV- be:PRES-nSAP
 ‘Darkness started to close [the day].’

marak’an *d-a q’-iya* *ca* *b-ux:-an-s:a* *k’an-t:u-x*
 Marakan IV-freeze-PAST:DUR one III-go=into-INF-ATTR place-PL-POST:ESS

lag-l-an *b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-r.*
 go-DUR-INF III-be-III-\$.:PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP
 Marakan was freezing [and] wanted to [lit. was to] go to a place (where) it could go into.'

yala *ga-ni-n* *cakunu* *ca* *cuq* *bak'-ra-y-n*
 then DIST↓-SA[-MASC]-DAT at=once one hole head-SA-SUPER-ALL

d-ah-nu *ci-w-u-n* *b-u-w-x:u-n*
 IV-fall-PAST what-III-do:PAST-PAST III-go=into-III-\$.:PAST-PAST

ğurğu *d-u-r-cu-nu* *šan-an* *b-i-w-k'u-n* *b-u-r.*
 purr IV-bring=out-IV-\$.:PAST-PAST sleep:DUR-INF III-be-III-\$.:PAST-PAST III-be:PRES-nSAP.
 'Then, suddenly, it realized a hole (lit.: a hole fell onto [its] head) – what has it done? – it went in [and] started to sleep producing a purr.'

7. Statistics (usage-based, extracted from text sample)

1. Statistics of phonemes:

ALL	Total: 1141	Initial	Total: 220	FINAL	Total: 220
<i>a</i>	190	<i>b</i>	58	<i>a</i>	55
<i>u</i>	161	<i>d</i>	18	<i>n</i>	48
<i>n</i>	129	<i>a</i>	13	<i>u</i>	44
<i>i</i>	102	<i>c</i>	13	<i>r</i>	24
<i>r</i>	65	<i>m</i>	11	<i>l</i>	14
<i>l</i>	61	<i>q</i>	10	<i>i</i>	11
<i>b</i>	55	<i>č:</i>	8	<i>y</i>	10
<i>w</i>	48	<i>n</i>	7	<i>x</i>	5
<i>y</i>	31	<i>x:</i>	7	<i>t</i>	2
<i>d</i>	21	<i>w</i>	6	<i>š</i>	2
<i>k'</i>	19	<i>i</i>	5	<i>ğ</i>	1
<i>t:</i>	19	<i>q:</i>	5	<i>h</i>	1
<i>g</i>	17	<i>š</i>	5	<i>q</i>	1
<i>m</i>	17	<i>t:</i>	5	<i>u^ʔ</i>	1
<i>q</i>	17	<i>č</i>	4	<i>w</i>	1
<i>s:</i>	15	<i>g</i>	4		
<i>c</i>	14	<i>h</i>	4		
<i>h</i>	14	<i>l</i>	4		
<i>č:</i>	11	<i>l'</i>	4		
<i>k:</i>	10	<i>h</i>	3		
<i>t</i>	10	<i>k</i>	3		
<i>x:</i>	10	<i>k'</i>	3		
<i>q:</i>	8	<i>u</i>	3		
<i>x</i>	8	<i>c'</i>	2		
<i>ä</i>	7	<i>ğ</i>	2		
<i>k</i>	7	<i>k:</i>	2		
<i>č</i>	6	<i>q'</i>	2		
<i>c'</i>	6	<i>t</i>	2		
<i>š</i>	6	<i>š</i>	2		
<i>š</i>	6	<i>x̂</i>	2		
<i>x̂</i>	6	<i>y</i>	2		
<i>a^ʔ</i>	5	<i>č'</i>	1		
<i>č'</i>	5	<i>r</i>	1		
<i>q'</i>	5	<i>x</i>	1		
<i>t'</i>	5				
<i>z</i>	5				
<i>ž</i>	5				
<i>ğ</i>	4				
<i>h</i>	4				
<i>k'</i>	4				

<i>u^f</i>	4
<i>š</i>	2
<i>'</i>	1
<i>s</i>	1
<i>x:</i>	1

1141 phonemes in 220 words: 5.18 Phonemes per word

	ALL	Initial	Final
Vowels:	308	21	111
Consonants:	833	199	109 (of them <i>sonants</i>: 97)

Compare overall frequency (based on 86524 tokens, usage-based):

<i>a</i>	14737	<i>č</i>	1414	<i>ä</i>	298
<i>u</i>	8988	<i>o</i>	1195	<i>k:</i>	298
<i>i</i>	6986	<i>g</i>	1051	<i>q:</i>	296
<i>r</i>	6553	<i>c</i>	897	<i>x:</i>	291
<i>l</i>	6285	<i>x</i>	800	<i>š:</i>	267
<i>n</i>	5839	<i>z</i>	736	<i>t'</i>	247
<i>y</i>	3371	<i>p</i>	726	<i>x:</i>	242
<i>v</i>	3112	<i>č'</i>	653	<i>a</i>	211
<i>d</i>	2658	<i>š</i>	643	<i>h</i>	211
<i>e</i>	2257	<i>t:</i>	531	<i>q'</i>	189
<i>s:</i>	2253	<i>q</i>	513	<i>ğ</i>	116
<i>t</i>	2231	<i>ö</i>	433	<i>c'</i>	98
<i>b</i>	2137	<i>ê</i>	391	<i>f</i>	61
<i>m</i>	1916	<i>ž</i>	390	<i>p:</i>	38
<i>k</i>	1843	<i>h</i>	373	<i>p'</i>	2
<i>s</i>	1428	<i>k'</i>	329		86534

2. Morphemes in Text Sample (with frequencies):

Morpheme	FUNCTION		FREQUENCY
<i>-a, -atu</i>	ABL	Ablative	3
<i>-x̄</i>	ADESS	Adessive	1
<i>-nu</i>	ADV	Adverbial	6
<i>-x̄:un</i>	ALL (2)	Allative	1
<i>-in, -un, -n</i>	ALL (1)	Allative	6
<i>-x̄</i>	AC	Anticausative	1
<i>-s:</i>	ASS	Assertive	2
<i>-s:a</i>	ATTR	Attributive	13
<i>-w, Ø-</i>	I	Class I	9
<i>b-, -w-, -wa-, -ma</i>	III	Class III	78
<i>d-, -r-, -ra</i>	IV	Class IV	20
<i>-n</i>	DAT	Dative	3
<i>-l, -la</i>	DUR	Durative	6
<i>-x, -ux</i>	ESS.REG	Essive (region)	4
<i>-l</i>	ERG	Ergative	4
<i>-gu</i>	FOC	Focus	10
<i>-l</i>	GEN	Genitive	7
<i>-ax̄ur</i>	GER:MOD	Gerund Modal	1
<i>-i</i>	IMP:TRANS:2SG	Imperative, transitive	1
<i>-w, -wu</i>	IN:ESS	Inessive	3
<i>-an, -in, -n</i>	INF	Infinitive	14
<i>-q:a-</i>	NEG	Negation	4
<i>-r, -ni</i>	nSAP	Non-Speech Act Participant	22
<i>-n, -nu, -un</i>	PAST	Past	37

<i>-iya</i>	PAST:DUR	Past (imperf./durative)	3
<i>-da, -ir, -li, -ra., -ru, -t:u, -w</i>	PL	Plural	14
<i>-wi</i>	POT:nSAP	Potential nSAP	1
<i>-x</i>	POST:ESS	Postessive	1
<i>-ay, -y</i>	PRES	Present	8
<i>-na, -ra</i>	SAP:SG	Speech Act Participant Sg	4
<i>-i, -li, -lu, -n, -nu, -ra</i>	SA	Stem augment	11
<i>-na</i>	SA[MASC]	Stem augment	1
<i>-ni</i>	SA[MASC]	Stem augment	3
<i>-iy, -y, -i, -ay</i>	SUPER	Super	19
<i>-y</i>	VOC	Vocative	2
SUM			328

220 tokens with 328 morphemes = 1.49 morphemes per word.

[up]

8. Some references [Note: this list is not exhaustive!]

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Some Links

Audio recordings of a Lak tale (+ text and glosses) by Victor Friedman:

<http://home.uchicago.edu/%7Evfriedm/courses.html> > Number 24600/34600

Ethnologue entry: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=lbe

Lak on the internet: <http://www.lakia.net/>

Lak Forum: <http://lakia.fastbb.ru>

Lak presentation: <http://www.dagens.narod.ru/lak/lakku.htm>