Batsbi[1]

1. Introduction

Batsbi (ISO 639-3: bbl) is a Northeast Caucasian language of the Nakh subgroup. It has been known by several names: Batsbi, Bats, Tsova-Tush, and variations thereof. The first two names are derived from the endonym of the Batsbi people: *bacav* in the singular and *bacbi* in the plural. The other language names derive from the toponym of the speakers' ancestral homelands: the Tusheti region of Georgia, specifically the Tsova valley (Tsovata).

1.1. Area and speakers

Today Batsbi is spoken almost exclusively in the village of Zemo Alvani in the Kakheti region of Georgia, which has become the year-round residence of the Batsbi community. Some Batsbi speakers have moved instead to urban centers or abroad for employment or education.

Figure 1 The location of Zemo Alvani, Georgia, where Batsbi is spoken. Map tiles by Stamen Design (CC-BY-3.0). Data by OpenStreetMap (ODbL).

Neither the total population of the Batsbi minority group nor the number of speakers is known. Most publications reporting population or speaker data for Batsbi give a number in the range of 2,500-3,200 (e.g., Holisky & Gagua 1994; Simons & Fennig 2017, citing Salminen 2007; Comrie 2008). This estimate appears to be a result of an expedition

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conducted in the 1960s (Kolga 2001); the present-day population is certainly much smaller. An apparent sociolinguistic survey by Gigašvili (2014) reports 160 speakers under the age of 40 whose fluency in Batsbi is at least "good"; Gigašvili does not estimate the number of speakers of the older age group, which comprises the majority of Batsbi speakers today.

1.2. Dialects

As Batsbi today is spoken in a single village, it cannot be divided into dialects. Variation is most likely associated with a speaker's gender, generation, and degree of language exposure.

1.3. Sociolinguistic situation

There are no monolingual speakers of Batsbi; all speakers are also fluent in Georgian. As estimated above, less than half of people of Batsbi heritage speak the language, with a smaller portion of speakers in each new generation. Even among fluent Batsbi speakers, Georgian is nevertheless the main language of communication, and speakers often report feeling more competent in Georgian or finding Georgian easier to use. Many Batsbi speakers are competent in Russian as well.

No sociolinguistic studies have been conducted in the Batsbi community, aside from Gigašvili's survey of bilingualism (2014). Although the full details of the study are not provided, Gigašvili states that "only the generation of grandparents and elders speak" Batsbi, that the parent generation understands but does not use the language with children, and children do not learn Batsbi as their mother tongue (Gigašvili 2014: 25).

1.4. State of research

The major grammars of Batsbi are, in order of publication, Schiefner 1856 (German), Dešeriev 1953 (Russian), Holisky and Gagua 1994 (English, a grammatical sketch), Sanik'iʒe 2010 (Georgian). Schiefner's Batsbi grammar was one of the first grammars of a Caucasian language.

A Batsbi-Georgian-Russian dictionary with 7,088 entries remains one of the most important descriptive works on Batsbi (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984).[2] Although published in 1984, the materials for the dictionary were collected half a century earlier.

Batsbi was one of the subjects of the documentation project ECLinG sponsored by DoBeS (the Volkswagen Foundation) from 2002-2006 (Gippert et. al 2006). Materials from that project are archived at The Language Archive.

Recently, materials on Batsbi have been published by scholars at Telavi State University. These materials include several volumes of Batsbi texts with Georgian translation and an update of the 1984 dictionary in three volumes (Bertlani et al. 2013, 2012; Bertlani et al. 2018).

[2] Both authors learned much of what they know about Batsbi from Holisky and Gagua (1994) and Kadagiʒe and Kadagiʒe (1984). Therefore, it is impossible to cite every use we have made of these two works, but we have specifically cited only the most substantial items, such as sentence examples.

In spite of this long history of description, many aspects of Batsbi grammar remain sorely understudied.

1.5. Language history

The first historical records that apparently mention the Batsbi people date to the 6th or 7th centuries (Dešeriev 1953), or perhaps even earlier (Topchishvili 2009), although their distinct language was not mentioned in historical accounts until the eighteenth century (Bertlani et al. 2012). From the earliest historical records until the early 19th century, the Batsbi people already lived in the mountains of Tusheti and practiced transhumance, whereby some of the population migrated with their livestock, chiefly sheep, to lowland pastures around the Alazani river basin during the winter (Šavxelišvili 2001). The Batsbis' mountain territory fell in the region of Tsovata, which comprised eight Batsbi villages located in close proximity to one another (Šavxelišvili 2001; Dešeriev 1953). The neighboring peoples of Tusheti belonged to Georgian-speaking groups.

Even during this period, when Batsbi speakers still lived primarily in the mountains, there was sufficient contact with Georgian to introduce large numbers of loanwords into Batsbi (Dešeriev 1953); Schiefner's 1856 grammar already mentions extensive Georgian borrowing. A period of stable bilingualism most likely presided for several centuries before the current trend toward Georgian monolingualism began. This shift began at least as early as the 18th century (Šaniʒe 1970), but was sped along by natural disaster in the 19th century: in 1830, the Batsbi village of Sagirta was destroyed by a flood and ensuing landslide, at the same time that an outbreak of the black plague decimated the population of four other villages (Topchishvili 2009). Following these disasters, Batsbis began to resettle in the lowlands, with fewer and fewer people returning to Tusheti in the summers. This led to the present situation, in which the entire population of Batsbi speakers live in a single village in the Alazani river basin, Zemo Alvani.

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels and consonants

2.1.1. Consonants

Batsbi has 41 consonant phonemes, as shown in Table 1. Note the following correspondences to the IPA: c = t͡s, c' = t͡s', ʒ = d͡z, č = t͡ʃ, č' = t͡ʃ', ǯ = d͡ʒ š = ʃ, ž = ʒ.

Manner	Airstream	Place of articulation							
		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Post-alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Radical	Glottal
Stop	aspirated	p		t t:		k	q q:	[ʔ]	ʔ
	ejective	p'		t' t':		k'	q' q':		
	voiced	b		d		g			
Affricate	aspirated			c	č				
	ejective			c'	č'				

	voiced			ʒ	ǯ				
Fricative	voiceless			s sː	š	x xː		ħ [ʕ]	h
	voiced		v	z	ž	ɣ			
Nasal	voiced	m		n					
Retroflex	voiced			r					
Lateral fricative	voiceless			ɬ					
Lateral liquid	voiced			l lː					
Glide	voiced				j				

Table 1 Batsbi consonant phonemes

With the exception of the epiglottal /ʡ/ and glottal /ʔ/, stops and affricates can be aspirated, ejective, or voiced. Aspirated stops are produced with a period of aspiration noise after the release, while ejectives are produced with a much shorter voice onset time. Voiced consonants are fully voiced throughout their duration.

There are two bilabial stop phonemes, /p'/ and /p/, although demonstrating their phonemehood is challenging due to their relatively low frequency. There are no minimal pairs contrasting the ejective with the aspirated /p/, but there are a few near minimal pairs for this contrast: *pal* 'fairy tale' vs. *p'al*^{w} '5th day from today'. Speakers easily distinguish these two sounds; however, it remains possible that this contrast is only phonemic due to close contact with Georgian.

There are seven geminate or long consonants (four stops, two fricatives, and one lateral), which are contrastive word-medially and word-finally, but never appear word initially. Hauk (2018) found the chief difference between geminate and singleton stops to be in closure duration, rather than in intensity of the burst or the quality of the voice source. Closure duration of geminate stops was found to be roughly 1.9 times longer than that of singletons. The long fricatives and lateral have not been investigated acoustically. Previous works noting this contrast have traditionally called the long consonants "intensive" or "strong".

Some minimal pairs for the long consonants are *qetar* 'to get up' vs. *qetːar* 'to know'; *it'* 'run' vs. *itː* 'ten'; *eqar* 'these (erg.)' vs. *eqːar* 'to jump'; *d-aq'-d-ar* 'to dry' vs. *d-aq'ː-d-ar* 'to examine, check'; *is* 'that' vs. *isː* 'nine'; *d-axar* 'to live' vs. *d-axːar* 'to drown'; *qali*^{n} 'triplet, threesome' vs. *qalːi*^{n} 'ate (perfective)'. The long lateral /lː/ appears in several perfective verb roots where the corresponding imperfective contains *-bl-*: e.g., *qeblar* 'to put on, cover (imperfective)' vs. *qolːar* 'to put on, cover (perfective)'.

An eighth long or "intensive" consonant, a postalveolar fricative [šː], is reported in some works (e.g., Holisky & Gagua 1994; Bertlani et al. 2013, 2012), only appearing in one word, *ešːin*^{w} 'crazy'.

The fricatives listed as velar, /x, ɣ/, are generally post-velar. The phoneme /v/ is produced as a labiodental fricative [v] in word-initial position before a vowel, while in some other positions, it is pronounced [w]. The distribution of these two variants has not been studied.

The voiceless lateral fricative /ɬ/ is sometimes realized as [l] before a voiced consonant: cf. *aɬi*^{n} [aɬi^{n}] 'said', but *aɬnas* [alnas, elnas] 'I said'. Some minimal pairs contrasting /ɬ/ and /l/ are *meɬa*^{n} 'to drink' vs. *mela*^{n} 'ink', *d-alar* 'to die' vs. *d-aɬar* 'to be born; to appear'.

The voiceless pharyngeal fricative /ħ/ has a wide distribution, appearing in all environments except in a syllable onset following a voiced or ejective consonant. There are minimal pairs contrasting /ħ/ with ∅ and the glottal fricative /h/: *pe* 'side' vs. *pħe* 'village', *ax* 'half' vs. *ħax* 'West Caucasian tur (*Capra caucasica*);' *herc'*^{w} 'pot' vs. *ħerc'*^{w} 'spin.PRS'.

In addition to /ħ/, some accounts have differentiated two other "pharyngeal" segments: one variant is realized as a voiced pharyngeal fricative [ʕ] or as pharyngealization on a subsequent vowel; the second is a stop, most likely an epiglottal [ʡ]. The stop pronunciation occurs only in word-initial position, and there are minimal pairs contrasting this segment with /ħ/ (see Table 2). The fricative variant [ʕ] only occurs in the onset of a syllable after a voiced or ejective consonant, meaning that this realization is in complementary distribution with both the voiceless pharyngeal phoneme /ħ/ and the epiglottal stop. The distribution of radical segments is given in Table 2.

environment	[ħ]	[ʕ]	[ʡ]
word-initial	[ħam] 'all, everyone'		[ʡam] 'study'
in onset after voiced		[bʕok'] 'billy goat' [nʕap'] 'sleep'	
in onset after ejective		[t'ʕak'] 'mud' [k'ʕok'] 'pit, hole'	
in onset after aspirated	[pħu] 'dog' [kħeki^{n}] 'ready'		
intervocalic	[eħat] 'then, at that time'		
word-finally	[daħ] 'away'		

Table 2 Distribution of radical consonants in Batsbi. Shaded cells indicate that the segment has not been observed in the given position.

2.1.2. Vowels

Batsbi has the five cardinal vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/, which have nasalized counterparts as a result of the processes described in §2.4. The phonemic status of long vowels /iː, eː, aː, oː/ has not yet been determined conclusively. In most previous works, vowel length is not marked (as in Dešeriev 1953) or is marked sporadically (as in Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984, Č'relašvili 2007). In this chapter, we do not mark vowel length.

2.2. Phonotactics

Words beginning with a vowel are pronounced with an initial glottal stop. Most consonants can occur at the beginning of words, except /ɬ/ and the long consonants.

Consonant clusters are permitted in all positions. In word-initial position, a frequent cluster type is composed of an aspirated stop or affricate followed by a voiceless fricative,

or an ejective or voiced stop, nasal, or affricate followed by a voiced fricative. The voicing of fricatives is not contrastive in this position.

Occasionally, clusters of three consonants occur word-initially in inherited words (*pst'u* 'wife'), but most of the clusters of more than two consonants in word-initial position are borrowed from Georgian, such as *mt'k'icbaddar* 'assert' and *brʒaneb* 'command'.

2.3. Prosody

Holisky & Gagua (1994: 155) note that stress typically falls on the first syllable of a word, except in oblique forms of some lexical items. In these cases, the stress shifts from the root to the suffix to indicate plural number: *žágno*^{n} 'book.GEN.SG (with stress on the root) vs. *žagnó*^{n} 'book.GEN.PL'. Črelašvili (2002: 201-202) states that when a verb has person-number agreement with its object, stress falls on the first syllable, whereas when it has person-number agreement with its subject, the final syllable is stressed; e.g. *xérc-o-s*^{w} 'changes me', *xerc-ó-s* 'I change s.t.'.

2.4. Morphophonemics

Resolution of hiatus. Vowels may come into hiatus at a morpheme boundary, and one or another may be deleted. For example, the /a/ of the ergative person-number agreement markers (§3.6.2) is deleted after the /o/ marking the present tense, e.g. *let'dos* /let'-d-o-as/ 'I add'.

Syncope and metathesis. Syncope in Batsbi is regular deletion of a vowel when followed by a CV sequence; the first vowel in a word is never deleted. For example, we find *sak'er* 'neck.ABS' ~ *sak'rev* /sak'er-ev/ 'neck-INS', *jeʔen* 'she came' ~ *jeʔnas* /j-eʔ-en-as/ 'I (F) came'. We follow the analysis of Mikeladze (1977). When the vowel preceding the syncopated vowel is not affected, as in the previous examples, we have simple syncope. Under certain circumstances, the remaining vowel is affected. We refer to this as metathesis of the vowel (over the intervening consonant).

Whether syncope or metathesis occurs is determined by the relative openness of the first vowel of the word and that of the deleted vowel. In the following hierarchy openness increases as we go right: i < u < a, e, o.

If the first vowel is more open than the second, we get metathesis; but when the reverse is true, or the openness of the vowels is equal, we find syncope. Since syncope is cross-linguistically common, we concentrate here on examples that involve metathesis. In the speech of most younger speakers, /ai/ is now pronounced [e].

When /i/ is in the second syllable of the stem, /a/ > [ai], /e/ > [ei] > [ii] > [i], /o/ > [oi] > [ui], /u/ > [ui]; e.g. *ʔabik'* 'spoon' ~ *ʔaibk'ev* 'spoon.INST' /ʔabik'-ev/, [u + i] + V → [ui] + V *dust'ir* 's/he was measuring it' ~ *duist'ri* 'was s/he measuring it?' /d-ust'-i-r=i/. When /u/is in the second syllable of the stem, /a/ > [au] > [ai/ou], /e/ > [eu] > [ei] > [ii] > [i], and /o/ > [ou] > [oi] > [ui]; e.g. *ħeč'ur* 's/he used to watch' ~ *ħič'ri* 'did s/he used to watch?' / ħeč'-u-r=i/, *doxur* 'it was wearing out' ~ *duixri* 'was it wearing out?' /d-ox-u-r=i/. Examples and intermediate stages are from Mikelaʒe (1977).

Loss of word-final vowels. Word-final /u/ and /o/ become lip-rounding on the preceding consonant (written here with a raised <w>) or are lost. Word-final front vowels

are lost. All of these follow the patterns described above for syncope and metathesis; for example *mʃair(ĭ)* or *mʃer* /mʃari/ 'fingernail' ~ *mʃari* /mʃari=e/, the form used with the conjunction =*e*; *mauq*^{w} 'razor' ~ *maqu* /maqu=e/, the form with a conjunction; *vot'uicĭ* /v-ot'-u-ci/ 'he really goes' ~ *vuit'ŭ* /v-ot'-u/ 'he goes' (Gagua 1956: 473).

Loss of word-final pharyngeals. In polysyllabic words, the voiceless pharyngeal /ħ/ is often deleted word-finally. Thus *psareħ* 'yesterday' and *tegdinaħ* 'you did it' can be pronounced [psare] and [tegdina], but the final pharyngeal never drops in *joħ* 'girl' and *moħ* 'how'.

Nasalization and nasal assimilation. Word-final /n/ is realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel, e.g. *do*^{n} /don/ 'horse'. Following the custom for Batsbi, the nasalized vowels resulting from this process are written here <i^{n}, e^{n}, a^{n}, o^{n}, u^{n}>. The dative case marker, *-n*, is a systematic exception to this (see §3.2.2). As discussed below (§3.4), pronouns are also partial exceptions. For some (typically younger) speakers, word-final /n/ is deleted altogether.

3. Morphology

3.1. Overview

The chief morphological strategy in Batsbi is suffixation. Prefixation is limited to gender agreement markers (CM, for class marker, separated by a hyphen throughout the text of this chapter) on some verbs, although these markers do not always precede the root. No infixes (in the sense of an affix inserted stem-internally) nor circumfixes have been identified.

In addition to affixation, inflection can take the form of stem-internal changes. Ablaut occurs in the oblique stem of some nouns (*joħ* 'girl.ABS' vs. *jaħ-ov* 'girl-ERG') and in the alternation between imperfective and perfective stems of some verbs (*tag-d-ar* 'make.PFV' vs. *teg-d-ar* 'make.IMPV'). Reduplication is used to intensify or extend meaning: e.g., *k'ac'k'ac'k'o*^{n} 'very small', from *k'ac'k'o*^{n} 'small'; *c'q'arc'q'aren* 'in buckets' (i.e., a great deal of water), from *c'q'ar* 'spring (water source)'. Partial reduplication is also used to form distributive numerals: *ši-š* 'two to each', *qo-q* 'three to each', etc. (Holisky & Gagua 1994: 189). Compounding is both a historic and productive strategy of deriving new lexical items. For example, the verb stem *dak'liv* 'think' most likely originates from a compound of *dok'* 'heart' and *liv* 'say' (although synchronically speakers do not necessarily analyze it this way).

3.2. Nouns

3.2.1. Gender

Batsbi nouns have an inherent grammatical gender, which is identified by the agreement markers that the noun, in both singular and plural, triggers on an agreement target. The most common agreement targets are those verbs and adjectives that incorporate a class marker (see 3.3 for adjectives 3.6.2 for verbs). Additionally, the preverb

d-*ux* 'back', several auxiliaries (***d-****ali* 'be about to, on the verge of', ***d-****ec'* 'should, must', ***d-****olo* 'probably, possibly', and the copula ***d-****a* 'be', which can be used as an auxiliary), and numerals formed with '4' (***d-****ʕivʔ* 'four', ***d-****ʕevʔet'ː* 'fourteen') reflect gender agreement.

The eight genders are listed with their singular and plural markers that affix to agreement targets (class markers, CM) in Table 3.

Singular	**Plural**	**Example**
v	b	*mar* 'husband', *dad* 'father'
j	d	*pst'u* 'wife', *ag* 'grandmother'
j	j	*q'ar* 'rain', *gagaⁿ* 'egg'
d	d	*bader* 'child', *c'a* 'house'
d	j	*lark'* 'ear', *t'ot'* 'hand; paw; branch'
b	b	*borag* 'knit slipper', *k'aloš* 'galosh'
b	d	*ča* 'bear', *p'ʕaⁿ* 'wing'
b	j	*t'ark'* 'finger', *bak* 'mouth'

Table 3 Major noun classes (genders) in Batsbi

Generally, all male humans are in the *v*/*b* class, traditionally class 1, and all nouns in this class are male humans. Similarly, female humans are in the *j*/*d* class, class 2, and all nouns in this class refer to female humans. Words that can refer to males or females, such as 'friend', 'neighbor', or 'child', generally fall into the *d*/*d* class, class 4. Example (1) illustrates the use of *d-* in the verb, 'know', showing agreement with the word *naq'bist'* 'friend' (although this noun can also condition male or female agreement, if the speaker knows the gender of the referent).

(1) ħeⁿ naq'bist' co d-abc' soⁿ
your friend(d/d).ABS NEG CM-know 1SG.DAT
'I don't know your friend'.

Many nouns that do not fall into this semantic category also belong to the *d*/*d* class, such as *doš* 'word', *t'iv* 'bridge', *lav* 'snow'. Three of the classes in Table 3 are very small. Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe (1984) list five words in class *b*/*b*, four of them meaning some kind of shoe; but not all shoes are in this class. Class *d*/*j* contains 9 words, all of them body parts. Class *b*/*j* contains 21 nouns, most representing body parts, but not all body parts are in these two classes.

Among the three remaining classes (*j*/*j, d*/*d, b*/*d*), there are some semantic generalizations. For example, small animals, including cats and immature animals, are in the *d*/*d* class; while medium-sized to large animals are in the *b*/*d* class, including dogs, bears, pigs, horses, goats, and buffalo. In some cases, we can find generalizations based on morphology. For example, masdars (deverbal nouns), including those borrowed from Georgian, are in gender *d*/*d*.

The default gender marker, *d-*, is used when one does not know the gender, for example with question words.

(2) men/meⁿ c'eg-**d**-al-iⁿ ?
who/who red-CM-INTR-AOR
'Who blushed?'

3.2.2. Number and case

Batsbi nouns decline in terms of number (singular and plural) and case. The citation form of a noun is absolutive (nominative) case, which has no distinguishing affixes. The plural is formed most commonly with the suffix *-i*. However, other plural suffixes exist: *-iš, -bi, -mi, -arč, -erč, -ar*, and *-er.* These plural strategies are apparently lexically conditioned and must be memorized on a lexeme-by-lexeme basis. One generalization is that the *-bi* suffix is often used with demonyms (*bacbi* 'Batsbis', *kaxlobi* 'Kakhetians'), although it forms the plural of other lexical items as well. Another suffix, *-ši*, is used for nominalized forms only. Some nouns with their plural forms are illustrated in Table 4.

Some nominal bases undergo ablaut or vowel syncope in the plural and in oblique cases; the oblique/plural stem is the same for all nouns we have observed, except those with suppletive bases in the plural. In the plural of nouns beginning with *j-* in the singular, the initial *j-* is typically dropped, accompanied by a change in the now-initial vowel. A few nouns form plurals by suppletion: *st'ak'* 'man' → *vaser* 'men', *joħ* 'girl' (*jaħ-* oblique stem) → *maxk'ar* 'girls'. Some nouns denoting collectives or abstract concepts have singular forms only: *maq'* 'freedom', *ʔep* 'shame'. A few nouns are always plural: *sani* 'doors', *kaircxi* 'clothes'.

PL suffix	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Gloss (for SG)**	**Morphophonemic processes**
i	sag	sag-i	deer	
	bader	badr-i	child	syncope
	ħac'uk'	ħec'k'-i	birds	ablaut, syncope
iš	niq'	naq'-iš	road	ablaut
	jol	al-iš	hay	ablaut, j-deletion
bi	xeⁿ	xen-bi	tree	nasal reduction (singular)
	qer	qer-bi	rock	
mi	dok'	dak'-mi	heart	ablaut
	kortʷ	kort-mi	head	
arč	pħu	pħ-arč	dog	
erč	k'uit'	k'ot'-erč	cat	diphthongization (singular)
	t'ʕir	t'ʕir-elč	star	l/r dissimilation
ar	k'eč'	k'ač'-ar	(bundle of) wool	ablaut
er	jop'q'	ap'q'-er	ash	ablaut, j-deletion
ši	qaiⁿ	qain-ši	old (one)	nasal reduction (singular)
	k'erbaduin	k'erbaduin-ši	composing (one)	

Table 4 Batsbi plurals by suffix

The associative plural, *-ɣar*, is used for proper names and nouns referring to people to denote that person and associated people: *dadvaš-ɣar* 'uncle and his family', *sabed-ɣar* 'Sabed and her friends'. Case suffixes can be added to these forms, as with other plural suffixes: *k'ok'oš-ɣar-i* 'to the Kokoš's' (directional case).

We count 11 *simple* cases in Batsbi: absolutive, ergative, genitive, dative, instrumental, contact, allative, adverbial, illative, directional, and locative; as well as two *compound* cases: locative-of-allative and locative-of-illative. The two compound cases involve the stacking of the locative case *-ħ* onto another case suffix.

Case	**Suffix**	**Note**
Absolutive	-	suffixed in the plural (Table 4)
Ergative	-s, -v	-s in singular for humans; -v for all plurals and other singulars
Genitive	-^{n}	nasalization on linking vowel
Dative	-n	does not undergo nasalization (most speakers); in plural preceded by linking vowel *-a-*
Allative	-g^{w}	/go/
Contact	-x	in plural preceded by linking vowel *-a-*
Instrumental	-v	
Adverbial	-ɣ	
Illative	-l^{w}	/lo/
Directional	-i	
Locative	-ħ	often dropped due to word-final /ħ/ deletion rule
Locative-of-allative	-go(ħ)	due to word-final /ħ/ deletion rule, often pronounced *-go*
Locative-of-illative	-lo(ħ)	due to word-final /ħ/ deletion rule, often pronounced *-lo*

Table 5 Case suffixes, which attach to the singular or plural oblique stem

The case endings used in noun declension are shown in Table 5. In singular, the case ending is suffixed to a singular oblique stem of the noun. The oblique stem of lexical nouns is formed with a linking vowel (called a 'thematic vowel' by Holisky & Gagua 1994): *-e-*, *-a-*, *-o-,* or *-i*. The linking vowel is not predictable phonologically, nor on any semantic basis, so these should be treated as declension classes. The *e*-class accounts for the greatest number of nouns. In plural, the case ending is directly to the plural-suffixed form, except in dative and contact cases, which use the linking vowel *-a-* in plural. Paradigms for noun declensions are given in Table 6 and Table 7.

	e-class: *bader* 'child'		**a-class**: *mar* 'husband'		**o-class**: *dok'* 'heart'	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	bader	badri	mar	mari	dok'	dak'bi
ERG	badrev	badriv	marav	mariv	dak'av	dak'bav

GEN	badre^{n}	badra^{n}	mari^{n}	mara^{n}	dak’i^{n}	dak’bi^{n}
DAT	badren	badrin	maran	marin	dak’an	dak’bin
ALL	badreg^{w}	badrig^{w}	marag^{w}	marig^{w}	dak’og^{w}	dak’big^{w}
CON	badrex	badrax	marax	marax	dak’ox	dak’bax
INSTR	–	–	–	–	dak’av	dak’bav
ADV	badreɣ	badriɣ	maraɣ	mariɣ	dak’oɣ	dak’biɣ
ILL	badrel^{w}	–	–	–	dak’ol^{w}	dak’bil^{w}
DIR	–	–	–	–	–	–
LOC	–	–	–	–	–	–
ALL/LOC	badrego(ħ)	badrigo(ħ)	margo(ħ)	marigo(ħ)	dak’go(ħ)	dak’bigo(ħ)
LOC/ILL	badrelo(ħ)	badrilo(ħ)	–	–	dak’lo(ħ)	dak’bilo(ħ)

Table 6 Noun declensions for e-class, a-class, and o-class nouns. The root dok’ *‘heart’ undergoes ablaut in all oblique forms. Emdashes represent forms that we were unable to confirm with speakers.*

For nominalized forms, the linking morpheme *-čo-* is used before the case suffix in the singular; in the plural, the case suffix is appended directly to the plural suffix *-ši*. Nominalizations are discussed as a group in §3.2.3; morphologically speaking, they differ from lexical nouns only by the presence of the link *-čo-* in singular oblique forms and *-ši* in plural.

	i-class: *kort^{w}* ‘head’		**nominalizated adjective**: *k’ac’k’o^{n}* ‘small (one)’	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	kort^{w}	kortmi	k’ac’k’o^{n}	k’ac’k’a^{n}
ERG	kortiv	kortmiv	k’ac’k’uičov	k’ac’k’ačuišv
GEN	korti^{n}	kortma^{n}	k’ac’k’uičo^{n}	k’ac’k’ečon
DAT	kortin	kortmin	k’ac’k’uičon	k’ac’k’ačuišn
ALL	kortig^{w}	kortmig^{w}	k’ac’k’u(i)čog^{w}	k’ac’k’ečuišg^{w}
CON	kortix	kortmax	k’ac’k’uičox	k’ac’k’ečox
INSTR	kortiv	kortmiv	k’ac’k’uičov	k’ac’k’ačuišv
ADV	kortiɣ	kortmiɣ	k’ac’k’uičoɣ	k’ac’k’ečuišeɣ
ILL	kortil^{w}	kortmil^{w}	k’ac’k’uičol^{w}	k’ac’k’ečuišol^{w}
DIR	–	–	k’ac’k’uič	–
LOC	korti(ħ)	kortmi	k’ac’k’uič	–
ALL/LOC	kortigo(ħ)	kortmigo(ħ)	k’ac’k’uigo(ħ)	k’ac’k’ečuišgo(ħ)
LOC/ILL	kortilo(ħ)	kortmilo(ħ)	–	k’ac’k’ečuišlo(ħ)

Table 7 Noun declensions for i-class nouns and a nominalized adjective.

Absolutive case is used for direct objects of transitive and dative-subject verbs (described in §4.2), as well as for all subjects of many intransitives. See §4.2.2 for more on the use of absolutive, ergative, dative, allative, and contact cases.

Ergative case is used for the subject of transitive verbs. The *-s* suffix is used only in the singular for nouns belonging to the v/b (male human) and j/d (female human) genders, including proper names: *erist'o-s* 'Eristo-ERG' (a male given name); *nan* 'mother' → *nan-a-s* 'mother-OBL-ERG'. However, not all nouns fitting this description take the *-s* suffix in ergative case, such as *mar-a-v* 'husband-OBL-ERG' (v/b gender). The *-v* suffix is used for all other singular nouns and all plurals in ergative case: *bader* 'child' (class d/d) → *badr-e-v* 'child-OBL-ERG'; *ħaš-i* 'guest-PL' → *ħaš-i-v* 'guest-PL-ERG'.

The genitive case is used chiefly to express possession, part-whole relationships, and materials. It is formed from the oblique stem by adding the suffix *-n*, which is realized as nasalization on the linking vowel. Genitives typically precede another noun: *pħar-a-^{n} muɣ* 'dog's tail', *k'ec'-e-^{n} sindri* 'woolen socks'. Genitive nouns can also serve as the predicate of a copula.

Dative case is used for the indirect object of a verb and for the dative subjects of experiential verbs, as described in §4.2.2. Dative case is also governed by most postpositions (see §3.8). It is formed similarly to the genitive: by suffixing *-n* onto the oblique stem. In dative case, however, this final *-n* does not undergo nasal lenition.

Allative case, is formed with the suffix *-g^{w}*, underlyingly /-go/, where the labialization results from a reduced final -o. As an oblique complement of verbs, allative has a function similar to dative case. For instance, the addressee of verbs of speech is in allative case: *ałin sog^{w}* 'said to me'. It generally denotes motion or attention toward something, such as with the verb *ħeč'ar* 'look at (ALL object)', or going somewhere for the purpose of getting something. Allative is also used for the causee argument in causatives.

Contact case, formed with the suffix *-x*, is used as an oblique complement of some verbs, such *xat'ːar* 'to ask (CON someone)'. Generally, it specifies the point-of-contact relevant to the action, as with *axk'ar* 'to tie (ABS something) to (CON something)' or ***d***-*iš*-***d***-*ar* 'hit' (see example (79). Contact case is also used for the object of comparison (see §4.6). Masdars in contact case are used to build adverbial clauses denoting a reason or purpose (see example (114)).

The instrumental case is used for instruments: *šer dik'-e-v* 'with one's own ax', *xi-v šlang-e-v* 'with the water via the hose'. Instrumental can be difficult to distinguish from ergative case, since the form is typically morphologically identical.

Another use of instrumental case is for the means of transit: *don-e-v* 'by horse', *mankan-e-v* 'by car'. Other uses of instrumental case are harder to generalize: *eq max-e-v* 'for that price', *dʕevuzt'q'a šin šar-e-v* 'for 82 years'.

Adverbial case is used for nouns whose identity has changed or is highlighted by the action of the sentence. That is, arguments of verbs such as ***d***-*erc'ar* 'to turn into', *tag*-***d***-*ar* 'to make (ABS something) into (ADV something else)' as in (3), and ***d***-*isar* 'to remain' are in adverbial case

(3) kor-e-ɣ tag-d-o-s san-i
window-OBL-ADV make-CM-PRS-1SG.ERG door(-/d)-PL
'I will make the door into a window'. (BH2-018 00:29:43- 00:29:56)

(4) as qer { xi-l^{w} / ħun-l^{w} / k'alt-i } quis-n-as
1SG.ERG stone { water-ILL / forest-ILL / basket-DIR } throw-AOR-1SG.ERG
'I threw a stone into the { water / forest / basket }'. (BH2-057 00:04:31)

The illative case, formed with *-l^{w}*, denoting motion into something, is restricted to nouns denoting collectives, masses, and liquids (Holisky & Gagua 1994). The cases on the target in (9) (*xi-l^{w}* 'into the water', *ħun-l^{w}* 'into the forest' *kalt-i* 'to the basket') illustrate the semantic variations in this context.

Directional case, formed with *-i*, denotes motion toward something, much like allative case. The distinction seems to be that directional case is restricted to nouns denoting places: *c'en-i* (house.OBL-DIR) 'to the house', *abnu-i* (bath-DIR) 'to the bath'. Locative case, formed with *-ħ,* denotes location at such a place. In the locative case, irregularities stem from the fact the suffix *-ħ* often deletes under the word-final ħ-deletion rule discussed in §2.1.1. Thus, locative case is typically identified by a bare linking vowel that has not undergone any sort of reduction: *sk'ola* 'school' in locative case is /sk'ol-e-ħ/ [sk'ole].

Finally, the two complex cases, locative-of-allative and locative-of-illative, are formed from the locative case *-ħ* suffixed to allative and illative case nouns, respectively. Due to the word-final ħ-deletion rule, these forms are only distinguished by their unreduced final vowels. Since the two complex cases involve the addition of a separate syllable to the base, syncope sometimes occurs: e.g., *mar-a-go-ħ* (husband-OBL-ALL-LOC) can be realized as [margo].

The basic meaning of both complex cases is a stationary version of the case from which they were formed. Additionally, locative-of-allative is used in forming the basic construction expressing ownership (in English, 'to have'), and illustrated below in example (5).

(5) o jaħ-go-ħ=a t'at'en kok'-i j-a
that girl.OBL-ALL-LOC =& wet foot(b/j)-PL CM-be
'And that girl has wet feet'. (BH2-044 00:04:40)

These are the cases we identify as part of the Batsbi noun declension system. Previous analysts have considered some additional elements to be case suffixes as well: e.g., comitive case,*-ci^{n}*, caritive case *-c'i^{n}*, and numerous simple and complex directional cases. We treat *-ci^{n}* '-with, -ful' and *-c'i^{n}* '-less' as derivational suffixes (see §3.3) and directionals as postpositions (see §3.8).

3.2.3. Nominalization

Participles, adjectives, possessives, numerals, or genitive-case nouns can be suffixed with a linking morpheme *-čo-* and used as a nominal head. This is a remarkably

unrestricted process in Batsbi. Example (6) shows an absolutive-case nominalization from a genitive noun, where the only difference between the attributive use of *vaše*^{n} 'brother's' and its nominal use is the presence or absence of the head nominal *do*^{n} 'horse'. Of course, it could be that the head noun is simply elided in this construction, as in the English translation 'My brother's is here;' indeed, the agreement marker on the verb still reflects the gender of the missing nominal. The examples in (7) and (8) show the morphological differences in oblique cases of the derived nominals, reflecting the change in syntactic structure. In (7)(a) and (8)(a), the head nouns are in ergative case, *donev* 'horse' and *st'ak'ov*, which are modified by a genitive noun and a participle, respectively. In (7)(b) and (8)(b), where the nominals are no longer expressed, the ergative case suffix instead appears on the modifiers after the linking morpheme *-čo-*. Any constituent modifying a noun can apparently be nominalized via this process; i.e., by affixing oblique case markers to the *-čo-* form of the modifier.

(6) se^{n} vaš-e-^{n} (do^{n}) ese b-a[3]
my brother-OBL-GEN (horse(b/d)) here CM-be
'My brother's horse is here'. ('My brother's is here'.)

(7) (a) se^{n} vaš-e-^{n} don-e-v qor (ħal) qalː-i^{n}
my brother-OBL-GEN horse-OBL-ERG apple (PV) eat-AOR
'My brother's horse ate an apple'.

(b) se^{n} vaš-e-čo-v qor qalː-i^{n}
my brother-OBL-OBL-ERG apple eat-AOR
'My brother's ate an apple'.

(8) (a) do^{n} lex-vi-č st'ak'-o-v sakm ħal tag-j-e^{n}
horse search.for- PPL-OBL man-OBL-ERG business(j/j) PV do-CM-AOR
'The man searching for a horse did business'.

(b) do^{n} lex-vi-čo-v sakm ħal tag-j-e^{n}
horse search.for- PPL-OBL-ERG business(j/j) PV do-CM-AOR
'The (one) searching for a horse did business'.

3.2.4. Derivation of nouns

All verbs, except the copula ***d****-a,* can be nominalized with the suffix *-ar.* This form is traditionally called the masdar (although the term 'gerund' could apply as well). Masdars are always of gender *d*/*d* and decline as expected for nouns. Because of their regularity, masdars are typically given as the citation form of the verb: *tešar* 'to believe'.

The suffix *-lov* derives nouns denoting people: *do*^{n} 'horse' → *donlov* 'horseman'; *top* 'gun' → *toplov* 'gunman'.

[3] Examples not otherwise identified are from Harris's fieldnotes.

The suffix *-ol* derives abstract nouns, typically of gender *j/j*. The base can be a verb root, as in *at'ar* 'to be quiet' → *at'ol* 'quiet (n.)'; an adjectival root, as in *zora*^{n} 'brave' → *zorol* 'bravery'; or a noun, as in *bad* 'orphan' → *badol* 'orphanhood'. The suffix *-na* also derives abstract nouns, which belong to gender *d/d*: *tiši*^{n} 'old' → *tišna* 'the past, antiquity'; ***d****-apxe*^{n} 'warm' → *dapxna* 'warmth'. Some nouns have both abstract forms in the dictionary: *k'ap'ršna* and *k'apršol* both mean 'yellowness', from *k'ap'raš* 'yellow (adj.)'.

The deverbal suffix *-ila/-uila* derives nouns denoting 'a time and place' where the action happens: ***d****-aq'ar* 'to eat' → *daq'uila* 'conditions where one can eat'; *axk'ar* 'to tie' → *axk'uila* 'place for tying an animal'; *tivar* 'to rest' → *tivuila* 'time and place to rest'. The form *-ila* vs. *-uila* does not appear to be not phonologically conditioned.

3.3. Adjectives

Most adjectives have the ending -V^{n} (e.g. *k'ac'k'o*^{n} 'small') in absolutive case, ending in a nasalized vowel like the genitive of nouns (e.g. *t'atbu*^{n} *ʔaibk'i* 'silver spoons', cf. *t'ateb* 'silver, money'); *lamzur* 'beautiful' is one adjective that does not have this ending. A few adjectives agree for gender-number, as in (9), using a prefix (glossed CM) following the patterns described in §3.2.

(9) b-aqːo-^{n} marɬ, … j-aqːo-^{n} bʕark'-i
CM-big-ADJ nose(b/d) CM-big-ADJ eye(b/j)-PL
'big nose, … big eyes' (from a folktale)

Adjectives may optionally distinguish an absolutive form (the stem) from the oblique form, which is used with all cases other than absolutive. In (10)(10), the adjectives *lamzur* 'pretty' and *q'onu*^{n} (also *q'ono*^{n}) are in their stem form. The oblique formant, *-č*, in (10) is not obligatory in adnominal adjectives, but it can only occur with oblique cases.

(10) (a) lamzur-č q'onu-č jaħ-o-g
pretty-OBL young-OBL girl.OBL-OBL-ADV
'(to the) pretty young girl'

(b) lamzur q'onu^{n} joħ

Adjectives can be derived from the oblique stem of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs. Using the suffix *-lu*^{n}, adjectives denoting time are derived from adverbs; e.g. *lamo* 'day-after-tomorrow' ~ *lam-lu*^{n} 'dating from day-after-tomorrow'. The suffix *-(a)re*^{n} */-li*^{n} */-(a)le*^{n} can be used to form proprietive adjectives from nouns; e.g. *bʕagal* 'wart' ~ *bʕaglare*^{n} 'warty, having warts', *butː* 'moon, month' ~ *baitːli*^{n} 'having moonlight, with a moon'. The adjective *qerbale*^{n} 'rocky' seems to be formed from the plural of the noun; cf. *qer* 'rock', *qerbi* 'rocks'. This affix can also derive adjectives from adverbs; e.g. ***d****-ux* 'back, behind' ~ ***d****-ux-li*^{n} 'stubborn'. The suffix *-re*^{n} can form noun modifiers from adverbs; e.g. *nʕaiʔ* 'out' ~ *nʕaiʔ-re*^{n} 'outer, outside'. The suffix *-ɣe*^{n} forms adjectives meaning 'like, similar to' from nouns and pronouns; e.g. *k'nat* 'boy' ~ *k'nat-ɣe*^{n} 'boyish', *vai* 'we INCL' ~ *vai-ɣe*^{n} 'like us, ours'. From adjectives, one can form adjectives meaning 'slightly'; e.g. *k'uin*

'white' ~ *kui-k'a* 'whitish' (Črelašvili 2002: 135). With *-c'i*^{n}, privatives are formed from nouns; e.g. *bos* 'color' ~ *bas-c'i*^{n} 'colorless'. The same suffix can be used with verbal bases; e.g. ***d****-it:ar* 'wash' ~ ***d****-it:-c'i*^{n} 'unwashed'. Affirmative adjectives can also be derived from verbs; e.g. ***d****-epš-ar* 'crumble' ~ ***d****-epš-rik'* 'easily crumbled'. Participles are discussed in §3.6.7.

Comparatives are derived with the suffix *-V(v)x*$^{(w)}$; e.g. *ɣaze*^{n} 'good' ~ *ɣazeivx*^{w}, *ɣazivx*^{w} 'better'. Superlatives are formed by adding *-č* to the comparative, e.g. *ɣazexuč* 'best'. It is not clear that this superlative form can be used with all adjectives. A more common strategy for forming superlative is to use the basic form of the adjective plus *ħamaxe?* 'most', e.g., *ħamaxe? bapxe*^{n} *but:* 'the hottest month'.

3.4. Pronouns and related forms

Several pronouns have the vowel [e], which may be pronounced instead with the diphthong [ai]. Some pronoun forms end in /n/, which can be realized as [n], nasalization of the vowel, or zero. We have written expected forms here.

Personal pronouns, except the inclusive, have full declensions on the model of the noun, though only four cases are shown in our tables. Demonstrative pronouns are used for third persons; see Table 9.

	1st singular	2nd singular	1st inclusive	1st exclusive	2nd plural
Abs	so	ħo	txo	ve/vai	šu
Erg	as	aħ	atx	ve	eš
Dat	son	ħon	txon	ven	šun
Gen	se^{n}	ħe^{n}	txe^{n}	vai^{n}	šu^{n}

Table 8 Personal pronouns, first and second person

Possessive personal pronouns are nominalized genitive personal pronouns, and in the absolutive case are the same as the genitive case of the personal pronoun: *se*^{n} 'my', *ħe*^{n} 'your (SG)', *etc*. Their oblique stems are formed regularly with *-čo*. Example (11)(a) illustrates a possessive adjective, while (11)(b) illustrates a possessive pronoun.

(11) (a) se don-e-v qor qal:-i^{n}
my horse-OBL-ERG apple eat-AOR
'My horse ate an apple'.

(b) se-čo-v qor qal:-i^{n}
my-OBL-ERG apple eat-AOR
'Mine ate an apple'.

Possessive personal adjectives are used only with a head noun. The form in the absolutive case is the same as the genitive of the personal pronoun. In all oblique cases the form is *se* 'my', *ħe* 'your (SG)', *txe* 'our (EXCL), *ve* 'our (INCL)', *šu* 'your (PL)'.

Demonstrative pronouns make a three-way distinction, with the third here translated as 'yon'. Table 9 shows the declension of demonstratives as independent pronouns. These are also used as third person pronouns, as shown in examples (12)-(13).

		'this one'	'that one'	'yon one'
Singular	ABS	e	i, is	o
	ERG	equs	icxus	oqus
	DAT	equin	icxuin	oquin
	GEN	equiⁿ	icxuiⁿ	oquiⁿ
Plural	ABS	ebi	ibi, isbi, ibsi	obi
	ERG	eqar	icxar	oqar
	OBL stem	eqar-	ixcar-	oqar-

Table 9 Demonstrative pronouns

(12) equs oquin doⁿ b-aɬ-iⁿ
this.one.ERG that.one.DAT horse(b/d) CM-give-AOR
'This one gave a horse to that one'. ('S/he gave a horse to him/her'.)

(13) gela-s-a manane-s-a daħ d-oxk'-iⁿ oqriⁿ c'a
Gela-ERG-& manana-ERG-& PV CM-sell-AOR their.GEN house(d/d)
'Gela$_i$ and Manana$_i$ sold their$_j$ house'.

Demonstrative adjectives, given in Table 10, are used adnominally. Other demonstrative adjectives include *ešt'(r)u*ⁿ 'this kind of', *išt'(r)u*ⁿ 'this kind of', *ošt'(r)u*ⁿ 'that kind of'.

	'this'	'that'	'yon'
ABS	e	is	o
OBL	eq	icx	oq

Table 10 Demonstrative adjectives

The **reflexive pronoun** *šar* is declined as in Table 11. In our data, this formerly third-person form seems to have taken over as the reflexive pronoun regardless of person, where the former pronouns are apparently only retained in dative case: *suinen* '(for) myself', *ħuinen* '(for) yourself', *txuinen* '(for) ourselves (EXCL)', *venen* '(for) ourselves (INCL), *šuinen* '(for) yourselves; for themselves'.

ABS	šariⁿ
ERG	šarvan
DAT	šarn
GEN	šariⁿ

Table 11 Reflexive pronouns

Forms of the **possessive reflexive** are given in Table 12. In some cases, the oblique stems in first and second person do not differ from the non-reflexive form. Like the

reflexive pronoun, this paradigm appears to be collapsing, and the third-person forms may used for other persons (*šari*^{n} as a general singular and *šui*^{n} as a general plural).

	Absolutive	Oblique stem
1SG	saiⁿ	sai-, se-
2SG	ħaiⁿ	ħai-, he-
3SG	šariⁿ	šer-
1INCL	vaiⁿ	ve-
1EXCL	txaiⁿ	txe-
2PL	šuiⁿ	šui-
3PL	šuiⁿ	šui-

Table 12 Possessive reflexives

(14) manana-s šer naq'bist'-en kor-ui čukba-d-ieⁿ
Manana-ERG self friend-DAT glove(d/d)-PL give-CM-AOR
'Manana$_i$ gave gloves to her$_i$ friend'.

(15) gela-s-a manane-s-a daħ d-oxk'-iⁿ šuiⁿ c'a
Gela-ERG-& manana-ERG-& PV CM-sell-AOR self.GEN house(d/d)
'Gela$_i$ and Manana$_i$ sold their$_i$ house'.

Reciprocal pronouns have the form *vaš(b)a*^{n} in the absolutive and genitive case, and *vašbin* or *vašban* in the dative.

Interrogative pronouns include *me*^{n} 'who' (oblique stem *ħan-*), *vux* 'what' (oblique stem *st'e(n)-*), *menux* 'which one' (oblique stem *menxuičo-*), *molu*^{n} 'what kind of' (oblique stem *molučo-*), *meɬ* 'how much, how many' (oblique stem *meɬe-*), *maclu*^{n} 'from when' (oblique stem *maclučo-*), *mičre*^{n} 'from where' (oblique stem *mičrečo-*). Some of these, such as *menux* 'which (one)', can be used as an independent pronoun or as an adnominal adjective. Interrogative adverbs: *mič, miča* 'where', *maca*^{n} 'when', *maclomci*^{n} 'until when', *vu*^{n} 'why', *moħ* 'how'.

	'who'	'what'	'which one'
ABS	meⁿ	vux	menux
ERG	ħaⁿ	st'ev	menxuičov
DAT	ħann	st'en, s'tenn	menxuičon
GEN	ħeⁿ, ħain	st'in	menxuičoⁿ

Table 13 Interrogative pronouns

(16) o st'ak'-o-v menux v-ik'-eⁿ?
that man-OBL-ERG which.one(v/b) CM-take-AOR
'Which one (who) did that man take (away)?'

(17) macaⁿ d-eɬ-ʷ
when CM-be.born-PRS
'When will it be born?'

Possessive interrogatives are nominalized genitive interrogative pronouns. They are declined regularly.

	whose	what's
ABS	ħeⁿ	st'in
ERG	ħenčov	st'inčov
DAT	ħenčon	st'inčon
GEN	ħenčoⁿ	st'inčoⁿ

Table 14 Possessive interrogatives

Indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns: *memli, memni* 'someone (specific)' (oblique stem *ħam*-), *menax* 'someone (non-specific)' (oblique stem *ħanax, ħanaxčo*-, plural *menax(š)i*), *vum* 'something (specific)', *vunax* 'something (non-specific)' (oblique stem *st'enaxčo*-). Indefinite adverbs include *macax* 'sometime (non-specific)', *mičħe-mičħe* 'somewhere (specific)' *mičax* 'somewhere (non-specific).

	'someone (specific)'	'someone (non-specific)'
ABS	memli	menax
ERG	ħamas	ħanax, ħanaxčov
DAT	ħamen	ħanaxčon

Table 15 Indefinite pronouns

(18) jet: ebc'-ʷ=i ħam-as ħon-en?
cow milk-PRS=Q someone-ERG 2SG.DAT-for
'Does someone milk the cow for you?'

(19) ...c'ʕairkoⁿ išt'ainʷ ese dapartx-na-d-al-in vunax....
suddenly this.way here flutter-NMLZ-CM-INTR-AOR something(d/d)
'Suddenly, suddenly something fluttered this way...'. (Kadagiʒe 2009: 58)

Quantifier pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns with *-aʔ*, which follows case markers. This suffix also serves as a general intensifier (see §3.8). The general *vumaʔ* 'all, everyone, everything' uses the oblique stem *ħami*-. The word *daniʔ* 'everything, everyone, all', is used occasionally. Quantifying adjectives include the adnominals *ħamaʔ* 'every, all', *duq* 'much, many'.

	'all, everyone, everything'
ABS	vumaʔ
ERG	ħamaʔ, ħamivaʔ
DAT	ħaminaʔ

Table 16 Quantifier pronouns

(20) e pst'uin-čo-v ħamin-aʔ qor-i d-aɬ-iⁿ
this woman-OBL-ERG all.DAT-INTS apple(b/d)-PL CM-give-AOR
'This woman gave apples to everyone'.

Negative pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns with the prefixation of *co-* for general negation, or *ma-* for prohibitives: *comena* 'no one, anyone' (oblique stem *coɦan-*), *com* 'nothing, anything' (oblique stem *cost'en-*), *mamena* 'no one, anyone' (oblique stem *maɦan-*), *mam* 'nothing, anything'. Negative adverbs include *comacne* 'never', *comiče* 'nowhere', *mamiče* 'nowhere'.

(21) co-m=i xeʔ=šu oquin mak?
no-thing=Q know=2PL.DAT 3SG.DAT about
'Don't you know anything about it?'

Relative pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns with *=e/=a* 'and', which is attached after any case marker. For example, *mena, mene* 'who(ever)' (oblique stem *ɦana, ɦane*), *vune* 'what(ever)', *moɦe* 'as, which kind', *meɬe* 'how much, how many', *menuxa* 'which' (oblique stem *menxuičo-*), *mičɦe* 'where(ever)', *mičrena* 'from which (place)', *macme* 'when'. Some of these have plurals; for example *menxučuišvai* is ergative plural of *menuxa* 'which'. See §4.4.1 for examples.

3.5. Numerals

Numerals are listed in Table 17.

		10	it':	20	t'q'a	70	qouzt'q'ait':
1	cɦa (cɦain)	11	cɦait':	21	t'q'acɦa	80	d-ʕevʔuzt'q'
2	ši (šin)	12	šiit':	22	t'q'aši	90	d-ʕevʔuzt'q'ait':
3	qo (qa)	13	qoit':	24	t'q'a-d-ʕevʔet':	100	pxauzt'q'
4	d-ʕivʔ	14	d-ʕevʔet':	30	t'q'ait':	101	pxauzt'q'acɦa
5	pxi	15	pxiit':	31	t'q'acɦait':	102	pxauzt'q'aši
6	ietx	16	ietxet':	32	t'q'ašiit':	110	pxauzt'q'ait':
7	vorɬ	17	vorɬet':	40	šauzt'q'		
8	barɬ	18	barɬet':	50	šauzt'q'ait':		
9	is:	19	t'q'exc'	60	qouzt'q'		

Table 17 Batsbi numerals

The first three numbers have oblique stems (in parentheses) used when they modify a head in any case other than absolutive. Numbers without heads decline regularly; e.g. *it':-en* 'ten-DAT'.

The number '4' and numerals formed from it agree with the head noun; e.g. *v-ʕivʔ vaš* 'four brothers'. In this example, *vaš* 'brother' is gender *v/b*, and the prefix agrees in the singular because nouns are regularly in the singular with numbers.

The suffix *-k'* forms words meaning 'only'; e.g. *šik'* 'only two'. The suffix *-eʔ* 'all' (a general intensifier) is used with numbers; e.g. *qo-k'-eʔ* 'all three'. The suffix *-li*^{n}, also listed in §3.3, forms proprietives; e.g. *pxi* 'five' ~ *pxili*^{n} 'characterized by 5' (a school grade). Ordinals

are derived with *-l(o)ɣe*^{n}; e.g. *d-ʕiv?-lɣe*^{n} ‘fourth’. The suffix *-c’* forms words meaning number of times *pxac’* ‘five times’.

Reduplicated or partially reduplicated numbers indicate distribution; e.g. *pxi-px qor* ‘five apples each’.

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Stem formation

Simplex verbs are formed from a root of the form (C)V(C)C; e.g. *meɬar*, where *-ar* forms the masdar (verbal noun). Compound and complex verbs are discussed in §3.6.6 and §3.6.9.

Many verbs distinguish imperfective from perfective stems, using a number of means. Some verbs employ vowel ablaut, where the patterns are

a ~ e
o ~ e
i ~ e

as illustrated in (22)(a,b,c) respectively.

(22)	**Perfective**	**Imperfective**	
(a)	lal-d-ar	lel-d-ar	‘carry, bear’
	tak’tars-ar	tek’ters-ar	‘patch up’
(b)	otː-ar	etː-ar	‘stand’
	d-ops-ar	d-eps-ar	‘blow’
(c)	xit’-d-ar	xet’-d-ar	‘annihilate, break (off)’
	tit’-ar	tet’-ar	‘cut’

Notice that the second example in (22)(a), with an unusual disyllabic stem, has ablaut in both stem vowels. As shown here, ablaut can apply in verbs of all types.

A second means of distinguishing imperfective from perfective is the use of a labial stop in the imperfective to supplement the vowel ablaut, with the same vowel alternation patterns. Examples are provided in (23).

(23)	**Perfective**	**Imperfective**	
(a)	qasar	qepsar	‘spread on, over’
(b)	olːar	eblar	‘arrange, place; bail, carry water’
	d-ožar	d-ebžar	‘keep; yoke’
(c)	d-ilːar	d-eblar	‘put, lay (e.g. on s.t., chicken an egg)’
	tiɬar	teplar	‘miss’

To form an imperfective, a bilabial stop (/b, p, p’/) is inserted before a lateral (/l, lː, ɬ/) or before a fricative or affricate (/s, ž, x, c’/). Any lateral is then realized as /l/. Insertion does not always occur when the conditions are met, for example *d-oxar* ~ *d-exar* ‘be destroyed’.

A third device for distinguishing an imperfective stem from a perfective is the addition of a CM in the perfective. This is illustrated in (24).

(24)

Perfective	**Imperfective**	
d-ek'-d-ar	ak'-d-ar	'shake, shiver'
d-ʕevar	ʕavar	'kill, slaughter'

Note that the ablaut pattern, in these and most other examples of this phenomenon, is the **opposite** of that illustrated above in (22)(a).

There are four perfective/imperfective pairs in which a CM in the perfective replaces a stem consonant in the imperfective.

(25)

Perfective	**Imperfective**	
d-erc'ar	ħerc'ar	'turn'
d-ekar	qekar	'call to s.o., invite, yell to s.o'.

Quite a few perfective/imperfective pairs are suppletive or irregular.

(26)

Perfective	**Imperfective**	
d-aɬar	ixar	'appear, break out, walk around'
d-aħar	d-ot'-d-ar	'take'

Finally, in verbs borrowed from Georgian, the prefix ("preverb") that forms the perfective in Georgian occurs also in Batsbi with the same function.

(27)

Perfective	**Imperfective**	
dabeč'dad-d-ar	beč'dad-d-ar	'print' (Georgian *dabeč'dva, beč'dva*)
dalocad-d-ar	locad-d-ar	'pray' (Georgian *dalocva, locva*)

Some verbs have both singular and plural stems. The plural is commonly formed by replacing stem consonants of the singular with *xk'*. A few verbs form the plural by replacing the stem consonant of the singular with *bž*.

(28)

Perfective		**Imperfective**		
Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**	
qolː-d-ar	qoxk'-d-ar	qebl-d-ar	qexk'-d-ar	'hang TR'
tilːar	tixk'ar	teblar	texk'ar	'name'
xaʔar	xabžar	xeʔar	xebžar	'sit (down)'
xoʔ-d-ar	xobž-d-ar	xeʔ-d-ar	xebž-d-ar	'squeeze in, find room for'

Some verbs (not illustrated) form plural stems suppletively.

3.6.2. Agreement and cross-reference

Some verbs in Batsbi have prefixal marking for gender and number ("class marker," CM), e.g. ***d****-eq'ar* 'divide'. Only verbs that begin with a vowel or /ʕ/ have prefixal gender-number marking, but not all with this characteristic have the prefixal marking. As shown in

(29), we cannot predict on the basis of phonology which verbs require a gender-number marker. Markers of gender-number agreement are shown in Table 3 above.

(29) d-aɬar ‘give; appear’ aɬar ‘say’
d-etːar ‘fling; milk; pour’ etːar ‘stand, stay’
d-oc’ar ‘tie; enclose’ oc’ar ‘pull, move; weigh’

It is the absolutive nominal that conditions the gender-number marker, as illustrated in (30), where the verb agrees with the subject in the absolutive, *st’ak’* ‘man’. The gender-number markers governed by a noun is shown in parentheses as part of its gloss, with singular to the left of the slash, and plural to the right.

(30) o st’ak’ aħ **v**-eʔ-eⁿ kalk-i-reⁿ
that man(v/b).ABS here CM-come-AOR city-DIR-from
‘That man came here from the city’.

The gender-number markers in Table 3 are also used later in the verb in derived transitives and derived intransitives, discussed in §3.6.6.

All verbs show person-number-case agreement when they have an absolutive or ergative case subject in the first or second person singular, first person exclusive, or second person plural. First person inclusive and third persons do not indicate person-number-case agreement. The markers used are given in Table 18, and their use is illustrated in §4.2.2.

	Absolutive	**Ergative**
1SG	-sʷ	-as
2SG	-ħʷ	-aħ
1EXCL	-txʷ	-atx
2PL	-ešʷ	-eš

Table 18 Person-number-case agreement markers on verbs

Both /ħ/ and /ʷ/ are optionally dropped when word-final (this includes loss of both sounds in the sequence /ħʷ/ or of only the lip-rounding in this context).

(31) borg-i b-in-a(ħ)
shoe(b/b)-PL.ABS CM-AOR-2SG.ERG
‘You made shoes’.

While the inclusive does not participate in person-number-case agreement, it can mark plurality (many) on the verb in the form of a *-t* suffix, as in (32).

(32) tišiⁿ c’a daħ d-ox-d-o-**t** ve
old house.ABS PV CM-destroy.PFV-CM.TR-PRS-PL 1INCL
‘We (many) will tear down the old house’.

Dative subjects do not condition agreement of either type, as shown in (33).

(33) so^{n} bader d-ec'
1SG.DAT child(d/d) CM-love
'I love the child'.

In (33), the pronoun *so^{n}* '1SG.DAT' can alternatively encliticize to the verb. The first person inclusive pronoun, *vai/ve*, also often encliticizes to the verb.

The verb 'make, do' in (31) has a zero root, but it nicely illustrates the fact that the suffix may show agreement with one nominal, while the prefix shows agreement with another. The prefix agrees with the object, 'shoes', while the suffix agrees with the subject, 'you'. In other examples, both may agree with the same argument. When the subject is third person or first person inclusive and the direct object is one of the agreeing person-number-case combinations, the verb agrees with the direct object, as in (34) and (35).

(34) mak xaʔ-**v**-ijen-**es^{w}**, daħ **v**-ik'-e^{n}-**s^{w}** elder
on sit-CM-AOR.TR-1SG.ABS PV CM-take-AOR.TR-1SG.ABS Eldir.DIR
'He seated me on [the motorcycle and] took me to Eldir'. (Kadagiʒe 2009: 60: 26)

(35) dada-s kalik **j**-ik'-e-**s^{w}**
father-ERG city CM-take-PRS-1SG.ABS
'Father takes me (F) to the city'.

Additional aspects of verbal agreement are discussed in §4.2. Both types of agreement are illustrated in the paradigms in the next section. The plural marker *-t* is discussed in §3.6.5.

3.6.3. Tense and aspect / actionality

Different sources analyze the varieties of verb forms differently. Our analysis coincides mostly with that of Holisky and Gagua (1994) and differs from those of Dešeriev (1953) and Č'relašvili (2002).

Tense, aspect, actionality, and evidentiality (see next subsection) forms fall into three groups: the present, future, and aorist groups. The first is based on the imperfective stem the second on the perfective stem, and the last on both stems. (See Holisky 1985 for more on the relationship between number and actionality.)

Present set: Present, Imperfect
Future set: Future, Future imperfect
Aorist set: Aorist perfective, Aorist imperfective, Perfect perfective, Perfect imperfective

For verbs that do not distinguish perfective from imperfective stems, the future group is not distinct from the present group. In the Present and Future Groups, transitive verbs form the basic tense (present or future) with /-o/, while intransitives form the basic tense with /-i, -e, -u, -o, -a/, but these vowels often fail to show up in the surface form. The imperfect and future imperfect (not illustrated here) are formed with *-ra*, and in the third person and inclusive forms the vowel of the basic tense is usually preserved. (In the

paradigms below, this is *-o*.) The perfective stem of 'bring', *-oʔ-*, is the transitive (causative) of 'come' (see §3.6.6) and therefore requires a suffixal CM. In the present and future (but not in the imperfect and future imperfect), the CM metathesizes with the vocalic present/future marker (Harris 2013, to appear). In the Aorist Group, the basic tense is marked with /-in/ or /-en/, lexically determined. The vowel is syncopated by the regular processes described above and may influence the vowel of the stem. In the perfect, as in the imperfect and future imperfect, the ending *-ra* is added (with /a/ dropped when it is word-final).

Some of these are illustrated below with the verb 'bring (for animate object)', which distinguishes the perfective stem *-oʔ-* from the imperfective *-al-*. This verb also has a distinct stem for perfective plural/pluractional. We show this here in the future, where the verb is conjugated for the person and number of the object, as well as that of the subject. Elsewhere the verb is conjugated for a singular female *j-* and male, *v-* object.

I. Present Group

Present

jalos, valos	'I bring her, him'
jaloħ, valoħ	'you bring her, him'
(oqus) jal^{w}, val^{w}	's/he brings her, him'
jalotx, valotx	'we (EXCL) bring her, him'
(ve) jal^{w}, val^{w}	'we (INCL) bring her, him'
jalüš, valüš	'you (PL) bring her, him'
(oqar) jal^{w}, val^{w}	'they bring her, him'

Imperfect

jalras, valras	'I used to bring her, him'
jalraħ, valraħ	'you used to bring her, him'
(oqus) jalor, valor	's/he used to bring her, him'
jalratx, valratx	'we (EXCL) used to bring her, him'
(ve) jalor, valor	'we (INCL) used to bring her, him'
jalreš, valreš	'you (PL) used to bring her, him'
(oqar) jalor, valor	'they used to bring her, him'

II. Future Group

Future

joʔjos, voʔvos	'I will bring her, him'
joʔjoħ, voʔvoħ	'you will bring her, him'
(oqus) joʔoj, voʔov	's/he will bring her, him'
joʔjotx, voʔvotx	'we (EXCL) will bring her, him'
(ve) joʔoj, voʔov	'we (INCL) will bring her, him'
joʔjüiš, voʔvüiš	'you (PL) will bring her, him'
(oqar) joʔoj, voʔov	'they will bring her, him'

Future (varying the person and number of the absolutive object)

joʔjosʷ, voʔvosʷ	‘s/he will bring me (F/M)’
joʔjoħʷ, voʔvoħʷ	‘s/he will bring you (F/M)’
joʔoj, voʔov	‘s/he will bring her/him’
daxk’dotxʷ, baxk’botxʷ	‘s/he will bring us (EXCL, F/M)’
daxk’dwišʷ, baxk’bwišʷ	‘s/he will bring you (PL) (F/M)’
daxk’od, baxk’ob	‘s/he will bring them (F/M)’

III. Aorist Group

Aorist

joʔjinas, voʔvinas	‘I brought her, him’
joʔjinaħ, voʔvinaħ	‘you brought her, him’
joʔjieⁿ, voʔvieⁿ	‘s/he brought her, him’
joʔjinatx, voʔvinatx	‘we brought her, him’
joʔjineš, voʔvineš	‘you (PL) brought her, him’
joʔjieⁿ, voʔvieⁿ	‘they brought her, him’

While verbs of all types generally conjugate in the same way, with the exceptions noted above, intransitives derived with ***-d****-al* are different from other verbs in the present tense and the imperfect formed from it. The form that is expected on the basis of other tenses and the present of other verbs is -CM-*al*-V-PM. Instead, the CM is omitted, and we find -*l*-*a*-PM, e.g. j-aq-l-a-sʷ ‘I grow’. For younger speakers there is typically metathesis in the third person, e.g. j-aq-o-l ‘she grows’. There is a periphrastic tense-aspect, a present or imperfect continuous, formed from the imperfective converb (in -*š*) and the verb ‘be’. This construction is discussed further in §4.4.3.

(36) joħ meždar b-aq’-o-š j-a-r
girl(j/d) cornbread(b/) CM-eat-PRS-CV CM-be.PRS-IMPF
‘The girl was eating cornbread’.

The affirmative marker *-(u)ic* can occur with a variety of tenses, coming just after the tense markers; e.g. *veʔnuicaħ* ‘you (really) arrived (AOR)’ (cf. *veʔnaħ* ‘you arrived’).

3.6.4. Evidentiality

Forms of the evidential occur in each tense-aspect group. In the present and future groups, *-lo* is suffixed to the imperfect to form the imperfect evidential and future imperfect evidential; in the aorist group, *-no* attaches to the aorist stem (with loss of one of the juxtaposed *n*’s) to form the aorist evidential, and *-ra* may be added to this to form the perfect evidential.

(37) **j**-opx-**j**-el-no-s^{w} **Aorist Evidential**
CM-dress-CM-INTR-AOR.EVID-1SG
'evidently I dressed'

(38) **j**-opx-**j**-el-no-ra-s^{w} **Perfect Evidential**
CM-dress-CM-INTR-AOR.EVID-1SG
'evidently I have dressed'

In an alternative evidential, -CM-*ano* is suffixed to the verb (where the final /o/ labializes or turns into a glide in the appropriate morphophonemic environments).

(39) **j**-ox-**j**-o-**j**-an^{w} k'ab
CM-rip-CM.TR-PRS-CM-EVID dress(j/j)
'Evidently she was ripping the dress'.

(40) d-uit'-d-anw-iš=e
CM-go-CM-EVID-2PL.ERG=&
'You (PL, F) are evidently going, and…'.

The portion glossed as EVID is etymologically the verb 'be' with the aorist evidential formant, -*no*.

3.6.5. Mood and modality

Some imperatives are formed with -*a*, and others with -V*b*. In either case, to this can be added -V*l* to make a polite request. The suffix -V*t* makes any of these plural. ('Bring' requires different stems for animate and inanimate objects.)

(41)

Imperative		**Polite imperative**	
d-aħ	'bring it!'	d-aħ-al	'bring it!'
d-aħ-at	'you (PL) bring it!'	d-aħ-l-et	'you (PL) bring it!'
j-oʔ-j-eb	'bring her!'	j-oʔ-j-eb-al	'bring her!'
j-oʔ-j-eb-at	'you (PL) bring her!'	j-oʔ-j-eb-l-et	'you (PL) bring her!'

Some verbs have suppletive bases in the imperative: *d-ax-ar* → *d-olix* 'go'; *d-ag-ar* → *gib* 'see'; *d-aɬ-ar* → *lib* 'give'. The imperative form of the suffix -*d-al*, which derives intransitive verbs, is also -*lib*.

The subjunctive is formed with -V*l*, as in (42) and (43). Some modality is expressed with auxiliaries. See examples in 4.3.3 and Holisky (1994).

(42) sai^{n} bader so=ci^{n} xiɬ-al
my child 1SG-with be.PFV-SUBJ
'My child should be with me'. (Bertlani et al. 2013)

(43) mič-k' d-ax-n-ol
where-only CM-go-AOR-SUBJ
'Wherever did they go?' (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 323b)

3.6.6. Valence-changing derivations

Transitives can be derived, usually from inherently intransitive verbs, with the suffix *-i*, reduced to zero in most contexts. This suffix also requires a class marker, which is not reduced. Examples can be found in (44).

(44)

Intransitive base		**Derived transitive**	
d-iš-ar	'lie down'	d-iš-d-ar	'lay down, put to bed'
d-ek'-ar	'fall down'	d-ek'-d-ar	'throw down' (both perfective)
ak'-ar	'light (INTR)'	ak'-d-ar	'light (TR)'

Intransitives can be derived, usually from inherently transitive verbs, with the suffix *-al*, which is always preceded by a class marker, thus ***-d****-al*. Some examples are given in (45).

(45)

Transitive base		**Derived intransitive**
q'eg-ar	'break (TR)'	q'eg-d-al-ar 'break (INTR)'
aɬ-ar	'say'	aɬ-d-al-ar 'be said'
d-et:-ar	'knock down'	d-et:-d-al-ar 'flounder'

There is also an unproductive suffix, *-is,* that derives intransitives. An example is *uyl:-****d****-is-ar* 'stick' (where the person stuck is in the contact case), derived from the transitive *ol:-d-ar* 'catch (fish on a fishing pole), put (meat on skewer)', itself derived from *ol:-ar* 'string, thread', also transitive.

Causatives are formed with *-it*. Usually *-it* forms causatives from transitives, but in the second example in (46) the bases are intransitive verbs.

(46)

Intransitive		**Transitive**		**Causative**	
teg-ar	'be good for s.o'.	teg-d-ar	'make, build'	teg-d-itar	'make s.o. build'
d-ax-ar	'go'			d-ax-it-ar	'let go'

(47) ču j-aʔ-it-a-s
PV CM-come-CAUS-PRS-1SG.ABS
'Let me come in!' (from a folktale)

3.6.7. Non-finite forms

Except in example sentences, verbs in this grammatical sketch are cited in the masdar form (verbal noun), with the suffix *-ar*; e.g. ***d****-ik'-ar* 'take (ANIM OBJ)'. Masdars decline as regular nouns, with the plural formant *-i*.

(48) xen-bi d-ebž-d-ar d-ol-d-i-e^{n}
tree(b/d)-PL CM-fall.PL-CM-MAS CM-begin-CM-TR-AOR
'The trees began to fall over'.

Infinitives are formed with the suffix *-aⁿ*, shown in example (49).

(49) eli čxindur d-aⁿ j-ol-j-al-iⁿ
Eli(j/d) stocking(d/d) CM-make.INF CM-begin-CM-INTR-AOR
'Eli began to make a stocking'.

Imperfective converbs are deverbal adverbs formed by adding *-š* to the present or future stem, while perfective converbs are formed by adding *-če(ħ)* to a perfective stem. The perfective converb can be inflected, as in example (50)0.

(50) eš d-exk'-čeħ-eš, k'ino-x ɣ-o-t=ve
2PL.ERG CM-come.PFV.PL-CV-2PL.ERG cinema-CON go-FUT-PL=1INCL
'When you (PL) come, we'll go to the movies'.

For each of the tense-aspect sets in Batsbi, there is a participle. Participles are essentially formed by adding adjective morphology to verb bases. More precisely, for the absolutive case form, present and future participles add *-ni* to the present or future stem, while aorist participles add *-no* to the aorist stem, with one of the adjacent *n*'s lost. Just as for adjectives, oblique forms of participles add *-čo* to the stem.

Complex participles can be formed from complex verbs or from the negator *co* and a participle, e.g. *colellain* 'inaccessible', from *lellain* 'accessible', ultimately from *lelar* 'stroll, walk'.

Participles have the familiar deverbal adjective use, but in addition they express something that needs to be done, and they express an agent.

(51) aħ-in-ʷ du-i
steal-AOR-PPL horse-PL
'stolen horses' (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 71b)

(52) duq botx b-a teg-b-ui-n
much business(b/d) CM-be do-CM-PRS-PPL
'…there is a lot of business to be done'. (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 276a)

(53) c'e-nbui teg-d-ui-n ħatxeʔ rač'o-bi b-a-r...
house(d/d)-PL build-CM-PRS-PPL earlier Rachveli(v/b)-PL CM-be.PRS-IMPF
'The house builders earlier used to be Rachvelis…'. (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 276a)

Participles also express the verb of a relative clause (see §4.4.1).

3.6.8. Locative preverbs

There are a number of locative or directional preverbs, and most are homophonous with adverbs (see §3.7). In some contexts preverbs retain their locative or directional meaning, though they may also function to emphasize or perfectivize the verb. The most common three are *daħ* 'away from speaker, away', *ču* 'in, into' (see example (108)), and *ħal* 'upward'.

(54) mak-e-go jašʷ (daħ) **j**-al-iⁿ
Maka-OBL-ALL sister(j/d) (PV) CM-die-AOR
'Maka's sister died on her', 'Maka was affected by her sister dying'

Preverbs do not have the characteristics shown by other affixes of the verb. For example, the particle *co* 'not', and sometimes other words, can intervene between the preverb and the verb, as illustrated in (56).

(55) aħ ag-en ħal kot'r-i ħ-ob=en...
2SG.ERG grandmother-DAT PV kotri-PL take-IMP=QUOT
'You take kot'ri (cheesebreads) to grandmother...'. (from a folktale)

(56) vir ħal co qet:-en manam sanam musik'a co tox-iⁿ vir-e-n
donkey PV NEG get.up-AOR until while music NEG play-AOR donkey-OBL-DAT
'The donkey didn't get up until he [the man] played music for the donkey. ' (BH2-063 00:01:02)

Preverbs in Batsbi, though closely associated with the verb, are clitics or independent words (Harris 2009).

One preverb, ***d**-ux* 'back, in reverse', has a class marker, which agrees with the absolutive argument or with the only argument of an intransitive verb.

(57) ...b-ux-aʔ last'-b-ien o kortʷ....
CM-again-INTS raise-CM-AOR that head(b/d)
'...yet again it [a snake] raised that head...'. (Kadagidze 2009: 58-59)

3.6.9. Verbal derivation

Both the suffix sequence *-d-al* (intransitivizer) and *-d-i* / *-d* (transitivizer) discussed in §3.6.6 can also derive verbs from nouns or adjectives.

(58)	**Base**		**Derived**			
	pšel	'cold (n)'	pšel-d-al-ar	'become cold'	pšel-d-ar	'make cold'
	q'aħeⁿ	'bitter'	q'aħ-d-al-ar	'become bitter'	q'aħ-d-ar	'make bitter'
	d-ut'q'iⁿ	'narrow, thin'	d-ut'q'-d-ar	'make narrow, thin'		

Compound verbs can be formed.

(59) eq t'ot'-ev co j-iš-j-o-mak'-in-g soⁿ
this.OBL hand-INS NEG CM-beat-CM-TV-can-AOR-INTS 1SG.DAT
'...with this hand I could not beat it [the snake that had bitten him] at all'

In (59), the compound verb is composed of *j-iš-j-o*, the verb 'beat' with both of its required gender-number markers and with its thematic vowel, *o*, and the verb *mak'* 'can, be able', which requires the dative subject, here *so*^{n} 'I, me'.

3.7. Adverbs

Many adverbs can be used as postpositions or as preverbs, and some of those are listed in the appropriate sections. To distinguish between these, we use the diagnostic that postpositions determine the case of their host nouns, while adverbs and preverbs do not. Further, postpositions occur after NPs, preverbs occur proclitic to verbs, while adverbs occur in a variety of positions.

Adverbs can be compounded with other elements; e.g. *k'ik'el-daħ-ren* 'from underneath', *k'ik'l-i-mak* 'from below to above; [turn] around', *t'q'uiħ-ren-da(ħ)* 'from behind'.

Adverbs of place include the following: *ču(ħ)* 'into, inside', *čuvaiħ* '[direction] in, inside', *čuiħaħ*^{w} 'from the inside', *nʕai?* 'out', *nʕa?i(v)ħ* 'outside', *ħatx* 'before, ahead', *juq'* 'between, in between', *iuq'mat:* 'in the center', *šarn* '(toward) home, at home', *penix* 'beside', *gogex* 'around; back', *divħ* 'thither, in that direction'.

Time adverbs include *inc* 'now', *psare(ħ)* 'yesterday', *sipsre(ħ)* 'day before yesterday', *qa*^{n} tomorrow, *lam*^{w} 'day after tomorrow', *txa* 'today', *bʕa* 'always', *ħate?* 'immediately', *ħatxe?* 'long ago', *t'q'o?* 'again, still'.

Adverbs of degree include *zoreš* 'very'. Attenuating adverbs include *ču-k'a?* 'a little (more) inside', *bede*^{n} 'except for, only'.

Manner adverbs include these: *kast'e*^{n} 'fast, quickly', *vʕala?* 'entirely, completely'.

Negative adverbs include: *comič(ħ)e*, *comiča*, *mamiče* 'nowhere'; *comičrenda(ħ)* 'from nowhere'; *comacne* 'never'.

Batsbi distinguishes three deictic distances, with the distal translated here with 'yon'. In fact, according to Kadagiʒe and Kadagiʒe (1984) only two sets of words distinguish three distances, as shown in Table 19. It seems that words that formerly had medial meaning are changing to acquire a proximal meaning, leaving only a two-way distinction for most words. Forms with proximal meaning now can be based on the base with *e* 'here' or with *i* 'that'. The *o*/*ui* variation in forms with distal meaning reflects a regular phonological alternation.

Proximal meaning	**Medial meaning**	**Distal meaning**
ese(ħ), ise(ħ) 'here'	*isi(ħ)* is 'there'	*osi(ħ), ois, uis* 'yon'
esivħ, esev, iseivħ, isev 'hither'	*isivħ* 'thither'	*osivħ, uis* 'in yon direction'
eseva, iseva 'state of being here'		*osiva, uisa* 'state of being yon'
išt' 'in this way'		*uišt'* 'in yon way'
išt'(r)u^{n} 'this kind of'		*ošt'(r)u*^{n} 'yon kind of'
išna 'a place like this'		*uiš(t')na* 'a place like yon'

Table 19 Deictic distances (Kadagiʒe and Kadagiʒe 1984: 229, 309-312, 492, 496, 571-572)

The suffix *-iš* derives adverbs from adjective bases; e.g. *laqe*^{n} 'tall' ~ *laq-iš*. The suffix *-eš* can be added to the adverbial case of nouns and pronouns to create adverbs meaning 'in the way of'; e.g *vai* 'we (INCL)~ *vai-ɣ-eš* 'in our (INCL) way, like us'. The suffix *-e?/-a?* can be used as an intensifier with adverbs, and other bases; e.g. *eħat* 'then' ~ *eħat-e?* 'immediately',

iseħ ‘there’ ~ *iseħe?* ‘right there’. The suffix *-(a)č’*, often added to the locative case form, can also intensify an adverb, e.g. *juq’-matː* ‘in the center’ ~ *juq’-matː-eħ-ač’* ‘right to the center’.

3.8. Postpositions

Many postpositions, such as *k’ik’el* ‘under’ and *mak* ‘on’, can also be used as adverbs. Some other postpositions, such as *daħ* ‘from’, are also preverbs. The list below includes the case or other form that is governed by the postposition.

ain^{w}/en	’for’	DAT or ADV	juxe(ħ)	’beside, at the base of’	DAT
ču	’in’	GEN	k’ik’el	’under’	DAT
čuiħ	’inside’	CON	mak	’on; about’	DAT
dalːa	’because of’	DAT	mci^{n}	’up to, until’	ALL
da(ħ)	’from’	ADV	mple^{n}	’as much as, equal to’	DAT or GEN
doli^{n}	’after’	Oblique stem	penix	’near, beside’	DAT
gomci^{n}	’until, as far as’	Oblique stem	pex	’beside’	DAT
guiħ	’towards’	Oblique stem	re^{n}	’from’	GEN or ALL
ħatx	’in front of’	DAT	t’q’uiħ	’behind, back, after’	DAT
juq’	’between’	DAT	xi^{n}	’from’	GEN

Table 20 Postpositions with the case of the preceding noun

There are also many compounded postpositions, and some of those listed above are historically compounds. One established combination is *mak-re^{n}* ‘from on’.

(60) meq j-ilː-e^{n} supr-e=mak
bread(j/j) CM-put-AOR table-DAT=on
‘S/he put the bread on the table’.

(61) c’en-i guiħ [house-OBL towards] ‘towards the house’
c’en-i-g^{w} [house-OBL-ALL] ‘close to the house’
c’en-i-n penix [house-OBL-DAT beside] ‘close to the house, beside the house’
c’en-i-n ʒire [house-OBL-DAT base] ‘at the base of the house’ (*ʒir* ‘root’, a noun)
c’en-i-n t’q’uiħ-re^{n} [house-OBL-DAT behind-from] ‘from behind the house’
xenen k’ik’lere^{n}/k’ik’elre ‘from the base of the tree’ (also *k’ik’eldaħre^{n}*)

3.9. Minor classes

Conjunctions include *=e* ‘and’ (a general conjunction), *=a* ‘and, too’, *le* ‘or’, and *ma* ‘but’. (See §4.7.)

The conjunction *=a* ‘and, too’ sometimes occurs on both conjuncts, as here. Conjuncts may occur in either order; there is no preference. Gagua (1956: 471) suggests that *=a* is not used on verbs. The word *me* ‘that’ is a subordinating conjunction with a wide range of uses.

The question particle *=i* can occur on constituents of various types.

(62) daħ=i b-oxk'-iⁿ oqus, doⁿ? daħ b-oxk'-iⁿ
PV=Q CM-sell-AOR 3SG.ERG horse(b/d) PV CM-sell-AOR
'Did he sell it, the horse?' 'Yes, he sold it'.

Questions can be answered with *haʔ(a)* 'yes' or *co* 'no'. The latter is also a sentence and word negator (see §4.5).

Interjections include *ba, va, eħ* 'oh' (Kadagidze 2009), *xatabala* 'woe' (borrowed from Georgian), and *jevʷ* 'man!'.

General intensifiers *-(a)ʔ, -(e)ʔ* are probably actually clitics; e.g. *isiħ-eʔ* 'right there', *ošt'i-ʔ* 'again' (*ošt'i* 'in yon way'). Also *-g* is a general intensifier; it combines with the previous intensifier to form the complex *-geʔ*.

(63) aħ=geʔ v-ec'-e v-aʔ-aⁿ
2SG.ERG=too CM-should-2SG CM-come-INF
'You should come too'.

The quotative particle *=ain(ʷ)/=en* may attach to the full form of any word. (See §4.4.2.) A different quotative, *-(a)ɬiⁿ*, is homophonous with the regular aorist form of 'say'.

(64) e ese daħ la=**ɬiⁿ**
3SG here PV die.PRS=**QUOT**
' "Here he will die…" they said'. (Kadagiʒe 2009: 60: 33)

4. Syntax

4.1. Noun phrase

In basic order, numbers, deictics, adjectives, and possessors precede the noun head, as illustrated below.

(65) i seⁿ st'ak'
this my man
'this man (husband) of mine'

(66) e b-ʕivʔ k'ac'k'aⁿ msxal ħal ec
this CM-four small.PL pear(b/d) PV take
'Take these four small pears'. (BH2-078 00:01:30)

As detailed in subsections of §3, modifiers do not agree with the head in case, except that many distinguish an absolutive form from an oblique, where that form agrees with the case of the head. A few modifiers agree in gender and number via prefixal class markers (§3.3, §3.5).

4.2. Clause structure

4.2.1. Word order

The basic word order is SOV, but variation from this is common and flexible.

(67) manana-s qor leħ-o-b
Manana-ERG apple(b/d) pick-PRS-CM
'Manana picks apples'.

(It is usual to put the object and its agreement in the singular in such a sentence.) Pronominal arguments are often omitted; if present, they may be enclitic to the verb (see §3.6.2 for examples). Non-canonical subjects generally follow the same order. Indirect objects usually occur between the subject and the direct object, but a wide variety of positions are available for them.

(68) alis-e-n koǯ b-eɬ-n-as
Alis-OBL-DAT broom(b/d) CM-give.PFV-AOR-1SG.ERG
'I gave the broom to Alice'.

The auxiliary may precede or follow the verb, whether the latter is expressed as an infinitive or a finite verb, whether or not the embedded clause is complex.

(69) badre-n d-ax-aⁿ leʔ
child-DAT CM-drink-INF want.PRS
'The child wants to drink'.

(70) son leʔ ħal kħek-**j**-al-aⁿ
1SG.DAT want.PRS PV ready-CM-INTR-INF
'I (F) want to get ready'.

Question words and negatives must immediately precede the verb. There is some variation in whether the auxiliary or its complement is treated as the verb for this purpose, as shown by the contrast between (72) and (59) above.

(71) son co leʔ j-ot:-j-al-aⁿ
1SG.DAT NEG want CM-agitate-CM-INTR-INF
'I don't want to become agitated'.

4.2.2. Case alignment and agreement

Clauses feature a finite verb with one or more arguments; no avalent verbs have been observed. In intransitive clauses, the case of the sole nominal argument varies based on person: a third person or first person inclusive intransitive subject is always in absolutive case; a first or second person subject can be in either ergative or absolutive case, depending on the verb's intrinsic properties or, in some cases, depending on the speaker's interpretation of the volition of the first or second person subject. Example (73) has two

clauses, each with a verb of motion (*d-ax-ar* 'go' and *d-aɣ-ar* 'come'), a class of intransitives that invariably take ergative for first and second person subjects. Other intransitives may permit a choice between ergative and absolutive marking based on whether the subject acts deliberately. See Holisky (1987) for further details.

(72) atx šuin d-ex-r-atx sanam aħ v-aɣ-ra
1EXCL.ERG home CM-go-IMPF-1EXCL.ERG while 2SG.ERG CM-come-IMPF
'We went home before you arrived'. (BH2-037 00:21:37)

(73) (a) so j-arst'-e-sʷ
1SG.ABS CM-gain.weight-PRS-1SG.ABS
'I (F) am putting on weight [I don't mean to].'

(b) as j-erst'-n-as
1SG.ERG CM-gain.weight-AOR-1SG.ERG
'I (F) put on weight [on purpose]'

Both ergative and absolutive subjects of intransitives condition the gender-number markers described in §3.6.2, and both condition person-number-case suffixes described in the same section. Example (120) illustrates both.

In transitive clauses, case marking shows ergative-absolutive alignment. That is, the ergative argument is the agent, and the absolutive argument is typically a patient or theme, as in (75). One or both of these arguments can be dropped when understood from context, as in (76).

(74) equs daħ b-itː-ʷ e pħu
3SG.ERG PV CM-wash-PRS this dog(b/d)
'She is washing this dog'. (BH2-044 00:05:15)

(75) ise daħ qexk'-o-d
here PV hang.PL-PRS-CM
'Here (she) is hanging (them) up'. (BH2-044 00:09:11)

Ergative case subjects condition ergative person-number agreement. Direct objects, like subjects of intransitives, condition gender-number agreement in verbs that take this.

(76) ...oquiⁿ düipx mak **d**-opx-in....
that.one.GEN clothing(d/d).ABS PV CM-wear-AOR
'He [the wolf] put on her [grandmother's] clothing'. (from a folktale)

A different case pattern is exhibited by a class of transitive verbs where the subject is an experiencer rather than an agent: e.g., *qet-ar* 'know how', *xac'-ar* 'hear', *d-ag-ar* 'see', *d-ec'-ar* 'love; want', *eš-ar* 'lack', , etc. With such verbs, the subject is in dative case, and the object is in absolutive case. The dative argument of these verbs, as shown in (78), is the syntactic subject, as it serves as the antecedent for an anaphor in absolutive case, in this case the

reciprocal *vaš(b)aⁿ* 'each other', even in an alternate word order that places the anaphor to the left of its antecedent. The opposite arrangement, where the reciprocal would be expressed in dative case, is ungrammatical, regardless of word order. Dative arguments trigger neither gender-number agreement nor person-number agreement.

(77) oqarn d-abcʼ vašaⁿ
3PL.DAT CM-know each.other.ABS
'They (F) know each other'. (BH2-036 00:21:24)

For verbs involving physical contact (e.g., *leħ-ar* 'touch' and *d-iš-d-ar* 'hit'), the instrument is the absolutive argument, while the patient is marked with dative case and an optional point-of-contact can be expressed in contact case, as in example (79).

(78) pešk'r-e-v at:-a-n šin-e-x ɣočʼ j-iš-j-ieⁿ
child(d/d)-OBL-ERG cow(b/d)-OBL-DAT udder(b/d)-OBL-CON stick(j/j) CM-hit-CM-AOR
'The child hit the cow in the udder with a stick'. (BH2-018 00:25:17)

In clauses that include a recipient or beneficiary in addition to the regular transitive construction (i.e., ditransitives), the indirect object is typically expressed in dative case. Some verbs with ditransitive uses include *d-aɬ-ar* 'give (to)', *tag-d-ar* 'make, do (for)', *d-eš-ar* 'promise', *kħek-d-ar* 'cook, prepare (for)', and *ec-ar* 'buy (for)', shown in example (80).

(79) oqus jaħ-o-ⁿ ec-iⁿ mankaⁿ
3SG.ERG daughter-OBL-DAT buy-AOR car
'(S)he bought (his/her) daughter a car'. (BH2-029-b 00:10:25)

With causatives formed via the suffix *-it*, the causee is expressed in allative case, as in (81).

(80) oqus alubal leħ-b-it sog
3SG.ERG cherry(b/d) pick.IMPV-CM-CAUS 1SG.ALL
'He makes me pick cherries'.

(81) nan-a-s šur maka j-a-it-ieⁿ
mother-OBL-ERG milk(j/j) on CM-be-CAUS-AOR
'Mother made the milk boil over [on purpose]'.

(82) nan-e-go/sogo šur maka j-eʔ-eⁿ
mother-OBL-ALL/1SG.ALL milk(j/j) on CM-come-AOR
'Mother/I made the milk boil over [unintentionally]'.

Example (82) is a causative, and comparable sentence indicating unintentional action can be formed with an intransitive verb, with the (unwilling) agent in the allative, regardless of person, as in (83). See §4.8 on the clausal expression of possesion, relations, and part-whole.

The construction of continuous action with the imperfective converb is noteworthy in that it uses two absolutives.

(83) nanešʷ datxur teg-b-oš j-a-r
aunt(j/d).ABS datxur(b/d).ABS make-CM-CV CM-be-IMPF
'Aunt was making *datxur* [a dish made from eggs and cheese]'.

In (84), *nanešʷ* 'aunt' is in the absolutive case and conditions *j-* agreement on the verb 'be', while *datxur* is also in the absolutive case and conditions *b*-agreement on 'make'. Similar distributions can be seen in other examples of the converbs above in (36). See Holisky (1994) for additional information on valence patterns.

4.2.3. Reflexives and reciprocals

In Batsbi, reflexives and reciprocals are treated as ordinary arguments, taking the case and agreement that a noun argument would take.

(84) tek'u-igo-(ħ) šara-x j-aq:-ux jaš j-a
Tek'o-ALL-LOC self-CON CM-old-COMP sister(j/d) CM-is
'Tek'o has a sister older than her[self]'.

(85) c'in-č šar-e-x sačukr-i čukba-d-uš vašbaⁿ?
new-OBL year.OBL-OBL-CON gift-PL give-CM-2PL.ERG each.other.DAT
'At New Year's do you give each other gifts?'

An alternative reflexive uses the head noun *kort(ʷ)* 'head' with a possessive (often unexpressed) of the same person and number as the antecedent, first person singular in (87).

(86) (seⁿ) kort keba(d)-b-o-s.
(my) head(b/d) praise-CM-PRS-1SG.ERG
'I praise myself'.

4.3. Major sentence types

All sentence types discussed in this section can be affirmative or negative. Negative clauses are discussed separately in §4.5.

4.3.1. Declarative clauses

Declarative clauses are discussed throughout this chapter, most thoroughly in §4.2 regarding clause structure.

4.3.2. Interrogative clauses

In yes-no questions, the clitic *=i* is added to the constituent that is the target of inquiry. The question particle typically appears as the final morpheme in a morphologically complex word; however, it appears to the left of person agreement in a verbal complex, as in (88) (Harris 2011). The particle can attach to nearly any part of speech; it is shown here

with a verb (88), noun (89), and pronoun (89). When the question particle attaches to a word other than the verb, this word must be ordered before the verb (Holisky & Gagua 1994).

(87) aħ ʔam-d-u=i-a(ħ) e maq-iš
2SG.ERG study-CM-PRS=Q-2SG.ERG this verse(b/d)-PL
'Are you learning these verses?' (BH2-029-a 00:08:14)

(88) bader=i d-itː-ʷ isi daħ
child(d/d)=Q CM-wash-PRS here away
'Is she washing a child here?' (BH2-044 00:09:06)

(89) aħ=i b-ʕuig-n-a(ħ) koǯʷ
2SG.ERG=Q CM-break-AOR-2SG.ERG broom(b/d)
'Did you break the broom?' (BH2-029-a 00:11:42)

In content questions, the wh-phrase is positioned immediately before the verb phrase, while other elements are not subject to any new restrictions on ordering. In example (91), the ergative subject, which is not being questioned, can appear as indicated with parentheses: either before or after the constituent containing the question word and verb. Multiple wh-questions are possible, and question words can serve as the antecedent for a reflexive, as shown in (93). The preferred order of multiple question words appears to depend on case: (ergative) (absolutive) (oblique) verb.

(90) (oqus) men d-il-o-d (oqus)
(3SG.ERG) who CM-wash-PRS-CM (3SG.ERG)
'Whom is s/he bathing?' (BH2-029-b 00:03:10)

(91) meɬ šar-e v-ex-n-a(ħ) ʔalni
how.many year.OBL-LOC CM-live-AOR-2SG alvani.LOC
'How many years have you (M) lived in Alvani?' (BH2-039 00:00:40)

(92) ħaⁿ ħan-gʷ d-ag-it-ieⁿ šariⁿ c'a
who.ERG who-ALL CM-see-CAUS-AOR self.GEN house(d/d)
'Who$_i$ showed whom$_k$ his/her own$_{i,k}$ house?' (BH2-048 00:07:33)

4.3.3. Imperative clauses and the expression of mood

Imperative clauses are formed with an imperative verb (§3.6.5). Negative imperatives are formed with the prohibition particle *ma* together with the present tense of the verb, as in (95).

(93) daħ d-il-d-eb=a txoⁿ daq'ar d-ot'-a-d txon=en
PV CM-wash-CM-IMP=& 1EXCL.DAT food(d/d) CM-carry-IMP-CM 1EXCL.DAT=QUOT
' "Wash it for us and bring us food!" ' (BH2-044 00:09:50)

(94) t'ark' ma laħ d-apxe-č daq'r-e-x
finger PROHIB touch CM-hot-OBL food(d/d)-OBL-CON
'Don't touch hot food!' (BH2-018 00:17:27)

A sufix of the form –(V)*l*(*o*) (generally with the final vowel reduced) is used in a number of forms, including the "polite" imperatives described in §3.6.5, "indirect" imperatives, and subjunctives. The subtle formal differences between these require further study; we have glossed the suffix *-l* as a subjunctive whenever it occurs below.

(95) ilui-n leʔ me dad xiɬ-u-l
ilo-DAT want that father be.PFV-PRS-SUBJ
'Ilo wants to be a father'. (BH2-037 00:04:20)

(96) qaⁿ aɬ-a-t oquig me kħekiⁿ xiɬ-a-l
tomorrow say-IMP-PL 3SG.ALL COMP ready be.PFV-IMP-SUBJ
'Tell him/her to be ready tomorrow'. (BH2-037 00:06:28)

Some moods are expressed with modal verbs (see Holisky 1994). For example, the auxiliary *d-ec'ar* expresses 'should' or 'must'.

(97) moħ d-ec' aɬ-aⁿ?
how CM-should say-INF
'How should one say it?' (BH2-046 00:13:42)

(98) lam-ni daħ d-ec'-e-r oqar d-aħ-aⁿ
mountain-PL PV CM-must-PRS-IMPF 3PL.ERG CM-take-INF
'They had to cross the mountains'. (Kadagiʒe 2009: 52: 4)

4.4. Complex sentences

4.4.1. Relative clauses

Batsbi has two strategies for relativization: a gap with a participial verb, and a relative pronoun with a finite verb.

The gap strategy of relativization is illustrated in examples (100)-(102). In (100), the verb in the relative clause is expressed as a participle modifying the head noun, which is coreferential with the deleted nominal. The deleted nominal would have been in absolutive case. In example (101), the relativized nominals in the embedded relative clauses would have been in ergative case. Example (102) is an example of a headless relative clause using the gap strategy. The relativized noun would have been in ergative case, and because the would-be genitive head noun is deleted, the participle undergoes nominalization via the *-čo* suffix (as described in §3.2.3) and takes on the genitive case of the deleted head noun. The latter two examples further show that ergatives can be relativized.

(99) [as _ dac'unba-d-uin] daq'ar ǯer co xiɬ-en-d-a
[1SG.ERG _ABS refuse-CM- PPL] food(d/d) while NEG be-PPL-CM-be
'Food [I would refuse] doesn't exist'. (BH2-039 00:01:44)

(100) [_ [_ maɬ-uin zet] maɬ-en-čʷ] st'ak'-go(ħ)
[_ERG [_ERG drink- PPL oil] drink- PPL-OBL] man(v/b)-ALL/LOC

marɬ-bak-i ħap'č'q'ap'-eⁿ
nose-mouth-(DIR?/PL?) grimace-AOR

'The man [who drank [potable oil]] grimaced with his nose and mouth'. (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 909b)

(101) [_ doⁿ lex-čo-ⁿ] manka ese j-a
[_ERG horse(b/d) search-OBL-GEN] car(j/j) here CM-be
'[The one searching for a horse]'s car is here'.

In the relative pronoun strategy, a content question word (e.g., *ħan* 'who', *mičeh* 'where', etc.) is suffixed with a relativization particle, either *=e* or *=a*. This particle is identical to the connective conjunction ('and'). This strategy is fairly unrestricted in terms of what can be relativized, as shown in the following examples with a relativized object of a postposition (103) and relativized genitive (104). We have not observed relativization of objects of comparison.

(102) pst'uin [menxuičo-n mak=a maq-erč gonba-d-or bato-s]
woman(j/d) [which-DAT on=REL verse(b/d)-PL make.up-CM-IMPF bato-ERG]

j-ax-er kalki
CM-live-IMPF city.LOC

'The woman [for whom Bato composed verses] lives in the city'. (BH2-046 00:24:21)

(103) mayazi-e d-eʔ-e o admien [ħen-e c'e co
store-DIR CM-come-AOR that person(d/d) [whose-REL name(j/j) NEG

dak' j-oʔ-j-o-mak'-is soⁿ]
heart.OBL CM-bring-CM-PRS-can-INTR 1SG.DAT]

'The man [whose name I can't remember] came to the store'. (BH2-046 00:22:41)

Relative clauses of this type typically follow the head noun, but may precede it, as shown in (105).

(104) [menux-a leʔ ħon] žagnʷ d-aʔ son
[which-REL want 2SG.DAT] book(d/d) CM-bring 1SG.DAT
'Bring me whichever book you want'. (BH2-078 00:09:25)

A subtype of this relative pronoun strategy involves the invariable relative pronoun *(v)une* 'what', which can be pronounced with or without the initial labial. Relative clauses of this type can also be headless (see (116)).

(105) (v)une t'ateb d-a-r, daniʔ daplango-d-i-r-aiš!
what money(d/d) CM-be-IMPF all waste-CM-PRS-IMPF-2PL
'You wasted all the money there was!' (Kadagiʒe & Kadagiʒe 1984: 154b)

4.4.2. Complementation

In complement clauses, one of the arguments of the verb is itself a clause. In such cases, if the matrix verb has a class marker, the marker will be *d-*, reflecting the default agreement pattern, as with *d-a* 'is' in (107). In non-finite complement clauses, the subordinate verb can be either in the masdar (*-ar*) form (107), or the infinitival form (*-aⁿ*) (108). Non-finite verbs reflect gender-number agreement with arguments within the complement clause (gender *j/j* agreement with *sup* 'soup' in (107), gender *b/d* agreement with a dropped argument *pħu* 'dog' in (108)).

(106) [sup kħek-j-ar] at'ːan d-a
[soup(j/j) prepare-CM-MAS] easy CM-be
'[Making soup] is easy'. (BH2-061 00:08:57)

(107) [ču b-exk'-aⁿ] leʔ equin
[PV CM-tie-INF] want this.one.DAT
'She wants to tie this (dog) up'. (BH2-044 00:01:42)

Finite complement clauses can be introduced with the complementizer *me* 'that'. In complements of attitude verbs such as *aɬar* 'to say', *dak'liv* 'to think', the quotative clitic *=ainʷ/=en* is often used, as in (109). Example (110) shows an embedded question, which does not take the complementizer *me*.

(108) nan-a-s aɬ-in me q'ar j-atx-ic=en=e
mother-OBL-OBL say-AOR COMP rain(j/j) CM-fall-AFF=QUOT=&
'Mother said that it's raining.' (BH2-079 00:02:03)

(109) son co qet-mak'-iⁿ [oquin vux aɬ-ar leʔ-er]
1SG.DAT NEG understand-can-AOR [3SG.DAT what say-MAS want-IMPF]
'I couldn't understand [what s/he wanted to say]'. (BH2-061 00:00:56)

4.4.3. Adverbial clauses

There are two main strategies for the formation of adverbial clauses in Batsbi: with a complementizer, or with a specialized verb form, such as a conditional or a converb.

Adverbial clauses with a complementizer can appear before or after the matrix clause. The complementizer is derived from a question word with the relativizing suffix *-e*, as in the locative clause in (111) with *mič-e* 'where', and the manner clause in (112) with *moħ-e* 'how'.

(110) as bʕar-v-o-s ħox osi mič-e ven ča b-ag-i-r
1SG.ERG meet-CM-PRS-1SG 2SG.CON there where-REL 1INCL.DAT bear(b/d) CM-see-PRS-IMPF
'I will meet you (M) where we saw the bear'. (BH2-037 00:22:43)

(111) ħal ħarč xink'al uišt' moħ-e nan-a-s tec'-d-ie-r ħog
PV wrap khinkali in.that.way how-REL mother-OBL-ERG teach-CM-PRS-IMPF 2SG.ALL
'Wrap the *khinkali* the way mother taught you'. (BH2-037 00:23:46)

Clauses denoting reason or purpose are shown in (113), where the clauses are connected by a complementizer, and (114), where the purpose is expressed by a masdar in contact case.

(112) atx lat:-r-atx (oquin dal:a) me ɣaz-iš
1EXCL.ERG stand-IMPF-1EXCL.ERG (3SG.DAT because.of) COMP good-ADVZ

d-ag-ra-l txoⁿ
CM-see-IMPF-SUBJ 1EXCL.DAT

'We stood (in order) to see better'. (BH2-037 00:26:09 00:26:24)

(113) o albat vir ɣosxet-r-e-x ix-o-r letx-aⁿ
3SG perhaps donkey delight-MAS-OBL-CON go-PRS-IMPF dance-INF
'He danced perhaps to delight the donkey'. (BH2-062 00:01:36)

The other adverbial clause strategy involves special verb formations. A subtype of this strategy is conditionals, which are formed by suffixing *-ħe* 'if' onto the finite verb, as in *j-ax-ħe* 'if [female] goes' in example (115). Conditional clauses can appear before or after the non-conditional matrix clause.

(114) aɬ-n-as co xiɬ-eⁿ j-ax-ħe ħal j-ik'-o-s ħo lomen
say-AOR-1SG.ERG NEG be-AOR CM-go-COND PV CM-take-FUT-1SG 2SG to.mountains
'I said, if you (F) haven't been, I will take you up to the mountains'. (BH2-049 00:00:33)

(115) duq t'ateb xiɬ-no-ħe-r sogo badr-i-n vune
much money be-EVID-COND-IMPF 1SG.ALL child-PL-DAT what

d-ec' o so ec-in-d-a-ra-s
CM-want that PV buy- PPL-CM-be-IMPF-1SG

'If I had a lot of money, I would buy whatever my children want'. (BH2-039 00:03:15)

The other special verb formation in adverbial clauses involves converbs. Converbs are non-finite verbs fulfilling an adverbial purpose, which in Batsbi are of two types: the present converb, formed with the suffix *-š*, which expresses simultaneous action, and the past converb, formed with *-če(ħ)*, which expresses a completed action as background information for the finite verb. Converbs are used extensively in narratives.

(116) ošt'iʔ ču ʔe<j>aɣ-e-r nʕaiʔ co ix-mak'-e-š
again PV <CM>sit-PRS-IMPF outside NEG go-can-PRS-CV
'Again she sat inside, unable to go out. (BH2-079 00:01:40)

(117) edgil-i b-exk'-če cħaʔ com co d-ag-ier
place-DIR CM-come.PFV.PL-CV one nothing NEG CM-see-IMPF
'When they (M) arrived at the place, not a single thing was there (lit. was seen).' (BH2-075 00:01:25)

The converb clause can precede or follow the main clause. The two clauses can have the same subject, as in example (117), or different subjects, as in (118). When the subject is the same, it is usually stated only in the main clause.

4.5. Negation

In declarative clauses, negation is denoted by the particle *co* 'not', which appears directly before the verb. Often the negated predicate appears clause-initially, such that elements that would have preceded the predicate in more discursively neutral contexts (*obi ħal* in (119)) instead follow the predicate. In negated yes-no questions, the question particle *=i* typically cliticizes to the negative *co*, resulting in *cui* 'no?', as in (119).

(118) cu=i dac'era-d-al-in? cu=i tag-d-al-iⁿ obi ħal?
NEG=Q record-CM-INTR-AOR NEG=Q make-CM-INTR-AOR 3PL up
'Did it not record? Did they not get made?' (BH2-044 00:00:04)

(119) oqar mezobl-i-n mak k'i co j-o ambui,
3PL neighbor-PL-DAT on PRT NEG CM-PRS conversation(j/)

j-o šui-n mak
CM-PRS self.PL-DAT on

'They are talking not about the neighbors, but about themselves'. (BH2-032-a 00:03:39)

The same particle *co* is used for constituent negation, where it again precedes the verb, even if the negated constituent is some other element. On the prohibitive *ma*, see §4.3.3.

4.6. Comparative constructions

Three types of comparative constructions are discussed here: standard comparatives, superlatives, and correlative comparatives ('the more… the more…').

In standard comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is in contact case. The gradable adjective may be inflected in its comparative form (*-i(v)x*) or appear without any special morphological marking, as in (121). If the standard of comparison is otherwise marked with an oblique case for syntactic reasons, the conjunction *minam* (or *manam*) 'while; for now; than' is used. In adverbial comparison, the adverb receives no special marking.

(120) as moħ-e dak'lev-il oqu-x ɣaze^{n} j-a-r k'ino
1SG.ERG how-REL think-SUBJ that-CON good CM-be-IMPF movie(j/j)
'The movie was better than I thought'. (BH2-024 00:03:25)

Superlatives may be formed by adding *ħamaxeʔ* 'most' in front of the adjective with no special comparative marking, as in (122).

(121) mit'^{w} ħamaxeʔ laqe^{n} pešk'ar d-a sk'ol-e(-ħ)
Mito most tall boy(d/d) CM-be school-OBL(-LOC)
'Mito is the tallest boy in school'. (BH2-024 00:15:42)

Correlative comparatives ('the more… the more…') are formed with *(v)une* 'what' in the subordinate clause and *oqumple^{n}* 'that much' in the matrix clause. The compared adjective is not inflected. Occasionally, the negative *co* 'not' is used with the yes-no question marker *=i* in such constructions, as in (123), although pragmatically-speaking the clause is neither negated nor a question.

(122) une ɣazen kaniz cu=i j-a oqumple^{n} čamli^{n} ix mač'ar
the.more good grape(j/j) NEG=Q CM-be that.much tasty go new.wine
'The better the grape, the tastier the wine'. (BH2-024 00:17:14)

4.7. Co-ordination and chaining

Coordinated constituents are each marked with the particle *=a*/*=e*. The conditioning of these two variants is unclear; Holisky and Gagua note that it seems to be phonological (1994: 212). The coordination particle follows any inflection on the coordinated elements: *nan-as=a vaš-as=a* (mother-ERG=& brother-ERG=&) 'mother and brother'. Apparently any constituent can be coordinated this way: e.g., *c'enin ħatx=a c'enin t'q'uiħ=a* 'in front of the house and behind the house', with the particle cliticizing to the postpositions; *lamzur=a q'onlun=a pst'uin* 'young and beautiful wife', where the adjectives are coordinated; *ese=a osi=a* 'here and there', with coordinated adverbs, etc. Example (124) shows coordination of two nouns.

(123) pħu=a k'uit'=a t'q'oʔ equi-g ħips
dog=& cat=& still this.one-ALL look.at.PL
'The dog and cat are still looking at her'. (BH2-044 00:00:16)

There are several strategies for clausal coordination. The most common strategy when the participants in the two clauses differ involves simple juxtaposition with no special conjunction marker (i.e., asyndetic coordination). In example (125), there is a prosodic break between the clauses (between *jeg* 'beer' and *oqus* 'he/she'). Elision of the second verb is possible, but not obligatory in this example.

Explicitly marked coordination is also possible for conjoined clauses. The clitic *=a/=e* can be used, typically affixed to verbs; example (126) shows clausal coordination with the clitic attached to nouns. Alternately, the conjunction word *(j)e* can be used.

(124) atx meɬ-o-tx jeg oqus (meɬ) šur
1EXCL.ERG drink-PRS-1EXCL.ERG beer 3SG.ERG (drink) milk
'We are drinking beer; he (is drinking) milk'. (BH2-033 00:22:53)

(125) pħar-a-n=a ħal teɬ-ʷ k'ot'-i-n=a ħal teɬ-ʷ šuiš=a ħal qal:
dog-OBL-DAT=& PV give-PRS cat-OBL-DAT=& PV give-PRS themselves=& PV eat
'(They) give (some) to the dog, and give (some) to the cat, and themselves will eat'. (BH2-044 00:10:31)

When the conjoined clauses are contrastive, contrast may be signaled by the adverb *t'q'o?* 'still; again' or with the conjunction *magram* 'but' (from Georgian). Disjunction is expressed with *le* 'or' between the disjoint elements (*txa le qaⁿ* 'today or tomorrow), or before both elements for the meaning 'either… or'. The same structure can be used in a negative context with *co* 'not' as well (i.e., 'neither… nor'), as in (127).

(126) oqus le ditx co d-aq' le načx
3SG.ERG or meat(d/d) NEG CM-eat or cheese(j/j)
'(S)he eats neither meat nor cheese'. (BH2-033 00:06:10)

A final strategy for clause chaining involves converbs, discussed in §4.4.3.

4.8. Non-verbal predication

The copular verb in Batsbi takes the form *d-a* 'be' in the present tense and the imperfective past and the form *xiɬ-ar* 'be' in perfective formations (future, perfective past, imperative, optative, conditional). Copular sentences have a nominal subject in absolutive case, which can stand alone without a complement, as in (128). The complement of a copula can be a noun phrase, an adjective, as in (129); an adverb, as in (130); or a postpositional phrase.

(127) ɣazeⁿ amind b-a-r
good weather(b/d) CM-be-IMPF
'There was good weather'. (BH2-049 00:00:51)

(128) batʷ xiɬ-ʷ zoraⁿ
bato be.PFV-PRS brave
'Bato will be brave'. (BH2-023 00:16:18)

(129) ɣazi-š xiɬ
good-ADVZ be.PFV
'Be well!' (i.e., 'farewell', upon parting)

Examples (131) and (132) show the copula equating two absolutive-case nouns of different classes. In such cases, where there are two potential triggers for agreement, the verb apparently agrees with the topic.

(130) e doⁿ sačukar b-a
this horse(b/d) gift(d/d) CM-be
'This horse is a gift'. (BH2-023 00:09:25)

(131) beⁿ ħec'k'-e-ⁿ c'a d-a
nest(b/d) bird(d/d)-OBL-GEN house(d/d) CM-be
'A nest is a bird's house'. (BH2-023 00:10:08)

A common copular formation is the construction expressing ownership, as in (133). The possessed item, body part, or person in close with relationship with the possessor is expressed in absolutive case and triggers the agreement marker on *d-a*; the possessor is marked with locative-of-allative case.

(132) eq sag-e-go-(ħ) j-aqːaⁿ mʕaʔu-i j-a
this.OBL deer-OBL-ALL-(LOC) CM-big.PL horn(j/j)-PL CM-be
'This deer has big antlers'. (BH2-021 00:01:15)

Predicate locatives are typically not expressed with the copula, but require a more specific verb depending on the position and shape of the argument whose location is indicated: e.g., *ʔe-d-aɣ-ar* 'sit; stand' (example (117)), *latː-ar* 'stand' (example (117)) *lepč-ar* 'lie', *qetː-ar* 'be attached, on the side of', *ħerč-ar* 'be wrapped/coiled around; surround', *elː-ar* 'be threaded on'.

4.9. Clefts

In Batsbi, a focus cleft is constructed with the verb 'be' in the main clause and a participle expressing the verb of the embedded sentence. Recall that participles can express relative clauses in Batsbi (§4.4.1). Participles in Batsbi may mean 'doing' or 'doer'; that is, they may have an agentive meaning.

(133) nanvašʷ / *nanvaš-as c'od b-at-ui-nv-a
uncle(v/b).ABS *uncle-ERG shishkabob(b/d).ABS CM-grill-PRS-PPL CM-be.PRS
'Uncle is the one (who is) grilling shishkabob', '…the griller of the shishkabob.'

While the agent is in the ergative case with 'grill' in simple sentences, in (134) 'uncle' can only be in the absolutive, not in the ergative. It conditions agreement, *v-*, on the verb 'be' and is its subject. The object of 'grill' is likewise in the absolutive case and conditions agreement on the participle 'grilling, griller'.

Information on other aspects of information structure is not available.

5. Sample text

The following text is an excerpt from a story about a trip to Tusheti, recorded in summer 2017. The full text of the story, with audio and video, is available via the Batsbi collection in the *Kaipuleohone Language Archive* under the identifier BH2-049. This excerpt runs from 00:01:00 until 00:01:25 in the audio file.

psarluin isːen tʼqʼa cʼut jar dartlolna nʕaiʔa delnatx. ši daratx mankanev. dartlo nʕaiʔ daleⁿ, cer mak ukʼve, daħ učna xiɬen txoⁿ. cer mak so dexkʼče eq penix bare laxuiš tʼap leqor, čʼax kux dor. dakʼlivnas me kastʼe ɣotx me naqʼa qʼar co ja ɣol txonene.

'It was 8:20pm when we left Dartlo. There were two of us in the car. Outside of Dartlo, on the mountain pass, it got dark on us. When we got to this side of the summit, there was lightning on this side down in the valley. Thunder cracked. I thought, "We'll go quickly, so that it won't rain on us on the road" '.

(134) psarluin	isː-en	tʼqʼa	cʼut	j-a-r	dartlo=lna	nʕaiʔa
in.evening	nine-GEN	twenty	minute(j/j)	CM-be-IMPF	dartlo=from	out

d-el-n-atx	ši	d-a-r-atx	mankan-ev
CM-go-AOR-1EXCL.ERG	two	CM-be-IMPF-1EXCL.ABS	vehicle-INS

'It was 8:20pm when we left Dartlo. We were two, (going) by car'.

(135) dartlo	nʕaiʔ	d-al-eⁿ	cer=mak	ukʼve	daħ
dartlo	outside	CM-go- PPL	summit=on	already	PV

učna	xiɬ-en	txoⁿ
darkness	be.PFV-AOR	1EXCL.DAT

'When we had gone out of Dartlo, already on the mountain pass, it got dark on us'.

(136) cer=mak	so	d-exkʼ-če	eq	penix
summit=on	PV	CM-come.PL-CV	this.OBL	on.side

bar-e	laxuiš	tʼap.leq-o-r	čʼax.kux	d-o-r
valley-LOC	down	lightning-PRS-IMPF	thunder.crack(d/d)	CM-make.PRS-IMPF

'When we had arrived at the summit, on this side down in the valley, lightning flashed and thunder cracked'.

(137) dak'liv-n-as me kast'e ɣ-o-tx me naq'-a
think-AOR-1S.ERG COMP quickly go.PFV-PRS-1EXCL.ERG COMP road-LOC

q'ar co j-a ɣ-o-l txon=en=e
rain(j/j) NEG CM-be go.PFV-PRS-SUBJ 1EXCL.DAT=QUOT=&

'I thought, "we'll go quickly, so that on the road it won't rain on us".'

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7. List of abbreviations

&	and
(d/d)	singular/plural class markers associated with a given noun
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
ABS	absolutive case
ADV	adverbial case
ADVZ	derived adverb (adverbialization)
ALL	allative case
AOR	aorist
CAUS	causative
CM	class marker
CMP	comparative
COMP	complementizer
CON	contact case
COND	conditional
CV	converb
DAT	dative case
DIR	directional case
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
ERG	ergative case
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect tense
IMPV	imperfective
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental case
INTR	intransitivizer
INTS	intensifier
LOC	locative case
MAS	masdar (nominalization of verb with suffix *-ar*)
NEG	negation
NMLZ	derived noun (nominalization)
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative
PFV	perfective

PL	plural
PPL	participle
PROHIB	prohibitive
PRS	present
PV	preverb
Q	y/n question
QUOT	reported speech clitic
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TR	transitivizer
TV	thematic vowel