Negative copulas, animacy and demonstratives in Botlikh (with some notes on Miarso)

Fieldwork report April 2021

Samira Verhees

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory at NRU HSE Moscow

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Contents

1 Introduction

This report contains some preliminary findings based on elicitation with speakers of Botlikh during a short field trip (25–29 April 2021). Section 5 contains the surveys and the elicited material. Each example presented in the text contains a link to the corresponding speaker sample in Section 5. An overview table of the material can be found here. I had three main objectives for this trip:

- Check the agreement patterns of the negative copulas, which are marked for animacy

- Check whether agreement with animacy is present in the Miarso dialect

- Get a general impression of how the demonstrative systems is organized

I also collected some examples of reported speech particles, which are discussed in a separate paper submitted to a future volume on reported speech. For a general introduction to Botlikh and its agreement system(s), see Naccarato & Verhees (2021).

Most of the examples referred to in this report come from elicitation in the field, but I will also refer to the occurrence of certain forms in other available material: the Botlikh-Russian dictionaries (Saidova & Abusov 2012, Alekseev & Azaev 2019) and the corpus. The Botlikh text corpus is a collection of texts published in earlier sources – Gudava (1962) and Azaev (1975). It consists mostly of folklore texts and amounts to ∼15,000 words. This includes a few fragments in the Miarso dialect. The corpus is currently in the process of being digitized and annotated and remains unpublished.

2 Copulas

Copular sentences in Botlikh can be formed with one of four copulas (one affirmative and three negative), or with a form of the existential verb *b-uk'i* 'be'.[1] The copulas are defective: they can only refer to the present tense, and their inflectional paradigm is limited to a few

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[1] I use the infinitive [STEM-i] as citation form. If the verb has an agreement slot, it is in the neuter form (*b-*), and the agreement marker is separated with a hyphen (or triangular brackets in case of an infix).

non-finite forms. The verb *b-uk'i* has a full inflectional paradigm and is used in copular sentences with non-present tense reference. It will not be discussed further here. The copulas also head some periphrastic tenses, such as the perfect, which consists of the general converb and the copula.

2.1 Affirmative

The affirmative copula in Botlikh is *ida*, which is common among Andic languages (Gudava 1959: 57–58). It does not express any type of agreement. Speakers do not typically drop it, and reject omitting it in an example like (1).[2]

(1) w-acːi   učitelʲ=ida.
     M-sibling teacher=COP
     'My brother is a teacher.'   Sample 1 (69)

In the limited material from the Miarso dialect the copula was dropped in several instances, see (2) and other examples in Sample 7 (Section 5.10).

(2) j-acːi   učitelʲ.
     F-sibling teacher
     'My sister is a teacher.'   Sample 7 (425)

The affirmative copula is often cliticized and / or reduced as in (3), both in verbal and non-verbal predication. It could be diachronically related to the intensifier particle *da*, as suggested more generally for Avar-Andic languages by Forker (2015: 505).

(3) w-acːi   učitelʲ gu-čʼi, χarašu=da.
     M-sibling teacher COP-NEG sheperd=COP
     'My brother is not a teacher, he is a sheperd.'   Sample 1 (73)

As mentioned above, the copulas have a defective paradigm. In addition to its basic form, the affirmative copula only has an attributivized form (*ida=χo-b*). Note that *χo-b* is one of a

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[2]The only exception so far seems to be the speaker of Sample 4 (Section 5.7).

set of productive clitics that can be attached to all sorts of constituents, i.e. *ida=χo-b* is not an inflectional form.

2.2 Negative

Botlikh has three suppletive negative copulas: *ɬič'i*, *χuč'i*, and *guč'i*. They consist of a verb stem (which can be tentatively reconstructed as different verbs meaning 'be', see Gudava (1962: 155), note 1), and a regular negation marker *-č'i*. The latter can be reconstructed for proto-Andic (Alekseev 1988: 118–119). Agreement with the subject is expressed by the choice of the verb stem: *ɬi-* for animates, *χu-* for inanimates. The form *guč'i* is neutral. Cognates of the marked forms are found on a variety of other parts of speech, see Table 4 (Section 3), or Naccarato & Verhees (2021) for a detailed overview.

(4) babu iš-qe   gu-č'i.
    mom home-APUD COP-NEG
    'Mom is not at home.'   Sample 3 (272)

(5) uru χu-č'i   hãnk'ʷa.
    there INAN.COP-NEG nail
    'There is no nail there.'   Sample 1 (140)

In example (4), the copula agrees with the subject *ila* 'mother'. In (5) it agrees with *hãnk'ʷa* 'nail'. In both cases the neutral form *guč'i* would also be acceptable, while replacing *ɬič'i* with *χuč'i* and vice versa would be ungrammatical. When the copulas head a periphrastic tense, agreement is with the absolutive argument.

(6) Malla Rucen-di hiƛ'-u ida: hac'a-da tumena-di hiƛ'-a   kː-i
    Mollah R.-ERG   say-CVB COP ten-CARD tumen-ERG say-PROG.CVB give-INF
    ɬi-č'i.
    AN.COP-NEG
    'Mollah Nasreddin said that he will not give [the donkey] for less than 10 tumen.'

    Sample 1 (148)

In example (6), the future tense *kː-i ɬi-č'i* [give-INF AN.COP-NEG] 'will not give' is formed

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with *łič'i* because the object of 'give' is a donkey and thus animate.

Unlike the affirmative copula, the negative forms are never reduced or cliticized. Neutral *guč'i* is attested in participial, progressive converb and masdar form. The speaker of Sample 1 (Section 5.4) allowed the same forms for *χuč'i* but not *łič'i*. Only the neutral forms are attested in the dictionaries and texts.

	guč'i	łič'i	χuč'i
participle	guč'-a-b	-	?
progressive converb	guč'-a(ta)	-	?
masdar	guč'-ir	-	?

Table 1: Forms of the negative copulas

The neutral form is also the most frequent. The text corpus contains 19 tokens of *guč'i* (+ 26 tokens of its participial and converbal forms), 12 tokens of *łič'i*, and 4 of *χuč'i*. Two tokens of *χuč'i* appeared in a text in the Miarso dialect. Neither of the Botlikh-Russian dictionaries contain examples of the marked forms, although the grammar sketch appended to Saidova & Abusov (2012) does mention their existence.

During elicitation speakers used *guč'i* by default. None of them spontaneously produced *χuč'i* or *łič'i*, though they confirmed the existence of these forms. When I proposed to rephrase (7) as (8), with the animate copula, three out of four speakers commented that the latter was actually better. Two speakers started producing *łič'i* in consecutive questions. The form *ha-j* in examples (7)-(8) can be interpreted either as a demonstrative or a third person pronoun. Either way it clearly refers to an animate referent due to the feminine noun class marker.

(7) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   gu-č'i.
     DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP-NEG
     'This is not my sister.'   Sample 5 (387)

(8) ᴼᴷha-j di-j   j-acːi   łi-č'i.
     DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG
     'This is not my sister.'   Sample 5 (388)

Table 2 below shows how speakers judged the acceptability of the marked copulas for

different stimuli.[3] The plus sign (+) indicates that the copula was acceptable and a minus (-) indicates that it was unacceptable in this case. The number in each column denotes the number of speakers. The total number of speakers varies because one survey was not completed, and in some cases questions had to be skipped.

Nr	Stimulus	łič'i		χuč'i		guč'i	
		+	-	+	-	+	-
1.02	This is not my sister.	4	0	0	4	4	0
1.22	Mother is not at home.	3	0	0	2	3	0
1.24	The cow is not in the shed.	3	0	0	3	3	0
1.04	My brother is not a sheperd.	2	1	0	3	3	0
1.05	My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.	2	1	0	2	3	0
1.13	The teacher is not old.	2	1	0	3	3	0
1.07	I am not a stone.	2	1	0	3	3	0
1.06	That is not a person.	2	1	0	3	3	0
1.11	A person is not an animal.	2	1	0	3	3	0
1.08	I will not be a stone.	1	1	0	1	2	0
1.10	An animal is not a person.	1	2	1	2	3	0
1.17	The book is not good.	0	3	3	0	3	0
1.20	There is no light.	0	3	3	0	3	0
1.26	The book is not in the closet.	0	3	2	1	3	0
1.09	An animal is not a thing.	0	2	2	1	3	0
1.15	The cow is not good.	0	2	0	2	2	0

Table 2: Acceptability of negative copulas

Shaded grey are stimuli that rendered consistent results across speakers: 1.02, 1.22 and 1.24 for the animate copula, and 1.17 and 1.20 for the inanimate copula. Note that the acceptability of *łič'i* and *χuč'i* intersects only in the case of 1.10 ('An animal is not a person'). Stimulus 1.10 is similar to 1.09 ('An animal is not a thing'), for which speakers preferred *χuč'i* or *guč'i*. Concerning 1.10, the speakers of Sample 1 (5.4) and Sample 3 (5.6) had opposite intuitions.[4]

(9)   ᴼᴷħajwan adam   χu-č'i.
       animal   person INAN.COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'   Sample 1 (97)

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[3]An .xslx file with the same data and more information is available here.
[4]The speaker from Sample 4 (Section 5.7) used the collective noun *buc':i* 'cattle' instead of *ħajwan* (313). They rejected both *łič'i* and *χuč'i* in this context.

(10)   ᴼᴷħajwan adam   łi-č'i.
        animal   person AN.COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a person.'   Sample 3 (241)

A possible explanation for this variation is the fact that *ħajwan* 'animal' can be interpreted as referring to an animate, or it can represent an abstract concept. The speaker of Sample 3 (Section 5.6) showed some internal variation. While they allowed *łič'i* in (10), they considered it infelicitous in the case of (11). Note that *χuč'i* was considered equally inappropriate in this case, so that the unacceptability of *łič'i* does not indicate that the copula does not agree with the subject here. The speaker additionally offered (12) as an example of a felicitous utterance.

(11)   *ħajwan igruška łi-č'i.
        animal   toy   AN.COP-NEG
        'An animals is not a toy.'   Sample 3 (237)

(12)   hamaχi łi-č'i.
        donkey AN.COP-NEG
        '[This] is not a donkey.'   Sample 3 (238)

The speaker of Sample 1 (5.4) initially argued that the inanimate form *χuč'i* was a variant of *guč'i* used in certain families or clans. They changed their mind later in the session because they felt that in some cases *χuč'i* actually was more or less appropriate with respect to *guč'i* (see examples 94, 97, 111, 115, 141), though they could not quite pinpoint why.

Another factor that could cause variation is the presence of two absolutive arguments that belong to different noun classes ('animal' is neuter, while 'person' is masculine or feminine, depending on the context). Note, however, that the reverse statement (1.11) prompted more straightforward responses. Perhaps when forced to make a decision during elicitation speakers prioritize the less semantically ambiguous argument (that is, within the context of Botlikh's agreement system): a person is most definitely animate, while animals are known to be variable. Overall, the agreement patterns of the copulas in case of such "mismatches" between the subject and the predicate require further investigation, preferably based on more natural speech material.

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Table 2 shows that in the case of six stimuli, the animate form was deemed inappropriate by one speaker even though the subject was animate. This concerns different speakers in the case of individual stimuli, and they cited different motivations for the unacceptablity of *łičʼi*. The speaker of Sample 4 (5.7) considered (13) to be unacceptable because it would imply that the brother is a girl.

(13) *di-w   w-acːi   učitelʼ łi-čʼi.
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a teacher.'   Sample 4 (297)

The same speaker commented on stimulus 1.20 ('There is no light') that *łičʼi* was ungrammatical in this case because it is a 'female' form (presumably corresponding to female humans as in the noun class system), but they nonetheless allowed the use of *łičʼi* in (14).

(14) ᴼᴷzini beƛʼu   łi-čʼi.
      cow   shed.SUP AN.COP-NEG
      'The cow is not in the shed.'   Sample 4 (348)

She commented on (15) that this was unacceptable because *łičʼi* relates to 'humans'.

(15) *tumbočka-łi   quča łi-čʼi.
      nightstand-GEN book AN.COP-NEG
      'The book is not in the nightstand.'   Sample 4 (356)

The speaker of Sample 3 (Section 5.6) deemed (16) unacceptable because the subject was not plural. They produced (17) as an example of an acceptable utterance.

(16) *w-acːi   χarašu łi-čʼi.
      M-sibling sheperd AN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'   Sample 3 (218)

(17) w-acːi-l   χarašu łi-čʼi.
      M-sibling-PL sheperd AN.COP-NEG
      'My brothers are not sheperds.'   Sample 3 (219)

This restriction only seemed to apply to this particular noun. The same speaker allowed the use of *ɬič'i* with all other singular animate subjects ('sister', 'cow', 'animal', 'I', 'teacher [F]'). The speakers' intuitions that "*ɬič'i* is a feminine form" and "*ɬič'i* is a plural (animate) form" were confirmed independently by other speakers in passing, see Sample 6 (Section 5.9).

Stimulus 1.06 was based on example (18), which comes from a natural text.

(18) hu-b   adam   ɬi-č'i,   du-b   anč:u=χ:a
      DEM-N person AN.COP-NEG you.OBL.SG-N(GEN) shadow=EMPH
      'That is not a person, it is your shadow!'   (Gudava 1962)

This example is interesting because the animate copula is used even though the subject is inanimate (the demonstrative *hu-b* refers to the shadow of the addressee). During elicitation all four speakers refused to employ the neuter form *hu-b* in combination with *adam* 'person'. The result is a sentence as in (19), which is essentially a paradox: the sentence states that X is not a person, yet the demonstrative shows agreement with the masculine noun class, which means that its referent must be a person. Where the copulas are concerned, *ɬič'i* was considered acceptable by two speakers (unacceptable by one), and *χuč'i* by none.

(19) e-b=χu-la   hibd-u-r,   hu-w   adam gu-č'i.
      what-N=INAN-CQ be_startled-PST-MSD DEM-M person COP-NEG
      'What are you scared of, that is not a person.'   Sample 1 (78)

One aspect that does not seem to influence the agreement pattern (though this requires verification) is the type of copular sentence. In Table 2 different types of copular sentences (identificational, locative, qualificational) are represented among the stimuli eliciting consistent responses, as well as among those that prompted variation.

2.3 Discussion

Speakers of Botlikh use the unmarked negative copula *guč'i* by default. It is also the most frequent in the available language material, while examples of the marked forms (*ɬič'i* for animates, *χuč'i* for inanimates) are few. The acceptability of the marked forms in different con-

texts showed quite some variation across speakers, although the general pattern that emerges confirms that their functional distinction can be explained in terms of animacy (see Table 2).

According to one speaker the animate form *ɬičʼi* was more appropriate if the subject was a female human (i.e. belonged to the feminine noun class). Another considered *ɬičʼi* to be a plural (human) form. While both speakers produced additional examples and judgments that contradict the idea that either of these explanations are the whole story, both intuitions were confirmed independently by other speakers, and they could have some diachronic grounds.[5] I am not sure how the prominence of female referents fits into the diachronic puzzle, but within the noun class system the animacy distinction is specific to the plural, and all other Andic languages divide the plural domain into humans and non-humans. It is therefore not surprising that plural and human referents would function as more prototypical examples of the animate category in the minds of some speakers. In a previous investigation of animacy agreement in other areas of Botlikh grammar, humans emerged as more prototypical examples of animates (i.e. more consistently agreeing across speakers) as compared to various animals (Naccarato & Verhees 2019). It appears that Botlikh preserves a latent tendency towards clustering humans together in a single category in contrast with other types of referents. What remains unclear is which opposing tendencies prevent Botlikh from simply developing the common human / non-human distinction, instead giving rise to an animate / inanimate distinction. Perhaps the answer to this question can also be found in patterns of synchronic variation.

To follow up on the preliminary results presented in this report, I intend to conduct a survey with speakers of Botlikh online. If a sufficient number of respondents completes the survey, their preferences for a certain negative copula could provide quantitative evidence for the tendencies observed during in-person elicitation.

Some questions that remain unresolved are the following:

1. Do the negative copulas always agree with the subject?

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[5]One speaker mentioned 'animacy' as a motivation for (un)acceptability, see example (389) in Sample 5 (Section 5.8).

2. Does a mismatch between the animacy or noun class of the subject and the predicate it is equated with cause any conflict in this regard?

3. What determines the choice for one of the marked forms as opposed to the neutral variant *gučʼi*?

4. Is *gučʼi* in the process of ousting the marked options?

5. How did this system with three negative copulas emerge?

1. The results of the survey presented in this report generally confirm that agreement of the negative copulas is governed by the animacy of the subject. However, when this is not the case, it is not always clear whether this is because the subject is ambiguous in terms of animacy, or because agreement is not with the subject (cf. the discussion of stimuli 1.09, 1.10, and 1.11 above);

2. For this reason, it is necessary to verify the agreement patterns of certain nouns in unambiguous contexts, and subsequently study the behavior of different nouns in case of mismatches where animates are equated with inanimate objects and vice versa;

3. Given that *gučʼi* can be used in every possible context for a negative copula while the marked forms are much more restricted, the question rises what motivates speakers to use the marked forms. Possibly there are some pragmatic factors at play;

4. Another possibility is that *gučʼi* is simply ousting two older, more restricted forms, based on the fact that speakers would use *gučʼi* by default even in cases where a marked form was deemed not just appropriate, but actually "better" than the neutral copula. I did overhear the use of at least *łičʼi* in spontaneous conversation on a few occassions while I was in Botlikh. Possibly the absence of the marked forms in the available language data is due to its limited nature (elicited sentences and a small corpus of folklore narratives), rather than the actual rarity of these forms in natural language use;

5. The three negative copulas are structurally similar, but synchronically there is a clear functional asymmetry between the marked forms and the unmarked variant. How this system

emerged is not clear, cf. Naccarato & Verhees (2019) for comparison with the (negative) copula inventories of other Andic languages.

3 Animacy in Miarso

The data from Miarso on which this section is based are rather sparse. I visited the village only for one afternoon, during which I elicited sentences with a group of speakers consisting of a teacher and children of different ages, see Sample 7 (Section 5.10). I was able to ask another speaker a few additional questions via a messenger app.

SG	M	F	N
	w	j	b

PL	AN	INAN
	r/l	b

Table 3: Noun class system of Miarso

The noun class system of Miarso does not differ from that of Botlikh. It distinguishes male humans, female humans, and everything else in singular, and animates versus inanimates in plural (Table 3). Examples (20)–(23) show that animals including insects pattern with humans ('children') rather than objects ('houses').

(20) ha-l   mak'i-l
      DEM-AN.PL child-PL
      'these children'   Sample 7 (423)

(21) ha-l   k'at-e
      DEM-AN.PL horse-PL
      'these horses'   Sample 7 (420)

(22) ha-l   sisik'wan-ɬi
      DEM-AN.PL butterfly-PL
      'these butterflies'   Sample 7 (424)

(23) ha-b   hanq'ʷ-aɬi
      DEM-INAN.PL house-PL
      'these houses'   Sample 7 (418)

Only a subset of the dedicated animacy markers that are present in Botlikh were attested in Miarso. Table 4 summarizes the correspondences. It is possible that Miarso has additional markers for animacy agreement that are not shown here, since my survey was aimed at finding the equivalents of forms attested in Botlikh.

	Botlikh		Miarso	
	AN	INAN	AN	INAN
Negative copula	ɫi-č'i	χu-č'i	hi-č'i	hu-č'i
Interrogative particle				
Polar	ɫi-ma	χu-ma	ɫi-ba	χu-ba?
Content	ɫi-la	χu-la	ɫi-la	χu-la
Attributive clitic	ɫa-b	χo-b	?	
Participle				
Present	ɫa-b	χa-b	go-b	
Future	ɫa-b	χo-b	?	
Ordinal numeral	ɫa-b	χo-b	χo-b	

Table 4: Animacy markers in Botlikh and Miarso

The present participle in Miarso always takes the suffix *-go-b*, as evidenced by examples (24)–(26) below. I am not sure why *adan* agrees with the neuter class in (26). Perhaps *-b* is petrified, or *adan* shows a different pattern than *adam* in Botlikh.

(24)   b-ič-at(a)-go-b   zini
          N-sell-PROG-PTCP-N COW
          'a cow that is being sold'   Sample 7 (444)

(25)   b-ič-at(a)-go-b   q'aj
          N-sell-PROG-PTCP-N merchandise
          'merchandise that is being sold'   Sample 7 (445)

(26)   mašina ič-ata-go-b   adan
          car   drive-PROG-PTCP-N person
          'a person who drives a car'   Sample 7 (446)

The ordinal numeral always takes the suffix *-χo-b*, cf. examples (27)–(29). I have no data on attributive clitics in Miarso; in Botlikh there are several attributive clitics, including two clitics that are marked for animacy and are cognate with the participial and ordinal numeral suffixes. It remains to be verified whether any of the attributive clitics attested in Botlikh are available in Miarso.

(27) k'ej-χo-w   waša
      two-ORD-M son
      'the second son'   Sample 7 (447)

(28) k'ej-χo-b   zini
      two-ORD-N cow
      'the second cow'   Sample 7 (448)

(29) k'ej-χo-b   quča
      two-ORD-N book
      'the second book'   Sample 7 (449)

In Miarso agreement with animacy is expressed on the interrogative particles and on the negative copulas. The content question markers are identical to those of Botlikh: *ɬila* for animates, *χula* for inanimates.

(30) in=ɬi-la   iš-qe?
      who=AN-CQ home-APUD
      'Who is at home?'   Sample 7 (431)

(31) ha-b   e-b=χu-la?
      DEM-N what-N=INAN-CQ
      'What is this?'   Sample 7 (432)

In Miarso the interrogative element can be dropped, leaving only the animacy marker, as in (32). In Botlikh only the reverse is possible (33).

(32) di-b   q'abaɬa inu-χu?
      I.OBL-N[GEN] hat   where-INAN
      'Where is my hat?'   Sample 7 (441)

(33) ina=la   b-it'-a-j   kaʁat?
      where.LAT=CQ N-send-CAUS-INF letter
      'Where do I send this letter?'   ([Saidova & Abusov 2012](): 202)

Polar question markers take the form *ba* (as opposed to *ma* in Botlikh). Only the animate and bare forms were attested.

(34) w-oč'uχa ima   ʁundu=łi-ba?
      M-big   father sleep=AN-PQ
      'Is grandfather sleeping?'   Sample 7 (439)

Possibly the absence of the inanimate marker *χu* in (35) is a case of omission. In Botlikh the particle *ma* frequently occurs without the animacy markers.

(35) min-di   c'ĩw partu iχ-i=ba?
      you.SG-ERG new coat take-AOR=PQ
      'Did you buy a new coat?'   Sample 7 (438)

The negative copulas are *hič'i* for animates ((36)–(40)) and *huč'i* for inanimates ((41)–(42)).

(36) j-acːi   učitelʲnica hi-č'i.
      F-sibling teacher   AN.COP-NEG
      'My sister is not a teacher.'   Sample 7 (426)

(37) di-w   w-acːi   učitelʲ hi-č'i
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a teacher.'   Online elicitation 2021

(38) di-l   ila-ima   učitelʲ-zawałi hi-č'i
      I.OBL-AN.PL[GEN] mother-father teacher-PL   AN.COP-NEG
      'My parents are not teachers.'   Online elicitation 2021

(39) ha-b   zini di-b   hi-č'i
      DEM-N cow I.OBL-N[GEN] AN.COP-NEG
      'That cow is not mine.'   Online elicitation 2021

(40) ha-l   zin-e   di-l   hi-č'i
      DEM-AN.PL cow-PL I.OBL-AN.PL[GEN] AN.COP-NEG
      'Those cows are not mine.'   Online elicitation 2021

(41) hanq'u b-eč'uχa-b hu-č'i.
      house N-big-N   INAN.COP-NEG
      'The house is not big.'   Sample 7 (428)

(42) ha-b   quči-waɬi di-b   hu-č'i
      DEM-N book-PL   I.OBL-N[GEN]   INAN.COP-NEG
      'Those books are not mine.'   Online elicitation 2021

hič'i is thus a cognate of *ɬič'i*. The change *ɬ* > *h* is not uncommon (cf. Andi *reɬo* vs. Botlikh *reha* 'night'), and this particular correspondence could provide a missing link in reconstructing the copulas of Proto-Andic (cf. the overview of copular stems presented in Naccarato & Verhees (2019) in combination with the fact that Miarso *hi* corresponds to *ɬi* in Botlikh). The formal difference between the marked interrogative particles and the negative copulas in Miarso seems odd, because it results in a less coherent paradigm. At the same time, animacy marking in the negative copula domain appears more consistent and grammaticalized in Miarso, since it lacks a third neutral copula. Only *huč'i* and *hič'i* showed up during elicitation. Recall that the form *χuč'i* was attested in a text in the Miarso dialect. When I asked my online consultant about this form, they commented that it belongs to the Botlikh dialect.

4   Demonstratives

The demonstrative system of Botlikh is relatively small compared to other Andic languages: it has 5 basic stems and 2 productive extensions. Elevation is not distinguished. Table 5 presents the basic forms and their functions. Demonstratives are cited in the absolute case with a neuter noun class marker. Oblique forms replace the class suffix with an attributive oblique marker: *-šːu* for male human referents, *-ɬːi* for all others.

	Form	Function		
1	ha-b	proximal		
2	hu-b	medial		
3	go-b	distal		
4	ga-b	distal	to the side	
5	do-b	distal	distant in time	

Table 5: Basic demonstratives

Extended forms attach the word *ce-b* 'one' to the stem. It can be followed by the restrictive clitic *ʁa-b*, which indicates a specific referent from a group of similar ones. In this case I treat *ʁa-b* as a suffix and part of the word form, rather than a clitic, because it is not cliticized to the *ce-b* forms: it attaches in place of the class marker rather than on top of it. In its function as a restrictive clitic, by contrast, no part of the host is truncated, cf. example (43).

(43)   **bišti-b=ʁa-b**   k'atu m-iš-a
       you.PL-N[GEN]=RESTR-N horse N-win-AOR
       'YOUR horse (rather than somebody else's) won.'   (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 97)

I discussed the extended demonstratives with two consultants,[6] and in their speech some kind of vowel harmony occurs between *ha- / ga-* and *ʁa-b*, as shown in Table 6 below.

	Extension 1		
1	ha	ce-b	
2	hu	ce-b	
3	go	ce-b	
4	ga	ce-b	
5	do	ce-b	
	Extension 2		
1	ha	ca	ʁa-b
2	hu	ce	ʁa-b
3	go	ce	ʁa-b
4	ga	ca	ʁa-b
5	do	ce	ʁa-b

Table 6: Extended demonstratives

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[6]See Sample 1 (Section 5.4) and Sample 3 (Section 5.6).

Both Botlikh-Russian dictionaries cite the form *go-ca-ʁa-b*, as opposed to my consultants' variant *go-ce-ʁa-b*. *-ce-ʁa-b* only occurs in [Saidova & Abusov (2012)](#) as an independent word form (*ce-ʁa-b* 'other') or as part of *e-ce-ʁa-b* [what-one-RESTR-N] 'which'.

Demonstrative stems also form the base of a number of adverbial forms. It remains to be verified how productive each derivation is with different stems. The speaker of Sample 4 (Section 5.7), for example, recognized the combination of the base stems with the additive particle (e.g. *hu-la* meaning 'like that'), with the exception of *ga-la*.

4.1 Basic stems

The proximal *ha-b* is used to introduce a referent for the first time, while the medial form *hu-b* refers back to a referent already mentioned. Below are examples of their demonstrative (44)–(45) functions and the discursive function of *hu-b* (46). The discursive function of *ha-b* often coincides with its demonstrative function.

(44) čakar=ida=ma ha-b?
      sugar=COP=PQ DEM-N
      'Is this sugar?' (the speaker is holding a sugarcube)   Sample 1 (120)

(45) hu-b ručka ikː-a   di-χa.
      DEM-N pen   give-IMP I.OBL-APUD.LAT
      'Give me that pen.' (the addressee is holding the pen)   Sample 5 (396)

(46) ha-w ida di-w   w-acːi, hu-w ida gʷanzi mak'i.
      DEM-M COP I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling DEM-M COP good   child
      'This is my brother, he is a good child.'   ([Alexeyev & Verhees Forth.](#))

ga-b indicates a referent that is not near the speaker or the addressee but located "to the side", see [Saidova & Abusov (2012](#): 114) and Sample 2 (192). It can also be behind the speaker's back. The form is frequently used as a third person pronoun in texts.

(47) ga-b   t'amsa
      DEM-N carpet
      'that carpet' (the carpet is to the side and out of sight of the speaker) Sample 2 (192)

Historically, demonstrative stems with *gV-* in Andic refer to something that is located below eye-level. The strangely specific meaning 'to the side' could be a relict of this function. In example (48) it simply functions as a third person pronoun. *ga-b=la* refers to a hammer that the protagonist found. The protagonist is not very smart and thinks he can coax the hammer to come after him, which fails. *ga-w* in the second clause refers to the protagonist.

(48) ga-b=la   b-eχuťu ʁ-i-č'a   ga-w iš-qa   w-eƛ-u   ida.
      DEM-N=ADD N-behind come-IS-NEG.CVB DEM-M home-APUD.LAT M-walk-CVB COP
      'It did not come after [him], so he went home.'   (Gudava 1962: 175)

do-b is associated with referents in the distant past that are equally known to both the speaker and the addressee, see Saidova & Abusov (2012: 183) and Sample 3 (285).

Two additional forms *hogo-b* and *hada-b* were described by M.E. Alexeyev in his unpublished grammar sketch of Botlikh (Alexeyev & Verhees Forth.). *hogo-b* is specific to Miarso; it seems to be an equivalent of Botlikh *go-b* (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 163). *hada-b* is unattested elsewhere. One speaker recognized a form *haga-b*, and commented that it refers to a specific referent that is out of sight at the time of speech (49). It is unattested elsewhere. When I asked another speaker about this form, they thought I meant the adjective *haga-b* 'stupid', see example (372) in Sample 3.

(49) haga-b hurƛ'a-ɬi ruša.
      DEM-N nut-GEN tree
      'That walnut tree.'   Sample 1 (175)

4.2   "You know the one"

A common and transparent extension of the basic demonstrative stems is the attachment of the word *ce-b* 'one'. These forms are used when the speaker assumes that the addressee will know what they are talking about. Example (50) was uttered by my consultant's grandson while we were discussing the meaning of different demonstratives. The boy used *go-ce-b* to refer to a specific bucket he had used before, assuming that his grandfather would know

which one he is talking about.

(50) go-ce-b   wedro ida=ma?
     DEM-one-N bucket COP=PQ
     'Is that (one) bucket here?'   Sample 1 (Section 5.4)

An analogous construction exists in spoken Dutch.

(51) waar   is die ene emmer?
     where is that one bucket
     'Where is that bucket (you know which one I am talking about)?'

Asking *waar is die emmer?* 'where is that bucket?' would require either some specification or a prior context where the bucket is mentioned. Otherwise it will probably be met with an annoyed response asking which one the speaker is talking about. By adding *ene* 'one', the speaker absolves themselves of the necessity to specify which bucket they mean. Instead, they prompt the addressee to search their common ground for what the speaker could be talking about. In Botlikh the addition of *ce-b* 'one' to the demonstrative stem shows some signs of morphologization, since it attaches directly to the stem. The extension is available for all demonstratives.

4.3   Restrictive

The marker *-ʁa-b* can be attached to demonstrative forms extended with *ce-b*. It adds emphasis on a specific referent.

(52) ha-ca-ʁa-j   ješi
     DEM-one-RESTR-F girl
     'THAT girl' (one of two)   (Saidova & Abusov 2012: 149)

As mentioned earlier, *ʁa-b* also occurs as a restrictive clitic that can attach to a variety of constituents. In the demonstrative domain it is less autonomous and functions as a suffix that derives a special kind of demonstrative, because it always attaches to a particular form

(the 'one'-extension), and the word form as a whole displays signs of morphologization and phonological assimilation.

5 Data

This section contains the surveys I used and the elicited material in the form of speaker samples. Each speaker sample is numbered and contains some metadata. Speakers are identified by a code that consists of their initials, year of birth, and gender. One speaker sample equals one session; samples 1 and 2 were elicited from the same person on different days. A session can include multiple speakers. Since fieldwork in Daghestan is often conducted in people's own homes, it is not always possible to isolate speakers. Other speakers may chime in spontaneously or be asked to weigh in by the main speaker.

Examples are presented first in Avar Cyrillics (with the addition of лı for the lateral affricate /ƛ/, and double quotation marks (") for nasalization on the preceding vowel) and then in transcription. Unmarked examples are translations of the initial question / stimulus, a plus sign (+) indicates an additional example prompted by the researcher, two plus signs (++) indicate additional examples produced spontaneously by the speaker. Ungrammatical expressions are marked with an asterisk (*). In some cases a Russian translation of the example is provided because the speaker produced a translation that was different from the original stimulus. Additional text in Russian are my notes of the speaker's comments. Notes in English are mine. Unfortunately, no audio recordings are available.

The speaker samples differ in size and content. I had prepared a survey on negative copulas for Botlikh (5.1), a survey on animacy for Miarso (5.2), and some assorted extra tasks (5.3). During the sessions I asked additional questions about topics that were technically outside the scope of my investigation, such as word order in copular sentences. I checked the availability and possible function of different demonstrative forms by way of unstructured elicitation and conversation. Survey questions are identified by Q and the number of the survey and the question (e.g. Q1.1 is the first question of the first survey on negative copulas, which is represented in most samples). Unprepared questions are identified by the number of the speaker sample, the letter F ('free question'), and consecutive numbering. Russian was used as the working language, so the surveys are presented in Russian with an English translation.

5.1 Survey 1 – Negative copulas

The survey elicits different types of copular sentences and their negative equivalents: 1–5. identificational copular sentences; 6–11. copular sentences with a mismatch in noun class or animacy between subject and predicate; 12–17. predicational copular sentences; 18–20. existential copular sentences; 21–26. locational copular sentences.

1. Это моя сестра.

   This is my sister.

2. Это не моя сестра

   This is not my sister.

3. Брат учитель.

   My brother is a teacher.

4. Брат не чабан.

   My brother is not a sheperd.

5. Брат не учитель, а чабан.

   My brother is not a teacher, but a sheperd.

6. Это не человек (это твоя тень).

   That is not a person (it's your shadow).

7. Я не камень.

   I am not a stone.

8. Я не буду камнем.

   I will not be a stone.

9. Животное не вещь / предмет.

   An animal is not a thing.

10. Животное не человек.

    An animal is not a person.

11. Человек не животное.

    A person is not an animal.

12. Учительница старая.

    The teacher is old.

13. Учительница не старая.

    The teacher is not old.

14. Корова хорошая.

    The cow is good.

15. Корова не хорошая.

    The cow is not good.

16. Книга хорошая.

    The book is good.

17. Книга не хорошая.

    The book is not good.

18. Свет есть?

    Is there light?

19. Свет есть.

    There is light.

20. Нет света.

    There is no light.

21. Мама дома.

    Mom is at home.

22. Мама не дома. / Мамы нет дома.

    Mom is not at home.

23. Корова в хлеву.

    The cow is in the shed.

24. Корова не в хлеву. / Коровы нет в хлеву.

    The cow is not in the shed.

25. Книга в шкафу.

    The book is in the closet.

26. Книга не в шкафу. / Книги нет в шкафу.

    The book is not in the closet.

5.2   Survey 2 – Animacy in the Miarso dialect

This survey elicits the Miarso equivalents of existing examples in the Botlikh dialect where forms marked for animacy are employed: 1–7. noun class agreement with plural noun phrases; 8–12. negative copulas; 13–20. interrogative sentences; 23–25. participles; 26–28. ordinal numerals.

1. Эти книги

   These books

2. Эти дома

   These houses

3. Эти коровы

   These cows

4. Эти лошади

   These horses

5. Эти люди

   These people

6. Эти дети

   These children

7. Эти бабочки

   These butterflies

8. Сестра учительница.

   My sister is a teacher.

9. Сестра не учительница.

   My sister is not a teacher.

10. Дом большой.

The house is big.

11. Дом не большой.

The house is not big.

12. Этого дома нет уже.

That house is not there anymore.

13. Это ты?

Is that you?

14. Кто дома?

Who is at home?

15. Что это?

What is this?

16. Ты кормил куриц?

Did you feed the chickens?

17. Ты купил новое пальто?

Did you buy a new coat?

18. Дедушка (не) спит?

Is grandpa (not) sleeping?

19. Где дети?

Where are the children?

20. Где моя шапка?

Where is my hat?

21. Куда летит этот самолет?

Where is this plane flying to?

22. Куда он едет?

    Where is he going?

23. Корова, которую продают

    A cow that is being sold

24. Товар, который продают

    A product that is being sold

25. Человек, который водит машину

    A person who is driving a car

26. Второй сын

    The second son

27. Вторая корова

    The second cow

28. Вторая книга

    The second book

5.3 Survey 3 – Assorted additional tasks

This survey contains assorted small tasks: 1–5. sentences from the corpus for translation and discussion; 6–7 an attempt to reproduce biabsolutive examples from Alexeyev's unpublished grammar sketch.

1. Галълъа гьину букӀа гучӀи эштубкӀвала кванар.

2. Саруди гьикьуда адамихъи: берка хвасар и"гьи, гьулълъиди баркалла индакӀвала гьикьи хучӀи.

3. Малла руценди гьикьу ида (//гьикьуда): гьацӀада туменади гьикьа кки лъичӀи.

4. Гьена-лъабу мисариуди бакьаралъи машикӀаб-талу, гьикьу ида гӀадал ваццуди.

5. Галълъиди гьикьуда мисидалъи кьирекукӀул нартав ваъа джавгьаралъи кьирекулъил вессуха вищидера.

6. Отец вспахал поле.
   Father plowed the field.

7. Отец не вспахал поле.
   Father did not plow the field.

5.4 Speaker sample 1

Recorded 26.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker GMM1962M, researcher Samira Verhees.

No audio recording.

Q1.01 Это моя сестра.

Гьай дий йацци ида.

(53)   ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   ida.
       DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP
       'She is my sister.'

   ++ Гьайегье дий йацци.

(54)   ha<j>e(he)   di-j   j-acːi.
       this_here<F> I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling
       'This here is my sister.'

   + Гой дий йацци йикӀе.

(55)   go-j   di-j   j-acːi   j-ik'-e.
       DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling F-be-HAB
       'This is my sister.'

   Researcher comment: Asked to rephrase with a different demonstrative, to which the speaker also altered the verb, which I did not notice during the session.

   ++ Гьуй дий йацци йикӀе.

(56)   hu-j   di-j   j-acːi   j-ik'-e.
       DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling F-be-HAB
       'This is my sister.'

++ Гой дий йацци йикӀа.

(57) go-j   di-j   j-ac:i   j-ik'-a.
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling F-be-AOR
      'This is my sister.'

Speaker comment: Копулу нельзя опускать. Выбор *гой* и *гьуй* происходит на подсознательном уровне. *гьай* – ближе (рядом), *гой* / *гьуй* – на стороне. *гьуй* можно заменить на *гай*, оно здесь тоже возможно. *гьуй* – не рядом, но конкретизировано, а *гай* абстрактно и в стороне, вне сферы собеседников. Если человек, о котором идет речь, не присутствует (например, я рассказываю, что у кого-то был в гостях, ответ:) *гьуй*.

++ Гьай ида илӀиб мицци бегъаталъай адам.

(58) ha-j   ida iλi-b   mic':i   beʁ-ata=ɬa-j   adam.
      DEM-F COP we.INCL-N[GEN] language know-PROG=AN.ATR-F person
      'This is a person who knows our language.' / Это человек, изучающий/знающий наш язык.

+ Гьай ида дий йацци.

(59) ha-j   ida di-j   j-ac:i.
      DEM-F COP I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling
      'This is my sister.'

Speaker comment: Так тоже можно, это утверждение с восклицательным знаком.

+ Дий йацци ида гьай.

(60) di-j   j-ac:i   ida ha-j.
      I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP DEM-F
      'This is my sister.' (contrary to the addressee's expectation)

Speaker comment: Тоже можно, но это более редко. Это, например, если не родная сестра, или это пояснение к рассказу, если люди не знают, что это твоя сестра.

Q1.2 Это не моя сестра.

Гьай дий йацци гучӏи.

(61) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   gu-čʼi.
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP-NEG
      'This is not my sister.'

      Она мне не сестра.

   + Гьай дий йацци лъичӏи.

(62) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   ɬi-čʼi.
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG
      'This is not my sister.'

   + Гьай дий йацци хучӏи.

(63) *ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   χu-čʼi.
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling INAN.COP-NEG
      'This is not my sister.'

   Speaker comment: *хучӏи* нельзя. *хучӏи* и *гучӏи* – эквиваленты, кто-то использует *гучӏи*, а кто-то *гучӏи*.

   ++ Гъани гучӏи.

(64) ʁani gu-čʼi.
      bread COP-NEG
      'There is no bread.'

   ++ Гъани лъичӏи.

(65) *ʁani ɬi-č'i.
      bread AN.COP-NEG
      'There is no bread.'

      ++ Геду гучи.

(66) gedu gu-č'i.
      cat   COP-NEG
      'There is no cat.'

      ++ Геду лъичи.

(67) *gedu ɬi-č'i.
      cat   AN.COP-NEG
      'There is no cat.'

      + Зини лъичи.

(68) *zini ɬi-č'i.
      cow AN.COP-NEG
      'There is no cow.'

Q1.3 Брат учитель.

Вацци учительида.

(69) w-acːi   učiteľ=ida.
      M-sibling teacher=COP
      'My brother is a teacher.'

Q1.4 Брат не чабан.

Вацци харашу гучи.

(70) w-acːi   χarašu gu-č'i.
      M-sibling sheperd COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

34

+ Вацци харашу лъичӀи.

(71) w-acːi   χarašu   łi-čʼi.
      м-sibling sheperd AN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

+ Вацци харашу хучӀи.

(72) *w-acːi   χarašu   χu-čʼi.
      м-sibling sheperd INAN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

Researcher comment: A form *čučʼi* is described in Saidova & Abusov (2012: 556). According to the speaker it does not exist; possibly it is a typo in the source.

Q1.5 Брат не учитель, а чабан.

Вацци учитель гучӀи, харашуда.

(73) w-acːi   učitelʲ gu-čʼi,   χarašu=da.
      м-sibling teacher COP-NEG sheperd=COP
      'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

+ Вацци учитель лъичӀи, харашуда.

(74) w-acːi   učitelʲ łi-čʼi,   χarašu=da.
      м-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG sheperd=COP
      'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

+ Вацци учитель хучӀи, харашуда.

(75) *w-acːi   učitelʲ χu-čʼi,   χarašu=da.
      м-sibling teacher INAN.COP-NEG sheperd=COP
      'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

+ Гьай дий йацци гучӀи, йешида.

(76) ha-j   di-j   j-aːci   gu-čʼi,   ješi=da
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP-NEG daughter=COP
      'This is not my sister but my daughter.'

   + Гьай дий йацци лъичи, йешида.

(77) ha-j   di-j   j-aːci   ɬi-čʼi,   ješi=da.
      DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG daughter=COP
      'This is not my sister but my daughter.'

Q1.6 Это не человек (это твоя тень).

Эбхула гьибдур, гьув адам гучи.

(78) e-b=χu-la   hibd-u-r,   hu-w adam gu-čʼi.
      what-N=INAN-CQ be_startled-PST-MSD DEM-M person COP-NEG
      'What are you scared of, that is not a person.'

      Что боишься, это не человек.

   + Эбхула гьибдур, гьуб адам гучи.

(79) *e-b=χu-la   hibd-u-r,   hu-b adam gu-čʼi.
      what-N=INAN-CQ be_startled-PST-MSD DEM-N person COP-NEG
      'What are you scared of, that is not a person.'

   + Эбхула гьибдур, гьув адам лъичи.

(80) e-b=χu-la   hibd-u-r,   hu-w adam ɬi-čʼi.
      what-N=INAN-CQ be_startled-PST-MSD DEM-M person AN.COP-NEG
      'What are you scared of, that is not a person.'

   + Эбхула гьибдур, гьув адам хучи.

(81) *e-b=χu-la   hibd-u-r,   hu-w adam χu-čʼi.
      what-N=INAN-CQ be_startled-PST-MSD DEM-M person INAN.COP-NEG
      'What are you scared of, that is not a person.'

Q1.7 Я не камень.

Ден анча гучіи.

(82)   den anča gu-č'i.
         I   stone COP-NEG
         'I am not a stone.'

    + Ден анча лъичіи.

(83)   den anča łi-č'i.
         I   stone AN.COP-NEG
         'I am not a stone.'

    Speaker comment: Наверно можно, *гучіи* все-таки лучше звучит, хотя *лъичіи* тоже будет нормально.

    + Ден анча хучіи.

(84)   *den anča χu-č'i.
         I   stone INAN.COP-NEG
         'I am not a stone.'

    Speaker comment: Скорее всего это ашининский диалект.

Q1.8 Я не буду камнем.

Ден анчалъун вукіи гучіи.

(85)   den anča=łun   w-uk'-i   gu-č'i.
         I   stone=FUNC M-be-INF COP-NEG
         'I will not be a stone.'

    ++ Анчалъун ден вукіи гучіи.

(86) anča=ɬun   den w-uk'-i   gu-č'i.
      stone=FUNC I   M-be-INF COP-NEG
      'I will not be a stone.'

      ++ Ден вукӏи гучӏи анчалъун.

(87) den w-uk'-i   gu-č'i   anča=ɬun.
      I   M-be-INF COP-NEG stone=FUNC
      'I will not be a stone.'

      Speaker comment: Это более пафосно, восклицательно.

      + Ден анчаталу вукӏи гучӏи.

(88) den anča=talu   w-uk'-i   gu-č'i.
      I   stone=QUOT M-be-INF COP-NEG
      'I will not be a stone.'

      Speaker comment: Так тоже можно, но тогда значит, что я не буду настаивать на то,

      или утверждать, что это камень. Это пересказ того, что сказал другой человек.

      ++ Гӏалиди кьатида гьуб банка инщуб=хулета

(89) ʕali-di λ'-at-ida   hu-b banka in-š:u-b=χuleta
      A.-ERG say-PROG-COP DEM-N can   REFL-M.OBL-N[GEN]=QUOT
      'Ali says that this can is his.'

      Али говорит, что эта банка его.

      + Гӏалиди кьатида гьуб банка инщуб(-ида)=талу

(90) ʕali-di λ'-at-ida   hu-b banka in-š:u-b(-ida)=talu
      A.-ERG say-PROG-COP DEM-N can   REFL-M.OBL(-COP)=QUOT
      'Ali says that this can is his.'

      Али говорит, что эта банка его.

Researcher comment: In (89) the copula *ida* should not be used, while in (90) it is optional. This has to do with the fact that *χuleta* is a predicativizing particle, though I would expect *ida* to be mandatory in (90), since *talu* is not predicativizing and the copula usually can not be omitted.

Q1.9 Животное не вещь / предмет.

[Ребенок плохо относится к животному, как сказать ему: "Животное не вещь" в смысле, что это живое существо.]

Researcher comment: This question required some additional explanation.

Хӏайван игрушка гучӏи.

(91)   ħajwan igruška gu-č'i.
        animal toy   COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a toy.'

Хӏайван анча гучӏи.

(92)   ħajwan anča gu-č'i.
        animal stone COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a stone.'

Speaker comment: На самом деле вещь / предмет будет *на*(*гъар*), но в данном контексте не очень подходит.

+ Хӏайван анча лъичӏи.

(93)   ??ħajwan anča łi-č'i.
        animal   stone AN.COP-NEG
        'Animals are not stones.'

Researcher comment: The speaker first commented that this was fine, then they

changed their mind.

+ Хӏайван анча хучӏи.

(94)   ħajwan anča χu-čʼi.
       animal stone INAN.COP-NEG
       'Animals are not stones.'

Speaker comment: *хучӏи* здесь можно, но *гучӏи* используется чаще.

Q1.10 Животное не человек.

Хӏайван адам гучӏи.

(95)   ħajwan adam gu-čʼi.
       animal person COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

+ Хӏайван адам лъичӏи.

(96)   *ħajwan adam łi-čʼi.
       animal person AN.COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

+ Хӏайван адам хучӏи.

(97)   ħajwan adam χu-čʼi.
       animal person INAN.COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

Speaker comment: *хучӏи* здесь можно, но *гучӏи* используется чаще.

Q1.11 Человек не животное.

Адам хӏайван гучӏи.

(98)   adam   ħajwan gu-č'i.
        person animal COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

    + Адам хӏайван лъичӏи.

(99)   adam   ħajwan ɬi-č'i.
        person animal AN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

    + Адам хӏайван хучӏи.

(100)   *adam ħajwan χu-č'i.
        person animal INAN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

Q1.12 Учительница старая.

Учительница йахара ида.

(101)   učiteľnica j-aχara ida.
        teacher   F-old   COP
        'The teacher is old.'

    + Учительница йахара.

(102)   *učiteľnica j-aχara.
        teacher   F-old
        'The teacher is old.'

    Speaker comment: Так нельзя, правильно будет (103).

    Researcher comment: (103) is a noun phrase.

    + йахара учительница

(103)　j-aχara učiteľnica
　　　　F-old　teacher
　　　　'the old teacher'

Q1.13 Учительница не старая.

Учительница йахара гучӀи.

(104)　učiteľnica j-aχara gu-č'i.
　　　　teacher　　F-old　COP-NEG
　　　　'The teacher is not old.'

　　+ Учительница йахара лъичӀи.

(105)　učiteľnica j-aχara ɬi-č'i.
　　　　teacher　　F-old　AN.COP-NEG
　　　　'The teacher is not old.'

　　+ Учительница йахара хучӀи.

(106)　*učiteľnica j-aχara χu-č'i.
　　　　teacher　　F-old　INAN.COP-NEG
　　　　'The teacher is not old.'

Q1.14 Корова хорошая.

Зини гванзи ида.

(107)　zini gʷanzi ida.
　　　　cow good　COP
　　　　'The cow is good.'

　　++ Гванзи зини ида.

(108)　gʷanzi zini ida.
　　　　good　cow COP
　　　　'The cow is good.'

Q1.15 Корова не хорошая.

Зини гванзи гучӏи.

(109)   zini gʷanzi gu-čʼi.
          cow good   COP-NEG
          'The cow is not good.'

   + Зини гванзи лъичӏи.

(110)   *zini gʷanzi łi-čʼi.
          cow   good   AN.COP-NEG
          'The cow is not good.'

   + Зини гванзи хучӏи.

(111)   *zini gʷanzi χu-čʼi.
          cow   good   INAN.COP-NEG
          'The cow is not good.'

Speaker comment: *хучӏи* здесь все-таки тоже нельзя, как и *лъичӏи*. Внутри среднего рода есть градации.

Q1.16 Книга хорошая.

Researcher comment: The speaker did not like to use the word 'good' to describe a book, and opted for 'interesting' instead. They insisted to use this Russian borrowing in the masculine form.

Хъуча интересный ида.

(112)   quča interesnyj ida.
          book interesting COP
          'The book is interesting.'

Q1.17 Книга не хорошая.

Хъуча интересный гучӏи.

(113)   quča interesnyj gu-č'i.
          book interesting COP-NEG
          'The book is not interesting.'

    + Хъуча интересный лъичӏи.

(114)   *quča interesnyj ɬi-č'i.
          book   interesting AN.COP-NEG
          'The book is not interesting.'

    + Хъуча интересный хучӏи.

(115)   quča interesnyj χu-č'i.
          book interesting INAN.COP-NEG
          'The book is not interesting.'

    Speaker comment: *хучӏи* можно; даже более употребительно здесь чем *гучӏи*.

    Speaker comment: Миарсинцы немного подстраиваются под ботлихцев когда они

друг с другом общаются.

    Speaker comment: Среди молодежи есть разница в произношении и интонации

под влиянием русского, от трилингвизма перешли на билингвизм, аварский

вытеснился.

Q1.18 Свет есть?

Кванар идама?

(116)   kʷanar ida=ma?
          light   COP=PQ
          'Is there light?'

+ Кванар идахума?

(117)   kʷanar ida=χu-ma?
         light   COP=INAN-PQ
         'Is there light?'

+ Кванар идалъима?

(118)   *kʷanar ida=łi-ma?
         light   COP=AN-PQ
         'Is there light?'

++ Чакархума гьаб?

(119)   čakar=χu-ma   ha-b?
         sugar=INAN-PQ DEM-N
         'Is this sugar?' (the speaker is guessing)

         Это сахар? (не знает, гадает)

++ Чакаридама гьаб?

(120)   čakar=ida=ma ha-b?
         sugar=COP=PQ DEM-N
         'Is this sugar?' (the speaker is in doubt and asks for confirmation)

         Это сахар? (сомневается, хочет подтверждение)

++ Патимати идалъима?

(121)   Patimati ida=łi-ma?
         P.   COP=AN-PQ
         'Is Patimat here?' (the speaker is looking for her)

         Патимат есть? (я ищу ее)

++ Патиматилъима?

(122)   Patimati=ɬi-ma?
        P.=AN-PQ
        'Is this Patimat?' (the speaker asks when calling)

        Это Патимат? (если звонит, например)

Q1.19 Свет есть.

Кванар ида.

(123)   kʷanar ida.
        light   COP
        'There is light.'

Q1.20 Нет света.

Кванар гучӀи.

(124)   kʷanar gu-č'i.
        light   COP-NEG
        'There is no light.'

   + Кванар хучӀи.

(125)   kʷanar χu-č'i.
        light   INAN.COP-NEG
        'There is no light.'

   + Кванар лъичӀи.

(126)   *kʷanar ɬi-č'i.
        light   AN.COP-NEG
        'There is no light.'

Q1.21 Мама дома.

Ила ишхъеда.

(127) ila   iš-qe=da
       mother home-APUD=COP
       'Mother is at home.'

Q1.22 Мама не дома. / Мамы нет дома.

Ила ишхъе гучıи.

(128) ila   iš-qe   gu-č'i.
       mother home-APUD   COP-NEG
       'Mother is not at home.'

   + Ила ишхъе лъичıи.

(129) ila   iš-qe   ɬi-č'i.
       mother home-APUD   AN.COP-NEG
       'Mother is not at home.'

   + Ила ишхъе хучıи.

(130) *ila   iš-qe   χu-č'i.
       mother home-APUD   INAN.COP-NEG
       'Mother is not at home.'

Q1.23 Корова в хлеву.

Зини бекьида.

   Researcher comment: First answer.

(131) zini beƛ'i=da
       cow   shed.SUP=COP
       'The cow is in the shed.'

Зини бекьуда.

   Researcher comment: Self-correction.

(132)   zini beƛ'u=da
         cow shed.SUP=COP
         'The cow is in the shed.'

Q1.24 Корова не в хлеву. / Коровы нет в хлеву.

Зини бекьу гучӏи.

(133)   zini beƛ'u   gu-č'i.
         cow shed.SUP COP-NEG
         'The cow is not in the shed.'

   + Зини бекьу лъичӏи.

(134)   zini beƛ'u   łi-č'i.
         cow shed.SUP AN.COP-NEG
         'The cow is not in the shed.'

         Speaker comment: Кажется можно. Странно, но в данном случае как-то можно.

   + Зини бекьу хучӏи.

(135)   *zini beƛ'u   χu-č'i.
         cow   shed.SUP INAN.COP-NEG
         'The cow is not in the shed.'

Q1.25 Книга в шкафу.

Хъуча шкафилъи(и)да.

(136)   quča škafi-łi=(i)da.
         book closet-IN=COP
         'The book is in the closet.'

         Researcher comment: Inlocative suffix *-łi* + copula *ida* results in either contraction (-*łida*) or lengthening of the vowel (-*łi:da*).

Q1.26 Книга не в шкафу. / Книги нет в шкафу.

Хъуча шкафилъи (гьину) гучӏи.

(137) quča škafi-ɬi (hinu) gu-č'i.
book closet-IN (inside) COP-NEG
'The book is not inside the closet.'

+ Хъуча шкафилъи (гьину) лъичӏи.

(138) *quča škafi-ɬi (hinu) ɬi-č'i.
book closet-IN (inside) AN.COP-NEG
'The book is not inside the closet.'

+ Хъуча шкафилъи (гьину) хучӏи.

(139) quča škafi-ɬi (hinu) χu-č'i.
book closet-IN (inside) INAN.COP-NEG
'The book is not inside the closet.'

Speaker comment: Нелогично, но можно.

++ Уру хучӏи гьа”нкӏва.

(140) uru χu-č'i hãnk'ʷa.
there INAN.COP-NEG nail
'There is no nail there.'

Там нет гвоздя.

+ Уру гучӏи гьа”нкӏва.

(141) uru gu-č'i hãnk'ʷa.
there COP-NEG nail
'There is no nail there.'

Там нет гвоздя.

Speaker comment: *гучӏи* тоже можно, но чаще будет *хучӏи*.

Q3.1 Галълъа гьину букӏа гучӏи эштубкӏвала кванар.

(142) gał:a hinu b-uk'-a gu-č'i eštu-b=k'ʷala kʷanar.
there inside N-be-CVB COP-NEG which-N=INDEF light
'It turned out there was no light in there at all.'

Там внутри оказывается не было никакого света.

Там внутри не оказалось никакого света.

+ Галълъа гьину букӏа хучӏи эштубкӏвала кванар.

(143) gał:a hinu b-uk'-a χu-č'i eštu-b=k'ʷala kʷanar.
there inside N-be-CVB INAN.COP-NEG which-N=INDEF light
'It turned out there was no light in there at all.'

Там внутри оказывается не было никакого света.

Там внутри не оказалось никакого света.

+ Галълъа гьину букӏа лъичӏи эштубкӏвала кванар.

(144) *gał:a hinu b-uk'-a ł-i-č'i eštu-b=k'ʷala kʷanar.
there inside N-be-CVB AN.COP-NEG which-N=INDEF light
'It turned out there was no light in there at all.'

Там внутри оказывается не было никакого света.

Там внутри не оказалось никакого света.

Q3.02 Саруди гьикьуда адамихьи: берка хвасар и"гьи, гьулълъиди баркалла индакӏвала гьикьи хучӏи.

(145) saru-di hiƛ'-u=da adami-qi: berka χʷasar ĩh-i behaχač'i
fox-ERG say-CVB=COP person-APUD snake help make-INF can.NEG
hu-ł:i-di barkalla inda=k'ʷala hiƛ'-i χu-č'i.
DEM-NM.OBL-ERG thanks when=INDEF say-INF COP-NEG
'The fox said to the person: you should not save a snake, it will never say thank you.'

Лиса сказала человеку: змею нельзя спасать, она спасибо никогда не скажет.

Researcher comment: Miarso dialect. Not sure if *χuč'i* is allowed here in Botlikh. Next I asked the speaker to translate to the Botlikh dialect.

+ Саруди гьикъуда адамихъи: берка хвасар и"гьи бегье(е)чıу, гьулълъиди баркалла индакıвала гьикьи гучıи.

(146) saru-di hiλ'-u=da adami-qi: berka χʷasar ȋh-i beh-e(e)č'u
       fox-ERG say-CVB=COP person-APUD snake help make-INF can-NEG.HAB
       hu-ɬ:i-di barkalla inda=k'ʷala hiλ'-i gu-č'i.
       DEM-NM.OBL-ERG thanks   when=INDEF say-INF COP-NEG
       'The fox said to the person: you should not save a snake, it will never say thank you.'

       Лиса сказала человеку: змею нельзя спасать, она спасибо никогда не скажет.

+ Саруди гьикьуда адамихъи: берка хвасар и"гьи бегье(е)ч1у, гьулълъиди баркалла индак1вала гьикьи лъич1и.

(147) *saru-di hiλ'-u=da   adami-qi: berka χʷasar ĩh-i   beh-e(e)č'u
       fox-ERG say-CVB=COP person-APUD snake help   make-INF can-NEG.HAB
       hu-ɬː i-di   barkalla inda=k'ʷala hiλ'-i   ɬi-č'i.
       DEM-NM.OBL-ERG thanks   when=INDEF say-INF AN.COP-NEG
       'The fox said to the person: you should not save a snake, it will never say thank you.'

       Лиса сказала человеку: змею нельзя спасать, она спасибо никогда не скажет.

Q3.03 Малла руценди гьикьу ида (//гьикьуда): гьац1ада туменади гьикьа кки лъич1и.

(148) Malla Rucen-di hiλ'-u ida (//hiλ'-u=da):   hac'a-da tumena-di hiλ'-a
       Mollah R.-ERG   say-CVB COP (//say-CVB=COP) ten-CARD tumen-ERG say-PROG
       kː-i   ɬi-č'i.
       give-INF AN.COP-NEG
       'Mollah Nasreddin said that he will not give it for less than 10 tumen.'

       Малла Насреддин сказал, что меньше чем за 10 туменов не отдаст (животного).

    + Малла руценди гьикьу ида: гьац1ада туменади гьикьа кки хуч1и.

(149) Malla Rucen-di hiλ'-u   ida: hac'a-da tumena-di hiλ'-a   kː-i
       Mollah R.-ERG   say-CVB COP ten-CARD tumen-ERG say-PROG give-INF
       χu-č'i.
       INAN.COP-NEG
       'Mollah Nasreddin said that he will not give it for less than 10 tumen.'

       Малла Насреддин сказал, что меньше чем за 10 туменов не отдаст (животного).

    + Малла руценди гьикьу ида: гьац1ада туменади гьикьа кки гуч1и.

(150) Malla Rucen-di hiλ'-u ida: hac'a-da tumena-di hiλ'-a   kː-i   gu-č'i.
       Mollah R.-ERG   say-CVB COP ten-CARD tumen-ERG say-PROG give-INF COP-NEG
       'Mollah Nasreddin said that he will not give it for less than 10 tumen.'

       Малла Насреддин сказал, что меньше чем за 10 туменов не отдаст (животного).

    Researcher comment: This sentence is about the sale of an animal. The speaker some-

how deduced this from the sentence, even though they were not shown the context, and the object / animal is not expressed.

Speaker comment: *тумен* –- денежная единица, обычно 10 руб.

Q3.06 Отец вспахал поле.

Имуди бекьу хури.

(151) imu-di   beλ'-u   χuri.
       father-ERG plow-AOR field
       'Father plowed the field.'

Speaker comment: Порядок слов здесь как по-русски.

++ Имуди хури бекьу.

(152) imu-di   χuri beλ'-u.
       father-ERG field plow-AOR
       'Father plowed the field.'

+ Имуди хури бекьу букӏа.

(153) imu-di   χuri beλ'-u   b-uk'-a.
       father-ERG field plow-CVB N-be-AOR
       'Father plowed the field.'

+ Имуди хури бекьу вукӏа.

(154) *imu-di   χuri beλ'-u   w-uk'-a.
       father-ERG field plow-CVB M-be-AOR
       'Father plowed the field.'

+ Има хури бекьу вукӏа.

(155) *ima χuri beλ'-u   w-uk'-a.
       father field plow-CVB M-be-AOR

'Father plowed the field.'

+ Има вукӀа хури бекьу.

(156)　*ima　w-uk'-a　χuri beλ'-u.
　　　　father m-be-AOR field plow-CVB
　　　　'Father plowed the field.'

++ Има вукӀа хури бекьата.

(157)　*ima　w-uk'-a　χuri beλ'-ata.
　　　　father m-be-AOR field plow-PROG
　　　　'Father was plowing the field.'

Q3.07 Отец не вспахал поле.

Имуди хури бекьичӀа.

(158)　imu-di　　χuri beλ'-ič'a.
　　　　father-ERG field plow-NEG.AOR
　　　　'Father did not plow the field.'

+ Има вукӀа хури бекьичӀада вигъу.

(159)　ima　w-uk'-a　χuri beλ'-ič'ada　　w-iʁ-u.
　　　　father m-be-AOR field plow-NEG.PROG m-stay-CVB
　　　　'Father did not plow the field.'

Speaker comment: Отец находился в состоянии когда поле не вспаханное; целенаправленно поле не впахал / не хотел, почему-то не впахал.

1F1 Аттрибутивная копула идахоб

++ Идахоб мугъу вукӀуба.

(160) ida=χo-b   mɪʁɪ   w-uk'-uba.
       COP=INAN.ATR-N enough м-be-IMP
       'Be content with what you have.'

       Будь доволен тем, что имеешь / довольствуйся.

1F2 гучӀихоб

(161) *gu-č'i=χo-b
       COP-NEG=ATR-N

    ++ гучӀаб на

(162) gu-č'-a-b   na
       COP-NEG-PST.PTCP-N thing

     + лъичӀаб

(163) *łi-č'-a-b
       AN.COP-NEG-PST.PTCP-N

     + хучӀаб

(164) χu-č'-a-b
       INAN.COP-NEG-PST.PTCP-N

    ++ Гьулалъой лъичӀи гой.

(165) hula=ło-j   łi-č'i   go-j.
       like_that=AN.ATR-F AN.COP-NEG DEM-F
       'She is not like that.'

       Она не такого мнения.

   Researcher comment: I think =ło would normally be =ła, the former is possibly a dialectal variant.

1F3 Прогрессивный конверб от отрицательной копулы гучӀата

++ Гьала гучӀата гьала ида.

(166) hala   gu-č'-ata   hala   ida.
       like_this COP-NEG-PROG like_this COP
       'It's not like this, it's like this.'

       + лъичӏата

(167) *łi-č'-ata
       AN.COP-NEG-PROG

       + хучӏата

(168) χu-č'-ata
       INAN.COP-NEG-PROG

1F4 Масдар от копулы: гучӏир

гучӏир

(169) gu-č'-i-r
       COP-NEG-IS-MSD
       'absence, not having'

       отсутствие, не имение

       + хучӏир

(170) χu-č'-i-r
       INAN.COP-NEG-IS-MSD

       + лъичӏир

(171) *łi-č'-i-r
       AN.COP-NEG-IS-MSD

1F5 гьогоб

(172) *hogo-b

       Speaker comment: Миарсинское слово.

1F6 гьадаб

(173)   *hada-b

1F7 гьагаб

(174)   haga-b

   Speaker comment: Что-то находится вне поля зрения, указание на конкретное.

   ++ Гьагаб гьуркьалъи руша.

(175)   haga-b hurλ'a-ɬi ruša.
        DEM-N nut-GEN tree
        'That walnut tree.'

   Вот это ореховое дерево.

1F8 гьацеб

(176)   ha-ce-b
        DEM-one-N

   Speaker comment: Находится здесь рядом, под рукой.

1F9 гоцеб

(177)   go-ce-b
        DEM-one-N

   Speaker comment: Помнишь ли этот (давно).

1F10 гьуцеб

(178)   hu-ce-b
        DEM-one-N

   Speaker comment: Вот видишь, вот это (я не вижу, говорящий видет).

1F11 доцеб

(179)   do-ce-b
         DEM-one-N

Speaker comment: Есть, но нет разницы между *доцеб* и *гоцеб*. Распределение *гоб* и *доб* также зависит от семьи.

++ Гоцеб ведро идама?

(180)   go-ce-b   wedro ida=ma?
         DEM-one-N bucket COP=PQ
         'Where is that one bucket?'

Speaker comment: Подразумевается, что человек знает, о чем идет речь.

Researcher comment: This utterance was produced by the speaker's grandson during the session. He came to the door and asked where *goce-b wedro* ('that one bucket') was. The speaker explained that his grandson used *goce-b* because he was referring to a specific bucket he had used for a certain purpose before – *goce-b* indicates that the speaker will know which one his grandson is referring to.

1F12 гьацагъаб

(181)   ha-ca-ʁa-b
         DEM-one-RESTR-N

++ Эцагъаб?

(182)   e-ca-ʁa-b?
         what-one-RESTR-N
         'Which one (from a specific set of objects)?'

++ Гьацагъаб или гоцегъаб?

(183)   ha-ca-ʁa-b   ili go-ce-ʁa-b?
         DEM-one-RESTR-N or dem-one-RESTR-N

'This one or that one (from a specific set of objects)?'

Speaker comment: Ответ на такой вопрос как (182) или (183) будет одна из этих форм.

1F13 гьуцегъаб

(184) hu-ce-ʁa-b
       DEM-one-RESTR-N

1F14 гацагъаб

(185) ga-ca-ʁa-b
       DEM-one-RESTR-N

5.5   Speaker sample 2

Recorded 29.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker GMM1962M, researcher Samira Verhees.

No audio recording.

2F1 гьаб

(186)   ha-b
       DEM-N

    Speaker comment: Под рукой.

2F2 гоб

(187)   go-b
       DEM-N

    Speaker comment: Тапки у двери; далеко от говорящего и адресата, но видно обеим.

2F3 габ

(188)   ga-b
       DEM-N

    Speaker comment: То же, что и *гоб*.

    ++ Икка диха гьуб ручка.

(189)   ikː-a   di-χa   hu-b   ručka.
       give-IMP I.OBL-APUD.LAT DEM-N pen
       'Give me that pen.'

    ++ гьаб тӀамса

(190)   ha-b   t'amsa
       DEM-N carpet

'this carpet'

Здесь этот ковер.

++ гоб тӏамса

(191)　go-b　t'amsa
　　　　DEM-N carpet
　　　　'that carpet' (over there)

Там тот ковёр.

++ габ тӏамса

(192)　ga-b　t'amsa
　　　　DEM-N carpet
　　　　'that carpet' (to the side and out of sight of the speaker)

Speaker comment: Сбоку, вне поля зрения, либо самый удаленный.

Researcher comment: The speaker suggested that *ga-b* refers to something located "to the side", which is interesting, because the same unusual meaning is described in the dictionary and as far as I am aware, the speaker was not familiar with this description.

2F4 с дерева

++ рушеку гьикьа вулӏи

(193)　ruše-ku　　hiƛ'a　w-uƛ-i
　　　　tree.SUP-EL down M-go-INF
　　　　'come down from the tree'

Speaker comment: Если ударение на первом слоге (*вУлӏи*) – инфинитив 'сойти', а если ударение на последнем слоге (*вулӏИ*) – императив 'сойди' (*вулӏИ*).

2F5 рушеру

++ рушеру руша ваъа

(194) ruše-ru   ruša   w-aʔ-a
       tree.SUP-EL tree.SUP.LAT M-go-AOR
       '[They] went from tree to tree.'

       Перешел с дерева на дерево.

  + рушеру гьикьа вулӏи.

(195) ruše-ru   hiƛ'a w-uƛ-i.
       tree.SUP-EL down M-go-INF
       'come down from the tree'

Speaker comment: Так тоже можно. Так никто не скажет, наверно не ботлихец, хотя говорит по-ботлихски. Хотя вроде нормально тоже.

Researcher comment: Forms like *rušeru*, with the "old elative" *-ru*, are quite frequent in the texts recorded by Gudava (1962), but less so in Saidova & Abusov (2012), which is a more recent source.

Researcher comment: The speaker mentioned that some of the variants that surfaced during elicitation (demonstratives *do-b* vs. *go-b*, negative copulas *guč'i* vs. *χuč'i*) were functional equivalents used in different families or patrilineal clans, which partially coincide with the village quarter where families lived, because people from the same clan tended to live close to each other. A salient point of variation for speakers is the word for shoes: *nes:ir* vs. *nas:ir*. We established that GMM1962M uses *nes:ir*, while his wife uses *nas:ir*, while the reverse is true for speaker SPR1954F. GMM1962M's ancestors are from the area where SPR1954F grew up, and his wife (as well as the husband of SPR1954F) grew up in the quarter near the old mosque. However, GMM1962M's sisters all use the variant *nas:ir*, rather than *nes:ir*.

Researcher comment: Among the generation of GMM1962M's father, people from Botlikh had a command of Kumyk and Chechen in addition to Avar, which is historically the main L2. Local Chechens also knew Avar.

Q3.04 Гьена-лъабу мисариуди бакьаралъи машикӏаб-талу, гьикьу ида гӏадал ваццуди.

(196) hena-ɬabu m-is-a-riudi baλ'ara-ɬi m-aš-ik'a-b=talu, hiλ'-u ida ʕadal
now-? N-find-TH-TEMP belt-IN N-tie-FUT-N=QUOT say-CVB COP dumb

waꞓu-di.
brother-ERG

'"Next time I will find [something like that], I will tie it to my belt", said the dumb

brother.'

Когда в следующий раз найду, обвожу вокруг пояса, сказал глупый брат.

Speaker comment: *гьена-лъабу* вместе значит 'следующий раз'.

Researcher comment: I asked this question to find out the meaning of the marker *ɬabu*,
but this is still not clear.

++ Бехъи бигъа хулета.

(197) beqi biʁ-a χuleta.
fruit become_ripe-AOR QUOT
'They say the fruit has become ripe.'

+ Бехъи бигъа лета гьикьу.

(198) beqi biʁ-a leta hiλ'-u.
fruit become_ripe-AOR QUOT say-AOR
'They say the fruit has become ripe.'

Speaker comment: Если убрать *ху*, то уже требуется глагол "сказать".

+ Бехъи бигъа хвата.

(199) beqi biʁ-a χʷata.
fruit become_ripe-AOR REP
'They say the fruit has become ripe.'

Speaker comment: Нет разницы между этим вариантом и первым (197), временное

отношение тоже одно и то же, может быть настоящее время или прошедшее время.

+ Бехъи бигъа талу гьикъу.

(200) beqi biʁ-a   talu hiⱡ'-u.
       fruit become_ripe-AOR QUOT say-AOR
       'They say the fruit has become ripe.'

Speaker comment: Если использовать *талу*, то обязательно использовать *гьикъу* в конце.

+ Бехъи бигъа талу ида.

(201) beqi biʁ-a   talu ida.
       fruit become_ripe-AOR QUOT COP
       'There is an opinion that the fruit has become ripe.'

Speaker comment: Такой вариант тоже идет, это значит: "Бытует мнение, что [...]".

++ Кӏикӏи бешта (ида).

(202) k'ik'i b-ešt-a   (ida).
       grapes N-release-CVB/AOR (COP)
       'The grapes have been released (for consumption).'

       Виноград отпущен.

Speaker comment: Это выражение используется когда есть разрешение от какого-то органа власти чтобы есть виноград. Даже как-то проверяли, ел ли человек виноград или не ел. Раньше была такая практика, неизвестно, касалось ли это только винограда, или других фруктов тоже.

Researcher comment: I think this example came to mind as an expression of generic hearsay, though the speaker dictated a version without a reported speech particle. The lexical verb can be a converb (in combination with the copula *ida*, which renders a perfect), or it can

be an aorist form.

Speaker comment: Есть еще форма *хулема*, она очень редкая и передает слухи с третьей руки.

Researcher comment: Both the speaker and his wife agreed that *χulema* is a particle marking thirdhand reported speech, but they were unable to produce an example of how it is used. It seems to be largely obsolete.

++ Гьула хулета.

(203)   hula   χuleta.
         like_that QUOT
         'They say it is like that.'
         Говорят, что так есть.

Speaker comment: Если убрать из (203) *ху*, надо добавить в конце *гьикьу* 'сказать', но тогда уже получается предположение (?), тогда как *хулета* передает утверждение, что не совсем передача чужой речи.

2F6 Гьена гьикьу ида: гьенайдара ишкур-кӏул тӏалаб игьу, гьеналхару бесхъа мин игьила, гьуб бакъащайла бужир-хул диб.

Гьена гьикьу ида: гьенайдара ишкур-кӏул тӏалаб игьу, гьеналъару бесхъа мин игьила, гьуб бакъащайла бужир-хул диб.

(204)   hena hiλ'-u ida: henaj-dara iškur=k'ul   t'alab ih-u,   hena-ła-ru b-esqa
         now say-CVB COP now-until I.ERG=QUOT care   make-AOR now-IN-EL N-behind
         min   ih-i=la,   hu-b   b-aq'aš:-a-j=la   buž-i-r=χul
         you.SG make-INF=ADD DEM-N N-hide-CAUS-INF=ADD believe-IS-MSD=QUOT
         di-b.
         I.OBL-N[GEN]
         'Now it was said: "I have taken care [of it] until now, but from now on I have hope,
         that you will hide it."'
         Теперь было сказано: "до сих пор я ухаживал, отныне у меня есть надежда, что

это скроешь".

Researcher comment: In the text *henałaru* was spelled *henalχaru* (as in the stimulus), which is likely a typo.

Speaker comment: В (204) *кӀул* и *хул* нельзя поменять местами.

+ бужирхул диб

(205) buž-i-r=χul   di-b
       believe-IS-MSD=QUOT I.OBL-N[GEN]
       '[…] I have hope […]'

+ бужир ида диб талу

(206) buž-i-r   ida di-b   talu
       believe-IS-MSD COP I.OBL-N[GEN] QUOT
       '[…] I have hope […]'

Researcher comment: I suggested to rephrase the fragment in (205) with *talu*, which would require a copula as in (206) according to the speaker.

++ Гӏали дий гьикьу инщуй къорохул ишхъагъи.

(207) ʕAli di-j   hiλ'-u in-š:u-j   q'oro=χul iš-qa-ʁi.
       Ali I.OBL-DAT say-AOR REFL-M.OBL-DAT want=QUOT home-APUD.LAT-?
       'Ali said that he wants to come home.'

       Али сказал что он хочет прийти домой.

+ Гӏали дий гьикьу инщуй къорокӀул ишхъагъи.

(208) *ʕAli di-j   hiλ'-u in-š:u-j   q'oro=k'ul išqa-ʁi.
       Ali I.OBL-DAT say-AOR REFL-M.OBL-DAT want=QUOT home-APUD.LAT-?
       'Ali said that he wants to come home.'

       Али сказал что он хочет прийти домой.

Speaker comment: *кул* здесь нельзя, это странно.

+ Гӏали дий гьикьу инщуй къоро талу ишхъагъи.

(209) *ʕAli di-j   hiƛ'-u   in-šːu-j   q'oro talu   išqa-ʁi.
       Ali   I.OBL-DAT say-AOR REFL-M.OBL-DAT want QUOT home-APUD.LAT-?
       'Ali said that he wants to come home.'

       Али сказал что он хочет прийти домой.

+ Гӏали дий гьикьу инщуй къоро идаталу ишхъагъи.

(210) ??ʕAli di-j   hiƛ'-u   in-šːu-j   q'oro ida=talu   išqa-ʁi.
       Ali   I.OBL-DAT say-AOR REFL-M.OBL-DAT want COP=QUOT home-APUD.LAT-?
       'Ali said that he wants to come home.'

       Али сказал что он хочет прийти домой.

Speaker comment: Так (210) скорее скажет человек, у которого ботлихский не родной.

Researcher comment: The speaker rejected (209) with *talu* and suggested to rephrase as (210), though they commented that (210) was not quite correct either.

5.6   Speaker sample 3

Recorded 26.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker KAM1966M, researcher Samira Verhees.

KAM1966M's daughter KAA2001F was also present, and chimed in or confirmed from time to time.

No audio recording.

Q1.1 Это моя сестра.

Гьай дий йацци ида.

(211)   ha-j   di-j   j-ac:i   ida.
         DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP
         'This is my sister.'

    Speaker comment: Опускать *ида* нельзя.

Q1.2 Это не моя сестра

Гьай дий йацци гучӀи.

(212)   ha-j   di-j   j-ac:i   gu-č'i.
         DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP-NEG
         'This is not my sister.'

    + Гьай дий йацци хучӀи.

(213)   *ha-j   di-j   j-ac:i   χu-č'i.
         DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling INAN.COP-NEG
         'This is not my sister.'

    + Гьай дий йацци лъичӀи.

(214)   ha-j   di-j   j-ac:i   ɬi-č'i.
         DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG

'This is not my sister.'

Q1.3 Брат учитель.

Вацци учитель ида.

(215)   w-acːi   učiteľ ida.
        м-sibling teacher COP
        'My brother is a teacher.'

Q1.4 Брат не чабан.

Вацци харашу гучіи.

(216)   w-acːi   χarašu gu-čʼi.
        м-sibling sheperd COP-NEG
        'My brother is not a sheperd.'

   + Вацци харашу хучіи.

(217)   *w-acːi   χarašu χu-čʼi.
        м-sibling sheperd INAN.COP-NEG
        'My brother is not a sheperd.'

   + Вацци харашу лъичіи.

(218)   *w-acːi   χarašu ɬi-čʼi.
        м-sibling sheperd AN.COP-NEG
        'My brother is not a sheperd.'

Speaker comment: Здесь нельзя использовать *лъичіи*, это множественное число.

   ++ Вацци́л харашу лъичіи.

(219) w-acːi-l χarašu ɬi-čʼi.
     м-sibling-PL sheperd AN.COP-NEG
     'My brothers are not sheperds.'

Q1.5 Брат не учитель, а чабан.

Вацци учитель гучӏи, харашу ида.

(220) w-acːi učitelʼ gu-čʼi, χarašu ida.
     м-sibling teacher COP-NEG sheperd COP
     'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

   + Вацци учитель хучӏи, харашу ида.

(221) *w-acːi učitelʼ χu-čʼi, χarašu ida.
     м-sibling teacher INAN.COP-NEG sheperd COP
     'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

   + Вацци учитель лъичӏи, харашу ида.

(222) *w-acːi učitelʼ ɬi-čʼi, χarašu ida.
     м-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG sheperd COP
     'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

   Speaker comment: *лъичӏи* здесь нельзя, это множественное число.

Q1.6 Это не человек (это твоя тень).

Гьав/гьай адам гучӏи, гьаб ида дуб анччу.

(223) ha-w / ha-j adam gu-čʼi, ha-b ida du-b ančːu.
     DEM-M / DEM-F person COP-NEG DEM-N COP you.SG.OBL-N[GEN] shadow
     'That is not a person, it's your shadow.'

   + Гьав адам хучӏи, гьаб ида дуб анччу.

(224) *ha-w adam χu-č'i,   ha-b ida du-b   anč:u.
DEM-M person INAN.COP-NEG DEM-N COP you.SG.OBL-N[GEN] shadow
'That is not a person, it's your shadow.'

+ Гьав адам лъичӀи, гьаб ида дуб анччу.

(225) *ha-w adam łič'i,   ha-b   ida   du-b anč:u.
DEM-M DEM.F person AN.COP-NEG DEM-N COP you.SG.OBL-N[GEN] shadow
'That is not a person, it's your shadow.'

Speaker comment: *лъичӀи* нельзя, это множественное число.

Q1.7 Я не камень.

+ Ден анча хучӀи.

(226) *den anča χu-č'i.
I stone INAN.COP-NEG
'I am not a stone.'

+ Ден анча лъичӀи.

(227) *den anča łi-č'i.
I stone AN.COP-NEG
'I am not a stone.'

Speaker comment: *лъичӀи* нельзя, это множественное число.

++ Ден гьамахи лъичӀи.

(228) den hamaχi łi-č'i.
I donkey AN.COP-NEG
'I am not a donkey.'

++ Ден зини лъичӀи.

(229) den zini ɬi-č'i.
       I   cow AN.COP-NEG
       'I am not a cow.'

       ++ Ден йешикӏва гучӏи.

(230) den ješik'ʷa gu-č'i.
       I   woman COP-NEG
       'I am not a woman.'

       ++ Ден йешикӏва лъичӏи.

(231) den ješik'ʷa ɬi-č'i.
       I   woman AN.COP-NEG
       'I am not a woman.'

       Speaker comment: В случае (230)-(231), *лъичӏи* на самом деле больше подходит.

Q1.8 Я не буду камнем.

Ден анча вукӏи гучӏи.

(232) den anča w-uk'-i   gu-č'i.
       I   stone M-be-INF COP-NEG
       'I will not be a stone.'

       + Ден анча вукӏи хучӏи.

(233) *den anča w-uk'-i   χu-č'i.
       I   stone M-be-INF INAN.COP-NEG
       'I will not be a stone.'

       + Ден анча вукӏи лъичӏи.

(234) *den anča w-uk'-i   ɬi-č'i.
       I   stone M-be-INF AN.COP-NEG
       'I will not be a stone.'

Q1.9 Животное не вещь / предмет.

Х1айван игрушка гуч1и.

(235)   ħajwan igruška gu-č'i.
        animal toy   COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a toy.'

+ Х1айван игрушка хуч1и.

(236)   *ħajwan igruška χu-č'i.
        animal   toy   INAN.COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a toy.'

+ Х1айван игрушка лъич1и.

(237)   *ħajwan igruška ɬi-č'i.
        animal   toy   AN.COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a toy.'

Speaker comment: *лъич1и* подходит к определенным животным.

++ Гьамахи лъич1и.

(238)   hamaχi ɬi-č'i.
        donkey AN.COP-NEG
        'This is not a donkey.'

+ Х1айван лъич1и.

(239)   *ħajwan ɬi-č'i.
        animal   AN.COP-NEG
        'This is not an animal.'

Q1.10 Животное не человек.

Х1айван адам гуч1и.

(240)   ħajwan adam   gu-č'i.
        animal person COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a person.'

    ++ Хӏайван адам лъичӏи.

(241)   ħajwan adam   łi-č'i.
        animal person AN.COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a person.'

    + Хӏайван адам хучӏи.

(242)   *ħajwan adam   χu-č'i.
        animal   person INAN.COP-NEG
        'An animal is not a person.'

Q1.11 Человек не животное.

Адам хӏайван гучӏи.

(243)   adam   ħajwan gu-č'i.
        person animal COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

    ++ Адам хӏайван лъичӏи.

(244)   adam   ħajwan łi-č'i.
        person animal AN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

    + Адам хӏайван хучӏи.

(245)   *adam   ħajwan χu-č'i.
        person animal INAN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

Q1.12 Учительница старая.

Муг1алим йахара ида.

(246)   muˤalim j-aχara ida.
         teacher   F-old   COP
         'The teacher is old.'

    + Муг1алим йахара.

(247)   *muˤalim j-aχara.
         teacher   F-old
         'The teacher is old.'

    + йахара муг1алим

(248)   j-aχara muˤalim
         F-old   teacher
         'the old teacher'

   Researcher comment: (247) with an omitted copula was deemed incorrect, suggested to rephrase as (248).

Q1.13 Учительница не старая.

Муг1алим йахара гуч1и.

(249)   muˤalim j-aχara gu-č'i.
         teacher   F-old   COP-NEG
         'The teacher is not old.'

    Муг1алим йахара лъич1и.

(250)   muˤalim j-aχara ɬi-č'i.
         teacher   F-old   AN.COP-NEG
         'The teacher is not old.'

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+ Муг1алим йахара хуч1и.

(251) *muˤalim j-aχara χu-č'i.
       teacher F-old INAN.COP-NEG
       'The teacher is not old.'

Q1.14 Корова хорошая.

Зини гванзи ида.

(252) zini gʷanzi ida.
       cow good COP
       'The cow is good.'

   ++ Гванзи зини.

(253) gʷanzi zini.
       good   cow
       'a good cow'

   Researcher comment: The speaker suggested (253) as an alternative, though this is a noun phrase.

Q1.15 Корова не хорошая.

Зини гванзи гуч1и.

(254) zini gʷanzi gu-č'i.
       cow good   COP-NEG
       'The cow is not good.'

   ++ сураб зини

(255) sura-b zini
       bad-N cow
       'a bad cow'

плохая корова

+ Зини гванзи хучӏи.

(256) *zini gʷanzi χu-čʼi.
cow good INAN.COP-NEG
'The cow is not good.'

+ Зини гванзи лъичӏи.

(257) *zini gʷanzi ɬi-čʼi.
cow good AN.COP-NEG
'The cow is not good.'

Q1.16 Книга хорошая.

Хъуча гванзи ида.

(258) quča gʷanzi ida.
book good COP
'The book is good.'

++ гванзи хъуча

(259) gʷanzi quča
good book
'a good book'

Q1.17 Книга не хорошая.

Хъуча гванзи гучӏи.

(260) quča gʷanzi gu-čʼi.
book good COP-NEG
'The book is not good.'

++ сураб хъуча

(261)   sura-b quča
        bad-N book
        'a bad book'

        + Хъуча гванзи хучӏи.

(262)   quča gʷanzi χu-č'i.
        book good   INAN.COP-NEG
        'The book is not good.'

        + Хъуча гванзи лъичӏи.

(263)   *quča gʷanzi łič'i.
        book   good   AN.COP-NEG
        'The book is not good.'

Q1.18 Свет есть?

Кванар идама?

(264)   kʷanar ida=ma?
        light   COP=PQ
        'Is there light?'

Q1.19 Свет есть.

Кванар ида.

(265)   kʷanar ida.
        light   COP
        'There is light.'

Q1.20 Нет света.

Гучӏи кванар.

(266) gu-č'i   kʷanar.
       COP-NEG light
       'There is no light.'

    ++ Кванар гучіи.

(267) kʷanar gu-č'i.
       light   COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

    + Кванар хучіи.

(268) kʷanar χu-č'i.
       light   INAN.COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

    + Кванар лъичіи.

(269) *kʷanar ɬi-č'i.
       light   INAN.COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

Q1.21 Мама дома.

Бабу ишхъе ида.

(270) babu iš-qe   ida.
       mom home-APUD COP
       'Mom is at home.'

    Ила ишхъе ида.

(271) ila   iš-qe   ida.
       mother home-APUD COP
       'Mother is at home.'

Q1.22 Мама не дома. / Мамы нет дома.

Бабу ишхъе гучӏи.

(272)   babu iš-qe   gu-č'i.
        mom home-APUD COP-NEG
        'Mom is not at home.'

        Бабу ишхъе лъичӏи.

(273)   babu išqe   ɬi-č'i.
        mom home-APUD AN.COP-NEG
        'Mom is not at home.'

Q1.23 Корова в хлеву.

Зини бекъу ида.

(274)   zini beƛ'u   ida.
        cow shed.SUP COP
        'The cow is in the shed.'

Q1.24 Корова не в хлеву. / Коровы нет в хлеву.

Зини бекъу гучӏи.

(275)   zini beƛ'u   gu-č'i.
        cow shed.SUP COP-NEG
        'The cow is not in the shed.'

        + Зини бекъу хучӏи.

(276)   *zini beƛ'u   χu-č'i.
        cow shed.SUP INAN.COP-NEG
        'The cow is not in the shed.'

Researcher comment: (276) was considered ungrammatical, though with some doubt.

+ Зини бекьу лъичӏи.

(277) zini beλ'u   łi-č'i.
       cow shed.SUP AN.COP-NEG
       'The cow is not in the shed.'

Q1.25 Книга в шкафу.

Хъуча шкафалъи гьину ида.

(278) quča škafa-łi   hinu ida.
       book closet-GEN inside COP
       'The book is in the closet.'

Q1.26 Книга не в шкафу. / Книги нет в шкафу.

Хъуча шкафалъи гьину гучӏи.

(279) quča škafa-łi   hinu gu-č'i.
       book closet-GEN inside COP-NEG
       'The book is not in the closet.'

   + Хъуча шкафалъи гьину хучӏи.

(280) quča škafa-łi   hinu χu-č'i.
       book closet-GEN inside INAN.COP-NEG
       'The book is not in the closet.'

   + Хъуча шкафалъи гьину лъичӏи.

(281) *quča škafa-łi   hinu łi-č'i.
       book closet-GEN inside AN.COP-NEG
       'The book is not in the closet.'

3F1 гьаб

(282)   ha-b
      DEM-N
      'this'

      этот

3F2 гоб

(283)   go-b
      DEM-N
      'that' (far away and not visible)

      тот

3F3 габ

(284)   ga-b
      DEM-N
      'that' (far away and not visible)

      тот

Speaker comment: *габ* то же самое, что и *гоб*. Это когда что-то далеко, не видно.

3F4 доб

(285)   do-b
      DEM-N
      'that' (a long time ago)

      тот

Speaker comment: *доб* используется когда речь идет о прошлом, типа "помнишь тот случай, в то время".

3F5 гьуб

(286)   hu-b
      DEM-N

'this' (about a specific referent)

этот

3F6 гьогоб

(287) *hogo-b
       DEM-N

++ Эцеб пульт? Гьаб / гоб.

(288) e-ce-b   pulʲt?   ha-b   / go-b.
       what-one-N remote_control DEM-N / DEM-N
       'Which remote control? – This one / that one.'

++ Эцегъаб пульт? Гьацагъаб / гоцегъаб.

(289) e-ce-ʁa-b   pulʲt?   ha-ca-ʁa-b   / go-ce-ʁa-b.
       what-one-RESTR-N remote_control DEM-one-RESTR-N / DEM-one-RESTR-N
       'Which remote control? – This one / that one.'

Speaker comment: Элемент -це- значит 'эта одна вещь'.

5.7 Speaker sample 4

Recorded 28.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker AP#0000F, researcher Samira Verhees.

I have no data on AP#0000F's exact year of birth, but she is around 70 years old.

No audio recording.

Q1.1 Это моя сестра.

Гьай дий йацци ида.

(290) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   ida.
       DEM-F   I.OBL-F[GEN]   F-sibling   COP
       'This is my sister.'

    ++ Гьай дил йаццил ида.

(291) ha-j   di-l   j-acːi-l   ida.
       DEM-F   I.OBL-AN.PL[GEN]   F-sibling-PL   COP
       'These are my sisters.'

    Researcher comment: Maybe I did not write this down correctly: the demonstrative should be *ha-l* (animate plural) if it refers to *dil jacːil* 'my sisters'.

    Speaker comment: *гьай* используется когда сестра заходит. *гой, гойла* тоже возможно, а *гьуй* используется когда много народа (?).

Q1.2 Это не моя сестра

Гьуй дий йацци гучιи.

(292) hu-j   di-j   j-acːi   gu-čʼi.
       DEM-F   I.OBL-F[GEN]   F-sibling   COP-NEG
       'This is not my sister.'

    + Гьуй дий йацци лъичιи.

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(293) hu-j   di-j   j-acːi   ɬi-čʼi.
     DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG
     'This is not my sister.'

     + Гьуй дий йацци хучıи.

(294) *hu-j   di-j   j-acːi   χu-čʼi.
     DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling INAN.COP-NEG
     'This is not my sister.'

Q1.3 Брат учитель.

Див вацци учитель (ида).

(295) di-w   w-acːi   učitelʲ (ida).
     I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher COP
     'My brother is a teacher.'

     Researcher comment: This speaker seems to allow omission of the copula.

     + Див вацци учитель гучıи.

(296) di-w   w-acːi   učitelʲ gu-čʼi.
     I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher COP-NEG
     'My brother is not a teacher.'

     + Див вацци учитель лъичıи.

(297) *di-w   w-acːi   učitelʼ ɬi-čʼi.
     I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG
     'My brother is not a teacher.'

     Speaker comment: Как в (297) нельзя, *лъичıи* это если девочка.

     + Дил вaццил учительзабалъи гучıи.

(298) di-l   w-acːi-l   učiteľ-zabałi gu-čʼi.
I.OBL-AN.PL[GEN] M-sibling-PL teacher-PL   COP-NEG
'My brothers are not teachers.'

Researcher comment: I asked for an example with *χučʼi*, but the speaker misheard and produced an example with *gučʼi* instead.

++ Дихъе гъани гучıи.

(299) di-qe   ʁani gu-čʼi.
I.OBL-APUD bread COP-NEG
'I don't have bread.'

+ Дихъе гъани хучıи.

(300) *di-qe   ʁani χu-čʼi.
I.OBL-APUD bread INAN.COP-NEG
'I don't have bread.'

Q1.4 Брат не чабан.

Див вацци харашу гучıи.

(301) di-w   w-acːi   χarašu gu-čʼi.
I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling sheperd COP-NEG
'My brother is not a sheperd.'

Q1.5 Брат не учитель, а чабан.

Див вацци учитель гучıи, харашуда.

(302) di-w   w-acːi   učiteľ gu-čʼi, χarašu=da.
I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher COP-NEG sheperd=COP
'My brother is not a teacher, he is a sheperd.'

Q1.6 Это не человек (это твоя тень).

Гьув адам гучӏи.

(303) hu-w   adam   gu-č'i.
      DEM-M person COP-NEG
      'That is not a person.'

     ++ Мин кунтекӏва гучӏи – вахьхь(а)на.

(304) min   kuntek'ʷa gu-č'i   –   wax:(a)na.
      you.SG man   COP-NEG   coward
      'You are not a man but a coward.'

Researcher comment: In the dictionary by Alekseev & Azaev (2019: 114) *waxna* is a 'cowardly man' (несмелый мужчина).

Q1.7 Я не камень.

Ден гьинцӏа гучӏи, ден адам ида.

(305) den hinc'a gu-č'i,   den adam   ida.
      I   stone COP-NEG I   person COP
      'I'm not a stone, I'm a person.'

     ++ Ден гьинцӏа гучӏи, ден рикьилъи ида.

(306) den hinc'a gu-č'i,   den riλ'i-łi   ida.
      I   stone COP-NEG I   meat-GEN COP
      'I'm not a stone, I'm made of flesh (lit. meat).'

Q1.8 Я не буду камнем.

Ден гьинцӏалъи йикьеучӏи.

(307) den hinc'a-łi   j-ik'-euč'i.
      I   stone-GEN   F-be-NEG.HAB

'I'm not made of stone.'

Q1.9 Животное не вещь / предмет.

Researcher comment: I tried to give some context for this utterance by saying that this could be uttered by someone scolding a child for treating an animal badly, at which the speaker produced the utterances in (308) and (309).

    ++ зини бачӏай

(308) zini b-ač'-a-j
       cow N-torment-CAUS-INF
       'torment a cow'

       дразнить корову

    ++ Гьуб дуй хвай гучӏи.

(309) hu-b   du-j   χʷaj gu-č'i.
       DEM-N you.SG.OBL-F[GEN] dog COP-NEG
       'That is not your dog.'

Researcher comment: Not sure why the female form is used. Perhaps this is a calque from Russian?

    + Гьуб дуй хвай лъичӏи.

(310) *hu-b   du-j   χʷaj łi-č'i.
       DEM-N you.SG.OBL-F[GEN] dog AN.COP-NEG
       'That is not your dog.'

    + Гьуб дуй хвай хучӏи.

(311) hu-b   du-j   χʷaj χu-č'i.
       DEM-N you.SG.OBL-F[GEN] dog INAN.COP-NEG
       'That is not your dog.'

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Q1.10 Животное не человек.

Буцӏцӏи адам булӏеучӏи.

(312) buc'ːi adam   b-uƛ-euč'i.
       cattle person N-become-HAB.NEG
       'Animals do not become people.'

    + Буцӏцӏи адам гучӏи.

(313) buc'ːi adam   gu-č'i.
       cattle person COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

    + Буцӏцӏи адам хучӏи.

(314) *buc'ːi adam   χu-č'i.
       cattle   person INAN.COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

    + Буцӏцӏи адам лъичӏи.

(315) *buc'ːi adam   łi-č'i.
       cattle   person AN.COP-NEG
       'An animal is not a person.'

Q1.11 Человек не животное.

Адам индекӏвала хӏайванлъун вулӏеучӏи.

(316) adam   inde=k'ʷala   ħajwan=łun   w-uƛ-euč'i.
       person when=INDEF animal=FUNC M-become-HAB.NEG
       'A person will never become an animal.'

    + Адам хӏайван гучӏи.

(317)   adam   ħajwan gu-č'i.
        person animal COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

   + Адам хӏайван хучӏи.

(318)   *adam ħajwan χu-č'i.
        person animal INAN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

   + Адам хӏайван лъичӏи.

(319)   *adam ħajwan ɬi-č'i.
        person animal AN.COP-NEG
        'A person is not an animal.'

Q1.12 Учительница старая.

йахара учительница.

(320)   j-aχara učiteľⁱnica.
        F-old   teacher
        'an old teacher'

   Йахарив учительница.

(321)   j-aχar-iw   učiteľⁱnica.
        F-old-AOR teacher
        'The teacher has become old.'

   Йахара ида учительница.

(322)   j-aχara ida učiteľⁱnica.
        F-old   COP teacher
        'The teacher is old.'

Q1.13 Учительница не старая.

Учительница гӀолохъанай (ида).

(323) učiteľⁱnica ˤoloqana-j (ida).
      teacher   young-F COP
      'The teacher is young.'

    Учительница йахара гучӀи.

(324) učiteľⁱnica j-aχara gu-č'i.
      teacher   F-old COP-NEG
      'The teacher is not old.'

    + Учительница йахара хучӀи.

(325) učiteľⁱnica j-aχara χu-č'i.
      teacher   F-old INAN.COP-NEG
      'The teacher is not old.'

    + Учительница йахара льичӀи.

(326) učiteľⁱnica j-aχara ɬi-č'i.
      teacher   F-old AN.COP-NEG
      'The teacher is not old.'

Q1.14 Корова хорошая.

Зини рухӀиди гванзида.

(327) zini ruħi-di gʷanzi=da.
      cow soul-ERG good=COP
      'The cow is very good.'

Q1.15 Корова не хорошая.

Зини гванзи гучӀа букӀа, гвангода багьихаб.

(328) zini gʷanzi gu-č'a   b-uk'-a, gʷangoda b-ah-i-χa-b.
cow good   COP-NEG.PROG.CVB N-be-AOR bunt   N-become-IS-INAN.PRS.PTCP-N
'The cow was not good, it butts [its head].'

Зини гванзи гучӏа букӏа, милабаха багьихаб.

(329) zini gʷanzi gu-č'a   b-uk'-a, milabaχa b-ah-i-χa-b.
cow good   COP-NEG.PROG.CVB N-be-AOR kick   N-become-IS-INAN.PRS.PTCP-N
'The cow was not good, it kicks.'

+ Зини гванзи гучӏи.

(330) zini gʷanzi gu-č'i.
cow good   COP-NEG
'The cow is not good.'

++ Гванзи гучӏи зини.

(331) gʷanzi gu-č'i   zini.
good   COP-NEG cow
'The cow is not good.'

Q1.16 Книга хорошая.

Хъуча рухӏиди гванзи (ида).

(332) quča ruħi-di   gʷanzi (ida).
book soul-ERG good   COP
'The book is very good.'

Q1.17 Книга не хорошая.

Хъуча рухӏиди гванзи гучӏи.

(333) quča ruħi-di   gʷanzi gu-č'i.
book soul-ERG good   COP-NEG
'The book is not good.'

+ Хъуча рухӀиди гванзи хучӀи.

(334)   quča ruħi-di   gʷanzi χu-č'i.
         book soul-ERG good   INAN.COP-NEG
         'The book is not good at all.'

+ Хъуча рухӀиди гванзи лъичӀи.

(335)   *quča ruħi-di   gʷanzi łi-č'i.
         book   soul-ERG good   AN.COP-NEG
         'The book is not good at all.'

Q1.18 Свет есть?

Кванар идама?

(336)   kʷanar ida=ma?
         light   COP=PQ
         'Is there light?'

Q1.19 Свет есть.

Кванар ида.

(337)   kʷanar ida.
         light   COP
         'There is light.'

Q1.20 Нет света.

Кванар гучӀи.

(338)   kʷanar gu-č'i.
         light   COP-NEG
         'There is no light.'

+ Кванар хучӀи.

(339) kʷanar χu-čʼi.
       light   INAN.COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

  + Кванар лъичӀи.

(340) *kʷanar łi-čʼi.
       light   AN.COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

Q1.21 Мама дома.

Ила ишхъе ида.

(341) ila   iš-qe   ida.
       mother home-APUD COP
       'Mother is at home.'

Q1.22 Мама не дома. / Мамы нет дома.

Ишхъе гучӀи.

(342) iš-qe   gu-čʼi.
       home-APUD COP-NEG
       '[She] is not at home.'

  + Ишхъе лъичӀи.

(343) iš-qe   łi-čʼi.
       home-APUD AN.COP-NEG
       '[She] is not at home.'

  + Ишхъе хучӀи.

(344) *iš-qe   χu-čʼi.
       home-APUD INAN.COP-NEG
       '[She] is not at home.'

Speaker comment: *хучιι* нельзя, это значит, что что-то нет у нее.

Q1.23 Корова в хлеву.

Зини бекьуда.

(345) zini beƛ'u=da.
       cow shed.SUP=COP
       'The cow is in the shed.'

Q1.24 Корова не в хлеву. / Коровы нет в хлеву.

Зини бекьу гучιι.

(346) zini beƛ'u   gu-č'i.
       cow shed.SUP COP-NEG
       'The cow is not in the shed.'

   + Зини бекьу хучιι.

(347) *zini beƛ'u   χu-č'i.
       cow shed.SUP INAN.COP-NEG
       'The cow is not in the shed.'

   + Зини бекьу лъичιι.

(348) zini beƛ'u   ɬi-č'i.
       cow shed.SUP AN.COP-NEG
       'The cow is not in the shed.'

Q1.25 Книга в шкафу.

Хъуча тумбочкалъи (гьину) ида.

(349) quča tumbočka-ɬi   (hinu) ida.
       book nightstand-GEN inside COP
       'The book is in the nightstand.'

Хъуча къуршилъи ида.

(350) quča qurši-łi   ida.
       book drawer-GEN COP
       'The book is in the drawer.'

++ Диб зини гучӏи.

(351) di-b   zini gu-č'i.
       I.OBL-N[GEN] cow COP-NEG
       '[This] is not my cow.'

+ Диб зини лъичӏи.

(352) ??di-b   zini łi-č'i.
       I.OBL-N[GEN] cow AN.COP-NEG
       '[This] is not my cow.'

Speaker comment: *лъичӏи* можно, или нельзя.

Researcher comment: The speaker doubted whether (352) was acceptable or not.

Q1.26 Книга не в шкафу. / Книги нет в шкафу.

Тумбочкалъи хъуча гучӏи.

(353) tumbočka-łi   quča gu-č'i.
       nightstand-GEN book COP-NEG
       'The book is not in the nightstand.'

Къуршилъи хъуча гучӏи.

(354) qurši-łi   quča gu-č'i.
       drawer-GEN book COP-NEG
       'The book is not in the drawer.'

+ Тумбочкалъи хъуча хучӏи.

(355) *tumbočka-ɬi quča χu-č'i.
nightstand-GEN book INAN.COP-NEG
'The book is not in the nightstand.'

+ Тумбочкалъи хъуча лъичІи.

(356) *tumbočka-ɬi quča ɬi-č'i.
nightstand-GEN book AN.COP-NEG
'The book is not in the nightstand.'

Speaker comment: *хучІи* здесь будет непонятно. *лъичІи* тоже нельзя, это про человека.

4F1 Мы здесь.

Ищи гьамусе ида.

(357) iš:i ha-muse ida.
we.EXCL DEM-place COP
'We are in this place.'

4F2 гьалълъу

(358) ha-ɬ:u
DEM-IN
'here'
здесь

4F3 гьалълъа

(359) ha-ɬ:a
DEM-IN.LAT
'here'
здесь

Speaker comment: То же самое, что и *гьалълъу*.

Researcher comment: Historically, *hał:u* is an essive form and *hał:a* is lative. In contemporary Botlikh they are poorly differentiated.

++ Арагъаба!

(360)   ara-ʁ-aba
     here.LAT-come-IMP
     'Come here!'

     иди сюда

4F4 гьулълъу

++ Гьулълъу вуккуба!

(361)   hu-ł:u   w-uk:-uba
     DEM-IN M-stay-IMP
     'Stay there!'

     оставайся там

4F5 голълъу

++ Голълъу вуккуба!

(362)   go-ł:u   w-uk:-uba
     DEM-IN M-stay-IMP
     'Stay there!'

     оставайся там

4F6 галълъа

(363)   *ga-ł:a
     DEM-IN.LAT
     'thither'

4F7 габ

(364) ga-b
       DEM-N

4F8 гоб

(365) go-b
       DEM-N

4F9 гьала

++ Гьала ида гьуб.

(366) ha-la   ida hu-b.
       DEM-ADD COP DEM-N
       '?'

4F10 гола

(367) go-la
       DEM-ADD

4F11 гьула

(368) hu-la
       DEM-ADD

4F12 гала

(369) *ga-la
       DEM-ADD

   Speaker comment: Нет такого.

4F13 дола

(370) do-la
       DEM-ADD

4F14 гьогоб

(371)   *hogo-b
        DEM-N

4F15 гьагаб

(372)   *haga-b
        DEM-N

Speaker comment: Нет такого указательного местоимения, это значит 'ненормальный человек'.

4F16 гьалада

(373)   ha-la-da
        DEM-ADD-INT
        'gratis'

        бесплатно, так просто дают

4F17 гьулада

(374)   hu-la-da
        DEM-ADD-INT
        'gratis'

        бесплатно, так просто дают

4F18 голада

(375)   go-la-da
        DEM-ADD-INT
        'gratis'

        бесплатно, так просто дают

4F19 галада

(376)   *ga-la-da
        DEM-ADD-INT

'gratis'

бесплатно, так просто дают

4F20 долада

(377) do-la-da
       DEM-ADD-INT
       'gratis'

бесплатно, так просто дают

4F21 гьалакӀа

(378) *ha-la-k'a
       DEM-ADD-?

4F22 столько

++ Иштала букӀе?

(379) ištala   b-uk'-e?
       how_much N-be-HAB
       'How much is it?'

сколько

++ Гьалълъихи иштахула?

(380) ha-ɬːi-χi   išta=χu-la?
       DEM-NM.OBL-APUD how_much=INAN-CQ
       'How much is this?'

сколько

Researcher comment: I tried to elicit the word 'this much' (*столько*), which should be derived from a demonstrative stem, but the speaker produced only variants of saying 'how much' (*сколько*).

4F23 Ханиди хӀукму игьу ида хадал бугъа хъалавур веди.

Что значит бугъа в этом контексте?

   Speaker comment: *бугъа* значит бычок, это используется еще для обозначения сильного, здорового человека.

4F24 гучӀи

ГучӀи.

(381)   gu-č'i.
       COP-NEG
       '[It] is not there.'

       Нет.

4F25 лъичӀи

ЛъичӀи.

(382)   ɬi-č'i.
       AN.COP-NEG
       'There is no such person.'

       Такого человека нет.

   ++ Ида гьаштув адам.

(383)   ida haštu-w adam.
       COP such-M person
       'There is such a person.'

   ++ ГучӀи гьаштув адам.

(384)   gu-č'i   haštu-w adam.
       COP-NEG such-M person
       'There is not such a person.'

++ Лъичӏи гьаштув адам.

(385)　ɬi-č'i　　　　haštu-w adam.
　　　　AN.COP-NEG such-M　person
　　　　'There is not such a person.'

5.8   Speaker sample 5

Recorded 28.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker SPR1954F, researcher Samira Verhees.

The session was cut short because of Iftar preparations.

No audio recording.

Q1.1 Это моя сестра.

Гьай ида дий йацци.

(386) ha-j   ida di-j   j-acːi.
       DEM-F COP I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling
       'This is my sister.'

Q1.2 Это не моя сестра

Гьай дий йацци гучи.

(387) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   gu-čʼi.
       DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling COP-NEG
       'This is not my sister.'

   + Гьай дий йацци лъичи.

(388) ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   ɬi-čʼi.
       DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling AN.COP-NEG
       'This is not my sister.'

   Speaker comment: Так можно, даже лучше.

   + Гьай дий йацци хучи.

(389) *ha-j   di-j   j-acːi   χu-čʼi.
        DEM-F I.OBL-F[GEN] F-sibling INAN.COP-NEG
        'This is not my sister.'

Speaker comment: Нельзя, потому что она одушевленная.

++ Гьула хучӏи.

(390)   hu-la   χu-č'i.
           DEM-ADD INAN.COP-NEG
           'It is not like that.'

           это не так.

5F1 Там нет гвоздя.

Гьалълъа гьанкӏва гучӏи.

(391)   ha-ł:a   hank'ʷa gu-č'i.
           DEM-IN.LAT nail   COP-NEG
           'There is no nail there.'

Speaker comment: *гьалълъа* если рядом.

Researcher comment: This was an attempt to reproduce example (140).

+ Гьалълъа гьанкӏва хучӏи.

(392)   *ha-ł:a   hank'ʷa χu-č'i.
           DEM-IN.LAT nail   INAN.COP-NEG
           'There is no nail there.'

+ Голълъа гьанкӏва гучӏи.

(393)   go-ł:a   hank'ʷa gu-č'i.
            DEM-IN.LAT nail   COP-NEG
            'There is no nail there.'

           Это дальше чем гьалълъа.

+ Гьулълъа гьанкӏва гучӏи.

(394) hu-ɬ:a   hank'ʷa gu-č'i.
     DEM-IN.LAT nail   COP]-NEG
     'There is no nail there.'

Speaker comment: Немного дальше чем *гьалъalgьа*.

++ Уду гьанк1ва гуч1и.

(395) udu   hank'ʷa gu-č'i.
     there nail   COP-NEG
     'There is no nail there.'

Speaker comment: Это еще дальше чем *гьалъlгьа*.

5F2 Дай мне эту ручку.

[Адресат держит ее в руках.]

Гьуб ручка икка диха.

(396) hu-b   ručka ik:-a   di-χa.
     DEM-N pen   give-IMP I.OBL-APUD.LAT
     'Give me that pen.'

Гьуб ручка диха икке.

(397) hu-b   ručka di-χa   ik:-e.
     DEM-N pen   I.OBL-APUD.LAT give-HAB
     'Give me that pen.'

Q1.3 Брат учитель.

Див вацци учитель ида.

(398) di-w   w-ac:i   učiteľ ida.
     I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher COP
     'My brother is a teacher.'

Q1.4 Брат не чабан.

Див вацци харашу гуч1и.

(399) di-w   w-ac:i   χarašu gu-č'i.
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling sheperd COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

   Див вацци харашу лъич1и.

(400) di-w   w-ac:i   χarašu ɬi-č'i.
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling sheperd AN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

   + Див вацци харашу хуч1и.

(401) *di-w   w-ac:i   χarašu χu-č'i.
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling sheperd INAN.COP-NEG
      'My brother is not a sheperd.'

Q1.5 Брат не учитель, а чабан.

Див вацци учитель лъич1и, харашуда.

(402) di-w   w-ac:i   učitel' ɬi-č'i,   χarašu=da.
      I.OBL-M[GEN] M-sibling teacher AN.COP-NEG sheperd=COP
      'My brother is not a teacher but a sheperd.'

Q1.6 Это не человек (это твоя тень).

Гьув адам лъич1и.

(403) hu-w   adam ɬi-č'i.
      DEM-M person AN.COP-NEG
      'That is not a person.'

   Гьув адам гуч1и.

(404) hu-w   adam   gu-č'i.
       DEM-M person COP-NEG
       'That is not a person.'

       + Гьув адам хучӏи.

(405) *hu-w   adam   χu-č'i.
       DEM-M person INAN.COP-NEG
       'That is not a person.'

       Speaker comment: *хучӏи* нельзя.

Q1.7 Я не камень.

Денла гьинцӏа лъичӏи.

(406) den=la hinc'a ɬi-č'i.
       I=ADD stone AN.COP-NEG
       'I am not a stone'

       Денла гьинцӏа гучӏи.

(407) den=la hinc'a gu-č'i.
       I=ADD stone COP-NEG
       'I am not a stone.'

       + Денла гьинцӏа хучӏи.

(408) *den=la hinc'a χu-č'i.
       I=ADD   stone INAN.COP-NEG
       'I am not a stone.'

       Speaker comment: *хучӏи* нельзя.

Q1.8 Я не буду камнем.

Ден гьинцӏа йикӏи лъичӏи.

(409) den hinc'a j-ik'-i   ɬi-č'i.
     I   stone F-be-INF AN.COP-NEG
     'I will not be a stone.'

Ден анча вукки лъичӀи.

(410) den anča w-ukː-i   ɬi-č'i.
     I   stone M-fall-INF AN.COP-NEG
     'I will not become a stone.'

++ Анча йилӀу йигъу.

(411) anča j-iƛ-u   j-iʁ-u.
     stone F-become-CVB F-stop-AOR
     'She became like a stone.' (i.e. she did not say anything)

Она стояла как камень (молча).

Q1.9 Животное не вещь / предмет.

ХӀайван чӀагояб нагъар ида.

(412) ħajwan č'agoja-b naʁar ida.
     animal living-N   thing COP
     'An animal is a living thing.'

5.9 Speaker sample 6

Recorded 26.04.2021 in Botlikh.

Speaker Z##0000F, researcher Samira Verhees.

No audio recording.

6F1

I asked the speaker about the difference between the negative copulas, in response to which they produced the following examples:

Земфира лъичіи.

(413) Zemfira ɬi-č'i.
       Z.[F]   AN.COP-NEG
       'Zemfira is not here.'

Магомед гучіи.

(414) Magomed gu-č'i.
       M.[M]   COP-NEG
       'Magomed is not here.'

+ Кванар гучіи.

(415) kʷanar gu-č'i.
       light   COP-NEG
       'There is no light.'

Researcher comment: The speaker grew up in Botlikh and speaks the language, but her mother is a native speaker of Kumyk from Buinaksk, while her father is local. As a result, she grew up in a multilingual home, where a mixture of Botlikh, Avar, Russian, and Kumyk was spoken. Avar is the local lingua franca and her parents used this language to communicate with each other. Russian was also used because the speaker's mother was a teacher of

Russian. Her mother does not speak Botlikh beyond a few common words and phrases.

Recorded 28.04.2021.

Speaker Z##0000F and the parents of her daughter's husband, researcher Samira Verhees.

No audio recording.

    Researcher comment: One evening Z##0000F and I went to visit the parents of her daughter's husband. She asked them about the difference between negative copulas, about which I had asked her before. They commented that *łič'i* is used for plural. You can use this, for example, when you are talking about your parents to say that they are not home. You cannot use this when you are talking about just your mother or your father.

5.10   Speaker sample 7

Recorded 27.04.2021 in Miarso.

Speakers included the head teacher of the village school and a group of children of different ages, researcher Samira Verhees.

This session was conducted spontaneously when I visited the school of Miarso. The teachers assembled a group of talented students from different grades, and told me to ask them questions (and answer some of theirs if they had any). I did not record metadata for the head teacher.

No audio recording.

Q2.01 эти книги

гьаб хъучавалъи

(416)   ha-b   quča-wałi
        DEM-INAN.PL book-PL
        'these books'

гьаб хъуче

(417)   ha-b   quč-e
        DEM-INAN.PL book-PL
        'these books'

Q2.02 эти дома

гьаб гьанкъвалъи

(418)   ha-b   hanqʼʷ-ałi
        DEM-INAN.PL house-PL
        'these houses'

Q2.03 эти коровы

гьаб буцци

(419) ha-b   buc'ːi
       DEM-N cattle
       'this cattle'

Speaker comment: Единственное число – *зини*, для множественного числа используется только *буцци* 'скот'.

Researcher comment: Another speaker of Miarso produced the regular plural form *zin-e* in online elicitation via a messenger app, see example (40). Some speakers of the Botlikh dialect also consider *buc'ːi* to be the only correct plural form of 'cow', even though others use the plural form *zine*. According to my data, in the Botlikh dialect the word *buc'ːi* in this context triggers animate plural agreement, which doest not seem to be the case in Miarso.

Q2.04 эти лошади

гьал кӀат-е

(420) ha-l   k'at-e
       DEM-AN.PL horse-PL
       'these horses'

Q2.05 эти люди

гьал адамал

(421) ha-l   adam-al
       DEM-AN.PL person-PL
       'these people'

гьал адони

(422) ha-l   adoni
      DEM-AN.PL people
      'these people'

    Researcher comment: The form *adoni* was suggested as a plural form of *adam* 'person', but I cannot identify clear plural marking.

Q2.06 эти дети

гьал макӏил

(423) ha-l   mak'i-l
      DEM-AN.PL child-PL
      'these children'

Q2.07 эти бабочки

гьал сисикӏванлъи

(424) ha-l   sisik'wan-ɬi
      DEM-AN.PL butterfly-PL
      'these butterflies'

    Researcher comment: singular: *sisik'ʷan*.

Q2.08 Сестра – учительница.

Йацци учитель.

(425) j-acːi   učitelʲ.
      F-sibling teacher
      'My sister is a teacher.'

Q2.09 Сестра – не учительница.

Йацци учительница гьичӏи.

(426) j-acːi   učitelʲnica hi-č'i.
       ꜰ-sibling teacher   ᴀɴ.ᴄᴏᴘ-ɴᴇɢ
       'My sister is not a teacher.'

Q2.10 Дом большой.

Гьанкъу бечӏухаб.

(427) hanq'u b-eč'uχa-b.
       house ɴ-big-ɴ
       'The house is big.'

Q2.11 Дом не большой.

Гьанкъу бечӏухаб гьучӏи.

(428) hanq'u b-eč'uχa-b hu-č'i.
       house ɴ-big-ɴ   ɪɴᴀɴ.ᴄᴏᴘ-ɴᴇɢ
       'The house is not big.'

Q2.12 Этого дома нет уже.

Гьина гього-б гьанкъу гьучӏи.

(429) hina hogo-b hanq'u hu-č'i.
       now ᴅᴇᴍ-ɴ house ᴄᴏᴘ-ɴᴇɢ
       'This house is not there anymore.'

Q2.13 Это ты?

Мин инлъила?

(430) min   in=ɬi-la?
       you.sɢ who=ᴀɴ-ᴄǫ
       'Who are you?'

Researcher comment: Not the intended question.

Q2.14 Кто дома?

Инлъила ишхъе?

(431) in=ɬi-la   iš-qe?
       who=AN-CQ home-APUD
       'Who is at home?'

Q2.15 Что это?

Гьаб эбхула?

(432) ha-b   e-b=χu-la?
       DEM-N what-N=INAN-CQ
       'What is that?'

   Гьуб эбхула?

(433) hu-b   e-b=χu-la?
       DEM-N what-N=INAN-CQ
       'What is that?'

   Speaker comment: (432): у говорящего рядом; (433): у адресата.

   + Гьав инлъила?

(434) ha-w   in=ɬi-la?
       DEM-N who=AN-CQ
       'Who is he?'

   + Гьай инлъила?

(435) ha-j   in=ɬi-la?
       DEM-F who=AN-CQ
       'Who is she?'

   + Гьал инлъила?

(436) ha-l   in=ɬi-la?
       DEM-PL who=AN-CQ
       'Who are they?'

Q2.16 Ты кормил куриц?

Минди чанчаба у"ъу"чу?

(437) min-di   čanč-a=ba   ŭʔŭču?
       you.SG-ERG feed-AOR=PQ chicken
       'Did you feed the chickens?'

Q2.17 Ты купил новое пальто?

Минди цӏи"в парту ихиба?

(438) min-di   cʼĭw partu iχ-i=ba?
       you.SG-ERG new coat   take-AOR=PQ
       'Did you buy a new coat?'

Q2.18 Дедушка (не) спит?

Вочӏуха има гъундулъиба?

(439) w-očʼuχa ima   ʁundu=ɬi-ba?
       M-big   father sleep=AN-PQ
       'Is grandfather sleeping?'

Q2.19 Где дети?

Макӏил инулъила?

(440) makʼi-l   inu=ɬi-la?
       child-PL where=AN-CQ
       'Where are the children?'

Q2.20 Где моя шапка?

Диб къабалъа инуху?

(441) di-b   q'abała inu-χu?
       I.OBL-N[GEN] hat   where-INAN
       'Where is my hat?'

Q2.21 Куда летит этот самолёт?

Инулъила бурдата гьоб самалёт?

(442) inu=łi-la   burd-ata ho-b   samalʲot.
       where=AN-CQ fly-PROG DEM-N airplane
       'Where is this plane flying?'

Researcher comment: Some confusion arose here: I asked whether *inuχu* (cf. (441)) was also acceptable, to which they answered "no, that means 'where' (*где*), 'whereto' would be *ine-łila*", even though they initially suggested *inu* themselves. I did not manage to figure out whether the supposed inanimate form (*inuχu(la)*) would be possible here. I am not sure of /e/ in *inełila* either, the sound seemed to occupy an intermediate position between /e/ and /a/.

Q2.22 Куда он едет?

Инелъи гьогов волӀа?

(443) ine-łi   hogo-w w-oλ-a?
       where-AN DEM-M M-go-PROG
       'Where is he going?'

Q2.23 корова, которую продают

бичат(а)гоб зини

(444) b-ič-at(a)-go-b   zini
        N-sell-PROG-PTCP-N cow
        'a cow that is being sold'

Q2.24 товар, который продают

бичат(а)гоб къай

(445) b-ič-at(a)-go-b   q'aj
        N-sell-PROG-PTCP-N merchandise
        'merchandise that is being sold'

Q2.25 человек, который водит маршрутку

машина ичатагоб адан

(446) mašina ič-ata-go-b   adan
        car   drive-PROG-PTCP-N person
        'a person who drives a car'

    Researcher comment: The word 'person' seems to have two variants in Miarso: *adam* and *adan*.

Q2.26 второй сын

кӀейхов ваша

(447) k'ej-χo-w   waša
        two-ORD-M son
        'the second son'

Q2.27 вторая корова

кӀейхоб зини

(448) kʼej-χo-b   zini
two-ORD-N cow
'the second cow'

Q2.28 вторая книга

кӏейхоб хъуча

(449) kʼej-χo-b   quča
two-ORD-N book
'the second book'

Abbreviations

ADD additive

AN animate

AOR aorist

APUD apud locative

ATR attributivizer

CARD cardinal numeral

CAUS causative

COP copula

CQ content question marker

CVB converb

DAT dative

DEM demonstrative

EL elative

EMPH emphatic particle

ERG ergative

EXCL exclusive

F feminine

FUNC functive

FUT future

GEN genitive

HAB habitual

IMP imperative

IN inessive

INAN inanimate

INCL inclusive

INDEF indefinite

INF infinitive

INT intensifier particle

IS infinitive stem

LAT lative

M masculine

MSD masdar

N neuter

NEG negative

NM non-masculine

OBL oblique

ORD ordinal numeral

PL plural

PQ polar question marker

PROG progressive

PRS present

PST past

PTCP participle

QUOT quotative

REFL reflexive

REP reportative

RESTR restrictive

SG singular

SUP superessive

TEMP temporal converb

TH thematic element

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