A Grammar of Hinuq

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Abbreviations

For interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. They can be found at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php. Complex glosses consist of at least two simple glosses, divided by a dot, e.g. PTCP.PST 'Past participle'.

I-V	gender classes
ABL1	First Ablative case
ABL2	Second Ablative case
ABS	Absolutive case
ABST	Abstract suffix
ADD	Additive
ADJ	Adjectivizer
ALOC	'Animate' location
ANT	Anterior converb
ANTIP	Antipassive
AT	Location 'at'
ATT	Attributive marker
CAUS	Causative
CONC	Concessive converb
COND	Conditional converb
CONT	Location with contact
CVB	Narrative converb
DAT	Dative case
DIR	Directional case
DIST	Distributive
DOUBT	Enclitic signalling doubt
ERG	Ergative case
EMPH	Emphatic enclitic
EQ	Equative enclitic
FUT	Definite future
GEN1	First Genitive
GEN2	Second Genitive
GT	General tense
HAB	Habitual participle
HPL	human plural
ICVB	Imperfective converb
ILOC	'Inanimate' location
IMANT	Immediate Anterior
IMP	Imperative
IN	Location 'in(side)'
INDEF	Indefinite
LOC	Locative
MOD	Modifying enclitic
MSD	Masdar
NARR	Narrative enclitic
NEG	Negation
NHPL	Nonhuman plural
OBL	Oblique
OPT	Optative
ORD	Ordinal numeral
PL	Plural
POST	Posterior converb
POT	Potential
PROH	Prohibitive
PRS	Present
PRT	Particle
PST	Past
PTCP	Participle
PURP	Purposive
Q	Interrogative
QUOT	Quotative enclitic
REC	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
RES	Resultative participle
SG	Singular
SIM	Simultaneous converb
SPR	Location 'on'

SUB	Location ‘under’
TERM	Terminative converb
TOP	Topic
UWPST	Unwitnessed past
VOC	Vocative suffix

Other abbreviations

A	Agent
adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
BC	backward control
EXP	Experiencer
G	Goal
intr.	Intransitive
LA	local agreement
LDA	long distance agreement
lit.	Literally
N	Noun
obl.	Oblique stem
P	Patient
R	Recipient
S	Single argument of an intransitive clause
STIM	Stimulus
T	Theme
tr.	Transitive
V	Verb
SAP	Speech act participant

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. The Hinuq people

1.1.1. Hinuq speakers and their village

Hinuq is one of the smallest Nakh-Daghestanian languages. It is the native language of about 600 people. The great majority of them live in the village of Hinuq in the southwestern part of Daghestan. About 30 households with a total of more than 100 members live in the village of Monastirski in the north of Daghestan near the town of Kizljar, and their number is growing. A few other Hinuq speakers live in Shamkhal near the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala, in Makhachkala, and in various other places in Daghestan. Figure 1 shows a map of Daghestan with the major places where Hinuq speakers live.

The self-designation of the Hinuq people is *Hinuze* or *Hinuzas ahlu* (whereby *ahlu* means 'folk, people'), and the language is called *Hinuzas mec* (*mec* = 'language'). The Russian name of the language is *Ginuxskij jazyk*, and the English term is *Hinukh, Ginukh*, or *Hinuq*. According to Khalilov & Isakov (2005: 15), the term derives from the Hinuq word *hune* 'way'. The village name *Hinuq* can then be translated as 'on the way', from the word *hune* 'way' and the last segment *-q* would be a fossilized spatial case suffix.

The exact number of Hinuq speakers is unknown. Rizaxanova (2006: 8-10) provides some information about the number of Hinuq speakers during the past two centuries:

(1)

Year	People	Households
1842		100
1873		31
around 1880	148	26
1886	35	7
1902	272	
1926	150	28
around 1950[1]	about 200	
1967[2]	200	
1990	>500	117

[1] This number is estimated by Bokarev (1959: 111).
[2] This number is given by van den Berg (1995: 4).

Figure 1. A map of Daghestan, showing places where Hinuq people live or used to live

The Russian census of 2002 gives 522 as the number of Hinuq speakers.[3] But my informants repeatedly told me that the actual number is probably a little higher, around 600. Ethnically, the Hinuq people are officially considered to be Avars. The Avars are the largest ethnicity in Daghestan.

The village of Hinuq (Russian *Ginux*) is located at an altitude of about 2,000 m. In the south the territory of the village borders with Georgia, in the west with the Tsez village Kidiro, and in the east with Bezhta. In the north it is surrounded by high mountains. The village is located in the Tsunta district (*Cuntinskij rajon*), which is now a border zone with Georgia. Since 2007 individuals who are not residents are not allowed to enter that border zone without a special permission, which makes every trip there a little complicated for outsiders. The permission is issued by the FSB (*Federal'naja služba bezopasnosti Rossijskoj Federacii*, i.e. the Federal Security Service) in Kaspiysk, and it takes at least two months to get the permit for a foreigner.

The village can be reached by car or small buses basically all the year through, but in winter the journey can be dangerous due to avalanches and falling rock caused by heavy rain. The trip from the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala (about 300 km) takes approximately seven hours by car and nine hours by bus. The bus has only recently been established. It connects Hinuq with Makhachkala and runs twice a week. The other settlements of Hinuq people are much more easily accessible, therefore I made the decision not to go to Hinuq when I only had a short time for my fieldtrips.

1.1.2. The social and ethnological background

The main occupation of Hinuq people used to be livestock-breeding, mainly sheep and goats, but also cows. Nowadays, many, but far from all inhabitants of the village, have their own animals. From the milk the women make various milk products such as cheese, kefir, sour cream, and butter. Almost everyone has a small garden to grow potatoes and other vegetables like beetroots or carrots and fruits like apples, gooseberries, currants, and cornel cherries. In summer and autumn women go to the forests in order to collect blueberries, raspberries, and mushrooms. Some Hinuq people work in the school, in the local administration in Kidiro, in the hospital in Kidiro, or as policemen to earn a living.

The living conditions in Hinuq are not easy. The winters are long with a lot of snow, the summers are short. Electricity is available, but especially in autumn and winter the supplies are often interrupted. Water is provided by a self-constructed system, but not every household has its own water supply. However,

[3] http://www.perepis2002.ru/

the living standard is not much lower than in the capital. Although all young people leave the village for some time after school to get a higher education or to do their military service, some of them come back and therefore the village is constantly growing.

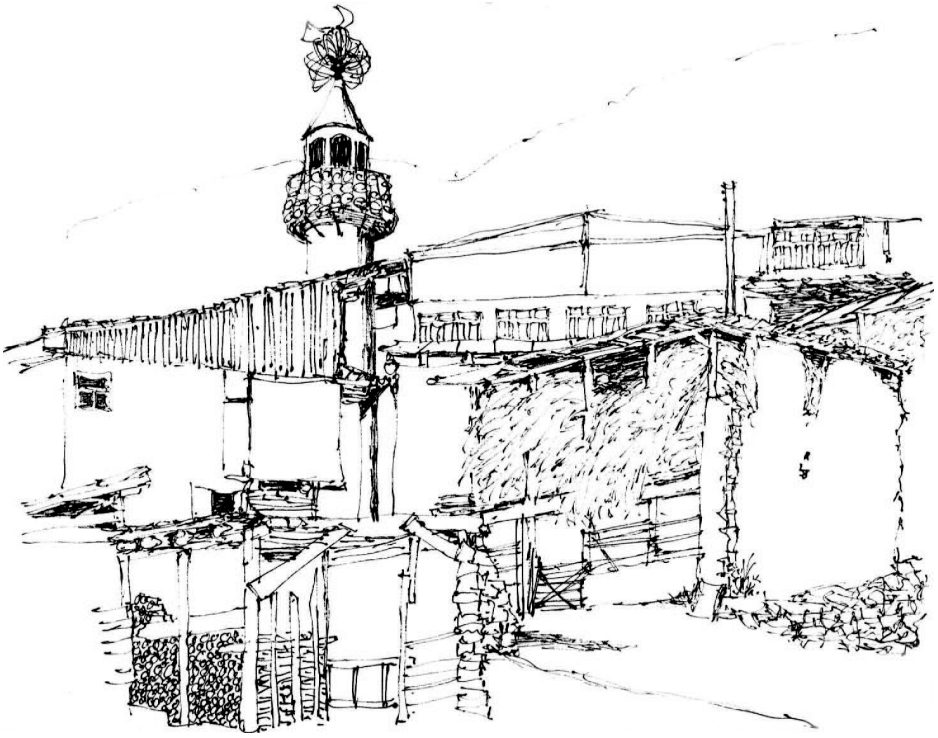

Figure 2. The minaret of the old mosque in Hinuq

The village has a school with eleven grades and about 100 pupils. There is an old mosque still in use. Recently a new mosque was opend. There are three shops where not only food but also small house items, stationery, and clothes are sold. The village also has a house for cultural events where folklore concerts are occasionally organized. People use mobile phones for communication. As of yet internet is not available.

Due to their contact with the Georgians, the Hinuq people were Christians before they converted to Islam around the 17th century. Now they are Sunni Muslims.

Hinuq people traditionally favor marriages within the village and/or within the family. Families consist not only of Hinuq speakers but also of Tsez speakers and occasionally Bezhta speakers from the neighboring villages. Women move to the husband's house after the wedding and are expected to learn the language

of the husband. Therefore, many wives of Hinuq men are Tsez speakers, and Hinuq women have moved to Tsez villages.

A detailed description of Hinuq ethnology including information about agriculture, material culture, family and social life and spiritual and religious traditions can be found in a recent book by Rizaxanova (2006).

Figure 3. In the village of Hinuq

1.1.3. Some notes on the history

Not much is known about the ancient history of the Hinuq people. According to Rizaxanova (2006: 171), they settled their territory about 2000-2500 years ago. They alternately belonged to the union of Tsez villages called *Dido* and to the Ancuq-Bezhta community called *Antl-Ratl*. They had well-established contacts with Georgians, as well as with their Tsez and Bezhta neighbors. These contacts can be estimated to go back at least to the year zero (Comrie & Khalilov 2009b). During the winter Hinuq men would go to Georgia in order to work and earn money.

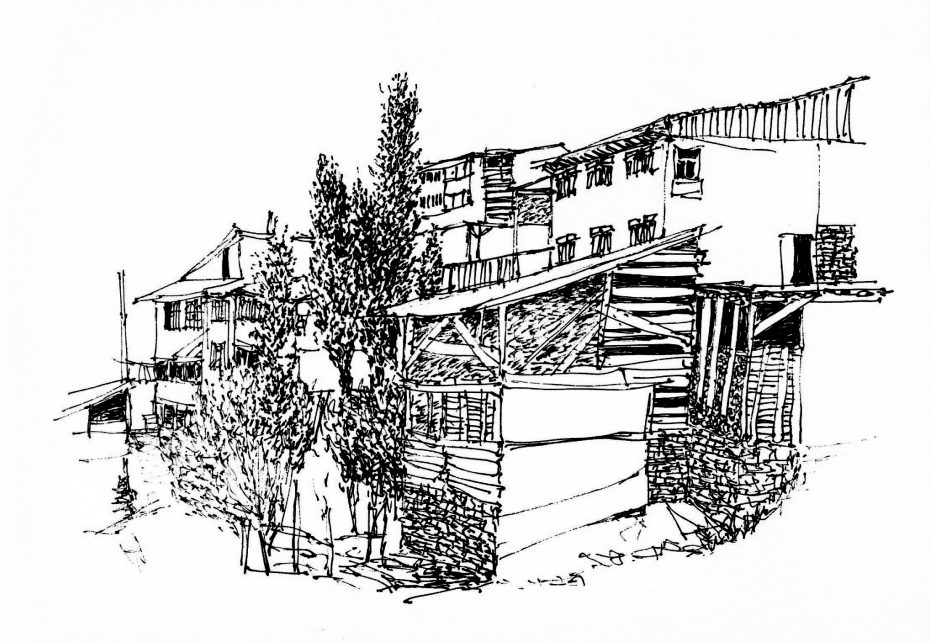

Figure 4. Houses and barns in Hinuq

In 1944 the Chechens were accused of collaborating with the Nazis and were therefore deported to Kazakhstan and other places. At the same time many Daghestanian people were forcibly resettled to Chechnya to the places which the Chechens had to vacate. The Hinuq people had to move to the village of Erseni in Chechnya. Because they did not want to go there, their houses were burned down. On the way to Chechnya, a journey which was undertaken on foot, and in the initial period many people died of malaria and other diseases. In 1957, when the Chechens were rehabilitated and came back to their villages, the Daghestanian people had to move back. The Hinuq people came back to their territory and had to rebuild their village anew.

In the 1960's and 1970's the Soviets pressured the people living in the Caucasus mountains to move to the lowlands, especially from those villages which lacked roads, electricity, and other infrastructure. The various ethnicities were assigned places in the lowlands to build up new settlements, and grants from the government were given to develop those settlements. Thus, beginning in 1986 Hinuq people began moving to the village of Monastirski in the Kizljar district of Daghestan (Figure 1). In that village not only Hinuq, but also Tsez, Dargi, Avar, Russian, Noghay, and other people live together. Every year more and more Hinuq families move the mountains to Monastirski.

1.2. The Hinuq language

1.2.1. The status of the Hinuq language

Hinuq is an oral language used by Hinuq people within their own community as the basic means of everyday communication. It lacks any dialectal variation. Hinuq does not have an official status in Russia. It is the first language acquired by Hinuq children. Hinuq is not studied at school, nor is it the language of instruction. All school teaching and all higher education is in Russian only. There are no published texts available in Hinuq apart from the texts in the grammars by Bokarev and Imnajšvili (Section 1.3.1) and a few poems written by Nabi Isaev, my main informant, which have been published in the local newspaper *Didojskie vesti* ('Dido news') in 2003 and 2006. The languages of mass media are Russian and partly Avar.

Pre-school Hinuq children speak mostly only Hinuq, at least if both parents are Hinuq speakers themselves and/or they live in the village of Hinuq. If one of the parents is Tsez, especially if the mother is Tsez, then the children most probably also speak Tsez. Furthermore, due to television broadcast in Russian, even pre-school children often have a passive command of Russian.

All Hinuq speakers older than 6 years (i.e. beginning with the school) have some command of Russian since education is exclusively in Russian. Although older speakers might not know it very well, they are all able to communicate in Russian with outsiders. Young Hinuq speakers living in the lowlands often know Russian better than Hinuq.

Avar is taught in school as the so-called *rodnoj jazyk* ('mother tongue'). Thus, all Hinuq speakers except for pre-school children have some knowledge of Avar. Since the phoneme inventories of Hinuq and Avar are rather similar, the knowledge of how to write Avar helps Hinuq speakers to write in their own language. The knowledge level of Avar mostly depends on the age of the speakers: older speakers know Avar better than younger ones because Avar used to be the lingua franca in the areas where Hinuq is located. Younger speakers do not know it very well. They speak Russian outside the community because Russian is more widespread and more important than Avar. However, in the past Avar has had a great impact on Hinuq, especially on the lexicon (Section 1.2.4).

Very old speakers have some command of Georgian since there have been well-established relationships between Georgians and Hinuq people for some centuries (Section 1.1.3). But nowadays the border is completely closed and there is no need to know Georgian anymore.

Other languages known by Hinuq speakers are Tsez as it is spoken in the neighboring village Kidiro and to a lesser extent Bezhta due to extensive relationships between the three Tsezic communities.

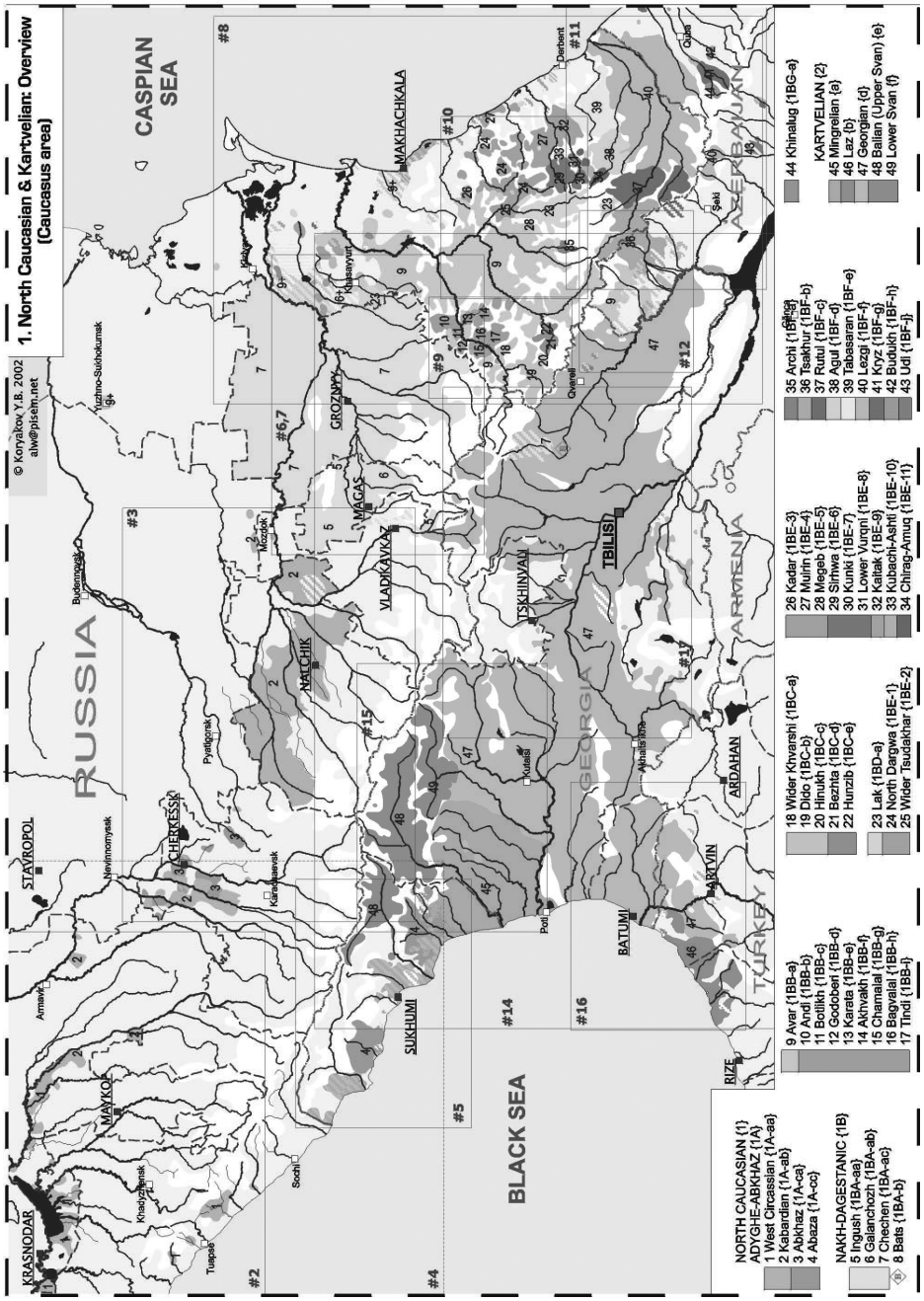

Figure 5. A linguistic map of the Caucasus (Korjakov 2006)

1.2.2. Genealogical affiliation

The Caucasus is the place with the greatest linguistic variation in Europe. The autochthonous languages of the Caucasus belong to three families: North-West Caucasian (or Abkhaz-Adyghe), North-East Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian), and South Caucasian (or Kartvelian), with no provable genealogical relationship between them (see Figure 5).

Hinuq belongs to the Tsezic subbranch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (or East Caucasian) language family (2).

(2) Nakh-Daghestanian (North-East Caucasian)

- Nakh branch
  - Chechen, Ingush, Tsova-Tush (or Batsbi)
- Avar-Andic branch
  - Avar
  - Andic subbranch
    - Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Akhvakh, Bagvalal, Tindi, Chamalal
- Tsezic branch
  - East Tsezic subbranch
    - Bezhta, Hunzib
  - West Tsezic subbranch
    - Tsez, **Hinuq**, Khwarshi (incl. Inkhoqwari)
- Lak
- Dargi branch
  - Akusha, Urakhi, Mjurego-Gubden, Mugi, Tsudakhar, Gapshima-Butri, Kadar, Muira, Mehweb, Sirkhi, Amukh, Qunqi, Icari, Chirag, Kaitag, Kubachi, Ashti
- Khinalugh
- Lezgic branch
  - Udi, Archi
  - Nuclear Lezgic subbranch
    - Lezgian, Agul, Tabasaran,Tsakhur, Rutul, Kryz, Budukh

Instead of considering Tsezic as a separate branch of Nakh-Daghestanian, some authors group it together with Avar and the Andic languages to the so-called Avar-Andic-Tsezic branch (cf. Alekseev 1999c, Korjakov 2006: 27). The Tsezic languages can be divided into East Tsezic, consisting of Hunzib and Bezhta, and West Tsezic, consisting of Tsez, Hinuq, and Khwarshi (whereby Khwarshi is divided into Khwarshi proper and Inkhoqwari, two very different dialects that can be considered to form separate languages). The language family tree given in (2) shows the position of Hinuq.

Hinuq's closest neighbor (both genealogically and geographically) is the Tsez dialect as spoken in the village of Kidiro, which is located about 3 km to the west of Hinuq. Alekseev (1999a) and Korjakov (2006: 21), based on glottochronology, estimate the time depth of Proto-Tsezic at 500 BCE and of Proto-West-Tsezic at 300 CE.

1.2.3. Typological overview of Hinuq

Hinuq has a medium-size vowel inventory with six vowels. The front rounded vowel /"u/ is only preserved in the speech of older speakers. Pharyngealized vowels occur in a restricted number of native words. As is typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages, Hinuq has a fairly rich consonant inventory. It distinguishes three types of stops and affricates: voiced, voiceless, and ejective. Ejectives are quite forceful. Therefore, the contrast between pulmonic consonants and ejectives is easily audible. All velar and uvular consonants occur in plain and labialized form. The syllable structure of native Hinuq words is *CV(:/y)(C)*. Stress is not a particularly important category in Hinuq grammar and is often hard to identify.

The category of gender plays an important role throughout the grammar of Hinuq. Nouns belong to five different genders, whose assignment is only partially based on the semantics. Agreement of various parts of speech (verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstrative pronouns) is triggered by a combination of gender and number. It is mostly expressed by prefixes. The majority of vowel-initial verbs, a few adverbs and adjectives, and all demonstrative pronouns show agreement. Verbs and adverbs agree with the Absolutive argument of their clause; adjectives and demonstrative pronouns with the head noun.

Hinuq is a dependent-marking language. The morphology is strongly agglutinative and except for the agreement prefixes only suffixing. Hinuq has ergative case marking. The case system is rather large, consisting of 6 grammatical and 35 spatial cases. The spatial cases combine two dimensions: location and orientation. All nouns, pronouns, numerals, and a few adjectives distinguish a direct vs. an oblique stem. Case suffixes are always added to the oblique stem.

Verbs distinguish a fairly large number of tense, mood/modality, and aspect forms. The tense-aspect-mood forms are partially conflated with an evidentiality system that distinguishes between neutral vs. unwitnessed forms in the past tenses. Hinuq has many non-finite verb forms such as converbs, participles, and nominalized forms. These verb forms usually head subordinate clauses or occur in periphrastic verb forms of independent main clauses. The inventory of simple underived verbs is rather small, but Hinuq has a number of very productive strategies used to increase the inventory of verbs: causative derivation and inchoative derivation, compounding, light verb constructions, and also serial verb constructions.

Hinuq has postpositions governing various cases. Many of the postpositions are also used as adverbs, which makes a distinction of these two parts of speech occasionally difficult. The Hinuq numeral system from 20 to 99 is vigesimal. Hinuq has cardinal, ordinal, collective, multiplicative, and distributive numerals. There are about 20 enclitics that serve various grammatical and/or pragmatic functions.

The basic valency classes of Hinuq are intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, extended transitive, and experiencer verbs, whereby the experiencer verbs are the only class having the most prominent argument in the Dative case. The valency classes correspond to the simple clause types with many extended intransitive and extended transitive verbs having non-canonical agents or other arguments expressed by spatial cases.

Types of complex sentences are adverbial clauses mostly headed by converbs, relative clauses formed with participles, and complement clauses. Reported speech is expressed by constructions differing from ordinary complement clauses. Some complement clauses headed by verbs showing agreement can display either local agreement with the complement clause as a whole, or long distance agreement with the embedded argument in the Absolutive. Coordination and subordination by means of conjunctions plays a very marginal role in clause combining.

In reflexive and reciprocal constructions with verbs belonging to certain valency classes (experiencer verbs and verbs with non-canonical agents), the role of the most prominent argument as indicated by the case marking can or even must be fulfilled by the reflexive or reciprocal pronoun and not by the controlling noun phrase. In addition, there is extensive long-distance reflexivization in various types of subordinate clauses.

Phrases are head-final. In clauses with transitive verbs the most frequent word order is agent-patient-verb, although main clauses admit all other five logically possible orders. Only subordinate clauses are more restrictive in their word order. Generally, word order is strongly influenced by information structure.

1.2.4. Language contact

Hinuq has been in immediate contact with three languages from which it has borrowed many words: Georgian, Avar and Russian. Nowadays, only Avar, and Russian constitute contact languages because the border to Georgia has been closed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, there has been and there still is extensive contact between Hinuq speakers and speakers of two other Tsezic languages, Bezhta and Tsez (Section 1.2.5). When comparing the lexicons of all three languages a striking similarity in the inventory of loan words becomes obvious. Therefore, this section is heavily based on Comrie & Khalilov (2009a, 2009b), who offer a description of language contact in Bezhta and lists of borrowed items. For the phonological adaptations that loans words have undergone in Hinuq see Section 2.4.7.

The contact between Hinuq speakers and Georgians must go back in time a fair distance. For the neighboring Tsezic languages Comrie & Khalilov (2009b) estimate that contact must go back at least to the year zero, and this can also be assumed for Hinuq. A list of examples of Georgian loans in Hinuq is given in (3).

(3)

Hinuq	Georgian
k'owzi 'spoon'	*<k'ovzi*
wazi 'grapevine'	*<vazi*
simindi/simildi 'maize'	*<simindi*
otoxi 'room'	*<otaxi*
ukru 'silver'	*<okro* ('gold')
tupi 'gun'	*<topi*
santali 'candle'	*<santeli*
hayri 'air'	*<haeri*
mat'i 'goose'	*<bat'i*
ɣurdelo 'priest'	*<mɣvdeli*
ɣino 'wine'	*<ɣvino*
c'int'a 'sock'	*<c'inda*
saq'dari 'church'	*<saqdari*
c'ikay 'mirror, glass'	*<č'ika*
(inaħ)zek'u 'mushroom'	*<zok'o*
ixuraq 'duck'	*<ixvi*

Avar has been the largest source for loans into Hinuq (though nowadays it is probably outranked by Russian). There has been intense contact for at least a few centuries. Hinuq was part of a larger Avar dominated community with Ancuq as the center and Avar was the lingua franca in that area for a long time

(only in recent times has it been replaced by Russian). Avar loans in Hinuq are readily identifiable and are found throughout the lexicon. There are adverbs and postpositions borrowed from Avar, but the loans are mostly adjectives, nouns, and verbs. In Hinuq, the adjectives from Avar do not show gender agreement anymore (Section 6.3). The verbs have been borrowed either in the Infinitive (whereby they have preserved the infinitival suffix in the Ancuq dialect *-izi/-ezi*, which is distinct from the infinitival suffix *-ize* of the standard language) or in the Masdar, a deverbal noun. In Hinuq, both such verb forms usually occur in light verb constructions together with the Hinuq verbs *-iq-* 'be, become' or *-uː-* 'do' (Section 9.3.2).

(4)	Hinuq	Avar
	bac'adaw 'clean'	*<b-ac'c'ada-w*
	baħaray 'bride'	*<baħaray*
	bak'arzi 'collect, gather'	*<bak'arzi*
	bałgo 'secretly'	*<bałgo*
	bercinaw 'beautiful'	*<bercina-w*
	berten 'wedding'	*<bertin*
	bet'erħan/bet'erhan 'husband, Lord'	*<bet'erhan*
	bič'i 'understanding'	*<bič'č'i*
	sadaq/cadaq 'together, with, all'	*<cadaq*
	č'ago/č'agu 'alive'	*<č'ago*
	č'uħi 'pride'	*<č'uħi*
	dahaw 'few, little'	*<daha-w*
	gamač' 'stone'	*<gamač'*
	t'ek 'book'	*<texˆ*
	halmaɣ, hudul 'friend'	*<halmaɣ, hudul*
	hardezi 'ask, request, beg'	*<hardezi*
	ħalt'i 'work'	*<ħalt'i*
	ħalki 'repose'	*<ħalxˆi*
	kumak 'help'	*<kumak*
	kutakalda 'very, strongly'	*<kutakalda*
	maduhal 'neighbor'	*<maduhal*
	namusłizi 'be embarrassed, ashamed'	*<namusłizi*
	req'un 'in accordance with'	*<req'on*
	boži 'belief'	*<boži*

Neither today nor in the past has there been much direct contact between Hinuq speakers and Russian speakers, but Russian is clearly the language with the heaviest influence on Hinuq at the present stage. A big part of the public life takes place in Russian (e.g. television, newspapers, education, and economy).

The number of loans from Russian is constantly growing since nowadays all new loans, including all internationalisms are borrowed from Russian. An illustrative list is given in (5). The influence from Russian is especially obvious in translations from Russian into Hinuq, which not only contain more Russian words than natural discourse, but also show alternations in the syntax. For instance, the word order in Russian is predominantly agent-verb-patient, but in Hinuq it is agent-patient-verb. Another example is the use of nouns marked for plural after all numbers except for the numeral 1, which is the norm in Russian, but not in Hinuq (in Hinuq normally the singular is used).

Following Comrie & Khalilov (2009b), the year 1900 can be taken as a starting point for the entry of Russian loans directly into Hinuq. However, it seems that at least some loans entered the language earlier, mediated through Georgian.

(5)

Hinuq	Russian
balnica 'hospital'	*<bol'nica*
banka 'tin, can'	*<banka*
čaynik' 'kettle'	*<čajnik*
peč 'oven'	*<peč*
iškola 'school'	*<škola*
direktor 'director'	*<direktor*
zamag 'shop assistant'	*<zavmag*
rayon 'district'	*<rajon*
agarod 'garden'	*<ogorod*
tok 'electricity'	*<tok*
gazet 'newspaper'	*<gazeta*
magazin 'shop'	*<magazin*
mašina 'car'	*<mašina*
kino 'film'	*<kino* 'cinema'
armiya 'army'	*<armija*
toxtur 'doctor'	*<doktor*
sud 'court'	*<sud*
naskibe 'socks'	*<noski*
istoli 'table'	*<stol*
meleci 'police'	*<milicija*

The other three languages that have had a certain impact on the Hinuq vocabulary are Arabic (6), Turkic languages (7), and Persian (8). It is unknown whether there has been any direct contact with speakers of Arabic, Persian, or Turkic languages. Most, if not all words from these languages found in Hinuq can also be found in Avar. Therefore, following Comrie & Khalilov (2009b), I assume Avar to be the intermediary language and the direct origin of the words

in Hinuq. Consequently, throughout this grammar I refer to loans from Arabic, Persian, and Turkic as Avar loans, although Avar was not the original source.

(6)	Hinuq	Arabic
	zaman ‘time’	*<zaman*
	ħuk(u)mat ‘government, power’	*<ħuku:mat*
	saʔat ‘hour’	*<sa:ʕat* ‘hour, clock’
	axir ‘end’	*<’axi:r* ‘last’
	ʔumru ‘life’	*<ʕumr*
	naslu ‘generation, offspring’	*<nasl*
	insan ‘human being’	*<insa:n*
	hawa ‘air’	*<hawa:’*
	maydan ‘glade, square, field’	*<mayda:n*
	pikru ‘thought, idea’	*<fikr*
	q’urban ‘sacrifice’	*<qurba:n*
	miskin(aw) ‘poor’	*<miski:n*
	Allah ‘Allah, God’	*<alla:h*
	din ‘religion’	*<di:n*
	žamaʔat ‘society, community’	*<žamaʕyat*
	dulan/dunyal ‘world’	*<dunya:*
	šayt’an ‘devil’	*<šayta:n*
	ilbis ‘devil’	*<ibli:s*
	ʔelmu/ʔilmu ‘science’	*<ʕilm*
	ʔilla ‘reason’	*<ʕila:*
	ʔalim ‘scholar’	*<ʕala:m*

(7)	Hinuq	Turkic
	yaraɣ ‘weapon’	*<yarag*
	bazar ‘market’	*<bazar*
	bazargam ‘merchant’	*<bazargan*
	xan ‘king’	*<xan*
	gama ‘ship’	*<gami*
	kawu ‘gate’	*<kapu*
	qarawul ‘guard’	*<qarawul*
	ulka ‘country’	*<ülke*

(8)	Hinuq	Persian
	šuša ‘bottle’	*<šiše*
	šahar ‘town’	*<šahr*
	nagaħ ‘if’	*<na:ga:h* ‘suddenly’
	ʔazal ‘thousand’	*<hazara*

čakar ‘sugar’	*<šakar*
zahru ‘poison’	*<zahr*
daru ‘medicine’	*<dẵru*
tušman ‘enemy’	*<dušman*
ya ‘or’	*<ya*
aždaћ ‘dragon’	*<ajedha*

1.2.5. Influence from Tsez

Hinuq’s closest neighbor is Tsez, and the contact between Tsez and Hinuq speakers should not be underestimated. Many Hinuq men marry Tsez women, who then move to the village of Hinuq. These women often do not fully acquire the Hinuq language and sometimes simply continue to speak Tsez, at least at home. Therefore, children who have grown up in a mixed family usually know both Tsez and Hinuq, but occasionally speak more Tsez at home than Hinuq. The influence from Tsez is more obvious in recent phonological changes, but there are also small morphological innovations.

One prominent recent change is the loss of labialization (Section 2.2.3). For example, the words in the left column illustrate three labialized Hinuq words as uttered by the elder generation. In contrast, younger Hinuq speakers pronounce the same words without the labialized consonant at the beginning, whereby the following vowel changes its quality. The words in the second column are also used by Tsez speakers of the neighboring village Kidiro.

(9)

Older Hinuq speakers	Younger Hinuq speakers / Tsez speakers	Translation
xʷin	*xˤon* or *xun*	‘mountain’
kʷid	*kud*	‘basket’
k’ʷidi	*k’udi*	‘wine’
q’ʷinu	*q’unu*	‘two-year animal’

However, it is not clear whether the loss of the labialialization is really triggered by the influence from Tsez since it is also found with Hinuq words that do not have Tsez cognates that are completely identical with the Hinuq words as pronounced by younger speakers. For instance, *ɣʷero* ‘cow’ is now pronounced as *ɣore*. The Tsez cognate *ɣure* means ‘big animal with horns’, the Tsez word for cow being *ziya*.

Another change in the Hinuq phonology is the loss of the front rounded vowel (Section 2.1.1). This vowel is absent from Tsez, so maybe its loss can be attributed to the Tsez influence. Nevertheless, it is also absent from Russian, another language with a huge impact on Hinuq.

Another change probably attributable to Tsez is the change from /i/ to /e/ in some words. For example, older speakers say *-iɬi* 'similar', whereas younger speakers pronounce the same word as *-iɬe*, i.e. in the same way as the word occurs in Tsez.

In the morphology I found one clear trait from Tsez. Younger Hinuq speakers use the Tsez distributive suffix *-t'a* instead of the Hinuq ILOC-Essive *-ho*, which can be employed to convey the same meaning (10a, 10b).

(10) a. *haze-z dahaw simindi-ya-s k'ot'o-t'a toƛƛo*
they.OBL-DAT few corn-OBL-GEN1 plate-DIST give.ICVB
zoq'e-n
be-UWPST
'A little plate of maize was given to each of them.' (N)

b. *žiw.žiw-li-ž hayɬoy hesso-ho geni toƛƛo*
every-OBL-DAT he.ERG some-ILOC pear give.PRS
'He gave each of them some pears.'

1.3. Describing and analyzing Hinuq

1.3.1. Earlier literature

Since Hinuq is the smallest Tsezic language and for a long time was considered to be a dialect of Tsez, there is no long and extended tradition of its description and analysis. According to Bokarev (1959: 6), the first collection of 16 Hinuq words was published in 1916 by a Russian scholar named Seržputovskij.

The first comprehensive description of Hinuq can be found in Bokarev's book *Cezskie (didojskie) jazyki Dagestana* ('Tsezic (Didoic) languages of Daghestan'). The monograph was published in 1959, but the material was in fact collected earlier, in 1933 in Hinuq and in 1949 when the Hinuq people lived in Chechnya. The book contains descriptions of the five Tsezic languages, whereby the focus is on the phonology and the morphology. The syntax is practically absent. The articles in *Jazyki Narodov SSSR IV* ('The languages of the people of the USSR'), published in 1967, represent shortened versions of the grammatical sketches published in 1959 but additionally contained one text for each language.

In the following years mainly Georgian linguists investigated the Tsezic languages, including Hinuq. In 1963 the monograph *Ginuxskij dialect didojskogo jazyka* ('The Hinuq dialect of the Dido language') was published by Lomtadze. This book extensively treats the phonology and the morphology and even includes a few pages about the syntax and a number of texts. In the same year Imnajšvili published *Didojskij jazyk s sravnenii s ginuxskim i xvaršiskim jazykami*

('The Dido language in comparison with Hinuq and Khwarshi'), a comparative grammar of Tsez treating also Hinuq and Khwarshi.

Beginning from the 1970's Kibrik and Kodzasov organized many field trips from Moscow State University to Daghestan in order to study Daghestanian languages. Material about Hinuq syntax can be found in *Materialy k tipologii èrgativnosti* ('Materials on the typology of ergativity') from 1980 and 1981, and alternatively in a newer version of these books by Kibrik (2003), and partially also in Kibrik (1987). Furthermore, Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990) contains descriptions of the phonology and the case formation in many Daghestanian languages, including Hinuq.

In the past 15 years or so the Daghestanian Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Science, more precisely the Institute of Language, Literature and Art, has published dictionaries of many smaller, unwritten languages of Daghestan. The Hinuq-Russian dictionary by Khalilov and Isakov appeared in 2005, containing not only more than 7500 entries, but also a grammatical sketch. This sketch basically corresponds to Khalilov (1997), Khalilov & Isakov (1999) and Isakov (2000). It has been translated into English without any major changes and appeared in the third volume of the series 'The indigenous languages of the Caucasus: The North-East Caucasian languages, Part 1' (Isakov & Khalilov 2004). The last paper is basically the only description of Hinuq available in English.

1.3.2. This grammar

This book covers the most important aspects of Hinuq grammar thereby following the traditional order: phonology (Chapter 2), morphology (Chapters 3–14), syntax (Chapters 15–28), and also information structure (Chapter 29). Furthermore, it contains a long text in Hinuq with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and an English translation (Chapter 30). The grammar is mostly based on the corpus as it is described in 1.3.4. But those topics that could not be covered comprehensively relying only on corpus analysis have been elicited.

To make the grammar reader-friendly I have tried to be as theory-neutral as possible and do not assume any knowledge of a particular theoretical framework or a particular terminology. I have chosen to capitalize the grammatical labels applied to individual Hinuq categories (e.g. Simple Present, Ergative). This reflects the fact that these categories are language-specific.

The orthography used in this grammar corresponds to the conventional orthography used in many other works on Tsezic languages. A table illustrating this orthography and other orthographies used in previous descriptions of Hinuq is given in Section 31.1 of the Appendix. The linguistic examples provide a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and an English translation. After the trans-

lation the text from which the example was taken is indicated in parenthesis. If the example was elicited, no text name appears. Furthermore, the following symbols may occur in examples:

[ ] Square brackets in Hinuq mostly indicate constituents (e.g. subordinate clauses). In Chapter 29 on information structure, they are used to indicate topic and focus. Occasionally square brackets appear in the first line of examples containing the context of the example sentence.
{} Curly brackets are used to indicate alternatives.
() The intended translation of ungrammatical or marginally acceptable examples is given in parentheses.
* The asteriks indicates ungrammatical examples.
? A question mark indicates marginally acceptable examples.
“ ” Quotation marks indicate reported speech.

1.3.3. Fieldwork

The material used in this grammar was collected during seven field trips to Daghestan between 2006 and 2011. Three of the field trips (in 2006, 2007, and 2009) led me to the village of Hinuq, where I spent about five months in total. Four other shorter trips of about two weeks each I spent mostly in the village of Monastirski, but also in Shamkhal, and in the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala. During the first period of my work (2006-2008), the focus of the field trips was on gathering material of various text genres (folklore, fairy tales and myths, proverbs, songs, oral life histories, procedural texts, and spontaneous conversations). After analyzing the material in Germany, I used the later field trips mainly for elicitation and data checking. In addition to freely narrated texts and elicitation, I used some stimuli: the pear story (Chafe 1980), the frog story (Mayer 1969, Slobin 2004), the topological pictures series (Bowerman & Pederson 2003, Levinson & Meira 2003) the tense-aspect-mood questionnaire by Dahl (1985), and map tasks which I created by myself.

My main informant during all this time was Nabi Isaev, a teacher of Avar in the village of Hinuq. He has not only a very good command of Hinuq, but also of Avar and Russian. He provided me with many Hinuq tales and legends. Since he is not only a teacher but also a writer who has published several books with poems in Avar, he also provided me with poems in Hinuq written by himself. In addition, he sat numerous hours with me answering my questions patiently and thinking of complete sentences for word forms that I presented to him. My second important informant was Magomed Gussejnov, a tax collector in Monastirksi. Both informants studied at the Faculty of Philology of the Daghestanian

State University and are now about 60 years old. Furthermore, Magomed Davidov provided me with the most beautiful and very long fairy tales. Ali Isaev, the brother of my main informant Nabi Isaev, told me many anecdotes from his and his ancestors' lives and offered much useful information. Other useful information or texts were provided by Omar Abdulaev, Elmira Aburaxmanova, Nurbika Aburaxmanova, Avakar Aliev, Patimat Alievna, Ajšat Axmedova, Žanat Amarova, Šamsjat Jussupova, Raisat Sultanova, and Idris Zakarjaev. Further informants that narrated the pear story for me or were willing to respond to various other stimuli were Xava Abarkarova, Patimat Davidova, Rajganat Džaxparova, Rukijat Džaxparova, Magomed Gussejnov (the son of my second main informant), Ajšat Gussejnova, Šamil Isaev, Zuxra Isaeva, Magomed Jussupov, Omar Omarov, Šajix Paxrudinov, Elmira Paxrudinova, Madina Paxrudinova, Xavsat Paxrudinova, Sijadat Tagirova, and Patimat Zakarjaeva.

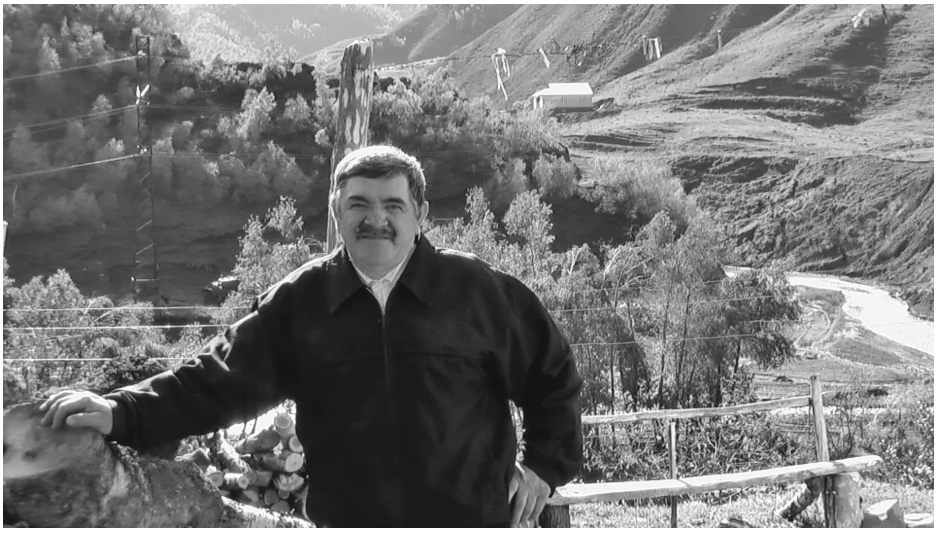

Figure 6. My main informant Nabi Isaev

The youngest daughter of Nabi Isaev, Džavgarat Isaeva, offered me not only her friendship, but also helped me transcribe and translate hours and hours of records, which I could never have done by myself. Elmira Paxrudinova, Sakinat Gamidova, and Raxmatbika Zakarjaeva also helped me with transcriptions and translations.

Last but not least my fieldwork would have been impossible without the hospitality of Šajix Paxrudinov and his wife Xanzabika and Idris Zakarjaev and his family with whom I lived in Hinuq, the Gussejnov families in Monastirski, Arsen Abdulaev and his wife Patimat in Shamkhal, Rasul Mutalov and his fam-

ily in Makhachkala, and finally my friend Diana Šabanova and her family in Makhachkala.

1.3.4. The corpus

The structure of the corpus on which this grammar is based is displayed in Table 1. It has mainly been collected by myself. It is made up of 122 texts, whereby the longest text, a fairy tale, consists of about 500 sentences, and the shortest texts, the proverbs, consist of only one sentence each. The youngest speakers were about 12 years old, the oldest speakers about 70 years old. Chapter 30 contains one representative fairy tale from my main informant Nabi Isaev.

The corpus consists of three types of data: (i) natural discourse, (ii) texts produced by means of stimuli, and (iii) elicitated data. Under 'natural discourse' I subsume texts where the topic is not given by means of any stimuli. These texts can be of different genres: fairy tales, legends, anecdotes, autobiographical narrations and narrations of historical events, procedural texts, proverbs, poems, dialogues, etc. Such texts make up the major part of my corpus, and whereby most of these free narrations were collected by myself. But I have also included 12 texts from the grammars that I checked again with Hinuq speakers. These texts can be found in Lomtadze (1963), Imnajšvili (1963) and Bokarev (1967) and were collected by the authors of the respective grammars in the first half of the 20th century. All those examples presented in the grammar that contain (N) after the translation originate from natural discourse.

The texts that are based on the use of stimuli are all freely produced by using films (Pear story) or pictures (Frog story, map task, Topological Pictures Series). Examples produced by means of stimuli are marked with (S) after the translation.

Finally, I did many hours of elicitation, sometimes to gather new data or to get first insights into a new topic, but mostly to check my hypotheses after having analyzed a certain topic. During the elicitation sessions I spoke Russian with my informants. For the elicitation, I either had informants translate sentences from Russian, or I constructed Hinuq sentences and checked them, or I presented my informants with Hinuq word forms and asked them to invent Hinuq sentences containing those word forms. Examples coming from elicitation are not marked, i.e. they do not contain (N) or (S) after the translation.

For many, but not for all of the texts in my corpus I have audio recordings. The audio recordings were made with a DAT recorder (2006) and later on with the audio recorder Olympus LS 10. The texts that lack audio data are either from the grammars or they were slowly dictated by the informants so that I was able to type them directly. The texts that come with audio data were first recorded and then transcribed and translated with the help of informants.

Table 1. The Hinuq corpus

Genre	# Glossed texts	# Recordings
Natural discourse (ca. 34.700 words)		
Fairy tales, legends, anecdotes	34	23
Autobiographical narrations, history	8	7
Recipes	9	9
Proverbs	16	-
Poems, songs	18	13
Dialogues	3	3
Texts from grammars	12	-
Texts collected by using stimuli (ca. 8.800 words)		
Pear stories	14	14
Frog story	1	1
Map task	1	1
Topological picture series	4	3
Total (ca. 43.500 words)	120	74

The corpus as presented in Table 1 contains about 43.500 words, whereby the texts from natural discourse (including those from the grammars) consist of about 34.700 words, and the texts collected by the use of stimuli consist of about 8.800 words. Elicited data is not part of this corpus.

The texts were first transcribed using the Cyrillic orthography established in the dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005). The same informants that helped me to transcribe the texts also usually provided me with a rough translation into Russian. Then I was able to transcribe the texts again in the orthography used in this grammar and to gloss the texts in Toolbox. For a list of the transcription used in previous works on Hinuq and in this grammar see Appendix 31.1.

Chapter 2
Phonology

2.1. Vowels

2.1.1. Realization

The Hinuq vowel inventory is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowel inventory

	Front		Central	Back
High	[ɪ] i	[ʏ] ü		[ʊ] u
Mid	[ɛ] e			[ɔ] o
Low			[a] a	

The lax vowels [ɪ], [ʏ], [ʊ], and [ɔ] have the tense variants [i], [y], [u], and [o]. The distribution of lax and tense vowels is not entirely clear. There is a tendency for stressed and/or long vowels to be tense (11).

(11)	[ˈbum.bʊ.li]	‘feather’	[ˈmu.ʒi]	‘matress’
	[ˈʔi.jo]	‘mother’	[ˈmy.ʔy]	‘fat, suet’
	[ˈʔo.bu]	‘father’	[bɛ.ˈsu.ro]	‘fish’
	[ˈliː.ho]	‘dress.PRS’	[jɛ.ˈdoː.ho]	‘II.work.PRS’

However, this is not a strict rule. It is possible to find stressed vowels that are lax. This is the case with many monosyllabic words that consist of a closed syllable of the type *CVC*, and with a number of other words. It is also possible to find tense vowels that are unstressed, e.g. in word final position and in words with diphtongs, because diphtongs attract stress. Some examples are given in (12).

(12)	[bɪ.ˈʃɔn]	‘hundred’	[ʔɔ.ˈʔɔ.tsu]	‘chicken’
	[ˈk’ɔn.k’a]	‘bicycle’	[ʔal.ˈdɔ.ʁo]	‘before, in front’
	[a.ˈqɪ.li]	‘woman’	[ʔɔg]	‘ax’
	[k^{w}ɪd]	‘basket’	[mʊs]	‘hair’
	[ho.ˈbɔɪ]	‘then, now’	[hi.ˈbaɪ]	‘such’

In many cases the pronounciation of the vowels /i/, /o/, and /u/ is somewhere between tense and lax. A further complication is that stress is not very prominent in Hinuq and not always clear audible (Section 2.5). The distinction between tense and lax vowels is not phonemic, because there are no words that differ only in this single feature and it seems that at least for some words the pronunciation can vary between tense and lax depending on the speaker, the rate of speech and the context. Therefore, in this grammar both tense and lax variants are always written as *i*, *ü*, *u* and *o* except for phonetic transcriptions of examples appearing in square brackets.

The vowel /ü/ has only been preserved by some older speakers. Younger speakers replace /ü/ with /i/ or very occasionally with /u/. But labialization of the preceding consonant is also possible. Younger speakers do not recognize /ü/ as a phoneme of Hinuq anymore.

(13)	Older speakers	Younger speakers	Translation
	ɬüχ'ü	*ɬiχ'i*	'finger'
	q'üdü	*q'idi*	'down'
	b-üɣ-ayaz	*b-iɣ-ayaz*	'III-take-PURP'
	kü	*ki/k^{w}i*	'blueberry'

Thus, the following minimal pairs or minimal oppositions can only be found with speakers that are more than 50 years old. Younger speakers only use the pronounciations in the right-hand column, which are in this case ambiguous.

(14)	*č'üɣü*	'smithy'	*č'iɣu*	'shoulder-blade'
	üše	'bull.PL'	*iše*	'snow'
	üšü	'the first green grass'	*ʔiši*	'apple'

2.1.2. Diphtongs

In addition to the vowels listed in 2.2.1, Hinuq has six diphthongs [ʊɪ] (written *uy*), [aɪ] (*ay*), [ɔɪ] (*oy*), [ɛɪ] (*ey*), [aʊ] (*aw*) and [ɔʊ] (*ow*). These diphthongs can be analyzed as consisting of two phonems, a vowel and a semivowel. For the last two diphthongs *aw* and *ow* this is obvious because they are sometimes realized as [av] and [ɔv], with an audible frication. For the first four diphthongs it can be argued that at least some of the words ending with [ɛɪ] have an alternative variant lacking a diphthong and ending simply in [ɛ]. Illustrative examples are:

(15)	*q'ay*	'thing'	*hayɬi*	'there'
	k'oboy	'shirt'	*ažey, aže*	'tree'
	q'uy-q'uya	'other'	*dawla*	'wealth'
	hestow hes	'alone'	*t'ok'aw*	'anymore'

2.1.3. Long vowels

All vowels occur long. Long vowels seem to occur only in stressed position. Long vowels can be either an inherent part of the morpheme or the result of a morphophonological process (2.4.3). Inherent long vowels occur in the following cases: (i) in suffixes, (ii) root-finally with a number of verbs, (iii) /iː/ occurs in a number of nouns, pronouns, question words, adjectives, and verbs.

Suffixes that have long vowels are *-liː* and *-doː* for the Antipassive (Section 9.2.5). Examples are *k'ilik'-doː-z* (wash-ANTIP-PURP) and *qaƛe-liː-ž* (shout-ANTIP-PURP).

Hinuq has a number of verb roots that end with a long vowel (16). These verbs differ both phonologically and morphologically from the verbs that end with a short vowel and therefore form their own conjugation class (see Section 7.2.2 for details). Among these verbs stem-final /aː/ is by far the most frequent long vowel. Verbs are the only root morphemes that contain the long vowels /aː/, /eː/, /oː/, and /uː/.

(16)	*gaː-ho*	'drink-PRS'	*b-aː-ho*	'HPL-yell-PRS'
	b-ihiː-ž	'HPL-fight-PURP'	*b-uː-ho*	'III-do-PRS'
	xedeː-z	'spin-PURP'	*b-edoː-ho*	'HPL-work-PRS'

There some minimal pairs or minimal oppositions with these verbs:

(17)	*b-úː-ho*	'III-do-PRS'	*b-uh-ó*	'III-die-PRS'
	r-áː-ho	'NHPL-yell-PRS'	*ɣeme-rá-ho*	'mill-OBL-ILOC'
	b-edóː-s	'HPL-work-PST'	*aldoɣo-dó-s*	'before-DIR-ABL1'

A handful of words have [iː] (or [yː]) in their stem. Apart from a few verbs with [iː] (e.g. *-ihiː-* 'fight' (16)), these are two interrogative pronouns, a few nouns, and three adjectives. However, except for the pronouns the long [iː] is the result of the sequence of the two phonemes /i/ and /y/ which are phonetically realized as [iː]. Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival roots contain no other long vowels besides [iː]. Note that the vowel length correlates with the stress and the word-final position of the vowel. The three adjectives given in (18) can be stressed on the first vowel instead of the last, in which case the last vowel is short (see (84) below).

(18)	*niː/ nüː*	'where'	*iy*	'blood'
	miy/mihi	'birch'	*k^{w}iy*	'ram, wether'
	ɬiː	'whose'	*qiy*	'hare'
	-egiy	'good'	*ɣiy*	'milk'
	gaqiy	'bad'	*-^{ʔ}ežiy*	'big, old'

The following minimal pairs and minimal oppositions containing long vs. short vowels are available:

(19)	*itni*	'Monday'	*niː*	'where'
	irqi	'herd, flock'	*qiy*	'hare'
	-iɬi	'be similar'	*ɬiː*	'whose'
	Ø-iš	'I-eat.IMP'	*iː-š*	'blood-GEN1'
	Ø-iq-iš	'I-happen-PST'	*qiː-š*	'hare-GEN1'
	xan-i-š	'khan-OBL-GEN1'	*niː-š*	'where-GEN1'

2.1.4. Pharyngealization

Like the other West Tsezic languages Tsez and Khwarshi, Hinuq has a phonetic feature of vowels commonly called "pharyngealization" (or sometimes "epiglottalization") whereby the root of the tongue is retracted towards the back wall of the pharynx.

In Hinuq, pharyngealization is quite restricted. This means that it is phonemic because it cannot be predicted. But it is optional, and there are no minimal pairs. The only Hinuq example generally cited in the literature is the adjective *-ʔeži* 'big, old' (cf. Bokarev (1959: 112), Lomtadze (1963: 23), Imnajšvili (1963: 19), Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990: 330)). Only Khalilov & Isakov (2005) mention in addition a few more words that are also claimed to have pharyngealized vowels: *ʔaši/ʔaši* 'much, many, often', *gʔaqi* 'bad', *ʔog* 'thigh' and some more. However, most of these words are clearly not pharyngealized in my material. Looking at my own corpus, I found the native Hinuq words given in (20), which show some kind of pharyngealization. Most of these words alternate between /ʔa/ and /ʔa/ at the beginning.

(20)	*aši / ʔaši*	'much, often'	*ac / ʔac*	'door'
	ʔač'ino	'nine'	*aššu / ʔaššu*	'thick, fat'
	aχ/ ʔaχ	'village'	*ʔela!*	'enough'
	-eži / ʔeži	'big, old'	*iši / ʔiši*	'apple'
	-ečču / -ʔečču	'fat'		

The alternation depends on the speakers and on the speech tempo, i.e. in fast speech the pharyngealization is almost inaudible or disappears completely. Some speakers do not pharyngealize at all. For instance, as already noted by Lomtadze (1963), pharyngealization in the adjective *-ʔeži* does not occur with all speakers. It is especially clear after the agreement prefix of the first gender *Ø-* [ʔˤɛʒi] and after the agreement prefix of the fifth gender/non-human plural *r-* [rˤɛʒi]. Some but not all of my young informants who are less than 20 years

old do not pronounce pharyngealized vowels in the native Hinuq words given in (20), but do pronounce them in Avar loan words (21). There is thus perhaps an ongoing loss of this feature in Hinuq.

Furthermore, it is difficult to differentiate between the pharyngeal (or epiglottal) stop /ʔ/ and pharyngealization as a type of secondary articulation indicated by ˀ. For instance, in the examples listed in (20) the vowel sounds like the vowels in loans that are preceded by /ʔ/. Hinuq has many such loans from Avar. A few of them are listed in (21).

(21)	*ʔagarłi*	'relatives'	*ʔadat*	'tradition'
	ʔelmu	'science'	*ʔilla*	'reason'
	ʔoloqbe	'youth'	*ʔumru*	'life'
	maʔarul	'mountainous'	*reʔel*	'free time'
	wacʔal	'male cousin'	*q'urʔan*	'Koran'
	daʔba-rožı	'discussion'	*łaraʔ*	'flat'
	mapʔul	'scoundrel'		

It seems that there is actually no phonetic difference between *ʔV*, mostly found in loan words (21), and *ˀV* in Hinuq native words (20), but in contrast to the native words, pharyngealization in loan words is obligatory and not only found at the beginning of words, but also in the middle of words (*VʔV, CʔV, VʔC*) and at the end of words. In this grammar, obligatory pharyngealization is indicated by /ʔ/ and optional pharyngealization by ˀ before the affected vowel.

There has been some discussion concerning pharyngealization in Hinuq and in other Tsezic languages (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990), Maddieson et al. (1996), Comrie (2003a), Grawunder et al. (2009)). The precise nature and the historical development of pharyngealization remains a subject of debate. Lomtadze (1963: 23) claims that pharyngealization developed under the influence of the neighboring language Tsez. Imnajšvili (1963: 19) states that pharyngealization and the pharyngeal fricative /ʔ/ developed from the glottal stop. Isakov and Khalilov (2004: 173, 2005: 567) argue that pharyngealization is a feature of the vowels /a/ and /e/.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.1. Realization

Table 3 presents the consonant inventory of Hinuq. In this table, the three series of stops are, in the given order: voiceless nonejective, voiceless ejective, and voiced. The two series of fricatives are voiceless and voiced. The two series of affricates are voiceless nonejective and voiceless ejective. In every box the first

row represents the phonetic value of each phoneme, while the second row gives the orthographic symbols used in this grammar (see also Section 31.1 in the appendix for the complete orthography).

The nonejective uvular stop usually has a strong fricative component during the release phase of the stop. Thus, phonetically it is rather an affricate [q͡χ] and therefore categorized by Isakov & Khalilov (2004) as such. However, with some lexemes such as *žiqu* 'today' the friction is normally absent. In Table 3 the plain uvular stop is classified together with the ejective uvular stop. /q/ and /q'/ are not only distinguished by the stronger friction of /q/ in respect to /q'/, but also by the time interval between the release of the stop and the beginning of the next vowel (VOT). This period is longer for /q/ than for /q'/.

This distinction is generally found between voiceless pulmonic and ejective stops and has already been observed by Maddieson et al. (1996: 98). The closure duration for voiceless pulmonic stops is usually quite short and is followed by a relatively lengthy period of voiceless noise during the VOT. In other words, voiceless pulmonic stops are slightly aspirated. In constrast, in ejective consonants the VOT is (almost) silent. In addition, pulmonic stops often show a short amount of preaspiration.

The semivowel /w/ is realized as a voiced labiodental fricative [v] in the syllable onset, especially at the beginning of words, and mostly as a labial-velar approximant [w] in the middle of words and in the coda, though sometimes even in the coda it can have a weak friction. Only two inherited Hinuq words (*wili* 'in Georgia', *wazra* 'horsefly) and some loans begin with /w/, almost exclusively followed by /a/:

(22)	*wili*	'in Georgia'	*wazra*	'horsefly'
	wazi	'grapevine'	*wasi*	'testament'
	warani	'camel'	*weɬ*	'thing'

In terms of the final element in native Hinuq morphemes the labial-velar approximant is only found after the vowels /o/ and /a/ in a small number of demonstrative pronouns and in the emphatic enclitic *=tow*. Very occasionally in these words /w/ is pronounced [v] or [w]. Usually the sequence *-aw* or *-ow* at the end of a word leads to the formation of the diphtongs [aʊ̯] and [ɔʊ̯] (see Section 2.1.2). In loan words such as the last four words given in (23), /w/ occurs also after /e/, /i/, and /u/.

(23)	*haw*	'that, she'	*hibaw*	'that'
	izaw	'that'	*hago=tow*	'same'
	bečedaw	'rich' (from Avar)		
	behulew	'possible' (from Avar)		

Table 3. Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	[p] [p’] [b] p p’ b	[t] [t’] [d] t t’ d			[k] [k’] [g] k k’ g [k^{w}] [k’ ^{w}] [g^{w}] k^{w} k’ ^{w} g^{w}	[q] [q’] q q’ [q ^{w}] [q’ ^{w}] q^{w} q’ ^{w}	([ʔ]) ʔ	[ʔ] ʔ
Fricative	([f]) f	[s] [z] s z	[ɬ] ɬ	[ʃ] [ʒ] š ž		[χ] [ʁ] x ɣ [χ^{w}] [ʁ^{w}] x^{w} ɣ^{w}	[ħ] ħ	[h] h
Affricate		[ʦ] [ʦ’] c c’	[t͡ɬ] [t͡ɬ’] ƛ ƛ’	[ʧ] [ʧ’] č č’				
Nasal	[m] m	[n] n						
Liquid		[r] r	[l] l					

Semivowels: [w], written as w, [j], written as y

miskinaw	‘poor’ (from Avar)
žiw-žiw	‘each, every’ (from Avar)

In native Hinuq words /w/ almost never occurs word-internally, with two exceptions: in the word *šeg^{w}e-šewre* ‘mare’ and in some inflectional forms of one verb it is inserted to avoid two subsequent vowels (e.g. *-uː-w-a*, the Infinitive of the verb *-uː-* ‘do’, see 2.4.1). However, there are some loans with word-internal /w/, e.g. *hawa* ‘air, sky’, *kawu* ‘gate’, *haywan* ‘animal’, *dawla* ‘wealth’, and the name *Džawharat*. As can be seen in these examples, in loans and names /w/ can be followed by vowels, semivowels and consonants, but never by consonants.

The occurrence of the other semivowel, the palatal approximant /j/, is less restricted. It is found between vowels in word stems, e.g. *iyo* ‘mother, *ħaya* ‘mosquito’. It also occurs before and after consonants, e.g. *hayło-* ‘that.OBL’, *hibayru* ‘so’, *qoryaː-* ‘boil’, *c’oq’yaː-* ‘stich’, but never between two consonants. It can follow vowels and thus form diphthongs (24). Diphtongs are described in more detail in Section 2.1.2.

(24)				
	ubbay	‘kiss’	*bełay*	‘dagger’
	ižey	‘eye’	*k^{w}ezey*	‘hand’
	coy	‘eagle’	*hoboy*	‘then, now’
	quy	‘noise’	*hayłuy*	‘she.ERG’

It occurs word-initially before a vowel, e.g. *yocu* ‘spittle’, *yez* ‘copper’. In addition, /j/ is often epenthetic when occurring at morpheme boundaries to avoid sequences of vowels, e.g. *-edoː-yo* ‘work-COND’, *-iƛi-ya* ‘go-PTCP’ (Section 2.4 for the morphophonological rules).

That both semivowels belong to the consonant inventory of Hinuq can be shown with the help of the coordinative enclitic. If this enclitic is added to vowels, it is *=n*. However, if the preceding phoneme is a consonant, then the allomorph *=no* is used to avoid word-final consonant clusters, e.g. *haw=no* ‘she=and’, *coy=no* ‘eagle=and’, or *ižey=no* ‘eye=and’.

A non-phonemic glottal stop occurs before word-initial vowels (including vowel-initial words in compounds) like *ixu* [ʔɪxu] ‘river’, *iyo-obu* [ʔijo-ʔobu] ‘parents’, lit. ‘mother-father’, or *ot’iš* [ʔɔt’ɪʃ] ‘he slept’. In accordance with tradition, /ʔ/ is not written in word-initial position. There are a few words that have a phonemic glottal stop between two vowels of the same quality (which is always written). The list given in (25) is exhaustive. There is only one Avar loan word where the glottal stop occurs at the end of a syllable, namely *wabaʔ* ‘cholera’.

(25)				
	aʔa	‘rhododendron’	*maʔa*	‘threshold’
	miʔi, müʔü	‘fat, suet’	*heʔer-*	‘lift up’
	oʔocu	‘chicken’	*oʔo*	‘no’

Although pharyngeals are not extraordinarly frequent, at least the voiceless fricative /ħ/ occurs in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. In contrast, the pharyngeal stop /ʔ̣/ is exclusively found in loans (Section 2.1.4).

Though /f/ is not a phoneme of native Hinuq words, it it preserved with recent Russian loans and pronounced as /f/ by speakers of all ages, e.g. *front* 'front'. In older loan words it has usually been replaced by /p/ (2.4.7).

2.2.2. Distribution of consonants

All plain consonants occur in initial, medial, and final position in Hinuq words and loans (26). In (26) loans are indicated with (L). In native Hinuq words the occurence of the glottal stop *ʔ* is restricted because it occurs only in initial and intervocalic position (25). Labialized consonants never occur in syllable-final position, and there are no loans with them in syllable-final position (and therefore also not in word-final position). *p, p', t', k, q', c, c', č', ħ, ʔ, ʔ̣* and all labialized consonants are absent in affixes or enclitics. The labialized and the pharyngeal consonants and the glottal stop are already restricted in their occurrences; especially the pharyngeals are quite rare. So this is probably the explanation as to why they do not occur in enclitics and affixes. But I have no explanation as to why all ejectives with the exception of /k'/ and /ƛ'/ are absent from affixes and enclitics.

(26)

C	Initial	Medial	Final
b	*buq* 'sun'	*k'oboy* 'shirt'	*šub* 'lawn'
p	*pelu* 'wooden tube'	*ƛ'epu* 'lip'	*nep* 'fat deposit'
p'	*p'ez* 'reed'	*p'ap'aru* 'talk active'	*gup'* 'swelling'
d	*de* 'I, I.ERG'	*ɣ^{w}ede* 'day'	*ked* 'girl'
t	*teɬ* 'inside'	*tuturu* 'dirty'	*qot* 'palm'
t'	*t'oq* 'knife'	*sot'i* 'around'	*at'* 'flour'
g	*goɬ* 'be'	*igo* 'near'	*og* 'ax'
g^{w}	*g^{w}arži* 'vicious union of bones'	*-eg^{w}ey* 'small'	
k	*kut'i* 'smoke'	*t'eka* 'goat'	*šek* 'waterskin'
k^{w}	*k^{w}ezey* 'hand'	*cem-mek^{w}a* 'cheese'	
k'	*k'i* 'weeping willow'	*zok'i* 'cup'	*xuk'* 'dipper'
k'^{w}	*k'^{w}idi* 'wine'	*ak'^{w}e* 'nail'	
q	*qeqe* 'porridge'	*aqili* 'woman'	*čeq* 'forest'
q^{w}	*q^{w}en* 'farm'	*aq^{w}e* 'urine'	
q'	*q'idi* 'down'	*ƛoq'on* 'hat'	*muq'* 'column'
q'^{w}	*q'^{w}ena* 'two.OBL'	*aq'^{w}e* 'mouse'	

c	*ca* ‘star’	*nuce* ‘honey’	*ac* ‘door’
c’	*c’udu* ‘red’	*boc’e* ‘wolf’	*moc’* ‘neck’
č	*čiyo* ‘salt’	*moči* ‘field, place’	*ič* ‘threshing-floor’
č’	*č’e* ‘fire’	*q’ič’i* ‘piece’	*(h)imič’* ‘clay’
s	*sira* ‘why’	*nosod* ‘at noon’	*hes* ‘one’
š	*šeƛ’u* ‘clothing’	*qešu* ‘wall’	*ɣ^{w}eriš* ‘cow.PL’
z	*zek* ‘tomorrow’	*hozu* ‘separately’	*guz* ‘hill’
ž	*žo* ‘thing’	*uži* ‘boy, son’	*bež* ‘enclosure’
ɬ	*ɬu* ‘who’	*koɬe* ‘fast’	*geɬ* ‘down, under’
ƛ	*ƛebu* ‘year’	*q’oƛu* ‘skin’	*aƛ* ‘village’
ƛ’	*ƛ’ere* ‘up, on’	*puƛ’o* ‘sidewards’	*beƛ’* ‘sheep’
ɣ	*ɣeme* ‘mill’	*ɣeɣe* ‘slowly’	*muɣ* ‘pannier’
ɣ^{w}	*ɣ^{w}e* ‘dog’	*eɣ^{w}ada* ‘sweat’	
x	*xu* ‘meat’	*xexbe* ‘child(ren)’	*bex* ‘grass, hay’
x^{w}	*x^{w}in* ‘mountain’	*cax^{w}a* ‘chicken pox’	
ʔ	*ʔelmu* (L) ‘science’	*maʔarul* (L) ‘Avar’	*nuʔ* (L) ‘witness’
ʔ	*eli* ‘we, our’	*maʔa* ‘threshold’	*wabaʔ* (L) ‘cholera’
ħ	*ħaya* ‘mosquito’	*koħlo* ‘ball’	*q’eħ* ‘bad tobacco’
h	*hago* ‘he, this’	*purho* ‘by, at’	*muh* ‘grain’
m	*mecu* ‘forearm’	*xemu* ‘stone’	*gom* ‘be.NEG’
n	*noce* ‘louse’	*hune* ‘way’	*t’igan* ‘rope, string’
l	*lami* ‘partition’	*gulu* ‘horse’	*ardel* ‘long ago’
r	*rožu* ‘word’	*zeru* ‘fox’	*ɣemer* ‘wheel’
w	*waqi* ‘walnut’	*kawu* (L) ‘gate’	*hibaw* ‘that’
y	*yoƛu* ‘ashes’	*boyu* ‘bull-calf’	*hibay* ‘such’

2.2.3. Labialization

All velar and uvular consonants occur in plain and labialized form. Labialization is mostly found with syllable-initial consonants, mostly in word-initial position. But there are also a number of examples with word-internal labialization, especially within verbs. Syllable-final (and therefore word-final) labialization is not attested. Usually only one consonant per word is labialized, but there are a handful of words where in careful speech the first and the second consonant are identical and can both be labialized. However, in fast speech usually only one of the consonants is actually labialized, whereas the other consonant is not.

(27)	*g^{w}eg^{w}e-s*	‘lose-PST’	*k^{w}ek^{w}e-s*	‘itch-PST’
	q^{w}aq^{w}a	‘Adam’s apple.IN’	*q’^{w}aq’^{w}adiro*	‘woodpecker’

The labialized consonants can be followed by all vowels except /u/. The occurrence of labialized consonants before /o/ is restricted to Present tense forms of those verbs whose stems end with /_C^{w}e/ (e.g. *ƛex^{w}-o* ‘remain-PRS’), but it is generally very weak in this position.

Some minimal pairs and minimal oppositions for labialized consonants are presented in the following list (28). The relevant consonants are underlined.

(28)				
	g^{w}an	‘rheumatism’	*ga:n*	‘drink.UWPST’
	aq’^{w}e	‘mouse’	*-aq’e*	‘come.GT’
	-ix^{w}iš	‘sit.PST’	*ixiš*	‘river.GEN1’
	hes q^{w}en	‘one farm’	*hesqen*	‘nobody’
	k’^{w}iliqo	‘meeting.point.AT’	*k’ilikko*	‘wash.PRS’
	ɣ^{w}eros	‘cow.GEN1’	*ɣermos*	‘fence.GEN1’
	k^{w}et’es	‘right’	*ket’as*	‘buttock.GEN1’

Labialized consonants do not represent clusters but are rather an instance of secondary articulation because they are often replaced by plain consonants, especially by younger speakers. If the transformation occurs with a consonant that precedes /i/, then this vowel usually turns into /ü/. If the transformation occurs before /e/, then this vowel usually becomes /o/. In other words, the vowels shift from front to back. The transformation may even affect preceding vowels, but they change only from /e/ to /o/. A similar change can be observed in the oblique form of the second person singular personal pronoun: the variant used by older speakers is *dew-* (e.g. *dew-de* ‘you.SG.OBL-ALOC’), but younger speakers use *dow-* (e.g. *dow-de*). This change might at least partially be attributed to influence from the neighboring language Tsez (1.2.5).

(29)	Labialized	Non-labialized	Translation
	k^{w}ana	*kana*	‘wood shaving’
	ƛex^{w}-o	*ƛex-o/ƛox-o*	‘remain-PRS’
	x^{w}in	*xun*	‘mountain’
	q’^{w}ič’a	*q’uč’a*	‘oat flour’
	k^{w}id	*kud*	‘basket’
	k’^{w}idi	*k’udi*	‘wine’
	ɣ^{w}inu	*ɣunu*	‘hornless’
	q’^{w}ec’e	*q’oc’e*	‘together’
	ɣ^{w}ere	*ɣore*	‘cow’
	ɣ^{w}ede	*ɣode*	‘day’
	zeq’^{w}es / zoq’^{w}es	*zoq’es*	‘be.PST’

There are two nouns and one numeral that distinguish the Absolutive stem from the oblique stem by means of labialization:

(30)	Absolutive stem	Oblique stem	Translation
	rek'^{w}e	*rek'u*[4]	'man'
	šeg^{w}e	*šoge-*	'mare'
	q'ono	*q'^{w}ena-*	'two'

2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. Syllable structure and word structure

The syllable structure of native Hinuq words is relatively simple. In stems only syllables of the types *CV*, *CV:*, and *CVC* are permitted. Inflected words can contain syllables of the types *CV:C* and *CVyC*. The syllable template is *CV(:/y)(C)*, with optional segments in parenthesis. In (31)-(34) all four syllable types are illustrated. Word-initial glottal stops are not written. The exemplifying syllables are underlined.

(31)	CV			
	žo	'thing'	*łe*	'water'
	bu.χe	'house'	*χer.ba*	'guest'
	ła.ła.ru	'narrow'	*bum.bu.li*	'feather'

(32)	CV:			
	i:	'blood'	*qe.ba:.ho*	'think.PRS
	qi:	'hare'	*edo:.ho*	'he works'

(33)	CVC			
	mus	'hair'	*iš*	'bull'
	mec.xer	'money'	*žar.ža.li*	'chain'
	coy	'eagle'	*i.žey*	'eye'
	haw	'she'	*hes*	'one'

There are no native Hinuq root morphemes that contain superheavy syllables. Only loan words contain superheavy syllables with two consonants in the coda (e.g. the Avar loans *baħs* 'discussion' and *naps* 'personality'). However, there can be native Hinuq words with *CV:C* and *CVyC* syllables containing long vowels or diphthongs. These forms are always inflected. Typically the superheavy syllables occur word-finally. But because additional enclitics can be added, a superheavy syllable can also make up the first syllable of a phonological word. Note that the sequence /ji/ in two words in (34) is pronounced as [i:], but the

[4] Note that younger speakers use this form even as the Absolutive stem.

palatalized consonant at the syllable end indicates that the semivowel /j/ is followed by /i/, which triggers the palatalization (Section 2.4.5).

(34)	*gaːz*	'drink-PURP'	*łe.žaːz*	'laugh-PURP'
	hayiš=no	'there.ABL1=and'	*ɣʷeyiš*	'dog.GEN1'
	be.łay-d	'dagger-INS'		

The restrictions on the syllable structure of monomorphemic words extend to polymorphemic words. Sequences of two consonants in the syllable are generally avoided. Mechanisms that help to prevent clusters at morpheme boundaries are vowel deletion and insertion and the insertion of glides (2.4.1).

Minimal words (i.e. free roots) have the shape *CV*, e.g. *žo* 'thing', *łe* 'water'. Minimal bound roots have the shape *Vː*. The only examples of this type are the two verbs *-uː-* 'do, make' and *-aː-* 'cry'.

2.3.2. Geminates

Geminates occur with all consonants except /p'/, /ħ/, /ʔ/, /ʔ/, /c'/, and labialized consonants. Again, /ħ/, /ʔ/, /p'/, and also /ʔ/ in word-medial position are infrequent consonants, which might be the reason why they lack geminates. In addition, native Hinuq morphemes never end with /ħ/, /ʔ/ or /ʔ/. Geminates occur in stems only in intervocalic position, mostly in adjectives before the adjectival ending *-u*, but never in affixes or enclitics (35). Additionally, geminates occur at morpheme boundaries (see below).

(35)	*ubbay*	'kiss'	*ƛoppu*	'low'
	xoddo	'husband'	*k'ottu*	'short'
	at't'u	'wet'	*kekku*	'light'
	šuk'k'u	'thick, dense'	*aqqa*	'thirst'
	oq'q'u	'hard, difficult'	*qicca*	'pillow'
	b-ečču	'III-fat'	*b-oč'č'u*	'III-cold'
	hezzo	'then, after'	*niššu*	'narrow'
	essu	'sibling'	*čoɣɣu*	'hardened'
	b-oƛƛo	'III-in.the.middle'	*ɣilla*	'stick'
	axxa	'ear'	*anna*	'knee bend'
	zarra	'destiny'		

There are (almost) no minimal pairs, but some minimal oppositions (36).

(36)	*ceq'q'u*	'sour'	*meq'u*	'thread'
	at't'u	'wet'	*ƛ'at'u*	'cry'

kekku	'light'	*ƛ'ereku*	'shawl'
b-oƛƛo	'III-in.the.middle'	*b-oƛo*	'III-fast'
ubbay	'kiss'	*uba*	'quarter'

The realizations of geminates differ considerably among the speakers and according to the speech rate. Therefore the phonological status of the geminates needs a separate examination. A preliminary analysis of the closure duration, VOT, and the total duration of stops and affricates showed that at least the difference in the closure duration between singletons and geminates isolated and inside a phrase is significant. But the exact phonological nature of the geminates needs further research.

In addition to their occurence in stems, geminates occur at morpheme boundaries in verbal and nominal inflection and with one enclitic. Verbs with a stem-final consonant (conjugation class 1, see Section 7.2.2) exhibit lengthening of that consonant in the Simple Present tense. Ejective consonants transform into plain geminates. Some examples are given below, whereby (37) illustrates plain consonants that become geminates and (38) ejectives that become plain geminates. This process is not found in other verbal forms or in other parts of the Hinuq morphology.

(37)	Imperative	Simple Present	Translation
	cax-o!	*caxxo*	'write'
	-ok-o!	*-okko*	'peel'
	-os!	*-osso*	'fall'
	neƛ!	*neƛƛo*	'give'

(38)	Imperative	Simple Present	Translation
	-ik'-o!	*-ikko*	'beat'
	-et'e!	*-etto*	'burst'
	got'-o!	*otto*	'pour'
	-ac'-o!	*-acco*	'eat'
	-ič'-o!	*-iččo*	'fill'
	-uƛ'!	*-uƛƛo*	'fear'

In nominal inflection there are three possibilities for the occurrence of geminates at morpheme boundaries: (i) before the second genitive suffix *-zo* and before the spatial case suffixes *-qo* 'AT-Essive', *-de* 'ALOC-Essive', *-ho* 'ILOC-Essive', and *-ƛ'o* 'SPR-Essive', (ii) before the oblique stem suffixes *-mo* and *-na*, and (iii) before the Absolutive plural suffix *-be*. This phenomenon is restricted to a few nouns (39). Finally, geminates occur if the topic-marking enclitics *=gozo, =gon*, or *=gozon* are added to words that end in /g/, and if the enclitic *=łe*, which

expresses surprise, is added to a word ending in /ɬ/. Note that the geminates of /ƛ'/, /g/, and /h/ occur only in morpheme boundaries, but never in roots.

(39)	*guz-zo*	'elevation-GEN2'	*čeq-qo*	'forest-AT'
	ked-de	'girl-ALOC'	*muh-ho*	'grain-ILOC'
	ɬiƛ'-ƛ'o	'finger.OBL-SPR'	*im-mo-qo*	'column-OBL-AT'
	t'en-na-s	'breast-OBL-GEN1'	*ƛeb-be*	'year.OBL-PL'
	hag=gon	'that=TOP'	*teɬ=ɬe*	'inside=really'

2.3.3. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters consisting of two consonants occur only in intervocalic position in Hinuq words. This restriction refers also to glides. Most frequent are clusters involving sonorants, but there are other clusters as well.

Loans may, as an exception, have two successive consonants in final position and more than two consonants in intervocalic position, e.g. *baħs* 'discussion', *naps* 'personality', *dandč'^{w}ay* 'meeting', or the Russian borrowing *xozyaystwo* 'household'. The same is true for some borrowed place names, e.g. *ɣizlyar / Kizlyar* 'Kizljar' and *Buynaksk*. But often loan words undergo vowel insertion (2.4.7). The following list illustrates consonant clusters in derived and underived stems.

– plosive plus plosive
k'edbo 'barren', *naħaq'da* 'useless, vain', *zok'da* 'cellar storeroom'

– plosive plus affricate
akčey 'very small, very little', *maq'ƛu* 'lightning', *ƛ'aq'ƛu* 'immediately', *čokƛu* 'water with food remains for feeding animals', *beqči* 'party'

– fricative plus plosive
sast'uri 'pillow', *qešt'u* 'ice/ski track', *uxt'uri* 'grindstone', *rizq'i* 'property', *azq'a* 'hoarfrost', *xet'u-bisbilla* (also *xet'u-bismilla*) 'snail'

– fricative plus fricative
ižho/ižɣo 'avalanche'

– fricative plus affricate
axcuƛer 'on the back', *axƛu* 'phlegm, spittle', *žaxƛi* 'jingling', *-exƛ'e-s* 'become.warm-PST', *t'ošƛu* 'weeding'

– affricate plus fricative
mecxer 'money'

– sonorant plus obstruent
hayłuy ‘she.ERG’, *arxi* ‘ditch’, *ƛerba* ‘guest’, *žaržali* ‘chain’, *gelču* ‘rolling pin’, *alxu* ‘pasture’, *aldoɣo* ‘before, in front, first’, *k’ek’elba / k’ek’elbo* ‘tendon’, *bumbuli* ‘feather’, *lampa-q’il* ‘wooden ceiling’, *domp’oli* ‘clumsy fellow’, *k’onk’a* ‘bike’, *k’onc’u* ‘leg’

– obstruent plus sonorant
bečnu ‘knee’, *aɬnu* ‘apron’, *eƛni* ‘winter’, *mihna* ‘bird’, *hoc’na* ‘groin’, *žežmu* ‘tremble’, *k’up’la* ‘ball’, *zabru* ‘watering can’, *k’ep’ri* ‘hit’, *kašit’ri* ‘grass mowing’, *oqru* ‘whole’, *oq’ru* ‘skull’

– sonorant plus sonorant
tormuži ‘green alga’, *aƛ’armu/aƛ’irmu* ‘untilled soil’, *t’emra* ‘stone column’, *derni* ‘noise’, *boyla* ‘thumb’, *lilyo* ‘puddle’, *šeg^{w}e-šewre* ‘mare’

2.4. Morphophonology

2.4.1. Syllable repair mechanisms

2.4.1.1. Epenthetic vowels

In order to break up consonant clusters that would occur in the case formation of nouns, an epenthetic /e/ or /i/ is inserted in two contexts: (i) after nouns with consonant-final stems if they are followed by a case marker consisting only of a single consonant (40) and (ii) after the spatial case suffixes *-ɬ* CONT-Essive and *-ƛ* SUB-Essive, which consist of a single consonant if they are followed by a direction marker (41). In the latter instance only /e/ can occur. In the first instance /e/ is preferred with most nouns, but some speakers allow for both /e/ and /i/ with some nouns (see Section 3.2 on the oblique stem formation of nouns for details). An alternative analysis could treat the inserted vowels in the first context not as epenthetic but just as oblique stem markers. But then such an analysis fails to explain why /e/ and /i/ occur only before case markers consisting of a single consonant, and not before those case markers that have a *CV* structure.

(40) Nouns with consonant-final stems

čeq-e-s/čeq-i-š	‘forest-EP-GEN1’	*čeq-zo*	‘forest-GEN2’
halmaɣ-e-z	‘friend-EP-DAT’	*halmaɣ-qo*	‘friend-AT’
maduhal-e-z/ maduhal-i-ž	‘neighbor-EP-DAT’	*maduhal-qo*	‘neighbor-AT’

(41) Spatial case formation (Part 1)

armi-ɬ-e-s	‘army-CONT-EP-ABL1’	*armi-ɬ*	‘army-CONT’

kʷezera-ƛ-e-r	‘hand.OBL-SUB-EP-LAT’	*kʷezera-ƛ*	‘hand.OBL-SUB’
iž-ƛ-e-s	‘eye.OBL-SUB-EP-ABL1’	*iž-e-ƛ*	‘eye.OBL-EP-SUB’

In the second context (i.e. spatial case formation with the suffixes CONT and SUB) the epenthetic vowel is, synchronically speaking, not always needed. Two direction markers have a *CV* structure, the Second Ablative (*-zo*) and the Directional (*-do*). If they are added to the CONT or SUB location markers which have already been attached to oblique stems that end with a vowel, there is no need for syllable repair. Nevertheless, the epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted after the location marker as can be seen in (42). There might be several explanations for this. One is analogy: since the epenthetic vowel occurs after CONT and SUB when the Lative or the First Ablative follow, by analogy the occurence of the epenthetic vowel has been generalized in order to cover the whole paradigm of CONT and SUB. Another explanation might be that the location markers have synchronically been added to consonants, in which case the epenthetic vowel is needed. This is still the case sometimes, e.g. *iž-ƛ-e-s* (eye.OBL-SUB-EP-ABL1). Or Hinuq has a general preference for open syllables over closed syllables, such that *ra.ɬad.li.ɬe.do* is preferred over **ra.ɬad.liɬ.do* because it contains more open syllables.

(42) Spatial case formation (Part 2)

raɬadli-ɬ-e-do	‘sea.OBL-CONT-EP-DIR’	*raɬadli-ɬ*	‘sea.OBL-CONT’
užu-ɬ-e-zo	‘boy-CONT-EP-ABL2’	*užu-ɬ*	‘boy-CONT’
zoro-ƛ-e-zo	‘barn-SUB-EP-ABL2’	*zoro-ƛ*	‘barn-SUB’

Epenthetic vowels are also found with the derivational suffixes *-ɬ* for the Potential (43) and *-r* for the Causative verb form (44). After verbs that have a stem-final consonant, an epenthetic /e/ is inserted before both suffixes. For the formation of potential verbs, the insertion of the epenthetic vowel is obligatory, independently of the shape of the following suffix:

(43) Potential verbs

cax-e-ɬ-me, but not **cax-ɬ-me*	‘write-POT-NEG’
ese-r-e-ɬ-me, but not **ese-r-ɬ-me*	‘say-CAUS-POT-NEG’
cax-e-ɬ-a, but not **cax-ɬ-a*	‘write-POT-INF’
ese-r-e-ɬ-a, but not **ese-r-ɬ-a*	‘say-CAUS-POT-INF’

In contrast, in the formation of the simple causative, the derivational suffix can also be added directly to the stem without any intervening vowel if the syllable structure constraints are not violated. This is the case with all following suffixes that begin with a vowel (e.g. Infinitive, Simple Past, or Purposive converb).

Thus, simple causative verbs have two forms, with or without an epenthetic vowel, if the causative suffix is followed by a vowel-initial suffix (44).

(44) Causative verbs

cax-e-r-ayaz, and also *cax-r-ayaz*	'write-CAUS-PURP'
-ix-e-r-a, and also *-ix-r-a*	'get.up-CAUS-INF'
cax-e-r-ho, but not **cax-r-ho*	'write-CAUS-PRS'
keke-r-e-r-a, but not **keke-r-r-a*	'break-CAUS-CAUS-INF'
keke-r-e-r-ho, but not **keke-r-r-ho*	'break-CAUS-CAUS-PRS'

Epenthetic vowels that are inserted in loan words are treated in Section 2.4.7.

2.4.1.2. o/zero Alternation

An example of allomorphy is given by the homophonous suffixes/enclitics *-n* (Simple Unwitnessed Past, Narrative converb) and *=n* (Coordinative enclitic). If these suffixes/enclitics are attached to a word ending with a consonant, they have the form *-no*. In this way the phonotactic rules of Hinuq are fulfilled because syllable codas consisting of two consonants are avoided.

(45)

kur-no	'throw-CVB'	*ɣeɣe-n*	'grind-CVB'
ked=no	'girl=and'	*cek'e=n*	'kid=and'

2.4.1.3. Vowel deletion

Deletion of the first vowel is one means of avoiding two subsequent vowels at a morpheme juncture. It is frequent with nouns that have *-u* as their stem ending and *-a* as an oblique stem formant, but occurs also with some other nouns, even if no vowel follows (see Section 3.2 on the stem formation of nouns). In the verbal morphology the stem-final vowel of verbs ending in short *-i* or *-e* (conjugation classes 2 and 3, see 7.2.2 for more information) is deleted before the suffixes of the Simple Present, the Imperfective converb, the Infinitive, and the Imperative, but other vowel-initial suffixes require glide insertion (Section 2.4.2).

(46)

k'eču	'tooth'	*k'ečˇ-a-s*	'tooth-OBL-GEN1'
moči	'place'	*močˇ-a-do*	'place-OBL-DIR'
y-aq'e-yo	'II-come-COND'	*y-aq'-o*	'II-come-PRS'
b-aši-š	'III-find-PST'	*b-ašˇ-a*	'III-find-INF'
b-exe-s	'III-hang-PST'	*b-exˇ-a*	'III-hang-INF'
ese-yo	'tell-COND'	*es-o!*	'tell-IMP'

2.4.2. Glide insertion

Glide insertion represents a regular form of allomorphy. It is found only with verbs. Suffixes beginning with a vowel require the insertion of a glide if they are attached to verbs that have vowel-final stems. Just one verb requires the insertion of *w* for the formation of the Imperative, the Infinitive, and the Purposive converb, but this seems to be phonologically conditioned because the root consists only of *-uː-* 'do, make'.[5] In contrast, the insertion of *y* is very common with various classes of verbs for a number of verbal forms. Most typical are allomorphs of suffixes for the Conditional converb (*-o*), the Past participle (*-oru*), and the Local participle (*-a*), but also some Present tense forms and the Infinitive of the verb *liː-* 'wear' requires the insertion of *y*.[6] In (47) an illustrative list of verb forms is given. The first colum shows a verb form that does not require glide insertion, but adds the consonant-initial suffix directly to the verbal stem, and the third column exemplifies glide insertion before a vowel.

(47)	*b-uː-ho*	'III-do-PRS'	*b-u-wo!*	'III-do-IMP'
	eƛi-š	'say-PST'	*eƛi-yo*	'say-COND'
	b-ike-n	'III-see-UWPST'	*b-ike-ya*	'III-see-PTCP.LOC'
	y-edoː-z	'II-work-PURP'	*y-edoː-yoru*	'II-work-PTCP.PST'
	y-aɣi-ƛ'o	'IV-open-SIM'	*y-aɣi-yo*	'IV-open-PRS'
	liː-ho	'dress-PRS'	*li-ya*	'dress-INF'

Whether vowel deletion or glide insertion applies in order to avoid subsequent vowels depends on the word itself as well as on the added suffix. However, it is not their phonological features that determine the applied rule, but rather a lexical property. For example, the Simple Present suffix *-o* becomes *-yo* with verbs that have a stem-final *-i*, which means that glide insertion applies. In contrast, in verbs with stem-final *-e* this vowel is deleted before adding *-o*.

2.4.3. Sequences of identical vowels

Long vowels can be the result of a sequence of two identical vowels or of a vowel plus a semivowel. This happens when (i) the Ergative suffix or (ii) the IN location suffix is added to nouns.

The Ergative suffix is *-i*. If it is attached to a noun that ends in a vowel or takes an oblique suffix ending in a vowel, the suffix is *-y*. In the case of the vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, and /u/ this leads to diphtongs as in (24). In the case of a final /i/ the

[5] Alternatively one could say that the stem of the verb 'do, make' is *-uw-*, not *-uː-*.

[6] An alternative analysis could claim that the stem of the verb 'wear' is *liy-*, not *liː-*.

result is a long stressed *-íː*, i.e. /i/+/j/ → /iː/ Minimal pairs like the following ones occur:

(48)	*úži*	'boy'	*užíː*	'boy.ERG'
	méši	'calf'	*mešíː*	'calf.ERG'
	ʔáli	'Ali'	*ʔalíː*	'Ali.ERG'

The same lengthening happens when not the noun stem itself, but the oblique stem ends in *-i*, as demonstrated in (49). In the second example also sonorant deletion applies (2.4.4).

(49)	*Allah-li-y → Allahlíː*	'Allah-OBL-ERG'
	humer-li-y → humelíː	'face-OBL-ERG'

The inverse sequence /ji/ leads to diphtongs including the preceding vowels. This means that *hayi* 'there' is pronounced [haɪ]. It becomes *hayi-š* when the First Ablative suffix is added, pronounced [haɪʃ], not *[hajiʃ]. Similarly, the First Genitive of *ɣʷe* 'dog' is *ɣʷe-yi-š*, pronounced [ʁʷɛɪʃ], not *[ʁʷɛjiʃ]. In other words, /j/ is not pronounced.

Nouns like *xan* 'khan' or *čanaqan* 'hunter', whose oblique stem is identical to the base stem, end, in principle, with a short *-i* in the Ergative case because there is no preceding identical vowel; but since this vowel is stressed, and stressed vowels, especially in final position, tend to be longer than unstressed vowels, the last vowel of the nouns presented in (50) has about the same length as the last vowel of the nouns in (49). The vowels in (50) are clearly longer than an unstressed vowel such as in *úži* 'boy', but nevertheless shorter than stressed vowels such as in *užíː* (48).

(50)	*xan-i → xaní*	'khan-ERG'
	čanaqan-i → čanaqaní	'hunter-ERG'

In this grammar, cases like (48) and (49) are marked with a long vowel in the glosses to indicate that the forms are morphologically complex (e.g. *užíː* 'boy.ERG' in contrast to the Absolutive form *úži*). But in cases like (50), neither length nor stress is indicated because the morphological complexity is obvious, and stress is generally not marked in this grammar.[7]

The form of the IN location marker is lexically determined. It can be either *-ma* or a copy of the immediately preceding vowel (*-a*, *-e*, or *-i*), regardless of whether the preceding vowel belongs to the basic noun stem or to the oblique

[7] The reason for not indicating stress is that stress is not a very prominent category in Hinuq. Its influence on the grammar is very limited (Section 2.5).

marker. It is always stressed, independently of its form. The rule for copy vowels is /V/+/V/ → /V́ː/. But note that in the glosses of this grammar stress is not indicated, and length (apart from the length of root morphemes and suffixes containing long vowels) is only indicated if it expresses morphological complexity, e.g. *iškolaː* 'school-IN' vs. *iškola* 'school'.

(51) *iškóla + -a → iškolá:* 'school-IN'
áƛ + -a-a → aƛá: 'village-OBL-IN'
múži + -i → muží: 'bed-IN'
búce + -e → bucé: 'month-IN'

All nouns that form the IN-Essive with a copy-vowel form minimal pairs between the First Ablative form, in which the vowel is long, and the First Genitive form, where the vowel is slightly shorter (52).

(52) *pardala-a-s* 'veranda-IN-ABL1' *pardala-s* 'veranda-GEN1'
muži-i-š 'bed-IN-ABL1' *muži-š* 'bed-GEN1'
beƛe-e-s 'house-IN-ABL1' *beƛe-s* 'house-GEN1'

However, the difference in vowel length between the IN-Ablative and the First Genitive is not as big as the difference between, for instance, the Absolutive forms of the same nouns (e.g. *iškola, muži*) and their IN-Essive forms (e.g. *iškolaː, mužiː*). The reason might be that vowels in closed syllables are generally shorter than vowels in open syllables at the end of words. Hinuq speakers even judge the IN-Ablative and the First Genitive forms in (52) to be identical.

2.4.4. Sonorant deletion

In Hinuq there are four processes of optional sonorant deletion that vary with the informants and the rate of speech. In careful speech sonorant deletion does not occur. The first occurs before the oblique suffix *-mo* and before the fused oblique plus IN-Essive marker *-ma* (53). Two more processes of sonorant deletion are found before the suffix *-no* (Unwitnessed Past) as well as the enclitic *=no* 'and' and before the derivational suffix *-nak'u* (54), (55). Finally, sonorant deletion occurs quite regularly with a group of nouns ending with *-r* and having *-li* as the oblique stem marker (56). In the first three contexts the consonant that does not undergo the deletion may be realized somewhat longer, such that the morphophonological process could possibly be better described as a combination of progressive assimilation and an optional shortening of the geminate.

(53) /n/ → /m/~Ø/_m
magazin-ma-s → magazimmas → magazimas 'shop-IN-ABL1'

	rayon-mo-s → rayommos → rayomos	‘district-OBL-GEN1’
	diwan-mo-ƛ → diwammoƛ → diwamoƛ	‘couch-OBL-SUB’

(54) /l/ → /n/~Ø/_n

ʔazal=no → ʔazanno → ʔazano	‘thousand=and’
hil-no→hinno →hino	‘bite-UWPST’

(55) /r/ → Ø/_n

kur-no → kunno → kuno	‘throw-UWPST’
eser-nak’u → esenak’u	‘beggar’

(56) /r/ → Ø/_l

bazar-li-ƛ’o-r → bazaliƛ’or	‘market-OBL-SPR-LAT’
šahar-li-do → šahalido	‘town-OBL-DIR’
mecxer-li-š → mecxeliš	‘silver-OBL-GEN1’

2.4.5. Palatalization

An instance of (almost) obligatory progressive assimilation is the palatalization of the dental fricatives /s/ and /z/ after the high front vowels /i/ and /ü/. The palatalization affects all suffixes beginning with /s/ (i.e. First Genitive, First Ablative, Simple past, Resultative participle) or /z/ (oblique plural suffix for nouns, Dative, Second Genitive, Second Ablative, Purposive converb, oblique Resultative participle).

(57) /s/, /z/ → [ʃ], [ʒ]/i_

**ax-i-s → ax-i-š*	‘cheese-OBL-GEN1’
**diz → diž*	‘I.DAT’
**esni-za-y → esni-ža-y*	‘sibling.PL-OBL.PL-ERG’
**y-iƛ’i-s → y-iƛ’i-š*	‘II-go-PST’
**y-ihiː-z → y-ihiː-ž*	‘II-fight-PURP’
**cax-liː-za-y → cax-liː-ža-y*	‘write-ANTIP-OBL.RES-ERG’

Interestingly, there are occasional counterexamples to the palatalization rule that regard the oblique plural form of nouns that already have a palatalized frivative in the root. In these cases the oblique plural suffix is *-za*, not *-ža*, as would be expected. Note that the exceptions are only the oblique plural forms of these nouns, i.e. oblique singular forms with suffixed case markers undergo palatalization (e.g. the Second Genitive is *uži-žo*, *muži-žo*, *roži-žo*).

(58)

ABS SG	GEN1 SG	GEN1 PL	Translation
uži	*uži-š*	*uži-za-s*	‘boy’

muži	*muži-š*	*muži-za-s*	‘bed’
roži	*roži-š*	*roži-za-s*	‘word’

2.4.6. Ablaut

Ablaut is found with three words only. The first vowel /u/ of the base stem turns into /e/ for the oblique stem (59). But nowadays there is a growing tendency to use the base stem for oblique case forms.

(59)	*buƛe*	‘house’	*beƛe-s/buƛe-s*	‘house.OBL-GEN1’
	buce	‘month’, ‘moon’	*bece-s/buce-s*	‘month.OBL-GEN1’, ‘moon.OBL-GEN1’
	buq	‘sun’	*beqe-s/beqa-s/buqe-s*	‘sun.OBL-GEN1’

2.4.7. Integration of loan words

Hinuq has plenty of loan words, mainly from Avar and Russian (see Section 1.2.4 for examples). In order to integrate these words into the Hinuq lexicon, some phonemes not found in Hinuq have been replaced, and some vowels have been inserted.

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ does not occur in native Hinuq words. Where /f/ occurs in Russian words it is nowadays always pronounced as /f/, e.g. *front* ‘front’. In older loans from Arabic /f/ became /p/: *sapar* (‘journey’, from Arab. *safar*) and *Pat’imat* (‘Fatimah’, from Arab. *Faːṭima*).

Another phoneme that does not exist in Hinuq, but in Avar, a language with a large influence on Hinuq, is the voiceless velar fricative [x], written as *x̂*. Hinuq has numerous loan words from Avar, and in these words *x̂* is usually replaced by *k*, as shown in the following examples:

(60)	Avar	Hinuq	Translation
	baybix̂i	*baybiki*	‘beginning’
	t’ex̂	*t’ek*	‘book’
	ħalx̂i	*ħalki*	‘relax’
	bix̂ina-	*bikinaw*	‘male’
	x̂ix̂ize	*kikzi -uː-*	‘maintain, feed’ (animals)

The phonotactic restrictions of Hinuq require, in principle, to eliminate every syllable-initial or syllable-final consonant cluster.[8] Thus, in Hinuq-variants of

[8] Exceptional borrowings from Avar where consonant clusters are preserved are cited in Section 2.3.3.

Russian words, vowels are inserted before, between, or after a consonant cluster (61). But nowadays most Hinuq speakers have a fairly good command of Russian. As a result, the words given below are often uttered by simply using the Russian pronunciation without any inserted vowels.

(61)	*škola → iškola*	'school'
	stol → istoli	'table'
	krowat' → karawat	'bed'
	vlijanie → wiliyani	'influence'
	šljapa → šilyapa	'hat'
	metr → metro	'meter'

In my material there is one example of metathesis: the Russian word *truba* 'pipe' has become *turba* in Hinuq.

Another phonological process that loans underwent is ejectivization. Ejectivization may occur in different positions. In borrowings from Russian only /k/ is ejectivized (probably due to Georgian being the intermediate language, see Comrie & Khalilov 2009b). In Arabic loan words, the emphatic dental stop /tˤ/ has been replaced by an ejectivized dental stop /t'/, and the uvular stop /q/ has become /q'/. But this had already happend in Avar, the language through which most or probably all Arabic loans words entered Russian.

(62)	Russ. *jaščik → yašik'*	'box'
	Russ. *čajnik → čaynik'*	'tea pot'
	Russ. *marka → mark'a*	'stamp'
	Arab. *šaiṭaːn → šayt'an*	'devil'
	Arab. *waṭan → wat'an*	'homeland'
	Arab. *qalam → q'alam*	'pencil'
	Arab. *quraːn → q'urʔan*	'Koran'
	Arab. *qaːʕida → q'aʔida*	'method, rule'

2.4.8. Reduplication

Hinuq has various processes of full and partial reduplication. The reduplication is always initial, that is, from the begining of a word. The copy usually precedes the base, although there are some examples where the copy follows the base (for instance in some of the examples where the onset of the first syllable is replaced by /m/). Full reduplication is only attested with adverbs. Partial reduplication is always to the left and can be of several different types: (i) *CV*-base with numbers, (ii) *CVC(V)* with nouns, adverbs, or adjectives, (iii) *CVC(V)* plus replacement

of the initial segment by /m/, and (iv) words with identical rhyme but differing initial segments. Type (iii) and type (iv) can be called "echo-word reduplication". In this section all types are described in more detail.

Adverbs can be completely reduplicated. The meaning of the reduplicated form is sometimes simply more emphatic, and sometimes it includes a kind of distributivity or repetition (63). Note that the first adverb does not have a bare form, and the first three adverbs are loan words from Avar.

(63) Full reduplication

Reduplicated form	Translation	Bare form	Translation
žiw-žiw	'each'	-	
dah-dah	'little by little'	*dah*	'few, little'
bat'a-bat'a	'separately'	*bat'a*	'separately'
hozu-hozu	'separately'	*hozu*	'separately'
sot'i-sot'i	'around' (repetition)	*sot'i*	'around' (once)
bexa-bexa	'often'	*bexa*	'often'
san-san	'sometimes'	*san*	'once'

There are different forms of partial reduplication. First of all, adjectives that are loans from Avar can have reduplicated emphatic forms where the first two syllables *CVCV* are repeated. At least some of the examples given below are also attested in Avar, e.g. *bat'i-bat'iyaw*, *daha-dahaw*.

(64) Partial reduplication of adjectives

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
bat'i-bat'iyaw	*bat'iyaw*	'different, various'
c'ik'a-c'ik'araw	*c'ik'araw*	'old, big'
daha-dahaw	*dahaw*	'few, little'
xiri-xiriyaw	*xiriyaw*	'dear, expensive'

Reduplicated forms of adverbs take initial CVC and add the complete base. There does not seem to be a difference in meaning besides perhaps more emphasis associated with the reduplicated form.

(65) Partial reduplication of adverbs

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
hez-hezzo	*hezzo*	'then, after'
q'uy-q'uya	*q'uya*	'other'
hoz-hozu	*hozu*	'separately'
al-aldoɣo[9]	*aldoɣo*	'ahead'

Occasionally there are some reduplicated inflected nouns used as temporal and spatial adjuncts where a copy of initial *CVC(V)* precedes the base. The reduplicated forms express iterativity or plurality, and they have become lexicalized, fulfilling an adverbial function. Note that the base form of the nouns (i.e. *zaman* 'time', *moči* 'place') cannot be reduplicated.

(66) Partial reduplication of nouns

Reduplicated form	Translation	Bare form	Translation
zama-zamanaɬ	'from time to time'	*zamanaɬ*	'once'
moč-moča:	'here and there'	*moča:*	'in one place'

Partial reduplication of verbs (*CVC* plus base) typically leads to an iterative meaning (67). However, there are two examples of verbs, namely *xet'-xet'-a* and *boƛ-boƛo b-et'-a*, where the base alone does not have any meaning, and thus the reduplicated form does not express iterativity. It is not the stem alone that is reduplicated because if there is a preceding agreement prefix, then this prefix is also reduplicated. But not all partially reduplicated verbs have agreement prefixes. For the purpose of clarity, the verbs in (67) are given with the *b-* agreement prefix and the Infinitive suffix *-a*.

(67) Partial reduplication of verbs

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
b-iɣ-b-iɣ-a	*b-iɣ-a*	'take'
b-oƛ-b-oƛex-a	*b-oƛex-a*	'appear'
xet'-xet'-a	-	'tickle'
boƛ-boƛo b-et'-a	-	'split, crack'

With the numerals 1-10, reduplication is used to derive distributive numerals, as in some other Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 34), Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 235)). Distributive numerals formed by reduplication consist of the copy *CV* followed by the numeral. But there is an alternative way of forming distributive numerals by adding the spatial case suffix *-ho* 'ILOC-Essive' (Section 12.8). In addition, both operations (i.e. reduplication and spatial case suffixiation) can be combined:

(68) Partial reduplication of numerals

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
q'o-q'ono / q'o-q'onoho	*q'ono*	'two each, in a twosome'
ɬe-ɬeno / ɬe-ɬenoho	*ɬeno*	'five each, in a fivesome'

[9] The copy and the base are both preceded by a glottal stop.

Another kind of reduplication for various parts of speech (adverbs, adjectives, nouns) comprises *CVC(V)* plus the base where the onset of the first syllable is replaced by /m/ (or in the last examples by /t'/). The reduplicated words are more emphatic or more extreme in their semantics, e.g. *kołe* means 'fast, soon', and *kołe-mołe* 'faster, sooner'.

(69)	Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
	kołe-mołe	*kołe*	'fast, soon'
	cada-madaq	*cadaq*	'together'
	ħali-malica	*ħali*	'hardly, at last'
	k'ot-mottu	*kottu*	'short, low'
	ħuč-muč	*ħuč*	'roast meat'
	roq'e-t'oq'e	*roq'e*	'dishes'

Finally there are two examples of reduplication where none of the parts represents a words of its own (70). The rhyme of these words is identical, only the initial segments of the two parts differ. Due to the low number of examples, it is impossible to tell what the relation between the initial elements of the compounds might be.

(70)	Reduplicated form	Translation
	t'eƛ-neƛ	'through (and through)'
	ceq-beq-ƛ'o[10]	'everywhere'

2.5. Word stress

2.5.1. Stress in roots

Stress is not a very prominent category in Hinuq. The stress properties of Hinuq words are very hard to determine. The stress is quite weak such that even native speakers have difficulties or are even unable to figure out the stress in elicitation. Some words seem to have variable stress, e.g. *-égi*/*-egí:* 'good' or *-ʔéži*/*-ʔeží:* 'big, old'.

However, one feature of stress assignment in Hinuq seems to hold for most of the words in my material: heavy syllables of the type *CVC* or *CV:* usually attract stress, e.g. *dán.di* 'against', *i.žéy* 'eye', *o.čór.di.yu* 'old'.[11] Nevertheless, there are a few words that behave differently such as for instance *zok.'dá* 'bunker'.

In the following sections stress assignment to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs will be looked at in more detail. The various parts of speech

[10] Diachronically, the suffix of this word *-ƛ'o* is probably the SPR-Essive case.

[11] Superheavy syllables of type *CV:C* do not occur in native roots.

are devided into groups according to the number of their syllables. Heavy syllables are underlined to facilitate reading. Due to the general difficulties in determining the stress assignment in Hinuq, the stress properties of enclitics and suffixes are not treated in this grammar and remain open for future research.

2.5.2. Stress in major parts of speech

Simple nouns, pronouns, numerals, and postpositions/adverbs can consist of up to four syllables. Dissyllabic nouns, pronouns, and postpositions/adverbs are mostly stressed on the first syllable.

(71)	*p'ó.su*	'livestock'	*kí.či*	'ring'
	ó.bu	'father'	*é.li*	'we'
	ƛé.mo	'stairs, bridge'	*mé.se*	'sand'
	xú.xu	'thunder'	*qé.qe*	'cooked cereals'
	dán.di	'against'	*hád.be*	'they'

It is possible though not easy to find examples with the stress on the second (i.e. final) syllable.

(72)	*bi.šón*	'hundred'	*zok.'dá*	'bunker'

Words that end with *-ey, -ay*, or *-oy* bear stress on this final syllable because this syllable contains a diphtong that is always stressed.

(73)	*k^{w}e.zéy*	'hand'	*če.čéy*	'oil, butter'
	ho.bóy	'then, now'	*k'o.bóy*	'shirt'
	be.łáy	'dagger'	*c'i.káy*	'mirror'

Trisyllabic nouns can bear the main stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the last syllable:

(74)	*ƛó.ko.ná*	'glove, mitten'	*búm.bu.lí*	'feather'
	bí.ko.ré	'snake'	*šó.šo.lá*	'rags'

Another possibility for trisyllabic nouns (and adjectives) is to bear stress on the second syllable:

(75)	*ba.ƛá.xu*	'excrement'	*i.zí.ro*	'not castrated'
	ne.x^{w}ík'.ra	'oak'	*a.qí.li*	'woman'

The third possibility is to stress the final syllable. Note that there is also one demonstrative pronoun in the list in (76).

(76)	*xa.li.cén*	‘scythe’	*i.na.xú*	‘intestine’
	ma.ga.lú	‘bread’	*i.za.hág*	‘those’

Nouns with four syllables are quite exceptional. Hinuq has a small number of them, and they all have the main stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the third syllable.

(77)	*mí.ƛ’o.qó.yu*	‘rein’	*ʔó.mo.kí.lu*	‘camel’
	k’é.k’e.bí.ku	‘bird cherry (tree)’		

A number of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs derived from them are always stressed on the second syllable, independently of whether the word has two, three, or four syllables:

(78)	*hi.bád*	‘this’	*i.záw*	‘that’
	hi.báy	‘such’	*hi.báy.ru*	‘such’
	hi.bá.di	‘such, that’	*i.zá.ha.go*	‘that’

Verbs can be divided into four conjugation classes according to their stem-final segment: (i) consonant-final verbs, (ii) verbs with stem-final /i/, (iii) verbs with stem-final /e/, and (iv) verbs with stem-final long vowels (7.2.2). The citation form of verbs in the dictionary by (Khalilov & Isakov 2005) is the Infinitive (plus the agreement prefix *b-* for those verbs that show agreement), but the suffix of the Infinitive attracts the stress, so this form cannot be taken into consideration when studying the stress in the verbal root. However, all verbs can form the General tense, a verb form that is identical to the verbal stem (7.4.3). Therefore, I will describe the stress in verbal roots (i.e. without any derivational suffixes) as it can be found in the General tense. Almost all underived consonant-final verbs have a monosyllabic stem, therefore their stress properties cannot be determined. The majority of verbs belonging to the other three classes are disyllabic. Disyllabic verbs with stem-final /i/ assign stress to the first syllable. In contrast, disyllabic verbs with stem-final /e/ assign stress to the second syllable. The stress of disyllabic verbs with stem-final long vowels (e.g. *łeža:-* ‘laugh’, *-edo:-* ‘work’) is unclear, i.e. both the first syllable as well as the second long syllable are equally stressed. A few examples are given in (79).

(79)	*cá.ƛi*	‘throw’	*-a.q’é*	‘come’
	-á.ši	‘find’	*e.sé*	‘tell’
	é.ƛi	‘say’	*qa.ƛé*	‘call’
	łe.ža:	‘laugh’	*-e.do:*	‘work’

2.5.3. Stress in adjectives

Simple, underived adjectives that are disyllabic bear stress on the first syllable.

(80)	*ó.ssu*	‘high’	*c’ú.ddu*	‘red’
	-é.čču	‘fat’	*ké.kku*	‘light’

In normal trisyllabic adjectives, stress falls on the second syllable:

(81)	*a.dá.ru*	‘naked’	*bo.bó.ru*	‘hot’
	ƛo.ƛó.lu	‘flaccid, faded’	*-e.gʷén.nu*	‘young, small’
	me.qá.yu	‘bitter’	*ča.ɣá.yu*	‘salty’

Color and similar terms are also typically trisyllabic with the suffix *-diyu*. They bear stress on the first syllable, i.e. on the root morpheme.

(82)	*ál.di.yu*	‘white’	*ɣʷáč.di.yu*	‘spotted’
	zér.di.yu	‘grey’	*íč’.di.yu*	‘yellow’

Other adjectives that have the same suffix *-diyu* consist of four syllables and are stressed on the second syllable, i.e. on the syllable that immediately precedes the suffix, just like with the trisyllabic color terms. And just like with the color terms, the suffix *-diyu* can be replaced by another adjective suffix *-duk’a*, but the stress does not change.

(83)	*o.čór.di.yu*	‘old’	*o.čór.du.k’a*	‘old’
	ec’.én.di.yu	‘new’	*ec’.én.du.k’a*	‘new’
	gi.ħón.di.yu	‘stubborn’	*gi.ħón.du.k’a*	‘stubborn’

There are a handful of adjectives that have suffixes other than the ones so far described. The first group consists of three adjectives that have a final /iː/ (when stressed). These three adjectives have no fixed stress position. Either the first syllable can be stressed, as is most typical for words consisting of two syllables, or the second, in which case the final vowel is long:

(84)	*-é.gi*/*-e.gíy*	‘good’	*-ʔé.ži*/*-ʔe.žíy*	‘big, old’
	gá.qi/*ga.qíy*	‘bad’		

There is one adjective that ends with *-ey*, a suffix that attracts stress, as was already shown in (73). Consequently, this adjective *-egʷéy* ‘young, small’ is stressed on this suffix.

There are many adjectives that have the suffix *-Camu*. They are often derived from nouns or verbs. These adjectives are stressed on the syllable immediately preceding *-mu*.

(85)	*ger.dá.mu*	‘grumbling’	*mez.lá.mu*	‘lazy’
	šo.šo.lá.mu	‘ragged’	*ša.kar.yá.mu*	‘jealous’

2.5.4. Stress in loan words

Many loans are stressed on the final syllable.

(86)	*ba.zár*	‘market’	*hal.máɣ*	‘friend’
	hu.nár	‘ability’	*du.ni.yál*	‘world’
	sa.ʔát	‘hour’	*su.rát*	‘picture’
	a.xi.rát	‘kingdom come’	*wa.si.yát*	‘testament’

But there are also some loans that are stressed on the first syllable.

(87)	*dár.si*	‘lesson’	*ám.ru*	‘command’
	ʔíl.mu	‘science’	*ʔúm.ru*	‘life’

Loans from Avar that are native Avar words are mostly stressed in the same way as they are in Avar. Thus, they can bear stress on the first syllable.

(88)	*bó.ži*	‘belief’	*ħál.ki*	‘repose’
	ħál.t’i	‘work’	*bér.ten*	‘wedding’
	č’ú.ħi	‘pride’	*báy.bi.ki*	‘beginning’

Stress on the second syllable seems to be less common, but it is nevertheless attested.

(89)	*ga.máč*	‘stone’	*ba.žá.ri*	‘knowledge’
	hu.dúl	‘friend’		

Note that in all those words given in (86) to (89), which contain a heavy syllable, the heavy syllable is stressed, i.e. stress is predictable. For those words that do not contain heavy syllables or more than one heavy syllable, stress falls mostly on the first syllable. Loans from Russian are nowadays stressed in the same way as in Russian.

Chapter 3
Nouns

3.1. Introduction

The nominal morphology of Hinuq is suffixing and overwhelmingly agglutinating. Nouns are inflected for number (singular, plural), grammatical case (Absolutive, Ergative, First Genitive, Second Genitive, Dative, Instrumental), and spatial cases. The spatial cases are combinations of the seven location markers (CONT, IN, SUB, SPR, AT, ALOC, ILOC) with five orientation markers (Essive, Lative, First Ablative, Second Ablative, Directional). All cases other than the Absolutive are based on a special oblique stem which is idiosyncratic for many nouns. To describe Hinuq nouns we need to distinguish four different stems, although these stems are not always formally distinct: the Base stem (Absolutive Singular stem), the Oblique Singular stem, the Absolutive Plural stem, and the Oblique Plural stem. Case suffixes follow the oblique stems. For an overview of stem formation in all Tsezic languages see Forker (2010b).

In this chapter the Oblique Singular stem formation is described first (3.2), followed by the Absolutive Plural formation (3.3), the Oblique Plural formation (3.4), and the cases with their functions (3.5). Finally, nominal word formation is treated, consisting of derivation (3.6) and compounding (3.7).

3.2. Oblique Singular stem formation

The formation of the Oblique Singular stem shows the widest range of variation among the different stem formation processes. The nominal root is identical to the Absolutive Singular form of the nouns (i.e citation form). Other oblique forms of nouns in the singular are formed by applying at least one of the following operations:

1. Base stem formation
    (a) no change (e.g. *obu* ‘father’, Table 4)
2. Oblique stem formation
    (a) oblique suffix (e.g. *ahlu* ‘folk’, Table 5)
    (b) epenthetic vowel (e.g. *iš* ‘bull’, Table 7)