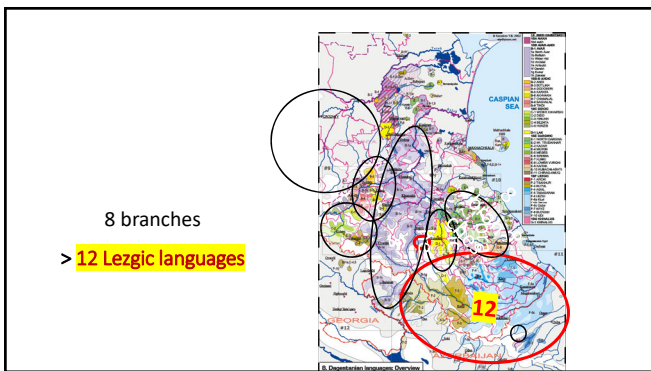
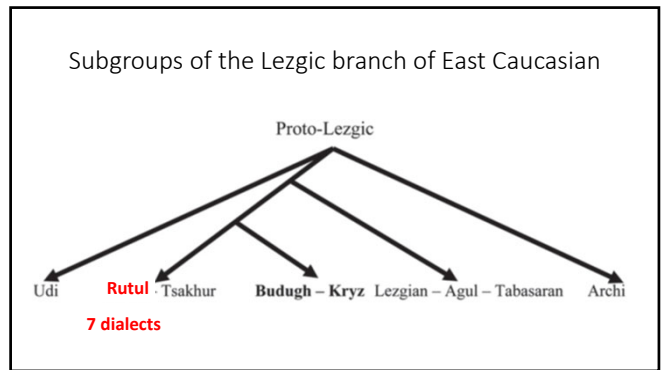
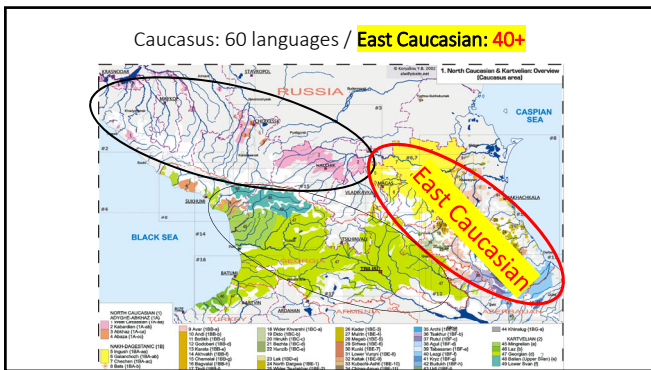
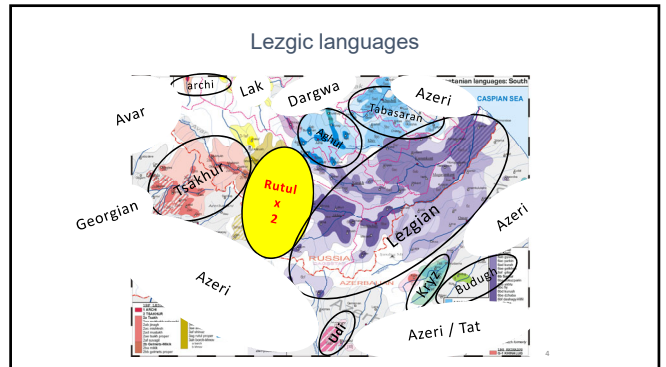

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Verbs and valencies in (Southern) **Rutul** (< Lezgi < East Caucasian)

Potsdam University
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Verb inflection	Basic valences	Derived valences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Number - Gender - Aspect - Tense - (Mood) - Morphological classes - derivation (preverbs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intransitive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monovalent <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - simple - compound - Bivalent <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - contact verbs - others - Transitive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bivalent - Trivalent ('ditransitive') <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - contact verbs - transfer verbs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflexivity - Reciprocity - Causatives constructions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Causatives of transitives - Causatives of intransitives - (anti)causative pairs - (Lability) - Instrumental alternation

Inflectional categories

person		number	
<i>yi</i>	<i>yeşer</i> 'I cry'	<i>yu'qhner</i>	<i>d-eşer</i> 'we cry'
<i>ğū</i>	<i>yeşer</i> 'you cry'	<i>vıʕ</i>	<i>d-eşer</i> 'you cry'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>yeşer</i> 'he cries'	<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşer</i> 'they cry'

Gender markers and East Caucasian branching

	Proto-EC	Dargwa	Nakh & Avar-Andic	Lak	Archi	Western and Southern Lezgian including Rutul	
						'strong'	'weak'
M	*v-	v-	v-	∅ / -v-	v-	∅- / r-	*v > h- > y / ∅-
F	*r-	r-	y-	d- / -r-	-r- / d-	r-	r- (/ Tsakhur y-)
A	*b-	b-	b-	b- / -v-	b-	b-	v-
N	*d-	d-	d- > r-	d- / -r-	∅-	d-	∅- / h- / y

Inflectional categories

gender		gender-2	
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eşer</i> 'he cries'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>kaqhar</i> 'he looks'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eşer</i> 'she cries'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>ka-ra-qhar</i> 'she looks'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eşer</i> 'it (sheep) cries'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>ka-va-qhar</i> 'it (sheep) looks'
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşer</i> 'they cry'	<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>ka-da-qhar</i> 'they look'
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>y-eşer</i> 'they (sheep) cry'	<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>kaqhar</i> 'they (sheep) look'

Inflectional classes - 2

'leave'		'go down'	
M/NPL	<i>sa-r-ta-r</i>	M/NPL	<i>su^c-y-ç'u^c-r</i>
F	<i>sa-ra-r-ta-r</i>	F	<i>su^c-ru-ç'u^c-r</i>
A	<i>sa-va-r-ta-r</i>	A	<i>su^c-vu-ç'u^c-r</i>
HPL	<i>sa-da-r-ta-r</i>	HPL	<i>su^c-du-ç'u^c-r</i>
AOR			
M	<i>sa-ti-r</i>	M	<i>su^c-ç'u^c-r</i>
F	<i>sa-r-ti-r</i>	F	<i>su^c-r-ç'u^c-r</i>
A	<i>sa-p-ti-r</i>	A	<i>su^c-v-ç'u^c-r</i>
N/HPL	<i>sa-ti-r</i>	N/HPL	<i>su^c-ç'u^c-r</i>

Inflectional classes - 1

Present		'weak'		Aorist	
M/NPL	<i>y-eş-e-r</i>	M/NPL	<i>y-eşi-r</i>	M	<i>ka-qhi-r</i>
F	<i>r-eş-e-r</i>	F	<i>r-eşi-r</i>	F	<i>ka-r-qhi-r</i>
A	<i>v-eş-e-r</i>	A	<i>v-eşi-r</i>	A	<i>ka-p-qhi-r</i>
HPL	<i>d-eş-e-r</i>	HPL	<i>d-eşi-r</i>	N/HPL	<i>ka-t-qhi-r</i>
'strong'					
M/NPL	<i>ka-qh-a-r</i>				
F	<i>ka-ra-qh-a-r</i>				
A	<i>ka-va-qh-a-r</i>				
HPL	<i>ka-da-qh-a-r</i>				

Inflectional categories

Aspect		Tense	
PRS			
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eş-e-r</i> 'he cries / is crying'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eş-e-nay</i> 'he was crying'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eş-e-r</i> 'she ...'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eş-e-nay</i> 'she was crying'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eş-e-r</i> 'it (sheep) ...'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eş-e-nay</i> 'it (the sheep) was crying'
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eş-e-r</i> 'they cry / are crying'	<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eş-e-nay</i> 'they were crying'
AOR			
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eşi-r</i> 'he cried'		
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eşi-r</i> 'she cried'		
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eşi-r</i> 'it (the sheep) cried'		
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşi-r</i> 'they cried'		
=> PRF			
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eşi-r</i> <i>i</i> 'he has cried'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eşi-r</i> <i>i-nay</i> 'he had cried'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eşi-r</i> <i>r-i</i> 'she has cried'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eşi-r</i> <i>r-i-nay</i> 'she had cried'
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eşi-r</i> <i>v-i</i> 'it (sheep) has cried'	<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eşi-r</i> <i>v-i-nay</i> 'it (the sheep) had cried'
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşi-r</i> <i>d-i</i> 'they had cried'	<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşi-r</i> <i>d-i-nay</i> 'they had cried'
PLUPRF			
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>y-eşi-r</i> <i>i-nay</i> 'he had cried'		
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>r-eşi-r</i> <i>r-i-nay</i> 'she had cried'		
<i>hav-dı</i>	<i>v-eşi-r</i> <i>v-i-nay</i> 'it (the sheep) had cried'		
<i>hav-bı</i>	<i>d-eşi-r</i> <i>d-i-nay</i> 'they had cried'		

Inflectional categories: **mood and negation**

PRS		EVT	
<i>ka-qha-r</i>	'I/you/he look(s) / am/are is looking'	<i>ka-qha-d</i>	'I/you/he (will) look(s)'
<i>ka-ra-qha-r</i>	'I/you/she look(s) / am/are is looking'	<i>ka-ra-qha-d</i>	'I/you/she (will) look(s)'
<i>ka-va-qha-r</i>	'I/you/it (sheep) look(s) / am/are is looking'	<i>ka-va-qha-d</i>	'I/you/it (sheep) (will) look(s)'
<i>ka-da-qha-r</i>	'we/you/ they look(s) / are looking'	<i>ka-da-qha-d</i>	'we/you/ they (will) look(s)'
Negative		Negative	
<i>ka-qha-r diş</i>		<i>ka-ç-qha-d</i>	
<i>ka-ra-qha-r diş</i>		<i>ka-ç-ra-qha-d</i>	
<i>ka-va-qha-r diş</i>		<i>ka-ç-va-qha-d</i>	
<i>ka-da-qha-r diş</i>		<i>ka-ç-da-qha-d</i>	

(Southern) Rutul cases

NOM	∅	CONT/SUB	-k
ATTR	-d/dı	CONTEL	-k-la
ERG	(-r)-a/e	SUPER	-V:
DAT	-s	SUPEREL	-V:-la
AD	-da/e	IN	-a/e
COM	-xhvan	EL	-gı
COMP	-qha	APUD	-x-da
ADV	-ne	DIR	-x-diy

Derivation: **preverbs**

	'pull'	'pull up'	'pull down'	'pull in'	'pull out'	'pull by'	'pull across'
M/F	<i>ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>le-ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>se-ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>e-ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>eğe-ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>feğe-ru-ɽu-n</i>	<i>keğe-ru-ɽu-n</i>
A	<i>bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>le-bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>se-bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>e-bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>eğe-bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>feğe-bu-ɽu-n</i>	<i>keğe-bu-ɽu-n</i>
N/PL	<i>du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>le-du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>se-du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>e-du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>eğe-du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>feğe-du-ɽu-n</i>	<i>keğe-du-ɽu-n</i>

Transitive verbs

q'at'ay-e-re *ğır* *fa-v-qhi-r.*
 dog-OBL-ERG hare PV-A-catch.PF-AOR
 'The dog **caught** a hare.'

ğır *q'at'ay-e-re* *fa-v-qhi-r.*
 hare dog-OBL-ERG PV-A-catch.PF-AOR
 'The hare was caught by the dog.' / 'The **DOG** caught a hare.'

yildirim-e-re *xal* *yi'-xi'-r.*
 lightning-OBL-ERG house N-strike.PF-AOR
 'Lightning struck the house.'

Valencies

Transitive compound verbs : 'coverbs'

murad-a *natig* *incimiş* *h-a?a-r*
 Murad-ERG Natig **offended** M-do.IPF-PRS
 'Murad is making fun of Natig.'

murad-a *k'ar* *q'at'* *hiɽ-r*
 Murad-ERG stick(N) **cut** N.do.PF-AOR
 'Murad broke a stick.'

murad-a *kendir* *q'at'* *havɽl-r*
 Murad-ERG rope(A) **cut** A.do.PF-AOR
 'Murad broke a rope.'

Transfer verbs

yi-c *ğu* *fağır-dı* *sa-naa-s* *ri-vi-s.*
 1SG-ERG 2SG(F)poor-OBL one-OBL-DAT F-give-FUT
 'I'll marry you off to a poor man.'

did-e *duxarı-s* *heyvan* *vi-nts'a-r.*
 father-ERG son.OBL-DAT horse A-IPF.give-PRS
 'Father gives his son a horse.'

DIFFERENTIAL RECIPIENT MARKING

did-e *duxarı-da* *heyvan* *vi-nts'a-r.*
 father-ERG son.OBL-AD horse A-IPF.give-PRS
 'Father leaves the horse to his son.'

monovalent verbs

hav-naa-dı kelle *t'u-b-q'u-r.*
 MED-OBL-A head(A) PV-A-burst.PF-AOR
 'His/her head burst.'

hav-naa-d yik' *t'u-d-q'u-r.*
 MED-OBL-N heart(N) PV-N-burst.PF-AOR
 'His/her heart burst.'

Other ditransitive predicates

murad-a *ehmed-a-xda* *ses* *ha-v-?ı-r.*
 Murad-ERG Ahmed-OBL-APUD sound(A) PV-A-do.PF-AOR
 'Murad called Ahmed.'

murad-a *natig-i-da* *huxhu-r..*
 Murad-ERG Natig-OBL-AD N.say.PF-AOR
 'Murad told Natig: (...)

hav-naa-xdiy *kompas* *ruşhu-r.*
 MED-OBL-DIR compass IPF.say-PRS
 'This tool is called a compass.'

Compound monovalent verbs

rak *ğara* *y-işi-r.*
 door(N) out/open N-be.PF-AOR
 'The door opened.'

yi *dagul* *y-işi-r /* *r-işi-r.*
 1SG(M) hidden M-be.PF-AOR F-be.PF-AOR
 'I hid.'

monovalent verbs

hav-dı / *gada* *y-eş-e-r.*
 MED-M/F/A boy M-cry-IPF-PRS
 'He / the boy is crying.'

hav-dı / *riş* *r-eş-e-r.*
 MED-M/F/A girl F-cry-IPF-PRS
 'She / the girl is crying.'

hav-dı / *riş* / *gada* *sa-r-xı-r.*
 MED-M/F/A girl boy PV-H.sleep.PF-AOR
 'S/he / the girl / boy fell asleep.'

Bivalent intransitive verbs

q'at'ay *ilsındı-ı* *a-ç'i-b-xı-r.*
 dog human.OBL-SUPER PV-PV-A-attack.PF-AOR
 'A bear attacked a man.'

murad *balkan-dı-ıla* *su'çu'u'r.*
 Murad horse-OBL-SUPEREL PV-(M)dismount.PF-AOR
 'Murad got down from the horse.'

Compound bivalent intransitive verbs

murad natig-aa inaamiş i.
Murad Natig-SUPER believe (M)COP
'Murad believes Natig.'

murad natig-aa tüş y-iş-i-r
Murad Natig-SUPER meet M-be.PF-AOR
'Murad met Natig.'

bivalent intransitive verbs: **locative correlations**

murad xal-a a^c-ç'u^c-r
Murad house-IN PV-(M)enter.PFV-AOR
'Murad entered the house.'

kral taxtıdı-dı q'an-ık ku^c-ç'u^c-r
king bed.OBL-ATTR base-SUB SUB-(M)go.PFV-AOR
'The king crawled under the bed.' < *λ:'

Monovalent verbs in bivalent frames

murad (natig-iile) y-exe-r.
Murad Natig-SUPEREL M-run.IPF-PRS
'Murad avoids Natig.' < Russian

murad (aydin-ııla) y'q'-a^c-de) a-r-ki-r.
Murad Aydin-SUPEREL back-OBL-AD PV-M-remain.PF-AOR
'Murad fell behind Aydin.'

bivalent intransitive verbs: **locative correlations**

murad xhid-di ziy-aa le-y-q'i-r
Murad water.OBL-OBL border-SUPER SUPER-M-reach.PF-AOR
'Murad reached the bank.' < *λ'

ğva-da f-ad şiv i-de, sik'?
2.OBL-AD be_at.ATTR what.NOM (N)COP-Q fox
'What have you got there, fox? < *xuv-(da) < *λw

bivalent intransitive verbs: **locative correlations**

murad kablını-k ka-qhi-r
Murad cloud.PL.OBL-CONT CONT-(M)look_at.PF-AOR
'Murad is **looking** at the clouds.'

şu'şe ustul-a-k ki-t'i-b-q'i-r.
bottle(A) table-OBL-CONT CONT-PV-A-stick.PF-AOR
'The glass got **stuck** to the table.'

murad masla-k ki-y-q'i-r
Murad wall.OBL-CONT CONT-M-touch.PF-AOR
'Murad **touched** the wall.'

murad rahman-i-k ki-yi-rka-r.
Murad Rahman-OBL-CONT CONT-M-IPF.ressemble-PRS
'Murad **resembles** Rahman.'

bivalent intransitive verbs: **locative correlations**

murad (xal-ığı) a'ğaa^c-ç'u^c-r
Murad house-EL OUT-(M)go.PF-AOR
'Murad went out (of the house).'

(murad-dı yik'-ığı) maşin a'ğaa^c-v-ğ'u^c-r
Murad-OBL heart-EL(/TRANS) car(A) OUT-A-come.IPF-PRS
'Murad is **dreaming of** a car.'

Other bivalent intransitives: the comitative

<i>murad</i>	<i>(aydin-xhvan)</i>	<i>h-alga-r.</i>
Murad	Aydin- with	M-talk.IPF-PRS
'Murad is speaking (with Aydin).'		
<i>it</i>	<i>na^ckr^c-xhvan</i>	<i>ki-di-xi-r.</i>
honey(N)	milk.OBL- with	CONT-N-mix.PF-AOR
'The honey got mixed with the milk.'		
<i>murad</i>	<i>natig-a-xhvan</i>	<i>ki-ç'i-rxha-r</i>
Murad	Natig-OBL- with	CONT-PV-(M)IPF.fight-PRS
'Murad is fighting with Natig.'		

'Evaluative predication' with the dative (< *ANTE)

<i>(murad-i-s)</i>	<i>tanga-bı</i>	<i>ğe-yi-rq'a-r.</i>
(Murad-OBL- DAT)	money-PL.NOM	PV-N-IPF.reach-PRS
' There is enough money (for Murad) / Murad has enough money.'		
<i>murad natig-is</i>	<i>u^c?u^c y-işi-r</i>	
Murad Natig-DAT	brave M-be.PF-AOR	
'Murad beat Natig.'		
<i>murad aydin-is</i>	<i>a^ccu^cz y-işi-r</i>	
Murad Aydin-DAT	weak M-be.PF-AOR	
'Murad lost to Aydin.'		

bivalent copular verbs : possessive predicates

<i>(murad-ixda)</i>	<i>maşin</i>	<i>vi-?i.</i>	
Murad- APUD	car(A)	A-COP	
'There is (Murad has) a car.'			
<i>(murad-ixda) yits'-id</i>	<i>manat</i>	<i>a-qa-t-ki-r</i>	<i>i.</i>
Murad- APUD	ten-N	manat	PV-RE-N-remain.PF-SEQ (N)COP
'There is (Murad has) 10 euros left.'			

bivalent intransitive verbs: perception & cognition, 'affective' verbs

<i>murad-i-s</i>	<i>Ayten ğa-ra-gva-r.</i>
Murad-OBL- DAT	Ayten PV-F-see.IPF-PRS
'Murad sees Ayten.'	
<i>murad-i-s</i>	<i>natig h-ats'ar.</i>
Murad-OBL- DAT	Natig M-know.prs
'Murad knows Natig.'	
<i>murad-is</i>	<i>ayten qhi-r-ga-r.</i>
Murad- DAT	Ayten PV-F-love.IPF-PRS
'Murad loves Ayten.'	

Postpositions

<i>murad rı'qh-di</i>	<i>çina?ane</i>	<i>fa'ğa^c-ç'u^c-r.</i>	
Murad road.OBL-ATTR	there > across	TRANS-(M)go.PF-AOR	
'Murad crossed the road.'			
<i>sik'</i>	<i>xuk-a-di</i>	<i>yı'q'a^c-de</i>	<i>dagul v-işi-r.</i>
fox (NOM)	tree-OBL-OBL	back.OBL-AD	hidden A-be.PF-AOR
'The fox hid (behind the tree).'			
<i>Ayten (aydin-di</i>	<i>a^cqh-aala)</i>	<i>vu^c-ru^cq'u^c-r.</i>	
Ayten Aydin-OBL	shade-SUPEREL	A-IPF.go-PRS	
'Murad follows Aydin.'			

bivalent intransitive verbs: affective complex predicates

<i>murad-is</i>	<i>ç'almi-d</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>a^cğ'u^c-r</i>
Murad- DAT	song.OBL-N	sound PV-(N)come.IPF-PRS	
'Murad hears the song.'			
<i>murad-i-s</i>	<i>xal</i>	<i>yik^c-i</i>	<i>a^cğ'u^c-r.</i>
Murad-OBL- DAT	house(NOM)	heart-SUPER	PV-(N)come.IPF-PRS
'Murad remembers the house.'			
<i>murad-is</i>	<i>ma-b-di</i>	<i>ra'qh</i>	<i>k'es-qhu-bu-xu-r.</i>
Murad- DAT	other-A-A	road(A)	*heart.DAT-RE-A-'forget'.PF-AOR
'Murad forgot the other road.'			
			< 'hang'

Non-canonical perception verbs

DAT (< *ANTE) / AD

murad-da a'ça'r-bı fa-y-ɔl-r.
 Murad-AD key-PL.NOM PV-N-find.PF-AOR
 'Murad **found** his keys.'

NOM

murad-ı-s q'at'ay-aala kiç'e-r
 Murad-OBL-DAT dog-SUPEREL PV.fear.IPF-PRS
 'Murad is afraid of the dog.'

Pseudo-transfer verbs: dative 'extended arguments'

did-e duxar-is la'v-şu' -r heyvan.
 father-ERG son.OBL-DAT PV-A-take.pf-AOR horse
 'Father bought his son a horse.'

CONTACT VERBS

murad-a şurku-s gülle v-ihı-r
 Murad-ERG bird.OBL-DAT bullet(A) A-throw.PF-AOR
 'Murad shot at the bird.'

q'at'ay-e-re murad-ıs gıç' hıɔl-r
 dog-OBL-ERG Murad-DAT bite N.do.PF-AOR
 'The dog bit Murad.'

Non-canonical perception verbs

!!!

murad-ıs fransızç'al ba'ş-e i-y-xhu-r.
 Murad-DAT Frenchword(A) (head)-IN PV-M-slide_in.IPF-PRS
 'Murad **understands** French.'

cf. Az. *Murad Fransız dil-i-ni baş-a salır*

TR

murad-a a'ça'r-bı h-arsa-r.
 Murad-ERG key-PL.NOM N-IPF.look_for-PRS
 'Murad is looking for his keys.'

Derived valencies

ditransitives: correlated contact verbs;
bodyparts & instruments

murad-a radio-ya-xda ubur qhi-nse-r.
 Murad-ERG radio-OBL-APUD ear PV-(N)IPF.hang-PRS
 'Murad is **listening** to radio.'

murad-a çapra-k rang ke-t-ki-r.
 Murad-ERG fence.OBL-CONT colour PV-N-paste.PF-AOR
 'Murad painted the fence.'

Reflexivity

murad-a vic ci elmez-e-xhvan q'at' hıɔl-r.
 Murad-ERG M.REFL.NOM REFL.ERG razor-OBL-with cut PV.M.do.PF-AOR
 'Murad cut **himself** with a razor.'

yi-c yi elmez-e-xhvan q'at' hıɔl-r.
 1SG-ERG 1SG(NOM) razor-OBL-with cut PV.M.do.PF-AOR
 'I cut **myself** with a razor.'

a'hma'd vic ci-de a'qhu' -şu' -r
 Ahmad M.REFL.NOM REFL.OBL-AD PV-RE-(M)return.IPF-PRS
 'Ahmed came to his senses.'

Reciprocity

sasinaa-k ka-da-qa-r.
 RECIP.OBL-CONT PV-HPL-look_at.IPF-PRS
 'They look at eachother.'

baki-ya a'dǰu'-sduqhun
 Baku-IN HPL.come.IPF-until
havmi-s sasinaa-s d-ats'a-s-nay.
 MED.PL.OBL-DAT RECIP.OBL-DAT HPL-know.IPF-NEG-PST
 'Before they came to Baku **they** did not **know eachother**.' etc

lability

nin yi-r-q'1-r.
 mother PV-F-come.PF-AOR
 'Mother **arrived**'

nin-e xhed yi-d-q'1-r.
 mother-ERG water PV-N-bring.PF-AOR
 'Mother **brought** water'

Causatives of transitives

q'at'ay-e-re ği'r fa-v-qi-r.
 dog-OBL-ERG hare PV-A-catch.PF-AOR
 'The dog **caught** a hare.'

yi-c q'at'ay-e-de ği'r fa-va-qa-as vi-nts'a-r
 1SG-ERG dog-OBL-AD hare PV-A-catch-INF A-IPF.give-PRS
 'I make my dog **catch** a hare.'

Pairs of anticausative and causative compounds

rak ğara y-iṣi-r.
 door open(ADV) N-be.PF-AOR
 'The door **opened**.'

murad-a rak ğara hiṛ-r.
 Murad-ERG door open(ADV) PV.N.do.PF-AOR
 'Murad **opened** the door.'

Causatives of intransitive verbs

yiz qhi-rtse-r.
 snow RE-(N)IPF.melt-PRS
 'The snow **melts**.'

murad-a q'iṣ y-its'e hiṛ-r.
 Murad-ERG butter N-melt.COV N.do.PF-AOR
 'Murad **melted** the butter.'

Pairs of anticausative and causative compounds

sik' xuk-a-di yi'q'a'-de dagul v-iṣi-r.
 fox tree-OBL-OBL back.OBL-AD **hidden** A-be.PF-AOR
 'The fox **hid** again behind the tree.'

q'a's-naa-ra yi xuk-a-di yi'q'a'-de dagul ha-r-ṛ-r.
 old-OBL-ERG 1SG(NOM) tree-OBL-OBL back.OBL-AD **hidden** PV-F-do.PF-AOR
 'The old wife **hid** me (F) behind a barrel.'

Pairs of causative and anticausative compounds

ublu-ra mi'tle il ane q'u'rt' hiʔi-r i-nay.
 wolf.OBL-ERG kid.PL.NOM alive **gulp** NPL.do.PF-AOR cop-pst
 'the wolf had **swallowed** the kids down alive.'

ubul xhid-e q'u'rt' vu'-ru'q'u'-r
 wolf.NOM water.OBL-IN **gulp** A-be/go.IPF-PRS
 'The wolf **drowns** in the water.'

BivalTyp



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Southern Rutul

Contributed by [Giles Authier \(Academia.edu profile\)](#)



The data were collected in 2023 using the Russian version of the questionnaire. Aydin Pashayev, pictured above together with Giles Authier, translated the questionnaire sentences in his capacity of a native speaker.

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Instrumental alternation

vedre xhidi-re a-ts'u-r.
 pail water.OBL-ERG PV-(N)fill.PF-AOR
 'The bucket filled with water.'

yi-c vedre xhidi-xhvan a-ts'va hiʔi-r.
 1SG-ERG pail water.OBL-with PV-(N)fill.COV PV.N.do.PF-AOR
 'I filled the bucket with water.'

Instrumental alternation

xalçidi-ra q'ul e-du-ku-r.
 carpet.OBL-ERG board PV-N-cover.PF-PRS
 'The carpet covers the floor.'

Murad-a xalçidi-xhvan q'ul e-du-ku-r.
 Murad-ERG carpet.OBL-with board PV-N-cover.IPF-PRS
 'Murad covers the floor with a carpet.'