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DISCUSSION ABOUT GENITIVE RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS ACTUAL STATUS IN THE RUTUL LANGUAGE

In Rutul dialects genitive is represented by affixes *-d, -Vd, -Vdɨ, -dɨ,* that don't characterize lezghian languages. In particular, genitive of Agul, Lezghian, Udi and tsakhur languages is formed by the affix *-n-*. According to G.Kh. Ibragimov , «In phonetic structure of genitive's affix basic *-n* is considered to be derivative and near to *-d*» [1978: 72].

The opposite point of view is held by E.A. Bokarev and M.E. Alekseev. According to them, pro-lezghian genitive was represented by affix **-n*, then, when Tsakhur and Rutul languages were united, genitive contaminated with adjective forms that resulted in preservation of genitive mark *-n* in the Tsakhur language. Later, that mark acquired some features of an attributive (i.e. accommodation with determinative name class), in the Rutul language attributive mark was used as a genitive [Bokarev 1960: 45; Alekseev 1985: 44]. We consider this hypothesis to be more corresponding to the Rutul morphology evolution where attributivizators are very important .

Affix ***-v∂/-∂v*** in the Rutul language is characterized by its grammatical polysemantics: 1) it features adjectives and participles; 2) it derives new genitive forms; 3) it performs an «attributivization» function (according to A.E. Kibrik terminology), featuring possessive category [Kibrik 1999: 193]; 4) it is used as a pasted element in objective cases structure of nouns borrowed from Arabian and Iranian languages: (Nom. *hizan* «family», *kelle* «head»; Erg. *hizɨn-d-ire, kelli-d-ire;* Gen. *hizɨn d-id, kelli-d-id* etc.), insertion of ***-∂-*** features indirect substantive base of III (third) and IV (fourth) classes in singular (Nom. *quħdɨ* «big, elder»; *saħusdɨ* «first»; Erg. *quħdɨ-d-ire, sa ħusdɨ-d-ire*; Gen. *quħdɨ-d-id, saħusdɨ-d-id* etc.).

Such characteristics as formal coincidence of genitive affixes with adjective marks and attributivizator, semantical backwardness of subjective and objective functions,

class distribution of some affixes in genitive case in Borchinsk, Khnov and Ikhrek dialects of the Rutul languages let some scientists qualify the genitive case as an adjective. E.A. Bokarev noted, that genitive ending «...coincides with the ending of derived adjectives..., and its genitive case functions are secondary». [1960: 25].

A.E. Kibrik denied genitive in the Rutul language: «As far as genitive is concerned, it is, as a rule, limited by an attributive function and in some languages (Tsakhur, Rutul, partly in Chamalal) can't be differentiated from an adjective, i.e. may be considered to be derivative affix, not case form». [1981: 69-70].

We suppose, that it's difficult to accept the authors' point of view, because profound investigations of the language materials show that genitive in the Rutul language expresses not only semantics of possessivity. In these examples we consider the following relations: measure-quantity: *x'urid mišux* «sack of flour»; *ċisɨd gɨr* «plate of soup»; group - composition: *zebišdɨ nexir* «herd of cows», *xinimešdɨ ḳabal* «group of children»; part-whole: *ħivad dilim* «piece of bread», *banad ḳeʔ* «peak of a mountain»; quality of an object: *xaldɨ temizvaldɨ* «cleanness of a house», *miried qalinvaldɨ* «depth of a river» etc.

Thus, in language appear homonym pairs: *ċisɨd* «soup» – *ċisɨd* «of soup» (Gen.); *riced* «clay» – *riced* «of clay» (Gen.) etc. If collocations *ċisɨd ᴣɨr* can be translated in two ways – either as «soup plate» or «plate of soup», in the collocation *čited uxun* «printed dress» the word *čited* definitely is an adjective, nevertheless, in the word combination *čited metri* «meter of print», the genitive form *čited* can't be translated as an adjective.

It is remarkable, that nominatives in genitive, that perform attributive function, are in preposition towards the determinate word and the genitive forms that have semantics «measure, quantity», «group – composition», «part – whole» can be either in preposition or post position. Moreover, in combination with the postposition genitive form quantitative numerals are used: *ħib ťič bičid* «three bouquets of flowers», *qʼʷad dilim ħɨvad* «two pieces of bread» etc.

We should take into account that depending on the word order in such collocations (especially in collocations with quantitative numerals) semantics of nominative in

genitive is made more concrete: if a word combination *ħibɨd jamagad gɨr* can mean «three plates of porridge» and «three plates for second courses», a collocation *ħibɨd gɨr jamagad* can have only one meaning – «three plates of porridge ».

Second type analysis let us speak about functioning of genitive as a separate independent case.

Presence of genitive in case system of the Rutul language is confirmed by other facts too: genitive case affixes are consequently joined to a base of all nominatives and substantives declined without any exception; genitive forms haven't any structural differences from other general grammatical cases: they also may have inserted elements, forming an indirect base. Thus, we can conclude that both form and semantics of genitive perfectly fit with Rutul case system, that can be confirmed by presence of common lezghian genitive affix -n being recalled by experts in Caucasian languages.

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