Gender agreement in Tabasaran dialects
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It is well known that in Tabasaran (the Lezgic branch of Nakh-Daghestanian) according to the common pattern found in Nakh-Daghestanian the verb bears an agreement marker that indicates gender (nominal class) of a noun, which is typically nominative (S/P) argument. Tabasaran possesses two genders, distinguishing between human and non-human referents, as the following examples demonstrate:

(1) rasul-i   ʁuIr **b**-is-ura
    Rasul-ERG   hare   NH-catch-PRS
    'Rasul is catching a hare.'

(2) rasul-i   magomed **d**-is-ura
    rasul-ERG   Magomed   H-catch-PRS
    'Rasul is catching Magomed.'

Gender agreement marker may appear in both prefixal (as shown above) and infixal positions within the verb (which points to the presence of a preverb):

(3) rasul-i   mašin ʁada<**b**>ʁ-nu
    Rasul-ERG   car   <HN>buy-PFT
    'Rasul bought a car.'

The goal of this paper is to present data concerning (morphological) variation in gender agreement in Tabasaran dialects. First of all, dialects are different with respect to the number of verbs bearing gender agreement markers. One can distinguish three types of dialects:

(i)   'Standard' where most verbs contain gender agreement marker,
(ii)   Some (transitive) verbs lost gender agreement, while other transitive verbs and dative experiencer verbs preserve it (Cuduq, Laka),
(iii)   No gender agreement (Xiv).

It is often said that the loss of gender agreement is typical of southern dialects. However, my study shows that in fact only Xiv lost the distinction between the two genders, whereas other dialects preserve it. In Xiv, gender agreement markers either became a part of the root (in the form of non-human markers in most cases) or disappeared at all.

Second, dialects are extremely diverse in how gender agreement is expressed in a given verb (see examples in Table 1 below):

(i)   segment markers (examples 1 and 2 above),
(ii)   zero marker (as opposed to segment markers in other genders),
(iii)   vowel / consonant alternation in stem.

Second, dialects are different with respect to number of gender agreement markers distinguished in each verb. It should be noted that it is a characteristic of a particular verb, rather than a particular dialect. For example, in the dialect of Atrik (northern dialect group) three formal types of verbs are found:

(i)   non-human singular vs. other,
(ii)   non-human singular vs. non-human plural vs. human (singular and plural),
(iii)   non-human singular vs. non-human plural vs. human singular vs. human plural.

Table 1. Examples of gender agreement marking in Atrik.

	'throw'		'drive away'		'throw'	
	H	N	H	N	H	N
SG	gat'ax-	gat'avx-	ut'uk:-	ut'uvk:-	it-	üp-
PL				ut'urk:-	irč-	ürč-

Finally, northern dialects that distinguish imperfective and perfective verbal stems often do not have gender agreement markers in the imperfective stem, while still having them in the perfective stem.