Non-spatial functions of spatial forms in Northern Akhvakh
Denis Creissels
University of Lyon
denis.creissels@univ-lyon2.fr
http://deniscreissels.fr

1. Introduction

Akhvakh (ašʷaçi miçi, Russian ахвахский язык) belongs to the Andic (sub-)branch of the Northeast Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian) family. Four dialects are traditionally recognized. One of them is designated as Northern Akhvakh, whereas the other three are grouped under the label of Southern Akhvakh.

Northern Akhvakh is spoken in four villages of the Axvaxskij Rajon in the western part of Daghestan (Tadmagitl’, Lologonitl’, Kudijab-Roso, and Izani), in recent settlements in the lowlands of Daghestan (Kamyškutan, Sovetskoe), and in Axaxdər near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan). The Southern Akhvakh dialects are spoken in one village each (Cegob, Tljanub and Ratlub), all situated in the Šamil’skij Rajon of Daghestan.

This paper is based on three sources:

– the Akhvakh-Russian dictionary (Magomedova & Abdulaeva 2007);
– a collection of texts from Tadmagitl’ and other Akhvakh villages of Daghestan, collected and transcribed by the author and checked with the help of Indira Abdulaeva;¹
– elicitation with Indira Abdulaeva.

2. The spatial forms of nouns in Northern Akhvakh

2.1. The case inflection of nouns in Northern Akhvakh: general remarks

In Northern Akhvakh, the nominative (absolute form of nouns used in the extra-syntactic function of quotation or designation, in predicate function, and in S or P roles) has no overt mark.

The case inflection of Northern Akhvakh nouns includes the so-called ‘syntactic cases’ traditionally recognized in other Daghestanian languages: ergative, dative, and genitive, and several series of spatial forms the ending of which can be segmented into an orientation marker followed by the spatial case marker proper. But in addition to that, Northern Akhvakh has a comitative case, and several other suffixes are more or less serious candidates to the status of case markers. One of

¹ In order to ensure the homogeneity of the corpus, I do not use data from Axaxdər in this paper, but the use of spatial forms in the corpus I collected in Axaxdər shows no obvious contrast with the corpus on which this paper is based.
them (the meditative) will be discussed in this paper, because of its connection with the ablative.

As a rule, case markers attach to the oblique stem of nouns (which however may coincide with the nominative – see below). Among the noun endings traditionally identified as case markers, the only true exception to this rule concerns the grammatical cases of 1st and 2nd person pronouns. 1st and 2nd person pronouns do have an oblique stem distinct from the nominative (and coinciding with the genitive form), but:

– the ergative suffix attaches to the nominative of all 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns;  
– the dative suffix attaches to the nominative of the 1st person plural, 2nd person plural, and inclusive pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>INCL</th>
<th>2PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dene</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>išī</td>
<td>išī</td>
<td>ušī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | obl. di- | obl. du- | obl. ešē- | obl. ešē- | obl. ošte- |
| ERG | de-de | me-de | išī-de | išī-de | ušī-de |
| DAT | di-1a | du-1a | išī-1a | išī-1a | ušī-1a |
| GEN | di | du | ešē | ešē- | ošte |
| LOC | di-OR-e/i | du-OR-e/i | ešē-OR-e/i | ešē-OR-e/i | ošte-OR-e/i |
| ALL | di-OR-a | du-OR-a | ešē-OR-a | ešē-OR-a | ošte-OR-a |
| ABL | di-OR-u | du-OR-u | ešē-OR-u | ešē-OR-u | ošte-OR-u |
| COM | di-k’ena | du-k’ena | ešē-k’ena | ešē-k’ena | ošte-k’ena |

### 2.2. Oblique stem formation

2.2.1. In the singular, the stem to which case suffixes are attached may be identical to the nominative, or different from it. If different, it may result from the adjunction of ‘standard’ oblique stem formatives which also have a function of class markers, and systematically occur in the case inflection of nominalized noun dependents (adjectives and determiners): -šu in class M and -št in classes F and N. The oblique stem may also differ from the nominative in a variety of ways that have more or less obvious historical explanations, but synchronically must be considered as a lexical property of nouns.

In the presentation of the examples, oblique stems of the last type, which are mere allomorphs of the noun stems, are signaled by adding ...ₒ to the gloss of the noun, whereas the ‘standard’ oblique stem markers, which also have a function of class markers, are segmented and glossed according to their function of class markers: Mₒ, Fₒ, and Nₒ.

There is considerable free variation between the three types of oblique stem formation for singular nouns (for example, the oblique stem of waša ‘boy’ may be waša-šu- or wašo-, the oblique stem of št ‘bear’ may be št- or št-št-, etc.), and there is no correlation between oblique stem formation and plural formation.

The formation of the oblique stem in the plural is much more regular than in the singular. The general rule is that the oblique stem formative -lo- (glossed řₒ) is
added to the nominative plural of human plural nouns, whereas the oblique stem formative -le ~ -li (glossed N⁺ₒ) is added to the nominative plural of non-human plural nouns, irrespective of the type of plural formation involved. Apparent exceptions to this rule have straightforward phonological explanations.

2.3. Syntactic cases

2.3.1. The ergative

The suffix of the ergative case is -de. When it immediately follows a close vowel, the following contraction process may occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ci-de & \rightarrow C-e \\
Cu-de & \rightarrow C^w-e
\end{align*}
\]

This process is particularly common (although not obligatory) with oblique stems including the oblique stem markers -sū- or -lī-:

\[
\begin{align*}
ek^w\'a & \quad \text{‘man’} \quad \text{obl. stem } ek^w\'a-śu- \quad \text{erg. } ek^w\'a-śu-de \rightarrow ek^w\'a-św.-e \\
jaše & \quad \text{‘girl’} \quad \text{obl. stem } jaše-\lī- \quad \text{erg. } jaše-\lī-de \rightarrow jaše-\lī-e
\end{align*}
\]

2.3.2. The dative

The suffix of the dative case is -la(je). -la and -laje are in free variation, but the short allomorph -la is much more frequent in texts. When the dative suffix is immediately preceded by a close vowel the following contraction process may occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
Ci-\lā & \rightarrow C-a \\
Cu-\lā & \rightarrow C^w-a
\end{align*}
\]

This process is particularly common (although not obligatory) with oblique stems including the oblique stem markers -sū- or -lī-:

\[
\begin{align*}
ek^w\'a & \quad \text{‘man’} \quad \text{obl. stem } ek^w\'a-śu- \quad \text{dat. } ek^w\'a-śu-\lā \rightarrow ek^w\'a-sw.-a \\
jaše & \quad \text{‘girl’} \quad \text{obl. stem } jaše-\lī- \quad \text{dat. } jaše-\lī-\lā \rightarrow jaše-\lī-a
\end{align*}
\]

This results in a complex analytical problem: in some conditions (see below), Northern Akhvakh also has spatial forms in which no overt orientation marker precedes the allative ending -a(je), and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a noun form in which -a(je) immediately follows the oblique stem must be considered as a ‘short dative’ or as an allative devoid of overt orientation marker.

2.3.3. The genitive

There are two variants of the genitive case: a variant including no specific marker of the genitive case, and a variant marked by the suffix -lī, homonymous with the
locative of the 5th series of spatial forms. This situation is a general characteristic of Andic languages. The most probable explanation (see Alekseev 2003:100-110) is that the variant including no specific genitive marker is ancient in Andic languages, and -\(i\) as a genitive marker developed from locative -\(i\)-\(i\).

The use of the two variants involves no semantic distinction in the relation between the genitive and its head. Their distribution is conditioned by the class of the noun in genitive function, with however some amount of free variation.

The variant of the genitive case including no specific marker corresponds to the formation of the genitive described in other Andic languages as a formation of the genitive in which the function of genitive marker is fulfilled by a class suffix expressing class agreement with the head of the genitive. However, such a characterization would be questionable for Northern Akhvakh, due to a general tendency to eliminate class agreement between the noun and its dependents. In Northern Akhvakh, the genitive of nouns that do not take the genitive marker -\(i\) most commonly coincides with the oblique stem, and the presence of class suffixes is optional, as illustrated below with ima ‘father’, oblique stem imo-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{imo} & \quad \text{wači} \sim \text{imo-we} \quad \text{wači} & \text{‘the father’s brother’} \\
\text{father}_{o(GEN)} & \quad \text{brother} & \text{father}_{o(GEN)-M} & \text{brother} \\
\text{imo} & \quad \text{jači} \sim \text{imo-je} \quad \text{jači} & \text{‘the father’s sister’} \\
\text{imo} & \quad \text{xanani} \sim \text{imo-be} \quad \text{xanani} & \text{‘the father’s horse’}
\end{align*}
\]

As already mentioned, the distribution of the two variants of the genitive is not very strict. The only strict rules are that 1st and 2nd person pronouns never take the genitive ending -\(i\), and non-human nouns never occur in the unmarked genitive form. With human nouns, the unmarked genitive is common, but there is a tendency to extend the use of -\(i\), and this tendency is particularly strong with F nouns.

2.4. Spatial forms

In Northern Akhvakh, as in other Daghestanian languages, the general rule is that the spatial forms of nouns are obtained by attaching to the oblique stem a sequence of two formatives, the orientation marker and the spatial case marker proper (‘localization’ and ‘direction’ in the terminology used by Russian Caucasologists). The orientation marker immediately follows the oblique stem, and encodes a particular type of spatial configuration involving the figure and the orienter. The spatial case marker occurs in final position and expresses the distinction between static location and various types of movement.

Five orientation markers are productive in Northern Akhvakh: -\(g\) (OR\(_{1}\)), -\(χar\) -\(\sim\) -\(\text{Lir}\) (OR\(_{2}\)), -\(q\) (OR\(_{3}\)), -\(\text{E}^\prime\) (OR\(_{4}\)), and -\(r\) (OR\(_{5}\)). A very limited number of nouns (less than five) show vestiges of a sixth orientation marker -\(r\) (OR\(_{6}\)), and there are also spatial forms including no overt orientation marker.

As for ‘direction’ (or spatial cases proper), Northern Akhvakh has a tripartite opposition locative (\(-e\) or \(-i\)) vs. allative (\(-a(\text{je})\)) vs. ablative (\(-u(\text{ne})\)).
According to Magomedbekova, originally, -u and -une constituted two distinct case markers, ablative and perlative respectively, but they are now used in free variation.

The following chart summarizes the combinations of the five productive orientation markers with the three locative cases. Note that OR₂ has two allomorphs depending on the choice of the spatial case marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OR₁</th>
<th>OR₂</th>
<th>OR₃</th>
<th>OR₄</th>
<th>OR₅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-g-e</td>
<td>-χar-i</td>
<td>-q-e</td>
<td>-ɿ'-i</td>
<td>-ɿ-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>-g-a(je)</td>
<td>-ɿr-a(je)</td>
<td>-q-a(je)</td>
<td>-ɿ'-a(je)</td>
<td>-ɿ-a(je)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-g-u(ne)</td>
<td>-χar-u(ne)</td>
<td>-q-u(ne)</td>
<td>-ɿ'-u(ne)</td>
<td>-ɿ-u(ne)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spatial case inflection is common to nouns and spatial adverbs (for example: hag-e ‘here, LOC’ / hag-a(je) ‘here, ALL’ / hag-u(ne) ‘here, ABL’). Spatial adverbs differ from the spatial forms of nouns in that:

– contrary to nouns, spatial adverbs cannot be inflected for syntactic cases;
– contrary to the spatial forms of nouns, spatial adverbs are not inflected for orientation; the stem of spatial adverbs may include frozen orientation markers, which however cannot be identified as such within the frame of a strictly synchronic morphological analysis.

2.5. Other case forms of nouns

In Northern Akhvakh, depending on the criteria used for the identification of case suffixes, several cases can be identified in addition to those traditionally recognized in descriptions of Daghestanian languages, in particular comitative -k’ena, essive -ɬe(he) and mediative -ɡuɬe.

The essive case marks NPs in the function of predicative arguments or adjuncts. It is functionally similar to the so-called ‘adverbial’ case of Georgian.

(1)  di-la hu-be čaka ɣirada šadati-ɿ harigʷ-ari.
1SG-DAT DIST-N very dear custom-ESS see-PF₁
‘I considered this (lit. I saw this as) a very good custom.’

(2) waša če mačada ekʷa-ʃu-ɿr-a isʷada-ɿ-o w-ošaq-u
boy one rich man-M₋OR₂-ALL shepherd-ESS-M M-work-INF
w-ɿ-he g-u-di.
M-go.M-CVB COP-M-POS
‘The boy went to a rich man’s to work as a shepherd.’

Two particularities distinguish the essive suffix from the case suffixes enumerated in sections 2.3 and 2.4. First, it attaches to a stem identical to the nominative form
of the noun (not to the oblique stem). Second, it optionally expresses agreement with the nominative argument of the verb, resulting in the variants -ɬ-o(he) (M) – as in ex. (2) above, -ɬ-i(hi) (H’), and -ɬ-ere(he) (N’).

The question of the emergence of a mediative case marked by a complex suffix (1st series ablative + essive) will be dealt with in section 5 below.

3. Spatial uses of spatial forms.

3.1. Spatial forms devoid of orientation markers.

In Northern Akhvakh, two types of spatial forms devoid of orientation markers must be distinguished.

3.1.1. A limited number of neuter nouns that do not take the standard oblique stem marker -ɬ̄ have the possibility to attach the locative and ablative markers (but NOT the allative marker) directly to the oblique stem. Most of these nouns, but not all, can be characterized as denoting containers (šagi ‘pot’, q’ẽʟ e ‘bag’, etc.), and with them, the absence of any overt orientation marker expresses localization within an empty space (which with other nouns is expressed by spatial forms of the 1st series, alone or in combination with the spatial adverb geği ‘inside’). In the allative, the expression of the same meaning with this set of nouns requires the presence of the 1st orientation marker:

č’ili, obl. stem č’ila- ‘room’, ‘house’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IN + LOC</td>
<td>č’il-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN + ALL</td>
<td>č’ila-g-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN + ABL</td>
<td>č’il-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2. Neuter nouns taking the standard oblique stem marker -ɬ̄ may have spatial forms devoid of overt orientation marker in the three spatial cases:

mîša, obl. stem mîša-ɬ̄- ‘place’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>mîša-ɬ-ı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>mîša-ɬ-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>mîša-ɬ-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Functionally, such spatial forms are simply more or less optional variants of forms including the 1st orientation marker -g-. With some nouns they are particularly common, perhaps even obligatory, but in most cases they are in free variation with forms including the 1st orientation marker. The nouns with which they are found have meanings that predispose them to be used as orienters, but cannot be characterized as implying a particular type of spatial configuration.
3.2. OR₁ (-g-)

Semantically, this is the default series of spatial forms, which by itself does not encode more that the mere existence of a spatial relationship. Its frequency in texts by far surpasses that of all the other series taken together, in both spatial and non-spatial uses.

Historically, the commonly accepted hypothesis is that this orientation marker originally expressed localization of the figure on the orienter. However, nothing sure can be said about the history of this orientation marker, which has no obvious cognates in the other Andic languages (Alekseev 2003:145-148).

By themselves, spatial forms with this orientation marker may encode any spatial configuration that can be considered as inferable from the semantic nature of the orienter and possibly other elements of the context. Note that, with human nouns, reference to the usual residence of a person is the commonest interpretation of OR₁.

(3) šaği č’a-g-a b-ił-a!
   pan  fire-OR₁-ALL N-put-IMP
   ‘Put the pan on the fire!’

(4) hema-na be’e:o-g-a r-išʷ-aj-a!
   cow-PL cowshed-OR₁-ALL N-gather-CAUS-IMP
   ‘Gather the cows in the cowshed!’

(5) eʔo m-aʔ-oji di-g-a!
   HORT H’-go-POT.H’ 1SG-OR₁-ALL
   ‘Let’s go to my place!’

OR₁ is also the default spatial form used for spatial relations in which the choice of a particular type of spatial configuration is not relevant, in particular:

– with orienters the functional characteristics of which are more salient and/or more relevant in a given context than their spatial characteristics;

(6) ušku-ʔi-g-e mik’e-li kocel-ěd-i.
   school-N₉,OR₁-LOC child-PL educate-IPF₂-H’
   ‘Children are being educated at school.’

– when the spatial relationship follows from the use of the orienter as the instrument of an action undergone by the figure;

(7) ašila-g-e m-l-ada ʔič’i
   steam₉,OR₁-LOC N-cook-PF₂ dumpling
   ‘steamed dumpling’

– when the spatial relationship follows from the use of the orienter as a means of transport;
(8)  b-oowoše ād-o  atobuši-ī-ti-g-e  b-eq‘-iri.
       H‘-most person-PL bus-LOC H‘-come-PF1, H‘
       ‘Most people came by bus.’

– when the figure and the orienter are parts of a same whole, or the figure results from a process affecting the orienter;

(9)  mina-g-e  ūoso  mič’ol-e-he  g-o-di.
       head-LOC hair get.sparce-N-CVB COP-N-POS
       ‘On the head the hair got sparse.’

(10)  diinō-g-e  L’aqʷa  b-oī-e-he  g-o-di.
       sore-LOC pus N-form-N-CVB COP-N-POS
       ‘There is pus in the sore.’

The semantic unmarkedness of OR₁ is confirmed by the fact that the forms of this series can combine with locative adverbs or spatial forms of locational nouns specifying every possible type of spatial configuration, whereas with the other orientation markers, the possible combinations are limited by the meaning of the orientation marker.

– OR₁ + a’e(ge) ‘in the middle’ → among elements of the orienter;
– OR₁ + ba’iğe ‘beside’ → in the vicinity of the orienter;
– OR₁ + ge’i ‘inside’ → within the orienter;
– OR₁ + ge’i ‘underneath’ → under the orienter;
– OR₁ + L’ado ‘above’ → on or above the orienter;
– OR₁ + rošoqe ‘behind’ → behind the orienter;
– OR₁ + šiği ‘in front’ → in front of the orienter;

(11)  ri’i  čil-i-li-g-e  a’i’e  k’at‘-eri.
       meat tooth-LOC in.the.middle(LOC) get.stuck-PF1
       ‘Some meat got stuck between the teeth.’

(12)  mašta-ī-ti-g-e  bai‘i-ō-e  b-ik‘-ida  širi.
       mosque-LOC side-LOC N-be-IPF2 godekan
       ‘The godekan (meeting-place for men) is usually near the mosque.’

(13)  ūk‘i-g-a  ge’i-a  żaža  sor-e-he  g-o-di.
       finger-ALL inside-ALL thorn penetrate-N-CVB COP-N-POS
       ‘I got a thorn in my finger.’

(14)  čiš‘a-g-e  ge’i-i  beš‘o  g-o-di.
       house-LOC underneath cowshed COP-N-POS
       ‘There is a cowshed under the house.’
In this \textit{split localization construction}, the NP representing the orienter and the spatial adverb (or spatial form of a locational noun) encoding the orientation agree in case. In some cases, this construction is in competition with the synthetic expression of the same meanings by means of semantically specialized orientation markers, but in others (for example, ‘behind’), it constitutes the only way to make explicit a given type of orientation.

The allative of this series expresses a terminative meaning in combination with \textit{beq’alaq’o} (terminative converb of \textit{beq’uru.a} ‘come’).
the usual residence of a person (which in many languages is encoded by this semantic type of spatial forms) is encoded in Northern Akhvakh by the default orientation marker $OR_1$, either alone or combined with the adverb $q'e̊i$ ‘at home’: di-$\chi$ar-i ‘near me’ vs. $di$-$g$-$e$ ($q'e̊i$-i) ‘at my place’.

3.4. $OR_3$ (-$q$-)

Comparative data shows that the original meaning of this orientation marker was ‘in the vicinity of’, ‘behind’. In Northern Akhvakh, $OR_3$ occurs in constructions in which this original meaning is still discernible, as in the following example, but this use of $OR_3$ is relatively marginal.

(22) $tu$hi-la $b$-$e$-$\chi$-o $gere$ $x$-$\wbar$ar-$u$-$wi$ $hu$-$do$-$q$-$e$.

$gun$-$ADD$ N-$take-M(CVB) $Gere$ run-$M$-$PF_1$ DIST-$H$+$ORB$+$3$+$LOC

‘Gere took a gun and chased after them.’

In Northern Akhvakh, the productive ways to express ‘in the vicinity of’ are $OR_2$ (with human orienters) and $OR_1 + ba$-$\i$‘g$e$ ‘behind’ (with non-human orienters), and the productive way to express ‘behind’ is $OR_1 + ro$-$\o$‘$q$e ‘behind’ ($ro$-$\o$‘$q$e is a spatial form of $ro$‘i ‘lower part of the back, bottom’).

Spatial forms of the 3rd series are relatively frequent in texts (much less that the forms of the 1st series, but much more that those of any of the other three series), but this productivity is mainly due to the fact that $OR_3$ is usual with a few nouns that occur as orienters in spatial relationships with a particularly high frequency. Consequently, it is not easy to distinguish between lexicalized uses of $OR_3$ and uses still lending themselves to semantic generalizations.

Surprisingly, the only spatial uses of $OR_3$ that can be analyzed as relatively productive involve two types of spatial configurations which depart from the prototypes commonly used in the description of the uses of spatial forms, and which cannot be reduced to a common denominator:

– $OR_3$ is used productively to encode spatial relationships involving an orienter conceptualized as a relatively narrow space (corner, hole, canyon, cave); in particular, the use of $OR_3$ is fully productive with spatial relationships in which the orienter is an opening (door, window, nostril, mouth, etc.).

(23) $e$-$\wbar$e $h$-$a$ $k$-$a$-$q$-$e$ $g$-$\wbar$-$e$-$d$-$e$.

$1$+$PL_1$+$GEN$ village $canyon$-$ORB$+$3$+$LOC$ COP.$N$-$INT$-$N$

‘Our village is situated in a canyon.’

(24) $\wbar$u$\wbar$i-$\wbar$i $r$-$\wbar$i $ma$-$\wbar$a$-$\wbar$ali-$q$-$e$ $q$-$\wbar$in-$\wbar$ri.

$fish$-$GEN$ bone $throat$-$ORB$+$3$+$LOC$ get.stuck-$INF$

‘A fishbone got stuck in the throat.’
Workshop ‘Non-spatial functions of spatial forms on East Caucasian’  
Denis Creissels: Non-spatial functions of spatial forms in Northern Akhvakh

(25) mi̲sa-qi̲-une hini b-eq’-ere g-o-di. 
nose-OR3-ABL blood N-come-PROG COP-N-POS
‘The nose is bleeding.’ (lit. Blood is coming from the nose)

– OR₃ is used productively to encode distributed or diffuse localization; this is in particular the case with orienters that are not objects with a clear spatial anchoring, such as ‘wind’ or ‘light’.

(26) čibera lág-a łaɾaʃi-qi̲-a  gočil-ëda. 
in.winter sheep-PL lowlands-OR3-ALL move-IPF₂
‘In winter the sheep move to the lowlands.’

(27) maʃina-g-u ɭ’une r-iʃix-ere ɕi̲k’-a  duna-li-qi̲-a  r-âni. 
car-OR1-ABL on.ABL N’-fly²-N’(CVB) hen-PL world-N₄-OR₃-ALL N’-go.PF₁
‘From the top of the car the hens flew away in all directions.’ (lit. ...to the world)

(28) kʷada-qi̲-a  k’uža-di  r-eq’-ere  g-e-di. 
light₁-OR4-ALL butterfly-PL N’-come-PROG COP-N’-POS
‘Light attracts butterflies.’ (lit. Butterflies come to the light)

3.5. OR₄ (-L’-)

This series of spatial forms straightforwardly encodes the under configuration.

(29) dene č’ada-L’-i  w-uč-ari. 
1SG rain₂-OR₄-LOC M-get.wet-PF₁
‘I got wet under the rain.’

(30) ē’ari ʃiʃib-uru.a  b-oʃ-eši, āu’od-i  l’aq’o-L’-a  m-aʔ-ini. 
rain drizzle-INF N-start-PF.CVBJ all-PL shelter-OR₄-ALL H’-go.PF₁,H’
‘When it started drizzling, everybody went under the shelter.’

(31) k’āzi-L’-u  voso b-uʃ-ehe  g-o-di. 
headscarf-OR₄-ABL hair N-appear-CVB.N COP-N-POS
‘The hair is showing under the headscarf.’

3.6. OR₅ (-I-)

This series of spatial forms encodes two distinct types of spatial configurations which have no obvious semantic connection, and which are commonly encoded by distinct orientation markers in Daghestanian languages: in a filled, dense space, and on a non-horizontal surface.

The first meaning of this orientation marker accounts for its use with nouns referring to substances (ɬeni ‘water’, ūši ‘soil’) or sets (hani ‘village’, ruša ‘forest’).
(32) ɗebe-ɗ-i k’ar-a r-oĩ-ere g-e-dì.  
porridge-OR₃-LOC lump-PL N’-form-N’(CVB) COP-N’-POS  
‘Lumps have formed in the porridge.’

(33) hā-ɗ-i žeọ dādele b-ık’-ari.  
village,₃-OR LOC today meeting N-be-PF₁  
‘There was a meeting in the village today.’

The second meaning accounts for its use with nouns such as q’êda ‘wall’, l’edo ‘cliff’, k’aĩ’u ‘cheek’.

(34) q’êda-ɗ-i kāwa b-i̱x-urū.  
wall-OR₃-LOC paper N-fix-INF  
‘to put wallpaper on the wall’

(35) k’ai’uda-ɗ-i ė’-ōnu.  
cheek,₃-OR LOC kiss-INF  
‘to kiss on the cheek’

3.7. Summary

In this section, it has been proposed to analyze the productive spatial meanings of the orientation markers of Akhvakh as follows:

-g- (OR₁) : default

-χar- ~ -i̱r- (OR₂) : in the vicinity of

-q- (OR₃) : (a) in a relatively narrow space (openings, etc.)  
(b) distributed / diffuse localization

-ᵢ’- (OR₄) : under

-l- (OR₅) : (a) in a filled, dense space  
(b) on a non-horizontal surface

4. Non-spatial uses of spatial forms

4.1. Non-spatial uses of OR₁

4.1.1. In addition to their spatial uses, forms including the orientation marker -g- are used to encode relationships in which

– the term of the relationship represented by an NP including the orientation marker -g- is not a concrete orienter, but a state or an activity;
(36)  
\[ \text{hu-du-we  čāka koša  ha-} \text{-g-e  g-u-di.} \]
\[ \text{DIST-SL-M very bad state-N}_1 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-LOC COP-M-POS} \]
\[ \text{‘He is in very bad condition.’} \]

(37)  
\[ \text{hu-sʷe  komoki  gʷ-ēri  kuq’a-g-a  w-oř-uru-u-a.} \]
\[ \text{DIST-M ERG help do.N-PF}_1 \text{ work}_2 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-ALL M-step-INF} \]
\[ \text{‘He helped [me] to find a position.’ (lit. ...to enter work)} \]

– the other term of the relationship is not a concrete figure, but rather a process, the term represented by an NP including the orientation marker -g- being then characterizable as the place where a given process occurs, or as an experiencer;

(38)  
\[ \text{l’ūši-g-e  č’ari  k’on-ari.} \]
\[ \text{hay-OR}_1 \text{-LOC fire start.burning-PF}_1 \]
\[ \text{‘The hay caught fire.’} \]

(39)  
\[ \text{mik’i-g-e  č’ari  g-o-dí.} \]
\[ \text{child}_1 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-LOC fire COP-N-POS} \]
\[ \text{‘The child has a temperature.’} \]

(40)  
\[ \text{di-g-e  l’ižali-de  č’in-ari.} \]
\[ \text{1SG-OR}_1 \text{-LOC wasp}_2 \text{-ERG sting-PF}_1 \]
\[ \text{‘I was stung by a wasp.’} \]

– the term of the relationship represented by an NP including the orientation marker -g- is semantically a manner adjunct – ex. (...);

(41)  
\[ \text{lazati-} \text{-g-e  rahat-a  r-ēχ-er-ohe  gʷi-d-o  dene.} \]
\[ \text{pleasure-N}_0 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-LOC rest-PL N'-take-PROG-M COP.M-INT-M 1SG} \]
\[ \text{‘I am taking a rest with pleasure.’} \]

The locative of this series is also the usual way to encode localization in time.

(42)  
\[ \text{rašiše-ro-g-e  heć’-ari  ila.} \]
\[ \text{dawn}_0 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-LOC get.up-PF}_1 \text{ grandmother} \]
\[ \text{‘Grandmother got up at dawn.’} \]

(43)  
\[ \text{čoro-g-e  lāg-a  qutano-g-a  gočil-ēd-e.} \]
\[ \text{autumn-OR}_1 \text{-LOC sheep-PL kutan}_1 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-ALL move-IPF}_2 \text{-N} \]
\[ \text{‘In autumn the sheep move to the kutan (pasture land in the plains)’} \]

(44)  
\[ \text{šig-i  zama-} \text{-g-e  č’il-a  geľ’-a  l’ada} \]
\[ \text{before-LOC time-N}_1 \text{-OR}_1 \text{-LOC house-PL underneath-ALL above-ALL} \]
\[ \text{g-ida  r-ikʷe-ari-wudi.} \]
\[ \text{make.N'-IPF}_2 \text{ N'-be-N'-PF}_3 \]
\[ \text{‘Formerly houses were built upon one another.’} \]
4.1.2. In addition to uses that are not bound to the choice of a particular verb, the locative of this series is used to encode one of the two arguments of some bivalent verbs or predicative expressions, the other argument being invariably in the nominative: bāračiχ̄uruŋa ‘pity’, bax̄tilōruŋa ‘admire’, č’uhi gūruma ‘scorn’, heratilōruŋa ‘be amazed’, muk’tutilōruŋa ‘acknowledge’, rak’wa q’ēluṟuŋa ‘be sorry for’, raq’urum ‘suit’, raziilōruŋa ~ razi bik’urum ‘agree, be satisfied with’, šimbi beq’urum ‘get angry’, šōlurum ‘be good, fit’, tamašatilōruŋa ‘be surprised’, waswasilōruŋa ‘have doubts’.

(45) mik’e-lo-g-e baračiχ̄i-e he g{o}eč’-ēl-i de-de hu-du-ji.
    child-H’,OR₁-LOC pity-F-CVB sleep-CAUS.NEG-PF.H 1SG-ERG DIST-SL-H
    ‘I felt pity for the children and did not awake them.’

(46) hu-su-be sabuḍilaro-g-e w-aȳtil-ēd-o dene.
    DIST-M,(GEN)-M patience,OR₁-LOC M-admire-IPF₂-M 1SG
    ‘I admire his patience.’

(47) č’uhi gʷ-ēri hu-du-ê de di ševarate-le-g-e.
    scorn make.N-PF₁ DIST-SL-F-ERG 1SG,(GEN) gift-N,OR₁-LOC
    ‘She scorned my gifts.’

(48) jaše-lo rešetero-g-e heratil-āri hu-du-we.
    girl-H’,(GEN) beauty-OR₁-ALL be.amazed-PF₁ DIST-SL-M
    ‘He was amazed by the beauty of the girls.’

(49) hu-du-je χisa j-ik’-ero-g-e muk’tutil-āri.
    DIST-SL-F wrong F-be-MSD₂-OR₁-LOC admit-PF₁
    ‘She admitted that she was wrong.’

(50) rak’wa q’ēl-ad-o de-de-da gʷ-ēda iši-li-g-e.
    heart be.sorry-PF₂-M 1SG-ERG-INT do.N-PF₂ matter-N,OR₂-LOC
    ‘I was sorry for the things I had done.’

(51) Šoloqad-i-lo-g-e raq’-ik-e hēč’ele.
    young-PL-H’,OR₁-LOC suit-IPF₂,NEG-N slowness
    ‘Slowness does not suit young people.’

(52) mene w-uk’-a ala-s̄e o-x-ā-ši-g-e razí!
    2SG M-be-IMP God-M,OR₁-LOC N-come-N-CVB be.satisfied
    ‘Be satisfied with the things God has given you!’

(53) nač’a-g-e šimi b-eq’-e-he ąča č’-ōruŋa šot-ik-e.
    lice,OR₁-LOC anger N-come-N-CVB burn-CAUS.INF be.good-IPF₂,NEG-N
    ‘One must not burn the coat out of anger at the lice.’
4.1.3. The locative of the -g-series is also used to encode the causee with verbs meaning ‘make eat’ or ‘make drink/suck’. Note that these verbs are exceptional in that they include a causative suffix which normally is not used to derive the causative form of transitive verbs.

4.1.4. Diachronically, the masdar inflected for the locative of the -g-series constitutes the probable origin of the progressive converb: in the texts I have collected, the suffix of this converb invariably occurs as -ere, but a variant -erege is found in the texts collected some sixty years ago by Magomedbekova.

4.1.5. The allative of the -g-series has non-spatial uses with movement verbs used metaphorically, for example, with beq’uru,a ‘come’.

4.1.6. The allative of the -g-series encodes the result of a transformation not only with šororua,a ‘turn’ used metaphorically, but also with verbs describing a process or an action implying a transformation of their nominative argument.
4.1.7. The allative of the -g- series is used to encode the addressee of verbs of saying, and also of verbs implying a verbal interaction, such as helilörua ‘beg’, maľunuča ‘advise’, naľuruča ‘scold’.

(62) **hu-gu-we di-g-a w-aʔ-ida w-os-a-ri.**
    DIST-LL-M 1SG-OR-ALL M-speak-IPF M-stop-IPF
    ‘He stopped speaking with me.’

(63) **dene w-oq’-alaq’o w-os-a ei’-a hu-du-šu-g-a.**
    1SG M-come-TERM M-remain-IMP tell-IMP DIST-SL-MG-OR-ALL
    ‘Tell him to wait for me.’

(64) **če čula m-ač-u kʷ̊i̊l-e gʷe-da du-g-a di-la.**
    one thing N-tell-INF want-N(CVB) COP-N INT 2SGG-OR-ALL 1SGG-DAT
    ‘I want to tell you something.’

(65) **hu iši q’ada-ř-e b-eq’-āri Šagali-li-g-a.**
    DIST matter moment-N ERG N-know-CAUS.PF relatives-N OR-ALL
    ‘This was immediatly reported to relatives.’

(66) **ād-o-lo-g-a helil-őruča.**
    person-PL-IOG-ALL beg-INF
    ‘to beg the people’

(67) **ačada maľ-ii-e de-de hu-du-šu-g-a.**
    few advise-NEG-PF.N 1SG ERG DIST-SL-MG-OR-ALL
    ‘I gave him many pieces of advice.’

(68) **mik’e-lo-g-a naľ-uраča.**
    child-IOG-ALL scold-INF
    ‘to scold children’

4.1.8. The use of the allative of the -g- series in connection with č’eri ‘name’ can be viewed as a semantic extension of its use with verbs of saying.

(69) **šig-i-da eše há-ři-g-a č’eri b-ikʷe-a-wi šulahani.**
    before-LOC-INT 1PL GEN village-N-ERG-ALL name N-be-N IPF3 Šulahani
    ‘Formerly our village was called Šulahani.’

(70) **hu-liu šakiba-ři-g-a di-la č’eri b-eq’-ik-e.**
    DIST-U L bird-N-ERG-ALL 1SGG-DAT name N-know-IPF NEG-N
    ‘I don’t know the name of this bird.’

(71) quri bel-āda-be gʷe-da č’ada-g-a-la mîti-g-a-la.
field depend-PF.N COP.N-INT rain-OR₁-ALL-ADD sun-OR₁-ALL-ADD
‘The harvest (lit. the field) depends on rain and sun.’

(72) ha-ča dene du-g-a buž-ik-o.
PROX-N₁-ABL away 1SG 2SG-OR₁-ALL believe-IPF₂ NEG-M
‘From now on I don’t believe you.’

(73) waša imo-g-a ēl-ene g-u-di.
son father,₃-OR₁-ALL look.like-PROG COP-M-POS
‘The son looks like his father.’

(74) televizori-li-g-a eq-uru.
TV.set-N₃-OR₁-ALL watch-INF
‘to watch TV’

(75) nikʷa-g-a hādaḵ-uru.a
song-OR₁-ALL listen-INF
‘to listen to a song’

(76) dac-a-li-g-a hadutil-uru.a
lesson-PL-N’-OR₁-ALL get.ready-INF
‘to get ready for the lessons’

(77) mîc’atʷa-ši-g-a mik’e-li haham-i-hi g-oli
sweets-N₃-OR₁-ALL child-PL long-H’-CVB COP-H-POS
‘The children longed for sweets.’

(78) hāže iga du-g-a gʷe-da.
now turn 2SG-OR₁-ALL COP.N-INT
‘It is your turn now.’

(79) ūraq’i-g-a mîc’al-uru.a
alcohol-OR₁-ALL become.addicted-INF
‘become addicted to alcohol’

(80) hu-du-li-g-a kʷari o-ši-e.
DIST-SL-N₃-OR₁-ALL importance N-give-NEG-PF.N
‘I did not attach importance to that.’
4.1.10. The allative of the -g- series is also found in idioms involving the adjectives *hok’orada* ‘heavy’ and *hʷahʷada* ‘light’.

(85) **hādele-g-a**  *hok’orada*

hear,-OR₁,-ALL  heavy

‘hard of hearing’

(86) **mina-g-a**  *hok’orada*

head,-OR₁,-ALL  heavy

‘narrow-minded’

(87) **mina-g-a**  *hʷahʷada*

head,-OR₁,-ALL  light

‘shallow (person)’

4.1.11. The ablative of the -g- series constitutes the usual expression of non-spatial meanings that, cross-linguistically, tend to be treated as metaphorical extensions of spatial markers with ablative or perlativ means. It is used with verbs or predicative expressions such as *bač’ořuwa* ‘deprive’, *heč’e bεχurwa* ‘take revenge’, *χε beχurwa* ‘make use of’, *č’inurwa* ‘protect’, *hamariče bεq’urwa* ‘distinguish’, *qοrwa* ‘ask’, *rαč’urwa* ‘ask’, *šinurwa* ‘hide’, *χʷašatilôrwa* ‘save, escape’.

(88) **isi-ľi-g-une**  *w-ač’-âri*  *dene.*

inheritance,-OR₁,-ABL  M-deprive-PF₁  1SG

‘I was deprived of inheritance.’

(89) **tôs’â-šu-g-u**  *heč’e b-εχ-urwa*

ennemy,-OR₁,-ABL  revenge  N-take-INF

‘to take revenge on the ennemy’
4.1.12. The ablative of the -g-series constitutes in Akhvakh the usual way to encode the standard of comparison.

(97) **imaχa-1a qāi‘ano-g-u rešada čula g-o-l-e.**
donkey,DAT donkey.foal,OR1-ABL beautiful thing COP-N-NEG-N
‘For the donkey there’s nothing more beautiful than its foal.’

4.1.13. The ablative of the -g-series also occurs in a construction in which an ablative NP indicates the precise location of a process or situation concerning an entity represented by a nominative NP.

(98) **gʷ-idalet-e-he b-ikʷ-e-š-une b-ač’aq’-e-he gui-e šoda.**
do,N-PF.NEG.INT-N-CVB N-be-MSD-N,OR1-ABL N-be.late-N-CVB do,N-MSD good
‘Better late than never.’ (lit. Doing with delay is better than not doing at all)
The ablative of the -g-series is very productive in constructions that can be described as involving a participant that plays a crucial role in a process affecting another participant (represented by a nominative NP) without however being viewed as an agent. It encodes the stimulus of affective verbs that assign the nominative case to their experiencer, natural forces responsible for a process undergone by a patient, and involuntary agents.

1. The ablative of the -g-series is very productive in constructions that can be described as involving a participant that plays a crucial role in a process affecting another participant (represented by a nominative NP) without however being viewed as an agent. It encodes the stimulus of affective verbs that assign the nominative case to their experiencer, natural forces responsible for a process undergone by a patient, and involuntary agents.

2. In this example, the Akhvakh sentence is unambiguously an intransitive predication: in Akhvakh, bi’лура ‘kill’ is morphologically the causative of bi’уруа ‘kill’, and ‘killed’ would be wу’ари, with a long a resulting from the fusion of the causative marker -а(ж) with the initial vowel of the TAM marker -ари.
ablative NPs encoding the initiator of the process to the minimal intransitive predications *huduwe wu'ari* ‘He died’ and *dene lôhe gʷida* ‘I am afraid’.

The meaning of involuntary agent in (106) does not follow from the construction itself, but from the possibility to contrast it with a transitive construction headed by the causative form of the same verb.

(106) *hušu-de istaka b-iqʷ-aj-e g-o-di.*

DIST-ERG glass N-break-CAUS-N(CVB) COP-N-POS

‘He broke the glass.’

Note that the overt marking of causativization in Akhvakh excludes analyses that could be considered in languages using labile verbs to encode meanings such as ‘break’ or ‘die/kill’.

4.1.15. The ‘de-agentive’ meaning of the ablative of the -g- series may also explain its use with *bažarilōrua* ‘be doable by’.

(107) *ĩšu-da minače g-ūruua bažaril-āre g-o-la hu-du-šu-g-u.*

ANA-M(INF) household be.doable-PROG COP-N-NEG DIST-SL-M-OR₁-ABL

‘He cannot afford to keep himself.’

(108) *ũdaũda bažaril-ěda gʷe-da-či du-g-une hu iši?*

really be.doable-IPF COP-N-INT-Q 1SG-OR₁-ABL DIST business

‘Will you really be able to do that?’

4.1.16. The allative and the ablative of the -g- series occur jointly in temporal expressions such as *reše-g-u reše-g-a* ‘from year to year.

4.1.17. As a rule, combinations of spatial forms of nouns with spatial adverbs or locational nouns only have non-spatial uses straightforwardly following from metaphorical extensions of their spatial meaning. For example:

– The combination *locative of the -g- series + gei ‘inside’* has the temporal use illustrated by ex. (110).

(109) *čâče ha daru čar-uruua b-uč-ida žodo-g-e gei-i?*

how.many.times PROX medicine drink-INF N-must-IPF₂ day,, OR₁-LOC inside-LOC

‘How many times a day must this medicine be taken?’

– The combination *locative of the -g- series + gei ‘underneath’* has the same possibility of interpretation ‘in an unpleasant situation’ as the locative of the -Ľ- series, with which this combination is more generally synonymous.

(110) *hušta Saza-ľi-g-e gei-i ba-k’-iri ak’-o šig-i.*

DIST-such torment-OR₁-LOC underneath-LOC H’-be-PF₁,H’ woman-PL before-LOC

‘Women had to undergo such torments formerly.’
– The combination locative of the -g- series + ʟʼa(do) ‘above’ is found in the construction of badaurua ‘laugh (at)’ and usilorrua ‘think’.

(111) ād-o ʟʼado b-adax-ere g-oli du-g-e.
  person-PL above.LOC Hʼ-laugh-PROG COP-Hʼ.POS 2SG₉-OR₁-LOC
‘The people are laughing at you.’

(112) hu-liwo-g-e ʟʼado w’ilaj-a mene!
  DIST-N₃-OR₁-LOC above.LOC think-IMP 2SG
‘Think about it!’

– The combination ablative of the -g- series + ʟʼō ~ ʟʼone ‘from above’ is found in the idiom ʟʼone bočurua ‘forgive’, lit. ‘step from above’, and also with mačunua ‘speak (about)’.

(113) di-g-une ʟʼō b-oĩ-a!
  1SG₉-OR₁-ABL above.ABL N-step-IMP
‘Forgive me!’

(114) haličatila-li-g-une ʟʼō b-oĩ-iki.
  treachery-N₃-OR₁-ABL above.ABL N-step-IPF₁
‘Treachery cannot be forgiven.’

(115) du-g-u ʟʼō čula m-ač-ene g-o-di hā-i-ī.
  2SG₉-OR₁-ABL above.ABL thing-N-...-PROG COP-N-POS village-OR₉-LOC
‘There are rumors about you in the village.’

– The combination ablative of the -g- series + šigu ‘from the front’ expresses replacement.

(116) du-g-u šig-une ču-wi w-ĩda?
  2SG₉-OR₁-LOC in.front-LOC who-M M-go.IPF₂
‘Who will go in your place?’

4.2. Non-spatial uses of OR₂

The non-spatial uses of OR₂ can be viewed as immediate semantic extensions of the basic meaning of this series of spatial forms:

– OR₂-LOC occurs in constructions expressing ‘to have an object at one’s disposal without necessarily possessing it’. Note that, in the predicative construction encoding possession proper, the possessor is in the genitive, not in a spatial form.

(117) ĩk’wa mešu b-ik’-a-wi gere-χar-ᵢ, hu-be-la ʙ’war-o
  small knife N-be-N-PF₃ Gere-OR₂-LOC DIST-N-ADD stab-M(CVB)
ĩ-su-da waĉiq’a ĭʷar-u-wi.

ANK-M,GEN-INT cousin kill-M-PF

Gere had a small knife on him, and he killed his cousin with it.’

– In constructions expressing the transfer of objects that can be possessed (in particular with oxturua ‘give’), OR₂-ALL is used to encode recipients that are not viewed as future possessors, contrasting with the dative used when the transfer results in a possessive relationship.

(118) di-îr-a e-miş-a hu-du čîǰ-a, de-de t’re-nil-wa

1SG-OR-ALL N-give-IMP DIST-SL pebble-PL 1SG-ERG throw-N-POT

hū-du-re ĩhorii-la

DIST-SL-N lake,OR-ALL

‘Give me those pebbles, I will throw them into the lake.’

– OR₂-ABL is used in constructions expressing loss of property.

(119) ha ūšî gʷe-d-e hu-do-de zumi-ĩ-e eš-eχar-une b-eq-ada.

PROX land COP.N-INT-N DIST-H₁,ERG force-N₁,ERG 1PL-OR₂-ABL N-take.away-PF₂

‘This land has been taken by force from us by them.’

4.3. Non-spatial uses of OR₃

4.3.1. Although ‘behind’ and ‘beside’ are not productively expressed by OR₃ in present-day Akhvakh, OR₃ is frequently found in non-spatial uses that can be explained as semantic extensions of such spatial meanings. In copulative constructions, OR₃ may express ‘be in favor of’.

(120) b-owoše-jî hu-du-šu-q-e ba-k’-irî.

H’-most-H’ DIST-SL-M,OR₃-LOC H’-be-PF₂,H’

‘Most people supported him.’

OR₃ also occurs in the construction of verbs or predicative expressions such as roefti buxuru’a ‘fall in love’, xɨdārilōru’a ‘fall in love’ haq’elōru’a ‘miss’, mišaraquru’a ‘miss’, āq’esuru’a ‘be thirsty’ > ‘be eager to have’, fōru’a ‘weep (for someone)’.

(121) hū-su-be roefti b-uź-e b-ikʷe-a-wi afišer-šu jaše-til-i-q-e.

DIST-M,GEN-N love N-fall-(CVB) N-be-N-PF₃ officer-M,GEN daughter-F,OR₃-LOC

‘He fell in love with the daughter of an officer.’

(122) mik’e-lo-q-e haq’elaj-e-he g-i di dene.

child-H’,OR₃-LOC miss-N-CVB COP-F-POS 1SG

‘I miss [my] children.’
Workshop ‘Non-spatial functions of spatial forms on East Caucasian’

Denis Creissels: Non-spatial functions of spatial forms in Northern Akhvakh

(123) ɬ̄ẽ- q̄e  aq̄ez-uru.  
water-LOC be.thirsty-INF  
‘be eager to get’ lit. ‘feel thirsty [for something] in the same way as for water’

(124) di-da waša-šu- q̄e mišaraq-e-he g-i-di dene.  
1SG INT son-MLOC miss-LOC COP-POS 1SG  
‘I miss my son.’

(125) mištinek’ w mačada ek’wa-šu jaše- ɬ̄̄-q̄e xūdaril-āri.  
poorman rich man-MGEN daughter-FLOC fall.in.love-PF  
‘The poorman fell in love with the daughter of a richman.’

(126) šakiba-g-a ɬ̄̄-or-alala, hu-gu-je waći-lo- q̄e f-āre j-ik’-i-wi.  
bird-ALL turn-LOC brother-FLOC weep-PROG F-be-PF  
‘Although she was changed into a bird, she kept weeping for his brothers.’

4.3.2. The locative of the -q̄- series of spatial forms can express manner. In particular, ‘adjective/participle + ha-ɬ̄̄-q̄e’ (< ha ‘state’) is a possible equivalent of the manner adverbs derived from adjectives of English or Russian.

(127) beča- ti mič’-li- q̄e eše ha- ļi-g-a lologoniti. eɨ-’id-e.  
mountain-GEN tongue-NLOC-LOC 1PLGEN village-NLOC-ALL Lologonitl say-IPF  
‘In Avar our village is called Lologonitl.’

(128) úsi č’ak’-e-he g-o-di m-aq-unu. ɬ̄̄-solk’-ika ha- ļi-q̄e.  
ground harden-N-CVB COP-N-POS N-plough-INF be.good-IPF NEG state-NLOC-LOC  
‘The ground has got hard to such a point that it cannot be ploughed.’

(129) bahada ha- ļi-q̄e g-úru.  
different state-NLOC-LOC do-INF  
‘to do something differently’

With masdars, the locative of the -q̄- series of spatial forms expresses ‘in the same way as’.

(130) b-ik’-ero- q̄e  b-eň- a di uštu- ļi-g-e Sadilo!  
N-be-MSD-LOC N-leave-IMP 1SGGEN table-NLOC-LOC order  
‘Leave the things on my table as they were before!’

(131) du-ła-da k’-il-ero- q̄e guj-a!  
2SGDAT INT want-MSDLOC do.NIMP  
‘Do it as you want!’
4.3.3. The meaning illustrated by ex. (131-3) suggests that, etymologically, the similitative particle -ũčə -ũčə -ũčə -ũčə (as in ex. (124) above) includes a formative cognate with the locative of the -q- series. Comparative data from the other Andic languages shows that the ancient form of this particle was something like *muq-čə, but unfortunately, I have found no evidence of a possible origin of the formative *mu-.

4.3.4. The locative of the -q- series of spatial forms is also found with adjuncts meaning ‘in exchange of’ (but NOT with adjuncts expressing price, which in Akhvakh are in the dative case).

4.3.5. OR₃ also has temporal uses with the shade of vagueness that characterizes one of its two productive spatial meanings.

4.4. Non-spatial uses of OR₄

The only non-spatial use of this orientation marker is its extension to non-spatial situations in which a participant undergoes some constraint.

---

3 The precise meaning of biquruma is ‘kill by cutting the throat’.
4.5. Non-spatial uses of OR₅

4.5.1. As already mentioned above, historically, the locative of this series constitutes the probable origin of one of the two variants of the genitive in Akhvakh and other Andic languages; the distribution of this variant of the genitive (which in Akhvakh is obligatory with non-human nouns, and is in competition with the unmarked genitive in the case of human nouns) strongly suggests that the reanalysis started with inanimate nouns, which mainly occur in genitive constructions expressing whole-part relationships (Alekseev 2003).

4.5.2. Synchronically, the only non-spatial use of this series of spatial forms is the sporadic use of OR₅-LOC with masdars.

5. The emergence of a mediative case

Cross-linguistically, the expression of means (‘by means of’, ‘thanks to’, etc.) is a common extension of the use of ablative/perlative cases or adpositions. In Northern Akhvakh, this meaning is regularly encoded by means of the mediative suffix -guɬe, with the variants -guɬ-o (M) and -guɬ-i (H⁺) due to adverbial agreement.

5.1. Héru-dušu košt-ţi-ľ'-a b-uč-ero-g-une č'în-a aľa-sʷ'-e.

‘Let God prevent [me] from falling into his power.’

(139) ž-āro-ľ-i q'acādil-āre j-ikʷ'-ari hu-du-je di-k'ena.

‘She competed with me in study.’

(140) hu-do komoki-ľ-ɡuɬ-o hu-we w-oq'-ari davista-ţi-g-a.

‘He got to Dagestan with their help.’

(141) nʷ-ėro-ɡuɬe minada w-oq'-ari di-ta hu-du-we.

‘I recognized him by his way of speaking.’

(142) hu-šte b-osoda hok'orada kuqʷ'-i gʷ-ėro-ɡuɬe řetil-āri dene.

‘It is by doing much hard work that I got my handicap.’

(143) mik'e-lo-ɡuɬ-ōhe č'uhal-ōrua w-uč-id-o mene.

‘You must be proud of your children.’
This suffix also expresses the temporal meaning expressed in English by ‘within’, which cross-linguistically constitutes a common extension of the use of cases or adpositions with similar meanings.

(144) šašati-gule  m-aʔ-oji.

hour-MDT  H’-go-POT.H

‘We are leaving within an hour.’

Given the semantic proximity with the ablative, it is probable that the first syllable gu of the mediative suffix is cognate with the ablative of the -g- series. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that Magomedbekova’s texts include occurrences of the ablative of the -g- series expressing meanings that, in my corpus, are regularly expressed via the mediative suffix -gule.

(145) če  ačada  rī-li-g-une  qʷ“arada  ruša-łe-ʔ-a  ʔikʷ-e-he

one  few  time-N,OR1-ABL  thick  forest-N,OR2-ALL  swallow-F-CVB

l’oq’-ari.
disappear-PF,

‘Shortly afterwards she disappeared into a thick forest.’ (Magomedbekova)

Consequently, the mediative suffix probably results from the combination of the ablative of the -g- series with a second formative cognate with the essive suffix -ɬ̄e.

6. The emergence of a comparative particle

As already mentioned above, in Northern Akhvakh, standards of comparison are regularly encoded as NPs in the ablative of the -g- series of spatial forms. But there are also constructions expressing comparison in which a suffix identical to one of the variants of the ablative does not attach to the oblique stem of a nominal, but to a fully inflected form to which a further case suffix normally cannot attach.

Let us compare the following two examples:

(146) bešanoč’e  āl-e-ɬ̄-une  ʔič’i  harigʷ-ada-be  šoda-be.

a.hundred.times  hear-MSD-N,OR1-ABL  more  see-PF,2-N  good-N

‘Seeing once is better than hearing a hundred of times.’

(147) hu-d-e-ɬ̄-une  ha-g-e  šoda  g-o-di

DIST-SL-LOC-CMPR  PROX-LL-LOC  good  COP-N-POS

‘One feels better here than there.’

In example (146) āle-ɬ̄une is a regular ablative form of the masdar āle. As explained above, the absence of the orientation marker -g- is regular in the presence of the neuter oblique stem formative -ɬ̄i-. By contrast, in ex. (147), the same ending -ɬ̄une attaches to the locative form of the spatial adverb hude ‘here’. The ablative of this spatial adverb is hudu(ne). As an oblique stem marker, -ɬ̄i- can only attach to nominative forms. Consequently, in hudu-ɬ̄une, -ɬ̄une has been reanalyzed as a
comparative particle that, contrary to -\textit{une} [-N,ABL], is not subject to the selectional restrictions that characterize case endings.

The same phenomenon is illustrated by the following example from Magomedbekova’s texts.

(148) \text{imixi} \text{s\text–i-une} \text{čaka} 1\text{-ēri}.

\text{donkey before-LOC-CMPR very be.afraid-PF1}

‘The donkey was more afraid than before.’ (Magomedbekova)

\textbf{Abbreviations}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{: oblique stem}
  \item \texttwonew: reduplication
  \item \text{ABL}: ablative
  \item \text{ADD}: additive particle
  \item \text{ALL}: allative
  \item \text{ANA}: anaphoric pronoun
  \item \text{CAUS}: causative
  \item \text{CMPR}: comparative
  \item \text{COM}: comitative
  \item \text{COMP}: complementizer
  \item \text{CONC}: concessive converb
  \item \text{COND}: conditional converb
  \item \text{COP}: copula
  \item \text{CVB}: converb
  \item \text{DAT}: dative
  \item \text{DIST}: distal
  \item \text{ECHO}: second element of an echo compound
  \item \text{ERG}: ergative
  \item \text{ESS}: essive
  \item \text{F}: feminine
  \item \text{GEN}: genitive
  \item \text{H\text{\textsuperscript{+}}}: human plural
  \item \text{HORT}: hortative
  \item \text{IMP}: imperative
  \item \text{INCL}: inclusive
  \item \text{INF}: infinitive
  \item \text{INT}: intensive
  \item \text{IPF}: imperfective
  \item \text{LL}: lower level
  \item \text{LOC}: locative
  \item \text{M}: masculine
  \item \text{MDT}: mediative
  \item \text{MSD}: masdar
  \item \text{N}: non-human
  \item \text{N\text{\textsuperscript{\textit{+}}}}: non-human plural
  \item \text{NEG}: negation
  \item \text{OR}: orientation
  \item \text{ORD}: ordinal
  \item \text{PF}: perfective
  \item \text{PL}: plural
  \item \text{POS}: positive
  \item \text{POT}: potential
  \item \text{PROG}: progressive
  \item \text{PROX}: proximal
  \item \text{Q}: interrogative
  \item \text{SG}: singular
  \item \text{SIMIL}: simulative particle
  \item \text{SL}: same level
  \item \text{TERM}: terminative converb
  \item \text{UL}: upper level
\end{itemize}

\textbf{References}


Magomedbekova, Z.M. 1967. \textit{Axvaxskij jazyk (grammatičeskij analiz, teksty, slovar’). Tbilisi: Mecniereba.}