

This is a questionnaire on weather expressions I filled in for Seppo Kittilä

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Language: Northern Akhvakh (\subset Andic \subset Avar-Andic-Tsezic \subset Nakh-Daghestanian)

Sources: own field notes + Magomedova & Abdulaeva's Akhvakh-Russian dictionary

0. How is the weather?

duna-ḥi-lī čugada ḥa godi?
world-N-GEN which state COP_{1,N}
'How is the weather (lit. the world)?'

The construction of this sentence is identical to that of the sentence used to ask about someone's health:

du aḱ'o-lī či ḥa godi?
2SG(GEN) wife-GEN which state COP_{1,N}
'How is your wife?'

→ *duna* 'world' is a borrowing from Arabic.

1. It is raining.

c̄'a(ri) c̄'-āre godi or simply *c̄'-āre godi*
rain rain-PROG¹ COP_{1,N} rain-PROG COP_{1,N}
'It is raining' lit. 'Rain is raining'

c̄'a ~ *c̄'ari* 'rain (N)' is cognate with *c̄'ōrula* (root *c̄'aj-*) 'rain (V)'. The noun *c̄'ari* is used specifically for the rain, whereas the verb *c̄'ōrula* applies to similar phenomena too (snow, hail). However, null arguments with a generic or anaphoric interpretation are freely allowed in Akhvakh, and in the absence of a noun in S role, the default interpretation of *c̄'-āre godi* is 'It's raining'. The general equivalent of English *fall* (without any specification of the nature of the S argument) is *buxurula*.

t'in-e c̄'-āre godi
pour- CVB_N rain-PROG COP_N
'It is pouring' lit. 'It rains pouring'

The construction of this sentence is a converbal construction in which the converb adds a manner modification to the meaning expressed by the main verb. The verb in converbal form *t'inurula* refers here to heavy rain, but it more generally constitutes

¹ The underlying form of *c̄'-āre* is *|c̄'aj-ere|*.

the equivalent of English ‘pour’ (for example, the Akhvakh equivalent of ‘Pour the tea out!’ is *če t’ina!*).

<i>č’a(ri)</i>	<i>šib-ere</i>	<i>godi</i>	or simply	<i>šib-ere</i>	<i>godi</i>
rain	drizzle-PROG	COP ₁ .N		drizzle-PROG	COP ₁ .N
‘It drizzles’					

šiburula ‘drizzle’ is also used in reduplicated form: *šišibere godi*; *č’a(ri)* ‘rain’ seems to be the only possible subject of this verb; *šibe* ‘drizzle (N)’ is the verbal noun regularly derived from *šiburula*.

<i>č’a(ri)</i>	<i>q’eč-ari</i>	or simply	<i>q’eč-ari</i>
rain	stop.raining-PF ₁		stop.raining-PF ₁
‘It stopped raining’			

Like *č’ōrula*, *q’ečurula* ‘stop (raining)’ is a verb used only for rain and similar phenomena. In Akhvakh, ‘stop’ (without any specification of the nature of the S argument) is *beburula*. The following sentence is possible too:

<i>č’a(ri)</i>	<i>č’-ēda</i>	<i>b-eb-ari</i>
rain	rain-IPF ₂ ²	N-stop-PF ₁
‘It stopped raining’		

→ *č’ōrula* ‘rain’ has an interesting particularity, which suggests that it formerly allowed for a construction with *reše* ‘sky’ instead of *č’a(ri)* in S role. Normally, with tense markers expressing S/P agreement, *č’ōrula* shows non-human singular agreement, which is consistent with the grammatical nature of its possible S arguments. The result of the insertion of the raising verb *b-ašlōrula* ‘begin’ should therefore be *b-ašlāri č’ōrula* ‘It started raining’, with non-human singular (*b-*) agreement, but *r-ašlāri č’ōrula* is also attested, with an agreement prefix (*r-*) which synchronically marks non-human plural agreement, and therefore constitutes an irregularity from the point of view of the agreement system as it works in the present state of the language.

<i>r-ašl-āri</i>	<i>č’-ōrula</i>
NPL-start-PF ₁ ³	rain-INF ⁴
‘It started raining’	

Given the current reconstitution of the history of Daghestanian noun class systems, the most probable explanation is that this constitutes a retention from a stage in the evolution of Akhvakh at which:

² The underlying form of *č’-ēda* is |č’aj-ida|.

³ The underlying form of *r-ašl-āri* is |r-ašlaj-ari|.

⁴ The underlying form of *č’-ōrula* is |č’aj-urula|.

- there still was a class of inanimate nouns associated with the class marker *r-* in the singular too (whereas in the present state of Akhvakh, the only possible class marker for non-human nouns in the singular is *b-*);
- *reše* ‘sky’ belonged to this class, was segmentable as *r-eše*, and was used as the S argument of *č’ōruLa* (see (5) below).

2. It is snowing.

āži ‘snow’ is a noun, and no cognate verb is attested.

āži c’-āre godi
 snow rain-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘It is snowing’ lit. ‘Snow is raining’

There is also a noun *ʁale* which specifically refers to ‘thin snow’.

3. It is hailing.

Akhvakh has no specific word for ‘hail’. *ža(ri)* means ‘ice’, ‘hail’, and ‘glass’.

ža(ri) c’-āre godi
 ice rain-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘It is hailing’ lit. ‘Ice is raining’

4. Sataa räntää. (Finnish)

rain.3SG wet-snow.PARTIT
‘It is raining wet snow.’

I don’t have this sentence in my data, but it would certainly be similar to the following one:

b-išada ža c’-āre godi
 N-big ice rain-PROG COP_{1,N}
 lit. ‘Big ice (i.e., big hail stones) is raining’

5. It is thundering.

The meaning ‘It is thundering’ is usually rendered in Akhvakh by combining *reše*, a noun meaning ‘sky’ and ‘year’, with the verb *ʁūruLa* (root *ʁ^wij-*) which normally refers to human speech (as in *dula iḍidači ʁūruLa ʁurusāḥiḡe?* ‘Can you speak Russian?’, or *dilaje duk’ena ʁūruLa k^wiḡe godi* ‘I want to speak with you’).

reše *ɸ^w-ēre* *godi*
 sky speak-PROG⁵ COP_{1,N}
 ‘It is thundering’, lit. ‘The sky is speaking’

In the same expression with the raising verb *b-ašlōruła* ‘begin’, synchronically irregular neuter plural agreement is possible, which confirms the historical explanation put forward above for the sentence expressing ‘It started raining’: etymologically, the initial consonant of *reše* was probably a noun class prefix characterizing a class of inanimate nouns which in present-day Akhvakh has merged with the class whose characteristic prefix is *b-*.

reše *ɸ-ūrula* *r-ašl-āri*
 sky speak-INF⁶ NPL-begin-PFV
 ‘It started thundering’

There is also a noun *ɸɸela* ‘rumbling of thunder’ and a cognate verb *ɸɸelōruła* (root *ɸɸelaj-*) ‘rumble’, tagged ‘onomatopoeic’ in Magomedova & Abdulaeva’s dictionary.

ɸɸela *āL-ene* *godi*
 rumbling hear-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘One can hear the rumbling of thunder’

reše *ɸɸel-āre* *godi*
 sky rumble-PROG⁷ COP_{1,N}
 ‘It is thundering’, lit. ‘The sky is rumbling’

6. There is a storm

I have no word for ‘storm’ in my own data, and no such word occurs in Magomedova & Abdulaeva’s dictionary either. There is an expression for ‘whirlwind’ (*šēt’anolī t^we* lit. ‘evil’s wind’), and there are also two unanalyzable nouns for ‘snowstorm’ (*ɸazizate* – probably from Arabic *ɸāšifat* ‘storm’ – and *zapela*).

ɸazizate *b-aɸaril-āri*
 snowstorm N-start-PFV
 ‘A snowstorm started’

⁵ The underlying form of *ɸ^w-ēre* is |ɸ^wij-ere|.

⁶ The underlying form of *ɸ-ūrula* is |ɸ^wij-urula|.

⁷ The underlying form of *ɸɸel-āre* is |ɸɸelaj-ere|.

7. There is thunder and lightning

There is a noun for ‘lightning’: *hiri* (*piri* in Magomedova & Abdulaeva’s dictionary), possibly cognate with the adjective *hirida* ‘red’ (both meanings might have developed from an original meaning ‘bright’, but I have no evidence to support this hypothesis). *hiri* can be used as the P argument of the transitive verb *t’ōnula* (root *t’ā(b)-*) ‘throw’ in a construction in which no NP in A role occurs.

hiri *t-āne* *godi*
lightning throw-PROG⁸ COP_{1,N}
‘There is lightning’ (lit. ‘(It) is throwing lightning’, or ‘Lightning is being thrown’⁹)

hiri can also be encoded as the S argument of *gōc’urula* ‘strike’, in a construction in which the entity struck by the lightning is encoded by an NP in the essive case:

ruša-ge hiri *gōc’-ari*
tree-ESS lightning <N>strike-PF₁
‘The tree was struck by a lightning’ (lit. ‘A lightning struck on the tree’)

This sentence can be compared with the following one, which has exactly the same construction:

dī-ge L’a *χ^we gōc’-ari*
1SG-ESS on-ESS dog <N>strike-PF₁
‘I was attacked by a dog’ (lit. ‘A dog struck on me’)

There is also a verb *piχurula* ‘burst’, which can be used with *hiri* in S role.

hiri *piχ-ari*
lightning burst-PFV
‘There was lightning’ (lit. ‘A flash of lightning burst’)

8. The wind is blowing

χ^we ‘wind’ is a noun.

χ^we-de *b-iq^w-aj-e* *godi* *ruša*
wind-ERG N-break-CAUS-CVB.N COP_{1,N} tree
‘The wind has broken a tree’

⁸ The underlying form of *t’-āne* is *|t’āb-ere|*.

⁹ Akhvakh has no morphological passive, and regularly uses null-A transitive constructions as the equivalent of English agentless passives.

ʔ^we b-akaril-āri
 wind N-start-PFV
 ‘The wind started’

‘The wind is blowing’ is expressed by means of a verb *ʔ^welōrula* (root *ʔ^welaj-*) ‘blow (with reference to wind)’ derived from the noun *ʔ^we* ‘wind’; the only possible S argument of *ʔ^welōrula* is *ʔ^we* ‘wind’, which may remain unexpressed. With other nouns in S role, the Akhvakh equivalent of ‘blow’ is *hūrula* (root *h^wij-*)

(ʔ^we) ʔ^wel-āre godi
 wind blow-PROG¹⁰ COP_{1,N}
 ‘The wind is blowing’

9. (Illalla) tyyntyi. (Finnish)
Evening.ADE calm-down.PAST.3SG
‘In the evening, the wind/the breeze calmed down.’

The verbs that can be used to express this meaning are *bišurula* ‘calm down’, *tākunula* ‘stabilize (intr.)’ and *čičišturula* ‘weaken (intr.)’; none of them is used specifically for the wind.

ʔ^we b-iš^w-ari
 wind N-calm.down-PF₁
 ‘The wind calmed down’

ʔ^we čičišt-ari
 wind weaken-PF₁
 ‘The wind calmed down’

ʔ^we tāk-ani
 wind stabilize-PF₁
 ‘The wind calmed down’

Note that *tākunula* ‘stabilize’ can be used with reference to weather with the more general meaning ‘improve’.

duna tāk-e godi
 world stabilize-CVB.N COP_{1,N}
 ‘The weather (lit. the world) has improved’

¹⁰ The underlying form of *ʔ^wel-āre* is *|ʔ^welaj-ere|*.

10. The sun is shining.

The transitive verb *gõḂ^welōruḂa* ~ *g^wãḂelōruḂa* (root *gõḂ^welaj-* ~ *g^wãḂelaj-*) ‘light, illuminate’ (also used in sentences such as *čeraqide č’ili gõḂ^welāre godi* ‘The lamp illuminates the room’) can be used to express this meaning, with *miḂi* ‘sun’ in A role and *duna* ‘world’ in P role:

miḂi-de gõḂ^wel-āri duna
sun-ERG illuminate-PF₁ world
‘The sun is shining’, lit. ‘The sun has illuminated the world’

It is also possible to use the intransitive verbs *h^waruruḂa* or *q̄’atīlōruḂa* (root *q̄’atīlaj-*) ‘shine’ (also used in sentences such as ‘Gold shines’):

miḂi h^war-ari
sun shine-PF₁
‘The sun is shining’

miḂi q̄’atīlaj-e godi
sun shine- CVB.N COP_{1,N}
‘The sun is shining’

11. It is getting cloudy.

12. It is getting foggy.

Both ‘cloud’ and ‘fog/mist’ can be expressed by *hira* (N).

b-ač’ida hira-ī-e b-iḂ-ari rešena-q̄e-se miša
N-black fog/cloud-N-ERG N-seize-PF₁ sky-ESS-ADJZ place
‘A black cloud covered the sky’ (lit. ‘seized the place at the sky’)

hira b-iḂ-ere godi
fog/cloud N-lay.down-PROG COP_{1,N}
‘It is getting foggy’ (lit. ‘(It) is laying down fog’ or ‘Fog is being laid down’ – see Footnote 8)

beča-le-ge L’a hira b-iḂ-e godi
mountain-HPL-ESS on.ESS fog/cloud N-lay.down-CVB.N COP_{1,N}
‘The mountains are wrapped in mist’ (lit. ‘(It) has laid down fog on the mountains’ or ‘Fog has been laid down on the mountains’)

hira t’epil-ōruḂa q̄’elaj-e godi
fog/cloud wrap-INF get.ready- CVB.N COP_{1,N}
‘There will be fog soon’ (lit. ‘Fog is getting ready to wrap’)

A verb *hiraχuruLa* ‘become overcast (with reference to weather)’ can be derived from *hira*. When it refers to weather, this verb occurs with *duna* ‘world’ in S role or without any NP in S role, but it can also be used metaphorically with reference to persons, with the meaning ‘frown’. Another possible meaning of this verb is ‘lose one’s way in the fog’.

(*duna*) *hiraχ-ere* *godi*
 world get.foggy/cloudy-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘It’s becoming overcast’

šuni *hiraχ-e* *b-ik^w-ari*
 yesterday get.foggy/cloudy-CVB.N N-be-PF₁
 ‘It was overcast yesterday’

muč’u and *qáč’a* are nouns specifically referring to ‘thick clouds’ and ‘transparent clouds’ respectively.

rešena-qē *muč’u* *b-ił-e* *godi*
 sky-ESS thick.cloud N-lay.down-CVB.N COP_{1,N}
 ‘The sky is covered by thick clouds’ (lit. ‘(It) has laid down thick clouds on the sky’ or ‘Thick clouds have been laid down on the sky’ – see Footnote 8)

reše *qáč’a-de* *b-ič-e* *godi*
 sky transparent.cloud-ERG N-seize-CVB.N COP_{1,N}
 ‘The sky is covered by transparent clouds’ (lit. ‘Transparent clouds have seized the sky’)

There is also a verb *qáč’ōruLa* (root *qáč’aj-*) ‘get covered by transparent clouds’ derived from *qáč’a*.

reše *qáč’-āre* *godi*
 sky get.covered.by.transparent.clouds-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘The sky is getting covered by transparent clouds’

13. It is clearing up.

This meaning is expressed via the intransitive verbs *hūč’unuLa* ~ *h^wič’unuLa* or *k^wač’ōnuLa* (root *k^wáč’aj-*) used only with reference to weather and whose only possible S argument is *duna* ‘world’.

duna *h^wič’-ene* *godi*
 world clear.up-PROG COP_{1,N}
 ‘It is clearing up’

duna k^wač'-āne godi
 world clear.up-PROG¹¹ COP_{1,N}
 'It is clearing up'

The opposite meaning can be expressed by a verb whose general meaning is 'move':

duna bakabačaril-āri
 world move-PF₁
 'The weather is breaking up' lit. 'The world has moved'

There is also a specific verb for 'stop raining' (see section 1), and the same meaning can be expressed with a verb whose general meaning is 'get dry':

duna lab-ari
 world get.dry-PF₁
 'It has cleared up' (after raining) – lit. 'The world got dry'

'It is clearing up' with reference to fog can be expressed in the following way:

hira łaloχo heč'-ere godi
 fog up rise-PROG COP_{1,N}
 'The fog is clearing (lit. rising)'

14. It is freezing (outside. You need more clothes when the temperature is so low.)

There seems to be no specific word for 'freeze' referring to weather. 'It is freezing (outside)' is usually expressed as 'It is very cold' (see 16). 'Freeze' referring to water is *ža q'urula* (root *ža q'ib-*), a compound verb whose literal meaning is 'solidify into ice'.

łeni ža q'ib-e godi
 water ice solidify-CVB.N COP_{1,N}
 'The water has frozen'

ža q'urula can also be used metaphorically with reference to persons (but apparently not with reference to weather).

dene ža q'-ero gudi
 1SG ice solidify-PROG.M¹² COP_{1,M}
 'I am freezing'

¹¹ The underlying form of *k^wač'-āne* is *|k^wāč'aj-ere|*.

¹² The underlying form of *q'-ero* is *|q'ib-ero|*.

15. It is getting milder.

The verb *tehilōruła* (root *tehilaj-*) ‘become slightly hot’ (used also for liquids, etc.), when referring to weather, is used with *duna* ‘world’ in S role.

duna tehilaj-e godi
world become.warm-CVB.N COP₁.N
‘The weather has warmed up’

16. It is getting colder.

žahuruła (root *žah^w-*) ‘get cold’ with *duna* ‘world’ in S role refers to weather, but this verb can combine with other nouns too.

če žah^w-ari
tea get.cold-PF₁
‘The tea got cold’

duna žah^w-ere godi
world get.cold-PROG COP₁.N
‘It is getting colder’

If the context makes it clear that the sentence refers to the ambient temperature (in a specific place, or in general), *žahuruła* can be used without any noun in S role.

žęła žah^w-e godi
today get.cold-CVB.N COP₁.N
‘It is cold today’

žah^we ‘cold’ (N) is the verbal noun regularly derived from *žahuruła*.

č’ili-ga žah^w-e b-eq’-ari
house-LAT get.cold-VN N-come-PF₁
‘It is cold in the house’ lit. ‘The cold came into the room’

‘Cold’ as an adjective is *žahuda*, morphologically the imperfective participle of *žahuruła*.

There is also a verb *buxuruła* ‘feel cold’ basically referring to the sensation of cold experienced by a person rather than to cold as a meteorological state. The imperfective participle of this verb (*buxida*) can however be used as an adjective referring to the ambient temperature.

dene w-uχ-ero gudi
1SG M-feel.cold-PROG.M COP₁.M
‘I am cold’

žela b-uχ-ida žo godi = *žela žahuda žo gudi*
today N-feel.cold-IPF₂ day COP_{1,N}
'It is cold today' lit. 'Today is a cold day'

17. It is getting warmer.

Like French, and contrary to English or Russian, Akhvakh does not make an obligatory distinction between 'warm' and 'hot'.

The verb *āsałurula* means 'get warm/hot' without any particular restriction on the S argument. For example, 'The water is getting warm/hot' is expressed as *īeni āsałere godi*. When referring to weather, this verb occurs with *duna* 'world' in S role, or without any expressed S argument, if the context makes it clear that *duna* is understood.

χada (duna) āsał-ida goda
tomorrow (world) get.warm-IPF₂ COP_{2,N}
'Tomorrow it will get warmer/hotter (lit. '(The world) will get warmer/hotter')

'The sun is beating down' can be expressed by means of the verb *boł'urula* 'become very hot', homonymous with *boł'urula* 'become bitter', with *miłi* 'sun' in S role. The following sentence illustrates the nominalization of this construction:

miłi-łi boł'-e āčał-ari
sun-GEN become.very.hot-VN diminish-PF₁
'The excessive heat (of the sun) has diminished'

Excessive heat can also be expressed by means of the verb *bašiłurula* 'become white', used metaphorically with the meaning 'become very hot' (to be compared with English *white-hot*), as in *bašiłada žo* lit. "'a white-hot day' → 'a very hot day'.

duna bašił-ari
world get.white-PF₁
'It is very hot' lit. 'The word became white(-hot)'

18. (In the beginning of the rainy season) it gets wet (unexpectedly). (it's starting to get wet)

19. (After the rainy season) it gets dry. (it's getting drier)

Not relevant to Akhvakh, since in the region where Akhvakh people live, the weather is constantly changing, and it may rain at any time. For 'The weather is improving' and 'The weather is getting worse', see above.

OTHERS

aša ‘hoar-frost’

aša t'am-e godi
hoar-frost throw-CVB_N COP_{1,N}

‘There is hoar-frost (lit. ‘(It) has thrown hoar-frost’ or ‘Hoar-frost has been thrown – see Footnote 8)

gwālunula ‘get bright’

This verb is used exclusively in the Akhvakh equivalent of ‘Dawn is breaking’ with *duna* ‘world’ or *rala* ‘night’ in S role, or without any NP in S role. The noun for ‘dawn’ is *rašite* (see below).

duna g^wāl-ene godi or *rala g^wāl-ene godi* or *g^wāl-ene godi*
world get.bright-PROG COP_{1,N} night get.bright-PROG COP_N get.bright-PROG COP_{1,N}
‘Dawn is breaking’

īk'unula ‘get dark’

This verb (homonymous with *īk'unula* ‘swallow’) is used exclusively for nightfall. It is not cognate with *rala* ‘night’. The noun for ‘nightfall’ is *rešute* (see below).

cibera (duna) q'ala īk'^w-ida
in.winter (world) early get.dark-IPF₂
‘Night falls early in winter’

rašiturula ‘get bright (with reference to dawn)’, **rešuturula** ‘get dark (with reference to nightfall)’, **rašite** ‘dawn’, **rešute** ‘nightfall’

rašite and *rešute* are the verbal nouns regularly derived from *rašiturula* and *rešuturula*.

(duna) rašit-ere godi
(world) get.bright-PROG COP_{1,N}
‘Dawn is breaking’ lit. ‘The world is getting bright’

rašit-e t'-āne godi
get.bright-VN throw-PROG COP_{1,N}
‘Dawn is breaking’ lit. ‘(It) is throwing brightness’ or ‘Brightness is being thrown’

(duna) rešut-ere godi
world get.dark-PROG COP_{1,N}
‘Night is falling’ lit. ‘The world is getting dark’

rešut-e t'-āne godi
get.dark-VN throw-PROG COP₁.N

'Night is falling' lit. '(It) is throwing darkness' or 'Darkness is being thrown'

rašiturula is quite obviously cognate with *bašiturula* 'become white' (also used in weather expressions, but with a totally different meaning – see 17 above). Consequently, the initial *r-* of *rašiturula* and *rešiturula* can be analyzed as a frozen class prefix, which probably expressed agreement with *reše* 'sky' at a stage in the evolution of Akhvakh when *reše* belonged to a class of inanimate nouns associated with the class marker *r-* and was used as a possible S argument of meteorological verbs more widely than in present-day Akhvakh (see above, sections 1 & 5).

sibi dew

rala žomo-ge sibi bił-awi
at.night grass-ESS dew lay-EVID_N

'During the night the dew gathered on the grass' (lit. 'It laid dew on the grass', or 'Dew has been laid on the grass')

In addition to the basic mechanisms of weather expression, we are interested in a few other grammatical aspects of these expressions. These are listed and explained below.

1. Would you characterize weather expressions as a construction type of their own or do they share features, for example, with other impersonal constructions (such as passive)? Are there multiple ways of expressing weather in your language? In case your language allows weather to be expressed in multiple ways, is this variation possible everywhere or is it typical of certain cases only?

Akhvakh has no passive: the flexibility of constituent order and the possibility to leave arguments unexpressed (either with an anaphoric or non-specific interpretation, depending on the context) make it possible to construct sentences functionally similar to English passive sentences without any special morphology.

bač'o-de ħema q'am-e godi
wolf-ERG cow eat-CVB.N COP₁.N

'The wolf ate the cow'

ħema bač'o-de q'am-e godi
cow wolf-ERG eat-CVB.N COP₁.N

'The cow was eaten by the wolf'

ħema q'am-e godi
cow eat-CVB.N COP₁.N

'The cow was eaten'

(Note however that the non-specific reading is only a possible reading of this sentence: depending on the context, an anaphoric identification of the agent is possible too)

Generally speaking, weather expressions cannot be analyzed as putting into play special constructions, since in Akhvakh, core arguments can always remain unexpressed. What is particular in many weather expressions (but not all) is that they involve intransitive verbs with a very limited range of possible S arguments (sometimes the only possible S argument is *duna* ‘world’), and consequently the presence of an NP in S role adds very few (or nothing at all) to the meaning of the sentence.

The weather expressions with the transitive verbs *t’ōnula* and *biṭurula* are however particular in the sense that they can include no NP in A role.

2. If your language uses dummy-strategy for expressing weather (see (a)), what is the origin of the dummy element? In Germanic languages, dummy is a third person (inanimate) pronoun, how is this in your language? What is the grammatical status of the element: Is it a typical subject (for example, does it trigger verbal agreement, does it bear case marking typical of (intransitive) subjects and does it allow co-referent ellipsis, as in *it is raining and snowing* etc.) or does the element display features not typical of canonical subjects (for example deviant case marking or the lack of verbal agreement)? Is the dummy element obligatory or does its appearance depend on other factors such as word order?

Akhvakh does not use dummy pronouns in weather expressions, but the way the noun *duna* ‘world’ is used in weather expressions is somewhat reminiscent of the dummy-strategy.

3. If your language uses the cognate subject (e.g. *rain rains*) or cognate object strategy (e.g. *it rains rain*) for expressing weather, is this strategy possible with all weather expressions or is it rather restricted to a limited set of verbs/expressions?

The cognate S strategy is restricted to rain and wind. The cognate P and cognate A strategies are not attested.

4. If your language uses some kind of verbal strategy for expressing weather (cf. Eng. *It is raining* or the Russian example in (c1)), can you inflect the weather verbs in all persons, numbers, tenses, modes and aspects? If your language displays variation in the selection of auxiliary verbs forming tenses (cf. eg. the *haben/sein* variation in German and the *hebben/zijn* variation in Dutch), which auxiliary verb do weather verbs choose? Or do weather verbs display variation in the choice of the auxiliary verb (and if they do, is this somehow semantically conditioned)?

The meteorological verbs of Akhvakh are morphologically regular, and the limitation in their agreement morphology is a mere consequence of the limited range of nouns in S role they can combine with.

Akhvakh has nothing similar to the *haben/sein* variation in German.

5. In many languages, including Finnish, Hungarian, German and Udihe, valency-changing operations, such as passive and causative, are usually not applicable to the verbs used for expressing weather. How is this in your language?

Akhvakh has no passive forms or constructions. Causative derivation is productive for intransitive verbs, but no causative form of the meteorological verbs figures in Magomedova & Abdulaeva's dictionary (which in general systematically gives the causative forms of intransitive verbs).

6. If your language uses verbal strategy for expressing weather (cf. Eng. *It is raining*), is it possible to use weather verbs transitively as in the following Finnish (k) and German (l) examples?

(k) Cumulonimbus satoi puolisenttisiä rakeita.¹³
 Cumulonimbus.NOM rain.PAST.3SG half.centimetre.ADJZ.PL.PARTIT hail.PL.PARTIT
 'The Cumulonimbus cloud produced a hail with 5 mm big granules.'

(l) Es regnet große Tropfen.
 it rain.3SG big.PL.AKK drop.PL.AKK
 'It rained big drops.'

In Akhvakh, such precisions are not added by using *c'ōruḷa* 'rain' transitively, but by using the S slot in the construction of this verb – see section 4.

Abbreviations

ADJZ: adjectivizer
 CAUS: causative
 COP: copula
 CVB: general converb
 ERG: ergative
 ESS: essive
 GEN: genitive
 INF: infinitive
 IPF: imperfective
 LAT: lative
 M: masculine singular
 N: non-human singular
 NPL: non-human plural
 PF: perfective
 PL: plural
 PROG: progressive converb
 SG: singular
 UW: past unwitnessed
 VN: verbal noun

¹³ Reference: Pirkka. Plussan kanta-asiakaslehti 2006. P. 24.