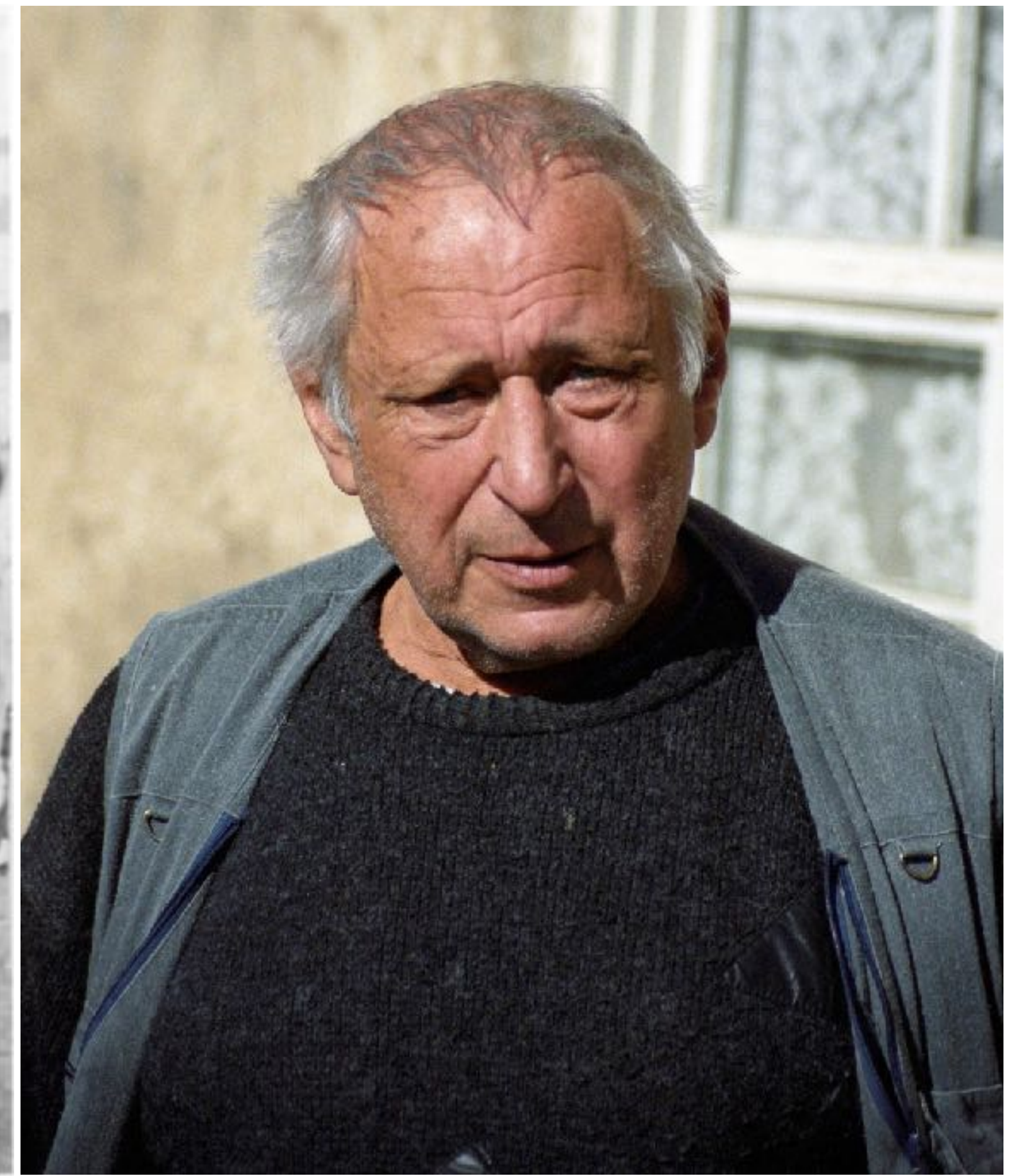


Welcome to the Online course on
East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
languages

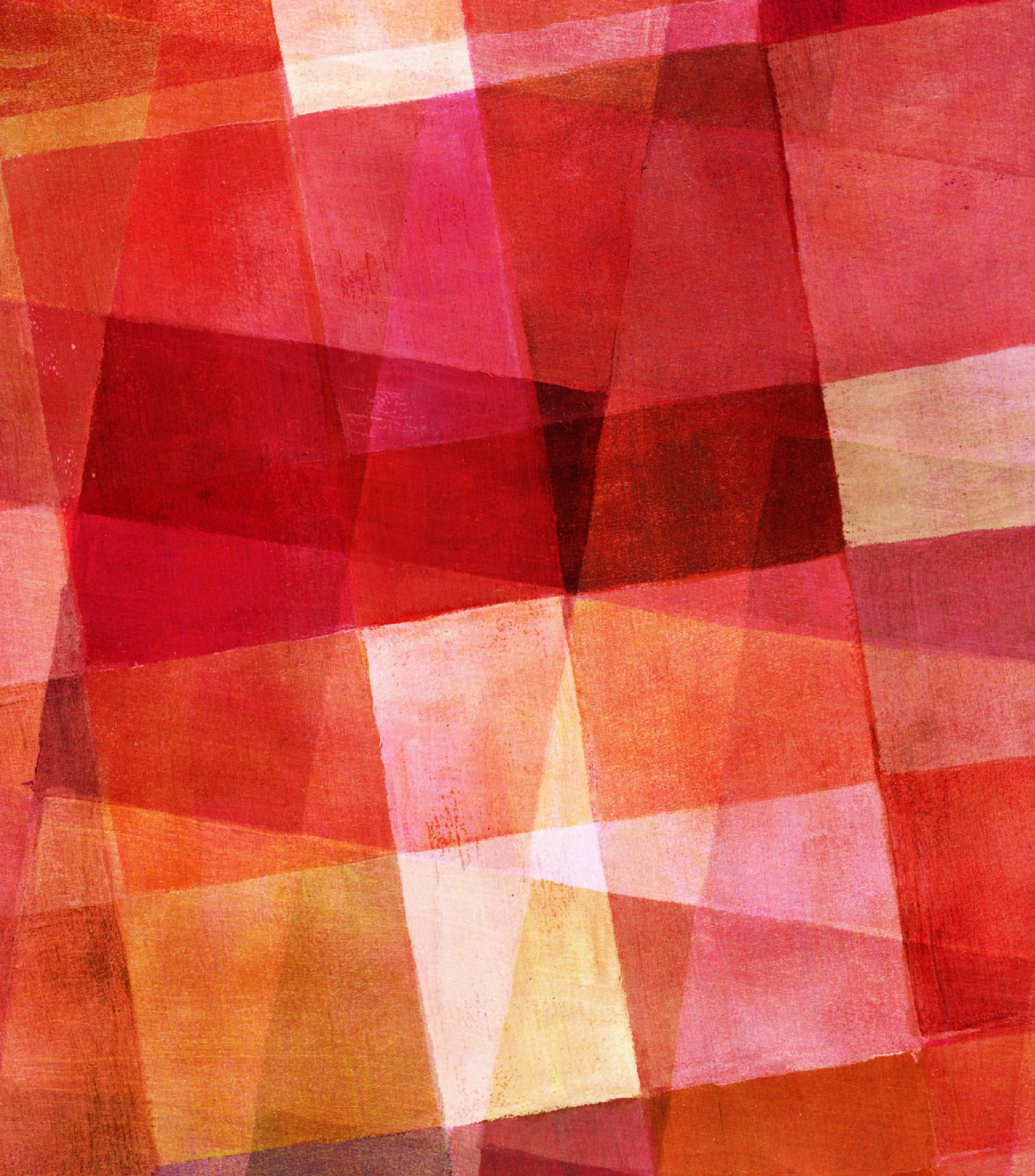
Organized by the Linguistic Convergence Laboratory
(HSE University, Moscow)

Supported by the HSE University Basic Research Program and
funded by the Russian Academic Excellence Project '5-100'

NOMINAL SPATIAL MORPHOLOGY IN EAST CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES



Dedicated to Aleksandr E. Kibrik, the Pioneer of Space



ROADMAP

- Introduction
- Between space and syntax
- ~~Inventories~~
- ~~Directionality decomposed~~

TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE OF EAST CAUCASIAN MORPHOSYNTAX

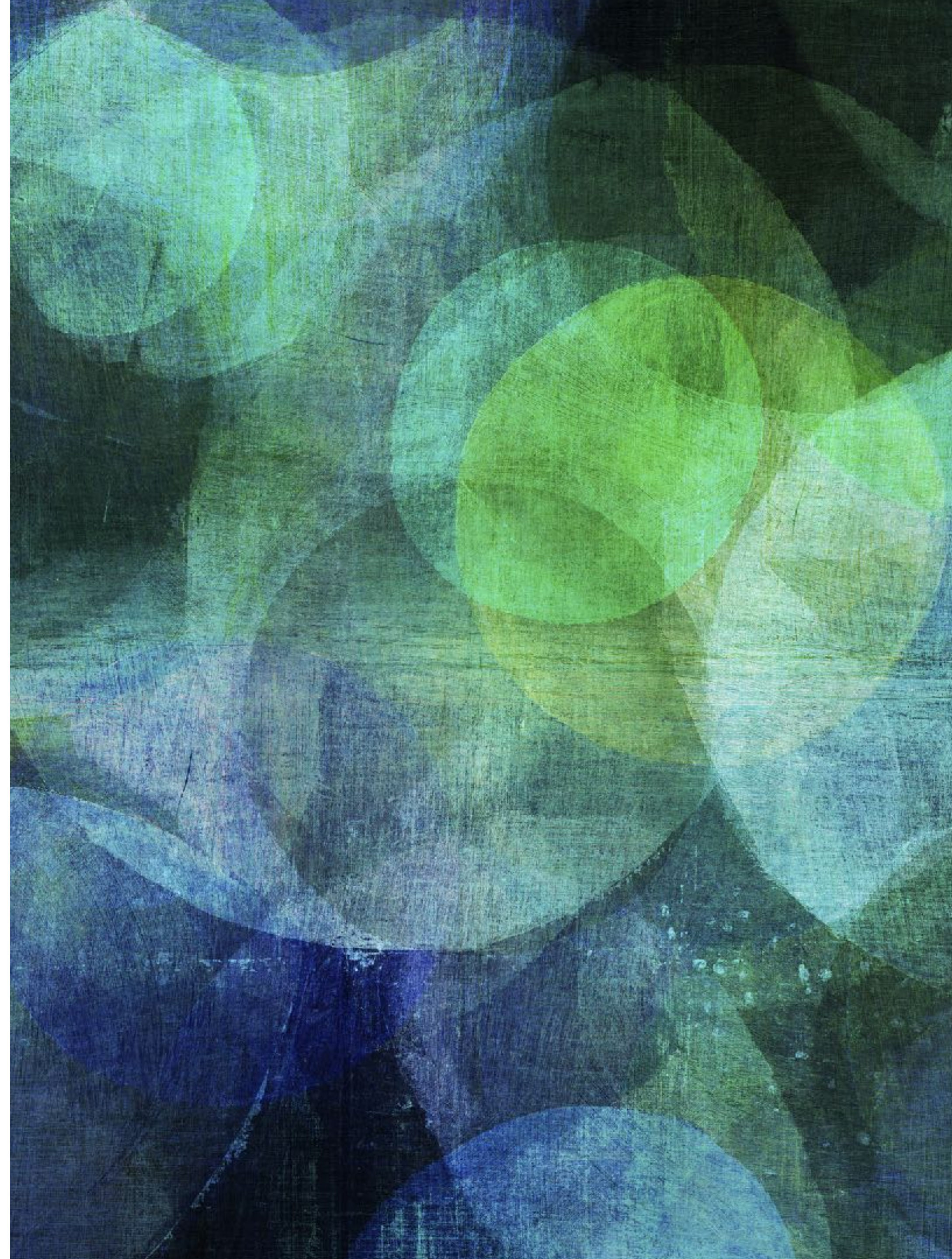
- Rich agglutinative morphology, predominantly dependent marking; ergative alignment (both case and agreement)
- Strikingly unusual patterns of gender agreement, especially in the clausal domain (but little and mostly innovative morphosynactic person)
- Rich verb inflection, both synthetic and periphrastic
- Valency increasing (causativizing)
- Rich nominal morphology: no possessive forms, only two numbers, but otherwise abundant nominal inflection



PART I

INTRODUCTION

Galore or hoax?



INTRODUCTION: NOMINAL INFLECTION GALORE

- Wiki on Tabasaran, Lezgic: “Tabasaran was listed in the Guinness Book of World Records as having the largest case system in the world, with 48.”
- Kibrik 1970/2003 Nominal inflection *galore*
- Comrie & Polinsky 1998 The great Daghestanian case *hoax*

INTRODUCTION: NOMINAL INFLECTION GALORE

► Archi, Lezgif (Kibrik 1977), inflection of *hel'əna* 'thing':

hel'əmmiqʼ, hel'əmmiqʼakəna, hel'əmmaši, hel'əmmis, hel'əmmiṭ:iš,
hel'əmmiṭu, hel'əmmirakəna, hel'əmmil'əna, hel'əmmiraši,
hel'əmmil'aš, hel'əmmil'aši, hel'əmmi, hel'əmmil', hel'əmma,
hel'əmmil'ak, hel'əmmiš:i, hel'əmmil'aχut, hel'əmmaš,
hel'əmmil'akəna, hel'əmmiraš, hel'əmmiraχut, hel'əmmiqʼaχut,
hel'əmmakəna, hel'əmmiṭ, hel'əmmiqʼiš, hel'əmmiqʼaš, hel'əna,
hel'əmmirak, hel'əmmiχur, hel'əmmaχut, hel'əmmiṭ:ik,
hel'əmmiṭ:ikəna, hel'əmmiṇ, hel'əmmiqʼdi, hel'əmmiṭ:iχut,
hel'əmmiqʼaši, hel'əmmiqʼak, hel'əmmiṭ:iši, hel'əmmak.

INTRODUCTION: TWO SUB-PRADIGMS

➤ (syntactic) cases

*heL'əmmi, heL'əmmiqʰiš, heL'əmmiš:i,
heL'əmmiχur, heL'əmmiŋ, heL'əna,
heL'əmmiL'əna, heL'əmmis,
heL'əmmiqʰdi, heL'əmmiɬu.*

(total of 10)

➤ spatial (locative) forms

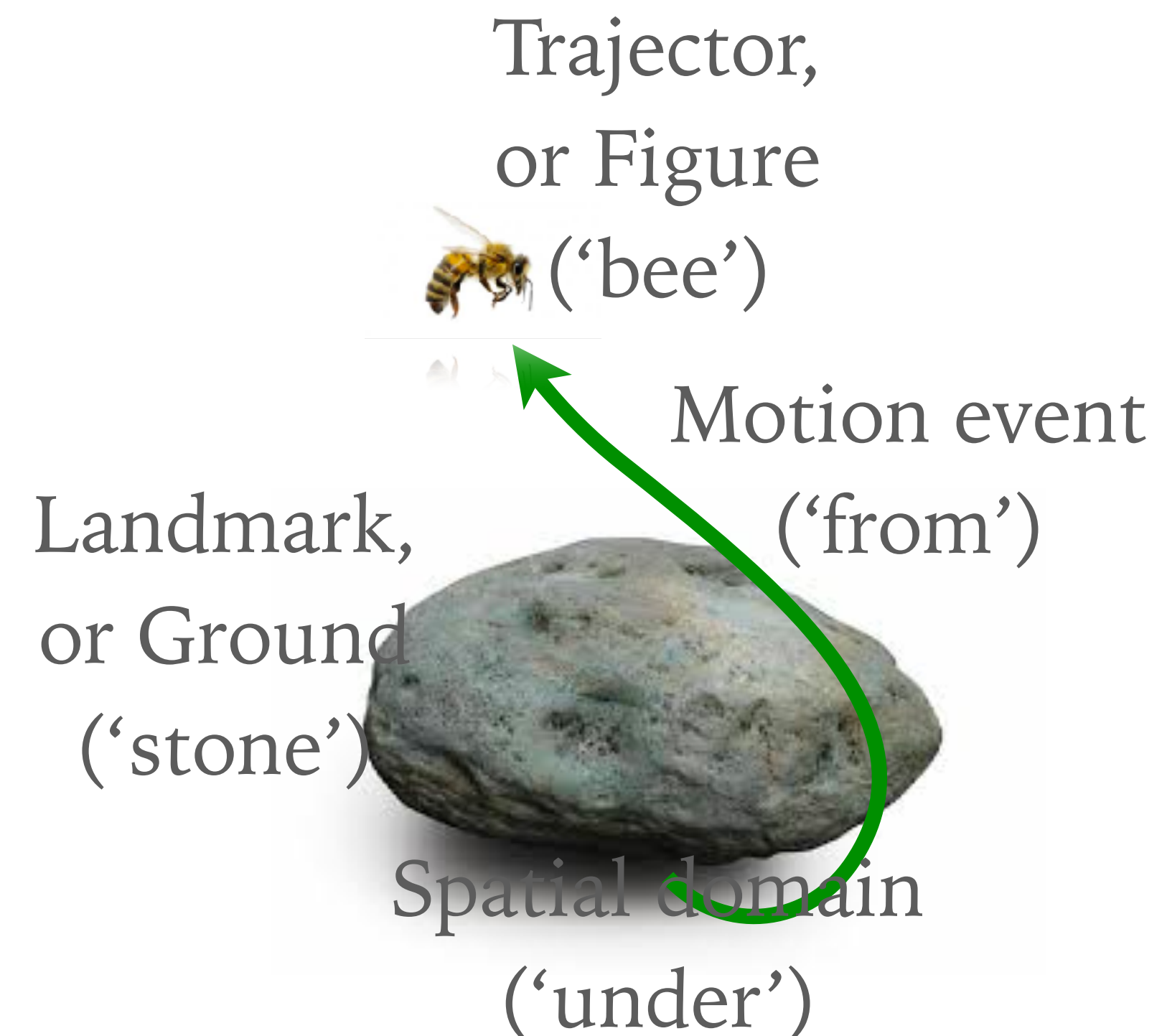
*heL'əmmiL'ak, heL'əmmiqʰ, heL'əmmirak,
heL'əmmiL', heL'əmmiL'aχut, heL'əmma,
heL'əmmaχut, heL'əmmiɬ:iši, heL'əmmiɬ:iχut,
heL'əmmiɬ, heL'əmmiqʰaχut, heL'əmmak,
heL'əmmiL'aši, heL'əmmiraχut, heL'əmmiɬ:ik,
heL'əmmiqʰakəna, heL'əmmiqʰaš,
heL'əmmiqʰak, heL'əmmaši, heL'əmmiL'aš,
heL'əmmirakəna, heL'əmmiL'akəna,
heL'əmmiɬ:ikəna, heL'əmmiɬ:iš, heL'əmmiraš,
heL'əmmaš, heL'əmmiraši, heL'əmmiqʰaši,
heL'əmmakəna.*

(total of 29)

INTRODUCTION: BIMORPHISM

- What allows us to separate spatial forms from syntactic cases apart from semantics?
And why does it resolve *galore* to just a *hoax*?
- *bimorphism of the spatial template* (bidimensionality in Creissels 2008)
- Archi (Lezgic) Kibrik et al. 1977:

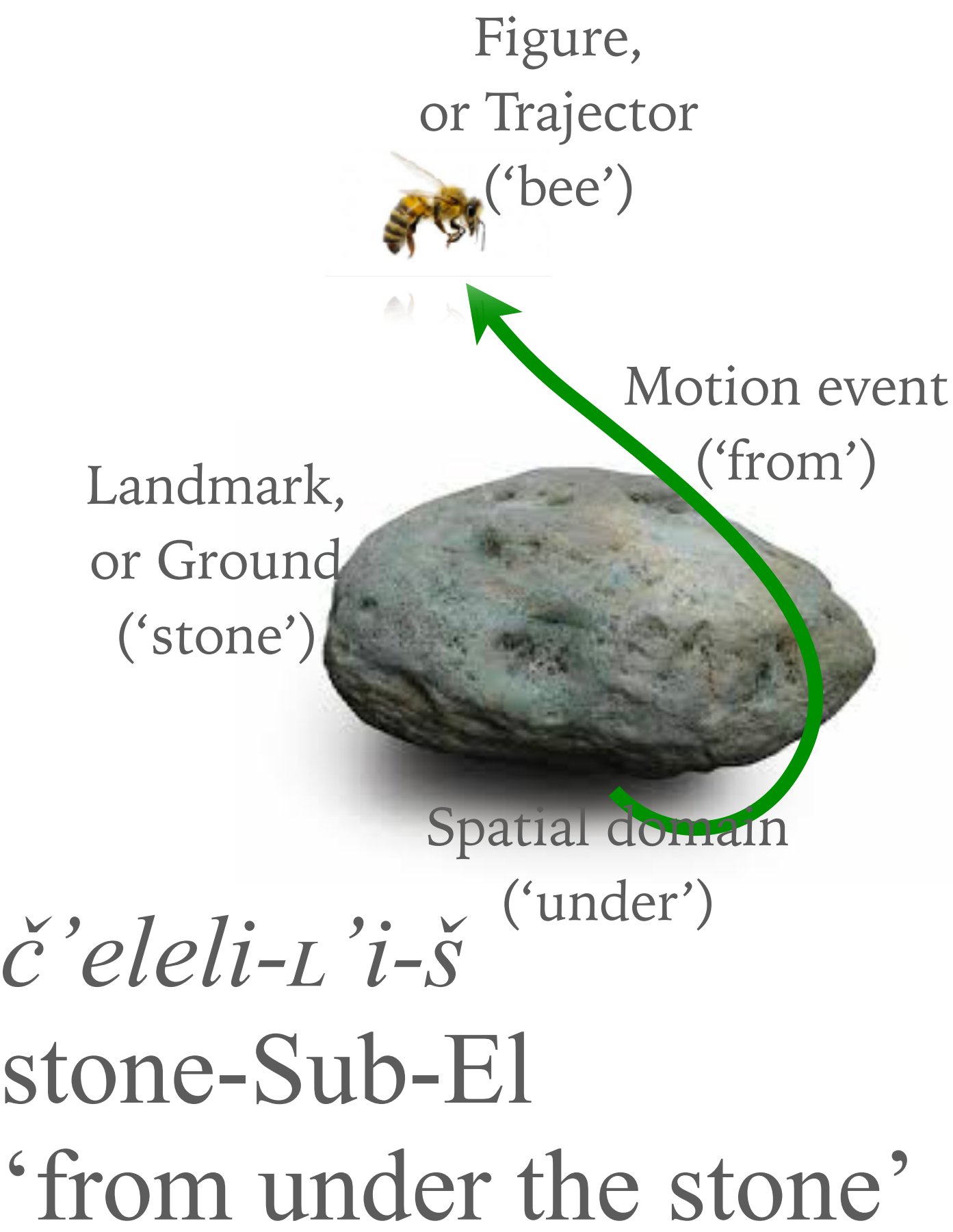
č'eleli-L 'i-š
stone-Sub-El
'from under the stone'



INTRODUCTION: BIMORPHISM

- What allows us to separate spatial forms from syntactic cases?
- *bimorphism of the spatial template*

STEM	IN	ESS
	INTER	LAT
	SUPER	EL
	CONT	ALL
	SUB	TRANS
		TERM
	<i>localization</i>	<i>directionality</i>
	<i>spatial domain defined relative to the landmark</i>	<i>motion of the figure relative to the spatial domain</i>



INTRODUCTION: BIMORPHISM

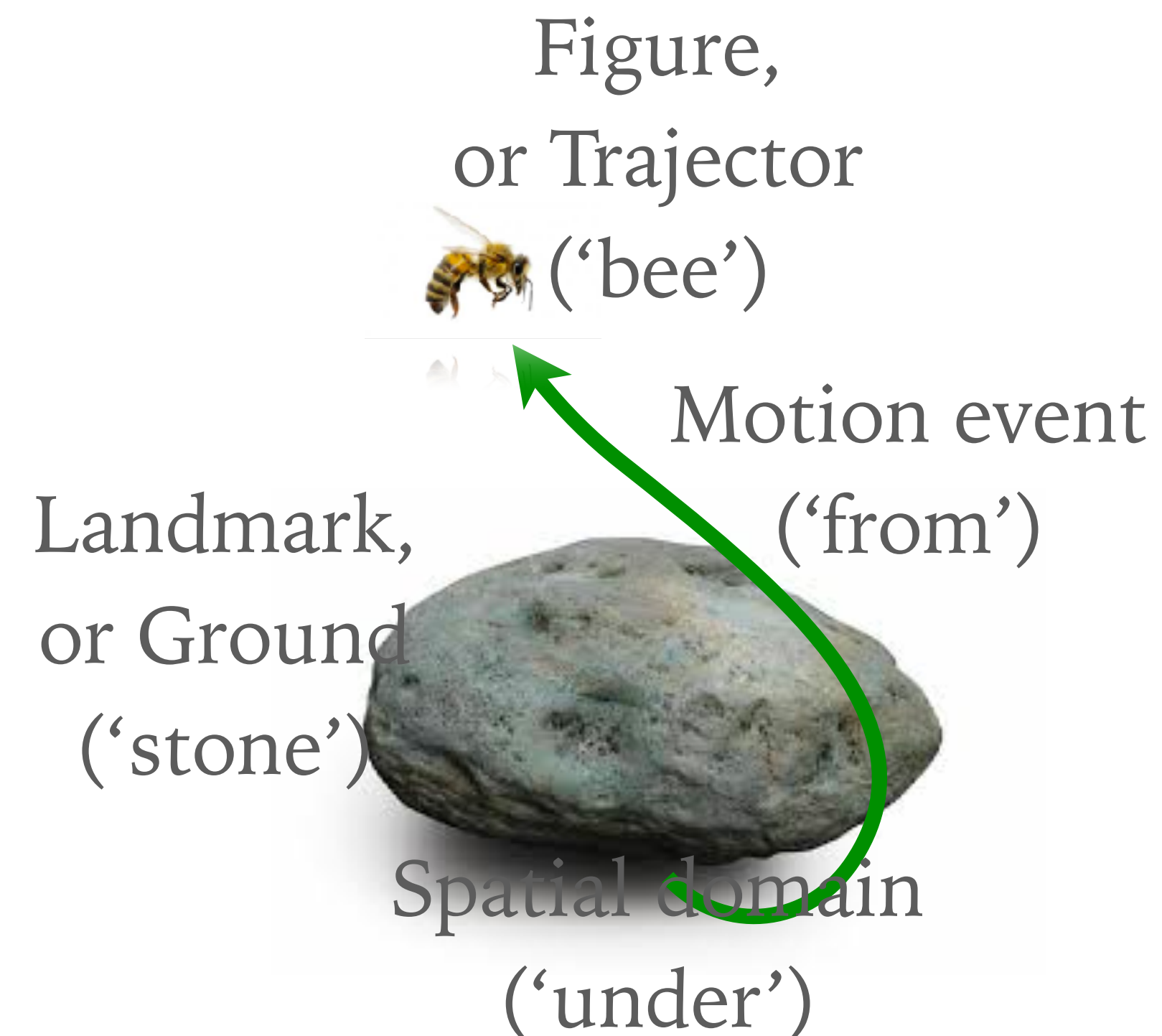
Archi: syntactic cases	
Nom	($\emptyset$)
Erg	- <i>li</i> (etc.)
Gen	- <i>n</i>
Dat	- <i>s</i>
Comit	- <i>t̚u</i>
Comp	- <i>χur</i>
Subst	- <i>L'əna</i>
Causal	- <i>š̚i</i>
Part	- <i>q̚iš</i>
Equat	- <i>q̚di</i>

Archi: spatial forms						
	Essive	Lative	Elative	Allative	Trans	Term
In	- <i>a</i>	- <i>a-š̚</i>	- <i>a-k</i>	- <i>a-ši</i>	- <i>a-χut</i>	- <i>kəna</i>
Super	- <i>t̚</i>	- <i>t̚i-š̚</i>	- <i>t̚i-k</i>	- <i>t̚i-ši</i>	- <i>t̚i-χut</i>	- <i>t̚i-kəna</i>
Cont	—	- <i>ra-š̚</i>	- <i>ra-k</i>	- <i>ra-ši</i>	- <i>ra-χut</i>	- <i>kəna</i>
Inter	- <i>q̚</i>	- <i>q̚a-š̚</i>	- <i>q̚a-k</i>	- <i>q̚a-ši</i>	- <i>q̚a-χut</i>	- <i>q̚a-kəna</i>
Sub	- <i>L'</i>	- <i>L'a-š̚</i>	- <i>L'a-k</i>	- <i>L'a-ši</i>	- <i>L'a-χut</i>	- <i>L'a-kəna</i>

INTRODUCTION: ARE THEY SO PECULIAR?

- What allows us to separate spatial forms from syntactic cases apart from semantics? And why does it resolve *galore* to just a *hoax*?
- Archi (Lezgetic) Kibrik et al. 1977: *bimorphism of the spatial template* (bidimensionality in Creissels 2008)

č'eleli-L 'i-š
stone-**Sub-El**
'from under the stone'



INTRODUCTION: ARE THEY SO PECULIAR?

landmark	localization	direction	order ₁
<i>č'eleli</i>	<i>-L'i</i>	<i>-š</i>	Archi
<i>u3-</i>	<i>noð</i>	<i>камня</i>	Russian
<i>from</i>	<i>under</i>	<i>the stone</i>	English
direction	localization	landmark	order ₂

Direction(Localization(landmark))

INTRODUCTION: ARE THEY SO PECULIAR?

What, then, makes East Caucasian different from the European examples?

- **morphological boundedness:** affixes rather than function words
- **regular meaning-form mapping:** no cumulation, same affixes are responsible for the same components of spatial meaning

INTRODUCTION: COMPARISON OF ARCHI AND ENGLISH

spatial forms of Archi				
	Essive	Lative	Elative	Allative
In	-a	-a-š	-a-k	-a-ši
Super	-tɿ	-tɿi-š	-tɿi-k	-tɿi-ši
Cont	—	-ra-š	-ra-k	-ra-ši
Inter	-qʰ	-qʰa-š	-qʰa-k	-qʰa-ši
Sub	-Lʹ	-Lʹa-š	-Lʹa-k	-Lʹa-ši

spatial forms of English			
	Essive	Lative	Elative
In	in	in(to)	out (of), from
Super/Cont	on	on(to)	off (of), from
Inter	between	between	(?from between)
Sub	under	under	(?from under)
Apud	at	to	from

INTRODUCTION: ARE THEY SO PECULIAR?

- Do all East Caucasian show the same regularity in meaning-form mapping? No. Cf. Rutul (Lezgetic):

		Essive (unmarked)	Elative
In	<i>-a</i>	($\emptyset$)	<i>-aː</i>
Super	($\emptyset$)	($\emptyset$)	<i>-la</i>
Apud	<i>-da</i>	($\emptyset$)	<i>-daː</i>
Sub	<i>-χda</i>	($\emptyset$)	<i>-χla / -qla</i>
Inter	<i>-k</i>	($\emptyset$)	<i>-kla</i>

INTRODUCTION: BLACK SHEEP

- Some languages do not show the morphological bimorphism in spatial forms:
all Nakh and Udi (Lezgetic)

Tsova-Tush	Ingush	Chechen	Nij Udi
(Holisky&Gagua)	(Nichols 2011)	(Yakovlev 1960)	(Ganenkov 2008)
Nom	Nom	Nom	Nom
Erg	Erg	Erg	Erg
Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen
Dat	Dat	Dat	Dat
(Instr)	Instr	Instr	Ben
Comit			Abl (Comit)
All	All	Lat (> Ess, All, El, Trans)	All
	Lat		Ad
Cont		Inter (“вещественный”)	Super
Adv	Comp	Comp	

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Nom	Nom	Nom	Nom
Erg	Erg	Erg	Erg
Gen	Gen	Gen	Gen
Dat	Dat	Dat	Dat
(Instr)	Instr	Instr	Ben
Comit			Abl (Comit)
All	All	Lat (> Ess, All, El, Trans)	All
	Lat		Ad
Cont		Inter (“вещественный”)	Super
Adv	Comp	Comp	

INTRODUCTION: CRAZY FOXES

- Languages of the Dargwa branch add more to the complexity: stem-suffix-suffix-another.suffix
- Tanti Dargwa (Sumbatova & Lander 2014): inflection of *dubur* ‘mountain’

1. ABS	<i>dubur</i>
2. ADV	<i>dubur-le</i>
3. ERG	<i>dubur-li</i>
4. GEN	<i>dubur-la</i>
-	-

• • •

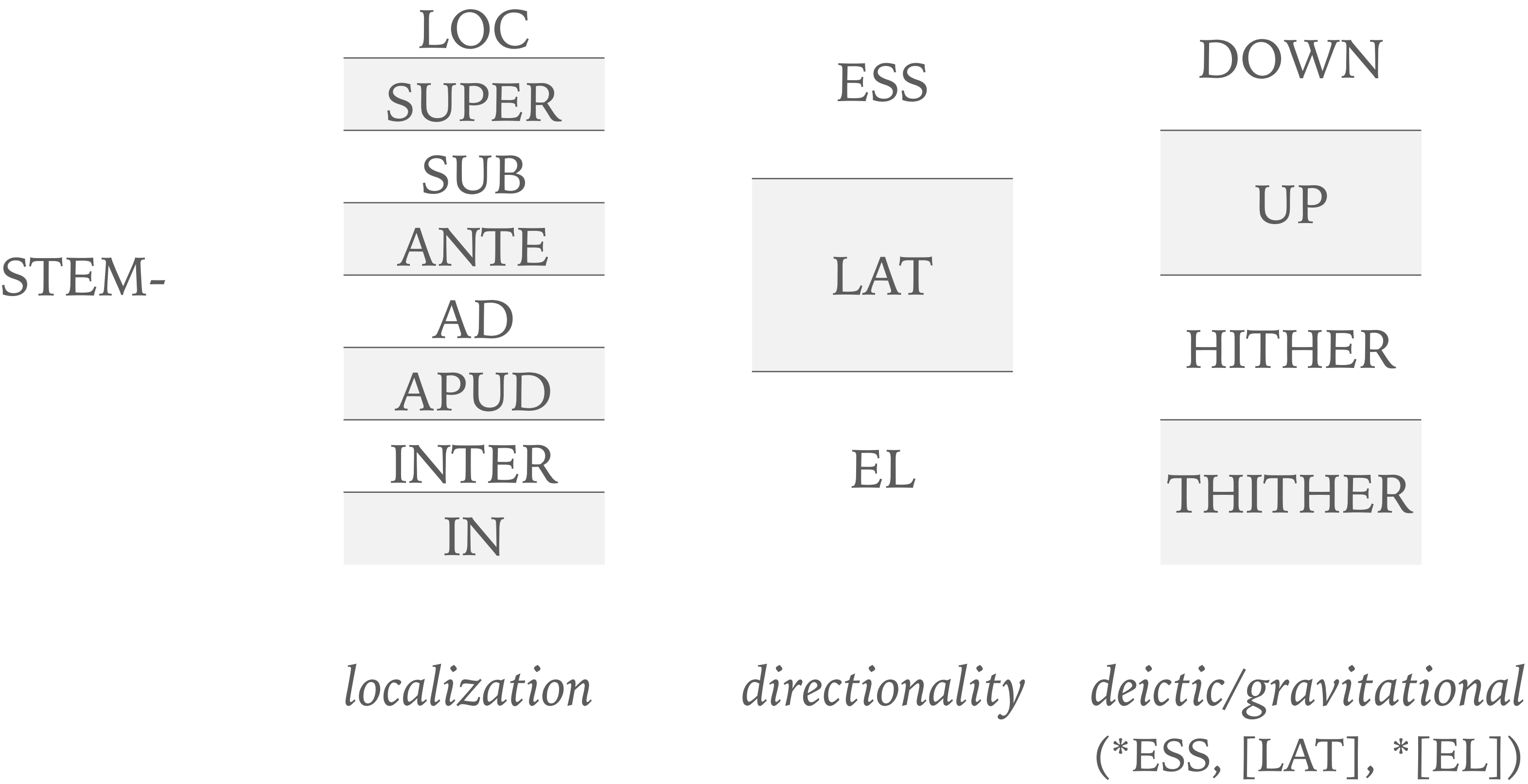
48. ANTE-EL-UP	<i>dubur-li-sa-r-ha(le)</i>
49. ANTE-EL-HITHER	<i>dubur-li-sa-r-se(le), dubur-li-sa-r-sa.le</i>
50. ANTE-EL-THITHER	<i>dubur-li-sa-r-de(le), dubur-li-sa-r-da.le</i>
51. ANTE-EL-TRANS	<i>dubur-li-sa-ti</i>

• • •

89. IN-EL-DOWN	<i>dubur-le-ħe-r-ka(le)</i>
90. IN-EL-UP	<i>dubur-le-ħe-r-ha(le)</i>
91. IN-EL-HITHER	<i>dubur-le-ħe-r-se(le), dubur-le-ħe-r-sa.le</i>
92. IN-EL-THITHER	<i>dubur-le-ħe-r-de(le), dubur-le-ħe-r-da.le</i>

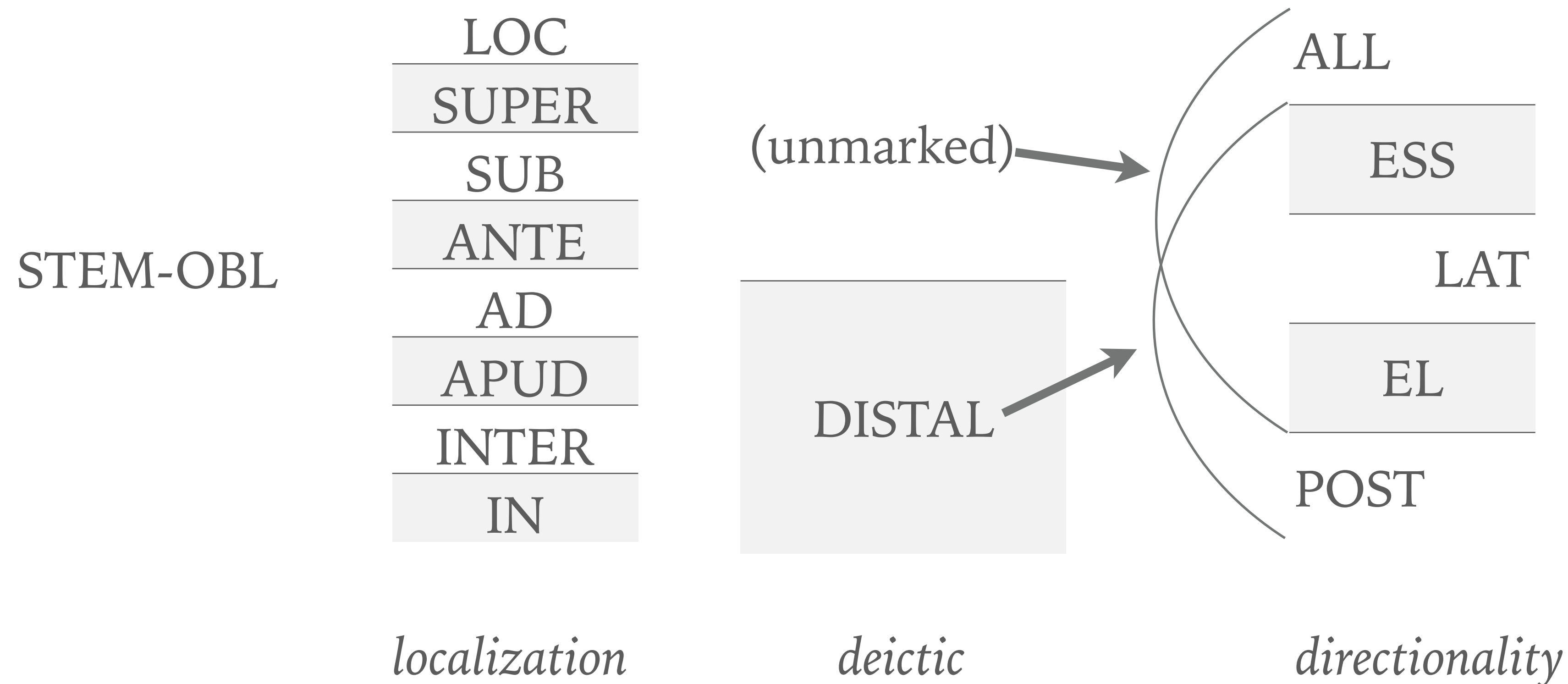
INTRODUCTION: CRAZY FOXES

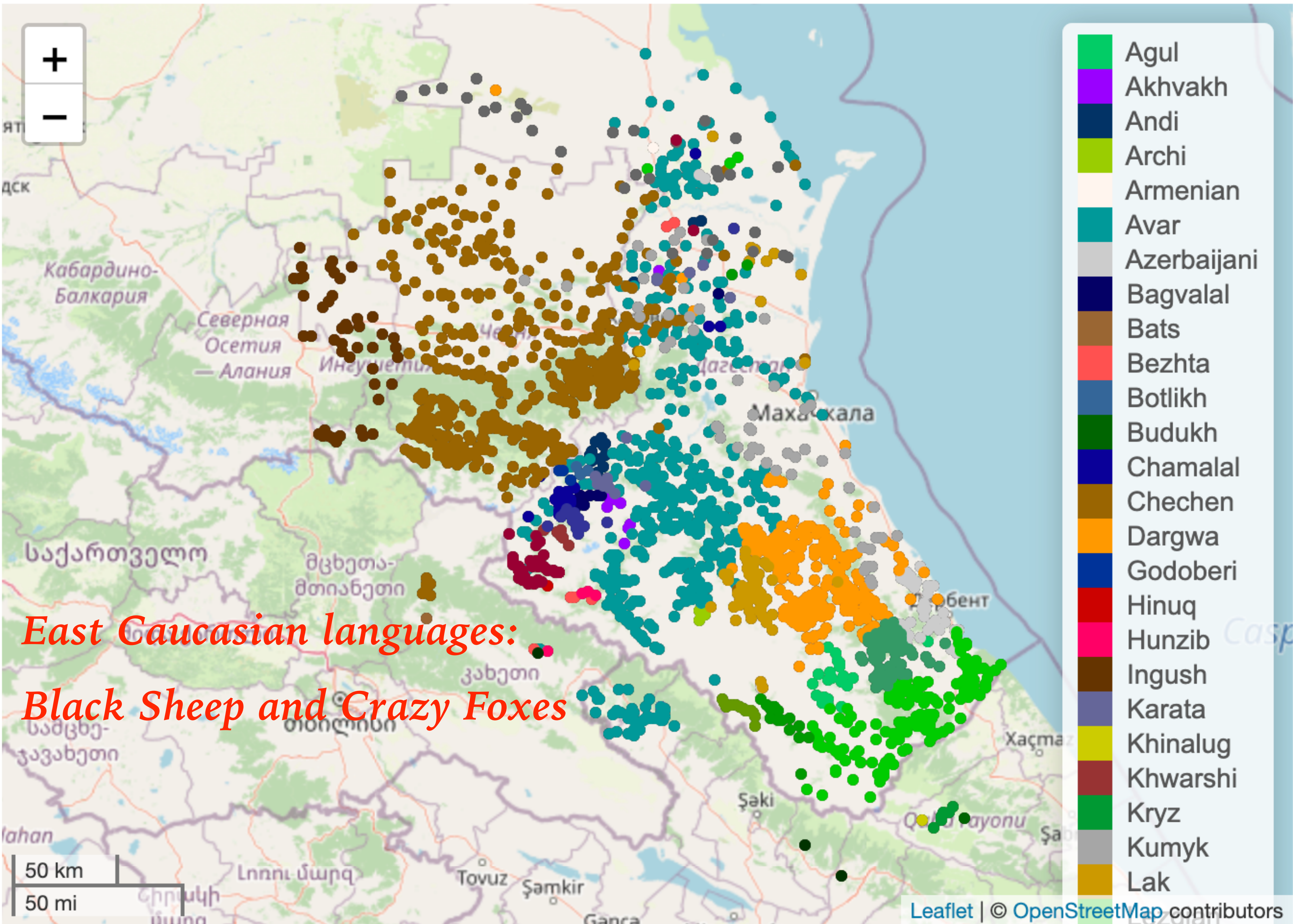
- Languages of the Dargwa branch add more to the complexity:
Dargwa trimorphism



INTRODUCTION: CRAZY FOXES

- Some Tsezic languages also do a perfect job:
Tsezic trimorphism; e.g. Comrie 2007 on Dido (Tsez):





INTRODUCTION: TAKEAWAY

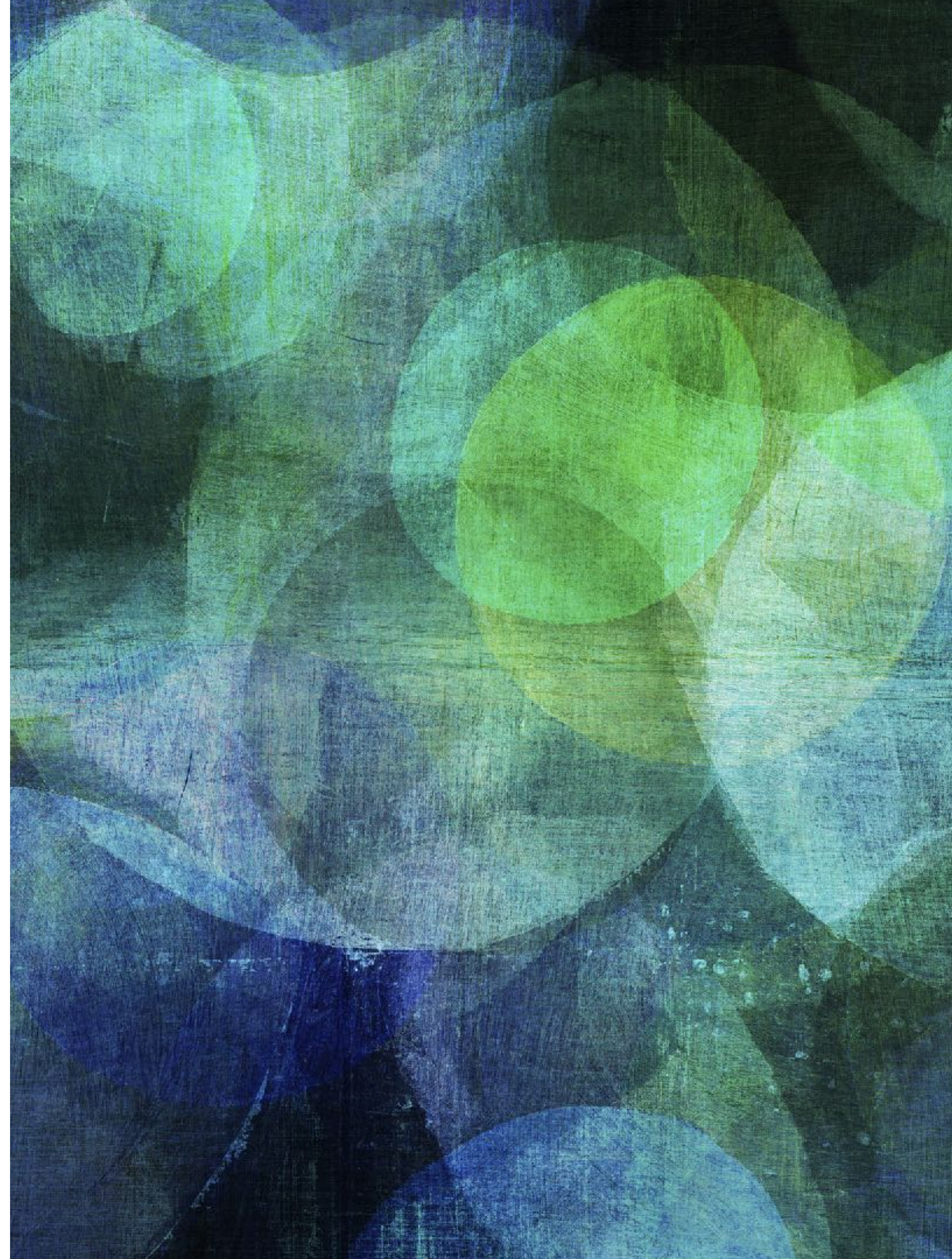
- East Caucasian nominal ‘case’ forms are split into two **subparadigms**: (syntactic) cases and spatial forms
- **Morphological cointegration**: these are not two fully independent inflectional paradigms, because all forms (except the nominative) are (most often) derived from an oblique stem
- The ‘galore’ is due to **bimorphism of the spatial forms**: carving out of **spatial domains** is elaborate and combines with the category of **directionality** in a regular way, resulting in an **agglutinative spatial template**
- Few languages go even further and sophisticate the spatial template by including a slot for **deictic** (and **gravitational**) meaning

PART II

FORM AND

MEANING

between space and syntax



FORM AND MEANING: BETWEEN SPACE AND SYNTAX

➤ Some languages have markers with spatial semantics or uses that do not form a series:

Language	Category
some Andic	Affective (residual Goal uses)
Archi	Comparative (residual Apud uses)
Lak	Ablative
Lezgian, Aghul, Tabasaran, Udi (Lezgic)	Dative (Goal) (to different extents)
Various branches	Dative with contact verbs (‘hit’, ‘throw at’ etc.)

FORM AND MEANING: BETWEEN SPACE AND SYNTAX

➤ A few markers are used both as case suffixes and as directionality markers:

Language	Marker	Syntactic function	Spatial function
Avar (?)	<i>-e</i>	dative	lative (Goal)
Lak	<i>-n</i>	dative	lative (Goal)
Khwarshi (Tsezic)	<i>-l</i>	dative	lative (Goal)
Mehweb (Dargwa)	<i>-la</i>	genitive	elative (Source)

FORM AND MEANING: BETWEEN SPACE AND SYNTAX

➤ Some case forms look suspiciously similar to spatial forms, or as combinations of affixes used in the spatial domain; cf. Archi:

Archi: syntactic cases	
Nom	(∅)
Erg	-li (etc.)
Gen	-n
Dat	-s
Comit	-tɿu
Comp	-χur
Subst	-L'(-)əna
Causal	-šɿi
Part	-qʰi(-)š
Equat	-qʰ(-)di

Archi: spatial form						
	Essive	Lative	Elative	Allative	Trans	Term
In	-a	-a-š	-a-k	-a-ši	-a-χut	-k(-)əna
Super	-tɿ	-tɿi-š	-tɿi-k	-tɿi-ši	-tɿi-χut	-tɿi-k(-)əna
Cont	—	-ra-š	-ra-k	-ra-ši	-ra-χut	ra-k(-)əna
Inter	-qʰ	-qʰa-š	-qʰa-k	-qʰa-ši	-qʰa-χut	-qʰa-k(-)əna
Sub	-L'	-L'a-š	-L'a-k	-L'a-ši	-L'a-χut	-L'a-k(-)əna

FORM AND MEANING: EXTENSIONS OF SPACE

Extended uses of spatial forms

- Adverbial

- temporal meanings, Cause (El)

- Oblique arguments:

- Instrument, Standard of Comparison (often Super-El)

- True arguments:

- Experiencer (Lat), Unintentional As and modal subjects (as in 'X is capable to P') (El)

- Addressee of Speech (Lat), certain types of Recipients (Lat) and Possessors (Ess)

- Should such forms be viewed as morphologically complex?

- How synactic they are?

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- Should such forms be viewed as morphologically complex?

- How synactic they are?

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

Sometimes, these forms are presented as forming a spatial series:

Language	Temporary possessor	Temporary recipients	Retrospective possessors
Aghul (Lezgic)	Apud(Ess)	Apud-Lat	Apud-El
Hinuq (Tsezic)	Cont(Ess)	Cont[-Lat]	Cont-El
Mehweb (Dargwa)	Inter-Ess	Inter-(Lat)	Inter-El
Khinalug	Poss		Poss-El

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

Most East Caucasian languages feature spatial forms in ‘temporary possessive’ predication:

Tukita (Andic):

du-b *ʃarci* *di-č’i* *egu*

you.sg-N(Gen) money I-Cont cop

I have your/no money on me.

Je n’ai pas d’argent sur moi.

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

‘temporary possessive’ predication?

Tsirkhe Aghul (Lezgic):

qʰu-d at.a-f tufang ha-ti.ri-w iri.

two-A let.Ipf-A gun ha-Dem-Apud Cop:Pst

‘He had a gun that could fire two bullets.’

Probably, not a possessive but a spatial perspective on the possessive relation.

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

possessor grammaticalization scheme

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

In fact, these forms may seem to be morphologically segmentable; Aghul (Lezgic):

ha-me ruš mexeleasbuw.a-f-as faT.u-na faš.u-na-a.

ha-DemM девушка *** мать-Arud-El Arud-El:пускать.Pf-Conv уносить.Pf-Res-Prs

эту девушку, ***, у матери отобрав, увезли.

q' | u-d at.a-f tufang ha-ti.ri-w iri.

два-A пускать.Ipf-A ружье ha-DemT-Arud Cop:Pst

У него было ружье, которое стреляло двумя (пулями).

ha-gu-ga-l <Wan-ar awac'.an-di x.i-naw, zun wa-w-di, wun wa-w-di, wun
wa-w-di w.a | -j ha tap ha-li Dufa ты-Arud-Lat??

ha-DemG-Loc-Super камень-Pl ??? .Ipf-Conv стать.Pf-Pft я ты-Arud-Lat?? ты
ты ты-Arud-Lat?? стать?? .Ipf-Conv Ptcl ?? ha-DemL Джуфа k'il.i-l-di. голова-Super-Lat

Туда камни друг другу передавали: я тебе, ты мне, ты тебе(?), ???и строили цепочку начиная с той речки до горы Джуфу-даг.

FORM AND MEANING: POSSESSORS

Sometimes, these forms are presented as forming a spatial series:

Language	Temporary possessor	Temporary recipients	Retrospective possessors
Aghul (Lezgic)	Apud(Ess)	Apud-Lat	Apud-El
Hinuq (Tsezic)	Cont(Ess)	Cont[-Lat]	Cont-El
Mehweb (Dargwa)	Inter-Ess	Inter-(Lat)	Inter-El
Khinalug	Poss		Poss-El

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS

All East Caucasian languages except Udi distinguish between the so called permanent (true) and temporary recipients:

- **dative strategy:** change of ownership involved
- **lative strategy:** change of ownership not involved

(drawings courtesy Violetta Ivanova)

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



- no change of ownership →
- relative strategy

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS

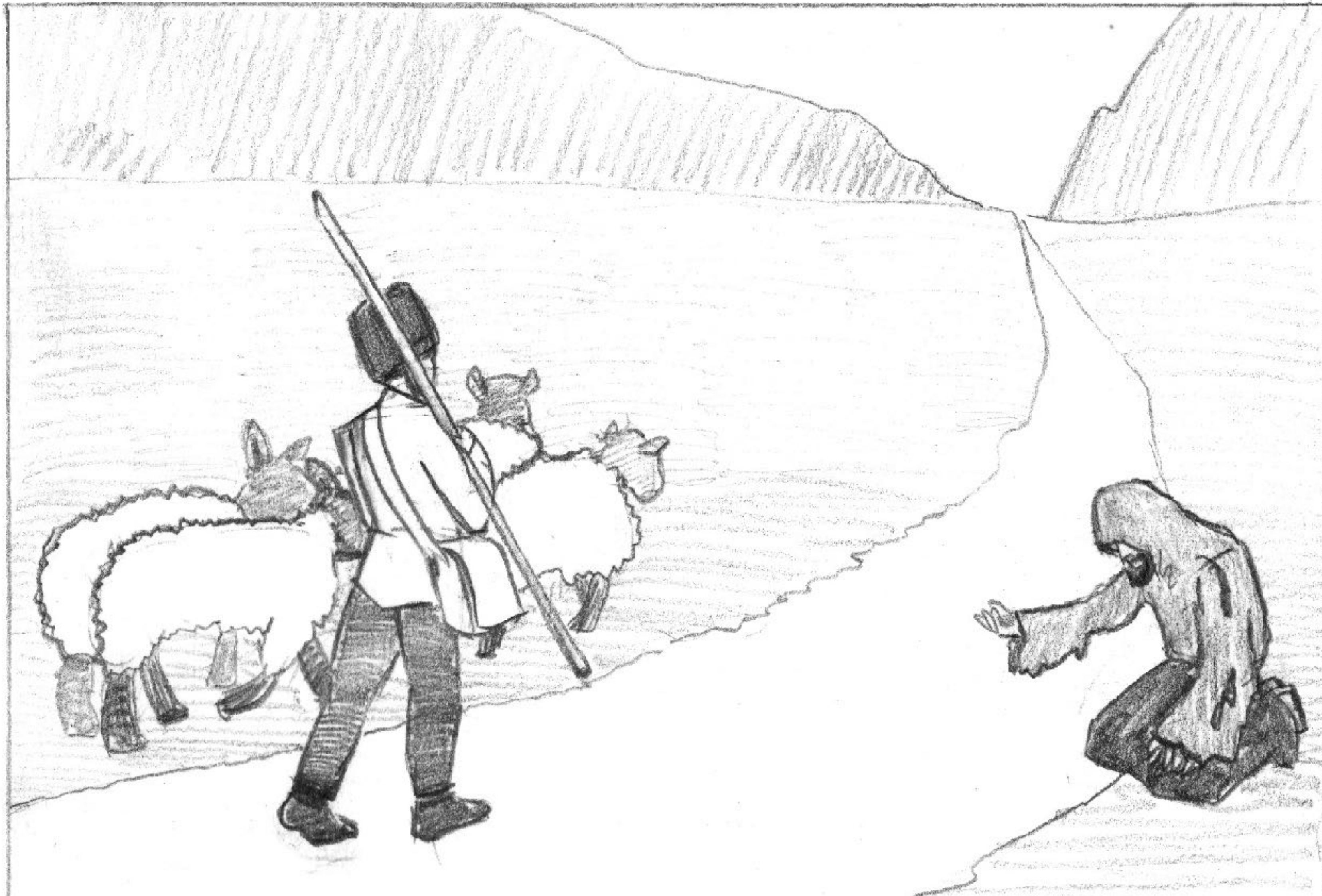


FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



- no change of ownership →
- lative strategy

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



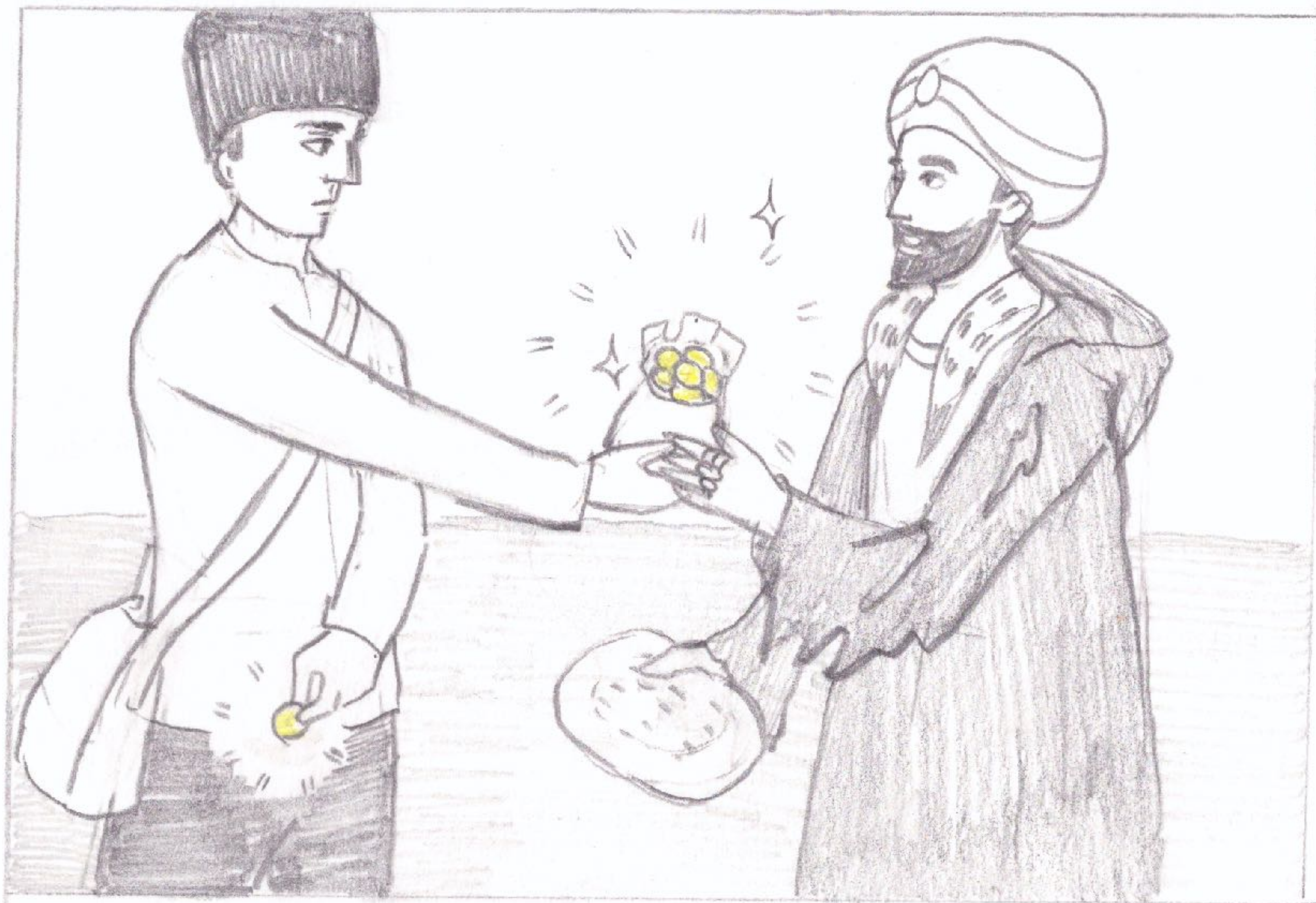
- change of ownership →
- dative strategy

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



- change of ownership
→
- dative strategy

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



- no change of ownership →
- lative strategy

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS



- change of ownership → ...
- lative strategy!

FORM AND MEANING: RECIPIENTS

All East Caucasian languages except Udi distinguish between the so called temporary and permanent recipients:

- **dative strategy:** change of ownership involved
- **lative strategy:** ~~change of ownership not involved~~ spatial perspective on the giving event (and the only one available when no change of ownership is involved)

(all drawings courtesy Violetta Ivanova)

FORM AND MEANING: ADDRESSEE OF SPEECH

Most East Caucasian languages express Addressee of Speech by one of the lative forms:

Language	Strategy
Udi, Lezgian, Aghul, Tabassaran	dative
Avar Botlikh, Lak	Super-essive Apud-essive
Tsakhur, Budukh, Kryz	unclassified
all the rest	lative (or locative in bipartite lgs)

FORM AND MEANING: ADDRESSEE OF SPEECH

Most East Caucasian languages express Addressee of Speech by one of the lative forms:

- syntactic use of a spatial form or spatial conceptualization of speech events? Addressee as Goal (or Direction) of speech?
- are we prepared to talk about syntactic use of *onto* in contexts like *And Jesus said **unto them**, I am the bread of life.*
- dative is used in those languages which have a relatively extensive use of the dative for Goal

FORM AND MEANING: BETWEEN SPACE AND SYNTAX (FAST BACKWARD)

➤ Some languages have markers with spatial semantics or uses that do not form a series:

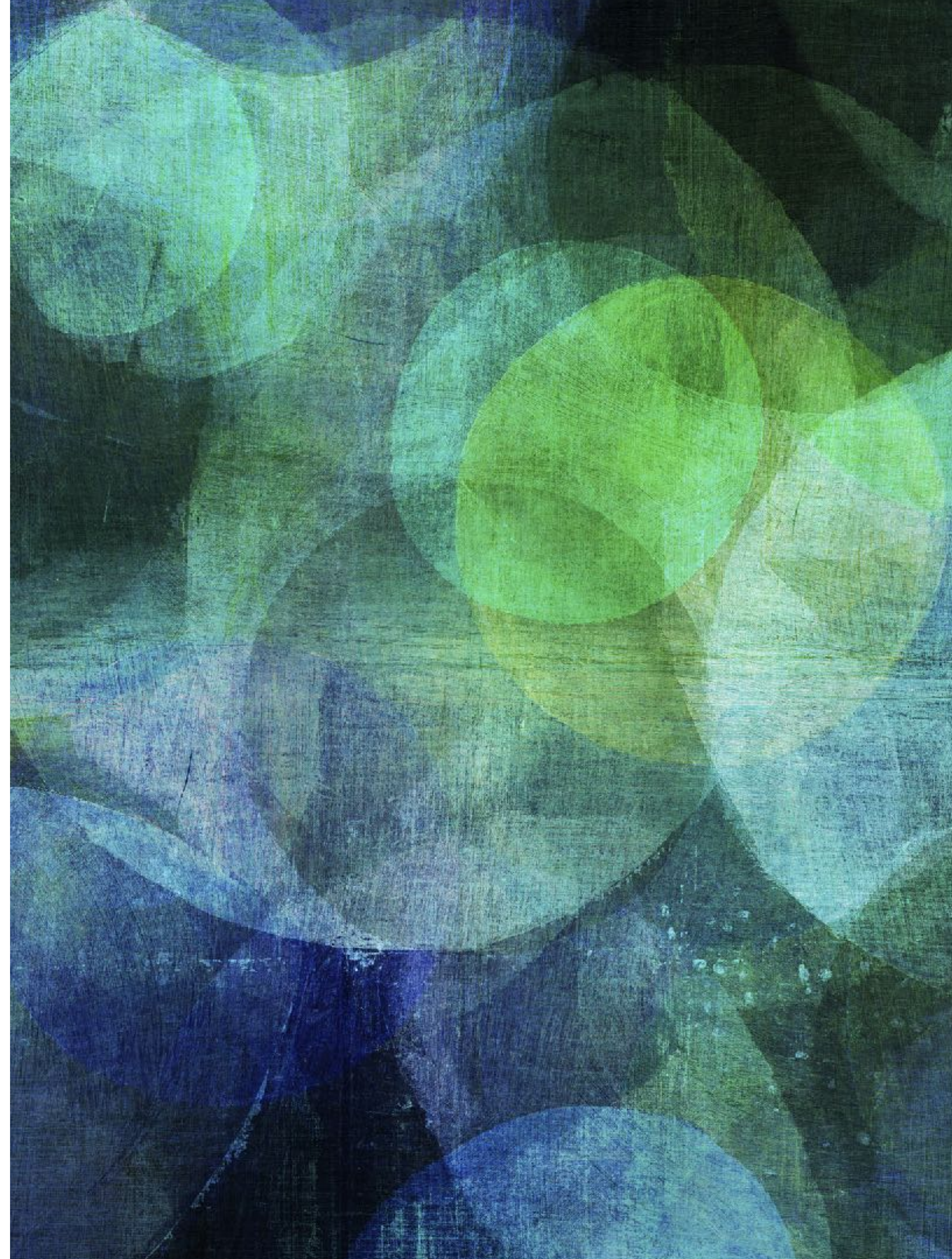
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Lezgian, Aghul, Tabasaran, Udi (Lezgic)	Dative (Goal) (to different extents)
Various branches	Dative with contact verbs (‘hit’, ‘throw at’ etc.)

FORM AND MEANING: TAKEAWAY

Notwithstanding the peculiar formal design, in East Caucasian as in other languages there is no clear-cut separation between the spatial and syntactic sub-paradigms:

- Some material is shared, probably as a result of various fossilizations of non-spatial uses
- Many bimorphemic forms convey non-spatial meanings; yet, some of the non-spatial meanings are more spatial than they may seem
- While the evolution from space to syntax is a common knowledge, some patterns of East Caucasian - like dative and lative recipients - shed light on paths of this evolution

TO BE CONTINUED



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