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# Formes spatiales des noms en karata: emplois spatiaux et non-spatiaux

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## Résumé

L'objet de cette étude est l'analyse et la description des emplois des formes spatiales des noms en Karata. Après une rapide mise au point terminologique, je commencerai l'analyse des marqueurs de configuration par l'exposé marqueur par marqueur de leurs emplois purement spatiaux. Puis je poursuivrai cette analyse dans une autre partie consacrée à leurs emplois non-spatiaux, regroupant aussi bien les emplois métaphoriques que ceux régis par des verbes spécifiques. Enfin mon exposé se terminera par une discussion sur des phénomènes en marge du système des marqueurs de configuration combinés aux cas spatiaux tels que le développement d'un système postpositionnel ou des cas de lexicalisation des marqueurs de configuration.

Mots-clefs: karata, cas spatial, marqueur de configuration, marqueur par défaut

## Résumé grand public

L'étude qui suit présente les emplois des marqueurs de configuration utilisés dans la langue karata, parlée par le peuple du même nom vivant dans les montagnes du Caucase. Ces marqueurs servent à exprimer la position d'un objet par rapport à un autre (la configuration) et leur sens est donc du même ordre que les distinctions faites par les prépositions *sur*, *sous*, *dans*, .... du français. Comme en français, les marqueurs de configuration du karata ont des emplois purement spatiaux mais ils sont aussi utilisés avec des significations non-spatiales (temporelles et autres). Ce sont ces significations que j'analyse dans ce mémoire. Les langues caucasiennes ayant un système spatial assez développé, il est intéressant de découvrir des distinctions de sens non retenues dans des langues européennes et leur évolution.

**Abstract**

Karata (*k'irīi mač'i*, Russian *каратинский язык*) belongs to the Andic sub-branch of the Avaro-Andic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. In this language, the spatial system of nouns varies according to two parameters: configuration and direction. There are eight configuration markers in Karata which, for the sake of convenience and neutrality, I have numbered from one to eight: CFG<sub>1</sub> (-č'o), CFG<sub>2</sub> (-l'a), CFG<sub>3</sub> (-a), CFG<sub>4</sub> (-χa), CFG<sub>5</sub> (-q̄), CFG<sub>6</sub> (-i), CFG<sub>7</sub> (-l̄i), CFG<sub>8</sub> (-l̄'i). Direction is encoded by three spatial cases: locative, allative and ablative.

After describing which spatial significations each of these markers encodes, I take a look at their non-spatial significations, spanning from metaphorical meanings to purely governed uses. In the end, I discuss a few interesting phenomena on the margin of the spatial-case marking system.

This presentation finds its place in the background of Caucasian typological studies. It draws upon the findings of caucasologists such as Testelet, Creissels, Kibrik and particularly Ganenkov who carried out an extensive cross-linguistic study of contact configurations. It attempts, whenever possible, to bring out similarities between Karata and other related languages (e.g. the development of a postpositional system) and to stress the idiosyncrasies of the Karata language (e.g. external possession).

Keywords: Karata, spatial case, configuration marker, default marker

**FOREWORD**

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Karata

Karata (*k̄'ir̄i mač'i*, Russian *каратинский язык*) belongs to the Andic sub-branch of the Avaro-Andic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. It is an agglutinative language with flexional and analytic characteristics. The conventional name *Karata* is Avar. Two dialects are recognised namely the Karata dialect and the Tukita dialect. Although phonetic and morphological discrepancies are significant, they do not hinder communication.

Karata is spoken in ten villages, eight of which are located in the Akhvakhski administrative district (Ахвахский район) : Karata, Rachabalda, Arsho, Anchikh, Mashtada, Chabakoro, Ratsitl and Tukita while Nizhnjeje Inkhelo is part of the Botlikhski district (ботлихский район) and the village of Sjukh is part of the Khasavjurtovski district (Хасавюртовский район) in the lowlands north of Daghestan. The territory inhabited by the Karata is part of a larger homogeneous cultural area (sometimes referred to as *Avaria*<sup>1</sup>) which is mostly Avar and traditionally associated to the use of Avar as the regional *lingua franca*.

The Karata are Sunni Muslims. They are indigenous to the region. The first and last census of their population as a distinct people dates back to 1926. The number of Karata was then 5,305 (The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire). Since then, Karata are considered to be part of the Avar people and there has been no precise census, only estimations. Magomedova and Khalidova in their 2001 dictionary give the approximate number of 20,000 speakers<sup>2</sup>.

### 1.2 Methodology

North-East Caucasian languages are renowned for their developed spatial case systems. While the general morphology is a well-studied phenomenon, the

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<sup>1</sup> See appendix 2, n°9 of map 1. This term, used by a small group of Daghestanian people, carries pro-independence connotations.

<sup>2</sup> Note that this estimate is most probably very optimistic. In the 2002 census, in which people were free to choose their nationality (as opposed to the Russian citizenship), little more than 6,000 Karata have been counted, yet these figures are even less reliable since many people carried on claiming they were Avar out of habit.

distinctions they encode are still to be unveiled for some languages. Magomedbekova has already brushed upon the topic of spatial marking in Karata in her grammatical sketch (1971) yet the values that she attaches to the markers are overly simplistic and misleading. In this synchronic and descriptive study I have striven to group semantic distinctions together when possible, yet I did not think it would be feasible or beneficial for the time being to try to relate each of the semantic distinctions to one single initial value. Kibrik and Testelet's have examined this matter in great detail across a wide array of languages and more recently Ganenkov (2005) has carried out an extensive comparative study on contact configurations across Nakh-Daghestanian languages. These works have been of great value for my analysis particularly Ganenkov's who, through comparison, was able to bring out semantic distinctions which might have gone unnoticed otherwise.

On the basis of a list gathering all the examples that were given as illustrations in the dictionary, I started sorting examples out according to their semantics. The very first distinction to establish was to separate spatial uses from non-spatial ones (on the basis of the Russian translation). To this aim, I created two different documents. For each situation whether it was for the spatial uses or non-spatial ones, I sorted the examples into eight different categories corresponding to the eight configuration markers. These categories were further divided into three sub-sections, each of them corresponding to a spatial case (locative, allative, ablative).

Once all the examples had been sorted out and put down into their respective subsections, I started with the list of spatially used configuration markers: I read through the whole list, first tagging the most evident examples with the semantics that was most salient. Bearing in mind all the possible semantic distinctions made by other languages and mentioned in the literature, I carried on poring over the list of examples until I had characterised them all. The procedure was the same for the configuration markers used non-spatially.

Concerning the analysis, and particularly the part on spatial uses, it was sometimes 'touch-and-go' whether an example was prototypically spatial. For instance the marker numbered 1 encodes a whole continuum stretching from blatant spatiality to possession. Given that Russian can have the same ambiguity, classifying an example as spatial or abstract was sometimes arbitrary.

When analysing examples which all use the same marker to encode sometimes very close semantics, I have tried to be as precise as possible if necessary. On the

other hand when semantic distinctions needed not be made, that is they could all without exceptions be grouped under a more general level, I voluntarily settled for a «higher» descriptive level.

I did my analysis on the basis of the Russian translation since none of the examples were glossed. I then glossed them and was able to make out the meaning more precisely, nonetheless since one of the authors of the dictionary is bilingual (Karata-Russian) it was preferable to leave the Russian translation with the Karata examples.

In a very limited number of examples, I took the liberty not to decide on the value of a morpheme that played no role in the choice of a spatial form. Moreover, diligent readers may notice variations in transcriptions and in so-called 'oblique forms', unfortunately I cannot say for sure whether they are due to lack of precision or to phonetic variation.

### 1.3 Sources

This paper is based on the Karata-Russian dictionary by Magomedova and Khalidova (2001) and on the grammar sketch by Magomedbekova (1971)<sup>3</sup>.

The dictionary contains 8,000 words. The entries contain a wealth of examples (word groups, phrases, idioms, proverbs and saying) given with their Russian translation. The grammatical sketch (1971) is written in Russian and is about 150 pages' long. I have also used the examples provided in the part concerned with spatial forms of nouns.

## 2 The spatial marking system of nouns

### 2.1 Configuration markers, spatial cases and grammatical cases

Karata has a bidimensional spatial case system, i.e. the spatial form of a noun varies according to two parameters: *configuration* and *direction*.

Comrie (1999: p. 109) defines *direction* as the contrast between location at a place, motion towards a place, and motion from a place, and designates as *orientation* 'the part of the reference object or its surrounding space that is used in order to define

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<sup>3</sup> See appendix 1.

the location or the goal or source of the motion'. I first used *configuration* and *orientation* (as defined by Comrie) as synonyms. However, Grinevald pointed out to me that *orientation* can be found with other meanings in the literature on the expression of spatial relationships. This added to the fact that *configuration* is more transparent a term, I decided in agreement with Creissels to use that term rather than *orientation*.

There are eight configuration markers in Karata and there is no one-way relation between a marker and its semantics. Therefore, for the sake of convenience and accuracy, I have numbered them from one to eight instead of tagging them with a specific value: CFG<sub>1</sub> (-č'o), CFG<sub>2</sub> (-l'a), CFG<sub>3</sub> (-a), CFG<sub>4</sub> (-χa), CFG<sub>5</sub> (-q̄), CFG<sub>6</sub> (-i), CFG<sub>7</sub> (-l̄i), CFG<sub>8</sub> (-l̄'i).

The morphology of nouns in Karata is fairly agglutinative. Nouns belong to one of three categories depending on their form when used in other forms than nominative: the bare noun or an oblique stem which is formed by means of a change of vowel or addition of a specific suffix varying according to genre and number. The first slot on a noun is for the configuration marker which directly attaches to the oblique stem. The second slot is for markers encoding direction: locative, allative or ablative. Configuration markers and direction markers combine freely except for CFG<sub>1</sub> and CFG<sub>5</sub> which do not exist in the allative form and CFG<sub>4</sub> which only appears in the allative form.

	CFG <sub>1</sub>	CFG <sub>2</sub>	CFG <sub>3</sub>	CFG <sub>4</sub>	CFG <sub>5</sub>	CFG <sub>6</sub>	CFG <sub>7</sub>	CFG <sub>8</sub>
<b>LOC</b>	-č'o	-l'a	-a	X	-q̄	-i	-l̄i	-l̄'i
<b>ALL</b>	X	-l'a-r	-a-r	-χa-r-	X	-i-r	-l̄i-r	-l̄'i-r
<b>ABL</b>	-č'o-gal	-l'a-gal	-a-gal	X	-q̄i-gal	-i-gal	-l̄i-gal	-l̄'i-gal

The table below illustrates the productivity of this system with examples drawn from my corpus. *mak'i* is the plural form of *mak'e* 'child' to which the human plural oblique-formative suffix *-lo-* is added and to which the configuration marker or grammatical case then attaches. Direction markers only attach to configuration markers.

ergative		locative	allative	ablative
mak'ilo-l(170) child:PL-ERG	CFG <sub>1</sub>	mak'ilo-č'o (70) child <sub>o</sub> :PL:H <sup>+</sup> <sub>o</sub> -CFG <sub>1</sub> [LOC]	X	mak'ilo-č'o-gal (85) child:PL:H <sup>+</sup> <sub>o</sub> -CFG <sub>1</sub> -ABL
	CFG <sub>3</sub>		mak'ilw-a-r (107) child:PL:H <sup>+</sup> <sub>o</sub> -CFG <sub>3</sub> -ALL	
	CFG <sub>4</sub>	X	mak'ilo-χa-r (136) child:PL:H <sup>+</sup> <sub>o</sub> -CFG <sub>4</sub> -ALL	X

A spatial relationship involves two elements: a figure (*č'ina* here) and an orienter (*īēj*). The orienter is the element of the world which is used as the reference point in order for the figure to be located – configuration and direction of the figure towards the orienter are formally marked on the orienter. In this examples, *īēji* is the oblique form of *īēj* 'water'. The configuration marker *-lī* first attaches then the ablative direction marker (or spatial case) *-gal* is suffixed to this marker.

- (1) *īēji-lī-gal*      *b-oq-e*      *herk'a-m*      *č'ina*  
 water<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ABL    N-extract-PF    big-N      beam  
 Из воды вытащили большое бревно  
 They extracted a big beam from the water

The main characteristic of the configuration markers is that, in their primary functions, they are semantically motivated and syntactically autonomous contrary to the spatial cases which, while still motivated, are to a large extent governed by the predicate in their spatial uses (e.g. to go to \*to go from). More generally, syncretisms of abstract and spatial cases are widely acknowledged (e.g. Latin and Russian accusative and allative). For these reasons direction markers are considered to be part of the case paradigm and will therefore be referred to as spatial cases (for more detail see Testelet: 2005, p. 12).

## 2.2 Semantic values of markers

As has already been described in much detail in other publications, spatial case systems in Daghestanian languages are far from being clear-cut. Moreover this system cohabits with a postpositional system giving way to much variation in the way spatial configurations are encoded.

Correlated to this situation is the emergence of one (or even two) non-specified configuration marker (also default marker) which encodes nothing in particular but

the mere existence of a spatial relationship either because a specific spatial configuration does not make sense (with abstract orienters for instance) or because the specification of the configuration is not important for the description of the spatial relationship, 'the latter being inferable from the context' (Creissels: 2009).

Fully-fledged configuration markers hold better with those orienters which are prototypically used in a specific configuration with the figure. There is indeed no reason then why this relationship should not be specified. Testelet (1980, p. 5) refers to this prototypical situation as LOC (JIOK). The distinction he makes between the expected configuration (LOC) and a situational configuration is not formally motivated but is useful to account for the use of an orienter that is not in its prototypical configuration and marked with a non-predictable configuration marker.

Generally speaking it can be useful both for analysis and comprehension to posit that each configuration marker has at least one prototypical or central semantic value from which other uses derive or can at least be accounted for. In other words I consider a figure will prototypically be associated to the marker whose semantic value corresponds to the figure's most-expected configuration. Yet a figure can be in virtually any configuration towards the orienter depending on the context ('situational configuration'). Depending on the nature of the orienter, the meaning of the configuration marker 'adapts'.

The concept of *family resemblance* (Kleiber: 1999) is often very useful to account for the different meanings a marker has. However the semantic motivation for many uses cannot be explained synchronically due to lexicalisation (see part 5.1). This needs to be borne in mind given the functioning of the spatial case system in Karata and more particularly with contact markers.

Here is a list of the definitions given by Testelet (1980) of the abbreviations used in this paper, X being the orienter :

SUPER	<i>on or above X</i>
SUB	<i>beneath X</i>
IN	<i>within an empty inner space of X</i>
INTER	<i>within a filled, dense inner space of X</i>
DIS	<i>within each of the many elements of X</i>
CONT	<i>in complete, maximal contact with X</i>
APUD	<i>next to X (with or without contact)</i>
POST	<i>behind X</i>

PRO <sup>4</sup>	<i>in the home or in the personal sphere of X</i>
CUM	<i>do something together with X (and being in X's personal sphere)</i>
POS1	<i>in X's personal sphere and belonging to X</i>
POS2	<i>in X's personal sphere but not belonging to X</i>
LOC	<i>in a typical position towards X</i>

### 2.3 Spatial and non-spatial uses

The distinction between spatial uses and abstract uses in the analysis of the semantics of these markers is paramount. As I said above, configuration markers used spatially are fully motivated and autonomous while for non-spatial configuration markers the situation is more diverse. For the latter, I have tried to adopt Ganenkov's approach. Closest to the spatial uses are the metaphorical uses then the circumstance uses and finally the governed uses with a distinction between peripheral and nuclear arguments.

The more governed configuration markers are, the less semantic motivation they retain up to a point where both the prefinal and final elements are to be considered bound, without the ability to recombine characteristic of spatial uses. In other words, configuration markers and spatial cases, when governed by a predicate, should be considered grammatical cases.

	pre-final element	final element
<b>spatial uses</b>	configuration marker	grammatical case
<b>abstract uses</b>	grammatical case	

Note that this table is schematic; the distinction between spatial and abstract uses is not that strict. The second table might help illustrate the situation better.

spatial uses	metaphores	abstract uses
configuration marker + spatial case		grammatical case

<sup>4</sup> This abbreviation is quite opaque, Testelet's seems to have found this abbreviation in Khalilov's Bezhta-Russian dictionary (1995). DOM would be more transparent.

After describing which spatial significations each of the configuration marker encodes, I take a look at the non-spatial significations of these markers, spanning from metaphorical meanings to governed uses. In the end, I discuss some phenomena stemming from the case marking system such as the development of a postpositional system and lexicalisation.

### 3 The spatial uses of configuration markers

#### 3.1 CFG<sub>1</sub> (-č'o-)

CFG<sub>1</sub> is historically the CONT marker, as described in Ganenkov (2005). In the following description it will become obvious that CFG<sub>1</sub> is in the process of losing its specificity. The remaining uses of CONT are indeed:

- the orienter is in tridimensional contact with the figure.

- (2)    **ilo-č'o**                      **ida**    **ħohob**    **gordi**  
           mother<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    COP    good:N    skirt  
           На матери есть хорошее платье  
           My mother is wearing a nice skirt

- the orienter is a corbel, i.e. a salient object.

- (3)    **gordi**    **č'ana-č'o**                      **keč'e**  
           dress            thorn-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    snag:PF  
           платье зацепилось за колючку  
           The dress was snagged on a thorn

- the orienter is the backcloth for the existence of the figure; the figure or 'pattern' ('изображение' (Ganenkov: 2002)) does not have an autonomous existence out of the orienter.

- (4)    **ħelčoni-č'o**    **ida**    **heriĭ**                      **k'unt'e**  
           sabre<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    COP    blood:GEN    stain  
           на сабле есть кровавое пятно  
           There is a blood stain on the sabre

- the figure is an appendage or an excrescence of the orienter.

- (5) **gožo bižu idja ʕama-č'o**  
 tooth grow:PF COP donkey-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 у осла появился зуб взросления  
 A wisdom tooth grew on the donkey

- the figure is in such close and tight contact with the orienter that there is no clear separation between them, and often the figure is perceived as a layer on the orienter.

- (6) **nižu kec'e xwanaj-č'o**  
 horseflies cover:PF horse:PL-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 лошадей облепили слепни  
 The horses were covered with horseflies

- the spatial relationship follows from the use of the orienter as the instrument of an action undergone by the figure.

- (7) **mašinaj-č'o rekun bit'ut'uda idja**  
 machine-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] thread break:IPF COP  
 в швейной машине нитки обрываются  
 Threads break in the sewing machine

Another very productive use of this configuration marker is for the expression of PRO. The orienter is then the host marked with CFG<sub>1</sub> while the figure is in the nominative.

- (8) **iši-b xwane maduhal-š'u-č'o idja**  
 1pl[GEN]-N horse neighbour-M<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] COP  
 Наш конь находится у соседа  
 Our horse is at the neighbour's

- (9) **mesedo-l musa-l ida iši-č'o**  
 Mesedo-ADD Musa-ADD COP 1pl-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 Меседо и Муса находятся у нас  
 Mesedo and Musa are at ours
- (10) **imo-č'o-gal waša iloḡar w-oʔ-ã**  
 father<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL son mother<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>4</sub>:ALL M-go-PF  
 От отца сын ушел к матери  
 The son left his father's for his mother's

The examples below show unequivocal APUD semantics, yet note that they only appear in the ablative case:

- (11) **how di-č'o-gal č'ware woʔã**  
 DEM:M 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL run\_away:PF M:go[PF]  
 он убежал от меня  
 He ran away from me
- (12) **mak'i di-č'o-gal rač'ũdač'e**  
 child:PL 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL nH<sup>+</sup>:separate:IPF:NEG  
 дети от меня ни на шаг не отходят (не отделяются)  
 Children do not leave me for a second (lit. do not separate)
- (13) **ḡagarler č'idaḡe idja iši-č'o-gal**  
 kinsfolk move\_away:PF COP 1pl<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 родня отделилась от нас  
 Our kinsfolk drifted apart from us

### 3.2 CFG2 (-l'a-)

The initial meaning of this series is SUPER.

- (14) **l'ã-l'a-r ũši k'obe**  
 roof-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ALL dirt fill:PF  
 крышу засыпали землей (букв. на крышу землю набили)  
 They put dirt onto the roof (lit. onto the roof dirt was stuffed)

- (15) **ɬuda** **χerda** **ʒamaj-l'a**  
 wood saw:IPF sawhorse<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC]  
 на козлах пилят дрова  
 They saw wood on the sawhorse
- (16) **ɫ'ã-l'a** **biḱob** **kuba** **ĩ'apču** **idja**  
 roof-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC] N:hold:IPF\_PTCP:N iron rust:PF COP  
 железо на крыше заржавело  
 The iron on the roof has rusted
- While the latter meaning is still attested in a few examples, the large majority of examples with this series of spatial forms encode:
- 'generic names of space' (Huyghe: 2006).
- (17) **hob** **raḳaj-l'a-gal** **ɬeber** **hač'e**  
 DEM:N side<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ABL danger COP;NEG  
 с этой стороны нет опасности  
 There is no danger from that side
- (18) **anča** **reʒaj-l'a-r** **ɬer-ã**  
 stone side<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ALL move-IMP  
 Придвинь камень к краю  
 Move the stone aside
- (19) **hagi** **mak'waj-l'a** **roša** **biɬa**  
 here place<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC] tree plant:IMP  
 посадите здесь дерево  
 Plant the tree here

- spatial configurations, the specification of which is not relevant to establish the figure-orienter spatial relation as the material existence of the orienter is not relevant compared to the functions attached to it.

- (20) **waċi**    **q'aj-l'a**                    **ida**  
 brother    house<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC]    COP  
 Брат находится дома  
 My brother is at home
- (21) **di-w**                    **waša**    **šahar-l'a-r**    **w-oʔ-a**    **ċ'al-ała**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>[GEN]-M    son            city-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ALL    N-go-PF    study-INF  
 Мой сын поехал в город учиться.  
 My son went to the city to study.
- (22) **pioner-di**    **bajdan-l'a-r**    **b-aʔ-ã**                    **ċiċi**                    **b-ak'ar-ała**  
 pioneer-PL            square-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ALL    H<sup>+</sup>-arrive-PF            flower            H<sup>+</sup>-pick-INF  
 Пионеры пришли на площадь собирать цветы  
 The pioneers arrived in the square to pick flowers.
- (23) **hedol**    **tukã-l'a**                    **minarob-c'ijom**    **hedela**    **idjab ?**  
 what            shop<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC]    strange:N-new:N            thing            COP:N  
 что нового в магазине?  
 What's new in the shop?
- (24) **telepon<sup>j</sup>-a**    **dun'al-reʃaj-l'a-gal**    **caq'ada**    **ãl-ida**    **id<sup>j</sup>a**  
 phone-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    world-end-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ABL            like            hear-IPF    COP  
 по телефону плохо слышно (букв. слышно как с края света)  
 Communication is very bad on the phone (lit. hears like from the edge of the earth)

### 3.3 CFG3 (-a-)

CFG<sub>3</sub>, as indicated by Magomedbekova (1971), used to be a marker of the SUPER configuration. However now CFG<sub>3</sub> is the default configuration marker in Karata.

After a detailed study of all the occurrences of this marker, it appears to encode many different configurations. However each time, the configuration of the figure

towards the orienter encoded by this series is the most predictable, that is LOC according to Testelelets' terminology:

- (25) **c'aʔ-a**            **ḫage**    **biʔa**  
 fire<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    pan        N:put:IMP  
 ставь кастрюлю на огонь  
 Put the pan on the fire!
- (26) **q'et'an**    **k'at'ā**    **idja**    **ḫagj-a**  
 soot            stick[PF]    COP    pan<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]  
 сажа прилипла к кастрюле  
 Soot stuck to the pan
- (27) **mak'i**    **mašinaj-a**    **rek'w-ā**  
 child-PL    car-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    sit-PF  
 Дети сели в машину  
 The children sat in the car
- (28) **kort'a**    **č'arqēbχwa**            **boʔā**    **hāk'ul-a-gal**  
 hammer    come\_off:PF\_CVB\N    go[PF]    nail<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 МОЛОТОК СОСКОЧИЛ С ГВОЗДЯ  
 The hammer fell off the nail

There is only one occurrence of a non-predictable use of SUPER with that marker in all my corpus:

- (29) **ʋamašow-a-gal<sup>5</sup>**    **q'eʔin**    **t'ar-e**  
 chest<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    cushion    fall-PF  
 С сундука упала подушка  
 The cushion fell from (the top of) the chest

The default marker is also used when the specification of the type of spatial relationship between the figure and the orienter is not relevant; the marker only encodes the existence of the spatial relationship:

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<sup>5</sup> See part 3.6 for an example where the same word takes the configuration marker -i.

- the functions of the orienter are more meaningful than its material existence.

- (30) **b-aʔ-ĩ**      **bišdi**      **uškulij-a-r**  
 H<sup>+</sup>-go-IMP    2pl      school<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL  
 Идите в школу!  
 Go to school!

- the spatial relationship follows from the use of the orienter as the instrument of an action initiated by the figure<sup>6</sup>.

- (31) **telepon<sup>j</sup>-a**      **dun<sup>j</sup>al-reʕaj-l'a-gal**      **caq'ada**      **āɫ-ida**      **id<sup>j</sup>a**  
 phone-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    world-end-CFG<sub>2</sub>-ABL      like      hear-IPF    COP  
 по телефону плохо слышно (букв. слышно как с края света)  
 Communication is very bad on the phone

- the figure is part of the orienter or 'the figure results from a process affecting the orienter' (Creissels: 2009, p. 8).

- (32) **rek'ul**      **bik'wā**      **kubiljaɫ**      **didw-a**  
 key      put;IMP      iron<sub>o</sub>;GEN      ring<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]  
 надень ключ на кольцо  
 Put the key onto the ring

- (33) **āɫilj-a-gal**      **beč'ebχwa**      **heri**      **beχwala**      **idja**  
 wound<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    ooze:N:PF\_CVB      blood    H<sup>+</sup>:arrive:INF    COP  
 из раны сочится кровь  
 The wound is bleeding

As Ganenkov noted<sup>7</sup>, this marker is used in situations that are cross-linguistically typical of CONT :

- the orienter is a 'corbel' : (28)

<sup>6</sup> Note that CFG<sub>1</sub> is used when the orienter is the instrument of an action undergone by the figure (see part 3.1).

<sup>7</sup> This information was given in a talk to which Testeletts refers in his paper (Testeletts: 1980, p. 19).

- the figure is a homogeneous material whose surface and that of the orienter are in tight contact : (26)
- the orienter and figure are linked functionally : (31)
- the figure is a part of the orienter or 'the figure results from a process affecting the orienter': (32), (33)

### 3.4 CFG4 (-χa-)

A restriction applies for this marker: it only appears in the allative case.

A very productive use of -χar is for the expression of the allative form of PRO 'to someone's place'. The orienter is then the host marked with CFG<sub>4</sub> while the figure is in the nominative.

- (34) **ho-ṣ̌u-χa-r**      **ī'wani**      **šadã-di**      **b-aʔ-ã**  
 DEM-M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL    many      human\_being-PL      H<sup>+</sup>-come-PF  
 К нему пришло много людей  
 Many people came to his place

One occurrence of CFG<sub>4</sub> clearly encodes APUD.

- (35) **karu**    **gan**      **du-χa-r-da**  
 rope      pull:IMP    2sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL-REFL  
 тяни веревку к себе  
 Pull the rope towards yourself

Not surprisingly, the cumulative (CUM) is marked by the same configuration marker in the allative case.

- (36) **šerzašan**    **šwara**    **den**    **hordo-χa-r**  
 often      go[PF]    1sg    DEM-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL  
 ДОВОЛЬНО МНОГО Я С НИМ ХОДИЛА  
 I often went with him

The suppletion of CFG<sub>1</sub> and CFG<sub>5</sub> with CFG<sub>4</sub> will be more obvious once I have detailed the spatial uses of CFG<sub>5</sub>, yet it is worth noting at this stage that in order to

express CUM and the allative of APUD and PRO, Karata uses CFG<sub>4</sub>. The syncretism of CUM and APUD has already been spotted in at least two Daghestanian languages: Tsez and Hunzib (Testeleets: 1980, p. 30), and it is easily understandable given the proximity of the semantics of APUD and CUM.

### 3.5 CFG<sub>5</sub> (-q̄-)

The initial meaning of this configuration marker is POST. This meaning is still traceable, however its use is very limited.

- (37) **iš̄i**    **ī'eru-q̄i-gal**    **b-aḫw-a**  
 1pl    bridge-CFG<sub>5</sub>-ABL    H<sup>+</sup>-come-PF  
 Мы прошли через мост  
 We walked across the bridge (lit. We came from behind)

- (38) **miso-q̄i-gal**    **keī'i-r**    **zini**    **b-oʔ-ā**  
 house<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>-ABL    beneath-ALL    cow    N-go-PF  
 Мимо дома пошла корова  
 The cow went by the house (lit. The cow went downwards from behind the house)

CFG<sub>5</sub> is losing its specific meaning of 'behind' in favour of APUD.

- (39) **den-a**    **ho-j**    **ī'eru-q̄**    **j-iḱ-e**  
 1sg-ERG    DEM-F    bridge-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    F-catch-PF  
 Я поймал её у моста  
 I caught her near the bridge

Note that this polysemy is common among Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Ganenkov suggests that POST only makes sense for prototypical two-faced orienters (ex: wall, chest of drawers, ...). Used with other kinds of orienters, they acquire front and back faces depending on the position of the observer, this is the case for *tree*, *bridge*, ... hence the tendency for this marker to be interpreted as APUD with such orienters. This confirms the tendency to syncretism first mentioned by Testeleets in Agul between POST and APUD (1980, p. 31).

Interestingly, the examples with the APUD configuration marked by CFG<sub>1</sub> only appear in the ablative case while the examples of APUD encoded by CFG<sub>5</sub> only occur in the locative.

Ganenkov has observed an alternance 'SUPER-ESSIVE ~ CONT-ELATIVE' in Tsakhur and Bezhta (2005, p. 99) when these markers are used spatially. He points out that with the idea of separation comes obligatorily that of breaking the link between the figure and the orienter, hence the need for the figure for a special effort to break that link. This could explain why speakers use the ablative of the CONT marker rather than the ablative of the non-marked POST/APUD marker (CFG<sub>5</sub>) in Karata. This use of CFG<sub>1</sub> is actually on the cusp of a metaphorical use, since it carries implications that go beyond sheer spatial configuration.

The meaning of the -č'o marker can undoubtedly be reconstructed as CONT at proto-Andic level, but note that at a deeper historical level, according to Ganenkov (2005, p. 245), the meaning of -č'o- was 'near X'. In the process of semantic shift, suppletion could well have occurred and be maintained with the CONT added semantic value that -č'o- then took on.

CFG<sub>5</sub> is also used to encode configuration of the figure towards the orienter when the orienter is not a precise clear-cut object of the world:

- a distributed orienter<sup>8</sup>.

- (40) **miq'a-q̄**            **č'ina-di**    **k̄'wab-e**    **ida**  
road<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]   pole-PL    thrust-PF    COP  
На дорогах прибиты столбы  
Poles are thrust beside roads

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<sup>8</sup> This use of CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] is very similar to what Ganenkov (2005, p. 117) refers to, for the case of Chamalal, as 'a plural figure evenly scattered on the surface of the orienter', this type of configuration being a former use of the marker CONT now encoded in Chamalal with -q̄.

- a diffuse orienter.

- (41) **mučula-q̄**      **b-oʔ-ã**      **k'aze**  
 wind-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    N-go-PF    scarf  
 Платок унесло ветром  
 The shawl flew in the wind

- a self-shaped orienter.

- (42) **iši**      **l'ilbaj-q̄**      **herč'e**      **bivā**  
 1pl    row<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    stand:PF    CAUS  
 нас поставили в ряд  
 They put us in line

- (43) **ʒerga-q̄**      **bivebywa**      **idja**      **mak'i**  
 queue-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    stop:nH<sup>+</sup>:PF\_CVB    COP    child:PL  
 дети стали в шеренгу  
 The children stood in a queue

The words *l'ilba* 'row' and *ʒerga* 'queue' have the same polysemy as their Russian equivalents (*ряд* and *очередь* respectively): they can be used metaphorically to mean 'in order, one after the other'. ( *l'ilbajq̄ baʔã* : пошли по очереди 'They went one after the other' and *ʒergajq̄ bive hobaj* : они встали по порядку 'They stood up in an ordered fashion')

### 3.6 CFG6 (-i-)

Prototypically this marker encodes the IN localisation:

- the orienter is an empty container.

- (44) **ḡag-i**      **q̄olo**      **b-eʔ-indja**      **idja**  
 pan-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC]    potato    N-cook-IPF    COP  
 В кастрюле варится картошка  
 The potato is cooking in the saucepan

(45) **ʋamās-i-gal** **χame** **b-eh-e**

chest-CFG<sub>6</sub>-ABL fabrics N-take-PF

Из сундука достали материю

They took fabric from the chest

- the orienter is seen as taking up the space of a whole area (Ganenkov: p. 153), as a strictly limited delineated part of surface contrasting with its surroundings.

(46) **iši** **kil-i** **b-ak'wa**

1pl farm-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC] H<sup>+</sup>-be[PF]

Мы были на хуторе

We were in the farm

- the orienter is seen as an opening.

(47) **q̄'wãq̄'-i** **raĭ'e** **q̄'ã**

throat-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC] stone get\_stuck

в горле косточка застряла

A stone got stuck in the throat

The following example illustrates the prolativ meaning of the ablative case (Ganenkov: 2005, p. 103).

(48) **hac'ac'e** **šore** **mašina** **χur-i-gal**

ten\_times turn:PF car field-CFG<sub>6</sub>-ABL

машина сделала десять рейсов в поле (букв. десять раз обернулась)

The car went in circles ten times in the field.

### 3.7 CFG7 (-Īi-)

CFG<sub>7</sub> encodes INTER as described by Ganenkov (2005) :

- localisation in a filled and compact portion of space inside the orienter.

- (49) **ĪorĪa-Īi**            **b-is-ã**            **maʔa**  
 butter<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    N-find-PF            twig  
 В масле нашли соломинку  
 A twig was found in the butter

The following example shows a masdar form marked with CFG<sub>7</sub>. Literally 'the linen is in the process of being boiled'. One easily understands the metonymic derivation which leads to the use of the series in -Īi-.

- (50) **Īʷani**    **ah-a-ni-Īi**                            **raĻ'ar**    **barq'a**    **b-ič'-ida**  
 much            boil-CAUS-MSD<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    linen            quickly            N-get\_spoiled-IPF  
 при многократном кипячении белье портится  
 Too much boiling quickly damages the linen.

- the orienter is seen as an aggregate of similar elements.

- (51) **c'ijo-m**    **ḡabar**    **hã-Īi**                            **barq'a**    **ãĻ-id'ja**  
 new-N            news            village<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    fast            hear-IPF  
 новость в селе быстро распространяется  
 People are quickly hearing of the news in the village.

- (52) **w-oʔ-ĩmiše**    **men**    **roḡo-Īi-r**  
 M-go-PROH            2sg            forest-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL  
 Не ходи ты в лес  
 Don't go into the forest!

- (53) **munačurow**    **aḡmat'**    **godow**    **zurmiqan**    **zurikati-Īi**    **wuk'ač'e**  
 deceased:M            Ahmed            similar:M            zurna\_player            kin<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    M:be:PF:NEG  
 зурнача, подобного покойному Ахмеду, во всем роду не было  
 There was no zurna player like Ahmed in all his lineage

- the figure is wrapped in the orienter. Ganenkov spotted this use of INTER in other Andic languages, terming them 'wrapping orienters'<sup>9</sup>. All the inner space of the orienter is occupied by the figure and the outer surfaces of the figure are in complete contact with the inner surfaces of the orienter.

- (54) **kaʔato-īi guragurā šišaw saru bē**  
 paper<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] roll\_in bottle together take;PF  
 я взяла бутылку, закатав в бумагу  
 I took the bottle wrapped in paper

- (55) **ʒurmi<sup>10</sup> miʔaī'abda-īi boʔā**  
 life tatter:PL<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] go:PF  
 всю жизнь в отрепьях ходил  
 All his life he went by in tatters

- the orienter is a narrow space.

- (56) **l'amoī c'ūk'i-īi-r itibiše mak'e**  
 roof<sub>o</sub>:GEN edge-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL let:PROH child  
 не пускай ребенка на край крыши  
 Do not let the child go onto the edge of the roof

- (57) **kaʔaʔa īorābχwa buk'ū-īi-r baʔa**  
 chest move:N:PF\_CVB corner-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL reach[PF]  
 сундук сдвинули в угол  
 They moved the chest to the corner

<sup>9</sup> 'оборачивющие ориентиры' (Ganenkov: 2005, p. 160).

<sup>10</sup> One may remark that this example belongs to the subgroup 'three-dimensional contact' described above as a use of CFG<sub>1</sub>. Indeed wearing clothes is having one's outer surface in contact with the inner surface of the clothes yet note that the orienter is not the same as in CFG<sub>1</sub>, here the orienter is the 'wrapper' not the 'wrapped'.

- the orienter is the name of a room (Ganenkov: 2005, p. 159).

- (58) **raʔala-ī-gal jaq̄āʔada jaq̄ēdač'e**  
 kitchen<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ABL F:escape:INF:ITS F:escape:IPF:NEG  
 из кухни никак не могу выбраться  
 I can't even manage to get out of the kitchen

- the orienter is the name of a bodypart.

- (59) **āīa-īi l'waχwa bike idja**  
 wound-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] pus hold:PF COP  
 рана загноилась  
 There is pus in the wound

- (60) **hadoʔa-īi hane beq̄'ubχwa idja**  
 head-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] brain dry:N:PF\_CVB COP  
 голова уже не соображает (букв. мозг усох)  
 He does not understand anymore (lit. The brain dried out in the head)

The two previous criteria have been identified by Ganenkov in Bagvalal.

The following example is interesting as it illustrates another point brought up by Ganenkov (2005: p. 158) originally studied by Lemmens for Dutch. Lemmens noticed that with the position verb 'to sit', Dutch did not only point to the seated position of the figure but also to a restriction of its moves.

- (61) **šakibo rešima-īi bibe bik'wa**  
 bird eaves<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] N:stop:PF N:be[PF]  
 птичка сидела на карнизе  
 The bird sat on the eaves of the roof

### 3.8 CFG8 (-ī'i -)

This marker encodes SUB.

- (62) **di-b**            **č'ek'o-ī'i-r**    **b-eķ-u**        **anča**  
 1sg<sub>o</sub>[GEN]-N    foot-CFG<sub>8</sub>-ALL    N-end\_up-PF    stone  
 Под мою ногу попался камень  
 A stone was under my foot

### 3.9 Summary<sup>11</sup>

	CFG1	CFG2	CFG3	CFG4	CFG5	CFG6	CFG7	CFG8
<b>SUPER</b>		X						
<b>SUB</b>								X
<b>IN</b>						X		
<b>INTER</b>							X	
<b>DIS</b>					X			
<b>CONT</b>	X						X	
<b>APUD</b>	X			X	X			
<b>POS1<sup>12</sup></b>	X				X			
<b>POS2</b>					X			
<b>CUM</b>				X				
<b>POST</b>					X			
<b>PRO</b>	X			X				
<b>LOC</b>			X					

PRO is encoded by CFG<sub>1</sub> in the locative and ablative cases but by CFG<sub>4</sub> in the allative case.

APUD is encoded by CFG<sub>5</sub> in the locative, by CFG<sub>4</sub> in the allative and by CFG<sub>1</sub> in the ablative.

<sup>11</sup> This table is obviously schematic and can in no way replace the analysis developed in the previous pages.

<sup>12</sup> The possessive uses are presented in the non-spatial-use part.

## 4 Non-spatial uses of spatial forms

In the following section, I have tried to develop the uses of each configuration marker 'as the continuum goes': first the metaphorical uses, for which the motivation of both the configuration marker and the spatial case can be found, then the circumstance uses and finally the governed uses.

It should be borne in mind that governed uses of spatial forms are not combinations of configuration markers and cases to each of which a non-spatial semantic charge is assigned. They are to be considered rather as one bound abstract case. Such a case is then used to encode a nuclear function or a peripheral one.

In the presentation of my analysis here, I do not formally distinguish between these different types yet they are inferable.

### 4.1 CFG1 (-č'o-)

This marker encodes both full possession and temporary possession<sup>13</sup>:

- the locative marks the possessor or responsible person for the figure.
- the ablative marks the initial possessor (when possession or responsibility has been transferred).

(63)	<b>di-č'o</b>	<b>ʒarse</b>	<b>b-ik'-o-χoror</b>	<b>den-a</b>	<b>ha-b</b>	<b>χwane</b>
	1sg <sub>0</sub> -CFG <sub>1</sub> [LOC]	money	N-be-PF_PTCP-COND	1sg-ERG	DEM-N	horse
	<b>b-ah-as</b>	<b>b-ik'wa</b>				
	N-buy-FUT	N-be[PF]				
	Если б у меня были деньги я купил бы эту лошадь					
	If I had money I would buy this horse					

(64)	<b>wugu-š'u-č'o-gal</b>	<b>b-eχw-a</b>	<b>dij-a</b>	<b>ʒarse</b>
	DEM-M <sub>0</sub> -CFG <sub>1</sub> -ABL	N-come-PF	1sg <sub>0</sub> -DAT	money
	От него получил я деньги			
	I received money from him			

<sup>13</sup> Note that not surprisingly, CFG<sub>1</sub> encodes both localisation at someone's place and (permanent or temporary) possession. This continuum, being present both in Karata and Russian, inevitably brings about ambiguity and for some examples it was very difficult to decide on one or the other interpretation.

- (65) **du-j jači ida di-w wačo-č'o**  
 2sg<sub>0</sub>[GEN]-F sister COP 1sg<sub>0</sub>[GEN]-M brother<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 Твоя сестра находится у моего брата (т.е. Твоя сестра является женой моего брата)  
 Your sister is at my brother's (Your sister is my brother's wife)

- (66) **jačo-č'o-gal t'ar-e řarse**  
 sister<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL fall-PF money  
 Сестра уронила деньги  
 My sister dropped the money (lit. The money fell from)

A phenomenon peculiar to the Andic languages is that of external possession<sup>14</sup> (Ganenkov: 2005, p. 200).

- (67) **di-č'o esebw-a herč'e wuřewχwa wuk'a huguw**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] side<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC] rise:PF M:stand:M:PF\_CVB M:be[PF] DEM:M  
 он стоял возле меня  
 He stood next to me

- (68) **čami c'ajrekwarol idab bišdi-č'o ha-īi?**  
 how\_many farm<sub>0</sub>-INT COP:N POS.2pl<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] village<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]  
 сколько хозяйств в вашем селе?  
 How many farms are there in your village?

What these examples seem to point to is a split-localisation system, similar to that of Russian. It seems precise location is achieved through a zoom-in effect. First the animate to whom a localisation can be related is identified and marked with CFG<sub>1</sub> (compare with spatial use of CFG<sub>1</sub>). Once a configuration sphere has been circumscribed, a more precise localisation is reached, that is the configuration of the figure which is marked on the orienter.

Taking into consideration the literature on this in Russian, a possible explanation for this alternative marking of the possessor may be that the (semantic) dependent

<sup>14</sup> The possessor is external since it is not syntactically dependent on another term as a genitive form would be.

encoded in -č'o is thus not left out of the referent of the orienter but on the contrary is an essential part of it.

The locative of this series encodes the person or element of the world to which a characteristic is attached.

- (69) **sule hač'e du-č'o**  
 conscience COP;NEG 2sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 нет у тебя совести  
 You have no conscience
- (70) **mak'ilo-č'o dub xwājgwal hač'e**  
 child<sub>o</sub>;PL:H<sup>+</sup>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] 2sg<sub>o</sub>[GEN]:N resemblance COP;NEG  
 дети вообще не похожи на тебя  
 The children do not look like you at all

The locative of this marker is used to encode the experiencer:

- the animate participant affected by the event of a missile.

- (71) **ʕama-č'o č'war-ała k'ant'a b-is-ā-č'e**  
 donkey-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] hit-INF stick N-find-PF-NEG  
 Не нашлось палки, чтобы ударить осла  
 No stick was found to hit the donkey
- (72) **den-a du-č'o hado?a-ī anča torč'-ans**  
 1sg-ERG 2sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] head-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] stone hit-FUT  
 Я тебя ударю камнем по голове  
 I will hit you on the head with a stone
- (73) **pečil hawā di-č'o**  
 stove:ERG burn[PF] 1sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]  
 печь обожгла меня  
 The stove burnt me

- the animate participant infected with a disease (by extension of the previous meaning).

- (74) **di-č'o**            **χwarχwal**    **idja**  
 1sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    cold (rhinitis)    COP  
 я страдаю насморком  
 I have a cold

- the animate participant in the construction of the verb *baq'atla* 'to suit someone'.

- (75) **di-č'o**            **hã-lĩ-s**                            **hawa**    **baq'idja**  
 1sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    village<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]-ADJR    climate    suit:IPF  
 мне подходит горный климат  
 I like the climate of my village

- (76) **qac'ełer**    **jašilo-č'o**                            **baq'idač'e**  
 sadness            girl:PL:H<sup>+</sup><sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    suit:IPF:NEG  
 грубость девушкам не к лицу  
 Sadness does not suit young girls

The locative of CFG<sub>1</sub> is also used to encode a peripheral semantic role with quite a number of predicative expressions:

- the stimulus with verbs such as *łebałta* 'to fear', *het'atla* 'to get along'.

- (77) **den**    **du-č'o**            **łebdač'e**  
 1sg    2sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    fear:IPF:NEG  
 я не боюсь тебя  
 I do not fear you

- (78) **kũt'o-č'o**            **het'eč'e**            **hoj**  
 husband<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    get\_on:PF:NEG    DEM:F  
 она не ужилась с мужем  
 She did not get along with her husband

- the word for 'heart' *rak'wa* to express joy or regret.

- (79) **zini berjagalda rak'wa-č'o reče den**  
 cow N:buy:MSD:CFG<sub>3</sub>:ABL:ITS heart-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] pity:PF 1sg  
 я сожалею о покупке коровы  
 I regret buying the cow

The ablative of the series in -č'o is used for:

- an agent whose responsibility is minimised, resulting in emphasis on the result.

- (80) **čorpa χigi biχu di-č'o-gal**  
 soup behind N:leave:PF 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 у меня (в тарелке) остался суп  
 I left some soup (in my plate) (lit. left behind)

- the source of information with verbs denoting the disclosure of information, (*χāta* 'ask', *bi?ata* 'to find out' and metaphorically *baqāta* 'to escape', *č'arqata* 'to jump').

- (81) **keḷ'emχwa baqē di-č'o-gal hob āter**  
 speak:N:PF\_CVB escape:PF 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL DEM:N word  
 у меня вырвалось это слово  
 A word escaped him

- (82) **dija gijēč'e ho-š'u-č'o-gal χāta**  
 1sg:DAT dare:PF:NEG DEM-M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL ask:INF  
 я не посмел у него попросить  
 I dared not ask him

- (83) **ceraj āterdi č'arqē ho-ḷi-č'o-gal**  
 one:H<sup>+</sup><sub>0</sub> word:PL come\_out:PF DEM-F<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 лишние слова слетели из ее уст  
 Superfluous words flew out of her mouth

- (84) **hob hedela bi?ā mena hordo-č'o-gal**  
 DEM:N thing find\_out:PF 2sg:ERG DEM(3pl)-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 ты разузнай это у них  
 You found that out from us

- the participant who is excluded from the event denoted by the predicate (with verbs such as *baḡwāḡa* 'to hide', *b/eq'ešāḡa* 'conceal').

- (85) **ispiškabdi req'ešā mak'ilo-č'o-gal**  
 match:PL nH<sup>+</sup>:conceal:IMP child:PL:H<sup>+</sup>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 прячь спички от детей  
 Hide the matches from the children

- (86) **išil boḡob hedela baḡwā imajlo-č'o-gal**  
 1pl:ERG N:happen:PF\_CVB:N thing hide:PF parents:PL:H<sup>+</sup>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 мы утаили от родителей то, что произошло  
 We concealed what happened from our parents

- a term whose referent is considered as defeated with verbs that denote victory over the orienter, protection from the orienter.

- (87) **kūt'o-č'o-gal rišāḡer bēr baq'ob**  
 husband<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL success take:MSD N:appropriate:N  
 жена должна знать свое место (букв. побеждать мужа неприлично)  
 A wife must know her place (lit. it is indecent to take success off the husband)

- (88) **how ḡoladi gehewḡwa wušā di-č'o-gal**  
 DEM:M cheating:PL do:M:PF\_CVB M:triumph:PF 1sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 он вийграл у меня, потому что смошенничал  
 He won because he cheated (lit. he triumphed over me)

- (89) **č'aj-č'o-gal reč'ajni beq'eše iši**  
 rain-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL cave<sub>o</sub>:CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC] N:hide:PF 1pl  
 мы укрылись от дождя в пещере  
 We sheltered from the rain in the cave

- the subject of a potential verb *bažaraṭa* 'to be able to'.

- (90) **hoṣu-č'o-gal** (//**hoṣuwa**<sup>15</sup>)      **gidabda**      **bažarajdja**  
 DEM:M<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] (DEM:M<sub>0</sub>:DAT)      everything      cope:IPF  
 он справляется с любым делом  
 He can do anything

- (91) **hob**      **rišāqer**      **di-č'o-gal**      **bažarajdjač'e**  
 DEM:N      work      1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]      cope:IPF:NEG  
 мне не под силу эту работу  
 I cannot cope with this job

The ablative of this series encodes the standard of comparison.

- (92) **dija**      **dādeš**      **herk'āj**      **idja**      **di-č'o-gal**  
 1sg:DAT      sister\_in\_law      older:F      COP      1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>-ABL  
 жена деверя старше меня  
 The wife of my brother-in-law is older than me

#### 4.2 CFG2 (-l'a-)

According to my corpus, the use of this series for purposes that are not purely spatial is very restricted. One occurrence encodes localisation in time and the other the cause of an event, both take the locative case.

- (93) **reḫwar-l'a**      **miq'aqel**      **aḫiṭ'il**      **c'ek'abaṭ'i**  
 autumn-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC]      road<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]:ADD      garden<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>8</sub>[LOC]:ADD      foot:PL:CFG<sub>8</sub>[LOC]  
**šuršuri**      **bik'uda**  
 crunch      N:be:IPF  
 осенью и на дороге и в саду под ногами слышится шуршание и шорох  
 In autumn, crunches of feet on the road and in the garden are heard

<sup>15</sup> About the possibility of encoding this term with the dative case (the case for experiencer with verbs such as 'see', 'like') or with the configuration marker in - č'o, Ganenlov notes that the dative is the non-marked way to encode this term. 'When using the -č'o marker, the subject has less control over the situation and sometimes the latter is not expected'.

- (94) **ũšīlir**      **ḱoraḷaʔo**      **sula-l'a**      **wuk'a**  
 earth:CFG<sub>7</sub>:ALL    dive:INF:??    shame<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>2</sub>[LOC]    M:be[PF]  
 ОТ СТЫДА ГОТОВ БЫЛ СКВОЗЬ ЗЕМЛЮ ПРОВАЛИТЬСЯ  
 He was so ashamed he wished the earth could swallow him up

#### 4.3 CFG3 (-a-)

CFG<sub>3</sub> encodes an abstract orienter deprived of any material existence (an activity, a state of mind, ...) that the figure:

- experiences (LOC).
- is about to experience (ALL).
- is done experiencing (ABL).

- (95) **ḱohob**    **bet'eraqj-a**      **idja**    **hobaj**  
 good:N    financial\_position<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    COP    DEM:H<sup>+</sup>  
 они хорошо живут  
 They have a good life

- (96) **rišāqerw-a-r**    **ḱedeḱajχwa**    **idja**    **den**  
 work<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL    hurry:PF\_CVB\F    COP    1sg  
 я спешу на работу  
 I am in a hurry for work (lit. I was)

- (97) **šaparj-a-gal**    **bač'uda**    **baḱwa**  
 trip<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    empty    H<sup>+</sup>:arrive:PF  
 из поездки вернулись пустые  
 They came back empty from their trip

CFG3 encodes time orienters<sup>16</sup>

- LOC = the figure is in the time interval.
- ALL = the figure moves into the interval.
- ABL = the figure moves out of the interval.

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<sup>16</sup> As Testelet (1980: p. 51) explained, time intervals can be treated as (spatial) orienters yet the similarity is not total given that movement in time can only go one way. I use his definitions of time intervals in that part.

- (98) **how minutj-a pirχeda**  
 DEM:M minute<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC] blush:IPF  
 он вспльчив (букв. моментально вспыхивает)  
 He is blushing now
- (99) **ełel gahałab hedela ałij-a-r t'amibiše**  
 today do:INF:?? thing tomorrow<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL throw:PROH  
 не откладывай на завтра то, что можно сделать сегодня  
 Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today
- (100) **k'edałob rešinw-a-r wo?ã waša**  
 second:N year<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL M:go[PF] boy  
 мальчику пошел второй год  
 The boy turned two (lit. went into the second year)
- (101) **řacob žimj-a-r wa?ašela**  
 green:N grass<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL M:reach:FUT:Q  
 доживу ли до весны (букв. до зеленой травы)  
 Shall I live until spring? (lit. until the green grass)
- (102) **rišanqer hał'w-a-gal b-aq-ãs**  
 work week-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL N-end-FUT  
 работа завершится через неделю  
 The work will be complete in a week
- The locative of the -a- series encodes a manner adjunct.
- (103) **lazatj-a c'are zaraub řej**  
 pleasure<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC] drink:PF fresh:N water  
 с удовольствием выпил холодной воды  
 He drank (some) fresh water with pleasure
- (104) **zini cebel řũk'ilw-a tãk'elda idja**  
 cow one:N:SELECT leg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC] limp:IPF COP  
 корова на одну ногу прихрамывает  
 The cow hobbles on one leg (lit. On one leg (out of two), the cow hobbles)

The orienter encoded by the allative of the series in -a- is the goal of someone's quest (Testelet: 1980, p. 50).

- (105) **iši**    **χ̄iχ̄icw-a-r**            **baʔã**  
 1pl    pine\_cones<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL    N:reach[PF]  
 мы ходили за шишками  
 We went pine cone picking

The allative of this series is also very productive at encoding the addressee.

- (106) **den-a**    **bas-ã**    **ho-šw-a-r**  
 1sg-ERG    relate-PF    DEM-M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL  
 Я рассказал ему  
 I told him

- (107) **ilja**    **mak'ilw-a-r**            **bibē**  
 mother    child:PL:H<sup>+</sup><sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL    shout:PF  
 мать прикрикнула на детей  
 The mother shouted at the children

The allative case also encodes the NP whose referent is the result of a transformation.

- (108) **misa**    **peterj-a-r**    **šorabywa**    **idja**  
 house    inn<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL    turn:N:PF\_CVB    COP  
 дом превратили в постоянный двор  
 They turned the house into an inn

As expected, the ablative of the same series encodes the source of a transformation.

- (109) **men**    **ʒadamj-a-gal**    **boĻob**            **rižur**    **hač'ole?**  
 2sg    man<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    N:create:PF\_PTCP:N    creature    COP;NEG:Q  
 будь человеком (букв. ты ж ведь от человека произошел)  
 Be a man (lit. Aren't you a creature made from man?)

The ablative encodes the cause, the source from which abstract concepts (emotion, mind & social constructs...) stem.

- (110) **ceb**    **ãlerw-a-gal**    **bajbiḫā**    **išib**    **daḥba**  
 one:N    word<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    start[PF]    1pl:N    argument  
 с одного слова началась наша ссора  
 Our argument started off over one word

- (111) **čōq'badilw-a-gal**    **ḫoḷer**    **ḫardač'e**  
 friend;PL:H<sup>+</sup>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    good(ness)    rise:IPF:NEG  
 из-за друзей можно в любую переделку попасть (букв. от друзей  
 добро не ползет)  
 Because of friends, one may get into tight corners (lit. from friends,  
 good does not rise)

It is used in one example to encode the mediative.

- (112) **reḷerw-a-gal**    **jiʔa**    **dija**    **huguj**  
 gait<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    F:know[PF]    1sg<sub>0</sub>:DAT    DEM:F  
 я ее узнал по походке  
 I recognised her through her gait

It also encodes the standard of comparison<sup>17</sup>.

- (113) **k'edā-gal**    **č'ik'ob**    **beḱas**  
 two:CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    more:N    give:FUT  
 дам более двух  
 I give more than two
- (114) **dij-a-gal**    **kwat'owḫwa**    **woḫa**    **men**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL    late:M:COMP    M:arrive:PF    2sg  
 ты пришел позже меня  
 You arrived after me (lit. later than me)

<sup>17</sup> There is free variation with the ablative of the first series to encode the standard of comparison.

- (115) **hač'wada rešīīl herk'āw idja how dij-a-gal**  
 nine year:N<sub>0</sub>:ERG older:M COP DEM:M 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 он старше меня на девять лет  
 He is nine years older than me

The ablative of the -a- series also marks the orienter when its referent is an entity that is kept out or taken out of the personal sphere of the figure:

- the figure wants to be protected from the orienter.

- (116) **bač'ēč'ob balahj-a-gal c'ija**  
 N:ask:PF:NEG:PTCP:N misfortune<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL keep:IMP  
 побереги от непредвиденных превратностей  
 Spare yourself unforeseen misfortune
- (117) **imw-a-gal qwanerχwa rak'uda mak'i**  
 father<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL shun:nH<sup>+</sup>:PF\_CVB nH<sup>+</sup>:shun:IPF child:PL  
 дети сторонятся отца  
 The children shun their father
- (118) **rič'arw-a-gal waqā how**  
 death<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL M:save[PF] DEM:M  
 его спасли от смерти  
 They saved his life

- the figure is deprived of the orienter.

- (119) **den rišāqerw-a-gal maħrumā**  
 1sg work<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL deprive[PF]  
 меня лишили работы  
 They deprived me of work
- (120) **č'ardob kūt'w-a-gal χwašarā hoj imol**  
 drink:IPF\_PTCP:M husband<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL rid[PF] DEM:F father:ERG  
 отец избавил ее от мужа-пьяницы  
 The father rid her of her alcohol-addicted husband

The ablative case combined with the series in -a- is found in a variety of predicative expressions which all have in common expressing a reaction triggered by an external or internal element (i.e. the orienter) with verbs such as *č'uħała* 'to be proud', *ħikmała* 'to be surprised', *b/ečeχo/b ida* 'to be happy', *releχała* 'to laugh', *kirvičała* 'to sicken', *tabała* 'to languish', *karala* 'to be fed up'.

- (121) **men č'uħała wokuda hošwā-gal**  
 2sg be\_proud:INF M:must:IPF DEM-M<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 ты должен гордиться им  
 You must be proud of him
- (122) **iši bečeχobaj ida duw-a-gal**  
 1pl H<sup>+</sup>:happy:H<sup>+</sup> COP 2sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 мы рады за тебя  
 We are happy for you
- (123) **ħikmalewχwa wuχu den hugub hedalaħij-a-gal**  
 wonder:M:PF\_CVB M:stay:PF 1sg DEM:N thing  
 я удивился этому  
 I was surprised by this
- (124) **ħadādi idja duw-a-gal releχidja**  
 people COP 2sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL laugh:IPF  
 люди смеются над тобой  
 People make fun of you
- (125) **χijanatob ħadamj-a-gal den kirvičidja**  
 base:N person<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL 1sg sicken:IPF  
 меня тошнит от подлых людей  
 Base people make me sick
- (126) **den tabałejχwa ježā l'wani boī'erej-a-gal**  
 1sg languish:F:PF\_CVB F:ripen:PF much heat<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 я разморилась от жары  
 I was worn out by the heat

- (127) **rišāqerw-a-gal** **ware** **idja**  
 work<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL be\_sated:PF COP  
 пресытилась работой  
 I am fed up with my job
- (128) **hoĭj-a-gal** **warejχwa** **idja** **den**  
 DEM:F<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL be\_sated:F:PF\_CVB COP 1sg  
 я сыта по горло (букв. пресытилась ею, её поступками)  
 I have had it up to here (lit. with her demeanour)

This marker has a wealth of other governed uses which I will not all detail here since they would not help characterise the semantics of CFG<sub>3</sub> and they cannot be grouped into more general semantic classes. Although the use of most spatial cases can still be traced back to a metaphorical explanation, that of the use of the configuration marker cannot and is completely governed by the valence of the verb:

- the locative of CFG<sub>3</sub> is used on *ħic'el* 'finger' with the negative form of the verb *ũwāġa* 'hit' in the expression 'to twiddle one's thumbs'.

- (129) **ĩšwada** **χajr** **hač'war** **ħic'elwa** **ħic'el** **ũdač'e** **hošul**  
 personal profit without finger<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC] finger touch\IPF:NEG DEM:H<sub>0</sub>:ERG  
 без личной выгоды он пальцем не пошевелит (букв. палец о палец не ударит)  
 Without personal profit, he twiddles his thumbs

- the allative of *ħisab* 'account' is used with *bāġa* 'take' in the expression 'to take into account'.

- (130) **ħisabj-a-r** **bāġa**  
 account<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL N:take:INF  
 взять на заметку / прислушаться к чему-л. мнению  
 To take into account / to consider someone's opinion

- the verb *razi* (*bak'wata*) 'to agree' governs an oblique argument in the ablative case.

- (131) **gidabajda razi idja hob ħukmw-a-gal**  
 all agree COP DEM:N decision<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL  
 все согласны с таким решением  
 They all agree with this decision

Finally one example (in all my corpus) is very revealing of the evolution of this configuration marker. The verb *q'orata* 'to want' normally governs the dative case (-a as well) but in this very example, -a combines with the allative (i.e. -a is taken with its configuration marker value). This reinterpretation of an abstract use as a spatial one seems to point once more to the 'washed-out', prone-to-abstraction semantics of this marker. Moreover it corroborates the general observation made about the case systems of Tabassaran and Tsez by Comrie and Polinsky: 'What these data suggest is an increased tendency in languages with rich case systems for local cases to permeate the domain of grammatical cases.' (1998, p. 112)

- (132) **duwā-r mik'i hedelal q'oraš?**  
 2sg<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>3</sub>-ALL little thing:Q want:FUT  
 мало ли чего ты пожелаешь?  
 And you want jam on it? (ironic) (lit. What little thing will you desire?)

#### 4.4 CFG4 (-χa-)

The configuration marker which I have numbered 4, encodes a target (i.e. a participant who is not a patient, yet towards whom the activity of another participant is directed). Note that these uses are clear metaphorical extensions of the APUD spatial signification:

- the animate to whom possession is transferred

- (133) **di-χa-r xwani b-eġ-a**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL horse N-give-IMP  
 Дай мне лошадь  
 Give me the horse

- this target can be a recipient.

- (134) **den-a wačo-χa-r kavat q̄war-e**  
 1sg-ERG brother<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL letter write-PF  
 Я написал брату письмо  
 I wrote my brother a letter

- the person towards whom the attention is attracted.

- (135) **cej jašeñi-χa-r χijal bik'wa**  
 one:F girl:F<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL ardour N:be[PF]  
 он был увлечен одной девышкой  
 He was besotted by a girl (lit. His ardour was for one girl)

- 'the target of active sense perception and intellectual reality' (Testelet : 1980, p. 47).

- (136) **iširaj mak'ilo-χa-r wok'āwošũ**  
 1pl:nH<sup>+</sup> child:PL:H<sup>+</sup><sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL M:watch:IMP:??  
 присматривай за нашими детьми  
 Look after our kids

- (137) **suratda-χa-r bek'an barq'a baqē**  
 images<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL N:care quickly N:end:PF  
 рассматривание картин быстро завершилось  
 The study of the images quickly ended

- the target is an experiencer.

- (138) **šimiloĩ rol'ar χare hošu-χa-r**  
 stomach:GEN illness be\_infected:PF DEM:M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL  
 он заразился брюшным тифом  
 He caught typhoid

- (139) **iljo-χa-r je?ã rak'wa čučã**  
 mother<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>4</sub>-ALL F:ripen heart soothe[PF]  
 у матери нашла утешение (букв. у матери сердце успокоила)  
 The mother was consoled (lit. to the mother the heart soothed)

#### 4.5 CFG5 (-q̄-)

The locative of this series is used to mark the thing you have in exchange for something else.

- (140) **xwani-q̄**      **ičwa**      **χis-āła**  
 horse<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    mare      exchange-INF

Обменять кобылу за коня

Exchange a mare for a horse

- (141) **wašašul**    **bič'āb**      **mašina-q̄**    **den**    **herc'ała**    **woku**  
 boy:M<sub>0</sub>:ERG    N:broken:N    car-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    1sg    reimburse:INF    M:must:PF

мне пришлось возместить машину, которую сын испортил

I had to pay for the car that my son wrote off

The locative of this series marks the possessor.

- (142) **mesdo-q̄**      **l'ani**      **ɣarse**      **ida**  
 Mesdo-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    much      money      COP

У Меседо много денег

Mesdo has a lot of money

As noted by Testelet (1980: p. 32), in one of the Lezghi dialects, the distinction between this marker (-q̄-) and the marker for APUD (here CFG<sub>1</sub>) is neutralised when used spatially. However when used with the meaning of possession they are no longer synonyms: the marker (-q̄-) encodes «full possession» and the marker for APUD encodes «temporary possession». As the meaning «behind» is shifting to APUD, it would not be surprising if a similar situation was found in Karata yet too little data prevents any firm conclusion.

CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] is used in a number of predicative expressions:

- it is the target with such verbs or predicative expressions as *bok'ata* 'to look', *šorata* 'to turn', *roĭ'i bekaĭa* 'to fall in love'

- (143) **den hinda-ŋagi mesdo-q̄ w-ok'-inda**  
 1sg when-INDEF Mesdo-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] M-look-IPF  
 Я всегда смотрю на Меседо  
 I always look at Mesdo

- (144) **dubda rak'waj-q̄ šoraĭ'a**  
 2sg<sub>0</sub>[GEN]:N:?? heart<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] turn:OPT  
 (пожелание) да исполнится твое желание (букв. пусть по твоему  
 сердцу повернется)  
 May your wish come true (lit. let it turn towards your heart)

- (145) **mesdo-q̄ roĭ'i b-eĭ-u**  
 Mesdo-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] love N-fall-PF  
 В Меседо влюблен  
 Mesdo fell in love

- it marks an NP that can be considered the cause of the event denoted by the verb (e.g. *bek'ata* 'to wait', *urqata* 'to miss', *c'ahaĭa* 'to feel pain', ...).

- (146) **rak'wa c'ahida idja dib hugušo-q̄**  
 heart burn:IPF COP 1sg<sub>0</sub>[GEN]:N DEM.:M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]  
 у меня душа болит за него  
 My heart aches for him

- (147) **hošu-q̄ bek'amχwa biŋe idja iši**  
 DEM-M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] wait:PF\_CVB\H<sup>+</sup> H<sup>+</sup>:stop:PF COP 1pl  
 мы ждем его  
 We are waiting for him

- (148) **wašašu-q̄ urqejχwa idja den**  
 son:M<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] be\_bored:F:PF\_CVB COP 1sg  
 я скучаю по сыну  
 I miss my son

- (149) **dija men dāṛwa-ḡ wiṛā**  
 1sg:DAT 2sg features-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] M:recognise[PF]  
 я тебя узнала по определенным чертам лица вашего рода  
 I recognised you because of the face features of your lineage

- it is used as a marker on the word *rak'wa* 'heart' to say 'off by heart'.

- (150) **dija čamwarda ajat rak'wa-ḡ biṛidja**  
 1sg:DAT some surah heart-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] stay:IPF  
 несколько сур из корана я знаю наизусть  
 I know a few surahs from the Koran by heart

- it marks the masdar of a verb denoting length *b/eḫelāṭa* 'lengthen' used in combination with the verb *b/oṛāṭa* 'to go' to express the concept of growing or on its own as an adverb.

- (151) **waša woḫelāṭeri-ḡ woṛā**  
 boy M:lengthen:MSD<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] M:go[PF]  
 сын вырос (букв. пошел в длину)  
 My son has grown (lit. has gone in length)

- (152) **roša beḫelāṭeri-ḡ boṛā**  
 tree N:lengthen:MSD<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] N:go[PF]  
 дерево пошло в рост  
 The tree has got taller (lit. has gone in length)

- (153) **beḫelāṭeri-ḡ t'amaṭa ahimo beṛūda hač'e**  
 N:lengthen:MSD<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] cover:INF central\_beam N:suffice:IPF COP;NEG  
 (длины) балки недостает для перекрытия по длине  
 The beam is not long enough to cover the length

CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC] is also used productively for localisation in time with the season names for winter and summer.

- (154) **q̄'ino-q̄**                    **t'oreč'e**  
 summer-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    drip:PF:NEG  
 за все лето ни капли дождя (букв. не капнуло)  
 Not a single drop fell this summer
- (155) **čibero-q̄**            **iṣ̌i**    **hã-l̄i**                    **bak'wa**  
 winter-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    1pl    village<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>5</sub>[LOC]    H<sup>+</sup>:be[PF]  
 всю зиму мы жили в селе  
 We lived in the village the whole winter

#### 4.6 CFG6 (-i-)

No occurrence of this marker used with a non-spatial meaning has been found in the corpus.

#### 4.7 CFG7 (-l̄i-)

This series is used metaphorically when:

- the figure is in a state/activity (locative) or about to be in it (allative). Ganenkov explains this metaphorical use of CFG<sub>7</sub> through a semantic shift from mass to state.

- (156) **maḷ'u-l̄i**                    **den**    **ertãtidja**    **wuk'uda**  
 slumber-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    1sg    fly:IPF                    M:be:IPF  
 во сне я часто летаю  
 I often fly in my sleep
- (157) **misa**    **gedajgil**    **ṣ̌urab**    **haneda**    **gwaŋi-l̄i-r**    **bak'ara**            **bik'wa**  
 house    build:during    all:N    village:ITS    help<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL    get\_together[PF]    N:be[PF]  
 во время строительства дома всем селом собрались на помощь  
 When the house was under construction, the whole village got together to help

- the context describes properties of the orienter. The orienter is more often than not an animate (or an element metaphorically considered an animate) and the figure is a feature of its character, mental or emotional state.

- (158) **ʎebebɣwa rak'wa-īi ruhedā biɣuɕ'e**  
 scare:N:PF\_CVB heart-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] soul:ITS remain:PF:NEG  
 от испуга душа в пятки ушла (букв. в сердце души не осталось)  
 I was scared out of my wits (lit. in the heart no soul was left at all)

- (159) **hob ɣabar hadoʔa-īi-r ɣabda haɕ'e**  
 DEM:N conversation head-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL become\_soaked:IMP COP;NEG  
 этот разговор умом не воспринимается (букв. в голову не пропитывается)  
 This conversation does not make sense (lit. into the head is not impregnating)

- (160) **hadoʔa-īi-gal boʔāīa haɕ'e**  
 head-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ABL leave:INF COP;NEG  
 из головы не выходит  
 I am obsessed with it (lit. it does not leave my head)

Note that there is a number of metaphorical expressions that use the word *rak'wa* 'heart' with this marker.

- the figure is a constitutive element of the orienter.

- (161) **how ɣabda rabi-īi raveda wuk'a**  
 DEM:M three war<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] fight:IMP M:be[PF]  
 он участвовал в трех войнах  
 He fought in three wars

The locative of the series in *-lī* is also used in quite a number of examples to encode:

- the point of impact of a moving element on an inanimate orienter (≠ experiencer).

- (162) **den-a      du-č'o      hadoʔa-lī      anča      torč'-anš**  
 1sg-ERG    2sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    head-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    stone    hit-FUT  
 Я тебя ударю камнем по голове  
 I will hit you on the head with a stone

- (163) **peči-lī      tūkē      den**  
 stove<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    bump:PF    1sg  
 я ударился об печь  
 I bumped into the stove

- an abstract orienter which is the pragmatic theme of the event denoted by the predicate.

- (164) **ʒarse-lī      kālter      bisã**  
 money-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    shortage    N:be\_revealed[PF]  
 в деньгах обнаружили недостачу  
 A financial deficit was revealed (lit. in the money was revealed a shortage)

- one of the terms of a multiplication.

- (165) **boʔoda-lī      ištuda      l'abajbar      k'ijac'ada      bik'uda**  
 four-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]    five    multiply:COND    twenty    N:be:IPF  
 если четыре умножить на пять, будет двадцать  
 If you multiply four by five, you get twenty.

The allative of CFG<sub>7</sub> is used with the word *baʒa* 'face' to mean 'face to face'.

- (166) **dija      bałeč'e      baʒilo-lī-r      keł'āla**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>:DAT    dare:PF:NEG    face<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL    say:INF  
 я не осмелился сказать в лицо  
 I dared not tell him

It is also found as a governed use of the verb *b/aʔaʔa* 'to reach' in the expression meaning 'can't hold a candle to someone' where it encodes the animate used as the standard of comparison.

- (167) **baχo-l̄i-r jaʔaj q̄'ĩq'eqan cej jik'wač'e hãli**  
 Baχo-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL F:reach:F embroideress one:F F-be[PF]:NEG village<sub>o</sub>:CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC]  
 лучшей вышивальщицы, чем Бахо, в селении не было  
 There was no embroideress better than Baxo in the village.

#### 4.8 CFG8 (-l̄'i-)

The figure is under the domination of a (threatening) orienter.

- (168) **šimi-l̄'i wusa wuk'aχoror wãq'ãš wuk'a**  
 wrath-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] M:stay:PF M:be:COND throttle:FUT M:be[PF]  
 если бы попался под горячую руку, задушил бы  
 If you were under my wrath, I would throttle you

- (169) **how dič'o q̄atu-l̄'i idja**  
 DEM:M 1sg<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC] hand-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] COP  
 он у меня в руках  
 He is in my hands

### 5 Dynamics of the spatial case system in Karata

#### 5.1 Lexicalisation

Throughout the dictionary, a few words have called my attention as the reason for the use of their marker was quite opaque. As Denis Creissels suggested, it turns out these words are polysems and have retained their original meaning's semantic motivation for the choice of a configuration marker.

The following example illustrates the use of the word for *garden* with the configuration marker -l̄'i- 'beneath'. This apparent 'quirk' in spatial marking finds an explanation when knowing that *aχe* used to mean 'trellis archway', hence 'under an archway'.

- (170) **mak'ilol**      **aχi-l'i-gal**      **ʒeče**      **beq'eše**  
 child:PL:ERG    garden<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>8</sub>-ABL    apple    N:steal:PF  
 дети своровали яблоки из сада  
 The children pilfered apples from the garden

This second example brings to the fore the use of the word for 'place around the hearth' with the configuration marker *-i-* (IN). Again this unexpected use can be explained by means of a metonymic shift: *aq̄u* initially means 'hearth' and has come to stand for 'place around the hearth'. As we have seen the configuration marker *-i-* is productive with orienters such as 'hearth'.

- (171) **aq̄-i**                      **k'userdi**      **šigida**      **raq̄ē**  
 hearth<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC]    gathering:PL    long\_time    nH<sup>+</sup>:end:PF  
 давно нет посиделок у очага  
 There has not been a night gathering by the fire for a long time

As Creissels pointed out, there seems to be a tendency to maintain a marking motivated by the initial spatial relationship with the orienter even after a semantic shift, which tampers with the properties of the orienter, has occurred. In other words, these examples make up a strong argument in favour of the lexicalisation of a configuration marker on its orienter and it is therefore not surprising that in some cases the use of a configuration marker can no longer be explained.

## 5.2 Towards a postpositional system

There are a number of postpositions in Karata which combine with orienters marked by configuration markers. As noted by Magomedbekova (1971, p. 158), the link between some of these postpositions and the corresponding spatial markers is obvious (e.g. *ke-l'i* / CFG<sub>8</sub> (*l'i*)). Note that they can also be used on their own as spatial adverbs.

### 5.2.1 Non-specified configuration markers

The postpositions listed below exist in all three spatial cases (except for those that combine with CFG<sub>1</sub> which are not found in the allative) yet the dependent orienter remains in the locative.

I deliberately class CFG<sub>1</sub> in the non-specified-configuration-markers section. On the one hand, it is clearly losing its spatial value, as have brought to light the previous parts, and on the other hand, it exhibits semantic and formal similarities with CFG<sub>3</sub> when used with a postposition.

A noun phrase marked by CFG<sub>1</sub> can combine with:

- *baī'i* 'between'
- *kaʔa* 'on' SUPER
- *keīi* 'among' INTER
- *keī'i* 'beneath' SUB
- *ṣigi* 'before'
- *χigi* 'behind' POST
- *hini* 'beneath'/'within' [+ time] IN

- (172) **hordo-č'o**                      **baī'i-gal**                      **č'arqē**                      **hoj**  
 DEM:nH<sup>+</sup>:PL<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    between-ABL                      struggle\_out:PF                      DEM:F  
 она выбилась из их строя  
 She struggled out from between them

- (173) **di-č'o**                      **kaʔa**                      **ida**                      **čurqā**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]                      on[LOC]                      COP                      chokha  
 На мне есть чоха  
 I am wearing a chokha (caucasian coat)

- (174) **ančiba-č'o**                      **keī'i-gal**                      **īēj**                      **b-oχ-e**  
 rock<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]                      beneath-ABL                      water                      N-appear-PF  
 Из-под камней появилась вода  
 Water sprung under the stone

- (175) **beti**                      **di-č'o**                      **ṣigal**  
 N:get\_lost:IMP                      1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]                      before<sub>0</sub>:ABL  
 уйди прочь с моих глаз (букв. потеряйся у меня спереди)  
 Get out of my sight (lit. Get lost from before me)

- (176) **aʔu-č'o**                    **hini**                    **ħūšeda**    **idja**  
 shoulder-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    beneath[LOC]    prick:IPF    COP  
 под лопаткой колет  
 It is itchy under the shoulder
- (177) **daʃba**                    **gedolo-č'o**                    **keḷi**    **idja**    **how**  
 argument    do:IPF\_PTCP:H<sup>+</sup><sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    among    COP    DEM:M  
 он находится между спорящими сторонами  
 He stands in the middle of arguing people
- (178) **di-č'o**                    **χigi**                    **ida**    **wudu-w**  
 1sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>1</sub>[LOC]    behind[LOC]    COP    DEM-M  
 Он находится за мной  
 He is behind me
- A noun phrase marked by CFG<sub>3</sub> can combine with
- *baḷ'i*        'between'
  - *kaʔa*        'on' SUPER
  - *keḷi*        'in' INTER
  - *keḷ'i*        'beneath' SUB
  - *ṣigi*        'before'
  - *hini*        'in' IN
  - *χigi-ṣigi*    'around'
- (179) **ust'ulij-a**                    **kaʔa-gal**                    **qoča**    **baha**  
 table<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    on-ABL                    book    N:take:IMP  
 возьми книгу со стола  
 Take the book off the table
- (180) **basīdob**                    **hedelaḷij-a**                    **baḷ'i-r**                    **woḷibiše**  
 tell:IPF\_PTCP:N    thing<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]    between-ALL    M:stand:PROH(FUT)  
 не вмешивайся в разговор (букв. не становись между  
 рассказываемой вещью)  
 Do not meddle in a conversation (lit. Do not step into a thing being  
 told)

- (181) **īěj**      **ūšj-a**      **keḷi-r**      **χabilaš**      **hāk'āla**      **baḷeč'e**  
 water      earth<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]      in-ALL      absorb:?:FUT      dig:INF      can:PF:NEG  
 пока земля водой не пропиталась, копать было невозможно  
 The earth was so dry, digging was impossible. (lit. One cannot dig  
 while the earth is not absorbing water)
- (182) **duw-a**      **keḷ'i-r**      **šureboχa**      **berka**      **b-o?-ā**      **χidi**      **herč'-i**  
 2sg<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]      beneath-ALL      move:N:PF\_CVB      snake      N-come-PF      away      go\_up-IMP  
 Под тебя заползла змея, вставай!  
 The snake went beneath you, move away! (lit. came moving)
- (183) **bač'idajgil**      **hark'ā**      **šigi-r**      **mišar**      **beḷu**      **idja**  
 N:choose:IPF:??      eye(PL)<sub>0</sub>:CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]      before-ALL      nose      N:wind\_up:PF      COP  
 при выборе помешали обстоятельства (букв. перед глазами нос  
 оказался)  
 While you make up your mind, things change (lit. in front of the eyes  
 the nose wound up)
- (184) **šamoḷ**      **c'ek'ā**      **hini**      **ħapara**      **q'ā**      **bik'wa**  
 donkey<sub>0</sub>:GEN      hoof[CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]      in[LOC]      fungus      hard      N:be[PF]  
 у осла грибок в копытах  
 The donkey had fungus in its hoofs
- (185) **jupki-j-a**      **χigil šigil**      **k'edak'eda**      **suk'i**      **biḷā**  
 skirt<sub>0</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>[LOC]      around[LOC]      two~two      crease      make[PF]  
 сделай на юбке сзади и впереди по две складки  
 Take the hem up twice all around the skirt (lit. make a fold twice)

### 5.2.2 Specified configuration markers

A noun phrase marked by CFG<sub>7</sub> can combine with:

- *baḷ'i*      'between'
- *hini*      'in' IN [+ activity]
- *keḷi*      'in' [+ activity]/'among' [+ animates] INTER

Interestingly, when a postposition combines with an orienter marked by CFG<sub>7</sub>, the orienter always agrees in case with the postposition.

- (186) **hobaj** **ĩdo-lĩ-dj-a** **baĩ'i** **keç'idja**  
 DEM:H<sup>+</sup> REFL.3pl<sub>o</sub>-GEN-PCL-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] between[LOC] fight:IPF  
 они меж собой ругаются (дерутся)  
 They fight between themselves (insult each other)
- (187) **rišãqero-lĩ-r** **hini-r** **ħaboħwa** **idja** **how**  
 work-CFG<sub>7</sub>-ALL in-ALL get\_saturated:PF\_CVB COP DEM:M  
 он весь ушел в работу (букв. он пропитался в работе)  
 He completely committed to his work (lit. He was absorbed in his work)
- (188) **šamili-b** **iho-lĩ** **keĩ** **w-uk'a** **di-w** **ima**  
 Šamil<sub>o</sub>[GEN]-N army<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>7</sub>[LOC] inside[LOC] M-be[PF] 1sg<sub>o</sub>[GEN]-M father  
 Шамиля в войске внутри был мой отец  
 My father was in Šamil's army

A noun phrase marked by CFG<sub>6</sub> can combine with:

- *kaʔa* 'on' SUPER
- *hini* 'in' IN

- (189) **peç-i-gal** **ç'waj** **t'are** **dib** **gordi-j** **kaʔa-r**  
 stove-CFG<sub>6</sub>-ABL spark fly:PF 1sg[GEN]:N skirt-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC] on-ALL  
 на мое платье залетела искра из печи  
 A spark flew out from the stove onto my skirt
- (190) **ram-i** **hini** **šurat** **gurginābħwa** **biħe**  
 frame<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>6</sub>[LOC] in[LOC] picture round:N:PF\_CVB put:PF  
 фотографию, округлив, поместил в раму  
 He put the rounded picture into the frame.

A noun phrase marked by CFG<sub>8</sub> can combine with:

- *keĩ'i* 'beneath' SUB

- (191) **ĩ'eda-l'i** **keĩ'i-gal** **b-oʔ-ãła** **ida** **ħerša**  
 cliff<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>8</sub>[LOC] beneath-ABL N-go-INF COP river  
 Из под скалы течет река  
 The river will flow from beneath the cliff

It is worth noting that if direction is marked on the noun then it is obligatorily marked on the postposition as well while the reverse is not obligatory. In other words, in these analytic constructions, direction is marked on postpositions. Since it is not always marked on the noun, we may infer that direction-marking on nouns is only a reflex of the 'waning system' of spatial forms.

### 5.2.3 *χidi* a post-positional ablative marker?

*χidi*, unlike the other postpositions, is invariable and only preceded by the ablative case (with different predicates). The configuration markers seem to vary freely according to the configuration that is meant. *χidi* cannot possibly encode a configuration type then.

- (192) **rišāqerw-a-gal** **χidi** **waq̄e** **how**  
 work<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>3</sub>-ABL PREP M:pull\_out:PF DEM:M  
 его сняли с работы  
 They took him off his job

- (193) **den** **miq̄'i-gal** **χidi** **sorā**  
 1sg road<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>6</sub>-ABL PREP shake:PF  
 меня вернули с дороги  
 They shook me off the road

- (194) **miṭila-ḷ'i-gal** **χidi** **jeʔi**  
 sun<sub>o</sub>-CFG<sub>8</sub>-ABL PREP F:have\_time:IMP  
 уходи ис-под солнца  
 Have time away from the sun

The fact that this word is always preceded by a noun inflected in the ablative case is on the other hand quite meaningful. Moreover all the occurrences with *χidi* exhibit unequivocal ablative semantics. Although hasty conclusions are to be avoided, it is plausible that *χidi* is a postposition that emphasizes the use of the ablative, an equivalent of *away* in English. Its use could be purely pragmatic.

### 5.3 Evolution of some markers

#### 5.3.1 CONT

As is visible in my analysis, the historical CONT marker has lost its core specificity<sup>18</sup> of denoting 'complete contact between the figure and a fully-involved orienter' to retain only peripheral meanings. Two things are important here. First, it is a hint that when losing its spatial meanings, a spatial marker first loses its core semantic value. Moreover, on the way to losing the specific CONT semantics of the -č'o marker, Karata seems to be further along than Andi but in a less advanced stage of decomposition than Chamalal.

How then is the core meaning of CONT expressed in Karata now? It is important to bear in mind that CONT denotes the way in which contact is realised: is the contact 'free or not'; is the whole figure involved or only the surface? Therefore it is often the case that CONT may be used instead of INTER or SUPER, the choice being left up to the speaker. In the analysis laid out here, most of the CONT uses seem to have been taken over by the series in -a and three by CFG<sub>7</sub>.

Interestingly, CFG<sub>1</sub> and CFG<sub>3</sub> share some characteristics: the ablative case can be used with both configuration markers to encode the standard of comparison and they behave likewise with postpositions. Moreover, most of the non-spatial uses of CFG<sub>1</sub> are governed uses.

#### 5.3.2 IN and INTER

It is now very clear that IN and INTER are not used with the same 'spheres' of orienters. IN is used with a few classes of lexemes and INTER is used with the remaining few classes of lexemes. These two spheres do not overlap but rather are in complementary distribution.

Testeleks and Ganenkov had already noticed that CFG<sub>6</sub> and CFG<sub>7</sub> function as classifiers that are distinct only by their combinatory possibilities<sup>19</sup>. Ganenkov

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<sup>18</sup> Ganenkov made a distinction between central uses and peripheral uses of CONT: central uses are reserved for configurations in which both the figure and the orienter have outer surfaces and these surfaces are in complete contact.

<sup>19</sup> Lezghi languages for instance present the opposite situation: IN and INTER are semantically motivated and can combine with any lexeme, thus bringing in more distinctions.

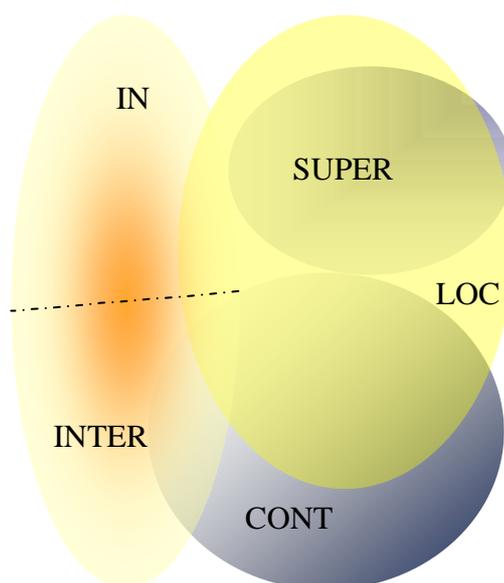
remarked (2005, p. 137) that even though the complementary distribution of IN and INTER is maintained, the limit varies from one language to the other and some subgroups of lexemes can be encoded by IN or by INTER. Thereby names of rooms are encoded by INTER in Karata.

The conclusion of this is that both IN and INTER are used to denote that the figure is 'within an inner space of X' but IN is used only with the types of orienters listed in 3.6 and INTER with those listed in 3.7.

I showed that a few former CONT spatial uses of  $CFG_1$  had been taken over by  $CFG_7$ , that is by INTER. This seems to confirm the concept of a continuum IN-INTER-CONT but more importantly it hints at a shift in meaning of the  $-li$  marker that has already been attested in other languages of the Daghestanian branch (Ganenkov: 2005, p. 239).

Indeed the reconstructed signification of  $-li$  in proto-Avaro-Ando-Tsez is 'in a mass, shapeless space' yet in a few languages amongst which is Tindi (of the Andic subbranch)  $-li$  expresses both INTER and CONT and Bezhta and Hunzib have utterly lost the INTER signification. The odds are that  $-li$  in Karata is going to lose its specific INTER meaning (and its classifier value) in favour of  $-i$  (now only IN) and take on more and more CONT uses. The fact that the series  $-i$  only has spatial uses is all the more telling.

To conclude the analysis of the uses of the spatial markers in Karata, here is a schema which attempts to represent the state in which the markers' prototypical values are at the moment.



IN and INTER do not combine with the same orienters. A few CONT uses are now marked by INTER while the predictable uses are now marked by LOC. LOC encodes some uses of IN and INTER that are prototypical for a given orienter. SUPER is now virtually encoded by the LOC marker, its purely spatial, non-prototypical uses being encoded by a postposition.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown what each configuration marker in Karata is used for on the basis of the examples given in the Karata-Russian dictionary.

The aim of this descriptive study is to provide a tool should anyone be interested in learning more about Karata. To the question 'What spatial form should I use in this situation?', I hope this study will be able to bring satisfactory answers and help understand the evolution of the semantics of configuration markers within the Daghestanian branch of languages. It is nonetheless impossible to account for the motivation of the configuration markers in every example. Karata being a non-written language, one cannot resort to etymology or only by chance as instanced the case for *garden*. In the end, being limited to synchronic observations, one can only conclude that some configuration markers have been lexicalised and are learnt by heart with their orienter.

As a final comment, I should like to say that I do not consider this study 'done and dusted'. On the contrary, given the nature of my corpus there are many things I would like to clarify and confirm. For instance, the question of postpositions needs to be further investigated and it is my wish to pursue this work.

## Abbreviations

ADJR: adjectiviser	IPF : imperfective
ALL : allative	ITS: intensive
ABL : ablative	LOC : locative
ADD : additive particle	MSD : masdar
CAUS : causative	M : masculin
CFG : configuration marker	nH <sup>+</sup> : non-human plural
COMP : comparative	N : neuter
COND : conditional	NEG : negation
COP : copula	OPT: optative
CVB: converb	o : oblique stem
DAT : dative	PCL: particle
DEM : demonstrative	PF : perfective
ERG : ergative	PL : plural
F : feminine	POS: possessive
FUT : future	PR : present
GEN : genitive	PROH : prohibitive
H <sup>+</sup> : human plural	PTCP :participle
IMP : imperative	Q: question marker
INDEF : indefinite	REFL: reflexive
INF : infinitive	SELECT: selective
INT : interrogative	SG : singular
inTR: intransitive	TR: transitive

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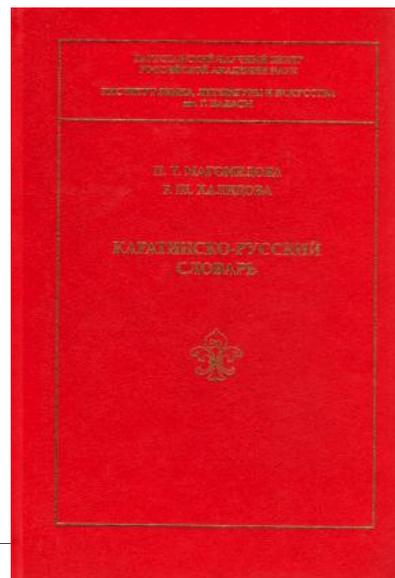
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## Appendix 1

The dictionary on which this study is based contains 8,000 words. All Karata words, both lexemes and illustrations of usage, are marked for stress. Nouns and verbs are followed by their main grammatical forms - the genitive and plural for nouns, past and future tense forms, imperatives and gerunds for verbs.

All entries contain a wealth of examples in bold case (word groups, phrases, idioms, proverbs and sayings) given with their Russian translation.

A list of microtoponyms, anthroponyms, a short grammatical sketch and a Russian-Karata index are given as a supplement.



### КА"ТІА/ЛЪА — КВАДИ-СИГИ

мить *кого-л.*, чтоб задумался о содеянном)

КА"ТІА/ЛЪА (-Ø, -ё, -Ø, -бхва, -идйа) *лонуд.* вразумлять; наводит на мысль; **дена ка"тіа гъов** я его навёл на мысль; **ка"тіалъа тіаме биси"къа дай аллах** вразумления (*выражение сочувствия при определенных событиях с пожеланиями*) (*букв.* чтоб бросили для вразумления); **бикъоб боліала ка"тіасо** после плохого — образумится

КВАБАХ III (-ол, -абди) лопата (*широкая деревянная*); **квабахол а"зе тіамалъа** сбрасывать лопатой снег (*скрыши*); **квабахол лале гъурабалъа** веять лопатой обмолоченную массу ♣ **квабахол зъаръа къа"дов** дурак (*букв.* лопатой нечистоты кушающий)

КВАДАР III (-уя/ -ол, -ди) кумган (*кувшин рукомойный со сливным носиком и с ручкой*); **пахуял квадар** медный кумган; **хъазамил квадар** чугунный кумган; **квадарол цю"кля** сливной носик кумгана; **квадарол роси** основание кумгана; *тук. мучи.*

КВАДИ *в знач. нареч.* в руках, в руке (*в прям. и перен.*); **квади бикалъа а)** подержать в руках б) *перен.* сохранить, удерживать *что-л.* у себя; **квади бикалъа гъедела биквачіе** не осталось ничего стоящего (*букв.* что можно подержать в руках); **квадир бекалъа а)** дать в руки б) вручить лично *кому-л.*; **квадир балъа а)** взять в руки б) *перен.* отобрать, забрать *что-л.* у *кого-л.*; **квадир тенда гъачіе бесун** нож не отыскивается; **дийа квадир теъа бикіа хаме** мне подалась такая ткань; **квадис макіе** ребенок, который еще не ходит; **квади къамер идйав а)** в руках еда; б) *о ком-л.*, который на все способен; **квадигал бахъом мащхъл гъачіов** на все руки мастер (*букв.* из рук выпущенного мастерства нет)

КВАДИ-СИГИ *нареч.* на виду; в дос-

тупном месте; **квади-сиги испишка бешдибисе** не оставляй спички в доступном (для детей) месте; **квади-сиги макілоб рекыа баъидйобгури къа"ціа бешдибисе** не оставляй уксус в доступном для детей месте; **квади-сиги гъеделада гъачіе а)** на видном месте ничего нет б) в руках ничего нет

КВАЙ III (-йл, -дй) 1) половник, поварёжка; **лъудилол квай** деревянная поварёжка 2) черпак (*медный, лужёный сверху — для черпания воды из родника*); **квайкіел гъа"де лъе"йл беціалъа** черпаком наполнить кувшин водой ♣ **хъаги квайгебхва баківалъа** неотлучно постоянно находится у *кого-то*, где *-то* (*букв.* как половник в кастрюле)

КВАЙ-ГЪЕРКІАМ *астрон.* созвездие Большая Медведица; **квай-миклоб астрон. созвездие Малая Медведица**

КВАЛДА III (-л, -нби) пола; подол; **беціоб квалда** полный подол; **гъечил квалда беціалъа** наполнить подол яблоками ♣ **квадалли кіусалъа** сесть на колени (*букв.* в подол садиться); **квадалли бехъвалъа а)** принести в подоле б) принести незаконнорожденного ребенка

КВАЛ-КВАЛ III (-ол, -ди) помеха, препятствие; преграда; затруднение; **квал-квал гъачіебхва** без помех; **квалквалди идйаб рisha"хъер а)** работа, сопряженная с помехами б) беспокойная работа; **квал-квал галъа а)** создавать помехи, чинить преграду б) беспокоить

КВАЛКВАС/АЛЪА (-а, -ас, -и, -абхва, -идйа) сомневаться; **биша"хъаселакъе квалквасабхва идйа гъобай** они сомневаются в том, стоит ли работать; **ден квалкваса идйа я** в нерешительности; **къамалъалоб гъедела бичіа квалкваса идйа** не знаю, что поест

КВАЛКВАСАР 1. *масд. от гл.* квалквасалъа 2. (-ил, -ди) сомнение; **диб гъолъа гъеркіам квалквасар идйа** по ее поводу у меня большие сомнения

КВАЛЧІА : КВАЛЧІА БОХЪАЛЪА плавать; **квалчіа бохъалъа бийдйа дийа я** умею плавать

КВАЛЧІ/АЛЪА (-ё, -ас, -ей, -ебхва,

see below for explanation

**КВАЛДА́ III (-лі, -иби) пола; подол;  
бец'об квалда полный подол; гечилі  
квалда бец'а́лѣа наполнить подол ябло-  
ками ✦ квалдали к'ус'а́лѣа сесть на ко-  
лени (букв. в подол садиться); квалдали  
бех'валѣа а) принести в подоле б) при-  
нести незаконнорожденного ребенка**

Translation

3<sup>rd</sup> grammatical class (neuter)  
 genitive plural examples  
**KWALDA III (-ī, -ibi)** flap; inferior part of a dress;  
**bec'ob kwalda** the whole flap; **sečiī kwalda bec'āla** to  
 fill the flap with apples ★ **kwaldaī k'usāla** to sit on the  
 knees (*lit.* in the flap to sit); **kwaldaī beḡwala** a) to be  
 pregnant b) to have an illegitimate child

Appendix 2



MAP 1

Lingvarium (<http://lingvarium.org>)

Legend

- 9 Avar-speaking area
- 13 Karata-speaking area