

SERIES: LINGUISTICS

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THE SEMANTICS OF APUD IN LEZGIAN²

This study deals with the semantics of *-w* APUD ‘near’ locative form in Lezgian. The research is based on the Corpus of Standard Lezgian. Through the observation of corpus data I investigate locative and non-locative uses of the marker and try to work out its semantics.

JEL Classification:

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Introduction

In this paper, I consider the semantics of the *-w* (APUD ‘near’) locative case in Lezgian. Using corpus data I analyze the patterns where APUD is used in its literal locative meaning and attempt to discover the its semantics.

Lezgian belongs to the Lezgian branch of Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family, well-known for large case inventories. Usually, a nominal paradigm of a Northeast Caucasian language consists of two parts: functional, or grammatical, cases and locative forms. This distinction is based on morphology. Functional nominal inflection consists of one morpheme, and locative inflection may (but does not have to) include more than one morpheme.

Grammatical cases are similar to the cases in European languages and usually mark syntactic relations between NPs within a clause. Locative cases prototypically mark spatial relations between two objects (following (Langacker 1987), I use the terms *trajector* and *landmark*). There is however no clear functional border between the two types. For example, in Lezgian, the locative form AD-EL(ative) can be used to mark an argument of a verb:

- (1) *jarxi* *ali-di* *ada-w-aj* *pul* *q:aču-na*
tall Ali-ERG he.OBL-APUD-EL money take-AOR
‘The tall Ali took the money from him (literally, ‘from near him’).’
(Haspelmath 1993: 90)

And Dative, which obviously is a functional case, can be used in the locative meaning ‘(in)to’:

- (2) *pačah.di-n* *rik’* *ala-j* *dewe* *müiq’^w.e-l-aj*
king.obl-GEN heart be.on-PTP camel bridge.OBL-SUP-EL
wac’.u-z *awat-na*
river-DAT fall-AOR
‘The king’s favorite camel fell from the bridge into the river’. (Haspelmath 1993: 89)

Most grammars only provide an inventory of cases and a few examples. Semantics and real use are rarely thoroughly explained. A model example is found for CONT localization (‘location of a Figure attached to a Ground, so that the latter prevents the former from falling down, e.g. ‘picture on the wall’) in various languages in (Ganenkov 2010:1023). A detailed description of Lezgian cases is found in (Meilanova, 1960).

As for other locative cases, the uses of APUD in Lezgian can be roughly divided into two types: locative uses determined by semantics vs. syntactic uses determined by verbal frames. Most often APUD occurs under verb frames or in idiomatic expressions, while literal uses are fairly rare. Another problem is that there is another locative case *-q* (POST ‘behind’) that is also used in a similar meaning of proximity relation. Below I make an attempt to find the contexts where APUD is the only possible (or at least the default) option, and to describe the disposition of objects expressed in them.

In this paper I treat non-locative uses of APUD as a conceptual metaphor. The metaphor can be understood as a *mapping* from a source domain to a target domain (Lakoff 1993). I use the term *mapping* in the meaning of a systematic set of correspondences between two semantic domains. I take locative uses of APUD as the source domain and non-locative uses as target domains, and try to explain how the non-locative uses may be understood in locative terms.

The paper consists of seven sections, including the introduction. Section 2 is a brief overview of the case inventory of Lezgian, especially of their morphological structure. In the next section I describe the methods. Sections 4 and 5 are dedicated to the non-locative and locative uses of the morpheme *-w*, respectively. In Section 6 I discuss elicitation of the examples with a native speaker. Section 7 suggests some conclusions.

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Structure of Lezgian Case System

Cases in Lezgian

Below I use the morphosyntactic labels suggested in (Dixon 1994). A, P and S stand for Agent, Patient and Sole, respectively. These labels are different from actual semantic roles. A stands for the *prototypical* (or *morphosyntactic*) agent, but it has nothing to do with semantic agentivity. For example, the subject of a Russian verb *videt* ‘see’ would be an A because morphosyntactically it is marked in the same way as the subject of agentive verbs like *bit* ‘beat’. Its semantic role is however that of an Experiencer. The same applies to P viz. Patient. The Sole is the only argument of an intransitive verb and includes both S_p (patientive S) and S_a (agentive S), because this distinction is not relevant for Lezgian.

There are four grammatical cases in Lezgian: the absolutive, the ergative, the dative and the genitive.

The absolutive marks S of an intransitive verb and P of a transitive verb:

- (3) *sadiq'.a* *jad* *qwa-na*
 Sadiq.ERG **water**(ABS) drink-AOR
 ‘Sadiq drank water’. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)
- (4) *kasbuba* *qunši.di-q* *galaz* *sa* *χürü-z* *fī-zwa-j*
Kasbuba(ABS) neighbour.OBL-POST(ESS) together one village-DAT go-IPFV-PST
 ‘Kasbuba was walking to a village together with a neighbor’. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)

The ergative marks A of a transitive verb:

- (5) *ali.di* *aχwar.i-q* *galaz* *gzaf* *waxt.und-a*
Ali.ERG sleep.OBL-POST(ESS) together a.lot.of time-IN(ESS)
ženg *č'ugu-na*
 fight pull-AOR
 ‘Ali fought with sleep for a long time’. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)

The dative is the case for Recipients, Beneficiaries and Experiencers:

- (6) *ruš.a* *gada.di-z* *cük* *ga-na*
 girl.ERG **boy**.OBL-DAT flower give-AOR
 ‘The girl gave a flower to the boy’. (Haspelmath 1993: 88)

The genitive typically shows that one name is related to another (e.g. possessive constructions):

- (7) *mizafer.a-n* *k^wal-er*
Mizefer.OBL-GEN house-PL
 ‘Mizefer’s house’. (Haspelmath 1993: 84)

Locative cases in Lezgian may consist of up to two morphemes. The first morpheme, *localization* marker, expresses the position of a trajector with respect to a landmark. The second morpheme, *orientation* marker, expresses the type of movement of a trajector relative to the position expressed by the localization marker. There are 5 localizations in Lezgian: SUB ‘under’ (actually Lezgian SUB covers also the domains of INTER and CONT, SUB being just one of its meanings), POST ‘behind/near’, APUD ‘near’, SUP(er) ‘on the upper surface’ and IN ‘inside the landmark’; and 3 orientations: ESS(ive) ‘no movement’, LAT(ive) ‘movement towards a landmark’ and EL(ative) ‘movement away from a landmark’. An example of the locative paradigm is shown in the Table 1:

Tab. 1. Locative cases of *sew* ‘bear’. (Haspelmath 1993: 74)

	APUD	POST	IN	SUB	SUPER
ESSIVE	<i>sew-re-w</i>	<i>sew-re-q</i>	<i>sew-re</i>	<i>sew-re-k</i>	<i>sew-re-l</i>
LATIVE	<i>sew-re-w-di</i>	<i>sew-re-q-di</i>	-	<i>sew-re-k-di</i>	<i>sew-re-l-di</i>
ELATIVE	<i>sew-re-w-aj</i>	<i>sew-re-q-aj</i>	<i>sew-räj</i>	<i>sew-re-k-aj</i>	<i>sew-re-l-aj</i>

There is a total of 14 locative cases, because IN-LAT is does not exist. To express the meaning ‘movement inside the landmark’ the Dative is to be used. The IN marker is non-segmental, IN-ESS being homophonous to ERG form just with a subset of Lezgian nouns. In general, they are to be distinguished, e.g. *buba-di* (father-ERG) vs. *buba-da* (father-IN), *q:anc-i* ‘stone-ERG’ vs. *q:anc-e* ‘stone-IN’ etc.

Below I discuss only APUD and POST localizations. I take POST into account because it is also used to express the proximity relation, and therefore is crucial for specifying the exact meaning of APUD.

Nevertheless, *none* of the localizations is the default ways to express this meaning. The default means for ‘near’ are various postpositions including *pataw*, *q:walaw* and *muq’uw*.

Methods

To conduct the study I used the Corpus of Standard Lezgian which is available at <http://www.dag-languages.org/LezgianCorpus/search/>. It is based on the software of the Eastern Armenian National Corpus (EANC, available at <http://eanc.net>). The corpus contains 4,5 million tokens with morphological annotation.

In this research I used the corpus to study the use of *-w* localization in written texts. This approach allows to survey language usage. It also enables one to track the use of the APUD in terms of tendencies and frequencies rather than strict rules. This is important to understand APUD vs. POST distinction.

Another advantage of a corpus-based study is that it works even without an initial hypothesis. There are lots of possible distinctions between the proximity categories in Northeast Caucasian languages. The relevant semantic contrasts have been studied only for a very small subset of languages. One cannot be sure that all possible contrasts are already known.

Nevertheless, this method also has some disadvantages. First of all, the morphological annotation is created automatically and contains some mistakes. Ambiguity is not resolved as well. Secondly, the vast majority of the texts in the corpus belong to one of the two genres, 20th century prose and newspapers, so the corpus is by no means balanced. The corpus can thus be a useful tool at the initial stage of a research on case semantics. On the next stage, I also verified the results and interpretations with the help of a Lezgian native speaker.

The research consists of two parts. First, I took 1,000 examples containing any lexeme in APUD-ESS form. I excluded *pad* ‘side’ from the sample because its APUD-ESS form is a postposition *pataw* ‘near’. I classified the examples by the following parameters: the main verb, its semantic class, the semantic class of the name, the contextual meaning of APUD. On the basis of these parameters I divided the uses of APUD into different types as described below.

In the second part of the research, I used a different sample which only included locative uses of APUD (235 sentences). I used these data to classify different uses of APUD to describe the semantics of the locative meaning of *-w*.

Non-locative Uses of APUD

In this section I describe the contexts where APUD is used as a functional case.

Instrument/Consumable Substance

One of the functions of APUD-ESS is marking an Instrument in the frames of the verbs that have this argument:

- (8) ...*q'ıl* *q'we* *ɤil.i-w* *q'u-na...*
 head two **hand.OBL-APUD(ESS)** catch-AOR
 ‘...he grabbed his head with both his hands ...’ (Ahmedov Nazir, Farhad buba
 raɣazva, 1964)

The roles that are semantically close to Instrument, such as consumable substance, are also marked with APUD:

- (9) *q:izilgüla* *kwar* *q:aču-na,* *ci-w* *ac'ur-na* *waɣga-na*
 Kizigüla jug take-AOR **water.OBL-APUD(ESS)** fill-AOR give-AOR
 ‘Kizigüla took the jar and filled it with water’. (Hažikulijev Buba, Jar, 1969)

Recipient/Possessor

It is common for Northeast Caucasian languages to distinguish two types of object (Theme) transfer. The opposition between the two types is determined by the transmission of the rights of possession. Thus, if this right is transferred with an object, the Recipient is marked with the Dative. If the right is not transmitted, the Recipient is encoded with a locative case, usually but not always with

one of the Lative cases. In (Daniel et al. 2010) the two strategies are introduced as Dative strategy and Lative strategy, respectively.

In Lezgian this opposition is present as well. The Dative case is used for the Dative strategy and APUD-ESS is used for Lative. In accordance with (Haspelmath 1993), this distinction also controls lexical choice of the verb. The verb *gun* ‘give’ is used with Dative and the verb *wugun* ‘temporarily give’ is used with APUD-ESS. The difference between the two strategies is illustrated in (10) and (11):

- (10) *mažib zaz guz-wa*
 salary I.DAT give-IPFV.AFF
 ‘(They) gave the salary to me’. (Ismailov Abduselim, Amma...)
- (11) *wa-w wuga-na isätda pud wiš manat*
 you.OBL- give-AOR now three hundred ruble
 APUD(ESS)
i.na-l agač’ar-rač
 it.OBL-SUPER(ESS) get-JUSS
 ‘Now I lend you three hundred rubles, so that you may get this’. (Ejfindijev Zijaudin, Revkom, 1981)

There are also two types of possession in Lezgian: temporary possession and permanent possession. The first type is encoded with APUD-ESS and thus formally corresponds to the Lative transfer. The second type is encoded with POST-ESS and corresponds to the Dative transfer. If possession is temporary, the verb *gwa* ‘be near’ is used, as in the following example:

- (12) *dušman-r.i-w tup-ar g^wa-č*
 enemy-PL.OBL-APUD(ESS) cannon-PL be.near-NEG
 ‘The enemies do not have cannons’. (Haspelmath 1993: 318)
- (13) *i q’uzek.a-q qsan χzan awa*
 this old.man.OBL-POST(ESS) good faminy be.in
 ‘This old man has a good family’. (Haspelmath 1993: 93)

Causee

The causative in Lezgian consists of an infinitive of a verb and a finite form of the verb *tun* ‘leave’. If a verb is transitive, the Causer and the Object are encoded with Ergative and Absolutive, respectively. The Causee is marked with APUD-ESS:

- (14) *ja ajal-r.i-w k’el-iz ta-z že-zwa-č*
 be child-PL.OBL-APUD(ESS) read-INF leave-INF become-IPFV-NEG
 ‘They cannot make children read’. («Lezgi gazet», 03.12.2010)

Preverbs and Verb Frames

Lezgian preverbs (i.e. verbal prefixes) determine the frame of a verb. Thus, if a verb contains a preverb X, it has an argument in Y form. The verbs that contain a *ag-*, *g^w-* or another less common allomorph of the APUD prefix control an APUD argument. These verbs often express a motion or a disposition (Haspelmath 1993:272 – 273): *agač’un* ‘reach’, *agatun* ‘approach’, *agudun* ‘bring closer’,

etc. Nevertheless, there are also the verbs with non-locative semantics, such as *geq:igun* ‘compare’. The frame of the verb *agaq’un* is shown in (14):

- (15) *amma* *insanijat* *a* *dereža.di-w* *agaq’-da-č*
 but mankind this level.OBL-APUD(ESS) reach-FUT-NEG
 ‘But the mankind will not reach this level’. (Naǰiev Fejzudin, Baǰtlubur, 1992)

Comitative

The Comitative is the case which marks a participant of a situation who has the same role as another participant. Some Northeast Caucasian languages have a special case for this kind of participant. Standard Lezgian lacks a special case form and uses APUD-ESS instead:

- (16) *zun* *ruš.a-w* *raǰa-na*
 I girl.OBL-APUD(ESS) talk-AOR
 ‘... I’ve talked with the daughter’. (Abdurahman Muǰraǰvi, Aǰaldin ǰura, 2006)

This use of APUD lies between locative and non-locative. Example (17) is another example showing that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between a locative and Comitative interpretation. It can be interpreted in two different ways: either a person is *near* the calves (what is obviously true), or (s)he is *together with them*, what is true as well:

- (17) *juq:u-z* *wun* *dana.j-ri-w* *že-da*
 day-DAT you calf-PL-APUD(ESS) be.IPFV-FUT
 ‘In the afternoon you will be with the calves (will go to herd calves)’. (Minhaǰev Serker, Rik’el cvalar, 1993)

Locative Uses of APUD

Before I proceed to the description of the locative semantics of the *-w*-localization, I have to mention several problems. Firstly, despite the presence of a distinct LAT orientation, the unmarked essive form is also used in the sense of ‘towards a landmark’. Secondly, as I already mentioned, APUD is not the neutral way to express the proximity relation. Most often a postposition *pataw* (morphologically, the APUD-ESS form of the word *pad* ‘side’) is used:

- (18) *sik’* *muǰmin* *buba.di-n* *pataw* *ata-na*
 fox Mumin father.OBL-GEN to approach-AOR
 ‘A fox approached father Mumin’. (Haspelmath 1993: 218)

Nevertheless, APUD can be used in a locative meaning. There is thus a functional competition for expressing proximity relation between the following forms: APUD, POST and the postpositions (cf. 19, 20, 18, respectively). Instead of discussing the semantics of the postpositions, however, I concentrate on the semantic dominant of Lezgian APUD.

- (19) *zun* *cla-w* *igis* *xa-na* *aq:waz-na*
 I wall.OBL-APUD(ESS) approach become-AOR stop-AOR
 ‘I stopped and leaned against the wall’. (Mirzoev Nazir, Q:izildin ǰtar, 1977)

- (20) *am* *jawaš.di-z* *cla-q* *agalt-na*
 he quiet(quiet.OBL-DAT) wall.OBL-POST(ESS) lean-AOR
 ‘He quietly leaned against the wall’. (Q:aziev Q:azi, Q:wanerin xara, 1964)

The examples from my sample show that there are two types of situations where APUD can be used in the locative meaning. I propose to group these situations with respect to the type of the landmark. In the first group, the landmarks have exact physical borders, while in the second the borders of the landmark are blurred or metaphorical.

In both situations the relative position of the trajector and the landmark determines the use of APUD. The trajector and the landmark must be situated so that they are as close as possible to each other, on the one hand, but the trajector does not use the landmark as a support, on the other:

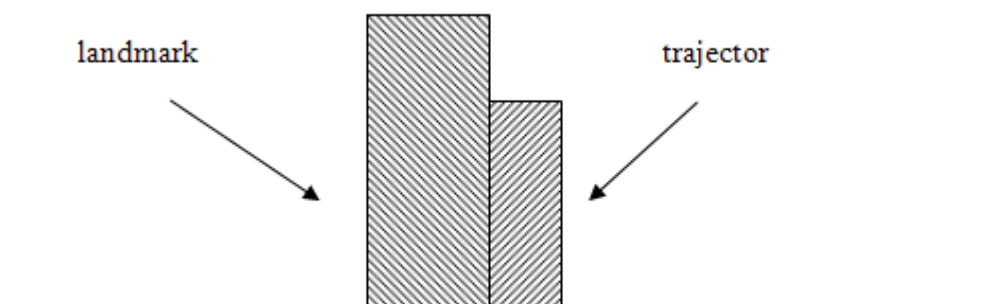


Fig 1. APUD disposition of objects.

- (21) *am* *gada-jr-i-n* *kʷač-er-i-w* *aq:ʷaz-na*
 he boy-PL-OBL-GEN foot-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS) stop-AOR
 ‘It (a ball) stopped at the boys’ feet’. (Q:aziev Q:azi, Q:wanerin xara, 1964)
- (22) *miftāh* *hele* *sufra.di-w* *muqʷa* *xa-nwa-č-ir*
 Miftyah yet tablecloth.OBL-APUD(ESS) close become-RES-NEG-PST
 ‘Miftyah has not come to the table yet’. (Mirzoev Nazir, Q:izildin xtar, 1977)
- (23) *čil.i-w* *sad* *iji-da-j*
 ground.OBL-APUD(ESS) one make-PART-FUT
 ‘... would make level with (raze to) the ground’. (Nasrullaev Nurudin, Seherxanum, 2005)
- (24) *kerim.a-n* *kʷač-er-i-w* *sad-sad.a-w* *igis* *xa-na*
 Kerim.OBL-GEN foot-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS) one.to.another.OBL-APUD(ESS) approach become-AOR
 ‘They snuggled to Kerim’s feet, (and) to each other’. (Mežidov Q:ijas, T’urfan, 1964)

In the (21), (23) and (24) the relative position of the objects is obvious. In (22) the meaning is ‘to come near to the table’, not ‘to sit at the table’, because the latter is expressed with POST:

- (25) *stol.di-q jašlu načal'nik acuoq'-nawa*
table.OBL-POST(ESS) elderly boss sit.down-RES.PERF
 'The old boss sat at the table'. (Hakim Kurban, Q'ismetdin req'er, 1981)

Therefore, I can say that Lezgian distinguishes general 'near' and 'orientation locative' (Ganenkov 2005) or 'functional locative'. The latter cannot be expressed with an APUD form.

The same distinction also exists in other Northeast Caucasian languages. For example, in Mehweb there are two localizations -*šu-* and -*ʔe-* which can be used to mean 'near' (Chechuro 2013):

- (26) *nuša ustu.j-ʔe-b ka < b > iʔ-i-ra*
 we **table.OBL-AD-HPL** sit.PFV<HPL>-AOR-1/2
 'We are sitting at the table'. (Chechuro 2013)
- (27) *nuša ustu.j-šu-b ka < b > iʔ-i-ra*
 we **table.OBL-APUD-HPL** sit.PFV<HPL>-AOR-1/2
 'We are sitting near the table'. (Chechuro 2013)

Evidence from Mehweb shows that -*šu-* is a general 'near' and -*ʔe-* is the functional locative. The form in -*ʔe-* means that the trajector is in the functional area of the landmark, which is an important part of the surroundings and therefore has an area which is prototypically used for interaction.

The meaning of APUD with the second type of landmarks is slightly different. The landmarks that occur in such contexts are 'city', 'water source' or 'bonfire'. I propose to consider this use of APUD as an extrapolation of the first one. In particular, the idea of approaching the solid (tangible) borders of a landmark is extrapolated to any type of borders (such as limits of a city, which obviously are not solid):

- (28) *dušman ata-na šeher.di-w aqaoq'-nawa-j-t'a-ni*
 enemy reach-AOR **city.OBL-APUD(ESS)** approach-RES.PFV-PART-CONC
 'although the enemy has reached the city, '. («Lezgi gazet», 10.12.2012)

There are uses of APUD that seem not to be easily explained starting from the prototype I have suggested. For example, 14 sentences out of 235 in my sample involved the word *dalda* 'shelter' in the APUD-ESS form with the IN-LAT 'inside the landmark' meaning:

- (29) *wun sa dalda.di-w čünix xa-na*
 you one **shelter.OBL-APUD(ESS)** hide.IMP become-AOR
aq:waz
 stop.IMP
 'Hide under the shelter and stand (still)'. (Lezgi xalq'din maɣar, 1989)

However, I do not consider these cases a separate meaning. The use of APUD-ESS instead of Dative is determined by the semantics of the word *dalda*. The word does not mean any kind of shelter, but only a shelter under which someone can hide from a rain, i.e. shelters that are Γ-shaped. Therefore, one has to stand against the wall of a *dalda* and in this way to reach its material border.

Another problem is the word *q:erex* 'edge':

- (30) *tek.di-z req'.i-n q:erex.di-w acuoq'-nawa-j saru.di-n*

one.OBL-DAT road.OBL-GEN **edge.OBL-APUD(ESS)** sit-RES.PFV-PART Saru.OBL-GEN
 ‘<Something belonging to> Saru, lonely sitting near the road..’. (Mursal Alban, Čirax, 1983)

The example shows that the object *Saru* is located on the edge of a road. This position can hardly be distinguished from the position ‘near’ the edge. Because of the abstract nature of the landmark and a considerable amount of such uses, however, I propose to consider *q:ereχdiw* a postposition. This is supported by the lack of uses of *q:ereχdiw* without a dependent genitive noun. This is similar to the evolution of some other ‘proximity’ postpositions, including *pataw*, *q:walaw* and *muq’uw*.

The competing localization POST ‘behind’ that is also used as a proximity marker expresses a different relative position of the objects: a trajector uses a landmark as a support. It is also important that the trajector is supported by the ground (if not, the localization SUB (CONT) would be used). It is the verbs like ‘lean’ that control a POST argument:

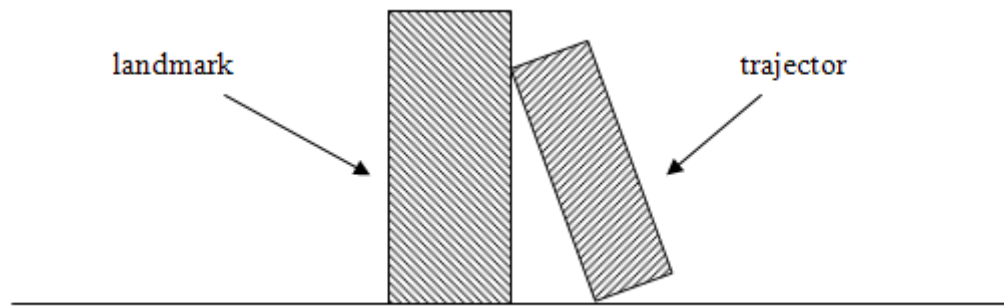


Fig 2. POST disposition of objects

- (31) *peri* *bade-ni* ***cla-q*** *agalt-na* *acuw'-nawa-j*
 Peri grandmother-ADD **wall.OBL-POST(ESS)** lean-AOR sit-RES.PFV-PART
 ‘And grandma Peri was sitting leaning against the wall’. (Mahmudov Abdulbari, Wesi, 1981)

In (31) APUD used with the same verb as POST in (30):

- (32) *am* (...) *q:ele.di-n* ***war-ar-i-w*** *acuw'-na*
 he fortress.OBL-GEN **gate-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS)** sit-AOR
 ‘He sat leaning against the gate of the fortress’. (Rizvanov Zabit, Pajxambardin
 q:acu pajdaχ, 1990)

Elicitation

As was already mentioned, the difference between APUD and POST is not very articulated. The speakers tend to use both in the same context and are often unable to explain the semantic contrast. They tend to use POST as the default marker when translating examples. (Actually, the default way to express proximity is a postposition, but this may be argued to be the result of priming of the language of the stimuli – Russian).

The problem with many examples is that in Russian they are ambiguous. They do not distinguish the two types of spatial relations I described before. The following example, however, seems to require APUD as the default. (The following examples include morphemes different from standard Lezgian because, unlike corpus examples above, they come from my consultants' native dialects; thus, APUD is *-g* instead of *-w*):

- (33) *San'a* ***cla-g*** *icig* *jarɯiwal* *alcun-da*
 Sanja **wall.OBL-APUD** put.IMP length measure-FUT
 'Put Sanja against the wall, we'll measure her height'.

The next sentence is possible as a second choice:

- (34) *San'a* ***cla-q*** *icig* *jarɯiwal* *alcun-da*
 Sanja **wall.OBL-POST** put.IMP length measure-FUT
 'Put Sanja against the wall, we'll measure her height'.

The following two examples demonstrate the case where only POST is possible:

- (35) ***rak'aru-q*** *agalt-mir*
door.OBL-POST lean-PROH
 'Don't lean against the door'.
- (36) ****rak'aru-g*** *agalt-mir*
door.OBL-APUD lean-PROH
 'Don't lean against the door'.

This example supports my view on the relative position of the two objects. Interchangeability of POST and APUD in almost all the examples, however, shows that the distinctions between them are subtle and are not easily perceived by (most) native speakers (note that it does not mean that (37) and (38) do not differ):

- (37) *muallim-di* *ajal-ar* ***cla-q*** *aq:wazar-na*
 teacher-ERG child-PL **wall.OBL-POST** stop-AOR
 'The teacher arranged the children by the wall'.
- (38) *muallim-di* *ajal-ar* ***cla-g*** *aq:wazar-na*
 teacher-ERG child-PL **wall.OBL-APUD** stop-AOR
 'The teacher arranged the children by the wall'.

The analysis of the corpus data shows that there is a rather clear distribution of these forms in naturalistic examples. This shows that some phenomena cannot be studied by elicitation alone and require other methods, including corpus observation or picture elicitation, as used by (Levinson and Wilkins 2006).

Picture elicitation is a good alternative to corpus research and simple elicitation, since it does not require any language except Lezgian. Nevertheless, I did not use this method at the current stage of

research, because the difference between APUD and POST is subtle. Moreover, the sample of pictures has to be large in order to verify as many patterns as possible. These factors may influence the perception of a native speaker and make it blunted after a few sessions of elicitation. Therefore, this method may not show the real distinction between the two localizations.

Summary

The data shows that APUD as a locative case is used to express the following relative position of a trajector and a landmark: the latter is located as close as possible to the former, but is not supported by it. Based on this, I also make some conclusions about verbal frames. Verbs of movement that have an APUD argument presume that a trajector approaches the border of a landmark and touches or crosses it. This is why movement verbs that suggest an idea of proximation or a close contact between two objects, such as *muq^{wa} xun* ‘approach’, and do not contain the APUD preverb (which would imply APUD as a part of their frame) also introduce APUD arguments. Therefore, I consider frames of such verbs to be semantically motivated.

The Recipient function of APUD also matches its locative meaning. Transferring an object does not necessarily involve a transfer of the right of possession. It can be interpreted as a spatial event, i.e. movement of an object from a possessor to a recipient. If one views this event in spatial terms, one might see that it resembles the cases involving verbs of movement: the object reaches the metaphorical border of the Recipient and touches it.

As shown in (4.5), the Comitative function of APUD is not very different from the locative meaning of APUD. On the other hand, the Comitative is closely related to the Instrument: in some other Northeast Caucasian languages (as well as cross-linguistically) Instrument and Comitative are expressed in the same way. Cf. Indo-European Comitative adpositions (English *with*, German *mit* ‘with’ etc.) which may also mark Instrument. This is a possible functional reason why, of all cases, APUD-ESS is used for the Instrument in Lezgian. On the other hand, it is hard to find any functional motivation to explain the use of APUD to express the Causee.

This paper is the first attempt to look at the locative as well as non-locative uses of APUD in Lezgian in some detail and to explain how the latter are connected to the former. Future research may aim at describing competing ways to express proximity relation in other East-Caucasian languages based on a typologically valid set of parameters.

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