ARCHI[1]

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1. Background on the structure of the case paradigm

a. Abstract (syntactic) cases

Nom (Abs)	-∅
Erg (=obl)	various markers
Gen	-n
Dat	-s (s̄)
Comit	-ɫu
Compar	-χur
Subst	-ʟ’əna
Causal	-ši
Elect	-qɪiš
Equat	-qɪdi

Notes:
1. Subst 'instead of' probably tends to be used with animate (inanimate use periphrastic construction.
2. Comit has a wide range of additional meanings.
3. Equat is primarily used in *X č’atliqɪdi* 'in X language'
4. See below on comparative and elective.

b. Locative subparadigm

	(ess)	el	lat	all	term	trans
In	-a	-a-š	-a-k	-a-ši	-a-kəna	-a-χut
Inter	-qɪ	-qɪa-š	-qɪa-k	-qɪa-ši	-qɪa-kəna	-qɪa-χut
Sup	-t	-t̄i-š	-t̄i-k	-t̄i-ši	-t̄i-kəna	-t̄i-χut
Sub	-ʟ’	-ʟ’a-š	-ʟ’a-k	-ʟ’a-ši	-ʟ’a-kəna	-ʟ’a-χut
Cont	—	-ra-š	-ra-k	-ra-ši	-ra-kəna	—

Notes:
1. Terminative is used only once in the whole corpus ('up to thirteen'?).
2. Translative is almost never used (in the whole corpus, three uses on nouns and one on a place name, several times on 'right' and 'left', the rest on spatial adverbs, and not really in the translative meaning).
3. Cont does not exist in the essive.
4. In is identical to Erg in the plural (-aj).
5. In has some irregularities, such as irregular stems: *noʟ’a* 'in the house', *kura* 'in the hand', *sebe* 'in the mouth'.
6. For many typical locations, the form classified as In by (Kibrik et al. 1977) is not an 'In' neither semantically (not 'inside a hollow space') nor formally: *doraj* 'in the godekan', *mač’ij / mač’aj / maždaj* 'at the/a place', *zulle* 'at the fountain', *sobt̄a* 'on the edge, bank', *but’ut̄a* 'at a different place', *deq’ɪu* 'on the way'.

c. HUMLOC –mma

According to (Kibrik et al 1977), another variant of IN specific to human nouns, basically because of its apparent complementary distribution with IN formation. However, there are strong indications that the form is based on the genitive, and thus is not, strictly speaking, the member of the locative sub-paradigm.

(1) ju-w   bošor   **as-ma**   noʟ’-a   w-i
　　 this-1 man   **I.GEN-HUMLOC** house-IN   1-be

This man is at my place.

(2) χit̄a, ʁanaχut   šumaj,   jurʁann-u   bo-so-li,   jurʁan-n-a-k
　　 then   from.there up.stream blanket-and 3-take.PFV-CVB blanket-OBL-IN-LAT

u‹w›ču-li,   **žu-n-t’u-ma**   noʟ’-a-ši   χ̥a-li.
‹1›throw.PFV-CVB **self.OBL1-GEN-4-HUMLOC** house-IN-ALL 1.carry.PFV-EVID

Then, going from there upstream, having taken a blanket and having put him into it, they went towards his place.

In more regular morphophonological situations, the *-mma* ending is explained as a combination of the genitive *-n* with HUMLOC *-ma*.

(3) χit̄a ušmu   bo-li   **ža-m-ma-ši**   zaba   bo-li
　　 then brother.OBL(ERG) say.PFV-CVB self.PL.OBL-GEN-HUMLOC-ALL come.IMP say.PFV-EVID

Then his brother told him: come to our place. (ža-m-ma-ši < ža-n-ma-ši)

This *-ma* ending is identical to what Archi grammar calls 'locative converb':

(4) baħri **o‹b›s-di-ma**   tenik - uχ hij-   ba-lli   uχ   aca
　　 dog   ‹3›stand-PFV-CVB.LOC there   field plough SAY(IMP)-CVB.IMP field 4.sow.IMP

Where the dog has stopped, plough and sow there.

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2. **Cont vs Humloc: struggling for personal space**

Most important syntactic-like uses of Cont are connected to transfer:

Recipient with no transfer of possession ("temporary" or "spatial" Recipient)

(5) k'an   harak-du-t   iq-n-a   ja-r   ɬanna
     most   before-ATR-4   day-OBL-IN   this-2   woman.OBL(ERG)

č'ut   bo-ʟo-li   ju-w   **oq'er-mu-ra-k**   da‹b›χi-s
jug   3-give.PFV-EVID   this-1   **pauper-OBL.1-CONT-LAT**   ‹3›hit-INF

On the (very) first day this woman gave this pauper a jug {of butter} to churn.

Or, for elative, retrospective Possessors ('take from'):

(6) jatⁱi- χ̄u-t̄u   jo-w lo χⁱta teb   lobur   **liqI'i-li-ra-š**   oʟmu-s   bo-li
    up   1.stand.up-ATR.1   this-1 lad then   thot.PL   children   **eagle-OBL-CONT-EL**   NPL.take.out-INF   say.PFV-CVB

č'ut e‹b̄›ku-li   a‹b›qI-u-li   i-t̄u-t   hōnu naIʟ' eχu-li   oqIa-li
jug   ‹3›fall.PFV-CVB   ‹3›break-PFV-EVID   be-ATR-4   any   milk   4.spill.PFV-CVB   4.go.PFV-EVID

The guy jumped and thought he'd take the chicken from the eagle, but the jug fell down and broke, and all the milk poured out.

These 'transfer' usages are common, but by far the most common one is the function of the Cont-Lat which is close to personal locative and thus competes with Humloc (see below). Note also that this form is almost uniquely applied to human nouns; the rare exception is:

(7) bucⁱi-   **č'ab-e-ra-k**   šumij   b-o‹r›qI-ir-ši   e‹b›di
    cow.PL-   **sheep-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT**   downstream   HPL-‹IPFV›go-IPFV-DEP   ‹HPL›AUX.PFV

Did you go down to the cattle? (in the corpus, occurs only in 'to the cattle')

More clearly spatial function of the Cont-Lative is represented in:

(8) os biʁ̥-da-k edi-ma   ba-qIa   širwan-t̄u jat b-i-t̄-ib
    one place-IN-LAT PERSPL.arrive.PFV-CVB.LOC   HPL-come.PFV   shirvan-PL   on HPL-be-ATR-ATR.PL

marči χizri ħaži-t̄u saʕadutin-t̄u ummat deqI'u-k ba-qIa   **la-ra-k**
all   Khizri Hazhi-PL Saaduttin-PL   crowd   road.IN-LAT HPL-come.PFV   **we.OBL-CONT-LAT(EXCL)**

When we came to a certain place, Shirwan and all other bosses, everybody, Khizri Khazhi, Saaduttin, in a crowd came to meet us on the road.

With the verb 'to tie, fasten with a rope':

(9) gungūm-u bo-s-o-li   du-ɬne-t̄u-r   ja-r gungūm-u e‹b›t'ni-li
    jug-and   3-hold-PFV-CVB   2-flee.PFV-ATR-2   this-2 jug-and   ‹3›tie.PFV-CVB

b-aq̄'-u-li   baIk'on qI'art'i-li   **daʟ'-li-r-ši**   inž-aru du-ɬne-li
3-leave.PFV-EVID rope   roller.pin-OBL(ERG)   **door-OBL-CONT-ALL**   self-2.R   2-flee.PFV-EVID

She took a jug, tied it with a rope to the door and ran away.

The only free and purely spatial function found in the whole corpus is as follows:

(10) iχtilat a-b-u-na   oš̄-im-maj   jamu-r lo duχIan-
     joke   do-3-PFV-CVB   other-ATR.PL-OBL.PL(ERG)   that-2   girl mill-

halmu-ra-k   χat'-ar-ši   e‹r›di-li
owner.OBL-CONT-LAT   push-SAY.IPFV-DEP   ‹2›AUX.PFV-EVID

As a joke, the other (girls) were pushing this girl towards the miller.

2

In general, the use of HUMLOC highlights personal space (in most cases habitat), while CONT-LAT may refer to an adhoc location of a person.

(11) jarχul **ɬanna-m-ma-k** de-qIe-s ʟ'an eti-qi-ra
     be.half **woman.OBL-GEN-HUMLOC-LAT** 2-go-INF want 4.INCH.PFV-POT-INTRG

to-r ošu-r-mi-s
thot-2 other-2-OBL-DAT

But would a woman be willing to go to live with her sister-in-law?

(12) **to-r-mi-m-ma** doɬum-a-k ebq'- ɬˌij-t'u *хазяйство* edi
     that-2-OBL-GEN-HUMLOC cowshed-IN-LAT four- five-NPL хозяйств ‹NPL›be.PFV

In her cowshed, there were four to five separate households.

On the other hand, there is also the formal factor: HUMLOC is common in the essive (where cont is absent) and in allative and elative (where cont has metaphorical fucntions); in the lative, the CONT is generalized, so that HUMLOC is rare and the difference between usual habitat and adhoc location of a person is to a certain degree neutralized in the lative:

(13) jamu-m k'int'um ba-χ̄a-li qIˌa-li χīta
     that-3 chest 3-take.PFV-CVB 1.come.PFV-EVID then

jo-w lo ja-r **ɬanna-ra-k**
this-1 lad this-2 **woman.OBL-CONT-LAT**

Then the guy brought the chest to that woman.

(14) ʕali + **ʕašat-li-ra-k** šijt'am-mul aʟ-mul
     ali **Ashat-OBL-CONT-LAT** devil-PL NPL.come-NMLZ

(A story about how) the devils came to Ali-Ashat

(15) **doba-ra-k** χu‹w›t̄i-ra, **dija-ra-k** χu‹w›t̄i-ra,
     granny-CONT-LAT ‹1›go.POT-INTRG **dad-CONT-LAT** ‹1›go.POT-INTRG

dija-ra-k χu‹w›t̄i-ra?
dad-CONT-LAT ‹1›go.POT-INTRG

Will you come to granny('s lap), will you come to dad, will you come to dad?

A summary of the competition of HUMLOC vs CONT in the human spatial domain

		motion		
localizations	'essive'	'lative'	'elative'	'allative'
'habitat'	HUMLOC	(HUMLOC) ↑ CONT-LAT	HUMLOC	HUMLOC
'adhoc location'			↓	↓
			CONT-EL	CONT-ALL
metaphorical		'transfer'		'addressee'

1. Both HUMLOC and CONT compete for human locatives, but
2. CONT has a more general human spatial meaning, while
3. HUMLOC only covers personal space except
4. that CONT expands to personal space in lative
5. CONT shift to various metaphorical usages in lative, elative and allative, and
6. keeps adhoc location in the lative while leaving it empty in elative and allative, while
7. lacking it in the essive...

Additional usages of CONT and HUMLOC:

(16) **za-ra-š**   č'ut   a‹b›qIu
     I.OBL-CONT-EL jug ‹3›break.PFV
I broke a jug (unintentionally) (NB - elicited)

(17) č'ₒada-š   čakar-er-ši   ʕalamat χIeleẖu-r   d-ikir,
    Chwadab-EL chakar-QUOT-CVB miracle   guest-2   2-be.ITER

jemim-e-m-ma-š   ba-χa-li   e‹b›di
that.PL-OBL.PL-GEN-EL 3-take-DEP ‹3›AUX.PFV
There was a good guest from Chwadab, she was called Chakar, (the bee) was bought from them.

  (18) buwa- **dija-me-ra-k**   zari kaʁəra t'al + a-b-u-qi-ra
     mom   **dad-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT** I.ERG paper   send   do-3-PFV-POT-INTRG
May be I should send them a letter?

Also used with 'call someone on the phone'

3. Super functions

Purely spatial usages include locations such as 'on the top of a cliff' 'in a tree' or 'on a horse', as well as with (body)parts in some contexts:

(19) wā wā malla nasurẖin **dogi-li-ẖi-š**   i‹w›ku   bo-li
    oh oh malla nasurtin **donkey-OBL-SUP-EL** ‹1›fall.PFV say.PFV-EVID
Uh-uh, Molla Nasreddin fell down from a donkey.

jamu-ẖ-u kun-ne-li   **qₒat'i-li-ẖi-k**   e‹r›χ-di-li   q'a‹r›di-li
that-4-and 4.eat-PFV-CVB **tree-OBL-SUP-LAT** ‹2›climb-PFV-CVB ‹2›sit.down.PFV-EVID
She ate all that and climbed up a tree.

(20) jamu-r-mi-n **χatum-li-ẖi-š**   soẖ-or a‹r›t'u-r-ši
    that-2-OBL-GEN **chest-OBL-SUP-EL** bead-PL ‹IPFV›NPL.cut-IPFV-CVB

d-aq̄'-ō-t'u-ši   inžit d-a-r-ši   e‹r›di-li
2-leave.PFV-POT.NEG-NEG-CVB suffer 2-do-IPFV-DEP ‹2›AUX.PFV-EVID
They were taking the beads from her chest, were not leaving her alone.

(21) aq-li-ẖi-k   a‹b›ẖi-ẖu-b   nac' **kart'i-li-ẖi-k**   b-e‹r›χi-r
    leg-OBL-SUP-LAT ‹3›let.PFV-ATR-3 louse **head-OBL-SUP-LAT** 3-‹IPFV›climb-IPFV
Let a louse onto your leg, and it will climb up to your head.

(22) ec-u-li   č'ut **jamu-r-mi-ẖi-k**
    4.pour-PFV-CVB jug **that-2-OBL-SUP-LAT**

gₒijru hōnu misər-ẖ-aj   ‹r›ac'-u-li   ja-r lo
whole-2.R some gold-PL-OBL.PL(ERG) ‹2›fill-PFV-EVID this-2 girl
He poured a jug onto her, and she became golden all over.

  (23) **šon-ni-ẖi-š**   šaẖ-u   o‹b›Lni-li   jamu os k'ₒa-li
    back-OBL-SUP-EL skin.strip-and ‹3›go.out.PFV-CVB that.1 one 1.die.SG.PFV-EVID
He took the strip of skin out of the other one's back, and he died.

By its primary extension, it covers occupations, jobs, happenings, such as 'to the pilgrimage', 'to the court', 'from the studies'; and some time constructions.

(24) ma   ja-b   χ̥allu-wu wa-s,   ari-li-t

       take.IMP this-3 bread-and   you.sg.OBL-DAT work-OBL-SUP

a‹b›qI-u-t'u-mat   bu-ken   jemim b-o‹r›qI-ir-ši   e‹b›di-li

       ‹3›break-PFV-NEG-CVB.PROGR 3-eat.IMP that.PL HPL-‹IPFV›go-IPFV-DEP ‹HPL›AUX.PFV-EVID

bocro-t̄i-š   **bocro-t̄i-k**   ħaž   a‹b›a-s

month.OBL-SUP-EL month.OBL-SUP-LAT pilgrimage ‹3›do-INF

Every month they went to the pilgramage and then were coming back home.

(25) ha e‹r›ʟu-li   ja-r lo os t'ĭnna **šāʕal-li-t̄i-š**

       well ‹2›wake.up.PFV-EVID this-2 girl one a.little **time-OBL-SUP-EL**

Some time later the girl woke up.

Idiomatic case frames include: SUP-LAT with 'be called' (lit. 'onto him the name is'), 'look at', 'attack', 'trust to':

(26) ušdo-r-t̄u   sin-t'aw, **wa-t̄i-k**   c'or k̥i-ri   bo-li

       brother-QUOT-ATR.1 know-NEG.CVB **you.sg.OBL-SUP-LAT** name who-INTRGALT say.PFV-EVID

Not knowing that he was his brother, he said – what is your name?

(27) a-b   č'uIbaI-t̄u-b mežde-ɬu   **za-t**   wiχ̄- i‹w›t̄i-t'aw,

       this-3 white-ATR-3 beard.OBL-COMIT **I.OBL-SUP** believe ‹1›BECOME.PFV-CVB.NEG

dogi-li-t̄-a   un   wiχ̄- k̥e-r

donkey-OBL-SUPER-INTRG you.sg believe 1.BECOME-IPFV

You don't believe me, with such a white beard, can it be that you believe the donkey?

Super-elative and more rarely super-essive are used to refer to some sorts of **Stimuli/Causes**:

(28) marči tij-me-n   **mu-kul-li-t̄i-š**   ħajran e‹b›t̄i

       all   thot.PL.OBL-OBL.PL-GEN **be.beautiful-NMLZ-OBL-SUP-EL** amaze ‹HPL›become.PFV

Everyone was amazed by their beauty.

(29) duʕi-li-t̄i-š   χer hani

       quarrel-OBL-SUP-EL profit what

Does it make sense to quarrel?

(30) **araqI'i-li-t̄i-š**   qana i‹w›t̄i-t̄u   w-e‹r›ʟu-r

       vodka-OBL-SUP-EL be.drunk ‹1›INCH.PFV-ATR.1 1-‹IPFV›wake.up-IPFV

One who is drunk with vodka will sleep it through (lit. wake up)

Transformative meaning:

(31) χīta noʟ'-a   **bat-li-t̄i-š**

       then   house-IN   **horn-OBL-SUP-EL**

lap mu-t̄u   bēχu-t̄u   q'amar-t̄u lo ‹w›īti-li

very be.beautiful-ATR.1 be.tall-ATR.1 be.deft-ATR.1 lad ‹1›become.PFV-EVID

Then, at home, the Horn turned into a very beautiful, tall, deft young man.

(32) meʟle-t̄u **laha-t̄i-š**   bimušur   uw-qi

       male-ATR.1 **boy.OBL-SUP-EL(1)** brave.man(NOM,1) 1.do.PFV-POT

I will bring up the boy as a brave man.

(33) ja-t **pirčiχI-li-t̄i-š** to-t wa-ra-k   ʟo-t̄u-t̄-u-kun-nu-t

       this-4 **mud-OBL-SUP-EL** thot-4 you.sg.OBL-CONT-LAT 4.give-ATR-4-and-SIMILAR-ATR-4

temmet̄u-t heʟ'əna a

thus.ATR-4   thing   4.do(IMP)

Out of mud, form a lump size of the thing that was given to you.

4. Comparative -χur – the missing Ad/Apud?

(Kibrik et al. 1977) qualifies -χur as comparative, the case of the benchmark in nominal comparative constructions.

(34) wallah malla nasurt̄in bo-li **wa-χur** dōIz-ib b-i
     by.god malla nasurtin say.PFV-EVID **you.sg.OBL-CMPR** big-ATR.PL HPL-be

bo-li jasqi šūt̄a zaba bo-li
say.PFV-EVID today tomorrow come.IMP say.PFV-EVID

Wallah, Molla Nasreddin, they told, today there are people bigger (i.e. more important) than you, come again tomorrow.

Other uses are also frequent, like exchange equivalent:

(35) os **laha-χur** Lu-r-t̄u lo i‹w›di-t'u w-is
     one **lad.obl-cmpr** 1.give-ipfv -atr.1 lad ‹1›be.pfv -neg 1 -i.gen

My son is not someone to be given for yours.

(36) to-t jok'ič'i oLu-na **jok'ič'i-li-χur** heL'ən ʁana-š
     this-4 rhododendron 4.sell.PFV-CVB **rhododendron-obl-cmpr** thing there-EL

duχij χ̄a-na emena jemmet bət'erbaqi a-r-ši
upstream 4.carry-CVB ? thus *make.one's.living* 4.do-IPFV-DEP

edi-li χalimes zaʕip-d-ib zəmam-mul edi-li haraši
4.AUX.PFV-EVID family-OBL.PL-DAT poor-ATR-ATR.PL time-PL ‹NPL›be-EVID before

After selling this rhododendron, after having brought something from there for it, that is the way how one used to help one's family to survive, bad times were these.

(37) bara, jamu-b gatu a‹b›ču-t'aw, b-ez b-oLa ja-t **arsi-li-χur**
     behold that-3 cat ‹3›kill.PFV-CVB.NEG 3-I.DAT 3-sell.IMP this-4 **money-OBL-CMPR**

Hold on, give this cat to me in exchange for these money, don't kill it!

Also, some quasi-spatial **circumstancial** usages such as *bocroχur* 'under the moon(light)' and some **Stimulus / Causal** meanings metaphorically derived from them are attested:

(38) waji bo iqluw-wu **kuwsaral-li-χur-u** libχI t1o-ra bo
     wajo say.PFV daily-and **Kawsarat-OBL-CMPR** be.shy not-INTRG say.PFV

Oh, I said, aren't you shy of Kawsarat all the time?

(39) **χeme-χur** it'- ēti-t̄u-t χos
     woman.PL-CMPR lose- become.PFV-ATR-4 wealth

The wealth lost because of the women.

(40) dogi laq'₀- a-r-ma q'iʁ- bo-t̄u jamu dogi-li-n oIč oLni-li
     donkey finish 4.do-IPFV-CVB.LOC yell say.PFV-ATR.1 that.1 donkey-OBL-GEN tail 4.go.out.PFV-CVB

oqIa-li ł̄anna-n lo-wu li+ ēti-li jamu-m-mi-n **q'iʁ-t'i-li-χur**
4.go.PFV-EVID woman.OBL-GEN child-and spoil 4.INCH.PFV-EVID that-1-OBL-GEN **yell-NMLZ-OBL-CMPR**

Trying to save the donkey, he yelled, and because of this yell the donkey's tail went loose and the child in the woman's womb was miscarried.

But most frequent, in everyday speech if not in the texts, is the comitative/spatial usage:

(41) łeb-bos-du-t iq-n-a ju-w lo kus a-b-u-t'u-t̄-ib
     three-ORD-ATR-4 day-OBL-IN this-1 lad habit do-3-PFV-NEG-ATR-ATR.PL

noIš-or-če-n **irqi-li-χur** t'al- uw-li
horse-PL-OBL.PL-GEN **horse.troop-OBL-CMPR** send 1.do.PFV-EVID

On the third day, he sent the boy with a herd of untamed horses.

(42) **bošor-če-χur** uqIa-li, q'I̥e-t'u ɬib-t'u šan-n-a, **bošor-če-χur**
     calf.OBL-OBL.PL-CMPR 1.go.PFV-CVB two-4 three-4 year **calf.OBL-OBL.PL-CMPR**
ʕummar a‹b›ču
life   ‹3›carry.out.PFV
Two, three years he was looking after the calfs, he lived like that.

In one case, this meaning is conveyed by an adverbial-like form with unidentifiable lexical source but with the same formative:

(43) dija uɬdu-ši w-ikir, dija uɬdu-ši, **č'ab-e-χur,** **χaχur**
     father shepherd-CVB 1-be.ITER father shepherd-CVB **sheep.PL-OBL.PL-CMPR sheep.PL.CMPR**
My father was a shepherd.

In this meaning, the comparative is sometimes substitable with comitative:

(44) jaꭓa ja-b χam-nu-b **irqi-li-ɬu** t'al uw-emč'iš χ̥ali ju-w
     now this-3 arrogant-ATR-3 **horse.herd-OBL-COMIT** send 1.do.PFV-COND 1.be.better this-1
Now it is better to send him with this restive horse herd.

To a certain extent, -χur fills the slot of Ad/Apud localization present in many other East Caucasian languages, but absent from Archi. Note that the 'adverbial-like' form is unexpectedly close to stative verbs, combining with "locative converb" – *χaχurma* 'while/where he was herding sheep', *χaχurmaš* 'from where he was herding sheep' – forms impossible for other nominals, including comparative case forms. Note also that –*χur* is also probably present in one of the common temporal converbs in –*muχur* (sequential converb).

5. Other uses

Dative as a target
Although the dative seems to be a highly syntactic case in Archi (as compared to some other East Caucasian languages), it has some vestigial spatial usages; namely, as a locus of contact ('hit') or target ('throw at'):

(45) tij-maj k'uħan da‹r›χi-r-ši edi-li **kul-li-s**
     thot.PL.OBL-OBL.PL(ERG) stick ‹IPFV›4.hit-2-DEP 4.AUX.PFV-EVID **hand-OBL-DAT**
to-t k'os eka-s a-s
thot-4 knife 4.fall-INF 4.do-INF
They hit (him) on his hand with a stick, to make (him) drop the knife.

(46) us-di-ṯu-t ꭓaʕal-li-t χīta ju-w gurži-li-n os gon
     1.stand-PFV-ATR-4 time-OBL-SUP then this-1 georgian-OBL-GEN one finger
qIeč- bo-li o‹b›qIa-li to-r **laha-s** iχtilat b-a-r-ma
push say.PFV -CVB ‹3›go.PFV-EVID thot-2 **girl.OBL-DAT** joke 3 -do-IPFV-CVB.LOC
Meanwhile, the Georgian pushed the girl with his finger, by ways of a joke.

(47) nac'-a aInš caχ-u-li **ju-w-mi-s**
     bird-OBL(ERG) apple 4.drop-PFV-EVID **this-1-OBL-DAT**
And the bird threw an apple at him.

temporary Possessor - comitative
(48) **ju-w-mu-ɬu** pinꭓa edi-li jamu-t daχi-s bij+ e‹w›ɬ-u-li ju-w
     this-1-OBL.1-COMIT big.knife 4.be.PFV-EVID that-4 4.hit-INF start ‹1›lay-PFV-EVID this-1
He had a Finnish knife with him, he started stabbing (them) with it.

Instrument – ergative or comitative

(49) wa-s   marzu-t ʟ'an-kul   **gulla-li**   ača-s   ʟ'an han-er
     you.sg.OBL-DAT clean-4   want-NMLZ **bullet-OBL(ERG)** 4.kill-INF want what-INTRGALT.RPRT
What, they said, you want to kill a pure love wih a bullet?

Same marking is used for the filling stuff with 'fill':

(50) jamu-t lagum ko-mχur   marči-me-n   **nibqi**   lur
     that-4   song 4.hear.PFV-SEQ all-OBL.PL-GEN **tear.OBL(ERG)** eye(PL)

 āc'-u-li   edi
 NPL.fill-PFV-DEP NPL.AUX.PFV
When they heard this song, everybody's eyes were filled with tears.

There are one or two examples in the whole corpus where the comitative is used

(51) χīta tob   **marɬu**   daɬ- da-k-a
     then this-3 **whip-COMIT** beat 2-BECOME-IMP
Then lash her with this whip!

Causee - no special marking. Archi lacks morphological causative formation; when combining the lexical verb with *as* 'do' or *ak'as* 'cause', the construction remains biclausal.

Stimulus with 'be afraid' and 'flee from' - Sub-el. Also Cause? cf.:
(52) **jammu-t-mi-ʟ'i-š** kana-ši obši χalq' šoIrtal a‹b›u-li   e‹b›di
     that-4-OBL-SUB-EL there-ALL all   people together ‹HPL›do.PFV-DEP ‹HPL›AUX.PFV
And that was because of that that all the people were gathered.

Inter-el vs Elect: although a special case is claimed to fulfill in Archi the elective function by (Kibrik 1977), the evidence is weak because the case looks suspiciously like Inter-El for which elective function seems to be attested in other East Caucasian languages. Some consultants doubt about the vowel, and in some texts Inter-El is used in such contexts. **Equat**: this strange case with a quite peculiar function also looks suspiciously close to inter, but the element *–di* is unindentifiable.

6. The distribution of non-spatial usages between spatial forms

in   sub, inter   super   cont "ad"/comparative   dative, comitative

SPATIAL DOMAIN   ABSTRACT DOMAIN