KHINALUG[1]

Michael Daniel, Anna Khoroshkina
(Moscow State University)

1. Background on the structure of the case paradigm

a. Abstract (syntactic) cases	
Nom (Abs)	-∅
Erg (=obl)	-i
Gen	-e/-i
Inal	-i
Dat	-u
Comit	-škili

Note: With many nouns, inalienable and alienable genitives and ergative are identical. Some nouns combine inalienable genitive with the ergative but distinguish them from the alienable (the distribution is morphonology-driven). All three cases are only distinguished on pronouns.

b. Locative subparadigm		
	(ess)	**el**
Loc	-r	-lli
Ad	-χ	-χ-illi
Poss	-š	-š-illi
Cmpr	-q'	-q-illi

Notes:
1. Functional difference between Comparative-essive and Comparative-elative is unclear.
2. Locative and elative are treated as independent case forms in (Kibrik et al. 1972). However, -*lli* may contain an internal boundary between front and back vowel morphemes, as in k'ɨc'a-ll̦i 'from the egg' (with vowel row shift indicated by a subscript prime), which is an indication of a morpheme boundary, at least a historical one. Thus, the elative morpheme may, at least diachronically, be interpreted as -*l-li* < -*r-li*, which justifies putting into the spatial subparadigm
3. Essive combines essive and lative meanings.

2. Spatial subparadigm

Locative is a clearly spatial form (), and in this respect might be compared with In of other East Caucasian languages; the only indirect uses are temporal and functional locations ():

(1)	pšor-ɨr	gra	la.š.ɨl-k̦-i
	horse.PL-LOC	wolf	appear-MOVE2-PTCP(PST)

A wolf came amidst the horses.

(2)	zur	kalχoz-ɨr	ištämiš-k̄war-mä
	you.pl(NOM)	collective.farm-LOC	work-BECOME.IPFV1-IND

You work at the collective farm.

Elative also is mostly used spatially, both as elative and translative, with some verbs of contact specifies the location, but is more extended into abstract domain:

(3) k'ura-l-lˌi   pχra   čä-pi-r-qo-mä
     road-LOC-EL   dog   run-LV12-IPFV-AUX2-IND
Along the road runs a dog.

(4) kin   kiraʁ äsťiga-l-lˌi   dalɨg-ki-r-et-mä
     incl(NOM) today morning-LOC-EL work-DO-IPFV-AUX1-IND
Today we work from the morning.

(5) zɨ   k'ala-l-lˌi   pši-l-li   ka-ʁ**u**-d-mä
     I.NOM   Quba-LOC-EL   horse-LOC-EL ANY.LEVEL.LAT-∅-go-1-IND
I came from Kuba on a horse.

(6) hinä-ni   inkˉe-l-li   balťa   la.tɨr-ku-šä-mä
     that.H.OBL-REFL   foot-LOC-EL   axe   hit-DO-PST-IND
He hit his foot with an axe.

Poss(-el) is the main human location and has various metaphorical spatial and more abstract usages:

(7) sa   ki-š   **q**utur at-mä
     one   ram-POSS   mange be-IND
A ram has mange.

(8) kšä-š   hasɨm kičeb č'i-dä
     who-POSS   such   book   have-3
Who has such a book? (possessor)

(9) χinˌimk'ir   ťuza-r   la.tɨr-zɨ-ʁ-sɨn,   isť'armejramˌi misi   riši-š   l-i-ki...
     woman   court-LOC   move-2-GO-CVB   witch-ERG   little girl-POSS   say-PTCP-CMPL
The woman went out into the court, and the witch told the girl... (addressee)

(10) kšä-š   saz jäqi-n-kˉwar?
      who-POSS   saz play-PSBL-BECOME.IPFV
Who can play saz? (potential subject)

(11) širä-š   k'az   č'á‹bɨ›ʁ-äˉtˌ-i
      we-POSS   snake   find‹3›-AUX1-NEG
We did not meet (find) any snake.

However, spatial contexts are not excluded:

(12) i   kuta-š   k'ač'ɨn at-mä
      I.OBL.INAL   hand-POSS   stone   be1-IND
There is a stone in my hand. (probably interacting with a more possessive meaning 'I have a stone in my hand')

Poss-el conveys human elative and retrospective possession

(13) zɨ   ka-k⁻**o**-t-mä   šä   bɨjɨ-šɨ-lli
     I(NOM) ANY.LEVEL.LAT-go.IPFV-AUX1-IND   we.GEN.FAM father-POSS-EL
I am coming from our father's.

(14) jä csɨ-ši-lli   pši   tenč**u**-q-šä-mä
     I.ERG brother-POSS-EL   horse take-LV7-PST-IND
I took a horse from my brother.

Poss also has inanimate usages:

(15) hinä   halam-ɨš täk sa-dä = m   v-ac⁻ɨn-dä-d-i-mä.
     that.OBL cattle-POSS one one-3.NOM = and 3-remain-IPFV-3-NEG-IND
None of these rams will survive (~elective)

(16) hinä   maja-š   al-ɨr,   sa   dänä   sic'i-jä,
     that.OBL ferment-POSS milk-LOC   one   little   mix-CVB

χuvu-jä,   eng   q⁻ermiš-kitar-mä.
put-CVB   cheese make-DO-IPFV1-IND
Some of this ferment is put into milk, stirred and then make cheese. ~partitive

(17) azarrɨ ħädm-i, sä   xɨnɨ-š q⁻ermiš-ku-jä, vanna q'**ä**bul-kitar-mä.
     ill   person-ERG this.N.OBL water make-DO-CVB   bathe receive-DO-IPFV1-AUX-IND
A sick person takes a bath made of this water. (~material)

(18) dä   c'wa   k'ač'ɨn-ɨš-illi = mä
     this.**3**.NOM house stone-POSS-EL = COP
This house is made of stone.

cause
(19) zɨ   sas-ɨš-illi   ajilmɨš-q'i-šä-mä
     I.NOM noise-POSS-EL wake.up-BECOME-PST-IND
I woke up because of a noise.

(20) xɨn-ɨš-illi   sa   t'ɨng tä
     water-POSS-EL one drop give.IMP.me
Give me a drop of water.

(21) misi ħäjäl-ir-z-u   pχtad-ɨš-illi   ɨnq-qo-mä
     small child-PL-OBL-DAT dog.PL-POSS-EL fear-BE2-IND
Small children are afraid of dogs.

Ad (Apud) – 'call someone', 'approach the stone', 'instead of' (in a postpositional phrase), 'look at something'

spatial usage:
(22) višä-χ ħädmi toχun-qo-mä
     tree-AD man   1.stand-AUX2-IND
A man stands near a tree.

Exchange equivalent (also with the postposition *č⁻imi* 'in exchange for, because')

(23) abuzer-i   sa   hilam   q'ännäʕiz   manat-ɨχ   če-k'wi-šä-mä
      Abuzer-ERG   one   donkey   thirty   money-AD   sell-∅-LV5-PST-IND
Abuzer sold the donkey for thirty roubles.

(24) zɨ   pχra-χ   l-äk'-šir-et-mä
      I.NOM   dog-AD   SAME.LEVEL.EL-look-LV4-AUX1-IND
I am looking at a dog.

(25) jä   vi-χ   sas-ki-r-et-mä
      I.NOM   you.sg.OBL-AD   voice-DO-IPFV-AUX1-IND
I am calling you.

Topic of communication:

(26) hin-i   qini   c'wa-χ   čik'-šä-mä
      that.H.OBL-ERG   good   house-AD   speak-PST-IND
He spoke about a good house.

(27) zɨ   sa   ruc'**a**-χ-illi   ta-l-k̄o-t-mä
      I.NOM   one   threshing.place-AD-EL   SAME.LEVEL-LAT-go-AUX1-IND
I am coming here through this threshing place.

(28) jä   hini   kuta-χ-illi   č'**u**x-šä-mä
      I.ERG   that.H.OBL-INAL   hand-AD-EL   hold-PST-IND
I caught him by his hand.

Comitative – (Kibrik et al 1972) indicate that it has peripheral spatial (prolative with a postposition?) usages; it does not have instrumental usage.

(29) zɨ   dɨvar-iškili   düz   za-k̄w-at-mä
      I.NOM   wall-COMIT   right   INFRA.EL-go.IPFV-AUX1-IND
I am going along the wall.

Comparative
According to (Kibrik et al 1972), comparative essive vs. elative are substitutable in all contexts and have almost exclusively abstract (comparative) meaning.

(30) šir-e   mɨdad   ksan=ʒ-mä   sur-e   mɨdad-ɨq'(illi)
      we.OBL-GEN   mountain.PL   good=4-COP   you.OBL-GEN   mountain.PL-COMP-(EL)
Our mountains are better than your mountains.
However, they indicate one vestigial spatial usage of the comparative elative, as in the following example:
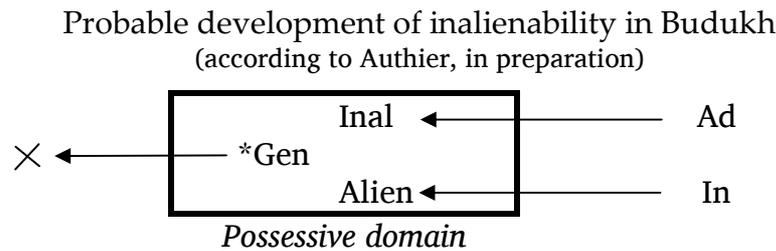
(31) dä   k'ač'ɨn   tˌwi   k'ač'ɨn-dɨr-ɨq'-illi   arallɨ   qo-mä
      this.**3**.NOM   stone   same.level.that   stone-PL-COMP-EL   through   be2-IND
This stone lies far from those stones.
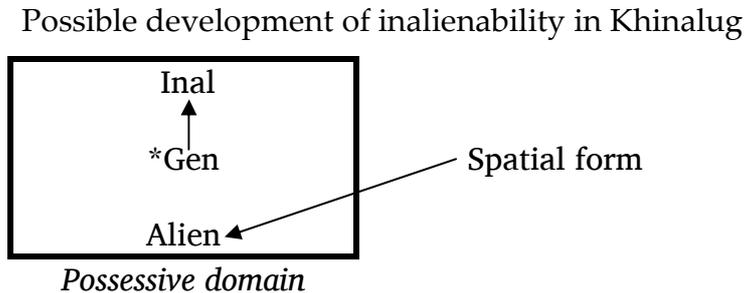
3. (In)alienability

Together with Budukh (Lezgic), Khinalug is the only East Caucasian language which, under specific morphophonological conditions, makes a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (marked on Possessor). The distinction is made on nouns ending in a low vowel.

gad$_i$-i   kalla   vs.   gad$_i$-e   c'wa   cf.   nuk'ur$_i$-i   kalla/c'wa
boy-INAL   head   boy-GEN   house   mouse-GEN   head/house
boy's head vs. boy's house (*gada* 'boy')   mouse's head/house (*nuk'ur* 'mouse')

For Budukh, Authier (in preparation) suggests that the original genitive has disappeared, and two new genitives developed from two spatial cases, Ad and In:

Probable development of inalienability in Budukh
(according to Authier, in preparation)

Possessive domain

Although the development of (in)alienability in Khinalug may have been correlated with similar structural development in Budukh, there is no material loan. Also, we do not have reliable comparative evidence. We think that a probable path of development was as follows (and different from that of suggested for Budukh):

Possible development of inalienability in Khinalug

Possessive domain

This would explain two facts about Khinalug:
   1. It is the inalienable genitive which is governed by most postpositions
(Alienable is governed by a handful of postpositions only, as well as Poss and Ad)
   2. Inalienable genitive is identical to the ergative (except in prounouns)
Both are more naturally expected of an East Caucasian genitive than any other case form.

4. Summary

While (Desheriev 1959) assigns spatial labels to all case forms, (Kibrik et al. 1972) prefers abstract ones (possessive locative, telic locative). The motivation here is clear: except locative – elative pair, abstract and metaphorical usages are at least equally important for what can be considered to be spatial subparadigm on formal grouns. As compared to the East Caucasian prototype, Khinalug may be described as having formally preserved the spatial subparadigm but functionally shifted it to the boundary between the spatial and abstract domains. Cf. the following scheme, where the formal members of the spatial subparadigm are bold-faced:

LOC LOC-EL	**AD,** **POSS,**	GEN (alien),	NOM, ERG, GEN (inal), DAT,
	AD-EL POSS-EL	COMP-EL	COMP

Spatial domain   Abstract domain