A Functional Grammar of Udi

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3.3.3.6 The two datives: {-V} - {-Vx}. In the present description of Udi, the term 'dative' is primarily understood as a label to denote a specific morphological class. The functional value of this class is rather heterogeneous. Although the Udi dative case also covers the functional scope typical for the categorial domain 'dative', the reader should be aware of the fact that the Udi dative cannot be reduced to this domain. Instead, we have to deal with a cluster of functions that are (at least in parts) metaphorically derived from a locative orientation.

In inflection, Udi has lost the standard Lezgian dative *-s*. It has been replaced by the proto-Lezgian inessive *-a* [with variants], see 3.3.11. Residues of the old dative are present in the two masdar morphemes *-es* and *-esun* as well as in the present tense marker *-sa* (see 3.4.5 and 3.4.11).

In §§ 1-7 of this section, I will discuss the basic distinction 'dative' vs. 'dative2'. §§ 7-23 inform about the morphological properties of both case forms. See sections 5.4.2.3, 5.4.2.4, and 5.4.3.2 for the syntactic properties of the dative case. Again, the Vartashen dative morphology is taken as the default.

§ 1. The term 'dative' encompasses two different types of morphemes. The first type is represented by a vocalic element that superficially has five allomorphs. This type is labeled 'dative (DAT). A second type is derived from the first one by adding the element -x (> -Vx). The Vx-dative is termed 'dative2' (DAT2) in accordance with the terminology of Pančvidze (1974:51). Other authors have used the terms 'affective' (Schiefner 1863), 'accusative' (Dirr 1904), 'dative' (ǯeiranišvili 1971and Gukasjan 1974), or '(second) dative' (Harris 2002) [terms in parts translated]. The term 'dative2' is not intended to denote a linguistic category or function of its own. In fact, the two variants form a functional cluster that incidentally allows the mutual exchange of both datives. This is especially true if we consider the dialectal variants as a single system. In order to illustrate this point, (x) lists the basic functional domains that are associated with the dative domain:

(x)		Vartashen	Nizh

Indirect Objective	Dative (~ Dative2)	Dative
Objective	Dative2 (~ Dative)	Dative
Locative	Dative (~ Dative2)	Dative (~ Dative2)
Demoted agentive	Dative (~ Ergative)	Ergative (~ Dative)
Possessive	Genitive	Dative2 [clitics]

It comes clear that the 'dative2' is the preferred variant in Vartashen. Nevertheless, it can occur in just the same functions as the standard dative, compare:

(x) (a) *iś-en   täng-in-ax   peškaš-ne-b-e   äyel-ax* [Harris 2002:24]
      man-ERG money-SA-DAT2 gift-3SG-LV-PERF child-DAT2

(b) *iś-en   täng-in-a   peškaš-ne-b-e   äyel-ax* [Harris 2002:25]
      man-ERG money-SA-DAT gift-3SG-LV-PERF child-DAT2
      'The man gave the money to the child.'

(c) *xinär-en xup'-ax   ta-ne-st'a   rust'am-a* [R 14]
      girl-ERG pilav-DAT2 give-3SG-$:PRES Rustam-DAT
      'The girl gives the pilav to Rustam.'

(d) *me xinär-en ta-ne-st'a   ğar-a   p'ilinž-a* [CH&T 172]
      PROX girl-ERG give-3SG-$:PRES son-DAT saber-DAT
      'The girl gives the saber to the boy.'

All four sentences include a verb of giving that calls for a referent in objective function and for another referent in indirect objective function (see sections 5.4.2 for a discussion of these functions). The different correlations of the two datives as they appear in the sentences quoted above are listed in (X):

(X)		Objective	Indirect Objective
	(x,a)	Dative2	Dative2
	(x,b)	Dative	Dative2
	(x,c)	Dative2	Dative
	(x,d)	Dative	Dative

Semantically speaking, there is no obvious difference between the four types. Obviously, we have to deal with stylistic and personal preferences. Also note that regional aspects play a role. For instance, types (x,a) and (x,d) are not the standard in Vartashen, but documented for Okt'omberi. On the other hand, the most frequent type met in Vartashen is (x,c).

§ 2. In Nizh, the dative2 represents a marginal category. In most contexts, it is replaced by the simple dative as shown in the following examples:

Objective:

(x) (a) [*eˤk-en*]   *eč'-n-ux*   *t'ap'-ne-xa* [Vartashen]
        [horse-ERG] threshing=floor-SA-DAT2 hit-3SG-LV:PRES

  (b) [*eˤk-en*]   *öč'-ä*   *t'ap'-e-ne* [Nizh]
        [horse-ERG] threshing=floor-DAT hit-3SG-LV:PRES
        'The horse hits the threshing floor.'

Indirect objective:

(x) (a) *čoval-ǧ-o*   *k'ač' tast'-an* [Vartashen]
        sparrow-PL-DAT bite   give:MASD-CV:TEL

  (b) *čoval-x-o*   *k'äč' tast'-einak'* [Nizh]
        sparrow-PL-DAT bite   give:MASD-BEN
        'In order to give the sparrows a bite…'

Locative:

(x) (a) *ama käkəl kex-t'a*   *mand-e* [Vartashen]
        but   stalk   hand:DAT2-3SG:POSS remain-PERF

  (b) *ama käkəl kiie-ne*   *mand-i* [Nizh]
        but   stalk   hand:DAT-3SG   remain-PAST
        'But the stalk remained in (V.: his) hand.'

A residue of the dative2 can be found in long distance possession. Here, Nizh uses the dative2 clitics (certain analogical processes apply, see <mark>3.4.3</mark> and <mark>5.3.4</mark>), whereas Vartashen uses the possessive clitics:

(x) (a) *kalkala muˤq'əˤ-iux-t'a bu* [Vartashen]
        very=big horn-PL-3SG:POSS be

  (b) *kalkala muˤq'aˤ-ox-t'ux   bu* [Nizh]
        very=big horn-PL-3SG:POSS:DAT2 be
        'It (the ibex) has very big horns.'

  (c) *šo-t'-ai*   *p'oi-eǧ-al-a*   *taxəl te-t'ux   p'u*
        DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 adequate-LV:PASS-PART:nPAST-ATTR food   NEG-3SG:IO be
        '(S)he has not enough food.' [Nizh; PA 144]

  (d) *qo aˤil-t'ux   bak-io* [Nizh; PA 111]
        five child-3SG:IO be-PERF2
        'He had five children.'

Incidentally, Nizh uses the dative2 just in the way that is typical for the Vartashen dialect. Examples include:

(x) (a) *ama   t'e   qi-o-t'-ai-al*
　　　　but　　DIST　half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-GEN2-FOC

　　　　qi-o-t'-ux　　　　　　　za　　tad-a [Nizh; PA 117]
　　　　half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2　I:DAT　give-IMP:2SG
　　　　'But give me the half of that half!'

　　(b) *xurǯin-ax　　　t'esahat q'uč'-e-ne　　　e-ne-sa*
　　　　saddlebag-DAT2　instantly　swallow-3SG-LV:PRES　come-3SG:PRES

　　　　ba-ne-sa　　　k'oya　　nex-e vič-a [PA 188]
　　　　enter-3SG-$:PRES　house:DAT　say-3SG　brother-DAT
　　　　'He immediately swallows the saddlebag, comes, enters the house (and) says to (his) brother…'

　　(c) *ğar-en-q'a xüyär-en-al sunsun-ax　　čal-x-al-t'un　　　buq'-o*
　　　　boy-ERG-and girl-ERG-FOC　each=other-DAT2　know-LV-PART:nPAST-3PL　want-FUT:MOD
　　　　'The boy and the girl will probably want to know each other.' [XOZ; OR 52]

Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the dative2 is used to encode a (in parts directional) locative, as in:

(x) (a) *usun ič-oğ-o　　　p'ap'-es-t'un-b-i　　　kalna-x* [KAL; OR 124]
　　　　soon　REFL-PL-DAT　reach-MASD-3PL-LV-PAST　old=woman-DAT2
　　　　'Soon they came (lit.: directed themselves) to the old woman.'

　　(b) *kalna-n　　　me säs-exun hik'äl　bex　　te-ne baf-t'-i*
　　　　old=woman-ERG PROX voice-ABL　something head:DAT2　NEG-3SG　put=into-LV-PAST
　　　　'The old woman (lit.: Grandmother) did not remember anything of what this voice (had said).'
　　　　[KAL; OR 124]

　　(c) *bur-e-q-i　　　naq'-e ćo-ex　bak-al-a　　　čäyin-a gir-b-sa*
　　　　start-3SG-LV-PAST milk-GEN　face-DAT2　be-PART:nPAST-ATTR　fat-DAT　collect-PRES
　　　　'She started to collect the fat that was on the surface of the milk.'
　　　　[KAL; OR 124]

The general preference of Nizh to use the simple dative can be inferred from the following figures:

(X)

	Nizh narratives		Vartashen narratives	
DAT	707	96,98	265	45,69
DAT2	22	3,02	315	54,31
TOTAL	729		580	
Words in corpus	7235		5256	

In sum, the two datives show roughly the same frequency in both dialects (10,08 % of all words in Nizh narratives, 11,04 % of all words in Vartashen narratives). But whereas the simple dative and the dative2 have a nearly parallel distribution in Vartashen, the dative2 is marginal in Nizh.

§ 3. The two functional domains 'objective' and 'indirect objective' are often distinguished with the help of the two datives. In Vartashen, the default is:

(x)   Objective [+det]   Dative2
        Indirect objective   Dative

An example is:

(x)   *xe-n-ax*   *ta-ne-st'a*   *däng xunč-e* [GD 63]
        water-SA-DAT2   give-3SG-$:PRES   mad   sister-DAT
        'He gives the water to his mad sister.'

In Nizh, the opposite strategy is sometimes observed with pronominal referents in indirect objective function:

(x) (a) *hun*   *ki*   *vi*   *bütün kärvän-ä-al*   *tad-a-iy-n*
        you:SG   SUB   you:SG:POSS   all   caravane-DAT-FOC   give-MOD-PAST-2SG

        zu ko-t'-ǧ-o   *vax*   *te-z*   *tad-o* [Nizh, PA 169]
        I   MED-REF:OBL-PL-DAT   you:SG:DAT2   NEG-1SG   give-FUT:MOD
        'If you give (away) all your caravane, I won't give them to you.'

   (b) *sal iz-i*   *äš-l-a*   *bar-t-i*   *öˁq'-ä*   *yax*   *ta-ne-d-o?*
        ever   REFL-GEN   work-SA-DAT   leave-LV-PAST   yoke-DAT   we:DAT2   give-3SG-$-FUT:MOD
        'Will he ever leave his work (and) give us the yoke?' [BUL; OR 133]

But note that we cannot relate this strategy to hiearchic features of pronominality: The use of personal pronouns marked by the simple dative is likewise possible, contrast (x,b) above with (x):

(x)   *öˁq'-ä*   *va*   *tad-e-q'a-n* [BUL; OR 133]
        yoke-DAT   you:SG:DAT   give-PERF-ADH-3SG
        'He should give you the yoke.'

The fact that the dative2 is marked by the same consonant as the standard plural (-*ux* ~ -*xo*, see 3.2.5) has lead to a partial reanalysis of the dative2 of personal pronouns in Nizh. Accordingly, the dative2 is more often used with plural pronouns, whereas the simple dative is more frequent with singular pronouns. The following figures stemming from the Keçaari corpus help to illustrate this point (see 3.3.6 for the case forms):

(X)

	'I'		'you:SG'		'we'		'you:PL'	
DAT	*za*	14	*va*	10	*ya*	---	*väˤ*	---
DAT2	*zax*	1	*vax*	1	*yax*	6	*väˤx*	5

The two forms *zax* and *yax* documented only once in the Keçaari corpus:

(x) *vax   gele-z   čuru-sa ama vaxun   gele zax-uz   čuru-sa*
     you:SG:DAT much-1SG love-PRES but you:SG:ABL much I:DAT2-1SG love-PRES
     'I love you very much, but I love myself more than you.' [KACH; OR 49]

Disregarding such exceptual (and textually marked) constructions, the actual dative paradigm of Nizh personal pronouns has the following architecture:

(x)   'I'   *za*   (dative)
      'you (sg.)' *va*   (dative)
      'we'   *yax*   (dative2)
      'you (pl.)   *väˤx* (dative2)

§ 4. The opposition dative vs. dative2 is also used to distinguish a locative (inessive-allative) function from the objective: The dative-locative is normally marked by the simple dative, whereas the objective is marked by the dative2. This distribution holds both for spatial locatives as in (x) and for temporal locatives as in (x):

(x) (a) *ma-no-te   gäräg eğ-a-ne-i   dünia-n-i* [John 6:14]
        WHO-REF:ABS-SUB must come-MOD-3SG-PAST world-DAT
        '…. who must come into the world….'

    (b) *šo-no   ar-i   günähkär-b-al-le   dünia-n-ix* [John 16:8]
        DIST-REF:ABS come:PAST-PART:PAST sinner-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG world-SA-DAT2
        'He will start to expose the world (as sinners).'

(x) (a) *väd-in-a   te   te-t'a   bu-i   umud* [Luke 12:46]
        time-SA-DAT SUB NEG-3SG:POSS be-PAST hope
        'At a time when he did not have hope…'

    (b) *šet'abaxt'inte un   te-va   aba-i*
        because   you:SG NEG-2SG:IO knowing-PAST

väd-in-ax   *vi*   *esun-un* [Luke 19:44]
time-SA-DAT2   you:SG:POSS   come-MASD2-GEN
'Because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.' [KJ]

Nevertheless, the dative2 can incidentally be used in locative function, too. Most probably, we have to deal with a residue of the locative function of this case, see 3.3.11. Examples are:

(x) (a) *beš*   *pak-ix*   *bu-ne*   *maˤin*   *t'ul* [PO2]
        we:POSS   garden-DAT2   be-3SG   black   grape
        'In our garden there are black grapes.'

   (b) *q'onši-n*   *pak-ix*   *p'aˤ*   *ar-r-a*   *xod-de* [LT 71]
        neighbor-GEN   garden-DAT   two   pear-SA-GEN   tree-3SG
        'In the neighbor's garden, there are two pear trees.'

   (c) *varrava*   *t'ussaǧxan-in-a*   *biq'-ec-i-ne-i*
        Barabbas   prison-SA-DAT   seize-LV:PASS-PAST-3SG-PAST

        šähär-äx   *bunt'-b-esun-un*   *baxt'in* [Luke 23:19]
        town-DAT2   revolt-MAKE-MASD2-GEN   for
        'Barabbas had been put into prison for having revolted in the town.'

§ 5. The dative2 is never used to encode a 'demoted' agentive in so-called inverted constructions with verba sentiendi (see 5.4.3.2). If ever an overt referent is present, it is encoded by either the simple dative or by the ergative (as in Nizh), but never by the dative2:

(x) (a) *nik'olaj-a*   *q'a*   *serg-in-a*   *gölö*   *maˤǧ-urux-q'o*   *aba* [Vartashen]
        Nikolaj-DAT   and   Sergej-SA-DAT   much   song-PL-3PL:IO   knowing

   (b) *nik'alaj-en*   *q'a*   *serg-in-en*   *gele*   *maˤǧ-ur-t'un*   *ava* [Nizh]
        Nikolaj-ERG   and   Sergej-SA-ERG   much   song-PL-3PL   knowing
        'Nikolaj and Sergej know many songs.'

   (c) *xunč-e*   *ič*   *pišik'-ax*   *gölö*   *bu-t'u-q'-sa* [Vartashen; f.n.]
        sister-DAT   REFL   cat-DAT2   much   love-3SG:IO-$-PRES

        xunč-en   *ič*   *pišik'-ax*   *gölö*   *bu-t'u-q'-sa* [Vartashen; f.n.]
        sister-ERG   REFL   cat-DAT2   much   love-3SG:IO-$-PRES

        xunč-en   *iz-i*   *pišik'-a*   *gele*   *čur-e-ne* [Lower Nizh, f.n.]
        sister-ERG   REFL-GEN   cat-DAT   much   love-3SG-LV:PRES

xunč-ex   ič   pišik'-ax gölö bu-t'u-q'-sa [*Vartashen]
  sister-DAT2 REFL cat-DAT2 much love-3SG:IO-$-PRES
'The sister loves her cat very much.'

§ 6. The demotion of the functional role 'subjective' to 'indirect objective' in junction with the verb *baksun* 'to become' represents the standard technique to encode a potential mood (see 3.4.7 and 5.4.4.4). Here, only the simple dative can be used:

(x) (a) *ba-t'u-k-o   žin-n-u   qai-p-es   k'aći-t'-a   pex?*
       be-3SG:IO-$-FUT:MOD ghost-SA-DAT open-LV-MASD blind-REF:OBL-GEN eye:DAT2
       'Can a ghost open the eye of blind one?' [John 10:21]

   (b) *etär-t'u   bak-o   nana-xo bak-es   adamar-a q'oža-bak-i* [John 3:4]
       how-3SG:IO be-FUT:MOD mother-ABL be-MASD man-DAT   old-LV-PART:PAST
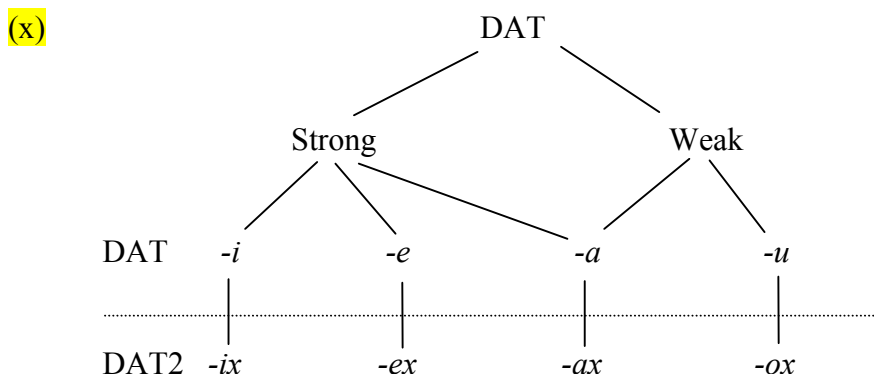   'How can an old man be born by (his) mother?'

§ 7. In sum, it seems reasonable to assume that the two datives form a functional cluster that is marked by a polar structure in Vartashen:

(X)

A/S>IO → IO → LOC → O

DAT ————————→ DAT2
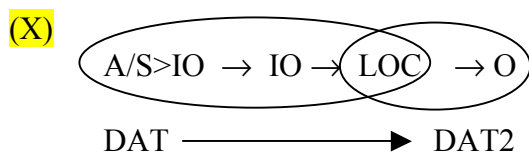
The simple dative is typical for the 'indirect' domain, whereas the dative2 covers the domain of direct 'affectedness'. In Nizh, this system is harmonized on the basis of the simple dative. The above-mentioned residues, however, suggest that an earlier version of this dialect still knew the opposition DAT-DAT2.

§ 8. With singular nouns, the Vartashen Udi dative has four allomorphs. All of them are vocalic. The dative2 is regularly derived from the simple dative by adding the segment *-x* (see § 23 below). The dative allomorphs constitute characteristic subparadigms with the set of genitive allomorphs (see 3.3.3.5). Just as their genitive counterparts, are conditioned by both structural (phonotactic) and (in parts) semantic features.

§ 9. Structurally speaking, the dative allomorphs can be both strong and weak. (X) Lists the corresponding elements:

(x)

```
                              DAT
                            /      \
                      Strong        Weak
                      / |  \        /    \
       DAT        -i    -e     -a       -u
              ....|.....|......|........|......
       DAT2  -ix    -ex    -ax      -ox
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The strong dative is constituted by the set {*-a*, *-e*, *and -i*} as opposed to the weak variant of the dative *-u*. The allomorph *-a* is also present with weak [w2a] nouns (type: *gad* 'son' > *gäd-in-a* and weak [w3] nouns (type: *xe* 'water' > *xe-n-a*), see §§ 13-14. below. In texts, the strong *-a*-dative is the most frequent allomorph. (x) lists the corresponding figures for a cumulated version of all narrative texts (singular only):

(X)

-a(x)	strong	270
	weak [w2a] nouns	75
-u(x)	weak	94
-i(x)	strong	16
-e(x)	strong	57

The apparent dominance of the *-a*-dative allows to characterize it as 'unmarked'. In Nizh, it has been extended to most nominal forms disregarding their syllabic structure and semantic classification, compare:

(x)

Vartashen	Nizh	
ul-lu	*ul-a*	'wolf-[SA-]DAT'
meˁl-l-u	*meˁl-u ~ meˁl-a*	'mouse-[SA-]DAT'
śum-nu ~ śum-a	*śum-a*	'bread-[SA-]DAT'
t'ul-l-u	*t'ul-a*	'grape-[SA-]DAT'
č'em-n-u	*č'em-a*	'basin-[SA-]DAT'
ozan-e	*ozan-a ~ ozan-e*	'neck-DAT'
xel-l-u	*xel-a*	'load-[SA-]DAT'
ez-n-u	*ez-a*	'harvest-[SA-]-DAT'
k'äl-l-u	*k'äl-a*	'buffalo-[SA-]-DAT'

The correlation of dative and genitive case form is decisive for the constitution of inflectional classes, see 3.3.2.3. They are correlated in the following way (see 3.3.2.2, § 1 for the stem classes):

(x)

	GEN	DAT
[s1]	*-un*	*-a ~ -e ~ -i*
[s2]	*-un*	*-a ~ -e ~ -i*
[s3a]	*-i ~ -ei*	*-Ø [~ -e]*

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[s3b]	-ei	-a ~ -e
[s4]	-in	-e
[w1]	-ai	-u

§ 10. The default suffix is -*a* (harmonic variants -*ä* ~ -*a*ˤ). It occurs with all strong nouns except for the irregular class [s4], see below § 18. Additionally, the strong class of V-final kinship terms is excluded, see § 13. With weak nouns, the -*a*-dative is confined to class [w2] and [w3]. The -*a*-dative also is the default for personal pronouns and most indefinite pronouns (see 3.3.6 and 3.3.9). Note that some nouns have alternative dative forms (see below §§ 17-22). Examples for the [s1] class are:

(x)				
	adamar	[s1]	>	*adamar-a*	'man, person'
	aslan	[s1]	>	*aslan-a*	'lion'
	axśum	[s1]	>	*axśum-a*	'laughter'
	eğel	[s1]	>	*eğel-a*	'sheep'
	eˤleˤm	[s1]	>	*eˤleˤm-a*	'donkey'
	gergec'	[s1]	>	*gergec'-a*	'church'
	günäh	[s1]	>	*günäh-a*	'sin'
	gurdak'	[s1]	>	*gurdak'-a*	'stomach'
	iˤžen	[s1]	>	*iˤžen-a*	'winter'
	maral	[s1]	>	*maral-a*	'stag'
	pasč'ağ	[s1]	>	*pasč'ağ-a*	'king'
	šähär	[s1]	>	*šähär-a*	'town'
	usen	[s1]	>	*usen-a*	'year'
	xazal	[s1]	>	*xazal-a*	'leaf'
	xinär	[s1]	>	*xinär-a*	'daughter, girl'
	zaman	[s1]	>	*zaman-a*	'time'

Monosyllabic words that contain a diphthong stemming from former bisyllabic structures (class [s2]) behave as [s1] nouns:

(x)				
	äit	[s2]	>	*äit-a*	'word'
	aˤib	[s2]	>	*aˤib-a*	'shame, fault'
	aˤil	[s2]	>	*aˤil-a*	'child, family'
	č'äin	[s2]	>	*č'äin-a*	'butter, fat'
	houz	[s2]	>	*houz-a*	'well, basin'
	meid	[s2]	>	*meid-a*	'corpse, body'
	xoiś	[s2]	>	*xoiś-a*	'wish'

§ 11. Strong monosyllabic nouns have the -*a*-dative in case no semantic constraints apply (see §§ 17-22). Examples are:

(X)				
	ğar	[s3b]	>	*ğar-a*	'son, boy'
	mu	[s3b]	>	*mu-a*	'barley'
	nep'	[s3b]	>	*nep'-a*	'sleep, dream'
	c'i	[s3b]	>	*c'i-a*	'name'
	o	[s3b]	>	*o-a*	'grass'
	oq'	[s3b]	>	*oq'-a*	'river'
	xa	[s3b]	>	*xa-a*	'skin'
	k'oi	[s3b]	>	*k'oi-a*	'sleeve'

§ 12. The set of bisyllabic V-final kinship terms (class [s3a]) is superficially marked by a 'hidden' dative morpheme -*a*: *nana* 'mother' > dative *nana*. The lack of an overt dative morpheme then results from contraction, e.g. *baba-a 'father-DAT' > *baba*. However, this assumption fails out of two reasons: First, the two vowels in question normally do not fuse but keep their morpheme boundary. This can be illustrated for instance with the help of the question clitic -*a* (see 3.5.4.2 and 5.9). When this morpheme follows a final -*a*, it normally keeps its distinct articulation:

(x) (a) *še-no   ma-a   haisa?* [ST §4]
DIST-REF:ABS where-3SG:Q now
'Where is (s)he now?'

b) *me-no   ek'a-a* [ST §5]
PROX-REF:ABS what-3SG:Q
'What is this?'

The same usually holds for the focus particle -*al* (see 3.5.3). In slow speech, the particle can be clearly heard as such even if preceded by the vowel -*a*-. Also note that the focus marker is frequently written in its full form in the written sources:

(x) (a) *vi   baba-al   nep'-ax-ne* [f.n.]
you:SG:POSS father-FOC sleep-DAT2-3SG
'Your FATHER is sleeping.'

(b) *za-al   aba-za* [John 12:50]
I:DAT-FOC knowing-1SG:IO
'It is me who knows…'

In the textual sources, forms like **babaa or **nanaa are not recorded. – A second argument is of structural nature: The two 'divergent' nouns *viči* 'brother' and *xunči* 'sister' show the following dative forms: *viče* and *xunče*. Synchronically, the two nouns behave like strong nouns showing an -*e*-dative (see § 17 below). However, this analysis does not account for the fact that -*e*-datives represent a semantically motivated group of nouns that is defined by body parts terms etc. (see § 17 and 3.3.11). In section 3.3.3.5, it has been argued that both terms belong to the class of strong nouns representing kinship terms (-*i*-genitive). If the (diachronic) analysis *vičei* 'of the brother' < *viče-i and *xunčei* 'of the sister' < *xunče-i is correct, we arrive at a paradigm that is morphologically parallel to that of *a*-final kinship terms:

(x)   'Mother'   'Sister'
ABS   *nana*   *xunči* < *xunče
ERG   *nana-n*   *xunče-n*
GEN2 *nana-i*   *xunče-i*
DAT   *nana*   *xunče*

This paradigmatic analogy allows the inclusion of both *viči* 'brother' and *xunči* 'sister' into the standard class of strong kinship terms. Nevertheless, the ablaut-like variation (oblique **viče-* vs. absolutive *viči* etc.) is not fully explained. Additionally, we are confronted with a zero-marked dative case that has its only parallel in the dative plural of Nizh (and more rarely Vartashen) nouns and referentialized forms (see 3.3.5). Additionally, the interrogative pronoun *šu* 'who' superficially lacks a dative morpheme (see 3.3.9.5 for details). The problem of a zero-marked dative case will be discussed in more details in section 3.3.11. Nouns that show this type of dative include:

(X)				
	ama [V.]	[s3a]	>	*ama*	'aunt (sister of father)'
	baǯa	[s3a]	>	*baǯa*	'husband of wife's sister'
	baba	[s3a]	>	*baba*	'father'
	bibi [N.]	[s3a]	>	*bibe*	'aunt (sister of father); bride'
	iezna	[s3a]	>	*iezna*	'brother-in-law'
	nana	[s3a]	>	*nana*	'mother'
	seide	[s3a]	>	*seide*	'father-in-law'
	seine	[s3a]	>	*seine*	'mother-in-law'
	sevče	[s3a]	>	*sevče*	'brother-in-law'
	viči	[s3a]	>	*viče*	'brother'
	xala	[s3a]	>	*xala*	'aunt (sister of mother)'
	xunči	[s3a]	>	*xunče*	'sister'

§ 13. Weak nouns that belong to the stem class [w2a] and [w2b] always have the *-a-* dative in case no semantic constraints apply (see below §§ 17-22). Obviously, the stem augment *-(i)n-* is interpreted as part of the stem. In consequence, these nouns are aligned to the [s1] class (polysyllabic and C-final). Examples include:

(X)				
	araba	[w2a]	>	*arab-in-a*	'chariot'
	dänä	[w2a]	>	*dän-in-a*	'piece'
	davra	[w2a]	>	*davraz-in-a*	'door, gate'
	gädä	[w2a]	>	*gäd-in-a*	'boy'
	gärämzä	[w2a]	>	*gärämz-in-a*	'grave'
	keče ~ kečä	[w2a]	>	*keč-in-a-*	'goat'
	ölkä	[w2a]	>	*ölk-in-a*	'land, country'
	tängä	[w2a]	>	*täng-in-a*	'money'
	tula	[w2a]	>	*tul-in-a*	'young (dog)'
	vädä	[w2a]	>	*väd-in-a*	'time'
	borzu(n)	[w2b]	>	*borzu-n-a*	'bread'
	čäli	[w2b]	>	*čali-n-a*	'fish'
	däria	[w2b]	>	*däria-n-a*	'sea, lake'
	k'iro	[w2b]	>	*k'iro-n-a*	'axe'
	laśk'o	[w2b]	>	*laśk'o-n-a*	'marriage'
	naxrči	[w2b]	>	*naxrči-n-a*	'farmer'
	t'uri	[w2b]	>	*t'uri-n-a*	'thread'

§ 14. In analogy to [w2] nouns, the class of weak [w3] nouns (monosyllabic, V-final) normally takes the *-a*-dative:

(X)	*fi*	[w3]	>	*fi-n-a*	'wine'
	ği	[w3]	>	*ğe-n-a*	'day'
	me	[w3]	>	*me-n-a*	'knife'
	xe	[w3]	>	*xe-n-a*	'water'
	źeˤ	[w3]	>	*źeˤ-n-a*	'stone'
	t'e	[w3]	>	*t'e-n-a*	'nit'
	be	[w3]	>	*be-n-a*	'deposit'
	p'i	[w3]	>	*p'i-n-a*	'blood'
	ga	[w3]	>	*ga-l-a*	'place' (only with SA -*l*-)
	aš	[w3]	>	*aš-l-a*	'thing' (only with SA -*l*-)

§ 15. The -*u*-dative is the default dative for monosyllabic weak nouns. It is correlated to the presence of the 'semantic' stem augment -*n*- (see 3.3.2.2). Additionally, it is the default dative for most pronominal and referentialized forms (see 3.3.6 and 3.3.10). The reflexive pronouns is the only strong referential form that has the -*u*-dative: *ič* 'self' > *ič-u* (REFL-DAT) (see 3.3.8). In Nizh, the weak -*u*-dative is normally replaced by the strong -*a*-dative (see § 8 above). Examples for the -*u*-dative are:

(X)	*bar*	[w1]	>	*bar-r-u*	'part, portion'
	beˤğ	[w1]	>	*beˤğ-n-u*	'sun'
	biz	[w1]	>	*biz-n-u*	'awl'
	boˤq	[w1]	>	*boˤq-n-u*	'blossom'
	boˤq'	[w1]	>	*boˤq'-n-u*	'pig'
	buš	[w1]	>	*buš-n-u*	'camel'
	č'ap'	[w1]	>	*č'ap-n-u*	'grape'
	cil	[w1]	>	*cil-l-u*	'seed'
	därd	[w1]	>	*därd-n-u*	'harm, pein'
	däs	[w1]	>	*däs-n-u*	'lesson'
	ex	[w1]	>	*ex-n-u*	'harvest'
	eˤk	[w1]	>	*eˤk-n-u*	'horse'
	ial	[w1]	>	*ial-l-u*	'mane, bristle'
	k'oč'	[w1]	>	*k'oč-n-u*	'handle'
	k'ər	[w1]	>	*k'ər-r-u*	'tar'
	maˤq	[w1]	>	*maˤq-n-u*	'oak'
	maˤğ	[w1]	>	*maˤğ-n-u*	'song'
	mex	[w1]	>	*mex-n-u*	'sickle'
	mur	[w1]	>	*mur-r-u*	'ashes'
	neğ	[w1]	>	*neğ-n-u*	'tear'
	ox	[w1]	>	*ox-n-u*	'comb'
	pop	[w1]	>	*pop-n-u*	'hair'
	q'ap	[w1]	>	*q'ap-n-u*	'portal'
	q'uš	[w1]	>	*q'uš-n-u*	'bird'
	q'um	[w1]	>	*q'um-n-u*	'sand'
	śul	[w1]	>	*śul-l-u*	'fox'
	toz	[w1]	>	*toz-n-u*	'dust'
	uˤq'	[w1]	>	*uˤq'-n-u*	'walnut'
	ul	[w1]	>	*ul-l-u*	'wolf'
	zor	[w1]	>	*zor-r-u*	'power, might'

§ 16. The tendency to replace the weak dative by the strong dative -*a* can be also be described for a number of Vartashen [w1] nouns. However, it is not always clear

whether we have to deal with a younger process of 'extension' or whether the forms in question represent older, functionally distinct variants ([sw] nouns, see 3.3.2.2, § 8). Examples are:

(X) śum   [w1] > śum-n-u ~ śum-a   'bread'
    ul   [w1] > ul-l-u ~ ul-a   'wolf'
    xalx   [w1] > xalx-n-u ~ xalx-a   'people'
    iaq'   [w1] > iaq'-n-u ~ iaq'-a   'way'
    k'oi   [sw] > k'oi-n-u ~ k'oi-a   'sleeve'
    xod   [sw] > xod-d-u ~ xod(-d-)a   'tree'

Note that some [w1] nouns have an alternative *-e-* or *-i-*dative, see below §§ 17-22.

The use of a stem-augmented noun with the strong dative *-a* is exceptional. Examples for such hypertrophic forms are:

(x) (a) *č'äläg-i buˤǧaˤ-nan-b-o   a-vaˤ-k'-o-nan   harsa xod-d-a* [ST §19]
        wood-LOC find-2PL-LV-FUT:MOD see-2PL:IO-$-FUT:MOD-2PL any   tree-SA-DAT
        'In the wood(s), you will find and see any kind of tree.'
    (b) *oˤxaˤl-l-ax   hazir-re-b-i* [IM 64]
        meal-SA-DAT2   prepare-3SG-LV-PAST
        'She prepared the meal.'

    (c) *a-ne-q'-i   ič-en   oˤxaˤl-l-ax   hazir-b-a-ne* [IM 66]
        take-3SG-$-PAST REFL-ERG meal-SA-DAT2 prepare-LV-MOD-3SG
        'She herself started to prepare the meal.'

§ 17. The dative morpheme *-e* has a rather restricted distribution. Note that from a synchronic point of view, this morpheme is always strong: In case it is used with weak nouns, the noun in question loses its stem augment. The following nouns allow an *-e*-dative:

(X) baćʼan   [s1]   > baćʼan-e   'back'
    bukun   [s1]   > bukun-e ~ bukun-i 'stomach'
    daˤmaˤn   [s1]   > daˤmaˤn-e   'skirt'
    k'aˤvaˤn   [s1]   > k'aˤvaˤn-e   'field, plains, earth'
    ozan   [s1]   > ozan-e   'neck'
    q'uʒaǧ   [s1]   > q'uʒaǧ-e ~ q'uʒaǧ-a 'quantity that can be taken with both
                                              arms'
    bin   [s3b] > bin-e   'daughter-in-law, bride'
    č'a   [s3b] > č'a-e   'rope'
    c'i   [s3b] > c'i-e ~ c'i-a   'name'
    ćo   [s3b] > ćo-e ~ ćo-a   'face, side'
    ću   [s3b] > ću-e   'spittle'
    č'ot'   [s3b] > č'ot'-e   'side, bank, edge'
    fu   [s3b] > fu-e   'blow'
    iś(u)   [s3b] > iś-e   'man, husband'
    maˤ   [s3b] > maˤ-e   'brain'

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mu	[s3b]	>	*mu-e ~ mu-a*	'barley'	
o	[s3b]	>	*o-e ~ o-a*	'grass'	
oś	[s3b]	>	*oś-e [~ oś-a]*	'end, edge, border'	
q'iˤ	[s3b]	>	*q'iˤ-e*	'fear'	
q'oq'	[s3b]	>	*q'oq'-e*	'throat, neck'	
uk'	[s3b]	>	*uk'-e*	'heart'	
xa	[s3b]	>	*xa-e*	'wool, skin'	
xo	[s3b]	>	*xo-e*	'white frost'	
xoˤ	[s3b]	>	*xoˤ-e*	'udder'	
bul	[s4]	>	*be*	'head'	
kul	[s4]	>	*ke*	'hand'	
pul	[s4]	>	*pe*	'eye'	
tur	[s4]	>	*tur-e*	'foot'	
aˤm	[sw]	>	*aˤm-e ~ aˤm-n-u*	'shoulder, arm'	
muz	[sw]	>	*muz-e ~ muz-n-u*	'tongue'	
tum	[sw]	>	*tum-e ~ tum-n-u*	'root'	
uq	[sw]	>	*uq-e ~ uq-n-u*	'river'	

The examples show that the morpheme *-e* cannot be regarded as a harmonic variant of the strong dative *-a*. There are no syllabic constraints. But note that most monosyllabic V-final terms ([s3b] nouns) prefer the *-e*-dative. Stem vocalization may have played a role: Except for the term *bin* 'bride', all nouns are marked for a back vowel. However, the correlation [back] + [mid high] is not always given:

(x) *bać'an-e*   'back-DAT'   vs.   *adamar-a*   'man-DAT'
     muz-e   'tongue-DAT' vs.   *śum-a*   'bread-DAT'
     q'oq'-e   'throat-DAT' vs.   *o-a (~ o-e)*   'grass-DAT'

Perhaps, the Udi opposition *-a* vs.*-e* is related to the two variants of the inessive in Tsakhur (*-a* vs. *-e* (*-ā* vs. *-ē*)), see 3.3.11. However, the distribution of both forms in Tsakhur cannot explain the Udi patterns. Still, it is reasonable to assume that the two datives are historically related. § 17 illustrates that the distribution of the *-e*-dative is in parts based on semantic features (body part terms). From this we can infer that a perhaps stress based process was once active with such terms and has finally motivated the ablaut-like shift from *-a* > *-e*. A strong option is to refer to an old weak paradigm marked by a vocalic (palatal) stem augment that has raised *-a* to *-e*, see 3.3.11.

Synchronically, two types of *-e*-datives can be distinguished: a) nouns that only allow the *-e*-dative (first twelve nouns in (X)); b) nouns that have the *-e*-dative in alternation with another dative (last nine nouns in (X)). Analogous processes most probably conditioned the second type. Examples for the use of type a) datives are:

(x) (a) *häküm-en śel be-ne-ǧ-i   aˤil-un ... bać'an-ex* [ST § 9]
        doctor-ERG good see-3SG-$-PAST child-GEN ... back-DAT2
        'The doctor examined the child's ... back.'

(b) *zu oc'-zu-k'-sa   ćo-ex   ozan-ex* [ST §7]
   I   wash-1SG-LV-PRES face-DAT2 neck-DAT2
   'I wash (my) face and neck.'

(c) *ma-no-te   bu-ne baba   q'uǯaǧ-e* [John 1:18]
   who-REF:ABS-SUB be-3SG father:GEN bosom-DAT
   '… who is at the bosom of the father ...'

(d) *amma bixoǧ-o aba-t'u   eˤf   uk'-e* [Luke 16:15]
   but   god-DAT knowing-3SG:IO you:PL:POSS heart-DAT
   'But God knows your heart(s).'

On the one hand, type b) -*e*-datives can have a 'structural' alternative (a dative conditioned by the stem structure). But there are (few) examples that show a 'semantic' alternative (-*i*-dative, see § 18 below). An example is:

(x) (a) *bütün baiǧ-al-o   źomox-o boš ta-ne-sa   bukun-e*
   all   go=into:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS mouth-GEN in   go-3SG-$:PRES stomach-DAT
   'Everything that comes into the mounth, goes to the stomach.'
   [Matthew 15:17]

   (b) *bukun-ix   xo bütün sa-ga-n-u   bak-al-le* [IM 66]
   stomach-DAT2 yes all   one-place-SA-DAT be-FUT:FAC-3SG
   'In the stomach, you know, everything will be together.'

From a synchronic point of view, minimal pairs are rare. Individual speakers of Udi normally prefer either of the datives. Additionally, the existence of an -*e*-dative (or its alternative) can sometimes only be inferred from corresponding locative case forms that are derived from the dative (see 3.3.4.1). Examples are:

(x) (a) *gul-l-u   vi   ćo-e   biq'-a* [AR 71]
   sieve-SA-DAT you:SG:POSS face-DAT seize-IMP:2SG
   'Put a sieve on your face!'

   (b) *me ćo-a   nu furu-k'-a* [f.n.]
   PROX side-DAT PROH walk=around-LV-:IMP:2SG
   'Don't walk on this side!'

(x) (a) *čap-q'a-n-p-i   ič k'aś-in   bex*
   wet-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST REFL finger-GEN head:DAT2

   vaˤ särin-q'a-n-b-i   bez muz-ex [Luke 16:24]
   and cool-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST I:POSS tongue-DAT2
   'He should wet the tip of his finger and cool my tongue.'

(b) *gäd-in-en döv-n-a muz-n-ux k'ac'-ne-xa*
    boy-SA-ERG dev-SA-GEN tongue-SA-DAT2 cut-3SG-LV:PRES
    'The boy cuts off the tongue of the dev.'

(x) (a) *a-q'o-k'-i ǯähl ğar-ax aća aˁm-el arc-i* [Mark 16:5]
    see-3PL:IO-$-PAST young boy-DAT2 right side-SUPER sit-PAST:PART
    'They saw a young boy sitting on the right side (lit.: arm).'

(b) *ak'-es-ne-st'a ič aˁm-n-ux (aˁm-ex)* [ST §9]
    see-MASD-3SG-CAUS:PRES REFL arm-SA-DAT (arm-DAT2)
    'It (the child) shows its arm.'

An etymological pair is given by the two terms *ośe* 'edge-DAT' vs. *ośa* 'then, after' (~ *oˁśa*) < *oˁś-a 'at/in the edge/end':

(x) (a) *ba-ne-p'-sa sa kur-r-a oś-ex* [R 11]
    reach-3SG-$-PRES one hole-SA-GEN edge-DAT2
    'He reaches the edge of a hole.'

(b) *ośa baba-n tac-i ečer-e*
    then father-ERG go:PAST-PART:PAST bring:PAST-PERF

    śam-ne-p-e arzuman-ax [AR 70]
    slaughter-3SG-LV-PERF Arzuman-DAT2
    'Having finally brought Arzuman, the father then slaughters him.'

Finally, dialectal variance can incidentally be the reason for alternative datives. For instance, the noun *aiz* 'village' is normally used with the *-i*-dative in Vartashen, but with the *-e*-dative in Nizh. An example is:

(x) (a) *me baxt'avar aiz-e kar-e-x-sa-i sa dövlätt'u külfät*
    PROX happy village-DAT live-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST one rich family
    'In this lucky village, there lives a rich family.' [Nizh; PA 160]

(b) *beš baba-nana kar-re-x-esa aiz-i* [ST §4]
    we:POSS father-mother live-3SG-LV-PRES village-DAT
    'Our parents live in a village.'

The following nouns have an *-e*-dative in Nizh:

(x)	*ayiz*	>	*ayiz-e*	'village'
	aran	>	*aran-e*	'middle, place in between, space'
	ardovul	>	*ardovul-e*	'army'
	bačan ~ baćan ~ bažan	>	*bačan-e*	'back'
	bazar	>	*bazar-e*	'bazar'
	bin	>	*bin-e*	'bride'

biʕǧ	>	*biʕǧ-e*	'middle'
bul	>	*biie*	'head'
č'äläi	>	*č'äläi-e*	'woods'
ćo	>	*ćo-ie*	'face'
düniä	>	*dünia-n-e*	'world'
kul	>	*kiie ~ kin-e*	'hand'
mähälä	>	*mähäl-(i)n-e*	'quarter'
pervar	>	*pervar-e*	'surroundings, region'
pul	>	*piie*	'eye'
q'oq'	>	*q'oq'-e*	'throat'
säs	>	*säs-e*	'voice'
seivan	>	*seivan-e*	'balcony'
tum	>	*tum-e*	'root, ground'
tur	>	*tur-e*	'foot'
xüiär	>	*xüiär-e*	'girl, daughter'

§ 18. The *-e*-dative probably had (and in parts still has) a semantic motivation. Of the thirty two Vartashen nouns in question, twenty four denote body parts or terms (metaphorically) related to body parts. The basic body part terms are repeated in (x):

(X)
aʕm	'shoulder, arm'
baćʼan	'back'
bukun	'stomach'
bul	'head'
ćo	'face, side'
ću	'spittle'
kul	'hand'
maʕ	'brain'
muz	'tongue'
ozan	'neck'
pul	'eye'
q'oq'	'throat, neck'
tur	'foot'
uk'	'heart'
xa	'wool, skin'
xoʕ	'udder'

To these terms, we can tentatively add the following nouns that are radially related to the field of body part terms:

(x)
č'a	'rope'
č'ot'	'side, bank, edge'
c'i	'name'
daʕmaʕn	'skirt'
fu	'blow'
oś	'end, edge, border'
q'uʒaǧ	'quantity that can be taken with both arms'
tum	'root'

Some of the remaining terms can eventually be included into this class if we consider radial categorization or metaphorical processes:

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(X)	bin	[s3b]	>	bin-e	'daughter-in-law, bride'
	iś(u)	[s3b]	>	iś-e	'man, husband'
	k'aˁvaˁn	[s1]	>	k'aˁvaˁn-e	'field, plains, earth'
	mu	[s3b]	>	mu-e ~ mu-a	'barley' [via o 'grass']
	o	[s3b]	>	o-e ~ o-a	'grass' ['hair of ground']
	q'iˁ	[s3b]	>	q'iˁ-e	'fear'
	uq	[sw]	>	uq-e ~ uq-n-u	'river' ['arm of mountain']
	xo	[s3b]	>	xo-e	'white frost' ['skin of ground']

For instance, the concepts <grass> and <white frost> probably allude to the body part related term <wool> (<cover>). Likewise <fear> can be regarded as belonging to the domain of bodily action. Additionally, analogous processes may have led to the inclusion of other [s3b] nouns. For instance, the dative *bin-e* 'bride-DAT' is obviously taken from *xunče* 'sister:DAT'. Still, some *-e*-datives remain unexplained, such as *iś-e* 'man-DAT' and *k'aˁvaˁn-e* 'plains-DAT'.

Note that not all body part terms show an *-e*-dative. For instance, the following terms are excluded:

(X)	laśag	[s1]	>	laśag-a	'body'
	oˁʒil	[s1]	>	oˁʒil-a	'tail'
	xärtäg	[s1]	>	xärtäg-a	'throat, neck'
	aˁq	[w1]	>	aˁq-n-u	'chest, breast'
	č'ağ	[w1]	>	č'ağ-n-u	'rib'
	döš	[w1]	>	döš-n-u	'breast, shoulder'
	pop	[w1]	>	pop-n-u	'hair'
	šet	[w1]	>	šet-t'-u	'cheek'
	t'ol	[w1]	>	t'ol-l-u	'skin'
	k'aśa	[w2a]	>	k'aś-in-a	'finger'
	maˁngo	[w2b]	>	maˁngo-n-a	'chin'

Most probably, only body parts terms related to the Container metaphor had originally been marked by the *-e*-dative. However, this correlation has been obscured and lexicalized since long. More recent loans are normally excluded. An exception is *vaxt'* 'time' < Arabic *waqt* 'time' that occasionally has superessive derived from the *-e*-dative, as in:

(x) (a) *buxarik'-un dešik'-ax-al vaxt'-el but'-k'-a-q'un* [IM 63]
        stove-GEN   hole-DAT2-FOC time-SUPER cover-LV-MOD-3PL
        '… so that they cover the hole of the stove in time.'

The *-e*-dative is incidentally used with other nouns. Most of the examples stem from older sources:

(x) (a) *šo-no ba-ne-p-i moroz ivan-in ğar-el cirik'* [IM 65]
        DIST-REF:ABS reach-3SG-$-PAST Moroz Ivan-GEN son-SUPER till
        'She came to the son of Ivan Moroz.'

(b) *vartašen-un gurži-ǧ-on   bur-q'un-q-e   guržiluǧ-b-esun*
Vartashen-GEN Georgian-PL-ERG begin-3PL-LV-PERF Georgianhood-LV-MASD2

häzär muǧ baç   q'a   usen-exo maǧa [UD 58]
thousand eight hundred twenty year-ABL PROX:ADV
'The Vartashen Georgians have started to practise the Georgian belief since 1820.'

At least two nouns are marked for a lexicalized *-e*-dative: *beˁüne ~ beˁq'une* 'darkness' (< *beˁinq'-un-e*) and *oˁne* 'tear' (< *oˁn-e*). The postposition *bəˁǧəˁl ~ biˁǧiˁl* 'between', too, is derived from an *-e*-dative, see 3.5.2.

§ 19. Certain modal and temporal adverbs show a morpheme *-e* that is perhaps related to the *-e*-dative. Examples are:

(x) *e-t'-e*   'how'   'what-REF:OBL-*e*'
     naˁin-e   'yesterday'   < *na-ǧi-n-e* 'NEG(?)-day-SA-*e*' ?
     ǧe   '(to)day'   '*ǧi* 'day'
     še-t'-e   'thus (dist)' 'DIST-REF:OBL-*e*'
     me-t'-e   'thus (prox)' 'PROX-REF:OBL-*e*'

§ 20. From a synchronic point of view, the *-i*-dative is strong except for [w2b] nouns (see 3.3.11 for the diachronic background). As far as data go, it is not productive. Nevertheless, some speakers tend to use this dative as an alternative dative to emphasize its locative function. They thus refer to the basic distributional pattern of this dative: It mainly occurs with 'locative' nouns such as *dünia* 'earth, world', *däria* 'sea, lake', *düz* 'field, plain', or *aiz* 'village'. (x) lists all nouns that have an (in parts optional) *-i*-dative:

(X) *bukun*   [s1] > *bukun-i ~ bukun-e*   'stomach'
     śamat' [s1] > *śamat'-i*   'week'
     paiz   [s2] > *paiz-i ~ paiz-a*   'autumn'
     aiz   [s3b] > *aiz-i*   'village'
     hal   [s3b] > *hal-i*   'state, shape'
     kä   [s3b] > *kä-i*   'dawn'
     ot'   [s3b] > *ot'-i*   'shame'
     düz   [sw] > *düz-i*   'field, plain'
     gög   [sw] > *gög-i*   'sky'
     muˁq   [sw] > *muˁq-i ~ muˁq-n-u*   'joy'
     pak   [sw] > *pak-i*   'garden'
     säs   [sw] > *säs-i ~ säsnu*   'voice'
     xaš   [sw] > *xaš-i ~ xaš-nu*   'month; moon; light'
     xod   [sw] > *xod-i ~ xod-d-u ~ xod-a* 'tree'
     däria   [w2b] > *däria-n-i ~ däria-n-a*   'sea, lake'
     dünia   [w2b] > *dünia-n-i ~ dünia-n-a*   'world'

In Nizh, the *-i*-dative is less frequent. Example are:
(x) *bazar*   *bazar-i ~ bazar-e*   'bazaar'

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at'až	*at'až-i*	'floor'
geśluğ	*geśluğ-i*	'gorge'
özäy	*özäy-i*	'kernel, stone'
ozan	*ozan-i ~ ozan-e*	'neck'
tavasar	*tavasar-i*	'pan'
pervar	*pervar-i*	'region'
ayiz	*ayiz-i ~ ayiz-e*	'village'

There seems to be a certain preference for nouns denoting plain or extended objects to be marked by the -*i*-dative. In Vartashen, this class comprises *aiz* 'village', *düz* 'field', *pak* 'garden', *däria* 'lake, sea', *gög* 'sky', and *dünia* 'world, earth'. A metaphorical extension (> 'period of time') is perhaps present with *kä* 'dawn', *paiz* 'autumn' and *śamat'* 'week'. The three nouns *hal* '(mental) state', *muˤq* 'joy', and *ot'* 'shame' form a special subclass. The motivation for the remaining three nouns is somewhat obscure. Occasionally, the -*i*-dative seems to reflect a speaker's idiosyncrasy. For instance, the noun *xod* 'tree' normally has either the strong -*a*-dative or the weak -*u*-dative. An -*i*-based superessive is, however, documented at last once, compare:

(x) (a) *sa q'uš xod-al   pur-p-i   lai-ne-sa   bi-ne-st'a* [CH&T 171]
one bird   tree-SUPER fly-LV-PART:PAST go=up-3SG-$:PRES fall-3SG-$:PRES
'A bird flies on a tree, climbs up (and) falls down.'

(b) *narzuğ   laic-e-ne-i   ar-r-a   xod-il* [CO § 3]
yesterday=evening go=up:PAST-PERF-3SG-PAST pear-SA-GEN tree-SUPER
'Yesterday evening, he had climbed on a pear tree.'

§ 21. There is no functional difference between the -*i*-dative and other variants of this case. In order to illustrate this point, the following pairs may be sufficient:

(x) (a) *vaˤ šo-no-al   muˤq-ne-bak-sa-i   ič   bukun-ex*
and DIST-REF:ABS-FOC joy-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST REFL stomach-DAT2

boš-ev-k'-esun-a   muq'-in-en [Luke 15:16]
in-CAUS-LV-MASD2-DAT grain-SA-ERG>INSTR
'And (s)he rejoiced filling his/her stomach with grains…'

(b) *bukun-ix   xo bütün sa-ga-n-u   bak-al-le* [IM 66]
stomach-DAT2 yes all   one-place-SA-DAT be-FUT:FAC-3SG
'In the stomach, you known, everything will be together.'

(x) (a) *ma-no-te   boc-i-ne-i   däria-n-i* [Matthew 13:47]
WHO-REF:ABS-SUB throw:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG-PAST sea-SA-DAT
'… that had been thrown into the sea.'

(b) *bos-a-q'un   šo-t'-u   däria-n-a* [Luke 17:2]
throw-MOD-3PL   DIST-REF:OBL-DAT   sea-SA-DAT
'… so that they throw him into the sea.'

(x) (a) *isus-en-al   säs-ix   ala-b-i   vaˤ p-i-ne* [John 12:44]
Jesus-ERG-FOC   voice-DAT2   high-LV-PAST   and   say-PAST-3SG
'Jesus raised his voice and said…'

(b) *sa čubǧ-on   xalx-n-a   bošt'an   ič   säs-n-ux*
one   woman-ERG   people-SA-GEN   from=inside   REFL   voice-SA-DAT2

ala-b-i   p-i-ne [Luke 11:27]
high-LV-PART:PAST   say-PAST-3SG
'One woman from inside the crowd raised her voice and said….'

(x) (a) *t'essahat a-t'u-k'-i   Ioan-a   gög-ix   qaec-i* [Mark 1:10]
instantly   see-3SG:IO-$-PAST   John-DAT   sky-DAT2   open:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST
'In that moment, John saw the sky that had been opened…'

(b) *gög-n-ux   beˤǧ-n-ux   but'-t'e-k'-e   haso-n-en* [ST §26]
sky-SA-DAT2   sun-SA-DAT2   cover-3SG-LV-PERF   cloud-SA-ERG
'Cloud(s) have (lit.: has) covered the sky and the sun.'

There is no obvious difference between the use of both *-i*-datives (simple dative and dative2), compare:

(x) (a) *i-bak-al-q'o   bixoǧ-o ǧar-i   säs-ix* [John 5:28]
hear-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO   god-GEN   son-GEN   voice-DAT2
'They will hear the voice of the son of God.'

(b) *šo-t'-ǧ-o-al   ibak-al-q'o   bez   säs-i* [John 10:16]
DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT-FOC   hear-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO   I:POSS   voice-DAT
'They will hear my voice.'

(x) *sa xaš-ix   bip' śamat'-t'e bak-sa śamat'-i vuˤǧ ǧi* [ST §24]
one month-DAT2   four   week-3SG   be-PRES   week-DAT   seven   day
'A month has four weeks, a week (has) seven days.'

(x) (a) *zu č'er-e-z   baba-xo vaˤ ar-e-z   dünia-n-i* [John 16:28]
I   leave:PAST-PERF-1SG   father-ABL   and   come:PAST-PERF-1SG   world-SA-DAT
'I have left my father and I have come to the world…'

(b) *un   beˤǧ-a   dünia-n-ix   e   xabar-re   bu* [K&S 84]
you:SG   see-IMP:2SG   world-SA-DAT2   what   news-3SG   be
'See which news there is in the world.'

Nevertheless, certain nouns seem to prefer either the simple dative or the dative2. (x) gives the number of occurences of both types as they show up both in the Gospels and in a cumulation of narrative texts:

(X)	*-i*	*-ix*	
äiz	17	0	'village'
däria	3	0	'sea, lake'
dünia	36	2	'world'
düz	9	3	'field, plain'
pak	10	4	'garden'
säs	6	6	'voice
śamat'	1	4	'week'
xaš	0	3	'month; moon; light'

Accordingly, temporal expressions prefer the dative2 whereas local expression are strongly coupled with the simple dative.

§ 22. In certain expressions, the *-i*-dative or a locative derived there from have become lexicalized. In most cases, the underlying noun is no longer in use. Examples include:

(x)	*aˁx-i-l*	'end-super'	'far' < 'on the end'
	q'at-i	'gap-dat'	'between' < 'in the gap'
	ix	'ear-dat2'	'memory' < 'in the ear'
	iğar-ix	'heat(?)-dat2'	'heat'
	tax-ix	'fact(?)-dat2'	'really'

§ 23. The dative2 is regularly derived from the simple dative by adding *-x*. Paradigmatically speaking, the dative2 belongs the set of locative cases (see 3.3.4). Nevertheless, it does not make sense to treat the segment *-x* as a separate morpheme because it does not represent a discrete structure. As has been illustrated in §§ 1-7 above, the dative2 shares many of its distributional and functional properties with the simple dative. For instance, it is not appropriate to gloss the segment *-x* as a marker for a definite noun in objective function because it can also be used in a locative sense, just as it is true for the simple dative. In Nizh, the dative2 is typical with clitics in constructions that indicate long distance possession. A gloss, however, that considers both the O-function and the possessor-function in long distance possession is not appropriate from the point of view of Udi typology.

In fact, it is nearly impossible to isolate a functional category for the segment *-x* that goes beyond the preference patterns described in § 7. Therefore, the glossing 'dative2' (DAT2) should be regarded as a complex label. From a synchronic point of view, it interprets the morpheme *-Vx* as a single structure. Diachronically, the label 'two' (or 'second') refers to the fact that the dative2 is derived from the simple dative. This diachronic representation also alludes to the origin of the segment *-x*: Most likely, its function has been metaphorized from an 'allative', see 3.3.11.

There are no constraints on the derivational potential of the dative2: In the Vartashen dialect, any noun that can be marked for the simple dative, can also be marked for the dative2. (X) illustrates this point for each of the dative allomorphs:

(x)	Type		Dative	Dative2	
	-a	*adamar*	*adamar-a*	*adamar-ax*	'man, person'
	-e	*tum*	*tum-e*	*tum-ex*	'root'
	-u	*beˤǧ*	*beˤǧ-n-u*	*beˤǧ-n-ux*	'sun'
	-i	*düz*	*düz-i*	*düz-ix*	'field'

3.3.4 Local cases

§ 1. Contrary to most other Lezgian languages, Udi no longer knows the interaction of 'case' and 'series' ('two-dimensional' system). The term 'case' refers to the relational type that is present between a trajector and its landmark, whereas 'series' indicates the type of localization of the target in the region of the landmark. Typically, the Lezgian languages distinguish four to eight 'series'. (x) illustrates these series in the sense of a cumulated paradigm (that comes close to the Aghul paradigm):

(x)	AD	'A trajector in (visible) contact with its landmark'
	ANTE	'A trajector in the front region of its landmark'
	POST	'A trajector in the back region of its landmark'
	SUB	'A trajector below its landmark'
	IN	'A trajector inside a container/mass landmark'
	SUPER	'A trajector on (the surface of) its landmark'
	INTER	'A trajector between two (parts of a) landmark'
	SUPER2	'A trajector above a landmark'

Three relational types represent the set of local 'cases':

(x)   1. Stative: Essive (ESS)
      2. Dynamic: Allative (ALL); Ablative (ABL)

Normally, the 'series' marker precedes a 'case' marker. Usually, local case forms follow a stem augment if present. The basic structure is:

(x)   Noun-SA-SERIES-CASE

§ 2. Theoretically, up to twenty four different case forms can be derived from these patterns (3 cases x 8 series). The following examples taken from Aghul help to illustrate the constructional patterns (Magometov 1971:81-82):

(x) (a) *xil-i-w-as*
    hand-SA-AD-ABL
    'out of the hand'

   (b) *gaga-di-q-di*
    father-SA-POST-ALL
    'towards (the back of) the father'

   (c) *ust:ul-i-l-Ø*
    chair-SA-SUPER-ESS
    'on the chair'

In Udi, this pattern of deriving local cases has been totally restructured (see 3.3.11.3). Basically, we have to deal with a 'one-dimensional' system: Six (in Nizh: five) local cases are marked by individual morphemes. The motivation for this dramatic reduction is probably given by language contact: Although there are hardly any categorial or substantial parallels, the Udi system clearly resembles the Azeri or Armenian systems from a structural point of view: Both the Armenian and the Azeri paradigms are marked for a one-dimensional structure that is based on the opposition essive/allative vs. ablative.

§ 3. All Udi local cases are derived from the dative (see 3.3.3.6). This technique is unique with the Lezgian branch of East Caucasian languages. It conditions a broad variety of local case allomorphs: The allomorphic pattern of the dative is adapted by all local cases. In consequence, the following set of basic local case markers (Vartashen) can be described (see 3.3.5 for the formation of the plural):

(X)

	-a-Dative	*-u*-Dative	*-e*-Dative	*-i*-Dative
Ablative	*-a-xo*	*-u-xo*	*-e-xo*	*-i-xo*
Comitative	*-a-xol*	*-u-xol*	*-e-xol*	*-i-xol*
Comitative2	*-a-xolan*	*-u-xolan*	*-e-xolan*	*i-xolan*
Adessive	*-a-st'a*	*-u-st'a*	*-e-st'a*	*-i-st'a*
Allative	*-a-č'*	*-u-č'*	*-e-č'*	*-i-č'*
Superessive	*-a-l*	*-u-l*	*-e-l*	*-i-l*

In Nizh, the system is further reduced. This is due to the fact that the *-a*-dative is extended to nearly all nouns (see 3.3.3.6). Additionally, the ablative and the comitative have merged into one form, namely *-xun*. Contrary to Vartashen, Nizh knows a secondary ablative derived from the superessive (*-Vlxun*). As a result, the basic nominal paradigm for the (Lower) Nizh dialect is:

(x)

	-a-Dative	*-e*-Dative	*-i*-Dative
Ablative/Comitative	*-a-xun*	*-e-xun*	*-i-xun*
Adessive	*-a-st'a*	*-e-st'a*	*-i-st'a*
Allative	*-a-č'*	*-e-č'*	*-i-č'*

Superessive	*-a-l*	*-e-l*	*-i-l*
Superablative	*-a-l-xun*	*-e-l-xun*	*-i-l-xun*

§ 4. The reduction of the morphological inventory is coupled with the reorganization of spatial semantics. This process concerns both the dynamic relation of trajector and landmark ('case') and the subcategorization of the landmark's region. Typologically speaking, the domain of local 'cases' can be classified as follows:

(x) 1. Tripartite: Ablative vs. Essive vs. Allative
2. Bipartite: Ablative/Essive vs. Allative
Ablative vs. Essive/Allative
3. General: Ablative/Essive/Allative

In order to describe the Udi system of local 'case' functions, we have to take into consideration the two sets of datives. As had been said in section 3.3.3.6, the two datives have strong locative properties that cover the following domains:

(x) 1. Case: Essive/Allative
2. Series: Inessive/Adessive

Accordingly, the Udi system of 'cases' is bipartite opposing the ablative to the essive/allative cluster. The allative case *-č'* is a residue of the older tripartite system (see § 4). However, this morpheme is extremely rare in Udi. Today, it is generally replaced by the dative(2). The marginal function of the allative also becomes apparent if we consider its frequency in texts:

(X)

	Allative	Ablative
Gospels	23	1517
Schiefner	13	130
Narratives (V.)	1	96
TOTAL	37	1743

It comes clear that the ablative is one of the two poles of the scale ABL<ESS<ALL. Although Udi has the option to mark the other pole morphologically (allative), it favors the use of the essive/allative cluster as represented by the two datives.

§ 5. The set of 'series' is much obscured in Udi. If we start with the eight 'series' mentioned in (x) above, we can describe the following processes: 1) Out of the eight prototypical 'series', only three are case-marked: AD, IN, and SUPER. The cognitively less accessible domains POST and SUB are replaced by postpositional structures. This also holds for the ANTE and INTER domains. The SUPER domain is no longer discriminated for the feature [contact]. 2) All 'series' can be substituted by postpositions. (X) summarizes these processes:

(x)

AD	Adessive	*-st'a*	Postposition	*t'oˤǧoˤl*
ANTE	---	---	Postposition	*beˤś*

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IN	Dative	*-V*	Postposition	*boš*
INTER	---	---	Postposition	*q'ati*
POST	---	---	Postposition	*qošt'an*
SUB	---	---	Postposition	*oq'a*
SUPER	Superessive	*-l*	Postposition	*laxo*
SUPER2	Superessive	*-l*	Postposition	*laxo*

Note that the postpositions used to replace the 'series' markers occasionally show case suffixes that encode the dynamic relation trajector-landmark (see 3.5.2).

§ 6. As a result, the Udi system of local cases represents a 'mixture' of both cases and series. (x) summarizes the devices used to encode the interaction of the two types of spatial relation (PP = postposition; note that the correspondences are approximate only):

(x)	ABL		ESS		ALL	
	Case	PP	Case	PP	Case	PP
AD	*-xo ~ -xun*	*t'oˤǧoxo*	*-st'a*	*t'oˤǧoˤl*	*-č' ~ -V(x)*	*t'oˤǧoˤl*
ANTE	*-xo ~ -xun*	*beˤšt'an*	*-st'a*	*beˤś*	*-č' ~ -V(x)*	*beˤś*
IN	*-xo ~ -xun*	*bošt'an*	*-V(x)*	*boš*	*-V(x)*	*boš*
INTER	---	*q'ati*	---	*q'ati*	---	*q'ati*
POST	*-xo ~ -xun*	*qošt'an*	---	*qoš(t'an)*	*-č' ~ -V(x)*	*q'oš(t'an)*
SUB	*-xo ~ -xun*	*oq'axo*	---	*oq'a*	*-č' ~ -V(x)*	*oq'a*
SUPER	*-xo ~ -lxun*	*laxo*	*-l (~ -ala ?)*	*laxo*	*-l*	*laxo*
SUPER2	*-xo ~ -lxun*	*laxo*	*-l (~ ala ?)*	*laxo*	*-l*	*laxo*

From a structural point of view, the Udi local cases are rather heterogeneous. The only feature covered by all cases is the fact that they are derived from the dative. Else, we can only describe a affinity between the ablative *-xo* and the two comitative morphemes *-xol* and *xolan* (see below). In addition, a derivational process is present with the super-ablative *-lxun* that is based on the superessive *-l*.

3.3.4.1 Basic local cases. In this section, I will describe the morphological and semantic properties of the basic local cases in Udi. Although the 'comitative' cannot be regarded as a true local case, it is included here because it is embedded into the general pattern of these case forms. The description is organized as follows: § 1 Ablative, § 2 Comitative, § 3 Adessive, § 4 Allative, § 5 Superessive, § 6 Super-ablative (Nizh). See section 3.3.4.2 for residues of other local cases.

Local case marking is straightforward in Udi: There are no allomorphic variants. The fact that all cases in question are derived from the dative case suggests to treat these cases as complex structures and to gloss them 'DAT + X' (e.g. *-a-xo* 'DAT-ABL', *-a-l* 'DAT-SUPER' etc.). However, such glosses are purely structural. There is no evidence that the semantics of the dative combine with the semantics of the following local case morpheme to yield the corresponding locative semantics. For instance, *adamar-*

a-xo does not mean 'from (ABL) to/at/in (DAT) the man/person', but simply 'from the man/person'. In consequence, the locative case forms are always analyzed and glossed as complex structures (-*Vxo* = ABL, *Vl* = SUPER etc.). Still, there is no doubt that the segment following the dative suffix represents the original locative case marker (see 3.3.11).

§ 1. Ablative: -*xo* (Nizh: -*xun*). The ablative is formed by adding the morpheme -*xo* to the dative case (see 3.3.3.6 for the formation of the dative). In Nizh, the morpheme is -*xun* (merging with the comitative; see § 2 for a discussion of this morpheme). In fast speech, the vowel of the dative may incidentally be dropped:

(x)   *adamar* 'person, man'   >   *adamar-a-xo ~ adamar-xo*

In case elision of the dative vowel applies, the resulting form is not always distinguishable from the -*xo*-plural (see 3.2.5). Examples for the formation of the ablative are:

(x)

	Dative	Ablative	
maral	*maral-a*	*maral-a-xo*	'stag'
nana	*nana*	*nana-xo*	'mother'
viči	*viče*	*viče-xo*	'brother'
bukun	*bukun-e*	*bukun-e-xo*	'stomach'
säs	*säs-i*	*säs-i-xo*	'voice'
beˁǧ	*beˁǧ-n-u*	*beˁǧ-n-u-xo*	'sun'

From a structural point of view, the Udi ablative can also be analyzed as a derivation from the dative2 (-*Vx*). This analysis gives us a morpheme -*o* instead of -*xo*. Diachronically, this assumption only makes sense if we relate the morpheme of the dative2 (-*x*) to an old series marker. This assumption, however, does not match the internal structure of the dative2, see 3.3.3.3: The 'case' morpheme -*o* would have been added to another 'case' marker (ALL):

(x)   -*V-xo* <   *(-SA)-*a-x-o*   (IN-ALL-ABL)

This structure is plausible only, if the dative2 had been first reanalyzed as a 'series' marker. Synchronically, such an analysis, however, seems to be too strong. A correlation of the standard functions of the dative2 ((in)essive-allative) and the functional properties of the ablative is not plausible from a functional point of view.

Native speakers intuitively segment *adamaraxo* 'of the man/person' as *adamar-axo* but not as *adamar-a-x-o* which is – diachronically speaking – more plausible. In the present description of Udi, I will always refrain from using this historical perspective in the ablative gloss. In consequence, the ablative is always interpreted as a complex morpheme (-*Vxo*) in the interlinear glosses.

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The ablative has a rather broad functional scope. Basically, it encodes any movement 'away from a landmark':

(x) (a) *šo-no*   *k'uaxo* *č'er-i*   *ta-ne-c-i*   *beivan ga-n-u*
     DIST-REF:ABS house:ABL go=out:PAST-PART:PAST go-3SG-$:PAST-PAST wild   place-SA-DAT
     'Having left the house, he went to a wild place.' [Luke 4:42]

   (b) *evaxte šo-no*   *č'e-ne-sa-i*   *namaz-axo…* [Mark 10:17]
       when   DIST-REF:ABS go=out-3SG-$:PRES-PAST temple-ABL
       'When he left the temple….'

   (c) *gädä e^ʕk-axo* *ci-ne-sa* [GD 63]
       boy   horse-ABL go=down-3SG-$:PRES
       'The boy gets off (his) horse.'

Metaphorial extension derives partitive (x), temporal (x), and causal (stimulus) functions (x):

(x)   Partitive:
   (a) *arzuman-i*   *eq'-n-uxo-za*   *buq'-sa* [AR 70]
       Arzuman-GEN   flesh-SA-ABL-1SG want-PRES
       'I want (to eat) of the flesh of Arzuman.'

   (b) *qo bu-ne-i*   *haq'ullu-o*   *va^ʕ qo-al*   *haq'l-axo subuk'* [Matthew 25:2]
       five be-3SG-PAST clever-REF:ABS and five-FOC mind-ABL light
       'Five were clever and five were stupid (lit.: light of mind).'

(x)   Temporal:
   (a) *sa-hor-axo*   *dizik' č'e-ne-sa* [R 14]
       one-while-ABL snake go=out-3SG-$:PRES
       'After a while the snake comes out.'

   (b) *me ǧe-n-axo la-q'un-x-i*   *šo-t'-ux*   *bes-b-esan* [John 11:53]
       PROX day-SA-ABL put-3PL-$:PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 kill-LV-CV:TEL
       'From this day on, they (decided to) put him to death.'

   (c) *q'a*   *usen-axo iesir*   *pasč'aǧ-en xoiś-ne-b-sa* *me pasč'aǧ-ax*
       twenty year-ABL imprisoned king-ERG   wish-3SG-LV-PRES PROX king-DAT2
       'After twenty years, the imprisoned king asks this king …' [IK 63]

(x)   Cause / Stimulus:
   (a) *u^ʕǧ-al-le*   *fi-n-axo*   *bak-al-t'-ǧ-oxol* [Matthew 24:49]
       dring-FUT:FAC-3SG wine-SA-ABL be-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-PL-COM
       'He will drink with those who haven become (drunk) because of the wine.'

(b) *isus iaq'-axo mandak'-bak-i ar-re-c-i houz-un laxo* [John 4:6]
Jesus way-ABL tired-LV-PART:PAST sit-3SG-$-PAST well-GEN on
Jesus, who was tired because of the way, sat down on the well.'

The ablative is used to encode the standard of comparison, whereas the parameter of comparison remains unmarked (see 5.3.3):

(x) (a) *elmux abuz te-ne xorag-axo vaˤ laśag-al partal-axo?* [Matthew 6:25]
spirit more NEG-3SG stomach-ABL and body-FOC coat-ABL
'Isn't the spirit more than the stomach and the body more than a coat?'

(b) *bez baba ič viče-xo kala-ne* [f.n.]
I:POSS father REFL brother-ABL old-3SG
'My father is older than his brother.'

(c) *meği hava naˤine-xo gam-ne* [f.n.]
today weather yesterday-ABL warm-3SG
'Today, it is warmer than yesterday.'

The ablative frequently occurs in lexicalized valency patterns. Most of these patterns reflect older syntactic and semantic strategies that today have become obscured. Examples are:

(x) (a) *ser-ian-b-e daxt'ak'-axo k'ac'-p-i q'uti*
make-1PL-LV-PERF wood-ABL cut-LV-PART:PAST box

vaˤ suruk'-ian-b-e xod-axo [BO 72; SD]
and hang-1PL-LV-PERF tree-ABL
'We have built a box cut out of wood and have hanged (it) on a tree.'
(lit.: … we have made (it) light from a tree.)

(b) *rust'am-en xup'-ax me xinär-axo be-ne-s-sa* [R 14]
Rustam pilav-DAT2 PROX girl-ABL ask=for-3SG-$-PRES
'Rustam asks this girl for the pilav.'

(c) *pasč'aǧ-en xabar-re-aq'-sa me-t'-uxo* [IK 63]
king-ERG news-3SG-take-PRES PROX-REF:OBL-ABL
'The king asks him… (lit.: takes news from him…).'

(d) *eˤfa dünia-n-i te-t'u bak-o pexo sak-es*
EMPH:you:PL:DAT world-SA-DAT NEG-3SG:IO be-FUT:MOD eye:ABL cast-MASD

amma zax pexo sak-es [John 7:7]
but I:DAT2 eye:ABL cast-MASD
'The world cannot hate you but (it can) hate me.'

(lit.: … cannot cast you from (its) eye…)

(e) *kilo-ya   sa   manət-axun   toya-d-ala-yan* [Nizh; SA; OR 48]
kilo-DAT one rubel-ABL   sell-LV-FUT2-1PL
'We shall sell the kilo (of cucumber) for one rubel.'

Finally, the ablative can be supported or governed by the following postpositions: *oˤśa ~ ośa* 'after', *t'oš* 'outside', *t'ošt'an* 'from outside', *t'oˤǧ* 'at the (outer) side' (see 3.5.2):

(x) (a) *take   sa hor-axo   oˤśa p'uran eke* [CO §2]
go:IMP:2SG one while-ABL after again   come:IMP:2SG
'Go (and) come back after a while!'

(b) *nana   vaˤ viči-mux še-t'-ai   čur-p-i-q'un-i   k'uaxo   t'oš*
mother and brother-PL DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 stand-LV-PAST-3PL-PAST house:ABL outside
'His and mother and his brothers stood outside the house…' [Matthew 12:46]

(c) *aiz-ixo   t'ošt'an   e-ne-sa* [f.n.]
village-ABL from=outside come-3SG-$:PRES
'(S)he comes from outside the village.'

(d) *ma-q'a-n   iaq'-a-b-i   šo-t'-ǧ-ox   me ölki-n-axo t'oˤǧ*
PROH-ADH-3SG way-DAT-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 PROX land-SA-ABL out
'He should not expel them from this land.' [Mark 5:10]

The Nizh morpheme ablative/comitative *-xun* is much more frequent than the cumulation of ablative and comitative (*-xo* + *xol*) in Vartashen, compare the percentages given in (X):

(X)

	ABL	COM	TOTAL	% of words
Gospels	1517	284	1801	3,20
Vartashen narratives	96	16	112	2,13
Schiefner	130	14	144	3,09
Nizh narratives	244			3,37

The frequency of the Nizh ablative/comitative complex comes close to what can be described from the Gospels. These two sources have in common that they make considerable use of the ablative to encode partitive or possessive relations. This function of the ablative is rarer in narrative texts from Vartashen. In Nizh, the partitive function is especially frequent with the referentialized form of the indefinite numeral 'one' (*soǧo*). Examples are:

(x) (a) *k'ož-urxo-xun šo-t'-oǧ-oi boš bak-al-a*
house-PL-ABL DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN in be-PART:nPAST-ATTR

amdar-xo-xun sa niśan-a te-t'un bäˤgäˤy-b-i [BAT; OR 116]
person-PL-ABL one sign-DAT NEG-3PL find-LV-PAST
'They did not find a sign of the house (and) of the people being in them.'

(b) *ayizlu-ǧ-oxun sa pay t'e dav-in-a kac'-e-c-i* [DAD; OR 117]
villager-PL-ABL one part DIST war-SA-DAT kill-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST
'A part of the villagers were killed in this war.'

(c) *čalxal-xo-xun sun-t'-ai täzä laśk'o-i bak-i*
friend-PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-GEN new marriage-DAT be-PART:PAST

zurnač-in-a äš-e bit-e-i [VI; OR 135]
flute=player-SA-DAT thing-3SG put=down-PERF-PAST
'A friend had come to visit (lit.: had settled things with) a flute player who was newly married.'

(d) *ayiz-muǧ-oxun soǧo niˤž-e-i* [DAD; OR 117]
village-PL-ABL one:REF:ABS Nizh-3SG-PAST
'One of the villages was Nizh.'

§ 2. Comitative: *-xol ~ -xolan* (Nizh: *-xun*). In Vartashen, there are two case forms that are related to the prototypical function 'comitative': 1) a simple comitative marked by *-xol*, 2) a morphologically extended comitative (COM2) that adds the segment *-an* to the simple comitative. The 'comitative' normally indicates that a referent is accompanied by another referent. The accompanying referent is not necessarily animate, as shown in:

(x) (a) *q'eiri aˤil-uǧ-on uˤć-axol kä-i-q'un ič-uǧ-o bulk-n-ux* [BH 70]
other child-PL-ERG honey-COM eat:PAST-PAST-3PL REFL-PL-GEN roll-SA-DAT2
'The other children ate their roll(s) with honey.'

(b) *e-t'-uxol zu śum uk-al-zu?* [CO §6]
what-REF:OBL-COM I bread eat-FUT:FAC-1SG
'What shall I have on the bread?'
[Not: With which instrument shall I eat the bread?]

(c) *ta-q'un-d-i šo-t'-u uˤǧ-s-an*
give-3PL-$-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT drink-MASD-CV:TEL

oq'o gi-in-axol gär-b-i
vinegar gall-SA-COM mix-LV-PART:PAST
'They gave him vinegar to drink, mixed with gall.' [Matthew 27:34]

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Nevertheless, animate (or human) referents clearly represent the preferred target of comitative strategies. For instance, in the Gospels, the comitative is used 268 times with human referents as opposed to eight occurrences of the comitative with inanimate referents. Most often, the referent marked by the comitative is in co-function with an agentive or subjective noun. The following examples illustrate this point:

(x) (a) *oˤśa ğar-axol sagala gir-q'un-b-esa   bütün šeiür-ğ-ox* [S&S 94]
        then   son-COM   together collect-3PL-LV-PRES all   thing-PL-DAT2
        'Then they and the boy collect all the goods'

    (b) *kar-x-i   ič   iś-exol ič   xinärruğ-oxo vuˤğ usen* [Luke 2:36]
        live-LV-PART:PAST REFL man-COM REFL virginity-ABL   seven   year
        '… having lived for seven years with her husband since her virginity.'

    (c) *rust'am śavat'   xinär-axol sa pasč'ağluğ-a ta-ne-sa* [R 17]
        Rustam   beautiful girl-COM   one kingdom-DAT   go-3SG-$:PRES
        'Rustam goes with the beautiful girl to a (certain) kingdom.'

    (d) *met'abaxt'in ta-ne-sa   ič   nana-xol* [R 8]
        therefore   go-3SG-$:PRES REFL mother-COM
        'Therefore he goes with his mother…'

Certain verbs call for a second argument in the comitative. Here, the construction has strong reciprocal properties:

(x) (a) *ma   düšmänluğ-b-a   pis-t'-xol* [Matthew 5:39]
        PROH enemyhood-LV-IMP:2SG evil-REF:OBL-COM
        'Do not be the enemy of an evil one!'

    (b) *pašc'ağ-en laśk'o-ne-b-i   ğar-ax   pašc'ağ-un xinär-axol*
        king-ERG   marriage-3SG-LV-PAST boy-DAT2 king-GEN   daughter-COM
        'The king married the boy to the king's daughter.' [K&S 86, com.87]

    (c) *iaq'-a-b-a   rust'am-ax t'e döv-n-uxol mušalap-s-an* [R 8]
        way-DAT-LV-IMP:2SG Rustam-DAT2 DIST dev-SA-COM struggle-MASD-CV:TEL
        'Send Rustam so that he fights with the dev!'

The second comitative (COM2) is rare. It is formed by adding *-an* to the simple comitative. It should be noted that this case is only documented in the tale S&S (Dirr 1904) and in some phrases quoted by A. Dirr in his grammatical sketch (Dirr 1904). From this we can infer that its use had become restricted or even obsolete already in 19th century Udi. Nevertheless, there is a converbial form *-xolan* ('parallel action', see 3.4.10) that is added to the simple masdar (*bai-es-xolan* (go=into-MASD-CV:PAR) 'when entering'). Obviously, we have to deal with a grammaticalized variant of the

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comitative2. Contrary to the case form, this converb is still in use in contemporary Vartashen Udi.

The functional scope of the comitative2 does not differ from that of the simple comitative. (x) documents all occurrences of *-xolan* with (pro)nominal terms:

(x) (a) *bur-re-q-i   me   ğar-moğ-oxolan eˤk   č'ig-sax* [S&S 92]
   begin-3SG-LV-PAST PROX boy-PL-COM2   horse drive-CV:TEL
   'He and the boys began to drive the horse.'

(b) *xod-en   vaxolan   ait-t'e-k'-o* [S&S 92]
   tree-ERG   you:SG-COM2   word-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
   'The tree shall speak with you.'

(c) *ğar-al   xinär-moğ-oxolan   e-ne-sa* [S&S 95]
   boy-FOC   girl-PL-COM2   come-3SG-$:PRES
   'The boy comes with the girls.'

(d) *sa śel ğar-axolan pəsak'-ne   bak-i* [DG 20]
   one good boy-COM2   marriage-3SG be-PAST
   'She was married to a good boy.'

(e) *sa q'oʒa iśu kar-re-x-esa-i   ič   karvan-oxolan* DG 20]
   one old   man live-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST REFL old=woman-COM2
   'An old man lived together with his old wife.'

(f) *še-t'-in   äit-t'e-p-e   udi-n muz-in   zaxolan* [DG 20]
   DIST-REF:OBL-ERG word-3SG-LV-PERF Udi-GEN language-ERG>INSTR I:COM2
   '(S)he has spoken with me in Udi.'

(g) *mariam-in uˤq'en-ğ-ox-al   ič-xolan   e-ne-čš-o* [DG 33]
   Maria-GEN   bone-PL-DAT2-FOC REFL-COM2 bring-3SG-$-FUT:MOD
   'He (for himself) brings Mary's bones.'

(h) *šu-a   ka   čubux ma-t'-oloxan-te   un   äit-t'u-p-e* [DG 36]
   who-3SG:Q MED woman who-REF:OBL-COM2-SUB you:SG word-2SG-LV-PERF
   'Who is that woman with whom you have spoken?'

(i) *deiirmanč-in čubğ-on   bur-re-q-i   aˤil-oğ-oxolan aći-p-sun*
   miller-GEN   woman-ERG begin-3SG-LV-PAST child-PL-COM2   play-LV-MASD2
   'The miller's wife started to play with the children.' [S&S 91]

The fact that the ablative and the comitative have merged into one formal category in the Nizh dialect (> *-xun*) suggests that the resemblance of both forms in Vartashen

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(ablative *-xo*, comitative *-xol*(*-an*)) is not just coincidental. (x) illustrates the use of the morpheme *-xun* for both categories in Nizh:

(x) (a) *sift'in säs č'ere   baćain-in-axun* [PA 115]
　　　　　first　　voice　go=out:PAST-PERF　swallow-SA-ABL/COM
　　　　　'The first sound came from a swallow.'

　　(b) *bip'-imǯi maˤǧ [č'er-e]   čoval-xo-xun* [PA 115]
　　　　　four-ORD　　song　[go=out:PAST-PERF]　sparrow-PL-ABL/COM
　　　　　'The fourth song [came] from sparrows.'

　　(c) *haq'-a   ko   vi   bala iräzi bak-a   zaxun* [PA 171]
　　　　　take-IMP:2SG　MED　you:SG:POSS　child　grateful　be-IMP:2SG　I:ABL/COM
　　　　　'Take your child (and) thank me!'

　　(d) *hun   he-t'-uxun-ən   ava   zu sa bala bix-al-zu* [PA 172]
　　　　　you:SG　what-REF:OBL-ABL/COM-2SG　know　I　one　child　give=birth-FUT:FAC-1SG
　　　　　'Where do you know from that I will give birth to a child?'

　　(e) *bez   vaxun   äyit-zax   p'u* [PA 192]
　　　　　I:POSS　you:SG:ABL/COM　word-1SG: POSS　be
　　　　　'I have a word with you.'

However, the underlying process that would have derived the comitative from the ablative is difficult to describe. There is no trace of a suffix *-l* that would have turned the ablative function into a comitative function. Additionally, this assumption would leave open the question of how the Nizh ablative/comitative is related to both forms in Vartashen. It should be noted that the Nizh form is also present in the Vartashen (and Nizh) converb *-xun* that is added to the future-modal stem of verbs (*č'ebak-a-xun* (cross-MOD-CV:PAR) 'when crossing', see 3.4.10). Although the derivational pattern is slightly different, the *-xun*-converb functions just as the *-xolan*-converb mentioned above, compare:

(x) (a) *qabun-ax ak'-es-xolan   šo-no-r   muˤq-q'un-bak-i* [Matthew 2:10]
　　　　　star-DAT2　see-MASD-CV:PAR　DIST-REF:ABS-PL　joy-3PL-LV-PAST
　　　　　'When they saw the star they rejoiced…'

　　(b) *zu gärämzuluǧ-axo č'ebak-a-xun   beˤg-sa-z...* [GD 60]
　　　　　I　cemetery-ABL　　pass=by-LV-MOD-CV:PAR　see-PRES-1SG
　　　　　'When passing by a cemetery, I see ….'

The morpheme *-axun* is also present in the Vartashen adverb *genaxun* 'at daytime' that frequently occurs in collocation with *iśoun* 'at night':

(x) (a) *čünki ğe-n-axun iśoun   o ˤne-z-exai* [BI 56]
        because day-SA-COM night:GEN tear-1SG-LV:PRES-PAST
        'As I wept day and night…'

   (b) *ğe-n-axun še-t'-in   zom-ne-b-esa-i   namaz-un k'ua*
        day-SA-COM DIST-REF:OBL-ERG teach-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST temple-GEN house:DAT
        'At daytime, he preached in the house of the temple.' [Luke 21:37]

From this we can infer that the two forms *-xolan* and *-xun* must have co-occurred in an earlier version of Udi. The functional differences are, however, no longer transparent. Two hypotheses concerning the origin of *xun ~ -xolan* can be taken into consideration:

1) The morphemes are the residues of two local copula forms marked by a converbial element **-n* (compare the Udi telic converb *-an* (see 3.4.10)). A perhaps more than structural analogy is given by the two Lezgi postpositions *galaz* 'with (comitative) < **gala-z* 'be=behind-INF' and *gwaz* 'with (instrumental)' < **gwa-z* 'be=at-INF' (see Haspelmath 1993:225-6):

(x)   Udi   Lezgi
       -xu-n   *gwa-z*
       -xola-n   *gala-z*

Accordingly, we can assume that the two case forms *-xun* and *-xolan* represent older postpositions that are derived from converbial copulae. The Lezgi data suggest that the *-xun*-case originally covered the strongly controlled 'instrumental' domain of the comitative, whereas the *-xolan*-case referred to the lesser-controlled 'company' domain:

(x)   Strong control (S/A)   Weak control (S/A)
       Instrumental   Comitative
       *-xu-n < 'be=at-CV'   **-xola-n* < 'be=behind-CV'

In both dialects, the instrumental function has been usurped by the ergative case. In Nizh, the function of the morpheme *-xun* has shifted towards the lesser-controlled variant of the comitative (> 'true' comitative), whereas in Vartashen the morpheme itself is lost (in case inflection). The fact that in Nizh the older instrumental **-xun* has taken over the function of the ablative should be regarded as a formal syncretism (see 3.3.11.3) that, however, was also motivated by certain semantic affinities: In Udi, both cases can be used in a metaphorical sense to denote a causal stimulus:

(x) (a) *iğariğ-oxo t'oš tağ-al-te-z* [f.n.]
        heat-ABL   out go:FUT-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
        'Because of the heat, I won't go out.'

(b) *iğariğ-oxol t'oš tağ-al-te-z* [f.n.]
    heat-COM   out   go:FUT-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
    'Because of (lit.: with) the heat, I won't go out.'

The ablative function describes a referent as the *pre*condition of a State of Affairs, whereas the comitative can be used to describe the co-occurrence of two referential situations one of which is the condition for the existence of the whole State of Affairs.

2) In case the Nizh comitative/ablative cluster represents more than just a formal syncretism, we have to assume that the comitative function of *-xun* is older than its ablative function. According to a strong localistic hypothesis, however, the comitative function has to be derived from the ablative domain. Or: The Nizh ablative has a history of its own. From a structural point of view, there are good arguments in favor of this hypothesis: As has been pointed out in sections 3.2.8.4 and 3.5.2, there are a number of pronominal and adverbial forms that show a segment *-Vn* in ablative function that is added to a petrified SUPER-localization:

(x)   *me-l-an ~ me-l-in*   'PROX-SUPER-ABL'   'from (on) here'
          ka-l-in ~ ke-l-in   'MED-SUPER-ABL'   'from (on) there (medial)'
          t'e-l-an ~ t'e-l-in   'DIST-SUPER-ABL'   'from (on) there'
          ma-l-an ~ ma-l-in   'where-SUPER-ABL'   'where (on) from?'

From a formal point of view, the sequence *-l-an ~ -l-in* corresponds to *-xun*:

(x)   Series   Case
    -lin   *-l-*   *-in*
    -xun   *-x-*   *-un*

This correspondence suggests that the (older) ablative *-xun* represents a fossilized ablative derived from an allative, (the most probable source for the dative2, see 3.3.11.3). Nevertheless, this explanation, too, has its weak points: First, the vocalization of the assumed ablative morpheme is unclear: The deictic terms have *-i-* or (in the Gospels) *-a-*, whereas *-xun* hints at *-un*. It is attractive to relate the segment *-un* to the *-un*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5), but this resemblance seems to be chance. Second, the *-lin ~ lan* morpheme is added to deictic stems, whereas *-xun* follows the dative morpheme. Third, the combination 'allative-ablative' can only be taken into account if the 'allative' has undergone reanalysis (> series, see 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.11.3).

§ 3. **Adessive: -Vst'a.** The adessive case is a rather marginal category in Udi. In is extremely rare in texts. Only forty-nine occurrences are documented for both the Gospels and narrative texts. In actual speech, it is frequently used to mark alienable long distance possession (see <mark>5.3.4</mark>). Else, it is usually replaced by either postpositional phrases (based on *t'oˤǧoˤl* 'at', see 3.5.2) or by the simple dative (see 3.3.3.6). Examples for the use of the adessive are:

(x) (a) *mia   sa aˤil-ast'a bu-ne mu-n-e   śum vaˤ p'aˤ-al čäli* [John 6:9]
PROX:ADV one child-ADESS be-3SG barley-SA-GEN bread and two-FOC fish
'A child here has a bread of barley and two fishes.'

(b) *šet'abaxt'inte ič-u   aba-t'u-i   ek'a adamar-ast'a* [John 2:25]
because   REFL-DAT knowing-3SG:IO-PAST what man-ADESS
'… because he knew what (is) in (lit.: at) a man.'

(c) *ägänä me   q'ul pis baki   ič uk'-est'a uk'a-i-n*
when   PROX servant bad be-PART:PAST REFL heart-ADESS say:FUT-PAST-3SG
'When this servant who is evil says for himself…' [Matthew 24:48]

(d) *efi   sun-t'-ust'a   bak-a-i-n   sa eǧel* [Matthew 12:11]
you:PL:POSS one:ADJ-REF:OBL-ADESS be-MOD-PAST-3SG one sheep
'If one of you has a sheep…'

(e) *etär-te bu-ne-i   beinś-ǧ-ost'a* [Luke 1:9]
how-SUB be-3SG-PAST priest-PL-ADESS
'As it was (habit) among (lit.: at) the priests….'

(f) *vaˤ bi-ne-t-i   ćo oq'a še-t'-a   tur-muǧ-ost'a* [Luke 17:16]
and fall-3SG-$-PAST face under DIST-REF:OBL-GEN foot-PL-ADESS
'And he fell face down to his feet.'

(g) *sa ǧi-n-ast'a boq'oi-e šar-p-iyo   śum bad-al-e-i* [Nizh; PA 174]
one day-SA-ADESS batter-3SG knead-LV-PERF2 bread bake-FUT:FAC-3SG-PAST
'One day, (s)he kneaded the batter in order to bake a bread.'

(h) *payiz-i   ǧi-n-urx-oxun sun-t'-ust'a   ǧar-e k'oya*
autumn-GEN day-SA-PL-ABL   one-REF:OBL-ADESS son-GEN house:DAT

laśk'oy-e   bur-q-ec-i   far-esa[Nizh; BAR; OR 155]
wedding-3SG start-LV-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST play-PRES
'In one of the days of autumn, a wedding began to be celebrated (lit.: was started to play) in the house of the boy.'

There is one example that shows the use of the adessive to encode an agent that is involved in an epistemically modal State of Affairs. In fact, we have to deal with a type of A-demotion that is in analogy with the standard way of demoting A (> dative) to produce a 'potential' mood (see <mark>5.4.3.2</mark>):

(x) *ka aš-l-ax -al śel pis čixar-k'-es-t'-esun   aper-ast'a-ne* [DG 12]
MED thing-SA-DAT2 good bad end-LV-MASD-CAUS-MASD2 father-ADESS-3SG
'Father will surely end this matter, in a good or bad sense.'

Note that the adessive has become lexicalized in the Nizh postposition *best'a* 'in front of' that replaces the Vartashen postposition *beˤś* (see 3.5.2). Likewise, it is perhaps present in the interrogative adverb *ist'i* 'why (not)' < **hi-st'a*?

The origin of the adessive marker is obscure. It is rather attractive to relate the morpheme *-st'a* to the proto-Lezgian dative **-s* (see 3.3.3.6 and 3.3.11). Nevertheless, this analysis leaves us with a segment **-t'a* that lacks further parallels. Additionally, the constructional pattern would raise problems: In proto-Lezgian, the set of local cases/series probably was added either to the strong or the weak stem of a noun. The use of the dative as a basis for the locatives is an Udi innovation. In consequence, the assumption that *-st'a* includes the proto-Lezgian dative **-s* leads to problems in the relative chronology (see 3.3.11). As an alternative, one should consider the possibility that *-st'a* is derived from a postpositional structure. The phonotactics of the morpheme suggest a borrowing from a yet unrevealed source.

§ 4. Allative: *-č'* (Nizh: *-č:*). The allative is extremely rare is texts. In the Gospels, it occurs only 29 times. As for narrative texts, it is only documented in Schiefner's collection (eleven occurences) and in Nizh texts from the Keçaari corpus. In actual Udi, it is normally replaced by the dative or the dative2 (see 3.3.3.6). Basically, the allative denotes '(motion) towards an object'. Contrary to the dative(2), final contact with the goal is not necessarily implied. The allative shows a very low degree of metaphorization. In (x), the use of the adessive is illustrated with verbs of motion (x,a-d), verbs of saying and seeing (x,e-g), and in idiomatic constructions (x,h-l):

(x)(a) *kinbal-o   iśa-ne   ar-i   xod-ač'* [IM 61]
    diligent-REF:ABS close-3SG come:PAST-PAST tree-ALL
    'The diligent (girl) approached the tree.'

  (b) *t'i-q'un-t'-er-i   xod-ač'* [LT 71]
      run-3PL-$-LV:PAST-PAST   tree-ALL
      'They ran towards the tree.'

  (c) *fuğara kinbal-o   p'uran   ta-ne-c-i   xe-n-e   kur-r-uč'*
      poor   diligent-REF:ABS again   go-3SG-$:PAST-PAST water-SA-GEN hole-SA-ALL
      'The poor diligent (girl) again went to the water-hole.' [IM 61]

  (d) *k'oc'-q'un-b-e-i   ič-ğ-o   ćo-ex   oćal-ač'* [Luke 24:5]
      bow-3PL-LV-PERF-PAST   REFL-PL-GEN face-DAT2 earth-ALL
      '… they bowed down their face(s) to the ground.'

  (e) *gölö-za   buq'-i   zač'   beˤğ-aˤ-ne-i* [PO 2]
   much-1SG:IO want-PAST I:ALL see-MOD-3SG-PAST
      'I wished so much that she would look at me.'

(f) *ia   a-ia-k'-e   še-t'-a   qabun-ax   beˤǧč'eǧal-ač'*
    we:IO   see-1PL:IO-$-PERF DIST-REF:OBL-GEN star-DAT2   sunrise-ALL
    'We have seen his star till sunrise.' [Matthew 2:2]

(g) *evaxte še-t'-in   p'uran p-i-ne   xalx-n-uč'* [Matthew 12:46]
    when   DIST-REF:OBL-ERG again   say-PAST-3SG people-SA-ALL
    'When he again said to the people ….'

(h) *te   qai-d-a-ne   baba-ǧ-o   uk'-ex   aˤil-uǧ-oč'* [Luke 1:17]
    SUB back-LV-MOD-3SG father-PL-GEN heart-DAT2 child-PL-ALL
    '… so that he turns the heart(s) of the fathers to the children.'

(i) *oˤxaˤlbal-en təfang-un žomox   boxo-ne-d-i   še-t'-uč'* [DG 19]
    hunter-ERG   rifle-GEN   mouth:DAT2 long-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ALL
    'The hunter took aim at him (lit.: made the mouth of the rifle long…).'

(k) *leont'i tara-ne-p-i   še-t'-uǧ-o   xoiś-ač'* [LT 71]
    Leonti   turn-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN wish-ALL
    'Leonti accepted (lit.: turned to) their wish…'

(l) *ǧi gena k'oc'-ne-bak-sa-i   biasun-ač'* [Luke 9:12]
    day CONTR bow-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST evening-ALL
    'The day, however, was drawing to an end.'

(m) *śalak'-a   axa-p-i   yaq'-a-ne   baft'-i   k'ož-ač'*
    bundle-DAT load-LV-PART:PAST way-DAT-3SG rush=towards-PAST house-ALL
    'Having loaded the bundle on (his) back, he rushed on the way towards the house.' [Nizh; KAL; OR 131]

The origin of the allative *-č'* is not well understood. Semantically, it is rather improbable that the morpheme continues one of the proto-Lezgian allative cases, because these case normally imply the affection of a goal marked by the appropriate series (see above 3.3.4). The Udi allative normally lacks this feature. Alternatively, the morpheme can be tentatively related to the fossilized preverb *č'e-* 'out, away' (see 3.4.4). This formal correlation has first been observed by Harris 2002b. It can be explained by referring to a structural analogy with the superessive (see below § 5): There is no doubt that the superessive *-l* represents the reflex of a postposition that has survived in the complex forms *laxo ~ laxol ~ loxol* (see 3.5.2). The underlying form of this postposition has again furnished the preverbial superessive *la-* [~ *lai-*] (see below § 5). Therefore, we arrive at the following proportion:

(x)   CASE   PP   PV
            -č'   *č'öš* [N.]   *č'e-*
    =   *-l*   *laxo* etc.   *la-*

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The mediating postposition *č'öš* 'outside of' is only documented for the Nizh dialect. In Vartashen, it has been replaced by the form *t'oš* (see 3.5.2). It is derived from a base **č'ə-* to which a segment *-oš* has been added (compare *boš* 'in', *qoš* 'behind', see 3.3.4.2). Hence, the allative can easily be reconstructed as **-č'ə* (as opposed to the superessive **-la*). Semantically, this analysis is more difficult. We have to assume that the basic meaning of the underlying postposition/adverb **č'e* rather was 'away to somebody/something' than simply 'out, away from' as suggested by the fossilized preverb. The preverb would then have focused on the motion aspect ('away, out'), whereas the coupling of noun and postposition would have invoked the orientation towards a referent (see 3.3.11.3):

(x)   Noun-DAT   +   *č'e*   +   Verb

                         'towards'   'out, away'
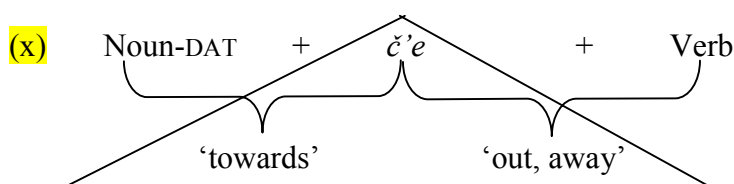
§ 5. Superessive: *-l*. Contrary to the case forms mentioned in §§ 2-4, the superessive is a rather frequent local case. It does not have allomorphic variants except for the usual variation of the preceding vowel. Structurally, it forms a subparadigm together with the dative2 and the allative:

(x)   DAT2   *-V-x*
         ALL   *-V-č'*
         SUPER   *-V-l*

Note that *-al* with strong nouns and weak [w2] nouns (see 3.3.2.2) is ambiguous: It can denote both the superessive (based on the *-a*-dative) and the focus marked absolutive (strong nouns) or genitive (weak [w2] nouns):

(x)   *adamar-al*   man-SUPER   'on(to) the man/person'
         adamar-al   man-FOC   'the MAN'

         gäd-in-al   boy-SUPER   'on the boy'
         gäd-in-al   boy-GEN-FOC   'of the BOY'

Else, the construction of the superessive is straightforward:

(x)   ABS   DAT   SUPER
         bul   *be*   *be-l*   'head'
         dünia   *dünia-n-i*   *dünia-n-il*   'world'
         nana   *nana*   *nana-l*   'mother'
         xunči   *xunč-e*   *xunč-el*   'sister'
         źeˁ   *źeˁ-n-a*   *źeˁ-n-al*   'stone'
         ǯam   *ǯam-n-u*   *ǯam-n-ul*   'mug, pot'

The basic semantics of the superessive is best documented with locational nouns: Here, the meaning generally is 'on something' or 'onto something' (essive or allative):

(x) (a) *vartašen*[*-un*] *aiz* *nux-in* *oćal-al-le* [VA 58]
Vartashen[-GEN] village Nukha-GEN ground-SUPER-3SG
'The village (of) Vartashen is (located) on the Nukha territory.'

 (b) *bi-ne-t-i* *oćal-al* [Mark 14:35]
fall-3SG-$-PAST ground-SUPER
'He fell on the ground…'

 (c) *šo-no* *lari-ne* *aˤil-uǧ-o* *ma-no-r-te* *arc-i-q'un iaq'-al*
DIST-REF:ABS equal-3SG child-PL-DAT who-REF:ABS-PL-SUB sit-PAST-3PL way-SUPER
'He is like the children sitting on the road…' [Matthew 11:16]

 (d) *ar-i* *čaˤx-k'-axun ič* *k'ul-l-ul* [IK 68]
come:PAST-PART:PAST step-LV-CV:PAR REFL soil-SA-SUPER
'Just as he steps on his soil…'

Body part terms are often marked by the superessive to denote 'in the region of a body part' (usually [+contact]):

<mark>(x)</mark> (a) *ič* *t'aӡ-n-ux* *a-ne-q'-i* *la-ne-x-i* *ǧar-i* *bel* [K&S 87]
REFL crown-SA-DAT2 take-3SG-$-PAST put=on-3SG-$:PRES boy-GEN head:SUPER
'He took his crown and put (it) on the boy's head.'

 (b) *t'esa* *iś-en-al* *bać'an-el cac-ne* *laexa* [TR 68]
DIST-one man-ERG-FOC back-SUPER thorn-3SG put=on:LV:PRES
'That man has put on (= carries) thorn(s) on (his) back.'

 (c) *vaˤ* *a-t'u-k'-i* *p'aˤ färišt-in-ax* *mac'i partal-un boš*
and see-3SG:IO-$-PAST two angel-SA-DAT2 white dress-GEN in

  arc-i *so* *bel* *so-al* *tur-el* [John 20:12]
sit-PART:PAST one:REF:ABS head:SUPER one:REF:ABS-FOC foot-SUPER
'And she saw two angels in a white dress, one of them sitting at the head (of Jesus), the other at (his) feet.'

 (d) *p'i-n-en* *ialluǧ-ax* *la-ne-st'a* *baba* *pel* [GD 63]
blood-SA-ERG>INSTR scarf-DAT2 put=on-3SG-LV:PRES father:GEN eye:SUPER
'He puts the bloodstained scarf on his father's eye(s).'

Incidentally, the superessive can be used with temporal expression to denote 'in (the times)':

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(x) (a) *ägänä ian ba-g-ian-k-e-i   beš   baba   väd-imuǧ-ol*
       if   we be-HYP-1PL-$-PERF-PAST we:POSS father:GEN time-PL-SUPER
       'If we had been in the times of our father(s)…' [Matthew 23:30]

(b) *bias   bak-al   väd-imuǧ-ol ...* [Mark 1:32]
    evening be-PART:nPAST time-PL-SUPER
    'In the evening (lit: on the evening becoming times) …'

(c) *me   čubǧ-on   me   tämbäl-a ośun ǧe-n-al*
    PROX woman-ERG PROX lazy-DAT next   day-SA-SUPER

    p'a ˤ šäi-enk'-ne   iaq'-a-b-sa [CH&T 171]
    two   thing-BEN-3SG   way-DAT-LV-PRES
    'The next day, the woman sends the lazy (boy) for two things…'

(d) *damdam-al   me   ǧi   bak-al-le   pis* [Matthew 16:3]
    morning-SUPER PROX day be-FUT:FAC-3SG bad
    'In the morning, this day will be bad…'

Most likely, the domain of body parts has initiated the extension of the original functional scope of the superessive to adessive-like or allative-like functions.

(x) (a) *t'e-vaxt'-a   ću-q'un-exai   še-t'-a   ćo-el* [Matthew 26:67]
    DIST-time-DAT spit-3PL-LV:PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN face-SUPER
    'Then they spit at his face.'

(b) *ägänä suruk'-b-a-q'un še-t'-a   q'oq'-el   źomo   źe-n-ax*
    if   hang-LV-MOD-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-GEN neck-SUPER mill:GEN stone-SA-DAT2
    'If they hang a millstone around/at his neck.' [Mark 9:42]

(c) *muš-en-al   ćo-el-le   duǧ-sa* [IM 62]
    wind-ERG-FOC face-SUPER-3SG hit-PRES
    'The wind hits into his face.'

On the other hand, the superessive can occasionally be used as an inessive/illative. This function is derived from terms that represent 'open containers' (such as *kul* 'hand' ~ 'arm', *gög* 'sky' ~ 'heaven', *dünia* 'world' etc.). Examples are:

(x) (a) *še-t'-in   a-ne-q'-i   šo-t'-ux   kel* [Luke 2:28]
    DIST-REF:OBL-ERG take-3SG-$-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 hand:SUPER
    'He took him in his arm(s).'

(b) *bar-t-a   ba-q'a-n-k-i   vi   ixt'iar*
    let-LV-IMP:2SG be-ADH-3SG-$-PAST you:SG:POSS power

etär-te   gög-il   t'etär-te   oćal-al [Matthew 6:10]
how-SUB   heaven-SUPER   thus:DIST-SUB   earth-SUPER
'May you have power in heavens just as on earth'

(c) *oran-ne bak-o   va^ʕ   dünia-n-il* [LT 72]
bad-3SG   be-FUT:MOD   you:PL:DAT   world-SA-SUPER
'(Things) will be bad for you in the world.'

The superessive is often used to express the target of an action with verbs that include the fossilized preverb *la-* 'on' (see 3.4.4), e.g. *lamandesun* 'to meet', *lapesun* 'to put on, to dress, to furnish', *lafdesun* 'to touch', *mušalapsun* 'to fight', *laičesun* 'to carry up'. The construction in question represents the residue of an Early Udi (and proto-Lezgian) constructional pattern: Here, a verb marked by a preverb echoes the semantics of the preverb in the case form of the localization. In Lezgi, this pattern has survived until today (see Haspelmath 1993:168-9):

(x) *anʒax lamu cil-äy   buǧ aq:-at-z-awa-y* [Bilalov & Tagirov 1987:24]
only   wet   earth-IN:ABL   steam   out-fall-INF-LV:IN-PAST
'Only steam came out of the wet ground.'

Udi examples are:

(x) (a) *iaq'-al   laman-q'un-d-i šo-t'-ul   še-t'-a   nökär-mux*
way-SUPER   meet-3PL-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-SUPER   DIST-REF:OBL-GEN servant-PL
'One the way, his servants waited for him.' [John 4:51]

(b) *laf-ne-d-i   še-t'-a   partal-al* [Mark 5:27]
touch-3SG-LV-PAST   DIST-REF:OBL-GEN dress-SUPER
'He touched his dress.'

(c) *lai-čer-i   šo-t'-ux   alalu burǧ-ol* [Luke 4:5]
carry=up:PAST-PART:PAST   DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 high   mountain-SUPER
'Having taken him up to a high mountain…'

The postposition *cirik'* 'till' always calls for a noun marked by the superessive (see 3.5.2). Schiefner 1863:41 is right in suggesting that *cirik'* is derived from the motion verb *ci(ǧ)sun* 'to go down, to reach': The postposition represents the past participle of this verb (*ci-r-i*, suppletive past stem, see 3.4.2.1) that is augmented by the 'Iranian' suffix *-k'* (see 3.2.2.2). Note that the original form has survived in Nizh (*ciri* 'till'). The more general (and secondary) semantics 'to reach' has motivated the use of the superessive:

(x) (a) *biasun-al   cirik' zu vaxo   śum bes-al-te-z* [CO § 6]
evening-SUPER   till   I   you:SG:ABL   bread ask=for-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
'I will not ask you for bread till the evening.'

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(b) *t'ia   zax   e-q'un-f-i   śü-n-e   bəˁǧ-el   cirik'* [CO §2]
      DIST:ADV I:DAT2 keep-3PL-$-PAST night-SA-GEN middle-SUPER till
      'There they kept me till midnight.'

(c) *un-al   k'ap'ernaum gög-il   cirik'   lai-c-i-o*
      you:SG-FOC Capernaum   heaven-SUPER till   raise-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-REF:ABS

      ciǧ-al-lu   žähnäm-il   cirik' [Luke 10:15]
      go=down:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG hell-SUPER   till
      'And you, Capernaum, that has been raised to heaven will descend to hell.'

Finally, the adjective/postposition *lari* 'like, equal' is nromally linked to the superessive. It is probably derived from a now lost verb **la(ǧ)sun* 'to move up' (compare *laisun < *lai-(ǧ)-sun* 'to go up'). Accordingly, the form *lari* represents a lexicalized past participle or stative verb (see 3.4.10) < **la-ar-i* (suppletive past stem, see <mark>3.4.2.1</mark>). The meaning of the construction would have been: 'X has moved on(to) Y' (Y-SUPER *lari*). Semantically, the concept 'like, equal' is metaphorized from the conceptual pattern <reaching [the height of] someone/something>. Examples are:

<mark>(x)</mark> (a) *vaˁn-al   bak-al-lan   lari   adamar-ǧ-ol* [Luke 12:36]
        you:PL-FOC be-FUT:FAC-2PL equal   man-PL-SUPER
        'You will be like the men (who….)'

(b) *vaˁ be-nan-sa   gölö mo-t'-ul   lari* [Mark 7:13]
      and do-2PL-$:PRES much PROX-REF:OBL-SUPER equal
      'And you do many (things) like this.'

(c) *šo-no   čur-al   lari-ne* [BO 70; SD]
      DIST-REF:ABS cow-SUPER equal-3SG
      'It is like a cow…'

The superessive morpheme *-l* has multiple cognates in the Western and Eastern Samur languages (see the overview given by Schulze 1982:253). But contrary to the paradigms in these languages, the Udi superessive morpheme is not embedded into the case/series architecture illustrated in 3.3.4. Rather, it represents a shortened version of the postposition *la* that has survived in the postposition *laxo ~ laxol* etc. (see 5.3.2). This postposition reflects an ablative (-comitative) of the now lost noun *al* 'hight' (compare Udi *al-un* 'upper' < *al-un* 'height-GEN'). The form *la* is perhaps also present in the (obscure) segment *-ala* (see section 3.3.4.2, §2). It can be analyzed as an old dative of **al* (> **al-a*), see 5.3.2. Accordingly, the Udi superessive represents the grammaticalization of a former postpositional structure (**Noun-DAT + *la*), just as it has been proposed for the allative, see above § 4. <mark>(x)</mark> describes the basic process:

(x)   I   II
        Allative   *Noun-DAT + *č'e   >   *Noun-(DAT-č'(e))
        Superessive   *Noun-DAT + *ala   >   *Noun-(DAT-l(a))

§ 6. Superablative (Nizh): -lxun. A residue of the old series+case ordering has survived in the Nizh case morpheme -lxun that basically means 'from top of / from above'. The formation this complex suffix is transparent: it consists of the superessive marker -l (see 3.3.4.1, § 5), to which the Nizh variant of the ablative (-xun, see 3.3.4.1, § 1) has been added. The fact that the suffix is morphologically and semantically transparent allows to segment it as SUPER-ABL in the glosses. Note that Vartashen lacks a corresponding form (which should be **-lxo). A structural parallel is the fossilized case marker -lan, see 3.3.4.2, § 2.

The super-ablative is relatively rare. Most often, it is replaced by the standard ablative -xun (see 3.3.4.1, § 1). Examples are:

(x) (a) *sun-t'-in   i-bak-e-ne-i   zoq'al-n-a   xod-al-xun*
        one-REF:OBL-ERG   hear-LV-PERF-3SG-PAST   cornel-SA-GEN   tree-SUPER-ABL

   bit-al-o   tara-p-i   elem-e   bak-sa
   fall-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS   turn-LV-PART:PAST   donkey-3SG   be-PRES
   'Someboy heard that who has fallen from a cornel tree changes into a donkey.'
   [ELEM; OR 133-4]

(b) *sa ǧi šo-no   ič-al   zoq'al-n-a xod-al-xun   bi-ne-t-i*
    one day   DIST-REF:ABS   REFL-FOC   cornel-SA-GEN   tree-SUPER-ABL   fall-3SG-$-PAST
    'One day, he himself fell from a cornel tree.' [ELEM, OR 134]

(c) *tüfäng döˤp-k'-ala kinä sa ẓäyil ǧar bel-in   üˤǧ-üˤl-xun*
    rifle   shot-LV-FUT2 as   one young boy   cattle-GEN   roof-SUPER-ABL

   čup-i   cir-e oq'a [BUSH; OR 136]
   move=away-PAST   go=down:PAST-PERF[-3SG] down
   'When he shot with his rifle, a young man came down off the roof of the cattle (shed).'

(d) *bel-xun   oś-el   č'äyin-ä   bäč'ür-ec-i*
    head:SUPER-ABL   end-SUPER   butter-DAT   wrap=up-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST

   künd-in   boš arc-e-ne-i [KALNA; OR 124]
   dough-GEN   in   sit-PERF-3SG-PAST
   'She was sitting in a dough, being covered (lit.: wrapped up) by butter from head to feet.'

Sometimes, the superessive semantics is slightly obscured, as in:

(x) *biyäsin bask'-sun   čur-eǧ-at'an*
     evening sleep-MASD2 want-LV:FUT-CV:POST

     pilläkän-i tum-elxun   säs-e   har-i [KECH; OR 132]
     stairs-GEN   root-SUPER:ABL voice-3SG come:PAST-PAST
     'In the evening, after they wanted to go to bed, a voice came up from the (lower) end of the stairs.'