Chapter 3

Nominal morphology of Mehweb

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This paper describes the nominal morphology of Mehweb. It deals with the following issues: the nominal paradigm, plural formation, the oblique stem, case formation and use, and irregular locatives. In this paper I analyze both the structure and the semantics of these forms.

Keywords: nominal inflection, case, number, locative.

1 Introduction

In this paper, I consider the following aspects of Mehweb grammar:

1. Nominal paradigm structure
2. Plural formation
3. Oblique stem formation
4. Grammatical cases
5. Irregular locatives
6. Inflection of place names

Since gender is not marked on nouns and is only reflected in verb agreement, this aspect of the grammar is discussed in the chapter on verbal morphology (Daniel 2019).

2 Structure of the nominal paradigm

The the nominative singular form is identical to the nominal root. Mehweb also has two intermediate derivational stems, the oblique stem and the plural stem. The oblique stem is derived from the root by an affix or, much more rarely,

through a non-segmental operation, and further derives all inflectional forms other than the nominative and the genitive case in the singular, including the ergative case. The rules of oblique stem formation are described in §4. The plural stem is derived from the root and attaches plural suffixes. The rules of plural stem formation are specific to each of the plural suffixes and are discussed in the sections dealing with the corresponding suffixes. In the plural, case suffixes follow the plural suffix. Figure 1 describes the general mechanism of the formation of the plural and oblique stems, starting from the root of a noun:
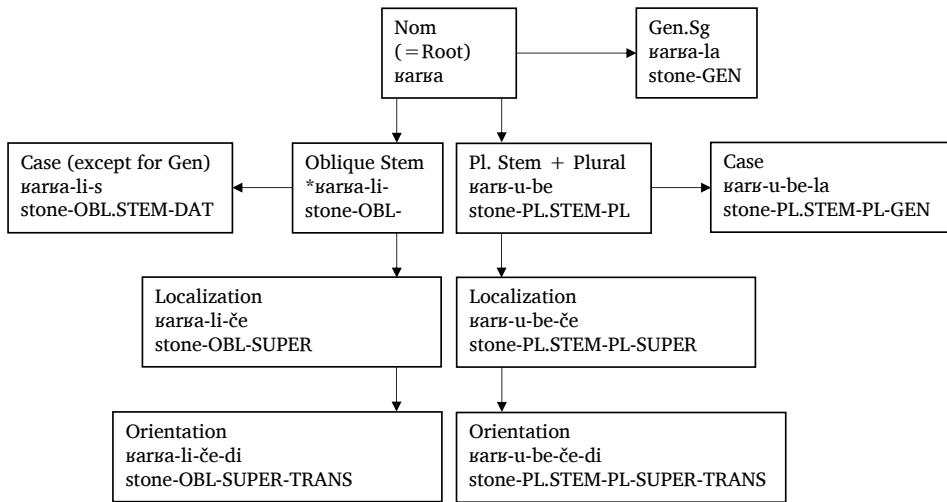

Figure 1: Plural and oblique stem formation

Or, in tabular form:

Table 1: Possible noun forms

Stem	Slot 1	Slot 2
Nominative stem	(NOM)	
Nominative stem	GEN	
Oblique stem	DAT/GEN/ERG/COMIT/REPL/SUBST	
Oblique stem	localization suffix (see §5)	orientation suffix (see §5)
Plural stem+PL	(NOM)	
Plural stem+PL	DAT/GEN/ERG/COMIT/REPL/SUBST	
Plural stem+PL	localization suffix (see §5)	orientation suffix (see §5)

As one can see from Table 1, the first slot is occupied by case or localization markers, while the second slot is restricted to the orientation markers and can be filled only if there is a localization marker in the first slot.

Henceforth I distinguish between the *stem* and the *root* of a word. The root of a word is the deepest level of underlying representation of the unchangeable part of a noun, which usually coincides with the nominative. The only exception is overt gender marking, which is only characteristic of some nouns of adjectival origin, such as *uqna* 'old man' (plural *b-uqna-r-t* 'old men'). Here the gender markers, which are not part of the root, are present in both singular and plural forms (masculine singular *w-* is assimilated with the [u] in the beginning of the word, *b-* stands for the human plural). In this and similar cases I consider the gender (also called *class*) agreement slot a part of the root and mark it as CL. This definition is slightly different from the canonical one given in Haspelmath & Sims (2010: 19) where the root is defined as the part of a lexeme that remains after all affixes have been removed. I assume the agreement slot (but not the marker itself) to be part of the nominal root.

The stem is a representation of a root, including intermediate phonological and morphological representations. Thus, the root is an abstraction that can correspond to a number of different stems, as in the two forms in Table 1: *ʁarʁa* 'stone:NOM.SG' and *ʁarʁ-u-be* 'stone-PL.STEM-PL'. In this example the root is *ʁarʁa*, while the stems are *ʁarʁa* and *ʁarʁ-u*. Stems are never used without case suffixes (assuming a zero affix in the nominative) and thus are also an abstraction.

The nominal paradigm of Mehweb consists of two parts (or sub-paradigms): *grammatical*, or *functional*, cases and *locative forms*. The two types differ in their morphology: functional case markers consist of one inflectional morpheme; locative forms include two inflectional slots: *localization* (LOC) and *orientation* (OR).

There are a number of nominal inflectional forms that can be historically analyzed as former locatives but are synchronically monomorphemic. These are *the causal*, *the substitutive*, *the replicative* and probably *the comitative*.

3 Plural

The description of plural formation in this chapter is based on wordlists presented in Magometov (1982) and lexical data collected by George Moroz during the field trips undertaken in 2013–2016 (Moroz 2019 [this volume]).

The category of number distinguishes three values: singular, plural and associative. The singular is not marked. The plural is marked with the following suf-

fixes: *-t, -be, -me, -ne, -e, -le, -he, -re, -še, -nube, -tune, -urbe, -lume*. The associative plural suffix is *-qale*.

The suffixes *-t, -be, -me, -ne, -e* are frequent. The suffixes *-le, -he, -re, -še, -nube, -tune, -urbe*, and *-lume* are limited to small classes of nominal stems.

Strictly speaking, the choice of the plural suffix is lexical. In most cases, it cannot be predicted either from the formal properties of the stem or from the semantics of the noun. The plural stem formation is not always predictable, either.

On the other hand, each plural suffix has certain – and sometimes quite strong – constraints on the phonotactic structure of the stems to which it can attach. There are different rules of plural stem formation for different affixes, which, however, involve partially similar patterns. For instance, the suffix *-e* only attaches to one-syllable stems (§3.8) and the suffix *-re* usually changes the root vowel of one-syllable nominative stems to [u] (§3.9). Another almost universal process is final vowel syncope, which affects all stems except monosyllabic words and borrowings. However, though the processes discussed in this chapter often apply to most of the formally eligible nouns, almost none of them is truly obligatory.

Below, I attempt to formalize (to some extent) the rules of plural formation. Each of the subsections deals with a particular suffix. In each subsection, I describe the restrictions observed, based on the dictionary data and the data from Magometov (1982). For the suffixes *-ne, -e, -le, -he, -re, -še, -nube, -tune, -urbe, -lume*, and partly also for the suffix *-me*, I have been able to specify the classes of nouns that take these suffixes. For the other suffixes, I have only been able to specify the stem changes they cause.

I will use the following abbreviations: C for consonants, V for vowels, R for sonorants.

3.1 The plural suffix *-t*

The plural suffix *-t* is one of the most productive suffixes found with this function. In the presence of this suffix, the stem undergoes the following changes:

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped. The [a] of the penultimate syllable changes to [u][1]. This rule does not apply to borrowed stems.
2) If a stem ends in a sonorant or [b], including after (1) is applied, the plural suffix *-t* can be attached directly to it.
3) If a stem is borrowed (or contains a borrowed morpheme), the plural stem is formed by inserting the element *-r-* (unless it ends in a sonorant).

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[1]If this vowel is pharyngealized, it changes into [oˤ], the phonetic realization of /uˤ/.

4) The word *uqna* 'old man' forms the plural stem by inserting *-r-* even though it is not borrowed.

The rough generalization is that the suffix *-t* attaches to stems ending in sonorants.

Table 2 illustrates vowel drop and vowel change (Rule 1):

Table 2: Rule 1

	SG	PL
'a piece of firewood'	*urculi*	*urcul-t*
'broom'	*buškala*	*buškul-t*
'flue'	*zamari*	*zamur-t*
'border'	*durʔaˤri*	*durʔoˤr-t*
'mountain'	*dubura*	*dubur-t*
'sunny hillside'	*burhala*	*burhul-t*
'waterfall'	*rurqaˤni*	*rurqoˤn-t*

Table 3 illustrates the second rule:

Table 3: Rule 2

	SG	PL
'blacksmith'	*ustar*	*ustar-t*
'spoon'	*k'uc'ul*	*k'uc'ul-t*
'bridle'	*hurhur*	*hurhur-t*
'horse'	*ʔaˤbul*	*ʔaˤbul-t*
'a piece of dry dung'	*kupar*	*kupar-t*
'cauldron'	*qazam*	*qazam-t*
'sack'	*halban*	*halban-t*
'hand mill'	*ulχab*	*ulχab-t*
'fairytale'	*χabar*	*χabar-t*
'dream'	*muʔer*	*muʔer-t*

Table 4 shows how the *-t* suffix interacts with borrowed stems ending in a vowel: the vowel drop does not apply.

Table 4: Rules 3 and 4

	SG	PL	Source
'reaper'	*irxanči*	*irxanči-r-t*	Turkic suffix *-či*
'hunter'	*awči*	*awči-r-t*	Turkic *avči* 'hunter'
'old man'	*uqna*	*b-uqna-r-t*[2]	
'time'	*zamana*	*zamana-r-t*	Arabic *zama:n* 'time'
'sign'	*išara*	*išara-r-t*	Arabic *ʔišaara* 'sign'
'mine'	*šaχta*	*šaχta-r-t*	Russian *šaχta* 'mine'
'car'	*mašina*	*mašina-r-t*	Russian *mašina* 'car'
'oppression'	*zulmu*	*zulmu-r-t*	Arabic *ðulm* 'injustice'
'carriage'	*ʔaˤraba*	*ʔaˤraba-r-t*	Arabic *ʕaraba* 'car'

Borrowed stems that end in a sonorant attach the *-t* suffix directly, as illustrated in Table 5:

Table 5: Borrowed stems that attach the suffix *-t* directly

	SG	PL
'sugar'	*čakar*	*čakar-t*
'paper'	*kaʁar*	*kaʁar-t*
'town'	*šahar*	*šahar-t*
'soap'	*sapun*	*sapun-t*
'person'	*insan*	*insan-t*
'cure'	*darman*	*darman-t*
'regent'	*ħakim*	*ħakim-t*
'agronomist'	*agranum*	*agranum-t*
'member'	*čilen*	*čilen-t*
'table'	*ustul*	*ustul-t*
'sack'	*čantaj*	*čantaj-t*

The plural suffix *-t* also forms plurals of the words that denote inhabitants of Mehweb and neighbouring villages. In Magometov (1982) this use of the suffix *-t* is described as a separate suffix *-n-t*. However, forms such as *mehʷa-n* 'a Mehweb

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[2]The word *uqna* also contains a gender marker, which expresses the number and gender of this word. Thus, in the singular the marker is masculine singular *w-* (dropped before the [u] of the stem), while in the plural the human plural marker *b-* occurs. Several other nouns in Mehweb and other Dargwa dialects also include a gender marker.

person' and *surʁatla-n* 'a person from the village of Sogratl suggest that *-n* is a nominalizer and therefore not part of the plural morpheme (see Table 38 in §6).

3.2 The plural suffix *-ne*

With the suffix *-ne*, the stem undergoes the following changes:

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) One-syllable words form the plural stem by attaching the morpheme *-a-*.
3) If the stem has two or more syllables and ends in a consonant, including after Rule 1 has been applied, the plural stem is derived by attaching the morpheme *-u-*.

Table 6 illustrates the first rule:

Table 6: Rule 1

	SG	PL		SG	PL
'axe'	*barda*	*bard-ne*	'place'	*musa*	*mus-ne*
'spring'	*derga*	*derg-ne*	'cover'	*q'ap'a*	*q'ap'-ne*
'dew'	*marka*	*mark-ne*	'mouse'	*waca*	*wac-ne*
'honey'	*warʔa*	*warʔ-ne*	'voice'	*t'ama*	*t'am-ne*
'stain'	*dabʁa*	*dabʁ-ne*	'bird'	*čiqʷaˤ*	*čiˤqʷ-ne*
'pile'	*bek'a*	*bek'-ne*	'hedgehog'	*satkʷa*	*satkʷ-ne*
'mosquito'	*k'ara*	*k'ar-ne*			

Table 7 illustrates the mechanism of the plural formation of one-syllable stems attaching the suffix *-ne* (Rule 2):

Table 7: Rule 2

	SG	PL		SG	PL
'load'	*deχ*	*deχ-a-ne*	'pupil (of the eye)'	*nur*	*nur-a-ne*
'herd'	*ħanq'*	*ħanq'-a-ne*	'lightning'	*parχ*	*parχ-a-ne*
'manure'	*dekʷ*	*dekʷ-a-ne*	'shelter (of branches)'	*paž*	*paž-a-ne*
'wedge'	*č'ut'*	*č'ut'-a-ne*	'yoke'	*duk'*	*duk'-a-ne*
'fist'	*χunk'*	*χunk'-a-ne*	'strut'	*t'al*	*t'al-a-ne*
'liver'	*k'ac'*	*k'ac'-a-ne*	'month'	*baz*	*baz-a-ne*
'place'	*merʔ*	*merʔ-a-ne*	'drop', 'point'	*t'ank'*	*t'ank'-a-ne*

Table 8 illustrates Rule 3:

Table 8: Rule 3

	SG	PL		SG	PL
'scythe'	*č'inik'*	*č'inik'-u-ne*	'needle'	*bureba*	*bureb-u-ne*
'shock/stook'	*bizaq'*	*bizaq'-u-ne*	'corpse'	*žanaza*	*žanaz-u-ne*
'chain'	*raχas*	*raχas-u-ne*	'pound'	*qilawka*	*qilawk-u-ne*
'kidney'	*urcec*	*urcec-u-ne*	'alms'	*sadaq'a*	*sadaq'-u-ne*
'ploughshare'	*uʔab*	*uʔab-u-ne*	'swallow'	*určuti*	*určut-u-ne*
'glue'	*luʔmes*	*luʔmes-u-ne*	'nose'	*šumšut'i*	*šumšut'-u-ne*
'trousers'	*waχčag*	*waχčag-u-ne*	'whirligig'	*c'alači*	*c'alač-u-ne*
'fork'	*χinč'ult'*	*χinč'ult'-u-ne*	'jug'	*burbut'i*	*burbut'-u-ne*
'metal tray'	*sarʁas*	*sarʁas-u-ne*	'button'	*mičawi*	*mičaw-u-ne*

Rule 3 has one exception: the plural stem of the word *ʁamas* 'box' is formed by syncope of the last vowel of the root:

Table 9: Exception (Rule 1)

	SG	PL
'box'	*ʁamas*	*ʁams-ne*

The nouns given in Table 10 undergo haplology:

Table 10: Haplology

	SG	PL
'omelet'	*χajqane*	*χajq-u-ne*
'moustache'	*sersit'ane*	*sersit'-u-ne*
'lizard'	*šuršut'ani*	*šuršut'-u-ne*
'fat tail'	*urʁaˤdiq'aˤni*	*urʁaˤdiq'-uˤ-ne*
'bellows'	*pušduk'ani*	*pušduk'-u-ne*

The haplology here applies to the contiguous VR sequences: when after a derivation there are two VR sequences with the same R next to each other, the

first one is dropped, e.g. *urʁadiqaʕn-u-ne* → *urʁadiq-uʕ-ne*. These words can also be analyzed as attaching the suffix *-e* after dropping the final vowel. However, since the suffix *-e* prefers one-syllable stems, my analysis seems more feasible[3].

Several words form the plural stem by changing the vowel in the first syllable (which is also the penultimate) into */u/*:

Table 11: Vowel change in the root

	SG	PL
'stomach'	*ʁaga*	*ʁug-ne*
'frog'	*ʔaʕt'a*	*ʔoʕt'-ne*

3.3 The plural suffix *-tune*

The words *qašqar* 'bald man', *wakil* 'lawyer', *arab* 'Arab' and *sabab* 'reason' attach the plural suffix *-tune*. Diachronically, these words employed the suffix *-t(e)*, as in some other Dargwa dialects, e.g. Kubachi. Presumably, this plural marking was then reinforced by *-ne*, which required the change of the final vowel to *-u*. Together, these suffixes formed the structure *-tune*, which is synchronically monomorphemic (Table 12):

Table 12: The plural suffix *-tune*

	Mehweb SG	Mehweb PL	Kubachi SG	Kubachi PL
'bald'	*qašqar*	*qašqar-tune*	*qʕaʕšqʕaʕr*	*qʕaʕšqʕaʕr-te*
'lawyer'	*wakil*	*wakil-tune*	*wakil*	*wakil-te*
'Arab'	*arab*	*arab-tune*	*warab*	*warab-te*
'reason'	*sabab*	*sabab-tune*	*sabab*	*sabab-te*

3.4 The plural suffix *-be*

With the suffix *-be*, the stem undergoes the following changes:

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[3]Magometov (1982: 36) treats these cases as cases of apophony rather than haplology. He analyzes the forms *χajqune* and *sersit'une* as follows: "There are cases, albeit rare, when a word ending with *-e* in the plural differs [from the singular] only by a vowel change in the stem. This vowel change, therefore, acquires a morphological meaning" (translation from Russian by the author).

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) After dropping the final vowel, originally two-syllable words with [a] in the first syllable often add *-u-* to form their plural stems.

Table 13 illustrates Rule 1:

Table 13: Rule 1

	SG	PL
'bear'	*sinka*	*sink-be*
'crust'	*wank'a*	*wank'-be*
'tooth'	*cula*	*cul-be*
'mill'	*šinq'a*	*šinq'-be*

Table 14 illustrates Rule 2:

Table 14: Rule 2

	SG	PL		SG	PL
'leg'	*daga*	*dag-u-be*	'stone'	*ʁarʁa*	*ʁarʁ-u-be*
'heel'	*qaˤč'a*	*qaˤč'-u-be*	'cheek'	*laˤži*	*laˤž-u-be*
'bone'	*liga*	*lig-u-be*	'spike'	*canzi*	*canz-u-be*
'sledge'	*čana*	*čan-u-be*	'cradle'	*kʷahni*	*kʷahn-u-be*

Note that *liga* 'bone' also forms the plural stem by attaching *-u-* even though the first syllable does not contain [a].

Several nouns form their plural stems by changing the root vowel to [u]. All of these words either have [e] in this syllable or contain a labialized or labial consonant:

Table 15: Vowel change in the root

	SG	PL		SG	PL
'melted butter'	*nerχ*	*nurχ-be*	'armful'	*kʷec'*	*kuc'-be*
'cricket'	*c'erc'*	*c'urc'-be*	'lip'	*kʼʷet'*	*k'ut'-be*
'tear'	*nerʁ*	*nurʁ-be*	'peach'	*qʼʷarč*	*q'urč-be*
'eyebrow'	*ned*	*nud-be*	'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durq-be*
'boar'	*t'oˤrʜ*	*t'uˤrʜ-be*			

An assimilation occurs in stems ending with [n]: /n+be/ → [mbe]:

Table 16: /n+be/ → [mbe]

	SG	PL
'stall'	*t'eni*	*t'um-be*
'cooker'	*wana*	*wum-be*

If a stem ends in a labialized consonant, this consonant is delabialized:

Table 17: Delabialization

	Sg	Pl
'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durq-be*

3.5 The plural suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe*

The suffix *-nube* forms the plural of five lexemes. The suffix *-urbe* forms the plural of four lexemes. These suffixes are similar to *-tune* in that they may be analyzed as *-ne* and *-re* followed by *-be*. The *-u-* of the suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe* may be considered as resulting from the final vowel change seen in §3.2 above. Synchronically, *-nube* and *-urbe* are monomorphemic suffixes with a very limited lexical distribution (Table 18):

Table 18: The plural suffixes *-nube* and *-urbe*

	SG	PL
'thief'	*curku*	*curk-nube*
'small stone'	*ħarħa*	*ħarħ-nube*
'belt'	*irʔi*	*irʔ-nube*
'onion'	*šerši*	*šerš-nube*
'burnt clay'	*t'arħa*	*t'arħ-nube*
'door'	*unza*	*unz-urbe*
'swamp'	*šinʔa*	*šinʔ-urbe*
'grapes'	*t'ut'i*	*t'ut'-urbe*
'wheat'	*anč'e*	*anč'-urbe*

3.6 The plural suffix *-me*

With the suffix *-me*, the following rules apply:

1) One-syllable words with CV structure usually attach the suffix *-me*.
2) If a stem consisting of two or more syllables ends in a vowel, this vowel is dropped.
3) Some nouns attach *-u-* after dropping the last vowel.

Table 19 illustrates Rule 1:

Table 19: Rule 1

	SG	PL
'fire'	*c'a*	*c'a-me*
'nit'	*q'i*	*q'i-me*
'horn'	*qi*	*qi-me*
'village'	*ši*	*ši-me*
'oath'	*qʷe*	*qʷe-me*
'blood'	*ħi*	*ħi-me*
'name'	*ʔu*	*ʔu-me*

Table 20 illustrates Rule 2:

Table 20: Rule 2

	SG	PL
'turnip'	*q'aħa*	*q'aħ-me*
'(female) goat'	*q'aˤca*	*q'aˤc-me*
'bolter'	*ʔula*	*ʔul-me*
'(male) sheep'	*kʷiha*	*kʷih-me*
'light'	*šala*	*šal-me*
'cliff'	*šuri*	*sur-me*
'scythe'	*čuri*	*čur-me*
'bottom of a dress'	*suri*	*sur-me*

Some nouns form plural stems by attaching *-u-* after dropping the last vowel. All of them contain an [u] or a labial/labialized consonant. One may notice that in most cases, after the final vowel drop has been applied, [u] is inserted to avoid

a phonologically illegitimate consonant cluster. There is, however, no such consonant cluster in *uq'lah-u-me* (cf. *kʷih-me* 'sheep, PL'). The Russian loanword *bidra* 'bucket' also belongs to this group. Table 21 below illustrates this process.

Table 21: Plural stem formation by attaching *-u-*

	SG	PL
'spoon'	*q'usla*	*q'usl-u-me*
'bullet'	*gulla*	*gull-u-me*
'bucket'	*bidra*	*bidr-u-me*
'window'	*uq'laha*	*uq'lah-u-me*
'shroud'	*bišri*	*bišr-u-me*
'thought'	*pikri*	*pikr-u-me*
'jewel'	*laˤwlu*	*laˤwl-u-me*
'mind'	*waq'lu*	*waq'l-u-me*

The words *laˤwlu* and *waq'lu* are also analyzed as dropping their last vowel and then attaching *-u-*:

laˤwlu + me → laˤwl + me → laˤwl + -u- + -me → laˤwl-u-me

Under this analysis, the [u] in the plural is not the same as the [u] in the singular.

3.7 The plural suffix *-lume*

The following words form the plural with the suffix *-lume*, which historically seems to be the plural suffix *-le* with a change of the final vowel before the plural suffix *-me* (Table 22):

Table 22: The plural suffix *-lume*

	SG	PL
'garden'	*baχča*	*baχč-lume*
'corner'	*murʔa*	*murʔ-lume*
'shadow'	*daˤχc'i*	*daˤχc'-lume*
'ceiling'	*burχa*	*burχ-lume*

3.8 The plural suffix *-e*

The suffix *-e* attaches to one-syllable stems. It can attach directly to CVC(C) stems. In some cases, the rules for plural stem formation derive one-syllable stems from more-than-one syllable stems and are as follows:

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) If a stem consists of more than one syllable, all the vowels except the first undergo syncope.

Table 23: The plural suffix *-e*

	SG	PL
'root'	*maqʼ^w*	*maqʼ^w-e*
'nut'	*χih^w*	*χih^w-e*
'finger'	*tʼul*	*tʼul-e*
'bread'	*tʼultʼ*	*tʼultʼ-e*
'bull'	*unc*	*unc-e*
'gut'	*rud*	*rud-e*
'khinkal'	*χinčʼ*	*χinčʼ-e*
'hand'	*naˤʁ*	*noˤʁ-e*[4]

Table 24 illustrates Rule 1:

Table 24: Rule 1

	SG	PL
'horse'	*urči*	*urč-e*
'bee'	*mirqi*	*mirq-e*
'nettle'	*nizbi*	*nizb-e*
'ear'	*lugi*	*lug-e*
'sparkle'	*purχi*	*purχ-e*

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[4] The word *naˤʁ* 'hand' appears to undergo the /a/ → /u/ vowel alternation described in §3.2. Since this alternation does not affect the word *maqʼ^w* 'root' that has a similar phonetic structure, it is possible to hypothesize that the suffix *-e* has originates from several different suffixes that merged in the *-e* form due to phonetic changes.

Table 25 illustrates the vowel syncope described in Rule 2:

Table 25: Rule 2

	SG	PL
'worm'	*muleʁ*	*mulʁ-e*
'helminth'	*šulek*	*šulk-e*
'bull-calf'	*k'umeš*	*k'umš-e*
'toe'	*gubul*	*gubl-e*
'plank'	*ulq'uli*	*ulq'l-e*
'white (of an egg)'	*šuhari*	*šuhr-e*
'egg'	*žigari*	*žigr-e*

3.9 The plural suffix *-re*

This suffix has a limited lexical distribution. The rules for plural stem formation are similar to the rules for other C*e* suffixes[5] (see also §3.4):

1) If a stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped.
2) One-syllable roots tend to form their plural stems by changing the root vowel to [u]. Since, for this suffix, I do not have any examples of words consisting of more than one syllable after dropping the last vowel, I cannot say whether they do or do not undergo this vowel change.

The suffix *-re* prefers one-syllable words and two-syllable stems ending with [i].

Table 26 illustrates Rule 1:

Table 26: Rule 1

	SG	PL
'leaf'	*k'ap'i*	*k'ap'-re*
'cross-beam'	*duk'i*	*duk'-re*
'mouth'	*dubi*	*dub-re*
'nipple'	*ut'i*	*ut'-re*

---

[5]I do not have a satisfactory explanation for this parallel. It is possible that *-e*, which was originally present in all plural suffixes including *-t*, as confirmed by other Dargwa lects, at some point became associated with the expression of plurality, and the consonants came to be interpreted as parts of the plural stem of the noun.

Table 27 illustrates Rule 2:

Table 27: Rule 2

	SG	PL
'fly'	*t'ant'*	*t'unt'-re*
'fish'	*k'as*	*k'us-re*
'pocket'	*č'ep*	*č'up-re*
'paw'	*k'ʷac*	*k'uc-re*

However, there are exceptions to Rule 2. Two roots contain [a] but do not undergo vowel change (Table 28):

Table 28: Exceptions (Rule 2)

	SG	PL
'neck'	*qaˤb*	*qaˤb-re*
'manure'	*qʷa*	*qʷa-re*

The [r] in the suffix *-re* can, but need not, assimilate to the [l] of the stem (Table 29):

Table 29: Assimilation /r/ → /l/

	SG	PL
'house'	*qali*	*qul-le/qul-re*

3.10 The plural suffix *-le*

The plural suffix *-le* only occurs with four nouns. If the stem ends in a vowel, the vowel is dropped. The vowel of the stem changes to /u/ (Table 30):

Table 30: The plural suffix *-le*

	SG	PL
'body'	*čarχ*	*čurχ-le*
'handle'	*arʔ*	*urʔ-le*
'worm'	*serhʷ*	*surhʷ-le*
'rope'	*ʁʷaˤrʁoˤ*	*ʁʷoˤrʁ-le*

3.11 The plural suffixes *-he* and *-še*

The suffix *-he* occurs with two nouns. Both have irregular plural stems, so the plural formation may be considered to be weak suppletion (Table 31):

Table 31: The plural suffix *-he*

	SG	PL
'woman'	*xunul*	*xu-he*
'dog'	*χʷe*	*χur-he*

The plural suffix *-še* occurs with one noun, *qu* 'field' (Table 32):

Table 32: The plural suffix *-še*

	SG	PL
'field'	*qu*	*qu-še*

3.12 The associative plural suffix *-qale*

The plural suffix *-qale* most probably results from grammaticalization of the noun *qali* 'house'. In the case of Mehweb, this suffix covers the so-called associative plural meaning 'X and his or her family' (in spontaneous texts also 'X and those with him/her', 'X and his/her group'). For Tanti Dargwa, Lander (2008) observes that the suffix *-qale* has developed a regular plural meaning. This evolution has not been reported for standard Dargwa. In Mehweb Dargwa, regular plural uses of *-qale* are attested on nouns for 'mother' and 'father'; for 'grandmother' and probably 'grandfather', both regular and associative plural readings are attested. Table 33 illustrates the use of this suffix:

Table 33: The associative plural suffix *-qale*

SG		PL	
abaj	'mom'	*abaj-qale*	'moms'
adaj	'dad'	*adaj-qale*	'dads'
baba	'grandma'	*baba-qale*	'grandmas' *or* 'grandma and her family'
Abakar	'Abakar' (man's name)	*Abakar-qale*	'Abakar and his family / his group'

4 Oblique stem

The genitive case suffix attaches directly to the nominative stem (in all nouns but not in all pronouns – cf. *di-la* I.ᴏʙʟ-ɢᴇɴ 'my'). All other cases (including ergative) require an oblique stem. In the plural, all case suffixes attach directly to the plural marker.

The oblique stem marker has three allomorphs: *-li*, *-j*, and *-i*. The marker *-li* is the default way to form an oblique stem and is applicable to almost any stem.

The marker *-i-* may be considered prothetic (to resolve consonant clusters) and is generally not separated or glossed in this book. The use of the segmental marker *-li-* is a lexical property. With some nouns, the two strategies are in competition:

(1) *muħammad-li-ni*   *muħammadi-šu*
     Muhammad-ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ Muhammad-ᴀᴅ(ʟᴀᴛ)

The oblique stem marker *-li-* may (but does not have to) change to *-j-*. Table 34 shows contexts that license the change. The first column shows the vowel preceding the last consonant. The second column shows the consonant and the vowel that can follow it:

Table 34: Possible stem endings for the *-li* → *-j* change

Second last syllable	Last syllable
a	l/li/la/n/ni
i	l/li/la/n/ni
oˤ	l/li/la
u	l/n

Example (2) illustrates the process (see more in Moroz 2019):

(2) *rasul*   *rasuj-ni*
     Rasul Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ

5 Nominal inflection system

The nominal inflection of Mehweb Dargwa consists of two parts (sub-paradigms): *grammatical cases* and *locative forms*. The two types of inflectional forms differ in their morphology: grammatical case forms contain one inflectional morpheme (Table 35); locative forms contain two inflectional morphemes. The first morpheme of a locative form designates the *localization*: the spatial area defined

with respect to a landmark (rows in Table 36 below). The second designates the *orientation* (columns in Table 36 below): the trajectory of the object with respect to the area designated by the localization.

The core function of locative forms is to describe spatial relations between a figure and a ground (Rubin 2001). Grammatical cases are primarily used to express grammatical relations and abstract semantic roles. However, across East Caucasian, this is only a typical division of labour, and both types of inflection can be used in both functions (Kibrik 2003). In Mehweb, grammatical cases do not have any spatial uses (except for the fact that the genitive suffix is identical to the elative suffix) but spatial cases can have (nearly) abstract functions.

In Mehweb, there are five localization morphemes and five orientation morphemes. Each localization can take each of the orientations, forming a system of 25 locative forms. The subsections below are named according to the grammatical case labels and localization markers. One localization morpheme can designate several distinct spatial areas. I thus use the labels written in small-caps (e.g. IN-TER) as a semantic label, not as a gloss of a morphological category (as in the rest of the papers in this collection).

I do not discuss the semantics of the orientation markers in separate subsections. Their spatial functions are introduced in Table 36 and are independent from the semantics of the localization they combine with. In their non-spatial uses, most locative forms cannot be described compositionally by referring separately to the semantics of the localization and orientation markers. I thus discuss these uses among the functions of the individual localization markers in the relevant subsections.

The structure of the case system is shown in the two tables below. Table 35 shows grammatical cases. Table 36 shows locative forms, together with their core

Table 35: Mehweb functional sub-paradigm

Case	SG	PL
Nominative	ø	(Plural form)
Ergative	-OBL-ø/*ʔini*/*ini*/*ijni*/*ni*	-PL-*ʔini*/*ini*/*ijni*/*ni*
Genitive	-*la*/*wa*/*jja*	-PL-*la*
Dative	-OBL-*s*	-PL-*s*
Comitative	-OBL-*ču*	-PL-*ču*
Causal	-OBL-*čeble*	-PL-*čeble*
Substitutive	-OBL-*čemadal*	-PL-*čemadal*
Replicative	-OBL-*sum*	-PL-*sum*

Table 36: Mehweb locative sub-paradigm

Orientation	Localization				
	LAT 'to the area denoted by the localization'	ESS 'no movement'	EL 'away from the area denoted by the localization'	TRANS 'through the area denoted by the localization'	DIR 'in the direction of the area denoted by the localization'
SUPER 'on', CONT[6]	*-če*	*-če*-CL	*-če-la* *-če*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*-če-di*	*-če-ba*ˁ_H
IN 'in a container'	*-ħe* / ø	*-ħe*-CL / ø-CL	*-ħe-la* *-ħe*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)* *ø-la* *ø*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*-ħe-di* / *ø-di*	*-ħe-ba*ˁ_H *ø-ba*ˁ_H
INTER 'in a substance', CONT	*-ze*	*-ze*-CL	*-ze-la* *-ze*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*-ze-di*	*-ze-ba*ˁ_H
AD 'near'	*-šu*	*-šu*-CL	*-šu-la* *-šu*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*-šu-di*	*-šu-ba*ˁ_H
APUD 'in the functional area of a landmark'	*-ʡeˁ*	*-ʡeˁ*-CL	*-ʡeˁ-la* *-ʡeˁ*-CL-*ad((-al)-a)*	*-ʡeˁ-di*	*-ʡeˁ-ba*ˁ_H

meanings. The abbreviations for the morphemes in the orientation slot are as follows: LAT – lative, ESS – essive, EL – elative, TRANS – translative, DIR – directive, CL – gender agreement marker.

Example (3) illustrates how the locative markers function:

(3)   ʁarʁa   ʁarʁa-li-če   ʁarʁa-li-če-w
     stone(NOM)   stone-OBL-SUPER(LAT)   stone-OBL-SUPER-M(ESS)
     '(a) stone'   'onto the stone'   '(he is) on the stone'
     ʁarʁa-li-ze-b
     stone-OBL-INTER-N(ESS)
     '(it is) in the stone'

---

[6] CONT is the functional label of a spatial configuration in which the object is located on the surface of a landmark and stays there because of the nature of the contact between the object and the landmark, or because it is a part thereof. Typical CONT contexts are: '(a picture) on the wall', '(a ring) on a finger', '(wings) on the back', '(a birthmark) on the face'. Many East Caucasian languages have a separate localization marker for the CONT configuration. In Mehweb, this configuration is divided between *-če-* (labelled SUPER, discussed in §5.9) and *-ze-* (labelled INTER, discussed in §5.11).

The lative (LAT) is expressed by the absence of an orientation marker. The essive (ESS) is expressed by the presence of the gender agreement slot (shown as -CL in the table). The agreement is controlled by the NP designating the trajector. Since the two markers do not have their own dedicated exponency, their glosses are bracketed.

5.1 Nominative

The nominative case marks the S of an intransitive verb and the P of a transitive verb:

(4) *ʕali   w-ak'-ib.*
     Ali(NOM) M-come:PFV-AOR
     'Ali came'

(5) *adaj-ni   mašinka-li-ni   muc'ur   b-erč-ur.*
     father-ERG hair.cutter-OBL-ERG beard(NOM)   N-cut.hair:PFV-AOR
     'The father cut his beard with clippers.'

The nominative case is also used when addressing someone:

(6) *baba   nab   inc'ul uk-es   ħa-d-ig-an.*
     granny   I.DAT more   M.eat:PFV-INF   NEG-NPL-want:IPFV-HAB
     'Granny, I don't want to eat any more.'

The nominative is also used in constructions like (6):

(7) *χʷe-li-če-la   ažda   b-uh-ub.*
     dog-OBL-SUPER-EL   crocodile N-become:PFV-AOR
     'The dog has become a crocodile.'

5.2 Ergative

The ergative case marks the A of a transitive verb and the instrument:

(8) *adaj-ni   mašinka-li-ni   muc'ur   b-erč-ur.*
     father-ERG hair.cutter-OBL-ERG beard(NOM)   N-cut.hair:PFV-AOR
     'The father cut his beard with clippers.'

The ergative case also marks periods of time. The semantics of such constructions can be formulated as 'X did something for two hours', i.e. the result was not necessarily achieved:

(9) *k'ʷi-jal*   *saʔaˤt-li-ni*   *rasul*   *ħule* *w-ilz-uwe*
     two-CARD hour-OBL-ERG Rasul(NOM) look M-LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV
     le-w-re   *ši-la*   *surt-me-če.*
     be-M-PST village-GEN picture-PL-SUPER(LAT)
     'Rasul has been looking at the photos of (his) village for two hours.'

5.3 Genitive

The genitive case marker is *-la*. It can undergo the following processes:

1) when attached to words ending in [ul], the marker can change into *-wa*:
   e.g. *rasul* 'Rasul' – *rasu-wa* 'Rasul-GEN';
2) when attached to words ending in [Vl], the marker can change into *-jja*:
   rasul 'Rasul' – *rasu-jja* 'Rasul-GEN'. This is the only context in which [jj]
   occurs in Mehweb.
3) when attached to words ending in [ala], the suffix *-la* can undergo haplo-
   logy: the genitive form of *č'imič'ala* 'eyelash' can be either *č'imič'**ala**-la* or
   *č'imič'**a**-la.*

The genitive of place names is formed with *-la* or *-ja* (probably derived from *-n-la*; see below), while their *-la* form serves as the elative. Note that place names in Mehweb are a separate part of speech possessing morphological and syntactic properties of both nouns and locative adverbs. They lack an oblique stem and have an irregular genitive form. They attach orientation markers directly, like spatial adverbs. Their quotation form is also the essive form. Hence, the *-la* marker in Table 37 is not only a genitive marker but also an elative marker:

Table 37: The Genitive of Place Names

Placename		Genitive	Elative
meħʷe	'(in) Mehweb'	*meħʷe-la, meħʷ-aja*	*meħʷe-la*
surʁatli	'(in) Sogratl'	*surʁatli-la, surʁatl-aja*	*surʁatli-la*
naˤnnuqara	'(in) Keger'	*naˤnnuqar-aja*	*naˤnnuqara-la*
žixatli	'(in) Rugudzha'	*žixatl-aja*	*žixatli-la*

The main function of the genitive case is to mark a noun that is dependent on another noun (possessive construction):

(10) *rasuj-ni*   *ar-d-uk-ib*   *muħammad-la* *kʷihme.*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG away-NPL-lead:PFV-AOR Muhammad-GEN sheep.PL
      'Rasul took away Muhammad's sheep.'

In possessive predication, the possessor genitive is "free" in that it does not form a single constituent with the possessum.

(11) *nuša-la le-b ʁarʁ-u-be-la qali.*
      we-GEN be-N stone-PL.STEM-PL-GEN house
      'We have a stone house.'

In the predicative possessive construction, Mehweb distinguishes two types of possessors: locative possessor and genitive possessor. Locative possession is only possible in predicative constructions, while genitive possession can be either adnominal or predicative (free genitive). The semantic difference between the two constructions is that the locative possessor has an object with/on her, but this object does not necessarily belong to her. The genitive possessor possesses an object, i.e. it belongs to her:

(12) *muḥammad-la kʷihme.*
      Muhammad-GEN sheep.PL
      'Muhammad's sheep (PL).'

(13) *musa-la le-b qali.*
      Musa-GEN be-N house
      'Musa has a house.'

(14) *rasuj-ze-b di-la dis le-b.*
      Rasul.OBL-INTER-N(ESS) I.OBL-GEN knife be-N
      'Rasul has got my knife', 'My knife is with Rasul'.

The difference does not apply to adnominal possessive constructions. It is not possible to use the localization marker *-ze* in an adnominal possessive construction:

(15) **rasuj-ze-b dis.*
      Rasul.OBL-INTER-N(ESS) knife
      '(someone else's) knife that Rasul has got.'

5.4 Dative

The dative case marker is *-s*. It attaches to the oblique stem. Its basic function is to mark the recipient in the 'give' construction:

(16) *abaj-ni gi-b sadaq'ači-li-s t'ult'.*
      mother-ERG give:PFV-AOR pauper-OBL-DAT bread
      'Mother gave bread to a pauper.'

The dative also marks the benefactive and several other related roles:

(17) *har   duže rasuj-ni   dursi-li-s   χabar-t luč'-ib.*
every night Rasul.OBL-ERG girl-OBL-DAT story-PL read:IPFV-IPFT
'Every night Rasul read stories to his daughter.'

(18) *nuša-jni qali   b-aq'-ib-i   rasuj-s.*
we-ERG   house N-do:PFV-AOR-ATR Rasul.OBL-DAT
'We built a house for Rasul.'

The two types of predicative possession described in §5.2 are paralleled by different strategies for encoding the recipient, as shown in (18). The two types of transmission are encoded by the dative vs. inter-lative form. If the rights of possession are transmitted together with the object, the recipient is encoded with the dative case. If they are not transmitted, as in (19), the recipient is marked with *-ze*:

(19) *rasuj-ni   gi-b   muħammadi-ze   dis.*
Rasul.OBL-ERG give:PFV-AOR Muhammad-INTER(LAT) knife
'Rasul lent a knife to Muhammad.'

The dative is also used for some experiencers. Experiential verbs have one of the two case frames: [experiencer = INTER(LAT), stimulus = NOM] and [experiencer = DAT, stimulus = NOM]. A dative experiencer is only possible with the verb CL-*iges* 'love/want' and complex predicates:

(20) *ħu   nab   eba   uh-ub.*
you.sg I.DAT boring M.become:PFV-AOR
'You bored me.'

(21) *jusupi-s   d-ig-uwe   le-r   pat'imat.*
Jusup-DAT F1-want:IPFV-CVB.IPFV be-F Patimat
'Jusup loves Patimat.'

5.5 Comitative

A co-participant is expressed by the comitative:

(22) *rasul urʁes   w-ik-ib   muħammadi-ču.*
Rasul fight:IPFV-INF M-LV:PFV-AOR Muhammad-COMIT
'Rasul fought with Muhammad.'

This case is also used for instruments, including consumables:

(23) *rasuj-ni   ulqʼuli rasdisi-ču   b-elk-un.*
      Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ plank   saw-ᴄᴏᴍɪᴛ   ɴ-cut:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ

      'Rasul sawed the plank with a saw.'

(24) *rasuj-ni   ħi   šin-ču   d-urʔun   d-aqʼ-ib.*
      Rasul.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ blood water-ᴄᴏᴍɪᴛ ɴᴘʟ-clean ɴ-do:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ

      'Rasul washed the blood off with water.'

5.6 Causal

According to Magometov (1982), there is a case that marks the cause of a situation. My consultants did not confirm Magometov's examples and rejected the *-čeble/-čible* forms that I constructed. I assume that the case no longer exists in Mehweb. Examples (25) and (26) are cited from Magometov (1982: 49):

(25) *ʔse-li-čible   ħu   tusnaqʼ w-aqʼ-ib-i?*
      what-ᴏʙʟ-ᴄᴀᴜѕᴀʟ you.sg arrest   ᴍ-do:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ-ᴀᴛʀ

      'Why did you get arrested?'

(26) *ʔdi-la   χuligan-deši-čible   nu tusnaqʼ w-aqʼ-ib.*
      I.ᴏʙʟ-ɢᴇɴ hooligan-ɴᴍʟᴢ-ᴄᴀᴜѕᴀʟ I   arrest   ᴍ-do:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ

      'I got arrested because of my hooliganism.'

5.7 Substitutive

The morpheme *-čemadal* has substitutive semantics, i.e. it indicates that the actor performs an action instead of someone who was supposed to perform it, the latter being coded by this case form:

(27) *nu adaj-čemadal tukaj-ħe   w-aˤqʼ-un-na*
      I   father-ѕᴜʙѕᴛ shop.ᴏʙʟ-ɪɴ(ʟᴀᴛ) ᴍ-go:ᴘꜰᴠ-ᴀᴏʀ-ᴇɢᴏ

      'I went to the shop instead of father'

Diachronically, this form can be analyzed as *-če-m-ad-al*, in which *-če-* marks ѕᴜᴘᴇʀ localization, *-m-* is an unknown morpheme that occupies the localization slot and *-adal* is the elative marker (cf. Table 36 above).

5.8 Replicative

The last non-spatial case suffix is *-sum*. It conveys the semantics of performing an action in the way similar to how someone or something else performs it, or in the way it is usually done. The form attaches to an irregular oblique stem:

(28) *dilaj-sum   b-aq'-a*
      I.OBL-REPL   N-do:PFV-IMP.TR
      'Do as I do'

The following sections deal with spatial forms.

5.9 The locative marker *-če-*

The basic semantics of the locative marker *-če-* is SUPER, i.e. by default this marker is used in contexts like the following:

(29) *ustuj-če-b   ʁadara le-b.*
      table.OBL-SUPER-N(ESS) plate   be-N
      'A plate is on the table.'

The locative marker *-če-* is also used to mark the CONT configuration. It shares this function with the locative marker *-ze-*, whose basic semantics is INTER (§5.11). The instances involving CONT semantics seem to be distributed over the two markers, but the rules are difficult to formulate. Examples (30) and (31) show that the two locative markers are not in free distribution in spatial contexts:

(30) *surat   aqi-le   le-b baˤħi-ze-b   / *baˤħi-če-b.*
      picture up-ADVZ   be-N wall-INTER-N(ESS) / *wall-SUPER-N(ESS)
      'A picture is hanging on the wall.'

(31) *iχija   b-arš-ib-i   t'uleka le-b*
      this.GEN N-become.beautiful:PFV-AOR-ATR ring   be-N
      *t'uj-če-b   / *t'uj-ze-b.*
      finger.OBL-SUPER-N(ESS) / finger.OBL-INTER-N(ESS)
      'She has a beautiful ring on her finger.'

The locative marker *-če-* can be used in 'support' contexts like *put against* (*a tree* etc.):

(32) *ʔali-ni   mažar baˤħi-če   b-ix-ib.*
      Ali-ERG   rifle   wall-SUPER(LAT)   N-put:PFV-AOR
      'Ali put the rifle against the wall.'

(33) *nu baˤнi-če-la   ʔaˤq ʔaˤr-aˤq'-un-na.*
I   wall-SUPER-EL far   away-M.go:PFV-AOR-EGO
'I stepped away from the wall.'

In comparative constructions, the object of comparison is marked with *-če-*:

(34) *rasul   quwati le-w muħammadi-če-w.*
Rasul   strong be-M Muhammad-SUPER-M(ESS)
'Rasul is stronger than Muhammad.'

The morpheme *-če-* is used to mark the target of an oriented action, e.g. with verbs such as 'hit', 'bark', 'shout at', 'be angry at', 'look at', 'laugh at':

(35) *rasul   laχu   uk'-uwe   le-w muħammadi-če.*
Rasul   scream M.LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV be-M Muhammad-SUPER(LAT)
'Rasul is shouting at Muhammad.'

The SUPER-ELATIVE *-če-la* is used with verbs of avoidance: 'run away', 'hide', 'fear', etc.:

(36) *rasul   w-aˤld-un   muħammadi-če-la.*
Rasul   M-hide:PFV-AOR Muhammad-SUPER-EL
'Rasul hid from Muhammad.'

The marker *-če-* is also used to mark periods of time. The semantics of such constructions can be formulated as 'X did something in two hours', i.e. the result was achieved:

(37) *k'ʷi-jal   saʔaˤti-če   rasuj-ni   kung b-elč-un.*
two-CARD hour-SUPER(LAT) Rasul.OBL-ERG book N-read:PFV-AOR
'Rasul read the book in two hours.'

5.10 The locative morpheme *-ħe-*

The locative morpheme *-ħe-* expresses the configuration IN when one object is inside another one. The ground is, or is conceptualized as, a container.

(38) *ħarši k'unk'ur-le-ħe-r   le-r.*
soup pot-OBL-IN-NPL(ESS) be-NPL
'The soup is in the pot.'

In (38), the morpheme *-ħe-* causes vowel assimilation (i → e) in the oblique stem marker. Between two vowels, [ħ] may be dropped, and the vowels contract. In such cases, the only indication of IN semantics is the vowel change:

(39) *ħarši k'unk'ur-le-r   le-r.*
      soup pot-OBL.IN-NPL(ESS) be-NPL
      'The soup is in the pot.'

This localization does not have any non-locative uses in any of the Dargwa dialects, including Mehweb.

5.11 The locative morpheme *-ze-*

The morpheme *-ze-* denotes the configuration when an object is within the spatial area of the landmark and the landmark is either a substance or a set of objects (e.g. 'forest'). This configuration in labelled INTER:

(40) *k'as ħark'ʷi-ze-b   le-b.*
      fish river-INTER-N(ESS) be-N
      'The fish is in the river.'

The morpheme *-ze-* is also used in some CONT contexts (also see §5.9):

(41) *surat   aqi-le   le-b baˁħi-ze-b.*
      picture up-ADVZ be-N wall-INTER-N(ESS)
      'A picture is hanging on the wall.'

Forms in *-ze-la* (INTER-EL) express an *involuntary agent* – a participant who becomes the agent or cause of a situation unintentionally. Only the inter-elative forms in *-la* but not its variants are used in this function:

(42) *di-ze-la*   / **di-ze-b-adala*   *mašina b-oˁrʡ-oˁb.*
      I.OBL-INTER-EL   / *I.OBL-INTER-N-EL   car   N-break:PFV-AOR
      'I accidentally broke the car.'

The involuntary agent construction seems to combine only with intransitive (labile in 42) verbs and thus is a means of introducing an agent-like participant rather than decreasing control on the part of a true agent. The same locative form is also found in contexts of participant-internal possibility:

(43) *rasuj-ze-la   aq b-aq'-as   b-uh-es   ʁarʁa.*
      Rasul.OBL-INTER-EL up N-do:PFV-INF N-become:PFV-FUT stone
      'Rasul will be able to lift the stone.'

The morpheme *-ze-* marks a temporary possessor (cf. §5.3), temporary recipient (cf. §5.4) and the addressee with verbs of speech:

(44) *rasuj-ni   gi-b   muħammadi-ze   dis.*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG give:PFV-AOR Muhammad-INTER(LAT) knife
      'Rasul lent Muhammad a knife.'

(45) *rasuj-ni   si-k'al   ħa-ib   muħammadi-ze.*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG what-PTCL NEG-say:PFV.AOR Muhammad-INTER(LAT)
      'Rasul said nothing to Muhammad'

The functional range of *-ze-* shows that its uses are not always related to its spatial meaning, and that the spatial metaphor, when present, may be weak.

5.12 The locative morpheme -*šu*-

The AD *-šu-* localization is used to express the fact that one object is located in close proximity to another object:

(46) *nuša ustuj-šu-b   ka-b-iʔ-i-ra.*
      we   table.OBL-AD-HPL(ESS) PV-HPL-sit:PFV-AOR-EGO
      'We are sitting near the table.'

It is also used as a personal locative:

(47) *nu w-aˤq'-un-na   aħmadi-šu.*
      I   M-go:PFV-AOR-EGO Ahmad-AD(LAT)
      'I visited Ahmad.'

5.13 The locative morpheme -*ʔeˤ*-

The APUD marker *-ʔeˤ-* denotes an area close to an object, in which the figure must be located to interact with the object (functional proximity). This suffix shows a very restricted distribution. It is only compatible with words designating landmarks that have an area associated with them in this way; e.g. *ustul* 'table', *iniz* 'water source', *qali* 'house'. In different languages, the same landmark may be conceptualized as having such an area or not. In Mehweb the set of words to

which this suffix can be attached varies across speakers. The following examples illustrate the difference between the AD *-šu-* and APUD *-ʔeˤ-* localizations:

(48) *nuša ustuj-ʔeˤ-b*   *ka-b-iʔ-i-ra.*
      we   table.OBL-APUD-HPL(ESS) PV-HPL-sit:PFV-AOR-EGO

      'We are sitting at the table.'

(49) *nuša ustuj-šu-b*   *ka-b-iʔ-i-ra.*
      we   table.OBL-AD-HPL(ESS)   PV-HPL-sit:PFV-AOR-EGO

      'We are sitting near the table.'

(50) *lut'i-le-ʔeˤ-b*
      bottom-OBL-APUD-N(ESS)

      'on the bottom' (of a pond etc.)

It also expresses the meaning of an exchange equivalent:

(51) *rasuj-ni*   *bars*   *b-aq'-ib*   *q'ʷaˤl* *šu-wal*
      Rasul.OBL-ERG   exchange   N-do:PFV-AOR   cow   five-CARD
      kʷiha-le-ʔeˤ-b.
      sheep-OBL-APUD-N(ESS)

      'Rasul exchanged the cow for five sheep.'

With appropriate grounds, the morpheme *-ʔeˤ-* may be used to designate the area not near to but bounded by the landmark:

(52) *škaf*   *unza-le-ʔeˤ-di*   *b-aˤq'-un.*
      wardrobe door-OBL-APUD-TRANS   N-go:PFV-AOR

      'The wardrobe went through the door.'

It thus becomes semantically similar to *-ħe-*; in (53), *-ħe-* is used in the same context:

(53) *škaf*   *unza-le-ħe-di*   *b-aˤq'-un.*
      wardrobe door-OBL-IN-TRANS   N-go:PFV-AOR

      'The wardrobe went through the door.'

Like *-ħe-*, *-ʔeˤ-* causes vowel assimilation $i \rightarrow e$ in the oblique stem marker (cf. 52 and 53).

6 Irregular locatives

A limited number of nouns form locatives in an irregular way. Such irregular locatives usually mark the default location associated with the landmark. As with the locative forms discussed above, the presence of a gender agreement slot conveys the meaning of stative location (essive form), and the same form without the slot conveys the meaning of direction towards (lative). Table 38 shows the irregular locatives attested so far.

Table 38: Irregular locatives

	Nominative	Locative
'forest'	*duz*	*duzani*-CL
'grave'	*χʷaˤb* (PL = *χʷaˤrbe*)	*χʷaˤre*-CL 'in a grave', cf. *χʷaˤrbeze*-CL 'at a graveyard' (lit. 'between graves')
'road'	*huni*	*hunħe*-CL
'village'	*ši*	*ša*-CL
'room', 'house'	*qali*	*quli*-CL
'cattle-shed'	*derqʷ*	*durqe*-CL
'field'	*qu*	*qu*-CL
'gorge', 'street'	*q'aq'a*	*q'aq'a*-CL
'hole'	*tarqi*	*turqe*-CL

7 Place names

Names of local villages form a separate morphological class close to adverbs; they lack functional cases and attach orientation markers directly to the stem. Their unmarked locative (i.e. lative) form also serves as quotation form. They are nominalized by adding *-n* (also used in the nominalization of adjectives) and form plurals in *-t* to designate the inhabitants of the village. While the genitive in *-la* is produced by simple suffixation of the genitive marker, the variant genitive in *-ja* probably derives from the nominalized form in *-n* (*-ja* < *-n-la*, as discussed in Moroz (2019), thus meaning not 'that of the village of Mehweb' but 'that of a Mehweb villager'.

The inflection of local place names is given in Table 39. Declension of *anži* 'Makhachkala' and *maskaw* 'Moscow', which are not local placenames and behave like regular nouns, is given for the sake of comparison in the last lines of each column.

Table 39: Place names

	QUOT	ESS	EL
'Mehweb'	*meħʷe*	*meħʷe-*CL	*meħʷe-*CL*-adal, meħʷe-la*
'Sogratl'	*surʁatli*	*surʁatli-*CL	*surʁatli-*CL*-adal, surʁatli-la*
'Obokh'	*qʷaˤdulli*	*qʷaˤdulli-*CL	*qʷaˤdulli-*CL*-adal, qʷaˤdura-ja*
'Gunib'	*ʁuni*	*ʁuni-*CL	*ʁuni-*CL*-adal, ʁuni-la*
'Keger'	*нaˤnnuqara*	*нaˤnnuqara-*CL	*нaˤnnuqara-*CL*-adal, нaˤnuqara-la*
'Makhachkala'	*anži*	*anži-li-*CL	*anži-li-*CL*-adal, anži-la*
'Moscow'	*maskaw*	*maskawi-ze-*CL	*maskawi-ze-la*

	LAT	GEN	PL
'Mehweb'	*meħʷe*	*meħʷ-aja*	*meħʷ-an-t* (the Mehweb people)
'Sogratl'	*surʁatli*	*surʁatl-aja*	*surʁatl-an-t* (the Sogratl people)
'Obokh'	*qʷaˤdulli*	*qʷaˤdur-aja*	*qʷaˤdur-an-t* (the Obokh people)
'Gunib'	*ʁuni*	*ʁuni-*CL*-adi-ja*	*ʁuni-*CL*-adil* (the Gunib people)
'Keger'	*нaˤnnuqara*	*нaˤnnuqara-ja*	*нaˤnnuqara-n-t* (the Keger people)
'Makhachkala'	*anžili*	*anži-la*	?*anžili-*CL*-adil*
'Moscow'	*maskawi-ze*	*maskaw-la*	?*maskawi-ze-*CL*-adil*

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

AD	spatial domain near the landmark
ADVZ	adverbializer
DIR	motion directed towards a spatial domain
AOR	aorist
APUD	spatial domain near the landmark
ATR	attributivizer
CARD	cardinal numeral
CAUSAL	causal (case form)
CL	gender (class) agreement slot
COMIT	comitative

DAT	dative
EGO	egophoric
EL	motion from a spatial domain
ERG	ergative
ESS	static location in a spatial domain
F	feminine (gender agreement)
F1	feminine (unmarried and young women gender prefix)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual (durative for verbs denoting states)
HPL	human plural (gender agreement)
IMP	imperative
IN	spatial domain inside a (hollow) landmark
INF	infinitive
INTER	spatial domain between multiple landmarks
IPFT	imperfect
IPFV	imperfective (derivational base)
LAT	motion into a spatial domain
LV	light verb
M	masculine (gender agreement)
N	neuter (gender agreement)
NEG	negation (verbal prefix)
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NPL	non-human plural (gender agreement)
OBL	oblique (nominal stem suffix)
PFV	perfective (derivational base)
PL	plural
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PV	preverb (verbal prefix)
REPL	replicative (nominal case)
SUBST	substitutive (nominal case)
SUPER	spatial domain on the horizontal surface of the landmark
TR	transitive
TRANS	motion through a spatial domain

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