DMITRY GANENKOV
Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

Spatial preverbs in Lezgic languages

Lezgic languages form a separate branch of the East Caucasian, or Nakh-Daghestanian family. They are spoken in southern Daghestan, near the Azerbaijani border, including the representative of the group with the largest population, Lezgian, and then Agul, Tabassaran, Rutul, Tsakhur and, in Azerbaijan itself, Kryz, Budukh, Udi. In Azerbaijan, there are also important Lezgian, Rutul, and Tsakhur communities. Khinalug, traditionally classified as Lezgic, is considerably different from the rest of the group, and should be better considered to be a family level isolate. Another Lezgic language, Archi, spoken well to the North from the Lezgic area, in Central Daghestan, mostly surrounded by Avar and Lak speaking villages, also manifests important structural differences from other languages of the group.

It is well-known that virtually all East Caucasian languages (including most Lezgic ones) possess a rich system of spatial nominal forms; morphologically, a spatial form typically consists of two separately coded categories, localization and orientation. In addition to this, some languages of the family, particularly Dargwa and Lezgic, make use of verbal prefixes in order to express motion and location. Agul, for instance, has a system of both nominal spatial forms and verbal spatial preverbs, cf. (1) and (2). Of all Lezgic languages, only Archi shows no traces of spatial preverbs, while all other languages possess more or less elaborated spatial preverb systems.

The goal of this paper is to provide a description of systems of spatial preverbs found in Lezgic languages. I am going to dwell upon the following aspects of verbal prefixation. First of all, I will present a typology of systems of spatial preverbs. There are several parameters used to distinguish between the three types: degree of productivity (number of verbal roots that can combine with spatial preverbs and number of prefixal derivates), number of prefixal slots, relation to the system of nominal spatial forms. According to these parameters, all the languages of the branch fall into three types.

Productive systems of spatial preverbs are found in Agul, Tabasaran, and Rutul. In these languages, there are some 20–30 verbal roots that can form prefixal verbs (note that unlike languages like Russian and German the set of verbs is very restricted even in languages with 'productive' systems). All the languages here possess more than one prefixal slot — two in most languages, three in Burkikhan Agul — and the system of spatial preverbs parallels quite closely that of the spatial sub-paradigm of nouns. A *semi-productive* system is present in Lezgian, where two dozen verbal roots can combine with spatial preverbs, of which, however, only six roots can form more than seven prefixal derivates, and all preverbs occupy the same prefixal slot. *Non-productive* systems are found in Tsakhur, Kryz, Udi. Here, preverbs can be identified only from the diachronic point of view together with some peculiar features of their morphological behavior. Synchonically, they should be described as a part of verbal root.

After presenting this typology, I will take a closer look at the productive systems and describe in detail spatial meanings that are expressed by means of verbal prefixation, i.e. localization meanings which are usually exactly the same as in the nominal paradigm ('on', 'in', 'behind', 'under' etc.) and orientation meanings which are subject to variation across languages. The smallest set of orientations includes essive/lative vs. elative, while the most elaborated Agul system consists of essive, lative, elative, motion down, and motion up.

Finally, I will pay attention to and try to account for restrictions on combining (1) preverbs from different slots with each other, and (2) preverbs with different verbal roots. In Agul, for example, of all 35 logically possible combinations of localization and orientation preverbs, two combinations (Apud-Up and Ante-Up) are not attested at all and five more combinations (Inter-Down, Cont-Down, Apud-Down, Ante-Down, Post-Down) exist with only one verb *ixas* 'put', with many other gaps in the 'prefixal paradigm' of individual verbs (such as, e.g., lack of Apud-forms from the verb *aqas* 'pour' etc.).

(1) Spatial forms of nouns in Agul

	IN	INTER	SUPER	SUB	POST	ANTE	CONT	APUD
Essive	(-ʔ)	-ʕ	-l	-kː	-q	-h	-k	-w
Lative	(-ʔ-)di	-ʕ-di	-l-di	-kː-di	-q-di	-h-di	-k-di	-w-di
Elative	(-ʔ-)as	-ʕ-as	-l-as	-kː-as	-q-as	-h-as	-k-as	-f-as

(2) Spatial preverbs in Agul

Localizations		Orientations	
IN	ʔ-	Essive	-∅-
INTER	ʕ-	Lative	-č-
SUPER	al-	Elative	-tː-
SUB	kː-	Down	-d-
POST	q-	Up	-ʁ-
ANTE	h-		
CONT	k-		
APUD	f		