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THE SEMANTICS OF APUD IN LEZGIAN[2]

This study deals with the semantics of *-w* APUD, a 'near' locative form in Lezgian. This research is based on the Corpus of Standard Lezgian. I investigate the locative and non-locative uses of the marker through an analysis of the data, and attempt to ascertain its semantics.

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Introduction

In this paper, I consider the semantics of the *-w* (APUD 'near') locative case in Lezgian. Using corpus data I analyze the patterns where APUD is used in its literal locative meaning and attempt to discover its semantics.

Lezgian belongs to the Lezgic branch of the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family, which is well-known for its large case inventories. Usually, the nominal paradigm of a Northeast Caucasian language consists of two parts, the functional or grammatical cases and locative forms. This distinction is based on morphology. The functional nominal inflection consists of one morpheme, and the locative inflection may (but does not have to) include more than one morpheme.

Grammatical cases are similar to the cases in European languages and usually mark syntactic relations between NPs within a clause. Locative cases prototypically mark spatial relations between two objects (following Langacker (1987), I use the terms *trajector* and *landmark*). There is however no clear functional border between the two types. For example, in Lezgian, the locative form AD-EL(ative) can be used to mark the argument of a verb:

(1)	*jarʁi*	*ali-di*	***ada-w-aj***	*pul*	*q:aču-na*
	tall	Ali-ERG	**he.OBL-APUD-EL**	money	take-AOR

'The tall Ali took the money from him (literally, 'from near him')'.
(Haspelmath 1993: 90)

And the Dative case, which is obviously a functional case, can be used in the locative meaning '(in)to':

(2)	*pačah.di-n*	*rik'*	*ala-j*	*dewe*	*müq:^{w}.e-l-aj*
	king.OBL-GEN	Heart	be.on-PTP	camel	bridge.OBL-SUP-EL
	wac'.u-z	*awat-na*			
	river-DAT	fall-AOR			

'The king's favorite camel fell from the bridge into the river'. (Haspelmath 1993: 89)

Most grammars only provide an inventory of cases and a few examples, and the semantics and their real use are rarely thoroughly explained. A model example can be found for the CONT localization ('location of a Figure attached to a Ground, so that the latter prevents the former from falling down, e.g. 'picture on the wall') in various languages in (Ganenkov 2010:1023). A detailed description of Lezgian cases can be found in Meilanova (1960).

For other locative cases, the uses of APUD in Lezgian can be roughly divided into two types; locative uses determined by semantics vs. syntactic uses determined by verbal frames. APUD often occurs in verb frames or in idiomatic expressions, while literal uses are fairly rare. Another problem is that there is another locative case *-q* (POST 'behind') that is also used for a similar meaning of the relation of proximity. Below I attempt to find contexts where APUD is the only possible (or at least the default) option, and to describe the disposition of objects expressed in them.

In this paper, I treat non-locative uses of APUD as a conceptual metaphor. The metaphor can be understood as a *mapping* from a source domain to a target domain (Lakoff 1993). I use the term *mapping* to mean a systematic set of correspondences between two semantic domains. I take the locative uses of APUD as the source domain and non-locative uses as target domains, and try to explain how the non-locative uses may be understood in locative terms.

The paper consists of seven sections, including the introduction. Section 2 gives a brief overview of Lezgian case inventory, particularly its morphological structure. In the next section I detail the methodology used. Sections 4 and 5 are dedicated to the non-locative and locative uses of the morpheme *-w*, respectively. In Section 6 I discuss elicitation of the examples with a native speaker. Section 7 suggests some conclusions.

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The Structure of Lezgian Case System

Cases in Lezgian

Below I use the morphosyntactic labels suggested in (Dixon 1994). A, P and S stand for Agent, Patient and Sole, respectively. These labels are different from actual semantic roles. A stands for the *prototypical* (or *morphosyntactic*) agent, but has nothing to do with semantic agentivity. For example, the subject of a Russian verb *videt'* 'see' would be A, because morphosyntactically it is marked in the same way as the subject of agentive verbs like *bit'* 'beat'. However, its semantic role is that of an Experiencer. The same applies to P as Patient. The Sole is the only argument of an intransitive verb and includes both S_p (patientive S) and S_a (agentive S), because this distinction is not relevant for Lezgian.

There are four grammatical cases in Lezgian: the absolutive, the ergative, the dative and the genitive.

The absolutive marks S of an intransitive verb and P of a transitive verb:

(3) *sadiq'.a* ***jad*** *qwa-na*
Sadiq.ERG **water(ABS)** drink-AOR
'Sadiq drank water'. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)

(4) ***kasbuba*** *q:unši.di-q* *galaz* *sa* *χürü-z* *fi-zwa-j*
Kasbuba(ABS) neighbour.OBL-POST(ESS) together one village-DAT go-IPFV-PST
'Kasbuba was walking to a village together with a neighbor'. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)

The ergative marks A of a transitive verb:

(5) ***ali.di*** *aχwar.i-q* *galaz* *gzaf* *waχt.und-a*
Ali.ERG sleep.OBL-POST(ESS) together a.lot.of time-IN(ESS)
ženg *č'ugu-na*
fight pull-AOR
'Ali fought with sleep for a long time'. (Haspelmath 1993: 83)

The dative is the case used for Recipients, Beneficiaries and Experiencers:

(6) *ruš.a* ***gada.di-z*** *cük* *ga-na*
girl.ERG **boy.OBL-DAT** flower give-AOR
'The girl gave a flower to the boy'. (Haspelmath 1993: 88)

The genitive typically shows that one name is related to another, as in possessive constructions:

(7) ***mizafer.a-n*** *k'^{w}al-er*

Mizefer.OBL-GEN house-PL
'Mizefer's house'. (Haspelmath 1993: 84)

Locative cases in Lezgian may consist of up to two morphemes. The first morpheme, the *localization* marker, expresses the position of a trajector with respect to a landmark. The second morpheme, the *orientation* marker, expresses the trajector's type of movement, relative to the position expressed by the localization marker. There are 5 localizations in Lezgian: SUB 'under' (actually the Lezgian SUB covers also the domains of INTER and CONT, SUB being just one of its meanings), POST 'behind/near', APUD 'near', SUP(er) 'on the upper surface' and IN 'inside the landmark'. There are also 3 orientations: ESS(ive) 'no movement', LAT(ive) 'movement towards a landmark' and EL(ative) 'movement away from a landmark'. An example of the locative paradigm is shown in Table 1:

Tab. 1. Locative cases of *sew* 'bear'. (Haspelmath 1993: 74)

	APUD	POST	IN	SUB	SUPER
ESSIVE	*sew-re-w*	*sew-re-q*	*sew-re*	*sew-re-k*	*sew-re-l*
LATIVE	*sew-re-w-di*	*sew-re-q-di*	*-*	*sew-re-k-di*	*sew-re-l-di*
ELATIVE	*sew-re-w-aj*	*sew-re-q-aj*	*sew-räj*	*sew-re-k-aj*	*sew-re-l-aj*

There are a total of 14 locative cases, because IN-LAT does not exist. To express the meaning of 'movement inside the landmark', the Dative is used. The IN marker is non-segmental, IN-ESS being homophonous to the ERG form, but with a subset of Lezgian nouns. In general, they can be distinguished, e.g. *buba-di* (father-ERG) vs. *buba-da* (father-IN), *q:anc:-i* 'stone-ERG' vs. *q:anc:-e* 'stone-IN' etc.

Below I discuss only the APUD and POST localizations. I take POST into account because it is also used to express the relation of proximity, and therefore is crucial for specifying the exact meaning of APUD.

Nevertheless, *none* of the localizations are the default ways of expressing this meaning. The default means for 'near' are various postpositions including *pataw*, *q:walaw* and *muq'uw*.

Methods

To conduct the study, I used the Corpus of Standard Lezgian which is available at http://www.dag-languages.org/LezgianCorpus/search/. It is based on the software of the Eastern Armenian National Corpus (EANC, available at http://eanc.net). The corpus contains 4.5 million words with morphological annotation.

I used the corpus in this research to analyze the use of the *–w* localization in written texts. This approach allows us to better understand how language is used. It also enables us to track the use of the APUD in terms of tendencies and frequencies rather than through strict rules. This is important to understand the distinction between APUD and POST.

Another advantage of a corpus-based study is that it works even without an initial hypothesis. There are many possible distinctions between the proximity categories in Northeast Caucasian languages. The relevant semantic contrasts have only been examined for a very small subset of languages, and it cannot be said for sure that all possible contrasts are already known.

Nevertheless, this method also has some disadvantages. First, the morphological annotation is created automatically and contains some mistakes, and ambiguity is also unresolved. Secondly, the vast majority of the texts in the corpus belong to one of two genres, either 20th century prose or newspapers, which means that the corpus is not particularly balanced. The corpus can therefore be a useful tool in the initial stage of research on case semantics. At the next stage, I verified the results and interpretations with the help of a Lezgian native speaker.

This study consists of two parts. First, I took 1,000 examples containing any lexeme in APUD-ESS form. I excluded the *pad* 'side' from the sample because its APUD-ESS form is a postposition *pataw* 'near'. I classified the examples by the following parameters: the main verb, its semantic class, the semantic class of the noun and the contextual meaning of APUD. Based on these parameters, I divided the uses of APUD into different types as described below.

In the second part of the study, I used a different sample which only included the locative uses of APUD (235 sentences). I used these data to classify different uses of APUD to describe the semantics of the locative meaning of *–w*.

Non-locative Uses of APUD

In this section, I describe the contexts where APUD is used as a functional case.

Instrument/Consumable Substance

One of the functions of APUD-ESS is marking an Instrument in the frames of the verbs that have this argument:

(8) *…q'il q'ʷe* ***ʁili-w*** *q'u-na…*
head two **hand.OBL-APUD(ESS)** catch-AOR
'...he grabbed his head with both his hands …' (Ahmedov Nazir, Farhad buba raχazva, 1964)

The roles that are semantically close to the Instrument, such as consumable substance, are also marked with APUD:

(9) *q:izilgüla kwar q:aču-na,* ***ci-w*** *ac'ur-na waχga-na*
Kizigüla jug take-AOR **water.OBL-APUD(ESS)** fill-AOR give-AOR
'Kizigüla took the jar and filled it with water'. (Hažikulijev Buba, Jar, 1969)

Recipient/Possessor

It is common for Northeast Caucasian languages to distinguish between two types of object (Theme) transfer. The opposition between the two types is determined by the transmission of the rights of possession. Therefore, if this right is transferred with an object, the Recipient is marked by the Dative. If the right is not transmitted, the Recipient is encoded with a locative case, usually but not

always with one of the lative cases. In Daniel et al. (2010) the two strategies are introduced as dative strategy and lative strategy, respectively.

Lezgian also has this opposition. The Dative case is used for the Dative strategy and APUD-ESS is used for Lative. In accordance with (Haspelmath 1993), this distinction also controls the lexical choice of the verb. The verb *gun* 'give' is used with the Dative and the verb *wugun* 'temporarily give' is used with APUD-ESS. The difference between the two strategies is illustrated in (10) and (11):

(*10*) *mažib* ***zaz*** *guz-wa*
salary **I.DAT** give-IPFV.AFF
'(They) gave the salary to me'. (Ismailov Abduselim, Amma…)

(*11*) ***wa-w*** *wuga-na* *isätda* *pud* *wiš* *manat*
you.OBL-APUD(ESS) give-AOR now three hundred ruble

i.na-l *agaq'ar-raj*
it.OBL-SUPER(ESS) get-JUSS
'Now I'm lending you three hundred rubles, so that you can get this'. (Ejfendijev Zijaudin, Revkom, 1981)

There are also two types of possession in Lezgian: temporary possession and permanent possession. The first type is encoded with APUD-ESS and so formally corresponds to the Lative transfer. The second type is encoded with POST-ESS and corresponds to the Dative transfer. If possession is temporary, the verb *gwa* 'be near' is used, as in the following example:

(*12*) ***dušman-r.i-w*** *tup-ar* *g^{w}a-č*
enemy-PL.OBL-APUD(ESS) cannon-PL be.near-NEG
'The enemies do not have cannons'. (Haspelmath 1993: 318)

(*13*) *i* ***q'uzek.a-q*** *qsan* *χzan* *Awa*
this **old.man.OBL-POST(ESS)** good faminy be.in
'This old man has a good family'. (Haspelmath 1993: 93)

Causee

The causative in Lezgian consists of an infinitive of a verb and a finite form of the verb *tun* 'leave'. If a verb is transitive, the Causer and the Object are encoded with the Ergative and Absolutive. The Causee is marked with APUD-ESS:

(*14*) *ja* ***ajal-r.i-w*** *k'el-iz* *ta-z* *že-zwa-č*
be **child-PL.OBL-APUD(ESS)** read-INF leave-INF become-IPFV-NEG
'They cannot make children read'. («Lezgi gazet», 03.12.2010)

Preverbs and Verb Frames

Lezgian preverbs (i.e. verbal prefixes) determine the frame of a verb. Therefore, if a verb contains a preverb X, it has an argument in the form of Y. The verbs that contain a *ag-*, *g^{w}-* or another less common allomorph of the APUD prefix, control an APUD argument. These verbs often express a motion or a disposition (Haspelmath 1993:272 – 273): *agaq'un* 'reach', *agatun* 'approach', *agudun*

'bring closer', etc. Nevertheless, there are also verbs with non-locative semantics, such as *geqːigun* 'compare'. The frame of the verb *agaqʼun* is shown in (14):

(15) *amma* *insanijat* *a* ***dereža.di-w*** *agaqʼ-da-č*
But Mankind this **level.OBL-APUD(ESS)** reach-FUT-NEG
'But mankind will not reach this level'. (Naʁiev Fejzudin, Baχtlubur, 1992)

Comitative

The Comitative is a case which marks a participant of a situation who has the same role as another participant. Some Northeast Caucasian languages have a special case for this kind of participant. Standard Lezgian lacks a special case form and uses APUD-ESS instead:

(16) *Zun* ***ruš.a-w*** *raχa-na*
I **girl.OBL-APUD(ESS)** talk-AOR
'... I've spoken with the daughter'. (Abdurahman Mugraʁvi, Ažaldin χura, 2006)

This use of APUD lies between the locative and non-locative. Example *(17)* shows that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between a locative and Comitative interpretation. It can be interpreted in two different ways: either a person is *near* the calves (which is true), or they are *together with them*, which is also true:

(17) *juqːu-z* *wun* ***dana.j-ri-w*** *že-da*
day-DAT you **calf-PL-APUD(ESS)** be.IPFV-FUT
'In the afternoon you will be with the calves (will go to herd the calves)'. (Minhažev Serker, Rik'el cvalar, 1993)

Locative Uses of APUD

Before describing the locative semantics of the *–w*-localization, several issues ought to be noted. Firstly, despite the presence of a distinct LAT orientation, the unmarked essive form is also used in the sense of 'towards a landmark'. Secondly, as I have already mentioned, APUD is not a neutral way of expressing the relation of proximity, and the postposition *pataw* (morphologically, the APUD-ESS form of the word *pad* 'side') is used more often:

(18) *sikʼ* *muʔmin* ***buba.di-n*** ***Pataw*** *ata-na*
Fox Mumin **father.OBL-GEN** **to** approach-AOR
'A fox approached father Mumin'. (Haspelmath 1993: 218)

Nevertheless, APUD can be used in a locative meaning. There is a functional competition for expressing the relation of proximity between the following forms: APUD, POST and the postpositions (cf. 19, 20, 18, respectively). Instead of discussing the semantics of the postpositions however, I concentrate on the semantic dominant of Lezgian APUD.

(19) *zun* ***cʟa-w*** *igis* *xa-na* *aqːwaz-na*
I **wall.OBL-APUD(ESS)** approach become-AOR stop-AOR
'I stopped and leaned against the wall'. (Mirzoev Nazir, Qːizildin χtar, 1977)

(20) *am* *jawaš.di-z* ***cla-q*** *agalt-na*

he quiet(quiet.OBL-DAT) **wall.OBL-POST(ESS)** lean-AOR

'He quietly leaned against the wall'. (Q:aziev Q:azi, Q:wanerin χara, 1964)

The examples from my sample indicate that there are two types of situations where APUD can be used in the locative meaning. I propose to group these situations according to the type of landmark. In the first group, the landmarks have precise physical borders, while in the second the borders of the landmark are blurred or metaphorical.

In both situations, the relative position of the trajector and the landmark determine the use of APUD. The trajector and the landmark must be situated so that they are as close as possible to each other, but the trajector does not use the landmark as a support:

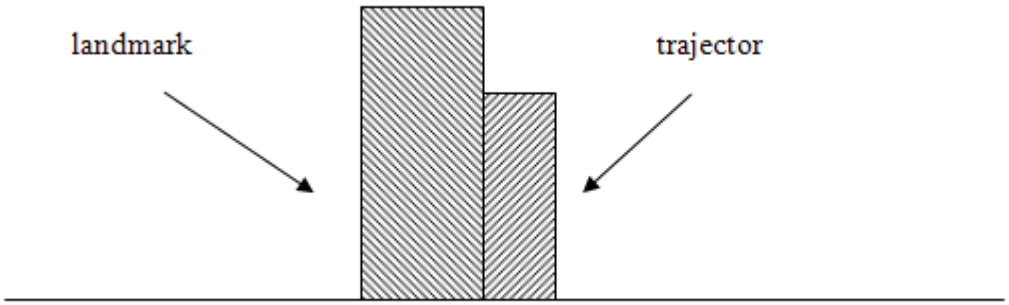

Fig 1. APUD disposition of objects.

(21) *am* *gada-jr-i-n* ***k'^{w}ač-er-i-w*** *aq:^{w}az-na*

he boy-PL-OBL-GEN **foot-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS)** stop-AOR

'It (a ball) stopped at the boys' feet'. (Q:aziev Q:azi, Q:wanerin χara, 1964)

(22) *miftäh* *hele* ***sufra.di-w*** *muq'^{w}a* *xa-nwa-č-ir*

Miftyah yet **tablecloth.OBL-APUD(ESS)** close become-RES-NEG-PST

'Miftyah has not come to the table yet'. (Mirzoev Nazir, Q:izildin χtar, 1977)

(23) ***čil.i-w*** *sad* *iji-da-j*

ground.OBL-APUD(ESS) one make-PART-FUT

'… would make level with (raze to) the ground'. (Nasrullaev Nurudin, Seherχanum, 2005)

(24) *kerim.a-n* ***k'^{w}ač'-er-i-w*** *sad-sad.a-w* *igis* *xa-na*

Kerim.OBL-GEN **foot-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS)** one.to.another.OBL-APUD(ESS) approach become-AOR

'They snuggled at Kerim's feet, (and) to each other'. (Mežidov Q:ijas, T'urfan,1964)

In *(21)*, *(23)* and *(24)* the relative position of the objects is clear. In *(22)* the meaning is 'to come near to the table', not 'to sit at the table', because the latter is expressed with POST:

(25) ***stol.di-q*** *jašlu* *načal'nik* *acuq'-nawa*

table.OBL-POST(ESS) elderly boss sit.down-RES.PERF

'The old boss sat at the table'. (Hakim Kurban, Q'ismetdin req'er, 1981)

Therefore, it could be said that Lezgian distinguishes between the general 'near' and the 'orientation locative' (Ganenkov 2005) or 'functional locative'. The latter cannot be expressed by an APUD form.

The same distinction also exists in other Northeast Caucasian languages. For example, in Mehweb there are two localizations *-šu-* and *-ʔe-* which can be used to mean 'near' (Chechuro 2013):

(26) *nuša* ***ustu.j-ʔe-b*** *ka<b>iʔ-i-ra*

we **table.OBL-AD-HPL** sit.PFV<HPL>-AOR-1/2

'We are sitting at the table'. (Chechuro 2013)

(27) *nuša* ***ustu.j-šu-b*** *ka<b>iʔ-i-ra*

we **table.OBL-APUD-HPL** sit.PFV<HPL>-AOR-1/2

'We are sitting near the table'. (Chechuro 2013)

Mehweb research demonstrates that *-šu-* is a general 'near' and *-ʔe-* is the functional locative. The form in *-ʔe-* means that the trajector is in the functional area of the landmark, which is an important part of the surroundings, and therefore has an area which is prototypically used for interaction.

The meaning of APUD with the second type of landmark is slightly different. The landmarks that occur in these contexts are 'city', 'water source' or 'fire'. I propose to consider this use of APUD as an extrapolation of the first one. In particular, the idea of approaching the solid (tangible) borders of a landmark is extrapolated to mean any type of borders, such as limits of a city, which are not solid:

(28) *dušman* *ata-na* ***šeher.di-w*** *agaq'-nawa-j-t'a-ni*

enemy reach-AOR **city.OBL-APUD(ESS)** approach-RES.PFV-PART-CONC

'although the enemy has reached the city, '. («Lezgi gazet», 10.12.2012)

There are some uses of APUD which do not seem to be easily explained, starting from the prototype I have suggested. For example, 14 sentences out of 235 in my sample involved the word *dalda* 'shelter' in the APUD-ESS form with the IN-LAT 'inside the landmark' meaning:

(29) *wun* *sa* ***dalda.di-w*** *čünüχ* *xa-na*

you one **shelter.OBL-APUD(ESS)** hide.IMP become-AOR

aqːʷaz

stop.IMP

'Hide under the shelter and stand (still)'. (Lezgi xalq'din maχar, 1989)

However, I do not consider these cases to have a separate meaning. The use of APUD-ESS instead of the Dative is determined by the semantics of the word *dalda*. The word does not mean any kind of shelter, but only a shelter under which someone can hide from a rain, i.e. shelters that are Γ-shaped. Therefore, a person must stand against the wall of a *dalda* in order to reach its material border.

Another problem is the word *qːereχ* 'edge':

(30) *tek.di-z* *reqʼ.i-n* ***qːereχ.di-w*** *acuq'-nawa-j* *saru.di-n*

one.OBL-DAT road.OBL-GEN **edge.OBL-APUD(ESS)** sit-RES.PFV-PART Saru.OBL-GEN
'<Something belonging to> Saru, lonely sitting near the road..'. (Mursal Alban, Čiraʁ, 1983)

The example shows that the object *Saru* is located on the edge of a road. This position cannot really be distinguished from the position 'near' the edge. Because of the abstract nature of the landmark and a considerable amount that this used however, I propose to consider *qːereχdiw* as a postposition. This is supported by the lack of uses of *qːereχdiw,* without a dependent genitive noun. This is similar to the evolution of some other 'proximity' postpositions, including *pataw*, *qːwalaw* and *muqʼuw*.

The competing localization POST 'behind' is also used as a proximity marker to express an object's different relative position, where a trajector uses a landmark as a support. It is also important that the trajector is supported by the ground (if not, the localization SUB (CONT) would be used). It is verbs like 'lean' which control a POST argument:

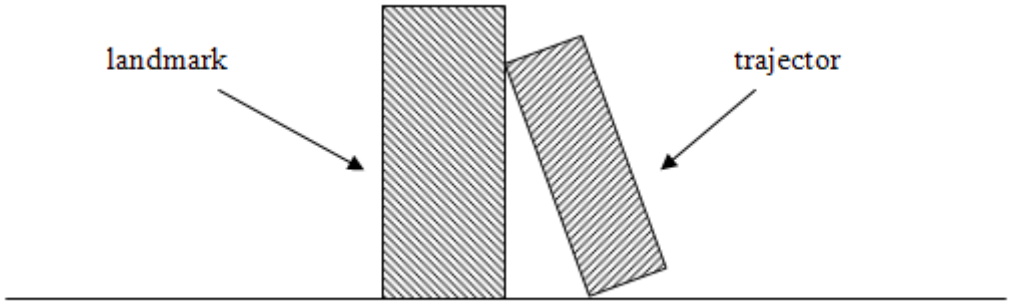

Fig 2. POST disposition of objects

(31) *peri bade-ni **cla-q** agalt-na acuqʼ-nawa-j*
Peri grandmother-ADD **wall.OBL-POST(ESS)** lean-AOR sit-RES.PFV-PART
'And grandma Peri was sitting, leaning against the wall'. (Mahmudov Abdulbari, Wesi, 1981)

In (31) APUD used with the same verb as POST in (30):

(32) *am (…) qːele.di-n **war-ar-i-w** acuqʼ-na*
he fortress.OBL-GEN **gate-PL-OBL-APUD(ESS)** sit-AOR
'He sat leaning against the gate of the fortress'. (Rizvanov Zabit, Pajʁambardin qːacu pajdaχ, 1990)

Elicitation

As previously mentioned, the difference between APUD and POST is not particularly well articulated. Speakers tend to use both of them in the same context and are often unable to explain the semantic contrast, tending to use POST as the default marker when translating examples. In fact, the default way of expressing proximity is as a postposition, but this could arguably be an interference from the language of elicitation (Russian).

The problem with many examples is that they are ambiguous in Russian, and do not distinguish between the two types of spatial relations as previously described. However, the following example

seems to require APUD to be used as the default. The following examples include morphemes which are different from standard Lezgian because, unlike the corpus examples above, they come from my consultants' native dialects; APUD is therefore *-g* instead of *-w*:

(33)	*San'a*	***cla-g***	*icig*	*jarʁiwal*	*alcun-da*
	Sanja	**wall.OBL-APUD**	put.IMP	length	measure-FUT

'Put Sanja against the wall, we'll measure her height'.

The next sentence is a possible second choice:

(34)	*San'a*	***cla-q***	*icig*	*jarʁiwal*	*alcun-da*
	Sanja	**wall.OBL-POST**	put.IMP	length	measure-FUT

'Put Sanja against the wall, we'll measure her height'.

The following two examples demonstrate the case where only POST is possible:

(35)	***rak'aru-q***	*agalt-mir*
	door.OBL-POST	lean-PROH

'Don't lean against the door'.

(36)	****rak'aru-g***	*agalt-mir*
	door.OBL-APUD	lean-PROH

'Don't lean against the door'.

This example supports my view on the two objects' relative positions. The interchangeability of POST and APUD in almost all the examples, however, shows that the distinctions between them are subtle and are not easily perceived by (most) native speakers (note that it does not mean that *(37)* and *(38)* do not differ):

(37)	*muallim-di*	*ajal-ar*	***cla-q***	*aq:wazar-na*
	teacher-ERG	child-PL	**wall.OBL-POST**	stop-AOR

'The teacher arranged the children by the wall'.

(38)	*muallim-di*	*ajal-ar*	***cla-g***	*aq:wazar-na*
	teacher-ERG	child-PL	**wall.OBL-APUD**	stop-AOR

'The teacher arranged the children by the wall'.

An analysis of the corpus data shows that there is a rather clear distribution of these forms in naturalistic examples. This indicates that some phenomena cannot be studied by elicitation alone and require other methods, including corpus observation or picture elicitation, as used by Levinson and Wilkins (2006).

Picture elicitation is a good alternative to corpus research and simple elicitation, since it does not require any language except Lezgian. Nevertheless, I did not use this method at the current stage of research, because the difference between APUD and POST is subtle. Moreover, the sample of pictures must be large in order to verify as many patterns as possible. These factors may influence the

perception of a native speaker, because (s)he may get tired after a few sessions of elicitation. Therefore, this method may not show the true distinction between the two localizations.

Summary

The data shows that APUD as a locative case is used to express the relative position of a trajector and a landmark, where the landmark is located as close as possible to the trajector, but is not supported by it. Based on this, I also drew some conclusions about verbal frames. Verbs of movement that have an APUD argument presume that a trajector approaches the border of a landmark and touches or crosses it. This is why movement verbs which suggest an idea of proximity or close contact between two objects, such as *muq'^{w}a xun* 'approach', and do not contain the APUD preverb (which would imply APUD to be a part of their frame) also introduce APUD arguments. Therefore, I consider the frames of these verbs to be semantically motivated.

The Recipient function of APUD also matches its locative meaning. Transferring an object does not necessarily involve a transfer of the right of possession. It can be interpreted as a spatial event, i.e. the movement of an object from a possessor to a recipient. If this event is viewed in spatial terms, it may be seen to resemble the cases involving verbs of movement, where the object reaches the metaphorical border of the Recipient and touches it.

As shown in *(4.5)*, the Comitative function of APUD is not particularly different from the locative meaning of APUD. On the other hand, the Comitative is closely related to the Instrument; in some other Northeast Caucasian languages (as well as cross-linguistically) the Instrument and Comitative are expressed in the same way, such as Indo-European Comitative adpositions (English *with*, German *mit* 'with' etc.) which may also denote an Instrument. This is a possible functional reason why, of all cases, APUD-ESS is used for the Instrument in Lezgian. On the other hand, it is hard to find any functional motivation to explain the use of APUD to express the Causee.

This paper is the first attempt at examining the locative as well as the non-locative uses of APUD in Lezgian in some detail, and clarifying how the two are linked to each other. Future research ought to aim at describing competing ways of expressing the relation of proximity in other East-Caucasian languages based on a typologically valid set of parameters.

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