

ARCHI LANGUAGE TUTORIALMarina Chumakina m.tchoumakina@surrey.ac.ukGreville G. Corbett g.corbett@surrey.ac.ukDunstan Brown d.brown@surrey.ac.uk**INTRODUCTION****East Caucasian** (= Northeast Caucasian, = Nakh-Daghestanian) **languages**

| Nakh | Avar | Andic | Tsezic | Lak | Dargi | Lezgiic | Khinalugh |
|--|------|---|--|-----|-------|---|-----------|
| Chechen-Ingush Chechen Ingush Tsova-Tush (= Batsbi) | Avar | Akhvakh Andi Bagwalal Botlikh Chamalal Godoberi Karata Tindi | Bezhta Hinuk Hunzib Khvarshi Tsez(= Dido) | Lak | Dargi | Archi Nuclear Lezgiic Aghul Budukh Kryz Lezgian Rutul Tabassaran Tsakhur Udi | Khinalugh |

PHONOLOGY**Table 1. Vowels**

| | front | central | back |
|--------|--------|---------|--------|
| high | i / i: | | u / u: |
| middle | e / e: | ə | o / o: |
| low | | a / a: | |

long vs. short: the contrast is phonological:

(1) ʋiniš

from there higher than the speaker

ʋini:š

from there higher and way away from the speaker

Table 2. Consonants

| | bilabial | dental | alveolar | palatal | palato-velar | velar | uvular | pharyngeal | laryngeal |
|-------------------|--------------------|--|--|---------|---|---|--|------------|-----------|
| plosive | p p' b p: p: | t t' d t ^w d ^w t: | | | | k k' g k ^w k' ^w g ^w k: k: ^w | q q' q: q ^w q' ^w | ʕ | ʔ |
| nasal | m | n | | | | | | | |
| trill | | r | | | | | | | |
| fricative | | s z s ^w z ^w s: s: ^w | ʃ ʒ ʃ ^w ʒ ^w ʃ: ʃ: ^w | | | | χ ʁ χ ^w ʁ ^w χ: χ: ^w | ħ | h |
| affricate | | c c' c ^w c' ^w c: | č č' č ^w č' ^w č: | | | | | | |
| lateral fricative | | | | | ɬ ɮ ɬ: ɬ ^w ɬ: ^w | | | | |
| lateral affricate | | | | | kɬ kɬ' kɬ ^w kɬ' ^w | | | | |
| approx | w | | | j | | | | | |
| lateral approx | | ɭ | | | | | | | |

Laterals, examples

(2) was kammu-t:u ɣudu ɬ:unne
 2SG.DAT shoot.PFV-ATR.1.SG that.one.1.SG 1.SG.flee.PFV
The one who shot at you, he ran away. (Bear story, 8)

(3) ɬon ɬ:onnol
five (when counting sheep) wife, woman
 ɬ^wert ɬ:^wa:na
scar, trace resemble
 kɬan kɬ'an
hole love

Fortis consonants, examples:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (4) q ^ʰ el kes | q ^ʰ el |
| <i>collapse</i> | <i>crack, split (noun)</i> |
| χat | χ:at |
| <i>scratch</i> | <i>tie-beam</i> |

Pharyngealisation, examples:

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| (5) baqa | baq ^ʕ a |
| <i>it(III.SG) got cold</i> | <i>it(III.SG) came</i> |

a^ʕra^ʕč^ʕ
reasonably big

| | | | |
|---|---------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| (6) daki | un | za-ti-k | b-e^ʕ-r-š:u-r |
| why | 2SG.ABS | 1.OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT | III.SG-⟨IPFV⟩run-IPFV |
| <i>Why are you running towards me? (Bear story, 10)</i> | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------|---------------|-------------------|
| (7) χir | q ^ʰ et ^ʕ u | k'onc'ol-u | χir | i-t:u-b | jam |
| after | two | cub(IV)[SG.ABS]-and | behind | be-ATR-III.SG | wolf(III)[SG.ABS] |
| <i>Then, and with two cubs behind him, the wolf... (Bear story, 6)</i> | | | | | |

MORPHOLOGY

Table 3. Noun stems

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 'ram' | SG | PL |
| ABS (direct) | ba ^ʕ k' | ba ^ʕ k'ur |
| ERG (oblique) | be ^ʕ k'iri | ba ^ʕ k'určaj |

Table 4. Noun stem formation

| | | | |
|-------|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | | SG | PL |
| ram | ABS | ba ^ʕ k' | ba ^ʕ k'-ur |
| | ERG | be ^ʕ k'iri | ba ^ʕ k'ur-čaj |
| eagle | ABS | liq ^ʰ i | loq ^ʰ or |
| | ERG | liq ^ʰ i-li | loq ^ʰ or-čaj |
| hide | ABS | ili | ollo |
| | ERG | elle | ollor-čaj |

| | | SG | PL |
|-------|-----|--------------------|-----------|
| child | ABS | lo | lobur |
| | ERG | laha | lobur-čaj |
| cow | ABS | χ ^s on | buc:i |
| | ERG | χ ^s ini | buc:i-li |

Table 5. Plural formation

| | SG | PL |
|----------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| liver | dilik' | dilik'-mul |
| spring (water) | q'ulli | q'ulli-t:u |
| ear of a grain | lok | lok:or |
| cheek | eχ ^s | eχ ^s ut |
| ram | ba ^s k' | ba ^s k'ur |
| claw | χ:eč | χ:ečum |
| Russian | o ^s ro ^s s | o ^s ro ^s sul |
| knee | po ^s mp | po ^s t |
| hide | ili | ollo |
| man | bošor | kłele |

Table 6. Formation of new plurals

| | SG | PL |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|
| driving the bulls around the threshing floor | liχ:i | liχ:it:u |
| pea | čaq | čaqmul |
| 76 regular out of 93 | | |
| | SG | PL |
| skin, fruit peel | qal | qalum |
| honey | imc' | omc:om |
| potato | q ^w sib | q ^s obor |

Table 7. Archi cases (non-spatial)

ba^sk' 'ram'

| value | formation | | | example | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---|--|
| | SG | PL | shared case endings | SG | PL |
| absolutive | stem1 | stem 3 | | ba ^s k' | ba ^s k'-ur |
| ergative | stem2 | stem4 | | be ^s k'iri | ba ^s k'-ur-čaj |
| genitive | stem2 + shared case endings | stem4 + shared case endings | -n | be ^s k'iri-n | ba ^s k'-ur-če-n |
| dative | | | -s, -s: | be ^s k'iri-s | ba ^s k'-ur-če-s |
| comitative | | | -ɬu | be ^s k'iri-ɬu | ba ^s k'-ur-če-ɬu |
| similative | | | -q ^s di | be ^s k'iri-q ^s di | ba ^s k'-ur-če-q ^s di |
| causal | | | -š:i | be ^s k'iri-š:i | ba ^s k'-ur-če-š:i |
| comparative | | | -χur | be ^s k'iri-χur | ba ^s k'-ur-če-χur |
| partitive | | | -q ^s iš | be ^s k'iri-q ^s iš | ba ^s k'-ur-če-q ^s iš |
| substitutive | | | -kɬ'əna | be ^s k'iri-kɬ'əna | ba ^s k'-ur-če-kɬ'əna |

Case usage, example:

(8) Ɂudu k'onoč laha-s zari han
 that.I.SG k'onoč boy.OBL.SG-DAT 1SG.ERG what(IV)[SG.ABS]
 uw-li edi
 do.IV.SG.PFV-CVB1 IV.SG.be.PAST

That k'onoč guy, what (harm) had I done to him? [i.e. what harm had I done, to make him want to shoot and put me in this situation] (Bear story, 9)

Table 8. The formation of spatial forms

| localisation | SG | PL | localisation affixes |
|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| IN | stem2 + localisation affixes | stem4 + localisation affixes | -a/-aj- |
| INTER | | | -q ^s (a)- |
| SUPER | | | -ti:/-t |
| SUB | | | -kɬ'(a)- |
| CONT | | | -ra- |

Table 9. Directional cases

| directional cases: | | directional case endings |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| ESSIVE | form of localization + directional case endings | - |
| ELATIVE | | -š |
| LATIVE | | -k |
| ALLATIVE | | -ši |
| TERMINATIVE | | -kena |
| TRANSLATIVE | | -χut: |

Directional case usage, examples

(9) t'e^ɛ-li-t:i-k iskalat'-l-a-š
 flower-OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT warehouse-OBL.SG-IN-ELAT
 'onto the flower' 'from the warehouse'

šahru-l-a-ši liq^ʰi-li-ra-š
 town-OBL.SG-IN-ALL eagle-OBL.SG-CONT-ELAT
 'to the town' 'from the eagle'

darç'-li-ra-kəna dunil-li-t:i-χut
 post-OBL.SG-CONT-TERM sky-OBL.SG-SUPER-TRANS
 'up to the post' 'in (through) the sky'

(10) daki un za-t:i-k b-e^ɛr:š:u-r
 why 2SG.ABS 1.OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT III.SG-⟨IPFV⟩run-IPFV
Why are you running towards me? (Bear story, 10)

(11) k^wač'-ur-če-t o**◁**b>sd-er žu-s harak
 paw(III)-PL-OBL.PL-SUPER <III.SG>stand.PFV-RPRT LOGOPH.I.OBL.SG-DAT in.front
(it came)...and allegedly stood on its (hind) paws in front of him (Uncle Umar).
 (Bear story, 6)

Table 10. Gender and number (evidence from verbs)

| GENDER | NUMBER | |
|---|----------|--------|
| | singular | plural |
| I (male human) | w-/⟨w⟩ | b- |
| II (female human) | d-/⟨ɾ⟩ | |
| III (some animates, all insects, some inanimates) | b-/⟨b⟩ | ∅- |
| IV (some animates, some inanimate, abstracts) | ∅-/⟨∅⟩ | |

Examples

(12) šipiŋ-li e⟨b⟩ɬu-li tumank' kammu-li
 1SG.ERG 3SG.ERG.put.PFV-CVB1 gun(III)[SG.ABS] shoot.PFV-EVID

Shapi, having put the gun (i.e. having aimed), shot. (Bear story, 3)

(13) zari han uw-li was
 1SG.ERG what(IV) [SG.ABS] do.IV.SG.PFV-CVB1 2SG.DAT

'What have I done to you?' (Bear story, 7)

Table 11. Gender assignment

| GENDER III | GENDER IV |
|--|--|
| domestic animals and birds χ ^ʰ on ‘cow’, dogi ‘donkey’, qaz ‘goose’ | young animals and birds (wild and domestic) biš ‘calf’, k’e ^ʰ rt ‘foal (of donkey)’ |
| larger wild animals and birds pil ‘elephant’, jam ‘wolf’, isu ‘owl’ | smaller wild animals and birds mejmanak ‘monkey’, hudhud ‘hoopoe’, žibəla ‘swallow’ |
| all insects hilku ‘fly’, nibsu ‘moth’ | |
| mythical beings žin ‘genie’, ilbis ‘demon’ | |
| musical instruments parx ‘drum’, moxol ‘tambourine’ | most tools and cutting instruments bel ‘spade’, dab ‘awl’, k’os ‘knife’ |
| cereals qoqol ‘wheat’, maχa ‘barley’ | cloth, most clothing at’ras ‘satin’, palatnoj ‘linen’, k’az ‘shawl’, χalac’i ‘sleeve’ |
| trees had ‘lime’, kal ‘fir’ | metals lacut ‘iron’, qalaj ‘tin’ |
| water phenomena łat ‘sea’, ba ^ʰ ri ‘lake’, bił ^w ‘whirlpool’, qol ‘ice’ | liquids ł:an ‘water’, čixir ‘wine’, nabq ‘tears’, χ:ʰel ‘rain’ |
| astronomical and meteorological phenomena bac ‘moon’, barq ‘sun’, marχ:əla ‘snow’ | abstracts (including some temporal concepts) iq ‘day’, s:an ‘year’, mukul ‘beauty’ |

(See Kibrik, Kodzasov, Olovjannikova & Samedov 1977a: 55-66 for details, and Corbett 1991: 27-29 for discussion of their data).

Question about person feature.

Agreement with no sign of person:

- (14) ʃonnol d-as:ar-ši d-i
 woman (II)[ABS.SG] II.SG-tremble.IPFV-CVB2 II.SG-be

The woman is trembling.

- (15) zon d-irx:win
 1SG.ABS II.SG-work.IPFV

I work. (woman speaking)

- (16) un hanžugur d-aqʰa ?
 2SG.ABS what.way II.SG-come.PFV

How did you get here? (to a woman)

(Chumakina, Kibort & Corbett, 2007)

- (17) teb ba-qʰa
 they H.PL-came

they (human) came

- (18) teb qʰa
 they [N_H.PL]came

they (non-human) came

- (19) nen qʰa
 we.EXCL [?]came

we came

- (20) žʷen qʰa
 you.PL [?]came

you came

(Aleksandr Kibrik 1972 and personal communication)

Agreement with personal pronouns

zon “I” → gender agreement
un “you (sg)” → gender agreement
teb “they” → gender agreement

nen “we” [humans] → ∅-
ž^wen “you (pl)” [humans] → ∅-

Gender resolution examples

(21) *dija-wu* *buwa-wu* *ɬ:wak* *b-i*
 father(I)[ABS.SG]-AND mother(II)[ABS.SG]-AND near H.PL-be.PRS
Father and mother are near.

(22) *dija-wu* *dogi-wu* *ɬ:wak* *b-i*
 father(I)[ABS.SG]-AND donkey(III)[ABS.SG]-AND near H.PL-be.PRS
Father and the donkey are near.

(23) *dogi-wu* *moto:l-u* *ɬ:wak* *i*
 donkey(III)[ABS.SG]-AND kid(IV)[ABS.SG]-AND near [N_H.PL]be.PRS
The donkey and the goat kid are near.

Resolution rules in Archi (if no person feature)

1. If there is at least one conjunct denoting a rational or rationals, gender I/II agreement (b-) will be used;
2. otherwise, gender III/IV agreement (∅-) will be used.
3. However, when one of the conjuncts is the pronoun *zon*, *un*, *nen*, or *ž^wen* (“I, you sg, we, you pl”) → ∅- (i.e. equivalent to gender III/IV agreement).

Difficult example

(24) *zo:n-u* *buwa-wu* *q^ˈa*
 1.SG.ABS-AND mother(II)[SG.ABS]-AND [??]come.PFV
I and mother came.

Earlier account (Kibrik et al. 1977a, Kibrik 1977):

- No person feature.
- Personal pronouns *zon*, *un*, *nen*, and *ž^wen* form a special gender.
- For resolution rules (based only on gender and number), genders must be ranked, with the gender containing the pronouns ranked higher than other genders.

Our proposal:

- Accept a person feature.
- Usual gender resolution rules (rules 1 and 2 above but not 3).
- Fairly standard person resolution rules (but only: persons 1 and 2 vs. person 3).

Table 12. Proposed person-number paradigm in Archi

| PERSON | NUMBER | |
|--------|------------------|------------------|
| | singular | plural |
| 1 | gender agreement | bare stem |
| 2 | gender agreement | bare stem |
| 3 | gender agreement | gender agreement |

Adjective.

non-derived:

- no inflection
- small class (33 in our dictionary), none “basic”:

nationalities

šarab ‘Arab’ *haman* ‘Lak’ *mašarul* ‘Avar’ *o^rro^s* ‘Russian’ *pirsi* ‘Persian’

characteristics:

bišin ‘foreign, step’ *č^rere* ‘barren’ *dalu* ‘mad’ *mek^le* ‘male’

inflected adjectives: derived

from verbs + -tu

tⁱ-tu-t ‘small’ *na^šg-du-t* ‘blue’ *χala-tu-t* ‘old’ *mac^a-tu-t* ‘new’

from adverbs + -tu

hinc-du-t ‘present, actual’ *qi-tu-t* ‘day’ *jak-du-t* ‘deep’

from genitives + -tu

kutak-li-nnu-t ‘hard’ *orχⁱ-li-nnu-t* ‘salty’

from loanwords + *-tu*

zor-tu-t ‘strong’ *χas-du-t* ‘special’ *mašhur-tu-t* ‘famous’

“occasional” adjectives:

- (25) *haʰtər-če-qʰ-aš-du-t* *duχ:ʰa-n* *hal-mu-s*
 river(IV)-OBL.SG-INTER-EL-ATR-IV.SG mill(IV).OBL.SG-GEN master(I)-OBL.SG-DAT
da:ʰzeχ:u-li
 fall.on.PFV.IV.SG-EVID

The one (small child, IV) from the river fell on the miller. (Kibrik et al., 1977b : 56)

Verb.

Number of forms.

The Archi verb has “basic” tense/aspect/mood forms and related gerunds, participles and masdars total 12,405.

The Archi verb agrees with the Absolutive of the clause in gender and number. Masdars can take the nominal case endings. These two factors multiply the paradigm up to 188,463 cells.

The reportative can be formed from all personal forms, and from the admirative, and itself has an impressive array of forms; it is also the base for further participles. The additional forms (excluding gender and number distinctions) are 107,078.

When gender/number and case distinctions are included that number rises to 1,314,376 forms. When added to 188,463 this gives 1,502,839 forms in total. (based on Kibrik, 1998: 466-467)

Table 13. Verbal stems

| regular formation | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------|-------|------|
| | INF | IPFV | PFV | IMP |
| ‘divide’ | qʰa-s | qʰa-r | qʰo | qʰa |
| ‘get cold’ | qe-s | qeɾqi-r | qa | qeqi |
| ‘beat’ | daχi-s | daɾχi-r | daχdi | daχi |
| irregular formation | | | | |
| ‘carry away’ | χ:e-s | oɾχ:i-r | oχ:a | χ:a |
| ‘go’ | qʰe-s | oɾqʰi-r | oqʰa | oqʰa |
| ‘boil’ | s:ubu-s | sal | set:e | sisi |

Stative verb: one stem, no imperative, for example: *kʰan* ‘love’, *sini* ‘know’, *hiba* ‘be good’

Table 14. Gender marking in the verb

aχas ‘lie down’:

| | SG | | | PL | | |
|--------|---------|----------|------|---------|----------|------|
| gender | INF | IPFV | PFV | INF | IPFV | PFV |
| I | w-aχa-s | w-aṛχa-r | aṛχu | b-aχa-s | b-aṛχa-r | aḃχu |
| II | d-aχa-s | d-aṛχa-r | aṛχu | | | |
| III | b-aχa-s | b-aṛχa-r | aḃχu | aχa-s | aṛχa-r | aχu |
| IV | aχa-s | aṛχa-r | aχu | | | |

Table 15. Gender marking according to verb type

| | INF | | IPFV | | PFV | |
|--------|---------|--------|----------|---------|-------|------|
| | III | IV | III | IV | III | IV |
| ‘milk’ | b-aca-s | aca-s | b-aṛca-r | aṛca-r | b-acu | acu |
| ‘drop’ | caḃχa-s | caχa-s | caḃχa-r | caṛχa-r | caḃχu | caχu |

Table 16. Mood

aχas ‘lie down’:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| ADMIRATIVE | arχarši χo, aχuna χoqi etc |
| APPROBATIVE | arχar-di, arχarši edi-di, aχuqi-di etc |
| COHORTATIVE | aχa-su |
| CONJUNCTIVE | arχar-kini, aχuli i-kini, aχuli edi-kini etc |
| DUBITATIVE | aχu-čugu, arχar-čugu, arχarši i-čugu etc |
| EVIDENTIAL | aχu-li, aχuli edi-li, aχuqiši edi-li etc |
| INDICATIVE | aχas |
| IMPERATIVE | aχa |
| INTERROGATIVE | aχu-ra, aχulla, arχa-ra, arχarši i-ra etc |
| OPTATIVE | aχu-t:an |
| POSSIBILITIVE | aχu-li χoqi, arχarši edi-li χoqi etc |
| PROHIBITIVE | arχar-(di)gi |
| | |
| REPORTATIVE | arχarer, aχor, arχarši ir etc |

Table 17. Tense

kos ‘hear’:

| | | PRESENT (i) | PAST (edi) |
|---------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| IPFV (<i>kor</i>) | IPFV-ši | present1 <i>kor-ši i</i> | imperfect1 <i>kor-ši edi</i> |
| | IPFV-mat | present2 <i>kor-mat i</i> | imperfect2 <i>kor-mat edi</i> |
| PFV (<i>ko</i>) | PFV-li | perfect1 <i>ko-li i</i> | pluperfect1 <i>ko-li edi</i> |
| | PFV-mat | perfect2 <i>ko-mat i</i> | pluperfect2 <i>ko-mat edi</i> |
| POT (<i>koqi</i>) | POT + ši | inceptive <i>koqi-ši i</i> | past inceptive <i>koqi-ši edi</i> |

Table 18. Converbs

irχ^wmus ‘work’

| | CONSECUTIVE | | SIMULTANEOUS | CONTINUOUS | NEGATIVE |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| INF | | | <i>irχ^wmus-ši</i> | | <i>irχ^wmus-t’u-ši</i> |
| IPFV | | | <i>irχ^win-ši</i> | <i>irχ^wim-mat</i> | <i>irχ^wna-t’u-ši</i> |
| PFV | <i>irχ^wni-li</i> | <i>irχ^wni-na</i> | | <i>irχ^wni-mat</i> | <i>irχ^wni-t’aw</i> |
| POT | | | <i>irχ^wniqi-ši</i> | | |

Table 19. Example of masdar that agrees in gender

| ‘heaviness’ | SG | PL |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| I | <i>wiq^wkuł</i> | <i>biq^wkuł</i> |
| II | <i>diq^wkuł</i> | |
| III | <i>biq^wkuł</i> | <i>iq^wkuł</i> |
| IV | <i>iq^wkuł</i> | |

Simple vs. complex verbs

simple verbs: about 170;

complex verbs: 1000 +

complex verb = *lexical part* + *simple verb*

simple verb:

as ‘do’, *kes* ‘become’, *bos* ‘say’,

other simple verb (less commonly)

lexical part:

stative verb: *doʹz* ‘be big’

doʹz as ‘grow’

noun: *cac* ‘prickle’

cac kes ‘frown’

noun in the locative: *baʹri* ‘pool’

baʹraj aχas ‘bathe’

noun in the ergative: *kʹos* ‘knife’

kʹas:an as ‘slaughter’

verbal noun from a Russian verb: *mešatʹ* ‘disturb’

mišajətkul as ‘disturb’

reduplicated form not otherwise used:

χ:iriχ-χ:iris as ‘pester’

loanwords otherwise not used:

dagawur as ‘sign an agreement’, *jabalgu as* ‘barter’

unclassified:

acʹis eχmus ‘fall ill’ («fake» dative of *acʹi* ‘illness’, real ative is *acʹilis*)

SYNTAX

Argument alignment.

INTRANSITIVE

- (26) buwa da-qʰa
 mother(II)[ABS.SG] II.SG-come.PFV
 Mother came.

TRANSITIVE

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

- (27) dija-mu buwa χir aɾu
 father(I)-SG.ERG mother(II)[SG.ABS] behind <I.SG-do.PFV
 Father brought mother with him.

- (28) uʰnš:əl-li hilku b-ukne
 lizard(III)-SG.ERG fly(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-eat.PFV
 The lizard ate the fly.

DATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

- (29) to-w-mi-s un d-ak:u
 that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT 2SG.ABS II.SG-see.PFV
 He has seen you (female).

- (30) to-w-mu-s buwa tʰibir d-eɾχi-r
 that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT mother(II)[SG.ABS] be.sorry II.SG-<IPFV>climb-IPFV
 He feels sorry for (his) mother.

OTHER

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

- (31) zari žan okłni-qi institut-l-a-k č'ubu-s
 1SG.ERG spleen(IV)[SG.ABS] take.out.IV.SG.PFV-POT institute(IV)-OBL.SG-IN-LAT enter.IV.SG-INF
 I will do my best to get accepted to the institute.

GENITIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

- (32) šipiŋ-li-n ʃali-ɬ:u anχ aw
 Šapi(I)-OBL.SG-GEN Ali(I)-COMIT war(IV)[SG.ABS] do.IV.SG.PFV
Šapi fought with Ali.

SUPERRELATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

- (33) za-ti-š χat'a e:ti
 1.OBL.SG-SUP-EL fault(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>become.PFV
I committed an offence (Kibrik et al., 1977b : 80)

Agreement.

Controllers

at clause level: absolutive argument:

- (34) ʃumar-dada usdi-mij-wu w-immi<w>χu-li
 Umar-uncle(I)[SG.ABS] stand.I.SG.PFV-LOC.CVB-and I.SG-remain<I.SG>PFV-EVID
Uncle Umar was standing right where he was. (Bear story, 5)

- (35) zari han uw-li was
 1SG.ERG what(IV)[SG.ABS] do.IV.SG.PFV-CVB1 2SG.DAT
What have I done to you? (Bear story, 7)

in noun phrase: head of the noun phrase:

- (36) w-is uš-mi-n oq-li-t zon
 I.SG-1SG.GEN brother(I)-OBL.SG-GEN wedding(IV)-OBL.SG-SUP 1SG.ABS
 qebu-li e<ɾ>di.
 dance.PFV-CVB1 <II.SG>be.PAST
I (fem) was dancing at my brother's wedding.

Targets: ALL WORD CLASSES:

verbs, adjectives, **adverbs:**

- (37) oq^ʃa-t:u-b balah dit:au b-erχin
 <III.SG>leave.PFV-ATR-III.SG trouble(III)[SG.ABS] soon<III.SG> III.SG-forget.IPFV
Past trouble gets forgotten quickly (Kibrik et al. 1977a: 186).

particles:

- (38) arša horo:k eǰb·u iškul dabłu
 Archi.IN.ESS long.ago very·III.SG> school(III)[SG.ABS] open.PFV
A school was opened in Archi very long time ago (Kibrik et al. 1977a: 326).

pronouns:

- (39) d-ez un malgan
 II.SG-1SG.DAT 2SG.ABS be.dear
You (female) are dear to me (male).

postpositions:

- (40) to-w-mi-s sin-t'u ʎ:wak-du-t duχriqʰa-k
 that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT know-NEG near-ATR-IV.SG village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT
 e·b·qʰen b-i-t:u-b deqʰʰ
 <III.SG>up.to III.SG-be.PRS-ATR-III.SG road(III)[SG.ABS]
He does not know the way to the next village (Kibrik et al. 1977a: 227).

Relative clauses.

INTRANSITIVE VERB

non-agentive subject

- (41) š^{wʰ}aš qʰot d-ak'a-t:u-r ʎ:anna b-el χabar
 last.year in.winter II.SG-die-ATR-II.SG woman(II)SG.ERG III.SG-1PL.DAT story(III)[SG.ABS]
 b-a·r·ti-r-ši e·b·di
 III.SG-<IPFV>let.go-IPFV-CVB2 <III.SG>be.PAST
The woman who died last winter was telling us stories.

agentive subject

- (42) s:anʁi aʰʔaʰ-r-ši i·w·di-t:u bošor w-is bo-t:u
 yesterday call-IPFV-CVB2 <I.SG>be.PAST-ATR.I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-1SG.GEN say.PFV-ATR.I.SG
The man who called yesterday is my fiancé.

TRANSITIVE VERB

absolutive argument (object)

- (43) s:anɓi č'arq'a-s u<w>t:u-t akɫ' jonsaw i
 yesterday roast-INF do.IV.SG.PFV-ATR-IV.SG meat(IV)[SG.ABS] still be.PRS.IV.SG
There is still some meat of the meat that was roasted yesterday.

ergative argument (agentive subject)

- (44) akkonniɫ:u χ^son b-a<r>ci-r-ši e<r>di-t:u-r lo
 morning cow(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>milk-IPFV-CVB2 <II.SG>be.PAST-ATR-II.SG girl(II)[SG.ABS]
 jasqi boš-or-če-χur d-i
 today calf-PL-OBL.PL-COMP II.SG-be.PRS
Daughter who was milking the cow this morning, is to look after the calves today.

dative experiencer

- (45) k'an χo-t:u bošor-mi tot
 horseshoe(IV)[SG.ABS] find.IV.SG.PFV-ATR.I.SG man(I)-SG.ERG that.one(IV)[SG.ABS]
 dakɫ'-i-t daχdi
 door(IV)-OBLSG-SUP hit.IV.SG.PFV
The man who found a horseshoe, nailed it to the door.

- (46) moroženij kɫ'an-nu-t adam-li kul jat:exa
 icecream(IV)[SG.ABS] like-ATR-IV.SG person(IV)-SG.ERG hand(IV)[SG.ABS] raise.IV.SG.IMP
Those who like ice cream, raise your hand.

genitive subject

- (47) ɣali-ɫ:u anχ uw-t:u bošor jasqi
 Ali(I)-COMIT fight(IV)[SG.ABS] make.IV.SG.PFV-ATR.I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS] today
 ari-li-t:i-k q^{sw}a-t'u
 work-OBLSG-SUPER-LAT go.I.SG.PFV-NEG
The man who fought with Ali, hasn't come to work today.

local case argument

- (48) pat'imat e<r>q^{wɛ}ni-t:u-b g^wači b-uɫne
 Patimat(II)[SG.ABS] <II.SG>get.scared.PFV-ATR-III.SG dog(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-run.away.PFV
The dog that Patimat got scared of, ran away.

- (48.A) pat'imat g^wači-li-kɫ'i-š e<r>q^{wɛ}ni
 Patimat(II)[SG.ABS] dog(III)-OBL.SG-SUB-EL <II.SG>get.scared.PFV
Patimat got scared of the dog.

Ergative in instrumental meaning

- (49) ʔali-mu dakʔ' dabʔu-r-ši edi-t:u-t nak'əna aqʕu
 Ali(I)-SG.ERG door(IV)[SG.ABS] open-IPFV-CVB2 be.IV.SG.PAST-ATR-IV.SG key(IV)[SG.ABS] break.IV.SG.PFV
The key, with which Ali opened this door, broke.

Proper local arguments

- (50) t'ahir w-i-t:u-b mahla tu-w-mi-n
 Tagir(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-be.PRS-ATR-III.SG house(III)[SG.ABS] that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-GEN
 ummu-n edi
 father(I).OBL.SG-GEN <III.SG>be.PAST
The house in which Tagir lives belonged to his father.

Postpositional phrases

- (51) žu-n haq'liqʕ dunil χabar-mul i-t:u
 LOGOPH.I.OBL.SG-GEN about a.lot story(III)-PL.ABS N_H.PL.be.PRS-ATR.I.SG
 boχ:ʕot:u w-is wikʔ'ad
 hunter(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-1SG.GEN father-in-law(I)[SG.ABS]
The hunter, about whom there are many stories, is my father-in-law.

- (51.A) boχ:ʕot:u-mi-n haq'liqʕ χabar
 hunter(I)-OBL.SG-GEN about story(III)[SG.ABS]
a story about a hunter

POSSESSOR

- (52) aq aqʕu-t:u-b šeʕnt eku
 leg(IV)[SG.ABS] break.IV.SG.PFV-ATR-III.SG stool(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>fall.PFV
The stool, the leg of which was broken, fell down.

- (53) pat'imat-li-s rang mu-ši ak:u-t:u-b
 Patimat(II)-OBL.SG-DAT colour(IV)[SG.ABS] be.good-CVB2 see.IV.SG-ATR-III.SG
 q'umaš aset:i-li
 fabric(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>wear.out.<III.SG>become.PFV-CVB1
The cloth, the colour of which Patimat liked, got worn out.

Complement clauses.

- (54) laha-s diq' a-s kʔ'an ke-r
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT soup(IV)[SG.ABS] make[IV.SG]-INF like AUX.IV.SG-IPFV
The girl likes making soup.

(55) laha-s k^waš-ši diq' a-s
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT need.PFV[IV.SG]-CVB2 soup(IV)[SG.ABS] make[IV.SG]-INF
The girl needs to make soup.

(56) lo bijeɾɿ:u diq' a-s
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] start<II.SG>PFV soup(IV)[SG.ABS] make[IV.SG]-INF
The girl started to make soup.

(57) lo laq^weɾɿ:ti diq' uw-li
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] finish<II.SG>PFV soup(IV)[SG.ABS] make.IV.SG.PFV-CVB1
The girl finished making soup.

(58) ɿ:unne-li laq^wiwɿ:a-t'u-kul sin-š-er
 flee.I.SG.PFV-CVB1 save.I.SG.PFV-NEG-MSD know-CVB2-RPRT
Allegedly having understood that he would not be able to save himself by fleeing...(Bear story, 11)

Table 20. Personal pronouns and logophor

| | | SG | | | | PL |
|------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 3rd person | | I | II | III | IV | |
| pronoun | ABS | tuw | tor | tob | tot | teb |
| | ERG | tuwmi | tormi | tummi | totmi | temmaj |
| logophor | ABS | inž | | | | |
| | ERG | žu | že | | | |

(59) k^wač'-ur-če-t oɿb>sd-er žu-s harak
 paw(III)-PL-OBL.PL-SUPER <III.SG>stand.PFV-RPRT LOGOPH.I.OBL.SG-DAT in.front
...and allegedly stood on his paws in front of him (Uncle Umar) (Bear story, 6).

Long-distance agreement

(60) laha-s me^ɿ c'abu-s kɿ'an b-eker
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT whey(III)[SG.ABS] drink-INF like III.SG-AUX.IPFV
The girl likes drinking whey.

(61) laha-s kɿ'an ker čamasdak b-ukmu-s
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT like [IV.SG]AUX.IPFV date(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-eat-INF
The girl likes eating dates.

(62) laha-s kɬ'an b-eker čamasdak b-ukmu-s
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT like III.SG-AUX-IPFV date(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-eat-INF
The girl likes eating dates.

(63) A. laha-s sin-ši edi k^war akɬa-s
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT know-CVB2 IV.SG.be.PAST thread(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>put-INF
 B. laha-s k^war akɬa-s sin-ši edi
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT thread(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>put-INF know-CVB <III.SG>be.PAST
The girl knew how to sew (lit.: put thread through)

(64) lo bije<r>ɬu berku aa-s
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] start<II.SG>PFV pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-INF
The girl started making pasties.

(65) *lo bijeɬu berku aa-s
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] start<III.SG>PFV pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-INF
 **The girl started making pasties.*

Backward control (absent).

(66) *laha berku aa-s kɬ'an ke-r
 girl(II).SG.ERG pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-INF like IV.SG.AUX-IPFV
 **The girl likes making pasties.*

(67) laha-s berku aa-s kɬ'an ke-r
 girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-INF like IV.SG.AUX-IPFV
The girl likes making pasties.

(68) laha berku au
 girl(II).SG.ERG pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make.PFV
The girl has made pasties.

(69) b-ez laha berku aa-s kɬ'an be-ke-r
 III.SG-1SG.DAT girl(II).SG.ERG pasty(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make-INF like III.SG-AUX-IPFV
I like the girl to make pasties.

Adverbial clauses.

(70) šipiʃ-li eʃru-li tumank' kammu-li
 shapi(I)-SG.ERG <III.SG>PUT.PFV-CVB1 gun(III)[SG.ABS] shoot.PFV-EVID
Shapi, having put the gun (i.e. having aimed), shot. (Bear story, 3)

(71) to-t naq'^w lap'a:-r-ši b-aq^ʃa-li
 that-IV.SG earth(IV)[SG.ABS] throw-IPFV-CVB2 III.SG-come-EVID
...throwing the earth, he came... (Bear story, 6)

(72) un asmus d-eq^ʃe-l-kan zon q'^{wʃ}ijla
 2SG.ABS marry II.SG-go.INF-CVB1-until 1SG.ABS twice
 asmus-u o<r>q^ʃa-li χara:šu-wu d-aq^ʃa
 marry-and <II.SG>go.PFV-CVB1 back-and II.SG-come.PFV
During the time when you haven't even got married (until you get married), I was married twice and divorced (came back).

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Less usual abbreviations

I, II, III, IV – genders I, II, III, IV

CVB – converb

MSD – masdar (verbal noun)