ARCHI LANGUAGE TUTORIAL

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INTRODUCTION

East Caucasian (=Northeast Caucasian, =Nakh-Daghestanian) languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nakh</th>
<th>Avar</th>
<th>Andic</th>
<th>Tsezic</th>
<th>Lak</th>
<th>Dargi</th>
<th>Lezgic</th>
<th>Khinalugh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chechen-Ingush Chechen Ingush</td>
<td>Avar</td>
<td>Akhvakh Andi Bagwalal Botlikh Chamalal Godoberi Karata Tindi</td>
<td>Bezhta Hinux Hunzib Khvarshi Tsez(=Dido)</td>
<td>Lak</td>
<td>Dargi</td>
<td>Nuclear Lezgic Aghul Budukh Kryz Lezgian Rutul Tabassaran Tsakhur Udi</td>
<td>Khinalugh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PHONOLOGY

Table 1. Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i / i:</td>
<td></td>
<td>u /u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>e / e:</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>o /o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a / a:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

long vs. short: the contrast is phonological:

(1) ɣiniš ɣiniš
     from there higher than the speaker from there higher and way away from the speaker

The support of ELDP and of the ESRC is gratefully acknowledged.
### Table 2. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>palato-velar</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>pharyngeal</th>
<th>laryngeal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p p' b</td>
<td>t t' d</td>
<td>t'\textsuperscript{w} d'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>t:</td>
<td>k k' g</td>
<td>k'\textsuperscript{w} k'\textsuperscript{w} g'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>k: k'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>q q'</td>
<td>q'\textsuperscript{w} q'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s'\textsuperscript{w} z'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>š š ź ź'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>c c'</td>
<td>c'\textsuperscript{w} c'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td>c'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɶ ɬ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateraffricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kɬ kɬ'</td>
<td>kɬ' kɬ'\textsuperscript{w}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approx</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral approx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Laterals, examples**

(2) was kammu-tru šudu ɭunne

2SG.DAT shoot.PVF-ATR.1.SG that.1.SG 1.SG.flee.PVF

*The one who shot at you, he ran away.* (Bear story, 8)

(3) ɭon

five (when counting sheep) wife, woman

ɭːert ɭːaːna

scar, trace resemble

kɬən kɬən

hole love
Fortis consonants, examples:

(4) qʼel kes  
  collapse  
  qʼel  
  crack, split (noun)  
  χat  
  scratch  
  χ:at  
  tie-beam

Pharyngealisation, examples:

(5) baqa  
  it(III.SG) got cold  
  baqʼa  
  it(III.SG) came

aʼraʼčʼ  
reasonably big

(6) daki un za-ti-k  
b-eʼršu-r  
why  
2SG.ABS  
1.OBL.SG-SUPER  
III.SG-IPFV-run-IPFV

*Why are you running towards me?* (Bear story, 10)

(7) χir qʼwetʼu kʼoncʼol-u  
χir i-tu-b jam  
after two  
cub(IV)[SG.ABS]-and behind  
be-ATR-III.SG  
wolf(III)[SG.ABS]

*Then, and with two cubs behind him, the wolf...* (Bear story, 6)

**MORPHOLOGY**

**Table 3. Noun stems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘ram’</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS (direct)</td>
<td>baʼk’</td>
<td>baʼk’ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG (oblique)</td>
<td>beʼk’iri</td>
<td>baʼk’určaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4. Noun stem formation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>baʼk’-ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>baʼk’určaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>liq’i-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>liq’i-li-orčaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>ili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>elle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5. Plural formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>laha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>χ’on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>χ’ini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>dilik’</td>
<td>dilik’-mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spring (water)</td>
<td>q’ulli</td>
<td>q’ulli-tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear of a grain</td>
<td>lok</td>
<td>lok:or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>eχ’</td>
<td>eχ’ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>ba’k’</td>
<td>ba’k’ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>claw</td>
<td>χ:eč</td>
<td>χ:ečum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>o’ro’s</td>
<td>o’ro’sul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>po’mp</td>
<td>po’l’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>ili</td>
<td>ollo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>bošor</td>
<td>kłele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Formation of new plurals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>driving the bulls around the</td>
<td>liχ’i</td>
<td>liχ’itiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>threshing floor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pea</td>
<td>čaq</td>
<td>čaqmul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 regular out of 93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skin, fruit peel</td>
<td>qal</td>
<td>qalum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td>ime’</td>
<td>omc:’om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potato</td>
<td>q’wēib</td>
<td>q’obor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Archi cases (non-spatial)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>value</th>
<th>formation</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>stem1</td>
<td>stem 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similitative</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparative</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partitive</td>
<td>stem2</td>
<td>stem4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>substitutive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case usage, example:
(8) /uni0281udu k’onoč laha-s zari han
that.1.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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>localisation</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>localisation affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a/-aj-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>stem2 + localisation affixes</td>
<td>stem4 + localisation affixes</td>
<td>-q’(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ti/-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-k’l’(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ra-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9. Directional cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional cases:</th>
<th>Form of localization + directional case endings</th>
<th>Directional case endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSIVE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELATIVE</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>-š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIVE</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td>-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TERMINATIVE</td>
<td>-kena</td>
<td>-kena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSLATIVE</td>
<td>-χut</td>
<td>-χut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Directional case usage, examples**

(9) t'eš-li-ti-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’i-li-ra-š
town-OBL.SG-IN-ALL eagle-OBL.SG-CONT-ELAT

‘to the town’ ‘from the eagle’

darc'-li-ra-kana dunil-li-ti-χut
post-OBL.SG-CONT-TERM sky-OBL.SG-SUPER-TRANS

‘up to the post’ ‘in (through) the sky’

(10) daki un za-ti-k b-eššu-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’ač'-ur-če-t ošd-er žu-s harak

paw(III)-PL-OBL.PL-SUPER 3II.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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I (male human)</td>
<td>w-/‹w›</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (female human)</td>
<td>d-/Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (some animates, all insects, some inanimates)</td>
<td>b-/‹b›</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (some animates, some inanimate, abstracts)</td>
<td>Ø-/Ø›</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

(12) šipiʃ-li  e-b ›:u-li tumank’  kamma-li

šapi(I)-SG.ERG  ʃILSG-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENDER III</th>
<th>GENDER IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>domestic animals and birds</strong></td>
<td><strong>young animals and birds (wild and domestic)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χ‘on ‘cow’, dogi ‘donkey’, qaz ‘goose’</td>
<td>biš ‘calf’, k’e’rt ‘foal (of donkey)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>larger wild animals and birds</strong></td>
<td><strong>smaller wild animals and birds</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>all insects</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilku ‘fly’, nibsu ‘moth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mythical beings</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žin ‘genie’, ilbis ‘demon’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>musical instruments</strong></td>
<td><strong>most tools and cutting instruments</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parx ‘drum’, moxol ‘tambourine’</td>
<td>bel ‘spade’, dab ‘awl’, k’os ‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cereals</strong></td>
<td><strong>cloth, most clothing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>trees</strong></td>
<td><strong>metals</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had ‘lime’, kal ‘fir’</td>
<td>lacut ‘iron’, qalaj ‘tin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>water phenomena</strong></td>
<td><strong>liquids</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>astronomical and meteorological phenomena</strong></td>
<td><strong>abstracts (including some temporal concepts)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question about person feature.

Agreement with no sign of person:

(14) ḷonnol d-as:ar-ši d-i
    woman (II)[ABS.SG] II.SG-tremble.IPFV-2CVB2 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-aq′a ?
    2SG.ABS what.way II.SG-come.PFV
    How did you get here? (to a woman)

(Chumakina, Kibort & Corbett, 2007)

(17) teb ba-q′a
    they H.PL-came
    they (human) came

(18) teb q′a
    they [N,H.PL]came
    they (non-human) came

(19) nen q′a
    we.EXCL [?]came
    we came

(20) ž"en q′a
    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] → Ø-
ž/en  “you (pl)” [humans] → Ø-

Gender resolution examples

(21) dija-wu       buwa-wu   žak 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   žak 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:lu   žak 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 (Ø-) will be used.
3. However, when one of the conjuncts is the pronoun zon, un, nen, or ž/en (“I, you sg, we, you pl”) → Ø- (i.e. equivalent to gender III/IV agreement).

Difficult example

(24) zon-u       buwa-wu   q’a
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 *žen* 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gender agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>gender agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gender agreement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjective.
non-derived:
- no inflection
- small class (33 in our dictionary), none “basic”:
  - nationalities
    - *Šarab* ‘Arab’ *han* ‘Lak’ *māšarul* ‘Avar’ *o’ro’s* ‘Russian’ *pirsi* ‘Persian’
  - characteristics:
    - *bišin* ‘foreign, step’ *č’ere* ‘barren’ *dalu* ‘mad’ *mekle* ‘male’
inflected adjectives: derived
  - from verbs + -*tu*
    - *t’i-tu-t* ‘small’ *na’t-γ-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’ *orχ’i-li-nnu-t* ‘salty’
**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular formation</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘divide’</td>
<td>q’a-s</td>
<td>q’a-r</td>
<td>q’o</td>
<td>q’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘get cold’</td>
<td>q-e-s</td>
<td>q-e-r</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>qeqi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beat’</td>
<td>daχi-s</td>
<td>daχi-r</td>
<td>daχdi</td>
<td>daχi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>irregular formation</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>o-rχ:i-r</th>
<th>oχ:a</th>
<th>χ:a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘carry away’</td>
<td>χ:e-s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>q’e-s</td>
<td>o-rq:i-r</td>
<td>oq’a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘boil’</td>
<td>s:ubu-s</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>sete</td>
<td>sisi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Stative verb:** one stem, no imperative, for example: *kf’an ‘love*, *sini ‘know*, *hiba ‘be good*
Table 14. Gender marking in the verb

\textit{aχas} ‘lie down’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INF</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>w-\textit{aχa-s}</td>
<td>w-a\textit{r}χa-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>d-\textit{aχa-s}</td>
<td>d-a\textit{r}χa-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>b-\textit{aχa-s}</td>
<td>b-a\textit{r}χa-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>a\textit{χa-s}</td>
<td>a\textit{r}χa-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. Gender marking according to verb type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>IPFV</th>
<th>PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘milk’</td>
<td>b-a\textit{ca-s}</td>
<td>a\textit{ca-s}</td>
<td>b-a\textit{r}ca-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘drop’</td>
<td>ca\textit{b}χ\textit{a-s}</td>
<td>ca\textit{χa-s}</td>
<td>ca\textit{b}χa-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16. Mood

\textit{aχas} ‘lie down’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADMIRATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{arχarši χo, aχuna χoqi etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROBATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{arχar-di, arχarši edi-di, aχuqi-di etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COHORTATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχa-su}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJUNCTIVE</td>
<td>\textit{arχar-kini, aχuli i-kini, aχuli edi-kini etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBITATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχu-čugu, arχar-čugu, arχarši i-čugu etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVIDENTIAL</td>
<td>\textit{aχu-li, aχuli edi-li, aχuqiši edi-li etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDICATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχas}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχa}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROGATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχu-ra, aχulla, aχa-ra, arχarši i-ra etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPTATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχu-t\textit{tan}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSIBILITIVE</td>
<td>\textit{aχu-li χoqi, arχarši edi-li χoqi etc}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIBITIVE</td>
<td>\textit{arχar-(di)gi}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPORTATIVE</td>
<td>\textit{arχarer, aχor, arχarši ir etc}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17. Tense
kos ‘hear’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRESENT (i)</th>
<th>PAST (edi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPFV (kor)</td>
<td>IPFV-ši</td>
<td>present1 kor-ši i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV-mat</td>
<td>present2 kor-mat i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV (ko)</td>
<td>PFV-li</td>
<td>perfect1 ko-li i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PFV-mat</td>
<td>perfect2 ko-mat i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT (koqi)</td>
<td>POT + ši</td>
<td>inceptive koqi-ši i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18. Converbs
irχ’mos ‘work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CONSECUTIVE</th>
<th>SIMULTANEOUS</th>
<th>CONTINUOUS</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>irχ’mos-ši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>irχ’mos-t’u-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>irχ’in-ši</td>
<td>irχ’im-mat</td>
<td>irχ’na-t’u-ši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>irχ’n-li</td>
<td>irχ’n-na</td>
<td>irχ’n-mat</td>
<td>irχ’n-t’aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>irχ’niqi-ši</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19. Example of masdar that agrees in gender
‘heaviness’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>wiq’skul</td>
<td>biq’skul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>diq’skul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>biq’skul</td>
<td>iq’skul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>iq’skul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: do‘z ‘be big’
   do‘z as ‘grow’
noun: cac ‘prickle’
   cac kes ‘frown’
noun in the locative: ba‘ri ‘pool’
   ba‘raj aχas ‘bathe’
noun in the ergative: k’os ‘knife’
   k’asan as ‘slaughter’

verbal noun from a Russian verb: mešat ‘disturb’
   mišajtkul as ‘disturb’

reduplicated form not otherwise used:
   χirirχ-χiris as ‘pester’

loanwords otherwise not used:
   dagawur as ‘sign an agreement’, jabalgu as ‘barter’

unclassified:
   ac‘is eχmus ‘fall ill’ («fake» dative of ac‘i ‘illness’, real ative is ac‘ilis)
ARGIHI LANGUAGE TUTORIAL

SYNTAX

Argument alignment.

INTRANSITIVE

(26) buwa da-q'a
    mother(II)[ABS.SG]  il.SG-come.PFV

Mother came.

TRANSITIVE

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

(27) dija-mu buwa χir a-o-u
    father(I)-SG.ERG  mother(II)[SG.ABS]  behind  il.SG-do.PFV

Father brought mother with him.

(28) u'nš:əl-li hilku b-ukne
    lizard(III)-SG.ERG  fly(III)[SG.ABS]  11.SG-eat.PFV

The lizard ate the fly.

DATATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

(29) to-w-mi-s un d-ak:u
    that.one-I-SG-OBL.SG-DAT  2SG.ABS  il.SG-see.PFV

He has seen you (female).

(30) to-w-mu-s buwa t'ibir d-e-əçi-r
    that.one-I-SG-OBL.SG-DAT  mother(II)[SG.ABS]  be.sorry  il.SG-climb-IPFV

He feels sorry for (his) mother.

OTHER

ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

(31) zari žan okni-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) šipi-li-n ̃ali-u anχ aw
Shapi(I)-OBL.SG-GEN ̃Ali(I)-COMIT war(IV)[SG.ABS] do.IV.SG.PFV
Shapi fought with Ali.

SUPERRELATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE

(33) za-ti-š ̃chať’a e-b-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) ̃umar-dada usdi-mij-wu w-immi-w-χu-li
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-CVB 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
1.SG-1.SG.GEN brother(I)-OBL.SG-GEN wedding(IV)-OBL.SG-SUP 1.SG.ABS
qebu-li e-č-di.
dance.PFV-CVB ̃I.SG-be.PAST
I (fem) was dancing at my brother’s wedding.

Targets: ALL WORD CLASSES:

verbs, adjectives, adverbs:

(37) o-ĉa-tu-b balah dita-b-u b-erχin
Past trouble gets forgotten quickly (Kibrik et al. 1977a: 186).
particles:

(38) arša horo:k ej-bu iškul dablu
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 l:ak-du-t duχriq'a-k
that.one-1.SG.OBL.SG-DAT know-NEG near-ATR-IV.SG village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT
e-ba'q'en b-i-tu-b deq'i
II.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/m'as q'ot d-ak'a-tu-r ľ: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-bdi
III.SG-IPFV-let.go-IPFV-CVB2 4III.SG-be.PAST
The woman who died last winter was telling us stories.

agentive subject

(42) s-san'ī a'ʔa-r-ši i-w-di-tu bošor w-is bo-tu
yesterday call-IPFV-CVB2 4.SG-be.PAST-ATR.I.SG man(i)[SG.ABS] 1SG-1SG.GEN say.PFV-ATR.I.SG
The man who called yesterday is my fiancé.
**TRANSITIVE VERB**

absolutive argument (object)

(43) s:anši č'arq'a-s u-w-tu-t akl' 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) akkonni:u χ’on b-a-ci-r-ši e-ð-di-tu-r lo
    jasqi boš-or-če-χur d-i
    today  calf-PL-OBLSG-COMP  IL.SG-be.PRS
    Daughter who was milking the cow this morning, is to look after the calves today.

dative experiencer

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

genitive subject

(47) ʕali-ču anyč uw-tu bošor jasqi
    ari-li-ti-ð q^wa-tu
    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-ð-q^wni-tu-b g^wači b-ułne
    The dog that Patimat got scared of, ran away.

(48.A) pat’imat g^wači-li-k’di-ð e-ð-q^wni
    Patimat(II)[SG.ABS]  dog(III)-OBLSG-SUB-EL  ILog-get.scared.PFV
    Patimat got scared of the dog.
Ergative in instrumental meaning

(49) 'ali-mu dakl̓' dabl̓u-r̓-ši edī-tu-t nak'əna aq'u
   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-tu-b maḥla tu-w-mi-n
   father(I).OBL-GEN III.SG-be.PAST

The house in which Tagir lives belonged to his father.

Postpositional phrases

(51) Ḷu-n ḥaq'liq,i dunil ḱabar-mul i-tu
   LOGOPH.I.OBL-GEN about a.lot story(III)-PL.ABS N_H.PL.be.PRS-ATR.I.SG
   boyẖ,i otu-w-is wik'ad
   hunter(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-1.SG-GEN father-in-law(I)[SG.ABS]

The hunter, about whom there are many stories, is my father-in-law.

(51.A) boyẖ,i otu-mi-n ḥaq'liq,i ḱabar
   hunter(I)-OBL-GEN about story(III)[SG.ABS]

a story about a hunter

POSSESSOR

(52) aq aq'u-tu-b Šeṅt eḇi

The stool, the leg of which was broken, fell down.

(53) pat'imat-li-s rang mu-ši ak'u-tu-b
   Patimat(II)-OBL.SG-DAT colour(IV)[SG.ABS] be.good-CVB2 see.IV.SG-ATR-III.SG
   q'umaš aḇeḇeḇ-ti-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 k'l'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  
             κʷaš-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  
       bije-r-š: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  
       laqʷe-r-ti  
       diq'  
       uw-li  
   girl[II][SG.ABS]  finish[II].SG-PFV  soup[IV][SG.ABS]  make[IV.SG]-INF
   The girl finished making soup.

(58) ū:ne-li  
     laqʷiw:t-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd person pronoun</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>tuw</td>
<td>teb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>tuwmi</td>
<td>temmaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logophor</td>
<td>inż</td>
<td>že</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(59) kʷač'-ur-če-t  
     o-b:sd-er  
     žu-s  
     harak  
   paw[III].PL-OBL.PL-SUPER  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  
     meⁿ  
     c'abu-s  
     kľan  
     b-ek'er  
   The girl likes drinking whey.

(61) laha-s  
     kľan  
     ker  
     čamasdak  
     b-ukmu-s  
   The girl likes eating dates.
laaha-s k'lan b-ekeɾ čamasdak b-ukmu-s

The girl likes eating dates.

A. laaha-s sin-ši edi kʷar a-b-kla-s

B. laaha-s kʷar a-b-kla-s sin-ši e-b-di

The girl knew how to sew (lit.: put thread through)

The girl started making pasties.

The girl started making pasties.

Backward control (absent).

*The girl likes making pasties.

The girl likes making pasties.

The girl has made pasties.

I like the girl to make pasties.
Adverbial clauses.

(70) šipiš-li e·b4:u-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 naqʷ lap’a:-r-ši b-aq’a-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’e-l-kan zon qʷijla
    2SG.ABS marry II.SG-go.INF-CVB1-until I.SG.ABS twice
    asmus-u o·q’a-li χara:šu-wu d-aq’a
    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).

References.


**Less usual abbreviations**

I, II, III, IV – genders I, II, III, IV
CVB – converb
MSD – masdar (verbal noun)