

## Archi biabsolutives: new data from field

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### Biabsolutive construction

- |                                |                     |                      |              |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (1) to-r-mi                    | $\chi^{\circ}$ ošon | b-a-r-ši             | b-i          |
| that-II.SG-ERG.SG              | dress(III)[SG.ABS]  | III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| (2a) to-r                      | $\chi^{\circ}$ ošon | b-a-r-ši             | d-i          |
| that-II.SG.ABS                 | dress(III)[SG.ABS]  | III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| 'She is making a dress.'       |                     |                      |              |
| (2b) to-r                      | $\chi^{\circ}$ ošon | b-a-r-mat            | d-i          |
| that-II.SG.ABS                 | dress(III)[SG.ABS]  | III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| 'She is still making a dress.' |                     |                      |              |

### Semantics

- |  |                            |                       |                         |             |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| (3) $\chi^{\circ}$ on  | b-a-r>ca-r-ši              | d-i                   |                         |             |
| cow(III)[SG.ABS]   | III.SG-<IPFV>milk-IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS          |                         |             |
| (where is Shamsijat?) – 'Milking the cow.'   |                            |                       |                         |             |
| (4) gudu   | iqna                       | lobur                 | b-ac'a-r-ši             | w-i         |
| that.I[SG.ABS]   | always                     | child(I).PL.ABS       | I/II.PL-praise-IPFV-CVB | I.SG-be.PRS |
| 'He is always praising (his) children' (His characteristic behaviour)                |                            |                       |                         |             |
| (5) buwa   | iqna                       | c <sup>w</sup> a-r-ši | d-i                     |             |
| mother(II)[SG.ABS]   | always                     | I.SG.praise-IPFV-CVB  | II.SG-be.PRS            |             |
| '(Well,) MOTHER is always praising him' (but I cannot say anything about him myself) |                            |                       |                         |             |

### Agreement with adverbs

#### "-ši biabsolutives": semantics

- |  |                 |                     |                            |              |
|--|-----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| (6a) pat'i   | dit:a>b>u       | $q^{\circ w}ib$     | b-o>r>klin-ši              | d-i          |
| pati(II).SG.ABS  | early<III.SG>   | potato(III)[SG.ABS] | III.SG-<IPFV>dig. IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| 'Pati is digging the potatoes out early (for the potatoes).' |                 |                     |                            |              |
| (6b) pat'i   | dit:a>r>u       | $q^{\circ w}ib$     | b-o>r>klin-ši              | d-i          |
| pati(II).SG.ABS  | early<II.SG>    | potato(III)[SG.ABS] | III.SG-<IPFV>dig. IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| 'Pati is digging the potatoes out early (for Pati).'         |                 |                     |                            |              |
| (7a) kellij<b>u  | pat'i           | $q^{\circ w}ib$     | b-o>r>klin-ši              | d-i          |
| completely<III.SG>   | pati(II).SG.ABS | potato(III)[SG.ABS] | III.SG-<IPFV>dig. IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| 'Pati is digging the potatoes out completely.'               |                 |                     |                            |              |
| (7b) *kellij<r>u   | pat'i           | $q^{\circ w}ib$     | b-o>r>klin-ši              | d-i          |
| completely<II.SG>  | pati(II).SG.ABS | potato(III)[SG.ABS] | III.SG-<IPFV>dig. IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |
| *Pati is digging the potatoes out completely.                |                 |                     |                            |              |

**“-mat biabsolutives”:**

- (8a) pat'i      dit:a<b>u      q<sup>f</sup>wib      b-o<r>klim-mat      d-i  
 pati(II).SG.ABS early<III.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>dig.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘Pati is still digging the potatoes out early.’

- (8b) \*pat'i      dit:a<r>u      q<sup>f</sup>wib      b-o<r>klim-mat      d-i  
 pati(II).SG.ABS early<II.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>dig.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS  
 \*‘Pati is still digging the potatoes out early.’

- (9a) kellij<b>u      pat'i      q<sup>f</sup>wib      b-o<r>klim-mat      d-i  
 completely<III.SG> pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>dig.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘Pati is still digging the potatoes out completely. (She has a purpose to empty the potato field, and she’s still doing this).’

- (9b) kellij<r>u      pat'i      q<sup>f</sup>wib      b-o<r>klim-mat      d-i  
 completely<II.SG> pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>dig.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘Pati is still digging the potatoes out completely. (She has a purpose to empty the potato field, and she’s still doing this).’

**Inanimate subject: ok**

- (10) kosilka      uχ      ʁažar-ši      i  
 mower(IV)[SG.ABS] field(IV)[SG.ABS] cut.IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PRS  
 ‘The mower is mowing the field.’ (so you cannot have it now)

- (11) klorom-mul      ikł      kłe-s      a-r-ši      i  
 threshing.board(IV)-PL.ABS grain(IV)[SG.ABS] thresh-FIN [IV.SG]do-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PRS  
 ‘The threshing board is threshing the grain.’

- (12) k<sup>w</sup>am      buq'      sesor-ši      b-i  
 roasting.sheet(III)[SG.ABS] grain(III)[SG.ABS] roast.IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘The roasting sheet is roasting the grain.’

- (13) k'urt'a      č'er      b-a-r-ši      i  
 hammer(IV)[SG.ABS] wall(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-do-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PRS  
 ‘The hammer is making the wall.’

**Clause negation:**

- (14) buwa      χ<sup>f</sup>on      b-a<r>ca-r-ši      d-i,      zon      t'o/\*zari      t'o  
 mother(II)[SG.ABS] cow(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>milk-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS, 1SG.ABS no / 1SG.ERG no  
 ‘Mother is milking the cow, I am not.

**Discourse particles** can modify subject and object:

- (15) buwa-či                  χ<sup>w</sup>alli                  b-ar-ši                  d-i  
 mother(II)[SG.ABS]-CHI    bread(III)[SG.ABS]    III.SG-do-IPFV-CVB    II.SG-be.PRS

un                  han                  a-r-ši                  w-i  
 2SG.ABS              what(IV)[SG.ABS]    [IV.SG]do-IPFV-CVB    I.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘Mother is making the bread, and what are you doing?’

- (16) χ<sup>w</sup>alli-či                  buwa                  b-a-r-ši                  d-i  
 bread(III)[SG.ABS]-CHI    mother(II)[SG.ABS]    III.SG-do-IPFV-CVB    II.SG-be.PRS

goro<sup>r</sup>či                  ū                  u-qi  
 porridge(IV)[SG.ABS]    who.ERG                  [IV.SG]do-FUT  
 ‘As for the bread, mother is making it, who will make the porridge?’

**Dative subject:**

- (17) laha-s                  dija                  w-ak:u-r-ši                  w-i  
 girl(II).OBL-SG.DAT    father(I)[SG.ABS]    I.SG-see-IPFV-CVB    I.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘A girl sees (her) father.’

- (18) lo                  dija                  w-ak:u-r-ši                  d-i  
 girl(II)[SG.ABS]    father(I)[SG.ABS]    I.SG-see-IPFV-CVB    II.SG-be.PRS  
 ‘A girl sees (her) father.’