

Lexical aspects of Archi agreement

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There are two assumptions one would make in order to account for these data. The first assumption is relatively uncontroversial: within a particular lexical class, not all members show the exponence of inflectional categories on the surface. For instance, Russian “indeclinable” nouns such as *kakao* ‘cocoa’ or *metro* ‘metro’ do not change for case but they have underlying case (it is just a set of homophonous forms); in English, verbs show third person agreement but modal verbs do not; in Tsez, only verbs with the underlying initial vowel show agreement (this formulation allows us to exclude verbs which seem to start with a vowel on the surface but actually start with an underlying laryngeal), etc. It is always pleasing to find a rule which allows us to predict which members of a lexical class will not show overt morphology. In the case of Tsez, we are able to achieve that, but in the case of Russian “indeclinables”, we need to do that by listing. In what follows, I have made some suggestions, all on the basis of the data, as to what the rules may be.

The second assumption one has to make is that the forms you present in your contrasts do belong to the same lexical class. In what follows, I will comment on this and in some instances will try to challenge that assumption.

I have rearranged the data to reflect on different analytical issues, but I have kept the original numbering of examples.

1. Do the forms in your contrasts belong to the same lexical class?

1.1. Adjectives

I am not convinced that **marči** is a true adjective. It could be an adverbial meaning ‘completely, totally’, in which case agreement is less likely to be expected. You will need to compare the distribution of this form with that of more standard adjectives, starting with the agreeing ones. Without knowing the full range of adjectives vs other categories in Archi, it is really hard to tell what is happening in (1) and whether it is a true minimal pair to (2).

(1) jamu-r lo **marči** **žihil-til-če-s** kɬ'an de-ke-r-ši e(ɾ)di,
 that-II.SG girl(IV)[SG.ABS] all youth(I)-PL-OBL.PL-DAT love II.SG-become-IPFV-CVB <II.SG>be.PAST
 ‘All lads were in love with that girl.’ (T1: 007¹)

(2) jamu-r lo **mut:-ib** **žihil-til-če-s** kɬ'an de-ke-r-ši e(ɾ)di,
 that-II.SG girl(IV)[SG.ABS] handsome-PL youth(I)-PL-OBL.PL-DAT love II.SG-become-IPFV-CVB <II.SG>be.PAST
 ‘Handsome lads were in love with that girl.’ (Based on T1: 007 with thanks to Bulbul Musaeva)

1.2. Postpositions

Again, how certain are we that **χir** and **e(ɾ)q'en** belong to the same lexical class? *χir* may be a true postposition (that could be tested by checking where it appears under coordination “behind man and wolf”) whereas *e(ɾ)q'en* could be a participle heading a relative clause. If so, the participle standardly agrees with the head noun ‘road’ and takes a lative complement ‘to the village’—cf. (11a).

(10) jamu **laha-s** **χir** tu-w bošo:r-u q^ʷa-li
 that.I.SG lad(I)OBL.SG-DAT behind that-I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS]-and I.SG.come.PFV-EVID
 ‘Behind that lad there came that man.’ (T2:010)

¹ T1: 007 (and so on) stands for Text 1, sentence 007 from Kibrik et al., online (see References)

- (11) to-w-mi ɫːwək-du-t duχriqˁa-k eqˁen
 that.one-I.SG-SG.ERG near-ATR-IV.SG village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT <III.SG>up.to
 deqˁˁ au
 road(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>make.PFV
 ‘He made (built) the road to the next village.’ (based on Kibrik et al. 1977: 227 with thanks to Bulbul Musaeva).

- (11) a. [CP *Op*_i [TP t_i [VP t_i [VP [PP [DP [FP [AP ɫːwək-du-t] [NP duχriqˁa-k]]] t_i eqˁen]]]]]

‘the road that leads up (leading up to) to the nearby village’

(we already discussed this analysis at a prior meeting)

1.3. Particles

Understanding agreement on “particles” requires a better understanding of the nature of that class. Your examples are amenable to an interpretation according to which “very” is actually an adverb (cf. the English *extremely*), and the whole expression “very long ago” could be a low-adjoining adverb, which is expected to show agreement (I will return to this in section 3 below).

In (12), *-kun* could be a genuine particle, and particles are a non-agreeing lexical class. Judging just by the context, it could be some kind of a focus particle (in related languages, *-kin* is a focus particle).

- (12) hann-u=**kun** w-arhu-šaw ju-w χir i<w>di-li w-i-tˁu
 what-and=similar I.SG-think.PFV-CONC this-I.SG.ABS behind <I.SG>be.PFV-CVB I.SG-be.PRS-NEG
 ‘Though he thought in what way (to eat bread without breaking it), he didn’t manage (to find the way).’
 (T3:026)

- (13) arša horo:k=**eju** iškul dablu
 Archi.IN.ESS long.ago=**very<III.SG>** school(III)[SG.ABS] open.PFV
 ‘A school was opened in Archi a very long time ago.’ (Kibrik 1977: 326)

2. Are there possible morphological differences in the encoding of agreement among the members of the same class?

It seems that verbs may be a promising class in that regard. From the data presented here, it seems that verbs which start with a consonant do not show overt agreement. This is a very simple testable hypothesis.

Verbs, dynamic

- (3) ajša boqˁˁo
 aisha return.PFV
 ‘Aisha returned.’
- (4) ajša da-qˁa
 aisha II.SG-come.PFV
 ‘Aisha came.’

Verbs, stative:

- (5) ja-b marχ:əla qˁˁot:aqˁli kˁatˁ
 this-III.SG snow(III)[SG.ABS] for.winter be.needed
 ‘This snow is needed for the winter.’
- (6) ja-b marχ:əla qˁˁot:aqˁli b-aχˁ
 this-III.SG snow(III)[SG.ABS] for.winter III.SG-be.enough
 ‘This snow is enough (to last) for the whole winter.’

Verbs, complex:

- (7) A. šipiŋ-li eɬ:u-li tumankʔ 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.’
- B. Patimat d-irχ:win
Patimat(II)[SG.ABS] II.SG-work.IPFV
Patimat works.

Both these verbs, *kammus* ‘throw, shoot’ and *irχ^wmus* ‘work’ have a verb *bos* ‘speak’ as their part (realized here as *-mus*). Most of *-bos* verbs do not agree.

3. What is the domain of verbal agreement? Adverb placement

The difference in agreement here goes back to the issue we discussed earlier, when we examined the domain of verbal agreement. In a nutshell, the domain of Archi verbal agreement is the verbal complex (vP). Elements inside that verbal complex are predicted to show agreement, and elements above the vP are predicted not to have agreement.

The placement of adverbs in clause structure depends on the subclass of adverbs; vP-merged adverbs should show agreement, and that’s what we see in (9), where the temporal adverb can adjoin to either V or VP.

Judging by its meaning (‘thus’), *jemmet* is a higher adverb, and although we would need more data to know its exact position, we can hypothesize that it adjoins to T or TP (or even higher, in the CP area). Crucially, it is outside of vP, and is not expected to show agreement. We can predict no agreement on causal adverbs, adverbs meaning ‘possibly’, ‘probably’; agreement is expected on manner adverbs.

- (8) un jemmet a<r>a-s kɬ’ana?
2SG.ABS thus <II.SG>do-INF want.QUEST
‘Do you want thus to be done to you (become covered in gold).’ (T6:072)
- (9) nen dit:a<t’>u ati bo-li nokɬ’-a-ši
1PL.EXCL.ABS early<1PL>² 1PL.let.go.IMP say.PFV-EVID house(IV)-IN-ALL
‘Let us go home at once (early).’ (T25:114)

It could well be that what you identified as a particle in example (13) is also a temporal adverb “extremely long ago”, and by virtue of being in the VP it agrees with the absolutive. If so, agreement in (13) is no different from agreement in (9).

- (13) arša horo:k=eju iškul dablu
Archi.IN.ESS long.ago=**very**<III.SG> school(III)[SG.ABS] open.PFV
‘A school was opened in Archi a very long time ago.’ (Kibrik 1977: 326)

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