ARCHI: OVERVIEW

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

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

PHONOLOGY

Table 1. Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i / iː		u /uː
middle	e / eː	ə	o /oː
low		a / aː	

long vs. short: the contrast is phonological:

(1) ʁiniš   ʁiniːš

       'from there' (higher than the speaker)   'from there' (higher and far away from the speaker)

Table 2. Consonants

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	palato-velar	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	laryngeal
plosive	p p' b p:	t t' d tʷ dʷ t:				k k' g kʷ k'ʷ gʷ k: k:ʷ	q q' q:' qʷ q'ʷ	ʕ	ʔ
nasal	m	n							
trill		r							
fricative		s z sʷ zʷ s: s:ʷ	š ž šʷ žʷ š: š:ʷ				χ ʁ χʷ ʁʷ χ: χ:ʷ	ħ	h
affricate		c c' cʷ c'ʷ c:'	č č' čʷ č'ʷ č:'						
lateral fricative					ɬ ɮ ɬ: ɬʷ ɬ:ʷ				
lateral affricate					kɬ kɬ' kɬʷ kɬ'ʷ				
approx	w			j					
lateral approx		l							

Examples:

Laterals:

(2) was   kammu-t:u   ʁudu   **ɬ:unne**
    2SG.DAT   shoot.PFV-ATR.I.SG   that.one.I.SG   I.SG.flee.PFV[1]
    'The one who shot at you, he ran away.' (Bear story, 8)

(3) ɬon   ɬ:onnol
    'five' (when counting sheep)   'wife, woman'

    ɬʷert   ɬ:ʷaːna
    'scar, trace'   'resemble'

    kɬan   kɬ'an
    'hole'   'love'

Fortis consonants:

(4) qˤel kes   q:ˤel
    'collapse'   'crack, split' (noun)

    χat   χːat
    'scratch'   'tie-beam'

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[1] NB   1,2,3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd persons
          I, II, III, IV – genders

Pharyngealisation:

(5) baqa   baqˤa
    'it (III.SG) got cold'   'it (III.SG) came'

    aˤráˤčʼ
    'reasonably big'

(6) daki   un   za-tˁi-k   **b-eˤ‹r›šːu-r**
    why   2SG.ABS   1.OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT   III.SG-‹IPFV›run-IPFV
    'Why are you running towards me?' (Bear story, 10)

(7) χir   **qʼʷˤetʼu**   kʼoncʼol-u   χir i-tːu-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

NOUN
Nouns have the category of gender (I-IV), and inflect for number (SG and PL), case and localisation

Table 3. Noun stems

'ram'	SG	PL
ABS (direct)	baˤkʼ	baˤkʼur
ERG (oblique)	beˤkʼiri	baˤkʼurčaj

Table 4. Some Archi cases (non-spatial)

baˤkʼ 'ram'

value	formation			example	
	SG	PL	shared case endings	SG	PL
ABSOLUTIVE	DIR.SG	DIR.PL		baˤkʼ	baˤkʼ-ur
ERGATIVE	OBL.SG	OBL.PL		beˤkʼiri	**baˤkʼ-ur**-čaj
GENITIVE	OBL.SG	OBL.PL	-n	**beˤkʼiri**-n	**baˤkʼ-ur**-če-n
DATIVE	+ shared	+shared case	-s, -sː	**beˤkʼiri**-s	**baˤkʼ-ur**-če-s
COMITATIVE	case endings	endings	-ɬːu	**beˤkʼiri**-ɬːu	**baˤkʼ-ur**-če-ɬːu

The spatial forms are produced by adding one of five localisation affixes (IN, INTER, SUPER, SUB and CONT) to the oblique stem. The directional case affix is then attached to the localisation affix:

(8)   tʼeˤ-li-tːi-k   iskalatʼ-l-a-š
       flower-OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT   warehouse-OBL.SG-IN-ELAT
       'onto the flower'   'from the warehouse'

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

       darcʼ-li-ra-kəna   dunil-li-tːi-χut
       post-OBL.SG-CONT-TERM   sky-OBL.SG-SUPER-TRANS
       'up to the post'   'in (through) the sky'

(9)   daki   un   za-tˁi-k   b-eˤ‹r›šːu-r
       why   2SG.ABS   1.OBL.SG-SUPER-LAT   III.SG-‹IPFV›run-IPFV
       'Why are you running towards me?' (Bear story, 10)

(10) kʷač'-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 5. Gender and number (evidence from verbs)

GENDER		NUMBER	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
I (male human)		w-/‹w›	b-/‹b›
II (female human)		d-/‹r›	
III (some animates, all insects, some inanimates)		b-/‹b›	Ø-/‹Ø›
IV (some animates, some inanimates, abstracts)		Ø-/‹Ø›	

This is a typical Daghestanian system, we see the same system in Tsakhur, but compare to Tsez where, in the plural, masculine is opposed to other genders (Polinsky and Comrie 1999).

(11) šipiʕ-li   e‹b›ɬ: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)

(12) 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 6. Gender assignment

GENDER III	GENDER IV
domestic animals and birds χʕon 'cow', dogi 'donkey', qaz 'goose'	**young animals and birds (wild and domestic)** biš 'calf', k'eʕrt '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 parχ 'drum', moχol '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', baʕri 'lake', biłʷ 'whirlpool', qol 'ice'	**liquids** ɬ:an 'water', čiχir 'wine', nabq 'tears', χ:ʕel 'rain'
astronomical and meteorological phenomena bac 'moon', barq 'sun', marχːəla '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).

There is a question about person, but since it is more relevant for our Topic 3, we will be discussing it later, here are just the basic facts:

Agreement with personal pronouns

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

nen "we" [humans and non-humans]	→ Ø-	
žʷen "you (pl)" [humans and non-humans]	→ Ø-	

Examples*:*

(13)   zon   **d**-irχ:win
         1SG.ABS   II.SG-work.IPFV
         'I work.' (woman speaking)

(14)   un   hanžugur   **d**-aqˤa?
         2SG.ABS   what.way   II.SG-come.PFV
         'How did you get here?' (to a woman)

(Chumakina, Kibort & Corbett, 2007)

(15)   teb   ba-qˤa
         they   I/II.PL-came
         'they (human) came'

(16)   teb   qˤa
         they   [III/IV.PL]came
         'they (non-human) came'

(17)   nen   qˤa
         we.EXCL   [?]came
         'we came'

(18)   žʷen   qˤa
         you.PL   [?]came
         'you came'

(Aleksandr Kibrik 1972 and personal communication)

PRONOUN

	SG		PL		
	1st person	2nd person	1st person		2nd person
			EXCL	INCL	
ABS	zon	un	nen	**nent'u**	žʷen
ERG	zari		nen	**nena-w** **nena‹r›u** **nena‹b›u** **nent'u**	žʷen
GEN	**w-is** **d-is** **b-is** **is**	wit	**ulu** **d-olo** **b-olo** **olo**	**la‹w›u** **la‹r›u** **la‹b›u** **lat'u**	wiš
DAT	**w-ez** **d-ez** **b-ez** **ez**	was	**w-el** **d-el** **b-el** **el**	**w-ela-w** **d-ela‹r›u** **b-ela‹b›u** **el‹t'›u**	wež
COMIT	zał:u	wał:u	lał:u		žʷał:u
SIMILAT	zaqˤdi	waqˤdi	laqˤdi		žʷaqˤdi
COMP	zaχur	waχur	laχur		žʷaχur
SUBST	zakł'ena	wakł'ena	lakł'ena		žʷakł'ena
SUPERESS	zat	wat	lat		žʷat
SUPERELAT	zat:iš	wat:iš	lat:iš		žʷat:iš
SUPERLAT	zat:ik	wat:ik	lat:ik		žʷat:ik
SUPERTERM	zat:ikəna	wat:ikəna	lat:ikəna		žʷat:ikəna
CONTELAT	zaraš	waraš	laraš		žʷaraš
CONTLAT	zarak	warak	larak		žʷarak
CONTALL	zarši	warši	larši		žʷarši
CONTTERM	zarakəna	warakəna	larakəna		žʷarakəna

(**NOTE** multiple exponence in the dative plural inclusive,
Topic 3 Syntax-morphology interface problem)

Wh-words do not have a morphological slot for agreement:

han – 'what'
kʷi – 'who'
danna – 'where'
basa – 'when'
daki – 'why'

ADJECTIVE
non-derived:

- no inflection

- small class (33 in our dictionary), none "basic":
  nationalities
      ʕarab 'Arab' *haman* 'Lak' *maʕarul* 'Avar' *oˤroˤs* 'Russian' *pirs:i* 'Persian'
  characteristics:
      bišin 'foreign, step' *č'ere* 'barren' *dalu* 'mad' *mekłe* 'male'
inflected adjectives: derived
  from (stative) verbs:
      t'i-t:u-t 'small' *naˤӡ-du-t* 'blue' *χala-t:u-t* 'old' *mac'a-t:u-t* 'new'
  from adverbs:
      hinc-du-t 'present, actual' *qi-t:u-t* 'day' *jak-du-t* 'deep'
  from genitives:
      kutak-li-nnu-t 'hard' *orχˤi-li-nnu-t* 'salty'

from loanwords:

zor-t:u-t 'strong' χas-du-t 'special' mašhur-t:u-t 'famous'

Table 7. Gender-number marking on adjectives

			'real, reliable'	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
I	-w		haʁdu	
II	-r	-ib	haʁdur	haʁdib
III	-b		haʁdub	
IV	-t		haʁdut	

Compare this to Tsez system where adjective mark the same oppositions as verbs:

(19) Tsez adjectives (Polinsky and Comrie 1999: 112)

	SG		PL	
I	ø-exora	uži	**b-**exora	uži-bi
	CLl-long	boy	CLlPL-long	boy-PL
	'tall boy'		'tall boys'	
II	y-exora	kid		
	CL2-long	girl		
	'tall girl'			
III	b-exora	bikori	**r-**exora	bikori-bi
	CL3-long	snake	CL2-4PL-long	snake-PL
	'long snake'		'long snakes'	
IV	r-exora	huni		
	CL4-long	road		
	'long way'			

VERB

The Archi verb has basic tense/aspect/mood forms and related gerunds, participles and masdars. The verb agrees with the absolutive of the clause in gender and number.

Table 8. Verbal stems

	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	INFINITIVE	IMPERATIVE	POTENTIAL (PFV-*qi*)
'divide'	q'ˤo	q'ˤa-r	q'ˤa-s	q'ˤa	q'ˤoqi
'get cold'	qa	qe‹r›qi-r	qe-s	qeqi	qaqi
'beat'	daχdi	da‹r›χi-r	daχi-s	daχi	daχdiqi

Stative verb: one stem, no imperative, for example: kɬ'an 'love', sini 'know', hiba 'be good'

Table 9. Gender marking in the verb
aχas 'lie down, sleep':

	PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		INFINITIVE		IMPERATIVE		POTENTIAL (PFV-*qi*)	
gender	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
I	a‹w›χu	a‹b›χu	w-a‹r›χa-r	b-a‹r›χa-r	a‹w›χa-s	a‹b›χa-s	w-aχa	b-aχa	a‹w›χuqi	a‹b›χuqi
II	a‹r›χu		d-a‹r›χa-r		a‹r›χa-s		d-aχa		a‹r›χuqi	
III	a‹b›χu	aχu	b-a‹r›χa-r	a‹r›χa-r	a‹b›χa-s	aχa-s	b-aχa	aχa	a‹b›χuqi	aχuqi
IV	aχu		a‹r›χa-r		aχa-s		aχa		aχuqi	

Table 10. Gender marking according to verb type

	PERFECTIVE[2]		IMPERFECTIVE		INFINITIVE		IMPERATIVE	
	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III	IV	III
'milk'	acu	b-acu	a‹r›ca-r	b-a‹r›ca-r	aca-s	b-aca-s	aca	b-aca
'drop'	caχu	ca‹b›χu	ca‹r›χa-r	ca‹b›χa-r	caχa-s	ca‹b›χa-s	caχa	ca‹b›χa
'lie down'	aχu	a‹b›χu	a‹r›χa-r	b-a‹r›χa-r	aχa-s	a‹b›χa-s	aχa	b-aχa

Tense is expressed periphrastically by a combination of a converb and a verb 'be' in the present or in the past

Table 11. Converbs which are used to produce periphrastic tenses

irχʷmus 'work' IV.SG

stem	CONSECUTIVE	SIMULTANEOUS	CONTINUOUS
INF		irχʷmus-ši	
IPFV		irχːʷin-ši	irχːʷim-mat
PFV	irχʷni-li		irχʷni-mat
POT		irχʷniqi-ši	

Table 12. Forms of the verb 'be' used to produce periphrastic tenses:

	PRESENT		PAST	
gender	SG	PL	SG	PL
I	wi	bi	i‹w›di	e‹b›di
II	di		e‹r›di	
III	bi	i	e‹b›di	edi
IV	i		edi	

Table 13. Example of periphrastic tenses[3]:
irχʷmus 'work' IV.SG

stems	converbs	PRESENT (i)	PAST (edi)
IPFV (*irχːʷin*)	IPFV-*ši*	**present1** *irχːʷin-ši i*	**imperfect1** *irχːʷin-ši edi*
	IPFV-*mat*	**present2** *irχːʷim-mat i*	**imperfect2** *irχːʷim-mat edi*
PFV (irχʷni)	PFV-*li*	**perfect1** *irχʷni-li i*	**pluperfect1** *irχʷni-li edi*
	PFV-*mat*	**perfect2** *irχʷni-mat i*	**pluperfect2** *irχʷni-mat edi*
POT (irχʷniqi)	POT+*ši*	**inceptive** *irχʷniqi-ši i*	**past inceptive** *irχʷniqi-ši edi*

Other Converbs (those that we have not seen before are in bold)

(21) *irχʷmus* 'work'

	CONSECUTIVE		SIMULTANEOUS	CONTINUOUS	NEGATIVE
INF			**irχʷmus-ši**		**irχʷmus-t'u-ši**
IPFV			irχːʷin-ši	irχːʷim-mat	**irχʷna:-t'u-ši**
PFV	CONS1	CONS2		irχʷni-mat	**irχʷni-t'aw**
	irχʷni-li	**irχʷni-na**			
POT			irχʷniqi-ši		

This is relevant for Topic 4 (conditions on agreement): imperfective converbs in -*ši* license biabsolutive agreement, imperfective converbs in -*mat* require it (similar situation in Tsez).

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[2] Potential stem has the same form as the perfective plus suffix -*qi*.
[3] See Chumakina (forthcoming) for the usage of periphrastic tenses.

Participles

(22) *aχas* 'lie down, sleep'

gender	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	INFINITIVE	POTENTIAL
I.SG	awχu-tːu	w-arχa-r-tːu	awχa-s-tːu	awχu-qi-tːu
II.SG	arχu-tːu-r	d-arχa-r-tːu-r	arχa-s-tːu-r	arχu-qi-tːu-r
III.SG	abχu-tːu-b	b-arχa-r-tːu-b	abχa-s-tːu-b	abχu-qi-tːu-b
IV.SG	aχu-tːu-t	arχa-r-tːu-t	aχa-s-tːu-t	aχu-qi-tːu-t
I/II.PL	abχu-tː-ib	b-arχa-r-tːib	abχa-s-tː-ib	abχu-qi-tː-ib
III/IV.PL	aχu-tː-ib	arχa-r-tː-ib	aχa-s-tː-ib	aχu-qi-tː-ib
gloss	one who is asleep	one who is always or often asleep	one who is supposed to be asleep	one who will be asleep

Example of masdar that agrees in gender

(23) *iq'ʷˤkul* 'heaviness'

	SG	PL
I	wiq'ʷˤkul	biq'ʷˤkul
II	diq'ʷˤkul	
III	biq'ʷˤkul	iq'ʷˤkul
IV	iq'ʷˤkul	

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: *doˤz* 'be big'
>>> *doˤz as* 'grow'
>>
>> noun: *cac* 'prickle'
>>> *cac kes* 'frown'
>>
>> noun in the locative: *baˤri* 'pool'
>>> *baˤraj aχas* 'bathe'
>>
>> noun in the ergative: *k'os* 'knife'
>>> *k'asːan as* 'slaughter'
>>
>> verbal noun from a Russian verb: *mešat'* 'disturb'
>>> *mišajətkul as* 'disturb'
>>
>> reduplicated form not otherwise used:
>>> *χːiriχ-χːiris as* 'pester'
>>
>> loanwords otherwise not used:
>>> *dagawur as* 'sign an agreement', *jabalgu as* 'barter'
>>
>> unclassified:
>>> *acːʼis eχmus* 'fall ill' («fake» dative of *acːʼi* 'illness', real dative is *acːʼilis*)

SYNTAX

Argument alignment

INTRANSITIVE
(24) buwa   da-qˤa
      mother(II)[ABS.SG]   II.SG-come.PFV
      'Mother came.'

TRANSITIVE
    ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE
(25) dija-mu   buwa   χir   a‹r›u
      father(I)-SG.ERG   mother(II)[SG.ABS]   behind   ‹II.SG›do.PFV
      'Father brought mother with him.'

(26) uˤnšːəl-li   hilku   b-ukne
      lizard(III)-SG.ERG   fly(III)[SG.ABS]   III.SG-eat.PFV
      'The lizard ate the fly.'

    DATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE
(27) to-w-mi-s   Ajša   d-akːu
      that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT   Aisha(II)[SG.ABS]   II.SG-see.PFV
      'He has seen Aisha (female).'

(28) to-w-mu-s   buwa   t'ibir   d-e‹r›χi-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.'

    BIABSOLUTIVE

(Topic 4: conditions on agreement)

(29) tor   ʁˤaža-r-mat   d-i
      she.ABS   cut-IPFV-CVB   II.SG-be.PRS
      'She is still (hay) cutting.'

(30) tor   χˤošon b-a-r-ši   e‹r›di
      she.ABS   dress(III)[SG.ABS]   III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB   ‹II.SG›be.PAST
      'he was making a dress.'

Agreement
Controllers
    clause level: absolutive argument:
(31) ʕumar-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)

(32) 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)

    noun phrase: head of the noun phrase:
(33) 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‹r›di.
      dance.PFV-CVB1   ‹II.SG›be.PAST
      'I (female) was dancing at my brother's wedding.'

Targets: ALL WORD CLASSES

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(Topic 1: domain problem)

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verbs, adjectives, adverbs:

(34) o‹b›qˤa-t:u-b   balah   **dit:a‹b›u**   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:

(35) arša   horo:k   **ej‹b›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:

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

postpositions:

(37) to-w-mi-s   sin-t'u   ł:ʷak-du-t   duχriqˤa-k
    that.one-I.SG-OBL.SG-DAT   know-NEG   near-ATR-IV.SG   village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT
    e‹b›q'en   b-i-t:u-b   deqˤ
    ‹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

(38) (a) source sentence

    to-r   ł:onnol   šʷˤaš   qˤot   d-ak'a
    that.one-II.SG   woman(II)SG.ERG   last.year   in.winter   II.SG-die.PFV
    'That woman died last winter'

(38) (b) relative clause

    šʷˤaš   qˤot   d-ak'a-t:u-r   ł:anna   b-el   χabar
    last.year   in.winter   II.SG-die.PFV-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

(39) (a) source sentence

    bošor   s:anʁi   aˤʔaˤ-r-ši   i‹w›di
    man(I)[SG.ABS]   yesterday   call-IPFV-CVB2   ‹I.SG›be.PAST
    'A man called yesterday.'

39 (b) relative clause

    s:anʁi   aˤʔaˤ-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)

(40) (a) source sentence

s:anʁi	nen	akɬ'	č'arq'a-s	uw
yesterday	1PL.EXCL.ERG	meat(IV)[SG.ABS]	roast-INF	do.IV.SG.PFV

'Yesterday we roasted meat.'

(40) (b) relative clause

s:anʁi	č'arq'a-s	uw-tːu-t	akɬ'	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)

(41) (a) source sentence

akkonniɬːu	laha	χˤon	b-aⵁrⵀci-r-ši	eⵁrⵀdi
morning	girl(II)[SG.ABS]	cow(III)[SG.ABS]	III.SG-‹IPFV›milk-IPFV-CVB2	‹II.SG›be.PAST

'Daughter, was milking the cow in the morning.'

(41) (b) relative clause

akkonniɬːu	χˤon	b-aⵁrⵀci-r-ši	eⵁrⵀdi-tːu-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 experience

(42) (a) source sentence

bošor-mi-s	k'an	χo
man(I)-OBL.SG-DAT	horseshoe(IV)[SG.ABS]	find.IV.SG.PFV

'A man found a horseshoe.'

(42) (b) relative clause

k'an	**χo-tːu**	bošor-mi	tot
horseshoe(IV)[SG.ABS]	find.IV.SG.PFV-ATR.I.SG	man(I)-SG.ERG	that.one(IV)[SG.ABS]
dakɬ'-i-t	daχdi		
door(IV)-OBL.SG-SUP	hit.IV.SG.PFV		

'The man who found a horseshoe, nailed it to the door.'

(**NOTE** multiple controllers, **Topic 3 Syntax-morphology interface problem**)

(43) (a) source sentence

tu-w	adam-li-s	moroženij	kɬ'an
that.one-I.SG	person(IV)-OBL.SG-DAT	icecream(IV)[SG.ABS]	like/want

'That man wants ice cream.'

(43) (b) relative clause

moroženij	kɬ'an-nu-t	adam-li	kul	jatːeχa
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

(44) (a) source sentence

tu-w	bošor-mi-n	ʕali-ɫ:u	anχ	uw
that.one-I.SG	man(I)-OBL.SG-GEN	Ali(I)-COMIT	fight(IV)[SG.ABS]	make.IV.SG.PFV

'That man fought with Ali.'

(44) (b) relative clause

ʕali-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	qʷa-t'u
work-OBLSG-SUPER-LAT	go.I.SG.PFV-NEG

'The man who fought with Ali, hasn't come to work today.'

Ergative in instrumental meaning

(45) (a) source sentence

ʕali-mu	dakɫ'	nak'ən-ni	dabɫu-r-ši	edi
Ali(I)-SG.ERG	door(IV)[SG.ABS]	key(IV)-SG.ERG	open-IPFV-CVB2	be.IV.SG.PAST

'The key with which Ali opened this door, broke.'

(45) (b) relative clause

ʕali-mu	dakɫ'	dabɫu-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.'

Local case argument

(46) (a) source sentence

t'ahir	to-b	maħla-l-a	w-i
Tagir(I)[SG.ABS]	that.one-III.SG	house(III)-OBL.SG-IN	I.SG-be.PRS

'Tagir lives in that house.'

(46) (b) relative clause

t'ahir	w-i-t:u-b	maħla	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	e‹b›di
father(I).OBL.SG-GEN	‹III.SG›be.PAST

'The house in which Tagir lives belonged to his father.'

(47) (a) source sentence

pat'imat	gʷači-li-kɫ'i-š	e‹r›qʷʕni
Patimat(II)[SG.ABS]	dog(III)-OBL.SG-SUB-EL	‹II.SG›get.scared.PFV

'Patimat got scared of the dog.'

(47) (b) relative clause

pat'imat	e‹r›qʷʕni-t:u-b	gʷači	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.'

Postpositional phrases

(48) (a) source clause

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

'a story about a hunter'

(48) (b) relative clause

žu-n	ħaq'liqˤ	dunil	χabar-mul	i-tːu
LOGOPH.I.OBL.SG-GEN	about	a.lot	story(III)-PL.ABS	III/IV.PL.be.PRS-ATR.I.SG

boχːˤotːu	w-is	wikɬ'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.'

POSSESSOR

(49) (a) source sentence

šeˤnt-li-n	aq	aqˤu
stool(III)-OBL.SG-GEN	leg(IV)[SG.ABS]	break.IV.SG.PFV

'The leg of the stool broke.'

(49) (b) relative clause

aq	aqˤu-tːu-b	šeˤnt	e‹b›ku
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.'

(50) (a) source sentence

pat'imat-li-s	q'umaš-li-n	rang	muː-ši	akːu
Patimat(II)-OBL.SG-DAT	fabric(III)-OBL.SG-GEN	colour(IV)[SG.ABS]	be.good-CVB2	see.IV.SG-ATR-III.SG

'Patimat liked the colour of this cloth.'

(50) (b) relative clause

pat'imat-li-s	rang	muː-ši	akːu-tːu-b
Patimat(II)-OBL.SG-DAT	colour(IV)[SG.ABS]	be.good-CVB2	see.IV.SG-ATR-III.SG

q'umaš	a‹b›se‹b›tːi-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

(51)
laha-s	diq'	a-s	kɬ'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.'

(52)
lo	bije‹r›ɬːu	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.'

(53)
lo	laq'ʷe‹r›tːi	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.'

(54)
ɬːunne-li	laq'ʷiwtːa-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 14. Personal pronouns and logophor

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

(55) kʷač'-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
      '...and allegedly stood on his paws in front of him' (Uncle Umar) (Bear story, 6).

Long-distance agreement

(56) laha-s   me⁣ˤ   c'abu-s   kɬ'an   b-eker
      girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT   whey(III)[SG.ABS]   drink-INF   like   III.SG-AUX.IPFV
      'The girl likes drinking whey.'

(57) laha-s   kɬ'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.'

(58) 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.'

(59) A.   laha-s   sin-ši   edi   kʷar   a‹b›kɬa-s
           girl(II).OBL.SG-DAT   know-CVB2   IV.SG.be.PAST   thread(III)[SG.ABS]   ‹III.SG›put-INF
      B.   laha-s   kʷar   a‹b›kɬa-s   sin-ši   e‹b›di
           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)

(60) lo   bije‹r›ɬːu   berku   a‹b›a-s
      girl(II)[SG.ABS]   start‹II.SG›PFV   pasty(III)[SG.ABS]   ‹III.SG›make-INF
      'The girl started making pasties.'

(61) *lo   bije‹b›ɬːu   berku   a‹b›a-s
      girl(II)[SG.ABS]   start‹III.SG›PFV   pasty(III)[SG.ABS]   ‹III.SG›make-INF
      *The girl started making pasties.

Compare to Tsez where LDA is triggered by the topical constituent:

(62) enir   [uža: magalu   ba:c'ruɬi]   r-iyxo
      mother   [boy   bread.III.ABS   ate].IV   IV-know
      The mother knows [the boy ate the bread]
      'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'

(63) enir   uža: magalu   ba:c'ruɬi]   b-iyxo
      mother [boy   bread.III.ABS   ate]   III-know
      The mother knows [the boy ate the bread]
      'The mother knows the boy ate the bread.'

(Polinsky and Potsdam 2001)

Reflexives:

(64) patimat-li-s   q'onq'   že-s:-ij‹t'›u   χarak   χːo
      Patimat-SG.OBL-DAT   book(IV)[SG.ABS]   LOG.OBL.II.SG-DAT-‹IV.SG›EMPH   behind   found.PFV.IV.SG
      'Patimat found a book behind herself.'

Backward control (absent)

(65) *laha   berku   a‹b›a-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.

(66) laha-s   berku   a‹b›a-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.'

(67) laha   berku   a‹b›u
      girl(II).SG.ERG   pasty(III)[SG.ABS]   ‹III.SG›make.PFV
      'The girl has made pasties.'

(68) b-ez   laha   berku   a‹b›a-s   kł'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.'

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Less usual abbreviations

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