The lexical problem.

1. Introduction: setting of the problem

It is sometimes assumed that members of a word class behave identically. However, the range of agreement in Archi is never 100%: there is not a single word class where every member has a morphological slot for agreement: most adjectives show agreement, as do about half the verbs (judging by the 1328 verbs in our database), and a handful of adverbs and particles. This presents a challenge for defining word classes.

	total	agreeing	% agreeing
adjectives	446	313	70.2
verbs	1248	399	32.0
adverbs	397	28	7.1
postpositions	34	1	2.9
enclitic particles	4	1	(25.0)

Data from the Archi dictionary, reported in Chumakina & Corbett (2008: 188)

2. Lexical problem by word classes

2.1. Adjectives

Inflecting adjectives agree in gender and number (1) but not in case (2):

(1) (a)   t'i-t:u-t   lo
           small-ATTR-IV.SG   child(IV)[SG.ABS]
           'small child'

    (b)   t'i-t-ib   lo-bur
           small-ATTR-PL   child(IV)-PL.ABS
           'small children'

(2) doːʕzu-t   adam   daːzeχːu-t'o-nč'iš   **doːʕzu-b**   **č'ele-li-r-ši**
     big-IV.SG   person(IV)[ABS.SG]   get.IV.SG.PFV-NEG-COND   big-III.SG   stone(III)-OBL-CONT-ALL
     aq'ʕul   c'iχə   ba-k-a
     mind(IV)[ABS.SG]   ask   III.SG-become-IMP'

    'If you don't come across an old [=big] person, ask an advice from a big stone.'

Uninflecting adjectives: some make semantically coherent groups (A-B), some do not (C):

   A.   *Nationalities and similar qualities:*

aršatːen	Archi
dargin	Dargi
haman	Lak
jatːan	Avar
nuʁaj	Nogaj
oʕroʕs	Russian
parang	French
pirsːi	Persian
ʕarab	Arabic
maʕarul	mountainous (highlander)
bišin	foreign
kulu	orphan

These are true adjectives as they can modify nouns (3)-(5), unlike, say, stative verbs or nouns which take the genitive (6):

(3) pirs:i   daraj
    Persian   fabric(IV)[SG.ABS]
    'Persian fabric'

(4) dargin   ł:onnol
    Dargi   woman(II)[SG.ABS]
    'Dargi woman'

(5) aršat:en   č'at
    archi   language(IV)[SG.ABS]
    'Archi language'

Compare:

(6) uš-mi-n   oq
    brother(I)-OBL.SG-GEN   wedding(IV)[SG.ABS]
    'brother's wedding'

>B. *Quantification:*

		example showing noun modification
čeħ	not at all, not one	(7)
ho:nu	of any kind, all	(8)
marči	everybody, everyone	(9)
na:q'ukan	a lot	(10)
obš:i	all, whole	(11)
os para	some	(12)

These also can modify nouns:

(7) **čeħ**   **adam-li-s**   sin   e‹r›t:i-li   dit'u
    not.one   person(IV)-OBL.SG-DAT   know   ‹II.SG›become.PFV-CVB   II.SG-be.PRS-NEG
    jamu-r   lo   χit:a.
    that-II.SG   girl(II)[SG.ABS]   then

'…nobody recognized her then.' (T6: 079[1])

(8) i-t:u-t   **ho:nu**   **naˤkł'**   eχu-li   oqˤa-li
    IV.SG.be.PRS-ATTR-IV.SG   any   milk(IV)[SG.ABS]   IV.SG.spill.PFV-CVB   IV.SG.go.PFV-EVID
    '…all the milk spilled over.' (T8: 018)

(9) jamu-r   lo   **marči**   **žihil-til-če-s**   kł'an   de-ke-r-ši   e‹r›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: 007)

(10) **na:q'ukan**   **χo:s-u**   χ:a-li
     a.lot   property(IV)[SG.ABS]-and   IV.SG.bring.PFV-EVID
     '…(and he) brought a lot of goods.' (T8: 060)

(11) **obši**   **χalq'i-bu**   ra-raq-li-t   o‹b›qˤa-li
     all   people(I/II)[PL.NOM]-and   side(IV).RDP-OBL.SG-SUP   ‹HPL›go.PFV-CVB
     'All the people went in different directions.'

(12) **os para**   **adam-til-če-s**   oq-or-če-t:i-k   b-eqˤe-s   kł'an   b-eke-r-t'u
     some   man(IV)-PL-OBL.PL-DAT   wedding(IV)-PL-OBL.PL-SUP-LAT   HPL-go-INF   love   HPL-become-IPFV-NEG
     'Some people do not like going to weddings.'

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[1] T6: 079 (and so on) stands for Text 6, sentence 079 from Kibrik et al., online (see References)

QUESTION for future fieldwork: some of these adjectives are used with singular nouns (7, 8, 10), some are used with plural ones (9, 11, 12). Is it the only possible usage?

C. *Other:* no apparent semantic group

aˤraˤč'	reasonably big
but'u	different
čelennin	privately owned
č'ere	barren, dry
dalu	loony, crazy
ħok'o	small
hoʁol	ripe
mekɬle	of male gender
nak'alaj	old, ancient, bygone
waˤp'	fat, lazy, slow
buraq'	bronze

Some of these have semantically parallel **inflected** adjectives, compare:

(13) aˤraˤč' 'reasonably big' vs. doˤ:zur 'big, fat (II.SG)'

(14) ħok'o   lo
        small   child(IV)[SG.ABS]

(15) t'i-t:u-t   lo
        small-ATTR-IV.SG   child(IV)[SG.ABS]

(16) ħok'o   lo-bur
        small   child(IV)-PL.ABS

(17) t'i-t:-ib   lo-bur
        small-ATTR-PL   child(IV)-PL.ABS

2.2. Verbs

2.2.1. Simple dynamic, expectation: inflecting
There are 150 inflecting simple dynamic verbs and 19 non-inflecting.

Non-inflecting dynamic verbs

PFV	IPFV	syntax	gloss
baq'ˤár	boq'ˤo	ABS	return
babc'ur	babc'u	ABS	hew
babχ:ˤur	babχ:ˤu	ABS	swell
baˤrkɬin	baˤkɬni	ERG-ABS-DAT	press
barhur	barhu	ERG-ABS	babysit
berc:'ar	bec:'u	ABS	be able
daˤršin	daˤšni	ABS	cloud up
dartir	dat:i	ABS	clear up
dorq'ur	dorq'u	ABS	moan
dubɬ:ar	dubɬ:u	ERG-ABS	sew, darn
dubqar	dubqu	ERG-ABS	destroy
war	bo	ERG-ABS	speak
gobχ:ur	gobχ:u	ERG-ABS	scratch
jarhur	ja:hu	ERG-ABS	winnow
orɬ:ur	oɬ:u	ABS	be silent
sesar	sesu	ERG-ABS	roast (grains)
χˤerχˤin	χˤeχˤni	ABS	raise, ferment
χʷert:ar	χʷet:u	ABS	swear

2.2.2. Simple stative, expectation: not inflecting

Inflecting stative verbs (stative verbs never take ERG)

IV.SG	III.SG	Gloss
aːčʼatʼi	baːčʼab bi	be empty
acːʼar	bacːʼar	ache, hurt
aχˤ	baχˤ	be enough
aχˤtʼu	baχˤtʼu	Need
icʼ	bicʼ	be sweet, tasty
iqːʼˤa	biqːʼˤa	be hungry
iqʼʷˤ	biqʼʷˤ	be heavy

2.2.3. Complex verbs, recap:

***complex verb**=lexical part + simple verb*
    simple verb:
      as 'do', *kes* 'become', *bos* 'say'

The overall majority of non-inflecting verbs comes from verbs where the simple part is the verb *bos* 'say' which does not inflect for gender and number:

	PERFECTIVE		IMPERFECTIVE		FINALIS[2]		IMPERATIVE	
	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG	IV.SG	III.SG
do	aw	a**b**u	ar	**b**ar	as	a**b**as	a	**b**a
become	etːi	**eb**tːi	ker	**be**ker	kes	**be**kes	ka	**ba**ka
say	bo	bo	war	war	bos	bos	ba	ba

Conjugations of *bos*-verbs (based on Kibrik 1977: 75)

		PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	FINALIS	IMPERATIVE
I conjugation	'stick in'	qʼe-bu	qʼe-r	qʼe-bu-s	qʼe-ba
	'throw'	kam-mu	kam-ar	kam-mu-s	kam-ma
II conjugation	'nod'	kʼerš-bo	kʼerš-ar	kʼerš-bo-s	kʼerš-ba
III conjugation	'stutter'	ɬːals-bo	ɬːals war	ɬːals-bo-s	ɬːals-ba

The non-inflecting verbs are used in the same syntactic positions as inflected, compare:

(18) ajša boqʼˤo   (19) ajša da-qˤa
   aisha return.PFV   aisha II.SG-come.PFV
   'Aisha returned.'   'Aisha came.'

syntactic context: CVB-li + FINITE VERB ('having done P1, did P2'):

CVB-li	FINITE VERB	
inflecting	non-inflecting	(20)
non-inflecting	inflecting	(21)

(20) šipiˤ-li   **e‹b›ɬːu-li**   tumankʼ   **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.'

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[2] "Finalis" is the term used by Kibrik to describe this stem. It is used as a base for other forms such as converbs and participles, and has the meaning "the event is supposed to happen". When used independently, this form has usages similar to European infinitives (see, for example, (12) and (27)).

(21) nokł'-a   bu-kun-ni-li   **c'abu-li**   **q'eˤ‹b›di-li**   kampanija-li-t
house(IV)-IN I/II.PL-eat-PFV-CVB drink.PFV-CVB ‹HPL›sit.down.PFV-EVID company-OBL.SG-SUP
'At home again, having had something to eat and drink, they sat chatting.' (based on T22:154)

(22) to-w-mu   marči-me-s   ko-s-ši
that.one-I.SG-ERG all-OBL.PL-DAT hear.IV.SG-FIN-CVB
dakł'-i-s   darqa-r-ši   i
door(IV)-OBL.SG-DAT knock-IPFV-CVB be.IV.SG.PRS
'He is knocking at the door so that all may hear him.' (Kibrik 1977: 252).

(23) aro-wu   a-r-ši   š:ut'a-r-ši   w-i
work(IV)[SG.ABS]-and IV.SG.do-IPFV-CVB whistle-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.PRS
'While working, he is whistling.' (Kibrik 1977: 248)

(24) ja-b   marχ:əla   q'ˤot:aqˤli   b-aχˤ
this-III.SG snow(III)[SG.ABS] for.winter   III.SG-be.enough
'This snow is enough (to last) for the whole winter.'

2.3. Adverbs
Expectation: not inflecting

Inflecting adverbs

	Gender III	Gender IV	gloss
Derivation source clear: CVB	bak:ut'aw	ak:ut'aw	stealthily, as soon as
	baχˤejkun	aχˤejkun	enough
EMPH particle	horo:kejbu	horo:kejt'u	a very long time ago
	jellejbu	jellejt'u	for no reason, just so
	k'ellejbu	k'ellejt'u	entirely, wholly
	mumat:ijbu	mumat:ijt'u	while I am asking you nicely
	žeqˤdijbu	žeqˤdijt'u	in her usual way, in her manner
	sijbu	sijt'u	alone
Derivation source less clear	baturš:una	aturš:una	outstretched (usually with the verb 'lie')
	abc'en	a:c'en	to one's heart's content, to one's fill
	ballejbu	allejt'u	free of charge
	bat:ebš:u	bateš:u	fully, absolutely, completely
	dit:abu	dit:at'u	early, soon
	ebt:a:t'u	et:a:t'u	not allowed
	no:subu	no:sut'u	long time ago
	žaqˤabu	žaqˤat'u	between themselves
	šʷiqi q'abditaw	šʷiqi q'aˤjditaw	day after day

(25) un   jemmet   a‹r›a-s   kł'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)

(26) nen   dit:a‹t'›u   ati   bo-li   nokł'-a-ši
1PL.EXCL.ABS early‹1PL›[3] 1PL.let.go.IMP say.PFV-EVID house(IV)-IN-ALL
'Let us go home at once (early).' (T25:114)

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[3] Agreement in person is a big issue which we come back to later.

2.4. Postpositions
Expectation: not inflecting

(27) jamu   **laha-s**   **χir**   tu-w   bošoːr-u   qˤʷa-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)

(28) to-w-mi   ɫːʷak-du-t   duχriqˤa-k   **e‹b›q'en**
       that.one-I.SG-SG.ERG   near-ATR-IV.SG   village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT   **‹III.SG›up.to**
       deq'ˤ   a‹b›u
       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)

Note the domain problem in (29).

2.5. Particles

Expectation? There are four enclitic particles one of which inflects for gender:

=wu – 'and', emphatic
=kun – 'similar'
=t'aw – 'beside'
=ej‹w›u / ej‹r›u / ej‹b›u / ej‹t'›u – emphatic

(29) hann-u=**kun**   w-arhu-šaw   ju-w   χir   i‹w›di-li   w-i-t'u
       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)

(30) arša   horoːk=**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 a very long time ago.' (Kibrik 1977: 326)

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