

The syntax-morphology interface problem

1. The problem

Even if targets behave similarly (agreeing or not agreeing), there are still complexities in the syntax-morphology interaction. Thus targets may have more than one agreement slot. In Archi, many targets mark agreement in two places, some in three, and a few in four.

The agreement can be with the same controller, as in example (1):

- (1) maḥlo-wu **b-imma**⟨**b**⟩aq:'u
 household(III)[SG.ABS]-and III.SG-leave⟨III.SG⟩PFV
 ... and left the household (to someone)

Alternatively, agreement can be with two different controllers, as happens with participles:

- (2) ja-r lo s:iḥru **b-i-t:u-r** d-i
 this-II.SG child(II)[SG.ABS] cunning(III)[SG.ABS] **III.SG-be.PRS-ATR-II.SG** II.SG-be.PRS
 This girl is cunning. (Literally 'this female child is with cunning')

In (2) the participle *bit:ur* 'being (with)' agrees with two arguments: the prefix *b-* agrees with *s:iḥru* 'cunning', the suffix *-r* with *lo*, 'girl'.

2. Lexical multiple exponence: adverbs and verbs

2.1. Adverb

'for free'

I	II	III	IV	HPL	NHPL
w-allej⟨w⟩u	d-allej⟨r⟩u	b-allej⟨b⟩u	allej⟨t'⟩u	b-allej⟨b⟩u	allej⟨t'⟩u

- (3) ez to-w-mu q'onq' allej⟨t'⟩u kɫo
 [IV.SG] I.SG.DAT that.one-I.SG-SG.ERG book(IV)[SG.ABS] for.free⟨IV.SG⟩ give.PFV[IV.SG]
 He gave me this book free of charge.

- (4) tu-w tej-me-s w-allej⟨w⟩u w-irχ^wni
 that.one-I.SG.ABS that.one.OBL.PL-OBL.PL-DAT I.SG-for.free⟨I.SG⟩ I.SG-work.PFV
 He worked for them for free.

Multiple exponence in adverbs:

total adv	agreeing adv	multiple exponence	% of total	% of agreeing
392	21	1	0,26	4,76

2.2. Verbs

Imperfective stem

IV.SG	III.SG	gloss	comments
ač'at' ker	b-ač'a-b b-eker	become empty	from ač'as 'fill', so -t'u in IV.SG may be originally a negative marker
immarq:'ar	b-imma-b-arq:'ar	leave, give up	be-CVB.LOC, but III.SG.PFV bimma baq:'u, i.e. 'be' does not inflect for tense/aspect
immerχ:ur	b-immeerχ:ur	remain	
k ^w ek:išek:ir	k ^w ek:išek:ir	walk	
aqug ^w ar	b-aqu-b-uk:ar	stretch	

- (5) zari okłmul immaq:'u
 1.SG.ERG study(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]give.up.PFV[IV.SG]
 I gave up my study.

Multiple exponence in verbs:

total verbs	agreeing verbs	multiple exponence	% of total	% of agreeing
1248	399	15	1,2	3,76

3 Grammatical multiple exponence: participles, periphrastic forms

3.1. Participles

Participles can have two positions for agreement:

	perfective	imperfective	finalis	potential
I.SG	a<w>χu-t:u	w-arχar-t:u	w-aχas-t:u	a<w>χuqi-t:u
II.SG	a<r>χu-t:u-r	d-arχar-t:u-r	d-aχas-t:u-r	a<r>χuqi-t:u-r
III.SG	aχu-t:u-b	b-arχar-t:u-b	b-aχas-t:u-b	aχuqi-t:u-b
IV.SG	aχu-t:u-t	arχar-t:u-t	aχas-t:u-t	aχuqi-t:u-t
HPL	aχu-t:-ib	b-arχar-t:ib	b-aχas-t:-ib	aχuqi-t:-ib
NPL	aχu-t:-ib	arχar-t:-ib	aχas-t:-ib	aχuqi-t:-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

3.1.1. Participles of the intransitives: one controller (exuberant exponence):

- (6) duχij d-aqʰa-t:u-r?
 upstream II.SG-come.PFV-ATTR-II.SG
 When you were coming back?
- (7) ja-r dann eɾdi han uw-li bo-li saɓku-t:ib
 this-II.SG where <II.SG>be.PST what [IV.SG]do.PFV-CVB say-EVID <I/II.PL>look.PFV-ATTR-PL
 They came to see where she was, what she was doing.
- (8) ʕaj šumejtʰu heklʰəna jak akʰa-s kʷaɾšʉ-t:u-r
 oh! how.much<IV.SG> thing(IV)[PL.ABS] inside [IV.SG]drive-FIN <II.SG>must.PFV-ATTR-II.SG
 oh, how much she had to keep inside (herself)

3.1.2. Participles of the transitives (ERG-ABS), two controllers:

- (9) lagi a:cʰa-l-kan kummul-u kunne-tʰu-t:u-r
 stomach(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]fill-FIN-TEMP food(IV)[SG.ABS]-and IV.SG.eat.PFV-NEG-ATTR-II.SG
 (who) never ate to the full [= she didn't eat food to fill her stomach]
 čeryχ aɓcʰa-l-kan
 body(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>fill-FIN-TEMP
- čuħ-t:ib kʰo:b-u asu-tʰu-t:u-r
 be.lush-ATTR-PL clothes(IV)[PL.ABS]-and [III/IV.PL]put.on.PFV-NEG-ATTR-II.SG
 (who) never dress up enough (who did not feed her body with beautiful clothes)

3.1.3. Participles of the transitives (DAT-ABS), two controllers:

- (10) was sini-t:u-t heklʰəna be
 2.SG.DAT know-ATTR-IV.SG thing(IV)[SG.ABS] say.IMP
 hara:ši edi-t:u-t haqʰ-li-qʰ
 long.ago [IV.SG]be.PST-ATTR-IV.SG about
 Say the thing you know, about how it was in the old times.
- (11) ...os lo eɾdi ʕanak lap mu-t:u-r
 one girl(II)[SG.ABS] <II.SG>be.PST up.there very be.beautiful-ATTR-II.SG
- cʰabu-t:u-t ɬ:an hanqʰ-a-χut ak:u-r-t:u-r
 drink.PFV-ATTR-IV.SG water(IV)[SG.ABS] throat(IV)-IN-TRANS [IV.SG]see-IPFV-ATTR-II.SG
 There was one girl in the upper part of Archi village, very beautiful (girl), drunk water can
 be seen through her throat.

3.1.4. Participles of the intransitives, two controllers:

- (12) jamu-t oɾqʰa-t:u-t saʕat-li-t
 this-IV.SG <II.SG>go.PFV-ATTR-IV.SG time(IV)-SG.OBL-SUPES

čʻabe-ʎ:u baram-mul
 sheep(III)PL.OBL-COMIT sheep(rus)-PL.ABS
 oci-r ati-li ʎit:a deqʻu d-imme-ʎ:u
 alone-II.SG let.go.III/IV.PL.PFV-CVB then road(IV)SG.LOC II.SG-remain<II.SG>.PFV
 At that time they left me alone with the sheep on the road.

(13) os iq i-tʻu-t:u bošor i<w>di-li
 one day(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.be.PRS-NEG-ATTR.I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS] <I.SG>be.PST-EVID
 There was one man without a day (=cruel)

(14) os jarʎi-t:a-k kʷa-ʎ:š:u-t:u-b ʎabar b-ate
 one pass(IV)-SUP-ELAT happen<II.SG>PVF-ATTR-III.SG story(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-let.go.IMP
 Tell us the story how you happen to come from the mountain pass.

3.2. Periphrastic forms

(15) bošor celi-ši uqʻa-li i<w>di-li
 man(I)[SG.ABS] Azerbaijan-ALL leave.I.SG.PFV-CVB <I.SG>be.PST-EVID
 Her husband was in Azerbaijan (lit.: was gone to Azerbaijan).

(16) zari noʻš darcʻlirši etʻni-li b-i
 1SG.ERG horse(III)[SG.ABS] to.post <III.SG>tie.PFV-CVB III.SG-be.PRS
 ‘The horse is tied to the post.’ (based on Kibrik, 1977a: 195)

(17) w-ez maqʻsud w-ak:u-li i<w>di
 I.SG-1SG.DAT maqsud I.SG-see.PFV-CVB <I.SG>be.PST
 ‘I have seen Maqsud.’

The auxiliary always agrees in gender and number with the absolutive. The lexical verb shows agreement when it has the morphological slot for it. The account depends on whether one considers periphrasis part of syntax or part of morphology.

4. Pronouns: lexical or grammatical?

“While we know of a number of languages with multiple exponence (ME) in the verb or adjective, Archi is the only language we know of where ME occurs in pronouns (Antonenko and Harris 2010)

4.1. Personal pronouns and logophor

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

- (18) to-w-mu ja-t ari žu ow-q-er
 that-I.SG-ERG that-IV.SG job LOGOPH.M.ERG [IV.SG]do-FUT-RPRT
 He says he'll do that job

4.2. Personal pronoun / logophor + a<GM>u:

4.2.1. (Local) reflexive:

- (19) Pat'i-mu inž-a<r>u čučebo
 Patimat.ERG LOG.SG.ABS-PCL<II.SG> wash.PFV
 Patimat washed [herself]

- (20) zalik-li-s inž-a-w w-ak:u daχon-n-a
 zalik-OBL.SG-DAT LOG.SG.ABS-PCL-I.SG I.SG-see.PFV mirror(IV)-OBL.SG-IN.ESS
 Zalik saw himself in the mirror.

- (21) d-ez zon-a<r>u d-ak:u-r-ši d-i daχon-n-a
 II.SG-1SG.DAT 1SG.ABS-PCL<II.SG> II.SG-see-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS mirror(IV)-OBL.SG-IN.ESS
 I see myself in the mirror.

- (22) χit:a deq^ʰ-li-t χu^w-t:u-ma
 then road(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP find.I.SG.PFV-ATTR-CVB.LOC

tu-w-mi wa-r-ši-wa-r-ši žu-s:u<t>u
 that-I.SG-SG.ERG speak-IPFV-CVB.RPD LOGOPH.OBL.M-DAT.PCL<IV.SG>

eχmu-s i-t'aw puruz š:ubu-s-er-ši jati-q^f-t:a
 IV.SG.forget-FIN [IV.SG]be.PRS-CVB.NEG puruz [IV.SG]buy-FIN-RPRT-CVB Avar-INTER-IN.ESS
 Then while on the road he was repeating to himself, not to forget, *puruz* to buy, in Avar.

4.2.2. Exhaustive-listing reading on pronouns (“X and only X”, “It is X that ...”) and possessive pronouns (Antonenko and Harris, glossing mine):

- (23) zon-a<w>u nokl-a-k uq^ʰa
 1SG.ABS-PCL<II.SG> house(IV)-IN-LAT I.SG.come.PFV
 Only I entered the house.

- (24) uš-mu-s kl'anši Moħammad inž-a-w
 brother(I).SG.OBL-DAT want-CVB Magomed(I)[SG.ABS] LOGOPH.SG.ABS-PCL-I.SG
 nokl'-a-ši u^wkl'i-s
 house(IV)-IN-ALL I.SG.enter-FIN
 Brother wants only Mohammad to enter the house.

- (25) d-is:a<ɾ>u ɬonnol d-aq^ʰa nokɬ'-a-k
 II.SG-1SG.PCL<II.SG> wife(II)[SG.ABS] II.SG-come.PFV house(IV)-IN-LAT
 Only my wife (nobody else) entered the house.

It distinguishes the 1st person plural inclusive pronoun from the exclusive:

	EXCL	INCL
ABS	nen	nen<t'>u
ERG	nen	nen-a-w
		nen-a<ɾ>u
		nen-au
		nen<t'>u

“It is possible, that all of these can be unified as “exhaustive-listing” focus on the pronoun: “X (and only X) ...”, or “It is X that ...” (cf. Kuno 1973)” (Antonenko and Harris 2010:6).

4.3. Possessive pronouns + a<GM>u+ PCL<GM>+ATTR-GM

- (26) d-as:a-a<ɾ>u-ej<ɾ>u-t:u-r
 II.SG-of.myself-<II.SG>PCL-<II.SG>PCL-ATTR-II.SG
 ‘my own [female]’ (Kibrik 1977: 127-30 via Corbett 1998: 196).

Problematic cases:

- (27) χit:a χir a<ɾ>ti-li o<ɾ>χa-li ža-nau
 then after let<II.SG>let.go.PFV-CVB <II.SG>bring.PFV-CVB LOGOPH.OBL-GEN.PCL<IV.SG>
 buwa-t:e-m-ma-ši χit:a e<ɾ>ɬu-li
 mother(II)-PL.OBL-GEN-HUM.LOC-LAT then <II.SG>bury.PFV-EVID
 Then they let her go (took her out of the loop) and having brought her to her family’s
 house, buried there.

References.

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