

An aerial photograph of a mountain valley. The landscape is dominated by steep, green mountainsides. A river flows through the valley, winding its way towards the foreground. In the center of the valley, a small village with white buildings is visible. The sky is blue with scattered white clouds. The overall scene is a dramatic and scenic mountain landscape.

Setting the scene: agreement in Archi

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The support of the AHRC and of the ERC is gratefully acknowledged

1. Background

- Archi is a Nakh-Daghestanian (North-East Caucasian) language of the Lezgiic group
- spoken by about 1300 people in the village of Archi in Central Daghestan (Russian Federation)
- previous work:
 - grammar by Kibrik et al. (1977)
 - Archi dictionary:
<http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/archi/linguists/>
- this project: *From competing theories to fieldwork: the challenge of an extreme agreement system* (AHRC)

<http://fahs-wiki.soh.surrey.ac.uk/groups/fromcompetingtheoriestofieldworkarchi/>



Korjakov (2006 : map 10)



2. Agreement in Archi: *pervasive* and *sporadic*

every part of speech (except nouns) can be an agreement target:

(1) nenau do:^ʃzu-**b** χ^ʃon **b**-elau
1.PL.INCL.ERG<III.SG> be.big.ATTR-III.SG cow(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-1PL.INCL.DAT<III.SG>

dit:au χir au
quickly<III.SG> behind <III.SG>make.PFV

‘We quickly drove the big cow to us (home).’



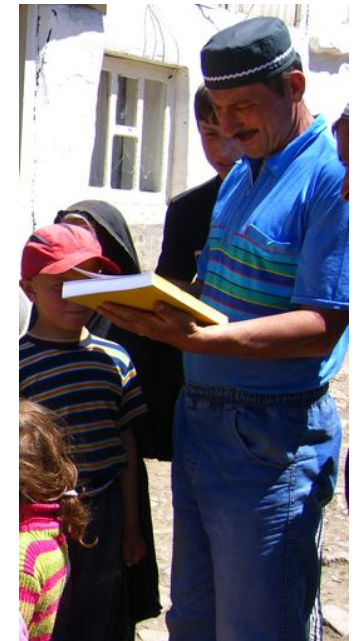


Agreement in Archi: pervasive and *sporadic*

A limited number of items can show agreement. But those which *can* agree (morphologically) *must* agree.

	total	agreeing	% agreeing
verbs	1248	399	32.0
adverbs	397	28	7.1
postpositions	34	1	2.9

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





3. Basics relevant for agreement: morphology

- Features:
 - gender:
 - I (male human)
 - II (female human)
 - III (some animates, all insects, some inanimates)
 - IV (some animates, some inanimates, abstracts)
 - number: singular, plural
- Exponents:
 - prefixes
 - suffixes
 - infixes

[For person see Corbett 2012: 239-251.]



Verbal agreement affixes

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



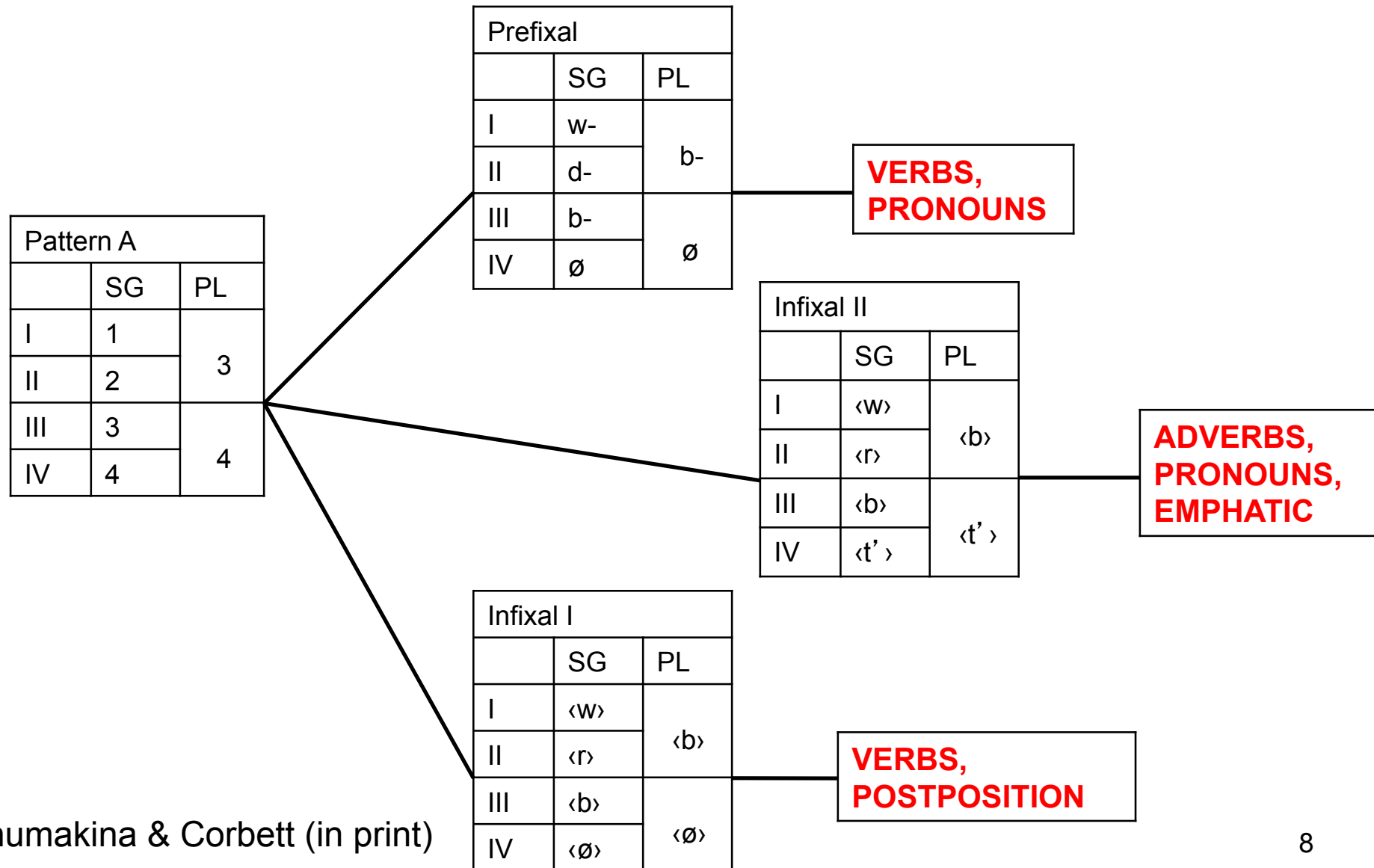
Patterns of syncretism

Pattern A		
	SG	PL
I	1	3
II	2	
III	3	4
IV	4	

Pattern B		
	SG	PL
I	1	5
II	2	
III	3	
IV	4	

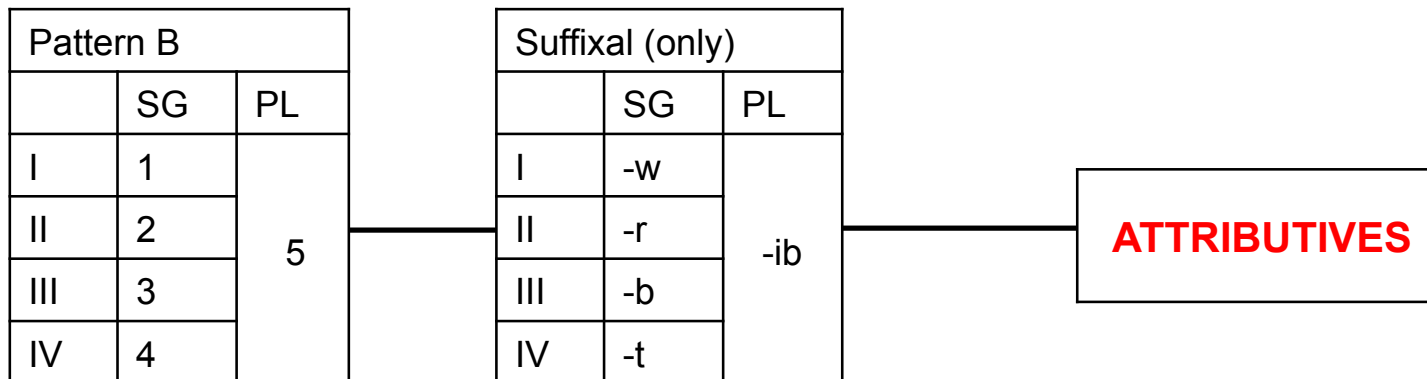


Pattern of syncretism (A) and type of affix





Pattern of syncretism (B) and type of affix





4. Basics relevant for agreement: syntax

- clause structure
- ergativity
- word order



4.1. Clause structure

intransitive:

- (2)

buwa
mother(II)[SG.ABS]

da-q^ɕa
II.SG-come.PFV
'Mother came'

transitive:

- (3) buwa-mu

no ^ɤ š
horse(III)[SG.ABS]

 e<**b**>t'ni
mother(II)-SG.ERG horse(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>.tie.PFV
'Mother tied the horse.'

verbs of perception, cognition and emotion:

- (4) laha-s

buwa
mother(II)[SG.ABS]

d-ak:u
child(IV).SG.OBL-DAT mother(II)[SG.ABS] II.SG-see.PFV
'The child saw mother.'



4.2. Ergativity

ergative subjects asymmetrically c-command absolutive arguments:

(5) Pat'i-mu inž-a<r>u čučebo
Pati(II)-SG.ERG LOG.SG.ABS-EMPH<II.SG> wash.PFV
'Pati washed herself.'

(6) *že<r>u Pat'i čučebo
LOG.SG.ERG.EMPH<II.SG> pati(II)[SG.ABS] wash.PFV
*'Pati washed herself.'



4.3. Word order

NP: head final

- (7) be:χu-t:u mu-t:u o^ɾro^ɾs lo
be.tall-ATTR.I.SG be.handsome-ATTR.I.SG Russian lad(I)[SG.ABS]
'tall handsome Russian guy'

VP, clause: basic order is verb-final, but other orders are possible too:

- (8) zari q' ^warbikɬ'-mul kunne
1SG.ERG sweet(IV)-PL.ABS [IV.PL]eat.PFV
'I ate the sweets.' (Sisters: 81)

- (9) kɬo-qi zari ja-t:-u
[IV.SG]give-FUT 1SG.ERG this-IV.SG-and
'I will give (her) that too...' (lit: 'Will give I that') (Sisters: 58)



5. Three interesting targets

5.1. personal pronouns

5.2. postposition

5.3. emphatic



Personal pronouns of Archi

	SG		PL		
	1 person	2 person	1 person		2 person
			EXCL	INCL	
ABS	zon	un	nen	nen-t'-u	ž ^w en
ERG	zari			nen-a-w nen-a-r-u nen-a-b-u nen-t'-u etc	ž ^w en
GEN	w-is \ b-is d-is / b-is \ is is /	wit	ulu d-olo b-olo olo etc	la-w-u la-r-u la-b-u la-t'-u etc	wiš
DAT	w-ez \ b-ez d-ez / b-ez \ ez ez /	wa-s	w-el d-el b-el el etc	w-ela-w d-ela-r-u b-ela-b-u el-t'-u etc	wež
COMIT	za-t'u	wa-t'u	la-t'u	ž ^w a-t'u	
SIMILAT	za-q ^ɬ di	wa-q ^ɬ di	la-q ^ɬ di	ž ^w a-q ^ɬ di	
COMP	za-χur	wa-χur	la-χur	ž ^w a-χur	
SUBST	za-k'ena	wa-k'ena	la-k'ena	ž ^w a-k'ena	
SUPERESS	za-t	wa-t	la-t	ž ^w a-t	
SUPERELAT	za-t:i-š	wa-t:i-š	la-t:i-š	ž ^w a-t:i-š	
SUPERLAT	za-t:i-k	wa-t:i-k	la-t:i-k	ž ^w a-t:i-k	
SUPERTERM	za-t:i-kəna	wa-t:i-kəna	la-t:i-kəna	ž ^w a-t:i-kəna	
CONTELAT	za-ra-š	wa-ra-š	la-ra-š	ž ^w a-ra-š	
CONTLAT	za-ra-k	wa-ra-k	la-ra-k	ž ^w a-ra-k	
CONTALL	za-r-ši	wa-ra-ši	la-ra-ši	ž ^w a-ra-ši	
CONTTERM	za-ra-kəna	wa-ra-kəna	la-ra-kəna	ž ^w a-ra-kəna	

based on Kibrik
(1977b: 257-260),
discussed in Corbett
(forthcoming)



5.1. Dative pronoun

main argument (experiencer):

- (10) **b-is** χ:^ɸele **b-ez** e<**b**>χni
I/II.PL-1SG.GEN guest(I)[PL.ABS] I/II.PL-1SG.DAT <I/II.PL>forget.PFV
'I forgot my guests.'

(almost) obligatory argument (beneficiary)

- (11) **b-el** kumak **b-a-r-ši** e<**b**>di
III.SG-1PL.EXCL.DAT help(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-do-IPFV-CVB <III.SG>be.PST
'(He) was helping us' (T31:4)



Dative pronoun

adjunct:

- (12) to-r-mi **b**-ez χ^ɪošon a<**b**>u
that-II.SG-ERG **III.SG**-1SG.DAT dress(III)[SG.ABS] <**III.SG**>make.PFV
'She made a dress for me.'

complement of postposition:

- (13) **d**-ez χir **d**-e<**r**>q^ɪa-r-ši **d**-i
II.SG-1SG.DAT behind **II.SG**-<IPFV>go-IPFV-CVB **II.SG**-be.PRS
'(She) follows me (walks after me)' [male speaking].



5.2. Postposition

with intransitive verbs:

- (14)

goroxči	b -aq ^ʕ a	ha ^ʕ tər-če-q ^ʕ a-k	e< b >q'en
rolling.stone(III)[SG.ABS]	III.SG-come.PFV	river(IV)-SG.OBL-INTER-LAT	<III.SG>up.to

‘The rolling stone went up to the river.’ (The stone is near the river, but dry.)

- (15)

to-r	d -aq ^ʕ a	maʕa-k	e< r >q'en
that-II.SG[ABS]	II.SG-come.PFV	magar-LAT	<II.SG>up.to

‘She went up to the village Magar.’



Postposition

with transitive verbs:

- (16) zari gəzet okłni jarχul-ma-k eq'en
1SG.ERG newspaper(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>read.PFV the.middle-IN-LAT <III.SG>up.to

‘I read the newspaper up to the middle.’

- (17) zari q'onq' okłni
1SG.ERG book(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]read.PFV
ja-b maq'al-li-ra-k **eq'en**
this-III.SG chapter(III)-SG.OBL-CONT-LAT [IV.SG]up.to

‘I read the book up to this chapter.’



Postposition

the absolutive controls agreement:

(18) **b**-ez olo duχriq^ʕak e<**b**>q'en
III.SG-1SG.DAT [IV.SG]1PL.GEN village(IV).SG.INTER-LAT <III.SG>up.to

zulu	b -oχo
spring(III)[SG.ABS]	III.SG-find.PFV

‘I found the spring (somewhere) up to our village.’



5.3. Emphatic

- (19) χ^wak:-e-q^fi-ši o<r>ka-na
forest(IV)-OBL-INTER-ALL <II.SG>take.away.PFV-CVB

vanak = ij<r>u d-imma<d>aq:'-omč'iš
up.there = <II.SG>EMPH II.SG-<II.SG>leave.PFV-COND

‘(I will get better) if you take (your daughter) to the forest and leave (her) there (and nowhere else).’ (T6: 16)

- (20) jamu-t s:aʃal-li-t: = ij<w>u uq^fa-li
that-IV.SG time(IV)-OBL-SUP = <I.SG>EMPH I.SG.go.PFV-EVID

ju-w	jem-im-me-s	χir
this-I.SG[ABS]	that.PL-OBL.PL-DAT	behind

‘(He) went after them immediately.’ (= at that very time) (T26:37)



6. Conclusions

- agreement is both pervasive and sporadic
- its realization is complex (prefixes, suffixes, infixes)
- controlled by absolutive argument (irrespective of role)
- unusual targets and domains (even here, still sporadic in terms of the lexical items involved)



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