

**Dunstan Brown (York University; joint work with Marina Chumakina) - Rethinking adposition agreement: the Archi postposition *eq'en***

Agreement on adpositions is well-known, but typologically uncommon, as indicated by Bakker's (2013) study of person marking. For the familiar instances, it is relatively easy to define the syntactic domain of agreement: for type 1 agreement, the domain is a prepositional phrase (PP); for type 2, it is an NP which has a whole PP as its dependent. Agreeing adpositions of type 1 are observed in genetically and areally diverse languages, including Breton, Hebrew, Hindi, Savosavo (Papuan), Tehuelche (Chon), Turkish. Less is known about type 2. We wish to draw attention to a third pattern, where the agreement controller is outside both the adpositional phrase and the NP, but within its immediate clause. We call this phenomenon 'middle-distance agreement' by analogy with long-distance agreement, i.e. agreement outside the clause. The Daghestanian language Archi presents an example of this phenomenon:

- (1) *goroxči*                                      *b-aq'a*                                      *ha'tər-čə-q'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.'
- (2)      *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.'

In (1) the postposition governs the lative and heads a phrase 'up to the river', an adjunct of the verb 'come', but agrees (by means of an infix) with the absolutive 'rolling stone'. The phrase *ha'tərčəq'ak ebq'en* forms a syntactic constituent: nothing can be inserted between the postposition and its governee, and the whole phrase can be fronted. But the controller (a gender III noun) is external to this constituent. In (2) the postposition also governs the lative and heads a phrase 'up to this chapter', but its controller is the gender IV noun *q'onq'* 'book', the object of the verb (and therefore in the absolutive case). We present a number of arguments to show that *eq'en* is a postposition, including discussion of contrasting converb uses.

While other cases of agreement of an adposition with an external argument have been found, as far as we know 'middle-distance agreement' is a fairly rare phenomenon. It is not, however, surprising to find it in Archi. Daghestanian languages are also famous for long-distance agreement (LDA). As with LDA, middle-distance agreement is lexically defined (in Archi only one postposition exhibits it), and it is grounded in the pervasive mechanism which requires agreement with the absolutive. It also has implications for the relationship between syntax and morphology. The other postpositions of Archi do not inflect and yet may appear in similar structures. If one adopts a defaults-based inferential-realizational approach to morphology, then it is straightforward to specify for the morphology of postpositions that, by default, they do not inflect, whereas the syntax can still make

use of the pervasive mechanism of agreement with the absolutive. The majority of Archi postpositions are just morphologically insensitive to the distinctions made by syntax.