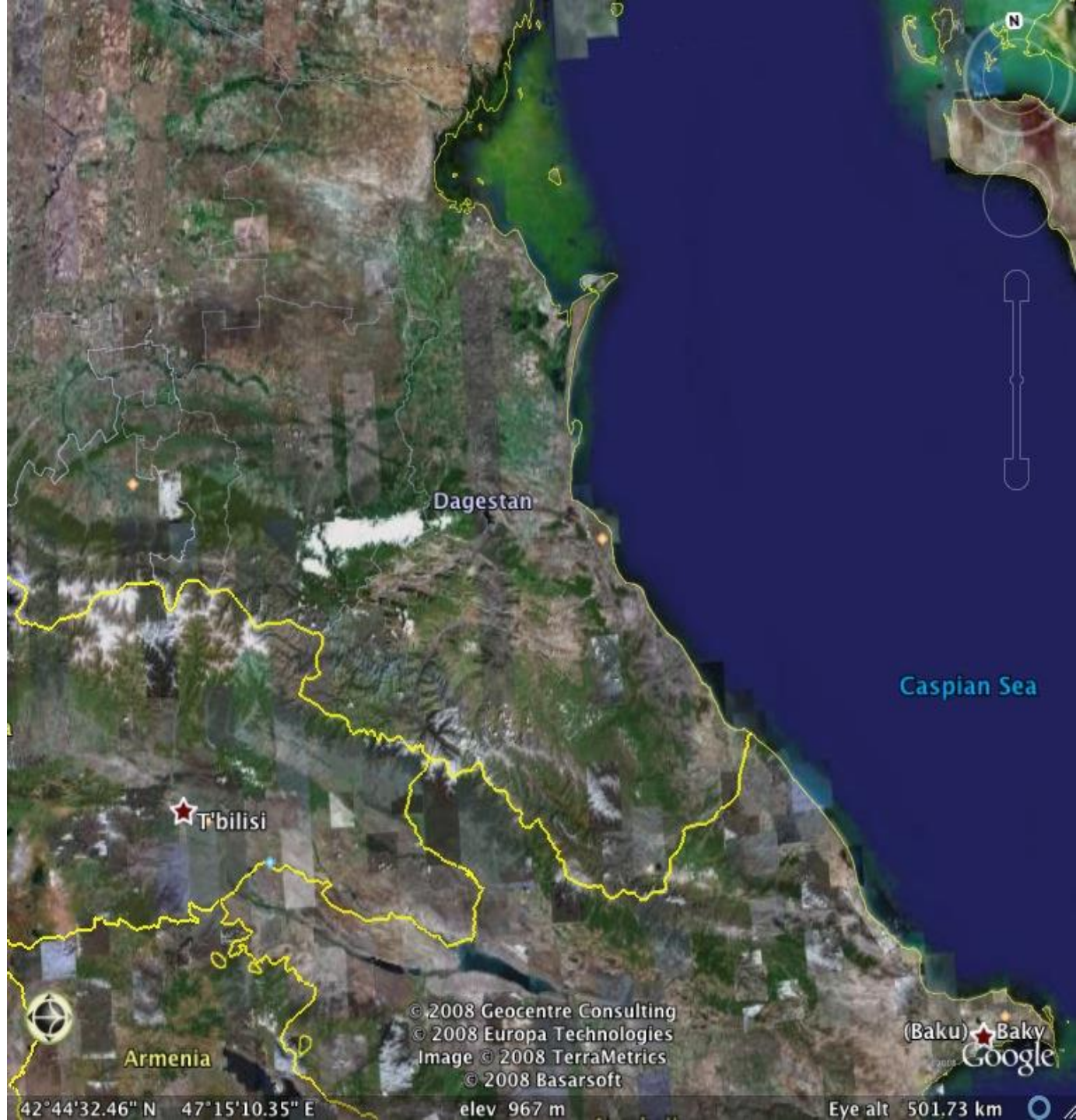


Biabsolutives in Archi and DSM

Marina Chumakina, Surrey Morphology Group
m.tchoumakina@surrey.ac.uk





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(Baku) Baky
Google

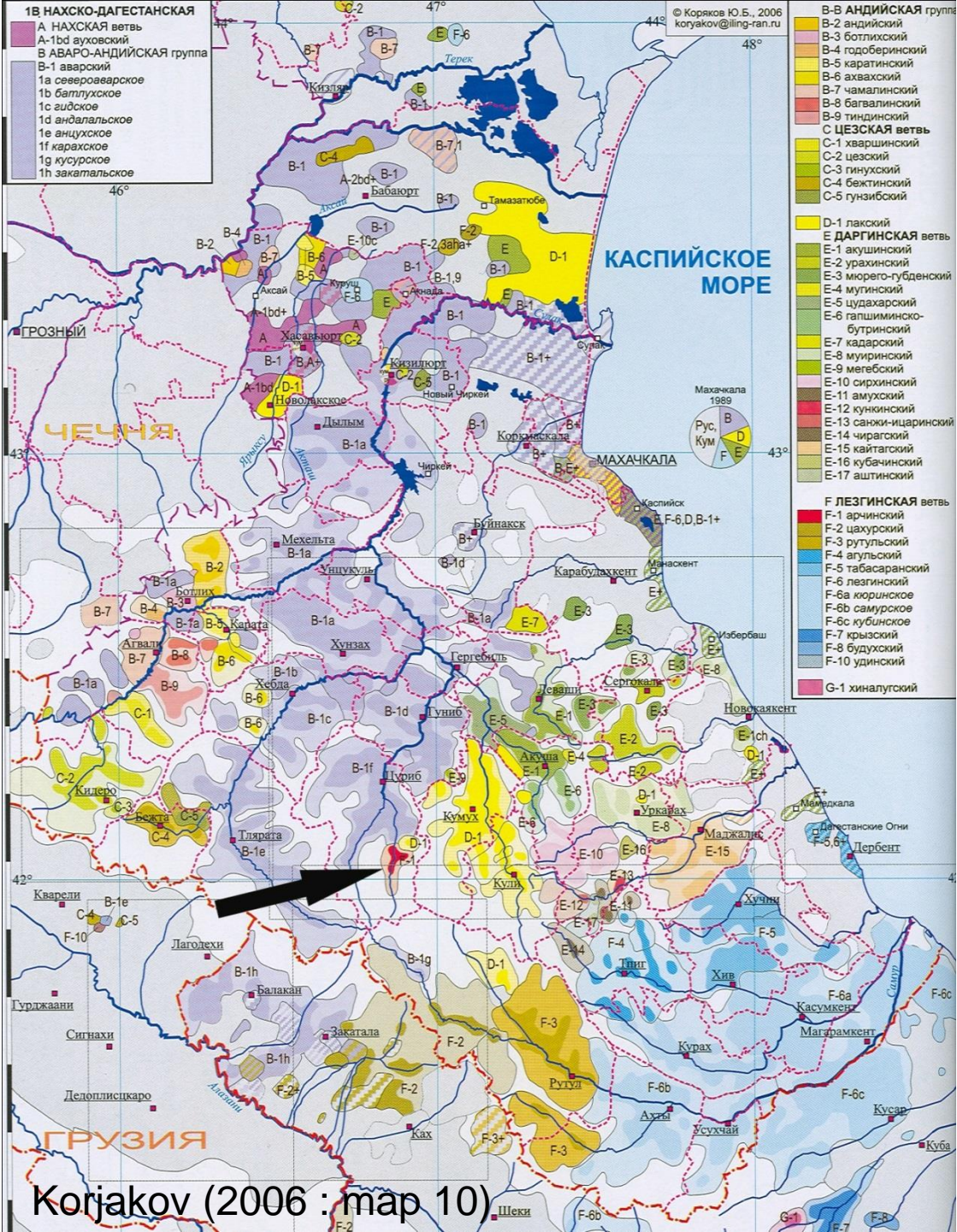
42°44'32.46" N 47°15'10.35" E

elev 967 m

Eye alt 501.73 km

- 1В НАХСКО-ДАГЕСТАНСКАЯ
- A НАХСКАЯ ветвь
- A-1bd ауховский
- B АВАРО-АНДИЙСКАЯ группа
- B-1 аварский
- 1a североаварское
- 1b батлукское
- 1c аидское
- 1d андалальское
- 1e ануцхское
- 1f карахское
- 1g кусурское
- 1h закатальское

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koryakov@iling-ran.ru



- В-В АНДИЙСКАЯ группа
- B-2 андийский
- B-3 бутлихский
- B-4 годоберинский
- B-5 каратинский
- B-6 ахвахский
- B-7 чамалинский
- B-8 багвалинский
- B-9 тиндинский
- С ЦЕЗСКАЯ ветвь
- C-1 хваршинский
- C-2 цезский
- C-3 гинухский
- C-4 бейтинский
- C-5 гунзбиский
- D-1 лакский
- Е ДАРГИНСКАЯ ветвь
- E-1 акушинский
- E-2 урахинский
- E-3 миорго-губденский
- E-4 мугинский
- E-5 цудахарский
- E-6 гапшминско-бутринский
- E-7 кадарский
- E-8 муиринский
- E-9 мегебский
- E-10 сирхинский
- E-11 амухский
- E-12 кункинский
- E-13 санжи-царинский
- E-14 чирагский
- E-15 кайтагский
- E-16 кубачинский
- E-17 аштинский
- Г ЛЕЗГИНСКАЯ ветвь
- F-1 арчинский
- F-2 цахурский
- F-3 рутульский
- F-4 агульский
- F-5 табасаранский
- F-6 лезгинский
- F-6a юртинское
- F-6b самурское
- F-6c кубинское
- F-7 крызский
- F-8 будухский
- F-10 удинский
- G-1 хиналугский

Koryakov (2006 : map 10)

Ergative alignment

- (1) But:a-mu buq' b-e<r>k'u-r-ši b-i
PN(I)-SG.ERG grain(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>sort-IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.PRS
Butta is sorting grain.

Variation in alignments

Transitive verbs have ergative strategy available in almost all TAM combinations

- (2) But:a-mu buq' ek'u
 PN(I)-SG.ERG grain(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>sort.PFV
 Butta sorted grain.

Some verb forms license a **bi-absolutive** construction:

- (3) But:a buq' b-e<r>k'u-r-ši w-i
 PN(I)SG.ABS grain(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>sort-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.PRS
 Butta is sorting grain.

Biabsolutive alignment

Optional

(4a) **to-r-mi** **χ^ɪošon** **b-a-r-ši** **b-i**
 that-II.SG-ERG.SG dress(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.PRS

(4b) **to-r** **χ^ɪošon** **b-a-r-ši** **d-i**
 that-II.SG.ABS dress(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-make-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

She is making a dress.

Obligatory

(5) **to-r** **č'il** **ɤ^ɪaža-r-mat** **d-i**
 that-II.SG.ABS hay(IV)[SG.ABS] cut-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

She is still cutting hay (she was supposed to stop some time ago).

Biabsolute constructions: typological characteristics



- always imperfective forms
- often periphrastic forms

Views on biabsolutives

- (special) incorporation;
- antipassive (some kind of a pseudo-incorporation, which is another version of antipassive demotion of the object);
- two clauses;
- monoclausal construction *where the theme and the lexical verb are contained in a PP ... as a (locative type) adjunct*: Tsez

“Extreme” agreement

- (6) **b**-is o<**b**>q^ʰa-t:-ib χ^ʰ:ele
 I/II.PL-1SG.GEN <I/II.PL>leave.PFV-ATTR-PL guest(I)[PL.ABS]
- b**-ez dit:a<**b**>u e<**b**>χni
 I/II.PL-1SG.DAT soon<I/II.PL> forget<I/II.PL>PFV
- I quickly forgot my guests who left.

Optional biabsolutives: semantics

(7) tuw-mi paha-r-ši i qilin
 he-ERG smoke-IPFV-CVB be.IV.SG.PRS cigarette(IV)[ABS.SG]
 ‘He is smoking.’ (In general, or as a conclusion)

(8) tuw paha-r-ši w-i qilin
 he.ABS smoke-IPF-CVB I.SG-be.PRS cigarette(IV)[ABS.SG]
 ‘He is smoking.’ (direct evidence)

Optional biabsolutives: semantics

Biabsolutives are often used as answers to questions about the subject:

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| (9) | χ^f on | b -a<r>ca-r-š <i>i</i> | d -i |
| | cow(III)[SG.ABS] | III.SG-<IPFV>milk-IPFV-CVB | II.SG-be.PRS |

(Where is Shamsijat?) – milking the cow.

Optional biabsolutives: agreement

Kibrik (1979:70): if there is a dative pronoun
or an agreeing adverb, they will agree with
the subject

Adverb agreement:

(contemporary) Archi allows adverb agreement with the object:

(10a) **tu-w** q'onq' o<r>kɬin-ši w-i dit:a<**w**>u
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS early<I.SG>
 He is reading a book early.

(10b) tu-w **q'onq'** o<r>kɬin-ši w-i dit:a<**t**'>u
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS early<IV.SG>
 He is reading a book early.

Adverb agreement:

but there is difference in semantics

(11a) **pat'i** dit:a<**b**>u q^{ʃw}ib b-o<r>kɬin-ši **d-i**
 pati(II).SG.ABS early<III.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

Pati is digging the potatoes out early (for the potatoes).

(11b) **pat'i** dit:a<**r**>u q^{ʃw}ib b-o<r>kɬin-ši **d-i**
 pati(II).SG.ABS early<II.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

Pati is digging the potatoes out early (for Pati).

Adverb agreement:

difference in semantics

(12a) **kelij**_{u} **pat'i** **q^{ʃw}ib** **b-o**_{<r>}**kɫin-š****i** **d-i**
 completely pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
 <III.SG>

Pati is digging the potatoes out completely.

(12b) ***kelij**_{<r>}**u** **pat'i** **q^{ʃw}ib** **b-o**_{<r>}**kɫin-š****i** **d-i**
 completely pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
 <II.SG>

*Pati is digging the potatoes out completely.

Dative agreement:

(contemporary) Archi allows dative pronoun agreement with the object:

(13a) **tu-w** q'onq' o<r>kɬin-ši **w-i** **ez**
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS [IV.SG]1SG.DAT
 He is reading for me (woman speaking).

(13b) **tu-w** q'onq' o<r>kɬin-ši **w-i** **w-ez**
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS [IV.SG]1SG.DAT
 He is reading for me (woman speaking).

Emphatic particle: agreement!

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (14a) | lo | χilibχ ^ʕ i-ju | bu-kan-ši | e<r>di |
| | child(II)[SG.ABS] | porridge(III).[SG.ABS]-EMPH <III.SG> | III.SG-eat.IPFV-CVB | <II.SG>be.PST |
| | akɬ' | kummu-s | kilaw | |
| | meat(IV).[SG.ABS] | [IV.SG]eat.IPFV-FIN | than | |

The girl is eating the porridge, she likes it better than eating meat.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (14b) | *lo | χilibχ ^ʕ i-j<r>u | bu-kan-ši | e<r>di |
| | child(II)[SG.ABS] | porridge(III).[SG.ABS]-EMPH <II.SG> | III.SG-eat.IPFV-CVB | <II.SG>be.PST |
| | akɬ' | kummu-s | kilaw | |
| | meat(IV).[SG.ABS] | [IV.SG]eat.IPFV-FIN | than | |

*The girl is eating the porridge, she likes it better than eating meat.

Obligatory biabsolutives: semantics



- (15) šamsi χ^fon b-a<r>ca-r-mat d-i
PN(II)[SG.ABS] cow(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-<IPFV>milk-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
Shamsi is still milking the cow.

Obligatory biabsolutives: adverb agreement:



- (16a) **pat'i** dit:a<**b**>u q^{ʕw}ib **b**-o<r>kɫim-mat **d**-i
pati(II).SG.ABS early<III.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

Pati is still digging the potatoes out early.

- (16b) ***pat'i** dit:a<**r**>u q^{ʕw}ib **b**-o<r>kɫim-mat **d**-i
pati(II).SG.ABS early<II.SG> potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS

*Pati is digging the potatoes out early.

Obligatory biabsolutives: adverb agreement:



(17a) kelij**b**>u **pat'i** q^{ʃw}**ib** **b**-o<r>klim-mat **d-i**
completely pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
<III.SG>

Pati is still digging the potatoes out completely. (She has a purpose to empty the potato field, and she's still doing this)

(17b) kelij<r>u **pat'i** q^{ʃw}**ib** **b**-o<r>klim-mat **d-i**
completely pati(II).SG.ABS potato(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-dig<IPFV>-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
<II.SG>

Pati is digging the potatoes out completely. (She has a purpose to empty the potato field, and she's still doing this).

Obligatory biabsolutives: dative agreement

(18a) **tu-w** q'onq' o<r>kɫim-mat w-i ez
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS [IV.SG]1SG.DAT
 He is still reading for me (woman speaking).

(18b) ***tu-w** q'onq' o<r>kɫim-mat w-i w-ez
 that-I.SG.ABS book(IV)[SG.ABS] IV.SG.read<IPFV>-CVB I.SG-be.PRS [IV.SG]1SG.DAT
 *He is still reading for me (woman speaking).

Emphatic particle: agreement?

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (19a) | lo | χilibχ ^{fi} -ju | bu-kam-mat | e<r>di |
| | child(II)[SG.ABS] | porridge(III).[SG.ABS]-EMPH <III.SG> | III.SG-eat.IPFV-CVB | <II.SG>be.PST |
| | akɬ' | kummu-s | kilaw | |
| | meat(IV).[SG.ABS] | [IV.SG]eat.IPFV-FIN | than | |

The girl is still eating the porridge, she likes it better than eating meat.

| | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (19b) | *lo | χilibχ ^{fi} -j<r>u | bu-kam-mat | e<r>di |
| | child(II)[SG.ABS] | porridge(III).[SG.ABS]-EMPH <II.SG> | III.SG-eat.IPFV-CVB | <II.SG>be.PST |
| | akɬ' | kummu-s | kilaw | |
| | meat(IV).[SG.ABS] | [IV.SG]eat.IPFV-FIN | than | |

*The girl is still eating the porridge, she likes it better than eating meat.

Emphatic particle: agreement:

Subject agreement allowed in some contexts:

- (20) *ʔini* *jattik-du-t* *uχ*
 there upper-ATTR-IV.SG field(IV)[SG.ABS]
- pat'i** *e<r>ɬarmat* **d-i-ij<r>u**
 pati(II).SG.ABS [IV.SG]cut<IPFV>-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.PRS-EMPH<II.SG>
- Pati is still cutting that upper field.

-mat with the perfective: “Inertial”



- (21) aqaltekan χ:a-mat i
shoes(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]take.PFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PRS

The shoes are (still) bought. (speaker’s comment: “The shoes have not been worn at all, I can return them to the shop”.)

- (22) buwa-n o^hnt et’ni-mat i
mother(II)-GEN head(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]tie.PFV-CVB IV.SG.be.PRS

Mother’s head is still bandaged. (longer than we thought it would be)

- (23) ...jaχ^hu-li edi to-t jaχ^hu-mat i
dig.PFV-CVB IV.SG.be.PAST that-IV.SG.ABS dig.PFV-CVB IV.SG.be.PRS

(They wanted to build a house) and have dug out a pit, but it’s still there (abandoned).

-mat with the perfective: “Inertial”



Overt ergative is possible:

- (24) zari aqaltekan χ:a-mat i
1SG.ERG shoes(IV)[SG.ABS] [IV.SG]take.PFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.PRS
I have these shoes (still) bought.

Optional and obligatory biabsolutives: summary



| | optional | obligatory |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| semantics | emphasis on the subject | aspectual: 'still' |
| subject agreement: adverbs | ok when modifying the subject | ok when not modifying the subject |
| subject agreement: datives | ok | * (biclausal?) |
| subject agreement: particle | * (biclausal) | */ok (biclausal?) |

Question for the future: dative subject

(25) **laha-s** **dija** **w-akru-r-ši** **w-i**
 girl(II).OBL-SG.DAT father(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-see-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.PRS
 A girl is seeing her father.

(26) **lo** **dija** **w-akru-r-ši** **d-i**
 girl(II)[SG.ABS] father(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-see-IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
 A girl is seeing her father.

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