

Morphological Structure of Archi Pronouns

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In multiple exponence (ME) the same morpheme occurs multiple times within a single word. ME has been described in a number of languages of the Nakh-Dagestanian language family (Harris 2009, Bokarev 1949, and elsewhere), as well as in other families. As shown in (1), in these languages the gender (class) agreement marker (CM) can occur multiple times on certain verbs and adjectives.

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| <p>(1) a. <u>b</u>-ašak'u-<u>b</u> (Chamalal)
 'short.SG.Class III'
 <u>y</u>-eč'at'v-<u>i</u>
 'black.SG.Class II' (Bokarev 1949)</p> | <p>b. <u>d</u>-ex-<u>d</u>-o-<u>d</u>-anö (Batsbi)
 CM-destroy-CM-PRES-CM-EVID
 <u>d</u>-ek'-<u>d</u>-iy-eⁿ
 CM-fall-CM-TR-AOR (Harris 2009)</p> |
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In this paper we concentrate on the occurrence of ME in another Nakh-Dagestanian language, Archi. Corbett (1991) shows that in Archi the multiple agreement marker occurs on pronouns, and up to four CMs can surface in a word at the same time, as in (2).

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| <p>(2) a. <u>d</u>-as:a-(a)-<u>r</u>-(u)-ej-<u>r</u>-u-t:u-<u>r</u>
 CM-of.myself-SUF-CM-SUF-SUF-CM-SUF-SUF-CM
 'my own [female]'</p> | <p>b. [<u>d</u>-as:a]-[(a)-<u>r</u>-(u)]-[ej-<u>r</u>-u]-[t:u-<u>r</u>]</p> |
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While we know of a number of languages with ME in the verb or adjective, Archi is the only language we know of where ME occurs in pronouns. In this paper we investigate the morphological structure of pronominal forms with several class markers in Archi, and demonstrate that the approach, developed by Harris (2009) can account for their occurrence.

Harris (2009) argues that in Batsbi class markers are not independent morphemes, but occur as parts of “schemas.” Schemas in Batsbi are of the type (CM)-MORPH, where MORPH can be either a lexical item or an affix. Therefore, each morpheme is categorized as taking a class marker to its left or not at all. For instance, the Batsbi transitive formant is subcategorized according to the schema *CM+i* (with the class marker), and the causative formant according to schema *it* (with no class marker).

Pronominal forms such as those in (2) consist of four independent morphemes, as in (2b), each taking a class marker. The first is a pronoun itself (*CM+as:a*). The last occurrence of the class marker is a part of the adjectivizer morpheme (*t:u+CM*) (Kibrik 1969). The third morpheme in (2b) is *ej+CM+u*, which we, following Kibrik (1969) claim to be an emphatic marker. The remaining morpheme *a+CM+u* has not been thoroughly discussed in the previous literature; we present data (some previously unnoticed) showing that *a+CM+u* can change the meaning in the following three ways:

1) It provides “exhaustive-listing” focus on the pronoun (cf. Kuno 1973), (3). This Archi data can be compared with the Japanese data in (4). In Japanese examples, *ga* provides an exhaustive listing, which can be described by “X (and only X) ...”, or “It is X that ...”.

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| <p>(3) a. zon noklak u-qša
 I.ABS house CM-entered
 'I entered the house'</p> | <p>b. zon-a-w-u noklak u-qša
 I.ABS-SUF-CM-SUF house CM-entered
 'Only I entered the house'</p> |
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- (4) John-ga gakusei desu.
 John-GA student is
 '(Of all the people under discussion) John (and only John) is a student'

2) It changes the meaning of a reflexive from long-distance to local, compare (5a) and (5b).

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| <p>(5) a. učiteli_i bo Mohamad-li_j inž_{i/*j} c<w>arši w-i boli
 teacher.ABS said M.-ERG self <CM>praise CM-AUX COMP
 'Teacher_i said that Mohammed_j praises him_{i/*j}'</p> | <p>b. učiteli_i bo Mohamad-li_j inž_{i/*j} c<w>arši w-i boli
 teacher.ABS said M.-ERG self <CM>praise CM-AUX COMP
 'Teacher_i said that Mohammed_j praises him_{i/*j}'</p> |
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b. učiteli_i bo Mohamad-li_j inž-a-w_{*i/j} c<w>arši w-i boli
 teacher.ABS said M.-ERG self-SUF-CM <CM>praise CM-AUX COMP
 ‘Teacher_i said that Mohammed_j praises himself_{*i/j}.’

3) It distinguishes the 1st person inclusive pronoun from the exclusive.

We argue that the “exhaustive-listing” meaning in the sense of Kuno (1973), as shown in (3) is the most basic, and that this meaning accounts for the use of this suffix in (2) (as well as in (5), and possibly in first person plural pronouns).

The corresponding schemas for all morphemes from (2) are given in (6).

- (6) a. CM-as:a ~ CM-MORPH b. t:u-CM ~ MORPH-CM
 c. a-CM-u ~ MORPH-CM-MORPH d. ej-CM-u ~ MORPH-CM-MORPH

As we show, in comparison to Batsbi, allowing only schemas of the type CM+MORPH, Archi exhibits all possible varieties of schemas, where the class marker can be a prefix (7a), a suffix (7b), or an infix (7c,d) to a corresponding morpheme.

We consider examples such as (7) from Archi. As can be seen from comparison of (7a-b) and (7c-d), the morphemes *a-CM-u* and *ej-CM-u* cannot attach to only one reflexive pronoun, but must be attached to both of them simultaneously. This presents a problem for a schema-based account by Harris (2009).

- (7) a. Učiteli bo student-lirši žu-t’-u žuss-u-t’-u kummul šit:e boli.
 Teacher said student-LOC self-CM-SUF self-SUF-CM-SUF food bought COMP
 ‘The teacher (m) told the student_i to buy food for himself_i.’
 b. Učiteli bo student-lirši žu-t’-ej-t’-u žuss-u-t’-ej-t’-u kummul šit:e boli.
 self-CM-SUF-CM-SUF self-SUF-CM-SUF-CM-SUF
 ‘The teacher (m) told the student_i to buy food for himself_i.’
 c.*... žu-t’-u žuss-u-t’-ej-t’-u ... d.*... žu-t’-ej-t’-u žuss-u-t’-u ...

In order to resolve this problem, we propose that this sequence of reflexives forms a constituent, similar to the one shown in Russian examples in (8).

- (8) a. Ivan kupil edu samomu sebe
 I. bought food REFL₁.DAT REFL₂.DAT
 ‘Ivan bought food for himself’
 b. Ivan ljubit razgovarivat’ s samim soboj
 I. likes talk.INF with REFL₁.INST REFL₂.INST
 ‘Ivan likes to talk with himself’

In Russian, the sequence of reflexives in the examples in (8) forms a constituent, and the constituent has concordial case agreement (DAT in (8a) and INST in (8b)). We propose a parallel account of Archi *ej-CM-u* concord, based on the model of Russian.

This paper provides additional arguments for a layered structure of words in languages with multiple exponence based on morphological schemas (Booij 2005, Harris 2009). We further propose that concord is responsible for the simultaneous occurrence of the morphemes, and it can be used to extend the analysis of Harris (2009) to account for Archi facts shown in (7). We also provide an analysis of Archi morphemes that are subcategorized for the use of Class Markers.

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