

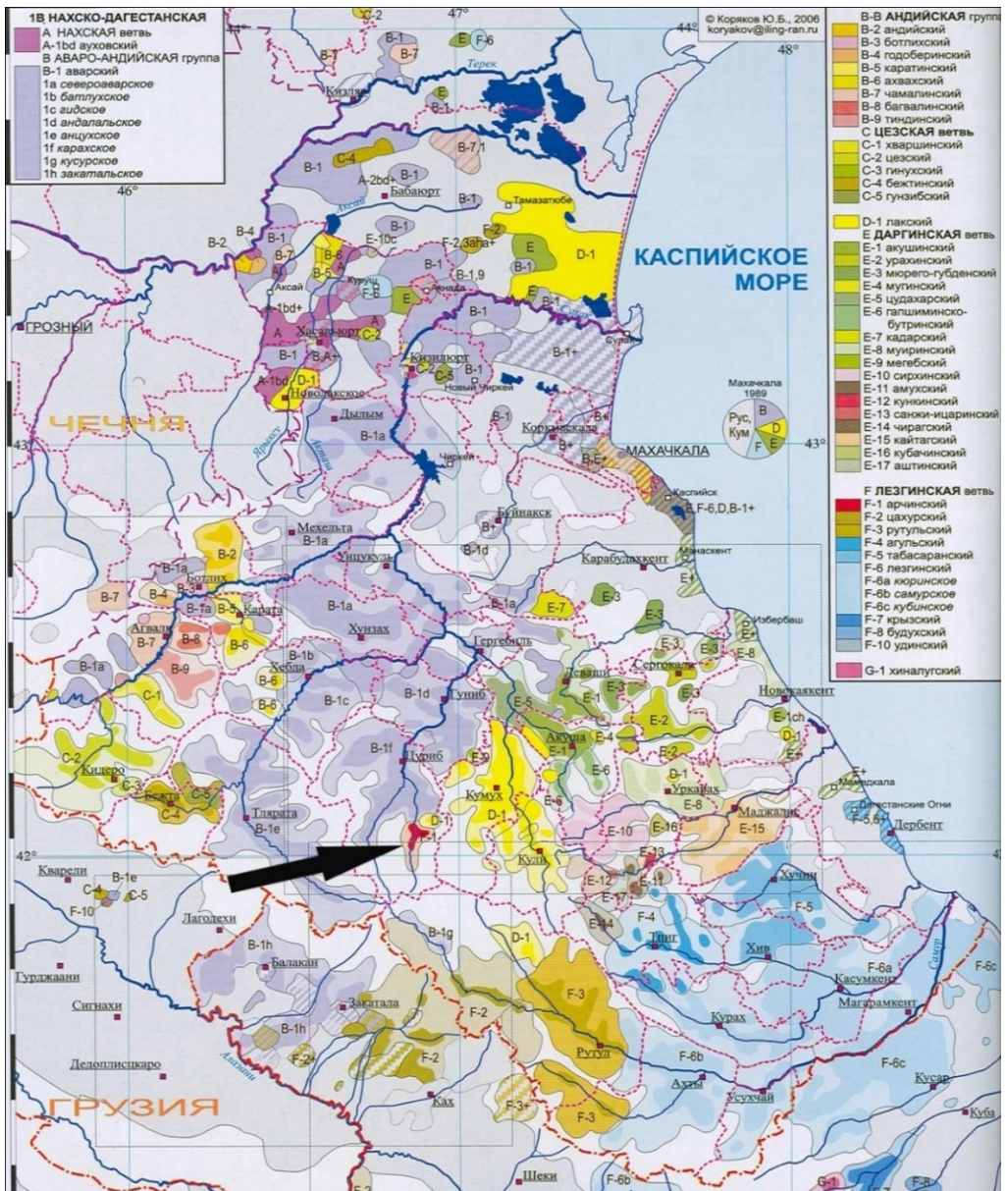
Imperfective tenses in Archi

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1. Introduction
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1. Archi language and its speakers

- Nakh-Dagestanian, Lezgian;
- has been out of contact with other Lezgian languages for centuries;
- spoken in a conglomerate of villages;
- about 1200 speakers but the number is dwindling



Map by Jury Korjakov

In many respects, Archi is a typical Nakh-Dagestanian language:

- large consonantal system;
- very rich inflectional systems for verbs and nouns;
- four nominal genders
- omnipresent agreement;
- ergative-absolutive alignment;
- left-branching;
- word order in the clause is regulated by semantic and pragmatic factors, but the non-finite clauses are strictly verb final;
- set of non-finite verbal forms typical for the family (converbs, masdars and many participles)

2. Overview of verbal system

Archi verbs are divided into simple and complex. The simple verbs make a closed class of (about) 176 verbs; complex verbs are an open class; the complex verb consists of a non-verbal part and a simple verb.

Simple verbs are further divided into dynamic and stative, this division is morphological rather than purely semantic: the stative verbs have one stem and no imperative. Examples include *kʰan* 'love', *sini* 'know', *hiba* 'be good'.

2.1. Dynamic verbs, verbal stems:

Table 1. Verbal stems, IV.SG form:

	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	POTENTIAL	FINALIS
'divide'	q ^s o	q ^s a-r	q ^s o-qi	q ^s a-s
'get cold'	qa	qe<r>qi-r	qa-qi	qe-s
'beat'	daχdi	da<r>χi-r	daχdi-qi	daχi-s
'stop'	osdi	o<r>ci-r	osdi-qi	oci-s

Table 2. Verbal stems, III.SG form:

	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	POTENTIAL	FINALIS
'divide'	bo-q ^s o	ba-q ^s a-r	bo-q ^s o-qi	ba-q ^s a-s
'get cold'	ba-qa	be-qe<r>qi-r	ba-qa-qi	be-qe-s
'beat'	daχdi	daχi-r	daχdi-qi	daχi-s
'stop'	osdi	b-o<r>ci-r	osdi-qi	b-oci-s

2.2. Usage of verbal stems

The above stems can head independent clauses (2.2.1) and also serve as bases for converbs (2.2.2), participles (2.2.3) and mood forms (2.2.4).

2.2.1. Bare stems and synthetic tenses:

Simple Past:

- (1) zari no^sʒ darc'-li-r-ši et'ni
 1SG.ERG horse(III)[SG.ABS] post-OBL.SG-CONT-ALL <III.SG>tie.PFV
 I tied the horse to the post.

Evidential Past:

- (2) χ:ams b-ak:u-li jij-me-s
 bear(III)[SG.ABS] III.SG-see.PFV-EVID they-PL.OBL-DAT
 ...they saw a bear.

Generic and habitual present:

- (3) ganasi-li-ti-k jat:i-q^ɕ-t:a puruc wa-r
 plough(IV)-SG.OBL-SUP-LAT avar-INTER-INESS puruc say-IPFV
 The plough is *puruc* in Avar.

- (4) un d-ukl'u-qi un jemmet daki d-e<r>q^ɕa-r
 2SG[ABS] II.SG-slaughter-FUT 2SG[ABS] this.way why II.SG-walk<IPFV>-IPFV
 (He) will slaughter you, why are you going like this?

(rarely) Actual/Progressive Present:

- (5) daki un za-ti-k b-e^ɕ<r>šu-r?
 why 2SG.ABS 1SG.OBL-SUPER-LAT III.SG-<IPFV>run-IPFV
 'Why are you running towards me?'

Future:

- (6) zari k'ob oc:'u-qi
 1SG.ERG clothes(IV)[PL.ABS] [NHPL]wash-FUT
 'I will wash the clothes.'

2.2.2. Converbs and periphrastic tenses:

Archi converbs are divided into two types: simple and specialised converbs

Table 3. Simple converbs, 'work' , I.SG

	stem	affix		form
SIMULTANEOUS	IPFV	-ši	affirmative	w-irχ^win-ši
			negative	no form
	FIN		affirmative	w-irχ ^w mus-ši
			negative	w-irχ ^w mus-t'u-ši
	POT		affirmative	w-irχ ^w ni-qi-ši
			negative	w-irχ ^w na:t'u-ši
CONSECUTIVE	PFV	-li	affirmative	w-irχ ^w ni-li
		-na		w-irχ ^w ni-na
			negative	w-irχ ^w ni-t'aw
CONTINUOUS	IPFV	-mat		w-irχ^wim-mat
	IPFV			w-irχ ^w ni-mat

Simple converbs participate in periphrastic tense formation. Again, Archi is a typical Nakh-Dagestanian languages in that periphrasis takes a considerable space in the verbal paradigm. Archi periphrastic tenses does not employ participles in the formation of periphrastic tenses, which are formed by a combination of simple converbs plus past or present form of the verb 'be'. The converbs express lexical and aspectual meaning of the predicate whereas the auxiliary provides the temporal anchorage. The auxiliary behaves as a free syntactic unit and has the behaviour of a syntactic head (allows auxiliary sharing). This distinguishes Archi periphrasis from another type of multiverb construction, namely the complex verb, where the elements do not have this syntactic freedom.

Table 4. Formal structure of Archi periphrastic constructions

verbal stem	CVB affix	auxiliary 'be'	grammatical meaning
perfective	-li	present	perfect
		past	past perfective
	-mat	present	inertial
		past	
imperfective	-ši	present	present progressive
		past	past progressive, past habitual
	-mat	present	present persistent
		past	past persistent
potential	-ši	present	proximative
		past	

Specialised converbs

Specialised converbs contain a marker (a suffix or clitic) which specifies the semantic relationships between the main predicate and the dependent predicate. They are produced from finite verb forms. (Kibrik 1977: 106-107)

Table 5. Specialised converbs formation

meaning	marker	distribution
P1 and P2 happen at the same time	-t:a	all indicative forms, except the infinitive and evidentials
P2 is the cause or prerequisite for P1	-m(u)χur	all indicative forms
P1 and P2 start and end at the same time	-ijkun	imperfective
P2 happens after P1	-t:an	future
P1 ends at the moment P2 starts	-kan	infinitive
P2 happens despite P1 (concession 1)	-mat:	all indicative forms, except the infinitive
P2 happens despite P1 (concession 2)	-šaw	all indicative forms, except the future
P2 is a condition for P1	-enč'iš	all indicative forms
P2 presupposes P1, but P1 does not happen	-e:na	
P1 and P2 refer to different situations, and P2 causes P1	-e:rši	
P1 is localised in the same space or refers to the space where P2 happens	-ma	
P1 happens in order to prevent P2	-k:ut:	infinitive
The speaker requests that P2 happen together with P1	-lli	imperative

2.2.3. Participles

Table 6. Participle formation

	PFV	IPFV	FINALIS	POTENTIAL
I.SG	a<w>χu-t:u	w-a<r>χa-r-t:u	w-aχa-s-t:u	a<w>χu-qi-t:u
II.SG	a<r>χu-t:u-r	d-a<r>χa-r-t:u-r	d-aχa-s-t:u-r	a<r>χu-qi-t:u-r
III.SG	aχu-t:u-b	b-a<r>χa-r-t:u-b	b-aχa-s-t:u-b	aχu-qi-t:u-b
IV.SG	aχu-t:u-t	a<r>χa-r-t:u-t	aχa-s-t:u-t	aχu-qi-t:u-t
HPL	aχu-t:ib	b-a<r>χa-r-t:ib	b-aχa-s-t:ib	aχu-qi-t:ib
NHPL	aχu-t:ib	a<r>χa-r-t:ib	aχa-s-t:ib	aχu-qi-t:ib
	'one who is asleep'	'one who is often asleep'	'one who is supposed to be asleep'	'one who will be asleep'

2.2.4. Mood

The mood in Archi represents a very heterogeneous category. The ‘core’ moods express typical and most typologically frequent modal meanings such as wishes and commands. The ‘peripheral’ moods deal with relating the situation to the reality and the speaker’s attitude to the situation. In terms of morphological realization, the core moods are realized by affixes whereas the peripheral moods are realized by clitics with non-uniform morphosyntactic behaviour. Finally, the possibilitive mood is the most peripheral one as it is realized by syntactic means and conveys the meaning which can be considered a borderline between modality and evidentiality.

Table 7. Archi moods

IMPERATIVE	aχa
COHORTATIVE	aχa-su
PROHIBITIVE	arχar-(di)gi
OPTATIVE	aχu-t:an
ADMIRATIVE	arχarši χo, aχuna χo etc
APPROBATIVE	arχar -di, arχarši edi-di, aχuqi-di etc
CONJUNCTIVE	arχar -kini, aχuli i-kini, aχuli edi-kini etc
DUBITATIVE	aχu-čugu, arχar -čugu, arχarši i-čugu etc
POSSIBILITIVE	aχui χoqi, arχarši edili χoqi etc

3. Imperfective formation

There are interesting points in morphological formation of the imperfective stem: firstly, the more morphologically elaborate imperfectives are presented in the grammar as defaults (Kibrik 1977:64-68) whereas more morphologically simple forms are the result of limitations of the rules. Secondly, all Archi simple dynamic verbs can be divided into two types: first, larger group comprises the verbs where the imperfective is morphologically more complex than the perfective, the second represents a reverse situation.

Table 8. Formation of the imperfective

		PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
RDP+ INFIX+ SUFFIX	get cold	qa	qe<ɾ>qi-r
	rot	ša ^ɸ	še ^ɸ <ɾ>ši-r
	knit	χ:enne	χ:emχ:in
	win	χa	χe<ɾ>χi-r
INFIX+ SUFFIX	strike	daχdi	da<ɾ>χi-r
	go	oq ^ɸ a	o<ɾ>q ^ɸ i-r
	take away	oχ:a	o<ɾ>χi-r
	take along	oka	o<ɾ>ki-r
SUFFIX	divide	q ^ɸ o	q ^ɸ a-r
	wilt	tu	t ^w a-r
	get up	χ:o	χ:a-r
	teach	ło	ł:a-r
PFV more complex	press	č'e ^ɸ nne ^ɸ	č'a ^ɸ n
	roast	čere	ča-r
	paint	ł:et:e	ł:a-r
	curdle	tere	ta-r

4. Imperfective tenses: usage in texts

Texts: collected in Archi village between 2004 and 2013: 9 texts, 362 sentences

- 1. *Chishi* (mourning song), 19 sentences
- 2. *Story about Uspan-Magomed*, 11 sentences
- 3. *Joke*, 6 sentences
- 4. *Mammadibir*, 57 sentences
- 5. *How People Stole Sheep in Old Times*, 3 sentences
- 6. *A Woman Who Killed Herself*, 25 sentences
- 7. *Saidpati*, 30 sentences
- 8. *Our Childhood* (conversation), 98 sentences
- 9. *Conversation with Mirza*, 113 sentences

Imperfective forms: 114:

- 20 independent predicates (synthetic tense)
- 72 converbs in periphrastic tenses
- 17 participles
- 5 prohibitives

Perfective forms: 381

As for the behaviour in the texts, there are no surprises, the imperfectives are mostly used to set the scene, provide generic information about the characters, less often in progressive tenses. Some examples:

Past habitual:

(7) *hara:ši zamanə-ma č'abu e<ɾ>ɬu-r-ši edi-li*
 before time(IV)SG.OBL-LOC sheep(III)PL.ABS [III/IV.PL]steal<IPFV>-IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.PST-EVID
 In old times, (people) stole sheep.

(8) *χit:a os w-a<ɾ>kɬi-r-ši i<w>di-li*
 then one(I) [SG.ABS] I.SG-<IPFV>come-IPFV-CVB <I.SG>be.PST-EVID
postojanno han kunne bo-muxur,
 constantly(RUS) what(IV) [SG.ABS] [IV.SG]eat.III.PFV say.PFV-WHEN
 There was one who always came there and when he was asked "What did you eat?"

(9) *hekɬ'ena jamu iši-š te:n-ši maka-li-ši*
 thing(IV) [SG.ABS] that.I.SG here-EL there-ALL Mecca(IV)-SG.OBL-ALL
parχbo-na u<ɾ>q'i-r-ši i<w>di-t:u-t
 fly.PFV-CVB I.go<IPFV>-IPFV-CVB <I.SG>be.PST-ATTR-IV.SG
 How he flew from Mecca from here...

(10) *no:q'ukan q'apq'i b-eša:r-r-ši edi-li jamu-mu-ɬu*
 a.lot argue I/II.PL-argue-IPFV-CVB <I/II.PL>be.PST-EVID that.I.SG-SG.OBL-COMIT
 They were always in dispute with him...

(11) *ašbe jemmet b-uɬle-t:ib*
 look.IMP this.way I/II.PL-die.PL-ATTR-PL

s:ar-um-če-q^š **b-e<ɾ>ɬi-r-ši** **edi-ra?**
 tomb(IV)-PL-OBL.PL-INTER I/II.PL-<IPFV>bury-IPFV-CVB <I/II.PL>.be.PAST-QUEST
 Look, did they bury people who died in this way in the cemetery?

Past habitual of recent events is formed with the *ikir* (be.ITER) as an auxiliary:

(12) i to srazu mamərči-t:a-k ɣat-ur
 [IV.SG]be.IPFV ??? at.once(RUS) face(IV)-SUP-LAT SCRATCH(III)-PL.ABS
da<ɾ>ɣi-r-ši **ikir** q'ama-t:u **kɬan-ši** **ikir**
 <IPFV>hit-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.ITER hair(IV)-PL.ABS [III/IV.PL]pull.IPFV-CVB [III/IV.PL]be.ITER
 She would go for your face at once, scratch, hit, pull hair;

(13) Zumzum-li quč **g^waq:'u-r-ši** **b-ikir-t'u**
 Zumzum(II)-SG.ERG household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather-IPFV-CVB III.SG-be.ITER-NEG
 nok' -a quč g^waq:'a-s wabš:e d-ikir-t'u-ra
 house(IV)-IN household(III)[SG.ABS] <III.SG>gather-FIN at.all(RUS) II.SG-be.ITER-NEG-QUEST
 q'onq'-u sona q'a<ɾ>di-qi
 book(IV)[SG.ABS]-AND [IV.SG]hold-CVB <II.SG>sit-POT
 Zumzum did not look after the household, she did not look after it at all, right,
 she would just sit there with a book.

(14) q'ot **o<ɾ>kɬin-ši**
 book(IV).PL.ABS [IV.PL]<IPFV>read-CVB
 ...reading books.

(15) waj Allah **a<ɾ>ča-r-ši** **ikir** ez iq
 oh Allah [IV.SG]<IPFV>kill-IPFV-CVB [IV.SG]be.ITER [IV.SG]1SG.DAT day(IV)[SG.ABS]
 Oh, Allah, how they tormented me (lit. killed me the day).

(16) dija **u<ɾ>q'i-r-ši** **w-ikir** c'uri-ši iqna
 father(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG<IPFV>.go-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.ITER curib-ALL every.day
u<ɾ>q'i-r-ši **w-ikir** jas:a director-ši w-i-muxur
 I.SG<IPFV>.go-IPFV-CVB I.SG-be.ITER then headmaster(RUS)-ADV I.SG-BE.PRS-when
 daki ɣu<w>ti-t'u
 why <I.SG>go.POT-NEG
 Father went to Curib every day, he went, well, he was a headmaster, why
 wouldn't he go?

Only one past progressive:

(17) k' inč'at'i-li huši ɣoqi ɣit:a ez **ako-r-ši-ri** was hani
 be.afraid-MSD(IV)-SG.ERG yes-CVB probably then ISG.DAT [IV.SG]hear-IPFV-CVB-QUEST 2SG.DAT what
 Of course because I was afraid, what, do you think I heard them?

5. The imperfective converb in *-ijkun*

There are no such converbs in my texts (including 1204 sentences in the larger corpus collected in 2014). Only two tokens in Kibrik's texts (Kibrik et al. 2007):

(18) ju-w lo wirɣ^win-**ijkun**
 that-I.SG lad(I)[SG.ABS] I.SG-work.IPFV-TEMP
 While that boy is working...

(19) č'agu nen **ijkun**
 be.alive we 1.PL.be.TEMP
 As long as we are alive...

There is an element *-kun* of unclear morphological nature (clitic or suffix) which means ‘similar’ or ‘approximately’:

- (20) χit:a χuzen-ni heleku-li-n genuk-u-kun-nu-t
 then master(I)-SG.ERG chicken(II)-OBL.SG-GEN egg(IV)-AND-SIMILAR-ATTR-IV.SG
 χ:ara-t:u-t jaq’ut-li-n os hek’əna k’to-li
 dear-ATTR-IV.SG ruby-OBL.SG-GEN one thing(nom) 4.give.pf-evid
 Then the master gave him a valuable thing made of ruby the size of a chicken egg.

- (21) žihil-lu-r lo gonn-u-kun-nu-r
 be.young-ATTR-II.SG girl(II)[SG.ABS] finger(IV)[SG.ABS]-and-similar-ATTR-II.SG
 asmus do-k’to k’an-t’u-mat
 marry II.SG-give.PFV want-NEG-CONC1
 Although I didn’t want it, they married me off, I was very young, just a little girl.

- (22) ʋana-χut š:umij kama-r-ši tij-maj iši-š duχij
 up.there-TRANS downstream fire-IPF-CVB that.PL.OBL-PL.ERG here-EL upstream
 kama-r-ši jeb qačax-til-čaj emik
 fire-IPF-CVB this.pl robber-PL-PL.ERG there
 buq’it:ur ɬ:w-ijwu buχ:ijwu-kun-nu bošor u<w>č-u-li
 forty five-I.SG.EMPH fifty-I.SG.NUM-similar-ATTR.I.SG man(I)[SG.ABS] <I.SG>kill-PFV-EVID
 They (Georgians) began shooting from up there down and the brigands were shooting from down here, killed about forty-five – fifty people.

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