Introduction

Biabsolutive construction in Archi:
- case and agreement different from the construction with distinct argument marking:
  - two absolutive-marked arguments
  - two agreement controllers
- no restrictions on case frames (ergative- and dative-subject predicates equally participate in the biabsolutive construction)
- two non-finite verb forms: -si (biabsolutive optional, alternative with distinct agreement marking) and –mat (biabsolutive obligatory)

Biabsolutive construction outside Archi: all other Dagestanian languages (cf. Forker 2012 and references therein); Basque (Laka 2006); Ch’ol (Coon 2013), Polynesian (Massam 2001, Ball 2008)

Goals of the talk:
- present two main approaches to biabsolutes proposed in the literature
- test the proposals with respect to Archi biabsolutive data
- propose an alternative account of the biabsolutive construction

Outline of the talk:
- existing approaches: pseudo-noun incorporation and separate clausal domains
- testing these approaches in Archi
- a new analysis of the biabsolutive construction in Archi

Previous accounts of biabsolutes

Two main lines of analysis:
- pseudo-noun incorporation
- separate clausal domains, with case and agreement licensing in each

2.1 Pseudo-Noun Incorporation (PNI)

Theme and lexical verb form a unit, without overt morphophonological effects of incorporation (cf. Massam 2001 for Niuean)

Adopted by Forker (2012) as a general analysis of biabsolutes in Nakh-Dagestani

PNI predictions:
1. Durative/progressive/frequentative meaning
2. Productive with an open class of verb
3. No lexical material should intervene between NP and V, and the order of object and verb must be fixed
4. The incorporated theme is nonspecific/non-referential
5. The incorporated theme cannot undergo A’-movement

2.2 Separate clausal domains

Main ingredients of the analysis:
1. there are two clausal domains
2. each clause is intransitive, hence one absolutive argument per clause

Agent is not encoded by the ergative case, hence the association between biabsolutes and split ergativity
Laka (2006) for Basque; Coon (2010; 2013) for Chol (Mayan):

- biclausal progressive constructions with a light verb and a PP complement
- PP contains a nominalized verbal structure
- the appearance of split ergativity follows from constructions with a light verb and a DP complement

(3) a. emakume-a-∅[ogi-a-∅ ja-te-n] Basque
   woman-DET-ABS bread-DET-ABS eat-NMLZ-LOC
   ari da PROGR AUX
   ‘The woman is eating bread.’

b. Domain 2
   \[
   \begin{array}{c}
   \text{TP} \\
   \hline
   \text{vP/VP} \\
   \hline
   \text{DP}_{\text{ABS}} \xrightarrow{V'/V'} T \\
   \hline
   \text{PP} \xrightarrow{V/V_{\text{PROGRESSIVE}}} nP \\
   \hline
   \text{nP} \xrightarrow{P} n \\
   \hline
   \text{DP}_{\text{ABS}} \xrightarrow{V} V
   \end{array}
   \]

   Domain 1
   $\text{TP}$
   vP/VP
   T
   DP$_{\text{ABS}}$
   v'/V'
   PP
   V/V$_{\text{PROGRESSIVE}}$
   nP
   P
   n
   DP$_{\text{ABS}}$
   V

Gagliardi et al. (2013) for Tsez:

- biabsolutives are constructions with a light verb and a PP complement
- PP contains a nominalized verbal structure, and this structure is a syntactic island

(4) PREDICTIONS OF THE BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS:
restrictions on A’-movement of the lower absolutive argument

2.3 Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1: PREDICTIONS MADE BY TWO ANALYSES</th>
<th>PNI</th>
<th>Biclausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two ABS-marked DPs</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical verb agrees with theme</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aux verb agrees with agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme DP can undergo A’-movement</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme can be referential/specific</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical material between DP theme and verb</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive/durative reading</td>
<td>✓ (✓)</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Archi biabsolutives: A look into the data

3.1 Do the data match the analyses?

(5) Summary of the data
a. two ABS-marked DPs
b. lexical verb agrees with theme
c. Aux verb agrees with agent
d. progressive/habitual reading

specific/definite DP in the theme position
(6) a. Pat’i ja-b gyziit
   Pati.II.SG.ABS this-III.SG newspaper.III.SG.ABS
   b-o-ɬiklin-ši d-i
   III.SG-(IPFV)read-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
   ‘Pati is reading this newspaper.’

b. Pat’i ja-b gyziit
   Pati.II.SG.ABS this-III.SG newspaper.III.SG.ABS
   b-o-ɬiklin-mat d-i
   III.SG-(IPFV)read-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
   ‘Pati is still reading this newspaper.’
(7) a. Pat’i ja-b b-oɾ-k-lin-ʃi d-i
   Pati.II.SG.ACT this-III.SG III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
   ‘Pati is digging potatoes.’

b. Pat’i ja-b b-oɾ-k-lin-mat d-i
   Pati.II.SG.ACT this-III.SG III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
   ‘Pati is digging potatoes slowly.’

Intervening lexical material between the theme and verb possible
(8) a. Pat’i qʰ-ib o-kurʃi
     Pati.II.SG.ACT potato.III.SG.ACT slowly
     b-oɾ-k-lin-ʃi d-i
     III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
     ‘Pati is reading it.’

b. Pat’i qʰ-ib o-kurʃi
     Pati.II.SG.ACT potato.III.SG.ACT slowly
     b-oɾ-k-lin-mat d-i
     III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
     ‘Pati is reading it.’

Nakh-Dagestanian restrictions on scrambling and A’-movement:
no long distance dislocations (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001)

Theme DP can undergo wh-fronting
(9) a. [ja-b gyziʃtʃ], Pat’i-wu ɣ,
     this-III.SG newspaper.III.SG.ACT Pati.II.SG.ACT-and
     b-oɾ-k-lin-ʃi d-i
     III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
     ‘Pati is also reading this newspaper.’

b. [ja-b gyziʃtʃ], Pat’i-wu ɣ,
     this-III.SG newspaper.III.SG.ACT Pati.II.SG.ACT-and
     b-oɾ-k-lin-mat d-i
     III.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
     ‘Pati is also reading this newspaper.’

Theme DP can undergo topicalization
(10) han, Pat’I tI oɾ-k-lin-ʃi
    what.IV.SG.ACT Pati.II.SG.ACT IV.SG-dig-CVB
    d-i?
    II.SG-be.PRS
    ‘What is Pati reading?’

(11) han, gudu tI mu a-r-mat
    what.IV.SG.ACT that.I.SG.ACT be.good IV.SG-do-CVB
    w-ɾ?
    I.SG-be.PRS
    ‘What is he fixing?’

Theme DP can undergo relativization
(12) ɣ[all-ʃi], buwa tI b-a-r-ʃi
     bread.II.SG.ACT-PRT mother.II.SG.ACT III.SG-do-CVB
     d-i
goroɾtʃi li u-ɾʔ?
     II.SG-be.PRS porridge.IV.SG.ACT who.ERG IV.SG-do-CVB
     ‘The bread, mother is making it, who will make the porridge?’

(13) miʃin-ʃi,
     But:a tI mu
     car.IV.SG.ACT-PRT Butta.II.SG.ACT be.good
     a-r-mat w-ɾ,
     televizor ɹ
     IV.SG.do-CVB I.SG-be.PRS TV.IV.SG.ACT who.ERG
     mu a-guʔʔ?
     be.good I.IV.SG-do-CVB
     ‘The car, Butta is fixing, who will fix the TV?’

Theme DP cannot undergo relativization
(14) *[buwa b-a-r-ʃi d-i-tʔu-b]
     mother.II.SG.ACT III.SG-make-CVB II.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-III.SG
     ɣ[ʃoʃon b-ez kl’an
     dress.III.SG.ACT III.SG-DAT like
     (‘I like the dress mother is making.’)

(15) *[Pat’I eɾ-ʃi-lar-ʃi d-i-tʔu-t]
     Pati.II.SG.ACT IV.SG-dig-CVB II.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-IV.SG
     ugʔtʃ eʔem et:i-li aq’ʔa-s
     field.IV.SG.ACT time.IV.SG.ACT IV.SG.come.PRV-EVID IV.SG-dry-FIN
     (‘It is time to dry the hay on the field which Pat’i is still mowing.’)
(16) *[pat'i e♀ปลา-ร.mat d-i-t:u-t] Pati.II.SG.ABS IV.SG.(IPFV)lay-CVB II.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-IV.SG u.NoSuchini jat:i-k i field.IV.SG.ABS there up-LAT IV.SG.be.PRS ('The field which Pati is still cutting is up there.')

(17) *[tuw ez mu a-r.mat that-I.SG.ABS IV.SG.IDAT be.good IV.SG.do.IPFV-CVB w-i-t:u-t] mišin I.SG-be.PRS-ATTR-IV.SG car.IV.SG.ABS olo-ma i IV.SG.1PL.EXCL.GEN-HUM.LOC IV.SG.be.PRS ('The car which he is still repairing for me is at our place.')

3.2 Summary

| Table 2: ARCHI AND THE TWO ANALYSES OF BIABSOLUTIVES |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Two ABS-marked DPs             | √               | √               | √               |
| Lexical verb agrees with Theme | √               | √               | √               |
| Aux verb agrees with Agent     | √               | √               | √               |
| Theme can be referential/specific | *               | √               | √               |
| Lexical material between Theme and verb possible | *               | √               | √               |
| Progressive/durative reading   | (√)            | √               | √               |
| Theme undergoes A’-movement: Wh-movement in questions and topicalization | *               | *               | √               |
| Theme cannot undergo relativization | *               | *               | *               |

INTERIM CONCLUSION
The existing analyses cannot account for the Archi data; a different analysis is necessary

4 Archi biabsolutives: A monoclausal approach

PROPOSAL IN A NUTSHELL:
- Archi has an articulated vP structure
- Case, agreement, and interpretation in the biabsolutive construction are due the presence of an additional v head with aspectual meaning

4.1 Archi vP

(18) Main ingredients of the analysis:
- Archi has articulated vP structure (Radkevich and Polinsky 2013)
- auxiliaries are light verbs (v’s)
- v heads can be null
- each v has an unvalued class feature [uCL]
- [uCL] can be valued either by an internal argument (DPABS) or by v with valued class features (Collins 2003; Baker and Willie 2010)
- some v’s have Case features
- some v’s have aspectual features
- a single v available with the progressive aspectual feature (no other progressive constructions found in Archi)

(19)
Evidence for (19):

- multiple agreement exponents
- the presence of a functional head (v) has morphological reflexes

(20) Nena<a>b>u b-is televizor
     1PL.EXCL.ERG<III.SG> III.SG-1.SG GEN TV.III.ABS
dit:a<a>b>u mu a<a>b>u.
quickly<III.SG> be.good do-PFV<III.SG>
‘We fixed this TV quickly.’

(21) a. syntax

(22) LOCAL DISLOCATION (LD) in ARCHI:

a. class exponents need a phonologically overt host
b. local dislocation (lowering to the closest specifier)
c. pre-vocabulary insertion and pre-linearization (cf. Embick & Noyer 2001, Embick 2007)

(23) DETAILS OF ARCHI LD:

a. v1 [IIICL] +V \( \rightarrow \) Ø
b. v2 [IIICL] +Adverb
c. v3 [IIICL] +DPERG
d. v4 [IIICL] +do

4.2 Monoclausal biabsolutives

PROPOSAL:

- vP has several v heads
- v1 always has the [ABS] feature
biabsolutives always have progressive durative interpretation, and their $v_2$ has [ABS] and [ASP] features.

(24) 

(26) 

(25) to-r $\chi'o\text{'o}son$ b-a-r-ši
d-i II.SG-ABS dress.III.SG-ABS II.SG-make-IPFV-CVB

‘She is making a dress.’

(27) a. CASE CHECKING
• $v_1 \iff DP_{\text{THEME}}$
• $v_2 \iff DP_{\text{AGENT}}$

b. CLASS AGREEMENT
• $v_1 \iff DP_{\text{THEME}}$
• $v_2 \iff DP_{\text{AGENT}}$
• $v_3 \iff v_2$
• $v_4 \iff v_3$

Further evidence in support of monoclausal structure: single sentential negation (on the auxiliary)
4.3 Multiple agreement exponents in biabsolutives

‘EXUBERANT’ AGREEMENT (HARRIS 2009) IN BIABSOLUTIVES:
• agreement exponents can appear on non-verbal elements
• adverbs can either agree with DP_{THEME} or DP_{AGENT}
• two different meanings ⇔ two different adjunction sites

(31) a. Syntax

(32) pat’i dit:aːb u qˁʷ ib
pati.II.SG.ABS early<III.SG> potato.III.SG.ABS
b-o<‰klin-ši d-i
III.SG<IPPFV>dig.IPFV-CVB II.SG-be.PRS
‘Pati is digging the potatoes out early.’ (Pati got up early)

(33) a. Syntax
potato V

[bII][ucASE]

b. PF

• v1 [bII][c] + V
• v2 [bII] → ∅ (no overt host)
• v3 [II] + DPAGENT → ∅
• v4 [II] + adverb
• v5 [II] + Aux

5 Accounting for relativization facts

Theme DP can undergo A’-movement in questions and topicalizations but does not relativize

(34) *[buwa b-a-r-ši d-i-t:u-b]
    mother.ILG.ABS III.LG-make-IPFV-CVB II.LG-be.PRS-ATTR.III.SG
    čʰošon b-ez k'l'an
dress.ILG.ABS III.LG-1.DAT like
    (‘I like the dress mother is making.’)

Agent DP can relativize:

(35) [čʰošon b-a-r-ši d-i-t:u-r]
    dress.ILG.ABS III.LG-make-IPFV-CVB II.LG-be.PRS-ATTR.II.SG
    buwa
    mother.ILG.ABS
    ‘the mother that is making a dress’

all other constituents can relativize

(36) [pat'i maq'al ši-b-a-r-ši
di-t:u-t]
    pati.ILG.ABS article.III.LG.ABS write-III.LG-do-IPFV-CVB
    e(r)di-t:u-t]
    biq”* (II.LG)be.PST-ATTR-IV.SG
    place.IV.SG.ABS
    ‘the place where Pati was writing an article’

The sole absolutive DP inside a relative clause is obligatorily interpreted as object; examples like (34) are rejected for interpretive reasons

(37) [#[buwa barši dit:ub] čʰošon

mother.ILG.ABS make.IPFV.CVB be.PRS-ATTR.III.SG dress.
(‘the dress that is making the mother’)

6 Conclusions

• Superficially similar structures may receive different analyses, therefore, a detailed examination of biabsolutive in individual languages is necessary

• The range of analyses for biabsolutive constructions:
  Pseudo Noun Incorporation: Polynesian
  Separate clausal domains: Mayan, Basque, Tsez
  Restructuring: Archi; Lak (Gagliardi et al. 2013)

<table>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>√</td>
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• Outstanding questions

General: parametrization of the analyses
Can a specific analysis of the biabsolutive construction (PNI, separate clausal domains, restructuring) be correlated with particular properties of a given language?

Archi-specific: What are the differences between optional and obligatory biabsolutes?
Gagliardi, Anne, Michael Goncalves, Maria Polinsky, and Nina Radkevich. 2013. Biabsolutive construction in Lak and Tsez. MS, Harvard University.

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