

Middle distance agreement in adpositions: a typological niche

Agreement on adpositions is well-known but typologically uncommon, as indicated by Bakker's (2011) study of person marking. The familiar instances typically involve agreement in person (and number), and it is relatively easy to define the syntactic domain of agreement. Thus, in (1) the domain is a prepositional phrase (PP), in (2) it is an NP which has a whole PP as its dependent:

- (1) Welsh: llun [ohoni hi]
 photograph of.3SG.F she
 'photograph of her'
- (2) Hindi: [us strii kaa] bētaa
 that woman of.M.SG son
 'that woman's son' (McGregor 1995: 9; Spencer and Nikolaeva 2012: 210)

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 expresses gender and number, and the 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:

- (3) goroxči b-aq'a ha'tər-če-q'a-k eq'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'.

In (3) *ebq'en* governs the lative and heads a phrase 'up to the river', an adjunct of the verb 'come', but agrees with the absolutive 'rolling stone'. The phrase *ha'tərčeq'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 is external to this constituent.

Other Daghestanian languages present a similar picture: in Dargi the postposition *salaw* governs the genitive but agrees with the absolutive *Ibin*:

- (4) qalla sala-w kejž-ib-li ibin ü-di
 house(N).GEN before-M M.sit:PF-PRET-CVB Ibin.ABS M.be-PST
 'Ibin was sitting in front of the house.'

In Tsakhur the postposition *ab* agrees with the absolutive 'we':

- (5) ši wo-b-nī centr-ē a-b
 1PL.ABS be-HPL-PCL centre-IN inside-HPL
 'We were in the centre.'

Dargi and Tsakhur allow their agreeing postpositions to be used adverbially, i.e. without the governee. Similar behaviour is observed in other Daghestanian languages, such as Bagwalal, Godoberi and Khvarshi. Adverbial agreement is much more common typologically, unlike

middle-distance agreement. In Daghestanian languages, there are normally more agreeing adverbs than agreeing postpositions. Indeed, in Tsakhur the word *sana* ‘together’ does not agree in its postposition function, but does when being used adverbially.

Archi stands out in that the agreeing adposition does not allow the adverbial usage yet it shows middle-distance agreement and as such violates the typological expectation for the agreement target and controller to make a syntactic constituent. It is not, however, surprising to find this type of agreement in this language family. Daghestanian languages are also famous for long-distance agreement. As with LDA, middle-distance agreement is lexically defined (only some postpositions exhibit it), and they are grounded in the pervasive mechanism which requires agreement with the absolutive, which may explain its infrequency elsewhere.

Word Count: 498