

‘A Functional Grammar of Udi’

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2.1 Introduction

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2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2

The sound system of Udi

2.1 Introduction

The sound system of Udi is characterized by a number of features that set it apart from the general phonetic and phonological architecture of East Caucasian languages. The peculiarities of the Udi system can be enumerated as follows: Partial reinterpretation of the old opposition [±glottal], presence of a set of so-called ‘middle sibilants’ (Trubetzkoy 1931), loss of the opposition [velar/uvular] within the row of fricatives, and – finally – the presence of both pharyngealized and palatalized vowels. In this chapter, I will discuss in details the sound system of Udi starting with a preliminary description of the prototypical phonological values (2.2). In 2.3, I will elaborate these phonological values in connection with distributional criteria, lexical frequency, and frequency of usage in order to draw a rudimentary picture of the ‘phonological knowledge’ of an average Udi speaker. 2.4 discusses harmonic aspects of vowels in contact. Section 2.5 deals with phonetic processes. In section 2.6 I will describe the make-up of Udi syllables and words before turning to stress patterns in section 2.7.

2.1.1 A sample text in phonetic transcription

In order to give a preliminary impression of Udi articulation, I reproduce in (X) a short passage from the Vartashen Udi tale *Rust'am* (Bežanov 1888) as it has been read to me by Vorošil Łukasyan. I use a rather narrow IPA transcription, which, however, neglects some idiosyncrasies of the speaker (the standard transcription for Udi has been added in the second line; see (x) for an exsample from Nizh, (x) for an exsample from Okt'omberi):

(X) [ˈbɑːnəʃkʰiːe ʂɑːtʃʰoˈbɑːn]
báneke sa čobán
 ‘[There] was a shepherd.’

[ˌmeːtʃʰobaˈniː ˈbatʰaˌkʰiːeːi ʂɑːtʃʰuˈbuːx ʂɑːˈkɑːr itʃˌˈtsˈiː rʏʂˌtʰɑːm]
me čobaní bát'akei sa čubúx sa ġar ič c'i rüst'am.
 ‘This shepherd had a wife [and] a son whose name [was] Rustam.’

[aˈriː ʂɑːβaxˌtʰɑː ˌmeːtʃʰoˈbɑːn bʰieˈʂɑːnə]
arí sa vaxt'á me čobán biesáne.
 ‘It came the time [when] this shepherd dies.’

[aˈmːɑː ˌitʃˌuˈbuːx ˌtʰeːma ʃaˈβatʰːəˈbak ʂɑːtʰeː pʰaʂˌʃˈaˈkən aˌkˈeʂxoˈlan ˈbenːəʂɑː]
ammá ič čubúx t'éma šavát't'e baksa te pasč'agén ak'esxolán bénesa.
 ‘But his wife is so beautiful that when the king sees [her], he asks [her to become his wife],’

[hæpˈbætʃkʰiː pʰaʂˌʃˈaˈkən ˌtʰeːtʃʰobaˈniː tʃʰuˈbʰɑːx ˌtʰanəʂʂɑː itʃˌˈkʷˈa]

hălbătki pasč'agěn t'e čobani čubğóx tánesša ič k'ua
 'Naturally, the king brings home the wife of that shepherd.'

[rɤʃt'ǎ'mal 'tʰanɛʃʃǎ]
rüst'amál tánesša.
 'He brings Rustam (home), too.'

2.1.2 Phonetic styles

The degree of phonetic variance in the articulation of Udi is considerable, not only from a diatopic point of view, but also with respect to diastratic or social 'styles'. In general, the following 'styles' can be differentiated:

1. A (more or less) 'pure' pronunciation of Udi (predominantly monolingual speakers in former Vartashen (women in the traditional Udi society));
2. A 'style' à la turque, which is characterized by strong influences from the Azeri articulation habitus (adults (especially men) with a bilingual background Udi-Azeri in Nizh and Vartashen);
3. A 'style' à la géorgienne (most speakers in Okt'omberi, Georgia);
4. 'Young People's Udi' especially among younger speakers in Nizh and former Vartashen (with even stronger Azeri articulation than among speakers of stratum 2).

The Azeri articulation habitus conditions (in parts) loss of pharyngealization, strong palatalization of consonants before high vowels, broader vowel harmony, and the consequent shift of accent towards the final syllable of the word. Also, the pronunciation of recent loans is more close to their articulation in the donor language especially among urbanized Udis. In Okt'omberi, aspiration of neutral voiceless stops has come into current use due to the impact of Georgian. Additionally, in former Vartashen people knowing Armenian often tended to pronounce stressed [a] even further back than its Azeri correlate (> [ɑ]).

2.1.3 Distribution of vowels and consonants

The overall characterization of the Udi sound system reveals a rather balanced distribution of vowels and consonants (see section 2.3 for a more comprehensive description of frequencies). **Table 1** lists the frequency of vowels and consonants as it becomes apparent from an analysis of textual frequency (Vartashen; 129.129 phonemes in 15.834 words) and frequency in the lexical inventory (18.270 phonemes in 2.786 lexical entries):

	Usage based		Lexical	
		%		%
Vowels	54445	42,07	7471	40,82
Consonants	74684	57,67	10799	58,93

Table 1: Frequency of vowels and consonants in Udi

At an average, an Udi lexical entry contains six to seven phonemes (oral talk). When applied in speech, the number goes up to an average of 8.15 phonemes per word due to

the presence of inflectional morphology (see 2.3 for a detailed frequency list). The ratio of vowels ‘in use’ (42.07 %) is slightly higher than that of vowels in the lexicon because of the fact that the inflectional system of Udi makes more extensive use of vocalic segments. The following analysis of the text *Sa pašč’ağun čubuğoi q’a sa tämbälun nağäl* ‘Story about a king’s wife and a stupid’ (Jeiranišvili 1971:169-173) can help to understand this aspect. The text contains of 870 tokens (word forms), 354 of which are uninflected (derivational morphemes are not taken into consideration here). The 516 inflected word forms are based on 76 morphological types that produce 829 morphological tokens (also compare section 3.1). Table X lists the corresponding frequencies (pseudo-lexical morphemes, allomorphs, and functional variants are included):

(X)

<i>a</i>	85	<i>ec</i>	6	<i>in</i>	14	<i>oenk’</i>	1	<i>rux</i>	2
<i>al</i>	47	<i>eke</i>	5	<i>k</i>	2	<i>on</i>	22	<i>sa</i>	73
<i>an</i>	1	<i>el</i>	1	<i>k’</i>	3	<i>onk’</i>	1	<i>st’a</i>	11
<i>ax</i>	9	<i>en</i>	27	<i>k’ena</i>	5	<i>ox</i>	4	<i>t’</i>	36
<i>axo</i>	4	<i>enk’</i>	2	<i>l</i>	11	<i>oi</i>	4	<i>t’u</i>	4
<i>ay</i>	1	<i>enk’ena</i>	1	<i>la</i>	1	<i>p</i>	4	<i>u</i>	16
<i>b</i>	31	<i>er</i>	5	<i>le</i>	5	<i>p’</i>	2	<i>un</i>	11
<i>bak</i>	5	<i>es</i>	21	<i>mer</i>	1	<i>q’</i>	2	<i>ux</i>	2
<i>bes</i>	1	<i>esun</i>	2	<i>mx</i>	1	<i>q’a</i>	3	<i>uxo</i>	3
<i>bez</i>	2	<i>ex</i>	2	<i>mxox</i>	1	<i>q’o</i>	1	<i>va</i>	2
<i>c</i>	2	<i>exa</i>	2	<i>n</i>	29	<i>q’un</i>	14	<i>x</i>	4
<i>d</i>	4	<i>exo</i>	1	<i>nan</i>	4	<i>r</i>	6	<i>xa</i>	4
<i>e</i>	7	<i>ey</i>	4	<i>ne</i>	109	<i>re</i>	4	<i>xo</i>	2
<i>ən</i>	2	<i>ğ</i>	11	<i>nu</i>	1	<i>roğ</i>	5	<i>xolan</i>	1
		<i>i</i>	69	<i>o</i>	30	<i>ruğ</i>	1	<i>z</i>	3

Table 2: Frequency of morphemes/allomorphs in the tale *Sa pašč’ağun čubuğoi q’a sa tämbälun nağäl* (Jeiranišvili 1971:169-173)

In this tale, the phonetic means to encode morphosyntactic categories are based on a total of 1457 ‘sounds’ of which 51.18 % are vowels (as opposed to 42.07 % vowels in word forms). Table 3 compares these frequencies to the general phonetic make-up of Udi morphology and to those data mentioned in table 1.

	Word Forms				Morphemes			
	Usage based		Lexical		Usage based		Inventory	
		%		%		%		%
Vowels	54445	42,07	7471	40,82	780	51.18	130	50.78
Consonants	74684	57,67	10799	58,93	677	48.82	126	49.22
Total	129129	99,74	18270	99,75	1457	100	256	100

Table 3: Overall distribution of vowels and consonants in Udi

If we disregard sounds of uncertain phonematic status (see below), we can describe 49 phonemes for Udi, of them 15 vowels and 33 consonants (30.61 % vowels, 69,39 % consonants). These phonemes will be described at length in the next section. Note that I will use the traditional system of transcribing Udi sounds as it had been set up in the

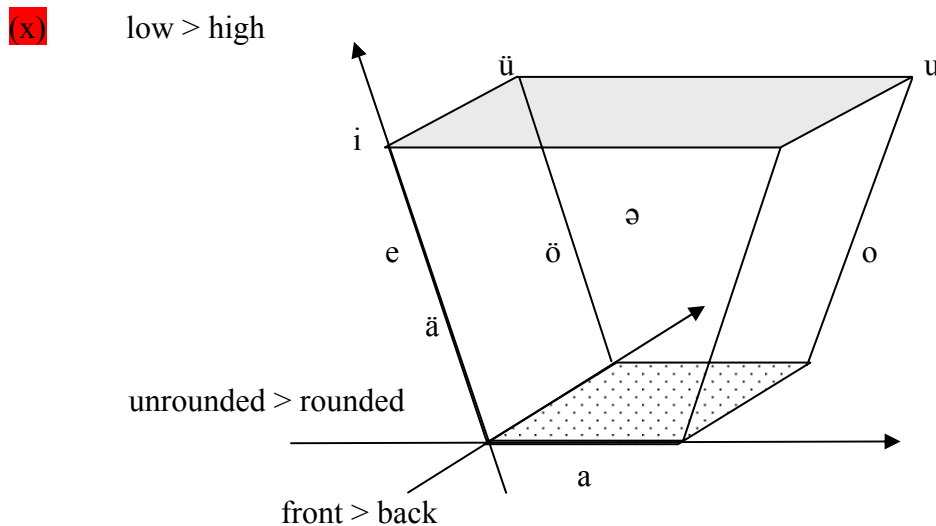
volumes *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus* (ILC, see Smeets 1994). In order to illustrate the articulation of these sounds, I will also use the IPA transcription.

2.2 The sound system

A description of the Udi sound system best starts with the dialect of Vartashen. In general, we can assume that Vartashen comes closer to the original phonetic and phonological system than the varieties of Nizh and Okt'omberi. Section 2.2.1 illustrates the system of vowels, section 2.2.2 elaborates the phonetics and phonological values of Udi consonants. Phonetic variants as they show up in the dialects of Nizh and Okt'omberi are referred to in both sections as well as in section 2.2.3 that pays special attention to these varieties. The phonological system of Old Udi (Palimpsest) is briefly considered in section 2.2.4.

2.2.1 Vowels

2.2.1.1 Basic system. The Udi vowel system is characterized by a system of six basic vowels which come close to the set of the five so-called cardinal vowels to which a middle high (centered) vowel (ə) is added. Additionally, three palatal vowels occur:



All five cardinal vowels as well as the ‘central’ vowel ə can undergo pharyngealization, represented by a^f , e^f etc. in transcription (see below). Neither nasalization nor length is distinctive in a phonematic sense. But note that in open syllables stressed vowels are often pronounced half-long or even long (e.g. *kala* [ka'la^ː] or [ka'la:^ː]). With bound morphemes, only the five cardinal vowels are used. They can – however – be affected

by harmonic processes spreading from the stem syllable(s) to the right [palatalization, pharyngealization, see 2.4].

2.2.1.2 The primary vowels. In this section, I describe the articulatory variance of the six basic vowels of Udi.

/i/: Normally an unrounded close front vowel: [i], cp. *čil* ‘necklace’ vs. *čal* ‘fence’; *el* ‘salt’ vs. *il* ‘plant, herb, weeds’; *adamari* ‘man (GEN)’ vs. *adamara* ‘man’ (DAT) etc. In unstressed syllables */i/* tends to be lowered to [ɪ], after a labial fricative it may also be labialized: Hence the plural of *käsib* ‘a poor one’ (*käsibux*) is often pronounced [k^hæsɪ'buχ]; *viče* ‘brother (DAT)’ is rather [βɪ'tʃe] or [βɪ'tʃe] than [βi'tʃe] (though the latter may also be heard). Typically, */i/* strongly palatalizes a preceding stop. In word initial position */i/* normally loses its vocalic feature and is then articulated as the approximant [j]. But note that if we cumulate the different types of articulating initial */i/* before vowels among Udi speakers, it seems better to describe a continuum that encompasses e.g. [ia] (nearly bisyllabic), [i̯a], [j̯a], and [ja]. See section 2.2.2.2 for the consonantal interpretation of */i/*. In syllable and word final position after vowels, */i/* is most often articulated as the second part of a falling diphthong (-Vi), e.g. *adamarğoi* [adamar'kɔi] ‘men (GEN:PL)’. In the present description of Udi, I will generally use <i> to transcribe the continuum [i], [i̯], [j̯], and [j].

/e/: A close-mid front vowel: [e]. This is the normal articulation of */e/* in initial and final position, e.g. *me* [me] ‘this’ vs. *ma* ‘where’ vs. *mi* ‘cold’ vs. *mu* ‘barley’, *eğel* [e'ɛɛl] ‘sheep’, *eq* [eq] ‘meat, flesh’, *el* [el] ‘salt’ vs. *ul* ‘wolf’ etc. This articulation often also applies with open syllables as long as they bear primary or secondary stress, e.g. *hametär* [ha'metær] ‘thus’, *šet'abaxt'inte* [ʃet'abaxt'm't^he]. In closed syllables, */e/* tends towards an open-mid articulation, e.g. *xinären* [χinæ'ren] ‘girl (ERG)’, *exne* [eχne] ‘(s)he says’. In atonic clitics (enclitics or endoclitics followed by a vowel), */e/* is often reduced to [ɛ̃] (> [ɛ̃]) or is dropped, e.g. *besan(e)* [be'san(ɛ̃)] ‘(s)he does’, *kalan(e)baksa* [k^ha'lan(ɛ̃)bak,sa] ‘(s)he is growing’. Note that */e/* (in its various kinds of articulation) strongly palatalizes preceding consonants in the speech of many Udi speakers in Azerbaijan.

/ä/: A rather open front vowel with a strong palatal component: [æ]. Its phonematic value is unsure, such minimal pairs as *bär* ‘some minutes ago’ vs. *ber* ‘pillow’ are rare and peripheral. Yet, it is difficult to always fix the conditions under which */ä/* appear as an allophone of another vowel (most often */a/*). */ä/* is often present in lexemes borrowed from Azeri and sometimes copies the harmonic processes in the donor language (secondary palatalization). For instance, we can describe the following articulations for *šähärä* ‘into the city’: [ʃaha'ra] (rare), [ʃæha'ra], [ʃähæ'ra], [ʃæhæ'ra], and [ʃæhæ'ræ]. In fact, many speakers tend to palatalize */a/* (> */ä/*) especially in suffixes as long as some kind of palatal feature is present in the preceding stem (see 2.4 for a discussion of palatalization as a (gradual) suprasegmental feature). Quite often, [æ] results from the reinterpretation of pharyngealization (< [a^ɣ]), see below.

/a/: Normally, an open front vowel: [a]. It is the most frequent vowel in Udi (see 2.3) and shows a low degree of variation. In stressed open syllables, some speakers tend to articulate */a/* further back (> [ɑ], sometimes even rounded [ɒ]) and to lengthen it ([ɑː] ~ [ɒː]). This manner of articulating */a/* obviously is an areal feature that is also present in Azeri, Northwest Iranian, and East Armenian. In a palatal environment, */a/* often experiences palatalization (> [æ]).

/ə/: An (open-)mid central vowel: [ə] ~ [ɐ]. Some speakers pronounce it with the lips rather closed ([ɐ] or even [i]). Minimal pairs are rare, but compare *k'ər* 'tar' vs. *k'ir* 'forest' vs. *k'ur* 'rock'; *q'əč'* 'textile' vs. *q'uč'* 'swallow' vs. *q'ač'* 'narrow'; other examples are *dəndəx* (< Azeri) 'beak', *dərnax* (< Azeri) 'hoof', *ağəl* 'flock of sheep' (< Persian). */ə/* is rather frequent in the dialects of Nizh due to the tendency to unround rounded vowels in unstressed or final syllables, compare *dəšmac'i* < *döš mac'i* 'breast-white' > 'squirrel', *əlun* ~ *alún* > *ələn* ~ *alén* 'high', *-zu* (enclitic) > *-zə* > *-əz* (1SG) etc.

/ü/: A rounded close front vowel: [y]. Its segmental phonemic status is uncertain. In polysyllabic words, it only appears in the context of other palatal vowels. */ü/* is frequent in loans from Persian and Azeri, e.g. *ärüg* 'apricots', *čäküč* 'hammer', *čüt* 'pair', *dügmä* ~ *dügme* 'button', *gülmež* 'puddle', *k'üre* 'axe', *dügün* 'node'. Final *-u/* in suffixes tends to become *-ü/* in a palatal surrounding (*/äl/, /ül/, /öl/*), e.g. *čäküčux* > *čäküčüx* 'axe (PL)' etc.

/ö/: Normally a rounded close-mid front vowel: [ø], e.g. *dögänäg* 'callus', *gölö* [gʲø'lø] 'much, very', *gölöš* [gʲø'løʃ] ~ [gʲø'lœʃ] 'dance', *köbär* [kʰjö'bær] 'steep slope', *kömür* [kʰjö'myr] 'coal' etc. In many cases, */ö/* results from the palatalization of */o/* in an adequate assimilatory context, or, */o/* reflects labialized */e/* in a labial context. Quite often, this process lacks an appropriate condition, e.g. *gölö* ~ *gele* 'much, very' (< Northwest Iranian, compare Kurdish *gelék* 'much'). */ö/* may also result from the reinterpretation of pharyngealized */oʰ/*, see below.

/u/: A rounded close back vowel: [u]. The vowel is second in frequency (see 2.3). It may occur in any position, e.g. *uč'* [uɕ'] 'honey', *ulux* [u'lux] 'tooth ~ teeth', *uk* 'heart' vs. *ek* 'horse', *uš* 'firewood' vs. *äš* 'thing' vs. *iš* 'work', *bu* 'exist' vs. *ba* 'make (IMPER:2sg)' vs. *bi* 'done' vs. *be* 'having done', *bul* 'head' vs. *bel* 'head (SUPER)', *kul* 'hand' vs. *kol* 'bush' etc. In unstressed closed syllables, */u/* is often slightly centralized (> [ü]), e.g. *burux* [bu'ruχ] 'mountain', *boʰq'urğox* [boʰq'ur'βɔχ] 'pig (PL:DAT2) etc.

/o/: A rounded mid-close back vowel: [o]. The systematic use of this vowel is typical for the southern and western Lezgian languages but unknown in Eastern Samur. In Udi, it has become a stable element of the vowel inventory, compare *oq'a* 'under' vs. *aq'a* 'take (IMPER:2sg)' vs. *oq'o* 'vinegar'; *o* 'grass' vs. *e* 'what'; *ol* 'post (in the middle of a room)' vs. *el* 'salt' vs. *il* 'weeds' vs. *ul* 'wolf', *-o* (FUT:MOD) vs. *-a* (MOD) vs. *-i* (PAST) vs. *-e* (PERF) etc. In closed syllables, */o/* tends to be (slightly) opened, e.g. *kol* [kʰɔ]

‘bush’, *boš* [bɔʃ] ‘inside’, *monorte* [mo'nɔrtʰɛ] ‘these who’, *oc'kesun* [ʷɔts'kəsun] ‘to wash’ etc.

2.2.1.3 Pharyngealization. As has been said above, pharyngealization represents a distinctive feature in Udi. Pharyngealization is also known in a number of other East Caucasian languages. But whereas it often is a consonantal feature in cognate languages, it clearly operates on vowels in Udi (see Trubetzkoy 1931 who advocates for a ‘consonantal’ interpretation of pharyngealization in Udi, Dirr 1904:1, Karbelašvili 1935:268-275, J̄eiranišvili 1959, Pančviže 1974, all of them in favor of a ‘vocalic’ interpretation). Pharyngealization itself is realized in Udi by a contraction of the laryngo-pharyngeal tract (from glottis to epiglottis) in combination with a raising of the larynx. This contraction is often accompanied by a contraction in the oro-pharyngeal tract (epiglottis > uvulum) which causes an activation of the palatoglossus and – as its effect – the raising of the tongue root (*radix linguae*). Additionally, the raising of the larynx is coupled with some kind of creaky voicing by shortening the vocalic cords.

Pharyngealized vowels can appear in any position of a word. They are not restricted to an appropriate consonantal environment (uvulars, pharyngeals etc.). Examples are *aʷil* ‘child’, *aʷin* ‘sour dough’, *aʷlaʷm* ‘sign, miracle’, *aʷldesun* ‘to wave’, *aʷm* ‘shoulder’, *aʷq* ‘breast’, *vaʷ ~ eʷfa* ‘you (PL:DAT)’, *maʷǰ* ‘song’, *kaʷč* ‘valley’, *pʷaʷ* ‘two’, *kʷaʷkʷaʷpʷ* ‘knee’, *eʷb* ‘awl’, *eʷk* ‘horse’, *eʷleʷm* ‘donkey’, *eʷs* ‘appel’, *iʷvel ~ iveʷl* ‘holy’, *iʷž* ‘snow, winter’, *oʷma* ‘strawberry’, *oʷne* ‘weeping’, *beʷq* ‘dark’, *meʷl* ‘mouse’, *beʷǰ* ‘sun’, *beʷs* ‘in front of’, *beʷiʷns* ‘priest’, *beʷk* ‘needle’, *biʷ* ‘heavy’, *biʷbiʷ* ‘bridge’, *cʷiʷlaʷmpʷur* ‘(wild) vegetables’, *uʷǰsun* ‘to drink’, *fuʷq* ‘theft’, *pʷuʷmpʷaʷl* ‘shell’, *uʷq* ‘six’, *kʷoʷin* ‘cap’. The quality of the underlying vowel is normally not affected by the process of pharyngealization. Incidentally, we can observe a slight centralization of both front and back vowels, e.g. *biʷ* [brʷ], *beʷǰ* [bɐʷɤ], *oʷma* [ʷɐma], *uʷq* [ʷɐq] etc. The raising of the tongue root is the main reason why pharyngealized vowels can be substituted by palatalized vowels especially in the speech of younger and urbanized Udis. This is mainly true for */aʷ/ > /ä/*, */oʷ/ > /ö/*, and */uʷ/ > /ü/*. Occasionally, */iʷ/* and */eʷ/* lose their pharyngeal feature. In contemporary Nizh */aʷ/* is normally articulated as [æʷ], */oʷ/* as [œʷ], and */uʷ/* as [ɣʷ], see 2.2.3.

2.2.1.4 Diphthongs. There is a restricted set of diphthongs in Udi. In lexical stems, we find falling diphthongs like */ái/*, */éi/*, and */ói/* etc.. In loans */au/* and */ou/* may occur. Rising diphthongs are */iá/*, */ié/*, */ió/*, and */iú/*. Examples are *aiz* ‘village’, *bai ~ bāi* ‘cherry’, *baičesun* ‘carry into’, *harai* ‘cry’, *kʷai* ‘white frost’, *qai* ‘open, clear’, *sai* ‘something, a little bit’, *ǰain* ‘sharp’, *eisun* ‘to come’, *gavasein* ‘plowshare’, *neiš ~ noi(i)š* ‘sacrifice’, *orein* ‘source’, *pein* ‘dung’, *boi* ‘hight’, *asoi* ‘cloud’, *tʷoišan* ‘hare’, *buibaksun* ‘be(come) filled’, *dui* ‘stupid’, *fui* ‘inflated’, *qʷui* ‘owl’, *qʷuil* ‘earthworm’, *vui* ‘nine’, *bias* ‘in the evening’, *biabia* ‘whitehorn’, *mia* ‘here’, *tʷia* ‘there’, *biesun* ‘to die’, *bio* ‘what has been done’, *qʷoum* ‘people’, *daun < daʷvuʷn* ‘fresh green vegetables’. Often, such diphthongs have resulted from the contraction of a former

bisyllabic structure, from the lexicalization of a former morphological segment (basically *-i* (past participle)), or from other word formation processes. Also, a considerable number of diphthongs stems from loans, mainly from Azeri and Iranian (Persian, Northwest Iranian). In Nizh, diphthongs are often reinterpreted as -VCV-structures by inserted the glide [j], see below 2.2.2.2.

2.2.2 Consonants

2.2.2.1 Introduction: The Udi consonants in their ‘Lezgian’ setting. Compared to other East Caucasian languages, the Udi system of consonants is rather small in number. It lacks such features as labialization, pharyngealization, and lengthening which are typical for many other sister languages. (X) lists the number of consonantal phonemes for the Lezgian languages (including Khinalug; note that the figures relate to more or less representative dialects. For sake of simplicity, data are taken from Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990:335-346; references to specific dialects are illustrative only. Also, only those consonants that have a safe phonematic status are taken into consideration):

(X) Language	Number of consonants
Aghul (Burshag)	48
Tabasaran (Kondik)	45
Archi	44
Tsakhur (Mikik)	42
Khinalug	42
Lezgi (Khlüt)	37
Kryts (Kryts)	37
Budukh	37
Rutul (Luchek)	34
Udi (Vartashen)	33

Udi shares the following consonants with all other Lezgian languages (including Khinalug). Note that places of articulation are approximate only (out of comparative reasons, in this section phonemes are transcribed with the help of the IPA system):

(X) Labial:	/b/, /p/, /pʰ/
Dental:	/d/, /t/, /tʰ/, /ts/, /tsʰ/, /z/, /s/
Alveopalatal:	/tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /ʃ/
Velar	/g/, /k/, /kʰ/
Uvular	/q/, /qʰ/, /ʁ/, /χ/
Laryngeal	/h/
Lateral	/l/
Rhotic	/r/
Nasal	/m/, /n/

In order not to complicate the matter, this list ignores positional restrictions. Nevertheless, it comes clear that the Udi system of consonantal phonemes comes rather

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close to what can be called the Lezgian ‘prototype’ (but see 2.3.3 for distributional criteria). The following phonemes represent isoglosses with other Lezgian languages:

- (X) /v/ Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug
 /f/ Aghul, Rutul, Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug
 /dʒ/ Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug

Obviously, Udi takes part in some kind of ‘phonetic’ *sprachbund* that includes the three Shah-Dagh languages Kryts, Budukh, and Khinalug. Yet, Udi takes a marginal (and innovative) position within this *sprachbund*. This becomes evident if we look at those phonemes that are present in the other Lezgian languages, but which are missing in Udi:

- (X) /ʀ/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Archi, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /ʒ/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Rutul, Tsakhur, Archi, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /x/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, Tsakhur, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /p:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Tsakhur, Archi, Khinalug
 /t:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Tsakhur, Archi, Khinalug
 /k:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Tsakhur, Archi, Khinalug
 /h/ Lezgi, Aghul, Archi, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /ʁ/ Tabasaran, Rutul, Archi, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /ɣ/ Tabasaran, Rutul, Tsakhur, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /w/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Archi
 /q:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Archi, Khinalug
 /ɢ/ Rutul, Tsakhur, *Kryts, Budukh, Khinalug*
 /ts:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Tsakhur, Khinalug
 /tʃ:/ Lezgi, Tabasaran, Aghul, Khinalug
 /dz/ Tabasaran, Rutul, Kryts
 /s:/ Aghul, Tsakhur, Archi
 /χ:/ Aghul, Tsakhur, Archi
 /ɬ:/ Aghul, Rutul
 /x:/ Aghul, Tsakhur
 /ʒ^w/ Tabasaran, Aghul
 /ts^w/ Tabasaran, Aghul
 /ts^{wʔ}/ Tabasaran, Aghul
 /s^w/ Tabasaran, Aghul
 /ʃ:/ Tsakhur, Archi
 /χ^ʔ/ Aghul
 /ts:^ʔ/ Archi
 /tʃ:^ʔ/ Archi
 /tʰ/ Archi
 /tʰ^ʔ/ Archi
 /tʰ:^ʔ/ Archi
 /ʈ/ Archi
 /ʈ:^ʔ/ Archi

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/qˀ/	Archi
/tsˀ/	Tabasaran
/zˀ/	Tabasaran

The lack of /ʔ/, /ʒ/, /x/, /ɣ/, /G/, /ħ/, and /ʕ/ in Udi is due to the impact of rather strong substrates and superstrates (especially Armenian and Iranian) that have caused some kind of ‘fronting’ of the whole Udi consonantal system. The relative closeness of the Udi inventory to the Northwest Iranian and East Armenian consonantal systems can be easily detected, if one compares the three systems in question (only the basic phonemes are given, allophonic variants as well as dialectal specifics are neglected; NT = Northern Talysh, EA = East Armenian, AZ = Azeri):

(X)

	Udi	NT	EA	AZ
/b/	x	x	x	x
/p/	x	x	x	x
/pˀ/	x		x	
/f/	x	x	x	x
/v/	x	x	x	x
/d/	x	x	x	x
/t/	x	x	x	x
/tˀ/	x		x	
/s/	x	x	x	x
/z/	x	x	x	x
/dz/	x			
/tʃ/	x			
/tʃˀ/	x			
/ʒ/	x			
/ʕ/	x			
/dʒ/	x	x	x	x
/tʃ/	x	x	x	x

	Udi	NT	EA	AZ
/tʃˀ/	x		x	
/ʒ/		x	x	x
/ʃ/	x	x	x	x
/j/	(x)	x	x	x
/g/	x	x	x	x
/k/	x	x	x	x
/kˀ/	x		x	
/q/	x			x
/qˀ/	x			
/ɬ/	x	x	x	x
/ɣ/	x	x	x	x
/h/	x	x	x	x
/m/	x	x	x	x
/n/	x	x	x	x
/l/	x	x	x	x
/r/	x	x	x	x

In this list, I have used Northern Talysh data in order to illustrate the system of consonants in a Northwest Iranian language. This does not necessarily mean that Northern Talysh has taken part in the formation of Modern Udi (see L.X). Obviously, Udi shares many of its consonantal features with either East Armenian, Northern Talysh, or Azeri. If we disregard the partial analogy in glottalization, the only feature that sets Udi apart from these languages is the presence of a so-called palato-alveolar (or: alveolo-palatal) set of affricates and fricatives (/dz/, /tʃ/, /tʃˀ/, /ʒ/, /ʕ/). This set, however, is not only missing in the assumed contact languages, but also in all languages cognate to Udi.

2.2.2.2 Consonantal phonemes: Basic system. The following table illustrates the system of Udi consonantal phonemes (see below for the transcription of the IPA symbols in terms of the standard of East Caucasian linguistics):

Stops		Affricates			Fricatives		Nasals	Rhotic
vd	vl	gl	vd	vl	gl	vd	vl	

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Bilabial	/b/	/p/	/pʔ/						/m/
Labiodental							/v/	/f/	
Alveodental	/d/	/t/	/tʔ/	/ts/	/tsʔ/	/z/	/s/		/n/
Palatoalveolar				/dʒ/	/tʃ/	/tʃʔ/	/ʒ/	/ç/	
Palatal								/ʃ/	
Lateral							/l/		
Velar	/g/	/k/	/kʔ/						
Uvular		/q/	/qʔ/				/ʁ/	/χ/	
Laryngeal								/h/	

Table X: The phonemic consonants of Udi

The overall impression of the ‘sounding’ of Udi is that of a rather voicing language that makes extensive use of stops and fricatives. In table X, I have substituted the sound symbols by figures that indicate the frequency of the corresponding consonants in the Gospels of Matthews (129.129 phonemes, of them 84.764 consonants):

	Stops			Affricates			Fricatives		Nasals	Rhotic
	vd	vl	gl	vd	vl	gl	vd	vl		
Bilabial	7,55	2,49	0,59						3,79	
Labiodental							4,80	0,93		
Alveodental	1,69	9,03	5,10		0,95	0,28	2,49	3,76	12,89	4,34
Palatoalveolar				0,05	0,24	0,08	0,11	0,44		
Palatal				0,54	1,86	0,64		3,11		
Lateral							5,39			
Velar	5,35	3,54	1,87							
Uvular		2,64	2,28				3,41	6,62		
Laryngeal								0,77		

Table X: Frequency of consonants in the Gospel of Matthew (percentage)

Those phonemes the frequency of which is higher than 5 % are marked by a dark shadow; those between 2 - 5 % are marked by a light shadow. In (x), I have summarized the frequencies arranged according to the manner of articulation:

(x)	Voiced	52,86	Stops	42,13	Nasals	16,68
	Voiceless	36,38	Affricates	4,64	Rhotic	4,34
	Glottalized	4,18	Fricatives	31,83		

The feature [voice] dominates the general profile of Udi articulation. This can be illustrated for instance by the distribution of voiced and voiceless segments in the Gospel according to Luke. This text contains 17.138 words that are represented by 93.562 phonemes. Of them, 76,47 % are voiced (vowels and voiced consonants), whereas 23,53 % are voiceless consonants. This gives us four voiced segments in an average word of six phonemes (the exact average is 5.4 phonemes per word in the Gospel according to Luke). In initial position, voiceless phonemes are more frequent

than in final position – however, they have to be followed by a voiced segment. Any final voiceless segment has to be preceded by a voiced phoneme, compare table X that summarizes the distribution of voiced and voiceless phonemes in the Gospel according to Luke:

	Total	Initial				Final			
		Total		+vl	+vd	Total	vd+	vl+	
vl	32.53 %	5081	39.64 %	---	5801	2048	11,95 %	2048	---
vd	76.47 %	11337	60.36 %	1817	9520	15090	88.05 %	11012	4078

Table X: The distribution of voiced and voiceless segments in the Gospel according to Luke

See section 2.3 for a more detailed survey of distributional features in Udi.

2.2.2.3 The articulation of Udi consonants. In this section, I will illustrate the phonetics of the Udi consonantal phonemes (for a general overview concerning distributional criteria see sections 2.3 and 2.6).

§ 1. The description is based on the articulatory tradition of Vartashen. In Nizh (especially in Middle and Lower Nizh) two major changes apply: First, all glottalized stops and affricates are deglottalized and slightly lengthened. Instead, the unmarked stops and affricates have generalized the feature [aspirated] (the ‘Nizh Sound Shift’). Also, the series of palatoalveolars (/ʃ/, /č/, /č’/, (/ʒ/,) and /ś/) is usually replaced by the lengthened variants of the corresponding postalveolars ([dʒ:], [tʃ:], [tʃ’:], [ʒ], and [ʃ:]). Note that /č/ and /č’/ are no longer distinctive in these variants of Udi. In Okt’omberi, glottalized consonants, too, tends towards deglottalization. However, palatoalveolars are often preserved. In order to secure the comparability between the dialectal variants, I will use the (older) Vartashen articulation to symbolize the phonemes. As has been argued in section 2.2.1.2, the approximant [j] is interpreted as a positional variant of the phoneme /i/. Hence, it does not figure as a separate phoneme in Vartashen Udi. In Nizh, however, [j] has a much stronger phonematic value. In order to account for this point, I will use the symbol <y> to indicate the approximant [j] in examples from Nizh, whereas I will use <i> for examples from Vartashen.

All stops are heavily palatalized before palatal vowels especially in the speech of bilingual Nizh and Vartashen Udis (Udi-Azeri). In the following description of the phonemic inventory, I will not always pay special attention to this rather automatic process.

The examples used to illustrate the individual phonemes are taken from all three dialectal variants. I do not indicate whether a given example is confined to a specific dialect as long as this information is not relevant in the present context.

§ 2. Labials: /b/, /p/, /pʰ/, /v/, /f/, /m/

/b/: Normally, a voiced bilabial stop [b]. A following labial vowel (especially [u]) may cause a considerable protrusion of the lips. In intervocalic position, /b/ tends to be pronounced as a voiced bilabial fricative [β], especially in Nizh. In this position, [β] may be velarized before a labial vowel. /b/ then nearly is a voiced labial velar approximant [w], compare *abuz* ‘more’ [aʰbuʰz] ~ [aʰβuʰz] ~ [aʰwuʰz], *čubux* ‘woman’ [tʃʊʰbuʰχ] ~ [tʃʊʰβuʰχ] ~ [tʃʊʰwuʰχ]. Else, /b/ is rather stable. Examples are *biz* ‘awl’ vs. *pʰiz* ‘swamp’, *besun* ‘to do, make’ vs. *pesun* ‘to say’, *čollaboʰq* ‘wild boar’, *ašbal* ‘worker’, *aba* ‘knowing’, *äbräš* ‘foolish’. In final position, /b/ is rare (many of the words in question are loans) e.g. *xib* ‘three’, *eʰb* ‘needle’, *žib* ‘pocket’ (Arabic *ǰīb*), *inab* ‘croup’, ‘*ziziphus mauritiana*’, *käsib* ‘poor’ (Arabic *kasīb*), *aʰib* ~ *äib* (Arabic *ʿāʰib*) ‘fault, shame’. Note that some speakers in Nizh tend to replace /b/ by /pʰ/ when followed by /_Vpʰ/, e.g. *bapʰi* (Nizh *pʰapʰi* [pʰ:aʰpʰ:i]) ‘ripe’. The same process can also be observed with certain loans such as Vartashen *zaburi* > Nizh *cʰapʰiri* ‘funnel’.

/p/: A voiceless bilabial stop [p]. Some speakers tend to strongly aspirate it in the syllable onset ([pʰ]). A following labial vowel then may give rise to a weak affricate ([pʰʰ]): *pul* ‘eye’ [pʰul] ~ [pʰʰul]. Other examples are *penec* ‘plough’, *pain* ‘heating’, *peltʰan* ‘hare’, *balaqʰab* ‘little door’, *lap* ‘very’, *pop* ‘hair’, *apči* ‘lie’, *čʰepun* ‘rash’. A number of nouns with final /p/ are onomatopoeics: *caʰp* ‘applause’, *dap* ‘tambourine’, *kʰupkʰup* ‘cuckoo’.

/pʰ/: A glottalized bilabial stop (Nizh > [pʰ:]). The phoneme does not have notable phonetic variants. Examples are *pʰaʰ* ‘two’, *pʰi* ‘blood’ vs. *bi* ‘done’ vs. *pi* ‘having said’, *pʰuri* ‘dead’, *šip* ‘silent’, *ap* ‘sweat’, *kʰaʰkʰaʰp* ‘knee’, *nep* ‘sleep, dream’, *čʰapʰkʰin* ‘hidden’, *apʰuš* ‘dry’, *apʰi* ‘ripe’.

/v/: Normally, a labiodental voiced fricative: [v]. Before vowels, /v/ is often pronounced as a bilabial fricative [β] or (rarer) as a labiovelar approximant [ʋ], compare *šavat* ‘nice, beautiful’ [ʃaʰvatʰ] ~ [ʃaʰβatʰ] ~ [ʃaʰvatʰ]. Before a pharyngealized vowel, /v/ often is articulated as the labial velar (or even labial uvular) approximant [w], compare *vaʰ* [waʰ] ‘and’. Other examples for /v/ are *vi* ‘your (sg.)’ vs. *fi* ‘wine’, *viči* ‘brother’, *vic* ‘nine’, *vič* ‘ten’, *batʰevkesun* ‘to let perish’, *beivan* ‘wild’, *iveʰl* ‘holy’. Most words that contain a non initial /v/ are loans.

/f/: A voiceless labiodental fricative: [f]. There is no relevant variation in articulation. Examples comprise *fi* ‘wine’ vs. *vi* ‘your (sg.)’, *figombal* ‘black grape’, *far* ‘melody’, *furupesun* ‘to search, walk around’, *faʰcʰiʰ* ‘ill, not in good shape’, *eʰf* ‘your (pl.)’, *afrepesun* ‘to pray’, *bafdesun* ‘to fall into’. Among the few lexical words that have a final /f/ are *alaf* ‘grass, hay’ and *beikef* ‘disbelief’ (< Persian). Many words starting or ending in /f/ are loans. Also note that /f/ sometimes substitutes Azeri /b/, e.g. *fäläs* (< Azeri *bäläs*) ‘white beech’.

/m/: A voiced bilabial nasal spirant: [m]. No relevant articulatory variants. Examples are *mu* ‘barley’ vs. *bu* ‘being’ vs. *nu* (prohibitive), *ma* ‘where’, *mi* ‘cold’, *me* ‘this (proximal)’, *meq* ‘worm’, *mal* (Nizh) ‘a little, few’, *mu*^ǰ ~ *muǰ* ‘eight’, *muz* ‘tongue, language’, *o^hma* ‘strawberry’, *šampesun* ‘to slaughter’, *čämčä* ‘ladle’, *amc’i* ‘empty’, *elmux* ‘spirit, soul’, *č’em* ‘dirt’, *dam* ‘long ago’, *tum* ‘root’.

§ 3. Alveodentals: /d/, /t/, /tʰ/, /c/, /cʰ/, /z/, /s/, /n/, /r/

/d/: A voiced alveodental (laminal) stop: [d̥]. In Vartashen, some speakers tend to articulate the stop as a (post)dental stop ([d̥]). In initial and final position, /d/ is rare with native words. Examples include *därd* ‘hurt, pain’, *daxud* ‘harvest’, *dös* ‘breast’, *düz* ‘straight, correct’, *däi* ‘green’, *ad* ‘smell’, *duǰsun* ‘to hit’, *badak* ‘jelly made of wine’, *bedul* ‘spade’, *xod* ‘tree’, *c’indak* ‘socks’, *-desun* (light verb < *‘to give’), *martad* ‘large dish’, *xod* ‘tree’, *xo^hd* ‘seed’, *q’ud* ‘earthenware bowl’, *zid* ‘plane tree’.

/t/: A voiceless alveodental (laminal) stop: [t̥]. Often strongly aspirated before vowels (> [t̥^h]). No further articulatory variants. Examples are: *te* ‘not’, *tarapesun* ‘to turn around’, *talaš* ‘splinter’, *toz* ‘dust’, *tur* ‘leg’, *tülki* ‘fox’, *to^hq’a^h* ‘girdle’, *batk’esun* ‘to perish’, *metär* ‘in this manner, thus’, *bitesun* ‘to fall’ (*biti* ‘fallen’ vs. *bit’i* ‘having sown’), *äit* ‘word’, *mät* ‘juice made of medlar berries’, *net* ‘eyebrow’, *tut* ‘mulberry’.

/tʰ/: A glottalized alveodental (laminal) stop: [t̥ʰ]: Except for the shift > [t̥:] in Nizh and (in parts) Okt’omberi, no audible variants are recorded. Examples include: *t’e* ‘that (distal)’, *t’ap’pesun* ‘to hit’, *t’ist’un* ‘to run’, *t’ol* ‘fur, skin’, *t’o^hǰ* ‘side’, *t’up* ‘radish’, *t’u^hp* ‘white radish, mooli’, *t’oišan* ‘hare’, *t’ul* ‘wine grape’ (vs. *tul* ~ *tulä* ‘street dog’), *-t’esun* (auxiliary), *k’ot’oš* ‘kind of jar’, *šet’a* ‘her, his’, *k’at’aš* ‘cranium’, *p’at’ala* ‘unclean’, *č’at* ‘corn-bread’, *č’ot* ‘border, shores, bank’, *nut* (alpha privativum), *ot* ‘shame’.

/c/: A voiceless alveodental (laminal) affricate: [t̥ʃ]. Strongly aspirated before vowels (> [t̥ʃ^h]). Some speakers prefer a (post)dental articulation (> [t̥ʃ]). Examples are: *cac* ‘thorn’, *cam* ‘inscription, scripture’, *cil* ‘seed’ vs. *c’il* ‘heat’, *cina* ‘down, south’, *ci^hq* ‘squirrel’, *kiciri* ‘large bowl to store pickled vegetables’, *koci* ‘small wine mug’, *mec* ‘nest’, *q’iciri* ‘dish’, *cicik* ‘blossom’.

/cʰ/: A glottalized alveodental (laminal) affricate: [t̥ʃʰ]. Except for the shift > [t̥ʃ:] in Nizh and (in parts) Okt’omberi, no articulatory variants observed. In initial position, /cʰ/ seems to be confined to /_V[+palat]/ (disregarding onomatopoeics). Examples are: *c’i* ‘name’, *c’il* ‘embers, heat’ vs. *cil* ‘seed’, *c’a^hv* ‘shining’, *c’ec* ‘moth, midge’, *c’i^hla^hmp’ur* ‘wild vegetables’, *c’i^hlǰi^ht* ‘eagle owl’, *c’ilapur* ‘ivy’, *c’irik* ‘till’, *c’o^hǰ* ‘strong rain’, *c’orodesun* ‘to comb’, *mac’i* ‘white’, *ac’ar* ‘clear’, *amc’i* ‘empty’, *k’ic’i* ‘little, small, young’, *vic* ‘nine’, *nec* ‘louse’.

2.5 Phonetic processes

/z/: A voiced alveodental (apical) fricative: [z̥] (laminal before another laminal consonant [z̥]). In some loan words, /z/ tends to be articulated [dz]. In fact, [z̥] is the preferred variant of the pair [d̥z̥] ~ [z̥], as opposed to the pair [d̥ʒ] ~ [ʒ] which shows preference of the affricate [d̥ʒ], see below for /ʒ/. [dz] is more often heard than [z̥] in *zaburi* [d̥z̥abü'ri] 'funnel', *xazal* [χa'd̥z̥al] 'leaf', *ğanzil* [ɣan'd̥z̥i'l] 'club moss', *zinzilik'ux* [d̥z̥ɪnd̥z̥ili'k'ʊχ] 'icicle', *zak'onzombal* [z̥a,k'o'nd̥z̥om'ba'l] 'teacher of the law', *mänzil* [mæn'd̥z̥i'l] 'mile, day trip'. Examples for [z̥] are: *za* 'for me' vs. *sa* 'one', *zapsun* 'to pull, drag', *bez* 'mine', *zombesun* 'to teach', *zoq* 'shoot', *zizam* 'liver, spleen', *abuz* 'more', *abazak* 'thief', *aiz* 'village, settlement', *muz* 'tongue, language'.

/s/: An unvoiced alveodental (apical) fricative: [s̥]. Before a laminal consonant, a laminal articulation is preferred [s̥]. Else, no variation in articulation has been recorded. Examples are: *sa* 'one' vs. *za* 'to me', *serbesun* 'to build', *sel* 'strong rain', *särin* 'cool', *sapsa* 'alone', *suruk'besun* 'to hang s.th. on', *besun* 'to do, make', *pesun* 'to say', *säs* 'voice', *elas* 'oath', *haisak* 'handicrafts', *häsä* 'new, fresh', *q'usur* 'infertile'.

/n/: A voiced alveodental (laminal) nasal spirant: [n̥]. Before a velar or uvular consonant, /n/ takes the point of articulation of the following consonant (> [ŋ], [N]), see /ŋ/. Some speakers from Vartashen tend to velarize a final -n through impact from local Azeri variants, e.g. *pesun* [p^hɛ'suŋ] 'to say' (the result may also be a nasal vowel followed by an unreleased [ŋ]: [p^hɛ'sũ^ŋ]). Else, no relevant variants in articulation are observed. Examples are *nam* 'wet', *naq* 'buttermilk', *nec* 'louse', *neğ* 'tears', *nep* 'sleep, dream', *neq* 'litter (for feeding)', *noč* 'grape fruit', *meno* 'this one', *binik* 'puppy', *bilğonč* 'lizard', *saganu* 'together', *un* 'you (sg.)', *ian* 'we', *va^hn* 'you (pl.)', *kačpun* 'cave', *in* 'flea'.

/r/: Normally, an alveolar thrill: [r]. In final position, the thrill is often substituted by a flap or a tap [ɾ]. Some speakers prefer an alveolar approximant in this position [ɹ]. The flap may also occur in intervocalic position. Examples are *p'uri* [p'urri] ~ [p'urɾ] 'dead', *ğar* [ɣar] ~ [ɣar] ~ [ɣaɾ] 'son'. There is a constraint on /r-/ in Udi which excludes it from initial position (in analogy e.g. to Azeri). Further examples are *ereq* 'hazel', *irit* 'disgust', *lari* 'resembling', *k'üre* 'axe', *xuru* 'in pieces', *ore* 'offended', *lik'är* 'pathway', *xinär* 'girl', *adamar* 'man, human being', *ur* 'spinning'.

§ 4. Palatoalveolars (or: Alveolo-palatals): /ʒ/, /č/, /č', /ž/, /š/

Alveolo-palatals exist only in Vartashen. In Nizh and Okt'omberi, they are replaced by lengthened postalveolars. Some Vartashen speakers tend to pronounce these sounds just as simple postalveolars. Undoubtedly, the series of palatoalveolars belongs to the periphery of the Udi phonemic system. Still, their phonematic value can be illustrated with the help of the following minimal pairs: *čax* 'milking' vs. *čax* 'cold, frost', *čo* 'face' vs. *čo* 'cream', *č'a* 'cord' vs. *č'a* 'rope', *č'aq* 'lightning' vs. *č'aq* 'thunder', *šu* 'night' vs. *šu* 'who', *šor* 'quark' vs. *šor* 'thus', *šumak* 'female' vs. *šumak* 'hen', *šum*

‘bread’ vs. *šum* ‘noise’, *ćam* ‘inflamed’ vs. *žam* ‘scolding’ vs. *žam* ~ *žam* ‘copper cup’. At least some of the words that contain a palatoalveolar are expressive in nature. Also note that pairs like *ć’a* vs. *č’a*, *ć’aq* vs. *č’aq*, and *śumak* vs. *šumak* show some kind of semantic grading carried out by the palatoalveolars in question. The underlying sound symbolic strategy perhaps relates to the standard correlation ‘more palatal’ > diminutive, singulative. Further research is needed to decide whether other variations in transcription (such as *ša* ~ *śa* ‘sand’) can, too, be related to this semantic process.

/ž/: A voiced palatoalveolar (laminal) affricate: [dʒ], Vartashen only. A rather rare sound. Normally, its articulation is accompanied by slight labialization: [dʒʷ]. Its phonematic status is unsure. Most probably, we have to deal with an allophone of both */ž/* and */ž/*. Actually, */ž/* is preferably pronounced [dʒ] before a labial vowel (esp. /u/) in Vartashen, compare *žuhut* [dʒʷʊˈhʊt] ‘Jew’, *k’onžux* [kʰɔndʒʷʊx] ‘landlord’, *žučab* [dʒʷʊˈʦab] ‘answer’. The sequence */žo/* sometimes is pronounced [dʒo], thus *žomox* [dʒoˈmɔx] ‘mouth, lips’, *žogul* [dʒoˈʁul] ‘springtime’, *žol* [dʒol] ‘spigot, tongue’.

/ć/: A voiceless palatoalveolar (laminal) affricate, often strongly aspirated: [tʃʰ]. The sound is replaced by [tʃ:] in Nizh and Okt’omberi. Examples include *bać* [batʃʰ] ‘hundred’, *ćaxpesun* [tʃʰaxpesun] ‘to milk’, *ćaća* ‘thrush’, *ćo* ‘face’, *ćomox* ‘door, place in front of the door (first court)’, cp. *žomox* [(d)ʒoˈmɔx] ‘mouth, lips’. Before /o/, */ć/* has a rather dental articulation, hence [tʃʰoˈmɔx], *ćožükü* [tʃʰodʒyˈkʰij] ‘malleable, soft’.

/ć’/: A glottalized palatoalveolar (laminal) affricate: [tʃʰ]. In Nizh and Okt’omberi it is replaced by [tʃʰˀ]. Examples are *ć’a* ‘cord, string’, *ć’a^q* ‘lightning’, *ć’oc’a* ‘red’, *k’ać’i* ‘blind’, *noc’* ‘grape fruit’, *q’ać’* ‘narrow’, *q’uč’* ‘swallow’, *gulg’*, *uč’* ‘honey’.

/ž/: A voiced palatoalveolar (laminal) fricative: [ʒ]. It is replaced by [ʒ:] in Nizh and Okt’omberi. Examples are *že^s* ‘stone’, *žal* ‘cocking’, *žam* ‘scolding’, *ži^q* ‘swaying’, *žuk* ‘spindle’, *i^ž* ‘snow, winter’, *xazol* ‘whip’.

/ś/: A voiceless palatoalveolar (laminal) fricative: [ç]. It is replaced by [ʃ:] in Nizh and Okt’omberi. Also, [ʃ] is often heard instead of [ç] in Vartashen. Examples include *śel* ‘good’, *śum* ‘bread’, *śu* ‘night’, *śul* ‘fox’, *śolot* ‘reed’, *śumak* ‘female’, *śu(v)e* ‘bear’, *śuvet* ‘dill’, *axśum* ‘laughter’, *iś(u)* ‘man’, *laśk’o* ‘marriage’, *ne^śśum* ‘yellow’, *iśa* (~ *i^śa^ś*) ‘close, near’ (vs. *isa* ‘now’), *laśag* ‘body’, *e^śś* ‘apple’, *be^śś* ‘in front’, *be^śinś(u)* ‘priest’. There is a certain preference for */ś/* to be used before a labial vowel (especially /u/).

§ 5. Palatal and lateral approximants: /y~i/, /l/

/y~i/: A palatal approximant: [j]. In Vartashen, it forms a phonological ‘cluster’ with the vocalic variant [i]. In Nizh, its status as a separate phoneme is apparent: It frequently

stands for a Vartashen final velar stop, e.g. V. *č'äläg* 'woods' > N. *č'äläy*, V. *tog* 'trade' > N. *töy*, V. *c'irik* 'till' > N. *c'iriy*, V. *bäk* 'groom' > N. *bäy*, V. *žok* 'separate part; except for, separate' > N. *č'öy* ~ *žöy*, V. *kömäg* 'help' > N. *kömäy* etc. Also note N. *giyär* vs. V. *gegär* 'swallow'. Additionally, [j] is more marked for functional properties in Nizh than in Vartashen (see 3.4.5). In Nizh, [j] often results from the collision of two vowels the first of which is /i/. Hence, diphthongs are often broken up and interpreted as bisyllabic structures, compare V. *mia* 'here' vs. N. *miya*, V. *t'ia* vs. N. *t'iya* 'there', V. *bia* vs. N. *biyä* 'evening', V. *pio* vs. N. *piyo* 'what has been said', V. *orain* vs. N. *orayin* 'spring, source', V. *äit* vs. N. *äyit* 'word', V. *aiz* vs. N. *ayiz* 'village' etc.

In native words, initial /iV-/ (N. /yV-/) is rare and restricted to /ia-/ , e.g. *ian* 'we', *iaq* 'way'. In loans, we also encounter /ie-/ (e.g. *iegä* 'file' *ieka* 'large', *iemiš* 'food', *ienex* 'that is', *ieni* 'new', *iesir* 'prisoner', *iezna* 'son-in-law'), /io-/ (e.g. *ioxsam* 'or', *ioldaš* 'friend'), and /iu/ (e.g. *iu* 'weak'). In intervocalic position, /y ~ i/ is mainly documented in the surroundings of /a_a/. Examples are: *aiax* 'unsalten', *haiasuz* 'stupid', *q'ərxaiağ* 'scorpion', *q'ərxaial* 'crab'. *aiaz* 'bright sky', *aiaq* 'glass', *taia* 'threshing floor', *kaia* 'rock', *xaiaq* 'uš' 'dish made of butter and eggs', *xaiati* 'silk thread'. Most of these words are loans from Azeri. In Vartashen, other combinations are rare with uninflected words. Examples are: V. *k'uiin* 'smoke', V. *c'i'ia'q* 'ill', *čeiil* ~ *čeil* 'swamp', *giia* 'gall bladder, bile', *ma'iin* 'black', *a'i'i'n* 'leaven'. In Nizh, the tautosyllabic reinterpretation of diphthongs (-VV- > -VyV-) has caused the emergence of a great number of -VyV- forms, see above.

//: A voiced lateral approximant: [l]. Frequently, // is velarized after a back vowel at the end of a syllable. The same holds for pharyngealized vowels, e.g. *qo'l* 'bark (of a tree)' [q^xo^l]. Before /ğ/, // is often pronounced as a labialised, voiced uvular fricative or as a bilabial voiced fricative, compare *žolğa* [l^ɰdʒɔɰɣa] ~ [l^ɰdʒɔɰɣa] 'group of people'. In case pharyngealization is replaced by palatalization, velarization is canceled. Instead, // is strongly palatalized: *qo'l* > *qöl* [q^xø^l] 'bark'. Palatalization also occurs with other palatal vowels, e.g. *həlbätki* 'surely' [hæ^ll^ʲbætk^hʲi]. Other examples for // are: *laxo* 'on', *lal* 'dumb', *lari* 'similar', *last'un* 'to put on', *lek'er* 'pot', *melan* 'from here', *alun* 'high', *ošala* 'broth', *o^lxa^l* 'hunt', *pul* 'eye', *kul* 'hand', *bul* 'head'. Note initial // is extremely rare before vowels other than /a/. Many of the terms in question are loans. Examples include: *lek'er* (Greek *λεκάνη*) 'jar, dish, pot', *let* 'groaning', *lil* (Azeri *lil*) 'mud', *lobi* (Georgian *lobio*) 'haricot bean', *lok'ma* (Azeri *loxma*) 'piece, crumb', *lolo* (Azeri *layla?*) 'rocking/singing to sleep', *loroc* (Armenian *ororoc*^c) 'cradle', *loxol* (Nizh, Vartashen *laxol*) 'on', *loxp'urni* (Nizh) 'in company, in collective terms', *läyin* (Nizh) 'kind, type, character', *löğar* 'seriously ill'.

§ 6. Velars: /g/, /k/, /k'/

/g/: A voiced velar stop: [g]. Before palatal vowels, /g/ is strongly palatalized among bilingual speakers (Udi-Azeri) in both Nizh and Vartashen. The dialect of Okt'omberi

normally lacks this feature. Examples are: *galdesun* ‘to move (tr.)’, *gam* ‘worm’, *gez* ~ *gös* ‘garden with fruit trees’, *gena* ‘however (contrastive focus)’, *ginä* ‘bile’, *gul* ‘sieve’, *gon* ‘color’, *gorox* ‘pity’, *ärüg* ‘apricots’, *dirig* ‘vegetable garden’. In Nizh, final *-g* is generally palatalized (> *-y* ~ *-i*) if preceded by /ä/ or /e/: *bäg* > *bäi* ‘bridegroom’, *hänäi* ‘joke’ (Azeri *hänäg* ~ *hänək*), *täg* > *täi* ‘branch’, *bägä* ~ *begä* > *biü* ‘evening’. Most words that contain /g/ are (older) loans. Note that Vartashen Udi frequently replaces Azeri /y/ in final position by /g/, e.g. *gog* ~ *gög* ‘sky’ < Azeri *göy*, *tog* ‘worth’ < Azeri *toy* etc.

/k/: A voiceless velar stop, often strongly aspirated: [k^h]. Like /g/, /k/ is palatalized before a palatal vowel both in Nizh and Vartashen. Examples include *kala* ‘big, old’ (vs. *k’ala* ‘lame’), *kakalo* ‘even more’, *ka* ‘that (medial)’, *kar* ‘deaf’, *keči* ‘goat’, *keže* ‘sour’, *kož* ‘difficult’ (vs. *k’ož* ‘house’), *kul* ‘hand’ (vs. *k’ul* ‘earth, ground’), *lalakan* ‘slipper’, *uksun* ‘to eat’, *tik* ‘steep’, *e^hk* ‘horse’, *be^hk* ‘needle’.

/k’/: A glottalized velar stop: [k’]. The sound is replaced by [k:] in Nizh, and, in parts, in Okt’omberi. Preceded by /ä/, /k’/ may change to /-i/ in Nizh. examples are: *k’a* ‘what’ (in *k’aben* < *ek’a b-en* ‘what shall/can we do?’), *k’ada* ‘elder brother’, *k’ač* ‘grains’, *k’at’ik#* ‘sky’, *k’atk’un* ‘gutter’, *k’ena* ‘like, equal’, *k’ər* ‘tar’, *k’erek* ‘wild wine’, *k’ož* ‘house’, *k’uk* ‘straw’, *-k’esun* (auxiliary), *lok* ‘pot’, *k’ic’k’e* ~ *mic’ik* ‘small, little’, *suruk* ‘hanging’, *t’ik* ‘wine tube, wine pipe’.

§ 7. Uvulars: /q/, /q’/, /ǧ/, /x/

/q/: A strongly aspirated voiceless uvular stop: [q^h]. Often, aspiration is homorganic: [q^χ]. Before a consonant, /q/ tends towards spirantization (> [χ]). In Okt’omberi, this may also happen in intervocalic position, e.g. *mu^hqa^hl* [‘mu^hχ^ha^hl] ‘threshing floor’. Other examples are: *qabun* ‘star’, *qai* ‘open, clear’, *qaibaksun* ‘to return, come back, repent’, *qo* ‘five’, *qoqla* [‘qoqla] ~ [‘qoχla] ‘egg’, *to^hqa^hna* ‘fig’, *qo^hqnik* (normally [qo^hχ^hnik]) ‘elbow’, *-qesun* (auxiliary), *u^hq* ‘six’, *a^hq* ‘breast’, *maq* ‘poster’, *meq* ‘worm’, *muq* ‘fingernail, claw’, *oq* ‘small river’.

/q’/: A glottalized uvular stop: [q’]. Replaced by [q:] generally in Nizh and frequently in Okt’omberi. No further variants in articulation observed. Examples are: *q’a* ‘twenty’, *q’ači* ‘scissors’, *q’an* ‘and’, *q’ari* ‘dry’, *q’ə^h* ‘fear’, *q’oq* ‘neck’, *q’əc* ‘textile’, *biq’* ‘grey’, *bo^hq* ‘pig’, *buq’sun* ‘to love, want’, *u^hq’e^hin* ‘bone’, *muq’* ‘soot’, *u^hq’* ‘walnut’.

/ǧ/: A voiced uvular fricative: [ɣ]. In Vartashen, /ǧ/ tends to be pharyngealized in the context of pharyngealized vowels, e.g. *t’o^hǧo^hl* [t’o^hɣ^ho^hl] ‘at’. Before a voiceless consonant, /ǧ/ sometimes is devoiced, e.g. *ma^hǧ* ‘song [ma^hɣ^h]’ vs. *ma^hǧk’alo* ‘singer’ [ma^hχ^hk’a^hlo]. The same process often occurs in final position, e.g. *qo^hlo^hx* [qo^hɣ^hlo^h] ~ [qo^hɣ^hlo^hχ^h] ‘trousers, pants’, *pasč’ag* [pas^htʃ’aɣ] ~ [pas^htʃ’aχ]. Other examples for /ǧ/ are: *ǧar* ‘son’, *ǧáčpesun* ‘to bind’, *ǧi* ‘day’, *ǧä^hl* ‘row of seeds (rice)’, *ǧoma* ‘wine

grape', *ğo*^f 'hare', *ğul*^f 'window', *moğorbaksun* 'to be awake', *iğarix* 'fever, heat', *duğsun* 'to beat', *eğel* 'sheep', *neğ* 'tear'.

/x/: A voiceless uvular fricative: [χ]. In Okt'omberi, [χ] is the standard articulation. In Vartashen as well as in Nizh, /x/ tends to become slightly velar in a palatal surrounding: [x]. Examples are: *xe* [χe] ~ [xe] 'water', *pakix* [pa'k^hix] 'in(to) the garden', *xinär* 'girl', *xa* 'wool', *xač* 'cross', *xunči* 'sister', *xo*^f 'udder', *boxo* 'long', *tigixlu* 'expensive', *saxq'al* 'beard', *burux* 'mountain', *čubux* 'woman', *imux* 'ears'.

§ 8. Laryngeals: /h/

/h/: A voiceless laryngeal fricative: [h]. The sound is restricted to the initial position (except for loans). Examples are: *hašono* 'just this one', *haisa* 'just now, right now', *häveč* 'coriander', *haso* 'cloud'. In loans: *mühür* 'seal', *q'ähbä* 'indecenty', *bühär* 'fruit', *šähär* 'city, town' etc. Note that word initial vocal onsets are sometimes supported by a secondary /h/: *haso* (Vartashen) ~ *aso* (Nizh) 'cloud', *un* (Vartashen) ~ *hun* (Nizh) 'you (sg.)'. This process is more frequent in Nizh than in Vartashen: Here, it is typical for older *a*-initial words: N. *haq'sun* (V. *aq'sun*) 'to take', N. *hari* (V. *ari*), 'having come', N. *harab* (V. *araba*) 'charriot', N. *hamal* (V. *amal*) 'hope', N. *haizesun* (V. *aizesun*) 'to sit down'. Also note N. *he* (~ *hi*) vs. V. *e* 'what'.

2.2.3 Articulatory variants of Udi in Nizh and Okt'omberi

In this section, I will briefly summarize those articulatory variants that are typical for either Nizh or Okt'omberi. The different Early Udi varieties that have finally led to the emergence of the Nizh dialect(s) can be regarded as the major source for the rather divergent phonetic picture that must be drawn for Nizh Udi today (see 1.4). However, due to the fact that these earlier varieties are in parts unknown to us, we can hardly correlate variants in articulation to a specific source. An exception is the language of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsest (Old Udi) which shows more affinities with Nizh than with Vartashen (see sections 2.2.4 and 2.3.3). Also, it is not always possible to relate these variants to one of the three local varieties (Upper, Middle, and Lower Nizh). Some features seem to cross-cut this classification just as others seem to conform to it. In consequence, the following observations state only what can be described for Nizh in general. Only incidentally, I will refer to the above mentioned local varieties in order to classify the variants in articulation. For details see Gukasjan 1965.

2.2.3.1 Nizh:

§ 1. Vowels:

– Upper Nizh is the only variant of Nizh that has preserved the phoneme /əʰ/, compare əʰz̄: ~ əʰz̄ ‘snow, winter’, bəʰg̃ ‘middle’, qəʰ ‘half’ (else iʰz̄:, biʰg̃, qiʰ).

– The pharyngealized vowel /aʰ/ has been replaced by /eʰ/ especially in Middle and Lower Nizh, compare veʰ ‘belief’ (Vartashen and Upper Nizh vaʰ), pʰeʰtʰ ‘being hit’ (Vartashen pʰaʰtʰ). Else, /aʰ/ often is [æʰ], /oʰ/ is [œʰ], and /uʰ/ is [yʰ], compare: aʰm [æʰm] ‘arm’, aʰxiʰl [æʰxiʰl] ‘far away, distant’, doʰpstʰun [dœʰpstʰyʰn] ‘to shoot’, uʰqʰeʰn [yʰqʰeʰn] ‘bone’.

– In contact with a postalveolar, /a/ is often pronounced more open in Nizh than in Vartashen, hence kʰaʰsa [kʰjʰæʰʃæ] ‘finger’, aʰš [æʰʃ] ‘thing’, vaʰča [βɛʰtʰhæ] ‘swarm of young bees’.

– The suffix of the (old) ‘qualitative genitive’ (-un) tends to be articulated without labialization: alun [aʰlun] ‘high’. oqʰun [oʰqʰun] ‘below’, bulun [bʊʰlun] ‘head-’.

– The close mid vowel /e/ tends to be articulated more high in monosyllabic, C-final words, especially in Upper Nizh, hence eʰf [if] ‘your (pl.)’, mex [miχ] ‘sickle’, beš [bɪʃ] ‘our’.

§ 2. Consonants: As had been said above, the Vartashen glottalized stops and affricates are generally replaced by their lengthened (strong) correlates. The plain stops and affricates are even stronger aspirated than in Vartashen. Additionally, the following tendencies can be observed:

– Intervocalic /b/ is often [β] in Nizh: baba [baʰβa] ‘father’, abuz [aʰβuz] ‘more’, aba [aʰβa] ‘knowing’.

– Old intervocalic /v/ tends to be replaced by [w] or [h], e.g. šavatʰ [ʃaʰhat:] ‘beautiful’, ostʰavar [ostʰaʰhar] ‘strong’, dava [daʰwa] ‘war’.

– Intervocalic /l/ is often articulated as an palatal approximant resulting in [j]: kilin [kʰɪjɪn] ‘with finger[s]’, mala [maʰja] ‘where’.

– In Lower Nizh, /g̃/ is sometimes heard as [h], e.g. g̃irux [huʰruχ] ‘fasting’. Instead, in Upper Nizh, an often secondary [h] is uvularized: šavatʰ > šahat: [ʃaʰkat:] ‘beautiful’, bəʰbəʰ (Lower Nizh > biʰhiʰ) [bəʰtʰtʰ] ‘very heavy’ (reduplicated form of bəʰ ‘heavy’).

– A final velar stop is very often replaced by [j], hence bæg [bæj] ‘bridegroom’, kömək [kʰjʰøʰmæj] ‘help’, cirikʰ [tsɪʰrij] ‘till’.

Also, there is an audible tendency to pharyngealize uvulars after pharyngeal vowels, to pronounce postalveolar stops and affricates as their retroflex correlates in a pharyngeal surrounding, and to devoice stops before a voiceless consonant. The following passage taken from a Nizh tale can help to summarize the (Upper) Nizh articulatory tradition (in order to allow the reader to compare, a Vartashen based transcription is given in italics).

(x) [ʰbaŋkʰje ,saʰtʰoʰhaɹ]

báneke sa čová.

‘Once there has been a sparrow.’

[ʃɔːtɑj tʰY're sə tʃʰaʦʰ tʰaːq:ɛʰtʃɛ]
šot'ai turé sa cac tá'q'ece.
 'In its foot, there was sticking a thorn.'

[me tʃʰo'haL tʰantʃi ,sə q:ama'noj tʰœʰ'ɛʰœʰ]
me čovál táneci sa q'arnanói to'gól.
 'This sparrow went to an old woman.'

[q:amə'nən tʰa'na 'ʃ:um:ɛ βaʃtɑj]
q'arnunén tarná súme bast'ai.
 'The old woman put bread into the oven.'

[tʃʰoha'len ʃɔːt:ɔ 'nɛχɛː aʃ q:ar'nu: βes tʰYre'χun me tʃʰa'tʃʰa 'ʃiʃa]
čovalén šot'ú néxe ai q'arnú bez turexún me cacá šíša.
 'The sparrow says to her: Oh old woman! Take this thorn out of my foot!'

2.2.3.2 Okt'omberi. The Okt'omberi articulation standard shows a rather strong impact from Georgian. Vowels are less effected by surrounding consonants and vowels and are articulated in a manner that comes close to what can be called 'canonical'. The palatal vowels /ä/, /ü/, and /ö/ are often replaced by [ɛ], [ɪ], and [ɔ]. Likewise, pharyngealized vowels often lose their pharyngeal feature or are replaced by palatal vowels. In other words: there is a clear tendency in Okt'omberi Udi to adopt the Georgian five-vowel system (/a, e, i, u, o/). Dentoalveolar and postalveolar glottalized stops and affricates lose their glottal quality, whereas the velar and uvular stops preserve it pending on individual preference. Plain stops and affricates are strongly aspirated which gives us an affricate-like articulation for /q/ [qʰ ~ qχ]. Incidentally, initial voiced stops become devoiced before a palatal vowel. The following text illustrates the Okt'omberi articulatory tradition (recitation):

(x) Okt'omberi (Jeiranišvili 1971:174)

[tʃʰinaχɔ bu'ruχ 'bulaχɔ bu'ruχ]
čínaxo burux búlaxo burúx
 'From below the mountains, from above the mountains;'

[bɪ'ɪlda 'barine sa 'zulum 'aruχ]
bi'ǵǵ'lda bárine sa zúlum áruχ
 'In between there is a wall, a torturing fire.'

[uqʰurβɔ 'χerχɔ 'ɔtʃ:nek'sa 'berχuχ]
úqurǵo xérxo óc'nek'sa p'írxox
 'The waters of the river clean the blood[s].'

[mizɛ'nanɛ mu'ʃɛn vu'ʒunɛχa]
me iženáne mušén vuğúnexa
 'It is [in] winter, the storm howls.'

['manu aj ba'la na'na ɸi'sanɛ]
mánu ai balá naná biesáne
 'Where [are] you, oh child? (Your) mother is dying.'

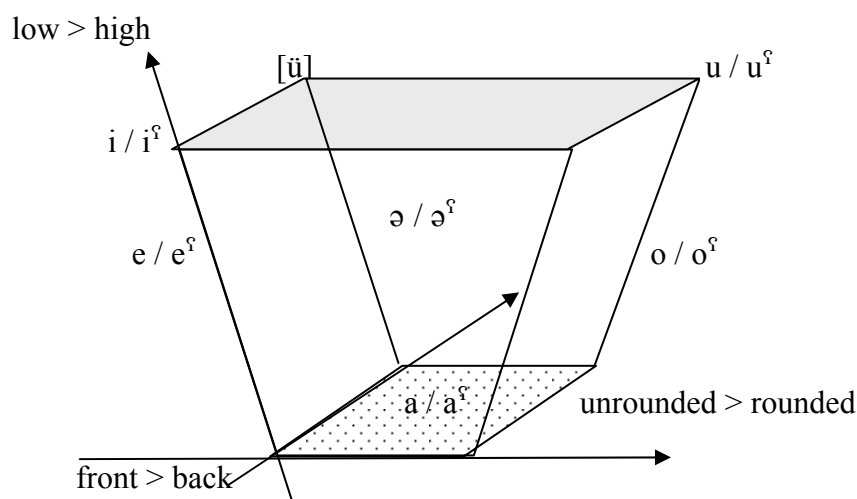
[e'vɛlɔχ ha'tʃʰurɔχ mu'ʃʃ:m_vax fu'runeχa]
ivé'lgõox xáčurğõox mušč'in vax furúnexa
 'Kissing the icons [and] the crosses she is looking for you.'

[vi_ja'q'ax af'reneχa]
vi iaq'áx afrénexa
 'She blesses your way.'

2.2.4 The phonological system of Old Udi

The phonological system of Old Udi as documented in the Mt. Sinai Palimpsest differs from the contemporary sound systems only marginally. The script that has been used to write this language followed the standard of Old Georgian and Old Armenian and hence shows a strong orientation towards a phonological representation. Nevertheless, certain peculiarities of the basically alphabetic writing system slightly obscure the phonological status of some sounds. For the time being, the following system can be reconstructed:

(x) Vowels:



Note that in the Palimpsest, pharyngealized vowels are always written as <ʃa>, <ʃe> etc. The phoneme /u/ is indicated by the digraph <ow>. (x) illustrates that Old Udi lacks the

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palatalized vowels /ä/, /ö/, and /ü/ (but note that it still is a matter of discussion whether the digraph <Aw> represents /ə^ʰ/ or (perhaps) /ü(ʰ)/).

The system of consonants comes very close to that of contemporary Udi. However, it should be born in mind that the graphic tradition of Old Udi is not yet fully understood. For instance, at least tow phonemes (/b/ and /d/) seem to have been represented by two different signs, the distribution of which seems to be lexically determined. In addition, the phonetic value of at least three signs is open to discussion. Nevertheless, the Old Udi consonants can be tentatively described in terms of the following table:

(x)

	Stops			Affricates			Fricatives	
	Vd	Vl	Gl	Vd	Vl	Gl	Vd	Vl
Labial	b, b2	p	p'				v, V	f
Dental	d, d2	t	t', t'2 (?)	ʒ	c	c'	z	s
Alveolar					č		ž	ś (?)
Palatal					č	č'	ž	š
Velar	g	k	k'					
Uvular		q	q'				ǰ	x
Pharyngeal							ʕ	
Laryngeal								h

/l/, /l'/, /r/, /m/, /n/, /ñ/ (?), /y/

The following list of randomly chosen lexemes helps to illustrate the fact that the Udi consonantism did not change very much over the time span of roughly 1500 years:

(x)

Old Udi (~500 AD)	Modern Udi	
<i>afrepesun</i>	<i>afrepesun</i>	'pray'
<i>aiz</i>	<i>aiz</i>	'village, world'
<i>ayeš</i>	<i>äš</i>	'thing'
<i>čalexesun</i>	<i>čalxesun</i>	'know, recognize'
<i>efsun</i>	<i>efsun</i>	'keep'
<i>eša</i>	<i>o^ʰša</i>	'after'
<i>ğar</i>	<i>ğar</i>	'son'
<i>harzesun</i>	<i>aizesun</i>	'rise'
<i>heğesun</i>	<i>e(ğ)sun</i>	'go hither'
<i>ič</i>	<i>ič</i>	'self'
<i>ihəl</i>	<i>i^ʰvel</i>	'dedicated, holy'
<i>išu</i>	<i>iš(u)</i>	'man'
<i>k'os</i>	<i>k'ož</i> (N.)	'house'
<i>l'aq'</i>	<i>yaq'</i>	'way'
<i>mal</i>	<i>mal</i> (N.)	'few, little'
<i>muš</i>	<i>muš</i>	'wind, storm'
<i>p'i</i>	<i>p'i</i>	'blood'
<i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i>	'one'

<i>upesun</i>	<i>pesun</i>	‘say’
<i>v^ʃan</i>	<i>va^ʃn</i>	‘you:pl’
<i>xib</i>	<i>xib</i>	‘three’
<i>ž^ʃe</i>	<i>že^ʃ</i>	‘stone’
<i>zahown</i>	<i>zom</i>	‘teaching’
<i>žan</i>	<i>yan</i>	‘we’
<i>zu</i>	<i>zu</i>	‘I’

2.3 The phonotactics of Udi

In section 2.2.2.2 (table X), I have presented some preliminary data illustrating the frequency of Udi consonantal phonemes. In this section, I will elaborate these distributional and statistical features in order to describe the macro-structure of the Udi phonological system. By ‘macro-structure’, I refer to those structural aspects that organize the phonological knowledge of an average Udi speaker on a level higher than that of minimal contrast. This macro-level concerns both positional constraints and frequency of phonemes. It seems useful to distinguish two types of data: a) the lexical knowledge base (‘context-free’) and b) usage-based data. In order to approach the macro-structure of phonological knowledge, I have exploited the following data bases: a) a lexical list that includes 2.786 entries; b) the Gospel according to Matthew (15.835 words, names etc. excluded); c) a cumulation of nine oral tales (Bežanov 1888, Dirr 1904, Dirr 1928, Jeiranišvili 1971, Schulze 1998) which document 6.530 words. The phonotactics of the Nizh lexicon hardly differs from what can be described for the Vartashen dialect. Accordingly, I do not consider separately the distributional aspects and frequency patterns of the Nizh dialect. Things are slightly different, if we look at usage based patterns. Here, the Nizh dialect shows a number of divergent features that are discussed in section 2.3.2.2. The following section also alludes to the distributional patterns of Old Udi (2.3.2.3) without, however, aiming at a full coverage of the phonotactics of Old Udi. In section 2.3.3, I will relate the usage-based frequency patterns of Udi phonemes to the patterns in those languages that have played an important role in the formation of Udi.

2.3.1 Lexical phonotactics and frequency patterns

2.3.1.1 Basic data. The lexical database lists the words in their lemmatized form: nouns are given in the absolutive case, verbs in the so-called ‘second masdar’ (marked by -(e)*sun*, see x.x.x). Table (X) gives the total number of phonemes in base forms. N(umber) refers to the total of occurrences, ‘I’ indicates initial position, ‘M’ medial position, and ‘F’ final position:

	N	%	I	M	F			N	%	I	M	F
a	2183	11,94	152	1807	224		1	969	5,30	70	734	165

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ä	494	2,70	23	408	63		m	522	2,85	184	290	48
a ^ʰ	129	0,70	14	106	9		n	1424	7,79	48	344	1032
b	828	4,53	300	518	10		o	581	3,18	50	373	158
c	416	2,27	31	379	6		ö	68	0,37	11	56	1
č	153	0,83	61	84	8		o ^ʰ	56	0,30	11	39	6
c'	115	0,62	29	69	17		p	265	1,45	75	180	10
č'	131	0,71	51	65	15		p'	116	0,63	41	62	13
ć	50	0,27	14	30	6		q	91	0,49	41	31	19
ć'	15	0,08	4	7	4		q'	278	1,52	142	114	22
d	394	2,15	88	280	26		r	651	3,56	3	520	128
ž	129	0,70	41	71	17		s	1079	5,90	90	973	16
ž	0	0,00	0	0	0		š	295	1,61	71	177	47
e	1102	6,03	69	965	68		ś	60	0,32	16	38	6
e ^ʰ	55	0,30	13	42	0		t	296	1,62	110	141	45
ə	20	0,10	0	20	0		t'	345	1,88	96	198	51
ə ^ʰ	23	0,12	0	20	3		u	1547	8,46	39	1470	38
f	98	0,53	33	59	6		ü	127	0,69	2	121	4
g	209	1,14	89	85	35		u ^ʰ	41	0,22	11	30	0
g	328	1,79	34	181	113		v	129	0,70	32	94	3
h	100	0,54	71	27	2		x	347	1,89	115	187	45
i	1024	5,60	129	743	152		z	199	1,08	44	118	37
i ^ʰ	21	0,11	3	15	3		ž	21	0,11	12	7	2
k	367	2,00	120	231	16			18270	99,75	2786	12701	2786
k'	379	2,07	103	192	84							

Table X: Frequency of phonemes (lexical)

For comparative reasons. Table X lists the phonemes in alphabetical order. In a cognitive sense, we can assume that every phoneme is indexed for its rank in frequency. (X) gives the corresponding percentage:

(x)		%		%		%		%		%
	a	11,94	m	2,85	š	1,61	ü	0,69	ć	0,27
	u	8,46	ä	2,70	q'	1,52	p'	0,63	u ^ʰ	0,22
	n	7,79	c	2,27	p	1,45	c'	0,62	ə ^ʰ	0,12
	e	6,03	d	2,15	g	1,14	h	0,54	i ^ʰ	0,11
	s	5,90	k'	2,07	z	1,08	f	0,53	ž	0,11
	i	5,60	k	2,00	č	0,83	q	0,49	ə	0,10
	l	5,30	x	1,89	č'	0,71	ö	0,37	ć'	0,08
	b	4,53	t'	1,88	a ^ʰ	0,70	ś	0,32	ž	0,00
	r	3,56	g	1,79	ž	0,70	o ^ʰ	0,30		
	o	3,18	t	1,62	v	0,70	e ^ʰ	0,30		

(x) illustrates that the phonemic system is rather unbalanced: The 10 phonemes which are first in rank (*/a/, /u/, /n/, /e/, /s/, /i/, /l/, /b/, /r/, and /o/* = 20% of the inventory) cover nearly two thirds (62,29 %) of all occurrences. Of these, eight are either vowels or sonants. We can easily claim that the ten phonemes in question represent the core of the Udi phonological system. This is supported by the fact that all the core phonemes except */b/* are also extremely frequent with morphological units (see 3.1.1).

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The general distributional pattern of Udi phonemes differs considerably from the corresponding pattern in the major donor language of Udi, namely Azeri. The following diagram illustrates this point. The Azeri corpus underlying this analysis is constituted by the Azeri correspondances given for the Udi terms in Gukasyan 1974 (11.074 words, 69.995 phonemes). Note that only those phonemes that are matched in both languages are taken into consideration. In addition, the diagram gives the frequency of Udi phonemes as they show up in Gukasyan 1974. This lexical list differs from that referred to above with respect to loan words: The standard list used in the present analysis can be labeled ‘usage based’ because it has resulted from the cumulation of lexical terms as they show up in texts and my own fieldwork. The Guskasyan list (5.686 entries, 37.678 phonemes) is marked for a great number of Azeri words that reflect the Azeri component of conventionalized code switching. Nevertheless, the two lists show roughly the same distributional pattern:

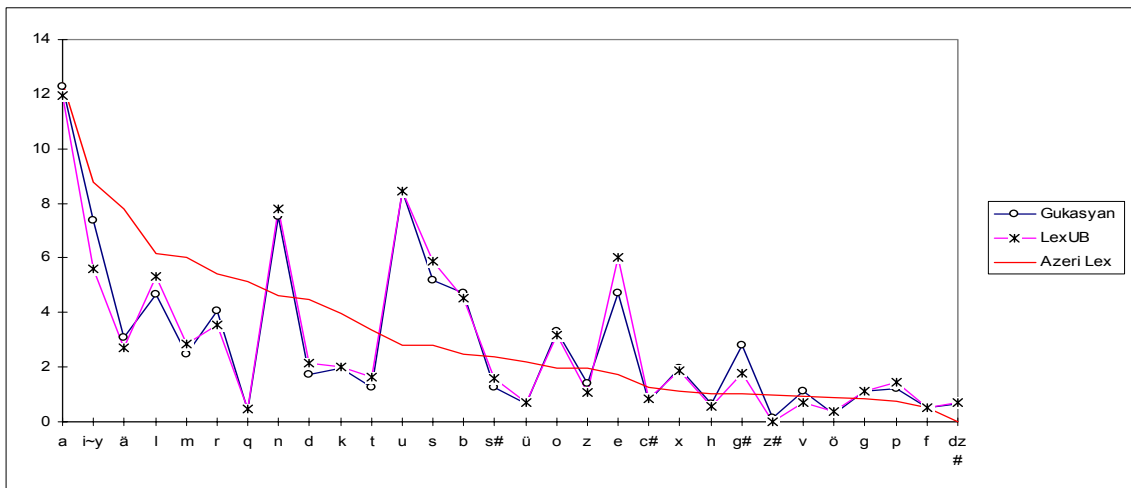


Table X: Frequency of phonemes in Udi and Azeri (lexical based)

The diagram illustrates that although Udi has incorporated a great number of Azeri loan, its general distributional pattern has not (yet) been greatly affected by the Azeri system.

2.3.1.2 The IMF-index. Table (X) shows that the positional distribution of phonemes is also relevant for fixing the systematic position of the individual phonemes in the macro-structure.

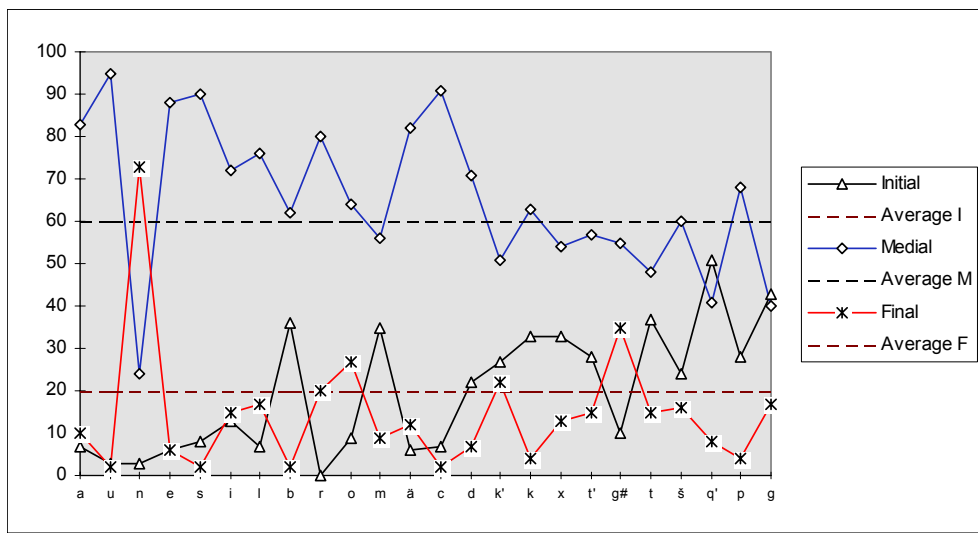


Table (X): Divergence from average of IMF distribution (selection / lexical)

Here, the vertical scale marks the relative percentage of occurrences for the 24 most frequent phonemes. Given an average number of five phonemes per word, we would expect the following harmonic distribution: I = 20%, M = 60 %, F = 20%. Yet, table (X) illustrates that hardly any of the phonemes in question meets the expected distribution. Obviously, Udi phonemes are strongly indexed for their positional preference. (X) lists the indexed consonantal phonemes, (X) the indexed vowels:

(X) IMF-index for Udi consonants:

b	(36;62;2)	ğ	(10;55;35)	r	(0;80;20)
č	(40;55;5)	h	(71;27;2)	š	(24;60;16)
c	(7;91;2)	k	(33;63;4)	s	(8;90;2)
c'	(25;60;15)	k'	(27;51;22)	ś	(27;63;10)
č'	(39;50;11)	l	(7;76;17)	t	(37;48;15)
ć	(28;60;12)	m	(35;56;9)	t'	(28;57;15)
č'	(27;47;26)	n	(3;24;73)	v	(25;73;2)
d	(22;71;7)	p	(28;68;4)	x	(33;54;13)
ž	(32;55;13)	p'	(35;53;12)	z	(22;60;18)
ž	(0;0;0)	q	(45;34;21)	ž	(57;33;10)
f	(34;60;6)	q'	(51;41;8)		
g	(43;40;17)				

(x) IMF-index for Udi vowels:

ä	(6;82;12)	o	(9;64;27)
a	(7;83;10)	o ^ʰ	(20;69;11)
a ^ʰ	(11;82;7)	ü	(2;95;3)
e	(6;88;6)	u	(3;95;2)
e ^ʰ	(23;77;0)	u ^ʰ	(27;73;0)
i/y	(13;72;15)	ə	(0;100;0)
i ^ʰ	(14;71;15)	ə ^ʰ	(0;86;14)
ö	(16;82;2)		

The lists of IMF-indexed phonemes illustrates that certain positional constraints apply: Initial /r/ is not allowed (just as in Azeri), initial /n/ is relatively rare: Examples include:

(x)	<i>na^ʰine</i>	‘yesterday’
	<i>na^ʰva^ʰla^ʰ</i>	‘dough made of mixed grain’
	<i>nac^ʰil</i>	‘breakfast’
	<i>načag^ʰ</i>	‘ill’
	<i>nana</i>	‘mother’
	<i>naq^ʰ</i>	‘buttermilk’
	<i>narzu</i>	‘yesterday night’
	<i>ne^ʰśum</i>	‘yellow’
	<i>ne^ʰi^ʰś</i>	‘slave’
	<i>nec^ʰ</i>	‘louse’
	<i>nedun</i>	‘leaven, sour dough’
	<i>neğ</i>	‘tear’

<i>nep</i> '	'sleep'
<i>net</i> '	'eyebrow'
<i>ne^{ʕiʃ}</i> '	'sacrifice'
<i>noć</i> '	'grape juice'
<i>nut</i> '	'not' (alpha privativum)

The preference of /b-/ to be used in initial position is significant for Udi: 98% of the Udi lexemes that have a phoneme /b/ show it either in word initial or syllable initial position. This fact probably reflects an older morphological feature related to a structure *bə- (class marker, class III) that has later become petrified (see x.x.x.).

The cumulation of frequencies of consonants in initial and final position reveals that Udi prefers stops and affricates in initial position, but approximants in final position. This fact corresponds to the cross-linguistically well-established pattern of optimal C-distribution in syllables (but see 2.6.1.2 for CVC words). (X) lists the percentage for the three classes 'stops/affricates', 'fricatives', and 'approximants/sonants' in relation to both all phonemes and to consonants in the same position:

(X)	Initial			Final		
	Stops/Affr.	Fricatives	Appr./Son.	Stops/Affr.	Fricatives	Appr./Son.
Of all	24,96	14,47	19,50	13,89	10,33	49,28
Of C	63,56	22,94	13,50	18,89	14,06	67,08

Accordingly, nearly two thirds of all Udi words starting with a consonant have a stop or an affricate in this position. In final position, the distribution is just opposite. The diagram in table (X) summarizes these preferences:

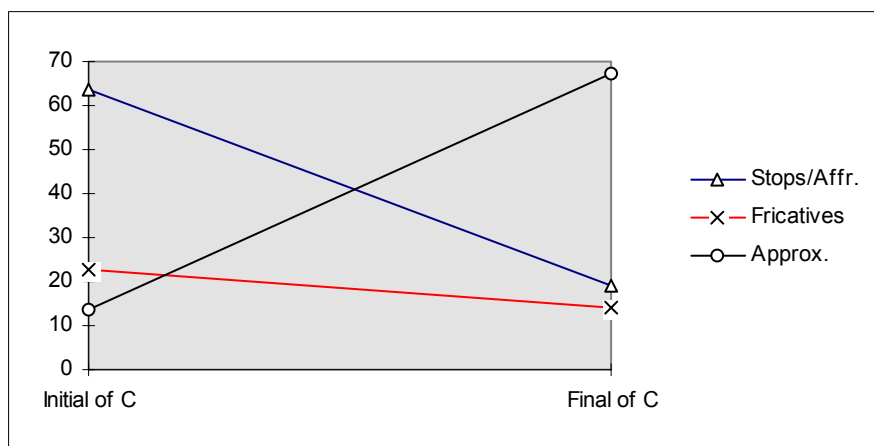


Table X: Distribution of C-classes (initial/final) - Lexical

It comes clear that a prototypical Udi word that is marked off by consonants prefers the sequence #C[-spir]__C[+son]#. In fact, such words are frequently found in the Udi lexicon. They clearly belong to the core domain of the lexicon, compare:

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(x)	<i>bin</i>	‘bride’
	<i>bukun</i>	‘stomach’
	<i>bul</i>	‘head’
	<i>čal</i>	‘fence’
	<i>dam</i>	‘long ago’
	<i>k’ol</i>	‘penis’
	<i>k’ul</i>	‘earth, ground’
	<i>k’ur</i>	‘rock’
	<i>kor</i>	‘such’ (medial)
	<i>kul</i>	‘hand’
	<i>kur</i>	‘hole’
	<i>pul</i>	‘eye’
	<i>q’ur</i>	‘peak’

Yet, it should be born in mind that the high number of final sonants also results from the fact that verbs are generally quoted in the *masdar2* form (*-esun*). The general distributional preferences are also effected by loan words that often show only partial accommodation to the Udi phonotactics.

Table (X[lexstat]) also illustrates a remarkable preference for certain places of articulation. Within the class of consonants, words seem to favor a dental or labial/labiodental articulation: Out of 10.799 consonants, the eight consonants first in rank (6.283 or 58,14%) are dentals or labials:

(X)	n	1424	13,18
	s	1079	9,99
	l	969	8,97
	b	828	7,66
	r	651	6,02
	m	522	4,83
	c	416	3,85
	d	394	3,64

With vowels, the cardinals (plus /ä/) are clearly preferred: /a/, /u/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /ä/ cover 92,74% (6.931) of all occurrences:

(X)	a	2183	29,21
	u	1547	20,70
	e	1102	14,75
	i/y	1024	13,70
	o	581	7,77

ä	494	6,61
---	-----	------

2.3.1.3 CV sequences. Roughly, 83 % of the Udi lexemes start with a CV sequence. This sequence is also preferred in the fusion of onset and peak in subsequent syllables (see 2.6.1.3). The phonotactics of CV sequences is controlled by basically three factors: a) frequency of the individual phonemes; b) phonetic constraints on the interaction of consonant and vowel; c) positional constraints and preferences (initial vs. non-initial). I will illustrate these three aspects with the help of a lexical data base that offers a total of 6427 CV tokens (2598 in initial position, 3829 in non-initial position).

Frequency of phonemes is directly connected to the frequency patterns of CV sequences: The more frequent a vowel phonemes is the more likely it occurs with such clusters. In order to illustrate this point, (x) lists the fifteen most frequent CV-types together with the ranking of the consonants/vowels that constitute the CV sequences:

(x)

CV	Total	Percentage	Rank of C	Rank of V
<i>ba</i>	350	5,43	8	1
<i>be</i>	259	4,02	8	4
<i>la</i>	204	3,16	7	1
<i>pe</i>	141	2,19	23	4
<i>lu</i>	136	2,11	7	2
<i>ma</i>	128	1,98	11	1
<i>q'a</i>	102	1,58	22	1
<i>ra</i>	93	1,44	9	1
<i>k'a</i>	91	1,41	15	1
<i>xa</i>	88	1,36	17	1
<i>na</i>	85	1,32	3	1
<i>sa</i>	82	1,27	5	1
<i>ya</i>	82	1,27	12	1
<i>t'a</i>	80	1,24	18	1

Note that (x) ignores the non-initial sequence */-su-/* that typically occurs with the masdar2 of verbs (verbal quotation form), such as *aq'sun* 'to take' etc. The exclusion of *-su-* is grounded on the assumption that the morpheme *-sun* (MASD2) is a (inflectional) suffix that does not contribute to the semantics of a verbal lexeme.

Phonetic constraints on the interaction of C and V in CV sequences play a minor role in the formation of these sequences. Nevertheless, certain preferences can be described. Table (x) gives the relative percentage of initial CV structures based on the major types of articulation:

	<i>a</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>a^ʰ</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e^ʰ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>o^ʰ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ü</i>	<i>u^ʰ</i>
Labial	26,21	4,19	5,89	12,18	6,02	12,54	9,43	0,52	1,83	16,51	2,22	2,49
Alveodental	28,97	13,07	0,33	11,09	0,82	12,41	11,92	2,15	1,15	11,09	6,62	0,33
Palatoalveolar	24,19	0	0	8,06	0	4,83	38,70	0	0	28,97	0	0

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Palatal	29,28	13,21	0,35	16,42	0	12,50	8,57	0,35	0,35	14,64	3,21	1,07
Lateral	72,38	10,84	1,20	6,02	0	3,61	4,81	0	0	0	1,20	0
Velar	31,75	8,91	1,94	5,84	1,11	8,07	16,99	7,52	0,27	10,58	6,96	0
Uvular	43,24	1,62	4,86	7,29	3,24	5,94	17,83	0	2,97	12,43	0	0,54
Laryngeal	70,12	10,38	3,89	1,29	1,29	3,89	2,59	6,49	0	0	0	0

Table (X): Relative percentage of initial CV sequences (places of articulation)

Accordingly, palatoalveolars hardly ever occur before front vowels. Exceptions are *žík'desun* 'to shake off', *k'aáci* 'blind', *aáci* 'play', *oáci* 'mud'. The lateral /l/ is strongly correlated with the back vowel /a/ and its palatal variant /ä/. Uvulars are rarely followed by palatal vowels. Finally, the laryngeal /h/ is usually coupled with /a/ or /ä/. Else, the different places of articulation show a nearly parallel distribution.

The manner of articulating a consonant in parts controls the nature of the subsequent vowel. There is a high preference for fricatives and approximants to be followed by a velar vowel. Affricates have a stronger preference for /i/, and stops for /o/. (X) summarizes these patterns (/A/ etc. represent /a, ä, a³/ etc.):

(X)		/A/	/E/	/I/	/O/	/U/
	AFFR	41,88	7,54	21,03	12,81	16,59
	FRIC	47,73	11,51	11,68	12,67	16,35
	STOP	41,12	10,89	8,86	26,62	12,33
	APPR	52,75	17,14	5,80	6,05	18,2

Pharyngealized vowel most often follow either a labial or a velar/uvular consonant. (x) gives the percentage for the ten most frequent CV[+phar] types:

(X)		-V[+phar]
	<i>b</i>	2,21
	<i>m</i>	1,06
	<i>p'</i>	0,75
	<i>q'</i>	0,71
	<i>q</i>	0,45
	<i>p</i>	0,44
	<i>v</i>	0,42
	<i>ǰ</i>	0,34
	<i>x</i>	0,33
	<i>k'</i>	0,29

As far as data go, the following consonants are not documented with a subsequent pharyngealized vowel: /c/, /él/, /é'/, /z/, /s/, /š/, and /g/.

Positional constraints and preferences concern both vowels and consonants in CV sequences. As for vowels, there is a rather strong preference for /e/ to occur in non-

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initial CV sequences. On the other hand, /o/ is more typical for initial CV clusters, compare the following diagram:

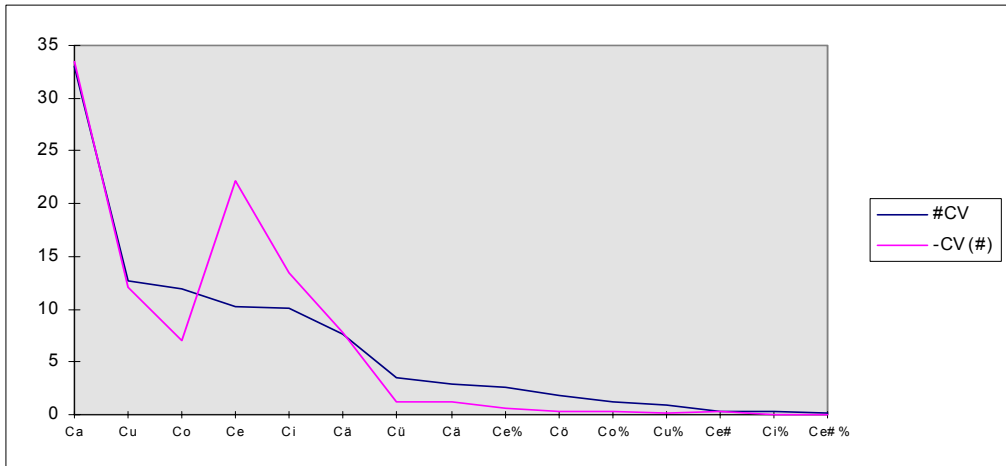


Table (X): Vocalization of initial and non-initial CV-clusters (relative percentage)

Consonants are controlled by both restrictions on the initial position (no initial /r/ allowed) and principles of syllabic patterning, compare the diagram in table (x):

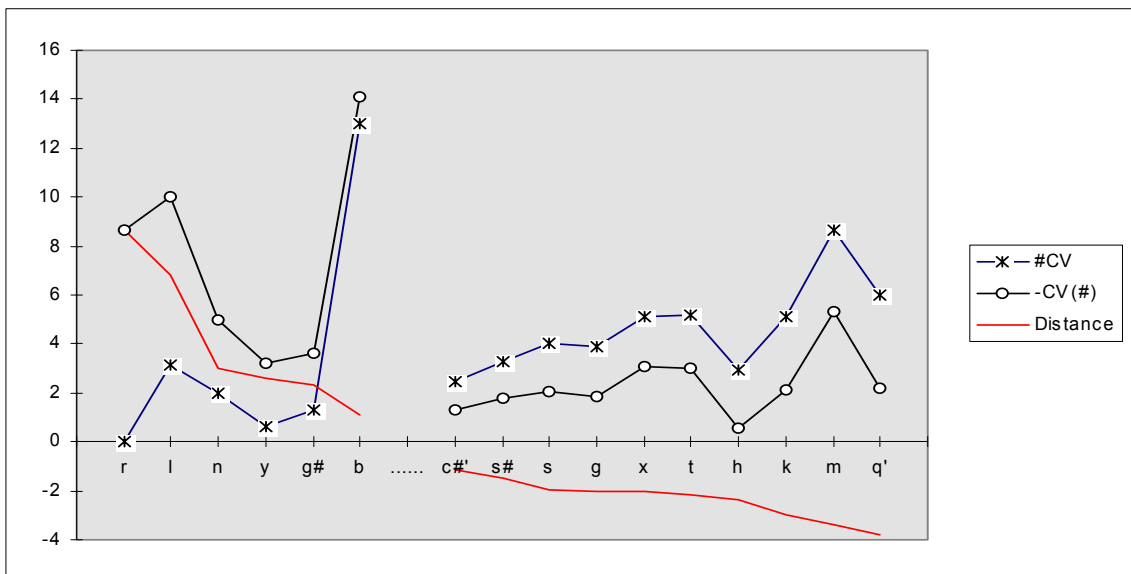


Table (X): Consonants in initial and non-initial CV sequences (with relative distance exceeding 1%)

The diagram gives the relative percentage of consonants as they appear in both initial and non-initial CV clusters. By 'distance' is meant the difference in percentage between the two positional types. I have only listed those CV types, the distance of which exceeds the margin of 1%. The diagram confirms the tendency to progressively 'sonantize' lexical structures: The phonemes /r/, /l/, /n/, and /y~i/ clearly dominate non-

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initial CV sequences, whereas non-sonants have a relatively strong preference for word initial CV sequences.

2.3.2 Usage-based distribution and frequency

In order to illustrate the usage-based frequency of Udi phonemes, both the Gospel according to Matthew and narrative texts serve as a database (see 2.3). As for the essential distributional and frequency patterns, the dialect of Nizh does not differ from the Vartashen dialect. Some specific aspects of the Nizh dialect are referred to in section 2.3.2.2.

2.3.2.1 The general pattern. The general assumption is that phonemes are not only indexed for their frequency in relation to lexical knowledge, but also for their practical frequency. Again, we can claim that the more frequent a phoneme is, the more expectable it is in discourse. Table (X) lists the relevant data for Gospel of Matthew, based on 129.129 phonemes in 15.835 words (personal and place names are excluded):

	ALL	%	Initial	%	Medial	%	Final	%
a	17158	13,28	1108	6,99	13755	14,11	2295	14,49
ä	1988	1,53	141	0,89	1626	1,66	221	1,39
a^f	2718	2,10	42	0,26	1518	1,55	1158	7,31
b	5646	4,37	1993	12,58	3600	3,69	53	0,33
c	717	0,55	118	0,74	599	0,61	0	0,00
č	1396	1,08	337	2,12	900	0,92	159	1,00
c^ʼ	214	0,16	38	0,23	168	0,17	8	0,05
č^ʼ	481	0,37	170	1,07	301	0,30	10	0,06
ć	187	0,14	33	0,00	149	0,15	5	0,03
ć^ʼ	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
d	1266	0,98	242	1,52	991	1,01	33	0,20
ž	409	0,31	133	0,83	266	0,27	10	0,06
ž^ʼ	41	0,03	12	0,07	28	0,03	1	0,01
e	10859	8,40	943	5,95	7542	7,73	2374	14,99
e^f	114	0,08	5	0,03	108	0,11	1	0,01
ə	77	0,05	0	0,00	77	0,07	0	0,00
ə^f	69	0,05	0	0,00	67	0,06	2	0,01
f	700	0,54	105	0,66	510	0,52	85	0,53
g	4012	3,10	746	4,71	3223	3,30	43	0,27
ğ	2553	1,97	181	1,14	2233	2,29	139	0,87
h	581	0,44	173	1,09	404	0,41	4	0,02
i	9657	7,47	1076	6,79	6620	6,79	1961	12,38
i^f	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
k	2651	2,05	469	2,96	2179	2,23	3	0,01
k^ʼ	1401	1,08	223	1,40	1061	1,08	117	0,73
l	4039	3,12	252	1,59	3082	3,16	705	4,45
m	2839	2,19	749	4,73	2033	2,08	57	0,35
n	9722	7,52	197	1,24	6809	6,98	2716	17,15
o	5330	4,12	122	0,7	4614	4,73	594	3,75

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ö	424	0,32	38	0,23	348	0,35	38	0,23
o ^ʃ	282	0,21	18	0,11	253	0,25	11	0,06
p	1869	1,44	746	4,71	1120	1,14	3	0,01
p ^ʳ	443	0,34	152	0,95	285	0,29	6	0,03
q	1983	1,53	345	1,54	1633	1,66	5	0,03
q ^ʳ	1707	1,32	243	1,53	1454	1,49	10	0,06
r	3255	2,52	3	0,1	2817	2,89	435	2,74
s	2815	2,17	340	2,14	2352	2,41	123	0,77
š	2332	1,80	136	0,85	2064	2,11	132	0,83
ś	330	0,25	24	0,15	263	0,26	43	0,27
t	6766	5,23	1340	8,46	5380	5,52	46	0,29
t ^ʳ	3819	2,95	493	3,11	3226	3,30	100	0,63
u	5204	4,03	235	1,48	4375	4,48	594	3,75
ü	456	0,35	1	0,01	452	0,46	3	0,01
u ^ʃ	109	0,08	26	0,16	83	0,08	0	0,00
v	3596	2,78	1484	9,37	2106	2,16	6	0,03
x	4960	3,84	240	1,51	3389	3,47	1331	8,40
z	1866	1,44	324	2,04	1348	1,38	194	1,22
ž	88	0,06	39	0,24	48	0,04	1	0,01
TOTAL	129129	99,74	15835	99,97	97459	99,75	15835	99,82

Table X: Usage-based frequency (Gospel according to Matthew)

The general ratio is 8.15 phonemes per word (as opposed to 5-6 phonemes per lexical word). The additional phonetic material mainly results from morphological marking. Hence, morphology should be identified as the main reason for the divergences in frequency. (X) compares the frequency of phonemes in both the lexicon and the Gospel text. The column ‘distance’ calculates the difference between the two figures for a given phoneme. ‘+’ denotes higher frequency in the text, ‘-’ denotes lower frequency in the text:

(x)

	Lexicon	Usage	Distance
	%	%	
a	11,94	13,28	+1,32
u	8,46	4,03	- 4,43
n	7,79	7,52	- 0,27
e	6,03	8,40	+2,37
s	5,90	2,17	- 3,73
i	5,60	7,47	+1,87
l	5,30	3,12	- 2,18
b	4,53	4,37	- 0,16
r	3,56	2,52	- 1,04
o	3,18	4,12	+0,94
m	2,85	2,19	- 0,66
ä	2,70	1,53	- 1,17
c	2,27	0,55	- 1,72
d	2,15	0,98	- 1,17
k ^ʳ	2,07	1,08	- 0,99
k	2,00	2,05	+0,05

	Lexicon	Usage	Distance
	%	%	
z	1,08	1,44	+0,36
č	0,83	1,08	+0,25
č ^ʳ	0,71	0,37	- 0,44
v	0,70	2,78	+2,08
a ^ʃ	0,70	2,10	+1,40
ž	0,70	0,31	- 0,39
ü	0,69	0,35	- 0,34
p ^ʳ	0,63	0,34	- 0,29
c ^ʳ	0,62	0,16	- 0,46
h	0,54	0,44	- 0,10
f	0,53	0,54	+0,01
q	0,49	1,53	+1,04
ö	0,37	0,32	- 0,05
ś	0,32	0,25	- 0,07
o ^ʃ	0,30	0,21	- 0,09
e ^ʃ	0,30	0,08	- 0,22

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x	1,89	3,84	+1,95
t'	1,88	2,95	+1,07
ǰ	1,79	1,97	+0,18
t	1,62	5,23	+3,61
š	1,61	1,80	+0,19
q'	1,52	1,32	- 0,20
p	1,45	1,44	- 0,01
g	1,14	3,10	+1,96
ć	0,27	0,14	- 0,13
u^ʕ	0,22	0,08	- 0,14
ə^ʕ	0,12	0,05	- 0,07
ž	0,11	0,06	- 0,05
i^ʕ	0,11	0,00	- 0,11
ə	0,10	0,05	- 0,05
ć'	0,08	0,00	- 0,08
ž	0,00	0,03	+0,03

If we accept '±1%' to represent the statistically tolerable margin, the following phonemes can be associated with a significantly divergent frequency in usage:

(x)

	Distance (Usage)
u	-4,43
s	-3,73
l	-2,18
c	-1,72
ä	-1,17
d	-1,17
r	-1,04

	Distance (Usage)
t	+3,61
e	+2,37
v	+2,08
g	+1,96
x	+1,95
i	+1,87
a^ʕ	+1,40
a	+1,34
t'	+1,07
q'	+1,04

Those phonemes the frequency of which is lower in usage, namely /u/, /s/, /l/, /c/, /ä/, /d/, and /r/, are – at least in parts – related to word formation elements (e.g. *-lu*, cf. **x.x.x.**, *-esun* (masdar2), cf. **x.x.x.**). The lower frequency of /ä/ is correlated with a higher frequency of /a^ʕ/ and hence represents an idiosyncrasy of the text. As expected, the phonemes with a higher textual frequency (/t/, /e/, /v/, /g/, /x/, /i/, /a^ʕ/, /a/, /t'/, /q'/) are related with grammatical segments, compare (X) which lists some of the grammatical segments that entail the phonemes in question (categories are superficially marked only, see chapter 3 for details):

(x)

/t/:	<i>te</i>	Subordinator
/e/:	<i>-e</i>	Genitive, dative, perfect tense
/v/:	<i>va^ʕ</i>	Coordinator
	<i>va^ʕn, va, va^ʕ, vi...</i>	Personal pronouns (second person)
/g/:	<i>gi-</i>	Hypothesis
/x/:	<i>-Vx</i>	Dative2,
	<i>-axun</i>	Converb
/i/:	<i>-i</i>	Genitive, locative, past tense
/a/:	<i>-a</i>	Genitive, dative, present tense, modal; factitive futur,
/t'/:	<i>-t'-</i>	Referentializer (oblique), Personal agreement clitic (3SG:IO)
/q'/:	<i>-q'un, -q'o</i>	Personal agreement clitic (3PL)

Positional effects mainly concern the final position because of the fact that Udi makes little use of prefixing structures (see x.x.x). (X) lists the most frequent initial consonants:

(X)	Initial	% of all				
	b	1993	12,58	t'	493	3,11
	v	1484	9,37	k	469	2,96
	t	1340	8,46	q	345	1,54
	m	749	4,73	s	340	2,14
	g	746	4,71	č	337	2,12
	p	746	4,71	z	324	2,04

In final position, the following 10 consonants are first in rank:

(X)	Final	% of all				
	n	2716	17,15	ğ	139	0,87
	x	1331	8,40	š	132	0,83
	l	705	4,45	s	123	0,77
	r	435	2,74	k'	117	0,73
	z	194	1,22	t'	100	0,63
	č	159	1,00			

In final position, the class of fricatives is much more frequent in texts than in the lexicon. This is mainly conditioned by the high frequency of the case suffix *-Ix* (dative2) and the personal agreement clitic *-zu* (1SG), often shortened to *-z* in final position (see x.x.x). In consequence, final stops and affricates are even less frequent than in the lexicon. (X) lists the relevant data (also compare (X) for the corresponding lexical data):

(X)	Initial			Final		
	Stops/Affr.	Fricatives	Appr./Son.	Stops/Affr.	Fricatives	Appr./Son.
Of all	49,46	16,62	7,58	3,86	11,76	24,71
Of C	66,86	22,89	10,25	9,59	29,16	61,25

In analogy to table X, the diagram below illustrates the frequency of initial and final consonants in the Gospel of Matthew according to the three classes 'stops/affricates', 'fricatives', and 'approximants/sonants'.

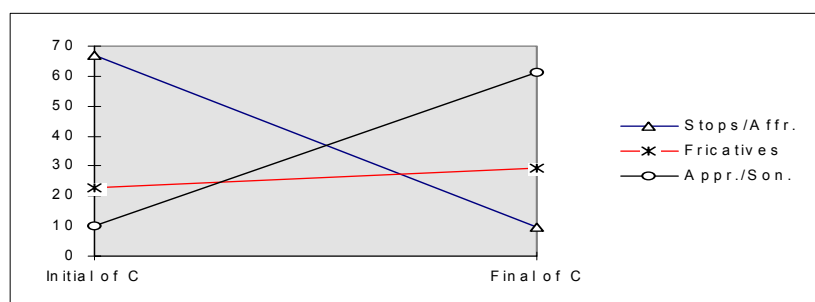
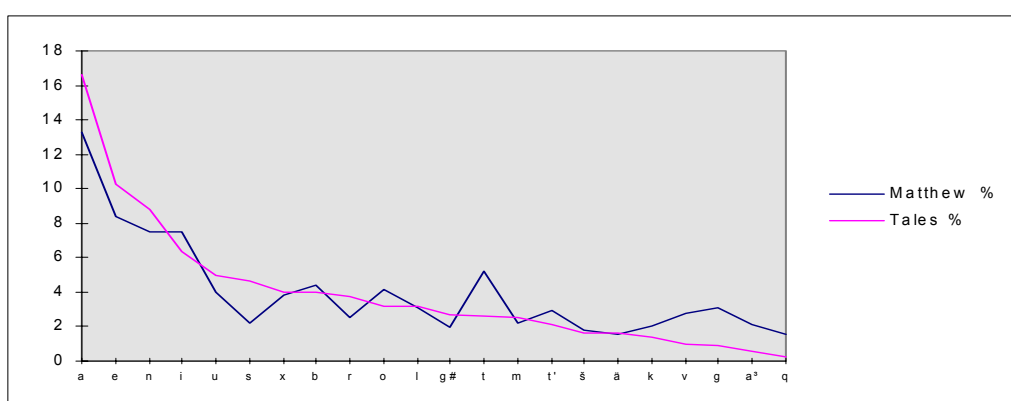


Table X: Distribution of C-classes (initial/final) - Usage-based

The idiosyncrasies of the Gospel text can best be considered when compared to the data of oral texts. The diagram in table X parallels the 22 most frequent phonemes in the oral texts with the corresponding data from Matthews:

**Table X:** A comparison of usage-based frequencies

The frequencies given for the phonemes of the oral texts relate to a total of 30.454 phonemes. Table X illustrates that the Gospel text is marked by a number of idiosyncrasies that are obviously motivated by the peculiarities of the text: Thus /t/ is much more frequent because it is present in the subordinator *te* (see x.x.x.) typical for subordinating strategies in the Gospel text. The high frequency of /v/ is mainly conditioned by the coordinator *va^f* ‘and’ alien to the oral texts. The multiple use of conditional constructions based on the conditional marker *gi-* is a reason for the divergent frequency of /g/. The amazingly low rate of /s/ in the Gospel text can best be explained by the low frequency of the present tense marker *-sa* (see x.x.x.). In the oral tradition, the present tense is the prevailing tense form.

Obviously, oral tales reflect distributional and statistical aspects of the macro-system of Udi phonology more accurately than the Gospel texts. Still, the Gospel text illustrates which options are available to vary the basic macro-structure. The comparison between lexical and usage-based frequencies illustrates that the divergences between the two text types are rather coherent with respect to the basic lexical data. In order to illustrate this point, the diagram in table X compares the 30 most frequent lexical phonemes to those in the two text types:

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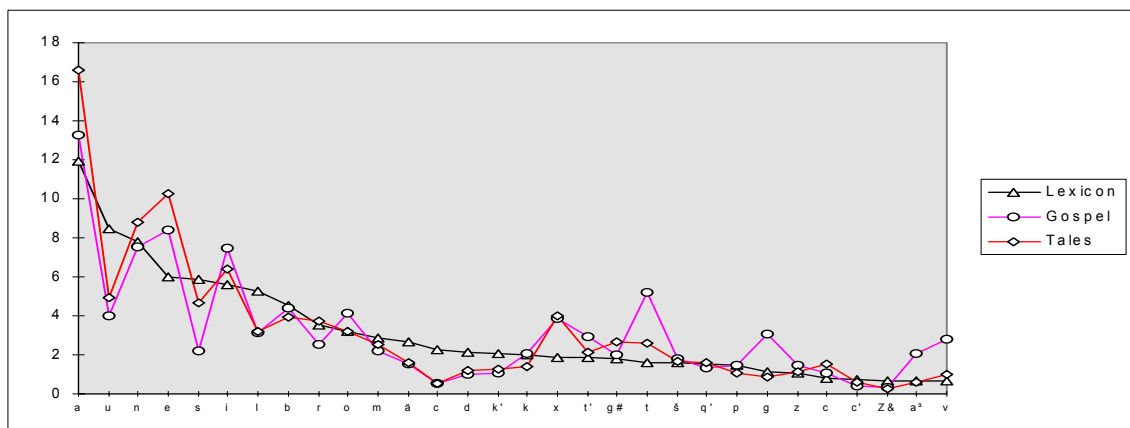


Table X: Lexical and usage-based frequency of phonemes

2.3.2.2 Distribution and frequency patterns in Nizh. As has been said above, most of the generalizations that are true for Vartashen also apply for Nizh. Table (x) illustrates the frequency of phonemes as they appear in a cumulation of Nizh narrative texts (taken from Keçaari 2001; 38.753 phonemes in 7.235 words):

Phoneme (Nizh)	ALL		INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL	
a	5765	14,87	396	6,98	4424	16,13	945	16,67
a ^ʰ = ä ^ʰ	137	0,35	15	0,26	99	0,36	23	0,40
ä	1102	2,84	154	2,71	771	2,81	177	3,12
b	1416	3,65	940	16,58	466	1,69	10	0,17
c	238	0,61	73	1,28	161	0,58	4	0,07
c ^ʰ	64	0,16	23	0,40	39	0,14	2	0,03
č	53	0,13	21	0,37	28	0,10	4	0,07
č ^ʰ	233	0,60	16	0,28	217	0,79	0	0,00
č̣	431	1,11	0	0,00	430	1,56	1	0,01
č̣ ^ʰ	233	0,60	177	3,12	51	0,18	5	0,08
d	467	1,20	86	1,51	374	1,36	7	0,12
ž	47	0,12	33	0,58	14	0,05	0	0,00
ẓ̌	82	0,21	0	0,00	81	0,29	1	0,01
e	2863	7,38	152	2,68	1904	6,94	807	14,23
e ^ʰ	117	0,30	30	0,05	82	0,29	5	0,08
ə	62	0,15	0	0,00	62	0,22	0	0,00
f	141	0,36	27	0,47	113	0,41	1	0,01
g	260	0,67	141	2,48	117	0,42	2	0,03
g̣	643	1,65	94	1,65	531	1,93	18	0,31
h	435	1,12	260	0,45	175	0,63	0	0,00
i/y	4220	10,88	221	3,89	2566	9,35	1433	25,28
i ^ʰ	35	0,09	0	0,00	29	0,10	6	0,10
k	870	2,24	195	3,44	661	2,41	14	0,24
k ^ʰ	505	1,30	141	2,48	309	1,12	55	0,97
l	1519	3,91	109	1,92	1121	4,08	289	5,09
m	682	1,75	179	3,15	471	1,71	32	0,56
n	3166	8,16	90	1,58	2122	7,73	954	16,83

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o	1712	4,41	122	2,15	1355	4,94	235	4,14
o^ʰ = ö^ʰ	32	0,08	11	0,19	21	0,07	0	0,00
ö	46	0,11	4	0,07	42	0,15	0	0,00
p	472	1,21	187	3,29	279	1,01	6	0,10
p^ʰ	196	0,50	69	1,21	120	0,43	7	0,12
q	130	0,03	34	0,59	89	0,32	7	0,12
q^ʰ	425	1,09	97	1,71	311	1,13	17	0,29
r	1428	3,68	2	0,03	1313	4,78	113	1,99
s	1166	3,00	352	6,21	763	2,78	51	0,89
ś	107	0,27	20	0,35	77	0,28	10	0,17
š	611	1,57	143	2,52	408	1,48	60	1,05
t	728	1,87	435	7,67	265	0,96	28	0,49
t^ʰ	1051	2,71	103	1,81	908	3,31	40	0,70
u	2310	5,96	103	1,81	2073	7,56	134	2,36
u^ʰ = ü^ʰ	181	0,46	18	0,31	163	0,59	0	0,00
ü	178	0,45	17	0,29	161	0,58	0	0,00
v	399	1,02	67	1,18	331	0,57	1	0,01
x	1156	2,98	216	3,81	841	3,06	99	1,74
z	584	1,50	79	1,39	446	1,62	59	1,04
ž	20	0,05	16	0,28	4	0,01	0	0,00
ẓ̌	35	0,09	0	0,00	29	0,10	6	0,10
TOTAL	38753		5668		27417		5668	

Table (x): Frequency of phonemes in contemporary Nizh texts

The general ratio is 5.35 phonemes per word. A closer look at table (x) reveals that Nizh differs from Varatshen in the following points: a) The phonemic cluster /i~ y/ is much more frequent in Nizh than in Vartashen. This is mainly due to the Nizh tendency to replace a word final velar stop by /i ~ y/ and to break up diphthongs, see above section 2.2.2.2. Additionally, the Nizh texts are characterized by a narrative style that is dominated by past tense forms. The past tense morphology, however, is highly marked for morphemes like *-i* or *-ii* (see 3.4.5). As a consequence, the present tense marker *-sa* is less frequent in the Nizh text corpus, a fact that explains the underrepresentation of /s/ in the corpus. Diagram (x) compares the twenty-one most frequent phonemes in narrative texts from Nizh and Vartashen:

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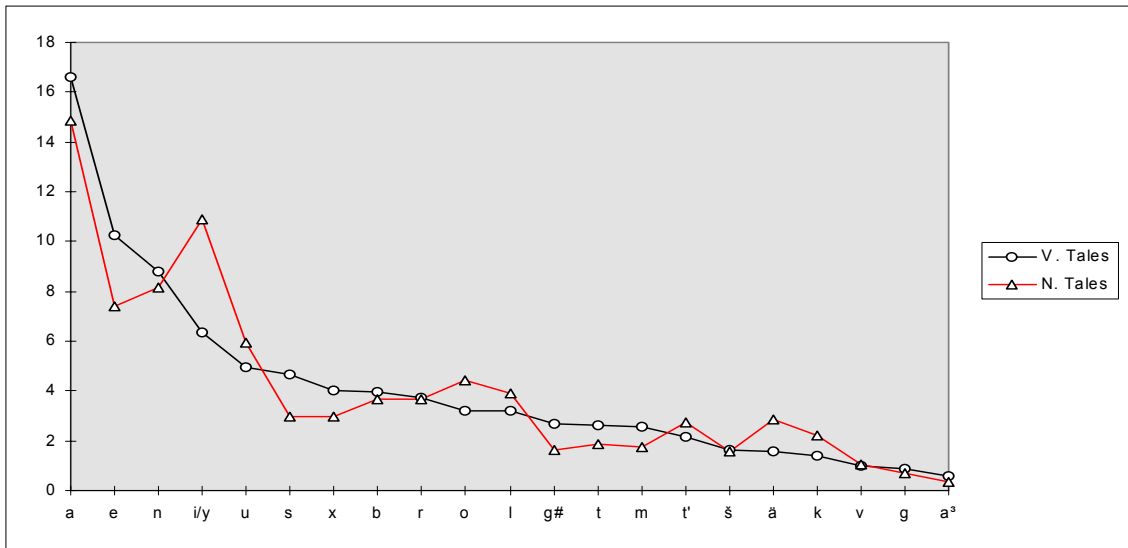


Table (x): Frequency of phonemes in Nizh and Vartashen narrative texts (percentage)

b) The phoneme /o/ is mark frequent in Nizh because Nizh has generalized the vowel /o/ in its paradigm of demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.8.2). Additionally, /o/ is present in the tense marker *-io* alien to Vartashen (see 3.4.5).

c) In final position, the phoneme /x/ is much rarer in Nizh than in Vartashen. The underrepresentation of final /x/ is conditioned by the fact that Nizh does not use the dative2 (*-Vx*) as a case form to mark definite referents in objective function (see 3.3.3.6). In addition, the phobnemic cluster /y~i/ is especially frequent in final position. In order to illustrate this point, diagram (x) compares the twelve most frequent phonemes in final position:

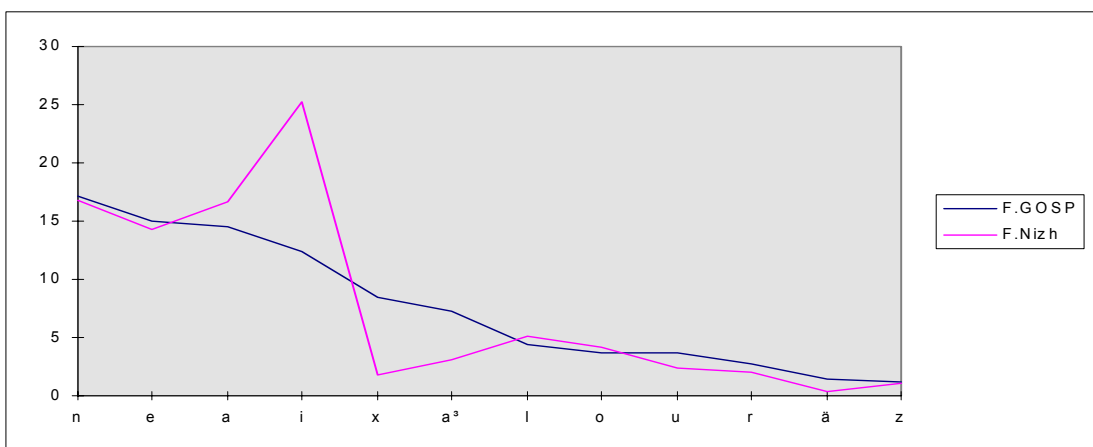


Table (x): The twelve most frequent phonemes in final position in Nizh and Vartashen (percentage)

d) In initial position, Nizh varies from Vartashen in the following respect: Among the most frequent phonemes, /e/, /m/, /y~i/, /ǧ/, /x/, /v/, and /c/ are rare in Nizh than in Vartashen. On the other hand, the Nizh texts make more use of initial /b/, /a/ and /s/:

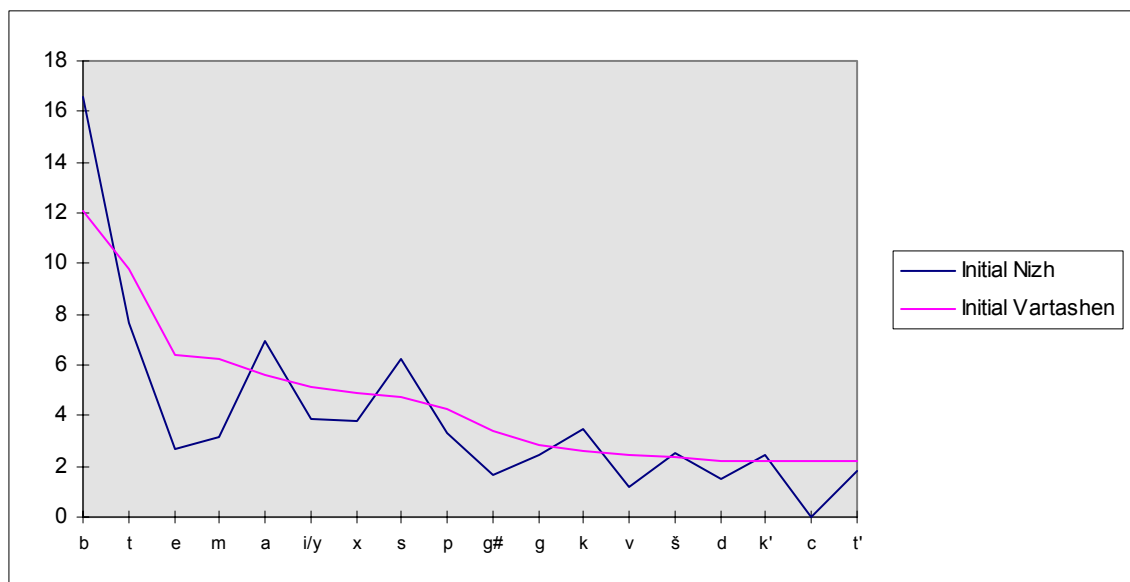


Table (x): The most frequent initial phonemes in Nizh and Vartashen texts

Obviously, most of these divergences result from the fact that the textual sources are not homogeneous with respect to lexical units. Nevertheless, the following divergences are grammatical: The strong presence of /s/ results from the fact that Nizh employs the numeral *sa* as an indefinite marker to a higher degree than Vartashen (Nizh: 3,04%, Vartashen: 2,83%, see 3.2.7). The underrepresentation of /m/ stems from the tendency in Nizh to use the distal instead of the proximal in anaphoric contexts (see 3.2.8.2). The smaller number of initial /v-/ in Nizh results from the fact that Vartashen makes more use of the coordinator *va^f* ‘and’ than Nizh.

2.3.2.2 Distribution and frequency patterns of Old Udi (Caucasian Albanian). The general distributional patterns of Old Udi as documented in the Mt. Sinai Palimpsest (up confirms the general hypothesis that Old Udi is stronger related to Nizh than to Vartashen. The following table illustrates this point (not all phonemes are listed):

(x)

Old Udi	Graphic	Old Udi	Nizh	Vartashen
a	a	17,12	17,71	14,81
e	e	12,07	7,38	8,40
i~y	i ~ y	10,51	10,88	7,47
n	n	9,46	8,16	7,52
u	ow	6,96	5,96	4,03
o	o	4,52	4,41	4,12
b	b ~ B	4,07	3,65	4,37
h	h	3,74	1,12	0,44
k'	k'	3,26	3,91	1,08

2.5 Phonetic processes

s	s	2,86	3,00	2,17
l	l ~ l'	2,58	1,75	3,12
r	r	2,52	3,68	2,52
x~q	x ~ X	2,13	2,98	3,84
m	m	1,94	1,75	2,19
ǰ	g^	1,7	1,12	1,97
ə	A	1,52	0,36	0,05
c	c	1,18	0,61	0,55
z	z	1,14	1,5	1,44
q'	q'	1,1	1,09	2,52
p	p	1,09	1,21	1,44
v	v ~ V	1,02	1,02	2,78
t'	t'	0,92	2,71	2,95
š	s^	0,88	1,57	1,8
t	t	0,68	1,87	5,23
k	k	0,65	2,24	2,05
g	g	0,6	0,67	3,1
č	c^	0,59	1,11	1,08
ž	Y	0,54	0,09	0,31
t ₂ ' (?)	Z	0,5	---	---
p'	p'	0,49	0,5	0,34
a ^f	%a	0,45	0,35	2,17
d	d	0,34	1,2	0,98
ə ^f (?)	Aw	0,34	---	---

Note that the Old Udi data are related to 4.603 word tokens which may incidentally include hitherto unreadable characters. From this follows that the figures given above (based on 21.278 identified characters) may slightly vary once these characters have been made readable. The following diagram illuminates the relative closeness of Old Udi to Nizh:

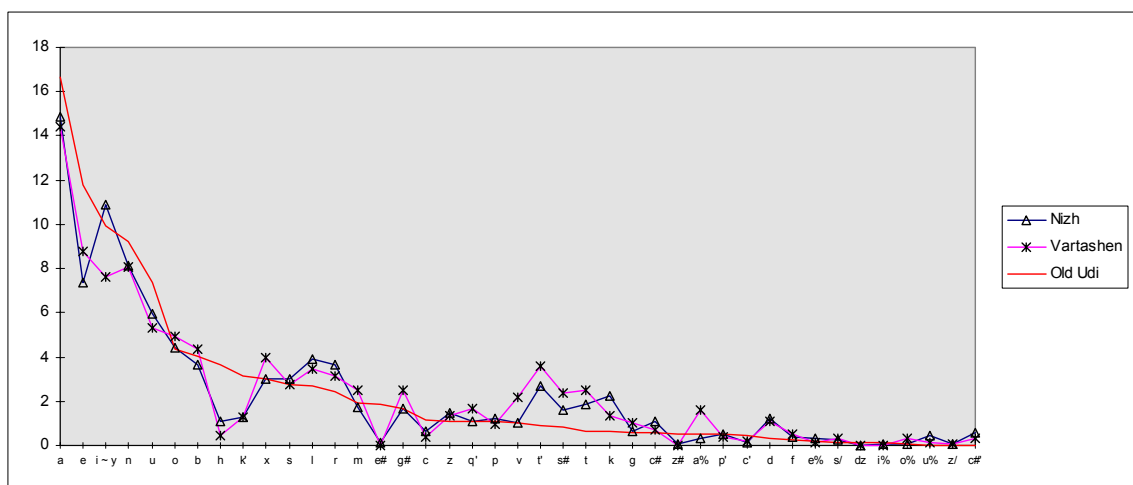


Table X: Frequency of phonemes in Old Udi, Nizh, and Vartashen

Old Udi differs from Nizh especially in a much more pronounced use of initial *h*-, which tends to be lost especially in Middle and Upper Nizh (as it is the case in Vartashen). On the other hand, *t'*- is much rarer in Old Udi than in either contemporary dialect. This disproportion is explained by the fact that Old Udi makes rare use of the oblique referentializer *-t'*- typical for both modern dialects (see [x.x.x.x](#)).

2.3.3 Areal features of usage-based frequency patterns

In order to account for both features of genetic divergence and areal convergence, it seems useful to compare the frequency of phoneme usage in the two dialects of Udi to those languages. Here, I consider two representatives of the Lezgian language family, namely Lezgi and Kryts, as well as Azeri and (Old) Armenian, the major contact languages of Udi. In addition, I refer to Northern Jewish Tātī, an important contact language of Vartashen Udi. Due to the lack of Jewish Tātī data, I exploit a corpus of Muslim Tātī texts. As Jewish Tātī differs from Muslim Tātī with respect to both phonetic issues and the lexical inventory, a comparison with the Udi data cannot be but provisional. The analysis is based on the following corpora:

(x)	Language	Type of data	Words	Phonemes	PhpW
	Nizh	Corpus Nizh	36.225	193.765	5.34
	Vartashen	Corpus Vartashen	69.906	367.780	5.26
	Kryts	Corpus Authier	50.078	246.344	4.91
	Lezgi	Lezgi Gazet 2003	10.181	63.987	6.28
	Northern Tātī	Folktales (Grjunberg 1963)	6.041	25.953	4.29
	Old Armenian	Gospels (Luke & John)	32.813	141.243	4.30
	Azeri	Journalistic texts	30.106	172.445	5.72

Note that in order to harmonize the phoneme systems of the individual languages, certain adjustments have been made. For instance, labialization has been treated as biphonemic in Lezgi and Kryts. Likewise, the tense consonants of both languages (*p*-, *t*-, *c*- etc.) have been paralleled to Udi glottalized stops. The Kryts pharyngeal ^ʕ has been treated as ^ʕa. The Armenian ‘dark l’ (*ł*) is counted in terms of its (later) phonetic value [ɫ] ~ Udi *ğ*. Finally, Azeri *ı* is said to match Udi *ə*. In order to render the data comparable, the distribution of phonemes in Vartashen is taken as default.

The Lezgi and Kryts data can help to illustrate to which degree contemporary Udi still reflects Lezgian patterns. The fact that Old Armenian and an earlier version of Northern Tātī were among the first detectable contact languages of Udi suggests that the contortion of the original Lezgian type may have at least in parts be conditioned by these two languages. Accordingly, Old Armenian is first contrasted with the language of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsest (Old Udi) and then with Modern Udi. In the next step, Udi is compared to Northern Tātī. Finally, I will refer to Azeri, the most important contact language of contemporary Udi.

2.5 Phonetic processes

The following table lists the basic frequency figures (see the introduction for the ASCII codes to encode special characters in the following diagrams):

(X)	Nizh	Vartashen	Azeri	Old Armenian	Lezgi	Kryts	North Tātī	Old Udi
a	14,87	14,43	11,03	14,91	17,78	19,91	8,28	16,68
ä	2,84	1,66	7,87	0	1,31	0	16,07	0
a ^f	0,35	1,61	0	0	0	2,39	0	0,51
b	3,65	4,33	3,32	0,93	1,37	2,58	4,08	4,01
c	0,61	0,39	0	3,17	0,26	0,01	0	1,15
c'	0,16	0,22	0	0,52	0,09	0,33	0	0,42
č	1,11	0,68	1,23	1,02	1,01	0,94	0,46	0,58
č'	0,6	0,3	0	0,14	0,31	0,23	0	0,01
ć	0,13	0,12	0	0	0	0	0	0
ć'	0,6	0,01	0	0	0	0	0	0
d	1,2	1,09	6,67	1,51	4,85	3,06	4,16	0,33
ᶑ	0	0,01	0	0,71	0	0	0	0,1
ᶑ̃	0,21	0,19	0,97	0,33	0	0	0,48	0
ᶑ̇	0,12	0,15	0	0	0	4,27	0	0
e	7,38	8,79	2	12,03	5,61	2,68	1,27	11,76
ə	0,15	0,01	5,78	0,34	0	0	0,53	1,83
ə ^f	0	0,06	0	0	0	0	0	0
e ^f	0,3	0,15	0	0	0	0	0	0,19
f	0,36	0,51	0,25	0	0,64	0,58	1,15	0,23
g	0,67	1,01	1,25	0,97	1,39	1,07	0,61	0,59
ğ	1,65	2,47	1,05	0,88	0,54	0,14	0,15	1,66
h	1,12	0,43	0,68	1,2	1,44	1,44	1,81	3,65
i~y	10,88	7,64	10,41	10,19	13,76	17,83	9,7	9,9
i ^f	0,09	0,01	0	0	0	0	0	0,1
k	2,24	1,33	1,59	2,09	2,7	2,27	2,88	0,64
k'	1,3	1,25	0	2,01	0,45	0,27	0	3,17
l	3,91	3,43	5,6	1,65	5,02	3,72	1,38	2,67
m	1,75	2,49	3,15	3,32	2,76	1,96	8,06	1,9
n	8,16	8,09	8,01	9,25	6,54	5,11	9,03	9,23
o	4,41	4,94	2,26	4,63	1,69	0,09	0	4,34
ö	0,11	0,36	1	0	0	0	0	0
o ^f	0,08	0,29	0	0	0	0	0	0,06
p	1,21	0,94	0,56	0,24	0,84	0,54	1,32	1,06
p'	0,5	0,39	0	0,78	0,01	0,01	0	0,49
q	0,03	0,19	2,55	0	0,32	0,14	1,08	0
q'	1,09	1,68	0	0	1,51	3,36	0	1,07
r	3,68	3,15	6,72	7,33	6,66	7,64	7,39	2,46
s	3	2,76	2,55	5,25	2,44	1,91	2,01	2,75
š	1,57	2,4	1,62	0,51	1,09	1,91	1,7	0,86
ś	0,27	0,29	0	0	0	0	0	0,16
t	1,87	2,5	2,28	0,2	3,47	1,57	5,01	0,65
t'	2,71	3,58	0	3,49	0,37	0,2	0	0,9
u	5,96	5,3	3,06	2,33	3,72	7,53	4,16	7,34
ü	0,45	0,52	2	0,44	0,79	0,03	3,98	0
u ^f	0,46	0,1	0	0	0	0	0	0,02

2.5 Phonetic processes

v	1,02	2,19	0,83	3,7	3,77	0	0,88	1,04
x	2,98	3,94	0,97	0,64	1,43	2,26	1,58	3,02
z	1,5	1,34	1,79	2,84	2,59	2,16	1,02	1,11
ž	0,09	0,01	0	0,33	0,9	0,1	0	0,53
ž	0,05	0,05	0	0	0	0	0	0,02

2.3.3.1 Lezgi. The following diagram illustrates the frequency of phoneme usage in Lezgi as compared to Nizh and Vartashen:

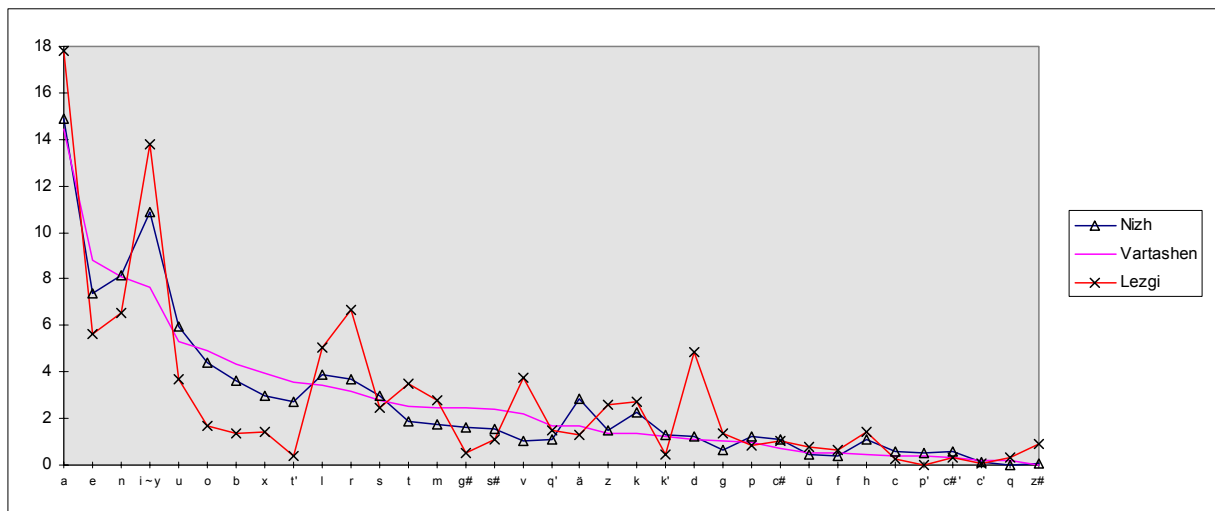


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Udi and Lezgi (usage-based)

The diagram illustrates that Nizh Udi comes closer to the distributional pattern of Lezgi than Vartashen. This is especially true for the phonemes /i~y/ and /e/ as well as for /t'/ that tends to be marginalized in Nizh. Both dialects differ from Lezgi with respect to /r/ and /d/: Here, Lezgi exhibits a much higher frequency than either of the two Udi dialects.

2.3.3.2 Kryts. In order to compare the Udi data to those of a typical South Samur language, I refer to Kryts, presently much better documented than its sister language Budukh. Here, I exploit the yet unpublished corpus of Kryts texts collected by Gilles Authier (Authier 2003).

2.5 Phonetic processes

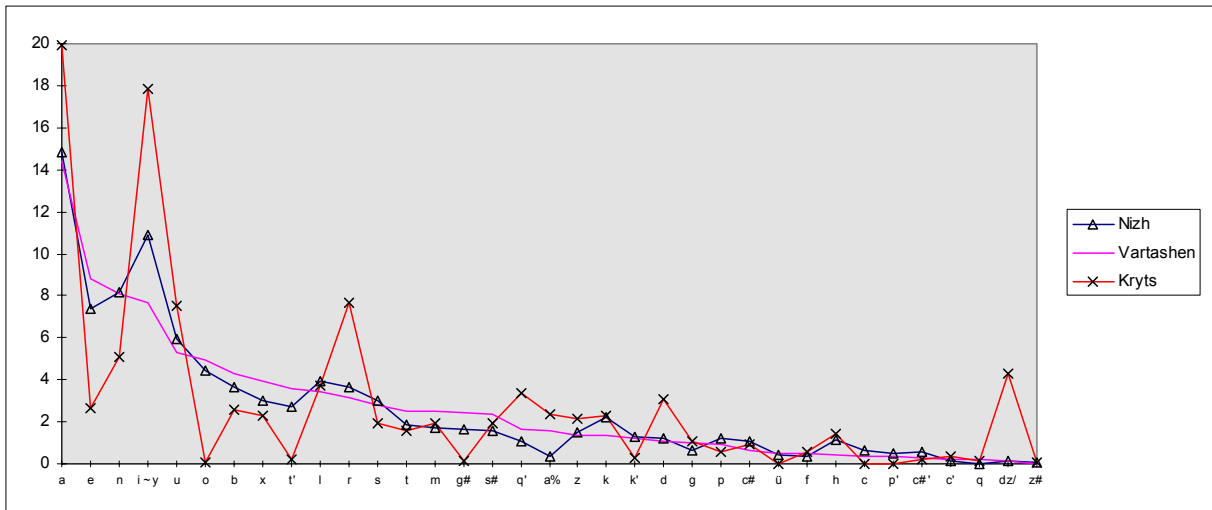


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Udi and Kryts (usage-based)

Basically, the same picture emerges as for Lezgi. Again, Udi differs from Kryts with respect to the frequency of /e/, /i~y/, /t'/, and /r/. In addition, the lack of /o/ in Kryts (as well as its low documentation in Lezgi) argues in favor of the assumption that it is secondary in Udi. In sum, Nizh Udi comes again closer to the distributional pattern of Kryts than Vartashen.

Taking the Lezgi and Kryts data as representatives of the Lezgian type, we can characterize the Udi phonemes with respect to their relative distance from this type. The following diagram illuminates this aspect:

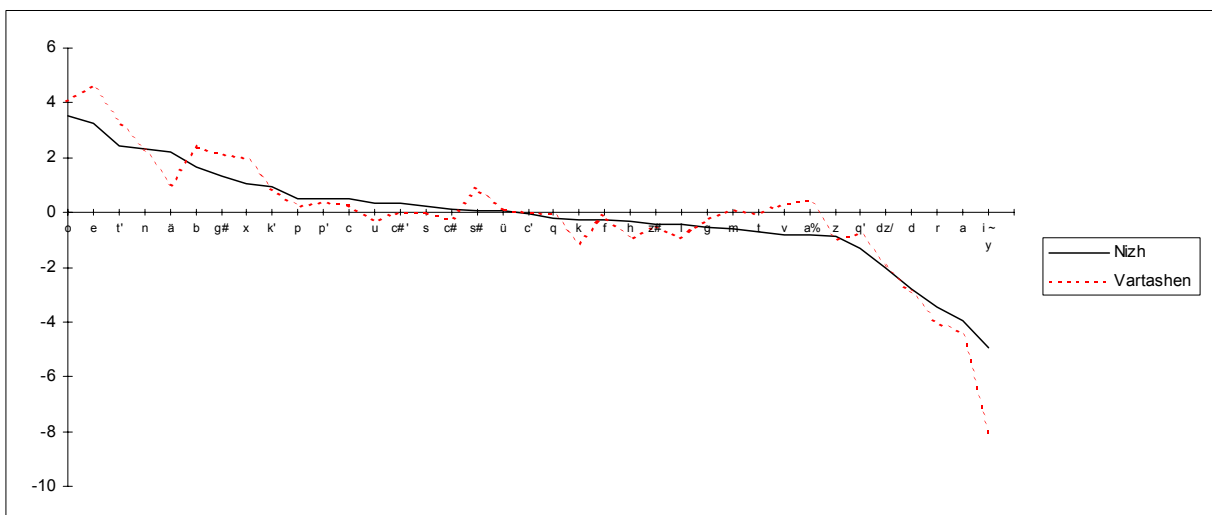


Table X: The relative distance of Udi phonemes from the Lezgian average

Accordingly, the following cluster is marked for a higher frequency in Udi: /o/, /e/, /t'/, /n/, /ä/ (in Nizh), /b/, /x/, and /ğ/. On the other hand, the cluster /d/, /r/, /a/, and /i~y/ is less frequent in Udi than in the Lezgian type. Most likely, this divergent picture has

resulted from sound changes that have at least in parts been conditioned by contact languages such as Armenian and (later) Azeri.

2.3.3.3 Northern Tātī. Although Northern (Jewish) Tātī is a major contact language of Vartashen Udi speakers, it does not have a relevant impact on the distributional pattern of either Vartashen or Nizh. Northern Tātī shares with Azeri the opposition /a/ [ɑ:] vs. /ä/ [æ] as well as the pronounced use of the two dentals /r/ and /d/. Although some Udi speakers tend to adopt the opposition [ɑ:] vs. [æ], we cannot speak of a general trend in Udi. Therefore, we can claim that the distributional pattern of phoneme usage in Udi is hardly accommodated to the areal features represented by Tātī and Azeri. The following diagram illustrates this point with respect to Northern Tātī:

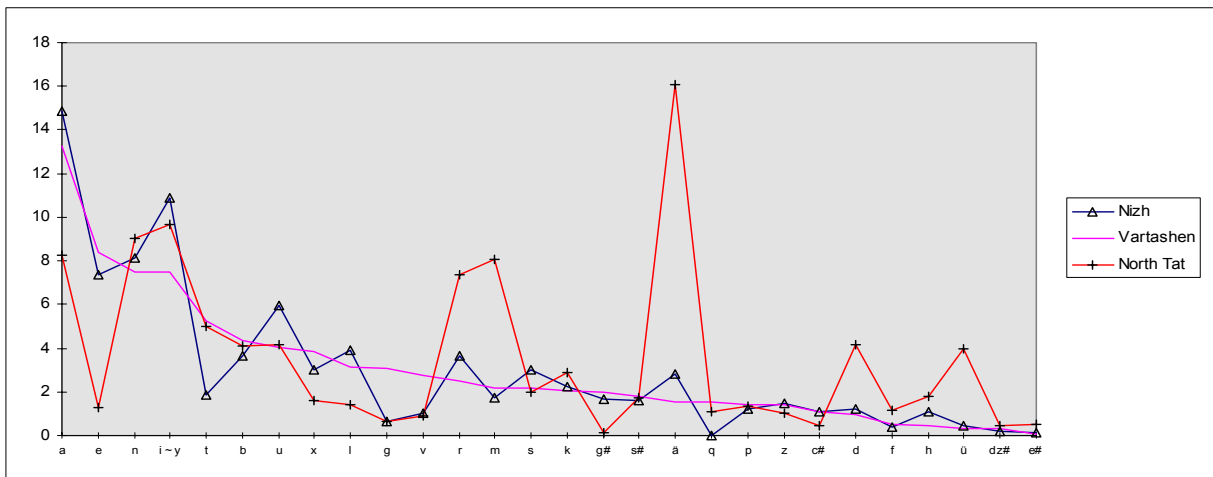


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Udi and Northern Tātī (usage-based) Nevertheless, Nizh shares with Northern Tātī (as well as with Azeri and Armenian) an unbalanced distribution of /e/ and /i~y/. Here, Vartashen shows the tendency towards harmonization, a fact which is reflected by the sound change $i > e$ typical for Vartashen.

2.3.3.4 Old Udi and Old Armenian. In section 2.3.2, it has been shown that the phonemic inventory of Old Udi as expressed in the language of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsest did not importantly differ from that of contemporary Udi. Nevertheless, it has also come clear that especially Vartashen Udi significantly differs from the distributional patterns of Old Udi. The usage-based distance between Old Udi and the two modern dialects can be seen from the following diagram:

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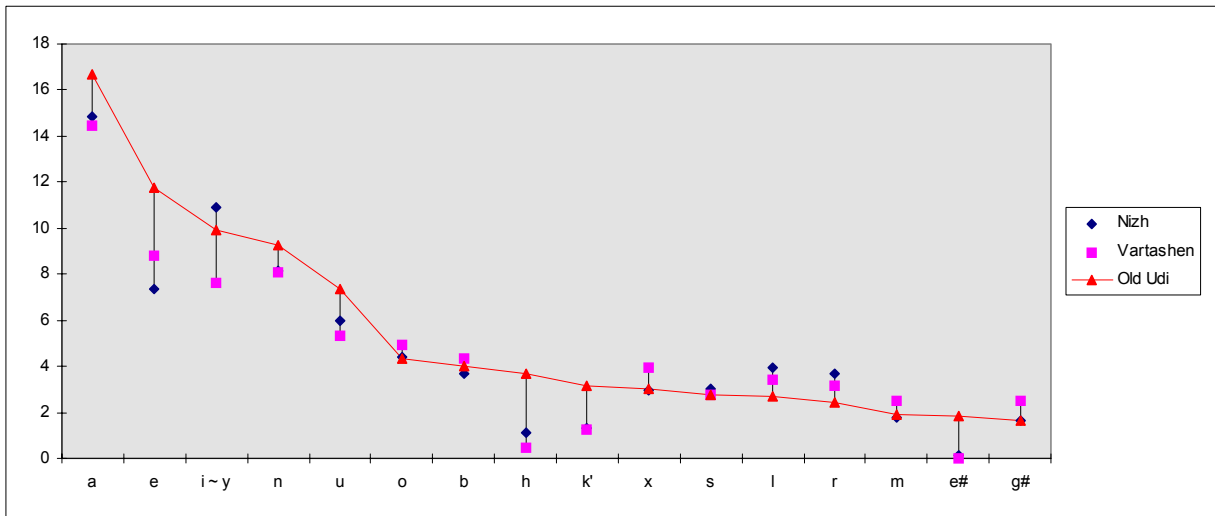


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Old Udi (CaucAlb) and Modern Udi (usage-based, 16 most frequent phonemes)

Especially for /a/, /i~y/, and /u/, Nizh comes closer to Old Udi than Vartashen. Both dialects are less pronounced with respect to /e/ and /h/. The Old Udi pattern itself already shows important differences with respect to the ‘Lezgian type’. The following diagram lists the 15 most frequent phonemes of the palimpsest in comparison with the corresponding phonemes of the Lezgian type:

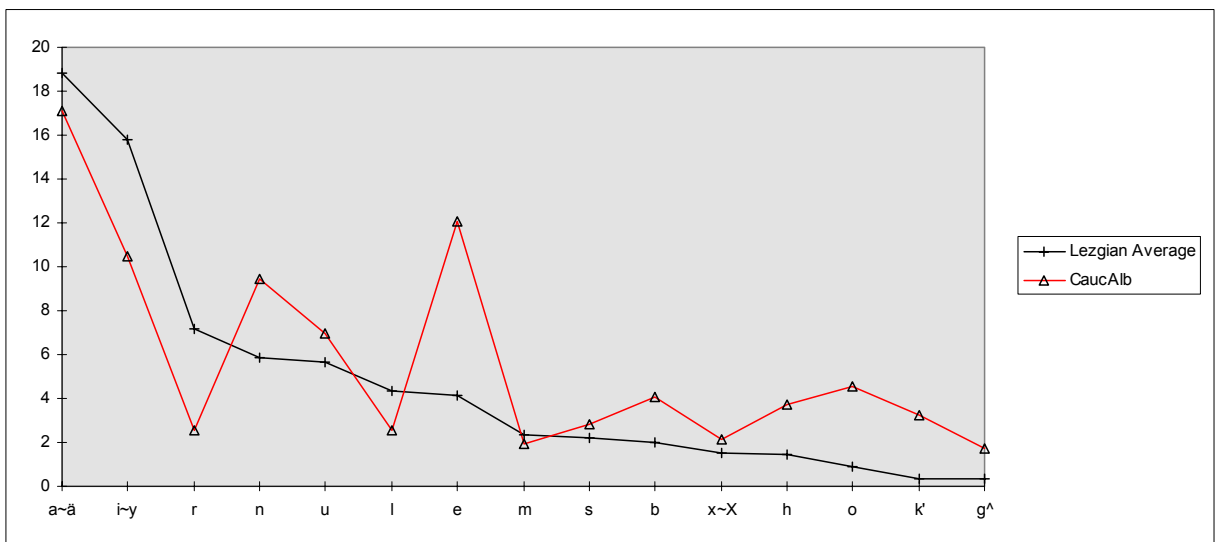


Table X: The 15 most frequent Old Udi phonemes and of the ‘Lezgian type’

Accordingly, Old Udi shows a significant loss in frequency with respect to /a/, /i~y/, and /r/, whereas especially /n/, /e/, /o/, and (less pronounced) /b/ are marked for a higher number of occurrences. Most likely, this divergent pattern has resulted from impact of contact languages. Crucially, the three most frequent phonemes in Old Udi (/a/, /i~y/,

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and /n/ show nearly the same frequency as the corresponding sounds in Old Armenian, compare the following diagram:

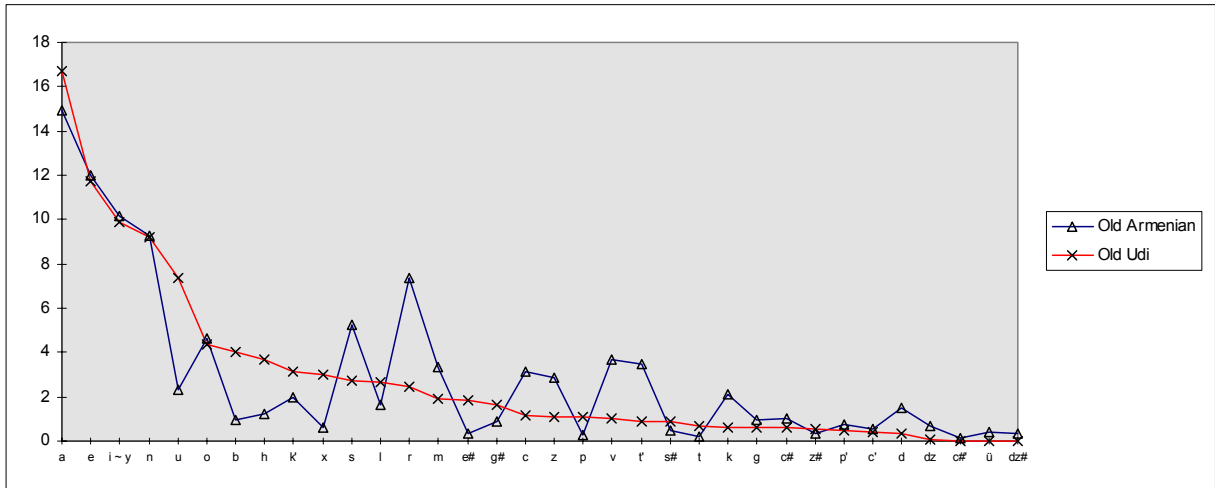


Table X: Frequency of phonemes in Old Udi and Armenian (usage-based)

Although the diagram also shows important differences such as the dominance of /r/ ~ \bar{r} / in Old Armenian, it strongly supports the claim that Old Udi has been phonetically adjusted by Old Armenian. The period from Old Udi to Modern Udi must have been again characterized by a massive ‘foreign’ influence. This aspect becomes evident if one compares the modern Udi patterns to that of Old Armenian:

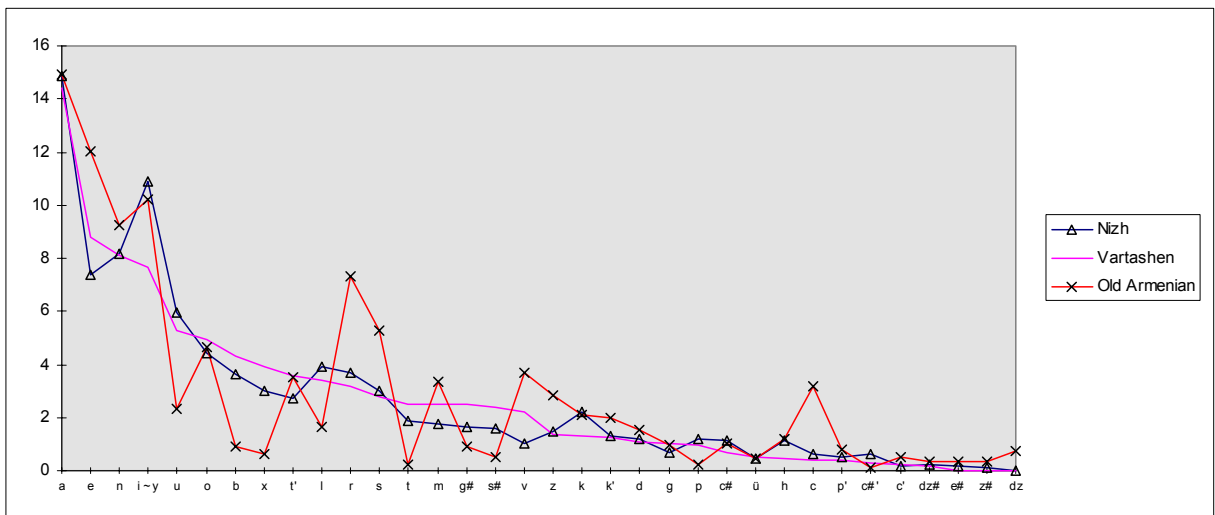


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Modern Udi and Old Armenian (usage-based)

The modern dialects are characterized by a significant loss with respect to /e/, /n/, and (in Vartashen) /i~y/. The losses that /e/ has experienced are probably related to its low

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frequency in both Northern Tāī and Azeri. The reduction of /i~y/ in Vartashen is exceptional and cannot be yet related to any apparent condition.

2.3.3.5 Azeri. Basically, what has been described above for Northern Tāī also holds for Azeri: Although Azeri has to be described as the major contact language of present-day Udi, a comparison of the frequency data reveals that the overall distribution of phonemes in Udi has only little been influenced by Azeri. The following diagram illustrates this point:

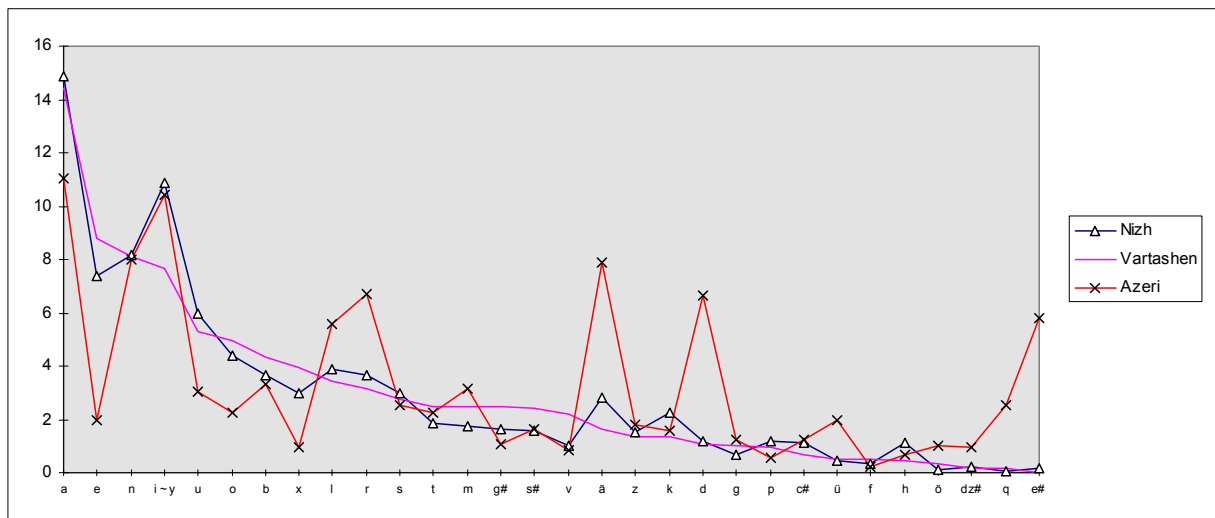


Table X: The frequency of phonemes in Udi and Azeri (usage-based)

Again it comes clear that Udi does not participate in the [ɑ:] vs. [æ] opposition. Nevertheless, it may hypothesized that the distributional pattern of Nizh is at least in parts stabilized by impact from Azeri. This is especially true for the dominance of /i~y/. Still, the high number of Azeri loans obviously did not effect by large the general pattern of Udi. This finding is related to the fact that many Udi speakers tend to accommodate the pronunciation of Azeri loans to the phonetics of Udi.

2.3.3.6 Areal features. It is out of question that despite minor divergencies the central and northern parts of Azerbaijan constitute a linguistic area at least from the point of view of phonetics. Still, Udi is among those languages that show the greatest divergencies from the areal pattern. This is especially true for the following phonemes: /o/, /tʰ/, /e/, /ǧ/, and /b/ are more frequent than at the average, whereas /ü/, /m/, /ə~ɪ/, /a/, /ä/, /d/, /i~y/, and /r/ are less frequent. In addition, Vartashen differs from the average to a greater extent than Nizh. This again is a strong argument in favor of a more ‘archaic’ character of the Vartashen sound system, at least from a usage-based perspective. The following diagram illustrates the degree of divergency from the areal average (based on Armenian, Azeri, Kryts, Lezgi, and Northern Tāī):

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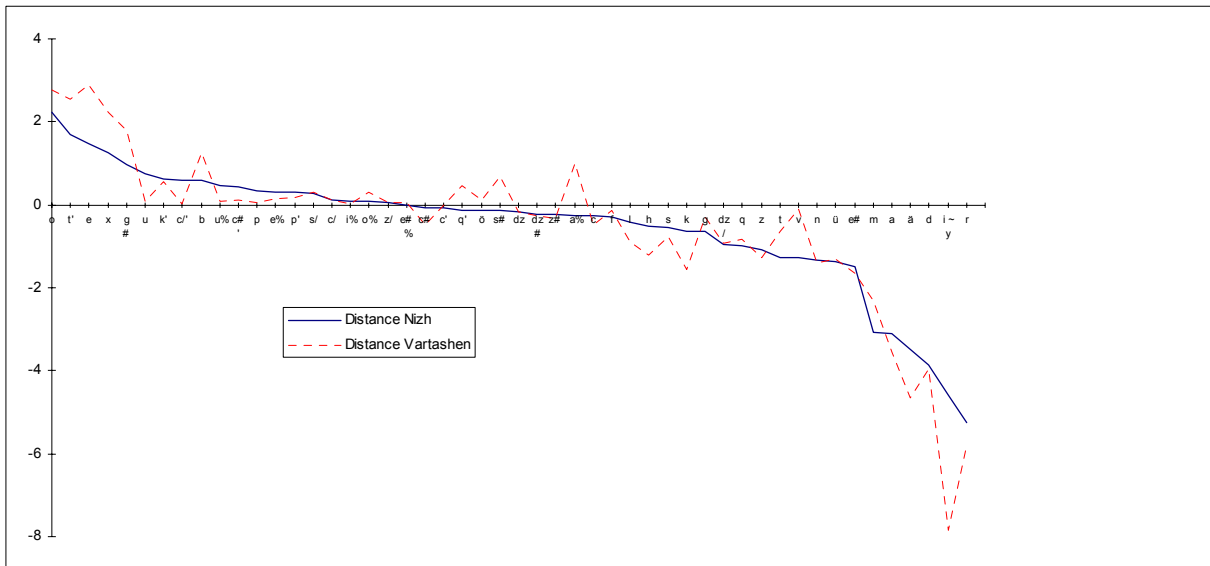


Table X: The distance of the Udi frequency pattern from the areal average

2.4 Vowels in contact

Originally, the sequencing of vowels had to conform to two harmonic aspects: front/back and unrounded/rounded. The massive intrusion of loan words, however, has reduced the relevance of these procedures. In addition, the many (often petrified) word formation suffixes not sensitive for harmonic processes have changed the over-all picture. Instead, assimilatory processes have emerged with certain suffixes (see 2.4.2).

2.4.1 Harmonic features of uninflected and underived words

Polysyllabic uninflected words prefer CVCV, CVCVC, VCV, or VCVC structures (see 2.6.1.3). The two vowels of these structures show a relatively strong tendency towards a type of vowel harmony that operates on the two features [front/back] and [unrounded/rounded]. The front/back harmony (Palatal Vowel Harmony) contrasts the front vowels /i, e, ä, ü, ö/, and the back vowels /a, o, u/. The central vowel /ə/ establishes a class of its own though it behaves more like a front vowel than like a back vowel. Table X shows the distribution of vowels in 590 bisyllabic words (vertical line: first vowel, horizontal line: second vowel):

	a	ä	a ^ʃ	e	e ^ʃ	i	i ^ʃ	o	ö	o ^ʃ	u	ü	u ^ʃ	ə	ə ^ʃ	
a	94	1		7		28		17			20			2	1	170
ä	2	35		1		17					4					59
a ^ʃ			7	1		3				1						12
e	16	8	1	14		7		7			12					65
e ^ʃ	1	1	1		5	1					3		2			14
i	17	8		3	1	29		13			5					76
i ^ʃ				2			2				1					5

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o	29	1	2	16	19	11	78								
ö	8	3	2	5	18										
o ^ʰ	3	3	1	1	1	3	1	13							
u	22	7	9	2	12	52									
ü	6	1	10	17											
u ^ʰ	3	1	2	6											
ə	1	1													
ə ^ʰ	2	1	3												
	175	68	15	39	7	115	2	60	2	4	71	15	2	3	2

Table X: Distribution of vowels in bisyllabic words

In this table, the pairs the frequency of which is higher than 10 are marked by a shaded field. The data illustrate that the sequence *a-a* is by far the most frequent type, followed by *ä-ä*, *o-a*, and *i-i*. If we substitute the individual vowels by one the three classes [front] (F), [back] (B), and [middle] (M), we arrive at the following picture:

(X)

Vowel	Type	Number	Percentage
BB	<i>kala</i>	227	38,47
FF	<i>cirik'</i>	160	27,11
BF	<i>lari</i>	72	12,20
FB	<i>pesun</i>	72	12,20
B ^ʰ B ^ʰ	<i>o^ʰxa^ʰl</i>	17	2,88
B ^ʰ B	<i>q'o^ʰda</i>	7	1,18
F ^ʰ F ^ʰ	<i>bi^ʰbi^ʰ</i>	7	1,18
B ^ʰ F	<i>p'a^ʰlen</i>	6	1,01
F ^ʰ B	<i>ne^ʰsum</i>	6	1,01
F ^ʰ F	<i>i^ʰzen</i>	4	0,67
BM	<i>nağəl</i>	2	0,33
F ^ʰ B ^ʰ	<i>be^ʰğa^ʰl</i>	2	0,33
M ^ʰ B	<i>bə^ʰluğ</i>	2	0,33
B ^ʰ F ^ʰ	<i>o^ʰq'e^ʰin</i>	1	0,16
BM ^ʰ	<i>axə^ʰl</i>	1	0,16
FB ^ʰ	<i>efa^ʰn</i>	1	0,16
FF ^ʰ	<i>ive^ʰl</i>	1	0,16
M ^ʰ M ^ʰ	<i>bə^ʰgə^ʰl</i>	1	0,16
MM	<i>q'əzəl</i>	1	0,16
TOTAL		590	99,86

Here, I also includes pharyngealized vowels in order to illustrate the degree to which suprasegmental pharyngealization applies. The preference for BB and FF structures becomes even more evident, if we subsume the pharyngealized vowels under the corresponding plain vowels, compare:

(X)

BB	251	42,54
FF	172	29,15
FB	81	13,72

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BF	79	13,38
BM	3	0,50
MB	2	0,33
MM	2	0,33
TOTAL	590	99,95

In a total, front/back harmony is observed by 72,2 % of the bisyllabic words under consideration (as opposed to 27,8 % disharmonic structures). Within the harmonic class, back vowels are preferred: For example, *a-a* structures are represented by 15,93 % of the 590 words whereas the most frequent type of FF structures, namely *ä-ä* is found in only 5,93 % of the words.

The labial harmony is less frequent. It contrasts the rounded vowels /*u, o, ü, ö*/, and the unrounded vowels /*i, e, ä, a, ə*/. The distribution of unrounded (U) and rounded (R) vowels reflects the fact that rounded vowels are much rarer in bisyllabic structures than unrounded vowels:

(X)	Unrounded		Rounded	
	823	69,75 %	357	30,25 %

The following table lists the pairing types for rounded and unrounded vowels:

(X)	RR	76	12,88
	RU	117	19,83
	UR	88	14,91
	UU	309	52,37
		590	99,99

(X) illustrates that harmonic aspects that are built on the feature [labial] play a relatively important role: Harmonic structures (both RR and UU) are represented by 65,25 % of the words, as opposed to 34,75 % that show disharmonic structures (RU and UR).

If we analyze the interaction of the front/back opposition and (un)roundedness, we can see that Udi bisyllabic words tend towards a rather harmonic organization. (X) lists the different types that are documented in the sample:

(X)	Vowel sequence		Number
	FF	UU	130
	BB	UU	94
	BB	RR	74
	BB	RU	52
	BF	UU	41
	FB	UR	41

BB	UR	37
FF	RU	18
FF	RR	17
BM	UU	3
FF	UR	3
MB	UR	2

BF	RU	39
FB	UU	38

MM	UU	1
----	----	---

Accordingly, vowel sequences that include FF and UU (type: *cirik* ‘till’) represent the most frequent type (22,03 %), followed by BB/UU (type: *kala* ‘big, old’, 15,93 %). If we classify the types listed in (X) with help of the two basic features ‘harmonic’ (FF, BB, UU, RR, MM) and ‘disharmonic’ (FB, BF, UR, RU etc.), we arrive at a general picture that depicts the degree of vowel harmony in Udi bisyllabic words:

Front/Back	Rounded/Unrounded	Number	Percentage
Harmonic	Harmonic	316	53,55
Harmonic	Disharmonic	110	18,64
Disharmonic	Harmonic	82	13,89
Disharmonic	Disharmonic	82	13,89
Total		590	99,97

Harmonic aspects are at least partially present in roughly 86 % of Udi bisyllabic words. Of these, 62,20 % are fully harmonic, as opposed 37,80 % that show partial harmony.

2.4.2 Vowel assimilation in inflected words

From a synchronic point of view, vowels in derivational and inflectional affixes are not sensitive for harmonic processes such as vowel harmony. In this, Udi differs e.g. from Lezgi which shows vowel alternation with stress-bearing suffixes (see Haspelmath 1993:56-58). Yet it must be added that vowel variation occurs in a restricted number of case suffixes (see x.x.x):

(X)	ERG	-in, -en
	GEN	-ei, -ai
	DAT	-e, -u, -a, -i

However, the distribution of these variants is not yet fully understood. It is especially the opposition /a/ vs. /e/ that resembles an alternation according to palatal vowel harmony. However, examples like *ğar-ei* ‘son:GEN’ vs. *c’i-ei* ‘name:GEN’, and *cac-n-ai* ‘thorn:GEN’ vs. *düz-n-ai* ‘field:GEN’ contradict this assumption. It is more probable that both syllabic constraints and morphological subcategorization have caused this type of vowel variation (see x.x.x).

Else, vowels in affixes and clitics are rather stable and not effected by the vocalization of stem forms. The only exception is given by certain nominal and verbal affixes (both derivational and inflectional): Suffixes containing /a/, /u/, and /o/ can undergo palatalization; all five cardinal vowels can be pharyngealized in case the stem vowel is marked by one of the two features. The following suffixes are mainly concerned:

(X)	-a	Genitive singular [pharyngealization only]
	-a	Modal
	-a, -u	Dative singular (and derivations)
	-o	Dative plural (and derivation) [pharyngealization only]
	-u	Absolutive plural
	-luǧ	Abstract nouns
	-un	Genitive

Examples for palatalization include:

(x)	<i>övläd-ä</i>	‘children-DAT’
	<i>döšäg-ä</i>	‘bed-DAT’
	<i>kömäg-ä</i>	‘help-DAT’
	<i>äläm-ä</i>	‘sign-DAT’
	<i>šähär-ä</i>	‘town-DAT’
	<i>nökär-ä</i>	‘servant-DAT’
	<i>äit-ä</i>	‘word-DAT’
	<i>xinär-ä</i>	‘girl-DAT’
	<i>peškäs-üx</i>	‘gift-PL:ABS’
	<i>günäh-üx</i>	‘sin-PL:ABS’
	<i>älämät-üx</i>	‘miracle-PL:ABS’
	<i>šähär-üx</i>	‘town-PL:ABS’
	<i>sövdäkär-üx</i>	‘merchant-PL:ABS’
	<i>döv-ürüx</i>	‘ghost-PL:ABS’
	<i>gümüş-ün</i>	‘silver-GEN’

Pharyngealization is present for instance in the following examples:

(X)	<i>bo^ʕ-nu^ʕ</i>	‘pig-DAT’
	<i>e^ʕš-na^ʕ</i>	‘apple-GEN’
	<i>be^ʕǧ-na^ʕ</i>	‘sun-GEN’
	<i>be^ʕǧ-nu^ʕ</i>	‘sun-DAT’
	<i>bo^ʕ-u^ʕru^ʕx</i>	‘pig-PL:ABS’
	<i>a^ʕil-u^ʕx</i>	‘child-PL:ABS’
	<i>p^ʕa^ʕ-o^ʕ</i>	‘two-REF:ABS’
	<i>e^ʕle^ʕm-un</i>	‘donkey-GEN’

The progressive assimilation can spread to more than one following syllable in case the subsequent syllables are marked by one of the three vowels /a/, /u/, or /o/. In fact, we have to deal with a more or less pronounced supra-segmental feature that starts with the stem vowel and gradually decreases towards the end of a word, compare:

(x)	<i>bo^ʕ-u^ʕrǧ-o^ʕxo^ʕ</i>	‘pig-PL:OBL-ABL’
	<i>a^ʕi^ʕl-u^ʕǧ-o^ʕe^ʕnk^ʕ</i>	‘child-PL:OB-BEN’
	<i>šähar-ux ~ šähär-ux ~ šähär-üx</i>	‘town-PL:ABS’

Very occasionally, the palatal vowels /e/ and /i/ can be effected by pharyngealization, compare:

(x)	<i>be^ʕk-e^ʕ</i>	‘needle-GEN’
	<i>p’a^ʕki^ʕn</i>	‘two-handed’

Whether these assimilatory processes take place at all cannot be predicted. Obviously, we have to deal with individual preferences that are also conditioned by the degree to which speakers have accommodated the harmonic rules of Azeri. In the present description of Udi, I will indicate progressive assimilation of vowels only if it is documented in the corresponding source.

2.4.3 Harmonic patterns in Nizh

Basically, the dialect of Nizh conforms to the harmonic patterns described in section 2.4.1. Nevertheless, Nizh has a stronger preference for harmonic forms than Vartashen. This can be seen for instance from the harmonic patterns related to the front/back opposition. Nizh (inflected) bisyllabic words show a distribution that slightly differs from the corresponding Vartashen data. In order to illustrate this point, (X) compares the frequencies of vowel sequences in bisyllabic words (narrative texts; Nizh: 3017 tokens out of 7235 words; Vartashen 2031 tokens out of 5256 words; B = back, F = front, M = middle; pharyngealized vowels are counted as basic vowels):

(x)		Nizh		Vartashen	
	BB	1100	36,45	728	35,84
	BF	670	22,20	423	20,82
	BM	16	0,53	0	0
	FB	316	10,47	365	17,97
	FF	905	29,99	509	25,06
	FM	1	0,03	0	0
	MB	4	0,13	4	0,19
	MF	2	0,06	0	0
	MM	3	0,09	2	0,09
		3017	99,95	2031	99,97

In Nizh, 66,53 % of all (C)V(C)CV(C) sequences are harmonic, as opposed to 60,99 % in Vartashen. Accordingly, the tendency to harmonize vowel sequences is slightly higher in Nizh. The same tendency can be observed with respect to labial harmony (R = rounded, U = unrounded):

(x)		Nizh		Vartashen	
	RR	291	9,64	166	8,17
	UU	1939	64,26	1278	62,92

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RU	555	18,39	347	17,08
UR	232	7,68	240	11,81
	3017	99,97	2031	99,98

In Nizh, 73,9 % of all bisyllabic words are R- or U-harmonic, as opposed to 71,09 % in Vartashen. In polysyllabic inflected words that have more than two syllables, three types have to be distinguished: a) fully harmonic; b) stem harmonic plus disharmonic suffix(es) (DHS); c) disharmonic. The Nizh corpus under consideration (7235 words) shows 3101 words that have more than two syllables. (x) compares the relevant figures to those of the Vartashen dialect (narrative texts, 2106 out 5167 words):

(X)	Nizh		Vartashen	
		% of all words		% of all words
Three syllables	2236	30,90	1441	27,88
Four syllables	753	10,40	486	9,40
Five syllables	105	1,45	145	2,80
Six syllables	7	0,09	34	0,65
TOTAL	3101	42,84	2106	40,73

In Nizh, there is a stronger tendency to harmonize polysyllabic words with more than two syllables. This is especially true for the front/back harmony:

(x)	Three syllables		Four syllables		Five syllables		Six syllables	
	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.
Harmonic	44,09	34,07	29,74	12,34	9,52	17,24	14,28	0,00
Harmonic (DHS)	25,13	25,67	14,47	7,81	10,48	4,13	28,57	8,82
Disharmonic	30,76	40,24	55,77	79,83	80,00	78,62	57,14	91,17

Disregarding the marginal cases of five- and six-syllabic words, Nizh texts are marked for harmonic forms to an extent that is unknown in Vartashen: Roughly speaking, Nizh has 10% more three-syllabic harmonic words and even 24% more four-syllabic harmonic words.

2.5 Phonetic processes

2.5.1 Introduction

In general, Udi is a rather ‘phoneme preserving’ language. By this, I mean that in most instances, Udi phonemes do not change for their phonetic characteristics when in contact with other phonemes. Only a very few number of processes can be described that occur in slow (*lento*) speech. Some other processes apply in fast (*allegro*) speech. However, in slower tempo these processes are often canceled. In consequence, two types of processes should be distinguished: a) processes that always apply disregarding

the actual tempo of speech ('general processes', cf. 2.5.2); b) processes that are linked to fast speech ('processes in fast speech', cf. 2.5.3). Note that in this section, I do not consider harmonic processes between vowels (see 2.4.2). Because the three variants Udi known basically the same processes, I will not separately discuss the individual dialects.

2.5.2 General processes

Most phonetic processes are related to harmonic strategies. They involve two or more phonemes that phonetically interact in terms of assimilation and/or dissimilation. Such processes normally take place when words are marked for derivation or inflection. Possible elder layers of stem or root internal assimilation or dissimilation cannot be considered in the present work because they would call for a comprehensive etymological discussion of Udi stems and roots.

2.5.2.1 Vowels. Except for vowel harmonic processes (see 2.4.2), Udi vowels are rather stable if they are part of a stressed syllable. With (primary or secondary) unstressed syllables, two major processes occur: a) frequent assimilation of stem final *-a* or *-e* to a suffixal *-ó(C)-* and long distance assimilation resulting there from (§ 1-2); b) vowel syncope and effects of vowel syncope (§ 3-17).

§ 1. In case a derivational or inflectional segment is added that starts with a vowel, a vowel final stem is affected only if it is */a/* or */e/* and if it is followed by */o/*. The most prominent example is the referentializer *-o* (absolutive, see 3.2.3) which often merges with the stem final vowels */a/* and */e/*. The result is a half-long, often slightly rising complex *-oó* [-o'] ~ [- $\overline{oó}$]:

(x)	<i>kala-ó</i>	>	<i>kaloó</i>	'the big one'
	<i>sa-ó</i>	>	<i>so'</i>	'the one'
	<i>me-ó</i>	>	<i>mo'</i>	'this one here' (exophoric; Nizh)
	<i>še-ó</i>	>	<i>šo'</i>	'that one over there' (exophoric; Nizh)

In Nizh, the merger of *-a# + -o* is typical for the absolutive plural of strong *-a*-final nouns (see 3.2.5.2 and 3.3.2), compare:

(x)	<i>baba-óx</i>	>	<i>baboóx</i>	'fathers'
	<i>nana-óx</i>	>	<i>nanoóx</i>	'mothers'
	<i>dāda-óx</i>	>	<i>dādoóx</i>	'grandmothers'

The secondary segment *-ǰ-* sometimes preserves the underlying morpheme boundary, cp. *soǰo* 'the one' < **soo* < **sao*), *saemoǰo* 'some' (< **sa-ema-o*). This segment is obviously related to the tendency to pronounce an intervocalic *-v-* as a labiovelar approximant [w], see 2.2.2.3: *sao* > *soo* > *sovo* ['sowo] > *soǰo* etc. Vowels other than */a/* and */e/* are not assimilated, cf. *bio* 'who has been', *bio* 'yours (sg.)', *buo* 'who is' etc.

§ 2. Dominance of the vowel /o/ can also be described for a type of long distance assimilation that occurs with the deictic paradigm (see x.x.x). Referential deictic pronouns often assimilate their stem vowel to the referential morpheme *-o* even if the absolutive stem augment *-n-* intervenes, cf.:

- (x) *me-nó* > *monó* ‘this one’
 PROX-REF:ABS
- ka-nó* > *konó* ‘that one’ [rare]
 MED-REF:ABS
- še-nó* > *šonó* ‘that one’
 DIST-REF:ABS

Assimilation takes place especially when the suffix *-o* is stressed – yielding an anaphoric function of the pronoun (see 2.7.3). Still, this process has not ended yet: Non-assimilated pronouns in anaphoric function can likewise be found, compare:

- (x) *me-no iša-ne tai-sa* [TR 68]
 PROX>ANAPH-REF:ABS close-3SG go:PRES-PRES
 ‘He went nearby.’

The same assimilatory context is given in the oblique plural (see 3.3.7):

- (x) *še-t'-ǵ-on* > *šo-t'-ǵ-on* ‘those (do...)’
 DIST-REF:OBL-OBL-ERG

In the oblique singular of referential deictic pronouns, *-e-* is often labialised if a case morpheme based on the dative suffix *-u* is added. This process is obviously induced by the above-mentioned assimilatory context. However, it is much rarer than the assimilation conditioned by *-o*. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *mo-t'-u doǵri-n p-i un* [John 4:18]
 PROX>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT truth-2SG say-PAST you:SG
 ‘... you truly say that...’.
- (b) *vezir-näzir-ǵ-on mo-t'u taš-ša-q'un bes-b-esan*
 vezir-nezir-PL-ERG PROX>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT carry-PRES-3PL kill-LV-CV:FIN
 ‘The vezir-nezirs carry him (away) in order to kill (him).’ [Ch&T 169]
- (c) *va^hn te-nan k'al-p-e mo-t'-ux kaǵž-un boš*
 you:PL NEG-2PL read-LV-PERF PROX>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT2 scripture-GEN in
 ‘And have ye not read this scripture’ [Mark 12:10]
- (d) *p'ac'c'e-o-r iša-bak-i šo-t'-uč'*

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twelve-REF:ABS-PL close-be-PAST DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-all

p-i-q'un *šo-t'-u* [Luke 9:12]
 say-PAST-3PL DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT
 '[Then] came the twelve, and said unto him...'

Else, the stem vowel remains unchanged in the Vartashen dialect, cf. *met'ai* (PROX:GEN), *met'in* (PROX:ERG), *šet'ai* (DIST:GEN), *šet'in* (DIST:ERG) etc. In Nizh, however, there is a strong tendency to generalize the assimilated stem vowel: *šot'ay* (instead of V. *šet'ai*) 'DIST:GEN', *šot'o* (instead of V. *šot'u*) 'DIST:DAT' etc. (see 3.2.8.2 for the deictic paradigm). The dative form *šot'o* (proximal: *mot'o*) also illustrates that the assimilation has progressively affected the original dative suffix *-u* (see 3.3.7). Examples are:

(x) (a) *mo-t'-o* *ak'-i* *nex-t'un-i-y* [ACHI; OR 119]
 PROX-REF:OBL-DAT see-PART:PAST say:PRES-3PL-PAST-PAST
 'Having seen him, they said ...'

(b) *aizlu-n-en* *šo-t'-ai* *p-i-t'-u* *b-i-ne*
 villager-SA-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 say-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-DAT make-PAST-3SG
 'The villager made what (s)he had told him.' [KB; OR 113]

§ 3. Presence of derivational and inflectional morphology yielding more than bisyllabic words can effect unstressed vowels in one of the stem syllables. As a result, unstressed vowels may be reduced to [ə] or totally lost. This process is characteristic for the masdar2 (*-esun*) and the present tense (*-sá*) of basic verbs and light verbs such as *besun*, *-desun*, and *pesun* (see 3.4.2.1) when preceded by an incorporated element (plus agreement clitic), see Harris 2002:82-3. The general condition is that the lexical complex preceding the masdar2 or the present tense morpheme must consist of or end in a VC-sequence:

[+syncope]			[-syncope]		
Masdar2	Present tense		Masdar2	Present tense	
<i>bes-s-un</i>	<i>bes-sa</i>	'to ask for'	<i>b-esun</i>	<i>b-esa</i>	'to do, make'
<i>aq'-sun</i>	<i>aq'-sa</i>	'to take'	<i>aš-b-esun</i>	<i>aš-b-esa</i>	'to work'
<i>xe-b-sun</i>	<i>xe-b-sa</i>	'to melt'	<i>ser-b-esun</i>	<i>ser-b-esa</i>	'to buil'
<i>tai-sun</i>	<i>tai-sa</i>	'to go'	<i>därd-b-esun</i>	<i>därd-b-esa</i>	'to hurt'
<i>furu-p-sun</i>	[<i>furuexa</i>]	'to search'	<i>bi-esun</i>	<i>bi-esa</i>	'to die'
<i>fu-p-sun</i>	[<i>fuexa</i>]	'to blow'			
<i>č'esun</i>	<i>č'esa</i>	'to go out'			

The syncope of unstressed *-e-* produces CC-clusters that are marked for a syllable boundary. The fact that Vartashen Udi knows rather strong constraints on CCC-clusters

conditions the preservation of unstressed *-e-* in CCeC-sequences. The few simple verb stems that show a CV-structure usually keep the vowel *-e-* (e.g. *bi-esun*).

In Vartashen, syncope of *-e-* also applies if an endoclititic agreement morpheme is present that has a CV-structure (*-zu-* (1sg), *-nu-* (2sg)), compare:

(x) (a) *k'ož-zu ser-b-esa*
house-1SG build-LV-PRES
'I build a HOUSE'

(b) *k'ož ser-zu-b-sa*
house build-1SG-LV-PRES
'I build a house.'

Nevertheless, we cannot state that *e*-syncope operates as a 'deletion rule' in Vartashen Udi (Harris 2002:82, fn. 24). Rather, we have to deal with a tendency that is, however, not fully observed by Udi speakers from Vartashen: When asked to slowly articulate a form like *dava-b-sun* 'to make war', speakers usually (and easily) produce *dava-b-esun*. This is especially true for verbs that are marked for more or less transparent incorporation (cp. *dava* 'war'). It is attractive to interpret the *e*-preserving variants as consisting of two words (*dava* 'war' + *besun* 'to do'), as suggested by Harris 2002:83). A clue seems to be the presence of an agreement clitic that follows the lexical head:

(x) (a) *aš-ne-b-sa* [Harris 2002:83]
work-3SG-LV-PRES
'(s)he works'

(b) *aš-ne b-esa* [Harris 2002:83]
work-3SG do-PRES
'(s)he does (some) work.'

However, it should be noted that *e*-preservation can also apply if the lexical head cannot be but incorporated. Here, those verbs should be considered that lack a transparent lexical segment. These verbs cannot undergo 'decorporation' (or lexical export, see 3.4.2.3). An example is *girbesun* 'to collect' (no lexical form **gir*, but compare *girgä* 'meeting place in Nizh'). As has been said above, syncope of *-e-* is normally present with CV-structured agreement (endo)clitics (compare (x,a [oben])). The examples in (X) illustrate that the syncopated and not syncopated forms can appear in nearly the same context:

(x) (a) *gir-zu-b-sa mama te-z cip-e* [Matthew 25:26]
collect-1SG-LV-PRES where NEG-1SG straw-PERF
'I collect where I have not strawed.'

- (b) *gir-ru-b-esa ma-te te-n cip-e* [Matthew 25:24]
 collect-2SG-LV-PRES where-SUB NEG-2SG straw-PERF
 ‘You (sg.) do not collect where you have strawed.’

The same holds for basic or simple verbs:

- (x) *še-t'-in zax te-ne aq'-sa*
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG I:DAT2 NEG-3SG take-PRES

amma a-ne-q'-esa zax iaq'-a-b-i-t'-ux [Mark 9:37]
 but take-3SG- $\$$ -PRES I:DAT2 way-DAT-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘(S)he does not take me, but takes the one who has sent me.’

Accordingly, Harris’ generalization should be reformulated in terms of a tendency that is based on both phonetical and lexical preferences.

§ 4. The syncope of *-e-* is blocked if it is part of the light verb *esun* (intransitive-passive, see 3.4.2.1). In consequence, simple verbs that allow syncope of suffixal *-e-* can likewise appear with *-e-* (in case intransitive-passive derivation is semantically possible):

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|------------------|--|
| (x) | <i>ak'sun</i> | < | <i>*ak'-esún</i> | ‘to see’ |
| | <i>ak'-ésun</i> | | | ‘to be visible’ |
| | <i>aq'sun</i> | < | <i>*aq'-esún</i> | ‘to take’ |
| | <i>aq'-ésun</i> | | | ‘to be taken, accepted, astonished etc.’ |
| | <i>bak-sun</i> | < | <i>*bak-esún</i> | ‘to be’ |
| | <i>bak-ésun</i> | | | ‘to become’ |
| | <i>biq'sun</i> | < | <i>*biq-esún</i> | ‘to seize, grasp, take, buy’ |
| | <i>biq'-ésun</i> | | | ‘to be seized, taken etc.’ |

(X) illustrates the use of the two types:

- (x) (a) *šuk'al-en te-ne aq'-sa šo-t'-ux zaxo* [John 10:18]
 anybody-ERG NEG-3SG take-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 I:ABL
 ‘Nobody takes it from me...’

- (b) *sa pexambar-q'an te-ne aq'-esa ič vatan-a* [Luke 4:24]
 one prophet-and NEG-3SG take-LV:PASS:PRES REFL homeland-DAT
 ‘And a prophet is not accepted in his homeland.’

The fact that *-e-* cannot be deleted with the light verb *esun* is conditioned by both prosodic and lexical aspects: The light verb is usually stressed on the first syllable

(*ésun*). This stress pattern is coupled with the (historically) lexical properties of the segment *e-*: It represents an old preverb denoting ‘hither’ (compare the heavy verb *esun* ‘to come’), see Harris 2002:69 and section 3.4.4. The verb stem itself is a reduced form of **eġ-* < **e-ġ-* ‘move (**ġ-*) hither (**e-* < **he-*). Residues of the stem **(h)eġ-* can be found in the future stem (*eġ-al*, *eġ-o*, see 3.4.5) as well as in lexical variants like *č’eġesun* ‘to go out’ (usually *č’esun*), *laiġesun* ‘to go up’ (usually *laisun*), *baiġesun* ‘to go into’ (usually *baisun*) etc., see Fähnrich 1999 s.v. Also note Old Udi *heġ-* ‘to come’. The endoclititic slot *e_ġ-* in the future tense forms (compare *e-ne-ġ-o* (come-3SG- $\text{\$}$:FUT-FUT:MOD) ‘(s)he shall come’) confirms that **ġ-* has been the original stem of the verbal concept <move> (see 3.4.2, Harris 2002:222-5 for a different view). The analogical pair *č’eġesun* ~ *č’esun* ‘to go out’ allows to postulate that the form *esun* stems from **eġesun*. By the time **eġesun* had developed to *esun*, the tendency towards *e*-syncope had not become fully established: Instead, **-ġ-* in the environment of **e_e* was (palatalized and) dropped. The resulting form **eesun* then changed to *esun*. Note that this development was blocked when **-ġ-* appeared between two different vowels (e.g. *eġal* (factive future), *eġo* (modal future), *eġa* (modal)).

§ 5. With inflected intransitive-passives based on the light verb *esun*, the vowel *-e-* is usually dropped when following an agreement (endo)clitic ending in *-e*:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| (x) | <i>aq'-nan-eġ-o</i> | ‘you (pl.) shall be astonished, shall marvel’ |
| | <i>aq'-nu-eġ-o</i> | ‘you (sg.) shall be astonished, shall marvel’ |
| | <i>aq'-ne-ġ-o</i> | ‘(s) will be astonished, shall marvel’ |
| | <i>ak'-nan-esa</i> | ‘you (pl.) are visible’ |
| | <i>ak'-zu-esa</i> | ‘I am visible’ |
| | <i>ak'-ne-sa</i> | ‘(s)he is visible’ |

The same holds for the suppletive past stem of the light verb *esun* (*-ec-* (< **-e-c-*), see 3.4.2):

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (x) | <i>aq'-zu-ec-i</i> | ‘I was astonished, marveled’ |
| | <i>aq'-ne-c-i</i> | ‘(s)he was astonished, marveled’ |

§ 6. With *masdar2* and present tense morphemes, syncope of *-e-* usually causes metathesis of the resulting groups **-dsun* (*masd2*) **-dsa* (present tense), see below 2.5.2.2. The output is *-st'un* / *-st'a*. This process is in parts extended to stem final *-t'* and the light verb *-t'esun*, e.g. *t'ist'un* < **t'it'-(e)sun* ‘to run’, *bost'un* < **bot'-(e)sun* ‘to cut off’ etc.

§ 7. Syncope of *-e-* more widely occurs in the Nizh dialect. The tendency to allow CCC-clusters more than in Vartashen has reinforced *e*-syncope with *masdar2* and present tense morphemes. Examples are:

(X)	Nizh	Vartashen	
	<i>äšbsai</i>	<i>äšbesai</i>	‘having worked’
	<i>bäč’ükst’a</i>	<i>bač’ukdesa</i>	‘lighting’
	<i>bafst’a</i>	<i>bafdesa</i>	‘falling into’
	<i>bask’sun</i>	<i>bask’sun</i>	‘to go to bed, to sleep’
	<i>bot’unst’ai</i>	<i>boq’unt’esai</i>	‘they stopped’
	<i>burqsa</i>	<i>burqesa</i>	‘beginning’
	<i>č’ap’bsa</i>	<i>čap’besa</i>	‘hiding’
	<i>čalxsa</i>	<i>čalxesa</i>	‘knowing’
	<i>čärk’sun</i>	<i>čark’esun</i>	‘to leave, let behind’
	<i>ezbsai</i>	<i>ezbesai</i>	‘having done the harvest’
	<i>galgalst’un</i>	<i>galgaldesun</i>	‘to shake, move’
	<i>k’acp’sane</i>	<i>k’acp’esane</i>	‘so that (s)he cuts’
	<i>kart’unxsai</i>	<i>karq’unxesai</i>	‘they live’
	<i>lavk’sa</i>	<i>lavk’esa</i>	‘putting onto’
	<i>säsbsa</i>	<i>säsbesa</i>	‘crying’
	<i>serbsa</i>	<i>serbesa</i>	‘building’
	<i>šampsa</i>	[šamexa]	‘slaughtering’
	<i>tat’unšt’a</i>	<i>tašq’undesai</i>	‘they (let) bring’
	<i>zerst’ai</i>	<i>zerdesai</i>	‘collecting’

§ 8. Syncope of *-e* frequently occurs with the third person singular agreement clitic *-ne* if hosted by the adhortative particle *q’a-* (see 3.4.7.2):

(x) (a) *kömäk q’a-n b-i* [f.n.]
 help ADH-3SG do-PAST
 ‘(s)he should/shall help...’

(b) *bez mu^šqluğ ba-q’a-n-k-i ef boš* [John 15:11]
 I:POSS joy be-ADH-3SG- $\$$ -PAST you:SG:POSS in
 ‘My joy shall be with you.’

§ 9. Vowel syncope also concerns the vowel /u/. In principle, *u*-syncope follows the same pattern as *e*-syncope: It serves to reduce the number of syllables in a word and to produce a (non-final) closed syllable. Accordingly, *u*-syncope mainly occurs between two consonants that again are preceded or followed by a vowel (or a sonant). The general formula is:

(x) $u \rightarrow \emptyset / V(R)C + _ CV(C\dots)$

Three type of *u*-syncope can be distinguished: a) stem internal *u*-syncope; b) *u*-syncope of plural morphemes; c) *u*-syncope of first and second person singular agreement clitics. Whereas type b) has assimilatory force, types a) and b) are neutral with respect to surrounding vowels.

§ 10. Type a): Though it is difficult to state general rules, we can observe a special preference for /u/ to be dropped in bisyllabic -uC-final words followed by a V-initial morpheme. Normally, the reduction of /u/ happens without further effects:

(x)	<i>xod-urúx</i>	‘tree-PL’	>	<i>xodrúx</i>
	<i>žoǵul-á</i>	‘sommer-DAT’	>	<i>žoǵlá</i>
	<i>mugul-én</i>	‘broom-ERG’	>	<i>muglén</i>
	<i>t’up’ul-én</i>	‘bud-ERG’	>	<i>t’up’lén</i>
	<i>zurul-ún</i>	‘wild plum-GEN’	>	<i>zurlún</i>

Occasionally, loss of -u- results from shift of accent: Local case markers are normally stressed on their morphological base (dative), see 2.7.3. With deictic pronouns in anaphoric function, however, stress can move to the last syllable and will then allow reduction of -u- in case the morpheme starts with a consonant:

(x)	<i>mo-t’-uxó</i>	‘from this one’	>	<i>mot’xó</i>
	PROX-REF:OBL-ABL			
	<i>šo-t’-uxól</i>	‘with that one’	>	<i>šot’xól</i>
	DIST-REF:OBL-COM			

§ 11. Type b): The loss of unstressed -u- has conditioned a major change in Udi case inflection: The plural morpheme -ux (see 3.2.5) is normally reduced and loses its -u- in case the plural morpheme is followed by case morphemes. However, contrary to the processes described above, this type of reduction/loss is coupled with progressive assimilation: the following vowel always undergoes labial umlaut (> -o-). Also, note that the uvular fricative normally experiences voicing:

(x)	<i>xunči-mux</i>	‘sister-PL’
	<i>xunči-mǵ-on</i>	‘sister-PL-ERG’ < * <i>xunči-mu-ǵ-en</i> < * <i>xunči-mux-en</i>

This process is also present with lexicalized plurals (pluralia tantum), e.g.

(x)	<i>čubux</i>	‘woman’
	<i>čubǵ-on</i>	‘woman-ERG’
	<i>burux</i>	‘mountain’
	<i>burǵ-oi</i>	‘mountain-GEN’

However, -u- is sometimes preserved even in the oblique plural. Most examples that still show -u- thus avoid a CCC-cluster:

(x)	<i>elmuǵ-on</i>	‘with the soul (pl.tant.)’	(soul-ERG)
	<i>gärämz-uǵ-ol</i>	‘on the graves’	(grave-PL-SUPER)
	<i>gölö-t’-uǵ-on</i>	‘the many ones (do...)’	(many-REF:OBL-PL-ERG)

<i>iaq'-muğ-on</i>	‘with/on the roads’	(way-PL-ERG)
<i>ioldaš-muğ-on</i>	‘friends (do...)’	(friend-PL-ERG)
<i>kul-muğ-on</i>	‘with the hands’	(hand-PL-ERG)
<i>pul-muğ-on</i>	‘with the eyes’	(eye-PL-ERG)

In rare instances (in very slow speech or in older texts) *-u-* is also preserved in a context that would not yield a CCC-cluster, compare:

(x) <i>ažuğ-on</i>	‘with wrath (pl.tant)’	(wrath:PL-ERG)
<i>biliž-uğ-on</i>	‘the wise ones (do...)’	(wise=one-PL-ERG)
<i>vādi-muğ-ol</i>	‘in (lit.: on) the days’	(time-PL-SUPER)
<i>viči-muğ-on</i>	‘brothers (do...)’	(brother-PL-ERG)

The umlaut process has totally obscured the original quality of the suffix vowel (see 3.3.3 for the variants in vocalizing the singular morphemes). The best option seems to be *-e-*, which is present at least in the standard ergative morpheme *-en* (see 3.3.3.3). However, the assumption of a pairing genitive **-ei* (> *-oi*) vs. - dative **-e* (> *-o*) is difficult to maintain: Today, this pattern is restricted to monosyllabic CV-stems, see 3.3.2). In case another pattern was present (such as genitive *-ai*, dative *-u*, or genitive *-ei*, dative *-a*) we would have to describe umlaut processes (e.g. *u > o*, *a > o*) that are not documented elsewhere in the language.

§ 12. Type c): The two personal agreement clitics *-zu* (1SG) and *-nu* (2SG) tend to lose the final *-u* when added to a V-final lexeme, compare:

- (x) (a) *zu ar-e-z arox cip-san očal-al* [Luke 12:49]
 I come:PAST-PERF-1SG fire pour=out-CV:TEL earth-SUPER
 ‘I have come to pour out the fire on the earth.’
- (b) *zu gena ex-zu efa^ʕx* [Matthew 5:22]
 I CONTR say:PRES-1SG you:PL:DAT2
 ‘I, however, say to you ...’
- (c) *un ar-e-n iax bat-ev-k'-esan* [Mark 1:24]
 you:SG come:PAST-PERF-2SG we:DAT2 free-CAUS-LV-CV:TEL
 ‘You have come to save us.’
- (d) *isa un dūz ex-nu va^f mäsāla te-n exa* [John 16:29]
 now you:SG right say:PRES-2SG and parable NEG-2SG say:PRES
 ‘Now you speak frankly and do not tell parables.’

The same process occurs with these two clitics in endoclititic position: Here, the clitics necessarily follow a vowel (see 3.4.3):

- (x) (a) *a-zu-q'-e* ‘I have taken’ > *azq'e*

take-1SG-\$-PERF

- (b) *a-nu-q'-e* 'you (sg.) have taken' > *anq'e*
take-2SG-\$-PERF

Syncope of *-u-* also occurs when the clitic is added to an incorporated element (see 3.4.2.2). Note that *e*-syncope does not apply in this context:

- (X) (a) *gölö o^hne-ne-p-i* [f.n.]
much tear-3SG-LV-PAST
'(S)he weeped a lot.'

- (b) *o^hne-n-p-e ia axum-nu-p-e* [f.n.]
tear-2SG-LV-PERF or laugh-2SG-LV-PERF
'Have you weeped or have you laughed?'

However, *u*-syncope tends to be blocked in case the clitics have copula function (see 5.3.1):

- (x) (a) *ia aba-ia te un doğri-nu* [Matthew 22:16]
we:DAT knowing-1PL:IO SUB you:SG honest-2SG
'We know that you are honest.'

- (b) *doğridan un šo-t'-ğ-oxo-nu* [Matthew 14:70]
really you:SG DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL-2SG
'Indeed, you are one of them.'

- (c) *iräzi-zu te un i-va-bak-e zax* [John 11:41]
grateful-1SG SUB you:SG hear-2SG:IO-LV-PERF I:DAT2
'I am grateful that you have listened to me.'

- (d) *zu doğridan šo-no-zu* [John 13:13]
I really DIST-REF:ABS-1SG
'I am really that one.'

§ 13. In Nizh, the process of *u*-syncope with singular SAP clitics has become systematical: It has been extended to verb external hosts that end in a consonant. In order to avoid a final CC-clusters, a secondary epenthetic vowel *-u-* is inserted. The general distributional patterns can be described as follows:

§ 14. With verb external hosts, the form of the clitic are *-zu* (occasionally *-z*) and *-nu* when following a vowel, but *-uz* and *-un* when preceded by a consonant. The same holds for incorporated elements:

- (x) (a) *zu sa amdar-uz ak'-e* [f.n.]
I one person-1SG see-PERF
'I have seen a MAN/PERSON.'
- (b) *dö^hp-uz-d-i* [f.n.]
shoot-1SG-LV-PAST
'I shot'
- (c) *vax gele-z čuru-sa amma vaxun gele zax-uz čuru-sa*
you:SG:DAT2 much-1SG love-PRES but you:SG:ABL much I:DAT2-1SG love-PRES
'I love you very much, but I love myself more than you.' [KACH; OR 49]
- (d) *ay harun k'ož-in kaloo hun-nu zaxun-un xavar aq'-sa?*
oh Harun house-GEN old:REF:ABS you:SG-2SG I:ABL-2SG news take-PRES
'Oh Harun, YOU are the eldest of the house (and) you ask ME?' [XOZ; OR 52]
- (e) *het'aynak'-un ašl-axun če-v-k'-sa?* [GEL, OR 130]
what:BEN-2SG work-ABL go=out-CAUS-LV-PRES
'Why did you fire (him) [lit.: why did you make (him go from work)]?'

§ 15. Verb internally (in endoclititic position) or following another V-final clitic, the forms are *-z-* and *-n-*:

(X)	<i>be-z-ğ-i</i>	see-1SG-\$-PAST	'I saw'
	<i>bo-z-k-i</i>	boil-1SG-\$-PAST	'I boiled, cooked'
	<i>č'e-z-sa</i>	go=out-1SG-\$:PRES	'I go out'
	<i>e-z-b-sa-i</i>	harvest-1SG-PRES-PAST	'I did the harvest'
	<i>i-z-bak-i</i>	hear-1SG-LV-PAST	'I heard'
	<i>la-z-x-i</i>	put=down-1SG-\$-LV-PAST	'I put down'
	<i>ta-z-d-o</i>	give-1SG-\$-FUT:MOD	'I shall give'
	<i>a-n-k'-sa</i>	see-2SG-\$-PRES	'you (sg.) see'
	<i>ba-n-k-sa</i>	be-2SG-\$-PRES	'you (sg.) are, become'
	<i>hik'ä-n-b-sa</i>	what-2SG-DO-PRES	'what do you (sg.) do?'
	<i>ču-n-k-sa</i>	spit-2SG-\$-PRES	'you spit'
	<i>hik'ä-q'a-n-b-i</i>	what-ADH-2SG-LV-PAST	'what should you do?'
	<i>ta-n-ğ-o</i>	go-2SG-\$-FUT:MOD	'you shall go'
	<i>u-n-k'-o</i>	say:FUT-2SG-\$-FUT:MOD	'you shall say'

But note that with the negation clitic *te* (see 4.3.9 and 5.9.2), the full forms are preferred in sentence final (enclitic) position or in contrastive function, compare:

- (x) (a) *gele mandak' te-n bak-sa* [XOZ; OR 51]
 much tired NEG-2SG be-PRES
 'Aren't you very tired?'
- (b) *sürü-n-ä ereq'luğ-a ak'-ala te-nu* [AGH; OR 127]
 flock-SA-DAT hazelnut=grove-DAT see-FUT2 NEG-2SG
 'You will not see (again) the flock of sheep in the hazelnut grove.'
- (c) *zu turin tağ-ala te-zu* [KAL; OR 123]
 I foot-ERG>INSTR go:FUT-FUT2 NEG-1SG
 'I will not go by foot.'
- (d) *zu šo-t'-o te-zu b-io hun-nu b-io!* [f.n.]
 I DIST-REF:OBL-DAT NEG-1SG do-PAST2 you:SG-2SG do-PAST2
 'I did not do that, YOU did (it).'

§ 16. In verb final position, *-u*-syncope normally occurs with the modal morpheme *-a* (X), whereas the full form is preserved with the perfect marker *-e* (X) (see 3.4.7 and 3.4.5):

(x)	<i>ak'-e-zu</i>	see-PERF-1SG	'I have seen'
	<i>bak-e-zu</i>	be-PERF-1SG	'I have become'
	<i>boš-e-zu</i>	filled-up-PERF-1SG	'I am filled up'
	<i>ečer-e-zu</i>	bring:PAST-PERF-1SG	'I have brought'
	<i>i-bak-e-zu</i>	hear-LV-PERF-1SG	'I have heard'
	<i>lax-e-zu</i>	put-on-PERF-1SG	'I have put on'
	<i>mand-e-zu</i>	stay-PERF-1SG	'I have stayed'
(x)	<i>ak'-a-z</i>	see-MOD-1SG	'that I see'
	<i>bad-a-z</i>	bake-MOD-1SG	'that I bake'
	<i>bak-a-z</i>	be-MOD-1SG	'that I become'
	<i>b-a-z</i>	do-MOD-1SG	'that I do'
	<i>be'ğ-a-z</i>	see-MOD-1SG	'that I look at'
	<i>č'eğ-a-z</i>	go=out-MOD-1SG	'that I go out'
	<i>uk'-a-z</i>	say:fut-MOD-1SG	'that I say'

With verbs marked for the standard past tense (*-i*, see 3.4.5), both the full forms and the syncope variants are possible, though the full forms are generally preferred. Full forms are the default for the present tense (*-sa*), the factitive future *-al*, and the modal future (*-o*).

§ 17. In copula function, the clitics are *-zu* and *-nu*. The impossibility to apply syncope is obviously related to the fact that the personal markers in copula function are less grammaticalized than in focus/agreement function (see 5.3.1-2):

- (x) (a) *gele xeneza-zu* [f.n.]
 much thirsty-1SG
 ‘I am very thirsty.’
- (b) *käsib amdar-zu* [f.n.]
 poor man-1SG
 ‘I am a poor man.’
- (c) *hun gele mic’ik’-nu* [f.n.]
 you:sg much little-2SG
 ‘You are very young.’
- (d) *nana-nu hun-al vi äyit-ä uk’-ala-nu* [XOZ; OR 52]
 mother-2SG you:SG-FOC you:SG:POSS word-DAT say:FUT-FUT2-2SG
 ‘You are the mother: You will (have to) say your word.’

2.5.2.2 Consonants. Contact of consonants leads to two types of processes: a) assimilation (§§ 1-4); b) metathesis (§§ 5-8).

§ 1. Assimilation normally is progressive and mainly concerns the set of alveodental consonants: /d/, /t/, /l/, and /r/ assimilate a following /l/ or /n/:

(x)	C ₁	C ₂	>	
	-d	l-	>	-dd-
	-d	n-	>	-dd- (~ -dn-)
	-t	l-		no data
	-t	n-	>	-tt’ - ([t:’])
	-l	n-	>	-ll-
	-r	l-	>	-rr-
	-r	n-	>	-rr-

Examples are:

(X)	-dl- > -dd-:	<i>xodduğ</i> < <i>xodluğ</i>	‘woods’
	-dn- > -dd-:	<i>zidda</i> < <i>zid-na</i>	‘iron (gen.)’
	-tn- > -tt’-:	<i>tutt’a</i> < <i>tutna</i>	‘mulberry (gen.)’
	-ln- > -ll-:	<i>k’allexa</i> < <i>k’alnexa</i>	‘(s)he calls, reads’
	-rl- > -rr-:	<i>saturra</i> < <i>saturla</i>	‘one-legged’
	-rn- > -rr-:	<i>purrexa</i> < <i>purnexa</i>	‘(s)he flies’

Except for the group -dn-, this type of assimilation is canonical. The cluster -dn- is incidentally preserved, compare *zidna xod* ~ *zidda xod* ‘ash tree’ (lit.: iron tree).

§ 2. In Nizh, the assimilation of *-ln-* > *-ll-* is blocked especially when a second person clitic (*-nu* (2sg), *-nan* (2pl)) follows the morpheme of the factitive future *-al-*:

(x) (a) *bip' turla he-vaxt' bak-al-nu?* [TEZ; Or 128]

four legged what-time be-FUT:FAC-2SG

'When will you be four-legged?'

(b) *bez ga-l-a bask'-al-nan?* [BEZ; OR 133]

I:POSS place-SA-DAT sleep-FUT:FAC-2PL

'Will you sleep in my bed?'

§ 3. There is a number of words that are articulated with a lengthened velar or uvular glottalized stop, compare *ek:'a* 'all what', *eq:'ara* 'how much', *t'eq:'ara* 'so much', *daq:'a* 'measure for sand, grain etc.', *toq:'a* 'girdle' *šaq:'a* 'quarter of a town'. In case no loans are given (such as *šaq:'a* < Persian *šagge* 'part, piece'), we might think of an older layer of assimilatory processes that underlies such geminated forms. Likewise, expressive lengthening could be taken into consideration.

§ 4. An assimilatory context is perhaps also present with the cardinal numbers for the second decade: *sac:'e* 'eleven', *p'a'c'c'e* 'twelve', *xibec:'e* 'thirteen', *bip'ec:'e* 'fourteen' etc. (see x.x.x.). They are based on the numbers of the first decade to which *vic* 'ten' had been added (*sac:'e* < **sa-(vi)c-* 'one-ten-' etc.). The lengthening of *-c-* may have resulted from the assimilation of a following consonant the nature of which yet is obscure (**-s* = Early Udi dative + **-e* (locative)?).

§ 5. Metathesis can be described both for individual lexemes from a diachronic perspective, and for the interaction of consonants in lexemes and morphemes. Metathesis in lexical words is present in a number of loans such as *e'le'm* 'donkey' < **e'me'l* < Arabic *himār* 'donkey', *amdar* (Nizh) < **admar* < *adamar* (Vartashen) 'man', *arbušen* (Vartashen) vs. *abrišum* (Nizh) 'silk', *äč'ik'ä* 'tomorrow' > **äk'č'ä* > *äič'ä* etc. I neglect a detailed analysis of lexical metathesis because it presupposes a comprehensive diachronic analysis of the Udi lexicon that is not available yet.

§ 6. Metathesis of consonants in contact can be systematically described for the present tense / masdar2 marker *-sa* / *-(e)sun* (see x.x.x.) already mentioned in the preceding section. Typically, *-s-* changes its place with the stem final consonant in case this consonant is a alveodental or postalveolar obstruent and if this consonant is preceded by a vowel.

§ 7. Alveodental and postalveolar consonants interact in verbal forms: Canonically, the light verb *-desun* (< **to give*, see x.x.x.) loses its unstressed vowel *-e-* (see 2.5.2.1) both in the masdar2 (*-esun*, see x.x.x.) and the present tense (*-sa*, see x.x.x.). The resulting cluster **-ds-* (> **-t's-*) is regularly metathesized yielding *-st'*, compare:

(x)	<i>tast'un</i>	‘to give’	<	* <i>ta-desun</i>
	<i>tast'a</i>	‘giving’	<	* <i>ta-desa</i>

The progressive assimilation of *-d- to -s- results from the general tendency to assimilate voiced consonants to a following voiceless consonant. However, other examples are rather episodic than derived from an overall process. They mainly show up in fast speech, see below 2.5.3.

§ 8. The above mentioned morphological segment -s- (masdar2, present tense) is frequently assimilated to a stem final postalveolar affricate or fricative. Most often, this type of assimilation is combined with metathesis. The following assimilatory processes can apply:

(x)	Stem final VC-	Present tense / Masdar 2	Output
	-š	-s-	-šš-
	-c	-s-	-sc'
	-č	-s-	-šč' ~ -č:'
	-č'	-s-	-šč'
	-t'	-s-	-st'

Examples include (present tense):

(x)	<i>t'ist'a</i>	‘running’	< * <i>t'it'sa</i>
	<i>bost'a</i>	‘cutting’	< * <i>bot'sa</i>
	<i>bist'a</i>	‘falling’	< * <i>bit'sa</i>
	<i>arresc'a</i>	‘(s)he is sitting’	< * <i>ar-ne-c-sa</i> sit-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
	<i>tašša</i>	‘carrying’	< * <i>taš-sa</i>
	<i>ešč'a</i>	‘bringing’	< * <i>eč-sa</i>
	<i>muč'a</i>	‘kissing’	< * <i>muč-sa</i>

2.5.3 Processes in fast speech

Pending on idiosyncratic preferences, speakers of Udi tend to reduce the number of phonemes in a given word in faster speech. As a result, unstressed vowels are further reduced or syncope. This is especially true for unstressed /u/ and /e/, compare:

(x)	<i>ma^šguk'al</i>	>	<i>ma^šgk'al</i>	‘singer’
	<i>šu-uk'al</i>	>	<i>šuk'al</i>	‘who ever’
	<i>k'allexa</i>	>	<i>k'allexa</i>	‘(s)he reads, calls’
	<i>karzuxesa</i>	>	<i>karəzxa</i>	‘I live’
	<i>biesun</i>	>	<i>bisun</i>	‘to die’
	<i>baneksa</i>	>	<i>bañksa</i>	‘(s)he is (existing)’
	<i>t'ap'pesun</i>	>	<i>tap: 'sun</i>	‘to hit’

Exceptionally, vowel syncope can lead to word initial CC-clusters, as shown in (x):

(x)	<i>p'ilinž</i>	>	<i>p'linž</i>	‘copper’
	<i>k'ic'i</i>	>	<i>k'c'i</i>	‘small’
	<i>k'erek'</i>	>	<i>k'rek'</i>	‘wild wine grapes’
	<i>čuk'un</i>	>	<i>čk'un</i>	‘spittle’

Some speakers of Udi (especially from Baku) tend to nasalize a stressed vowel when followed by *-n* (normally in word final position). The nasal is then reduced:

(x)	<i>pesun</i>	[p ^h ɛ̃ ¹ sũ ⁿ]	‘to say’
	<i>šet'in</i>	[ʃɛ̃ ¹ t̃ ⁿ]	‘this one’

In fast speech, there is a strong tendency to assimilate a voiced consonant (especially fricatives) to a following unvoiced consonant. The result is an unvoiced cluster, e.g.

(x)	<i>e-zu-sa</i>	[¹ ɛs:a]	‘I go’
	go-1SG-PRES		
	<i>ba-zu-k-sa</i>	[¹ bask ^h sa]	‘I am’
	be-1SG- $\bar{\$}$ -PRES		

A number of syntactic units are spoken without a pronounced break. Such prosodic units condition the reduction or even loss of unstressed vowel:

(x)	<i>sa a'il</i>	[sa ¹ iɪ]	‘a child’
	<i>me ġar</i>	[¹ mɤaːr]	‘the boy’
	<i>me i'žen</i>	[mɪ ¹ ʒɛn]	‘this winter’

So far observed, sandhi takes place only if a final unvoiced uvular fricative is followed by a vowel in the next word:

(x)	<i>pasč'ax e-ne-sa k'ua</i>	[p ^h äs'tʃ'a ¹ ʁɛŋsa k ^w 'aː]	[f.n.]
	king come-3SG-PRES home		
	‘The king comes home.’		

2.6 Syllable and word structure

2.6.1 The syllabic structure of lexemes

2.6.1.1 Introduction. Neglecting loan words, the syllabic structure of Udi words can be described as being typically ‘Lezgian’ (but see below for the constraint on CVRC stems). Normally, a syllable cannot comprise more than four (or, in rare instances five) segments. Initial syllables can start either with a vowel or a consonant. If an infix or suffix starting with a vowel is added, the affix absorbs – if present – the final consonant of the preceding syllable. In other words: subsequent syllables cannot start with a vowel.

(x)	<i>ğar-a</i>	‘son (DAT)’	[ɤa.'ra']
	<i>čoban-al</i>	‘shepherd (FOC)’	[tʰo.ba.'nal]
	<i>adamar-ax-al</i>	‘man (DAT2:FOC)’	[a.da.ma.ra.'χal]

In case a vowel initial suffix (or, rarely, infix) follows a CV syllable, the resulting structure CV.VC is normally interpreted as a single syllable. In case the two vowels are identical, they fuse to a half long vowel. Else, they form a falling or rising diphthong (v̄v or v̄v̄):

(x)	<i>adamar-a-al</i>	‘man (DAT:FOC)’	[a.da.ma'ra:l]
	<i>adamar-ğ-o-al</i>	‘man (PL:DAT:FOC)’	[a.da.mar.'ɤoal]

In syllables, the following structures occur: V, iV (rising diphthong), VC, ViC (falling diphthong), iVC (rising diphthong), VCC, CV, CVV, CVC, CVCC, CVRC, CVVC. Of them, V, VC, and ViC can appear only in initial position.

2.6.1.2 Monosyllabic words. Below, I illustrate the above-mentioned structures with the help of monosyllabic lexical forms. The reader should note, however, that especially V- and iV syllables are much more frequent in polysyllabic words. § 1 describes V-initial words, §§ 2-9 analyze the more complex type of C-initial words.

§ 1. V-initial:

(x) Monosyllabic V (only two examples):

<i>o</i>	‘grass’
<i>e</i>	‘what’

(x) Monosyllabic iV (only three examples)

<i>ia</i>	‘we (DAT)’
<i>iu</i>	‘weak’ (Azeri <i>yu(mşaq)</i>)
<i>ie</i>	‘or’ (Persian <i>yā</i>)

(x) Monosyllabic VC (frequent, both native words and loans)

<i>uk'</i>	‘heart’
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2.6 Syllable and word structure

<i>a^ʰm</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>ad</i>	‘smell’
<i>el</i>	‘salt’ (Armenian <i>at</i> ?)
<i>e^ʰk</i>	‘horse’
<i>iq^ʰ</i>	‘ashes’
<i>i^ʰz</i>	‘winter, snow’
<i>ot^ʰ</i>	‘shame’
<i>o^ʰq^ʰ</i>	‘yoke’
<i>us</i>	‘bull’
<i>u^ʰq^ʰ</i>	‘six’

(x) Monosyllabic VVC (only *aiC*, only loans)

<i>aiz</i>	‘village’ (Persian <i>ize</i>)
<i>a^ʰi^ʰin</i>	‘yeast’ (source unknown)
<i>a^ʰib</i>	‘shame, fault’ (Arabic ^ʿ <i>ā’ib</i>)
<i>äit</i>	‘word’ (Azeri <i>äit</i>)
<i>a^ʰil</i>	‘child’ (Arabic ^ʿ <i>āyyil</i>)

Note that in Nizh, ViC-structures are frequently reinterpreted in tautosyllabic terms, yielding VyC-structures. In certain loans, Nizh has preserved the original bisyllabic structure:

(x)	<i>äyit</i>	‘word’
	<i>ayiz</i>	‘village’
	<i>ä^ʰyel</i>	‘child’
	<i>ä^ʰyib</i>	‘shame, fault’.

(x) Monosyllabic iVC (only *iaC*, some *iC*-structures may stem from **iiC*); note that *i-* in *#iaC* always is of secondary origin if the word belongs to the native stratum.

<i>ial</i>	‘mane’ (Azeri <i>yal</i>)
<i>ian</i>	‘we’ (< Early Udi <i>*ž’an</i>)
<i>iaq^ʰ</i>	‘way, road’ (< Early Udi <i>*raq^ʰ</i>)
<i>ias</i>	‘mourning’ (Azeri <i>yas</i>)

Udi does not allow monosyllabic VCC structures. VRC structures are rare and generally loans: *arx* ‘small river’ (Azeri *arx*), *ard* ‘remainders of flour’ (Azeri *ard* ‘back’ ?), *i^ʰlm* ‘knowledge, science’ (Arabic ^ʿ*ilm*).

§ 2. C-initial: The four C-initial monosyllabic structures CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, and CVRC comprise both native words and loans:

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(X) Monosyllabic CV structures are rather frequent (note that some CV-nouns stem from older CVR-structures that are in aprts preserved in case inflection, see 3.3.2):

<i>bi</i> ^f	‘heavy’	<i>p’a</i> ^f	‘two’
<i>bu</i>	‘be, exist’	<i>p’i</i>	‘blood’
<i>č’a</i>	‘rope’	<i>q’a</i>	‘twenty’
<i>čo</i> ^f	‘face’	<i>q’ə</i> ^f	‘fright’
<i>c’i</i>	‘name’	<i>qo</i>	‘five’
<i>č’a</i>	‘ribbon, string’	<i>sa</i>	‘one’
<i>čo</i>	‘side’	<i>ša</i>	‘sand’
<i>fi</i>	‘wine’ (< * <i>fin-</i>)	<i>šu</i>	‘who’
<i>gī</i>	‘day’ (< * <i>gīn-</i>)	<i>śu</i>	‘night’
<i>gō</i> ^f	‘hare’	<i>t’e</i>	‘that (distal)’
<i>ga</i>	‘place’	<i>te</i>	subordinator
<i>k’a</i> ^f	‘white frost’	<i>va</i> ^f	‘and’
<i>ka</i>	‘that (medial)’	<i>xa</i>	‘wool’
<i>ma</i>	‘not (PROH)’	<i>xa</i> ^f	‘dog’ (< * <i>xar-</i>)
<i>ma</i> ^f	‘brain’	<i>xe</i>	‘water’
<i>me</i>	‘this (proximal)’	<i>xo</i> ^f	‘udder’
<i>mi</i>	‘cold, frost’	<i>že</i>	‘stone’
<i>mu</i>	‘barley’	<i>zu</i>	‘I’

(x) Monosyllabic CVV structures are rare (and often loans or derived forms):

<i>bai</i>	‘cherry’
<i>bia</i>	‘dawn’
<i>boi</i>	‘largeness’
<i>bui</i>	‘full’
<i>däi</i>	‘green’
<i>dui</i>	‘irritated’
<i>fui</i>	‘inflated’
<i>gūi</i>	‘hare’ (~ <i>gō</i> ^f)
<i>k’ai</i>	‘white frost’ (~ <i>k’a</i> ^f)
<i>k’oi</i>	‘large jug for wine stored in the earth’
<i>koi</i>	‘sleeve’
<i>mia</i>	‘here’
<i>p’oi</i>	‘and then’
<i>q’ui</i>	‘owl’
<i>qai</i>	‘open, clear, bright’
<i>sei</i>	‘load’
<i>šue</i>	‘bear’
<i>sai</i>	‘something, a little’
<i>t’ia</i>	‘there’

vui ‘nine’

§ 3. The bulk of Udi monosyllabics is made up by CVC structures. Both native words and loans can be found. (X) illustrates this type (confined to initial b-):

(X)	<i>bäg</i>	son-in-law’	<i>bin</i>	‘bride’
	<i>bać</i>	‘hundred’	<i>bip’</i>	‘four’
	<i>bar</i>	‘part’	<i>biz</i>	‘awl’
	<i>be^ǰ</i>	‘sun’	<i>bo^ǰq’</i>	‘pig’
	<i>bə^ǰ</i>	‘half’	<i>boq</i>	‘blossom’
	<i>be^k</i>	‘needle’	<i>boš</i>	‘in’
	<i>be^q</i>	‘darkness’	<i>boz</i>	‘gray’
	<i>be^s</i>	‘in front of’	<i>bul</i>	‘head’
	<i>beš</i>	‘our’	<i>buš</i>	‘camel’
	<i>bez</i>	‘mine’	<i>but’</i>	‘closed’
	<i>bič’</i>	‘bastard’		

§ 4. The distribution of initial and final consonants in monosyllabic CVC words obviously favor sonants (*l, m, n,* and *r*) as their final consonants. The most frequent types are labial + dental, dental + labial, and dental + dental, see (X) that lists the documented combinations (L = labials, D = dentolveolars, A = Palatoalveolars, P =Palatals, V = velars, U = uvulars, La = lateral /l/, R = /r/):

(X)	D>D	14	P>La	4	V>P	1
	D>L	11	U>La	4	A>U	1
	L>D	11	V>L	3	La>L	1
	P>D	7	U>L	3	La>V	1
	L>U	6	V>La	3	La>U	1
	D>U	6	L>R	3	La>La	1
	P>L	5	D>R	3	La>R	1
	V>D	5	V>R	3	A>D	0
	U>D	5	L>L	2	A>A	0
	L>P	5	L>A	2	P>A	0
	U>P	5	U>A	2	A>P	0
	D>La	5	V>V	2	A>V	0
	V>A	4	U>U	2	U>V	0
	D>P	4	A>La	2	V>U	0
	L>V	4	P>R	2	A>R	0
	D>V	4	U>R	2	La>D	0
	P>V	4	A>L	1	La>A	0
	P>U	4	D>A	1	La>P	0
	L>la	4	P>P	1		

A certain preference can be observed with respect to the feature [voiced]: 122 CVC types contain a voiced consonants (as opposed to 44 types that are based on voiceless consonants).

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(X)

Initial C	Final C		
	Voiced	Voiceless	Glottalized
Voiced	41	23	18
Voiceless	21	17	3
Glottalized	19	8	16

§ 5. The manner of articulation seems to be another clue for the formation of monosyllabic CVC words in Udi. Though there does not exist a definite constraint, CVC structures obviously favor an initial stop, compare (X) which lists the distribution of the different types (S = stops, A = affricates, F = fricatives, L = liquids, N = nasals):

(X)

S>S	25	A>S	8	A>A	2
S>F	17	N>F	5	A>L	2
S>L	16	F>N	5	N>L	2
F>L	14	N>A	4	N>N	2
F>S	14	A>N	4	A>F	1
S>A	13	F>A	3	L>L	1
S>N	13	F>F	3		
N>S	9	L>S	3		

The data show that the structure of monosyllabic words at least in parts matches the generalizations stemming from cross-linguistic comparison of syllabic patterns (see Hopper 1976): The onset favors obstruents (stops>fricatives>affricates), followed by the class of nasals and liquids. Yet, the coda domain is a partial mirror image of the onset domain only: the high number of obstruents (48,79 % of all final C) clearly goes against this generalization. (X) lists the relevant data:

(X)

	Initial (%) #CVC#	Final (%) #CVC#
Stops / Affricates	60,84	48,79
Fricatives	23,49	15,66
Approximants / Sonants	15,65	35,53

Table (X) interprets these data in terms of a diagram:

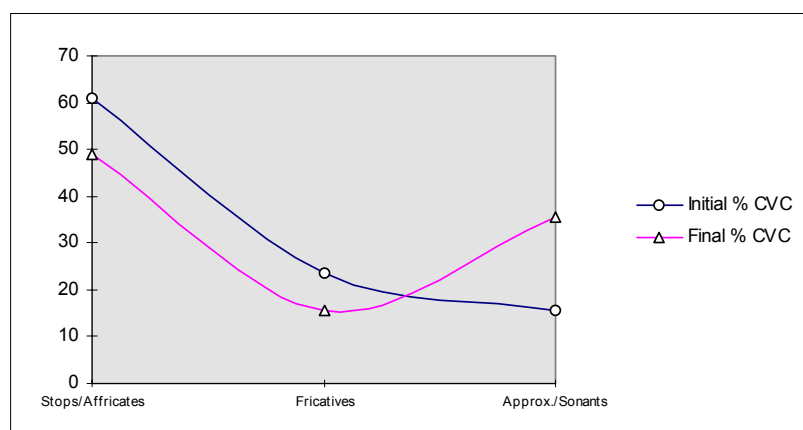


Table (X): Distribution of #C- and C#-classes in Udi monosyllabic words

§ 6. With monosyllabic words, CVVC structures are rare. Words that show this structure are either loan words or derived from CV(C)-structures. IN Nizh, many of these words are (re)interpreted as bisyllabic words. (x) illustrates this type:

(x)	<i>bias</i>	‘evening’ (Nizh <i>biyäs</i>)
	<i>č’äin</i>	‘butter’ (Nizh <i>č’äyin</i>)
	<i>cäir</i>	‘swamp’ (Nizh <i>cäyir</i>)
	<i>daun</i>	‘green vegetables’ (~ <i>davun</i>)
	<i>ğain</i>	‘sharp’
	<i>houz</i>	‘well, fountain’ (~ <i>hovuz</i>)
	<i>k’o’in</i>	‘large jug for wine’
	<i>k’uin</i>	‘fume’
	<i>laiğ</i>	‘worthy’
	<i>meid</i>	‘corpse, body’ (Nizh <i>meyit</i>)
	<i>neis</i>	‘sacrifice’
	<i>paiz</i>	‘harvest’ (Nizh <i>payiz</i>)
	<i>pein</i>	‘dung’
	<i>q’aiš</i>	‘latched’
	<i>q’oum</i>	‘people’
	<i>q’uil</i>	‘earthworm’
	<i>šäin</i>	‘wet’
	<i>xain</i>	‘evil’
	<i>xeir</i>	‘quality’

§ 7. I did not include CVRC structures in the discussion of CVCC words above because this type plays a particular role in the reconstruction of Early Udi. A considerable number of today CV^ɕC words have developed from an earlier CVRC structure (see the index in Schulze 2001). At a certain stage, Udi must have developed a constraint that was active on CVRC structures. It is yet unclear why this constraint came up. Most probably, we have to deal with a contact phenomenon. It did not effect most of the other Lezgian languages that – in some way or the other – have preserved this structure. Today, Udi has reintroduced monosyllabic CVRC words on the based on borrowings. Below I give a sample of this set of words (loans are indicated to the extent the (immediate) source can be safely identified):

(x)	<i>borž</i>	‘load, fault, debt’ (Azeri <i>borc</i>)
	<i>bunt’</i>	‘riot’
	<i>č’urt</i>	‘cocoon’

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<i>däng</i>	‘idiot’ (Persian <i>deng</i>)
<i>därd</i>	‘pain’ (Persian <i>dard</i>)
<i>dinž</i>	‘peace, calm’ (Persian <i>denj</i>)
<i>žins</i>	‘generation, kind’ (Azeri <i>cins</i>)
<i>fänd</i>	‘trick, cunning’ (Persian <i>fand</i>)
<i>gäng</i>	‘broad, wide’ (Persian <i>geng</i>)
<i>hint’</i>	‘turkey’ (Azeri dialectal <i>hindi</i> < Arabic)
<i>k’arc’</i>	‘tip, point, top’ (Georgian <i>k’enc’ero</i> ?)
<i>kinž</i>	‘corner’ (Azeri <i>künc</i>)
<i>kürk</i>	‘fur, skin’ (Azeri <i>kürk</i>)
<i>mülk</i>	‘richness’ (Arabic <i>mulk</i>)
<i>p’irc’</i>	‘dung’
<i>parč’</i>	‘water jug’
<i>punž</i>	‘tassel’
<i>q’art</i>	‘very hard’
<i>q’urt</i>	‘mother hen’
<i>tünt</i>	‘strong, heavy’ (Azeri <i>tünd</i>)
<i>vard</i>	‘rose’ (Arabic <i>warda</i>)
<i>xalx</i>	‘people’ (Arabic <i>halq</i>)
<i>xarž</i>	‘taxes, customs’ (Arabic <i>xarj</i>)
<i>žang</i>	‘rust’ (Persian <i>zang</i>)

§ 8. Monosyllabic words ending in a CC-cluster are generally loans. The constraint on native words results from the general tendency to avoid CC-clusters in a syllable. (x) lists all monosyllabic CVCC words I have recorded (see above for the special case of CVRC structures):

(x)	<i>vaxt’</i>	‘time’ (Arabic <i>waqt</i>)
	<i>taxt’</i>	‘throne’ (Persian <i>tāxt</i>)
	<i>naft</i>	‘oil’ (Arabic <i>naft</i>)
	<i>mast’</i>	‘oinment’ (Russian <i>masti</i>)
	<i>kağz</i>	‘letter, paper’ (Persian <i>kāğez</i>)
	<i>haq’l</i>	‘intellect’ (Arabic <i>‘aql</i>)
	<i>dost’</i>	‘friend’ (Persian <i>dost</i>)
	<i>čust’</i>	‘slipper’ (Georgian <i>čust’i</i>)

§ 9. In order to sum up the distribution of the different patterns in monosyllabic words, (x) gives a quantification of these patterns based on the number of monosyllabic words (437) (out of 2.770 lexical entries). Also note that from the stock of monosyllabic words, verbs are necessarily excluded (see 3.4.2 for the formation of verbs). Monosyllabic words represent about 15 % of the Udi lexicon.

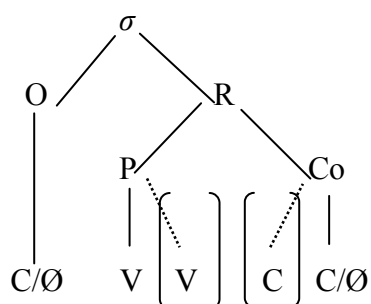
(x)	Structure	% of monosyllabic words (437)	% of all words (2770)
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V	2	0.45	0.07
VV	3	0.68	0.10
VC	46	3.41	1.66
VVC	11	2.51	0.39
CV	51	11.67	1.84
CVV	30	6.86	1.08
CVC	235	53.77	8.48
CVCC	8	2.30	0.28
CVRC	27	6.17	0.97
CVVC	21	4.80	0.75
CVVRC	3	0.68	0.10

The high percentage of monosyllabic CVC structures suggests that this type represents the core of the syllabic architecture of such words. If ever branching takes place, it concerns the rhyme. Branching of the coda is restricted to loans; peak branching is rare. (x) illustrates the basic architecture in terms of a branching tree:

(x)



Note that words that are built upon a CVVCC structure such as *be^ɸingǰ* ‘Sunday’, *be^ɸinq* ‘darkness’, *be^ɸins* ‘priest’ etc. are derived from former polysyllabic structures, e.g. *be^ɸingǰ* < **be^ɸǰ-ən ǰi* ‘day of the sun’, *be^ɸins* < **be^ɸǰ-ən isú* ‘man of the sun’ etc.

2.6.1.3 Polysyllabic words. There are three types of polysyllabic words in Udi: Native underived words (rare), derived words, and borrowings. As for their syllabic structure, they all conform to the constraints described for monosyllabic words above. The standard syllabic structures are -V-, -CV-, and -CVC-.

§ 1. There are few loans and (old) compounds that end in a CC-cluster:

(x)	CVCCVCC	<i>xodt'uk't</i>	‘woodpecker’ (< <i>xod t'uk'-d-al</i> ‘wood pecker’)
		<i>särväxt'</i>	‘watch, guard’ (Persian <i>sarvaqt</i>)
		<i>känväxt'</i>	‘poverty’
	CVCCVCVCC	<i>čallač'əzt'</i>	‘wren’

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VCVCC	<i>oğand</i> <i>irahm</i>	‘successful, lucky’ ‘mercy’ (Arabic <i>rahm</i>)
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§ 2. The most frequent polysyllabic types are mentioned in (x) (figures refer to the total of 2770 words):

(x)	CV.CVC	317	<i>bukun</i>	‘stomach’
	CVC.CVC	191	<i>q’orpun</i>	‘ravine, gorge’
	CVC.CV.CVC	185	<i>burqesun</i>	‘to start, begin’
	CV.CV	172	<i>kala</i>	‘big, old’
	CV.CV.CVC	140	<i>ladesun</i>	‘to put down’
	CVC.CV	86	<i>laš’o</i>	‘marriage’
	CV.CV.CV	70	<i>solaxa</i>	‘left’
	V.CVC	70	<i>usen</i>	‘year’
	CV.CVC.CV.CVC	63	<i>lamandesun</i>	‘to stay, wait’
	CV.CVC.CVC	47	<i>va’baksun</i>	‘to believe’
	CV.CV.CV.CVC	47	<i>boxobesun</i>	‘to lengthen’

§ 3. In polysyllabic structures, -CC- or (rarer) -CCC-clusters are allowed. These clusters are marked by the presence of a syllable boundary (-C.C- or -CC.C-). They may result from the collision of syllable final and syllable initial consonants or from vowel elision and are rather frequent in Udi. For example, out of 2.770 lexical entries, 1409 words show are marked for consonantal clustering, as opposed to 1.507 words that have (V)CV-sequences. Most clusters involve two consonants (1.454). As for the lexicon, three consonants are much rarer (35). Nevertheless, they are more frequent in speech because of the fusion of a -CC-stem with the oblique plural marker -ğ- (see 3.3.5). (x) lists the most common types -CC-types:

(x)	C1	C2	18	r	p	12	m	ž	
	132	k	s	16	s	b	12	m	p
	52	s	t’	15	t	b	12	n	t
	46	š	b	15	z	b	12	s	l
	41	r	b	14	n	ž	12	v	k’
	34	x	t’	14	q’	s	11	l	d
	29	ğ	b	14	r	d	11	n	l
	27	m	b	14	x	l	11	r	k’
	24	p	s	13	n	b	10	b	b
	23	l	b	13	š	t’	10	m	m
	23	l	l	12	c’	c’	10	r	m
	18	n	d	12	f	t’			

The following table lists all those -C.C-combinations that are documented in uninflected words:

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	b	p	p'	v	f	m	d	t	t'	c	c'	z	s	n	ś	ć	ź	č	č'	š	g	k	k'	q	q'	ğ	x	l	r	
p	■	■				■	■		■				■	■					■		■		■			■		■		
p'	■	■					■		■				■				■						■		■			■	■	
v	■						■										■	■			■		■			■		■	■	
f	■						■	■	■				■						■									■	■	
m	■	■	■			■	■					■	■	■	■			■	■		■		■	■		■		■	■	
d	■					■	■		■																				■	
t	■	■				■		■	■					■										■		■			■	
t'	■	■							■															■			■		■	
c	■	■											■											■				■		
c'											■													■						
n		■				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
ć		■	■										■																	
ć'		■																												
ź																			■			■								
č	■	■					■		■				■	■						■								■	■	■
č'	■	■						■																■	■				■	
z	■					■		■	■					■								■					■		■	
s	■	■	■			■	■	■					■						■	■			■	■	■		■	■	■	
ś	■	■				■	■		■			■	■											■	■					
š	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■				■	■	■					■	■		■	■		■	■	■	■	
g	■						■																							
k	■	■				■	■		■				■	■								■							■	
k'	■	■				■	■		■			■	■	■						■				■				■		
q	■	■				■	■		■				■															■		
q'	■	■				■	■		■				■	■						■	■					■		■		
ğ	■	■				■	■	■				■	■	■					■	■				■				■	■	
x	■	■				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■						■		■	■		■		■	■	
h	■					■								■								■	■	■				■	■	
l	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■		■		■								■	■	■	■		■	■	■	
r	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■				■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	

Table X: Distribution of phonemes in -C.C-clusters (Vertical = C1, horizontal = C2)

§ 4. CCC-clusters are generally derived from -CC-final stems to which a second lexical element has been added. Consequently, they have to be treated in the context of the above mentioned constraint on -CC-final words (loans only). The following cluster types occur with uninflected words:

(X)	C1	C2	C3			
	č	q	r		l	l
	f	t	l		m	l
	ğ	l	b		m	b
				n	č'	t'

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n	č'	p	q'	c'	l
n	d	k	q'	d	b
n	ž	b	q'	ž	b
n	ž	l	q'	l	n
n	g	b	q'	t	b
n	g	l	q'	t	k'
n	q'	b	s	k'	s
n	q'	l	s	t'	r
n	t'	b	x	t'	b
q'	c'	p	x	t'	l

Examples are:

(X)	<i>žähluğ</i>	'youth'
	<i>haq'lnut'</i>	'without intellect'
	<i>iangłmišbaksun</i>	'to be mistaken'
	<i>irahmbaksun</i>	'to forgive'
	<i>irahmluğbesun</i>	'to forgive'
	<i>ixt'latbesun</i>	'to inform'
	<i>nağlbesun</i>	'to tell'
	<i>öhrmät</i>	'greeting'
	<i>pufklik'</i>	'having full cheeks'
	<i>q'ač'q'ruč'</i>	'narrowness'
	<i>q'andrmišbesun</i>	'to communicate, convince'
	<i>särväxt'baksun</i>	'to watch out'

With CCC-clusters, syllable boundaries normally correspond to morpheme boundaries: -CC.C-. With derivational processes related to sound symbolism, the violation of this constraint may occur, compare *q'ač'q'ruč'* (reduplicated form of *q'ac'*) 'narrow' has a second syllable initial CC-cluster (-C.CC-).

§ 5. A rather restricted number of words allow CC-initial clusters. All these words are onomatopoeics or are relatively recent loans that have not yet fully adopted the phonotactics of Udi:

(X)	CCCCCV	<i>q'zdrma</i>	'fever'
	CCCVCCVC	<i>zğbaksun</i>	'to be torn'
	CCCVCCVC	<i>q'rč'idesun</i>	'to grind (teeth)'
	CCVCCV	<i>k'rušk'a</i>	'pot'
		<i>smirna</i>	'myrrh'
		<i>sxallu</i>	'smooth'
		<i>t'rat'ra</i>	'lark'
	CCVCCVCCVC	<i>braxmišbesun</i>	'to set free'
		<i>xrušt'apesun</i>	'to congratulate'
	CCVCCVC	<i>čxark'esun</i>	'to save'
		<i>p'lašćanic</i>	'womb'

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CCVCVC	<i>k'ramit'</i>	'roofing tile'
	<i>pläkän</i>	'stairs, ladder'
CCVCVV	<i>sk'amei</i>	'bank'

§ 6. Stressed and unstressed syllables do not differ in their internal architecture. There is no obvious constraint that is linked to unstressed syllables, compare:

(x)	<i>kalá</i>	CV.'CV	'big, old'
	<i>ášbal</i>	'CV.CVC	'worker'
	<i>laš'ó</i>	CVC.'CV	'marriage'
	<i>arúm</i>	V.'CVC	'wheat'

2.6.2 The structure of Udi words in context

As had been said above (2.6.1.1), the syllabic structure of Udi words is liable to change in case they are marked by one or more inflectional or derivational morphemes. The changes that may take place depend on a) the structure of the morphological segment, and b) on vowel syncope that is related to some of these segments (see 2.5.2.1). In order to describe the syllabic architecture of Udi words in context, I will first present the phonetic and syllabic architecture of the morphological inventory (2.6.2.1). In a second step, I will discuss the impact of Udi morphemes on the syllabic structure of the lexical base (2.6.2.2).

2.6.2.1 The make-up of Udi morphemes. Most Udi morphemes are monosyllabic structures. From an etymological perspective, we can even claim that all morphemes conform to this type. However, the 'harmonization' of Udi inflectional paradigms has led to the amalgamation of certain suffixes. This process allows to describe a restricted number of polysyllabic structures from a synchronic perspective. (X) lists the structural types for the corpus of Udi inflectional morphemes. Note that this list also includes allomorphic variants but disregards homonyms. *V'* symbolizes a vowel that is (normally) deleted in speech:

(x)	-VC	20	-VCV	5	-Vi	2
	-VCVC	8	-CV'-	4	-CVi-	1
	-CV-	7	-CV	3	-V'C	1
	-CVC-	6	-VCCV	3	-V'CVC	1
	CV-	5	-C	2	-VCC(VCV)	1
	-CVC	5	-C-	2	-VCCV-	1
	-V	5	-CCVC	2	-ViCVC(VCV)	1
	-V'C-	5	-VC-	2		

Prefixes that are not fossilized (such as preverbs) are restricted to verbs and always are of the CV-shape. They normally do not effect the syllabic structure of the following

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stem because they are never directly linked to the stem. Instead they have to be followed by personal clitics (see 3.4.3 and 5.6.3). However, if these prefixes form a clitic complex with personal clitics (*piggybacking* clitics, see x.x.x), they may behave as endoclitics. In this case, they may change the syllabic structure of the root, compare:

(x) *aq'sun* [ʼaqʼ.sun] ‘to take’ > *a-gi-ne-q'-e-i* [ʼa.gʲi.nɛ̃.qʼɛj]
 take-HYP-3SG-\$-PERF-PAST
 ‘if (s)he would take...’

This process of splitting up the syllabic structure of verb stems is typical for endoclitics (see 5.6.3). With suffixes, the most frequent sequence is -VC. This sequence normally has a stable vowel. In consequence, the vowel of the suffix changes the syllabic structure of the stem in case the stem ends in a consonant (remember that V-initial syllables are restricted to initial syllables). The same holds for suffixes that contain a vowel only. A small number of -VC-suffixes, however, show vowel elision with V-final stems. As an effect, the (final) stem syllable changes from opened to closed, compare:

(x) *nana* [na.ʼnaʼ] ‘mother’ > *nana-n* [na.ʼnan]
 mother-ERG

xinär [χɪʼ.næʼr] ‘girl’ > *xinär-en* [χɪ.næ.ʼrɛn]
 girl-ERG

The number of C-initial suffixes is rather small. The most prominent example is the present tense marker *-sa* (which, however, stems from a -VC-V compound suffix (< **es-a*). Within the paradigm of personal clitics, C-initial segments play a major role in the formation of Udi inflected words. Nearly all personal clitics have a consonant in the onset (including *i-*), compare: 1SG *-zu-*, 2SG *-nu-*, 3SG *-ne-*, 1PL *-ian-*, 2PL *-nan-*, 3PL *-q'un-* (Vartashen), *-t'un-* (Nizh). The 2PL possessive is the only (Vartashen) clitic that has a -VC- structure (*eʲf*). In the Nizh dialect, the (highly frequent) clitics of the first and third person tend to be aligned to the expected V-initial structure, either by metathesis (1SG *-uz-* ~ *-əz-*) or by dropping the consonantal element (3SG *-e*). In the first and second person, *-zu-* and *-nu-* often lose their vowel when following a vowel (see 2.5.2.1 for details). The result is a closed syllable, compare:

(x) *aq'sun* [ʼaqʼ.sun] ‘take’ > *a-z-q'-e* [ʼaʒ.qʼe]
 take-1SG-\$-PERF
 ‘I have taken’

> *a-n-q'-e* [ʼan.qʼe]
 take-2SG-\$-PERF
 ‘you (sg.) have taken’

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Two sets of suffixes show an initial CC-cluster on the morphological level. The most prominent suffixes are the two plural morphemes *-mxox* ~ *-mxux* und *-rxux*. The underlying forms, however, reveal that historically speaking two segments had been present the first of which originally had an initial vowel (< **Vm-xox* ~ **-Vm-xux* and < **Vr-xux*, see 3.2.3). The oblique plural marker of nouns marked for referentiality (see x.x.x.) also starts with a CC-cluster (*-t'ǵV-*), e.g.

(x) *kala-t'ǵ-on*
big-REF:PL:OBL-ERG
'The old ones (do..)'

The syllabic structure is *ka.lat'.ǵon*. But when this morphological segment is added to a C-final stem, a CCC-cluster emerges that suggests a syllabic structure *...C.CC-...*:

(x) *ašbal-t'ǵ-on*
'working-REF:PL:OBL-ERG
'the workers (do...)

In fact, Udi speakers tend segment *ašbal-t'ǵon* when asked for a *lento* articulation. In such cases, the morphological boundary obviously is more marked than the phonological boundary. However, this unique structure should not be put forward as an argument to propose CC-initial syllables for Udi. Instead, we should assume that Udi speakers still 'feel' that the cluster *-t'ǵ-* stems from two segments: *-t'* (referential marker (oblique)) + *-uǵ-* (plural), see 2.5.2.2. In very slow speech, some Udi speakers still produce a reflex of the original vowel: *ašbalt'ǵon*. From this we can conclude that the underlying syllabic structure of (x) is:

(x) *aš.bal.t'ǵ.on*
VC.CVC.C(V).CVC

A final CC-cluster is documented with the Vartashen benefactive case (*-enk'*, see 3.3.3.4). Again, this morpheme is not basic: It is shortened from the polysyllabic element *-enk'ena* that shows a *-VC.CV.CV* structure. Its impact on the structure of stem syllables is that of suffixes with a stable initial vowel:

(X) *xinär* [χɪ.næ:r] 'girl' > *xinär-enk'* [χɪ.næ.'rɛnk']
CV.CVC girl-BEN CV.CV.CVCRC

In Nizh, the suffix *as* has aligned to the syllabic profile of Udi that favors *-VC-final* segments: The cluster *-nk'* is broken up by inserting the vowel *-a-* (additionally, the vowel is raised to *-i-*). As a result, the benefactive morpheme is *-Vynak'* in Nizh, see 3.3.3.4.

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2.6.2.2 The syllabic organization of inflected words. Syllabic organization in Udi is marked by the combination of the basic types V(V), VC, CV, CVC, and (rarer) VCC and CVCC. In an average text (oral talk, tales), more than 90 % of the words contain one to three syllables. In order to illustrate the degree of syllabic variation with words in context, I refer to three types of text: a) the oral tale *Sa pašč'ağun čubuğoi q'a sa tämbälun nağäl* (Jeiranišvili 1971:169-173); b) the Udi version of the Gospel according to Luke (Schulze 2001:125-184), c) a cumulation of Nizh narrative texts. The Vartashen tale contains 870 word tokens that constitute 98 syllabic types. The number of syllables together with their frequency is given in (x):

(x) Number of syllables in words	Total	Percentage
One syllable	255	29.31
Two syllables	363	41.72
Three syllables	207	23.79
Four syllables	39	4.48
Five syllables	5	0.57
Six syllables	1	0.11
Total of words	870	99,98

The picture slightly changes if we consider a more complex text: The Gospel according to Luke shows the following distribution (512 syllabic types out of 16.040 words):

(x) Number of syllables in words	Total	Percentage
One syllable	3.701	23,07
Two syllables	6.103	38,04
Three syllables	4.228	26,35
Four syllables	1.347	8,39
Five syllables	563	3,50
Six syllables	84	0,52
Seven syllables	9	0,05
Eight syllables	5	0,03
Total of words	16.040	99,95

The corpus of Nizh narrative texts (Keçaari 2001; 7218 words) shows the following distribution:

(x) Number of syllables in words	Total	Percentage
One syllable	1095	15,17
Two syllables	3017	41,80
Three syllables	2236	30,98
Four syllables	753	10,43
Five syllables	105	1,45

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Six syllables	7	0,10
Seven syllables	3	0,04
Eight syllables	2	0,03
Total of words	7218	100

The overall ratio is:

- (x) Vartashen: Narratives: 2,07 syllables per word
 Gospels: 2,33 syllables per word
 Nizh: Narratives: 2,42 syllables per word

The higher figures for the Gospels and the Nizh texts illustrate a growing morphological and lexical complexity in these two varieties. The Gospel text makes much more use of highly polysyllabic structures than Standard Vartashen. This is due to the tendency to exploit complex word formation patterns, for instance inflected participles. Nizh differs from Vartashen especially because it is marked for a rather low percentage of monosyllabic words. This can be explained by the strong tendency in Nizh to reinterpret monosyllabic (C)ViC-structures as bisyllabic (C)VyiC (see 2.5.2.1). In addition, Nizh makes more use of converbial forms which are often replaced by analytic structures in Vartashen narratives (see 3.4.10).

In sum, the distributional patterns of syllabicity in the three types of text can be described as follows:

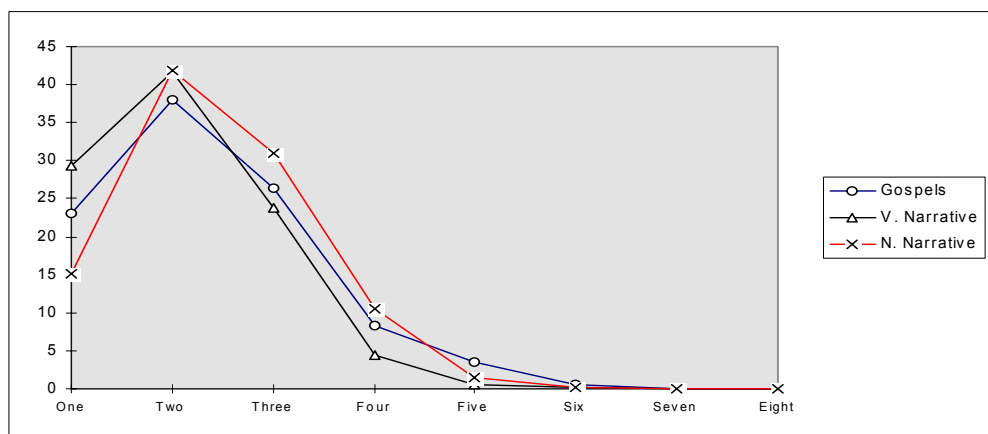


Table (X): Percentage of syllables per word in Udi texts

If we compare the degree of syllabic variation, we arrive at the following picture: In the Gospel text, words that have a rather low frequency are based on a greater range of syllabic variation than words with a higher frequency: Out of 591 syllabic types, 455 types occur with a frequency between 1 and 9 (919 words). The remaining 136 types have a frequency between 10 (eleven types) and 2294 (one type) and are covered by

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15.121 words, compare (X) which lists the relevant data as opposed to those of the narrative text and the cumulation of Nizh narratives:

	Frequency 1 < 10		Frequency +10	
	Syllabic Types	% of words	Syllabic Types	% of words
Gospels	387	5.73	125	94.27
V.Tale	79	20,69	18	79,31
Nizh	160	19,45	54	80,55

Though the proportions reflect some idiosyncrasies especially of the Gospel text, it comes clear that the prototypical core of Udi syllabification is build on a rather small number of syllabic variants. In the Gospel text, the following 29 syllabic types ranging in frequency from 103 to 2.294:

CV	2294	VC	292
CV.CV	1943	V.CVC.CV	291
CV.CVC	1359	CVC.CV.CV	286
CVC	965	V.CV.CVC	262
CV.CV.CV	754	CVC.CV.CVC	231
CVC.CV	634	CV.CV.CVC.CVC.CV	163
CV.CV.CVC	512	CV.CVC.CVC	142
CVC.CVC	510	CVC.CVC.CV	130
CV.CVC.CV	414	CV.CV.CV.CV	130
V.CV	350	CV.CVV	122
VC.CV	347	CVV	120
V.CVC	327	V.CV.CV.CV	116
V.CV.CV	311	VC.CV.CV	103

By comparing these syllabic variants to the parallel types of syllabification in the narrative text (Vartashen), we can calculate the relative distance in frequency:

	Gospel		Tale		Distance
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%	
CV	2294	14,30	131	15,05	0,75
CV.CV	1943	12,11	72	8,27	3,84
CV.CVC	1359	8,47	53	6,09	2,38
CVC	965	6,01	35	4,02	1,99
CV.CV.CV	754	4,70	41	4,71	0,01
CVC.CV	634	3,95	31	3,56	0,39
CV.CV.CVC	512	3,19	24	2,75	0,44
CVC.CVC	510	3,17	17	1,95	1,12
CV.CVC.CV	414	2,58	27	3,10	0,52
V.CV	350	2,18	44	5,05	2,87

2.7 Stress patterns

VC.CV	347	2,16	34	3,90	1,74
V.CVC	327	2,03	32	3,67	1,64
V.CV.CV	311	1,93	15	1,72	0,21
VC	292	1,82	31	3,56	1,74
V.CVC.CV	291	1,81	9	1,03	0,78
CVC.CV.CV	286	1,78	22	2,52	0,74
V.CV.CVC	262	1,63	5	0,57	1,06
CVC.CV.CVC	231	1,44	12	1,37	0,07
CV.CV.CVC.CVC.CV	163	1,01	0	0,00	---
CV.CVC.CVC	142	0,88	1	0,01	0,87
CVC.CVC.CV	130	0,81	4	0,45	0,36
CV.CV.CV.CV	130	0,81	6	0,68	0,13
CV.CVV	122	0,76	5	0,57	0,19
CVV	120	0,74	32	3,67	2,95
V.CV.CV.CV	116	0,72	5	0,57	0,15
VC.CV.CV	103	0,64	3	0,34	0,30
TOTAL	13108	81,63	691	79,18	

Both texts show a rather analogous picture. We can assume that the typological distance between the two texts is due to the specifics of the Gospel text: The Gospels contain a high number of referential forms (nouns) most of them being built on a CVC or CV.CV scheme.

The Nizh patterns of syllabic organization and syllabic preferences differ considerably from those of Vartashen narratives. Instead, Nizh shows remarkable affinities to the structures of the Gospels. This finding is in accordance with the general morphological patterns of Nizh that are based on a stronger preference for complex forms such as converbs, locativ cases (instead of positional phrases) etc. The differences between the Nizh and the Vartashen narrative 'style' become transparent if we calculate the distance in percentage between the two varieties:

	Nizh narratives		Distance to Gospels	Distance to V. narratives
	Absolute	%		
CV	533	6,49	7,81	7,24
CV.CV	1201	14,63	2,52	6,36
CV.CVC	651	7,93	0,54	1,54
CVC	347	4,23	1,78	0,21
CV.CV.CV	611	7,44	2,74	2,94
CVC.CV	276	3,36	0,59	0,20
CV.CV.CVC	350	4,26	1,07	1,51
CVC.CVC	219	2,67	0,50	1,72
CV.CVC.CV	141	1,72	0,86	1,38
V.CV	247	3,01	0,83	2,04
VC.CV	58	0,71	1,45	3,19
V.CVC	158	1,92	0,11	1,75
V.CV.CV	185	2,25	0,32	0,53
VC	73	0,89	1,07	2,67

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V.CVC.CV	34	0,41	1,40	0,62
CVC.CV.CV	181	2,20	0,42	0,32
V.CV.CVC	91	1,11	0,52	0,64
CVC.CV.CVC	91	1,11	0,33	0,26
CV.CV.CVC.CVC.CV	2	0,02	0,99	0,02
CV.CVC.CVC	92	1,12	0,24	1,11
CVC.CVC.CV	81	0,99	0,18	0,54
CV.CV.CV.CV	114	1,39	0,58	0,71
CV.CVV	25	0,30	0,46	0,27
CVV	9	0,11	0,63	3,56
V.CV.CV.CV	33	0,40	0,32	0,17
VC.CV.CV	58	0,71	0,07	0,37
TOTAL	5861	71,38		

Cumulating the data of the Gospel text and the narrative texts, we can describe the following (poly)syllabic types as being the most frequent syllabic types in Udi linguistic praxis ('mean' = mean of frequencies in the Gospel text and the narrative texts):

Syllabic structure	Mean (%)	Example (V.)	
CV	11,95	<i>sa</i>	'one'
CV.CV	11,67	<i>k'ic'i</i>	'small'
CV.CVC	7,50	<i>piq'un</i>	'they said'
CV.CV.CV	5,62	<i>kalane</i>	'(s)he is old'
CVC	4,75	<i>boš</i>	'in'
CVC.CV	3,62	<i>k'alpe</i>	'having called'
V.CV	3,41	<i>aq'a</i>	'take!'
CV.CV.CVC	3,40	<i>xurupaz</i>	'I should break'
CVC.CVC	2,60	<i>damnun</i>	'in the morning'
V.CVC	2,54	<i>imux</i>	'ear(s)'
CV.CVC.CV	2,47	<i>tanest'a</i>	'(s)he gives'
VC.CV	2,26	<i>exne</i>	'(s)he says'
CVC.CV.CV	2,17	<i>šadnebe</i>	'(s)he has set free'
VC	2,09	<i>ič</i>	'self'
V.CV.CV	1,97	<i>ibaki</i>	'being heard'
CVV	1,51	<i>k'ua</i>	'at/to home'
CVC.CV.CVC	1,31	<i>burqaq'un</i>	'they should start'
V.CV.CVC	1,10	<i>alaq'un</i>	'they are above'
V.CVC.CV	1,08	<i>ibaksa</i>	'to hear'

2.7 Stress patterns

2.7.1 Basic properties

Speakers of Udi vary considerably in the qualification of accent and stress. With some speakers (especially from Okt'omberi), the language appears to be 'syllable-timed': Unstressed syllables are not markedly reduced and stressed syllables show a relatively low degree of variation in either duration, pitch, or loudness. Others tends to mark stressed syllables for pitch. For instance, the word *báneke* '(s)he has been' can start with a rather high pitch, followed by a low pitch that again rises to a mid high tone on the last syllable (often coupled with extended duration, if V-final):

(X) H L MH
bá.ne.ke [ʔba-něʔk^hje]

Accordingly, a rather high pitch often marks stressed syllables. Secondary stress then is (rising to) mid high or mid level. In case stress has a contrastive function, high pitch is often accompanied by a somewhat 'louder' articulation. Again, other speakers prefer some kind of dynamic or stress accent. In this case, 'loudness' resulting from a stronger subglottal pressure is the decisive feature of stress. The frequent reduction of vowels in certain unstressed syllables (see 2.5.2.1) suggests that the basic Udi pattern of pitch accent was (and, in parts, still is) coupled with such dynamic features.

Contrary to some of the northern Lezgian languages, Udi does not know a free lexical accent: Underived lexical words are normally stressed on the final syllable. This stress pattern is obviously borrowed from Azeri. For an earlier stage of Udi, we have to assume that bisyllabic or trisyllabic words could be stressed either on the first or on the second syllable (most probably in terms of pitch accent). Examples for the basic stress pattern in Udi are:

(x) *k'ic k'é* 'small'
kalá 'big, old'
bukún 'stomach'
adamár 'man'
xunčí 'sister'
pašč'ágǰ 'king'
gärämzá 'grave'
ališveriš 'trade'
babànaná 'parents, ancestor(s)'

In derivation and composition, other stress patterns can emerge. The following suffixes and clitics usually are stress-neutral:

(x) *-esun* Masdar2
-la Denominal adjectives
-lu Denominal adjectives, deadjectival nouns [occasionally stressed]
-luǰ Abstract nouns
-te Subordinator
-alen Referentializer with numerals
-či Nomina agentis

-o Referentializer (occasionally stressed)

The standard quotation form of verbs (*-esun*, *masdar2*) often has a secondary stress on the final syllable if the verb form has more than two syllables. Most often, we have to deal with incorporating verbs that preserve the stress pattern of the incorporated segment, compare:

(x)	<i>baḡilamišbaksùn</i>	‘be forgiven’
	<i>bo^{ǵá}besùn</i>	‘to find’
	<i>xurúpesùn</i>	‘to break’
	<i>irazíbaksùn</i>	‘to agree’
	<i>kalábaksùn</i>	‘to become big, old, an adult person’
	<i>lašk’óbaksùn</i>	‘to get married’
	<i>qáibaksùn</i>	‘to return’
	<i>žók’baksùn</i>	‘to become separated’
	<i>śámpesùn</i>	‘to slaughter’
	<i>xabáraq’sùn</i>	‘to ask’
	<i>axśúmpesùn</i>	‘to laugh’

Bimoraic syllables are stressed on the first mora if a falling diphthong is present (*áiz* ‘village’, *á^{il}* ‘child’). Note that when followed by a floating clitic (see 2.7.4 and 3.4.5) stress often moves to the second mora:

(x)	<i>kol-l-á</i>	<i>qošt’án</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>a^{il}-le</i>	<i>be^ǵ-i</i>	[f.n.]
	bush-SA-GEN	behind	one	child-3SG	see-PAST	
	‘He saw a child behind the bush.’					

Rising diphthongs are stressed on the second syllable (*ían* ‘we’, *íaq* ‘way’, *miá* ‘here’, *t’iá* ‘there’ etc.). Secondary bimoraic structures that result from the addition of a vowel initial suffix to a vowel final stem may vary: With stress attracting suffixes such as *-v* (dative) the second mora is stressed: *c’iá* ‘name:DAT’, *ćoé* ‘face:DAT’ etc. Stress neutral or floating clitics (see 2.7.3 and 2.7.4) condition a stressed first mora: *c’ial* ‘name:FOC’, *ćóal* ‘face:FOC’ etc.

In context, the stress pattern of Udi words is heavily effected by stress properties of the morphological environment. There are three basic tendencies:

- Stress attraction by affixes (2.7.2)
- Stress neutral affixation (2.7.3)
- Floating stress (clitics) (2.7.4)

2.7.2 Stress attraction

The overwhelming majority of Udi morphological elements is stress attracting. With suffixes, the prevailing option to stress final syllables is then preserved. The following affixes belong to this class:

(X)	-á(x)	Dative(2)	3.3.3.6
	-ál	Future-factitive	3.4.4.1
	-amá	Converb (ante)	3.4.8
	-at'án	Converb (post)	3.4.8
	-axún	Converb (par.)	3.4.8
	-é	Perfect	3.4.4.1
	-é(i)	Genitive	3.3.3.5
	-é(x)	Dative(2)	3.3.3.6
	-én	Ergative	3.3.3.3
	(-)gi-	Hypothetic	3.4.6
	-í(x)	Dative(2)	3.3.3.6
	-ín	Ergative-genitive	3.3.3.3
	má-	Prohibitive	3.4.6
	nǎ(g)i-	Hypothetic negative	3.4.7
	-ó	Future-modal	3.4.4.1
	-q'óx	Plural absolutive	3.2.5
	-sá	Present	3.4.4.1
	-ún	Genitive	3.3.3.5
	-úx	Plural absolutive	3.2.5

Examples are:

(X)	Lexical form	Inflected form	
	<i>adamár</i>	<i>adamar-úx</i>	‘man-PL:ABS’
	<i>báksun</i>	<i>bak-sá</i>	‘become-PRES’
		<i>bak-i</i>	‘become-PAST’
		<i>bak-ó</i>	‘become-FUT:MOD’
		<i>bak-ál</i>	‘become-FUT:FAC’
	<i>ǧar</i>	<i>ǧar-éi</i>	‘son-GEN’
	<i>aiz</i>	<i>aiz-ún</i>	‘village-GEN’

Verbal forms that contain a now petrified preverb (see 3.4.3) constitute a special accent class. Historically, all these locative preverbs had been stress attracting. This technique was motivated by the contrastive function of stress in lexical compounds: preverbs often appear with rather desemantized motion verbs and carry the main semantic information, compare:

(X)	<i>táisun</i>	‘to move (thither)’
	<i>táššun</i> (< * <i>táčesun</i>)	‘to carry (away)’
	<i>éčesun</i>	‘to bring (< carry hither)’
	<i>é(i)sun</i>	‘to move (hither)’
	<i>cíesun</i>	‘to move down’

<i>bá(e)sun</i>	‘to move into’
<i>lá(i)esun</i>	‘to move up’
<i>láičesun</i>	‘to carry s.th. on s.th., to load’
<i>bást’un</i> (< * <i>bádesun</i>)	‘to put something into’
<i>báp’sun</i>	‘to get into something, to reach’
<i>lápsun</i>	‘to put on’
<i>č’ésun</i>	‘to move out’
<i>č’ébaksun</i>	‘to be(come) around, to pass by’

In inflection, this basic stress pattern is often preserved in case the speaker wants to stress the semantics of the (old) preverb. Else, stress shifts to its appropriate place conditioned by the inflectional segments:

- (x) (a) *ížén-ne. bütún xazal-úx xod-urgě-oxó-ne cí-r-e* [field notes]
 winter-3SG all leave-PL:ABS tree-PL:OBL-ABL-3SG down-go:PAST-PERF
 ‘It is winter. All leaves have fallen from the trees.’
- (b) *un lá-eğ-al-lu zu-gená cí-eğ-al-zu* [field notes]
 you:SG up-go:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG I-CONTR down-go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘You will go up, but I will go down.’
- (c) *bárta ka mal-l-ú zu táš-a-z* [GD 61]
 let MED goods-SA-DAT I carry-MOD-1SG
 ‘Let me carry the goods.’
- (d) *bez babá pak-i-ne cí-r-é* [field notes]
 my father garden-LOC-3SG down-go:PAST-PERF
 ‘My father has gone (down) into the garden.’

Obviously, this type of contrastive stress supercedes the canonical rule of stressing syllables that precede a personal agreement clitic (see below 2.7.4). A non contrastive reading of *cieğalzu* in (X,b) would be:

- (X) *bu axşam [Azeri] pak-i cí-eğ-ál-zu* [field notes]
 PROX evening garden-LOC down-go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘This evening, I will go (down) into the garden.’

The benefactive case marker *-énk’ena* (see 3.3.3.3) shows a rather unusual stress pattern, compare *adamar-énk’ena* ‘for the man’, *čubğo-énk’ena* ‘for the woman’, *vénk’ena* ‘for you (sg.)’, *zénk’ena* ‘for me’ etc. This pattern results from the amalgamation of a historically stressed word final affix *-én* (probably the ergative case) and a stress neutral postposition (*k’ena* ‘as, like’).

Verbs that are based on incorporation (Inc + LV) often preserve their stress pattern even if stress attracting suffixes are added. In this case, a secondary stress emerges just as it is true for citation forms (see again (X:masd)). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *kéf-b-a-nàn*
relax-LV-MOD-2PL
'you shall relax.'
- (b) *baǰišlamíš-b-i gūnāh*
forgive-LV-PAST sin
'the forgiven sin'
- (c) *áš-b-al adamár*
work-LV-FUT man
'the man who will work / works'
- (d) *áit-p-esun-àx*
word-say-MASD2-DAT2
'in order to say'

2.7.3 Stress neutral affixes

There is a number of grammatical affixes that do not attract stress. Most of them belong to the paradigm of local cases that are built on the stress attracting suffix {-a, -e, -u, -i} (= dative, see 3.3.3.6):

- (X) -*v'-xo* Ablative
-*v'-xol* Comitative (Vartashen)
-*v'-st'a* Adessive

'v' symbolizes the stressed dative suffix. Note that in the plural, stress incidentally falls on the last syllable:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (x) | SG | PL | |
| | <i>adamar-á-xo</i> | <i>adamar-ǰ-o-xó</i> | 'man (ablative)' |
| | <i>xunč-é-xo</i> | <i>xunči-mǰ-o-xó</i> | 'sister (ablative)' |

Other stress neutral affixes are the focus marker *-al* (occasionally stressed with monosyllabic nouns, e.g. *ǰár-al* ~ *ǰar-ál* 'son-FOC', see x.x.x), the indefinite marker *-k'al*, e.g. *é-k'al* 'something', *šú-k'al* 'somebody' (see 3.2.8.3), and the modality marker *-a* (see 3.4.4.1) if used to encode the second person imperative, e.g. *láft'-a* 'hit!', *bárt-a* 'let', *bé'ǰ-a* 'see!'. The adhortative (1PL) *-en* normally is unstressed (*uk-en* 'let's eat', *uk'-en* 'let us say', *kárx-en* 'let us live', though a stressed variant can also be heard (*uk-én* etc.).

The referential marker *-o* (oblique *-t'*-, see x.x.x) plays a special role: It is stress-neutral in case referentialization does not effect the basic semantics of the preceding unit (adjective, numeral, pronoun, case marked noun, or verbal participle), compare:

(x) *bá-ne-k-e p'a^s vičí*
be-3SG- $\$$ -PERF two brother

kalá-o dǎng-ne-i k'ic'í-o genà haq'ullú-ne-i [f.n.]

big-REF:ABS stupid-3SG-PAST small-REF:ABS CONTR clever-3SG-PAST

‘Once there were two brothers. The old one was stupid, the young one, however, was clever.’

The same is true for the oblique marker *-t'*- when added e.g. to participles, adjectives, or related forms. In this case, the preceding syllable takes stress whether or not a following morpheme is stress attracting:

(x) (a) *iaq'-č'ebak-ál-t'-ğ-oxò-q'un fuq'-p-e* [GD 62, corrected]
way-pass=by-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL-3PL rob-LV-PERF
‘They robbed those who passed by.’

(b) *kul cip-í-t'-uxo ośá* [IK 67]
earth pour=out-PAST:PART-REF:OBL-ABL after
‘After having poured out the earth’

(c) *kala-t'-ğ-oxó burq-í axurún-t'-ğ-ol cirík'* [John 8:9]
big-REF:OBL-PL-ABL start-PAST last-REF:OBL-PL-SUPER till
‘having begun at the eldest unto the last [ones].’

(d) *sa k'íc'í-t'-u kômäg-b-a* [f.n.]
one small-REF:OBL-DAT help-LV-MOD:IMP
‘Help him/her who is small!’

When referentialization conditions changes in the semantics of the underlying unit, the place of stress often shifts to the right. This process signals a stronger cohesion between the lexical base and the referential morpheme:

(x) (a) *Baq'ə-dá* [Azeri] *aš-b-al-ó-r gölö púl-q'un biq'-sá* [f.n.]
Baku-LOC work-LV-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS(!)-PL much money-3PL take-PRES
‘In Baku, workers earn much money.’

(b) *bać-n-á kala-t'-ín iaq'-á-ne-b-i*
hundred-GEN big-REF:OBL-ERG way-DAT-3SG-LV-PAST

še-t'-á *t'o'gó'l dost'-urg-óx* [Luke 7:6]
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-GEN at friend-PL-DAT2
 ‘The centurion sent [the] friends to him.’

(c) *p'uri-t'-ái* *k'ož té-ne* [f.n.]
 dead=one-REF:OBL-GEN house NEG:3SG
 ‘A dead one does not have a house.’

The three deictic stems *me-* (proximal), *ka-* (medial), and *še-* (distal) (see 3.2.8.2) tend to copy this differentiation. In case the (local) deictic function is predominant, the referential forms have their stress on the deictic element. Again, contrastiveness is decisive. However, the accent shifts the more an anaphoric function is aimed at:

(x) (a) *gäd-in-én sövdäkär-g-óx éxne* (...)
 boy-SA-ERG merchant-PL-DAT2 say:PRES-3SG (...)

mó-no-r *irazi-q'un-bak-sa* [GD 61]
 PROX-REF:ABS-PL agree-3PL-LV-PRES
 ‘The boy says to the merchants (...). These [merchants] agree.’

(b) *mo-nó-r* *té-q'un-sa hár-o* *sa ga-n-ú.* [GD 60]
 PROX>ANAPH-REF:ABS-PL go-3PL-\$.PRES each-REF:ABS one place-SA-DAT
 ‘They go away, each one to another place.’

2.7.4 Clitics and stress

Udi knows a series of clitics that are stress-neutral as for their internal structure. However, they are not strictly stress-neutral, because they are structurally coupled with a preceding, necessarily stressed syllable. It should be noted that there is a causal relation between the position of clitics and preceding stress: The position of a clitic conditions the placement of stress. This technique is directly connected to focal strategies (see x.x.x.) that, again, are coupled with (contrastive) stress. In consequence, floating clitics are marked by a ‘structural stress position’ that often precedes the ‘morphological substance’ (e.g. *-zu* (1SG), *-nu* (2SG), *-ne* (3SG) etc.). Normally, such clitics cancel positional preferences for the place of stress. This is especially true for stress-neutral suffixes that can become stressed when followed by a clitic, e.g.

(x) (a) *xinär-áxol*
 girl-COM
 ‘with the girl’

(b) *xinär-axól-le*
 girl-COM-3SG

‘(S)he is with the girl....’

(c) *púl-le zást’a*
 money-3SG I:ADESS
 ‘I have MONEY’

(d) *pul zast’á-ne*
 money I:ADESS-3SG
 ‘I have money.’

A suffix in post-clitic position lacks primary stress even if it is stress attracting:

(x) (a) *šähär-á-ne bak-é*
 town-DAT-3SG be-PAST
 ‘(S)he was in TOWN.’

(b) *šähär-á bá-ne-k-e*
 town-DAT be-3SG-\$-PERF
 ‘(S)he was in town.’

Clitics have to follow a number of morphological elements which are in ‘natural’ focus. In consequence, these elements are stressed disregarding any other positional rule. The following morphemes are involved:

(X)	<i>gi-</i>	Hypothetic	(see 3.4.6)
	<i>nǎ-(g)i-</i>	Hypothetic negative	(see 3.4.7)
	<i>q’a-</i>	Adhortative	(see 3.4.6)
	<i>má-q’a-</i>	Prohibitive	(see 3.4.7)
	<i>te-</i>	Negation	(see 3.4.7)

Examples are:

(x) (a) *q’á-n bak-i*
 ADH-3SG be-PAST
 ‘(s)he should be’

(b) *té-ne bak-i*
 NEG-3SG be-PAST
 ‘(s)he was not’

(c) *má-q’a-n t’ap’-p-i*
 PROH-ADH-3SG hit-PAST
 ‘(s)he should not hit’

(d) *gí-n bak-e-i*

HYP-3SG be-PERF-PAST
 ‘(s)he would have been’

- (e) *nǎ-gi-n bak-è-i*
 NEG:HYP-HYP-3SG be-PERF-PAST
 ‘(s)he would not have been’

Some of the resulting structures, e.g. *téne* (NEG:3SG), can behave as clitics themselves. In this case, they lose their accent which is handed over to the preceding syllable. Morphemes that disallow floating such as the future factitive *-al* or the modal marker *-a* are followed by the appropriate clitics or clitic clusters and preserve their stress. Else, the clitic cluster behaves like simple clitics:

- (X) (a) *ägǎnǎ te šo-n-ó[-]nǎ-gi-n bak-e-i pis* [John 18:30]
 if SUB DIST-REF:ABS-ABS[-]NEG-HYP-3SG be-PERF-PAST bad
 ‘If he were not bad’

- (b) *ägǎnǎ k’ož laiǵlú-gi-n* [Matthew 10:13] [*~ laiǵlú gín(e)*]
 if house worthy-HYP-3SG
 ‘If the house is worthy’

- (c) *tur-él-al áiz-es bak-ál-te-za* [R 18]
 foot-SUPER-FOC rise-MASD LV-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG:IO
 ‘I cannot get on [my] feet.’

- (d) *bart-és bak-al-té-ne* [IK 67] (*~ bakáltene*)
 let-MASD1 be-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG
 ‘He will not be let [free].’

- (e) *śél-q’a-n bak-i* [GD 63] (*~ śél q’án baki*)
 good-ADH-3SG become-PAST
 ‘She should RECOVER.’

The above mentioned clusters keep their internal stress pattern in case the first segment is in (contrastive) focus or if the morphemes *gi-* (hypothetic), *te-* (negation), *nǎ(g)i-* (hypothetic negative) function as a copula (see 3.4.6 and 3.4.7):

- (x) (a) *un nǎi-n lai-ǵ-ó zu lai-ǵ-ál-o té-zu* [R 12]
 you:SG NEG:HYP-2SG up-go:FUT-FUT:MOD I up-go:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS NEG-1SG
 ‘If you do not climb up, I won’t climb up.’
 [Lit.: ‘If you do not climb up, I won’t be a climbing one.’]

- (b) *ká-no té-ne bak-ó!* [S&S 96]

MED-REF:ABS NEG-3SG be-FUT:MOD
 ‘That will not be!’

(c) *šel xe té-beš bu* [R 13]
 good water NEG-1PL:POSS be:PRES
 ‘WE do not have good water.’

(d) *šet'abaxt'in bú-q'o-q'-i abúz adamar-i šükür-áx*
 because love-3PL:IO- $\$$ -AOR more man-GEN praise-DAT2

bixog-ó šükür-áxo gí-n(e) [John 12:43]
 god-GEN praise-ABL HYP-3SG
 ‘For they loved the praise of men more than [it would be] the praise of God.’

(e) *va^hn bütün tāmíz té-nan* [John 13:11]
 you:PL all clean NEG-2PL
 ‘You all are unclean.’

Contrary to the three modal morphemes mentioned above, personal agreement clitics cannot take stress even if the corresponding ‘person’ is in contrastive focus. Thus (x) is grammatical, but (x+1) is not:

(X) *eğel-áx sám-zu-p-e* [f.n.]
 sheep-DAT2 slaughter-1SG-LV-PERF
 ‘I have slaughtered the sheep.’

(x) **eğel-áx sám-zú-p-e*
 ‘It was me who slaughtered the sheep.’

Instead, the corresponding personal pronoun (see 2.3.8) must be used that again can be followed by the personal agreement marker:

(x) *eğel-áx zú-zu sám-p-e un té-n* [f.n.]
 sheep-DAT2 I-1SG slaughter-LV-PERF you:SG NEG-2SG
 ‘It was me who slaughtered the sheep, not you!’

With morphologically unmarked lexical words, the original stress pattern is often preserved, compare:

(x) (a) *ek'áluğ-nu miá ar-é?* [GD 62]
 why-2SG PROX:ADV come:PAST-PERF
 ‘Why have you come here?’

(b) *bez babá-n uk'-ál-o šor ha-mó-no-ne* [GD 61]

2.7 Stress patterns

I:POSS father-ERG say:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS DIST:ADV EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-3SG
 ‘He is so as my father has said.’

The same holds for the imperative based modal (see 3.4.4.1): In case an adhortative or imperative function is intended, stress usually falls on the lexical stem. Else, the modal suffix is stressed, compare:

(x) (a) *pasč'aǵ-ún ġar-én gölö xóis-ne-b-sa*
 king-GEN son-ERG much wish-3SG-LV-PRES

te mán-d-a-ne p'uran ič t'o'ǵo'ł
 SUB stay-LV-MOD-3SG again REFL at

‘The king’s son intensively asks (him) to stay again with him.’ [GD 62]

(b) *bá-ne-k-o te p'a^ǵ arabá cac lap-í bak-á-ne* [TR 68]

be-3SG-FUT:MOD SUB two charriot thorn put=on-PART:PAST be-MOD-3SG

‘Perhaps (lit.: It will have been that) two charriot (loads of) thorn(s) have been put (on his back).’

Some speakers tend to generally use the two different stress patterns to distinguish deontic from epistemic modality, compare:

(x) (a) *táǵ-a-ne* [f.n.]

go:FUT-MOD-3SG

‘(S)he shall/should go.’

(b) *ba-ne-k-o taǵ-á-ne* [f.n.]

be-3SG-FUT:MOD go:FUT-MOD-3SG

‘Perhaps (lit.: It will have been that) (s)he goes.’

2.7.5 Sentence stress

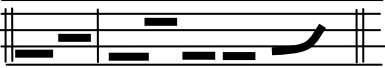
Typically, intonation is slightly falling towards the end of a discourse unit. However, the resulting down step to low pitch is blocked in case the final syllable carries stress. In this case, the expected high pitch becomes a mid pitch: When we describe high tone as “3”, mid level tone as “2”, and low tone as “1”, an unstressed final syllable remains “1” or falls from 2 to 1 (x,a). A secondary stress receives a contour tone (1>2) (x,b), and a stressed high pitch ends in a tone falling from high to mid level (3>2) (X,c), compare:

(x) (a) 


vi xun.čí gö.lő sa.vát'.t'e [f.n.]

your:SG sister very beautiful:3SG

‘Your sister is very beautiful.’


(b) 

vi gár ka.lá.ne.bak.sà [f.n.]
 your:SG son big:3SG:BECOME:PRES
 ‘Your son has become adult.’


(c) 

é^ʃq'.za buq'.sá [AR 70]
 meat-1SG:IO want:PRES
 ‘I want meat.’

With yes/no-questions (see **x.x.x**), the whole phrase is generally put in a (slightly) higher tone. The focused constituent then has an extra high pitch:


(x) (a) 

vi ba.bá k'uá(ne)?
 your:SG father home(:3SG)
 ‘Is your FATHER at home?’

(b) 


vi ba.bá k'uá(ne)?
 your:SG father home(:3SG)
 ‘Is your father AT HOME?’

An assertive equivalent of **(x)** would be:

(x) 

vi ba.bá k'uá.ne
 your:SG father home:3SG
 ‘Your father is at home.’

In other words: Yes/no-questions are distinguished from assertive structures by the presence of an extra high tone only. This type of tone is also present with Q-words that are in natural focus:

(x) 

é.k'an be.sà? [f.n.]
 what:2SG do:PRES
 ‘What do you do?’

In order to sum up the structure of sentence stress, I add a tonal interpretation of the first three textual units of the tale *Rustam* [R 7] (see (X) in section 2.1.1 for the glosses):

(x)



[ˈbaː.nə.kʰje ʂa.tʰo.ˈbaːn]

báneke sa čobán

‘[There] was a shepherd.’



[ˌme.tʰo.ba.ˈniː ˈba.tʰa.kʰeː ʂa.tʰo.ˈbuχ ʂa.ˈɛar itʃ.ˈtsʰiː rʏʂ.ˈtʰam]

me čobaní bát’akei sa čubúx sa ĝar ič c’i rüstám.

‘This shepherd had a wife [and] a son whose name [was] Rustam.’



[a.ˈriː ʂa.βax.tʰaː ˌme.tʰo.ˈbaːn bʰie.ˈʂa.ně]

arí sa vaxt’á me čobán biesáne.

‘It came the time [when] this shepherd dies.’

‘A Functional Grammar of Udi’

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Chapter 3

Morphology and Morphosemantics

3.1 A general profile of Udi morphology

3.1.1 Formal properties

§ 1. Superficially, the formal architecture of Udi morphology can be classified as belonging to the agglutinative type. Suffixing techniques prevail, prefixing is rare. Additionally, Udi is characterized by the option to use a restricted number of clitics as endoclitics (see Harris 2002). However, a closer look at the formal devices that are used to encode linguistic categories reveals that Udi is also marked by a number of fusional features. Roughly speaking, some 52 morphological types are used to encode about 50 *linguistic* categories (here, categories in co-paradigmatization are neglected. Also, derivational morphology has not been taken into consideration). Udi exploits 26 of its overall 48 phonemes (54 %) to represent inflectional morphemes. (X) lists the phonemes that qualify for inflection (Vartashen):

(x) $a; \ddot{a}; a^f; b; c; \check{c}'; e; e^f; f; g; i \sim y; k'; l; m; n; o; q'; r; s; \check{s}; t; t'; u; v; x \sim \check{g}; z$

The distribution of vowels and consonants is rather balanced: Inflectional morphemes are covered by 18 out of 33 consonants (54 %) and by 8 out of 15 vowels (53 %). The most frequent phonemes used in inflection also figure as first in lexical distribution, see table (X) which compares the two scales:

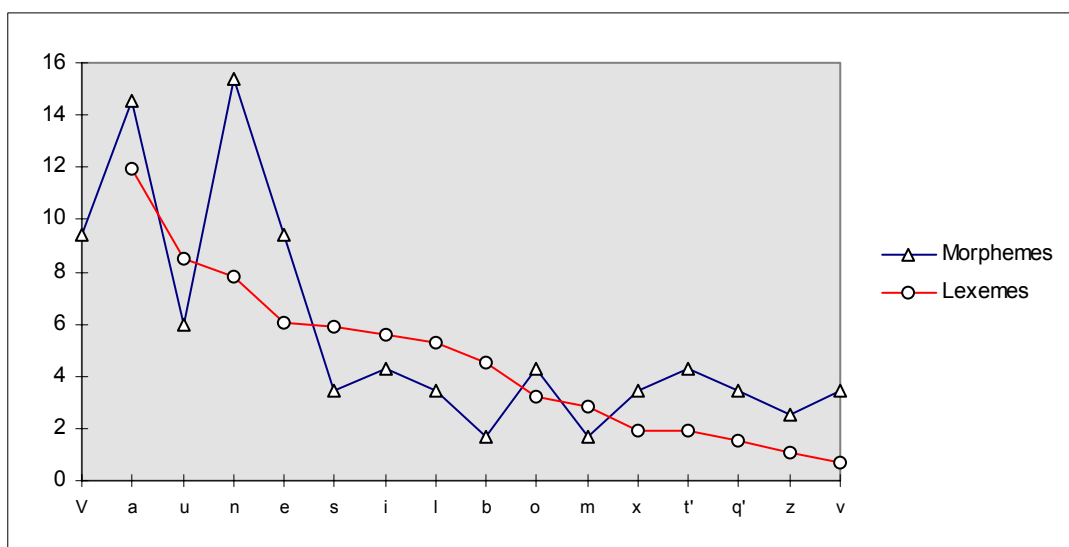


Table X: Proportional frequency of phonemes in morphemes and lexemes

The symbol ‘V’ relates to those sets of allomorphic variants the vowels of which cannot be fixed with respect to their basic quality (genitive $-V(i)$, dative $-V$, see 3.3.3.5-6). In consequence, the values for the vowels in morphemes are slightly higher than shown in the table.

§ 2. Typically, phonemes of high (morphological) frequency show the broadest distribution among linguistic categories. In order to illustrate this point, table (X) lists the individual phonemes together with the number of linguistic categories they help to encode:

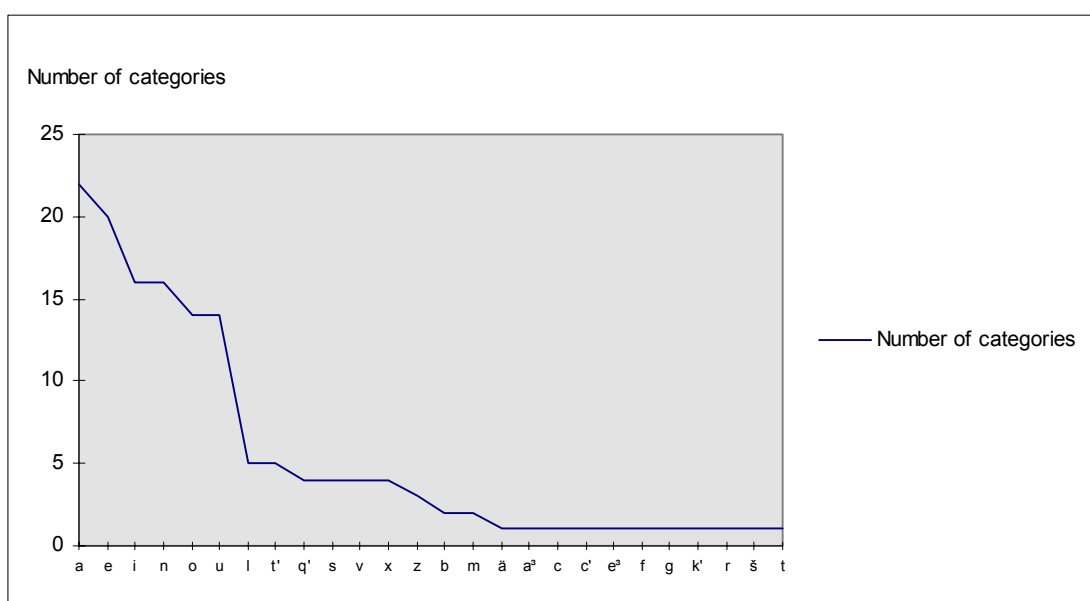


Table (X): The involvement of phonemes in the expression of linguistic categories

The table illustrates that the most prototypical morpheme involves either a vowel or $/n/$. For instance, $/a/$ appears with the coding of 22 out of 50 linguistic categories, $/n/$ is used with 16 categories (but note that the combination $/a/ + /n/ > \{-an\}$ is restricted to two (marginal) categories: the telic converb (see 3.4.10) and the petrified ablative $-an$ as in *melan* ‘from here (proximal)’, *kalan* ‘from there (medial)’, *t'elan* ‘from there’ (distal)’ etc., see 3.3.4.2). Obviously, phonemes of high frequency document a relatively strong tendency towards fusional strategies – a tendency that goes against the basic agglutination pattern.

§ 3. The (older) agglutination strategies are reflected in a number of phonemes that are used with one category exclusively. These phonemes are highly marked and thus allow to instantly infer the given linguistic category. (x) lists some of these phonemes together with the linguistic categories they help to encode (dialect of Vartashen):

3.1-3 Reference

(x)

Phoneme	Frequency	Basic linguistic category	Reference
<i>č'</i>	1	Allative	3.3.4.1
<i>k'</i>	1	Benefactive	3.3.3.4
<i>z</i>	3	First person singular	3.4.4.3
<i>b</i>	2	First person possessive	3.3.7
<i>š</i>	1	First person plural possessive	3.3.7
<i>g</i>	1	Hypothesis	3.4.7
<i>t</i>	1	Negation	3.4.9
<i>ā</i>	1	Negative Hypothesis	3.4.7
<i>c</i>	1	Passive/Middle	3.4.8
<i>r</i>	1	Referential plural	3.3.5
<i>v</i>	2	Second person	3.4.4.3
<i>a^f</i>	1	Second person plural 'indirect objective'	3.3.7
<i>f</i>	1	Second person plural possessive	3.3.7
<i>e^f</i>	1	Second person plural possessive	3.3.7

The overall ratio of phonemes per morpheme is 2.34. When we relate this figure to the distribution of vowels and consonants (vowels: 60 vs. consonants: 58), CV or VC structures show up as the most prototypical morphological structures. From a synchronic point of view, 27 of the suffixes are V-initial, as opposed to 20 C-initial suffixes (also see 2.6.2.1). Nevertheless, it should be noted that eight V-initial suffixes represent old compound suffixes that are derived from pure vocalic suffixes plus a C(VC)-segment (see 3.3.4). If we disregard the special case of personal agreement clitics (see 3.3.7), the following basic patterns can be described (R = /n/ or /l/):

(X)

Types	Example	Reference
-V	<i>-i</i> PAST	3.4.5
-Vi	<i>-ai</i> GEN2	3.3.3.5
-VR	<i>-en</i> ERG	3.3.3.3
-CV	<i>-sa</i> PRES	3.4.5
-CVR	<i>-xol</i> COM	3.3.4.1

§ 4. The degree of homonymy among the set of basic inflectional morphemes varies considerably. If we start with 78 morphological units (V-based allomorphs are included), we can identify 11 units that share homonymic properties, as opposed to 67 morphemes that show a one-to-one relation with respect to the form/function cluster. The superficially homonymic morphemes are listed in (x):

(x)

Morpheme	Number	Functions
<i>-a</i>	4	GEN, DAT1, MOD, 3SG:Q
<i>-al</i>	3	FOC, FUT:FAC, SUPER
<i>-e</i>	3	PERF, GEN, DAT1
<i>-i</i>	3	PAST, GEN, DAT1
<i>-o</i>	3	DAT1:PL, FUT:MOD, REF:ABS
<i>-ai</i>	2	GEN2, CONJUNCTIVE
<i>-ei</i>	2	GEN2, PERF:PAST

3.1-3 Reference

<i>-in</i>	2	ERG, GEN
<i>-ox</i>	2	DAT2, PL:ABS
<i>-ux</i>	2	DAT2, PL:ABS
<i>-en</i>	2	ERG; 1PL:IMP
<i>-io</i>	2	PAST2; PART:PAST:REF

Note that from a diachronic perspective, some of these homonymic morphemes show up either as allomorphs or as polysemic morphemes (see section 3.3 and 3.4).

§ 5. As expected, the phonemes that constitute the homonymic morphemes listed in (X) belong to the most frequent phonemes involved in morphology. This correlation can also be observed when we consider the use of morphemes in actual texts. The text Ch&T already discussed in section 2.1 shows 737 inflectional morphemes that encode 40 basic linguistic categories (here, V-allomorphs are treated as a single morpheme). Additionally, the text makes use of 66 lexical stems that are inherently marked for morphological categories. (x) lists the most frequent categories: For comparative reasons, I have added the corresponding figures for Nizh (narrative texts, 3486 inflectional morphemes):

(X)		Vartashen	%	Nizh	%	
	3SG	<i>-ne</i>	118	16,01	385	11,04
	PRES	<i>-sa</i>	73	9,90	110	3,16
	DAT	<i>-V</i>	69	9,36	347	9,95
	PAST(:PART)	<i>-i</i>	61	8,27	427	12,25
	ERG	<i>-en</i>	52	7,05	196	5,62
	GEN(2)	<i>-Vi, -un</i>	50	6,78	231	6,63
	SA	<i>-n-</i>	29	3,93	115	3,30
	FOC	<i>-al</i>	28	3,79	112	3,21
	MOD	<i>-a</i>	26	3,52	63	1,81
	REF:OBL	<i>-t'-</i>	25	3,39	45	1,29
	MASD	<i>-es</i>	22	2,98	36	1,03
	PL	<i>-ux</i>	22	2,98	218	6,25
	DAT2	<i>-Vx</i>	18	2,44	52	1,49
	FUT:FAC(:PART)	<i>-al</i>	15	2,03	50	1,43
	3PL	<i>-q'un /-t'un</i>	14	1,89	197	5,65
	CAUS	<i>-ev-</i>	14	1,89	11	0,32
	NEG	<i>te</i>	14	1,89	17	0,49
	REF:ABS	<i>-o</i>	14	1,89	2	0,06
	ABL	<i>-Vxo</i>	10	1,35	162	4,65
	SUPER	<i>-Vl</i>	8	1,08	28	0,80
	1SG	<i>-zu</i>	7	0,94	75	2,15
	3SG:Q	<i>-a</i>	7	0,94	9	0,26
	TOTAL		696	94,3	2888	82,84

Note that the divergences between the figures of the two dialects are related to both textual idiosyncrasies and morphological resp. categorial preferences. These will be discussed in more details in the subsequent sections.

There is a remarkable coherence between the frequency of phonemes that are used to encode these categories or subcategories and the frequency of phonemes that shape morphemes paradigmatically. Table X compares these two frequencies:

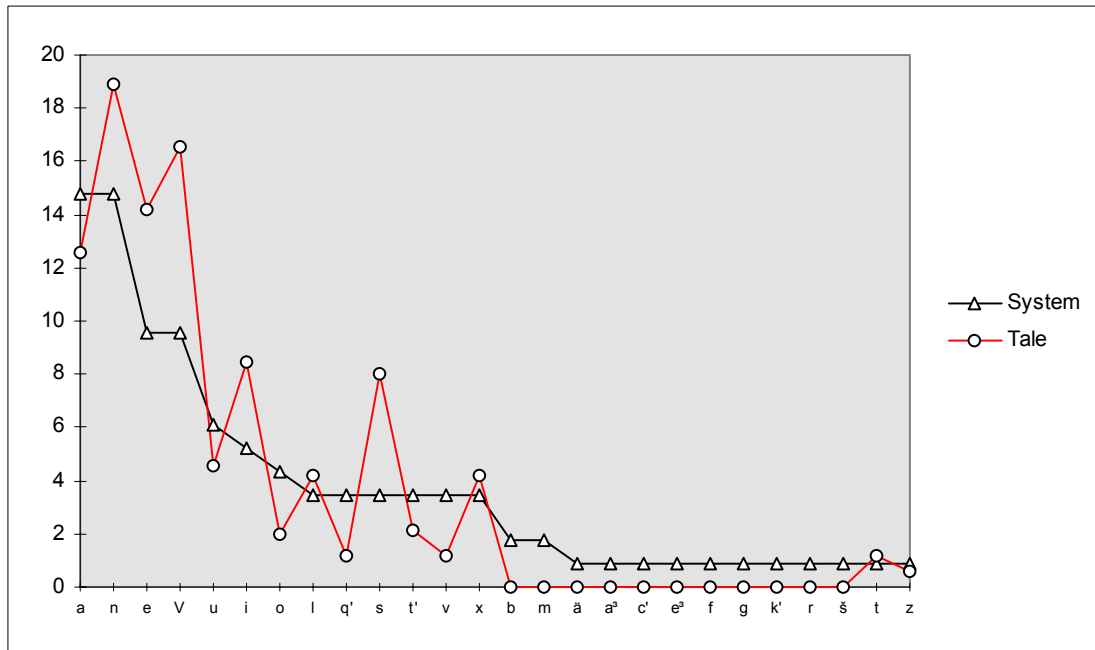


Table X: Frequency of phonemes in inflectional morphemes
(Percentage of occurrences in paradigms and in CH&T)

From a historical point of view we can suppose that high frequency in usage has stabilized the paradigmatic make-up of Udi morphology. This is especially true for the first ten phonemes that show a similar frequency in the lexicon and in general use (compare again table X and table X in section 2.3.2).

§ 6. The degree of allomorphy varies considerably. Out of roughly 50 linguistic categories and subcategories (pseudo-lexical representations are again neglected), some 15 are encoded with the help of a set of morphological variants the number of which lies between two and six. The number of variants increases in case we take into consideration the different types of plural formation and verbal stem formation. (x) illustrates the ten major inflectional categories that are characterized by allomorphy (the frequency as documented in Ch&T have been added):

(x)

GEN	6	6,78
ABL	4	1,35
ADESS	4	0
COM	4	0
DAT1	4	9,32

DAT2	4	2,44
SUPER	4	1,08
ERG	2	7,05
PL:ABS	2	2,98
SA:SG	2	3,93

Allomorphy involves both lexical and structural constraints. Again, diachronic studies can help to decide whether allomorphy has resulted from the merger of functionally distinct classes (this is perhaps true for the genitive and dative allomorphs (see 3.3.3.5-6) and the class of nouns that show a nominal stem augment, see 3.3.2.2). Note that allomorphy often concerns those linguistic categories that are highly frequent both in discourse and texts. (x) illustrates this point by listing the nine most frequent morphemes in Ch&T:

Morpheme	Absolute	%
-ne	118	16,01
-V	115	15,60
-Vn	103	13,97
-a	85	11,53
-sa	73	9,90
-Vl	47	6,37
b-	31	4,20
-t'	25	3,39
-es	22	2,98
Total	619	83,95

Accordingly, three of the most frequent morphemes (-V, -Vn, and -Vl) covering more than one third of all morphs (35,94%) represent an allomorphic class. Putting the results into a formula, we can claim that high frequent morphemes are marked by both homonymy (1:m) and allomorphy (n:1) [n = multiple forms; m= multiple functions]:

(x)	1:m	34,93 %	[homonyms]
	n:1	35,94 %	[allomorphs]

In other words: Roughly, one third of all morphemes in use are marked for typical 'fusional' features that include both allomorphy and homonymy/polysemy.

§ 7. The agglutination layer of Udi is documented by the great number of 1:1 morphemes. Roughly speaking, 72 % of all morphemes (V-variants and personal clitics included) belong to this class. Some of these 'monofunctional' morphemes constitute the periphery of the morphological inventory. For instance, in the tale Ch&T, about 77 % of all morphemes represent monofunctional elements. However, the picture changes with morphemes the frequency of which is higher than 5 %: eight morphemes are polyfunctional, only three are monofunctional., cf. (x):

(x)	118	-ne	mono	47	-al	poly
	85	-a	poly	30	-o	poly
	73	-sa	mono	30	-n-	poly
	68	-i	poly	25	-t'-	mono

Also, note that the text covers ten of the eleven basic polyfunctional morphemes, but only thirty-two of the sixty-seven monofunctional morphemes. In other words: the fact that 77 % of all morphological tokens in the text are monofunctional, stands against a clear statistical option for polyfunctional elements. This again leads us to the conclusion that agglutination is lesser pronounced in Udi than expected.

§ 8. Another argument against the assumption that Udi is a typical ‘agglutinative’ language stems from observations related to morpheme chaining: The maximum of morphemes in a chain varies between four and five morphemes. (x) lists some examples of maximal chaining (here, some pseudo-lexical elements are interpreted as morphemes):

(x)(a) *ma-q'a-n-tad-i*
 PROH-ADH-2SG/3SG-give-PAST
 ‘You (sg.) / (s)he should not give’

(b) *šo-t'-ǰ-on-al*
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-FOC
 ‘they (focused)’

(c) *i-bak-ec-i-ne-i*
 ear-LV-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG-PAST
 ‘It had been heard’

(d) *ci-eǰ-al-te-ne-i*
 go=down:FUT-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG-PAST
 ‘(S)he will not have gone down’.

(e) *šo-t'-ǰ-oi-t'-uxo-al*
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN-REF:OBL-ABL-FOC
 ‘from theirs (focused)’

In practice, maximal chaining is rare. The text Ch&T already discussed above shows the following distribution (percentage related a total of 840 words):

Number of morphemes in word	Percentage
Five	0,46
Four	1,28
Three	6,06
Two	19,48
One	31,38
Zero	41,30

The Ch&T data come close to what can be observed for spoken Udi. They illustrate that an average Udi word is marked by one or two morphemes. Note that from a

diachronic point of view, the number of uninflected words (41,30 %) is somewhat smaller: Some of the words in question contain petrified morphemes, such as *mia* ~ *miya* ‘here’ < **mi-a* (PROX-DAT), *t’ia* ~ *t’iya* ‘there’ < **t’i-a* (DIST-DAT), *čubux* ‘woman’ < **čub-ux* (woman-PL), *oq’a* ‘under’ < **oq’-a* (ground-DAT) etc. Still, the data given in (X) show that Udi does not meet the expectations of a typical agglutinating distribution.

§ 9. Basically, the agglutinative and fusional features of Udi are associated with suffixing techniques. There are only two classes of morphemes that can or must be used as prefixes: Local preverbs (nearly petrified in contemporary Udi, see 3.4.4) and a set of modal affixes (see x.x.x):

(x)	<i>ma-</i>	Prohibitive	(necessarily followed by the adhortative marker <i>q’a-</i>)
	<i>q’a-</i>	Adhortative	
	<i>gi-</i>	Hypothesis	
	<i>nā-</i>	Negation	(necessarily followed by the hypothesis marker (g)i-).
	<i>nu-</i>	Prohibitive	

Except for *nu-* and the prefix clusters *ma-q’a-* and *nā(g)i-*, all other affixes mentioned in (X) can also be used as suffixes or infixes / endoclitics, compare:

- (x) (a) *ma-q’a-va-q’ə^f-b-i*
 PROH-ADH-2SG:IO-fear-LV-PAST
 ‘Don’t be afraid!’
- (b) *ba-q’a-n-k-i*
 be-ADH-2/3SG- $\$$ -PAST
 ‘You(sg.)/(s)he should be’
- (c) *ba-gi-nan-k-e-i*
 be-HYP-2PL- $\$$ -PERF-PAST
 ‘If you (pl.) had been’
- (d) *bak-i-q’a-n*
 be-PAST-ADH-3SG
 ‘(S)he should be’
- (e) *aš-b-al-te-ne*
 work-LV-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG
 ‘(S)he won’t work’

A pseudo-inflectional prefix is *nut’* ~ *nut*, which often functions as an *alpha privativum* (corresponding to Azeri *-sIz*, see 3.2.8.1). Occasionally, *nut’* is used with verb forms as a prefix, as shown in (x):

(x) (a) *nut'-ak'-ec-i* *šavat' xinär* [R 12]

NEG-see- LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST beautiful girl
 'a girl so beautiful, never seen before'

(b) *dünia-n-i nut'-bak-al-a* *šei* [CH&T 171-2]

world-SA-DAT NEG-be-PART:NPAST-ATTR thing
 'a thing that does not exist (else) in the world'

However, note that *-nut'* ~ *-nut* can also be used as a suffix especially in derivation, e.g. *haq'l-nut'* 'without intelligence' etc., see 3.2.5. An example is:

(x) *šo-t'-ay q'ərx č'er-i-nut'* *t'e soğo ortağ-i-al*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN forty go=away:PAST-PAST-NEG DIST one:REF partner-GEN-FOC

sa xüyär-e nana-xun bak-i [Nizh, OR BAT 177]

one daughter-3SG mother-ABL be-PAST

'When forty (days) had not yet passed since that (event), that other partner, too, had a daughter from the mother' (i.e. a daughter had been born to that partner).'

The affix *nut'* is perhaps based on *nu-*, another prefix (frequent in the Gospels, but rare elsewhere) that encodes a negative deontic or epistemic modality (see x.x.x), compare:

(x) (a) *č'ap'k'in-o nu-bak-a-ne äšk'är va^f nu-qai-eğ-a-ne-i* [Luke 8:17]

hidden-REF:ABS NEG-be-MOD-3SG clear and NEG-out-come:FUT-MOD-3SG-PAST

'...(neither) anything hidden (that) shall not become known and shall not be around in the world.'

(b) *xinär-a nu-buq'-a-t'u lai-sun* [R 12]

girl-DAT NEG-want-MOD-3SG:IO go=up-MASD2

'(he feared) that the girl would not want to go up.'

§ 10. There is one set of morphological elements that can be placed after a stem or inserted into the (verbal) root/stem. This technique conditions two types of morphemes: a) prefixes/suffixes that may become infixes, and b) enclitics, that may become endoclitics. A prefix or suffix, however, cannot become an infix on its own: It always requires a 'piggybacking' technique: a clitic that is structurally coupled with the affix forms a morphological cluster with the affix and undergoes endoclititization as it would the clitic itself. Endoclititization is a focusing technique (see x.x.x) that is confined to personal agreement clitics (3.4.5) and the focus marker *-al* (x.x.x). However, the use of *-al* as an endoclititic is extremely rare. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *aš-al-le-b-o* [Jeiranišvili 1971:277]
work-FOC-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
'(S)he will WORK.'
- (b) *a-al-le-q'-o* [Jeiranišvili 1971:277, corrected by informant]
take-FOC-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD
'(S)he will TAKE'
- (c) *o^ʃne-al-le-exa* [IM 60]
weep-FOC-3SG-LV:PRES
'She is WEEPing.'
- (d) *ba-al-le-k-o xari* [IM 63]
be-FOC-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD flour
'It will BE flour.'
- (e) *t'i-al-q'un-t'-er-i* [BH 69]
run-FOC-3PL-\$-LV:PAST-PAST
'They did RUN'
- (f) *but'-al-q'un-k'-o* [IM 62]
cover-FOC-3PL-LV-FUT:MOD
'They will COVER'
- (g) *et'abaxt'in bez tul-in-ax la-al-lu-st'a?* [f.n.]
why I:POSS dog-SA-DAT2 touch-FOC-2SG-\$:PRES
'Why do you TOUCH my dog?'
- (h) *aba-bak-es-al-le-d-i taral-l-a* [IM 66]
knowing-LV-MASD-FOC-3SG-LV-PAST lazy=one-SA-DAT
'He let KNOW the lazy...'

§ 11. In order to sum up the positional preferences of Udi inflectional morphology, I list in (X) the most relevant patterns. Note that derivational morphology as well as stem modifying segments (such as stem augments, see x.x.x) are not included in this list. The letters refer to the illustrative examples given below in (X) [PAM = personal agreement marker, TAM = tense/aspect/mood, T = tense, MOD = modal marker, PV = preverb, FOC = focus marker]:

(x)	PRAE	IN	POST	
	MOD+PAM	(a) PAM	(c) TAM	(e)
	[PV]	(b) MOD/FOC+PAM	(d) TAM+PAM	(f)
			TAM+PAM+T	(g)
			TAM+MOD+PAM	(h)
			TAM+MOD+PAM+T	(i)
			PAM	(k)
			PAM+T	(l)

3.1-3 Reference

CASE	(m)
NUMBER	(n)
NUMBER+CASE	(o)
CASE+PAM	(p)
CASE+PAM+T	(q)
NUMBER+CASE+PAM	(r)
NUMBER+CASE+PAM+T	(s)

- (x) (a) *q'a-n-bak-i*
ADH-3SG-be-PAST
'(s)he should be'
- (b) *ci-ne-sa*
down-3SG-\$.PRES
'(s)he goes down.'
- (c) *ba-ne-k-sa*
be-3SG-\$.PRES
'(s)he is/becomes'
- (d) *ba-q'a-n-k-i*
be-ADH-3SG-\$.PAST
'(s)he should be'
- (e) *bak-i*
be-(PART:)PAST
'having been/become'
- (f) *bak-i-ne*
be-PAST-3SG
'(s)he was'
- (g) *bak-i-ne-i*
be-PAST-3SG-PAST
'(s)he had been'
- (h) *bak-i-te-ne*
be-PAST-NEG-3SG
'(s)he did not become'
- (i) *bak-i-te-ne-i*
be-PAST-NEG-3SG-PAST
'(s)he had not become'
- (k) *adamar-re*
man-3SG
'(there) is a man/person'
- (l) *xinär-re-i*
girl-3SG-PAST
'(there) was a girl'
- (m) *čoval-un*
shepherd-GEN
'of the shepherd'
- (n) *adamar-ux*
man-PL
'men / human beings'
- (o) *adamar-ğ-on*
man-PL-ERG
'men (are doing)'
- (p) *šähär-a-ne*
town-DAT-3SG
'(s)he is in town'
- (q) *šähär-a-ne-i*
town-DAT-3SG-PAST
'(s)he was in town'
- (r) *xunči-mğ-oi-ne*
sister-PL-GEN-3SG
'it belongs to the sisters'
- (s) *xunči-mğ-oi-ne-i*
sister-PL-GEN-3SG-PAST
'it did belong to the sisters'

3.1.2 Word classes in Udi

§ 1. To a certain extent, Udi morphology conditions a classification of the lexicon that can be related to the traditional term ‘word classes’. Superficially, the distribution of morphological means constitute the following classes:

(x)	Inflected	Example	Uninflected	Example
	Basic Nouns	<i>c’i</i> ‘name’	Adjectives	<i>kala</i> ‘big’
	Nominalized words	<i>kalo</i> ‘big one’	Numerals	<i>xib</i> ‘three’
	Pronouns	<i>ian</i> ‘we’	Postpositions	<i>oq’a</i> ‘under’
	Verbs	<i>besun</i> ‘make’	Adverbs	<i>gölö</i> ‘much’
			Conjunctions	<i>te</i> ‘that’
			Particles	<i>gena</i> ‘however’

However, this classification cannot serve for descriptive purposes because the morphological inventory often crosscuts the classes mentioned in (x). Only few morphemes single out classical word classes such as ‘noun’, ‘adjective’, or ‘verb’. Additionally, certain ‘homonymic’ morphemes that are present in more than one word class turn out to be (at least) polysemic from a diachronic perspective. The diachronic evidence also reveals that some today uninflected words (such as certain postpositions) reflect older inflected elements. Finally, the description of word classes has to consider to distribution of inflectional and derivational morphology. For Udi, it is sometimes difficult to draw a sharp line between these two procedures.

§ 2. In order to circumnavigate these problems, the present grammar refers to a basically semantic definition of word classes. This classification implies two basic classes: a) referential forms (see 3.2.1) and relational forms (see 3.4.1). By ‘referential forms’, I mean the universe of lexemes that is used to construe prototypical reference towards time-stable, permanent concepts and generalized (referentialized) qualities or activities. Likewise, deictic reference (both localizing and communicative) is included in this class. Those lexical units that signal a qualitative or quantitative modification of a referent form a subclass that crosscuts the relational class. The relational class is constituted by words that relate a referent to a certain property or to ‘another’ referent, be it the referent itself in another shape or to a different referent. Again, the class is crosscut by a subclass that modifies the relation in quality, quantity, or with reference to the general semantics of an utterance. Additionally, a specific set of words situates an utterance in its syntactic, textual, and pragmatic context.

§ 3. The difficulty to derive Udi word classes from just morphological parameters is also conditioned by the existence of a larger set of (in parts floating) clitics. The following categories involve cliticization:

- (x) Personal agreement (floating)
Focus (floating)

Tense (fixed)
Modality/Negation (partially floating)

Though there is structural evidence to relate most of the Udi clitics to the verbal class (see 3.4), we cannot say that the clitics in question constitute the verbal class. For instance, utterances as given in (x) involve only non-verbal segments to which clitics are added:

(x) (a) *bez nana k'ua-ne-i* [f.n.]
my mother home:DAT-3SG-PAST
'My mother was at home.'

(b) *ǧar-al t'ia-ne-i* [f.n.]
boy-FOC there-3SG-PAST
'The BOY was there.'

(c) *zu busa-te-z* [f.n.]
I hungry-NEG-1SG
'I am not hungry.'

§ 4. The morphologically most unmarked class is that of adjectives. This class of 'qualitative and quantitative modifiers' in fact lacks inflectional morphology, as illustrated in the three examples in (x):

(x) (a) *bez xunči kala-ne* [f.n.]
I:POSS sister old-3SG
'My sister is old.'

(b) *bez kala xunč-en za xe-ne tad-i* [f.n.]
I:POSS old sister-ERG I:DAT water-3SG give-PAST
'My elder sister gave me water.'

(c) *me xod k'uaxo kala-ne* [f.n.]
PROX tree house:ABL big-3SG
'This tree is higher than the/a house.'

In all three examples, the adjective *kala* 'big, old' is not marked for inflection. In fact, only derivational procedures such as referentialization (see 3.2.4.1) lead to the inflection of qualifying lexemes.

Deictic terms form a subclass of qualifying words: They are unmarked just as the above-mentioned adjectives; however, they cannot be used except in attribution, cf.:

(x)(a) *me ġar kala-ne*
 PROX boy old-3SG
 ‘This boy is old.’

(b) **kala ġar me-ne*
 old boy PROX-3SG
 ‘This is an old boy’

Identificational strategies as in (x,b) have to be encoded with the help of referentialized deictic pronouns (see 5.3.5):

(x) *me-no kala ġar-re ~ kala ġar me-no-ne*
 PROX-REF:ABS old boy-3SG old boy PROX-REF:ABS-3SG
 ‘This/He is an old boy.’ ‘The old boy is THIS one.’

§ 5. From a synchronic point of view, Udi adverbs belong into the same class as adjectives. Quantifying and qualifying words such as *gölö* ‘much, many’, *k’ic’i* ‘little, few’, and *šel* ‘good, well’ can serve both as adjectives and adverbs. Else, certain restrictions occur that, however, cannot be systematized morphologically. Rather, semantic aspects represent the major reason why a number of adverbs do not qualify as adjectives (and vice versa). (x) is an example for the use of the qualifying word *č’emen* ‘dirty’ (< *č’em-en* ‘dirt-ERG>INSTR) as a predicative adjective (a), an adverb (b), as an attribute (c), and in comparison (d).

(x)(a) *vi partal č’em-en-ne* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS coat dirt-ERG>INSTR-3SG
 ‘Your coat is dirty.’

(b) *gergec’-a č’em-en ma-q’a-n-tac-i* [f.n.]
 church-DAT dirt-ERG>INSTR PROH-ADH-2SG-go:PAST-PAST
 ‘You should not go dirty to church!’

(c) *vi č’em-en partal oc’-k’-a* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS dirt-ERG>INSTR coat wash-LV-MOD:2SG
 ‘Wash your dirty coat!’

(d) *vi partal bezi-t’-uxo č’em-en-ne* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS coat I:POSS-REF:OBL-ABL dirt-ERG>INSTR-3SG
 ‘Your coat is more dirty than mine.’

It should be noted that many structures that are derived from nouns with the help of case morphemes (see 3.5.1) represent rather adverbial phrases than true adverbs. For instance, the utterance (x,c) could likewise be translated ‘wash your shirt [which is] with dirt!’. In fact, the number of adverbs that are not derived from nouns or (rarer) adjectives is rather small. In a systematic sense, it seems useful to treat derived

adverbs as morphologically marked nouns or adjectives, just as it is true for many postpositions (see 3.5.2).

Such a systematic reinterpretation of adverbs (and postpositions) would confine the class of words that do not participate in inflection to the class of qualifying words (and some particles).

§ 6. Looking at the distribution of Udi morphemes with respect to the word classes mentioned above, we arrive at the following picture (the data reflect the dialect of Vartashen):

(x)	Class	Subclass	Word class	Number of morphemes
	Referential	Basic	Nouns, pronouns	15
		Derived	Nominalized adjectives, nominalized pronouns	14
			Verbal nouns	11
		Discourse	Personal pronouns	9
	Relational		Verbs	15
			Adjectives	1
	Pragmasyntactic	Focus	PAM, Focus	19

Note that in this list, allomorphs are not taken into consideration. Likewise, derivational morphology has been neglected. (x) illustrates that the pragmasyntactic class of focus clitics represents the morphologically most differentiated class. This is especially due to the fact that the whole paradigm of personal agreement markers is involved in the formation of this class. The cumulated class of referential forms is second in rank, followed by the class of relational forms. The subtypes of the ‘referential class’ share most of their morphological inventory. However, there are some morphemes that set apart these subtypes. For instance, the formation of ‘verbal nouns’ is based on the suffix *-es* alien to other referential words. Likewise, the referentialization of adjectives and deictic pronouns involves a specific type of stem formation (absolute *-o*, oblique *-t’-*). Still, it seems useful to refer to the morphology of underived referential words as the ‘prototype’ of nominal inflection.

§ 7. Verbal morphology is both idiosyncratic (in the sense that certain morphemes are confined to this class) and general: At least some of the verbal morphemes are related to the nominal morphology, see sections 3.4.9-10. For instance, the future marker *-al* can perhaps be explained by referring to the superessive marker *-Vl*, see 3.4.4.1. On the other hand, there is no safe evidence that suggests the derivation of nominal morphemes from verbal morphemes.

Summing up the distributional pattern of Udi morphology, it becomes obvious that the language is heavily dominated by referential morphology. This finding coincides with the fact that Udi has to be described as dependent marking at least on the level

of clausal organization. The existence of cross-referencing agreement markers does not contradict to this claim: As has been said above, Udi agreement clitics are not typical ‘verbal’ morphemes. Their nature as clitics conditions that they are neutral with respect to word classes. The distribution of focus clitics in the tale *šahzada-q’an šaxvalad* (Dirr 1904:88-96) illustrates this point: The tale consist of 1024 words, 132 of them are verbs in matrix clauses (‘finite verbs’). All 232 verbs can host agreement clitics. However, in the tale under consideration, only 167 are marked by clitics. 18 of them show a TAM-form that necessarily calls for a clitic (-*a* MOD, -*al* FUT:FAC, see 3.4.4.1 and 5.6). Additionally, 51 cliticized verbs are ‘standard forms’ that are conventionally marked for agreement: *exne* ‘(s)he says’, *pine* ‘(s)he said’, *exq’un* ‘they say’, *piq’un* ‘they said’, *tanesa* ‘(s)he goes’, *taq’un* ‘they go’. When we neglect these verbs, we can describe 78 verbs with optional clitization. This figure is opposed to 65 verbs that lack clitization. Here, the agreement clitic is present with words other than verbs. (X) summarizes the relevant data:

(x)	PAM with verbs	167 (71,98%)	
	Conditioned by TAM		18
	Conventional		51
	Optional		78
	PAM with other lexemes	65 (28,02%)	

In Nizh, the tendency to place agreement clitics outside the verbal domain is even more pronounced: The corpus of narrative texts (Keçaari 2001) has 1875 personal agreement markers (clitics), 40,59 % of which are hosted by non-verbal forms:

(x)	PAM with verbs	1114 (59,41%)	
	Conditioned by TAM		585
	Optional		529
	PAM with other lexemes	761 (40,59%)	

The stronger preference for modal constructions in the Nizh dialect (see x.x.x) conditions a greater number of necessarily verbal hosts (31,20 % against 7,76 % in Vartashen). It becomes obvious that Udi agreement is not a verb specific procedure that would justify to describe Udi as a head marking language. It should also be born in mind that the agreement clitics themselves have referential properties by referring to speech act participants or to the pivot in discourse. In fact, Udi is what one might call a ‘split marking language’: Head marking is present with certain TAM categories (factitive future, modal, imperative, -*ala*-future in Nizh). With other TAM categories, there is a strong preference for dependent marking. This structural split relates Udi to Northwest Iranian languages such as Talysh (see Schulze 2000x).

§ 8. The structure of Udi verbal derivation is another argument that illustrates the dominance of referential morphology. In fact, Udi makes very limited use of basic verbs (see 3.4.2). Following the typical ‘Oriental’ pattern, many verbs are derived from ‘light verbs’, that is rather desemantized verbs that serve as the ‘auxiliary’

basis for the formation of complex stems. The general scheme is ‘incorporated element + light verb’ (Inc+LV). The incorporated elements often are more or less dereferentialized nouns, adjectives, or pronouns (see 3.4.2). Incidentally, the incorporated segment still reflects case marking, compare:

(x) (a) *pasč’ag-en iaq’-a-ne-b-sa me ġar-ax* [R 8]
 king-ERG way-DAT-3SG-LV-PRES PROX boy-DAT2
 ‘The king sends this boy...’

(b) *iaq’-a-z-b-o bez buq’-al ġar-ax* [Luke 20:13]
 way-DAT-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD I:POSS love-PART:nPAST son-DAT2
 ‘I will send my beloved son.’

(c) *p’oy nex-nu ki bez yaq’a-n-be^šġ-sa* [I 70, Nizh]
 ok say:PRES-2SG SUBJ I:POSS way-DAT-2SG-see-PRES
 ‘Ok, you say that you wait for me.’

It often is a matter of translation to decide whether such incorporated structures should be interpreted in terms of a single lexical verb (see 3.4.2 for further arguments).

3.2 Establishing reference

3.2.1 Introduction

The universe of Udi referential lexemes can be described in terms of two basic types: a) basic referential lexemes; b) derived referential lexemes. ‘Referentiality’ relates to the cognitive technique of interpreting outer world experience as time-stable, ‘object’-like concepts (‘permanent objects’). Such ‘objects’ can be related to both an accessibility hypothesis and a hypothesis of ‘existence’ that condition assumptions about genericity and exemplarity. Further, metaphorical processes allow to extend the use of referential strategies to concepts that lack standard or prototypical features of ‘objects’. In section 3.1.2, I have argued that the notion of referentiality is basic for the description of Udi ‘noun inflection’. It includes basic referential terms, secondary referential terms based on derivational morphology, and means to encode communicative reference (‘personal pronouns’, see 3.2.4). Additionally, Udi uses a specific technique to mark generic reference (see 3.2.5). Finally, speech act based reference (such as interrogative pronouns) and discourse based reference (definiteness, indefiniteness) are relevant for the constitution of other ‘pronominal’ classes (see 3.2.5.3).

3.2.2 Basic reference

3.2.2.1 Basic nouns. Udi makes use of a rather large set of basic nouns that are underived from a synchronic point of view. As has been shown in section 2.6.1.1, most basic nouns are monosyllabic or bisyllabic. Both native words and borrowings constitute this class. Semantically speaking, most basic nouns are related to the ‘immediate world’ of Udi speakers, including many body parts, plants, animals, tools, food, and social relations. In this section, I will list some of the most frequent basic nouns. Note that here, I do not refer to articulatory or dialectal variants (data are taken from all three dialects).

§ 1. Synchronically underivable terms for (human) body parts include:

(x)	<i>a^ʰm</i>	‘shoulder, arm’	<i>ma^ʰngo</i>	‘chin’
	<i>ap^ʰ</i>	‘sweat’	<i>muč^ʰa</i>	‘palm’
	<i>a^ʰq</i>	‘chest, breast’	<i>muq</i>	‘fingernail’
	<i>bibik^ʰ</i>	‘earlobe’	<i>muz</i>	‘tongue’
	<i>bo^ʰxmo^ʰx</i>	‘nose’	<i>neğ</i>	‘tear’
	<i>bul</i>	‘head’	<i>net</i>	‘eyebrow’
	<i>c^ʰic^ʰ’ik^ʰ</i>	‘breast’	<i>o^ʰna</i>	‘armpit, chest’
	<i>čänä</i>	‘jaw bone’	<i>ozan</i>	‘neck’
	<i>čo</i>	‘face’	<i>o^ʰʒi^ʰ’l</i>	‘tail’
	<i>č^ʰ’ağ</i>	‘rib’	<i>p^ʰi</i>	‘blood’
	<i>čuk^ʰ’un</i>	‘spittle’	<i>piši</i>	‘urine’
	<i>döš</i>	‘chest’	<i>po^ʰ’pnik^ʰ</i>	‘heel’
	<i>dögänäg</i>	‘callus’	<i>pop</i>	‘hair’
	<i>žežer</i>	‘lip’	<i>pul</i>	‘eye’
	<i>giiä</i>	‘gall bladder’	<i>q^ʰ’oq^ʰ</i>	‘neck’
	<i>gurdak^ʰ</i>	‘stomach, kidney’	<i>šan</i>	‘buttocks’
	<i>imux</i>	‘ear’	<i>šet</i>	‘cheek’
	<i>k^ʰ’ažux</i>	‘beard’	<i>t^ʰ’ağaş</i>	‘testicle’
	<i>k^ʰ’aša</i>	‘finger’	<i>t^ʰ’alağ</i>	‘spleen’
	<i>k^ʰ’a^ʰk^ʰ’a^ʰp^ʰ</i>	‘knee’	<i>t^ʰ’amar</i>	‘vein, tendon’
	<i>k^ʰ’ant^ʰ’az</i>	‘back of the head’	<i>t^ʰ’ol</i>	‘skin’
	<i>k^ʰ’at^ʰ’ik^ʰ</i>	‘palate’	<i>tur</i>	‘leg, foot’
	<i>k^ʰ’odox</i>	‘forehead’	<i>u^ʰ’niğ</i>	‘bowels’
	<i>k^ʰ’ol</i>	‘penis’	<i>u^ʰ’q^ʰe^ʰ’in</i>	‘bone’
	<i>k^ʰ’ut^ʰ</i>	‘vagina’	<i>uk^ʰ</i>	‘heart’
	<i>koknik^ʰ</i>	‘elbow’	<i>ulux</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>kul</i>	‘hand’	<i>xärtäg</i>	‘throat, neck’
	<i>lašag</i>	‘body’	<i>žomox</i>	‘mouth’
	<i>ma^ʰ</i>	‘brain’	<i>zizam</i>	‘spleen, liver’

§ 2. Synchronically underived kinship terms are for example:

(x)	<i>ämik^ʰ</i>	‘uncle’ (br. of father)	<i>nana</i>	‘mother’
	<i>a^ʰ’il</i>	‘child’	<i>nävä</i>	‘grandchild’
	<i>baba</i>	‘father’	<i>oga</i>	‘stepchild’
	<i>bič^ʰ</i>	‘bastard’	<i>q^ʰ’om</i>	‘relative’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>bin</i>	‘bride’	<i>sevče</i>	‘brother-in-law (of husband)’
<i>čubux</i>	‘woman, wife’	<i>süpür</i>	‘widow’
<i>dädä</i>	‘aunt’ (sist. of father)’	<i>t’at’i</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>ğar</i>	‘son, boy’	<i>xala</i>	‘aunt’ (sist. of mother)’
<i>ieżna</i>	‘son-in-law’	<i>xalik’</i>	‘uncle’ (br. of mother)’
<i>išu</i>	‘man, husband’	<i>xinär</i>	‘girl, daughter’
<i>maq’ar</i>	‘man who gives away the bride’	<i>xunči</i>	‘sister’

§ 3. The linguistic universe of trees, plants, and herbs is highly elaborated in Udi. Many terms are basic nouns. Both native words and loans are common:

(X)	<i>a’la’^sm</i>	‘pomegranate’	<i>kok</i>	‘straw’
	<i>alaf</i>	‘hey, grass’	<i>kol</i>	‘bush’
	<i>ar</i>	‘pear’	<i>kötik</i>	‘trunk’
	<i>ärüg</i>	‘apricot’	<i>ma’^sq</i>	‘oak’
	<i>arum</i>	‘wheat’	<i>meč’</i>	‘nettle’
	<i>balanq’o</i>	‘blackberry’	<i>mu</i>	‘barley’
	<i>bai</i>	‘cherry’	<i>mur</i>	‘reed’
	<i>biabia</i>	‘whitethorn’	<i>mut’ul</i>	‘grain’
	<i>birinc’</i>	‘rice’	<i>o</i>	‘grass’
	<i>boq</i>	‘bud’	<i>o’^sma</i>	‘strawberry’
	<i>c’abul</i>	‘chestnut’	<i>pambak’</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>c’an</i>	‘pip, stone, kernel’	<i>paxla</i>	‘bean’
	<i>c’antaru</i>	‘savory’	<i>puša</i>	‘quince’
	<i>c’i’la’^smp’ur</i>	‘wild greens’	<i>pu’p</i>	‘alycha’
	<i>cac</i>	‘thorn’	<i>qa’^sq</i>	‘bran’
	<i>cicik’</i>	‘flower’	<i>qo’^sl</i>	‘bark’
	<i>cil</i>	‘seed’	<i>šolot’</i>	‘reed’
	<i>č’äläg</i>	‘wood’	<i>sel</i>	‘elm’
	<i>č’ap’</i>	‘tendril’	<i>sümbül</i>	‘ear of corn’
	<i>č’ik’</i>	‘branch’	<i>šamam(o)</i>	‘muskmelon’
	<i>č’um</i>	‘little root’	<i>šik’lam</i>	‘onion’
	<i>damp’ul</i>	‘plum’	<i>šuvet’</i>	‘dill’
	<i>e’š</i>	‘apple’	<i>t’u’^sp’</i>	‘mooli’
	<i>ereq’</i>	‘hazel’	<i>t’uk’</i>	‘beetroot’
	<i>ğanžil</i>	‘club moss’	<i>t’ul</i>	‘grape’
	<i>ğoma</i>	‘grape’	<i>t’uma</i>	‘stalk’
	<i>ğo’^sloš</i>	‘alder’	<i>t’up’</i>	‘radish’
	<i>ğuža</i>	‘elder’	<i>t’up’ul</i>	‘bud’
	<i>gäzär</i>	‘carrot’	<i>telamuš</i>	‘maple’
	<i>gilä</i>	‘berry’	<i>tir</i>	‘trunk’
	<i>gündärü</i>	‘sugar melon’	<i>to’qa’^sna(^s)</i>	‘fig’
	<i>häweč’</i>	‘coriander’	<i>tum</i>	‘root’
	<i>il</i>	‘plant, herbs’	<i>tut</i>	‘mulberry’
	<i>inab</i>	‘Ziziphus’	<i>u’^sq’</i>	‘walnut’
	<i>k’ač’</i>	‘grain’	<i>uda</i>	‘mulberry leaf’
	<i>k’ač’oli</i>	‘cucumber’	<i>xazal</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>kälam</i>	‘cabbage’	<i>xod</i>	‘tree’
	<i>ken</i>	‘garlic’	<i>xorik’</i>	‘lime’
	<i>kenek’</i>	‘medlar’		

§ 4. The number of basic terms denoting animals is rather small. Quite often, descriptive terms derived from verbs or adjectives are used. Likewise, compounds and onomatopoeic frequently occur. Many basic nouns referring to animals are loans (especially from Azeri and Persian). (x) illustrates this class (diachronic aspects of derivation are neglected):

(X)	<i>ärkäg</i>	‘male’	<i>moc’ak’</i>	‘midge’
	<i>axt’a</i>	‘castrated boar’	<i>mozi</i>	‘calf’
	<i>bala</i>	‘young animal’	<i>nec’</i>	‘louse’
	<i>bo’q’</i>	‘pig’	<i>ožäs</i>	‘heifer’
	<i>buš</i>	‘camel’	<i>p’ilğonž</i>	‘lizard’
	<i>c’iq’</i>	‘squirrel’	<i>päräkäl</i>	‘silk worm’
	<i>c’irik’</i>	‘chick’	<i>pišik’</i>	‘cat’
	<i>cec</i>	‘moth’	<i>porcuq</i>	‘badger’
	<i>čalağan</i>	‘vulture’	<i>q’ärxaial</i>	‘crab, scorpion’
	<i>čobal</i>	‘sparrow’	<i>q’atir</i>	‘mule’
	<i>čur</i>	‘cow’	<i>q’az</i>	‘goose’
	<i>č’a’é’i</i>	‘blackbird’	<i>q’o’da</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>dadal</i>	‘cock’	<i>q’uš</i>	‘bird’
	<i>dizik’</i>	‘snake’	<i>q’umq’um</i>	‘snail’
	<i>žolak’</i>	‘spider’	<i>q’urt</i>	‘mother hen’
	<i>žühür</i>	‘deer’	<i>q’ui</i>	‘owl’
	<i>e’k</i>	‘horse’	<i>q’uil</i>	‘earthworm’
	<i>eğel</i>	‘sheep’	<i>q’uzğün</i>	‘eagle’
	<i>ğa’ina</i>	‘crow’	<i>q’uzi</i>	‘lamb’
	<i>ğo’</i>	‘hare’	<i>šul</i>	‘fox’
	<i>gegär</i>	‘pigeon’	<i>šumak’</i>	‘female’
	<i>hint’</i>	‘turkey’	<i>šue</i>	‘bear’
	<i>in</i>	‘flea’	<i>t’at’</i>	‘fly’
	<i>izak’</i>	‘ant’	<i>t’oišan</i>	‘hare’
	<i>k’ažil</i>	‘boar’	<i>t’ulaš</i>	‘crow, wood pigeon’
	<i>k’ok’oc’</i>	‘chicken’	<i>täkä</i>	‘ibex’
	<i>k’op’i</i>	‘foal’	<i>tošo</i>	‘blindworm’
	<i>k’uč’an</i>	‘puppy, cub’	<i>tul</i>	‘young animal’
	<i>k’unk’uri</i>	‘wagtail’	<i>tülki</i>	‘fox’
	<i>käl</i>	‘buffalo’	<i>uğuz</i>	‘partridge’
	<i>keči</i>	‘goat’	<i>ul</i>	‘wolf’
	<i>mašaq</i>	‘tiger’	<i>urozi</i>	‘pheasant’
	<i>madian</i>	‘mare’	<i>us</i>	‘bull’
	<i>maral</i>	‘stag’	<i>vel</i>	‘goat’
	<i>me’l</i>	‘mouse’	<i>xa’</i>	‘dog’
	<i>meq</i>	‘worm’	<i>zäli</i>	‘leech’

§ 5. The number of synchronically underived nouns used to denote everyday tools etc. is rather small. (x) gives some examples:

(X)	<i>biz</i>	‘awl’	<i>mangal</i>	‘sickle’
	<i>čäküč</i>	‘hammer’	<i>martad</i>	‘large dish’
	<i>čämčä</i>	‘ladle’	<i>me</i>	‘knife’
	<i>čängäl</i>	‘fork’	<i>mex</i>	‘sickle’
	<i>čapažag’</i>	‘chopper’	<i>mil</i>	‘knitting needle’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>gul</i>	‘sieve’	<i>mix</i>	‘nail’
<i>hača</i>	‘digging stick’	<i>mu^ʔqa^ʔl</i>	‘threshing board’
<i>iegā</i>	‘file’	<i>mugul</i>	‘broom’
<i>k^ʔancarik^ʔ</i>	‘wicker basket’	<i>ox</i>	‘comb’
<i>k^ʔirmonč^ʔ</i>	‘hook’	<i>p^ʔiž</i>	‘sling’
<i>k^ʔiro</i>	‘chopper’	<i>q^ʔači</i>	‘scissors’
<i>k^ʔoč^ʔ</i>	‘handle’	<i>šadara</i>	‘sieve’
<i>k^ʔoda</i>	‘shovel’	<i>t^ʔalek(ʔ)</i>	‘dish’
<i>k^ʔotavar</i>	‘pan’	<i>t^ʔank^ʔet^ʔ</i>	‘conic basket’
<i>k^ʔüre</i>	‘axe’	<i>tavar</i>	‘hatchet’
<i>kišk^ʔal</i>	‘plane’	<i>toxi</i>	‘hoe’
<i>kosum</i>	‘basket’	<i>xala</i>	‘pitchfork’
<i>mašar</i>	‘saw’	<i>xazol</i>	‘switch’
<i>mağara</i>	‘bobbin’		

§ 6. Most of the basic terms denoting materials (esp. metals) are borrowed. Examples are:

(X)	<i>el</i>	‘salt’	<i>q^ʔəzəl</i>	‘gold’
	<i>gümüš</i>	‘silver’	<i>q^ʔalai</i>	‘tin’
	<i>k^ʔač^ʔk^ʔun</i>	‘resin’	<i>q^ʔum</i>	‘sand’
	<i>kiräž</i>	‘chalk’	<i>qurguš</i>	‘lead’
	<i>kömür</i>	‘coal’	<i>ša</i>	‘sand’
	<i>mis</i>	‘copper’	<i>širiš</i>	‘glue’
	<i>naft</i>	‘oil’	<i>xe</i>	‘water’
	<i>p^ʔilinž</i>	‘copper’ (as a tool)	<i>že</i>	‘stone’
	<i>polad</i>	‘bronze’	<i>zido</i>	‘iron’

§ 7. Terms for food, meals etc. often are compounds or derived from verbs or adjectives. Nevertheless, some basic nouns (some of them loans) occur:

(X)	<i>č^ʔat^ʔ</i>	‘corn-bread’	<i>mät</i>	‘medlar juice’
	<i>č^ʔäyn</i>	‘butter, fat’	<i>miräbä</i>	‘jam’
	<i>čäräq</i>	‘kebab’	<i>naq^ʔ</i>	‘buttermilk’
	<i>čilov</i>	‘rice (boiled)’	<i>noč^ʔ</i>	‘grape juice’
	<i>čo^ʔ</i>	‘cream’	<i>oq^ʔo</i>	‘vinegar’
	<i>a^ʔin</i>	‘yeast’	<i>o^ʔxe^ʔil</i>	‘side dish’
	<i>badak^ʔ</i>	‘wine gelee’	<i>šor</i>	‘quark’
	<i>boq^ʔo</i>	‘dough’	<i>šum</i>	‘bread’
	<i>eq^ʔ</i>	‘meat’	<i>uč^ʔ</i>	‘honey’
	<i>fī</i>	‘wine’	<i>xas</i>	‘yeast’
	<i>ğusme</i>	‘cheese’	<i>xari</i>	‘flour’
	<i>k^ʔork^ʔot^ʔ</i>	‘kind of porridge (prepared for memorial days)’	<i>xorag</i>	‘food, meal’
	<i>lavaš</i>	‘flat bread’	<i>xup^ʔ</i>	‘rice dish’

§ 8. Underived nouns denoting landscape related objects are amazingly rare in Udi. Many terms are rather specific expressions that stem from the regional microtoponymics. Examples illustrating (in parts borrowed) basic nouns are:

(X)	<i>aiz</i>	‘village’	<i>k’ul</i>	‘ground’
	<i>aq</i>	‘source, spring’	<i>kač</i>	‘rock’
	<i>bi^fbi^f</i>	‘bridge’	<i>kur</i>	‘river’
	<i>burux</i>	‘mountain’	<i>lik’är</i>	‘path’
	<i>cäir</i>	‘marsh’	<i>očal</i>	‘earth’
	<i>č’ot’ ~ č’ot’</i>	‘river bank’	<i>oq</i>	‘river, brook’
	<i>däria</i>	‘sea’	<i>o^fre^fin</i>	‘source, spring’
	<i>iaq’</i>	‘way’	<i>q’aya</i>	‘rock’
	<i>k’a^fva^fn</i>	‘field’	<i>šähär</i>	‘city’

§ 9. Basic terms for meteorological phenomena are:

(X)	<i>č’aq</i>	‘lightning’	<i>xo</i>	‘dew’
	<i>tägär</i>	‘hail’	<i>nam</i>	‘moisture’
	<i>mi</i>	‘cold, frost’	<i>kiläg</i>	‘wind, storm’
	<i>čänčänä</i>	‘fog’	<i>muš</i>	‘wind’
	<i>dup</i>	‘rainbow’	<i>haso</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>k’a^f</i>	‘white frost’	<i>i^fz</i>	‘snow’

§ 10. Only few of the words expressing time, seasons etc. can be classified as underived nouns from a synchronic point of view:

(X)	<i>äč’ik’ä</i>	‘tomorrow’	<i>na^fine</i>	‘yesterday’
	<i>bias</i>	‘evening’	<i>narzu</i>	‘yesterday evening’
	<i>damdam</i>	‘morning’	<i>paiz</i>	‘harvest’
	<i>esen</i>	‘last year’	<i>šü</i>	‘night’
	<i>gï</i>	‘day’	<i>usen</i>	‘year’
	<i>ingir</i>	‘dusk’	<i>xaš</i>	‘month’
	<i>kaixša</i>	‘dawn’	<i>zóğul</i>	‘spring, summer’

The same holds for many other onomasiological categories such as clothing, house, agricultural terms, professions, diseases etc.

3.2.2.2 Derived nouns. Just as it is true for a number of other Lezgian languages, Udi does not make extensive use of derivational patterns. This fact is probably due to the culturally based multilingualism, which has dominated the Udi society since long (see 1.5). Udi speakers always had the option to borrow a term from a neighboring language instead of exploiting (and thus developing) native derivational patterns. In many instances, derivational morphology has even been part of the borrowing process: The frequent borrowing of words that are based on derivation already in the donor language has enabled Udi speakers to isolate the underlying derivational morphemes and to introduce them into the native lexicon.

Additionally, Udi uses compounding as another technique to create new words. The technique that is rare among the neighboring (Southern) Samur languages and Azeri probably has its sources in parallel techniques in Eastern Armenian (see Schulze 2004 for details).

§ 1. The few derivational morphemes used to form referential terms are suffixes. From a synchronic perspective, only two such morphemes are productive that both are loans from Azeri: *-luğ* and *-çi*. The suffix *-luğ* forms abstract nouns and leads to the referentialization of ‘quality’. It is highly productive and can in fact be added to any kind of word excluding inflected verb forms.

(X) Noun + <i>-luğ</i>			
<i>aç'amluğ</i>	‘feast of unleavend bread’	<i>aç'am</i>	‘unleavend bread’
<i>ağaluğ</i>	‘lordship’	<i>ağa</i>	‘lord’
<i>biližiluğ</i>	‘wisdom’	<i>biliži</i>	‘wise person’
<i>binluğ</i>	‘bridehood’	<i>bin</i>	‘bride’
<i>cacluğ</i>	‘thorny quality’	<i>cac</i>	‘thorn’
<i>ç'ap'luğ</i>	‘vineyard’	<i>ç'ap'</i>	‘grape’
<i>dinžluğ</i>	‘quiteness’	<i>dinž</i>	‘calm’
<i>düşmänluğ</i>	‘enmity’	<i>düşman</i>	‘enemy’
<i>žählluğ</i>	‘youth’	<i>žäh</i>	‘youth’
<i>elmuxdürüsluğ</i>	‘sincerity’	<i>elmux+dürüs</i>	‘soul+sincere’
<i>gärämzäluğ</i>	‘graveyard’	<i>gärämzä</i>	‘grave’
<i>günähk'ärluğ</i>	‘quality of a sinner’	<i>günähk'är</i>	‘sinner’
<i>iamaluğ</i>	‘clothing’	<i>iama(q)</i>	‘patch’
<i>irahmluğ</i>	‘mercy’	<i>irahm</i>	‘mercy’
<i>isp'at'luğ</i>	‘testimony’	<i>isp'at'</i>	‘testimony’
<i>ixt'iarluğ</i>	‘might’	<i>ixt'iar</i>	‘power’
<i>muq'eitluğ</i>	‘attention’	<i>muq'eit</i>	‘attention’
<i>pasç'ağluğ</i>	‘kingdom’	<i>pasç'ağ</i>	‘king’
<i>q'ähbäluğ</i>	‘adultery’	<i>q'ähbä</i>	‘whore’
<i>q'ə'luğ</i>	‘fear’	<i>q'e'</i>	‘fear’
<i>q'onaxluğ</i>	‘hospitality’	<i>q'onax</i>	‘guest meal’
<i>q'oumluğ</i>	‘family’	<i>q'oum</i>	‘relative’
<i>q'ulluğ</i>	‘service’	<i>q'ul</i>	‘servant, slave’
<i>q'urbanluğ</i>	‘sacrifice’	<i>q'urban</i>	‘sacrifice’
<i>šahadluğ</i>	‘quality of witness’	<i>šahad</i>	‘witness’
<i>šeitanluğ</i>	‘diabolism’	<i>šeitan</i>	‘devil’
<i>t'onluğ</i>	‘wages’	<i>t'on</i>	‘pay’
<i>uk'luğ</i>	‘sincerity’	<i>uk'</i>	‘heart’
<i>xainluğ</i>	‘evil’	<i>xain</i>	‘evil’
<i>želuğ</i>	‘quality of stones’	<i>že</i>	‘stone’

(X) Adjective + <i>-luğ</i>			
<i>abaluğ</i>	‘wisdom’	<i>aba</i>	‘knowing’
<i>arxainluğ</i>	‘peace’	<i>arxain</i>	‘quite’
<i>baxt'avarluğ</i>	‘blessing’	<i>baxt'avar</i>	‘being blessed’
<i>beikefluğ</i>	‘indisposition’	<i>beikef</i>	‘unwell’
<i>busaluğ</i>	‘hunger’	<i>busa</i>	‘hungry’
<i>bə'inq'luğ</i>	‘darkness’	<i>bə'inq'</i>	‘dark’
<i>ç'ap'k'inluğ</i>	‘secret’	<i>ç'ap'k'in</i>	‘hidden’
<i>çolaluğ</i>	‘mind’	<i>çola</i>	‘related to face’
<i>doğriluğ</i>	‘truth’	<i>doğri</i>	‘true’
<i>gamluğ</i>	‘warmth’	<i>gam</i>	‘warm’
<i>haq'lnut'luğ</i>	‘stupidity’	<i>haq'lnut'</i>	‘stupid’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>iavašluḡ</i>	‘slowness’	<i>iavaš</i>	‘slow’
<i>iraziluḡ</i>	‘happiness’	<i>irazi</i>	‘happy’
<i>kalaluḡ</i>	‘greatness’	<i>kala</i>	‘big, old’
<i>kāsibluḡ</i>	‘poverty’	<i>kāsib</i>	‘poor’
<i>k’oriluḡ</i>	‘excess’	<i>k’ori</i>	‘crooked’
<i>lazumluḡ</i>	‘necessity’	<i>lazum</i>	‘necessary’
<i>murdalluḡ</i>	‘horror’	<i>murdal</i>	‘ugly’
<i>namluḡ</i>	‘moisture’	<i>nam</i>	‘wet’
<i>ost’avarluḡ</i>	‘strenght’	<i>ost’avar</i>	‘strong’
<i>p’a’colaluḡ</i>	‘hypocrisy’	<i>p’a’cola</i>	‘hypocrite’
<i>pisluḡ</i>	‘evil’	<i>pis</i>	‘bad’
<i>q’ač’luḡ</i>	‘narrowness’	<i>q’ač’</i>	‘narrow’
<i>q’ožaluḡ</i>	‘old age’	<i>q’oža</i>	‘old’
<i>q’ariluḡ</i>	‘dryness’	<i>q’ari</i>	‘dry’
<i>šadluḡ</i>	‘freedom’	<i>šad</i>	‘free’
<i>šelluḡ</i>	‘goodness’	<i>šel</i>	‘good’
<i>tāzaluḡ</i>	‘novelty’	<i>tāzā</i>	‘new’

Other patterns are: Postposition + *luḡ*, cf. *be¹sluḡ* ‘leadership’ < *be¹s* ‘in front of’; adverb + *-luḡ*, cf. *hammašaluḡ* ‘eternity’ < *hammaša* ‘always’, *metärluḡ* ‘of a specified quality’ < *metär* ‘in this way’, *abuzluḡ* ‘abundance’ < *abuz* ‘more’; masdar2 + *-luḡ*, cf. *buq’sunluḡ* ‘love’ < *buq’sun* ‘to love’; interrogative pronoun + *-luḡ*, cf. *et’aluḡ* ‘cause’ < *et’a* ‘why’.

§ 2. The suffix *-či* derives *nomina agentis* from nouns. It is widespread with loans from Azeri; however, it is rare with native words (in the textual sources). In speech, certain calques can incidentally be heard, for instance *zidoči* < *zido* ‘iron’ ~ *demirči* ‘smith’ (Azeri *dəmirçi*), *žok’či* < *žok’* ‘separated’ ~ *täfriq’ači* ‘someone who causes feud’ (Azeri *təfriqəçi*), *uluxči* < *ulux* ‘tooth’ ~ *dışči* ‘dentist’ (Azeri *dışçi*), *čärčäräzči* < *čärčäräz* ‘torment’ ~ *säfači* ‘tormentor’ (Azeri *səfaçi*), *iaq’či* < *iaq’* ‘way’ ~ *iolču* (Azeri *yolçu*) ‘beggar, highwayman’ etc. Azeri loans are for instance *ipekči* ‘silk trader’ (Azeri *ipekçi*), *deiirmanči* ‘miller’ (Azeri *dəyirmançi*), *sabunči* ‘someone who produces soap’ (Azeri *sabunçu*), *arabači* ‘coachman’ (Azeri *arabaçi*).

In Nizh, the suffix is occasionally replaced by the form *-xor* that is a variant of Persian *-kār* (*nomina agentis*), compare *ziyanxor* ‘what smells’ (*ziyan* ‘smell’), *tapaninxor* ‘glutton’ (lit.: ‘worker of the stomach’), *xozamandxor* ‘lucky charm’ (*xozamand* ‘luck, happiness’) etc.

§ 3. The suffix *-či* competes with the Udi morpheme *-al*. This morpheme basically encodes the non-past participle (see 3.4.10). Normally, it is followed by the referentializer *-o* in order to produce a referential noun (see 3.2.3). However, the more the basic semantics of the verb is obscured, the less the referential form is used. Instead, the suffix *-al* is reinterpreted as a marker for *nomina agentis*. Quite frequently, both forms can be used, compare *ašbalo* ‘someone who works’ ~ *ašbal* ‘worker’ (< ‘working’). With lexicalized *-al*-nouns, the original verb cannot always be restored. The following list gives some examples:

3.1-3 Reference

(X)	<i>be^ǰǰal</i>	‘steward’	<i>be^ǰǰsun</i>	‘to see, watch’
	<i>be^ǰǰbuibakal</i>	‘west’	<i>(be^ǰǰ) buibaksun</i>	‘to become full (of sun)’
	<i>be^ǰǰč^ǰeǰǰal</i>	‘east’	<i>(be^ǰǰ) č^ǰesun</i>	‘to come out (of sun)’
	<i>biq^ǰal</i>	‘fisher’	<i>biq^ǰsun</i>	‘to take’
	<i>bok^ǰesbal</i>	‘something bitter’	<i>bok^ǰesbesun</i>	‘to make burn’
	<i>bulek^ǰal</i>	‘vat for butter’	?	?
	<i>cacbe^ǰǰal</i>	‘hedgehog’	<i>cac be^ǰǰsun</i>	‘to (let) see squills’
	<i>č^ǰap^ǰal</i>	‘mulberry’	?	?
	<i>cap^ǰk^ǰal</i>	‘scythe’	<i>cap^ǰk^ǰesun</i>	‘to harvest’
	<i>čark^ǰal</i>	‘bird trap’	<i>*čark^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>c^ǰic^ǰik^ǰ-c^ǰumk^ǰal</i>	‘newborn’	<i>c^ǰic^ǰik^ǰ c^ǰumk^ǰesun</i>	‘to suck (breast)’
	<i>žiržirk^ǰal</i>	‘cricket’	<i>žiržirk^ǰesun</i>	(onomantopoetic)
	<i>ǰinc^ǰal</i>	‘charcoal’	?	?
	<i>k^ǰac^ǰal</i>	‘ladder’	?	?
	<i>kaǰǰabal</i>	‘advocate’	<i>kaǰǰaz aba(baksun)</i>	‘know(ing) letters’
	<i>k^ǰerc^ǰal</i>	‘ester’	?	?
	<i>kičk^ǰal</i>	‘plane’	<i>kičk^ǰesun</i>	‘to plane’
	<i>k^ǰok^ǰal</i>	‘piece of dough’	?	?
	<i>k^ǰomotal</i>	‘scabies’	?	?
	<i>lip^ǰlip^ǰk^ǰal</i>	‘temples’	<i>*lip^ǰlip^ǰk^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>mač^ǰank^ǰal</i>	‘procurer, pimp’	<i>*mač^ǰank^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>mašk^ǰat^ǰek^ǰal</i>	‘spider’	<i>*mašk^ǰat^ǰek^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>muč^ǰurk^ǰal</i>	‘nail bed sepsis’	<i>muč^ǰ č^ǰurk^ǰesun</i>	‘to twist fingernails’
	<i>mušadal</i>	‘winner’	<i>mušadesun</i>	‘to give into the wind’
	<i>o^ǰxa^ǰl</i>	‘hunt’	<i>*o^ǰxesun</i>	?
	<i>ocap^ǰk^ǰal</i>	‘sickle’	<i>o cap^ǰk^ǰesun</i>	‘to cut grass’
	<i>p^ǰic^ǰumk^ǰal</i>	‘leech’	<i>p^ǰi c^ǰumk^ǰesun</i>	‘to suck blood’
	<i>posposk^ǰal</i>	‘feather’	<i>*posposk^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>pu^ǰmp^ǰa^ǰl</i>	‘shell’	<i>*pump^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>šumbadal</i>	‘baker’	<i>šum bast^ǰun</i>	‘to put bread (into)’
	<i>šamk^ǰal</i>	‘mushroom’	<i>*šamk^ǰesun</i>	?
	<i>t^ǰek^ǰal</i>	‘grasshopper’	?	?
	<i>t^ǰut^ǰuk^ǰal</i>	‘earthquake’	<i>t^ǰut^ǰuk^ǰesun</i>	‘to shake’
	<i>uk^ǰdal</i>	‘lover’	<i>uk^ǰdesun</i>	‘to give (one’s) heart’
	<i>xaladuǰǰal</i>	‘comb for wool’	<i>xala duǰǰsun</i>	‘to comb woolen (things)’
	<i>xašt^ǰal</i>	‘priest’	<i>xašt^ǰesun</i>	‘to refer to a cross’
	<i>xodt^ǰtuk^ǰtuk^ǰdal</i>	‘woodpecker’	<i>xod t^ǰtuk^ǰtuk^ǰdesun</i>	‘to pick into a tree’
	<i>zak^ǰonzombal</i>	‘lawyer’	<i>zak^ǰon zombesun</i>	‘to teach the law’

§ 4. All other derivational patterns are no longer productive. In many cases, the exact derivational type is difficult to determine. The following suffixes are related to this topic:

(x)	<i>-esun</i>	Verbal nouns
	<i>-ux ~ -ox</i>	Collective nouns
	<i>-k^ǰ</i>	Originally diminutives ?
	<i>-pun</i>	?
	<i>-ul</i>	?
	<i>-el</i>	?

§ 5. The most widespread suffix is the masdar2 marker *-esun* (see 3.4.2). It produces referential concepts of relational lexemes such as verbs. It is based on the masdar1 or ‘infinitive’ *-es*, to which the qualifying genitive marker *-un* has been added (see 3.3.3.5). Obviously, the masdar2 originally had a partitive or qualifying meaning. The fact that the masdar2 is a case marked variant of the masdar1 suggests that the masdar1 itself (*-es*) had referential semantics. Actually, the masdar2 is embedded into the now grammaticalized paradigm of the masdar1 inflection:

(x)	<i>pes</i>	*ABS	>	Masdar1	(3.4.2)
	<i>pes-in</i>	*ERG	>	Modal converb	(3.4.10)
	<i>pes-un</i>	*GEN	>	Masdar2	(3.4.2)
	<i>pes-ax</i>	*DAT2	>	Telic converb	(3.4.10)
	<i>pes-xolan</i>	*SUPER:ABL	>	Converb parallel action	(3.4.10)

Frequently, the masdar1 functions more like an infinitive than like a true verbal noun. This telic function probably results from the morphology of the masdar1 itself, which is supposed to represent the (proto-Lezgian) dative. In other words: It mainly is the masdar2 (*-esun*) that functions as a verbal noun. It can be inflected just as any polysyllabic noun (see 3.3.3):

(x)	ABS	<i>pesun</i>	‘the saying’
	ERG	<i>pesun-en</i>	‘by saying’
	GEN	<i>pesun-un</i>	‘of the saying’
	DAT	<i>pesun-a</i>	‘to [the] say[ing]’
	DAT2	<i>pesun-ax</i>	‘[to] the saying’
	ABL	<i>pesun-axo</i>	‘after the saying’ (Vartashen)

A number of nouns ending with *-pun* perhaps show an old genitive of the verbal base that also produced the masdar1 (*-es*). The element can tentatively be analyzed as *-p-un* ‘light verb (*p-*) + *-un*’. Plausible candidates for the type are:

(x)	<i>kačpun</i>	‘cave, hollow, dig’
	<i>q’a’q’a’pun</i>	‘fried eggs, scrambled eggs’
	<i>č’epun</i>	‘rash’
	<i>q’orpun</i>	‘slope, ravine, gorge’
	<i>xurupun</i>	‘small piece’

The original function of the segment *-un* seems to have been parallel to that of *-luğ*: In Old Udi, the morpheme is rather frequent with adjectives and participles to construe abstract referential concepts, eg. *bowq’aown* ‘love’ (Udi *buq’sunluğ*), *‘axnaown* ‘fight’ (Udi *a’qesunluğ*), *aanaown* (Udi *abaluğ*) ‘knowledge’ etc.

§ 6. The standard way to derive collective nouns is to add plural morphology, see 3.2.3. A number of words have lexicalized this plural marker resulting in a plurale tantum. In many cases, it is no longer possible to determine the semantics of the underlying singular. (X) lists some of these words (see 3.2.3 for details):

3.1-3 Reference

(X)	<i>ažux</i>	‘wrath’	<	* <i>až</i>	‘wrath’ ?
	<i>arux</i>	‘fire’	<	* <i>ar</i>	‘fire’
	<i>bixažux</i>	‘god’	<	* <i>bix-</i>	‘creator + ?’
	<i>bixox</i>	‘creator’	<	* <i>bixo</i>	‘creator’
	<i>bo^hxmo^hx</i>	‘nose’	<	* <i>bo^hx</i>	‘nostril’
	<i>burux</i>	‘mountain’	<	<i>bu</i> (Old Udi)	‘mountain-head’
	<i>čubux</i>	‘woman’	<	* <i>čub-</i>	‘woman’
	<i>ćomox</i>	‘door’	<	<i>ćo</i>	‘side’
	<i>elmux</i>	‘soul’	<	* <i>el</i>	‘breath’ ?
	<i>imux</i>	‘ear’	<	* <i>i(b)</i>	‘ear’
	<i>k’ažux</i>	‘beard’	<	* <i>k’až</i>	?
	<i>k’odox</i>	‘forehead’	<	* <i>k’od</i>	‘temple’
	<i>k’onžux</i>	‘landlord’	<	* <i>k’on-</i>	‘house-’
	<i>k’onux</i>	‘guest’	<	* <i>k’on-</i>	‘house-’
	<i>qo^hlo^hx</i>	‘trousers’	<	<i>qo^hl</i>	‘bark’
	<i>ulux</i>	‘tooth’	<	* <i>ul-</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>žomox</i>	‘lip’	<	* <i>žo</i>	‘lip’

Note that *k’onžux* seems to have been reanalyzed as a *plurale tantum*. Originally, it was a compound that involved a now lost word for ‘Lord’ (*-*žux*) still preserved in Old Udi (*k’onžux* < **k’osin-žux* ‘house:GEN-lord’). The same process is present with *bixažux* ‘God’ < **bixa(l)-žux* ‘creating lord’.

§ 7. Another type of *plurale tantum* is present in some nouns denoting human beings. Its morpheme is *-ar* that is perhaps related to the (old) plural *-ur*, see 3.2.3. It appears both in loans and native words:

(X)	<i>adamar</i>	‘man, person’	<	Oriental <i>adam</i>	‘man, person’
	<i>išq’ar</i>	‘husband’	<	Udi <i>išu</i> + ?	
	<i>maq’ar</i>	‘man who brings the bride’	<	* <i>maq’-</i> ?	
	<i>mit’ar</i>	‘publican’	<	* <i>mit’-</i> ? [or loan?]	
	<i>xinär</i>	‘girl, daughter’	<	Early Udi * <i>xin-</i>	‘girl, daughter’

It should be noted, however, that there also is a (vague) possibility to relate the element *-ar* to the Northwest Iranian segment *-ar* that has been reanalyzed from the oblique case of nouns like Pehlevi *pidar* ‘father’, *brātar* ‘brother’, *mātar* ‘mother’, *duxtär* ‘daughter’ (all oblique case). Pehlevi *pus-ar* ‘son:OBL’ < *pus* ‘son’ (~ Modern Persian *pisar*) illustrates the process of reanalysis that is confined to kinship terms and that may have been adopted by Early Udi speakers. A possible mediator may have been Vartashen Tāti (cp. Tāti *xuvär* ‘sister’, *birär* ‘brother’, *šivär* ‘husband’, *piyär* ‘father’, *duxtär* ‘daughter’). A somewhat obscure reflex of Northern Tāti *piyär* ‘father’ is Udi *ap’er* ‘father (honorific)’.

§ 8. Very few nouns probably stem from former adjectives that again are derived from nouns with the help of the ergative morpheme *-en* (see 3.2.5). Most probably, these adjectives have lost their (generalized) head in attributive function. Examples are *i^hžen* ‘winter’ < **i^hž-en* (*vädä*) ‘snowy time’, *usen* ‘year’ < **us-en* [‘period’] of a measure’, also compare *esen* ‘last year’, *epsen* ‘this year’.

§ 9. There is a rather obscure element *-ul* that perhaps functioned as a derivational suffix in proto-Lezgian (< **-ul*₂). Up to now, however, it is difficult both to describe the function of this element and to fix the underlying stems. Udi candidates are: *bedul* ‘spade’, *muč’ul* ‘slat’, *mugul* ‘broom’, *mut’ul* ‘grain’, *tumul* ‘cold (disease)’, *t’up’ul* ‘bud’ (but *žoğul* ‘spring, summer’ < geo. *zapxuli*). Most likely, the three body parts terms *bul* ‘head’, *kul* ‘hand’, and *pul* ‘eye’ belong to this class, too (see 3.3.2.3).

§ 10. Some of the terms containing *-ul* show an initial segment *mu-*. Most probably, this segment, too, belongs to the stock of proto-Lezgian word formation patterns. Further examples include: *muč’a* ‘palm’, *muč’ur* ‘notch’, *mu^qa^f* ‘horn’, *mu^qu^f* ‘son-in-law’, *mučuli* ‘star’, *mugin* ‘secret, altar wine’ (but note that alternative explanations are possible, too, see Schulze 2001, s.v.).

§ 11. The final segment *-k’* is widespread with Udi nouns (and adjectives). Ultimately, it reflects the Old Iranian nominal suffix *-(i)ka-*. It is borrowed with many words from Iranian (especially Pehlevi) that are often mediated by Armenian and/or Azeri. Incidentally, this element is reanalyzed as a (partly) productive suffix in Udi (often with a diminutive connotation). The following examples include nouns the etymology of which hitherto is obscure or unsure:

(X)	<i>abazak’</i>	‘thief’	cf. Armenian <i>abazak’</i> ‘thief’
	<i>ämik’</i>	‘uncle (of father)’	cf. Persian <i>‘am(u)</i> ‘uncle’ < Arabic <i>‘ām</i>
	<i>arak’</i>	‘young animal, young bull’	cf. Azeri <i>ərəkək</i> ‘young animal’
	<i>badak’</i>	‘wine gelee’	cf. Persian <i>bāde</i> ‘wine’
	<i>bazuk’</i>	‘ellbow’	cf. Armenian <i>bazuk</i> (cf. Persian <i>bāzu</i>) ‘ellbow’
	<i>bibik’</i>	‘earlobe’	?
	<i>binik’</i>	‘puppy’	cf. <i>bin</i> ‘bride’
	<i>c’ic’ik’</i>	‘breast’	Onomatopoeitic
	<i>c’indak’</i>	‘stockings’	?
	<i>cicik’</i>	‘flower’	cf. Azeri <i>çiçək</i> ‘flower’
	<i>daxtak’</i>	‘board, table’	cf. Pehlevi <i>taxtak</i> ‘board, desk’
	<i>dendak’</i>	‘tripod’	?
	<i>dešik’</i>	‘split, tear’	cf. Azeri <i>deşik</i> ‘split’
	<i>dizik’</i>	‘snake’	cf. Cp. Armenian <i>iž</i> ‘snake, viper’
	<i>žolak’</i>	‘spider’	?
	<i>žurdak’</i>	‘small wine mug’	?
	<i>gurdak’</i>	‘stomach, kidneys’	?
	<i>izak’</i>	‘ant’	cf. Azeri <i>iz</i> ‘trace’
	<i>k’ancarik’</i>	‘wicker basket’	cf. Armenian <i>goržik</i> ‘basket’
	<i>k’arak’</i>	‘cream’	cf. Azeri <i>kərə</i> ‘sweet cream, butter’
	<i>k’erek’</i>	‘wild grape’	cf. Georgian <i>k’enk’ra</i> ‘berry’
	<i>k’orc’ik’</i>	‘fruit’	cf. Armenian <i>koriz</i> ‘fruit’
	<i>kepek’</i>	‘cone, medlar’	cf. Azeri <i>qapaq</i> ‘cone’
	<i>kötik’</i>	‘trunk’	cf. Azeri <i>kötük</i> ‘block of wood’
	<i>kurdak’</i>	‘field’	?
	<i>läžik’</i>	‘milk pail’	?
	<i>mamušak’</i>	‘lila’	cf. Armenian <i>manušak</i> ‘lila’
	<i>mandak’</i>	‘fatigue, exhaustion’	cf. Pehlevi <i>māndak</i> ‘failure, lapse’

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<i>mešik</i> '	'small bag'	cf. Pehlevi <i>mašk</i> 'skin bag'
<i>moc'ak</i> '	'midge'	cf. Armenian <i>mocak</i> 'midge'
<i>p'izik</i> '	'belt (spinning wheel)'	cf. Armenian <i>p^oog</i> 'belt to drive spinning wheel' (?)
<i>pampaluk</i> '	'butterfly'	cf. Azeri <i>kəpənək</i> 'butterfly' > * <i>pə(m)pələk</i>
<i>pišik</i> '	'cat'	cf. Azeri <i>pişik</i> 'cat'
<i>po^opnik</i> '	'heel'	?
<i>pučik</i> '	'blister'	cf. Armenian <i>p^oušik</i> 'blister'
<i>pusak</i> '	'marriage'	cf. Armenian <i>psak</i> 'crown, garland' (cp. Avesta <i>pusā-</i> 'crown, garland')
<i>šumak</i> '	'female'	cf. Russian <i>samka</i> 'female' (?)
<i>šaft'aluk</i> '	'peach'	cf. Az. <i>šaftalə</i> 'peach'
<i>tanak</i> '	'ink'	cf. Armenian <i>f^oanak^o</i> 'ink'
<i>tumpalak</i> '	'rabies'	?
<i>tušik</i> '	'plait'	?
<i>xalik</i> '	'uncle (br. of mother)'	cf. Persian <i>xāl(u)</i> 'uncle'
<i>xirik</i> '	'last sleep of the silk worm'	?
<i>xorik</i> '	'lime tree'	cf. Armenian <i>lori</i> 'lime tree' (?)

3.2.2.3 Compounding. The vague distinction of adjectives from nouns renders it difficult to define Udi nominal compounds in a strict sense according to which all parts of a compound must share nominal (hence referential) features:

(x) {REF + REF} > REF

Rather, it seems useful to define nominal compounds as those compounds that a) contain of at least *one* nominal segment and that b) produce a referential reading of the complex form. In addition, it is important to refer to the distinction of 'endocentric' vs. 'exocentric' compounds: Endocentric compounds are commonly referred to as those complex forms the referential 'target' of which is given by one of the segments of the compound:

(x) {X + REF_i} > REF_i

On the other hand, exocentric compounds are marked for referential alternation: The embedded referential segment is not the same as the referential form produced by the compound:

(x) {X + REF_i} > REF_j

Nevertheless, it should be born in mind that the relation between the two referential layers is not accidental: Most often, we have to deal with part-whole or 'possessive' relations (frequently body part terms) expressed by *bahuvrīhi* compounds, as for instance in Udi *aq'-mac'i* 'squirrel' (lit.: breast-white' = 'whose breast (is) white'), *p'a^o-ćola* 'two-faced' > 'hypocrite'.

§ 1. Usually, the number of compound segments is two. Occasionally more complex

compounds are encountered as in *be^ǰbuibakal* ‘West’ (lit.: ‘(place where) the sun (*be^ǰ*) becomes (*bakal*) full (*bui*)’), *mućanaq’naćo* ‘cream’ (lit.: ‘(what is on) the surface (*ćo*) of sweet (*muća*) milk (*naq*)’), *k’osvakalga* < **k’oǰ-bakal-ga* ‘house-being-place’ > ‘meadow for sheep’ (the term *k’oǰ* ‘house’ is also used to denote ‘sheep’ (reduced from *belin-k’oǰ* ‘sheep:gen-house’)), *t’ulaferek’alxaš* ‘August’ (lit.: grape (*t’ul*) praying (*aferek’al*) month (*xaš*)), *xodt’uk’t’uk’dal* ‘woodpecker’ (lit.: ‘what makes (*-dal*) ‘tuktuk’ [on] a tree (*xod*)).

§ 2. In order to access the typology of noun composition in Udi, it is important to delimit this feature from noun incorporation: Udi is marked for a considerable degree of noun incorporation (see Harris 2002, x.x.x.) that usually involves a referent in ‘objective’ (more rarely in periphrastic (locative)) function, compare:

- (x) *me aš-n-ux sama^ǰǰänä b-al-zu* (Okt’omberi)
 PROX work-SA-DAT2 day=after=tomorrow do-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘I will do this work the day after tomorrow.’
- (x) *sama^ǰǰänä aš-b-al-zu* (Okt’omberi)
 day=after=tomorrow work-do>LV-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘I will work the day after tomorrow.’

Incorporation usually implies weak referentiality of the incorporated noun and hence goes together with one of the typical aspects of determinative compounds. In addition, incorporated structures can be referentialized just as standard verb forms (using the so-called ‘masdar’ (or: verbal noun). As a result, compositional structures show up that come close to what is often termed ‘role nominals’ (e.g. English *truck driver*, *state employee* etc.). Examples from Udi are *bukun-taisun* ‘diarrhoea’ (lit.: ‘going=away (*taisun*) [from] the stomach (*bukun*)’), *elmuǰ-tast’un* ‘death’ (lit.: ‘spirit (*elmuǰ*) giving (*tast’un*)’), *be^ǰbuibaksun* ‘sunset’ (lit.: [the time when] the sun (*be^ǰ*) becomes full (*buibaksun*)’). In fact, any verb can acquire referential properties by adding the masdar morpheme (*-(e)sun*), whether or not it is marked by an incorporated element. In the present paper, however, such referential forms are not taken into consideration in order not to inflate the data base.

§ 3. Basically, the same holds for the great number of *nomina agentis* that are derived with the help of the non-past participle *-al* added to one of the Udi light verbs (most often *pesun* ‘to say’ (suppletive stem *k’-*) and *besun* ‘to do, make’, both of which derive transitive verbs, see x.x.x.x). Yet, contrary to the referential forms mentioned above, the verbal base is sometimes no longer in use. As a result, we have to deal with a word formation pattern that comes close to noun composition (usually ‘role nominals’). (x) lists some of these nouns:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|------------|--|
| (x) | <i>apćiduǰal</i> | ‘liar’ | ‘lie(<i>apći</i>)-hitter’ |
| | <i>be^ǰbat’kal</i> | ‘West’ | ‘sun(<i>be^ǰ</i>)-perishing’ |
| | <i>be^ǰć’eǰal</i> | ‘East’ | ‘sun(<i>be^ǰ</i>)-going=out’ |
| | <i>belebe^ǰal</i> | ‘shepherd’ | ‘sheep(<i>bele</i>)-watcher’ |

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<i>cacbe^fǵal ~ cacnaǵa^fǵa^fl</i>	‘hedgehog’	‘thorn(<i>cac</i>)-seer’
<i>c’anč’eft’al</i>	‘kind of peach’	‘č’anč’-keeper’
<i>c’ic’ik’c’umk’al</i>	‘baby’	‘breast(<i>c’ic’ik’</i>)-sucker’
<i>dördök’al ~ gürgürk’al</i>	‘small watershed’	Onomatopoeic (?)
<i>ingirbal</i>	‘cress’	‘ <i>ingir</i> -doer’
<i>ma^fǵk’al</i>	‘singer’	‘song(<i>ma^fǵ</i>)-sayer’
<i>mač’ank’al</i>	‘procurer, pimp’	‘ <i>mač’an</i> -sayer’
<i>mašk’at’ek’al</i>	‘bat’	?
<i>mesnuq’al</i>	‘rotten egg’	?
<i>p’ic’umk’al</i>	‘leech’	‘blood(<i>p’i</i>)-sucker’
<i>posposk’al</i>	‘freather’	?
<i>šamk’al</i>	‘mushroom’	?
<i>torok’al</i>	‘bast shoe’	?
<i>xaladuǵal</i>	‘comb for wool’	‘ <i>xala</i> -hitter’
<i>xodt’ap’k’al</i>	‘woodpecker’	‘tree(<i>xod</i>)-hitter’

The examples illustrate that in Udi, nominal compounds involving a relational (verbal) segment (type N-V:N) take an intermediate position between incorporation (the underlying technique) and derivation (based on the grammaticalization of the verbal segment):

- (x) incorporation < noun composition < derivation

Any discussion of Udi compounding techniques has to take into consideration this dynamic pattern. The following example covers all three domains:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------------|---|------------------|
| (x) | <i>aš-besun</i> | ‘to work’ (lit.: ‘do work’) | → | Incorporation |
| | <i>aš-bal</i> | ‘worker’ (lit.: ‘work-doer’) | → | Noun composition |
| | <i>ašb-al</i> | ‘worker’ | → | Derivation |

Note that such verbal *tatpuruṣa* compounds come close to the Vedic *rathe-ṣthā-s* type (‘who is standing on the charriot’). However, contrary to the IndoIranian étalon, reversed *tatpusuṣa* compounds do not occur (cp. Vedic *kṣayád-vīra-* ‘who rules over the men’): Structures like **zaftbal-išǵox* (‘ruler (*zaftbal*) [over] the men (*išǵox*)’) are not licensed in Modern Udi. This fact mirrors the preferred word order in Udi which is dominated by verb final clauses and by a preverbal focus field (see [x.x.x.](#)).

§ 4. In order to exclude forms as given in (x) from the present discussion, noun composition will be narrowed down to those structures that do *not* involve an overt verbal segment. Note that this limitation does not imply that nominal compounds are necessarily unmarked for relational properties. Rather, we have to assume that in most ‘standard’ compounds, the relational layer is covertly present (with exocentric compounds) or is indicated by morphological elements, compare:

- (x) *berečo* ‘pillowcase’ (pillow-GEN (*ber-e*) face (*čo*))

As has been said above, possessive structures bear strong relational properties, at

least in Udi. Hence, the linkage between the two nouns *ber* ‘pillow’ and *čo* ‘face’ involves a (lexically covert) layer that plays the role of a relational segment. Accordingly, the most general template for nominal compounding in Udi can be described as follows:

(x)	Ref ₁	Rel	Ref ₂	Examples (see (11) and (14))
	N	→	N	Basic relational template
	N	→ _N		Referential verb: <i>bukun-taisun</i> , <i>bele-be</i> ^{ǰgal}
	N _↘		N	Relational compound: <i>bere-čo</i>

§ 5. In addition to relational compounds (types N→_N and N_↘N), we can describe a second type which superficially lacks a relational component. Conventionally, such compounds are described as ‘non-determinative’ or ‘exocentric’: Accordingly, the two (or more) segments in a compound are not marked by a relational linkage. In most instances, such compounds entail a referential segment preceded or followed by a qualifying or quantifying segment (Q):

(x) N+Q / Q+N

Nevertheless, it should be noted that it is difficult to set up a distinct class of non-determinative compounds in Udi: Especially with adjectival attributes, we cannot describe a clear-cut line between relational and non-relational structures, compare:

(x)	<i>ma</i> ^{ǰin} - <i>pušpuš</i>	‘liver, kidney’	(black inner=organ)
	<i>čäyilin</i> - <i>meq</i>	‘earthworm’	(feather:gen-worm)

From a semantic point of view, *ma*^{ǰin}*pušpuš* represents a Q:N compound that lacks relational properties (contrary to *čäyilinmeq*). However, diachronic evidence shows that the term *ma*^{ǰin} ‘black’ goes back to a genitive marked noun (**mǰč’i-n*, which again is the **m*-nominal of a former adjectival stem **(r)č’i* ‘black’, see Schulze 2001:298). Hence, *ma*^{ǰin} originally translated ‘of blackness’. Accordingly, *ma*^{ǰin}*pušpuš* could be likewise described as a relational compound of the *bahuvrīhi* type, at least from a diachronic point of view. The same holds for instance for the compound *č’ement’ul* ‘small white grape’: The segment *č’emen* translates ‘dirty’ although it likewise has a referential reading (*č’em-en* ‘with dirt’, ergative-instrumental). In other words, *č’ement’ul* can be both a N_↘N and a Q:N compound. Likewise, *oqun-partal* ‘underware’ shows a qualifying segment (*oqun* ‘under’) that itself represents the genitive of a now lost noun **oq* ‘ground, lower surface’ etc. Nevertheless, some Udi compounds clearly show non-relational properties. The clearest example is given by so-called complexive compounds that involve a numeral (see below). In addition, such compounds are met with certain social or kin terms, e.g. *kalna(na)* < **kala-nana* ‘grandmother’ (lit.: ‘old mother’): Here, the qualification of the noun *nana* is based on the ‘true’ adjective *kala* ‘big, old’, itself a loan from Northern Tāti *kala* ~ *kälä* ‘big, old’.

§ 6. Superficially, non-relational properties are also typical for exocentric compounds: Here, the whole compound refers to a concept that itself is not expressed in the compound. In Udi, such a structure is frequently met with so-called inversed *bahuvrīhi* ('amstrong' type, see below). An example is *tur-subuk* 'dandy', based on *tur* 'foot' and *subuk* 'light' (perhaps a chalque from Azeri *ayağyünkül* 'dandy' (foot:3SG:POSS light)). However, it seem reasonable to assume that even such structures are marked for relational segments:

(x) REF_i = N[:POSS_i] is Q

Accordingly, there is a possessive (or: part-whole) relation between the exocentric referent and the nominal segment of the compound. In addition, we describe a verbal relation between the nominal segment and the qualifying element which itself is embedded into a so-called existential relation (copula). In Udi, both relations are covert but nevertheless processed by the speaker. This can be easily seen from the referential syntax of such 'amstrong' compounds:

(x) *bez viči tursubuk'-ne* [f.n.]
 my brother dandy-3SG
 'My brother is a dandy.'

The third person clitic *-ne* links the noun phrase *bez viči* 'my brother' to the covert 'possessor', but not to the overt noun *tur* 'foot' (a reading, which in fact would not make sense). Hence, we can describe the following relational structure for (x) [Por = 'Possessor', Pum = 'Possessum'; note that the position of the agreement clitic is chosen for illustrative purposes only, the reading *bez viči-ne tursubuk'* would yield a focus on *bez viči*):

(x) N_i →_{/3sg} [N_i:Por N_j:Pum →_{/∅} Q]
 [*bez viči*]_i *-ne* [*∅*]_{i/Por} [*tur*]_{j/Pum} →_∅ [*subuk'*]

§ 7. In sum, we can safely claim that in Udi, nominal compounding techniques are dominated by relational features, both overt and covert. Non-relational strategies are much rarer and perhaps motivated by loan translation and structural borrowing. Noun composition involving one referential segment is thus embedded into the complex interaction of the referential with the relational domain that is covered by the hierarchy given in (x).

§ 8. A totally different type of nominal compounds is given by *āmreḍita* and *dvandva* compounds. Here, a referential segment is either iterated (*āmreḍita*) or linked to another referential segment that is not embedded into a relational (possessive, part-whole) structure (*dvandva*). Superficially, *āmreḍita* compounds are rather frequent in Udi (e.g. *puš-puš* '(two parallel) inner organs', *kur-kur* 'a children's game, involving small holes (*kur*)'). However, it is not always easy to delimit such compounds from re-iterations used for emphatic purposes (e.g. *bibi* 'bride' (Nizh), *q'umq'um* 'snail'

etc.). A mixed type is represented by lexically distinct nouns that, however, cover roughly the same conceptual segment, e.g. *lavaš-šum* ‘bread’ (*lavaš* ‘loaf’ + *šum* ‘bread’). Such ‘explicative compounds’ occasionally show up in the language, but they cannot be considered as representing a general productive pattern.

§ 9. The Udi types of noun composition. In order to delimit noun composition from both derivation and incorporation, it seems useful to confine the description of noun composition to those complex structures that do not (synchronically) involve an overt relational element in terms of a verbal unit. In the present section, I will illustrate the basic compositional types of Udi as elaborated above. The aim of this section is not to provide a complete catalogue of nominal compounds in Udi – a goal that cannot be achieved anyway viewing the fact that noun composition is (at least in parts) a productive feature of Udi word formation.

§ 10. Non-relational compounds. As has been said above, Udi non-relational compounds are of three types: a) *dvandva* compounds, b) *āmreḍita* compounds, c) *qualifying/quantifying* (Q-) compounds. *Dvandva* compounds can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(x)	<i>ata-baba</i>	‘ancestor’	‘elder-father’
	<i>baba-nana</i>	‘parents’	‘father-mother’
	<i>bul-tur</i>	‘totality’	‘head-foot’
	<i>ḡe-äyčä</i>	‘morning’	‘day:DAT-morning’
	<i>išu-čubux</i>	‘couple’	‘man-woman’
	<i>kala-xuri ~ kakala-xuri</i>	‘totality’	‘great-small’
	<i>kul-tur</i>	‘totality’	‘hand-foot’
	<i>lavaš-šum</i>	‘bread’	‘loaf-brad’
	<i>ma^ʕin-mac^ʕi</i>	‘innards of killed animals’	‘black+white’
	<i>uksun-u^ʕḡsun</i>	‘feast’	‘eating-drinking’
	<i>xunči-viči</i>	‘siblings’	‘sister-brother’

It can be seen that Udi *dvandva* compounds are rather descriptive and generally lack a high degree of metaphorization. They thus come rather close to the prototype of *dvandva* compounds. In fact, such compounds show a considerable degree of productivity: As long as the conceptual domains are compatible, any two nouns can merge to reflect a conceptual blend.

§ 11. Non-relational Q-compounds may involve adjectives, adverbs, or numerals. Qualifying compounds can be illustrated with the of the following data:

(x)	<i>aḡu-bayn</i>	‘sour cherry’	‘sour cherry’
	<i>ala-arcio</i>	‘God’	‘high-sitter’
	<i>amc^ʕi-ga</i>	‘place between ribs and stomach’	‘empty-place’
	<i>arci-adamar</i>	‘lazy person’	‘sitting-person’
	<i>bala-q^ʕap</i>	‘small door’	‘small-*door’
	<i>č^ʕoč^ʕa-k^ʕul</i>	‘loam’	‘red-earth’
	<i>č^ʕoč^ʕa-muš</i>	‘wound inflammation’	‘red-wind’

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<i>č'emen-t'ul</i>	‘small white grape’	‘dirty-grape’
<i>däy-žoğul</i>	‘spring’	‘dry-summer’
<i>gozi-naq'</i>	‘kind of sweet dish’	‘?-milk’
<i>hino-cicik'</i>	‘garden balsam’	‘?-flower’
<i>k'ic'k'e-axc'ima</i>	‘Christmas’	‘little Easter’
<i>kala-axc'ima</i>	‘Easter’	‘great-Easter’
<i>kala-baba ~ kalba(ba)</i>	‘grandfather’	‘old-father’
<i>kala-bulluğ</i>	‘big-head’	‘big-head’
<i>kala-buq'un</i>	‘fat-bellied’	‘great-stomach’
<i>kala-ğirux</i>	‘fasten day’	‘great-days’
<i>kala-gergec'</i>	‘cathedral’	‘great-church’
<i>kala-nana ~ kalna(na)</i>	‘grandmother’	‘old-mother’
<i>kalo-žomo(x)</i>	‘gasbag, gossip’	‘big-mouth’
<i>ma^ʕin-ğa^ʕyna</i>	‘raven’	‘black crow’
<i>ma^ʕin-go</i>	‘cheek’	‘black-?’
<i>mac'i-pušpuš</i>	‘lung’	‘white-inner=organ’
<i>mac'i-q'uvanğ</i>	‘white poplar’	‘white-poplar’
<i>muća-naq'</i>	‘milk’	‘sweet-milk’
<i>naq'la-xup'</i>	‘ayran pilav’	‘milky-pilav’
<i>oq'un-partal</i>	‘underware’	‘under-coat’
<i>q'ari-t'ul</i>	‘raisin’	‘dry-grape’
<i>xe-baki-čayn</i>	‘lard’	‘water- become(>melted)-butter’
<i>zəğ-žomo</i>	‘gasbag, gossip’	‘torn-mouth’

§ 12. Quantifying compounds generally place a cardinal number before the nominal component. This type is especially frequent with the numeral *p'a^ʕ* ‘two’ (indicating two (in parts opposite) properties). In addition, the days of the week use this pattern based on the corresponding ‘Oriental’ model:

(x)	<i>bip'-šamat'</i>	‘Wednesday’	‘four-sabbath’
	<i>p'a^ʕ-čolao</i>	‘hypocrite’	‘two-faced’
	<i>p'a^ʕ-elmux</i>	‘pregnance’	‘two-soul’
	<i>p'a^ʕ-šamat'</i>	‘Monday’	‘two-sabbath’
	<i>qo-šamat'</i>	‘Thursday’	‘five-sabbath’
	<i>sa-bol</i>	‘unjust person’	‘one-?’
	<i>sa-bul</i>	‘single’	‘one-head’
	<i>sa-bur</i>	‘load’	‘one-?’
	<i>sa-hor</i>	‘moment’	‘one-moment’
	<i>samä^ʕ-ğenä</i>	‘day after tomorrow’	‘three(Georgian)-day’
	<i>xib-šamat'</i>	‘Tuesday’	‘three-sabbath’

§ 13. Relational compounds. Relational compounds fall into two classes: a) exocentric compounds, b) endocentric compounds. In Udi, exocentric compounds are usually represented by the inverse *bahuvrīhi* type (‘armstrong’ compounds). Among the many examples we can find:

(x)	<i>a^ʕq-mac'i / döš-mac'i</i>	‘squirrel’	‘breast-white’
	<i>ağbat-xeir</i>	‘peace’	‘fate-good’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>baćan-k'oc'</i>	'curve'	'back-bent'
<i>bul-ala</i>	'arrogant person'	'head-high'
<i>bul-dürüst</i>	'pity'	'head-true'
<i>ćo-ma^ŕin</i>	'bad person'	'face-black'
<i>ćo-mac'i</i>	'good person'	'face-white'
<i>ćo-moc'ak'</i>	'bad person'	'face-dirty'
<i>fı-gombal</i>	'blackberry'	'grape-?'
<i>kul-bak'</i>	'bag'	'hand-?'
<i>ozan-k'ori</i>	'servant'	'neck-bent'
<i>pop-bari</i>	'bald man'	'hair-lacking'
<i>pop-mac'i</i>	'wise person'	'hair-white'
<i>pul-deři</i>	'greedy person'	'eye-?'
<i>pul-k'aći</i>	'blind person'	'eye-closed'
<i>pul-qınc'</i>	'sceptical person'	'eye-narrow'
<i>tur-k'ala</i>	'with lame leg'	'leg-lame'
<i>tur-k'ori</i>	'with bent leg'	'leg-bent'
<i>tur-qay</i>	'barefooted'	'leg-open'
<i>tur-subuk'</i>	'dandy'	'leg-light'
<i>tur-toř</i>	'impolite person'	'leg-outside'

The data illustrate that the Udi 'armstrong' technique heavily relies on embodiment strategies. In fact, such structures as **k'oř-kala* 'who has a big house' are alien to the language. In this sense, Udi *ağbatxeir* 'peace, greetings' is exceptional and obviously based on Azeri *agibatin xeyir* (meaning the same). The restriction of 'armstrong' compounds to body-part terms suggests that we have to deal with a rather old layer that has not been extended to other domains.

§ 14. The overwhelming majority of Udi relational compounds is belongs to the endocentric class marked by two nominals the first of which is followed by a (relational) genitive marker. Frequently, the second nominal is a generic (or more general) term than the first element. A large class is formed by tree names using the pattern: fruit=name:GEN-tree (*xod*). Among the many examples we find:

(x)	<i>ğolořna-xod</i>	'alder tree'
	<i>e^ŕřna-xod</i>	'apple tree'
	<i>ärügün-xod</i>	'apricot tree'
	<i>zidda-xod</i>	'ash tree'
	<i>bayna-xod</i>	'cherry tree'
	<i>c'abulla-xod</i>	'chestnut tree'
	<i>sella-xod</i>	'elm tree'
	<i>to^ŕqa^ŕnin-xod</i>	'fig tree'
	<i>řağanna-xod</i>	'kind of beech'
	<i>xorik'na-xod</i>	'lime tree'
	<i>kenek'na-xod</i>	'medlar tree'
	<i>tutta-xod</i>	'mulberry tree'
	<i>ereq'na-xod</i>	'nut tree'
	<i>ma^ŕqna-xod</i>	'oak tree'
	<i>arra-xod</i>	'pear tree'
	<i>damp'ulla-xod</i>	'plum tree'

<i>ğoğna-xod</i>	‘plum tree’
<i>a^lla^lmun-xod</i>	‘pomegranate tree’
<i>lapanna-xod</i>	‘Pterocarya cauc.’
<i>na^lyna^l-xod</i>	‘Pterocarya cauc.’
<i>puşin-xod</i>	‘quince tree’
<i>bülbayna-xod</i>	‘sour cherry tree’

Names for other plants are less frequently referred to in this way. examples include *uruzun-t^lul* (‘Russian grape’) ‘gooseberry’, *uruzun-k^larov* ‘porridge’, *xene-c^lic^lik^l* ‘waterplant’, and the etymologically obscure term *balan-q^lo* ‘blackberry’. Animals, too, are incidentally denoted in this way, compare *barun-nec^l* ‘bug’ (wall:GEN fly), *burğo-us* ‘beetle’ (mountain:GEN bull), *çailin-meq* ‘earthworm’ (feather:GEN worm), *çolla-bo^lq* ‘boar’ (bush:GEN pig), *keçin-bala* ‘young goat’ (goat:GEN-youth), *oxlan-quş* ‘hoopoe’ (comb:GEN bird), *u^lçe- t^lat^l* ‘bee’ (honey:GEN fly), *xene-dälläk* ‘dragonfly’ (water:GEN butterfly) etc.

§ 15. Else, this compositional type is documented especially for body parts, (non-affinal) kin terms, landmarks and food. (x) gives some additional data:

(x)	<i>ämik’un-ğar</i>	uncle:GEN son	
	<i>ämik’un-xinär</i>	uncle:GEN daughter	
	<i>ämik’un-çuhux</i>	uncle:GEN wife	
	<i>äma-ğar</i>	aunt:GEN son	
	<i>äma-xinär</i>	aunt:GEN daughter	
	<i>dädä-ğar</i>	uncle:GEN son	
	<i>dädä-xinär</i>	uncle:GEN daughter	
	<i>işe asil</i>	man:GEN male	
	<i>viçe-çuhux</i>	brother:GEN woman	
	<i>viçe-ğar</i>	brother:GEN son	
	<i>viçe-xinär</i>	brother:GEN daughter	
	<i>xala-bin</i>	cousin-gen bride	
	<i>xala-ğar</i>	cousin:GEN son	
(X)	<i>a^lmna-bul</i>	‘shoulder’	arm:GEN head
	<i>bi^lğun-k^laşa</i>	‘middle finger’	middle:GEN finger
	<i>bukunun-c^lan</i>	‘navel’	stomach:GEN kernel
	<i>c^lic^lik^lun-bul</i>	‘nipple’	breast:GEN head
	<i>k^la^lk^la^lp^lun-bul</i>	‘kneecap’	knee:GEN head
	<i>k^lilin k^laşa</i>	‘finger’	hand:GEN finger
	<i>pinxaş</i>	‘pupil’	eye:GEN light
	<i>turin-gurdak^l</i>	‘lower leg’	leg:GEN stomach
	<i>turin-k^laşa</i>	‘toe’	foot:GEN finger
	<i>ulğo-tum</i>	‘gums’	tooth:GEN root
	<i>xoragun-lek^ler</i>	‘stomach’	food:GEN pot

§ 16. An older layer is represented by the two religious terms *be^ling^l* ‘Sunday’ and *be^lins^l* ‘priest’. Both terms are based on the genitive of *be^lğ^l* ‘sun’ two which *ğ^li* ‘day’ and *işu* ‘man’ had been added. The resulting forms **be^lğin-ğ^li* and **be^lğin-işu* were subsequently reduced to *be^ling^l* and *be^lins^l*. Most likely, the same pattern was

originally present in a number of other nouns that today show the unusual syllabic structure CVVNC(V), as present e.g. in *bei^hnq* ‘darkness’ or *nei^hś* ‘sacrifice’. However, the current state of Udi etymological research does not allow giving a more detailed picture.

§ 17. Etymological uncertainty also hinders us to fully account for a number of other Udi nouns which are perhaps related to one of the compounding patterns presented in this paper. However, in this case, none of the alleged components can safely be described as independent lexical units. The following terms can be tentatively referred to in order to illustrate this class:

(x)	<i>a^hla^hq^ho^h</i>	‘idiot’	?
	<i>aramt^hol ~ aramt^hor</i>	‘jackal’	?
	<i>araq^hor</i>	‘morning red’	?
	<i>ba^hda^hla^hq^h</i>	‘frog’	?
	<i>babo^hcal</i>	‘ring’	?
	<i>biläzärün</i>	‘noon’	?
	<i>c^hi^hla^hmp^hur</i>	‘wild greens’	?
	<i>gurdonž</i>	‘water shed’	<i>gurdesun</i> ‘fall down’ ?
	<i>k^hirmonc^h</i>	‘hook’	?
	<i>k^horomp^huc^h</i>	~ ‘crust of pilav’	?
	<i>q^haranp^huz</i>		
	<i>kayixša</i>	‘dawn’	<i>kay-</i> ‘dawn’
	<i>lolomp^hur</i>	‘oats’	?
	<i>maypap^hoyla</i>	‘saying’	x
	<i>mugin</i>	‘altar wine; secret’	Armenian <i>gin</i> ‘wine’
	<i>p^hilğonž</i>	‘lizard’	?
	<i>q^ho^hśmo^ht^h</i>	‘kind of bread’	x
	<i>q^hośamağ</i>	‘palm’	?
	<i>sevce</i>	‘brother of husband’	* <i>se(y)-viči</i> ‘in-law brother’?
	<i>seyde</i>	‘father of husband’	* <i>sey-de(da)</i> ‘in-law father’?
	<i>seyne</i>	‘mother of husband’	* <i>sey-ne(na)</i> ‘in-law mother’?
	<i>t^hat^hmer</i>	‘witch’	<i>t^hat^hi</i> ‘grandmother’ ?
	<i>vartiver</i>	‘day of roses’	<i>vart</i> ‘rose’
	<i>xayaq^huš</i>	‘kind of food’	<i>quš</i> ‘bird’
	<i>yalanq^hoz</i>	‘pterocarya cauc.’	?

Most likely, some of these nouns are loans from yet unidentified sources. Nevertheless, we can expect that others reflect older layers of Udi compositional techniques that are no longer present in contemporary Udi.

3.2.2.4 Reduplication. With referential forms, reduplication is used to modify the basic meaning of a noun or to form onomatopoeic words (especially bird names). Frequently, the non-reduplicated form is no longer attested. Also, borrowings have importantly contributed in the paradigmaticization of Udi reduplication. Two basic types can be distinguished: Partial reduplication (CV-) and full (syllable) reduplication (CVC). Normally, the vowel in the reduplicating segment copies the vowel of the stem, though there are a number of exceptions. Additionally, Udi knows

(through influence from Azeri) of ‘echo reduplication’. Partial reduplication with vowel copying is for example present in the following nouns:

(X)	<i>č’uč’up’</i>	‘curl’	Expressive
	<i>bibik’</i>	‘earlobe’	Dual
	<i>bobočal</i>	‘ring’	?
	<i>č’üč’ük’än</i>	‘titmouse’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>cicik’</i>	‘flower’	Expressive ?
	<i>žežer</i>	‘lips’	Dual
	<i>gugum</i>	‘horsefly’	Expressive
	<i>k’a^hk’a^hp’</i>	‘knee’	Dual
	<i>k’ak’ala</i>	‘excrement, droppings’	Expressive (?)
	<i>k’ok’oc’</i>	‘hen’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>me^hme^hl</i>	‘horsefly’	Expressive
	<i>momoc’</i>	‘snot’	Expressive
	<i>t’i^ht’i^hp’</i>	‘wild pomegranate’	?

It comes clear that the two main functions of nominal reduplication are either to produce an iconic dual or expressive marking. However, note that three of the examples mentioned in (X) may find an alternative explanation: The reduplication in *bobočal* ‘ring’ is rather dubious because there are variants like *babočal* and *boižo^hčal* (the etymology is obscure). *cicik’* ‘flower’ shows reduplication only if we relate it to Lezgi *cük^h* ‘flower’ (note that the term is already given in Old Udi, hence a borrowing from Azeri *çiçək* ‘flower’ is less likely). Finally, *k’ak’ala* ‘excrement’ can likewise be interpreted as a former *-la*-adjective (see x.x.x) that has undergone conversion to a noun. In this case, the term would be related to Armenian *k^hakor* ‘dung’, Greek *κάκκη* ‘excrement’, and Latin *cacāre* ‘to shit’.

The following three terms superficially illustrate reduplication without vocalic echo: *čä’č’ik’* ‘paw’, *gegär* ‘pigeon’ (but cf. Azeri *göyərçin* ~ *gövərçin* ‘pigeon’ > **gög^her(čin)* ?), and *gu^hge^hl* ‘owl’ (onomatopoeic).

Some nouns that show full reduplication of the stem syllable belong to the domain of onomatopoeics. Additionally, a few reduplicated nouns produce expressive reference. Note that the stem often lacks etymological transparency. Two terms do not echo the stem vowel in the reduplication syllable: *č’ac’i* ‘blackbird’ and *q’ac’q’ruč’* ‘narrowness’. The second term shows post-reduplication and varies the vowel according to the Turkic *mışmaş*-type. Note the expressive insertion of *-r-* in the second syllable. The following list illustrates full reduplication:

(X)	<i>žiržir(k’al)</i>	‘cricket’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>bi^hbi^h</i>	‘bridge’	Dual ?
	<i>biabia</i>	‘whitethorn’	?
	<i>bilbil</i>	‘nightingale’	Onomatopoeic, loan < Azeri <i>bülbül</i> ‘nightingale’
	<i>bizäbizäliğ</i>	‘swamp’	Expressive
	<i>gužguž</i>	‘smile’	Expressive
	<i>k’upk’up</i>	‘cuckoo’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>k’urk’ur</i>	‘caress’	Expressive

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<i>la^hngla^hng</i>	‘stork’	Expressive (cf. <i>la^hng</i> ‘step’, contaminated with Persian <i>lağlağ</i> ‘stork’)
<i>mižmiž</i>	‘jellied meat’	?
<i>pu^hšpu^hš</i>	‘insides’	Expressive
<i>q^humq^hum</i>	‘snail’	Cf. <i>q^hum</i> ‘sand’ ?
<i>t^hrat^hra</i>	‘lark’	Onomatopoeic
<i>xašxaš</i>	‘poppy, hashish’	Loan < Azeri <i>xaşxaş</i> ‘poppy’

In speech, Udi speakers often spontaneously produce reduplicated forms such as *tultul* ~ *tul* ‘young animal’, *qo^hqo^hq* ~ *qo^hq* ‘cough’, *q^hə^hq^hə^h* ~ *q^hə^h* ‘fear’, *q^hušq^huš* ~ *q^huš* ‘bird(s)’ etc. Normally, such spontaneous reduplication is linked to expressiveness. Also, it may produce a diminutive or collective reading.

Note that reduplication can also occur with (adverbial) demonstratives, e.g. *me-miya* ‘really/exactly here’, *t^he-tiya* ‘really/exactly there’ etc.

3.2.3 Referentialization

§ 1. Unmarked conversion of relational structures to referential nouns is confined to the non-past participle *-al* (see 3.2.2.2). Note that the corresponding past participle (marked by *-i*) usually produces (stativ) adjectives (see 3.2.9). Else, the language applies a generic ‘referentializer’ to derive referential nouns from qualifying words. In fact, any (relational) form that qualifies or quantifies a referent may be turned in to a referential noun. The basic technique is to add the morpheme *-o* (REF:ABS). With deictic elements, Vartashen and, in parts, Nizh add *-o* to a so-called determinative suffix (*-n-*) that is present also in three of the four personal pronouns (*un* ‘you:SG’, *ian* ‘we’, and *va^hn* ‘you:PL’), see 3.3.6 and 3.3.7.1. An example is *me-n-o* ‘this one (PROX)’, *ka-n-o* ‘that one (MED)’, *še-n-o* ‘that one (DIST)’ (see 3.2.8.2.1).

§ 2. The referentializer *-o* has resulted from the grammaticalization of the deictic marker *o* that is lost in contemporary Udi. Already in Old Udi, this deixis had frequently been added to qualifying (adjectival and pronominal) forms to produce referential variants, e.g. *hebiyay-o* ‘apostle’ (lit. ‘who has been sent’), *hanay-o-k^he* ‘who’ (relative, lit.: which-he that’) etc. See 3.3.7.1 and 3.3.10 for the functional properties of the morpheme *-o*.

§ 3. In Old Udi, the referentializer *o* had been inflected according to the principle of stem inflection (see 3.3.2). For Modern Udi, a suppletive paradigm has become typical that is based on the addition of the oblique stem augment *-t^h-* (derived from the Udi distal *t^he*, see 3.3.7.1 and 3.3.10), compare:

(x)	<i>kala-o</i> (> <i>kalo</i>)	‘the big/old one’ (absolute)
	<i>kala-(o)-t^h-</i>	‘the big/old one’ (oblique)

In older texts as well in the speech of some elderly people, the referentializer *-o-* may be preserved in the obliquus, compare:

- (x) *va^f gir-q'un-b-i k'ot'ur-ğ-ox mand-i-o-t'-ux čali-n-axo*
 and collect-3PL-LV-PAST piece-PL-DAT2 remain-PAST-REF-REF:OBL-DAT2 fish-SA-ABL
 [Mark 6:43]
 'And they collected the pieces that remained of the fish[es].'

Else, the referentializer *-o-* tends to be omitted in the obliquus giving rise to the suppletive paradigm *-o* vs. *-t'*, see 3.3.10.

§ 4. As has been said above, the referentializer can be added to any terms that is used to qualify a referent. This includes:

- (x) Adjectives: *kalao* 'the big/old one'
 (x.x.x) *k'ic'io* 'the small/young one'
ć'oc'ao 'the red one'
bütüno '(they) all'
č'ap'k'ino 'the hidden one, secret'
abao 'the knowing one, wise person'
mac'io 'the white one'
śelo 'the good one'
gölöo '(the) many'
p'urio 'the dead one'
ísao 'who is near, relative'
q'eirio 'the other one'
- (x) Numerals: *sao* 'the one'
 (3.2.10) *p'a'o* 'the two'
xibo 'the three'
bip'o 'the four'
qoo 'the five'
- (x) Deixis: *meno ~ mo* 'this one' (proximal)
 (x.x.x) *kano ~ ko* 'that one' (medial)
šeno ~ šo 'that one' (distal)
- (x) Verbal relations:
 (x.x.x) *bio* 'who/what has (been) done'
pio 'who/what has (been) said'
buo 'who is, inhabitant'
buq'io 'who/what has (been) loved'
portablo 'one who carries, suffers'
ašbalo 'one who works'
biq'alo 'one who catches'

(x)	Possessee:	<i>adamario</i>	‘what belongs to a person’
	(x.x.x)	<i>ġario</i>	‘what belongs to a boy’
		<i>xunčeo</i>	‘what belongs to a girl’
		<i>boxoġoio</i>	‘what belongs to God’
		<i>suno</i>	‘what belongs to someone’
		<i>šaeitununo</i>	‘what belongs to the devil’
		<i>bezio</i>	‘mine’
		<i>vio</i>	‘yours (sg.)’
		<i>bešio</i>	‘ours’
		<i>e^fio</i>	‘yours (pl.)’

§ 5. The referentialization technique is highly productive in Udi. It can also be added to already referentialized nouns in the genitive, producing rather complex morphological structures, such as:

- (x) (a) *kala-t'-ai-o*
big-REF:OBL-GEN-REF:ABS
‘what belongs to a big/old one’
- (b) *k'ic'i-t'-ai-t'-ux* *xuru-ne-b-i* [f.n.]
little-REF:OBL-GEN-REF:OBL-DAT2 piece-3SG-LV-PAST
‘(S)he destroyed what belonged to the little one.’
- (c) *me k'uax serb-i-t'-ai-t'-uxo* *sa äš-ne biq'-e* [f.n.]
PROX house:DAT2 build-LV-PAST-REF:OBL-GEN-REF:OBL-ABL one thing-3SG take-PERF
‘(S)he took one of the (things) that belong to (the person) who has built the house.’

However, complex referentialization is considered clumsy by many speakers of Udi. Instead, generic nouns are used, compare (X) that contrasts with (X,c):

- (x) *me k'uax ser-b-i adamar-i aš-urġ-oxo sa äš-ne biq'-e* [f.n.]
PROX house:DAT2 build-LV-PAST man-GEN thing-PL-ABL one thing-3SG take-PERF
‘(S)he took one of the things that belong to the person who has built the house.’

3.2.4 Subcategorization (Noun Classes)

From a synchronic point of view, Udi does not have morphological means to subcategorize the class of nominal or pronominal referents in terms of gender or noun classes. This fact relates Udi to the two Lezgian languages Lezgi and Aghul that likewise lack subclassificational strategies. However, there is strong evidence that Udi once had a categorizing paradigm in analogy to most of the other Lezgian languages such as Tsakhur and Rutul. This paradigm is characterized by four noun

classes marked covertly on adjacent attributes and verbs. The underlying strategy is ergative. (X) illustrates the basic technique with the help of an example from Archi (noun classes are indicated by Roman numbers):

(X) (a) *^caraba-lit yar x:annan bošor q^cw^a-li* [Kibrik 1977a:177]
 chariot-SUPER:ESS PROX:II woman(II):GEN husband(I) come:TERM:I-PAST
 ‘The husband of this woman came on a chariot.’

(b) *dis buwa-mu x^cošon diris e-b-t:i* [Kibrik 1977b:222]
 I:POSS mother-ERG dress(III) correct LV-III-\$.PAST
 ‘My mother has cut up the dress.’

The basic paradigm of class markers that covertly classify a given noun (in the absolutive case) can be reconstructed for proto-Lezgian as follows:

(X)	I	*w- / *-w	[human, male]
	II	*y/r- / *-y/r	[human, female; some objects related to [human, female]]
	III	*b- / *-b	[human, non adult; animals [grown-up; related to I and II]; objects etc. [related to I, II, and III]]
	IV	*d- / *-d	[others]

Plural referents were subcategorized by using the two unmarked singular classes:

(X)	I/II	*b- / -b
	III/IV	*d- / -d

In Udi, certain nouns reflect this class marking strategy. They represent older adjectives or participles that underwent conversion to nouns. The petrified class marker (usually a prefix) reflects the class of the lost nominal head. Prototypically, we have to assume the following process:

(X) CM_i-ATTR NOUN_{CL*i*} > CM_i-ATTR > NOUN

Obviously, only stereotypical constructions or constructions with generic nominal heads could take part in this process. Accordingly, Udi nouns starting with *b-* are among the best candidates. (X) lists some of these nouns:

(X)	<i>bə^çğ</i>	‘middle’	<i>bixažux</i>	‘God’
	<i>be^çğ</i>	‘sun’	<i>biz</i>	‘awl’
	<i>be^çk</i>	‘needle’	<i>bo^çq’</i>	‘pig’
	<i>be^çx</i>	‘tumor, lump’	<i>boq</i>	‘bud’
	<i>bi^çğ</i>	‘half’	<i>boq’</i>	‘gathering’
	<i>bias</i>	‘evening’		

The Udi pair *viči* ‘brother’ / *xunči* ‘sister’ also reflects another class-marking pattern: The final segment *-či* is probably derived from an adjective denoting ‘who belongs to the same family/parents’. In most East Caucasian languages, the concepts ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ are derived from this adjective with the help of class markers (class I > ‘brother’, class II > ‘sister’). In Udi, the marker for class I has survived in *viči* < **wə-či*, whereas the class II marker **r-* has been regularly dropped (see 2.3.1). The semantics of the resulting form **iči* was later on reinforced with the help of the generic noun *xuni* ‘female’: **xuni+iči* > *xunči*. Note that Udi *xunči* ‘sister’ is a younger form that has replaced Old Udi *ša* ‘sister’.

The option to use the noun *xuni* as a (now overt) classifier for female beings is still present in the language. Often, female animals are (if necessary) distinguished from male animals by adding *xuni*:

(x)	Male	Female	
	<i>e^ʃk</i>	<i>xunie^ʃk</i>	‘horse’ (but <i>madian</i> (<i>e^ʃk</i>) < Azeri <i>madyan</i> ‘mare’)
	<i>pišik^ʃ</i>	<i>xunipišik^ʃ</i>	‘cat’
	<i>xa^ʃ</i>	<i>xunixa^ʃ</i>	‘dog’
	<i>buš</i>	<i>xunibuš</i>	‘camel’
	<i>eğel</i>	<i>xunieğel</i>	‘donkey’

However, note that this compounding technique is restricted to animal terms that lack specific lexical means to refer to a female (compare *us* ~ *araq* ‘bull’ vs. *čur* ‘cow’, *dadal* ‘cock’ vs. *šumak* ‘hen’, *vel* ‘he-goat’ vs. *keči* ‘she-goat’, *köpäg* ‘male dog’ vs. *q’anžığ* (*žanavar*) ‘female dog’. Some speakers prefer to use the following generic pairs that are based on classifying strategies:

(x)	Male	Female	
	<i>ärkäg</i>	<i>xuni</i>	[larger terrestrial animals]
	<i>dadal</i>	<i>šumak</i>	[birds etc.]

Examples are:

(x)	Male	Female	
	<i>ärkäg e^ʃk</i>	<i>madian e^ʃk</i>	‘stallion/mare’
	<i>ärkäg eğel</i>	<i>xuni eğel</i>	‘ram/sheep’
	<i>ärkäg aslan</i>	<i>xuni aslan</i>	‘lion’
	<i>dadal</i>	<i>k’ok’oc</i>	‘rooster/hen’
	<i>q’azna dadal</i>	<i>q’azna šumak</i>	‘duck’
	<i>hint’a dadal</i>	<i>hint’a šumak</i>	‘turkey’
	<i>bačanin dadal</i>	<i>bačanin šumak</i>	‘swallow’

With human beings, sexus differentiation is basically lexical, compare *išu* ~ *išq’ar* ‘man’ vs. *čubux* ‘woman’, *baba* ‘father’ vs. *nana* ‘mother’, *bäi* ‘bridegroom’ vs. *bin* ‘bride’, *xal/ämik* ‘uncle’ vs. *xala/dädä* ‘aunt’. One exception is the pair *viči/xunči* ‘brother/sister’ already referred to above. There is a vague possibility to consider the

pair *ğar/xinär* ‘son/daughter’ ~ ‘boy/girl’ as an exception from the lexical pattern. In case *xinär* is not just a plurale tantum of a stem **xin-* (itself a palatalized variant of *xuni* ‘female’), it is tempting to derive *xinär* from **xuniğar* ‘female young’ > **xingar* > *xinär*.

With anaphoric pronouns, Old Udi obviously knew the distinction non-female/female [thanks to Jost Gippert for this observation]. Here, the pronoun *o* is used for non-females, whereas *ağ* cross-references human females. This opposition is completely lost in Modern Udi.

3.2.5 Number

3.2.5.1 Introduction. Number marking in Udi is derivational rather than inflectional. It can modify the referential semantics of nominal stems both in a quantitative and qualitative respect. Number is morphological with most ‘object-oriented’ referential words, both basic and derived, but lexical with lexemes that cover the domain of communicative reference (see 3.2.4). Prototypically speaking, Udi has only two numbers: Singular (unmarked) and plural (marked). Dual strategies can be identified with certain reduplicating nouns (see 3.2.2.4) that refer to paired body parts. A singulative is not expressed morphologically, but lexically, using the numeral *sa* ‘one’ that precedes the noun in question (see 3.2.5).

3.2.5.2 Basic patterns of plural formation. Plural marking in Udi suffixal. It is characterized by a high degree of allomorphy. This feature is also present with most other Lezgian languages and should be related to plural marking techniques in Proto-Lezgian. In Udi, the plural allomorphs are lexically distributed: The whole set of plural markers is distributed according to both semantic and formal characteristics of the nominal stem. However, the formation of a plural noun is not always predictable for a synchronic point of view. In addition, for some words more than one plural marker can be described. In composition, the final lexeme determines the choice of suffix.

§ 1. From a diachronic perspective, some of the plural suffixes probably had a specific semantic connotation that was (in parts) correlated with nominal classification. However, analogical processes have considerably obscured the original classes that were perhaps marked for the opposition [\pm animate] or [\pm human]. Today, we can describe three types of plural marking: a) basic (see 3.2.5.2), b) polymorph(em)ic (see 3.2.5.4), and c) collective (see 3.2.5.5). In the following sections, these three types are discussed in more details. Note that in case the loan nature of a term is relevant, only the immediate source (mainly Azeri) is given.

(X) illustrates the set of plural markers documented for Udi:

(X)	Basic	Derived
	<i>-ux ~ -ox ~ -xo</i>	<i>-urux ~ -urxo</i>
	<i>-ur</i>	<i>-mux</i>
	<i>-r</i>	<i>-xox</i>
		<i>-q'ox</i>
		<i>-rxox</i>
		<i>-mxox</i>

§ 2. Today, all plural morphemes are stress attracting (see 2.7.2). The suffix *-r* used with referentialized forms (see 3.2.3) probably was stress neutral. Final *-x* normally undergoes voicing in inflected forms (see 2.5.2.2). This process is coupled with the frequent loss of the preceding vowel *-u-* which regularly causes labialization of the subsequent vowel of the inflectional morpheme (see 2.5.2.1). The basic pattern is *-ux* + V(C-) > *-ǧ̣-o(C-)*. Note that this pattern has already been rather stable in Old Udi. Nevertheless, the Old Udi paradigm of number marking seems to be marked for stronger semantic properties than it is the case in Modern Udi.

3.2.5.3 Monomorphemic plurals. In Vartashen, monomorphemic plurals involve the two suffixes *-ux ~ -ox*, and *-ur ~ -r*. Today, *-ux* is the standard plural marker in Vartashen Udi. Its provenience is obscure. It is totally unknown in other Lezgian languages as well as in East Caucasian itself. Attempts to relate the suffix to the Svan plural marker *-χ* have failed. Instead, we should consider the possibility to relate the suffix to a local variant of the Armenian plural *-k^c* that would have undergone spirantization (the representation of final aspirated *-k^c* in Armenian loans by *-x* is incidentally documented for Udi). Yet, this assumption does not explain the preceding vowel that is alien to Armenian. Perhaps it is taken in analogy from the second basic plural marker *-ur* (see below).

§ 1. More than a half of all Udi nouns used the suffix *-ux* to form their plural. Most of them are either polysyllabics or (secondary) monosyllabics (see below). Nouns ending in ‘weak’ *-a* (see 3.3.2.3) often change this vowel to *-i* when the plural morpheme *-ux* is added (*k'aśa* ‘finger’ > *k'aśiux* etc.). The plural suffix *-ux* is restricted to the dialects of Vartashen, Upper Nizh, and Okt'omberi. The other variants of Nizh use the variant *-xo ~ -ox*, which has a broader distribution than the standard plural *-ux*, see below. In order to illustrate the default suffix in Vartashen, some examples are given in (X):

(X)	<i>aždaha</i>	>	<i>aždahaux</i>	‘dragon’
	<i>abazak'</i>	>	<i>abazak'ux</i>	‘thief’
	<i>adamar</i>	>	<i>adamarux</i>	‘man, person’
	<i>älämät</i>	>	<i>älämätux</i>	‘sign’
	<i>apči</i>	>	<i>apčiux</i>	‘liar’
	<i>aq' ~ arx</i>	>	<i>aq'ux ~ arxux</i>	‘small pitch’
	<i>arum</i>	>	<i>arumux</i>	‘wheat’
	<i>aslan</i>	>	<i>aslanux</i>	‘lion’
	<i>a^šil</i>	>	<i>a^šilux</i>	‘child’
	<i>baba</i>	>	<i>babaux</i>	‘father’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>baćana</i>	>	<i>baćanax</i>	‘swallow’
<i>be^ʕǵa^ʕl</i>	>	<i>be^ʕǵa^ʕlux</i>	‘overseer’
<i>be^ʕinś</i>	>	<i>be^ʕinśux</i> (~ <i>be^ʕinśurux</i>)	‘priest’
<i>biliži</i>	>	<i>biližiux</i>	‘wise person’
<i>biq^ʕal</i>	>	<i>biq^ʕalux</i>	‘trapper’
<i>c^ʕic^ʕ’ik^ʕ</i>	>	<i>c^ʕic^ʕ’ik^ʕux</i>	‘chicken’
<i>čālibiq^ʕal</i>	>	<i>čālibiq^ʕalux</i>	‘fisherman’
<i>čiraǵ</i>	>	<i>čiraǵux</i>	‘light, candle’
<i>čoban</i>	>	<i>čobanux</i>	‘shepherd’
<i>dizik^ʕ</i>	>	<i>dizik^ʕux</i>	‘snake’
<i>dizām</i>	>	<i>dizāmux</i>	‘laughter, blasphemy’
<i>dör</i>	>	<i>dörux</i>	‘period of time’ (Azeri <i>dövr</i>)
<i>durut^ʕ</i>	>	<i>durut^ʕux</i>	‘wooden material’
<i>žaman</i>	>	<i>žamanux</i>	‘time, period’
<i>žuǵab</i>	>	<i>žuǵabux</i>	‘answer’
<i>eǵel</i>	>	<i>eǵelux</i>	‘sheep’
<i>elči</i>	>	<i>elčiux</i>	‘ambassador’
<i>farišt^ʕä</i>	>	<i>farišt^ʕ’iux</i>	‘angle’
<i>fikir</i>	>	<i>fikirux</i>	‘thought’
<i>günäh</i>	>	<i>günähux</i>	‘sin’
<i>günähk^ʕ’är</i>	>	<i>günähk^ʕ’ärux</i>	‘sinner’
<i>günähnut^ʕ</i>	>	<i>günähnut^ʕux</i>	‘correct person’
<i>hampi</i>	>	<i>hampiux</i>	‘elder’
<i>iś(u)</i>	>	<i>iśux</i>	‘man’
<i>isp^ʕ’at^ʕ’ux</i>	>	<i>isp^ʕ’at^ʕ’ux</i>	‘testimony’
<i>k^ʕ’asā</i>	>	<i>k^ʕ’asīux</i>	‘finger’
<i>k^ʕ’ok^ʕ’oc^ʕ</i>	>	<i>k^ʕ’ok^ʕ’oc^ʕux</i>	‘hen’
<i>koi</i>	>	<i>koiux</i>	‘sleeve’ (< * <i>kolin</i> , cp. Azeri <i>qol</i>)
<i>laśag</i>	>	<i>laśagux</i>	‘body, corpse’
<i>māržān</i>	>	<i>māržānux</i>	‘pearl’
<i>meid</i>	>	<i>meidux</i>	‘body, corpse’
<i>nana</i>	>	<i>nanaux</i>	‘mother’
<i>ördä</i>	>	<i>ördäux</i>	‘duck’
<i>ore^ʕin</i>	>	<i>ore^ʕinux</i>	‘spring, source’
<i>p^ʕ’a^ʕ’cola(o)</i>	>	<i>p^ʕ’a^ʕ’colaux</i>	‘hypocrite’
<i>p^ʕ’oǵoĉ^ʕ</i>	>	<i>p^ʕ’oǵoĉ^ʕux</i>	‘beetle’ (Azeri <i>böçək</i>)
<i>p^ʕ’uri</i>	>	<i>p^ʕ’uriux</i>	‘dead person’
<i>partal</i>	>	<i>partalux</i>	‘coat’
<i>penec^ʕ</i>	>	<i>penec^ʕux</i>	‘plough’
<i>pexambar</i>	>	<i>pexambarux</i>	‘prophet’
<i>q^ʕ’aĉ^ʕ</i>	>	<i>q^ʕ’aĉ^ʕ(i)ux</i>	‘gorge’
<i>q^ʕ’aĉaǵ</i>	>	<i>q^ʕ’aĉaǵux</i>	‘robber’
<i>q^ʕ’araulči</i>	>	<i>q^ʕ’araulčiux</i>	‘guard’
<i>q^ʕ’ulluǵči</i>	>	<i>q^ʕ’ulluǵčiux</i>	‘servant’
<i>q^ʕ’umq^ʕ’um</i>	>	<i>q^ʕ’umq^ʕ’umux</i>	‘snail’
<i>qabun</i>	>	<i>qabunux</i>	‘star’
<i>šägird</i>	>	<i>šägirdux</i>	‘pupil’
<i>šahad</i>	>	<i>šahadux</i>	‘witness’
<i>śu(i)e</i>	>	<i>śu(i)ux</i>	‘bear’
<i>śumak^ʕ</i>	>	<i>śumak^ʕux</i>	‘female’
<i>xazal</i>	>	<i>xazalux</i>	‘leaf’
<i>xinär</i>	>	<i>xinärux</i>	‘girl, daughter’
<i>zak^ʕ’on</i>	>	<i>zak^ʕ’onux</i>	‘law’

<i>zak'onzombal</i>	>	<i>zak'onzombalux</i>	'lawyer'
<i>zira</i>	>	<i>ziraux ~ ziriux</i>	'thyme'

§ 2. Monosyllabic nouns that have the *-ux*-plural usually are reduced variants of older bisyllabic words, compare *aq'* 'small pitch' < Azeri *arık, dör* 'period of time' < **dövər, koi* 'sleeve' < **kolin, q'ač'* < *q'ač'i* 'what has been made narrow' > 'gorge' etc. Hence, it is reasonable to claim that *ux*-plurals are basically coupled with polysyllabic nouns. Note, however, that in Old Udi, this distributional pattern is less evident. Here, a small number of monosyllabic nouns add the *-ux*-plural, e.g. *il'* 'word' > *il'-owx, q'ar* 'tribe' (lit.: 'separated unit') > *q'ar-owx* etc.

§ 3. The Nizh variant *-xo ~ -ox* is more widespread than Vartashen *-ux*. In Nizh, it sometimes occurs with nouns that show a complex plural in Vartashen, compare:

(X)	<i>araba</i>	> N. <i>arabaox</i> (V. <i>arabamux</i>)	'chariot'
	<i>avans</i>	> N. <i>avansxo</i> (V. <i>avansmux</i>)	'attack'
	<i>axt'a</i>	> N. <i>axt'aox</i> (V. <i>axt'amux</i>)	'castrated boar'
	<i>azar</i>	> N. <i>azarxo</i> (V. <i>azarmux</i>)	'illness'
	<i>dällägxana</i>	> N. <i>dällägxanaox</i> (V. <i>dällägxanamux</i>)	'bath, hammam'
	<i>dizik</i>	> N. <i>dizik'xo</i> (V. <i>dizik'urux</i>)	'snake'

§ 4. The two Nizh variants *-ox* and *-xo* are undoubtedly related to Vartashen *-ux*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to describe this relationship more accurately. First, the varying vocalization (*-u-* vs. *-o-*) cannot be explained by the impact of surrounding sounds (i.e., by assimilation). There is a small number of Udi terms that uses the *u/o*-opposition to form lexical contrasts, compare

(x)	<i>q'oⁱl-ux</i>	'barks'
	<i>q'oⁱl-ox</i>	'trousers' (pl. tantum, metonymic use of <i>q'oⁱl</i> 'bark')
	<i>gor(gor)-ux</i>	'beanpoles'
	<i>gor-ox</i>	'poor, harmless, ill person' (pl. tantum, metaphoric < Old Udi <i>gorowx</i> 'sin(s)')
	<i>k'od(a)-ux</i>	'wooden shovels'
	<i>k'od-ox</i>	'temples' (pl. tantum, metonymic use of <i>k'oda</i> 'shovel')

In Vartashen, the *-o*-variants are most often met with collectives, see 3.2.5.5. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the *-u/o*-opposition has once encoded some kind of yet obscured morphological contrast. On the other hand, it can also be claimed that the Nizh plurals *-ox ~ -xo* have resulted through analogy from the oblique cases that always show *-o-* in the vocalization of case suffixes (see 2.5.2.1 and 3.3.5). The distribution of *-ox* vs. *-xo* in Nizh is normally governed by the stem auslaut: polysyllabic V-final nouns take *-ox*, polysyllabic C-final nouns take *-xo*, compare:

(x)	<i>arağaç-xo</i>	‘broken twigs of mulberry tree’
	<i>əlǰäi-xo</i>	‘glove’ (< * <i>əlǰäk-</i> , compare Azeri <i>əlcək</i>)
	<i>bac’an-xo</i>	‘backs’
	<i>be^ɟdul-xo</i>	‘shovels’
	<i>be^ɟinś-xo</i>	‘priests’
	<i>damp’ul-xo</i>	‘plums’
	<i>dör-xo</i>	‘periods of time’ (Azeri <i>dövr</i>)
	<i>dükän-xo</i>	‘shops’ (Azeri <i>dükan</i>)
	<i>märǰän-xo</i>	‘cows giving much milk’ (Azeri <i>mərcən</i>)
	<i>xarǰän-xo</i>	‘juniper trees’ (Azeri <i>arçan</i>)
	<i>zizam-xo</i>	‘livers, spleens’
	<i>apçi-ox</i>	‘liars’
	<i>araba-ox</i>	‘chariots’ (Azeri <i>araba</i>)
	<i>ärmi-ox</i>	‘Armenians’
	<i>axt’a-ox</i>	‘castrated boars’ (Azeri <i>axta</i>)
	<i>bac’ana-ox</i>	‘swallow’
	<i>baru(i)-ox</i>	‘walls’ (Azeri <i>barı</i>)
	<i>därzi-ox</i>	‘cutters’ (Azeri <i>dərzi</i>)
	<i>haburru-ox</i>	‘bashful, prudish person’ (Azeri <i>abırlı</i>)
	<i>q’acıox</i>	‘scissors’ (Azeri <i>qayçı</i>)
	<i>k’öi-ox</i>	‘big pots of clay’ (Azeri <i>küp</i> ?)
	<i>mäzä-ox</i>	‘snack’ (Azeri <i>məzə</i>)
	<i>oba-ox</i>	‘gentil groups’ (Azeri <i>oba</i>)
	<i>q’arolçi-ox</i>	‘guards’ (Azeri <i>qarovulçu</i>)
	<i>q’uda-ox</i>	‘holy person’ (Azeri <i>quda</i>)
	<i>zäli-ox</i>	‘leeches’ (Azeri <i>zəli</i>)

Nevertheless, the above mentioned distribution is not fully observed in Nizh. Especially in Upper Nizh, C-final nouns tends to have *-ox* instead of expected *-xo*. Incidentally, both *-ox* and *-xo* show up in exactly the same surroundings, compare *q’armağ* ‘small hook’ Azeri *qarmaq*) > *q’armağ-ox* vs. *q’artmağ* ‘bark (of trees)’ (Azeri *qartmaq*) > *q’artmağ-xo*; *q’aç’ağ* ‘highwayman’ (Azeri *qaçaq*) has both plurals (*q’açağ-ox* ~ *q’açağ-xo*).

§ 5. Obviously, the *-ox*-plural represents the older form that parallels Vartashen *-ux* (~ *-ox* with pluralia tantum). In consequence, the variant *-xo* should be interpreted as resulting from metathesis of *-ox* after final consonant. The reason for this process has perhaps been the tendency to preserve the syllabic structure of the nominal stem, compare *zi.zam.xo* ‘livers, spleens’ instead of Vartashen *zi.za.mur*. Note that the suffix *-xo* normally blocks the expected sonorization of *-x-* (> *-ğ-*, see 2.5.2.2 and 3.3.5). In consequence, *xo*-plurals have a rather reduced paradigm, compare:

(x)		<i>-ox</i>		<i>-xo</i>	
	ABS	<i>apçi-ox</i>	‘liars’	<i>be^ɟdu-xo</i>	‘shovels’
	ERG	<i>apçi-ğ-on</i>		<i>be^ɟdul-xo-n</i>	
	GEN(2)	<i>apçi-ğ-o(i)</i>		<i>be^ɟdul-xo(i)</i>	
	DAT	<i>apçi-ğ-o</i>		<i>be^ɟdul-x-o</i>	

§ 6. The two monomorphemic plurals *-ur* (~ *-or*) and *-r* represent the older (Lezgian) layer of plural marking in Udi (proto-Lezgian *-Vr*). The suffix *-ur* (~ *-or*) can be both stress attracting and stress neutral (many speakers prefer stress attraction). Most probably, the **-Vr*-plural was restricted to human beings (or animates) in proto-Lezgian. However, Modern Udi has completely lost this semantic condition – just as it is true for most other Lezgian languages (except Rutul). The *-ur*-plural is illustrated in (X):

(X)	<i>bexbaft'alo</i>	<i>-or</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'arrogant person'
	<i>aiaq'</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'glas'
	<i>-al</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-or</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	Nomina agentis
	<i>alaf</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	Heu, Gras
	<i>arčan</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'pine tree'
	<i>badak'</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'wine gelee'
	<i>balanq'o(i)</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-ux</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'blackberry'
	<i>bazuk'</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'elbow'
	<i>bedasil</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'bastard' (Azeri <i>bədəsəl</i>)
	<i>belek'ož</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-urux</i>	'shed'
	<i>be'inś</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'priest'
	<i>c'irik'</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'chicken'
	<i>ča</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'acre'
	<i>ča</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-ux</i>	'cord'
	<i>damp'ul</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'plum'
	<i>elexe</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-urux</i>	'salty water'
	<i>ex</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-ux</i>	'field before harvest'
	<i>kalabul</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'lazy person'
	<i>köbär</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'steep slope' (Azeri <i>köbər</i>)
	<i>o'q'</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-ux</i>	'river'
	<i>pop</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-urux</i>	'hair'
	<i>purik'</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'blister'
	<i>q'oč</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-urux</i>	'male sheep' (Azeri <i>qoç</i>)
	<i>qur</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'clod of earth' (Azeri <i>quru</i>)
	<i>sun</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'elbow'
	<i>tagǰ</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-ux</i>	'twig, branch' (Azeri <i>tag</i>)
	<i>xe(-n)</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'water'
	<i>zakil</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'wart' (Azeri <i>ziyil</i>)
	<i>zizam</i>	<i>-ur</i> , N. <i>-xo</i>	'liver, spleen'
	<i>zorba</i>	<i>-ur</i> , <i>-or</i> , N. <i>-orox</i>	'powerful person'

The *-ur*-plural is often used with the *-ux*-plural to form a bimorphemic plural (*-urux* ~ *-orox*, see 3.2.5.4). Its vowel is obviously influenced by the vocalization of the standard plural *-ux*. Normally, *-ur* is not used with V-final stems. In case the referentializer *-o* is present (see 3.2.3), the plural morphemes loses its vowel (> *-r*). With referentialized forms, the default plural is *-r*, compare:

(x)	<i>ašbal-o-r</i>	'they who work'
	<i>bi-o-r</i>	'they who/which have (been) done'
	<i>bu-o-r</i>	'they who exist/live'
	<i>me-n-o-r</i>	'these' (proximal)

vi-o-r ‘(things) which are yours (sg.)’
čälibiq’-al-o-r ‘they who fish’

§ 7. Words that have undergone conversion to a nouns (especially *-al*-participles) take either the *-ux-* or the *-ur ~ -or*-plural: *čälibiq’al* ‘fisherman’ > *čälibiq’alux ~ čäli-biq’alor* ‘fishermen’, *zorba-ur* ‘powerful men, rulers’, *kala-o-r* ‘the elder’ etc.

§ 8. The monophonemic *-(V)r*-plurals are normally confined to the absolutive case. In the oblique cases, the plural morpheme is replaced by the standard plural *-ux* > *-ğ-* (see 3.2.3 and 3.3.5):

(x) *kala-o-r* ‘the elders’
kala-t’-ğ-on ‘the elders (REF:OBL-PL-ERG)’
kala-t’-ğ-o(i) ‘the elders (REF:OBL-PL-GEN)’
kala-t’-ğ-o ‘the elders (REF:OBL-PL-DAT)’ etc.

With monosyllabic nouns, the *-ur*-plural is incidentally preserved in the oblique cases, but followed by the default morpheme *-ğ-*:

(x) *o^ʃq-ur* ‘river-PL’
o^ʃq-ur-ğ-on ‘river-PL-PL-ERG’ etc.

3.2.5.4 Polymorphemic plurals. Polymorphemic plurals are a well-known feature in many Lezgian languages. In Udi, there are two basic types: *-ur + -ux* and *-m + -ux*. The element *-m-* is the only segment that cannot be used alone. It always has to be followed by the standard morpheme *-ux*. Historically, the *-r-* and the *-m-* plurals seemed to have formed two distinct classes in proto-Lezgian: Whereas *-r-* plurals were confined to human or animate referents, *-m-* plurals were used to encode inanimate plurals. This distribution, however, has become obscured in Udi. The list for *-ur*-plurals given above (see (X)) already included a number of inanimate nouns. also note that the Old Udi plural allomorph *-bowr* (e.g. *iše-bowr* ‘joint-brethren’, *e-bowr* ‘these’ etc.) is complete lost in Modern Udi.

§ 1. The rather small class of *-mux*-plurals is just as heterogeneous as the class of *-ur*-plurals:

(X) *ağā* *-mux*, N. *-xo* ‘lord’ (Azeri *ağā*)
ağāla *-mux*, N. *-ox* ‘rain’ (~ Azeri *ağış*) [PL: ‘periods of rain’]
aiāz *-mux*, N. *-xo* ‘frost’ (Azeri *ayaz*) [PL: ‘periods of rost’]
ait *-mux*, *-urux*, N. *-urux* ‘word’ (Aerzi *ait*)
aiz *-mux*, N. *-mux* ‘village’
amağar *-mux*, N. *ämingar*, *-mux* ‘cousin (son of father’s sister)’
ämik’unğar *-mux*, N. *-ux* ‘cousin (son of father’s brother)’
ara *-mux*, N. *-mux* ‘distance’ (Azeri *ara*)
araba *-mux*, N. *-ox* ‘chariot’ (Azeri *araba*)
avans *-mux*, N. *-xo* ‘attack’ (Russian *avans*)

3.1-3 Reference

<i>axt'a</i>	-mux, N. -ox	‘castrated boar’ (Azeri <i>axta</i>)
<i>azar</i>	-mux, N. -xo	‘illness’ (Azeri <i>azarli</i>)
<i>a'il</i>	-mux, -ux	‘child’ (Persian/Arabic <i>‘ayyil</i>)
<i>binā</i>	-mux	‘fundament, building’ (Azeri <i>bina</i>)
<i>dällägxana</i>	-mux, -ux, N. -xo	‘bath, hammam’ (Azeri <i>dällägxana</i>)
<i>ğar</i>	-mux	‘boy, son’ (Armenian <i>tlay</i>)
<i>günei</i>	-mux	‘heat’ [PL.: ‘periods of heat’]
<i>havara</i>	-mux, -ox	‘bull of two to three years’ (Azeri <i>avara</i>)
<i>ioldaš</i>	-mux	‘friend’ (Azeri <i>yoldaš</i>)
<i>išq'ar</i>	-mux	‘man’
<i>kul</i>	-mux	‘hand’
<i>k'aša</i>	-(i)mux, -(i)ux	‘finger’
<i>k'ut'or</i>	-mux, N. -xo	‘piece’
<i>laš'oi</i>	-mux, -ux, N. <i>laš'oi</i> , -xo	‘marriage’
<i>o'cal</i>	-mux	‘earth’
<i>pul</i>	-mux	‘eye’
<i>q'oroğ</i>	-mux	‘meadow, pasture’ (Azeri <i>qoruq</i>)
<i>tur</i>	-mux	‘leg, foot’
<i>viči</i>	-mux	‘brother’
<i>xoid</i>	-mux, -ux	‘rice field’
<i>xunči</i>	-mux	‘sister’
<i>vädä</i>	-(i)mux, -(i)ux	‘time, period’

The list includes animates and inanimates, native words and borrowings. In fact, the use of *-mux* is not predictable. Occasionally, the segment *-m-* reflects rather a phonetic process than a semantically motivated structure: Nouns ending in *-i* or having a secondary *-i* that results from a ‘weak’ final *-a* (see 3.3.2.3) often show both an *-iux* and an *-imux*-plural (*k'aša* ‘finger’ > *k'ašiu* ~ *k'ašimux*). Here we might think of a sonantic element inserted to separate the two vowels (> *-m-* before *-u-*).

§ 2. The *-urux*-plural, however, has a clear distributional pattern: it is nearly always coupled with monosyllabic nouns (as opposed to *-ux*-plurals that are normally added to polysyllabic nouns). (X) is a list of *-urux*-plurals (based on the dialect of Vartashen):

(X)	<i>ap'-urux</i>	‘sweat’	<i>kärsäng-urux</i>	‘trough’ (Azeri <i>kərsən</i>)
	<i>ar-urux</i>	‘pea’ (Azeri <i>armud</i>)	<i>ken-urux</i>	‘garlic’
	<i>araxis-urux</i>	‘peanut’ (Azeri <i>araxis</i>)	<i>kiz-urux</i>	‘felt’ (Azeri <i>kiz</i>)
	<i>aš-urux</i>	‘thing’	<i>kos-urux</i>	‘large drum’ (Azeri <i>qus</i>)
	<i>a'l-urux</i>	‘partridge’	<i>kul-urux</i>	‘hand’
	<i>a'm-urux</i>	‘arm’	<i>kürk-urux</i>	‘fur’ (Azeri <i>kürk</i>)
	<i>a'mnabul-urux</i>	‘shoulder’	<i>ma'q-urux</i>	‘oak’
	<i>a'q-urux</i>	‘slope’	<i>mec-urux</i>	‘nest’
	<i>band-urux</i>	‘little door’ (Persian <i>band</i>)	<i>mom-urux</i>	‘wax’ (Azeri <i>mom</i>)
	<i>bar-urux</i>	‘part’	<i>mux-urux</i>	‘fingernail, claw’
	<i>barunbul-urux</i>	‘top of wall’	<i>muz-urux</i>	‘tongue, language’
	<i>barunnec'-urux</i>	‘bug’	<i>mu'q'-urux, -ux</i>	‘stag, red deer’
	<i>ber-urux</i>	‘pillow’	<i>nal-urux</i>	‘horseshoe’ (Persian <i>na'l</i>)
	<i>bič'-urux</i>	‘bastard’ (Azeri <i>biç</i>)	<i>na'v-urux</i>	‘gutter’ (Azeri <i>nov</i>)
	<i>bin-urux</i>	‘bride’	<i>ol-urux</i>	‘central post in a house’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>bot'-urux</i>	'cut'	<i>ox-urux</i>	'comb'
<i>bo^ʰq'-urux</i>	'pig'	<i>p'i-urux</i>	'blood'
<i>bul-urux</i>	'head'	<i>put-urux</i>	'pound' (Azeri <i>pud</i>)
<i>buš-urux</i>	'camel'	<i>q'ac'-urux</i>	'pain'
<i>ba^ʰğ-urux</i>	'middle'	<i>q'al-urux, -ux</i>	'whether'
<i>č'ağ-urux</i>	'spoke'	<i>q'arabaš-urux</i>	'slave' (Azeri <i>qarabaš</i>)
<i>č'ap'-urux</i>	'secret'	<i>q'a^ʰnc'-urux</i>	'horn'
<i>c'il-urux</i>	'embers'	<i>q'ov-urux</i>	'wick'
<i>č'uğ-urux</i>	'small water-beetle'.	<i>q'o^ʰl-urux</i>	'bark'
<i>cac-urux</i>	'thorn'	<i>q'urt-urux</i>	'mother hen' (Azeri <i>qurt</i>)
<i>cil-urux</i>	'seed' (Armenian <i>cił</i>)	<i>q'uš-urux</i>	'bird' (Azeri <i>quš</i>)
<i>čo(i)-urux</i>	'face'	<i>qaz-urux</i>	'goose' (Azeri <i>qaz</i>)
<i>žam-urux</i>	'pot' (Azeri <i>cam</i>)	<i>šan-urux</i>	'ground'
<i>dib-urux</i>	'tree nursery'	<i>šet'-urux</i>	'bit'
<i>dizik'-urux</i>	'snake', N. <i>-xo</i>	<i>šul-urux</i>	'fox'
<i>dost'-urux</i>	'friend' (Azeri <i>dost</i>)	<i>šum-urux</i>	'bread'
<i>döv-urux</i>	'ghost' (Azeri <i>dev</i>)	<i>t'ik'-urux</i>	'wine pipe'
<i>ellalek'er-urux</i>	'salt pot'	<i>t'ol-urux</i>	'skin'
<i>e^ʰk-urux</i>	'horse'	<i>t'ul-urux</i>	'wine grape'
<i>e^ʰs-urux</i>	'apple'	<i>top-urux</i>	'iron wheel' (Azeri <i>top</i>)
<i>fi-urux</i>	'wine'	<i>tos-urux</i>	'footstool'
<i>fur-urux</i>	'measles'	<i>tul-urux</i>	'young animal'
<i>ği-urux</i>	'day'	<i>tut-urux</i>	'mulberry'
<i>ğoğ-urux</i>	'Caucasian wingnut'	<i>uk'-urux</i>	'heart'
<i>ğu(i)-urux</i>	'hare'	<i>ul-urux</i>	'wulf'
<i>gez-urux</i>	'vegetable garden, patch'	<i>us-urux</i>	'bull'
<i>gic'-urux</i>	'line' (Armenian <i>gic</i>)	<i>uš-urux</i>	'firewood'
<i>gilāmac'oi-urux</i>	'little star' ('white berry')	<i>u^ʰğ-urux</i>	'loft'
<i>hand-urux</i>	'field, steppe' (Persian <i>hand</i>)	<i>va^ʰ-urux</i>	'belief'
<i>iaq'-urux</i>	'way'	<i>vel-urux</i>	'goat'
<i>ias-urux</i>	'grief' (Azeri <i>yas</i>)	<i>xa-urux</i>	'wool'
<i>iāš-urux</i>	'year' (Azeri <i>yaš</i>)	<i>xač-urux</i>	'cross'
<i>il-urux</i>	'plant, grass, herbs'	<i>xaiešal-urux</i>	'woolen scarf' (cf. Russian <i>šal</i>)
<i>k'äž-urux</i>	'water pipe'	<i>xod-urux</i>	'tree'
<i>k'ac'-urux</i>	'gorge, slope'	<i>xup'-urux</i>	'pilaw'
<i>k'a^ʰk'a^ʰp'-urux</i>	'knee'	<i>zoq'-urux</i>	'young shoot' (Azeri <i>zoğ</i>)
<i>k'eč'name^ʰl-urux</i>	'rat' ('wall-mouse')	<i>zor-urux</i>	'power'
<i>k'ož-urux</i>	'house'	<i>že^ʰ-urux</i>	'stone'
<i>k'ul-urux</i>	'earth, ground'	<i>zol-urux</i>	'cork'
<i>k'ur-urux</i>	'rock'	<i>žuk'-urux</i>	'spindle'

§ 3. Polysyllabic nouns that have an *-urux*-plural most often are compounds the second segment of which is a monosyllabic noun. Obviously, the *-urux*-plural came into use at a time when the compounds in question still were rather loose structures. The same is true for a number of loans from Azeri such as *q'arabaš* 'slave' < Azeri *qarabaš*, lit. 'black head' (*qara* + *baš*) and perhaps *araxis* 'peanut' < *ara-xis* (?). Analogically, the plural of reduplicated forms such as *k'a^ʰk'a^ʰp'(-urux)* 'knee(s)' is

conditioned by the structure of the non-reduplicated root ($*k'a^1p^1$). However, note that some *-urux*-plurals remain obscure: for instance Udi *lek'er* ‘dish, pot’ borrowed from Greek *λεκάνη* ‘bowl, dish’ has an unexpected plural *lek'erurux* (~ *lek'erux*); *dizik* ‘snake’ (of unknown origin) also has *dizik'-urux* rather than *dizik'ux* (but compare Nizh *dizik'xo*).

§ 4. Still, the restriction of *-urux*-plurals to monosyllabic nouns cannot be questioned. Diachronically speaking, we have to relate this distributional feature to the *-ur*-segment that is undoubtedly older than the *-urux*-plural. In other words: Monosyllabics originally formed their plural in *-ur*. This distributional pattern obviously merged with the semantic criteria mentioned above. The resulting polysyllabic structures such as **iaq'-ur* ‘ways’ probably had a rather collective function that led to the reinterpretation of the *-ur*-marked forms as derived, bisyllabic nouns. These nouns then canonically received the default plural morpheme *-ux*. A restricted number of nouns (some of them denoting domesticated animals) still reflect this process, compare:

(x)		‘hair’	‘camel’	‘man’	‘horse’
	Singular	<i>pop</i>	<i>buš</i>	<i>iš(u)</i>	<i>eʃk</i>
	Collective Plural	<i>pop-ur</i>	<i>buš-ur</i>	<i>iš-ur</i>	<i>eʃk-ur</i>
	Distributive Plural	<i>pop-urux</i>	<i>buš-urux</i>	<i>iš-urux</i>	<i>eʃk-urux</i>

A restricted number of words have extended the collective function to the *-urux*-plural, among them: *aʃmurux* ‘arms, shoulders’, *zadurux* ‘things, affairs’, *eʃšurux* ‘apples’.

§ 5. The two polymorphemic structures *-mxox* and *-rxox* have a rather limited distribution. Obviously, we have to deal with older *-mux* and *-urux*-plurals that were additionally marked by the default plural *-ux* ~ *-ox* ($*-m-ux-ox > -mxox$, $*(u)r-ux-ox > -rxox$). Examples are *ga* ‘place’ > *ga-mxox* ‘places’, *gī* ‘day’ > *gi-mxox* (~ *gī-rxox*) ‘days’ (but note *gī-r-ux* ‘fasten days’), *c'i* ‘name’ > *c'i-rxox* ‘names’, *o* ‘grass’ > *o-rxox* ‘grasses’, *fī* ‘wine’ > *fī-rxox*, *me* ‘knife’ > *me-rxox* (~ *me-n-ur*) ‘knives’, *že* ‘stone’ > *že-rxox* ‘stones’. Perhaps, some of these forms reflect older C-final words that have undergone reanalysis of the final consonant. This is at least true for *fī* ‘wine’ < **fin-*, *me* ‘knife’ < **men-*, and *gī* ‘day’ < **gīn-*. The final segment **-n* had then been changed to *-r-* before *-x-*. Old **-r* is probably preserved with *c'i-rxox* < **c'ir[-(u)x-ox]* < proto-Lezgian **t:ʷər* ‘name’ and *žerxox* ‘stones’ < **žʷer-*. The plural of the noun *ga* is difficult to explain. The term undoubtedly stems from Persian *gāh* ‘place’ that, however, does not supply us with evidence for a final sonant. Nevertheless, a plural *ganmxox* is incidentally documented:

(X)	<i>vaʃ ba-ne-k-i</i>	<i>beivan ga-nmx-ox</i> [Luke 1:80]
	and be-3SG-\$-PAST	wild place-PL-DAT2
	‘and he was in the wilderness’	

On the one hand, this example illustrates that *ga* in fact could behave like *fi* ‘wine’, *gī* ‘day’ etc. However, the additional presence of the segment *-m-* in *ganmxox* argues against the assumption that *-n-* is preserved in the plural *ga-mxox* < ****gan-xox** (thus Jeiranišvili 1971:46). Also, if *ga* stems from ****gan-**, we should expect a plural ****garxox** rather than *ga-mxox*, see above.

3.2.5.5 Collectives. Udi has a number of referential forms that represent petrified plurals encoding an (older) collective meaning. Today, some of these nouns have turned into pluralia tantum, others have preserved their collective meaning to a certain extent. The following list documents some of the nouns:

(X)	<i>arux</i>	‘fire’	<	*c’ar- ‘flame, fire’
	<i>bixažux</i>	‘God’	<	*bixal-žux ‘God’ (reanalyzed)
	<i>bixox</i>	‘god(s)’	<	*bixo ‘creator’
	<i>bo^hxmo^hox</i>	‘nose’	<	*bo^hx ‘nostril’
	<i>burux</i>	‘mountain’	<	*bul₂ ‘head’ (?)
	<i>čubux</i>	‘woman’	<	*čub (REFL:CM:III ‘what it related to oneself’), compare Nizh <i>čugōn</i> ‘woman:PL:ERG’.
	<i>ćomox</i>	‘face’	<	<i>ćo</i> ‘side’
	<i>elmux</i>	‘soul’	<	*hel ‘breath’ (Old Udi <i>hel</i> ‘soul’)
	<i>gīrux</i>	‘fasten day(s)’	<	<i>gī</i> ‘day’
	<i>gorox</i>	‘poor man’	<	<i>gor(gor)</i> ‘beanpole’
	<i>imux~ imox</i>	‘ear(s)’	<	*i(b) ‘ear’
	<i>k’odox</i>	‘sleeve(s)’	<	<i>k’oda</i> ‘shovel’
	<i>k’onžux</i>	‘landlord’	<	*k’on-žux ‘lord to the house’ (reanalyzed)
	<i>q’o^hlox</i>	‘trousers’	<	<i>q’o^hl</i> ‘bark’
	<i>ulux</i>	‘tooth/teeth’	<	*ul ‘tooth’
	<i>zomox</i>	‘mouth, lips’	<	*žo ~ *žu ‘lip’

Pluralia tantum and collective nouns are normally marked by standard plural morphemes, both mono- and biphonematic. In the oblique cases, they behave like standard plurals (*čubgōn* ‘woman:ERG’ etc.). Secondary plurals are formed with the help of the plural morpheme *-ox*. In the resulting group *...-u/ox-ox*, the first vowel is dropped: *imux* ‘ear’ > *imxox*, *burux* ‘mountain’ > *burxox*, *čubux* ‘woman’ > *čubxox*, *ulux* ‘tooth’ > *ulxox* etc. Note that *čubux* ‘woman’ sometimes is used with a plural *čupq’ox* < ***čubq’ox**. The origin of the segment *-q’o-*, however, is obscure (most likely, it is also present in the Vartashen 3pl clitic *-q’un*, see 3.4.5). In the oblique cases, the second *-x* is voiced just as with standard plurals (*čubxoğōn* ‘women:ERG’ etc., see 3.3.5.2).

A restricted number of nouns show a segment *-ar* already referred to in section 3.2.2.2. It is possible that we have to deal with another type of pluralia tantum related to the plural marker ***-Vr** (> *-ur*, see 3.2.5.3). However, we cannot always tell for sure what the basic noun stem had been, both from a formal and a semantic point of view. (X) lists those nouns in *-ar* that most probably belong to this class:

(X)	<i>adamar</i>	‘man, person’	<	*adam ‘man, person’
	<i>axar</i>	‘frozen meat’	<	*ax- (?)

<i>civar</i>	‘rain’	< * <i>ci-v-</i> ‘down’ (?)
<i>ğar</i>	‘boy, son’	< ?
<i>išq’ar</i>	‘man’	< <i>iš(u) + -q’ə-</i> ‘man’ (?)
<i>maq’ar</i>	‘who brings the bride’	< * <i>maq’</i> (?) [or loan?]
<i>mašar</i>	‘saw’	< * <i>maš-</i> (?) [or loan?]
<i>nišq’ar</i>	‘sacrifice’	< * <i>niš-</i> + <i>-q’ə-</i> (?)
<i>ništ’ar</i>	‘razor’	< * <i>ništ’-</i> (?)
<i>xinär</i>	‘girl, daughter’	< * <i>xin-</i> ‘younger female being’ (or: * <i>xuni-ğar</i> ?)

See above 3.2.2.2 for an alternative explanation of this suffix.

3.2.6 Communicative reference

§ 1. In the present description of Udi, the term ‘communicative reference’ is used to denote those techniques that encode reference towards the members of an actual or imagined speech act. Normally, such referents show up as ‘personal pronouns’, though other terms such as nouns can likewise be used in the same function. The basic strategy to denote speech act participants in Udi is lexical: Synchronically speaking, there are no morphological means to derive communicative referents be it from another communicative referent or from other lexical terms. (X) lists the pronouns used to encode speech act participants:

(X)		Modern Udi	Old Udi	
	Speaker	<i>zu</i>	<i>zow</i>	(1SG)
	One addressee	<i>un</i> (N. <i>hun</i>)	<i>vown</i>	(2SG)
	One addressee [honorific]	<i>va^hn ~ efa^hn</i>	---	(2SG:HON)
	Speaker + others	<i>ian</i>	<i>žan</i>	(1PL)
	Multiple addressees	<i>va^hn ~ efa^hn</i>	<i>v^han</i>	(2PL)

Accordingly, self-reference in a speech act is always carried out with the help of the pronoun *zu*. It is the only element of the paradigm that lacks the final segment *-n* sometimes referred to as a ‘determinative’. There are no native means to subcategorize this pronoun in terms of social deixis: *zu* is used whether or not the addressee belongs to the same social group. Very rarely, (elder) speakers copy the Oriental strategy to encode a socially lower position of the speaker by using the concept ‘(your) slave/servant’, Udi *vi q’ul* ‘your servant’. (X) illustrates this strategy:

(X)	<i>vi q’ul hazir-re</i> [f.n.]
	your:SG servant ready-3SG
	‘Your servant is ready’ > ‘I am ready’

However, the collocation *vi q’ul* is not yet fully grammaticalized: It still shows agreement in terms of the third person (**vi q’ul hazirzu*).

§ 2. The coding of top-down strategies in social deixis (‘I’ > ‘X:supreme’ etc.) is not

documented for Udi. However, in texts there is a general preference to use causative constructions instead of standard transitive verbs when quoting the speech of a king, lord and the like, compare:

(X) *zu va sa boboçal tad-es-zu-st'a* [f.n.]
 I you:SG:DAT one ring give-MASD-1SG-LV:CAUS:PRES
 ‘I give you (‘let you give’) a ring.’

Note that this type of social deixis is not restricted to the first person. It may also occur in reference towards another speech act participant, as long as (s)he is higher in rank than the speaker:

(X) *ek'aluğ-nu fi u'ğ-es-t'-e zu gena xe-zu u'ğ-e* [f.n.]
 why-2SG wine drink-MASD-LV:CAUS-PERF I CONTR water-1SG drink-PERF
 ‘Why did you drink (‘let drink’) wine, whereas I drank water?’

Incidentally, the first person can be expressed with the help of the reflexive pronoun *ič* ‘self’ (see 3.2.8.2). However, this technique is more common with the third person. An example of the use of *ič* in reference to the speaker is:

(X) S1: *me gurat' gölö śel-le*
 PROX shirt very beautiful-3SG
 ‘This shirt is very nice.’

S2: *ič-en e'b-zu-b-e* [f.n.]
 REFL-ERG sew-1SG-LV-PERF
 ‘I did sew (it) myself.’

§ 3. The addressee is marked by *un* (Vartashen) ~ *hun* (Nizh). Again, social deixis plays a minor role. Nevertheless, many Udi speakers have adopted the Azeri/Persian convention to use the second person plural as a honorific pronoun. In tales, a person higher in rank than the speaker is normally addressed with the help of the standard second person singular. The same is true for the Gospels, compare [Matthew 26:64]:

(X) ... *kala be'inś-en p-i-ne šo-t'-u...*
 high priest-ERG say-PAST-3SG DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT1
 ‘.. The high priest said to him....’

... *upa ia un-nu Xrist'os ...*
 say:IMP2SG we:DAT1 you:SG-2SG Christ
 ‘.. Tell us: Are YOU Christ?...’

... *Isus-en p-i-ne...*
 Jesus-ERG say-PAST-3SG
 ‘.. Jesus said:...’

... *un p-i-nu...*
 ... you:SG say-PAST-2SG
 ‘... you have said (it)...’

§ 4. As expected, encoding of the addressee in agentive function is less frequent in discourse than that of the self-referring first person. (X) illustrates this point by listing the corresponding figures for nine oral tales and the Gospels:

	Agentive		(Indirect) Objective	
	<i>zu</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>za(x)</i>	<i>va(x)</i>
Gospels	414	238	321	296
Tales	43	30	19	26

§ 5. In Udi, the inclusion of others into the self-referring space of the speaker is not subcategorized. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction on the synchronic level. Historically speaking, the Udi pronoun *ian* ‘we’ represents a reflex of the proto-Lezgian exclusive (**z’ə-* > Old Udi *žā-n*). In order to express an inclusive strategy, Udi speakers tend to add *saganu* (< *sa ga-n-u* ‘one place-SA-DAT) or (rare) the inclusive numerals *p’a’len* ‘they two’, *xibalen* ‘they three’ etc. (see 3.2.10). An example is:

(x) *ian saganu šähär-ä tağ-en* [f.n.]
 we together town-DAT go:FUT-IMP:1PL
 ‘Let’s go to town’

Else, the comitative serves to include the addressee:

(x) S1: *saganu šum uk-en* [GD 61]
 together bread eat-IMP:1PL
 ‘Let’s eat bread together!’

S2: *zu vaxol bak-al te-za šum uk-es*
 I you:SG:COM be-PART:nPAST NEG-1SG:IO bread eat-MASD
 ‘I cannot eat bread with you’ ≈ ‘we cannot eat bread together.’

The imperative (first person plural) serves to encode a true inclusive strategy (see 3.4.7). However, the suffix *-en* (IMP:1PL) is not copied by a corresponding inclusive pronoun, compare:

(x) (*ian*) *aiz-en ğac’-k-en köšäg-ax* [Schiefner 1863:54, normalized]
 (we) rise-IMP:1PL bind-LV-IMP:1PL sledge-DAT2
 ‘Let’s go and harness (the horses to) the sledge!’

Incidentally, the inclusive character of the adhortative can be reinforced with the help of the first person plural in the comitative case:

- (X) *eke iaxol tağ-en* [R 10]
 go:IMP2SG we:COM go:FUT-IMP:1PL
 ‘OK, let’s go together!’

In Nizh, the first person singular is often used instead, compare:

- (x) *ek-i zaxun tağ-en* [Nizh; UKS; OR 135]
 go:IMP-IMP:2SG I:COM go:FUT-IMP:1PL
 ‘Come (on), let’s go together!’

§ 6. Strategies to exclude an addressee, but to include a person or persons that do not participate in the speech act are not grammaticalized in Udi. Frequently, the particle *nut*’ (alpha privativum) ‘not, without’ is used (copying Azeri *-sIz*). It is added to a pronoun in the dative case:

- (x) (a) *ian va-nut’ šähär-ä tağ-al-ian* [f.n.]
 we you:SG:DAT-NOT town-DAT go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1PL
 ‘We go to town without you.’

- (b) *ian va^ʃ-nut’ gölös-ian-exa* [f.n.]
 we you:PL:DAT-NOT dance-1PL-LV:PRES
 ‘We dance without you.’

§ 7. The plurality of addressees is encoded with the help of the pronoun *va^ʃn* ‘you:PL’. There is an emphatic variant *efa^ʃn* derived from the genitive *e^ʃfi* (dative *va^ʃ* ~ *efa^ʃ*, see 3.3.6). Examples for the use of the emphatic variant include:

- (X) (a) *va^ʃn efa^ʃn isp’at-t’an za* [John 3:28]
 you:PL you:PL:EMPH witness-2PL I:DAT
 ‘Ye yourselves bear me witness.’

- (b) *etär-te zu bu-za-q’-e efa^ʃ*
 how-SUB I love-1SG.IO- $\text{\$}$ -PERF you:PL:EMPH:DAT
 ‘As I have loved YOU (pl.)’

t’etär-al efa^ʃn bu-q’a-va^ʃ-q’-i sunsun-a [John 13:34]
 thus-FOC you:PL:EMPH love-ADH-2PL.IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST each=other-DAT
 ‘THUS you should love one another’

- (c) *efa^ʃn deiirmanči-n a^ʃil-ux te-nan* [S&S 91]
 you:PL:EMPH miller-GEN child-PL NEG-2PL
 ‘You (pl.) are not the children of the miller.’

Note that in the Gospels, the emphatic variant is much more frequent in the oblique cases than the non-emphatic form. The opposite is true for the absolutive case. Else, the use of the emphatic forms is rather restricted.

§ 8. From a synchronic point of view, the paradigm of communicative reference does not reveal particular morphological patterns. Plurals are lexical and not derived from the corresponding singular pronouns. Superficially, one might think of a derivational pattern especially with respect to the second person dative (*va* (sg.) vs. *va^f* (pl.)). However, the resemblance is purely incidental: *va* stems from an Early Udi form **ǵ^wa* whereas *va^f* is derived from **ǵ^wǵ-r-n* (see Schulze 1999 and 3.3.6, § 8). Diachronically, all pronouns except the first person singular are marked by a final *-n* ('determinative') that is related to the segment *-n-* preceding the referentializer *-o* with deictic pronouns (see 3.2.8.2). The fact that the pronoun used to encode a speaker's self-reference (first person singular) lacks this determinative, describes the paradigm of personal pronouns as 'EGO-prominent'. (X) gives the proto-Lezgian reconstructs for the Udi pronouns (see 3.3.6 for a discussion of the oblique forms):

(X)	Speaker	<i>zu</i>	<	<i>*z^wǵ</i>
	Addressee	<i>(h)un</i>	<	<i>*ǵ^wǵ-r-n</i>
	Inclusive	---		<i>[*ǵ:ǵ-]</i>
	Exclusive	<i>ian</i>	<	<i>*ǵ^vǵ-r-n</i>
	Addressee (pl.)	<i>va^fn</i>	<	<i>*ǵ^wǵ-r-n</i>

§ 9. Just as it is true for most other East Caucasian languages, Udi clearly distinguishes between real speech act participants and 'persons' not involved in a speech act, but referred to in a speech act. There is no pronoun to encode the 'third person' in the sense of a 'potential' or imagined speech act participant. The division between speech act participants and those referents that do not participate in the speech act also becomes evident when looking at reported speech: Udi hardly ever uses techniques to encode 'indirect speech' (see 5.10.2). Instead, the speaker is quoted directly:

(X)	<i>me ǵädi-n-en ex-ne te bez vädä tam-ne-bak-sa</i> [GD 62]
	PROX boy-SA-ERG say:PRES-3SG SUB I:POSS time full-3SG-LV-PRES
	'The boy says that his time has come to an end.'

Incidentally, this technique may cause ambiguities. The first person pronoun can refer to both the speaker (exophoric logophoric) and the person quoted by the speaker (endophoric logophoric).

(x)	(a) <i>ama va^fn p-i-nan te ian me súe ni^fǵ-e mand-al-ian</i> [f.n.]
	but you:PL say-PAST-2PL SUB we PROX night:DAT Nizh-DAT stay-FUT:FAC-1PL
	'But you have said that we/you will stay in Nizh this night.'

- (b) *baba-n p-i-ne te bez borž te-ne-i* [f.n.]
 father-ERG say-PAST-3G SUB I:POSS fault NEG-3SG-PAST
 ‘Father said that it had not been his/my fault.’

3.2.7 Definite / Indefinite Reference

§ 1. Udi does not distinguish between definite and indefinite reference paradigmatically. Hence, Modern Udi differs considerably from Old Udi: Here, the Armenian suffixial article (-s, -d, -n) is constantly translated with the help of the two demonstrative pronouns *e* (prox) or (more rarely) *o* (dist). There are no traces of this usage in Modern Udi. Hence, a nominal referent can refer to both types of reference:

- (X) *aiz-er-i ta-ne-sa p'uran sum aq'-san* [S&S 91]
 rise-LV:PAST-PAST go-3SG-\$.PRES again bread take-CV:TEL
 ‘He stood up and went to fetch again a / some / the bread.’

However, there is a strong tendency to use the numeral *sa* ‘one’ to indicate indefinite reference. It often signals new information, normally coupled with indefiniteness:

- (X) (a) *sa ġi me čubğ-on sa u^q e^ś aq'-i*
 one day PROX woman-ERG one six apple take-PAST

k'ož-in bip'čo u^q ga-l-a t'ak'-ne-xa [Ch&T 170]
 house-GEN around six place-SA-DAT hide-3SG-LV:PRES

‘Once, this woman took [some] six apples (and) hid (them) in six places somewhere in the house.’

- (b) *hun hoo p-i-t'-uxun oša zu žöi sa äyit-uz uk'-o?*
 you:SG yes say-PAST-REF:OBL-ABL after I other one word-1SG say:FUT-FUT:MOD
 ‘Shall I say another word after you have said ‘yes’?’ [Nizh; XOZ; OR 52]

§ 2. The difference between an unmarked noun and a noun preceded by *sa* is governed by the degree of contextual knowledge. In case the referent is either known (but indefinite) or expectable because of a typical setting, the noun is unmarked, compare:

- (X) (a) *k'ua ar-i sum-ne kä-i* [f.n.]
 house:DAT come:PAST-PAST bread-3SG eat:PAST-PAST
 ‘Having come home (s)he ate some bread.’

- (b) *k'ua ar-i sa sum-ne kä-i* [f.n.]
 house:DAT come:PAST-PAST one bread-3SG eat:PAST-PAST
 ‘Having come home, (s)he ate a bread.’

(X,a) normally does not invite the speaker/hearer to further track the referent ‘bread’.
 (X,b) however, only makes sense if the speaker has in mind to inform about the specific referent.

§ 3. The tendency to grammaticalize the numeral *sa* as some kind of indefinite article conveying new information is especially present in oral talk. In the Gospels, the combination *sa* + noun is much more restricted:

(X)	Total of words	<i>sa</i>	
Gospels	56240	209	(0.37 %)
Vart.Tales	6030	188	(3.11 %)
Nizh Tales	7235	220	(3.04 %)

§ 4. The numeral *sa* ‘one’ is occasionally combined with the distal deixis *t’e* to denote definite reference in the sense of ‘just mentioned’ or the ‘other one’. The use of *t’esa* is more frequent in the Gospels than in oral talk. (X) illustrates this usage:

(X) (a) *ma-no-r-te bu-q’un-i t’e-sa k’ic’k’e gämi-n-al* [Luke 5:7]

REL-REF:ABS-PL-SUB be-3PL-PAST DIST-one small boat-SA-SUPER

‘...who were in the little boat just mentioned.’

(b) *sa čüt ulağ-en t’e-č’o-ne zap-exa t’e-sa čüt-en me-č’o* [TR 69]

one pair bull-ERG DIST-side-3SG pull-LV:PRES DIST-one pair-ERG PROX-side

‘One pair of bulls pulls (one) that side, the other pair (on) this side.’

§ 5. Just as it is true for indefinite reference, definite reference is strongly coupled with discourse knowledge. Normally, nominal referents unmarked for definiteness except if they are associated with the relational primitive ‘objective’, see 5.4.2.3. Referents in O-function are often marked by the dative (in Nizh) or the dative2 (in Vartashen). The underlying O-split technique will be discussed in more details in section 5.4.2.3. In the given context, the following example may be sufficient:

(x) (a) *me-ğī zu gölö xe uğ-al-zu* [f.n.]

PROX-day I much water drink-FUT:FAC-1SG

‘Today I will drink a lot of water.’

(b) *me-ğī zu xe-n-ax uğ-al-te-z* [f.n.]

PROX-day I water-SA-DAT2 drink-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG

‘Today, I will not drink the water.’

(c) *še-t’-uğ-ox box-a xe-n-e boš*

DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 boil-IMP:2SG water-SA-GEN in

xe-n-ax tad-a xunče [GD 63]
 water-SA-DAT2 give-IMP:2SG sister:DAT
 ‘Boil them in water (and) give the water to (your) sister.’

§ 5. Else, the paradigm of adnominal deictic pronouns can be used to reinforce definiteness. This technique is especially frequent in oral talk. Apart from semantic aspects resulting from the metaphorization of deictic functions (see 3.2.8.2 and 3.2.9.3), deictically marked referents often encode a resumed topic (often in agentive or subjective function). In such instances, the proximal *me* is much more frequent than the distal *t'e*, whereas the medial *ka* hardly ever serves to stress definiteness. A typical example for the use of *me* is:

(X) *baba-n ič xinär-ax bütin xalx-n-u ak'-es-ne-d-i.*
 father-ERG REFL daughter-DAT2 all people-SA-DAT see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS-PAST

xalx gölö aq'-ne-c-i še-t'-a šavatt'uğ-a
 people much take-3SG-PASS:PAST-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN beauty-DAT

ama me xinär-en bur-re-q-i o'ne-ps-ax [f.n.]
 but PROX daughter-ERG start-3SG-LV-PAST weep-MASD-DAT2

‘The father showed his daughter to the people. The people were amazed at her beauty. But the girl started to weep.’

3.2.8 Pronominal reference

The term ‘pronominal reference’ encompasses those referential structures that infer, presuppose, or relate to the (discursive) reality of a nominal referent. Conventionally, this class of lexemes is termed ‘pronouns’. In the present description of Udi however, personal pronouns are excluded from this class because they do not satisfy the above-mentioned condition from a semantic point of view. Pronominal reference is represented by the following paradigmatic classes: Qualitative/quantitative reference (3.2.8.1), deictic reference (demonstratives and anaphors (both standard and emphatic, 3.2.8.2.1)), reflexives/reciprocals (3.2.8.2.2), indefinite and general reference (3.2.8.3.1), negative reference (3.2.8.3.2), and Q-reference (3.2.8.4). ‘Q-reference’ encompasses all interrogative pronouns. Finally, relative reference is carried out in terms of relative pronouns (3.2.8.5). In this section, I present only the basic forms together with the corresponding paradigmatic structures. Sections 3.3.6-9 will discuss the inflectional paradigms.

3.2.8.1 Qualitative/quantitative reference. In Udi, any qualifying or quantifying adjective can be referentialized with the help of the referentializer *-o* (see 3.2.3). From a semantic point of view, such forms are pronouns because they replace a specifically qualified or quantified nominal referent, compare:

(X) (a) S1: *ma-no-a me xinär-muğ-oxo haq'ullu?*
 which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX girl-PL-ABL clever
 'Who of these girls is clever?'

S2: *kala-o gölö haq'ullu-ne* [f.n.]
 old-REF:ABS much clever-3SG
 'The old one is very clever.'

(b) S1: *eq'q'ara e^š-va buq'-sa?*
 how=many apple-2SG:IO want-PRES
 'How many apples do you want?'

S2: *bütün-t'-ux-za buq'-sa* [f.n.]
 all-REF:OBL-DAT2-1sg:IO want-PRES
 'I want (them) all.'

A referentialized adjective behaves like a noun. It can take an attribute (X,a), be linked to a possessor (X,b and c), function as a possessor (X,d), be counted (X,e), and be marked for deixis (X,f).

(X) (a) *kala ć'óca'-o-r uć'-n-axo muć'a-ne*. [f.n.]
 big red-REF:ABS-PL honey-SA-ABL sweet-3SG

'The big red ones (speaking of berries) are sweeter than honey'

(b) *me dünüä-n-un kala-o tämbäi bak-eğ-al-le* [John 16:11]
 PROX world-SA-GEN old-REF:ABS punishment be-PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG
 'The ruler of this world will be punished.'

(c) *xalx-n-a kala-t'-ğ-on ağaluğ-q'un b-esa šo-t'-ğ-o laxo*
 people-SA-GEN old-REF:OBL-PL-ERG rulership-3PL do-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN on
 'The elders of the people oppress them.' [Matthew 20:25]

(d) *k'ać'i-t'-a pex qai-p-i* [John 9:6]
 blind-REF:OBL-GEN eye:DAT2 open-LV-PAST
 '...having opened the eye(s) of the blind'

(e) *p'a^š k'ic'i-o-r sa kala-t'-uxo zorru-ne* [f.n.]
 two little-REF:ABS-PL:ABS one big-REF:OBL-ABL strong-3SG
 'Two little ones are stronger than one big (one).'

(f) *me k'ic'i-o sel te-ne* [f.n.]
 prox little-REF:ABS good NEG-3SG
 'This small one (s.c. 'apple') is not good.'

However, note that the attribution of referentialized adjectives is rare. Such structures occur especially when the referentialized adjective has lost its segmental semantics

(adjective + (generic or typical) reference). The blend of qualification and reference then produces a ‘new’ noun that again can be qualified by an attribute:

(x) *baćnakalao* ‘captain’ < *bać-n-a* *kala-o*
 hundred-SA-GEN big-REF:ABS

> *pis baćnakalao*
 ‘bad captain’;

p’a^ʰćolao ‘hypocrite’ < *p’a^ʰ ćo-la-o*
 two face-ADJ-REF:ABS

> *ai va^ʰn k’ic’i p’a^ʰćolao-r-ran* [f.n.]
 oh you:PL little hypocrite-PL-2PL
 ‘Oh, you are little hypocrites!’

3.2.8.2 Deictic, anaphoric and reflexive/reciprocal reference. The three classes ‘exophoric deixis’, ‘anaphorics’, and ‘reflexives/reciprocals’ represent a specific functional category that is characterized by the feature of cross-referentiality. Note, however, that the Udi pronouns in question do not reflect this general feature in their morphological architecture: Deictic and anaphoric reference is not discriminated morphologically: Whether or not a deictic pronoun is exophoric or endophoric (anaphoric) can only be inferred from context. Reflexives and reciprocals, on the other hand, are based on specific paradigms.

3.2.8.2.1 Deictic and anaphoric reference. In Modern Udi, deictic reference (in terms of ‘demonstrative pronouns’) follows the typology of an adnominal-based deictic paradigm:

Referential				Relational			
Demonstrative	3.2.8.2.1	Adnominal	3.2.9.3	Adverbial	3.5.1	Identificational	5.3.5
+ REF		Base form		+ LOC		+ REF + PAM	

§§ 1-10 describe the basic distributional patterns of demonstrative pronouns for the dialect of Vartashen. §§ 12-16 illustrate the (reduced) paradigm in contemporary Nizh. Note that the formal distinction of referential vs. non-referential deictic forms is a later innovation. In Old Udi, the base form can be used as a demonstrative, as an adnominal as well as in identificational constructions.

§ 1. The adnominal (attributive) deixis represents the unmarked structure that is augmented by referentialization strategies in order to form demonstrative pronouns or deictic reference. The derivational procedure is that of referentialization: To the deictic stem, the morpheme *-o* is added preceded by the ‘determinative’ *-n-* (in Nizh only if the demonstrative has endophoric/anaphoric function, see § 12 below). Section 2.4.2 describes the impact of the vowel *-o* on the stem vowels. Parallel to the

adnominal deixis, deictic reference is subcategorized according to a threefold monocentric opposition:

(X)	Deictic Reference	Emphatic	Adnominal
Proximal	<i>meno ~ mono ~ moo</i>	<i>hašo(no)</i>	<i>me</i>
Medial	<i>kano ~ koo</i>	<i>haka(n)o</i>	<i>ka</i>
Distal	<i>šeno ~ šono ~ šoo</i>	<i>hašo(no)</i>	<i>t'e</i>

Note that the distal lacks a corresponding adnominal form (**še*), see 3.2.9.3. It is not quite clear why the referential distal uses the base *še-* instead of expected *t'e*. Lexical data do not suggest that there has been a constraint on the sequence **t'eno*. Nevertheless, the oblique stem would have yielded **t'e-t'*- (see 3.3.7) that may have undergone dissimilation (but note *t'at'i* ‘grandmother’). A residue of the pronoun **t'eno* (< **t'i-n-o*, see 3.3.7.1) is the form *t'et'il* ‘just there’ that has been reported by Schiefner 1863:55 for Nizh:

- (x) *ć'öć'a ćöla xüyär-en t'e-t'-il vax k'al-e-ne* [Nizh]
 red faced girl-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-SUPER you:SG:DAT2 call-PERF-3SG
 ‘The girl with red cheeks just there has called you.’

Still, the form *t'et'il* has not been confirmed by informants. In addition, it represents a case form (superessive) that is based on the *-i*-dative (see 3.3.3.6). The *-i*-dative, however, is not used with demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1).

The segment *še-* is paradigmatically isolated: Whereas *me* and *t'e* are both used to form adverbs and other deictic structures (*mia* ‘here’, *t'ia* ‘there’, *melan* ‘from here’, *t'elan* ‘from there’, *migila* ‘behold (here is)’, *t'igila* ‘behold (there is)’ etc., see 3.5.1), *še-* is never used with such derivational patterns. The distal *še-* has a remarkable match in Tsakhur *še-* (distal, < **ši*, see Schulze 2002). However, this isogloss itself remains unexplained; it has perhaps resulted from areal contact between speakers of early Udi and those of a Tsakhurian dialect of Proto-Samur. The morpheme *še* surely did not belong to the Proto-Samur system of demonstrative pronouns. Whether it should be proposed for the Proto-Lezgian level remains doubtful (see 3.2.9.3 for the diachronic background of the other deictic elements).

§ 2. Semantically speaking, the three deictic strategies are monocentric: They subcategorize the (real, imagined, or metaphorized) visual axis of a speaker according to the feature [distance]. Polycentric orientation, that is the orientation towards the region of a speaker/hearer etc. plays a minor role, see 3.2.9.3 for details. Contrary to many other East Caucasian languages, Udi lacks a vertical subcategorization (above/below).

All three demonstrative pronouns can be used to express both exophoric and endophoric reference. (X) illustrates the exophoric use:

(X) (a) *me-n-o eḡel-le ha-še-n-o gena e^hk* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS-ABS sheep-3SG EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-ABS CONTR horse
 ‘This is a sheep, but that is a horse.’

(b) S1: *ma-no-a me xa^h-urḡ-oxo pis?*
 which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX dog-PL-ABL bad
 ‘Which of these dogs is dangerous?’

S2: *me-no!* [f.n.]
 prox-REF:ABS
 ‘This one!’

§ 2. Spatial reference is normally carried out with the help of deictic adverbs (see 3.5.1). The referential forms are only used if the space represents the region of an object that is referred to anaphorically:

(X) (a) *t'ia gölö q'uš-urux-ne* [f.n.]
 DIST:ADV much bird-PL-3SG
 ‘Over there are many birds.’

(b) *ist'ak'an me-t'-a laxo lad-a!* [f.n.]
 glass PROX-REF:OBL-GEN on put=on-IMP:2SG
 ‘Put the glass on it / here (on the table)!’

(c) *t'ia-zu tac-e* [f.n.]
 DIST:ADV-1SG go:PAST-PERF
 ‘I have gone to that (place) / there.’

(d) *še-t'-u tac-i-ne* [f.n.]
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT go:PAST-PAST-3SG
 ‘(S)he went to him/her’.

§ 4. In Udi, endophoric reference normally is anaphoric. The choice of the particular demonstratives is conditioned by textual organization, discourse knowledge, and features of empathy. The closer the anaphor is to its referent, the more likely the proximal is used. In long distance, distals are preferred. However, this distribution is influenced by the degree to which the invariant component of the spatial source domain is preserved in the metaphorical use of demonstratives as anaphors. In other words: A referent that is close to its anaphor in the text but that semantically refers to a distant location, is more frequently represented by a distal than by a proximal compare:

(X) *aiz-i sa adamar-zu beḡ-e. šo-no k'ac'i-ne-i.* [f.n.]
 village-DAT one man-1SG see-PERF DIST-REF:ABS blind-3SG-PAST
 ‘In the village I saw a man. He was blind.’

Analogically, a proximal can be used to refer to a textually distant, but spatially close object:

(X) (a) *šel cil mo-no bu-q'un ġar-mux pasč'aġluġ-un* [Matthew 13:38]
 good seed PROX-REF:ABS be-3PL son-PL kingdom-GEN
 'The children of the kingdom are the good seed.'

(b) *xinär-a gena q'ə^h-t'u-b-sa te ič laiġ-a-ne ioldaš-muġ-o*
 girl-DAT CONTR fear-3SG:IO-LV-PRES SUB REFL go=up:FUT-MOD-3SG friend-PL-DAT

ak'-a-q'o te mo-no bütün-t'-uxo šavat'-t'e [R 12]

see-MOD-3PL SUB PROX-REF:ABS all-REF:OBL-ABL beautiful-3SG

'The girl fears that if she pulls herself up, the friends would see that she is the most beautiful (girl) of all.'

§ 5. The choice of deictic reference is also determined by case marking and certain features of empathy. Note, however, that in actual Nizh, the distal has become the general anaphoric pronoun. The distributional criteria mentioned above no longer condition the choice of deixis (see below § 12 for a description of demonstrative pronouns in Nizh). In Vartashen, the distinction between the three pronouns are more vivid. In order to illustrate this point I first compare the overall frequency of deictic reference in a cumulated data base of oral tales and the Gospels: In the cumulated data base of oral tales, there are 147 instances of deictic reference (demonstrative pronouns), as opposed to 4364 occurrences in the Gospels. (X) compares the frequencies to the use of the corresponding adnominal deixis (tales: 177, Gospels: 498):

(X)

	Tales		Gospels	
	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal
Proximal	63,94 %	68,92 %	8,56 %	66,26 %
Medial	6,80 %	7,90 %	1,27 %	0,40 %
Distal	29,25 %	23,16 %	90,07 %	33,33 %

In the tales, there is a general preference for the proximal. Distals represent less than one third of the corpus. As expected the general frequency of the medial is rather low. Note that in the tales, there only is an insignificant difference between demonstrative and adnominal use of deictic elements. In the Gospels, however, the distal dominates the corpus of demonstrative pronouns: It is generally used to indicate an unmarked anaphor. Obviously, the distributional patterns are strong influenced by both the Russian source and the type of text: In the tales, the proximal often refers to a specific object or person, mentioned before. In the Gospels, however, anaphoric pronouns frequently refer to concepts that are more general or to a group of people that represent the scenic 'background'.

§ 6. Hence, the choice of the unmarked distal is also determined by semantic aspects of its referents. (X) illustrates this point: In the Gospels, the proximal is nearly inexistant with plural referents (percentage of all occurrences):

(X)	Gospels	Tales
PROX	0,39	15,64
MED	0,12	0
DIST	35,54	6,80
TOTAL	36,05	22,44

Table (X) summarizes the general distributional patterns in terms of a diagram:

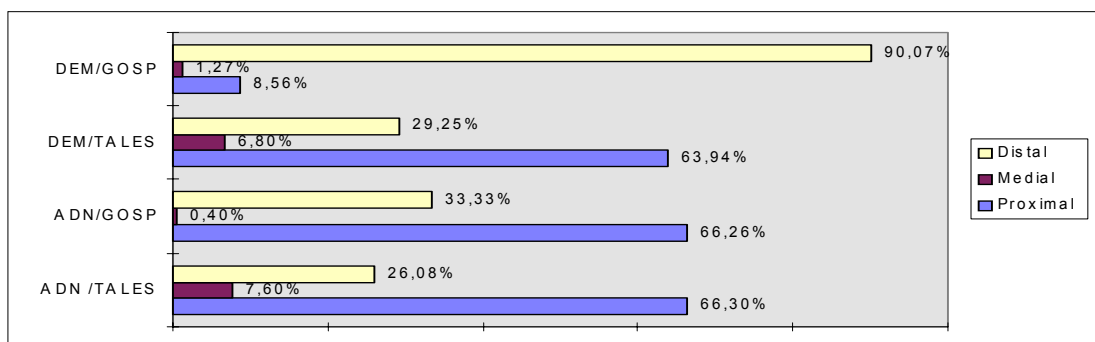


Table (X): Frequency of deictic elements in oral tales and the Gospels

§ 7. Finally, case marking (see 3.3.6) plays an important role in the choice of demonstratives to encode deictic (anaphoric) reference. The following diagrams show the frequencies of demonstratives in the five basic cases absolute, ergative, genitive singular, dative singular, and dative2:

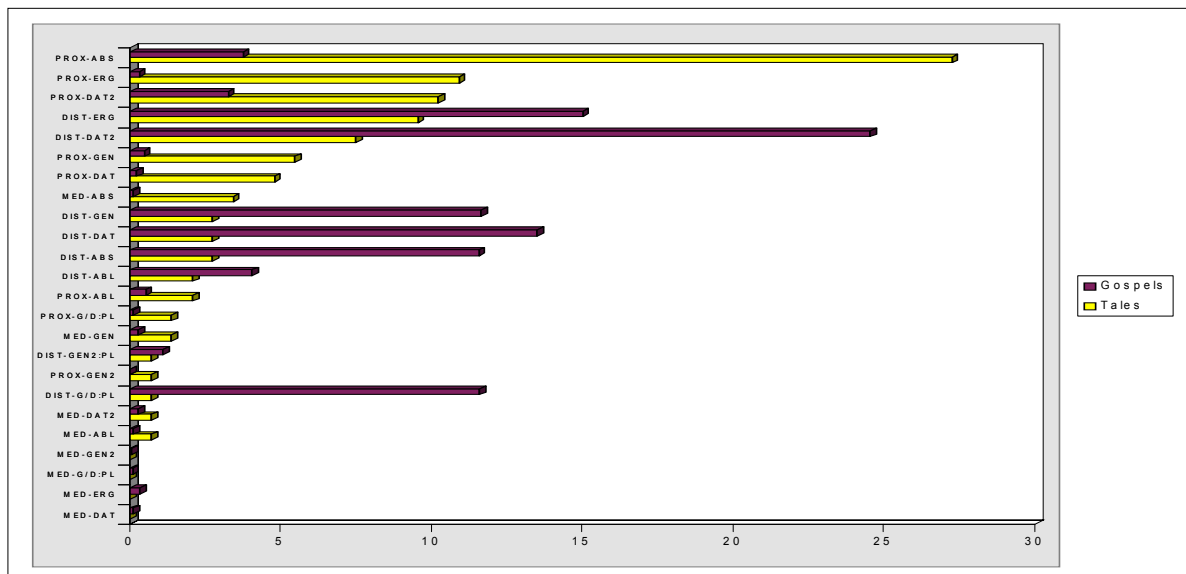


Table (X): Usage-based frequency of anaphors in relation to case marking

3.1-3 Reference

In this diagram, the values for the oral tales have been set as the default because they roughly correspond to what can be observed in conversation, too. The distribution of demonstratives in the Gospels is in parts idiosyncratic: The texts are dominated by transitive constructions that involve an ergative case marking (see 5.4.2.2). Additionally, intransitive constructions are often embedded in terms of subordinated ‘sentences’ resulting in the deletion of referents in subjective function (see 5.8.3). In consequence, demonstrative pronouns marked by the absolutive are less frequent than in ordinary style. Also, note that anaphors in oblique function (possessive, objective, indirect objective etc.) dominate the Gospels more than the tales because of the rather complex textual information structure involving a great number of different referential types in the same context.

Table (X) describes the distribution of demonstratives in relation to case marking. Figures give the proportions in percentage:

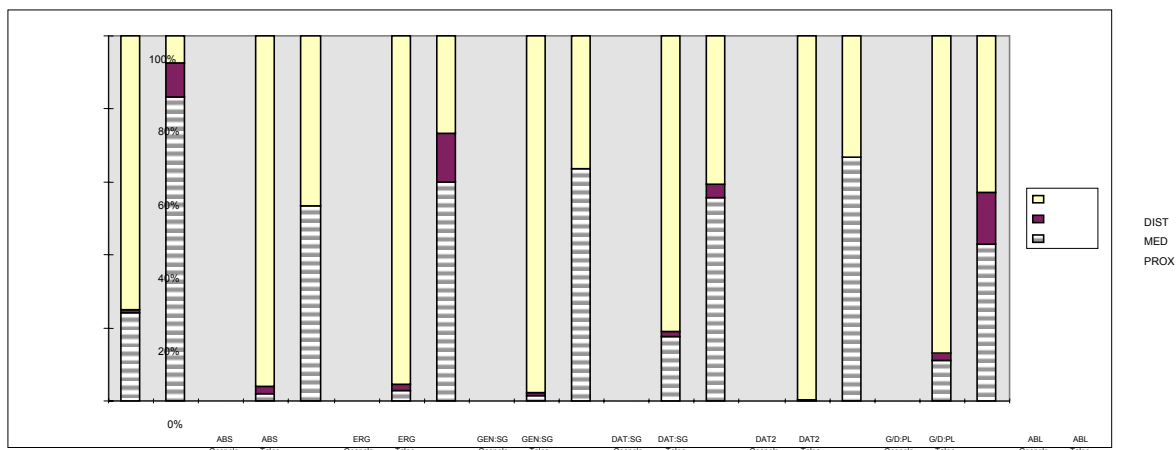


Table (X): Proportional distribution of cased marked demonstratives

Again, it comes clear that the Gospels are dominated by a preference for distal strategies whereas the tales favor the proximal. The high frequency of ergative distals in the Gospels is in parts motivated by the stereotypical collocation *šet'in pine* ‘he said’: One third of all occurrences of the ergative distal *šet'in* (124) are coupled with the speech act verb *pine* ‘(s)he said’, as in:

(X) *še-t'-in* *p-i-ne* *šo-t'ǵ-o* [Mark 8:29]
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST-3SG DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-PL-DAT
 ‘He said to them.’

This preference is also related to the tendency to use the distal in discourse when referring to a past ‘event’:

(X) (a) *ar-i-ne sa adamar. šo-no gölö kala-ne-i* [f.n.]
 come:PAST.PAST-3SG one man DIST>ANAPH-REF:ABS much old-3SG-PAST
 ‘There came a man. He was very old.’

(b) *rust'am-en me-t'-ux ex-ne* (...)
 Rustam-ERG PROX>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT2 say:PRES...
 ‘Rustam says to him (...);

mo-no irazi-ne bak-sa [R 10]
 PROX>ANAPH-REF:ABS approving-3SG be-PRES
 ‘He (the other) agrees.’

§ 8. As has been said above, empathic features play a considerable role in the choice of deictic reference. In general, we can observe the tendency to use the proximal in coreference with ‘objects’ that are culturally or textually related the feature ‘sympathy’. The distal is more often used in coreference with ‘objects’ that have a negative connotation. For instance, in the tale *The Greatful Death* (Dirr 1928) the three deictic elements used as demonstratives show the following distribution: proximal 18, medial 1, distal 15. (X) lists the referents the pronouns refer to. Additionally, the functional values of the pronouns are given:

(X)

S	A	O/IO	Possessive	Locative	Com
boy	[bad] man	goods	hero	hero	hero+prince
hero	goods	goods	king	<i>dev</i>	<i>bad comrades</i>
hero+prince (5)	<i>bad man</i> (2)	<i>bad man</i>	<i>hero</i> (indirect)		
merchants	<i>bad boy</i>	<i>ears of devs</i>	<i>devs</i>		
sons	<i>sons</i> (indirect)	<i>bad boy</i>			
		<i>prince</i> (indirect)			

Proximal coding is indicated by normal letters, distals are given in italics. Note that the table disregards demonstratives that coreference ‘events’. Here, the distal is the standard option with events that precede another event. Else, the proximal or the medial is preferred. (X) illustrates the general coupling of proximal and sympathy vs. distal and antipathy. This distributional pattern, which is also relevant for the adnominal deixis (see 3.2.7.3) seems to be influenced if not conditioned by the analogeous behavior of demonstratives in Armenian (see Klein 1996:107f.). But note, that contrary to Armenian, the medial is the unmarked category in Udi, whereas in Armenian it is the distal.

§ 9. (X) summarizes the prototypical distribution of the two semantically marked demonstratives. Note, that the features associated with the two types of deictic reference do not represent binary features, but poles on scales that are structurally

coupled. The resulting blends can incidentally highlight one feature more than the others.

(x)		Proximal	Distal
	Spatial	In speaker's region	Away from speaker's region
	Cognitive	In speaker's mental region	Away from speaker's mental region
	Empathy	Sympathy	Antipathy
	Discreteness	Singular	Plural
	Actancy	Subjective/Agentive	Oblique
	Time frame	Present	Past

§ 10. Here, a characterization of the medial has been neglected. In fact, it is rather difficult to fix the semantics of this demonstrative. The following examples illustrate its use:

- (x) (a) *ka kağz-un boš cam-ne-c-i te ġar bai-es-xolan*
 MED letter-GEN in write-3SG-PASS:PAST-PAST SUB boy come-MASD-CV:PAR
ka-t'-a q'o^sq'-ex bot'-a-nan [K&S 85]
 MED>ANAPH-REF:OBL-GEN throat-DAT2 cut-MOD-2PL
 'In that letter it has been written that when the boy comes in you (pl.) should cut his throat.'
- (b) *tad-a-nan ka-t'-u uğ-sun* [Mark 5:44]
 give-MOD-2PL MED-REF:OBL-DAT drink-MASD2
 'Give him (to) drink!'
- (c) *ek'a-nan ka-t'-u imux-lax-sa* [John 10:21]
 what-2PL MED-REF:OBL-DAT ear-lay-PRES
 'Why do you listen to him?'
- (d) *e pisluğ-a b-e ka-t'-in* [Matthew 27:23; Mark 14:15]
 which evil-3SG:Q make-PERF MED-REF:OBL-ERG
 'Which evil did he make?'
- (e) *ka-no xrist'os-a* [Luke 3:16]
 MED-REF:OBL Christ-3SG:Q
 'Is he Christ?'
- (f) *p-i-q'un Iliax-ne k'al-exa ka-t'-in* [Matthew 27:47]
 say-PAST-3PL Ilias:DAT2-3SG call-LV:PRES MED-REF:OBL-ERG
 'They said: He calls Ilias!'

The medial is often used in direct or indirect speech and then refers to an entity that is thought to be involved in the reported event. The best gloss seems to be ‘spoken about’. Only incidentally, the pronouns is used to refer to an inanimate object or to an event:

(x) (a) *ka-no vi borž te-ne* [GD 61]
 MED-REF:OBL you:SG:POSS fault NEG-3SG
 ‘That is not your problem!’

(b) *zu ka-t'-ux p'a^s čüt-en ta-s-š-o* [TR 69]
 I MED-REF:OBL-DAT2 two pair-ERG carry-1SG-\$-FUT:MOD
 ‘I will carry it (a beam) with (the help of) two pairs (of oxen).’

§ 11. Emphatic variants of demonstratives are produced with the help of the expressive segment *ha-* (see 3.5.3). Semantically, *ha-* reflects a proto-Lezgian strategy to relate to an ‘afore-mentioned’ referent (Lezgi *h-a*, emphatic *he-* in Aghul, medial *ha-* in Rutul, emphatic *ha-* in Tsakhur, distal *hu-* (class I, *hä-* (class I-IV) in Khinalug). In Udi, demonstratives marked by *ha-* are normally embedded into an identificational context (also see 5.3.5) that reflects the old usage of *ha-* in the sense of ‘afore-mentioned’. Additionally, *ha-* is frequently used with deictic adverbs (see 3.5.1). (X) illustrates the use of *ha-* plus demonstrative:

(X) (a) *bez baba-n uk'-al-o šor ha-mo-no-ne* [GD 61]
 I:POSS father-ERG say:FUT-PART:IPAST-REF:ABS DIST:ADV EMPH-PROX-REF:ABS-3SG
 ‘He is like that what my father has said.’

(b) *p'uran xabar-q'un aq'-i šo-t'-xo ha-me-t'-a baxt'in*
 again question-3PL take-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ABL EMPH-PROX-REF:OBL-GEN for
 ‘Again they asked him for this.’ [Mark 10:10]

(c) *nut' bu-t'-ai-t'-u gena aq'-eğ-al-le*
 not be-REF:OBL-GEN2-REF:OBL-DAT CONTR take-PASS:FUT-FUT-3SG

ha-šo-no-al ek'k'a-te bu-t'-ai [Matthew 25:29]
 EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-FOC what-SUB be-REF:OBL-GEN2
 ‘It will be taken from him who has nothing even what he has.’

(d) *šux-te muč-ai-z ha-šo-no-ne* [Mark 14:44]
 who:DAT2-SUB kiss-CONJ-1SG EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-3SG
 ‘It is just that (person) whom I kiss.’

§ 12. In Nizh, the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns is semantically and (in parts) morphologically reduced. Some grammarians report that the absolutive case of the pronouns usually lack the ‘determinier’ *-n-* (Pančviže 1974:85, Gukasyan 1985:16; 1974:277). Although the resulting forms *mo(o)* < **me-o*, *ko(o)* < **ke-o*, *šo* < **še-o*

can occasionally be heard, most speakers seem to prefer the standard forms *mono* < *meno* (proximal) and *šono* < *šeno* (distal). The short forms are usually associated with an exophoric function (and accompanied by a deictic gesture), compare the exophoric pronoun *šo* in (x,a) as opposed to the endophoric/anaphoric pronoun *šono* in (x,b):

(x) (a) *šo* *gele kala-ne!* [f.n.]

DIST-REF:ABS much big-3SG

‘That one is very big!’

(b) *šo-no* *gele haq-’ec-i* [TARAK; OR 126]

DIST-REF:ABS much take-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST

‘He (was) very surprised (lit.: taken).’

See section 3.3.7 for the inflection of demonstratives in Nizh.

§ 13. From a semantic point of view, the Nizh paradigm is strongly influenced by the corresponding Azeri paradigm: Just as in Azeri, anaphoric reference is normally carried out with the help of the distal. The medial is rarely ever used as a demonstrative. (x) compares the frequencies of the deictic pronouns in the Nizh corpus of narrative texts (Keçaari 2001; 155 demonstratives, 92 adnominal forms) to those given above for Vartashen narratives and the Gospels:

	Vartashen: Tales		Vartashen: Gospels		Nizh	
	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal
Proximal	63,94 %	68,92 %	8,56 %	66,26 %	7,10 %	35,87 %
Medial	6,80 %	7,90 %	1,27 %	0,40 %	3,87 %	1,09
Distal	29,25 %	23,16 %	90,07 %	33,33 %	89,03 %	63,04 %

The distribution of demonstrative pronouns in Nizh comes close to what can be described for the Gospels. With respect to standard Vartashen texts, Nizh behaves totally different: The proximal is totally marginalized. The proximal is normally used in exophoric (identificational) contexts (direct speech) only. Most often, it is coupled with the interrogative pronoun *he* ~ *hik’ä* ‘what’:

(x) (a) *mo-no* *he arux-a?* [ACHI; OR 120]

PROX-REF:ABS what fire-3SG:Q

‘Which fire is this?’

(b) *mo-no* *he äit-ä* *i-yan-baksa?* [ACHI; OR 119]

PROX-REF:ABS what word-3SG:Q hear-1PL-LV-PRES

‘Which word is this (that) we hear?’

(c) *mo-no* *he sä-s-ä* *i-z-bak-sa* [KAL; OR 123]

PROX-REF:ABS what voice-3SG:Q hear-1SG-LV-PRES

‘Which voice is this (that) I hear?’

§ 14. Very rarely, the proximal has anaphoric function. Examples for its use as a pivot (subjective/agentive function) are:

(x) (a) *mo-rox oša bak-al-e* [KACH; OR 48]

PROX-PL then be-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘These (things) will then happen...’

(b) *mo-rox xib-alen gār-bak-i sun-a ta-t’un-sa qeiraz patč’ağ-a*

PROX-PL three-COLL collect-LV-PAST one:REF-DAT go-3PL-\$.PRES other king-DAT

‘Having collected one by three, they go to another king.’ [PA 118]

Else, it normally has objective function (in junction with a *verbum sentiendi*):

(x) (a) *agronom-en mo-t’-o ak’-i p-i-ne* [HE; OR 131]

agronom-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT see-PART:PAST say-PAST-3SG

‘Having seen him, the agronom said...’

(b) *mo-t’-o ak’-i nex-t’un-iy* [ACHI; OR 119]

PROX-REF:OBL-DAT see-PART:PAST say:PRES-3PL-PAST

‘Having seen him, they said...’

(c) *žöy hema-hema šeir-en mo-t’-o qay ak’-es-e-st’a*

other some-some poem-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT clearly see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS:PRES

‘Some other poems show this clearly.’ [Danakari; OR 3]

(d) *me-t’-ğ-oxon žok ğeiri zu ak’-e-zu* ... [Schiefner 1863:57]

PROX-REF:OBL-ABL separate other I see-PERF-1SG

‘Apart from these, I have seen other(s)...’

§ 15. The standard anaphoric pronoun of Nizh is *šono* ‘that one’ (distal). Contrary to Vartashen, there are no strategies to encode features of empathy or agentivity. Examples are:

(x) (a) *sa ği šo-no ič-al zoq’al-n-a xod-al-xun bi-ne-t-i*

one day DIST-REF:ABS REFL-FOC cornel-SA-GEN tree-SUPER-ABL fall-3SG-\$.PAST

‘One day, he himself fell from top of a cornel tree.’ [ELEM; OR 134]

(b) *šo-t’-ay sa bin bin-e-al*

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 one daughter=in=law daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC

bip’ äyil-t’ux bu-i [TARAK; OR 125]

four child-3SG:POSS be-PAST

‘She had a daughter-in-law, (and) the daughter-in-law had four children.’

(c) *ai xunči a-n-k'-sa murad xeneza-ne*
oh sister see-2SG-§-PRES Murad thirsty-3SG

šo-t'-in čay-q'a-n u'ğ-i [XOZ; OR 51]
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG tea-ADH-3SG drink-PAST

‘Oh sister, you see (that) Murad is thirsty. He should drink tea!’

§ 16. The medial *kono* is restricted to direct speech. Just as in Vartashen, it usually refers to an ‘object’ (or concept) present but ‘passive’ in a given speech act. Examples are:

(x) (a) *vič-en p-i-ne ko-no zaluğ te-ne* [ZU; OR 130]
brother-ERG say-PAST-3SG MED-REF:ABS my=affair NEG-3SG

‘The brother said: This does not concern me [lit. is not myhood].’

(b) *šo-t'-oxun xavar-e haq'-i ko-no hikā-n-b-sa?* [ZU; OR 130]

DIST-REF:OBL-ABL news-3SG take-PAST MED-REF:ABS what-3SG-LV-PRES

‘He asked him: ‘What is that what you do?’

(c) *ai viči seri-ne ko-t'-ai maral-a zer-d-ala*

oh brother true-3SG MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 deer-DAT equal-LV-PART:FUT2

sa čuhux-t'ux bu [UKS; OR 134]

one woman-3SG:POSS be

‘Oh brother, it is true: He has a wife who equals a deer.’

(d) *me ġar har-i p'ap'-ala kinā bezi xüyär-ä*

PROX boy come:PAST-PART:PAST enter-PART:FUT2 as I:POSS daughter-DAT

ko-t'-oxun kabin-b-anan [PAC; OR 122]

MED-REF:OBL-COM marry-LV-MOD-2PL

‘When this boy has finally come in, marry him to my daughter!’

3.2.8.2.2 Reflexive/reciprocal reference. In Udi, both reflexivity and reciprocity are expressed lexically. Whereas the lexeme used to encode reflexivity has gained this function through a metaphorization process, the lexeme denoting reciprocity is motivated by iconicity.

§ 1. Reflexive reference is established with the help of the lexeme *ič* ‘self’. In Nizh, the form *iz ~ izi* is used in attributive contexts with singular referents. In Vartashen, clause internal reflexivity is often marked by the complex form *ič-en ič-* (REFL-ERG REFL-CASE), see sections 3.3.8.1 and 5.4.8. In Nizh, this strategy that is typical for many East Caucasian languages, has become obsolete.

In inflection, the lexeme behaves like a noun, see 3.3.8.1. From this we can infer that *ič* originally had referential properties. From an etymological point of view, it is difficult to fix the origin of this element. On the one hand, there are good arguments to relate it to a number of lexemes with reflexive function in the other Lezgian languages, compare Rutul and Tasakhur *-əž-, Tabasaran (*u*)č⁽ⁿ⁾-, Aghul (Burkikhan) (*u*)č⁽ⁿ⁾-, *wič^h* (third person), Kryts *ug* (class I and II, Budukh *ug* (class I and II), and Archi *inž* (logophoric only; oblique *žu* (class I), *že* (class II and III)). Though certain phonetic and structural aspects remain obscure, it seems plausible to assume a proto-Lezgian reflexive noun *(ə)ž^wə ‘self’. Unfortunately, the source domain of this metaphor is not yet discovered. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that there is a strong resemblance between the Udi reflexive noun *ič* and Azeri *iç* ‘inside’. Additionally, the Lower Nizh variant *iz* cannot be separated from the Azeri reflexive noun *öz* ‘self’. Nevertheless, Old Udi *ič* (reflexive) suggests that we have to deal with a native term.

Semantically speaking, Udi *ič* is restricted to animate referents. It does not distinguish between speech act participants and hence follows the typology of person-neutral reflexivity. It covers the whole reflexive scale ‘empathy < textual salience < empathic subject < indirect object / locatives < direct object. See 5.4.8 for a detailed description of the syntax of *ič*.

§ 2. Reciprocity is expressed by the ionic term *sunsun-*. It can only occur in the following oblique cases: *sunsun-a* (dative), *sunsunax* (dative2), *sunsunaxo* (ablative), *sunsunaxol* (comitative), *sunsunač’* (allative), *sunsunal* (superessive), *sunsunast’a* (adessive), see 3.3.8.2. The term is based on the cardinal number *sa-* in the qualifying genitive case: *s-un* (see 3.2.9.1). The reduplicated form iconically copies the notion of reciprocity. Most probably, the first segment *sun-* represents the unmarked absolutive case covering both subjective and agentive functions. Accordingly, *sun-sun-* originally meant ‘the one (*sun-*) [verbed] in the direction of one (*sun-*)’. The grammaticalization of *sunsun-* has conditioned the shift of the agreement clitic from the singular to the plural:

- (x) *sunsun-a q’uda p-i-t’un* [BAT; OR 115]
 each=other-DAT relative say-PAST-3PL
 ‘They called each other ‘relative’.

Note that the reciprocal pronoun lacks referentialization, which is often present with the simplex: *sun-o* ‘one (being)’. The syntax of *sunsun* is discussed in 5.4.8.

In Nizh, the reciprocal incidentally lacks the first segment *sun-*:

- (x) *loroc’-in bel-xun sun-ai nišanlu baksun-a-al ava-t’un-iy*
 cradle-GEN head:SUPER-ABL each=other-GEN engaged be-DAT-FOC knowing-3PL-PAST
 ‘They knew that they had been engaged to each other since the times (lit.: head) of the cradle.’ [BAT; OR 115]

3.2.8.3 Unspecific, general, and negative reference. In order to encode unspecific, general, or negative reference, Udi uses a set of rather heterogenous pronouns some of them derived from adjectives or adverbs. Additionally, certain nouns or noun-like forms are integrated into this semantic paradigm. (X) lists all indefinite structures that are documented for Vartashen Udi:

		Unspecific		'Other'	General	Negative	
		Human	Non-human			Human	Non-human
Singular	New/Neutral	<i>so</i>	<i>sazad</i>			<i>šuk'al</i> + NEG	<i>ek'al</i> + NEG
	Given	<i>fulano</i>	<i>sai ~ sak'i</i>	<i>t'eso</i>	<i>har-o</i>	<i>šuk'al</i> + NEG	<i>ek'al</i> + NEG
			<i>saial ~ sak'ial</i>	<i>q'eirio</i>			
Restricted		<i>saemo</i>	<i>saemo</i>				
Plural	Main	<i>šuk'al</i>	<i>ek'al</i>	<i>q'eirior</i>	<i>bütün(o)</i>	<i>šuk'al</i> + NEG	<i>ek'al</i> + NEG
	Relative	<i>šute</i>	<i>ek'(k')ate</i>			<i>šute</i> + NEG	<i>ek'(k')ate</i> + NEG

3.2.8.3.1 Unspecific und general reference. Basically, the 'indefinite pronouns' are subcategorized according to the two features [number] and [given/new]. The feature [given/new] encompasses those pragmatic aspects that are related to presuppositions or inferences regarding the givenness of an indefinite referent. 'Number' refers to the (con)textual inference of the degree of plurality associated with a given pronoun. Unspecific reference is expressed by so-called indefinite pronouns or nouns marked for 'indefinite' or unspecific semantics:

(X)	<i>ek'al</i>	'anything, something'
	<i>fulano</i>	'a certain'
	<i>ingän</i>	'a little something' [rare]
	<i>saemo</i>	'some'
	<i>sazad</i>	'something'
	<i>so</i>	'somebody' [Nizh often <i>sun ~ soğö</i>]
	<i>šuk'al</i>	'anybody, somebody'

§ 1. The degree of referentiality varies among these forms: *ek'al*, *šuk'al*, and *saemo* are highly referential whereas the other forms sometimes call for another referential entity to establish full reference. The following elements normally mark unspecific reference towards a singular entity:

(X)	<i>fulano</i>	'a certain'
	<i>ingän</i>	'a little something' [rare]
	<i>sazad</i>	'something'
	<i>so ~ soğö</i>	'someone'

§ 2. The pronouns *so* and *sazad* are derived from the numeral *sa* ‘one’. *so* [Nizh *soġo*] represents the lexicalized referential form *sao* ‘a one’. It is inflected on the basis of the qualitative genitive *sun* to which the oblique referentializer *-t-* is added. It often is used as a dummy to refer to a ‘new’ singular entity. (X) illustrates the use of *so*:

- (X) (a) *so laf-ne-d-e za* [Luke 8:46]
 somebody touch-3SG-LV-PERF I:DAT
 ‘Somebody has touched me.’
- (b) *va^ʃ migila so iša bak-i p-i-ne šo-t'-u* [Matthew 19:16]
 and behold:PROX someone close become-PAST say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT
 ‘And behold someone came close (and) said to him...’
- (c) *t'evaxt'a bu-ne-i tussaġ-a so* [Mark 15:7]
 in=that=time be-3SG-PAST prison-DAT someone
 ‘By that time there was someone in the prison...’
- (d) *tac-i bazar-ax so-al bi-ne-q'-sa* [GD 60]
 go:PAST-PAST bazar-DAT2 someone-FOC take-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘Having gone to the market he hires someone.’
- (e) *sa kol-l-a qošt'an sun-t'-in exne* [GD 61]
 one bush-SA-GEN behind someone:OBL-REF:OBL-ERG say:PRES-3SG
 ‘Someone says from behind a bush...’
- (f) *sun-t'-ux biq'-i e-ne-sč'a* [GD 61]
 someone:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-PAST bring-3SG-\$:PRES
 ‘Having hired someone, he brings (him home).’

However, note that the underlying non-metaphorical use of *so* in the sense of ‘one of X’ is more frequent. (X) illustrates this usage:

- (X) (a) *bix-axo bi-ne-t-i xib e^ʃ so zenk'*
 god-ABL fall-3SG-\$-PAST three apple one I:BEN
- so naġl-uk'-al-t'-enk' so-al imux-lax-al-t'-uġ-onk'* [R 19]
 one story-say:FUT-PAST:nPAST-REF:OBL-BEN one-FOC ear-lay-PART-nPAST-REF:OBL-PL-BEN
 ‘Three apples have fallen from God: one for me, one for the story-teller, and one for the audience.’
- (b) *me šähär-ä p'a^ʃ iaq'-ne tai-sa*
 PROX town-DAT two way-3SG go-PRES
 ‘Two ways lead to this town:’

so vu^ǰ ģe-n-ei-ne so xib xaš-n-ei [GD 61]
 one seven day-SA-GEN2-3SG one three month-SA-GEN2
 one takes seven days, the other (takes) three months.’

(X,b) also illustrates the frequent use of *so ... so* in the sense of ‘the one ... the other’. Often, the second segment is marked by the distal *t’e*:

(X) (a) *so aća a^ǰm-exo t’e-so-al soloxa a^ǰm-exo* [Matthew 20:21]
 one right shoulder-ABL DIST-one-FOC left shoulder-ABL
 ‘one on the right side (and) one on the left side....’

(b) *mia p’a^ǰ e^ǰš-ne so muć’a-ne t’e-so-al te* [f.n.]
 PROX:ADV two apple-3SG one sweet-3SG DIST-one-FOC not
 ‘Here are two apples: one is sweet, the other is not.’

In Nizh, the indefinite pronoun *soğö* [~ *sun*] is extremely frequent. It is often used with a preceding referent marked by the genitive or ablative plural to indicate unspecific reference (see 3.3.3.5 for the use of *sunt’ai* (genitive) instead of *soğö*):

(x) (a) *admar-x-oi sun-t’-in xä^ǰ-ye q’onžugč-o p-i-ne* [FA; OR 129]
 man-PL-GEN2 one-REF:OBL-ERG dog-GEN master-DAT say-PAST-3SG
 ‘One of the men (= a man) said to the master of the dog...’

(b) *čalxal-ğ-oi sun-t’-uxun xavar-e haq’-i* [BO; OR 131]
 friend-PL-GEN2 one-REF:OBL-ABL news-3SG take-PAST
 ‘He asked one of the friends (= a friend)’

(c) *amdar-xo-xun sun-t’-ai kala sa händ-n-u äš-b-ala-ne bak-i*
 man-PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-GEN2 big one field-SA-DAT work-LV-FUT2-3SG be-PAST
 ‘One of the men (= a man) was working on a large field.’ [f.n.]

§ 3. Incidentally, the form *t’eso* is also used to indicate unspecific singular reference. However, note that in such a usage, it has a strong contrastive connotation:

(X) *va^ǰ ba-ne-k-i še-t’-a kul dürüs etär-te t’e-so*
 and be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-GEN hand sound as-SUB DIST-one
 ‘and his hand became as sound as the other [is].’ [Luke 6:11]

§ 4. The delimiting semantics of *so* can be stressed with the help of the element *täk-* (< Azeri *tək*, Persian *tak* ‘only’). The resulting form *täksao* ~ *täksö* ‘only one’ represents the referentialized form of the adverb *täksa* ~ *täksä* ‘only’. It is normally inflected as the simplex *so* (oblique *sun-t’-* ~ *so-t’-*). Examples are:

(X) (a) *šo-no tāk-so-ne bezi* [Luke 9:38]

DIST-REF:ABS only-one-SG I:POSS

‘He is my only (son)’.

(b) *amma šin-te moğor-d-ai-n tāk-so-t'-ux*

but who:ERG-SUB astray-LV-CONJ-3SG only-one-REF:OBL-DAT2

me k'ic'k'e-t'-uğ-oxo [Matthew 18:6]

PROX little-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

‘But who leads astray only one of those little ones...’

(c) *ma pexo sak-a-nan tāk-sun-t'-ux me k'ic'k'e-t'-ğ-oxo*

PROH eye:ABL throw-MOD-2PL only-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 PROX little-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

‘Do not despise one of these little ones.’ [Matthew 18:10]

§ 5. The pronoun *so* is related to the two indefinite grading element *sai* and *saial* both denoting ‘a little bit, somewhat’. They serve to reduce or augment the absolute semantics of adjectives and adverbs, compare:

(X) (a) *e^š-n-a soo-t'-u la-ne-x-sa sa ga-l-a saial a^{xi}l*

apple-SA-GEN one-REF:OBL-DAT put-3SG- $\$$ -PRES one place-SA-DAT a=little distant

‘She places one of the apples a little bit farer,

te me ġar sai a^{xi}l č'e-ğ-a-ne [CH&T 170]

SUB PROX son a=little far out-go:FUT-MOD-3SG

so that this boy would go a little bit farer away.’

(b) *amma še-t'-in saial kala umud-en pi-n-e* [Mark 14:31]

but DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ERG a=little big hope-ERG say-PAST-3SG

‘But he said with even more conviction...’

From a diachronic perspective, both forms represent old referential words. Most probably, *saial* is a now fossilized focus variant of *sai* (< **sai-al*). The term *sai* seems to be derived from *sa* just as *ek'al* ‘whatever’ and *šuk'al* ‘whosoever’ are derived from *e* ‘which, what’ (attributive) and *šu* ‘who’ (see 3.2.8.4). According to this analysis, *sai* would have developed from **sa-k* ‘one + ?’. The final velar would have been palatalized to **-kj* resulting in *-i* (see 2.2.2.3). Relicts of the former palatalized velar perhaps are *sak'i* [ˈsəkʲ] and *sak'ial* [ˈsəkʲal]:

(X) (a) *dešik' bak-al-le sak'ial pis* [Matthew 9:16]

tear be-FUT:FAC-3SG a=little:FOC bad

‘The tear will become worse.’

(b) *amma sak'ial gölö-n q'azamiš-b-esa* [TR 69]

but a=little:FOC much-2SG exert-LV-PRES

'But you will commit some more (sins).'

(c) *sak'i te suruk'-qun-b-esa me-t'-in c'iği-ne-xa* [R 11]

a=little SUB low-3PL-LV-PRES PROX-REF:OBL-ERG cry-3SG-LV-PRES

'When they lowered (the rope) a little bit, he cried...'

It should be noted, however, that this analysis has its shortcomings: First, it is difficult to fix the function or semantics of the element **-k'*. In case *-k'* is also present in the pronoun *ek'a* 'what' (see 3.2.8.4), we may think of an derivational element restricted to the absolutive case (compare *e-t'-in* (what-REF:OBL-ERG)). Second, the distribution of forms marked with and without *-al* is not clear at all. In fact, both *sai* and *saial* (~ *sak'i* and *sak'ial*) can occur in exactly the same position. The pragmatics of both forms are hardly distinguishable. Finally, if *-al* represents the old focus marker, we should assume the same function for the *-al*-marked indefinites *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything' and *šuk'al* 'whosoever, anybody' (see below). Contrary to *saial* and *sak'ial*, these two forms can be inflected (e.g. *šuk'alen* 'whosoever:ERG' etc.). The general rule of *-al*-focus in Udi is to place it after case marking suffixes (such as *šet'in-al* '(s)he:ERG-FOC'). In other words: if *-al* is a reflex of the Udi focus marker *-al*, it must have undergone lexicalization in *saial* and *sak'ial* just as in *ek'al* and *šuk'al*. Note that there is a variant of the numeral *sa* 'one' marked by *-al* that denotes 'suddenly' (*saal* ~ *sal*). Obviously, we have to deal with the superessive case here (lit.: 'on one ~ once'). (X) illustrates this use:

(X) *ha-me ait-urğ-ox p-es-xolan saal t'ia-ne be'ğ-sa*

EMPH-PROX word-PL-DAT2 say-MASD-CV:PAR at=once DIST:ADV-3sg see-PRES

'When saying these words, he suddenly sees that there....' [TR 68-9]

§ 6. The term *sazad* inferring singular unspecific reference ('something') is derived from the noun *zad*, itself a borrowing from Persian *zad* 'hit, kick'. The derivational pattern is well-known in the area (compare Lezgi *sazat* 'something'). The numeral *sa* 'one' conditions singular reference. Syntactically speaking, *zad* once played the role of a classifier used without case marking. The underlying noun phrase would have been *sa zad šei* 'one hit thing' etc. Today, *sazad* is widely used to encode the notion of 'something', compare:

(x) (a) *ägänä šin-te efa^š sazad uk'-ai-n* [Matthew 21:3]

if who:ERG-SUB you:PL:DAT something say:FUT-CONJ-3SG

'If someone of you says something...'

(b) *sazad tavaxq'a[-q'un]-b-i še-t'-xo* [Matthew 20:21]

something demand[-3PL]-LV-PAST DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ABL

'...they asked him for something.'

- (c) *sazad k'am-ne venk'ena* [Mark 10:21]
 something few-3SG you:SG:BEN
 'You lack one thing.'
- (d) *sazad uksun bu-va-q'-sa?* [f.n.]
 something eat-MASD2 want-2SG:IO-\$-PRES
 'Do you want something to eat?'
- (e) *te šuk'al-en taš-a-ne-i sazad namaz-axo* [Mark 11:16]
 SUB anyone-ERG carry-MOD-3SG-PAST something temple-ABL
 '...that anyone should carry something (away) from the temple.'

§ 7. Unspecific singular reference towards human beings can be expressed with the help of the loan *fulan* 'someone, a certain' (Arabic *fulān* 'a certain person'). It is more frequent in Vartashen and Nizh than in Okt'omberi. Originally, *fulan* had been used in attributive function only. The referential form is *fulan-o*, see 3.3.9.1. Today, *fulan* can occasionally undergo unmarked conversion to a noun and is then used just as *fulano*:

- (X) (a) *take-nan šähär-ä fulan-t'-a t'o ġo'l* [Matthew 26:18]
 go:IMP-2PL city-DAT someone-REF:OBL-GEN at
 'Go to the city, to a certain person ...'
- (b) *me aš-urux fulan-t'-ai bu-t'ai* [f.n.]
 PROX thing-PL someone-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS
 'These thing belong to somebody.'
- (c) *mia sa fulan-o bak-a-ne-i!* [f.n.]
 PROX:ADV one someone-REF:ABS be-MOD-3SG-PAST
 'Someone must have been here!'

Note that the use of *fulan* as an attribute is more frequent. Often, the speaker wants to avoid referential specification. (X) gives an example:

- (X) *fulan čäläg-i xib döv-ne kar-x-esa* [R 7]
 a=certain wood-DAT three dev-3SG live-LV-PRES
 'In a certain wood, there live three devs.'

§ 8. Indefinite plural reference makes use of the following pronouns: *ek'al* 'whatsoever' ~ 'anything', *šuk'al* 'whosoever' ~ 'anybody', and *saemo* 'some'. Additionally, *šute* 'whoever' and *ek'ate* 'whatever' are used in subordination. The four pronouns *ek'al*, *šuk'al*, *ek'ate* and *šute* form a common paradigm that is derived from the two interrogative pronouns *ek'a* 'what' and *šu* 'who' (see 3.2.8.4; 3.2.8.5 discusses the use of *šute* and *ek'ate* as 'general' relative pronouns). Both *ek'ate* and *šute* are transparent as for their derivational pattern: To the interrogative pronouns,

the general subordinator *te* is added (see 3.5.3 and 5.8.3). The pronouns usually occur in subordination. Note that *ek'a* has an emphatic variant *ek'k'a* that is especially frequent in the Gospels. (X) illustrates the use of *šute*, (X) that of *ek'a* ~ *ek'k'a*:

- (x) (a) *amma šu-te me vu^š ġe-n-e iaq'-axo ta-ne-sa...* [GD 61]
 but who-SUB PROX seven day-SA-GEN way-ABL go-3SG-\$.PRES
 'But who(ever) goes on this seven-days-road...'
- (b) *šux-te be^š ġ-al-lu me-t'-u up-a te*[f.n.]
 who:DAT2-SUB see-FUT:FAC-2SG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT say:IMP-IMP:2SG SUB
 'Whoever you will, tell him/her that...'
- (c) *šin-te ič-ux ala-ne-b-sa* [Matthew 23:12]
 who:ERG-SUB REFL-DAT2 high-3SG-LV-PRES
 'Who(soever) exalts him/herself....'
- (x) (a) *ek'a-te pexambarluğ-q'un-b-i pexambar-ğ-on* [Luke 24:25]
 what-SUB prophesy-3PL-LV-PAST prophet-PL-ERG
 'Whatever the prophets have prophesied ...'
- (b) *še-t'-in b-i-ne ek'k'a-te ba-t'u-k-i* [Mark 14:9]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG do-PAST-3SG what:EMPH-SUB be-3SG:IO-\$.PAST
 'She has done what(ever) she could.'
- (c) *šuk'al-a ek'al te-q'un p-i ek'k'a-te a-q'o-k'-e* [Luke 9:36]
 anybody-DAT anything NEG-3PL say-PAST what:EMPH-SUB see-3PL:IO-\$.PERF
 'They did not tell anybody anything about what they had seen.'
- (d) *k'ual ek'a-al te-bez bu* [Ch&T 170]
 home:SUPER anything-FOC NEG-1SG:POSS be
 'At home, I do not have anything.'
- (e) *ek'a-te ġač'-k'-ai-z zap'-nu-k'-o* [GD 62]
 what-SUB bind-LV-CONJ-1SG pull=up-2SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 'Whatever I tie (to the rope), you shall pull (it) up.'

§ 9. As has been said above, the two pronouns *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything, something' and *šuk'al* 'whosoever, anyone, someone' show a somewhat obscure morphology. The standard analysis explains *šuk'al* as an amalgamation from *šu* 'who' plus *uk'al* 'saying' ('who to say') (see Jeiranišvili 1971:278). However, this explanation fails for syntactic and semantics reasons: From a syntactic point of view we would expect an ergative marked pronoun *šin* (who:ERG). Semantically, the structure **šu uk'al* would mean 'who (?) (is) saying'. Though words for 'saying' are likely to be used in an indefinite context, the construction mentioned above would hardly produce an indefinite structure. Additionally, note that Jeiranišvili's analysis

only aims at the pronoun *šuk'al* whereas the parallel form *ek'al* ‘whatsoever, anything’ is not taken into consideration. In order to get closer to the problem, it should be noted that *šuk'al* is derived from a referential pronoun (*šu* ‘who?’), whereas *ek'al* is derived from an attributive pronoun (Vartashen *e* ~ Nizh *he* ‘which’). The referential form of *e* ~ *he* is *ek'a* ~ *hik'ä* (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.3.9.5). In case the segment *-k'al* is functionally and derivationally identical with both pronouns, either *ek'al* lacks a referentialization morpheme, or *šuk'al* is referentially ‘overloaden’:

(X)	[+REF]	<i>e-k'a</i>	<i>šu</i>
	[+INDEF]	<i>e-k'al</i>	<i>šu-k'al</i>

The best way to account for this asymmetry is to assume that *šu* originally had at least both referential and attributive functions. It would than have behaved like the Lezgi interrogative pronoun *wuč* ‘what, which’. The new interrogative pronoun *mano* (see 3.2.8.4) that could (and can) be used in both functions would have confined the functional distribution of *šu* to referential contexts. From this we can induce that *šu* lacks the segment *-k'a* present in *ek'al* just because it no longer called for a referential marker. This analysis suggests that the segment *-k'a* originally represented a technique to encode reference. The inflectional paradigm of *ek'a* (Nizh *hik'ä*) ‘what’ supports this analysis: In the oblique cases, *-k'a* is replaced by the standard oblique marker for referentiality (see 3.2.3 and 3.3.9.5):

(x)	<i>kala-o</i> ‘the big/old one’	⇒	OBL	<i>kala-t'</i>
	<i>ek'a</i> ‘what’	⇒	OBL	<i>e-t'</i>

Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that *-k'a* once had a function analogeous to the referentializer *-o*: It marked the attributive interrogative pronoun *e* ~ *he* ‘what’ for referentiality in the absolutive case (see 3.3.9.5). If the segment *-k'a* is also present in the two indefinite pronouns *ek'al* and *šuk'al*, we are left with two problems: First, the segment *-l* remains unidentified. It cannot be explained as the focus marker *-al* because it normally follows case marking, compare *ek'al* < *ek'aal* ‘what:FOC’, ergative *e-t'-in-al*, *šu-al* ‘who:FOC’, ergative *šin-al* etc. (X) illustrates case marking of focused interrogatives, whereas (x) exemplifies case marking of the two indefinite pronouns:

(x)	(a)	<i>e-t'-in-al-te</i>	<i>uś-n-ux</i>	<i>xa^śxa^ś-n-exa</i> [f.n.]
		which-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC-SUB	firewood-SA-DAT2	cut-2SG-LV:PRES
		‘Whith what (so ever) you (sg.) cut the firewood....’		
	(b)	<i>e-t'-ux-al-te</i>	(~ <i>ek'al-te</i>)	<i>be^śǵ-sa-ne</i> [f.n.]
		which-REF:OBL-DAT2-FOC-SUB	(~ anything-SUB)	see-PRES-3SG
		‘Whatever (s)he sees...’		

- (c) *šu-al šähär-ä-ne č'er-i-q'a-n* [Luke 21:21]
 who-FOC town-DAT-3SG leave:PAST-PAST-ADH-3SG
 'Whoever is in the town should leave (it).'
- (d) *šin-al aš-b-al-le mo-no gāräg zoren bak-a-ne*
 who:ERG-FOC work-do-FUT:FAC-3SG PROX-REF:ABS must strong be-MOD-3SG
 'Whoever will do this work: (s)he must be strong.' [f.n.]
- (x) (a) *t'e ġe-n-a va^ʕn nut' xabar-aq'-al-lan zaxo et'al-un baxt'in*
 DIST day-SA-DAT you:PL NEG question-take-FUT:FAC-2PL I:ABL anything-GEN for
 'That day you will not ask me anything.' [John 16:23]
- (b) *šuk'al-a-al te-t'u-bak-o p-es* [TR 69]
 anybody-DAT-FOC NEG-3SG:IO-be-FUT:MOD say-MASD
 'Nobody can say...'
- (c) *ma naġl-b-a šuk'al-ax aiz-un boš* [Mark 8:26]
 PROH story-LV-IMP:2SG anybody:DAT2 village-GEN in
 'Don't tell (it to) anyone in the village.'
- (d) *šet'abaxt'inte te-n be^ʕġ-sa šuk'al-i čo-el* [Mark 12:14]
 because NEG:2SG see-PRES anyone-GEN face-SUPER
 'because you (sg.) do not look at the face of anyone'
- (e) *šuk'al-a tad-a-ian bie-sun-a* [John 18:32]
 anyone-DAT give-MOD-1PL die-MASD2-DAT
 'that we would cause the death of anybody.'
- (f) *ian q'ulurux-ian ek'al-a nut' laft'-al-a* [Luke 17:10]
 we slave-PL-1PL anything-DAT NEG touch-PART:nPAST-ATTR
 'We are slaves who do not touch anything.'

Especially those pronouns that are additionally marked for focus as in (X,b) illustrate that the two segments *-al* are compatible. From this we can induce that the segment *-k'al* is not marked for focus. Also note that there are (rare) examples for an attributive use of *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything'. In this position, however, there is a constraint on focus (see 5.7.2.2).

- (X) (a) *kala xinär-al*
 old girl-FOC
 'the old GIRL'
- (b) **kala-al xinär*
 old-FOC girl
 'the OLD girl'

Also, when used as an attribute, *ek'al* normally is marked by the (yet obscure) attributive marker *-a* that is else restricted to the non-past participle *-al* in attributive function (see 3.4.10):

- (x) *ek'al-a hünär-ru b-esa?* [R 9]
 what=kind=of-ATTR heroic=deed-2SG do-PRES
 ‘What kind of heroic deed do you do?’

Second, the semantics of the segment *-k'a* remains obscure. In case it is related to the segment *-k'a* in *ek'a* (see above), the only thing we can tell for sure that it was originally linked to the absolutive case. Bearing in mind, however, that *e-* (Nizh *hi-*) is an attributive element (see 3.2.8.4), we should assume that *-k'a* once represented a nominal (referential) lexeme. This assumption is supported by the following fact: In Nizh, *k'a* is often used instead of *hik'ä* to encode ‘what’ [Gukasjan 1965:17]:

- (x) (a) *k'ä-z b-esa?*
 what-1SG do-PRES
 ‘What am I doing?’
- (b) *k'ä-n tast'a?*
 what-2SG give-PRES
 ‘What do you (sg.) give?’
- (c) *k'ä-ne uk-sa?*
 what-3SG eat-PRES
 ‘What does (s)he eat?’
- (d) *k'ä b-en?* [f.n.]
 what do-IMP:1PL
 ‘What shall we do?’
- (e) *k'ä-n haq'-sa?* [f.n.]
 what-2SG take-PRES
 ‘What do you take?’
- (f) *ay brat k'ä-n-b-sa?* [I 4a, Nizh]
 VOC brother what-2SG-DO>LV-PRES
 ‘Oh brother, what do you do?’
- (g) *k'ä-t'un b-e va ud-oğ-on?* [I 83b, Nizh]
 what-3PL do-PERF you:SG:DAT Udi-PL-ERG
 ‘What have the Udis done to you?’

Note that with a third person singular, the standard PAM clitic *-ne* is used instead of the interrogative clitic *-a* (see 3.4.3 and 5.9). Compare again (X,c) and the Vartashen parallel in (X):

- (X) *ek'a-a uk-sa?* [f.n.]
 what-3SG:Q eat-PRES
 ‘What does (s)he eat?’

Obviously, *k'a* is not treated as a typical interrogative pronoun. Rather, it behaves like a noun that is also present with the indefinite pronoun *sai* < **sa-k'(i)* ‘something’ (see above). Its original meaning perhaps was ‘thing, object’ etc. In the pronoun *ek'al*, it would have been augmented by an element **-l* the nature of which, however, is unclear. In a second step, the whole group (in parts reanalyzed as a participle **k'-al* (see 3.4.10) would have also been added to the interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’ > *šuk'al* ‘anyone’.

§ 10. The complex pronoun *saemo* is used to denote ‘some (people)’. It represented the referential form of *saema* ‘some’ (lit.: ‘a how-much/many’), see 3.2.9.4. Note that the form does not necessarily take plural morphology to refer to a distributive plural:

- (x) (a) *bu-ne saem-o mia čur-p-i-t'-ǵ-oxo*
 be-3SG some-REF:ABS PROX:ADV stand-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

ma-t'-ǵ-o-te nut' aba-bak-al-q'o biesun [Mark 9:1]
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-SUB NEG know-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO die-MASD2
 ‘There are some among those who stand here who do not know the death.’
- (b) *t'e ġi ar-i-q'un saem-o farisei-ǵ-oxo* [Luke 13:31]
 DIST day come:PAST-PAST-3PL some-REF:ABS Pharisee-PL-ABL
 ‘That day, some Pharisees came (to him)...’
- (c) *šo-t'-ǵ-oxo saemo-t'-in p-i-q'un-i* [Luke 11:15]
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ABL some-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST-3PL-PAST
 ‘Some of them said...’

In fact, plural marking is less frequent. An example is:

- (X) *saem-o-r mo-t'-ǵ-oxo ar-e-q'un axə^l ga-mx-oxo*
 some-REF:ABS-PL PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ABL come:PAST-PERF-3PL far place-PL-ABL
 ‘Some of them came from places far away.’ [Mark 8:4]

With case markers, the referentializer *-o* is often preserved:

- (X) *saemo-t'-ux* *aq'-al-zu* [f.n.]
 some-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-FUT:FAC-1SG
 'I will take some (of them).'

§ 11. The pronominal concept 'other' is expressed in two ways: *t'eso* (already discussed above) indicates 'the other of a pair'. or 'another'. The loan *q'eirio* (< Arabic *ġeir* 'other') is used to separate peripheral participants from central participants. (X) illustrates the use of *t'eso* (lit. 'that one')

- (X) (a) *ar-i-ne* *t'eso* *va^f p-i-ne* [Luke 19:17]
 come:PAST-PAST-3SG another=one:REF:ABS and say-PAST-3SG
 'Another one came and said...'

- (b) *t'esun-t'-ux* *aq'-al-le* [f.n.]
 other:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-FUT:FAC-3SG
 '(S)he will take the other one.'

Note that *t'eso* can also be used in its literal meaning:

- (X) *t'e-sun-t'-u* *t'ağa me-sun-t'-u* *mağa* [Ch&T 170]
 DIST-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT there PROX-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT here
 'this one here, that one there...'

In order to contrast a given referent with 'others', the term *q'eiri* is used. As it has been said above, the term ultimately stems from Arabic (*ġeir* 'other'). The final *-i* represents the Persian indefinite marker *-ī* (< *yek* 'one'). In Nizh, the pronoun usually is *q'eiraz* < **qeir* plus Azeri *az* a little, few'. *q'eiri* is normally used as an adjective calling for the referentializer *-o* in referential contexts. (X) illustrates the attributive use:

- (X) (a) *sa xaš-ixo* *oša q'eiri bilži-ne* *ar-e* [K&S 84]
 one month-ABL after other wise=man-3SG come:PAST-PERF
 'One month later, there came another wise man.'

- (b) *me-t'uğ-oxol* *ta-q'un-sa q'eiri sövdäkär-ux-al* [GD 61]
 PROX-REF:OBL-PL-COM go-3PL-\$.PRES other merchant-PL-FOC
 'The other merchants go together with them.'

As a referential pronoun, *q'eirio* is be used both in the singular and the plural (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the referentializer *-o*). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *q'eiri-t'-a* *qošt'an te-q'un tai-sa* [John 10:5]
 other-REF:OBL-GEN behind NEG-3PL go-PRES
 'They do not follow (lit.: go behind) another one.'

- (b) *va^f t'ia-l bu-q'un-i gölö mit'ar-ux va^f q'eiri-o-r* [John 5:29]
and DIST:ADV-FOC be-3PL-PAST much publican-PL and other-REF:ABS-PL
'And there were many publicans and others.'
- (c) *fikir-q'un-b-i te šo-no ta-ne-sa q'eiri-t'-ğ-oxol* [Luke 2:44]
thought-3PL-LV-PAST SUB PROX-REF:OBL go-3SG-\$.PRES other-REF:OBL-PL-COM
'They thought that he would go with the others.'
- (d) *p'uran q'eiri-t'-ux-ne iaq'-a-b-e* [Mark 12:5]
again other-REF:OBL-DAT2-3SG way-DAT-LV-PERF
'Again he sent another.'
- (e) *q'eiri-t'-uğ-on ex-q'un-i* [Mark 6:15]
other-REF:OBL-PL-ERG say:PRES-3PL-PAST
'Others said...'

§ 12. General indefinite reference is expressed with the help of the two universal quantifiers *haro* 'each' and *bütün(o)* 'all'. A graded variant of *bütün(o)* is *gölöo* 'many, much'. All three term are ultimately borrowings: *har-* < Persian *har* 'each, every', *bütün* ~ *bütüm* ~ *bito* < Azeri *bütün* 'all', *gölö-* < Northwest Iranian **gele-* (e.g. Sōrānī *gelék* ~ *gele* 'much, many'; also compare the Persian intensifier *gele*). Whereas *haro* and *gölöo* necessarily call for the presence of the referentializer *-o*, *bütün* is frequently used as a noun. (X) illustrates the use of *haro*:

- (X) (a) *har-o-te me aiz-i-ne kar-x-esa qoc'c'e usen-axo kala-ne*
every-REF:OBL-SUB PROX village-DAT-3SG live-LV-PRES fifty year-ABL old-3SG
'Everybody who lives in this village is older than fifty years.' [f.n.]
- (b) *ta-ne-st'a har-t'-u qo uq bac manat* [GD 60]
give-3SG-\$.PRES each-REF:OBL-DAT five six hundred rubel
'He gives each (of them) five six hundred rubles.'
- (c) *be^ğ č'eğ-al vaxt'-a har-t'-in ič eğel-ğ-ox*
sun go=out:FUT-PART:nPAST time-DAT every-REF:OBL-ERG REFL sheep-PL-DAT2

q'orug'a ta-ne-š-sa [f.n.]
pasture-DAT drive-3SG-\$.PRES
'At sun rise, everybody drives his/her sheep to the pasture.'
- (d) *har-t'-in ič-ux b-al-o pasč'ağ*
every-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-DAT2 make-PART:nFUT-REF:ABS king

K'esarev-i düšman-ne [John 19:12]
Caesar-GEN enemy-3SG
'Every one who makes himself a king is Caesar's foe.'

Frequently, *haro* is used in apposition to another noun. It then conveys the meaning of ‘each of N’, compare:

(X) (a) *bip’ ioldaš-en-al sunsun-a ta-q’un-d-esa*
four friend-ERG-FOC each=other-DAT give-3PL- $\$$ -PRES

har-t’-in sa baboća’l [R 16]

every-REF:OBL-ERG one ring

‘The four friends give each other a ring.’

(b) *mo-no-r aiz-er-i ta-q’un-sa har-o sa ga-n-u* [GD 60]

PROX-REF:ABS-PL rise-LV:PAST-PAST go-3PL- $\$$:SA every-REF:ABS one place-SA-DAT

‘They rised and went (away - each of them) to a(nother) place.’

(c) *va^f ič ağa bošlu-t’-ğö k’al-p-i har-t’-ğ-o žok’*

and REFL lord:GEN owing-REF:OBL-DAT call-LV-PAST every-REF:OBL-PL-DAT separate

‘And he called the debtors of his lord, each (of them) separately.’

[Luke 16:5]

§ 13. The universal quantifier *bütün* ~ *bitun* ~ *bütüm* ~ *bito* < Azeri *bütün* ‘all’ can be used both as a noun and in its referentialized form (*bütüno*). In normal speech, *bütün* and its variant are more frequent than *bütüno*. The lexeme then often has a collective rather than a distributive meaning:

(X) (a) *bütün tad-ec-i-ne za bez baba-xo* [Matthew 11:27]

all give-PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG I:DAT I:POSS father-ABL

‘Everything is given to me by my father.’

(b) *ser-b-a-ne-i bütün* [Matthew 17:12]

build-LV-MOD-3SG-PAST all

‘... so that he would build everything.’

(c) *šet’abaxt’inte lazum-ne bütün ha-me-tär bak-a-ne* [Matthew 24:6]

because necessary-3SG all EMPH-PROX-so be-MOD-3SG

‘...because all must happen this way.’

(d) *bias-un şum kä-i bütün bas-q’un-k’-esa* [GD 61]

evening-GEN bread eat:PAST-PAST all sleep-3PL-LV-PRES

‘In the evening, after having eaten bread, they sleep.’

(e) *dirist’uğ up-a bito-a* [I 10b, Nizh]

greeting say:IMP-MOD:2SG all-DAT

‘Give greeting(s) to all?’

When referentialized, both singular and plural forms are used (*bütünö* ~ *bütünor*).

(X) illustrates the use of *bütüno*:

- (X) (a) *te bütün-t'-in ču-q'a-n-p-i ič čo^l-el* [S&S 91]
 sub all-REF:OBL-ERG spittle-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST REFL face-SUPER
 ‘... that everyone should spit in their face.’
- (b) *bütün-t'-uxo dürüst'luğ-on p-i bul aq'-i ta-ne-sa* [R 9]
 all-REF:OBL-ABL truth-ERG>INSTR say-PART:PAST head take-PAST go-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘Having said ‘goodbye’ [lit.: ‘with truth’] (and) having bowed to everybody,
 (lit.: ‘taken head’) he leaves.’
- (c) *me tämbäl-un aš-b-esun-un ion bütün-t'-ai kefil-le-sa* [Ch&T 171]
 PROX lazy-GEN work-LV-INF2-GEN kind all-SA:OBL-GEN2 pleasing-3SG-PRES
 ‘The way the lazy one is working is a pleasure to everybody.’
- (d) *še-t'-in gena bütün-t'-ux t'oš č'e-v-ne-k'-i (...) p-i-ne*
 dist-REF:OBL-ERG contr all-REF:OBL-DAT2 out out-CAUS-SG-LV-PAST (...) say-PAST-3SG
 ‘He, however, chased away everyone (...) and said...’ [Luke 8:54]

The plural *bütünor* is frequent in the Gospels, but rare elsewhere:

- (X) (a) *ek'k'a ex-zu ex-zu bütün-t'-ğ-o* [Mark 13:37]
 what say:PRES-1SG say:PRES-1SG all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT
 ‘What I say I say to everybody.’
- (b) *bütün-t'-uğ-on-al xrist'os-a-q'un va^l-bak-sa* [TR 69]
 all-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-FOC Christ-DAT-3PL belief-LV-PRES
 ‘All believe in Christ.’
- (c) *bütün-t'-ğ-o q'ə^l-q'o-b-i* [Mark 1:27]
 all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT fear-3PL:IO-LV-PAST
 ‘All feared ...’
- (d) *bütün-t'-ğ-oč' p-i-ne* [Luke 9:23]
 all-REF:OBL-PL-ALL say-PAST-3SG
 ‘He said to all...’
- (e) *bütün-t'-ğ-oenk' nökar* [Mark 9:35]
 all-REF:OBL-PL-BEN servant
 ‘... a servant for everyone.’
- (f) *bütün-o-r buš-urg-o laxo ar-q'un-c-esa* [f.n.]
 all-REF:ABS-PL camel-PL-GEN on sit-3PL-\$.PRES
 ‘All sit on camels.’

- (g) *Ioann-en žuğab-ne-b-i bütün-t'-ğ-o* [John 3:16]
 John-ERG answer-3SG-make-PAST all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT
 'John gave all the answer...'

Note, that *bütün* is frequently used as an adverb (with the meaning 'totally', see 3.5.1). The same holds for the third universal quantifier, *gölö* 'many, much'. As a referential pronoun, it means 'the many'. Contrary to *bütün*, it cannot be used without the referentialization marker *-o*. Normally, the form is used in the plural. Examples include:

- (X) (a) *amma ek'a mo-no me-ma gölö-t'-a baxt'in* [John 6:9]
 but what PROX-REF:ABS PROX-quantity many-REF:OBL-GEN for
 'But what for is this so much?'
- (b) *ak'-q'un-ec-i gölö-t'-ğ-o* [Matthew 27:53]
 see-3PL-PASS:PAST-PAST many-REF:OBL-PL-DAT
 'They showed themselves to many.'
- (c) *gölö-t'-ğ-on q'adağ-a-q'un-b-esa-i šo-t'-ux harai-b-esan*
 many-REF:OBL-ERG prohibition-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 cry-LV-CV:TEL
 'But many forbade him to cry.' [Mark 10:48]
- (d) *me vaxt'-a še-t'-in gölö-t'-ğ-ox sel-le-b-i* [Luke 7:12]
 PROX time-DAT DIST-REF:OBL-ERG many-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 sound-3SG-LV-PAST
 'In this time, he healed many.'

3.2.8.3.2 Negative reference. Just as it is true for many languages in the areal, Udi lacks specific pronouns to indicate negative reference. Instead, the indefinite pronouns are used together with a verbal or sentential negator (see 3.4.9). The general scheme is:

- (x) *ek'al* 'anything + NEG > 'nothing'
sazad + NEG > 'not a (single) thing'
so 'one' + NEG > 'not one, none'
šuk'al 'anybody' + NEG > 'nobody'
täkso + NEG > 'even none'

Examples are:

- (X) (a) *šuk'al-ax iaq'-al ma tad-a-nan salam* [Luke 10:4]
 anybody-DAT2 way-SUPER PROH give-MOD-2PL greeting
 'Do not greet anyone on the road!'

- (b) *šu-a ġar šuk'al-a te-t'u aba baba-xo žok'* [Luke 10:22]
 who-3SG:Q son anybody-DAT NEG-3SG:IO knowing father-ABL except
 'Nobody knows who is the son except the father.'
- (c) *šuk'al te-ne taic-e gög-il* [John 3:13]
 anybody NEG-3SG go:PAST-PERF heaven-SUPER
 'Nobody is gone to heaven.'
- (d) *täk-sa-o-al šo-t'-ğ-oxo bit-al-te-ne oćal-al*
 even-one-REF:ABS-FOC DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL fall-FUR:FAC-NEG-3SG earth-SUPER
 'Not one of them will fall onto the earth.' [Matthew 10:29]
- (e) *täk-sun-t'-a šo-t'-ğ-o t'o'ğ'o'l te-ne bak-e-i*
 even-one:OBL-REF:OBL-GEN DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN at NEG-3SG be-PERF-PAST

Ilia iaq'-a-bak-ec-i [Luke 4:26]
 Elias way-DAT-LV-PASS:PAST-PAST
 'Elias was not sent even to one of them.'
- (f) *iaq'-al ek'al nu aq'-a-q'un* [Mark 6:8]
 way-SUPER anything PROH take-MOD-3PL
 '... that they do not take anything (with them)'
- (g) *me šavat' xinär-a ek'al te-t'u aba-bak-sa* [R 19]
 PROX beautiful girl-DAT anything NEG-3SG:IO knowing-LV-PRES
 'The beautiful girl does not know anything (about....)'
- (h) *ek'al te-ne p-i* [GD 62]
 anything NEG-3SG say-PAST
 'He did not say anything'
- (i) *me e'š-n-uxo ek'al muća te-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX apple-SA-ABL anything sweet NEG-3SG
 'Nothing is sweeter than this apple.'

3.2.8.4 Q-reference. The term 'Q-reference' is used to denote referential structures that are based on interrogative strategies. In order not to complicate the descriptive picture, this sections includes all types of (object-oriented and concept-oriented) reference. See section for 3.2.9.5 for the corresponding adnominal pronouns. All Q-words are marked for natural focus. In consequence, they normally are followed by the focusing personal agreement markers (see 3.4.3 and 5.6.2). With a third person singular, the Q-clitic *-a* is normally used (see 3.4.3, 5,9 and Harris 1992).

'Objects' are questioned with the help of the following three pronouns:

(X)	Modern Udi	Old Udi	
	<i>šu ~ šu</i>	<i>ha-šow</i>	‘who?’
	<i>ek’a ~ hik(’)ā</i>	<i>ya</i>	‘what?’
	<i>mano</i>	<i>hanay</i>	‘which/who of X?’
	<i>or</i>	<i>hanay</i>	‘which’

§ 1. The pronoun *šu* (often pronounced *šu*) asks for human beings. In fairy tales that have non-human animate protagonists, *šu* may also be used to refer to animals. Contrary to some other Lezgian languages such as Tabasaran (*fuž ~ fužur*), Aghul (*fuš ~ fušar*), Rutul (*wuš ~ wušar*), and Archi (*k^wiri ~ k^wibi*), Udi *šu* does not have a separate plural form. Historically, the pronoun goes back to an Early Udi form **əš:ʷə* (< proto-Lezgian **w-əš:ʷ*, see 3.3.9.5 for details). Contrary to *ek’a*, *šu* is inflected like a noun (ergative *šin* etc., see 3.3.9.5). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *un šu-nu?* [f.n.]
 you:SG who-2SG
 ‘Who are you (sg.)?’
- (b) *šu-a bixo-xo kala?* [f.n.]
 who-3SG:Q God-ABL great
 ‘Who is greater than God?’
- (c) *me k’ož ši-a?* [f.n.]
 PROX house who:POSS-3SG:Q
 ‘To whom belongs this house?’
- (d) *me-t’-ux šin-a ser-b-e?* [R 18]
 PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 who:ERG-3SG:Q build-LV-PERF
 ‘Who has built this?’
- (e) *šu-a me ġar?* [R 14]
 who-3SG:Q PROX boy
 ‘Who is this boy?’
- (f) *Šakira šu-a b-ay?* [I 65, Nizh]
 Shakira who-3SG:Q be-CONJ
 ‘Who should be (this) Shakira?’

Incidentally, the Q-clitic may follow another constituent, as in:

- (X) (a) *šin tov-d-al-a vax?* [John 21:20]
 who:ERG sell-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:SG:DAT2
 ‘Who will betray you (sg.)?’

- (b) *oq-axun va šin č'e-v-k'-al-a?* [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]
 river-ABL you:SG:DAT who:ERG go=out-CAUS- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 'Who will take you out of the river?'

Note that when *šu* is used as an indefinite pronoun in subordination, the Q-clitic is often replaced by the standard agreement marker (*-ne*):

- (X) (a) *te-vi bu lazumluğ te šin xabar-aq'-a-ne vax* [John 16:30]
 NEG-2SG:POSS be necessity SUB who:ERG question-take-MOD-3SG you:SG:DAT2
 'It is not necessary for you to be asked by someone.'

- (b) *ü^ğ-n-ä k'ož-a šu bu-ne cir-e-q'a-n oq'a*
 roof-SA-GEN house-DAT who be-3SG go=down:PAST-PERF-ADH-3SG down
 'Who(ever) is on the roof [lit.: roof-house], should come down!'
 [Nizh; BUSH; OR 136]

§ 2. The pronoun *ek'a* asks for non-human objects and concepts. The Nizh variant *hik'ä* (~ *hikä*) reflects the earlier vocalization of the first segment that is used independently as an interrogative pronoun in attributive function ($e < *hi$ 'which?', compare Tsakhur *hi-žō*, Archi *hi-n-* (obl.), Lezgi *hi* 'what'). See 3.2.8.3.1 for a discussion of the segment *-k'a* *'thing' and 3.3.9.5 for the derivation of the stem $e \sim hi-$. In the oblique cases, the segment *-k'a* is substituted by the standard oblique referentializer *-t'* (see 3.3.9.5). Note that the absolutive form *ek'a* can appear with emphatic gemination ($> ek'k'a$). *ek'k'a* sometimes has a contrastive meaning (Jeiranišvili 1971:226). The third person singular Q-clitic *-a* often fuses with the final vowel producing a mid-long to long vowel *-ā*. (X) illustrates the use of the pronoun:

- (X) (a) *ek'a-ian uk-o ek'a-ian u^ğ-o ie ek'a-ian lak'-o?*
 what-1PL eat-FUT:MOD what-1PL drink-FUT:MOD or what-1PL put=on-FUT:MOD
 'What shall we eat? What shall we drink? Or, what shall we put on?'
 [Matthew 6:31]

- (b) *ta-q'un-sa be^ğ-san mo-no ek'a(a)* [GD 63]
 go-3PL- $\text{\$}$:PRES see-CV:TEL PROX-REF:ABS what(:3SG:Q)
 'They go to see what this is.'

- (c) *e-t'-a eq'-va buq'sa* [AR 69]
 what-REF:OBL-GEN meat-2SG:IO want-PRES
 'Which kind of meat do you want?'

- (d) *e-t'-in-va čal-x-esa?* [R 14]
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-2SG:IO know-LV-PRES
 'Where do you know from' (lit.: 'with what do you know?')

- (e) *ek'a-nan b-esa?* [f.n.]
 what-2PL do-PRES
 'What do you do?'
- (f) *za ek'a-n tad-o?* [AR 69]
 I:DAT what-2SG give-FUT:MOD
 'What will you give me?'

Just as it has been said for *šu*, the Q-clitic *-a* may incidentally follow the verb instead of the interrogative pronoun. This is especially true for verbs marked by the factitive future *-al*:

- (X) (a) *ek'a b-al-a ĉ'ap'luĝ-un k'onžuĝ-on?* [Mark 12:9]
 what do-FUT:FAC.3SG:Q vineyard-GEN master-ERG
 'What will the master of the vineyard do?'
- (b) *ek'a bak-al-a me a'il?* [Luke 1:66]
 what become-FUT:FAC.3SG:Q PROX child
 'What will this child become?'
- (c) *isä hik'ä b-esun-a lazəm?* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]
 now what do-MASD2-3SG:Q necessary
 'Now, what is to do?'

In Nizh, *ek'a* often is shortened to *k'ä* < *k'a*. See (x) above for examples.

§ 3. The adnominal pronoun *mano* 'which' (see 3.2.9.5) reflects an older referential structure (< **ma-no* 'where-REF:ABS', see 3.3.9.5) that, however, is rarely used as an interrogative. If ever, it is used in the sense of 'which/who of X', compare:

- (X) (a) *ek'e sinamiš-b-a-z ma-no-a me ĝar-muĝ-oxo haq'ullu?*
 how find=out-LV-MOD-1SG where-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX son-PL-ABL clever
 'How can I find out who of these sons is the most clever one?' [GD 60]
- (b) *be'ĝ-en mo-t'-ĝ-oxo ma-no-a sel* [TR 68]
 see-ADH:1PL PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ABL where-REF:ABS-3SG:Q good
 'Let us see which of these (religions) is good.'
- (c) *xabar-re-aq'-sa te ma-t'-ai zor* [R 18]
 news-3SG-TAKE-PRES SUB where-REF:OBL-GEN2 power
 'She asks: Whose (is this) power?'

The examples illustrate an intermediate state in the grammaticalization of the pronoun *mano*: It has still kept its basic, though indirect interrogative function coupled with speech act verbs or verbs of perception. Also, the typical interrogative

clitic *-a* (3SG) is used. Ultimately, the grammaticalization of *mano* ends in terms of a relative pronoun (see 3.2.8.5 and 3.3.9.5). *mano* replaces the Old Udi form *hanay* ‘which’ [J. Gippert] that is related to Aghul *neye*, Tsakhur *ne-n(a)*, Tabasaran *fu-nu* ~ *š^w-nu-b* ‘which’ (to the stem, the emphatic particle *ha-* has been added > *ha-nay* [thanks to Jost Gippert for this segmentation]).

§ 4. The interrogative pronoun *or* ‘which (way), how (> when)’ has been erroneously derived from a ‘pronominal stem’ ***o* by Schiefner 18963:21. In fact, we have to deal with a loan from Armenian *or* ‘which’. It is rather frequent in the texts edited by Schiefner 1863, but rare elsewhere. Examples are:

- (X) (a) *mia or-q'a-n bak-i?* [IM 60]
 PROX:ADV which-ADH-3SG be-PAST
 ‘What should happen here?’ [Lit.: Which (event) should be here?]
- (b) *ama or-q'un še-t'-ux e^hb-sa?* [IM 67]
 but how-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 sew-PRES
 ‘But how do they sew it?’
- (c) *or bak-sa or te?* [GD 61]
 what be-PRES what NEG
 ‘What will be, what will not (be)?’
- (d) *or kala-a bak-sa-i saq'aral še-t'-u-ğ-o mu^hlu^hğ*
 how great-3SG:Q be-PRES always DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN joy
 ‘How great was always their joy?’ [Schiefner 183:72-3]

§ 5. The following interrogative pronouns make reference to (conceptual) space or dimensions metaphorized there from:

- (X) *ma, mai-* ‘where (to)?’ (Old Udi *ha-may*)
mal ~ malla, malin, malan ‘where from?’ (Old Udi *ha-most'ay*)
et'abaxt'in ‘why?’ (Old Udi *e-ṭ^wn*)
evaxt' ‘when?’ (Old Udi *e-moč-en* ~ *ha-moč-en*)
et'e ‘how?’ (Old Udi *e-šin*)
et'in ‘with what, why?’ (Old Udi *e-šin*)

The locative stem *ma-* ‘where’ is unknown elsewhere in the Lezgian languages. However, it is not clear whether *ma-* is a loan from a yet undiscovered source. There is a vague chance to relate it to the temporal interrogative pronouns in Lezgi (*mus*), Aghul (*mus*), Rutul (*mis*), Tsakhur *misa* ~ *mis:ay*, Kryts (*mus*), and Budukh (*mis*). Obviously, one of the languages (Lezgi?) has served as the donor language at least for Aghul, Kryts and Budukh. Though further studies are needed, it can be tentatively assumed that *mus* represents a metaphorized variant of **mV-* ‘where’ (> **mu-s*

‘where-DAT’?). On the other hand it should be noted that *ma-* is paradigmatically related to the proximal *me* (< **mi*), see 3.2.9.3.

§ 6. In Udi, *ma* is used both in essive and allative contexts (‘where, where to’). In the Gospels, the pronoun is occasionally lengthened (> *maa*). With a third person singular Q-clitic (*-a*), a glide is often inserted (> *maia*). But note, that it is yet unclear whether *-i-* originally had a distinct function or not. There are some examples that illustrate the use of *ma* with the Q-clitic *-a* > *maa* instead of *maia*, compare:

(X) (a) *e^š-n-a ga ma-a?* [S&S 83]
 apple-SA:OBL-GEN place where-3SG:Q
 ‘Where is the [place of] the apple?’

(b) *vi iš-e zor ma-a* [R 18]
 you:POSS husband-GEN power where-3SG:Q
 ‘Where is the power of your husband?’

Perhaps, the segment *-i-* reflects an older locative case marker that encoded an allative function (Old Udi *ha-ma-y* ‘where (to)’). It would then be related to the segment *-i-* found in a number of petrified preverbs (e.g. *tai-* ‘thither’, *qai-* ‘back’, *bai-* ‘into’, see 3.4.4 and Harris 2002, Harris (in press)). Examples are:

(X) (a) *mai-a otağ maa-te zu bez šägird-ğ-oxol b-a-z axc'im-ax*
 where-3SG:Q room where-SUB I I:POSS pupil-PL-COM make-MOD-1SG feast-DAT2
 ‘Where is a room where I can celebrate the feast with my pupils?’
 [Mark 14:14]

(b) *šo-no mai-a?* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS where-3SG:Q
 ‘Where is (s)he?’

(c) *vi baba mai-a?* [f.n.]
 you:POSS father where-3SG:Q
 ‘Where is your father?’

(d) *yan miya-yan hun maya-nu?* [I 34, Nizh]
 we here-1PL you:SG where-2SG
 ‘We are here - where are you?’

With agreement clitics others than that of the third person singular, the pronoun normally is *ma* (especially in Vartashen):

(X) (a) *ma-q'un lax-e šo-t'-ux?* [John 20:2]
 where-3PL put=down-PERF DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘Where did they put him down?’

- (b) *ma-z tai-sa?* [John 8:14]
 where-1SG go-\$.PRES
 ‘Where do I go to?’
- (c) *ma-n bak-sa?* [John 1:38]
 where-2SG be-PRES
 ‘Where are you?’
- (d) *ma-n buirugǔ-b-esa ia hazir-b-a-ian?* [John 22:9]
 where-2SG order-LV-PRES we:DAT prepare-LV-MOD-1PL
 ‘You give us order where to prepare (...)’
- (f) *ma-q’un šo-no-r?* [f.n.]
 where-3PL DIST-REF:ABS-PL
 ‘Where are they?’
- (g) *tāngi-n-ax ma-q’un xarǰ-b-e?* [GD 61]
 money-SA-DAT2 where-3PL spend-LV-PERF
 ‘Where have they spent (their) money?’

§ 7. The ablative pronoun ‘where from’ has various forms in Udi. The following variants are documented: *mal*, *malan*, *malin*, and *malla*. Obviously, the base form is *mal* ‘where from’. It represents an old superessive of *ma* ‘where’ > *ma-l*. Except for standard superessive forms (see 3.3.4.1 §5), the morpheme *-l* also appears in a number of adverbs such as *melan* ‘from here’, *t’elan* ‘from there’ etc., see 3.5.2. In Nizh, it is generally changed to *-y-* (e.g. *mayin* ‘wherefrom?’). The shift in function (superessive > ablative) is probably conditioned by analogy with the complex forms *malan* ~ *malin*, see below. The simple pronoun *mal* is rare. Examples include:

- (X) (a) *ma-l bak-al-a venk’ dürüs xe?* [John 4:11]
 where-SUPER>ABL be-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:SG:BEN living water
 ‘Where from will you get the living water?’
- (b) *ma-l-ian aq’-o šum?* [John 6:5]
 where-SUPER>ABL-1PL take-FUT:MOD bread
 ‘Where will we take bread from?’
- (c) *ma-l-lan va^hn* [Luke 13:27]
 where-SUPER>ABL-2PL you:PL
 ‘Where are you (pl.) from?’
- (d) *ma-l-lu un?* [John 19:9]
 where-SUPER>ABL-2SG you:SG
 ‘Where are you (sg.) from?’

§ 8. The form *malla* is restricted to sentences with third person singular actants (subjective/agentive). From this we can infer that *malla* is marked for the third person singular Q-clitic *-a*. Yet, the gemination of *-l-* remains unexplained. Perhaps it simply represents an emphatic variant that later has become canonical. Examples for the use of *malla* include:

(x) (a) *ma-ll-a* *ka-t'-ai* *me-tār abaluğ va^f zor?*
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 PROX-so knowledge and power
 ‘Where does he have this knowledge and (this) power from?’
 [Matthew 13:54]

(b) *ma-ll-a* *ka-t'-ai* *bütün mo-no* [Matthew 13:56]
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 all PROX-REF:ABS
 ‘Where does he have all this from?’

(c) *ma-ll-a* *mo-no* *ka-t'-ust'a* [Mark 6:3]
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX-REF:ABS MED-REF:OBL-ADESS
 ‘Where does he have it from?’

(d) *va^f ma-ll-a* *mo-no* *zenk'ena* [Luke 1:43]
 and where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX-REF:ABS I:BEN
 ‘And where is this for me from?’

(e) *va^f žuğab-q'un-tad-i te-ia aba ma-ll-a* [Luke 20:7]
 and answer-3PL-give-PAST NEG-1PL:IO knowing where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q
 ‘And they answered: We do not know where he (is) from.’

(f) *ma-ll-a* *me fi?* [John 2:9]
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX wine
 ‘Where is this wine from?’

(g) *ma-ll-a* *esa va^f ma tai-sa* [John 3:8]
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q go:PRES and where go:PRES
 ‘Where does it (the wind) come from and where does it go to?’

§ 9. The two variants *malin* (Nizh > *mayin*) and *malan* are likewise derived from the base form *ma-l-* ‘where (from)’. The form *malin* is the standard variant. Most probably, we have to deal with an old ablative suffix (see 3.3.4.2), or – less probably – with the instrumental-ergative morpheme. Examples are:

(x) (a) *ma-l-in* *bai-č-a-q'un-i* *šo-t'-ux* [Luke 5:19]
 where-SUPER-ABL into-carry-3PL-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘From where could they carry him into (the house).’

- (b) *ma-l-in-a* *č'er-e* *t'ia* *il?* [Matthew 13:27]
 where-SUPER-ABL-3SG:Q go=out:PAST-PERF DIST:ADV weeds
 'Where have the weeds here come from?'
- (c) *ma-l-in-nan* *va'n* [f.n.]
 where-SUPER-ABL-2PL you:PL
 'Where are you (pl.) from?'
- (d) *ma-l-in-ian* *aq'-o* *ian* *me* *beivan* *ga-n-u* *t'e-ma* *šum*
 where-SUPER-ABL-1PL take-FUT:MOD we PROX wild place-SA-DAT DIST-quantity bread
 'From where in this desert can we take so much bread?' [Matthew 15:33]

The variant *malan* is much rarer than *malin* and restricted to the Vartashen dialect. The vocalization of the suffix is perhaps taken from the corresponding set of locative adverbs (*melan* 'from here', *t'elan* 'from there', see 3.5.1). The pronoun sometimes means 'where to', compare:

- (x) (a) *ma-l-an-nu* *tai-sa* [f.n.]
 where-SUPER-ABL-2SG go-PRES
 'Where do you go?' [rather than: 'where do you come from?']
- (b) *vi* *nana* *ma-l-an-a?* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS mother where-SUPER-ABL-3SG:Q
 'Where is your mother from?'

The Nizh variant *mayin* 'where from' is often shortened to *ayn* especially if followed by a V-initial clitic:

- (x) *hun udi-nu? Maskvi-n-a mayn-un baft'-e?* [I 89, Nizh]
 you:SG Udi-2SG Moscow-SA-DAT where=from-2SG fall=onto-PERF
 'Are you an Udi? How did you happen to come to Moscow?'

§ 10. The ablative is sometimes replaced by the compound *maćxo* < *ma ćexo* 'from which side'. Likewise, *maćo* '(in) which side' (> Nizh *maću*) is used for 'in which direction'. Also note *malcirik* 'till where' < *ma-l cirik* (where-SUPER till).

§ 11. The four pronouns *et'abaxt'in* 'why?', *evaxt'* 'when?', *et'e* 'how, why?', *etär* 'how', and *et'in* 'with what, why?' are derived from the attributive interrogative pronoun *e* (Nizh *he ~ hi*) 'which', see 3.2.9.5. Except for *et'e*, the semantics of the single pronouns can easily be inferred from the derivational pattern:

- (X) *et'abaxt'in* < *e-t'-a* *baxt'-in*
 'why' which-REF:OBL-GEN fate-ERG>INSTR
 'with the fate of what?'

<i>evaxt'</i> 'when?'	<	<i>e vaxt'</i> which time '(at) which time?'
<i>e-t'-in</i> 'how (instrument)'	<	<i>e-t'-in</i> which-ref:obl-erg>instr 'with what'
<i>e-tär</i> 'how (quality)'	<	<i>e-tär</i> which mode '(with) which mode'

The pronoun *et'e* 'why, how' is not as transparent as the pronouns mentioned in (X). The form is obviously based on the referential pronoun *ek'a* 'what?', marked for an oblique case: *e-t'-e* 'which-REF:OBL-?'. However, the paradigm of *ek'a* itself lacks a case morpheme *-e* (see 3.3.9.5). It is also present in *šet'e* 'thus' (< *še-t'-e* 'DIST-REF:OBL-?') that incidentally occurs in older texts: Most probably, we have to deal with an older locative marker that was used in an adverbial context. Examples for the use of *et'e* include:

- (X) (a) *et'e-z za žafa tast'a?* [IM 66]
why-1SG I:DAT effort give:PRES
'Why do I make so much effort?'
- (b) *et'e-a me-t'-in t'ap'-exa* [GD 60]
why-3SG:Q PROX-REF:OBL-ERG hit-LV:PRES
'Why does he hit (the grave)?'
- (c) *et'e-a k'ala-exa?* [R 16]
why-3SG:Q lame-LV:PRES
'Why is he lame?'
- (d) *et'e xorag hazir te-a?* [R 10]
why food ready NEG-3SG:Q
'Why isn't the food ready?'
- (e) *et'e te-n vi viče baxt'in čubux ečša?* [S&S 92]
why NEG-2SG you:SG:POSS brother:GEN for wife bring:PRES
'Why don't you bring a wife for your brother?'
- (f) *et'e te-q'un vi šägird-ğ-on tam-b-esa atababa ädät-ä?*
why NEG-3PL you:SG:POSS pupil-PL-ERG fulfill-LV-PRES forefather:GEN habit-DAT
'Why don't your pupils observe the habit(s) of the forefathers?'
[Matthew 15:2]

It should be noted that *et'e* is more frequent with negated clauses. In case the negator *te* (see 3.4.9) is present, the agreement clitic follows rather the negator than the interrogative pronoun *et'e*, cf. the examples (X,d-f).

§ 12. The other interrogative pronouns listed above can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(X) (a) *et'abaxt'in-ian va^f farisei-ğ-on gölö ği-rux-ian ef-sa?* [Matthew 9:14]

why-1PL and Pharisees much day-PL-1PL keep-PRES
 'Why do we and the Pharisees fasten so often?'

(b) *et'abaxt'in-a še-t'-in p-i šo-t'-ux me ait-ax?*
 why-3SG:Q DIST-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 PROX word-DAT2
 'Why has he spoken this word to him?' [John 13 :28]

(c) *et'abaxt'in Ioann-un šägird-ğ-on usin usin e-q'un-f-esa ği-rux?*
 why John-GEN pupil-PL-ERG soon soon keep-3PL-\$\$\$-PRES day-PL
 'Why do John's pupils fasten again and again?' [Luke 5:33]

(d) *evaxt' mo-no bak-al-a?* [Matthew 24:3]
 when PROX-REF:OBL be-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 'When will this happen?'

(e) *evaxt'-ia ak'e vax busa?* [Matthew 25:38]
 when-1PL:IO see-PERF you:SG:DAT2 hungry
 'When have we seen you hungry?'

(f) *evaxt' aiz-ix tağ-al-lu?* [f.n.]
 when village-DAT go:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG
 'When will you go to the village?'

(g) *et'in-nu el-en-b-o šo-t'-ux?* [Matthew 5:13]
 how-2SG salt-ERG-LV-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 'How will you make it salty?'

(h) *šähär-ä et'in-nu tac-e?* [f.n.]
 town-DAT how-2SG go:PAST-PERF
 'How have you gone to town?'

(i) *vax etär q'onagğ-b-a-z* [Ch&T 170]
 you:SG:DAT2 how guest-LV-MOD-1SG
 'How can I host you?'

- (k) *etär-q'a-n me-t'-ux bat'-ev-k'-i* [R 7]
 how-ADH-3SG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 perish-CAUS-LV-PAST
 ‘How could he destroy him?’

§ 13. In order to ask for a quantity, the referentialized adnominal form *ema* ‘how much’ > *emao* > *emo* is used (see 3.2.9.5). It is normally used in the singular.

- (x) (a) *emo-t'-in ser-b-e me k'uax?* [PA 93]
 how=many:REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG build-LV-PERF PROX house:DAT2
 ‘How many have built this house?’
- (b) *emo-t'-uxol-lu kar-x-esa?* [f.n.]
 how=many:REF:ABS-REF:OBL-COM-2SG live-LV-PRES
 ‘With how many (relatives) do you live?’

The interrogative pronoun can be reduplicated in an emphatic context:

- (x) *emo emo-r-q'un ar-i?* [PA 93]
 how=many:REF:ABS how=many:REF:ABS-PL-3PL come:PAST-PAST
 ‘How many have come?’

3.2.8.5. Relative reference. Within in Lezgian, Udi is unique in having a full paradigm of pronouns that establish relative reference. Here, the term ‘relative reference’ is used to describe strategies that copy a referential term into a relative clause (see 5.8.2). The technique is already elaborated in Old Udi. Here, the relative pronoun is based on the adnominal interogative *hanay* (see above), which again is referentialized and followed by the subordinator *-k'e* (< Iranian). A typical example is:

- (x) *sa q'Aw-q'a-v^ha-h-ê iXoy o-ow-loxoc k'ibo-k'-a*
 but fear-ADH-2PL:IO-LV-PERF more DIST-SUPER:ABL be=able-LV:PRES-PRES
- hanay-o-n-k'e hel own marmin at'-es-biy-esa gehena.* [Mt 10,28]
 which-REF-ERG-SUB soul and body destroy-INF-do:INF-INF hell:DAT
 ‘But be more afraid of him who can destroy the soul and the body in hell.’

In Modern Udi, the same verse reads as follows:

- (x) *amma abuz q'ə-q'a^h-va^h-b-i šo-t'-xo ma-t'-u-te*
 but more fear-ADH-2PL:IO-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ABL REL-REF:OBL-SUB
- ba-t'u-k-sa el-muğ-ox-al va^h lašag-ax*
 be-3SG:IO-\$-PRES soul-PL-DAT2-FOC and body-DAT2

bat-ev-k'-a-ne *geena.*
 perish-CAUS-LV:PRES-MOD-3SG hell:DAT

In Udi, there are two types of referential heads: specific and general. Specific heads are overtly marked by nouns or pronouns, whereas general heads are lexically empty and inferred from context. Historically speaking, general heads had been represented by interrogative pronouns such as *šu* ‘who’, *ek’a* ‘what’ etc., followed by the subordinator *te* (see 5.8). The resulting structures *šute*, *ek’ate* etc. should today be described as relative clause internal heads. Note that in Nizh, relative pronouns are much rarer than in Vartashen. Instead, participle strategies or asyndetic coordination/subordination is preferred (see **x.x.x**). Occasionally, the Oriental (Persian) subordinator *ki* (~ *ke*) is used as a relative pronoun:

(x) *hun ki büttün kärvän-ä-al* *tad-ayi-n*
 you:SG REL all old=woman-DAT-FOC give-CONJ-2SG

zu ko-t'-ğ-o *vax* *te-z* *tad-o* [Nizh; PA 169]

I MED-REF:OBL-PL-DAT you:SG:DAT2 NEG-1SG give-FUT:MOD

‘(To) you who has given all to the old woman, I will not give those (things) to you.’

§ 1. Both specific and general relative pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns. The overall base is *ma* ‘where’. Though the use of interrogatives to derive relative pronouns is a typologically well documented strategy, it is alien (from a synchronic point of view) to the three contact languages of Udi that show sentential relativization, namely Iranian, Armenian, and Georgian. Hence, we have to assume that relativization on the clause level is a structural borrowing in Udi based on lexically native material. Infact, it copies the structure of the Old Udi relative ‘pronoun’:

(x)

	Interrogative	Referential	Subordinator
Old Udi	<i>hanay</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-k'e</i>
Modern Udi	<i>ma</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-te</i>

The exact procedure of deriving relative pronouns from the interrogative pronoun *ma* is difficult to describe in semantic terms. Morphologically speaking, the pronoun is simply marked for referentiality (*ma* > *mano*). Nevertheless, the two variants *manu* and *mani* (occasionally followed by *ki* ‘that’) reveal that this derivation is not straightforward. There is no Nizh sound change that would derive *mani* from *mano*, whereas *manu* can tentatively be interpreted as a variant of *mano*. Possibly, *mani* represents the older form that is made up of *ma* ‘where’ plus **-ni* (Early Udi focus marker, see **3.4.3**). Accordingly, the resulting form *mani* represents the original attributive pronoun ‘which’ (< **‘where-FOC’*), compare Nizh:

- (x) *mani ga-n-uxun bak-sun-a p-es te-t'un bak-s-a-i* [ACHI; OR 118]
 which place-SA-ABL be-MASD2-DAT say-MASD NEG-3PL be-PRES-PAST
 ‘They could not tell from which place (it) originated.’

In Vartashen, **mani* would have become **mane*. This forms would then have been referentialized with the help of the referentializer *-o* > **maneo* ‘the one who/which’. In a second step, the unstressed vowel **-e-* would have merged with *-o* (see 2.5.2.1 a description of for this process).

§ 2. The pronoun *mano* normally means ‘which’ (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.2.9.5), literally ‘the where one’. Note that *mano* in the sense of ‘which’ often is used in adnominal function, compare:

- (x) (a) *vi iś-e zor mano ga-n-u-t'ai* [R 18]
 you:SG:POSS man-GEN power which place-SA-DAT-3SG:POSS
 ‘In which place does your husband have (his) power?’

- (b) *mano k'ua-te bai-ğ-ai-nan* [Luke 10:5]
 which house:DAT-SUB into-go:FUT-CONJ-2PL
 ‘When you enter which house (so ever)’

- (c) *mano sahat-a eğ-al-a abazak'* [Luke 12:39]
 which hour-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q thief
 ‘When will the thief come?’ [lit.: ‘In which hour will the thief come?’]

§ 3. The examples illustrate that *mano* is not inflected in adnominal function (see 3.3.9.5 for details). When used as a relative pronoun, *mano* is fully inflected (see 3.3.9.4) and normally followed by the general subordinator *te* (see 5.8) that today is often cliticized to the pronoun. In case the pronoun has a possessive function, the clitic, however, follows the possessum (see 3.2.9.2):

- (X) (a) *šo-no Ioann-ne ma-t'-a bex-te bo-z-t'-e* [Mark 6:16]
 DIST-REF:ABS John-3SG REL-REF:OBL-GEN head:DAT2-SUB cut-1SG- $\$$ -PREF
 ‘He is John the head of whom I have cut.’

- (b) *ama vai t'e adamar-a ma-t'-a kin-te*
 but woe DIST man-DAT REL-REF:OBL-GEN hand:ERG-SUB

- šo-no tog-ne-sa* [Luke 22:22]
 DIST-REF:ABS sell-3SG-PASS:PRES
 ‘But woe unto that man by whose hand he is betrayed.’

- (c) *bo^ǰā^ǰ-nan-b-o žähl e^ǰle^ǰm ma-t'-a laxo-te*
 find-2PL-LV-FUT:MOD young donkey REL-REF:OBL-GEN on-SUB

šuk'al adamar-ǵ-oxo te-ne arc-e [Mark 11:2]

anyone man-PL-ABL NEG-3SG sit-PERF

‘You will find a young donkey on which (never) has sat any person.’

(d) *mo-no-ne k'ož ma-t'-a boš-te bez baba-ne kar-x-e* [f.n.]

PROX-REF:ABS-3SG house REL-REF:OBL-GEN in-SUB I:POSS father-3SG live-LV-PERF

‘THIS is the house in which MY FATHER has lived.’

§ 4. Occasionally, the subordinator *te* is missing. This is especially true for Nizh:

(x) *amdar-en manu aq'unči-ne me dizik'-a bes-p-es te-ne bak-sa!*

man-ERG REL coward-3SG PROX snake-DAT kill-LV-MASD NEG-3SG be-PRES

‘A man who is a coward cannot kill this snake!’ [f.n.]

§ 5. There are no semantic constraints on the use of *mano-te* as a relative pronoun. It can refer to both animate and inanimate objects:

(X) (a) *t'ia bu-ne-i adamar ma-t'-ai kul q'ari-ne-i* [Mark 3:1]

DIST:ADV be-3SG-PAST man REL-REF:OBL-GEN2 hand dry-3SG-PAST

‘There was a man, the hand of whom was withered.’

(b) *gölö q'eiri-o-r ma-t'-ǵ-on-te*

many other-REF:ABS-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB

q'ulluǵ-q'un b-esa šo-t'-u [Luke 8:3]

service-3PL do-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

‘... many others who serve him’

(c) *čoban-ux ma-t'-ǵ-on-te e-q'un-f-esa-i biasun-un q'araul-ax*

shepherd-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB keep-3PL-\$-PRES-PAST evening-GEN watch-DAT2

‘... the shepherds who kept the evening watch.’ [Luke 2:8]

(d) *kä-i-ne nišq'art-ux ma-t'-ǵ-ox-te*

eat:PAST-PAST-3SG shewbread-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2-SUB

gäräg nu uk-a-ne-i šuk'al-en [Luke 2:27]

must PROH eat-MOD-3SG-PAST anybody-ERG

‘He ate the shewbreads that nobody must eat.’

(e) *mi-gila säs gög-ixo ma-t'-in-te p-i-ne* [Matthew 3:17]

PROX-behold voice sky-ABL REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB say-PAST-3SG

‘Behold (there was) a voice from the sky which said...’

(f) *mia sa lek'er-re ma-t'-in-te*

PROX:ADV one pitcher-3SG REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB

ienk' xe eč-es ba-va-k-sa [f.n.]
 we:BEN water bring-MASD be-2SG:IO-\$-PRES
 'Here is a pitcher with which you can bring us water.'

(g) *iaq'-al me-t'-u sa adamar-re lamand-esa*
 way-SUPER PROX-REF:OBL-DAT one man-3SG meet-PRES

ma-t'-in-te ič kex uq'-na xod-ax biq'-i [R 9]
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB REFL hand:DAT2 nut-GEN tree-DAT2 take-PAST
 'On the road, a man comes to meet him who had taken in his hand(s) a nut tree'

§ 6. Occasionally, the relative pronoun *mano-te* is used to refer to local entities, such as:

(x) *me šähär-ä tağ-en ma-t'-u-te e^hk-urux tov-q'un-d-esa* [f.n.]
 PROX city-DAT go:FUT-IMP:1PL REL-REF:OBL-DAT-SUB horse-PL sell-3PL-LV-PRES
 'Let's go to this city where they sell horses.'

However, in the majority of cases, the simple interrogative pronoun *ma* is used with 'locative' heads. Often, the vowel is lengthened before the subordinator *te* (> *maate*). Though the exact morphological pattern remains unclear, we can suppose that the segment *-a-* causing the lengthening of the vowel is related to the adverbial/locative marker *-a* in the two adverbs *mia* 'here' (prox:ADV) and *t'ia* 'there' (dist:ADV), see 3.5.1. Example for the use of *ma(a)te* 'where (relative)' are:

(x) (a) *čubğ-ox ta-ne-sša düz t'ia ma-te sanduğ la-x-ne*
 woman-DAT2 bring-3SG-\$:PRES directly DIST:ADV where-SUB box lie-LV:PRES-3SG
 'She brings the woman directly (to the place) where the box lies.' [R 18]

(b) *rust'am me-l-an düz ta-ne-sa t'e č'äläg-i*
 Rustam PROX-ABL-ABL directly go-3SG-\$:PRES DIST wood-DAT

ma-te da^hria^h-q'un biq'-e [R 16]
 where-SUB hut-3PL take-PERF
 'Rustam goes directly from here to that wood where they had built (lit.: taken) a hut.'

(c) *saemo-al bi-ne-t-i že-rx-o q'ati*
 some:REF:ABS-FOC fall-3SG-\$-PAST stone-PL-GEN between

maa-te bu-ne-i k'ic'i k'ul [Matthew 13:5]
 where-SUB be-3SG-PAST little earth
 'Some fell between stones where there was little earth.'

- (d) *be^ǰ-a-nan ga-n-ux maa-te ba-ne-k-e bixažux* [Matthew 28:6]
 see-MOD-2PL place-SA-DAT2 where-SUB be-3SG-\$-PERF Lord/God
 ‘Look at the place where the Lord has been.’
- (e) *bo^ǰga^ǰ-ne-b-i ga-n-ux maa-te cam-ne-i* [Luke 4:17]
 find-3SG-LV-PAST place-SA-DAT2 where-SUB written-3SG-PAST
 ‘He found the place where [it] was written....’

§ 7. From a synchronic point of view, general pronominal reference is represented by headless (or head internal) relative clauses. The following pronouns are used:

- (x) *šu-te* ‘who’
ek’a-te ‘what’
maa-te ‘where’

Normally, the pronoun agrees with the embedded verb:

- (X) (a) *šin-te uk’-ai-n haq’lnut’ baf-t-al-le geen-un arğ-o*
 who:ERG say:FUT-CONJ-3SG fool fall-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG hell-GEN fire-DAT
 ‘Whoever says ‘(you) fool!’ will fall into the fire of the hell.’ [Matthew 5:23]

- (b) *šu-te bu-t’u-q’-sa bak-a-ne ef boš bešumži*
 who:DAT-SUB want-3SG:IO-PRES be-MOD-3SG you:PL:POSS in first
bar-t-a ba-q’a-n-k-i ef baxt’in q’ul [Mark 10 :43]
 let-LV-IMP:2SG be-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST you:PL:POSS for slave
 ‘Whoever wants to be the first among you, should be a slave for you.’

- (c) *šu-te ič čubğ-oxol žok’-ne-bak-sa (...)*
 who:ABS-SUB REFL wife-COM separate-3SG-LV-PRES (...)

ta-ne-st’a še-t’-u iaq’ q’ähbäluğ-a [Matthew 5:32]
 give-3SG-\$:PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT way adultery-DAT
 ‘Who(ever) separates from his wife (...) will show her the way towards adultery.’

- (d) *k’al-le-p-i ič t’o^ǰǰo^ǰl šux-te ič-u bu-t’u-q’-sa-i*
 call-3SG-LV-PAST REFL at who:DAT2-SUB REFL-DAT love-3SG:IO-\$-PRES-PAST
 ‘He called unto him whom he loved.’ [Mark 3:13]

§ 8. The use of *ek’ate* in terms of a general relative pronoun can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(x) (a) *p-i-ne ek'a-te bešun-t'-in-ne p-i* [K&S 84]

say-PAST-3SG what-SUB first-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG say-PAST
 'He said what the first one had said.'

(b) *ek'a-te man-ne-d-o o'sa zu u-z-k-o* [GD 61]

what-SUB remain-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD later I eat-1SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD
 'I will eat later what remains.'

(c) *ek'a-te ex-ne hazir-q'un-b-esa* [R 7-8]

what-SUB say:PRES-3SG ready-3PL-LV-PRES
 'They prepare what he says.'

(d) *pašč'ağ-un ġar-en ek'a-te ič ġadi-n-en ex-ne*

king-GEN son-ERG what-SUB REFL boy-SA-ERG say:PRES-3SG

bütün tam-ne-b-esa [GD 62]

all fulfill-3SG-LV-PRES

'The prince fulfills all what his boy ('servant') says.'

§ 9. The use of *ma(a)-te* as a 'general' relative pronoun to encode 'where(ever)' is shown in (X):

(x) (a) *šet'abaxt'inte maa-te ef dövlät-t'e*

because where-SUB you:PL.POSS riches-3SG

t'ia bak-al-le ef uk'

DIST:ADV be-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL.POSS heart

'Because where(ever) is your treasure, (there) will be your heart.'

[Matthew 6:21]

(b) *maa-te karož-tad-eğ-al-le daft'ar me bütün dünüä-n-i*

where-SUB preach-give-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG book PROX all world-SA-DAT

uk'-al-q'un ka-t'-a c'i-ax

say:FUT-FUT:FAC-3PL MED-REF:OBL-GEN name-DAT2

ek'k'a-te ka-t'-in b-e-ne [Mark 14:9]

what-SUB MED-REF:OBL-ERG do-PERF-3SG

'Where(soever) the book will be preached in this world, they will tell her name (and) what she has done.'

3.2.9 Attributing the referent

§ 1. Semantically speaking, the following strategies can be used in Udi for referential attribution: Qualification (3.2.9.1), possession (3.2.9.2), deixis (3.2.9.3),

quantification (3.2.9.4), and interrogative attribution (3.2.9.5). Note that in section 3.2.9.4, I only deal with general quantification. Numerals are treated as a separate paradigm discussed in section 3.2.10. Additionally, a referent can be attributed by clausal structures that represent relative clauses based on attributive participles (see 5.8.4).

In this introductory section, I will discuss the distributional patterns of attribution in Udi. A special issue is the question whether Udi knows a (peripheral) technique to link a certain class of attributes morphologically to their nominal head (§ 2).

The semantic classes mentioned above do not represent discrete classes. They are often crosscut either semantically or morphologically. For instance, qualifying adjectives are often derived from former possessive (or relational) strategies (see 3.2.9.1). Interrogatives share a number of derivational properties with the deictic class. Still, the classification proposed here seems useful out of the following reason: Possessives are distinct from all other attribute in that they can retain a referential notion. Qualifying attributes can combine, whereas deixis cannot. Deixis, quantifiers, and interrogatives must occur in initial position. In sum, the following basic distributional patterns occur ('ATTR' is here used as a cover term for all classes mentioned above; numerals are again not included):

(a)	QUAL	+	REF				
(b)	QUAL	+	QUAL	+	REF		
(c)	POSS	+	REF				
(d)	POSS	+	QUAL	+	REF		
(e)	DEIXIS	+	REF				
(f)	DEIXIS	+	QUAL	+	REF		
(g)	QUANT	+	REF				
(h)	QUANT	+	QUAL	+	REF		
(i)	ATTR	+	POSS	+	REF		
(k)	ATTR	+	POSS	+	ATTR	+	REF

The following examples illustrate these distributional patterns (the syntax of noun phrases is discussed in 5.2):

(x) (a) *kala xunči* [f.n.]
old sister
'the old sister'

(b) *pis kala viči* [f.n., rare]
bad old brother
'the bad elder brother'

- (c) *bez xunči* [f.n.]
I:POSS sister
'my sister'
- (d) *bez kala xunči* [f.n.]
I:POSS old sister
'my elder sister'
- (e) *me xunči* [f.n.]
PROX sister
'this sister'
- (f) *me kala xunči* [f.n.]
PROX old sister
'this elder sister'
- (g) *gölö e^ʃš* [f.n.]
many apple
'many apples'
- (h) *gölö ć'oc'a e^ʃš* [f.n.]
many red apple
'many red apples'
- (i) *kala xunč-e e^ʃk* [f.n.]
old sister-GEN horse
'the horse of the elder sister'
- (k) *bez xunč-e k'ic'i ġar* [f.n.]
I:POSS sister-GEN little son
'my sister's little son'

Certain referential forms are excluded from attribution. This class includes deictic, communicative, and interrogative reference. In order to link a referential deixis and an attribute, the demonstrative pronoun becomes adnominal, and the attribute is referentialized:

(X) (a) **kala me-no e-ne-sa*
old PROX-REF:ABS come-3SG-\$.PRES

(b) *me kala-o e-ne-sa* [f.n.]
PROX old-REF:ABS come-3SG-\$.PRES
'This old one comes'

The same hold for instance for interrogatives:

- (x) (a) **kala ek'a-va buq'-sa?*
big what-2SG:IO want-PRES
- (b) *e kalat'ux-va buq'-sa?*
which big-SA-DAT2-2SG:IO want-PRES
'Which large one do you want?'

§ 2. Normally, the attributive relation is marked neither on the attribute nor on the referential term. There is one exception that, however, is not fully understood: In case the attribute is a non-past participle (*-al*, see 3.4.10), it is incidentally marked by a superficially 'attributive' linker *-a*:

- (X) (a) *tad-a za kaf-t'-al-a bar-r-ux* [Luke 15:12]
give-IMP:2SG I:DAT allot-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR part-SA-DAT2
'Give me the allotted part!'
- (b) *q'ac'-k'-al-a ga* [Schiefner 1863:45]
hurt-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR place
'a place (on the body) that does hurt'
- (c) *nep'ax-esun-un tağ-al-a vaxt'* [Schiefner 1863:45]
sleep-LV:MASD2-GEN go:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR time
'The time to go to sleep'

Schiefner suggests that the *-al*-participle usually is in the *-ala*-form if used attributively (Schiefner 1863:45). However, this constraint does not hold at least for the Vartashen dialect: In most cases, the segment *-a* is missing, as in:

- (X) (a) *iśa iaq'-en tağ-al adamar-ux te-q'un qai-bak-sa* [GD 61]
near way-ERG go:FUT-PART:nPAST man-PL NEG-3PL return-LV-PRES
'The persons who take the near way do not come back.'
- (b) *etär-a bak-o zähmät zap'k'al iśu čöl-i bak-a-ne*
how-3SG:Q be-FUT:MOD work pull-LV-PART:nPAST man field-DAT be-MOD-3SG
'How should it be that a working man is on the field?' [Ch&T 169]
- (c) *zu un uk'-al sanduğ-ax ser-b-es-zu-d-o* [R 17]
I you say:FUT-PART:nPAST box-DAT2 make-LV-MASD-1SG-CAUS-FUT:MOD
'I let (them) make the box I told you.'
- (d) *bap'-al ga-n-u* [R 15]
arrive-PART:nPAST place-SA-DAT
'at the place where he arrived...'

- (e) *kar-x-al* *ga* [Ch&T 172]
 live-LV-PART:nPAST place
 ‘the place where one lives’

Pančviže 1974:200 argues that the suffix *-a* is used in an ‘adjectival’ context. Jeiranišvili 1971:109, however, suggests that the *-ala*-forms have a future or modal meaning as opposed to the simple *-al*-participle that refers to the present tense. Some examples support this view, compare above (X,a and b) and:

- (x) (a) *ma-t'-in-te* *i'ž-en*
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB snow-ERG>INSTR
- oc'-k'-al-k'-al-a* *partal-q'un la'ğa'l-d-esa*
 wash-LV-PART:nPAST-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR cloth-3PL wash=out-LV-PRES
 ‘... who washes out in winter the clothes that they (have to) wash.’ [IM 62]
- (b) *eğ-al-a* *ğī* [f.n.]
 come:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR day
 ‘the day to come’

However, examples (X,c-e) above as well as (X) illustrate that the participle does not necessarily refer to the future tense:

- (X) *etär mat mand-al-a* *aš-ur-a* *bu zast'a* [IM 62]
 how wonder stay-PART:nPAST-ATTR thing-PL-3SG:Q be I:ADESS
 ‘How wonderful things do I have?!’
- (x) *vi* *bak-al-a* *aq'əl-a* *ač-es* *ma-b-a* [I 76, Nizh]
 you:SG:POSS be-PART:nPAST-ATTR mind-DAT lose-INF PROH-LV-IMP:2SG
 ‘Don’t lose your mind!’

The example (X) also demonstrates that the segment *-a* cannot be identified as interrogative third person singular clitic *-a*, which, in example (x), is added to the nominal head *ašura* (see 3.4.3 and 5.9). Finally, note that the term *c'i* ‘name’ is often used with a final segment *-a* added to the superessive *-al* (see 3.3.4.1) Here, it has a clear locative (inessive) function:

- (x) (a) *še-t'-a* *c'i-ala* *umud bak-al-q'un xalx-urux* [Matthew 12:21]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN name-INNESS hope be-FUT:FAC-3PL people-PL
 ‘The gentiles will trust in his name.’
- (b) *ma-t'-ux-te* *be-s-sa* *zu bez* *baba* *c'i-ala* [John 10:25]
 REL-REF:OBL-DAT2-SUB do-1SG-PRES I I:POSS father:GEN name-INNESS
 ‘... what I do in the name of my father.’

(c) *t'e ġe-n-a bes-al-lan bez c'i-ala* [John 16:26]

DIST day-SA-DAT ask-FUT:FAC-2PL I:POSS name-INNESS

‘That day you will ask in my name...’

In case the two forms are comparable, we get a clue for the history of the Udi tense morpheme *-al* (see 3.5). In addition, the assumed inessive function would perfectly match with the semantic distinction proposed by Jeiranišvili 1971:109 (*-al* = present tense vs. *-ala* = future-modal). Perhaps, the close resemblance of the morpheme *-ala* to the segment *-ala* in compounds as *bul-ala* ‘with the head raised’, *kul-ala* ‘with raised hands’, or *tik-ala* ‘steep, soaring’ is not just coincidental: Here, the form *-ala* represents a petrified dative-locative of a now lost noun **al* ‘high’ (compare *alun* ‘high above’, *alaxo* ‘from above’, see 3.3.4.2 § 2).

As has been said above, the form *-al-a* is rather rare in Vartashen Udi. In Nizh, however, the suffix frequently occurs in attributive position. In this position, the basic form *-al* is hardly ever used. Examples are:

(x) (a) *vaxun tara-k'-ala čuhux šu-a?* [BAL; OR 137]

you:SG:COM walk-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR woman who-3SG:Q

‘Who is the woman at your side?’

(b) *türgän-ä tağ-al-a iaq'-e loxol*

Türgän-DAT go:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR way-GEN on

bak-al-a alloi gešluğ-a č'ap'-t'un bak-i [DAD; OR 117]

be-PART:nPAST-ATTR high gorge-DAT hide-3PL be-PAST

‘They hid in a deep (lit.: high) gorge that was on the way leading to Türgän.’

(c) *gimg-in-ä eğ-al-a amdar-xo-n hik'ä-t'un ak-i?*

gathering=place-SA-DAT come:FUT.PART:nPAST-ATTR man-PL-ERG what-3PL see-PAST

‘What did the men see when they came to the gathering place (*gimgä*)?’

[BRIG; OR 125]

Though *-al-a* obviously tends to substitute the simple non-past participle *-al* in attributive function, we cannot claim that *-al-a* represents the attributive variant of *-al*. In fact, *-ala* can likewise be used in gerundial (or: adverbial) function (see 3.4.10), as in (x,a), as a simple tense marker (future2, see 3.4.5), as in (x,b), or in complex tense forms (see 3.4.5), as in (x,c):

(x) (a) *pärdä qay-eğ-ala kinä sa čuhux otağ-a*

courtain open-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT2 as one woman room-DAT

bac-i lämp-in-ä ala-ne-b-sa [XOZ; OR 50]

enter:PASS-PAST lamp-SA-DAT high-3SG-LV-PRES

‘When the courtain opens, a woman enters (and) holds up a lamp.’

(b) *k'odoğ-o hikä cam-ec-e-ne šo-no-al bak-ala-ne-i*
 forehead-DAT what write-LV:PASS:PERF-3SG DIST-REF:ABS-FOC be-FUT2-3SG-PAST
 ‘What has become fixed by destiny that will happen [lit.: What is written on the forehead ...].’ [DAD; OR 117]

(c) *bandit' biq'-s-eynak' har-i p'ä¹ tan üš-e*
 bandit seize-MASD-BEN come:PAST-PART-PAST two NUM:CLASS night-DAT

sun-t'-ay k'ož-a man-d-ala-ne bak-i [KECH; OR 132]

one-REF:OBL-GEN house-DAT stay-LV-FUT2-3SG be-PAST

‘In order to manage to seize the bandit, he was staying two nights in the house of a (certain person).’

In order to account for the difficulties to interpret the element *-a* from a functional point of view, I will use the gloss ATTR whenever *-ala* is used in an attribute context.

3.2.9.1 Qualification. In order to specify a referent with the help of a qualifying attribute, Udi makes use of a set of primary adjectives, of derived adjectives, and of forms resulting from the conversion of verbal participles (see 3.4.10). In sum, the following derivational means are documented for Udi:

- (x)
1. Basic adjectives (§ 1)
 2. Derivational affixes (§ 2)
 - a-* (privative, petrified, § 10)
 - ax* (dative2, § 5)
 - axo* (ablative, § 5)
 - ba* (denominal, § 7)
 - en* (ergative, § 3)
 - il* (petrified, § 12)
 - k'ena* (denominal, § 11)
 - la* (denominal, § 8)
 - lu* (denominal, § 8)
 - nut'* (privative, deadjectival, § 9)
 - nut'* (privative, denominal, § 9)
 - suz* (privative < Azeri *-sIz*, § 9)
 - um* (petrified, § 13)
 - un/-in* (genitive, § 4)
 - V(i)* (genitive, § 4)
 - žā* (restrictive, § 14)
 3. Composition (§ 15)
 4. Conversion (§ 16)

§ 1. Basic adjectives often cannot be distinguished from adverbs (see 3.5.1). Actually, the number of basic or primary adjectives is rather small. From a diachronic point of view, some of these adjectives appear to have been derived from perhaps verbal stems. A large number of loans should be included into the list of primary adjectives, as long as the Udi lexicon is considered from a synchronic perspective. Additionally, many complex verbs involve the incorporation of former adjectives that nowadays are no longer used as independent words (see 3.4.2). The following list illustrates the class of primary adjectives. Note that incidentally, the words may show traces of earlier word formations patterns not yet detected. Also, some words of obscure origin are included in this list:

(X)	<i>šip'</i>	'quiet'
	<i>šit'</i>	'unsalten'
	<i>ac'ar</i>	'clear, clean, bright'
	<i>baša</i>	'rotten, bad'
	<i>bi^ʃ</i>	'heavy'
	<i>bočo, bo^ʃču</i>	'thick'
	<i>boxo(i)</i>	'long, complete'
	<i>busa</i>	'hungry'
	<i>but'</i>	'closed, covered'
	<i>ć'oc'a</i>	'red'
	<i>ćal</i>	'bright'
	<i>ć'ur</i>	'twisted, wrapped'
	<i>car(a)</i>	'scattered'
	<i>ć'ak'</i>	'pressed'
	<i>däi</i>	'green' < * <i>daxi</i> , cp. the variant <i>dxi</i>
	<i>e'b</i>	'sewn'
	<i>gošan</i>	'thin, skinny'
	<i>gorox</i>	'poor'
	<i>ğağ</i>	'tired'
	<i>ğa^ʃm</i>	'thick (of liquids)'
	<i>iekä</i>	'big, large'
	<i>iśa</i>	'close, near'
	<i>i^ʃve^ʃl</i>	'holy'
	<i>kar</i>	'quick'
	<i>kaš</i>	'dug out'
	<i>keže</i>	'sour'
	<i>kož</i>	'difficult'
	<i>laq'</i>	'rotten, bad'
	<i>lari</i>	'similar'
	<i>la^ʃğā^ʃr</i>	'cloudy, murky'
	<i>mac'i</i>	'white' [cf. <i>ac'ar</i> 'clear, bright']
	<i>mu^ʃq</i>	'happy, merry'
	<i>muća</i>	'sweet' [compare <i>uc</i> 'honey']
	<i>muč'ur</i>	'clear (of sky)'
	<i>niza</i>	'longing for'
	<i>ore, oro</i>	'offended'
	<i>q'ač'</i>	'narrow'
	<i>q'ič'</i>	'pressed together'
	<i>q'ət'</i>	'rare, non complete'
	<i>qai</i>	'open, free, bright'

<i>şel</i>	‘good, nice, beautiful’
<i>tüš</i>	‘direct’
<i>xox</i>	‘broken’
<i>xuru</i>	‘small, in pieces’

Loans that – from a synchronic point of view – lack derivational elements include the following examples:

(X)	<i>č’ägi</i>	‘late’	[Azeri <i>gəc</i> ‘late’]
	<i>č’ap’k’in</i>	‘secret, hidden’	[Azeri <i>çapqın</i> ‘secret’]
	<i>č’up’laq’</i>	‘naked’	[Osmanic <i>çiplaq</i>]
	<i>ǰax</i>	‘left’	[Armenian <i>jax</i> ‘left’]
	<i>ǰähil</i>	‘young’	[Arabic <i>ǰähil</i> ‘young’]
	<i>ǰök’</i>	‘separate’	[Armenian <i>ǰok</i> ‘separate’]
	<i>ač’a</i>	‘right’	[Armenian <i>aǰ</i> ‘right’ (+ dative ?)]
	<i>aǰu</i>	‘bitter’	[Azeri <i>aǰı</i> ‘poison’]
	<i>arak’</i>	‘young (animal)’	[Azeri <i>ərkək</i> ‘young (animal)’]
	<i>asud</i>	‘untrue’	[Persian <i>asüde</i> ‘free, unconcerned’]
	<i>axmax</i>	‘foolish, stupid’	[Azeri <i>axmaq</i> ‘foolish, stupid’]
	<i>azar</i>	‘free’	[Persian <i>āzād</i> ‘free’]
	<i>a’ım</i>	‘open’	[Arabic <i>‘ām</i> ‘general’ ?]
	<i>bengina</i>	‘free, idiosyncratic’	[Armenian <i>ink’in</i> ‘by oneself’ + DAT ?]
	<i>bizlik’</i>	‘pointed’	[Azeri <i>bizləmək</i> ‘to pick into’]
	<i>bol</i>	‘many, plenty, strong’	[Azeri <i>bol</i> ‘much, plenty’]
	<i>boz</i>	‘grey’	[Azeri <i>boz</i> ‘grey’]
	<i>č’äk’</i>	‘chosen’	[Armenian <i>ǰokovi</i> ‘selected’]
	<i>č’ap’</i>	‘hidden’	[Reanalyzed from Azeri <i>çapqın</i> ‘secret’]
	<i>däng</i>	‘foolish’	[Persian <i>dang</i> ‘foolish’]
	<i>dürüs(t’)</i>	‘living, alive’	[Persian <i>dorost</i> ‘correct, honest’]
	<i>düz</i>	‘correct, even’	[Azeri <i>düz</i> ‘right, correct, direct’]
	<i>fuğara</i>	‘poor’	[Arabic pl. <i>fuqarā</i> < <i>faqīr</i> ‘poor’]
	<i>gam</i>	‘warm’	[Persian <i>garm</i> ‘warm’]
	<i>gäng</i>	‘broad, far’	[Azeri <i>gen</i> ‘broad’]
	<i>godak</i>	‘short’	[Azeri <i>gödək</i> ‘short’]
	<i>ǰui</i>	‘full’	[Azeri <i>yoğun</i>]
	<i>hänäi</i>	‘silly’	[Azeri <i>hənək</i> ‘joking’]
	<i>iavaš</i>	‘slow’	[Azeri <i>yavaş</i>]
	<i>ini</i>	‘new’	[Azeri <i>yeni</i> ‘new’ or Old Udi <i>eYi</i> ‘new’]
	<i>iu</i>	‘weak’	[Azeri <i>yumaq</i> ‘weak’]
	<i>k’ala</i>	‘lame’	[Old Armenian <i>kał</i> ‘lame’]
	<i>k’ic’i,</i> <i>k’ic’k’e,</i> <i>mic’ik’, gic’i</i>	‘small, little, few’	[Azeri <i>küçek</i> ‘little, small’]
	<i>k’oc’</i>	‘bent’	[Persian <i>aǰ</i> ‘bent, curved’]
	<i>k’uč’uluk’</i>	‘small’	[Variant of Azeri <i>küçek(lik)</i>]
	<i>kala</i>	‘large, big, old’	[Northern Tāti <i>kälä</i> ‘big, large, old’]
	<i>kar</i>	‘deaf’	[Azeri <i>kar</i>]
	<i>käsib</i>	‘poor’	[Arabic <i>kasīb</i> ‘poor’]
	<i>lal</i>	‘dumb’	[Persian <i>lāl</i> ‘dumb’]
	<i>lörağ</i>	‘badly ill’	[Persian <i>luri</i> ‘leprosy’]
	<i>načağ</i>	‘ill’	[Persian <i>nā-</i> ‘not’ + <i>čağ</i> ?]
	<i>naxuna</i>	‘withered’	[Persian <i>nā-</i> ‘not’ + <i>xuna</i> ?]

3.1-3 Reference

<i>näzüg</i>	‘thin, close’	[Persian <i>nazdik</i> ‘narrow, slim’]
<i>oğand</i>	‘successful, happy’	[Persian <i>āgande</i> ‘full, completed’]
<i>ost’avar</i>	‘strong’	[Persian <i>ostovār</i> ‘strong’]
<i>p’at’ar</i>	‘small’	[Armenian <i>potik</i> ‘small’]
<i>papuk’</i>	‘weak’	[Persian <i>pupak</i> ‘weak’]
<i>pis</i>	‘bad’	[Azeri <i>pis</i> ‘bad’]
<i>q’eiri ~ q’eiraz</i>	‘other’	[Persian < Arabic <i>ğeir</i> ‘other’; -az < Persian <i>āz</i> ‘few’]
<i>q’oža</i>	‘old’	[Persian <i>hoja</i> ‘old’]
<i>šad</i>	‘free, unbound, happy’	[Persian <i>šād</i> ‘happy’]
<i>šere</i>	‘dry, weak, withered’	[Armenian <i>č^eor</i> ‘dry’]
<i>sori ~ sari</i>	‘cold’	[Armenian <i>sarē</i> ‘cold’]
<i>subuk’</i>	‘light’	[Persian <i>sabok</i> ‘light’]
<i>t’a^hp’a^hk’</i>	‘flat’	[Armenian <i>hapark</i> ‘plain’]
<i>tāmbāl</i>	‘lazy’	[Persian <i>tanbal</i> ‘lazy’]
<i>tāmiz</i>	‘clean, pure’	[Persian <i>tamīz</i> ‘clean, pure’]
<i>tik</i>	‘steep’	[Azeri <i>dik</i> ‘steep, vertical’]
<i>užuz</i>	‘unexpensive’	[Azeri <i>ucuz</i> ‘unexpensive’]

§ 2. Derivational procedures include the following techniques: word building suffixes and composition. Just as it true for most other Lezgian languages, Udi lacks a complex paradigm of derivational affixes to produce adjectives. Instead, the language refers to the conversion of nouns and verbs. Today, most often case marked nouns are converted to adjectives. Basically, the following case morphemes are involved in this technique:

(X)	ERG	-en, -in	>	Modal, instrumental
	GEN	-un, -V(i)	>	Relational
	DAT2	-ax	>	Instrumental
	ABL	-Vxo	>	Relational (rare)

§ 3. The adjectival use of ergative marked nouns is restricted. Examples include:

(X)	<i>p’inen</i>	‘bloody’	<i>p’i</i>	‘blood’
	<i>č’emen</i>	‘dirty’	<i>č’em</i>	‘dirt’
	<i>tutminen</i>	‘epileptic’	<i>tutma</i>	‘sudden illness’ (< Azeri <i>tutma</i> ‘attack, sudden illness’)
	<i>insafen</i>	‘honest’	<i>insaf</i>	‘conscience’ (< Arabic <i>insāf</i> ‘conscience’)
	<i>namusen</i>	‘honest’	<i>namus</i>	‘conscience’ (< Azeri <i>namus</i> ‘conscience’)
	<i>ka^hmen</i>	‘mucky’	<i>ka^hm</i>	‘excrements’
	<i>p’a^helmuğon</i>	‘pregnant’	Lit.: ‘with two souls’	(<i>p’a^helmux</i> + ERG)
	<i>e^hken</i>	‘riding’	<i>e^hk</i>	‘horse’
	<i>elen</i>	‘salty’	<i>el</i>	‘salt’ (< Old Armenian <i>at</i> ‘salt’ ?)
	<i>nep’en</i>	‘sleeping’	<i>nep’</i>	‘sleep, dream’
	<i>i^hžen</i>	‘snowy’	<i>i^hž</i>	‘snow’ (> ‘winter’)
	<i>zoren</i>	‘strong’	<i>zor</i>	‘strength’ (< Persian <i>zor</i> ‘strength’)
	<i>t’amen</i>	‘tasty’	<i>t’am</i>	‘taste’ (< Arabic <i>ṭa^hm</i> ‘taste’)
	<i>kurkuren</i>	‘tender’		Expressive reduplication
	<i>cacen</i>	‘thorny’	<i>cac</i>	‘thorn’

§ 4. The most frequent and most productive type of deriving adjectives from nouns is based on the genitive case (see 3.3.3.5). This technique that is typical for most Lezgian languages is based on possessive structures (see 3.2.9.2) and includes the dereferentialization of the possessor. As a result, the ‘possessor’ can be used as a relational structure producing secondary (relational) adjectives. As for Udi, we have to differentiate two types: a) an older layer of relational structures that is based on the suffix *-un* (in Nizh often > *-in*); b) a productive layer that applies nearly every type of actual genitive marking (see 3.3.3.5).

The older layer (suffix *-un*) often includes the conversion of *-un*-adjectives into nouns (see (X), page 98). Often, the older nominal base is no longer existent. (X) illustrates this class of nouns:

(X)	<i>k'ačp'un</i>	‘chopper’	
	<i>k'ač'k'un</i> ~ <i>k'äč'k'ün</i>	‘cud’	< <i>k'ač</i> ‘grain, little piece’ ?
	<i>merun</i>	‘eyetooth of wild boar’	
	<i>bit'un</i>	‘field’	~ <i>bit'esun</i> ‘to sow’
	<i>t'e'q'un</i>	‘gift’	
	<i>i'sk'un</i>	‘hair, plait’	
	<i>k'uk'un</i>	‘humming’	
	<i>nedun</i>	‘leaven’	
	<i>q'arğun</i>	‘reed’	< Azeri <i>qarğı</i> ‘reed’
	<i>qabun</i>	‘star’	

Primary *-un*-adjectives are for example:

(X)	<i>č'ošun</i>	‘outer’	<i>č'oš</i> ‘outside’
	<i>šäin</i>	‘wet’	?
	<i>ačun</i>	‘blunt’	?
	<i>alun</i>	‘high’	* <i>al</i> ‘hight’
	<i>be'q'un</i>	‘dark’; ‘darkness’	<i>be'inq</i> ‘dark’
	<i>be'sun</i>	‘first, being in front of’	<i>be's</i> ‘in front of’
	<i>bi'ğun</i>	‘middle’	<i>bi'g</i> ‘middle’
	<i>bošun</i>	‘being inside, inner’	<i>boš</i> ‘in(side)’
	<i>bulun</i>	‘being at the head of; northern’	<i>bul</i> ‘head’
	<i>cinun</i>	‘being below the head; southern’	* <i>ci</i> ‘below the head’
	<i>damdamun</i>	‘morning-’	<i>damdam</i> ‘morning’
	<i>damp'ulun</i>	‘plum-’	<i>damp'ul</i> ‘plum’
	<i>ğeun</i>	‘daily’	<i>ği</i> ‘day’
	<i>i'saun</i>	‘close’	<i>i'sa</i> ‘close(nes)’
	<i>mağun</i>	‘being (w)here’	* <i>ma</i> ‘here’
	<i>miaun</i>	‘being here’	<i>mia</i> ‘here’
	<i>ošun</i>	‘next’	<i>oš</i> ‘end’
	<i>oq'un</i>	‘being below’	* <i>oq</i> ‘ground’
	<i>ozanun</i>	‘neck-	<i>ozan</i> ‘neck’
	<i>qošun</i>	‘being behind’	* <i>qo(-š)</i> ‘back’
	<i>t'ağun</i>	‘being there’	* <i>t'a</i> ‘there’
	<i>t'iaun</i>	‘being there’	<i>t'ia</i> ‘there’
	<i>esenun</i>	‘related to the last year’	<i>esen</i> ‘last year’

A number of adjectives favor the suffixal variant *-in* instead of *-un*. This is true for both some native words and loans from Azeri that copy the Azeri genitive morpheme *-In*. Incidentally, it is difficult to decide whether a relational adjective is borrowed as such from Azeri, or whether Udi has borrowed the nominal base only, augmented by the native genitive *-un* (Nizh in parts > *-in*). (X) gives some examples for this class:

(X)	<i>äräq'in</i>	'liquid'	Azeri <i>araq-un</i>
	<i>axərin</i>	'last'	Azeri <i>axır-in-cı</i>
	<i>ğain</i>	'pointed, sharp'	?
	<i>gogin, göiin</i>	'green, blue, wet'	Azeri <i>gög-ün</i> 'sky-GEN'
	<i>için</i>	'self-'	<i>iç</i> (reflexive)
	<i>ma^fiin</i>	'black'	< <i>ma^f</i> 'brain'?
	<i>muq'in</i>	'hidden'	?
	<i>pin</i>	'eye-' (often adverbial)	<i>pul</i> 'eye'
	<i>puşin</i>	'quince-'	<i>puşa</i> 'quince'
	<i>q'onag'in</i>	'guest-'	Azeri <i>qonağ-un</i>
	<i>q'oşunin</i>	'army-'	Azeri <i>qoşun(-un)</i>
	<i>sārin</i>	'cool'	?
	<i>turin</i>	'going by foot' (often adverbial)	<i>tur</i> 'foot'
	<i>usin</i>	'quick, soon'	* <i>us</i> 'measure, period of time'
	<i>xain</i>	'quarrelsome'	?
	<i>kilin, kiin</i>	'related to the hands'	<i>kul</i> 'hand'
	<i>ieiin</i>	'soon, early'	?

Note that both *bulun* 'being over the head, northern' and *kilin* 'hand-' are younger (!) derivation of *bul* 'head' and *kul* 'hand'. The expected ergative-genitives *bin* and *kin* (see 3.3.2.3) are used as adverbs only (based on the ergative function). The term *usin* 'soon, quick' has the two variant *usun* and *usum* (for *usum* see below).

The younger layer of relational adjectives is represented by a large and in fact open class of lexemes. Any noun can be turned into an adjective, as long as the relational semantics is observed. Incidentally, it is difficult to decide whether we have to deal with an relational adjective of a noun marked by the genitive. The best way to test the degree of relationality is to add either an attribute (X) or a relative clause (X):

(X) (a) *mac'i eğel-un xa gölō šavat'-t'e* [f.n.]
white sheep-GEN wool much beautiful-3SG
'The wool of the white sheep is very nice.'

(b) *bazar-ax mac'i eğel-un xa-ne aq'-e* [f.n.]
market-DAT2 white sheep-GEN wool-3SG take-PERF
'(S)he has bought white sheep's wool on the market.'

(X) *eğel-un xa ma-t'-ux-te bazar-ax aq-i'-z* [f.n.]
sheep-GEN wool REL-REF:OBL-DAT2 market-DAT2 take-PAST-1SG
'The sheep's wool that I bought on the market...'
*The wool of the sheep that (i.e., the sheep) I bought on the market..'

In order to relate the relative clause to the ‘possessor’, usually an adnominal deictic pronoun is added. The possessor is then marked for referentiality:

- (X) *t'e eġel-un xa ma-t'-ux-te bazar-ax aq-i'-z* [f.n.]
 DIST sheep-GEN wool REL-REF:OBL-DAT2 market-DAT2 take-PAST-1SG
 ‘The wool of that sheep that I bought on the market..’

The stress pattern also is a decisive feature that helps to identify relational adjectives derived from nouns. Normally, they lack a primary accent:

- (X) *eġelun xá* ‘sheep’s wool’ (attribute)
eġelún xá ‘wool of a /the sheep’ (possessive)

§ 5. The two case forms *-ax* (dative2) and *-axo* (ablative) are occasionally used to derive relational adjectives. However, this class of adjectives is rather small and no longer productive. Examples are:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| (X) | <i>ap'ax</i> | ‘sweaty’ | <i>ap'</i> ‘sweat’ |
| | <i>ċ'äinax</i> | ‘fat, greasy’ | <i>ċ'äin</i> ‘fat, butter’ |
| | <i>ġennax</i> | ‘daily’ | <i>ġi</i> ‘day’ |
| | <i>nep'ax</i> | ‘sleeping’ | <i>ne'</i> ‘sleep, dream’ |
| | <i>oq'oiax ~ oq'ona</i> (GEN) | ‘marinated’ | <i>oq'o</i> ‘vinegar’ |
| | <i>elax ~ ele</i> (GEN) | ‘salted’ | <i>el</i> ‘salt’ |
| | <i>elaxo ~ ele</i> (GEN) | ‘salted’ | <i>el</i> ‘salt’ |

§ 6. Three derivational suffixes form adjectives: *-lu*, *-la*, and *-ba*. The two morphemes *-lu* and *-la* form a paradigm that is opposed to the suffix *-ba*. From a historical point of view, the two paradigms had different semantic functions: Whereas the *-ba*-paradigm once was restricted to mass nouns, the *-lu/-la*-paradigm encoded a possessive relationship between two discrete referents (see Schiefner 1863:15). Today, many doubles such as *eq'la ~ eq'ba* ‘meat-’, *ċola ~ ċoba* ‘face-’ occur. The fact that only *-lu* is actually productive hinders further tests related to the semantics of the three suffixes.

§ 7. The suffix *-ba* is probably related to the existential auxiliary *bu* ‘being’ (see 5.3.2). Incidentally *bu* is used to derive adjective-like structures, compare:

- (x) (a) *zu-al kin-oq'a-bu adamar-zu* [Matthew 7:9]
 I-FOC head:ERG-below-being man-1SG
 ‘I, too, am an obedient man.’
- (b) *lari-ne haq'lnut'-bu adamar-al* [Matthew 7:26]
 like-3SG ignorance-being man-FOC
 ‘He is like an ignorant man’

The variant *-ba* probably reflects the present tense of the Early Udi copula (*- 'a-) preceded by the (petrified) class marker *b- (see 3.2.4). The underlying construction

(X)	Noun/Adjective	*-ba	Noun	
	<i>ad</i>	-ba	<i>eq'</i>	[f.n.]
	'smell'	'being'	'meat'	
	'the smelling meat'			

resemblance the type of complex attribution that is based on participles (see 3.4.10 and 5.8.4). The following adjectives illustrate the *-ba*-class:

(X)	<i>aba</i>	'knowing'	< *c'a- 'knowledge'
	<i>adba</i>	'smelling'	<i>ad</i> 'smell'
	<i>eq'ba</i>	'meat-'	<i>eq'</i> 'meat'
	<i>u^hq'enba</i>	'bony'	<i>u^hq'en</i> 'bone'
	<i>p'iba ~ p'ila</i>	'bloody'	<i>p'i</i> 'blood'
	<i>misba</i>	'copper-'	<i>mis</i> 'copper'
	<i>čaxba</i>	'icy'	<i>čax</i> 'ice'
	<i>iq'ba</i>	'ash-'	<i>iq'</i> 'ashes'
	<i>meqba</i>	'effected by worms, envious'	<i>meq</i> 'worm'
	<i>nec'ba</i>	'effected by lice'	<i>nec'</i> 'louse'
	<i>xeba</i>	'liquid'	<i>xe</i> 'water'
	<i>zorba ~ zorlu</i>	'mighty'	Persian <i>zor</i> 'might, power'

§ 8. The suffix pair *-lu/-la* is of Turkic origin. It originates from the Azeri derivational suffix *-li* and can be added to both native words and Oriental terms. The suffix *-lu* represents the standard way of reflecting Azeri harmonic /-li/. When new adjectives are derived from nouns, *-lu* is generally preferred. The variant *-la* is no longer productive. From a functional point of view, it stands in an allomorphic relationship to *-lu*. Note, that Schiefner's assumption that the distribution of *-lu* and *-la* is conditioned by harmonic aspects, is not supported by the data. Instead, it is more probable that the *-la*-adjectives represent an older layer than the *-lu*-forms. Most likely, the Azeri suffix *-li* had been aligned to the vocalization of the *-ba*-suffix described above (>*-la*). Later, the suffix *-li* was again borrowed from Azeri. Here, its vocalization (> *-lu*) was conditioned by the general trend to represent Azeri /-li/ as /u/ in Udi. Additionally, the reflex of the (younger) derivational suffix *-lik* (see 3.2.2.2) may have influenced the vocalization of the Udi morpheme (> Udi *-luḡ*).

The following example show the use of *-la*:

(X)	<i>xuila</i>	'angry'	Azeri <i>xuy</i> 'wrath'
	<i>p'ila</i>	'bloody'	<i>p'i</i> 'blood = Azeri <i>qanlı</i>
	<i>q'avarla</i>	'callous, horny'	Azeri <i>qabarlı</i> 'callous, horny'
	<i>kärsäila</i>	'covered with mounds'	Azer <i>kəsəkli</i> 'covered with mounds'
	<i>p'atala</i>	'dirty, unclean, untidy'	<i>p'ata</i> ?
	<i>xoila</i>	'famous' < 'who has'	<i>xoi</i> 'ancestors, roots'

3.1-3 Reference

	ancestor'	
<i>ćoćik</i> 'la	'fringed'	Azeri <i>saçaqlı</i> 'fringed'
<i>k'ormot</i> 'la	'full of holes'	<i>k'ormot</i> 'hole'
<i>kulla</i>	'hand-'	<i>kul</i> 'hand'
<i>bullla</i>	'head-'	<i>bul</i> 'head'
<i>muzla</i>	'headstrong'	<i>muz</i> 'tongue, language'
<i>uk</i> 'la	'heart-'	<i>uk</i> 'heart = Az. <i>ürəkli</i>
<i>turra</i> ~ <i>turla</i>	'leg-'	<i>tur</i> 'leg'
<i>kukla</i>	'like straw'	<i>kuk</i> 'straw'
<i>qel(l)a</i>	'loaden, burdened, pregnant'	<i>qel</i> ~ <i>xel</i> 'load'
<i>eq</i> 'la	'meat-'	<i>eq</i> 'meat'
<i>c</i> 'ila	'named'	<i>c</i> 'i 'name'
<i>elasta</i>	'with an oath'	<i>elas</i> 'oath'
<i>arabala</i>	'related to chariots'	<i>araba</i> 'chariot'
<i>meč</i> 'la	'related to nettles'	<i>meč</i> 'nettle'
<i>e</i> 'kla	'riding'	<i>e</i> 'k 'horse'
<i>ap</i> 'la	'smelling'	<i>ad</i> 'smell'
<i>k'uinla</i>	'smoky'	<i>k'uin</i> 'smoke'
<i>buğla</i>	'steaming'	Azeri <i>buğ</i> 'steam'
<i>elmuxla</i> /-lu	'strong, sound'	<i>elmux</i> 'soul'
<i>be</i> 'ğla	'sunny'	<i>be</i> 'ğ 'sun'
<i>marra</i>	'suppurating'	<i>mar</i> 'pus'
<i>ozi</i> 'lla	'tail-'	<i>ozi</i> 'l 'tail'
<i>uluxla</i>	'tooth-'	<i>ulux</i> 'tooth' = Azeri <i>dişli</i>
<i>xela</i>	'weak'	<i>xe</i> 'water' (?)
<i>papaq</i> 'la	'wearing a hat'	Azeri <i>papaqlı</i> 'wearing a hat'
<i>mušla</i>	'windy'	<i>muš</i> 'wind, storm'
<i>q</i> 'aləğla	'with a good character'	Azeri <i>qılığlı</i> 'with a good character'
<i>i</i> 'šk'un-la	'with a plait'	<i>i</i> 'šk'un 'plait'
<i>qo</i> 'lla	'with barks'	<i>qo</i> 'l 'bark'
<i>popla</i>	'with hairs'	<i>pop</i> 'hair' = Azeri <i>tüklü</i>
<i>mu</i> 'q'a ^l la	'with horns'	<i>mu</i> 'q'a ^l 'horn'

As has been said above, the variant *-lu* is highly productive. It can be used both with native words and loans. Note that in Nizh, the suffix often appears as *-loi*. Most probably, we have to deal with a reflex of *-lu* (> Nizh *-lo*) to which the genitive segment *-i* has been added. Examples for the use of *-lu* include:

(X)	<i>ažuxlu</i>	'angry'	<i>ažux</i> 'wrath'
	<i>hirslu</i>	'angry'	Azeri <i>hirsli</i> 'angry'
	<i>haburlu</i>	'bashful, blushing'	Azeri <i>abırlı</i> 'bashful'
	<i>haq'ullu</i>	'clever, intelligent'	Azeri <i>haqullu</i>
	<i>ačarru</i>	'closed'	Azeri <i>açarlı</i>
	<i>xalalu</i>	'dangerous, erroneous'	Azeri <i>xatalı</i> 'dangerous'
	<i>bo</i> 'ğ'a ^l lu ~ N. <i>-loi</i>	'deep'	?
	<i>boržlu</i>	'guilty, responsible'	Azeri <i>borclu</i>
	<i>alalu</i> ~ N. <i>-loi</i> [~ <i>alloi</i>]	'high (above)'	<i>ala</i> 'high'
	<i>därdlu</i>	'hurting, painful'	Azeri <i>därdli</i> 'painful'
	<i>azarru</i>	'ill'	Persian <i>āzār</i> 'illness'
	<i>oq</i> 'alu	'low'	<i>oq</i> 'a 'below'

<i>ni'žlu</i>	'Nizh-	<i>ni'ž</i> 'Nizh'
<i>ağalalu</i>	'rainy'	<i>ağala</i> 'rain'
<i>aizlu</i>	'related a village'	<i>aiz</i> 'village'
<i>q'uvat't'u</i>	'strong, powerful'	Azeri <i>küvvətli</i> 'powerful', 'mighty'
<i>be'ğlu</i>	'sunny'	<i>be'ğ</i> 'sun'
<i>urbatlu</i>	'with authority'	Azeri <i>hörmetli</i> 'with authority'
<i>togixlu</i>	'worthy'	<i>togix</i> 'worth, price'
<i>iaralu</i>	'wounded'	Azeri <i>yaralı</i> 'wounded'

§ 9. The negation of the three suffixes *-ba*, *-la*, and *-lu* is carried out with the help of the morpheme *nut'* (Nizh often *nu-*) that normally appears as a suffix when added to a noun. It translates the Azeri privative suffix *-sIz*, which again is often used instead of *-nut'*. With adjectives, *nut'* is often used as a prefix. Frequently, the variant *nut* is heard. The origin of the morpheme is somewhat obscure. The privative semantics is primarily based on the segment *-nu-* that equals the Georgian modal negator *nu* also borrowed into Udi (see 3.4.9). If this analysis is correct, the final segment *-t' ~ -t* could be identified as the Georgian clitic *tu* 'whether, or' etc. (> Georgian *nu tu*). But note that Georgian *nu (tu)* is not used with nouns. Perhaps, the Persian prefix *nā-* that shares nearly all functional properties with Udi *nut' ~ nut* has influenced the Udi reflex of Georgian *nu (tu)*. One alternative explanation based on the form *nut* has been proposed by Pančviže 1974:124. The author argues that *nut* stems from **nu-te*. Accordingly, the affix would contain two negative segments: *nu* (modal negation) and *te* (assertive negation, see 3.4.9). This proposal is difficult to subscribe from a functional point of view. It would not only relate two morphemes in complementary distribution. Additionally, it would suggest a doubled negation that, however, is alien to Udi.

Both analyses fail in case the glottalized variant *nut'* turns out to be the earlier form. Unfortunately, the authors who have touched upon the matter do not draw a common picture: Schiefner 1863 always wrote *nut* (as did Dirr 1904:12-3 and Jeiranišvili 1971), whereas Pančviže 1974:124;174 gives both *nut* and *nut'*. Gukasjan 1974, however, always gives *-nut'*. The translator of the Gospels, Semjon Bežanov normally wrote *nut'*, contrary to the editor of the tale *Rustam*, Mixail Bežanov (Bežanov 1888) who wrote *nut*. In sum, the sources do not supply us with a coherent picture. In actual Udi, both variants are parallelly used. The overall impression is that *-nut* is preferred as a suffix, but *nut'*- as a prefix. If the form *nut'* is older than *nut*, the final segment *-t'* can no longer be related to Georgian *tu* or the Udi negator *te*. An alternative approach is to relate the segment *-t'* to the distal deixis *t'e* (see 3.2.9.3). This assumption would take into consideration the fact that the negator *nut'* is frequently used with (in parts referentialized) participles in predicative function:

- (x) (a) *un nut'-č'eğ-al-lu t'e-l-an* [Matthew 5:26]
 you:SG NEG-go=out:FUT-PART:nPAST-2SG DIST-SUPER-ABL
 'You will not escape from there.'

- (b) *va^f nišan-al nut'-tad-eḡ-al-le* *šo-t'-u* [Matthew 16:4]
 and sign-FOC NEG-give-PASS:FUT-PART:nPAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT
 'And no sign will be given to him...'

This constructional type competes with the standard way of negating clauses that are marked by a future tense form (see 3.4.5.x). (X) illustrates this type:

- (x) (a) *aq'-al-te-ne* *šo-t'-ux* *va^f čič'-al-te-ne?* [Matthew 12:12]
 take-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 and pull=out-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG
 'Won't he take it and pull (it) out?'

- (b) *täksa šum-en* *kar-x-al-te-ne* *adamar* [Matthew 4:4]
 only bread-ERG>INSTR live-LV-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG man
 'A person will not live by bread alone.'

Today, there is hardly any difference between the two types. The standard negative future *-al-te-* is preferred by many speakers though the *nut'*-negation is likewise excepted (but less frequent in actual speech). From a diachronic point of view, the *nut'*-based negation represents a predicative structure that negates the standard (or generic) relationship of a referent and the conceptualization of a state or event. Accordingly, (x,a) literally means:

- (x) 'You (*un*) are (*-nu*) a not-escaping (one) (*nut'č'eḡal*) from there (*t'elan*).'

See section 3.2.2.2 for a discussion of the referential connotation of participles. This referential feature may have been stressed with the help of the deictic element *t'e* (distal) in order to form the basis for negating the whole group. The structure *nut'č'eḡallu* in (x.a) would then read: 'you are (*-nu*) not-that-escaping (one)' (**nu t'e č'eḡal-lu*). However, this explanation has its shortcomings, too. It is difficult to explain, how the future semantics has emerged from this structure (see 3.4.10 for a discussion of the relation between non-past participle and future tense).

In Old Udi, this negator always is written *nowt*. Nevertheless, it may well be the case that this form has been influenced by the negator *te*, replacing older *nut'*. Note that in Old Udi *nowt* can also be used as a negative copula:

- (x) *zow yank'e bA-la-zow nowt anak'e bAxYi marak'-esown-owx*
 I thus think-FUT2-1SG be=not that worthy suffer-MASD-PL

p'^fiy-own o^fbiyay e gAxown-a ak'owk'-ih-esown h̄-k'e žax
 time-GEN future ART glory-DAT reveal-LV-MASD REL:REF:ABS-SUB we:DAT2
 'Thus I think that the present sufferings are not worthy [to be compared to] the future glory that will be revealed to us.' [Rom 8,18]

In the present description of Udi, the privative affix is always written in its glottalized form (*nut*). The reader should note, however, that this convention does not mean a commitment to a specific analysis of *nut*. With nouns, *nut* usually appears as a suffix thus copying Azeri *-sIz*:

(X)	<i>adamarnut</i>	‘not related to mankind’	<i>adamar</i> ‘man’
	<i>ağalanut</i>	‘without rain’	<i>ağala</i> ‘rain’
	<i>a^ʕilnut</i>	‘without (being) a child’	<i>a^ʕil</i> ‘child’
	<i>amannut</i>	‘without hope’	<i>aman</i> ‘hope’
	<i>ap^ʕnut</i>	‘not smelling’	<i>ad</i> ‘smell’
	<i>a^ʕilu^ʕxnut</i>	‘without (being) children’	<i>a^ʕilux</i> ‘children’
	<i>babanut</i>	‘without (being) father’, ‘fatherless’	<i>baba</i> ‘father’
	<i>bühärnut</i>	‘without fruits’	<i>bühär</i> ‘fruit’
	<i>bulnut</i>	‘headless’	<i>kul</i> ‘head’
	<i>bünövränut</i>	‘without reason’	<i>bünövrä</i> ‘reason’
	<i>därdnut</i>	‘painless’	<i>därd</i> ‘pain’
	<i>davanut</i>	‘without drugs’	<i>dava</i> ‘drugs’
	<i>davanut</i>	‘without war’	<i>dava</i> ‘war’
	<i>ek^ʕalnut</i>	‘nothing’	<i>ek^ʕal</i> ‘anything’
	<i>elmuxnut</i>	‘bad, weak’	<i>elmux</i> ‘soul’
	<i>elnut</i>	‘without salt’	<i>el</i> ‘salat’
	<i>haq^ʕlnut</i>	‘stupid’	<i>haq^ʕl</i> ‘intellect’
	<i>ixt^ʕiarnut</i>	‘powerless’	<i>ixt^ʕiar</i> ‘ower, might’
	<i>k^ʕoʒnut</i>	‘without a house’	<i>k^ʕoʒ</i> ‘house’
	<i>kinnut</i>	‘doing without hands’	<i>kul</i> ‘hand’
	<i>kulnut</i>	‘having no hands’	<i>kul</i> ‘hand’
	<i>lazumnut</i>	‘unnecessary’	<i>lazum</i> ‘necessary’
	<i>mäsälänut</i>	‘without example’	<i>mäsälä</i> ‘example’
	<i>nep^ʕnut</i>	‘sleepless’	<i>nep^ʕ</i> ‘sleep’
	<i>ot^ʕnut</i>	‘not bashful’	<i>ot^ʕ</i> ‘shame’
	<i>partalnut</i>	‘without clothing’	<i>partal</i> ‘coat’
	<i>q^ʕac^ʕnut</i>	‘painless’	<i>q^ʕac^ʕ</i> ‘pain’
	<i>sährät^ʕnut</i>	‘borderless’	<i>sährät</i> ‘borders, region’
	<i>tämbahnut</i>	‘unpunished’	<i>tämbah</i> ‘punishment’
	<i>tämiznut</i>	‘unclean’	<i>tämiz</i> ‘clean’
	<i>turnut</i>	‘legless’	<i>tur</i> ‘leg’
	<i>uk^ʕnut</i>	‘heartless’	<i>uk^ʕ</i> ‘heart’
	<i>xalxnut</i>	‘unpopulated’	<i>xalx</i> ‘people’
	<i>xenut</i>	‘waterless’	<i>xe</i> ‘water’
	<i>xodnut</i>	‘treeless’	<i>xod</i> ‘tree’
	<i>zornut</i>	‘powerless’	<i>zor</i> ‘power’

As a prefix, *nut* seems to be restricted to pseudo-adjectival forms, such as verbal participles (see 3.4.10). Most often, *nut* is used with the non-past participle *-al*:

(x)	(a) <i>nut^ʕ-eğ-al</i>	<i>adamar</i> [f.n.]
		NEG-come:FUT-PART:nPAST person
		‘the person who does not / will not come...’

(b) *nut'-č'ap'-bak-al arğ-o boš* [Mark 9:43]

NEG-extinguish-LV-PART:nPAST fire-GEN in
'... in the never extinguishing fire.'

(c) *dünia-n-i nut'-bak-al-a šei* [Ch&T 172]

world-SA-DAT NEG-be-PART:nPAST-ATTR thing
'A thing that does not exist in the world.'

Incidentally, it can be used with the past participle (Xa, see 3.4.10) or with a masdar (Xb, see 3.4.11):

(x) (a) *arc-i-ne nut'-ak'-ec-i šavat' xinär* [R 12]

sit-PAST-3SG NEG-see-PASS:PAST-PART:PAST beautiful girl
'A girl sat (there), beautiful as never seen before.'

(b) *va^f q'ibät-t'e-b-i šo-t'-ğ-o nut'-va^f-bak-sun-a* [Mark 16:14]

and reproach-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN NEG-belief-LV-MASD2-DAT
'And he scolded them for their unbelief.'

Note that in Nizh, the prefix *nut'*- is often replaced by the simple form *nu*-:

(x) (a) *isä-al metär nu-ak'-ec-i sa xavar-t'un i-bak-i*

now-FOC such:PROX NEG-see-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST one news-3PL hear-LV-PAST
'Now they heard such a news that had been perceived (before).'
[BAT; OR 115]

(b) *ä^fxil-ä^fxun i-bak-es nu-bak-al-a*

distance-ABL hear-LV-MASD NEG-be-PART:nPAST-ATTR

sa säs-en me äyit-muğ-o-ne p-i [BAT; OR 116]

one voice-ERG PROX word-PL-DAT-3SG say-PAST

'From the distance, a voice that was not to be heard said these words...'

(c) *xe hälä nu-ac'ar-ec-i sa oyarin-t'un ak'-i*

water instantly NEG-clean-LV:MP:PAST-PAST one spring-3PL see-PAST

'They saw a waterspring the water (of which) had immediately become unclean.' [BAT; OR 115]

§ 10. There are (though very few) traces of an *alpha privativum* that is expressed by a prefix *a*-. Note that most of the relevant terms have a hitherto obscure etymology. Examples are:

(x)	<i>amc'i</i>	'empty'	<	<i>*a-bəc'-i</i>	'not filled', compare <i>bui</i> < <i>*bəc'-i</i> 'filled'
	<i>ap'uš</i>	'dry'	<	<i>*a-puš</i>	'not X' ?
	<i>ači</i>	'lost'	<	<i>*a-č-i</i>	'not Xed' ?
	<i>apči</i>	'wrong, false'	<	<i>*a-pəči</i>	'not ??' ?

<i>ap'i</i>	‘ripe’	<	* <i>a-p'-i</i> ‘not Xd’ ?
<i>aiax</i>	‘without salt’	<	* <i>a-iax</i> ‘not salty’ ?
<i>amğar</i>	‘silly (talk)’	<	* <i>a-ma^ğ-ar</i> ‘not-song/tale-ADV’ ?
<i>aşam</i>	‘taken away’	<	* <i>a-şam</i> ‘not X’ ?

§ 11. The morpheme *k'ena* ‘like’ is occasionally used to derive pseudo-adjectives from nouns. The resulting lexeme denotes ‘like X’. Normally, the structure N-*k'ena* behaves like an adverbial phrase. Incidentally, it can be used in attributive function. However, this use is less frequent. An example is:

(X)	<i>kin-b-al-o</i>		<i>k'ena taral</i>
	hand:ERG-LV-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS	like	lazy
	<i>ta-ne-c-i</i>	<i>xe-n-e</i>	<i>kur-r-uč'</i> [IM 65]
	go-3SG- $\$$:PAST-PAST	water-SA-GEN	hole-SA-ALL
	‘The lazy one went to the water hole like a working person.’		

§ 12. Some adjectives show traces of older derivational elements. A suffix **-il* seems to be present in the following terms:

(X)	<i>axil</i>	‘far, distant’	< * <i>arx-il</i> < * <i>axr-il</i> ‘end-SUPER’ ?
	<i>t'ižil</i>	‘ill’	?
	<i>babil</i>	‘rotten’	?
	<i>tošol</i>	‘weak, soft’	?

§ 13. A suffix **-um* (~ **Vm*) is suggested by the following adjectives:

(X)	<i>abuzum</i>	‘redundant, unnecessary’	<i>abuz</i> ‘more’
	<i>axšum</i>	‘laughing’	?
	<i>aćum</i>	‘blunt’	?
	<i>č'ürüm</i>	‘charming’	?
	<i>k'et'əm</i>	‘something’	<i>k'at'</i> ‘part’
	<i>me^llum</i>	‘tumescant’ > ulcer, sore’	<i>me^ll</i> ‘mouse’ ?
	<i>ne^sšum</i>	‘yellow’	?
	<i>šam</i>	‘slaughtered’	?
	<i>t'ošum</i>	‘outer’	<i>t'oš</i> ‘outside’
	<i>usum</i> [~ <i>usun</i>]	‘soon, quick’	* <i>us-</i> ‘measure, period in time’

The earlier existence of a morpheme **-Vm* can also be inferred from the adverbial form *bälikäm* ‘perhaps’ that is borrowed from Azeri *bəlkə* ‘perhaps’ (< Persian *balke* ‘but, even, possibly’). Likewise, the conjunction *ägär* ~ *ägän* ‘if’ (< Persian *agar*, Nizh *ähän*) is often heard as *ägänäm* in Vartashen. Likewise *bütün* ‘all’ is often changed to *bütüm*. Perhaps, this suffix is also present with a number of lexemes that now show up as nouns. Candidates (all of them with a rather obscure etymology) are:

(X)	<i>šik'lam</i>	‘onion’
	<i>a^lla^m</i>	‘pomegranate’

<i>arum</i>	‘wheat’	
<i>ašam</i>	‘peeling’	
<i>belum</i>	‘main post in a house’	<i>bul</i> ‘head’ ?
<i>käläm</i>	‘cabbage’	
<i>kosum</i>	‘basket’	
<i>zizam</i>	‘liver’	

§ 14. In Nizh, the suffix *-ža* (< Azeri *-ca*) can be added to basic or derived adjectives in order to produce a restrictive (or, sometimes, emphatic) meaning. Its status as a derivational suffix is not fully established: It can also be used with certain converbs (e.g. *-amən-ža* (until, till), see 3.4.10) and the past participle. In noun phrases, the element is added to the attribute. Examples include:

(x) (a) *me iaq'-a baqi-ža i'ž-e* [PA 127]

PROX way-DAT thin-RESTR snow-3SG

‘On this way, there is a little bit of snow.’

(b) *baqi-ža i'ž-e bu-i očal-ən čo-i-el* [PA 105]

thin-RESTR snow-3SG be-PAST earth-GEN face-SA-SUPER

‘There was a little bit of snow of the surface.’

(c) *e'k-axun p'a'ž-a damir-in sangi-ox-e mand-i* [PA 236]

horse-ABL two-RESTR iron-GEN horse=shoe-PL-3SG stay-PAST

‘Just two of the horses lost their horse-shoe.’

Incidentally, the suffix is also used with an adjective in predicative function:

(x) *e q'a'žba-ža-[n]nan va'n... ?* [Matthew 8:26]

which afraid-RESTR-2PL you:PL

‘Why are you so afraid?’

§ 15. Composition plays an important role in the formation of Udi adjectives. An adjective can be further specified with the help of nouns (satisfying the adjectival valence), numerals or adverbs/preverbs (in case the adjective stems from a verbal form). The adjective itself can be both basic or derived. Note that the compositional type adjective+adjective is rare. Composed adjectives form an open and hence productive class (also see **x.x.x.**). Spontaneous and idiosyncratic composition is frequent in normal speech, as long as the compounds are lexically transparent. Some composed adjectives, however, are related to older layers of the Udi lexicon. In this case, the single segments cannot always be identified. **(X)** list some typical examples:

(X)	<i>karlal</i>	‘deaf and dumb’	<i>kar</i> ‘deaf’ + <i>lal</i> ‘dumb’	Adj+Adj
	<i>qai gon</i>	‘pale, light’	<i>qai</i> ‘light, bright’ + <i>gon</i> ‘color’	Adj-N
	<i>šeluk'la</i>	‘merciful’	<i>šel</i> ‘good’ + <i>uk'la</i> ‘hearty’	Adj-N-Der
	<i>qaiuk'la</i>	‘generous’	<i>qai</i> ‘open’ + <i>uk'la</i> ‘hearty’	Adj-N-Der
	<i>q'i'bažan</i>	‘anxious, nervous’	<i>q'i'</i> ‘fear’ + <i>bažan</i> ?	N- ?

3.1-3 Reference

<i>kulqai</i>	‘generous’	<i>kul</i> ‘hand’ + <i>qai</i> ‘open’	N-Adj
<i>bač’ank’oc’</i>	‘bent’	<i>bač’an</i> ‘back’ + <i>k’oc’</i> ‘bent’	N-Adj
<i>kuloğand</i>	‘skillful, deft’	<i>kul</i> ‘hand’ + <i>oğand</i> ‘light’	N-Adj
<i>turk’ala</i>	‘lame’	<i>tur</i> ‘leg’ + <i>k’ala</i> ‘lame’	N-Adj
<i>axsumk’ala</i>	‘ridiculous’	<i>axsum</i> ‘laughter’ + <i>k’ala</i> ‘lame’ ?	N-Adj ?
		<i>axsumk’esun</i> ‘to laugh’	
		PART:N PAST + ATTR ?	
<i>popmac’i</i>	‘white-haired’	<i>pop</i> ‘hair’ + <i>mac’i</i> ‘white’	N-Adj<Part
<i>pulk’ač’i</i>	‘blind’	<i>pul</i> ‘eye’ + <i>k’ač’i</i> ‘blind’	N-Adj<Part
<i>bačuk’</i>	‘hot’	<i>ba-</i> ‘in’ <i>čuk’</i> ‘flamed’	N-Adj<Part
<i>bač’ur</i>	‘wrapped up’	<i>ba-</i> ‘in’ + <i>č’ur</i> ‘wrapped’	N-Adj<Part
<i>gontaci</i>	‘pale’	<i>gon</i> ‘color’ + <i>taci</i> ‘gone’	N-Adj<Part
<i>bulk’oc’</i>	‘servile’	<i>bul</i> ‘head’ + <i>k’oc’</i> ‘bent’	N-Adj<Part
<i>popbari</i>	‘without hair’	<i>pop</i> ‘hair’ + <i>bari</i> ‘separated’	N-Adj<Part
<i>turk’ori</i>	‘bow-legged’	<i>tur</i> ‘leg’ + <i>k’ori</i> ‘crooked’	N-Adj<Part
<i>p’ač’ola</i>	‘hypocrite’	<i>p’ač’</i> ‘two’ + <i>č’ola</i> ‘related to face’	Num-N-Der
<i>p’ač’elmuğon</i>	‘pregnant’	<i>p’ač’</i> ‘two’ + <i>elmuğon</i> ‘with soul’	Num-N-Der
<i>saturra</i>	‘one-legged’	<i>sa</i> ‘one’ + <i>turra</i> ‘legged’	Num-N-Der
<i>sakulla</i>	‘one-handed’	<i>sa</i> ‘one’ + <i>kulla</i> ‘handed’	Num-N-Der
<i>sapulla</i>	‘one-eyed’	<i>sa</i> ‘one’ + <i>pulla</i> ‘eyed’	Num-N-Der
<i>p’ač’kin</i>	‘two-handed’	<i>p’ač’</i> ‘two’ + <i>kin</i> ‘with hand’	Num-N-Der
<i>lač’aq’</i>	‘glued’	<i>la-</i> ‘on’ + <i>č’aq’</i> ‘sticky’	PV-Adj<Part
<i>lač’ur</i>	‘wound up’	<i>la-</i> ‘on’ + <i>č’ur</i> ‘wrapped’	PV-Adj<Part
<i>beč’(əč’n)q’, beč’q’, bič’q’</i>	‘dark’	<i>*beč’gun q’-?</i> ‘sun-GEN ?’	?
<i>odoš</i>	‘milky, unripe’	?	?
<i>šit’rik’</i>	‘silly, careless’	?	?

§ 16. Many adjectives result from the conversion of verbal participles (see 3.4.10). Note that this type of conversion is not marked morphologically. Both participles (past *-i*, non-past *-al*) can undergo conversion. In isolated cases, it sometimes difficult to decide whether a given attribute has kept its relational value or not, compare:

(x) (a) *axt’a-b-i* *k’ažil* [f.n.]
 castrate-LV-PART:PAST boar
 ‘castrated boar’ ~ ‘boar that is castrated’

(b) *k’ua* *nana-i* *box-ec-i* *dadal-t’a* *bak-sa* [R 8]
 house:DAT mother-GEN2 cook-PASS:PAST-PART:PAST chicken-3SG:POSS be-PRES
 ‘At home the mother had a boiled chicken.’

The verbal character of attributively used participles is preserved especially if another actant is present that satisfies the valency pattern of the given verb (see 3.4.10 and 5.8.4):

(x) (a) *ta-q’un-sa* *ič-uğ-on* *mand-i* *ga-l-a* [GD 62]
 go-3PL-\$.PRES REFL-PL-ERG stay-PART:PAST place-SA-DAT
 ‘They go to the place where they had stayed’

- (b) *čubǵ-on tac-i rust'am-ax xabar-re-aq'-sa* [R 18]
 woman go:PAST-PART:PAST Rustam-DAT2 question-3SG-TAKE-PRES
 1. 'Having gone, the woman asks Rustam...' [textual meaning]
 2. 'The woman asks Rustam who has gone.'
- (c) *laš'k'o-bak-a-nan me ian ečer-i xinär-muǵ-o laxo* [GD 62]
 marriage-LV-MOD-2PL PROX we bring:PAST-PART:PAST girl-PL-GEN on
 'You shall marry these girls which we have brought (here).'
- (d) *me ait-ax p-i adamar apči-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX word-DAT2 say-PART:PAST man liar-3SG
 'The man who has said these words (lit.: this word) is a liar.'
- (e) *šo-t'-ai ardovul-a zer-dala äskär-xo*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 drake-DAT change-PART:nPAST-ATTR soldier-PL
burux-muǵ-oxun qavun-xo-xun sa müfürǵä kinä-t'un č'ovak-sa-i.
 mountain-PL-ABL plain-PL-ABL one thunderstorm like-3PL move=out-PRES-PAST
 'Having turned into a drake, his soldiers came out from the mountains and
 plains like a thunderstorm.' [Nizh; DAD; OR 166]

Note that (x,b) is ambiguous: Pending on the intonation pattern, *taci* 'gone' can be both a quasi-adverbial form resulting from the serialization of *taci* and *xabbarreaq'sa*, and an attribute of *rust'am*. In the first interpretation, there is an audible break between *taci* and *rust'am*, whereas both forms are articulated together when denoting 'Rustam who has gone'.

Conversion to adjectives has taken place especially when the participle has lost its valency pattern. Often, this process is coupled with a shift in the semantics of the original participle.

Past participles (-i) have more frequently undergone conversion to adjectives than the non-past participle (-al). Normally, the semantics result from the 'passive' function of this participle. As a consequence, such adjectives often denote 'being V-ed' or 'resulting from the action of another actant'. The resultative semantics incidentally produces stative adjective. Not all adjectives that belong to this class can be related to actual verbs. Frequently, the verb itself has become obsolete (such as *p'uri* 'dead' that suggests an older verb stem **λ'u-* 'to die', see x.x.x). Also, the segment -i is occasionally added to borrowed stative or resultative adjectives, compare Udi *k'ori* 'bent, crooked' < Armenian *kor* 'crooked, bent'. The following list illustrates some of the adjectives that are converted from past participles:

(X)	<i>ǵui</i>	'alive'	Old Udi <i>ǵowy</i>
	<i>q'atbaki</i>	'bent, crooked'	<i>q'atbaksun</i> 'to be bent'
	<i>k'ori</i>	'bent, crooked'	< Armenian <i>kor</i> 'crooked'
	<i>k'ac'i</i>	'blind'	* <i>k'ac'</i> -? (Old Udi <i>k'aci</i>)

3.1-3 Reference

<i>fui</i>	‘blown up’	<i>fu-pesun</i> ‘to blow’
<i>badi</i>	‘boiled’	<i>ba-desun</i> ‘put into (the fire)’
<i>xa^ʰxa^ʰeci</i>	‘broken’	<i>xa^ʰxa^ʰ-esun</i> ‘to be in pieces, be broken’
<i>axt’abi</i>	‘castrated’	<i>axt’a-besun</i> (< Azeri <i>axta</i> ‘castrated’)
<i>campi</i>	‘colored, adorned’	<i>cam-pesun</i> ‘to write’ < ‘to adorn’
<i>p’uri</i>	‘dead’	* <i>p’u-</i> ‘to die’ (< * <i>λu-</i>)
<i>q’ari</i>	‘dry, withered’	* <i>q’ar-</i> ‘to make dry’ ?
<i>amc’i</i>	‘empty’	* <i>bəc’-</i> ‘to fill’ + neg. <i>a-</i>
<i>bui</i>	‘filled, full, complete’	* <i>bəc’-</i> ‘to fill’
<i>boši</i>	‘full (food)’	* <i>boš-</i> ‘to put into’
<i>fa^ʰc’i^ʰ</i>	‘ill’	* <i>fa^ʰc’-</i>
<i>baqi</i>	‘liquid’	* <i>ba-q-esun</i> ?
<i>bisi</i>	‘old’	* <i>bis-</i> ?
<i>ćomoi</i>	‘old’	?
<i>varbaki</i>	‘rabid’	<i>varbaksun</i> ‘to be rabid’
<i>seri</i>	‘real’	Old Udi <i>ser</i> ‘true’
<i>ap’i</i>	‘ripe’	* <i>a-p’-i</i> ?
<i>baša(i)</i>	‘rotten’	?
<i>dui</i>	‘silly, stupid’	?
<i>ğui</i>	‘thick, complete’	* <i>ğü-</i> ‘to make thick’ ?
<i>mandak’baki</i>	‘tired’	<i>mandak’baksun</i> ‘to be tired’
<i>bič’i</i>	‘unripe, raw’	* <i>bič’-</i> ?

The class of adjectives that are converted from non-past participles is much less elaborated than the class of adjectives based on the past participle. The ‘active’ semantics of this participle is the cause for the general preference to convert it to nomina agentis or instrumenti (see 3.2.2.2). The following examples illustrate the adjectival *-al*-class:

(X)	<i>ašbal</i>	‘working’	<i>ašbesun</i> ‘to work’
	<i>be^ʰğbuibakal</i>	‘western’	Lit.: ‘sun becoming full’
	<i>be^ʰğal</i>	‘watching’	<i>be^ʰğsun</i> ‘see, look at’
	<i>be^ʰğč’eğal</i>	‘eastern’	Lit.: ‘sun going out’
	<i>biq’al</i>	‘catching’	<i>biq’sun</i> ‘to catch, to take’
	<i>bok’esbal</i>	‘bitter’	<i>bok’esbesun</i> ‘to make burn’
	<i>č’urk’al</i>	‘twisting’	<i>č’urk’esun</i> ‘to twist’
	<i>kağzabal</i>	‘literate, intelligent’	<i>kağəz</i> ‘book’ <i>aba</i> ‘knowing’
	<i>k’erc’al</i>	‘acid’	* <i>k’erc’esun</i> ?
	<i>k’ok’al</i>	‘lumpy’	* <i>k’ok’-sun</i> ‘be lumpy’
	<i>murdal</i>	‘unclean, dirty’	Reanalyzed form of Azeri <i>murdar</i> ‘ugly’
	<i>ocal</i>	‘withered’	?
	<i>taral</i>	‘lazy’	?
	<i>uk’al</i>	‘saying, telling’	<i>pesun</i> (> future stem <i>uk’-</i>)
	<i>uk’dal</i>	‘friendly’	<i>uk’desun</i> ‘to give one’s heart’
	<i>xašt’al</i>	‘bright’	<i>xašt’esun</i> ‘to shine, to give light’

3.2.9.2 Possession. From a synchronic point of view, the ‘possessive’ linkage of referents to other more or less referential units is subcategorized according to the

following types (see 3.3.3.5 for the morphology of possessors, 5.2.3 for the syntax of possessive constructions):

- (X) Nominal possessors (basic, § 1; referentialized, § 2)
- Speech act participants as possessors (§ 3)
- Deictic and anaphoric reference to possessors (§ 4)
- Reflexive reference to possessors (§ 5)
- Q-reference to possessors (§ 6)

The following examples illustrate these four types:

§ 1. Nominal possessors (primary nouns):

- (X) (a) *pasč'ağ-un ġar e-ne-sa k'ua* [GD 60]
 king-GEN son go-3SG-\$.PRES house:DAT
 'The king's son goes home.'

- (b) *ġe pasč'ağ-un xinär-i novad-de* [R 13]
 today king-GEN daughter-GEN turn-3SG
 'Today it is the turn of the king's daughter.'

- (c) *t'äk'i-n eq' tam-en-ne* [Bouda 1939:70]
 ibex-GEN meat tasty-3SG
 'The meat of the ibex is tasty.'

- (d) *xe-n-e kur gena gölö a^{xi}l-le* [f.n.]
 water-SA-GEN hole CONTR very far-3SG
 'The water-hole, however, is very far away.'

§ 2. Nominal possessors (referentialized nouns):

- (x) (a) *Isus ar-i-ne kala-t'-a k'ua* [Matthew 9:23]
 Jesus come:PAST-PAST-3SG old-REF:OBL-GEN house:DAT
 'Jesus came to the house of a leader.'

- (b) *šin-te aq'-al-le ġinähnut'-t'-ux*
 who:ERG-SUB take-FUT:FAC-3SG righteous-REF:OBL-DAT2

- ġinähnut'-t'-a c'i-ala* [Matthew 10:41]
 righteous-REF:OBL-GEN name-SUPER:IN
 'Who receives a righteous in the name of a righteous...'

§ 3. Speech act participants as possessors:

- (X) (a) *bez vič-en čubux te-t'u buq'-sa* [S&S 92]
 I:POSS brother-ERG woman NEG-3SG:IO love-PRES
 'My brother does not love the woman.'
- (b) *vi dämän-a biq'a* [AR 71]
 you:SG:POSS skirt-DAT take-IMP:2SG
 'Take your skirt!'
- (c) *beš tängi-n-ax xarž-ian-b-e* [GD 61]
 we:POSS money-SA-DAT2 spend-1PL-LV-PERF
 'We have spent our money.'
- (d) *bu-q'a-va^f-q'-i e^f düšman-ğ-ox* [Matthew 5:44]
 love-ADH-2PL:IO- \bar{S} -PAST you:PL:POSS enemy-PL-DAT2
 'Love your enemies...'

§ 4. Deictic and anaphoric reference to possessors:

- (X) (a) *rust'am-en me-t'-a bex čuk'-sa-ne* [R 11]
 Rustam-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-GEN head:DAT2 tear=off-PRES-3SG
 'Rustam tears off his (the other's) head.'
- (b) *ka-t'-a q'oq'-ex bot'-a-nan* [K&S 85]
 MED-REF:OBL-GEN throat cut-MOD-2PL
 'You shall cut his throat!'
- (c) *še-t'-a kexo adamar te-ne čixar-k'-esa* [S&S 93]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN hand:ABL man NEG-3SG save-LV-PRES
 'Nobody escapes from his hand(s).'

§ 5. Reflexive reference to possessors (see 3.3.8 and 5.4.8):

- (X) (a) *ex-ne ič ġar-a* [R 8]
 say-3SG REFL son-DAT
 'She says to her son...'
- (b) *ič-uğ-o mal-l-ux töv-q'un-d-esa* [GD 61]
 REFL-PL-GEN goods-SA-DAT2 sell-3PL-LV-PRES
 'They sell their goods.'
- (c) *iz-i äyit-ä p-e-q'a-n* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 112]
 REFL-GEN word-DAT say-PERF-ADH-3SG
 'She should tell her word(s).'

- (d) *me ġar har-i p'ap'-ala kinä izi ozan-a bot'-a-nan*
 PROX boy come:PAST-PART:PAST arrive-FUT2 as REFL-GEN neck-DAT cut-MOD-2PL
 'When this boys has finally come in, cut his neck!' [Nizh; PAC; OR 121]

§ 6. Q-reference:

- (x) (a) *ši ġar-a šo-no?* [Matthew 22:42]

who:POSS son-3SG:Q PROX-REF:ABS
 'Whose son is this?'

- (b) *va^hn ši a^hil-ux-nan?* [S&S 91]

you:PL who:POSS child-PL-2PL
 'Whose children are you?'

- (c) *e-t'-a eq'-va buq'-sa?* [AR 70]

what-REF:OBL-GEN meat-2SG want-PRES
 'What (kind of) meat do you want?'

§ 7. The possessum is not subcategorized in Udi: There are no means to distinguish alienable from inalienable possession. Also, the notion of dependent nouns is alien to the language, compare:

- (X) *bez kul* 'my hand'
bez baba 'my father'
bez k'ož 'my house'
bez ait 'my word'
bez o^hnepsun 'my weeping'

§ 8. Noun phrase internal possessive markers are based on the genitive case *-un*, *-in*, *-i*, *-V(i)* (see 3.3.3.5) and (rarely) the ablative case *-Vxo* (see 3.3.4.1). Today, the different genitive markers are basically distributed according phonological criteria. However, there are residues of an older layer of semantic distribution: The more person-specific a referent is, the more likely the genitive *-i* is used. On the other hand, the *-un*-genitive is coupled with the notion of dereferentialization or depersonalization. The two genitives once had served to encode the poles of the following prototypical referentiality scale (see 3.3.3.5 for a detailed discussion):

- (x) [highly personal]..... [highly qualifying]
 Speech act participants
 Names
 (Blood) kinship terms
 Professions of high esteem
 Standard referents
 Qualifying possessors

In order to illustrate the pole [personal], (X) lists some of the referential terms that have an *-i*-genitive (names have been neglected):

(X)	<i>adamar</i>	‘man, person’
	<i>čoban</i>	‘shepherd’
	<i>ap'er</i>	‘father (respectful)’
	<i>baba</i>	‘father’
	<i>beši</i>	‘our ~ ours’
	<i>bezi</i>	‘my ~ mine’
	<i>e'fi</i>	‘your ~ yours (pl.)’
	<i>ğar</i>	‘son’
	<i>ič</i>	‘self’
	<i>nana</i>	‘mother’
	<i>nökär</i>	‘personal servant’
	<i>pexambar</i>	‘prophet’
	<i>šuk'al</i>	‘someone (specific)’
	<i>šu</i>	‘who’ (interrogative)
	<i>vi</i>	‘your ~ yours (sg.)’
	<i>xinär</i>	‘daughter’

Some of the nominal forms mentioned in (X) have an alternative genitive morpheme (*-V(i)* or *-un*) that is used in case the referential properties of the noun are reduced (see 3.3.3.5), compare:

(X)	(a) <i>pexambar-i c'i</i>	‘the name of the prophet’
	<i>pexambar-un ait</i>	‘the saying of the prophet(s), prophecy’
	(b) <i>adamar-i k'ož</i>	‘the house of the man/person’
	<i>adamar-un baxt'</i>	‘the fate of mankind’
	(c) <i>nökär-i borž</i>	‘the fault of the servant’
	<i>nökär-un aš</i>	‘the work of a servant, service’
	(d) <i>ğar-i baba</i>	‘the father of the boy’
	<i>ğar-e nik'o</i>	‘the ball of a boy’

The reader should note, however, that the semantic aspect of referential bleaching is today overlapped by phonological aspects (see 3.3.3.5). Thus, there is the general preference to use the *-un*-genitive with polysyllabic words. The possessors *pexambar*, *adamar*, and *nökär* quoted in (X) conform to this condition. The alternative genitive of *ğar* ‘son’ is related to the preference of the *-e*-genitive with non-augmented CVC-stems. In addition, not that Nizh has considerably extended the use of Vi-genitives in attributive function (see 3.3.3.5).

3.2.9.3 Deixis. Deictic attribution of referents is carried out with the help of the following three adnominal forms:

(X)	<i>me</i>	Proximal
	<i>ka</i>	Medial [Nizh <i>ka</i> ~ <i>ke</i>]
	<i>t'e</i>	Distal

In this section, I will first discuss the formal properties of these morphemes (§§ 1-5). §§ 6-22 inform on distributional criteria and semantic properties.

§ 1. As has been said in section 3.2.8.2.1, the Udi deictic system follows the typology of adnominally based systems: All other deictic strategies are morphologically derived from the adnominal pattern:

(X)	Adnominal	-Ø
	Referential	+ Referentializer
	Adverbial	+ Locative markers
	Identificational	+ Referentializer + Personal Agreement Clitic

§ 2. The adnominal forms can show secondary extensions: On the one hand, they can be marked for emphasis with the help of the morpheme *ha-*, see 5.3.5. Note that the emphatic variants are very rare in the textual data. They, however, frequently occur in conversation. Examples are:

(X) (a) *ha-me iaq'-al-gär bat'-t'e-k'-sa* [GD 61]
 EMPH-PROX way-SUPER-just perish-3SG-LV-PRES
 'Just on THIS way, (s)he perishes.'

(b) *ha-me vaxt'-a* [GD 62]
 EMPH-PROX time-DAT
 'This time....'

(c) *ha-me ait-urğ-ox p-es-xolan* [TR 63]
 EMPH-PROX word-PL-DAT2 say-MASD-CV:PAR
 'When saying THIS word...'

(d) *ha-ka aš-l-ax za te-za bak-o* [R 14]
 EMPH-MED thing-SA I:DAT2 NEG-1SG:IO be-FUT:MOD
 'I cannot (do) THAT thing.'

§ 3. On the other hand, the adjectival marker *-un* (< genitive, see 3.2.9.1) can occasionally be added to the deictic stems to produce a general locative attribution:

(X) *meun* '(something) around here'
t'eun '(something) around there' [Nizh *t'eyin* ~ *t'ayin*]

Note that the medial *ka* seems to be excluded from this technique. The use of *meun* and *t'eun* is strong exophoric and often accompanied by an adequate gesture. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *me-un adamar-ğ-on bo^q'-n-a eq' te-q'un uk-sa* [f.n.]
 PROX-GEN man-PL-ERG pig-GEN meat NEG-3PL eat-PRES
 'The people here do not eat pork.'
- (b) *axrun čoban-en t'e-un eğel-ğ-ox bo^ğa-ne-b-e* [f.n.]
 finally shepherd-ERG DIST-GEN sheep-PL-DAT2 find-3SG-LV-PERF
 'Finally, the shepherd has found the sheep over there.'
- (c) *šähär-e tac-i amdar-xo-n t'e-yin pis sa xavar-t'un ečer-i*
 town-3SG go:PAST-PAST man-PL-ERG DIST-GEN bad one news-3PL bring:PAST-PAST
 '(When) he went to town, people told (lit.: brought) such a bad news.'
 [Nizh; SA; OR 50]
- (d) *ay q'udo-ox t'a-yin äyit-mux seri-ne* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 53]
 oh relative-PL DIST-GEN word-PL true-3SG
 'Oh relatives! Those words are true.'

§ 4. Diachronically speaking, all three adnominal deictic lexemes are composed forms. They base on two strategies: a) an opposition **i* (in the region of a speaker; Old Udi *e*) vs. **a* (beyond the region of a speaker; > Old Udi *o* > Udi referential marker *-o*) that is perhaps related to the general scheme of sound symbolism with deictic elements. To these segments, consonantal elements were added that encoded the locative reference towards an object (see Schulze 2002). The basic (proto-Udi) scheme had been:

	PROX	MED	DIST
	<i>*m-</i>	<i>*k-</i>	<i>*t'-</i>
Region of Speaker	<i>*-i</i> <i>*m-i</i>	<i>*k-i</i>	<i>*t'-i</i>
Beyond	<i>*-a</i> <i>*m-a</i>	<i>*k-a</i>	<i>*t'-a</i>

This prototypical system has left traces in nearly all Lezgian languages. However, the two parameters 'region' and 'location' have merged and thus produced monostratic paradigms. In Udi, the feature [beyond the region of speaker] had been weakened. It survived in the medial *ka* as well in a number of adverbial forms such as *ma-ğa* 'here' and *t'a-ğa* 'there' (see 3.5.1). Perhaps, the interrogative *ma* 'where' (see 3.2.8.4) is another residue of the Early Udi morpheme **m-a* (proximal/beyond) < **ma-a* 'is here?' (here-3SG:Q). Most likely, the referential marker *-o* < Old Udi *o* (distal) stems from **-a*, too.

§ 5. The feature [in the region of speaker] has been the basis for both the proximal and the distal. Udi *me* has regularly developed from **mi*, just as *t'e* stems from **t'i*.

The older forms are preserved with the two adverbial forms *mia* ‘here’ and *t’ia* ‘there’. A residue of the medial **ki* is *ke*, the Nizh variant of the medial *ka* (also compare Vartashen *kalin / kalan* ‘from there (medial)’ ~ Nizh *kelin*). To sum up this point, the Udi reflexes of the forms mentioned in (X) are given below (the adverbial forms are discussed in sections 3.3.7.2 and 3.5.1):

(X)	PROX	MED	DIST
	<i>*m-</i>	<i>*k-</i>	<i>*t’-</i>
* <i>-i</i>	<i>me</i> (PROX)	<i>ke</i> (MED, N.)	<i>t’e</i> (DIST)
	<i>mi-a</i> (LOC)		<i>t’i-a</i> (LOC)
	<i>me-yin</i> (GEN, N.)		<i>t’e-yin</i> (GEN, N.)
	<i>me-l</i> (SUPER)		<i>t’e-l</i> (SUPER)
	<i>me-lan ~ me-lin</i> (SUPER:ABL)	<i>ke-yin</i> (SUPER:ABL, N.)	<i>t’e-lan ~ t’e-lin</i> (SUPER:ABL)
	<i>me-r</i> (ADV)		
* <i>-a</i>	<i>ma</i> (INT:LOC?)	<i>ka</i> (MED, V.)	
	<i>ma-ğa</i> (LOC)		<i>t’a-ğa</i> (LOC)
	<i>ma-yin</i> (ABL)		<i>t’a-yin</i> (GEN, N.)
			<i>t’a-yi</i> (LOC, N.)
	<i>ma-l</i> (SUPER)		
	<i>ma-lan ~ ma-lin</i> (SUPER:ABL)	<i>ka-lin</i> (SUPER:ABL)	
		[<i>kor</i> (ADV)]	[<i>šor</i> (ADV)]

§ 6. From a semantic point of view, the Udi deictic system is ‘monocentric’ or ‘speaker-oriented’. The three deictic lexemes subcategorize the speakers regional experience according to the following features:

(X)	<i>me</i>	[Close to speaker, in reach, visible, active, present]
	<i>ka</i>	[Not close to speaker, but in reach, visible, inactive, reported]
	<i>t’e</i>	[Outside the region of the speaker, both visible and invisible, past]

Note that these features are prototypical: In practise, they are activated to a different degree. This basic paradigm of deictic attribution lacks any vertical perspective. In order to refer to items ‘above’ or ‘below’ the horizon of the speaker, the deictic elements are usually accompanied by locative attributes such as *alun* ‘high’ or *oq’un* ‘low’, compare:

(x) (a) *t’e alun k’a^hva^hn-i nu tağ-a!* [f.n.]
 DIST high meadow-DAT PROH go:FUT-IMP:2SG
 ‘Do not go to that meadow up there!’

(b) *me oq’un uq-e oc’-k’-esun ba-va-k-sa* [f.n.]
 PROX low river-DAT clean-LV-PRES be-2SG:IO-Š-PRES
 ‘You can wash (yourself) in this river down here.’

§ 7. In conversational Udi and native Udi tales, deictic attribution is more frequent than in the texts translated from Russian. For instance, the tale *Ivan Moroz* (Schiefner 1863) contains 1817 word forms. Of them, roughly one third (~ 600 words) are referential forms. Still, the text shows only three instances of deictic attribution (0,5 %; *me* twice, *t'e* once). The same holds for the Gospels. Here, we have the following distribution:

(X)	Total of words	56.240
	Referential	~ 18.000
	Adnominal deixis	498
	Proximal	330
	Medial	2
	Distal	166

In sum, the Gospels only show 498 cases of deictic attribution (less than 3 % of all referential forms). In native tales, the average use of deictic attribution rises to about 10 % (see below for a detailed calculus). Table (X) illustrates the context-sensitive distribution of the adnominal deixis in Udi:

	Sum		Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	Total	% of REF	Total	% of REF	Total	% of REF	Total	% of REF
Vart. narratives	188	9,40	126	6,30	14	0,70	48	2,40
Conversation, Descriptive	27	6,00	9	2,00	9	2,00	9	2,00
Biographical, Historical	9	4,50	8	4,00	0	0,00	1	0,50
Schiefner Conversation	9	3,00	5	1,66	0	0,00	4	1,33
Gospels	498	2,76	330	1,83	2	0,01	166	0,92
Translated tales	14	1,55	10	1,11	0	0,00	4	0,44
Poems / Songs	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00
Nizh narratives	92	4,61	33	1,65	1	0,05	85	2,91

Table (X): The frequency of adnominal deixis in different kinds of text

In an autobiographical text from Nizh (OL, 316 tokens), 79 nouns occur. However, the speaker uses the adnominal deixis only once:

- (x) *zu abšežit'i-n-a-z yäšäyi(n)š-sa xib-umži etaž-a*
 I hostel-SA-DAT-1SG life-LV:PRES three-ORD floor-DAT

šähär-in lap t'e bel [OL 15, Nizh]
 town-GEN much DIST head:SUPER

'I live in a hostel, in the third floor, at the very other end of the city.'

§ 8. It should be noted that there is a tendency to deictically mark referents that play a rare (or exceptional) role in a given tale. A rough guess at this aspect can be formulated as follows: The rarer a referent is in a text the more likely it occurs with an adnominal deixis. This proportion clearly indicates that the main function of Udi adnominal deixis is to introduce or to refer to textually ‘new’ or ‘unexpected’ referents. The following table illustrates this aspect:

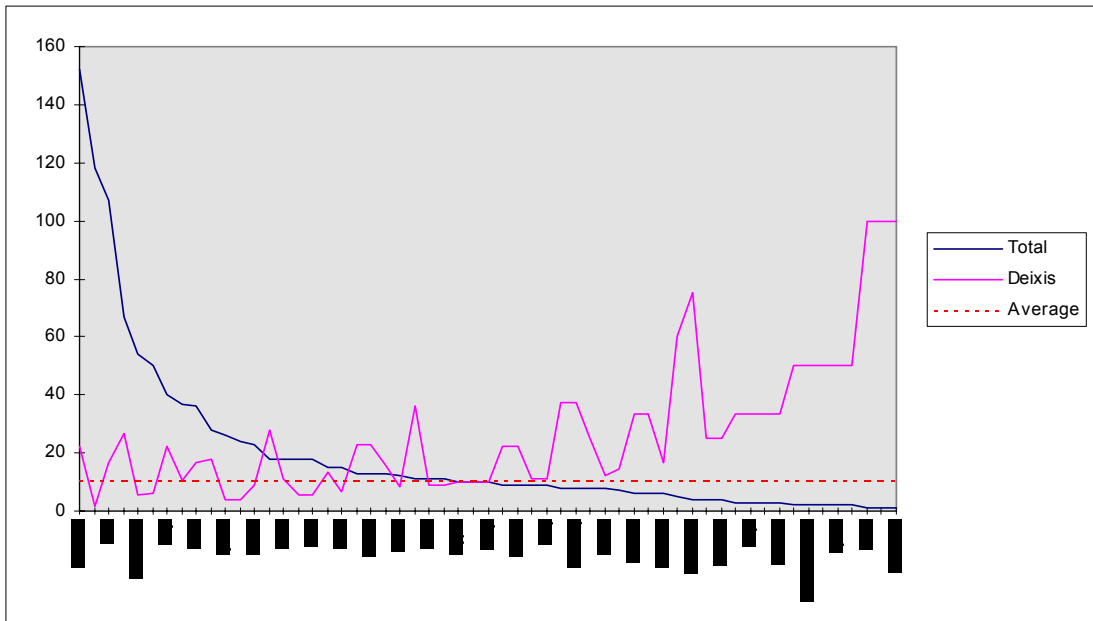


Table (X): Absolute frequency of referents potentially marked for deixis and percentage of adnominal deictic attribution in Udi (V.) narrative texts

§ 9. Just as it is true for referentialized deictic forms (see 3.2.8.2.1), the locational function of deictic attributes can be metaphorized yielding anaphoric and/or specific (definite) reference (see 3.2.7). The choice of deictic attributes can depend from discourse organization, empathy grading, and the functions carried out by the referential head. In Vartashen, there is a general preference to use the proximal as the unmarked form:

(x)	V. narratives	N. narratives	Gospels
Proximal (<i>me</i>)	68,92 %	35,87 %	66,26 %
Medial (<i>ka ~ ke</i>)	07,90 %	1,09 %	00,40 %
Distal (<i>t'e</i>)	23,16 %	63,04 %	33,33 %

In Nizh, the distribution of proximal vs. distal is nearly opposite to what can be described for Vartashen (see 3.2.8.2 for the parallel behavior of demonstrative pronouns). In the collection of Nizh texts under consideration (Keçaari 2001), deictic attribution occurs 92 times (total of referential forms: 1995). Its general frequency is lower than that in Vartashen: In narrative texts, 4,61 % of the referential forms are marked for deixis in Nizh, as opposed to 9,40 % in Vartashen narrative texts. In a

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total, 45 lexical types (14,06 %) occur with deixis (proximal: 16; medial: 1; distal 23; medial/distal 6), whereas 320 types lacks deictic attribution. Except for the terms *äyit* ‘word’, *k'ož* ‘house’, and *üš* ‘night’, none of the combinations ‘proximal + noun’ occurs more than one. Hence, we cannot tell, whether there is a special preference for this combinatory type (but note that *äyit* ‘word’ preferably selects the proximal). The following terms are usually marked by the distal: *arux* ‘fire’, *ćomox* ‘door’, *ğar* ‘son’, *xüyär* ‘girl’, *ćo* ‘face’, *ğī* ‘day’, *azuk* ‘food’, *soğo* ‘someone’. Still, the general frequency of the adnominal deixis is much to low to describe more than a tendency: Expressions of time and space, human beings, and the indefinite pronoun *soğo* seem to be stronger related to distal than to proximal strategies (see below §§ 14-15 for the corresponding data for Vartashen).

There is no general option to use adnominal deictic elements as default in the sense of a definite article. In order to illustrate this point, I again refer to the above mentioned text sample from Vartashen: It contains 1921 referential tokens (pronouns excluded) that represent 287 lexical types. Of these types, only 57 (19,07 %) are ever deictically marked (177 tokens). However, there are 936 instances in which these ‘potentially marked’ nouns occur without deixis. (X) summarizes the relevant figures:

	Total	Without Deixis		Potentially marked for deixis			
			%	Without deixis		With deixis	
Referential forms (tokens)	1921	1744	90,78	936	48,72 %	177	9,21 %
Referential forms (lexical types)	287	230	80,13	57		57	

It should be noted that in the Vartashen tales, the marker for indefinite (specific) reference *sa* shows about the same frequency as the whole corpus of adnominal deixis.

	Vartashen narratives		Gospels		Nizh narratives	
Adnominal deixis	177	9,21 %	498	~ 3 %	92	4,62 %
Indefinite <i>sa</i>	188	9,78 %	209	~ 1 %	220	11,03 %

In Nizh, the use of the indefinite marker *sa* is more frequent than that of the adnominal deixis (which is in accordance with the universal tendency to start the grammaticalization of article-like structures with the indefinite domain). The distribution described in (x) suggests that the adnominal deixis mainly functions as a marker for definite/specific reference.

The degree to which deictic attribution is applied varies considerably from text to text. Obviously, we have to deal with both stylistic variance and personal preferences. The following table illustrates this point:

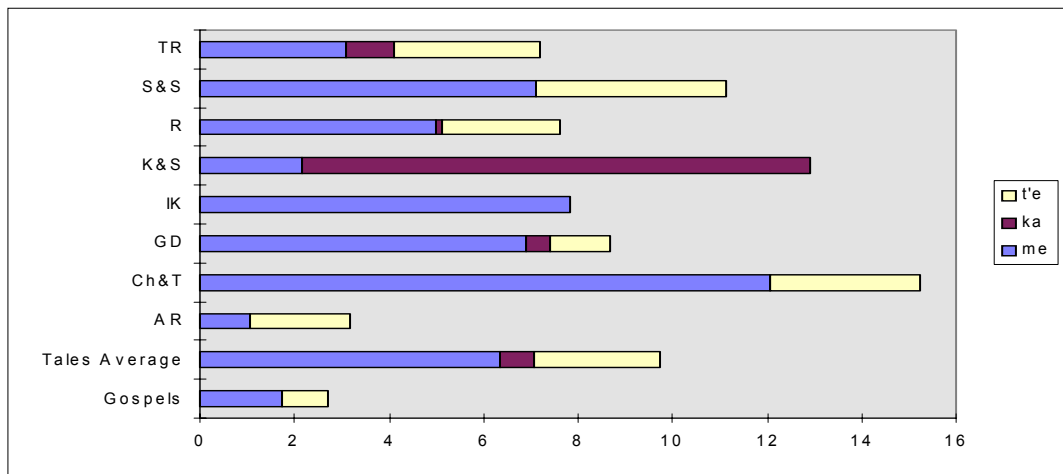


Table (X): Deictic attribution in various texts
(Percentage relative to referential forms (tokens) in the texts)

Here, the minor text ‘The Imprisoned King’ (IK) has also been taken into consideration. Except for the tale ‘The Grateful Dead’ (GD), none of the texts analyzed for the given purpose comes close to the average distribution. Those texts that document a more conversational and situative type of text also show a considerable deviation from the average distribution, as illustrated in table (X):

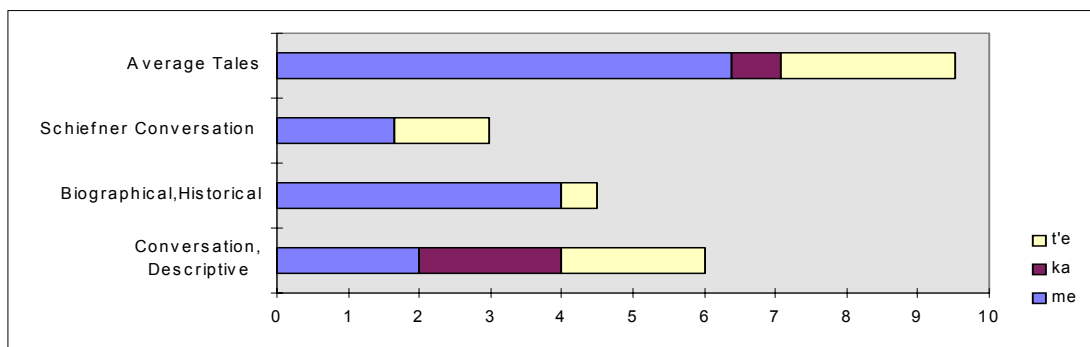


Table (X): Deictic attribution in conversational style

The nearly parallel distribution of the three types of adnominal deixis in standard conversation results from the frequent use of these forms in contrastive exophoric function, such as:

- (x) *me iś-ei bu-t'ai boxo k'ažux t'e iś-e k'ažux gödäk-ne* [ST §6]
 PROX man-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS long beard DIST man-GEN beard short-3SG
 ‘This man has a long beard, the beard of that man is short.’

§ 10. In standard narratives, contrastiveness is much less decisive: the presence of the proximal does not (always) suggest the presence of a distal (and vice versa). An example is the following passage:

(x) *ta-ne-sa q'eiri šähär-ä (...) me šähär-ä p'a' iaq'-ne tai-sa*
 go-3SG-\$.PRES other town-DAT (...) PROX town-DAT two way-3SG go=into-\$.PRES

so vu'ǧ ġe-nei-ne so xib xaš-n-ei.
 one:REF:ABS seven day-SA-GEN2 one:REF:ABS three month-SA-GEN2

amma šu-te me vu'ǧ ġe-n-e iaq-axo ta-ne-sa
 but who-SUB PROX seven day-SA-GEN way-ABL go-3SG-\$.PRES

ha-me iaq'-al-gär bat'-t'e-k'-sa [GD 61]

EMPH-PROX way-SUPER-even perish-3SG-LV-PRES

‘He goes into another town (...). Two roads lead to this town: one of seven days, one of three months. But whoever takes this seven days road, will perish on just this road.’

§ 11. In conversation, the medial *ka* (Nizh *ke*) is often used to refer to a person (or thing) present in the situation when the conversation takes place, but who is not addressed directly or who is not active in the given situation:

(x) (a) *up-a za ka adamar šu-a?* [f.n.]

say:IMP-IMP:2SG I:DAT MED man who-3SG:Q

‘Tell me: who is that man over there?’

(b) *zu sa usen-e süpür man-d-e-zu*

I one year-DAT widower stay-PERF-1SG

ka čuǧ-o zainak' düz-b-a

MED woman-DAT I:BEN straight-LV-IMP:2SG

‘I have been a widower for one year - prepare that woman for me..’

[Nizh; BAL; OR 137]

Note that in such contexts, *ka* is frequently used as an identificational deixis (instead of *kano*, see 5.3.5). It is then often accompanied by the adverb *p'uran* ‘again, yet’:

(x) *šu-a bu ka p'uran?* [ST §4]

who-3SG:Q be MED yet

‘Who is that one again?’

In actual speech, the medial *ka* is incidentally used in quasi-adverbial function (replacing the unattested form **kaa* (see 3.5.1)):

(X) *ka arc-i-q'un t'at'i q'a kalp'ap'a* [ST §3]

MED(:ADV) sit-PAST-3PL grandmother and grandfather

‘Grandmother and grandfather are sitting (lit.: have sat) there.’

§12. There is a basic constraint of the application of adnominal deictic forms that is related to the degree of referential accessibility of attributed referents. Normally, referents that have undergone referential bleaching cannot be used with such terms. This holds for nouns in the absolutive case that have ‘objective’ function in transitive clauses (see 5.4.3.3):

(X) *t'e šum-ax šin-a kā-i?* [f.n.]
 PROX bread-DAT2 who:ERG-3SG:Q eat:PAST-PAST
 ‘Who has eaten that bread?’

*?*t'e šum šin-a kā-i?*
 PROX bread who:ERG-3SG:Q eat:PAST-PAST

A noun incorporated into the verbal form (see 3.4.2.2) is generally excluded from this strategy:

(X) *bez baba-n ič ioldaš-axo xabar-re-aq'-e...* [f.n.]
 I:GEN father-ERG REFL friend-ABL question-3SG-take-PERF
 ‘My father has asked his friend...’

**bez baba-n ič ioldaš-axo me xabar-re-aq'-e...*
 I:GEN father-ERG REFL friend-ABL PROX question-3SG-take-PERF

Referential bleaching is also responsible for the constraint on nouns marked by personal clitics to occur with an adnominal deixis: In case the noun has ‘objective’ function, it usually hosts a personal clitic only if it is indefinite or unspecific (see 5.6 and Harris 2002). Here, the absolutive case is used instead of the dative(2):

(X) *xinär-en ġar-a sa a^lla^m-ne tast'a* [Ch&T 172]
 girl-ERG boy-DAT one sign-3SG give:PRES
 ‘The girl gives the boy a sign.’

This technique conditions that nouns in O-function (marked by the dative2) seldom host agreement clitics. Adnominal deixis, however, is strongly coupled with definiteness and discreteness (see above). In consequence, deictically marked nouns in O-function are never followed by agreement clitics:

(X) (a) *zu baba šum-zu tad-e* [f.n.]
 I father:DAT bread-1SG give-PERF
 ‘I have given father (some) bread’.

**zu baba t'e šum-zu tad-e*
 I father:DAT DIST bread-1SG give-PERF

(b) *zu baba t'e šum-ax ta-z-d-e* [f.n.]
 I father:DAT DIST bread-DAT2 give-1SG- $\$$ -PERF
 'I have given father that bread.'

*? *zu baba t'e šum-ax-zu tad-e*
 I father:DAT DIST bread-DAT2-1SG give-PERF

Nevertheless, in rare instances an adnominal deixis can co-occur with nouns that host an agreement clitic. Here, the actant is highly marked for focus. An example is:

(x) *me ġar-en-ne ar-i bes-b-e* [R 15]
 PROX boy-ERG-3SG come:PAST-PAST kill-LV-PERF
 'THIS BOY has finally killed (the snake).'

§ 13. Else, the choice of adnominal deixis depends from both empathic aspects of the attributed referent (§§ 13-15) and the functional role it plays in a given clause (§§ 16-22). It should be noted, however, that empathy is not as decisive as it is true for referential deictic terms (see 3.2.8.2.1). Note that in Nizh, features of empathy nearly are irrelevant. Accordingly, the following description refers to the Vartashen data only.

§ 14. Protagonists that have a positive connotation are most often marked by the proximal as opposed to actors that have some kind of 'bad reputation'. The two following sentences can serve as prototypical examples:

(x) (a) *pasč'aġ-en iaq'-a-ne-b-sa me ġar-ax*
 king-ERG way-DAT-3SG-LV-PRES PROX boy-DAT2

t'e mac'i döv-n-a t'o'ġo'l muša-lap-san [R 8]
 DIST white dev-GEN at blow-LV-CV:PAR
 'The king sends the boy to fight with (lit.: to blow at) that white dev.'

(b) *t'e döv-en p'uran zom-ne-b-esa me ġar-ax ex-ne* [S&S 94]
 DIST dev-ERG again teach-3SG-LV-PRES PROX boy-DAT2 say:PRES-3SG
 'The dev teaches that boy (and says)...'

The tale 'The Greatful Dead' (GD) makes extensive use of this empathy based strategy: Here, the main protagonist, the servant of a prince, is generally marked by the proximal (in case deictic attribution applies). An example is the following passage:

(X) *me ġädi-n-ax e-ne-f-sa*
 PROX boy-SA-DAT2 hold-3SG- $\$$ -PRES

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me gādi-n-en gölō śel q'ulluǵ-ne-b-esa gölō-al haq'ullu-ne-i
 PROX boy-SA-ERG very good service-3SG-LV-PRES much-FOC clever-3SG-PAST

pasč'aǵ-un ġar-a gölō me gādi-n-ax bu-t'u-q'-i [GD 61]
 king-GEN son-DAT much PROX boy-SA-DAT2 love-3SG:IO-§-PAST
 'He (the prince) keeps this boy. This boy serves very well. He was very clever. The prince loved much this boy.'

§ 15. In the cumulated version of oral tales, the following terms exhibit a significant preference for the attribution by the proximal:

(X)		<i>me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>t'e</i>	Total	Total of REF	%
	<i>ġar</i>	24	4	6	34	152	22,36
	<i>čubux</i>	14	0	4	18	67	26,86
	<i>gādä</i>	9	0	0	9	40	22,50
	<i>iś</i>	6	0	0	6	36	16,66
	<i>karvan</i>	5	0	0	5	18	27,77
	<i>aś</i>	4	1	0	5	28	17,85
	<i>tämbäl</i>	3	0	1	4	11	36,36

In the Gospels, out of 105 deictically attributed lexical types, 62 are marked by the proximal, but not by the distal, see (X):

(X)		Number	Lexical types	Hapax
	Proximal only	150	62	37
	Distal only	29	17	13
	Both	317	26	---
		Proximal	180	
		Distal	137	
	Total	496	105	50

§ 16. Preference for distal attribution is less pronounced in the tales. This is also due to the fact that the distal itself is much less frequent than the proximal, see above. The following terms can be tentatively listed:

(X)		<i>me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>t'e</i>	Total	Total of REF	%
	<i>a'īl</i>	1	0	2	3	13	23,07
	<i>döv</i>	1	0	2	3	54	5,55
	<i>kōtik'</i>	0	0	2	2	6	33,33
	<i>dizik'</i>	0	0	2	2	9	22,22
	<i>xunči</i>	0	0	2	2	23	8,69

In summing up the empathy related criteria for the choice of adnominal deictic terms, we can describe the following tendencies for Vartashen:

- (X) Proximal (*me*): Main (positive) protagonist and ‘objects’ related to this protagonist; emphatic.
- Distal (*t’e*): Secondary protagonists, often with negative connotation, less emphatic.

§ 17. The functional role of deictically marked actants is another clue for the distribution of the two adnominal deictic terms: Just as it is true for most other adnominal structures, deictic attributes not marked for case inflection (see 3.2.9 and 5.2). Still, the case form of referential heads can govern the choice of deictic attribution. As has been said above, the distribution of adnominal deixis in oral tales in Vartashen roughly is *me* = 68%, *ka* = 8 %, *t’e* = 24 %. None of the adnominal forms in the corpus of oral tales, however, conforms to this proportion. Here, we have the following distribution (see 3.3 for the case forms):

(X)

	<i>me</i>	%	<i>ka</i>	%	<i>t’e</i>	%	TOTAL
ABS	33	71,73	3	6,52	10	21,73	46
ERG	27	84,37	3	9,37	2	6,25	32
GEN	15	53,57	4	14,28	9	32,14	28
DAT	16	84,21	1	5,26	2	10,52	19
DAT2	26	60,46	3	6,97	14	32,55	43
ABL	4	80,00	0	00,00	1	20,00	5
SUPER	1	50,00	0	50,00	1	50,00	2
BEN	0	00,00	0	00,00	1	100,00	1
TOTAL	122		14		41		177

Ignoring the statistically marginal superessive and benefactive case, the following distributional pattern can be described:

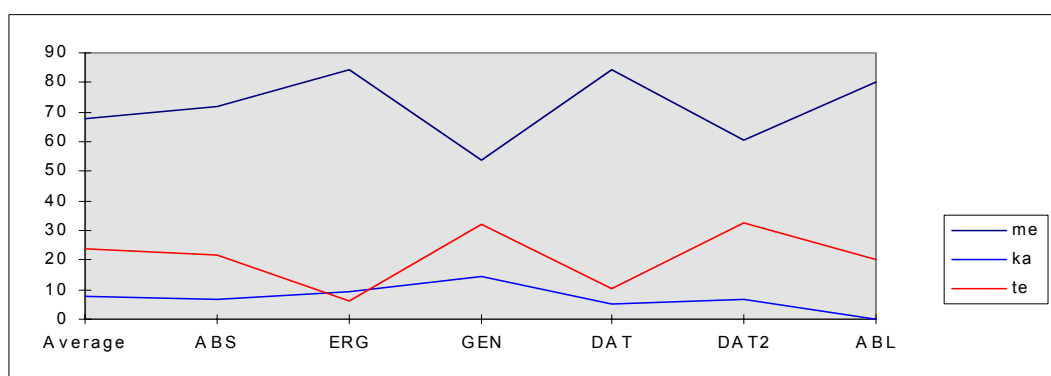


Table (X): Major cases and adnominal deixis in oral tales (percentage)

§ 18. Obviously, the absolutive, ergative, and dative cases favor the proximal, whereas the genitive and the dative2 share a stronger option for the distal. This distribution is based on the functional domains covered by the single case forms (see 5.4.1). Table (X) translates the data in (X) into a format that indicates the major functional domains involved:

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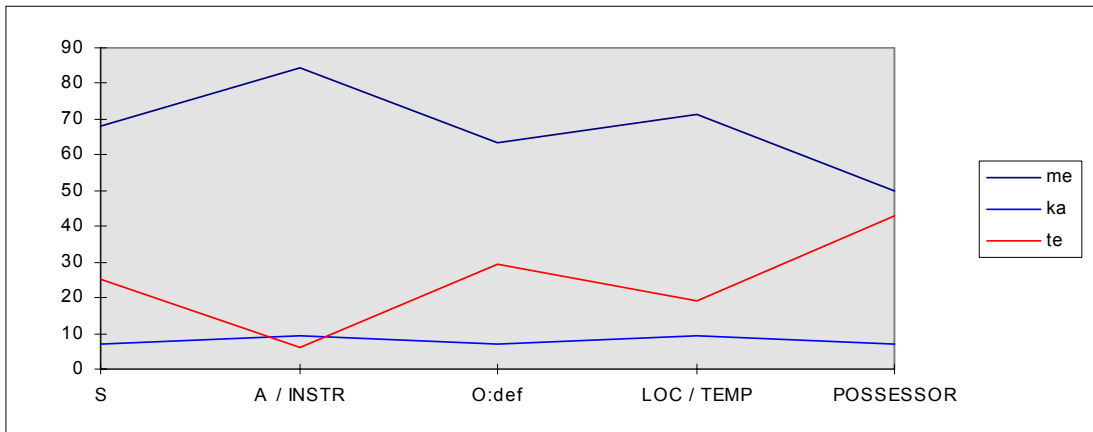


Table (X): Functional domains and adnominal deixis in oral tales (percentage)

In the Gospels, the distribution is somewhat different due to the fact that the adnominal deictic forms frequently copy their Russian correlates *sej*, *ëtot*, and *tot*. Here, the following figures can be described:

(X)

	<i>me</i>	%	<i>ka</i>	%	<i>t'e</i>	%	TOTAL
ABS	95	70,89	0	00,00	39	29,10	134
ERG	20	74,07	0	00,00	7	25,92	27
GEN	48	65,75	0	00,00	25	34,24	73
DAT	43	47,25	2	2,19	46	50,54	91
DAT2	61	73,49	0	00,00	22	26,50	83
ABL	50	72,46	0	00,00	19	27,53	69
COM	3	100,00	0	00,00	0	00,00	3
SUPER	10	66,66	0	00,00	5	33,33	15
BEN	0	00,00	0	00,00	3	100,00	3
TOTAL	330	66,26	2	00,40	166	33,33	498

The degree of divergency can be read out from the following diagram:

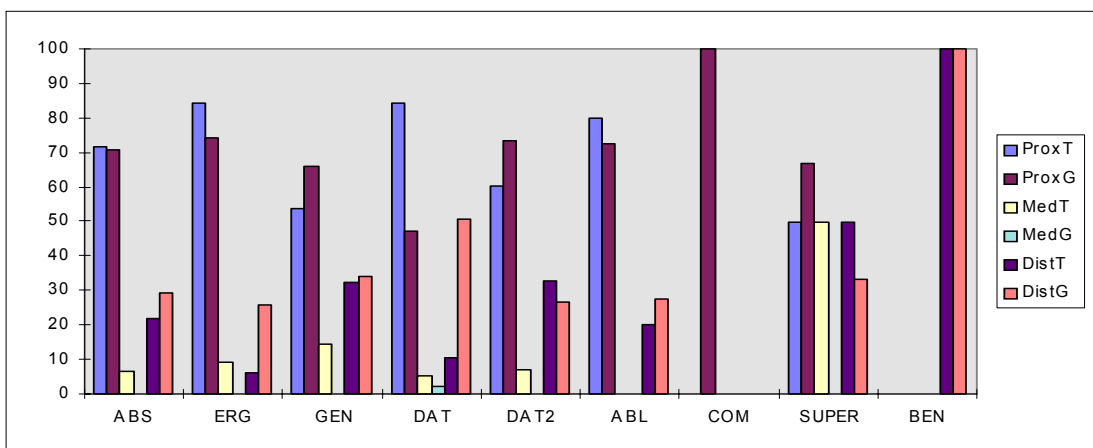


Table (X): Case marking and adnominal deixis in oral tales and the Gospels (T = Tales, G = Gospels)

§ 19. The fact that deictic attribution is sensitive for functional domains can easily be illustrated when looking at the relative distance in frequency between the two poles *me* (proximal, 68,92 %) and *t'e* (distal, 23,16 %). The default value is 45,76 which means that if a distal occurs with a given domain or category, it is likely that the proximal is used three times in the same categorial domain. Setting the default value as '0', the following picture emerges:

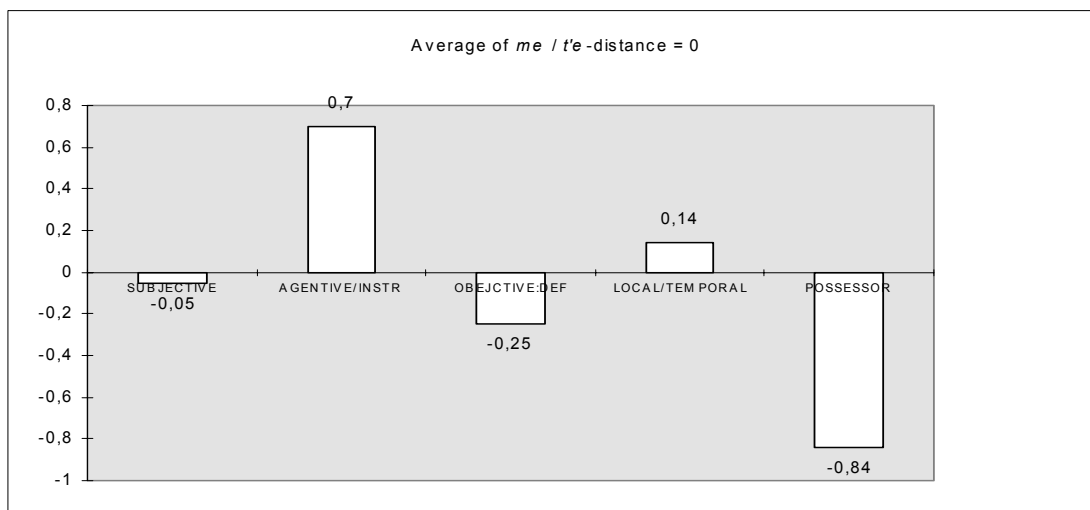


Table (X): Divergence of *me*- / *t'e*-distribution relative to the average distance

The domains marked by a positive figure show a preference for the proximal that is higher than the average preference. Negative figures, on the other hand, indicate a marked preference for the distal. Table (X) illustrates that the agentive/instrumental domain has a strong preference for the proximal. This preference can be explained by the fact that this highly agentive domain is often coupled with features of empathy and cognitive proximity. The (relative) preference for the distal with the objective function results from the opposite strategy: This function is related to cognitive distance and (in parts) antipathy. The following examples illustrates this point:

(x) *axri hametärluğ-en t'e ġar-ax me čubğon t'oš-ne čišč'a*
 finally EMPH-manner-ERG DIST boy-DAT2 PROX woman:ERG out-3SG take=out:PRES
 'Finally, the woman thus takes the boy out.' [Ch&T 172]

§ 20. Finally, the (relative) preference to use the distal with possessors is caused by the fact that in Udi possessors are less involved in the basic organization of actancy: They belong to the background layer of the information flow and often are referentially less accessible than a possessum. The distal then serves to recover background information:

(x) *eč-a t'e döv-na xunčex* [Ch&T 172]
 bring-IMP:2SG DIST dev-SA-GEN sister:DAT2
 'Bring the sister of that dev (you know)!'

§ 21. Case functions at least in parts control the general use of adnominal deictic forms. Referents in (indirect) objective function more likely occur with an adnominal deixis than referents in subjective or agentive function. In addition, possessors that are referentially weak are less often marked for deixis than the average referent. The following example illustrates this point: In the tale ‘The Grateful Dead’ (GD), the overall 37 instances of adnominal deixis are related to seven cases. These seven case forms mark 376 nominal referents. Hence, the percentage of nouns marked by an adnominal deixis (9,84 %) comes close to the overall average in oral tales (9,4 %, see above). Nevertheless, the functional domains covered by the absolutive, ergative, and genitive case are less often marked by an adnominal deixis, whereas referents in (indirect) objective function favors this strategy more than average referents:

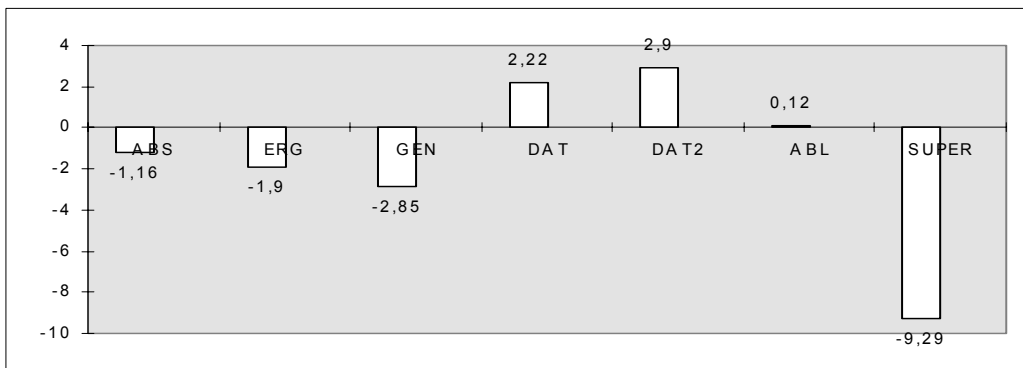


Table (X): Adnominal deixis and case marking in the tale ‘The Grateful Dead’

As can be inferred from table (X) above, the Gospels show a rather similar picture. Nevertheless, two important differences can be described: First, the use of an adnominal deixis with ergative marked referents is less pronounced than in the tales. Second, referents in the dative case more frequently call for the distal. Most remarkably, both the tales and the Gospels show a close link between the benefactive function (see 3.3.3.4 and 5.4.9) and the distal. Table (X) compares the basic distribution of adnominal deixis with relation to case marking in the two types of text:

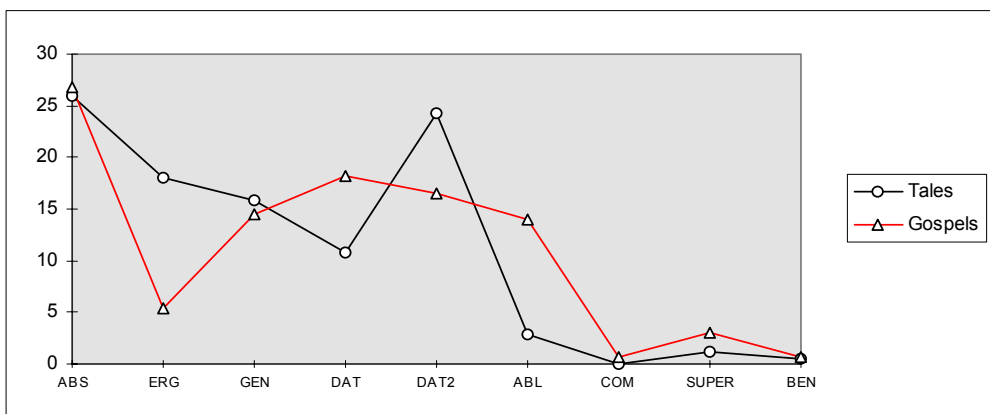


Table (X): Frequency of adnominal deixis in relation to case marking

§ 22. Basically, the dialect of Nizh corresponds to the general pattern as described for Vartashen. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that adnominal deixis is rarer in Nizh and that the unmarked variant is the distal (Vartashen: proximal). (x) compares the general pattern of adnominal deixis and case marking in Nizh to those of Vartashen narratives and the Gospels (percentage of occurrences):

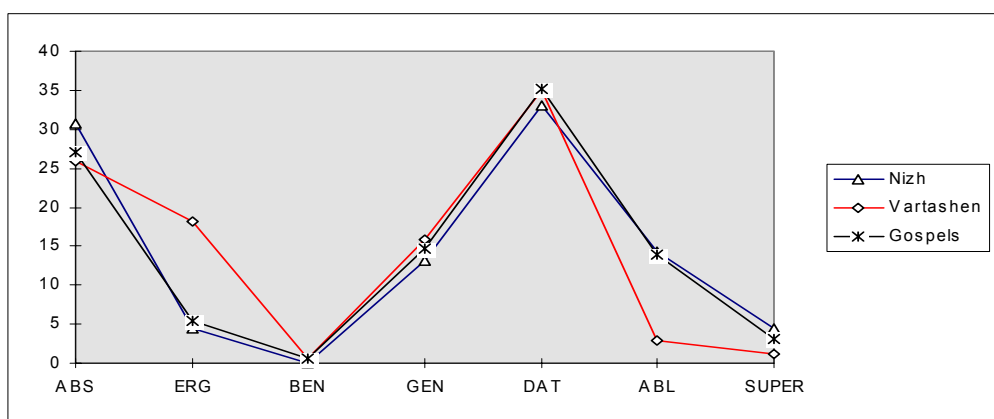


Table X: Adnominal deixis and case marking in Nizh compared to Vartashen

Here, the two Vartashen datives (see 3.3.3.6) have been put into one category in order to compare them to the simple dative in Nizh. The table illustrates that the distribution of adnominal deixis comes amazingly close to the distribution in the Gospels. Contrary to Vartashen, the ergative case is rarely marked for deixis in Nizh. If ever, the distal is used, see (x):

(X)

	Proximal		Distal	
	%	Distance from average	%	Distance from average
ABS	32,14	-4,12	67,86	+4,12
ERG	0,00	-36,26	100,00	+36,24
GEN	16,67	-19,59	83,33	+19,59
DAT	56,67	+20,41	43,33	-20,41
ABL/COM	23,08	-7,23	76,92	+7,23
SUPER	50,00	+13,74	50,00	-13,74

The chart gives the relative frequencies of both the proximal and the distal in Nizh. The column ‘distance from average’ refers to the general distribution of both adnominals (proximal 36,26 %, distal 63,74 %). Accordingly, the dative has much stronger preference for the proximal than indicated by the general distributional pattern. On the other hand, ergative and genitive seem to favor the distal.

§ 23. In Udi, adnominal deixis is strongly coupled with discreteness. Accordingly, plural marked nouns are less often marked by this type of deixis than singular nouns. In the corpus of Vartashen narrative texts, only 14,12 % of all nouns marked for deixis are plurals. Nevertheless, the distribution of the three adnominal deictic forms is even in all Vartashen narratives, compare the overview in (X):

3.1-3 Reference

(x)	<i>me</i>	%	<i>ka</i>	%	<i>t'e</i>	%	Sum
<i>Average</i>		68,92		7,90		23,16	
Singular	111	70,25	14	8,86	33	20,88	158
Plural	11	78,57	---	---	3	21,42	14
Counted	---	---	---	---	5	100,00	5
Total	122		14		41		177

Still, it should be noted that the medial never occurs with plural referents. Also, counted referents seem to prefer the distal. (X) illustrates this usage:

(X) (a) *rust'am-en a-ne-q'-esa šavat' xinār-ax*
 Rustam-ERG take-3SG-\$-PRES beautiful girl-DAT2

ioldaš-muğ-on-al har-t'-in so t'e xib xinār-axo [R 16]
 friend-PL-ERG-FOC each-REF:OBL-ERG one:ABS:REF DIST three girl-ABL
 'Rustam marries the beautiful girl, and each (of his) friend(s) marries of those girl(s).'

(b) *tac-i t'e p'a^š xunčex-al e-ne-č-esa* [S&S 90]
 go:PAST-PAST DIST two sister:DAT2-FOC bring-3SG-\$-PRES
 'He then brings those two sisters.'

§ 24. In Nizh, plural nouns rarely occur with deictic elements. The Keçaari corpus (1995 referential forms) contains only two such plural nouns. One of them is *äyitmux* 'words' that also means 'speech, saying' in the contexts in question. The only other example is:

(x) *ay soruš ava-nu me išq'ar-xo beši midan-eynak'*
 oh Sorush knowing-2SG PROX man-PL we:POSS Midan-BEN

xozamandluğ-a-t'un har-e [XOZ; OR 52]
 luck-DAT-3PL come:PAST-PERF
 'Oh Sorush, you know (that) these men were a stroke of luck for our Midan (lit.: have come to luck for our Midan).'

With numerals, the proximal is generally preferred. This preference is related to the above mentioned choice of the distal with numerals in Vartashen: In both cases, it is the marked variant that qualifies for numerals. An example from Nizh is:

(x) (a) *me otuz vü^šğ gele bi^šhi^š usen-e bak-i* [SA; OR 47]
 PROX thirty seven much hard year-3SG be-PAST
 'These were thirty-seven really difficult years (lit.: 'It were these forty-seven very hard years.'

- (b) *me p'ä^f kož-in-al ga-l-a orayin-q'a-n č'er-i*
 PROX two house-GEN-FOC place-SA-DAT waterspring-ADH-3SG go=out:PAST-PAST
 'Instead of these two houses, a waterspring shall come out.' [BAT; OR 116]

3.2.9.4 Quantification. There are two basic quantificational strategies in Udi: Specific and unspecific quantification. Specific (or discrete) quantification relates to the actual number of tokens a given type represents and is generally carried out with the help of numerals (see 3.2.10). In the present section, I will only deal with unspecific quantification.

§ 1. Unspecific quantification ignores the concrete number of tokens a given type represents. Instead, it refers to approximate values that are scaled along the two poles 'none/nothing' and 'all/everything'. The most neutral way of expressing unspecific quantification is the use of the plural (see 3.2.5). In case quantifying attributes are used with a referent, plural marking is normally canceled. This economic way of relating a quantified referent to its quantifier can be regarded as the default in nearly all Lezgian languages and in the most important contact language, Azeri. Nevertheless, Udi exhibits remarkable tendencies to ignore this canonical behavior of quantified nouns. Instead, plural marking of certain quantified (and counted) referents becomes increasingly common (see below).

As far as data go, the means to indicate adnominal quantification are rather poor in Udi. The negative pole ('no') is not lexicalized at all. Instead, the referent is embedded into a negated verb frame:

- (x) (a) *ef-i te-ne bu šum?* [Mark 8:17]
 you:PL:POSS-LD NEG-3SG be bread
 'Don't you have bread?' ['You have no bread?']
- (b) *a^fil-u^fx gena nä-i-n bar-k'-o* [Mark 12:19]
 child-PL CONTR NEG-HYP-3SG leave-LV-FUT:MOD
 'If he does not leave (behind) any children...'
- (c) *un dost' te-nu k'esar-in* [John 19:12]
 you:SG friend NEG-2SG emperor-GEN
 'You are not the emperor's friend.' ['You are no friends of the emperor']

Occasionally, the indefinite pronouns *šuk'al* 'anybody' or *ek'al* 'anything' can mark the negatively quantified referent (see 3.2.8.3.1). Note that the two referential segments then stand in apposition. Examples are:

- (X) (a) ... *aš-urux ma-t'-ux šuk'al-en q'eiri-t'-in te-ne b-e*
 ... thing-PL REL-REF:OBL-DAT2 anybody-ERG other-REF:OBL-ERG NEG-3SG make-PERF
 '... thing that have not been done by anyone else.' [John 15:24]

- (b) *še-t'-in ek'al žuğab te-ne tast'a-i* [Matthew 27:12]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG anything answer NEG-3SG give:PRES-PAST
 'He did not given an answer.'

§ 2. Else, quantification is carried out with the help of the following lexemes:

- (X) *mal* 'few' [Nizh only] (§ 3)
kam 'few' (§ 4)
k'ic'i 'few' [Variants: *gic'i*, *k'ic'ik'*, *mic'ik'*] (§ 5)
saema 'some' (§ 6)
gölö 'many, much' (§ 7)
meq'q'ara / mema 'so much, so many (proximal)' (§ 8)
t'eq'q'qara / t'ema 'so much, so many (distal)' (§ 8)
har 'each, every' (§ 9)
bütün 'all' (§ 10)

§ 3. The quantifier *mal* (occasionally reduplicated: *mal-mal* ~ *mal-mul*) is restricted to the Nizh dialect and is rarely used as an attribute. Normally, it occurs as an adverb. The etymology of *mal* is not evident. Although it clearly reminds us of Russian *malyj* 'few, little', this resemblance is chance: The term is nicely documented in Old Udi, compare:

- (x) *mal q'a-n o-ow c'ip-ê é'owd-own AwXown-ax* [Mt 5, 19]
 few ADH-3SG DIST-DAT name-LV-PERF heaven-GEN kingdom-DAT2
 'One shall called him little (few) in the kingdom of heaven.'

Most likely, *mal* is related to Latin *malus* 'bad' < '(with) few (attributes)'. In Nizh, it is often used as a noun:

- (x) *o^šsa sa mal a^šyl-äxun-əz äči-ne ma^šğ-əz ü^šmüx-lax-sa* [OL 39, Nizh]
 then one few child-COM-1SG play-LV:PRES song-1SG ear:PL-put-PRES
 'Then I play a little bit with the child (and) listen to song(s).'

If ever *mal* is used as an attribute, the referent remains in the singular, compare:

- (X) *zu mal fi-z u^šğ-e* [f.n.]
 I few wine-1SG dring-PERF
 'I have drunk a little bit of wine.'

The derived form *malžā* 'a little bit' (*mal* plus restrictive *-žā* < Azeri *-ca* = Azeri *azca* 'a little bit') is used to modify another attribute or predicate, as in:

- (x) *zu mal-žā kala k'ua kar-əz-x-sa* [f.n.]
 I few-RESTR big house:DAT live-1SG-LV-PRES
 'I live in a house that is slightly bigger.'

In Vartashen, *mal* is sometimes replaced by *k'ət'əm* (also reduplicated *k'et'em-k'ət'əm*) 'a little bit, piece'. I have recorded:

- (x) *za sa k'ət'əm eq' tad-a* [f.n.]
 I:DAT one piece meat give-IMP:2SG
 'Give me a piece of meat!'

§ 4. The quantifier *kam* 'few' is borrowed from Persian *kam* (> Azeri *kəm*) 'few, little' and has a strong private function. It is frequent in the speech of some Nizh speakers, but rare elsewhere. Just as *mal*, it is more often used as an adverb than in attributive function. Examples include:

- (x) (a) *pak-ix kam xod-de* [f.n.]
 garden-DAT2 few tree-3SG
 'In the garden, there are few trees.'

- (b) *še-no kam haq'əl-le* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS few intelligence-3SG
 'He is stupid (lit.: he is (of) little intelligence).'

§ 5. The standard way of expressing 'few' is the metaphorical use of *k'ic'i* 'little'. Often, *k'ic'i* means 'some, a little bit of'. The form is frequently augmented by the (pseudo-)diminutive suffix *-k'* (> *k'ic'ik'*, see 3.2.2.2 for this suffix). The (Northern) Oriental technique of full reduplication including the variation of the initial consonant (*kori-mori*-technique) has led to the variant *mic'ik'* (isolated from the reduplicated form *k'ic'ik'-mic'ik'* 'really few'). The variant *gic'i* is often heard in Nizh. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *sa k'ic'i šum aq'-a eč-a* [S&S 91]
 one little bread take-IMP:2SG carry:HITHER-IMP:2SG
 'Bring a little bit of bread.'

- (b) *saemo-al bi-ne-t-i že-rx-o q'ati*
 some:REF:ABS-FOC fall-3SG-\$-PAST stone-PL-GEN between

maa-te bu-ne-i k'ic'i kul [Matthew 13:5]
 where-SUB be-3SG-PAST little earth.
 'Some fell between stones where there was little earth.'

- (c) *hala k'ic'i vādi-n-en xaš bu-ne e'faxol* [John 12:35]
 yet little time-SA-ERG light be-3SG you:COM
 'Yet the light is with you a little while.'

(d) *me xod-in laxo k'ic'i xazal-le bu* [ST §15]

PROX tree-GEN on little leaf-3SG be
'There are few leaves on this tree.'

In order to distinguish the semantic 'few' from the basic meaning 'little, small', some speakers insert (if appropriate) the indefinite numeral *sa* 'one' (see 3.2.7):

(x) *sa karnu čubğ-oi boy-axun gele mic'ik' sa nāvā-t'ux bu-i*
on old woman-GEN growth-ABL very small one grandchild-3SG:POSS be-PAST
'An old woman had a grandchild that was very small in growth.'
[KAL; OR 122]

§ 6. Indefinite quantification is carried out with the help of *saema* 'some' (Nizh *sahema*). The form is derived from the adnominal interrogative element *ema* (Nizh *hema*) 'how much/many' (see 3.2.9.5) to which the numeral *sa* 'one' is added. The resulting form *sa-ema* obviously copies Azeri *bir neçə* 'some' (lit.: 'one how much/many'). With inanimates, *saema* generally calls for the singular. Higher animals and human beings are often marked by the plural. This strategy is related to the general tendency to overtly mark number with counted animates (see 3.2.10 and 5.2.2). Examples are:

(X) (a) *saema śamat' č'e-ne-bak-i* [LT 72]

some week pass-3SG-LV-PAST
'Some weeks passed by.'

(b) *sahema ġi-n-āxun ośa šo-t'-oğ-o*

some day-SA-ABL after DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

ayiz-in insp'ek'toren-e k'al-p-i [Nizh; SA; OR 49]

village-GEN inspector-ERG-3SG call-LV-PAST

'Some days later, the village insepctor called them ...'

(c) *geśluğ-a sahema bać amdar-e bak-o-i* [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]

gorge-DAT some hundred person-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST

'In the gorge, there were probably were some hundred persons.'

In the Gospels, *saema* sometimes has its head in the ablative case:

(x) (a) *mia arc-i-q'un-i saema kägžaba-t'-ğ-oxo* [Mark 2:6]

PROX:ADV sit-3PL-PAST some book=knowing-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

'Some scribes were sitting here.'

[Russian: *tut sideli nekotorye iz knižnikov*]

(b) *saema farisei-ğ-oxo šo-t'-xol bu-o-t'-ğ-on*

some pharisee-PL-ABL DIST-REF:OBL-COM be:REF-REF:OBL-ERG

p-i-q'un šo-t'-u [John 9:40]
 say-PAST-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT
 ‘Some (of the) pharisees who were with him said to him...’
 [Russian: *nekotorye iz fariseev byvšix s nim skazali Emu*]

- (c) *mia saema Ierusalim-lu-ğ-oxo p-i-q'un* [John 725]
 PROV:ADV some Jerusalem-ADJ-PL-ABL say-PAST-3PL
 ‘Here some (people) from Jerusalem said...’
 [Russian: *tut nekotorye iz Ierusalimjan govorili*]

Obviously, this construction copies Russian *nekotorye iz...* ‘some of...’. It should be noted, however, that the translators also use the standard way of linking *saema* to its head, compare:

- (x) *saema farisei-ğ-on p-i-q'un šo-t'-ğ-ox* [Luke 6:2]
 some pharisee-PL-ERG say-PAST-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2
 ‘Some pharisees said to them...’
 [Russian: *nekotorye že iz fariseev skazali im*]

- (b) *met'abaxt'in saema kăğzaba-t'-ğ-on p-i-q'un* [John 20:39]
 this=for some book-knowing-REF:OBL-PL-ERG say-PAST-3PL
 ‘Because of this, some scribes said...’
 [Russian: *na èto nekotorye iz knižnikov skazali...*]

Most frequently, *saema* is used in temporal expressions. The noun is then in the singular, compare:

- (x) (a) *k'ic'k'e ġar saema ġe-n-axo oša ta-ne-sa bazar-ax* [GD 60]
 little boy some day-SA-ABL after go-3SG-\$.PRES market-DAT2
 ‘Some days later, the young boy goes to the market.’

- (b) *saema vādi-n-axo oša pasč'ağ-un xinār*
 some time-SA-ABL after king-GEN daughter

sa mǎźmein xup'-en e-ne-sa [R 14]
 one bowl pilav-ERG>INSTR come-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘Somewhat later, the king’s daughter brought a bowl of pilav.’

- (c) *sahema śamat' č'ova-k-i*
 some week pass-LV-PART:PAST

ġar-eynak' sa dōilāthun xüyār-a nišan-t'un tad-i [BAT; OR 115]
 boy-BEN one rich girl-DAT sign-3SG give-PAST
 ‘Some weeks later, they engaged the boy to a rich girl.’

§ 7. In order to express a massive quantity, Udi speakers most frequently refer to the adjective/adverb *gölö* (Nizh *gele*) ‘much, many’. The term is borrowed from a yet unidentified Northwest Iranian language. A good parallel is Sōrānī-Kurdish *gelêk ~ gele* ‘much, many’ that is also reflected in the Persian intensive classifier *gele* (cf. *yek gele mard* ‘what a man!’). In Udi, *gölö* does not distinguish between mass nouns and distributive plurality. Normally, the noun is in the singular, compare:

- (x) (a) *iaq'-al gölö döv-ne bu* [S&S 93]
 way-SUPER many dev-3SG be
 ‘On the way, there are many devs.’
- (b) *bixažug-on beš baba gölö ġi-q'a-n tad-i* [CO §7]
 God-ERG we:POSS father many day-ADH-3SG give-PAST
 ‘May God give our father many days!’
- (c) *beš k'olxoz-a bu-ne gölö e'k k'obi vel velčik' eğel q'uzi* [ST §10]
 we:POSS kolkhoz-DAT be-3SG many horse foal goat kid sheep lamb
 ‘In our kolkhoz there are many horses, foals, goats, kids, sheep (and) lambs.’
- (d) *žogł-a iğarix-o tünd vādi-n-al ba-ne-k-sa gölö t'at'* [ST §22]
 summer-DAT heat-GEN strong time-SA-SUPER be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES many fly
 ‘In summer, during times of strong heat, there are many flies.’

Examples for the use of *gölö* with mass nouns are:

- (x) (a) *č'er-e-ne gölö p'i* [ST §12]
 go=out:PAST-PERF-3SG much blood
 ‘Much blood came out.’
- (b) *gölö vaxt'-[t']e adamar-i eq' te-z kä-i* [R 12]
 much time-3SG man-GEN flesh NEG-1SG eat:PAST-PAST
 ‘I haven’t eaten a person’s flesh since long.’
- (c) *še-t'-a qošt'an ta-ne-c-i gölö xalx* [Matthew 8:1]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN behind go-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PAST-PAST many people
 ‘Many people followed him.’

Still, the use of *gölö* with plural nouns is not uncommon. Contrary to the adnominal form *saemo* ‘some’ discussed above, plural marking is not confined to nouns denoting animates or human beings. Examples are:

- (X) (a) *me arker-en gölö vartašen-un udi-ğ-ox xaš-ne-d-i* [UD 58]
 PROX priest-ERG many Vartashen-GEN Udi-PL-DAT2 cross-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘This priest baptized many Vartashen Udis.’

- (b) *pasč'ağ-un t'o'ğo'l gölō ärzäči-ux-ne esa* [R 7]
king-GEN at many complainant-PL-3SG come:PRES
'Many complainants come to the king.'
- (c) *aiz-un boš gölō ore'in(an)-ux-ne bu* [VA 59]
village-GEN in many spring-PL-3SG be
'In the village, there are many springs.'
- (d) *zom-ne-b-i šo-t'-ğ-ox gölō mäsäli-ğ-on* [Matthew 13:3]
teach-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 many example-PL-ERG>INSTR
'He taught them with the help of many examples.'
- (e) *Nik'olai-a q'a Sergi-n-a gölō ma'ğ-urux-q'o aba* [SD *ioldaš*]
Nikolai-DAT and Sergej-SA-DAT many song-PL-3PL:IO knowing
'Nikolai and Sergej know many songs.'

Note that the adverbial character of *gölō* allows to use it as a modifier of another attribute. It then often serves as an augmentative:

- (X) *täk-in gölō kala mu'q'i-ux-t'a bu* [ST §14]
ibex-GEN much big horn-PL-3SG:POSS be
'The ibex has very big horns.'
- (b) *be^š-ne-ğ-sa te gölō šavat' čubux-ne* [S&S 95]
see-3SG- $\$$ -PRES SUB much beautiful woman-3SG
'He sees that she is a very beautiful woman.'
- (c) *me gäd-in-en gölō šel q'ulluğ-ne b-esa* [GD 61]
PROX boy-SA-ERG much good service-3SG do-PRES
'This boy serves very well.'

§ 8. The two quantifiers *meq'q'ara* and *t'eq'q'ara* are used in the sense of 'so many', 'so much'. They are strongly emphatic and deictic: Both forms are based on the noun *q'ara* 'quantity' (in opposition to **ma* 'quality'), to which the adnominal deictic terms *me* (proximal) and *t'e* (distal) are added (see 3.2.9.3). When used as attributive or adverbial quantifiers, the uvulur is usually lengthened. (X) illustrates the paradigmatic make-up of the two forms:

	Quantity		Quality	
	<i>q'ara</i> 'quantity'		<i>*ma</i> 'quality'	
Proximal	<i>meq'q'ara</i>	'this many'	<i>mema</i>	'so' (PROX)
Distal	<i>t'eq'q'ara</i>	'that many'	<i>t'ema</i>	'so' (DIST)

Often, *mema* and *t'ema* 'so' replace the original quantifiers *meq'q'ara* and *t'eq'q'ara*. In fact, *mema* and *t'ema* are more frequent than *meq'q'ara* and *t'eq'q'ara*. Examples for the use of the original forms are:

(x) (a) *hala meq'q'ara xod-urux te-z ak'-e* [f.n.]
 yet this=many tree-PL NEG-1SG see-PERF
 'I have not seen so many trees before.'

(b) *eq'q'ara adamar t'eq'q'ara höžät* [f.n.]
 how=many man that=many quarrel
 'So many people – so much quarrel.' (Proverb)

Examples for the use of *mema* and *t'ema* are:

(X) (a) *ma-l-in-ian aq'-o ian me beivan ga-n-u t'ema šum*
 where-ABL-ABL-1PL take-FUT:MOD we PROX wild place-SA-DAT that=many bread

te boš-ev-k'-a-ian mema adamar-ğ-ox? [Matthew 15:33]
 SUB in-CAUS-LV-MOD-1PL this=many person-PL-DAT2
 'Where can we get so much bread from in order to feed so many people?'

(b) *amma ek'a mo-no mema gölö-t'-a baxt'in?* [John 6:9]
 but what PROX-REF:ABS this=many many-REF:OBL-GEN for
 'But what is this for such a plentitude?'

(c) *šu-t'u bak-o t'ema šum eč-es me beivan ga-n-u?*
 who-3SG:IO be-FUT:MOD that=many bread bring-MASD PROX wild place-SA-DAT
 'Who can bring so much bread to this wild place?' [Mark 8:4]

§ 9. Universal specific quantification is expressed with the help of *har* 'every, each'. The term is borrowed from Persian *har* 'each, every' (also compare Azeri *hər* 'each, every'). It replaces Old Udi *ceX* 'all', which is without traces in Modern Udi. *har* is generally followed by a noun in the singular. Just as it is true for some other Lezgian languages, there is a tendency to add the numeral *sa* 'one' if *har* is used attributively. However, this tendency is not as strong as for instance in Lezgi (see Haspelmath 1993:202). Examples for the use of *har* are:

(x) (a) *xel-le-b-sa har döv-n-ux sa q'atir-un laxo* [R 8]
 load-3SG-LV-PRES each dev-SA-DAT2 one mule-GEN on
 'He loads every dev on one mule.'

(b) *har t'ap'an-un boš ba-ne-k-o sa hazar u'ć-e t'at'* [ST 28]
 each beehive-GEN in be-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD one thousand honey-GEN fly
 'In each beehive, there will be one thousand bees.'

- (c) *har ga-n-u xaš-ne-d-i* [UD 58]
 each place-SA-DAT cross-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘He baptized everywhere.’
- (d) *va^š e-q’un-sa-i še-t’a t’o^šg’o^šl har ga-n-uxo* [Mark 1:45]
 and come-3PL-\$.PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at each place-SA-DAT
 ‘And they came to him from everywhere.’

The construction *har sa* focuses on the single components of the referential cluster marked by *har*. It then translates ‘every single’:

- (X) (a) *amma čaxar-k’es-t’a iax har sa pis aš-l-axo*
 but save-LV-MASD-CAUS-IMP:2SG we:DAT2 each one bad thing-SA-ABL
 ‘But save us from every single bad thing.’ [Matthew 6:13]
- (b) *har sa āziz ġe-n-a bar-re-xa-i še-t’in*
 each one holy day-SA-DAT let-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ERG

šo-t’-ğ-o-enk’ sa t’ussağ-a [Mark 15:6]
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-BEN one prisoner-DAT
 ‘On every single holiday, he sets free for them one prisoner.’
- (c) *har sa bes[-b]-al-t’in a-ne-q’sa* [Matthew 7:8]
 each one ask-PART:NPAST-REF:OBL-ERG take-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘Every single one who asks receives (lit.: takes).’
- (d) *har sa k’ua arux-ne bačuk’* [ST §26]
 each one house:DAT fire-3SG lightened
 ‘In every single house, a fire is lightened.’

§ 10. Universal unspecific quantification is indicated with the help of *bütin* ~ *bitun* ~ *tütüm* ~ *bito* ‘all’. The term is a borrowing from Azeri *bütin* ‘all’. Contrary to most other quantifiers mentioned above, *bütin* has strong referential properties. In consequence, it is often used in referential function without adding referential morphology (see 3.2.3).

Mass nouns remain in the singular (examples (X)), whereas count nouns are normally marked for plurality (examples (X)):

- (X) (a) *xe bütin p’i-n-en-ne bak-sa* [R 14]
 water all blood-SA-ERG>INSTR-3SG be-PRES
 ‘The water is full of blood.’

(b) *oša gādi-n-en gir-re-b-sa būtün q'əzəl-ax gümüş-ax* [GD 62]
 then boy-SA-ERG collect-3SG-LV-PRES all gold-DAT2 silver-DAT2
 'Then the boy collects all the gold (and) the silver.'

(c) *bütün dūnia-n-i me aš uk'-eğ-al-le*
 all world-SA-DAT PROX thing speak:FUT-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG

še-t'-a c'i-ala [Matthew 26:13]

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN name-SUPER:IN

'In the whole world, this thing will be spoken about in his name.'

(X) (a) *bütün döv-ürğ-ox k'ac'-ne-xa* [GD 62]

all dev-PL-DAT2 kill-3SG-LV:PRES

'He kills all the devs.'

(b) *o^šša ġar-axol sagala gir-q'un-b-esa būtün šei-ürğ-ox* [S&S 94]

then boy-COM together collect-3PL-LV-PRES all thing-PL-DAT2

'Then they collect all things together with the boy.'

(c) *bütün a^šil-uğ-on imux-q'un-lax-i nağəlči-n säs-n-ux* [f.n.]

all child-PL-ERG ear-3PL-lay-PAST storyteller-GEN voice-SA-DAT2

'All the children listened to the voice of the storyteller.'

The quantifier *bütün* has the meaning 'whole' with a count noun marked by the singular:

(x) (a) *k'ic'k'e xinär-en būtün aš-l-ax nağəl-le-b-sa* [S&S 89]

little girl-ERG all thing report-3SG-LV-PRES

'The little girl reports the whole thing...'

(b) *bütün vi lašag baf-t'-ama geen-un arğ-o boš*

all you:SG:POSS body throw-LV-CV:ANTE hell-GEN fire-GEN in

'before your whole body is thrown into the fire of the hell.' [Matthew 5:29]

(c) *ba-ne-k-e kala busluğ būtün ölki-n-a* [Luke 4:25]

be-3SG- \bar{S} -PERF great famine all land-SA-DAT

'There was great famine in the whole land.'

The quantifier *bütün* normally floats to the rights of its head in case the head is a personal pronoun. This dislocation is related to the weak 'object-specific' referentiality of personal pronouns: In case a personal pronoun is attributed, the attribute usually turns up as a referential term in apposition to the pronoun, compare:

- (X) *va^ʕn k'ic'k'i-o-r k'ua-nan man-d-o* [f.n.]
 you:PL little-REF:ABS-PL house:DAT stay-LV-FUT:MOD
 'You little ones will stay at home!'

As has been said above, the quantifier *bütün* is frequently used as a referential noun in the sense of 'totality'. Hence, *bütün* qualifies as a noun in apposition to a personal pronoun without undergoing referentialization:

- (X)(a) *ian bütün č'ap'luğ-a-ian* [ST §20]
 we all vineyard-DAT-1PL
 'We are all in the vineyard.'

- (b) *va^ʕn bütün moğor-eğ-al-lan me bias bez baxt'in*
 you:PL all tempt-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-2PL PROX night(:ADV) I:POSS for
 'You all shall be tempted because of me this night.' [Mark 14:27]

- (c) *va^ʕn bütün tämiz te-nan* [John 13:11]
 you:PL all clean NEG-2PL
 'You all are unclean.'

- (d) *va^ʕn gena bütün viči-mux-nan* [Matthew 23:8]
 you:PL CONTR all brother-PL-2PL
 'You all, however, are brethren.'

- (e) *mo-t'-ux bütün Isusen ex-ne-i*
 PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 all Jesus-ERG say:PRES-3SG-PAST

xalx-n-a mäsäli-ğ-on [Matthew 13:34]
 people-SA-DAT example-PL-ERG
 'Jesus told all this to the people with the help of examples.'

In the Gospels, *bütün* is incidentally placed before a personal pronoun. Obviously, these passages copy the word order of the source text:

- (x)(a) *bütün va^ʕn moğor-eğ-al-lan bez baxt'in me bias*
 all you:PL tempt-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC I:POSS for PROX night(:ADV)
 'You all shall be tempted because of me this night.' [Matthew 26:31]
 Russian: *vse vy soblaznites' o mne v éty noč'*

- (b) *bütün va^ʕn aq'-nan-esa* [John 7:21]
 all you:PL take-2PL-LV:PASS:PRES
 'You all are surprised (lit.: taken).'
 Russian: *vse vy divites'*

- (c) *bütün mo-no ba-ne-k-e* [Matthew 21:4]
 all PROX-REF:ABS be-3SG-\$-PERF
 ‘All this has happened.’
 Russian: *vse že sie bylo.*

In case *bütün* follows a referential noun, it usually is emphatic. It is then sometimes difficult to tell whether *bütün* serves to modify the noun or the following verb (in terms of an adverb):

- (x) (a) *a^lil-ux bütün bas-q’un-k’-i nep’-ax e-san* [BH 68]
 child-PL all lie=down-3PL-LV-PAST sleep-DAT2 go-CV:TEL
 ‘ALL the children lay down in order to sleep (lit.: to come to sleep)’.
- (b) *efi gena bin pop-al bütün zoq’al-b-i-ne* [Luke 12:7]
 you:PL:POSS CONTR head:GEN hair-FOC all count-LV-PAST-3SG
 ‘He has even counted ALL the hairs of your head.’
- (c) *śum-ax bütün kä-i-ne* [f.n.]
 bread-DAT2 all eat-PAST-3SG
 ‘He has eaten ALL the bread!’

3.2.9.5 Interrogative. Interrogative attribution is expressed with the help of the following lexemes:

- (x) *e* ‘what kind of’ [Nizh *he ~ hi-*] (§ 1)
mano ‘which’ (distributive) (§ 2)
eq’q’ara ‘how many/much’ [Nizh *heq’q’ara*] (§ 3)
ema ‘how many/much’ (§ 3)
ši [~ *et’a*] ‘whose’ (§ 4)

Referents with interrogative attribution normally behave like interrogative noun phrases: They are in ‘natural’ focus and hence call for the interrogative clitic *-a* in case a third person singular actant in subjective/agentive function is present (see 3.4.3 and 5.9). Except for possessive interrogatives (see § 4), interrogative attributes are not sensitive for case. In consequence, English expressions like ‘with which’, ‘to which’, ‘from which’, ‘with how many/much’ etc. are reflected by case marking on the referent:

- (X) (a) *me eq’-n-ux e me-n-en-nu xa^lxa^l-exa?* [f.n.]
 PROX meat-SA-DAT2 which knife-SA-ERG>INSTR-2SG piece-LV:PRES
 ‘With which knife do you cut this meat?’
- (b) *e usk’un-en usk’-a-i-nan* [Matthew 7:2]
 which measure-ERG>INSTR measure-LV-MOD-PAST-2PL
 ‘With which measur you would measure..’

(c) *vartašen-a mano iaq'-al tağ-al-ian?* [f.n.]
 Vartashen-DAT which way-SUPER go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1PL
 'Which road will we take to Vartashen?'

(d) *zor mano ga-n-u-t'ai?* [R 18]
 power which place-SA-DAT-3SG:POSS
 'Where (lit.: in which place) does he have (his) strength?'

§ 1. The interrogative form *e* basically means 'what kind of, which sort of, which'. It normally asks for the quality of a referent. Historically, it stems from the proto-Lezgian interrogative element **hi* < **y-əšːː*, see 3.2.8.4 and 3.3.9.5. The laryngeal is preserved in the Nizh variant *he*. The referential variant Nizh *hik'ä* ~ *hikä* still shows the original vowel. *e* serves as a basis to derive a number of referential Q-words, see 3.2.8.4 and terms denoting unspecific (indefinite) reference, see 3.2.8.3:

(X)	<i>e-žür-ä</i>	'how'	Azeri <i>cür</i> 'kind, mode' / dative
	<i>e-k'a</i>	'what'	<i>*k'a</i> 'thing'
	<i>e-k'al</i>	'anything'	See 3.2.8.3
	<i>e-ma</i>	'what kind of, how many'	<i>*ma</i> 'quality'
	<i>e-q'q'ara</i>	'how many'	<i>*q'ara</i> 'quantity'
	<i>e-t'a</i>	'whose'	<i>*k'a</i> 'thing' / oblique, genitive
	<i>e-t'e</i>	'how'	<i>*k'a</i> 'thing' / oblique, adverbial
	<i>e-tär</i>	'how'	<i>*-tär</i> < Arabic <i>tawr</i> 'mode'
	<i>e-vaxt'</i>	'when'	<i>vaxt'</i> 'time' (Arabic <i>waqt</i> 'time')

Examples for the use of *e* 'which' are:

(X) (a) *me-no e sel ġar-a?* [S&S 94]
 PROX-REF:ABS which good boy-3SG:Q
 'What kind of good boy is this?'

(b) *e selluğ bu-va-q'-sa b-a-z* [S&S 93]
 which goodness want-2SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES make-MOD-1SG
 'Which favor do you want me to give (you)?'

(c) *ğe e ġi-a?* [ST §24]
 day(:ADV) which day-3SG:Q
 'Which day is it today?'

(d) *me-no e k'ož-a?* [ST §25]
 PROX-REF:ABS which house-3SG:Q
 'Which house is this?'

- (e) *e pislugč-a b-e ka-t'-in?* [Matthew 27:23]
 which crime-3SG:Q make-PERF MED-REF:OBL-ERG
 ‘Which crime did he commit?’
- (f) *e zak'on-a tad-e e'fax Moisei-en?* [Mark 10:3]
 which law-3SG:Q give-PERF you:PL:DAT2 Moses-ERG
 ‘Which law did give you Moses?’

There is an important constraint on the use of *e* with case marked nouns. As far as data go, *e* is most often used with the absolutive case (see the examples above). Else, only the combination of *e* plus ergative-instrumental is attested for Vartashen, see the examples in (X /zwei oben). This constraint goes together with the basically indefinite semantics of the absolutive case. It matches the indefinite orientation of the interrogative element *e* that normally asks for new information on the quality of a referent. In Nizh, there is a strong tendency to cleft referents attributed by *hi* in case the meaning is ‘what kind of’:

- (x) (a) *mo-no he säs-ä i-z-bak-sa?* [KAL; OR 124]
 DIST-REF:ABS what voice-3SG:Q hear-1SG-LV-PRES
 ‘What is this voice (that) I hear?’
- (b) *mo-no he e'k-a-nu haq'-i?* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS what horse-DAT-2SG take-past
 ‘What (kind of) horse did you buy?’

When the referent is marked by a case form other than the absolutive or ergative-instrumental, Udi speakers tend to use *mano* ‘which’ instead (see below). Hence, (X,b) is grammatical, whereas (X,a) is not:

- (X) (a) **me-no e adamar-i-a k'ož / e adamar-i k'ož-a*
 prox-REF:ABS which man-GEN-3SG:Q house / which man-GEN house-3SG:Q
 ‘Which man’s house is this?’
- (b) *mo-no mano adamar-i k'ož-a?* [f.n.]
 prox-REF:ABS which man-GEN house-3SG:Q
 ‘Which man’s house is it?’

§ 2. Interrogation that aims at the selection of a specific referent out of a known group of referents is indicated by *mano* ‘which’ (Nizh sometimes *manu* ~ *mani*). It stems from the interrogative stem *ma-* ‘where’ to which the referentializer *-no* is added (see 3.2.3). As has been shown in section 3.2.8.4, the form itself has strong referential properties allowing full inflection (see 3.3.9.5). The use of (then uninflected) *mano* in adnominal function stems from older relational structures that can be formalized as follows:

- (X) *mano* NOUN-PL-GEN/ABL
which=one (out=)of=X:PL

Examples that reflect the underlying structure are:

- (X) (a) *mano-a me ġar-muġ-oxo haq'ullu* [GD 50]
which:REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX son-PL-ABL clever
'Which of the sons is clever'
- (b) *me-t'-oġ-o mano-a šel* [TR 68]
PROX-REF:OBL-PL-GEN which:REF:ABS-3SG:Q good
'Which of them is good?'
- (c) *mano vādi-n-axo aba-t'u-bak-e bilġi-ġ-oxo* [Matthew 2:16]
which time-SA-ABL know-3SG:IO-LV-PERF wise=man-PL-ABL
'... which (> that) time has he (> he has) learnt from the wise men.'

In a second step, the form *mano* became petrified and the following noun lost its NP-internal case relation. Nevertheless, the resulting structure *mano* + Noun is not fully stabilized. This can be inferred from the inhomogenous way of marking a third person singular actant, which is not always indicated by the Q-clitic *-a*. The following examples illustrate this point:

- (X) (a) *vi mano viċi-a p'ur-e* [CO § 3]
you:SG:POSS which brother-3SG:Q dead-PERF
'Which (of) your brother(s) is dead?'
- (b) *be^ſ-a mano ga-l-a-z bap'-es-p'-e* [Ch&T 173]
see-IMP:2SG which place-SA-DAT-1SG reach-MASD-LV-PERF
'Look, to which result (lit.: place) I have come.'
- (c) *mano sahat-a eġ-al-le ef bixaġux?* [Matthew 24:42]
which hour-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:POSS god
'In which hour will come your god?'
- (d) *mano baba-n-a e^ſfa^ſxo (...) tad-a-ne šo-t'-u že^ſ?*
which father-ERG-3SG you:PL:ABL (...) give-MOD-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT stone
'Which father among you (...) would give him a stone?'
[Luke 11:11]
- (e) *mano sahat-a eġ-al-a abazak'* [Luke 12:39]
which time-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q thief
'In which hour will the thief come?'

In (X,a), the NP *vi mano viči* is canonically marked by the Q-clitic *-a*. In (X,c), however, it is replaced by the standard (assertive) clitic *-ne* (*eğalle*). In (X,e), that comes close to (X,c), the Q-clitic is added to the verb (*eğala*). Finally, (X,d) has both the Q-clitic *-a* (in *babana*) and the standard clitic in the verb (*tadane*).

Today, the most frequent way of using *mano* is in analogy to the interrogative element *e*. This means that *mano* forms a cluster with the following noun that is marked by the Q-clitic *-a* in case a third person singular agent (subjective or agentive) is present. Hence, the following two examples represent the actual prototype:

(X) (a) *me aš-n-ux mano adamar-en-a b-e?* [f.n.]
 PROX work-SA-DAT2 which man-ERG-3SG:Q make-PERF
 ‘Which man has done this work?’

(b) *zaxol mano aⁱil-a tai-sa?* [f.n.]
 I:COM which child-3SG:Q go-PRES
 ‘Which child goes with me?’

It should, however, be noted that some speakers prefer to use the standard clitic *-ne*.

§ 3. The two attributive forms *eq’q’ara* and *ema* are used to indicate ‘how many/much’. Originally, this function was restricted to *eq’q’ara* that is composed of *e* ‘what, which’ and *q’ara* ‘quantity’. Usually, the uvular is expressively lengthened, just as it is true for the corresponding assertive forms *meq’q’ara* and *t’eq’q’ara* ‘so many’ (see 3.2.9.4). The alternative form *ema* (often showing up in form of the lengthened variant *emma*) is derived from the now lost noun **ma* ‘quality’. Today, *ema* has superseded the older form *eq’q’ara* in the speech of many Udis. (X) illustrates the use of *eq’q’ara*:

(X) (a) *eq’q’ara älāmät-ux-a-i iaratmiš-b-e še-t’-in* [John 12:37]
 how=many sign-PL-3SG:Q-PAST produce-LV-PERF DIST-REF:OBL-ERG
 ‘How many signs had he given..’

(b) *eq’q’ara isp’at-ux-q’un vi laxo tast’a* [Matthew 27:13]
 how=many testimony-PL-3PL you:SG:POSS on give:PRES
 ‘How much witness do they bear against you?’

(c) *eq’q’ara eⁱk-urux-a mia?* [f.n.]
 how=many horse-PL-3SG:Q PROX:ADV
 ‘How many horses are here?’

The adnominal interrogative form *ema* ~ *emma* is generally followed by its head noun in the singular. The following examples illustrate its use:

- (X) (a) *ema ulux-t'a bak-sa adamar-i?* [ST §5]
 how=many tooth-3SG:POSS be-PRES man-GEN
 ‘How many teeth has a person?’
- (b) *ema otağ-a bu šk'ola?* [ST §25]
 how=many room-3SG.Q be school:DAT
 ‘How many rooms are there in the school?’
- (c) *va^ʕn ema viči-nan?* [CO §1]
 you:PL how=many brother-2PL
 ‘How many brothers are you?’
- (d) *un ema usen-a t'ia-nu?* [CO §1]
 you:SG how=many year-DAT DIST:ADV-2SG
 ‘How many years have you been there?’
- (e) *emma śum-ef bu?* [Matthew 15:34]
 how=many bread-2PL:POSS be
 ‘How much bread do you have?’

§ 4. The genitive of the interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’ (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.3.9.5) is used to ask for possessors in attributive constructions:

- (x) (a) *mo-no ši sufat-a va^ʕ ši cam-a?* [Matthew 22:20]
 PROX-REF:ABS who:POSS image-3SG:Q and who:POSS inscription-3SG:Q
 ‘Whose image is this and whose inscription?’
- (b) *ši ġar-a šo-no?* [f.n.]
 who:POSS son-3SG:Q DIST-REF:ABS
 ‘Whose son is this (boy)?’

Note that *ši* is also used in long distance possession, compare (x,a) and (x):

- (x) *ši-a še-t'-a laxo sufat va^ʕ cam?* [Luke 20:24]
 who:POSS-3SG:Q DIST-REF:OBL-GEN on image and inscription
 ‘Whose is the image and the inscription there on?’

3.2.10 Numerals

Udi speakers have the option to use two different systems of numerals: A native system that is derived from proto-Lezgian and a Turkic system borrowed from Azeri. In standard conversation, the Azeri system is especially frequent with higher numerals. Additionally, it is often used in counting.

In this section I will first describe the system of cardinal numerals (3.2.10.1). Section 3.2.10.2 discusses the referentialized forms of these cardinals. Ordinal numerals is dealt with in section 3.2.10.3 (adnominal forms) and 3.2.10.4 (referentialized forms). Collective numerals are described in section 3.2.10.5, fractions in section 3.2.10.6, multiplicative numerals in section 3.2.10.7, and ‘approximatives’ in section 3.2.10.8.

3.2.10.1 Cardinal numerals. In this section I will first present the two competing systems of adnominal cardinals (§ 1-10). § 11 deals with the question of plural marking of counted nouns.

§1. The Udi system of adnominal cardinals is also used in standard counting (though the Azeri system is often preferred). It is based on a decimal system for the numerals from 1 to 19, whereas the cardinals from 20 to 99 are based on a vigesimal system, derived from *q'a* ‘twenty’.

§ 2. The basic numerals from 1 to 10 reflect the original proto-Lezgian system. (X) lists the numerals together with the corresponding forms tentatively reconstructed for proto-Lezgian. Additionally, the intermediate forms (Early Udi) are given:

(X)	Udi	Variants	Old Udi	Proto-Lezgian	Early Udi	English
	<i>sa</i>	---	<i>sa</i>	*s:a-	* <i>sa</i>	‘one’
	<i>p'a^f</i>	<i>p'a ~ p'ä</i>	<i>p'ʰa ~ p'A</i>	* <i>q^wə(-d)</i>	* <i>q^wr</i>	‘two’
	<i>xib</i>	<i>xə^fp'</i>	<i>xib</i>	* <i>ʔəbə-</i>	* <i>xi^b-</i>	‘three’
	<i>bip'</i>	---	<i>biq'</i>	* <i>y/bə-q^wə-</i>	* <i>biq^w</i>	‘four’
	<i>qo</i>	---	<i>xo</i>	* <i>ʔ:ˀə-</i>	* <i>x:ˀə-</i>	‘five’
	<i>u^fq</i>	<i>uq</i>	<i>Awx</i>	* <i>rəʔ(:)ˀ-</i>	* <i>r^x:ˀ</i>	‘six’
	<i>vu^fǰ</i>	<i>vuǰ</i>	<i>vAwǰ</i>	* <i>wərl:- (?)</i>	* <i>wrg^ǰ</i>	‘seven’
	<i>mu^fǰ</i>	<i>muǰ</i>	?	* <i>mərl:- (?)</i>	* <i>mrg^ǰ</i>	‘eight’
	<i>vui</i>	---	?	* <i>wə/yəč^wə-</i>	* <i>vəč^wi</i>	‘nine’
	<i>vic'</i>	---	?	* <i>wic'ə-</i>	* <i>wic'</i>	‘ten’

Historically, all basic numerals were marked for noun classes (see 3.2.4). In Udi, the class marker for class IV (*-d) is preserved in the numeral for ‘two’ *p'a^f* < proto-Lezgian **q^wə-d* > **q^wə-r* > **q^wr*. The adverb *sapsa* ‘alone’ probably reflects a form **sa-b sa* ‘one-III one’ (class III). The paradigm listed in (X) alludes to certain systematic aspects that, however, are far from being fully understood. Most probably, *bip'* ‘four’ represents an old dual of *p'a^f* ‘two’ (**bə-q^w(ə)*- ‘DUAL-two’). The two numerals *vu^fǰ* ‘seven’ and *mu^fǰ* ‘eight’ perhaps once formed a specific subparadigm (compare the Armenian cohesion of *ewtⁿ* ‘seven’ and *owtⁿ* ‘eight’). The same can possibly be described for the set *vui* ‘nine’ and *vic'* ‘ten’.

§ 3. The only form that has undergone grammaticalization is the numeral *sa* ‘one’. It is frequently used as some kind of indefinite article, see 3.2.7 for details. Else, the numerals are often used in word compounding:

3.1-3 Reference

(X)	<i>saturra</i>	‘one-legged’	* <i>sa tur-la</i>	‘one leg-ADJ’
	<i>sakin</i>	‘one-handed’	* <i>sa kin</i>	‘one hand:ERG’
	<i>sakulla</i>	‘one-handed’	* <i>sa kul-la</i>	‘one hand-ADJ’
	<i>sapsa</i>	‘alone’	* <i>sa-b sa</i>	‘one-III one’
	<i>samal</i>	‘a little bit’	* <i>sa mal</i>	‘one few’
	<i>sausenin</i>	‘one-year-old’	* <i>sa usenin</i>	‘one year-GEN’
	<i>sahor</i>	‘instantly’	* <i>sa hor</i>	‘one *hour’ (Greek <i>òD</i>) ‘time’ etc.)
	<i>saema</i>	‘some’	* <i>sa ema</i>	‘one how=many’
	<i>p’a^ʃbul-la</i>	‘two-headed’	* <i>p’a^ʃbul-la</i>	‘two head-ADJ’
	<i>p’a^ʃturra</i>	‘two-legged’	* <i>p’a^ʃtur-la</i>	‘two leg-ADJ’
	<i>p’a^ʃkin</i>	‘two-handed’	* <i>p’a^ʃkin</i>	‘two hand:erg’
	<i>p’a^ʃp’i^ʃ</i>	‘crawling’	* <i>pa^ʃp’i^ʃ</i>	‘two ?’
	<i>p’a^ʃelmuḡon</i>	‘pregnant’	* <i>p’a^ʃelmuḡ-on</i>	‘two soul-ERG’
	<i>p’a^ʃéola</i>	‘hypocrite’	* <i>p’a^ʃéola</i>	‘two face-ADJ’
	<i>bip’éo</i>	‘around’	* <i>bip’éo</i>	‘four face/side’

These numerals are also used in an Oriental manner to derive the following names for the days of the week:

(X)	<i>p’a^ʃsamat’</i>	‘Monday’	* <i>p’a^ʃsamat’</i>	‘two (from) Sabbath’
	<i>xib^ʃsamat’</i>	‘Tuesday’	* <i>xib^ʃsamat’</i>	‘three (from) Sabbath’
	<i>bip’^ʃsamat’</i>	‘Wednesday’	* <i>bip’^ʃsamat’</i>	‘four (from) Sabbath’
	<i>qo^ʃsamat’</i>	‘Thursday’	* <i>qo^ʃsamat’</i>	‘five (from) Sabbath’

§ 4. The cardinals from eleven to nineteen are formed according to the typological type ‘first decade + 10(:and)’ (increasing order). Thus Udi differs from all other sister languages that show a decreasing order (10 + X). Among the three contact languages Azeri, Armenian, and Persian / Northwest Iranian, Azeri belongs to the ‘decreasing type’, whereas (Classical) Armenian and Persian conform to the Udi type. From this we can infer that Udi has borrowed its type from one of these two languages, compare (X) that lists the different types (dialectal variants are ignored):

(X)	Language	Formula	‘ten’	‘ten’ in <i>tens</i>
	Lezgi	10 + X	<i>c’ud</i>	<i>c’V-</i>
	Tabasaran	10 + X	<i>yic’ub</i>	<i>yic’i-</i>
	Aghul	10 + X	<i>ic’ud</i>	<i>c’i-</i>
	Rutul	10 + X	<i>yic’ə-</i>	<i>c’ə-</i>
	Tsakhur	10 + X	<i>yic’ə-</i>	<i>yic’ə-</i>
	Kryts	10 + X	<i>yic’ə-</i>	<i>əs-na</i>
	Budukh	10 + X	<i>yəc’ə-</i>	<i>c’ən-na</i>
	Archi	10 + X	<i>vic’a</i>	<i>moç’or</i>
	Khinalug	10 + X	<i>ya’az</i>	<i>ya’az-</i>
	Udi	X + 10	<i>vic’</i>	<i>-c’c’e</i>
	Azeri	10 + X	<i>on</i>	<i>on-</i>
	Armenian	X + 10	<i>tasn</i>	<i>-tasan</i>
	Persian	X + 10	<i>dah</i>	<i>-dah</i>

Also note Old Udi *p'ac'ar* 'twelve' (Modern Udi *p'a^ʕc'e*). The Udi compounding technique involves a shortening of the numeral *vic'* just as in Aghul and Rutul (> **ec'*). Additionally, the affricate is lengthened (> *-ec'c'e*; the initial *e-* is dropped after a numeral ending in vowel). Most probably, we have to deal with an older form **-ec'-ni* 'ten-and' > **-ec'-ne* > *-ec'c'e*: The segment **-ni* represents a proto-Lezgian emphatic/additive particle that is also present in Udi *-q'an* 'and' (< **-q'a-ni*, see 3.5.3 and 5.8.1) and the third person singular clitic *-ne* < **-ni*. Hence, the Udi compositional type corresponds to the Southern Samur type (Kryts *as-na* < **yic'-na* 'ten-and', Budukh *c'an-na* < **c'ad-na* 'ten-and'). This type is also present with the Armenian cardinals *ew^ʕn ew tasn* (seven and ten) 'seventeen', *ow^ʕ ew tasn* (eight and ten) 'eighteen', and *inn ew tasn* (nine and ten) 'nineteen'.

§ 5. The numerals from eleven to nineteen are:

(X)	<i>sac'c'e</i>	'eleven'	* <i>sa-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>p'a^ʕc'c'e</i>	'twelve'	* <i>p'a^ʕ-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>xibec'c'e</i>	'thirteen'	* <i>xib-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>bip'ec'c'e</i>	'fourteen'	* <i>bip'-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>qoc'c'e</i>	'fifteen'	* <i>qo-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>u^ʕqec'c'e</i>	'sixteen'	* <i>u^ʕq-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>vu^ʕg'ec'c'e</i>	'seventeen'	* <i>vu^ʕg'-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>mu^ʕg'ec'c'e</i>	'eighteen'	* <i>mu^ʕg'-ec'-ni</i>
	<i>vui^ʕec'c'e</i>	'nineteen'	* <i>vui-ec'-ni</i>

§ 6. The cardinal numerals from 20 to 99 are based on a vigesimal system. It is derived from *q'a* 'twenty' that is turned into a referential form: *q'a-o* > *q'o* (Old Udi *q'A*) The form is preceded by the corresponding numerals of the first decade in adnominal function. The basic type is:

(X)	<i>p'a^ʕ q'a-o</i>	>	<i>p'a^ʕq'o</i> (Old Udi <i>p'^ʕaq'A</i>)
	two twenty-ref:abs		forty

The numeral *q'a* 'twenty' is often augmented in an analogical way, resulting in *saq'o* < **sa q'a-o* 'one twenty (one)'. This form is especially frequent with the numerals from 21 to 29, see below. The resulting forms for the basic vigesimals are:

(X)	<i>saq'o</i> [~ <i>q'a</i>]	'twenty'	<	* <i>sa q'a-o</i>	(one twenty one)
	<i>p'a^ʕq'o</i>	'forty'	<	* <i>p'a^ʕq'a-o</i>	(two twenty ones)
	<i>xibq'o</i>	'sixty'	<	* <i>xib q'a-o</i>	(three twenty ones)
	<i>bip'q'o</i>	'eighty'	<	* <i>bip' q'a-o</i>	(four twenty ones)

§ 7. The numerals from 21 to 39, 41 to 59, 61 to 79, and 81 to 99 are derived from the corresponding vigesimal bases to which the numerals of the first vigesimal units are asyndetically added, see table (X):

3.1-3 Reference

		saq'o	20	p'a ^q 'o	40	xibq'o	60	bip'q'o	80
sa	1	saq'osa	21	p'a ^q 'osa	41	xibq'osa	61	bip'q'osa	81
p'a ^f	2	saq'op'a ^f	22	p'a ^f 'op'a ^f	42	xibq'op'a ^f	62	bip'q'op'a ^f	82
xib	3	saq'oxib	23	p'a ^f 'oxib	43	xibq'oxib	63	bip'q'oxib	83
bip'	4	saq'obip'	24	p'a ^f 'obip'	44	xibq'obip'	64	bip'q'obip'	84
qo	5	saq'oqo	25	p'a ^f 'oqo	45	xibq'oqo	65	bip'q'oqo	85
u ^f q	6	saq'ou ^f q	26	p'a ^f 'ou ^f q	46	xibq'ou ^f q	66	bip'q'ou ^f q	86
vu ^f ǵ	7	saq'ovu ^f ǵ	27	p'a ^f 'ovu ^f ǵ	47	xibq'ovu ^f ǵ	67	bip'q'ovu ^f ǵ	87
mu ^f ǵ	8	saq'omu ^f ǵ	28	p'a ^f 'omu ^f ǵ	48	xibq'omu ^f ǵ	68	bip'q'omu ^f ǵ	88
vui	9	saq'ovui	29	p'a ^f 'ovui	49	xibq'ovui	69	bip'q'ovui	89
vic'	10	saq'ovic'	30	p'a ^f 'ovic'	50	xibq'ovic'	70	bip'q'ovic'	90
sac'c'e	11	saq'osac'c'e	31	p'a ^f 'osac'c'e	51	xibq'osac'c'e	71	bip'q'osac'c'e	91
p'a ^f c'c'e	12	saq'op'a ^f c'c'e	32	p'a ^f 'op'a ^f c'c'e	52	xibq'op'a ^f c'c'e	72	bip'q'op'a ^f c'c'e	92
xibec'c'e	13	saq'oxibec'c'e	33	p'a ^f 'oxibec'c'e	53	xibq'oxibec'c'e	73	bip'q'oxibec'c'e	93
bip'ec'c'e	14	saq'obip'ec'c'e	34	p'a ^f 'obip'ec'c'e	54	xibq'obip'ec'c'e	74	bip'q'obip'ec'c'e	94
qoc'c'e	15	saq'oqoc'c'e	35	p'a ^f 'oqoc'c'e	55	xibq'oqoc'c'e	75	bip'q'oqoc'c'e	95
u ^f qec'c'e	16	saq'ou ^f qec'c'e	36	p'a ^f 'ou ^f qec'c'e	56	xibq'ou ^f qec'c'e	76	bip'q'ou ^f qec'c'e	96
vu ^f ǵec'c'e	17	saq'ovu ^f ǵec'c'e	37	p'a ^f 'ovu ^f ǵec'c'e	57	xibq'ovu ^f ǵec'c'e	77	bip'q'ovu ^f ǵec'c'e	97
mu ^f ǵec'c'e	18	saq'omu ^f ǵec'c'e	38	p'a ^f 'omu ^f ǵec'c'e	58	xibq'omu ^f ǵec'c'e	78	bip'q'omu ^f ǵec'c'e	98
vuiecc'c'e	19	saq'ovuiecc'c'e	39	p'a ^f 'ovuiecc'c'e	59	xibq'ovuiecc'c'e	79	bip'q'ovuiecc'c'e	99

Table (X): Udi cardinal numerals from 1 to 99

§ 8. Some speakers from Nizh tend to replace the vigesimal system of a decimal system based on the native terminology. Crucially, the term for 'forty' is exempted from this technique. (X) lists the corresponding numerals:

(X)	<i>xib vic'</i>	'thirty'
	<i>[p'a^fq'o]</i>	'forty'
	<i>qo vic'</i>	'fifty'
	<i>u^fq vic'</i>	'sixty'
	<i>vu^fǵ vic'</i>	'seventy'
	<i>mu^fǵ vic'</i>	'eighty'
	<i>vui vic'</i>	'ninety'

§ 9. 'Hundred' is expressed with the help of (*sa*) *bać*. The term originally meant 'wooden (counting) stick full of notches'. It has replaced the earlier vigesimal base '5x20' (Udi **qo-q'a* > Old Udi *xoq'A(ar)*-). The original nominal character of *bać* is reflected in Udi by the fact that it lacks referentialization. The basic cardinals are used in adnominal function to derive the higher hundreds:

(x)	<i>sabać</i>	'one hundred'
	<i>p'a^fbać</i>	'two hundred'
	<i>xibbać</i>	'three hundred'
	<i>bip'bać</i>	'four hundred'

<i>qobać</i>	‘five hundred’
<i>u^ʃqbać</i>	‘six hundred’
<i>vu^ʃǧbać</i>	‘seven hundred’
<i>mu^ʃǧbać</i>	‘eight hundred’
<i>vuibać</i>	‘nine hundred’

‘Thousand’ is expressed by *hazar* borrowed from Persian. An example for the use of the higher numerals is:

(X) (a) *vartašen(-a) mu^ʃǧ bać k’oǰ-ne*

Vartashen(-DAT) seven hundred house-3SG

p’a^ʃ bać p’a^ʃ q’o vic’ armeinun-ne
two hundred two twenty:REF:ABS ten Armenian-gen-3SG

bać p’a^ʃ q’o vic’ gurǰ-in
hundred two twenty:REF:ABS ten Georgian-GEN

xib bać žuhut’-un
three hundred Jew-GEN

xib q’o tatar-un p’a^ʃ q’o lek’-ei [VA 59]

three twenty:REF:ABS Azeri-GEN two twenty:REF:ABS Lezgian-GEN2

‘In Vartashen, there are 800 houses. 250 are Armenian, 150 Georgian, 300 Jewish, 60 Azeri, 40 (belong to) Lezgians.’

(b) *ma-no-r-te bu-q’un-i bać p’a^ʃ q’o xibe’c’e*

REL-REF:ABS-PL:ABS-SUB be-3PL-PAST hundred two twenty:REF:ABS thirteen

‘... which were one hundred fifty three’. [John 21:11]

(c) *ex-q’un udi-xo-y xib-bać xib-q’o xib dana e^ʃvel-le bu*

say:PRES-3PL udi-PL-GEN three-hundred three-twenty three class saint-3SG be

‘They say that the Udis have 363 saints’. [Misk 2]

§ 10. Many Udis from Nizh have fully adopted the Azeri system of cardinal numerals. Others use only the Azeri decades from ‘thirty’ to ‘ninety’ adding native numerals if necessary:

(X) <i>otuz xib</i>	=	<i>sa q’o xibec’c’e</i>	‘thirty three’ (Azeri <i>otuz</i>)
<i>qər x p’a^ʃ</i>	=	<i>p’a^ʃ q’o p’a^ʃ</i>	‘forty two’ (Azeri <i>qır x</i>)
<i>əlli vui</i>	=	<i>p’a^ʃ q’o vuic’c’e</i>	‘fifty nine’ (Azeri <i>əlli</i>)
<i>altmış bip’</i>	=	<i>xib q’o bip’</i>	‘sixty four’ (Azeri <i>altmış</i>)
<i>ietmiş sa</i>	=	<i>xib q’o sac’c’e</i>	‘seventy one’ (Azeri <i>yetmiş</i>)
<i>säksän qo</i>	=	<i>bip’ q’o qo</i>	‘eighty five’ (Azeri <i>säksän</i>)
<i>doxsan u^ʃq</i>	=	<i>bip’ q’o u^ʃqec’c’e</i>	‘ninety six’ (Azeri <i>doxsan</i>)

§ 11. Adnominal cardinal numerals normally call for a counted noun in the singular. Still, there is a slight tendency to use the plural with nouns denoting human beings. This is especially true for the Gospels: Counting of referents occur 233 times. In 19 instances, the referent is marked by the plural (8,15 %). The percentage falls, if we consider other types of text. In the cumulation of all oral tales, oral descriptions, and conversational texts nouns are counted 112 times. But only in five instances, a plural is used with the noun (4,46 %). (X) listed those terms that are used with the plural:

		Plural		Singular	
		Adnominal cardinal	Frequency	Adnominal cardinal	Frequency
GOSPEL					
<i>abazak'</i>	'thief'	2	2	2	1
<i>ap'ost'ol</i>	'apostle'	12	1	---	---
<i>but'iaq'</i>	'porch'	5	1	---	---
<i>čubux</i>	'woman'	2	1	---	---
<i>nökär</i>	'servant'	10	1	---	---
<i>šägird</i>	'pupil'	2 / 10 / 12	13	2	5
ELSE					
<i>ğar</i>	'son'	2	1	3	1
<i>ioldaš</i>	'friend'	4	1	3 / 4	2
<i>ore'in</i>	'spring, source'	2	1	---	---
<i>q'ari</i>	'reed'	4	1	---	---
<i>xinär</i>	'daughter'	2	1	10	1

Obviously, the use of plural nouns with adnominal cardinals is governed rather by idiosyncratic aspects than by systematic features.

3.2.10.2 Referential cardinal numerals. Just as most other adnominal structures, cardinal numerals can be referentialized with the help of the referentializer *-o* (see 3.2.3). Incidentally, the numeral can undergo unmarked conversion. A referentialized numeral is normally in the singular and can be fully inflected. Often, it calls for a singular agreement clitic although plural agreement is documented, too. Examples are:

(x) (a) *t'e ġe-n-a šo-t'-ğ-oxo p'o ta-q'un-c-i aiz-i*
 DIST day-SA-DAT DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL two:REF:ABS go-3PL-\$.PAST-PAST village-DAT
 'That day, two of them went to a village.' [Luke 24:13]

(b) *šo-no-r te-q'un p'o amma sa lašag-ne* [Mark 10:8]
 dist-REF:ABS-PL NEG-3PL two:REF:ABS but one body-3SG
 'They are not two but it is one body.'

(c) *qo sa k'ua burq-al-q'un žok'-bak-s-ax*
 five:REF:ABS one house:DAT begin-FUT:FAC-3PL separate-LV-MASD-DAT2

xib-o *p'o^f-t'-a* *beś*
 three-REF:ABS two:REF:ABS-REF:OBL-GEN before

va^f p'o^f-al *xib-o-t'-a* *beś* [Luke 12:52]
 and two:REF:ABS-FOC three-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-GEN before
 'Five in a house will begin to separate: three against two and two against three.'

(d) *šu-a* *me* *xib-t'-(u)xo* (...) *iśa*
 who-3SG:Q PROX three-REF:OBL-ABL (...) close

abazak'-ğ-o *kex* *kaf-t'-i-t'-enk'* [Luke 10:36]
 thief-PL-GEN hand:DAT2 rob-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-BEN
 'Who of these three is a neighbor for him who has fallen into the hands of the thieves?'

(e) *a-q'un-q'-i* *šo-t'-ux* *vu^fğ-o-t'-in-al* [Mark 12:22]
 take-3PL- $\$$ -PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 seven-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC
 'The seven took her.'

The referential forms are also used in answers to questions asking the number of objects:

(X) (a) *eq'q'ara* *viči-vi* *bak-sa?* – *xib-o* [f.n.]
 how=many brother-2SG:POSS be-PRES – three-REF:ABS
 'How many brothers do you have? – Three.'

(b) *ema* *k'aśa-a* *bu p'a^flin* *tur-m-in* *laxo* – *vic'o* [ST §8]
 how=many toe-3SG:Q be both foot-PL-GEN on – ten-REF:ABS
 'How many toes have the two feet? – Ten.'

(c) *ema* *e^fk'-nu* *be^fğ-e?* – *vuio* [f.n.]
 how=many horse-2SG see-perf – nine-REF:ABS
 'How many horses have you seen? – Nine.'

The forms in question are also used to denote the hours of the day. Normally, they are preceded by the noun *sahad* ~ *sahat'* ~ *saat'* 'hour' in the (relational) genitive. Note that this word is directly borrowed from Arabic *sa^cat* 'hour'. The basic structure is:

(X) *sahad-un* NUM-REF:ABS ~ *sahad-un* NUM-(REF:ABS-)REF:OBL-DAT

The absolutive case is used in predicative structures and in subjective function, compare:

(X) (a) *bu-ne-i sahad-un xib-o* [Mark 15:25]

be-3SG-PAST hour-GEN three-ABS:REF
‘It was the third hour.’

(b) *sahad-un vui-o tam-bak-axun gena*

hour-GEN nine-REF:ABS full-LV-CV:PAR CONTR

Isus-en kala säs-en p-i-ne [Mark 27:46]

Jesus-ERG big voice-ERG>INSTR say-PAST-3SG

‘When the ninth hour was over, Jesus said with a loud voice...’

The dative case is used to encode ‘at X’. It is sometimes replaced by the superessive:

(X) (a) *sahad-un xib-t'-u ič k'ua-ne tac-e* [f.n.]

hour-GEN three-REF:OBL-DAT REFL house:DAT go:PAST-PERF
‘At three, (s)he went home.’

(b) *sahad-un sac'c'e-t'-u ar-i-o-t'-u-al*

hour-GEN eleven-REF:OBL-DAT come:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT-FOC

ba-ne-p'-i sa dinar [Matthew 20:9]

move=into-3SG- $\$$ -PAST one dinar

‘Those who had come at eleven received one dinar.’

(c) *un gena sahad-un p'o^š-o-t'-ul zax moğor-b-a* [CO §8]

you:SG CONTR hour-GEN two-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-SUPER I:DAT2 awake-LV-IMP:2SG
‘You should wake me up at two!’

Incidentally, the standard adnominal cardinal numeral is used instead of the referential form. It is then used as an attribute of *sahad*:

(X) *u^šq sahad-axo bur-q-i vui-o-t'-ul cirik'*

six hours-ABL begin-LV-PAST nine-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-SUPER till

be^šə^šnq'luğ bu-ne-i bütün oçal-al [Matthew 27:45]

darkness be-3SG-PAST all land-SUPER

From six till nine, there was darkness all over the land.’

Speakers from Nizh tend to use the cardinal as a referential form now qualified by *saad-in* (hour-GEN):

(x) *savaxt'an saad-in vu^š telefon-en säs-e-b-sa* [OL 7, Nizh]

morning hour-GEN seven telephon-ERG voice-3SG-LV-PRES

‘The telephon rings at seven o’clock in the morning.’

The referential notion is reinforced by the multiplicative marker *-ar* especially if time is expressed to the minute:

- (x) *mu'ǧ-ar-a q'a dayǧa mand-i*
 eight-MULT-DAT twenty minute remain-PART:PAST
- bezi p'alt'ar-a lap-i otaǧ-axun č'e-zə-sa* [OL 19, Nizh]
 I:poss coat-DAT put=on-PART:PAST room-ABL leave-1SG-\$.PRES
 'Twenty minutes before eight, I put on my coat and leave the room.'

Else, morphologically unmarked conversion normally results from the elision of a nominal referent in contrastive constructions. Examples include:

- (X) (a) *p'a^f viči ma bak-en bak-en xib* [R 9]
 two brother PROH be-ADH:1PL be-ADH:1PL three
 'Let us not be two brothers, let us be three!'
- (b) *šel-le! zu xib kaǧəz cam-uk'-al-zu un gena p'a^f* [f.n.]
 good-3SG I three letter write-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG you:SG CONTR two
 'Ok! I will write three letter (and) you (will write) two!'

3.2.10.3 Ordinal numerals. Most Lezgian languages do not know morphological means to derive ordinal numerals. Instead, a metaphorized variant of the verb 'to say' is used (e.g. Aghul (Fite) *sad pud* 'first', Lezgi *sad lahaj* 'first' etc.). Today, Udi has lost this technique nearly completely. Still, certain residues can be described. Here, the non-past participle of *pesun* 'to say' is added to a cardinal:

- (X) (a) *bip' uk'-al ġi moroz ivan-in ġar-en kinbal-t'-ux p-i-ne* [IM 64]
 four say-PART:nPAST day Moroz Ivan-GEN son-ERG busy-REF:OBL-DAT say-PAST-3SG
 'The forth day, the son of Ivan Moroz said to the busy one...'
- (b) *xib uk'-al ġi-n-a taral e-ne-sa* [IM 67]
 three say-PART:nPAST day-SA-DAT lazy come-3SG-\$.PRES
 'The third day, the lazy (one) comes.'

Instead, the language has developed a full system of morphologically derived ordinals. Historically, the language used the relational genitive marker *-un* with the cardinals (see 3.3.3.5). A relict of this strategy is *sun* (< **saun*) 'first, one'. Also note Old Udi *bAwa* 'first', *serba-own* 'first', *p'owran* 'second, again', Today, the morpheme *-umǧi* is added to the cardinals:

- (X)
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| <i>saumǧi</i> | 'first' |
| <i>p'a^fumǧi</i> | 'second' |
| <i>xibumǧi</i> | 'third' |
| <i>bip'umǧi</i> | 'forth' |
| <i>qoumǧi</i> | 'fifth' |

<i>u^ʰqumži</i>	‘sixth’
<i>vu^ʰgumži</i>	‘seventh’
<i>mu^ʰgumži</i>	‘eighth’
<i>vuiumži</i>	‘nineth’
<i>vic^ʰumži</i>	‘tenth’

A variant of this suffix is *-unži*. This suffix represents the standard Azeri suffix to derive ordinals: *-Incl*. In northern Azeri dialects, the suffix often is *-imci* (~ *-iminci*). Hence, we can hypothesize that Udi has borrowed both variants from Azeri. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in Old Udi, the suffix *-om* is used to indicate ‘X times’, e.g. *som* < **sa-om* ‘once’, **p^ʰaowm* ‘twice’ (in *p^ʰa-m-own* ‘again, anew’ etc.), *Xibom* ‘thrice’, *xoom* ‘five times’ (usually followed by Old Udi *čar* ‘times’). The very nature of the suffix *-om* is not yet fully understood; still, it may well be that it also is reflected in the Modern Udi suffix *-um-ži*.

The forms mentioned in (X) represent adnominal ordinals. They are used just as any other adnominal structure:

(X) (a) *p^ʰa^ʰumži xinär-en ex-ne* [S&S 90]

second girl-ERG say:PRES-3SG
‘The second girl says...’

(b) *xibumži gē-n-a tac-i sa žähil ġar-re biq^ʰ-sa* [GD 61]

third day-SA-DAT go:PAST-PAST one young boy-3SG take-PRES
‘The third day, he finally hires a young boy.’

(c) *bip^ʰumži ġi k^ʰua man-ne-st^ʰa rust^ʰam* [R 10]

forth day house:DAT stay-3SG-LV:PRES Rustam
‘The forth day, Rustam stays at home.’

(d) *šo-t^ʰ-u u^ʰqumži xaš-ne* [Luke 1:36]

DIST-REF:OBL-DAT sixth month-3SG
‘She is in the sixth month.’

3.2.10.4 Referential ordinal numerals. Ordinals can be referentialized just as any other adnominal form (see 3.2.3). There is no semantic restriction concerning the use of such forms. Examples include:

(x) (a) *a-ne-q^ʰ-i t^ʰe čuğbox p^ʰa^ʰumži-t^ʰ-in* [Luke 20:30]

take-3SG- $\$$ -PAST DIST woman:DAT2 second-REF:OBL-ERG
‘The second one married that woman.’

(b) *va^ʰ p^ʰuran iaq^ʰ-a-ne-b-i xibumži-t^ʰ-ux* [Luke 20:12]

and again way-dat-3sg-lv-past third-ref:obl-dat2
‘And again he sent a third one...’

(c) *zu saumẓ̌i eḡel-ax śam-uk'al-zu*
 I first sheep-DAT2 slaughter-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG

un gena p'a^ʃumẓ̌i-t'-ux [f.n.]
 you:SG CONTR second-REF:OBL-DAT2
 'I will slaughter the first sheep – you, however, the second one.'

3.2.10.5 Collective numerals. Udi has a special suffix to derive collective numerals. It is *-alen* in Vartashen and often *-ar-an* in Nizh (§ 1). Additionally, reduplication of cardinals is used in approximately the same sense (§ 2).

§ 1. The suffix *-alen* (Nizh often *-aran*) adds to the cardinals in order to form adnominal structures of the type 'by X', 'the X ...':

(X)	<i>p'a^ʃ(a)len</i>	'both'
	<i>xibalen</i>	'the three..'
	<i>bip'alen</i>	'the four...'
	<i>qo(a)len</i>	'the five...'
	<i>u^ʃqalen</i>	'the six...'
	<i>vu^ʃḡalen</i>	'the seven...'
	<i>mu^ʃḡalen</i>	'the eight...'
	<i>vuialen</i>	'the nine...'
	<i>vic'alen</i>	'the ten...'

The origin of this suffix is somewhat obscure. It is most probable related to the element present in the two indefinite pronouns *šuk'al* 'anyone' and *ek'al* 'anything' (see 3.2.8.3.1). The segment *-en* would then reflect an older ergative-instrumental, producing a modal adjective (see 3.2.9.1). The referential usually is in the singular:

(X) (a) *p'a^ʃlen šägird-al ta-q'un-c-i Isus-i qošt'an* [John 1:37]
 two:COLL pupil-FOC go-3PL-\$.PAST-PAST Jesus-GEN behind
 'Both pupils followed Jesus.'

(b) *bui-q'un-b-i p'a^ʃlen k'ic'k'e gāmi-n-ax* [Luke 5:7]
 full-3PL-LV-PAST two:COLL little boat-SA-DAT2
 'They filled both little boats.'

(c) *p'a^ʃlen pin bos-eḡ-a-nu geen-un arḡ-o boš*
 two:COLL eye:ERG throw-LV:PASS:FUT-MOD-2SG hell-GEN fire-GEN in
 '...that you would be thrown with both eyes into the hell's fire.'
 [Matthew 18:9]

Personal pronouns normally precede collective numerals:

- (a) *va^{ʕn} xib-alen-al lašk'o-bak-a-nan* [GD 62]
 you:PL three-COLL-FOC marriage-LV-MOD-2PL
 'You three should be married...'
- (b) *ian bip'-alen tağ-al-ian šähär-äx* [f.n.]
 we four-COLL go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1PL town-DAT2
 'We four will go to the town.'

Frequently, the collective numerals have referential properties. Likewise, referentialization can be applied:

- (X) (a) *p'a^{ʕlen}-al bi-q'un-t-o kur-r-u* [Matthew 15:14]
 two:COLL-FOC fall-3PL- $\$$ -FUT:MOD hole-SA-DAT
 'Both will fall into the hole.'
- (b) *p'a^{ʕlen}-al furu-q'un-exa* [IK 67]
 two:COLL-FOC walk=around-3PL-LV:PRES
 'Both walk around.'
- (c) *še-t'-in p'a^{ʕlen}-t'-u-al bağışlamiš-ne-b-i* [Luke 7:42]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG two:COLL-REF:OBL-DAT-FOC forgive-3SG-LV-PAST
 'He forgave both of them.'
- (d) *oša-al p'a^{ʕlen}-t'-in ma^ğ-q'un-exa* [SD §4]
 then-FOC two:COLL-REF:OBL-ERG song-3PL-LV:PRES
 'Then both sing.'
- (e) *mo-t'-ğ-on xib-alen-t'-ğ-on śue-q'un bes-b-e*
 PROX-REF:OBL-ERG three-COLL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG bear-3PL kill-LV-PERF
 'These three have killed a bear.' [Pančviže 1974:117, normalized]
- (f) *bin-e-al bip' äyel-t'ux bu-i – bip'-alin xüyär*
 daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC four child-3SG:POSS be-PAST – four-COLL girl
 'The daughter-in-law had four children – all four (were) girl(s).'
 [Nizh; TAR; OR 125]

The suffix *-alen* has a variant *-alin* that most likely represents an older genitive (see 3.3.3.5). In Nizh, it is the standard reflex of *-alen*, compare (x,f) above. In Vartashen, it is used with cardinals to count pairs of human beings and body parts. The derivational semantics is obscure. Example are:

- (x) (a) *p'a^{ʕlin} kin laxo bu-ne vic' k'ása* [ST §8]

two:PAIR hand:GEN on be-3SG ten finger
 ‘Two hands have ten fingers.’

- (b) *p'a^flin zāhmāt-en-ian kar-x-esa*
 two:PAIR work-ERG>INSTR-1PL live-LV-PRES

p'a^flin azadduğ-a-ian č'e-bak-e [PO 187]
 two:PAIR freedom-DAT-1PL out-BE-PERF
 ‘Both (sickle and hammer) we live working
 both we have come to freedom.’

- (c) *ian p'a^f(a^f)lin u-ian-ğ-i čai* [Nizh; Pančviže 1974:118]
 we two:COLL drink-PL- $\$$ -PAST tee
 ‘We both drank tee.’

§ 2. All cardinal numerals can be used in a reduplicated form to produce collective numerals. Both adnominal and referential forms can be used:

(X)	Adnominal	Referential	Meaning
	<i>sa sa</i>	<i>so so</i>	‘by one, RECIPIENT’
	<i>p'a^f p'a^f</i>	<i>p'o^f p'o^f ~</i> <i>p'o^fğo^f p'o^fğo^f</i>	‘by two’
	<i>xib xib</i>	<i>xibo xibo</i>	‘by three’
	<i>bip' bip'</i>	<i>bip'o bip'o</i>	‘by four’
	<i>qo qo</i>	<i>qo qo</i>	‘by five’
	<i>u^fq u^fq</i>	<i>u^fqo u^fqo</i>	‘by six’
	<i>vu^fğ vu^fğ</i>	<i>vu^fğo vu^fğo</i>	‘by seven’
	<i>mu^fğ mu^fğ</i>	<i>mu^fğo mu^fğo</i>	‘by eight’
	<i>vui vui</i>	<i>vuiio vuiio</i>	‘by nine’
	<i>vic' vic'</i>	<i>vic'o vic'o</i>	‘by ten’

Examples are:

- (X) (a) *iaq'-a-ne-bi ič be^fš p'o^f p'o^f har šähär-ä*
 way-DAT-3SG-LV-PAST REFL before two:REF:ABS two:REF:ABS each town-DAT
 ‘Prior to himself, he sent them by two into every town...’ [Luke 10:1]

- (b) *bur-re-q-i iaq'-a-b-s-ax p'o^f p'o^f* [Mark 6:7]
 begin-3SG-LV-PAST way-DAT-LV-MASD-DAT2 two:REF:ABS two:REF:ABS
 ‘He started to send them by two...’

- (c) *p'a^f p'a^f viči-ne mia!* [f.n.]
 two two brother PROX:ADV
 ‘Both brothers are here!’

- (d) *ma-q'a-va-q'i^f-b-i ian t'ia xib xib tağ-al-ian* [f.n.]

PROH-ADH-2SG:IO-fear-LV-PAST we DIST:ADV three three go:FUT-FUC:FAC-1PL
 ‘Don’t worry! We will go there in a group of four.’

- (e) *arc-es-t'-a-nan šo-t'-ğ-ox q'atar-en p'a^fq'ovic' p'a^fq'ovic'*
 sit-MASD-CAUS-MOD-2PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 group-ERG fifty fifty
 ‘Have them sit in groups of fifty!’ [Luke 9:14]

3.2.10.6 Fractions. Fractions are construed according to the (northern) Oriental type: The denominator is placed in a locative case form followed by the numerator. In Udi, the denominator is marked by the ablative (in Nizh, by the ablative-comitative). Note that case marking presupposes the referentialization of the cardinal in question. In Nizh, the denominator is marked by the collective morpheme *-ar-* (see above):

(X) (a) *xib-t'-uxo sa* [f.n.]
 three-REF:OBL-ABL one
 ‘one third’

(b) *vic'-t'-uxo xib* [f.n.]
 ten-REF:OBL-ABL three
 ‘three tenth’

(c) *xib-ar-axun p'a^f* [Nizh; f.n.]
 three-COLL-ABL/COM two
 ‘two thirds’

Often, the numerator is followed by the noun *bar* (Nizh *pai*) ‘part, portion’ etc. (Azeri *pay*):

(X) *mia sa šum-ne xib-t'-uxo sa bar aq'-a!* [f.n.]
 prox:ADV one bread-3SG three-REF:OBL-ABL one part take-IMP:2SG
 ‘Here is a bread. Take one third of it!’

In texts, fractions are rare. Examples include:

(x) (a) *ek'a-nan tast'a vic'-t'-xo so p'ušnik'-axo...* [Matthew 23:23]
 what-2PL give:PRES ten-REF:OBL-ABL one:REF:ABS mint-ABL...
 ‘What (for) do you give one tenth of mint..’

(b) *ta-z-d-esa bütiin-t'-xo vic'-t'-xo so* [Luke 18:12]
 give-1SG- $\bar{\$}$ -PRES all-REF:OBL-ABL ten-REF:OBL-ABL one:REF:ABS
 ‘I give one tenth of all (things).’

3.2.10.7 Multiplicative numerals. Multiplicative numerals are formed with the help of the noun *kärän* that is added to the standard cardinals:

(x)	<i>sa kārān</i>	‘once’
	<i>p’a^ʃ kārān</i>	‘twice’
	<i>xib kārān</i>	‘three times’
	<i>bip’ kārān</i>	‘four times’

The origin of *kārān* is not fully understood. Most probably, the form is related to Persian *kerār* ‘multiple’ (< Arabic *karār*) or is directly borrowed from the Arabic adverbial form *karāran* ‘a number of times’. It has replaced Old Udi *čar* ‘times’. The following examples illustrate the use of *kārān*:

(x) (a) *dadal sa kārān el-le-p-e* [CO §8]
 rooster one time crow-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘The rooster crowed one time.’

(b) *zaxo xib kārān kul aq’-al-lu* [Matthew 26:75]
 I:ABL three time hand take-FUT:FAC-2SG
 ‘You will deny me three times (lit.: take the hand from me)’

(c) *sunt’-in e-ne-sča bühār sa bać kārān* [Matthew 13:23]
 one:REF:OBL-ERG bring-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES fruit one hundred time
 ‘One bears fruit hundred times.’

kārān can also be used with ordinal numerals:

(x) (a) *ar-i-ne xibumži kārān* [Mark 14:41]
 come:PAST-PAST-3SG third time
 ‘He came the third time.’

(b) *t’evaxt’a dadal-en el-le-p-i p’a^ʃumži kārān* [Luke 14:72]
 DIST-time-DAT cock-ERG crow-3SG-LV-PAST second time
 ‘There the cock crowed the second time.’

3.2.10.8 Approximation. There are three techniques to indicate approximative values. On the one hand, many speakers simply put two numerals in a sequence:

(x) (a) *k’ua bip’ qo kitab-beš bu* [f.n.]
 house:DAT four five book-1PL:POSS be
 ‘At home, we have four or five books.’

(b) *ta-ne-st’a har-t’-u qo u^ʃq bać manat* [GD 60]
 give-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES each-REF:OBL-DAT five six hundred rubel
 ‘He gives each of them five to six hundred rubels.’

(c) *mia sa p’a^ʃ ġi man-d-esun-axo o^ʃsa* [DI 43]

PROX:ADV one two day stay-LV-MASD2-ABL after
 ‘After having stayed here for some days...’

- (d) *axəri ki zu ba^ǰa^ǰ-z-b-i vaxt’ cam-p-s-eyna*
 finally SUB I find-1SG-LV-PAST time write-LV-INF-BEN

sa p’a^ǰ kälma udin muz-in [OL 5, Nizh]
 one two word udi language-ERG
 ‘Finally, I have found the time to write one, two words in the Udi language.’

On the other hand, the plural of the cardinals *bać* ‘hundred’ and *hazar* ‘thousand’ is used. The numeral is then usually put in the ergative case and functions as a modal adverb:

- (X) (a) *evaxte gir-q’un-ec-i hazar-ǰ-on xalx* [Luke 12:1]
 when gather-3PL-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST thousand-PL-ERG people
 ‘When thousands of people gathered...’

- (b) *mia bać-urǰ-on eǰel-le* [f.n.]
 PROX:ADV hundred-ERG-PL sheep-3SG
 ‘Here there are hundreds of sheep.’

Finally, the postposition *k’ena* ‘like, as’ (see **x.x.x.**) is sometimes used to indicate an approximative value:

- (x) (a) *a^ǰxil-le vartašen-axo ni^ǰz-ax? saq’ovic’ verst’ k’ena ba-ne-k-o* [DI 30]
 far-3sg Vartashen-ABL Nizh-DAT2 thirty verst like be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 ‘Is it far from Vartashen to Nizh? It will be some thirty versts.’

- (b) *bez aiz-i xib xazar adamar k’ena kar-re-x-sa* [f.n.]
 we:POSS village-DAT three thousand person like live-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘In our village, there live some three thousand people.’

3.3 Contextualizing reference: Inflection

3.3.1 Introduction

§ 1. Under superficially ‘context-free’ conditions, Udi nouns are usually quoted in the unmarked ‘absolutive’ case (see below). From a functional point of view, these ‘quotation forms’ represent single-word-sentences that either result from the shortening of identificational structures as in **(X)** or are accompanied by extra-linguistic deictic gestures.

(X) S1: *še-no ek'a-a?* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS what-3SG:Q
 'What is that?'

S2: *čartk'al ~ [še-no] čartk'al-le*
 bird's=trap [DIST-REF:ABS] bird's=trap-3SG
 'A bird's trap' '[That] is a bird's trap.'

§ 2. Disregarding single-word utterances accompanied by deictic gestures, we can claim that every contextualized referential form is marked for case. Paradigmatically speaking, a zero-marked case is opposed to thirteen (or fourteen) morphologically marked cases. In standard texts, these morphologically marked cases are in the majority. For instance, in a cumulated corpus of narrative texts (5144 words), the three most frequent nouns show the following distribution:

		Total	Unmarked		Marked	
<i>pasč'aǰ</i>	'king'	120	19	15,83 %	101	84,17 %
<i>ǰar</i>	'son, boy'	125	38	30,50 %	87	69,50 %
<i>xinär</i>	'girl, daughter'	98	19	19,38 %	79	80,62 %

§ 3. Referential structures unmarked for case represent roughly 20-35 % of all referential forms in standard texts. (X) illustrates this point with the help of the corresponding figures for the tale CH&T:

Vartashen:	Referential structures	
Unmarked for case	125	34,05 %
Marked for case	242	65,95 %
Total	367	42,18 % of all words
Words in text	870	---

The corpus of Nizh narratives conforms the percentages mentioned for Vartashen, see (x) below. But note that in Nizh narrative texts, the general percentage of referential structures is lower than in the corresponding Vartashen texts. This fact is conditioned by the higher number of complex verbal forms in Nizh:

Nizh:	Referential structures	
Unmarked for case	639	32,03 %
Marked for case	1356	67,97 %
Total	1995	27,57 % of all words
Words in text	7235	---

The same pattern also becomes apparent from the analysis of an individual text. For instance, in an autobiographical account (316 tokens), the following distribution is given:

(x)	Unmarked	43	32,33 %
	Marked	81	60,90 %
	Unmarked (incorporated)	9	6,76 %
	Total	133	61,57 % of all words

§ 4. The massive presence of case morphology in textual structures can also be illustrated with the help of the following example from the Gospels:

(X) *šo-no-al ta-ne-c-e bütün iordan-un k'ul-l-a*
 DIST:REF:ABS-FOC go-3SG-\$.PAST-PERF all Jordan-GEN earth-SA-GEN

händävär-muğ-o karož-tast'-in xaš-t'-esun-a
 region-PL-DAT teach-give:MASD-ERG>INSTR cross-LV-MASD2-DAT

iaq'-a-esun-a günäh-ğ-oxo bağışlamış-b-esun-un baxt'-in [Luke 3:3]
 way-DAT-go-MASD2-DAT sin-PL-ABL forgive-LV-MASD2-GEN sake-ERG>INSTR

‘HE went to all the lands around the Jordan river and preached the baptism of repentance so that the sins will be forgiven.’

[Lit.: ‘HE went to the regions of all the land of the Jordan preaching the baptism of going the (right) way for sake the forgiveness of the sins.’]

In this sentence, ten of the twelve units are overtly marked for case. Overt case marking is in parts conditioned by the type of referential words: Most basic referential words (see 3.2.2) are unmarked in the absolutive case. Referentialized words, however, usually lack an unmarked case (see 3.3.7-3.3.10):

(X)		Basic nouns	Referentialized words
	Absolutive	Unmarked	Marked
	Oblique	Marked	Marked

§ 5. Unmarked case forms are restricted to singular nouns. In the plural, the plural morpheme itself distinguishes the absolutive case from the set of oblique cases at least in the dialect of Vartashen (see 3.3.5). In addition, a number of basic nouns vary their stem vowel in the oblique case. In consequence, the stem vowel itself usurps the function of the ‘unmarked’ absolutive case (see 3.3.2).

§ 6. Technically speaking, case marking is suffixing and agglutinating: The case suffixes are added to lexical words that, however, can undergo certain phonetic changes when combining with these suffixes. As has been argued in section 3.2.5, number is a derivational feature in Udi. Accordingly, a plural marker precedes a case marker. Just as it is true for all other East Caucasian languages, Udi nouns are divided into two classes: One class that shows ‘stem inflection’, and another class that is characterized by the insertion of a so-called stem augment (see 3.3.2.2 and 3.3.11.1).

Contrary to most other Lezgian languages, the inventory of case markers is rather small. Udi lacks the typical combination of ‘series’ and ‘cases’ to encode spatial relations (see 3.3.3). In sum, there are fourteen or fifteen productive cases: The basic morphemes are listed in (X):

(X)	Absolutive	<i>-∅</i>	3.3.3.2
	Ergative(>Instrumental)	<i>-en, -in</i>	3.3.3.3
	Benefactive	<i>-enk'(ena), -Vina(k')</i>	3.3.3.4
	Genitive	<i>-un, -in, -e, -a</i>	3.3.3.5
	Genitive2	<i>-ei, -ai, -i</i>	3.3.3.5
	Dative	<i>-a, -u, -e, -i (= -V)</i>	3.3.3.6
	Dative2	<i>-Vx</i>	3.3.3.6
	Ablative	<i>-Vxo</i>	} <i>-xun</i> (Nizh)
	Comitative	<i>-Vxol</i>	
	Comitative2 (Vartashen)	<i>-Vxolan</i>	3.3.4.1
	Adessive	<i>-Vst'a</i>	3.3.4.1
	Allative	<i>-Vč'</i>	3.3.4.1
	Superessive	<i>-Vl</i>	3.3.4.1
	Superablative (Nizh)	<i>-Vlxun</i>	3.3.4.1
	Superessive/Inessive (?) (rare)	<i>-ala</i>	3.3.4.2

Additionally, Udi shows a number of case markers that are no longer used in a paradigmatic sense. Most often, they can be found in adverbial forms (see 3.3.4.3).

§ 7. The following classes of words can take cases suffixes:

- (x) Basic nouns
- Referentialized adjectives
- Demonstrative pronouns
- Personal pronouns
- Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns
- Indefinite and negative referential pronouns
- Referential numerals
- Referential verb forms (masdars)
- Referentialized participles

§ 8. From a historical point of view, case marking is also present with a number of other morphological domains. Here, the case forms are either lexicalized or reflexes of grammaticalization processes. (X) lists the major domains:

- (x) Postpositions and adverbs (lexicalized)
- TAM-forms of verbs
 - Future-Factitive (< superessive ?)
 - Modal (< dative ?)

- Verbal nouns
 - Masdar (< *dative)
 - Masdar2 (< *dative + genitive)
- Converbs
 - Parallel action (< comitative)
 - Telic (< locative ? / dative2)
 - Modal (< ergative)

§ 9. Most (if not all) Udi case morphemes stem from proto-Lezgian inflectional paradigms (see 3.3.10). Nevertheless, language contact has essentially contributed to the current structure (and, in parts, to the current substance) of Udi inflection. The major donor language seems to have been Azeri, though we cannot exclude impacts from Armenian and some Northwest Iranian languages. The total restructuring of the paradigm of local case forms probably represents the most significant result of such a language contact (see 3.3.4.1). The ‘Lezgian’ type is much better preserved in Old Udi (see below).

§ 10. From a functional point of view, the Udi inflectional paradigm belongs to the ‘ergative’ type: It opposes an ergative case (used to encode the ‘agentive’ function) to an absolutive case (see 5.4.). Nevertheless, the system is not canonical: Contrary to all other East Caucasian languages, Udi has developed a strategy of splitting the objective function (normally encoded by the absolutive in ergative case systems). Here, the dative domain is used to encode the split variant of the objective function (see 5.4.3). With respect to the typology of the ergative case itself, Udi belongs to the ‘polysemic’ type: Its ergative case represents a ‘mixture’ of agentive, instrumental, and (in parts) genitive functions (see 3.3.3.3).

§ 11. Following standard descriptive patterns, I will first discuss aspects of stem formation in Udi (section 3.3.2). Section 3.3.3 deals with the set of relational cases, whereas 3.3.4 discusses the local case forms. Section 3.3.5 describes the interaction of plural markers and case morphemes. In section 3.3.6 to 3.3.9, I will turn to the inflection of referentialized forms and pronouns.

3.3.2 Inflectional types

3.3.2.1 Introduction. Sections 3.3.2.1-3 describe the patterns of stem formation and the inflectional classes of the dialect of Vartashen. The Nizh variants are addressed in section 3.3.2.4.

Historically speaking, Udi inflectional patterns are based on a simple agglutinating strategy: It adds case morphemes to a referential stem that can (in the singular) be augmented by a specific segment called ‘stem augment’ (SA), see 3.3.2.2. Plural morphemes also precede case morphemes. Hence, the following basic pattern can be described:

(x)	Lexeme[+ref] +	∅	+	CASE
	Lexeme[+ref] +	SA	+	CASE
	Lexeme[+ref] +	PL	+	CASE

(X) illustrates these three structures:

(X) (a) *adamar-en*
person-ERG

(b) *u^ʕq'-n-en*
nut-SA-ERG>INSTR

(c) *adamar-ǵ-on*
person-PL-ERG

With referentialized forms (see 3.2.3), the structure is slightly different: Here, the basic structure is:

(X)	Lexeme[-ref] +	REF	+	∅	+	CASE
	Lexeme[-ref] +	REF	+	PL	+	CASE

Compare:

(X) *kala-t'-u*
big-REF:OBL-DAT

kala-t'-ǵ-o
big-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

The domain of the referentializer is even stronger related to derivational features than the plural morphology. Accordingly, a referentializer always precedes a plural morpheme. A referentialized lexeme can never be additionally marked by a stem augment. As a result, the following structures are excluded:

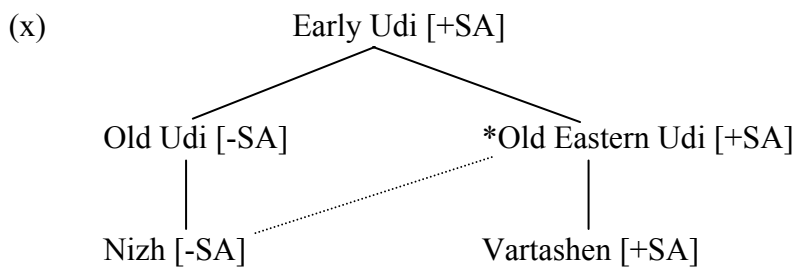
(X)	*Lexeme[-ref]	+	REF	+	SA	+	CASE
	*Lexeme[-ref]	+	SA	+	REF	+	CASE

Three factors have influenced the basic pattern of noun inflection illustrated in (X) above: Semantic and functional features, syllabic structure of the stem, and quality of the stem auslaut. As a result, various inflectional types have emerged that will be discussed in more details in the following sections.

3.3.2.2 The formation of oblique stems (stem augments). Case morphemes are added either to bare stems or to augmented stems. From a synchronic point of view,

the class of stem augmenting nouns is no longer motivated by grammatical or semantic features. The only conditions that can safely be described are related to stem auslaut and syllable structure. In Nizh, the process of reducing the functionality of stem augmentation has effected the system itself: Here, many nouns that are inflected on the basis of a stem augment in Vartashen, are transferred to the non-augmenting class. Nevertheless, we cannot claim that the technique itself is lost in Nizh. There are many residues of the older (Vartashen) system that, however, are difficult to systematize (also because the varieties of Nizh Udi are in parts mixed with Vartashen segments, see x.x.x).

It is important to note that in Old Udi, stem augmentation is extremely rare. This features again relates Old Udi stronger to contemporary Nizh than to Vartashen (see .x.x.x). Nevertheless, the Old Udi data illustrate that the loss of stem augmentation cannot be described as a recent development. Rather, we have to assume the following stages:



In order to illustrate the formation of oblique stems, it seems reasonable to take the Vartashen system as the starting point. Accordingly, the present section elaborates the Vartashen system. Information on stem augmentation in Nizh is given in section 3.3.2.4.

§ 1. Contrary to many other East Caucasian languages, Udi (i.e. Vartashen) has strongly harmonized its system of stem augmentation. Historically speaking, proto-Lezgian knew quite a number of stem augments that were probably distributed according to semantic aspects of ‘control’ or agentivity. By that time, stem augments represented case like morphemes that encoded the whole range of oblique cases (see 3.3.11.1 for details). This system has (in parts) survived for instance in Lezgi: Here, the stem augment also functions as an ergative marker (see Haspelmath 1993:74-77). In Udi, the set of nominal stems augments has been reduced to basically one morpheme: *-n-*, just as it is true for Legi proper (*-di-*):

(x)	ABS	OBL	
	<i>u^ɕq'</i>	<i>u^ɕq'-n-</i>	‘walnut’
	<i>mex</i>	<i>mex-n-</i>	‘knife’

With two words (*ga* ‘place’ and *aš* ‘work’), the alternative stem augment *-l-* can be used (> *ga-l-*, *aš-l-*, see below § 17). From a diachronic point of view, we have to assume the presence of another stem augment in an earlier version of Udi (*-i-, see 3.3.11.1).

From a synchronic point of view, Udi nouns can be divided into two basic classes:

(x)		Stem Augment
	Strong nouns	–
	Weak nouns	+

If we disregard marginal (and marked) subclasses, the distribution of strong and weak nouns is complementary:

(X)		-V#	-C#
	Monosyllabic	strong	weak
	Polysyllabic	weak	strong

The origin of this distributional pattern is described in § 12 (monosyllabic nouns) and § 14 (polysyllabic nouns). In sum, the following classes can be distinguished:

- (x)
- [s1] All polysyllabic nouns ending in a consonant (§ 4);
 - [s2] All monosyllabic (C)VVC-nouns (§ 5);
 - [s3] Heterogeneous class:
 - [s3a] Some polysyllabic words ending in a vowel (§ 6)
 - [s3b] Some monosyllabic nouns (VC, VC, CV, V) (§ 7).
 - [sw] Strong ~ weak monosyllabic C-final nouns (§ 8)
 - [s4] Irregular strong nouns (§ 10)
 - [w1] Weak monosyllabic C-final (§§ 12-13)
 - [w2] Polysyllabic V-final nouns:
 - [w2a] Polysyllabic nouns ending in ‘weak’ *-a* (~ *-ä*) or *-i* (§ 15).
 - [w2b] Polysyllabic nouns ending in *-o*, *-u*, or *-e*, *-ia* (§ 16).
 - [w3] Weak V-final monosyllabics (§ 17)

From a semantic point of view, [w1] and [w2a] nouns are opposed to [w2b] and [w3] nouns. Only the first group is conditioned by a ‘semantic’ stem augment, whereas the second group owes its stem augment either to phonetic aspects [w2a], or to the preservation of older stem final consonants in the oblique cases [w3].

§ 2. It should be noted that semantically transparent nominal compounds behave like the final element of the compound as long as this element is a noun. In consequence, the syllable structure of such compounds does not play a role in the formation of the oblique stem. For instance *baru-n-nec* ‘bug’ (lit.: ‘wall-GEN insect’) is weak,

because *nec* ‘insect’ is weak; *tur-in-gurdak* ‘lower leg’ (lit.: leg-GEN stomach) is strong, because *gurdak* is strong. Compounds that are no longer transparent behave like standard polysyllabic nouns, see below.

§ 3. Strong nouns never have a stem augment. The class of strong nouns can be subdivided as follows:

- (x) [s1] All polysyllabic nouns ending in a consonant (§ 4);
 [s2] All monosyllabic (C)VVC-nouns (§ 5);
 [s3] Heterogenous class:
 [s3a] Some polysyllabic words ending in a vowel (§ 6)
 [s3b] Some monosyllabic nouns (§ 7).
 [sw] Strong nouns with weak variants (§ 8)
 [s4] Irregular strong nouns (§ 10)

§ 4. Class [s1] represents the unmarked and most frequent type. It includes both native (often derived) words and loans. Examples for this class are:

(X) <i>žanavar</i>	‘wolf’	Persian <i>žānavar</i> ‘animal’ > Tāti ‘wolf’
<i>žühür</i>	‘deer’	Azeri <i>cüyür</i> ‘deer’
<i>aramt’ol</i>	‘jackal’	~ Georgian <i>t’ura</i> ‘jackal’ (Nizh <i>arant’or</i>)
<i>arum</i>	‘wheat’	Armenian <i>orom</i> ‘rye-grass, darnel’
<i>aslan</i>	‘lion’	Azeri <i>aslan</i>
<i>axšum</i>	‘laughter’	< * <i>iaq-šum</i> ‘laugh + ?’
<i>bit’un</i>	‘seed’	Udi <i>bist’un</i> ‘to sow’
<i>č’ap’al</i>	‘mulberry’	Udi <i>č’ap</i> ‘tendrils, shoot’
<i>č’ink’or</i>	‘garden cress’	Georgian <i>č’inč’ari</i> ‘nettle’
<i>dadal</i>	‘cock’	Georgian <i>dedali</i> ‘chicken’ (x <i>mamali</i> ‘cock’)
<i>damp’ul</i>	‘plum’	Armenian <i>dambuleni</i> ‘plum’
<i>da’vu’n</i>	‘pasternake’	
<i>dirig</i>	‘vegetable garden’	Azeri <i>dirrik</i> ‘vegetable garden’
<i>dizik’</i>	‘snake’	~ Armenian <i>iž</i> ‘snake, viper’
<i>eğel</i>	‘sheep’	Persian <i>āğul</i> ‘sheepfold’
<i>e’le’m</i>	‘donkey’	Arabic <i>ħimār</i>
<i>gugam</i>	‘sloe, blackthorn’	Azeri <i>köyəm</i> ‘sloe, blackthorn’
<i>hāveč’</i>	‘coriander’	Persian <i>havij</i> ‘carrot’
<i>i’žen</i>	‘winter’	Udi <i>i’ž</i> ‘snow’
<i>k’arov</i>	‘leek’	Azeri <i>kəvər</i> ‘leek’
<i>k’azār</i>	‘carrot’	
<i>k’ok’oc’</i>	‘chicken’	Onomatopoetic
<i>k’olxoz</i>	‘kolkoz’	Russian <i>kolkoz</i>
<i>käläm</i>	‘cabbage’	Azeri <i>kələm</i>
<i>kosun/m</i>	‘basket’	* <i>kos-</i> ?
<i>lek’er</i>	‘bucket, pail’	Greek <i>λεκάνη</i> ‘bowl’
<i>mangal</i>	‘sickle’	Persian <i>mangal</i> ‘sickle’
<i>maral</i>	‘stag’	Northern Tāti <i>maral</i> ‘stag’
<i>mašag</i>	‘saw’	Azeri <i>mišar</i> ‘saw’
<i>o’cal</i>	‘earth, ground’	* <i>o’c-</i> ‘be muddy’, <i>o’ci</i> ‘mud, loam’
<i>otağ</i>	‘room’	Azeri <i>otağ</i> ‘room’
<i>o’zil</i>	‘tail’	< * <i>o’s-i-l</i> ‘on the *back’ (?)

3.1-3 Reference

<i>qabun</i>	‘star’	< * <i>qab-</i> ?
<i>šähär</i>	‘town’	Persian <i>šahar</i>
<i>šik’lam</i>	‘onion’	<i>wanderwort</i>
<i>šumak’</i>	‘female being’	
<i>t’oišan</i>	‘hare’	Azeri <i>doşvan</i> ‘hare’ > Tāti <i>doušan</i>
<i>usen</i>	‘year’	Udi <i>us</i> ‘measure’
<i>xazal</i>	‘leaf’	Azeri <i>xazal</i> ‘leaf’

§ 5. Class [s2] can be illustrated with the help of the following words:

<i>äit</i>	‘word, speech’	~ Azeri <i>ayıtmaq</i> ‘to talk, discuss’
<i>äiz</i>	‘village’	< * <i>ai-z-</i> ?
<i>axr</i>	‘end, border, edge’	Arabic <i>’āxir</i> ‘end’
<i>a’ib</i>	‘fault, shame’	Arabic <i>’āib</i> ‘shame’
<i>a’il ~ a’iel</i>	‘child, family’	Persian/Arabic <i>’ā’ile</i> ‘family’
<i>a’in ~ a’i’in</i>	‘yeast, leaven’	Persian <i>māye</i> > Azeri <i>maya</i> ‘yeast’ > Udi genitive *[<i>m</i>]ayin?
<i>č’äin</i>	‘butter, fat’	* <i>č’a- ~ *č’e-</i> ‘fat’ > genitive <i>č’a-in</i>
<i>čäir ~ čäir</i>	‘swamp’	Armenian <i>čarič</i> ‘swamp’
<i>č’ain</i> (N. <i>čayi</i> ^š)	‘colostrum, first milk’	Palatal variant of <i>č’äin</i> ‘butter, fat’
<i>čayl</i> (N.)	‘pen, quill’	[Compare <i>čail-in meq</i> ‘earth-worm’, lit: ‘pen-worm’]
<i>houz</i>	‘well, basin’	Azeri <i>hovuz</i> ‘washbasin’ / Arm. <i>avazan</i> dto. (Iran. ?)
<i>k’o’in</i> (N. <i>k’oy</i>)	‘cap’	Genitive
<i>k’uin ~ k’u’in</i>	‘smoke’	Genitive < * <i>k’u-</i> ‘smoke’
<i>löyn</i> (N.)	‘feature, type, characteristics’	Genitive?
<i>meid</i>	‘corpse, body’	Arabic <i>mayyit</i> ‘dead’
<i>ne’i’s</i>	‘slave’	< ? + <i>iš</i> ‘? + man’ (comp. Old Udi <i>nai’ow</i> ‘slave’)
<i>paiz</i>	‘harvest’	< Persian <i>pāyiz</i> ‘harvest’
<i>pain</i>	‘heating’	Genitive?
<i>pein</i>	‘dung’	Azeri <i>peyin</i> ‘dung’
<i>q’uil</i>	‘earth-worm’	?
<i>xoid</i>	‘rice field’	Cp. <i>xo’id</i> ‘sowing (of rice)’
<i>xoiš</i>	‘wish, plee’	Persian <i>xvāheš</i> ‘wish’

Obviously, many of the words that belong to this class originally were bisyllabic words the second syllable of which started with an approximant (CVy/wVC > CVVC).

§ 6. The third class [s3] is again subdivided into two types: a) polysyllabic [s3a]; b) monosyllabic [s3b]. All strong polysyllabic nouns ending in a vowel represent kinship terms. The following nouns belong to the class [s3a]:

(X) <i>ama</i> (V.)	‘aunt’ (sister of father)	Persian (Arabic) <i>’ame</i> ‘aunt’
<i>baba</i>	‘father’	Azeri <i>baba</i> ‘grandfather’
<i>bažā(naq)</i>	‘husband of wife’s sister’	Azeri <i>bacanaq</i> ‘husband of wife’s sister’
<i>bibi</i> (N.)	‘aunt’ (sister of father); ‘bride’	Azeri <i>bibi</i> ‘aunt’
<i>dādä</i>	‘aunt’ (sister of father)	Persian <i>dade</i> ‘female slave’; Northern Tāti <i>dādä</i> ‘aunt’
<i>iezna</i>	‘brother-in-law’	Azeri <i>yezna</i> ‘brother-in-law’

3.1-3 Reference

<i>iś(u)</i>	‘husband, man’	Cp. Northern Tāti <i>šū-vār</i> ‘husband’
<i>nana</i>	‘mother’	Azeri <i>nənə</i> ‘grandmother’
<i>seide</i>	‘father-in-law’ (father of husband)	* <i>se(i)</i> - ‘in-law’ + * <i>de</i> ‘father’ (Old Udi <i>de</i>)
<i>sevče</i>	‘brother-in-law’ (brother of husband)	* <i>se(i)</i> - ‘in-law’ + <i>viči</i> ‘brother’
<i>sevne</i>	‘mother-in-law’ (mother of husband)	* <i>se(i)</i> - ‘in-law’ + * <i>ne</i> ‘mother’ (Old Udi <i>ne</i>)
<i>viči</i>	‘brother’	* <i>wə-či</i>
<i>xala</i>	‘aunt’ (sister of mother)	Azeri (Arabic) <i>xala</i> ‘aunt’
<i>xunči</i>	‘sister’	* <i>xun(i)-či</i>

Here, phonotactic criteria interfere with semantic criteria. In fact, most (specific) kinship terms are ‘strong’ in Udi. This also holds for the monosyllabic kinship terms *ğar* ‘son, boy’ (as opposed to *gādā* ‘boy’ which is weak), *dā* ‘eldest sister’ (Nizh, Georgian *da* ‘sister’), and *bin* ‘bride’. Note that the following (in parts unspecific) kinship terms usually are ‘weak’ (see below § 15):

(X)	<i>bäg ~ bāi</i>	‘bride-groom, son-in-law’	Azeri <i>bəg</i> ‘son-in-law’
	<i>t’aii</i>	‘uncle’ (brother of mother)	Azeri <i>dayi</i> ‘uncle’
	<i>muli</i>	‘sister-in-law’	Georgian <i>muli</i> ‘sister-in-law’
	<i>nāvā</i>	‘grandchild’	Azeri <i>nəvə</i> ‘grandchild’
	<i>t’at’i</i>	‘grandmother’	Cf. <i>t’at’mer</i> ‘witch’
	<i>oga</i>	‘stepchild’	Azeri <i>ögey</i> ‘stepchild’
	<i>q’uda</i>	‘father/mother of son-in-law’	Azeri <i>quda</i> ‘parents of son-in-law’

§ 7. Monosyllabic strong nouns include the followings terms (see § 17 for weak monosyllabic V-final nouns) [s3b]:

(X)	<i>a^hm</i>	‘arm, shoulder’	~ Avesta <i>arəma</i> ‘arm’
	<i>bin</i>	‘bride’	< * <i>bibin</i> (genitive of <i>bibi</i> ‘bride’ (N) < Azeri <i>bibi</i> ‘aunt’ (sister of father)) ?
	<i>č’a</i>	‘rope’	Native term
	<i>c’i</i>	‘name’	Native term
	<i>čú</i>	‘spittle’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>fu</i>	‘blow’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>ğar</i>	‘son, boy’	Armenian <i>tlay</i> ‘boy’ + plural <i>-ar</i>
	<i>k’i^h</i>	‘white frost’	Azeri <i>qırov</i> ‘white frost’?
	<i>ma^h</i>	‘brain’	Native term
	<i>mi</i>	‘cold’	Native term
	<i>mu</i>	‘barley’	Native term (?)
	<i>nep’</i>	‘sleep’	Native term (proto-Lezgian * <i>ne-λ^w-</i>)
	<i>o(i)</i>	‘grass’	Azeri <i>ot</i> ‘grass’ or native (Old Udi <i>o</i>)
	<i>oś</i>	‘end, edge’	Native term (Old Udi <i>oś-</i> ~ <i>eś-</i>)
	<i>q’i^h</i>	‘fear’	Native term (Old Udi <i>q’Aw-</i>)
	<i>šei</i>	‘thing, affair’	Arabic <i>šai</i> ‘thing’
	<i>vaxt’</i>	‘time’	Arabic <i>waqt</i> ‘time’
	<i>xa</i>	‘fur, skin’	Native term
	<i>xa^h</i>	‘dog’	Native term (proto-Lezgian * <i>x^war</i>)
	<i>xo</i>	‘white frost’	Native term

<i>xo</i> ^f	‘udder’	Native term
<i>k’oi</i>	‘sleeve’	Azeri <i>kol</i> ‘sleeve’

§ 8. Quite a number of monosyllabic nouns can be both strong and weak [sw]. Most probably, the strong variants represent the older layer. Examples are:

(X)	<i>bäi</i>	‘cherry’	
	<i>boi</i>	‘gender, generation’	Azeri <i>boy</i> ‘gender’
	<i>č’ot’</i>	‘side, bank’	Native term
	<i>čur</i>	‘cow’	Native term
	<i>čo</i>	‘face, side’	Native term (Old Udi <i>ča</i>)
	<i>düz</i>	‘field, plane’	Azeri <i>düz</i> ‘plane’
	<i>iaq’</i>	‘way’	Native term (Old Udi <i>Laq’</i>)
	<i>k’oi</i>	‘large pither of wine’	?
	<i>q’oq’</i>	‘throat’	Native term
	<i>šäi</i>	‘five-kopeks’	
	<i>säs</i>	‘voice’	Azeri <i>säs</i> ‘voice’
	<i>šum</i>	‘bread’	Native term (Old Udi <i>šowm</i>)
	<i>t’am</i>	‘taste’	Arabic <i>ta^cm</i> ‘taste, food’
	<i>tum</i>	‘root’	Native term
	<i>ul</i>	‘wolf’	~ IE <i>*ul^kos</i> ‘wolf’ (Old Udi <i>owl</i>)
	<i>uq</i>	‘river’	Native term
	<i>xalx</i>	‘people’	Arabic <i>xalq</i> ‘people’
	<i>xod</i>	‘tree’	< <i>*xoda</i> ‘tree’

There is no semantic difference between the strong and the weak variant of these nouns. Nevertheless, certain case forms such as the dative-locative *-i(x)* and the locative cases derived there from favor the strong variant (see below § 12 and 3.3.3.6).

§ 9. The strong monosyllabic nouns listed in (X) and (X) do not represent a specific semantic class. However, parts of this set of strong noun are conditioned by phonetic features: In fact, nearly all monosyllabics ending in a vowel are strong (some exceptions are discussed below). The remaining (roughly 30) strong nouns that are both monosyllabic and C-final normally have a weak variant (see (X)). The following nouns are always strong: *ğar* ‘son’, *bin* ‘bride’, *nep’* ‘sleep’, *a^fm* ‘arm’, and *vaxt’* ‘time’.

It should be noted that several weak nouns have a strong variant that is used with the qualitative genitive *-un* (see 3.2.8.1 and 3.3.3.5). Examples are *bə^fğ^{nai}* ‘of the middle’ vs. *bə^fğ^{un}* ‘the middle (one)’ and *be^fğ^{nai}* ‘of the sun’ vs. *be^fğ^{un}* ‘sunny (place)’ (> *be^finğ* ‘Sunday’ < **be^fğ^{-un} ği* ‘sun-GEN day’), *ğ^{un}* ‘today’s’ vs. *ğ^{enei}* ‘daily’ (< *ğⁱ* ‘day’). The technique to use strong stems with the qualitative genitive, but weak stems with the possessive genitive must have been more widespread in earlier times. A number of monosyllabic C-final roots that normally call for a stem augment show a lexicalized qualitative genitive added to the strong base. Some of the underlying nouns are no longer in use. Examples are:

(X)	<i>alun</i> ~ <i>alin</i>	‘high, North’	<i>*al</i> ‘hight’
	<i>aqun</i>	‘field with trees and gardens’	<i>*aq</i> ?
	<i>barun</i>	‘wall’	<i>*bar</i> ‘part, separation’ (> <i>barun</i> ‘what separates’; contaminated with <i>baru</i> < Azeri <i>bari</i> ‘wall’)
	<i>bavun</i>	‘excrements’	<i>*baw</i> ?
	<i>belineq</i> ’ (N)	‘sheep’s meat’	<i>bele</i> ‘sheep’ (weak), cp. <i>belenun</i> ‘of a sheep’
	<i>belink’oǰ</i> (N.)	‘sheep-shed’	<i>bele</i> ‘sheep’ (weak), cp. <i>belenun</i> ‘of a sheep’
	<i>be^ʕxun</i>	‘tumescant’	<i>be^ʕx</i> ‘tumor’
	<i>bošun</i>	‘inner’	<i>boš</i> ‘inner part, inner space’
	<i>buq’un</i>	‘stomach’	<i>*buk-</i> ?
	<i>cinun</i>	‘below, South’	<i>*cin</i> ‘space below the horizon’
	<i>nedun</i>	‘yeast’	<i>*ned-</i> ? [doubtful]
	<i>oq’un</i>	‘being below’	<i>*oq</i> ‘ground’
	<i>ošun</i>	‘next’	<i>oš</i> ‘end, edge’ (<i>ošnai</i> ‘of the end’)
	<i>tarun</i> (N.)	‘stove’	<i>*tar</i> , cp. V. <i>tarna</i> (weak genitive)
	<i>usun</i> ~ <i>usin</i>	‘soon’	<i>*us</i> ‘measure, period’ (Old Udi <i>ows-</i>)

Additionally, a restricted number of monosyllabic C-final verb stems can behave like strong nouns when adding the genitive *-un*, e.g. *bu’qun* ‘wish’ (cp. *buq’-sun* ‘to want, love’), *bit’un* ‘seed’ (cp. *bist’un* < **bit’-sun* ‘to sow’), *bok’un* ‘cooking’ (cp. *bok’-sun* ‘to boil’).

§ 10. The following nouns are structurally weak (monosyllabic CVC-forms) but show an irregular ‘strong’ pattern [s4] (see 3.3.2.3 § 9):

(X)	<i>bul</i>	Obl.: <i>b-</i> ~ <i>bul-</i>	‘head’	< <i>*b^wəλ’ə-l₂</i>
	<i>kul</i>	Obl.: <i>k-</i> ~ <i>kil-</i>	‘hand’	< <i>*k^wə-l₂</i>
	<i>pul</i>	Obl.: <i>p-</i>	‘eye’	< <i>*H^wə-l₂</i>
	<i>tur</i>	Obl.: <i>tur-</i>	‘foot, leg’	< Old Georgian <i>*tur</i> ‘foot’ ????
	<i>k’oǰ</i>	Obl.: <i>k’oǰ-</i> ~ <i>k’u-</i>	‘house’	<i>*k^wə-l₂</i> (Old Udi <i>k’os</i> !)

§ 11. Those nouns that show a stem augment constitute the class of ‘weak’ nouns. Again, several subtypes can be described that represent the opposite of the constraints for strong nouns (see above):

- (X)
- [w1] Weak monosyllabic C-final (§§ 12-13)
 - [w2] Polysyllabic V-final nouns:
 - [w2a] Polysyllabic nouns ending in ‘weak’ *-a* (~ *-ä*) or *-i* (§ 15).
 - [w2b] Polysyllabic nouns ending in *-o*, *-u*, or *-e*, *-ia* (§ 16).
 - [w3] Weak V-final monosyllabics (§ 17)

Note that the three classes [w1], [w2], and [w3] constitute different inflectional types that are based on the interaction of stem augment and case marking (see 3.3.2.3). In the following paragraphs I will first discuss the basic characteristics of stem augmentation in connection with [w1] nouns (§ 12) before turning to the individual classes.

§ 12. The weak class [w1] includes nearly all monosyllabic C-final nouns. Superficially, the stem augment conditions that the identity of syllable and lexical base is kept even if a vocalic case morpheme follows:

(X) *u^ʰq'-n-ai* 'of the walnut'
 nut-SA-GEN2
 VC.nVV

This explanation, however, ignores the fact that the stem augment is missing with the ergative case (*-en*, see 3.3.3.3) and the benefactive case (*-enk'ena* and variants, see 3.3.3.4). Obviously, the stem augment is related to and depending from case marking: The fact that stem augment and ergative case morphology are incompatible with monosyllabic C-final nouns demonstrates that the stem augment (*-n-*) and the ergative case morpheme (*-en*) ultimately originate from the same source (see below 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.10). In a very distant past, the stem augment itself had been used as an agentivity marker. By that time, the distribution of strong and weak nouns probably was dominated by semantic features:

(X) Monosyllabic C-final nouns
 + Stem augment Overt Agentivity Marking
 + Ø: Covert Agentivity Marking

In later times, the phonotactic commonality of the two classes overruled the semantic opposition: It became the dominant feature of the stem augmenting class. Residues of the older strong class are for instance *ǰar* 'son', *a^ʰm* 'arm', *ič* 'self', *xod* 'tree', *čur* 'cow' etc., see above § 7-8. An analogous mechanism explains the fact that most V-final monosyllabic nouns lack a stem augment (see § 7-8): Here, the semantic class of kinship terms helped to formulate the phonotactic condition: As has been said above, most kinship terms end in a vowel (exceptions are *ǰar* 'son', *ap'er* 'father (honorific)', and *čubux* 'wife' (plurale tantum) and the secondary *-k'*-derivations (see 3.2.2.2)). All these (specific) kinship terms are strong nouns and semantically marked for inherent agentivity. Most probably, the feature 'V-final' again overruled the semantic feature of inherent (morphologically covert) agentivity. It then served (and still serves) as a phonotactic and morphological indicator that was opposed to the feature of C-finalness. The scheme in (X) summarizes this process:

(X)		-V	-C	>	-V	-C
	Monosyllabic					
	+ Agentivity	-Ø	-Ø	>	-Ø	-SA
	- Agentivity	-SA	-SA		-Ø	-SA

It should be noted that this process has not yet come to its end. The list of nouns that have both strong and weak stems (§ 8) contains above all C-final (formally strong) nouns. Obviously, these nouns gradually become integrated into the (new) phonotactic scheme (> weak nouns).

Some C-final weak nouns show a specific locative series based on the dative morpheme *-i* (see 3.3.3.6). Here, the nouns are always strong. With two nouns, these locatives have become grammaticalized as postpositions. Examples include:

(X)	Base	Oblique	Locative	
	*č'äg	*č'äg-n-	č'äg-i	'late' < 'in a span of time'
	*q'at	*q'at'-n-	q'at-i	'between' < 'in a space'
	düz	düz(-n)-	düz-i	'field'
	gög	gög-n-	gög-i	'sky'
	pak	pak-n-	pak-i	'garden'
	säs	säs-n-	säs-i	'voice'

Most probably, this locative belongs to an older layer of Udi locatives. Morphologically, it has been aligned to the allomorphic representation of the dative (see 3.3.3.6).

§ 13. Monosyllabic C-final weak nouns [w1] include both native words and loans. Also, spontaneous loans are easily intergrated into this paradigm as shown in:

(X)	<i>t'ok'-n-a</i>	<i>č'a-ex</i>	<i>ma laft'-a!</i> [f.n.]
	electricity-SA-GEN	cable-DAT2	PROH touch-IMP:2SG
	'Don't touch the electric (Russian <i>tok</i>) cable!'		

C-final nouns cover the major part of the basic lexicon of Udi. Many of them are rather frequent in discourse. This fact has probably helped to stabilize the class of weak monosyllabic nouns. (X) is a comprehensive list (that, however, disregards more recent loans):

(X)	<i>bar</i>	'part, portion'	<i>c'il</i>	'embers'
	<i>be^č</i>	'sun'	<i>č'uğ</i>	'small water beetle'
	<i>be^k</i>	'needle'	<i>čak'</i>	'hail'
	<i>be^x</i>	'tumor'	<i>čal</i>	'fence'
	<i>bič'</i>	'bastard'	<i>cam</i>	'writing'
	<i>biz</i>	'awl'	<i>čax</i>	'ice'
	<i>bi^č</i>	'half'	<i>čeč</i>	'small insect'
	<i>borž</i>	'fault, load'	<i>cil</i>	'seed'
	<i>bo^q</i>	'blossom'	<i>dap</i>	'tambourine'
	<i>bo^{q'}</i>	'pig'	<i>därd</i>	'harm, pain'
	<i>buš</i>	'camel'	<i>däs</i>	'lesion'
	<i>č'ağ</i>	'rip'	<i>di^p</i>	'rainbow'
	<i>č'ap'</i>	'grape'	<i>dös</i>	'breast, shoulder'
	<i>č'em</i>	'dirt'	<i>eč'</i>	'threshing floor'
	<i>č'ik'</i>	'small branch'	<i>el</i>	'salt'

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<i>eq'</i>	'meat, flesh'	<i>kol</i>	'bush'
<i>ex</i>	'(field ready for) harvest'	<i>kuk</i>	'straw'
<i>ez</i>	'furrow'	<i>künž</i>	'corner'
<i>e^ʹk</i>	'horse'	<i>kur</i>	'hole, pit'
<i>e^ʹś</i>	'apple'	<i>la^ʹng</i>	'step'
<i>fil</i>	'elephant'	<i>lok'</i>	'pot without handles'
<i>fur</i>	'growth (on trees); measles'	<i>ma^ʹq</i>	'oak'
<i>ğác'</i>	'bundle, package'	<i>mal</i>	'goods'
<i>ğá^ʹl</i>	'row of seedlings'	<i>mar</i>	'pus'
<i>ğū^ʹl</i>	'window' (old)	<i>marc</i>	'edge, border'
<i>gez</i>	'patch; vegetable garden'	<i>marč</i>	'kiss'
<i>gög</i>	'sky'	<i>mät</i>	'medlar juice'
<i>gon</i>	'color'	<i>ma^ʹğ</i>	'song'
<i>gor</i>	'post, pole'	<i>meč'</i>	'nettle'
<i>hal</i>	'bad ghost'	<i>me^ʹl</i>	'mouse'
<i>hand</i>	'field, plain, steppe'	<i>mec</i>	'nest'
<i>hint'</i>	'turkey'	<i>mex</i>	'sickle'
<i>ial</i>	'mane; bristle'	<i>mil</i>	'knitting needle'
<i>ias</i>	'sorrow, grief'	<i>mis</i>	'copper'
<i>il</i>	'grass, greens'	<i>mo^ʹğ</i>	'soot, lamp black'
<i>in</i>	'flea'	<i>mur</i>	'ashes'
<i>iq' ~ žeq'</i>	'ashes'	<i>mur ~ murč</i>	'reed'
<i>i^ʹž</i>	'snow'	<i>muš</i>	'wind, storm'
<i>k'ač' ~</i>	'grains'	<i>mux</i>	'fingernail, claw'
<i>k'ač</i>		<i>muz</i>	'tongue, language'
<i>k'ač'</i>	'gorge, abyss, precipice'	<i>mu^ʹq</i>	'stag'
<i>k'at'</i>	'drop'	<i>nam</i>	'wetness, dew'
<i>k'ir</i>	'roof beam, rafter'	<i>naq'</i>	'sour milk'
<i>k'it'</i>	'cat'	<i>nec'</i>	'louse'
<i>k'oč'</i>	'handle'	<i>neğ</i>	'tear'
<i>k'ol</i>	'penis'	<i>noč'</i>	'grape juice'
<i>k'ud</i>	'tub, vat'	<i>o^ʹq'</i>	'yoke'
<i>k'uk'</i>	'(unbaken) clay brick, adobe'	<i>ol</i>	'post (middle)'
<i>k'ul</i>	'earth, soil'	<i>ot'</i>	'shame'
<i>k'ur</i>	'rock'	<i>ox</i>	'comb'
<i>k'ut'</i>	'vagina'	<i>o^ʹp</i>	'spices for game'
<i>k'uz ~ k'uc</i>	'sleepiness'	<i>p'iž</i>	'sling(shot)'
<i>k'u^ʹi(n)</i>	'smoke'	<i>p'iz</i>	'swamp'
<i>k'ər</i>	'tar'	<i>pak</i>	'garden'
<i>kač</i>	'cave, pit, ditch'	<i>pap</i>	'haystack'
<i>käl</i>	'calf'	<i>parč'</i>	'water bowl'
<i>kan</i>	'threshold'	<i>pop</i>	'hair'
<i>keč'</i>	'stony wall'	<i>por</i>	'mould'
<i>kef</i>	'wellfare'	<i>pos</i>	'dirt, garbage'
<i>ken</i>	'garlic'	<i>po^ʹp</i>	'mixture of spices (incl. dill, coriander, and parsley)'
<i>ke^ʹm</i>	'excrements'	<i>pu^ʹp</i>	'small Caucasian wingnut'
<i>kic'</i>	'line'	<i>pup</i>	'beech'
<i>kirk</i>	'book'	<i>q'əč' ~</i>	'textile'
		<i>q'əc'</i>	
		<i>q'ab</i>	'sponge'

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<i>q'ac'</i>	'pein'	<i>taž</i>	'crown'
<i>q'ac</i>	'elbow'	<i>tir</i>	'post, beam'
<i>q'al</i>	'ram'	<i>tog</i>	'merchandise'
<i>q'ap</i>	'portal'	<i>top</i>	'iron wheel'
<i>q'az</i>	'goose'	<i>tor</i>	'net'
<i>q'a^f(n)</i>	'brother-in-law'	<i>tos</i>	'stool'
<i>q'a^fnc'</i>	'horn'	<i>toz</i>	'dust'
<i>q'ič'</i>	'larynx'	<i>tül</i>	'young animal, dog'
<i>q'o^fr</i>	'hernia'	<i>tün</i>	'water pipe'
<i>q'om</i>	'relatives'	<i>tur</i>	'color'
<i>q'oq'</i>	'throat'	<i>tut</i>	'mulberry'
<i>q'uš</i>	'bird'	<i>u^fğ</i>	'loft'
<i>q'ud</i>	'clay mug'	<i>u^fq'</i>	'walnut'
<i>q'ul</i>	'slave, servant; comb (weaving)'	<i>uk'</i>	'heart'
		<i>us</i>	'bull'
<i>q'um</i>	'sand'	<i>uš</i>	'firewood'
<i>q'urt</i>	'mother hen'	<i>u^fč</i>	'honey'
<i>qa^fq</i>	'bran'	<i>u^fğ</i>	'garret, attic'
<i>šap</i>	'alum'	<i>vel</i>	'goat'
<i>šaq'</i>	'breast; slope'	<i>xac</i>	'cross'
<i>šul</i>	'fox'	<i>xart</i>	'whetstone'
<i>t'ak'</i>	'row'	<i>xarž</i>	'expenses'
<i>t'at'</i>	'flie'	<i>xaš</i>	'moon; month'
<i>t'i^fq'</i>	'stomatitis, rash'	<i>xel</i>	'load'
<i>t'ik'</i>	'wine tube'	<i>xo^fd</i>	'sowing (rice)'
<i>t'ink'</i>	'small nut'	<i>xoi</i>	'gender'
<i>t'oğ</i>	'backstitch seam'	<i>xup'</i>	'pilav'
<i>t'ol</i>	'skin'	<i>žol</i>	'cork'
<i>t'ot'</i>	'idiot, stupid'	<i>zad</i>	'hit, kick'
<i>t'u^fp'</i>	'mooli, radish'	<i>zaf</i>	'rulership'
<i>t'uk'</i>	'beetroot'	<i>zid</i>	'iron pan'
<i>t'ul</i>	'wine grape'	<i>ži^fl</i>	'dirt'
<i>täg</i>	'small branch'	<i>zoq'</i>	'young shoot'
<i>tak</i>	'basket made of birch barks'	<i>zor</i>	'power'
		<i>žang</i>	'war'
<i>tan</i>	'person, human being'	<i>ži^fk'</i>	'pein'
<i>tap</i>	'pressed fruits'	<i>žuk'</i>	'spindle'

The stem augment *-n-* is regularly assimilated to a preceding *-d-*, *-t-*, *-l-*, and *-r-*, see 2.5.2.2. As a result, the consonants are geminated (*-dd-*, *-tt-*, *-ll-*, *-rr-*). This gemination, however, does not reformulate the syllabic structure. Hence, *zadda* 'of a kick, hit' for example always is *zad.da* and never *za.dda*.

§ 14. The second class of stem augmenting nouns [w2] is formed by polysyllabic V-final words. Again two types emerge (specifying kinship terms are excluded from this class, see § 6):

- (X) [w2a] Polysyllabic nouns ending in 'weak' *-a* (~ *-ä*) or *-i* (§ 15).
[w2b] Polysyllabic nouns ending in *-o*, *-u*, *-e*, or *-ia* (§ 16).

Today, phonotactic features are decisive in the constitution of these two classes. New loans become mechanically integrated. From a historical point of view, however, the two classes are based on different strategies: Whereas phonotactic aspects are basic for class [w2b], class [w2a] probably was semantically motivated. As a consequence, the two classes show a different paradigmatic behavior (see 3.3.2.3).

§ 15. Polysyllabic nouns ending in *-a* (~ *-ä*) or *-i* [w2a] show a stem augment that is identical with the genitive case that itself is unaugmented. A final *-a* (~ *-ä*) is ‘weak’, which means that it is lost before the vowel of the genitive morpheme *-in*. A final *-i* merges with the vowel of the morpheme. (x) gives the basic scheme:

(x)	Base	Genitive	Oblique
	N- <i>a</i>	N- <i>in</i>	N- <i>in-</i>
	N- <i>i</i>	N- <i>in</i>	N- <i>in-</i>

Compare:

(X)	Base	Genitive	Oblique	
	<i>gädä</i>	<i>gäd-in</i>	<i>gäd-in-</i>	‘boy, youth’
	<i>paqla</i>	<i>paql-in</i>	<i>paql-in-</i>	‘bean’
	<i>mozi</i>	<i>moz-in</i>	<i>moz-in-</i>	‘calf’
	<i>udi</i>	<i>ud-in</i>	<i>ud-in-</i>	‘Udi’

The question of the origin of this class is immediately related to the inflectional type it produces (see below 3.3.2.3). A phonetic explanation should aim at the interaction of the stem final vowel and stress: The stem final vowel would have become unstressed before a stress case suffix that was preceded by the stem augment *-n-*. In consequence, the back vowel became fronted (*-a* > *-i-*):

(X) *paqlá* > **paqla-n-í(C..)* > *paqli-n-í(C...)*

In a second step, the complex genitive form (e.g., **paql-in-un*, see 3.3.3.5) would have been reduced (e.g. > *paqlin*). However, this superficially sufficient explanation describing a haplologic process for the genitive fails out of three reasons. First, it remains unclear why the genitive has undergone this process whereas the ergative did not (compare *paql-in-en* ‘bean-SA-ERG’). Second, this explanation ignores the fact that Udi knows a (admittedly restricted) syncretistic morpheme *-in* encoding both the genitive and the ergative, as in:

(x)	<i>pin</i>	‘eye:GEN ~ eye:ERG’
	<i>tur-in</i>	‘leg-GEN ~ leg-ERG’

Finally, note again that specifying kinship terms are excluded from this paradigm. For example the two following forms stand in complementary distribution:

(X)	Base	Oblique	
	<i>babá</i>	<i>babá-</i>	‘father’
	<i>k’asá</i>	<i>k’as-in-</i>	‘finger’

This distributional pattern allows us to conclude that the stem augment had semantic functions with V-final polysyllabic nouns. In sum, the following scenario seems best to explain the nominal class under consideration: In an early variant of Udi, polysyllabic nouns ending in *-a* and *-i* that were not marked for strong inherent agentivity added the syncretistic genitive-ergative morpheme **-in* (derived from either **-i-n* (ERG) or **-i-Vn* (GEN), see 3.3.11.1). The vowel of the suffix caused the loss of the stem final vowel. As a result, an oblique base **-in-* emerged that behaved like the standard stem augment except that it was not used with the ergative and the genitive. In a second step, the ergative case split off from the syncretistic function. Morphologically, this split was marked by adding the standard ergative suffix *-en*.

(X) summarizes this process (PN = polysyllabic noun):

(X)	Base	Ergative-Genitive	Oblique [except Genitive]
	PN- <i>a/i</i>	*PN- <i>in</i>	PN- <i>in-</i>

As has been said above, this pattern has become automatized. This means that the many borrowings that are polysyllabic nouns ending in *-a* or *-i* are integrated into this class. The same holds for spontaneous loans, compare:

(x)	<i>bez žen-in q’om baq’ə-n-a kar-re-x-sa</i> [f.n.]
	I:POSS wife-GEN relatives Baku-SA-DAT live-3SG-LV-PRES
	‘The relatives of my wife (Russian <i>žena</i>) live in Baku.’

The following list of nouns illustrates the class of *a*-final weak nouns:

(X)	<i>žafa</i>	‘task, work’	<i>maža</i>	‘feather’
	<i>žalğa</i>	‘young tree’	<i>maža</i>	‘grape-vine’
	<i>žergä</i>	‘bed, patch’	<i>mağara</i>	‘spool, bobbin’
	<i>žida</i>	‘lance, spear’	<i>mähla</i>	‘court, yard’
	<i>ağa</i>	‘lord’	<i>mähnä</i>	‘need, fate’
	<i>ağala</i>	‘rain’	<i>mala</i>	‘harrow’
	<i>alat’a</i>	‘long beam’	<i>mäsälä</i>	‘example’
	<i>araba</i>	‘charriot’	<i>meiva</i>	‘fruit’
	<i>avara</i>	‘female calf of buffalo’	<i>müahidä</i>	‘treaty’
	<i>axc’ima</i>	‘Easter’	<i>muč’a</i>	‘palm (hand)’
	<i>axt’a</i>	‘castrated boar’	<i>mu^ʃq’a^ʃ</i>	‘horn’
	<i>a^ʃğna</i>	‘man’s underwear’	<i>nävä</i>	‘grandchild’
	<i>bačana</i>	‘swallow’	<i>na^ʃva^ʃla^ʃ</i>	‘dough made of coarse grain’
	<i>bala</i>	‘young being’	<i>ošala</i>	‘beef stock’
	<i>č’änä</i>	‘stupidity’	<i>o^ʃma</i>	‘strawberry’
	<i>čämčä</i>	‘ladle’	<i>o^ʃna</i>	‘chest’
	<i>čänä</i>	‘jawbone’	<i>oga</i>	‘stepchild’

<i>čānčānā</i>	‘fog, mist’	<i>orača</i>	‘one-year old pig’
<i>čātānā</i>	‘kind of walnut’	<i>ośala</i>	‘sauce’
<i>dāst’ā</i>	‘group, quantity’	<i>pačna ~ pašna</i>	‘pumpkin’
<i>dava</i>	‘medicine; war’	<i>paqla ~ paxla</i>	‘bean’
<i>davraza</i>	‘portal, large door’	<i>puša ~ puša</i>	‘quince’
<i>dügmā</i>	‘bottom’	<i>q’āia</i>	‘rock’
<i>fārišt’ā</i>	‘angel’	<i>q’oža</i>	‘old man’
<i>ğā’ina</i>	‘crawl’	<i>q’oñža</i>	‘bouquet’
<i>ğīğala</i>	‘bran (rice)’	<i>q’o¹da¹</i>	‘turtle’
<i>ğoma ~ ğuma</i>	‘wine grape’	<i>q’uža</i>	‘elder’ (bush)
<i>ğūža</i>	‘elder’ (bush)	<i>qoqla</i>	‘egg’
<i>ğura</i>	‘gorse’	<i>šadara</i>	‘sieve’
<i>gādā</i>	‘boy, youth’	<i>šaqq’a</i>	‘quarter in town’
<i>gilā</i>	‘berry, grain’	<i>t’aina</i>	‘millet’
<i>giia</i>	‘gall bladder, bile’	<i>t’uma</i>	‘stalk of fruit’
<i>güllā</i>	‘bullet’	<i>taia</i>	‘threshing floor’
<i>hača</i>	‘shafts’	<i>tākā</i>	‘ibex’
<i>hačala</i>	‘spit’	<i>tālā</i>	‘trap’
<i>hārisā</i>	‘porridge (of wheat)’	<i>tāranā</i>	‘song’
<i>iara</i>	‘wound’	<i>tavaxq’a</i>	‘plea’
<i>k’ač’a</i>	‘sheaf’	<i>topa</i>	‘heap’
<i>k’āsa</i>	‘finger’	<i>toxq’a</i>	‘girdle’
<i>k’oda</i>	‘shovel’	<i>to¹qana</i>	‘fig’
<i>kālčā</i>	‘male calf of buffalo’	<i>vādā</i>	‘time’
<i>lāpā</i>	‘wave’	<i>xasa</i>	‘beloved one’
<i>lülā</i>	‘barrel (rifle)’	<i>zalk’a</i>	‘boiling water’

Note that polysyllabic nouns ending in *-Cia* (~ *-Ciä*) normally behave like class [w2b] nouns that add *-n-* to all oblique cases (see below § 16). Examples are *dünia* ‘world’ (oblique *dünia-n-*) and *dāria* ‘sea, lake’ (oblique *dāria-n-*).

In composition, bisyllabic weak stems incidentally behave like monosyllabic strong nouns:

(x)	<i>puš-n-a-xod</i>	[quince-SA-GEN-tree]	‘quince tree’	[~ <i>puš-in</i>]
	<i>q’už-n-a kol</i>	[elder-SA-GEN-bush]	‘elder bush’	[~ <i>q’už-in</i>]
	<i>žid-d-a bul</i>	[spear-SA-GEN-head]	‘tip of a spear’	[~ <i>žid-in</i>]

The following nouns illustrate the class of weak *i*-final nouns:

(x)	<i>žārži</i>	‘thorny bush’	<i>mučuli</i>	‘star’
	<i>a¹qmac’i</i>	‘weasel’	<i>o¹li</i>	‘piece of wood to light a fire’
	<i>aburi</i>	‘raven’	<i>orozi ~ urozi</i>	‘pheasant’
	<i>ači</i>	‘play, dance’	<i>q’ači</i>	‘scissors’
	<i>apči</i>	‘liar’	<i>q’araulči</i>	‘guard’
	<i>ārāqi</i>	‘raqi’	<i>q’arğodali</i>	‘corn’

<i>bi^ʕbi^ʕ</i>	‘bridge’	<i>q^ʕa^ʕvi^ʕ</i>	‘bell’
<i>bisi</i>	‘rags’	<i>q^ʕiciri</i>	‘dish’
<i>c^ʕap^ʕiri</i>	‘funnel’	<i>q^ʕonši</i>	‘landlord’
<i>č^ʕič^ʕi</i>	‘ticklish pain’	<i>q^ʕuti</i>	‘box, case’
<i>c^ʕili</i>	‘dice’	<i>q^ʕuzi</i>	‘lamb’
<i>c^ʕimeri</i>	‘sacred place’	<i>simsi</i>	‘whistle of shepherds’
<i>č^ʕormi</i>	‘kind of wire (pitch)’	<i>sini</i>	‘tablet’
<i>čāli</i>	‘fish’	<i>t^ʕat^ʕi</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>č^ʕa^ʕé^ʕi</i>	‘blackbird’	<i>t^ʕuri</i>	‘thread’
<i>doğri</i>	‘truth’	<i>toxi</i>	‘hoe, pick’
<i>gizgi</i>	‘mirror’	<i>to^ʕq^ʕu^ʕli</i>	‘crop, goiter’
<i>k^ʕač^ʕoli</i>	‘cucumber’	<i>tülki</i>	‘fox’
<i>k^ʕint^ʕi</i>	‘wooden dish’	<i>udi</i>	‘Udi’
<i>k^ʕobi</i>	‘cord’	<i>x(ə)noc^ʕi</i>	‘butter vat’
<i>k^ʕop^ʕi</i>	‘foal’	<i>xari</i>	‘flour’
<i>keči</i>	‘goat’	<i>xoži</i>	‘shadow’
<i>koci</i>	‘small wine mug’	<i>xuni</i>	‘female (esp. sheep)’
<i>mozi</i>	‘calf’	<i>zāli</i>	‘leech’

§ 16. [w2b]: The remaining vowel-final polysyllabic stems (-e, -o, -u, -ia) differ from class [w2a] nouns in that they have a phonetically conditioned stem augment. It occurs throughout the paradigm of oblique cases and with any case morpheme so ever. Obviously, the stem augment has been generalized to avoid a hiatus, compare:

(x) *haso* ‘cloud’ Genitive: *haso-n-un* (**haso-un*)

Using a conventional terminology, these nouns can be termed *n*-stems. In fact, their inflectional paradigm comes close to that of C-final polysyllabic stems (see 3.3.2.3). For a structural point of view, it would be likewise possible to claim that the base forms originally ended in *-n* that had been dropped in the absolutive. However, this argument does not meet the diachronic background of the terms in questions. The segment *-n-* cannot be treated as forming a part of the stem. This can clearly be seen from those nouns that are borrowings. Examples for this (rather small) class are:

(X)

<i>afre</i>	‘prayer’	~ Persian <i>āfridan</i> ‘to praise’
<i>azaru</i>	‘ill person’	< * <i>azar-lu</i>
<i>baru</i>	‘wall’	Azeri <i>barı</i> ‘wall’
<i>bele</i>	‘sheep’	?
<i>berze</i>	‘Greek’	Georgian <i>berznuli</i> ‘Greek’
<i>boq^ʕo</i>	‘dough’	< <i>boq^ʕoi</i>
<i>bo^ʕğo^ʕ</i>	‘crying, screaming’	?
<i>c^ʕantaru</i>	‘savory’	~ Georgian <i>kondari</i> ‘savory’
<i>ğusme ~ -mi</i>	‘cheese’	?
<i>haso ~ asoi</i>	‘cloud’	< * <i>əs^ʕə-i</i>
<i>k^ʕiro ~ k^ʕüre</i>	‘chopper, axe’	?
<i>laš^ʕo</i>	‘marriage’	?
<i>ma^ʕinqo ~ -go</i>	‘chin, cheeks’	<i>ma^ʕiin</i> ‘black’ + ?
<i>nik^ʕo</i>	‘ball’	?
<i>o^ʕne</i>	‘weeping’	Compare Archi <i>a^ʕn-gal</i> ‘weeping (of children)’

<i>oq'o</i>	'vinegar'	~ Russian <i>uksus</i> 'vinegar'
<i>q'ainako</i> [~ <i>-nana</i>]	'mother-in-law'	Azeri <i>qayın</i> 'in-law' + <i>nako</i> 'mother (?)'
<i>sākū</i>	'niche'	?
<i>sanžū</i>	'stitch'	Azeri <i>sancı</i> 'stitch'
<i>sürü</i>	'flock, herd'	Azeri <i>sürü</i> 'herd'
<i>t'ut'u</i>	'shake, tremble'	~ Azeri <i>titrəmə</i> 'trembling'
<i>tošo</i>	'adder, viper'	?
<i>zido</i>	'iron'	~ Greek <i>σίδηρος</i> 'iron'

§ 17. A number of monosyllabic V-final nouns are always weak: [w3]. Most of them have a stem augment in all oblique cases including the ergative. The atypical behavior of these nouns can only be explained from a diachronic perspective. Most probably, we have to deal with nouns that historically ended in a nasal or nasal-like consonant. Originally, this element probably was a stem formation element. The final consonant is lost in the absolutive singular, but in parts preserved in the formation of the plural. In the oblique cases, the final consonant has been reanalyzed as a stem augment.

The nouns in question are:

(X)	Base	Oblique	Plural	
	<i>aš</i> 'work'	<i>aš-l-</i>	<i>aš-urux</i>	< Old Udi <i>aš</i>
	<i>be</i> 'deposit'	<i>be-n-</i>	<i>be-urux</i>	< Georgian <i>be</i> 'deposit, earnest'
	<i>fi</i> 'wine'	<i>fi-n-</i>	<i>fi-urux</i>	< 'Transcaucasian' * <i>win-</i> (Armenian <i>gini</i> , Georgian <i>γvino</i> ~ IE * <i>uóinos</i>)
	<i>ǧi</i> 'day'	<i>ǧe-</i>	<i>ǧi-rux</i> ~ <i>gi-mxox</i>	< Early Udi * <i>ǧin</i> ~ <i>ǧen</i> (Old Udi <i>ǧi</i>)
	<i>ga</i> 'place'	<i>ga-n- / ga-l-</i>	<i>ga-urux</i> ~ <i>ga-mxox</i>	< ~ Persian <i>gāh</i> 'place'
	<i>me</i> 'knife'	<i>me-n-</i>	<i>me-n-ur</i> ~ <i>me-ur</i>	< Early Udi * <i>me-n</i> (plural <i>me-n-ur</i>)
	<i>p'i</i> 'blood'	<i>p'i-n- / p'i-</i>	<i>p'i-urux</i>	< Early Udi * <i>p'i-n</i> / * <i>p'i</i> (Old Udi <i>p'i</i>)
	<i>t'e</i> 'nit'	<i>t'e-n-</i>	<i>t'e-urux</i>	< Early Udi * <i>t'e-n</i>
	<i>xe</i> 'water'	<i>xe-n-</i>	<i>xe-n-ur</i>	< Early Udi * <i>xeⁿd</i> (Old Udi <i>xe</i>)
	<i>zé^f</i> 'stone'	<i>zé^f-n-</i>	<i>zé^f-urux</i>	< Early Udi * <i>z^r-n</i> (Old Udi <i>zé</i>)

Three forms need further comments:

a) Udi *ǧi* 'day' normally shows ablaut in the oblique stems (> *ǧe-*). However, the stem vowel is incidentally preserved with adverbial datives or ablatives:

(x) (a) *mano ǧi-n-a baiǧ-al-a* [CO §9]
 which day-SA-DAT come=in:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 'Which day will it start?'

(b) *xib uk'al ǧi-n-a* [IM 67]
 three saying day-SA-DAT
 'On the third day..'

(c) *kala ġi-rux p'a^śamat' ġi-n-a-ne bai-sa* [CO § 9]
 great day-PL Monday day-SA-DAT-3SG come=in-PRES
 'The holy (lit.: great) days start (lit.: come in) on Monday.'

(d) *p'a^ś q'o ġi-n-axo o^śsa* [R 8]
 two twenty day-SA-ABL after
 'After forty days...'

The standard dative2 *ġe-n-ax* (day-SA-DAT2) has a lexicalized variant *ġen-n-ax* 'everyday, daily' that reflects the older stem-final consonant. The stem augment is totally missing in the petrified modal case form *ġe* (< **ġi-e* ?) 'today'. This form can again be marked by the qualitative genitive without stem augment (see above § 9), yielding a form *ġeun* 'today's'. It opposes the standard genitive *ġe-ne-i* (day-SA-GEN) 'of the day'.

b) The noun *ga* 'place' undoubtedly stem from Persian *gāh* 'place'. The term has two different stem augments: *ga-n-* and *ga-l-*. The variant *ga-n-* has the same distribution as *ġi* 'day' (see above): It occurs with all oblique case forms. The fact that the stem augment *-n-* selects its case forms just as the standard stem augment (see 3.3.2.3), e.g. *ga-n-ai* 'place-SA-GEN', *ga-n-u* 'place-SA-DAT' etc. An exceptional case of an *e*-dative is for instance:

(x) *zaf-b-al-q'un ga-n-ex beši va^ś xalx-n-ux* [John 11:48]
 rule-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL place-SA-DAT2 we:POSS2 and people-SA-DAT2
 'They will rule over our place and the people.'

Disregarding such marginal instances, *ga* behaves like an ordinary C-final monosyllabic weak noun. Hence, we can assume that the inflectional pattern emerged at a time the final laryngeal spirant was still audible (Iranian *gāh* > Udi **gah*). Subsequently, the laryngeal consonant was dropped. The stem augment, however, was kept:

(x) ABS **gah* > *ga*
 OBL **gah-n-* > *ga-n-*

The paradigm of monosyllabic *-n*-stems (see (X) above) then influenced the inflection of *ga* producing an 'irregular' ergative *ga-n-en* (instead of **ga-en*). Incidentally, it also takes parts in the formation of the plural:

(x) *va^ś ba-ne-k-i beivan ga-n-mx-ox* [Luke 1:80]
 and be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST wild place-SA-PL-DAT2
 'And he was in wild places.'

The alternative stem augment *-l-* is exceptional. In standard Udi, it only occurs with the dative and locative cases. But not that Jeiranišvili 1971:57 also quotes an ergative *galen* and a genitive *galai*. There is no functional contrast between *ga-n-* and *ga-l-*. Both forms have undergone the same process of grammaticalization:

(x)	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	
	<i>ganu</i>	<i>gala</i>	Postposition ‘in place of, instead of’
	<i>saganu</i>	<i>sagala</i>	‘together’ (< <i>sa ganu / gala</i> ‘in one place’)

In textual sources, the distribution of both forms is not balanced:

(x)		V. narratives	Jeiranišvili	Schiefner	Gospels	N. narrat.
	<i>-l-</i>	10	16	2	60	27
	<i>-n-</i>	8	1	17	135	5

This distribution crosscuts the dialectal boundaries. In consequence, we cannot refer to actual areal features in order to explain the distribution of the two variants. It should be noted that the *ga-l-*forms show a higher degree of lexicalization or idiomatization than the *ganu-*forms. For instance, *gala* can be used in the sense of ‘by oneself’, as in

(x)	<i>hun vi</i>	<i>ga-l-a</i>	<i>äit-p-a!</i> [Nizh; Gukasjan 1974:105]
	you:SG	you:SG.POSS	place-SA-DAT word-say-IMP:2SG
	‘Say (it) by yourself!’		

An idiom is *ga-l-a saksun* ‘to lay out a garden’ (~ Azeri *bağ salmaq*). In both instances, the variant *ganu* does not make sense. These findings illustrate that once there may have existed a semantic or functional difference between the two forms that has today become obscured. The provenience of the *-l-*variant is not fully understood. Note that else, it only occurs with the noun *aš* ‘work’ (> *aš-l-*, see below). Both *gal-* and *ašl-* call for an *a-*dative (see below 3.3.3.6) that is normally used with strong nouns. A rather obscure exception is:

(x)	<i>arc-a</i>	<i>alala</i>	<i>ga-l-u</i> [Luke 14:10]
	sit-IMP:2SG	high	place-SA-DAT
	‘Sit one a high(er) place!’		

c) Just as *ga* ‘place’, Udi *aš* ‘thing’ has two inflectional patterns. The first one is based on the stem augment *-n-* (class IIa inflection, see below 3.3.2.3), the second one on the stem augment *-l-* (Ia inflection). Contrary to *ga* ‘place’, both paradigms, however, are often mixed:

(X)		Gospels	Narrative texts	Schiefner 1863
-----	--	---------	-----------------	----------------

ABS	<i>aš</i>		<i>aš</i>		<i>aš</i>			
ERG	<i>aš-en</i>	3	<i>aš-en</i>	1	<i>aš-en</i>	3	---	---
GEN	<i>aš-l-un</i>	11	---	---	<i>aš-n-a</i>	3	---	---
DAT(2)	<i>aš-l-a</i>	15	<i>aš-l-ax</i>	6	<i>aš-n-u</i>	2	<i>aš-l-a</i>	5

The stem augment *-l-* seems to be a younger variant that has developed in the dative case (*ašla*). The older paradigm has been the standard by the time Schiefner's texts had been written down (1860 ante). But as early as the Gospels (1895 ante), the variant *-l-* became the dominant paradigm. In the set of narrative tales, the *-n-* paradigm lacks completely. Today, the *-l-* paradigm is the standard option in Vartashen and Nizh. Note that both paradigms normally have an ergative *aš-en*. The inflectional type documented in the Gospels, however, suggests that there must have been a variant *aš-l-en* (a form also listed by Žeiranišvili 1971:59). This type (class Ia) is typical for polysyllabic C-final stems (see 3.3.2.3). From this we can conclude that the segment *-l-* once was part of the stem (**aš(ə)l*). In an earlier variant of Udi, *-l-* sometimes has developed from *-i-* (as in Vartashen *kilin* 'with the hands' ~ Nizh *kiiin*). This fact allows us to postulate two variants: **gai* (< *gāh* 'place') > **gal* and **aši* (< Arabic 'ašyā' 'things' ???) > **ašl*. Both forms perhaps represent (earlier) dialectal variants of standard *ga* and *aš*.

The following V-final monosyllabic nouns are weak having a standard stem augment:

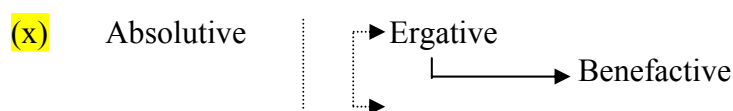
(X)	<i>pi</i>	'fat, lard'	?
	<i>šü ~ šu</i>	'night'	< Proto-Lezgian <i>*yaš:</i> or Northern Tāti <i>šöü</i> ~ Persian <i>šāb</i> 'night, evening'?
	<i>ğü ~ ğo</i>	'hare'	< Early Udi <i>*ğui</i>
	<i>ču</i>	'wedge, chock'	?

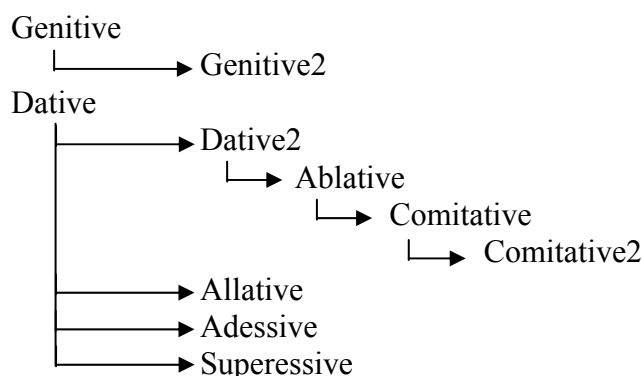
Most probably, all four nouns stem from earlier C-final variants that conditioned the weak inflectional pattern.

3.3.2.3 Inflectional classes. The interaction of stem augment and case morphology constitutes the inflectional classes of Udi nouns and referentialized forms. Due to the fact that stem augments are present in the singular only, inflectional classes can only be described for this number. All classes have the following features in common (see 3.3.3 for details).

- (X) (a) The set of locative cases is derived from the dative;
 (b) The ergative and the benefactive constitute a special subclass.
 (c) Genitive and dative are (in parts) paradigmatically paired.

§ 1. The idealized paradigm is organized as follows (dialect of Vartashen):





With nouns, the absolutive is morphologically unmarked. It opposes the set of marked cases that can be grouped according to morphological and functional criteria:

- (x) The ergative-benefactive subclass
- The possessive and/or qualifying subclass
- The dative-locative subclass

Whereas the dative2 and the set of local cases that are derived from the dative superficially lack allomorphic variants, the ergative-benefactive and the possessive-qualifying subclass as well as the dative are marked for allomorphy. Both structural aspects (stem augment) and semantic criteria play a role in the distribution of the allomorphic variants. The pairing of genitive and dative morphemes represents the most significant feature of the individual classes. In most instances, both case forms are mutually depended as for the choice of allomorphs. Additionally, the interaction of ergative and genitive can be a clue for the formation of a class.

The basic paradigmatic organization described in (X) above allows to confine the classification of the inflectional patterns to the three cases ergative, genitive, and dative. Once the inflectional class is determined, the remaining case forms can easily be inferred. In the following description of the Vartashen Udi inflectional types, secondary variants of the genitive and dative are not used as a classificational feature, because their distribution is highly lexical (see below 3.3.3.6). Stem augments are always given in square brackets.

§ 2. The pairing of genitive *-un* and dative *-a* constitutes the most frequent and most productive class. It can be subdivided into two paradigms:

- (X) Class Ia: ABS $-\emptyset$
- ERG *-en*
- GEN *-un ~ -i*
- DAT *-a ~ -e ~ -i*

Class Ia is both strong and weak (see 3.3.2.2 §§ 4, 15, 16 for a list of nouns). It is used with all polysyllabic C-final nouns (strong), with older bisyllabic nouns (>

monosyllabics with a diphthong, strong, see 3.3.2.2 § 5), and with all polysyllabic nouns ending in *-o*, *-u*, *-e*, and *-ia* ~ *-iä* (weak). Standard quotation forms are:

(x)		Strong		Weak	
	ABS	<i>dizik'</i>	‘snake’	<i>haso</i>	‘cloud’
	ERG	<i>dizik'-en</i>		<i>haso-n-en</i>	
	GEN	<i>dizik'-un</i>		<i>haso-n-un</i>	
	DAT	<i>dizik'-a</i>		<i>haso-n-a</i>	
	[DAT-LOC	<i>č'äläg-i</i>	‘wood’	<i>dünia-n-i</i>	‘world’]

		Strong	
	ABS	<i>äit</i>	‘word, speech’
	ERG	<i>äit-en</i>	
	GEN	<i>äit-un</i>	
	DAT	<i>äit-a</i>	

Note that some speakers tend to reduce the ergative of weak Class Ia nouns (> *haso-n* etc.). This class lacks the genitive2 (see 3.3.3.5).

An exceptional pattern shows *k'ož* ‘house’. It drops its final consonant in the dative. Additionally, the original labial vowel *-u-* is restored (note that in Nizh, the corresponding form *k'ož* often keeps the final consonant (some speakers use *-y-* instead)):

(x)		Strong		Nizh:	<i>k'ož</i>
	ABS	<i>k'ož</i>	‘house’		
	ERG	<i>k'ož-en</i> ~ <i>-in</i>			<i>k'ož-in</i> ~ <i>k'oyin</i>
	GEN	<i>k'ož-un</i> ~ <i>-in</i>			<i>k'ož-in</i> ~ <i>k'oyin</i>
	DAT	<i>k'ua</i> < <i>*k'u-a</i>			<i>k'ož-a</i> ~ <i>k'oya</i>

§ 3. Class Ib is weak. It resembles the weak variant of Class Ia except that it lacks a genitive morpheme (see 3.3.2.2 § 15).

(x)	Class Ib	ERG	<i>[-(i)n]-en</i>
		GEN	<i>[-(i)n]-∅</i>
		DAT	<i>[-(i)n]-a</i> ~ <i>-i</i>

From a diachronic point of view, this class is related to the residual class III, see below § 9. Class Ib is characterized by the fronting of final *-a* or *-ä* (> *-i-*). It lacks a genitive2 just as Class Ia nouns. Synchronically speaking, the stem augment is polysemic in the genitive.

Quotation forms are:

(x)		Weak (-a ~ -ä)		Weak (-i)	
	ABS	<i>gädä</i>	‘boy’	<i>apči</i>	‘liar’
	ERG	<i>gäd-in-en</i>		<i>apči-n-en</i>	
	GEN	<i>gäd-in</i>		<i>apči-n</i>	
	DAT	<i>gäd-in-a</i>		<i>apči-n-a</i>	

§ 4. The second main class (Class II) is characterized by both a vocalic genitive morpheme and a vocalic dative morpheme. All Class II nouns have a genitive2 (-ai ~ -ei) that is quoted in the following paradigms in order to distinguish the case from the dative (see 3.3.3.5 for details).

§ 5. The prototypical paradigm of Vartashen is constituted by weak C-final nouns (see 3.3.2.2 § 13):

(X)	Class IIa	ERG	-en
		GEN2	[-n]-ai
		DAT	[-n]-u

Class IIa is characterized by the pairing genitive -ai ~ dative -u. This pair corresponds to the inflectional pattern of referentialized forms (see 3.3.3.10). Note that in case a Class IIa noun has an (optional or fixed) *i*-dative-locative (see 3.3.3.6), the morpheme is added to the bare stem:

(x)		Weak		Weak	
	ABS	<i>ma^ǰ</i>	‘song’	<i>pak</i>	‘garden’
	ERG	<i>ma^ǰ-en</i>		<i>pak-en</i>	
	GEN2	<i>ma^ǰ-n-ai</i>		<i>pak-n-ai</i>	
	DAT	<i>ma^ǰ-n-u</i>		<i>pak-i</i>	
		Weak			
	ABS	<i>säs</i>	‘voice’		
	ERG	<i>säs-en</i>			
	GEN2	<i>säs-n-ai</i>			
	DAT	<i>säs-n-u</i>			
	DAT-LOC	<i>säs-i</i>			

This class includes a number of nouns that have an alternative strong inflectional pattern, see below § 6.

§ 6. Class IIb nouns are parallel two Class IIa nouns except that they are strong (see 3.3.2.2 § 7-8). They usually have an -ei-genitive:

(x)	Class IIb	ABS	-∅
		ERG	-en

GEN2 *-ei ~ -i*
 DAT *-e ~ -a*

The number of nouns that are included in this class is rather small. Both C-final and V-final forms occur. Examples are:

(x)		Strong		Strong	
	ABS	<i>čur</i>	‘cow’	<i>mu</i>	‘barley’
	ERG	<i>čur-en</i>		<i>mu-en</i>	
	GEN2	<i>čur-ei</i>		<i>mu-ei</i>	
	DAT	<i>čur-e</i>		<i>mu-e</i>	

§ 7. Class IIc is confined to strong polysyllabic V-final nouns that represent kinship terms (see 3.3.2.2 § 6):

(x)	Class IIc	ERG <i>-n</i>
		GEN2 <i>-i ~ -ei</i>
		DAT <i>-Ø ~ -e</i>

This class is characterized by the fusion of a stem final ‘strong’ *-a* or *-ä* with the initial vowel of the suffix. A stem final *-i* calls for the *ei/e*-series. Here, the stem final vowel is dropped (see 3.3.3.5, § 14). Examples are:

(x)		Strong		Strong	
	ABS	<i>baba</i>	‘father’	<i>xunči</i>	‘sister’
	ERG	<i>baba-n</i>		<i>xunč-en</i>	
	GEN2	<i>baba-i</i>		<i>xunč-ei</i>	
	DAT	<i>baba</i>		<i>xunč-e</i>	

§ 8. Class II d is constituted by those V-final monosyllabic weak nouns that have a ‘weak’ ergative:

(x)	Class II d	ERG <i>[-n]-en</i>
		GEN2 <i>[-n]-ei</i>
		DAT <i>[-n]-a ~ -u</i>

The number of nouns that belong to this class is restricted (see 3.3.2.2 § 17 for a list of nouns). Examples are:

(x)		Weak		Weak	
	ABS	<i>xe</i>	‘water’	<i>ga</i>	‘place’
	ERG	<i>xe-n-en</i>		<i>ga-n-en</i>	
	GEN2	<i>xe-n-ei</i>		<i>ga-n-ei</i>	
	DAT	<i>xe-n-a</i>		<i>ga-n-u</i>	

§ 9. A residual class (Class III) is formed by the following terms: *bul* ‘head’, *kul* ‘hand’, *pul* ‘eye’, and *tur* ‘leg, foot’. The three terms *bul*, *kul*, and *pul* form a common paradigm that is – in Vartashen – characterized by the loss of the final segment *-l* in the oblique cases. The noun *tur* shares with these nouns the syncretism of ergative and genitive (> *-in*). Historically, the term *tur* has replaced the two older word for ‘leg, foot’: 1) **mul* that was inflected as the other Class III nouns. The word has survived in Udi *mux* ‘claw’ (plurale tantum < **mu-x*, also compare Aghul (Fite) *kuš-mul* ‘hoof of artiodactyla, NCED 307), Avar *mal* ‘foot, leg’), and in *bulmuxur* ‘insides, innards’ < **bul-mu-x-ur* ‘head-leg-PL-PL’, compare Azeri *baş-ayaq* ‘insides’); 2) **gel* > Old Udi *xal* ‘leg’. All four nouns lack a genitive².

(x)	Class III	ERG	<i>-in</i>
		GEN	<i>-in</i>
		DAT	<i>-e</i>

This inflectional paradigm can only be explained from a diachronic perspective. The three nouns *bul*, *kul*, and *pul* are marked by an old (proto-Lezgian) word formation element (**-l₂*) that became restricted to the absolutive in Early Udi. The syncretism of ergative and genitive (*-in*) has probably preserved an earlier stage of the Udi inflectional paradigm (also see § 3 above). The term *tur* ‘foot, leg’ had adopted the inflectional paradigm at a time the alternative terms **mul* and (old Udi) *xal* still were in use. (X) gives the inflectional paradigms for the nouns in question:

(X)		‘Head’	‘Eye’	‘Hand’	‘Foot, claw’	‘Leg, bone’	‘Foot, leg’
	ABS	<i>bul</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>*mul</i>	<i>xal</i>	<i>tur</i>
	ERG	<i>bin</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>*min</i>	<i>*xin</i>	<i>tur-in</i>
	GEN	<i>bin</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>*min</i>	<i>*xi</i>	<i>tur-in</i>
	DAT	<i>be</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>*me</i>	<i>*xe</i>	<i>tur-e</i>

The original vowel is retained in the modal case forms **bu-r* and **ku-r* (see 3.3.4.2), compare *bur-qesun* ‘to begin, start’ (~ *bul-besun*) and *kur-kur-besun* ‘to stroke, caress’. Note that alternative forms incidentally apply: *bul* ‘head’ has a secondary strong paradigm: Genitive *bulun* (> ‘high, upper’), dative *bula* (e.g. in *bul-bula duğsun* (Azeri *baş-başa vurmaq*) ‘to visit, come together’ (lit.: ‘to hit head at head’)). *pul* ‘eye’ is occasionally inflected as a weak Class IIa nouns, e.g.

(x)	<i>pul pul-l-a</i>	<i>qoš</i>	<i>va^f</i>	<i>ulux ulğ-o</i>	<i>qoš</i>	[Matthew 5:38]
	eye	eye-SA-GEN	behind	and tooth	tooth-GEN	behind
	‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth...’					

The term *kul* has an alternative (usually qualifying) genitive *kilin* (Nizh *kiiin*), compare:

(X)	<i>ič</i>	<i>boš sa</i>	<i>kil-in</i>	<i>k’aša-ne bu</i>	[AR 70]
	REFL	in	one hand-GEN	finger-3SG	be

‘In it (i.e., the soup), there is the finger of a hand.’

§ 10. The seven inflectional patterns described above can be reduced to three basic structures:

(X)	ERG	GEN	DAT
I	<i>-en</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i>-a ~ -i ~ -e</i>
IIa	<i>-en</i>	<i>-ai ~ -ei</i>	<i>-u ~ -a ~ -e ~ -i</i>
IIb	<i>-n</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
III	<i>-in</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-e</i>

The allomorphic variants will be discussed in more details in section 3.3.3. Here, it suffices to note that both Class I and Class II have a prototypical option that reads:

(x)	GEN	DAT
Class I	<i>-un</i>	<i>-a</i>
Class II	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-u</i>

Note that the Class II prototype is the only option for referentialized forms (see 3.2.3 and 3.3.10). The interaction of stem class (see 3.3.2.2) and inflection class can be summarized as follows:

Stem class		Syllable		Stem final element		Inflection
Stem	Class	Mono	Poly	-V	-C	
Strong	[s1]	–	+	–	+	Ia
	[s2]	+	–	–	+	Ia
	[s3a]	–	+	+	–	IIc
	[s3b]	+	–	–	+	IIb
	[s4]	+	–	–	(+)	III
Mixed	[sw]	+	–	–	+	IIb ~ IIa
Weak	[w1]	+	–	–	+	IIa
	[w2a]	–	+	+	–	Ib
	[w2b]	–	+	+	–	Ia
	[w3]	+	–	+	–	IIId

3.3.2.4 Stem classes and inflection in the dialect of Nizh. The dialect of Nizh as well as Old Udi have significantly reduced and harmonized the patterns of both stem formation and inflection. It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to arrive at a complete picture because of the fact that data stem from rather heterogeneous sources. Also, it is not always clear which variety of Nizh the data stem from. Nevertheless, the following features can be mentioned:

§ 1. The lower varieties of Nizh have nearly completely lost the system of stem augmentation. This holds for most nouns belonging to the basic types [w1] and occasionally for [w3] nouns. Most [w1] nouns (monosyllabic C-final) are inflected as

strong nouns. However, they have preserved the vocalic genitive (see 3.3.3.5). In the dative, they have adopted the standard class Ia pattern:

(x) (a)	ABS	<i>t:u^ɸp</i>	(V. <i>t'u^ɸp</i>)	‘radish, mooli’
	GEN	<i>t:u^ɸp-e</i>	(V. <i>t'u^ɸp-n-a</i>)	
	DAT	<i>t:u^ɸp-a</i>	(V. <i>t'up-n-u</i>)	
(b)	ABS	<i>č:em</i>	(V. <i>č'em</i>)	‘bassin’
	GEN	<i>č:em-e</i>	(V. <i>č'em-n-a</i>)	
	DAT	<i>č:em-a</i>	(V. <i>č'em-n-u</i>)	
(c)	ABS	<i>t:ul</i>	(V. <i>t'ul</i>)	‘grape’
	GEN	<i>t:ul-e</i>	(V. <i>t'ul-l-a</i>)	
	DAT	<i>t:ul-a</i>	(V. <i>t'ul-l-u</i>)	

Residues of the old stem augment can be found especially in lexicalized or stereotypical forms:

- (x) (a) *sa usen-a ez-n-a xaš bur-q-at'an*
 one year-DAT harvest-SA-GEN month start-LV-CV:POST
ortağ-oxun sun-t'-ai ğar-e bak-i [BAT; OR 114]
 friend:PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-GEN2 son-3SG be-PAST
 ‘One year after the harvest month had commenced, one of the friends got a son.’
- (b) *märäkäi tara-p-i ba-ne-k-i yas-n-a ga* [ACH; OR 121]
 company turn=to-LV-PART:PAST be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST mourning-SA-GEN place
 ‘The company was moving to the mourning place.’
- (c) *oq-n-uxun sa gamat xe eč-al-zu* [KAL; OR 124]
 river-SA-ABL one pitcher water bring-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘I will bring a pitcher of water from the river.’
- (d) *samal č'ova-k-i dö^ɸp-n-a-dö^ɸp bur-e-q-i* [DAD; OR 117]
 a=few pass-LV-PART:PAST shot-SA-GEN-shot start-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘When a few (minutes) had passed by, shooting starting.’
- (e) *ošin śamat' šo-t'-oğ-o sud-d-e-ne k'al-p-i* [SA; OR 49]
 next week DIST-REF:OBL-DAT court-SA-DAT-3SG call-LV-PAST
 ‘The next week, he called them to court.’
- (f) *ü^ɸğ-n-ä k'ož-a šu bu-ne cir-e-q'a-n oq'a* [BUSH; OR 136]
 loft-SA-GEN house-DAT who be-3SG go=down-PERF-ADH-3SG down
 ‘Who(ever) is in the room (lit.: house) of the loft, should come down!’

§ 2. Weak nouns that belong to the [w2a] class usually keep their stem augment. Note that some nouns such as *be^finš(ə)* ‘priest’ or *(a)izbaš* ‘mayor of a village’ are weak in Nizh, but strong in Vartashen:

(x) (a) *äiär zu lamand-i-zu-i šo-t'-o* [PA 165]
if I meet-PAST-1SG-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

zu šo-t'-o tängi-n-a ta-z-d-o-i
I DIST:REF:OBL-DAT money-SA-DAT give-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD-PAST
‘If I would meet him, I would give him the money.’

(b) *be^finš-in-en q'a (a)izbaš-in-en täzä-ža ext'ilat-a*
priest-SA-ERG and village=mayor-SA-ERG new-RESTR talk-DAT

burq-e-t'un-i-i darvaz-in-axun k'al-t'un-p-i [PA 161]
start-PERF-3PL-PAST-PAST door-SA-ABL shout-3PL-LV-PAST
‘The priest and the mayor of the village started a talk (and)= shouted from the door’

§ 2. Most V-final monosyllabic nouns have a intervocalic segment *-i-* in all oblique case forms. With some [w3] nouns, the original stem final segment **-n-* then changes to *-i-*, compare:

(x) *p'i* ‘blood’ > *p'i-i* (V. *p'i-n-*)
xe ‘water’ > *xe-i-* ~ *xe-n-* (V. *xe-n-*)
čo ‘face’ > *čo-i-* (V. *có-*)

Occasionally, the standard stem augment is retained:

(x) *xe-n-axun č'er-i-t'-uxun oša oro-yan bak-o*
water-SA-ABL go=out-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-ABL after quarrel-1PL be-FUT:MOD
‘After having come out of the water, we shall quarrel again.’ [ORO; OR 136]

Other [w3] nouns keep their stem augment:

(x) (a) *i^fžen-a gam ga-l-a ef-a-n* [Bouda 1939:69, SD]
winter-DAT warm place-SA-DAT keep-MOD-3SG
‘... so that one keeps it (the bull) in winter in a warm place’

(b) *ba-ian-ne fi-n-a* [Bouda 1939:71, SD]
put=in-1PL-LV:PRES wine-SA-DAT
‘We pour out the wine.’

The stem augment is also preserved with the noun *aš* ‘thing’:

- (x) *me äš-l-a a-ne-k'-sa xa^š* [Bouda 1939:68, SD]
 PROX thing-SA-DAT see-3SG-\$-PRES dog
 ‘The dog sees what has happened (lit.: this thing).’

§ 3. For Lower Nizh, the interaction of noun stem formation and inflection can in sum be described as follows (basic system):

(X)

	Monosyllabic		Polysyllabic	
	-C	-V	-C	-V [weak]
ERG	<i>-in ~ -en</i>	<i>-i-in ~ -i-en</i>	<i>-in ~ -en</i>	<i>-in-en</i>
GEN	<i>-e(i)</i>	<i>-i-e(i)</i>	<i>-ən ~ -un</i>	<i>-in</i>
DAT	<i>-a - ~ -e</i>	<i>-i-a ~ -i-e</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-in-a ~ -in-e</i>

It comes clear that the Nizh system is a younger variant of the Vartashen paradigm. It is characterized by the harmonization of the set of dative suffixes (> *-a*). Additionally, the distribution of the two genitives (see 3.3.3.5) is more or less automatized. If we disregard minor variants, the distribution basically phonotactic: Monosyllabic *-e*, polysyllabic *-Vn*.

3.3.2.5 Stem formation in Old Udi. As far as data go, stem extension is extremely rare in Old Udi. For the time being, it is difficult to systematize the inflectional patterns, too. Below, I list a sample of Old Udi nouns which are documented in the oblique sigular (locative case forms are neglected for those nouns that are documented for relational cases):

(X)

Absolutive	Ergative	Genitive	Dative 1-3	Else	Meaning	Modern Udi
<i>*žal</i>		<i>žal-own</i>			‘trumpet’	
<i>*axal</i>	<i>axal-n-en</i>				‘nurse’	
<i>*b^šak'exal</i>			<i>b^šak'exal-n-ax</i>	<i>b^šak'exal-n-axoc</i>	opposition	
<i>*hom</i>			<i>hom-ex</i>		‘back’ (body)	
<i>ašal</i>		<i>ašal-own</i>	<i>ašal-n-a ~ ašal-ax</i>		‘earth’	<i>očal</i>
<i>ayz</i>		<i>ayz-in</i>	<i>ayz-ex</i>		‘village, world’	<i>ayz</i>
<i>b^šaX</i>		<i>b^šaX-e</i>	<i>b^šaX-ax</i>		‘judgement’	
<i>b^šeğ</i>		<i>b^šeğ-own</i>			‘sun’	<i>be^šğ</i>
<i>bozar</i>		<i>bozar-n-own</i>			‘labor’	
<i>de</i>		<i>de-ya</i>	<i>de-X</i>		‘father’	<i>-de</i>
<i>dev</i>	<i>dev-en</i>				‘ghost’	<i>dev</i>
<i>Dip'</i>				<i>Dip'-n-</i>	‘book’	

				<i>owxoc</i> (abl)		
<i>ek'lesi</i>		<i>ek'les-in</i>	<i>ek'lesi-x ~ ek'lesi-yax</i>		'church'	
<i>ǵar</i>	<i>ǵar-en</i>	<i>ǵar-e</i>	<i>ǵar-ax</i>		'sun'	<i>ǵar</i>
<i>ǵi</i>		<i>ǵiy-own</i>	<i>ǵiy-a</i>		'day'	<i>ǵi</i>
<i>hAwk'</i>		<i>hAwk'-ê</i>	<i>hAwk'-e</i>		'heart'	<i>uk'</i>
<i>hel</i>	<i>hel-in</i>				'soul'	<i>el-mux</i>
<i>herode</i>		<i>herode-n</i>	<i>herode-n-a</i>		'Herode'	
<i>hiL</i>			<i>hiL-a</i>		'thing'	
<i>iL</i>	<i>iL-en</i>		<i>iL-ax</i>		'word'	
<i>k'os</i>		<i>k'os-in</i>	<i>k'os-a</i>		'house'	<i>k'oǵ</i>
<i>kowl</i>			<i>kowya</i>	<i>kowyoc</i> (abl)	'hand'	<i>kul</i>
<i>marmin</i>	<i>marmiY-en</i>	<i>marmiY-own</i>	<i>marmiY-a</i>		'body'	[Arm.]
<i>ne</i>			<i>ne-X</i>		'mother'	<i>-ne</i>
<i>p'ʹi</i>		<i>p'ʹiy-own</i>			'time'	
<i>śowm</i>	<i>śowm-en</i>				'bread'	<i>śum</i>
<i>ša</i>		<i>ša-ya</i>			'daughter'	
<i>ser</i>	<i>ser-en</i>		<i>ser-ow</i>		'truth'	<i>seri</i>
<i>t'ʹeg</i>	<i>t'ʹeg-en</i>				'sign'	
<i>viči(ye)</i>	<i>viči-yen</i>	<i>viči-ya</i>	<i>vičiy-es / vičiy-ex ~ vičiy-ax</i>		'brother'	<i>viči</i>
<i>xow^ʹ</i>				<i>xow^ʹ-n-owl</i> (super)	'rock, stone'	
<i>xowY</i>			<i>xowY-ex</i>		'place'	
<i>že</i>	<i>že-yen</i>				'stone'	<i>že^ʹ</i>

It comes clear that this selection of Old Udi data does not draw a coherent picture. Nevertheless they sufficiently illustrate that both stem formation and inflectional patterns come more close to Nizh than to Vartashen.

3.3.3 Relational cases

3.3.3.1 Introduction. The term 'relational case' is used to refer to case forms that encode the semantic and syntactic relationship between actants, between an actant and a verb, or between an actant and a 'grounding' layer. In Udi, this includes the absolutive (ABS), the ergative(-instrumental) (ERG), the benefactive (BEN), the two genitives (GEN and GEN2), and the two datives (DAT and DAT2). The inclusion of the two datives is somewhat problematic because they represent metaphorized variants of locative functions (see 3.3.3.6). Still, the fact that the metaphorized functions are more frequent than the functions of the source domains justifies the interpretation as 'relational case forms'. The basic relational properties of the cases can be described as follows:

(X)		Relating to	Prototypical Function
	ABS	Verb	S:ABS <i>verbs</i>
		Verb	A:ERG <i>verbs</i> O[-def]:ABS
	ERG	a) Verb + Actant	A:ERG <i>verbs</i> O:ABS/DAT(2)
		b) Actant	X:ERG <i>is instrument of</i> Y
	BEN	Actant	X <i>is in favor of</i> Y:BEN
	GEN	Actant	X:GEN <i>is related to</i> Y
	DAT	a) Actant + Verb	A:ERG <i>verbs</i> O[+def]:O
		b) Actant + Verb	A/S>IO <i>verbs</i> O:ABS/DAT(2)

Today, the relational cases of Udi are motivated by basically syntactic and pragmatic features. In this sense, Udi case morphology is strongly reference dominated. Nevertheless, many features indicate that the earlier layer of role dominance as it is present with some other Lezgian languages still operates in the language. These features are related to both the syntactic behavior of the individual case forms (see 5.4.2) and the distribution of case allomorphs: At least parts of the distributional patterns are motivated by semantic criteria (see below). In addition, the locative source domains of the two datives are still present in terms of semantic invariance (see 3.3.3.6). In sum, the Udi relational cases should be described as representing a transitory stage on the role-reference continuum.

Certain locative cases are incidentally used in terms of ‘relational cases’. This is true for instance for the ablative and the adessive (see 3.3.4.1). However, this type of occasional metaphorization does not justify to include these case in the set of relational cases: The basic locative functions of these cases are much more frequent and more ‘standard’ than the metaphorical variants.

Although Udi knows an ergative case, the basic paradigm of relational cases does not represent a typical ‘ergative’ pattern: Contrary to most (if not all) other Lezgian languages, Udi has extended the use of one of the two datives to encode a (more or less) definite referent in objective function (see 5.4.3.3). In standard case-based ergativity, this function would have been encoded by the absolutive.

In the following sections, I will discuss the morphological means used to encode the Udi relational cases. Here, the main concern is to present the distributional patterns and the semantic and/or functional features that are related to these patterns. The syntax of the relational cases is discussed more broadly in section 5.4. See section 3.3.11 for a brief historical treatment of relational case morphology. Note that in the present section, only singular nouns are taken into consideration. Plurals are described in section 3.3.5. Referentialized forms and pronouns are dealt with in sections 3.3.6 through 3.3.9.

3.3.3.2 The Absolutive case. Udi nouns do not take a suffix in the absolutive. In this respect, Udi corresponds to standard case-based ergativity. With nouns that belong to

the stem class [s3a] (see 3.3.2.2 § 6), the absolutive shows up in terms of vocalic variation:

(x)	ABS	<i>k'aśa</i>	'finger'
	OBL	<i>k'asi-</i>	

The segment *-l* is an old derivational suffix confined to the absolutive. It occurs in the stem class [s4] (see 3.3.2.2 § 10 for details):

(x)		'head'	'hand'	'eye'
	ABS	<i>bul</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>pul</i>
	OBL	<i>b-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>p-</i>

Note that many referentialized participles (non-past participle) lose their referentializing morpheme (ABS *-o*, see 3.2.3 and 3.3.10) when undergoing conversion to a noun:

(x)		Non-Past Participle (ref.)	Noun	
	ABS	<i>aś-b-al-o</i>	'who is working'	<i>aśbal</i> 'worker'
	ABS	<i>čāli-biq'-al-o</i>	'who is fishing'	<i>čālibaq'al</i> 'fisher'
	ABS	<i>zomb-al-o</i>	'who is teaching'	<i>zombal</i> 'teacher'

Semantically speaking, the absolutive case is not 'empty'. The absence of case morphology iconically matches 'basicness': A noun in the absolutive represents the standard quotation form (see 3.3.2.1) and hence is less specific (or definite) than a noun marked for the ergative or dative. It can acquire a definite reading when coupled with the 'subjective' function (see 5.4.2.1), and it is referentially bleached in 'objective' function (see 5.4.2.4):

(x)	Definite	←	Indefinite	→	Referentially bleached
	Subjective		Identificational		Objective

The basic indefinite properties of the absolutive become apparent with predicate structures in identificational clauses:

(x)	S1:	<i>me-no</i>	<i>ek'a-a?</i>
		PROX-REF:ABS	what-3SG:Q
		'What is this?'	
	S2:	<i>mo-no</i>	<i>ma^hq-n-a xod-de</i> [f.n.]
		PROX-REF:ABS	oak-SA-GEN tree-3SG
		'It's an oak tree.'	

The degree of definiteness is raised when the absolutive noun is marked by a segment that itself is definite:

- (x) (a) S1: *me-no ek'a-a?*
 PROX-REF:ABS what-3SG:Q
 'What is that?'
- S2: *mo-no bez šk'ola-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS we:POSS school-3SG
 'It's our school.'
- (b) S1: *me-no šu-a?*
 PROX-REF:ABS who-3SG:Q
 'Who is this?'
- S2: *me-no me adamar-re*
 PROX-REF:ABS PROX man-3SG
- ma-t'-in-te bez k'uax ser-re-b-e* [f.n.]
 who-REF:OBL-GEN-SUB we:POSS house:DAT2 build-3SG-LV-PERF
 'This is the man (you know) who has built our house.'

Indefiniteness of absolutes is also given with existential clauses:

- (x) *beš burğ-ol q'a č'äläg-ğ-o ul sul*
 we:POSS mountain-SUPER and wood-PL-DAT wolf fox
- maral žühür arant'ol gölö-ne* [ST 14]
 stag deer jackal many-3SG
 'On our mountain(s) and in (our) woods there are many wolves, foxes, stags, deer, (and) jackals.'

Bare absolutive nouns in subjective function (coupled with intransitive verbs) usually are definite. This referential degree results from the interaction of the subjective function with pragmatic features of topicalization (given topic, see 5.7). An example is:

- (x) (a) *gädä bai-ne-sa kur-ra boš* [GD 62]
 boy go=into-3SG-\$.PRES hole-SA-GEN in
 'The boy goes down into the hole.'
- (b) *sa gädä bai-ne-c-e kur-ra boš* [f.n.]
 one boy go=into-3SG-LV:PAST-PERF hole-SA-GEN in
 'A boy went down into a hole.' [Intrada of a story]

In objective function, an absolutive marked nouns is usually indefinite and referentially bleached. As a result, such nouns tend to be incorporated into the verb (see 3.4.2.2 and 5.4.3.3):

- (x) (a) *k'ic'k'e ġar-a ta-ne-st'a žok' k'ož tängä* [GD 60]
 little son-DAT give-3SG:\$.PRES besides house money
 'In addition to a house, he gives money to the young boy.'
- (b) *me a^hil-uğ-on zaxo xabar-q'un-aq'-i* [f.n.]
 PROX child-PL-ERG I:ABL question-3PL-take-PAST
 'These children have asked me...'

Nouns indicating a span of time or a fixed time are often in the absolutive case, compare:

- (x) (a) *šü-n-e-bi^hğ pasč'ağ-un ġar-i tul-in-en*
 night-SA-GEN-middle king-GEN son-GEN dog-SA-ERG

bur-re-q-sa tünd ba^hp'-s-ax [GD 61]
 start-3SG-\$.PRES loud bark-MASD-DAT2
 'At midnight, the dog of the king's son began to bark loudly.'
- (b) *me karvano sa para vaxt' kar-re-x-sa* [R 17-8]
 PROX old=woman a bit time live-3SG-LV-PRES
 'This old woman lives some time....'

The absolutive case also is the standard vocative form. Here, it is often accompanied by the vocative particle *ai* 'oh!':

- (x) (a) *ai xinär xinär ma-n tai-sa?* [PO 1:3]
 oh girl girl where-2SG go-\$.PRES
 'Oh girl, oh, where do you go?'
- (b) *ma-nu ai bala nana bie-sa-ne* [PO 2:18]
 where-2SG oh child mother die-PRES-3SG
 'Where are you, oh child! (Your) mother is dying!'
- (c) *baba! e^hš-n-a ga ma-a?* [S&S 88]
 father apple-SA-GEN place where-3SG:Q
 'Father! Where is the place of the apple (tree)?'

3.3.3.3 Ergative: {-en ~ -on, -in, -n}. In Udi, the label 'ergative case' is a cover term that encompasses both agentive and instrumental functions. The instrumental function presupposes a real or fictive agent (subjective or agentive) who controls the instrument. Accordingly, the instrumental function is confined to inanimates or animates with low inherent control. In metaphorical usage, the instrumental function can be replaced by the agentive function. Note that the instrumental function of the

ergative is frequently lexicalized leading to modal adjectives and adverbs (see 3.2.8.1 and 3.5.1).

The agentive function of the ergative case is restricted to nouns denoting animate objects that can control a basically transitive state of affairs. Nouns marked for agentivity occupy an intermediate position on the animacy~agentivity hierarchy because communicative reference (personal pronouns) is not overtly marked for control (see 3.3.6):



With nouns, the standard morpheme of the ergative case is *-en*. With strong [s3a] nouns (see 3.3.2.2 § 6), the vowel is dropped:

(x)	<i>baba</i> + <i>-en</i>	>	<i>baba-n</i>	‘father-ERG’
	<i>nana</i> + <i>-en</i>	>	<i>nana-n</i>	‘mother-ERG’
	<i>tula</i> + <i>-en</i>	>	<i>tula-n</i>	‘dog-ERG’ [rare, normally <i>tulinen</i>]

Nouns of the irregular class [s4] show a syncretistic morpheme *-in* that also covers the genitive function:

(x)	<i>pul</i>	‘eye’	>	<i>pin</i>
	<i>kul</i>	‘hand’	>	<i>kin</i>
	<i>bul</i>	‘head’	>	<i>bin</i>

The morpheme *-in* can be regarded as an older variant of the standard ergative morpheme *-en*. (X) lists its distribution in Vartashen:

- (x) a) Ergative-instrumental of most referentialized nouns and pronouns (see 3.3.7-10);
 b) Instrumental of a restricted number of nouns;
 c) Ergative-genitive of [s4/III] nouns (see 3.3.2.3 § 9)
 d) Stem augment of [w2a] nouns (see 3.3.2.2 § 115)
 e) Modal-temporal converb derived from the simple masdar (see 3.4.11).

The distribution of *-en-* and *-in-* forms is in parts complementary. *-en* is the only valid ergative marker of nouns, whereas *-in* is used with most referentialized forms and pronouns. *-in* is the (old) ergative case marker of the simple masdar *-es*, whereas *-en* is the ergative-instrumental of the masdar2 *-esun* (see 3.4.11). With nouns, *-en* can have both ergative and instrumental function, whereas *-in* is normally confined to the instrumental function. A rare example for the use of *-in* in ergative function is:

(x)	<i>bez</i>	<i>čur-in</i>	<i>bi-ne-x-e</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>šavat’</i>	<i>mozi</i> [ST §10]
	I:POSS	cow-ERG	create-3SG-\$-PERF	one	beautiful	calf

‘My cow has given birth to a beautiful calf.’

All this shows that *-in* represents an older layer that has survived in peripheral or older paradigmatic structures (see 3.3.11.2 for details). In instrumental function, two concurrent forms are occasionally in use, compare the pairs *zor-en* ~ *zor-in* ‘with power’ and *muz-en* ~ *muz-in* ‘with the tongue / in the language’ in the following two examples:

(x) (a) *t'e vaxt'-a a-q'o-k'-o adamar-i ġar-ax*
 DIST time-DAT see-3PL.IO- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD man-GEN son-DAT2

haso-n-un laxo es-in zor-en [Luke 21:27]
 cloud-SA-GEN on go:MASD-ERG>CV power-ERG>INSTR

‘By that time they shall see the son of man coming on a cloud with power.’

(b) *har-o zor-in bai-ne-sa še-t'-a boš*
 every-REF:ABS power-ERG>INSTR go=into-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES DIST-REF:OBL-GEN in
 ‘Everybody enters it with power.’ [Luke 16:16]

(x) (a) *te uruz-in muz-en k'al-p-esun*
 SUB Russia-GEN language-ERG>INSTR read-LV-MASD2

cam-p-esun aba-bak-a-q'o [WH 56]
 write-LV-MASD2 know-LV-MOD-3PL.IO

‘... who would know to read and write in the Russian language.’

(b) *qai-p-a zomox ak'-es-t'-a muz-in k'atik'-ax*
 open-LV-IMP:2SG mouth see-MASD-CAUS-IMP:2SG tongue-ERG palate-DAT2
 ‘Open (your) mouth (and) show with (your) tongue the palate.’ [ST §5]

As far as data go, there does not seem to be a difference between the two forms. But note that only *-en* is productive. The following *-in*-ergatives are recorded (Vartashen):

(X)	<i>baxt'-in</i>	---	sake-ERG>INSTR	‘for’ (PP)	Persian <i>bāxt</i> ‘sake’
	<i>kil-in</i>	~ <i>kin</i>	hand-ERG>INSTR	‘handy-	Udi <i>kul</i> ‘hand’
	<i>p'a^ʃl-in</i>	~ <i>p'a^ʃl-en</i>	two-REF-ERG>INSTR	‘both’	Udi <i>p'a^ʃ</i> ‘two’
	<i>muz-in</i>	~ <i>muz-en</i>	tongue-ERG>INSTR	‘with the tongue, in a language’	Udi <i>muz</i> ‘tongue, language’
	<i>uk'in</i>	~ <i>uk'-en</i>	heart-ERG>INSTR	‘heartful’	Udi <i>uk'</i> ‘heart’
	<i>xaš-in</i>	~ <i>xaš-en</i>	light-ERG>INSTR	‘with light’	Udi <i>xaš</i> ‘light’
	<i>zor-in</i>	~ <i>zor-en</i>	power-ERG>INSTR	‘powerful’	Iranian <i>zor</i> ‘power’

A number of nouns ending in *-(u)ġ* show the plural variant of the ergative morpheme (see 3.3.5) instead of expected *-en*, for instance:

(x)	<i>buiruǵ</i>	>	<i>buiruǵ-on</i> (~ -en)	‘command, order’
	<i>dürüstluǵ</i>	>	<i>dürüst’-luǵ-on</i> (~ -en)	‘truth, righteousness’
	<i>haq’llutt’uǵ</i>	>	<i>haq’llutt’uǵon</i>	‘stupidity’
	<i>iavašluǵ</i>	>	<i>iavašluǵ-on</i>	‘slowness, caution’
	<i>k’onžuǵ</i>	>	<i>k’onžuǵ-on</i>	‘master of the house’

Obviously, the analogical process is controlled by the phonetic resemblance of the final stem segment *-uǵ* with the plural morpheme *-ux*. In slow speech, Udi speakers tend to reestablish the original phonetic shape of the ergative morpheme.

In Udi, the ergative case has considerable semantic properties. Its main feature with (higher) animates is that of ‘control’: A referent marked by the ergative is supposed to control an ‘action’ (but not necessarily another actant involved in this action, see section 5.4.2). The feature ‘control’ encompasses the domains of causation, instantiation, maintenance, and accomplishment of an action. The semanticity of the ergative case marker allows to use it with intransitive clauses to produce a control-based S-split, see section 5.4.3.1 for details. Below, I give some examples for the canonical use of the ergative case:

(x) (a) *bez baba-n me k’uax žang-n-a be^š ser-re-b-e* [f.n.]
 I:POSS father-ERG PROX house:DAT2 war-SA-GEN before build-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘My father has built this house before the war.’

(b) *še-t’-a tul-urǵ-ox dizik’-en*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN young=animal-PL-DAT2 snake-ERG

hammaša u-ne-k-sa [R 15]
 always eat-3SG- $\$$ -PRES
 ‘All the time, a snake eats its (the bird’s) children.’

(c) *muš-en i^šž-n-ux ma-q’a-n pas-b-i* [IM 63]
 wind-ERG snow-SA-DAT2 PROH-ADH-3SG scatter-LV-PAST
 ‘...the wind should not scatter the snow.’

(d) *vi min-en e-ne-čer-e vic’ min* [Luke 19:16]
 you:SG:POSS pound-ERG bring-3SG- $\$$:PAST-PERF ten pound
 ‘Your pound has brought ten pounds.’

The ergative is frequent with single argument clauses that result from the incorporation of an actant in objective function (see 5.5). An example is (x,a) as opposed to (x,b) that has the argument in the absolutive case:

(x) (a) *birdän el-le-p-i dadal-en* [Matthew 26:74]
 suddenly crow-3SG-LV-PAST rooster-ERG

‘Suddenly the rooster crowed.’

- (b) *dadal sa kārān el-le-p-e* [CO §8]
 rooster one time crow-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘The rooster crowed once.’

A rather unusual motivation for the ergative case is given if the referential participle of a transitive verb serves as the single actant of an intransitive matrix clause. In case the referent in objective function is overtly present, the participle is often marked by the ergative:

- (x) *meran čič-al-t’-ğ-on meran-en bi-al-q’un*
 sword pull-PART:NPAST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG sword-ERG>INSTR die-FUT:FAC-3PL
 ‘Those who pull the sword will die by the sword.’ [Matthew 26:52]

See section 5.4.2 for further details on the syntax and semantics of the ergative case.

3.3.3.4 Benefactive: {-enk’ena, -enk’} (V.); {-Vinak’} (N.). In earlier grammatical descriptions, this case form has been termed ‘Causativ’ (Schiefner), ‘Dativus commodi’ (Dirr), ‘gank’utvnebiti’ (Pančviže), ‘kausativ’ ~ ‘k’auzat’ivi’ (žeiranišvili), or ‘kauzativ’ (Gukasjan). In order to avoid confusion with the verbal category ‘causative’, I will use the term *benefactive* throughout this book. The term also refers to the most basic function of this case: It encodes the ‘optional’ variant of the indirect objective function (see 5.2.4.2 and 5.4.9). Normally, it is correlated with a positive connotation (*dativus commodi*).

In Vartashen, the suffix is either *-enk’ena* or *-enk’*. From a synchronic point of view, *-enk’* is more unmarked and more frequent, compare (x):

(x)	<i>-enk’ena</i>	<i>-enk’</i>
Gospels	50	151
Narrative texts and conversation	5	18
Schiefner 1863	0	29
TOTAL	55	198

Paradigmatically speaking the benefactive is closely related to the ergative case form: With [w1, IIa] nouns, it is added to the stem. (X) gives exemplary forms based on the dialect of Vartashen:

(x)	Inflection	ABS	ERG	BEN	
Ia		<i>adamar</i>	<i>adamar-en</i>	<i>adamar-enk’</i>	‘person’
Ib		<i>gādā</i>	<i>gād-in-en</i>	<i>gād-in-enk’</i>	‘boy’
IIa		<i>be^ʕğ</i>	<i>be^ʕğ-en</i>	<i>be^ʕğ-enk’</i>	‘sun’
IIb		<i>čur</i>	<i>čur-en</i>	<i>čur-enk’</i>	‘cow’
IIC		<i>xunči</i>	<i>xunč-en</i>	<i>xunč-enk’</i>	‘sister’

IId	<i>xe</i>	<i>xe-n-en</i>	<i>xe-n-enk'</i>	‘water’
III	<i>pul</i>	<i>pin</i>	<i>pin-enk'</i>	‘eye’

In Nizh, the suffix has more allomorphs than in Vartashen: Basically, the benefactive suffix is *-Vinak'*. ‘V’ represents one of the following vowels: *-e-*, *-a-*, or *-o-*. Additionally, the vowel can lack completely:

(x)	<i>p'i</i>	‘blood’	>	<i>p'i-einak'</i>	(V. <i>p'i-n-enk'</i>)
	<i>nana</i>	‘mother’	>	<i>nana-inak'</i>	(V. <i>nana-nk'</i>)
	<i>xunči</i>	‘sister’	>	<i>xunč-einak'</i>	(V. <i>xunč-enk'</i>)
	<i>campio</i>	‘s.th. written’	>	<i>campi-t'-ainak'</i>	(V. <i>campi-t'-enk'</i>)
	<i>c'i-urux</i>	‘names’	>	<i>c'i-urx-oinak'</i>	(V. <i>ciurğonk'</i>)

In Nizh, the final *-k'* is occasionally dropped with the masdar, leading to the suffixal form *-eyna*, e.g.

(x) (a)	<i>kap-sun-e</i>	<i>lazəm</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>äš-l-ä</i>	<i>č'äyi</i>	<i>nu-bak-s-eyna</i>
	hurry-MASD-3SG	necessary	SUBJ	work-SA-DAT	late	PROH-be-INF-BEN-DAT
	‘It is necessary to hurry up not to be late for work.’ [OL 12, Nizh]					

(b)	<i>xib-umži</i>	<i>etaž-i</i>	<i>a^šyn-in-axun</i>	<i>be^š-zə-ğ-sa</i>
	three-ORD	floor-GEN	window-SA-ABL	look-1SG-Š-PRES

<i>be^šyn</i>	<i>mašin-en</i>	<i>beši</i>	<i>yaq'-a</i>	<i>be^š-ya-ğ-sa</i>
whether	car-ERG	we:POSS	way-DAT	look-3SG:Q-Š-PRES

<i>yax</i>	<i>aš-l-a</i>	<i>tašt'-eyna</i>
we:DAT2	work-SA-DAT	bring:INF-BEN

‘I look from a window of the third floor (to see) whether the car is awaiting us (looks at our way), to take us to work.’

Both Žeiranišvili (1971:286) and Pančviže (1974:50) have based their analysis of the Udi benefactive on the Nizh variant. Both authors start with the allomorph *-ainak'* and claim that the initial *-a-* represents the Udi dative (see 3.3.3.6) to which the genitive (Žeiranišvili) or ergative *-in-* (Pančviže) has been added. The final segment is then identified as an old postposition (**ak'ena* ‘for, in favor of’) by Pančviže. This analysis, however, ignores the fact that the Nizh inflectional pattern is younger than that of Vartashen (see 3.3.2.4). Obviously, the benefactive has adopted the derivational pattern of the locative cases (see 3.3.4): The original suffix **-inak'* has been added to the dative marker *-a* replacing the structure ‘bare stem + BEN’. Note that in Vartashen, too, this analogical process is present: *-enk'* (*ena*) often is based on the dative in the benefactive plural or referentialized forms (see 3.3.10):

(x)	<i>iaq'a-z-b-o</i>	<i>šo-t'-ğo-enk'</i>	<i>pexambar-ğ-ox</i> [Luke 11:49]
	way-DAT-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD	DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT-BEN	prophet-PL-DAT2

‘I will send them prophets...’

Occasionally, a dative based benefactive is also documented with nouns:

- (x) *ek'a-nan ser-b-esa gārämzä pexambar-ğ-o-enk'* [Matthew 23:29]
 what-2PL build-LV-PRES grave prophet-PL-DAT-BEN
 ‘Why (lit.: what) do you make a grave for the prophets...?’

The Nizh variant **-inak'* is derived from the Vartashen morpheme **-enk'* by inserting a secondary vowel *-a-*. One possibility to explain this morpheme is to assume that the postposition *k'ena* ‘like’ has been added to the ergative (> *-enk'ena*). The tendency to drop the final segment *-ena* is rather strong in Vartashen (see above). In Nizh, this segment is lost completely.

The original semantics of the complex morpheme *-enk'ena* was based on the semantics of the postposition and the ergative case: Literally, it means ‘as X (does)’. This meaning corresponds to the semantics of English *for* as in

- (x) She appeared for her sister.

In Udi, the meaning ‘in replacement’ results from a syntactic reduction:

- (X) (a) *zu me adamar-enk'ena sa k'ož ser-zu-b-sa* [f.n.]
 I PROX person-BEN one house build-1SG-LV-PRES
 ‘I build a house for this person.’
- (b) **zu sa k'ož ser-zu-b-sa me adamar-en k'ena* [*k'ož ser-re-b-sa*]
 I one house build-1SG-LV-PRES PROX person-ERG like [house build-3SG-LV-PRES]
 ‘I build a house as this person [would build a house].’

(X,b) represents the underlying phrasing that consists of a doubled clause. The structure ERG + *k'ena* has been reanalyzed as a ‘morpheme of replacement’ that then has undergone metaphorization to a benefactive. This process has allowed to use the morpheme with intransitive verbs that else call for an actant marked by the absolutive:

- (x) *adamar-ğ-o-enk' mo-no k'ož-ne* [Mark 10:27]
 man-PL-DAT-BEN PROX-REF:ABS house-3SG
 ‘This is a house for the people.’

Another possibility is to relate the suffix to the Old Udi postposition *ank'e* ‘for’, compare:

- (x) *ğar hamat'ownk'e zow h-ê ğar-en ank'e*
 boy when I be:PAST-PERF boy-ERG for/as

iL-owk'-a-z-h-ê *ğar-en ank'e*
 word-say:PRES-PRES-1SG-LV-PERF boy-ERG for/as

Ak'Ahown-ba-a-z-h-ê *ğar-en ank'e bAla-z-hê*
 appearance-do:PRES-PRES-1SG-LV:PAST-PERF boy-ERG for/as think-1SG-LV:PAST-PERF
 'When I was a boy, I spoke like a boy, I appeared like a boy, I thought like a boy.' [1 Cor 13,11]

As has been said above, the benefactive is affiliated (at least in Vartashen) to the ergative case both from a formal and a functional point of view. Functionally, it is also related to the domain of the 'indirect objective'. Here, the case competes with the dative (see 3.3.3.6) and the postposition *baxt'in* 'for' (see 3.5.2). (X9) illustrates the parallel use of the benefactive and the postposition *baxt'in*:

(x) *nut'-bak-al-o* *admar-i baxt'in ba-ne-k-o* *bixog'-o-enk'*
 NEG-be-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS man-GEN for be-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD god-DAT-BEN
 'What will not be for mankind will be for God.' [Luke 18:27]

The dative-like properties of the benefactive can be seen from the following two examples:

(x) (a) *dürüst'-ğ-o-enk'* *lazum te-ne hâkim* [Matthew 9:12]
 healthy-PL-DAT-BEN necessary NEG-3SG doctor
 'The healthy ones do not need a doctor.'

(b) *ägänä va lazum te-ne* [Luke 10:40]
 if you:SG:DAT necessary NEG-3SG
 'If it is not necessary for you...'

The prototypical semantics of the benefactive can best be described as expressing the notion 'in the interest of the other' (see 5.4.9). Metaphorical extensions are 'in favor of', 'for', and 'telicity'. Typically, the benefactive combines with animate nouns or pronouns. In a cumulated version of the Gospels and narrative texts, the benefactive shows the following distribution:

(X)

		Total	-enk'	-enk'ena
[Animate]	Nouns	35	32	3
	Referentialized adjectives	15	15	0
	Anaphoric deixis	27	24	3
	Participle: Past	3	3	0
	Participle: Non-past	9	9	0
	Personal pronoun	136	86	50
	Reflexive	13	12	1
[Inanimate]	Nouns	7	7	0

INT	Q-reference	6	6	0
Masdar	Masdar1	2	2	0
	Masdar2	8	8	0
TOTAL		261	204	57

Accordingly, the benefactive is used 238 times with animate referents, as opposed to 23 instances of inanimate referents. Note that personal pronouns are the preferred trigger of benefactives. In the cumulated data base, more than 50 % of all benefactives are linked to these pronouns. If we add the anaphoric deixis and the reflexive pronouns, it comes clear that there is a strong correlation of benefactive and (anaphoric) pro-form (176 instances). (X) gives an example for each a noun (a), a referentialized form (b), a personal pronoun (c), a deictic referent (d), and a reflexive (e):

(x) (a) *hazir-b-a-nan iaq' bixog'-o-enk'* [Mark 1:3]

ready-LV-MOD-2PL way god-DAT-BEN

'Prepare a way for God!'

(b) *etär-te va^hn b-e-nan mo-t'-ux*

how-SUB you:PL make-PERF-2PL PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2

sa bez k'ic'k'e viči-muğ-o sun-t'-enk' [Matthew 25:40]

one I:POSS little brother-PL-GEN one-REF:OBL-BEN

'As you have done it to one of my little brethren...'

(c) *za ek'a-n tad-o venk' sa ma^hğ uk'-a-z* [AR 71]

I:DAT what-2SG give-FUT:MOD you:SG:BEN one song say:FUT-MOD-1SG

'What do you give me if I sing you a song?'

(d) *šin-a eč-er-e me-t'-enk' xorag uk-san* [John 4:33]

who:ERG-3SG:Q bring-LV:PAST-PERF PROX-REF:OBL-BEN food eat-CV:TEL

'Who has brought him food to eat?'

(e) *a-ne-q'-sa šo-t'-u ič-enk' binluğ-a* [CH&T 172]

take-3SG-\$-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT REFL-BEN bridehood-DAT

'He takes her for himself for marriage.'

Inanimate nouns scarcely occur with the benefactive. An example from Nizh is:

(x) *bu-za-q'-sa č'äläg-e tağ-a-z uš-e-inak'* [Schieffner 1863:49]

want-1SG:IO-\$-PRES wood-DAT go:FUT-MOD-1SG wood-DAT-BEN

'I want to go to the wood for firewood.'

Additionally, the benefactive can refer to cognitive concepts or general frames:

- (x) (a) *še-t'-enk'-zu pänžär-in-ax traq'i-st'a* [IM 63]
 DIST-REF:OBL-BEN-1SG window-SA-DAT2 knock-LV:PRES
 'Therefore, I knock at the window...'
- (b) *e-t'-enk'-nu un i'žen-a baq'-in-a kar-x-esa?* [f.n.]
 what-REF:OBL-BEN-2SG you:SG winter-DAT Baku-SA-DAT live-LV-PRES
 'Why do you live in Baku in winter times?'

With masdars, two variants of the benefactive are used: The simple masdar *-es* (see 3.4.11) adds *-ank'* (N.: *-einak'*). This form, however, is no longer understood as a benefactive. Together with the preceding masdar morpheme, it has been reanalyzed as a telic converb:

- (x) (a) *ul q'an súv ta-q'un-sa ġe-n-n-ax*
 wolf and bear go-3PL-\$.PRES day-SA-SA-DAT2

u'q' gir-b-es-ank' i'žen-enk' [PA 212]
 walnut collect-LV-MASD-BEN winter-BEN
 'Every day, a wolf and a bear go to collect walnuts for the winter time.'
- (b) *šo-t'-xo oša gena ta-q'un-sa ič-ğ-o-enk' uk-s-ank'* [PA 212]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ABL after CONTR go-3PL-\$.PRES REFL-PL-DAT-BEN eat-masd-BEN
 'After that, they go to eat for themselves.'
- (c) *išu ta-ne-sa čäli biq'-s-ank'* [PA 212]
 man go-3SG-\$.PRES fish catch-MASD-BEN
 'The man goes for fishing.'
- (d) *čoval-ğo k'äč' tast-einak' daxt'ak'-axun k'ac'-p-i*
 sparrow-PL:DAT bit give:MASD-BEN wood-ABL cut-LV-PAST

q'uti-ian ser-b-io [N., Bouda 1939:72 = SD]
 box-1PL build-LV-PERF2
 'In order to feed the sparrows we have made a box cut of wood.'

The vowel *-a-* is analogically taken from the standard telic converb *-an* (see 3.4.10). The second masdar (masdar₂, *-esun*) is a now fully referential form that can be inflected just like any other polysyllabic C-final noun (see 3.3.2.3). Accordingly, the standard benefactive form *-enk'(ena)* is added:

- (x) (a) *adamar-ğ-on kin b-esun-enk' ek'a-q'un aq'-sa* [IM 64]
 person-PL-ERG hand:ERG make-MASD2-BEN what-3PL take-PRES
 'What do people receive for working with (their) hands.'
- (b) *ši-te bu-t'ai imx-ox i-bak-sun-enk' imux-q'a-n lax-i*
 who:POSS-SUB be-3SG:POSS ear-PL ear-LV-MASD2-BEN ear-ADH-3SG lay-PAST

‘Whoever has ears to hear shall listen.’ [Matthew 11:15]

In Nizh, the benefactive is generally more frequent than in Vartashen. It tends to replace the simple dative in IO-function (see 3.3.3.6 and 5.4.2.4). This process is conditioned by the fact that in Nizh, the simple dative is also used to encode referents in objective function:

(x) (a) *šo-t'-aynak' sa ġusmišum eč-a-nan* [XOZ; OR 51]

DIST-REF:OBL-BEN one cheese=bread bring-MOD-2PL

‘You should give him a cheese bread.’

(b) *q'i^š-t'-u ečer-e-zu*

half-REF:OBL-DAT bring:PAST-PERF-1SG

beši täzä yezna-inak' taš-a-nan [XOZ; OR 53]

we:POSS new brother=in=law-BEN carry-MOD-2PL

‘I have brought the half (of an apple). Take it to our new brother-in-law!’

(c) *camp-a yaynak' vi email šavat' yaq'-be^šġ-o-z* [I 33b, Nizh]

write-MOD:2SG we:BEN you:SG:POSS email god way-see-FUT:MOD-1SG

‘Write us your email [address]! I will wait allright!’

(d) *bito-t'-aynak' dirist'uġ up-a!* [I 41, Nizh]

all-SA:OBL-BEN greetings say:IMP-IMP:2SG

‘Give greetings to all!’

Semantically speaking, the benefactive is less specific in Nizh. This allows speakers to use it in contexts that are not tolerated in Vartashen. For instance, the benefactive is used with the inanimate interrogative pronoun *hek'ä ~ hik'ä* ‘what’ to produce the notion ‘why’:

(x) (a) *viči ava-nu yan he-t'-ainak'-yan har-e?* [XOZ; OR 51]

brother knowing-2SG we what-REF:OBL-BEN-1PL come:PAST-PERF

‘Brother, do you know, why we have come?’

(b) *he-t'-ainak' te-z ava bak-sa?* [SAMAL; OR 129]

what-REF:OBL-BEN NEG-1SG knowing be-PRES

‘Why don’t I know (it)?’

The form *het'ainak'* ‘why’ is frequent in Nizh, but rare in Vartashen. In texts, the parallel Vartashen form *et'enk'* is documented only in the tale ‘Ivan Moroz’ translated from Russian (Schieffner 1863):

(x) *aba-za za un e-t'-enk'-nu ar-e* [IM 61]

knowing-1SG:IO I:DAT you:SG what-REF:OBL-BEN-2SG come:PAST-PERF

‘I know why you have come.’

In standard Vartashen, the form corresponding to Nizh *hetainak*’ is *et’abaxt’in* ‘why’ (postposition *baxt’in*, see 3.5.1). Nevertheless, Nizh, too, shows a certain preference for the benefactive to be used with animate referants. (x) illustrates the distribution of the benefactive in Nizh narratives:

(x) [Animate]	Nouns	16
	Personal/deictic pronouns	13
	Reflexive	2
	Indefinite	1
[Inanimate]	Nouns	4
	Q-reference	13
	Masdar1	10
TOTAL		59

Just as it is true for Vartashen, the benefactive has grammaticalized as a telic converb in Nizh:

(x) (a) *kolkhoz-i bost’an-axun bazar-e toist’-einak’*
 kolkhoz-GEN garden-ABL bazaar-DAT sell:MASD-BEN

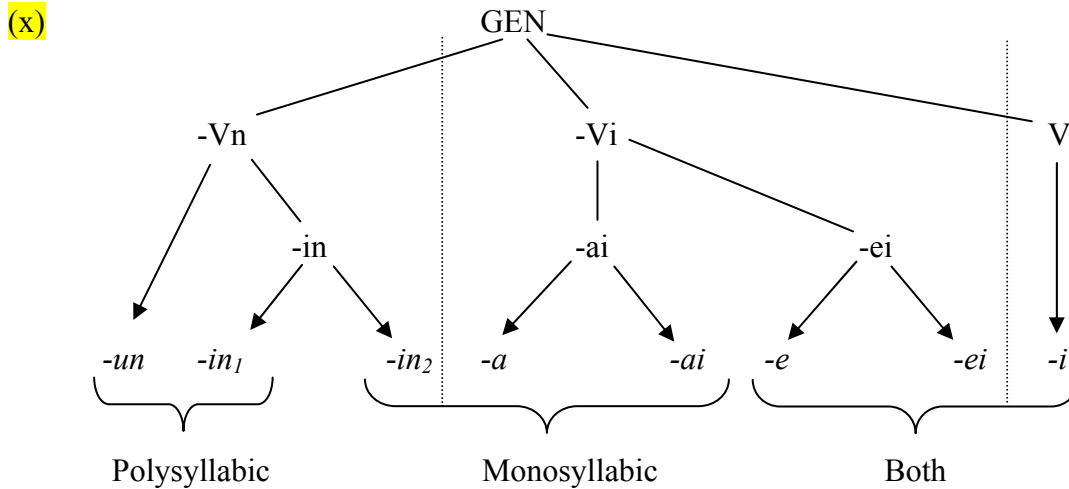
cam-ec-i-t’-uxun avuz k’ač’uli-t’un tašer-e
 write-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-ABL more cucumber-3PL carry:PAST-PERF
 ‘From the kolkhoz garden, they brought more cucumber than allowed (lit.: written) to the bazaar in order to sell (it).’ [KACH; OR 48]

(b) *šo-t’-o biq’-s-einak’ ost’ağar dava-ne tac-i* [DAD, OR 117]
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT seize-MASD-BEN strong war-3SG go:PAST-PAST
 ‘In order to seize (the village), he started a massive war.’

3.3.3.5 The two genitives: {-un, -in, -a, -e} – {-ai, ei} (V.); {-in, -ən, -e} ~ {-ei} (N.). From a synchronic point of view, the Udi genitive case shows up as a rather heterogeneous ensemble of morphological variants. In sum, the following variants can be described:

(x) -un ~ -ən ~ -n
 -in
 -ai ~ -a
 -ei ~ -e
 -i

These variants constitute three basic groups two of them are again subcategorized (Vartashen dialect):



The distribution of the individual allomorphs is conditioned by phonotactic, syntactic, and semantic criteria. In addition, the stem class of a given noun (see 3.3.2.3) is decisive. Note that some nouns have more than one genitive morpheme. In this section, I will first describe the set of genitives based on the archimorpheme -Vn (§§ 1-9) before turning to the -Vi-genitives in § 10-15 and to the *i*-genitive in § 16. § 17 deals with the opposition of ‘genitive’ vs. ‘genitive2’ that is present in the set of -(V)i-genitives. In § 18, I will discuss some specific features of the Nizh dialect.

From a functional point of view, the Udi genitive is a typical ‘relational’ case. It usually links two referential concepts and marks the determining part of this relation:

(x)	Referent	REL	Referent
>	Determinans-GEN		Determinatum

The relation between the two referential units can cover the whole array of semantic properties typically described for this type of relation:

(x)	Alienable possession	<i>xunče-i k'ož</i> sister-GEN house	‘the sister’s house’
	Inalienable possession	<i>xunče-i uk'</i> sister-GEN heart	‘the sister’s heart’
	Part-whole	<i>k'ož-in iapuğ</i> house-GEN roof	‘the roof of the house’
	Qualification	<i>e's-n-a xod</i> apple-SA-GEN tree	‘apple tree’

Material	<i>zido-n-un bi^fbi^f</i> iron-SA-GEN bridge	‘iron bridge’
Long distance possession	<i>baba-i sa k’ož-ne</i> father-GEN one house-3SG	‘Father has a house.’
S with masdars	<i>ğar-i esun</i> boy-GEN come:MASD2	‘the coming of the boy’
O with masdars	<i>günäh-un bağışlamiş-b-esun</i> sin-GEN forgive-LV-MASD2	‘forgiving the sin(s).’
Postpositional phrases	<i>sa kol-l-a boş</i> one bush-SA-GEN in	‘in a bush’
‘Free’ (temporal/spatial)	<i>sa ğe-n-ei</i> one day-SA-GEN	‘one day...’
‘Free’ (partitive) [rare]	<i>xe-n-e bu-za-q’-sa</i> water-SA-GEN want-1SG:IO-Ş-PRES	‘I want some water.’

The syntax of the above mentioned genitival constructions is discussed in sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4. Note that the cluster of genitive functions lacks further metaphorization: For instance, the genitive is not used to background referents in subjective or agentive function, be it in subordination or in pseudo-passive constructions (see 5.4.6). An exception is given by the Nizh indefinite pronoun *soğo* ‘one’: In case it has subjective function, the genitive *sunt’ai* is generally used instead of the expected absolutive *soğo*:

(x) (a) *sun-t’-ai k’ož-a q’onağ-e har-e-i* [XA; OR 135]
one-REF:OBL-GEN2 house-DAT guest-3SG come:PAST-PERF-PAST
‘Someone had come as a guest to a house.’

(b) *sun-t’-ai kož-a mand-ala-ne bak-i* [KECH; OR 132]
one-REF:OBL-GEN2 house-DAT wait- FUT2-3SG be-PAST
‘Someone was waiting in the house.’

Most probably, this construction is based on the function of the genitive as a ‘free’ partitive. Note that if the pronoun is used in the sense of a specifying indefinite pronoun, the absolutive occurs instead of the genitive:

(x) *viči-muğ-oi soğo alin at’až-a-ne kar-x-sa-i*
brother-PL-GEN one:REF:ABS upper floor-DAT-3SG live-LV-PRES-PAST

t'e soĝo oq'in at'až-a [ZU; OR 130]

DIST one:REF:ABS lower floor-DAT

'One of the brothers lived on the upper floor, the other one on the lower floor.'

On the other hand, certain locative cases can occasionally exert genitive-like functions (see 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.3).

§ 1. The -Vn-genitive has two variants: *-un* and *-in*. The *-un*-genitive is the default genitive marker for all polysyllabic nouns except for [w2a] nouns. With [w2b] nouns, it is added to the stem augment:

(x)	<i>pasč'ağ</i>	[s1]	'king'	>	<i>pasč'ağ-un</i>
	<i>c'abul</i>	[s1]	'chestnut'	>	<i>c'abul-un</i>
	<i>laśag</i>	[s1]	'body'	>	<i>laśag-un</i>
	<i>pambak'</i>	[s1]	'cotton'	>	<i>pambak'-un</i>
	<i>lašk'o</i>	[w2b]	'marriage'	>	<i>lašk'o-n-un</i>
	<i>baru</i>	[w2b]	'wall'	>	<i>baru-n-un</i>
	<i>o^hne</i>	[w2b]	'weeping'	>	<i>o^hne-n-un</i>
	<i>zido</i>	[w2b]	'iron'	>	<i>zido-n-un</i>
	<i>däria</i>	[w2b]	'sea, lake'	>	<i>däria-n-un</i>

§ 2. The *-un*-genitive is also used with monosyllabic [s2] nouns that stem from older bisyllabic forms (see 3.3.2.3):

(X)	<i>ait</i>	[s2]	'word'	>	<i>ait-un</i>	[* <i>ayit-un</i>]
	<i>a^hil</i>	[s2]	'child'	>	<i>a^hil-un</i>	[* <i>a^hyel-un</i>]
	<i>houz</i>	[s2]	'well, source'	>	<i>houz-un</i>	[* <i>howuz-un</i>]
	<i>aiz</i>	[s2]	'village'	>	<i>aiz-un</i>	[* <i>ayiz-un</i> ?]
	<i>xoid</i>	[s2]	'rice field'	>	<i>xoid-un</i>	[* <i>xoyid-un</i> ?]
	<i>be^hins</i>	[s2]	'priest'	>	<i>be^hins-un</i>	[* <i>be^hğuns-un</i>]

§ 3. Certain [s2] nouns have both an *-un*-genitive and an *-i*-genitive (see § 16). Examples include:

(x)	<i>xinär</i>	'daughter, girl'	>	<i>xinär-un</i> ~ <i>xinär-i</i>
	<i>nökär</i>	'servant, slave'	>	<i>nökär-un</i> ~ <i>nökär-i</i>
	<i>adamar</i>	'person, man'	>	<i>adamar-un</i> ~ <i>adamar-i</i>
	<i>pexambar</i>	'prophet'	>	<i>pexambar-un</i> ~ <i>pexambar-i</i>

With these forms, the *-un*-genitive represents the expected form. Nevertheless, it is much rarer than the *-i*-genitive. (x) illustrates this point with the help of the corresponding data of the Gospels:

(x)		-un	-i
	<i>pexambar</i>	4	6
	<i>xinär</i>	0	7
	<i>nökär</i>	1	2
	<i>adamar</i>	1	104

With the given words, there is no obvious difference between the two genitives. Hence, it can be assumed that the nouns in question have simply been aligned to the phonotactic mechanisms that call for an *-un-* genitive. A semantic motivation seems to be present with names that are marked either by the *-un-* or the *-i-* genitive:

(x) (a) *t'ia bu-ne-i iak'ov-un houz* [John 4:6]
 DIST:ADV be-3SG-PAST Jacob-GEN well
 'There was Jacob's well.'

(b) *mairam iak'ov-i nana* [Luke 24:10]
 Mary Jacob-GEN mother
 'Mary, the mother of Jacob...'

(x) (a) *te-q'un bo^ǰa^ǰ-b-i bixog-o isus-un meid-ax* [Luke 24:3]
 NEG-3PL find-LV-PAST god-GEN Jesus-GEN body-DAT2
 'They did not find the body of the Lord Jesus.'

(b) *va^ǰ sa-q'un-k-i isus-i tur-in oq'a* [Matthew 15:30]
 and throw-3PL- $\$$ -PAST Jesus-GEN foot-GEN under
 'And they cast themselves down at Jesus' feet.'

Names marked by the *-un-* genitive often lack 'scenic presence': Here, the person indicated by the name does not (or no longer) participate in the given event.

§ 4. It can be safely said that the *-un-* genitive is correlated with strong noun stems: It never occurs with stem augmented monosyllabic nouns of class [w1]. As has been argued in section 3.3.2.2, the stem augment of class [w1] nouns is the only type of stem augment that is motivated by semantic features. Historically, the *-un-* genitive could not combine with those features that controlled the semantics of stem augmentation (see 3.3.2.2, § 12). Obviously, the *-un-* genitive once had a broader distribution than today. It could also be used with monosyllabic nouns without stem augmentation. The many adjectives that are derived from nouns with the help of the suffix *-un* (see 3.2.9.1, § 4) represent residues of this older layer. Some of these adjectives are derived from monosyllabic nouns that else have a weak genitive:

(x)	Strong		Weak		
	<i>be^ǰx:</i>	<i>be^ǰx-un</i>	'tumesent'	<i>be^ǰx-n-ai</i>	'tumor-SA-GEN2'
	<i>oš:</i>	<i>oš-un</i>	'next'	<i>oš-n-ai</i>	'end-SA-GEN2'
	<i>bar:</i>	<i>bar-un</i>	'recent'	<i>bar-r-ai</i>	'part-SA-GEN2'

<i>bi'ǰ:</i>	<i>bi'ǰ-un</i>	'middle'	<i>bi'ǰ-n-ai</i>	'middle-SA-GEN2'
<i>xaš:</i>	<i>xaš-un</i>	'bright'	<i>xaš-n-ai</i>	'light-SA-GEN2'
<i>gög:</i>	<i>gög-un</i>	'blue, green'	<i>gög-n-ai</i>	'sky-SA-GEN2'
<i>därd:</i>	<i>därd-un</i>	'painful'	<i>därd-n-ai</i>	'pain-SA-GEN2'

The pairs in (x) illustrate that the *-un*-genitive often functions as a 'qualifying' relator. It then reduces the referential properties of its noun and focuses its semantic properties. With polysyllabic C-final (strong) nouns, this type of 'qualifying genitive' remains ambiguous: It can construe both referential relations and qualifying structures:

- (x) (a) *lari-nan bak-sa šavat' meid-un q'uti-n-al* [Matthew 23:27]
 like-2PL be-PRES beautiful corpse-GEN box-SA-SUPER
 'You are like a beautiful grave.' ~ 'you are like a beautiful box for (of) a corpse.'
- (b) *aizlu-n-en sa eǰel-un k'oǰ-ne ser-b-e* [f.n.]
 peasant-SA-ERG one sheep-GEN house-3SG build-LV-PERF
 'The peasant built a sheep-hold.' ~ 'The peasant built a house for (of) the sheep.'
- (c) *adamar-un dürüst'luǰ mühim aš-ne* [f.n.]
 person-GEN right important thing-3SG
 'Human right is an important matter.' ~ 'The right of a person is an important matter.'

§ 5. Nouns marked by the *-un*-genitive lack the opposition 'free' vs. 'bound' genitive which is characteristic for the class of Vi-genitives, see § 17 below. A 'free' genitive ('genitive2') is used in long distance possession, with postponed possessors, and with certain adverbial expressions. A 'bound' (or simple) genitive occurs in standard possessive (or relational) constructions and with most postpositions. The *-un*-genitive encodes the whole range of free and bound forms:

- (x) (a) *sa käsib-un xib ğar-re bu-i* [S&S 88]
 one poor-GEN three son-3SG be-PAST
 'A poor (man) had three sons.'
- (b) *č'ebak-en t'e-čo-un č'ot'-el dāria-n-un* [Luke 8:22]
 pass:LV-IMP:1PL DIST-face-GEN bank-SUPER lake-SA-GEN
 'Let's go to the opposite bank of the lake.'
- (c) *gölö vaxt'-un žin-urǰ-on biq-'i-o* [Luke 8:27]
 much time-GEN ghost-PL-ERG seize-PART:PAST-REF:ABS
 'someone who has since long been taken by ghosts ...'

- (d) *haisa paiz-un šel vādā-ne* [ST § 20]
 now autumn-GEN good time-3SG
 ‘Now, it is the beautiful time of autumn.’
- (e) *rust'am-a bu-t'u-q'-sa sa eġel-un laxo arc-a-ne* [R 13]
 Rustam-DAT want-3SG:IO-§-PRES one sheep-GEN on sit-MOD-3SG
 ‘Rustam wants to sit on a sheep.’

§ 6. In Nizh, the *-un*-genitive is pronounced either *-ən*, *-in*, or (in Upper Nizh) *-un*.

- (x) (a) *sa bias-in arc-e-t'un-ii šum-t'un uk-sa-i* [PA 160]
 one evening-GEN sit-PERF-3PL-PAST bread-3PL eat-PRES-PAST
 ‘One evening, they sat down and ate bread.’
- (b) *ayiz-in aždah-in-a bes-p'-e-ne zaman-en* [PA 163]
 village-GEN bad=ghost-SA-DAT kill-LV-PERF-3SG Zaman-ERG
 ‘Zaman has killed the bad ghost of the village.’
- (c) *bez bavan-al iz gördi-n-a dariä-n-a far-k'-at'an*
 I:POSS father-ERG-FOC REFL lance-SA-DAT sea-SA-DAT stick-LV-CV:POST

däriä-n-ən xe bi'i-exun žoi-e-bak-sa [PA 217]
 sea-SA-GEN water middle-ABL:COM separate-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘After my father had stuck his lance into the sea, the sea became divided in the middle.’

§ 7. The *-in*-genitive represents a formal cluster of two different types: a) The *-in*-genitive of [w2a] nouns (see 3.3.2.2, § 15); b) the ergative-genitive case of nouns that belong to the inflectional Class III (see 3.3.2.3, § 9). As has been argued in section 3.3.2.2, § 15, both types are derived from a former syncretistic ergative-genitive case **-in*. This case is preserved with class III nouns but has been confined to the genitive function with [w2a] nouns. Just as it is true for for the *-un*-genitive, the *-in*-genitive is also strong: It is never added to a formerly ‘semantic’ stem augment. In other words: The *-in*-genitive can never combine with [w1] nouns (monosyllabic, C-final). With [w2a] nouns, the *-in*-genitive itself serves as a stem augment (see 3.3.2.2, § 15): All other oblique cases are derived from the genitive base.

The fact that both genitives (*-un* and *-in*) are ‘strong’ allows to hypothesize that they stem from a common source. One option would be to assume that the *-un*-genitive is an ablaut variant of the (older) *-in*-genitive. Still, it is plausible, too, to relate the *-in*-genitive to the ergative case marker *-en* (see 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.11).

§ 8. Except for class III nouns, the *-in*-genitive has the same functional and semantic properties as the *-un*-genitive (see above). Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ğar-en gäd-in kex biq'-axun* [GD 63]
 son-ERG boy-GEN hand:DAT2 seize-CV:PAR
 'When the son takes the boy's hand....'
- (b) *imux-lax-a-nan mätlib-ax mäsal-in bit'-al-t'-a laxo*
 ear-lay-MOD-2PL sense-DAT2 parable sow-PART:NPAST-REF:OBL-GEN on
 'Listen to what the parable of the sowman means...' [Matthew 13:18]
- (c) *me väd-in ğar-mux fändkär-q'un ğar-muğ-oxo xaş-n-ai* [Luke 16:8]
 PROX time-GEN son-PL wise-3PL son-PL-ABL light-SA-GEN
 'In this time the sons are wiser than the sons of the light....'
- (d) *me gäd-in sa k'ic'i pişik'-ne bu-i* [f.n.]
 PROX boy-GEN one little cat-3SG be-PAST
 'This boy had a young cat.'
- (e) *ğar-en mia gölö o'ne-ne-xa ič gäd-in baxt'in* [GD 63]
 son-ERG PROX:ADV much weep-3SG-LV:PRES REFL boy-GEN for
 'The son weeps much because of (the fate of) his boy.'

§ 9. Class III nouns differ from other nouns marked by the *-in*-genitive in that they have a syncretistic ergative-genitive case *-in* (see 3.3.3.2). In other words: The functional domain of the morpheme *-in* is broader than with [w2a] nouns. Else, the genitive of Class III nouns does not differ from other *-Vn*-genitives. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *sa kin laxo bu-ne qo k'aśa* [ST §8]
 one hand:GEN on be-3SG five finger
 'A hand has five fingers.'
- (b) *vi bin pop-ur ma'in-ne* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS head:GEN hair black-3SG
 'The hair of your head is black.'

§ 10. The set of *-Vi*-genitives is restricted to monosyllabic nouns and some polysyllabic kinship terms (Class IIc, see 3.3.2.3, § 7). Compounds that end with a monosyllabic element are included in this class as long as they are lexically transparent. Contrary to the *-Vn*-genitives, the class of *-Vi*-genitives covers two different genitival types: The standard genitive is used with a following 'possessum', whereas the genitive2 occurs as a free genitive or to mark a postponed possessor (see § 17). Both genitives have two allomorphs that are complementary distributed: A strong genitive is marked by *-ei*, a weak genitive is marked by *-ai*.

§ 11. Strong genitives occur with monosyllabic nouns that lack a stem augment. Note that [w3] nouns (< *-vC) are included (see 3.3.2.3, § 17). In Vartashen, this class is rather restricted. Often, a weak variant occurs. The following nouns normally have a strong genitive only:

(X)	<i>a^ʰm</i>	>	<i>a^ʰm-ei</i>	‘arm, shoulder’
	<i>bin</i>	>	<i>bin-ei</i>	‘daughter-in-law, bride’
	<i>c^ʰi</i>	>	<i>c^ʰi-ei</i>	‘name’
	<i>čo</i>	>	<i>čo-ei</i>	‘face’
	<i>iśu</i>	>	<i>iś-ei</i>	‘man, husband’
	<i>k^ʰoi</i>	>	<i>k^ʰoi-ei</i>	‘sleeve’
	<i>mu</i>	>	<i>mu-ei</i>	‘barley’
	<i>nep^ʰ</i>	>	<i>nep^ʰ-ei</i>	‘sleep’
	<i>o</i>	>	<i>o-ei</i>	‘grass’
	<i>uk^ʰ</i>	>	<i>uk^ʰ-ei</i>	‘heart’
	<i>xa</i>	>	<i>xa-ei</i>	‘skin’

The following monosyllabic C-final nouns have both a strong genitive (-*ei*) and a weak genitive (-*ai*):

(X)	<i>be^ʰk</i>	>	<i>be^ʰk-ei ~ be^ʰk-n-ai</i>	‘needle’
	<i>buš</i>	>	<i>buš-ei ~ buš-n-ai</i>	‘camel’
	<i>čur</i>	>	<i>čur-ei ~ čur-n-ai</i>	‘cow’
	<i>iaq^ʰ</i>	>	<i>iaq^ʰ-ei ~ iaq^ʰ-n-ai</i>	‘way’
	<i>śum</i>	>	<i>śum-ei ~ śum-n-ai</i>	‘bread’
	<i>t^ʰu^ʰp^ʰ</i>	>	<i>t^ʰu^ʰp^ʰ-ei ~ t^ʰu^ʰp^ʰ-n-ai</i>	‘white radish’
	<i>tum</i>	>	<i>tum-ei ~ tum-n-ai</i>	‘root’
	<i>u^ʰč</i>	>	<i>u^ʰč-ei ~ u^ʰč-n-ai</i>	‘honey’
	<i>ul</i>	>	<i>ul-ei ~ ul-l-ai</i>	‘wolf’
	<i>uq</i>	>	<i>uq-ei ~ uq-n-ai</i>	‘river’

Most likely, the nouns listed in (x) originally were strong nouns and belonged to the [s3b] type (see 3.3.2.2, § 7). Today, stem augmented genitives are generally preferred in the Vartashen dialect. In Nizh, however, nearly all monosyllabic nouns have adopted the strong paradigm (see 3.3.2.4) using the -*ei*-genitive (see § 18 below). There is no obvious semantic difference between the two variants. But note that some of the strong variants occur only in stereotypical collocations:

(x) (a) *iaq^ʰ-e č^ʰot^ʰ-el*
 way-GEN side-SUPER
 ‘along the way’

(b) *iaq^ʰ-e bel*
 way-GEN head:SUPER
 ‘at the end of the way...’

- (b) *oq-e boš*
 river-GEN in
 ‘in the (waters of a) river’

§ 12. The following two nouns have alternative genitives that are not based on the -Vi-paradigm:

(X)	<i>ğar</i>	>	<i>ğar-ei ~ ğar-i</i>	‘son, boy’
	<i>vaxt’</i>	>	<i>vaxt’-ei ~ vaxt’-un</i>	‘time’

Normally, the genitive *ğar-i* ‘of the son’ is preferred. In the Gospels, however, *ğar* is more frequent with the *-ei*-genitive than with the *-i*-genitive:

(x)		<i>-e</i>	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-i</i>
	<i>ğar</i>	13	2	5

Still, there is no obvious semantic or functional difference between the two types. They occur in nearly the same surroundings. (X) lists the context of both forms as they appear in the Gospels:

(X) *ğar-e*:

<i>ait adamari ğare laxo</i>	[Matthew 12:32]	‘on the word of the Son of man’
<i>esun ğare adamari</i>	[Matthew 24:39]	‘the coming of the Son of man’
<i>ğare c’iala</i>	[Matthew 28:19]	‘in the name of the son’
<i>ğare laxo</i>	[Luke 1:36]	‘on the son’
<i>adamari ğare baxt’in</i>	[Luke 6:22]	‘for the Son of the man’
<i>ğare dūšmān</i>	[Luke 12:53]	‘the son’s enemy’
<i>adamari ğare ğimxox</i>	[Luke 17:26]	‘the days of the Son of Me’
<i>adamari ğare baxt’in</i>	[Luke 18:31]	‘for the Son of man’
<i>adamari ğare t’o^ʕğo^ʕl</i>	[John 1:51]	‘at the Son of man’
<i>ğare c’iala</i>	[John 3:18]	‘in the name of the son’
<i>ğare sāsnu</i>	[John 5:25]	‘the son’s voice’
<i>adamari ğare laśagax</i>	[John 6:53]	‘the body of the Son of man’
<i>ğare boš</i>	[John 14:13]	‘in the son’

ğar-ei:

<i>adamari ğarei tet’abu ga</i>	[Luke 9:58]	‘The Son of man doesn’t have a place’
<i>sa ği q’an adamari ğarei</i>	[Luke 17:22]	‘even a day of the Son of man’

ğar-i:

<i>ğari o^ʕq’na oq’a</i>	[Matthew 21:5]	‘under the yoke of a young (ass)’
<i>niśan ğari adamari</i>	[Matthew 24:30]	‘the sign of the Son of man’
<i>bul ...ğari bixogoi</i>	[Mark 1:1]	‘book about ... the son of God’
<i>bez ğari laxo</i>	[Luke 9:38]	‘on my son’
<i>ğari sāsix</i>	[John 5:28]	‘to the voice of the son’

§ 13. [w3] nouns (see 3.3.2.2, § 17) take the *-ei*-genitive when the stem augment *-n-* is present. As had been said in section 3.3.2.2, § 17, these nouns originally were C-final. Accordingly, they behave like standard [s3] nouns (monosyllabic, strong). Examples are:

(X)	<i>be</i>	>	<i>be-n-ei</i>	‘deposit’
	<i>fi</i>	>	<i>fi-n-ei</i>	‘wine’
	<i>ǵi</i>	>	<i>ǵi-n-ei ~ ǵe-n-ei ~ ǵi-ei</i>	‘day’
	<i>ga</i>	>	<i>ga-n-ei ~ ga-l-ai</i>	‘place’
	<i>me</i>	>	<i>me-n-ei</i>	‘knife’
	<i>p’i</i>	>	<i>p’i-n-ei</i>	‘blood’
	<i>t’e</i>	>	<i>t’e-n-ei</i>	‘nit’
	<i>xe</i>	>	<i>xe-n-ei</i>	‘water’
	<i>že</i>	>	<i>že-n-ei</i>	‘stone’

The use of the ‘strong’ genitive *-ei* with these nouns illustrates that the final segment *-n* cannot be treated in the context of standard stem augmentation (a standard stem augment *-n-* would call for an *-ai*-genitive, see below).

§ 14. There are at least five bisyllabic nouns that superficially show an *-ei*-genitive.
a) The two kinship terms *viči* ‘brother’ and *xunči* ‘sister’ replace the final *-i* by the morpheme *-ei*:

(x)	<i>viči</i>	>	<i>vič-ei</i>	‘brother’
	<i>xunči</i>	>	<i>xunč-ei</i>	‘sister’

b) The following *-e*-final strong nouns replace *-e* by *-ei*:

(x)	<i>seide</i>	>	<i>seid-ei</i>	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>seine</i>	>	<i>sein-ei</i>	‘father-in-law’
	<i>sevče</i>	>	<i>sevč-ei</i>	‘brother-in-law’

From a historical point of view, all five nouns belong to the inflection class IIc (see 3.3.2.3, § 7). It seems reasonable to assume that their genitive originally was *-i* (see below § 16). If this is true, the two nouns *viči* and *xunči* should be derived from **viče* and **xunče*. Nevertheless, the change of final **-e* to *-i* remains unexplained.

§ 15. The *-ai*-genitive is the standard genitive of all [w1] nouns (see 3.3.2.2, § 13). It forms a structural unity with the technique of stem augmentation: Whenever a (historically ‘semantic’) stem augment is present, the genitive is *-ai*. Accordingly, this genitive morpheme is used not only with weak [w1] nouns, but also with referentialized forms (see 3.2.3) that show a stem augment in the oblique cases. It never occurs with strong nouns. However, note that some nouns have an alternative strong *-ei*-genitive (see above § 11).

With nouns, the *-ai*-genitive is restricted to the dialect of Vartashen. In Nizh, stem augmentation is almost completely lost (see 3.3.2.4). As a consequence, in Nizh all C-final monosyllabic nouns are interpreted as class [s3b] nouns (see 3.3.2.2, § 7). The genitive is then marked by its strong variant *-ei* (see § 18).

If we disregard the class of [s3b] nouns, the formation of weak *-ai*-genitives is automatic: All C-final nouns that belong to the class [w1] add *-ai* to their stem augment. Hence, it is sufficient to list some illustrating examples:

(x)	<i>be^ḡ</i>	>	<i>be^ḡ-n-ai</i>	‘sun’
	<i>bo^ḡq’</i>	>	<i>bo^ḡq’-n-ai</i>	‘pig’
	<i>č’ik’</i>	>	<i>č’ik’-n-ai</i>	‘small branch’
	<i>čal</i>	>	<i>čal-l-ai</i>	‘fence’
	<i>döš</i>	>	<i>döš-n-ai</i>	‘breast, shoulder’
	<i>gon</i>	>	<i>gon-n-ai</i>	‘color’
	<i>ias</i>	>	<i>ias-n-ai</i>	‘grief, sorrow’
	<i>il</i>	>	<i>il-l-ai</i>	‘grass, greens’
	<i>k’it’</i>	>	<i>k’it’-t’-ai</i>	‘cat’
	<i>käl</i>	>	<i>käl-l-ai</i>	‘calf’
	<i>kur</i>	>	<i>kur-r-ai</i>	‘hole, pit’
	<i>marc</i>	>	<i>marc-n-ai</i>	‘edge, border’
	<i>mis</i>	>	<i>mis-n-ai</i>	‘copper’
	<i>nec’</i>	>	<i>nec’-n-ai</i>	‘louse’
	<i>pop</i>	>	<i>pop-n-ai</i>	‘hair’
	<i>q’al</i>	>	<i>q’al-l-ai</i>	‘ram’
	<i>q’uš</i>	>	<i>q’uš-n-ai</i>	‘bird’
	<i>šul</i>	>	<i>šul-l-ai</i>	‘fox’
	<i>t’at’</i>	>	<i>t’at’-t’-ai</i>	‘flie’
	<i>täg</i>	>	<i>täg-n-ai</i>	‘small branch’
	<i>toz</i>	>	<i>toz-n-ai</i>	‘dust’
	<i>us</i>	>	<i>us-n-ai</i>	‘bull’
	<i>xel</i>	>	<i>xel-l-ai</i>	‘load, fright’
	<i>zor</i>	>	<i>zor-r-ai</i>	‘power’
	<i>žuk’</i>	>	<i>žuk’-n-ai</i>	‘spindle’

§ 16. The *-i*-genitive is the only variant that has a clear semantic motivation. It is only used with nouns denoting human beings. Most often, it is used with names and (specific) kinship terms. Additionally, it is the only genitive marker with certain pronominal forms (see 3.3.6, 3.3.8-9). The *-i*-genitive is always strong: It never appears with a stem augment. The following kinship terms have an *-i*-genitive:

(x)	<i>aba</i>	>	<i>aba-i</i>	‘father’
	<i>ama</i>	>	<i>ama-i</i>	‘aunt (sister of father)’
	<i>ap’er</i>	>	<i>ap’er-i</i>	‘father (honorific)’
	<i>baža</i>	>	<i>baža-i</i>	‘husband of wife’s sister’
	<i>baba</i>	>	<i>baba-i</i>	‘father’
	<i>dädä</i>	>	<i>dädä-i</i>	‘aunt (sister of father)’
	<i>ğar</i>	>	<i>ğar-i ~ ğar-ei</i>	‘son, boy’
	<i>iezna</i>	>	<i>iezna-i</i>	‘brother-in-law’
	<i>nana</i>	>	<i>nana-i</i>	‘mother’

<i>xala</i>	>	<i>xala-i</i>	‘aunt)sister of mother’
<i>xinär</i>	>	<i>xinär-i ~ xinär-un</i>	‘daughter, girl’
<i>viči</i>	>	<i>viče-i</i>	‘brother’
<i>xunči</i>	>	<i>xunče-i</i>	‘sister’
<i>seine</i>	>	<i>seine-i</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>seide</i>	>	<i>seide-i</i>	‘father-in-law’
<i>sevče</i>	>	<i>sevče-i</i>	‘brother-in-law’

This list includes the five terms discussed above in § 14 out of historical reasons. With other nouns denoting human beings and with names, the *-i*-genitive is optional (see § § above). Examples are:

(x)	<i>pexambar</i>	>	<i>pexambar-i ~ pexambar-un</i>	‘prophet’
	<i>nökär</i>	>	<i>nökär-i ~ nökär-un</i>	‘slave, servant’
	<i>adamar</i>	>	<i>adamar-i ~ adamar-un</i>	‘man, person’
(x)	<i>Filip’</i>	>	<i>Filip’-i ~ Filip’-un</i>	‘Philipp’
	<i>Aaron</i>	>	<i>Aaron-i ~ Aaron-un</i>	‘Aaron’
	<i>Ioann</i>	>	<i>Ioann-i ~ Ioann-un</i>	‘John’
	<i>Isus</i>	>	<i>Isus-i ~ Isusun</i>	‘Jesus’
	<i>Iak’ov</i>	>	<i>Iak’ov-i ~ Iak’ov-un</i>	‘Jacob’
	<i>Ion</i>	>	<i>Ion-i ~ Ion-un</i>	‘Jonas’
	<i>Irod</i>	>	<i>Irod-i ~ Irod-un</i>	‘Herod’
	<i>Izrail</i>	>	<i>Izrail-i ~ Izrail-un</i>	‘Israel’
	<i>P’ilat’</i>	>	<i>P’ilat’-i ~ P’ilat’-un</i>	‘Pilate’

Nevertheless, many names form their genitive in accordance with their phonotactic structure (for instance *Marfa* > *Marfin* ‘Martha’, *Maša* > *Mašin* ‘Masha’, *P’et’r* > *P’et’r-un* ‘Peter’, *Sergei* > *Sergei-un* ‘Sergej’). Obviously, the general tendency in Udi to refer to phonotactic criteria as a determiner for the selection of genitives has superseded the original semantic motivation.

Analogical processes have also caused the reinterpretation of those *-i*-genitives that are derived from *-a*-final nouns (type *nana* > *nana-i* ‘mother’). Usually, these nouns lose the final *-i* in those contexts that are typical for the ‘simple’ genitive (see below § 17):

(x) (a) *bütün ek’k’a bu-t’ai baba-i bu-ne bez-i* [John 16:15]
 all what be-3SG:POSS father-GEN2 be-3SG I:POSS-GEN2
 ‘All what belongs to the FATHER belongs to me.’

(b) *u^ǰ-al-zu e^faxol täzä fi-n-ax bez baba pasč’ağluğ-a*
 drink-FUT:FAC-1SG you:PL:COM new wine-SA-DAT2 I:POSS father:GEN kingdom-DAT
 ‘I will drink new wine with you in the kingdom of my father.’
 [Matthew 26:29]

(x,a) is marked for long distance possession, whereas (x,b) shows a noun phrase internal possessive construction. In the first case, *baba* is marked by the segment *-i*, in the second case it lacks this segment. There is no reason to assume that the loss of *-i*

is conditioned by articulatory aspects (such as fast speech), see below § 17. The same process of reanalysis has taken place with the *e*-final nouns mentioned in § 14 above. These are treated as nouns having an *-ei*-genitive. In consequence, *seine* ‘mother-in-law’, *seide* ‘father-in-law’, and *sevče* ‘brother-in-law’ can be used in genitive function without any morphological marker:

- (x) *seine bak-al-la düšman ič bin-e laxo*
 mother=in=law be-FUT:FAC-3SG enemy REFL daughter=in=law-GEN on
va^f bin-al ič seine laxo [Luke 12:53]
 and daughter=in=law-FOC REFL mother=in=law on
 ‘The mother-in-law will be the enemy of her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law (will be) the enemy of her mother-in-law.’

§ 17. Vi-genitives can show up in two shapes: a) -V, b) -Vi. In the present book, the V-genitive is glossed as ‘genitive’ (GEN), whereas the Vi-genitive is labeled ‘genitive2’ (GEN2) if appropriate. From a structural point of view, the genitive2 is derived from the simple genitive by adding the segment *-i*. Nevertheless, such a segmentation would suggest that the segment *-i* has functionally distinct and identifiable properties. Actually, the distributional pattern for both genitives is much too vague to allow such a concretization. In consequence, I will refrain from segmenting the morphemic group -Vi when referring to its synchronic function. Diachronically speaking, there are good arguments in favor of the segmentation *-ai* < **-e-i* and *-ai* < **-a-i* (see below).

Prototypically, the two genitives have a complementary distribution.

- (x) Genitive: NP-internal possession {GenN}
 Postpositional phrases
 Genitive2: NP-internal possession {NGen}
 Long distance possession

The simple genitive can also be termed ‘bound’ genitive because it always calls for another nominal constituent to follow it (head or possessum). On the other hand, the genitive2 functions as a ‘free’ genitive that lacks the condition of constituent linkage. From a morphological point of view, we can say that the additional segment *-i* ‘replaces’ the expected nominal constituent, compare:

- (x) (a) *t’e iš-e k’ažux gödäk-ne* [ST §6]
 DIST man-GEN beard short-3SG
 ‘The beard of that man is SHORT.’
 (b) *me iš-ei bu-t’ai boxo k’ažux* [ST §6]
 PROX man-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS long beard

‘This MAN has a long beard.’

(x,a) is marked by a simple genitive (*iše*), whereas (x,b) has a genitive2 in long distance possession (*išei*). Structurally speaking, we can describe the following proportion:

(x)	Possessor	Possessum
	<i>iš-e</i>	<i>k'ažux</i>
	<i>iš-e</i>	<i>-i</i>

Accordingly, the segment *-i* represents a pro-form that covers the function of the possessum: it cataphorically refers to a deleted noun functioning as a possessum. This type of possessive marking closely resembles possessive strategies in some Andian languages, compare:

(x)	<i>hek^wa-š:u-b axi</i> [Botlikh, f.n.]
	man-OBL-III garden:III
	‘the man’s garden...’

Here, the class marker *-b* (class III) cataphorically refers to the possessum *axi* ‘garden’. In the Andian languages, this technique is restricted to male possessors. In Udi, however, no such restrictions can be observed. From this we can conclude that the Udi technique is semantically ‘broader’ than its Andian correlate. The reader should note that the above mentioned analogy to the Andian languages is purely structural. It does not necessarily claim that the Udi segment *-i* stems from an old class marker that later has become generalized. It is likewise possible to propose a deictic origin of this element, see 3.3.11.

Whatever the origin of the element *-i* may have been: Most likely, it once was used with overt nouns in NP-internal possessive constructions, too. Residues of this usage can be found especially in older texts:

(x)	(a)	<i>arc-i-ne</i>	<i>šo-no</i>	<i>čax-n-ai</i>	<i>dükän-un laxo</i>
		sit-PAST-3SG	DIST-REF:ABS	ice-SA-GEN2	bank-GEN on

i^š-n-ai *q'uruc'-ax-al u-ne-k-sa* [IM 61]

snow-SA-GEN2 pile-DAT2-FOC eat-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES

‘He has sat down on a bank of ice (and) eats piles of snow.’

(b)	<i>zax</i>	<i>nux-in-axo</i>	<i>tifliz-a</i>	<i>k'al-q'un-p-e-i</i>	<i>ud-in muz-ei</i>	<i>baxt'in</i>
	I:DAT2	Nukha-SA-ABL	Tiflis-DAT	call-3PL-LV-PERF-PAST	Udi-GEN language-GEN2	for
	‘They called me from Nukha to Tbilisi for the Udi language.’ [WH 56]					

(c)	<i>ba-nan-k-o</i>	<i>ğar-mux</i>	<i>gög-n-ai</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>e^šfi</i> [Matthew 5:45]
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be-2PL- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD son-PL heaven-SA-GEN2 father:GEN you:PL:GEN2

‘So that you will be the sons of your father in heaven (lit.: ‘heaven’s father)’

Today, the distribution of the two genitives is in accordance with the above mentioned generalization (see (X)). Below I give illustrate the domains with one example each:

(x) Genitive:

(a) NP-internal possession {GenN}:

vi iś-e zor ma-a? [R 18]
 you:SG:POSS husband-GEN power where-3SG:Q
 ‘Where is the power of your husband?’

(b) Postposition:

sa kol-l-a qošt’an sun-t’-in ex-ne [GD 61]
 one bush-SA-GEN behind one:ADJ-REF:OBL-ERG say:PRES-3SG
 ‘Someone behind the bush says....’

(x) Genitive2

(a) Long distance possession:

k’ož iś-ei-ne čöl čubǵ-oi [CH&T 169]
 house man-GEN2-3SG field woman-GEN2
 ‘The house belongs to the man, the field (belongs) to the woman.’

(b) NP-internal possession {NGen} [rare]:

iśa-ne bak-e pasč’aǵluǵ gög-n-ai [Matthew 10:7]
 near-3SG be-PERF kingdom heaven-GEN2
 ‘The kingdom of heaven has come near.’

§ 18. In the dialect of Nizh, monosyllabic nouns normally use the strong genitive *-e*. The dependent form *-e* is often pronounced *-i* especially in Lower Nizh. Occasionally, residues of the weak genitive can be found (e.g. *aś-l-a* ‘of the work’, *aśm-n-a bul* ‘shoulder’ (arm-SA-GEN head)). Examples for the *e*-genitive include:

(X)	<i>c’i</i>	<i>c’iy-e</i>	‘name’
	<i>el</i>	<i>el-e</i>	‘salt’
	<i>eś</i>	<i>eś-e</i>	‘apple’
	<i>ǵar</i>	<i>ǵar-e ~ ǵar-i</i>	‘boy, son’
	<i>händ</i>	<i>händ-e</i>	‘field’
	<i>maśǵ</i>	<i>maśǵ-e</i>	‘song’
	<i>naq’</i>	<i>naq’-e</i>	‘milk’
	<i>neǵ</i>	<i>neśǵ-e</i>	‘tear’
	<i>oq</i>	<i>oq-e</i>	‘river’
	<i>üś</i>	<i>üś-e</i>	‘night’

<i>xox</i>	<i>xox-e</i>	‘throat’
<i>yaq’</i>	<i>yaq’-e</i>	‘way’
<i>yeq’</i>	<i>yeq’-e</i>	‘meat, flesh’

- (x) (a) *dežurni-ğ-on* *šum-e* *xurup’un-a* *ci-t’un-p-i* *čoval-xo-inak’*
 day=shift=people-PL-ERG bread-GEN piece-DAT down-3PL-LV-PAST sparrow-PL-BEN
 ‘The (boys of) the day shift scatter the piece(s) of bread for the sparrows.’
 [BO 72, SD]

- (b) *ta-ne-sa* *o’ša* *buš-e* *t’o’ğo’l* [VC 9]
 go-3SG-\$.PRES then camel-GEN at
 ‘Then he goes to (his) camel.’

- (c) *šo-t’-in* *iz* *buš-e* *ozan-ax* *q’uš-b-i* *nex-e* [VC 10]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG REFL camel-GEN neck-DAT2 embrace-LV-PAST say:PRES-3SG
 ‘Having embraced the neck of his camel, he says...’

- (d) *nik’alai-en* *t’u’p’-e* *bexun* *biq’-i* *zap’-e-p-i* [BO 70, SD]
 Nikolaj-ERG radish-GEN head:ABL:COM seize-PAST pull-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘Having grasped [from] the top of a radish, Nikolaj pulls...’

Occasionally, the *-e*-genitive is extended to polysyllabic nouns, as in:

- (x) *sa* *taza* *usen-e* *ği-n-a* *bixažux* *e-ne-sa* *ğar-i* *k’uea* [BW 3]
 one new year-GEN day-SA-DAT god come-3SG-\$.PRES boy-GEN house:DAT
 ‘On day in the new year, God comes to the house of the son.’

Nevertheless, the heterogeneous dialectal structure of Nizh allows many divergent and – in parts – idiosyncratic techniques to form the genitive. For instance, the residue of the Vi-genitive *-e* merges with the *-i*-genitive in case it is changed to *-i*. Therefore, the use of *-i* is much broader than in Vartashen. Incidentally, it may also be used with non-human animates. The following nouns prefer an *-i*-genitive:

(X)	<i>a’m</i>	<i>a’m-i</i>	‘arm’
	<i>amdar</i>	<i>amdar-i</i>	‘person, man’
	<i>aris</i>	<i>aris-i</i>	‘Aris’ (PN)
	<i>armišum</i>	<i>armišum-i</i>	‘apricot’
	<i>äräq’</i>	<i>äräq’-i</i>	‘young bull’
	<i>at’až</i>	<i>at’až-i</i>	‘floor’
	<i>axšum</i>	<i>axšum-i</i>	‘laughter’
	<i>azuk’</i>	<i>azuk’-i</i>	‘singer’
	<i>bazar</i>	<i>bazar-i</i>	‘market, bazaar’
	<i>brigadir</i>	<i>brigadir-i</i>	‘brigadir’
	<i>bulum</i>	<i>bulum-i</i>	‘Bulum’ (PN)
	<i>čoban</i>	<i>čoban-i</i>	‘shepherd’
	<i>dädä</i>	<i>dädä-i</i>	‘aunt’ (sister of father)
	<i>dadal</i>	<i>dadal-i</i>	‘rooster’
	<i>ereq’luğ</i>	<i>ereq’luğ-i</i>	‘hazelnut’

<i>exlät</i>	<i>exlät-i</i>	‘incidence’
<i>gaval</i>	<i>gaval-i</i>	‘plum’
<i>gešluḡ</i>	<i>gešluḡ-i</i>	‘slough’
<i>harun</i>	<i>harun-i</i>	‘Harun’ (PN)
<i>heivan</i>	<i>heivan-i</i>	‘animal’
<i>hovuz</i>	<i>hovuz-i</i>	‘well’
<i>išq’ar</i>	<i>išq’ar-i</i>	‘man, husband’
<i>izbaš</i>	<i>izbaš-i</i>	‘lazy person’
<i>ižbar</i>	<i>ižbar-i</i>	‘compulsion, force’
<i>käsib</i>	<i>käsib-i</i>	‘poor person’
<i>kaḡəz</i>	<i>kaḡəz-i</i>	‘letter’
<i>kalna</i>	<i>kalna-i</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>kavai</i>	<i>kavai-i</i>	‘sheep-skin coat’
<i>kolxoz</i>	<i>kolxoz-i</i>	‘kolkhoz’
<i>laš’oi</i>	<i>laš’oi-i</i>	‘marriage’
<i>loroc</i>	<i>loroc-i</i>	‘cradle’
<i>midan</i>	<i>midan-i</i>	‘place’
<i>nanabava</i>	<i>nanabava-i</i>	‘parents’
<i>ortaḡ</i>	<i>ortaḡ-i</i>	‘companion, friend’
<i>ozan</i>	<i>ozan-i</i>	‘neck’
<i>p’ot’nos</i>	<i>p’ot’nos-i</i>	‘moustache’
<i>paččaḡ</i>	<i>paččaḡ-i</i>	‘king’
<i>paiiz</i>	<i>paiiz-i</i>	‘autumn’
<i>pervar</i>	<i>pervar-i</i>	‘surroundings’
<i>pilläkän</i>	<i>pilläkän-i</i>	‘stairs’
<i>q’apan</i>	<i>q’apan-i</i>	‘large scale’
<i>šalak’</i>	<i>šalak’i</i>	‘bundle’
<i>tavasar</i>	<i>tavasar-i</i>	‘pan’
<i>türgän</i>	<i>türgän-i</i>	‘Türgän’ (PN)
<i>ü^ʕq’en</i>	<i>ü^ʕq’en-i</i>	‘bone’
<i>usen</i>	<i>usen-i</i>	‘year’
<i>vaxt</i>	<i>vaxt-i</i>	‘time’
<i>xaxal</i>	<i>xaxal-i</i>	‘sieve’
<i>xüiär</i>	<i>xüiär-i</i>	‘daughter, girl’
<i>žäiil</i>	<i>žäiil-i</i>	‘young person’
<i>sarai</i>	<i>sarai-i</i>	‘saray’
<i>äit</i>	<i>äit-i</i>	‘word’
<i>buik’al</i>	<i>buik’al-i</i>	‘butter vat’
<i>k’ož</i>	<i>k’ož-i ~ k’ož-in</i>	‘house’
<i>ayiz</i>	<i>ayiz-i</i>	‘village’

Examples are:

(x) (a) *šo-t’-ai-t’ux sa elem-i ük’-e* [VC 29]

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2-DAT2 one donkey-GEN heart-3SG

‘The heart of a donkey is what he has.’

(b) *zäkärä-i bu-t’ux-i sa čuwux iz c’i ierat* [PA 143]

Zakara-GEN be-3SG:IO-PAST one woman REFL name Yerat

‘Zakara had a wife whose name was Yerat.’

- (c) *zaman ar-e-st'a karnu-i t'o^hğo^hl bur-t'un-q-sa uk-sa* [PA 158]
 Zaman sit-3SG-\$.PRES old=woman-GEN at begin-3PL-LV-PRES eat-PRES
 'Zaman sits down at the side of the old woman (and) they start to eat.'
- (d) *e^hk k'ož-in heivan-e amdar-i kömäi-e* [BO 69, SD]
 horse house-GEN animal-3SG person-GEN help-3SG
 'The horse is a domestic animal (and) a man's help.'
- (e) *zu ak'-e-zu armin-ğ-oi padšaxluğ-un k'art'-i boš*
 I see-PERF-1SG Armenian-PL-GEN2 kingdom-GEN map-GEN on
 'I have seen on a map of the Armenian kingdom...' [Schiefner 1863:57]

Instead of the *-i*-genitive, the *-in*-genitive may be used with polysyllabic kinship terms:

- (x) *zu bez ämik'-in k'oiaxun esa* [Schiefner 1863:49]
 I I:POSS uncle-GEN house:ABL come:PRES
 'I am coming from the house of my uncle....'

The *-in*-genitive is generally preserved with [w2a] nouns (polysyllabic nouns with weak final *-a/-ä* or *-i*).

Finally, the tendency to drop the stem augment can be extended to class [w2b] nouns (see 3.3.2.2, § 16). An example is:

- (X) *sa ği azrael e-ne-sa sa aizlu-n k'uä ne-xe* [VC 1]
 one day Azrael come-3SG-\$.PRES one villager-GEN house:DAT 3SG-say:PRES
 'One day, Azrael comes to the house of a villager (and) says'

In sum, the formation of the nominal genitive in Nizh is reduced to two basic types: a) *-in* ~ *-ən* ~ *-un*; b) *-e* ~ *-i*. Due to the impact from Azeri (genitive *-In*), the *-Vn*-genitive tends to become the default genitive marker. Nevertheless, the basic distribution (monosyllabic *-e*) vs. polysyllabic *-in* (~ *-i*) etc.) is observed by many speakers of the dialect.

3.3.3.6 The two datives: {-V} - {-Vx}. In the present description of Udi, the term 'dative' is primarily understood as a label to denote a specific morphological class. The functional value of this class is rather heterogeneous. Although the Udi dative case also covers the functional scope typical for the categorial domain 'dative', the reader should be aware of the fact that the Udi dative cannot be reduced to this domain. Instead, we have to deal with a cluster of functions that are (at least in parts) metaphorically derived from a locative orientation.

In inflection, Udi has lost the standard Lezgian dative **-s*. In Old Udi, this case form is still preserved, compare:

(x) (a) *owhow o^oom žan-al niz-k'-a-žan v^oas*
 so same we-FOC desire-LV-RES-1PL you:PL:DAT3

h-ê bowq'ana žas h-ê dağ-e-žan v^oas... [1 Thes 2,8]
 be:PAST-PERF wanting we:DAT3 be:PAST-PERF give-PERF-1PL you:PL:DAT2...
 'And we were so desirous of you (pl.) (and) loving you (pl.) (that) we gave you....'

(b) *aha ak'a-h-ê-nĀā mowsês own elia iL-owk'-a*
 behold see-PRES-be:PAST-PERF-3PL:IO Moses and Elia word-SAY-PRES

hanay-Ān-k'e o-ows iLowk'or biy-ay-ne
 which-REF:PL:ERG-SUB he-DAT3 answer do:PAST-PERF-3SG

p'etros-en p-ê-ne y^s-as [Mt 17,3-4]

Peter-ERG say-PERF-3SG Jesus-DAT3

'Behold, they were seeing Moses and Elia who talked to him. Peter said to Jesus...'

In Modern Udi, the Old Udi *-s*-dative (Dative3) has been replaced by a case form that reflects the proto-Lezgian inessive **-a* [with variants], see 3.3.11. Residues of the old dative are present in the two masdar morphemes *-es* and *-esun* as well as in the present tense marker *-sa* (see 3.4.5 and 3.4.11).

In §§ 1-7 of this section, I will discuss the basic distinction 'dative' vs. 'dative2'. §§ 7-23 inform about the morphological properties of both case forms. See sections 5.4.2.3, 5.4.2.4, and 5.4.3.2 for the syntactic properties of the dative case. Again, the Vartashen dative morphology is taken as the default.

§ 1. The term 'dative' encompasses two different types of morphemes. The first type is represented by a vocalic element that superficially has five allomorphs. This type is labeled 'dative (DAT)'. A second type is derived from the first one by adding the element *-x* (> *-Vx*). The *Vx*-dative is termed 'dative2' (DAT2) in accordance with the terminology of Pančvidze (1974:51). Other authors have used the terms 'affective' (Schiefner 1863), 'accusative' (Dirr 1904), 'dative' (Žeiranišvili 1971 and Gukasjan 1974), or '(second) dative' (Harris 2002) [terms in parts translated]. The term 'dative2' is not intended to denote a linguistic category or function of its own. In fact, the two variants form a functional cluster that incidentally allows the mutual exchange of both datives. This is especially true if we consider the dialectal variants as a single system. In order to illustrate this point, (x) lists the basic functional domains that are associated with the dative domain:

(x)		Vartashen	Nizh
	Indirect Objective	Dative (~ Dative2)	Dative

Objective	Dative2 (~ Dative)	Dative
Locative	Dative (~ Dative2)	Dative (~ Dative2)
Demoted Agentive / Subjective	Dative (~ Ergative)	Ergative (~ Dative)
Possessive	Genitive	Dative2 [clitics]

It comes clear that the ‘dative2’ is the preferred variant in Vartashen. Nevertheless, it can occur in just the same functions as the standard dative, compare:

(x) (a) *iś-en tāng-in-ax peškaš-ne-b-e äyel-ax* [Harris 2002:24]
man-ERG money-SA-DAT2 gift-3SG-LV-PERF child-DAT2

(b) *iś-en tāng-in-a peškaš-ne-b-e äyel-ax* [Harris 2002:25]
man-ERG money-SA-DAT gift-3SG-LV-PERF child-DAT2
‘The man gave the money to the child.’

(c) *xinär-en xup'-ax ta-ne-st'a rust'am-a* [R 14]
girl-ERG pilav-DAT2 give-3SG-\$.PRES Rustam-DAT
‘The girl gives the pilav to Rustam.’

(d) *me xinär-en ta-ne-st'a ġar-a p'ilinž-a* [CH&T 172]
PROX girl-ERG give-3SG-\$.PRES son-DAT saber-DAT
‘The girl gives the saber to the boy.’

All four sentences include a verb of giving that calls for a referent in objective function and for another referent in indirect objective function (see sections 5.4.2 for a discussion of these functions). The different correlations of the two datives as they appear in the sentences quoted above are listed in (X):

(X)

	Objective	Indirect Objective
(x,a)	Dative2	Dative2
(x,b)	Dative	Dative2
(x,c)	Dative2	Dative
(x,d)	Dative	Dative

Semantically speaking, there is no obvious difference between the four types. Obviously, we have to deal with stylistic and personal preferences. Also note that regional aspects play a role. For instance, types (x,a) and (x,d) are not the standard in Vartashen, but documented for Okt’omberi. On the other hand, the most frequent type met in Vartashen is (x,c).

§ 2. In Nizh, the dative2 represents a marginal category. In most contexts, it is replaced by the simple dative as shown in the following examples:

Objective:

(x) (a) [*e^hk-en*] *eč'-n-ux* *t'ap'-ne-xa* [Vartashen]
[horse-ERG] threshing=floor-SA-DAT2 hit-3SG-LV:PRES

(b) [*e^hk-en*] *öč'-ä* *t'ap'-e-ne* [Nizh]
[horse-ERG] threshing=floor-DAT hit-3SG-LV:PRES
'The horse hits the threshing floor.'

Indirect objective:

(x) (a) *čoval-g-o* *k'ač' tast'-an* [Vartashen]
sparrow-PL-DAT bite give:MASD-CV:TEL

(b) *čoval-x-o* *k'äč' tast'-einak'* [Nizh]
sparrow-PL-DAT bite give:MASD-BEN
'In order to give the sparrows a bite...'

Locative:

(x) (a) *ama kākəl kex-t'a* *mand-e* [Vartashen]
but stalk hand:DAT2-3SG:POSS remain-PERF

(b) *ama kākəl kiye-ne* *mand-i* [Nizh]
but stalk hand:DAT-3SG remain-PAST
'But the stalk remained in (V.: his) hand.'

A residue of the dative2 can be found in long distance possession. Here, Nizh uses the dative2 clitics (certain analogical processes apply, see 3.4.3 and 5.3.4), whereas Vartashen uses the possessive clitics:

(x) (a) *kalkala mu^hq'ə^h-yux-t'a bu* [Vartashen]
very=big horn-PL-3SG:POSS be

(b) *kalkala mu^hq'a^h-ox-t'ux bu* [Nizh]
very=big horn-PL-3SG:POSS:DAT2 be
'It (the ibex) has very big horns.'

(c) *šo-t'-ai* *p'oi-eğ-al-a* *taxəl te-t'ux p'u*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 adequate-LV:PASS-PART:nPAST-ATTR food NEG-3SG:IO be
'(S)he has not enough food.' [Nizh; PA 144]

(d) *qo a^hil-t'ux bak-io* [Nizh; PA 111]
five child-3SG:IO be-PERF2
'He had five children.'

Incidentally, Nizh uses the dative2 just in the way that is typical for the Vartashen dialect. Examples include:

(x) (a) *ama t'e qi-o-t'-ai-al*

but DIST half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-GEN2-FOC

qi-o-t'-ux za tad-a [Nizh; PA 117]

half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2 I:DAT give-IMP:2SG

'But give me the half of that half!'

(b) *xuržin-ax t'esahat q'uč'-e-ne e-ne-sa*

saddlebag-DAT2 instantly swallow-3SG-LV:PRES come-3SG:PRES

ba-ne-sa k'oia ne-xe vič-a [PA 188]

enter-3SG-\$.PRES house-DAT 3SG-say brother-DAT

'He immediately swallows the saddlebag, comes, enters the house (and) says to (his) brother...'

(c) *ğar-en-q'a xüyär-en-al sunsun-ax čal-x-al-t'un buq'-o*

boy-ERG-and girl-ERG-FOC each=other-DAT2 know-LV-PART:nPAST-3PL want-FUT:MOD

'The boy and the girl will probably want to know each other.' [XOZ; OR 52]

Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the dative2 is used to encode a (in parts directional) locative, as in:

(x) (a) *usun ič-oğ-o p'ap'-es-t'un-b-i kalna-x* [KAL; OR 124]

soon REFL-PL-DAT reach-MASD-3PL-LV-PAST old=woman-DAT2

'Soon they came (lit.: directed themselves) to the old woman.'

(b) *kalna-n me säs-exun hik'äl bex te-ne baf-t'-i*

old=woman-ERG PROX voice-ABL something head:DAT2 NEG-3SG put=into-LV-PAST

'The old woman did not remember anything of what this voice (had said).'

[KAL; OR 124]

(c) *bur-e-q-i naq'-e čo-ex bak-al-a čäyin-a gir-b-sa*

start-3SG-LV-PAST milk-GEN face-DAT2 be-PART:nPAST-ATTR fat-DAT collect-PRES

'She started to collect the fat that was on the surface of the milk.'

[KAL; OR 124]

The general preference of Nizh to use the simple dative can be inferred from the following figures:

(X)	Nizh narratives		Vartashen narratives	
DAT	707	96,98	265	45,69
DAT2	22	3,02	315	54,31
TOTAL	729		580	
Words in corpus	7235		5256	

In sum, the two datives show roughly the same frequency in both dialects (10,08 % of all words in Nizh narratives, 11,04 % of all words in Vartashen narratives). But whereas the simple dative and the dative2 have a nearly parallel distribution in Vartashen, the dative2 is marginal in Nizh.

§ 3. The two functional domains ‘objective’ and ‘indirect objective’ are often distinguished with the help of the two datives. In Vartashen, the default is:

(x)	Objective [+det]	Dative2
	Indirect objective	Dative

An example is:

(x)	<i>xe-n-ax</i>	<i>ta-ne-st'a</i>	<i>däng</i>	<i>xunč-e</i>	[GD 63]
	water-SA-DAT2	give-3SG-\$.PRES	mad	sister-DAT	
	‘He gives the water to his mad sister.’				

In Nizh, the opposite strategy is sometimes observed with pronominal referents in indirect objective function:

(x) (a)	<i>hun</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>bütün</i>	<i>kärvän-ä-al</i>	<i>tad-aiy-n</i>
	you:SG	SUB	you:SG:POSS	all	caravane-DAT-FOC	give-CONJ-2SG

	<i>zu</i>	<i>ko-t'-ğ-o</i>	<i>vax</i>	<i>te-z</i>	<i>tad-o</i>	[Nizh, PA 169]
	I	MED-REF:OBL-PL-DAT	you:SG:DAT2	NEG-1SG	give-FUT:MOD	
	‘If you give (away) all your caravane, I won’t give them to you.’					

(b)	<i>sal</i>	<i>iz-i</i>	<i>äš-l-a</i>	<i>bar-t-i</i>	<i>ö'q'-ä</i>	<i>yax</i>	<i>ta-ne-d-o?</i>
	ever	REFL-GEN	work-SA-DAT	leave-LV-PAST	yoke-DAT	we:DAT2	give-3SG-\$.FUT:MOD
	‘Will he ever leave his work (and) give us the yoke?’ [BUL; OR 133]						

But note that we cannot relate this strategy to hierarchic features of pronominality: The use of personal pronouns marked by the simple dative is likewise possible, contrast (x,b) above with (x):

(x)	<i>ö'q'-ä</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>tad-e-q'a-n</i>	[BUL; OR 133]
	yoke-DAT	you:SG:DAT	give-PERF-ADH-3SG	
	‘He should give you the yoke.’			

The fact that the dative2 is marked by the same consonant as the standard plural (-*ux* ~ -*xo*, see 3.2.5) has led to a partial reanalysis of the dative2 of personal pronouns in Nizh. Accordingly, the dative2 is more often used with plural pronouns, whereas the simple dative is more frequent with singular pronouns. The following figures

stemming from the Keçaari corpus help to illustrate this point (see 3.3.6 for the case forms):

	‘I’		‘you:SG’		‘we’		‘you:PL’	
DAT	<i>za</i>	14	<i>va</i>	10	<i>ya</i>	---	<i>vä^f</i>	---
DAT2	<i>zax</i>	1	<i>vax</i>	1	<i>yax</i>	6	<i>vä^fx</i>	5

The two forms *zax* and *yax* documented only once in the Keçaari corpus:

- (x) *vax gelez çuru-sa ama vaxun gele zax-uz çuru-sa*
 you:SG:DAT much-1SG love-PRES but you:SG:ABL much I:DAT2-1SG love-PRES
 ‘I love you very much, but I love myself more than you.’ [KACH; OR 49]

Disregarding such exceptional (and textually marked) constructions, the actual dative paradigm of Nizh personal pronouns has the following architecture:

- (x) ‘I’ *za* (dative)
 ‘you (sg.)’ *va* (dative)
 ‘we’ *yax* (dative2)
 ‘you (pl.)’ *vä^fx* (dative2)

Today, this distribution is nearly canonical. This strong correlation with personal pronouns can be illustrated with the help of the following example:

- (x) *vä^fx bütüm-a muč-ez-ne* [I 80, Nizh]
 you:PL:DAT2 all-DAT kiss-1SG-LV:PRES
 ‘I kiss you all!’

Here, the pronoun in O-function is marked by the dative2, whereas the quantifier *bütüm* that stands in apposition to *vä^fx* is encoded by the simple dative.

§ 4. The opposition dative vs. dative2 is also used in Vartashen to distinguish a locative (inessive-allative) function from the objective: The dative-locative is normally marked by the simple dative, whereas the objective is marked by the dative2. This distribution holds both for spatial locatives as in (x) and for temporal locatives as in (x):

- (x) (a) *ma-no-te güräg eğ-a-ne-i dünya-n-i* [John 6:14]
 WHO-REF:ABS-SUB must come-MOD-3SG-PAST world-DAT
 ‘.... who must come into the world....’

- (b) *šo-no ar-i günähkär-b-al-le dünya-n-ix* [John 16:8]
 DIST-REF:ABS come:PAST-PART:PAST sinner-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG world-SA-DAT2
 ‘He will start to expose the world (as sinners).’

(x) (a) *väd-in-a te te-t'a bu-i umud* [Luke 12:46]
 time-SA-DAT SUB NEG-3SG:POSS be-PAST hope
 'At a time when he did not have hope...'

(b) *šet'abaxt'intē un te-va aba-i*
 because you:SG NEG-2SG:IO knowing-PAST

väd-in-ax vi esun-un [Luke 19:44]
 time-SA-DAT2 you:SG:POSS come-MASD2-GEN
 'Because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.'

Again, Nizh differs from this pattern by frequently using the simple dative in both functions:

(x) *o^šsa ta-zə-sa bezi ga-n-u bač'ük'-əz-st'a*
 after go-1SG-\$.PRES I:POSS place-SA-DAT be=on-1SG-LV:CAUS:PRES

p'a^š dänä k'amp'yuter-a [OL 23, Nizh]
 two CLASS computer-DAT
 'Then I go to my place (= office) (and) switch on the two computers.'

Nevertheless, the dative2 can in Vartashen be incidentally used in locative function, too. Most probably, we have to deal with a residue of the locative function of this case, see 3.3.11. Examples are:

(x) (a) *beš pak-ix bu-ne ma^šin t'ul* [PO2]
 we:POSS garden-DAT2 be-3SG black grape
 'In our garden there are black grapes.'

(b) *q'onš-in pak-ix p'a^š ar-r-a xod-de* [LT 71]
 neighbor-GEN garden-DAT two pear-SA-GEN tree-3SG
 'In the neighbor's garden, there are two pear trees.'

(c) *Varrava t'ussağxan-in-a biq'-ec-i-ne-i*
 Barabbas prison-SA-DAT seize-LV:PASS-PAST-3SG-PAST

šähär-äx bunt'-b-esun-un baxt'in [Luke 23:19]
 town-DAT2 revolt-MAKE-MASD2-GEN for
 'Barabbas had been put into prison for having revolted in the town.'

The use of the dative2 in locative function is the default in Old Udi. Likewise, it usually marks a definite referent in O-function, whereas the simple dative occurs in IO-function:

(x) *dağ-ê-q'a-z va mowč'rown-owx dt-i* [Act 13,34]

give-PERF-ADH-1SG you:SG:DAT holiness-DAT2 David-GEN
 ‘I will give you the holiness of David.’

§ 5. The dative2 is never used to encode a ‘demoted’ agentive in so-called inverted constructions with *verba sentiendi* (see 5.4.3.2). If ever an overt referent is present, it is encoded by either the simple dative or by the ergative (as in Nizh), but never by the dative2:

(x) (a) *nik’olaj-a q’a serg-in-a gölö ma^ǰ-urux-q’o aba* [Vartashen]
 Nikolaj-DAT and Sergej-SA-DAT much song-PL-3PL:IO knowing

(b) *nik’alaj-en q’a serg-in-en gele ma^ǰ-ur-t’un ava* [Nizh]
 Nikolaj-ERG and Sergej-SA-ERG much song-PL-3PL knowing
 ‘Nikolaj and Sergej know many songs.’

(c) *xunč-e ič pišik’-ax gölö bu-t’u-q’-sa* [Vartashen; f.n.]
 sister-DAT REFL cat-DAT2 much love-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES

xunč-en ič pišik’-ax gölö bu-t’u-q’-sa [Vartashen; f.n.]
 sister-ERG REFL cat-DAT2 much love-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES

xunč-en iz-i pišik’-a gele čur-e-ne [Lower Nizh, f.n.]
 sister-ERG REFL-GEN cat-DAT much love-3SG-LV:PRES

**xunč-ex ič pišik’-ax gölö bu-t’u-q’-sa* [*Vartashen]
 sister-DAT2 REFL cat-DAT2 much love-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
 ‘The sister loves her cat very much.’

§ 6. The demotion of the functional role ‘subjective’ to ‘indirect objective’ in junction with the verb *baksun* ‘to become’ represents the standard technique to encode a potential mood (see 3.4.7 and 5.4.4.4). Here, only the simple dative can be used:

(x) (a) *ba-t’u-k-o žin-n-u qai-p-es k’ači-t’-a pex?*
 be-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD ghost-SA-DAT open-LV-MASD blind-REF:OBL-GEN eye:DAT2
 ‘Can a ghost open the eye of blind one?’ [John 10:21]

(b) *etär-t’u bak-o nana-xo bak-es adamar-a q’oža-bak-i* [John 3:4]
 how-3SG:IO be-FUT:MOD mother-ABL be-MASD man-DAT old-LV-PART:PAST
 ‘How can an old man be born by (his) mother?’

§ 7. In sum, it seems reasonable to assume that the two datives form a functional cluster that is marked by a polar structure in Vartashen:

(X)



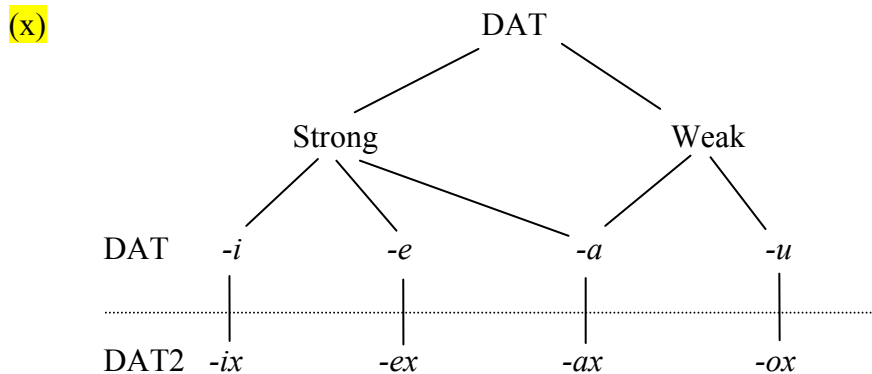
A/S>IO → IO → LOC → O

DAT → DAT2

The simple dative is typical for the ‘indirect’ domain, whereas the dative2 covers the domain of direct ‘affectedness’. In Nizh, this system is harmonized on the basis of the simple dative. The above-mentioned residues, however, suggest that an earlier version of this dialect still knew the opposition DAT-DAT2 (as it is true for Old Udi).

§ 8. With singular nouns, the Vartashen Udi dative has four allomorphs. All of them are vocalic. The dative2 is regularly derived from the simple dative by adding the segment *-x* (see § 23 below). The dative allomorphs constitute characteristic subparadigms with the set of genitive allomorphs (see 3.3.3.5). Just as their genitive counterparts, are conditioned by both structural (phonotactic) and (in parts) semantic features.

§ 9. Structurally speaking, the dative allomorphs can be both strong and weak. (X) Lists the corresponding elements:



The strong dative is constituted by the set $\{-a, -e, \text{ and } -i\}$ as opposed to the weak variant of the dative *-u*. The allomorph *-a* is also present with weak [w2a] nouns (type: *gad* ‘son’ > *gäd-in-a* and weak [w3] nouns (type: *xe* ‘water’ > *xe-n-a*), see §§ 13-14. below. In texts, the strong *-a*-dative is the most frequent allomorph. (x) lists the corresponding figures for a cumulated version of all narrative texts (singular only):

(X)

-a(x)	strong	270
	weak [w2a] nouns	75
-u(x)	weak	94
-i(x)	strong	16
-e(x)	strong	57

The apparent dominance of the *-a*-dative allows to characterize it as ‘unmarked’. In Nizh, it has been extended to most nominal forms disregarding their syllabic structure and semantic classification, compare:

(x)	Vartashen	Nizh	
	<i>ul-lu</i>	<i>ul-a</i>	‘wolf-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>me^ʃl-l-u</i>	<i>me^ʃl-u ~ me^ʃl-a</i>	‘mouse-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>śum-nu ~ śum-a</i>	<i>śum-a</i>	‘bread-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>t’ul-l-u</i>	<i>t’ul-a</i>	‘grape-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>č’em-n-u</i>	<i>č’em-a</i>	‘basin-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>ozan-e</i>	<i>ozan-a ~ ozan-e</i>	‘neck-DAT’
	<i>xel-l-u</i>	<i>xel-a</i>	‘load-[SA-]DAT’
	<i>ez-n-u</i>	<i>ez-a</i>	‘harvest-[SA-]-DAT’
	<i>k’äl-l-u</i>	<i>k’äl-a</i>	‘buffalo-[SA-]-DAT’

In Vartashen, the correlation of dative and genitive case form is decisive for the constitution of inflectional classes, see 3.3.2.3. They are correlated in the following way (see 3.3.2.2, § 1 for the stem classes):

(x)	GEN	DAT
	[s1] <i>-un</i>	<i>-a ~ -e ~ -i</i>
	[s2] <i>-un</i>	<i>-a ~ -e ~ -i</i>
	[s3a] <i>-i ~ -ei</i>	<i>-Ø [~ -e]</i>
	[s3b] <i>-ei</i>	<i>-a ~ -e</i>
	[s4] <i>-in</i>	<i>-e</i>
	[w1] <i>-ai</i>	<i>-u</i>

§ 10. The default suffix is *-a* (harmonic variants *-ä ~ -a^ʃ*). It occurs with all strong nouns except for the irregular class [s4], see below § 18. Additionally, the strong class of V-final kinship terms is excluded, see § 13. With weak nouns, the *-a*-dative is confined to class [w2] and [w3]. The *-a*-dative also is the default for personal pronouns and most indefinite pronouns (see 3.3.6 and 3.3.9). Note that some nouns have alternative dative forms (see below §§ 17-22). Examples for the [s1] class are:

(x)	<i>adamar</i>	[s1]	>	<i>adamar-a</i>	‘man, person’
	<i>aslan</i>	[s1]	>	<i>aslan-a</i>	‘lion’
	<i>axśum</i>	[s1]	>	<i>axśum-a</i>	‘laughter’
	<i>eğel</i>	[s1]	>	<i>eğel-a</i>	‘sheep’
	<i>e^ʃle^ʃm</i>	[s1]	>	<i>e^ʃle^ʃm-a</i>	‘donkey’
	<i>gergeç’</i>	[s1]	>	<i>gergeç’-a</i>	‘church’
	<i>günäh</i>	[s1]	>	<i>günäh-a</i>	‘sin’
	<i>gurdak’</i>	[s1]	>	<i>gurdak’-a</i>	‘stomach’
	<i>i^ʃzen</i>	[s1]	>	<i>i^ʃzen-a</i>	‘winter’
	<i>maral</i>	[s1]	>	<i>maral-a</i>	‘stag’
	<i>pasč’agč</i>	[s1]	>	<i>pasč’agč-a</i>	‘king’
	<i>śähär</i>	[s1]	>	<i>śähär-a</i>	‘town’
	<i>usen</i>	[s1]	>	<i>usen-a</i>	‘year’
	<i>xazal</i>	[s1]	>	<i>xazal-a</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>xinär</i>	[s1]	>	<i>xinär-a</i>	‘daughter, girl’

zaman [s1] > *zaman-a* ‘time’

Monosyllabic words that contain a diphthong stemming from former bisyllabic structures (class [s2]) behave as [s1] nouns:

(x)	<i>äit</i>	[s2]	>	<i>äit-a</i>	‘word’
	<i>aⁱib</i>	[s2]	>	<i>aⁱib-a</i>	‘shame, fault’
	<i>aⁱil</i>	[s2]	>	<i>aⁱil-a</i>	‘child, family’
	<i>č’äin</i>	[s2]	>	<i>č’äin-a</i>	‘butter, fat’
	<i>houz</i>	[s2]	>	<i>houz-a</i>	‘well, basin’
	<i>meid</i>	[s2]	>	<i>meid-a</i>	‘corpse, body’
	<i>xoiś</i>	[s2]	>	<i>xoiś-a</i>	‘wish’

§ 11. Strong monosyllabic nouns have the *-a*-dative in case no semantic constraints apply (see §§ 17-22). Examples are:

(X)	<i>ğar</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>ğar-a</i>	‘son, boy’
	<i>mu</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>mu-a</i>	‘barley’
	<i>nep’</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>nep’-a</i>	‘sleep, dream’
	<i>c’i</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>c’i-a</i>	‘name’
	<i>o</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>o-a</i>	‘grass’
	<i>oq’</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>oq’-a</i>	‘river’
	<i>xa</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>xa-a</i>	‘skin’
	<i>k’oi</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>k’oi-a</i>	‘sleeve’

§ 12. The set of bisyllabic V-final kinship terms (class [s3a]) is superficially marked by a ‘hidden’ dative morpheme *-a*: *nana* ‘mother’ > dative *nana*. The lack of an overt dative morpheme then results from contraction, e.g. **baba-a* ‘father-DAT’ > *baba*. However, this assumption fails out of two reasons: First, the two vowels in question normally do not fuse but keep their morpheme boundary. This can be illustrated for instance with the help of the question clitic *-a* (see 3.5.4.2 and 5.9). When this morpheme follows a final *-a*, it normally keeps its distinct articulation:

(x) (a) *še-no ma-a haisa?* [ST §4]

DIST-REF:ABS where-3SG:Q now

‘Where is (s)he now?’

b) *me-no ek’a-a* [ST §5]

PROX-REF:ABS what-3SG:Q

‘What is this?’

The same usually holds for the focus particle *-al* (see 3.5.3). In slow speech, the particle can be clearly heard as such even if preceded by the vowel *-a-*. Also note that the focus marker is frequently written in its full form in the written sources:

(x) (a) *vi baba-al nep’-ax-ne* [f.n.]

you:SG:POSS father-FOC sleep-DAT2-3SG

‘Your FATHER is sleeping.’

(b) *za-al aba-za* [John 12:50]

I:DAT-FOC knowing-1SG:IO

‘It is me who knows...’

In the textual sources, forms like ***babaa* or ***nanaa* are not recorded.

A second argument is of structural nature: The two ‘divergent’ nouns *viči* ‘brother’ and *xunči* ‘sister’ show the following dative forms: *viče* and *xunče*. Synchronically, the two nouns behave like strong nouns showing an *-e*-dative (see § 17 below). However, this analysis does not account for the fact that *-e*-datives represent a semantically motivated group of nouns that is defined by body parts terms etc. (see § 17 and 3.3.11). In section 3.3.3.5, it has been argued that both terms belong to the class of strong nouns representing kinship terms (*-i*-genitive). If the (diachronic) analysis *viče* ‘of the brother’ < **viče-i* and *xunče* ‘of the sister’ < **xunče-i* is correct, we arrive at a paradigm that is morphologically parallel to that of *a*-final kinship terms:

(x)		‘Mother’	‘Sister’
	ABS	<i>nana</i>	<i>xunči</i> < <i>*xunče</i>
	ERG	<i>nana-n</i>	<i>xunče-n</i>
	GEN2	<i>nana-i</i>	<i>xunče-i</i>
	DAT	<i>nana</i>	<i>xunče</i>

This paradigmatic analogy allows the inclusion of both *viči* ‘brother’ and *xunči* ‘sister’ into the standard class of strong kinship terms. Nevertheless, the ablaut-like variation (oblique **viče-* vs. absolutive *viči* etc.) is not fully explained. Additionally, we are confronted with a zero-marked dative case that has its only parallel in the dative plural of Nizh (and more rarely Vartashen) nouns and referentialized forms (see 3.3.5). Additionally, the interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’ superficially lacks a dative morpheme (see 3.3.9.5 for details). The problem of a zero-marked dative case will be discussed in more details in section 3.3.11. Nouns that show this type of dative include:

(X)	<i>ama</i> [V.]	[s3a] >	<i>ama</i>	‘aunt (sister of father)’
	<i>baža</i>	[s3a] >	<i>baža</i>	‘husband of wife’s sister’
	<i>baba</i>	[s3a] >	<i>baba</i>	‘father’
	<i>bibi</i> [N.]	[s3a] >	<i>bibe</i>	‘aunt (sister of father); bride’
	<i>iezna</i>	[s3a] >	<i>iezna</i>	‘brother-in-law’
	<i>nana</i>	[s3a] >	<i>nana</i>	‘mother’
	<i>seide</i>	[s3a] >	<i>seide</i>	‘father-in-law’
	<i>seine</i>	[s3a] >	<i>seine</i>	‘mother-in-law’
	<i>sevče</i>	[s3a] >	<i>sevče</i>	‘brother-in-law’
	<i>viči</i>	[s3a] >	<i>viče</i>	‘brother’
	<i>xala</i>	[s3a] >	<i>xala</i>	‘aunt (sister of mother)’
	<i>xunči</i>	[s3a] >	<i>xunče</i>	‘sister’

§ 13. Weak nouns that belong to the stem class [w2a] and [w2b] always have the *-a*-dative in case no semantic constraints apply (see below §§ 17-22). Obviously, the stem augment *-(i)n-* is interpreted as part of the stem. In consequence, these nouns are aligned to the [s1] class (polysyllabic and C-final). Examples include:

(X)	<i>araba</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>arab-in-a</i>	‘chariot’
	<i>dänä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>dän-in-a</i>	‘piece’
	<i>davra</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>davraz-in-a</i>	‘door, gate’
	<i>gädä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>gäd-in-a</i>	‘boy’
	<i>gärämzä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>gärämz-in-a</i>	‘grave’
	<i>keče ~ kečä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>keč-in-a</i>	‘goat’
	<i>ölkä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>ölk-in-a</i>	‘land, country’
	<i>tängä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>täng-in-a</i>	‘money’
	<i>tula</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>tul-in-a</i>	‘young (dog)’
	<i>vädä</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>väd-in-a</i>	‘time’
	<i>borzu(n)</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>borzu-n-a</i>	‘bread’
	<i>čäli</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>čäli-n-a</i>	‘fish’
	<i>däria</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>däria-n-a</i>	‘sea, lake’
	<i>k’iro</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>k’iro-n-a</i>	‘axe’
	<i>laš’o</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>laš’o-n-a</i>	‘marriage’
	<i>naxrči</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>naxrči-n-a</i>	‘farmer’
	<i>t’uri</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>t’uri-n-a</i>	‘thread’

§ 14. In analogy to [w2] nouns, the class of weak [w3] nouns (monosyllabic, V-final) normally takes the *-a*-dative:

(X)	<i>fī</i>	[w3]	>	<i>fī-n-a</i>	‘wine’
	<i>ǧī</i>	[w3]	>	<i>ǧē-n-a</i>	‘day’
	<i>me</i>	[w3]	>	<i>me-n-a</i>	‘knife’
	<i>xe</i>	[w3]	>	<i>xe-n-a</i>	‘water’
	<i>že^ʕ</i>	[w3]	>	<i>že^ʕ-n-a</i>	‘stone’
	<i>t’e</i>	[w3]	>	<i>t’e-n-a</i>	‘nit’
	<i>be</i>	[w3]	>	<i>be-n-a</i>	‘deposit’
	<i>p’i</i>	[w3]	>	<i>p’i-n-a</i>	‘blood’
	<i>ga</i>	[w3]	>	<i>ga-l-a</i>	‘place’ (only with SA <i>-l-</i>)
	<i>aš</i>	[w3]	>	<i>aš-l-a</i>	‘thing’ (only with SA <i>-l-</i>)

§ 15. The *-u*-dative is the default dative for monosyllabic weak nouns. It is correlated to the presence of the ‘semantic’ stem augment *-n-* (see 3.3.2.2). Additionally, it is the default dative for most pronominal and referentialized forms (see 3.3.6 and 3.3.10). The reflexive pronouns is the only strong referential form that has the *-u*-dative: *ič* ‘self’ > *ič-u* (REFL-DAT) (see 3.3.8). In Nizh, the weak *-u*-dative is normally replaced by the strong *-a*-dative (see § 8 above). Examples for the *-u*-dative are:

(X)	<i>bar</i>	[w1]	>	<i>bar-r-u</i>	‘part, portion’
	<i>be^ʕǧ</i>	[w1]	>	<i>be^ʕǧ-n-u</i>	‘sun’
	<i>biz</i>	[w1]	>	<i>biz-n-u</i>	‘awl’
	<i>bo^ʕq</i>	[w1]	>	<i>bo^ʕq-n-u</i>	‘blossom’
	<i>bo^ʕq’</i>	[w1]	>	<i>bo^ʕq’-n-u</i>	‘pig’

<i>buš</i>	[w1]	>	<i>buš-n-u</i>	‘camel’
<i>č’ap’</i>	[w1]	>	<i>č’ap-n-u</i>	‘grape’
<i>cil</i>	[w1]	>	<i>cil-l-u</i>	‘seed’
<i>dārd</i>	[w1]	>	<i>dārd-n-u</i>	‘harm, pain’
<i>dās</i>	[w1]	>	<i>dās-n-u</i>	‘lesson’
<i>ex</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ex-n-u</i>	‘harvest’
<i>e’k</i>	[w1]	>	<i>e’k-n-u</i>	‘horse’
<i>ial</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ial-l-u</i>	‘mane, bristle’
<i>k’oč’</i>	[w1]	>	<i>k’oč’-n-u</i>	‘handle’
<i>k’ər</i>	[w1]	>	<i>k’ər-r-u</i>	‘tar’
<i>ma^ʕq</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ma^ʕq-n-u</i>	‘oak’
<i>ma^ʕǧ</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ma^ʕǧ-n-u</i>	‘song’
<i>mex</i>	[w1]	>	<i>mex-n-u</i>	‘sickle’
<i>mur</i>	[w1]	>	<i>mur-r-u</i>	‘ashes’
<i>neǧ</i>	[w1]	>	<i>neǧ-n-u</i>	‘tear’
<i>ox</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ox-n-u</i>	‘comb’
<i>pop</i>	[w1]	>	<i>pop-n-u</i>	‘hair’
<i>q’ap</i>	[w1]	>	<i>q’ap-n-u</i>	‘portal’
<i>q’uš</i>	[w1]	>	<i>q’uš-n-u</i>	‘bird’
<i>q’um</i>	[w1]	>	<i>q’um-n-u</i>	‘sand’
<i>śul</i>	[w1]	>	<i>śul-l-u</i>	‘fox’
<i>toz</i>	[w1]	>	<i>toz-n-u</i>	‘dust’
<i>u^ʕq’</i>	[w1]	>	<i>u^ʕq’-n-u</i>	‘walnut’
<i>ul</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ul-l-u</i>	‘wolf’
<i>zor</i>	[w1]	>	<i>zor-r-u</i>	‘power, might’

§ 16. The tendency to replace the weak dative by the strong dative *-a* can be also be described for a number of Vartashen [w1] nouns. However, it is not always clear whether we have to deal with a younger process of ‘extension’ or whether the forms in question represent older, functionally distinct variants ([sw] nouns, see 3.3.2.2, § 8). Examples are:

(X)	<i>śum</i>	[w1]	>	<i>śum-n-u ~ śum-a</i>	‘bread’
	<i>ul</i>	[w1]	>	<i>ul-l-u ~ ul-a</i>	‘wolf’
	<i>xalx</i>	[w1]	>	<i>xalx-n-u ~ xalx-a</i>	‘people’
	<i>iaq’</i>	[w1]	>	<i>iaq’-n-u ~ iaq’-a</i>	‘way’
	<i>k’oi</i>	[sw]	>	<i>k’oi-n-u ~ k’oi-a</i>	‘sleeve’
	<i>xod</i>	[sw]	>	<i>xod-d-u ~ xod(-d)-a</i>	‘tree’

Note that some [w1] nouns have an alternative *-e-* or *-i-*dative, see below §§ 17-22.

The use of a stem-augmented noun with the strong dative *-a* is exceptional. Examples for such hypertrophic forms are:

(x)	(a)	<i>č’äläg-i</i>	<i>bu^ʕǧa^ʕ-nan-b-o</i>	<i>a-va^ʕ-k’-o-nan</i>	<i>harsa</i>	<i>xod-d-a</i>	[ST §19]
		wood-LOC	find-2PL-LV-FUT:MOD	see-2PL.IO- $\$$ -FUT:MOD-2PL	any	tree-SA-DAT	
		‘In the wood(s), you will find and see any kind of tree.’					

(b)	<i>o^ʕxa^ʕl-l-ax</i>	<i>hazir-re-b-i</i>	[IM 64]
	meal-SA-DAT2	prepare-3SG-LV-PAST	
	‘She prepared the meal.’		

- (c) *a-ne-q'-i ič-en o^ʰxa^ʰl-l-ax hazir-b-a-ne* [IM 66]
 take-3SG-\$-PAST REFL-ERG meal-SA-DAT2 prepare-LV-MOD-3SG
 ‘She herself started to prepare the meal.’

§ 17. The dative morpheme *-e* has a rather restricted distribution. Note that from a synchronic point of view, this morpheme is always strong: In case it is used with weak nouns, the noun in question loses its stem augment. The following nouns allow an *-e*-dative:

(X)	<i>bać'an</i>	[s1]	>	<i>bać'an-e</i>	‘back’
	<i>bukun</i>	[s1]	>	<i>bukun-e ~ bukun-i</i>	‘stomach’
	<i>da^ʰma^ʰn</i>	[s1]	>	<i>da^ʰma^ʰn-e</i>	‘skirt’
	<i>k'a^ʰva^ʰn</i>	[s1]	>	<i>k'a^ʰva^ʰn-e</i>	‘field, plains, earth’
	<i>ozan</i>	[s1]	>	<i>ozan-e</i>	‘neck’
	<i>q'užagǵ</i>	[s1]	>	<i>q'užagǵ-e ~ q'užagǵ-a</i>	‘quantity that can be taken with both arms’
	<i>bin</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>bin-e</i>	‘daughter-in-law, bride’
	<i>č'a</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>č'a-e</i>	‘rope’
	<i>c'i</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>c'i-e ~ c'i-a</i>	‘name’
	<i>čo</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>čo-e ~ čo-a</i>	‘face, side’
	<i>ču</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>ču-e</i>	‘spittle’
	<i>č'ot'</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>č'ot'-e</i>	‘side, bank, edge’
	<i>fu</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>fu-e</i>	‘blow’
	<i>iś(u)</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>iś-e</i>	‘man, husband’
	<i>ma^ʰ</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>ma^ʰ-e</i>	‘brain’
	<i>mu</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>mu-e ~ mu-a</i>	‘barley’
	<i>o</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>o-e ~ o-a</i>	‘grass’
	<i>oś</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>oś-e [~ oś-a]</i>	‘end, edge, border’
	<i>q'i^ʰ</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>q'i^ʰ-e</i>	‘fear’
	<i>q'oq'</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>q'oq'-e</i>	‘throat, neck’
	<i>uk'</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>uk'-e</i>	‘heart’
	<i>xa</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>xa-e</i>	‘wool, skin’
	<i>xo</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>xo-e</i>	‘white frost’
	<i>xo^ʰ</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>xo^ʰ-e</i>	‘udder’
	<i>bul</i>	[s4]	>	<i>be</i>	‘head’
	<i>kul</i>	[s4]	>	<i>ke</i>	‘hand’
	<i>pul</i>	[s4]	>	<i>pe</i>	‘eye’
	<i>tur</i>	[s4]	>	<i>tur-e</i>	‘foot’
	<i>a^ʰm</i>	[sw]	>	<i>a^ʰm-e ~ a^ʰm-n-u</i>	‘shoulder, arm’
	<i>muz</i>	[sw]	>	<i>muz-e ~ muz-n-u</i>	‘tongue’
	<i>tum</i>	[sw]	>	<i>tum-e ~ tum-n-u</i>	‘root’
	<i>uq</i>	[sw]	>	<i>uq-e ~ uq-n-u</i>	‘river’

The examples show that the morpheme *-e* cannot be regarded as a harmonic variant of the strong dative *-a*. There are no syllabic constraints. But note that most monosyllabic V-final terms ([s3b] nouns) prefer the *-e*-dative. Stem vocalization may have played a role: Except for the term *bin* ‘bride’, all nouns are marked for a back vowel. However, the correlation [back] + [mid high] is not always given:

- (x) *bać'an-e* 'back-DAT' vs. *adamar-a* 'man-DAT'
muz-e 'tongue-DAT' vs. *śum-a* 'bread-DAT'
q'oq'-e 'throat-DAT' vs. *o-a* (~ *o-e*) 'grass-DAT'

Perhaps, the Udi opposition *-a* vs. *-e* is related to the two variants of the inessive in Tsakhur (*-a* vs. *-e* (*-ā* vs. *-ē*)), see 3.3.11. However, the distribution of both forms in Tsakhur cannot explain the Udi patterns. Still, it is reasonable to assume that the two datives are historically related. § 17 illustrates that the distribution of the *-e*-dative is in parts based on semantic features (body part terms). From this we can infer that a perhaps stress based process was once active with such terms and has finally motivated the ablaut-like shift from *-a* > *-e*. A strong option is to refer to an old weak paradigm marked by a vocalic (palatal) stem augment that has raised **-a* to *-e*, see 3.3.11.

Synchronically, two types of *-e*-datives can be distinguished: a) nouns that only allow the *-e*-dative (first twelve nouns in (X)); b) nouns that have the *-e*-dative in alternation with another dative (last nine nouns in (X)). Analogous processes most probably conditioned the second type. Examples for the use of type a) datives are:

- (x) (a) *hākūm-en śel be-ne-ğ-i a^śil-un ... bać'an-ex* [ST § 9]
 doctor-ERG good see-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST child-GEN ... back-DAT2
 'The doctor examined the child's ... back.'
- (b) *zu oc'-zu-k'-sa ćo-ex ozan-ex* [ST § 7]
 I wash-1SG-LV-PRES face-DAT2 neck-DAT2
 'I wash (my) face and neck.'
- (c) *ma-no-te bu-ne baba q'užagħ-e* [John 1:18]
 who-REF:ABS-SUB be-3SG father:GEN bosom-DAT
 '... who is at the bosom of the father ...'
- (d) *amma bixogħ-o aba-t'u e^śf uk'-e* [Luke 16:15]
 but god-DAT knowing-3SG:IO you:PL:POSS heart-DAT
 'But God knows your heart(s).'

On the one hand, type b) *-e*-datives can have a 'structural' alternative (a dative conditioned by the stem structure). But there are (few) examples that show a 'semantic' alternative (*-i*-dative, see § 18 below). An example is:

- (x) (a) *bütün baiğ-al-o źomox-o boš ta-ne-sa bukun-e*
 all go=into:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS mouth-GEN in go-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES stomach-DAT
 'Everything that comes into the mounth, goes to the stomach.'
 [Matthew 15:17]
- (b) *bukun-ix xo bütün sa-ga-n-u bak-al-le* [IM 66]

stomach-DAT2 yes all one-place-SA-DAT be-FUT:FAC-3SG
 ‘In the stomach, you know, everything will be together.’

From a synchronic point of view, minimal pairs are rare. Individual speakers of Udi normally prefer either of the datives. Additionally, the existence of an *-e*-dative (or its alternative) can sometimes only be inferred from corresponding locative case forms that are derived from the dative (see 3.3.4.1). Examples are:

(x) (a) *gul-l-u vi čo-e biq'-a* [AR 71]
 sieve-SA-DAT you:SG:POSS face-DAT seize-IMP:2SG
 ‘Put a sieve on your face!’

(b) *me čo-a nu furu-k'-a* [f.n.]
 PROX side-DAT PROH walk=around-LV-IMP:2SG
 ‘Don’t walk on this side!’

(x) (a) *čap-q'a-n-p-i ič k'aś-in bex*
 wet-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST REFL finger-GEN head:DAT2

va^ś sār-in-q'a-n-b-i bez muz-ex [Luke 16:24]
 and cool-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST I:POSS tongue-DAT2
 ‘He should wet the tip of his finger and cool my tongue.’

(b) *gād-in-en döv-n-a muz-n-ux k'ac'-ne-xa* [f.n.]
 boy-SA-ERG dev-SA-GEN tongue-SA-DAT2 cut-3SG-LV:PRES
 ‘The boy cuts off the tongue of the dev.’

(x) (a) *a-q'o-k'-i žähl ġar-ax aća a^śm-el arc-i* [Mark 16:5]
 see-3PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST young boy-DAT2 right side-SUPER sit-PAST:PART
 ‘They saw a young boy sitting on the right side (lit.: arm).’

(b) *ak'-es-ne-st'a ič a^śm-n-ux (a^śm-ex)* [ST §9]
 see-MASD-3SG-CAUS:PRES REFL arm-SA-DAT (arm-DAT2)
 ‘It (the child) shows its arm.’

An etymological pair is given by the two terms *ośe* ‘edge-DAT’ vs. *ośa* ‘then, after’ (~ *o^śśa*) < **o^śś-a* ‘at/in the edge/end’:

(x) (a) *ba-ne-p'-sa sa kur-r-a oś-ex* [R 11]
 reach-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES one hole-SA-GEN edge-DAT2
 ‘He reaches the edge of a hole.’

(b) *ośa baba-n tac-i ečer-e*
 then father-ERG go:PAST-PART:PAST bring:PAST-PERF

šam-ne-p-e *arzuman-ax* [AR 70]
 slaughter-3SG-LV-PERF Arzuman-DAT2
 ‘Having finally brought Arzuman, the father slaughtered him.’

Finally, dialectal variance can incidentally be the reason for alternative datives. For instance, the noun *aiz* ‘village’ is normally used with the *-i*-dative in Vartashen, but with the *-e*-dative in Nizh. An example is:

(x) (a) *me baxt’avar aiz-e kar-e-x-sa-i sa dövlätt’u külfät*
 PROX happy village-DAT live-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST one rich family
 ‘In this lucky village, there lives a rich family.’ [Nizh; PA 160]

(b) *beš baba-nana kar-re-x-esa aiz-i* [ST §4]
 we:POSS father-mother live-3SG-LV-PRES village-DAT
 ‘Our parents live in a village.’

In Old Udi, *ayz-ex* is preferred. Here, again, Old Udi comes closer to Nizh than to Vartashen:

(x) (a) *nowğowr-en own serown-en bēx baLbiq’-esown-en*
 attention-ERG and truth-ERG lord:DAT2 serve-MASD-ERG

ğowy ah-al ank’e-žan e ayz-ex. [Tit 2,12]
 living be:PRES-FUT:FAC for-1PL ART world-DAT2
 ‘...so that we will live attentively, truly and serving god in this world.’

(b) *h-ê-ne e ič ği ed-ğ-oy ta-bAh-ê-ne gobic-X-esown*
 be:PAST-PERF-3SG ART REFL day PROX-PL:OBL-GEN hither-go-PERF-3SG order-LV-MASD

awgowst’os k’êsar-axoc ayz-i Dip’-n-owx cam-p-esa ceX-ar ayz-ex
 Augustus Caesar-ABL world-GEN book-SA-DAT2 write-LV-INF all-COLL world-DAT2
 ‘It was this same day of these, (when) an order went out from Augustus Caesar to write a book of the world in the whole world’ (literal). [Lk 2,1]

The following nouns have an *-e*-dative in Nizh:

(x)	<i>ayiz</i>	>	<i>ayiz-e</i>	‘village’
	<i>aran</i>	>	<i>aran-e</i>	‘middle, place in between, space’
	<i>ardovul</i>	>	<i>ardovul-e</i>	‘army’
	<i>bačan ~ baćan ~ bažan</i>	>	<i>baćan-e</i>	‘back’
	<i>bazar</i>	>	<i>bazar-e</i>	‘bazar’
	<i>bin</i>	>	<i>bin-e</i>	‘bride’
	<i>bi^ğ</i>	>	<i>bi^ğ-e</i>	‘middle’
	<i>bul</i>	>	<i>büe</i>	‘head’
	<i>č’äläi</i>	>	<i>č’äläi-e</i>	‘woods’
	<i>čo</i>	>	<i>čo-ie</i>	‘face’
	<i>düniä</i>	>	<i>düniä-n-e</i>	‘world’
	<i>kul</i>	>	<i>küe ~ kin-e</i>	‘hand’

<i>mähälä</i>	>	<i>mähäl-(i)n-e</i>	‘quarter’
<i>pervar</i>	>	<i>pervar-e</i>	‘surroundings, region’
<i>pul</i>	>	<i>piie</i>	‘eye’
<i>q’oq’</i>	>	<i>q’oq’-e</i>	‘throat’
<i>säs</i>	>	<i>säs-e</i>	‘voice’
<i>seivan</i>	>	<i>seivan-e</i>	‘balcony’
<i>tum</i>	>	<i>tum-e</i>	‘root, ground’
<i>tur</i>	>	<i>tur-e</i>	‘foot’
<i>xüiär</i>	>	<i>xüiär-e</i>	‘girl, daughter’

§ 18. The *-e*-dative probably had (and in parts still has) a semantic motivation. Of the thirty two Vartashen nouns in question, twenty four denote body parts or terms (metaphorically) related to body parts. The basic body part terms are repeated in (x):

(X)	<i>a^ʃm</i>	‘shoulder, arm’
	<i>bac’^ʃan</i>	‘back’
	<i>bukun</i>	‘stomach’
	<i>bul</i>	‘head’
	<i>čo</i>	‘face, side’
	<i>ču</i>	‘spittle’
	<i>kul</i>	‘hand’
	<i>ma^ʃ</i>	‘brain’
	<i>muz</i>	‘tongue’
	<i>ozan</i>	‘neck’
	<i>pul</i>	‘eye’
	<i>q’oq’</i>	‘throat, neck’
	<i>tur</i>	‘foot’
	<i>uk’</i>	‘heart’
	<i>xa</i>	‘wool, skin’
	<i>xo^ʃ</i>	‘udder’

To these terms, we can tentatively add the following nouns that are radially related to the field of body part terms:

(X)	<i>č’a</i>	‘rope’
	<i>č’ot’</i>	‘side, bank, edge’
	<i>c’i</i>	‘name’
	<i>da^ʃma^ʃn</i>	‘skirt’
	<i>fu</i>	‘blow’
	<i>oś</i>	‘end, edge, border’
	<i>q’užagǝ</i>	‘quantity that can be taken with both arms’
	<i>tum</i>	‘root’

Some of the remaining terms can eventually be included into this class if we consider radial categorization or metaphorical processes:

(X)	<i>bin</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>bin-e</i>	‘daughter-in-law, bride’
	<i>iś(u)</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>iś-e</i>	‘man, husband’
	<i>k’a^ʃva^ʃn</i>	[s1]	>	<i>k’a^ʃva^ʃn-e</i>	‘field, plains, earth’
	<i>mu</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>mu-e ~ mu-a</i>	‘barley’ [via <i>o</i> ‘grass’]
	<i>o</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>o-e ~ o-a</i>	‘grass’ [‘hair of ground’]

<i>q'i</i> ^f	[s3b]	>	<i>q'i</i> ^f - <i>e</i>	'fear'
<i>uq</i>	[sw]	>	<i>uq-e</i> ~ <i>uq-n-u</i>	'river' ['arm of mountain']
<i>xo</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>xo-e</i>	'white frost' ['skin of ground']

For instance, the concepts <grass> and <white frost> perhaps allude to the body part related term <wool> (<cover>). Likewise <fear> can be regarded as belonging to the domain of bodily action. Additionally, analogous processes may have led to the inclusion of other [s3b] nouns. For instance, the dative *bin-e* 'bride-DAT' is obviously taken from *xunče* 'sister:DAT'. Still, some *-e*-datives remain unexplained, such as *iś-e* 'man-DAT', *ayz-e* 'village-DAT', and *k'a*^f*va*^f*n-e* 'plains-DAT'.

Note that not all body part terms show an *-e*-dative. For instance, the following terms are excluded:

(X)	<i>laśag</i>	[s1]	>	<i>laśag-a</i>	'body'
	<i>o</i> ^f <i>žil</i>	[s1]	>	<i>o</i> ^f <i>žil-a</i>	'tail'
	<i>xärtäg</i>	[s1]	>	<i>xärtäg-a</i>	'throat, neck'
	<i>a</i> ^f <i>q</i>	[w1]	>	<i>a</i> ^f <i>q-n-u</i>	'chest, breast'
	<i>č</i> ^f <i>ağ</i>	[w1]	>	<i>č</i> ^f <i>ağ-n-u</i>	'rib'
	<i>döš</i>	[w1]	>	<i>döš-n-u</i>	'breast, shoulder'
	<i>pop</i>	[w1]	>	<i>pop-n-u</i>	'hair'
	<i>šet</i>	[w1]	>	<i>šet-t-u</i>	'cheek'
	<i>t'ol</i>	[w1]	>	<i>t'ol-l-u</i>	'skin'
	<i>k'aśa</i>	[w2a]	>	<i>k'aś-in-a</i>	'finger'
	<i>ma</i> ^f <i>ngo</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>ma</i> ^f <i>ngo-n-a</i>	'chin'

Most probably, only body parts terms related to the Container metaphor had originally been marked by the *-e*-dative. However, this correlation has been obscured and lexicalized since long. More recent loans are normally excluded. An exception is *vaxt* 'time' < Arabic *waqt* 'time' that occasionally has superessive derived from the *-e*-dative, as in:

- (X) (a) *buxarik'-un deşik'-ax-al vaxt'-el but'-k'-a-q'un* [IM 63]
 stove-GEN hole-DAT2-FOC time-SUPER cover-LV-MOD-3PL
 '... so that they cover the hole of the stove in time.'

The *-e*-dative is incidentally used with other nouns. Most of the examples stem from older sources:

- (x) (a) *šo-no ba-ne-p-i moroz ivan-in ġar-el cirik'* [IM 65]
 DIST-REF:ABS reach-3SG- $\$$ -PAST Moroz Ivan-GEN son-SUPER till
 'She came to the son of Ivan Moroz.'

- (b) *vartašen-un gurži-ğ-on bur-q'un-q-e guržiluğ-b-esun*
 Vartashen-GEN Georgian-PL-ERG begin-3PL-LV-PERF Georgianhood-LV-MASD2

hözär muğ bać q'a usen-exo mağa [UD 58]
 thousand eight hundred twenty year-ABL PROX:ADV

‘The Vartashen Georgians have started to practise the Georgian belief since 1820.’

At least two nouns are marked for a lexicalized *-e*-dative: *be^ʕüne* ~ *be^ʕq’une* ‘darkness’ (< **be^ʕin(a)q’-un-e*, compare Old Udi *baenaq*’) and *o^ʕne* ‘tear’ (< **vo^ʕn-e*, Old Udi *voe-*). The postposition *bə^ʕǵə^ʕl* ~ *bi^ʕǵi^ʕl* ‘between’, too, is derived from an *-e*-dative, see 3.5.2.

§ 19. Certain modal and temporal adverbs show a morpheme *-e* that is perhaps related to the *-e*-dative. Examples are:

(x)	<i>e-t’-e</i>	‘how’	‘what-REF:OBL- <i>e</i> ’
	<i>na^ʕin-e</i>	‘yesterday’	< * <i>na-ǵi-n-e</i> ‘NEG(?)’-day-SA- <i>e</i> ’ ?
	<i>ǵe</i>	‘(to)day’	‘ǵi’ ‘day’
	<i>še-t’-e</i>	‘thus (dist)’	‘DIST-REF:OBL- <i>e</i> ’
	<i>me-t’-e</i>	‘thus (prox)’	‘PROX-REF:OBL- <i>e</i> ’

§ 20. From a synchronic point of view, the *-i*-dative is strong except for [w2b] nouns (see 3.3.11 for the diachronic background). As far as data go, it is not productive. Nevertheless, some speakers tend to use this dative as an alternative dative to emphasize its locative function. They thus refer to the basic distributional pattern of this dative: It mainly occurs with ‘locative’ nouns such as *dūnia* ‘earth, world’, *dāria* ‘sea, lake’, *düz* ‘field, plain’, or *aiz* ‘village’. (x) lists all nouns that have an (in parts optional) *-i*-dative:

(X)	<i>bukun</i>	[s1]	>	<i>bukun-i</i> ~ <i>bukun-e</i>	‘stomach’
	<i>šamat’</i>	[s1]	>	<i>šamat’-i</i>	‘week’
	<i>paiz</i>	[s2]	>	<i>paiz-i</i> ~ <i>paiz-a</i>	‘autumn’
	<i>aiz</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>aiz-i</i>	‘village’
	<i>hal</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>hal-i</i>	‘state, shape’
	<i>kä</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>kä-i</i>	‘dawn’
	<i>ot’</i>	[s3b]	>	<i>ot’-i</i>	‘shame’
	<i>düz</i>	[sw]	>	<i>düz-i</i>	‘field, plain’
	<i>ǵöǵ</i>	[sw]	>	<i>ǵöǵ-i</i>	‘sky’
	<i>mu^ʕq</i>	[sw]	>	<i>mu^ʕq-i</i> ~ <i>mu^ʕq-n-u</i>	‘joy’
	<i>pak</i>	[sw]	>	<i>pak-i</i>	‘garden’
	<i>säs</i>	[sw]	>	<i>säs-i</i> ~ <i>säsnu</i>	‘voice’
	<i>xaš</i>	[sw]	>	<i>xaš-i</i> ~ <i>xaš-nu</i>	‘month; moon; light’
	<i>xod</i>	[sw]	>	<i>xod-i</i> ~ <i>xod-d-u</i> ~ <i>xod-a</i>	‘tree’
	<i>dāria</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>dāria-n-i</i> ~ <i>dāria-n-a</i>	‘sea, lake’
	<i>dūnia</i>	[w2b]	>	<i>dūnia-n-i</i> ~ <i>dūnia-n-a</i>	‘world’

In Nizh, the *-i*-dative is less frequent. Example are:

(x)	<i>bazar</i>	<i>bazar-i</i> ~ <i>bazar-e</i>	‘bazaar’
	<i>at’až</i>	<i>at’až-i</i>	‘floor’
	<i>gešluǵ</i>	<i>gešluǵ-i</i>	‘gorge’
	<i>özäy</i>	<i>özäy-i</i>	‘kernel, stone’

<i>ozan</i>	<i>ozan-i ~ ozan-e</i>	‘neck’
<i>tavasari</i>	<i>tavasari</i>	‘pan’
<i>pervari</i>	<i>pervari</i>	‘region’
<i>ayiz</i>	<i>ayiz-i ~ ayiz-e</i>	‘village’

There seems to be a certain preference for nouns denoting plain or extended objects to be marked by the *-i*-dative. In Vartashen, this class comprises *aiz* ‘village’, *düz* ‘field’, *pak* ‘garden’, *däria* ‘lake, sea’, *gög* ‘sky’, and *dünia* ‘world, earth’. A metaphorical extension (> ‘period of time’) is perhaps present with *kä* ‘dawn’, *paiz* ‘autumn’ and *šamat* ‘week’. The three nouns *hal* ‘(mental) state’, *mu^šq* ‘joy’, and *ot* ‘shame’ form a special subclass. The motivation for the remaining three nouns is somewhat obscure. Occasionally, the *-i*-dative seems to reflect a speaker’s idiosyncrasy. For instance, the noun *xod* ‘tree’ normally has either the strong *-a*-dative or the weak *-u*-dative. An *-i*-based superessive is, however, documented at last once, compare:

(x) (a) *sa q’uš xod-al pur-p-i lai-ne-sa bi-ne-st’a* [CH&T 171]
 one bird tree-SUPER fly-LV-PART:PAST go=up-3SG-\$.PRES fall-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘A bird flies on a tree, climbs up (and) falls down.’

(b) *narzušč laic-e-ne-i ar-r-a xod-il* [CO § 3]
 yesterday=evening go-up:PAST-PERF-3SG-PAST pear-SA-GEN tree-SUPER
 ‘Yesterday evening, he had climbed on a pear tree.’

§ 21. There is no functional difference between the *-i*-dative and other variants of this case. In order to illustrate this point, the following pairs may be sufficient:

(x) (a) *va^š šo-no-al mu^šq-ne-bak-sa-i ič bukun-ex*
 and DIST-REF:ABS-FOC joy-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST REFL stomach-DAT2

boš-ev-k’-esun-a muq’-in-en [Luke 15:16]
 in-CAUS-LV-MASD2-DAT grain-SA-ERG>INSTR
 ‘And (s)he rejoiced filling his/her stomach with grains...’

(b) *bukun-ix xo bütün sa-ga-n-u bak-al-le* [IM 66]
 stomach-DAT2 yes all one-place-SA-DAT be-FUT:FAC-3SG
 ‘In the stomach, you know, everything will be together.’

(x) (a) *ma-no-te boc-i-ne-i dāria-n-i* [Matthew 13:47]
 WHO-REF:ABS-SUB throw:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG-PAST sea-SA-DAT
 ‘... that had been thrown into the sea.’

(b) *bos-a-q’un šo-t’-u dāria-n-a* [Luke 17:2]
 throw-MOD-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT sea-SA-DAT
 ‘... so that they throw him into the sea.’

(x) (a) *isus-en-al säs-ix ala-b-i va^f p-i-ne* [John 12:44]
 Jesus-ERG-FOC voice-DAT2 high-LV-PAST and say-PAST-3SG
 ‘Jesus raised his voice and said...’

(b) *sa čubǧ-on xalx-n-a bošt’an ič säs-n-ux*
 one woman-ERG people-SA-GEN from=inside REFL voice-SA-DAT2

ala-b-i p-i-ne [Luke 11:27]
 high-LV-PART:PAST say-PAST-3SG
 ‘One woman from inside the crowd raised her voice and said....’

(x) (a) *t’essahat a-t’u-k’-i Ioan-a gög-ix qaec-i* [Mark 1:10]
 instantly see-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST John-DAT sky-DAT2 open:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST
 ‘In that moment, John saw the sky that had been opened...’

(b) *gög-n-ux be^fǧ-n-ux but’-t’e-k’-e haso-n-en* [ST §26]
 sky-SA-DAT2 sun-SA-DAT2 cover-3SG-LV-PERF cloud-SA-ERG
 ‘Cloud(s) have (lit.: has) covered the sky and the sun.’

There is no obvious difference between the use of both *-i*-datives (simple dative and dative2), compare:

(x) (a) *i-bak-al-q’o bixǧ-o ǧar-i säs-ix* [John 5:28]
 hear-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO god-GEN son-GEN voice-DAT2
 ‘They will hear the voice of the son of God.’

(b) *šo-t’-ǧ-o-al ibak-al-q’o bez säs-i* [John 10:16]
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT-FOC hear-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO I:POSS voice-DAT
 ‘They will hear my voice.’

(x) *sa xaš-ix bip’ šamat’-t’e bak-sa šamat’-i vu^fǧ ǧi* [ST §24]
 one month-DAT2 four week-3SG be-PRES week-DAT seven day
 ‘A month has four weeks, a week (has) seven days.’

(x) (a) *zu č’er-e-z baba-xo va^f ar-e-z dūnia-n-i* [John 16:28]
 I leave:PAST-PERF-1SG father-ABL and come:PAST-PERF-1SG world-SA-DAT
 ‘I have left my father and I have come to the world...’

(b) *un be^fǧ-a dūnia-n-ix e xabar-re bu* [K&S 84]
 you:SG see-IMP:2SG world-SA-DAT2 what news-3SG be
 ‘See which news there is in the world.’

Nevertheless, certain nouns seem to prefer either the simple dative or the dative2. (x) gives the number of occurrences of both types as they show up both in the Gospels and in a cumulation of narrative texts:

(X)		<i>-i</i>	<i>-ix</i>	
	<i>äiz</i>	17	0	‘village’
	<i>däria</i>	3	0	‘sea, lake’
	<i>dünia</i>	36	2	‘world’
	<i>düz</i>	9	3	‘field, plain’
	<i>pak</i>	10	4	‘garden’
	<i>säs</i>	6	6	‘voice’
	<i>šamat’</i>	1	4	‘week’
	<i>xaš</i>	0	3	‘month; moon; light’

Accordingly, temporal expressions prefer the dative2 whereas local expressions are strongly coupled with the simple dative.

§ 22. In certain expressions, the *-i*-dative or a locative derived therefrom have become lexicalized. In most cases, the underlying noun is no longer in use. Examples include:

(X)	<i>a^hx-i-l</i>	‘end-super’	‘far’ < ‘on the end’
	<i>q’at-i</i>	‘gap-dat’	‘between’ < ‘in the gap’
	<i>ix</i>	‘ear-dat2’	‘memory’ < ‘in the ear’
	<i>iğar-ix</i>	‘heat(?)-dat2’	‘heat’
	<i>tax-ix</i>	‘fact(?)-dat2’	‘really’

§ 23. The dative2 is regularly derived from the simple dative by adding *-x*. Paradigmatically speaking, the dative2 belongs to the set of locative cases (see 3.3.4). Nevertheless, it does not make sense to treat the segment *-x* as a separate morpheme because it does not represent a discrete structure. As has been illustrated in §§ 1-7 above, the dative2 shares many of its distributional and functional properties with the simple dative. For instance, it is not appropriate to gloss the segment *-x* as a marker for a definite noun in objective function because it can also be used in a locative sense, just as it is true for the simple dative. In Nizh, the dative2 is typical with clitics in constructions that indicate long distance possession. A gloss, however, that considers both the O-function and the possessor-function in long distance possession is not appropriate from the point of view of Udi typology.

In fact, it is nearly impossible to isolate a functional category for the segment *-x* that goes beyond the preference patterns described in § 7. Therefore, the glossing ‘dative2’ (DAT2) should be regarded as a complex label. From a synchronic point of view, it interprets the morpheme *-Ix* as a single structure. Diachronically, the label ‘two’ (or ‘second’) refers to the fact that the dative2 is derived from the simple dative. This diachronic representation also alludes to the origin of the segment *-x*: Most likely, its function has been metaphorized from an ‘allative’, see 3.3.11.

There are no constraints on the derivational potential of the dative2: In the Vartashen dialect, any noun that can be marked for the simple dative, can also be marked for the dative2. (X) illustrates this point for each of the dative allomorphs:

(x)	Type		Dative	Dative2	
	-a	<i>adamar</i>	<i>adamar-a</i>	<i>adamar-ax</i>	‘man, person’
	-e	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum-e</i>	<i>tum-ex</i>	‘root’
	-u	<i>be^ʕǰ</i>	<i>be^ʕǰ-n-u</i>	<i>be^ʕǰ-n-ux</i>	‘sun’
	-i	<i>düz</i>	<i>düz-i</i>	<i>düz-ix</i>	‘field’

See above for the constraint on the dative2 with plural personal pronouns in Nizh.

3.3.4 Locational cases

§ 1. Contrary to most other Lezgian languages, Udi no longer knows the interaction of ‘case’ and ‘series’ (‘two-dimensional’ system). The term ‘case’ refers to the relational type that is present between a trajector and its landmark, whereas ‘series’ indicates the type of localization of the target in the region of the landmark. Typically, the Lezgian languages distinguish four to eight ‘series’. (x) illustrates these series in the sense of a cumulated paradigm (that comes close to the Aghul paradigm):

(x)	AD	‘A trajector in (visible) contact with its landmark’
	ANTE	‘A trajector in the front region of its landmark’
	POST	‘A trajector in the back region of its landmark’
	SUB	‘A trajector below its landmark’
	IN	‘A trajector inside a container/mass landmark’
	SUPER	‘A trajector on (the surface of) its landmark’
	INTER	‘A trajector between two (parts of a) landmark’
	SUPER2	‘A trajector above a landmark’

Three relational types represent the set of local ‘cases’:

(x)	1. Stative:	Essive (ESS)
	2. Dynamic:	Allative (ALL); Ablative (ABL)

Normally, the ‘series’ marker precedes a ‘case’ marker. Usually, local case forms follow a stem augment if present. The basic structure is:

(x)	Noun-SA-SERIES-CASE
-----	---------------------

§ 2. Theoretically, up to twenty four different case forms can be derived from these patterns (3 cases x 8 series). The following examples taken from Aghul help to illustrate the constructional patterns (Magometov 1971:81-82):

(x)	(a) <i>xil-i-w-as</i>
	hand-SA-AD-ABL
	‘out of the hand’

- (b) *gaga-di-q-di*
 father-SA-POST-ALL
 ‘towards (the back of) the father’
- (c) *ust:ul-i-l-Ø*
 chair-SA-SUPER-ESS
 ‘on the chair’

In Udi, this pattern of deriving local cases has been totally restructured (see 3.3.11.3). In Old Udi, the original pattern is preserved at least partially. Nevertheless, only some of these case forms have survived in Modern Udi. I will refer to these case forms only if a parallel is given in Modern Udi.

Basically, we have to deal with a ‘one-dimensional’ system: Six to seven local cases are marked by individual morphemes. The motivation for this dramatic reduction is probably given by language contact: Although there are hardly any categorial or substantial parallels, the Udi system clearly resembles the Azeri or Armenian systems from a structural point of view: Both the Armenian and the Azeri paradigms are marked for a one-dimensional structure that is based on the opposition essive/allative vs. ablative.

§ 3. All Udi local cases are derived from the dative (see 3.3.3.6). This technique is unique with the Lezgian branch of East Caucasian languages. It conditions a broad variety of local case allomorphs: The allomorphic pattern of the dative is adapted by all local cases. In consequence, the following set of basic local case markers (Vartashen) can be described (see 3.3.5 for the formation of the plural):

(X)

	-a-Dative	-u-Dative	-e-Dative	-i-Dative
Ablative	-a-xo	-u-xo	-e-xo	-i-xo
Comitative	-a-xol	-u-xol	-e-xol	-i-xol
Comitative2	-a-xolan	-u-xolan	-e-xolan	-i-xolan
Adessive	-a-st’a	-u-st’a	-e-st’a	-i-st’a
Allative	-a-č’	-u-č’	-e-č’	-i-č’
Superessive	-a-l	-u-l	-e-l	-i-l

In Nizh, the system is further reduced. This is due to the fact that the -a-dative is extended to nearly all nouns (see 3.3.3.6). Additionally, the ablative and the comitative have merged into one form, namely -xun. Contrary to Vartashen, Nizh knows a secondary ablative derived from the superessive (-Vlxun). As a result, the basic nominal paradigm for the (Lower) Nizh dialect is:

(x)

	-a-Dative	-e-Dative	-i-Dative
Ablative/Comitative	-a-xun	-e-xun	-i-xun
Adessive	-a-st’a	-e-st’a	-i-st’a
Allative	-a-č’	-e-č’	-i-č’

Superessive	<i>-a-l</i>	<i>-e-l</i>	<i>-i-l</i>
Superablative	<i>-a-l-xun</i>	<i>-e-l-xun</i>	<i>-i-l-xun</i>

§ 4. The reduction of the morphological inventory is coupled with the reorganization of spatial semantics. This process concerns both the dynamic relation of trajector and landmark ('case') and the subcategorization of the landmark's region. Typologically speaking, the domain of local 'cases' can be classified as follows:

- (x)
1. Tripartite: Ablative vs. Essive vs. Allative
 2. Bipartite: Ablative/Essive vs. Allative
Ablative vs. Essive/Allative
 3. General: Ablative/Essive/Allative

In order to describe the Udi system of local 'case' functions, we have to take into consideration the two sets of datives. As had been said in section 3.3.3.6, the two datives have strong locative properties that cover the following domains:

- (x)
1. Case: Essive/Allative
 2. Series: Inessive/Adessive

Accordingly, the Udi system of 'cases' is bipartite opposing the ablative to the essive/allative cluster. The allative case *-č'* is a residue of the older tripartite system (see § 4). However, this morpheme is extremely rare in Udi. Today, it is generally replaced by the dative(2). The marginal function of the allative also becomes apparent if we consider its frequency in texts:

(X)

	Allative	Ablative
Gospels	23	1517
Schiefner	13	130
Narratives (V.)	1	96
TOTAL	37	1743

It comes clear that the ablative is one of the two poles of the scale ABL<ESS<ALL. Although Udi has the option to mark the other pole morphologically (allative), it favors the use of the essive/allative cluster as represented by the two datives.

§ 5. In Udi, the set of 'series' is much obscured. If we start with the eight 'series' mentioned in (x) above, we can describe the following processes: 1) Out of the eight prototypical 'series', only three are case-marked: AD, IN, and SUPER. The cognitively less accessible domains POST and SUB are replaced by postpositional structures. This also holds for the ANTE and INTER domains. The SUPER domain is no longer discriminated for the feature [contact]. 2) All 'series' can be substituted by postpositions. (X) summarizes these processes:

(x)

AD	Adessive	<i>-st'a</i>	Postposition	<i>t'o ġō ĩ</i>
----	----------	--------------	--------------	-----------------

ANTE	---	---	Postposition	<i>be^ʕʕ</i>
IN	Dative	<i>-V</i>	Postposition	<i>boš</i>
INTER	---	---	Postposition	<i>q'ati</i>
POST	---	---	Postposition	<i>qošt'an</i>
SUB	---	---	Postposition	<i>oq'a</i>
SUPER	Superessive	<i>-l</i>	Postposition	<i>laxo</i>
SUPER2	Superessive	<i>-l</i>	Postposition	<i>laxo</i>

Note that the postpositions used to replace the ‘series’ markers occasionally show case suffixes that encode the dynamic relation trajector-landmark (see 3.5.2).

§ 6. As a result, the Udi system of local cases represents a ‘mixture’ of both cases and series. (x) summarizes the devices used to encode the interaction of the two types of spatial relation (PP = postposition; note that the correspondences are approximate only):

(x)	ABL		ESS		ALL	
	Case	PP	Case	PP	Case	PP
AD	<i>-xo ~ -xun</i>	<i>t'o^ʕgoxo</i>	<i>-st'a</i>	<i>t'o^ʕgō^ʕl</i>	<i>-č' ~ -V(x)</i>	<i>t'o^ʕgō^ʕl</i>
ANTE	<i>-xo ~ -xun</i>	<i>be^ʕʕt'an</i>	<i>-st'a</i>	<i>be^ʕʕ</i>	<i>-č' ~ -V(x)</i>	<i>be^ʕʕ</i>
IN	<i>-xo ~ -xun</i>	<i>bošt'an</i>	<i>-V(x)</i>	<i>boš</i>	<i>-V(x)</i>	<i>boš</i>
INTER	---	<i>q'ati</i>	---	<i>q'ati</i>	---	<i>q'ati</i>
POST	<i>-xo ~ -xun</i>	<i>qošt'an</i>	---	<i>qoš(t'an)</i>	<i>-č' ~ -V(x)</i>	<i>q'oš(t'an)</i>
SUB	<i>-xo ~ -xun</i>	<i>oq'axo</i>	---	<i>oq'a</i>	<i>-č' ~ -V(x)</i>	<i>oq'a</i>
SUPER	<i>-xo ~ -lxun</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>-l (~ -ala ?)</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>laxo</i>
SUPER2	<i>-xo ~ -lxun</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>-l (~ ala ?)</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>laxo</i>

From a structural point of view, the Udi local cases are rather heterogeneous. The only feature covered by all cases is the fact that they are derived from the dative. Else, we can only describe an affinity between the ablative *-xo* and the two comitative morphemes *-xol* and *xolan* (see below). In addition, a derivational process is present with the super-ablative *-lxun* that is based on the superessive *-l*.

3.3.4.1 Basic local cases. In this section, I will describe the morphological and semantic properties of the basic local cases in Udi. Although the ‘comitative’ cannot be regarded as a true local case, it is included here because it is embedded into the general pattern of these case forms. The description is organized as follows: § 1 Ablative, § 2 Comitative, § 3 Adessive, § 4 Allative, § 5 Superessive, § 6 Superablative (Nizh). See section 3.3.4.2 for residues of other local cases.

Local case marking is straightforward in Udi: There are no allomorphic variants. The fact that all cases in question are derived from the dative case suggests to treat these cases as complex structures and to gloss them ‘DAT + X’ (e.g. *-a-xo* ‘DAT-ABL’, *-a-l* ‘DAT-SUPER’ etc.). However, such glosses are purely structural. There is no evidence that the semantics of the dative combine with the semantics of the following local

case morpheme to yield the corresponding locative semantics. For instance, *adamar-a-xo* does not mean ‘from (ABL) to/at/in (DAT) the man/person’, but simply ‘from the man/person’. In consequence, the locative case forms are always analyzed and glossed as complex structures ($-Vxo = \text{ABL}$, $Vl = \text{SUPER}$ etc.). Still, there is no doubt that the segment following the dative suffix represents the original locative case marker (see 3.3.11).

§ 1. Ablative: *-xo* (Nizh: *-xun*, Old Udi *-xoc*). In Vartashen, the ablative is formed by adding the morpheme *-xo* to the dative case (see 3.3.3.6 for the formation of the dative). In Nizh, the morpheme is *-xun* (merging with the comitative; see § 2 for a discussion of this morpheme). In fast speech, the vowel of the dative may incidentally be dropped:

(x) *adamar* ‘person, man’ > *adamar-a-xo* ~ *adamar-xo*

In case elision of the dative vowel applies, the resulting form is not always distinguishable from the *-xo*-plural (see 3.2.5). Examples for the formation of the ablative are:

(x)

	Dative	Ablative	
<i>maral</i>	<i>maral-a</i>	<i>maral-a-xo</i>	‘stag’
<i>nana</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>nana-xo</i>	‘mother’
<i>viči</i>	<i>viče</i>	<i>viče-xo</i>	‘brother’
<i>bukun</i>	<i>bukun-e</i>	<i>bukun-e-xo</i>	‘stomach’
<i>säs</i>	<i>säs-i</i>	<i>säs-i-xo</i>	‘voice’
<i>be^ǰǧ</i>	<i>be^ǰǧ-n-u</i>	<i>be^ǰǧ-n-u-xo</i>	‘sun’

From a structural point of view, the Udi ablative can also be analyzed as a derivation from the dative2 ($-Vx$). This analysis gives us a morpheme *-o* instead of *-xo*. Diachronically, this assumption only makes sense if we relate the morpheme of the dative2 ($-x$) to an old series marker. This assumption, however, does not match the internal structure of the dative2, see 3.3.3.3: The ‘case’ morpheme *-o* would have been added to another ‘case’ marker (ALL):

(x) $-Vxo < *(-SA)-a-x-o$ (IN-ALL-ABL)

This structure is plausible only, if the dative2 had been first reanalyzed as a ‘series’ marker. Synchronically, such an analysis, however, seems to be too strong. A correlation of the standard functions of the dative2 ((in)essive-allative) and the functional properties of the ablative is not plausible from a functional point of view. Nevertheless, the Old Udi data clear show that the original ablative morpheme had been *-oc* (e.g. *-l-oc* (super:ablative), *-x-oc* (ablative), also compare Old Udi *hamoc* ‘from where?’ < **ha-ma-oc*, *bahoc* ‘from inside’, *ć’ohoc* ‘from outside’ etc.).

Native speakers intuitively segment *adamaraxo* ‘of the man/person’ as *adamar-axo* but not as *adamar-ax-o* which is – diachronically speaking – more plausible. In the present description of Udi, I will always refrain from using this historical perspective in the ablative gloss. In consequence, the ablative is always interpreted as a complex morpheme (*-Vxo*) in the interlinear glosses.

The ablative has a rather broad functional scope. Basically, it encodes any movement ‘away from a landmark’:

- (x) (a) *šo-no k'uaxo č'er-i ta-ne-c-i beivan ga-n-u*
 DIST-REF:ABS house:ABL go=out:PAST-PART:PAST go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST wild place-SA-DAT
 ‘Having left the house, he went to a wild place.’ [Luke 4:42]
- (b) *evaxte šo-no č'e-ne-sa-i namaz-axo...* [Mark 10:17]
 when DIST-REF:ABS go=out-3SG-\$.PRES-PAST temple-ABL
 ‘When he left the temple....’
- (c) *gädä e^šk-axo ci-ne-sa* [GD 63]
 boy horse-ABL go=down-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘The boy gets off (his) horse.’

Metaphorical extension derives partitive (x), temporal (x), and causal (stimulus) functions (x):

- (x) Partitive:
- (a) *arzuman-i eq'n-uxo-za buq'-sa* [AR 70]
 Arzuman-GEN flesh-SA-ABL-1SG want-PRES
 ‘I want (to eat) of the flesh of Arzuman.’
- (b) *qo bu-ne-i haq'ullu-o va^š qo-al haq'l-axo subuk'* [Matthew 25:2]
 five be-3SG-PAST clever-REF:ABS and five-FOC mind-ABL light
 ‘Five were clever and five were stupid (lit.: light of mind).’
- (x) Temporal:
- (a) *sa-hor-axo dizik' č'e-ne-sa* [R 14]
 one-while-ABL snake go=out-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘After a while the snake comes out.’
- (b) *me ġe-n-axo la-q'un-x-i šo-t'-ux bes-b-esan* [John 11:53]
 PROX day-SA-ABL put-3PL-\$.PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 kill-LV-CV:TEL
 ‘From this day on, they (decided to) put him to death.’

- (c) *q'a usen-axo iesir pasč'ağ-en xoiš-ne-b-sa me pasč'ağ-ax*
 twenty year-ABL imprisoned king-ERG wish-3SG-LV-PRES PROX king-DAT2
 'After twenty years, the imprisoned king asks this king ...' [IK 63]
- (x) Cause / Stimulus:
- (a) *u^ŕğ-al-le fi-n-axo bak-al-t'-ğ-oxol* [Matthew 24:49]
 drink-FUT:FAC-3SG wine-SA-ABL be-PART:NPAST-REF:OBL-PL-COM
 'He will drink with those who haven't become (drunk) because of the wine.'
- (b) *isus iaq'-axo mandak'-bak-i ar-re-c-i houz-un laxo* [John 4:6]
 Jesus way-ABL tired-LV-PART:PAST sit-3SG-\$-PAST well-GEN on
 Jesus, who was tired because of the way, sat down on the well.'

The ablative is used to encode the standard of comparison, whereas the parameter of comparison remains unmarked (see 5.3.3):

- (x) (a) *elmux abuz te-ne xorag-axo va^ŕ laśag-al partal-axo?* [Matthew 6:25]
 spirit more NEG-3SG stomach-ABL and body-FOC coat-ABL
 'Isn't the spirit more than the stomach and the body more than a coat?'
- (b) *bez baba ič viče-xo kala-ne* [f.n.]
 I:POSS father REFL brother-ABL old-3SG
 'My father is older than his brother.'
- (c) *meği hava na^ŕine-xo gam-ne* [f.n.]
 today weather yesterday-ABL warm-3SG
 'Today, it is warmer than yesterday.'

The ablative frequently occurs in lexicalized valency patterns. Most of these patterns reflect older syntactic and semantic strategies that today have become obscured. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ser-ian-b-e daxt'ak'-axo k'ac'-p-i q'uti*
 make-1PL-LV-PERF wood-ABL cut-LV-PART:PAST box

va^ŕ suruk'-ian-b-e xod-axo [BO 72; SD]

and hang-1PL-LV-PERF tree-ABL

'We have built a box cut out of wood and have hanged (it) on a tree.'

(lit.: ... we have made (it) light from a tree.)

- (b) *rust'am-en xup'-ax me xinär-axo be-ne-s-sa* [R 14]
 Rustam pilav-DAT2 PROX girl-ABL ask=for-3SG-\$-PRES
 'Rustam asks this girl for the pilav.'
- (c) *pasč'ağ-en xabar-re-aq'-sa me-t'-uxo* [IK 63]
 king-ERG news-3SG-take-PRES PROX-REF:OBL-ABL

‘The king asks him... (lit.: takes news from him...).’

- (d) *e^ʃfa dūnia-n-i te-t'u bak-o pexo sak-es*
 EMPH:you:PL:DAT world-SA-DAT NEG-3SG:IO be-FUT:MOD eye:ABL cast-MASD

amma zax pexo sak-es [John 7:7]

but I:DAT2 eye:ABL cast-MASD

‘The world cannot hate you but (it can) hate me.’

(lit.: ... cannot cast you from (its) eye...)

- (e) *kilo-ya sa manət-axun toya-d-ala-yan* [Nizh; SA; OR 48]
 kilo-DAT one rubel-ABL sell-LV-FUT2-1PL
 ‘We shall sell the kilo (of cucumber) for one rubel.’

Finally, the ablative can be supported or governed by the following postpositions: *o^ʃsa ~ oša* ‘after’, *t'oš* ‘outside’, *t'ošt'an* ‘from outside’, *t'o^ʃg* ‘at the (outer) side’ (see 3.5.2):

- (x) (a) *take sa hor-axo o^ʃsa p'uran eke* [CO §2]
 go:IMP:2SG one while-ABL after again come:IMP:2SG
 ‘Go (and) come back after a while!’

- (b) *nana va^ʃ viči-mux še-t'-ai čur-p-i-q'un-i k'uaxo t'oš*
 mother and brother-PL DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 stand-LV-PAST-3PL-PAST house:ABL outside
 ‘His and mother and his brothers stood outside the house...’ [Matthew 12:46]

- (c) *aiz-ixo t'ošt'an e-ne-sa* [f.n.]
 village-ABL from=outside come-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘(S)he comes from outside the village.’

- (d) *ma-q'a-n iaq'-a-b-i šo-t'-g-ox me ölki-n-axo t'o^ʃg*
 PROH-ADH-3SG way-DAT-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 PROX land-SA-ABL out
 ‘He should not expel them from this land.’ [Mark 5:10]

The Nizh morpheme ablative/comitative *-xun* is much more frequent than the cumulation of ablative and comitative (*-xo + xol*) in Vartashen, compare the percentages given in (X):

(X)	ABL	COM	TOTAL	% of words
Gospels	1517	284	1801	3,20
Vartashen narratives	96	16	112	2,13
Schiefner	130	14	144	3,09
Nizh narratives		244		3,37

The frequency of the Nizh ablative/comitative complex comes close to what can be described from the Gospels. These two sources have in common that they make considerable use of the ablative to encode partitive or possessive relations. This function of the ablative is rarer in narrative texts from Vartashen. In Nizh, the partitive function is especially frequent with the referentialized form of the indefinite numeral ‘one’ (*soğo*). Examples are:

- (x) (a) *k'ož-urxo-xun šo-t'-oğ-oi boš bak-al-a*
 house-PL-ABL DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN in be-PART:nPAST-ATTR

amdar-xo-xun sa nišan-a te-t'un bā^šgā^šy-b-i [BAT; OR 116]
 person-PL-ABL one sign-DAT NEG-3PL find-LV-PAST

‘They did not find a sign of the house (and) of the people being in them.’

- (b) *ayizlu-ğ-oxun sa pay t'e dav-in-a kac'-e-c-i* [DAD; OR 117]
 villager-PL-ABL one part DIST war-SA-DAT kill-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST
 ‘A part of the villagers were killed in this war.’

- (c) *čalxal-xo-xun sun-t'-ai täzä lašk'o-i bak-i*
 friend-PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-GEN new marriage-DAT be-PART:PAST

zurnač-in-a äš-e bit-e-i [VI; OR 135]
 flute=player-SA-DAT thing-3SG put=down-PERF-PAST

‘A friend had come to visit (lit.: had settled things with) a flute player who was newly married.’

- (d) *ayiz-muğ-oxun soğo ni^šž-e-i* [DAD; OR 117]
 village-PL-ABL one:REF:ABS Nizh-3SG-PAST
 ‘One of the villages was Nizh.’

§ 2. Comitative: -xol ~ -xolan (Nizh: -xun, Old Udi -xoš). In Vartashen, there are two case forms that are related to the prototypical function ‘comitative’: 1) a simple comitative marked by *-xol*, 2) a morphologically extended comitative (COM2) that adds the segment *-an* to the simple comitative. The ‘comitative’ normally indicates that a referent is accompanied by another referent. The accompanying referent is not necessarily animate, as shown in:

- (x) (a) *q'eiri a^šil-uğ-on u^šć-axol kä-i-q'un ič-uğ-o bulk-n-ux* [BH 70]
 other child-PL-ERG honey-COM eat:PAST-PAST-3PL REFL-PL-GEN roll-SA-DAT2
 ‘The other children ate their roll(s) with honey.’

- (b) *e-t'-uxol zu šum uk-al-zu?* [CO §6]
 what-REF:OBL-COM I bread eat-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘What shall I have on the bread?’

[Not: With which instrument shall I eat the bread?]

- (c) *ta-q'un-d-i šo-t'-u u^šğ-s-an*
 give-3PL-\$-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT drink-MASD-CV:TEL

oq'o gi-in-axol gār-b-i
 vinegar gall-SA-COM mix-LV-PART:PAST

‘They gave him vinegar to drink, mixed with gall.’ [Matthew 27:34]

Nevertheless, animate (or human) referents clearly represent the preferred target of comitative strategies. For instance, in the Gospels, the comitative is used 268 times with human referents as opposed to eight occurrences of the comitative with inanimate referents. Most often, the referent marked by the comitative is in co-function with an agentive or subjective noun. The following examples illustrate this point:

- (x) (a) *o^šsa ġar-axol sagala gir-q'un-b-esa bütün šeiür-ğ-ox* [S&S 94]
 then son-COM together collect-3PL-LV-PRES all thing-PL-DAT2
 ‘Then they and the boy collect all the goods’

- (b) *kar-x-i ič iš-exol ič xinär-ruğ-oxo vu^šğ usen* [Luke 2:36]
 live-LV-PART:PAST REFL man-COM REFL virginity-ABL seven year
 ‘... having lived for seven years with her husband since her virginity.’

- (c) *rust'am šavat' xinär-axol sa pašč'ağluğ-a ta-ne-sa* [R 17]
 Rustam beautiful girl-COM one kingdom-DAT go-3SG-\$:PRES
 ‘Rustam goes with the beautiful girl to a (certain) kingdom.’

- (d) *met'abaxt'in ta-ne-sa ič nana-xol* [R 8]
 therefore go-3SG-\$:PRES REFL mother-COM
 ‘Therefore he goes with his mother...’

Certain verbs call for a second argument in the comitative. Here, the construction has strong reciprocal properties:

- (x) (a) *ma düšmānluğ-b-a pis-t'-xol* [Matthew 5:39]
 PROH enemyhood-LV-IMP:2SG evil-REF:OBL-COM
 ‘Do not be the enemy of an evil one!’

- (b) *pašč'ağ-en lašk'o-ne-b-i ġar-ax pašč'ağ-un xinär-axol*
 king-ERG marriage-3SG-LV-PAST boy-DAT2 king-GEN daughter-COM
 ‘The king married the boy to the king’s daughter.’ [K&S 86, com.87]

- (c) *iaq'-a-b-a rust'am-ax t'e döv-n-uxol mušalap-s-an* [R 8]
 way-DAT-LV-IMP:2SG Rustam-DAT2 DIST dev-SA-COM struggle-MASD-CV:TEL
 ‘Send Rustam so that he fights with the dev!’

The second comitative (COM2) is rare. It is formed by adding *-an* to the simple comitative. It should be noted that this case is only documented in the tale S&S (Dirr 1904) and in some phrases quoted by A. Dirr in his grammatical sketch (Dirr 1904). From this we can infer that its use had become restricted or even obsolete already in 19th century Udi. Nevertheless, there is a converbial form *-xolan* ('parallel action', see 3.4.10) that is added to the simple masdar (*bai-es-xolan* (go=into-MASD-CV:PAR) 'when entering'). Obviously, we have to deal with a grammaticalized variant of the comitative2. Contrary to the case form, this converb is still in use in contemporary Vartashen Udi.

The functional scope of the comitative2 does not differ from that of the simple comitative. (x) documents all occurrences of *-xolan* with (pro)nominal terms:

- (x) (a) *bur-re-q-i me ġar-moġ-oxolan e^hk ċ'ig-sax* [S&S 92]
 begin-3SG-LV-PAST PROX boy-PL-COM2 horse drive-CV:TEL
 'He and the boys began to drive the horse.'
- (b) *xod-en vaxolan ait-t'e-k'-o* [S&S 92]
 tree-ERG you:SG:COM2 word-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 'The tree shall speak with you.'
- (c) *ġar-al xinär-moġ-oxolan e-ne-sa* [S&S 95]
 boy-FOC girl-PL-COM2 come-3SG-\$.PRES
 'The boy comes with the girls.'
- (d) *sa šel ġar-axolan pəsak'-ne bak-i* [DG 20]
 one good boy-COM2 marriage-3SG be-PAST
 'She was married to a good boy.'
- (e) *sa q'oža isú kar-re-x-esa-i ič karvan-oxolan* DG 20]
 one old man live-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST REFL old=woman-COM2
 'An old man lived together with his old wife.'
- (f) *še-t'-in äit-t'e-p-e udi-n muz-in zaxolan* [DG 20]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG word-3SG-LV-PERF Udi-GEN language-ERG>INSTR I:COM2
 '(S)he has spoken with me in Udi.'
- (g) *mariam-in u^fq'en-ġ-ox-al ič-xolan e-ne-čš-o* [DG 33]
 Maria-GEN bone-PL-DAT2-FOC REFL-COM2 bring-3SG-\$.FUT:MOD
 'He (for himself) brings Mary's bones.'
- (h) *šu-a ka čubux ma-t'-oloxan-te un äit-t'u-p-e* [DG 36]
 who-3SG:Q MED woman who-REF:OBL-COM2-SUB you:SG word-2SG-LV-PERF

‘Who is that woman with whom you have spoken?’

- (i) *deiirmanč-in čubgǎ-on bur-re-q-i a^ʰil-oǧ-oxolan ači-p-sun*
 miller-GEN woman-ERG begin-3SG-LV-PAST child-PL-COM2 play-LV-MASD2
 ‘The miller’s wife started to play with the children.’ [S&S 91]

The fact that the ablative and the comitative have merged into one formal category in the Nizh dialect (> *-xun*) suggests that the resemblance of both forms in Vartashen (ablative *-xo*, comitative *-xol(-an)*) is not just coincidental. (x) illustrates the use of the morpheme *-xun* for both categories in Nizh:

- (x) (a) *sift'in säš č'ere bačain-in-axun* [PA 115]
 first voice go=out:PAST-PERF swallow-SA-ABL/COM
 ‘The first sound came from a swallow.’
- (b) *bip'-imžī ma^ʰǧ [č'er-e] čoval-xo-xun* [PA 115]
 four-ORD song [go=out:PAST-PERF] sparrow-PL-ABL/COM
 ‘The fourth song [came] from sparrows.’
- (c) *haq'-a ko vi bala iräzi bak-a zaxun* [PA 171]
 take-IMP:2SG MED you:SG:POSS child grateful be-IMP:2SG I:ABL/COM
 ‘Take your child (and) thank me!’
- (d) *hun he-t'-uxun-ən ava zu sa bala bix-al-zu* [PA 172]
 you:SG what-REF:OBL-ABL/COM-2SG know I one child give=birth-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘Where do you know from that I will give birth to a child?’
- (e) *bez vaxun äyit-zax p'u* [PA 192]
 I:POSS you:SG:ABL/COM word-1SG:POSS be
 ‘I have a word with you.’

However, the underlying process that would have derived the comitative from the ablative is difficult to describe. There is no trace of a suffix *-l* that would have turned the ablative function into a comitative function. Additionally, this assumption would leave open the question of how the Nizh ablative/comitative is related to both forms in Vartashen. It should be noted that the Nizh form is also present in the Vartashen (and Nizh) converb *-xun* that is added to the future-modal stem of verbs (*č'ebak-a-xun* (CROSS-MOD-CV:PAR) ‘when crossing’, see 3.4.10). Although the derivational pattern is slightly different, the *-xun*-converb functions just as the *-xolan*-converb mentioned above, compare:

- (x) (a) *qabun-ax ak'-es-xolan šo-no-r mu^ʰq-q'un-bak-i* [Matthew 2:10]
 star-DAT2 see-MASD-CV:PAR DIST-REF:ABS-PL joy-3PL-LV-PAST
 ‘When they saw the star they rejoiced...’

- (b) *zu gārāmzuluḡ-axo č'ebak-a-xun be^hg-sa-z...* [GD 60]
 I cemetery-ABL pass=by-LV-MOD-CV:PAR see-PRES-1SG
 'When passing by a cemetery, I see'

The morpheme *-axun* is also present in the Vartashen adverb *genaxun* 'at daytime' that frequently occurs in collocation with *isoun* 'at night':

- (x) (a) *čünki ḡe-n-axun isoun o^hne-z-exai* [BI 56]
 because day-SA-COM night:GEN tear-1SG-LV:PRES-PAST
 'As I wept day and night...'

- (b) *ḡe-n-axun še-t'-in zom-ne-b-esa-i namaz-un k'ua*
 day-SA-COM DIST-REF:OBL-ERG teach-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST temple-GEN house:DAT
 'At daytime, he preached in the house of the temple.' [Luke 21:37]

From this we can infer that the two forms *-xolan* and *-xun* must have co-occurred in an earlier version of Udi. The functional differences are, however, no longer transparent. Two hypotheses concerning the origin of *xun* ~ *-xolan* can be taken into consideration:

1) The morphemes are the residues of two local copula forms marked by a converbial element **-n* (compare the Udi telic converb *-an* (see 3.4.10)). A perhaps more than structural analogy is given by the two Lezgi postpositions *galaz* 'with (comitative) < **gala-z* 'be=behind-INF' and *gwaz* 'with (instrumental)' < **gwa-z* 'be=at-INF' (see Haspelmath 1993:225-6):

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------------|
| (x) | Udi | Lezgi |
| | <i>-xu-n</i> | <i>gwa-z</i> |
| | <i>-xola-n</i> | <i>gala-z</i> |

Accordingly, we can assume that the two case forms *-xun* and *-xolan* represent older postpositions that are derived from converbial copulae. The Lezgi data suggest that the *-xun*-case originally covered the strongly controlled 'instrumental' domain of the comitative, whereas the *-xolan*-case referred to the lesser-controlled 'company' domain:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (x) | Strong control (S/A) | Weak control (S/A) |
| | Instrumental | Comitative |
| | * <i>-xu-n</i> < 'be=at-CV' | * <i>-xola-n</i> < 'be=behind-CV' |

In both dialects, the instrumental function has been usurped by the ergative case. In Nizh, the function of the morpheme *-xun* has shifted towards the lesser-controlled variant of the comitative (> 'true' comitative), whereas in Vartashen the morpheme itself is lost (in case inflection). The fact that in Nizh the older instrumental **-xun* has taken over the function of the ablative should be regarded as a formal syncretism

(see 3.3.11.3) that, however, was also motivated by certain semantic affinities: In Udi, both cases can be used in a metaphorical sense to denote a causal stimulus:

- (x) (a) *iğariğ-oxo t'oš tağ-al-te-z* [f.n.]
 heat-ABL out go:FUT-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
 'Because of the heat, I won't go out.'
- (b) *iğariğ-oxol t'oš tağ-al-te-z* [f.n.]
 heat-COM out go:FUT-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
 'Because of (lit.: with) the heat, I won't go out.'

The ablative function describes a referent as the *precondition* of a State of Affairs, whereas the comitative can be used to describe the co-occurrence of two referential situations one of which is the condition for the existence of the whole State of Affairs.

2) In case the Nizh comitative/ablative cluster represents more than just a formal syncretism, we have to assume that the comitative function of *-xun* is older than its ablative function. According to a strong localistic hypothesis, however, the comitative function has to be derived from the ablative domain. Or: The Nizh ablative has a history of its own. From a structural point of view, there are good arguments in favor of this hypothesis: As has been pointed out in sections 3.2.8.4 and 3.5.2, there are a number of pronominal and adverbial forms that show a segment *-Vn* in ablative function that is added to a petrified SUPER-localization:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| (x) | <i>me-l-an ~ me-l-in</i> | 'PROX-SUPER-ABL' | 'from (on) here' |
| | <i>ka-l-in ~ ke-l-in</i> | 'MED-SUPER-ABL' | 'from (on) there (medial)' |
| | <i>t'e-l-an ~ t'e-l-in</i> | 'DIST-SUPER-ABL' | 'from (on) there' |
| | <i>ma-l-an ~ ma-l-in</i> | 'where-SUPER-ABL' | 'where (on) from?' |

From a formal point of view, the sequence *-l-an ~ -l-in* corresponds to *-xun*:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------|------------|
| (x) | | Series | Case |
| | <i>-lin</i> | <i>-l-</i> | <i>-in</i> |
| | <i>-xun</i> | <i>-x-</i> | <i>-un</i> |

This correspondence suggests that the (older) ablative *-xun* represents a fossilized ablative derived from an allative, (the most probable source for the dative², see 3.3.11.3). Nevertheless, this explanation, too, has its weak points: First, the vocalization of the assumed ablative morpheme is unclear: The deictic terms have *-i-* or (in the Gospels) *-a-*, whereas *-xun* hints at **-un*. It is attractive to relate the segment **-un* to the *-un*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5), but this resemblance seems to be chance. Second, the *-lin ~ lan* morpheme is added to deictic stems, whereas *-xun* follows the dative morpheme. Third, the combination 'allative-ablative' can only be

taken into account if the ‘allative’ has undergone reanalysis (> series, see 3.3.3.3 and 3.3.11.3).

§ 3. Adessive: -*Vst'a* (Old Udi -*sta* ~ -*st'ay*). The adessive case is a rather marginal category in Modern Udi. In is extremely rare in texts. Only forty-nine occurrences are documented for both the Gospels and narrative texts. In actual speech, it is frequently used to mark alienable long distance possession (see 5.3.4). Else, it is usually replaced by either postpositional phrases (based on *t'o*^f*ǰo*^f*l* ‘at’, see 3.5.2) or by the simple dative (see 3.3.3.6). Examples for the use of the adessive are:

(x) (a) *mia sa a^fil-ast'a bu-ne mu-n-e sum va^f p'a^f-al čäli* [John 6:9]
 PROX:ADV one child-ADESS be-3SG barley-SA-GEN bread and two-FOC fish
 ‘A child here has a bread of barley and two fishes.’

(b) *šet'abaxt'intē ič-u aba-t'u-i ek'a adamar-ast'a* [John 2:25]
 because REFL-DAT knowing-3SG:IO-PAST what man-ADESS
 ‘... because he knew what (is) in (lit.: at) a man.’

(c) *ägänä me q'ul pis baki ič uk'-est'a uk'-ai-n*
 when PROX servant bad be-PART:PAST REFL heart-ADESS say:FUT-CONJ-3SG
 ‘When this servant who is evil says for himself...’ [Matthew 24:48]

(d) *efi sun-t'-ust'a bak-ai-n sa eǰel* [Matthew 12:11]
 you:PL:POSS one:ADJ-REF:OBL-ADESS be-CONJ-3SG one sheep
 ‘If one of you has a sheep...’

(e) *etär-te bu-ne-i beinś-ǰ-ost'a* [Luke 1:9]
 how-SUB be-3SG-PAST priest-PL-ADESS
 ‘As it was (habit) among (lit.: at) the priests....’

(f) *va^f bi-ne-t-i čo oq'a še-t'-a tur-muǰ-ost'a* [Luke 17:16]
 and fall-3SG- $\$$ -PAST face under DIST-REF:OBL-GEN foot-PL-ADESS
 ‘And he fell face down to his feet.’

(g) *sa ġi-n-ast'a boq'oi-e šar-p-iyō sum bad-al-e-i* [Nizh; PA 174]
 one day-SA-ADESS batter-3SG knead-LV-PERF2 bread bake-FUT:FAC-3SG-PAST
 ‘One day, (s)he kneaded the batter in order to bake a bread.’

(h) *payiz-i ġi-n-urx-oxun sun-t'-ust'a ġar-e k'oya*
 autumn-GEN day-SA-PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-ADESS son-GEN house:DAT

lašk'oy-e bur-q-ec-i far-esa [Nizh; BAR; OR 155]
 wedding-3SG start-LV-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST play-PRES

‘In one of the days of autumn, a wedding began to be celebrated (lit.: was started to play) in the house of the boy.’

There is one example that shows the use of the adessive to encode an agent that is involved in an epistemically modal State of Affairs. In fact, we have to deal with a type of A-demotion that is in analogy with the standard way of demoting A (> dative) to produce a ‘potential’ mood (see 5.4.3.2):

- (x) *ka aš-l-ax -al šel pis čixar-k'-es-t'-esun aper-ast'a-ne* [DG 12]
 MED thing-SA-DAT2 good bad end-LV-MASD-CAUS-MASD2 father-ADESS-3SG
 ‘Father will surely end this matter, in a good or bad sense.’

Note that the adessive has become lexicalized in the Nizh postposition *best'a* ‘in front of’ (< *bul* ‘head’) that replaces the Vartashen postposition *be's* (see 3.5.2). Likewise, it is perhaps present in the interrogative adverb *ist'i* ‘why (not)’ < **hi-st'a*?

The origin of the adessive marker is obscure. It is rather attractive to relate the morpheme *-st'a* to the proto-Lezgian dative **-s* (see 3.3.3.6 and 3.3.11). Nevertheless, this analysis leaves us with a segment **-t'a* that lacks further parallels. Additionally, the constructional pattern would raise problems: In proto-Lezgian, the set of local cases/series probably was added either to the strong or the weak stem of a noun. The use of the dative as a basis for the locatives is an Udi innovation. In consequence, the assumption that *-st'a* includes the proto-Lezgian dative **-s* leads to problems in the relative chronology (see 3.3.11). As an alternative, one should consider the possibility that *-st'a* is derived from a postpositional structure. The phonotactics of the morpheme suggest a borrowing from a yet unrevealed source.

Note that in Old Udi, *-st'ay* is the preferred form of the adessive. for the time being, it is not fully clear whether the element *-y* has to be interpreted as a separate morpheme, or whether it belongs to the original form of the case morpheme.

§ 4. **Allative: -č' (Nizh: -č:, Old Udi -é')**. The allative is extremely rare in texts. In the Gospels, it occurs only 29 times. As for narrative texts, it is only documented in Schiefner's collection (eleven occurrences) and in Nizh texts from the Keçaari corpus. In actual Udi, it is normally replaced by the dative or the dative2 (see 3.3.3.6). Basically, the allative denotes ‘(motion) towards an object’. Contrary to the dative(2), final contact with the goal is not necessarily implied. The allative shows a very low degree of metaphorization. In (x), the use of the adessive is illustrated with verbs of motion (x,a-d), verbs of saying and seeing (x,e-g), and in idiomatic constructions (x,h-l):

- (x)(a) *kinbal-o iša-ne ar-i xod-ač'* [IM 61]
 diligent-REF:ABS close-3SG come:PAST-PAST tree-ALL
 ‘The diligent (girl) approached the tree.’

- (b) *t'i-q'un-t'-er-i xod-ač'* [LT 71]
 run-3PL-§-LV:PAST-PAST tree-ALL
 ‘They ran towards the tree.’

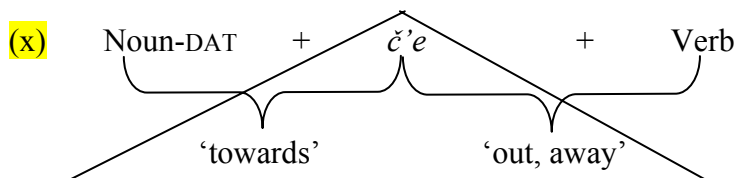
- (c) *fuğara kinbal-o p'uran ta-ne-c-i xe-n-e kur-r-uč'*
 poor diligent-REF:ABS again go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST water-SA-GEN hole-SA-ALL
 'The poor diligent (girl) again went to the water-hole.' [IM 61]
- (d) *k'oc'-q'un-b-e-i ič-ğ-o čo-ex očal-ač'* [Luke 24:5]
 bow-3PL-LV-PERF-PAST REFL-PL-GEN face-DAT2 earth-ALL
 '... they bowed down their face(s) to the ground.'
- (e) *gölö-za buq'-i zač' be^ğ-a^ğ-ne-i* [PO 2]
 much-1SG:IO want-PAST I:ALL see-MOD-3SG-PAST
 'I wished so much that she would look at me.'
- (f) *ia a-ia-k'-e še-t'-a qabun-ax be^ğč'eğal-ač'*
 we:IO see-1PL:IO-\$.PERF DIST-REF:OBL-GEN star-DAT2 sunrise-ALL
 'We have seen his star till sunrise.' [Matthew 2:2]
- (g) *evaxte še-t'-in p'uran p-i-ne xalx-n-uč'* [Matthew 12:46]
 when DIST-REF:OBL-ERG again say-PAST-3SG people-SA-ALL
 'When he again said to the people'
- (h) *te qai-d-a-ne baba-ğ-o uk'-ex a^ğil-uğ-oč'* [Luke 1:17]
 SUB back-LV-MOD-3SG father-PL-GEN heart-DAT2 child-PL-ALL
 '... so that he turns the heart(s) of the fathers to the children.'
- (i) *o^ğxa^ğlbal-en təfang-un zomox boxo-ne-d-i še-t'-uč'* [DG 19]
 hunter-ERG rifle-GEN mouth:DAT2 long-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ALL
 'The hunter took aim at him (lit.: made the mouth of the rifle long...).'
- (k) *leont'i tara-ne-p-i še-t'-uğ-o xoiš-ač'* [LT 71]
 Leonti turn-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN wish-ALL
 'Leonti accepted (lit.: turned to) their wish...'
- (l) *ği gena k'oc'-ne-bak-sa-i biasun-ač'* [Luke 9:12]
 day CONTR bow-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST evening-ALL
 'The day, however, was drawing to an end.'
- (m) *šalak'-a axa-p-i yaq'-a-ne baft'-i k'ož-ač'*
 bundle-DAT load-LV-PART:PAST way-DAT-3SG rush=towards-PAST house-ALL
 'Having loaded the bundle on (his) back, he rushed on the way towards the house.' [Nizh; KAL; OR 131]

The origin of the allative *-č'* is not well understood. Semantically, it is rather improbable that the morpheme continues one of the proto-Lezgian allative cases, because these case normally imply the affection of a goal marked by the appropriate series (see above 3.3.4). The Udi allative normally lacks this feature. Alternatively,

the morpheme can be tentatively related to the fossilized preverb *č'e-* 'out, away' (see 3.4.4). This formal correlation has first been observed by Harris 2002b (Howie). It can be explained by referring to a structural analogy with the superessive (see below § 5): There is no doubt that the superessive *-l* represents the reflex of a postposition that has survived in the complex forms *laxo* ~ *laxol* ~ *loxol* (see 3.5.2). The underlying form of this postposition has again furnished the preverbal superessive *la-* [~ *lai-*] (see below § 5). Therefore, we arrive at the following proportion:

(x)	CASE	PP	PV
	<i>-č'</i>	<i>č'öš</i> [N.]	<i>č'e-</i>
=	<i>-l</i>	<i>laxo</i> etc.	<i>la-</i>

The mediating postposition *č'öš* 'outside of' is only documented for the Nizh dialect. In Vartashen, it has been replaced by the form *t'oš* (see 3.5.2). It is derived from a base **č'ə-* to which a segment *-oš* has been added (compare *boš* 'in', *qoš* 'behind', see 3.3.4.2). Hence, the allative can easily be reconstructed as **-č'ə* (as opposed to the superessive **-la*). Semantically, this analysis is more difficult. We have to assume that the basic meaning of the underlying postposition/adverb **č'e* rather was 'away to somebody/something' than simply 'out, away from' as suggested by the fossilized preverb. The preverb would then have focused on the motion aspect ('away, out'), whereas the coupling of noun and postposition would have invoked the orientation towards a referent (see 3.3.11.3):



§ 5. Superessive: *-l* (Old Udi *-l*). Contrary to the case forms mentioned in §§ 2-4, the superessive is a rather frequent local case. It does not have allomorphic variants except for the usual variation of the preceding vowel. Structurally, it forms a subparadigm together with the dative2 and the allative:

(x)	DAT2	<i>-V-x</i>
	ALL	<i>-V-č'</i>
	SUPER	<i>-V-l</i>

Note that *-al* with strong nouns and weak [w2] nouns (see 3.3.2.2) is ambiguous: It can denote both the superessive (based on the *-a*-dative) and the focus marked absolutive (strong nouns) or genitive (weak [w2] nouns):

(x)	<i>adamar-al</i>	man-SUPER	'on(to) the man/person'
	<i>adamar-al</i>	man-FOC	'the MAN'

<i>gäd-in-al</i>	boy-SUPER	‘on the boy’
<i>gäd-in-al</i>	boy-GEN-FOC	‘of the BOY’

Else, the construction of the superessive is straightforward:

(x)	ABS	DAT	SUPER	
	<i>bul</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>be-l</i>	‘head’
	<i>dünia</i>	<i>dünia-n-i</i>	<i>dünia-n-il</i>	‘world’
	<i>nana</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>nana-l</i>	‘mother’
	<i>xunči</i>	<i>xunč-e</i>	<i>xunč-el</i>	‘sister’
	<i>že^ʃ</i>	<i>že^ʃ-n-a</i>	<i>že^ʃ-n-al</i>	‘stone’
	<i>žam</i>	<i>žam-n-u</i>	<i>žam-n-ul</i>	‘mug, pot’

The basic semantics of the superessive is best documented with locational nouns: Here, the meaning generally is ‘on something’ or ‘onto something’ (essive or allative):

(x) (a) *vartašen[-un] aiz nux-in oćal-al-le* [VA 58]

Vartashen[-GEN] village Nukha-GEN ground-SUPER-3SG
 ‘The village (of) Vartashen is (located) on the Nukha territory.’

(b) *bi-ne-t-i oćal-al* [Mark 14:35]

fall-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST ground-SUPER
 ‘He fell on the ground...’

(c) *šo-no lari-ne a^ʃil-uğ-o ma-no-r-te arc-i-q’un iaq’-al*

DIST-REF:ABS equal-3SG child-PL-DAT who-REF:ABS-PL-SUB sit-PAST-3PL way-SUPER
 ‘He is like the children sitting on the road...’ [Matthew 11:16]

(d) *ar-i ča^ʃx-k’-axun ič k’ul-l-ul* [IK 68]

come:PAST-PART:PAST step-LV-CV:PAR REFL soil-SA-SUPER
 ‘Just as he steps on his soil...’

Body part terms are often marked by the superessive to denote ‘in the region of a body part’ (usually [+contact]):

(x) (a) *ič t’až-n-ux a-ne-q’-i la-ne-x-i ġar-i bel* [K&S 87]

REFL crown-SA-DAT2 take-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST put=on-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES boy-GEN head:SUPER
 ‘He took his crown and put (it) on the boy’s head.’

(b) *t’esa iš-en-al bać’an-el cac-ne laexa* [TR 68]

DIST-one man-ERG-FOC back-SUPER thorn-3SG put=on:LV:PRES

‘That man has put on (= carries) thorn(s) on (his) back.’

- (c) *va^f a-t'u-k'-i p'a^f färišt-in-ax mac'i partal-un boš*
 and see-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST two angel-SA-DAT2 white dress-GEN in

arc-i so bel so-al tur-el [John 20:12]
 sit-PART:PAST one:REF:ABS head:SUPER one:REF:ABS-FOC foot-SUPER

‘And she saw two angels in a white dress, one of them sitting at the head (of Jesus), the other at (his) feet.’

- (d) *p'i-n-en ialluğ-ax la-ne-st'a baba pel* [GD 63]
 blood-SA-ERG>INSTR scarf-DAT2 put=on-3SG-LV:PRES father:GEN eye:SUPER
 ‘He puts the bloodstained scarf on his father’s eye(s).’

Incidentally, the superessive can be used with temporal expression to denote ‘in (the times)’:

- (x) (a) *ägänä ian ba-g-ian-k-e-i beš baba väd-imuğ-ol*
 if we be-HYP-1PL- $\text{\$}$ -PERF-PAST we:POSS father:GEN time-PL-SUPER
 ‘If we had been in the times of our father(s)...’ [Matthew 23:30]

- (b) *bias bak-al väd-imuğ-ol ...* [Mark 1:32]
 evening be-PART:nPAST time-PL-SUPER
 ‘In the evening (lit: on the evening becoming times) ...’

- (c) *me čubğ-on me tämbäl-a ošun ġe-n-al*
 PROX woman-ERG PROX lazy-DAT next day-SA-SUPER

p'a^f šäi-enk'-ne iaq'-a-b-sa [CH&T 171]
 two thing-BEN-3SG way-DAT-LV-PRES
 ‘The next day, the woman sends the lazy (boy) for two things...’

- (d) *damdam-al me ġi bak-al-le pis* [Matthew 16:3]
 morning-SUPER PROX day be-FUT:FAC-3SG bad
 ‘In the morning, this day will be bad...’

Most likely, the domain of body parts has initiated the extension of the original functional scope of the superessive to adessive-like or allative-like functions.

- (x) (a) *t'e-vaxt'-a ću-q'un-exai še-t'-a ćo-el* [Matthew 26:67]
 DIST-time-DAT spit-3PL-LV:PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN face-SUPER
 ‘Then they spit at his face.’

- (b) *ägänä suruk'-b-a-q'un še-t'-a q'oq'-el źomo źe-n-ax*
 if hang-LV-MOD-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-GEN neck-SUPER mill:GEN stone-SA-DAT2

‘If they hang a millstone around/at his neck.’ [Mark 9:42]

- (c) *muš-en-al čo-el-le duğ-sa* [IM 62]
 wind-ERG-FOC face-SUPER-3SG hit-PRES
 ‘The wind hits into his face.’

On the other hand, the superessive can occasionally be used as an inessive/illative. This function is derived from terms that represent ‘open containers’ (such as *kul* ‘hand’ ~ ‘arm’, *gög* ‘sky’ ~ ‘heaven’, *dünia* ‘world’ etc.). Examples are:

- (x) (a) *še-t'-in a-ne-q'-i šo-t'-ux kel* [Luke 2:28]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG take-3SG-\$-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 hand:SUPER
 ‘He took him in his arm(s).’

- (b) *bar-t-a ba-q'a-n-k-i vi ixt'iar*
 let-LV-IMP:2SG be-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST you:SG:POSS power

etär-te gög-il t'etär-te oçal-al [Matthew 6:10]
 how-SUB heaven-SUPER thus:DIST-SUB earth-SUPER
 ‘May you have power in heavens just as on earth’

- (c) *oran-ne bak-o va^f dünia-n-il* [LT 72]
 bad-3SG be-FUT:MOD you:PL:DAT world-SA-SUPER
 ‘(Things) will be bad for you in the world.’

The superessive is often used to express the target of an action with verbs that include the fossilized preverb *la-* ‘on’ (see 3.4.4), e.g. *lamandesun* ‘to meet’, *lapesun* ‘to put on, to dress, to furnish’, *lafdesun* ‘to touch’, *mušalapsun* ‘to fight’, *laičesun* ‘to carry up’. The construction in question represents the residue of an Early Udi (and proto-Lezgian) constructional pattern: Here, a verb marked by a preverb echoes the semantics of the preverb in the case form of the localization. In Lezgi, this pattern has survived until today (see Haspelmath 1993:168-9):

- (x) *anžax lamu cil-äy buğ aq:-at-z-awa-y* [Bilalov & Tagirov 1987:24]
 only wet earth-IN:ABL steam out-fall-INF-LV:IN-PAST
 ‘Only steam came out of the wet ground.’

Udi examples are:

- (x) (a) *iaq'-al laman-q'un-d-i šo-t'-ul še-t'-a nökar-mux*
 way-SUPER meet-3PL-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-SUPER DIST-REF:OBL-GEN servant-PL
 ‘One the way, his servants waited for him.’ [John 4:51]

- (b) *laf-ne-d-i še-t'-a partal-al* [Mark 5:27]
 touch-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN dress-SUPER
 ‘He touched his dress.’

- (c) *lai-čer-i* *šo-t'-ux* *alalu burğ-ol* [Luke 4:5]
 carry=up:PAST-PART:PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 high mountain-SUPER
 'Having taken him up to a high mountain...'

The postposition *cirik'* 'till' always calls for a noun marked by the superessive (see 3.5.2). Schiefner 1863:41 is right in suggesting that *cirik'* is derived from the motion verb *ci(ğ)sun* 'to go down, to reach': The postposition represents the past participle of this verb (*ci-r-i*, suppletive past stem, see 3.4.2.1) that is augmented by the 'Iranian' suffix *-k'* (see 3.2.2.2). Note that the original form has survived in Nizh (*ciri* 'till'). The more general (and secondary) semantics 'to reach' has motivated the use of the superessive:

- (x) (a) *biasun-al* *cirik'* *zu vaxo* *śum bes-al-te-z* [CO § 6]
 evening-SUPER till I you:SG:ABL bread ask=for-FUT:FAC-NEG-1SG
 'I will not ask you for bread till the evening.'

- (b) *t'ia* *zax* *e-q'un-f-i* *śü-n-e* *bəğ-el* *cirik'* [CO §2]
 DIST:ADV I:DAT2 keep-3PL-Š-PAST night-SA-GEN middle-SUPER till
 'There they kept me till midnight.'

- (c) *un-al* *k'ap'ernaum* *gög-il* *cirik'* *lai-c-i-o*
 you:SG-FOC Capernaum heaven-SUPER till raise-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-REF:ABS

ciğ-al-lu *žahnäm-il* *cirik'* [Luke 10:15]
 go=down:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG hell-SUPER till
 'And you, Capernaum, that has been raised to heaven will descend to hell.'

Finally, the adjective/postposition *lari* 'like, equal' is normally linked to the superessive. It is probably derived from a now lost verb **la(ğ)sun* 'to move up' (compare *laisun* < **lai(ğ)-sun* 'to go up'). Accordingly, the form *lari* represents a lexicalized past participle or stative verb (see 3.4.10) < **la-ar-i* (suppletive past stem, see 3.4.2.1). The meaning of the construction would have been: 'X has moved on(to) Y' (Y-SUPER *lari*). Semantically, the concept 'like, equal' is metaphorized from the conceptual pattern <reaching [the height of] someone/something>. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *va^fn-al* *bak-al-lan* *lari* *adamar-ğ-ol* [Luke 12:36]
 you:PL-FOC be-FUT:FAC-2PL equal man-PL-SUPER
 'You will be like the men (who...)'

- (b) *va^f* *be-nan-sa* *gölö mo-t'-ul* *lari* [Mark 7:13]
 and do-2PL-Š:PRES much PROX-REF:OBL-SUPER equal
 'And you do many (things) like this.'

- (c) *šo-no* *čer-al* *lari-ne* [BO 70; SD]

DIST-REF:ABS cow-SUPER equal-3SG

‘It is like a cow...’

The superessive morpheme *-l* has multiple cognates in the Western and Eastern Samur languages (see the overview given by Schulze 1982:253). But contrary to the paradigms in these languages, the Udi superessive morpheme is not embedded into the case/series architecture illustrated in 3.3.4. Rather, it represents a shortened version of the postposition *la* that has survived in the postposition *laxo* ~ *laxol* ~ *loxol* etc. (see 5.3.2). The close relation between both forms can be seen from the following two versions of the initial phrase in the Lord’s Prayer:

(x) *baba beši ma-no-te bu-n gög-il* [Bežanov 1902, Vartashen]

father we:POSS REL-REF:ABS-SUB be-2SG heaven-SUPER

äy göy-in loxol bakala beši bawa [Keçaari 2004, Nizh]

VOC heaven-GEN on be-PART:NPAST-ATTR we:POSS father

‘Our father, who you are in the heaven...’

This postposition reflects an ablative (-comitative/superessive) of the now lost noun *al* ‘high’ (compare Udi *al-un* ‘upper’ < *al-un* ‘height-GEN’). The form *la* is perhaps also present in the (obscure) segment *-ala* (see section 3.3.4.2, §2). It can be analyzed as an old dative of **al* (> **al-a*), see 5.3.2. Accordingly, the Udi superessive represents the grammaticalization of a former postpositional structure (**Noun-DAT + *la*), just as it has been proposed for the allative, see above § 4. (x) describes the basic process:

(x)		I		II
	Allative	<i>*Noun-DAT + *č’e</i>	>	<i>*Noun-(DAT-č’(e))</i>
	Superessive	<i>*Noun-DAT + *ala</i>	>	<i>*Noun-(DAT-l(a))</i>

§ 6. Superablative (Nizh): *-lxun* (~ Old Udi *-loc*). A residue of the old series+case ordering has survived in the Nizh case morpheme *-lxun* that basically means ‘from top of / from above’. The formation this complex suffix is transparent: it consists of the superessive marker *-l* (see 3.3.4.1, § 5), to which the Nizh variant of the ablative (*-xun*, see 3.3.4.1, § 1) has been added. The fact that the suffix is morphologically and semantically transparent allows to segment it as SUPER-ABL in the glosses. Note that Vartashen lacks a corresponding form (which should be ***lxo*). A structural parallel is the fossilized case marker *-lan*, see 3.3.4.2, § 2.

The super-ablative is relatively rare. Most often, it is replaced by the standard ablative *-xun* (see 3.3.4.1, § 1). Examples are:

(x) (a) *sun-t’-in i-bak-e-ne-i zoq’al-n-a xod-al-xun*

one-REF:OBL-ERG hear-LV-PERF-3SG-PAST cornel-SA-GEN tree-SUPER-ABL

bit-al-o tara-p-i elem-e bak-sa
 fall-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS turn-LV-PART:PAST donkey-3SG be-PRES
 ‘Somebody heard that who has fallen from a cornel tree changes into a donkey.’
 [ELEM; OR 133-4]

(b) *sa ġi šo-no ič-al zoq'al-n-a xod-al-xun bi-ne-t-i*
 one day DIST-REF:ABS REFL-FOC cornel-SA-GEN tree-SUPER-ABL fall-3SG-\$-PAST
 ‘One day, he himself fell from a cornel tree.’ [ELEM, OR 134]

(c) *tüfäng dö'p-k'-ala kinä sa žäyil ġar bel-in ü'ğ-ü'l-xun*
 rifle shot-LV-FUT2 as one young boy cattle-GEN roof-SUPER-ABL

čup-i cir-e oq'a [BUSH; OR 136]
 move=away-PAST go=down:PAST-PERF[-3SG] down
 ‘When he shot with his rifle, a young man came down off the roof of the cattle (shed).’

(d) *bel-xun oš-el č'äyin-ä bäč'ür-ec-i*
 head:SUPER-ABL end-SUPER butter-DAT wrap=up-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST

künd-in boš arc-e-ne-i [KALNA; OR 124]
 dough-GEN in sit-PERF-3SG-PAST
 ‘She was sitting in a dough, being covered (lit.: wrapped up) by butter from head to feet.’

Sometimes, the superessive semantics have been slightly obscured, as in:

(x) *biyäsin bask'-sun čur-eğ-at'an*
 evening sleep-MASD2 want-LV:FUT-CV:POST

pilläkän-i tum-elxun säs-e har-i [KECH; OR 132]
 stairs-GEN root-SUPER:ABL voice-3SG come:PAST-PAST
 ‘In the evening, after they wanted to go to bed, a voice came up from the (lower) end of the stairs.’

Most likely, the form *-lxun* continues the Old Udi super-ablative *-loc*, as illustrated in:

(x) *p'Amown Xib-ar-own owsen-aloc he-bAh-ê-zow*
 again three-COLL-GEN year-SUPER:ABL hither-go-PERF-1SG

ēlm-a ak'-esa p'et'ros-ax [Gal 1,18]
 Jerusalem-DAT see-INF Peter-DAT2

Although the structure of *-loc* is slightly different from *-lxun* (it lacks the medial segment *-x-*), there is no doubt that both forms are related: In fact, the Old Udi morpheme nicely illustrates that the Vartashen Udi ablative *-xo* has to be segmented as *-x-o*, with *-o-* being the residue of the original ablative *-oc*.

3.3.4.2 Residues of older case morphemes. Some suffixal elements echo older case forms that now have become obsolete. The following segments can be taken into consideration:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|--|
| (x) | <i>-xogin</i> | ‘Comparative’ (§ 1) |
| | <i>-ala</i> | ‘Super/Inessive’ (§ 2) |
| | <i>-e</i> | ‘Modal’ (§ 3) |
| | <i>-Vn</i> | ‘Ablative’ (§ 4) |
| | <i>-es</i> | ‘Masdar/Present tense < Infinitive < Dative’ (§ 5) |
| | <i>-r</i> | ‘Adverbial’ (§ 6) |
| | <i>-oš ~ -ś</i> | ‘Locative/*comitative’ (§ 7) |

§ 1. An somewhat obscure extension of the ablative is given by the form *-xo-gin*. It only occurs in the Gospels and here marks comparative clauses. It is glossed ABL-COMP throughout the present description of Udi. Examples are:

(X) (a) *bu-va-q'-sa un abuz zax šo-t'-ğ-oxo-gin?* [John 21:15]
 love-2SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES you:SG more I:DAT2 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL-COMP
 ‘Do you love me more than those?’

(b) *bu-q'o-q'-i abuz adamar-i šükür-ax bixoğo šükür-axo-gin*
 love-3PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST more man-GEN mercy-DAT2 god-GEN mercy-ABL-COMP
 ‘They love the mercy of men more than the mercy of God.’ [John 12:43]

(c) *baxt'avarru bak-al-le sodom-un q'an gomor-un baxt'in*
 pleasant be-FUT:FAC-3SG Sodom-GEN and Gomorrha-GEN for
duvan-un ġena t'e šähär-ğ-oxo-gin [Mark 6:11]
 judgement-GEN day-SA-DAT PROX city-PL-ABL-COMP
 ‘It will be more pleasant for Sodom and Gomorrha in the days of judgement than for these cities.’

The origin of this morpheme is not fully understood. Perhaps, it represents a reanalyzed version of the conditional copula *gi* (see 3.4.2.1, 3.4.7.1 and 5.3) to which the third person clitic *-ne* has been added (see 3.4.3). In this sense, example (x,a) would read: ‘Do you love me more than it would be from (> for) those’. But it cannot be excluded that *-gin* represents an older postposition or case-like element.

§ 2. The element *-ala* has already been addressed in section 3.2.9, § 2. It is usually interpreted as a variant of the non-past participle (see 3.4.10). Most authors (Schiefner 1963, Žeiranišvili 1971, Harris 2002) suggest that *-ala* is formed by adding a segment *-a* to the original participle *-al* that also serves to form one of the future tense forms (see 3.4.5). Unfortunately, none of the authors gives a convincing proposal for the functional properties of the segment *-a* (see 3.2.9, § 2). Schiefner (1863:45) summarily describes the function of *-ala* as ‘attributive’, whereas Žeiranišvili (1971:108-9) tentatively relates *-ala* to the functional scope of a ‘passive voice’ (or: modal future). Harris 2002:276 suggests that *-al* itself was “neutral with respect to voice” (see 3.4.5 and 3.4.10 for a detailed discussion).

None of the authors takes into consideration the fact that the segment *-ala* is present with at least one noun, namely *c’i* ‘name’ (> *c’i-ala*). This form is documented thirty five times in the Gospels. It always means ‘in the name (of)’, as illustrated in the examples below (see 3.2.9, §2 for additional examples):

(x) (a) *va^f ägänä ek’k’a t’avaxq’a-b-ai-nan baba-xo bez c’i-ala*
and if what demand-LV-CONJ-2PL father-ABL I:POSS name-IN

šo-t’-ux b-al-zu [John 14:13]

DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 do-FUT:FAC-1SG

‘And if you ask my father for something in my name, I will do it.’

(b) *afre-c-i-ne eğ-al-o bixog’-o c’i-ala*

praise-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG come:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS god-GEN name-IN

‘He who comes is praised in the name of God.’ [Matthew 23:39]

(c) *zu ar-e-z baba c’i-ala* [John 5:43]

I come:PAST-PERF-1SG father:GEN name-IN

‘I have come in the name of my father.’

(d) *šin-te me ail-ax aq’-ai-n bez c’i-ala* [Luke 9:48]

who:ERG-SUB PROX child-DAT2 take-CONJ-3SG I:POSS name-IN

‘Whoever takes this child in my name...’

It should be noted that the standard superessive **c’i-al* is not documented at all. From this we can infer that the form *c’iala* is a variant of **c’ial*. In fact, the form *c’iala* corresponds to the usual formation of the superessive: *c’i* ‘name’ belongs to the class of monosyllabic V-final nouns (class [s3b]) that has an *-a*-dative (see 3.3.3.6). In consequence, it is possible to segment *c’iala* (diachronically) as *c’i-a-la* ‘name-DAT-la’. Although the semantic properties of *-ala* are actually related to the inessive domain, it cannot be excluded that the concept ‘in one’s name’ originally was represented by a superessive version (‘on the name’). If this is true, we can describe *-ala* as a variant of the standard superessive based on the *-a*-dative (*-a-l*).

This assumption is also supported by the following constructional type that, however, I have recorded only once:

- (x) *vi c'i bez c'i-al-a lari-te-n* [f.n.]
 you:SG: POSS name I:POSS name-SUPER-*a* equal-NEG-3SG
 'Your name does not sound like my name.'

Here, the expected superessive (see 3.3.4.1 § 5) is replaced by the *-ala*-form. If *-ala* is nothing but a free or older (lexicalized) variant of the superessive, it seems possible to interpret it as the 'full' form of the former superessive postposition **la* (see 3.3.4.1. §2). This assumption can explain the form *c'iala*. However, it does not fully account for the participle *-ala* mentioned in the introductory paragraph of this section.

It is attractive to relate the *-ala*-form to the constructional pattern of local series/cases in the other Lezgian languages (see 3.3.4.1). Accordingly, the segment *-l-* would represent the SUPER-series followed by a local case marker. A structural parallel is for instance the Aghul complex SUPER:ALL that has been grammaticalized as an instrumental (see Magometov 1971:83):

- (x) *zun sil-bar-i-l-di xiw ärg^š-u^šn-i* (Aghul, Fite)
 I tooth-PL-SA-SUPER-ALL nut bite-CV:PAST-AUX
 'I bit in two the nut with (my) teeth.'

From this we can infer that the segment *-a* represents an older 'case' marker. This assumption accounts for the functional difference between the two participles as they have been described by Žeiranišvili 1971:

- (x) Present *-al* < SUPER(:ESS)
 Future-modal *-al-a* < SUPER-*ALL

This correlation is based on the hypothesis that the Udi non-past participles are derived from case markers, see 3.4.5, 3.4.10, and 3.5. From a functional point of view, the interpretation of the two participles as given in (x) seems plausible. Compare the following two sentences:

- (x) (a) *va^š a-t'u-k'-i mit'ar-ax levi uk'-al* [Luke 5:27]
 and see-3SG:IO- \S -PAST publican-DAT2 Levi say-PART:nPAST
 'And he saw a publican, whom they call(ed) Levi.'
 (b) *sa aš bez-bu vax uk'-al-a* [Luke 7:40]
 one thing I:POSS-be you:SG:DAT2 say:FUT-PART:nPAST-*a*
 'I have one thing to say to you.'

According to a ‘locative’ interpretation, the form *uk'-al* would mean ‘on saying’ (SUPER:IN), whereas *uk'-al-a* would be derived from ‘on to saying’ (SUPER-ALL). The telic interpretation of the allative represents a standard grammaticalization path:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|------------------------|
| (x) | [SUPER:]ESSIVE | > | PRESENT / PARALLEL |
| | [SUPER-]ALLATIVE | > | TELIC / FUTURE / MODAL |

This analysis again has its shortcomings. The main argument against it is related to the derivational pattern: As has been argued in section 3.3.4.1, §5, the superessive probably stems from an older postpositional structure. This can clearly be seen from the fact that all Udi locative cases are based on the dative, but not on the stem augment. The structure stem augment + series/case, however, is canonical with most Lezgian languages, compare:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (x) | Udi | Lezgi | |
| | <i>śue-a-l</i> | <i>sew-re-l</i> | ‘on the bear’ |
| | bear-DAT-SUPER | bear-SA-SUPER:ESS | |

In Lezgi, the stem augment corresponds to the ergative case (see Haspelmath 1993:74). In Udi, however, the stem augment (if present) precedes the structure ‘dative case + local case’ (see 3.3.11.2):

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (x) | <i>k'oc'-ne-bak-i</i> | <i>isus-i</i> | <i>döš-n-u-l</i> | [John 13:23] |
| | bend-3SG-LV-PAST | Jesus-GEN | shoulder-SA-DAT-SUPER | |
| | ‘He bent down to the shoulder of Jesus.’ | | | |

Here, the superessive *döšnul* has been decomposed for illustrative purposes only. In order to circumnavigate this problem, it seems best to assume that the Udi postposition **la* has been reanalysed as **-l-* + ‘dative’ at a time the postposition had already become part of the inflectional paradigm (being added to the dative, see 3.3.11.2).

§ 3. The existence of an earlier case form **-e* is suggested by a number of modal and temporal adverbs (see 3.5.1). The assumption that this form is not just a lexicalized form of the *-e*-dative is confirmed by the following pairs (see 3.3.7 for the inflection of deictic pronouns):

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| (x) | Dative | <i>-e</i> | |
| | <i>me-t'-u</i> | <i>me-t'-e</i> | ‘in this way’ |
| | PROX-REF:OBL-DAT | PROX-REF:OBL- <i>e</i> | |
| | <i>še-t'-u</i> | <i>še-t'-e</i> | ‘in that way, thus’ |
| | DIST-REF:OBL-DAT | DIST-REF:OBL- <i>e</i> | |
| | <i>e-t'-u</i> | <i>e-t'-e</i> | ‘how’ |

what-REF:OBL-DAT

what-REF:OBL-*e*

With nouns, the morpheme is rare. Candidates are the temporal expressions:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (x) | <i>ǵe</i> | ‘at a (specific) day’ | < | <i>ǵi</i> | ‘day’ |
| | <i>na^hine</i> | ‘yesterday’ | < | <i>*na-ǵi-n-e</i> | ‘not-day-SA- <i>e</i> ’ ? |
| | <i>biae</i> | ‘in the evening’ | < | <i>*bia</i> | ‘dusk, evening’ |

But note that both *ǵe* and *na^hine* can likewise reflect a petrified *-e*-dative, see 3.3.3.6. The form *biae* is documented only once:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|----------------|
| (x) | <i>va^hn</i> | <i>bütün</i> | <i>moǵor-eǵ-al-lan</i> | <i>me</i> | <i>biae</i> | <i>bez</i> | <i>baxt’in</i> |
| | you:PL | all | awake-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-2PL | PROX | evening: <i>e</i> | I:POSS | for |
| | ‘You all shall keep watch over me this evening.’ [Mark 14:27] | | | | | | |

The form *biae* is derived from *bia* ‘(at) dusk’ that usually occurs as an incorporated element:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------|
| (x) | <i>bia-bak-ama</i> | <i>iaq’-q’un</i> | <i>tai-sa</i> | [GD 61] |
| | dusk-be-CV:UNTIL | way-3PL | go:PRES-PRES | |
| | ‘They continue their way until dusk.’ | | | |

Just as *ǵi* ‘day’, *bia* ‘dusk, evening’ can occasionally be used as a temporal adverb when following an adnominal deixis. Here, *me-bia* (rarely *t’e-bia*) indicates absolute time reference:

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------|
| (x) (a) | <i>me-bia</i> | <i>te-za</i> | <i>bak-sa</i> | <i>vi</i> | <i>t’o^hǵo^hl</i> | <i>ei-es</i> | [f.n.] |
| | PROX-dusk | NEG-1SG:IO | be-PRES | you:SG-POSS | at | come-:MASD | |
| | ‘This evening, I cannot come to you.’ | | | | | | |

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (b) | <i>me-bia</i> | <i>dadal-en</i> | <i>el-k’-ama</i> | | | | |
| | PROX-dusk | cock-ERG | crow-LV-CV:UNTIL | | | | |
| | <i>xib</i> | <i>kārān</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>zaxo</i> | <i>kul</i> | <i>aq’-al-lu</i> | [Matthew 26:34] |
| | three | time | you:SG | I:ABL | hand | take-FUT:FAC-2SG | |
| | ‘Till the cock will crow three times this evening, you will deny me.’ | | | | | | |

Else, the term *bia* is hardly ever used in a referential sense. Instead, the obscure form *bias* ‘evening’ is used (both as a core actant and as a temporal adverb (relative and absolute time reference)):

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (x) (a) | <i>evaxte</i> | <i>ba-ne-k-i</i> | <i>bias</i> | [Matthew 8:16] |
| | when | be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST | evening | |
| | ‘When it was evening...’ | | | |

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (b) | <i>me</i> | <i>bias</i> | <i>za</i> | <i>bu-za-q’-sa</i> | <i>taǵ-a-z</i> | <i>t’at’-in</i> | <i>k’ua</i> |
|-----|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|

PROX evening I:DAT want-1SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES go:FUT-MOD-1SG grandmother-GEN house:DAT
 ‘This evening, I want to go to grandmother’s home.’ [ST §24]

Obviously, *biae* is related to *bia* just as *gē* ‘at daytime’ is related to *gī* ‘day’. From this we can infer, that the suffix *-e* once has been a temporal (> modal) case form (also see section 3.3.11.2)

§ 4. An older ablative case marked by the suffix *-Vn* is preserved with the following deictic terms (see section 3.3.4.1, § 5 for variants and 3.5.2):

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| (x) | <i>melin</i> ~ <i>melan</i> | ‘from here’ (proximal) |
| | <i>kalin</i> ~ <i>kelin</i> | ‘from there’ (medial) |
| | <i>t’elin</i> ~ <i>t’elan</i> | ‘from there’ (distal) |
| | <i>malin</i> ~ <i>malan</i> | ‘from where?’ |

All four forms are marked by a complex locative case that goes back to the proto-Lezgian system of series/case sequences illustrated in section 3.3.4 above. The first segment *-l-* represents the superessive added to the pure stem (see 3.3.4.1, § 5 for the formation of the superessive). Residues of this case form are:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (x) | <i>me-l cirik’</i> | (PROX-SUPER till) | ‘till here/now’ |
| | <i>t’e-l cirik’</i> | (DIST-SUPER till) | ‘till there/then’ |

Examples are:

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------|------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| (x) (a) | <i>amma un</i> | <i>gena</i> | <i>šel</i> | <i>fi-n-ax</i> | <i>me-l</i> | <i>cirik’</i> | <i>e-n-f-e</i> |
| | but | you:SG CONTR | good | wine-SA-DAT2 | PROX-SUPER | till | keep-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -PERF |
| | ‘But you have kept the good wine till now.’ [John 2:10] | | | | | | |

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (b) | <i>va^f</i> | <i>te-va^f</i> | <i>ak’-o</i> | <i>zax</i> | <i>t’e-l</i> | <i>cirik’</i> | [Luke 13:35] |
| | you:PL:DAT | NEG-2PL:IO | see-FUT:MOD | I:DAT2 | DIST-SUPER | till | |
| | ‘You shall not see me till then...’ | | | | | | |

Accordingly, the second segment can be isolated as *-an* (~ *-in*). It reflects the typical position of a locative morpheme that encodes the dynamic relation between a trajector and its landmark (‘ablative case’). The complex suffix *-lan* (~ *-lin*) has its perfect match in the Tabasaran suffix *-l-an* (SUPER-ABL):

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|--|
| (x) | <i>du-mu</i> | <i>g^wa’-l-an</i> | <i>aq-nu</i> | [Southern Tabasaran; Magometov 1965:122] |
| | DIST-ERG | roof-SUPER-ABL | fall-PAST | |
| | ‘(S)he has fallen from the roof.’ | | | |

Examples for the use of the Udi *-an*-ablative are:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------|
| (x) (a) | <i>me-l-an</i> | <i>ič-uğ-enk’</i> | <i>mal-q’un</i> | <i>aq’-sa</i> | [GD 61] |
| | PROX-SUPER-ABL | REFL-PL-BEN | goods-3PL | take-PRES | |

‘From here, they take goods for themselves.’

- (b) *ǧar ari* *ka-l-in* *č'e-b-ak-axun*
 son come:PAST-PART:PAST MED-SUPER-ABL pass=by-LV-CV:PAR

t'at'mer-en *o^hne-ne-xa* *te* ... [S&S 92]

old=woman-ERG weep-3SG-PRES SUB...

‘When the boy finally passes by that (place) the old woman cries (lit.: weeps) that ...’

- (c) *t'e-l-an* *č'er-i* *šo-no* *va^f*
 DIST-SUPER-ABL go=out:PAST-PART:PAST DIST-REF:ABS and

ar-i-ne *ič* *vatan-a* [Mark 6:1]

come:PAST-PAST-3SG REFL homeland-DAT

‘He went away from that (place) and came to his homeland.’

- (d) *ma-l-in-a* *č'er-e* *t'ia* *il?* [Matthew 13:27]
 where-SUPER-ABL-3SG:Q go=out:PAST-PERF DIST:ADV weeds

‘Where have the weeds come from?’

Else, the ablative suffix *-an* ~ *-in* has not left further traces in Udi. The fact that the postpositions *bošt'an* ‘from inside’, *t'ošt'an* ‘from outside’, *be^sšt'an* ‘from in front of’, *qošt'an* ‘from behind’ (see 3.5.2) also show a segment *-an* is accidental: All these forms show a suffix *-t'an* that is borrowed from Azeri (ablative *-DAn*).

§ 5. In its inflectional paradigm, Udi has lost the proto-Lezgian dative suffix **-Vs* (see 3.3.3.6). It has, however, survived as a morpheme to encode the primary masdar (verbal nouns) of verbs (see 3.4.11):

- (x) *pes* ‘saying’
 bakes ‘be(com)ing’
 ak'es ‘seeing’
 bes ‘doing’

The use of the dative to mark the telic mode of verb stems is well known in the Samur languages of Lezgian. Typologically speaking, the use of the dative case to encode telicity is well documented. In Udi, the telic mode (‘infinitive’) has been lost. Instead, the form is used to encode verbal referentiality (see 3.4.10). The original case properties are reflected in the following structural paradigm (also see 3.2.2.2):

- (x) Stem-*un* Deverbal nouns (Genitive ?)
 Stem-*es* Masdar (Dative)
 Stem-*al* Non-past participle (Super(essive))
 Stem-*a* Modal (Locative-Dative)

Accordingly, the *-s*-dative had been added to the verbal stem without any interfering morpheme. After the old ‘infinitive’ (< dative) had been reinterpreted as a verbal noun, it could again become case marked. The following case forms of the simple masdar have survived:

(x)	Stem- <i>es-in</i>	Modal converb	(Ergative)
	Stem- <i>es-un</i>	Masdar2	(Genitive)
	Stem- <i>es-ax</i>	Telic converb	(Dative2)
	Stem- <i>es-xolan</i>	Converb (parall.)	(Comitative2)

This process is perhaps also present in the term *bias* ‘evening’ discussed already in § 3 above. It seems plausible to assume that the final *-s* represents the Early Udi dative **-s* (> ‘in the evening’). The case marked form would then have been reinterpreted as an absolutive. The basis for this reinterpretation may have been the use of *ǰi* ‘day’ both as a temporal adverb and a noun in the absolutive case. The resulting noun *bias* ‘evening’ could then be again case marked: *bias-un* ‘in the evening’ (Genitive). An examples is:

(x)	<i>viči</i>	<i>evaxt'te</i>	<i>bias-un</i>	<i>ar-i-ne</i>	<i>k'ua</i>	<i>xunč-en</i>	<i>p-i-ne</i>
	brother	when	evening-GEN	come:PAST-PAST-3SG	house:DAT	sister-ERG	say-PAST-3SG
	‘In the evening, when the brother came home, (his) sister said...’ [S&S 93]						

Note that the process described above had again been applied to the resulting form *biasun*. Most likely, the resemblance of this form to the masdar2 (type: *biesun* ‘to die’) has caused its reinterpretation as a noun. This shift is coupled with an extension in meaning: Today, *biasun* denotes both ‘evening’ and ‘supper’. In consequence, it can be case-marked. The following case forms are documented:

(x)	<i>bias-un-un</i>	‘evening-’	(Relational genitive)
	<i>bias-un-axo</i>	‘from the evening’	(Ablative)
	<i>bias-un-ač'</i>	‘to the evening’	(Allative)
	<i>bias-un-al</i>	‘till the evening’	(Superessive)

The Early Udi *-s*-dative is also present with the tense marker *-sa* (present tense, see 3.4.5). Most likely, we have to deal with a primary masdar (< **-es*) to which the auxiliary or copula **-a* has been added (see 3.4.5 and 3.5 for details.).

§ 6. Harris 2002b (Howie) suggests that certain Udi adverbs ending in *-r* reflect an older case morpheme *-r* that serves as a formant for adverbs in Udi. All adverbs in question are derived from deictic pronouns:

(x)	<i>me-r</i>	‘in this way’ (proximal)
	<i>ha-me-r</i>	‘in this way’ (proximal, emphatic)
	<i>ko-r</i>	‘in that way, thus’ (medial)

<i>ha-ko-r</i>	'in that way, thus (emphatic, medial)
<i>šo-r</i>	'in that way, thus' (distal)
<i>ha-šo-r</i>	'in that way, thus, also' (distal, emphatic)
<i>me-r-t'e-r</i>	'this way and that way' (proximal+distal)

Structurally speaking, the above mentioned forms belong to two different derivational types:

- (x) a) *-r*-forms derived from the adnominal base (*mer, hamer, t'er* in *mert'er*)
 b) *-r*-forms derived from the demonstrative base (*kor, hakor, šor, hašor*)

It should be noted that the forms are (in parts) complementarily distributed: The proximal prefers the adnominal base, whereas the medial and the distal favor the demonstrative base. As far as data go, the adnominal distal *t'er* is never used except for the collocation *mert'er*. Likewise, the demonstrative proximal adverb **mor* is missing. An example for the use of *mer ~ hamer* is:

- (x) *še-t'-in* *ex-ne* *up-a* *me-r* *sa* *šäi-n-al*
 PROX-REF:OBL-ERG say:PRES-3SG say:IMP-IMP:2SG PROX-ADV one five=kopek-SA-SUPER

aš-b-es-t'-al *sa šäi-n-al*
 thing-do-MASD-LV:CAUS-PART:NPAST one five=kopek-SA-SUPER

aš-b-es-t'-al
 thing-do-MASD-LV:CAUS-PART:NPAST

ha-me-r *pes-in* *take* *t'ağa-mağa* [CH&T 170]

EMPH-PROX-ADV say:MASD-ERG>INSTR go:IMP:2SG DIST:ADV-PROX:ADV

'She says: Say so: "Working for a piece of five kopeks, working for a piece of five kopek." Saying so, go here and there...'

The collocation *mert'er* is documented for instance in:

- (x) *axri* *me-r-t'e-r* *soo-t'-u* *t'ia* *soo-t'-u*
 finally PROX-ADV-DIST-ADV one:REF-REF:OBL-DAT DIST:ADV one:REF-REF:OBL-DAT

mia *t'ağa-mağa* *la-ne-x-sa* [CH&T 170]

PROX:ADV DIST:ADV-PROX:ADV put=down-3SG-\$-PRES

'(Doing it) this way and that way, she, finally, places one (apple) there, one here, there and here.'

The adverbs derived from the demonstrative pronouns do not differ in function. Hence, it is difficult to explain the semantic motivation of the referential forms. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *zu-al ko-r* *zu-al ko-r* *c'ə ḡəḡ-q'un-p-i bütün-t'-uğ-on*

I-FOC MED:REF:ABS-ADV I-FOC MED:REF:ABS-ADV cry-3PL-LV-PAST all-REF:OBL-PL-ERG
 ‘All (the children) cried: “I, too, (will do) so, I, too, (will do) so!” [BH 68]

(b) *xinär-en ex-ne šo-r ha-me-no-ne* [R 14]

girl-ERG say:PRES-3SG DIST:REF:ABS-ADV EMPH-REF:ABS-3SG
 ‘The girl says: “It is like that”.’

(c) *zinovi-n-en me aš-urg-ox-al ha-šo-r a-ne-q'-sa-i* [SI 72]

Sinovi-SA-ERG PROX thing-PL-DAT2-FOC EMPH-DIST:REF:ABS-ADV take-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-PAST
 ‘Sinovi bought (lit.: took) these things, too (lit.: in that way).’

Harris’ proposal to interpret the segment *-r* as a fossilized case marker is based on the reconstruction of a proto-Lezgian case suffix **-r* by Alekseev 1985. Harris refers to the following Udi adverbs: *hamer* ‘(in) this way’, *šor* ‘in yon way’, *šet'a^fr* (sic!) ‘such’ and *hametär* ‘(in) this way’. However, it should be noted that the form *šet'a^fr* (read: *šet'är* ?) is not documented in texts. Instead, the form *šetär* ‘thus, such’ is used. Hence, two of Harris’ terms are marked for the segment *-tär*. These terms are embedded into the following paradigm:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| (x) | <i>metär</i> | ‘in this way’ (proximal), ‘things being this way...’ |
| | <i>katar</i> | ‘in that way’ (medial), ‘things being that way ...’ |
| | <i>t'etär</i> | ‘in that way’ (distal), ‘things being that way...’ |
| | <i>šetär</i> | ‘in that way’ (distal) |
| | <i>etär</i> | ‘how’ (lit.: ‘in which way’) |

It should be noted that *t'etär* is documented only for the Gospels, whereas the alternative distal *šetär* is typical for narrative texts. (x) gives an example for each of the forms:

(x) (a) *me-tär šägird-ux p'uran qai-q'un-bak-i ič-g-o k'ua* [John 20:10]

PROX-*tär* pupil-PL again return-3PL-LV-PAST REFL-PL-GEN house:DAT
 ‘Thus the pupils returned again to their homes.’

(b) *ka-tar b-a va^f kar-x-al-lu* [Luke 10:28]

MED-*tär* make-IMP:2SG and live-LV-FUT:FAC-2SG
 ‘Do (it) so and you will live.’

(c) *va^f b-i-q'un t'e-tär* [Luke 9:15]

and make-PAST-3PL DIST-*tär*
 ‘And they did (it) so.’

(d) *sunsun-ax še-tär bi-q'un-q'-esa še-tär p'et'-q'un-b-esa te ...* [R 8]

each-DAT2 DIST-*tär* seize-3PL- $\text{\$}$ -PRES DIST-*tär* press-3PL-LV-PRES SUB

‘They took each other in that way and press (each other) in that way, that ...’

(e) *ha-me-tär e-tär gir-q'un-b-esa il-urg-ox va^f arg-on*

EMPH-PROX-*tär* what-*tär* collect-3PL-LV-PRES weed-PL-DAT2 and fire-ERG>INSTR

bos-es-q'un-b-esa *t'e-tär-al* *bak-al-le*
burn-MASD-3PL-LV:CAUS-PRES DIST-*tär*-FOC be-FUT:FAC-3SG

me dūnia-n-un axr-ax [Matthew 13:40]

PROX world-SA-GEN end-DAT2

‘Just as they collect the weeds and have it burn in the fire, it will be that way at the end of the world.’

The assumption that the segment *-tär* contains the case-like element *-r* is attractive. However, this analysis leaves us with the problem to identify the segment **-tä-* that is without parallels in Udi morphology. It should be noted that the forms mentioned above in (x) have parallels that replace *-tär* by *žürä* ultimately borrowed from Arabic *žūra ~ žūr* ‘kind, type, manner’, compare Persian *čežour* ‘which type/kind of’:

- (x) *me žürä* ‘this kind, way, type’
 t'e žürä ‘that kind, way, type’

This parallel suggests that the segment *-tär*, too, is a loan. Most likely we have to deal with a segment that is also present in Persian *īntour* ‘in this way, thus’ and *āntour* ‘in that way, thus’. Both forms are built upon the Arabic term *ṭawr* ‘kind, manner’ etc. to which the Persian deictic elements *īn* (proximal) and *ān* (distal) have been added. Persian *īntour* perfectly matches Udi *metär* just as *āntour* corresponds to *šetär ~ t'etär*. In consequence, it is likely that Udi *-tär* stems from a yet unrevealed source that has borrowed Arabic *ṭawr* as **tar* (as opposed to Persian > *-tour*).

If ever the assumption of an older case marker **-r* can be supported, one cannot but refer to the forms *mer*, *kor*, *t'er* ~ *šor*. In actual Udi, they are rather rare with the exception of the distal *šor* that is frequently used to encode the general (deictically neutral) meaning of ‘such, thus, so’:

- (x) (a) *šo-r* *be^ǰg-e-ne* [BO 71, SD]
 DIST:REF:ABS-ADV see-PERF-3SG
 ‘It looked like ... (lit.: one has seen (it) so ...)’
- (b) *šo-r-re!* [f.n.]
 DIST:REF:ABS-ADV-3SG
 ‘That’s right! (lit.: it is so).’

Paradigmatically speaking, the suffix *-r* belongs to an older inflectional layer of deictic elements. Today, the forms *me*, *ka*, and *t'e* are adnominal forms (see 3.2.9.3) that cannot be inflected. Diachronically, they probably stem from locative adverbs (see 3.2.9.3 for the reconstruction) that could be additionally marked by case

suffixes. (x) lists those deictic forms that can be related to this paradigm (the medial has no corresponding forms):

(x)	PROX	DIST	
	<i>me-un</i>	<i>t'e-un</i>	(Relational Genitive)
	<i>mi-a</i>	<i>t'i-a</i>	(Essive/Allative (> Dative))
	<i>ma-ǰa</i>	<i>t'a-ǰa</i>	(Essive/Allative (> Dative))
	<i>me-l</i>	<i>t'e-l</i>	(Superessive)
	<i>me-l-an</i>	<i>t'e-l-an</i>	(Super-Ablative)
	<i>me-r</i>	<i>t'e-r</i>	(Adverbial)

This paradigm supports the hypothesis that *-r* represents an older case marker. Nevertheless, the morpheme **-r* is obviously restricted to deictic terms. It has left no traces in nominal derivation or elsewhere in the morphology of Udi. The forms *kor* and *šor* most probably are secondary adverbs that are derived from the corresponding referential forms of the deixis (see 3.2.8.2).

§ 7. The following postpositions contain a suffix-like element *-oš*:

(x)	<i>boš</i>	‘in(side)’
	<i>t'oš</i>	‘out(side)’ [Vartashen]
	<i>č'oš</i>	‘out(side)’ [Nizh]
	<i>qoš</i>	‘behind’

To this list, we have to add the postposition *be^ʃś ~ be^ʃš* ‘in front of’ that differs from the above mentioned forms only in its vowel (the variant *be^ʃś* is a younger form that has resulted from the phonetic impacts of the pharyngealized vowel on the final segment **-š*).

The fact that we have to deal with a suffix comes clear from the following correlations:

(x)	<i>boš</i>	Compare <i>ba-</i> (preverb ‘in(to)’, see 3.4.4)
	<i>t'oš</i>	Compare <i>t'oǰ</i> ‘out’, <i>t'oǰol</i> ‘at’ (< superessive), <i>t'oǰoxo</i> ‘from the side of’ (ablative)
	<i>č'oš</i>	Compare <i>č'e-</i> (preverb ‘out’, see 3.4.4); <i>-č'</i> (allative, see 3.3.4.1, § 4)
	<i>qoš</i>	Compare <i>qa(i)-</i> (preverb ‘back’, see 3.4.4).
	<i>be^ʃś ~ be^ʃš</i>	Compare Nizh <i>be-st'a</i> (adessive) ‘in front of’

Harris (2002b) interprets these morphemes as residues of the proto-Lezgian system of local case marking. This assumption, however, presupposes a) that the segment in question (*-oš*) has substantial parallels in the system of local series/case markers of the other Lezgian languages, and b) that all four ‘stems’ (**b-*, **t'-*, **č'-*, and **q-*) go

back to earlier referential or deictic forms. Condition (a) must be dismissed: As far as data go, *-oš does not have parallels in the remaining Lezgian languages. Hence, it must be assumed that this element is an Udi innovation. Condition (b) is met by the postposition *t'oš* (Vartashen) that is undoubtedly derived from a noun **t'oǧ̃ ~ *t'oǧ̃* ‘(outer) side (of a container)’ that has survived in adverbial function:

(x) (a) *va^f č'e-v-q'un-k'-i* *šo-t'-ux* *t'e-l-an* *t'o^fǧ̃* [John 9:34]
 and go=out-CAUS-3PL-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 DIST-SUPER-ABL out
 ‘And they cast him out from there.’

(b) *pis-o-t'-ǧ̃-ox* *gena bo-q'un-s-i* *t'o^fǧ̃* [Matthew 13:48]
 bad-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 CONTR throw-3PL- $\$$ -PAST out
 ‘They cast away, however, the bad ones.’

The possibility to use morphologically unmarked nouns in adverbial (or postpositional) function is documented for instance by the (rare) postposition *tüš* ‘against, towards’ that is borrowed from Azeri *tuş* ‘side, direction’, compare:

(x) *ma-no-r-te* *arc-i-q'un-i* *gärämz-in* *tüš* [Matthew 27:61]
 who-REF:ABS-PL-SUB sit-PAST-3PL-PAST grave-GEN against
 ‘... who sat over against the grave...’

It is attractive to relate the adverbial form *t'o^fǧ̃* to the distal **t'a* (see 3.2.9.3). But this analysis leaves us with the problem to identify the segment **-o^fǧ̃*. The only parallel seems to be the nouns *bə^fǧ̃* ‘middle’:

(x)		Supressive		Ablative	
	<i>t'o^fǧ̃</i>	<i>t'o^fǧ̃-o^fl</i>	‘at’	<i>t'o^fǧ̃-oxo</i>	‘from aside of’
	<i>bə^fǧ̃</i>	<i>bə^fǧ̃-ə^fl</i>	‘in between’	<i>bə^fǧ̃-əxo</i>	‘from in between’

If this correlation is correct, it seems possible to isolate a segment **t'a-* that prototypically meant ‘outside/away from the region of an object’. The remaining three forms can be correlated to morphological structures (preverbs) only. They suggest the primitive structures **ba* (?) ‘inside of a container’, **qa-* ‘back region of an object’, and **č'e* (perhaps a palatalized variant of **t'a-*). Perhaps, the segment **oš* has been added to these structures in terms of complex locational adverbs. The segment *-oš* would then have had focused the essive function of the primitive adverbs. Nevertheless, the origin of this segment is difficult to determine. Both borrowing and reanalysis seem to be plausible explanatory devices. Nevertheless note that in Old Udi, the comitative is marked by an element *-oš*, too (added to the dative2): *-axoš*. It may well be that these form share a common origin.

3.3.5 Contextualizing plural referents

Basically, nouns that encode plural nominal referents are contextualized in the same way as singular nouns. By this is meant that plural nouns know the same inflectional

categories as singular nouns. Nevertheless, syncretism conditioned that the paradigmatic dimension of plural nouns has in parts become reduced. Additionally, quite a number of pluralia tantum and a restricted set of singular nouns have aligned their inflectional pattern to that of plurals. Section 3.3.5.1 describes the basic properties of plural inflection, whereas 3.3.5.2 turns to pluralia tantum, collective nouns, and other minor types of plural based inflection. Again, the present section deals only with nominal inflection. See the following sections for plurals of referentialized forms and pronouns.

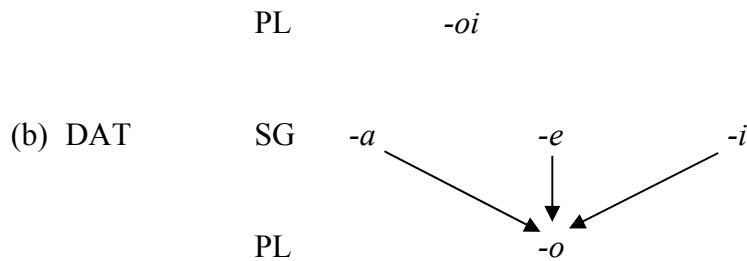
3.3.5.1 The inflection of plural nouns. Contrary to the inflectional paradigms of singular nouns, plural inflection is straightforward in Udi. The degree of allomorphy is rather low. Case morphemes are always added to the plural marker (see 3.2.5 for the formation of the plural). Plural markers and case morphemes can undergo phonetic changes that produce inflectional patterns different from that of the singular. §§ 1-7 discuss the basic properties of case morphemes in the plural. §§ 8-16 illustrate the interaction of plural marker and case morphology.

§ 1. The main process concerns the vowel of the case suffix: In the plural, it nearly always appears as *-o-*. All authors agree that this vocalization results from a progressive umlaut initiated by the vowel of the plural suffix (*-u-* or *-o-*), see below. As a result, the different types of ergative, genitive, and dative suffixes (see 3.3.3) merge into one type each:

	Singular	Plural
ERG	<i>-en</i>	} <i>-on</i>
	<i>-in</i>	
GEN(2)	<i>-ai</i>	} <i>-oi</i>
	<i>-ei</i>	
	<i>-i</i>	
	<i>-un</i>	----
	<i>-in</i>	----
DAT	<i>-a</i>	} <i>-o</i>
	<i>-u</i>	
	<i>-e</i>	
	<i>-i</i>	

The correlations mentioned in (x) are based on the pairing of singular and plural forms. It has to be reconsidered when we take into account the fact that plural nouns usually lack the distinction between strong and weak stem formation (see 3.3.2.2): With the exception of rare hypercorrect forms, all plural nouns are strong and hence lack a stem augment. Nevertheless, the case paradigm is not fully harmonized with respect to those case suffixes that are – in the singular – either ‘strong’ or ‘weak’: In the genitive, the ‘weak’ suffix *-ai* ~ *-ei* is adopted whereas the dative selects the ‘strong’ cluster *{-a, -e, -i}*:





§ 2. In consequence, it is difficult to relate the plural case suffix to a specific singular allomorph. Phonetically speaking, the two *-a*-based suffixes *-ai* and *-a* seem to be the best candidates. However, note that in the ergative, the morpheme *-on* is most likely based on the standard *-en*-ergative. There are no traces left of the alternative *-in*-ergative (see 3.3.3.3). The correlation singular *-en* vs. plural *-on* illustrates that the vowel *-e-* can likewise develop into *-o-* (in terms of *umlaut*). Still, it is reasonable to refer to the unmarked variants *-ai* (genitive) and *-a* (dative) in order to reconstruct the basic case pattern in the plural. The fact that the plural lacks the *-un*-genitive illustrates that distributive criteria can become obscured in the plural. The process that has led to the generalization of the Vi-genitive in the plural is probably grounded on both phonetic and semantic aspects: Phonetically, the *-un*-genitive would have appeared as *-on* in the plural. As a result, it would have become indistinguishable from the ergative plural. Strategies to avoid this syncretism would have caused the generalization of the Vi-genitive. This analysis presupposes that both genitive types had once been used in the plural. Semantically, the strong ‘relational’ properties of the *-un*-genitive supported this process (see 3.3.3.3): The standard Udi plural marks nouns for distributive features. In other words, it presupposes the existence of discrete entities that are grouped together in the plural. Such discrete properties, however, go against the relational semantics of the *-un*-genitive. Summarizing this analysis, we can postulate the following prototypical paradigm for the plural (PL = ‘plural morpheme’, PL’ = phonetic variant of the basic plural morpheme):

(x)		Singular	Plural		
	ABS	<i>-∅</i>	*-PL-∅	>	-PL
	ERG	<i>-en ~ -in</i>	*-PL- <i>en</i>	>	-PL’- <i>on</i>
	GEN(2)	<i>-un</i>	*-PL- <i>ai</i>	>	-PL’- <i>oi</i>
		<i>-ai, -ei, -i</i>			
	DAT	<i>-a, -e, -u, -i</i>	*-PL- <i>a</i>	>	-PL’- <i>o</i>

In Old Udi, the relevant phonetic processes must have already taken place. Basically, the language does not differ from Modern Udi with respect to plural case marking. The following cumulative paradigm illustrates this point:

(x)	ABS	<i>viči-mowx</i>	‘brethren’
	ERG	<i>viči-mowǵ-on</i>	
	GEN	<i>viči-mowǵ-oy</i>	
	DAT	<i>viči-mowǵ-o</i>	

DAT2	<i>viči-mowǵ-ox</i>
DAT3	<i>viči-mowǵ-os</i>

Still, note that quite a number of Old Udi nouns marked for an *-r*-plural also show these allomorphs, although they do not meet exactly the conditions mentioned above, compare (again cumulated).

(x)	ABS	<i>AwX-owr</i>	‘kings’
	ERG	<i>AwX-r-on</i>	
	GEN	<i>AwX-r-oy</i>	
	DAT	<i>AwX-r-o</i>	
	DAT2	<i>AwX-r-ox</i>	
	DAT3	<i>AwX-r-os</i>	

Likewise, we have Old Udi plurals like *kowl-m-on* (erg.) ‘hands’, *t’ol-m-on* (erg.), *t’ol-m-ox* (dat2), ‘furs’, *mowz-r-on* (erg.) ‘tongues, languages’, *ows-b-on* (erg.), *ows-b-os* (dat3) ‘husbands’, *powl-m-on* (erg.) ‘eyes’, *hAwk’-r-ox* (dat2) ‘hearts’, *Laq’-m-ox* (erg.) ‘ways’, *o^ʕ-m-os* (dat3) ‘doors’ etc. Unfortunately, lack of data does not allow to give the absolutive plural for all of these examples. Nevertheless, we can safely state an absolutive plural *-owr* for those nouns that show an *-r*-plural. However, the corresponding case form of the *-m-* and *-b-*plural is difficult to describe (*-[?]*-owm* or *[?]*-m-owx-*, *[?]*-owb* or *[?]*-b-owr*).

§ 3. It should be noted that the generalization of the Vi-genitive allows the opposition of simple genitive vs. genitive2 with all plural nouns. In order to illustrate this point, (x) and (x) contrast the two genitival functions in the singular and in the plural. (x) refers to a weak noun that has a genitive2 in the singular (*q’uš* ‘bird’), whereas (x) refers to a strong noun that lacks this case form in the singular (*eǵel* ‘sheep’):

(x) (a) *q’uš-n-a xatir-axo te-ne č’esa* [R 16]

bird-SA-GEN respect-ABL NEG-3SG go=out.PRES

‘Out of respect for the bird, he does not go away...’

(b) *har q’uš-na-i q’äläm bu-ne* [f.n.]

every bird-SA-GEN2 feather be-3SG

‘Every bird has feather(s).’

(c) *be^ʕ-a-nan gög-n-ä q’uš-urǵ-o laxo* [Matthew 6:26]

see-MOD-2PL heaven-SA-GEN bird-PL-GEN on

‘Look at the heaven’s birds!’

(d) *śul-urǵ-oi bu-q’oi k’ur va^ʕ gög-n-ä q’uš-urǵ-oi mec-urux*

fox-PL-GEN2 be-3PL.POSS hole and heaven-SA-GEN bird-PL-GEN2 nest-PL

‘The foxes have (their) hole(s) and the heaven’s birds have (their) nest(s).’

[Matthew 8:20]

- (x) (a) *rust'am-a bu-t'u-q'-sa eġel-un laxo arc-a-ne* [R 13]
 Rustam-DAT want-3SG:IO-\$-PRES sheep-GEN on sit-MOD-3SG
 'Rustam wants to sit on the sheep.'
- (b) *me eġel-un sel xa bu-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX sheep good wool be-3SG
 'This sheep has good WOOL.'
- (c) *va^f te-ne fikir-b-esa eġel-ġ-o baxt'in* [John 10:13]
 and NEG-3SG thought-LV-PRES sheep-PL-GEN for
 'And he does not think of (his) sheep.'
- (d) *zu comox-zu eġel-ġ-oi* [John 10:7]
 I door-1SG sheep-PL-GEN2
 'I am the door of the sheep.'

§ 4. On the other hand, the reduction of vocalic variation in the plural has conditioned the formal syncretism of simple genitive and dative: Both case forms are marked by the element *-o*:

- (x) GEN2:PL *-o-i*
 GEN:PL { *-o*
 DAT:PL { *-o*

The following examples illustrate this syncretism:

- (x) (a) *adamar-ġ-o däst'-in-a te a-t'u-k'-i* [Matthew 9:36]
 person-PL-GEN group-SA-DAT SUB see-3SG:IO-\$-PAST
 'When he saw the group of people...'
- (b) *buiruġ-ne-b-i adamar-ġ-o arc-a-q'un o-e laxo* [Matthew 14:19]
 order-3SG-LV-PAST person-PL-DAT sit-MOD-3PL grass-GEN on
 'He ordered the people to sit on the grass.'

In (x,a), *adamarġo* is marked for the genitive case, whereas it has dative function in (x,b). In Nizh, this syncretism is extended to the absolute plural of nouns marked by the *-xo*-plural (see 3.2.5.3):

- (x) ABS *amdar-xo* 'persons, men'
 ERG *amdar-x-on*
 GEN *amdar-x-o*
 DAT *amdar-x-o*

The examples in (x) illustrate each of the case forms mentioned above:

- (x) (a) *amdar-xo qay-bak-ama bask'-i hai-t'un-z-er-i* [f.n.]
 man-PL dawn-be-CV:UNTIL sleep-PART:PAST rise-3PL-\$-LV:PAST-PAST
 'Having slept until daybreak, the men rose...'
- (b) *paččağ-i amdar-xo-n ġar-a a-t'un-k'-i* [PACH; OR 122]
 king-GEN man-PL-ERG boy-DAT see-3PL-\$-PAST
 'The king's men saw the boy.'
- (c) *yax yaq'-a-b-i amdar-xo-ne bu* [KACH; OR 49]
 we:DAT2 way-DAT-LV-PART:PAST man-PL:GEN-3SG be
 'He is (one) of the men who have sent us...'
- (d) *šo-t'-in-al amdar-xo yaq'-a-b-al-e bazar-e*
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC man-PL:DAT way-DAT-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG bazaar-DAT
 'He will send (his) men to the bazaar.' [KACH; OR 48]

If we disregard the system of local cases, this subparadigm can be characterized as a diptotic system that groups together nouns in S, O, and possessive function opposing them to nouns in A-function (see 5.4 for details on these functions). (x) illustrates the use of *-xo* with the three functions S, O, and POSS:

- (x) (a) *k'ok'oc'-xo alloi ga-l-a-t'un-i* [Nizh; BO 68; SD]
 chicken-PL high place-SA-DAT-3PL-PAST
 'The chickens flew up (lit.: were to a high place.)'
- (b) *ext'ilät-in šahat'-a väd-in-ä qonax-xo soğo č'öš-e č'eisa*
 news-GEN witness-DAT time-SA-DAT guest-PL:GEN one:REF:ABS out-3SG go=out:PRES
 'During the conversation, one of the guest goes out.'
 [Nizh; PA 111]
- (c) *beš e^fk-urğ-on tap-iy b-iy bes-t'un-b-i admar-xo*
 our horse-PL-ERG hit-PART:PAST make-PART:PAST kill-3PL-LV-PAST person-PL:DAT
 'Our horses kicked and killed the persons.' [Nizh; PA 161]

§ 5. Typologically speaking, the reduction of formal distinctions in the plural paradigm is a well-known process. In Nizh Udi, it has conditioned the loss of the O-split with referents marked by the *-xo*-plural (see 5.4.3.3). The syncretism of dative and absolutive is difficult to explain. The clue to this question is the history of the *-xo*-plural itself. In section 3.2.5.2, it has been argued that *-xo* stems from metathesis of the standard plural morpheme *-ux* ~ *-ox*. This assumption matches best the phonotactic conditions that are related to the distribution of the *-xo*-plural (polysyllabic, C-final). However, it also raises the following problem: If *-xo* itself is

the original plural morpheme, we have to assume that the vocalic onset of the case morpheme has been assimilated to the plural morpheme:

(x)		Plural				
	ERG	*-xo-en	>	*-xo-on	>	-xon
	GEN(2)	*-xo-ai	>	*-xo-oi	>	-xoi
	DAT	*-xo-a	>	*-xo-o	>	-xo

Vowel contraction, however, often yields (slight) lengthening of the vowel, compare *sa-o* ‘the one’ > *sō* (~ *soğō*), see 2.5.2.1. Yet, there are no traces of a change in vowel quantity in the morphology of Nizh -xo-plurals. Alternatively, we might think of a ‘re-ergativization’ of the plural paradigm: According to this hypothesis, the dative in O-function has been reanalyzed as an unmarked absolutive the use of which has been extended to the S-function (S=O):

(x)		I	II	III	
	S	*-ux	→	*-ux	} S=O
	O[-def]	*-ux		*-xo	
	O[+def]	*-ux-a	→	*-xo	
	A	*-ux-en	→	*-xon	
				} -xo	
				} -xo	
				} -xon	A

In actual Nizh, speakers tend to avoid a too complex syncretism: The genitive is again separated from the -xo-cluster by generalizing the genitive2 -oi. Compare (X,b) above and (x):

(x)	<i>t'e</i>	<i>dadal-en</i>	<i>geşluğ-a</i>	<i>bak-al-a</i>	<i>amdar-x-oi</i>
	DIST	rooster-ERG	gorge-DAT	be-PART:NPAST-ATTR	man-PL-GEN2

bel *kala* *sa* *äş* *eč-al-e* [DAD; OR 117]

head:SUPER big one thing bring-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘The rooster will bring disaster upon (lit.: a big thing on the head of) the men who are in the gorge.’

Hence the preferred plural paradigm in Nizh is:

(x)	ABS	<i>amdar-xo</i>	‘persons, men’
	ERG	<i>amdar-x-on</i>	
	GEN	<i>amdar-x-oy</i>	
	DAT	<i>amdar-x-o</i>	

§ 6. As has been argued in section 3.3.3.4, the benefactive case is perhaps derived from the ergative case by adding the suffix *-k'(ena)* > *-enk'(ena)*. The tendency to align this case form to the paradigm of local cases can also be observed in the plural. The following variants occur:

(x)	Vartashen	Nizh
	- <i>onk'</i> (<i>ena</i>)	- <i>o-ynak'</i>
	- <i>oenk'</i> (<i>ena</i>)	

Nevertheless, *-o-ynak'* may also reflect the dative *-o*. If this is true, the Vartashen form *-o-enk'*(*ena*) would be older than *-onk'*(*ena*). Today, the Vartashen form *-onk'*(*ena*) represents the most canonical version of the benefactive plural: It behaves like the ergative morpheme, compare:

(x)		SG	PL
	ERG	- <i>en</i>	- <i>on</i>
	BEN	- <i>enk'</i> (<i>ena</i>)	- <i>onk'</i> (<i>ena</i>)

As has been said above, the Vartashen variant *-oenk'*(*ena*) obviously is a derivation from the dative plural to which the singular benefactive morpheme has been added: *-o-enk'*(*ena*) = DAT:PL + BEN:SG. In Nizh, this intermediate state is changed to the standard derivational pattern for local cases. In consequence, the Nizh benefactive *-inak'* (< **enk'*, see 3.3.3.4) is added to the dative plural just as any other local case (> *o-inak'*).

Note that the long form of the benefactive *-o(e)nk'ena* is extremely rare. As has been said in section 3.3.3.4, one third of all benefactives in the Gospels show the long form in the singular. In the plural, however, long forms are not documented at all. The same holds for all other textual sources from Vartashen. Informants readily accepted the long form(s) of the benefactive plural (such as *usurğonk'ena* ‘for the bulls’, *dizik'ğoenk'ena* ‘for the snakes’), but hardly ever produced such forms in spontaneous speech. Most probably, the long forms are avoided because they contain too many syllables (more than four).

The distribution of *-onk'* vs. *-oenk'* is not fully predictable. There is a strong tendency to use *-onk'* with nouns that are monosyllabic in the singular, compare:

(x)	Singular	Benefactive plural	
	<i>us</i>	<i>us-urğ-onk'</i>	‘bull’
	<i>xup'</i>	<i>xup-urğ-onk'</i>	‘pilav’
	<i>xod</i>	<i>xod-urğ-onk'</i>	‘tree’
	<i>śum</i>	<i>śum-urğ-onk'</i>	‘bread’

Still, the *-onk'*-benefactive is occasionally used with polysyllabic nouns, compare:

(x) (a)	<i>vi</i>	<i>dušman-ğ-onk'</i>	<i>k'aś-k'-al-q'un</i>	<i>q'andağ</i>	[Luke 19:43]
	you:SG:POSS	enemy-PL-BEN	dig-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL	wall	
		‘They will dig a wall for your enemies.’			

(b) *so zenk' so naǵluk'al-enk'*
 one:REF:ABS I:BEN one:REF:ABS story=teller-BEN

so imux-lax-al-t'-uǵ-onk' [R 19]
 one:REF:ABS ear-put-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-PL-BEN
 '... one for me, one for the story teller, one for the listeners.'

Else, polysyllabic nouns generally prefer the *-o-enk'*-benefactive:

(X)	<i>adamar</i>	<i>adamar-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'man, person'
	<i>aǵa</i>	<i>aǵa-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'lord, master'
	<i>a'la'm</i>	<i>a'la'm-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'pomegranate'
	<i>be'inś</i>	<i>be'inś-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'priest'
	<i>čoval</i>	<i>čoval-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'sparrow'
	<i>dizik'</i>	<i>dizik'-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'snake'
	<i>fārišt'ä</i>	<i>fārišt'i-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'angel'
	<i>hampi</i>	<i>hampi-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'elder'
	<i>iesir</i>	<i>iesir-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'prisoner'
	<i>pexambar</i>	<i>pexambar-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'prophet'
	<i>usen</i>	<i>usen-ǵ-oenk'</i>	'year'

§ 7. The set of local cases is generally not affected by the presence of a plural morpheme. The case forms described in section 3.3.4.1 are added to the harmonized variant of the dative *-o*. (x) illustrates the paradigm of plural local cases with the help of the noun *adamar* ~ *amdar* 'man, person':

(x)		Vartashen	Nizh
	ABL	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-xo</i>	<i>amdar-x-o-xun</i>
	COM	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-xol</i>	<i>amdar-x-o-xun</i>
	COM2	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-xolan</i>	---
	ADESS	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-st'a</i>	<i>amdar-x-o-st'a</i>
	ALL	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-č'</i>	<i>amdar-x-o-č'</i>
	SUPER	<i>adamar-ǵ-o-l</i>	<i>amdar-x-o-l</i>
	SUPER:ABL	---	<i>amdar-x-o-lxun</i>

§ 8. The absolutive plural of nouns represents the functionally unmarked pole in the inflectional paradigm of the plural. Still, we cannot say that functional unmarkedness coincides with morphological unmarkedness. With many words, the basic agglutinational pattern (number + case) has initiated phonetic (and, in parts additional morphological) processes that separate the absolutive plural from all oblique case forms. In other words: The absolutive plural is not only recognizable because of the lack of case morphology, but also because its plural morpheme has a shape different from the plural marker in the oblique cases.

§ 9. The Nizh plural suffix *-xo* is the only suffix that is phonetically stable throughout the inflectional paradigm. Because all case suffixes start with a vowel, it

cannot be decided from a synchronic point of view whether the final vowel is part of the plural or of the case morpheme:

(x) *amdarxon* = *amdar-xo-n* or *amdar-x-on* ‘the persons (do..)’ (PL:ERG)

The analysis depends from the way the plural suffix *-xo* is interpreted in a diachronic perspective (see section 3.2.5 and § 5 above). In the present description of Udi, the vowel is always related to the case suffix in order to avoid allomorphy in the plural.

§ 10. Else, the absolutive plural morpheme differs from its oblique form in two respects: a) phonetically, b) morphologically. Phonetic variation occurs with all *-ux* plurals or with all complex plurals that contain *-ux* (see 3.2.5 for the basic plural markers):

(x) *-ux* > *-(u)ğ-*
-mux > *-m(u)ğ-*
-urux > *-ur(u)ğ-*

The underlying phonetic processes are described in section 2.5. We have to deal with the sonorization of the fricative in intervocalic position, usually coupled with the loss of the vowel of the plural suffix:

(x) plural	Absolutive plural	Oblique plural	
	<i>abazak'-ux</i>	<i>abazak'-ğ-</i>	‘thief’
	<i>adamar-ux</i>	<i>adamar-ğ-</i>	‘man, person’
	<i>ap'olst'ol-ux</i>	<i>ap'ost'ol-ğ-</i>	‘apostle’
	<i>baboçal-ux</i>	<i>baboçal-ğ-</i>	‘ring’
	<i>bühär-ux</i>	<i>bühär-ğ-</i>	‘fruit’
	<i>buiruğ-ux</i>	<i>buiruğ-ğ-</i>	‘order, command’
	<i>butparaz-ux</i>	<i>butparaz-ğ-</i>	‘pagan’
	<i>cicik'-ux</i>	<i>cicik'-ğ-</i>	‘flower’
	<i>čoban-ux</i>	<i>čoban-ğ-</i>	‘shepherd’
	<i>daft'ar-ux</i>	<i>daft'ar-ğ-</i>	‘book’
	<i>dizik'-ux</i>	<i>dizik'-ğ-</i>	‘snake’
	<i>düşmän-ux</i>	<i>düşman-ğ-</i>	‘foe, enemy’
	<i>eğel-ux</i>	<i>eğel-ğ-</i>	‘sheep’
	<i>fikir-ux</i>	<i>fikir-ğ-</i>	‘thought’
	<i>gegär-ux</i>	<i>gegär-ğ-</i>	‘dove’
	<i>ioldaş-ux</i>	<i>ioldaş-ğ-</i>	‘friend’
	<i>mit'ar-ux</i>	<i>mit'ar-ğ-</i>	‘publican’
	<i>nişan-ux</i>	<i>nişan-ğ-</i>	‘sign’
	<i>partal-ux</i>	<i>partal-ğ-</i>	‘coat’
	<i>q'oşin-ux</i>	<i>q'oşin-ğ-</i>	‘army’
	<i>q'oum-ux</i>	<i>q'oum-ğ-</i>	‘relative’
	<i>väzir-ux</i>	<i>väzir-ğ-</i>	‘vezir’
	<i>zinžil-ux</i>	<i>zinžil-ğ-</i>	‘prison’

The elision of *-u-* is sometimes blocked to avoid too strong clusters:

(x)	Absolutive plural	Oblique plural	
	<i>därd-ux</i>	<i>därd-uġ-</i>	‘pein’
	<i>šägird-ux</i>	<i>šägird-uġ-</i>	‘pupil’
	<i>a^ʕil-ux</i>	<i>a^ʕil-uġ-</i>	‘child’
	<i>händ-ux</i>	<i>händ-uġ-</i>	‘field’

In addition, *-u-* can be preserved in slow speech. But note that the preservation of *-u-* cannot be described as a rule. Many speakers use both options (compare *šägirduġon* vs. *šägirdġon* (ergative) ‘pupils’ etc.). In case *-u-* is preserved, it is occasionally assimilated to the following *-o-* (*a^ʕiluġon* vs. *a^ʕiloġon* ‘children’ (ergative) etc.).

§ 11. Elision usually takes place with the *-urux-* plural (see 3.2.5): In the oblique cases, the morpheme is then reduced to *-urġ-*:

(X)	<i>žin-urux</i>	<i>žin-urġ-</i>	‘ghost, dzhin’
	<i>äit-urux</i>	<i>äit-ürġ-</i>	‘word’
	<i>äiz-urux</i>	<i>äiz-ürġ-</i>	‘village’
	<i>äš-urux</i>	<i>äš-urġ-</i>	‘thing’
	<i>bo^ʕq'-urux</i>	<i>bo^ʕq'-u^ʕrġ-</i>	‘pig’
	<i>buš-urux</i>	<i>buš-urġ-</i>	‘camel’
	<i>c^ʕi-urux</i>	<i>c^ʕi-urġ-</i>	‘name’
	<i>cam-urux</i>	<i>cam-urġ-</i>	‘writing’
	<i>dost'-urux</i>	<i>dost'-urġ-</i>	‘friend’
	<i>e^ʕš-urux</i>	<i>e^ʕš-urġ-</i>	‘apple’
	<i>il-urux</i>	<i>il-urġ-</i>	‘weeds’
	<i>k'ož-urux</i>	<i>k'ož-urġ-</i>	‘house’
	<i>muš-urux</i>	<i>muš-urġ-</i>	‘wind’
	<i>muz-urux</i>	<i>muz-urġ-</i>	‘tongue, language’
	<i>pop-urux</i>	<i>pop-urġ-</i>	‘hair’
	<i>šei-ürux</i>	<i>šei-ürġ-</i>	‘thing, affair’
	<i>tor-urux</i>	<i>tor-urġ-</i>	‘net’
	<i>us-urux</i>	<i>us-urġ-</i>	‘bull’
	<i>vel-urux</i>	<i>vel-urġ-</i>	‘goat’
	<i>xabun-urux</i>	<i>xabun-urġ-</i>	‘star’
	<i>xač-urux</i>	<i>xač-urġ-</i>	‘light’

Some speakers tend to elide the second vowel instead of the first one. This process is then coupled with the assimilation of this vowel to the vowel of the case morpheme (> *-o*):

(X)	<i>mec-urux</i>	<i>mec-roġ-</i>	‘nest’
	<i>dev-urux</i>	<i>dev-roġ-</i>	‘dev, ghost’
	<i>buš-urux</i>	<i>buš-roġ-</i>	‘camel’
	<i>täg-urux</i>	<i>täg-roġ-</i>	‘twig’
	<i>t'at'-urux</i>	<i>t'at'-roġ-</i>	‘fly’

§ 12. Elision of *-u-* is generally blocked with the complex plural morpheme *-mux-*:

(x)	<i>viči-mux</i>	<i>viči-muǵ-</i>	‘brother’
	<i>xunči-mux</i>	<i>xunči-muǵ-</i>	‘sister’
	<i>kul-mux</i>	<i>kul-muǵ-</i>	‘hand’
	<i>pul-mux</i>	<i>pul-muǵ-</i>	‘eye’
	<i>nökärmux</i>	<i>nökär-muǵ-</i>	‘servant’
	<i>ǵar-mux</i>	<i>ǵar-muǵ-</i>	‘son’
	<i>tur-mux</i>	<i>tur-muǵ-</i>	‘foot, leg’
	<i>q'onši-mux</i>	<i>q'onši-muǵ-</i>	‘neighbor’
	<i>ioldaš-mux</i>	<i>ioldaš-muǵ-</i>	‘friend’
	<i>xazal-mux</i>	<i>xazal-muǵ-</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>iaq'-mux</i>	<i>iaq'-muǵ-</i>	‘way’
	<i>a'il-mux</i>	<i>a'il-muǵ-</i>	‘child’
	<i>išq'ar-mux</i>	<i>išq'ar-muǵ-</i>	‘man, husband’

In rapid speech, *-u-* is sometimes assimilated to the vowel *-o-* of the case suffix:

(x)	<i>xunči-mux</i>	<i>xunči-moǵ-</i>	‘sister’
	<i>xinär-mux</i>	<i>xinär-moǵ-</i>	‘girl, daughter’

§ 13. From a morphological point of view, the following morphemes used to encode the absolutive plural differ from the corresponding oblique forms:

(X)	Absolutive	Oblique
	<i>-ur</i>	<i>-ur-ǵ-</i> [~ <i>-roǵ-</i>]
	<i>-rxox</i>	<i>-rxo-</i>
	<i>-mxox</i>	<i>-mxo-</i>

Accordingly, the *-ur-*plural is always aligned to the paradigm of the *-urux-*plural in the oblique cases. This alignment conditions that possible semantic differences between the two plural types are canceled in the oblique cases. For instance, *iaq'ur* has a collective meaning in (x,a) as opposed to *iaq'urux* that represents a distributive plural. (x,a) again has a collective meaning, whereas in (x,b), the noun in question (*iaq'urǵon*) is a distributive plural. But only the referents marked by the absolutive are morphologically distinguished:

(x) (a) *iaq'-ur gölö o'c'-i-ne-i met'abaxt'in metär čägi-zu-bak-i* [BIO 56]
 way-PL much dirty-3SG-PAST thus PROX:ADV late-1SG-LV-PAST
 ‘The roads were dirty. That is why I was so late.’

(b) *ma-t'-ai t'o'ǵo'l bu-ne-i qo but' iaq'-urux* [John 5:2]
 where-REF:OBL-GEN2 at be-3SG-PAST five open way-PL
 ‘... where there were five porches (lit.: open ways).’

(x)(a) *ni'ž-e iaq'-urǵ-o t'o'ǵo'l gölö k'ož-ne bu* [f.n.]
 Nizh-GEN way-PL-GEN at many house-3SG be
 ‘There are many houses in the streets of Nizh.’

- (b) *me iaq'-urǵ-on tai-es te-ia bak-sa* [f.n.]
 PROX way-PL-ERG>INSTR go-MASD NEG-1PL.IO be-PRES
 'We cannot take these roads.'

§ 14. The two complex plural morphemes *-rxox* and *-mxox* represent augmented forms of the two variants *-(u)rux* and *-mux* (see 3.2.5). Most probably, we have to deal with the *-ox*-variant of the standard *-ux*-plural, which has been added to derived (former collective?) plurals. In the oblique cases, the two plural morphemes *-rxox* and *-mxox* lose their final fricative: *-rxo-*, *-mxo-*. Note that sonorization does not take place (**-rǵo-, **mǵo-). Examples are:

(x)	<i>ze^ɛ-rxox</i>	<i>ze^ɛ-rxo-</i>	'stone'
	<i>o-rxox</i>	<i>o-rxo-</i>	'grass, greens'
	<i>ǵi-mxox</i>	<i>ǵi-mxo-</i>	'day'
	<i>ga-mxox</i>	<i>ga-mxo-</i>	'place'
	<i>fi-rxox</i>	<i>fi-rxo-</i>	'wine'
	<i>me-rxox</i>	<i>me-rxo-</i>	'knife'
	<i>ci'-rxox</i>	<i>c'i-rxo-</i>	'name'

This pattern is generally used with the plural of older pluralia tantum, see section 3.3.5.2.

§ 15. In sum, the basic inflectional paradigms of Vartashen plural nouns can be listed as follows:

Vartashen:						
ABS	<i>-ux ~ -ox</i>	<i>-urux</i>	<i>-rxox</i>	<i>-mux</i>	<i>-mxox</i>	<i>-ur</i>
ERG	<i>-ǵon</i>	<i>-rǵon</i>	<i>-rxon</i>	<i>-muǵon</i>	<i>-mxon</i>	<i>-rǵon</i>
BEN	<i>-ǵo(e)nk'</i>	<i>-rǵo(e)nk'</i>	<i>-rxoi</i>	<i>-muǵo(e)nk'</i>	<i>-mxoi</i>	<i>-rǵo(e)nk'</i>
GEN	<i>-ǵo</i>	<i>-rǵo</i>	<i>-rxo(e)nk'</i>	<i>-muǵo</i>	<i>-mxo(e)nk'</i>	<i>-rǵo</i>
GEN2	<i>-ǵoi</i>	<i>-rǵoi</i>	<i>-rxoi</i>	<i>-muǵoi</i>	<i>-mxoi</i>	<i>-rǵoi</i>
DAT	<i>-ǵo</i>	<i>-rǵo</i>	<i>-rxo</i>	<i>-muǵo</i>	<i>-mxo</i>	<i>-rǵo</i>
DAT2	<i>-ǵox</i>	<i>-rǵox</i>	<i>-rxox</i>	<i>-muǵox</i>	<i>-mxox</i>	<i>-rǵox</i>
ABL	<i>-ǵoxo</i>	<i>-rǵoxo</i>	<i>-rxoxo</i>	<i>-muǵoxo</i>	<i>-mxoxo</i>	<i>-rǵoxo</i>
COM	<i>-ǵoxol</i>	<i>-rǵoxol</i>	<i>-rxoxol</i>	<i>-muǵoxol</i>	<i>-mxoxol</i>	<i>-rǵoxol</i>
COM2	<i>-ǵoxolan</i>	<i>-rǵoxolan</i>	<i>-rxoxolan</i>	<i>-muǵoxolan</i>	<i>-mxoxolan</i>	<i>-rǵoxolan</i>
ADESS	<i>-ǵost'a</i>	<i>-rǵost'a</i>	<i>-rxost'a</i>	<i>-muǵost'a</i>	<i>-mxost'a</i>	<i>-rǵost'a</i>
ALL	<i>-ǵoč'</i>	<i>-rǵoč'</i>	<i>-rxoč'</i>	<i>-muǵoč'</i>	<i>-mxoč'</i>	<i>-rǵoč'</i>
SUPER	<i>-ǵol</i>	<i>-rǵol</i>	<i>-rxol</i>	<i>-muǵol</i>	<i>-mxol</i>	<i>-rǵol</i>

Table (X): The inflectional paradigms of plural nouns in Vartashen

§ 16. In Nizh, the interaction of plural morphemes and case morphemes is basically the same as in Vartashen. Nevertheless, certain peculiarities can be observed. On the one hand, the heterogeneous vocalization of the cluster 'Plural-Case' (*-u-* + *-o-*) is usually aligned based on the dominance of the vowel *-o-*. In fact, *-u-* has survived only in the *-urux*-plural and in the absolutive of *-mux*-plurals. Else, the vowel of the plural suffix (if present) always is *-o-*. Strong nouns ending in *-a* (see 3.3.2.2)

normally assimilate the final vowel to *-o*: *baba* ‘father’ > *baboox* ‘fathers’; *nana* ‘mother’ > *nanoox* ‘mothers’, *kalna* ‘grandmother’ > *kalnoox* ‘grandmothers’ etc.

On the other hand, the sonorization of *-x-* is not present with *-urux*-plurals (Vartashen: *-rǧ̃-*). This process is related to the tendency to replace *-urux* by *-urxo* in accordance with the general distributional pattern of *-ux/-xo*-plurals: As has been said in section 3.2.5, the *-xo*-plural is present with C-final nouns. Most probably, the earlier form of this plural morpheme (*-ur*) had been interpreted as being part of the nominal stem (e.g.: *pop* ‘hair’ > *popur* ‘hair:COLL’). The resulting (collective?) noun necessarily ended in a consonant (e.g. *popur*) that then selected the *-xo*-plural (*popurxo*). The existence of *-urux*-plurals in Nizh should be explained through impact from the Vartashen dialect.

In sum, Nizh clearly shows the tendency to reorganize its inflectional paradigm of plural referents. The distribution of *-ux-* vs. *-ox-* plurals represents the major feature of this paradigmatic organization. In addition, we can relate the different types to the syllabic patterns of nouns (see 3.2.5). Table (X) summarizes the inflectional types as they show up in Nizh:

Nizh:					
	Monosyllabic	Polysyllabic			Lexicalized
		Weak V-final	Strong V-final	C-final	
ABS	<i>-urxo ~ -urux</i>	<i>-ux ~ -ox</i>	<i>-o-ox</i>	<i>-xo</i>	<i>-mux</i>
ERG	<i>-urxon</i>	<i>-ǧ̃on</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃on</i>	<i>-xon</i>	<i>-moǧ̃on</i>
BEN	<i>-urxoinak'</i>	<i>-ǧ̃oinak'</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃oinak'</i>	<i>-xoinak'</i>	<i>-moǧ̃oinak'</i>
GEN	<i>-urxo</i>	<i>-ǧ̃o</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃o</i>	<i>-xo</i>	<i>-moǧ̃o</i>
GEN2	<i>-urxoi</i>	<i>-ǧ̃oi</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃oi</i>	<i>-xoi</i>	<i>-moǧ̃oi</i>
DAT	<i>-urxo</i>	<i>-ǧ̃o</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃o</i>	<i>-xo</i>	<i>-moǧ̃o</i>
DAT2	<i>-urxox</i>	<i>-ǧ̃ox</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃ox</i>	<i>-xox</i>	<i>-moǧ̃ox</i>
ABL/COM	<i>-urxoxun</i>	<i>-ǧ̃oxun</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃oxun</i>	<i>-xoxun</i>	<i>-moǧ̃oxun</i>
ADESS	<i>-urxost'a</i>	<i>-ǧ̃ost'a</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃ost'a</i>	<i>-xost'a</i>	<i>-moǧ̃ost'a</i>
ALL	<i>-urxoč'</i>	<i>-ǧ̃oč'</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃oč'</i>	<i>-xoč'</i>	<i>-moǧ̃oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>-urxol</i>	<i>-ǧ̃ol</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃ol</i>	<i>-xol</i>	<i>-moǧ̃ol</i>
SUPER:ABL	<i>-urxolxun</i>	<i>-ǧ̃olxun</i>	<i>-o-ǧ̃olxun</i>	<i>-xolxun</i>	<i>-moǧ̃olxun</i>

Table (X): The inflectional paradigms of plural nouns in Nizh

3.3.5.2 Pluralia tantum and collective nouns. As has been said in section 3.2.5.5, a number of Udi nouns have lexicalized their plural morphology to produce collective semantics. Some of these nouns are now semantically singular and hence can be marked for plurality. In the singular, these nouns are inflected like ordinary plural nouns, pending on the type of plural marked used to produce pluralia tantum. (x) lists the nouns in question documented so far together with their oblique stems (Vartashen):

(X)	Absolutive singular	Oblique singular	
	<i>arux ~ arox</i>	<i>arǧ̃-</i>	‘fire’
	<i>čubux</i>	<i>čubǧ̃- ~ ču(w)ǧ̃-</i>	‘woman’
	<i>ažux</i>	<i>až(u)ǧ̃-</i>	‘wrath’

<i>burux</i>	<i>burǵ-</i>	‘mountain’
<i>bixažux</i>	<i>bixažugǵ-</i>	‘God, Lord’
<i>biox</i>	<i>bioxǵ-</i> ~ <i>bixo-</i>	‘god’
<i>imux</i> ~ <i>imox</i>	<i>imǵ-</i>	‘ear’
<i>žomox</i>	<i>žomǵ-</i>	‘lip’
<i>ćomox</i>	<i>ćomǵ-</i>	‘door, court’
<i>k'onžux</i>	<i>k'onžugǵ-</i>	‘landlord’
<i>ulux</i>	<i>ulǵ-</i>	‘tooth’
<i>k'odox</i>	<i>kodǵ-</i> ~ <i>k'odogǵ-</i>	‘forehead’
<i>elmux</i>	<i>elmuǵ-</i>	‘soul’
<i>bo'xmo'x</i>	<i>bo'xmo'ǵ-</i>	‘nose’
<i>k'ažux</i>	<i>k'ažugǵ-</i>	‘beard’
<i>qo'lo'x</i>	<i>qo'lǵ-</i>	‘trousers’

Note that *bixažux* ‘god’ (< **bixa(l)-žux* ‘creating lord’) and *k'onžux* (< **k'os-in žux* ‘house-GEN lord’) are secondarily aligned to this paradigm.

Two terms need further comments: a) In Nizh, the oblique stem of *čuhux* ‘woman’ (Vartashen *čubux*) is shortened to *čugǵ-* < **čuhǵ-* (compare Vartashen *čubǵ-*). b) The term *biox* ‘god’ has two inflectional variants: *bioxǵ-* and *bixo-*, compare:

(x) (a) *ka-no bu-ne-i ġar bioxǵ-oi* [Matthew 27:54]

MED-REF:ABS be-3SG-PAST son god-GEN2

‘That was the son of God.’

(b) *up-a ia un-nu xrist'os ġar bixo-i?* [Matthew 26:63]

say:IMP-IMP:2SG we:IO you:SG-2SG Christ son god-GEN2

‘Tell us: Are you Christ, the son of God?’

Starting with a now lost nominal stem **bix-*, the oblique stem *bioxǵ-* has to be regarded as the standard form (which, in fact is more frequent than the short form). The variant *bixo-* results from reanalysis: Here, the final consonant of the noun stem has been reinterpreted as being part of the complex *-xox*-plural (see 3.2.5). The resulting segmentation *bi-xox* (instead of *bix-ox*) conditioned the formation of the oblique stem in analogy with *-xox*-plurals like *že'rxox* (> *že'rxo-*) ‘stone’ etc., see above section 3.3.5.1, § 14.

In case a morphological plural is possible with the nouns mentioned in (x) above, speakers apply two different strategies:

(x) (a) Noun-PL-PL > Noun-PL:PL

(b) Noun-PL-PL > Noun:PL-PL

Either, the two plural morphemes are grouped together and processed as a complex plural morpheme, or the first plural morpheme is reinterpreted as being part of the stem, to which the standard plural morpheme is added. Vartashen prefers the first strategy, whereas in Nizh the second one is more frequent. (x) lists the corresponding forms:

(x)	Singular	Absolutive plural	Oblique plural	
	<i>arux</i>	<i>arxox ~ arruxxo</i>	<i>arxo- ~ aruxxoi</i>	‘fire’
	<i>bixažux</i>	<i>bixažuxux</i>	<i>bixažuxg̃- ~ bixažuxxo-</i>	‘god, Lord’
	<i>bo^ʰxmo^ʰx</i>	<i>bo^ʰxmo^ʰxux ~ bo^ʰxmo^ʰxox ~ bo^ʰmo^ʰxxo</i>	<i>bo^ʰxmo^ʰxg̃- ~ bo^ʰxmo^ʰxo- ~ bo^ʰxmo^ʰxxo-</i>	‘nose’
	<i>burux</i>	<i>buruxmux ~ buruxxo</i>	<i>buruxmug̃- ~ buruxxo-</i>	‘mountain’
	<i>čubux</i>	<i>čubg̃ox ~ čubq’ox</i>	<i>čubq’og̃-</i>	‘woman’
	<i>ćomox</i>	<i>ćomoxux ~ čomoxox ~ ćomoxxo</i>	<i>ćomoxg̃- ~ ~ ćomoxo- ćomoxxo-</i>	‘door’
	<i>imux</i>	<i>imxox ~ imuxxo</i>	<i>imxo- ~ imuxxo</i>	‘ear’
	<i>k’ažux</i>	<i>k’ažuxux ~ k’ažuxxo</i>	<i>k’ažuxg̃- ~ ka’žuxxo-</i>	‘beard’
	<i>k’odox</i>	<i>k’odoxux ~ k’odoxox ~ k’odoxxo</i>	<i>k’odoxg̃- ~ k’odoxo- ~ k’odoxxo-</i>	‘forehad’
	<i>qo^ʰlo^ʰx</i>	<i>qo^ʰlo^ʰxux ~ qo^ʰlo^ʰxxo</i>	<i>qo^ʰloxg̃- ~ qo^ʰloxxo-</i>	‘trousers’
	<i>ulux</i>	<i>ulxox ~ uluxxo</i>	<i>ulxo- ~ uluxxo-</i>	‘tooth’

Those nouns that apply strategy (x.a) distinguish number in the oblique cases by the feature of (de)voicing only, compare:

(x)	ABS:SG	OBL:SG	OBL:PL	
	<i>ulux</i>	<i>ulg̃-o-</i>	<i>ulx-o-</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>imux</i>	<i>img̃-o-</i>	<i>imx-o-</i>	‘ear’
	<i>čubux</i>	<i>čubg̃-o-</i>	<i>čubq’-o- (~ čupq’-o-)</i>	‘woman’
	<i>arux</i>	<i>arg̃-o-</i>	<i>arx-o-</i>	‘fire’

In inflection, all collective nouns resp. *pluralia tantum* use the standard plural case morphemes (see 3.3.5.1).

3.3.6 The inflection of personal pronouns

In this section, I will discuss the morphological properties of personal pronouns used to encode communicative reference. Section 3.3.6.1 concentrates on the general features of the paradigmatic architecture; Sections 3.3.6.2-5 elaborate the paradigms of the individual pronouns.

3.3.6.1 Basic properties. Basically, the four pronouns used to encode communicative referents (see section 3.2.6) are inflected as strong nouns. Nevertheless, they constitute a particular inflectional paradigm. It differs from the inflection pattern of nouns as follows:

- a) No number marker (§ 1)
- b) Formal and functional syncretism of absolutive and ergative cases (§ 2)
- c) No morphologically unmarked form (§ 3);
- d) In parts prefixing techniques with the genitive (§ 4).

Except for the absolutive/ergative syncretism, personal pronouns encode the same case categories as nouns. With reference to local cases, they behave like strong nouns (see 3.3.2.2): They lack a stem augment and select the *-a*-dative (see 3.3.3.6).

§ 1. As has been said in section 3.2.6, there are no means to morphologically derive plural pronouns from singular pronouns: Both numbers are expressed with the help of lexical elements:

SAP(1)	<i>zu</i> , Old Udi <i>zow</i>
SAP(2)	V. <i>un</i> , N. <i>hun</i> , Old Udi <i>vown</i>
SAP(1)+X	<i>ian</i> , Old Udi <i>žan</i>
SAP(2):PL	<i>va^ɛn</i> ~ <i>efa^ɛn</i> [N. often <i>vä^ɛn</i>], Old Udi <i>v^ɛan</i>

Nevertheless, some Udi speakers tend to reanalyze features of case marking as some kind of number marking: This is especially true for two case forms: a) The genitive of the two first person pronouns *bezi* ‘my/mine’ and *beši* ‘our(s)’ are occasionally interpreted as consisting of a stem ***be-* to which the ‘number’ markers ***zi* (singular) and ***ši-* (plural) have been added (see below for the case forms). b) In Nizh, the distribution of the two datives tends to be conditioned by features of number rather than by functional features (see 3.2.6):

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
DAT	<i>za</i>	<i>va</i>	---	---
DAT2	---	---	<i>yax</i>	<i>va^ɛx</i>

Here, the opposition *va* (2SG:DAT) vs. *va^ɛx* (2PL:DAT2) is thought to copy the paradigm of number marking with nouns (see 3.2.5).

§ 2. The syncretism of absolutive and ergative case is accordance with the well-known ‘agentivity’ hierarchy (see section 5.4.3): According to this hierarchy, a referent that is strongly marked for features of inherent control and agentivity often lacks specific morphological indices signaling the presence of these features. In this sense, the Udi personal pronouns are grouped together: There are no further cut-off points that would separate for instance the discrete singular pronouns from the collective or distributive ones of the plural paradigm.

In order to explain the case syncretism in Udi, we can refer to the following hypotheses: Either: The syncretism is purely functional. According to this hypothesis, Udi personal pronouns would never have known a formal opposition between absolutive and ergative case. Or: If absolutive and ergative originally had distinct morphological properties, either the absolutive or the ergative case would have undergone a process of generalization. Comparative evidence shows that the Udi personal pronouns match the absolutive case of cognate pronouns in those Lezgian languages that discriminate the absolutive from an ergative case (see Schulze 1999). (x) illustrates this point with the help of exemplary data from other Lezgian languages:

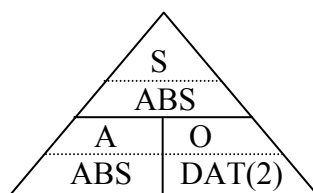
(x)	1SG	
	ABS	ERG
Lezgi (Literary)	<i>zun</i>	<i>za</i>
Aghul (Richa)	<i>zun</i>	<i>zaš</i>
Rutul (Mükhrek)	<i>zə</i>	<i>za(da)</i>
Tsakhur (Gelmets)	<i>zə</i>	<i>zas:a</i>
Archi	<i>zon</i>	<i>zari</i>
Udi	<i>zu</i>	---

Here, only the first person singular is given because the remaining pronouns may behave different (see Schulze 1999). Though the final segment of the absolutive (-*n*) cannot be safely reconstructed for an earlier variant of Udi, it comes clear that it is the absolutive series that is related to the Udi form *zu* ‘I’. The same is true for the other pronouns.

Comparative evidence also suggests that Udi once knew a distinct ergative case with personal pronouns (see Schulze 1999). Mostly likely, the pronominal stems were marked by an ergative suffix *-*a* that was restricted to pronouns encoding speech act participants and kinship terms. However, it cannot be safely said, whether this case form has survived in Udi. A possible candidate seems to be the -*a*-dative (*za*, *va*, *ia*, *va*^ʃ) in its old locative function.

Today, the case paradigm of personal pronouns is marked by an ‘accusative’ organization: The absolutive/ergative is coupled with the cluster {subjective/agentive}, whereas the dative(2) is used to represent the O-domain (see **x.x.x**):

(x)



Accordingly, the absolutive is never used in objective function. In order to illustrate this point, (x) first shows the ‘standard’ ergative technique as it is for instance documented for the Koshan dialect of Aghul:

(x) (a) *wun* *hamisa*’ ^ʃ*aq*^w*’er* [Magometov 1970:236,24]
 you:SG:ABS EMPH-PROX:ADV sit:IMP:2SG
 ‘Sit (down) here!’

(b) *wun* *k’is* *ğuš:um* ^ʃ*ay*’-*a* [Magometov 1970:236,33]
 you:SG:ABS kill:MASD troops go-COP:PRES
 ‘The troops go to kill you.’

- (c) *wun yirk:-ar uz-un-a* [f.n.]
 you:SG:ABS bone-PL sow-PAST-COP:PERS
 ‘You have sown the bones...’

Here, a neutral pattern is present: The absolutive of the pronoun *wun* ‘you:SG’ covers the functional domains ‘subjective’ (X,a), ‘objective (x,b), and ‘agentive’ (x,c). In Udi, however, the objective is usually encoded differently:

- (x) (a) *un ema usen-a t'ia-nu?* [CO § 1]
 you:SG how=many year-DAT DIST:ADV-2SG
 ‘For how many years have you been there?’
- (b) *isa č'eğ-ai-q'un vax uk-al-q'un* [GD 62]
 now come=out:FUT-CONJ-3PL you:SG:DAT2 eat-FUT:FAC-3PL
 ‘When they come out they will eat you.’
- (c) *un ek'a-n maslahat-b-esa* [IK 63]
 you:SG what-2SG advice-LV-PRES
 ‘What do you suggest?’

§ 3. From a morphological point of view, all personal pronouns are marked: There is no base form to which case morphemes are added, compare table (x) that lists the primary forms of the pronouns:

	1SG		2SG		1PL		2PL	
	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh
ABS/ERG	<i>zu</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>hun</i>	<i>ian</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>va^fn</i>	<i>vä^fn</i>
BEN	<i>zenk'</i>	<i>zainak'</i>	<i>venk'</i>	<i>vainak'</i>	<i>ienk'</i>	<i>yainak'</i>	<i>ve^fnk'</i>	<i>vä^finak'</i>
GEN	<i>bez</i>	---	---	---	<i>beš</i>	[<i>beš</i>]	<i>e^ff</i>	[<i>e^ff</i>]
GEN2	<i>bezi</i>	<i>bezi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>beši</i>	<i>beši</i>	<i>e^ffi</i>	<i>e^ffi</i>
DAT	<i>za</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ia</i>	[<i>ya</i>]	<i>va^f</i>	[<i>vä^f</i>]
DAT2	<i>zax</i>	[<i>zax</i>]	<i>vax</i>	[<i>vax</i>]	<i>iax</i>	<i>yax</i>	<i>va^fx</i>	<i>vä^fx</i>
ABL	<i>zaxo</i>	<i>zaxun</i>	<i>vaxo</i>	<i>vaxun</i>	<i>iaxo</i>	<i>yaxun</i>	<i>va^fxo</i>	<i>vä^fxun</i>
COM	<i>zaxol</i>	<i>zaxun</i>	<i>vaxol</i>	<i>vaxun</i>	<i>iaxol</i>	<i>yaxun</i>	<i>va^fxol</i>	<i>vä^fxun</i>
COM2	[<i>zaxolan</i>]	---	[<i>vaxolan</i>]	---	[<i>iaxolan</i>]	---	[<i>va^fxolan</i>]	---
ADESS	<i>zast'a</i>	<i>zast'a</i>	<i>vast'a</i>	<i>vast'a</i>	<i>iašt'a</i>	<i>yast'a</i>	<i>va^fšt'a</i>	<i>vä^fšt'a</i>
ALL	<i>zač'</i>	<i>zač'</i>	<i>vač'</i>	<i>vač'</i>	<i>iač'</i>	<i>yač'</i>	<i>va^fč'</i>	<i>vä^fč'</i>
SUPER	<i>zal</i>	<i>zal</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>ial</i>	<i>yal</i>	<i>va^fl</i>	<i>vä^fl</i>
SUPER:ABL	---	<i>zaxun</i>	---	<i>valxun</i>	---	<i>yalxun</i>	---	<i>vä^flxun</i>

Table (x): Basic paradigm of personal pronouns

Basically, we have to deal with three morphological types:

- (x) Stem+V(+n) Absolutive
 (Prefix+)Stem'-i Genitive

Stem+Case Dative > Locatives / Benefactive

(x) relates these three types to the pronouns mentioned in table (x):

	1SG		2SG		1PL		2PL	
	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.	Nizh
Stem+V(+n)	<i>z-u</i>	<i>z-u</i>	<i>Ø-u-n</i>	<i>h-u-n</i>	<i>i-a-n</i>	<i>γ-a-n</i>	<i>v-a^ɛ-n</i>	<i>v-ä^ɛ-n</i>
(Prefix+)Stem'-i	<i>be-z-i</i>	<i>be-z-i</i>	<i>v-i</i>	<i>v-i</i>	<i>be-š-i</i>	<i>be-š-i</i>	<i>e^ɛ-f-i</i>	<i>e^ɛ-f-i</i>
Stem+Case	<i>z-a-</i>	<i>z-a-</i>	<i>v-a-</i>	<i>v-a-</i>	<i>i-a-</i>	<i>γ-a-</i>	<i>v-a^ɛ-</i>	<i>v-ä^ɛ-</i>

Except for the first person singular, the absolutive differs from all other case forms in that it is marked by the element *-n* (see 3.2.6). This element can be easily interpreted as a morphological segment that is characteristic for absolutive case functions, see section 3.3.7. In the plural, the segment *-n* distinguishes the absolutive from the dative case that superficially represents the most basic form:

(x)	ABS	DAT
1PL	<i>ian</i>	<i>ia</i>
2PL	<i>va^ɛn</i>	<i>va^ɛ</i>

In the singular, the two case forms are marked by the opposition *-u-* (absolutive) vs. *-a-* (dative). Although the dative seems to represent the shortest version of each of the pronouns, it is not reasonable to assume that the dative reflects the most unmarked function. Rather, we have to think of a paradigm that lacks morphological unmarkedness completely.

§ 4. The paradigm of personal pronouns is the only inflection paradigm that makes use of a prefixing technique. This technique is present with all pronouns except for the second person singular (see 3.3.6.3) and is linked to the formation of the genitive case. The two first persons add a prefix *be-*, whereas the second person plural adds *e^ɛ-* ~ *e-*. Note that, superficially, stem suppletion occurs in both plural forms (see 3.3.6.4-5). The nature of the two prefixes can in parts be disclosed when looking at the corresponding data from other Lezgian languages (see Schulze 1999, Schulze (forthcoming)). As for *be-*, we have to deal with an old class marker (class III, see 3.2.4). This class marker had been added to the base form of the pronouns in order to produce attributive possessive constructions (see 3.3.6.5 below for a more detailed discussion). (x) simulates this construction (note that the examples represent a projection of the historical situation onto Modern Udi):

(x)	<i>be-š</i>	<i>k'ož</i>
	*III-we	house(III)
		'our house'

In long distance possession, the pronoun was then marked by the *-i*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5):

(x) (a) *be-š-i k'ož-ne*
 *III-we-GEN2 house-3SG
 'It is our house.'

(b) *k'ož be-š-i-ne*
 *house III-we-GEN2-3SG
 'The house is ours.'

In order to relate the initial segment $e^{\text{f}} \sim e$ - present in the second person plural ($e^{\text{f}} \sim ef$) to this prefixing technique, we have to refer to a rather complicated explanation of this segment. But note that it is likewise possible to interpret the segment $e^{\text{f}} \sim e$ - differently, see 3.3.6.5 below for a more detailed discussion.

Though there is a strong preference in Vartashen to use the *-i*-possessive of all personal pronouns in long distance or in apposition whereas the unmarked forms are preferred in attribution, we cannot claim that this distribution is stable enough to justify the isolation of a genitive/possessive2 from a synchronic point of view. In addition, the use of the *-i*-marked forms in attributive possession in Nizh and the lack of an unmarked version of the second person singular (see 3.3.6.3) renders it difficult to gloss the *-i*-forms separately. In consequence, the variants of the possessive pronouns are not distinguished in the glosses.

3.3.6.2. First person singular. The first person singular (*zu*, Old Udi *zow*) is the only pronoun that lacks the absolute marker *-n*. Most probably, we have to deal with a secondary process that has deleted the previously present morpheme **-n* (*zu* < **zu-n*). This process is related to the general tendency in some Lezgian languages to highlight the first person singular within the paradigm of communicative reference (see Schulze (forthcoming)). Most likely, the so-called determinative *-n* once functioned as a deictic marker (perhaps related to the proto-Lezgian focus marker **-ni*, see 5.7.2.2). Whereas languages like Lezgi (*zun*), Aghul (*zun*), Kryts (*zən*), Budukh (*zən*), Archi (*zon*) have used this deictic element to mark the first person singular referent, Udi has lost this technique: The Udi system seems to have been more 'egocentric' as those of the languages just mentioned.

Else, the first person singular pronoun represents the most stable paradigm of all personal pronouns. It lacks 'suppletion' or other types of stem variation. The case forms are regularly derived from the stem **z^wə-* (> ABS *zu*). The dative-locative stems from **z^wə-a* > *za*. The distinction between dative (*za*) and dative2 (*zax*) is typical for Vartashen (see 3.3.3.6), whereas Nizh lacks the dative2. But note that historically, the dative2 must have been present in Nizh, too. This can be inferred from the fact that Nizh uses the clitic *-zax* in 'have'-possession (see 3.4.5):

(x) *tängä te-zax bu* [MUSH; OR 132]
 money NEG-1SG.POSS be
 'I do not have money.'

The original form of the genitive has been **bé-zʷə* (> **bezʷ*). Note that labialization prevented the final segment **-zʷ* from becoming devoiced (> ***bes-*), see 3.3.6.4 for a discussion of this process.

As has been said above (section 3.3.6.1, § 4) the two genitives *bez* and *bezi* reflect the older distinction between attributive use (*bez*) and predicative/appositive use (*bezi*). The form *bezi* results from *bez-i*: it is marked by the *-i*-genitive in accordance with the general preference of the *-i*-genitive to be used with ‘socially close’ human beings (see 3.3.3.5). Whereas in Vartashen, the opposition *bez* vs. *bezi* is still observed, many speakers from Nizh tend to generalize the *bezi*-form, compare:

(x) (a) *bezi ġar-a yaq'-a-b-es ba-n-ko* [Nizh; PACH; OR 121]
 I:POSS son-DAT way-DAT-LV-MASD be-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 ‘You can send my son..’

(b) *zu e-s-č-er-e vi t'o'ģo'ľ bez ġar-ax* [Vart.; Mark 9:17]
 I bring-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST-PERF you:SG:POSS at I:POSS son-DAT2
 ‘I have brought to you my son.’

In apposition, *bezi* often denotes ‘X of mine’, lit.: ‘an X, a mine’:

(x) *šet'abaxt'intē dost' bezi iaq'-a-xo-ne bai-c-e bez t'o'ģo'ľ*
 because friend I:POSS way-ABL-3SG come=into- $\text{\$}$:PAST-PERF I:POSS at
 ‘Because a friend of mine has come on his journey (lit.: from the way) to me...’ [Luke 11:6]

Note that contrary to *bez*, *bezi* is never used as a clitic:

(x) *xinär-en ex-ne bezi p'a' xunči-bez bu* [S&S 90]
 girl-ERG say:PRES-3SG I:POSS two sister-1SG:POSS be
 ‘The girl says: I have two sisters.’

3.3.6.3 Second person singular. The second person singular is *un* in Vartashen, but *hun* in Nizh. Most probably, the Nizh variant represents a younger form that is superficially characterized by *h*-prothesis (see section 2.2.2.3). Nevertheless, it should be noted that *h*-prothesis is common with *a*-initial words (cp. V. *aq'sun* vs. N. *haq'sun* ‘to take’). With initial *u-*, however, *h*-prothesis normally does not occur. It is more likely that Nizh *hun* stems from an older form **wun* > Old Udi *vown* (also compare V. *čubux* ~ Nizh *čuwux* ~ *čuhux*, see section 2.2.2.3). This form has been simplified to *un* in Vartashen:

(x) **wun* > *un* (V.)
 > *hun* (N.)

In section 3.2.6 it has been argued that the form **wun* itself stems from proto-Lezgian **ǵ^wə-n*. Contrary to the first person singular pronoun, the form *(h)un* is marked by the deictic segment *-n* in the absolutive. Note that the corresponding clitic *-nu* (Nizh ~ *-un*) has reanalyzed this segment as pronominal stem (see section 3.4.5). The stem initial consonant **ǵ^w-* > **w-* (> *v-*) has survived in those case forms that do not contain a labial vowel: *venk'* (BEN), *vi* (GEN), *va* (DAT).

The genitive *vi* (< **wə-i*) lacks any prefix. This observation already holds for Old Udi (*vi* ~ *vê*). Most probably, the second person (singular) could not be marked by class prefixes as early as in proto-Lezgian (compare Archi 1SG *zon* > CM-*is*, but 2SG *un* > *wit*, Rutul (Mükhrek) 1SG *zə* > *yizdə*, but 2SG *wə* > *wədə*, see Schulze (forthcoming) for details). Note that this constraint is often canceled by analogy, compare Rutul (Ikhrek) 1SG *zə* > *yiz-*, 2SG *ǵu* > *yuǵ-*. The reason why the second person singular has been excluded from class marking techniques (by prefixes) is not fully understood. Most likely, the cohesion between a second person possessor and its possessum has not been ‘strong’ enough to justify an ‘intimate’ attributive relation encoded by class markers. Instead, apposition-like constructions had been preferred (see 3.3.6.5 for details):

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (x) | 1SG | CM-I(-GEN) X(CL) | ‘my X’ |
| | 2SG | Ø-you:SG-GEN X(CL) | ‘yours, the X ~ the X of you’ |

Therefore, the second singular possessive pronoun is always marked by the ‘second genitive’ (*-i*, see 3.3.3.5). The resulting form *vi* is used both in attributive and predicative (long distance) possession:

- (x) (a) *ägänä te vi vič-en vi be^š*
 if SUB you:SG:POSS brother-ERG you:SG:POSS in=front=of

günäh b-ai-n [Matthew 18:15]
 sin make-CONJ-3SG
 ‘If your brother commits a sin in front of you...’

- (b) *vi te-vi bu isu* [John 4:17]
 you:SG:POSS NEG-2SG:POSS be husband
 ‘YOU do not have a husband.’

Compare the distribution of *bez* / *bezi* (1SG) in parallel contexts:

- (x) (a) *bez vič-en čubux te-t’u buq’-sa* [S&S 92]
 I:POSS brother-ERG woman NEG-3SG:IO want-PRES
 ‘My brother does not want (to have) a wife.’

- (b) *bezi te-ne bu isu* [Luke 4:17]
 I:POSS NEG-3SG be husband

‘I do not have a HUSBAND’

Contrary to the first person singular possessive, apposition is extremely rare with second person pronouns. An example is:

- (x) *nana va^f viči-mux vi čur-p-i-q’un t’oš* [Luke 8:20]
 mother and brother-PL you:SG:POSS place=oneself-LV-PAST-3PL outside
 ‘Your mother and (your) brothers are standing outside...’

Just as it is true for the first person singular, the Nizh second person singular pronoun lacks the dative2 (Vartashen *vax*). Again, this case form has survived in long distance possession:

- (x) *äš te-vax bu* [BUSH; OR 132]
 thing NEG-2SG:POSS be
 ‘It does not matter you (lit.: you have not this matter).’

3.3.6.4 First person plural. In the absolutive, the first person plural pronoun *ian* ~ *yan* is marked by the deictic segment *-n*. Contrary to the singular pronouns, the stem vowel does not change in the oblique cases, compare *ian* (absolutive) vs. *ia* (dative). But whereas the vowel of the dative-locative represents the standard *-a*-dative, the vowel of the absolutive has developed from a high vowel **z’ə_r-n* ~ *z’i-n* (the exact nature of the vowel still is a matter of discussion). This high vowel reflects the strong palatalization of the preceding consonant (**z’-*) in proto-Lezgian. In Udi, this consonant has been simplified to *y-* (*i-*) in initial position (< Old Udi *žan*).

The genitive case is prefixed just as the genitive of the first person singular pronoun: *beš* ~ *beši*, see section 3.3.6.1, § 4. The final segment *-š* represent the stem consonant that had regularly become devoiced in final position. The underlying form of *beš* hence is **be-ž* < **be-z’ə* (see Schulze 1999, Schulze (forthcoming)). (x) summarizes the emergence of the genitive for the two pronouns:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|--------------------------------|---|
| (x) | | 1SG | 1PL |
| | ABS/ERG | <i>*z’ə</i> > <i>zu</i> | <i>*ž’an</i> > <i>žan</i> > <i>ian</i> |
| | GEN | <i>*be-z’w</i> > <i>bez(-)</i> | <i>*be-žj</i> > <i>beš(-i)</i> [not: <i>**be-ž-</i>] |

The distribution of *beš* (attributive) vs. *beš-i* (predicative, apposition) is the same as that of *bez* vs. *bez-i*, see 3.3.6.2. (x,a) illustrates the use of *beš* in attribution, (x,b) and (x,c) show *beši* in apposition, (x,d) is an example of *beši* in long distance possession:

- (x) (a) *buš beš ga-mxo te-ne bak-sa* [ST §10]
 camel we:POSS place-PL:DAT NEG-3SG be-PRES
 ‘There are (lit.: is) no camels in our place.’

- (b) *zaf-b-al-q'un ga-n-ex beši va^f xalx-n-ux* [John 11:48]
 rule-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL place-SA-DAT2 we:POSS and people-SA-DAT2
 'They will control our place and the people.'
- (c) *bažišlamiš-b-a ia bož-urğ-ox beši* [Matthew 6:12]
 forgive-LV-IMP:2SG we:DAT debt-PL-DAT2 we:POSS
 'Forgive us our debts.'
- (d) *beši buš te-ne bu* [ST §10]
 we:POSS camel NEG-3SG be
 'We do not have camel(s).'

Again, Nizh has generalized the use of *beši*, compare:

- (x) (a) *beši šäq'q'-in-ä šik'lam te-ne bak-sa* [BUL; OR 134]
 we:POSS quarter-SA-DAT onion NEG-3SG be-PRES
 'In our quarter, there are no onions.'
- (b) *beši sa kala k'ož-e* [f.n.]
 we:POSS one big house-3SG
 'We have a big house.'

In Vartashen, the opposition *ia* (dative) vs. *iax* (dative2) has a functional value: Basically, *ia* is used to encode the functional domain of 'indirect objectives' (see [x.x.x](#)), whereas *iax* is related to the functional domain of 'objectives' (see [x.x.x](#)). This distribution that comes close to the standard functional properties of both datives is illustrated by following examples:

- (x) (a) *up-a ia xrist'os šin-a duğ-e vax?* [Matthew 26:68]
 say:IMP-IMP:2SG we:DAT Christ who:ERG-3SG:Q hit-PERF you:SG:DAT2
 'Tell us, Christ: Who has hit you?'
- (b) *iaq'-a-b-a iax bo^fq'-urğ-o boš* [Mark 5:12]
 way-DAT-LV-IMP:2SG we:DAT2 pig-PL-GEN in
 'Send us into the pigs...'

Nevertheless, the dative2 is occasionally used with referents in indirect objective function, too:

- (x) *še-t'-in uk'-al-le iax* [Matthew 21:25]
 he-REF:OBL-ERG say:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG we:DAT2
 'He will say to us'

In Nizh, this tendency has become general preference: Here, the dative2 is used with both functional domains:

(x) (a) *sal iz-i äš-l-ä bar-t-i*
 ever REFL-GEN thing-SA-DAT leave-LV-PART:PAST

yax ö^fq'-ä ta-ne-d-o? [BUL; OR 133]
 we:DAT2 yoke-DAT give-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD
 'Will he ever leave his work (and) give us the yoke?'

(b) *yax yaq'-a-b-i amdar-xo-ne bu* [KACH; OR 49]
 we:DAT2 way-DAT-LV-PART:PAST man-PL:GEN-3SG be
 'He is one of the men who have sent us...'

As has been argued in section 3.3.3.6, the preference to use *vax* instead of *ya* stems from a process of reanalysis: The final segment *-x* has been interpreted as plural morpheme in analogy with the parallel process present in the second person plural paradigm, see below 3.3.6.5.

3.3.6.5 Second person plural. The pronoun used to encode the second person plural has the most heterogeneous paradigm of all personal pronouns. The basic stem is *va^fn* (Nizh *vä^fn*, Old Udi *v^fan*) that is used to mark the absolutive case. The *-n*-determinative (*va^f-n*) is regularly lost in the oblique cases. The pronoun forms a remarkable isogloss with Khinalug *zur* 'you (plural)'. In both languages, the original (proto-Lezgian) stem had been augmented by a segment **-r* the function of which yet is unclear. But whereas *-r* is also present in the Khinalug first person plural (exclusive) *yir*, the morpheme is confined to the second person plural in Udi. The segment **-r* had been added to the standard proto-Lezgian pronoun **z^wə- > *z^wə-r-* (Khinalug *> zur*), later followed by the determinative **-n*: **z^wə-r-n*. **-r-* between vowel and (con)sonant regularly caused the loss of the vowel, being replaced by sonantic **-r̥-* (*> *z^wrn*). In a second step, the initial consonant **z^w-* was reduced to **w-* (*> *wr̥n*). The resulting form then canonically underwent pharyngealization (**-r̥- > V^h*). The quality of the vowel has perhaps been aligned to the vowel of the first person plural pronoun *ian*.

The heterogeneous paradigm of the second person plural results from the doublet *va^fn* (*vä^fn*) vs. *efa^fn* present in the Vartashen dialect. Here, the competing forms are:

(x)		Vartashen		Nizh
	ABS/ERG	<i>va^fn</i>	<i>efa^fn</i>	<i>vä^fn</i>
	BEN	<i>ve^fnk'</i>	<i>efe^fnk'</i>	<i>vä^finak'</i>
	GEN	---	<i>e^f ~ ef</i>	---
	GEN2	---	<i>e^fi ~ efi</i>	<i>efi</i>
	DAT	<i>va^f</i>	<i>efa^f</i>	[<i>vä^f</i>]
	DAT2	<i>va^fx</i>	<i>efa^fx</i>	<i>vä^fx</i> [~ <i>efa^fx</i>]
	ABL	<i>va^fxo</i>	<i>efa^fxo</i>	<i>vä^fxun</i> etc.

žeiranišvili 1971:42-3, Pančvize 1974:81 suggest that the forms based on the stem e^f ~ ef are either free variants (žeiranišvili) or typical for the Nizh dialect (Pančvize). Both assumptions, however, fail. In fact, the stem e^f ~ ef occurs mainly in the Vartashen dialect. The only reflex of this stem is the Nizh genitive ef (see below). The distribution of both variants in Vartashen is conditioned both by preferences related to case and by pragmatic features. Case related preferences can be illustrated with the help of the following figures:

	Vartashen				Nizh	
	va^f -		efa^f -			
ABS	$va^f n$	256	$efa^f n$	9	$vā^f n$	7
BEN	$ve^f nk'$	2	$e^f e^f nk'$	57	$vā^f inak'$	2
GEN	---	---	$e^f f(i)$	222	efi	13
DAT	va^f	35	efa^f	216	$vā^f$	1
DAT2	$va^f x$	9	$efa^f x$	211	$vā^f x$	4
ABL	$va^f xo$	2	$efa^f xo$	31	$vā^f xun$	1
COM	$va^f xol$	1	$efa^f xol$	27	$vā^f xun$	---
ADESS	$va^f st'a$	---	$efa^f st'a$	6	$vā^f st'a$	---
ALL	$va^f č'$	---	$efa^f č'$	2	$vā^f č'$	---
SUPER	$va^f l$	---	$efa^f l$	2	$vā^f l$	---

(x) gives the frequency of all relevant forms in a 69.387 words corpus of Vartashen texts. For contrastive purposes, the corresponding for the Nizh dialect are added to this table (7.235 words corpus). According to these figures, Vartashen Udi strongly prefers the basic form $va^f n$ in the absolutive. The nine occurrences of $efa^f n$ illustrate that this form has emphatic or contrastive meaning:

(x) (a) $va^f n$ $efa^f n$ $isp'at-t'an$ za [John 3:28]
 you:PL you:PL:EMPH bearing=witness-2PL I:DAT
 'You yourselves bear me witness ...'

(b) $etär-te$ zu $bu-za-q'-e$ $efa^f x$ $t'etär-al$
 how-SUB I love-1SG:IO-\$-PERF you:EMPH:DAT2 DIST:ADV-FOC

$efa^f n$ $bu-q'a-va^f q'-i$ $sunsun-a$ [John 13:34]
 you:PL:EMPH love-ADH-2PL:IO-\$-PAST each=other-DAT
 'You shall love another just as I have loved you.'

(c) $metärluğ-en$ $efa^f n$ ef $laxo$ $ispatt'uğ-nan-b-esa$
 mode-ERG>INSTR you:PL:EMPH you:PL:POSS on witness-2PL-LV-PRES

te $va^f n$ $šo-t'-ğ-o$ $ğar-mux-nan$ [Matthew 23:31]
 SUB you:PL DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN son-PL-2PL
 'Just as you bear witness on yourselves that you are their sons...'

- (d) *efa^ʕn deirmanči-n a^ʕil-ux te-nan efa^ʕx bo^ʕǵa^ʕ-q^ʕ'un-b-e*
 you:PL:EMPH miller-GEN child-PL NEG-3PL you:PL:DAT2 find-3PL-LV-PERF
 ‘You are not the miller’s children – they have found you!’ [S&S 91]

Dirr 1904:100 reports that his informant Solomonianc related the form *efa^ʕn* to the speech of Lower Vartashen (i.e., in the quarter ‘Dibler’). However, we cannot claim that *va^ʕn* is simply replaced by the variant *efa^ʕn*, compare (x,a) above that shows both forms in one and the same context. In addition, the translators of the Gospels cannot be associated with the Dibler quarter. Most probably, the variant *efa^ʕn* was not restricted to Dibler. Today, it represents a rare option to emphatically mark the second person plural pronoun.

The oblique cases show a different preference: Here, the *e^ʕf*-basis is in current use. In fact, the ‘simple’ form *va^ʕ* (dative) is confined to encode demoted agents in constructions with *verba sentiendi* (see **x.x.x**):

- (x) (a) *baba ič-u bu-t^ʕ’u-q^ʕ’-sa va^ʕx šet’abaxt’inte*
 father:DAT REFL-DAT love-3SG:IO- $\$$ -PRES you:PL:DAT2 because

va^ʕ-al bu-va^ʕ-q^ʕ’-e zax [John 16:27]
 you:PL:DAT-FOC love-2PL:IO- $\$$ -PERF I:DAT2
 ‘The father loves you because you have loved me.’

- (b) *va^ʕ-al te-va^ʕ buq^ʕ’-i* [Matthew 23:37]
 you:PL:DAT-FOC NEG-2PL:IO want-PAST
 ‘But you did not want ...’

- (c) *va^ʕ-al a-va^ʕ-k^ʕ’-o šo-no tam-ne-bak-sa* [Luke 21:31]
 you:PL:DAT-FOC see-2PL:IO- $\$$ -FUT:MOD DIST-REF:ABS fulfilled-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘You shall see it (when) it has happened.’

In Vartashen, the dative2 *va^ʕx* (see 3.3.3.6) is extremely rare. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *šet’abaxt’inte ex-zu va^ʕx* [Matthew 3:9]
 because say:PRES-1SG you:PL:DAT2
 ‘... because I say to you...’

- (b) *t’e ġe-n-e va^ʕx ma-q’a-n bo^ʕǵa^ʕ-b-i birdän* [Luke 21:34]
 DIST day-SA-DAT you:PL:DAT2 PROH-ADH-3SG find-LV-PAST suddenly
 ‘So that on that day, he shall not find you all of a sudden.’

- (c) *ägänä zu p-e-z va^ʕx oçal-un baxt’in va^ʕ va^ʕn-al te-nan*
 if I say-PERF-1SG you:PL:DAT2 earth-GEN for and you:PL-FOC NEG-2PL

va^f-bak-i etār va^f-bak-al-lan ägänä burq-ai-z
 belief-LV-PAST how belief-LV-FUT:FAC-2PL if start-CONJ-1SG

pe-s-ax efa^f gög-n-ä baxt'in [John 3:12]
 say-MASD-DAT2 you:PL:EMPH:DAT heaven-SA-GEN for
 ‘As I have told you about earth and you did not believe: how will you believe,
 when I start telling you about heaven?’

The simple base of the pronoun is nearly inexistent with local cases. A rare example is:

(x) *ta-s-sa va^fxo va^f eğ-al-zu ef t'o^fğo^fl*
 go-1SG-\$:PRES you:PL:ABL and come:FUT-FUT:FAC you:PL:POSS at
 ‘I leave you and will come (back) to you.’ [John 14:28]

Else, Vartashen speakers generally use the secondary base *efa^f* to encode oblique cases. Examples are:

(x) (a) *zu p-i-z efa^f te mo-no zu-z* [John 18:8]
 I say-PAST-1SG you:PL:DAT SUB PROX-REF:ABS I-1SG
 ‘I told you that I am this one.’

(b) *zu iaq'a-z-b-esa efa^fx* [Matthew 10:16]
 I way-DAT-1SG-LV-PRES you:PL:DAT2
 ‘I send you...’

(c) *ägänä efa^fxo xabar aq'-ai-z* [Luke 22:68]
 if you:PL:ABL news take-CONJ-1SG
 ‘If I would ask you ...’

(d) *gölö vädä te-ne bezi va^fxol ait-p-esun* [John 14:30]
 much time NEG-3SG I:POSS you:PL:COM word-say-MASD2
 ‘I do not have much time to talk with you.’

(e) *dost'-urux efa^fč' eğ-al-q'un* [f.n.]
 friend-PL you:PL:ALL come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3PL
 ‘The friends will come to you.’

(f) *kala-o efa^fxo ba-q'a-n-k-i efe^fnk' nökar* [Matthew 23:11]
 old-REF:ABS you:PL:ABL be-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST you:PL:BEN servant
 ‘The oldest among you shall be your servant (lit. a servant fro you).’

Most probably, the basic distribution ‘absolute = *va^fn* vs. oblique = *efa^f*’ is conditioned by pragmatic factors. Recall that the absolute of personal pronouns only serves to encode the subjective/agentive domain that is strongly coupled with

givenness. The emphatic marking of given topics is cognitively marked and rare (at least in Udi). On the other hand, referents in oblique function are more accessible to emphatic strategies. Vartashen Udi has strongly grammaticalized this distributional scheme. It is based on the conceptualization of second person plural referents in terms of pragmatic salience. Possibly, the preference for the emphatic variant of the second person plural pronoun with oblique case forms once was related to some kind of social deixis.

In Vartashen, the ‘emphatic’ variant is the only option for the genitive case. The same holds for Nizh that, however, no longer uses the emphatic strategy elsewhere in its paradigm. In Vartashen, the standard pattern ‘attributive’ ($e^f \sim ef$) vs. ‘predicative’ ($e^fi \sim efi$) applies, whereas Nizh has generalized the once predicative variant efi . (x;a-c) illustrates the distribution of $e^f \sim ef$ vs. $e^fi \sim efi$ in Vartashen:

(x) (a) *maa-te ef dövlät-t'e t'ia-l bak-al-le ef uk'*
 where-SUB you:PL:POSS goods-3SG DIST:ADV-FOC be-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:POSS heart
 ‘There, were your treasure is, will be your heart.’ [Matthew 6:21]

(b) *šet'abaxt'inte efi sa baba-ne* [Matthew 23:]
 because you:PL:POSS one father-3SG
 ‘... because you have (only) one father...’

(c) *cam-te-ne zak'on-a efi* [John 10:34]
 written-NEG-3SG law-DAT you:PL:POSS
 ‘Isn’t it written in your law’

Compare Nizh:

(x) (a) *efi žomo muća-b-a-nan* [XOZ; OR 53]
 you:PL:POSS lip:DAT kiss-LV-MOD-2PL
 ‘Kiss your lip(s)!’

(b) *äit efi-ne* [XOZ; OR 53]
 word you:PL:POSS-3SG
 ‘The word is yours.’

The use of the simple pronoun in Nizh with other cases than the genitive is illustrated in (x,a) that is contrasted with an example for a non-emphatic pronoun in Vartashen (x,b). (x,c) shows the use of the corresponding emphatic variant in Vartashen:

(x) (a) *ğe vā'inak' yeq'-e xaśoy-uz box-e* [UQ; OR 136]
 day:ADV you:PL:BEN meat-GEN soup-1SG cook-PERF
 ‘Today, I have cooked for you a soup with meat.’

(b) *zu sun-t'-ux bar-k-al-zu ve^hnk' axc'im-in-a*
 I one-REF:OBL-DAT2 separate-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG you:PL:BEN Easter-SA-DAT
 'I will set free somebody for you on Easter.' [John 18:39]

(c) *va^f ägänä be-nan-sa šelluǰ še-t'-ǰ-o*
 and if make-2PL-\$.PRES goodness DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

ma-t'-ǰ-on-te efe^hnk' be-q'un-sa šelluǰ [Luke 6:33]
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB you:PL:BEN make-3PL-\$.PRES goodness
 'And if you do something good for them who do something good for you...'

In order to explain the emphatic variant of the second person plural pronoun, two hypotheses can be put forward. The first hypothesis starts with the genitive form and argues that the genitive has served as a secondary basis to form an emphatic absolutive ($e^f x va^n > efa^n$). The genitive is explained as resulting from an original prefixing strategy: The reduction of the initial consonant $*z^w-$ to $*w-$ had already taken place when the prefixing technique in the genitive (see section 3.3.6.1, § 4) became the standard way of marking pronominal possessive forms. Accordingly, the second person plural was marked by the same prefix as the two first pronouns (*zu* > *be-z*, *ian* > *be-š*). This form is confirmed by Old Udi *b^hefi* 'your (pl.)'. The Early Udi form $*be-wr$ then changed to $*b_rw$ (metathesis) before the sonant was substituted by a pharyngealized vowel ($-e^f$). The resulting form be^f_w (you:PL:POSS) later experienced dissimilation of the first consonant ($*be^f_w > *e^f_w$). Finally, the remaining (con)sonant became devoiced just as it has been described for the first person plural. (x) summarizes the relevant processes:

(x) Basic form
 $*be-z^w\partial-r > *be-w_r$ > Metathesis $*b_rw-$
 > Pharyngealization $*be^f_w-$
 > Devoicing be^f-
 > Dissimilation e^f-

This hypothesis can explain why the genitive stem differs from the absolutive stem. However, it does not explain the functional differences between the two stems, as they become apparent in Vartashen.

The second hypothesis takes the functional differences as its starting point. Accordingly, the complex form efa^n is marked by a segment $*e-$ that puts emphasis on the simple pronoun. This segment must have had additional phonetic properties that devoiced the fricative $v-$ > $-f$: $*e-va^n > efa^n$. The major advantage of this hypothesis is that the paradigmatic behavior of the second person plural pronoun then comes close to that of the corresponding singular pronoun: Both pronouns would lack a prefixing technique as opposed to the first person pronouns that – in the genitives – are marked by the segment *be-*:

(x)

	SAP(1)		SAP(2)		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
				Simple	Emphatic
ABS/OBL	<i>zu ~ za-</i>	<i>ia(-n)</i>	<i>*vun ~ va(-n)</i>	<i>va^f(-n)</i>	<i>e-fa^f(-n)</i>
GEN	<i>be-z-i</i>	<i>be-š-i</i>	<i>Ø-v-i</i>	---	<i>Ø-e^f-f-i</i>

This paradigm reflects a basic constraint on the interaction of Early Udi class marking techniques and pronominal possessors: Only possessors that include the primary speech act participant (‘speaker’) are marked for the class of the possessee, whereas secondary speech act participants (‘hearer’) are case marked when functioning as possessors:

(x)

	Possessor (Por)			Possesum (Pum)
	Class (Pum)	Pronoun	Case(Genitive)	---
SAP(1)[+X]	CM _{PUM}	SAP(1)[+X]	---	N _{PUM}
SAP(2):[PL]	---	SAP(2):[PL]	GEN	N _{PUM}

This distributional pattern corresponds (among others) to the pronominal paradigms in Archi and the Mukhad dialect of Rutul (see Schulze (forthcoming)) and can be reconstructed for proto-Lezgian. It is motivated by the reduction of referential properties of first person possessors: Here, referential properties can be inferred from the speech act itself: The speech act then serves as a deictic marker that cross-references the speech act and the speaker. Second person referents, however, call for a more overt technique to mark referential properties that – in proto-Lezgian – has been carried out with the help of case marking. (x) simulates these constructional patterns with the help of modern Udi:

(x) (a) *be-z k'ož*
 *CM:III-I house(III)
 ‘my house’ (German: ‘das *meinige* Haus’)

(b) *v-i k'ož*
 you:SG-GEN house
 ‘your house’ < *‘house of/in relation to you’

In (x,a), the pronoun *bez* ‘my’ functions as a dereferentialized relational adjective, whereas the pronoun *vi* in (x,b) keeps its referential properties (‘of you’).

If the assumption is correct that the second person plural shows an emphatic variant based on a particle **-e*, the current paradigms have to be explained with the help of a process of reanalysis: Accordingly, the emphatic genitive *e^f* < **e-vV^f(-i)* was reinterpreted as a prefixed form in analogy with the first person pronouns *bezi* and

beši (hence Old Udi *b-e^f*). It then substituted the non-emphatic variant that would have been a reflex of a genitive ***w_r-i* (> ***vi^f*?).

Nevertheless, this functional explanation has again its shortcomings. The main point is that we cannot give a parallel for the ‘emphatic’ element **e-*: In Udi, emphatic (usually deictic) pronouns are marked by the segment *ha-* (see 3.2.8.2). As has been said above, the element *e-* has conditioned devoicing of the following consonant (**e-va^fn* > *e-fa^fn*). A segmental interpretation of this process would call for another unvoiced phoneme that most probably had followed the vowel *e-*: **eC[vl]-va^fn* > *efa^fn*. As a consequence, we have to reconstruct an emphatic particle **eC[vl]-* that cannot convincingly be compared to the standard emphatic particle *ha-*.

3.3.7 The inflection of deictic pronouns

As has been said in section 3.2.8.2, only those deictic pronouns that have referential properties can be inflected. In Standard Udi, this class is constituted by the set of demonstrative pronouns. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are residues of an inflectional paradigm that is based on the deictic stems as they occur in adnominal function (see 3.2.9.3). In this section, I will first discuss the standard paradigm of demonstrative pronouns (section 3.3.7.1) before turning to the above-mentioned residues of other patterns.

3.3.7.1 Demonstrative pronouns. Contrary to the set of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns exhibit the whole range of case forms as they occur with nominal referents. From a systematic point of view, all demonstrative pronouns are ‘weak’ (see 3.3.2.2): Case forms are added to a stem augment that follows the deictic stem. §§ 1-10 discuss the technique of stem augmentation in more details, whereas §§ 11-13 illustrate the case paradigms in both dialects.

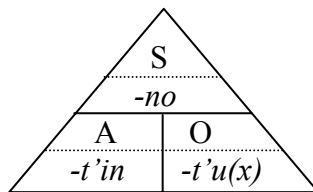
§ 1. Basically, all demonstrative pronouns consist of a deictic stem and a referential element (see 3.2.8). In inflection, the deictic stem remains unchanged. But note that the stem vowel can undergo assimilation, see below. The referential segment is suppletive: In the absolutive, the form *-no* is used whereas all oblique case forms have a morpheme *-t’-*. Hence, the basic paradigmatic architecture is:

(x)		Deixis	Referentialization	Case
	ABS	Stem-	<i>-no</i>	<i>-Ø</i>
	OBL	Stem-	<i>-t’-</i>	<i>-Case</i>

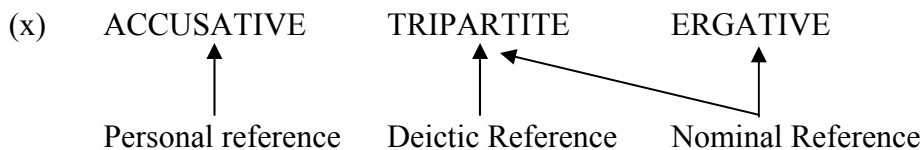
§ 2. Superficially, the absolutive is marked by a complex morpheme that includes both the paradigmatic ‘counterpart’ of the oblique augment *-t’-* (*-n-*) and the general referentializer *-o* (see 3.2.3). Although *-o* has case properties in the sense that it is restricted to the absolutive, it is not a proper case morpheme (but see § 4 below). As

has been argued in section 3.2.3, we have to deal with a petrified class marker (< *ew < -*eb (class III)). The constructional type ‘Deixis+REF+CM’ (compare *me-n-o* (proximal)) is normally confined to the subjective function (see x.x.x): It then encodes the central actant in intransitive patterns, but rarely the objective function of transitive clauses. In fact, the absolutive of demonstrative pronouns represents the ‘subjective level’ of the tripartite coding strategy that is typical for anaphoric referents (see x.x.x):

(x)



§ 3. This tripartite system can be interpreted as an intermediate stage between ‘personal’ and ‘nominal’ reference: As has been said in section 3.3.6.1, personal pronouns in Udi have an ‘accusative’ pattern, whereas nouns show a split pattern (ergative/neutral, see x.x.x). (x) locates the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns on the Accusative Ergative Continuum of Udi:



(x) illustrates the tripartite strategy in Udi:

(x) (a) *me-no e-ne-sa* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS come-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘(S)he comes’

(b) *nana-n me-t'-ux be^ʃ-ne-ğ-sa* [f.n.]
 mother-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 see-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘Mother sees him/her’

(c) *me-t'-in nana-x be^ʃ-ne-ğ-sa* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:OBL-ERG mother-DAT2 see-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘(S)he sees mother.’

The question whether the absolutive segment *-no* is related to the tripartite pattern and hence is conditioned by functional properties of the subjective cannot be safely answered. Nevertheless, most other Lezgian languages, too, know a binary opposition that separates the absolutive from the oblique domain (see Schulze 2002).

Normally, the absolutive is then also used to encode the objective function. (x) gives an example for this strategy (Lezgi):

- (x) (a) *a-m wuč tar ya zun awa-y-di?* [Haspelmath 1993:463,26]
 DIST-REF:ABS which tree COP:PRES I be=in-PART-REF:ABS
 ‘What kind of tree is that I am sitting on?’
- (b) *a-m ni kuk^war-na?* [Haspelmath 1993:421]
 DIST-REF:ABS who:ERG break-PAST
 ‘Who broke it?’
- (c) *a-da sa q:arpuz q'en-c'i-kay xkud-na* [Haspelmath 1993:448,25]
 DIST-REF:ERG one melon tendril-SA-SUB:ABL take=out-PAST
 ‘It took out a melon from under a tendril.’

From this we can infer that Udi once also applied an ‘ergative’ strategy (S=O) to encode the objective function with demonstrative pronouns:

- (c) **nana-n me-n[o] be^ʃ-ne-ğ-sa*
 mother-ERG PROX-REF:ABS see-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
 ‘Mother sees him/her.’

The fact that today a tripartite strategy is present is related to the general split pattern of Udi: Anaphoric reference usually is definite and thus satisfies the major condition for being included into the class of dative-marked referents in objective function (see **x.x.x**).

§ 4. In order to characterize the nature of stem augmentation with demonstrative pronouns in Udi, it is important to consider the inflectional type of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10 for details):

(x)	Deixis (proximal)	Referentialized adjective (‘big’)
ABS	<i>me-n-o</i>	<i>kala-o</i>
OBL	<i>me-t’-</i>	<i>kala-t’-</i>

The segment *-n-* is missing with referentialized forms. Accordingly, the basic functional opposition is represented by the two segments *-o* (ABS) and *-t’-* (OBL). This assumption is supported by the fact that referentialized forms usually have a tripartite pattern just as demonstrative pronouns:

- (x) (a) *šet’abaxt’inte e-ne-sa me dünüä-n-un kala-o* [John 14:30]
 because come-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES PROX world-SA-GEN big-REF:ABS
 ‘... because the ruler (lit.: big one) of this world comes...’

- (b) *ma-t'-in-te* *či-ne-šča* *ič* *dövlät-axo*
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB take=out-3SG-\$.PRES REFL goods-ABL

täzä-t'-ux *q'an* *bisi-t'-ux* [Matthew 13:52]
 new-REF:OBL-DAT2 and old-REF:OBL-DAT2
 '.... who takes the new one and the old one out of his goods.'

- (c) *bać-n-a* *kala-t'-in* *iaq'-a-ne-b-i*
 hundred-SA-GEN big-REF:OBL-ERG way-DAT-3SG-LV-PAST

še-t'-a *t'o^šo^l* *dost'-urğ-ox* [Luke 7:6]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at friend-PL-DAT2
 'The captain sent friends to him...'

In (x,a), the subjective is encoded by *kala-o*. In (x,b), both *täzät'ux* and *bisit'ux* are in objective function, whereas *kalat'in* in (x,c) encodes the agentive function. Again, we have to assume that the dative2 used to encode the objective function results from the tendency to use referentialized forms in anaphoric (hence: definite) contexts (see **x.x.x**). Diachronically speaking, the absolutive was also used in objective function:

- (x) **kala-o* *be^š-zu-ğ-i*
 old-REF:ABS see-1SG-\$.PAST
 'I saw the/an old one.'

§ 5. From this we can infer that the segment *-o* once covered the whole S/O-domain. This is in accordance with the standard functional scope of class markers in related Lezgian languages (see 3.2.4). As has been said in section 3.2.3, the morpheme *-o* stems from the Old Udi distal deixis *o*, that *-* however - shows a 'strong' inflectional pattern in this stage of Udi, compare:

(x)	OLD UDI	Distal	Referentialized (cumulative)
	ABS	<i>o</i>	<i>bAYi-o</i> 'big one'
	ERG	<i>o-en</i>	<i>bAYi-o-en</i>
	GEN	<i>o-ya</i>	<i>bAYi-o-ya</i>
	DAT	<i>o-ow</i>	<i>bAYi-o-ow</i>
	DAT2	<i>o-owx</i>	<i>bAYi-o-owx</i>
	DAT3	<i>o-ows</i> etc.	<i>bAYi-o-ows</i>

In a later stage of Udi, the oblique forms of the referentializer had been reinforced by the deictic element *-t'*- obviously related to the distal *t'e*. Hence *me-(n)o* acquired an oblique stem *me-o-t'*-. The group *-o-t'*- still present with some referentialized forms (see **x.x.x**) then became reduced to *me-t'*- etc.

§ 6. In a number of Lezgian languages, the technique to derive referentialized forms with the help of deictic elements has been extended to the absolutive, Lezgi *i-m*

(PROX: ABS) vs. *i-da-* (PROX:OBL), *a-m* (DIST:ABS) vs. *a-da-* (DIST:OBL) etc. The same technique seems to be present with the Udi absolutive of demonstrative pronouns marked by the segment *-no*, e.g. *me-no* (PROX:ABS) vs. *me-t'-* (PROX:OBL) etc. Just as it is true for Lezgi, the deictic marker in the absolutive does not form part of the actual deictic paradigm: In Udi, the segment *-n-* is opposed to the standard deictic stems *me*, *ka*, and *t'e ~ še-* (see 3.2.9.3). From both a formal and a functional point of view, it is related to the so-called determinative *-n* that is present with the absolutive of personal pronouns (except first person singular, see 3.3.6.1). Most likely, we have to deal with a reflex of a deictic (anaphoric) element **-ni* that later also served as a source for the Udi (and late proto-Lezgian) focus marker **-ni* (see 3.4.5.3). The fact that the deictic marker *-n-* precedes the referentializer *-o* suggests that **-ni* had been grammaticalized before the class marking technique was introduced. Most probably, two competing strategies of referentialization interfered: At an earlier stage, non-deictic forms were converted into nouns with the help of class markers (> *-o*), whereas the conversion of deictic adnominals into demonstrative pronouns made use of the deictic element **-ni*:

(x)		Deictic	Non-Deictic
	ABS	*Stem- <i>n(i)</i>	*Stem- <i>o</i>
	OBL	*Stem- <i>t'-</i>	*Stem- <i>(o)-t'-</i>

However note that the two elements **-ni* and *-t'-* historically did not belong to a common paradigm: At least for Vartashen, we have to assume that the so-called determinate **-ni* was added to adnominal forms before the technique of adding the referentializer *-o* came into use. (x) models the different stages with the help of the demonstrative *me* (proximal):

(x)		I	II	III	IV
	ABS	* <i>me-ni</i>	* <i>me-ne-o</i>	<i>me-n-o</i>	<i>me-n-o</i>
	OBL	* <i>me-</i>	* <i>me-o-</i>	* <i>me-o-t'-</i>	<i>me-t'-</i>

In Nizh (as well as in Old Udi), the segment **-ni* did not come into general use, if the deictic element at issue had anaphoric properties. Here, the following model can be described:

(x)		I	II	III	IV
	ABS	* <i>me</i>	<i>me-o</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>
	OBL	* <i>me-</i>	<i>me-o-</i>	* <i>me-o-t'-</i>	<i>mo-t'-</i>

§ 7. The merger of the deictic and the referential (anaphoric) types, however, did not take place in the same way in all dialectal variants of Udi: Especially in Lower Nizh, but also in the standard of some speakers from Vartashen, the deictic paradigm has been completely aligned to the non-deictic paradigm, compare:

(x)	Deictic	Non-Deictic
-----	---------	-------------

ABS	<i>me-n-o</i>	<i>me-o</i> > <i>moo</i>	(Proximal)
OBL	<i>me-t'-</i>	<i>me-o-t'</i> > <i>mo-t'-</i>	

§ 8. In the plural, this process has become the standard in Nizh:

(x)		Deictic (Vartashen)	Non-Deictic (Nizh)	
	ABS	<i>mo-n-o-r</i>	<i>mo-r-ox</i>	(Proximal)
	OBL	<i>mo-t'-ǵ-</i>	<i>mo-t'-ǵ-</i>	

The deixis-based paradigm of Vartashen has the standard plural of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10) *-o-r* that is added to the stem augment *-n*. The non-deictic paradigm of Nizh, however, adds the plural morpheme *-r* to the base form just as it is standard with other referentialized forms both in Vartashen and Nizh (see 3.3.10): *kala-o*, absolutive plural: *kala-o-r* ‘big one’ etc. In addition, the absolutive plural is marked by the nominal *-ox*-plural (see 3.2.5). Nizh thus copies the plural marking technique of the oblique cases into the domain of the absolutive.

§ 9. The plural morpheme *-r* is restricted to the absolutive plural of demonstrative pronouns (and of other referentialized forms, see 3.3.10). It is related to the nominal plural morpheme *-ur* (see 3.2.5) that, however, can occur with all case forms. But note that even with nouns, case forms are never added directly to the plural morpheme *-ur*, but always to its complex variant *-urux* ~ *-urxo*, see 3.3.5. Most probably, the constraint on the morpheme *-ur* ~ *-r* goes back to functional and semantic properties of the concept of ‘plurality’ in proto-Lezgian.

§ 10. The deictic stem augment *-t'-* is present in all oblique cases, both in the singular and the plural. Thus, the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns (as well as that of all referentialized forms, see 3.3.10) differs from the general pattern of nominal stem augmentation that is normally restricted to the singular (see 3.3.2.2 and 3.3.5). Historically, the oblique plural of demonstrative pronouns and other referentialized forms was not marked morphologically. The deictically marked stem was used for both numbers. Most likely, the pre-Udi paradigm has been the following (see 3.2.9.3 for the reconstruction of the proximal):

(x)		Singular	Plural	
	ABS	* <i>me-(ne)-o</i>	* <i>me-n-Ar</i>	(Proximal)
	OBL	* <i>me-(o-)t'-</i>	* <i>me-(o-)t'-</i>	

The oblique plural developed through analogy with the nominal paradigm: Here, the plural morpheme *-ux* became voiced in the oblique cases (see 3.3.5). The preceding vowel was either dropped or assimilated to the vowel of the case morpheme (see 3.3.5). As a result, the oblique plural **me-t'-ǵ-* etc. emerged. The vocalization of the absolutive plural morpheme (*-o-r*) stems from the process of analogy described in §§ 7-8 above.

§ 11. Both dialects make use of the three deictic bases *me* (PROX), *ka* (MED), and **še* (DIST) to derive demonstrative pronouns (see 3.2.9.3 for the basic forms, 3.2.8.2 for the suppletive paradigm in the distal: *t'e* (adnominal), *še-* (demonstrative)). But note that the Nizh medial *kono* goes back to the variant *ke* < **ki* (see 3.2.9.3) rather than to *ka*. Table (X) summarizes the inflection paradigm of the three demonstratives in the singular:

	Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	Vartashen	Nizh	Vartashen	Nizh	Vartashen	Nizh
ABS	<i>meno</i>	<i>mo(n)o</i>	<i>kano</i>	<i>ko(n)o</i>	<i>šeno</i>	<i>šo(n)o</i>
ERG	<i>met'in</i>	<i>mot'in</i>	<i>kat'in</i>	<i>kot'in</i>	<i>šet'in</i>	<i>šot'in</i>
BEN	<i>met'enk'</i>	<i>mot'ainak'</i>	<i>kat'enk'</i>	<i>kot'ainak'</i>	<i>šet'enk'</i>	<i>šot'ainak'</i>
GEN	<i>met'a</i>	---	<i>kat'a</i>	---	<i>šet'a</i>	---
GEN2	<i>met'ai</i>	<i>mot'ai</i>	<i>kat'ai</i>	<i>kot'ai</i>	<i>šet'ai</i>	<i>šot'ai</i>
DAT	<i>met'u</i>	<i>mot'o ~ mot'u</i>	<i>kat'u</i>	<i>kot'o ~ kot'u</i>	<i>šet'u</i>	<i>šot'o ~ šot'u</i>
DAT2	<i>met'ux</i>	<i>mot'ox ~ mot'ux</i>	<i>kat'ux</i>	<i>kot'ox ~ kot'ux</i>	<i>šet'ux</i>	<i>šot'ox ~ šot'ux</i>
ABL	<i>met'uxo</i>	<i>mot'oxun</i>	<i>kat'uxo</i>	<i>kot'oxun</i>	<i>šet'uxo</i>	<i>šot'oxun</i>
COM	<i>met'uxol</i>	<i>mot'oxun</i>	<i>kat'uxol</i>	<i>kot'oxun</i>	<i>šet'uxol</i>	<i>šot'oxun</i>
COM2	<i>met'uxolan</i>	---	<i>kat'uxolan</i>	---	<i>šet'uxolan</i>	---
ADESS	<i>met'ust'a</i>	<i>mot'ost'a</i>	<i>kat'ust'a</i>	<i>kot'ost'a</i>	<i>šet'ust'a</i>	<i>šot'ost'a</i>
ALL	<i>met'uč'</i>	<i>mot'oč'</i>	<i>kat'uč'</i>	<i>kot'oč'</i>	<i>šet'uč'</i>	<i>šot'oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>met'ul</i>	<i>mot'ol</i>	<i>kat'ul</i>	<i>kot'ol</i>	<i>šet'ul</i>	<i>šot'ol</i>
SUPER: ABL	---	<i>mot'olxun</i>	---	<i>kot'olxun</i>	---	<i>šot'olxun</i>

Table (X): The inflectional paradigm of demonstrative pronouns (singular)

Case marking is straightforward except for the stem vowel that is liable to assimilation especially in Nizh. For this dialect, we can describe a nearly suprasegmental feature with demonstrative pronouns that is related to the feature [labial; mid-open]. It stems from the impact of the vowel of the case morpheme *-o(-)* onto the stem vowel. Most Nizh speakers extend this feature to the dative vowel *-u* that is then changed to *-o*.

§ 12. Contrary to the inflection patterns of nouns, demonstrative pronouns lack case allomorphy. The genitive always selects the *-ai*-morpheme (see 3.3.3.5), whereas the dative is represented by the *-u*-dative (see 3.3.3.6). Obviously, the paradigm copies the distributional constraint that is present with these case forms in noun inflection: Both case morphemes are restricted to 'weak' (stem augmenting) nouns, compare:

(x)	Noun		Demonstrative
ABS	<i>xaš</i>	'light'	<i>šeno</i> (Distal)
GEN2	<i>xaš-n-ai</i>		<i>še-t'-ai</i>
DAT	<i>xaš-n-u</i>		<i>še-t'-u</i>

The ergative case is always marked by the *-in*-allomorph (see 3.3.3.3). It is not fully clear whether the use of *-in* instead of the standard ergative morpheme *-en* is

conditioned by phonetic/phonotactic or semantic aspects. Nevertheless, the assumption of semantic features seems to be more plausible: As has been argued in section 3.3.3.3, the *-in*-ergative is related to the semantic domain ‘instrument/manner’. It may well have been that with demonstrative pronouns there once existed the following opposition:

(x)	Instrument/Manner	Control	
	<i>me-t'-in</i>	<i>*me-t'-en</i>	(Proximal)
	<i>ka-t'-in</i>	<i>*ka-t'-en</i>	(Medial)
	<i>še-t'-in</i>	<i>*še-t'-en</i>	(Distal)

A residue of the *-en*-ergative can be seen in the benefactive forms that are generally derived from the ergative case (see 3.3.3.4):

(x)	Benefactive	
	<i>me-t'-enk'</i>	(Proximal)
	<i>ka-t'-enk'</i>	(Medial)
	<i>še-t'-enk'</i>	(Distal)

Also note that in Old Udi, the ergative of deminstratives is marked by *-en*, e.g. *o-en* (he/it), *ağ-en* (she) etc. According to this hypothesis, the ‘instrumental’ forms *met'in* etc. would have been extended to anaphoric pronouns in agentive function. Nevertheless, we have also take into account the possibility that the benefactive forms are secondarily taken from the nominal paradigm, as is has been the case with personal pronouns (see 3.3.6).

§ 13. Essentially, the paradigm of oblique plural case forms does not differ from that of nouns (see 3.3.5). Table (X) lists the most frequent forms in both dialects:

	Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	Vartashen	Nizh	Vartashen	Nizh	Vartashen	Nizh
ABS	<i>monor</i>	<i>morox</i>	<i>kanor</i>	<i>korox</i>	<i>šonor</i>	<i>šorox</i>
ERG	<i>mot'ğon</i>	<i>mot'ğon</i>	<i>kat'ğon</i>	<i>kot'ğon</i>	<i>šot'ğon</i>	<i>šot'ğon</i>
BEN	<i>mot'ğo(e)nk'</i>	<i>mot'ğoinak'</i>	<i>kat'ğo(e)nk'</i>	<i>kot'ğoinak'</i>	<i>šot'ğo(e)nk'</i>	<i>šot'ğoinak'</i>
GEN	<i>mot'ğo</i>	---	<i>kat'ğo</i>	---	<i>šot'ğo</i>	---
GEN2	<i>mot'ğoi</i>	<i>mot'ğoi</i>	<i>kat'ğoi</i>	<i>kot'ğoi</i>	<i>šot'ğoi</i>	<i>šot'ğoi</i>
DAT	<i>mot'ğo</i>	<i>mot'ğo</i>	<i>kat'ğo</i>	<i>kot'ğo</i>	<i>šot'ğo</i>	<i>šot'ğo</i>
DAT2	<i>mot'ğox</i>	<i>mot'ğox</i>	<i>kat'ğox</i>	<i>kot'ğox</i>	<i>šot'ğox</i>	<i>šot'ğox</i>
ABL	<i>mot'ğoxo</i>	<i>mot'ğoxun</i>	<i>kat'ğoxo</i>	<i>kot'ğoxun</i>	<i>šot'ğoxo</i>	<i>šot'ğoxun</i>
COM	<i>mot'ğoxol</i>	<i>mot'ğoxun</i>	<i>kat'ğoxol</i>	<i>kot'ğoxun</i>	<i>šot'ğoxol</i>	<i>šot'ğoxun</i>
COM2	<i>mot'ğoxolan</i>	---	<i>kat'ğoxolan</i>	---	<i>šot'ğoxolan</i>	---
ADESS	<i>mot'ğost'a</i>	<i>mot'ğost'a</i>	<i>kat'ğost'a</i>	<i>kot'ğost'a</i>	<i>šot'ğost'a</i>	<i>šot'ğost'a</i>
ALL	<i>mot'ğoč'</i>	<i>mot'ğoč'</i>	<i>kat'ğoč'</i>	<i>kot'ğoč'</i>	<i>šot'ğoč'</i>	<i>šot'ğoč'</i>
SUPER	<i>mot'ğol</i>	<i>mot'ğol</i>	<i>kat'ğol</i>	<i>kot'ğol</i>	<i>šot'ğol</i>	<i>šot'ğol</i>
SUPER:ABL	---	<i>mot'ğolxun</i>	---	<i>kot'ğolxun</i>	---	<i>šot'ğolxun</i>

Table (X): The inflectional paradigm of demonstrative pronouns (plural)

The table illustrates that assimilation of the stem vowel is standard in Vartashen, too. The original vowel is occasionally preserved in case the vowel of the plural morpheme is not deleted, compare:

- (x) (a) *me-t'-uğ-on* *maslahat-q'un-b-esa* ... [R 16]
 PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ERG discussion-3PL-LV-PRES
 'They discuss'
- (b) *sövdäkär-ğ-o* *me-t'-uğ-ox* *te* *a-q'o-k'-sa* [GD 61]
 merchant-PL-DAT PROX-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 SUB see-3PL:IO-Ş-PRES
 'When the merchants see them ...'
- (c) *me-t'-uğ-oxol* *ta-q'un-sa* *q'eiri* *sövdäkär-ux-al* [GD 61]
 PROX-REF:OBL-PL-COM go-3PL-Ş-PRES other merchant-PL-FOC
 'Other merchants go with them.'

In Nizh, the plural vowel is more often preserved than in Vartashen. However, it is usually assimilated to the vowel of the adjacent case morpheme:

- (x) (a) *ośa-al* *šo-t'-oğ-on* *p-i-t'un* [KAL; OR 122]
 then-FOC DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG say-PAST-3PL
 'Then they said'
- (b) *šo-t'-oğ-oi* *axśum* *käi-bak-ama* *te-ne* *bot'-k'-i* [TAR; OR 126]
 DIST-REF:OB-PL-GEN laughter dawn-LV-CV:UNTIL NEG-3SG stop-LV-PAST
 'Their laughter did not stop until dawn.'
- (c) *ośin śamat'* *šo-t'-oğ-o* *sud-d-e-ne* *k'al-p-i* [KACH; OR 49]
 next week DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT judge-SA-DAT-3SG call-LV-PAST
 'The next week, he called them (to come) to the judge.'

3.3.7.2 Residues of other inflectional paradigms

In Early Udi, there must have been the possibility to inflect deictic elements in terms of a 'strong' inflectional pattern. This pattern lacks every stem augment. Case morphemes are directly added to the stem. Today, this system is no longer productive. However, certain residues have survived especially with adjectival and adverbial forms (see 3.2.9.3). Table (X) lists those forms that are part of this earlier paradigm:

	Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	* <i>m-i</i>	* <i>m-a</i>	* <i>k-i</i>	* <i>k-a</i>	* <i>t'-i</i>	* <i>t'-a</i>
GEN	<i>me-un</i>	<i>ma-yin</i> (N.)	<i>ke-yin</i> (N.)	---	<i>t'e-un</i>	<i>t'ayin</i> (N.)
DAT	<i>mi-a</i>	<i>ma-ğa</i>	---	---	<i>t'i-a</i>	<i>t'a-ğa</i>
ABL	<i>me-yin</i>	<i>ma-yin</i>	<i>ke-yin</i> (N.)	---	<i>t'e-yin</i>	<i>t'a-yin</i> (N.)
SUPER	<i>me-l</i>	<i>ma-l</i>	---	---	<i>t'e-l</i>	---

SUPER:ABL	<i>me-lan</i>	---	---	---	<i>t'e-lan</i>	---
SUPER:ABL2	<i>me-lin</i>	<i>ma-lin</i>	---	<i>ka-lin</i> (N.)	<i>t'e-lin</i>	---
ADV	<i>me-r</i>	---	<i>ko-r</i>	---	<i>t'e-r</i>	---

Table (X): Demonstrative pronouns – residues of ‘strong’ inflection

The semantics of these forms are discussed in section 3.5.1. From a paradigmatic point of view, both the ‘central’ variants (*-i) and the peripheral variants (*-a) can be marked for case (see 3.2.9.3 for the variation *mi vs. *ma etc.). It comes clear that the paradigm is most defective with those deictic stems that are low in frequency (medial) or that have become obsolete (the peripheral variants *ma and *t'a).

The paradigm involves both actual case forms (genitive *-un*, dative *-a*, superessive *-l*) and older case forms that are no longer productive (ablative *-lin ~ *-lan, adverbial *-r, see 3.3.4.2). In Nizh, the old ablative *-lan ~ *-lin (see 3.3.4.2) and the genitive *-un* (> Nizh *-in*) have merged due to the tendency to change intervocalic *-l- to -y-.

As expected, the paradigm represents a basically ‘local’ system. It lacks any reflex of an ergative case (*min/*man, *t'in/*t'an etc.). The genitive (*-un*) perhaps represents a younger type that is taken by analogy from the word formation pattern of adjectives (see 3.2.9.1). It is difficult to tell whether this ‘strong’ inflectional pattern reflects a common proto-Lezgian pattern or whether it has been an innovation in Early Udi. Traces of ‘strong’ demonstratives are rare elsewhere. A superficially parallel paradigm is given by the Burkikhan and Kurag dialects of Aghul:

(x)	ABS	<i>me</i>	(Proximal)
	ERG	<i>mi</i>	
	GEN	<i>mi-n</i>	
	DAT	<i>mi-s</i>	

However, it can be easily shown that in these dialects, the ergative *mi* represents the residue of an underlying ‘weak’ system that uses the ergative stem as the oblique base (*mi* < *mi-i (< *mi-di)). Accordingly, *min* (genitive) stems from *mi-di-n, *mis* (dative) stems from *mi-di-s etc..

From a functional point of view, the paradigm listed in table (x) above raises considerable problems regarding the very nature of the unmarked deixis in Udi. Normally, the unmarked stems (*me*, *ka*, *t'e*) are only used in adnominal function (see 3.2.9.3). Case marking, however, presupposes that the stems to which case suffixes are added have inherent referential properties. The deictic forms under consideration usually refer to situational or temporal frames rather than to concrete locations etc. mentioned before, compare:

(x) (a)	<i>va^f</i>	<i>še-t'-ǵ-o</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>kex</i>
	and	DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN	on	hand:DAT2

lax-i ta-ne-c-i t'e-l-an [Matthew 19:15]
 lay-PART:PAST go-3SG-\$PAST-PAST DIST-SUPER-ABL
 ‘And having layed (his) hand on them, he went from there [where all this happened].’

- (b) *amma un gena sel fi-n-ax me-l cirik' e-n-f-e* [John 2:10]
 but you:SG CONTR good wine-SA-DAT2 PROX-SUPER until keep-2SG-\$-PERF
 ‘But YOU have kept the good wine until now.’

Nevertheless, anaphoric reference to a clausal constituent can be found with the two dative marked adverbs *mia* (proximal) and *t'ia* (distal). Examples are:

- (x) *gädä bai-ne-sa kur-r-a boš*
 boy go=into-3SG-\$:PRES hole-SA-GEN in

be'ǧ-sa-ne te mia otaǧ-ux-ne bu [GD 62]
 see-PRES-3SG SUB PROX:ADV room-PL-3SG be
 ‘They boy goes into the hole (and) sees that here, there are rooms.’

- (b) *t'it'-a egip't'-a t'ia bak-a zu vax uk'-ama*
 go-IMP:2SG Egypt-DAT DIST:ADV be-IMP:2SG I you:SG:DAT2 say:FUT-CV:UNTIL
 ‘Go to Egypt (and) stay there until I tell you...’ [Matthew 2:13]

As has been said in section 3.2.8.2, anaphoric reference to constituents is usually carried out with the help of the ‘weak’ demonstrative pronouns. Obviously, the ‘strong’ demonstrative elements listed in table (X) above take an intermediate position on a scale of referential discreteness:

- (X) Weak demonstratives Strong demonstratives Adnominals
 Referentially discrete ← Referentially situational ← Non-referential

This scale is iconically mapped by the paradigmatic architecture of the pronouns:

- (x) DX-REF-CASE ← DX-CASE ← DX-Ø [+ REF]

Accordingly, the deictic stem (DX) is overtly marked in case it anaphorically cross-references discrete entities (constituents):

- (x) *ba-ne-k-e sa pasč'ax me-t'-ai ba-ne-ke-i xib ġar*
 be-3SG-\$-PERF one king PROX-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG-\$-PERF-PAST three son
 ‘There was a king who had three sons.’ [GD 60]

Reference to situational frames lacks overt referentialization. Here, the referential semantics result from a blend of adnominal functions and case semantics:

- (x) *t'e-l-an* *č'er-i* *isus ar-i-ne*
 DIST-SUPER-ABL go=out:PAST-PART:PAST Jesus come:PAST-PAST-3SG

galile-un *däriä-n-un* *č'ot'-el* [Matthew 15:29]

Galilee-GEN sea-SA-GEN coast-SUPER

‘Having left that [place], Jesus came to the coast of the Galilee sea.’

Finally, adnominal deictic forms are linked to lexically overt reference:

- (x) *a-va-k'-sa* *me* *kala* *k'ož-urg-ox?* [Mark 13:2]
 see-2SG:IO-§-PRES PROX big house-PL-DAT2
 ‘Do you see these big houses?’

In sum, the paradigm of ‘strong’ demonstratives as presented in table (x) above is based on an inferential strategy that results in the functional blend of adnominal and case properties. The lack of overt referential ‘substance’ allows to use the forms in the sense of ‘general’ (or: situational) reference. Ultimately, this process has ended in the ‘adverbialization’ of ‘strong’ demonstratives (see 3.5.1).

3.3.8 The inflection of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

From a functional point of view, Udi reflexive and reciprocal pronouns constitute a common macro-paradigm. Both pronouns share important syntactic and semantic features (see **x.x.x**). Nevertheless, these commonalities are not copied into the inflectional patterns of the two pronouns: The functional scope of the reciprocal excludes certain case forms that are possible with the reflexive pronoun. Moreover, the different lexical sources of the pronouns are reflected in inflection.

3.3.8.1 The reflexive pronoun. §§ 1-7 discuss the inflectional paradigm of the reflexive pronoun. §§ 8-10 inform on the so-called complex reflexive (*ičen ič-*) as it is documented for the Gospels. The syntax of reflexivity is elaborated in section **x.x.x**.

§ 1. The emphatic-reflexive pronoun *ič* ‘self’ has a ‘strong’ inflectional pattern. It lacks any stem augment. From a phonotactic point of view, this fact violates the generalization set up in section 3.3.2.2: Here, it has been claimed that monosyllabic C-final nouns are usually ‘weak’ in Vartashen Udi, compare:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| (x) | ABS | OBL | |
| | <i>e^čś</i> | <i>e^čś-n-</i> | ‘apple’ |
| | <i>ič</i> | <i>ič-</i> | ‘self’ |

Nevertheless, there are a few such monosyllabic C-final nouns that show a ‘strong’ inflectional paradigm, such as *ġar* ‘son’, *bin* ‘bride’, *nep* ‘sleep’, *a^ʿm* ‘arm’, and *vaxt* ‘time’. Still, we cannot include the pronoun *iċ* into this class because it does not use the same set of allomorphs in the genitive and dative as the nouns just quoted, compare:

(x)	ABS	GEN2	DAT	
	<i>iċ</i>	<i>iċ-i ~ iċ</i> [~ <i>iċai</i>]	<i>iċ-u</i>	‘self’
	<i>ġar</i>	<i>ġar-i ~ -ei</i>	<i>ġar-a</i>	‘boy’
	<i>bin</i>	<i>bin-ei</i>	<i>bin-e</i>	‘bride’
	<i>a^ʿm</i>	<i>a^ʿm-ei</i>	<i>a^ʿm-e</i>	‘arm’
	<i>vaxt</i>	<i>vaxt-un ~ -ei</i>	<i>vaxt-a</i>	‘time’

§ 2. As has been shown in section 3.3.2.3, the dative *-u* is typical for ‘weak’ nouns. In addition, it is the standard dative with demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1). From this we can infer that the reflexive pronoun *iċ* has aligned its inflectional paradigm to the ‘weak’ (or: pronominal) paradigm. A residue of the older ‘nominal’ paradigm is the *-i*-genitive, see below.

§ 3. Contrary to the paradigm of deictic reference, the reflexive pronoun does not distinguish between adnominal and referential forms, compare:

(x) (a)	<i>me-t'-a</i>	<i>baxt'in ta-ne-sa</i>	<i>iċ</i>	<i>nana-xol</i>
	PROX-REF:OBL-GEN for	go-3SG-\$.PRES	REFL	mother-COM

dürüst'luġ-on p-es-an [R 8]

truth-ERG>INSTR say-MASD-CV:TEL

‘Thus he goes with his mother in order to talk (to her) in truth.’

(b)	<i>iċ-al</i>	<i>isus-al</i>	<i>iša-ne-bak-i</i>
	REFL-FOC	Jesus-SUPER	near-3SG-LV-PART:PAST

ta-ne-c-i šo-t'-ġ-oxol [Luke 24:15]

go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-COM

‘Having approached (lit.: having been near onto) Jesus, he himself went with them...’

Obviously, the reflexive pronoun lacks a proper adnominal form. Instead, the basic form *iċ* is used that corresponds to the absolutive of the referential form (see [x,b](#)). The unmarked stem also appears with postpositions that else call for the genitive case (see [3.5.2](#)):

(x) (a)	<i>kaġż-ne cam-p-i</i>	<i>iċ</i>	<i>boš</i>	<i>cam-ne-c-i</i>	<i>te</i> ... [K&S 85]
	letter-3SG	write-LV-PAST	REFL in	write-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST	SUB
	‘She wrote a letter. In it it was written that ...’				

- (b) *zu sa xalča-z ser-b-o*
 I one carpet-1SG make-LV-FUT:MOD

vi q'ošin bütün ič laxo ar-re-c-o [S&S 90]
 you:SG:POSS army all REFL on sit-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 'I will make a carpet. All your army shall sit on it.'

- (c) *pasč'ağ-un gar-en gölö xoiš-ne-b-sa*
 king-GEN son-ERG much wish-3SG-LV-PRES

te mand-a-ne p'uran ič t'o^šğo^l [GD 62]
 SUB stay-MOD-3SG again REFL at
 'The king's son asked him to stay again with him.'

§ 4. The use of *ič* with postpositions allows to postulate an unmarked attributive genitive *ič* that is also used to encode the adnominal reflexive pronoun. The unmarked genitive is opposed to an *-i*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5) that usually occurs in long distance possession (X,a) and in apposition (x,b):

- (x) (a) *ma-t'-ai-te eğel-ux ič-i te-ne* [John 10:12]
 REL-REF:OBL-GEN-SUB sheep-PL REFL-GEN NEG-3SG
 '... who himself does not have sheep.'

- (b) *ma-no-r-te bu-q'un aća a^šm-el ič-i* [Matthew 5:34]
 REL-REF:ABS-PL-SUB be-3PL right arm-SUPER REFL-GEN
 '... who sit at his right side.'

The fact that a zero-marked genitive is opposed to a genitive2 marked by the morpheme *-i* comes close to the paradigm of strong V-final kinship terms (see 3.3.3.5), compare:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|---------------|----------|
| (x) | ABS | GEN | GEN2 | |
| | <i>nana</i> | <i>nana</i> | <i>nana-i</i> | 'mother' |
| | <i>ič</i> | <i>ič</i> | <i>ič-i</i> | 'self' |

§ 5. Most likely, the paradigm of *ič* has been aligned to this pattern although it does not satisfy the phonotactic conditions (bisyllabic V-final). The motivation for this alignment process can be seen in the frequent use of *ič* in cross-reference with either speech act participants or referents that belong to the social network. In Nizh, the zero-marked genitive has an extremely rare variant *ič-ai*. This form is in accordance with the *-u*-dative *ič-u* that is paradigmatically linked to the *-ai*-genitive (see 3.3.2.3). Note that Schiefner 1863:22 gives the genitive *iča(i)* though without reference. Nevertheless, we cannot decide whether the form *ič-ai* represents the older (canonical) genitive that has been replaced by the zero-marked genitive (compare

Old Udi *ič-ê*), or whether it has secondarily developed in analogy with the weak inflectional pattern (genitive *-ai*, dative *-u*). One of the rare examples of the form *ičai* is:

- (x) *aizlu-ğ-on čar-k'-e-t'un-iy ič-ai har-sa aš-l-a* [PA 161]
 villager-PL-ERG finish-LV-PERF-PAST REFL-GEN all-one work-SA-DAT
 'The villagers finished all their work.'

It should be noted, however, that with singular referents, Nizh speakers usually replace the adnominal reflexive *ič* (~ *ičai*) by the form *iz-i* that is derived from the Azeri reflexive adjective *öz* 'self'. In Nizh, there is a complementary distribution of the (native?) form *ič* and the loan *iz*: *ič* normally occurs in referential contexts and in apposition, whereas *iz* is confined to the adnominal domain. Here, the standard form is *iz-i*, the *i*-genitive(2) of *iz*:

- (x) (a) *sa campi dizik' iz-i bačan-exun e-ne-sa* [KALAM; OR 131]
 one colored snake REFL-GEN back-ABL come-3SG-\$.PRES
 'A colored snake comes from (behind) his back.'
- (b) *ezbal-en iz-i ğar-a p-i-ne* [BUL; OR 133]
 farmer-ERG REFL-GEN son-DAT say-PAST-3SG
 'The farmer said to his son ...'
- (c) *šo-t'-in iz-i čo-ye oc'-k'-ala-ne-y* [PACH; OR 122]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-GEN face-DAT wash-LV-FUT2-3SG-PAST
 'She was on the way to wash her face.'
- (d) *be^š-al teimur ič-e-i sa-al iz-i i^ša amdar-xo*
 ahead-FOC Teymur REFL-3SG-PAST one-foc REFL-GEN close man-PL
 'Ahead, there was Teymur himself together with his close men.'
 [DAD; OR 117]

In analogy with the use of *ič* in Vartashen, some speakers prefer the zero-marked variant *iz*. Textual examples are:

- (x) (a) *iz taž-a e^šx-t'-i la-ne-x-i*
 REFL crown-DAT take-LV-PART:PAST lay-3SG-\$.PAST
naxərči-n ğar-e bel [PACH; OR 121]
 shepherd-GEN son-GEN head:SUPER
 'He took his crown and placed it on the head of the shepherd's son.'
- (b) *be^š-ne-ğ-i iz xüyär-ä t'e ğar-axun kabin-t'un bot'-e*
 see-3SG-\$.PAST REFL daughter-DAT DIST boy-COM marriage-3PL throw-PERF

‘He saw (that) they had married his daughter to that boy.’ [PACH; OR 121]

With plural referents, the standard genitive *ičoǵoi* ~ *ičxoi* is used:

(x) (a) *geśluǵ-i amdar-xo-n ič-oǵ-oi p’uri-ǵ-o gir-t’un-b-i*
gorge-DAT man-PL-ERG REFL-PL-GEN dead=one-PL-DAT collect-3PL-LV-PAST
‘In the gorge, the men collected their dead ones.’ [DAD; OR 118]

(b) *dost’-urx-on bur-t’un-q-i ič-oǵ-oi äš-l-ä* [ARU; OR 128]
friend-PL-ERG start-3PL-LV-PAST REFL-PL-GEN work-SA-DAT
‘The friends began their work.’

§ 6. Except for the genitive case, the inflectional paradigm of the reflexive pronoun does not differ from that of ‘strong’ nouns (see 3.3.2.2 and 3.3.3-4). Note that the pronoun has a plural paradigm that is present with plural referents, compare:

(x) (a) *bu-t’u-q’-sa te šavat’ xinär ič-u mand-a-ne*
want-3SG:IO-§-PRES SUB beautiful girl REFL-DAT stay-MOD-3SG
‘He wants that the beautiful girl stays with him.’ [f.n.; elicited]

(b) *bu-q’o-q’-sa te šavat’ xinär ič-uǵ-o mand-a-ne* [R 13]
want-3PL:IO-4-PRES SUB beautiful girl REFL-PL-DAT stay-MOD-3SG
‘They want that the beautiful girl stays with them.’

In Vartashen, the standard plural *ičux* is preferred. In Nizh, both this plural form and the standard Nizh plural with C-final nouns occur (*ičxo*), see 3.3.5.

§ 7. The complete paradigm of *ič* is as follows:

	Vartashen		Nizh	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	<i>ič</i>	<i>ičux</i> ~ <i>ičxo</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>ičxo</i>
ERG	<i>ičen</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵon</i>	<i>ičin</i>	<i>ičoǵon</i> ~ <i>ičxon</i>
BEN	<i>ičenk’</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵo(e)nk’</i>	<i>ičeinak’</i>	<i>ičoǵoinak’</i> ~ <i>ičxoinak’</i>
GEN	<i>ič</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵo</i>	---	---
GEN2	<i>iči</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵoi</i>	[<i>iz(i)</i>]	<i>ičoǵoi</i> ~ <i>ičxoi</i>
DAT	<i>iču</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵo</i>	<i>iču</i>	<i>ičoǵo</i> ~ <i>ičxo</i>
DAT2	<i>ičux</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵox</i>	<i>ičux</i>	<i>ičoǵox</i> ~ <i>ičxox</i>
ABL	<i>ičuxo</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵoxo</i>	<i>ičuxun</i>	<i>ičoǵoxun</i> ~ <i>ičxoxun</i>
COM	<i>ičuxol</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵoxol</i>	<i>ičuxun</i>	<i>ičoǵoxun</i> ~ <i>ičxoxun</i>
COM2	<i>ičuxolan</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵoxolan</i>	---	---
ADESS	<i>ičust’a</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵost’a</i>	<i>ičust’a</i>	<i>ičoǵost’a</i> ~ <i>ičxost’a</i>
ALL	<i>ičuč’</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵoč’</i>	<i>ičuč’</i>	<i>ičoǵoč’</i> ~ <i>ičxoč’</i>
SUPER	<i>ičul</i>	<i>ič(u)ǵol</i>	<i>ičul</i>	<i>ičoǵol</i> ~ <i>ičxol</i>
SUPER:ABL	---	---	<i>ičulxun</i>	<i>ičoǵolxun</i> ~ <i>ičxolxun</i>

Note that some speakers in Vartashen tend to drop the dative vowel in the singular when followed by a *x*-initial case marker. Therefore, the resulting forms merge with plural forms as long as they are formed on the basis of the *-xo*-plural, compare:

- (x) *ičxo* 1. Ablative singular (< *ičuxo*); 2. Absolutive/Dative plural
ičxol 2. Comitative singular (< *ičuxol*); 2. Superessive plural

§ 8. A typical East Caucasian feature is given by the tendency to morphologically distinguish clause internal reflexivity from long distance reflexivity (see **x.x.x** for a syntactic analysis). Whereas long distance reflexivity makes use of the standard reflexive pronoun, clause internal reflexives add the form *ičen* to the pronoun:

(x)		Long distance	Clause internal
	GEN	<i>ič</i>	<i>ičen ič</i>
	DAT2	<i>ičux</i>	<i>ičen ičux</i>
	ABL	<i>ičxo</i>	<i>ičen ičxo</i>
	COM	<i>ičxol</i>	<i>ičen ičxol</i>

Here, only those case forms are given that are documented in the Gospels. The constructional pattern REFL-ERG REFL- is well-known in many East Caucasian languages and surely goes back to an innovation in parts of the proto-East Caucasian dialect continuum. Yet, the grammaticalization output has not always been the same. For instance, in Lezgi the pattern (*čpi čeb* etc.) is used to express reciprocity (see Haspelmath 1993:415). In contemporary Udi, this technique has become obsolete, compare:

- (x) (a) *ič-u e^hx-e^h-d-i ala* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]
 REFL-DAT take-3SG-LV-PAST high
 ‘She rose (lit.: took herself high).’

- (b) *č’uk’udi-n-en usun ič-u p’ap’-es-e-b-i kalna-x*
 Chukudi-ERG soon REFL-DAT go=into-MASD-3SG-LV-PAST grandmother-DAT2
 ‘Soon, Chukudi directed himself to (his) grandmother.’ [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]

- (c) *še-t’-a kalbaba-n ič-ux bes-ne-b-e* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN grandfather-ERG REFL-DAT2 kill-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘His grandfather has killed himself’

Note that (x,c) is ambiguous: With long distance reflexivity, it means ‘His grandfather has killed him (the person we talk about).’

§ 9. Even the oldest source (Schiefner 1863) does not show any traces of the complex reflexive construction. In order to illustrate this point, (x) and (x) compare passages from Schiefner 1863 to parallel constructions in the Gospels:

- (x) (a) *har din mia ič baxt'in dinž-ne* [VA 59]
 each belief PROX:ADV REFL:GEN for peace-3SG
 'Here, each belief is for itself (in) peace.'
- (b) *ič-xo xabar-aq'-a-nan barta ič-en ič baxt'in p-i-q'a-n*
 REFL-ABL news-take-MOD-2PL let REFL-ERG REFL:GEN for say-PAST-ADH-3SG
 'Ask him(self) (and) let him speak for himself.' [John 9:21]
- (x) (a) *xunč-en ič laxo žafa aq'-a-ne* [IM 67]
 sister-ERG REFL:GEN on work take-MOD-3SG
 '.... that the sister (lit.: takes on herself) undertakes the work.'
- (b) *ägänä šeitan ai-ne-z-er-e ič-en ič laxo* [Mark 3:26]
 if devil rise-3SG- $\$$ -LV:PAST-PERF REFL-ERG REFL:GEN on
 'If the devil rises against (lit. on) himself...'

Accordingly, the second component of complex reflexive forms is marked by the appropriate case whereas the first component always remains in the ergative (see **x.x.x.** for a syntactic analysis). Examples for the use of complex reflexives in objective function are:

- (x) (a) *šo-no č'er-i-ne ta-ne-c-i*
 DIST-REF:ABS go=out:PAST-PAST-3SG go-3SG- $\$$:PAST-PAST

va^f ič-en ič-ux bes-ne-b-i [Matthew 27:5]
 and REFL-ERG REFL-DAT2 kill-3SG-LV-PAST
 'He left, went and killed himself'
- (b) *mia žuhut'-ğ-on p-i-q'un*
 PROX:ADV Jew-PL-ERG say-PAST-3PL

ka-t'-in ič-en ič-ux bes-ne-b-o [John 8:22]
 MED-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-ERG REFL-DAT2 kill-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 'Now the Jews said: He (whom we talk about) will kill himself.'
- (c) *ič-en ič-ux gena šel-b-es te-t'u bak-sa* [Matthew 27:42]
 REFL-ERG REFL-DAT2 CONTR good-LV-MASD NEG-3SG:IO be-PRES
 'He cannot heal himself.'

The comitative function is present in:

- (x) (a) *t'e-vaxt'-a šo-no žok'-ne-bak-o ič-en ič-xol*

DIST-time-LOC DIST-REF:ABS separate-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD REFL-ERG REFL-COM
 ‘Then he will be separated from (lit. with) himself.’ [Matthew 12:26]

(b) *šet’abaxt’inte süft’ä očal-en ič-en ič-xol če-ne-xa gogin*
 because at=first earth-ERG REFL-ERG REFL-COM go=out-3SG-LV:PRES grass
 ‘... because the earth first brings out grass out of (lit.: with) itself.’ [Mark 4:28]

(c) *ägänä va^f šeitān-al ič-en ič-xol žok’-bak-ai-n* [Luke 11:18]
 if and devil-FOC REFL-ERG REFL-COM separate-LV-CONJ-3SG
 ‘If the devil separates from (lit.: with) himself ...’

Finally, the ablative function is given in:

(x) *ič-en ič-xo uk’-al-t’-in*
 REFL-ERG REFL-ABL say-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-ERG

furu-ne-xa ič baxt’in šükür [John 7:18]
 search-3SG-LV:PRES REFL:GEN for glory
 ‘(S)he who talks of her/himself looks for glory for her/himself.’

§ 10. Complex reflexives as they are documented in the Gospels should be regarded as an archaism that seems to have survived in a subdialect of Vartashen till the end of the 19th century. But it should be noted that even in the Gospels, clause internal reflexivity is frequently marked by the simple pronoun, compare:

(x) (a) *šin-te ič-ux ala-ne-b-sa šo-no bak-al-le oq’alu*
 who:ERG:SUB REF-DAT2 high-3SG-LV-PRES DIST-REF:ABS be-FUT:FAC-3SG low

amma šin-te ič-ux oq’alu-ne-b-esa
 but who:ERG:SUB REFL-DAT2 low-3SG-LV-PRES

šo-no alalu bak-al-le
 DIST-REF:ABS high be-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘He who raises himself will be (put) down, but he who puts down himself will be raised.’ [Matthew 23:12]

(b) *šet’abaxt’inte b-e-ne ič-ux ġar bixog’oi* [John 19:7]
 because make-PERF-3SG REFL-DAT2 son god-GEN
 ‘... because he has made himself th son of God’

Occasionally, both variants occur in the same context:

(x) *šet’abaxt’inte har-t’-in ala-b-al-t’-in*
 because each-REF:OBL-ERG high-LV-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-ERG

ič-en ič-ux bak-al-le oq'alu
REFL-ERG REFL-DAT2 be-FUT:FAC-3SG low

oq'alu-b-al-t'-in gena ič-ux alalu bak-al-le [Luke 18:14]
low-LV-PART:NPAST-REF:OBL-ERG CONTR REFL-DAT2 high be-FUT:FAC-3SG
'... because everybody who raised himself will be lowered (and) who lowers himself will be raised.'

3.3.8.2 The reciprocal pronoun. As functionally expected, the Udi reciprocal pronoun *sunsun-* shows a defective paradigm. Contrary for instance to Lezgi, the iconic make-up of the pronoun is no longer preserved in case marking: Although the first segment *sun-* originally represented a pronominalization of the antecedent of the reciprocal, it is not case marked, compare (x,a) for a Lezgi example that is contrasted with an Udi parallel in (x,b):

(x) (a) *čna sad-a-sad-al ixtibar awu-n lazim ya*
we:ERG one-ERG-one-SUPER:ESS trust do-MASD necessary COP:PRES
'We have to trust each other.' [Haspelmath 1993:416]

(b) *čoban-ğ-on p-i-q'un sunsun-ax [*sun-t'in-sun-t'-ux]*
shepherd-PL-ERG say-past-3PL each=other-DAT2 [*one-REF:OBL-ERG-one-REF:OBL-DAT2]
'The shepherds said to each other...' [Luke 2:15]

Originally, the adjectival numeral *sun* 'one' (see 3.2.10) had been iterated in the following way:

(x) **sun-REF:ABS/OBL-CASE* + *sun-REF:ABS/OBL-CASE*

The conversion of the group to a nearly noun-like structure has conditioned the loss of case marking with the first element:

(x) **sun-sun-REF:ABS/OBL-CASE*

Now, case marking referred to the functional role the whole played in the given syntagma just it was the case for the second segment in the chain in (x). This intermediate state would have been represented by forms like **sunsunt'u* (dative), **sunsunt'ux* (dative2) etc. Accordingly, the inflectional paradigm was that of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10). In a final step, the pronoun was interpreted as a noun-like structure. Most probably, this step was also conditioned by phonetic aspects: The resulting stem *sunsun-* has the same final sequence as the masdar2 of verbs (*-esun*, see x.x.x) that is canonically inflected as a 'strong' noun (see 3.3.2.2). In consequence, the stem *sunsun-* 'each other' became integrated into the paradigm of strong polysyllabic C-final nouns. This paradigm is characterized by an *a*-dative (see 3.3.3.6) and an *-un*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5).

However, the reciprocal pronoun has not completely adjusted its paradigm to that of strong nouns: First, both the absolutive and the ergative case forms are missing. The expected forms would have been **sunsun* (ABS) and ***sunsunen* (ERG). The avoidance of the ergative case results from the functional role the reciprocal plays in Udi morphosyntax: After it had become grammaticalized in the view described above, it did no longer copy the case of its antecedent. In addition, the reciprocal can never be used as an autonomous referential form in agentive function (see x.x.x). The lack of the absolutive case must be secondary: In an earlier stage of Udi, a reciprocal construction encoded by the reciprocal pronoun in the absolutive must have been possible. It would have then marked the pronoun in objective function. (x) simulates this pattern:

- (x) **adamar-ǧ-on sunsun-q'un be^ǧ-i*
 man-PL-ERG each=other:ABS-3PL see-PAST
 'The men observed each other.'

The introduction of O-splitting techniques (see x.x.x) has conditioned the generalization of the definite variant of the objective that was regularly marked by the dative(2) instead of the absolutive. As a result, the constructional pattern in (x) above changed to (x):

- (x) *adamar-ǧ-on sunsun-ax be^ǧ-q'un-ǧ-i* [f.n.]
 man-PL-ERG each=other-DAT2 see-3PL-\$-PAST
 'The men observed each other.'

It is not quite clear why the Udi reciprocal lacks a proper genitive. Two constructional patterns suggest the existence of this case: a) the reciprocal pronoun functioning as the possessor in possessive constructions. Here, Udi uses the dative in terms of long distance possession (or: of a *dativus (in)commodi*):

- (x) (a) *sunsun-a šükür-ax-nan aq'-sa* [John 5:44]
 each=other-DAT glory-DAT2-2PL take-PRES
 'You take the glory of each other.'
- (b) *va^ǧn gāräg oc'-k'-a-nan sunsun-a tur-muǧ-ox* [John 13:14]
 you necessary wash-LV-MOD-2PL each=other-DAT foot-PL-DAT2
 'You must wash the feet of each other.'

b) A genitive is expected with postpositions that normally call for this case (see 3.5.2). Again, the reciprocal shows the dative instead of the genitive. Most probably, this technique is derived from the above-mentioned strategy to mark possessive reciprocals. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *va^ǧ maslahat-q'un-b-i sunsun-a boš* [Luke 4:36]
 and discussion-3PL-LV-PAST each=other-DAT in

‘And they discussed among each other...’

(b) *va^f ba-q'un-k-i t'e ġi p'ilat' va^f irod sunsun-a boš dost'-urux*
 and be-3PL-\$-PAST DIST day Pilate and Herode each=other-DAT in friend-PL
 ‘And in those days, Pilate and Herode were friends...’ [Luke 23:12]

(c) *bur-q'un-q-i tai-s-ax sunsun-a qošt'an* [John 8:9]
 begin-3PL-LV-PAST go-MASD-DAT2 each=other-DAT behind
 ‘They started to follow each other.’

(d) *t'e-vaxt'-a šägird-ġ-on be^f-q'un-ġ-i sunsun-a laxo* [John 13:22]
 DIST-time-DAT pupil-PL-ERG see-3PL-\$-PAST each=other-DAT on
 ‘In that moment, the pupils looked at each other...’

Else, the paradigm of the reciprocal pronoun corresponds to the paradigm of strong polysyllabic nouns: All local cases are derived from the *a*-dative (see 3.3.4). The benefactive *sunsunenġ* (Vartashen) is probably borrowed from the corresponding nominal paradigm. In Nizh, it is regularly derived from the dative. The complete paradigm is given in (x):

(x)	Vartashen	Nizh
ABS	---	---
ERG	---	---
BEN	<i>sunsun-enġ</i>	<i>sunsun-ainak'</i>
GEN	<i>sunsun-a</i>	<i>sunsun-a</i>
GEN2	---	---
DAT	<i>sunsun-a</i>	<i>sunsun-a</i>
DAT2	<i>sunsun-ax</i>	<i>sunsun-ax</i>
ABL	<i>sunsun-axo</i>	<i>sunsun-axun</i>
COM	<i>sunsun-axol</i>	<i>sunsun-axun</i>
COM2	<i>sunsun-axolan</i>	---
ADESS	<i>sunsun-ast'a</i>	<i>sunsun-ast'aa</i>
ALL	<i>sunsun-aċ'</i>	<i>sunsun-aċ'</i>
SUPER	<i>sunsun-al</i>	<i>sunsun-al</i>
SUPER:ABL	---	<i>sunsun-alxun</i>

Examples for the use of the local cases are:

(x) (a) *šet'abaxt'in-nan xabar-aq'-sa va^fn sunsun-axo* [John 16:19]
 thus-2PL news-take-PRES you:PL each=other-ABL
 ‘Thus you ask each other ...’

(b) *iċ boš-al xib xinär-re arc-i*
 REFL in-FOC three girl-3SG sit-PART:PAST
so sunsun-axo šavat'-t'e [GD 62]

one:REF:ABS each=other-ABL beautiful-3SG

‘In it (the room) three girls are sitting, one more beautiful than the others.’

(c) *šet'abaxt'inte süft'ä bu-q'un-i sunsun-axol düšmān* [Luke 23:12]

because at=first be-3PL-PAST each=other-COM foe

‘... because at first they were foes to (lit.: with) each other.’

(d) *ian ait-ian-exa udi-n muz-in sunsun-axolan* [DG 139]

we word-1PL-say:PRES Udi-GEN language-INSTR each=other-COM2

‘We talk to each other in Udi.’

3.3.9 The contextualization of indefinite, general, negative, relative, and Q-reference

Indefinite (non-specific), general, negative, relative, and interrogative reference constitute a functional cluster that, however, is fed by rather heterogeneous sources, see section 3.2.8.3-5. Therefore, the ‘pronominal’ forms included in this cluster do not share a common inflectional paradigm: There are no technical means to reflect the functional commonalities of these terms. Usually, those ‘pronominal’ forms that are derived from adnominal terms add the referentializer *-o* (see 3.2.3). They are then inflected like other referentialized forms (see 3.3.10). ‘Pronominal’ forms that stem from nouns (both native and loans) normally preserve their nominal inflectional pattern. Finally, pronominal forms often hand over their inflectional paradigm to those referential terms under discussion that are shaped with the help of these pronouns.

In general, case morphemes interact more overtly with the semantics of the set of pronouns under consideration than it comes true for most other referential forms: Functional and semantic constraints in parts condition the selection of case allomorphs.

3.3.9.1 Indefinite (non-specific) reference. As has been said in section 3.2.8.3, Udi uses the following forms to indicate indefinite or non-specific reference:

(X)

		Non-specific	
		Human	Non-human
Singular	New/Neutral	<i>so</i>	<i>sazad</i>
	Given	<i>fulano</i>	<i>sai ~ sak'i</i> <i>saial ~ sak'ial</i>
Restricted		<i>saemo</i>	<i>saemo</i>
Plural	Main	<i>šuk'al</i>	<i>ek'al</i>
	Relative	<i>šute</i>	<i>ek'(k')ate</i>

The three forms *so(ǵo)* ‘someone’ (§§ 1-4), *fulano* ‘a certain’ (§ 5), and *saemo* ‘some’ (§ 6) are referentialized forms that are marked by the absolutive *-o*, see 3.3.7.1 and 3.3.10. Nevertheless, their stem formation in the oblique cases is not

homogeneous. Both the underlying adnominal forms and phonetic aspects influence the standard pattern of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10). The two terms *sazad* ‘a little bit’ and *sai* ‘some’ lack inflected forms. However, note that as a noun, *zad* has a ‘weak’ inflectional pattern, see 3.3.2.2. The two pronouns *šuk'al* ‘anybody, somebody’ and *ek'al* ‘anything, something’ are inflected like nouns (see §§ 7-9) whereas the two relative terms *šute* ‘whoever’ and *ek'(k')ate* ‘whatever’ take their cases from the corresponding interrogative pronouns (§ 10).

§ 1. The pronoun *so(ǰo)* ‘someone’ is derived from the numeral *sa* ‘one’ to which the referentializer *-o* is added. The two vowels normally merge into *-o*: **sa-o* > *so*. This grammaticalization process is blocked in case the meaning is ‘alone, only’, compare:

- (x) (a) *so ai-ne-z-er-e* [f.n]
 one:REF:ABS rise-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -LV:PAST-PERF
 ‘(Some)one rose ...’
- (b) *šo-no sa-o-ne aiz-er-e* [BH 69]
 DIST-REF:ABS one-REF:ABS-3SG rise-LV:PAST-PERF
 ‘It (the child) alone rose.’

Nevertheless, the use of the uncontracted form *sao* is rare. Instead, the adverbial (in parts appositional) form *sapsa* ‘alone’ is preferred (see 3.5.1).

The form *so(o)* has two inflectional paradigms: a) an older paradigm that is based on the opposition *so* (absolutive) vs. *sun-* (oblique), see § 2; b) a younger paradigm that has generalized the absolutive stem (see § 3). In Nizh, the pronoun usually has the form *soǰo* < **sowo* < **soo*, see section 2.2.3.1). Its paradigm is illustrated in § 4.

§ 2. The oblique stem of the contracted form *so* is *sun-* (see 3.2.9.1). Most probably, we have to deal with a suppletive stem that is derived from the adjectival form of the numeral *sa* ‘one’. The form consists of the stem *sa-* to which the relational genitive morpheme *-un* is added (see 3.3.3.5). The resulting form **saun* is then shortened to *sun-*. This adjectival form can again be referentialized yielding *sun-o* ‘one’. The oblique stem *sun-* is not referential (but note the use of *sun-sun-* to produce the quasi-referential reciprocal, see 3.3.8.2). Therefore, it receives the oblique referential marker *-t'-* (see 3.3.7.1 and 3.3.10) in order to produce a referential base (> *sun-t'-*). This base is inflected just as any other referentialized form (see 3.3.10). (x) summarizes the paradigm of *so* in Vartashen:

(X)

	Singular	Plural
ABS	<i>so(o) ~ sun-o</i>	[<i>saemoo ~ saemoor</i>]
ERG	<i>sun-t'-in</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǰ-on</i>
BEN	<i>sun-t'-enk'(ena)</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǰ-onk'</i>
GEN	<i>sun-t'-a</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǰ-o</i>
GEN2	<i>sun-t'-ai</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǰ-oi</i>
DAT	<i>sun-t'-u</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǰ-o</i>

DAT2	<i>sun-t'-ux</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-ox</i>
ABL	<i>sun-t'-uxo</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-oxo</i>
COM	<i>sun-t'-uxol</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-oxol</i>
COM2	<i>sun-t'-uxolan</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-oxolan</i>
ADESS	<i>sun-t'-ust'a</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-ost'a</i>
ALL	<i>sun-t'-uč'</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>sun-t'-ul</i>	<i>sun-t'-(u)ǵ-ol</i>

As far as data go, the plural lacks an absolutive (***so-r*). Instead, the form *saemo(r)* is used that is derived from < **sa-ema-o(-r)*, see § x below.

§ 3. The paradigm of *so(o)* is characterized by the lack of a distinct oblique stem. In all case forms, the base *soo-* is preserved. In the oblique cases, the referentializer *-t'* is added to *-o-*. The inflection pattern is that of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10):

- (x) ABS *soo* '(some)one'
 ERG *soo-t'-in*
 GEN *soo-t'-a*
 GEN2 *soo-t'-ai*
 DAT *soo-t'-u*
 DAT2 *soo-t'-ux* etc.

The paradigm *soo / soo-* is semantically more specific than the standard paradigm *so(o) / sun-*, compare:

- (X) (a) *e-q'un-č-er-i* *še-t'-a* *t'o^ǵo^ǵl* *soo-t'-ux*
 bring-3PL- $\$$ -LV:PAST-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at one:REF-REF:OBL-DAT2

ma-t'-in-te *tad-ala-ne-i* *vič' hazar t'alant'*
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB give-FUT2-3SG-PAST ten thousand talent
 'They brought someone to him who had to give ten thousand talents.'
 [Matthew 18:24]

- (b) *bu-ne efi* *ädät te zu sun-t'-ux*
 be-3SG you:PL:POSS custom SUB I one:REF-REF:OBL-DAT2

bar-k'-al-zu *ve^ǵnk'* [John 18:39]
 separate-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG you:PL:BEN
 'There is your custom that I shall set free someone for you.'

§ 4. Basically, the Nizh pronoun *soǵo* < **sowo* < **soo* 'some(one)' is inflected just as the standard Vartashen variant *so(o)* (oblique *sun-*), compare:

(X)

	Singular
ABS	<i>soǵo</i>
ERG	<i>sun-t'-in</i>
BEN	<i>sun-t'-ainak'</i>

GEN	---
GEN2	<i>sun-t'-ai</i>
DAT	<i>sun-t'-u</i>
DAT2	<i>sun-t'-ux</i>
ABL	<i>sun-t'-uxun</i>
COM	<i>sun-t'-uxun</i>
COM2	---
ADESS	<i>sun-t'-ust'a</i>
ALL	<i>sun-t'-uč'</i>
SUPER	<i>sun-t'-ul</i>
SUPER:ABL	<i>sun-t'-ulxun</i>

Nizh speakers normally avoid the plural of *soğo*. Instead, the form *sahemo* (Vartashen *saemoo*) ‘some’ is used.

§ 5. The term *fulano* is frequently used in the sense of ‘a certain’. Normally, it does not anaphorically refer to a given constituent but has epistemic reference (see 3.2.8.3): The existence of the referent is inferred from contextual, situational, and world knowledge. The form is best translated by ‘some object, you know what I mean..’. As a referential form, *fulano* usually refers to human beings:

- (x) (a) *take-nan šähär-ä fulan-t'-a t'o^ŕğo^ŕl* [Matthew 26:18]
 go:IMP-2PL city-DAT a=certain-REF:OBL-GEN at
 ‘Go to the city, to a certain person ...’
- (b) *evaxte fulan-o ar-i-ne* [f.n.]
 when a=certain-REF:ABS come:PAST-PAST-3SG
 ‘When a certain person came ...’
- (c) *fulan-t'-in bez täng-in-ax fu^ŕq'-ne-p-e* [f.n.]
 a=certain-REF:OBL-ERG I:POSS money-SA-DAT2 rob-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘Somebody has stolen my money.’

Nevertheless, the referentialized form is not very frequent. Instead, some speakers tend to use the adnominal form *fulan* as a referential dummy that is then not marked for case, compare:

- (x) *fulan ari-z düz-i ari-z sa fulan ...*
 a=certain come:PAST-PAST-1SG field-DAT come:PAST-PAST-1SG one a=certain
- sa adamar-zu be^ŕğ-i fulan adamar-i p'a^ŕ us bu-ne* [f.n.]
 one man-1SG see-PAST a=certain man-GEN two bull be-3SG
 ‘I came to a certain field, you know. I saw ... hmm ... a man, hmm... the man had (lit: has) two bulls....’

The few examples that show inflected forms render it difficult to describe a complete paradigm. Nevertheless, the fact that *fulan-o* represents the standard type of referentialization allows to conclude that it can be inflected just as any other referentialized form:

- (x) ABS *fulan-o*
 ERG *fulan-t'-in*
 BEN *fulan-t'-enk'*
 GEN *fulan-t'-a*
 GEN2 *fulan-t'-ai*
 DAT *fulan-t'-u*
 DAT2 *fultan-t'-ux* etc.

§ 6. The pronoun *saemo* (Nizh *sahemo*) ‘some’ < **sa-(h)ema-o* (see 3.8.2.3) represents the referentialized version of the adnominal form *saema* (Nizh *sahema*) ‘some’. It is inflected just as any referentialized form (see 3.3.10). Accordingly, the oblique referentializer *-t'-* is added except for the absolutive case. Note that most speakers treat the absolutive base *sa(h)emo* as a morphologically unmarked form. Therefore, the segment *-o-* is frequently preserved in the oblique cases.

Semantically speaking, the form *sa(h)emo* is a (collective) plural. The notion of plurality is related to the segment *-ma-* ‘quantity’ (see 3.2.9.4). Still, the pronoun is often marked by a morphological plural, compare:

- (x) (a) *šo-t'-ǵ-oxo* *saemo-t'-in* *p-i-q'un-i* [Luke 11:15]
 DIST-ERG:OBL-PL-ABL some:REF-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST-3PL-PAST
 ‘Some of them said ...’
- (b) *saemo-t'-ǵ-on* *bu-q'o-q'-i* *biq'-a-q'un-i* *šo-t'-ux*
 some:REF-REF:OBL-PL-ERG want-3PL:IO-\$-PAST seize-MOD-3PL-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘Some of them wanted to seize him ...’ [John 7:44]

The singular is more frequent in partitive constructions (x,a) that replace the adnominal use of *sa(h)ema* with definite referents (x,b):

- (x) (a) *adamar-ǵ-oxo* *saemo-t'-u* *bes-b-al-q'un* [f.n.]
 man-PL-ABL some:REF-REF:OBL-DAT kill-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL
 ‘They will kill some of the men.’
- (b) *saema* *adamar-ǵ-on* *p-i-q'un-i* [f.n.]
 some man-PL-ERG say-PAST-3PL-PAST
 ‘Some men said ...’

The plural can be both indefinite (x,a) and partitive (x,b):

(x) (a) *me vaxt'-a ar-i-q'un saemo-o-r* [Luke 13:1]

PROX time-DAT come:PAST-PAST-3PL some:REF-REF:ABS-PL
 'Just now some (men) came ...'

(b) *ta-q'un-c-i iaxo saemo-o-r gäramz-in-ä* [Luke 24:24]

go-PL- $\text{\$}$:PAST-PAST we:ABL some:REF-REF:ABS-PL grave-SA-DAT
 'Some of us went to the grave.'

The basic paradigm of *sa(h)emo* is given in (x):

(X)	Singular	Plural
ABS	<i>sa(h)emo(o)</i>	<i>saemo ~ saemoor</i>
ERG	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-in</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-on</i>
BEN	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-enk'(ena)</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-onk'</i>
GEN	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-a</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-o</i>
GEN2	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-ai</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-oi</i>
DAT	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-u</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-o</i>
DAT2	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-ux</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-ox</i>
ABL	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-uxo</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-oxo</i>
COM	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-uxol</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-oxol</i>
COM2	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-uxolan</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-oxolan</i>
ADESS	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-ust'a</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-ost'a</i>
ALL	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-uč'</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-ul</i>	<i>sa(h)emo-t'-(u)ğ-ol</i>

§ 7. The two pronouns *šuk'al* 'anybody, somebody' and *ek'al* 'anything, something' are derived from the interrogative pronouns *šu* 'who' and *e* 'what' (see 3.2.9.3 for a detailed discussion of the derivational pattern). Lexicalization has conditioned morphological invariance of the underlying stems. Thus, the terms as such are inflected on the basis of a nominal pattern.

§ 8. The form *šuk'al* is inflected like a strong polysyllabic noun (see 3.3.2.2): Case forms are directly added to the stem. The referential semantics condition that the *i*-genitive is used instead of the canonical *-un*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5):

(x) *me adamar šuk'al-i q'ul-le* [f.n.]

PROX man somebody-GEN servant-3SG
 'This man is somebody's servant.'

Else, the paradigm does not show any peculiarities. However, note that the local cases are extremely rare. Examples are:

(x) (a) *gäräg me tängä šuk'al-ast'a bak-a-ne* [f.n.]

necessary PROX money somebody-ADESS be-MOD-3SG
 'This money must belong to somebody.'

(b) *vi nana-x šuk'al-axol a-za-k'-e* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS mother-DAT2 somebody-COM see-1SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
 'I have seen your mother in company with someone.'

(c) *šuk'al-axo kala-ne* [f.n.]
 somebody-ABL old-3SG
 '(S)he is older than anybody else.'

§ 9. The non-human variant of *šuk'al* is *ek'al* 'anything, something' [Nizh *hik'ä ~ hikä*]. As an indefinite pronoun, *ek'al* is inflected like a strong polysyllabic noun. The most frequent form is the absolutive that is also used to encode the (indefinite) objective function (see x.x.x): Semantically speaking, *ek'al* is indefinite. Therefore, it lacks the dative2 that encode definite (or typical) reference towards a referent in objective function (see x.x.x). Likewise, the lack of a benefactive (*ek'alenk'*) is conditioned by semantic constraints related to the use of the benefactive (see 3.3.3.4).

Contrary to *šuk'al* 'anybody, somebody', the pronoun *ek'al* shows the standard genitive of strong polysyllabic nouns (-*un*, see 3.3.3.5). Local case forms are rare, although there is no constraint on the use of these cases with *ek'al*. (x) summarized the case forms of both *šuk'al* and *ek'al* (Vartashen):

(X)

	'Anybody, somebody'	'Anything, something'
ABS	<i>šuk'al</i>	<i>ek'al</i>
ERG	<i>šuk'al-en</i>	<i>ek'al-en</i>
BEN	<i>šuk'al-enk'</i>	---
GEN	---	<i>ek'al-un</i>
GEN2	<i>šuk'al-i</i>	---
DAT	<i>šuk'al-a</i>	<i>ek'al-a</i>
DAT2	<i>šuk'al-ax</i>	---
ABL	<i>šuk'al-axo</i>	<i>ek'al-axo</i>
COM	<i>šuk'al-axol</i>	<i>ek'al-axol</i>
COM2	<i>šuk'al-axolan</i>	<i>ek'al-axolan</i>
ADESS	<i>šuk'al-ast'a</i>	<i>ek'al-ast'a</i>
ALL	<i>šuk'al-ač'</i>	<i>ek'al-ač'</i>
SUPER	<i>šuk'al-al</i>	<i>ek'al-al</i>

The corresponding Nizh form *hik'ä ~ hikä* does not differ from the Vartashen variant: To the stem, the appropriate case forms are added, e.g. *hik'älin* (GEN), *hik'älä* (DAT), *hik'äläxun* (ABL/COM) etc.

Pančviže 1974:101 lists additional forms for both *šuk'al* and *ek'al* that are derived from a secondary paradigm based on the referentialization of both forms (> *šuk'alo*, *ek'alo*). The inflectional paradigm of these forms corresponds to that of standard referentialized forms (see 3.3.10): *šuk'al-t'-in ~ ek'al-t'-in* (ERG) etc. Nevertheless, such forms never occur in the textual sources nor had my informants used them. Most probably, we have to deal with spontaneous forms that result from the

alignment of the paradigm of *šuk'al* / *ek'al* to that of referentialized *-al*-participles (such *ašbalo* ‘worker, see 3.2.2.2 and 3.3.10).

§ 10. The two indefinite pronouns *šute* ‘whoever’ and *ek'(k')ate* ‘whatever’ are morphologically transparent. They consist of the interrogative pronouns *šu* ‘who’ and *ek'a* ‘what’ to which the general subordinator *te* is added (see 3.2.8.3 and x.x.x). The corresponding inflectional paradigms of the interrogative pronouns are copied into the complex forms. Therefore, the inflection of *šute* and *ek'(k')ate* does not differ from that of *šu* and *ek'a*, see 3.3.9.5. Note that the two pronouns are frequent in Vartashen, but rare in Nizh. In Nizh, the simple interrogative forms are often used instead, compare:

(x) (a) *šin-te* *beš* *šum-ax* *kä-i-ne* *beš* *ioldaš-ne*
 who:ERG-SUB we:POSS bread-DAT2 eat:PAST-PAST-3SG we:POSS friend-3SG
 ‘Whoever has eaten our bread is our friend.’ [Vartashen; f.n.]

(b) *šin* *beši* *šum-a* *kä-y-e* *beši* *dost'-e* [Nizh; f.n.]
 who:ERG we:POSS bread-DAT eat:PAST-PAST-3SG we:POSS friend-3SG
 ‘Whoever has eaten our bread is our friend.’

3.3.9.2 General reference. As has been shown in section 3.2.8.3, general reference is carried out with the help of the two terms *har* ‘each, every’ and *bütün* ‘all’. The form *har* is a loan from Persian *har* ‘every, each’ and usually keeps the adjectival semantics of the source term. Therefore, it is marked by the referentializer *-o* when used as a referential form. The resulting form is inflected just as any other referential form (see 3.3.10). However, note that some speakers tend to extend the use of the morpheme *-o* to the oblique case forms:

(x)	ABS	<i>haro</i>	
	ERG	<i>har-t'-in</i> ~ <i>haro-t'-in</i>	
	BEN	<i>har-t'-enk'</i> ~ <i>haro-t'-enk'</i>	
	GEN	<i>har-t'-a</i> ~ <i>haro-t'-a</i>	
	GEN2	<i>har-t'-ai</i> ~ <i>haro-t'-ai</i>	
	DAT	<i>har-t'-u</i> ~ <i>haro-t'-u</i>	
	DAT2	<i>har-t'-ux</i> ~ <i>haro-t-ux</i>	etc.

The derived pronoun *har-sa* (lit.: each one) is inflected on the basis of the referentialized form *harso* < **harsa-o*. Again, the absolutive stem is kept in the oblique cases, e.g. *har-so-t'-in* (ERG), *har-so-t'-ai* (GEN2) etc. By analogy with the unmarked absolutive *harsa*, the vowel *-o-* is sometimes changed to *-a-* (*har-sa-t'-in* (ERG), *har-sa-t'-ai* (GEN2) etc.

The term *bütün* ~ *bütüm* ~ *bito(n)* (< Azeri *bütün* ‘all’) has a rather unstable paradigm. Many speakers use both the referentialized form *bütüno* and the simple form *bütün* (unmarked conversion to a (pro)noun), compare:

(x) (a) *aba-zu bito šavat' bak-al-e* [I 31, Nizh]
 knowing-1SG all good be-FUT:FAC-3SG
 'I know that everything will be OK.'

(b) *bito-t'-aynak' dirist'uğ up-a!* [I 41, Nizh]
 all-SA:OBL-BEN greetings say:IMP-IMP:2SG
 'Give greentings to all!'

Nevertheless, both forms are usually inflected according to the paradigm of referentialized forms: Case suffixes are added to the oblique stem *bütün-t'*- (see 3.3.10). In objective function, however, the standard form *bütünt'ux* (DAT2) is frequently replaced by the unmarked absolutive (*bütün*). The same reduction may occur when the term is used in agentive (or demoted agentive, see **x.x.x**) function:

(x) (a) *bütün tad-ec-i-ne za bez baba-xo* [Matthew 11:27]
 all give-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG I:DAT I:POSS father-ABL
 'All is given to me by my father.'

(b) *biasun šum kã-i bütün bas-q'un-k'-esa* [GD 61]
 evening bread eat:PAST-PART:PAST all lie=down-3PL-LV-PRES
 'In the evening, all ate bread (and) went to sleep.'

(c) *bütün ixt'ilat-q'un b-esa* [R 19]
 ALL conversation-3PL make-PRES
 'All talk to each other.'

(d) *ek'k'a-te bu-t'ai bütün tov-ne-d-i* [Matthew 13:44]
 what-SUB be-3SG:POSS all sell-3SG-LV-PAST
 'He sold everything (lit.: all) he had.'

(e) *tam-b-a-nan bütün ek'k'a-te zu ef'a bürmiš-zu-b-e*
 fulfill-LV-MOD-2PL all what-SUB I you:PL:DAT order-1SG-LV-PERF
 'Fulfill everything (lit.: all) that I have told you.' [Matthew 28:20]

On the other hand, the Gospels may show pluralization of *bütün*. In actual Udi, such plural forms hardly ever occur. An example is:

(x) *va^f p'a^f čäli-n-ax žok'-ne-b-i bütün-t'-ğ-oenk'* [Mark 6:41]
 and two fish-SA-DAT2 divide-3SG-LV-PAST all-REF:OBL-PL-BEN
 'And he divided two fish for all (of them).'

Some speakers of Nizh tend to use *bütün* etc. as a strong noun. An example is:

(x) *dirist'uğ up-a bito-a* [I 10b, Nizh]
 greeting say:IMP-MOD:2SG all-DAT

‘Give greeting(s) to all?’

(x) gives the complete paradigm of *bütün(o)* together with those plural forms that are attested in the Gospels:

(X)	Singular	Plural
ABS	<i>bütün ~ bütün-o</i>	<i>bütün-o-r</i>
ERG	<i>bütün-t'-in ~ bütün</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-on</i>
BEN	<i>bütün-t'-enk'</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-oenk'</i>
GEN	<i>bütün-t'-a</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-o</i>
GEN2	<i>bütün-t'-ai</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-oi</i>
DAT	<i>bütün-t'-u ~ bütün</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-o</i>
DAT2	<i>bütün-t'-ux</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-ox</i>
ABL	<i>bütün-t'-uxo</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-oxo</i>
COM	<i>bütün-t'-uxol</i>	---
COM2	<i>bütün-t'-uxolan</i>	---
ADESS	<i>bütün-t'-ust'a</i>	---
ALL	<i>bütün-t'-uč'</i>	<i>bütün-t'-ğ-oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>bütün-t'-ul</i>	---

Structurally, the Nizh paradigm of *bütün* etc. does not differ from this pattern. Special forms are *bitint'ainak'* (BEN) and *bit'int'uxun* (ABL/COM), see 3.3.3.4 and 3.3.4.1.

3.3.9.3 Negative reference. As has been said in section 3.2.8.3, Udi does not have special forms to encode negative reference. Instead, the pronouns *šuk'al* ‘anyone, someone’ and *ek'al* ‘anything, something’ are used together with a negative particle or the negative copula *te* (see 3.4.7). Case forms do not differ from those given for *šuk'al* and *ek'al* in section 3.3.9.3.

3.3.9.4 Relative reference. The relative pronoun *manote* is an Udi innovation (see 3.2.8.5 and x.x.x) that is based on the interrogative pronoun *mano* ‘which’ (see 3.2.8.4). Parallel to the indefinite pronouns *šute* ‘however’ and *ek'(k')ate* ‘whatever’, the stem is inflected followed by the general subordinator *te*. There are no differences in inflection between the relative pronoun and its interrogative base, see section 3.3.9.5 for a discussion of the relevant paradigm. In constructions that are marked by the attributive genitive *mat'a*, the subordinator is normally placed after the possessee. The same is true for postpositional structures that show a genitive linkage:

(x) (a) *šo-no ioan-ne ma-t'-a bex-te bo-z-t'-e* [Mark 6:16]
 DIST-REF:ABS John-3SG REL-REF:OBL-GEN head:DAT2-SUB cut=down-1SG-\$-PERF
 ‘That is John whose head I have cut.’

(b) *bo^šga^š-nan-b-o žähil e^šle^šm ma-t'-a laxo-te*
 find-2PL-LV-FUT:MOD young ass REL-REF:OBL-GEN on-SUB

šuk'al adamar-ǧ-oxo te-ne arc-e [Mark 11:2]
 anybody person-PL-ABL NEG-3SG sit:PERF
 'Find a young ass on which nobody has (ever) sat.'

Note that the relative pronoun is extremely rare in the dialect of Nizh. If ever relative constructions are represented by clausal patterns, the Northern Oriental subordinator *ki* (< Persian *ke*) is used.

3.3.9.5 Q-reference. Basically, three interrogative pronouns can be inflected: *šu* 'who' (§§ 1-4), *ek'a* 'what' (§§ 5-9), and *mano* 'which (one)' (§ 10-14). Other referential interrogatives such as *emao* 'how many' and *eq'q'arao* 'how many' are inflected like standard referentialized forms, see 3.3.10.

§ 1. The interrogative pronoun *šu* is marked for an inflectional paradigm that comes close to that of strong nouns. The pattern is 'strong' in the sense that it lacks any stem augment. Contrary to some other Lezgian languages such as Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, and Archi, no plural variant is given. Superficially, the pronoun shows ablaut in three of its oblique case forms: The stem vowel *-u* is substituted by the vowel *-i*, compare *šin* (ERG), *ši* (GEN), *šink'* (BEN). However, the assumption of an ablaut scheme does not take into consideration the morphological make-up of the case forms in question: Undoubtedly, the ergative *šin* entails the ergative morpheme *-in* that is typical for referentialized and pronominal forms (see 3.3.10). The genitive *ši* is marked by the *-i*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5) that characterizes human possessors. Finally, the benefactive *šink'* is derived from the ergative *šin* (see 3.3.3.4).

Nevertheless, this segmental interpretation leaves us with the problem that we have to postulate a base stem *šu* that would be opposed to a second stem **š-*. This second stem is phonetically speaking not very probable. Further, the distribution of the two stems does not meet the standard distributional pattern of secondary stems that usually cover the whole domain of oblique cases (see 3.3.2.2). From this we can conclude that the oblique case forms are based on one and the same secondary stem. Comparative evidence from the other Lezgian languages suggests that the labial vowel in the absolutive *šu* once distinguished a 'human-oriented' interrogative stem from a 'non-human' one. Most likely, the vowel is the reflex of an old diptotic class marking system that opposed (male?) human beings (**w(ə)-*) to non-human objects (and non-male human beings?), marked by the morpheme **-ɣ(ə)-*: **w-əš*: 'who' vs. **ɣ-əš*: 'what' (see §§ 7-8 for details). The labial had suprasegmental rather than segmental properties that allows the more adequate reconstruction **w-əš^w*. In Udi, this form regularly yielded *šu*. Class marking techniques had a rather strict ergative organization in proto-Lezgian: They were present with (pro)nouns in subjective and objective function (encoded by the absolutive). In agentive function (encoded by the ergative case), class markers did not show up. Therefore, the absolutive form **w-əš^w* was opposed to an oblique stem **əš:-*. To this 'secondary' stem, case markers had been added. For Udi, we have to describe a tautosyllabic process that changed the syllabic structure from **(R)VC-* to **^VCV* (**wəš^w* > **uš^w* > **əš^w*). It is related to

the general ‘drift’ of proto-Lezgian affixing techniques (from prefix to suffix, compare Schulze 1988). Analogically, the oblique stem **əš:-* changed to an Early Udi form **əš:-* + case suffix.

§ 2. Most likely, the opposition **əš:.^wə* (ABS) vs. **əš:-* (OBL) (> **šu* vs. *əš-*) was still given at a time when the actual Udi case paradigm became stabilized. In fact, the case forms as they show up with the ‘human’ interrogative pronoun are ‘modern’, compare the paradigm in (x) [Vartashen]:

(x)	ABS	<i>š<u>u</u></i>	<	<i>*əš:.^wə</i>	<	<i>*^wəš:-</i>
	ERG	<i>š<u>in</u></i>	<	<i>*əš:-<u>in</u></i>		
	GEN	---				
	GEN2	<i>š<u>i</u></i>	<	<i>*əš:-<u>i</u></i>		
	DAT	<i>š<u>u</u></i>	<	<i>*əš:-<u>u</u></i>		
	DAT2	<i>š<u>ux</u></i>				
	ABL	<i>š<u>uxo</u></i>				
	COM	<i>š<u>uxol</u></i>				
	COM2	<i>š<u>uxolan</u></i>				
	ADESS	<i>š<u>ust</u>’<u>a</u></i>				
	ALL	<i>š<u>uč</u>’</i>				
	SUPER	<i>š<u>ul</u></i>				

Accordingly, the local cases are derived from the dative base *šu* just as it is canonical in Udi (see 3.3.4.1). Note that the superficially identical forms for the absolutive and the dative (*šu*) stem from two different sources: Whereas the absolutive goes back to **əš:.^wə* < **^wəš:-*, the dative is a case marked form (-*u*, see 3.3.3.6) that is added to the oblique stem **əš:-* (> **əš:(-)u*). Some speakers tend to reinforce the dative by construing a bisyllabic structure: *šu* > *šu-u* > *šuvu*.

§ 3. The interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’ is conceptually definite: The person who asks for a (human) referent presupposes the existence of this referent together with the functional role the referent is assumed to play. Therefore, Udi speakers do not apply the O-split technique to this pronoun (see **x.x.x**). It would allow the alternative marking of the objective function (indefinite: absolutive, definite: dative(2)). In objective function, only the dative(2) is used. Just as it is true for demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1), the ‘human’ interrogative pronoun is marked for a tripartite coding technique of relational primitives. In order to illustrate this point, (x,a) gives an example of the pronoun in subjective function. (x,b) shows the same pronoun in objective function, whereas it encodes the agentive function in (x,c):

- (x) (a) *vaxun tarak’-al-a čuhux šu-a?* [NIZH; BAL; OR 137]
 you:SG:COM walk-LV-FUT:FAC-ATTR woman who-3SG:Q
 ‘Who is the woman walking at your side?’

- (b) *šux-nan furu-exa?* [John 18:4]
 who:DAT2-2PL search-LV:PRES
 ‘Who do you look for?’
- (c) *šin-a duğ-e vax?* [Matthew 26:68]
 who:ERG-3SG:Q hit-PERF you:SG:DAT2
 ‘Who has hit you?’

Note that in Nizh, this tripartite pattern is superficially ‘re-ergativized’: Here, the simple dative is used to encode the objective function (see 3.3.3.6). The polysemy of the form *šu* (ABS, DAT) groups the subjective and the objective functions together and opposes them to the agentive function (ERG), compare:

- (x) (a) *üş-e tac-i-t’-oğ-oxun šu-a qoš qai-bak-i?*
 night-DAT go:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL who-3SG:Q back return-LV-PAST
 ‘Who of those who have left at night has returned?’ [KACH; OR 47]
- (b) *šu-n be^šğ-e?* [f.n.]
 who:DAT-2SG see-PERF
 ‘Whom did you see?’
- (c) *šin-a pe bulin šaq’q’i-n-a šik’lam te-ne bak-sa?*
 who:ERG-3SG:Q say-PERF upper quarter-SA-DAT onion NEG-3SG be-PRES
 ‘Who has said that onions do not grow in the upper quarter?’ [BUL; OR 134]

§ 4. Just as any other *-i*-genitive (see 3.3.3.5), the form *ši* can be used both in attribution and in long distance possession:

- (x) (a) *ši ğar-a šo-no?* [f.n.]
 who:POSS son-3SG:Q DIST-REF:ABS
 ‘Whose son is he?’
- (b) *ši-a ka boxo bisi xanžal?* [DG 33]
 who:POSS-3SG:Q MED long old dagger
 ‘Whose is this long old dagger?’

§ 5. The non-human interrogative pronoun is *ek’a* (Nizh *hik’ä* ~ *hikä*). As has been argued in section 3.2.8.4, the original interrogative stem has been *e-* (Nizh *hi-*) that today is used in attributive contexts (see 3.2.9.5). To this stem, a now lost noun **k’a* ‘thing’ had been added in the absolutive. The resulting form *ek’a* < **hi k’a* ‘what thing’ replaces the expected referentialized form ***e-o* / ***hi-o*. It is not quite clear whether Udi ever knew this type of absolutive that is suggested by the inflectional paradigm: Contrary to the ‘human’ interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’, *ek’a* ‘what’

shows a ‘weak’ paradigm that is marked by the presence of the referentializing morpheme *-t’* in all oblique cases (see the paradigm given in § 6 below). It may well have been the case that the form ***e-o* (< ***hi-o*) had referential properties that were too ‘strong’ in the given context: Basically, the pronoun is indefinite. This feature becomes apparent if we look at the use of *ek’a* in objective function: Contrary to *šu* ‘who’, the ‘non-human’ pronoun nearly always encodes this function with the help of the absolutive that usually marks the indefinite domain of the objective (see **x.x.x**):

(x) (a) *za ek’a-n tad-o?* [f.n.]

I:DAT what-2SG give-FUT:MOD

‘What will you give me?’

(b) *ek’a-ian uk-o ek’a-ian u^fǧ-o^f ie ek’a-ian lak’-o?*

what-1PL eat-FUT:MOD what-1PL drink-FUT:MOD or what-1PL put=on-FUT:MOD

‘What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and (lit.: or) what shall we put on?’

[Matthew 6:31]

(c) *ko-no hikä-n-b-sa?* [Nizh; ZU; OR 130]

MED-REF:ABS what-2SG-LV-PRES

‘(What is) that what you do?’

(d) *harun-i ü^fmü^fǧ-o hikä-ne nex-e?* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 53]

Harun-GEN ear-DAT what-3SG say:PRES-3SG

‘What does she say into Harun’s ear?’

The dative2 (*et’ux*) that would encode the definite domain of the objective, is hardly ever used (the hapax legomenon *et’ux* documented by Schiefner 1863:67 results from a misprint (read: *šet’ux*)). Hence, there is a strong correlation between the absolutive case *ek’a* and indefiniteness. The Udi referentializing morpheme *-o*, however, has a relative strong ‘definite’ connotation (compare the opposition *bütün* ‘all’ vs. *bütün-o* ‘they all’). Accordingly, the expected absolutive ***e-o* would yield a meaning ‘that what’. Such a connotation seems to be incompatible with the basically indefinite semantics of *ek’a* ‘what’. Instead, indefiniteness is stressed with the help of the ‘dummy’ **-k’a* ‘thing’ (see 3.2.8.4).

§ 6. In Nizh, oblique case forms of *hik’ä* ~ *hikä* are often avoided. If ever such case forms are used, the standard referentializer *-t’* is added to the interrogative stem. In Nizh, the stem vowel is lowered in analogy with the simple adnominal pronoun *he* < **hi* ‘which’, compare *het’ainak’* (BEN) ‘for what, why’. The following paradigm, includes in brackets those case forms that are listed by Pančviže 1974:90-1. Nevertheless, note that these forms are not confirmed by the sources currently available:

(X)		Vartashen	Nizh
	ABS	<i>ek’a</i>	<i>hik’ä</i> ~ <i>hikä</i>

ERG	<i>e-t'-in</i>	[<i>he-t'-in</i>]
BEN	<i>e-t'-enk'</i>	<i>he-t'-ainak'</i>
GEN	<i>e-t'-a</i>	---
GEN2	<i>e-t'-ai</i>	[<i>he-t'-ai</i>]
DAT	<i>e-t'-u</i>	[<i>he-t'-u</i>]
DAT2	[<i>e-t'-ux</i>]	[<i>he-t'-ux</i>]
ABL	<i>e-t'-uxo</i>	[<i>he-t'-uxun</i>]
COM	<i>e-t'-uxol</i>	[<i>he-t'-uxun</i>]
COM2	---	---
ADESS	[<i>e-t'-ust'a</i>]	[<i>he-t'-ust'a</i>]
ALL	[<i>e-t'-uč'</i>]	[<i>he-t'-uč'</i>]
SUPER	<i>e-t'-ul</i>	[<i>he-t'-ul</i>]

§ 7. The semantic class represented by the pronoun *ek'a* conditions that its potential to encode the agentive function is rather limited. In fact, the ergative *et'in* is relatively rare. Most often, it is used in the sense of an instrumental, compare:

(x) (a) *e-t'-in-nu* *el-en-b-o* *šo-t'-ux?* [Matthew 5:13]
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-2SG salt-ERG>INSTR-LV-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 'With what will you salten it?'

(b) *e-t'-in-q'un* *ox-exa* *bex?* [ST §6]
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-3PL comb-LV:PRES head:DAT2
 'Whith what do they comb their hair (lit.: had)?'

In reference to animals or with metaphorically animated concepts, *et'in* can encode the agentive function:

(x) (a) *e-t'-in-a* *kä-i* *ul-l-ux?* [PO 5]
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG:Q eat:PAST-PAST wolf-SA-DAT2
 'What has eaten the wolf?'

(b) *e-t'-in-a* *kä-i* *tüfäng-ax?* ...
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG:Q eat:PAST-PAST rifle-DAT2 ...

žäng-en-ne *k-e* *tüfäng-ax* [PO 5]
 war-ERG-3SG eat:PAST-PERF rifle-DAT2
 'What has eaten the rifle? ... The war has eaten the rifle.'

Accordingly, the pronoun is located on the right side of the Accusative Ergative Continuum (see Schulze 2000): The unmarked form *ek'a* encodes both the subjective and the objective function (S=O). In order to illustrate this point, refer to (x) above that shows *ek'a* in objective function. Examples for *ek'a* in subjective function are:

(x) (a) *mo-no* *ek'a-a?* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS what-3SG:Q

‘What is this?’

- (b) *ek'a(-a) vi c'i?* [Luke 8:30]
 what(-3SG:Q) you:SG:POSS name
 ‘What is your name?’

- (c) *ek'a(-a) efa^f lazum?* [John 1:38]
 what(-3SG:Q) EMPH:you:PL:DAT necessary
 ‘What do you need (lit.: what is necessary for you)?’

The ergative *et'in*, however, aims at inanimate or non-human animate referents that (in parts) lack the standard control properties of human referents. (X) compares the ergative behavior of *ek'a* ‘what’ to the tripartite behavior of *šu* ‘who’:

- (x) ACCUSATIVE ← TRIPARTITE ← ERGATIVE
 *šu* ‘who’ *ek'a* ‘what’

§ 8. As has been said above, the interrogative pronoun *ek'a* differs from its ‘human’ variant in that it has a weak inflectional pattern, whereas *šu* ‘who’ is ‘strong’. The opposition ‘referential’ (*šu*) vs. ‘adnominal’ (*e-*) functionally meets this morphological difference. In order to explain the basically adnominal character of the ‘non-human’ interrogative, we have to start with the form reconstructed for the ‘human’ variant *šu*, **w-əš:^w*. In § 1 it has been claimed that this form consists of an interrogative stem **əš:-* preceded by the class marker **w-* that cross-referenced (male?) human beings. This morpheme had suprasegmental properties that influenced the articulation of the stem (**w-əš:-* > **w-əš:^w-*). The non-human (non-male?) variant had been **y-əš:-*. The palatal segment had the same suprasegmental effect as its counterpart **w-*: **y-əš: > *y-əš:^y-*. Both forms belongs to a set of class-marked lexemes in proto-Lezgian that allowed both a referential and an adnominal interpretation:

- (x) (a) **w-əš:^w* + Noun[human] ‘which (human) X?’
 **w-əš:^w* ‘who?’
- (b) **y-əš:^y* + Noun [non-human] ‘which (non-human) X?’
 **y-əš:^y* ‘what’

The ‘human’ (or: male?) interrogative has generalized the ‘referential’ use: Most probably, constructions like ‘who did X?’ had been more frequent than the adnominal type ‘which X did Y’. The ‘non-human’ (or: ‘non-male?’) pronoun, however, had been more frequent in adnominal function (compare the distribution of English ‘who’ and ‘which’). Therefore, speakers of proto-Lezgian tended to generalize the adnominal function of **y-əš:^y*. If necessary, the form again acquired a marker of referentiality. Note that in Old Udi, ‘what’ is expressed with the help of the pronoun *ya* which may be a direct reflex of **y-əš:^y*, too.

§ 9. If this scenario is correct, we can easily relate the Udi adnominal form $e < *hi$ ‘which, what kind of’ to the paradigm given in (x) above. The proto-Lezgian form $*y-əšːːʲ$ underwent the same tautosyllabic process as it has been described for the ‘human’ variant $*w-əšːːʷ$ above (see § 1): $*y-əšːːʲ > *əšːːʲə$. The strong palatalization of $*šːːʲ-$ caused the sound change $*šːːʲ- > h-$. Likewise, the final vowel became $-i$. The resulting form hi is preserved in the Nizh pronoun $hi-k'ä$. In final position, $*-i$ regularly became $-e$, followed by the loss of initial $*h-$ in Vartashen ($*hi > e$). By the time, the grammaticalization of the two class marked pronouns had taken place, the ‘non-human’ pronoun probably lacked inflection (note that in proto-Lezgian, relational case morphology was confined to ‘human’ referents):

(x)		Class I (> ‘who’)	Class II (> ‘what’)
	ABS	$*w-əšːːʷ$	$*y-əšːːʲ$
	OBL	$*əšːː-$	---

The fact that there are no obvious traces of an oblique variant of the ‘non-human’ pronoun can also be explained by the basically adnominal function of this pronoun: In Lezgian languages, attributes are hardly ever marked for case. There is no reason to assume that things had been different in proto-Lezgian. The paradigm of the Udi ‘non-human’ interrogative reflects this older state: As it becomes apparent from the paradigm in (x), the pronominal stem $e-$ is used both in the absolutive and in all oblique cases. (x) summarizes the development of both pronouns (note that the label ‘human/non-human’ can also read ‘male/non-male’):

(x)			Generalization	Sound change	Output	Innovation
‘Human’	$*w-əšːːʷ$	REF	$*w-əšːːʷ$	$*w-əšːːʷ > šu$	‘who’	
	$*w-əšːːʷ$	ADN				<i>mano</i> ‘which’
‘Non-human’	$*y-əšːːʲ$	REF				<i>ya / ek'a</i> ‘what’
	$*y-əšːːʲ$	ADN	$*y-əšːːʲ$	$*y-əšːːʲ > hi > e$	‘which’	<i>mano</i> ‘which’

§ 10. As a referential form, the interrogative pronoun *mano* ‘which’ has ‘selective’ function. Therefore, it is frequently used with a noun marked by the ablative plural that denotes the class to which a questioned referent belongs. The standard patterns are:

- (x) *mano* + referent (ABL:PL)
referent (ABL:PL) + *mano*

Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ma-no-a me ġar-muġ-oxo haq'ullu?* [GD 60]
which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX son-PL-ABL clever
‘Who of these sons is clever?’

- (b) *ma-t'-in-a* *šo-t'-ǵ-oxo* *gölö* *buq'-o* *šo-t'-ux?*
 which-REF:OBL-3SG:Q DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL much love-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘Who of these will love him more?’ [Luke 7:42]

- (c) *ma-t'-in-a* *me* *p'o^o-t'-uǵ-oxo*
 which-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG:Q PROX two:REF-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

tam-b-e *baba* *ixt'iar-ax* [Matthew 21:31]
 fulfill-LV-PERF father:GEN will-DAT2
 ‘Who of these two has fulfilled the father’s will?’

The ablative is occasionally replaced by the (partitive) genitive:

- (a) *šo-t'-ǵ-oi* *ma-t'-ai*
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN2 which-REF:OBL-GEN2

bak-al-a *šo-no* *čubux* [Luke 20:33]
 be-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q DIST-REF:ABS woman
 ‘Who of them will have her as a wife?’

- (b) *be^oǵ-en* *ma-no-a* *me-t'-oǵ-o* *šel* [TR 68]
 see-IMP:1PL which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX-REF:OBL-PL-GEN good
 ‘Let us see which of these (religions) is good.’

This constructional pattern suggests that *mano* has anaphoric function: It normally refers to a constituent mentioned before or integrated in the construction. Exophoric reference is rare. Informants usually rejected constructions that lack an overt referent:

- (x) (a) ? *ma-t'-ux-va* *buq'-sa?*
 which-REF:OBL-DAT2-2SG:IO want-PRES
 ‘Which (one) do you want?’ [pointing at an apple]

- (b) *me* *e^oǵ-urǵ-o* *mat'-ux-va* *buq'-sa?* [f.n.]
 PROX apple-PL-GEN which-REF:OBL-DAT2-2SG:IO want-PRES
 ‘Which of these apples do you want?’

§ 11. The constructional pattern Noun:ABL/GEN + *mano* ‘which of X’ is frequently changed to *mano* + Noun. The starting point of this change are constructions in which the referent is additionally marked by a partitive (x,a) or possessive (x,b) relation. Obviously, the pattern came up to avoid doubled possessive/partitive relations, compare (x,c):

- (x) (a) *mano baba-n-a efa^hxo evaxte ġar-en be-ne-s-sa*
 which father-ERG-3SG:Q you:PL:ABL when son-ERG ask=for-3SG-\$-PRES
šo-t'-xo šum tad-a-ne šo-t'-u že^f [Luke 11:11]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ABL bread give-MOD-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT stone
 ‘If the son asks him for bread: Which father of you would give him a stone?’
- (b) *vi mano viči-a p'ur-e?* [CO § 3]
 you:SG:POSS which brother-3SG:Q die:PAST-PERF
 ‘Which of your brothers has died?’
- (c) ? *baba-ġ-oxo efa^hxo mat'in-a ...*
 ? *vi vičimġoxo mano-a ...*

The patterns in (x,a) and (x,b) condition that case marking is transferred from the interrogative pronoun to its referential head. The pronoun thus acquires adnominal properties: It then behaves like a standard adnominal interrogative pronoun. In addition, this process has become stabilized for two reasons: a) As has been said in § 9, the ‘human’ interrogative pronoun (> *šu*) must have lost its adnominal properties at a certain stage of Early Udi. This slot could then be filled by the pronoun *mano*. b) There is a related process present with the referentialized numeral *sao* > *so* (see 3.3.9.1):

- (x) (a) *adamar-ġ-oxo so-ne ar-i* [f.n.]
 man-PL-ABL one:REF:ABS-3SG come:PAST-PAST
 ‘ONE of the men came ...’
- (b) *sa adamar-re ar-i* [f.n.]
 one man-3SG come:PAST-PAST
 ‘A MAN came...’

(x,a) shows a pattern that is parallel to that of *mano* in referential function. It is used when the referent is definite and known. In (x,b), however, the adnominal form *sa* ‘one’ is used to refer to an indefinite constituent. But whereas the pattern in (x) exploits the opposition between *sa* (ADN) and *sao* > *so* (REF), the interrogative pronoun lacks a corresponding adnominal form:

(x)		‘One’	‘Which’
	REF	<i>so</i>	<i>mano</i>
	ADN	<i>sa</i>	<i>mano</i>

The expected form would have been ***ma*. This comes clear if we look at the morphological ‘make-up’ of *mano*: It is based on the stem *ma* ‘where’ to which the referential group *-no* (ABS) has been added. Accordingly, *mano* shows the same derivational pattern as the referential deictic forms *meno*, *kano*, *šeno* etc., see 3.3.7.1:

(x)		‘Which’	PROX	MED	DIST
	REF	<i>mano</i>	<i>meno</i>	<i>kano</i>	<i>šeno</i>
	ADN	<i>*ma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ka</i>	[<i>t’e</i>]

Nevertheless, the form ***ma* (= *ma* ‘where’) cannot be used in adnominal function, compare:

- (x) (a) *me-no kala k’ož-ne*
 PROX-REF:ABS big house-3SG
 ‘This is a big house.’

me k’ož kala-ne
 PROX house big-3SG
 ‘This house is big.’

- (b) *ma-no-a ġar-muġ-oxo haq’ullu?*
 which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q son-PL-ABL clever
 ‘Who of the sons / which son is clever?’

***ma ġar-a haq’ullu*
 **which son-3SG:Q clever
 ‘Which son is clever?’

§ 12. The (rare) Nizh variant *mani* (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.2.9.5) perhaps is a residue of the expected adnominal form. It occurs adnominally only and lacks the referentializer *-o*:

- (x) (a) *mani ga-n-u-n bix-ec-e?* [f.n.]
 which place-SA-DAT-2SG bear-LV:PASS:PAST-PERF
 ‘Where (lit.: in which place) have you been born?’
 (b) *za mani yaq’-a ak’-es-t’-es ba-n-k-sa?* [f.n.]
 I:DAT which way-DAT see-MASD-LV:CAUS-MASD be-2SG- $\$$ -PRES
 ‘Which way can you show me?’

- (c) *mani ga-n-uxun bak-sun-a p-es te-t’un bak-sa* [ACH; OR 118]
 which place-SA-ABL be-MASD2-DAT say-MASD NEG-3PL be-PRES
 ‘They cannot say from which place they are.’

In section 3.2.9.5, it has been hypothesized that the form *mani* represents a focused variant of the base *ma-*: *ma-ni* ‘where-FOC’. This hypothesis corresponds to the assumption that the referentialized forms of the adnominal deixis are also marked for focus (see 3.3.7.1). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the notion of focus in connection with the particle *-ni* is not secured for proto-Lezgian (see x.x.x). It may well have been that **-ni* once had a broader functional scope that allowed its use in

attributive structures (compare the use of *-n* (class I-III) / *-na* (Class IV) in Tsakhur to mark attributes).

§ 13. The referential and structural properties of *mano* (< **ma-ni-o*?) condition that it can be inflected just as a demonstrative pronoun. (x) lists the basic paradigm for the Vartashen dialect:

(X)	Singular	Plural
ABS	<i>mano</i>	<i>ma-no-r</i>
ERG	<i>ma-t'-in</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-on</i>
BEN	<i>ma-t'-enk'</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oenk'</i>
GEN	<i>ma-t'-a</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-o</i>
GEN2	<i>ma-t'-ai</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oi</i>
DAT	<i>ma-t'-u</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-o</i>
DAT2	<i>ma-t'-ux</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-ox</i>
ABL	<i>ma-t'-uxo ~ ma-t'-xo</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oxo</i>
COM	<i>ma-t'-uxol</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oxol</i>
COM2	<i>ma-t'-uxolan</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oxolan</i>
ADESS	<i>ma-t'-ust'a</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-ost'a</i>
ALL	<i>ma-t'-uč'</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-oč'</i>
SUPER	<i>ma-t'-ul</i>	<i>ma-t'-(u)ğ-ol</i>

§ 14. The case forms are the same for the (basically Vartashen) relative pronoun (see 3.3.8.4). In order to distinguish the semantically more explicit interrogative pronoun from the relative pronoun, I use the gloss ‘which’ for the interrogative stem *ma-* throughout this book. The reader should, however, not infer from this gloss that it actually matches the semantics of the stem. As has been said above, the interrogative pronoun is derived from a stem that is perhaps identical with the locative pronoun *ma* ‘where?’. Typologically, the derivation of relative pronouns from the concept <where> is well attested. For Udi, however, we have to bear in mind that it is the interrogative pronoun that is derived from *ma-*, but not the relative pronoun as such.

The gloss ‘REL’ is used to mark the stem *ma-* in case it is used as a relative pronoun. The gloss is intended to mirror the fact that the relative pronoun has undergone a higher degree of grammaticalization than its interrogative base.

3.3.10 The inflection of referentialized forms

As has been said in section 3.2.3, nearly every adnominal form qualifies for referentialization in Udi. This includes (among others) basic adjectives, pronominal forms, numerals, participles, and referential forms marked by the relational genitive (see 3.3.3.5). The technique of referentialization is perhaps the most prominent derivational strategy not only in Udi, but also in many East Caucasian languages. In Udi, it is linked to a particular case pattern that can be called the ‘pronominal’ paradigm. This paradigm cancels all semantic options that are present with standard referential forms (see 3.3.3). In other words, (in)alienability, parameters of social (or

kinship) organization (see 3.3.3.5), or strategies to distinguish local semantics from relational functions (see 3.3.3.6) do not constitute specific subparadigms. This peculiarity is related to the fact that Udi referentialized forms represent concepts that can best be described as attributed generic ‘spaces’:

- (x) *kala-* *-o* ‘The big one’
nREF (> ATTR) REF (> Generic space)

Accordingly, it is the ‘generic space’ that selects case, but not the (blended) concept in its complex semantics. As has been said in section 3.2.3 and 3.3.7.1, genericity is expressed in the oblique cases with the help of the deictic element *-t’-*. This element selects the following case morphemes:

(X)	Vartashen	Nizh
ABS	<i>-o</i>	<i>-o</i>
ERG	<i>-(o-)t’-in</i>	<i>-t’-in</i>
BEN	<i>-(o-)t’-enk’</i>	<i>-t’-ainak’</i>
GEN	<i>-(o-)t’-a</i>	---
GEN2	<i>-(o-)t’-ai</i>	<i>-t’-ai</i>
DAT	<i>-(o-)t’-u</i>	<i>-t’-u</i>
DAT2	<i>-(o-)t’-ux</i>	<i>-t’-ux</i>
ABL	<i>-(o-)t’-uxo ~ -t’xo</i>	<i>-t’-uxun</i>
COM	<i>-(o-)t’-uxol</i>	<i>-t’-uxun</i>
COM2	<i>-(o-)t’-uxolan</i>	---
ADESS	<i>-(o-)t’-ust’a</i>	<i>-t’-ust’a</i>
ALL	<i>-(o-)t’-uč’</i>	<i>-t’-uč’</i>
SUPER	<i>-(o-)t’-ul</i>	<i>-t’-ul</i>
SUPER:ABL	---	<i>-t’-ulxun</i>

(x) illustrates that the oblique referential marker *-t’-* is coupled with the following basic case paradigm:

- (X) ERG *-in*
GEN *-a*
DAT *-u*

Except for the formation of the ergative, this pattern corresponds to that of standard weak nouns [w1, see 3.3.2.2] in Vartashen, compare:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (x) | <i>kala-o</i> ‘big one’ | <i>xaš</i> ‘light’ |
| ABS | <i>kala-o</i> | <i>xaš</i> |
| ERG | <i>kala-t’-in</i> | <i>xaš-en</i> |
| GEN | <i>kala-t’-a</i> | <i>xaš-n-a</i> |
| GEN2 | <i>kala-t’-ai</i> | <i>xaš-n-ai</i> |
| DAT | <i>kala-t’-u</i> | <i>xaš-n-u</i> |
| DAT2 | <i>kala-t’-ux</i> | <i>xaš-n-ux</i> |

Most likely, the generic (or: ‘pronominal’) pattern GEN *-a(i)*, DAT *-u* (ERG *-in*) has also survived in the oblique forms of the third person personal clitic (see 3.4.5):

- (x)
- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| | 3SG |
| [ABS/ERG | <i>-ne ~ -e</i>] |
| GEN>POSS [Vart.] | <i>-t'a(i)</i> |
| DAT>IO/>POSS | <i>-t'u</i> |
| DAT2>POSS [Nizh] | <i>-t'ux</i> |

The absolutive is marked by the segment *-o*. Note that in Nizh, the morpheme *-o* fused with a stem final *-a > -o(:)*, compare *kalao > kalo* etc.. Crucially, referentialized forms lack the absolutive deictic marker *-n-* that shows up with demonstrative pronouns, see 3.3.7.1. (nREF = non-referential form):

(x)

Function	Case	Stem	*Deixis	*Class	Case
S=O	ABS	nREF	<i>-∅-</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-∅</i>
A	ERG	nREF	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-in</i>

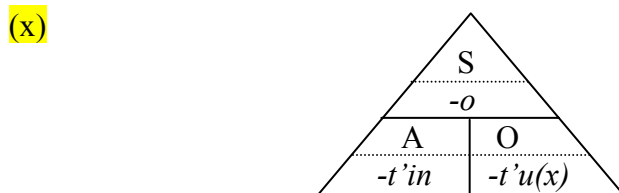
This pattern has been characterized in section 3.3.7.1 as ‘non-deictic’ conversion of non-referential forms into referential forms.

In section 3.3.7.1, it has been argued that *-o* originally functioned as a case-like element that encoded the {subjective/objective} domain. This function has led to the reanalysis of the segment *-o* as a case marker (> absolutive), compare again (x) and (X):

(x)

Function	Case	Stem	*Deixis	Case
S=O	ABS	nREF	<i>-∅-</i>	<i>-o</i>
A	ERG	nREF	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>-in</i>

This pattern, however, has undergone the same change as that of other referentialized forms such as the demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1), the ‘human’ interrogative pronoun (3.3.9.5) or the relative pronoun (3.3.9.4): The deictic (anaphoric) properties of the segment *-o* conditioned that the ‘definite’ domain of the objective function that is usually encoded by the dative(2) (see x.x.x) has been generalized. As a result, the referentialized paradigm is usually marked for a tripartite organization:



Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ič boš bu-o burux-ne* [PO 2]
REFL in be-REF:ABS mountain-3SG
'On it, there is a mountain (lit.: What is in it (the field) is a mountain).'
- (b) *kōtik'-ax vi pin boš bu-o-t'-ux*
beam-DAT2 you:SG:POSS eye:GEN in be-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2

te-va andax-b-esa? [Matthew 7:3]
NEG-2SG:IO realize-LV-PRES
'Don't you realize the beam (that is) in your eye?'
- (c) *žin bu-o-t'-in tavaxq'a-ne-b-esa-i šo-t'-ux* [Mark 5:18]
ghost be-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG plea-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
'He who is (with) a ghost asked him ...'

The examples in (x) also illustrate that the absolutive marker < proximal deixis is frequently preserved in the obliquus and then reanalyzed as a stem internal segment (*kala-o* > *kalao* 'big one' etc.). This process is caused by the general preference for morphologically unmarked absolutives. Consequently, *-o-* is also used in the oblique stems. (x) summarizes this pattern:

(x)	Function	Case	Stem	*Deixis	Case
	S=O	ABS	nREF- <i>o</i>	-∅	-∅
	A	ERG	nREF	- <i>t'</i> -	- <i>in</i>

Alternatively, the referentializer *-o* can be dropped:

- (x) (a) *e-ne-sa sa mečit-ğ-o kala* [Mark 5:22]
come-3SG-PRES one temple-PL-GEN old
'An elder of the temples comes...'
- (b) *ma-no-te oša ba-ne-k-i tov-d-al* [Luke 6:16]
REL-REF:ABS-SUB later be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST sell-LV-PART:nPAST
'... who later became a traitor.'
- (c) *sa k'ači arc-i-ne-i iaq'-e č'ot'-el* [Luke 18:35]
one blind sit-PAST-3SG-PAST way-GEN side-SUPER
'A blind (one) was sitting on the way.'

This process is especially frequent, if the referentialized form conveys 'new' information (new topic). Obviously, the 'definite' segment *-o* is incompatible with the intended 'indefinite' semantics of the referentialized form. This assumption is supported by the fact that referentialized forms hardly ever occur with the indefinite marker *sa* 'one' (3.2.7). The only counterexample documented in Vartashen texts is:

- (x) (a) *t'e-vaxt'-a sa kăğzaba-o iša-ne-bak-i* [Matthew 8:19]

DIST-time-DAT one writing=knowing-REF:ABS near-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘At that time, a scribe approached ...’

In Nizh, referentialized forms marked by *sa* ‘one’ are generally avoided. Therefore, it seems useful to distinguish two subparadigms:

(x)		[Definite/Given]	[Indefinite/New]
	ABS	-o	-∅
	OBL	-t’-	-t’-

The plural of referentialized forms is based on the singular paradigm to which the two plural markers *-r* (absolutive) and *-g̃- ~ -ug̃- ~ -og̃-* (oblique) are added. This paradigm corresponds to that of demonstrative plurals (see 3.3.7.1 for a more detailed discussion). However, note that in Nizh, the expected variant form *-o-rox* (absolutive) is not as frequent as the standard plural *-or*. (x) summarizes the plural morphemes:

(X)	Vartashen	Nizh
ABS	-o-r	-o-r ~ -o-rox
ERG	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-on	-t’-og̃-on
BEN	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-onk’	-t’-og̃-oinak’
GEN	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-o	---
GEN2	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-oi	-t’-og̃-oi
DAT	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-o	-t’-og̃-o ~ -t’-xo
DAT2	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-ox	-t’-og̃-ox
ABL	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-oxo	-t’-og̃-oxun
COM	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-oxol	-t’-og̃-oxun
COM2	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-oxolan	---
ADESS	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-ost’a	-t’-og̃-o-st’a
ALL	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-oč’	-t’-og̃-oč’
SUPER	-(o-)t’-(u)g̃-ol	-t’-og̃-ol
SUPER:ABL	---	-t’-og̃-olxun

Contrary to the singular, the referential suffix *-o* cannot be dropped in the plural. This constraint shows that it is the (generic) suffix that is pluralized, but not the referential ‘stem’. Hence, a form like *kala-o-r* ‘the big ones’ represents *kala-{-o-r}* rather than *{kala-o}-r*.

3.3.11 The origins of Udi case morphology

This section discusses some aspects of the emergence of Udi case morphology. Section 3.3.11.1 describes the original pattern of stem augmentation. Section 3.3.11.2 turns to the three basic case forms ergative, genitive, and dative, whereas 3.3.11.3 summarizes the analysis presented in section 3.3.4 for the set of local case forms.

3.3.11.1 Stem augmentation. At an earlier stage of Udi, the language must have known more than one stem augment. This assumption is based on both internal and

external evidence. From a comparative point of view, it is rather unlikely that the other Lezgian languages – all of them characterized by a multiple set of stem augments – have (independently) innovated their paradigm of oblique stem formation. (x) lists the most frequent stem augments in the cognate languages of Udi:

(x)	Lezgi:	Constraints
	-a	Personal names -C#, some social terms
	-di	Default, nearly all polysyllabics, Monosyllabics -V#
	-i	Abstract nouns -wal, -un (masdar)
	-ni	Idiosyncratic
	-rA	Monosyllabic; animals, bridegroom, slave, month
	-u	Idiosyncratic
	Tabasaran:	
	-di	Heterogenous, many polysyllabics, productive
	-i	Many monosyllabics (-C#), some polysyllabics (-C#)
	-li	Mainly Southern Tab., replaces -i/-ú of Northern Tab.
	-ni	Body parts (mono, -C#)
	-ri	-C#, monosyllabics, animals
	Aghul	
	-a	Especially with loans (+hum)
	-di	-R#
	-i	= -di after C# ?
	-la	-V#
	-na	-V#
	-ni	-V#
	-ra	-V#
	-u	Locational nouns ?
	Rutul	
	-a	Polysyllabic
	-ál	Monosyllabic
	-ár	Monosyllabic, kinship terms
	-áy	Monosyllabic
	-di	Loans
	-ól	Monosyllabic
	-i	Polysyllabic, locatives, instruments
	-iy	Monosyllabic
	-yi ~ -ye	-V#, some -d#
	Tsakhur	
	-a	-C#
	-ay ~ -oy ~ -ey	General
	-i ~ -e ~ -ə	General
	-ne ~ -nə	Rare
	-u	Harmonic variant of -a ?
	-y	-V#
	-yə	Monosyllabic, -V#
	Budukh	
	-ǰ	Polysyllabic

-Ø	Kin terms
-Vl	Monosyllabic, -m#, -y#, -C[obstr]#
-Vld	Monosyllabic, animals
-Vn	-n#, -r#, -l#, RC#
-y	(-d#; -ž# > -y)
Kryts = GEN	
-ž(i)	Productive
-d	Monosyllabic
-l	Instruments, food, animals
-n	Monosyllabic ?
Archi	
-á	Monosyllabic and bisyllabic, basically class II-IV
-é	Mass nouns, compact ?
-iri	Rare, monosyllabic
-li	Most general, no restrictions
-mu ~ -mi	Class I (many), I/II with -a# (kinship terms)
-t:é	< -dé (?), rare

We can safely assume that Udi has reduced its former complex system of stem augmentation. From an internal point of view, at least three different sets of stem augments have to be described:

(x)		Weak nouns	Weak nouns	Ref. Forms
	ABS	-Ø	*-Ø	-(n)o
	ERG	-Ø	*-Ø	-t'-
	OBL	-n-	*-i-	-t'-

In addition, one stem augmentation occurs that is based on phonetic rather than semantic or functional criteria:

(x)	ABS	-Ø
	OBL	-n-

This type is present with [w2b] and [w3] nouns (see 3.3.2.2). With [w2b] nouns, the stem augment -n- is used to avoid a hiatus (type: *haso* 'cloud' > *haso-n-*). The set of [w3] nouns is marked by an old stem final (con)sonant (*-d-, *-n-, *-^dn-) that is lost in the absolutive, but preserved in the oblique cases (see 3.3.2.2).

Contrary to the type mentioned in (x), the remaining three types of stem augmentation are based on a (historically) semantic or functional classification. In general, stem augments in Early Udi were present in case a referential form lacked strong inherent properties of control. By 'control' is meant a cluster of in parts inferential features that are related to agenthood, 'natural' focus, high animacy, social and communicative relevance, empathy etc. (see Schulze 1998 for a more detailed discussion). The stem augment served as a semantic (or: functional) means that helped to balance the 'control deficit' of a referent. Most probably, the different

morphemes used to mark nouns for control had once been related to different semantic classes. The most prominent subcategorization seems to have been [male;human] vs. [non-male;αhuman], see Schulze 1988. At an early stage of proto-Lezgian, this system came up to mark referents with low(er) inherent control in case the referent was used in agentive and agentive-like functions (ergative, genitive (possessor) etc.). The technique of overt case marking reduced the function of the ‘control support’ markers to that of a classifying stem augment. Most notably, the ergative case is exempted from nominal stem augmentation in a number of Lezgian languages. Both formal and functional correlations suggest that in these languages, the ergative itself represents a paradigmatically reanalyzed version of the older stem augment(s). Nevertheless, the correlation ‘ergative \approx stem augment’ is not always given. This is especially true for those Lezgian languages (such as Tsakhur and Rutul) that are marked for the opposition ‘strong’ vs. ‘weak’ inflection, compare the Rutul type:

(x)		‘Mother’	‘Son’
	ABS	<i>nin</i>	<i>dux̃</i>
	ERG	<i>nin-ä</i>	<i>dux̃-ar-a</i>
	GEN	<i>nin-də</i>	<i>dux̃-ar-də</i>
	DAT	<i>nin-əs</i>	<i>dux̃-ar-əs</i>
	INESS	<i>nin-ə</i>	<i>dux̃-ar-ə</i>

At an early stage of proto-Lezgian, the old class of ‘strong’ nouns (no stem augment) had not been marked for case at all. The basic paradigm had the following structure:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REF + CTRL _{1-n}
	ABS	Noun-∅	Noun-∅
	OBL	Noun-∅	Noun-SA _{1-n}

The addition of case forms conditioned a paradigmatic asymmetry:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REF + CTRL _{1-n}
	ABS	Noun-∅	Noun-∅
	ERG	Noun-∅	Noun-SA _{1-n}
	GEN	Noun-GEN	Noun-SA _{1-n} -GEN
	DAT	Noun-DAT	Noun-SA _{1-n} -DAT

In consequence, the stem augment of the ‘weak’ inflection that had been reanalyzed as an ergative case was added to ‘strong’ nouns:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REF + CTRL _{1-n}
	ABS	Noun-∅	Noun-∅
	ERG	Noun-∅-SA _{1-n} (>ERG)	Noun-SA _{1-n} (>ERG)
	GEN	Noun-GEN	Noun-SA _{1-n} -GEN
	DAT	Noun-DAT	Noun-SA _{1-n} -DAT

Most probably, stem augmentation still functioned semantically by that time. This can be inferred from the fact that the ergative case marker can subcategorize even the ‘strong’ class of nouns as in Tsakhur, compare:

(x)		‘Brother’	‘Horse’
	ABS	<i>čož</i>	<i>balkan</i>
	ERG	<i>čož-e:</i>	<i>balkan-an</i>

In Early Udi, the set of stem augments had been reduced to two basic types: **-n-* and **-i-*. Only **-n-* has undergone the processes mentioned above. The stem augment **-i-* has survived in the *-i-*dative and indirectly in the *-ei-*genitive and the *-e-*dative (see below 3.3.11.2). In addition, there is the possibility to relate the ergative variant *-in* (see 3.3.3.3) to this stem augment. The semantic contrast between the two stem augments is not fully clear: Most likely, the stem augment *-n-* had stronger control properties than **-i-*. This can be seen from the fact that *-n-* qualified as an ergative marker whereas **-i-* did not. The basic system of Early Udi seems to have been:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REFL + CTRL[high]	REF + CTRL[low]
	ABS	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø
	OBL	Noun-Ø	Noun* <i>-Vd(V)</i>	Noun* <i>-i</i>

Note that **-Vd(V)* represents the reconstructed form of the actual stem augment / ergative marker, see below 3.3.11.2. After case marking had become obligatory, the system changed in the way described above:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REFL + CTRL[high]	REF + CTRL[low]
	ABS	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø
	ERG	Noun-Ø	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i>	Noun* <i>-i</i>
	GEN	Noun-GEN	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i> -GEN	Noun* <i>-i</i> -GEN
	DAT	Noun-DAT	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i> -DAT	Noun* <i>-i</i> -DAT

In the third stage, the stem augment indicating ‘mid-high control’ (> *-Vn-*, see below) is analogically introduced as an ergative marker both in the ‘strong’ paradigm and in the paradigm based on the stem augment **-i-*:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REFL + CTRL[high]	REF + CTRL[low]
	ABS	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø
	ERG	Noun* <i>-Vn</i>	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i>	Noun* <i>-i</i> * <i>Vn</i>
	GEN	Noun-GEN	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i> -GEN	Noun* <i>-i</i> -GEN
	DAT	Noun-DAT	Noun* <i>-Vn(V)</i> -DAT	Noun* <i>-i</i> -DAT

This paradigm represents the starting point of what produced the inflectional classes in actual Udi. (x) relates the inflectional classes of Udi to the corresponding type of stem augmentation:

(x)	REF:CTRL	REF + CTRL[high]	REF + CTRL[low]
	Strong [s1]	Weak [w1]	Strong [s4]
ABS	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø	Noun-Ø
ERG	Noun-en	Noun-en	Noun-i-n
OBL	Noun-	Noun-n-	(*)Noun-i-

Crucially, the weak inflection based on the stem augment **-i-* became strong in later Udi. This process is due to the fact that the stem augment fused with the vowel of the case suffix (except for the ergative case, see 3.3.11.2):

(x)	ABS	<i>*pu-l₂</i> ‘eye’	<i>*ku-l₂</i> ‘hand’	<i>*bu-l₂</i> ‘head’
	ERG	<i>*p^w-i-ən</i> > <i>pin</i>	<i>*k^w-i-ən</i> > <i>kin</i>	<i>*b^w-i-ən</i> > <i>bin</i>
	GEN	<i>*p^w-i-un</i> > <i>pin</i>	<i>*k^w-i-un</i> > <i>kin</i>	<i>*b^w-i-un</i> > <i>bin</i>
	DAT	<i>*p^w-i-a</i> > <i>pe</i>	<i>*k^w-i-a</i> > <i>ke</i>	<i>*b^w-i-a</i> > <i>be</i>

The stem augment *-n-* originally had the form **-Vn* < **-Vd(V)*. However, note that the final vowel is not secured. If ever it had been present, it must have been dropped in Early Udi before the sound change **-d#* > *-n#* took place. This sound change is related to the Udi constraint on the distribution of the phoneme /d/: It cannot appear in final position except in recent loans (see 2.3.1.1). The original vowel of the stem augment cannot be ultimately fixed. Most likely, we have to deal with a weak mid-high (shwa-like) vowel that could easily drop in unstressed syllables. This process happened when vowel initial case morphemes were added to the stem augment:

(x)	Noun- <i>*ən</i> -Case	>	Noun- <i>n</i> -Case
	<i>*be^ξǵ-ən-áy</i>	>	<i>be^ξǵ-n-ái</i> ~ <i>bé^ξǵ-n-ai</i>
	<i>*sun-SA₁-GEN<ABL</i>	>	<i>sun-SA-GEN</i>

The vowel was also lost with vowel final forms, be it a stem final vowel (as in *nana* ‘mother’ > *nana-n* (ergative)), be it the stem augment **-i-* (Noun-**i-***ən* > Noun-*in* (> ergative)).

In Udi as in most other Lezgian languages, ‘semantic’ stem augments are restricted to the singular. This restriction is related to the fact that the stem augment once functioned as a control marker for (in)definite singular referents. In the plural, such control features had reduced relevance. Instead, certain classificatory devices applied that were based on the semanticity of plural morphology (see 3.2.5).

The third type of stem augmentation differs from those mentioned above in the following respect:

- (x) ‘Pronominal’ Stem Augment:
- Marked absolutive (*-o*)
 - Stem augment present with oblique cases including the ergative
 - No parallelism ‘stem augment’ ~ ‘ergative case marker’

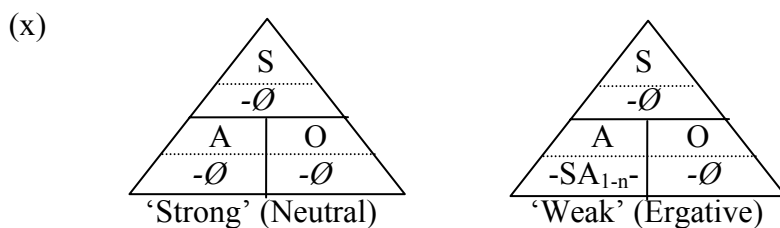
The emergence of this paradigm has been discussed in details in sections 3.3.7 and 3.3.10. Here, it suffices to note that the stem augment can easily be derived from an inflected deictic element (*-t'* < distal), whereas the nature of the nominal stem augments *-n-* < **-Vd(V)* and **-i-* is obscure. Although it is rather probable that these elements too are ultimately derived from deictic (anaphoric?) elements, they cannot be related to actual deictic terms that would reflect their classificatory efficacy and control marking properties. Most likely, the two stem augments go back to a system of agentivity marking that had been productive at times when proto-Lezgian still formed part of the proto-East Caucasian dialect continuum.

3.3.11.2 Relational Cases. Udi has completely restructured its paradigm of relational cases. §§ 1-5 discuss the emergence of the Udi ergative. §§ 6-24 describe the ‘local’ origin of the Udi genitive-ergative cluster.

Traces of the old (proto-Lezgian) case system have only survived in the formation of the ergative and (in parts) in that of the genitive. (x) lists the paradigmatic organization of relational cases in proto-Lezgian:

(x)		Strong	Weak
	ABS	Noun- \emptyset	Noun- \emptyset
	ERG	Noun- \emptyset	Noun-SA _{1-n}
	GEN	Noun- <i>*Vn</i>	Noun-SA _{1-n} - <i>*Vn</i>
	DAT	Noun- <i>*Vs</i> :	Noun-SA _{1-n} - <i>*Vs</i> :

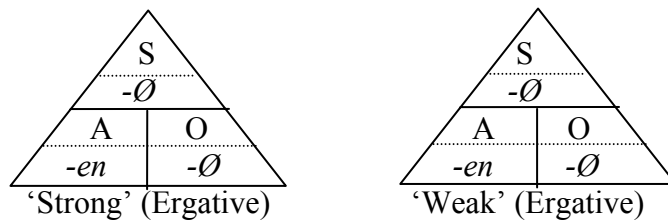
With ‘strong’ nouns, this case system reflects a ‘neutral’ position on the Accusative Ergative Continuum. ‘Weak’ nouns, however, show an ergative organization:



§ 1. As early as in proto-Lezgian, the stems augments became reanalyzed as ergative markers. In Early Udi, this process was confined to the augment **-Vn-* < **-Vd(V)*, see 3.3.11.1. Most likely, it represented a functional ‘compromise’ between the zero-marked nouns with strong inherent control and the class of nouns that were marked by the ‘low control’ augment **-i-*. Most probably, the stem augment **-Vd(V)* took the most unmarked position on the ‘scale of controlhood’ in Early Udi.

The generalization of the stem augment **-Vd(V)* > *-en* conditioned that the ‘neutral’ position of strong nouns on the Accusative Ergative Continuum turned into an ‘ergative’ position:

(x)



§ 2. As a result, all nouns acquired an ergative case. Semantically, the ergative case expresses ‘agentive’ properties with referents that were historically marked by a ‘strong’ nominal paradigm. With historically ‘weak’ nouns, the ergative has instrumental properties (see 3.3.3.3). The only exception is the paradigm of personal pronouns (see 3.3.6) that generally lack a distinct ergative case. Nevertheless, note that this exception results from a younger process that is related to the ‘accusativization’ of the paradigm of personal pronouns. Historically, personal pronouns, too, knew an ergative case that, however, was not based on the (nominal) stem augment **-Vd(V)*, but on a ‘personal’ ergative **-a* (see Schulze 1999 for details).

§ 3. In general, the ergative morpheme *-en* can be described as a rather ‘stable’ morpheme in Udi. It has not undergone further changes since it has developed from the stem augment **-Vd(V)*. But note that with [s4] nouns, it merges with the genitive morpheme. In section 3.3.11.1 it has been claimed that the ergative of the [s4] nouns *pul* ‘eye’, *kul* ‘hand, arm’, and *bul* ‘head’ is derived from the combination of the old stem augment **-i* and the ergative morpheme **-en > -in*. In the genitive, the three nouns in question were marked by the *-un*-genitive that merged with the stem augment **-i- > -in*. As a result, [s4] nouns superficially show a genitive-ergative syncretism that some authors have erroneously interpreted as a reflex of the proto-Lezgian diptotic paradigm *-∅* vs. Stem Augment. The syncretistic paradigm has later been extended to other nouns like *tur* ‘foot, leg’ and *k’oǰ* ‘house’ (see 3.3.3.3).

§ 4. In section 3.3.3.3, it has been shown that with some nouns, *-in*-ergatives appear besides the standard *-en*-ergatives (e.g. *zor-en ~ zor-in* ‘power’, *muz-en ~ muz-in* ‘tongue, language’). It has been claimed that *-in*-ergatives have stronger ‘instrumental’ properties than *-en*-ergatives. This tendency probably goes back to a time when the stem augment **-i-* still had functional (or even semantic) properties. Accordingly, certain nouns could be ‘converted’ to a variant that had been marked for a lower degree of control:

(x)	REF + CRTL[high]	>	REF + CTRL[low]
	ABS Noun-∅	>	Noun-∅
	OBL Noun- <i>*Vd(V)</i>	>	Noun- <i>*i</i>

For example, the term *muz < *māc*: ‘tongue, language’ could be marked for both types of stem augmentation:

(x)	REF + CRTL[high]	◇	REF + CTRL[low]
ABS	* <i>məc</i> :-∅	◇	* <i>məc</i> :-∅
OBL	* <i>məc</i> :- <i>Vd(V)</i>	◇	* <i>məc</i> :- <i>i</i>

The standard variant **məc*:-*Vd(V)* > **məz-en* > *muz-en* was marked by mid-high control, whereas the weak variant **məc*:-*i* + **-Vd(V)* > **məz-i-en* > *muz-in* signaled low control. Although the opposition *-en* vs. *-in* is not uncommon in Udi, it has not (yet) been grammaticalized in terms of a ‘new’ instrumental (*-in*) that would be opposed to the ergative (> agentive) *-en*.

§ 5. The morpheme *-in* also shows up as default form of the ergative case with all referentialized forms (see 3.3.10). The reason why the variant *-in* is used of *-en* is difficult to describe. Theoretically, an *-en*-ergative would have been possible, too, as illustrated by the (secondary) benefactive (*-enk'(ena)*) that is derived from the standard ergative case (see 3.3.3.4). In section 3.3.7.1, it has been argued that the oblique stem augment of referentialized forms (including demonstratives) is marked by a deictic element *-t'*. This element represents a grammaticalized form of the Udi distal *t'e* (see 3.2.9.3). The original form of the distal (**t'i*, see 3.2.9.3) gives a preliminary argument for the presence of the *-in*-ergative: Most probably, the original form of the stem augment had been **-t'i* to which (at a later stage) the ergative morpheme **-ən* was added (nREF = non-referential form):

(x)	ABS	nREF- <i>*n(i)</i>		ERG	nREF- <i>*t'i-ən</i>
	OBL	nREF- <i>*t'i</i>	→		

The complex morpheme **t'i-ən* developed into *-t'in* just as it has been the case with nominal forms marked by the stem augment **-i-*, see above. This hypothesis is supported by data from other Lezgian languages. For instance, in most dialects of Aghul referentialized forms are marked for a paradigm the structure of which comes close to what has been reconstructed for Udi. (x) confronts both paradigms with the help of the term Aghul *ižef*, Udi *selo* ‘a/the good one’:

(x)		Aghul		Udi
	ABS	<i>iže-f</i> < * <i>-(V)b</i>		<i>sel-o</i>
	ERG	<i>iže-t:i</i>		<i>sel-(o-)t'in</i> < * <i>-t'i-ən</i>
	GEN	<i>iže-t:i-n</i>		[<i>sel-(o-)t'ai</i>]
	DAT	<i>iže-t:i-s</i>		[<i>sel-(o-)t'u</i>]

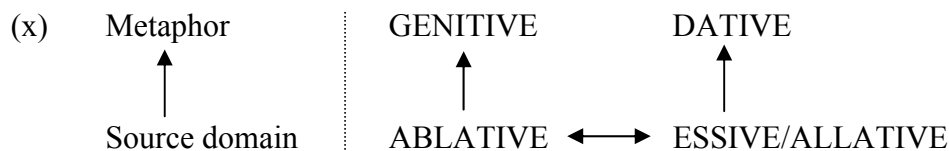
This analysis can explain the ‘pronominal’ ergative of Udi. Nevertheless, it causes problems with respect to the remaining relational cases (see below). In case the stem augment (= distal) had been **-t'i-* throughout the paradigm, we should expect to see a genitive ***-t'ei* < **-t'iy* (instead of actual *-t'ai*), and a dative ***-t'e* < **-t'ia* (instead of actual *-t'u*). See the discussion of the genitive-dative cluster below.

§ 6. In Udi, the proto-Lezgian system of opposing the genitive (*-*Vn*) to the dative (*-*Vs*·) has undergone dramatic changes. The old dative morpheme did not survive except in the form of the simple (telic) masdar ~ infinitive *-es*. (see x.x.x). The proto-Lezgian *-*Vn*-genitive has been confined to ‘strong’ nouns. Instead, a new paradigm emerged that is metaphorically derived from the system of local cases. This paradigm is characterized by a strong correlation between what has become the genitive and the dative cases. Note that today, this correlation is purely formal. Historically, the underlying local cases formed a subparadigm that was marked for common semantic properties.

§ 7. In section 3.3.2.3 it has been shown that there is a strong formal correlation between the sets of genitive and dative markers. (x) summarizes the basic distributional pattern (peculiarities are discussed in sections 3.3.3.5 and 3.3.3.6; see 3.3.2.2 for the stem classes):

(x)	GEN	DAT	Stem class
	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-u</i>	[w1]
	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-e</i>	[s3b], [sw]; [w3]
	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>	[s3a]
	<i>-un</i>	<i>-a</i>	[s1]; [s2]; [w2b]
	<i>-in</i>	<i>-a</i>	[w2a]
	<i>-in</i>	<i>-e</i>	[s4]

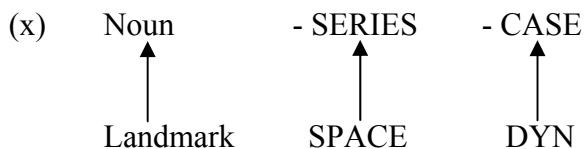
§ 8. In order to explain the underlying pattern, it does not seem useful to dwell upon possible functional commonalities between the two domains. Instead, it is more promising to refer to a localistic hypothesis that explains functional properties of a relational case form as metaphorization from a basically local source domain. As has been illustrated in section 3.3.3.6, the two dative cases are strongly coupled with both a locative (inessive) and an allative function. The genitive, on the other hand, is often replaced by an ablative (especially in partitive function, see 3.3.3.6 and 3.3.4.2). Therefore it seems appropriate to take up the hypothesis put forward by Alekseev 1985:xxx that relates the Udi *-ai*-genitive to a proto-Lezgian ‘ablative’ *-*ay*. If we put together these two hypotheses, we arrive at the following picture:



Accordingly, the formal correlation between genitive and dative as illustrated in (x) above should be projected onto an analogous correlation within the source domain. The correlation ABL↔ESS/ALL matches the general tendency in Udi to subcategorize the dynamic relation between a landmark and its trajector in a ‘bipartite’ way (see 3.3.4.1). Hence, it is likely that the source domains of both

genitive and dative originally formed a common subparadigm within the set of local cases.

§ 9. In section 3.3.4.1 it has been shown that the original way of marking landmarks for a dynamic relation (ablative, essive, allative) has been the use of ‘case’ markers that are added to ‘series’ markers:



From a formal point of view, we should expect that the case forms used to mark the ablative and dative stem from the ‘dynamic’ domain. In other words: They should be interpreted as local ‘case’ morphemes. However, the morphological ‘substance’ of both cases does not exactly meet this assumption: In sections 3.3.3.5 and 3.3.3.6 it has been argued that *-ai* is the most unmarked (and basic) representative of the cluster of genitive case allomorphs. As for the dative, this property is associated with the allomorph *-a*. Superficially, the following correlation is given:

(x)		REF	- SERIES	- CASE
	ABL>GEN	Noun	-Ø-	*-ay
	ESS/ALL>DAT	Noun	-Ø-	*-a

However, the correlation **-a/*-ay* suggests that the ablative **-ay* is derived from the essive/allative **-a*. According to the derivational pattern given in (X) above, the derivational base of a case marker must have been a series marker. From this we can conclude that the ablative is composed of **-a-* (series marker) and **-y* (case marker). Therefore, the scheme in (x) cannot represent but an intermediate stage that goes back to the following pattern:

(x)		REF	- SERIES	- CASE
	ABL>GEN	Noun	*-a	*-y
	ESS/ALL>DAT	Noun	*-a	-Ø

§ 10. The pattern in (x) can be interpreted as follows: Both case forms are based on an old series marker (**-a*). Whereas the ablative is canonically marked by a case element (**-y*), the essive/allative morpheme is zero. Such a zero-marked ‘case’ form is typical for the essive localization in nearly all cognate languages. Comparative evidence also suggests that the underlying series represents the IN-localization (see 3.3.4.1). Note that the morpheme **-a* frequently shows up as an ablaut variant of the stem augment to which the morpheme has originally been added. This technique can be illustrated with the help of an example from Lezgi (see Haspelmath 1993:78 for details):

- (x) REF-(C)V + *-a* > REF-Ca
bubá-di + *-a* > *bubá-da* ‘father-OBL:INESS’

§ 11. The unmarked essive of the IN-series (**-a-Ø*) has been reanalyzed as a complex series/case-marker in some Lezgian languages (Lezgi, Tsakhur, Budukh). It then denotes an essive or allative case with strong affinities to the old IN-series. Accordingly, the pattern in (x) has been reorganized as follows:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (x) | ABL>GEN | REF
Noun | - SERIES
<i>*-a</i> | - CASE
<i>*-y</i> |
| | | | └──────────────────┘ | |
| | ESS/ALL>DAT | Noun | <i>*-a</i> | |

§ 12. Lezgi gives direct comparative evidence for the nature of the correlation **-a* vs. **-ay* in Udi: In Lezgi, the morpheme to encode the ablative case is *-ay* (~ *-äy*). The morpheme represents a reanalyzed form of the IN-ablative **-a-y* that has been extended to the other series (*bubá-di-w-ay* ‘from at the father’ etc.). Historically, the ablative marker had been **-y*.

Contrary to Lezgi, Udi has strongly metaphorized the **-ay*-ablative. Today, it has typical ‘genitive’ functions (see 3.3.3.5). The old IN-essive/IN-allative, however, has maintained much of its original semantic scope. This semantic invariance is typical for languages that exploit a local case to encode referents in O-function (see [x.x.x](#)). (x) summarizes the metaphorization process:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (x) | Metaphor | POSS | O [Definite] / IO |
| | ↑ | ↑ | ↑ |
| | Source domain | SOURCE | LOCATION/GOAL |
| | | ←────────────────→ | |
| | CASE | ABL > GEN | INESS/ALL > DAT |

§ 13. Just as it is true for Lezgi, the Udi pair **-a/*-ay* is added to stem augmented nouns only. However, the genitive-dative correlations listed in (x) above do not show a coherent pattern: *-a*-datives usually have an *-un-* or *-i*-dative, whereas *-ai*-genitives are correlated with *-u*-datives. On the other hand, the pair ‘dative *-e*’ vs. ‘genitive *-ei*’ meets the **-a/*-ay* distribution structurally, but not phonetically. From this we can conclude that Udi has undergone further changes that have finally shaped the actual paradigmatic organization. (x) summarized the anisomorphism of the Udi paradigm:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (x) | GEN | <i>*-ay</i> | Set 1
<i>-ay</i> | Set 2
<i>-un ~ -i</i> | Set 3
<i>-ei</i> | Set 4
<i>-i</i> |
|-----|-----|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|

DAT *-a -u -a -e -Ø

§ 14. Set 3 can easily be explained if we assume that the nouns in question originally were ‘weak’. Most likely, they had been marked by a stem augment *-i- that was confined to body part terms and terms metaphorized there from (see 3.3.3.6 and 3.3.11.1). This stem augment can also be traced in a number of other Lezgian languages. It probably was stress neutral and caused palatal umlaut of the following vowel (*-a > -e):

(x) Set 3
 GEN *-i-a-y > -ei
 DAT *-i-a > -e

§ 15. Set 2 is marked by the preservation of the old proto-Lezgian genitive *-Vn. Else, this case form has been replaced by the ablative. Structurally speaking, the process corresponds to the emergence of ablative ‘genitives’ in a number of Western languages such as English (*sister’s house* vs. *roof of the house*). However, whereas in English certain semantic restrictions apply, it is more difficult to subsume all nouns that share the -un-genitive under one semantic class. In section 3.3.3.5 it has been shown that -un-genitives are typical for the singular of polysyllabic nouns (*adamar* > *adamar-un* ‘man/person’ etc.). The main point is that all these nouns lack a stem augment. In section 3.3.2.2 I have argued that the stem augment -n- originally added ‘control’ features to referential forms that show weak inherent control:

(x) STRONG WEAK
 Noun:CRTL Noun-SA:CTRL

At an early stage of Udi, the use of the ablative as a ‘substitute’ for the original genitive *-Vn must have been correlated to the class of nouns that showed a secondary control marker (> stem augment). Semantically speaking, the ablative was used to split off the possessors with low control from those that were marked for high control:

(x) POSSESSOR[high control]-GEN + POSSESSEE
 POSSESSOR[low control]-SA[Control]-ABL + POSSESSEE

(x) simulates this pattern with the help of data from Modern Udi:

(x) (a) *adamar-un k’ož*
 person-GEN house
 ‘The person’s house’

(b) *be^šǵ-n-ai xaš*
 sun-SA-ABL>GEN light
 ‘The light of the sun’

As has been said above, nouns marked by the *-ei*-genitive were originally marked by low control, too (adding the stem augment *-i-*):

- (x) $\check{c}ur-ei\ u^{\{q\}}e^{\{n\}}$ < $*\check{c}ur-i-ay$ $u^{\{q\}}e^{\{n\}}$
 ‘The horn of the cow’ cow-SA-ABL>GEN horn

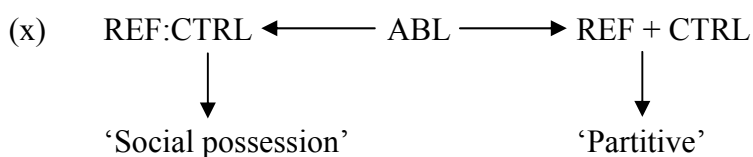
Hence, set 1, 2, and 3 can in parts be harmonized in the following way (CTRL = ‘control’, ‘+’ = overt CTRL marker):

(X)

	REF:CTRL	REF+CTRL	
CTRL-marker	$-\emptyset$	$-n-$	$*-i-$
GEN(<ABL)	$-un$	$-n-ai$	$-ei < *-i-ay$
DAT(<LOC)	$-a$	$[-n-u]$	$-e < *-i-a$

§ 16. The analysis presented so far raises at least four problems: a) What happened to the original ablative marker of nouns with inherent control (‘strong’ nouns) (see §§ 17-18); b) Where does the obvious ‘relational/qualifying’ semantics of the *-un*-genitive stem from? (see §§ 19-20); c) How can be explained the unexpected *-u*-dative that canonically occurs with weak [w1] nouns? (see §§ 21-23); d) How to explain the ‘strong’ *-i*-dative that can co-occur with the weak variant *-u*? (see § 24).

§ 17. The non-metaphorized ablative of strong nouns with (historically) inherent control should have been something like $**adamar-ai$ ‘man-ABL’. A reflex of this form probably is the *-i*-genitive that is typical for kin terms, terms of social relations, names etc. (see 3.3.3.5). In section 3.3.3.6, it has been argued that Udi once knew a zero-marked dative that has survived in strong polysyllabic V-final nouns such as *baba* ‘father’, *nana* ‘mother’, *xunči* < $*xunče$ ‘sister’ etc. This class mainly includes kin terms and hence is compatible to the class of strong nouns with inherent control. Most probably, both semantic and phonetic aspects conditioned the lack of the old IN-series with these nouns: Kin terms do not suggest the presence of a container metaphor and are less ‘accessible’ in a transitive relation. The fact that many of the nouns in question ending in *-a* may have complicated the cognitive processing of structures like $*baba-a$ etc. Nevertheless, the ablative function is compatible with such nouns. From this we can conclude that forms like $**babay$ ‘father:ABL’, $**nanay$ ‘mother:ABL’ etc. motivated the reanalysis of the old ablative $*-ay$ as $*-y$. With nouns of high control, such an ablative could be used to indicate a ‘distant source’ or a ‘secondary (distant) possessor’. This metaphorical strategy is structurally related to the extension in function of the ablative with weak nouns (see above). Yet, the blending of control features with the ablative function gives two different results:



The term ‘social possession’ is used to denote possessive relations that involve a possessor marked for high control. Such possessors are prominent members of a social group such as members of the clan, relatives etc. The reanalyzed suffix **-y* then functions to encode ‘social possessors’, including personal possessors (see 3.3.6). In a later period, the suffix **-y* developed to a standard genitive marker with kin terms, names etc. (> *-i*). In Nizh, this process is extended to many more nouns perhaps supported by structural analogies with Northwest Iranian contact languages, compare (x):

(x) (a) *palang-i tapan* [Nizh; f.n.]
 leopard-GEN stomach
 ‘The stomach of the leopard’

(b) *palang-i lava* [Northern Talysh; Schulze 2000x:73]
 leopard-OBL stomach
 ‘The stomach of the leopard’

The reanalysis of the old ablative marker **-y* as a genitive suffix has also been stabilized by impact from (Old) Armenian: Here, the *-i*-genitive is the standard genitive of *a*- and *i*-stem nouns. In Modern Armenian, the inflectional pattern of *-i*-stems has been extended to many other nouns. Consequently, the *-i*-genitive has become the default genitive in Modern East Armenian. (x) compares the corresponding constructions:

(x) (a) *barek'am-i-n hayrə c'er ē* [Modern Armenian, f.n.]
 friend-GEN-ART father old COP:3SG:PRES
 (b) *dost-i bava kala-ne* [Nizh, construed]
 friend-GEN father old-3SG
 ‘The friend’s father is old’

§ 18. Another process of reanalysis has caused the emergence of two genitives in Vartashen (see 3.3.3.5): Here, the *-Vi*-genitive has been reinterpreted as consisting of a genitive marker *-V* (*-a*, *-e*) to which the segment **-y* > *-i* is added in long distance possession. This process is directly related to the basic properties of the underlying ‘ablative’ conceptualization of **-y* (see above): It includes the notion of ‘(from a) distance’ that is iconically exploited to mark long distance possession (see 3.3.3.5). The ‘new’ interpretation of the segment **-y* was (later?) extended to the genitive of personal pronouns: *bez-i*, *vi*, *beš-i*, *e^f-i*, see 3.3.6. The use of the *i*-marked genitives in long distance possession and in apposition (see 3.3.3.5) also conditioned that *-i* < **-y* acquired referential properties that cross-reference(d) the possessor and the possessee (see 3.3.3.5). The scheme in (x) summarizes the processes related to the segment **-y*:

(x)		REF:CTRL	REF + CTRL
	Stage 1		
	GEN	* <i>Vn</i>	---
	ABL	*(<i>a</i>) <i>y</i>	*- <i>ay</i>
	Stage 2		
	GEN	---	---
	ABL>GEN	*- <i>y</i>	*- <i>ay</i>
	Stage 3		
	GEN	- <i>i</i>	- <i>a</i>
	GEN2	---	- <i>ai</i>

The process of reanalyzing the -*Vi*-genitive (< ablative) has been adopted by the two other genitival variants, namely -*ei* (< *-*i-ay*) and -*oi* (plural).

§ 19. The analysis presented above does not explain why the old genitive morpheme *-*Vn* has relational rather than referential properties in actual Udi (see 3.3.3.5). Comparative evidence from the other Lezgian languages suggests that the -(*V*)*n*-genitive had functioned as a general genitive at least in the East and West Samur proto-languages. When adding the data from Archi (genitive -*n*), we can safely postulate the existence of such a genitive for proto-Lezgian. Nevertheless, we cannot yet say for sure whether the proto-Lezgian *-*n*-genitive had been used with all referential forms or whether it was confined to a subclass of these forms. In an early stage of Udi, however, such a constraint must have been present. It confined the use of the *-*n*-genitive to referential forms with inherent control. However, note that referents marked by strong control ('social nouns') are again excluded, see above. Thus, we can describe the corresponding subclass as being marked by a mid-high level of control (socially unmarked human referents?). The nouns in question generally lacked stem augmentation. The basic paradigm had been:

(x)	GEN	Noun- <i>un</i>
	DAT	Noun- <i>a</i>

§ 20. Most probably, the relevant class consisted of many bisyllabic (derived) nouns and loans that later caused its 'desemantization' (see 3.3.2.2). Instead, a phonotactic mechanism became relevant that confined the -*Vn*-genitive to polysyllabic nouns. At the same time (?), the -*i*-genitive began to spread and soon became standard with many nouns denoting human beings (see above). As a result, the old *-*Vn*-genitive (> -*un*) became especially frequent with polysyllabic nouns denoting non-human referents. Such referents are generally marked for a relative low degree of control and of referential salience. Therefore, the -*un*-genitive began to be associated with relational rather than referential properties. The morpheme -*un* could then be used with pseudo-referential forms such as numerals (**sa-un* > *sun* 'one'), deictic terms (*me-un* 'one here, local'), or masdars (*pes-un* 'saying').

§ 21. The paradigm discussed so far cannot explain the *-u*-dative that is typical for all ‘weak’ referential forms marked by a ‘semantic’ stem augment (see 3.3.11.1). This includes all [w1] nouns and all referentialized forms (see 3.3.7, 3.3.9, 3.3.10). Note that some of the nouns in question may have an (alternative) ‘strong’ *-i*-dative (see 3.3.3.6 and § 24 below). The expected morpheme is *** $-n$ -a* instead of actual *-n-u*. The distribution of the *-u*-dative suggests that it is functionally coupled with properties that are typical for stem-augmented forms.

§ 22. From a formal point of view, there is little chance to derive the morpheme *-u* from the standard dative/inessive morpheme *-a*. Although several Lezgian languages such as Lezgi proper know an ablaut-like variation */u/ ~ /a/* we cannot refer to this technique in the given context: Usually, the direction of the ablaut is */u/ → /a/* which means that */u/* is the unmarked variant. In Udi, however, the unmarked form surely is the *-a*-dative. Hence, phonetic processes such as lowering etc. fail to account for the Udi correlation. Instead, we should consider the possibility that two distinct morphological categories have merged into a single paradigm.

In section 3.3.11.1 it has been argued that the stem augment *-n-* is derived from an ‘agentivity’ marker that signaled ‘mid-high control’. The same can be claimed for the deictic marker *-t’- < * $-t’i$ -* used as stem augment with referentialized forms (see 3.3.10 and 3.3.11.1). By the time the Udi system of case marking emerged, the semantics of the stem augments must still have been a condition for the choice of case forms. This has already been shown for the distribution of the *-un-* and the *-Vi-* genitive (see §§ 19-20). Likewise, the *-a*-dative has been explained as an old inessive/IN-allative that was selected by nouns the referents of which are marked for strong inherent control (> strong nouns). In addition, the *-a*-dative was selected in connection with referents that were overtly marked for low control (> stem augment ** $-i$ -*). However, there seems to have existed a constraint on the intermediate class of weak nouns that were marked by the stem augment *-n-* (pronominal: *-t’-*): The corresponding referents with ‘mid-high control’ were not accessible to inessive or illative strategies.

§ 23. A possible source for the Udi pronominal dative (*-u-*) is the proto-Lezgian series marker **-(ə)x^w* (> Old Udi *xow*) that originally encoded the ANTE domain. Already in proto-Lezgian, its function had been extended to a more general adessive. This series marker has survived mainly in the Eastern Samur languages, compare Lezgi *q:erex^h-di-w* ‘(river) bank-SA-AD:ESS’ ‘on the (river) bank’, Aghul (Richa) *xil-i-w* (hand-SA-AD:ESS) ‘at the hand’ etc.. Likewise, there is an Old Udi allative *-Xow ~ -xow*, as documented in:

(x) (a) *ič ġi-ya tap-ê-n o-owXow zadok’a-owğ-on*
REFL day-DAT come-PERF-3SG DIST-ALL Sadducee-PL-ERG

owk’-a hanay-Ān-k’e te-ne harz-esown [Mt 22,23]
say:PRES-PRES which-REF:PL:ERG-SUB not-3SG rise-MASD

‘The same day, Sadducees came to him who said that there is no resurrection.’

(b) \widetilde{Ar} *ar-i* $\widetilde{y\acute{s}}-axow$ *aXaek'-a- \widetilde{An}* *o-ows* *halzari*
 DIST:PL:ABS come:PAST-PAST Jesus-ALL prey-PRES-3PL DIST-DAT3 frequently

owk'-a- \widetilde{An} *o-ows* *h-ê* [Lk 7,4]
 say:PRES-PRES-3PL DIST-DAT3 be:PAST-PERF

‘They came to Jesus, asking him again and again, (and) said to him...’

However, the Old Udi data (compare *o-owXow* = *ouxu* in (x)) illustrate that the *-u*-dative was already present, when the reflex of proto-Lezgian **(ə)x̂^w* (> *-xow* = *-xu*) still was in use. Accordingly, we have to assume that the pronominal *-u*-dative is of considerable age. Up to now, this case marker is without convincing etymology.

§ 24. In section 3.3.3.6 it has been stated that Udi knows a distinct *-i*-dative that mainly functions in a locative sense. It is often used with nouns encoding extended or plain (?) locations. Nevertheless, it can also appear with other nouns (see 3.3.3.6 for details). All *-i*-datives are strong: The corresponding noun lacks a stem augment even if this augment is present with the *-u*-dative, compare:

(x)	<i>säs</i>	‘voice’	<i>xaš</i>	‘month, moon’
	<i>-u-</i>	<i>säs-n-u</i>	<i>xaš-n-u</i>	
	<i>-i-</i>	<i>säs-i</i>	<i>xaš-i</i>	

Most probably, we have to deal with the same type of class ‘motion’ that has been already described for the correlation of *-en-* and *-in-*ergatives in § 4 above: Accordingly, a small class of nouns referring to locations could be used with the stem augment **-i-* instead of *-n-*. This type of motion can again be explained by referring to the semantics of stem augmentation: The stem augment **-i-* indicates a lower degree of control than the augment *-n-*. Therefore, it qualifies especially for nouns in contexts, in which the notion of control is irrelevant. In addition, the presence of a morpheme that indicates ‘mid-high’ control would go against the semantics of the noun encoding a concrete landmark. It is rather likely that originally, the standard *(-n-)u*-dative was used in metaphorized contexts, whereas the *-i*-dative referred to the source domain of a given referent.

The fact that most nouns in question were (and still are) marked for local semantics conditioned that the use of specific local case morphemes became redundant. Therefore, the presence of the stem augment **-i-* sufficed to indicate an inessive location. From a formal point of view, the nouns in question were marked by a zero-locative:

(x)		REF + CRTL[high]	REF + CRTL[low]
	ABS	$-\emptyset$	$-\emptyset$

ERG	*-n-ən	---
GEN	*-n-ay	---
DAT	*-n-u	*-i-Ø

The zero-marked stem augment *-i- later became reanalyzed as a locative morpheme that could be also used with loans (such as *dünia-n-i* ‘in the world’, *däriä-n-i* ‘in the sea’ etc.).

It should be noted that there is a striking resemblance between the Udi -i-dative and the Old Armenian morpheme -i that encodes the genitive/dative/locative cluster of singular -a-stems (*azg-i* (people-GEN/DAT/LOC), *varaz-i* (boar-GEN/DAT/LOC) etc.. However, two arguments go against the hypothesis of borrowing: First, nouns marked by the genitive/dative/locative -i in Old Armenian do not constitute a distinct ‘local’ subclass: Nouns that are typically used with the -i-dative in Udi are marked by other forms of the locative in Old Armenian, compare Udi *aiz-i* (village-DAT) vs. Old Armenian *gelj* (village:LOC) [but note Old Armenian *šên-i* (village-LOC)!], Udi *paiz-i* (autumn-DAT) vs. Old Armenian *ašnan* (autumn:LOC) etc.. Also, nouns that show an -i-locative in Old Armenian not necessarily show up as -i-datives in Udi although they would qualify for this case from a semantic point of view, compare the version of John 2:3 in Old Armenian (X,a) and Udi (x,b):

(x) (a) *ew ert‘ayin amenek‘ean ... y-iwrak‘anč‘iwr k‘alak‘-i*
and go:PAST:3PL all:PL:NOM ... in-each:POSS town-LOC

(b) *va^f ta-q‘un-c-i bütin ... har-o ič šähär-ä*
and go-3PL- $\$$:PAST-PAST all ... each-REF:ABS REFL town-DAT
‘And they all went .. each one to his/her town.’

Second, the Old Armenian -i-locate normally forms a common paradigm with the genitive and the dative singular. However, this syncretism is not present in Udi, compare in the inflection of Udi *aiz* vs. Old Armenian *šên* ‘village’:

	Udi	Old Armenian
ABS/NOM	<i>aiz</i>	<i>šên</i>
ERG	<i>aiz-en</i>	---
GEN	<i>aiz-un</i>	<i>šên-i</i>
DAT	<i>aiz-i</i>	<i>šên-i</i>
LOC	[<i>aiz-i</i>]	<i>šên-i</i>

Still, we cannot exclude that the Old Armenian paradigm has stabilized the reinterpretation of the Early Udi stem augment *-i- as a ‘locative’ marker.

3.3.11.3 Local cases. In sections 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2, the system of Udi local case forms has already been discussed from a diachronic perspective. The present section summarizes the findings. §§ 1-11 deal with the case forms that are superficially

related to the dative2, whereas §§ 12-17 turn to the three remaining cases. § 18 informs on the peculiarities of the ‘weak’ inflectional class marked by an *-u*-dative.

§ 1. As has been said in section 3.3.4.1, the Udi system of local case forms no longer conforms to the standard East Caucasian pattern of localization. The Udi paradigm has undergone important shifts that are characterized by the fusion of series and case functions. Syncretistic aspects of the formal paradigm iconically meet this process. In sum, the Udi system is strongly aligned to the patterns of local case marking as they show up in neighboring contact languages (mainly Azeri and Armenian). Still, certain traces of the older system allow to relate parts of the Udi paradigm to that of the East Caucasian prototype.

§ 2. In section 3.3.4.1 it has been argued that the Udi system of local cases represents a ‘mixture’ of old ‘series’ marker (localization), ‘case’ markers (dynamic relation), and (perhaps) borrowed morphology. The fact that local cases are derived from the ‘dative’ case represents a momentous innovation within the architecture of the Udi case paradigm. In section 3.3.11.2, it has been shown that the Udi dative is derived from the proto-Lezgian IN-series. Most probably, the case morpheme (**-a*) had already lost much of its specific semantics in Early Udi. Instead, it had been used as a more general locative that also functioned as an allative case. By that time, the IN-series must still have participated in the old series-case patterning (see 3.3.4.1): A residue of this pattern is the *-Vi*-genitive $< *-a-y$ (IN-ABL), see section 3.3.11.2. If we take into account the fact that the dative2 (*-Vx*) also has allative functions (see 3.3.3.3), the following paradigmatic detail shows up:

(x)		IN		
	ESS	<i>*-a-∅</i>	>	DAT
	ALL	<i>*-a-x</i>	>	DAT2
	ABL	<i>*-a-y</i>	>	GEN

§ 3. Accordingly, the IN-series was marked for both an ablative case ($>$ genitive) and an allative case ($>$ dative2). If this analysis is correct, we have to describe the allative case morpheme *-x* as an Udi innovation. There are no traces of this morpheme in the set of case markers in the other Lezgian languages. It should be noted that the allative is frequently innovated in the cognate languages, too. This fact renders it difficult to reconstruct the form of the case marker for proto-Lezgian. The source of the Udi morpheme *-x* is obscure: There is no possibility to relate *-x* to Udi postpositions or adverbs. From a formal point of view, it is attractive to compare *-x* to the Udi auxiliary (or light verb) *-xesun* (see 3.4.2.2), in case the following correspondence holds:

(x)	CASE		‘PV-go’	
	-č’	ALL	č’-esun	‘out to..’ (see 3.3.4.1, § 4)
	-x	DAT2	*x-esun	‘towards ...’ (?)

Nevertheless, this formal correspondence is difficult to corroborate from a functional point of view: The (very few) *-xesun*-verbs form a rather heterogeneous class that does not allow to isolate a semantic component compatible to that of the dative2. In consequence, it is more likely that the morpheme *-x* has been borrowed from a yet unidentified source.

§ 4. What ever the origin of the suffix *-x* might have been: In combination with the old series marker **-a* it soon formed a functional cluster that included aspects of both local series and cases (> (in)essive ~ (in-)allative). This cluster seems to have been reinterpreted as a simple (essive-)directional case. In consequence, the paradigm given above in (x) lost its harmonic organization. This process of disintegration was reinforced by the metaphorization of the original (in-)ablative **-a-y* that changed its function to that of a genitive(-partitive), see section 3.3.11.1.

§ 5. Most likely, a new type of ablative marking caused the functional shift ABL>GEN (in addition to the semantic reinterpretation of possessive constructions, see 3.3.11.1). This new ablative was based on the morpheme *-o* that was added to the cluster **-ax > *-axo*:

(x)		I	II	III
	GEN	[-Vn]	[-Vn]	*-ay
	ESS	*-a-Ø	*-a	*-a
	ALL	*-a-x	*-ax	*-ax
	ABL	*-a-y	*-a-y	*-ax-o

Accordingly, the original tripartite organization of case markers (ESS/ALL/ABL) tended towards a bipartite system that clusters ESS and ALL whereas ABL maintains its distinctive properties (see 3.3.4.1). The fact that the new ablative morpheme *-o* is added to the dative2 (< allative), but not to the simple dative (< essive) illustrates that the process of clustering ESS and ALL had not yet come to an end by the time the new ablative emerged.

§ 6. Again, there is no evidence that Udi has derived its new ablative morpheme from its own morphological devices. In addition, the suffix *-o* (Old Udi *-oc*) cannot be traced in the cognate languages. In consequence, a borrowing is rather probable. A good candidate seems to be Northwest Iranian: Here, the Old Iranian ablative **-at ~ *-āt* usually yields *-o* (compare the Northern Talysh ablative *-o*) that matches the Modern Udi form both in form and in function. The Old Udi form *-oc* would then represent an intermediate stage of this development.

In case the morpheme *-o < -oc* is a loan suffix, we have to relate the time of borrowing to a period when the series-case patterns still was active. Else, we should

expect that the morpheme follows the lexical stem rather than another case morpheme. In other words: The paradigmatic cluster {ESS, ALL, ABL} must have shown a formal opposition between ABL and the other two cases:

- (X) ESS/ALL **-a(x)*
 ABL **-ax + X*

Therefore, the morpheme *-o* has substituted another type of ablative marking rather than creating a new one. Superficially, the best candidate is the Nizh ablative/comitative *-x-un*, see 3.3.4.1 § 1:

- (x) ESS **-a*
 ALL **-ax*
 ABL **-ax-un*

§ 7. The difficulty of the analysis presented so far is related to the fact that the resulting morpheme **-un* cannot be easily identified as an ablative marker (see 3.3.4.1 § 2). Rather, we should expect a form **-an* (or **-in*). In addition, it has been said in the same section that Vartashen has grammaticalized the **-axun*-case as a converb that denotes ‘parallel action’ (type: *be^ǰ-axun* ‘while seeing’, see [x.x.x](#)). This function cannot be explained as a metaphorization of the ablative function. Instead, it is more adequate to assume that the comitative(-instrumental) function of Nizh *-xun* represents the source domain for the function of the converb *-axun*. The best way to get out of this problem is to reconstruct two different types of ablative marking for Early Udi:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------|------------------|
| (x) | | Type I | Type II |
| | ESS | <i>*-a</i> | <i>*-a</i> |
| | ALL | <i>*-a-x</i> | <i>*-ax</i> |
| | ABL | <i>*-a-y</i> | <i>*-ax-o(c)</i> |

Accordingly, the old ‘series-case’ pattern coexisted with a more recent pattern that added the borrowed case marker **-o(c)* to the allative **-ax*.

§ 8. If the analysis given in (X) is correct, the Nizh ablative *-axun* either substituted the older ablative **-ax-oc*, or Nizh did not participate in the process of borrowing at all. The assumption that Nizh did not share the ‘Eastern Udi’ (> Vartashen) innovation can be supported by the fact that the original habitat of speakers of ‘Lower Nizh’ seems to have been the Taz region in Western Azerbaijan (see Schulze 2000:8 and section [1.x](#)). Contrary to Northeast Azerbaijan, language contact with a variety of Northwest Iranian is not very probable for the Taz region. Therefore, the scheme given in (x) above can be précised in the following way:

- | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|
| (x) | Type I | Type II |
|-----|--------|---------|

		Eastern Udi	Western Udi
ESS	*-a	*-a	*-a
ALL	*-a-x	*-ax	*-ax
ABL	*-a-y	*-ax-oc	*-axun
COM	?	*-ax-ol	*-axun

§ 9. As has been said in section 3.3.4.1 § 2, it is rather improbable that a metaphorized function (comitative) is used to formulate a ‘local’ (ablative) function. In order to circumnavigate this problem, I have considered in section 3.3.4.1 §2 the possibility to derive the Nizh comitative from the converbial form of an old local copula. The form *-xun would have meant ‘being in a location of X’ > ‘with X’. The landmark would have been indicated by the standard (in)essive case *-a. (x) simulates this constructional pattern:

- (x) **ǰar-a xu-n* > *ǰar-axun*
*son-ESS COP:LOC-CV son-COM
 ‘being at/in the son’ > ‘with the son’

This analysis suggests that in Western Udi (> Nizh), the morpheme *-axun is homonymic rather than polysemic (LM = ‘Landmark)’:

- (x) COM *-axun < *LM-a + xu-n
 ABL *-axun < *-ax-un

§ 10. From a structural point of view, the Vartashen comitative -xol ~ -xolan is related to the Nizh comitative. In section 3.3.4.1 § 2, it has been hypothesized that *-xolan (undoubtedly the older form of -xol) stems from a converbial form of a local copula *xola-. This copula perhaps meant ‘to be behind’ as opposed to *xu- that signaled a position ‘at someone/something’. Just as *xu-, the converb of the copula *xola- was added to a landmark encoded by the ‘essive’ case *-a. (x) simulates this constructional pattern:

- (x) **ǰar-a xola-n* > *ǰar-axol(an)*
*son-ESS COP:LOC-CV son-COM
 ‘being behind the boy’ ‘with the boy’

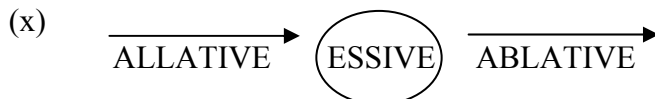
§ 11. In sum, it comes clear that the three local cases dative, dative2, and ablative constitute a specific subparadigm that has its sources in the proto-Lezgian inessive series. A complex process that involved reanalysis, innovation, and borrowing has led to the actual state of the paradigm. The comitative has been integrated into this paradigm only secondarily. (x) presents the analysis in form of a dynamic model (see section 3.3.11.2 for alternations of the dative vowel):

(X)

Stage I	Stage II		Stage III
	Type I	Type II	

			West	East	Nizh	Vartashen	
IN-ESS	*-a-Ø	*-a	*-a	*-a	-a	-a	DAT
IN-ALL	*-a-x	*-a-x	*-ax	*-ax	-ax	-ax	DAT2
IN-ABL	*-a-y	*-a-y	*-ax-un	*-ax-oc	-axun	-axo	ABL
COM			*-a *xu-n	*-a *xola-n	-axun	-axol(an)	

§ 12. The remaining four case forms (adessive *-st'a*, allative *-č'*, superessive *-l*, and super-ablative *-lxun* (Nizh)) share their derivational basis with the cases discussed so far: All four cases are based on the simple dative (see 3.3.4.1). In order to explain this commonality, we cannot refer to the series-case paradigm as illustrated in section 3.3.4.1. This would mean that all four case forms originally were 'case' markers added to the old inessive series marker **-a*. However, the number of local 'cases' that establish the dynamic relation between a trajector and its landmark is normally restricted to three in the Lezgian languages:



Hence, it is difficult if not impossible to project the six locational variants of Udi onto the three locative relations of proto-Lezgian. In addition, note that the six morphemes in question encode both case properties (regionality of the landmark) and series properties (locative relations):

(x)	FUNCTION	CASE	SERIES
-x	DAT2	ESS/ALL	IN > α
-xo / -xun	ABL	ABL	α
-st'a	ADESS	ESS	AD
-č'	ALL	ALL	α
-l	SUPER	ESS/ALL	SUPER
-lxun (N.)	SUPER:ABL	ABL	SUPER

I use the sign 'α' to indicate that a given case morpheme is semantically 'neutral' with respect to the subcategorization of a landmark's region. In §§ 1-11 above, it has been shown that Early Udi knew the following case markers:

(x)	ESS	*-Ø
	ALL	*-x
	ABL	*ay // *-un ~ *-oc

§ 13. If ever the four local morphemes *-st'a*, *-č'*, *-l*, and *-lxun* include 'case' morphology, we should expect the presence of one of the morphemes listed in (x). Except for Nizh *-lxun*, this is not the case. In consequence, we have to conclude that at least the three morphemes *-st'a*, *-č'*, and *-l* do not represent 'case' variants of the old IN-series. Rather, we should consider the possibility that these morphemes represent older series markers that have 'fused' with the IN-series. In section

3.3.11.3, §§ 10-12 it has been said that the IN-series has become a more ‘general’ locative in Early Udi. The clustering of **-a* and **-ax* conditioned that both morphemes could be used in essive and allative function. The three morphemes *-st’a*, *č’*, and *-l*, too, have either essive or allative function. This commonality allows to interpret the three morphemes as younger forms that were used to ‘concretize’ the semantics of the generalized IN-series:

- (X) IN > α LOC
 IN > α + X LOC + series

When we project this scheme onto the real data, we arrive at the following picture:

- (x) ADESS ALL SUPER
 IN > α + X: *-a-st’a* *-a-č’* *-a-l*

This projection is semantically adequate for both the adessive and the superessive. The complex adessive *-a-st’a* would have meant ‘LOC>AD’, whereas the superessive encoded ‘LOC>SUPER’. (x) simulates these pattern with the help of Modern Udi:

- (x) **xod-a-st’a*
 *tree-ESS-ADESS
 ‘In the location of, more concrete: at a tree’ > ‘at a tree’

 **xod-a-l*
 *tree-ESS-SUPER
 ‘in the location of, more concrete: on a tree’ > ‘on a tree’

The Udi allative *-a-č’* shows a slightly different pattern: Here, the α -localization of the dative (< essive) **-a* is marked for a local relation (ALL, ‘thither’). In other words: the morpheme *-č’* plays the same structural role as the standard directional morpheme *-x* (see §§ 2-3 above). (x) simulates the allative pattern:

- (x) **xod-a-č’*
 *tree-ESS-ALL
 ‘in the location of more concrete: towards a tree’ > ‘towards a tree’

It comes clear that the three case forms constitute a common structural pattern. This common feature, however, not necessarily implies that the morphemes in question stem from the same paradigmatic source.

§ 14. In section 3.3.4.1 it has been shown that the allative stems from a lexical base that is also present in the Nizh postposition *č’öš* ‘outside’ and in the petrified preverb *č’e-* ‘out’. Hence, the original meaning of the case form must have been ‘out towards’. The Nizh postposition suggests that the case form is derived from an

element *-č'ə: In section 3.3.4.2 it has been argued that Nizh č'öš is derived from a noun *č'ə 'outer region' to which the petrified case morpheme *-oš 'inside' has been added.

§ 15. Although all Eastern and Western Samur languages know a morpheme *-l* that encodes the SUPER-series, we cannot directly relate the Udi superessive to these forms: In all these languages (except for Rutul), the series marker *-l-* precedes the case marker (if present), compare Lezgi:

(x)	SUPER-ESS	<i>balk'an-di-l</i>	'on the horse'
	SUPER-ALL	<i>balk'an-di-l-di</i>	'onto the horse'
	SUPER-ABL	<i>balk'an-di-l-ay</i>	'off the horse'

The fact that the Udi morpheme *-l* follows another (old) series marker renders a direct comparison with the 'Lezgi' type impossible. Nevertheless note that in Old Udi, this ordering is in parts preserved. For instance, the super-ablative is marked by the morpheme *-aloc* (just in analogy with the Nizh super-ablative *-l-xun*, compare x.x.x).

For the superessive itself, we have to assume that again a postpositional form had been present. In 3.3.4.1, § 5 it has been argued that the original form of the postposition must have been **hal-a* '**hight-ESS*'. Contrary to the derivational base of the allative, this postposition had been marked for case. The underlying 'essive' (> dative) case conditioned that the new case acquired an essive (> directional) meaning. From a formal point of the view, the grammaticalization of the postposition **hala* must have taken place quite early: Its initial vowel merged with the old essive (> dative) vowel **-a* and the final vowel was dropped:

(x)	<i>*Noun-a hala</i>	>	<i>*Noun-ala</i>	>	<i>Noun-al</i>
	<i>*noun-ESS on</i>		<i>noun-SUPER:ESS</i>		<i>noun-SUPER</i>

§ 16. The Nizh super-ablative *-lxun* seems to be a younger formation: It is derived from the superessive by adding the ablative(-comitative) morpheme *-xun*. It is interesting to note that Nizh has thus preserved the proto-Lezgian pattern of series-case sequences. This structural 'echo' illustrates that this pattern represented the preferred sequence at least in Early Western Udi. Obviously, 'series' markers were felt to be more 'semantic' than the locative relations that were more 'grammatical'. In consequence, the iconic chain SEM>GRAM is observed in the formation of both with the older ablative (**-xun*) and the super-ablative (**-l-xun*).

§ 17. The Udi adessive morpheme *-st'a* represents the most obscure case form of all Udi cases. It is marked by the rather unusual phonotactic pattern -CCV. As has been said in section 3.3.4.1 § 3, it does not have apparent cognates in the other Lezgian languages. Structurally speaking, it behaves like the allative and the superessive. From this we can infer that the segment has a history that comes close to that of the

other two morphemes. Accordingly, both a postposition and a converbial structure can be taken into consideration. The phonetic structure of the morpheme suggests that it once was preceded by a vowel (see section 2.5 for the constraint on initial CC-clusters). This vowel has fused with the vowel of the inessive (> dative) case to which the segment has been added. Therefore, the original form of the adessive must have been **Vst'a*. The origin of this form is open to any kind of speculation.

§ 18. It should be noted that the analysis presented in §§ x-x is based on the standard dative allomorph *-a* < inessive **-a*. All processes described for the single morphemes also took place with nouns that were marked by the stem augment **-i-* (see 3.3.11.1). Most likely, the fusion of the stem augment **-i-* with the inessive morpheme **-a* took place at a time when the paradigm of local case forms had already become a stable system. The stem augmented paradigm marked by the morpheme *-n-* ('mid-high control, see 3.3.11.1) underwent the same changes as the inessive based paradigms of strong nouns and **-i-*-augmented nouns. The only difference had been that the development took place on the basis of the yet unexplained suffix *-u* instead of the inessive **-a* (see 3.3.11.2). (X) summarizes the development of the *-n-*-augmented nouns/pronouns:

(x)	<i>*AD > DAT</i>	<i>*-n-u</i>	>	<i>-n-u</i>
	<i>*AD-ALL > DAT2</i>	<i>*-n-u-x</i>	>	<i>-n-ux</i>
	<i>*AD/ALL + ABL > ABL</i>	<i>*-n-ux-o</i>	>	<i>-n-uxo</i>
	<i>*AD + COP:CV > COM</i>	<i>*-n-u *xola-n</i>	>	<i>-n-uxol(an)</i>
	<i>*AD + ? > ADESS</i>	<i>*-n-u *Vst'a</i>	>	<i>-n-u-st'a</i>
	<i>*AD + PP(out) > ALL</i>	<i>*-n-u *č'ə</i>	>	<i>-n-uč'</i>
	<i>*AD + PP(on) > SUPER</i>	<i>*-n-u *hala</i>	>	<i>-n-ul</i>

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3.4 The relational center: Verbs

3.4.1 Introduction

In this introductory section, I briefly summarize the basic properties of Udi verb morphology. Sections 3.4.2-11 give a more detailed analysis. The term ‘relational center’ is used to denote the functional domain of Udi ‘verbs’. This domain relates a referent to its own activities, to the maintenance of or to changes in its properties, to its location in space and time, and – most importantly – to other referents. In Udi, morphemes and categories that are relevant for the ‘relational center’ do not represent a morphologically defined class: Rather, Udi verbs show many features that are also typical for the class of referential terms. The number of verb-specific features is rather small: For instance, only verbs can undergo modalization or can be marked for the tense cluster {present-future}. The ‘mixed character’ of Udi verb morphology and morphosemantics holds for the following domains:

- (x) Localization
- Personalization
- Temporalization (past tense, in combination with personalization)
- Negation

In order to illustrate this point, (x) - (x) give examples for each the verbal and the non-verbal use of the domains mentioned above:

- (x) Localization:

(a) *burg-ol ta-ne-c-i* [f.n.]
 mountain-SUPER go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST
 ‘(S)he went onto the mountain.’

(b) *burg-ox [~ burg-ol] lai-ne-c-i* [f.n.]
 mountain-DAT2 [~ mountain-SUPER] on=go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST
 ‘(S)he went onto the mountain.’

- (x) Personalization:

(a) *sa adamar arc-i-ne uq-e boš* [R 9]
 one man sit=down-PAST-3SG river-GEN in
 ‘A man is sitting (lit.: has sat down) in the river.’

(b) *iaq'-al me-t'-u sa adamar-re la-mand-esa* [R 9]
 way-SUPER PROX-REF:OBL-DAT one man-3SG on-stay-PRES
 ‘A MAN waits for him on the way.’

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(x) Temporalization:

(a) *etär-te baba-n iaq'-a-ne-b-e zax* [John 20:21]

how-SUB father-ERG way-DAT-3SG-LV-PERF I:DAT2

‘Just as the father has sent me ...’

(b) *bez baba-n q'eiri ga-n-u-ne-i iaq'-a-b-e* [CO § 2]

I:POSS father-ERG other place-SA-3SG-PAST way-DAT-LV-PERF

‘My father has sent (me) to another place’

(x) Negation:

(a) *nut'-baiğ-al-le gög-n-ä pasč'ağluğ-a* [Matthew 7:21]

NEG-into=go:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG heaven-SA-GEN kingdom-DAT

‘(S)he will not enter heaven’s kingdom ..’

(b) *evaxte zu iaq'-a-z-b-esa-i efa^{fx} torag nut'* [Luke 22:35]

when I way-DAT-LV-PRES-PAST you:PL:DAT2 purse NEG

‘When I have sent you without a purse ...’

On the other hand, many verbal forms include lexical and/or morphological material that is typical for the referential domain. Therefore, verbal relations cannot be classified on purely grammatical grounds. Instead, a cluster of semantic, structural, morphological, and syntactic arguments ultimately establishes what can superficially be called the ‘verb class’ of Udi.

From a semantic point of view, most verbs are composed of a generic (relational) domain and a lexical component that is often represented by a dereferentialized noun (or verbal noun) or by a qualifying term (adverb or adjective). The generic domain is indicated by a number of so-called ‘light verbs’ (LV) that are in parts grammaticalized as auxiliaries (see 3.4.2.2). In addition, copula-like strategies are applied to establish a generic relationship. In other words, most Udi verbs show the following compositional type:

(x) LEX + REL[generic]

This type is discussed in more details in section 3.4.2.2. It should be noted that it is not only present with synchronically transparent verbs. Some verbs that today appear as simple verbal stems are historically related to the analytic (or: incorporating) type indicated in (x) above. This analytic technique is typical for quite a number of Lezgian languages. It has also effected the constructional patterns of temporal and modal forms (see 3.4.2.5). Most probably, it already came up in proto-Lezgian. But contrary to other Lezgian languages, Udi has nearly completely lost its old inventory of ‘simple’ verbs (see 3.4.2.1). Instead, Udi has experienced a phase in which analytic verb formation became the almost unique means to construe relational structures. In a later period, certain fusional processes occurred that conditioned a more moderate distribution between analytic and fusional (or: simple) verb stems.

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Simple and complex verbs encode the same set of grammatical categories. There are no categorial constraints on either type. (x) summarizes the linguistic categories that can overtly be marked in verbal relations:

Category	Technique
Personal agreement	Floating Clitics
Tense /Aspect	Suffixes; Clitic; Analytic clusters
Aktionsart	Analytic (serialization)
Mood / Negation	Prefixes; Suffixes; Clitics
Participles	Suffixes
Infinitive-Masdars	Suffixes
Converbs	Suffixes; Analytic (postpositions)
Localization	Preverbs (fossilized)
Causative	Infix (fossilized); Analytic (auxiliary)
Anticausative	Analytic (light verb)
Medio-Passive	Analytic (light verb) > Suffix

Although Udi has developed a technique of personal agreement (see 3.4.5), it is difficult to refer to this feature in order to establish a category of ‘finite’ verbs. The fact that personal agreement markers are floating clitics (3.4.5) conditions that their position is not confined to the verbal domain (see Harris 2002). In fact, ‘finiteness’ in Udi is a structural rather than a morphological issue: The simplest way to define ‘finiteness’ is to refer to the notion of ‘matrix’ verbs. Accordingly, a verb is finite if it is the only verb in a clause, if it is the last verb in a chain of verbs, or if another verb is present that is morphologically marked for subordination. Nevertheless, the following categories are confined to matrix verbs:

- (x) Present tense (Vartashen only)
- Perfect tense
- Mood (Hypothetical; Modal; Imperative)
- Modal future
- Factive future (followed by personal clitics)

Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the presence of one of these categories suffices to mark a verb for ‘finiteness’. The opposite domain (non-finite verbs) is more difficult to delimit. Morphological evidence is present if a particular verbal morpheme occurs only with verbs that are not matrix verbs in the sense described above:

- (x) Converbs
- Simple masdar (or: Infinitive)

Else, verbal forms may be non-finite from a structural point of view although they are part of a finite verb from a semantic point of view. Consider the following examples from Nizh:

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- (x) (a) *sa ġi ... bazar-e taġ-ala-t'un bak-i* [ORO; OR 137]
 one day ... bazaar-DAT go:FUT-FUT2-3PL be-PAST
 'One day, they were on their way to go to the bazaar.'
- (b) *vi bošt'un-a sal ava-bak-es ba-n-k-sa?*
 you:SG POSS be=fed:LV:MASD2-DAT after=all knowing-be-MASD be-2SG-\$-PRES
 'How can you know that you are finally fed up?' [TUM; OR 129]
- (c) *tac-i p'a-t'un-p'-i č'äläy-e* [KAL; OR 123]
 go:PAST-PART:PAST come=into-3PL-\$-PAST wood-DAT
 'They finally came into a wood.'

Structurally speaking, the verbs *taġala* in (x,a), *avabakes* in (x,b), and *taci* in (x,c) are non-finite. Nevertheless, they form a functional or semantic cluster with the adjacent 'finite' verb that produces an inchoative in (x,a), a potential mood in (x,b), and a resultative aktionsart in (x,c). In addition, *taġala* and *taci* can likewise occur as matrix verbs:

- (x) (a) *hu kala-bak-ala-nu* [I 81, Nizh]
 you:SG old-be-FUT2-2SG
 'You (sg.) will grow old.'
- (b) *ta-ne-c-i pačč'aġ-i baxči-n-a* [Nizh; PACH; OR 122]
 go-3SG-\$:PAST king-GEN little=garden-SA-DAT
 'He went to the king's little garden.'

The present description of Udi refrains from using the term 'finite' at all. The only concession concerns the two participle (-*al* and -*i*, see 3.4.9): In order to unveil the underlying syntactic structure and to account for referentialized forms derived from these participles (see 3.2.3), they are always glossed as 'PART' in case they depend from another matrix verb, compare:

- (x) (a) *šo-no ar-i-ne šägird-ġ-o t'o^fġo^fl* [Luke 22:45]
 DIST-REF:ABS come:PAST-PAST-3SG pupil-PL-GEN at
 'He came to the pupils.'
- (b) *va^f ar-i šägird-ġ-o t'o^fġo^fl*
 and come:PAST-PART:PAST pupil-PL-GEN at
- bo^fġa^f-ne-b-i šo-t'-ġ-o nep'-ax* [Matthew 26:40]
 find-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT sleep-DAT2
 'And when he came to the pupils he found them sleeping.'

Likewise, the gloss 'PART' is used to draw a dividing line between attributive participles and matrix verbs:

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(x) (a) *p'et'r gena tara-p-i a-t'u-k'-i*
Peter CONTR turn-LV-PART:PAST see-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST

ič qošt'an eğ-al šägird-ax [John 21:20]
REFL behind come:FUT-PART:nPAST pupil-DAT2
'Peter turned around (and) saw the pupil walking (lit.: coming) behind him.'

(b) *t'e-vaxt'-a eğ-al-le ağa t'e nökär-i* [Matthew 24:50]
DIST-time-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG lord DIST servant-GEN
'Then the lord of that servant will come...'

From a diachronic point of view, the matrix patterns of Udi verbs stem from analytic constructions. The verb originally functioned as the 'predicate', adverb, or (perhaps) referential locative of a copula. The verb itself was either an adjective/participle (> predicate) or a gerund (> adverb). Gerunds again can stem from case marked verbal nouns or from genuine gerundial forms. Crucially, Udi has lost most elements of the proto-Lezgian paradigm of existential and locational copulas. Instead, the new paradigm of 'personal agreement clitics' (see 3.4.5) has adopted many functional properties of the copula paradigm (see **x.x.x**). Nevertheless, some residues of the older set of copulas can be found in a few tense forms.

The present description of the Udi verb starts with the discussion of stem formation that is crucial for the understanding of Udi verb morphology and morphosyntax (3.4.2). Section 3.4.3 deals with the set of fossilized preverbs. Section 3.4.4 describes the morphology and morphosemantics of the {tense/ aspect/mood} cluster whereas section 3.4.5 discusses the system of agreement markers used to personalize verbal relations. In sections 3.4.6 and 3.4.7, I illustrate the morphological strategies used to manipulate assertive constructions for modalization and negation. Changes in valence patterns are described in section 3.4.8. Section 3.4.9 deals with morphologically marked subordination (participles and converbs), whereas section 3.4.10 turns to techniques of referentializing verbal relations (masdars). Finally, I briefly summarize the origins of Udi verb morphology in section 3.4.11.

3.4.2 The formation of Udi verbs

As has been said above, most Udi verbs consist of a lexical stem and some kind of 'grammatical' or relational base. The lexical stem does not necessarily reflect verbal semantics: For many verbs, we cannot identify a 'verbal stem' that would be marked for 'grammatical' information. Instead, the 'stem' semantics alludes to the conceptual background of a verb in the sense of 'relational permanence' (see Schulze 2001**x**). This conceptual basis is linked to highly abstract or generic 'verbs' that are used as light verbs to produce lexical verbs. This technique allows the spontaneous formation of lexical verbs to an extent that it becomes difficult to distinguish between standard verb forms and idiosyncratic constructions. In fact, nearly every

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word can serve as the lexical base of a verb as long as the ‘compound’ is lexically transparent. Although certain lexical types are preferred in verbal constructions (see 3.4.2.2), there are no obvious constraints on specific word classes.

Superficially, a group of thirty to forty verbs are excluded from the basic architecture just described. These verbs are marked by the fusion of the lexical and the relational component. In addition, some ‘root verbs’ have survived either as lexical (‘heavy’) verbs or as grammatical (‘light’) verbs. In the present grammar, these verbs are termed ‘strong verbs’ as opposed to ‘weak verbs’ that contain an overt relational segment (or: light verb). Strong verbs are illustrated in section 3.4.2.1, whereas weak verbs are discussed in section 3.4.2.2. A third class is constituted by verbs that result from the fusion of idiomatic expressions (see section 3.4.2.3). These verbs are marked for the combination of two lexical components. (x) summarizes the three basic types:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (x) | Strong verbs | LEX:REL |
| | Weak verbs | LEX + REL |
| | Idiomatic verbs | LEX + {LEX:REL} ~ LEX + {LEX + REL} |

‘LEX’ indicates the lexical component that fuses with ‘REL’ (= ‘relational segment’) in strong verbs, but that is added to an overt relational segment with weak verbs. Note that here I do not refer to the term ‘incorporation’ to account for ‘weak verbs’ (but see **x.x.x.** in the Syntax section).

From a morphosemantic point of view, the patterns listed in **(X)** above can be elaborated as follows:

- | | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| (x) | 1. | Strong verbs |
| | 1.1 | Augmented strong verbs (3.4.2.1 §§ 2-18) |
| | 1.2 | Root verbs (3.4.2.1, §§ 19-29) |
| | 1.3 | Residues of former strong verbs (3.4.2.1, § 30) |
| | 1.4 | Basic motion verbs (* <i>ġesun</i> vs. * <i>česun</i>) (3.4.2.1, §§ 31-52) |
| | 1.5 | Suppletive stems |
| | 2. | Weak verbs |
| | 2.1 | BE (Light verb <i>baksun</i>) (3.4.2.2, § 10) |
| | 2.2 | (BE)COME (light verb <i>esun</i>) (3.4.2.2, § 11-13) |
| | 2.3 | SAY (light verbs <i>pesun</i> , * <i>-k’esun</i>) (3.4.2.2, § 15-21) |
| | 2.4 | DO (Light verb <i>besun</i>) (§§ 22-27) |
| | 2.5 | GIVE (light verb * <i>-desun</i>) (3.4.2.2, §§ 28-35) |
| | 2.6 | MOVE (light verb * <i>t’esun</i>) (3.4.2.2, § 36) |
| | 2.7 | Pseudo-auxiliaries (3.4.2.2, § 37-42) |
| | 3. | Idiomatic verbs (3.4.2.3) |

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It should be noted that verbs including a preverb do not constitute a productive class. Nevertheless, preverbs play a crucial role especially with verbs of movement. Therefore, verbs containing a preverb are interpreted as a distinct subclass.

3.4.2.1 Strong verbs

§ 1. Strong verbs are defined by the lack of overt relational morphology: The verbal stem itself covers both the lexical and the relational domain. In consequence, verbal morphology is directly added to or incorporated into the stem. There are forty to fifty such strong verbs, many of which are semantically related to the core domain of the universe of verbal concepts. These verbs are discussed in §§ 2-18. A few lexicalized forms (basically adjectives) indicate that this class must have had a broader distribution in an earlier variant of Udi (see § 30). The class of ‘root verbs’ superficially lacks segmental features: From a synchronic point of view, tense/mood morphemes are directly added to (in parts) suppletive paradigms (§§ 19-29). A specific subclass is constituted by certain verbs of motion that are marked by petrified local preverbs. Today, some of these verbs show semantic reanalysis: The former preverb is interpreted as the lexical stem. This process is (in parts) accompanied by a formal reduction of the old verb stem (see §§ 31-52).

§ 2. Strong verb stems are generally monosyllabic. Usually, they are marked by a CVC- or VC-syllable. In addition, some CV-stems occur that, however, have a distinct morphological paradigm (see §§ 19-29). The following verbs are ‘strong’ (CVC- and VC-):

(x)	(C)V-	-C-	Masdar2	Meaning
	a-	-k’-	ak’sun	‘to see’
	a-	-p’-	ap’sun	‘to ripen’
	a-	-q’-	aq’sun	‘to take, buy, seize’
	a-	-č- ~ -č’-	ačt’un ~ ačt’un	‘to be wrong, disappear, fade away’
	ay-	-z-	ayzesun	‘to rise’
	ba-	-k-	baksun	‘to be(come)’
	ba-	-r-	barsun	‘to fall down, spread, be poured out’
	ba-	-p-	bap’sun	‘to arrive, come in, enter’
	ba-	-q’-	baq’sun	‘to fit into, contain’
	ba-	-q-	baqsun	‘to have, get (located)’
	be-	-s-	bessun	‘to ask for’
	be ^š -	-ğ-	be ^š ğsun	‘to see, look at, observe’
	bi-	-q’-	biq’sun	‘to seize, grasp’
	bi-	-q’-	biq’sun	‘to build’
	bi-	-t-	bist’un	‘to fall’
	bi-	-t’-	bist’un	‘to sow’
	bi-	-x-	bixsun	‘to grow, let grow, give birth, create’
	bo-	-x-	boxsun	‘to boil’
	bo-	-k’-	bok’sun	‘to burn’
	bo-	-s-	bossun	‘to throw away’
	bo-	-š-	bošsun	‘to be satiated’
	bo-	-t’-	bost’un	‘to wound, cut’
	bo ^š -	-q’-	bo ^š q’sun	‘to pick (up)’

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<i>bu-</i> ₋	-q'	<i>buq'sun</i>	'to want, love'
<i>č'e-</i> ₋	-q'-	<i>č'eq'sun</i>	'to take off'
<i>č'i-</i> ₋	-g-	<i>č'igsun</i>	'to drive (animals)'
<i>ci-</i> ₋	-g-	<i>cigsun</i>	'to cut (off)'
<i>či-</i> ₋	-č-	<i>čičesun</i>	'to take out'
<i>ču-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>čuksun</i>	'to tear off'
<i>du-</i> ₋	-ğ-	<i>duğsun</i>	'to hit'
<i>e-</i> ₋	-f-	<i>efsun</i>	'to hold'
<i>ka-</i> ₋	-p-	<i>kapsun</i>	'to hurry, hasten'
<i>la-</i> ₋	-x-	<i>laxsun</i>	'to lay on, place'
<i>mu-</i> ₋	-č-	<i>mučč'un</i>	'to kiss'
<i>sa-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>saksun</i>	'to throw down'
<i>t'i-</i> ₋	-t'-	<i>t'ist'un</i>	'to run'
<i>u-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>uksun</i>	'to eat'
<i>u^f-</i> ₋	-ğ-	<i>u^fğsun</i>	'to drink'

§ 3. There are two diagnostic means to relate a given verb to the class of strong (C)VC-verbs: a) The verbal stem cannot be analysed from a synchronic point of view; b) all verbs in question are marked for an 'endoclititic slot' between the vowel and the final stem consonant (symbolized by '-_-''). This slot can be filled with personal agreement markers or with piggybacking clitics that contain such an agreement marker (see 3.4.5), compare:

- (x) *aq'*- 'to take' > *a-ne-q'-sa* '(s)he is taking'
 take-3SG-\$-PRES
- > *a-q'a-ne-q'-i* '(s)he should take'
 take-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST
- > *a-al-le-q'-i* '(S)he TOOK'
 take-FOC-3SG-\$-PAST
- > *a-te-ne-q'-i* '(S)he did not take'
 take-NEG-3SG-\$-PAST

Note that in this section, verbs are quoted in their stem form instead of the standard *masdar*(2). Hence, *aq'*- does not translate 'to take' or 'the (act of) taking', but rather the concept <take>. Here, I do not quote verbs in their *masdar*(2) forms because certain assimilatory processes and metathesis can obscure the shape of the verb stem (see 3.4.10).

§ 4. With endoclititization, the verbal stem is split into two discontinuous parts (see 3.4.5): The first part contains the stem vowel, whereas the second part is always indicated by the final stem consonant (occasionally -Ø- from a synchronic point of view). In the present description of Udi, the first part of a discontinuous form is marked by the lexical gloss, whereas the second part is glossed with the help of the symbol '\$', compare:

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- (x) (a) *aq'-i-ne* '(s)he did take'
 take-PAST-3SG
- (b) *a-ne-q'-i* '(s)he took'
 take-3SG- $\$$ -PAST

§ 5. Endoclititization has sometimes be regarded as a core argument to describe the stem structure of strong verbs (see Harris 2002:188-222). According to standard segmental analysis, the part of the stem that precedes a personal agreement clitic represents an older morphological or lexical element that has fused with the verbal 'root'. Personal agreement clitics would be linked to the former 'independent' grammatical and/or lexical element (> enclitics). As a consequence, they would have been trapped in tmesis. (x) summarizes this hypothesis (E1 = first element, 'CL' = clitic, '♦' = Fusion, 'Ste-_-m-' = 'stem with endoclititic slot'):

- (x) *E₁ + Root > *E₁♦Root > Stem-
 *E₁-CL Root > *E₁-CL♦Root > Ste-_-m-

This hypothesis can be applied for those strong verbs the first segment of which can be identified as a separate lexical structure. This is true for instance for the verb *lax-* 'to put (down) onto': Here, the segment *la-* represents an older preverb ('on', see 3.4.3) that is added to the root **x-* 'to move (s.th.) away from s.o./s.th.' (< proto-Lezgian **x̂-* ~ **ɬ-*, see Schulze 2001:252). This labile root is also present with the weak verb *baf-t'esun* (weak) 'to fall into' < **ba-f-* + 'light verb'. The root still reflects the two proto-Lezgian valence morphemes **-u* (intransitive) and **-a* (transitive):

- (x) **la-x̂-a-* > **la-x̂^a-* > *lax-* 'put (down) on'
 **ba-x̂-u-* > **ba-x̂^w-* > *baf-* 'fall into'

A semantic interpretation of the first segment is also possible for the following strong verbs ('Fo' = 'by force'):

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| (x) <i>ba-_-p'-</i> | < * <i>ba-p'-</i> | (in-move) | 'to come in, enter, arrive' |
| <i>ba-_-q-</i> | < * <i>ba-q-</i> | (in-be=located) | 'to be at/in s.o., be possessed, be acquired' |
| <i>ba-_-q'-</i> | < * <i>ba-q'-</i> | (in-be=active) | 'to fit into, contain' |
| <i>č'e-_-q'-</i> | < * <i>č'e-q'-</i> | (out-be=active) | 'to take off' (see 3.4.2.2) |
| <i>č'i-_-g-</i> | < * <i>č'e-gⁱ-</i> | (out-make:Fo) | 'to drive (animals)' |
| <i>ci-_-g-</i> | < * <i>ci-gⁱ-</i> | (down-make:Fo) | 'to cut (off)' |
| <i>e-_-f-</i> | < * <i>e-f-</i> | (hither-keep) | 'to hold' |

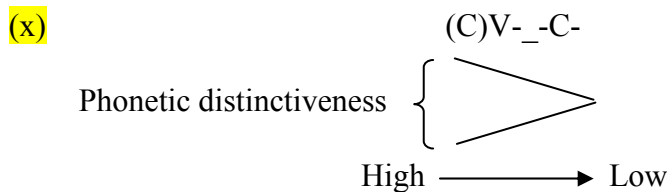
From a syntactic point of view, these verbs have developed from the univerbation of adverbial structures located in the preverbal focus field (see **x.x.x**) and verb stems (see 3.4.5.1): By the time agreement markers came into use, the preverbal segments

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still functioned as adverbial units that were placed before the verb. For example, the verb form *ci-ne-g-i* ‘(s) cut off’ is derived from the following constructional pattern (see 3.4.4.1 for the tense form and 3.4.5 for the clitic):

- (x) *ci-ne-g-sa* < **ci-ni* **g^j-es* **a*
 cut=off-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES down_{FOC}-3SG:FOC do=by=force-MASD AUX:PRES
 ‘(s)he cuts off’ *‘DOWN (s)he is at doing (it) by force’

In a later period, endoclitization in parts became an ‘automatic’ strategy: By analogy, the ‘stem’ of strong verbs became marked for distinctive features in the beginning rather than at the end of the syllable:



Prototypically, the final segment is marked for the features [velar/uvular], [voiceless/glottalic], and [stop]. 59,46 % of all final consonants in ‘strong’ stems include these features. The ‘onset’, however, is marked for twenty-two types:

(x)

Onset	Types	Frequency
<i>bV-</i>	5	51,35 %
Others	17	48,65 %

The most prototypical onset is *bV-* although it is cognitively less ‘predictable’ than the stem final consonant (also see § 13 below). Nevertheless, it comes clear that the onset of strong stems is more relevant for semantic parsing than the final consonant. This salience of the onset is additionally marked by the endoclitics (if present): When followed by an endoclititic element, the onset syllable takes the word stress. Accordingly, phonetic, suprasegmental and syntactic features support the focal functions of the clitics that always aim at the semantically or pragmatically most salient segment (see 3.4.5.1).

§ 6. Nevertheless, the seven strong verbs mentioned so far do not constitute a dominant semantic group strong enough to structure the whole paradigm of strong verbs. Rather, we have to assume that a set of conditions have produced the present paradigm of strong verbs.

§ 7. Two verbs are superficially marked by reduplication:

- (x) *t'i-_-t'-* ‘to run’
či-_-č- ‘to take/carry out’

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Harris 2002: 225 suggests that *či-* *-č-* ‘to take out’ is derived from the set of MOVE-verbs (see §§ 31-52): Accordingly, the underlying form was marked for the preverb *č'e-* that has been added to the stem **č-* ‘to carry’. Although this assumption fills a slot in the paradigm of MOVE-verbs (see § 46), it is not without problems: On the one hand, the vowel of the preverb (*-e*) is raised to *-i*, a process that is also documented for the strong verb *č'ig-* ‘to drive (animals)’. It is likely that this raising is conditioned by the original palatalized velar **-gⁱ-*. If we suppose that the same process has been present with the verb *či-* *-č-*, the root must have had a form that differed from that of the other *č*-based MOVE-verbs (cf. *e-č-esun* ‘to bring’ < **e-č-*, but not ***ič-*). In addition, the stem *či-* *-č-* differs from the expected form ***č'e-č-* in that the assumed preverb has lost its glottal feature through assimilation. However, the sequence *č'VC[-gl]* is usually preserved in Standard Udi, cf. *č'epun* ‘spot, pimple’ and *č'aq* ‘lightning’. Therefore, it seems to be more plausible that *či-* *-č-* represents a reduplicated form just as the verb *t'i-* *-t'-* ‘to run’. In case reduplication is given, we have to assume that the endoclititic slot has been ‘opened’ in structural analogy with the standard ‘strong verbs’.

§ 8. Fourteen strong verbs are marked for the initial segment *b-* followed by one of the vowels *-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*, *-o-*, *o^ɛ-*, or *-u-*:

(x)	<i>ba-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>baksun</i>	‘to be(come)’
	<i>ba-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	<i>barsun</i>	‘to fall down, spread, be poured out’
	<i>be-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>bessun</i>	‘to ask for’
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-q'-</i>	<i>biq'sun</i>	‘to seize, grasp’
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-q'-</i>	<i>biq'sun</i>	‘to build’
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>bist'un</i>	‘to fall’
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>bist'un</i>	‘to sow’
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>-x-</i>	<i>bixsun</i>	‘to grow, let grow, give birth, create’
	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-x-</i>	<i>boxsun</i>	‘to boil’
	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-k'-</i>	<i>bok'sun</i>	‘to burn’
	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>bossun</i>	‘to throw away’
	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-t'-</i>	<i>bost'un</i>	‘to wound, cut’
	<i>bo^ɛ-</i>	<i>-q'-</i>	<i>bo^ɛq'sun</i>	‘to pick (up)’
	<i>bu-</i>	<i>-q'</i>	<i>buq'sun</i>	‘to want, love’

Note, that this list does not include the verbs *baqsun* ‘to be in reach, be at/in s.o., be acquired, possessed’, *baq'sun* ‘to fit into, contain’, *bap'sun* ‘to arrive, come in, enter’ that are marked by the preverb *ba-* ‘in(to)’, see above. Also, the verb *bo-* *-š-* ‘to be satiated’ is not taken into consideration, because it represents a reanalyzed postposition (*boš* ‘in’). In addition, some other *b*-verbs are neglected that belong to the paradigm of ‘root verbs’. They are discussed below in §§ 19-29.

§ 9. The standard assumption is that *b-* represents the fossilized class marker **b-* that encoded Class III referents (see 3.2.4). This class can be regarded as the most unmarked of all proto-Lezgian noun classes. Comparative evidence supports the derivation of the verbs at issue from former class-marked verbs. Harris 2002:188-191 discusses at length the question whether the vowel following the segment *b-* should

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be regarded as part of the old class marker or as part of the stem. This problem is immediately related to the question of stem formation in proto-Lezgian. Most likely, proto-Lezgian had several options to modify original CV-roots: On the one hand, the so-called root-final thematic vowel was sensitive for valence grading: Grading was carried out with the help of an ablaut scheme (transitive: **-a*, intransitive **-u-/*-i*), whereas the initial consonant could be preceded by an epenthetic vowel to form the syllabic base for a preceding consonantal class marker. (x) summarizes the basic types:

(x)	<i>*CV</i>	Labile verbs (transitive/intransitive)
	<i>*Ca-</i>	Transitive thematic vowel
	<i>*Cu-</i>	Intransitive thematic vowel
	<i>*(C-)^oCV</i>	Consonantal class marker + Labile verb
	<i>*(C-)^oCa</i>	Consonantal class marker + Transitive verb
	<i>*(C-)^oCu</i>	Consonantal class marker + Intransitive verb

Note that the syllabification of a consonantal class marker did not necessarily yield **Cə*-structures. Another option had been to derive **əC*-syllables. The class marker kept its consonantal shape in case a V-final preverb was added. In addition, a class marker represented by an approximant (e.g. **w-* Class I) did not call for an epenthetic vowel as long as it could represent the syllable peak. Hence, the following additional types occurred (here, variation of the thematic vowel is neglected):

(x)	<i>*C_o-CV-</i>	Sonantic class marker
	<i>*əC-CV-</i>	Prothetic vowel + Consonantal class marker
	<i>*(C)V-C-CV-</i>	Preverb + Consonantal class marker

§ 10. The system is further complicated because features of consonantal co-articulation (palatalization, labialization, and pharyngealization) may interact with the adjacent vowel. Note that Harris 2002:218-9 suggests a different pattern for *b*-initial stems: Accordingly, these stems had two slots for class markers:

(x)	<i>b-V-_-C</i>	≈	<i>*CM-V-CM-C</i>
-----	----------------	---	-------------------

Although the doubling of class makers (CM) occasionally occurs in some Lezgian languages, it is rather improbable that this marginal technique served as a structural template for Udi *b*-verbs. This problem is directly related to the question of how endoclitization emerged in Early Udi. It is discussed in more details in section 3.4.5.1.

§ 11. In Early Udi, the complex paradigm as illustrated in (x) above has undergone further changes that are marked by the following aspects: Nearly all roots have lost their final vowel. As a result, CV-structures became -VC-structures. Perhaps, this ‘left shift’ is the most important change in the paradigmatics of Udi strong verbs. Most probably, it is coupled with a shift of accent from the root syllable to the

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‘grammatical’ syllable. (X) simulates this process with the help of the Modern Udi verb *biq’*- ‘to seize’ (‘EP’ = epenthesis):

- (x) **b-^əq’i-* > **báq’i-* > **bíq’ə-* > *biq’-*
 III-EP:move:HITHER:LABILE

As a result of this process, the distinctiveness of the original root consonant was gradually reduced: The bimorphemic structure ‘grammatical element + lexical base’ e.g. CV-C-) was reinterpreted as a monomorphemic structure (e.g. CVC-). Now, it was the whole structure that was related to a verbal concept instead of the original root consonant (plus vowel). Therefore, the root consonant could undergo phonetic changes that reduced its phonological extension. As consequence, the set of root final consonants gradually merged into a rather small set of stem final consonants. (x) lists the consonants that are today present with *b*-initial stems:

(x)

-C#	Frequency
- <i>q’</i>	4
- <i>x-</i>	2
- <i>s-</i>	2
- <i>t’-</i>	2
- <i>k-</i>	1
- <i>k’-</i>	1
- <i>r-</i>	1
- <i>t-</i>	1

§ 12. Residues of the original root final vowel and of the original quality of the root consonant can be found in the vocalization of the old epenthetic vowel. For the time being, it is difficult to relate the actual vocalization of *bVC*-stems to earlier phonetic aspects of the complex ‘class marker + root’. Most likely, most stems marked for the vowel *-o-* stem from labialized root consonants, whereas the stem vowel *-i-* seems to be related to older ‘labile’ verb morphology (see **x.x.x.**).

The processes described above must have occurred before the technique of endoclititization came into general use. Else, the clitics at issue would have blocked the assimilation of the old epenthetic vowel to the vocalization of the root syllable (see 3.4.5 for the process of endoclititization with personal agreement markers).

§ 13. The remaining eleven strong verbs are difficult to integrate into a common paradigm. The initial segments can represent both the first part of proto-Lezgian (C)VC-roots and former grammatical or lexical elements. (x) lists the verbs in questions:

- (x) *a-* -č- ~ -ć- *ačt’un ~ ačt’un* ‘to be wrong, disappear, fade away’
 a- -k’- *ak’sun* ‘to see’

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<i>a-</i> ₋	-q'-	<i>aq'sun</i>	‘to take, buy, seize’
<i>a-</i> ₋	-p'-	<i>ap'sun</i>	‘to ripen’
<i>ay-</i> ₋	-z-	<i>ayzesun</i>	‘to rise’
<i>ču-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>čuksun</i>	‘to tear off’
<i>du-</i> ₋	-ğ-	<i>duğsun</i>	‘to hit’
<i>ka-</i> ₋	-p-	<i>kapsun</i>	‘to hurry, hasten’
<i>mu-</i> ₋	-č-	<i>mučč'un</i>	‘to kiss’
<i>sa-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>saksun</i>	‘to throw down’
<i>u-</i> ₋	-k-	<i>uksun</i>	‘to eat’
<i>u^ʕ-</i> ₋	-ğ-	<i>u^ʕğsun</i>	‘to drink’

Note that except for the set of velar/uvular stops, stem final consonants are almost complementarily distributed between verbs that contain an old class marker and those that are marked for another segment:

(X)

-C#	-č-	-ğ-	-p-	-p'-	-z-	-k-	-k'-	-r-	-t-	-s-	-t'-	-x-	q'
bV-	---	---	---	---	---	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4
Else	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	---	---	---	---	---	1

§ 14. Three verb stems that start with a simple vowel seem to go back to proto-Lezgian roots preceded by a prothetic vowel (*^əCV-):

(X)

<i>u-</i> ₋	-k-	<	* ^ə <i>k-u-</i>	~	<i>kä-</i>	<	* ^ə <i>k-a-</i>
<i>u^ʕ-</i> ₋	-ğ-	<	* ^ə <i>rğ^w-a-</i>				
<i>a-</i> ₋	-q'-	<	* ^ə <i>q:-a-</i>				

The verb *u-*₋*k-* ‘to eat’ has two stems: *uk-* is used with all non-past tense forms, whereas the variant *kä-* < **ka-* is reserved for past tense forms. Most likely, we have to deal with two variants that are graded for transitivity: The non-past stem *uk-* is related to the proto-Lezgian intransitive stem **k-u-* (Archi *ku-m-*) that is used in present(-future) tense contexts when the goal of ‘eating’ can be inferred from the given situation. The past-tense stem is derived from the transitive variant **k-a-* and shows a stronger orientation towards referents in objective function. Hence, the pair **k-u-* vs. **k-a-* corresponds to the universal tendency that intransitivity has a stronger link to non-past events, as opposed to transitivity that is strongly coupled with past events. For the present-future stem, we have to assume the presence of a prothetic vowel that became vocalized under influence from the intransitive thematic stem vowel *-*u* (*^ə*k-ú-* > *^ʕ*k^ə-* > *uk-*). Note that an analogous process has to be described for *pesun* ‘to say’: In Old Udi, the masdar still is *owpesown* (i.e. *up-esun*), whereas the past stem was (as it is in Modern Udi) *p-* (see below).

The strong verb *u^ʕ-*₋*ğ-* has a number of cognates in the other Lezgian languages that suggest a proto-Lezgian form *^ə*rğ^w-a-* (or: *^ə*rG^w-a-*), see Schulze 2001:330. Most likely, we have to deal with an old onomatopoeic root (‘to dink, swallow’). The pharyngealization of the prothetic vowel has regularly developed from *-*r-*. The vowel itself has been assimilated to the labialized root consonant.

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The strong verb *a-_-q'* ‘to take’ cannot be separated from *biq'* ‘to seize’, see above. Obviously, we have to deal with a variant that lacks the petrified class marker **b-*. In addition, **aq'* is more transitive as *biq'*. These facts suggest that **aq'* stems from a proto-Lezgian variant **^oq'-a-* ‘to move:HITHER[CTRL] s.th.’ (as opposed to *biq'* < **b-əq'i-* ‘to move:HITHER (s.th.)’). Again, the prothetic vowel is assimilated to the original thematic vowel **-a*.

§ 15. Contrary to the three strong verbs just mentioned, the three verbs *a-_-č-* ~ *-č-* ‘to be wrong, disappear, fade away’, *a-_-p'* ‘to ripen’, and *a-_-k'* ‘to see, realize’ seem to consist of two segments. The verb *a-_-č-* is rare but attested for instance in:

- (x) *bez piy-in bešt'an a-ne-č-i* [Nizh; Gukasjan 1974:54]
 I:POSS eye-GEN in=front:ABL disappear-3SG-\$-PAST
 ‘It escaped from my eyes.’

Most likely, it is related to the nominal form *apči* ~ *apči* ‘liar’ that represents a lexicalized past participle (or: stative verb). Crucially, the form *apči* ~ *apči* contains a petrified class marker (*-p-* < **-b-* < **-w-*, class I) in just the slot that is typical for personal agreement markers. Accordingly, *apči* would originally have meant ‘he who has been wrong’. Obviously, the vowel of the stem *ač-* ~ *ač-* once had segmental properties. It is tempting to relate this element to an older preverbal form **a-* ‘away from, off’ that also had negative connotations (see section 3.2.9.1, § 10). Accordingly, the original meaning of *ač-* had once been ‘to move away from (what is)’.

Perhaps, the stem *a-_-p'* ‘to ripen’, too, contains the old preverb **a-* ‘away from, out’. This assumption is supported by the correlation *bap'* ‘come in, enter’ ~ *ap'* ‘to ripen’. The stem *bap'* is marked by the preverb **ba-* ‘in(to)’ which gives us a stem **-p'* that once encoded some kind of ‘movement’. Accordingly, *ap'* originally meant ‘to move out, way from’. This concept was metaphorically extended to indicate the process of ‘ripening’ (< **‘coming out’?*).

The same prefix is perhaps also present with the verb *ak'* ‘to see, realize’ (see Harris 2002:138;217 for a different view). In Vartashen Udi, this verb still shows demotion of the agent (> indirect objective, see **x.x.x**). This process is related to the original meaning ‘to be observable, to show up’. The prefix or preverb would have indicated the direction ‘away from’ in the sense of a ‘desintegration of landmarks’: An object is ‘in sight’, if it is no longer part of a landmark. This process of ‘profiling’ seems to be encoded by the interaction of the element **a-* and the proto-Lezgian root **k:u-* that would have encoded the visual act itself.

Perhaps, the prefix is related to the segment *ai-* that is present in the strong verb *ai-_-z-* ‘to rise, stand up’ (as well as in the weak verbs *ai-_-esun* ‘(1) to be capable, (2) ‘to rise (said of a dough)’ and *ai-_-zapsun* ‘to weigh out’, see 3.4.3). The general meaning of the petrified segment *ai-* < *hai-* seems to have been ‘up, in a vertical

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direction'. However, this analysis suggests a root $*z^w\partial-$ < $*c.^w-u-$ (see Schulze 1988:135 for Lezgian cognates) that does not show up elsewhere in the Udi verbal lexicon except in the (doubtful) derivation *aiz* 'village' (*'what has been put up?'). Note that in Old Udi, there are two variants of this verb, namely *hayz-* and *harz-*: *hayz-* occurs with masdars, *harz-* with tense/mood-marked forms. The second stem - a younger form which did not undergo pharyngealization ($**ha^{\dot{z}}-$) - is difficult to explain. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that at least *hay-* > *ai-* reflects an older preverb.

§ 16. The remaining six strong verbs cannot be interpreted in terms of a single paradigm:

(x)	<i>ču-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>čuksun</i>	'to tear off'
	<i>du-</i>	<i>-ğ-</i>	<i>duğsun</i>	'to hit'
	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-p-</i>	<i>kapsun</i>	'to hurry, hasten'
	<i>bo-</i>	<i>-š-</i>	<i>bošsun</i>	'to be satiated'
	<i>mu-</i>	<i>-č-</i>	<i>mučč'un</i>	'to kiss'
	<i>sa-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>saksun</i>	'to throw down'

The verb *ču-* *-k-* 'to tear off' is perhaps derived from the noun *ču* 'wedge' (> 'to tear off s.th. with the help of a wedge'). This analysis suggests that the verb has originally been weak. The underlying light verb was $*kesun$ (see below for *saksun*).

The verb *du-* *-ğ-* 'to hit' most likely shows a segmental element $*d-$ that is added to the root $*\partial g^w(a)-$ 'to hit' (cf. Tabasaran *-uğ^f-* 'to hit'). It is tempting to relate this element to the proto-Lezgian class marker $*d-$ (Class IV, see 3.2.4). However, note, that Udi must have passed a time, when initial *d-* was not tolerated (see section 2.3). This fact makes it difficult to identify *d-* as the reflex of proto-Lezgian $*d-$. Instead, we should consider a secondary source for this element. Most likely, it is taken from the Azeri verb *döy-mek* 'to hit' that helped to distinguish the older form $*uğ^f-$ 'to hit' from $u^{\dot{g}}-$ 'to drink' (see above). The stem is lacking in Old Udi.

The three strong verbs *ka-* *-p-* 'to hurry, hasten', *mu-* *-č-* 'to kiss', and *sa-* *-k-* 'to throw down' are mostly probably derived from older CVC-stems. There is no comparative evidence that would suggest a segmental analysis. The stem *muč-* 'to kiss' is borrowed from Persian *māč* 'kiss'. The stem *kap-* 'to hurry, hasten' is derived from the adverb *kap* 'quick'. The stem *sak-* 'to throw down' is occasionally compared to Lezgian words for 'to fall' (see Schulze 2001:316). However, such a comparison fails for phonetic and semantic reasons. Instead, the stem seems to be borrowed from Azeri *sal-maq* 'to throw down, let fall'. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that *saksun* occurs in nearly the same idiomatic expressions as Azeri *salmaq*, compare Udi *sulfina saksun* 'to spread the table-cloth' = Azeri *süfrāni salmaq*, Udi *ga-saksun* 'to make the bed (lit.: place)' ~ Azeri *yataq salmaq* ~ *hazırlamaq* etc. Accordingly, *sak-* stems from $*sal-$ to which the light verb $*esun$ has been added. The tendency to reanalyze older lexical stems (nouns, adverbs etc.) as strong verb stems has also caused the emergence of the verb stem *bo-* *-š-* 'to be

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satiated'. This stem is derived from the postposition 'in' that has undergone unmarked conversion to a verb stem. The syllabic structure (*bVC-*) conditioned that it was included in the paradigm of strong *b*-initial verb stems (see above § 8).

§ 17. In sum, the thirty-six strong verbs discussed so far cannot be derived from a common Early Udi paradigm: Both monomorphemic and bimorphemic structures occur. Nevertheless, it can be safely stated that many of the native strong verbs stem from older bimorphemic structures. The first segment was either a preverb or a petrified class marker (**b-*). The two types differ with respect to the semantic properties of the first segment: Preverbs once had an autonomous status that came close to that of adverbs. In other words: They once were marked by lexical semantics. Class markers, on the other hand, had been fully grammatical already in proto-Lezgian (stemming from proto-East Caucasian anaphoric or cataphoric pronouns). In Early Udi, there must have existed at least three different types of strong verbs: Two types of simple stems that were derived from proto-Lezgian CV-stems, and complex stems that contained the petrified class marker **b-*. A number of simple stems became more and more desemantized resulting in light verbs or auxiliaries (see below 3.4.2.2). Other were frequently used with certain adverbs or adverb-like segments that functioned as preverbs in tmesis:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|
| (x) | 1. <i>*^oC(V)-</i> | Simple stem |
| | 2. <i>*b-^oC(V)-</i> | Fossilized class marker + simple stem |
| | 3. <i>*ADV + *^oC(V)-</i> | Adverb-like segment + simple stem |
| | 4. <i>*ADV + *b-^oC(V)-</i> | Adverb-like segment + Fossilized class marker
+ simple stem |

Here, I have added a fourth type that is characterized by the combination of Type II and Type III. This type has not survived in Udi except for the few lexicalized terms discussed in § 15 and § 30 (*a-p-č-i* 'liar', *a-m-c-i* 'empty'). At a later stage, certain borrowed verbal stems were integrated into this paradigm (*muč-* 'to kiss', *sak-* < **sal-k-* 'to throw' etc.). In case the final segment of a complex or borrowed term was similar to the stem consonant of a light verb, this segment could be subjected to reanalysis. This is for instance true for the verb *ber-₋xsun* 'to grind, mill'. The original stem had been **berx-* < **be-r^oǵ^{sw}(-a)-* (see Schulze 1988:177-178). In analogy with weak verbs like *čal-₋xesun* 'to know, be acquainted to' and *kar-₋xesun* 'to live', the stem was reanalyzed as *ber-₋x-* (see 3.4.2.2, § 41). This process had been reinforced by the general rhythmic pattern of endoclitization (see 3.4.5).

§ 18. In addition to the strong verbs discussed above, Harris 2002:125 lists the following verbs that are thought to be monomorphemic (for systematic reasons, I have added the stem *ar-₋c-*):

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--|
| (x) | <i>baš-₋q'-</i> | 'to steal' |
| | <i>bur-₋q-</i> | 'to begin, start' |
| | <i>čal-₋x-</i> | 'to recognize, know, be acquainted to' |

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ar-_-c- ‘to sit, be seated’

A closer look at these verbs, however, reveals, that they originally were bimorphemic ‘weak’ verbs or complex borrowings that became reanalyzed as weak or strong verbs: The stem *baš-_-q-* is borrowed from Azeri *basqı* ‘attack, ambush’. The final segment *-q(i)* has been reinterpreted as a light verb as can be seen from the place of the endoclititic slot (in analogy with verbs like *furu-q’esun* ‘to search for’, *ait-q’esun* ‘to understand’). The verb *bur-_-q-* is a calque from Azeri *baş-lamaq* ‘to begin, to start’ that is based on the noun *baş* ‘head’. Likewise, the first segment in Udi *bur-_-q-* is derived from *bul* ‘head’, marked by the now obsolete adverbial case form **-r* (see 3.3.4.2, § 42). The segment *-q-* perhaps represents a now lost light verb that is derived from a local copula (see 3.4.2.2, § 42). The two verbs *kar-_-x-* ‘to live’ and *čal-_-x-* ‘to be acquainted to, come to know’ represent weak verbs based on the now lost light verb **xe-* ‘to be(come)’, see 3.4.2.2, § 41. Finally, the stem *ar-_-c-* ‘to sit, be seated’ represents the past stem of a now lost weak verb **ar-esun* ‘to move into a sitting position’. This verb had been marked by the light verb *esun* (medio-passive, see 3.4.2.2). The past stem of this light verb (*-ec-*, see 3.4.2.2) produced a past stem **ar(e)c-* ‘having moved into a sitting position, having sat down’. This stem was then used to derive a *praeterito-praesens* > *arc-esun* ‘to sit’. The endoclititic slot corresponds to that of weak verbs marked by the light verb *esun*, compare:

- (x) *ar-re-c-i* ‘(s)he sits’ < ‘(s)he has sat down’
box-ne-c-i ‘it boiled’

§ 19. Superficially, the followings verbs are marked by simple C(V)-stems:

- (x) *b-esun* ‘to do, make’
p-esun ‘to say’
bi-esun ‘to die’
**d-esun* ‘to give’ (auxiliary < light verb)
**t’-esun* ‘to give’ (auxiliary < light verb)
**k’-esun* ‘to let’ (auxiliary < light verb)
**ğe-* ‘to move (intransitive)’ [see §§ 31-52]
**če-* ‘to move (transitive)’ [see §§ 31-52]

From a synchronic point of view, these verbs can be termed ‘root verbs’. According to Harris 2002:219-220, the stem *b-* in *b-esun* ‘to do, make’ reflects an old class marker. In a later period, “the grammar began to treat *b-* ‘do, make’ as other monoconsonantal verbs, such as *p-* ‘say’, are treated (...)” (Harris 2002:220). In order to account for the stem structure of *b-* ‘to do, make’ it is important to note that contrary to the claim made by Harris 2002:219, an endoclititic slot is present (though rarely applied). The following examples show that we have to describe a stem structure **be-_-Ø-*:

- (x) (a) *ka-t’-in* *be-ne-sa* *zenk’ena sel aš* [Matthew 26:10]

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MED-REF:OBL-ERG do-3SG-\$.PRES I:BEN good thing
 ‘He does a good thing for me.’

(b) *šet'abaxt'in be-ne-sa-i älämät-ux* [Mark 6:14]
 thus do-3SG-\$.PRES-PAST wonder-PL
 ‘Thus he has performed wonders.’

(c) *ägänä-te be-z-sa* [John 10:38]
 if-SUB do-1SG-\$.PRES
 ‘If I do (it)..’

(d) *vi šägird-ğ-o-al a-q'a-q'o-k'-i*
 you:SG:POSS pupil-PL-DAT-FOC see-ADH-3PL:IO-\$.PAST

aš-l-ax ma-t'-ux-te be-n-sa un [John 7:3]
 thing-SA-DAT2 REL-REF:OBL-DAT2-SUB do-2SG-\$.PRES you:SG
 ‘Your pupils should see the thing that you are doing.’

(e) *va'n be-nan-sa ef baba aš-urğ-o* [John 8:41]
 you:PL do-2PL-\$.PRES you:PL:POSS father:GEN thing-PL-DAT
 ‘You do the things of your father.’

(f) *ha-šetär-äl be-q'un-sa* [R 11]
 EMPH-thus-FOC do-3PL-\$.PRES
 ‘Thus they do (it).’

§ 20. Note that with the verb *b-esun*, endoclititization is restricted to the present tense stem. This constraint is related to the original shape of the stem. Comparative evidence suggests that the Early Udi stem must have been **b^ə'-(a-)*, see Nikolaev & Starostin 1994:257, Schulze 2001:256. Accordingly, the stem consisted of the petrified class marker **b-* and a root **-^əV-*. In Old Udi, two stems are derived from this base: *biy-* (non-finite) < **bi'* < **b^ə'i-*, *ba-* (finite) < **ba'* < **b^ə'a-*. Obviously, we have to deal with an instance of the Early Udi ablaut system **i/a* (see x.x.x.). When the Old Udi infinitive came into use to encode a present tense (see x.x.x.), the corresponding form still had a CVC-structure: *biy-es-*. Accordingly, an endoclititic slot became available (> *bi-_y* > *be-_(y)*).

§ 21. The older tense/mood base *ba-* shows a different development: The segment *-a-* was reanalyzed as a mood marker (Old Udi present tense *ba-a* > Udi *b-a-* (modal)), which produced a root-based paradigm:

(x)	PAST	<i>b-i-</i>	
	PERFECT	<i>b-e-</i>	
	MODAL FUTURE	<i>b-o-</i>	etc.

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The complex **b-V-* fused to a degree that the endoclititic slot (**ba-(y)-*) was no longer transparent or accessible. Usually, the same constraint today applies with the present tense(s) although some speakers take the option of endoclitization.

§ 22. Whereas *b-esun* can thus be related to the set of *b*-initial strong verbs that are marked by the fossilized class marker **b-*, it is more difficult to account for the stem structure of the verb *p-esun* ‘to say’. Crucially, the stem *p-* only occurs with past tense forms, e.g. *p-i* (PAST), *p-e* (PERF), and in the masdar (*pes(-un)*), see below § 53. An ‘augmented’ version of *-p-* is present in the imperative stem *up-*. Else, suppletive forms are used that do not help to explain the stem structure of *p-* (present *(n)ex- ~ -ne*, future/modal *u- -k’-*, see below § 27). Structurally, *p-* behaves like the past tense forms of *b-esun*: There is no endoclititic slot open to personal agreement markers. Most likely, Early Udi knew two variants of the stem in question:

- (x) **p:-u-* ~ **p:ʷə-* Past
 **ᵀp:ʷ-* Imperative / Masdar / Infinitive

The second stem has survived in Old Udi (*owp-esown* ‘say, praise’ as well as in the Udi imperative *upa* ‘say’). In the past tense as well as in the masdar/infinitive, the stem shares the loss of the initial *u-* (Old Udi *ow-*) with *uksun* ‘eat’ < Old Udi *owk-esown*, past stem *kä-* and Old Udi *owp’-esown* ‘die’ > *p’ow-*.

Accordingly, the non-augmented form (> past) has retained the proto-Lezgian stem structure **CV-*. As a consequence, no endoclititic slot was opened (that would necessarily precede the stem consonant). Note that the future-modal stem *u- -k’-* < **ᵀkʷə-* has the expected endoclititic slot, compare:

- (x) *t’e-vaxt’-a zu-al u-z-k’-o efa^ᶜx* [Matthew 21:24]
 PROX-time-DAT I-FOC say-1SG-\$.FUT-FUT:MOD you:PL:DAT2
 ‘Then I shall say to you ...’

The present tense stems of the ‘say’-verb represent a rather heterogenous paradigm. Crucially, the stems lack an endoclititic slot. In addition, the stems are not marked by the present tense morpheme *-(e)sa* < Masdar + **COP:PRES* (see 3.4.4). Instead, the following forms are used:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| (x) | | [+PAM] | [-PAM] | LV |
| | Nizh | <i>nex-PAM</i> | <i>nexe</i> | - _-(<i>n</i>) <i>e</i> |
| | Vartashen | <i>ex-PAM</i> | <i>exa</i> | - _-(<i>e</i>) <i>xa</i> |

Note that incidentally, the ‘regular’ present tense form (*-p-sa*) is used when preceded by an incorporated element, compare:

- (x) *rust’am-en nağal-le-p-sa te me-tär aš-ne bak-e* [R 11]
 Rustam-ERG report-3SG-say-PRES SUB PROX-ADV work-3SG be-PERF

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‘Rustam reports that the thing has been thus.’

The form *-p-sa* perhaps is also present in the present tense *ba-ne-p-sa* ‘(s)he goes (in)to’ (< *ba-_-p-* ‘into+LV:SAY’), as in

- (x) *quš te ba-ne-p-sa alun dūniä-n-i ġar-ax cir-ev-ne-k’-esa* [R 16]
 bird SUB into-3SG-LV-PRES upper world-SA-DAT son-DAT2 down-CAUS-LV-PRES
 ‘When the bird goes into the upper world, it (will) bring(s) down the boy.’

Nevertheless, these regularly derived forms are extremely rare. The set of present tense stems as listed in (x) above is the standard option to encode both the concept of ‘saying’ and the corresponding light verb. Obviously, these stems are marked by the grammatical category ‘present tense’ (or: ‘imperfective aspect’). The restriction to the present tense frame has prevented the underlying stem from being used as a general term to encode the concept ‘saying’. Therefore, it could not be used to form the standard ‘simple masdar’ (*-es*) that else serves in Udi to derive the present tense marker *-(e)sa* (< *-es-a* ‘infinitive + COP:PRES’), see 3.4.4.1. The Vartashen stem form *ex(a)* suggests that the underlying stem once had properties that correspond to that of the ‘simple masdar’ < infinitive. This assumption is supported by the fact that there is no sound change in Udi that would derive the sequence *ex-* from a structure ‘stem+masdar’ (***e?-es-*). Therefore, we can safely reconstruct for Vartashen a stem **ex-* that once denoted ‘to say’ (infinitive):

- (x) *aq’-es + *a* ‘take-INF + COP:PRES’ > ‘is taking’
*ex + *a* ‘say:INF + COP:PRES’ > ‘is saying’

The stem *ex-* behaves like a ‘root verb’ although its structure is opposed to standard ‘root verbs’ (VC- instead of CV-). The lack of an endoclititic slot suggests that the vowel *e-* belongs to the root. The slot for personal agreement markers immediately follows the stem (*ex-zu* (1SG), *ex-nu* (2SG), *ex-ne* (3SG) etc., see 3.4.5). Hence, the clitics replace the ‘present tense’ morpheme *-a*, compare:

- (x) (a) *ex-ne* ‘(S)he says’
 say:PRES-3SG
- (b) *ait-t’e-xa* ‘(S)he says a word, (s)he talks’
 word-3SG-say:PRES
- (c) *šin-a vax exa* ‘Who says to you...?’
 who:ERG-3SG:Q you:SG:DAT2 say:PRES

It is tempting to compare Udi *ex-* to forms like Rutul *-uġ* (~ *ruġ-*) and Tsakhur *-ehe-* ‘say’ < proto-Lezgian **-eġ:(-u-*). Nevertheless, this analysis cannot explain the Nizh variants *nex*-CM, *nexe*, and *-ne* (light verb), see (x) above. These forms show certain peculiarities that, however, are not fully understood. On the one hand, all forms show

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an additional element *n-* the origin of which cannot be safely described. Perhaps it stems from a reanalyzed calque that has copied a specific Armenian verb formation pattern: In Armenian, the complex suffix *-n-el* is frequently used to derive verbs from nominal forms. One way of expressing the concept ‘say’ is the use of the denominal verb *hayt-n-el*. This verb corresponds to the Udi incorporating verb *ait-p-esun* ‘word-SAY-MASD2). The Armenian verb yields *hayt-n-e* for the third person singular as opposed to Vartashen **ait-ne-xa*. It may well have been that bilingual speakers from Nizh have adopted the Armenian form. As a light verb, the form *-ne* was used just as the Armenian third person singular (= Vartashen *exa*), whereas it added *n-* to the ‘heavy verb’ stem *ex-* > *nex-*. The scenario can account for both the standard form marked by clitics and the light verb. However, the form *nexe* used as a ‘clitic-free’ matrix verb is functionally difficult to explain. Structurally, it corresponds to the standard stem marked by the Nizh third person singular clitic *-e*, compare:

(x) (a) *zu har ġi k’oy-axun č’eġ-at’an čuġon nex-e* [MUSH; OR 132]

I every day house-ABL go=out:FUT-CV:POST woman:ERG say:PRES-3SG
 ‘Every day, when I leave the house, (my) wife says...’

(b) *harun-i ü^hmü^hġ-o hik’ä-ne nexe* [XOZ; OR 52]

Harun-GEN ear-DAT what-3SG say:PRES
 ‘She says something into Harun’s ear.’

(x,a) shows *nexe* as a matrix verb, marked by a clitic, whereas the corresponding clitic has floated to the preceding word in (x,b). Nevertheless, the matrix verb remains *nexe*. Perhaps, this form simply mirrors the Vartashen stem *exa*. However, there are no obvious parallels that suggest a sound change **-a# > -e#*.

§ 23. The verb *bi-esun* ‘to die’ is confined to present and future tense forms. Else, the stem *p’ur-* is used that also encodes a stative present tense (‘being dead’). The origin of the stem *bi-* is difficult to fix. The stem forms a common paradigm with the past tense stem *p’ur-* and the transitive weak verb *bes-b-esun* ‘to kill’ (< ‘to make (*besun*) die’). It is reasonable to assume that the lexical base of the transitive verb (*bes-*) is a shortened form of the ‘simple’ masdar *bi-es* ‘to die’. In Old Udi, this stem shows up as *biL-* (with ‘labile’ semantics: ‘die, kill’) that has a suppletive variant *owp’-* used especially in non-finite constructions. The fact that the (now) intransitive base *bi-* < *biL-* lacks an endoclititic slot (**bi-_-esa* (PRES)) suggests that *biL-* changed to *biy-* > *bi-* before the technique of endoclititization came up. Accordingly, tense/mood suffixes are added directly to the stem, compare:

(x)	<i>bi-esa</i>	Present
	<i>bi-al</i>	Factitive Future
	<i>bi-a</i>	Optative
	<i>bi-o</i>	Modal Future
	<i>bi(-e)</i>	Imperative

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The Old Udi stem *biL-* gives us a clue to link the past stem *p'u-r-* to the present stem. Although the phonetics of Old Udi <*L*> have not yet been fully established, it seems reasonable to assume that it reflects a lateral fricative or affricate. The past stem *p'u-r-* (Old Udi *p'ow-r-*) goes back to a lateral in a labial context (**λ'u-*, see Schulze 1988, s.v.). The segment *-r-* is a past tense augment that is present with a number of 'motion' verbs (see §§ 31-52).

- (x) *p'u-r-i* 'died'
die:PAST-PAST-PAST
- p'u-r-e* 'having died'
die:PAST-PAST-PERF

The two lexical stems *bi(L)-* and *p'u-* can be related, if we assume that *bi(L)-* stems from **b-²λ'i-* (just as *biq'-* 'to seize' < **b-²q'i-*, see above). Accordingly, we have to deal with a class marked variant that shows the thematic vowel **-i* instead of **-u*. *p'u-* on the other hand would have derived from **-λ'-u-*. The Old Udi masdar *owp'esown* 'to die, kill' suggests that this stem was marked by the same element **u-* that also shows up in Old Udi *owpesown* 'say' and (Old) Udi *uk(e)sun* 'eat'.

§ 24. In an earlier variant of Udi, there must have been at least two additional root stems: **d-* and **t:-* (> *t'-*). The stem **d-* has survived in the auxiliary (< light verb) *-d-esun* that is strongly related to causative semantics, see 3.4.2.2. Originally, it meant 'to give'. Only one non-auxiliary use of this stem is documented: With the preverb *ta-* 'thither' (see 3.4.3) it combines to the verb *ta-_-d-* 'to give' < **'to give thither'*. The basic stem necessarily lacks an endoclititic slot because no such slots are allowed in light verbs or auxiliaries, see 3.4.5. Accordingly, we cannot apply this diagnostic tool to determine the nature of the underlying stem **d-*. Some authors have related this stem to Tabasaran *t:uw-*, Aghul (Richa) *tin* (imperative), Kryts *wät* (imperative), Khinalug *tä-k'-*, all of them meaning 'to give'. Nevertheless, it has to be born in mind that sound correspondencies are not regular (**t:ə- ?*). Rather, we have to assume, that the Lezgian forms just quoted are related to the Udi auxiliary (< light verb) *-t'-esun*, see § 26 below and 3.4.2.2.

Udi *d-* obviously stems from Old Udi *dağ-* 'give', which itself is confined to the paradigm of past tenses and to the infinitive (present tense *lowğ-*). The shift *dağ-esown* > *-d-esun* must have taken place when endoclititization had not yet become a general device. The Old Udi pair *dağ-/lowğ-* is not fully transparent: It suggests two 'preverbs' ***da-* and ***lu-*, which, however, are not attested elsewhere. Perhaps, the past stem has been borrowed from Iranian (compare Avesta *dadā'ti* 'gives', *dādan* 'to give' etc.). With the preverb *ta-*, the slot canonically occurs to the left: **ta-_-d(ağ)-* (compare Old Udi *ta-dağesown* 'give away')

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§ 25. In the masdar2 as well as in the present tenses, the stem undergoes another important change: The syncope of *-e-* results in a cluster **-ds-*. This cluster regularly changes to *-st'* in case it is preceded by a vowel, see 2.5.2.2:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|---------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| (x) | <i>*-d-esun</i> | > | <i>*-dsun</i> | > | <i>-st'un</i> | (Masdar2) |
| | <i>*-d-esa</i> | > | <i>*-dsa</i> | > | <i>-st'a</i> | (Present tense) |

Especially in Nizh, the metathesized form is extended to verb forms that show a closed syllable before the auxiliary, compare:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-------------------|--|----------------------|
| (x) | | 3SG:PRES | | 3PL:PRES |
| | Vartashen | <i>ta-ne-st'a</i> | | <i>ta-q'un-d-esa</i> |
| | Nizh | <i>ta-ne-st'a</i> | | <i>ta-t'un-st'a</i> |

§ 26. The auxiliary (< light verb) *-t'-esun* is another device to form weak transitive stems. Most likely, the stem is related to the reduplicated verb *t'i_-t'* 'to run' (see 2.4.2.2). Structurally, the stem behaves like a 'root verb': There is no endoclititic slot and tense/mood suffixes are directly added to the stem. Contrary to the stem **-d-*, *t'* does not undergo metathesis in the masdar2 and the present tenses: The fact that this auxiliary is usually added to a masdar or to lexical stems marked by a (C)VC-structure (see 2.4.2.2) prevents the vowel *-e-* from being syncopated (else, -CCC-cluster would emerge), compare:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------|
| (x) | <i>laf-t'-esa</i> | 'is touching' |
| | <i>do^hp-t'-esa</i> | 'is shooting' |

It should be noted, however, that direct evidence for the existence of the root verb **t'* 'to give' is poor. Except for a few lexical stems such as *ur-t'esun* 'to hit, clap, whip', *fur-t'esun* 'to slip', and *c'ul-t'esun* 'to suckle', the final consonant of the lexical base usually is voiceless. This is especially true for the suffix of the 'simple' masdar (*-es*) to which *-t'esun* is frequently added to form causatives. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether the resulting complex form *-es-t'* is marked by the auxiliary *-t'* or by the auxiliary *-d-* that is assimilated to the preceding consonant. Therefore, it may well have been the case that the distribution of *-t'* once had been more restricted than today.

§ 27. The auxiliary *-k'esun* is derived from a now lost light verb that had a transitive meaning (see 3.4.2.2). It is the default auxiliary with lexical stems marked by the causative morpheme *-ev-* (see 5.4.7). Most likely, we have to deal with the reanalyzed future-modal stem of the root verb *p-* 'to say' (> *u_-k'*, see §22 above). When used as a light verb, the future-modal stem loses its vowel (> *-k'*), compare:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (x) | Masdar | Future-modal stem | | |
| | <i>pesun</i> | <i>uk'-</i> | to say' | Basic verb) |
| | <i>nağl-pesun</i> | <i>nağl-uk'-</i> | to tell stories' | (Incorporation) |

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cam-pesun *cam-k'-* to write' (Light verb)

There are two possibilities to explain the emergence of the *k'esun*-auxiliary: On the one hand, it can be argued that the frequent use of the non-past participle *-k'-al* (see 3.4.9) to derive *nomina agentis* (see 3.2.2.2) has opened the path to form a new auxiliary *-k'esun*. A perhaps better proposal is to describe two different 'say'-verbs for Early Udi (or: for proto-Lezgian). Accordingly, there was a (perfective/transitive) stem **²p:(^w)ə-* that meant 'to say a thing'. The transitive orientation produced a past tense stem in Udi (> *up-*). This stem was opposed to the imperfective/intransitive variant **uk'-* that meant something like 'to talk, to be telling'. Both verbs merged into one paradigm used for the heavy verb 'to say/to talk'. The root verb **uk'-* 'to talk' was the first of the two variants to become a light verb. This can be seen from the fact that it only functions as an auxiliary today. Accordingly, it has experienced a stronger degree of grammaticalization than *p-* that still functions as a heavy verb:

(X)

Heavy verb		Light verb		Auxiliary	
<i>(u)p- / uk'-</i>	>	<i>-p-esun</i>	>	---	'to say'
<i>*k'-</i>	>	<i>*-k'-esun</i>	>	<i>-k'-esun</i>	*'to talk'

§ 28. Most likely, the Udi stem *k'-* is related to the Tabasaran present stem, *k'ur-* 'to say'. Although other cognates are difficult to fix, it is reasonable to assume that the stem has also been present in proto-Lezgian. Both the vocalization of the Udi 'full' form *uk'-* and of the Tabasaran form suggest that the (proto-Lezgian) intransitive thematic vowel **-u* had been added to the stem. In Early Udi, the typical 'left shift' (see above §) took place (**k'-u-* > **²k'-u-* > **ək'^w* > *uk'-*). As a consequence, the endoclititic slot *u-_-k'-* was opened. As a light verb, however, the 'left shift' did not take place. There is no reason to assume that the initial vowel has been dropped in composition (**X+uk'-* > *X-k'-*). It is more probable that the original verb **k'-u-* 'to talk' had a variant **k'ə-* or **k'e-* that lacked the thematic vowel. As a result, the stem kept its 'root' properties just as it has been described for *p-* 'to say':

(x)

<i>*k'ə/e-esa</i>	>	<i>-k'esa</i>	Present
<i>*k'ə/e-al</i>	>	<i>-k'al</i>	Factitive Future
<i>*k'ə/e-o</i>	>	<i>-k'o</i>	Modal Future
<i>*k'ə/e-a</i>	>	<i>-k'a</i>	Optative
<i>*k'ə/e-i</i>	>	<i>-k'i</i>	Past
<i>*k'ə/e-e</i>	>	<i>-k'e</i>	Perfect

§ 29. (x) summarizes the set of 'root verbs' in Udi (the list includes the old light verb **xe-* 'to be(come)' that, however, is documented in only two verbs and in the strong verb *bixsun* 'to create, come into existence' < **b-²ə-i-*, see 4.3.2.2, § 41):

(x)

Masdar2	Endoclititic slot	Early Udi	
<i>b-esun</i>	< <i>be-_-y-</i>	< <i>*b-²'-</i>	'to do, make'
<i>p-esun</i>	---	< <i>*(u)p:(^w)ə-</i>	'to say'

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<i>bi-esun</i>	< * <i>bi-</i> - <i>λ</i> '-	< * <i>b-^oλ</i> ' <i>i-</i>	'to die'
* <i>d-esun</i>	< * <i>da-</i> - <i>ǰ-</i> (?)	< loan	'to give'
* <i>t'-esun</i>	---	< * <i>t:ə-</i>	'to go to'
* <i>k'-esun</i>	---	< * <i>k'ə/e-</i>	'to let' < 'to tell/talk'
* <i>xe-</i>	---	< * <i>xē-</i>	'to be(come)'

§ 30. Udi knows a number of adjectives that are derived from now lost strong verbs. Usually, we have to deal with a lexicalized version of the past participle (*-i*, see 3.4.9). However note, that the assumption of a verbal background is not always secured. (x) lists those adjectives that most likely belong to this class:

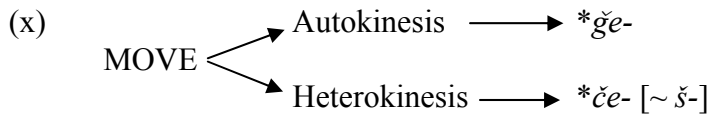
(X)	<i>ači</i>	'dance'	* <i>a-</i> - <i>č-</i>	?
	<i>amc'i</i>	'empty'	* <i>a-</i> (- <i>b</i>)- <i>c'</i> -	'poured out'
	<i>apči</i>	'liar'	* <i>a(-p)</i> - <i>č-</i>	'who has been wrong'
	<i>baqi</i>	'rare'	* <i>ba-</i> - <i>q-</i>	'to fade away' ?
	<i>bič'i</i>	'unripe, raw'	* <i>bi-</i> - <i>č'</i> -	?
	<i>bisi</i>	'old, ancient, past'	* <i>bi-</i> - <i>s^w</i> -	* <i>us</i> 'measure in time'
	<i>bui</i>	'full'	* <i>ba-</i> (- <i>b</i>)- <i>c'</i> -	'poured into'
	<i>k'ači</i>	'blind'	* <i>k'a-</i> - <i>č-</i>	?
	<i>mac'i</i>	'white'	* <i>ma-</i> - <i>c:</i> '-	'to make white'
	<i>oč'i</i>	'mud'	* <i>o-</i> - <i>č'</i> -	?
	<i>oči</i>	'fat'	* <i>o-</i> - <i>č-</i>	'to be fatted' ?
	<i>p'uri</i>	'dead'	* <i>p'u-r-</i>	See § 23 above
	<i>q'ati</i>	'in between'	* <i>q'a-</i> - <i>t-</i>	?
	<i>xari</i>	'dough'	* <i>xa-r-</i>	?
	<i>xuri / xuru</i>	'small (in pieces)'	* <i>xu-r-</i>	'to cut into pieces'

§ 31. **Motion verbs.** Harris 2002:222-225 has extensively dealt with two verbs of motion that belong to the core domain of the inventory of Udi verbs. Both verbs share the fact that they occur with preverbal elements only. In addition both verbs are marked for a rather heterogeneous stem structure. There is no consensus among the grammarians of Udi regarding the formal properties of the two stems at issue. In the present description, I take a basically diachronic perspective. This perspective seems to be appropriate because most segments of the verbs that result from the combination of preverb plus stem today are fossilized and no longer productive. From a synchronic point of view, it does not make sense to speak of preverbs because Udi does not know a practical paradigm of preverbs. Likewise, it does not make sense to gloss the underlying verb stems with the help of semantic indices because these stem do no exist outside the paradigm of older 'preverbal' forms (see Harris 2202:223 for a different view).

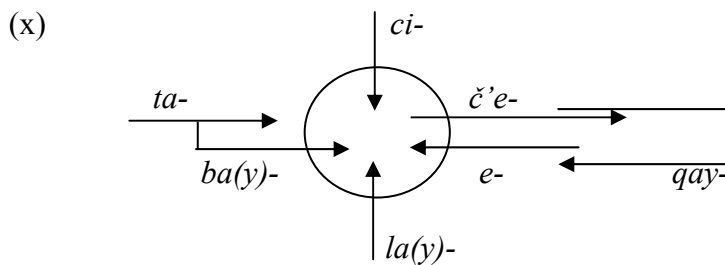
§ 32. From a cognitive point of view, the two verb stems in question form a common paradigm that is conceptualized as 'motion' (MOVE). The basic distinction is that between autokinesis and heterokinesis: An autokinetic interpretation of MOVE results in terms for 'go/come', whereas the heterokinetic semantics of MOVE presuppose an 'object' that 'is moved' in reference to the stimulus that serves as one

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of the landmarks for the object (source or goal). The two stems in question reflect this distinction in the following way:



§ 33. As has been said above, none of the two stems occurs independently. In other words, there are no such verbs like ***ġesun* or ***česun/šesun*. Both verb stems are additionally marked by preverbs that indicate the locational type of the landmark as well as the category ventive/itive. The landmark is represented either by the location of speech act participants, or by the object that moves/is moved prior to or after the act of movement. The preverbs thus combine the notion of local ‘series’ (landmark) with that of relational ‘cases’ (trajector->landmark), see 3.3.4 for this distinction. Basically, the following locational ‘perspectives’ are given:



The nature of these preverbs is discussed in more details in section 3.4.3. In the given context, it suffices to note that the paradigm covers the following basic pairs:

(x)

	Udi	Old Udi
hither : thither	<i>e- : ta-</i>	<i>he- : ta-</i>
up : down	<i>la(y)- : ci-</i>	<i>hala : aci-</i>
in : out	<i>ba(y)- : č'e-</i>	<i>baha- : č'e-</i>
above : below	<i>*ai- : ---</i>	<i>hay- : ?</i>
--- : back	<i>qay-</i>	<i>?</i>

The fact that these preverbs combine with the two MOVE-verbs renders it difficult to specify the type of case involved: Basically, the preverbs can indicate both an ‘essive’ and a ‘lative’ (directional) case (ventive/itive/essive). In the first case, the preverbs ‘add’ a location to the directional semantics of the verb stem, whereas in the second case, they echo this directional aspect:

- (x)
- (1) PV[ess] + MOVE[dir]
 - (2) PV[dir] + MOVE[dir]

Therefore, the preverbs in question not necessarily stem from directional terms: The translation of e.g. *e-* by ‘hither’ and *ta-* by ‘thither’ (as proposed by Harris 2002:224-

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5 and adopted in the present grammar) should not be taken as the only possibility to account for both the structure and the history of the preverbs.

Nevertheless it should be noted that the two past stem variants *-r-* and *-c-* are historically distributed according to the ventive/itive distinction: In Old Udi, there was a past tense form *ac-ê* denoting ‘went thither’ as opposed to *ar-i* ‘went hither’. In addition, Old Udi knew another autokinetic term, namely *bAh-* ~ *BA-* ‘go’. It serves as the basis for preverbially marked ‘go’-terms. The root does not have survived in Modern Udi.

§ 34. As has been said above, the exact nature of the two underlying MOVE-verbs is not fully transparent. The autokinetic version (move:INTR) is encoded by a superficially suppletive paradigm that has the following forms:

(x)		Udi	Old Udi
	Masdar/Present	<i>-ġ-</i> / <i>-∅-</i>	<i>-ġ-</i>
	Future-Modal	<i>-ġ-</i>	<i>-ġ-</i>
	Past	<i>-r-</i> / <i>-c-</i>	<i>-ar-</i> / <i>-c-</i>
	Imperative	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>

Some authors suggest a zero-stem for the present tense(s) and in the masdars. This assumption is based for instance on the following forms:

- (x) (a) *e-ne-∅-sa* ‘(s)he comes’
hither-3SG-come-PRES [?]
- (b) *e-∅-sun* ‘the coming’
hither-come-MASD2 [?]

However, this assumption fails because it neglects (admittedly rare) variants like:

- (x) (a) *e-ne-ġ-sa* ‘(s)he comes’
hither-3SG-move:INTR-PRES
- (b) *e-ġ-esun* ‘the coming’
hither-move:INTR-MASD2

Such forms are documented for both Okt’omberi (Fähnrich 1999:s.v.) and Vartashen (W.S., field notes). They clearly suggest the existence of a verb stem **ġe-* that is also present in the future tense forms. It is fairly well documented in Old Udi, too (*heġesown* ~ *iġesown*). Obviously, a simple sound law has conditioned the emergence of a zero-stem:

- (x) (1) *-ġ-* > *-∅-* / V_C; / V_e-
- (2) *-ġ-* > *-ġ-* / V_V[not -e-]

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Accordingly, *-ğ-* normally becomes *-Ø-* if it is followed by a consonant or by **-e* (see § 40 below). Else, *-ğ-* is preserved. This rule allows us to derive for instance *e-sun* ‘to come’ from **e-ğ-sun* that again stems from *e-ğesun* (see 3.4.10). Likewise, *e-sa* (present tense stem) reflects the older form **eğsa*. Preservation of *-ğ-* is documented for all future-modal forms that necessarily start with a vowel:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|------------------|
| (x) | <i>e-ğ-al</i> | Factitive Future |
| | <i>e-ğ-o</i> | Modal Future |
| | <i>e-ğ-a</i> | Optative |

§ 35. It is not quite clear whether the variant of the masdars (*ei-es* and *ei-sun*) reflect an intermediate state between **eğ(e)sun* and *esun*, or whether the segment *-i-* has segmental (morphological) properties. In Nizh, the variant *ey-* is the standard option for the present tense and for masdars. Note that if endoclititization applies, the form *e-* is selected, compare (x,a) and (x,c):

- (x) (a) *t'e soğo-ne ey-sa* [XOZ; OR 52]
DIST one:REF:ABS-3SG come-PRES
 ‘The other one comes...’

- (b) *efi ey-sun-a te-z ava bak-e* [XOZ; OR 51]
you:PL:POSS come-MASD2-DAT NEG-1SG knowing be-PERF
 ‘I did not know that you have come.’

- (c) *sa campi dizik' iz-i bačan-exun e-ne-sa* [KAL; OR 131]
one colored snake REFL-GEN back-ABL come-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘A colored snake comes (down) from his back.’

Therefore, we cannot decide whether *-i-* belongs to the stem (< **-ğ-*) or to the preverb: The fact that the stem variant *ei- ~ ey-* is avoided if an endoclititic element is present, does not allow to reconstruct the original endoclititic slot that could be either ***ey-_-sa* or ***e-_-y-sa*.

§ 36. Harris 2002:223 suggests that the original stem of the intransitive MOVE-verb had been **eğ-* (instead of **ğe-*). The author argues that the segment *e-* has been secondarily reanalyzed as a preverb under pressure from the ‘thither’ version *tai-sun* < **ta(i)-_eğ-*. In addition, the monomorphemic structure of **eğ-* is said to become apparent from the fact that Udi lacks other examples of a preverb *e-*. Also, Harris reports that there is no possibility to relate the segment *e-* to parallel forms in other Lezgian languages. However, note, that the preverb *e-* is also present in the strong verb *efsun* ‘to keep, hold’ (see § 5 above). Likewise, it occurs in the imperative *e-k-e* ‘come!’ (if not from Armenian *ek* ‘come!’, see below) as well as in the transitive MOVE-variant *e-česun* ‘to bring’ < ‘move s.th. hither’, see § 45 below. In Old Udi, the preverb *he-* > *e-* has an even broader documentation, compare *he-biyesown* ‘make

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hither > send here’, *he-bok’esown* ‘lead hither’, *he-kalpesown* ‘call hither’, *he-pesown* ‘praise’, *heq’esown* ‘take’ etc.

Hence, there is enough evidence to reconstruct an Udi preverb **(h)e-* ‘here/hither’. It is tempting to relate this preverb to the proto-Lezgian proximal **i* ‘here’ that has survived in the Udi adnominal deictic terms *me* < **m-i* (PROX), *ke* < **k-i* (NIZH, MED), and *t’e* < **t’-i* (DIST), see 3.2.9.3.

§ 37. Finally, the analysis put forward by Harris suggests a rather unusual endoclititic slot for the assumed stem ***eǵ-*: The author reconstructs a form **eǵ-ne-sa* for *e-ne-sa* (hither-3sg-MOVE:INTR:PRES). Accordingly, the endoclititic slot would follow the original stem instead of being opened in the stem itself. As far as data go, the structure proposed by Harris is documented only for those weak verbs that are marked by the light verb *esun* derived from the verb at issue. In order to account for the proposed structure, we should expect a doubled occurrence of the verb stem, namely ***eǵ-_-eǵ-sa* (just as *box-ne-sa* ‘it is boiling’ < **box-ne-eǵ-sa*). Such a form, however, does not meet either structural or semantic conditions.

§ 38. In sum, the preverbal nature of the segment *e-* can be safely stated both from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. Therefore, the stem of the intransitive MOVE-verb is best to reconstruct as **ǵ-*. This stem is another member of the class of ‘root verbs’ discussed above in §§ 19-29. It has good cognates in the other Lezgian languages and reflects a proto-Lezgian form **q.ʼǵ-* (see Schulze 2001:275). Just as it is true for most of the sister languages, the stem is confined to a certain functional class. In Udi, it covers the non-past domain except for the imperative. In the past tense, two variants occur: *(a)r-* and *-c-*. There is no direct evidence that helps to decide which of the two morphemes is related to the past stem of **ǵe-*. Today, the distribution of both stems nearly is complementary:

(x)	Preverb		‘move:INTR’		‘move:TRANS’
			<i>-c-</i>	<i>-r-</i>	<i>-r-</i>
	<i>e-</i>	‘here’	LV: <i>-e-c-</i>	<i>ar-</i>	<i>e- -če-r-</i>
	<i>ta(y)-</i>	‘there’	<i>ta- -c-</i>	---	<i>ta- -š-er-</i>
	<i>la(y)-</i>	‘up’	<i>lay- -c-</i>	[<i>la-r-i</i>]	<i>lay- -č-er-</i>
	<i>ci-</i>	‘down’	---	<i>ci-r-</i>	---
	<i>bay-</i>	‘in’	<i>bay- -c-</i>	---	<i>bay- -č-er-</i>
	<i>č’e-</i>	‘out’	---	<i>č’e-r</i>	<i>či- -č-er-</i>
	<i>qay-</i>	‘back’	<i>qai- -c-</i>	---	---

Contrary to the stem *-c-*, the variant *-r-* does not allow endoclitization, compare:

- (x) (a) *ta-ne-c-i*
 thither-3SG-move:INTR:PAST-PAST
 ‘(s)he went (away)’

- (b) *ci-r-i-ne*
 down-move:INTR:PAST-PAST-3SG
 ‘(s)he went down’
- (c) ***ci-ne-r-i*
 down-3SG-move:INTR:PAST-PAST

This constraint suggests that there is a stronger cohesion between the preverb and the *-r*-past than it is true for the *-c*-past. A standard hypothesis relates the *-r*-past of *ci-sun* ‘move down’ and *č’e-sun* ‘move out’ to the past stem *ar-* of the verb *esun* ‘to move hither’. Accordingly, the vowel is lost in contact with the preceding vowel of the preverb: *ciri* < **ci-ar-i*, *č’eri* < **č’e-ar-i*. However, this hypothesis neglects the fact that the variant *-er-* occurs with transitive MOVE-verbs (see (x)) as well as with the verbs *t’it’-* ‘to run’ (> *t’it’-er-i* etc.) and *aiz-* ‘to rise’ (> *aiz-er-i* etc.). Just as it is true for the three MOVE-verbs at issue, *t’it’er-* and *aizer-* do not allow endoclitization in front of the segment *-er-* (*ai-ne-z-er-i* ‘(s)he rose’, ***aiz-n-er-i* etc.). Therefore, it is more likely that it is the segment *-er-* that has been added to the preverb, but not *ar-*. If *-er-* has been the original form of the *-r*-past, we have to assume that the stem *ar-* (‘having come hither’) has emerged from a complex that once contained this segment, too (**a-er-* > *ar-*). The same holds for the suppletive stem *-c-*, which, according to the Old Udi data, is also present in the Old Udi past stem *ac-* ‘went thither’ < **a-ec-*.

§ 39. Perhaps, the *-r*-past is slightly older than the *-c*-past. This assumption is grounded in the following observations: 1) The element **-er-* is also present in the two terms *ciri(-k’)* ‘until (+superessive)’ and *lari* ‘similar’ (see 3.3.4.1). Lexicalization, however, has not (yet) taken place with the *-c*-past. 2) The adjective *lari* ‘similar’ illustrates that in earlier times, the two past stems must have co-occurred:

- (x) **la-r-* > *lari* ‘similar’
**la(y)-_-c-* > *la(y)-_-c-* ‘move:PAST up/onto’

3) The fusional properties of the *-r*-past suggest that it came into use a time when endoclitization of personal agreement markers and other focus elements still had not developed.

§ 40. In sum, the element **-er-* seems to represent the original past stem morpheme of the verb ‘move(d) hither’ as opposed to **-ec-* ‘move(d) thither’. The fact that both stems are confined to past tenses remains obscure. As for *-er-*, we perhaps have to deal with a proto-Lezgian gerundial form that has been added to thematic stems: **(CV)C-V-r-*. This gerund fused with preceding preverbs: **a-er-* > *ar-*, **ci-* ‘down’ (> **ci-er*), **la-* ‘up’ (> **la-er-*), **č’e-* ‘out’ (> **č’e-er-*).

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§ 41. The past stem of the remaining intransitive MOVE-verbs is based on the past stem **-ec-*. The verbs in question are all marked by a more complex type of preverb (**tay-* ‘there’, **lay-* ‘up’, **bay-* ‘in’, **qay-* ‘back’). Harris 2002:225 suggests that the segment **-ay-* represents an old preverb to which the preverbs **ta-*, **la-*, **ba-*, and **qa-* have been added. This analysis presupposes the existence of an earlier MOVE-verb ***ay-ǵ-*. The assumption of a preverb **ay-* is supported by the two verbs *ai-_-z-esun* ‘to rise’ and *ay-_-esun* ‘(1) to be capable; (2) ‘to rise (said of a dough)’, as well as by a number of Old Udi verbs such as *hay-pesown* ‘to speak loudly’. Still, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the form ***ay-ǵ-*. Instead, we should consider the possibility that the forms **ba-*, **la-*, and **qa-* could be marked by a segment **-y* at a time when they still functioned as adverb-like elements in tmesis: Accordingly, the structural pattern had been:

(x) $*\text{ADV/PV-}y + *ǵ- > *PV-y-_-ǵ-$

§ 42. The fourth verb in question (**ta(y)-ǵ-* ‘move:INTR thither’) differs from the three verbs just mentioned in that the segment *-y* only occurs when immediately followed by the present tense marker *-sa* (*tai-sa*) or by the masdar2 (*tai-sun*), compare the two verbs *taisun* ‘move:INTR thither’ and *laisun* ‘move:INTR up’ (‘EC’ = endoclititic slot):

(X) + <i>-sa</i> / <i>-sun</i>	+ EC	+ FUT
<i>tay-sa</i> / <i>-sun</i>	<i>ta-</i> -	<i>ta-</i> - <i>ǵ-</i>
<i>lay-sa</i> / <i>-sun</i>	<i>lay-</i> -	<i>lay-</i> - <i>ǵ-</i>

Obviously, *taisun* behaves just as its ‘here’-variant *esun* (~ *eisun*, see § 35 above). From this we can infer, that the two verbs *taisun* and *e(i)sun* reflect a pattern different from that of the three other intransitive MOVE-verbs marked by the segment *-y-*. This assumption is supported by evidence stemming from the transitive MOVE-paradigm (see § 45): Here, the forms *tay-* and *ey-* are missing, compare:

(X) + <i>-sa</i> / <i>-sun</i>	+ EC	+ FUT
<i>ta-š-sa</i> / <i>-(e)sun</i>	<i>ta-</i> - <i>š-</i>	<i>ta-</i> - <i>š-</i>
<i>lay-č-sa</i> / <i>-česun</i>	<i>la(y)-</i> - <i>č-</i>	<i>lay-</i> - <i>č-</i>

Here, assimilatory processes are neglected (see 2.5.2.2). The transitive paradigm in fact suggests that we have to describe two different origins for *-y-*: One the one hand, it has been some kind of local affix that was added to the adverb-like elements **ba* ‘in’, **la* ‘up/on’, and **qa* ‘back’. On the other hand, the segment *-y-* is a reflex of the old intransitive MOVE-verb **ǵ-* that has survived with the two directional (?) prefixes **e-* ‘hither’ and **ta-* ‘thither’. Nevertheless, we cannot exclude that the same element had also been present with the other verbs at issue. In this case, the two *-y-* elements would have merged into one phoneme:

(x) $*la-y + *ǵ(e)s- > *lay-y(e)s- > \textit{lais-}$ ‘move:INTR-up + *-s-*’

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§ 43. As has been said above, the past stem *-c-* is structurally related to those intransitive MOVE-verbs, that contain the segment *-y-*. In this respect, it does not play a role whether the segment *-y-* once belonged to the stem of to the preverb: The *-c-*past is also present with the verbs *taisun* ‘move:INTR-thither’ (> *ta-c-*) and with its ‘here’-variant *e(i)sun* as long as it is used as a light verb (> *-ec-*), see 3.4.2.2. Obviously, we have to deal with a younger segment that replaced the old **-er-*past when the new preverbial structures **ta-y-*, **ba-y-*, **la-y-*, and **qa-y-* came into use. Contrary to the segment *-r-*, *-c-* seems to represent a stem-like morpheme. It includes both the lexical notion ‘move:INTR:TITHER’ and the grammatical category ‘past’. The endoclititic slot for personal agreement markers (*-_c-*) reveals the stem properties of *-c-*. Nevertheless, it is difficult to fix the original nature of this stem. In Modern Udi, the sequence *#ce-* occurs only in loans. In addition, there are no obvious cognates of this verb stem in the other Lezgian languages. Most likely, we have to deal with a loan that came into use when the old *-r-*gerund had become a fossilized structure. Two options can be taken: 1) The morpheme represents a reanalyzed form of the Old Armenian weak aorist *-c^c-*, cf. *sirem* ‘I love’ > *sire-c^c-i* ‘I loved’ etc.). Accordingly, forms like *sirec^ci* were interpreted as lexical element ***sire-* + ‘past auxiliary’ ***c^c-*. This segment was then added to the lexicalized preverbs in analogy with Armenian ‘lexical stems’ like ***sire-* etc. Note that Armenian *sirec^ci* itself comes amazingly close to Nizh Udi *čur-ec-i* ‘having loved, wished’ (love-LV:PAST:PASS-PAST). The weakness of this hypothesis concerns the obvious ‘intransitive’ notion of Udi *-c-*. The Old Armenian weak aorist is used with both transitive and intransitive verb stems. In addition, it is not typical for MOVE-verbs (but compare *gna-c^c* ‘(s)he went’). 2) Udi borrowed a lexical verb ***ce-* from a yet unknown source. Its meaning would have been something like **to pass away, have happened*’.

§ 44. The imperative stem of the set of intransitive MOVE-verbs is *-k-*. In (x), the corresponding forms of the second person singular are given:

(x)	<i>e-k-e</i>	‘here; hither’
	<i>ta-k-e</i>	‘there, thither’
	<i>bai-k-e</i>	‘in’
	<i>lai-k-e</i>	‘on’
	<i>ci-k-e</i>	‘down’
	<i>č’e-k-e</i>	‘out’
	<i>qai-k-e</i>	‘back’

The form *qaike* ‘go back!’ is not documented in the relevant sources but confirmed by informants. The formation of the imperative stem is completely regular. This fact suggests that we have to deal with a secondary type. The imperative stem itself does not have parallel forms elsewhere in Udi morphology. Perhaps, we have to deal with another MOVE-verb that once had emphatic properties (**ke-* ?). It is tempting to relate this root verb to verbs like *sa-_k-* ‘to throw away’ and *ču-_k-* ‘to tear off’. However, a segmental analysis of these verbs would result in the two elements ***sa-*

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and *ču-* that are without convincing parallels in the Udi lexicon. Another (perhaps better) proposal is to relate the stem to the Old Armenian imperative *ek* ‘come!’.

§ 45. The set of transitive MOVE-verbs is defective. Both the ‘back’- and the ‘down’-variants are missing, see (X) above. Instead, a causative variant is used with the ‘down’-variant (*ci-v-k’*, see 3.4.8), whereas the notion ‘move:TRANS-back’ is usually expressed by the verb *qaidesun* ‘to give back, return’. Else, the heterokinetic verb stem *š/č- is added to the preverbs.

(x)	<i>e-č-</i>	‘here, hither’	}	‘move:TRANS’
	<i>ta-š-</i>	‘there, thither’		
	<i>lay-č-</i>	‘up, on’		
	<i>bay-č-</i>	‘in(to)’		
	[<i>či-č-</i>	‘out’]		

§ 46. This paradigm is based on the assumption that the ‘out’-version *čič-* stems from *č’e-č-* as proposed by Harris 2002:68. However, this assumption seems to be misleading: The divergent form of the ‘out’-variant goes together with the fact that the ‘down’-version is missing (***ci-č-*). In § 39 above it has been shown that these two preverbal forms belong to an older paradigm that is marked for the *-r*-past. Hence, it can be assumed that both **ci-g̃-* ‘move:INTR-down’ and **č’e-g̃-* ‘move:INTR-out’ had already become lexical forms by the time the transitive paradigm emerged. In fact, only those (younger) preverbal MOVE-verbs show a transitive correlate that are marked by the *-c*-past. Therefore, it seems appropriate to exclude the stem *či-č-* from the paradigm of transitive MOVE-verbs. Rather, we have to deal with a reduplicated form that is based on the stem **če-* (just as *t’i-t’-* ‘to run’, see § 7 above). The transitive version of **č’e-g̃-* (‘out’) is derived from the intransitive base with the help of the causative complex *-v-_-k’-* (see 3.4.7). Again the ‘out’-version is in analogy with the ‘down’-version. The same strategy is present with the intransitive verb **la-g̃-* (‘on’) that has only survived in form of the adjective *lari* ‘similar, equal’ (see § 39 above and 3.3.4.1, § 5):

(x)	<i>č’e-v-k’-esun</i>	‘to move s.th. out, drive out, expell’
	<i>ci-v-k’esun</i>	‘to move, carry, take s.th. down’
	<i>la-v-k’esun</i>	‘to move s.th. on, put on’

§ 47. The younger paradigm of intransitive MOVE-verbs marked by the *-c*-past (*baisun*, *laisun*, *qaisun*, *ta(i)sun*, *e(i)sun*) does not allow this strategy of causativization (***bay-ev-_-k’-* etc.). Therefore, transitive MOVE-verbs are correlated to the presence of the segment *-y just as it is true for the intransitive verbs marked by the past tense element *-c-*. Both paradigms share the place of the endoclititic slot, compare:

(x)	<i>bai-_-c-</i>	‘having moved into’
	<i>bai-_-č-</i>	‘move s.th. into’

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§ 48. Obviously, the transitive marker *če-/še- reflects an old root verb that indicated the heterokinetic aspect of MOVE. It can be provisionally translated by verbs like ‘to carry, to move s.th.’ etc. Structurally, it behaves like its intransitive counterpart *ǵe-:

(X)

	MOVE	
	Intransitive	Transitive
PRES	*ǵe-	*č/še-
PAST	*-er- /-ec-	*č/še-r

§ 49. The resulting paradigm of the set of transitive MOVE-verbs as is follows:

(x)

PRESENT	PAST	
e-_-č-(e)sun	e-_-če-r-	‘move:TRANS-here/hither’
ta-_-š-(e)sun	ta-_-še-r-	‘move:TRANS-there/thither’
la(y)-_-š-esun	lay-_-če-r-	‘move:TRANS-on(to)’
bay-_-š-esun	bay-_-če-r-	‘move:TRANS-in(to)’

In the past stems, the endoclititic slot is motivated by the strong (and old) cohesion between the root and the (old) gerundial marker *-r. Here, the transitive MOVE-verb again copies the behavior of its intransitive variant *ǵe-, see above. Harris 2002:224 arrives at the conclusion that the past tense marker -er- (sic!) results from a process of extension that started with the set of intransitive past forms. This assumption, however, cannot explain why it was the segment *-er- that had been subjected to extension, but not the likewise frequent past stem -c- (see above).

§ 50. As has been said above, we have to assume the presence of a root verb *če- or *še-. The stem še- is confined to the ‘there’-version, whereas the remaining three verbs reflect the stem če-. Harris 2002:68 states that “the choice of the allomorph -č- vs. -š- (sic!) (...) is not explained synchronically on phonetic or other grounds”. Nevertheless, the distribution of the two stems suggests that we have to regard the stem če- as being the basic variant. The variant še- can easily be explained if we assume a dissimilatory process: The expected form of the ‘thither’-version would have been *ta-_-č-. However, the sequence tVč- is not documented with native Udi words. Most likely, the dental onset of the affricate in *ta-_-č- (phonetically [t^hatʃ-] etc.) was dissimilated under impact from the preceding dental stop (> ta-_-š- [t^haʃ-] etc.). This process did not occur with the other verbs in question, because they lack the initial dental element.

§ 51. Hence, it can be safely said that the original transitive stem had been *če-. According to the present analysis, this stem has survived as such in the reduplicated form čičesun (see § 7 above). *če- replaced the proto-Lezgian transitive variant of *ǵe- that would have been marked by a transitive thematic vowel (**ǵ-a ~ *ǵ-u-, compare Lezgi tu-xun ‘to carry’, ǵun ‘to bring’ etc.). The stem *če- has undergone a semantic shift: Originally, it meant ‘to move s.th., to carry’ etc. (compare Lezgi q:a-

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čun ‘to take’ etc.). Today, the reduplicated form is associated with the meaning ‘to take s.th. out of a container’ > ‘to take out’ etc.

§ 52. Tables (X) and (X) summarize the architecture of Udi MOVE-verbs:

MOVE:INTRANS.		PRESENT/FUTURE	PAST 1 (*-r)	PAST 2 (-c-)	Imperative
		* <i>ǵe-</i>	*- <i>er-</i>	*- <i>ec-</i>	* <i>k-</i>
‘Here’	* <i>e-</i>	* <i>e-ǵe-</i> > <i>e(y)- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	* <i>a-er-</i> > <i>ar-</i>	* <i>a-ec-</i>	<i>e-k-</i>
‘There’	* <i>ta-</i>	* <i>ta-ǵe-</i> > <i>ta(y)- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	---	<i>ta-c-</i>	<i>ta-k-</i>
‘Up’ 1	* <i>la-</i>	* <i>la-ǵe-</i> > <i>la- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	* <i>la-er-</i> [<i>> lari</i>]	---	---
‘Up’ 2	* <i>lay-</i>	---	---	<i>lay-ne-c-</i>	<i>lay-k-</i>
‘Down’	* <i>ci-</i>	* <i>ci-ǵe-</i> > <i>ci- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	* <i>ci-er-</i> > <i>cir-</i>	---	<i>ci-k-</i>
‘In’	* <i>bay-</i>	* <i>bay- -ǵe-</i> > <i>bay- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	---	<i>bay- -c-</i>	<i>bay-k-</i>
‘Out’	* <i>č’e-</i>	* <i>č’e- -ǵe-</i> > <i>č’e- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	<i>č’e-er-</i> > <i>č’er-</i>	---	<i>č’e-k-</i>
‘Back’	* <i>qay-</i>	* <i>qay- -ǵe-</i> > <i>qay- -Ø/ǵ-</i>	---	<i>qay- -</i>	<i>qay-k-</i>

Table (X): The emergence of intransitive MOVE-verbs

MOVE:TRANS		PRESENT/FUTURE	PAST (*-r)	Imperative
		* <i>če-</i>	* <i>če-r-</i>	= MOD
‘Here’	* <i>e-</i>	* <i>e-če-</i> > <i>e- č-</i>	<i>e- -če-r-</i>	<i>e-č-a-</i>
‘There’	* <i>ta-</i>	* <i>ta-če-</i> > <i>ta- -š-</i>	* <i>ta-če-r-</i> > <i>ta- -še-r-</i>	<i>ta-š-a-</i>
‘Up’ 1	* <i>la-</i>	[<i>la-v-k’-</i>]	---	---
‘Up’ 2	* <i>lay-</i>	<i>lay- -če-</i>	<i>lay- -če-r-</i>	<i>lay-č-a-</i>
‘Down’	* <i>ci-</i>	[<i>ci-v-k’-</i>]	---	---
‘In’	* <i>bay-</i>	* <i>bay-če-</i> > <i>bay- -č-</i>	<i>bay- -če-r-</i>	<i>bay-č-a-</i>
‘Out’	* <i>č’e-</i>	[<i>č’e-v-k’- ~ či- -č(e)-</i>]	[<i>či-če-r-</i>]	[<i>či-č-a-</i>]
‘Back’	* <i>qay-</i>	---	---	---

Table (X): The emergence of transitive MOVE-verbs

§ 53. As has been shown in the precedings paragraphs, stem formation of strong verbs (and light verbs, see 3.4.2.2) is in parts characterized by suppletive forms. From a systematic and historical point of view, however, suppletion did not play the same role as in actual Udi. In fact, most of the forms that now show up as suppletive stems are phonetically or grammatically conditioned variants. Table (X) summarizes the set of suppletive forms together with the individual Early Udi forms:

	Present		Future-Modal		Past		Imperative	
	Early Udi	Actual Udi	Early Udi	Actual Udi	Early Udi	Actual Udi	Early Udi	Actual Udi
‘say’	* <i>eḫ:-</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>ex-</i> , <i>-ne</i>	* <i>k’-u-</i>	<i>uk’-</i>	* <i>p:(^v)-</i>	<i>p-</i>	* <i>up:(^v)-</i>	<i>up-</i>
LV:SAY	* <i>eḫ:-</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>ex-</i> , <i>-ne</i>	* <i>k’ə-</i>	<i>-k’-</i>	* <i>p:(^v)-</i>	<i>p-</i>	* <i>k’ə-</i>	<i>-k’-</i>
PV+‘go’	* <i>ǵe-</i>	-Ø-	* <i>ǵ-</i>	-ǵ-	* <i>ec-</i>	- <i>er-</i>	* <i>k-</i>	- <i>k-</i>
LV:COME	* <i>e-ǵ-</i>	-Ø-	* <i>e-ǵ-</i>	-ǵ-	* <i>er-</i>	- <i>ec-</i>	* <i>k-</i>	- <i>k-</i>
PV+‘carry’	* <i>če-</i>	- <i>č(e)-</i>	* <i>č-</i>	- <i>č-</i>	* <i>če-r-</i>	- <i>če-r-</i>	* <i>č-</i>	- <i>č-</i>
‘die’	* <i>bi-λ’-</i>	<i>bi</i>	* <i>bi-λ’-</i>	<i>biy-</i>	* <i>λ’-u-r-</i>	<i>p’u-r-</i>	* <i>bi-λ’-</i>	<i>bi-</i>

Table (X): The emergence of stem suppletivism in Udi verbs

3.4.2.2 Weak verbs: Light verbs and auxiliaries

§ 1. As has been said in section 3.4.2, ‘weak’ verbs are characterized by a lexical base to which a light verb (or, in its grammaticalized form: an auxiliary) is added. In the present description of Udi, light verbs are viewed as semi-grammaticalized verbs: They take an intermediate position on the following grammaticalization scale:

(x)	Lex [+ Gram]	>	Lex:Gram	>	Gram
	‘Heavy Verb’	>	‘Light Verb’	>	‘Auxiliary’

Accordingly, heavy verbs are lexical units that include or incorporate certain grammatical (relational) features. In Udi, heavy (or: strong) verb stems are morphologically neutral for relational aspects such as (in)transitivization or grounding. The process that changes a heavy verb into a light verb includes the desemantization of the lexical stem in favor of relational semantics. This process can easily be described as a process of metaphorization:

(x)	Target domain		Relational semantics	>	Light verb
	↑		↑		
	Source domain		Lexical semantics	>	Heavy verb

Crucially, the invariant component of the source domain shows up in the relational semantics of the light verb. For instance, if a heavy verb is intransitive, the ‘light version’ is likely to be intransitive, too (and *vice versa*). In addition, residues of the former lexical semantics can motivate the type of linkage between the incorporated element (or: lexical base) to which a light verb is added. This is especially true for delocutive verbs based on the lexical verb *pesun* ‘to say’.

Auxiliaries differ from light verbs in that they do not have a ‘heavy’ variant: They can only be used with a lexical base but never independently. This constraint is iconically matched by a higher degree of desemantization. Practically, auxiliaries function as ‘grammatical’ stems. If ever they represent a specific semantic domain, we have to deal with relational semantics. Nevertheless, Udi auxiliaries have undergone a massive process of semantic bleaching: As a result, in a number of verbs the former lexical base has fused with the auxiliary to form a secondary ‘strong’ verb. An example is the verb *burgesun* ‘to start, begin’ < **bu-r* + *qe-* *‘to behave (?) head-ADVERBIAL’. Here, the extremely rare auxiliary *qe-* has fused with the lexical base *bu-* to form a ‘strong’ verb (see 3.4.2.1, § 2-18 for additional examples).

§ 2. As has been said in section 3.4.1, in principle any lexical word can serve as the lexical base of light verbs or auxiliaries, as long as the combination semantically makes sense. There is no constraint on a specific word class. (x) gives an example for each of the major (traditional) word classes:

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(x)	Noun	<i>že</i> ^ʕ -	‘stone’	<i>-baksun</i>	‘to petrify’
	Adjective	<i>muća-</i>	‘sweet’	<i>-bsun</i>	‘to sweeten’
	Adverb	<i>abuz-</i>	‘more’	<i>-besun</i>	‘to augment’
	Postposition	<i>boš-</i>	‘in’	<i>-t’esun</i>	‘to put into’
	Pronoun	<i>ek’a-</i>	‘what’	<i>-bsun</i>	‘to do what’
	Verb:Infinitive	<i>ukes-</i>	‘to eat’	<i>-t’esun</i>	‘to feed’
	Verb:Stem	<i>k’al-</i>	‘call-’	<i>-pesun</i>	‘to call, read’
	Interjection	<i>vai-</i>	‘woe!’	<i>-pesun</i>	‘to warn’
	Numerals	<i>p’a</i> ^ʕ -	‘two’	<i>-bsun</i>	‘to divide’

§ 3. The lexical base is never referential. This property is related to the general strategies of incorporation in Udi. Nevertheless, certain nouns still reflect original referential features when used as a lexical base: Harris 2002:65 observes that lexical bases may be in a semantic case but not in a structural case. For instance, *iaq’a-besun* ‘to send (away)’ contains a noun marked for the dative-locative (way-DAT). *neğ-en-baksun* ‘to break out into tears’ is marked for the ergative-instrumental just as *kin-besun* ‘to be industrious’ (hand:ERG>INSTR). But note that with ‘idiomatic’ verbs, relational cases (especially the dative(2)) may be present (see 3.4.2.3): *ga-l-ax-saksun* ‘to make the bed’ (bed-SA-DAT2 + throw), *ga-l-ax-girbesun* ‘to make the bed’ (lit.: to collect the bed’) etc. An intermediate stage is represented for instance by the verbs *nep’-ax-besun* ‘to put to sleep’ (*nep’* ‘sleep’), *nep’-ax-esun* ‘to sleep’ (lit.: ‘to come to sleep’), *pex-q’inč’-pesun* ‘to close the eyes’ (lit.: to make the eyes (dative2) narrow’), and *ap’ax-besun* (*ap’* ‘sweat’, dative2) ~ *ap’in-besun* (instr.) ‘to make sweat’

§ 4. A considerable number of lexical bases are no longer used as independent lexical words. Most often, we have to deal with old adjectives/adverbs or with verb stems that now have become obsolete. Such verb stems include a number of borrowed stems, e.g.

(x)	<i>k’al-pesun</i>	‘to call, read’	(Greek <i>καλέω</i> ‘to call’)
	<i>port-besun</i>	‘to suffer, bear’	(Late Latin <i>port-āre</i> ‘to bear, carry’)
	<i>man-desun</i>	‘to stay’	(~ Persian <i>māndan</i> ‘to stay’, reanalyzed)
	<i>č(ix)ar-k’esun</i>	‘to save, end’	(~ Azeri <i>çixar(t)maq</i> ‘to bring out’)
	<i>pur-pesun</i>	‘to fly’	(~ Georgian <i>prna</i> ‘to fly’ ~ Persian <i>par</i> ‘feather, wing’)
	<i>andax-besun</i>	‘to consider’	(~ Persian <i>andīšīdan</i> ‘to think, consider’)
	<i>afre-pesun</i>	‘to pray’	(~ Persian <i>āfrīdan</i> ‘to praise’)

§ 5. A productive way of incorporating (younger) Azeri loans into the paradigm of Udi verbs is to add light verbs to the Azeri verb marked by the *-mIš*-perfect (> Udi *-miš-*). This technique that is very common among most of the Lezgian languages can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(x)	<i>bağışlamiš-besun</i>	‘to forgive’	(Azeri <i>bağışlamaq</i> ‘to forgive’)
	<i>kilamiš-besun</i>	‘to plough crosswise’	(Azeri ?)

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<i>ögmış-besun</i>	‘to praise’	(Azeri <i>öymək</i> ‘to praise’)
<i>t’ik’miş-besun</i>	‘to fix, mend’	(Azeri <i>tikmək</i> ‘to mend, put together’)
<i>tapşirmiş-besun</i>	‘to order, instruct’	(Azeri <i>tapşırmaq</i> ‘to announce’)
<i>şäklämiş-baksun</i>	‘to doubt’	(Azeri <i>şäklänmək</i> ‘to doubt, hesitate’)
<i>inžimiş-baksun</i>	‘to be punished’	(Azeri <i>incimək</i> ‘to be punished’)
<i>žinlämiş-baksun</i>	‘to become possessed’	(Azeri <i>cinlamaq</i> ‘to become possessed’)

§ 6. Lexical bases show the same phonotactic constraints as standard lexical forms (see 2.3 and 2.5). Accordingly, the preferred syllabic structure are CV(CV)- and (C)VC-. Nevertheless, larger complexes can occur especially with loans. An examples is:

- (x) *bağışlämiş-b-es-t’-esun* ‘to let someone forgive (s.th.)’
 forgive: *mIş*-LV-MASD-LV:CAUS-MASD2
 CV.CVC.CV.CVC.CVC.-t’*esun*

At the opposite end of the complexity scale, lexical bases marked by just a vowel can occur. An example is:

- (x) *i-bak-sun* ‘to hear’ (< *‘to be ear’)
 *ear-LV-MASD2

Superficially, the verb *e^hbsun* ‘to sew’ also belongs to this type (< ? **e^h-besun*). However, note that the stem represents the reanalyzed noun **rb* ‘needle’ (*e^hbsun* < **rb-b*).

§ 7. A diagnostic tool to distinguish between weak and strong verbs is the position of the endoclititic slot (see Harris 2002:130): With weak verbs, it necessarily occurs between the lexical base and the light verb:

- (x) (a) *ba-ne-k-sa* (strong) ‘(S)he is/becomes’
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
- (b) *kala-ne-bak-sa* (weak) ‘(S)he grows (old)’
 old-3SG-LV-PRES
- (c) **kala-ba-ne-k-sa*
 old-LV-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES

The fact that endoclititization is blocked in the light verb itself illustrates that endoclititization has to do with lexical focus: It tends to focus the preceding segment that bears most of the lexico-semantic information (see 3.4.2.1, § 5 for strong verbs). As has been said above, light verbs are strongly desemantized with respect to their original lexical meaning. Therefore, the former lexical ‘peak’ ((C)V- $_$) is no longer accessible to focal strategies that are encoded by focus clitics (such as personal

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agreement markers). (x) tries to simulate this process (the semantic ‘peak’ is given in capital letters):

- (x) (a) *bez viči kala BA-ne-k-i*
 I:POSS brother old be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST
 ‘My brother WAS old (when he died).’
- (b) *bez viči KALA-ne-bak-i*
 I:POSS brother old-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘My brother has grown OLD.’

§ 8. Harris 2002:76-87 has extensively dealt with the question whether weak verbs (‘complex verbs’ in her terms) represent ‘single words’. Among a wide array of arguments, the author points to the ‘rule’ of syncope of the *-e-* of the masdar2 morpheme *-esun* and of the present tense morpheme *-esa* under the following condition:

- (x) $e \rightarrow \emptyset / VC + _sV$

As strong verb stems always end in a consonant preceded by a vowel, this rule generally applies to strong verbs (see 3.4.2.1, §§ 19-29 for ‘root’ verbs). With weak verbs, the ‘rule’ given in (x) is a useful tool to distinguish weak verbs from the sequence ‘X + heavy verb’: In case a light verb is added to a C-final lexical base, the masdar2 normally shows up as *-esun* and the present tense morpheme as *-esa*. In case the lexical base ends in a vowel, syncope of *-e-* applies, compare:

(x)	Lexical base	Light verb	Masdar2	
...C-	<i>ayt-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>-esun</i>	‘to talk’
	<i>k'al-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>-esun</i>	‘to call, read’
	<i>šip'-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>-esun</i>	‘to quieten’
	<i>ser-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>-esun</i>	‘to build’
...V-	<i>tara-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>-sun</i>	‘to turn around’
	<i>xuru-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>-sun</i>	‘to cut in peaces’
	<i>xe-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>-sun</i>	‘to melt’
	<i>mac'i-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>-sun</i>	‘to make white’

Note that the same ‘rule’ applies if an endoclititic is present:

- (x) (a) *aš-ne-b-sa* ‘(S)he works’
 work-3SG-LV-PRES
- (b) *aš-q'un-b-esa* ‘They work’
 work-3PL-LV-PRES

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Nevertheless, it has to be added that syncope rather is a preferred option than a true ‘rule’. In fact, both syncopated and non-syncopated variants are documented in texts as well as in standard speech. Especially speakers from Nizh tend to use syncopated forms that violate the rule set up by Harris, cf.:

- (x) *aš-t'un-b-sa-i* ‘They worked’
work-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST

In addition note that the ‘rule’ applies only for the light verb *besun* (‘to do, make’) and for the auxiliary *-desun* in both the masdar2 and the present tense(s). With the light verb *pesun* (‘to say’), syncope is normally limited to the masdar2 although some speakers also tend to delete the vowel in the present stem *-exa*, compare:

- (x) *ait-q'un-(e)xa* ‘They talk’
word-3PL-LV:PRES

Crucially, syncope does not occur with the light verb *-esun* (‘to come’), compare:

- (x) *box-esa-ne* ‘It is boiling’
boil-LV:PASS:PRES-3SG

Here, syncope is blocked because it would delete the grammatically most salient part of the light verb.

§ 9. In Modern Udi, there are six or seven (in parts productive) light verbs / auxiliaries:

- (x) *bak-sun* ‘to be(come)’ (§ 10)
esun ‘to become’ < *‘to come’ (§§ 11-13)
p-esun ‘to do, make’ < *‘to say’ (§§ 15-20)
-k'-esun ‘to let < *‘to say’ (§ 21)
b-esun ‘to do, make’ (§§ 22-27)
-d-esun ‘to cause, do’ < *‘to give’ (§§ 28-35)
-t'-esun ‘to cause, do’ < *‘to go to’ ? (§ 36)

In addition, the following forms only occur in lexicalized forms (but note that the status as auxiliaries cannot safely be described, see §§ 37-42 below):

- (x) *-q-esun* *‘to move to’ (?)
-q'-esun *‘to cut’ (?)
**-xesun* *‘to be(come)’
-p'-esun *‘to move’ (?)
-t-esun ?

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As the complex ‘lexical base + light verb’ behaves like a single ‘word’, it can again be marked by another light verb / auxiliary. Basically, the two forms *-desun* and *esun* are used. As a result, the following complex light verbs / auxiliaries occur:

- (x) *-bak-esun* ‘to become’ (*baksun* + *esun*)
 -bes-t’esun ‘to let do, make’ (*besun* + *-desun*, assimilated)
 -pes-t’esun ‘to let be / do’ (*besun* + *desun*, assimilated)
 -k’es-t’esun ‘to let do, make’ (*-k’esun* + *-desun*, assimilated)

The light verbs / auxiliaries listed in (x) above do not always select the same type of lexical base: (x) describes the preferred type of lexical base for each of the light verbs / auxiliaries:

(x)	LV/AUX	Meaning/Function	Preferred lexical base
	<i>baksun</i>	‘to be(come)’	ADJ/ADV, NOUN
	<i>esun</i>	‘to become’ < *‘to come’	ADJ, Verb (Stem)
	<i>pesun</i>	‘to do, make’ < *‘to say’	ADJ/ADV, NOUN
	<i>besun</i>	‘to do, make’	ADJ/ADV, NOUN, Verb (Masdar1)
	<i>-desun</i>	‘to cause, do’ < *‘to give’	Verb (Stem; Masdar1)
	<i>-t’esun</i>	‘to relate to’ < *‘to go’ ?	Verb (Stem; Masdar1)
	<i>-k’esun</i>	‘to let < *‘to to say’	Verb stem + <i>ev-</i> (CAUS)

A lexical base is not necessarily linked to a specific light verb / auxiliary. Especially *-pesun*, *-besun* and *-esun* can occur with the same lexical base.

In addition, pseudo-light verbs occur that are marked by local preverbs. From a diachronic point of view, these verbs have emerged from the original ‘heavy’ verbs to which preverbs have been added. The desemantization of the verbal base, however, has (in parts) led to a reinterpretation of the verbal structure:

- (x) PV + HV(>LV) → {PV-C}-

The symbol ‘C’ is used to indicate that the consonantal stem of the verb has been reanalyzed as a part of the new stem. An example is:

- (x) *tad-* < *ta-d-* ‘to give’
 give- hither-give-

§ 10. The light verb *baksun* has resulted from the desemantization of the heavy (strong) verb *baksun* ‘to be, become’, see 3.4.2.1. The invariant semantics of the heavy verb is present in the general conceptual notion <BE IN A STATE; GET INTO A STATE; BECOME>. Therefore, *baksun* typically produces intransitive or low transitive verbs. Examples are:

- (X) *žok’-baksun* ‘to get separated’ Armenian *žok* ‘separate’

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<i>č'ap'-baksun</i>	'to fade, be hidden'	~ Azeri <i>çap(kin)</i> 'secret'
<i>č'e-baksun</i>	'to pass by'	PV <i>č'e</i> 'out'
<i>čalxal-baksun</i>	'to be acquainted'	<i>čalx-al</i> 'knowing' (PART:N PAST)
<i>šere-baksun</i>	'to get dry'	<i>šere</i> 'dry'
<i>alaxo-baksun</i>	'to feel sick'	<i>alaxo</i> 'from above' (PP)
<i>ap'ax-baksun</i>	'to sweat'	<i>ap'ax</i> 'sweat-DAT2'
<i>bağriar-baksun</i>	'to get a fright'	Azeri <i>bağrı(ş)</i> 'yelling'
<i>havala-baksun</i>	'to attack' (intr.)	<i>havala</i> 'attack'
<i>i-baksun</i>	'to hear' < *'be heard'	* <i>i</i> 'ear' (> <i>imux</i> 'ear')
<i>k'oc'-baksun</i>	'to bend'	Persian <i>koj</i> 'bent, curved'
<i>kar-baksun</i>	'to become deaf'	Persian <i>kar</i> 'deaf'
<i>lal-baksun</i>	'to become silent'	Persian <i>lāl</i> 'dumb'
<i>moğor-baksun</i>	'to wake up'	<i>moğor</i> 'awake'
<i>muća-baksun</i>	'to refresh oneself'	<i>muća</i> 'sweet'
<i>muq'eit-baksun</i>	'to be worried'	Persian/Arabic <i>moqayyed</i> 'attentive'
<i>neğen-baksun</i>	'to start weeping'	<i>neğ-en</i> 'tear-ERG>INSTR'
<i>q'at-baksun</i>	'to bend, arch'	?
<i>qai-baksun</i>	'to come back, repend'	<i>qai-</i> 'back' (PV)
<i>sus-baksun</i>	'to become dumb, silent'	Azeri <i>süst</i> (< Persian <i>sost</i>) 'weak, frail'
<i>var-baksun</i>	'to become mad'	<i>var</i> 'mad'
<i>xe-baksun</i>	'to thaw, melt'	<i>xe</i> 'water'
<i>zom-baksun</i>	'to learn'	Armenian <i>ovsovm</i> 'teaching'
<i>že^š-baksun</i>	'to petrify'	<i>že^š</i> 'stone'

Accordingly, *baksun* indicates both a stative and a dynamic relation to the concept expressed by the lexical base. Normally, the existence of an 'external stimulus' is not inferred. This constructional pattern is well-known from other Lezgian languages and roughly corresponds to that of anticausatives. However note, that not all weak verbs marked by the light verb *baksun* have a transitive (causative) counterpart (marked by one of the light verbs *pesun* or *besun*, see below). The verb *baksun* has replaced the corresponding verb in Old Udi, which was *ihesown* (present tense *ah-*, past tense *h-*). This verb has left obvious traces in modern Udi.

§ 11. The light verb *esun* represents the metaphorized version of the MOVE-verb *esun* < *(h)e-ğe- 'to move:INTR hither, to come', see 3.4.2.1, §§ 31-52. The underlying source domain can be described as 'moving towards a state' (cf. English *be-come*). Hence, the light verb often includes the notion of 'change' ('(from one state) to another'). This notion, again, conditions the presence of the feature 'external stimulus' that is typical for many *esun*-verbs. As a consequence, the light verb has developed into a grammatical morpheme that indicates the backgrounding of an agent in favor of the 'objective' domain. This functional peculiarity is described in more details in section 3.4.6.2. Note that some authors have erroneously treated the light verb *esun* as a part of the verbal stem. This confusion also results from the fact the masdar1 of *esun*-verbs is formally identical with the masdar1 of other verbs, compare:

- (x) *čalx-es* 'to know s.o.' / 'to be known by s.o.'
 box-es 'to boil, be boiling'

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A diagnostic tool is again the place of the endoclititic slot: An ‘active’ verb has the standard slot in front of the stem final consonant (whether or not it represents an older light verb), whereas the slot always precedes the light verb *esun*, compare:

(x) (a) *bo-ne-x-sa* ‘(S)he boils (it)
boil-3SG- \bar{s} -PRES

(b) *box-ne-sa* ‘It is boiling’
boil-3SG-LV:PASS:PRES

§ 12. In addition, weak verbs marked by *-esun* participate in the suppletive paradigm of *esun*, see 3.4.2.1, § 53. Note that as a light verb, *esun* takes the younger *-c*-past (as opposed to the ‘heavy’ variant, that takes *-r-* (see 3.4.2.1, § 31-52)):

(x)	Active	‘Medio-Passive’
Masdar1	<i>box-es</i>	<i>box-es</i>
Masdar2	<i>box-sun</i>	<i>box-esun</i>
Present	<i>bo-\bar{u}-x-</i>	<i>box-\bar{u}-\emptyset-</i>
Future-modal	<i>bo-\bar{u}-x-</i>	<i>box-\bar{u}-(e)ǵ-</i>
Past	<i>bo-\bar{u}-x-</i>	<i>box-\bar{u}-(e)c-</i>
Imperative	<i>box-</i>	<i>box-ek-</i>

In order to distinguish standard light verbs from the *esun*-light verb, its forms are glossed ‘MP’ throughout the present grammar (see 3.4.6.2 for the functional and semantic properties of the ‘(medio-)passive’).

§ 13. Contrary to *baksun*, *esun* shows a higher degree of grammaticalization. The original semantic properties have bleached to an extent that it often is difficult to see a motivation for the use of *esun*. In addition, its use as a derivational tool to derive ‘medio-passives’ illustrates that *esun* has been completely integrated into the paradigmatics of Udi verb morphology. The light verb adds to lexical stems that are relational in nature: The preferred target are verbal stems and adjectives. Nevertheless, nouns can occur. In this case, the light verb has kept much of its original semantics. (x) illustrates the derivational patterns of *-esun*:

(X)	<i>ababak-esun</i>	‘to become known’	<i>aba</i> ‘knowing’ + LV
	<i>ak'-esun</i>	‘to be in sight, be visible’	<i>ak'</i> - ‘to see’
	<i>aq'-esun</i>	‘to be taken, wonder, be astonished’	<i>aq'</i> - ‘to take’
	<i>a^hl-esun</i>	‘to be woven’	* <i>a^hl</i> ‘awl’
	<i>bač'ur-esun</i>	‘to be wrapped up’	<i>ba-č'ur-</i> ‘in-wrap-’
	<i>bak-esun</i>	‘to become, come into a state, be (cap)able’	<i>bak-</i> ‘to be’
	<i>baq-esun</i>	‘to be acquired, to come to exist, to be present’	<i>baq-</i> ‘to acquire, reach’
	<i>baq'-esun</i>	‘to fit into’	<i>baq'</i> - ‘to stick into’
	<i>bar-esun</i>	‘to be set apart, free’	<i>bar-</i> ‘separate, part’

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<i>be^ǰ-esun</i>	‘to be seen’	<i>be^ǰ-</i>	‘to see, look at’
<i>bes-esun</i>	‘to be engaged’	<i>bes-</i>	‘to ask for’
<i>beš-esun</i>	‘to become the first’	<i>beš-</i>	‘in front of’ (PP)
<i>biq’-esun</i>	‘to be taken, hired’	<i>biq’-</i>	‘to take’
<i>bix-esun</i>	‘to be created’	<i>bix-</i>	‘to bear, create’
<i>bok’-esun</i>	‘to be burning’	<i>bok’-</i>	‘to burn s.th.’
<i>box-esun</i>	‘to be boiling, cooking’	<i>box-</i>	‘to boil s.th.’
<i>bo^ǰǰa^ǰ-esun</i>	‘to be found’	<i>bo^ǰǰa^ǰ-</i>	‘finding’
<i>buž-esun</i>	‘to be flattered’	<i>buž-</i>	‘compliment’
<i>bui-esun</i>	‘to be filled’	<i>bui-</i>	‘full, filled’
<i>buq’-esun</i>	‘to be loved, admired, aimed at’	<i>buq’-</i>	‘want, love’
<i>but’-esun</i>	‘to be closed, stopped, stop’	<i>but’-</i>	‘closed, stopped’
<i>č’ak’-esun</i>	‘to be elected’	<i>č’ak’-</i>	‘selected’
<i>č’eq’-esun</i>	‘to be skinned’	<i>č’eq’-</i>	‘to take off, skin’
<i>cam-esun</i>	‘to be written’	<i>cam-</i>	‘writing’
<i>cip-esun</i>	‘to be poured out, spoiled’	<i>ci-p-</i>	*‘to make down’
<i>čur-esun</i>	‘to love, want’	<i>čur-</i>	‘upright’ (?)
<i>čux-esun</i>	‘to crawl into, to be trapped in’	<i>čux-</i>	‘stick into’
<i>ec’-esun</i>	‘to dry out’	<i>ec’-</i>	‘to (make) dry’
<i>fui-esun</i>	‘to blow up’	<i>fu(i)-</i>	‘to blow’
<i>gam-esun</i>	‘to become warm’	<i>gam-</i>	‘warm’
<i>gärbak-esun</i>	‘to be stirred up’	<i>gär-bak-</i>	‘to stirr’ (LV)
<i>gir-esun</i>	‘to be collected’	<i>gir-</i>	‘to collect’
<i>gur-esun</i>	‘to fall down’	<i>gur-</i>	?
<i>ibak-esun</i>	‘to be heard’	<i>i-bak-</i>	‘to hear’ (LV)
<i>k’ac’-esun</i>	‘to be killed, cut’	<i>k’ac’-</i>	‘to kill, cut’
<i>k’uc’-esun</i>	‘to sit down’	<i>k’uc’-</i>	?
<i>marc-esun</i>	‘to come to an end’	<i>marc-</i>	‘boarder, edge’
<i>nep’ax-esun</i>	‘to go to bed’	<i>nep’-ax-</i>	‘sleep-DAT2’
<i>oc’-esun</i>	‘to be washed’	<i>*oc’-</i>	‘clean’
<i>pasbak-esun</i>	‘to be destroyed’	<i>pas-bak-</i>	‘to destroy’
<i>qai-esun</i>	‘to open’	<i>qai-</i>	‘open’
<i>qaiqai-esun</i>	‘to bud’	<i>qaiqai-</i>	‘open’ (red.)
<i>sak-esun</i>	‘to be thrown’	<i>sak-</i>	‘to throw’
<i>ser-esun</i>	‘to be build’	<i>ser-</i>	‘to build’
<i>šam-esun</i>	‘to be slaughtered’	<i>šam-</i>	‘slaughtering’
<i>šel-esun</i>	‘to be healed, made good’	<i>šel-</i>	‘good’
<i>t’ap’-esun</i>	‘to be hit’	<i>t’ap’-</i>	‘hit’
<i>tad-esun</i>	‘to be given’	<i>ta-d-</i>	‘to give’
<i>xač-esun</i>	‘to be baptized’	<i>xač-</i>	‘cross’
<i>zer-esun</i>	‘to adorned’	<i>zer-</i>	‘adornment’

§ 14. In case a transitive variant is given, it is either represented by a strong verb (see 3.4.2.1) or by one of the light verbs *besun* ‘to do, make’ and *pesun* ‘to say’:

(x)	‘Active’	}	‘Medio-Passive’	
	Strong verb stem		}	
	<i>-besun</i>			<i>-esun</i>
	<i>-pesun</i>			

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In addition, the two light verbs *-bak-sun* ‘to be(come)’ and *-d-esun* can occasionally be marked by the ‘medio-passive’ morpheme (*-bak-esun*, *d-esun*). Note that syncope does not occur with the medio-passive variant of *-desun* ‘to give/LV’:

(x)	<i>ta-st’un</i>	<	<i>*ta-d-sun</i>	‘to give’
	<i>ta-d-esun</i>	<	<i>*ta-d-esun</i>	‘to be given’

The three light verbs / auxiliaries *pesun*, *besun*, and *-desun* and the unproductive variants *-k’esun* and *-t’esun* cover much of the transitive range of the transitivity scale. Nevertheless, the claim that all these light verbs are transitive would be a too strong generalization. Rather, we have to deal with the following continuum:

(x)	High transitive	←	→	Low transitive			
	<i>-desun</i>	<	<i>-besun</i>	<	<i>-k’esun</i>	<	<i>-pesun</i>

Accordingly, the light verb *pesun* has the lowest efficacy: Verbs marked by this form are both intransitive and transitive. Although the auxiliary *-k’esun* is strongly coupled with the old causative stem suffix *-ev-* (see 3.4.8), the auxiliary itself lacks features of high transitivity. Such features are associated with the two light verbs *besun* and **desun* (> auxiliary *-desun*).

§ 15. The light verb *pesun* stems from the heavy verb *pesun* ‘to say’. It forms a specific subparadigm with the auxiliary (< light verb) *-k’esun* (see below). Harris 2002:203-206 suggests that the light verb *pesun* has been derived through reanalysis and extension from a small set of delocutive verbs. The author lists the following examples (Harris 2002:204):

(x)	<i>ba^ʃp-pesun</i>	‘to bark’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>bo^ʃgo^ʃ-pesun</i>	‘to low, moo (of cattle, livestock)’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>c^ʰirit-pesun</i>	‘to scream, shriek’	<i>cirit</i> ‘cry’
	<i>c^ʰi^ʃgi^ʃ-pesun</i>	‘to crow, call out, cry’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>el-pesun</i>	‘to crow’	<i>el</i> ‘crowing’
	<i>gi^ʃzgi^ʃz-pesun</i>	‘to laugh’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>ga^ʃga^ʃ-pesun</i>	‘to snap, snarl’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>ma^ʃ-pesun</i>	‘to moo (of a cow)’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>mərə-pesun</i>	‘to mew’	Onomatopoeic
	<i>qo^ʃx-pesun</i>	‘to cough’	<i>qo^ʃx ~ q^ʰo^ʃq</i> ‘cough’
	<i>q^ʰi^ʃla^ʃnc^ʰi-pesun</i>	‘to bray (of a donkey or biffalo)’	?
	<i>vuğu-pesun</i>	‘howl, moo, low, bellow, hum, buzz’	Onomatopoeic

§ 16. In addition, the author lists the following verbs that are related to the domain of locution:

(x)	<i>axsum-pesun</i>	‘to laugh’	<i>axsum</i> ‘laughter’
	<i>fit-pesun</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>fit</i> ‘whistle’
	<i>let-pesun</i>	‘to moan, groan’	<i>let</i> ‘moan, groan’
	<i>o^ʃne-pesun</i>	‘to weep, to cry’	<i>o^ʃne</i> ‘crying, weeping’
	<i>ait-pesun</i>	‘to speak, talk’	Azeri <i>ayit</i> ‘word’

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<i>bifār-pesun</i>	‘to curse’	Azeri/Persian <i>bifār</i> ‘curse’
<i>elas-pesun</i>	‘to swear an oath’	Persian/Arabic <i>helas</i> ‘oath’
<i>ma^fġ-pesun</i>	‘to sing’	<i>ma^fġ</i> ‘song’
<i>x(u)rušt’an-pesun</i>	‘to congratulate’	?, see Schulze 2001:335

Note that the verb *buldürüs-pesun* ‘to sympathize’ that is included by Harris in this list is not a locutional verb from a lexical point of view: The lexical base consists of the two elements *bul* ‘head’ and *dürüs* ‘(up)right, correct, straight’ (> ‘to behave towards s.o. at eye level’). To Harris’ list we can add:

(X) <i>fu-pesun</i>	‘to breathe’	<i>fu</i> ‘breath’
<i>t’əṛə-pesun</i>	‘to chat’	<i>t’əṛə-</i> ?
<i>la^fp’-pesun</i>	‘to discuss’	<i>la^fp’</i> ‘discussion, talk’
<i>afrē-pesun</i>	‘to praise, pray’	~ Persian <i>āfrīdan</i> ‘to praise’
<i>k’al-pesun</i>	‘to read, call’	Greek <i>καλέω</i> ‘call’ etc.
<i>k’ak’a-pesun</i>	‘to cluck’	Onomatopoeic
<i>zozo-pesun</i>	‘to moo, buzz’	Onomatopoeic
<i>qax-pesun</i>	‘to raise the voice’	<i>qax-</i> ?
<i>bai-pesun</i>	‘to bark’	Onomatopoeic

§ 17. Finally, the following *pesun*-verbs are said to belong to the same domain: Here, noises are included “as well as things done with the mouth that do not necessarily involve noise” (Harris 2002:205):

(X) <i>far-pesun</i>	‘to strike, play (of a musical instrument)’	Persian <i>far</i> ‘melody’
<i>gürü-pesun</i>	‘to thunder’	Azeri <i>kur-lamaq</i> ‘to thunder’
<i>xrpxrp-pesun</i>	‘to crackle, rustle’	Onomatopoeic
<i>xuru-pesun</i>	‘break, smash’	<i>xuru</i> ‘small piece’
<i>žil-pesun</i>	‘mix, confuse, create noise and clamour’	<i>žil</i> ‘tumult’
<i>aśam-pesun</i>	‘lick off, strip off’	<i>aśam</i> ‘stripping off’
<i>c’um-pesun</i>	‘to suck, suckle’	<i>c’um</i> ‘sucking, suckling’
<i>ču-pesun</i>	‘to spit’	Onomatopoeic
<i>haysak-pesun</i>	‘to vomit’	?
<i>k’ač’-pesun</i>	‘to chew’	<i>k’ač’-</i> ‘what has been crushed, grain’
<i>lam-pesun</i>	‘to lick’	Azeri <i>yalama</i> ‘licking’
<i>q’aśq’aś-pesun</i>	‘to eat’ (perhaps ‘crunch’)	Onomatopoeic (?)
<i>q’a^fq’a^f-pesun</i>	‘to drown, strangle’	Onomatopoeic
<i>q’uč’-pesun</i>	‘to swallow, gulp’	<i>q’uč’</i> ‘gulp’

§ 18. This domain, however, is related to a broader semantic field that is marked for bodily and mental activities:

(X) <i>pexq’inč’-pesun</i>	‘to close the eyes’	<i>pex-q’inč’</i> ‘eye:DAT2-close’
<i>ox-pesun</i>	‘to comb oneself’	<i>ox</i> ‘comb’
<i>gölöš-pesun</i>	‘to dance’	<i>gölöš</i> ‘dance’
<i>ğo^fl-pesun</i>	‘to get dirty’	<i>ğo^fl</i> ‘dirt’
<i>t’uc-pesun</i>	‘to have sexual intercourse’	<i>t’uc</i> ?

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<i>žu-pesun</i>	‘to jump’	<i>žu</i> ‘jump’
<i>la-pesun</i>	‘to put on’	<i>la-</i> ‘on’ (PV)
<i>t’ak’-pesun</i>	‘to put things in a row’	<i>t’ak’</i> ‘row, order’
<i>furu-pesun</i>	‘to search, run around’	<i>furu-</i> ?
<i>xam-pesun</i>	‘to shave’	<i>xam</i> ‘shaving’
<i>č’e-pesun</i>	‘to take off one’s clothes’	<i>č’e-</i> ‘out’ (PV)
<i>la-pesun</i>	‘to take off’	<i>la-</i> ‘on’ (PV)
<i>tara-pesun</i>	‘to turn around’ (tr.)	<i>*tara</i> ‘around’
<i>čiš-pesun</i>	‘to urinate’	Onomatopoeic
<i>piši-pesun</i>	‘to urinate’	Onomatopoeic ?
<i>k’urc(’)-pesun</i>	‘to slumber’	~ Persian <i>čort</i> ‘slumber’
<i>čur-pesun</i>	‘to stand’	<i>*čur</i> ‘(up)right’
<i>t’ut’u-pesun</i>	‘to tremble’	Azeri <i>tutma</i> ‘sudden illness’
<i>pur-pesun</i>	‘to fly’	Georgian <i>prna</i> ‘to fly’
<i>xar-pesun</i>	‘to scratch’	<i>xar</i> ‘scratch’
<i>irit’-pesun</i>	‘to be disgusted’	<i>irit’</i> ‘disgust’
<i>q’i’-pesun</i>	‘to be frightened, to fear’	<i>q’i’</i> ‘fright, fear’

§ 19. Nevertheless, we cannot claim that the light verb *pesun* is typically used with verbal concepts related to these domains. A significant number of *-pesun*-verbs are (weak) transitive verbs:

(X)	<i>č’ak’-pesun</i>	‘to differ’	~ <i>žok</i> < Armenian <i>žokovi</i> ‘separate’
	<i>č’uč’u-pesun</i>	‘to knead’	<i>č’uč’</i> ‘kneading’
	<i>č’ur-pesun</i>	‘to twist’	<i>*č’ur-</i> ‘to twist’
	<i>žal-pesun</i> [N.]	‘to cook, boil’	<i>žal</i> ‘boiling’
	<i>ači-pesun</i>	‘to play’	<i>ači</i> ‘play’
	<i>bačur-pesun</i>	‘to wrap s.th. in s.th.’	<i>ba-čur-</i> ‘to wrap in’
	<i>bo’ğā’-pesun</i>	‘to find’	<i>bo’ğā’</i> ‘finding’
	<i>č’ak’-pesun</i>	‘to crush, pound’	Onomatopoeic (?)
	<i>čax-pesun</i>	‘to milk’	<i>*čax-</i> ?
	<i>cam-pesun</i>	‘to write’	<i>cam</i> ‘writing’
	<i>ci-pesun</i>	‘to pour out, down, scatter’	<i>ci-</i> ‘down’ (PV)
	<i>civar-pesun</i>	‘to sieve’	<i>civar</i> ‘sieve’
	<i>čur-pesun</i>	‘to wrap’	<i>*čur-</i> ‘wrapping’
	<i>č’a-pesun</i>	‘to pour out’	<i>č’a-</i> ?
	<i>č’ax-pesun</i>	‘to press’	<i>č’ax</i> ‘pressing’
	<i>far-pesun</i>	‘to take away’	Azeri <i>firlatmaq</i> ‘to steal’
	<i>fa’l-pesun</i>	‘to steal’	Azeri <i>firlatmaq</i> ‘to steal’
	<i>ğaç-pesun</i>	‘to tie together’	<i>ğaç</i> ‘tie’
	<i>ha’v-pesun</i>	‘to collect’	Armenian <i>havak’el</i> ‘to collect’
	<i>kiš-pesun</i>	‘to hew’	<i>kiš</i> ?
	<i>kof-pesun</i>	‘to hit (a goal)’	Azeri <i>kov</i> ‘just, correct’
	<i>mac-pesun</i>	‘to use a winner’	<i>mac</i> ‘winner’
	<i>p’a’t’-pesun</i>	‘to crumple up’	<i>p’a’t’-</i> ?
	<i>pur-pesun</i>	‘to fall down’ (trees etc.)	<i>pur-</i> ?
	<i>q’ač’-pesun</i>	‘to hurt’	<i>q’ač’</i> ‘pain, ache’
	<i>q’ač’-pesun</i>	‘to strain’	<i>q’ač’</i> ?
	<i>q’o’p-pesun</i>	‘to hit’	= <i>kof-pesun</i>
	<i>q’uč’-pesun</i>	‘to fold’	<i>q’uč’</i> ?
	<i>qai-pesun</i>	‘to open’	<i>qai</i> ‘open’
	<i>šam-pesun</i>	‘to slaughter’	<i>šam</i> ‘slaughtering’

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<i>šar-pesun</i>	‘to knead’	<i>šar</i> ‘kneading’
<i>t’ap’-pesun</i>	‘to hit’	<i>t’ap’</i> ‘hit, clap’
<i>t’oša¹m-pesun</i>	‘to sweep’	* <i>t’oša¹m</i> ‘clean’ (?)
<i>tor-pesun</i>	‘to make dirty’	<i>tor</i> = <i>toz</i> ‘dust’
<i>xor-pesun</i>	‘to pull, drag’	<i>xor-</i> ?
<i>xoxo-pesun</i>	‘to sieve’	<i>xoxo</i> ‘sieve’ (~ <i>xaxal</i>)

§ 20. Obviously, we have to deal with two different types of semantic extension: Those verbs that are related to ‘bodily’ activities (in its broadest sense) are based on the metonymy of the <SAY>-concept. On the other hand, the set of verbs listed in (X) is related to a process of metaphorization: Just as it is typical for many languages of the Northern Oriental, the *say*-verb *pesun* is used as a substitute for the *do*-verb *besun* to encode the concept <DO/MAKE>. Most likely, this metaphor is related to a strategy of social deixis:

(x) SAY {DO + X} → {SAY>DO} + X

In order to avoid the lexical expression of the concept <DO>, a locutional verb is used that suggests some kind of ‘indirect causation’: The agent is seen as someone who ‘gives order’ to execute a transitive action rather than executing it by him/herself. Basically, we have to deal with a honorification strategy in the context of social deixis, that can be simulated with the help of the following example:

(x) *adamar-en ežel-le šam-ne-xa*
 man-ERG sheep-3SG slaughter-3SG-LV:PRES
 ‘The man/person slaughters a sheep.’
 <man {lets ← {says that} X} slaughter{s} a sheep>

Note that Harris 2002:206 instead suggests that the use of *pesun* with those verbs that cannot be regarded as delocutives, has resulted from extension. However, this assumption cannot explain why those verbs mentioned in (x) finally took the *pesun* light verb although the standard transitive light verb *besun* was available.

§ 21. As has been said in section 3.4.2.1, § 27, the auxiliary *-k’esun* is derived from the heavy verb **k’e-* ‘to talk, speak’. As a strong verb, it has been integrated into the paradigm of *pesun* ‘to say’ (> future-modal stem). As an auxiliary, it can be marked for the whole scale of available temporal forms. It generally replaced the *nomina agentis* of *pesun*-verbs derived from the non-past participle (see 3.2.2.2), compare:

(x) *ači-pesun* ‘to play’
ači-k’-al ‘player, dancer

cam-pesun ‘to write’
cam-k’-al ‘writer’

šam-pesun ‘to slaughter’

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śam-k'-al 'butcher'

This process is in analogy with the suppletive paradigm of the 'heavy' verb *pesun* (> future-modal *uk'-*, see 3.4.2.1, § 53). It differs from the 'heavy' version in that it lacks the initial segment *u-* (see 3.4.2.1, § 27). This segment is present with compound verb verbs: Here, the light verb has kept much of its original semantics:

(X) *apči-pesun* 'to (tell a) lie'
apči-uk'-al 'a liar(who tells a lie)'

The use of the auxiliary *-k'esun* is rather restricted. Basically, it occurs with the old causative stem suffix *-ev-* (see 3.4.8):

(X)	<i>batev-k'esun</i>	'to save'	<i>bat-</i> 'destroyed' (Azeri <i>bat-</i>) + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS) = Azeri <i>bat-ər-maq</i> 'to destroy'
	<i>č'ev-k'esun</i>	'to drive out'	<i>č'e-</i> 'out' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>c'irik'-č'ev-k'esun</i>	'to brood, sit (of a hen)'	<i>c'irik'</i> 'chicken' + <i>č'e-</i> 'out'-
	<i>čaxev-k'esun</i>	'to freeze s.th.'	<i>čax-</i> 'ice' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>civ-k'esun</i>	'to bring/set down'	<i>ci-</i> 'down' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>ec'ev-k'esun</i>	'to dry' (tr.)	<i>ec'</i> 'dry' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>lav-k'esun</i>	'to put on, dress'	<i>la</i> 'on, up' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>laič'ev-k'esun</i>	'to raise up'	<i>lai-č'e-</i> 'up-out' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>marcev-k'esun</i>	'to use up'	<i>marc-</i> 'edge, border' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)
	<i>zerev-k'esun</i>	'to adorn'	<i>zer-</i> 'adornment' + <i>-ev-</i> (CAUS)

In addition, *-k'esun* occurs in a few other weak verbs:

(x)	<i>ba-k'sun</i>	'to pour in'	<i>ba-</i> 'in' (PV)
	<i>bas-k'esun</i>	'to lie down'	* <i>bas-</i> ?
	<i>but'-k'esun</i>	'to end, to stop'	<i>but' ~ bot'</i> 'closed, finished'
	<i>č(ix)är -k'esun</i>	'to take out from, save'	Azeri <i>çixar(t)maq</i> 'to take out'
	<i>i's-k'esun</i>	'to comb (of hair)'	* <i>i's</i> 'string of hair'
	<i>ğurumi-k'esun</i>	'to roar, yell'	<i>ğurum(i)</i> 'roaring, yelling'
	<i>mac-k'esun</i>	'to use a winner'	<i>mac</i> 'winner'
	<i>oc'-k'esun</i>	'to (let) wash'	* <i>oc'</i> 'clean'
	<i>us-k'esun</i>	'to measure, weigh'	* <i>us-</i> 'measure, span'

§ 22. The light verb *besun* represents the standard tool to derive transitive weak verbs. In actual Udi, it is highly productive. Semantically, it is rather close to the underlying heavy verb '*besun* 'to do, make' (see 3.4.2.1, §§ 19-21). As a consequence, it is not always possible to distinguish between the following two contextual structures:

(x) REF:INDEF:objective / ADV + *besun*
 Lexical base + *besun*

§ 23. As has been said in § 8 above, Harris 2002:76-87 has put forward a set of criteria that illustrate the wordiness of the complex 'lexical base + light verb'.

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Possible tests are – among others – the placement of the negation complex (*te* + PAM, see 3.4.7) and the presence of syncope (see 3.4.2.1). Harris argues that in case the negation complex precedes a verb, it is usually placed before the relational segment. Accordingly, it appears before the stem *b-* in case *b-* is a heavy verb. If *b-* is a light verb, the negation complex occurs before the lexical base. However, this analysis neglects the fact that the cluster NEG+PAM functions as a complex focus marker (see 3.4.7). It focusses the lexical base or a constituent outside the verbal domain, compare:

(x) (a) *še-t'-in te-ne adamar-ax murdal-b-esa* [Matthew 15:11]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG NEG-3SG man-DAT2 unclean-LV-PRES
 ‘THAT does not make the man unclean.’

(b) *nut' oc'-k'-i kin sum uk-sun-en te-ne*
 not wash-LV-PART:PAST hand:ERG>INSTR bread eat-MASD2-ERG NEG-3SG

murdal-b-esa adamar-ax [Matthew 15:20]

unclean-LV-PRES man-DAT2

‘The EATING of bread with an unwashed hand does not make the man unclean.’

(c) *me-t'-in murdal-le-b-esa adamar-ax* [Matthew 15:20]
 PROX-REF:OBL-ERG unclean-3SG-LV-PRES man-DAT2
 ‘This makes the man UNCLEAN.’

§ 24. The second argument is related to *-e*-syncope: Accordingly, as a light verb, *besun* loses its vowel *-e-* in the masdar2 and the present tense (see § 8 above). Nevertheless, this criterion holds only for V-final lexical bases and for inflected forms that include a V-final endoclititic (personal agreement markers). It does not help to decide whether verbs like *murdal-besun* ‘to make unclean’, *fikir-besun* ‘to think’ etc. are conceptually simple or complex. In Nizh, the fusion of both elements is much more pronounced than in Vartashen (*murdalbsun*, *fikirbsun* etc.). Therefore, syncope has only restricted diagnostic significance.

§ 25. From a syntactic point of view, *besun* shows up as a light verb in case another referent in objective function is present that is different from the incorporated lexical base: In this case, the lexical base does not play a syntactic role as opposed to a standard referent (or: clause) in objective function:

(x) (a) *evaxte še-t'-in fikir-re-b-i mo-t'-ux* [Matthew 1:20]
 when DIST-REF:OBL-ERG thought-3SG-LV-PAST PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘When he thought this ...’

(b) *fikir-te-n-b-esa te .. ?* [Matthew 26:53]
 thought-NEG-2SG-LV-PRES SUB

‘Don’t you think that...’

- (c) *[?]*xuncč-en fikir b-esa-ne*
 sister-ERG thought do-PRES-3SG
 ‘The sister *makes ([?]produces) a thought.’

§ 26. In Udi, syntactic ‘neutrality’ is coupled with conceptual unification: From a synchronic point of view, the lexical base of a *besun*-verb is not accessible to any kind of semantic specification. This constraint goes together with the fact that lexical bases are referentially ‘weak’ (see 3.4.2). Diachronically speaking, however, the stereotypical (adnominal or adverbial) qualification of a former constituent can be included in the process of incorporation, compare:

- (x) *pexq’inč’-besun* ‘to close the eyes’
 < **pex q’inč’ besun*
 eye:DAT2 close make-MASD2
 ‘To make the eye closed’

Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all *-besun*-verbs stem from the incorporation of a former referent in objective function. For many verbs, we have to describe a process of ‘conceptual export’ or ‘decorporation’ (see § 32 below).

In order to account for the difficulties to differentiate the light verb *besun* from its ‘heavy version’, I use the gloss ‘LV’ in case the lexical base has no syntactic function. Else, the lexical gloss ‘do/make’ is used.

§ 27. The class of *besun*-verbs is an open class. As long as semantics permits, there are no restrictions on the type of lexical base that is selected by *besun*. Examples are:

(X)	<i>žok’-besun</i>	‘to separate, divide’	<i>žok’</i> ‘separate’ (PP) (< Arm.)
	<i>aš’-besun</i>	‘to work’	<i>aš’</i> ‘work’
	<i>ačes’-besun</i>	‘to lose’	<i>ačesun</i> ‘to fade’
	<i>andax’-besun</i>	‘to consider’	Persian <i>andīšīdan</i> ‘to think, consider’
	<i>ap’ax’-besun</i>	‘to make sweat’	<i>ap’-ax</i> ‘sweat-DAT2’
	<i>ap’es’-besun</i>	‘to bake, grill, make ripe’	<i>ap’esun</i> ‘to become ripe’
	<i>badal’-besun</i>	‘to change’	Arabic <i>badal</i> ‘change’
	<i>bar’-besun</i>	‘to distribute’	<i>bar</i> ‘part’
	<i>bes’-besun</i>	‘to kill’	* <i>bes-</i> ‘to die’
	<i>bo’ğā’-besun</i>	‘to find’	<i>bo’ğā’</i> ‘finding’
	<i>c’i’-besun</i>	‘to get engaged’	<i>c’i</i> ‘name’
	<i>düz’-besun</i>	‘to make straight’	<i>düz</i> ‘straight, correct, field’
	<i>ex’-besun</i>	‘to harvest’	<i>ex</i> ‘harvest’
	<i>ez’-besun</i>	‘to plough’	<i>ez</i> ‘ploughing’
	<i>fikir’-besun</i>	‘to think’	Arabic <i>fikir</i> ‘thought’
	<i>gir’-besun</i>	‘to collect’	Persian <i>ger(d)</i> ‘circle’
	<i>gom’-besun</i>	‘to paint, whitewash’	Armenian <i>guym</i> ‘color’
	<i>haray’-besun</i>	‘to cry’	Azeri <i>haray</i> ‘cry’

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<i>hāzir-besun</i>	‘to prepare’	Arabic <i>hāḍir</i> ‘ready’
<i>iğari-besun</i>	‘to have fever’	Arabic <i>ḡarāra</i> ‘heat’
<i>il-besun</i>	‘to weed out’	<i>il</i> ‘weed’
<i>kef-besun</i>	‘to relax’	Arabic>Azeri <i>kaif</i> ‘rest, relaxation’
<i>kilamiš-besun</i>	‘to plough crosswise’	Azeri <i>?-mIš-</i>
<i>kömäg-besun</i>	‘to help’	Azeri <i>kömək</i> ‘help’
<i>moğor-besun</i>	‘to wake up’	<i>moğor</i> ‘awake’
<i>nahar-besun</i>	‘to have breakfast’	Arabic <i>nahār</i> ‘morning’
<i>namaz-besun</i>	‘to pray’	Persian <i>namāz</i> ‘prayer’
<i>nam-besun</i>	‘to make wet’	Persian <i>nām</i> ‘wet’
<i>nini-besun</i>	‘to sing without words’	Azeri <i>ninni</i> ‘song without words’
<i>ot’-besun</i>	‘to ashamed’	Armenian <i>amoť</i> ‘shame’
<i>p’irc’lamiš-besun</i>	‘to drop s.th. on’ (of birds)	Azeri <i>čirklemiš</i> ‘having dropped’
<i>port-besun</i>	‘to bear, suffer’	Late Latin <i>port-āre</i> ‘to bear’
<i>q’onaxluğ-besun</i>	‘to prepare a guestmeal’	Azeri <i>qonaxluğ</i> ‘guestmeal’
<i>qal-besun</i>	‘to chew’	<i>qal</i> ‘chewing’
<i>ser-besun</i>	‘to build, construct’	<i>ser-</i> ?
<i>suruk’-besun</i>	‘to hang up’	<i>suruk</i> ‘high, hanging, light’
<i>tam-besun</i>	‘to fulfill, execute’	Arabic <i>tāmm</i> ‘complete, entire’
<i>tāpik-besun</i>	‘to dig up’	<i>tāpik</i> ‘dig’
<i>tara-besun</i>	‘to run hither and thither’	* <i>tara</i> ‘around’
<i>tār-besun</i>	‘to break s.o. off, finish, stop’	<i>tār</i> ‘splinter’ < Arabic <i>tark</i> ‘omission, remainder’, see Schulze 2001:323
<i>tain-besun</i>	‘to place’	<i>tain</i> ?
<i>taza-besun</i>	‘to stretch’	<i>taza-</i> ?
<i>toxi-besun</i>	‘to hack’	Azeri <i>doğ-ramaq</i> ‘to hack’
<i>xe-besun</i>	‘to melt’ (tr.)	<i>xe</i> ‘water’
<i>xel-besun</i>	‘to load, burden’	<i>xel</i> ‘load’
<i>zom-besun</i>	‘to teach’	Armenian <i>ovsovm</i> ‘teaching’

§ 28. As has been said in section 3.4.2.1, § 24, the auxiliary *-desun* is derived from a heavy verb **de(h)-* ‘to give’. The original meaning has only survived in the preverbal forms *tast’un* < **ta-_-da(ğ)-* ‘to give thither’ and *qaidesun* ‘to give back’. In addition, there is a rather obscure form *ist’un* (< **id(e)s-*) that is translated by some informants as ‘to receive’. However, the verb is not confirmed by the textual sources. If the form is correct, it is tempting to interpret it as the ‘hither’-variant of *tast’un* (see 3.4.2.1, § 31): *ist’un* < **i-dağ-esun* ‘hither-give’.

§ 29. Else, the class of *-desun*-verbs can be divided into two types: a) basic *desun*-verbs; b) analytic causatives. Basic *desun*-verbs are derived from various lexical bases (nouns, adjectives/adverbs, verbal stems, loans). Examples are:

(x) <i>č’uk’-desun</i>	‘to crack (lice)’	<i>č’uk</i> ‘crack’
<i>žal-desun</i>	‘to boil (tr.)’	<i>žal-</i> ‘heat, boiling’
<i>žil-desun</i>	‘to mix up, confuse’	<i>žil-</i> ‘tumult’
<i>čök-desun</i>	‘to kneel down’	Azeri <i>çökmək</i> ‘to squat’
<i>čux-desun</i>	‘to prick, sting, stab’	<i>čux-</i> ?
<i>žar-desun</i>	‘to scorch, singe’	<i>žar-</i> ?
<i>a’k-desun</i>	‘to drive, speed up’	<i>a’k-</i> ~ Azeri <i>(b)ərək</i> ‘swift’ ?

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<i>a^l-desun</i>		‘to knit, weave’	<i>*a^l</i> ‘awl’
<i>ač-desun</i>	> <i>ašt’un</i>	‘to be wrong’	<i>ač-</i> ‘to be wrong’
<i>axa-desun</i>		‘to put a load on s.o., lean at’	<i>*axa</i> ‘load’
<i>ba-desun</i>	> <i>bast’un</i>	‘to thrust in, bake’	<i>ba-</i> ‘in’ (PV)
<i>c’av-desun</i>		‘to let shine’	<i>c’a-(e)v-</i> (CAUS?)
<i>c’il-desun</i>		‘to twinkle, sparkle’	<i>c’il-</i> ‘shining’
<i>c’oro-desun</i>	> <i>c’orost’un</i>	‘to comb (fur)’	<i>c’oro-</i> ?
<i>cap-desun</i>		‘to clap’	<i>cap-</i> < Azeri <i>çap</i> ‘pressure’
<i>ć’am-desun</i>		‘to shoot’	<i>ć’am-</i> ?
<i>do^p-desun</i>		‘to shoot’	Persian <i>top</i> ‘gun, cannon’
<i>fa^l-desun</i>		‘to twist, turn around’	<i>fa^l-</i> ?
<i>gal-desun</i>		‘to move, shake’	<i>gal-</i> ‘movement, shock’
<i>gur-desun</i>		‘to throw down’	<i>*gur-</i> ‘fall’ ?
<i>ğā^l-desun</i>		‘to make cloudy’	<i>*ğā^l-</i> ‘cloudy’ ?
<i>kaf-desun</i>		‘to distribute’	<i>kaf-</i> ‘part, share’
<i>lačaq’-desun</i>		‘to stick onto’	<i>la-čaq’-</i> ‘in-stick-’ (PV)
<i>la^ğa^l-desun</i>		‘to rinse, wash up’	<i>la-ğā^l-</i> ‘on’ (PV) + ?
<i>la-desun</i>	> <i>last’un</i>	‘to wipe, mear, spread’	<i>la-</i> ‘on’ (PV)
<i>laman-desun</i>		‘to meet (up with)’	<i>la-man(d-)</i> ‘on-stay-’
<i>man-desun</i>		‘to wait’	Persian <i>māndan</i> ‘to stay’ (reanalyzed)
<i>mu-desun</i>	> <i>must’un</i>	‘to smell at’	<i>*mu-</i> ?
<i>ne-desun</i>	> <i>nest’un</i>	‘to let curdle’	<i>*ne-</i> ?
<i>nik’-desun</i>		‘to push (with horns)’	<i>*nik’-</i> ?
<i>oc’k’al-desun</i>		‘to wash’	<i>*oc’</i> ‘clean’
<i>p’a^pi^l-desun</i>	> <i>p’a^pist’un</i>	‘to humiliate oneself’	<i>p’a^pi^l-</i> ‘crawling’
<i>parž-desun</i>		‘to distribute (news/rumor)’	<i>parž</i> ‘rumor’
<i>pur-desun</i>		‘to fly’	~ Georgian <i>prna</i> ‘to fly’
<i>pur-desun</i>		‘to let down’	<i>pur-</i> ?
<i>qa^l-desun</i>		‘to chew’	<i>qa^l-</i> ?
<i>qai-desun</i>		‘to give back’	<i>qai-</i> ‘back’ (PV)
<i>t’a^q-desun</i>		‘to stick into’	<i>t’a^q-</i> ?
<i>ta-desun</i>	> <i>tast’un</i>	‘to give (thither)’	<i>ta-</i> ‘thither’ (PV)
<i>tog-desun</i>		‘to sell, buy, trade’	<i>tog</i> ‘merchandise, price’
<i>xaš-desun</i>		‘to baptize’	<i>xaš</i> ‘light’ ~ <i>xač</i> ‘cross’ (< Armenian)
<i>žol-desun</i>		‘to cork up’	<i>žol</i> ‘cork’

§ 30. The stem structure of some *desun*-verbs is ambiguous: Verbs that contain a lexical base marked for a CV-syllable (such as *must’un* < **mu-d(e)sun* ‘to smell at’, *nest’un* < **ne-d(e)sun* ‘to let curdle’) can likewise be analyzed as strong verbs (**mu-d-*, **ne-d-* etc.). As long as the etymology of these stems is not fully understood, both interpretations are possible.

§ 31. The constructional pattern that has led to the basic *desun*-verbs listed in (x) is based on the semantic concept <GIVE>. In case a noun is incorporated, we have to deal with a former ditransitive construction:

(x) Z(:A) – Y(:IO) – X:O – <GIVE> > Z(:A) – Y(IO>O) – {X-<GIVE>}

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Here, the original ‘indirect’ domain is converted into a direct domain, whereas the original ‘direct’ domain is incorporated into the verb: (x) simulates the underlying pattern with the help of Modern Udi:

(x) (a) *zu xač-zu-d-e efa^ʕx xe-n-en* [Mark 1:8]
 I cross-1SG-LV-PERF you:PL:DAT2 water-SA-ERG>INSTR
 ‘I have baptized you with water.’

(b) **zu xač-zu d-e efa^ʕx [xenen]*
 *I cross-1SG give-PERF you:PL:DAT2 [with=water]
 *‘I have given the cross to you (...).’

The hypothesis that the actual ‘direct’ domain (objective) originally functioned as an indirect objective at least with some of the *desun*-verbs, is supported by the fact that these verbs prefer a dative-marked referent in ‘objective’ function. The option to mark this function with the help of the absolutive (see x.x.x) is taken.

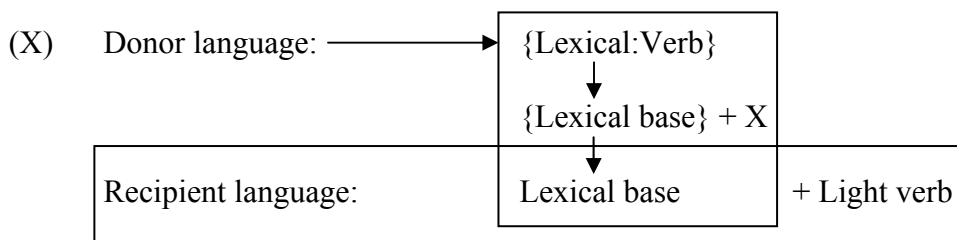
§ 32. Most likely, the emergence of the basic *desun*-pattern is also conditioned by the general preference in (Earlier) Udi to associate human/animate referents with the ‘indirect’ domain instead of the direct domain. Hence, a construction like

(x) Z(:A) – Y(:O) – shoot

was less accepted than the ‘indirect version’:

(x) Z(:A) – Y(:IO) – {X(:O=shot) – <GIVE>}

In the present grammar, this process is called (lexical) ‘decoration’ or (conceptual) ‘export’. Note again, that decoration not necessarily means that an adequate constructional pattern is established. Quite often, the ‘decorated’ lexical base is syntactically neutral. This process is typical for borrowed verbal stems. For instance, the Azeri verb *çök-mək* ‘to squat’ has been used to derive the Udi term for ‘to kneel down’: Accordingly, the Azeri stem verb *çök-* was interpreted as a referential base to which the adequate light verb was added. The following scheme helps to illustrate this process:



Verbs like *k'al-pesun* ‘to call, read’ ~ Greek *καλέω*, *port-besun* ‘to bear, suffer’ ~ Late Latin *port-āre* etc. show that this process has a considerable age. Today, it is

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mainly restricted to the light verbs *besun* and *baksun*. The ‘basic’ *desun*-type is no longer productive.

§ 33. The second type of *desun*-verbs is highly productive. As long as semantics allows, any verb can be marked by the auxiliary *-desun* to produce a causative variant (see 3.4.8). The auxiliary is always added to the ‘simple masdar’ (*-es*, see 3.4.10). As a result, the initial consonant of the auxiliary is assimilated:

(x) *Verb=stem-*es-desun* > *Verb=stem-*es-t'-esun*

As a consequence, the auxiliary acquires the same form as the auxiliary *-t'esun* (see below). The assumption that we have to deal with *-desun* instead of *-t'esun* is supported by the fact that the form in question produces true transitive (or causative) patterns whereas the ‘basic’ auxiliary *-t'esun* is marked for ‘low transitivity’. In addition, the original stem shows up if the endoclititic slot (*V-es-_-d-*) is filled in non-present tense forms, compare (x,a and b) vs. (x,c):

(x) (a) *te ak'-es-t'-a-q'un šo-t'-u namaz-un k'uax*
 SUB see-MASD-LV:CAUS-MOD-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT prayer-GEN house:DAT2
 ‘... so that they may show him the house of prayer.’ [Matthew 24:1]

(b) *ak'-es-ne-st'a šo-t'-u bütün dūnia-n-un pasč'ağluğ-ax*
 see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS:PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT all world-SA-GEN kingdom-DAT2
 ‘He shows him all kingdoms of the world.’ [Matthew 4:8]

(c) *šeitan-en ak'-es-ne-d-i šo-t'-u*
 devil-ERG see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

bütün ölki-n pasč'ağluğ-a [Luke 4:5]
 all land-GEN kingdom-DAT
 ‘The devil showed him all the kingdoms of the land.’

§ 34. The constructional pattern of the causative is transparent: The simple masdar has strong telic semantics (see 3.4.10). In combination with the (old) light verb, the following pattern has emerged:

(x) *Verb=stem-*es d-*
-TEL give-

Accordingly, the original meaning of for instance *aq'-es-t'-esun* (take-MASD-LV:CAUS-MASD2) has been ‘giving to take’ > ‘to cause to take, let/have take’. Note that the causative auxiliary can also be added to another light verb:

(x) *-bakes-t'-esun* (< *-baksun* ‘become’)
-es-t'-esun (< *-esun* ‘come’)

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-bes-t'esun (< *-besun* 'do')
-des-t'esun (< *-desun* 'give')

§ 35. The causative of standard 'strong' verbs cannot be distinguished from the causative of the corresponding medio-passive stem (stem + light verb *-esun*, see § 10 above): The standard 'simple masdar' of the heavy verb 'to come' is *ei-es* ~ *es*. As a light verb, only the 'short form' *es* < **e-ǵe-s* is used. This morpheme is identical with the standard suffix that is used to encode the telic or 'simple' masdar, compare:

- (a) *aq'-es*
 take-MASD 'to take'
- aq'-es* 'to be taken, to be astonished, wonder'
 take-LV:PASS:MASD

This ambiguity of the simple masdar is continued with causatives:

- (x) *aq'-es-t'-esun* 'to let/have take'
 take-MASD-LV:CAUS-MASD2
- aq'-es-t'-esun* 'to make s.o. be taken, to astonish s.o.'
 take-LV:PASS:MASD-LV:CAUS-MASD2

§ 36. The existence of a (petrified) light verb (> auxiliary) *-t'esun* is suggested for instance by the following verbs:

(X)	<i>boš-t'esun</i>	'to burry'	<i>boš-</i> 'in' (PV)
	<i>laf-t'esun</i>	'to touch'	<i>la-f-</i> 'on-have=contact'
	<i>fur-t'esun</i>	'to slip'	<i>fur-</i> (~ <i>furu-</i> 'walk=around' ?)
	<i>lip'-t'esun</i>	'to blink, flash'	<i>lip'</i> 'blinking'
	<i>e^hx-t'esun</i>	'to take, seize'	<i>e^hx-</i> ?
	<i>c'ul-t'esun</i>	'to suckle'	<i>c'ul</i> ~ <i>c'um</i> 'suckling'
	<i>t'uk'-t'esun</i>	'to pick'	<i>t'uk'</i> 'picking'
	<i>baf-t'esun</i>	'to fall into'	<i>ba-f-</i> 'in-have=contact'
	<i>ur-t'esun</i>	'to clap, hit, spin'	<i>ur-</i> ?
	<i>t'i-t'esun</i>	'to run'	* <i>t'e-</i> (= light verb); reduplicated
	<i>čäp-t'esun</i>	'to make wet'	<i>čäp-</i> 'wet'
	<i>be^hk-t'esun</i>	'to have hiccups'	<i>be^hk-</i> ?

Most likely, we have to deal with another MOVE-verb. The stem has survived in the reduplicated strong verb *t'i- -t'* 'to run'. Reduplication in Udi usually has intensifying properties (see 3.2.2.4). This fact allows us to infer a meaning 'to move, go, direct oneself' for the non-reduplicated stem **t'e-*. Most of the verbs mentioned in (x) above imply some sort of movement ('go to' ?). Accordingly, it is rather probable that the (albeit extremely rare) light verb *-t'esun* originally meant 'to go (to)'.

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§ 37. A small number of weak verbs superficially show auxiliaries that have not been discussed so far. Some of these verbs, however, have resulted from the reanalysis of a former strong verb. Others perhaps reflect older light verbs. Nevertheless, the number of verbs is too small to allow a definite statement. The following pseudo-auxiliaries are documented:

- (x) *-t-esun*
 -p'-esun
 -q-esun
 -q'-esun
 -x-esun

§ 38. The segment *-t-esun* is documented in the verb *bartesun* ‘to set free, to untie, let, leave’. It is based on the strong verb stem *bar-* ‘separate, divide’ that again seems to stem from reanalysis of the noun *bar* ‘(separate) part, portion’. The verb is frequently used to construe weak causatives (‘to let s.o. do s.th.’). The imperative marks a weak adhortative:

- (x) *bar-t-a* *bez* *ölki-n-ax* *tağ-a-z* [IK 67]
 let-LV(?)-IMP:2SG I:POSS homeland-SA-DAT2 go:FUT-MOD-1SG
 ‘Let me go into my homeland’

The absence of other verbs marked by the segment *-tesun* renders it difficult to interpret the given verb as a standard weak verb.

§ 39. The existence of an auxiliary *-p'esun* is suggested by the following verbs:

(X)	<i>t'ix-p'esun</i>	‘to burst’	~ Azeri <i>tikə-tikə olmaq</i> ‘to burst’
	<i>za-p'sun</i>	‘to be frightened’	* <i>za-_-p'-?</i>
	<i>ba-p'sun</i>	‘to reach, enter’	<i>ba-</i> ‘in’
	<i>ša-p'sun</i>	‘to drive, chase’	* <i>ša-?</i>
	<i>t'ož-p'sun</i>	‘to boil (intr.)’	* <i>t'ož-?</i>

All five verbs include the notion of movement that suggests the corresponding semantics for the underlying heavy verb **p'e-*. Nevertheless, the (few) data do not give final evidence for the existence of a former root verb **p'e-*.

§ 40. Harris 2002:64 notes that in “the Nij dialect, *-q'-* may also be a light verb; for example, it occurs in *č'e-q'-* ‘undress’ which in the Okt'omberi dialect is *č'e-p-*”. However note that the meaning of *če'-_-q'-* actually differs from that of *č'e-_-p-*: In standard Nizh, it usually means ‘to skin, flay’ rather ‘to undress’. This divergence suggests that we have to deal with a strong verb marked by the preverb *č'e-* ‘out, off’. Most likely, the stem originally meant ‘to cut’. The other verb occasionally quoted to demonstrate the existence of a ‘light verb’ *-q'-* is *baš-_-q'-esun* ‘to steal’. In section 3.4.2.1, § 18, it has been shown, however, that verb is borrowed from

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Azeri *basqı* ‘attack, ambush’. In sum, there seems to be no evidence that supports the assumption of a light verb ***-q*’-.

§ 41. Some authors derive a light verb / auxiliary from the verbs *la-_-x-* ‘to put onto’, *ber-_-x-* ‘to mill, grind’, *kar-_-x-* ‘to live’, and *čal-_-x-* ‘to be acquainted to, know’. A closer look, however, reveals that we have to ignore the two verbs *la-_-x-* and *ber-_-x-* in the context of light verbs: In section 3.4.2.1, § 5, it has been argued that *la-_-x-* stems from a preverbially marked stem **x̂-a-* ‘to move (s.th.) [away from s.o./s.th.]’ (*la-* = ‘onto’). Most likely, this complex stem has motivated the reinterpretation of the stem **(be-)r̂ḡ^ᶜ(-a)-* > *ber-_-x-* (see 3.4.2.1, § 17). The two verbs *kar-xesun* and *čal-xesun*, however, demonstrate that Udi must once have known a light verb **xesun*: As for *kar-xesun*, we have to start from Old Udi *karxesown* ‘to be alive’. However, the base **kar-* remains unclear. Most likely we have to deal with a nominal stem (of Iranian origin?). The form *-x-* continues the proto-Samur light verb **x̂-i-* / **x̂-a-* ‘to be, become’ (Lezgi *x̂un* etc.). Lezgi also offers a structural parallel: Here, the concept <LIVE> is based on the Azeri loan *yaşamış* ‘to live’ (inferential perfect) to which the light verb *x̂un* ‘to be(come)’ is added:

(x)	Udi:	<i>kar-xesun</i>	‘?life-LV’
	Lezgi:	<i>yaşamış x̂un</i>	‘lived/living + LV’

However, note that according to this hypothesis, the light verb **x̂e-* must have still been productive at a time when borrowings from Iranian came into use. Accordingly, we should expect that **x̂e-* (> *xe-*) once had a broader distribution which should be reflected in actual Udi in some way or the other. The only parallel is *čal-_-x-* ‘to know, be acquainted’. Again, Lezgi offers a good parallel: Here, the anticausative variant of the concept <KNOW> (> ‘come to know, be acquainted’) is derived from the causative stem *či-r-* ‘let know’ to which the light verb *x̂un* ‘to be(come)’ is added (> ‘to be caused to know’). This structure exactly meets what we have in Udi:

(x)	Udi:	<i>*ča-l *xesun</i>	‘to be acquainted to’
	Lezgi:	<i>či-r x̂un</i>	‘to come to know’

Nevertheless, it should be noted that this analysis proposes a derivational segment **-l* (causative?) that – as far as data go – does not have convincing parallels in Udi (< **-r-* ?). Note that the old light verb **xe-* is also present in the augmented strong verb *bi-_-x-* ‘to create, come into existence’ that represents a class marked variant of the root verb **x̂-i-/-a-* (< **b-ᶜx̂-i*).

§ 42. There are two verbs marked by a segment *-q-*:

(x)	<i>bur-qesun</i>	‘to begin, start’	<i>*bu-r</i> ‘head:adv’
	<i>ba-qsun</i>	‘to be acquired, exist’	<i>ba-</i> ‘in’ (PV)

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Whereas *ba-q-sun* seems to represent a strong verb, the verb *bur-q-esun* obviously is weak (see 3.4.2.1, § 18 for an analysis of the stem). However, the light verb **qe-* is without convincing parallels in Udi.

3.4.2.3 Idiomatic verbs. Udi knows a great number of idiomatic verbs that are characterized by the fusion of a lexical verb and one of its constituents. Both strong and weak verbs take part in this pattern which is obviously borrowed from Azeri and Persian (or: from Northern Oriental). The process of idiomatization is coupled with a ‘condensation’ on the conceptual level: The segments involved in this process serve as building blocks to symbolize in parts rather specific verbal concepts. Many of the Udi idiomatic verbs represent calques from either Azeri or Persian. Examples are:

(x)	<i>č'ap'-ak'sun</i>	‘to hide’	‘hiding-see’
	<i>a'mk'uri-duğsun</i>	‘to yawn’	‘arm:?-hit’
	<i>ažugon-biq'sun</i>	‘to get angry’	‘anger:ERG>INSTR-seize’
	<i>ad-biq'sun</i>	‘to smell’	‘smell-take’
	<i>apči-duğsun</i>	‘to tell s.o. a lie’	‘lie-hit’
	<i>ax-saksun</i>	‘to sigh’	‘sigh-throw’
	<i>bip'-piiin-be'ğsun</i>	‘to observe’	‘four-eye:ERG>INSTR-see’
	<i>bul-aq'i-t'ist'un</i>	‘to hasten away’	‘head-take:PART:PAST-run’
	<i>bul-bula-duğsun</i>	‘to agree’	‘head-head:DAT-hit’
	<i>bul-zapsun</i>	‘to lead’	‘head-pull’
	<i>eč'-t'ap'-pesun</i>	‘to thresh’	‘threshing=board-hit-lv’
	<i>elmuğ-tast'un</i>	‘to die’	‘soul-give’
	<i>fikir-zapsun</i>	‘to think’	‘thought-pull’
	<i>ga-girbesun</i>	‘to prepare the bed’	‘place>bed-collect’
	<i>galax-saksun</i>	‘to make the bed’	‘place>bed:DAT2-throw’
	<i>ga-saksun</i>	‘to make the bed’	‘place>bed-throw’
	<i>iaq'-be'ğsun</i>	‘to wait’	‘way-watch’
	<i>iaq'-č'e-baksun</i>	‘to pass by’	‘way-out-LV’
	<i>iaq'-qaipesun</i>	‘to help’	‘way-open’
	<i>iaq'-taisun</i>	‘to travel’	‘way-go’
	<i>k'ož-mec-baksun</i>	‘to marry’	‘house-nest-become’
	<i>kul-aq'sun</i>	‘to despair’	‘hand-take’
	<i>kul-biq'sun</i>	‘to help with material’	‘hand-seize’
	<i>mala-duğsun</i>	‘to harrow’	‘harrow-hit’
	<i>moğore-duğsun</i>	‘to betray’	‘magic/spell-hit’
	<i>pul-laxsun</i>	‘to observe’	‘eye-put=on’
	<i>šum-čičesun</i>	‘to plough’	‘bread<corn-pull=out’
	<i>šet-č'urdesun</i>	‘to make a face’	‘cheek-turn=around’
	<i>turin-iaq'al-baft'esun</i>	‘to suffer from diarrhea’	‘foot:ERG-way:SUPER-fall’
	<i>uk'exun-č'ovak'sun</i> [N.]	‘to desire, long for’	‘heart:ABL-pass=by’
	<i>uk'-taisun</i>	‘to become bad, evil’	‘heart-go’
	<i>xabar-aq'sun</i>	‘to ask’	‘news-take’
	<i>xellu-axa-psun</i>	‘to load s.th. on’	‘load:SA:DAT-load-LV’

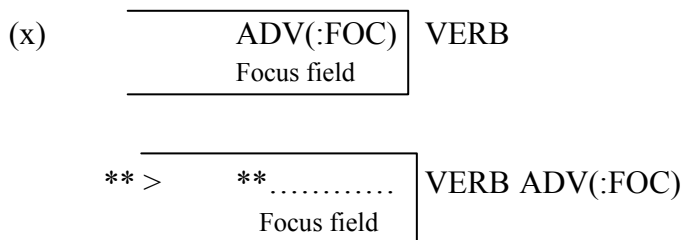
Just as it is true for Azeri and Persian, such idiomatic verbs are often based on verbal concepts like ‘hit’, ‘throw’, ‘take’, and ‘go’. Many of the verbs are descriptive. As a consequence, it is not always possible to decide whether they express a literal

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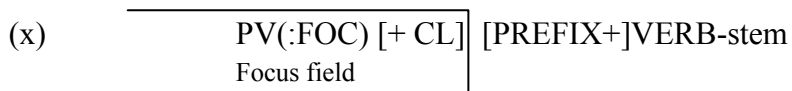
meaning or a blended metaphor. Nevertheless, the underlying verbs are not desemantized enough to call them ‘light verbs’.

3.4.3 Preverbs

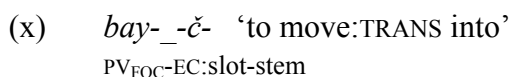
§ 1. Udi has lost the inherited system of preverbs to derive ‘local’ verbs. In most Lezgian languages, preverbs constitute a hybrid class of elements that oscillate between adverb-like forms and true preverbs. Therefore, the degree of fusion with the verb stem can vary considerably. Nevertheless, positional tmesis hardly ever occurs: Accordingly, the element in question is always found in the near region of a verb. This positional preference is explained by the usual place of adverbs that typically appear in the ‘focus field’ of a verb: Most often, the focus field is constituted by the domain that immediately precedes the verb (see x.x.x). Therefore, adverbs usually occur in ‘natural focus’ that is matched by the positional preference. Dislocation of the adverb would split up the two focus properties:



§ 2. The close affinity of preverbs and adverbs conditions that dislocation of a preverb (stranding or positional tmesis) is not allowed in most of the Lezgian languages. Nevertheless, tmesis ‘in situ’ is quite common: By this is meant that the fusional process of the preverb (< adverb) and the verb stem has not come to its end: Normally, preverbs still allow certain morphological segments to occur between them and the verb stem. Typically, such segments either support the natural focus of the preverbs (focus clitics) or represent an older morphological pattern of the verb stem that is marked for prefixation (< class markers, aspectual markers, negation):



In Udi, this constructional pattern results in the typical ‘endoclititic’ slot that follows older preverbs:



Today, the focal nature of preverbs is obscured. Nevertheless, the fact that (focusing) personal agreement markers are used to fill the endoclititic slot still reflect the older

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functional pattern (see 3.4.5 and x.x.x). In addition, older Udi sources occasionally show the focus marker *-al* (see x.x.x.) in the expected position:

(x) (a) *a^ŕil-uğ-o baxt'in la-al-le-d-i še-t'-uğ-ox u^ŕć-en* [BH 70]
 child-PL-GEN for on-FOC-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 honey-ERG>INSTR
 'She put honey on them for the children.'

(b) *ta-al-le-c-i kalabalt'-uč'* [IM 60]
 thither-FOC-3SG-LV:PAST-PAST senior=maid=servant:REF:OBL-ALL
 'She went to the senior maid.'

(c) *ba-al-le-k'-o še-t'-a laxo xe* [IM 60]
 in-FOC-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-GEN on water
 'She will pour water on it.'

§ 3. The original focal nature of the preverbs conditions that the endoclititic slot in the basic verb is suspended: Again, the part of the verb that carries the information peak (see 3.4.2.1) is followed by the endoclititic slot:

(x) *ba-_-k-* 'to be(come)'
č'ė-_-bak- 'to pass by'

In actual Udi, this process has become automatized as long as the preverb carries stress. This is mainly true for preverbs when added to light verbs. The combination 'preverb + lexical base', however, favors stress on the lexical base. As a consequence, the endoclititic slot remains in its original place:

(x) *ba-č'úr-_-d-* 'to wrap in'
la-mán-_-d- 'to meet with'

Examples are:

(x) (a) *la-č'úr-re-p-i kafan-en* [Luke 23:53]
 on-wrap-3SG-LV-PAST shroud-ERG>INSTR
 'He wrapped (the body) into a shroud.'

(b) *sa adamar ta-ne-sa-i ierusalim-axo ierixo-n-a*
 one man go-3SG-\$.PRES-PAST Jerusalem-ABL Jericho-SA-DAT

va^ŕ la-man-ne-d-i abazak'-ğ-ol [Luke 10:30]
 and on-stay-3SG-LV-PAST robber-PL-SUPER
 'A man went from Jerusalem to Jericho and came across robbers.'

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§ 4. The fossilization of Udi preverbs is coupled with the general analytic tendencies of the language: Locative specification is carried out mainly with the help of (new) adverbial structures or referents marked by a locative case. Semantically, the preverbs often merge with the semantics of the verbal stem. In consequence, they are functionally bleached to an extent that does not suggest to segment them synchronically. On the other hand, they can adopt the relational properties of the original verb stem. This is especially true for the intransitive MOVE verbs, see 3.4.2.1: The formal reduction of the verb stem **ǰe-* ‘move:INTR’ has conditioned the reinterpretation of the preverb:

(x) PV + MOVE:INTR > PV:MOVE:INTR

Today, the verb stem of intransitive MOVE-verbs is usually identical with the preverb (plus residues of the old MOVE-verb). Therefore, I do not indicate preverbs as separate segments in the corresponding glosses:

(x) *ta-ne-sa* < **ta-ne-ǰ-sa* ‘(s)he goes’
 go-3SG-\$.PRES thither-3SG-move:INTR-PRES

bai-ne-sa < **bay-ne-ǰ-sa* ‘(s)he enters, comes in’
 enter-3SG-\$.PRES into-3SG-move:INTR-PRES

Harris 2002:68 describes the following preverbal elements for Udi:

(x) *e-* ‘hither, towards the speaker’
ta(y)- ‘thither, away from the speaker’
la(y)- ‘up’
ci- ‘down’
ba(y)- ‘in’
č’e- ‘out’
qay- ‘undo, reverse action’ [*recte*: ‘back, behind’]

§ 5. The paradigm of these preverbs is obtained from the corresponding MOVE-verbs (see 3.4.2.1, § 31-52). However, it should be stressed that the paradigm in (x) does not represent the original system of Udi preverbs in its totality. Most likely, other preverbs have fossilized in verbs that do not belong to the MOVE-paradigm. This assumption is supported by the Old Udi data: (x) Lists the actual forms together with the paradigm of Old Udi preverbs (to the extent these are documented at all):

(x)

Old Udi	Modern Udi	Semantics
<i>he-</i>	<i>e-</i>	‘hither’
<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta(y)-</i>	‘thither’
<i>hala-</i>	<i>la(y)-</i>	‘on(to)’
<i>o(w)q’a-</i>	<i>oq’a</i> (PP)	‘below’
<i>hay-</i>	* <i>ai-</i>	‘up’

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<i>aci-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	‘down’
<i>baha-</i>	<i>ba(y)-</i>	‘in(to)’
<i>č’e-</i>	<i>č’e-</i>	‘out’
<i>eśa ~ ośa</i>	<i>o^śsa</i> (PP)	‘behind’
<i>horo-</i>	<i>*xuru-</i>	‘around’
<i>k’or-</i>	<i>qay-</i>	‘back’

On the other hand, Harris (*loc.cit.*) has tried to show that the morpheme *e-* stems from reanalysis of the original ‘come’ verb *eğ-*. In section 3.4.2.1, § 36, however, I argue that this assumption probably fails. In addition to the arguments put forward in that section, it should be noted that Harris’ proposal results in a rather unbalanced (and unusual) architecture of the ‘(t)hither’-paradigm:

- (x) **‘Hither’ → Lexical
 **‘Thither’ → Morphological (Preverb)

§ 6. In order to get closer to the original system of preverbs in Udi, it is important to note that in proto-Lezgian, the preverbal system copied the series-case distinction of the referential paradigm (see 3.3.4.1): Preverbs were complex units that consisted of a ‘local’ base (= series) to which a relational segment (essive, allative, ablative) was added (= case). Old nouns or adverbs represented the ‘local’ domain. The ‘cases’ were marked by the same suffixes as the referential paradigm. In consequence, the following preverbal pattern can be described for proto-Lezgian:

(x)

*NOUN/ADV:LOC		+	CASE	
AD	‘A trajector in (visible) contact with its landmark’		ESS	‘A trajector stays in the region of its landmark’
ANTE	‘A trajector in the front region of its landmark’		ALL	‘A trajector moves towards/penetrates the region of its landmark’
POST	‘A trajector in the back region of its landmark’		ABL	‘A trajector leaves/becomes distant from its landmark’
SUB	‘A trajector below its landmark’			
IN	‘A trajector inside a container/mass landmark’			
SUPER	‘A trajector on (the surface of) its landmark’			
INTER	‘A trajector between two (parts of a) landmark’			
SUPER2	‘A trajector above a landmark’			

This paradigmatic *etalon* has in parts survived in Tabasaran, Aghul, Rutul, and Khinalug. Often, the domain of ‘case’ is reduced in accordance with the typological patterns described in section 3.2.4.1: The original tripartite system (ESS/ALL/ABL) has merged into a bipartite paradigm that combines ESS and ALL (ESS+ALL/ABL).

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§ 7. The resulting cluster originally functioned as an adverb-like element. (x) illustrates the underlying pattern [TR = Trajector, LM = Landmark]:

(x) TR – [LM-Series:Case] – NOUN/ADV:SERIES-CASE_{ADV} – VERB

In Udi, complex preverbs are present for instance in *bai-* ‘in’, *tai-* ‘thither’, *lai-* ‘on’, *qai-* ‘back’. Harris 2002:192 suggests that these forms are marked by a Early Udi preverb **-ay-* (recte: **hay-*) This segmentation, however, implies that there had been simple preverbs consisting only of a consonant (***b-*, ***t-*, ***l-*, ***q-*). Such forms probably never occurred as free lexemes that could be marked by another morpheme. In order to understand the derivational process, we have to start with at least a CV-structure. Accordingly, the additional element was **-y-* rather than **-ay-* (see below).

§ 8. Else, the Udi set of preverbs is reduced to a one-dimensional system. The relational semantics (ESS, ALL, ABL) has either fused with the semantics of the older series, or is lexically expressed by the verb stem. The preverbs do not form a homogeneous paradigm. The two preverbs *e-* ‘hither’ and *ta-* ‘thither’ are different from the other preverbs because they do not include the appeal to a concrete region of the landmark. Rather, they orient a trajector according to communicative parameters: *e-* is strongly related to a real or imagined speaker (‘ventive’), whereas *ta-* produces the opposite semantics: An object is thought to be or to move ‘away from’ the speaker (‘itive’). These functional properties of the pair *e-/ta-* suggests that we do not have to deal with local preverbs in the sense described above, but with deictic indices.

§ 9. Accordingly, the ‘hither’ form can be tentatively related to the proto-Lezgian proximal **(h)i* (see 3.2.9.3). For instance, **e-ǰe-* ‘to move hither, to come’ would reflect an earlier form **(h)i-ǰe-* (PROX-move:INTR) > Old Udi *heǰesown*. A corresponding explanation of the variant *ta-* ‘away from speaker’, however, is difficult to establish: Although the form is similar to the *a*-distal *t’a* (see 3.2.9.3), there is no possibility to explain the lack of glottalization. Perhaps, the original distal has been influenced by an old ‘ablative-contrastive’ morpheme that has survived for instance in Aghul and Tabasaran; compare the following two sentences from Aghul:

(x) (a) *dada qa-c-un-e k:ul* [Magometov 1970:159]
 father:ERG back-place-GER:PAST-COP fur=coat
 ‘Father put on the fur coat.’

(b) *dada qa-t:a-c-un-e k:ul* [Magometov 1970:159]
 father:ERG back-CONTR-place-GER:PAST-COP fur=coat
 ‘Father took off the fur coat.’

Although the morpheme *-t:a-* (< **-da-* ?) has ablative functions, we cannot interpret this morpheme as the standard ablative case in Aghul or Tabasaran (which is *-as* resp. *-an*). Instead, we should consider the possibility to relate it to the proto-Lezgian

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negator **t:V-*: In proto-Lezgian, ‘negation’ constituted a conceptual cluster together with ‘separative’, ‘disjunctive’, and ‘ablative’ features. This cluster has survived for instance in the Aghul pair *-da-* ~ *-t:a-* (ablative-contrastive preverb) / *-dV-* (negation of assertions). In Udi, the functional scope of the corresponding morpheme *te* has been condensed to that of negation (see 3.4.7). Nevertheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that in an earlier variant of Udi, the ‘contrastive’ function was still in use. Accordingly, the old distal **t’a-* once coexisted with the ‘contrastive’ morpheme:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| (x) | <i>*(h)i-</i> verb | ‘hither’ | (Proximal) |
| | <i>*t’a-</i> verb | ‘thither’ | (Distal) |
| | <i>*la-</i> verb | ‘on’ | |
| | <i>*la-tV-</i> verb | ‘from on / not on, off’ | |

From a semantic point of view, the actual morpheme *ta-* ‘thither’ functions just as the ‘contrastive’ variant of the ‘hither’ variant **(h)i-* > *e-*. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the morpheme *ta-* has been phonetically ‘adjusted’ to the old ‘contrastive’ preverb. Note that we cannot identify the Udi ‘thither’-preverb as a reflex of the ‘contrastive’ preverb itself. This hypothesis would require a preceding preverbal element: ***i-t’a-*verb (here-away=from/not-verb). As far as data go, such a preverbal complex is not documented for Udi.

§ 10. The remaining morphemes form a common subparadigm that is clearly related to the ‘localistic’ scenario described above. The preverb *la-* ‘up, on’ obviously stems from an older adverb **hal-a* ‘high-INESS’ that is also reflected in the superessive case (see 3.3.4.1). Note that semantically, the preverb has experienced the same extensions as the case morpheme. The opposite of *la-* is encoded by the preverb *ci-* ‘down’. It is not reflected in the case paradigm of Udi. The form is derived from an older noun **ci* ‘below the horizon, below the head, surface, ground’ that is preserved in *ci-n-a* (*ground-SA-DAT) ‘lower (part), South’. In Old Udi, the form is more complex (*aci-*). Most likely, it is marked for the same emphatic element that is also present in Old Udi *ha-la-* ‘up’. The preverb *ba-* ‘in’ has no obvious cognates in the other Lezgian languages. In Udi, the underlying stem is also present in the postposition *boš* ‘inside’ (see 3.3.4.2). Most likely, we have to deal with a loan word from an Iranian language (compare Persian *be-* ‘into, towards’, Northern Talysh *bā* (*ba* ~ *be*) ‘in(to)’). The Old Udi variant *baha-* adds the segment *-ha-* (emphatic?) < **ha-ba-*. The preverb *č’e-* has been discussed in section 3.3.4.1 in connection with the Udi allative. Its original semantics seems to have been ‘away to the outside region’. The underlying adverb is preserved in the postposition (Nizh) *č’öš* ‘outside of’. The preverb *qa(y)-* must be related to a noun ‘back, shoulders’ (**qə*) that is lost in Udi. A reflex of this noun can be found in the postposition *qoš* ‘behind’. Finally, the (rare) preverb *ay-* < **hay-* suggests an earlier variant **(h)a-* that is related to the proto-Lezgian inessive (see 3.3.3.3). The preverb is present in:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (x) | <i>ay-esun</i> | ‘to be capable; to rise (of a dough)’ |
| | <i>ay-zap’pesun</i> | ‘to weigh’ |

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ay-zesun ‘to rise’

§ 11. Most likely, the original semantics of this preverb had been ‘from inside upwards’. It is reasonable to assume that the preverb *ay-* contains the same segment *-y* that is also present in the four complex preverbs *tay-*, *lay-*, *bay-*, and *qay*. In addition, the masdar2 *eisun* ‘to go, going’ shows that the preverb *e-* once perhaps knew the complex variant **e-y-* (see 3.4.2.2, § 31). Crucially, the element *-y* is not present with the two preverbs *č’e-* ‘out (of)’ and *ci-* ‘down’. In section 3.4.2.2 it is argued that these two preverbs reflect an older paradigm with intransitive MOVE-verbs. From this we can infer that the technique to add the segment *-y* came up at a time when the two preverbs *č’e-* and *ci-* no longer functioned as independent lexemes. The nature of the segment *-y* is difficult to fix. Superficially, it seems possible to relate it to the technique of ‘case’ marking mentioned above: Accordingly, it once denoted one of the three cases ESS, ALL, or ABL. From a formal point of view, the best parallel seems to be the Early Udi ablative **-y* (see 3.3.11.2). However, an ablative function is difficult to combine with the actual semantics of the preverbs in question. The variants *ta- ~ tai-*, *la- ~ lai-*, and *ba- ~ bai-* do not give evidence for the opposition ESS/ALL vs. ABL. The element *-y* does not contribute to a shift in function or semantics of the given preverb. In section 3.4.2.2, it is argued that the preverbs marked by *-y* represent younger forms. Structurally speaking, the element **-y* occupies the same position that once had been open to focus markers, compare:

(x) (a) *la-al-le-d-i* ‘(s)he put ON ...’
on-FOC-3SG-LV-PAST

(b) *la-y-ne-c-i* ‘(s)he went ON ...’
on-?-3SG-LV:PAST-PAST

Therefore, it seems possible to identify the segment **-y* as an Early Udi focus marker that was used just as the actual focus marker *-al* (see x.x.x). It soon fused with the preceding preverb resulting in the actual paradigm. (x) summarizes this paradigm:

(X)	First Segment			Second Segment
	HITHER	Deixis/Proximal	<i>e-</i>	< <i>*(h)i-</i> (Proximal)
THITHER	Deixis/¬Proximal	<i>ta-</i>	< <i>*t’a-</i> (Distal) (???)	<i>-i-</i>
ON > UP	Series/ESS~ALL	<i>la-</i>	< <i>*hala</i> ‘hight:INESS’	<i>-i-</i>
DOWN	Series/ESS~ALL	<i>ci-</i>	< <i>*ci</i> ‘below the horizon’	---
IN	Series/ESS~ALL	<i>ba-</i>	< <i>*ba</i> ‘in’ (< Iranian)	<i>-i-</i>
OUT	Series/ABL	<i>č’e-</i>	< <i>*č’e</i> ‘outside’	---
BACK	Series/ESS~ALL	<i>qa-</i>	< <i>*qə-a</i> ‘back-INESS’	<i>-i-</i>
*UP	Series/ESS	<i>*ha-</i>	< <i>*’a</i> ‘inside up’ (?)	<i>-i-</i>

§ 12. In sum, the number of Udi verbs marked by a fossilized preverb is rather small. Nevertheless, it should be born in mind that some ‘augmented’ strong verbs (see

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3.4.2.1) perhaps include an old preverb different from those mentioned above. However, as long as we do not have available a comparative dictionary of Lezgian verbs, hypotheses about such preverbs are nothing but a guess.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the following verbs most probably contain a preverb:

(x)	<i>ečesun ~ ečsun ~ eščun</i>	‘to bring’	<i>e-</i>
	<i>efsun</i>	‘to keep, maintain’	<i>e-</i>
	<i>eğesun ~ e(i)sun</i>	‘to come’	<i>e-</i>
	<i>tašsun ~ taššun</i>	‘to carry (thither)’	<i>ta-</i>
	<i>tağesun ~ taisun</i>	‘to go (thither)’	<i>ta(i)-</i>
	<i>bač’urpesun</i>	‘to wrap in’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>bavsun</i>	‘to have a bowel movement’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>baft’esun</i>	‘to fall into’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>bap’esun</i>	‘to reach, arrive at’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>bapsun</i>	‘to throw into’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>baq’sun</i>	‘to fit into’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>baqesun</i>	‘to be acquired, exist’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>basaksun</i>	‘to throw (down) into’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>bast’un</i>	‘to put into, bake’	<i>ba-</i>
	<i>bask’esun</i>	‘to lie down’	<i>ba- (?)</i>
	<i>baiğesun ~ baisun</i>	‘to go into, to enter’	<i>ba(i)-</i>
	<i>baičesun</i>	‘to carry into’	<i>bai-</i>
	<i>č’eğesun ~ č’esun</i>	‘to go out, away’	<i>č’e-</i>
	<i>č’evk’esun</i>	‘to chase, throw away’	<i>č’e-</i>
	<i>č’igsun</i>	‘to drive (out)’	<i>*č’e- > č’i-</i>
	<i>č’epsun</i>	‘to put on (clothes)’	<i>č’e-</i>
	<i>č’eq’sun</i>	‘to skin’	<i>č’e-</i>
	<i>č’ebaksun</i>	‘to pass by’	<i>č’e-</i>
	<i>last’un</i>	‘to put one’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>laft’esun</i>	‘to touch’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lamandesun</i>	‘to meet’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lapesun</i>	ausziehen, sich	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lavk’esun</i>	‘to make go up, to thread onto’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>laxsun</i>	‘to put, place’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lač’ur-desun</i>	‘to wind up’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lac’ur-desun</i>	‘to drip, spray, squirt’	<i>la-</i>
	<i>lap’-desun</i>	‘to throw s.th. on s.th.’	<i>la- (?)</i>
	<i>lačevk’esun</i>	‘to raise’	<i>la-č’e-</i>
	<i>laičesun</i>	‘to put, bring up’	<i>lai-</i>
	<i>laiğesun ~ laisun</i>	‘to go up’	<i>lai-</i>
	<i>cifst’un</i>	‘to cover (of wounds)’	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>cigesun ~ cisun</i>	‘to go down’	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>cigsun</i>	‘to cut off’	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>cipsun</i>	‘to throw, pour out’	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>civk’esun</i>	‘to bring, put down’	<i>ci-</i>
	<i>qaibaksun</i>	‘to come back, return’	<i>qai-</i>
	<i>qaidesun</i>	‘to give back’	<i>qai-</i>
	<i>ai-esun</i>	‘to be capable; to rise (of a dough)’	<i>ai-</i>

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<i>ai-zap'pesun</i>	'to weigh'	<i>ai-</i>
<i>ai-zesun</i>	'to rise'	<i>ai-</i>

3.4.4 The Tense(-Aspect)-Mood Cluster (TAM)

Udi verbs can be marked for tense(∼aspect) and mood. T(A)M morphemes usually are suffixes. In addition, certain clitics and pseudo-clitics are used that are related to the domains 'past' and 'mood'. A descriptive approach to the T(A)M system of Udi best starts with the set of suffixes that encode the primary T(A)M frame. Most clitic elements are coupled with more complex modal strategies that are elaborated in section 3.4.6. One (pseudo-)clitic element, however, strongly interacts with the primary set of T(A)M forms. This clitic (*-i* ∼ *-y*, past tense) produces secondary T(A)M categories and is discussed in section 3.4.4.2. A special paradigm is constituted by what can best be called 'predicative inflection': This paradigm is characterized by the use of just the lexical base that then lacks any kind of relational element (light verb, primary tense/mood marker). In consequence, the verb stem behaves like an adjective in predicative function (see section 3.4.4.3 for details). The 'predicative inflection' is related to the superficially defective paradigm of the copula that is illustrated in section 3.4.4.4.

Udi T(A)M forms usually are synthetic. Nevertheless, certain analytic features can in addition be described: Analytic structures are construed with the help of either serialized structures (> resultative, terminative, inchoative) or the light verb *baksun* 'to (be)come' added to participles. In addition, Nizh speakers tend to use the existential copula *bu* 'to be (there)' with the masdar2 to produce a 'constative'. These patterns are discussed in section 3.4.4.5 and 3.4.4.6.

Old Udi still knew relicts of the proto-Lezgian ablaut system to form different verb stems (originally based on aspectual differences). The old pattern was marked by the following distribution:

(x)

Non-Past	Infinitive/Masdar	Past	
-a-	-i-	-i- ∼ -∅-	
<i>ah-</i>	<i>ih-</i>	<i>h-</i>	'become'
<i>ba-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	'do, make'
<i>baq'-</i>	<i>biq'-</i>	<i>biq'-</i>	'take, seize'
<i>*bac'-</i>	<i>bic'-</i>	<i>bic'-</i>	'wither'

In Modern Udi, this paradigm has collapsed completely. A residue may be the pair *aq'sun* ∼ *biq'sun* 'take, seize'.

From a categorial point of view, the distribution between indicative and non-indicative (or: modal) forms is not balanced. Crucially, the basic TAM paradigm

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shows a broader subcategorization of the indicative domain than it comes true for the modal domain:

(x)	Primary	Secondary	Indicative	Modal	
				Weak	Strong
	PRES	PRES-PAST	x		
			x		
	PAST	PAST-PAST	x		
			x		
	PERF	PERF-PAST	x		
			x		
	PERF2	PERF2-PAST	x		
			x		
	FUT:FAC	FUT:FAC-PAST	x		
			x		
	FUT2	FUT2-PAST	x		
				x	
	FUT:MOD	FUT:MOD-PAST		x	
					x
	MOD	CONJ		x	
					x

Accordingly, ten categories are strongly associated with the indicative mood, as opposed to six categories that oscillate between weak and strong modality. This proportion becomes even more unbalanced if the fact is taken into consideration that the three ‘weak’ modals (future2, future2-past, and modal future) are also marked for indicative semantics. As for the set of primary TAM forms (see 3.4.4.1), the proportion is ‘six to two’ (or, in a more vague version: ‘seven to one’):

(x)		Total	Primary	Secondary
	Indicative	10 (13)	6 (7)	5 (6)
	Non-Indicative	6 (3)	2 (1)	3 (2)

Roughly speaking, seventy to eighty percent of the TAM forms are related to the indicative mood. The fact that the modal domain is under-represented with respect to morphological categories corresponds to the general distributional pattern of indicative and modal categories in adjacent languages. In Udi, the weak elaboration of the modal domain is compensated by a number of modal construction based on modal clitics or particles:

(x)	Category	Clitic/Particle	Based on:
	ADH	<i>q'a-</i>	PAST / PERF
	PROH1	<i>ma-</i>	MOD
	HYP1	<i>gi-</i>	PERF(-PAST)
	HYP2	<i>sa</i>	---
	NEG HYP	<i>nä-gi-</i>	PERF(-PAST) / FUT:MOD

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PROH2	<i>ma-q'a-</i>	PAST / PERF
PROH3	<i>nu-</i>	MOD

However note that again the indicative tense forms that combine with the modal clitics and particles are in the majority.

Contrary to claims made for instance by Giginejšvili 1959, Udi does not have an elaborated aspectual paradigm (see § 40). All we can say is that the perfect tense tends to have an aspectual effect (> perfective), although the expected 'imperfective' variant is less pronounced.

In sum, Udi narrative texts show the following distribution of tense forms (secondary tense forms are considered as the corresponding basic forms):

(X)

	Nizh		Vartashen		Gospels	
PRES (-sa)	91	11,40 %	740	50,36 %	2064	20,26 %
FUT:FAC (-al)	69	8,65 %	30	2,04 %	659	6,47 %
FUT2 (-ala)	9	1,13 %	2	0,14 %	3	0,03 %
FUT:MOD (-o)	39	4,89 %	43	2,93 %	436	4,28 %
MOD (-a)	103	12,90 %	194	13,21 %	1704	16,72 %
PAST (-i)	343	42,98 %	327	22,23 %	4210	41,32 %
PERF (-e)	99	12,41 %	91	6,19 %	1012	9,93 %
IMP (-e)	45	5,64 %	42	2,89 %	102	1,00 %
Total	798		1469		10190	
Total of verbs in corpus	7235	11,03 %	5256	27,95 %	56205	18,13 %

These statistics are based on the corpus of Vartashen narrative texts edited by Schiefner, Bežanov, Dirr, Bouda, žeiranišvili and recorded by the author. For Nizh, the Orayin corpus of Nizh narratives (Keçaari 2001) has been used. For comparative reasons, the corresponding data for the Gospels have been added. It comes clear that the use of TAM forms in the Gospels comes amazingly close to contemporary Nizh, whereas Vartashen narratives reflects a more or less 'Oriental' distribution. Obviously, Nizh has undergone a shift from the Oriental to the European style that is also present in the Gospels. The diagram in table (x) illustrates this point:

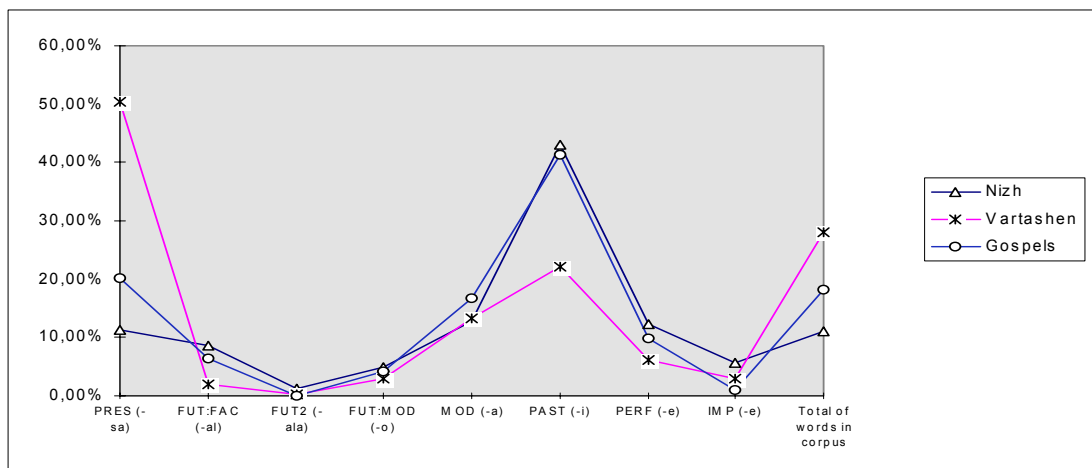


Table (X): The distribution of TAM forms in different text corpora

3.4.4.1 The primary T(A)M frame. Except for the suppletive stems mentioned in section 3.4.2.2, § 53, Udi verb stems are neutral with respect to the formation of T(A)M stems. This way, Udi verbs differ considerably from the standard patterns in most of the other Lezgian languages. The agglutination pattern that is typical for Udi verbs most probably represents a secondary type that has evolved through contact with Northwest Iranian and Turkish languages. Nevertheless, certain traces of the proto-Lezgian TAM paradigm are still present in actual Udi.

§ 1. The Udi tense forms represent a typical ‘tripartite’ system: The three domains ‘PAST’, ‘PRESENT’ and ‘FUTURE’ are clearly distinguished. Most likely, this system has emerged from an earlier ‘bipartite’ paradigm that once opposed the category ‘PAST’ to that of the ‘non-PAST’ (see 3.4.11). This older architecture is still reflected in the stem formation of some of the ‘suppletive verbs’ (see 3.4.2.2, § 53). In addition, the participle shows the same bipartite organization (see 3.4.9). From a synchronic point of view, Udi distinguishes the following primary TAM forms:

(x)	Present	<i>-(e)sa</i>	PRES	§§ 2-6
	Factitive Future	<i>-al</i>	FUT:FAC	§§ 7-10
	Factitive Future2	<i>-al-a</i>	FUT2	§§ 11-13
	Modal Future	<i>-o</i>	FUT:MOD	§§ 14-17
	Modal	<i>-a</i>	MOD	§§ 18-27
	Modal-Imperative	<i>-a/ -e ~ -i</i>	MOD / IMP	§§ 28-29
	Past	<i>-i</i>	PAST	§§ 30-43
	Perfect	<i>-e ~ -ay</i>	PERF	
	Perfect2	<i>-io ~ -iyo</i>	PERF2	§ 44

In addition, one ‘past’ variant of the modal (marked by the segment *-ai-* (conjunctive)) shows important properties that relate it to the primary tense/mood frame. Nevertheless, this form is discussed in connection with the secondary tense/mood forms because today the functional dividing line between this form and the alternative ‘past modal’ (marked by the segment *-a- -i*) is somewhat obscured (see 3.4.4.2 for details).

§ 2. All morphemes mentioned in (x) fuse with the verbal stem. There is no additional slot available between the stem and one of these TAM morphemes. This constraint indicates that the primary TAM morphemes constitute a conceptual unit with their verbal host. In fact, Udi TAM forms rather are derivational than grammatical. This can also be seen from the strong affinity between nominal and adjectival derivation on the one side and verbal TAM forms on the other (see 3.2.3 and 3.2.9). In addition, the fusional character of the primary TAM forms is grounded in their history (see 3.4.11). The primary morphemes listed in (x) can be grouped with the help of the distributional patterns supplied by the suppletive verbs (see 3.4.2.2, § 53):

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(X)

	Present	Future-Modal	Past
Present	<i>-sa</i>		
Factitive Future		<i>-al</i>	
Future2		<i>-ala</i>	
Modal Future		<i>-o</i>	
Modal		<i>-a</i>	
Past			<i>-i</i>
Perfect			<i>-e ~-ay</i>
Perfect2			<i>-io</i>

Note that here, I have neglected the domain of the imperative, which – in Udi – is defective (see §§ 29-30 and 3.4.6.2). The chart in (x) illustrates that we have to deal with basically three TAM groups: a) the domain of the present tense; b) the domain of the future-modal; c) the domain of the past tenses. The future-modal domain shows the highest degree of variation, whereas the present tense domain is represented by just one category.

§ 2. The Present: The present tense marker is *-(e)sa*. The morpheme shows syncope of *-e-* in case the suffix is added to a *-VC*-final stem or to personal agreement clitics:

(x)

<i>aq'sun</i>	‘to take’	>	<i>aq'-sa</i>	‘taking’
<i>esun</i>	‘to come’	>	<i>e-ne-sa</i>	‘(s)he comes’
<i>batk'esun</i>	‘to be destroyed’	>	<i>batk'-esa</i>	‘being destroyed’

The present tense morpheme fuses with all zero-marked present tense stems (intransitive MOVE-verbs etc, see 3.4.2.2) resulting in *-sa*:

(X)

<i>lay-ne-sa</i>	‘(s)he goes up’
go=up-3SG-\$.PRES	
<i>č'e-s-sa</i>	‘I go out’
go=out-1SG-\$.PRES	
<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>	‘they go’
go-3PL-\$.PRES	

§ 3. In case the present tense morpheme *-esa* > *-sa* is preceded by a stem final sequence that is marked by *-VC*[dental] or *-VC*[palatoalveolar], metathesis occurs. In addition, a dental stop usually becomes glottalized (see 2.5.2.2):

(x)

<i>tast'a</i>	‘giving’	<	<i>*ta-d-sa</i>
<i>esča ~eščā</i>	‘bringing’	<	<i>*eč-sa</i>
<i>tasša ~ tašša</i>	‘carrying’	<	<i>*ta-š-sa</i>

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The same process applies when an endoclititic segment intervenes:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------|-----------------|
| (x) | <i>ta-ne-st'a</i>
give-3SG-\$.PRES | < | * <i>tane-d-sa</i> | '(s)he gives' |
| | <i>e-ne-šča</i>
bring-3SG-\$.PRES | < | * <i>e-ne-č-sa</i> | '(s)he brings' |
| | <i>ta-ne-šša</i>
carry-3SG-\$.PRES | < | * <i>ta-ne-š-sa</i> | '(s)he carries' |

In Nizh, this process is extended those personal clitics that are C-final:

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|-----------------|
| (x) | <i>ta-q'un-d-esa</i> [Vartashen]
give-3PL-LV-PRES | | 'they give' |
| | <i>ta-t'un-st'a</i> [Nizh]
give-3PL-\$.PRES | | 'they give' |
| | <i>bi-nan-t'-esa</i> [Vartashen]
sow-2PL-\$.PRES | | 'you (pl.) sow' |
| | <i>bi-nan-st'a</i> [Nizh]
sow-2PL-\$.PRES | | 'you (pl.) sow' |

Note that in case the final vowel of an agreement clitic is dropped, metathesis does not apply, compare:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| (x) (a) | <i>amma zu ič-en ta-z-d-esa šo-t'-ux</i> [John 10:18]
but I REFL-ERG give-1SG-\$.PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
'But I give it myself...' |
| (b) | <i>zu p'a^f manat ta-zu-st'a</i> [f.n.]
I two rubel give-1SG-\$.PRES
'I give two rubels.' |

§ 4. The suppletive present stem of the verb *pesun* (> *(n)ex-*, see 3.4.2.2, § 53) lacks a present tense marker in case the stem is followed by a personal agreement marker. Else, the present tense is marked by *-a* in Vartashen and *-e* in Nizh:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| (x) (a) | <i>va^f zu-al ex-zu vax</i> [Matthew 16:18]
and I-FOC say:PRES-1SG you:SG:DAT2
'And I say you ...' |
|---------|--|

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- (b) *nex-zu ay čur čur-p-a* [KAR; OR 133]
 say:PRES-1SG oh cow stand-LV-IMP:2SG
 ‘I say: ‘Oh cow, stand up!’
- (c) *ek’a-q’un ex-a šo-t’-ğ-on?* [Matthew 21:16]
 what-3PL say:PRES-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG
 ‘What do they say?’
- (d) *hik’ä-ä nex-e?* [Nizh; f.n.]
 what-3SG:Q say:PRES-PRES
 ‘What does (s)he say?’

In order to avoid a formal syncretism with the modal suffix *-a*, I gloss the forms *exa* ~ *nexe* as complex forms throughout this grammar (> say:PRES). This analysis is suggested by synchronic facts. From a diachronic point of view, we have to treat *-a* as a separate unit (see § 5 below).

§ 5. Contrary to most other primary tense morphemes, the morpheme *-esa* is complex: It is based on the ‘simple masdar’ *-es* (see 3.4.10) to which the element *-a* is added. This element is a reflex of the Early Udi present tense copula **’a ~ *a* ‘to be (in a certain place/state)’. The combination ‘simple masdar/infinitive (< dative) + copula’ to express a present(-future) tense is a usual pattern in other Lezgian languages, too, compare:

- (x) (a) *q’üzü že-z-wa žehil yis* [Lezgi; Aziz Alem, *rexi t:ar*, 54]
 old become:INF-INF-COP:PRES young year
 ‘The young year becomes old.’
- (b) *zun sak^wana kar aq’-as-i* [Aghul (Fite), Magometov 1970:135]
 I tomorrow work do-INF-COP:PRES
 ‘I will do the work tomorrow.’
- (c) *č’alag-aqa gade u^ℓ-q: ℓ-a^ℓs-da* [Tsakhur; f.n.]
 wood-ILL boy I-go=into-INF-COP:I
 ‘The boy will go into the wood.’

In Udi, this pattern is no longer transparent: The loss of the copula **’a ~ *a* as an independent element has obscured the derivational process. It should be noted that contrary to the older types represented for instance by Aghul and Tsakhur, the Udi pattern does not yield a ‘future’ meaning. However, we should expect exactly this meaning, in case the telic semantics of the simple masdar was still present by the time the pattern came up (‘I am to go’ etc.). In fact, the *esa*-form still functions as a telic infinitive in Old Udi, compare:

- (x) *p’Amown Xib-ar-own owsen-aloc he-bAh-ê-zow*

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again three-ORD-GEN year-SUPER:ABL hither-go:past-PERF-1SG

e[rowsa]l[e]m-a ak'-esa petr'os-ax [Gal 1,18]

Jerusalem-DAT see-INF Peter-DAT2

'Then after three years, I went to Jerusalem to see Peter.'

In Old Udi, the *esa*-form was non-finite. In the corpus of Old Udi texts, it is never marked for person agreement clitics. From this we can conclude that the shift Infinitive > Present tense is directly connected with the emergence of person marked *esa*-forms. Accordingly, a structure like **ak'(e)sa-zu* first produced some kind of telic future ('I am to seeing') that later shifted towards an imperfective (> present). From this, we can conclude that the Udi present tense is a younger formation that arose at a time when the simple masdar had already lost much of its original telic functionality. Most likely, the original 'present tense' was encoded by a morpheme that later became the 'modal', see below.

§ 6. From a functional (or: semantic) point of view, the Udi morpheme *-esa* represents a typical 'Oriental' present tense. It is used to encode the following temporal domains:

a) The *hic et nunc* of a speech act:

(x) (a) *pasč'ağ-en ex-ne e-t'-in-va čal-x-esa?* [R 14]

king-ERG say:PRES-3SG what-REF:OBL-ERG>INSTR-2SG:IO know-LV-PRES

'The king says: How do you know [it]?'

(b) *doğridan ex-zu efa^çx te-za čal-x-esa efa^çx*

really say:PRES-1SG you:PL:DAT2 NEG-1SG:IO know-LV-PRES you:PL:DAT2

'In truth, I tell you that I do not know you!' [Matthew 25:12]

(c) *ex-q'un te mia sa dövlätt'u adamar-re kar-x-esa* [f.n.]

say:PRES-3PL SUB PROX:ADV one rich man-3SG live-LV-PRES

'They say that a rich man lives here.'

(e) *hikä-t'un-b-sa?* [Nizh; f.n.]

what-3PL-LV-PRES

'What do they do?'

(f) *p'oi sapsa-n mand-esa?* [CO § 4]

thus alone-2SG stay-PRES

'Do you thus live alone?'

b) Descriptive and generic statements:

(x) (a) *vartašen-un oś-el me burux čixar-re-x-sa* [VA 58]

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Vartashen-GEN border-SUPER PROX mountain end-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘This mountain ends at the border of Vartashen.’

- (b) *k'avk'az-un burğ-oi da^fma^fn-ğ-oxo*
 Caucasus-GEN mountain-GEN river-PL-ABL
sa p'a^f kalkala oreinux-ne č'esa [VA 59]
 one two very=big spring-PL-3SG go=out:PRES
 ‘From the slopes of the Caucasian mountain, two rather big springs (= rivers) depart.’

- (c) *udi-ğ-on gölō bo^fq'-n-a eq'-q'un uk-sa* [f.n.]
 Udi-PL-ERG much pig-SA-GEN meat-3PL eat-PRES
 ‘The Udis eat much pork meat.’

- (d) *käl zorru heivan-ne amma gölō iğaruğ-o te-ne port-b-esa* [ST § 2]
 buffalo strong animal-3SG but much heat-DAT NEG-3SG bear-LV-PRES
 ‘The buffalo is a strong animal but it cannot endure strong heat.’

- (e) *mašağ fil aslan beš q'at-muğ-o te-ne bak-sa*
 tiger elephant lion we:POSS region-PL-DAT NEG-3SG be-PRES

me heivan-ux kar-q'un-x-esa gam ga-l-a [ST § 14]
 PROX animal-PL live-3PL-LV-PRES warm place-SA-DAT
 ‘There are no tigers, elephants, and lions in our region. These animals live in warm places.’

c) ‘Actualized’ events in narratives: This technique is typical for the (Northern) Oriental tradition of folk tales and narratives. It dominates the whole corpus of native narrative texts from Vartashen. In contemporary Nizh, many speakers have adopted the ‘European’ style and use one of the two past tense forms instead of the present tense (see 3.4.4). Nevertheless, informants have claimed that the ‘traditional’ (or: Oriental) style is the preferred way of telling stories among elder people. A typical example of how the present tense is introduced in narration is the following excerpt:

- (x) *ba-ne-k-e sa čoban. me čoban-i*
 be-3SG-\$-PERF one shepherd PROX shepherd-GEN

ba-t'a-k-e-i sa čubux sa ġar ič c'i rust'am.
 be-3SG:POSS-\$-PERF-PAST one woman one son REFL name Rustam

ar-i sa vaxt'-a me čoban bi-esa-ne.
 come:PAST-PAST one time-DAT PROX shepherd die-PRES-3SG

amma ič čubux t'e-ma šavat'-t'e bak-sa
 but REFL woman DIST-much beautiful-3SG be-PRES

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te pasč'aǵ-en ak'-es-xolan be-ne-s-sa... [R 7]
 SUB king-ERG see-MASD-CV:PAR ask=for-3SG-\$-PRES

‘There has been a shepherd. This shepherd [has] had a wife (and) a son whose name (was) Rustam. Once, finally, the shepherd dies. But his wife is so beautiful that the king gets engaged (with her) as soon as he sees (her).’

Accordingly, the present tense is used especially in reference to concrete events. Background information and information on the general frame of the narration are usually encoded with the help of one of the past tenses.

§ 7. The future-modal cluster: The primary future-modal cluster is characterized by four tense/mood forms that are all added to a future-modal stem if present (see 3.4.2.2, § 53). In addition, there is a distinct form for the first person plural imperative (adhortative), see § 29. The categories encoded by the morphemes in question do not represent clear-cut units. Rather, we have to deal with a continuum that reaches from an assertive (or: factitive) mood (concrete future) to a conjunctive-like mood. Whereas the ‘modal’ pole of this continuum can be clearly associated with the modal form *-a*, the three ‘future’ categories are more difficult to locate on the continuum. This difficulty is conditioned by both semantic vagueness and individual preferences. From a structural point of view, the *o*-future is opposed to all other TAM categories at issue: It is the only member of the future-modal cluster that is not necessarily followed by a personal agreement marker (if present). It thus parallels the structural conditions of the present and past tense morphemes. This structural analogy, however, does not justify the claim that the *-o*-future has more in common with these tense forms than with the other future-modal categories. Although it is occasionally used in terms of an assertive future, it often has a strong modal connotation (see below). In sum, the following continuum seems to help best to account for the four tense/mood forms:

(x)

Factitive Future <i>-al</i>	<	Future2 <i>-ala</i>	<	Modal Future <i>-o</i>	<	Modal <i>-a</i>
Epistemically strong		←—————→				Epistemically weak

§ 8. In addition, we can describe a TIME-related continuum. Accordingly, the factitive future is frequently used to refer to events in the ‘near’ or ‘immediate’ future, whereas the future2 and the modal future express a more general reference to future events. The modal category is unspecific, see § 18. If we put the two scales together, we arrive at ‘functional fields’ typical for each of the categories (the symbols ‘E1-E4’ denote the continuum ‘epistemically strong’ (E1) to epistemically weak (E4):

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(x)	E1	E2	E3	E4
Hic et Nunc	<i>-esa</i>			
Near Future	<i>-al</i>	<i>-ala</i>	<i>-o</i>	
General Future				
Unspecific				<i>-a</i>

§ 9. **The Factitive Future:** The ‘Factitive Future’ is marked by the morpheme *-al*. In case a personal agreement clitic is present, it necessarily follows this morpheme (see 3.4.5.). The same holds for the piggybacking morpheme ‘NEG+PAM’. The factitive future is identical with the non-past participle (see 3.4.9). Harris 2002:275-277 takes this identity as a key argument to explain why personal agreement markers necessarily follow the morpheme *-al*, compare:

- (x) *šo-no bak-al-le kala*
 DIST-REF:ABS be-FUT:FAC-3SG old
va^š k'al-eğ-al-le ġar alun-t'-ai [Luke 1:32]
 and call-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG son high-REF:OBL-GEN2
 ‘He will grow old and will be called the son of the Highest.’

According to Harris 2002:276, “the older future participle (sic!), neutral with respect to voice, came to be used in the copular construction as a way of expressing, for example, ‘the chicken is to-be-boiled’ (...).” This suggestion, however, neglects the fact that the *-al*-participle relates a background event to a synchronic matrix event. It rarely encodes a posterior event, compare:

- (x) *bias bak-al vadi-muğ-ol* [Mark 1:32]
 evening be-PAST:NPAST time-PL-SUPER
 ‘When it became evening...’

Therefore, it is difficult to start with a constructional pattern that includes a telic notion as suggested by Harris. It is more likely that the tense morpheme originally covered the domain ‘present-immediate future’ focussing on the present tense. The reanalysis of the older future **-es- + *a* as a present tense (see §§ 2-6 above) has probably opened the path to use the *-al*-tense in prospective contexts:

(X)	Stage I		Stage II
Present	↑	<i>*-al</i>	<i>-esa</i>
Future	<i>*-es-a</i>	↓	<i>-al</i>

In Old Udi, the shift from the present to the future had already taken place. The *-al*-future was the standard ‘finite’ form that was opposed to the non-finite *esa*-form. This shift had probably been motivated by the prevailing use of the Old Udi morpheme *-a* to encode the present tense. If we add this aspect to the table above, we arrive at the following diachronic stages:

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(X)	Stage I	Stage II		Stage III
Present	-a / -al	↑ -es-a	-a / -al ↓ ↓	-esa
Future	q'a- -ê / -esa			-al
Modal	↓ q'a- -ê			q'a- -e ~ -i / -a

The origin of the future marker *-al is not fully understood. Nevertheless, a seemingly valid hypothesis draws the following picture: In the Lezgian languages, the present tense is often derived from a durative or imperfective gerund to which copula-like elements are added, compare the following example from Aghul (Koshan):

- (x) *aq'aw* 'is doing' < **aq'a-y wu*
do-GER:DUR COP

In addition, different ablaut types occur that affect the thematic vowel, compare Aghul (Burkikhan):

- (x) Gerund (Imperfective): *a-r-q'-a-ri*
do-IMPERF- $\text{\$}$ -IMPERF-GER:IMPERF

- Gerund (Perfective): *aq'-u-na*
do-PERF-GER:PERF

The Burkikhan gerund *-ri* probably represents the older form that has cognates in this form or another in many Lezgian languages (cf. the Lezgi 'Archaic Imperfective participle' *-r(i)* as it has been termed by Haspelmath 1993:161). In most Lezgian languages, there is not a sharp dividing line between gerunds and participles. This vagueness corresponds to the macro-class 'Qualifier' (adjectives + adverbs) that can also be observed in Udi (see 3.1). The gerund-like character of *-al* also becomes apparent from Old Udi: Here, the form at issue often combines with a postposition *ank'e* to indicate a telic gerund, compare:

- (x) *e aa-ža o harz-es-biy-ay hanay-o-en k'e k[risto]s-ax*
PROX knowing-1PL:IO ART rise-INF-do:PAST-PERF REL-REF-ERG SUB Christ-DAT2
- žax-al y[sow]s-aXoš harz-es-ba-al ank'e* [2 Cor 4,14]
we:DAT2-FOC Jesus-COM rise-INF-do:PRES-FUT for
- 'This we know that he who has raised Christ will also raise us with [the help of] Jesus.'

Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the Udi morpheme *-al*, too, represents an older gerund ~ participle that is related for instance to the Aghul (Burkikhan) gerund *-a-ri*:

- (x) *-al* < **-a-r(i)* (Thematic vowel + GER:IMPERF)

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This analysis is perfect from a phonetic point of view. Still, we have to postulate the existence of an older copula strategy (GER+COP), that, however, has left no obvious traces. Harris' assumption (*loc.cit.*) that the *-al*-form is added to a zero-copula is difficult to support. Most likely, Udi does not know a zero-copula in the strict sense of the word (see 5.3). Instead, the personal clitic markers combine both copula and agreement features. For an earlier version of Udi, we have to describe at least two (assertive) copulas:

- (x) *'a ~ a > -a (in present tense marker);
 *b^{wə} > bu (Existential copula)

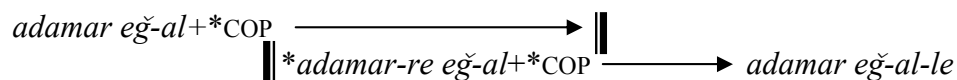
It would be attractive to interpret the future2 morpheme *-ala* (see § 11) as a residue of the ancient copula strategy: *-al-a* (*²GER:IMPERF-COP). However, this assumption cannot explain the strong telic notion of the future2. Therefore, we have to assume a stage of Udi, in which the *-al*-gerund marked by a now lost copula co-occurred with an external focus marker in predicative constructions. The underlying constructional pattern was then developed in analogy with standard predicative phrases (FM = focus marker):

- (x) *-al + *COP $\xrightarrow{\quad\quad\quad}$ ||
 || *FM ... *-al + *COP $\xrightarrow{\quad\quad\quad}$ -al + *FM > PAM

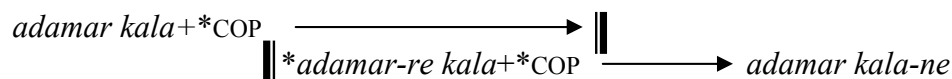
- (x) ADJ + *COP $\xrightarrow{\quad\quad\quad}$ ||
 || *FM .. ADJ + *COP $\xrightarrow{\quad\quad\quad}$ ADJ + *FM > PAM

The two patterns can be simulated with the help of Modern Udi data:

- (x) *adamar eġ-al-le* ‘The man/person will go’



- (x) *adamar kala-ne* ‘The man/person is old’



Note that the same scenarios holds if the *-al*-tense does not stem from an old gerund but from a case form. In sections 3.2.9 and 3.3.4.2, it has been suggested that the future morpheme is related to the superessive case **-al* (‘on’). Accordingly, the tense form reflects an older inflected verb stem (in analogy with the simple masdar stemming from the proto-Lezgian dative, se 3.3.3.6):

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- (x) *eğ-al* ‘(is) on the run(ning)’ > ‘(is/)will run’

The use of local case forms to derive imperfective or durative verb forms is typologically well attested (cf. German *sie ist am/im Gehen* ‘she is going’). However, this analysis presupposes that Udi verb stems once had strong referential properties. As far as data go, it is difficult to prove this claim.

In sum, both options can likewise serve to explain both the formal and the functional background of the factitive future. It stems either from the proto-Lezgian imperfective gerund/participle **-V-ri* or from an Udi cased marked verb system (superessive). Both versions account for the fact that *-al* once was marked more for aspectual than for temporal features. It covered the domain of ‘ongoing’ or prospective events. The reinterpretation of the old future/infinitive (*-es-a*) as a present tense conditioned that the functional scope of the *-al*-participle(-gerund) in predicative position became limited to the domain of the ‘near future’.

§ 10. Today, the *-al*-tense is the standard way of referring to events that are thought to take place soon after the point of temporal reference. Contrary to other Lezgian languages, the factitive future does not have a ‘habitual’ connotation. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *un zaxo oša bak-al-lu pasč’agč* [GD 60]

you:SG I-ABL after be-FUT:FAC-2SG king

‘You will become king after me (after I have died).’

- (b) *t’e-vaxt’-a eğ-al-le ağa t’e nökär-i* [Matthew 24:50]

DIST-time-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG master DIST servant-GEN

‘Then the servant’s master will come...’

- (c) *va^f evaxte tağ-al-zu va^f häzir-b-al-zu efe^hnk’ ga*
and when go:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG and prepare-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG you:PL:BEN place

eğ-al-zu p’uran va^f taš-al-zu efa^hx bez t’o^hğo^hl
come:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG again and carry-FUT:FAC-1SG you:PL:DAT2 I:POSS at

‘When I will have left and will have prepared for you a place, I will come again and take you with me.’ [John 14:3]

- (d) *vi elmuğ-ox zenk’ lax-al-lu?* [John 13:38]

you:SG:POSS soul-DAT2 I:BEN put=down-FUT:FAC-2SG

‘Will you put down your soul for me?’

- (e) *ayz-e evax tağ-al-nu?* [I 10a, Nizh]

village-DAT when go:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG

‘When will you go to the village (Nizh)?’

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The factitive future is frequently used to reproduce imagined events, compare the following passage from Nizh:

- (x) *enk'eveden-en zäng-b-al-e milic-in näčälnik'-ä.*
 Enkeveden-ERG ring-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG militia-GEN chief-DAT
šo-t'-in-al amdaxo yaq'-a-b-al-e bazar-e.
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC man-PL way-DAT-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG bazaar-DAT
- k'ačuli-n-a ayzap'-k'-al-t'un.*
 cucumber-SA-DAT weigh-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL
- vuy k'ilo avuz č'eğ-al-e.*
 nine kilo more go=out:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG
kala sa akt cam-k'-al-t'un.
 big one record write-LV:FUT-FUT-FAC-3PL
- oša-al bur-q-al-e silist' sud.*
 then-FOC begin-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG interrogation sentence
- bulum-a sa usen äš tad-al-t'un.*
 Bulum-DAT one year work give-FUT:FAC-3PL
- biq'-i türmi-n-ä yaq'-a-b-al-t'un... [KACH; OR 48]*
 seize-PART:PAST prison-SA-DAT way-DAT-LV-FUT:FAC-3PL

‘Enkeveden will call the chief of the militia. He (the chief) will send (his) men to the bazaar. They will weigh the cucumber. It will turn out (that it weighs) nine kilo too much. They will prepare a huge record. Then, the interrogation (and) the sentence will start. They will sentence Bulum to one year of labor. Having arrested (him), they will send (him) to prison.’

Note that especially in Nizh, the (modal) future marked by *-o* has become the standard way of construing a future reference (see § 14). An example of the co-occurrence of both forms is:

- (x) *sunax evaxt' ak'-al-yan biyasin*
 each=other:DAT when see-FUT1-1PL evening
- vi loox zeng-b-o-uz yaq'-beğ-a [I 2, Nizh]*
 you:SG:POSS on call-LV-FUT:MOD-1SG way-see-MOD:2SG
 ‘I will call you [to tell] when we will see each other in the evening, (so) wait!’

§ 11. The Future2: The future2 (*-ala*) is a common tense form in Nizh, but it is rare in Vartashen. It can best be described as a telic future:

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(x) (a) *tad-a za ek'k'a tad-ala-nu* [Matthew 18:28]

give-IMP:2SG I:DAT what give-FUT2-2SG
 'Give me what you have to give!'

(b) *un-nu šo-no ma-no-te eġ-ala-ne?* [Luke 7:19]

you-2SG DIST-REF:ABS REL-REF:ABS-SUB come:FUT-FUT2-3SG
 'Are you the one who shall come?'

§ 12. Structurally speaking, this tense form behaves like the factitive future: In case no interrogative pronoun is present, the personal agreement clitic has to follow the tense marker. All other focus slots are canceled (see 3.4.5). The formal relation of the future2 to the factitive future is evident, although it is yet not fully understood. For instance, Žeiranišvili 1971:108-109 has suggested that *-ala* represents the passive variant of *-al* (see 3.2.9 for further proposals). However, the fact that *-ala* also occurs with genuine intransitive verbs (see (x,b) for an example) speaks against this assumption. Obviously, *-ala* is neutral with respect to voice just as it is the standard future *-al*. From this we can infer that the segment *-a* in *-ala* adds a specific function to the future tense morpheme *-al*. The strong telic semantics of verbs marked for the future2 suggests that the segment *-a* is a 'telicity' marker at least in matrix verbs. The problem, however, is more complicated because the *-ala*-future can be used as a participle just as the 'simple' variant *-al*, see 3.2.9 for details. As a participle, the notion of telicity is not always present, compare:

(x) (a) *šo-t'-oġ-oy be^š taġ-al-a bulum-a pi-ne*

DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN in=front=of go-PART:nPAST-ATTR Bulum-DAT say-PAST-3SG
 'He said to Bulum who was walking in front of them (the buffaloes)...'
 [Nizh; KACH; OR 47]

(b) *bez-i čur-eġ-al-a xinär-ä zaxun*

I:POSS love-LV:PASS:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR girl-DAT I-ABL

žöy ma-b-a-nan

separate PROH-make-MOD-2PL [Nizh; BAT; OR 115]
 'Do not take away from me the girl that I love.'

(c) *bezi bačan-exun eġ-al-a dizik'-e bes-p'-en*

I:POSS back-ABL come:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR snake-DAT kill-LV-IMP:1PL
 'Let us kill the snake that comes from my back!' [KALAM; OR 131]

(d) *bez čur-ex-al-a amdar ayz-e bu te-ne* [I 72a, Nizh]

I:POSS love-LV:PRES-PART:nPAST-ATTR person village-DAT be NEG-3SG
 'My beloved person is not in the village [Nizh].'

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Here, the convention suggested in section 3.2.9 has been adopted to gloss the attributive version of *-al-a* as ‘PART:nPAST-ATTR’. But note that this segmentation does not necessarily reflect the actual functional make-up of the morpheme *-ala*. In Nizh, the attributive variant of the factitive future is nearly inexistent. Instead, the variant *-ala* is used. From this we can infer the following scenario: In an earlier variant of Udi, both the *-al-* and the *-ala*-future could be used in predicative and attributive function. The semantic difference was that of ‘non-telicity’ vs. ‘telicity’. Whereas this distinction has in parts been preserved in Vartashen, the *-ala*-variant has taken the place of *-al* as an attributive participle whether or not a telic context was present. Nevertheless, the tendency to fuse both attributive forms is also present in the dialect of Vartashen.

Note that in Old Udi, the use of *-ala* is likewise heterogenous. The following examples illustrate that *-ala* can encode a present tense (x), a past tense (x), and an attributive participle (x):

- (x) *aš ba-ala-zow ġi-rġo-loš b'efi* [Act 13,41]
 work do-FUT2-1SG day-PL-IN:ESS2 you:PL.POSS
 ‘I do a work in your days.’ [Armenian *gorcem es*]

- (x) *ešin e ak'-ala-al hanay-o-ya k'e žan* [1 Joh 1,1]
 as see-FUT2-FOC REL-REF-GEN SUB we
 ‘As what we have seen...’ [Armenian *akanatesn eleak^c*]

- (x) *hAwk'-i ah-al-a ah-al ank'e č'aown*
 heart-DAT be:PRES-PART:nPAST-ATTR be:PRES-FUT for helpful

kahana-owġ-owy bAYi [Heb 2,17]
 priest-PL-GEN great

‘...that he might be (one of the) merciful (and) helpful great priests’

§ 13. In Nizh, the telic notion is also given with secondary analytic tense forms. For instance, the combination *-ala* + *bak-i* (‘be-PAST’) yields an inchoative (or: intentional) past:

- (x) (a) *sa ġi sun-axun xavar-nut' šäki-n-ä taġ-ala-t'un bak-i*
 one day one:REF-ABL news-NEG Sheki-SA-DAT go:FUT-FUT2-3PL be-PAST
 ‘One day they were to go the Sheki without telling each other.’
 [ORO; OR 137]

- (b) *p'ä^f tan üš-e sun-t'-ay k'oy-a man-d-ala-ne bak-i*
 two CLASS night-DAT one-REF:OBL-GEN2(>PART) house-DAT stay-LV-FUT2-3SG be-PAST
 ‘A certain (man) started to stay for two nights in (his) house.’
 [KECH; OR 132]

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The complex morpheme *-ala* is similar to the Latin *gerundivum* although it lacks the passive orientation of the *gerundivum*, compare:

- (x) Latin: *liber legendus* ~ Udi: *k'al-k'-al-a* *däft'är*
 read-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR book

In sum, the assumption that the segment *-a* bears the notion of telicity seems to be confirmed by the data (see 3.2.9.1 for a tentative analysis).

§ 14. The Modal Future: The modal future is encoded with the help of the morpheme *-o*. It is used in both dialects. For many speakers of the Nizh dialect, it has become the standard way of expressing future reference. Contrary to the two future categories mentioned in §§ 7-12, the modal future allows endoclititization, compare:

- (x) (a) *čöš čur-p-a-nan k'al-k'-at'an e-nan-ğ-o* [Nizh; KACH; OR 49]
 outside stand-LV-MOD-2PL call-LV-CV:POST come-2PL- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 'Stay outside! You can come in after you have been called.'

- (b) *zu e-z-ğo va^f šel-zu-b-o šo-t'-ux* [Matthew 8:7]
 I come-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD and good-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
 'I shall come and heal him!'

- (c) *šin zax tarni-n-axo a-ne-q'-o*
 who:ERG I:DAT2 oven-SA-ABL take-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD

šo-no-al zaxol ta-ne-ğ-o [IM 61]
 DIST-REF:ABS-FOC I:COM go-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 'Whoever takes me out of the oven will go with me.'

- (d) *me ġar-ax ex-ne ta-n-ğo šaxsänam-i*
 PROX son-DAT2 say:PRES-3SG go-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD Shakhsanam-GEN

k'ož-in t'o^fğo^l k'al-lu-k'-o [S&S 94]
 house-GEN at call-2SG-LV-FUT-MOD
 'He (the dev) says to the boy: Go to the house of Shakhsanam (and) call...'

§ 15. The modal future in *-o* is a relatively new category. It is lacking completely in Old Udi. It does not have convincing cognates in the other Lezgian languages. Although a native origin cannot be ultimately excluded (< **əw*?), a borrowing is more likely: A good candidate for the role as a donor language is some variety of (Middle?) Northwest Iranian. For instance in Northern Talysh, the morpheme *-o* encodes an optative, a finalis, or an epistemically vague future:

- (x) *mə nə-pi-a ba-yi ġulla bə-ğänd-o-m*
 I:OBL NEG-want:PAST-PERF to-ANAPH:OBL bullet SUBJ-throw-OPT-1SG

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‘I did not want to shoot at him.’ [Schulze 2000a:72]

The paradigm of the Northern Talysh ‘optative’ comes amazingly close to the Udi paradigm of the modal future, compare the inflection of Northern Talysh *še-* and Udi *tağ-* ‘to go (away)’:

(X)	Northern Talysh	Udi (Vartashen)
1SG	<i>bə-š-o-m</i>	<i>tağ-o-zu</i>
2SG	<i>bə-š-o-š</i>	<i>tağ-o-nu</i>
3SG	<i>bə-š-o</i>	<i>tağ-o-ne</i>
1PL	<i>bə-š-o-mon</i>	<i>tağ-o-ian</i>
2PL	<i>bə-š-o-on</i>	<i>tağ-o-nan</i>
3PL	<i>bə-š-o-n</i>	<i>tağ-o-q'un</i>

This comparison is not intended to suggest a borrowing from Northern Talysh itself. Rather, Northern Talysh serves as an example for the potential donor language that must at any rate have preserved the Old Iranian conjunctive (> *-o-*).

§ 16. Many speakers from Udi tend to use both the factitive future (*-al*) and the modal future (*-o*) in approximatively the same context. Nevertheless, even in these instances, the modal future has a stronger connotation of uncertainty or vagueness, especially in Vartashen. In addition, it can express a mirative attitude:

- (x) (a) *amdar-nut' ga-l-a dadal-en te-ne el-k'-o* [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]
 person-NEG place-SA-DAT rooster-ERG NEG-3SG crow-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘The rooster will not crow in a place where there are no people.’
- (b) *č'uk'udi-n-a xe-n-en gele ä'xi'l te-ne taš-er-i bak-o*
 Chukudi-SA-DAT water-SA-ERG much far NEG-3SG carry-PAST-PAST be-FUT:MOD
 ‘The water will not have taken Chukudi far away.’ [Nizh; KAL; OR 124]
- (c) *šo-t'o-ol xä'v-ec-i bā'ğä'y-uz-b-o* [Nizh; KAL; OR 124]
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT-FOC search-LV:PAST-PAST find-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘Having search him, I will probably find him.’
- (d) *ay bixažux mo-no hikā xaxal-al tara-ne-k'-o*
 oh god PROX-REF:ABS what(:3SG) sieve-FOC walk=around-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘Oh (my) God, what is this? The sieve walks around!’ [Nizh; XAX; OR 126]
- (e) *zu vaynak' kăğəz cam-k'-o-uz* [I 87a, Nizh]
 I you:SG:BEN letter write-FUT:MOD-1SG
 ‘I’ll write you a letter.’

§ 17. The modal aspect is also addressed in the grammaticalization of the form *baneko* (in Nizh frequently > *banoko*): From a formal point of view, we have to deal with the modal future of the verb *baksun* ‘to be(come)’ (*ba-ne-k-o* (be-3SG-\$-

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FUT:MOD)). Today, the form *baneko* / *banoko* is often used to express a modality of ‘uncertainty’ or an inferential:

- (x) (a) *ba-ne-k-o vä'n-al hekyät-ä k'al-p-i*
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD you:PL-FOC story-DAT read-LV-PART:PAST
čär-k'-at'an axsum-k'-al-nan [Nizh; TAR; OR 126]
 end-LV-CV:POST laugh-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-2PL
 ‘You, too, will perhaps laugh after having finished reading the story.’
- (b) *ba-ne-k-o čur t'ağay-e tac-e* [Nizh; BAZ; OR 129]
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD cow DIST:LOC-3SG go:PAST-PERF
 ‘It will have been that the cow has went there.’
- (c) *ema usen-a vi baba-x nana-x te-va ak'-e?*
 how=many year-DAT you:SG:POSS father-DAT2 mother-DAT2 NEG-2SG:IO see-PAST
ba-ne-k-o bip' usen [CO § 1]
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD four year
 ‘Since how many years haven’t you seen father and mother? It will have been since four years.’
- (d) *ba-ne-k-o tara-p-i elem bak-a-zax* [Nizh; ELEM; OR 134]
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD change-LV-PART:PAST donkey be-MOD-1SG:IO
 ‘Maybe that I will change into a donkey (lit.: that I can be a changed donkey).’
- (e) *ba-ne-k-o zu xašpa bak-a-z* [I 95, Nizh]
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD I god=father be-MOD-1SG
 ‘Perhaps, I’ll be god=father.’

A likewise stereotypical use of the modal future is documented with all kinds of sayings that concern the regulation of (social) life. Here, the verb form is usually marked by the ‘impersonal’ third person plural, compare:

- (x) (a) *amc'i loroc-a te-t'un gal-d-o* [Nizh; SAY; OR 110]
 empty cradle-DAT NEG-3PL shake-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘Don’t shake an empty cradle!’
- (b) *šum-a čo oq'a te-t'un lax-o* [Nizh; SAY; OR 109]
 bread-DAT face[:GEN] under NEG-3PL lay-FUT-MOD
 ‘Don’t put the bread upside down!’
- (c) *nep'-e boš äyit-k'-ala amdar-a te-t'un muğur-b-o*
 sleep-GEN in word-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR man-DAT NEG-3PL wake=up-LV-FUT:MOD

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‘Do not wake up a man who speaks when sleeping.’ [Nizh; SAY; OR 110]

§ 18. The Modal: The morpheme *-a* is used a general marker for modality. Basically, the ‘modal’ is tense-neutral. Nevertheless, it has a strong prospective connotation: An event represented by a verb in the ‘modal’ form is thought or expected to happen in the near future. The stimulus for this inference can be another event or the speech act itself. In the latter case, the modal turns into an adhortative or imperative. Except for intransitive MOVE-verbs (see 3.4.2.1) and verbs marked by the light verb *esun* ‘to come’ (see 3.4.2.2), the modal form is identical with the imperative (see §§ 29-30). This fact illustrates that the adhortative (or: deontic) domain can be regarded as the core domain of the ‘modal’. This domain is subcategorized in the following way:

(x)

Grade	Formation	Category
Strong ↑	MOD(:2SG) / no clitics	Imperative
	<i>gäräg</i> + MOD + Clitics	Necessitative
↓ Weak	MOD + Clitics	Adhortative
	MOD + Clitics + PAST	Adhortative (weak)
	MOD + PAST + Clitics	Conjunctive

§ 19. The adhortative function of the modal is in concurrence with the analogous function of the adhortative clitic *q’a-* (see 3.4.6). Normally, the complex adhortative has a stronger notion of obligation than the standard modal form, compare:

(x) (a) *va^š etärte bu-va-q’-sa-nan efa^šxol b-a-ne*
and how want-2PL:IO- $\$$ -PRES-2PL you:PL:COM do-MOD-3SG

xalx-en t’e-tär-al va^šn b-a-nan šo-t’-ğ-oxol [Luke 6:31]
people-ERG DIST-ADV-FOC you:PL do-MOD-2PL DIST-REF:OBL-PL-COM

‘And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.’ [KJ].

(b) *kala-o efa^šxo ba-q’a-n-k-i efe^šnk’ nökär* [Matthew 23:11]
big-REF:ABS you:PL:ABL be-ADH-3SG- $\$$ -PAST you:PL:BEN slave
‘The most powerful among you shall be your slave.’

This is especially true in case a third person is present: Here, the simple modal normally functions as a conjunctive calling for the presence of a stimulus verb, compare:

(x) (a) *te-ia buq’-sa te*
NEG:1PL:IO want-PRES SUB

še-t’-in pasč’agluğ b-a-ne beš laxo [Luke 19:14]
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG rulership make-MOD-3SG we:POSS on

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‘We do not want that this one rules over us.’

(x) (b) *ägänä sun-t'-ai efa^ʰxo bak-ai-t'ai ioldaš*
 if one:REF-REF:OBL-GEN2 you:PL:ABL be-CONJ-3SG:POSS friend

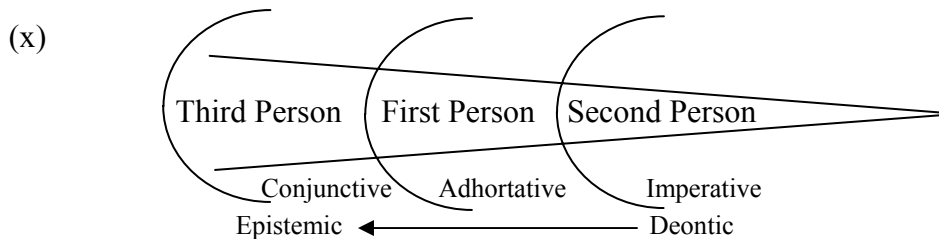
e-ğ-a-ne še-t'-a t'o^ʰğo^ʰl šünebi^ʰğ
 come:FUT-MOD-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at midnight

va^ʰ uk'-a-ne šo-t'-u ...
 and say:FUT-MOD-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

še-t-'in gena bošt'an u-ne-k'-o [Luke 11:5/7]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG CONTR inside say-3SG-\$.FUT-FUT:MOD

‘If someone among you has a friend and (if) he comes to him at midnight and says to him ..., will he say from the inside ...?’

§ 20. Accordingly, the ‘modal’ cannot be regarded as a fixed functional entity. Rather, it oscillates between a strong deontic mood and a functionally motivated strategy to indicate the modal dependence of a verb from another stimulus verb. The type of ‘person’ involved represents one of the parameters that decide on which side is taken. In addition, cognitive features related to epistemic models of events and pragmatic feature related to conversational strategies play an important role. A blend of these parameters finally decides on the actual semantics of the ‘modal’. Nevertheless, it can be safely said that the deontic domain represents the prototypical and hence probably ‘oldest’ functional domain of the modal. The following graphic summarizes the main parameters:



§ 21. The *-a*-modal shares with the factitive future the fact that personal agreement clitics have to follow the modal marker. In other words: The *-a*-modal cancels all other endoclititic slots and disallows constituent focusing (see 3.4.5 and **x.x.x**), compare:

(x) (a) *me bias za bu-za-q'-sa tağ-a-z t'at'i-n k'ua*
 prox evening I:DAT want-1SG:IO-\$.PRES go:FUT-MOD-1SG grandfather-GEN house:DAT
 ‘This evening, I want to go [lit.: that I go] to grandfather’s house.’ [ST 24]

(b) *šel-le efe^ʰnk'ena te zu tağ-a-zu* [John 16:7]
 good-3SG you:PL:BEN SUB I go:FUT-MOD-1SG
 ‘It is good for you that I go.’

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- (c) *ba-ne-k-o p'ur-i bak-a-yan!* [I 11b, Nizh]
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD dead-PAST be-MOD-1PL
 ‘May be we shall be dead!’

Forms like ***ta-zu-ğ-a* or ***ta-z-ğ-a* (vs. *ta-z-ğ-o* (FUT:MOD)) ‘I will/shall go / that I go’ are ungrammatical. In order to account for this peculiarity, Harris (2002:272-275) has developed a complex scenario about the origin of the *-a*-modal. The author suggests that the modal ultimately stems from the complex modal form based on the adhortative particle or copula *q'a-* (‘particle subjunctive’ in her terms, see 3.4.6). She claims that the *q'a*-modal and the *-a*-modal have a complementary distribution: Accordingly, the piggybacking morpheme *q'a-* + PAM is used in those instances when a constituent focus or endoclysis is required. Else, the *-a-* modal is said to occur. Harris suggests that the *-a*-modal represents a reanalyzed variant of the piggybacking morpheme *q'a*-PAM in final position. In Vartashen, the complex modal form *q'a*-PAM is usually added to the standard past tense that has since long been identified as an older participle (see §§ 30-43 below). Accordingly, Harris starts with the following constructional type: ***bak-i q'a-n(e)* *‘be-PART:PAST COP:MOD-3SG’ (glosses are mine). The adhortative clitic would have lost the initial **q'*- in intervocalic position (> ***baki-a-n(e)*). In a second step, the group *-ia-* would have been metathesized (> *-ai-*). The resulting form finally is said to have undergone reanalysis (or: back formation): The segment **-i* ‘‘came to be regarded as the clitic *-y/-i*, except that the position that results from [this] process (...) is retained beside that which would normally be associated with the clitic *-y/-i* PAST’’ (Harris 2002:275).

§ 22. This analysis, however, fails out of several reasons. First, and most important, note that the modal belongs to the future-modal paradigm of Udi verbs (see § 2 above). This fact is for instance illustrated by the paradigm of *pesun* ‘to say’ and *esun* ‘to come’:

(x)	Factitive Future	Modal	Past	
	<i>uk'-al-</i>	<i>uk'-a-</i>	<i>p-i-</i>	‘say’
	<i>eğ-al-</i>	<i>eğ-a-</i>	<i>ar-i-</i>	‘come’

In case the analysis of Harris is correct, we should expect modal forms like ***p-a-i-n* ‘(s)he should say’ (< ***p-i q'a-ne*) or ***ar-a-in* (< ***ar-i q'a-ne*) etc. Such forms, however, do not occur. In addition, Harris does not take into consideration the fact that the two superficially competing forms of the conjunctive (*-ai-*) (or: ‘Subjunctive II in terms of Harris) have different functional values (see 3.4.4.2): The modal suffix *-ai*-PAM is normally used in subordination, whereas the ‘canonical’ sequence of the past modal (*-a*-PAM-*i*) is more frequent in adhortative contexts, compare:

- (x) (a) *ägänä vi pul tämiz bak-ai-n*

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if you:SG:POSS eye clean be-CONJ-3SG

t'e-vaxt'-a vi bütün laśag ba-ne-k-o xaš [Luke 11:34]
 DIST-time-DAT you:SG:POSS all body be-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD light
 'If your eye is clean, your whole body shall be (like) light.'

(b) *šo-no bu-ne ilia ma-no-te gāräg eǵ-a-ne-i* [Matthew 11:14]
 DIST-REF:ABS be-3SG Ilias REL-REF:ABS-SUB necessary come-MOD-3SG-PAST
 'That one is Ilias who must have come!'

Although the cluster *-a-PAM-i* occasionally occurs in subordination, too, textual data clearly show the preferences mentioned above (see 3.4.4.2, § 14). This is especially true for the 'necessative' marked by the pseudo-verb *gāräg* 'necessary' (see 3.4.6). Here, the use of the variant *-ai-PAM* is impossible, compare again (x,b) above. In addition, the element *gāräg* frequently occurs with the standard *-a-modal*, compare the frequency list in (x):

(x)	<i>gāräg</i> + MOD + PAM	67
	<i>gāräg</i> + MOD + PAM + PAST	22

The data refer to the cumulation of all Vartashen texts currently available. Accordingly, there is a strong preference to use the non-past *-a-modal* as the target of *gāräg*. Contrary to what can be expected from the analysis set forth by Harris, it is the non-past modal that has the strongest affinity with the adhortative. The distribution of non-past and past forms is roughly what can also be described for the other TAM forms that can be marked for the *-i-clitic* (see 3.4.4.2). From this we can conclude that the variant *-a-PAM-i* cannot be regarded as a secondary variant of the modal *-ay-PAM*.

§ 23. In addition, it should be noted that the adhortative clitic *-q'a* can likewise occur in final position. Although such a position of the piggybacking morpheme *q'a-* is restricted to verbs that are not marked for an endoclititic slot, it nevertheless illustrates that the combination PAST-*q'a-PAM* is perfect:

(x) (a) *ägänä šu-te bu-t'u-q'-sa eǵ-a-ne bez qošt'an*
 if who-SUB want-3SG:IO-\$-PRES come:FUT-MOD-3SG I:POSS behind

kul-q'a-n aq'-i ič-xo va^š a-q'a-n-q'-i ič xač-n-u
 hand-ADH-3SG take-PAST REFL-ABL and take-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST REFL cross-SA-DAT

va^š ar-i-q'a-n bez qošt'an [Matthew 16:24]
 and come:PAST-PAST-ADH-3SG I:POSS behind

'If someone wants to follow me, he has to say 'goodbye' to his relatives (lit.: take the hand from his one(s)), [and] take his cross, and and follow me.'

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- (b) *bar-t-a cir-i-q'a-n xač-n-uxo* [Matthew 27:42]
 let-LV-IMP:2SG go=down:PAST-PAST-ADH-3SG cross-SA-ABL
 ‘Let him step down from the cross!’

Also note that in Nizh, verbs that contain an endoclititic slot can likewise be marked by the adhortative in final position:

- (x) (a) *xenezaluğ bot'-bak-e-q'a-n* [KACH; OR 48]
 thirst end-LV-PERF-ADH-3SG
 ‘Let thirst come to its end!’

- (b) *xüyär bak-e-q'a-n vi bin*
 girl be-PERF-ADH-3SG you:SG:POSS daughter=in=law

ğar-al bak-e-q'a-n bezi yezna [BAT; OR 114]
 boy-FOC be-PERF-ADH-3SG we:POSS son=in=law
 ‘The girl shall be your daughter-in-law, and the boy shall be our son-in-law.’

- (c) *bar-t-a mand-e-q'a-n* [KACH; OR 48]
 let-LV-IMP:2SG stay-PERF-ADH-3SG
 ‘Let him stay!’

The Nizh examples discussed in more details in section 3.4.6. Here, it suffices to note that the final position of the cluster *q'a*-PAM is not as restricted as suggested by Harris.

§ 24. A final argument against the analysis proposed by Harris is related to the functional scope of the cluster *-a*-PAM that is thought to represent the source of the *-a*-modal: If the modal marked by *-ai*-PAM had been derived from ***i + q'a*-PAM we should expect that the cluster *-ai*-PAM covers essentially the same functional domain as the adhortative cluster *q'a*-PAM. However, in § 22 above it has been shown that the variant *-ai*-PAM rather marks a subordinated verb for truth conditions, compare:

- (x) (a) *evaxte eğ-ai-n va^f duğ-ai-n*
 when come:FUT-CONJ-3SG and knock-CONJ-3SG

t'e-sahat qai-k'-a-q'un šo-t'-u [Luke 12:36]
 DIST-hour open-LV-MOD-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT
 ‘If he comes and knocks (at the door), they open him immediately.’

- (b) *va^f ägänä eğ-ai-nan sa šähär-ä va^f aq'-ai-q'un*
 and if come:FUT-CONJ-2Pl one town-DAT and take-CONJ-3PL

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efa^ʃ_x *uk-a-nan* *ek'k'a-te* *efa*^ʃ *tad-ai-q'un* [Luke 10:8]
 you:PL:DAT2 eat-MOD-2PL what-SUB you:PL:DAT give-CONJ-3PL

And if you come into a town and they receive you, eat what they give to you!

Accordingly, the conjunctive *-ai-* behaves more like a conditional than like an adhortative. In fact, it is excluded from typical adhortative contexts. This functional difference makes it impossible to relate the past modal to the adhortative clitic (see 3.4.4.2 for different proposal for the nature of the modal *-ai-PAM*).

§ 25. In sum, the *-a*-modal obviously has an origin that is different from that of the *q'a*-adhortative. Most likely, it represents a generalized version of the original imperative that no longer is a separate category in Udi (except for MOVE-verbs and verbs based on the light verb *esun* ‘to come’, see 3.4.6). Recall that the most unmarked form of Udi verbs is represented by the ‘impersonal’ *-a*-modal (see § 28):

- (x) *u*^ʃ*ǵ-a* ‘Drink!’
 up-a ‘Say!’
 bak-a ‘Be!’

This architecture corresponds to the general scheme of imperatives in some other Lezgian languages, compare:

- (x) *aq'-e* ‘Do!’ (Aghul, Burkikhan)
 ič'-e ‘Come in!’ (Tsakhur, class I)
 žawk'-a ‘Wash!’ (Tabasaran, Northern dialect)

For the time being, we can tentatively relate the different vocalic segments that mark the second person singular imperative to the thematic vowels of Lezgian verb stems. Although comparative research is still needed, it is rather likely to assume that the original imperative consisted of just the verbal stem and (if present) the thematic vowel (that indicated the verbal valence). The individual languages have developed different additional means to mark the imperative mood (for instance *-n* in Eastern Samur). In Udi, the thematic vowel is normally dropped due to the ‘left shift’ in the stem structure of Udi verbs (see 3.4.1.1). In the imperative, however, Early Udi would have kept the original thematic stem vowel (**-i*, **-u*, and **-a*) that merged into the vowel *-a*. As a result, the actual form of the Udi second person singular imperative became generalized in *-a* except for MOVE-verbs that have kept the thematic vowel **-i* > *-e* / *-i* (see § 28). Alternatively, we can relate the Udi morpheme *-a* to the imperative marker of so-called weak verbs in Lezgi (that lack a thematic vowel and that are stressed on the lexical stem).

§ 26. In a second step, the new imperative stem *-a* could be marked by personal agreement clitics. In proto-Lezgian as well as in most Lezgian languages, stress falls on the lexical stem in the imperative. In section 4.3.5 it is argued that Udi personal agreement clitics either have stress assigning properties, or are hosted by stress

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attracting elements or lexemes. The imperative has natural focus properties and hence has attracted personal agreement clitics just as it is true for the ‘grammatical’ hosts *q’á-* (prohibitive), *té-* (negation), or *gí-* (hypothesis), see 3.4.6:

(x) (a) *me diikan-i vi bar xaša-ne bu*
 PROX shelf-DAT you:SG:POSS portion soup-3SG be

táke éč-a úk-a [AR 70]

go:IMP2SG take-MOD:2SG eat-MOD:2SG

‘Your portion of the soup is on this shelf. Go, take, and eat (it)!’

(b) *me xaši-n-ax uk-á-n sel-le venk’* [f.n.]

PROX soup-SA-DAT2 eat-MOD-2SG good-3SG you:SG-BEN

‘You should eat this soup. It’s good for you!’

Therefore, stress usually is kept on the lexical stem rather than on the old imperative suffix. This condition is mirrored by the fact that the modal usually shows lexical stress although a personal agreement clitic is present:

(x) *táš-a-zu* > *táš-a-z* ‘I shall take’ (Modal)
bák-a-i-ne > *bák-a-i-n* ‘It may (have) be(en)’ (Modal Past)

In case the relational segment is a light verb or an auxiliary, stress usually falls on the lexical component, compare:

(x) (a) *gäräg va^hn xib-alen-al lašk’ó-bak-a-nan*
 necessary you:PL three-COLL-FOC marriage-LV-MOD-2PL

me ian ečeri xinärmužo laxo [GD 62]

PROX we bring-PAST-PAST girl-PL-GEN on

‘You have to marry these girls we have brought (here).’

(b) *ták-e-nan kéf-b-a-nan* [GD 60]

go:IMP-IMP-2PL relax-LV-MOD-2PL

‘Go (and) relax!’

Accordingly, the imperative is the standard host for the personal agreement clitics. It cancels every other possible clitic slot because such the use of a slot would cause the disintegration of the correlation ‘lexical base/stress’, compare:

(x) ****á-_-q’-a** // ****á-nu-q’-a** ****‘You shall take...’**
 TAKE-_- \$-IMP TAKE-2SG-\$-IMP

Instead the following development took place:

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- (x) *á[-_-]q'-a // áq'-a-n(u) 'You shall take...'
 take[-_-]\$-IMP take-IMP-2SG

The use of the imperative stem with personal agreement clitics conditioned a weaker imperative mood (> adhortative). Consequently, persons other than the second person singular could be marked on the verb. This paradigmatic extension resulted in the emergence of the modal paradigm based on the suffix *-a*. Note that in less adhortative contexts, stress often shifts to the vowel of the modal:

- (x) (a) *iesir pasč'ağ-a bu-t'u-q'-sa ič ölki-n-a tağ-á-ne* [IK 67]
 imprisoned king-DAT want-3SG:IO-\$-PRES REFL land-SA-DAT go:FUT-MOD-3SG
 'The imprisoned king wants to go into his own country.'

- (b) *sa baiğ-á-z beğ-á-z me gărămzi-n-a baq'-sa-z* [GD 63]
 one go=into:FUT-MOD-1SG see-MOD-1SG PROX grave-SA-DAT fit=into-PRES-1SG
 'Let me just enter (and) see whether I fit into this grave.'

§ 27. Nizh knows a specific use of the modal form that is alien to Vartashen: In combination with personal clitics marked by the dative2, it denotes uncertainty about the degree of active involvement in a coming event:

- (x) *čur-uz-sa hun sa äci-n hava far-k'-a-vax*
 want-1SG-LV:PRES you:SG one dance-GEN melody play-LV-MOD-2SG:IO

zu-al äci-k'-a-zax ba-ne-k-o? [Nizh; ARUG; OR 127]
 I-FOC dance-LV-MOD-1SG:IO be-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD
 'I want that you play a dance song, (and) I will dance, OK?'

- (b) *zu-al te-z čur-usa va p'ap'-a-zax* [Nizh; CHUR; OR 128]
 I-FOC NEG-1SG want-LV:PRES you:SG:DAT come-MOD-1SG:IO
 'I do not want do be(come) like you.'

- (c) *ba-ne-k-o tara-p-i elem bak-a-zax* [Nizh; ELEM; OR 134]
 be-3SG-\$-FUT:MOD change-LV-PART:PAST donkey be-MOD-1SG:IO
 'Maybe that I will change into a donkey (lit.: that I will be a changed donkey).'

- (d) *šo-t'-in vaynak' hik'ä box-al-a*
 DIST-REF:OBL-REF you:SG:BEN what cook-FUT-3SG:Q

išt'ağ-en uk-a-vax [Nizh; UKS 135]
 appetite-ERG>INSTR eat-MOD-2SG:IO
 'You will probably eat with appetite what she will cook for you.'

- (e) *oq-e xe-n-en va taš-ayi-n*

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river-GEN water-ERG you:SG:DAT carry-CONJ-3SG

č'äläy-e ac-ayi-vax [KAL; OR 123]

wood-DAT be=lost-CONJ-2SG:IO

‘When the water of the river carries you away, you will probably get lost in the woods.’

The present analysis nevertheless poses an important problem. In Old Udi, the morpheme *-a* is also used to indicate a present tense, compare the following two phrases:

(x) *et'owaxay iše-bowr-o serze-X-ay bowr-a-nan*
therefore co=brother-PL-VOC firm-LV-PART:PAST stand-IMP-2PL

bowXi ef-a-nan e efesdağên-owx b^šefi [2 Thes 2,14]

much keep-IMP-2PL ART tradition-DAT2 you:PL.POSS

‘Therefore, co-brethren, stand firm (and) keep much your tradition...’

(x) *hašow bAh-a-nan zaloc bow anak'e-zow* [Act 13,25]

who think-PRES-2PL I-SUPER:ABL be that-1SG

‘Whom do you think of me that I am.’

In (x), the morpheme *-a* is used (just as in Udi) to encode an imperative, whereas it marks a present tense in (x). Also note that in Old Udi, the *a*-tense is used as the basis to encode the conditional (marked by *-eYe-*):

(x) *hat'enk'e marmiY-own ank'e ğowy ah-a-eYe-nan*
if flesh-GEN for living be:PRES-PRES-COND-2PL

owp'en[-e]n anak'e-nan [Rom 8,13]

death-ERG thus-2PL

‘If you live for the flesh, then you are dead (lit.: ‘with the death’).

For the time being, it is difficult to state whether the two basic usages of *-a* reflect a single paradigm or not. Nevertheless note that in Old Udi, the present tense marked by *-a* makes use of just those suppletive stems that - in Modern Udi - are typical for the future-modal, compare Old Udi *owk'-a-z* (say:nPAST-PRES-1SG) ‘I say’ etc. (> Modern Udi *uk'-a-z* ‘I shall say’). From this we can infer that the two usages are in fact based on a common functional domain.

§ 28. The Imperative: As has been said in the preceding paragraphs, the Udi modal paradigm is used to encode the imperative of most verbal stems. From a formal point of view, the second person plural imperative is identical with the corresponding modal form, compare:

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- (x) (a) *aq'-a-nan bez o^fq'-n-ux ef laxo!* [Matthew 11:19]
 take-MOD-2PL I:POSS yoke-SA-DAT2 you:PL:POSS on
 'Take my yoke on you!'
- (b) *ägänä bu-va^f-q'-sa aq'-a-nan šo-no bu-ne ilia*
 if want-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES take-MOD-2PL DIST-REF:ABS be-3SG Elias
ma-no-te gāräg eġ-a-ne-i [Matthew 11:14]
 REL-REF:ABS-SUB necessary come:FUT-MOD-3SG-PAST
 'If you accept (it), it will be Elias who must come.'

Some speakers tend to separate the imperative function from the modal domain by stressing the lexical stem instead of the stress attracting modal suffix, compare:

- (x) (a) *exne ták-e-nan kéf-b-a-nan* [GD 60]
 say:PRES-3SG go:IMP-IMP-2PL relax-LV-MOD-2PL
 'He says: Go and relax!'
- (b) *me-ġi va^fn gāräg kef-b-á-nan* [f.n.]
 PROX-day you:PL necessary relax-LV-MOD-2PL
 'Today, you should relax!'

The set of intransitive MOVE-verbs (see 3.4.2.2) and the light verb *esun* 'to come' are the only verb forms that show a distinct imperative morpheme. It is based on the imperative stem *-(e)k-* (see 3.4.2.2) to which Vartashen adds *-e* whereas Nizh adds *-i*, compare:

- (x) (a) *tak-e ak'-ek-e be^finś-a* [Mark 1:44]
 go:IMP-IMP:2SG see-LV:PASS:IMP-IMP:2SG priest-DAT
 'Go (and) show yourself to the priest!'
- (b) *tak-i us k'ac'-p'-a* [Nizh; KUL; OR 114]
 go:IMP-IMP:2SG firewood cut-LV-MOD:2SG
 'Go (and) cut firewood!'
- (c) *tak-e-nan be^fġ-a-nan šin-a baš-q'-e bin-ex* [PO 5]
 go:IMP-IMP:2PL see-MOD-2PL who:ERG-3SG:Q steal-LV-PERF bride-DAT2
 'Go (and) look who has stolen the bride!'
- (d) *tak-i-nan bezi xä^fl-urx-o be^fġ-a-nan šik'lam-en*
 go:IMP-IMP:2PL I:POSS lot-PL-DAT see-MOD-2PL onion-ERG
hetär-ä bul biq'-e [Nizh; BUL; OR 134]
 how-3SG:Q head take-PERF
 'Go to my lots (and) look how the onion has grown!'

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In § 25, it has been argued that the modal suffix originally represented the thematic vowel of verb stems. The same seems to be true for the imperative *-e ~ -i*. Most likely, the Nizh variant has kept the older form that has regularly changed to *-e* in Vartashen. Crucially, the thematic vowel **-i* marked intransitive verb stems in proto-Lezgian. This functional aspect has been preserved in the use of the *-i*-imperative with intransitive MOVE-verbs and the intransitive light verb *esun* (see 3.4.2.2).

The verb *pesun* ‘to say’ differs from the paradigms discussed so far because it shows a special imperative stem (*up-*, see 3.4.2.2) to which the modal forms are added, compare:

(x) (a) *up-a ia un-nu xrist’os ġar bixoi?* [Matthew 26:63]
 say:IMP-MOD:2SG we:DAT you:SG-2SG Christ son god:GEN2
 ‘Tell us: Are you Christ, the son of God?’

(b) *ägänä uk’-a-n te aiz-a aiz-al-zu* [f.n.]
 if say:FUT-MOD-2SG SUB rise-MOD:2SG rise-FUT-1SG
 ‘If you tell me to stand up, I will stand up.’

(c) *tak-e-nan up-a-nan t’e śul-l-u* [Luke 13:32]
 go:IMP-IMP-2PL say:IMP-MOD-2PL DIST fox-SA-DAT
 ‘Go (and) say to that fox...’

(d) *t’essahat tad-eġ-al-le efa^s ek’a uk’-a-nan*
 immediately give-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:DAT what say:FUT-MOD-2PL
 ‘Instantly, it will be told you (lit.: given to you) what you shall say.’
 [Matthew 10:19]

This stem is also present when *pesun* is used as a light verb. However, note that the initial vowel *u-* is dropped just as it is true for the modal variant *uk’- > k’-* (see 3.4.2.2):

(x)	<i>pesun</i> ‘say’	Future-modal	Imperative
	Heavy	<i>uk’-</i>	<i>up-</i>
	Light	<i>-k’-</i>	<i>-p-</i>

The examples in (x) illustrate both the modal and the imperative stem of the light verb *pesun*:

(x) (a) *aq’-a vi q’abiz-ax*
 take-MOD:2SG you:SG:POSS bill-DAT2

arc-a usin cam-p-a p’a^sq’ovic’ [Luke 16:6]
 sit-MOD:2SG soon write-LV:IMP-MOD:2SG fifty
 ‘Take your bill, sit down quickly (and) write: Fifty!’

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- (b) *ägänä bütün cam-k'-ai-n ...* [f.n.]
 if all write-LV:FUT-CONJ-2SG
 'If you write down everything...'
- (c) *bu-va^ɥ-q'-sa zax t'ap'-k'-a-nan že-rx-on?* [John 10.32]
 want-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES I:DAT2 hit-LV:FUT-MOD-2PL stone-PL-ERG
 'Do you want to hit me with stones?'
- (d) *me a^ɥil-g'-ox ma t'ap'-p-a-nan!* [f.n.]
 PROX child-PL-DAT2 PROH hit-LV:IMP-MOD-2PL
 'Do not hit these children!'

§ 29. The first person plural can be marked by the stress attracting morpheme *-en* to yield a strong adhortative. The morpheme is added to the future-modal stem and thus behaves like the modal suffix *-a-*:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|-------------------|-----------------|
| (x) | <i>esun</i> | > | <i>eğ-én</i> | 'Let us come' |
| | <i>taisun</i> | > | <i>tag-én</i> | 'Let us go' |
| | <i>besun</i> | > | <i>b-en</i> | 'Let us do' |
| | <i>besbesun</i> | > | <i>besb-én</i> | 'Let us kill' |
| | <i>arcesun</i> | > | <i>arc-én</i> | 'Let us sit' |
| | <i>furupesun</i> | > | <i>furu-k'-en</i> | 'Let us search' |

Examples are:

- (x) (a) *saganu arc-en sum uk-en!* [GD 60]
 together sit-IMP:1PL bread eat-IMP:1PL
 'Let us eat bread!'
- (b) *kömäg tad-en beš k'olxoz-a sümbül gir-b-esun-a* [SD § 13]
 help give-IMP:1PL we:POSS kolkhoz-DAT ear=of=corn collect-LV-MASD2-DAT
 'Let us help our kolkhoz to collect the ears (of corn).'
- (c) *bur-q-en uk-s-ax va^ɥ kef-b-es-ax* [Luke 15:23]
 start-LV-IMP:1PL eat-MASD-DAT2 and relax-LV-MASD-DAT2
 'Let us eat and relax!'
- (d) *č'ebak-en t'e-čo-un č'ot'-el* [Mark 4:35]
 pass=by-IMP:1PL DIST-side-GEN shore-SUPER
 'Let us go to the other side of the shore.'

Pančviže 1974:171 has suggested to derive the suffix *-en* from the standard modal form of the first person plural: *-en* < **-ein* < **-a-ein* < *-a-ian*. However, this analysis cannot explain the co-occurrence of both the adhortative variant *-en* and the modal form *-a-ian* as in:

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- (x) (a) *ek'a-ian bo te b-a-ian bixog-ox aš-urğ-ox?* [John 6:28]
 what-1PL do-FUT:MOD SUB do-MOD-1PL god-GEN thing-PL-DAT2
 ‘What shall we do to do God’s things?’
- (b) *b-en k'ož-in aš-l-ax* [ST §30]
 do-IMP:1PL house-GEN work-SA-DAT2
 ‘Let us do the house work.’

Instead, it is more likely that the Udi first person plural adhortative *-en* continues a proto-Lezgian category (**-in*) that is present for instance in the Lezgi hortative *-in* and in the *-n*-imperatives of Aghul and Tabasaran. An example from Lezgi is:

- (x) *ša gila čun či q:armax-ri-z kilig-in*
 come:IMP:2SG now we we:POSS hook-PL:OBL-DAT look=at-HORT
 ‘Come on, let’s now look at our hooks!’ [Haspelmath 1993:150]

§ 30. Past and Perfect: If we include the marginal tense morpheme *-io ~ -iyo* (see § 44 below), three basic morphemes refer to the domain of past tenses. The distribution of these three morphemes is conditioned by both functional and areal aspects. The following generalizations can be made:

(x)

	Vartashen	Nizh	Okt’omberi
Past	General Past	General Past	[---]
Perfect	Resultative / Background	Resultative / Background	General Past
Perfect2	---	Resultative	---

According to Harris 2002:27, the simple past (‘aorist I’ in her terms) “is obsolescent in the Okt’omberi subdialect.” Else, the textual distribution of the two major past tense morphemes is remarkably uniform, compare the statistics in (x):

(x)

	Vartashen Narratives	Nizh Narratives	Gospels:
Past	78,23 %	77,60 %	80,62 %
Perfect	21,77 %	22,40 %	19,38 %
Total	418	442	5222

It is not quite clear why the system of past tense markers has collapsed in Okt’omberi. Most likely, we have to deal with impact from Georgian: Here, the domain of past tense categories is marked by the ‘aorist’ as opposed to the inferential perfect and the imperfect, which is derived from the present stem. As the Georgian perfect tense did not match the functional properties of the Udi perfect, it could not be used in analogy with the Udi perfect (see below). Therefore, Okt’omberi speakers had the choice to use either the simple past or the perfect in order to copy the Georgian aorist domain. The statistical figures given in (x) above suggest that the Udi simple past would have been the primary target. The actual choice of the perfect is perhaps motivated by phonetic reasons: In Georgian, the standard aorist of

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‘regular’ verbs takes the suffix *-e* if marked for a speech act participant (*da-v-c'er-e* ‘I wrote’ etc.) The vowel *-e* is also present in the third person plural (*-es*). A suffix *-i*, however, only shows up with ‘middle’ verbs (*ga-v-c'itl-d-i* ‘I blushed’). Accordingly, there are only few analogous forms in Georgian marked for a past tense suffix *-i* that could motivate the choice of the simple past *-i* as a general past tense marker.

§ 31. Although we can enumerate certain functional properties that are typical for either the past or the perfect tense, it is difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between these two tense forms. Therefore, I refrain from devoting special paragraphs to each of the tense forms. Instead, the following paragraphs discuss both tense forms under the common label ‘past’.

From a formal point of view, they only differ in the quality of the vowel suffix:

- | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|
| (x) | Past | <i>-i</i> |
| | Perfect | <i>-e</i> |

Both suffixes immediately follow the verbal stem (or a light verb) and do not tolerate any other suffix between them and the stem. Historically, the morphemes had been stress neutral. Therefore, they do not cancel the endoclititic slot before the verbal (or: relational) stem. In case a personal agreement marker follows the suffix (see 3.4.5), the suffix takes secondary (focus) stress, compare:

- (x) (a) *ama bez baba-n be^šġ-i-ne te isa ruzluġ-ne* [BIO 56]
 but I:POSS father-ERG see-PAST-3SG SUB now Russian=tradition-3SG
 ‘But my father saw that now Russian traditions prevailed.’

- (b) *bé^š-ne-ġ-i te t'e vu^šġ bulla-t'-a tur-el*
 see-3SG- $\$$ -PAST SUB DIST seven headed-REF:OBL-GEN foot-SUPER

sa cac-ne baf-t'-e [S&S 92]

one thorn-3SG stick=in-LV-PERF

‘He saw that the seven-headed (dev) had a thorn sticking in his foot.’

- (c) *šor be^šġ-é-ne či-ne-č-o* [ST § 6]

thus see-PERF-3SG take=out-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD

‘It seemed (lit.: it looked) that he would pull (it) out.’

- (d) *bé^š-ne-ġ-e te hovuz-un t'o^šġo^šl sa ġar-re bas-k'-e* [K&S 85]

see-3SG- $\$$ -PERF SUB well-GEN at one boy-3SG sleep-LV-PERF

‘She saw that a boy was sleeping at the well.’

Nevertheless, in Vartashen the enclitic (postverbal) position of personal agreement markers is extremely rare in case endoclititization is allowed (see 3.4.5).

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§ 32. The morphological scope of the suffix *-i* (past) is slightly greater than that of the suffix *-e* (perfect): The morpheme is identical with the marker of the past participle (see 3.4.9). Therefore, it can be used in participle-based relative clauses (see x.x.x), whereas the perfect cannot. In consequence, the temporal distinction ‘past vs. perfect’ is canceled in this type of subordination just as it true for the set of present-future morphemes that focus in the non-past participle *-al* (= factitive future):

(x)	Matrix	Subordination
Present	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-al</i>
Factitive Future	<i>-al</i>	
Past	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>
Perfect	<i>-e</i>	

The following minimal pairs illustrate this point:

- (x) (a) *eğal-ax śam-ne-p-i tov-ne-d-i* [f.n.]
 sheep-DAT2 slaughter-LV-PAST sell-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘He slaughtered the sheep (and) sold (it).’
- (b) *ex-q’un te eğel-ax śam-ne-p-e tov-ne-d-e* [f.n.]
 say:PRES-3PL SUB sheep-DAT2 slaughter-LV-PERF sell-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘They say that he has slaughtered the sheep (and) had sold (it).’
- (c) *śam-p-i eğel-ax tov-ne-d-i* [f.n.]
 slaughter-LV-PART:PAST sheep-DAT2 sell-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘He will sell the sheep he slaughtered / has slaughtered’
- (d) *ex-q’un te śam-p-i eğel-ax tov-ne-d-e* [f.n.]
 say:PRES-3PL SUB slaughter-LV-PART:PAST sheep-DAT2 sell-3SG-LV-PERF
 ‘They say that he has sold the sheep he slaughtered / had slaughtered’

§ 33. Both the simple past and the perfect can host the adhortative that is marked by the modal participle *q’a-* (see 3.4.6). But whereas Vartashen favors the simple past, the perfect is more frequently used in Nizh in case the piggybacking morpheme occurs in enclitic position:

- (x) (a) *śad-b-a-nan śo-t’-ux bar-t-a ta-q’a-n-c-i* [John 11:44]
 free-LV-MOD-2PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 let-LV-IMP:2SG go-ADH-3SG- $\$$:PAST-PAST
 ‘Set him free, let him go!’
- (b) *tay-sun čur-e-sa tac-e-q’a-n* [Nizh; ACH; OR 119]
 go-MASD2 want-3SG-PRES go:PAST-PERF-ADH-3SG
 ‘(If) he wants to go, he should go!’

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Else, Nizh behaves like Vartashen:

- (x) *faq'ər-en hikā-q'a-n b-i?* [Nizh; FAQ; OR 129]
 poor=man-ERG what-ADH-3SG do-PAST
 'What should a poor man do?'

§ 34. On the other hand, the perfect tense (marked by the secondary clitic *-i*, see 3.4.4.2) can host the conditional (hypothetical) clitic *gi-*. In this case, the past tense is excluded, compare:

- (x) *ägänä ba-gi-nan-k-e-i k'áci*
 if be-HYP-2PL- $\$$ -PERF-PAST blind
- t'e-vaxt'-a te-ne bak-o-i ef laxo günäh* [John 9:41]
 DIST-time-DAT NEG-3SG be-fut:mod-past you:PL:POSS on sin
 'If ye were blind ye should have no sin' [KJ]

§ 35. (x) summarizes the morphological properties of the two tense forms. For sake of completeness, I have added the secondary past forms (*-i* $_i$ and *-e* $_i$), see 3.4.4.2 (EC = Endocclisis):

(x)

	Past (<i>-i</i>)	Perfect (<i>-e</i>)
Allowance of EC	yes	yes
PAM in enclisis	yes [Nizh]	yes [Nizh]
Participle	yes	no
Adhortative (host)	yes	yes [Nizh]
Hypothetical (host)	no	yes (PERF-PAST)
Secondary Past	rare	yes

§ 36. From a functional point of view, the simple past is the default tense to refer to anterior events and states (except for the dialect of Okt'omberi, see § 29 above). It is generally used to describe a sequence of events and states that have no direct relevance for or are not reflected in the actual communicative situation. The truth-value is not graded. Therefore, the past tense can be used both in evidential and inferential contexts. In addition, the tense form does not refer to an absolute time span. Crucially, it is frequently used to encode foreground (or: main) information. Background information, on the other hand, is usually associated with the perfect tense. The following passage from Nizh helps to illustrate this point:

- (x) *xä'y-uğ-o šad-b-i k'oya eğ-at'an be-z-ğ-i*
 dog-PL-DAT free-LV-PART:PAST house:DAT come:FUT-CV:POST see-1SG- $\$$ -PAST
- sa c'iyäq k'ok'oc' k'ac'k'al-i o'q'a*
 one ill chicken stairs-GEN under

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‘I have heard (about that) more or less.’

The same strategy is present in case a speech act is overtly marked:

(x) (a) *xinär-en ex-ne te un za me šelluğ-a b-e-nu* [R 12]
 girl-ERG say:PRES-3SG SUB you I:DAT PROX good=dead-DAT do-PERF-2SG
 ‘The girl says: You have done this good dead for me.’

(b) *ex-ne ... me-t'-ux šin-a ser-b-e?* [R 18]
 say:PRES-3SG ... PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 who:ERG-3SG:Q build-LV-PERF
 ‘He says: who has built this?’

(c) *ex-ne še-t'-in a-ne-q'-e ič ozan-el günäh-ğ-o*
 say-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-ERG take-3SG- $\$$ -PERF REFL neck-SUPER sin-PL-DAT

va^f ta-ne-š-er-e azar-ğ-ox [Matthew 8:17]

and carry-3SG- $\$$ -PAST-PERF illness-PL-DAT2

‘He say that that one took the sins on his shoulder(s) and carried the diseases..’

(d) *äyč'indäri biyäsın šo-no gimgi-n-ä har-i p-i-ne*
 next=day evening DIST-REF:ABS Gimga-SA-DAT come:PAST-PART:PAST say-PAST-3SG

bavo-ğ-on seri-t'un p-e [Nizh; BUL; OR 134]

father-PL-ERG true-3PL say-PERF

‘The next evening, he came to the Gimga (central place in Nizh) (and) said: The forefathers have said the truth...’

(e) *še-t'-in-al p-i-ne šo-t'-ğ-o*
 DIST-ERF:OBL-ERG-FOC say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

düşman adamar-en-ne b-e mo-t'-ux [Matthew 13:28]

foe person-ERG-3SG do-PERF PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2

‘He said to them: An enemy has done this.’

For Nizh, we can describe the following distribution:

(x)		SAP	nSAP	Total
Perfect	-e	40,40 %	59,60 %	99
Past	-i	5,54 %	94,46 %	343

§ 38. The use of the past tense signals a cognitive distance to the reported event. The speaker does not have in mind to talk about an event in its relevance for the actual communicative situation. Instead, (s)he signals that (s)he wants to take a neutral attitude towards the event, compare:

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- (x) *pine sa išq'ar mašini-n oq'a mand-i-ne* [Nizh; f.n.]
 say-PAST-3SG one man car-GEN under stay-PAST-3SG
 'He said: A man was hit (lit.: stayed under) a car.'

The 'neutral' version of the simple past incidentally allows to use it as a future past tense:

- (x) *bezi dost'-ur har-e-t'un zu ta-z-c-i* [Nizh; ASH; OR 138]
 I:POSS friend-PL come:PAST-PERF-3PL I go-1SG-\$.PAST-PAST
 'My friends have come – I will be gone (lit.: 'I am gone / I went)'

§ 39. The perfect tense represents the marked pole in the past-perfect dichotomy. In matrix clauses, it often has a resultative meaning:

- (x) (a) *bezi mozi-ne ać-e šo-t'-o-z xä^šv-esa* [BUSH; OR 136]
 I:POSS calf-3SG get=lost-PERF DIST-REF:OBL-DAT-1SG search-PRES
 'My calf has got lost. I (will) search it.'

- (b) *camk'al-en ha-mal boxoy usen-x-o udi-ğ-oy folklor-a-ne gir-b-e.*
 author-ERG EMPH-few long year-PL-DAT Udi-PL-GEN folklore-DAT-3SG collect-LV-PERF
 'For quite a number of years, the author has collected the folklore of the Udis.' [Nizh; Danakari 2001:4]

- (c) *isus-a aba-t'u-i te baba-n bütün ta-ne-d-e ič ke*
 Jesus-DAT knowing-3SG:IO-PAST SUB father-ERG all give-3SG-\$.PERF REFL hand:DAT

va^š te šo-no-al č'er-e-ne bixog-o[xo] [John 13:3]
 and SUB DIST-REF:ABS-FOC go=out-PERF-3SG god-A[BL]
 'Jesus knew that the Father had given everything into his hand(s) and that he had come from God.'

§ 40. In subordinated clauses, the perfect relates to an event or state that has happened in dependence from the event reported in the matrix clause. As has been said above, this function is coupled with strategies to separate background information from main information. Again, the perfect often has a resultative meaning:

- (x) (a) *aq'-q'un-esa te mo-no-r saxsalamat ar-i*
 take-3PL-LV:PASS:PRES SUB PROX-REF:OBL-PL safe come:PAST-PART:PAST

- mia ba-q'un-p'-e* [GD 61]
 PROX:ADV arrive-3PL-LV-PERF
 'They are astonished (lit.: taken) that they have finally arrived here safely.'

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- (b) *k'ua ar-i be^ǰǰ-sa-q'un te ič-uǰ-o baba*
 home:DAT come:PAST-PART:PAST see-PRES-3PL SUB REFL-PL-GEN father

k'ači-ne bak-e xunči dāng-[n]e bak-e [GD 62]

blind-3SG be-PERF sister mad-3SG be-PERF

‘Having come home they see that their father has become blind (and that the sister has gone mad.’

- (c) *šet'abaxt'inte t'e-vaxt'-a bak-al-le kala dārd ma-no-te te-ne*
 because DIST-time-DAT be-FUT:FAC-3SG great pain REL-REF:ABS-SUB NEG-3SG

bak-e dūnia iaratmiš-b-i-t'-xo oša mel cirik'

be-PERF world create-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-ABL after PROX:SUPER until

‘Because at that time, there will be a great pain that has not been since the creation of the world until now.’ [Matthew 24:21]

§ 41. The perfect tense is standard with intradas to folk tales and anecdotes. Again, its main function is to set up the general time frame and to convey background information. Typical intradas are:

- (x) (a) *ba-ne-k-e te-ne bak-e sa pasč'aǰ*
 be-3SG-\$-PERF NEG-3SG be-PERF one king

pasč'aǰ-en p-e-ne bilži-n-ax te ... [K&S 84]

king-ERG say-PERF-3SG sage-SA-DAT2 SUB

‘There has been, there has not been a king. The king has said to the sage ...’

- (b) *ba-ne-k-e sa pasč'aǰ me-t'-ai ba-ne-k-e-i xib ġar*
 be-3SG-PERF one king PROX-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG-PERF-PAST three son

sa vaxt'-a fikir-re-b-i ... [GD 60]

one time-DAT thought-3SG-LV-PAST

‘There has been a king who had three sons. Once, he thought ...’

- (c) *sa isū-ne bak-e sa čubux p'a^ǰ-al a^ǰil sa ġar sa xinār*
 one man-3SG be-PERF one woman two-FOC child one son one daughter

ġar-i c'i arzuman-ne bak-e ič nana-n azaru-ne bak-e

son-GEN name Arzuman-3SG be-PERF REFL mother-ERG ill-3SG be-PERF

p-e-ne ič is-ex te eq'-za buq'-sa p-i-ne ... [AR 70]

say-PERF-3SG REFL husband-DAT2 SUB meat-1SG:IO want-PRES say-PAST-3SG

‘There were a man, (his) wife (and) two children, a son and a daughter. The son’s name was Arzuman. His mother (who) was ill said to her husband: ‘I want meat’. He said ...’

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- (d) *ba-ne-k-e te-ne bak-e sa ayiz-e*
 be-3SG- $\$$ -PERF NEG-3SG be-PERF one village-DAT

hävzärx-o c'ila sa azuk'-e bak-e [Nizh; ACH; OR 118]

Hävzärux-GEN named one singer-3SG be-PERF

‘There has been, there has not been a singer in a village called Hävzärux.’

§ 42. The simple past that is marked by the suffix *-i* is used to denote a general past (see §§ 36-38). It represents the unmarked pole on the ‘past-perfect scale’. Giginješvili 1959 has suggested that the simple past is associated to the ‘imperfective aspect’, whereas the perfect tense encodes the perfective aspect. This assumption is obviously based on the general tendency in earlier Soviet linguistics to relate the functional scope of tense-aspect forms in a given language to the aspectual system of Russian. Although we cannot exclude, that an earlier version of Udi knew an aspectual paradigm, this is not the case for the present language. Even the Gospels that represent the major source exploited by Giginješvili, do not evince a correlation between the Russian perfect aspect and the Udi perfect tense on the one hand and between the Russian imperfective aspect and the Udi past tense on the other, compare:

- (x) (a) *amma isus-en q'adağa-ne-b-i šo-t'-u* [Mark 1:25]

but Jesus-ERG order-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

‘But Jesus told him to...’ / Russian: *no Iisus zapretil emu ...*[perfective]

- (b) *t'e-vaxt'-a tam-ne-bak-i ieremia pexambar-en p-i-o*

DIST-time-DAT fulfill-3SG-LV-PAST Jeremy prophet-ERG say-PART:PAST-REF:ABS

ma-t'-in-te p-e-ne [Matthew 27:9]

REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB say-PERF-3SG

‘Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet saying’
 [KJ]

Russian: *togda sbyloc' [perf.] rečennoe črez proroka Ieremiju kotoryj govorit [imperf.]*

In fact, the simple past can be used in contexts that typically qualify for the perfective aspect, compare:

- (x) (a) *kala viče ta-ne-d-i kala xinär-ax* [GD 62]

old brother give-3SG-LV-PAST old girl-DAT2

‘He gave the old girl to the old(est) brother.’

- (b) *me-ği sa kağez-zu cam-p-i* [f.n.]

PROX-day one letter-1SG write-LV-PAST

‘Today, I wrote a letter.’

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(c) *šet'a baba p'ur-i-ne* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN father die:STAT-PAST-3SG
 'His father has died.'

(d) *birdän el-le-p-i dadal-en* [Matthew 26:74]
 suddenly crow-3SG-LV-PAST rooster-ERG
 'Suddenly, a rooster crowed.'

(e) *eğel-xo saal me pervar-e ma-q'a-t'un*
 sheep-PL once PROX region-DAT PROH-ADH-3PL

ak'-ec-i i-n-bak-i? [Nizh; ARU; OR 127]
 see-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST hear-2SG-LV-PAST
 'The sheep shall not be seen again in this place! Ok? (lit.: Did you hear?)'

§ 43. In Nizh, there is a variant of the perfect (-ay) that is added to the existential copula *bu* (> *b-ay*). The form occurs especially with the adhortative particle *q'a-*, which illustrates its nature as a perfect marker:

(x) (a) *draste q'a-n b-ay bito-t'-ayna!* [I 14a, Nizh]
 greeting ADH-3SG be-PERF all-SA-BEN
 'May greeting be to all!'

(b) *ef pulxaš q'a-n b-ay!* [I 32, Nizh]
 you:PL:POSS congratulation ADH-3SG be-PERF
 'You shall be congratulated!'

(c) *borč q'a-n b-ay vaynak'-al ili ayl-ox-oynak'* [I 72b, Nizh]
 debt ADH-3SG be-PERF you:SG:BEN or child-PL-BEN
 'May be shame upon you and your children!'

(d) *ki beši mic'ik' bala ma-q'a-n muğur b-ay* [OL 8, Nizh]
 SUBJ we:POSS little child PROH-ADH-3SG awake be-PERF
 '...so that our little child does not wake up.'

(e) *šo etär aš-a, i-b-ay ava-z äyl šo-t'-a-ne* [I 6, Nizh]
 DIST:REF how thing-3SG:Q hear-be-PERF knowing-1SG child DIST-REF:OBL-GEN-3SG
 'What's that matter like? Having heard I know (that) he has a child'

There are two possibilities to explain the form *b-ay*: On the one hand, the form may represent the Udi conjunctive *-ay* (see below). Still, it should be noted that else the conjunctive is never used with the adhortative. On the other hand, the form *-ay* may reflect one of the two variants of the Old Udi past tense (*-ê = -ey ~ -ay*). As far as data go, the distribution is determined by lexical criteria. Unfortunately, the Old Udi past form of the copula (*bow-_-h-ê*) does not help to determine the nature of *-ay*,

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because *bow-* *-h-ê* represents an analytic form based on the past stem of the light verb *ih-* (> *h-*).

Most likely, the form at issue is also present in the imperative *upa beyn ~ upa bayn* ‘say!’ that is occasionally used in Nizh, compare:

(x) (a) *beš Vitoš-en šu-a haq'-sa up-a b-ey-n!* [I 78, Nizh]
 our Vitoš-EN who:DAT-3SG:Q take-PRES say:IMP-IMP:2SG be-PERF-2SG
 ‘Say: Whom does our Vitosh take (with him)?’

(b) *up-a b-ey-n šu-nu*
 say:IMP-IMP:2SG be-PERF-2SG who-2SG

mani bava-y na-y ġar-nu [I 83d, Nizh]
 which father-GEN mother-GEN son-3SG
 ‘Say: who are you, the son of which father (and) mother are you.’

§ 44. From a synchronic point of view, the formation of the simple past and the perfect tense differs considerably from what can be described as the Lezgian etalon. In the Samur languages, the paradigm of past tenses is based on the past tense converb or participle, to which auxiliaries are added in some of the languages, compare the formation of the simple past in the following languages (only the basic structures are given):

(x)		Stem	Gerund	AUX
	Lezgi	Past	<i>-na</i>	---
	Tabasaran	Perfective	<i>-nu</i>	AUX
	Aghul	Perfective	<i>-na</i>	AUX
	Rutul	Perfective	<i>-r</i>	AUX
	Tsakhur	Perfective	<i>-Ø</i>	AUX
	Kryts	Perfective	---	<i>-ž</i>
	Budukh	Perfective	---	<i>-ži</i>

In Udi, the tense markers are directly added to the stem that itself is not marked for aspectual features. The fact that the simple past also functions as a participle suggests that it reflects a structural parallel to that of the Lezgi aorist, compare:

(x) (a) *pulat-a k'el-el muld-cük laha-na t''ar ecig-na*
 Pulat-ERG sheep-SUPER:ESS violet say:PAST-GER:PAST name give:PAST-PAST
 ‘Pulat named the sheep ‘Violet.’ [Lezgi; Bilalov & Tagirov 1987:25]

(b) *amma šo-t'-ğ-on te-q'un q'amiš-bak-i*
 but DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG NEG-3PL understand-LV-PAST

še-t'-in p-i ait-urğ-ox [Luke 2:50]

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DIST-REF:OBL-ERG say-PART:PAST word-PL-DAT2

‘But they did not understand the words he said.’

It would be attractive to interpret the Udi simple past morpheme *-i* as an old past gerund. It would then match the distributional pattern of the non-past participle *-al* (> factitive future) that perhaps stems from the proto-Lezgian non-past gerund **-a-ri* (see § 9 above). However, contrary to the factitive future, the simple past allows endoclititization, compare:

	Factitive Future	Simple Past
Endoclititic	** <i>a-ne-q'-al</i> take-3SG-\$-FUT:FAC	<i>a-ne-q'-i</i> take-3SG-\$-PAST
Enclitic	<i>aq'-al-le</i> take- FUT:FAC-3SG	<i>aq'-i-ne</i> take-PAST-3SG

Endoclititization, however, is typical for tense forms that are derived from older auxiliaries. This has been shown above for the present tense. From this, we can infer that the two past tense markers *-i* and *-e* originally had been auxiliaries, too. A parallel construction is given for instance in Aghul:

(x) (a) *zun daft'ar ħuru-n-i* [Fite, Aghul; Magometiv 1970:131]

I:ABS book read-GER:PAST-COP:PAST

‘I read the book.’

(b) *zun daft'ar ħuru-n-a* [Fite, Aghul; Magometov 1970:132]

I:ABS book read-GER:PAST-EXIST:PRES

‘I have read the book.’

Most Aghul dialects also allow to identify the two Udi morphemes: For instance, in Richa and Tpig the standard (locational) copula has two forms:

(x) Present *e*
Past *i*

Although in Aghul, the (resultative) perfect is construed with the help of the existential copula *a* instead of the locational copula *e*, it is reasonable to assume that the Udi morphemes stem from a common paradigm that is in analogy with (x). From a functional point of view, this assumption is adequate: As has been said above, the resultative perfect has semantic properties that relate it to the present tense frame, whereas the simple past lacks this property. Therefore, the following correlation holds:

(x) Past: Verb(past) + COP:PAST
Perfect: Verb(past) + COP:PRES

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However, this analysis presupposes that the verbal stems to which the former copulas had been added included a notion of ‘past reference’. From a morphological point of view, there are no traces (left) of a former gerund or participle that would have satisfied this condition. The only exception is the set of MOVE-verbs that are marked by the segment *-(er)r-* in the past tenses (see 3.4.2.2, §§ 38-40 for a comprehensive discussion), compare:

- (x) *aiz-esun* ‘to rise’ > *aiz-er-* [*aiz-e* with some speakers in Nizh]
čič-esun ‘to pull out’ > *čič-er-* etc.

However, there is no evidence that standard strong verbs such as *aq’sun* ‘to take’, *saksun* ‘to throw’, *biq’sun* ‘to seize’, *bixsun* ‘to create’, *u^šğsun* ‘to drink’, or *uksun* ‘to eat’ ever had parallel past stems (***aq’-er-*, ***bix-er-* etc.). Nevertheless, it can be supposed that the verbal stems themselves once had a perfective rather than an imperfective meaning: In the Lezgian languages, the imperfective aspect is usually derived from the unmarked perfective stem, in case this opposition is based on stem formation (see Schulze 1994b). Hence, two solutions seem possible: Either, the verb stem itself served as a past gerund, or a corresponding morpheme (**-na* ?) has been lost. (x) simulates both variants with the help of data from Modern Udi:

- (x) (a) **aq’* *i* > *aq’i*
 take:PAST:GER be:PAST > ‘took’
- *aq’* *e* > *aq’e*
 take:PAST:GER be:PRES > ‘has taken’
- (b) **aq’-X* *i* > *aq’i*
 take-PAST:GER be:PAST > ‘took’
- *aq’-X* *e* > *aq’e*
 take-PAST:GER be:PRES > ‘has taken’

(x,a) relates Udi to the Western and Southern Samur type, whereas (x,b) represents the Eastern Samur type (see (x) above).

§ 45. Perfect 2: A ‘perfect2’ is encoded with the help of the morpheme *-io* (*-iyo* in the Nizh dialect). The tense form is extremely rare in Vartashen, but frequent in Nizh. In Vartashen, the simple perfect is often used in those contexts that are in Nizh marked for the perfect2. In Nizh, it often translates ‘it is so that X has *verbed*’ and hence functions as a constative or past assertive. As far as data go, stem internal endoclititization is not allowed. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ğe šk’ol-a cīcik’-t’un bot’-iyo* (...)
 today school-DAT bud-3PL cut-PERF2

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axsap'et'-en q'a k'irk'or-en o'sne-t'un-p-iyō
 Akhsapet-ERG and Kirkor-ERG weep-3PL-LV-PERF2

märk'erit' šin-a ava maya-a č'ap'-bak-iyō
 Margarit who:ERG-3SG:Q knowing where-3SG:Q hide-LV-PERF2

xat'un k'oya-ne t'it'-er-iyō [Nizh; SD 67]

Khatun house:DAT-3SG run-PAST-PERF2

'Today, they have vaccinated (lit.: cut a bud) [us] in the school (...). Akhsapet and Kirkor have wept. Margarit has hidden nobody knows where. Khatun has run home.'

- (b) *seri-t'un p-iyō* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]

true-3PL say-PERF2

'They have said the truth.'

- (c) *äfči-z duğ-iyō qay-bak-a-nan tak-i-nan* [Nizh; OR 66]

lie-1SG hit-PERF2 back-BE-MOD-2PL go:IMP-IMP-2PL

'I have said a lie. Go back!'

- (d) *aris xačbava hik'ä-n čur-piyo?* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 53]

Aris godfather what-2SG stand-LV-PERF2

'Godfather Aris, why (lit.: what) do you wait (lit.: have you stood up)?'

- (e) *ma[-a] bak-io pasč'ağ žuhut'-ğ-oi?* [Matthew 2:2]

where[-3SG:Q] be-PERF2 king Jew-PL:GEN

'Where has been the king of the Jews?'

- (f) *gele yaq'-un č'ova-k'-iyō q'ac'-urxo-y boš-un bak-iyō*

much way-2SG pass=by-PERF2 need-PL-GEN in-2SG be-PERF2

va sal oq'a te-n sak-iyō [Nizh; OR 6]

you:SG:DAT ever down NEG-2SG throw-PERF2

'You have passed by many roads, you have been in needs, (but) you never have surrendered (lit. thrown you down).'

- (g) *šet'abaxt'inte me säfär doğri-ne p-io* [John 4:37]

because PROX time truth-3SG say-PERF2

'... because this time he has told the truth.'

Note that Nizh informants sometimes used the Azeri inferential (*-mİş*) to translate the Udi perfect2. Hence, the perfect2 can also be used in terms of an inferential assertive, referring to a state of knowledge ('it is so (I know from certain sources) that ...'). This usage is already documented in 19th Udi:

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- (x) (a) *hetär-a har-io hetär-a tac-io hetär-a puč-bak-io*
 how-3SG:Q come:PAST-PERF2 how-3SG:Q go:PAST-PERF2 how-3SG:Q destroy-LV-PERF2

udi-n padšağluğ še-t'-ğ-ox udi-ğ-on te-t'un ava [UD 57]
 Udi-GEN kingdom DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 Udi-PL-ERG NEG-3PL knowing
 'The Udis cannot tell, how it happened that the Udi kingdom was destroyed.'

- (b) *armin-ğ-oy čamči-in ist'ori-in boš cam-e*
 Armenian-PL-GEN Tshamtshian-GEN history-GEN in written-3SG

hetär-t'un udi-ğ-oi padšax-ğ-on armin-ğ-oy padšağ-oxun dava-b-iyoy
 how-3PL udi-PL-GEN king-PL-ERG Armenian-PL-GEN king-COM war-LV-PERF2

č'ax-ec-iyoy xarž tad-iyoy hetär-t'un p'urum haiz-er-iyoy
 defeat-LV:PASS:PAST-PERF2 tax give-PERF2 how-3PL again rise-PAST-PERF2

armin-ğ-ox č'ax-iyoy ič-ğ-oy baxt'in dinžalins bak-iyoy [UD 57]
 Armenian-PL-DAT2 defeat-PERF REFL-PL-GEN for peaceful be-PERF2
 'In Tshamtshian's history of the Armenians it is written how the Udi kings made war with the Armenian king, [how they] were defeated, [how they] paid taxes, how they again rose, [how they] defeated the Armenians, [how they] lived peaceful on their own.'

Obviously, the perfect2 stems from the referentialized past participle *-i-o* (see 3.2.3 and 3.4.9). This participle can be raised to a referential structure in apposition to its semantic head and then translated a relative clause (see x.x.x):

- (x) (a) *t'e-vaxt'-a iuda šo-t'-ux tov-d-i-o*
 DIST-time-DAT Iuda DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 sell-LV-PART:PAST-REF:ABS

a-t'u-k'-i te šo-t'-ux gүнähk'är-q'un-b-e [Matthew 27:3]
 see-3SG:IO- $\$$ -PAST SUB DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 sinner-3PL-LV-PERF
 'Then Judas who had betrayed him saw that they condemned him.'

- (b) *baxt'avarru-q'un bixog'o ait i-bak-i-o*
 praised-3PL god-GEN word hear-LV-PART:PAST-REF:ABS

va^š šo-t'-ux tam-b-i-o [Matthew 11:28]
 and DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 fulfill-PART:PAST-REF:ABS
 'Praised are they who have listened to the word of God and who have fulfilled it.'

- (c) *ägänä šo-no xrist'os-ne bixog'on č'ak'-p-i-o* [Luke 23:35]
 if DIST-REF:ABS Christ-3SG god-ERG choose-LV-PART:PAST-REF:ABS

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‘If he is Christ, chosen by God.’

- (d) *ia aba-ia te un učit’el-lu*
 we:DAT knowing-1PL:IO SUB you:SG teacher-2SG

bixogǔ-oxo ar-i-o [John 3:2]
 god-ABL come:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:ABS
 ‘We know that you are the teacher who has come from God.’

- (e) *q’uš-en ex-ne vax eč-er-i-o zu*
 bird-ERG say:PRES-3SG you:SG:DAT2 bring-PAST-PART:PAST-REF:ABS I

mandak’-bak-al-o un [R 16]
 tired-LV-PART:NPAST-REF:ABS you:SG
 ‘The bird says: I have brought you, who is tired.’

Nevertheless, the grammaticalization process is not fully clear: In case the perfect2 stems from a predicative use of the referentialized participle, we should expect that the agreement clitics always follow the verb, compare:

- (x) (a) *xinär gölö śavat’-t’e* [f.n.]
 girl much beautiful-3SG
 ‘The girl is very beautiful’

- (b) ***xinär gölö-ne śavat’*
 girl much-3SG beautiful

- (x) (a) *ayit-t’un p-iyo* [Nizh, f.n.]
 word-3PL say-PERF2
 ‘They have said a word.’

- (b) ***ayit p-iyo-t’un*
 word say-PERF2-3PL

The examples illustrate that the perfect2 behaves opposite to standard predicative structures that always call for an agreement clitic in final position (see x.x.x). This position is excluded with the perfect2. It is more likely that the original relative clause has been reinterpreted as a matrix clause:

- (x) (a) *t’e-vaxt’-a adamar-en śum kä-i-o be^š-ne-gǔ-i...* [f.n.]
 DIST-time-DAT man-ERG bread eat:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:ABS see-3SG- $\$$ -PAST
 ‘Then the man who had eaten the bread saw ...’

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- (b) *t'e-vaxt'-a adamar-en šum-ne kã-io be^f-ne-ğĩ ...*
 DIST-time-DAT man-ERG bread eat.PERF2 see-3SG-\$-PAST
 'Then the man had eaten the bread. He saw ...'

An intermediate state is illustrated for instance by the following passage:

- (x) *ar-i-ne t'e-tar-al va^f p'a^f talant'*
 come:PAST-PAST-3SG DIST-ADV-FOC and two talent

aq'-i-o va^f p-i-ne [Matthew 25:22]
 take-PART:PAST-REF:ABS and say-PAST-3SG
 'He who has taken two talents came and said...'

Here, the participle *aq'io* 'having taken' is coordinated with the two other matrix verbs (*va^f* 'and'). However, the clause (still) lacks an agreement clitic (*p'a^f talant'* *aq'io* instead of *p'a^f talant'-t'e aq'io*).

3.4.4.2 Secondary tense/mood forms. Just as it true for a number of other Lezgian languages, Udi uses an element *-i ~ -y* to derive secondary past tense forms from the set of primary tenses. In Nizh, the morpheme is *-iy* if following a consonant. (x) illustrates the basic paradigm with the help of the verb *aq'sun* 'to take':

		+ <i>-i</i>	
Present	<i>aq'-sa(-)</i>	Present Past (§ 10)	<i>aq'-sa-i</i>
Factitive Future	<i>aq'-al-</i>	Factitive Future Past (§ 11)	<i>aq'-al- -i</i>
Future2	<i>aq'-ala-</i>	Future2 Past (§ 12)	<i>aq'-ala- -i</i>
Modal Future	<i>aq'-o(-)</i>	Modal Future Past (§13)	<i>aq'-o(-)-i</i>
Modal	<i>aq'-a-</i>	Modal Past (§ 14)	<i>aq'-a- -i</i>
Past	<i>aq'-i(-)</i>	Past Past (§ 15)	<i>aq'-i- -i</i>
Perfect	<i>aq'-e(-)</i>	Perfect Past (§ 16)	<i>aq'-e(-)-i</i>
Perfect2	<i>aq'-io</i>	Perfect2 Past (§ 17)	<i>aq'-io-i</i>

Following the convention applied throughout this book, the symbol '*-_*' indicates the slot accessible for personal clitics. As long as no bracketing is given, the use of the slot is obligatory (see below). Note that in the table above, I do not mention the conjunctive *-ai- ~ -ayi-* which sometimes is wrongly interpreted as a variant of the the Modal Past (*-a- -i*), see below § 14.

In this section, I will first discuss the general make-up of the secondary paradigm of tense/mood forms (§§ 1-9). This includes both statistical observations and a discussion of the positional preferences of the morpheme. §§ 10-17 turn to the functional scope of the individual tense/mood forms.

§ 1. Harris 2002:105 has argued that the element *-i ~ -y* is a clitic: "The fact that the past marker *-y/-i* occurs with words from a variety of form classes indicates that it is a clitic." However, this claim disregards the fact that the element *-i ~ -y* is never

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added to say nouns or adjectives as such, but always to a personal agreement marker that is cliticized to the lexeme in question (see 3.4.5), compare:

(x) (a) *amma šo-no gölö kala-ne-i* [Mark 16:4]
 but DIST-REF:ABS much big-3SG-PAST
 ‘But it (the stone) was very big.’

(b) ***amma šo-no gölö-ne kala-i*
 but DIST-REF:ABS much-3SG big-PAST

Actually, the element *-i ~ -y* can be added only to personal agreement clitics in copula function (see x.x.x) or to tense marked verb forms. In addition, it can be used with the tense-free existential copula *bu* (see x.x.x). (x) illustrates these three options:

(x) (a) *aba-za šo-t'-ux te k'ači-zu-i* [John 9:25]
 knowing-1SG:IO DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 SUB blind-1SG-PAST
 ‘I know that I was blind.’

(b) *me pasč'ağ-un sa haq'ullu q'oža maslahat'či-t'a bu-i* [IK 67]
 PROX king-GEN one wise old counselor-3SG:POSS be-PAST
 ‘THIS king had a wise old counselor.’

(c) *šet'abaxt'inte ba-ne-k-o-i me miro-n-ax tov-d-a-ne*
 thus be-3SG-FUT:MOD-PAST PROX ointment-SA-DAT2 sell-LV-MOD-3SG

kala tog-en va^š bar-bak-eğ-a-ne-i kasib-ğo
 big price-ERG>INSTR and part-LV-LV:PASS:FUT-MOD-3SG-PAST poor-PL-DAT
 ‘Thus one might sell this ointment for a good price and it should be distributed among the poor.’ [Matthew 26:9]

§ 2. If we consider agreement markers in predicative structures as copula-like elements (see x.x.x), it comes clear that the element *-i ~ -y* is confined to relational structures (or: verbs). In order to support the claim that this element has a clitic status, Harris 2002:106 refers to the set of criteria proposed by Zwicky and Pullum 1983:503-4 to identify clitics. The most problematic criterion with respect to *-i ~ -y* is criterion F: “Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.” Harris argues that the past modal (*-a-i*) conforms to this criterion. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the ‘past modal’ in fact is a tense marker distinct from the set of morphemes under consideration. Hence the assumption is wrong according to which it is the only tense form that allows a personal agreement marker to follow the tense complex ***-a-i*. In fact, the agreement marker follows the primary tense/mood marker or fills another slots. In order to illustrate this point, (x) lists the distribution of the three relevant types in all Vartashen texts currently available (TM = Tense/Mood cluster, CL = agreement clitic):

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(X)

Label	Pattern	TM-CL- <i>i</i>	TM- <i>i</i>	TM- <i>i</i> -CL
Present Past	PRES + <i>-i</i>	47 [only <i>ex-</i>]	615	---
Factitive Future Past	FUT:FAC + <i>-i</i>	2	---	---
Future2 Past	FUT2 + <i>-i</i>	3	---	---
Modal Future Past	FUT:MOD + <i>-i</i>	1	37	---
Modal Past / Conjunctive	MOD + <i>-i</i> / <i>-ay</i>	37	---	0 / 250
Past Past	PAST + <i>-i</i>	99	---	---
Perfect Past	PERF + <i>-i</i>	5	92	---
Perfect2 Past	PERF2 + <i>-i</i>	---	1	---
TOTAL		1189	745	250

For the corpus of contemporary Nizh texts, the following picture emerges:

(X)

Label	Pattern	TM-CL- <i>i</i>	TM- <i>i</i>	TM- <i>i</i> -CL
Present Past	PRES + <i>-i</i>	8 [<i>nex-</i>]	62	---
Factitive Future Past	FUT:FAC + <i>-i</i>	3	---	---
Future2 Past	FUT2 + <i>-i</i>	3	---	---
Modal Future Past	FUT:MOD + <i>-i</i>	---	13	---
Modal Past / Conjunctive	MOD + <i>-i</i>	2	---	0 / 13
Past Past	PAST + <i>-i</i>	3	---	---
Perfect Past	PERF + <i>-i</i>	13	24	---
Perfect2 Past	PERF2 + <i>-i</i>	---	---	---
TOTAL		143	99	13

The restriction of the past marker to the past modal strongly questions the clitic status of this marker. Below, I put forward the hypothesis that the past modal in fact represents two different tense/mood categories: *-a-_-i* (past modal) vs. *-ai-_-* (conjunctive). Accordingly, the ‘conjunctive’ *-ai-_-* is not marked by the past morpheme *-i ~ -y* as such, but represents a single morpheme.

§ 3. Table (x) illustrates that the individual tense forms show different preferences: The combination TM-CL-*i* is typical for the variant of the ‘simple past’ and for the past modal (in its non-conjunctive use), whereas the other tense forms strongly prefer the combination TM-*i* with *-i* in final position. The fact that the past modal (in its adhortative use) calls for the clitic to be placed between the two tense/mood markers is conditioned by the constraint on agreement markers with the modal as such (see §§ 18-27 above and 3.4.5): It necessarily follows the modal marker *-a*, compare:

(x) (a) *śel-le bak-o-i te t'e adamar nu bak-a-ne-i* [Matthew 26:24]
 good-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST SUB DIST person PROH be-MOD-3SG-PAST
 ‘It would have been better (lit.: good), if that person did not exist.’

(b) *ośa pasč'ağ-un xinär-en-al düz houz-un t'o^ŕğo^ŕl-le*
 then king-GEN daughter-ERG-FOC directly well-GEN at-3SG

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ar-e te čo oc'-k'-a-ne-i [S&S 85]

come:PAST-PERF SUB face wash-LV-MOD-3SG-PAST

‘Then the king’s daughter has come directly to the well in order to wash her face.’

(c) *ex-ne te vādi-n-ax te-z aba-i evax box-a-zu-i* [R 10]

say:PRES SUB time-SA-DAT2 NEG-1SG knowing-PAST when cook-MOD-1SG-PAST

‘He says: I did not know the time when I should cook (the meal).’

The preference of the personal clitics to be placed between the two tense morphemes of the past variant of the simple past is probably conditioned by phonetic reasons: The combination -PAST-PAST-CL would yield forms like *aq'-i-i-ne* (take-PAST-PAST-3SG) etc. that are difficult to distinguish from the simple past (*aq'ine*).

§ 4. Harris 2002:27 mentions an ‘imperfect’ form (present-past) *b-esa-ne-y* (do-PRES-3SG-PAST) ‘(s)he was doing’, which suggests that this tense form, too, allows the sequence -CL-PAST. However, the sequence -*sa*-CL-*i* is not documented in the Vartashen and Nizh sources and informants constantly rejected to use it. The only ‘exception’ is given by the present stem of the verb *pesun* ‘to say’ (Vartashen *ex-*, Nizh *nex-*, see 3.4.2.2): Here, the segment -*i* ~ -*y* regularly follows the agreement clitic, compare:

(x) (a) *ava-bak-al-t'-ğon nex-t'un-iy*

knowing-be-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-ERG say:PRES-3PL-PAST

šo-t'-oğ-oi tum gele ä'xil-äxun-e [Nizh; ACH; OR 118]

DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN root much distance-ABL-3SG

‘The wise (people) had said that their root(s) stem from far away.’

(b) *t'e-sun-t'-ğ-on-al ex-q'un-i*

DIST-one:REF-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-FOC say:PRES-3PL-PAST

te bisi pexambar-ğ-oxo soo-ne aiz-er-e [Luke 9:19]

sub old prophet-PL-ABL one:REF:ABS-3SG rise-PAST-PERF

‘Those had said that one of the old prophets has risen again.’

But note that this exception does not hold for the use of *pesun* as a light verb (see 3.4.2.2): Here again, the segment -*i* ~ -*y* fuses with the verb stem:

(x) (a) *šo-t'-oğ-on äci-t'un-ne-y* [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]

DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG play-3PL-LV:PRES-PAST

‘They were playing’

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(b) *boq'oy-in gūndo-ğ-oy t'o'ğō'l arc-e-ne-y*
 dough-GEN lump-PL-GEN at sit-PERF-3SG-PAST

soğō soğō q'uč'-e-ne-y [Nizh; PA 164]
 one:REF:ABS one:REF:ABS swallow-3SG-LV-PAST

‘(S)he sat down by the dough lumps and swallowed one (after) the other.’

(c) *isus-a biq'al xalx-en šo-t'-ux*
 Jesus-DAT seize-PART:NPAST people-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2

dižam-q'un-b-esa-i va^š t'ap'-q'un-exa-i šo-t'-u [Luke 22:63]
 derision-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST and hit-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT

‘The people who seized Jesus derided him and hit him.’

§ 5. The only tense form that in fact can vary between the two types TM-CL-*i* and TM-*i* is the past variant of the perfect tense. This is especially true for Nizh, compare:

(x) (a) *hävzärxo-al gir-ec-i har-e-t'un-iy* [ACH; OR 120]

Hävzär-PL-FOC gather-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST come:PAST-PERF-3PL-PAST

‘The people from Hävzär had come together.’

(b) *ayiz-e sa q'onağ-e har-e-y* [UKS; OR 135]

village-DAT one guest-3SG come:PAST-PERF-PAST

‘A guest had come to a village...’

§ 6. Nevertheless, the sequence -TM-*i* is the preferred variant in Nizh, too. The same holds for the past variant of the modal future. Here, the Vartashen texts generally show the order TM-*i*. The only exception is:

(x) *ägänä ba-gi-nan-k-e-i avraam-i a'il-ux t'e-vaxt'-a*
 if be-HYP-2PL-§-PERF-PAST Abraham-GEN child-PL DIST-time-DAT

b-o-nan-i avraam-en p-i aš-urğ-ox [John 8:39]

do-FUT:MOD-2PL-PAST Abraham-ERG say-PART:PAST thing-PL-DAT2

‘If you had been Abraham’s children, you would have done what he had said.’

The standard order that is also preferred by native speakers can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(x) (a) *va^š zu-al ar-i a-z-q'-o-i*
 and I-FOC come:PAST-PART:PAST take-1SG-§.FUT:MOD-PAST

bezi-t'-ux q'azanğ-en [Matthew 25:27]

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I:POSS-REF:OBL-DAT2 usury-ERG>INSTR

‘... and I would have returned and taken the mine with usury.’

- (b) *ägänä te efa^ʃ aba-bak-ai-va^ʃ zax*
 if SUB EMPH:you:PL:DAT knowing-be-CONJ-2PL:IO I:DAT2

t'e-vaxt'-a aba-va^ʃ-bak-o-i bez baba-x [John 8:19]

DIST-TIME-DAT knowing-be-FUT:MOD-PAST I:POSS father:DAT2

‘If you had known me, you would then have known my father.’

- (c) *gešluḡ-a sa hema bać amdar-e bak-o-i* [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]

gorge-DAT one how=many hundred person-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST

‘In the gorge, there will have been some hundred people.’

§ 7. In sum, the following positional constraints and preferences can be described:

(x)

	Obligatory	Preference
TM-CL- <i>i</i>	Past Past Present Past (<i>pesun</i>) Factitive Future Past Future2 Past Modal Past 1	---
TM- <i>i</i>	Present Past Perfect2 Past	Perfect Past Modal Future Past
- <i>ai</i> -CL	Conjunctive	---

It comes clear that the place of the segment *-i ~ -y* depends from the position of the slot used for agreement clitics: It follows an agreement clitic in case the clitic is trapped by the tense/mood category (Factitive Future Past, Future2 Past, Modal Past 1 and probably Modal Past 2 (see § 14 below)). In case the use of the slot is optional, the general preference is to ignore it: The past morpheme is directly added to the primary tense form (Present Past, Perfect(2) Past, Modal Future Past). This second type illustrates that the past morpheme *-i ~ -y* is not necessarily trapped by the personal agreement clitic. Usually, it keeps its place after the primary tense morpheme even if the clitic is again trapped by another constituent such as the marker of the hypothetical *gi-* or the assertive negator *te-*, compare:

- (x) (a) *ägänä un ba-gi-n-k-e-i mia*
 if you:SG be-HYP-2SG-BE-PERF-PAST PROX:ADV

bi-al-te-ne-i bez viči [John 11:21]

die-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG-PAST I:POSS brother

‘If you had been here, my brother would not have died.’

- (b) *ägänä nä-gi-n gödäg bak-e-i t'e ḡi-mxox t'e-vaxt'-a*

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if NEG:HYP-HYP-3SG short be-PERF-PAST DIST day-PL DIST-time-DAT

te-ne čxar-k'-o-i tāksa sa laśag-q'an [Matthew 24:22]

NEG-3SG save-LV-FUT:MOD-PAST only one body-and

‘If those days would not have been shortened, not a single body would have been saved.’

Only rarely, the past morpheme can be exported to a clitic outside the verb form. Examples are:

(x) (a) *hala vādä te-ne-i bak-e to^hxa^hna gir-b-esan* [Mark 11:13]

still time NEG-3SG-PAST be-PERF fig collect-LV-CV:TEL

‘It still was not the time to collect figs.’

(b) *gög-n-ä pasč'agluğ zor-in-ne-i aq'-esa* [Matthew 11:12]

heaven-SA-GEN kingdom force-ERG>INSTR-3SG-PAST take-LV:PRES

‘The heaven’s kingdom was taken by force.’

(c) *bez baba-n q'eiri ga-n-u-ne-i iaq'-a-b-e* [CO § 2]

I:POSS father-ERG other place-SA-DAT-3SG-PAST way-DAT-LV-PERF

‘My father had sent (me) to another place.’

(d) *anžag-ne-i ci-r-e be^h-ne-ğ-sa ič beś tarna* [IM 61]

hardly-3SG-PAST go=down-PAST-PERF see-3SG\$-PRES REFL before oven

‘Hardly has she gone down, she sees an oven before her.’

Harris 2002:134, fn.20 suggests that the export of the past segment *-i ~ -y* “may represent a possibility that no longer exists”. In fact, this technique is no longer present in contemporary Udi. This indicates that the segment has become a more suffix-like element although it still lacks some of the properties that are typical for suffixes.

§ 8. The main function of the past element *-i ~ -y* (in Nizh *-iy* when following a consonant) is to lay emphasis on the past tense frame. Its basic meaning is “it was (so) that...”. This superficially cleft-like function is related to the original properties of the segment. Most likely, we have to deal with the past variant of the copula **e (> *i)* already referred to in § 43 above. The phrases in (x) simulate the basic structure with the help of Modern Udi:

(x) (a) *adamar-en śum-ne uk-sa-i* [f.n.]

man-ERG bread-3SG eat-PRES-PAST

‘The man was eating bread.’

< **adamar-en śum-ne uk-sa i*

man-ERG bread-3SG eat-PRES COP:PAST

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*‘It was so: The man eats bread.’

- (b) *adamar-en šum-ne uk-o-i* [f.n.]
 man-ERG bread-3SG eat-FUT:MOD-PAST
 ‘The man should have eaten bread.’

< **adamar-en šum-ne uk-o i*
 man-ERG bread-3SG eat-FUT:MOD COP:PAST
 *‘It was so: The man would/will eat bread.’

- (c) *adamar-en šum-ne k-e-i* [f.n.]
 man-ERG bread-3SG eat:PAST-PERF-PAST
 ‘The man has eaten bread.’

< **adamar-en šum-ne k-e i*
 man-ERG bread-3SG eat:PAST-PERF COP:PAST
 *‘It was so: The man has eaten bread.’

The original nature of *-i ~ -y* as a copula explains why the sequence *-TM-i-* is not tolerated with standard verbs (except for the conjunctive *-ai-* (see above) and the copula *bu* that can occasionally show the sequence *bu-i-*, see 3.4.4.4): By the time, the segment still functioned as a copula, it did not attract personal agreement markers. In a later variant of Udi, the nature of **i* as a copula became gradually obscured. It lost its relational properties and became grammaticalized as a general ‘past’ marker.

§ 9. The original copula function of the element *-i ~ -y* conditions that it does not simply changes the semantics of a given tense/mood form to an ‘earlier time level’. In fact, the morpheme often emphasizes a given past tense form instead of referring to an event prior to the tense frame set up by the verb. The following passages can help to illustrate this point:

- (x) (a) *va^f te-q’un bo^šğā^f-b-i še-t’-a lašag-ax*
 and NEG-3PL find-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN body-DAT2

va^f ar-i p-i-q’un-i
 and come:PAST-PART:PAST say-3PL-PAST

te šo-t’-ğ-o a-q’o-k’-e fārišt’ä ak’-esun
 SUB DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT see-3PL:IO- $\$$ -PREF angel see-LV:PASS:MASD2

ma-t’-ğ-on-te p-i-q’un šo-no dūrüs-ne [Luke 24:23]
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB say-PAST-3PL DIST-REF:ABS alive-3SG

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‘And they did not find (PAST) his body and finally they said (PAST-PAST) that they have seen (PERF) an angel, a vision that said (PAST) that he is alive (PRES).’

- (b) *soğo uda k'ac'-p-sa-ne tac-e-y*
 one:REF:ABS brushwood cut-LV-PRES-3SG go:PAST-PERF-PAST

čäkül-ä ci-ne-d-i udi-n-a gir-e-b-i [KAL; OR 131]

basket-DAT put=down-3SG-LV-PAST brushwood-SA-DAT collect-3SG-LV-PAST

‘A man went (PERF-PAST) to cut brushwood. He put down (PAST) the basket and collected (PAST) the brushwood.’

- (c) *har-i p'a-t'un-p'-i oq-e ćot'-a*
 come:PAST-PART:PAST arrive-3PL- $\text{\$}$ -PAST river-GEN bank-DAT

oq-e xe gele bak-e-ne-y äyluğ-on ċ'uk'udi-n-a
 river-GEN water much be-PERF-3SG-PAST child-PL-ERG Chukuda-SA-DAT

oq'a ci-v-k-i p-i-t'un [KAL; OR 123]

down go=down-CAUS-LV-PART:PAST say-PAST-3PL

‘They finally came (PAST) to the river bank. The river had (PERF-PAST) much water. The children put Chukuda down (and) said (PAST)...’

Nevertheless, the addition of the past morpheme can also cause a modification of the basic tense/mood frame. This is especially true for the non-past tense/mood forms. We have to deal with a blend of the two functional domains in question that (in parts) completely disguises the original function of the primary tense/mood form. Still, it is not appropriate to treat the secondary tense/mood forms in terms of separate categories. Accordingly, secondary tense forms are always glossed as complex morphemes.

§ 10. Present Past. The present-past morpheme is represented by the cluster *-sa-i*. In case metathesis of *-s-* takes place (see 2.4.4.1, §§ 2-6), the past morpheme is added to the vowel of the present tense morpheme:

- (x) *aq'-sa > aq'-sa-i* ‘taking’
ta-st'a > ta-st'a-i ‘giving’

As has been said above, there is no clitic slot open between the present tense morpheme and the past tense marker. In addition, clitics cannot follow the past tense marker, compare:

- (x) (a) *tämbäl-en b-esa-ne čubuğ-on uk'-al-o k'ena*
 lazy=one-ERG make-PRES-3SG woman-ERG say:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS how
 ‘The lazy one does (it) as the woman has said.’ [CH&T 170]

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(b) *me-t'-in q'ulluǰ te-ne b-esa-i* [IK 67]

PROX-REF:OBL-ERG service NEG-3SG make-PRES-PAST

‘He did not serve ...’

(c) ***me-t'in q'ulluǰ bak-sa-i te-ne*

PROX-REF:OBL-ERG service make-PRES-PAST NEG-3SG

The general meaning of the present past is that of a past continuative. Therefore, it is frequently used with verbs denoting a continuous action. For instance, in the cumulation of all Vartashen text currently available, the present past is preferably used with the following verbs:

(X)	<i>taisun</i>	42	‘to go’
	<i>buq'sun</i>	34	‘to want, love’
	<i>pesun</i>	28	‘to say, talk’
	<i>furupsun</i>	25	‘to walk around, search’
	<i>baksun</i>	22	‘to be(come)’
	<i>be'ǰsun</i>	19	‘to see, look at’
	<i>esun</i>	18	‘to come’
	<i>aq'esun</i>	17	‘to be amazed’
	<i>zombesun</i>	15	‘to teach’
	<i>aitpesun</i>	14	‘to talk, speak’
	<i>ak'sun</i>	10	‘to see’

Examples for the use of the present past are:

(x) (a) *t'e-tär-te xalx aq'-ne-sa-i evaxte a-q'o-k'-sa-i*

DIST-ADV-SUB people take-3SG-LV:PASS:PRES-PAST when see-3PL:IO- $\$$ -PRES-PAST

lal-urǰ-on ait-q'un-exa [Matthew 15:31]

dumb=one-PL-ERG word-3PL-SAY:PRES

‘Thus people were amazed when they saw that the dumb ones were (lit.: are) speaking.’

(b) *nik'odim ma-no-te e-ne-sa-i še-t'-a t'o ǰo'ǰ*

Nicodemus REL-REF:ABS-SUB come-3SG- $\$$:PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at

išoun (...) p-i-ne šo-t'-ǰ-o [John 7:50]

at=night (...) say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

‘Nicodemus, who was following him at night, (...) said to them...’

(c) *pasč'aǰ-un ǰar-a me gädi-n-ax gölö bu-t'u-q'-sa-i*

king-GEN son-DAT PROX boy-SA-DAT2 much love-3SG:IO- $\$$ -PRES-PAST

met'abaxt'in ič xatir-axo te-ne č'er-i p-i-ne [GD 61]

thus REFL will-ABL NEG-3SG go=out:PAST-PAST say-PAST-3SG

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‘The king’s son loved the boy very much. Thus he did not argue against this (the boy’s) will (lit: did not depart from his will).’

- (d) *pasč’ağ-un ğar e-ne-sa k’ua amma gölö zap’-ne-sa-i*
king-GEN son come-3SG- $\$$:PRES house:DAT but much fear-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST

te bälükäm baba ažuğ-on-e-bak-i [GD 60]

SUB perhaps father anger-ERG>INSTR-3SG-be-PAST

‘The king’s son comes home; but he feared that (his) father would be angry with him.’

- (e) *sa biasin arc-e-t’un-iy śum-t’un uk-sa-i* [Nizh; PA 160]

one evening sit-PERF-3PL-PAST bread-3PL eat-PRES-PAST

‘One evening, they sat down and ate bread.’

Example (x,d) illustrates that the narrator can deliberately switch from the present tense to its past variant. Crucially, this switch often takes place in subordinated clauses, compare:

- (x) (a) *zu gārämzälug-axo č’ebak-axun be^šğ-sa-z*
I graveyard-ABL pass=by-CV:PAR see-PRES-1SG

te sa is-en sa gārämzi-n-ax t’ap’-ne-xa-i [GD 60]

SUB one man-ERG one grave-SA-DAT2 hit-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST

‘When I pass(ed) by a graveyard, I saw (lit.: see) that a man was hitting a grave...’

- (b) *va^š p’uran gir-re-sa xalx t’e-tär-te šo-t’-ğ-o*
and again gather-3SG-PRES people DIST-ADV-SUB DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

te-q’o bak-sa-i va^š śum-ax-al uk-es [Mark 3:20]

NEG-3PL:IO be-PRES-PAST and bread-DAT2-FOC eat-MASD

‘And again gather(ed) the people so that they could not eat even the bread.’

§ 11. Factitive Future Past. The past variant of the factitive future (*-al_-i*) is extremely rare. Harris 2002:106, fn. 5 reports that her informants in Okt’omberi “do not use it” at all. In the Vartashen dialect, it is occasionally used to denote a resultative (often modal) future past, compare:

- (x) (a) *ägänä k’oğ-in k’onžuğ-o aba-bak-ai-t’u*
if house-GEN lord-DAT know-LV-CONJ-3SG:IO

ma-no sahat-a eğ-ala abazak’ t’e-vaxt’-a

REL-REF:ABS hour-3SG:Q come:FUT-FUT2 thief DIST-time-DAT

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ba-ne-k-o-i s̄ärväxt' va^f bar-k'-al-te-ne-i
 be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD-PAST guard and let-LV-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG-PAST

ič k'uax kaś-k'-a-q'un-i [Luke 12:39]
 REFL house:DAT2 rob-MOD-3PL-PAST

‘If the landlord knew the time when the thief will come, there would then be a guard and he would not let them to ransack his house.’

(b) *ägänä te šo-no nā-gi-n bak-e-i pis*
 if SUB DIST-REF:ABS NEG:HYP-HYP-3SG be-PERF-PAST evil

ian tad-al-te-ian-i šo-t'-ux va [John 18:30]

we give-FUT:FAC-NEG-1PL-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 you:SG:DAT

‘If had not been evil, we would not have given him to you.’

(c) *ägänä mia bak-ai-nu zu sa xorag venk' box-al-zu-i* [f.n.]

if here:ADV be-CONJ-2SG I one meal you:SG:BEN cook-FUT:FAC-1SG-PAST

‘If you had been here, I would have cooked a meal for you.’

In Nizh, the past variant of the factitive future is more frequent. It either encodes a past telic future (as in (x,a)), a modal future (as in (x,b)), or simply the factitive future aligned to the past tense frame (as in (x,c)):

(x) (a) *sa ġi-n-ast'a boq'oy-e šar-p-iyō šum bad-al-e-y* [Nizh; PA 174]

one day-SA-ADESS dough-3SG knead-LV-PERF2 bread bake-FUT:FAC-3SG-PAST

‘One day she kneaded a dough in order to bake a bread.’

(b) *sa kārān-al dö^fp-t'-i-yi-vax-iy lap buš-al bak-al-e-y?*

one time-FOC shoot-LV-PAST-HYP-2SG:IO-PAST much camel-FOC be-FUT:FAC-3SG-PAST

‘If perhaps you had shot a second time, it would have been a camel.’ [Nizh; BUSH; OR 136]

(c) *čur-p-i-yi-n-iy avuzin exlät gele bak-al-e-y*

stand-LV-PAST-HYP-3SG-PAST additional conversation much be-FUT:FAC-3SG-PAST

‘If he had stayed, there would have been much additional gossip.’

[Nizh; KACH; OR 47]

Note that many speakers prefer to use the past variant of the modal future instead of the factitive future past (see below § 13).

§ 12. Future2 Past. The past variant of the future2 (*-ala-_-i*) is extremely rare. As far as data go, it is used only with third person singular referents. Usually, the form represents a (past) emphatic variant of the future2. Additionally, it can indicate ‘intention or obligation to *verb*’. Examples are:

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- (x) (a) *k'odoğ-o hik'ä cam-ec-e-ne šo-no-al bak-ala-ne-y*
 brow-DAT what write-LV:PASS:PAST-PERF-3SG DIST-REF:ABS-FOC be-FUT2-3SG-PAST
 ‘What is written on the brow will happen.’ [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]
- (b) *šo-t'-in iz-i čo-ya oc'-k'-ala-ne-y* [Nizh; PACH; OR 122]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-GEN face-DAT wash-LV-FUT2-3SG-PAST
 ‘She wanted to wash her face.’
- (c) *e-q'un-čer-i še-t'-a t'o'ğō'l soo-t'-ux*
 bring-3PL-\$.:PAST-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN at one:REF-REF:OBL-DAT2

ma-t'-in-te tad-ala-ne-i vič' hazar t'aland' [Matthew 18:24]
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB give-FUT2-3SG-PAST nine thousand talent
 ‘They brought to him someone who had to give nine thousand talents.’
- (d) *sun-t'-in tad-ala-ne-i qo bać dinär-i*
 one:REF-REF:OBL-ERG give-FUT2-3SG-PAST five hundred dinar-DAT

t'e-sun-t'-in gena p'a'qovic' [Luke 7:41]
 DIST-one:REF-REF:OBL-ERG CONTR fifty
 ‘(The) one had to give five hundred dinar, the other, however, fifty.’

§ 13. Modal Future Past. The past variant of the modal future (-o-i) represents a frequent tense/mood form. Usually, the cluster -o-i is not separated by a personal agreement clitic (see above). Originally, it simply placed the modal future in a past tense frame. In contemporary Udi, however, the two functions ‘modal future’ and ‘past’ have merged into a functional unit that can best be labeled ‘irrealis’ or ‘counterfactual’. The form can be used both in standard matrix clauses and in conditional clauses (apodosis, see x.x.x). The protasis verb is then normally marked by the ‘hypothetical’ (*gi-* + perfect past, see 3.4.6). Examples from Nizh are:

- (x) (a) *äyär zu čur-p-i-yi-z šahat'-e bak-o-y* [Nizh; PA 167]
 if I stand-PAST-PAST-1SG good-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST
 ‘It would have been better (lit.: good), if I had stayed.’
- (b) *zu u-z-k-o-y uća hama te-ne tad-i-y* [Nizh; PA 167]
 I eat-1SG-\$.-FUT:MOD-PAST honey but NEG-3SG give-PAST-PAST
 ‘I would have eaten honey, but (s)he did not give (it).’
- (c) *exlät-äxun sa usen-e č'ova-k'-i bak-o-i* [Nizh; BAT: OR 115]
 conversation-ABL one year-3SG pass=by-LV-PAST be-FUT:MOD-PAST
 ‘One year will have passed by since (this) conversation.’
- (d) *šin-a u-k'-o-y t'e dadal-en gešluğ-a*

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who:ERG-3SG:Q say:FUT-FUT:MOD-PAST DIST rooster-ERG gorge-DAT

bak-al-a amdar-xo-y bel kala sa äš eč-al-e
 be-PART:nPAST-ATTR person-PL-GEN head:SUPER big one thing bring-FUT:FAC-3SG
 ‘Who could say that that rooster will bring misfortune (lit.: ‘a big thing’) onto
 the head of the people who were in the gorge.’ [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]

Examples from Vartashen include:

(x) (a) *ägänä te bixažux ba-gi-n-k-e-i ef baba*
 if SUB god be-HYP-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PREF-PAST you:PL:POSS father

t'e-vaxt'-a efa^f bu-va^f-q'-o-i zax [John 8:42]
 DIST-time-DAT EMPH:you:PL:DAT love-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD-PAST I:DAT2
 ‘If God is your father, you should then (have) love(d) me.’

(b) *šel-le bak-o-i un man-gi-n-d-e-i* [PA 165]
 good-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST you:SG stay-HYP-2SG-LV-PERF-PAST
 ‘It would have been good if you had stayed.’

(c) *un ägägäm nä-gi-n tad-e-i te-bez bak-o-i* [PA 165]
 you:SG if HYP:NEG-HYP-2SG give-PERF-PAST NEG-1SG:POSS be-FUT:MOD-PAST
 ‘If you had not give (it), I would not have (it).’

(d) *zu venk' cam-zu-k'-o-i amma kağəz te-bez bak-e* [f.n.]
 I you:SG:BEN write-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD-PAST but paper NEG-1SG:POSS be-PERF
 ‘I would have written to you, but I did not have a (sheet of) paper.’

(e) *va^f te-ne aq'-o-i gölö abuz me vädi-n-al*
 and NEG-3SG take-FUT:MOD-PAST much more PROX time-SA-SUPER

bešun bak-al ömür-al hammaša-n-un kar-x-esun
 in=front:ADJ be-PAST:nPAST world-SUPER eternity-SA-GEN live-LV-MASD2
 ‘And he shall not take much more in this time (and) eternal life in the world
 to come.’ [Luke 18:30]

§ 14. Modal Past / Conjunctive. From a structural point of view, the past variant of the modal is represented by two sequences: *-a-_-i* and *-a-i-_-*. Note that in Nizh, the past suffix of the modal is *-yi-* when followed by an agreement clitic. The varying place of the clitic slot is also found in the perfect past (see § 16) and (albeit rarely) in the past variant of the modal future, see § 6 above. This distribution suggests that we have to deal with a single tense/mood form just as it is true e.g. for the perfect past, compare:

(x) (a) *uk-a-q'un-i* ‘they should (have) eat(en)’

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eat-MOD-3PL-PAST

- (b) *uk-ai-q'un* ' (if) they ate / had eaten'
eat-CONJ-3PL

The assumption that the two variants are based on the same derivational pattern is standard in all descriptions of Udi. Thus, Harris 2002:106 reports that “the combination of the subjunctive I (in *-a*) [= modal, W.S.] and *-y/i* (...) is not a past subjunctive, but is used in two situations: (a) in conditional clauses, and (b) (headless or headed) relative clauses in the future.” However, such characterizations neglect the fact that the two variants are complementarily distributed: In the overwhelming majority of cases, the variant *-a-i-* is used in conditional constructions (protasis) and in generalized relative clauses (‘whatever’, ‘whoever’ etc.), whereas the second variant *-a-_-i* mainly occurs in subordinated telic/final clauses (see section 3.4.4.1, § 22). It has been argued in section 3.4.4.1, §§ 18-27, that the protoypical notion of the ‘simple’ modal is that of telicity (in the sense of a future imperative/adhortative). The variant *-a-_-i* can be used in just the same context as the ‘simple’ modal, compare:

- (x) (a) *tavaxq'a-ne-b-i šo-t'-ux te bak-a-ne-i šo-t'-uxol* [Luke 8:38]
plea-3SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 SUB be-MOD-3SG-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-COM
'He asked him to be with them.'

- (b) *ägänä zu buq'-a-i-za te šo-no bak-a-ne* [John 21:23]
if I want-PAST-MOD-1SG:IO SUB DIST-REF:ABS be-MOD-3SG
'If I would want that he be ...'

- (c) *šo-no bu-ne ilia ma-no-te gāräg eǵ-a-ne-i* [Matthew 11:14]
DIST-REF:ABS be-3SG Elias REL-REF:ABS-SUB necessary come:FUT-MOD-3SG-PAST
'He is Elias who must (have) come.'

- (d) *un-nu šo-no ma-no-te gāräg eǵ-a-ne* [Matthew 11:3]
you:SG-2SG DIST-REF:ABS REL-REF:ABS-SUB necessary come:FUT-MOD-3SG
'Are you the one who shall come?'

§ 15. In none of these contexts, the variant *-a-i-* can be used. From this, it comes clear that the variant *-a-_-i* represents the original past variant of the modal, whereas the variant *-a-i-* stems from a different source that has been gradually aligned to the standard model to derive past tense/mood variants. The clitic slot in the variant *-a-_-i* is paralleled by the corresponding slot in the factitive future (*-al-_-i*, see § 10 above): Both tense/mood forms condition that a personal clitic immediately follows the tense/mood marker (also see 3.4.5). This order is not given with the variant *-a-i-*. This fact again illustrates that the variant *-a-i-* that has a basically conditional ~ conjunctive function is (at least diachronically) unrelated to the modal past.

An additional argument to distinguish the variant *-a-i-* from the modal past stems from the paradigm of personal clitics. Harris 2002:275 has observed that “only in the

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particle subjunctive [= *q'a-* + clitic, W.S.] and the subjunctive II [= modal past, W.S.] is *-ne* 3SG reduced to *-n*". According to Harris, this parallel suggests that the modal past (in its totality) stems from the 'particle subjunctive' (*-i* (PAST) + *q'a-* > **iq'a-* > **ia-* > *-ai-*). However, in section 3.4.4.1, §§ 17-28, it has been shown that this assumption fails out of several reasons. In addition, note that the observation made by Harris does not cover the whole facts: On the one hand, elision of the vowel of the clitic is also present with the first and second person singular, which causes that the second person singular merges with the third person singular, compare:

- (x) *bak-ai-n* 'if you (sg.) were / (s)he would (have) be(en)...'
 be-CONJ-2/3SG

(x) summarizes the inflectional pattern of the three modal variants (see 3.4.5.1 for the single forms):

(x)	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a- -i</i>	<i>-a-i-</i>
1SG	<i>-a-z ~ -a-zu</i>	<i>-a-zu-i</i>	<i>-a-i-z</i>
2SG	<i>-a-n ~ -a-nu</i>	<i>-a-nu-i</i>	<i>-a-i-n</i>
3SG	<i>-a-ne</i>	<i>-a-ne-i</i>	<i>-a-i-n</i>
1PL	<i>-a-ian</i>	<i>-a-ian-i</i>	<i>-a-i-ian</i>
2PL	<i>-a-nan</i>	<i>-a-nan-i</i>	<i>-a-i-nan</i>
3PL	<i>-a-q'un ~ a-t'un</i>	<i>-a-q'un-i ~ a-t'un-iy</i>	<i>-a-i-q'un ~ -a-yi-t'un</i>

Elision is obligatory with the variant *-a-i-*, but is optional with the first and second person singular of the 'simple' modal. Elision never occurs in the second variant of the modal past (*-a- -i*). In addition, vowel elision not only takes place when singular clitics are linked to the piggybacking adhortative clitic *q'a-*, but also with the two other piggybacking clitics, namely *te-* (negation; optional) and *gi-* (hypothetical; obligatory), see 3.4.6 and 3.4.7. From this it comes clear that the relation between the *-ai-* variant of the past modal and the 'particle' adhortative (*q'a-*) is not exclusive.

§ 16. In conclusion, it makes more sense to interpret the variant *-a-i-* as a functionally and historically distinct morphological category (hence *-ai-* ~ *-ayi-*). As for its origin, two positions can be taken: On the one hand, it can be assumed that the segment *-a-i-* historically was a single unit (**-ai*) that was paradigmatically related to the factitive future and the 'simple' modal: With these two tense/mood forms, it would share the fact that clitics necessarily follow the tense/mood marker *-ai*:

- (x) Factitive future *-al-*
 Modal *-a-*
 Conjunctive *-ai-*

This hypothesis suggests that there has been a stem based conditional morpheme. As far as data go, it is difficult to retrieve an analogous pattern in the other Lezgian

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languages. Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that **-ai* has been borrowed as such from a yet unidentified source.

On the other hand, it is important to recall that the basic function of the variant *-a-i-* is that of a conditional ~ conjunctive. It is used in just the same context as the ‘hypothetical’ marked by the piggybacking clitic *gi-* (see 3.4.6), compare:

- (x) (a) *ägänä un ba-gi-n-k-e-i mia*
 if you:SG be-HYP-2SG- $\$$ -PERF-PAST PROX:ADV
te-ne bi-o-i bez viči [John 11:32]
 NEG-3SG die-FUT:MOD-PAST I:POSS brother
 ‘If you had been here, my brother would not have died.’

- (b) *ian ingän muća-ian kar-x-o ägär un bezi bak-ai-n* [PO 2]
 we so sweet-1PL live-FUT:MOD if you:SG I:POSS be-CONJ-2SG
 ‘We would live so happily (lit.: sweet) if you would (have) be(en) mine.’

§ 17. Today, the hypothetical is always used with the perfect past (see 3.4.6). Nevertheless, it can be assumed that we have to deal with a more recent constraint. This can be seen for instance from the fact that the hypothetical can be used in copula function:

- (x) (a) *ägänä k'ož laiġlu gi-n t'e-vaxt'-a ef dinžluġ*
 if house worthy HYP-3SG DIST-time-DAT you:PL:POSS peace
tagħ-al-le še-t'-a laxo [Matthew 10:13]
 come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-GEN on
 ‘And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it. [KJ]’

- (b) *amma ägänä me-tär nä-gi-n*
 but if PROX-ADV NEG:HYP-HYP-3SG
zu u-z-k'-o-i efa^f ... [John 14:2]
 I say-1SG- $\$$:FUT-MOD-PAST EMPH:you:PL:DAT
 ‘But if it were so, would I have told you ...’

In addition, the negative variant *nägi-* is occasionally followed by the modal future instead of the expected perfect past, compare:

- (x) *šet'abaxt'inte me-tär älämät-ux ma-t'-ux-te*
 because PROX-ADV sign-PL REL-REF:OBL-DAT2-SUB
un be-n-sa šuk'al-a bak-al-te-t'u b-es ägänä
 you:SG do-2SG- $\$$:PRES anybody-DAT be-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG:IO do-MASD if

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šo-t'-xol nă-gi-n bak-o bixažux [John 3:2]
 DIST-REF:OBL-COM NEG:HYP-HYP-3SG be-FUT:MOD god
 ‘Because [thus] the wonders that you do, cannot do anybody if God is not with him.’

§ 18. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the hypothetical *gi-* once was not restricted to the perfect past, as it is canonical today. This hypothesis opens the way to relate the modal variant *-ai-* to the hypothetical: In Nizh, the hypothetical is usually coupled with the past variant of the simple past. In case it is used postverbally, the consonant is usually assimilated to the past tense morpheme: **-i-gi-* → *-i-yi-*, compare:

(x) (a) *ava bak-i-yi-t'un-iy (...)* *k'ač'uli-n-a*
 knowing be-PAST-HYP-3PL-PAST (...) cucumber-SA-DAT

sal bar-t'un-k'-o-y man-d-a-ne? [KACH; OR 48]
 yet let-3PL- $\$$ -FUT:MOD-PAST stay-LV-MOD-3SG
 ‘Yet, would they have let the cucumber in its place (lit.: that it remains) if they had known (it)?’

(b) *äyär zu čur-p-i-yi-z šahat'-e bak-o-i* [PA 167]
 if I stand-LV-PAST-HYP-1SG good-3SG be-FUT:MOD-PAST
 ‘It would have been better (lit.: good), if I had stood/waited.’

Accordingly, we can put forward the hypothesis that the modal variant *-ai-* stems from the piggybacking hypothetical *gi-* added to the standard modal *-a-*:

(x) *bak-ai-* < **bak-a-gi-* ‘if it would be...’
 be-CONJ- be-PAST-HYP-

This assumption is supported by the fact that in Nizh, the modal variant always is bisyllabic (*-a-yi-* < **a-gi-*?). Although this analysis perfectly matches the functional correlation between the past modal *-ai-* and the hypothetical, it does not explain why the hypothetical would have been linked to the ‘simple’ modal (instead of a past tense or the future modal). In addition, the analysis suggests a sound change **-á-gi-* > *-ái-* in Vartashen. However, note that under parallel conditions this change does not take place, compare:

(x) *ägä(r)te bez pasč'ağluğ bá-gi-n-k-e-i me dūnia-n-ixo ...*
 if I:POSS kingdom be-HYP-3SG- $\$$ -PERF-PAST PROX world-SA-ABL
 ‘If my kingdom would have been of this world ...’ [John 18:36]

Here, the verb form *baginkei* is not changed to ***bainkei* as it should be expected if the sound change had a more general character. In sum, it comes clear that data up to

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now do not allow to draw a final conclusion. Nevertheless, the assumption that the modal variant *-ai-* represents a morphological and functional category different from the standard modal past (*-a- -i*) seems to be confirmed.

§ 19. Old Udi supports the hypothesis that *-ay-* stems from a present tense form marked by a ‘conditional’: Here, the standard conditional ~ conjunctive is encoded with the help of the pattern PRES + *-eYe-* (*-a-eYe-*). The very nature of the segment *-eYe-* is difficult to describe, because the phonetics of the grapheme <Y> are not yet fully established: Most likely, we have to deal with a palatal approximant that resembles [j] (i.e. *-y-*) or [ɲ]. Most importantly, in Old Udi, too, personal clitics can old follow the group *-a-eYe-* (*ef-a-eYe-ža[n]* ‘i we keep’ etc.). The Old Udi data also show that *eYe* could be used as a copula (conditional, ‘if it is’ etc.), just as it is true for Modern Udi (Vartashen) *gi-*. The following example illustrates both usages of *eYe*:

- (x) *hat'enk'e ġar-mowx eYe p'oYe bet'alín-Ār-al*
 if son-PL be:COND thus heir-REF:PL:ABS-FOC
- bet'alín-Ār bē bet'alínAq'e-Ār-al ks-i*
 heir-REF:PL:ABS God:GEN joint=heir-REF:PL:ABS-FOC Christ-GEN
- hat'enk'e e marak'-esown-owğ-oy arak'a bah-a-eYe-žan*
 if ART suffer-MASD-PL-GEN companion become:PRES-PRES-COND-1PL
- e gAxown~n-al arak'a bih-e-sown ža.* [Rom 8, 17]
 ART glory-GEN-FOC companion become:INF-MASD we:DAT
 ‘If [we] are children, then heirs, heirs of God, joint-heirs of Christ. If we become companions of sufferings, we have to become companion[s] of glory, too.’

§ 20. Additional examples for the past modal (*-a- -i*) are:

- (x) (a) *ayizlu-n-en te-ne ava-y hik'ä b-a-ne-y* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]
 villager-SA-ERG NEG-3SG knowing-PAST what do-MOD-3SG-PAST
 ‘The villager did not know what to do.’
- (b) *iaq'-a-ne-b-i ič q'ul-urğ-ox*
 way-DAT-3SG-LV-PAST REFL slave-PL-DAT2
- uk'-a-q'un-i k'al-p-i-t'-ğ-ox* [Luke 14:17]
 say:FUT-MOD-3PL-PAST call-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2
 ‘He sent his slaves to say to those who were invited (lit.: called)...’
- (c) *ek'al te-q'o bu-i ek'a uk-a-q'un-i* [Mark 8:1]
 anything NEG-3PL:POSS be-PAST what eat-MOD-3PL-PAST
 ‘There was nothing that they could eat.’

§ 21. Examples for the ‘conditional’ ~ ‘conjunctive’ *-ai-* are:

(x) (a) *pul-mux axšumla-ne-y maya tağ-ayi-n* [Nizh; OR 26]

eye-PL laughing-3SG-PAST where go:FUT-CONJ-3SG

‘The eyes were laughing where(ever) he would go.’

(b) *be^šğ-al-t'-in düz-e ak'-o pul*

see-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-ERG straight-3SG see-FUT:MOD eye

iz ga-l-a bak-ayi-n [Nizh; OR 33]

REFL place-SA-DAT be-CONJ-3SG

‘(S)he who looks will look straight forward if his/her eye(s) remain(s) in their place.’

(c) *ereq' gele bak-ayi-n kar-x-sun šahat' bak-al-e* [Nizh; OR 19]

hazelnut much be-CONJ-3SG live-LV-MASD2 beautiful be-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘If there are enough hazelnuts, life will be beautiful.’

§ 22. **Past Past.** The past variant of the simple past is frequently used to stress the past tense frame of a clause or to refer to an event prior to the general tense frame. As far as data go, this tense form is only used with embedded agreement clitics. Hence, the general shape of the morpheme is *-i- -i*. In Nizh, the final segment is changed to *-iy* in case a C-final agreement clitic precedes it. The fact that the standard sequence ‘primary tense/mood + past’ is not present with the secondary past tense, is explained by the fact, that this sequence would yield the form ***-ii* that is difficult to discriminate from the ‘simple’ past *-i*. Examples for the use of the secondary past tense are:

(x) (a) *me-tär b-i-q'un-i apči pexambar-ğ-oxol*

PROX-ADV do-PAST-3PL-PAST false prophet-PL-COM

šo-t'-ğ-o baba-ğ-on [Luke 6:26]

DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN father-ERG

‘Thus their fathers have acted upon the false prophets.’

(b) *kä-i-q'un-i šum bixog-o afre-p-sun-en* [John 6:23]

eat:PAST-PAST-3PL-PAST bread god-DAT praise-LV-MASD2-ERG>INSTR

‘They ate bread praising God.’

(c) *har ġi efa^šxol arc-i-zu-i zu* [Matthew 26:55]

each day EMPH:you:PL:COM sit-PAST-1SG-PAST I

‘Every day I sat with you ...’

(d) *xit'on gena e^š-bak-ec-i te-ne-i*

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tunic CONTR sew-LV-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST NEG-3SG-PAST

amma dürüs a^l-e^c-i-ne-i [John 19:23]

but straight weave-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG-PAST

‘The tunic, however, was not sewn but woven throughout.’

(e) *amma šo-no-r šip’-bak-i-q’un-i* [Mark 3:4]

but DIST-REF:ABS-PL silent-LV-PAST-3PL-PAST

‘But they remained silent.’

§ 23. Perfect Past. The past variant of the perfect (*-e-i ~ -e-_-i*) is a frequent tense form used to relate background information and reported events to a general past tense frame. In addition, it often has the function of a pluperfect. In Vartashen, the clitic slot is rarely used except for verbs that synchronically have monoconsonantal stems (*p-esun* ‘to say’, *b-esun* ‘to do’). In Nizh, the distribution is more balanced (see § 2 above). Nevertheless, Nizh, too, shows a strong preference to fuse the two tense morphemes (> *-ei*). Examples for the use of the perfect past are:

(x) (a) *up-a be^g-az ma-a iaq’-a-b-e-i* [CO § 2]

say:IMP-IMP:2SG see-MOD-1SG where-3SG:Q way-DAT-LV-PERF-PAST

‘Tell me so that I know (lit.: see) where he has sent (you).’

(b) *gölö vaxt’-e adamar-i eq’ te-z k-e-i* [R 12]

much time-3SG man-GEN meat NEG-1SG eat:PAST-PERF-PAST

‘Since long, I have not eaten human flesh.’

(c) *š-e-t’-a xinär-ğ-on e^l-q’un-b-esa-i a^l-q’un-d-e-i* [SI 72]

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN daughter-PL-ERG sew-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST weave-3PL-LV-PERF-PAST

‘His daughters were sewing, they wove ...’

(d) *a-q’un-q’-e-i ad-eğ-al šeür-ğ-ox* [Mark 16:1]

take-3PL- $\$$ -PERF-PAST smell-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:nPAST thing-PL-DAT2

‘They took (good) smelling things...’

The sequence *-e-_-i* can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

(x) (a) *ošun ġe-n-a gölö xalx ma-no-te ar-e-q’un-i*

next day-SA-DAT much people REL-REF:ABS-SUB come:PAST-PERF-3PL-PAST

äziz ġe-n-a i-q’o-bak-i ... [John 12:12]

festive day-SA-DAT hear-3PL:IO-LV-PAST ...

‘The next day, many people who had come for the holiday heard ...’

(b) *narzug^ğ laic-e-ne-i ar-r-a xod-il* [CO § 3]

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- yesterday=evening go=up:PAST-PERF-3SG-PAST pear-SA-GEN tree-SUPER
 ‘Yesterday evening, he has climbed upon a pear tree.’
- (c) *pasč’ağ-en kağəz-i boš cam-p-e-ne-y* [Nizh; PACH; OR 121]
 king-ERG letter-GEN in write-LV-PERF-3SG-PERF
 ‘The king has/had written in the letter ...’
- (d) *čoban aruğ-oy best’a arc-e-ne-y* [Nizh; ARU; OR 127]
 shepherd fire-gen in=front sit-perf-3sg-past
 ‘The shepherd sat in front of the fire.’

§ 24. In Vartashen, the perfect past is the default tense form in combination with the hypothetical *gi-* (see 3.4.6). Note that in Nizh, it is often replaced by the secondary past tense (see §§ 14-15). Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ägänä me zor ak’-gi-n-ec-e-i*
 if PROX power see-HYP-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-PERF

t’ir-r-u q’an sidon-a ... [Luke 10:13]
 Tyre-SA-DAT and Sidon-DAT
 ‘If the power had shown (itself) to Tyre and Sidon ...’
- (b) *ägänä zu žähil gi-z bak-e-i oxari-ne-i* [R 15]
 if I young HYP-1SG be-PERF-PAST easy-3SG-PAST
 ‘If I were young, it would be easy (for me).’
- (c) *ägänä va^hn ba-gi-nan-k-e-i k’ači ...* [John 9:41]
 if you:PL be-HYP-1PL- $\$$ -PERF-PAST blind
 ‘If you were blind ..’

§ 25. **Perfect2 Past.** Although the perfect2 is not unfrequent in Nizh, the corresponding past variant is extremely rare. If ever it is used, it has emphatic function:

- (x) (a) *qo ayel-t’ux bak-iyo-y qo-alən ğar* [Nizh; PA 118]
 five child-3SG:IO be-PERF2-PAST five-COLL son
 ‘(S)he had five children, all five (were) boys.’
- (b) *gele yaq’-un č’ova-k’-iyo-y* [f.n.]
 much way-2SG pass=by-LV-PERF2-PAST
 ‘You have crossed many roads.’
- (c) *p’oy he-t’-aynak’ ö^hne-k’-al-un bak-iyo-y* [f.n.]
 so what-REF:OBL-BEN weep-LV-PART:nPAST-2SG be-PERF2-PAST
 ‘So why had you been weeping?’

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(d) *šo-no sal äⁱxi^l te-ne tac-iyo-y*
 DIST-REF:ABS ever far NEG-3SG go:PAST-PERF2-PAST

xazal-xo-y oq'a ćap'-e bak-iyo-y [Nizh; OR 36]
 leaf-PL-GEN under hidden-3SG be-PERF2-PAST
 'It never went away, it hid under the leaves.'

3.4.5 Echoing the referent: Personalization

3.4.5.1 Introduction. This introductory section informs on the general properties of personal agreement markers in Udi. §§ 1-6 inform on the basic functional properties of agreement clitics. §§ 7-26 describe positional preferences and constraints including a discussion of the origin of endoclitization (§§ 17-19). § 27 turns to the relation of personal agreement clitics to stress patterns (also see 2.7.4).

§ 1. In Udi, every matrix clause is usually marked for a clitic element that cross-references the relational domain with the most 'central' (pivotal) referential domain. The term 'central' relates to the functional properties of this domain: Basically, referents in this domain have subjective or agentive function (see x.x.x) and hence show an 'accusative' pattern (S=A, see x.x.x). In addition, the functional demotion of the referent at issue to an 'indirect objective' (S>IO, A>IO, see x.x.x) is usually mirrored by the clitic element. Finally, in long distance possession, either the possessor or the possessee can be cross-referenced by a clitic as long as they are in focus (see x.x.x). (x) illustrate the basic functional types (see section 3.4.5.2 for a more detailed discussion of the functional dimension of personal clitics):

(x) (a) Subjective (S)

pasč'ağ-un ġar e-ne-sa k'ua [GD 60]
 king-GEN son come-3SG:S-\$.PRES house:DAT
 'The king's son comes home.'

(b) Agentive (A)

q'uš-en xe-n-ax eq'-n-ux a-ne-q'-sa [R 15]
 bird-ERG water-SA-DAT2 meat-SA-DAT2 take-3SG:A-\$.PRES
 'The bird takes the water (and) the meat.'

(c) Demoted Subjective (S>IO)

aⁱil-a mi-t'u-b-sa [f.n.]
 child-DAT cold-3SG:IO-LV-PRES
 'The child is freezing.'

(d) Demoted Agentive (Split-A; A>IO)

šo-t'-u a-t'u-k'-e baba-x [John 6:46]
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT see-3SG:IO-\$.PERF father-DAT2

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‘He has seen the father.’

- (e) Demoted Agentive (Fluid-A; A>IO)

šo-t'-u ba-t'u-k-o va^f nu hörmät-b-a-ne
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD and PROH obey-LV-MOD-3SG

ič baba-x ie ič nana-x [Matthew 15:6]

REFL father-DAT2 or REFL mother-DAT2

‘And he will not be able to obey to his father or to his mother.’

- (d) Focused Possessor (POSS, Por-Focus)

še-t'-ai bu-t'ai kala dövlät [Matthew 19:22]

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS great wealth

‘HE has great wealth.’

- (e) Focused Possessee (POSS, Pum-Focus)

sa adamar-i bu-ne-i p'a^f ġar [Matthew 21:28]

one man-GEN be-3SG-PAST two boy

‘One man had two BOYS.’

Only very rarely, matrix clauses occur that are lack an agreement clitic, compare:

- (x) *saad-in vic' texnik'i p'ererivo q'a dayġaluġ*
 hour-GEN ten technical break twenty minute:UNIT

udiy-ox gir-esa k'uxni-n-a žürbäžür prablem-xo exlät-sa
 udi-PL gather-PRES kitchen-SA-DAT all=kinds problem-PL:DAT talk-LV:PRES

‘At 10 o'clock, there is a technical break for 20 minutes. The Udis gather in the kitchen and discuss all kinds of problems.’ [OL 28-9, Nizh]

Incidentally, the clitics may appear twice. Obviously, we have to deal with a redundant pattern. An example is:

- (x) *zu yaq'-e-z be^fzu-ġ-sa* [I 43b, Nizh]
 I way-DAT-1SG see-1SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
 ‘I am waiting’ (lit.: ‘I am atching the road.’)

§ 2. The clitics in question are termed ‘personal agreement markers’ (PAM) or ‘personal (agreement) clitics’. This terminology is based on the fact that the clitics in question are subcategorized according to features of ‘personality’. Accordingly, Udi knows a system of personal inflection, as opposed to the majority of East Caucasian languages that subcategorize agreement strategies according to features of noun classification, compare:

- (x) Čečen [Jakovlev 1940:308¹; 310¹⁸]

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(a) *šera-ču ara-xula čha stag xilla nowqa w-ödu-š*
 plain-OBL field-TRANS one man(I) COP:INFER en=route I-go:PRES-GER
 ‘A man was on his way over a plain field.’

(b) *y-illi-na miska-ču stag-a бага*
 IV-open-INFER poor-OBL man-ERG mouth(IV)
 ‘The poor man opened (his) mouth.’

(x) Udi [construed, confirmed]

(a) *sa adamar sa düz äkin-axol č'e-ne-bak-i*
 one man one plain field-SPUER:ABL out-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘A man was walking over a plain field.’

(b) *käsib adamar-en ič zomo-x qai-ne-b-i*
 poor man-ERG REFL mouth-DAT2 open-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘The poor man opened his mouth.’

§ 3. The examples in (x) also illustrate that East Caucasian agreement patterns based on noun classification usually reflect an ergative behavior whereas in Udi, agreement is basically accusative. Udi shares the feature of ‘personal inflection’ with a number of other East Caucasian languages such as Bats, Lak, Dargi, and Tabasaran. Most languages in question show bi-dimensional systems: They have retained the class agreement strategy and just add the feature of personality to their inflection paradigms. In Udi, however, the system is mono-dimensional, compare the forms *bura* (Lak) and *kalazbake* (Udi) in the following two sentences:

(x) (a) *na qun-ma-w-gu qan-an b-i-w-k'-un b-u-ra*
 I:(III) old-DEF-III-also become:DUR-INF III-be-III-\$-AOR III-be:PRES-1SG
 ‘I (a cat) have grown old now, too.’ [Lak; Žirkov 1955:141³]

(b) *zu-al isa kala-z-bak-e* [Udi; construed, confirmed]
 I-FOC now old-1SG-be-PERF
 ‘I have grown old now.’

§ 4. A major difference between the standard technique of class agreement and personal agreement in Udi is given by the fact that class agreement markers usually are affixes. They are confined to certain word classes and are marked for a relatively high degree of morphophonological variation. Udi personal agreement markers, however, are clitics: They can be added to words from nearly every word class (including other clitics), compare:

(x) (a) Noun:
düşman adamar-en-ne b-e mo-t'-ux [Matthew 13:28]
 foe person-ERG-3SG do-PERF PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2
 ‘A WICKED PERSON has done this.’

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(b) Adjective:

kala-ne vi va^ʕ-bak-sun [Matthew 15:28]
big-3SG you:SG:POSS believe-LV-MASD2
'Your belief is STRONG.'

(c) Pronoun:

amma še-t'-in-ne iaq'-a-b-e zax [John 8:42]
but DIST-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG way-DAT-LV-PERF I:DAT2
'But HE has sent me.'

(d) Adverb:

gölö-ne tai-sa k'ic'i-ne tai-sa [CH&T 170]
much-3SG go-PRES little-3SG go-PRES
'He runs A LOT, he runs A LITTLE ...'

(e) Postposition:

baba bez boš-ne va^ʕ zu-al še-t'-a boš [John 10:38]
father I:POSS in-3SG and I-FOC DIST-REF:OBL-GEN in
'The father is IN ME and I (am) in him.'

(f) Numeral:

šo-no-r bip'-q'un amma ian gena xib [f.n.]
DIST-REF:ABS-PL four-3PL but we CONTR three
'They are FOUR, but we (are) just three.'

(h) Clitic:

šägird bak-al-te-ne abuz ič učit'el-axo [Luke 6:40]
pupil be-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG more REFL teacher-ABL
'The pupil shall NOT be more than his teacher.'

§ 5. The fact that Udi agreement markers are not confined to verbs is related to the functional scope of Udi agreement. Harris 2000, 2002 was the first author who shed light upon the complex behavior of Udi agreement clitics. The author has demonstrated that the major function of agreement clitics is to focus a constituent (if non-verbal) or the verbal relation (see [x.x.x](#) for details). Hence, we can distinguish verbal external from verb internal agreement. Both strategies seem to have emerged through contact with (early) medieval Northwest Iranian languages. If we take Northern Talysh as an etalon for these languages, we can observe striking similarities (although the system is confined to transitive past tense forms in Talysh. In addition, verb external agreement is limited to non-agentive constituents in Talysh, but not in Udi). The following examples help to illustrate this point:

(x) (a) *tifang-əm tamiz k̄a pe-gat-a-m-e š-i-m ba viša*
rifle-1SG clean do:PAST:PERF up-take:PAST-PERF-1SG-COP go:PAST-AOR-1SG to wood

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‘I have cleaned the rifle, I have taken (it) up (and) I went to the woods.’
[Northern Talysh, Schulze 2000:68¹]

(b) *palang-i vind-əš-e ba čayi lona odam da-š-eda*
tiger-OBL see:PAST-3SG-COP to he:POSS cave man in-go-PRES:3SG
‘The tiger saw that a man was entering his cave.’
[Northern Talysh, Schulze 2000:70²⁰]

(c) *palang-i (...) əšta ġəč-əš sipi k̄a*
tiger-OBL (...) REFL:POSS tooth-3SG white do:PAST:PERF
‘The tiger (...) bared his teeth.’ [Northern Talysh; Schulze 2000:74⁵³]

In Northern Talysh, the agreement clitic can occur both in the verb (focusing the lexical component) or outside the verb as in (x,a) *tifang-əm* and (x,c) *ġəč-əš* (see Schulze 2000 for details). The same pattern can be observed in Udi:

(x) (a) *zu śum u-zu-k-sa* [f.n.]
I bread eat-1SG-§-PRES
‘I eat bread.’

(b) *zu śum-zu uk-sa* [f.n.]
I bread-1SG eat-PRES
‘I eat BREAD.’

It should be noted, however, that the two languages differ as for the origin of floating agreement clitics. In Talysh, the pattern is based on the grammaticalization of an older possessive construction that had involved genitive marked personal pronouns. This pattern can be described as basically syntactic. In Udi, the pattern has emerged from pragmatic strategies that are related to constituent focus, see 3.4.5.4.

The distribution of constituent and sentence focus markers is not parallel in the two dialects of Udi. It should be recalled that constituent focus is allowed with four tense/mood forms only (including their secondary past variants, see 3.4.4.2). These constraints are discussed in more details in section 3.4.4.1 and below in §§ 7-26. Those tense/mood forms that permit constituent focus show the following distribution in narrative texts:

(x)

	Nizh narratives			Vartashen narratives		
	+CL	–CL	Total	+CL	–CL	Total
PRES	44,32 %	55,68 %	176	70,54 %	29,46 %	740
PAST	41,03 %	58,97 %	836	46,79 %	53,21 %	327
PERF	46,84 %	53,16 %	79	59,34 %	40,66 %	91
FUT:MOD	31,91 %	68,09 %	188	60,47 %	39,53 %	43
TOTAL	41,01 %	58,99 %	1279	62,86 %	37,14 %	1201

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It comes clear that Vartashen less frequently uses agreement clitics (CL) to focus verb external constituents than Nizh. Obviously, Nizh is marked for a stronger tendency to ‘pragmatically’ manipulate the information structure of an utterance (see Schulze 2004).

§ 6. The focal properties of Udi personal clitics condition that they are not restricted to a specific position in the clause. This feature is referred to with the help of the label ‘floating clitic’. (x) illustrates the positional variance of Udi clitics:

(x) (a) *iaq'-al eǵ-axun gādi-n-en biq'-sa-ne me tuli-n-ax* [GD 62]
 way-SUPER go:FUT-CV:PAR boy-SA-ERG seize-PRES-3SG PROX dog-SA-DAT2
 ‘On the way, the boy takes the (young) dog...’

(b) *tac-i bazar-ax so-al bi-ne-q'-sa* [GD 60]
 go:PAST-PART:PAST bazaar-DAT2 one:REF-FOC seize-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘Having gone to the bazaar, he hires one (a servant).’

(c) *döv moǵor-re-bak-sa ad-de biq'-sa ex-ne ...* [R 12]
 dev awake-3SG-LV-PRES smell-3SG seize-PRES say:PRES-3SG
 ‘The dev awakes, smells, (and) says ...’

(d) *šin-a zax efa^šxo gүнāhk'ar-b-o* [John 8:46]
 who:ERG-3SG:Q I:DAT2 EMPH-you:PL:ABL sinner-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘Who among you will accuse me?’

(e) *šet'ete un te-n zenk' aš-b-e*
 why you:SG NEG-2SG I:BEN work-LV-PERF

ama zu-z va q'ulluǵ-b-e? [IM 67]
 but I-1SG you:SG:DAT service-LV-PERF
 ‘Why haven’t you done a thing for me whereas I have served you?’

(f) *q'eiri-t'-uǵ-on-q'un žafa zap-e* [John 4:38]
 other-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-3PL work pull-PERF
 ‘Others have worked.’

(g) *me-t'-in-ne efa^š moǵor-est'a* [John 6:61]
 PROX-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG EMPH:you:PL:DAT awake-LV:PRES
 ‘He wakes you up.’

§ 7. Although there are no absolute constraint on the position of the clitic element in the clause, the preverbal focus field (see x.x.x) is the preferred target of verb external clitics. This fact illustrates that word order and the placement of verb external clitics are functionally coupled. In case a constituent necessarily calls for a clitic (such as interrogative noun phrases or the negation *te* (see x.x.x and 3.4.7.1), the whole group usually becomes preverbal, compare:

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(x) (a) *ef k'ua šu-a bu?* [CO § 5]

you:PL:POSS house:DAT who-3SG:Q be
 ‘Who lives (lit.: exists) in oyur house?’

(b) *me-t'-ux šin-a ser-b-e?* [R 18]

PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 who-3SG:Q build-LV-PERF
 ‘Who has built this?’

(c) *va^f šin-te te-ne aq'-sa ič xač-n-ux va^f te-ne esa*
 and who:ERG-SUB NEG-3SG take-PRES REFL cross-SA-DAT2 and NEG-3SG come:PRES

bez qošt'an šo-no za laiğ te-ne [Matthew 10:38]

I:POSS behind DIST-REF:ABS I:DAT worthy NEG-3SG
 ‘And whoever does not take his cross and follows me, is not worthy for me.’

Harris (2002:235) has correctly observed that in 19th century Udi, “focused constituents also occurred in clause-initial position.” An example she gives is:

(x) *šel-lu un hazir-b-esa* [IM 66]

good-2SG you:SG ready-LV-PRES
 ‘WELL you prepare (the food).’

Harris argues that this pattern reflects the relict of a pre-Udi focus cleft (see **x.x.x**) that “provides evidence of an earlier biclausal structure” (*op.cit.*, 236). Note that with idiomatic verbs (see 3.4.2.3), the clitic can be added to a constituent other than the lexical element. Usually, the constituent is clause-initial, compare:

(x) *zaxun-un xavar haq'-sa?* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 52]

I:ABL-2SG question take-PRES
 ‘Do you ask me?’

(b) *šahat'-e eyex baf-t'-i* [Nizh; KACH; OR 47]

good-3SG memory fall-LV-PAST
 ‘He did remember well!’

(c) *zaxun vaxun – šin-a äš xavar haq'-sa* [Nizh; KACH; OR 47]

I:ABL you:SG:ABL who:ERG thing question take-PRES
 ‘Who asks me or you on this matter?’

§ 8. In sum, Udi personal agreement clitics usually are either preverbal or verb internal. Nevertheless, there are several constraint that relativize the ‘floating’ character of Udi agreement clitics (see Harris 2002 for details). A personal clitic becomes a suffix with the factitive future and all modal variants (modal, past modal I

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and II). These tense forms cancel all otherwise available slots, compare (x) as opposed to the examples in (x) that are marked for the present tense:

- (x) (a) *sa šavat' xinär be^ǰ-al-lu* [f.n.]
 one beautiful girl see-FUT:FAC-2SG
 ‘You will see a beautiful girl.’
- (b) *******sa šavat' xinär-ru be^ǰ-al*
 one beautiful girl-2SG see-FUT:FAC
- (x) (a) *sa šavat' xinär be-nu-ǰ-sa ...* [f.n.]
 one beautiful girl see-2SG -PRES
 ‘You will see a beautiful girl (and ...)’
- (b) *sa šavat' xinär-ru be^ǰ-sa* [f.n.]
 one beautiful girl-2SG see-PRES
 ‘You will see a BEAUTIFUL GIRL.’

§ 9. In section 3.4.4.1 it has been argued that the constraint on the factitive future is related to its origin as a predicative structure. In fact, the constraint can be interpreted as a reflex of the copula-like nature of the personal agreement clitics: In case no overt verbal relation is present, the clitic usurps the copula functions, compare:

- (x) *adamar kala-ne* [f.n.]
 man old-3SG
 ‘The man is old.’

§ 10. In predicative sentences, the floating of clitics is not permitted. This fact cannot be simply related to the focal functions of the predicative element: The position is kept even if the noun phrase is in focus, compare:

- (x) (a) *me adamar gena kala-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX man CONTR old-3SG
 ‘But THIS MAN is old.’
- (b) *******me adamar-re kala*

Although focal features may have reinforced the constraint, the ‘relational’ character of the clitic element must be regarded as the primary motivation for the constraint: In Udi, an unmarked sentence is verb-final (see **x.x.x**). Accordingly, predicative structures behave like unmarked sentences that include an overt verbal relation:

- (x) (a) *adamar kala-ne* [f.n.]
 man old-3SG
 ‘The man is old.’

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(b) *adamar bi-esa-ne* [f.n.]
man die-PRES-3SG
'The man is dying.'

(c) *adamar bi-al-le* [f.n.]
man die-FUT:FAC-3SG
'The man will die.'

From this we can conclude that the constraint on the factitive future is related to the general constraint on predicative structures. The fact that the modal, too, is necessarily followed by agreement clitics has been explained in section 3.4.4.1 by referring to the original imperative function of this mood. Here, focal features seem to have played a constitutive role: At least in Udi, imperatives are in natural (clausal) focus.

§ 11. Personal agreement markers always have to follow other clitics if present. The host is termed 'piggybacking clitic'. The resulting clitic cluster nearly always behaves as if it were a single clitic. The following clitics are piggybacking:

(x) *te-* Assertive negation (see 3.4.7.1)
q'a- Adhortative (see 3.4.6)
gi- Hypothetical (see 3.4.6)

Examples for the piggybacking technique are:

(x) (a) *adamar bi-al-le* [f.n.]
man die-FUT:FAC-3SG
'The man will die.'

(b) *adamar bi-al-te-ne* [f.n.]
man die-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG
'The man will not die.'

(x) (a) *adamar kala-ne* [f.n.]
man old-3SG
'The man is old.'

(b) *adamar kala(-)te-ne* [f.n.]
man old(-)NEG-3SG
'The man is not old.'

(c) *ägänä adamar kala(-)gi-n* [f.n.]
if man old(-)HYP-3SG
'If the man is/were old...'

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- (x) (a) *adamar-en xe u^ŕ-ne-ğ-sa* [f.n.]
 man-ERG water drink-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘The man drinks water.’
- (b) *adamar-en xe u^ŕ-q’a-n-ğ-i* [f.n.]
 man-ERG water drink-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST
 ‘The man should drink water.’
- (c) *ägänä adamar-en xe u^ŕ-gi-n-ğ-e-i* [f.n.]
 if man-ERG water drink-HYP-3SG-PERF-PAST
 ‘If the man drinks/drank water...’

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the cluster {NEG-PAM} is rarely used in terms of an endoclititic element (see 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 for the technique of endoclitization). An example is:

- (x) *za gele šuk’alen čal-te-ne-x-sa* [I 71, Nizh]
 I:DAT much anybody know-NEG-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘Nobody knows me well.’
- (x) *zu p’a-te-zə-p’-sa ki aš-ä be-sun-a* [OL 3b, Nizh]
 I reach-NEG-1SG-\$-PRES SUBJ work-DAT do-MASD-DAT
 ‘I do not manage to do (this) thing.’
- (x) *e-te-n-sa Stasik-i lašk’oy-e?* [I 4c, Nizh]
 come-NEG-2SG-\$:PRES Stasik-GEN weddings-DAT
 ‘Don’t you come to Stasik’s weddings?’

Endoclitization of the other piggybacking elements is rare, too. This fact illustrates that there is a functional conflict between the status of the elements as clitics and their focal properties: All three piggybacking hosts are marked for natural focus. This aspect refers to their semantic or conceptual base that is coupled with a lexical ‘hypothesis’ concerning the morphemes in question:

- (x) *te* <NEGATION>
q’a <STIMULATION>
gi <CONDITION>

A residue of this ‘lexical’ reading is the particle *te* used in the sense of ‘no’ in yes/no questions (see x.x.x), compare:

- (x) *bu-va-q’-sa ian tağ-en čak’-k’-en šo-t’-ux?*
 want-2SG-\$-PRES we go:FUT-IMP:1PL tear=out-LV-IMP:1PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2
- amma še-t’-in p-i-ne te* [Matthew 13:28-9]

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but DIST-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST-3SG no
 ‘Do you want that we tear it out? But he said: No.’

A fully ‘clitic’ interpretation of the terms mentioned in (x) above would obscure the original conceptual representation. Therefore, many speakers tend to use the piggybacking hosts as independent units that keep their ‘lexical’ stress, compare:

(x) (a) *té-ne žuǧab-b-esá-i šo-t’-ú* [f.n.]
 NEG-3SG answer-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT
 ‘She did not answer him.’

(b) *q’á-n bak-i* [f.n.]
 ADH-3SG be-PAST
 ‘May it be (so)!’

(c) *ägām venk’ laiǧlu gí-n*
 if you:SG:BEN worthy HYP-3SG

t’evaxt’a zu va sa ma^ǧ uk’al-zu [f.n.]
 DIST-TIME-DAT I you:SG:DAT one song say:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘If it is important for you, I will sing you a song.’

Obviously, many speakers still recognize the three terms at issue as independent units. Occasionally, stress is used to discriminate polysemic forms, compare:

(x) (a) *me-no šel ašbál té-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS good worker NEG-3SG
 ‘He is not a good worker.’

(b) *me-no šel aš-b-ál-te-ne* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS good work-LV-FUT:FAC-NEG-3SG
 ‘He will not work properly.’

§ 12. In sum, it is reasonable to assume that the piggybacking technique has emerged at a time when the ‘host’ still functioned as an independent lexeme (most likely in copula function). The functional properties of the host and the clitic then fused and finally formed the clitic cluster.

§ 13. The prohibitive morpheme *ma-* (see 3.4.6) has kept its independent status although is frequently followed by the piggybacking sequence *q’á-* (ADH-PAM): Just as it is true for the assertive negator *te-*, it cannot be used in endoclititic position. (x) compares the adhortative cluster to that of the prohibitive:

(x) (a) *šo-no qai-ne-bak-i* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS back-3SG-LV-PAST

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‘(S)he returned.’

- (b) *šo-no qai-q'a-n-baki* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS back-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘(S)he should return.’

- (c) *šo-no má-q'a-n qai-bak-i* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS PROH-ADH-3SG back-LV-PAST
 ‘(S)he must not return.’

- (d) ***šo-no qai-ma-q'a-n-bak-i*
 DIST-REF:ABS back-PROH-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST

Again, the constraint is conditioned by the ‘lexical’ meaning of the element *ma*. It allows to use the segment without clitics at all (negative imperative, see 3.4.7.2):

- (x) *ma bes-b-a ma q'ähbäluğ-b-a*
 PROH kill-LV-IMP:2SG PROH adultery-LV-IMP:2SG

ma baš-q'-a ma apči isp'att'uğ-b-a [Matthew 19:18]
 PROH steal-LV-IMP:2SG PROH false witness-LV-IMP:2SG

‘Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness.’ [KJ]

§ 14. Historically, the standard focus marker *-al* (see x.x.x) probably also served as a piggybacking host for agreement clitics. Residues of this technique are occasionally documented in older sources. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *šo-no zenk'ena viči-al-le va^š xunči-al-le va^š nana-l-le*
 DIST-REF:ABS I:BEN brother-FOC-3SG and sister-FOC-3SG and mother-FOC-3SG
 ‘He is for me a brother, [and] a sister, [and] a mother.’ [Matthew 12:50]

- (b) *amma bak-al-le vädä va^š ar-e-i-al-le* [John 4:23]
 but be-FUT:FAC-3SG time and come:PAST-PERF-PAST-FOC-3SG
 ‘But the time will be – and it has come...’

- (c) *p'irog-ax či-ne-č-er-i*
 cake-DAT2 take=out-3SG- $\$$ -PAST-PART:PAST

la-al-le-x-i še-t'-ux q'oltuğ-un oq'a [IM 61]
 place-FOC-3SG- $\$$ -PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 armpit-GEN under
 ‘She took out the cake and placed it under her armpit.’

- (d) *ai-ne-z-o c'up'c'up'-ne-k'-o ar-al-le-c-o panžäri-n-ač'*
 rise-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD jump-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD sit-FOC-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD window-SA-ADESS

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‘She will rise, will jump (around), (and) will sit at the window.’ [IM 60]

- (e) *bur-al-le-q-ec-i* *beingǰ* [BH 70]
 begin-FOC-3SG-LV-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST holiday
 ‘The holiday began (lit.: was started).’
- (f) *k’ua ar-i-ne ögmiš-al-le-bak-sa* [IM 67]
 home:DAT come:PAST-PAST-3SG praise-FOC-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘She came home and praises ...’
- (g) *taralluǰ-al-le-i še-t’-a bak-sa beǰǰ-a-ne-i* [IM 66]
 laziness-FOC-3SG-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN be-PRES see-MOD-3SG-PAST
 ‘She had the laziness to watch...’

Scarcity of data does not allow to reconstruct a (former) paradigm of the piggybacking function of *-al-*. But note that all examples of *-al-* show the involvement of a third person singular. Structures like *a-al-zu-q’-sa* (take-FOC-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES) etc. are not documented at all. This may hint at an earlier constraint on the combination of the two focal strategies. The Palimpsest data illustrate that in Old Udi, piggybacking did not take place with *-al* at all. Hence, we have to assume that - if Schiefner’s data are correct - piggybacking with *-al* was an episodic strategy that did not rest for long. In contemporary Udi, agreement clitics no longer add to the the focus clitic *-al*.

§ 15. A focus related constraint is also present with interrogative noun phrases. In direct questions, the personal agreement clitic usually follows the referential form in the interrogative noun phrase (see **x.x.x**):

- (x) (a) *šu-a laf-t’-e bez partal-al* [Mark 5:30]
 who-3SG:Q touch-LV-PERF I:POSS coat-SUPER
 ‘Who has touched [upon] my coat?’
- (b) *me adamar-ux šu-q’un?* [ST § 4]
 PROX man-PL who-3PL
 ‘Who are these men?’
- (c) *e ixt’iar-en-nu un me-t’-ux b-esa va^f*
 which power-ERG>INSTR-2SG you:SG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 do-PRES and

šin-a va tad-e me ixt’iar-ax? [Matthew 21:23]
 who:ERG-3SG:Q you:SG:DAT give-PERF PROX power-DAT2
 ‘With which power have you done this? And who has given you this power?’
- (d) *e nišan-nu tad-o un?* [John 6:30]
 which sign-2SG give-FUT:MOD you:SG

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‘Which sign will you give?’

- (e) *vaxun tara-k'-al-a čuhux šu-a?* [Nizh; BAL; OR 137]
 you:SG:COM walk-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR woman who-3SG:Q
 ‘Who is the woman walking at your side?’
- (f) *šu-a ait-k'-al-o* [I 29, Vartashen]
 who-3SG:Q speak-LV:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF
 ‘Who is it who speaks?’
- (g) *šu-a ava-bak-al-o?* [I 30, Vartashen]
 who-3SG:Q knowing-be-PART:nPAST-REF
 ‘Who is it who knows?’
- (h) *k'ä-t'un b-e va ud-oğ-on?* [I 83b, Nizh]
 what-3PL do-PERF you:SG:DAT Udi-PL-ERG
 ‘What have the Udis done to you?’
- (i) *mani bava-y na-y ġar-nu* [I 83d, Nizh]
 which father-GEN mother-GEN son-3SG
 ‘The son of which father (and) mother are you?’

Note that this constraint is canceled if the interrogative clause is used in the sense of a headless relative clause (see **x.x.x**):

- (x) (a) *šu-al šähärä-ne č'er-i-q'an t'e-l-an* [Luke 21:21]
 who-FOC town-DAT-3SG go=out:PAST-PAST-ADH-3SG DIST-SUPER-ABL
 ‘Who(ever) is in town should go away from there.’
- (b) *šin iax xod-d-uxo že^sk'-ne-d-o*
 who:ERG we:DAT2 tree-SA-ABL shake-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
- še-t'-in iax ič-enk' a-ne-q'-o* [IM 65]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG we:DAT2 REFL-BEN take-3SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD
 ‘Who(ever) will shake us from the tree will take us for himself.’

In addition, the two tense/mood forms that necessarily call for a personal agreement clitic (factitive future, modal) are not affected by the focus arrangement of interrogative clauses:

- (x) (a) *yaq'-a bak-al-a oq-axun va*
 way-DAT be-PART:nPAST-ATTR river-ABL you:SG:DAT
- šin č'e-v-k'-al-a* [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]
 who:ERG go=out-CAUS-LV-FUT-3SG:Q

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‘Who will take you out of the river that runs along the way?’

- (b) *hik'ä uk-'a-z? bez ġar pis äyel te-ne* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 52]
 what say:FUT-MOD-1SG I:POSS son bad child NEG-3SG
 ‘What shall I say? My son is not a bad child!’

- (c) *šin tara-d-al-a ienk'ena že-n-ax gārāmzi-n ćomo-xo?*
 who:ERG turn-LV-FUT-3SG:Q we:BEN stone-SA-DAT2 grave-GEN door-ABL
 ‘Who will move away for us the stone from the grave’s door?’ [Mark 16:3]

- (d) *isa ek'a b-al-lu?* [CO § 1]
 now what do-FUT:FAC-2SG
 ‘What will you do now?’

- (e) *šin taš-al-a?* [I 53, Nizh]
 who:ERG bring-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 ‘Who will bring (it)?’

§ 15. This technique, however, cannot be regarded as a functionally motivated preference. This comes clear from the fact that in interrogative predicative structures (the analogon of the factitive future) the interrogative nouns phrase usually is the host of the clitic, compare:

- (x) (a) *šu-a bez nana va^f šu-a bez viči-mux?* [Matthew 12:48]
 who-3SG:Q I:POSS mother and who-3SG:Q I:POSS brother-PL
 ‘Who is my mother and who are my brothers?’

- (b) *šu-a busa?* [f.n.]
 who-3SG hungry
 ‘Who is hungry?’

- (c) *e e^š-urux-a ap'i?* [f.n.]
 which apple-PL-3SG:Q ripe
 ‘Which apples are ripe?’

Obviously, the fact that personal clitics are added to the factitive future and the modal even if an interrogative noun phrase is present originates from the extension of the constraint on the two tense/mood forms to interrogative clauses.

§ 16. In sum, it becomes apparent that the basic constraints on the placement of agreement clitics are related to two factors: a) presence of a predicative (or: pseudo-predicative) structure (> factitive future); b) presence of a lexical or pseudo-lexical term in ‘natural’ focus (> modal; piggybacking morphemes, interrogative noun phrase). Else, the position of personal agreement clitics is ‘free’. Nevertheless, the verb internal position can be regarded as the unmarked variant. Here again, several

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in_{FOC}-3SG be-MASD COP > ‘(S)he becomes’
 ‘IN-(s)he to=be being’

This state has its structural analogy for instance in the German past participle of preverbially marked verbs, compare:

(x) *über-ge-setz-t*
 PV-PART:PAST-place-PART:PAST
 ‘ferried over’

This pattern seems to have emerged in Early Middle Udi. The language of the Palimpsest does not show convincing evidence for stem-related endoclititization except for ‘weak’ verbs. Contrary to German, tmesis has remained ‘local’ in Early Udi. This constraint is probably related to the strong focal properties of the preverbal field (see 3.4.3 and x.x.x). Crucially, endoclititization only occurs in those tense/mood forms that are derived from older analytic structures involving one of the copulas **a ~ *’a* (Infinitive > present tense), **i* (> past), *e* (> perfect), as well as in the modal future that represents a later borrowing, see 3.4.4.1. From this, we can infer that copula based tense forms did not cancel the preverbal focus field whereas the old non-past gerund (**-ar-i > -al*, see 3.4.4.1) and the imperative (> modal) happened to focus the verbal stem (plus gerund/imperative marker) instead of the preverbal segment (if present):

(X)	Focus field	Focus Marker	Stem	Derivation	Focus Marker	Copula
Present	PV-	CL	C(V)-	MASDAR		<i>*a ~ *’a</i>
Past	PV-	CL	C(V)-	---		<i>*i</i>
Perfect	PV-	CL	C(V)-	---		<i>*e</i>
Fact. Fut.	PV-		C(V)-	GERUND	CL	---
Modal	PV-		C(V)-	IMPERATIVE	CL	---

Udi probably has passed a stage in which the overwhelming majority of verbs had been marked by preverbal elements (a stage, which for instance is still present in contemporary Kryts). Accordingly, the efficiency of the preverb based paradigm was strong enough to also effect those (few) verb stems that lacked a preverb. This concerns both verb stems with petrified class markers (see 3.4.2.1) and genuine VC- or CVC-stems (native or borrowed). After preverbal tmesis had been abandoned, the two segments (preverb and verb stem) fused but kept the ‘endoclititic’ slot (see again (x) above). As a result, complex V-_-C-, CV-_-C-, VC-_-C-, and CVC-_-C-stems emerged that served as a general pattern to include personal agreement markers (< personalized focus markers).

§ 18. In section 3.4.2.2, it has been said that a number strong verbs superficially do not (always) allow endoclititization or have the corresponding slot in an unexpected place. This is true for the following verbs:

(x) *pesun* ‘to say’ (past: *p-*, present: *(n)ex-*, future: *u-_-k’-*)

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<i>besun</i>	‘to do’	(past: <i>b-</i> , present: <i>be(-_-)</i> -, future: <i>b-</i>)
<i>biesun</i>	‘to die’	(past: <i>p’ur-</i> , present: <i>bi-</i> , future: <i>bi-</i>)
<i>esun</i>	‘to come’	(past: <i>ar-</i> , present: <i>e-_-</i> , future: <i>e-_-ġ-</i>)
<i>taisun</i>	‘to go’	(past: <i>ta-_-c-</i> , present: <i>ta-_-</i> , future: <i>ta-_-ġ-</i>)
<i>č’esun</i>	‘to go out’	(past: <i>č’er-</i> , present: <i>č’e-_-</i> , future: <i>č’e-_-ġ-</i>)
<i>cisun</i>	‘to go down’	(past: <i>cir-</i> , present: <i>ci-_-</i> , future: <i>ci-_-ġ-</i>)
<i>laisun</i>	‘to go on/up’	(past: <i>lai-_-c-</i> , present: <i>lai-_-</i> , future: <i>lai-_-ġ-</i>)
<i>baisun</i>	‘to go in’	(past: <i>bai-_-c-</i> , present: <i>bai-_-</i> , future: <i>bai-_-ġ-</i>)

The constraints that show up in (x) are of different origin. On the one hand, the stem *p-* ‘say’ belongs to a small class of verbs that historically reflect **uC-* stems (compare Old Udi *owpesown* ‘to say’, *owkesown* ‘to eat’, *owp’esown* ‘to die’). These verbs are marked for the loss of the initial **u-* in their past tense forms (see x.x.x.x) resulting in C-initial, monosyllabic stems. Therefore, the original endoclititic slot is canceled:

(x) **u_C-* > C-

In addition, both *pesun* < **upesun* and **up’esun* (not preserved in Udi) ‘die’ are marked for suppletion with non-past tense forms (see x.x.x.x): *ex-* (Vartashen) ~ *ne-* (Nizh) ‘say’ (non-past), *bi-* ‘die’ (non-past). The non-past stems of ‘say’ are an innovation in Middle Udi (Old Udi has regularly kept the now modal stem *uk’-* as its present tense base); hence, a theoretically possible slot ***e_x-* did not come into use. As for *bi-* ‘die’, the reasons for the cancelation of the endoclititic slot are different: Old Udi *biL-a-* ‘die’ (pres.) illustrates that once, the stem was marked for a CVC structure (< **bi-λ^w-*). Obviously, the lateral had been lost before the EC-technique came into use. The expected forms would have been **^bbi-ne-sa* ‘(s)he dies’ (recte: *bi-esa-ne*) etc.

For *besun* ‘to do, make’, too, we have to describe the loss of a stem final consonant (see 3.4.2.1, §§ 19, 23): *b(e)-* < **bə-_-’(a)-*. But contrary to **biλ^w-* ‘die’, *besun* has retained its endoclititic slot in some examples from 19th century Udi (see 3.4.2.1, § 19).

The same process has been present in the preverbially marked variants of the intransitive MOVE-verb **ġe-* (see 3.4.2.2): Here, the root consonant **-ġ-* was dropped (via **-y-?*) after it had become stem final: **ta-_-ġ-* ‘to go’ > *ta-_-*, **e-_-ġ-* > *e-_-* etc.. Contrary to the verb *bi-esun* ‘to die’, the endoclititic slot has survived with all verbs of motion.

§ 19. On the other hand, the three MOVE-verbs *esun* ‘to come’, *cisun* ‘to go down’, and *č’esun* ‘to go up’ as well as *biesun* ‘to die’ are marked for a past stem (< past gerund) that does not allow endoclititization: *ar-* < **X-r-* < **X-ġe-r*, *cir-* < **ci-r-* < **ci-ġe-r-*, *č’er-* < **č’e-r-* < **č’e-ġe-r-*, *p’ur-* < **λ^wə-r-*. Obviously, the old past

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gerund *-r-* once disallowed a ‘stem internal’ focus just as it is true for the non-past gerund (**ar-i*) that developed to the factitive future (see above):

(X)	Focus field	Focus Marker	Stem	Derivation	Copula	Focus Marker
Fact. Fut.	PV-		C(V)-	GERUND	---	CL
Past (MOVE)	PV-		C(V)-	GERUND	<i>*i</i>	CL
Perfect (MOVE)	PV-		C(V)-	GERUND	<i>*e</i>	CL

Hence, forms like ***ci- -ǰe-r-* did not emerge. Contrary to the non-past gerund, the past gerund later allowed the copula (> tense markers) to be added. Most likely, the new forms have resulted from analogy with standard past tense forms (> *ci-r-i* ‘gone down’ etc.).

§ 20. The option to place personal clitics after the tense/mood morpheme, is not frequently taken with those verbs that allow endoclitization. In order to illustrate this point, (x) compares the frequency of verbs marked for endoclitization (EC) or enclitization (CL) in the corpora of Vartashen and Nizh narrative texts:

(x)	Vartashen		Nizh		Gospels	
	EC	CL	EC	CL	EC	CL
PRES	358	38	60	0	917	1
FUT:MOD	12	0	32	0	200	0
PAST	66	12	211	0	2198	56
PERF	20	1	4	75	513	0
	456	51	307	75	3828	57

Note that this list ignores the verbs listed in (x) above that are synchronically marked for the lack of an endoclitic slot (see above). It comes clear that endoclitization is the default place of verb-internal agreement markers. In Vartashen, 89,94 % of all verbs in question are marked for endoclitization (98,53 % in the Gospels), as opposed to 80,16 % in Nizh. The relatively high percentage of enclitic forms in Nizh is especially due to the fact that Nizh strongly prefers enclitization with the perfect tense form. This usage is extremely rare in Vartashen. It is perhaps too early to speak about a general shift from endoclitization to enclitization in Nizh. Instead, it seems more appropriate to refer to the functional scope of enclitization in order to explain the Nizh data: In section 3.4.4.1, it has been demonstrated that enclitization is the default for ‘stative’ semantics, compare:

(x) (a)	<i>šo-no</i>	<i>lai-ne-c-i</i>	<i>burg-ol</i>	<i>evaxte</i>	<i>ar-re-c-i</i>
	DIST-REF:ABS	go=up-3SG- $\$$:PAST-PAST	mountain-SUPER	when	sit=down-3SG- $\$$:PAST
	<i>ar-i-q'un</i>	<i>še-t'-a</i>	<i>t'o'ǰo'l</i>	<i>še-t'-a</i>	<i>šägird-ux</i>
	come:PAST-PAST-3PL	DIST-REF:OBL-GEN	at	DIST-REF:OBL-GEN	pupil-PL

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‘He went on a mountain (and) when he sat down, his pupils came to him.’
[Matthew 5:1]

(b) *čubux (...) aba-bak-i te šo-no*
woman (...) knowing-be-PART:PAST SUB DIST-REF:ABS

arc-i-ne farisei-ğ-o k’ua e-neč-er-i
sit=down-PAST-3SG Pharisee-PL-GEN house:DAT bring-3SG- $\$$ -PAST-PAST

alavast’ro-n-un lek’er miro-n-en [Luke 7:37]

alabaster-SA-GEN bowl ointment-SA-ERG>INSTR

‘The woman who knew that he was sitting in the house of the Parisees brought an alabaster bowl with ointment.’

§ 21. In Nizh, the stative (or: resultative) function of the perfect (see 3.4.4.1) has conditioned the fact that enclitization became the default technique with this tense form. The fact that enclitization is not documented with other tense forms in Nizh illustrates that in this dialect, enclitization has gradually specialized to support the function of a resultative:

(x) (a) *baiynq’-un ga-l-a č’ap’-bak-e-ne* [Nizh; BAT; OR 115]
darkness-GEN place-SA-DAT hide-LV-PERF-3SG
‘He (the devil) has hidden in a dark place.’

(b) *ä^fil-ux čäläy-e č’ap’-q’un-bak-i* [Nizh; f.n.]
child-PL wood-DAT hide-3PL-LV-PAST
‘The children hid in the woods.’

As far as data go, enclitization is not documented with the simple past tense of those verbs that are marked for an endoclititic slot. This fact suggests that we have to deal with the emergence of a complementary distribution:

(X)

	Endoclititization	Enclitization
Past	+	---
Perfect	---	+

The picture changes for Vartashen: Here, the perfect is hardly ever used with personal clitics in final position. Rare examples are:

(x) (a) *be-q’un-ğ-esa te sa is-en ič tur-muğ-ol la-v-k’-e-ne*
see-3PL-PRES SUB one man-ERG REFL foot-PL-SUPER go=on-CAUS-LV-PERF-3SG

p’a^f źo^fmo źe-n-ax xari-ne ber-x-esa. [R 19]
two mill:GEN stone-SA-DAT2 flour-3SG grind-3SG- $\$$ -PRES

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‘They see that a man has put two millstones on his feet (and that) he grinds flour.’

- (b) *sa dūz-i be^ǰǰ-sa-ne sa išu k’oc’-bak-e-ne* [TR 68]
 one field-DAT see-PRES-3SG one man bend=down-LV-PERF-3SG
 ‘One the field he sees a man (standing) bending down.’

Here, endoclititization shows up as the default, compare:

- (x) *damdam-axol ayz-er-i ta-s-c-e aš-l-a*
 morning-COM rise-LV:PAST-PAST thither-1SG-go:PAST-PERF work-SA-DAT
 I rose in the morning and went to work. [Misk 04]

Contrary to Nizh, however, the corresponding past tense is occasionally documented with enclitics:

- (x) (a) *beǰ-sa-ne te me ač’dahi-n bul t’unk’uri-p-sin*
 see-PRES-3SG SUB PROX dragon head turn=around-LV-CV:MOD

tac-i-ne sa kur-r-u bit-i [R 11]
 go:PAST-PAST-3SG one hole-SA-DAT fall-PAST

‘He sees that while turning around this dragon’s head had moved (away and) had fallen into a hole.’

- (b) *amma kōtik’-ax te-q’o bak-sa taš-es*
 but beam-DAT2 NEG-3PL:IO be-PRES carry-MASD

kōtik’ ič ga-n-u bit-i-ne [TR 69]
 beam REFL place-SA-DAT fall-PAST-3SG

‘But they cannot carry away the beam. The beam (remains) in its place (where it) has fallen.’

- (c) *ma gir-ec-i-q’un p’o^ǰ ie xib-o*
 where gather-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST-3PL two:REF:ABS or three-REF:ABS

bez c’i-ala zu t’ia še-t’-ǰ-o q’ati-zu [Matthew 18:20]
 I:POSS name-SUPER:IN I DIST:ADV DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN in=between-1SG

‘There, where two or three have gathered in my name, I am among them.’

§ 22. All examples show that the enclitization of personal agreement markers to a past tense form produces a resultative meaning, just as it is true for the perfect in Nizh. Nevertheless, this strategy has not yet become paradigmatic in Vartashen. This can in addition be inferred from the fact that enclitization also occurs with the present tense:

- (x) (a) *fikir-b-esa-nan te va^ǰn zu ar-e-z*

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think-LV-PRES-2PL SUB you:PL I come:PAST-PERF-1SG

tad-a-z oćal-a dinžluǵ?

give-MOD-1SG earth-DAT peace

‘Do you think that I have come to give peace to the world?’ [Luke 12:51]

(b) *iaq'-al eǵ-axun gādi-n-en biq'-sa-ne*

way-SUPER go:fut-cv:par boy-SA-ERG seize-PRES-3SG

me tuli-n-ax do^fp-t'-esa [GD 62]

PROX dog-SA-DAT2 shoot-LV-PRES

‘One the way, the boy takes the (young) dog (and) shoots (it).’

(c) *q'uš esa[-ne] ġar-ax ak'-sa-t'u šor be^fǵ-sa-ne*

bird come:PRES[-3SG] boy-DAT2 see-PRES-3SG:IO DIST:ADV see-PRES-3SG

te ič tul-urǵ-ox k'ac'-k'-al-o mo-no-ne [R 15]

SUB REFL young=animal-PL-DAT2 kill-LV-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS PROX-REF:ABS-3SG

‘The bird finally sees the boy – it looks [so] as if he is the one who has killed its chickens.’

Crucially, the verb *be^fǵsun* ‘to see, look at’ represents the most frequent verb marked by an enclitic element in the present tense, compare the following list (Vartashen narratives; figures indicate number of occurrences):

(x)	<i>be^fǵsun</i> (27)	‘to see, look at’
	<i>taisun</i> (3)	‘to go’
	<i>ak'sun</i> (1)	‘to see’
	<i>baksun</i> (2)	‘to become’
	<i>biq'sun</i> (1)	‘to seize’
	<i>baq'sun</i> (1)	‘to fit into’
	<i>čuksun</i> (1)	‘to tear off’
	<i>eisun</i> (1)	‘to come’
	<i>mandesun</i> (1)	‘to stand, stay’
	<i>uksun</i> (1)	‘to eat’

Examples for the use of *be^fǵsun* ‘to see, look at’ are:

(x) (a) *k'ua ar-i be^fǵ-sa-q'un*

house:DAT come:PAST-PART:PAST see-PRES-3PL

te ič-uǵ-o baba k'aći-ne bak-e xunči dāng-e [GD 62]

SUB REFL-PL-GEN father blind-3SG be-PERF sister stupid-3SG

(b) *be^fǵ-sa-ne te mia otaǵ-ux-ne bu* [GD 62]

see-PRES-3SG SUB PROX:ADV room-PL-3SG be

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‘He sees that there are rooms here.’

Obviously, we have to deal with stylistic preference rather than with a systematic use of this structure: Twenty-seven examples stem from the hand of Mikhael Bezhanov (1890 ante). In addition, present tense forms with enclitics are documented in the tales CH&T (žejranišivili 1971, six occurrences), AR (Dirr 1928, 1902 ante; three occurrences), K&S (Dirr 1904; two occurrences). In addition, Pančviže 1974 gives four (non-textual) examples, compare:

(x) (a) *arc-esa-ne sa k'ic'i-gär ai-ne-[z-]-sa tağ-al-le k'ua* [PA 125]
 sit-PRES-3SG one little-just rise-3SG- \bar{z} -PRES go:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG house:DAT
 ‘(S)he just sits (for a while), rises and will go home.’

(b) *be^š-sa-ne ič aća čo be^š-ne arc-i soloxa čo xaš* [PA 69]
 see-PRES-3SG REFL right side(:DAT) sun-3SG sit-PAST left side(:DAT) moon
 ‘She sees that the sun is sitting at her right side, (and) the moon at (her) left side.’

§ 23. As far as data go, present tense forms marked by enclitic agreement markers never occur sentence final. Rather, they are used in clause initial position, when introducing as subordinated clause, or so-called ‘gapping constructions’ that show a matrix verb with an agreement marker followed by another matrix verb without this marker (see Harris 2002:98-102 and x.x.x). Further examples are:

(x) Introducing a subordinated clause:
rust'am-en me-t'-a bex
 Rustam-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-GEN head:DAT2

čuk'-sa-ne bo-e-sa be^š-sa-ne te ... [R 11]
 cut=of-PRES-3SG throw-3SG-PRES see-PRES-3SG SUB
 ‘Rustam cut offs its (the dragon’s) head, throws it (away) (and) sees that...’

(x) Sentence initial position:
 (a) *mand-esa-q'un rust'am-q'an šavat' xinär* [R 12]
 stay-PRES-3PL Rustam-and beautiful girl
 ‘Rustam and the beautiful girl stay (there).’

(b) *tai-sa-ne lalaq'an i^b-al-t'-a t'o^šo^l ex-ne* [AR 71]
 go-PRES-3SG slipper sew-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-GEN at say:PRES
 ‘It (the sparrow) goes to a slipper sewer (and) says ...’

(c) *tai-sa-ne sa q'əc togdal-un t'o^šo^l ex-ne* [AR 70]
 go-PRES-3SG one cloth merchant-GEN at say:PRES-3SG
 ‘It (the sparrow) goes to a cloth merchant (and) says ...’

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But note (x,d) that shows the same verb (*taisun* ‘to go’) as in (x,b-c) in non initial position, but in the same context:

- (d) *oša ta-ne-sa sa sanžagǝ togdal-un t’o^fgǝ^fö p’uran ex-ne* [AR 71]
 then go-3SG-\$.PRES one shoe merchant-GEN at again say:PRES-3SG
 ‘It (the sparrow) goes to a shoe merchant (and) says ...’

(x) ‘Gapping’:

- (a) *me karvano e-sa-ne iavašlugǝ-on rust’am-i k’ası-n-a*
 PROX old=woman come-PRES-3SG slowness-ERG>INSTR Rustam-GEN finger-SA-DAT

ćain lad-i baboč’al-ax čisča-ne hous-a bos-sa [R 18]
 fat put=on-PART:PAST ring-DAT2 tear=off:PRES-3SG well-DAT throw-PRES
 ‘This old woman comes, (and) after having put fat on Rustam’s finger she slowly tears off the ring (and) throws (it) into the well.’

- (b) *ič-en gena bütün xorag-ax uk-sa-ne tai-sa* [R 10]
 REFL-ERG CONTR all food-DAT2 eat-PRES-3SG go-PRES
 ‘He himself eats all the food and goes.’

The motivation is less clear in the following examples:

- (x) (a) *me pasč’aǝ k’ena adamar-i bak-sa-ne sa čubux* [CH&T 169]
 PROX king like man-GEN be-PRES-3SG one woman
 ‘This king-like man has a woman ...’

- (b) *rust’am bak-sa-ne p’uri k’ena* [R 18]
 Rustam be-PRES-3SG dead like
 ‘Rustam is as if he were dead.’

§ 24. Contrary to the resultative effect of enclitization with past tense forms, the corresponding forms of the present tense produce an ‘open coordination’. By this is meant that the forms at issue condition a presupposition about another event (or, in a broader sense: another information chunk) that is coordinated with the event covered by the present tense verb. Although this strategy is not frequently used in contemporary Udi, it can occasionally be heard. The following pair can help to illustrate the functional scope of the ‘enclitic’ present tense:

- (x) (a) *bez baba me-ǝi e-ne-sa* [f.n.]
 I:POSS father PROX-day come-3SG-\$.PRES
 ‘My father comes today.’

- (b) *ei-sa-ne me-ǝi bez baba...* [f.n.]
 come-PRES-3SG PROX-day I:POSS father
 ‘My father comes today (> to X; and does X etc.)’

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In (x,a), the hearer usually expects that the speaker has no more to say concerning the coming of the father. In (x,b), however, (s)he assumes that the speaker continues and gives more information. Typical reactions on (x,b) would be:

(x) (a) *vi k'ua-al eǵal-a?* [f.n.]
 you:POSS house:DAT-FOC come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 'Will he come to your home, too?'

(b) *xo ek'a bal-a?* [f.n.]
 yes what do-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 'Yes, (and) what will he do?'

The fact that personal agreement clitics rarely function as verbal enclitics with those verbs that entail an endoclititic slot is also illustrated by the rare use of such forms with secondary (past) tense/mood forms, see 3.4.4.2, § 2 for the statistics and some examples.

In sum, it comes clear that 'verbal' (or: sentence) focus is directly connected with endoclititization. The use of personal agreement markers as post-verbal enclitics is rare and marked expect for those verbs that do not have an endoclititic slot (see above).

§ 25. In complex verbs marked by the (synchronic or diachronic) incorporation of a lexical element, the endoclititic slot usually precedes the light verb or the auxiliary, compare:

(x)	<i>i-_-baksun</i>	'to hear'	<	'to be ear'
	<i>aš-_-besun</i>	'to work'	<	'to do work'
	<i>irazi-_-baksun</i>	'to agree'	<	'to be satisfied, happy'
	<i>ači-_-pesun</i>	'to play'	<	'to *say play'
	<i>furu-_-pesun</i>	'to search, walk'	<	'to *say *walk'
	<i>but'-_-k'esun</i>	'to close, cover'	<	'to *cause (to) be covered'
	<i>xabar_-aq'sun</i>	'to ask'	<	'to take news'
	<i>baǵišłamiš-_-besun</i>	'to forgive'	<	'to do *forgiving'
	<i>günäh-_-besun</i>	'to sin'	<	'to do sin'
	<i>bat'-_-k'esun</i>	'to become destroyed'	<	'to *be *destroyed'
	<i>šel-_-besun</i>	'to heal'	<	'to make good'
	<i>zom-_-besun</i>	'to teach'	<	'to make *learnt'
	<i>harai-_-besun</i>	'to cry'	<	'to do cry'
	<i>č'ur-_-desun</i>	'to turn around'	<	'to *cause *twist' (?)
	<i>čur-_-pesun</i>	'to stand, stay'	<	?
	<i>e^hb-_-besun</i>	'to sew'	<	'to do *needle'
	<i>bar-_-pesun</i>	'to divide, separate'	<	'to *say part'
	<i>bar-_-tesun</i>	'to let (away)'	<	'to *do part'
	<i>e^hx-_-t'esun</i>	'to take, seize'	<	?
	<i>lip'-_-t'esun</i>	'to blink, flash'	<	'to *be blinking'
	<i>laf-_-t'esun</i>	'to touch'	<	'to *be *in=contact'

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fur-_-t'esun 'to slip' < 'to *be *slipping'

With complex verbs, all endoclititic slots within the light verbs are canceled:

(x) (a) ***i-ba-t'u-k-sa* '**(s)he hears'
ear-be-3SG:IO-§-PRES

(b) *i-t'u-bak-sa* '(s)he hears'
ear-3SG:IO-be-PRES

§ 26. The same holds for secondary derivations such as causatives or (pseudo-) passives, see 3.4.8. Here, the endoclititic slot opens in front of the derivational element, compare:

(x)	Basic		Derived		LV / AUX
	<i>a- -q'-sun</i>	'to take'	<i>aq'- -esun</i>	'to be taken'	<i>esun</i> (PASS)
	<i>a- -k'-sun</i>	'to see'	<i>ak'- -esun</i>	'to show oneself'	<i>esun</i> (PASS)
	<i>kala- -baksun</i>	'to become big'	<i>kala-bak- -esun</i>	'to be made big'	<i>esun</i> (PASS)
	<i>a- q'-sun</i>	'to take'	<i>aq'es- -desun</i>	'to let take'	<i>-desun</i> (CAUS)
	<i>ci-_-esun</i>	'to go down'	<i>ci-v-_-k'esun</i>	'to move down'	-v- (CAUS) + AUX <i>-k'esun</i>

Examples are:

(x) (a) *še-t'-in za ič k'uax ak'-es-ne-d-e* [f.n.]
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG I:DAT REFL house:DAT2 see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS-PERF
'(S)he has shown me his/her house.'

(b) *saema čubq'-on iax aq'-ev-q'un-k'-e* [Luke 24:22]
some woman:PL-ERG we:DAT2 take-CAUS-3PL-LV-PERF
'Some women has made us astonished (lit.: made us being taken).'

(c) *zor bixog'-oi ak'-ne-sa-i azar-ğ-o šel-b-esun-a*
power god-GEN2 see-3SG-LV:PASS:PRES-PAST disease-PL-DAT good-LV-MASD2-DAT
'The power of God showed up to cure the diseases.' [Luke 5:17]

(d) *me pasč'ağ-en eč-es-ne-st'a iesir pasč'ağ-un*
PROX king-ERG bring-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS:PRES imprisoned king-GEN

ölki-n-axo kul cip-es-ne-st'a pak-i [IK 67]

land-SA-ABL earth pour=out-3SG-LV:CAUS:PRES garden-DAT

'This king lets bring earth from the land of the imprisoned king and lets it be scattered in the garden.'

(e) *šo-t'-ux aš-b-es-ne-d-i aš-l-a* [Matthew 25:16]
DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 work-LV-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS-PAST work-SA-DAT

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‘He let him do (lit.: work) the work.’

- (f) *fikir-əz-sa ki va^hn za q’amiš-nan-bak-o*
 think-1SG-LV:PRES SUBJ you:SG:HON I:DAT understand-2SG:HON-LV-FUT:MOD
 ‘I think that you understand me.’ [OL 5, Nizh]

§ 27. In contemporary Udi, personal agreement clitics often have stress attracting properties: Although they do not take stress themselves, they condition that stress moves to the last syllable of their host in case the host else has a non-ultima accent, compare:

- (x) (a) *tāngi-n-áx ič ioldaš-áxo á-ne-q’-sa* [f.n.]
 money-SA-DAT2 REFL friend-ABL take-3SG- $\$$ -PRES
 ‘(S)he takes the money from his/her friend.’

- (b) *tāngi-n-áx ič ioldaš-axó-ne aq’-sá* [f.n.]
 money-SA-DAT2 REFL friend-ABL-3SG take-PRES
 ‘(S)he takes the money from his/her FRIEND.’

This process, however, is a rather recent development that is not fully observed by all speakers. It is based on an older strategy to relate sentence stress and clitization: Accordingly, constituent focus was (and often still is) primarily expressed by prosodic features (high pitch). Personal clitics are added to those constituents (both free and incorporated) that are marked by pitch and hence are in focus. The local stress pattern is then preserved even if a personal agreement clitic is added (see 2.7.4). Hence, enclitization is not necessarily connected to syllabic stress although there is a strong tendency to replace word stress by syllabic stress (see Harris 2002:141-3 for a slightly different view). This is especially true if the host is morphologically marked, compare:

- (x) (a) *sa túla-z ak’-e* [Nizh; f.n.] (~ *sa tuláz ak’é*)
 one young=dog-1SG see-PERF
 ‘I have seen a young dog.’

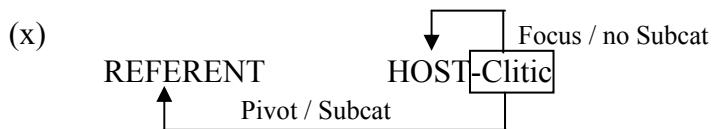
- (b) *tuli-n-axún-uz t’it’-er-i* [Nizh; f.n.]
 young=dog-SA-ABL-1SG run-PAST-PAST
 ‘I ran away from the young dog.’

3.4.5.2 The paradigm. This section deals with the basic semantic and formal properties of the paradigm of personal clitics. §§ 1-8 discuss their semantics, whereas §§ 9-13 illustrate the single paradigms. The emergence of the paradigm is described in section 3.4.5.4.

§ 1. Although every matrix verb is usually correlated with an agreement marker, we cannot say that Udi is a typical ‘pronoun dropping’ language: From a structural point of view, it makes more sense to state that every matrix clause is marked for

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(constituent or sentence) focus, whether or not a cross-referenced constituent is present. The standard host of the focus clitic is the verb (or its incorporated element) in case no constituent focus is given. Crucially, agreement clitics have Janus-faced properties: They not only focus a constituent (or the verbal relation/sentence), but also cross-reference the most central (pivotal) actant in the sentence:



As has been said in section 3.4.5.1, the host itself is not subcategorized by the agreement clitic: Semantic or functional properties of the host are normally not echoed in the paradigm of the clitics. The only exception is given by those tense/mood forms that turn the clitics into suffixes (factive future, modal(-imperative), see 3.4.4.1). Therefore, the relationship between a host and its focus clitic can be described as purely structural. Nevertheless, note, that this structural relation is supported by prosodic features (see 2.7.4): Agreement clitics are co-paradigmatized with sentence stress. They are (automatically) added to constituents that are marked for sentential ‘stress peak’.

§ 2. The cross-referenced ‘constituent’ is subcategorized according to the feature ‘person’. Although the presence of this constituent is not obligatory, many speakers prefer to use personal pronouns with speech act participants and nouns or pronouns with third person referents except the phrase in question constitutes a subsequent part of a coordinated clausal chain. Hence, third person clitics are anaphorics (more rarely cataphorics). They lack autonomous referential properties. If there is no immediate referent present that is cross-referenced by the agreement clitic, the clitic is used in terms of referential tracking:

(x) *irod p'ur-i-t'xo oša me färišt'ä bixog'oi nep'-e boš*
 Herode dead-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-ABL after PROX angel god-GEN2 sleep-GEN in

ak'-ne-c-i iosif-a va^f ex-ne (...)
 see-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST Joseph-DAT and say:PRES-3SG (...)

šo-no ai-ne-z-er-i a-ne-q'-i a^fil-ax va^f
 DIST-REF:ABS rise-3SG-\$-PAST-PAST take-3SG-\$-PAST child-DAT2 and
ič nana-x ar-i-ne izrail-un kul-l-u [Matthew 2:19/21]
 REFL mother-DAT2 come:PAST-PAST-3SG Isreal-GEN earth-SA-DAT

‘After the death of Herode, God’s angel showed himself to Joseph while he was sleeping and says (...). He (Joseph) rose, took the child and his wife, (and) came to the land of Israel.’

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In this case, cross-referencing is usually delegated to a demonstrative pronoun (or, more rarely, to the reflexive pronoun, see x.x.x). In exophoric contexts, referential tracking can (linguistically) end with a demonstrative pronoun, compare:

- (x) *mo-no-a ap'i?* [f.n.]
 PROX-REF:ABS-3SG:Q ripe
 'Is this one ripe?' (hinting an apple)

§ 3. The third person plural clitic is often used without an overt referential form to formulate habitual rules and sanctions, compare:

- (x) (a) *xe-n-e loxol te-t'un ćuk'-o* [Nizh; OR 110]
 water-SA-GEN on NEG-3PL spit-FUT:MOD
 'One does not spit into water.'

- (b) *baying' bak-i-t'-uxun oša mähäl-n-e*
 darkness be-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-ABL after quarter-SA-DAT

žalk'a xe te-t'un cik'-o [Nizh; OR 110]
 boiling water NEG-3PL pour=our-FUT:MOD
 'After darkness has begun, one does not pour out hot water in the quarter.'

- (c) *loroc'-in äyl-ä bul be^šg'-bat'-k'-al-ač'*
 cradle-GEN child-DAT head sun-perish-PART:nPAST-ADESS

te-t'un bas-k'-es-t'-o [Nizh; OR 111]
 NEG-3PL lie=down-LV-MASD-LV:CAUS-FUT:MOD
 'One does not put a baby (lit.: 'cradle's child) to sleep with its head in the direction of sunset.'

§ 4. Else, 'headless' third person clitics occur only in discourse. It then refers to a cognitively or situationally 'known' entity:

- (x) (a) *hik'ä-a ö^šne^š-ne?* [Nizh; f.n.]
 what-3SG:Q weep-LV:PRES
 'Why (lit.: what) does it weep?' (Hinting at a child)

- (b) *vay p'ur-e-ne!* [Nizh; f.n.]
 my=god die-PERF-3SG
 'Oh my god, she is dead!' (expressing a premonition)

§ 5. In order to summarize this point, (x) illustrates the four basic types of referential tracking in Udi. The shaded field indicates the exophoric (non-linguistic) domain (CL = third person agreement clitic):

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(x)

REF	<	CL	...	CL
REF	<	DEIXIS	<	CL
REF	<	DEIXIS	<	CL
REF	<	CL	...	CL

§ 6. With speech act participants, pronominal dropping occurs more often than with the third person. Contrary to third person clitics, the clitics related to speech act participants have stronger referential properties: They are coupled with the paradigm of ‘communicative reference’ (see 3.2.6) and today function as a basic strategy to mark sentences for this type of reference. This point can be illustrated with the help of frequency data stemming from Vartashen and Nizh native narratives:

(X)

	Vartashen Narratives			Nizh Narratives		
	+PRO	-PRO	Total	+PRO	-PRO	Total
1SG	41,66 %	59,33 %	96	25,25 %	74,75 %	99
2SG	22,60 %	77,40 %	146	22,29 %	77,61 %	148

Accordingly, pronominal dropping is present in the majority in those cases in which the first or second person singular is involved (data are too few to allow a calculation of the corresponding plural forms). In a brief autobiographical text (316 words; OL, Nizh 2004), the first person singular occurs 65 times; in 36 instances, the corresponding pronoun is used, too. Here, the percentage of ‘non-dropping’ constructions is higher than in the average for Nizh (55% as opposed to 25,25%). Obviously, this distribution is motivated by the particular text type that is marked for the constant emphasis of the First Person.

Nevertheless note that in Vartashen, the first person singular is more often used together with its pronoun than in Nizh. Obviously, the Vartashen data reflect an older state of the language whereas Nizh is more influenced by the strategies of pronominal dropping for instance in Azeri. Still, note that for the corpus of Internet contributions (mostly from Nizh; 552 words), the following distribution shows up:

(x)

	ALL	-PRO	+PRO	
1sg	28	17	11	39.28 %
2sg	44	36	8	18.18 %
1pl	14	9	5	35.71 %
2pl	17	15	2	11.76 %

Again, it comes clear that the type of text accounts for the distributional patterns: The Internet contributions are marked for rather egocentric utterances, often coupled with a hortative modality. The fact that in this text type, too, the first person is highly profiled, is an important clue for accessing the history of agreement clitics in Udi (see below).

Examples for the presence of pronouns are:

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- (x) (a) *q'uš-en ex-ne ma-q'a-va q'ə^ʕ-b-i*
 bird-ERG say:PRES-3SG PROH-ADH-2SG:IO fear-LV-PAST
zu vi q'ulluğ-a hazir-zu [R 15]
 I you:POSS service-DAT ready-1SG
 'The bird says: Don't be afraid! I am ready to serve you.'
- (b) *q'ožagǎ ek'a-va buq'-sa bes-a zu venk' hazir-zu* [R 14]
 young=man what-2SG:IO want-PRES ask=for-IMP:2SG I you:SG:BEN ready-1SG
 'Young man! Ask for (that) what you want. I am ready for you.'
- (d) *un za me šelluğ-a b-e-nu* [R 12]
 you:SG I:DAT PROX charity-DAT do-PERF-2SG
 'You have done this charity for me.'
- (e) *hun ava-nu maya-z* [I 1, Nizh]
 you:SG knowing-2SG where-1SG
 'You (sg.) know where I am.'
- (f) *zu čätin eğ-o-z ayz-e – beši 5 ekzamen-e*
 I difficult come:FUT-FUT:MOD-1SG village-DAT – we:POSS 5 examination-3SG
 'I have difficulties to come to the village (Nizh) – we have five examinations.' [I 5a, Nizh]

Pronominal dropping is illustrated by the following examples:

- (x) (a) *šuk'al-a ma up-a zoq'al-n-a xod-alxun-uz bit-e*
 anybody-DAT PROH say:IMP-IMP:2SG cornel=cherry-SA-GEN tree-SUPER:ABL-1SG fall-PERF
 'Don't tell anybody that I have fallen from a cornel cherry-tree!'
 [Nizh; ELEM; OR 134]
- (x) (b) *p-i-ne mi-gila ek'a b-al-zu pas-b-al-zu bez*
 say-PAST-3SG PROX-behold what do-FUT:FAC-1SG destroy-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG I:POSS
hambarxani-ğ-ox va^ʕ ser-b-al-zu kala-o-r gir-b-al-zu
 barn-PL-DAT2 and build-FUT:FAC-1SG big-REF:ABS-PL collect-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG
t'ia bütün bez sum-ax va^ʕ bütün bez dövlät-ax
 DIST:ADV all I:POSS corn-DAT2 and all I:POSS riches-DAT2
va^ʕ u-z-k'-o bez elmuğ-o [Luke 12:17-18]
 and say-1SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD I:POSS soul-DAT

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‘He said: Behold, (this is) what I will do: I will destroy my barns, I will build great(er) ones, I will collect all my corn and all my riches and I will say to myself (lit.: my soul)...’

(c) S1: *ava-n bak-i hava hetär-ä* [Nizh; OR 132]
 knowing-2SG be-PAST weather how-3SG:Q
 ‘Do you know how the weather is?’

S2: *ağala sa čur-e-ne ava bak-a-z hava hetär-ä?*
 rain still stay-3SG-LV:PRES knowing be-MOD-1SG wheather how-3SG:Q
 ‘It is still raining! How should I know how the wheather is?’

§ 7. In Nizh, a pronominal form is usually coupled with (often contrastive) emphasis. This technique represents a younger development that has replaced the use of pronouns with a focus marker (*-al* or *gena* (contrastive), see x.x.x). (X) and (x) illustrate both usages:

(x) (a) *un-al eke bez qošt’an* [GD 61]
 you:SG-FOC come:IMP-IMP:2SG I:POSS behind
 ‘Come YOU behind me!’

(b) *hun biäsin k’oya ek-i* [Nizh; f.n.]
 you:SG evening house:DAT come:IMP-IMP:2SG
 ‘Come YOU home in the evening!’

(x) (a) *va^f un gena ex-nu šu-a (recte šin-a) laf-t’-e za?* [Luke 8:45]
 and you:SG CONTR say:PRES-2SG who:(ERG)-3SG:Q touch-LV-PERF I:DAT
 ‘And YOU say: Who has touched me?’

(b) *hun ma č’ek-i zu č’eg’al-zu* [Nizh; BAT; OR 114]
 you:SG PROH co=out:IMP-IMP:2SG I go=out:FUT-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘Don’t YOU go out! I will go out!’

These examples again illustrate the functional shift that has taken place in Nizh (see § 6 above): With speech act participants, the unmarked pattern is marked by pronominal dropping, whereas pronouns are present in emphasis and when focused. In Vartashen, the unmarked pattern still is overt pronominality. Emphasis is carried out with the help of either the focus marker *-al* or the contrastive clitic *gena* (< Azeri *yenə* ‘again’).

§ 8. From a systematic point of view, Udi personal agreement clitics distinguish speech act participants (first and second person) from non-speech act participants (third person). The fact that the third person is overtly marked, sets Udi in opposition to the only other Lezgian language that has fully elaborated a system of personal agreement, namely Tabasaran, compare:

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- (x) *izu ap'-nu-[wu]-za* [North. Tabasaran, Dübek; Magometov 1965:255]
 I do-GER:PAST-[AUX]-1SG
 'I usually did...'
- (b) *du-ǧu ap'-nu-w[u]* [North. Tabasaran, Dübek; Magometov 1965:255]
 DIST-ERG:HUM do-GER:PAST-AUX:3SG
 '(S)he usually did ...'
- (c) *zu b-i-zu* [Udi, f.n.]
 I do-PAST-1SG
 'I did ...'
- (d) *še-t'-in b-i-ne* [Udi, f.n.]
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG do-PAST-3SG
 '(S)he did ...'

In Udi, the two structurally and functionally distinct paradigms of overt pronominal reference (personal and demonstrative pronouns, see 3.2.6 and 3.2.8.2) fuse into one single paradigm of agreement markers that echo the referential structures:

(X)

	Referential	Echo
First person	} Personal Pronouns	} Agreement Markers
Second Person		
Third Person	Demonstrative Pronouns	

The 'echoes' share with their referential heads the fact that each 'person' distinguishes singular from plural. No further classifying subcategorization is present. Therefore, we can describe a 'harmonic' pattern of agreement markers:

(x)

SG	PL
1	1
2	2
3	3

§ 8. Agreement, however, is subcategorized according to features that are related to the syntax-semantics interface. In sum, the following domains are distinguished in the two dialects (Por = Possessor, Pum = Possessee):

(x)

	Vartashen	Nizh
Subjective/Agentive	Absolutive/Ergative	Absolutive/Ergative
Indirect Objective	Dative	Absolutive/Ergative; Dative2
Possessive (Por-Focus)	Genitive	Dative2

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Possessive (Pum-Focus; Subjective/Agentive)	Absolutive/Ergative	Absolutive/Ergative
--	---------------------	---------------------

Personal agreement clitics are conventionally related to case forms. From a formal point of view, this relation is overtly marked with those clitics that do not refer to the subjective/agentive domain: The indirect objective function and the possessor focus are cross-referenced with the help of case marked clitics. From a diachronic perspective; the same holds for the subjective/ agentive domain of at least those clitics that encode speech act participants (see below). The table in (X) shows that Vartashen has a more elaborated system than Nizh: In Nizh, only two paradigmatic classes can be distinguished, whereas Vartashen uses three sets of personal clitics. These paradigmatic sets are discussed in more details in §§ 10-13 below.

In addition to the subcategorization types listed so far, the set of subjective/agentive clitics shows certain morphological idiosyncrasies that are related to the tense-mood paradigm. The following forms have tense/mood dependent variants:

- (x) 1PL *-en* (Adhortative, see 3.4.4.1, § 29)
 2SG V. *-e* ~ N. *-i* (Imperative of intr. MOVE-verbs, see 3.4.4.1, § 28)
 3SG *-a* (Interrogation, see 3.4.4.3)

Note that only the interrogative element functions in terms of a clitic. Else, the elements represent bound suffixes (see § 9 below).

The first, second, and third person singular as well as the second person plural have variants that are conditioned by phonetic processes. In the modal, vowel elision has in parts become stereotypical and hence functions as a morphological index (see section 3.4.3.1, 3.4.3.2, and § 10 below). In addition, vowel elision is sometimes ignored in order to put emphasis on the actant. Nevertheless, we cannot say that today, vowel elision has an overall functional value. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *pis amdar-a ozan te-z k'oc'-b-o* [Nizh; f.n.]
 evil person-DAT neck NEG-1SG bow-LV-FUT:MOD
 'I will not bow the neck for an evil person.'

- (b) *pis amdar-a ozan te-zu k'oc'-b-o* [Nizh; f.n.]
 evil person-DAT neck NEG-1SG bow-LV-FUT:MOD
 'As for me, I will not bow the neck for an evil person.'

- (x) (a) *zu vaxo pasč'ağ ek'al te-zu buq'-sa* [R 14]
 I you:SG:ABL king anything NEG-1SG want-PRES
 'I (focus) do not want anything from you, the king.'

- (b) *gölö vaxt'e adamar-i eq' te-z k-e-i* [R 12]
 much time-DAT person-GEN flesh NEG-1SG eat:PAST-PERF-PAST

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‘Since long, I have not eaten human flesh.’

§ 9. The subjective/agentive paradigm (S=A). The clitics used to focus a host in correlation with a referent in subjective or agentive function can occur in all tenses and moods as well as in assertions and interrogations. The only exception is given by the third person singular that has a different morpheme in interrogative clauses (see below). In addition, the first person plural is marked for a separate morpheme that encodes a strong adhortative. (x) lists the individual morphemes (allomorphs are discussed below):

(x)

	Standard		Q	Adhort.	Modal Past
	Vartashen	Nizh			
1SG	-zu ~ -z	-zu ~ -z ~ -əz			-z
2SG	-nu ~ -n	-nu ~ -n ~ -un			-n
3SG	-ne	-ne ~ -e [~ -no]	-a		-n
1PL	-ian	-yan		-en	-ian
2PL	-nan	-nan			-nan
3PL	-q'un	-t'un			-q'un / -t'un

Note that contrary for instance to Tabasaran, the Udi S/A-clitics do not distinguish the absolutive from the ergative case. With speech act participants, the clitics thus copy the ‘accusative’ feature of personal pronouns (see 3.3.6). Third person clitics, however, differ from this pattern in that their overt referents are marked for either the absolutive or the ergative (see 3.4.5.4):

(x) (a) *zu ar-i-z* [f.n.]

I come:PAST-PAST-1SG

‘I came.’

(b) *zu śum-zu uk-sa* [f.n.]

I bread-1SG eat-PRES

‘I eat bread.’

(c) *mo-no ar-i-ne* [f.n.]

PROX-REF:ABS come:PAST-PAST-3SG

‘(S)he came.’

(d) *me-t'-in śum-ne uk-sa* [f.n.]

PROX-REF:OBL-ERG bread-3SG eat-PRES

‘(S)he eats bread.’

§ 10. Syncope. In Vartashen, vowel elision usually takes place with the first and second person singular, if the clitic is added to a host ending in a vowel. The same holds for endoclititic forms, compare:

(x) (a) *gölö-z bas-k'-e* ‘I have slept much’

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much-1SG sleep-LV-PERF

- (b) *damnun-zu bas-k'-e* ‘In the morning, I have slept.’
 morning-1SG sleep-LV-PERF

- (x) (a) *iaq'a-z-b-o* ‘I will send’
 way-DAT-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD

- (b) *bürmiš-zu-b-o* ‘I will give order’
 order-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD

- (x) (a) *be^š-z-ğ-o* ‘I will see / look at’
 see-1SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD

- (b) *ar-zu-c-o* ‘I will sit down’
 sit-1SG- $\$$ -FUT:MOD

In predicative constructions, the full forms are often preferred. This holds both for the use of clitics in copula function and when added to the copula *bu* ‘be’:

- (x) (a) *zu bu-zu iaq' va^š doğriluğ va^š kar-x-esun* [John 14:6]
 I be-1SG way and truth and live-LV-MASD2
 ‘I am the way and the truth and the life.’

- (b) *zu xenesa-zu* [f.n.]
 I thirsty-1SG
 ‘I am thirsty.’

The same holds, if the clitics are added to the negation *te*: In case the negation takes up copula function, the full forms are preferred:

- (x) (a) *še-t'-a šägird-ğ-oxo te-nu un-al?* [John 18:25]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN pupil-PL-ABL NEG-2SG you:SG-FOC
 ‘Aren’t YOU (one) of his pupils?’

- (b) *šel cil te-n bi-t'-e-i vi düz-i?* [Matthew 13:27]
 good seed NEG-2SG sow-PERF-PAST you:SG:POSS field-DAT
 ‘Haven’t you sown good seed on your field?’

In Nizh, the first person singular clitic loses its vowel with verb external hosts that end in a vowel. In case it follows a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is added (> *-uz ~ -əz*). The same holds for incorporated elements and in endoclysis. The clitic is *-zu* when used as a copula. The second person singular behaves analogically: With verb external hosts, the short form *-n* is used after vowels, and *-un* is used after consonants. The same distribution is given verb internally. In final position, however,

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the full form *-nu* is preferred (but see below for the modal). The full form *-nu* is preserved especially in copula function but also in the factitive future (*-al*). Examples for the first person singular are:

- (x) (a) *k'oyaxun č'e-z-sa* [Nizh; f.n.]
 house:ABL go=out-1SG-\$.PRES
 'I leave the house.'
- (b) *buxar-in be^š la-z-xi* [Nizh; XAX; OR 126]
 oven-GEN in=front lay-1SG-\$.PAST
 'I layed (it) down in front of the oven.'
- (c) *šo-t'-o bā^šgā^šy-uz-b-o* [Nizh; f.n.]
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT find-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 'I will find him.'
- (d) *päräkäl be^šg-sun-uz čuru-sa* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]
 silk=worm see-MASD2-1SG want-PRES
 'I want to see silk worms.'
- (e) *kalna! zu-zu!* [Nizh; f.n.]
 grandmother I-1SG
 'Grandmother! It's me!'

In the second person singular, the epenthetic vowel produces a form that is identical to the second person singular pronoun (*un*). Nevertheless, the distributional pattern suggests that the form does not directly copy the pronoun. Examples for the second person singular are:

- (x) (a) *usun-un har-e* [Nizh; f.n.]
 soon-2SG come:PAST-PERF
 'You have come quickly (lit.: soon).'
- (b) *far-a bot'-es ba-n-k-o* [Nizh; ARU; OR 128]
 melody-DAT end-MASD be-2SG-\$.FUT:MOD
 'You can stop (playing) the tune.'
- (c) *k'ož-in kalo-o hun-nu* [Nizh; f.n.]
 house-GEN old-REF:ABS you:SG-2SG
 'You are the eldest of the house.'

As has been said in section 3.4.3.2.2, syncope is always present with the conjunctive (hypothetical). Here, vowel elision occurs with all three singular clitics:

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- (x) (a) *amma ägänä tağ-ai-z* [John 16:7]
 but if go:FUT-CONJ-1SG
 ‘But if I go ...’
- (b) *ägänä un za bul k’oc’-b-ai-n* [Luke 4:7]
 if you:SG I:DAT head bow-LV-CONJ-2SG
 ‘If you bow down for me ...’
- (c) *ägänä vi pin vax moğore-d-ai-n* [Matthew 18:9]
 if you:SG:POSS eye:ERG you:SG:DAT2 pain-LV-CONJ-3SG
 ‘If your eye hurts you ...’
- (x) (a) *oq-urx-oxun bäyič’ yaq’ tağ-ayi-z-al* [Nizh; OR 70]
 river-PL-COM swift way go:FUT-CONJ-1SG-FOC
 ‘And if I would take the swift way along the rivers...’
- (b) *za mand-ayi-n irazi-zu* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 52]
 I:DAT wait-CONJ-2SG agreeing-1SG
 ‘If you wait for me, I agree.’
- (c) *žöy bak-i tağ-ayi-n-al*
 separate be-PART:PAST go:FUT-CONJ-3SG-FOC
- šo-no ük-e boš-e ģe* [Nizh; OR 98]
 DIST-REF:ABS heart-GEN in-3SG today
 ‘If even he has left (and) has gone, he is in (our) heart(s) today.’

In addition, it usually occurs with the adhortative particle *q’a-*, with the marker of the hypothetical *gi-*, and with the negative hypothetical *näi-* (see 3.4.6 and 3.4.7):

- (x) (a) *šum-al uk-al-q’a-n bak-i* [Nizh; OR 99]
 bread-FOC eat-FUT:FAC-ADH-3SG be-PAST
 ‘She should be eating bread.’
- (b) *ägänä zu žähil-gi-z bak-e-i oxari-ne-i* [R 15]
 if I young-HYP-1SG be-PERF-PAST easy-3SG-PAST
 ‘If I were young, it would have been easy (for me).’
- (c) *ägänä un ba-gi-n-k-e-i mia*
 if you:SG be-HYP-2SG- $\$$ -PERF-PAST PROX:ADV
- te-ne bi-o-i bez viči* [John 11:32]
 NEG-3SG die-FUT:CONJ I:POSS brother
 ‘If you had been here, my brother would not have died.’

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- (d) *ägänä näi-z oc'-k'-o vax te-vi bu bar zaxol*
 if NEG:HYP-1SG clean-LV-FUT:MOD you:SG:DAT2 NEG-2SG:POSS be part I:COM
 'If I do not wash you, you will not have a part with me.' [John 13:8]

Examples like *gamq'aneci* 'that is might become hot' or *čaxq'aneci* 'it should become cool' do not contradict this generalization as argued by Harris 2002:33, f.n.14. Harris analyses the given forms as *gam-q'a-ne-c-i* (hot-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI, Harris' glosses) and *čax-q'a-ne-c-i* (cold-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST, no glosses given by the author). In section 3.4.2.2, it has been said that the '(medio-)passive' light verb *esun* is marked for a past stem that can show up as both *-c-* and *-ec-*, compare *tad-ec-i-ne* 'it was given' etc. Accordingly, the forms quoted by Harris perfectly match the above mentioned generalization concerning the adhortative particle *q'a-*:

- (x) (a) *gam-q'a-n-ec-i* 'It should become warm/hot.'
 warm-ADH-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST
- (b) *čax-q'a-n-ec-i* 'It should become cold.'
 cold-ADH-3SG-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST

When added to the negator *te* (see 3.4.7.1), syncope usually applies with the first and second person singular in case the structure is not used in terms of a copula (see above). But note that the third person singular is not involved in this process:

(x)	Non-Copula	Copula
1SG	<i>te-z</i>	<i>te-zu</i>
2SG	<i>te-n</i>	<i>te-nu</i>
3SG	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>te-ne</i>

In sum, the following paradigms regularly show syncope:

(x)	Modal Past	<i>q'a-</i> (ADH)	<i>gi-</i> (HYP)	<i>näi-</i> (NEG:HYP)	<i>te</i> (NEG)
1SG	<i>-z</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>-z</i>
2SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
3SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ne</i>

§ 11. **Assimilation.** In Vartashen, clitics starting with the nasal *-n-* are regularly assimilated to a preceding dental (*-d-*, *-t-*, *t'-*, *-n-*) and to the liquids *-r-* and *-l-* (see 2.5.2.2). Note that *-t-n-* normally yields *-tt'-* instead of expected *-tt-*. Crucially, this type of assimilation is missing in contemporary Nizh, compare:

- (x) (a) *un zaxo oša bak-al-lu pasč'agč* [GD 60]
 you:SG I:ABL after be-FUT:FAC-2SG king
 'You will become king after me.'
- (b) *bip' turla he-vaxt' bak-al-nu?* [Nizh; OR 128]
 four footed what-time be-FUT:FAC-2SG

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‘When will you be four-footed?’

(c) *etär-ru un exa ...* [John 12:34]

how-2SG you:SG say:PRES

‘How can you say ...’

(d) *hun hetär-nu cil car-p-i ga-nxo göy-ün ak’-esa?*

you:SG how-2SG seed scatter-LV-PART:PAST place-PL grass-2SG see-PRES

‘How are you, so that you (can) see grass in the places where the seed has been scattered?’ [Nizh; XOZ; OR 51]

Due to the constraints on the forms *-nu* (second person singular clitic in copula function, see § 10 above) and *-ne* (third person clitic following a vowel, see § 12 below), the non-presence of assimilation in Nizh becomes apparent especially with the second person plural *-nan*:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|----------------------|
| (x) | <i>bask’alnan</i> | ‘you will lie down’ |
| | <i>čarnank’i</i> | ‘you have abandoned’ |
| | <i>axšumk’alnan</i> | ‘you will laugh’ |
| | <i>čurnansa</i> | ‘you want’ |

The fact that the factitive future shows *-nu* instead of expected *-un* (see § 9 above) is another argument for the predicative function of this tense form (see 3.4.3.1): Above it has been said that the ‘full’ form of the second person clitic is preserved in copula function, compare:

(x) (a) *hun gele mic’ik’-nu* [Nizh; ACH; OR 123]

you:SG much small-2SG

‘You are very small/young.’

(b) *ava-nu yan he-t’-aynak’-yan har-e?* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 51]

knowing-2SG we what-REF:OBL-BEN-1PL come:PAST-PERF

‘Do you know why we have come?’

(c) *šum-a bad-al-nu?* [Nizh; f.n.]

bread-DAT bake-FUT:FAC-2SG

‘Will you bake bread?’

(81) *Dima, süft’ä hun ava-v-bak-al-nu* [I 66, Nizh]

Dim first you:SG knowing-CAUS-BE-FUT:FAC-2SG

‘Dima, you will be informed first!’

§ 12. The third person singular is *-ne* in Vartashen. Vowel syncope usually takes place in the modals and with piggybacking clitics (see § 10 above). In Nizh, there are

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two variants: *-ne* and *-e*. In addition, the form *-no* occasionally occurs especially when following the negator *te*, compare:

- (x) *ägär mašin te-no sa,*
 if car NEG-3SG be:COND
- tur-in tay-sun-e lazəm, payn-al bos-a-z ba-ne-k-o.*
 foot-ERG go-MASD-3SG necessary dust-FOC cast-MOD-1SG be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD
 ‘If the car is not there, it is necessary to go by foot; also it may be that I cast the dust (into the trashcan).’ [OL 21, Nizh]
- äš-l-in ga-n-u bezi vaxt’ te-no* [OL 3, Nizh]
 work-SA-GEN place-SA-DAT I:POSS time NEG-3SG
 ‘At work, I do not have time...’

The basic allomorphs *-ne* ~ *-e* are distributed complementarily: The form *-ne* is used after vowels, whereas *-e* usually occurs after consonants:

- (x) (a) *ağala bot’-e bak-sa* [Nizh; OR 112]
 rain end-3SG be-PRES
 ‘The rain stops.’
- (b) *exlät-ä bur-q-sun sa-ne bak-i* [Nizh; KACH; OR 47]
 conversation-DAT begin-LV-MASD2 a=little-3SG be-PAST
 ‘He started a little conversation’ (lit.: He was a little to start a conversation).’
- (c) *xaxal sa ta-ne-sa-y sa-al čur-e-ne-y* [Nizh; XAX; OR 125]
 sieve one go-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-PAST one-FOC stand-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST
 ‘The sieve moved for a while, stood still for a while....’
- (d) *käl-urx-o e-ne-f-i* [Nizh; KACH; OR 47]
 bull-PL-DAT hold-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST
 ‘He stopped the bulls.’
- (e) *šo-no brigardir-e* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS brigardier-3SG
 ‘He is a brigardier.’
- (f) *ay xunči a-n-k’-sa murad xeneza-ne* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 51]
 oh sister see-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES Murad thirsty-3SG
 ‘Oh sister! Look! Murad is thirsty.’

Some authors have erroneously claimed that the third person singular nearly always is *-e* in Nizh. Harris 2002:31, fn.11 argues that “the *n* of the third person PM (= personal marker, W.S.) *ne* assimilates totally to a wider variety of consonants than in

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Vartašen, then deletes.” The phonetically conditioned distribution of the two forms *-ne* and *-e* in fact suggest that *-e* is derived from *-ne*. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that the assimilation of *-n-* to a preceding consonant is blocked at least in contemporary Nizh (see § 11 above). Hence, it is difficult to explain why (for instance) *bakal-nu* ‘you (sg.) will become’ has preserved the initial *-nu* whereas the corresponding third person *bakale* should have developed from **bakal-ne* (via *bakalle*, the form actually used in Vartashen). The only possibility is to describe a rather specific assimilatory context:

(x) $n \rightarrow \emptyset / V(C)C + _e$

The assumption of this process is supported by the fact that the combination *-Cne-* is extremely rare in Nizh. Nevertheless, it is documented for instance in the third person plural (present tense) of complex verbs based on the light verb *pesun*:

(x) (a) *biq’-i* *śam-t’un-ne-y* [Nizh; DAD; OR 117]
 take-PART:PAST slaughter-3PL-LV:PRES-PAST
 ‘Having taken (the chickens) they slaughtered (them).’

(b) *šo-t’-ǧ-on* *äci-t’un-ne-y* [Nizh; KAL; OR 122]
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG play-3PL-LV:PRES-PAST
 ‘They played.’

In addition, the dative and the locative cases of weak [w2a] nouns (type: *mähälä* ‘quarter’, OBL *mähali-n-*, see 3.3.2.2) often show loss of the vowel *-i-*. The resulting cluster *-l-n-*, however, is not assimilated to *-l-*, compare:

(x) *mähäl-n-exun-uz* *č’er-i* [Nizh, f.n.]
 quarter-SA-ABL-1SG go=out:PAST-PAST
 ‘I left the quarter.’

If the process indicated in (X) correctly describes the emergence of the allomorph *-e*, we have to assume that it was relevant for a certain period only. In case the present tense stem *ne(x)-* ‘saying/light verb’ has in fact resulted from the merger of an Udi and an Armenian form (see 3.4.2.2), we have to assume that the assimilatory process must have occurred before this period of language contact. Note that in Old Udi, the variant *-e* still did not exist.

§ 12. Possessive. The possessive paradigm is used to mark a focused possessor in long distance (‘have’) constructions (see x.x.x for details):

(X) (a) *me* *iś-ei* *bu-t’ai* *boxo* *k’ažux* [ST § 6]
 PROX man-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS long beard
 ‘THIS MAN has a long beard.’

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(b) *ba-ne-k-e sa pašč'aǵ me-t'-ai ba-ne-k-e-i xib ġar*
 be-3SG-\$-PERF one king PROX-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG-\$-PERF-PAST three son
 'There has been a king. He had THREE SONS.' [GD 60]

(c) *čubǵ-on p-i-ne žuǵab bezi te-ne bu isu*
 woman-ERG say-PAST-3SG answer I:POSS NEG-3SG be husband

isus-en p-i-ne šo-t'-u doǵri-n exa un
 Jesus-ERG say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT truly-2SG say:PRES you:SG

te te-vi bu isu [John 4:17]

SUB NEG-2SG:POSS be husband

'The woman answered him: I do not have a HUSBAND. Jesus said to her: You have truly said that YOU do not have a husband.'

In case the possessee is focused, the standard subjective/agentive clitics are used. The constructional pattern conditions that only third person clitics can be used with a possessee focus. In Nizh, possessor focus has become the standard way to express long distance ('have') possession. Nevertheless, possessee focus is occasionally documented, compare:

(x) (a) *vi k'oyaxun äš te-zax bu* [Nizh; ZU; OR 130]
 you:SG:POSS house:COM thing NEG-1SG:POSS be
 'I have nothing to do with your house.'

(b) *ba-ne-k-e sa paččaǵ šo-t'-ay-al bu-ne-y sa biliži*
 be-3SG-\$-PREF one king DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2-FOC be-3SG-PAST one wise=man
 'There was a king. He had a wise man (advisor).' [Nizh; PAS; OR 121]

The two dialects use different sets of clitics to mark a possessor in focus:

(X)	Vartashen	Nizh
	-bez(i)	-zax
	-vi	-vax
	-t'a(i)	-t'ax ~ t'ux
	-beš(i)	-yax
	-e ^f (i)	-vä ^f x
	-q'o(i)	-t'a ^(f) x ~ -t'u ^(f) x (~ -t'o ^f x ~ -t'o ^f o ^f x)

Note that endoclititization is rare with these clitics. As far as data go, it is restricted to those clitics that show a CV structure:

(x) (a) *me čoban-i ba-t'a-k-e-i sa čubux*
 PROX shepherd-GEN be-3SG:POSS-\$-PERF-PAST one woman

sa ġar ič c'i rust'am [R 7]

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one son REFL name Rustam

‘This shepherd had a woman (and) a son, whose name [was] Rust’am.’

- (b) *va^f ba-vi-k-o* *dövlät gög-il* [Mark 10:21]
 and be-2SG:POSS- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD riches heaven-SUPER
 ‘And you will have riches in heaven.’

- (c) *ma-t'-uğ-ox* *ba-q'o-k-sa* [SI 72; doubtful]
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 be-3PL:POSS- $\text{\$}$ -PRES
 ‘... which they have...’

Informants usually rejected forms like [?]*babezko* ‘I will have’, [?]*babeško* ‘we will have’ etc. Here, they insisted to use the clitics in a verb-external position, compare:

- (x) *bezi tängä te-bez* *bak-o* [f.n.]
 I:POSS money NEG-1SG:POSS be-FUT:MOD
 ‘I won’t have money (enough to do ...).’

The paradigm in (x) above illustrates that the possessive clitics of speech act participants copy the corresponding case forms of the personal pronouns (see 3.3.6). In Vartashen, they usually take the form of the ‘simple’ genitive, whereas in Nizh the dative2 is used that else has become obsolete (see 3.3.3.6). Note that contrary to Vartashen, the overt possessor is not in case agreement with the clitic: Just as in Vartashen, it is marked by the genitive2. (x) lists the two patterns (Por = Possessor, CL = clitic):

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| (x) | REF:Por-GEN | HOST-CL:GEN | [Vartashen] |
| | REF:Por-GEN | HOST-CL:DAT2 | [Nizh] |

Examples are:

- (x) (a) *sun-t'-ai* *bu-t'ai* *ič* *č'ap'luğ-un* *boš*
 one:REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS REFL vineyard-GEN in

boš-ec-i *to^fxa^fni-n* *xod* [Luke 13:6]
 put=into-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST fig-GEN tree
 ‘Someone has a fig tree planted in his vineyard.’

- (b) *sun-t'-ay* *gele q'oža sa čur-t'ux* *bu* [Nizh; BAZ; OR 129]
 one:REF-REF:OBL-GEN2 much old one cow-3SG:POSS be
 ‘Someone has a very old cow.’

There are two variants of the third person clitics in Nizh: In the singular, *-t'ax*

- (x) Singular *-t'ax* vs. *-t'ux*

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Plural $-ta^{\text{f}}x$ vs. $-t'u^{\text{f}}x \sim -t'o^{\text{f}}x \sim t-o^{\text{f}}o^{\text{f}}x$

The clitics marked by the velar vowel *-a-* are extremely rare. As far as data go, they only occur in the textbook *Sāmžī Das* (written at about 1933):

(x) (a) *šo-t'-in gele-ne aš-b-esa hama*
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG much-3SG work-do-PRES but

p'oy-eğ-al-a taxəl te-t'ax bu [SD 59]
enough-LV:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR harvest=fruit NEG-3SG:POSS be
 ‘(S)he works hard but (s)he does not has harvest(ed) enough.’

(b) *ama k'ak'ala mu^fq^fa-ox-t'ax bu* [SD 69]
but very=big horn-PL-3SG:POSS be
 ‘But it (the ibex) has big horns.’

(c) *boš[š]-a-mun uk-sun u^fğ^f-sun lap'-sun te-t'a^(f)x bu* [SD 59]
be=full-CV:UNTIL eat-MASD2 drink-MASD2 put=on-MASD2 NEG-3PL be
 ‘They have (nothing) to eat (and) to drink until they are full, (and nothing) to put on.’

Note that (x,b) is contrasted by a variant that is marked for the clitic *-t'ax* instead of *-t'ux*:

(x) *šo-t'-ai p'oy-eğ-al-a taxəl te-t'ux p'u*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN enough-LV:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR harvest=fruit NEG-3SG:POSS be
 ‘(S)he does not have harvest(ed) enough.’ [Nizh; PA 144]

The few data that illustrate the state of the Nizh dialect in the 19th century do not contain possessive constructions. Hence, it is difficult to judge whether the forms given in the *Sāmžī Das* (Çejrani & Çejrani 1934) represent residues of the older technique to cross-reference focused possessor or whether we have to deal with an artificial (although partial) alignment of the Nizh forms to the corresponding Vartashen forms. In actual Nizh, the clitics containing a labial vowel are in general use.

The Nizh variants of the third person plural differ from the Vartashen paradigm in that they signal a (pseudo-)derivational process: Accordingly, the plural is marked by the pharyngealization of the singular form(s):

(x) Singular: $-t'ax \sim -t'ux$
 Plural: $-ta^{\text{f}}x \sim -tu^{\text{f}}x$

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There are two possibilities to explain this fact: On the one hand, we can hypothesize that the original plural clitic (corresponding to Vartashen *-q'o(i)*) had been replaced by *-t'a^ɛx ~ -t'u^ɛx* in analogy with the second person plural:

(x)

	Singular	Plural
Second Person	<i>-vax</i>	<i>-vā^ɛx</i>
Third Person	<i>-t'ax ~ -t'ux</i>	<i>-t'a^ɛx ~ -t'u^ɛx</i>

On the other hand, pharyngealization can likewise stem from a segmental form that developed from Early Udi **-rC* (see Fährnich 1984 for this sound change). Viewing the fact that the clitic is probably related to the dative2 (see below 3.4.5.4), this solution, however, is less probable.

From a formal point of view, the Nizh possessive clitics reflects a dative-oriented construction that has replaced the original genitive-based construction as it is still present in Vartashen. This claim is supported by the fact that in Nizh, an overt possessor is marked by the genitive, see above. The Nizh anisomorphism results from a secondary syncretistic process: Historically, the overt referent had been probably marked by the dative2, too. Hence, the strategy to express ‘have’-possession has been different from that of Vartashen:

(x)

Nizh:	Possessor (overt)	Possessor (clitic)
Stage 1	Dative2	Dative2
Stage 2	Genitive	Dative2

Vartashen:	Genitive	Genitive
------------	----------	----------

Accordingly, the overt possessor became marked by the genitive just as possessors in NP-internal possessive constructions, compare:

- (x) (a) *xüyär-i nana k'oya-ne har-i* [f.n.]
 girl-GEN mother house:DAT-3SG come:PAST-PAST
 ‘The girl’s mother came home.’
- (b) *xüyär-i gele q'oža sa nana-t'ux bu-y* [f.n.]
 girl-GEN much old one mother-3SG be-PAST
 ‘The girl has a very old mother.’
- < **xüyär-ax gele q'oža sa nana-t'ux bu-y*
 girl-DAT2 much old one mother-3SG:IO be-PAST

Note that both dialects behave alike in case the possessee is focused:

- (x) (a) *xüyär-i sa ġar-e bu* [Nizh, f.n.]
 girl-GEN one son-3SG be
 ‘The girl has a SON.’

- (b) *xinär-i sa ġar-re bu* [Vartashen, f.n.]
 girl-GEN one son-3SG be
 ‘The girl has a SON.’

In Old Udi, this type of long distance possession is not documented at all. Instead, Old Udi makes use of the transitive verb *efesown* ‘keep, hold’ (Udi *efsun*) to encode HAVE-constructions. Nevertheless, it is not fully clear whether the constructional types to mark possession represent a younger innovation or whether in the Old Udi texts, the transitive construction is motivated by the need to translate the Armenian HAVE-construction (based on Armenian *ownim* ‘have’).

§ 13. **Indirect Objective.** The term ‘indirect object’ is here used as a cover term to refer to the set of personal clitics that are related to the dative case of personal pronouns (see 3.3.6):

(X)	Vartashen	Nizh
	-za(x)	-zax [Upper Nizh -za(x)]
	-va(x)	-vax [Upper Nizh -va(x)]
	-t'u	-t'ax ~ t'ux
	-ia(x)	-yax
	-va ^ʃ (x) ((...)-nan)	-vä ^ʃ x
	-q'o	-t'a ^ʃ x ~ -t'u ^ʃ x ~ -t'o ^ʃ x ~ -t'o ^ʃ o ^ʃ x

Note that in Vartashen, the second person plural clitic is occasionally supported by the corresponding S/A-clitic *-nan*. As far as data go, this kind of pronominal doubling occurs in the present tense only. It seems to be motivated by the cognitively ‘small’ difference between the second person singular and plural clitics in Vartashen (*va* vs. *va^ʃ*). The second person plural clitic *-nan* is then used as a plural marker added to the ‘second person’ clitic *-va^ʃ*. Although most examples stem from the Gospels (see (x)), pronominal doubling can occasionally be heard in contemporary Udi, too (see (x)):

- (x) (a) *aba-va^ʃ-nan zax va^ʃ aba-va^ʃ-nan ma-l-in-zu zu*
 knowing-2PL:IO-2PL I:DAT and knowing-2PL:IO-2PL where-SUPER-ABL-1SG I
 ‘You know me and you know where I am from.’ [John 7:28]
- (b) *a-va^ʃ-k'-sa-nan mo-t'-ux bütün?* [Matthew 24:2]
 see-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-2PL PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 all
 ‘Do you see all these (things)?’
- (c) *ägänä va^ʃn pis bak-s-in ba-va^ʃ-k-sa-nan*
 if you:PL bad be-MASD-ERG>INSTR be-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-2PL
- tad-es ef a^ʃil-u^ʃğ-o šelluğ* [Matthew 7:11]
 give-MASD you:PL:POSS child-PL-DAT charity

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‘If you can give charities to your children (although) you are bad...’

(d) *va^ʕ efa^ʕ bu-va^ʕ-q'-sa-nan tam-b-a-nan*
 and EMPH:you:PL:DAT love-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-2PL fulfill-LV-MOD-2PL

ef baba buq'-sun-ax [John 8:44]
 you:PL:POSS father:GEN want-MASD2-DAT2
 ‘And you want to fulfill the wish of your father.’

(x) (a) *ba-va^ʕ-k-sa-nan zax kōmāk-b-es?* [f.n.]
 be-2PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-2PL I:DAT2 help-LV-MASD
 ‘Can you help me?’

(b) *q'ə^ʕ-va^ʕ-b-sa-nan?* [f.n.]
 fear-2PL:IO-LV-PRES-2PL
 ‘Are you afraid?’

(x) also illustrates that the Nizh clitics correspond to those clitics that are used to mark a focused possessor (see above).

The main function of the pronominal dative is to mark the domain of the ‘indirect objective’ (see x.x.x.). However, note that this correlation not necessarily means that the clitics at issue encode an indirect objective function from a synchronic point of view. Rather, they denote the ‘demotion’ of a referent in subjective/agentive function to a less controlling variant (see x.x.x.). In Vartashen, the process of demotion shows up both as Split-S/A and Fluid-S/A: Split-S/A is characterized by the lexically determined use of demotion whereas Fluid-S/A leaves the option to demote a referent in agentive function to the speaker. In this sense, split strategies are related to *verba sentiendi* (see x.x.x and Harris 1980, 1984a), compare:

(x)	A	Demoted A>IO
<SEE>	<i>be^ʕ- -ğsun</i>	<i>a- -k'sun</i>
<HEAR>	<i>imux- -laxsun</i>	<i>i- -baksun</i>
<KNOW>	<i>čal-_-xesun</i>	<i>aba-_-(-baksun)</i> <i>čal-_-xesun</i>
<WANT>	<i>čur- -esun</i>	<i>bu- -q'sun</i>
<FORGET>	<i>ixo- č'evk'esun</i>	<i>ixo- -č'esun</i>

The following four IO-verbs are semantically intransitive, although they are marked by transitive light verbs (see 3.4.2.2 and 3.4.2.3):

(x) *q'ə^ʕ-bsun* ‘to fear’
mi-bsun ‘to be cold’
ot'-besun ‘to be ashamed’
ažugon-biq'sun ‘to become angry’

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Note that occasionally, the IO-clitics are used in the strict sense of IO-agreement. This usage (in parts) reflects the original constructional pattern (see x.x.x for details). Examples are:

- (x) (a) *etärte fi kam-q'o bak-e* [John 2:3]
 as wine few-3PL:IO be-PERF
 'As the wine has become little for them...'
- (b) *sa küz ez-b-al-a ga-zax mand-e* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 51]
 one furrow plough-LV-PART:NPAST-ATTR place-1SG:IO remain-PERF
 'One place remains for me (where) to plough a furrow.'
- (c) *te ixo-ma-q'a-q'o-č'er-i buxarik'-a arux b-a-q'un*
 SUB ear:ABL-PROH-ADH-3PL:IO-go=out:PAST-PAST chimey-DAT fire make-MOD-3PL
 '... so that they do not forget to make fire in the fireplace.' [IM 63]

The 'controlled' variant of (x,c) is:

- (x) *mi-gi e-t'-enk'-zu zu pänžäri-n-ax traq'i-st'a te*
 PROX-behold what-REF:OBL-BEN-1SG I window-SA-DAT2 knock-LV:PRES SUB

adamar-ğ-on kasib-ğ-o kömək bak-sun-a
 person-PL-ERG poor-PL-DAT help be-MASD2-DAT

ixo-ma-q'a-q'un-č'e-v-k'-i [IM 64]
 ear:ABL-PROH-ADH-3PL-go=out-CAUS-LV-PAST
 'Behold, that is why I knock at the window so that the people do not forget to help the poor.'

In Vartashen, the verb *baksun* 'to be(come)' shows Fluid-S: In standard predicative structures and in non-modal complex tense forms (see 3.4.4.6), the S/A-clitics are used. When demoted to IO, the corresponding IO-clitics occur. The verb then denotes a potential mood (see 3.4.4.6). Note that in the potential mood, the lexical verb is marked by the simple masdar:

- (x) (a) *šo-no ap'i-ne bak-sa* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:ABS ripe-3SG be-PRES
 'I become poor.'
- (b) *šo-t'-u ap'i-bak-es ba-t'u-k-sa* [f.n.]
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT ripe-be-MASD be-3SG:IO-§-PRES
 'It may (lit.: can) become ripe.'

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In Nizh, the technique of demoting referents in ‘subjective’ or ‘agentive’ function is confined to the ‘fluid’ type. With *verb sentiendi*, Split-A is reduced to a marginal technique (see x.x.x). Nevertheless, it should be noted that in Upper Nizh that is marked by a strong Vartashen adstrate (see x.x.x), demotion often occurs with endoclitics whereas the overt referent takes the ergative case:

(x) (a) *aⁱil-a(x) sa q’uš-t’u ak’-i* [Vartashen; f.n.]

child-DAT(2) one bird-3SG:IO see-PAST

‘The child saw a bird.’

(b) *aⁱyel-en sa q’uš-t’u ak’-e* [Upper Nizh; f.n.]

child-ERG one bird-3SG:IO see-PERF

The child saw a bird.’

(c) *aⁱyel-en sa q’uš-e ak’-e* [Lower Nizh; f.n.]

child-ERG one bird-3SG see-PERF

‘The child saw a bird.’

In Nizh, the potential mood is no longer marked for demotion (see 3.4.4.6): Here, the standard S/A-paradigm is used with the verb *baksun* ‘to be(come)’:

(x) (a) *viči! bäs-e far-a bot’-es ba-n-k-o!* [ARU; OR 128]

brother enough-3SG melody-DAT stop-MASD be-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD

‘Brother! It’s enough! You can stop (playing) the tune!’

(b) *pul-muğ-on ak’-al-t’-u veⁱ-bak-es te-ne bak-i*

eye-PL-ERG see-PART:nPAST-REF:OBL-DAT believe-be-MASD NEG-3SG be-PAST

‘She could not believe what her eyes saw.’ [KUL; OR 114]

(c) *ba-n-k-sa sa zeng-b-sa bezi baba* [I 35c, Nizh]

be-2SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES be:COND call-LV-PRES I:POSS father:DAT

‘If you can call my father...’

Nevertheless, the demotion technique has been extended to a rather general pattern that marks ‘indirect involvement’ in an event. As far as data go, this technique is unknown in Vartashen (but see below). The construction at issue ranges from a potential mood or a mood of ‘uncertainty’ to an adhortative (or ‘impersonal’ causative):

(x) (a) *gele čängi bak-ayi-vax arux baf-t’-i bok’-ayi-vax* [OR 8]

much bewitched be-CONJ-2SG:IO fire fall=into-PART:PAST burn-CONJ-2SG:IO

‘They let you become very bewitched (and) let you burn when fallen (into) the fire.’

(b) *dünyä-n-in śahat’-a pis-ä ak’-iyi-t’ux-iy* [OR 31]

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world-SA-GEN beauty-DAT evil-DAT see-PAST-3SG:IO-PAST
 ‘(S)he may have seen the beauty (and) the evil of the world.’

(c) *q’urban bak-a-zax vi k’ul-a* [OR 25]
 sacrifice be-MOD-1SG:IO you:SG:POSS earth-DAT
 ‘Let me be a sacrifice in your earth!’

(d) *bok’-al-a q’ac’-k’-al-a sa ük’-äl bak-iyi-t’ux-iy* [OR 31]
 burn-PART:NPAST-ATTR hurt-PART:NPAST-ATTR one heart-FOC be-PAST-3SG:IO-PAST
 ‘It may have been a burning, hurting heart.’

(d) *ğe bütüm-t’-u uk’-ayi-zax*
 today all-REF:OBL-DAT say:FUT-CONJ-1SG:IO

äyč’i-n-eynak’ te-ne mand-o [OR 77]
 tomorrow-SA-BEN NEG-3SG stay-FUT:MOD
 ‘If you want me to tell all (stories) today, no(thing) will remain for tomorrow.’

Note that this type of demotion seems to be confined to the past tense and to the modal. The corresponding clitics always are always enclitic and hosted by the verb.

This ‘unaccusative’ pattern is functionally related to Split-S techniques that are now lost in Nizh (see above). In both cases, the existence of an ‘outer’ (or: impersonal) causer is inferred. Syntactically speaking, agreement is ‘ergative’ instead of ‘accusative’:

(x) { $A_{CAUSE} (> \emptyset)$ }_{INFER} [$O_{CAUSEE} > S/A$ (O) VERB: O_{CAUSEE}]

Nevertheless, we cannot interpret this pattern in terms of O-agreement: Informants usually attribute certain (albeit vague) agentive functions to the referent marked by agreement. In addition, the construction is only possible if the ‘causer’ is not overtly marked, compare:

(x) (a) *sa kağəz cam-k’-a-zax* [Nizh; f.n.]
 one letter write-LV:FUT-MOD-1SG:IO
 ‘Let me write a letter.’

(b) *hun za sa kağəz-un cam-p-est’a* [Nizh; f.n.]
 you:SG I:DAT one letter-2SG write-LV-LV:CAUS:PRES
 ‘You have/let me write a letter.’

The use of the dative clitics to mark ‘indirect control’ seems to be petrified in the Vartashen form of the potential, see above. In addition, it should be noted that in older Vartashen texts, both the dative and the dative2 can be echoed by the

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agreement clitics (speech act participants only). Although we usually cannot describe a semantic difference, it is rather probable that the dative2 once function the sense of the demotion technique in Nizh. This also becomes apparent from the fact that dative2 clitics show the same positional restriction as in Nizh (verb final only): Examples are:

(x) (a) *evaxte efa^f ak'-ai-va^fx haso ...* [Luke 12:54]
 when EMPH:you:PL:DAT see-CONJ-2PL:IO cloud
 ‘When you see a cloud ...’

(b) *k'ači-n-en p-i-ne šo-t'-u učit'el te ak'-a-zax* [Mark 10:51]
 blind-SA-ERG say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT teacher SUB see-MOD-1SG:IO
 ‘The blind said to him: Teacher! That I might see!’

(c) *ägänä te va^f aba-bak-ai-va^fx ek'a p-esun-a ...*
 if SUB you:PL:DAT knowing-LV-CONJ-2PL:IO what say-MASD2-3SG:Q
 ‘If you know what the saying is ...’ [Matthew 12:7]

3.4.5.3. The Q-clitic. There are two idiosyncratic agreement clitics that do not have correlates in the paradigm of ‘personhood’:

(x) *-a* 3SG:Q (Third singular (S/A) interrogative)
-en IMP:1PL (First person plural adhortative)

The clitic *-en* has been discussed in section 3.4.4.1, § xxx

The present section describes both the functions of the Q-clitic (§§ 1-9) and hypotheses related to its origin (§§ 10-15). Note that in Nizh, this clitic has a harmonic variant *-ä* that is normally used after stems containing a palatal vowel.

§ 1. Traditionally, this clitic has been interpreted as a ‘question marker’. Harris 1992, however, was the first to show that this clitic has agreement properties. Accordingly, it is restricted to the third person singular copying the subjective of agentive functions of its referent. Else, it is replaced by the usual clitics (*-t'u(x)* 3SG:IO, *-t'a(i)* 3SG:POSS). The standard clitics are also used in questions that contain a referent different from the third person singular:

(x) (a) *ek'a-a äš-b-esa?* [f.n.]
 what-3SG:Q work-LV-PRES
 ‘What does (s)he do?’

(b) *q'a^fc'-k'-al-a ga ek'a-t'ai?* [CO § 5]
 hurt-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR place what-3SG:POSS
 ‘Which part does hurt him (lit.: What does he have (as) a hurting place)?’

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(c) *ek'a-t'u ak'-i* [BH 70]

what-3SG:IO see-PAST
‘What did she see?’

(d) *ek'a-q'un äš-b-esa?* [f.n.]

what-3PL work-LV-PRES
‘What do they do?’

§ 2. In indirect questions and relative clauses based on grammaticalized interrogative pronouns (see 3.2.8.3, 3.2.8.5, 3.2.9.5), *-a* is normally replaced by the standard clitic *-ne*:

(x) (a) *te-va^f aba mano sahat-a eġ-al-le e^f bixažux*

NEG-2PL:IO knowing which time-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:POSS god
‘You do not know when your God will come.’ [Matthew 24:42]

(b) *šin zax tarn-a-n-axo a-ne-q'-o*

who:ERG I:DAT2 oven-SA-ABL take-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD

šo-no-al zaxol ta-ne-ġ-o [IM 61]

DIST-REF:ABS I:COM go-3SG- $\text{\$}$:FUT-FUT:MOD
‘Who(ever) takes me out of the oven, will go with me.’

§ 3. In addition, the Q-clitic is occasionally followed by the standard third person singular clitic in case the corresponding verb is separated from the questioned constituent by a longer phrase. An example is:

(x) *mano baba-n-a e^ffaxo evaxte ġar-en be-ne-s-sa*

which father-ERG-3SG:Q EMPH:you:PL:ABL when son-ERG ask=for-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PRES

šo-t'-xo sum tad-a-ne šo-t'-u že^f? [Luke 11:11]

DIST-REF:OBL-ABL bread give-MOD-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT stone

‘Which of your fathers would give (his) son a stone, if asked for bread? (Lit.: Which of your fathers, when the son asks him for bread, would give him a stone?)’

Occasionally, the Q-clitic is replaced by the standard S/A-clitic even in standard Wh-questions:

(x) (a) *e ürüşp'ät tad-al-a adamar-en ič elmuġ-o baxt'in?*

which equivalent give-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q person-ERG REFL soul-GEN for
‘Which equivalent will a person give for his/her soul?’ [Mark 8:37]

(x) (b) *e ürüşp'ät tad-al-le adamar-en ič elmuġ-o baxt'in?*

which equivalent give-FUT:FAC-3SG person-ERG REFL soul-GEN for

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‘Which equivalent will a person give for his/her soul?’ [Matthew 16:26]

§ 4. Note that in Nizh, the standard clitic normally cannot be replaced by *-a* when used with *baksun* ‘to be(come)’ (encoding a potential mood, see 3.4.4.6):

- (x) *me kağəz-a šu tad-es ba-ne-k-sa?* [Nizh; f.n.]
 PROX letter who:DAT give-MASD be-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘To whom can she give this letter?’

§ 5. The Q-clitic usually follows the questioned constituent that again is preferably placed in the preverbal focus field. In case the questioned constituent is a complex noun phrase, the clitic is added to the final element. This type is illustrated in examples (x,b-c):

- (x) (a) *mano-a me ġar-muğ-oxo haq’ullu* [GD 60]
 which-3SG:Q PROX son-PL-ABL clever
 ‘Which of these sons is clever?’

- (b) *vi mano viči-a p’ur-e?* [CO § 3]
 you:SG:POSS which brother-3SG:Q die:PAST-PERF
 ‘Which of your brothers has died?’

- (c) *ema šum-a e^sfast’a?* [Mark 8:5]
 how=much bread-3SG:Q EMPH:you:PL:ADESS
 ‘How much bread do you have (with you)?’

- (d) *aba-z-bak-i šo-no ši ġar-a* [Gukasjan 1974:31]
 knowing-1SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:ABS who:POSS son-3SG:Q
 ‘I knew whose son he was.’

- (e) *šähär-ä ši e^sk-axun-a tac-e?* [Nizh; f.n.]
 town-DAT who:POSS horse-COM-3SG:Q go:PAST-PERF
 ‘With whose horse has he gone to town?’

§ 6. In case a verb is marked by a tense/mood form that necessarily hosts a personal clitic (factitive future, modal, see 3.4.4.1), the Q-clitic follows the verb instead of the questioned constituent:

- (x) (a) *šin tov-d-al-a vax?* [John 21:20]
 who:ERG sell-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:DAT2
 ‘Who has betrayed you?’

- (b) *mano ġi-n-a baiğ-al-a č’eğ-al-a* [CO § 9]
 which day-SA-DAT come=in:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q go=out:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q

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‘Which day do they (the holidays) start (lit.: come in), do they end (lit: go out).’

- (c) *va šin č'e-v-k'-al-a?* [Nizh; f.n.]
 you:SG:DAT who:ERG go=out-CAUS-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q
 ‘Who will help you out (lit.: make you get out)?’

This positional constraint is perhaps related to the (albeit not very strong) tendency in the Gospels to separate the Q-clitic from the questioned constituent in predicative structures and to use the predicative segment as the host for the clitic:

- (x) (a) *et'u lazum-a ia šahad?* [Mark 14:63]
 what-REF:OBL-DAT necessary-3SG:Q we:DAT witness
 ‘Why do we need (further) witness(es)?’

- (b) *et'u lari-a bixog'o pasč'agluğ?* [Luke 13:18]
 what-REF:OBL-DAT alike-3SG:Q god-GEN kingdom
 ‘God’s kingdom is like what?’

§ 7. Just as it true for the standard third person clitic, the Q-clitic can be followed by the past tense marker *-i* (see 3.4.4.2) in predicative structures:

- (x) (a) *t'e xa^f ši-a-i?* [CO § 8]
 DIST dog who:GEN-3SG:Q-PAST
 ‘To whom did that dog belong?’
- (b) *mo-no ek'a fikir-a-i* [LT 71]
 PROX-REF:ABS what thought-3SG:Q-PAST
 ‘What (kind of) thought was this?’

§ 8. Occasionally, the clitic is used in rhetoric questions:

- (x) (a) *or kala-a bak-sa-i saq'aral še-t'-uğ-o mu^fq'luğ* [SI 72-3]
 which great-3SG:Q be-PRES-PAST always DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN joy
 ‘How great has always been their joy ...’
- (b) *xo balik kor te-a* [IM 65]
 yes perhaps MED:ADV NEG-3SG:Q
 ‘Yes, isn’t it so (that ..)?’

The last example suggests that the Q-clitic can also occur in yes/no-questions (see **x.x.x**). However, this assumption holds neither for contemporary Udi nor for most of the older textual sources. Here, the standard clitic is used both in positive and negative questions:

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- (x) (a) *vi baba k'ua-ne ar-e?* [f.n.]
 you:POSS father house:DAT-3SG come:PAST-PERF
 'Has your father come home?'
- (b) *burğol va^hxol-le lai-sa?* [f.n.]
 mountain-SUPER you:PL:COM-3SG go=up-PRES
 'Does (s)he go with you on the mountain?'
- (c) *p'oy bezi k'ož ala čur-e-k'-o?* [Nizh; SHI; OR 130]
 still I:POSS house upright tand-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
 'Will my house still stand upright?'
- (d) *bezi ġar kala te-ne?* [f.n.]
 I:POSS son old NEG-3SG
 'Isn't my son old?'
- (e) *dülğär-un ġar te-ne ka-no?* [Matthew 13:55]
 carpenter-GEN son NEG-3SG MED-REF:ABS
 'Isn't he the son of the carpenter?'
- (f) *šuk'al-en nāšan tad-i te-ne?* [I 35a, Nizh]
 anybody-ERG sign give-PAST NEG-3SG
 'Hasn't somebody given a sign?'

Nevertheless, Harris 2002:185-6 argues that in earlier variants of Udi, this constraint did not apply. According to the author, the use of *-a* in yes/no-questions is preserved in the following examples given by Schiefner 1863 (example (x,c) is additional):

- (x) (a) *baba damnun eğ-o-a bazar-axo?* [CO § 10]
 father morning come:FUT-FUT:MOD-3SG:Q bazaar-ABL
 'Will the father come to the bazaar in the morning?'
- (b) *bulk'i te-ne bu-a?* [CO § 7]
 roll NEG-3SG be-3SG:Q
 'Are there no rolls?'
- (c) *gergec-a ta-n-c-i gergec-ax adamar gölö-a-i*
 church-DAT go-2SG-\$.PAST-PAST church-DAT2 person much-3SG:Q-PAST
- be^hins-en sel namaz-b-i-a?* [CO § 8]
 priest-ERG good preach-LV-PAST-3SG:Q
 'When you went to church: Had there been many people, did the priest preach well?'

Another example can be found in žeiranišvili 1971:

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- (x) *but'-k'-a vi bel k'oi-n-ax č'ek-e*
 cover-LV-IMP:2SG you:SG:POSS head:UPER cap-SA-DAT2 go=out:IMP-IMP:2SG
t'oš be^šg-a^š xaš bu-a ioxsam te [ST § 31]
 out see-imp:2sg light be-3sg:q or NEG
 'Put (your) cap on your head, go out and look whether it is (getting) light or not.'

It is rather improbable that these few (and as for x,b obscure) examples represent the residues of an older pattern in Udi. Instead, we should consider the possibility that the use of the Q-clitic in these examples has resulted from hypercorrectness or idiosyncratic extension.

§ 9. Harris (2002:185) correctly observes that the Q-clitic can also be used in (either/)-or-questions. The disjunction 'or' is either expressed by *ioxsam* (~ *ioxsan* ~ *yoxsam*) 'or', borrowed from Azeri *yoxsa* 'or, if not, else' or not expressed at all:

- (x) (a) *gögixo-a-i ioxsam adamar-ğ-oxo?* [Matthew 21:25]
 heaven-ABL-3SG:Q-PAST or human=being-PL-ABL
 'Has it (the baptizing) been from heaven or from human beings?'
 (b) *sun-axun yaq'ax ta-nan-sa yexsa te?* [I 19, Nizh]
 each=other-COM way-DAT2 go-2PL-\$.PRES or not
 'Do you go the way together or not?'
 (c) *t'e xinär-ä šavat' me q'o^šda* [Okt'omberi; Harris 2002:184]
 DIST girl-3SG:Q pretty PROX turtle
 'Is that girl prettier (or) this turtle?'
 (d) *me k'ož k'ic'k'e-a kala* [Okt'omberi; Harris 2002:185]
 PROX house small-3SG:Q large
 'Is this house small (or) large?'

Note that the standard clitic *-ne* can also be used:

- (x) (a) *tözä-ne ioxsam bisi* [Okt'omberi; Harris 2002:185]
 new-3SG or old
 'Is it new or old?'
 (b) *vi e^š gölö-ne k'ic'i?* [f.n.]
 you:SG:POSS apple much-3SG few
 'Do you have many apples or few?'

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§ 10. Harris (*loc.cit.*) argues that either/or-questions have laid the ground for the development of the clitic *-a*: Accordingly, it is said to be derived from the disjunction *ia ~ ie (~ ya)* ‘or’, itself borrowed from Persian *yā* ‘or’. This particle would have been regularly added to the first questioned constituent in the either/or chain. With hosts ending in *-i*, the particle (>clitic) would then have developed to *-a*. Traces of the older use of *-a < *-ya* are said to be found in examples like:

- (x) (a) *gölö vädä č'e-bak-e k'ic'i-a č'e-bak-e*
 much time pass-3SG-LV-PRES little-or pass-LV-PERF
 ‘Much time passed ?or little (time) passed...’ [Okt’omberi; Harris 2002:183]
- (b) *gölö č'e-ba[k]-sa k'ic'i-a č'e-bak-sa*
 much pass-LV-PRES little-or pass-LV-PRES
 ‘Much (time) passes ?or little (time) passes...’ [Okt’omberi; Harris 2002:184]
- (c) *te-za aba apči-a seri?* [CO § 5]
 NEG-1SG:IO knowing lie-or truth
 ‘I do not know (whether) it is a lie or the truth.’

Harris (2002:184) correctly observes that the two examples (x,a) and (x,b) “make use of a narrative formula”. Hence, they can hardly serve as an argument for the origin of the clitic *-a*. Also note that (x,a) and (x,b) have the clitic in the ‘wrong’ position in case Harris’ hypothesis applies: As far as data go, the disjunction *ia ~ ya* etc. is never placed after the second segment of the junction. A more appropriate place is illustrated by the example (x,c). The weakness of Harris’ hypothesis comes even more apparent if we consider the following facts: 1) The Persian disjunction *yā* itself is a relatively recent form that is derived from Pehlevi *aivāp* (‘*dwp*’) ‘or’ (~ Middle Persian *ayāb* (‘*y’b*’)) < Old Iranian **ada-vā-pi* (then-or-EMPH), see Nyberg 1974:12. This fact renders it less probable that *yā* has undergone the complex processes of reanalysis and extension as suggested by Harris. 2) Although it has been often observed that less frequent paradigmatic types can induce reanalysis and extension, we have nevertheless to bear in mind that out of a corpus of 3.856 words liable to host the ‘clitic’ *-ya*, only 104 are marked by a final *-i* (= 2.7 %). 3) We have not evidence that the particle *ia~ ya* has ever been used in enclisis. Semantically, the clitic usually forms a unit with the segment that follows the particle:

- (X) *šu-te bu-t'u-q'-sa baba-x ie nana-x zaxo abuz*
 who-SUB love-3SG:IO-§-PRES father-DAT2 or mother-DAT2 I:ABL more
 ‘Who(ever) loves father or mother more than me ...’ [Matthew 10:37]

This ‘rightwards’ orientation of the particle can also be seen from the complex *ia ... ia* (etc.) used to encode ‘either ... or’ as it is standard in many languages that are part of or influenced by Northern Oriental: The particles always precede their semantic host:

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(x) *ma aq'-a-nan efa^fxol ie q'əzəl ie gūmiš ie mis-n-ux*
 PROH take-MOD-2PL EMPH:you:PL:COM or gold or silver or copper-SA-DAT2

e^f toxq'i-ğ-o boš ie hävgi-n-ax iaq'-al ie
 you:PL:POSS belt-PL-GEN in or scrip-SA-DAT2 way-SUPER or

p'a^f q'at partal-ax ie lapči-n-ax ie k'oval-ax [Matthew 10:9-10]
 two piece coat-DAT2 or shoe-SA-DAT2 or stick-DAT2

'Don't take with you either gold or silver, or copper (coins) in your belt, or scrip for the way, or two pieces of coat, or shoe(s), or stick.'

4) The fact that the Q-clitic is added to the first segment in (either/or) questions can be easily explained by referring to the general tendency to gap the final verb in a sequence of coreferential verbs. This type of gapping has also been described by Harris herself (Harris 2002:99-101):

(x) (a) *baba pul k'ači-ne bak-i xinär däng* [GD 62]
 father:GEN eye blind-3SG be-PAST daughter crazy

'The father's eye(s) had become blind, (his) sister (had become) crazy.'

(b) *me k'ož k'ic'k'e-a kala* [Okt'omberi; Harris 2002:185]

PROX house small-3SG:Q large

'Is this house small (or) large?'

Accordingly, (x,b) can easily be analyzed as 'Is this house small, is it large?'. Also note that in the following example given by Harris (2002:184) the disjunction 'or' is overtly marked although the clitic *-a* is present:

(x) *me k'ož-a alalu ioxsam xod*
 PROX house-3SG:Q high or tree

'Is this house high or (is) the tree (high)?'

This example clearly shows that the clitic can co-exist with the disjunction 'or'. There is no reason to assume that the disjunction is expressed twice in the sentence.

Finally, the three examples given in (x) above not necessarily include the particle *ia ~ ya* 'or' (> *-a*): One the one hand, Schiefner 1863:49 clearly marks the phrase quoted in (x,c) for interrogation. Hence, we arrive at the reading: 'I do not know: Is it a lie, (is it) the truth?'. The remaining two phrases (said to represent narrative formulas) most likely also include a (rhetoric) question:

(x) (a) *gölö vädä č'e-bak-e k'ic'i-a č'e-bak-e*
 much time pass-3SG-LV-PRES little-or pass-LV-PERF

'Much time passed, did little (time) passed?' [Okt'omberi; Harris 2002:183]

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This type of conjoining an assertion and an interrogation is a typical stylistic element often found in Northern Oriental and East Caucasian, compare:

- (x) *at:it:i b-i-w-k'-un b-ur q:a-b-i-w-k'-un b-ur*
 now III-be-III-\$-PAST III-COP NEG-III-be-III-\$-PAST III-COP

q:a-b-i-w-k'-un-gu ciwan-s:iya ca ša^hraw-u ca
 III-be-III-\$-PAST-still why-INFER:PAST one village-LOC one

dihil a^hli t'is:a ca q:uza i-w-k'-un ur [Lak; Žirkov 1955:xxx]

Dihil Āli named one old=man be-I-\$-PAST I:COP

‘Now, there has been, there has not been, after all there has not been, why was it, in a village has been an old man named Dihil Āli.’

§ 11. In sum, there is little evidence that the Q-clitic developed from the particle *ia / ie ~ ya* ‘or’. In order to arrive at an alternative scenario, it is important to recall that the Q-clitic is linked to the following properties:

- (x) Constituent Focus
 Third Person Singular reference
 Subjective/Agentive
 Interrogative mood

It comes clear that the Q-clitic has the nearly same functional properties as the standard third person clitic (except for the interrogative mood). The fact that the clitic is used with verbs only, if the verb is marked for a tense/mood form that necessarily hosts personal agreement clitics, is conditioned by the inherent feature of interrogativity: This feature automatically links the clitic to the questioned constituent and hence dislocates it from the verb. It is rather likely that the property of focusing questioned constituents is a younger constraint. Although I have argued above that there are no convincing examples for the use of *-a* in polar questions in contemporary Udi, we can nevertheless hypothesize that the technique of focusing verbal structures (> sentence focus) once included the use of *-a*, too. This hypothesis is supplemented by the fact that in other Lezgian languages, yes/no questions are often marked by clitics. For instance in Lezgi proper, the (additive) focus particle *-ni* marks yes/no questions when added to a finite verb, but constituent focus when added to other segments of a clause (see Haspelmath 1993:328-9; 417-419):

- (x) (a) *wi dust-uni-z wiči-n pul žǵa-na-ni?* [Haspelmath 1993:418]
 you:SG:POSS friend-SA-DAT REFL-GEN money find-AOR-Q
 ‘Did your friend find his/her money?’

- (b) *wi dust-uni-z wiči-n pul-ni žǵa-na* [V. G. 2002, p.c.]
 you:SG:POSS friend-SA-DAT REFL-GEN money-FOC find-PAST

‘Your friend has found his/her money, too.’

§ 12. Obviously, the distribution of Lezgi *-ni* is conditioned by the grammaticalization of the intonation pattern: Q-intonation plus verbal focus produced polar questions, whereas other intonation patterns plus constituent focus maintained the declarative mood. In Udi, the two types are additionally differentiated with the help of paradigmatic variation: Most likely, the grammaticalization of *-a* as a Q-clitic started at a time when (morphologically) focus-neutral sentences became marginalized. Instead, the Udi reflex of the proto-Lezgian focus marker **-ni* (> *-ne*) became the standard in declarative sentences, irrespective of the type of host (verbal or non-verbal) (see below 3.4.5.4 for details). The paradigmatic opposition *-ne* vs. *-a* suggests that Udi once knew two types of focus markers: **-ni* vs. *-a* < ?. From a structural point of view, such a pair is also known for instance from Tsakhur: Here, the two focus markers *-ni* and *-yi* (used to mark degrees of epistemic certainty) show the following distribution (basic partadigms only):

(x)		Declarative	Interrogative
	<i>*-ni</i>	<i>-nī</i>	<i>-nī</i> (non-past) ~ <i>-ne</i> (past)
	<i>*-yi</i>	<i>-yī</i>	<i>-yī</i> (non-past) ~ <i>-yē</i> (past)

The variant *-ni* ~ *-ne* represents the less marked version of the two interrogative clitics. Nevertheless, Kalinina (1999:453) states that the semantic differences are difficult to describe. (x) illustrates the use of the clitics in yes/no questions:

(x) (a) *a^ʕli a-r-i-ne* [Kalinina 1999:452]

Ali come-I-PERF-Q:PAST
‘Did Ali come?’

(b) *galle milyon i^ʕq:-a-yī* *dawat-b-išī-s* [Kalinina 1999:452]

twenty million IV:go-IMPERF-Q:NPAST marriage-PL-OBL:PL-DAT
‘Do they spend twenty million for the marriage? (Lit.: Do twenty million go for the marriage?)’

Constituent focus is documented for instance in:

(x) (a) *a^ʕli-ē hižō-ne ha’-as?* [Kalinina 1999:452]

Ali-ERG what-Q do-FUT:POT
‘What will Ali do?’

(b) *a^ʕli-ē hižō kar-bi-nī ileš-e?* [Kalinina 1999:452]

Ali-ERG what thing-PL-Q III/IV:PL:buy-IMPERF-IMPERF
‘Which things does Ali buy?’

In declarative sentences, the distribution of *-nī* and *-yī* is described as follows: The propositional meaning of the utterance expresses the permanent knowledge of a

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speaker on situations which have taken place in the past. The clitic *-yī* refers to the act of obtaining information on situations (Tatevosov & Majsak 1999:694;705). Hence, *-yī* is linked to verificational strategies, whereas *-nī* refers to already acquired (or: historical) knowledge:

(x) (a) *dʲaʷa-nī wo-b-na aʲljhā* [Tatevosov & Majsak 1999:705]
 war-FOC COP-III-ATTR:III go:IMPERF
 ‘(By that time) war went on.’

(b) *maʰhammad-ē ak:a āq-a-yī* [Tatevosov & Majsak 1999:694]
 Mohammad-ERG door IV:open-IMPERF-FOC
 ‘(I have just learnt that) Mohammad has opened the door.’

§ 13. As has been said above, in Tsakhur both focus strategies can occur in interrogative sentences. If we assume that Udi, too, once knew a focus system that differentiated epistemic degrees, it is tempting to relate the verificational strategy to the Udi Q-clitic: Accordingly, Udi would have grammaticalized the ‘verificational’ focus particle **-a* as a marker for questioned constituents (and, perhaps, for polar questions, too), whereas the epistemically ‘strong’ clitic **-ni* became confined to declarative sentences (and verbal focus in polar questions?). Note that the Udi-Tsakhur parallel includes both morphological and structural aspects. Nevertheless, it is difficult to relate the Udi Q-clitic to the Tsakhur ‘verificational’ clitic *-yī* from a formal point of view. Rather, we have consider the possibility that Udi has developed its system in structural analogy with Tsakhur: Accordingly, both languages would have used the proto-Lezgian focus clitic **-ni* in declarative, epistemically ‘strong’ constructions. This clitic stood in opposition to a ‘verificational’ clitic that has been grammaticalized from language-specific sources (Udi *-a*, Tsakhur *-yī*). (X) simulates this opposition with the help of data from Modern Udi (FOC:COG = ‘focus on cognitive state’; FOC:VER = ‘focus on verification’):

(x) (a) **xinār kʰicʰi-nī*
 girl young-FOC:COG
 ‘(I know that) the girl is young.’

(b) **xinār kʰicʰi-a*
 girl young-FOC:VER
 ‘(I just have realized that) the girl is young.’

A residue of this usage is present when the interrogative pronoun does not host the Q-clitic, compare:

(x) *ekʰa śel-a ienkʰ* [John 11,50]
 what good-3SG:Q you:PL:BEN
 ‘What is good for you?’

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§ 14. This analysis can explain the functional origin of the Udi Q-clitic. In addition, it can explain why the clitic is confined to the third person singular: Most likely, the original focus system developed at a time when Udi verbs still had been ‘impersonal’ (see section 3.4.5.4). Accordingly, the focus clitics could float in the sentence just as it is true for contemporary Tsakhur. They were ‘local’ in the sense that they did not cross-reference another constituent (see 3.4.5.4). At a later stage, the clitic **-a* gradually became confined the third person singular just as it happened to the clitic **-ni* (see below). Hence, the two clitics parallelly developed to third person agreement markers. (x) summarizes the relevant processes for Udi:

(x)

	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III	
	Decl.	Interr.	Decl.	Interr.	Decl. + y/n-Q	Wh-Q
FOC:COG	<i>*-ni</i>	<i>*-ni</i>	<i>*-ni</i>	---	<i>-ne</i> (3SG)	---
FOC:VER	<i>*-a</i>	<i>*-a</i>	---	<i>*-a</i>	---	<i>-a</i> (3SG)

§ 15. Nevertheless, the hypothesis presented here does not explain the ultimate origin of the Udi Q-clitic. Perhaps, the clitic is of proto-Lezgian origin. A parallel form can be found for instance in Archi (verbal focus: *-a* ~ *-ra*):

- (x) *č'abu di¹č et:i-li-ra* (> *et:illa*) [Kibrik 1994:330]
 sheep:PL fat IV:become:TERM-INFER-Q
 ‘Have the sheep become fat?’

However, note that in the contemporary Lezgian languages, interrogation is not marked homogeneously. Kryts and Rutul, for instance, have borrowed the corresponding morphemes from Azeri (or from another variety of Oghuz Turkic). The Aghul dialects, on the other hand, have in parts grammaticalized the clitic **-ni* (> *-n*) just as it is true for Lezgi (see above). Tabasaran often uses a particle *qa* with questioned constituents. The clitics **-ni* (> *-n*) or **-yi* (> *-y*) occur in yes/no questions. In Budukh, questions are usually marked by intonation only (sometimes supported by an element *-z* with focused constituents). Consequently, the assumption that Udi **-a* reflects a proto-Lezgian clitic must be taken with caution. In the language of the Palimpsest, there is no clear evidence for the existence of a question clitic *-a*. Nevertheless, there is in Old Udi a variant of the third person singular (*-va* instead of *-ne* ~ *-n*), which still lacks a full functional account. It may well be that this clitic stands in (albeit obscure) relation to the Udi Q-clitic *-a*.

3.4.5.4 The origins of personal agreement clitics. This section examines hypotheses related to the question of how the Udi paradigm of personal agreement clitics has emerged. It is important to note that the individual morphemes cannot be discussed separately because their development is strongly related to the emergence of the whole paradigm. Therefore, the present section is characterized by a superficially unsystematic argumentation: The central thread is related to the question of how the paradigm itself has emerged. Accordingly, this section does not

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procede ‘morpheme by morpheme’. Readers interested in the history of the individual morphemes should first refer to § 54. The present section also takes into account the data stemming from the Caucasian Albanian Palimpsest, although it is not intended here to give a full survey of the corresponding morphemes.

§ 1. In Udi linguistics, it has since long become standard to derive the set of agreement clitics from pronominal forms. “[A]ll PMs [= agreement clitics, W.S.] (...) developed from independent pronouns, and this is clearly correct, even though some problems remain” (Harris 2002:182). The key argument stems from the shape of the clitics echoing functions other than the subjective/agentive domain. The correlation of agreement markers and pronouns is also observed in a few other Lezgian languages, such as Tabasaran and (marginally) Aghul and Kryts. Note, however, that agreement clitics in Lezgian (and East Caucasian) do not necessarily stem from pronominal forms: For instance, we have also to take into consideration analytic structures confined to specific ‘persons’ as well as deictic, emphatic, focus, and locution markers).

§ 2. A pronominal origin can safely be described for those clitics that cross-reference a first person:

(x)

	Singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	Clitic	Pronoun	Clitic
ABS/ERG	<i>zu</i>	<i>-zu ~ -z ~ -əz</i>	<i>ian ~ yan</i>	<i>-ian ~ -yan</i>
GEN	<i>bez(i)</i>	<i>-bez (V.)</i>	<i>beš(i)</i>	<i>-beš (V.)</i>
DAT	<i>za</i>	<i>-za (V.)</i>	<i>ia ~ ya</i>	<i>-ia (V.)</i>
DAT2	<i>zax</i>	<i>-zax</i>	<i>iax ~ yax</i>	<i>-iax ~ -yax</i>

For Old Udi, the following morphemes can be described:

(x)

	Singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	Clitic	Pronoun	Clitic
ABS/ERG	<i>zow</i>	<i>-zow</i>	<i>žan</i>	<i>-žan</i>
GEN	<i>bezi</i>	---	<i>beši</i>	---
DAT	<i>za</i>	<i>-za</i>	<i>ža</i>	<i>-ža</i>
DAT2	<i>zax</i>	---	<i>žax</i>	---

Traditionally, the same has been said for the second and third person. The third person is said to be related to the paradigm of deictic pronouns (demonstratives). However, this assumption invokes a number of difficulties that renders it rather improbable. Instead, we should consider the grammaticalization of the pre-Udi focus marker **-ni > -ne* (3SG). This point is discussed in more details in section 3.4.5.4.

§ 3. Superficially, the high frequency of agreement clitics echoing the subjective/agentive domain has conditioned the fact that clitics stemming from pronouns in parts differ from their pronominal sources:

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	Pronoun		Clitic		
	Vartashen	Nizh	Vartashen	Nizh	Palimpsest
1SG	<i>zu</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>-zu ~ -z</i>	<i>-zu ~ -z ~ ~ -əz</i>	<i>-zow</i>
2SG	<i>un</i>	<i>hun</i>	<i>-nu ~ -n</i>	<i>-nu ~ -n ~ -un</i>	<i>-nown</i>
1PL	<i>ian</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>-ian</i>	<i>-yan</i>	<i>-žan</i>
2PL	<i>va^ɸn</i>	<i>vä^ɸn</i>	<i>-nan</i>	<i>-nan</i>	<i>-nan</i>

In the following paragraphs, I will demonstrate that the divergence of the second person clitics does not stem from phonetic processes related to the corresponding pronouns, but reflects a reformulation of the focus marker **-ni*. Accordingly, the set of second and third person clitics originally represented a common paradigm that has to be discussed on the whole.

§ 4. Whereas the first person clitics can easily be identified as older pronouns, the clitics of the second person are less transparent. In order to explain the second personal singular (basic form: *-nu*), grammarians of Udi usually refer to metathesis: “[t]he second person singular (...) metathesized during its development into a PM (= agreement marker, W.S.) in order to establish the CV pattern found in the other singular PMs (...)” (Harris 2002:179). This assumption presupposes that the Nizh variant *hun* represents a younger form of *un* marked for prothetic *h-*. However, in sections 3.2.6 and 3.3.6.3 it has been argued that *h*-prothesis rarely occurs before *-u-*. The corresponding form in the language of the Palimpsest (*vown*) shows that the Nizh pronoun stems from **wun* (cf. Vartashen *čubux* ~ Nizh *cuwux* / *čuhux* ‘woman’) which again reflects proto-Lezgian **g^wə-n*. In order to maintain the hypothesis of metathesis, the Nizh pronoun *hun* must have lost its initial consonant in enclisis as shown in (x) (‘X’ represents any focus constituent or the verb itself):

(x) **hun X-hun* > **hun X-un*

An Early Udi version of the process would have been:

(x) **wun X-wun* > **wun X-un*

The resulting structure *X-un* would then have undergone metathesis just as it is said for the Vartashen form (*un* > *-nu*). Although Harris’ explanation of the metathesis process is plausible from a paradigmatic point of view, it presupposes the frequent co-occurrence of the second person with either the first or the third person singular (in subjective/agentive function). In conversation, such contrastive structures may be more frequent. In texts, however, they rarely occur. In order to illustrate this point (x) lists the co-occurrence of the pronominal forms at issue in the Vartashen corpus:

(x)	TOTAL	+ 1SG	+ 2SG
1SG	509	---	61
2SG	317	61	---

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3SG	1210	49	33
-----	------	----	----

An example is:

- (x) *un ex-nu te zu pasč'agč-zu* [John 18:37]
 you:SG say:PRES-2SG SUB I king-1SG
 'You say that I am the king.'

§ 5. Nevertheless, the low frequency of co-occurrences renders it less probable that the second person clitic has been structurally influenced by either the first or the third person clitic. In addition, it should be noted that word final sequence *-un* is rather common in Udi texts from Vartashen:

(x)

	Total	-un#	Percentage
Narratives	5256	238	4.53 %
Schiefner	4660	245	5.26 %
Gospels	56205	2531	4.50 %
Total	71370	3264	4.57 %

Hence, there is no obvious constraint on the sequence *-un#*. The fact that the second person clitic is frequently added to forms ending in vowel (e.g. *pinu* 'you said', *kalanu* 'you are old' etc.) not necessarily speaks in favor of the metathesis hypothesis: On the one hand, the sequence *-V-un#* can be observed in rather old forms such as *ğeun* 'daily' or *saun* 'one'. On the other hand, the genitive *-un* is never changed to *-nu* if following a vowel: Instead, a phonetically conditioned 'stem augement' occurs (see 3.3.2.2, § 16 for details on the weak [w2b] class): *baru* 'wall' > *barunun* 'of the wall', *haso* 'cloud' > *hasonun* 'of the cloud' etc. Finally, the Old Udi form of the second person clitic (*-nown*), too, illustrates that the Metathesis Hypothesis is more than unlikely.

In addition, it should be noted that the morpheme *-ne* (= third person singular) can be used with second person singular imperatives (see 3.4.6.1) to mark an emphatic imperative:

- (x) (a) *ek-e-ne* 'Just come!' [žeiranišvili 1971:123]
 come:IMP-IMP:2SG-FOC

- (b) *up-a-ne* 'Just say!' [žeiranišvili 1971:123]
 say:IMP-IMP:2SG-FOC

Here, the morpheme *-ne* is not changed to *-nu* because the imperative is less frequently used with overt pronouns.

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§ 6. In sum, there are clear arguments that go against the metathesis hypothesis that derives the second person singular clitic *-nu* from the corresponding pronoun (*h*)*un*. In order to arrive at a perhaps more suitable picture, it is important to bear in mind that the second person plural, too, differs from the corresponding pronoun (*-nan* vs. *va^hn* ~ *vä^hn*). So far, the clitic *-nan* has been analysed in two different ways: Schulze 1982:171 has claimed that the initial *-n-* has been taken from the corresponding singular form (*va^hn* x *-nu* > **-na^hn*). In a second step, pharyngealization would have been lost in atonic position (> *-nan*). Harris 2002:179 argues that “the second person plural PM (= agreement marker, W.S.) (...) is formed by extension of the second person singular base, *n-*, and of the first person plural ending *-an*.” Both assumptions are *ad hoc*: As far as data go, a formal interaction between the second person singular and its plural form never occurs. Harris’ analysis is more complicated: It presupposes that the pre-form of *-nan* must have co-existed with the original clitic ***-va^hn*. There is, however, no apparent motivation for such a doublet. In addition, the analysis put forward by Harris entails that the first person plural had been (re-) analysed as consisting of an ‘ending’ ***-an* added to a segment ***i-* (> *ian*). This segment would then have been used with the second person singular (**-un* or **-nu*) to produce *-nan* < ***-un-an* or ***-nu-an*. Nevertheless, this analysis has its shortcomings both from a morphological and a phonetic point of view. For instances, it is difficult to explain, why ***-an* should be an ‘ending’ in the first person plural. In addition, the phonetic processes described suggest that ***-an* had been added to **-un* rather than to *-nu* (which – according to Udi sound laws – would have produced something like ***-nunan* or ***-nun*). If ***-an* had been added to the non-metathesized clitic *-un* (2SG), we are trapped in the relative chronology of the paradigm: On the one hand, *-nan* is said to represent a younger form that later replaced the original clitic ***-va^hn* (in its earlier form). On the other hand, the segment ***-an* must have been added to the second person singular at a rather early stage of the paradigm when metathesis had not yet taken place in the singular.

§ 7. Both analyses neglect the important fact that in Early Udi, there must have been a paradigmatic relation between the second and the third person. This relation becomes apparent from the following facts: First, the distribution of *n*-initial clitics is confined to these two persons:

(x)

	SG	PL
1SG	<i>-zu</i>	<i>-ian</i>
2SG	<i>-nu</i>	<i>-nan</i>
3SG	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-q'un / -t'un</i>

Second, the superficially reduced forms of the conjunctive illustrate a syncretism of the two singular forms:

(x)

	SG	PL
1SG	<i>-z</i>	<i>-ian</i>
2SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nan</i>
3SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>-q'un / -t'un</i>

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Third, the Nizh variant of the indirective objective/possessive paradigm (see § 53 below) shows that the third person plural is derived from the corresponding singular form with the help of the re-analysis of the second person singular/plural:

(x)

	SG	PL
1SG	-zax	-iax
2SG	-vax	-va ^ɬ x
3SG	-t'ux	-t'u ^ɬ x

§ 8. These structural properties mirror an architecture of personal agreement that is typical some of those East Caucasian languages that have developed systems of personal agreement (Tsakhur, Akhvakh, Zakatal-Avar, Khunza), compare the following examples from Tsakhur [f.n.]:

- (x) 1SG *zə kağəz bes oyk'an-n-iy(ī)*
 I letter(III) just write:III:PAST-1SG-FOC
 'I just wrote a letter.'
- 2SG *ğū kağəz bes oyk'an-iy(ī)*
 you:SG letter(III) just write:III:PAST-FOC
 'You just wrote a letter.'
- 3SG *šen-ğ^w-e kağəz bes oyk'an-iy(ī)*
 DIST-SA:MASC-ERG:hum letter(III) just write:III:PAST-FOC
 '(S)he just wrote a letter.'

Here, the first person is marked by the 'attributive' (or: relational) suffix *-n-* (~ *-na*, class I-III), whereas the other person remain unmarked. The paradigm of the copula *wo-* (here singular only) illustrates the distribution of this element:

(x)

	I	II	III	IV
1SG	<i>zə wo-r-na</i>	<i>zə wo-r-na</i>	<i>zə wo-b-na</i>	<i>zə wo-b-on</i>
2SG	<i>ğū wo-r-or</i>	<i>ğū wo-r-or</i>	<i>gu wo-b-ob</i>	<i>ğū wo-d-od</i>
3SG	<i>šena wo-r-or</i>	<i>šena wo-r-or</i>	<i>šena wo-b-ob</i>	<i>šen wo-d-od</i>

§ 9. All languages in question show so-called egocentric systems: The first person is singled out from the general paradigm with the help of specific morphological devices, for instance participles or gerundial constructions, attributive markers, or – as in the case of Kryts– with personal pronouns, compare the following example from Kryts:

- (x) (a) *zən wäs fu wu-yi-zən* [Kryts; f.n.]
 I you:SG:DAT bread give-GER:PAST-1SG
 'I gave a bread (and ...)'

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- (b) *wən zäs fu wu-yi* [f.n]
 you:SG I:DAT bread give-GER:PAST
 ‘You gave me bread (and ...).’
- (c) *Garna-na-r zäs fu wu-yi* [f.n.]
 old=woman-SA-ERG I:DAT bread give-GER:PAST
 ‘The old woman has given me bread (and ...).’

In Kryts, the use of the personal pronoun as a postverbal clitic is optional. Nevertheless, it is usually confined to the first person (singular). We can assume that egocentric systems in represent the nucleus of East Caucasian personal paradigms based on pronominal echoes. In those languages that have further elaborated this system (such as Bats, Tabasaran and (in parts) Aghul), the technique has spread to the second person, but never to the third person, compare (Northern Tabasaran, Magometov 1965:255):

- (x) 1SG *izu ap'-nu[-wu]-za*
 I do-GER:PAST[-AUX]-1SG
 ‘I usually did ...’
- 2SG *iwu ap'-nu[-wu]-wa*
 you:SG do-GER:PAST[-AUX]-2SG
 ‘You usually did ...’
- 3SG *du-ǧu aq'-nu-w[u]*
 DIST-ERG:HUM do-GER:PAST-AUX:3SG
 ‘(S)he usually did ...’

§ 10. Therefore, the hypothesis that Udi has used pronominal forms to echo all three persons in question is rather unlikely from a comparative point of view. It is more probable that cliticization has started with the first person singular overlapping an older strategy of focus marking. This assumption accounts for the fact that the second and the third person have more in common than either of them with the first person.

§ 11. Accordingly, I take the position that the second person singular represents a phonetically ‘disguised’ variant of the third person singular clitic *-ne*. Traditionally, the (contemporary) third person singular clitic is related to the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns. This assumption is based on the observation that the third person singular non-subjective/agentive clitics resemble case marked demonstratives (see 3.3.7.1):

(x)

	PROX	MED	DIST	CL (Vartashen)	CL (Nizh)
GEN	<i>met'ai</i>	<i>kat'ai</i>	<i>šet'ai</i>	<i>-t'ai</i>	---
DAT	<i>met'u</i>	<i>kat'u</i>	<i>šet'u</i>	<i>-t'u</i>	---
DAT2	<i>met'ux</i>	<i>kat'ux</i>	<i>šet'ux</i>	---	<i>-t'ux</i>

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This correlation is discussed in more details in §§ 29-43 below. It has led to the assumption that the subjective/agentive clitic, too, stems from the corresponding forms of demonstratives: Accordingly, *-ne* is related to the set *meno* (PROX), *kano* (MED), and *šeno* (DIST). In order to account for the phonetic differences, Pančviže (1974:84) has suggested to analyse *meno* as **me-ne-o* etc. This gives him a segment **-ne* that is said to be identical with the third person singular clitic (see 3.3.7.1 for morphological shape of demonstrative pronouns). Harris (2002) adopts this hypothesis and always gives the form **no* < **ne-o* for the Early Udi form of the clitic. This assumption is supported by the fact that the two adnominal deictic elements *me* (PROX) and *še* (DIST) often become *mo* ~ *mō* < **me-o* and *šoo* ~ *šō* < **še-o* in referentialization (see 3.2.8.2). However, there is no evidence that a final **-o* has ever changed to *-e* in unstressed syllables (compare: *biq'alo* ‘a fishing one’ (≠ **biq'ale*), *sunō* ‘someone’ (≠ **sune* etc.).

The assumption that the third person clitics stem from demonstrative pronouns leaves us with considerable problems. First and most important, it is difficult to see how the sequences *-ne*, *-t'ai*, *-t'u* and *-t'ux* had been singled out from the corresponding pronouns. Harris (2002:234-243) has discussed the possibility that the Udi agreement pattern stems from older focus clefts. Accordingly, the focus constituent was followed by the structure **COP + PRO*. (x) simulates this structure with the help of data from Modern Udi (Harris' notional conventions have been adapted to the format used in the present book):

(x) (a) *vi viči-ne ar-e* [Luke 15:27]

you:SG:POSS brother-3SG come:PAST-PERF
‘Your brother has come.’

< *vi viči* [COP] **(me/ka/še)no are*
‘[It is] your brother he has come.’

(b) *düšmān adamar-en-ne b-e mo-t'-ux* [Matthew 13:28]

enemy person-ERG-3SG do-PERF PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2
‘A wicked person has done this.’

< *düšman adamar* [COP] **(me/ka/še)t'in be mot'ux*
‘[It is] a wicked person he has done this.’

(c) *ek'a-za i-bak-sa?* [Luke 16:2]

what-1SG:IO hear-LV-PRES
‘What do I hear ...?’

< *ek'a* [COP] **no *za ibaksa*
‘[It is] what that I hear?’

(d) *šum-nu bes-sa* [CO § 6]

bread-2SG ask=for-PRES

‘You ask for bread.’

< *šum* [COP] **no un bessa*
 ‘[It is] bread that you ask for.’

§ 12. The ‘cleft hypothesis’ necessitates a number of additional arguments in order to derive the actual pattern of personal agreement in Udi. All these arguments can be easily retrieved from Harris 2002 and hence need not a complete coverage. As far the point made in the present paragraphs, the following observations seem sufficient: First, and most importantly, the ‘cleft hypothesis’ can explain constituent focus, but not predicative (or: sentence) focus (see x.x.x). Second, there is no obvious trace of a copula in the place required by the cleft. Harris (2002:241) supposes that “[i]f the copula was non-null, it was lost.” As an alternative, she considers a zero-copula. A structural argument, however, that cannot be substantiated with the help of concrete material necessarily remains *ad hoc*. Third, the portion of the structure that contains the verbal relation is said to be in subordination. Accordingly, we have to assume that only those tense forms that can be identified as participles (past *-i*, factitive future *-al*) would have existed by the time the cleft strategy came into use. This point goes against the fact that at least the present tense (< infinitive, see 3.4.4.1) represents a structure that has to be related to proto-Lezgian. A possibility to circumnavigate this problem would be to assume that clefting took place only with the two participle-based tense forms. Fourth, according to the cleft hypothesis “the case of the FocC (= focused constituent) changed from absolutive to that determined by its grammatical relation in monoclausal structure, and (...) the pronoun/PM changed from agreeing with the FocC to agreeing with the subject.” (Harris 2002:240-1). This assumption is again difficult to back from an Udi-internal perspective: There are no traces of an earlier case-neutral construction as required by the hypothesis. In addition, the cleft hypothesis would call for a much greater variety of case marked clitics than actually given. Take for example the sentence in (x):

(x) *vi viči okt’omberi-a-ne esa* [Harris 2002:237]

you:SG:POSS brother Okt’omberi-DAT-3SG come:PRES

‘Your brother comes to Okt’omberi.’

According to Harris, the underlying cleft is as follows:

(x) **okt’omberi-a* COP *t’-u* *vi viči ar-i*

Okt’omberi-DAT COP DIST-DAT you:POSS brother come:PAST-PAST

‘[It is] to Okt’omberi, there your brother came/comes’.

Note that Harris has replaced the present tense form (*esa*) by the past tense in (x) in order to account for the need of a participle (*ari*). The reconstructed sentence is characterized by a ‘pronoun’ **t’-u* that is said to satisfy the locative valence of *esun*

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‘to come’ in the subordinated clause. However, the oblique ‘pronoun’ *t’-* should have produced as many variants as case forms are given, compare:

(x)	Expected paradigm CL 3SG	Actual forms	Functional domain
ABS	*- <i>ne</i> ~ *- <i>no</i>	- <i>ne</i>	Subjective/ Agentive
ERG	** <i>-t’in</i>	---	
BEN	** <i>-t’enk’</i>	---	
GEN	* <i>-t’ai</i>	- <i>t’ai</i> (V.)	Possessive
DAT	* <i>-t’u</i>	- <i>t’u</i> (V.)	Indirect
DAT2	* <i>-t’ux</i>	- <i>t’ux</i> (N.)	Objective
ABL	** <i>-t’uxo</i>	---	
COM	** <i>-t’uxol</i>	---	
ADESS	** <i>-t’ust’a</i>	---	
ALL	** <i>-t’uč’</i>	---	
SUPER	** <i>-t’ul</i>	---	

Hypothetical examples are:

- (x) (a) *xunči burğ-ol-le tac-i*
 sister mountain-SUPER-3SG go:PAST-PAST
 ‘The sister went on the mountain.’

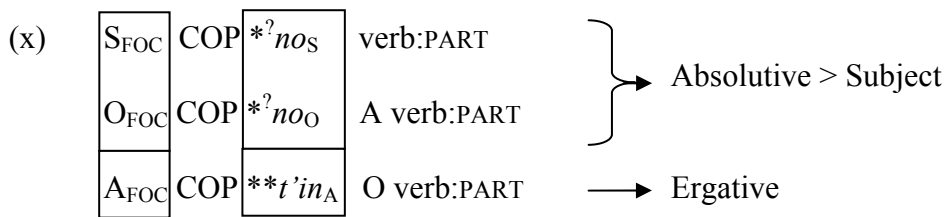
< ***burux COP t’ul xunči taci*
 ‘[It is] the mountain on that the sister went.’

- (b) *zu xinär-axo xabar-zu aq’-i*
 I girl-ABL news-1SG take-PAST
 ‘I asked the girl ...’

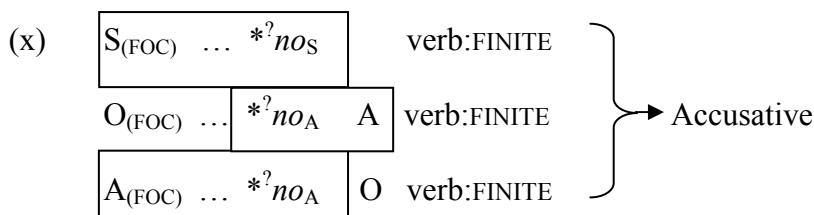
< ***xinär COP t’uxo zu xabar aq’i*
 ‘[It is] the girl from that I took the news.’

§ 13. The fact that there are no (overt or hidden) traces left of most of the forms in (x) renders the cleft hypothesis less probable. Unfortunately, Harris does not elaborate her claim according to which the pronominal segments changed from agreement with the focused constituent to agreement with the subject. As far as we know, subjecthood is primarily *established* by personal clitics (see x.x.x). It is difficult to understand how a paradigmatic effect can turn to its own cause: According to the pattern described by Harris for pre-Udi, agreement must have had an ergative orientation: Clefted referents in subjective and objective function would have been marked by the resumptive ‘pronoun’ **’no* whereas a clefted referent in agentive function would have been marked by the ergative **’t’in*:

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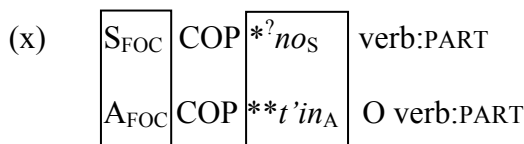


This pattern is characterized by an ‘ergative’ assignment of subjecthood (see Schulze 2000). It is difficult to describe those features that are said to have conditioned the shift in agreement. If we project the scheme in (x) onto the pattern present in contemporary Udi, we arrive at the following picture:

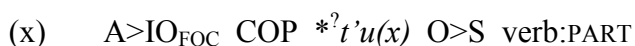


It comes clear that we are faced with basically two problems: What did condition the fact that a focused O is no longer marked for an agreement clitic whereas this is said to have been the case in pre-Udi? And: Why has the ergative clitic been replaced by the absolutive clitic whereas case marking remains ergative?

In order to accommodate Harris’ hypothesis to the actual pattern of Udi, we should assume that the focus cleft had been restricted to referents in subjective and agentive function:



This assumption, however, presupposes that pre-Udi was marked by an ‘accusative’ strategy of clefting: Referents in objective function would not have been accessible to clefting. The same would have been true for the locative patterns mentioned above. Although this modification of Harris’ hypothesis can account for the distribution of S/A clitics, it does not explain why the clitics acquired floating properties. In addition we are faced with the problem to integrate ‘demoted’ structures marked by indirect objective clitics (see **x.x.x**):



This pattern suggests that the pronominal element *[?]t'u(x) (dative(2)) can be added to the once focused constituent. (X) simulates this structure:

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- (x) ^{??}*adamar-a-t'u sa xa^f ak'-i*
 person-DAT-3SG:IO one dog see-PAST
 'The person saw a dog.'

As far as data go, such constructions, however, never occur. In addition, the (modified) cleft hypothesis has to explain why the 'demoted' type is said to be marked for focus cleft whereas standard local phrase were inaccessible to clefting.

Finally, the cleft hypothesis has to start with the assumption that the pronominal element introducing the subordinated clause had always been a third person (or: neutral) pronominal element: This claim is based on the presumption that the linkage between the focused constituent and the subordinated clause must have been some kind of overt or covert identificational structure (copula). Hence, with speech act participants the pronominal element should have been **²no* (or: **²t'in*) rather than a copy of the clefted personal pronoun as suggested by Harris (2002:238). Else, cleft structures involving a speech act participant would show a pattern different from that with third persons. According to Harris (*loc.cit.*), the anaphoric pronominal forms "represent[s] the variable in the open proposition of the dependent clause." Nevertheless, the author gives the following interpretation of sentences with speech act participants:

- (x) *zu* BE [*zu xorag hāzir-b-i*] [Harris 2002:238]
 I.ABS be I.ERG food.ABSL prepare-do-PTCPL
 'It is I, I am preparing the food.'

Note that here, I have not changed Harris' glosses. Disregarding problems of case assignment and the dubious interpretation of the tense form, it comes clear that Harris interprets the two clauses in (x) as a coordinated structure rather than as a matrix clause followed by a subordinated clause. If this assumption is correct, we have to explain why clefts involving a speech act participant are marked for coordinated structures, whereas we else have subordinated structures.

§ 14. The cleft hypothesis operates with morphological segments the status of which is not fully illuminated: The third person singular clitic is said to be derived from either a pronominal element **²no* [?]< **ne-o* from the corresponding form of the demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1). This assumption raises two problems: On the one hand, it is difficult to see why and how the demonstrative pronouns would have been reduced to just those elements that bear the least deictic information:

	Demonstrative	Clitic 3SG
PROX	<i>me-no</i>	} <i>*²-no</i>
MED	<i>ka-no</i>	
DIST	<i>še-no</i>	

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The reduction to [?]-no can only be understood, if the demonstrative pronouns were harmonized first, resulting in a ‘cleft-typical’ anaphoric element (*X-no). Again, there is no evidence that the like ever happened in Udi.

§ 15. If we instead start with the segment *[?]-no that is said to underlie the clitic -ne, we have to show that Udi once knew an independent deictic pronoun *no (or the like). As far as data go, however, there is no evidence that Udi ever knew such an independent pronoun (the same holds for Old Udi). In addition, the cleft hypothesis has to explain, why the ‘absolutive’ was used in contexts that require an ergative (see § 13 above). Here, Harris argues that “the use of the ergative case pronoun (-t’in) for the ergative-absolutive (...) PM (= agreement marker, W.S.) would have made the third person singular PM resemble plurals of the other persons (ending in -Vn), and it was therefore avoided.” (Harris 2002:181). However, the resemblance is not as strong as suggested by the author: At least in Vartashen, the third person ergative would have been sufficiently discriminated from the plural forms, compare:

(x)

	SG	PL
1	-zu	-ian
2	-nu	-nan
3	** [?] -t’in	-q’un

Crucially, the third person plural pronoun -q’un ~ -t’un is frequently explained the other way round: Here, it is the ergative that is said to have replaced the expected absolutive (see below):

(x)

	SG		PL	
ABS	* [?] -no	-ne	** [?] -no-r	-q’/t’un
ERG	** [?] -t’in		* [?] -t’-g̃-on	

§ 16. In addition, the paradigmatic opposition *no vs. *t’- is difficult to describe. In section 3.2.8.2, it has been shown that t’e < *t’i is the adnominal deixis used to encode the distal. It fills the paradigmatic gap of the corresponding demonstrative še(n)o that itself lacks an adnominal stem (*š*i*). In order to account for the case forms mentioned above in (x), we have to assume that t’e once knew a case paradigm just as it is true for the actual demonstratives. Forms like t’e-un (DIST-GEN) ‘that (one) over there’, t’ia ‘there’, t’el ‘there above’ etc. (see 3.3.7.1) seem to support this assumption. But it should be noted that with all these forms, the stem vowel (*-i or -e) is preserved (as it is true for Old Udi: Here, one option to mark A-agreement is to use the deictic form t’en). This fact is opposed to what can be expected from forms like -t’ai (genitive) or -t’u (dative). Nevertheless, it is out of question that these forms are related to a former ‘referential’ paradigm of the distal *t’V ~ *t’i, see below §§ 29-43 below.

§ 17. In sum, the ‘cleft hypothesis’ faces considerable problems when applied to explain the Udi third person clitics. These problems can at least partly be avoided if

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we interpret the clitic *-ne* as an immediate reflex of the proto-Lezgian focus particle **-ni*. This particle has survived in some Lezgian languages, such as Lezgi and Tsakhur. Haspelmath (1993:327-9) describes Lezgi *-ni* as an ‘additive focus particle’, that is also used as a conjoining coordinator. Crucially, the Udi conjoining coordinator *-q’an*, too, is marked by this particle (< **q’a-ni*, see x.x.x). Just as it is true for Lezgi *-ni*, the Udi clitic *-q’an* can be used both as a coordinator and as an additive focus particle:

(x) (a) *gög-q’an oçal pas-bak-al-le* [Matthew 24:35]

heaven-and earth destroy-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘Heaven and earth will perish...’

(b) *te-va bak-o sa pop-n-ux-q’an*

NEG-2SG:IO be-FUT:MOD one hair-SA-DAT2-and

ie mac’i-b-es ie ma^fin-b-es [Matthew 5:36]

or white-LV-MASD or black-LV-MASD

‘You cannot make even one hair white or black.’

§ 18. Although the segment *-q’a-* in **-q’a-ni* is not yet fully understood (see x.x.x), the form gives enough evidence to suggest that Udi once knew the focus particle **-ni* as it is documented for instance for Lezgi. Haspelmath (1993:328) describes the clitic as follows: “The suffix *-ni* always follows the constituent it focuses immediately. It may follow all major constituents (...).” Although other positions are allowed, too, *-ni* is preferably placed in front of a verbal complex, compare (PER = periphrasis segment of a complex verb):

(x) (a) *kafir-di-z masa zat’-ni hat t-awu-r-la*

beast-SA-DAT other thing-FOC get(PER) NEG-LV-PAST:PART-TEMP

wuč awu-ray [Haspelmath 1993:449,37]

what:ABS do-OPT

‘If the beast does not get anything else, what is it going to do?’

(b) *zun-ni q^hüre-na* [Haspelmath 1993:328]

I-FOC smile-AOR

‘I, too, smiled.’

Most importantly, Haspelmath (1993:329) notes that “[w]hen a finite verb is the focus of *-ni*, it has to be split up into the non-finite Periphrasis form and the finite verb *awun* ‘do’.” Example he gives are [Haspelmath 1993:329]:

(x) (a) *šafiga-di ada-n žawab güzlemiš-ni iyizwa-č-ir*

Šafiga-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-GEN answer wait:PER-FOC do-IMPNEG-PAST

‘Šafiga didn’t even wait for his answer.’

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- (b) *čun a q:aw-a-l ksu-n-ni iyi-da-y ha!*
 we:ABS DIST roof-SA-SUPER:ESS sleep-PER-FOC do:FUT-FUT-PAST PT
 ‘We even slept on that roof!’

The structure in (x.a) nicely matches the position of Udi agreement particles with incorporated verbs, compare:

- (x) *günäh-ğ-ox-al bağışlamiš-ne-b-esa* [Luke 7:49]
 sin-PL-DAT2-FOC forgive-3SG-LV-PRES
 ‘He forgives the sins.’

Hence, the Lezgi focus marker has strong preferences for lexical hosts. As has been said in section 3.4.5.1, this is also true for the Udi agreement system. Nevertheless, the Lezgi focus marker *-ni* does not share all properties with the Udi agreement system: Contrary to Udi, it is neutral with respect to the categories ‘case’ and ‘person’, as can be seen from the examples quoted above. The same is true for the corresponding Tsakhur focus marker *-nī* (< **-ni-i*) that has already been referred to in section 3.4.5.3.

§ 19. From a phonetic point of view, the Udi third person singular clitic can be safely derived from **-ni* (compare PROX *me* < **mi*, DIST *t’e* < *t’i* etc.). Therefore, it is phonetically speaking reasonable to postulate that the clitic is a reflex of the old focus marker **-ni*. Historically, this element behaved just as actual *-ni* in Lezgi or *-nī* in Tsakhur: It could be added to any constituent (preferably in pre-verbal position). It was case neutral and did not distinguish persons. Traces of this person-neutral usage can still be found in the language of the Palimpsest. Accordingly, we have to describe a ‘local’ syntactic pattern that was not correlated to other constituents:

- (x) REFERENT || HOST-Clitic Focus / no Subcat
-

(x) simulates the underlying pattern with the help of data from Modern Udi (focus marker has been underlined):

- (x) (a) **zu-ni axsum exa*
 I-FOC laugh say:PRES
 ‘I am laughing’
- (b) **un sa sum-ni uk-sa*
 you:SG one bread-FOC eat-PRES
 ‘You eat a bread.’
- (c) **adamar-en ič e’lem-ax gölö-ni t’ap’-p-i*
 man-ERG REFL donkey-DAT2 much-FOC hit-LV-PAST

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‘The man hit his donkey very much.’

- (d) *še-t'-in sa k'ož ser-ni b-e
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG one house build-FOC do-PERF
 ‘(S)he has built a house.’

§ 20. The ‘case neutral’ properties of the participle *-ni* conditioned that it could be used irrespective of the case the constituent in pivotal function (subjective/agentive or its demoted variants, see x.x.x) was marked for. This holds especially for the so-called ‘inversion’ with *verba sentiendi* (see x.x.x) that is characterized by the use of the dative case for agents of low control:

- (x) *adamar-a sa k'ož-ni ak'-sa
 person-DAT one house-FOC see-PRES
 ‘The person sees (lit.: perceives) a HOUSE.’
- ~ *adamar-a sa k'ož a-ni-k'-sa
 person-DAT one house see-FOC-\$-PRES
 ‘The person SEEs a house.’

Note that both in the language of the Palimpsest and in Nizh, this constructional pattern has survived:

- (x) (a) *amdar-en sa k'ož-e ak'-sa* [Nizh]
 person-ERG one house-3SG see-PRES
 ‘The man sees a HOUSE.’
- (b) *amdar-en sa k'ož a-ne-k'-sa* [Nizh]
 person-ERG one house see-3SG-\$-PRES
 ‘The person SEEs a house.’
- (c) *ak'-ey-n o-ow bowq'-a anak'e e vačar-owğ-os* [Pal., Act 12,3]
 see-PAST2-3SG he-DAT love-PRES that ART Jew-PL-DAT3
 ‘He saw that it pleased the Jews’

§ 21. Traditionally, the Nizh pattern has been interpreted as an extension of the standard subjective/agentive alignment to once demoted agents. Accordingly, the Vartashen type that (in parts) shows a full ‘dative’ pattern has been regarded as the original technique to encode demoted agents with *verba sentiendi*:

- (x) (a) *adamar-a / ~ -en sa k'ož a-t'u-k'-sa* [Vartashen]
 person-DAT / ~ -ERG one house see-3SG:IO-\$-PRES
 ‘The person sees a house.’
- (b) *va^f gölöt-t'-ğ-o čal-q'o-x-i šo-t'-ğ-o* [Mark 6:33]

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and many-REF:OBL-PL-DAT know-3PL:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT
 ‘And many recognized them.’

(c) *bütün-t’-ğ-on meçit-un boş bu-o-r*
 all-REF:OBL-PL-ERG temple-GEN in be-REF:ABS-PL

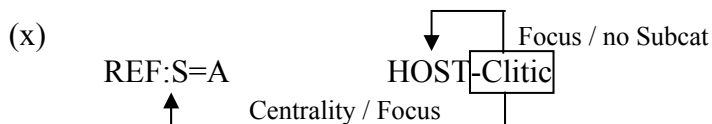
ažug-on-q’o-i biq’-i [Luke 4:28]
 wrath-ERG>INSTR-3PL:IO-PAST seize-PAST
 ‘All who were in the temple got furious.’

The hypothesis put forward here suggests, however, that the Vartashen pattern is secondary. This claim is also supported by the data from the Palimpsest. Most likely, grammarians have referred to the Vartashen type as primary because of the scant data from Nizh. In addition, it looks more ‘harmonic’ than the Nizh pattern. Nevertheless, it has to be born in mind that ‘harmonic’ patterns often result from the ‘harmonization’ of earlier heterogeneous structures. In Nizh, this process applied to overt case marking that shifted from the dative to the absolutive or ergative. In Vartashen, the process went the other direction: Here, the focus clitic was aligned to the case of the central referent (> dative/indirect objective). (x) summarizes the two processes (the shaded fields indicate formal correspondence):

(x)

	Pre-Udi		Nizh	Vartashen
Case	DAT	>	ABS / ERG	DAT [\> ABS/ERG]
Clitic	FOC	>	3SG:S=A	3SG:IO

§ 22. These processes presuppose that the original ‘mono-dimensional’ orientation of the focus clitic **-ni* turned into a ‘bi-dimensional’ orientation that related the focused host to the pivot (or: subject) of the sentence. This new orientation has probably resulted from the correlation of ‘centrality’ and emphatic ‘focus’: Accordingly, the two cognitively most salient parts of a sentence became a structural and information unit. Note, that this process presupposes that by that time, Udi already was marked for syntactic accusativity that includes a parallel syntactic behavior of referents in subjective and agentive function (see x.x.x). Accordingly, the clitic attained the notion of ‘subjecthood’ or ‘pivotality’:



§ 23. The (in parts) inferential correlation between ‘subject/pivot’ and emphatic focus conditioned that the focus marker gradually became sensitive for features related to the subcategorization of the ‘subject/pivot’ domain. Typically, the accusative orientation of the whole construction conditioned that ‘personality’ became the most relevant criterion. In Udi, two aspects led to the type of subcategorization currently found: On the one hand, the ‘egocentric’ interpretation of

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the paradigm conditioned that the first person was singled out and that hosts related to this person became marked by an echo morpheme instead of the focus clitic. This development is typical for a number of other East Caucasian languages such as Tsakhur, Akhvakh, Zakatal-Avar, and Khunza (see above (X) for examples). Therefore, the following paradigm emerged:

(x)

Focus Marker > AGR marker		
	SG	PL
1	*-zu	*-žan
2 + 3	*-ni	*-ni

§ 24. On the other hand, contact with languages that had a full system of personal inflection (basically Northwest Iranian, Southwest Iranian (local Tāti), Armenian, and (later) Oghuz Turkic) conditioned that the system in (x) became further elaborated. The paradigm probably first changed in the singular: Here, the old cluster *-ni + second person (Old Udi) *vown* fused to *-nun* (< *-ni+vown).

A simulation would be:

(x)

*vun	śum-ni-vun	uk-sa	>	*vun	śum-nun	uk-sa
you:SG	bread-FOC-you:SG	eat-PRES		you:SG	bread-2SG	eat-PRES
'You eat bread.'				'You eat bread.'		

This assumption explains why the second person clitic differs from the corresponding personal pronoun: The clitic *-nu(n)* is not an echo of the pronoun itself, but a reflex of the old emphatic clitic *-ni to which *vun* had been added (see §§ 3-4 above).

§ 25. The changes in the second person singular conditioned that the original clitic became restricted to the third person singular and to the second and third person plural. (x) illustrates this stage of the paradigm:

(x)

Focus Marker > AGR marker		
	SG	PL
1	*-zu	*-žan
2	*-ni-vun > -nun	*-ni
3	*-ni > -ne	*-ni

It is not fully clear whether the plural forms (2PL *-nan*, 3PL *-q'un* (V.) ~ *-t'un* (N.)) have developed at the same time or at a later stage. The second plural most likely again represents an augmented version of the *-ni-focus. Accordingly, *-nan* stems from *-vi+va^ɸn just as *-nu(n)* < *-ni+vun. Perhaps, this process had been reinforced by the suffix *-in* that had been used to mark speech act participants in adhortative or imperative contexts. In Lezgi, this morpheme turns up as an 'hortative' (*-in*), whereas it is used as a second person (singular!) marker in Tabasaran and Aghul (*-n*). In Udi,

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a reflex of **-in* is present in the first person plural adhortative (*tağ-en* ‘let’s go’ etc., see 3.4.4.1, § 29). The fact that the second person most normally occurs in modal (and interrogative) contexts has additionally supported the adoption of *-n* to form the plural variant of **-nun*. The functional correlate **vi+va^fn* ~ **-in* probably conditioned that the final *-n* has been preserved in the plural whereas it has been lost in the singular.

§ 26. The third person plural clitic represents the perhaps most mysterious form of the paradigm. It has been standard assumption since žejranišvili 1986 that both the Vartashen and the Nizh variants (*-q’un* / *-t’un*) derives from the plural marked distal **t’-* (> *-t’ux*) to which the ergative morpheme *-en* has been added. The resulting form **t’-ux-on* is said to change to **t’ğon* just as it is true for the oblique plural of referentialized forms (see 3.3.7.1 and 3.3.10). The form **t’ğon* would then have changed to *-q’un* in Vartashen, but to *-t’un* in Nizh. This assumption, however, is difficult to support: First, it does not explain why we have the vowel *-u-* in the clitic, but the vowel *-o-* in the reconstructed form. Also note that the vowel *-o* is present in the Vartashen variants of the genitive (*-q’o(i)*) and dative (*-q’o*). In order account for this fact, we have to describe the following sound change that, however, is without parallels in Udi:

(x) $o \rightarrow u / *t'q' (> q') _ n$

Second, the hypothesis does not give convincing arguments why the third person plural has generalized the ergative variant, whereas the authors who support the claim describe the opposite process for the corresponding singular clitic (see (x) above). Third, the hypothesis again starts with either full demonstrative pronouns that have been used in constituent focus (*met’ğon*, *kat’ğon*, *šet’ğon*, see 3.3.7.1) or with the bare stem **²t’-* (distal). In § 15 above, it is shown that the assumption of such a bare stem is rather problematic. In addition, we have no evidence that bare deictic stems could ever be marked for the plural by adding the (rather young!) plural morpheme *-ux* (see 3.2.5). Finally, the claim that the cluster **-t’ğ-* has changed to *-q’-* in Vartashen, but to *-t’-* in Nizh cannot be supported with the help of additional examples. Superficially, it could be argued that the general constraint on word initial CC-clusters has caused the simplification of the cluster **t’ğ- > q’- / t’-*. However, note, that clitics usually form a prosodic unit with their host. Hence, the segment **t’ğ-* cannot be regarded as a word initial segment. In addition, it not quite clear why the clitic would have undergone this simplification, whereas the corresponding referential form did not:

(x) (a) <i>kala-t’-ğ-on</i> old-REF:OBL-PL-ERG	➤ <i>**kala-q’on</i>	‘The old ones (did ...)’
<i>*²kala-t’ğon</i> ?>	<i>kala-q’un</i> old-3PL	‘They are old.’

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- (b) *tac-i-t'-ğon* \nearrow ***tac-i-t'un* 'Those who have gone (do...)'
 go:PAST-PAST-REF:OBL-ERG
- *[?]tac'-i-t'ğon [?]>* *tac-i-t'un* 'They went.'
 go:PAST-PAST-3PL

§ 27. In order to describe this divergence, a rather specific sound change has to be postulated: accordingly, the cluster **t'ğ-* would have become *-q'* in Vartashen, but *-t'* in Nizh if the cluster (or parts of it) start an unstressed syllable (recall that agreement clitics always are unstressed):

- (x) $t'ğ \rightarrow q' \sim t' / \acute{\sigma} _ o \sim u$

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the sequences *q'un* and *t'un* themselves are exceptional. As far as data go, the sequence *q'un* is practically undocumented for underived words. The only possible exception is the etymologically problematic term *te⁵q'un* 'gift'. If ever this sequence shows up, it reflects an *-un*-genitive added to a stem ending in *-q'* (e.g. *be⁵inq'-un* (darkness-GEN)) or *-* in Nizh, the second person singular clitic added to a stem ending in *-q'* (e.g. *č'up'laq'-un* (naked-2SG) 'you are naked'). Likewise, the sequence *t'un* is extremely rare in underived words (examples are *t'untuz* 'rump, tail' and *t'unk'ur* (V., < *t'ək'ər* (N.)) 'rolling, round' < Azeri *dəyir-mi* 'round'). Typically, the sequence occurs in the *masdar2* of verb forms marked by the light verb *-desun* (> *-st'un*, see 3.3.2.2). Hence, both Vartashen *-q'un* and Nizh *-t'un* are highly marked and structurally idiosyncratic. From this, we can conclude that these two variants of the third person plural agreement marker do not represent genuine morphemes but more complex structures that have fused to the actual forms.

§ 28. It should be born in mind that the third person plural clitics have a rather restricted distribution: They are normally used with human referents only. Usually, the referent in question is lexially or morphologically marked for plurality, too:

- (x) (a) *vic' šägird-ğ-on me p'a^f vičex xainluğ-q'un-b-i* [Matthew 20:24]
 ten pupil-PL-ERG PROX two brother:DAT2 anger-3PL-LV-PAST
 'The ten pupils got annoyed at these two brothers.'
- (b) *p'ä^f viči sa-ga-l-a gele muća kar-t'un-x-sa-y* [Nizh; SHI; OR 130]
 two brother one-place-SA-DAT much sweet live-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST
 'Two brothers lived together quite comfortable.'
- (c) *p'ä^f qonši usen-xo-ne-y oro-t'un-iy* [Nizh; ORO; OR 137]
 two neighbor year-PL-3SG-PAST quarrel-3PL-PAST
 'It has been (for) years (that) two neighbors were quarreling.'

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Nevertheless, overt plural marking is often missing with counted referents (see 3.2.10). Examples are:

(x) (a) *sa adamar-i bu-ne-i p'a^f ġar* [Matthew 21:28]
 one man-GEN be-3SG-PAST two son
 ‘A man had two SONS.’

(b) *ič boš-al xib xinär-re arc-i* [GD 62]
 REFL in-FOC three girl-3SG sit=down-PAST
 ‘Three girls sit in it (a room).’

§ 29. Both morphological and semantic evidence suggests that the third person plural clitics represent rather young forms. This is confirmed by the language of the Palimpsest, which still used a (fully inflected) deictic pronoun added to the focus particle **-ni* in enclitic position (Absolutive *-n-Ār*, Ergative *-n-Ān*, Genitive *-n-Āy* etc. [in the Palimpsest, these clitics always are abbreviated]). Whereas the Palimpsest clitics were in accordance with the paradigm of the second person, the younger Udi forms took the place of the focus clitic **-ni* in those contexts that involved plural human (or, more rarely, animate) referents, compare (absolutive forms only):

(x)

	Palimpsest	Udi
2sg	<i>-n-un</i>	<i>-nu</i>
3sg	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-ne ~ -e</i>
2pl	<i>-n-an</i>	<i>-nan</i>
3pl	<i>-n-Ār</i>	<i>-q'un ~ -t'un</i>

In order to approach an alternative explanation of these clitics, we should start with the hypothesis that the plural markers of the S/A domain have an origin different from that of the possessive and indirect objective clitics. It is out of question that the corresponding singular clitics are case marked. In order to illustrate this point, the possessive and IO-clitics of the third person singular are below compared to the case forms of referentialized nouns:

(x)

	Case form	3SG
Genitive	<i>-t'a(i)</i>	<i>-t'a(i) (V.)</i>
Dative	<i>-t'u</i>	<i>-t'u (V.)</i>
Dative2	<i>-t'ux</i>	<i>-t'ux (N.)</i>

§ 30. The Nizh clitic needs further comments: In contemporary Nizh, the case form of the dative2 is rarely used (see 3.3.3.6). If ever it occurs it has a strong locative meaning:

(x)(a) *č'uk'udi-n-en usun ič-u p'ap'-es-e-b-i kalna-x*
 Chukudi-SA-ERG soon REFL-DAT arrive-MASD-3SG-LV-PAST grandmother-DAT2

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‘Chukudi quickly came to (his) grandmother (lit.: Chukudi quickly made himself arrive at (his) grandmother).’ [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]

- (b) *bur-eq-i naq'-e* *ćoy-ex* *bak-al-a*
 begin-3SG- $\$$ -PAST milk-GEN face-DAT2 be-PART:nPAST-ATTR

ć'äyin-a gir-b-sa [Nizh; KAL; OR 124]

fat-DAT collect-PRES

‘It (the child) began to collect the fat that was on the surface of the milk.’

In addition, the dative2 is occasionally used to mark a referent in objective function (see x.x.x):

- (x) *sunsun-ax* *šahat'-yan* *ćal-x-sa* [Nizh; XOZ; OR 52]
 each=other-DAT2 nice-1PL know-LV-PRES
 ‘We know each other well.’

Nevertheless, the actual frequency of dative2 marked nouns is much too low to account for the clitic *-t'ux*. The disproportion of the Nizh paradigm becomes even more apparent if we relate the set of POSS/IO-clitics to the corresponding pronominal forms. In order to illustrate this point, (x) gives the frequency of dative(2) marked pronouns in the corpus of contemporary Nizh narratives (Keçaari 2001) in comparison with the corresponding personal clitics:

(x)	Dative		Dative2		Clitic
1SG	<i>za</i>	14	<i>zax(-al)</i>	3 (Foc.)	<i>-zax</i>
2SG	<i>va</i>	10	<i>vax(-al)</i>	3 (2 Foc.)	<i>-vax</i>
3SG (Deixis)	<i>šot'o, mot'o</i>	30	<i>*šot'ux, *mot'ux</i>	0	<i>-t'ux</i>
1PL	<i>ya</i>	0	<i>yax</i>	3	<i>-yax</i>
2PL	<i>vă^f</i>	0	<i>vă^fx</i>	4	<i>-vă^fx</i>
3PL (Deixis)	<i>šot'oğō, mot'oğō</i>	10	<i>*šot'oğōx, mot'oğōx</i>	0	<i>-t'u^fx</i>

Although the data are statistically not sufficient to draw a final picture, it comes clear that only those personal clitics that mark plural speech act participants are immediate echoes of the corresponding dative forms of the pronouns. As for the singular pronouns *za(x)* and *va(x)* we have to recall the fact that the segment *-x* tends to be reanalysed as a plural suffix (\approx plural suffix *-ux*) which explains the actual distribution of the pronouns (see 3.3.6 for details). As for the third person, it is important to note that the dative2 is practically inexistent in Nizh. The same holds for the corresponding form of referentialized nouns. In the Nizh corpus, there are no examples of forms that would parallel Vartashen *met'ux* (PROX), *kat'ux* (MED), and *šet'ux* (DIST). The corpus of Nizh phrases given by Pančviže 1974 only gives two examples. They clearly stem from Upper Nizh:

- (x) (a) *ka-t'-a* *qi-o-t'ux* *bot'-i* *tov-d-a-yan*

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MED-REF:OBL-GEN half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2 cut-PAST sell-LV-MOD-1PL

öžūra k'ož bu-va-q'-sa ser-b-a! [PA 116]

what=kind=of house want-2SG:IO-\$-PRES build-LV-IMP:2SG

‘If we sell the half of it (what we have) pulled down – build the kind of house you want (lit.: which kind of house you want build (it))!’

(b) *ama t'e qio-t'-ai-al*

but DIST half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-GEN-FOC

qio-t'-ux za tad-a [PA 117]

half-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2 I:DAT give-IMP:2SG

‘But give me the half of that half!’

§ 31. Accordingly, we cannot relate the Nizh clitic *-t'ux* to the dative2 from a synchronic point of view. Rather, we have to assume that it reflects an earlier stage of the dialect, when the dative2 has a broader distribution (see 3.3.3.6). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the POSS/IO-clitics do not echo the case form of the cross-referenced possessor (see 4.5.3.2). With third person possessors, Nizh always used the genitive(2). Examples are:

(x) (a) *šo-t'-ay sa bin bin-e-al*

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 one daughter=in=law daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC

bip' äyel-t'ux bu-y [Nizh; XAX; OR 125]

four child-3SG:POSS be-PAST

‘She had a daughter-in-law (and) the daughter-in-law had four children.’

(b) *ko-t'-ay maral-a zer-d-al-a sa čuhux-t'ux bu*

MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 deer-DAT mirror-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR one wife-3SG:POSS be

‘He has a wife (beautiful) as a deer.’ [Nizh; UKS; OR 135]

(c) *sun-t'-ay käsib c'ila sa xä^š-t'ux bu-y* [Nizh; FAQ; OR 129]

one:REF-REF:OBL-GEN2 poor named one dog-3SG:POSS be-PAST

‘Someone called ‘Poor’ had a dog.’

(d) *šo-t'-ay-al boxoy mü^šq'ä^š-lä sa keči-t'ux bu-y*

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2-FOC long horn-ADJ one goat-3SG:POSS be-PAST

‘He had a goat with long horn(s).’ [Nizh; BRI; OR 125]

With possessors that represent speech act participants, overt pronominalization is normally avoided:

(x) (a) *sa kamasi ayit te-zax bu* [Nizh; XIZ; OR 52]

one negative word NEG-1SG be

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‘I cannot say a bad word (lit.: I do not have a negative word).’

(b) *baćan-axun äš te-vax bu* [Nizh; MUSH; OR 132]

back-COM thing NEG-2SG be

‘Don’t take care for the rest (lit.: You have not a thing with (my) back)!’

(c) *äyl-ux-yax bu* [Nizh; KACH; OR 49]

child-PL-1PL be

‘We have children.’

§ 32. In addition, the use of the POSS/IO-clitics to encode demoted agents (see 3.4.5.2 and x.x.x) does not evince an echo technique: Here, overt agents are usually in the absolutive (SAP only):

(x) *čur-uz-sa hun sa äči-n hava far-k'-a-vax*

want-1SG-PRES you:SG one dance-GEN melody play-LV-MOD-2SG:IO

zu-al äči-k'-a-zax [Nizh; ARU 127]

I-FOC dance-LV-MOD-1SG:IO

‘I wish that you would play a dance tune and that I would dance.’

§ 33. In sum, it comes clear that if ever the IO-clitic *-t'ux* (3SG) is marked for the dative2, the motivation of using this case form must have been ‘local’. This fact suggests that the clitic once had strong referential properties that allowed case inflection. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the ‘oblique’ singular clitics reflect an older paradigm based on the segment **t'e-*. As has been said above, it is difficult, however, to fully account for this alleged paradigm: The assumed case forms stand in apparent opposition to the actual residues of the inflected deixis *t'e* (see 3.3.7.2):

(x)	Deixis (DIST)	Clitic (3SG)
Ergative	<i>*t'e-n</i>	<i>-t'en</i> (Old Udi)
Genitive	<i>t'e-un</i>	<i>-t'ai</i> (V.)
Dative	<i>t'i-a</i>	<i>-t'u</i> (V.)
Dative2	<i>t'i-ax</i>	<i>-t'ux</i> (N.)

Hence, the clitics at issue must reflect a different paradigmatical pattern of the distal **t'e* that is related to the oblique inflection of referentialized forms (see 3.3.10). Nevertheless, it is difficult to exactly describe the corresponding grammaticalization process: The fact that the Nizh clitic *-t'ux* does not echo the case form of the cross-referentialized econstituent renders it unlikely that the clitics stem from shortened pronominal echoes:

(x) **šo-t'-ay sa čur-šo-t'-ay bu*
 DIST:REF:OBL-GEN2 one cow-DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 be

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‘(S)he has a cow.’

§ 34. In order to characterize the ‘local’ function of the clitics in question, it is important to note that in Vartashen possessive constructions, the ‘long’ forms based on the genitive2 are normally used when following the copula *bu* (or, more rarely, its suppletive stem *bak-* ‘become’). Else, the ‘short’ forms are generally preferred. This preference is also illustrated by statistical data (Vartashen corpus):

(x)	Clitic = ‘Simple Genitive’		Clitic = Genitive2	
1SG	-bez	20	-bezi	1
2SG	-vi	16	---	---
3SG	-t’a	33	-t’ai	74
1PL	-beš	5	beši	---
2PL	-e ^ʃ f	11	-e ^ʃ fi	2
3PL	-q’o	17	-q’oi	25

This distribution corresponds the basic focal functions of the clitic: Verbal (or: sentence) focus (-t’ai) vs. constituent focus (-t’a). Note that in Vartashen, possessive constructions are marked for doubled focus: The presence of the agreement marker -t’a(i) selects the possessor focus, whereas the two variants of -t’a(i) add focal information on either other constituents or the proposition as such. Examples are (Possessor focus is underlined, sentence/constituent focus is given in capital letters):

- (x) (a) *ši-te bu-t’ai torag* [Luke 22:36]
 who:POSS-SUB be-3SG:POSS purse
 ‘Who(ever) HAS a purse...’
- (b) *sa k’ož-bez bu ie ćomox te-t’a bu ie u^ǰ ie oq’* [Riddle]
 one house-1SG:POSS be or door NEG-3SG:POSS be or roof or floor
 ‘I have a HOUSE – It does NOT have a door, a roof, (and) a floor.’
- (c) *ägänä sun-t’-ai e^ʃfaxo bak-ai-t’ai ioldaš*
 if one:REF-REF:OBL-GEN2 EMPH:you:PL:ABL be-CONJ-3SG:POSS friend
 ‘If one of you HAS a friend ...’ [Luke 11:5]
- (d) *k’ua nana-i sa box-ec-i dadal-t’a bak-sa*
 house:DAT mother-GEN2 one boil-LV:PASS:PAST-PART:PAST rooster-3SG:POSS be-PRES
 ‘At home, the mother has a boiled ROOSTER.’ [R 8]
- (e) *me pasč’ağ-un sa haq’ullu q’oža maslahatči-t’a bu-i* [IK 67]
 PROX king-GEN one clever old adviser-3SG:POSS be-PAST
 ‘This king had a clever, old ADVISER.’
- (f) *sa adamar bu-ne-i dövlätt’u va^ʃ bu-t’ai güdmišbal* [Luke 16:1]
 one man be-3SG-PAST rich and be-3SG:POSS supervisor
 ‘There WAS a rich man [and] he HAS a manager (who)’

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These structures are in opposition to clauses with verbal (or: sentence) focus:

(x) (a) *sa käsib-un xib xinär-re bu-i* [S&S 88]

one poor-GEN three girl-3SG be-PAST
 ‘A poor (man) had three DAUGHTERS.’

(b) *vi bu-ne pasč’agľugč* [Matthew 6:13]

you:SG:POSS be-3SG kingdom
 ‘You HAVE the kingdom.’

(c) *vi bu-ne-i qo is va^f šo-no-al*

you:SG:POSS be-3SG-PAST five husband and DIST-REF:ABS-FOC

ma-no-te isa bu-vi venk’ išu te-ne [John 4:18]

REL-REF:ABS-SUB now be-2SG:POSS you:SG:BEN husband NEG-3SG

‘You HAVE HAD five husbands and that one whom you HAVE now is NOT a husband for you.’

§ 35. We can assume that the pattern of possessee focus as illustrated in (X) reflects the original function of the third person singular clitic *-ne* < **-ni* (see above). Accordingly, possessor focus had been secondarily introduced on the basis of the ‘referential’ form *-t’ai* ‘what is his/her’. Therefore sentences like (x) represent the prototypical constructional pattern:

(x) (a) *vi viče-i bu-t’ai vaxol sa äš* [Matthew 5:23]

you:SG:POSS brother-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS you:SG:COM one thing

‘Your brother HAS got something against you (lit.: Your brother has a thing with you).’

(b) *t’oišan-un bu-t’ai boxo imx-ox q’a gödäk o^šžil* [ST § 14]

hare-GEN be-3SG:POSS long ear-PL and short tail

‘The hare HAS long ears and a short tail.’

Most importantly, the possessor NP always precedes the copula in *-t’ai*-construction, in case the possessor NP is lexically overt. As far as data go, only adverbial structures can intervene.

(x) *t’e-tär-al e^fi isa bu-ef dörd* [John 16:22]

DIST-ADV-FOC you:PL:POSS now be-2PL:POSS pain

‘Thus, you now have pain.’

Note that the possessee necessarily follows the copula marked by the possessor clitic. This fact allows to reconstruct the basic pattern of *-t’ai*-possession:

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(x) NP:GEN *bu* | **t'ai* NP

Accordingly, the possessor is clefted but usually keeps its possessor marking. Nevertheless, certain (admittedly few) examples illustrate that the focus constituent not necessarily appears in the genitive:

(x) (a) *adamar-i ġar-a bu-t'ai ixt'iar o'cal-al* [Matthew 9:6]

man-GEN son-DAT be-3SG:POSS power earth-SUPER

'The Son of Men has power on earth.'

(b) *isa ögmiš-b-a zax un baba vast'a bu vi*

now glorify-LV-IMP:2SG I:DAT2 you:SG father you:SG:ADESS be you:SG:POSS

šükür-en ma-t'-ux-te zu bu-bezi vi t'o'ğöl

glory-ERG>INSTR REL-REF:OBL-DAT2-SUB I be-1SG:POSS you:POSS at

dünia iaratmiš-b-ama [John 17:5]

world create-LV-CV:UNTIL

'Now praise me, father, with your glory that is with you (and) that I had with you before the creation of the world.'

§ 36. In the 'dependent' clause, the referential form **t'ai* (DIST:GEN) resumes the possessor and links it to the possessee in terms of a copula-free clause. Obviously, the focus cleft that pragmatically marks the possessor conditions that the clause internal focus marker *-*ni* is deleted. The unclefted version of (x) has been:

(x) NP:GEN NP- **ni*

Hence, the clefted version can be simulated as follows:

(x) (a) [*vi viče-i bu*]_{FOC} [**t'ai vaxol sa äš*]

you:SG:POSS brother-GEN2 be *DIST:POSS you:SG:COM one thing

'There is your brother's – HIS [is] with you a thing.' [Matthew 5:23]

(b) [*t'oišan-un bu*]_{FOC} [**t'ai boxo imx-ox q'a gödäk o'žil*] [ST § 14]

hare-GEN be *DIST:POSS long ear-PL and short tail

'There is the hare's – ITS [are] long ears and a short tail.'

The unclefted version resulted in possessee focus: Here, the standard focus clitic *-*ni* is added to the possessee or to the existential copula *bu*:

(x) (a) *sa käsib-un xib xinär-re bu-i* [S&S 88]

one poor-GEN three girl-3SG be-PAST

*'A poor's were (lit.: was) three DAUGHTER(s).'

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- (b) *sa adamar-i bu-ne-i p'a^ʃ ġar* [Matthew 21:28]
 one man-GEN be-3SG-PAST two boy
 *‘A man’s WERE (lit.: WAS) two boy(s).’

§ 37. In a second step, the focal variance of such structures has been transferred to the *t'ai*-construction: Here, the two clauses fused to a single clause. As a result, the original referential pronoun **t'ai* became cliticized to the copula *bu* (mirroring referentialized verb forms). The resulting opposition **bu-ni* vs. *bu-t'ai* was then extended to constituent focus:

(x)

	Verb	Constituent
Pum-Focus	<i>bu-*ni</i>	<i>X-*ni bu</i>
Por-Focus	<i>bu-t'ai</i>	<i>X-t'a(i) bu</i>

It is, however, not quite clear why the possessive clitic *-t'ai* lost its final element *-i* with constituent focus. Perhaps, this element had been reanalyzed as a past tense marker that was then transferred to the copula just as it has become the standard with the copula construction marked by the clitic *-ne*:

- (x) *me čubġoi p'a^ʃ a^ʃyel-le bu-i* [f.n.]
 PROX woman-GEN2 two child-3SG be-past
 ‘This woman had two children.’
- *[?]*me čubġ-oi p'a^ʃ a^ʃyel-le-i bu*
 PROX woman-GEN2 two children-3SG-PAST be

In older texts, the past tense morpheme *-i* (see 3.4.4.2) is occasionally added to personal clitics in non-copula clauses:

- (x) *bez baba-n q'eiri ga-n-u-ne-i iaq'-a-b-e* [CO § 2]
 I:POSS father-ERG other place-SA-DAT-3SG-PAST way-DAT-LV-PERF
 ‘My father has sent me to another place.’

In contemporary Udi, however, piggybacking of the past tense ‘clitic’ rarely takes place with finite (non-copula) verbs. Hence, there are good arguments that support the assumption of reanalysis. Most likely, this process has been strengthened by the use of the ‘simple’ genitive in NP-internal possession in Vartashen (see 3.3.3.5).

§ 38. In sum, the Vartashen paradigms of possessive constructions seem to confirm the former existence of a referential marker **t'ai* that was used in cleft structures to focus the possessor. The Nizh variant *-t'ux* (3SG:POSS/IO) probably had the same functional origin. However recall, that in Nizh, the clefted possessor is not echoed by the case form that marks the clefted constituent (see 3.4.5.2 above). Instead, a more ‘locative’ construction emerged:

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- (x) *šo-t'-ay sa čur-t'ux bu*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN one cow-3SG:POSS be
 ‘(S)he has a COW.’

§ 39. In Lower Nizh, possessor focus is always accompanied by clause internal constituent focus. Hence, forms like *bu-bez*, *bu-vi* or *bu-t'ux* are generally avoided: In Upper Nizh that is marked for a transitory dialect (see 1.x), verbal focus is sometimes heard. In this variant of Udi, too, the structure *bu-CL:POSS* is always followed by the possessee. Example are:

- (x) (a) *zäkärä-i bu-t'ux-i sa čuwux iz c'i ietär* [PA 143]
 Zacharias-GEN be-3SG:POSS-PAST one wife REFL name Ether
 ‘Zacharias had a wife whose name was Ether.’

- (b) *šo-t'-ay bu-t'ux-i k'oya sa araba* [PA 192]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN be-3SG:POSS-PAST house:DAT one chariot
 ‘At home, (s)he had a chariot.’

- (c) *bez t'e-vaxt bu-zax-i sa viči* [PA 192]
 I:POSS DIST-time be-1SG:POSS one brother
 ‘By that time, I had a brother.’

- (d) ***bez t'e-vaxt sa viči bu-zax-i*
 I:POSS DIST-time one brother be-1SG:POSS

Most likely, the Upper Nizh type illustrated in (x) represents the older pattern that comes close to the Vartashen type of possessor cleft:

- (x) (x) NP:GEN *bu* | **t'ux* NP

A simulation of this pattern would be:

- (x) [*šo-t'-ay bu*] [**t'ux-i k'oya sa araba*] [PA 192]
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN be DIST:DAT2-PAST house:DAT one chariot
 *‘There is his/hers – at him/her was at home a chariot.’

§ 40. Probably, Vartashen Udi, too, once knew a dative based possessive construction. This assumption is based on the following observations: First, the ‘potential’ construction makes use of the dative clitics (see 3.4.4.6). The ‘potential’ mood, however, is closely related to possessive semantics, compare:

- (x) (a) *ba-vi-k-o dövlät gög-il* [Mark 10:41]
 be-2SG:POSS- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD riches heaven-SUPER
 ‘You will have riches in heaven.’

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- (b) *ba-va-k-o zax tämiz-b-es* [Luke 5:12]
 be-2SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD I:DAT2 pure-LV-MASD
 ‘You will be able to make me pure.’

In Udi, the ‘potential’ mood expresses the assumption that someone ‘has’ the possibility, option, or capability to do something. Hence, (x,b) can be interpreted as follows:

- (x) ‘In/to you is (> you have) (in your region) making me pure.’

The term ‘region’ is used here to denote the cognitive domain of an individual. The pair in (x) above suggests that Udi once knew different ‘grades’ of possession.

§ 41. Second: It is not quite clear whether the opposition genitive vs. dative can be related to a categorial distinction like ‘alienability/inalienability’ which – in Udi – is not expressed in terms of a fixed morphological pattern (see **x.x.x**). Nevertheless, we can observe a certain degree of variation within the possessive paradigm: The adessive is occasionally used to indicate the possessor in alienable possessive constructions:

- (x) (a) *beğ-a te e-tär mat-man-d-al-a*
 see-IMP:2SG SUB what-ADV wonder-STAY-LV-PART:nPAST-ATTR

aš-ur-a bu zast’a [IM 62]
 thing-PL-3SG:Q be I:ADESS
 ‘Look what amazing THINGS I have (lit.: how amazing things are at me).’

- (b) *bu-ne-i šo-t’-ğ-ost’a sa k’ic’i čäli* [Mark 8:7]
 be-3SG-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ADESS one small fish
 ‘They HAD (with them) a small fish.’

- (c) *te-q’o bu šo-t’-ğ-ost’a ef-al ga* [Luke 12:24]
 NEG-3PL:POSS be DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ADESS keep-PART:nPAST place
 ‘They do NOT have a storehouse.’

- (d) *iast’a qo šum-axo va^š p’a^š čäli-n-axo žok’ te-ne bu* [Luke 9:13]
 we:ADESS five bread-ABL and two fish-SA-ABL separate NEG-3SG be
 ‘We have NOthing but five pieces of bread and two fishes.’

- (e) *čütčüt tängä zast’a-ne* [f.n.]
 a=little=bit money I:ADESS-3SG
 ‘I have a little bit of MONEY (with me).’

If we take into account the fact that the overt possessor is incidentally marked by the dative, too (see example (x) above), we can assume that Udi once knew several

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possibilities to encode the possessor. Therefore, it is rather likely that the use of ‘dative’ clitics to mark a demoted agent with *verba sentiendi* reflects the metaphorization of a locative-possessive strategy based on the dative. (x,b) simulates the pattern and parallels it to the potential mood (x,a) and a reconstructed dative-based possessive construction (x,c):

- (x) (a) *za cam-p-es ba-za-k-sa* [f.n.]
 I:DAT write-LV-MASD be-1SG:IO-\$-PRES
 ‘I can write.’ < *‘I have writing (at my disposal).’
- (b) *za sa k'ož a-za-k'-sa* [f.n.]
 I a house see-1SG:IO-\$-PRES
 ‘I see a house.’ < *‘I have a house in sight (or: that shows up).’
- (c) **za sa k'ož-ni bu*
 I:DAT one house-FOC be
 ‘I have a house.’

Note that the translation ‘have’ is given for illustrative purposes only. Hence, the example (x,b) is derived from the following structure:

- (x) *‘In/to me (*za*) (> I have) a house (*sa k'ož*) showing up (*ak'sa*)’

§ 42. Accordingly, we have to deal with an ‘object-oriented’ metaphorization process that affects the locative source domain: In Vartashen, the ablative-based clitic *-t'ai* (see 3.3.11.2) develops to a (referential) possessor marker just as it is true for weak nouns (see 3.3.2.3). The original ‘inessive’ (**a*), however, was on the one hand metaphorized to an (alienable?) possessive marker. On the other hand, it was further grammaticalized as an IO-marker used in ‘potential’ constructions and for the demotion of the agentive function. At a later stage, the ‘possessive’ function of the ‘dative’ has been lost in Vartashen. In Nizh, however, the ablative metaphorized to a possessor marker only in NP-internal possession. In verbal possession, the dative-based construction was generalized and used both in possessive constructions and for the ‘potential’ mood. Again at a later stage, the potential became aligned to the standard S/A-pattern, whereas the dative-based construction specialized for demotion and possession. Finally, the external possessor in ‘have’-constructions adopted the case of NP-internal possession (> genitive) whereas the clitics remained dative. As has been said above, it is rather likely that contrary to true possessive constructions based on the genitive, dative-based constructions did not emerge from clefted sentences. Instead, we should refer to the ‘local’ focus function of the standard **-ni*-clitic in order to explain the use of IO-clitics: Accordingly, IO-constructions had first been marked by the dative of overt referents:

- (x) (a) **šo-t'-u sa k'ož-*ni ak'-sa*
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT one house-FOC see-PRES

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‘(S)he saw a HOUSE.’ < *’In/to him/her a house is seeable.’

(b) *šo-t'-u sa k'ož ak'-sa-*ni

DIST-REF:OBL-DAT one house see-PRES-FOC

‘(S)he saw a HOUSE.’ < *’In/to him/her a house is seeable.’

§ 43. The structural analogy of such constructional patterns with clefted possessive constructions (see above) conditioned that the – by that time ‘free’ – dative deixis *t'u(x) could replace the clitic *-ni (see Harris 1984 for a different view). To summarize this point, (x) describes the basic processes for both Vartashen and Nizh:

(x)

		Vartashen		Early Udi	Nizh	
-t'ai	{	POSS	POSS ₁	*ABL	} POSS/IO	} -t'ux
-t'u	{	IO	IO / POSS ₂	*INESS		

Again in analogy with possessive strategies, this process was then extended to speech act participants.

§ 44. As has been said above, the only problematic form is the third person plural: Most importantly, we have to start with two different forms: In Nizh, the clitic is based on the ‘stem’ t'- (> S/A -t'un), whereas Vartashen has q' (S/A > -q'un). In §§ 26-27, it has been shown that the traditional proposal to derive both forms from an Early Udi plural *t'(u)ğon (ergative) raises more questions than it can solve: Although the discussion above has illustrated that Udi must once have known a ‘free’ deictic stem *t'V- in referential function (ablative>genitive *t'ai, inessive >dative *t'u(x)), it is difficult to demonstrate that this deixis could be marked by the nominal (!) plural -ux (see 3.2.5). The fact that referentialized forms are also marked for this plural in the oblique case forms (see 3.3.10), cannot serve as an argument: In section 3.3.7 § 10, it has been argued that historically, the oblique plural of referential forms is a younger innovation:

(x)

	Old Udi		Udi	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ABS	-o	-Ar	-o	-o-r
OBL	-o-	-A-	-t'-	-t'-ğ-

§ 45. Accordingly, the plural oblique stem augment -t'-ğ- is a later formation that has developed in analogy with the ‘weak’ nominal paradigm (see 3.3.2.2). In addition, referentialized forms do not allow to reconstruct an absolutive plural **t'ux that would have laid the basis for the oblique forms. As an alternative, one could assume that the oblique plural of the deixis *t'V (> *t'(u)ğ-) has been suppletive just as it is true for referentialized forms (see again (x)). However, there are no traces of the expected absolutive *t'V-r. If we add the phonetic and functional problems referred to in §§ 26-27 above, it becomes unlikely that the two plural agreement clitics -q'un and -t'un are derived from the plural of the reconstructed referential deixis *t'V ~ *t'i.

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§ 46. In order to arrive at a different proposal, it is important to recall that in Nizh, the oblique plural *-t'u^fx* represents an extension of the opposition *va ~ va^f* (second person) to the third person (see § 7 above). Hence, it cannot serve as an argument to reconstruct the origins of the plural clitics. Most probably, the Nizh paradigm has preserved the Early Udi paradigm better than Vartashen. In Vartashen, the two oblique forms *-q'o(i)* (POSS) and *-q'o* (IO) are secondarily derived in analogy with both the corresponding singular clitics and the nominal oblique plural (see below).

§ 47. The fact that the two variants *-q'un* and *-t'un* behave like the third personal singular clitic *-ne* (subjective/agentive) suggests that these have common origin. If the assumption is correct that the clitic *-ne* is derived from the focus clitic **-ni* (see above), it is likely that the same holds for the plural clitics. Accordingly, both forms would be have been marked for **-ni* added to the segments **q'u-* and **t'u-*. From a formal point of view, the reduction of **-ni* to *-n* is paralleled by the adhortative (**q'a-ni > q'a-n*) and the hypothetical (**gi-ni > gi-n*), see 3.4.5.2. Accordingly, we should assume that the segments **q'u-* and **t'u-* allowed piggybacking just as it true for *q'a-* (ADH) and *gi-* (HYP). Note that there are several examples in the Gospels that are marked for a third person plural *q'u-* instead of *-q'un*:

- (x) (a) *šo-t'-ǰ-on-al* *be^f-q'u-ǰ-esa-i* *še-t'-a* *qošt'an* [Luke 14:1]
DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-FOC see-3PL- $\text{\$}$ -PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-GEN behind
 ‘They gazed after him.’
- (b) *va^f ma-no-te^{sic!}* *laf-q'u-d-esai* *šo-t'-ul* *šel-q'un-bak-sa-i*
and REL-REF:ABS-SUB touch-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-SUPER well-3PL-be-PRES-PAST
 ‘And who(ever) touched him, was (lit.: were) healed.’ [Mark 6:56]
- (c) *va^f žuǰab-q'u-tad-i* *te-ia* *aba* *ma-ll-a* [Luke 20:7]
and answer-3PL-give-PAST NEG-1PL:IO knowing where-ABL-3SG:Q
 ‘And they answered: We do not know where it is from.’

Nevertheless, it has to be said that the examples are rather doubtful. In contemporary Udi, the third person plural clitic always is *-q'un*, never *q'u-*. In addition, we cannot exclude that the examples in (x) are marked for a typographical error. Still, we cannot exclude that Vartashen Udi once used the segment *-q'u* as a variant of *-q'un*.

§ 48. Disregarding the question whether there are actual traces of the variant *-q'u*, it is likely that this segment once expressed ‘plurality of human beings’. The underlying paradigm can be simulated as follows:

- (x) (a) *adamar ar-i- \emptyset -*ni*
person come.PAST-PAST-SG-FOC
 ‘The person came.’

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(b) *adamar-ux ar-i-*q'u-*ni*
 person-PL come:PAST-PAST-PL-FOC
 'The people came.'

(x) (a) *adamar-en k'ož ser-b-i-Ø-*ni*
 person-PL-ERG house build-LV-PAST-SG-FOC
 'The person built a house.'

(b) *adamar-ğ-on k'ož ser-b-i-*q'u-*ni*
 person-PL-ERG house build-LV-PAST-PL-FOC
 'The people built a house.'

This analysis suggests that **-q'u* itself did not have referential properties. Rather, it expressed the presence of a group of (non necessarily agentive) referents that are involved in the state/event. This function relates the segment to the (collective) plural marker **-q'u* that is preserved in the plural *čubq'ox* 'women' (see 3.2.5). This form most probably stems from **čub-q'u-ox* (woman-COLL-PL). It represents a variant of the standard form *čub-ux* (PL *čub-ğ-ox*) in Vartashen and *čuhux* > PL *ču(h)-ğ-ox* in Nizh. The original plural meaning of *čub-q'o-* is for instance documented in:

(x) (a) *e-tär-te p-i-q'un čub-q'o-n* [Luke 24:24]
 what-ADV-SUB say-PAST-3PL woman-COLL-ERG
 'As the women said...'

(b) *čub-q'o-n bix-i-t'-ğ-oxo*
 woman-COLL-ERG give=birth-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL

te-ne bak-e abuz Ioan xaš-t'-al-axo [Matthew 11:11]
 NEG-3SG be-PERF more John baptize-LV-PART:nPAST-ABL
 'Nobody born by women is more than John the Baptist.'

(c) *ma-t'-ğ-on-te u-q'un-k-esa čub-q'o k'ož-urğ-ox* [Luke 20:47]
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB eat-3PL-§-PRES woman-COLL:GEN house-PL-DAT2
 '... who devour (lit.: eat) the houses of the women.'

It should be noted, however, that the collective marker **-q'u* is documented only in the term *čubq'o(x)* 'women' (but also present in the language of the Palimpsest). In addition, the sequence *q'u* is extremely rare in Udi. As far as data go, it occurs only in loans or in case a stem final *-q'* is followed by an *u*-initial morpheme, cf. *iaq'ur* (*iaq'-ur*) 'ways' etc. Hence, it is rather likely that the shape of the sequence **-q'u* is of secondary origin.

§ 49. From a functional point of view, the segmentation *-q'un* < **-q'u-ni* is not without problems. The analysis suggests that **-q'u* has semantic rather than cross-referencing properties. Nevertheless, it is not very probable that the element once

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functioned as a plural suffix. In this case, plurality would have been ‘local’. For instance, in the following sentence, **-q’u* would have pluralized the referent on objective function:

- (x) *adamar-ǧ-on k’oǰ-*q’u-*ni ser-b-sa*
 person-PL-ERG house-COLL-FOC build-LV-PRES
 ?‘The people build houses.’

However, the sentence in (x) actually means ‘the people build a house’. In addition, this analysis would go against the observation that *-q’un* cross-references human (or animate) referents only. Accordingly, it is more probable that **-q’u* functioned as a clitic. If this is true, the ‘clitic **-q’u* must reflect a stage of Vartashern Udi when focus marking still was optional:

(x)

	No Focus	Focus
3SG	<i>*-∅</i>	<i>*-∅-ni</i>
3PL	<i>*-q’u</i>	<i>*-q’u-ni</i>

This paradigm can be simulated with the help of the following sentences:

- (x) (a) *adamar-en k’oǰ ser-b-i* [3SG, no focus]
 person-ERG house build-LV-PAST
 ‘The person built a house.’
- (b) *adamar-ǧ-on k’oǰ-*q’u ser-b-i* [3PL, no focus]
 person-PL-ERG house-COLL build-LV-PAST
 ‘The people built a house.’
- (c) *adamar-en k’oǰ-*ni ser-b-i* [3SG, focus]
 person-ERG house-FOC build-LV-PAST
 ‘The person built a HOUSE.’
- (d) *adamar-ǧ-on k’oǰ-*q’u-*ni ser-b-i* [3PL, focus]
 person-PL-ERG house-COLL-FOC build-LV-PAST
 ‘The people built a HOUSE.’

§ 50. Just as it was true for the focus clitic **-ni*, the piggybacking cluster **-q’u-ni* later became the default with plural referents in subjective/agentive function. In Nizh, the same process seem to have happened. Here, the clitic used to mark a clause for plurality must have been **-t’u* instead of **-q’u* in Vartashen. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that the two clitics had a different origin, it is more likely that they reflect two variants of a single morpheme: Although we cannot safely describe a sound change **t’ > q’-* for Vartashen or *q’- > t’-* for Nizh, it seems possible to relate the two clitics by postulating a proto-form **-λ’u*: The lateral affricate would have had

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a more dental pronunciation in Nizh (> -t'-), and a more velar/uvular pronunciation in Vartashen (> -q'-).

§ 51. Above, it has been claimed that the oblique variants of Vartashen *-q'un* represent perhaps younger forms that developed in analogy with the corresponding singular forms. This analogy is conditioned by the overall dominance of third person singular referents as it is documented for instance in the Vartashen corpus:

(x)		Narratives (Vartashen)		Whole Corpus (Vartashen)	
	3SG S/A	890	84.76 %	8004	76.68 %
	3PL S/A	160	15.24 %	2433	23.32 %

Accordingly, the variant *-q'o(i)* developed from the original (non-focusing) plural clitic **-q'u* by adding the genitive plural *-o(i)*: **q'u-o(i)* > *-q'o(i)*. The fact that the focus clitic **-ni* was restricted to subjective/agentive referents conditioned that it did not occur with the oblique clitics. The resulting clitic became used just as its singular variant *-t'a(i)*, see above. Examples are:

(x) (a) *śul-urğ-oi bu-q'oi kur* [Matthew 8:20]

fox-PL-GEN2 be-3PL:POSS hole

'The FOXes have their hole(s).'

(b) *ek'al te-q'o bu ek'a uk-a-q'un-i* [Mark 8:1]

anything NEG-3PL:POSS be what eat-MOD-PL-PAST

'They had NOthing which they could eat.'

(c) *šo-t'-ğ-oi bu-ne moisei va^f pexambar-ux* [Luke 16:29]

DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG Moses and prophet-PL

'They HAVE Moses and the prophets.'

§ 52. The same process applied to the emergence of the plural IO-clitic *-q'o*: Here, the (reanalyzed) dative plural morpheme *-o* has been added to the clitic **-q'u* (**-q'u-o* > *-q'o*):

(x) (a) *sunsun-a bap'-es te-q'o bak-sa* [Riddle]

each=other-DAT arrive-MASD NEG-3PL:IO be-PRES

'They cannot come together.'

(b) *tängä bu-q'oi ma-t'-uğ-ox ba-q'o-k-sa-i*

money be-3PL:POSS REL-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 be-3PL:IO-\$-PRES-PAST

or *bu-q'o-q'-sa-i xarž-b-a-q'un-i* [SI 72]

which want-3PL:IO-\$-PRES-PAST spend-LV-MOD-3PL-PAST

'They had money which they could – if they wanted – spend.'

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- (c) *šo-t'-ǰ-o* *ak'-al-q'o* *bixogǰ-o* [Matthew 5:8]
 DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT see-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO god-DAT
 'They will see God.'

§ 53. As has been said above, the domain of the third person oblique plural is not fully developed in Nizh. In possessive constructions, either the singular clitic *-t'ux* or its variant *-t'u^{lx}* are used:

- (x) (a) *me ayizlu-ǰ-oy gölö čur-t'ux bu* [Nizh, f.n.]
 PROX villager-PL-GEN much cow-3SG:POSS be
 'These villagers have many cows.'

- (b) *ayz-in amdar-xo-y p'oy-eǰ-al-a aš te-t'u^{lx} bu*
 village-GEN person-PL-GEN enough-LV:PASS:FUT-PART:nPAST-ATTR work NEG-3PL:POSS be
 'The people from the village do not have enough work.' [Nizh, f.n.]

§ 54. In summarizing the analyses presented in the preceding paragraphs, we can safely claim that the Udi paradigms of personal agreement clitics does not have a homogeneous origin. Several layers have ultimately shaped the present paradigms. Originally, sentences only distinguished human plural referents from all other types of referents. This opposition had been marked by the 'collective' clitic **-q'u ~ -t'u* (perhaps < **λ'u*):

(x)

	Singular	Plural
First	*-∅	*-∅
Second	*-∅	*-∅
Third	*-∅	*-q'u ~ -t'u

In a second step, the proto-Lezgian technique of 'local' focus (**-ni*) became the default with all declarative clauses that involved a referent in subjective or agentive function (note that the following processes are reconstructed for the Modern Udi data. The language of the Palimpsest differs from these data especially with respect to the third person plural).

(x)

	Singular	Plural
First	*-ni	*-ni
Second	*-ni	*-ni
Third	*-ni	*-q'u-ni ~ *-t'u-ni -n- <i>Ar</i> etc. (Old Udi)

By that time, the 'verificational' focus marker **-a* could probably be used with all persons. The feature of 'personality' was then gradually introduced with the first person:

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(x)

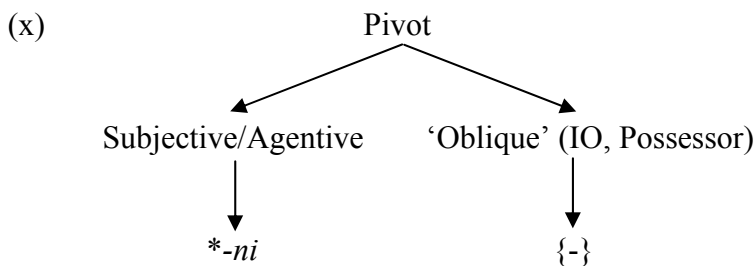
	Singular	Plural
First	*-zu	*-žan
Second	*-ni	*-ni
Third	*-ni	*-q'u-ni ~ *-t'u-ni -n- $\bar{A}r$ etc. (Old Udi)

This 'egocentric' paradigm was later changed to a paradigm that opposed speech act participants from non-speech act participants: The clitic *-ni developed to *-nun due to the 'crossing' of this clitic with the second person singular pronoun *vun. The second person plural underwent the same process (*-ni + va^hn > -nan). Perhaps at the same time, the final vowel of the focus marker *-ni changed to -e (> -ne). The use of this clitic then became confined to the third person singular. The same happened to the 'verificational' clitic -a that developed to the actual Q-clitic. In addition, the final vowel of the third person plural clitic was lost just as it is true for the clitic -ne when added to other piggybacking clitics. As a result, the paradigm took the actual shape:

(x)

	Singular	Plural
First	-zu	-ian
Second	*-ni x vun > -nu(n)	*-n(i) x va ^h n > -nan
Third	*-ni > -ne / -a	-q'u-n ~ -t'u-n

The oblique paradigm most probably emerged at a time when the use of the (originally case-neutral) focus clitic *-ni had become the default in matrix clauses. The fact that it became functionally restricted to referents in subjective/agentive function conditioned a systematic slot in those instances when 'oblique' nouns were used in pivotal function:



This slot induced the development of cleft structures based on the distal *t'V ~ *t'i to mark (focused) possessors or possessor-like referents in pivotal function. As has been shown in § 43 above, this technique was based on the metaphorization of locative strategies (ablative/inessive). With speech act participants, the corresponding possessive pronouns were used as anaphoric elements. But whereas Nizh has generalized the dative-based ('inessive') paradigm, Vartashen is split up the two strategies 'ablative' vs. 'inessive': Here, the ablative-based forms (> genitive) were used to cross-reference possessors, and the inessive-based forms (> dative) developed to IO-clitics. In Nizh, oblique clitics originally did not occur with third person plural referents. In addition, Nizh has preserved (or reestablished?) the use of the standard S/A-clitics with *verba sentiendi* (see § 20).

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The development of ‘oblique’ clitics can be summarized as follows:

(x)

	Vartashen		Nizh
	ABL > POSS	INESS > IO	INESS2 > POSS/IO
1sg	<i>-bez(i)</i>	<i>-za</i>	<i>-zax</i>
2sg	<i>-vi</i>	<i>-va</i>	<i>-vax</i>
3sg	<i>-t'-ai</i>	<i>-t'-u</i>	<i>-t'-ux (~ -t'-ax)</i>
1pl	<i>-beš(i)</i>	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-yax</i>
2pl	<i>-e^šf(i)</i>	<i>-va^š (... -nan)</i>	<i>-vā^šx</i>
3pl	<i>*-q'u-oi > -q'oi</i>	<i>*-q'u-o > -q'o</i>	<i>-t'-u^(š)x (~ -t'-a^(š)x)</i>