The Origins of Personal Agreement Clitics in Caucasian Albanian and Udi

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1. Introduction

Udi, belonging to the Southeast Caucasian (Lezgian) language family (Eastern Samur branch), represents one of the best studied minority languages of this family (see Schulze (in press) for a more comprehensive survey on the history of Udi linguistics). From a typological point of view, Udi has found much interest because of its system of so-called floating agreement markers that is said to be unique among the autochthonous languages of the Eastern Caucasus. In the present paper, dedicated to the jubilee with whom I had the honor to discuss over times issues of Caucasian Albanian and Udi grammar, I want to present some new thoughts on the origins of Udi and Caucasian Albanian patterns of personal agreement. The issue has become a hotspot not only in the linguistics of East Caucasian, but also in general linguistics due to the study by Alice Harris (Harris 2002) that has served as a starting point for several theory-driven proposals to interpret these patterns (e.g. Crysmann 2000, Luís & Spencer 2006). Most of these studies are based on the analyses and hypotheses put forward by Harris (2002) and do not offer new data or new arguments concerning the history and motivation of agreement constructions in Udi. Moreover, Harris' analysis and hypotheses could not yet include data stemming the Mount Sinai palimpsests that contain texts written in Caucasian Albanian (~ 600 AD). Jost Gippert and the author of the present article who had edited these palimpsests in collaboration with Zaza Aleksidze and Jean-Pierre Mahé (Gippert et al. 2009) could show the appropriateness of older claims according to which Udi is (directly) related to Caucasian Albanian (CA). In fact, the CA data shed new light on the question of how the agreement patterns of Udi may have emerged. In my paper, I have to confine myself to telling only 'half of the story'. I will concentrate on morphological morphosemantic issues, addressing the syntactic and pragmatic dimension occasionally only. Moreover, space does not permit to discuss the problem of clitic placement except for mentioning some more general observations related to statistics (see Schulze (forthcoming a) for a detailed presentation).

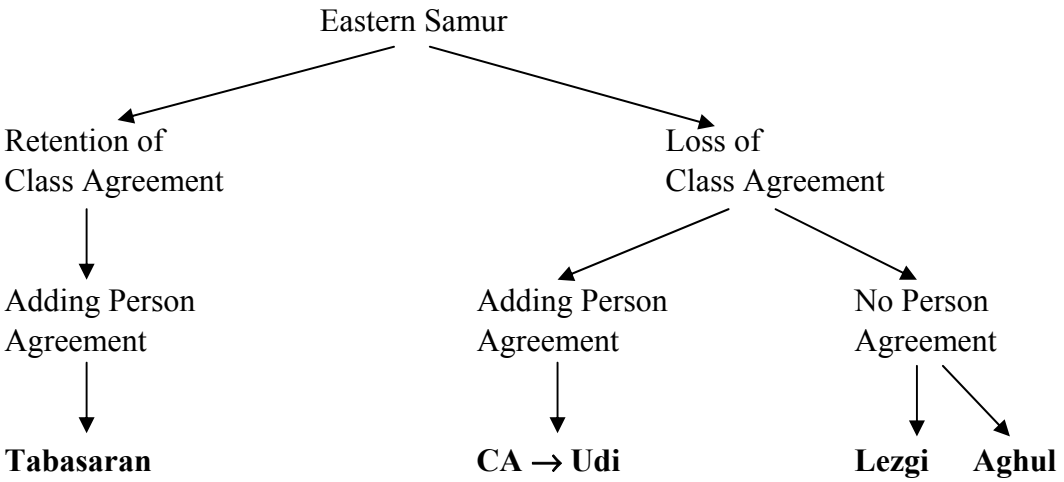
The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I present the 'basics' of Caucasian Albanian and Udi addressing positional and formal issues relevant for the topic of this paper. Section 3 turns to a specific problem of the Udi paradigm, namely the so-called third person singular Q-clitic *-a*. I will argue that *-a* is not the result of grammaticalizing a borrowed particle *ya* 'or', but represents an older pragmatic marker that had once encoded a verificational focus. The history of the general paradigms is discussed in section 4. Here, I combine formal and functional arguments in order to suggest that the agreement clitics do not stem from constructions that involve a focal cleft (Harris 2002), but from strategies of 'local' focus marking.

2. The paradigms

2.1 *The areal setting*

Personal based agreement patterns are relatively rare in East Caucasian (EC) languages. It can be safely assumed that the proto-language (in its last stages) operated through a system of class agreement that coupled the verb phrase with the central actants embedded in ergative relations, that is with the Subjective (S) and the Objective (O)[1]. Hence, patterns of EC person agreement represent a younger development that is sometimes confined to certain members of the Person category. Here, the First Person (singular) is the preferred target: It becomes specifically marked by adding a corresponding morpheme to the verb (often grammaticalized from other sources, see Schulze (in press) for an overview). This holds especially for Tsakhur and (in a more complex relation) for Akhwakh and the Kusur dialect of Awar. Other languages such as Bats, the Dargi languages/dialects, and Lak have developed rather elaborated patterns. All languages mentioned so far, however, have retained (in a more or less explicitly) their system of class agreement that then competes with that of person agreement. Caucasian Albanian and Udi are the only EC languages that show person agreement only. Most likely, their ancestor(s) had lost class agreement together with Early Lezgi/Aghul, the actual descendants of which do not show agreement patterns at all. The following diagram recapitulates the relevant processes. Note that the diagram also reflects the proposal made by Gippert et al. (2009) to link Caucasian Albanian and Udi to the Eastern Samur branch of Lezgian (see Majsak 2010 for a brief evaluation):

[1] Here, I disregard further types of class agreement that involve for instance agreement with the Indirect Objective (IO) or with Speech Act Participant pronouns that play the role of agentives in corresponding split systems.



It is rather probable that both Tabasaran and CA(→Udi) have developed their paradigms of person agreement in contact with other languages: As for Tabasaran, the major donor language seems to have been an earlier variety of one of the southern Dargi languages/dialects. In both dialects of Tabasaran, person agreement clearly stems from the clitization of case marked personal pronouns. Accordingly, personal agreement is only present with Speech Act Participants (the inclusive being fully excluded). The following table summarizes some of the relevant data. Note that Split-S (S_A vs. S_O) is relevant in Southern Tabasaran only:

	PRO	**Agreement Clitics**									
		S			**A**						
		S_A	**S_O**		1Sg	2SG	3SG	1PL:I	1PL:E	2PL	3PL
1SG	*i/uzu*	*-za*	*-zu*			*-wa*	*-za*	---		*-č^{w}a*	*-za*
2SG	*i/uwu*	*-wa*	*-wu*		*-za(-wu)*		*-wa*	---	*ča(-wu)*		*-wa*
3SG	DX	---	---		*-za*	*-wa*		---	*-ča*	*-č^{w}a*	
1PL:I	*i/uǩu*	---	---	O	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
1PL:E	*i/uču*	*-ča*	*-ču*			*-wa*	*-ča*	---		*-č^{w}a*	*-ča*
2PL	*i/uč^{w}u*	*-č^{w}a*	*-č^{w}u*		*-za(-č^{w}u)*		*-č^{w}a*	---	*-ča(-č^{w}u)*		*-č^{w}a*
3PL	DX	---	---		*-za*	*-wa*		---	*-ča*	*-č^{w}a*	

Table 1: *The basic paradigm of personal agreement in Tabasaran dialects*

The table illustrates that the Tabasaran agreement pattern is marked for a complex interplay of grammatical relations and the person hierarchy. In addition, polypersonal agreement is not confined to the standard domain of basic grammatical relations. Rather, it can easily be extended to locatives (as in (1)) and even possessives (as in (2); data are taken from Magometov 1965):

(1) Northern Tabasaran:

a. *izu* *gaf-ar* *iṗ-urdā-z-uki* (< **iṗurdā-za-wuki*)
I-ABS/ERG word-PL make-PRES-1SG-2SG:COM
'I speak to/with you.'

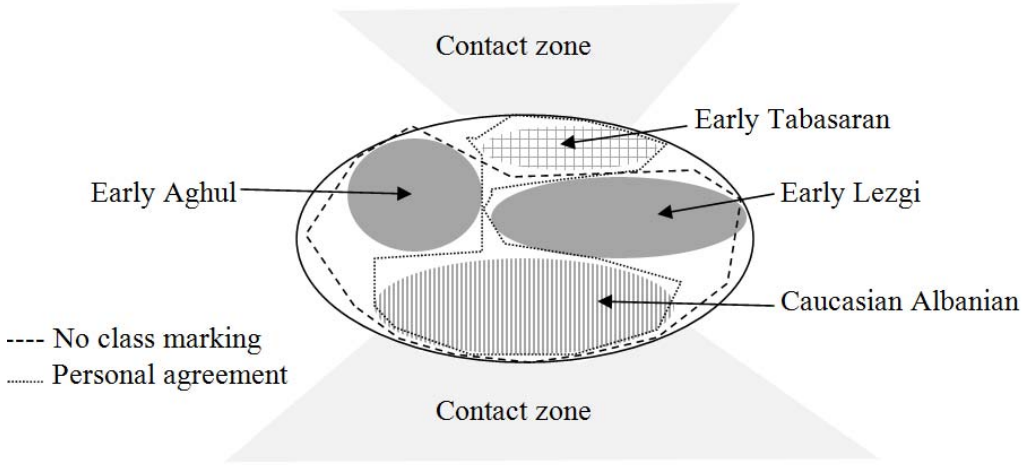
b. *kurçl-i* *milʒ-i* *kāt-un-Ø-zukan*
small=dog-ERG tongue-INSTR touch-PAST-3SG-1SG:SUPER:ESS
'The puppy dog licked me.'

(2) Northern Tabasaran:

a. *yas* *ḳarḳar* *ga-w-qun-Ø-as*
my knife:PL down-nHUM-fall:PAST-3SG-1SG:POSS
'My knife has fallen down.'

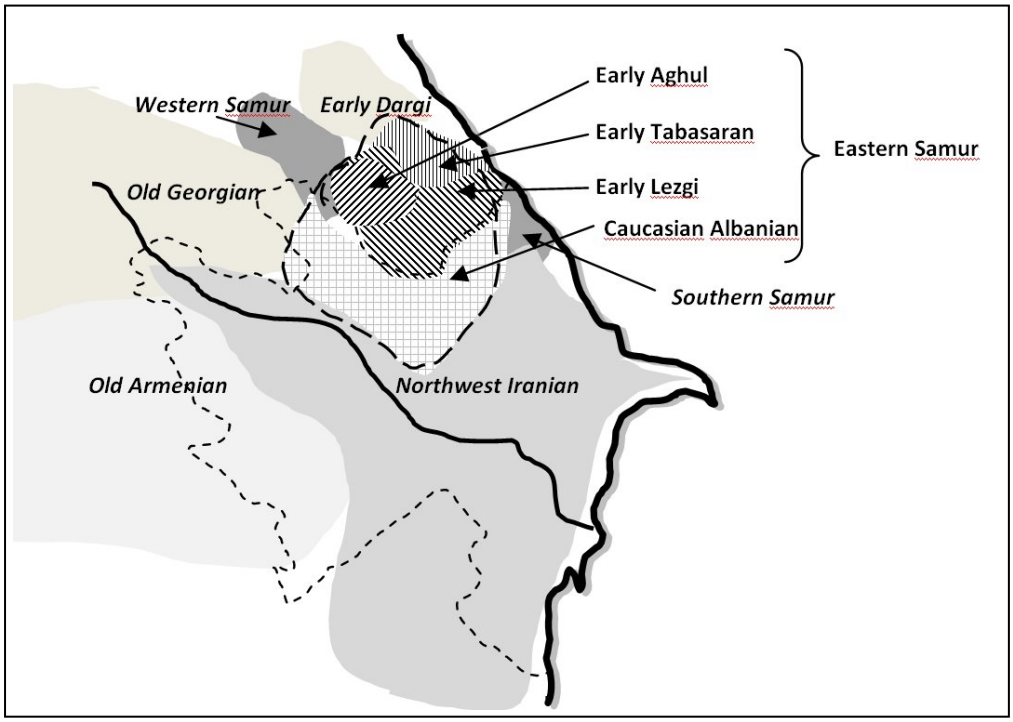
b. *yaw* *ḳarḳar* *ga-w-qun-Ø-aw*
your knife:PL down-nHUM-fall:PAST-3SG-2SG:POSS
'Your knife has fallen down.'

It is rather probable to assume that Caucasian Albanian and Udi have developed their systems of personal agreement through the impact of neighboring contact languages. Caucasian Albanian shared with Early Tabasaran a position in the periphery of the Eastern Samur language region: Early Aghul and Early Lezgi that both lack personal agreement were located in the center of this region, compare map 1:



Map 1: *Isoglosses (class marking and personal agreement) in Early Eastern Samur*

Contrary to Early Tabasaran, Caucasian Albanian had contact with a number of non-Lezgian and non-East Caucasian languages, among them varieties of Old Georgian, Old Armenian, and early Northwest Iranian languages (most likely descendants of Median and Parthian varieties). All these languages were characterized by more or less elaborated paradigms of personal inflection:



Map 2*: The location Eastern Samur and surrounding languages in earliest medieval times (sketch)*

In section 3 below, I will demonstrate that there is a pronounced drift with respect to positional preference from postverbal to preverbal clitic hosts: In Caucasian Albanian, roughly 20-25% of the sentences documented in the Palimpsest texts are marked for preverbal hosts. In a corpus of narrative texts from Vartashen Udi, this figure rises to 40%. In corresponding texts from contemporary Nizh, nearly 60% of all sentences include a preverbal host. Naturally, we have to treat the CA texts with care: They are not native texts, but translations from foreign sources (mainly Old Armenian), sometimes showing the adoption of Armenian syntactic patterns. It may well be that the exclusively postverbal person marking of Armenian has influenced the positional distribution of personal clitics in the Caucasian Albanian texts. Nevertheless, the fact that preverbal hosts were allowed (turning the clitics into floating clitics) may have had two different sources: On the one hand, floating strategies may have been the residue of floating properties present with one of the assumed sources of third person clitics, namely cognitive focus marker (see section 4). On the other hand, they may have been (at least) reinforced through language contact: Here, Northwest Iranian languages may have played a crucial role: Most of these languages are highly marked for floating clitics in transitive perfective constructions, as illustrated by the following example from Northern Tolyshī (see Schulze 2000 for details):

(3) a. [*mə*] *tifang-əm* *tamiz* *ka* [Schulze 2000; PA 1]
[I:OBL] rifle-1SG:A clean make:PAST:PERF
'I cleaned my rifle.'

b. *palang-i-an* (...) *av-əš* *gat-e* [Schulze 2000; PA 43]
leopard-OBL-FOC (...) he:ABS-3SG:A take:PAST-AOR:3SG
'The leopard (...) took him.'

c. *ba* *katto-ž* *šekayat* *kard-e*
to chairman=of=parish=council-3SG:A complaint make:PAST-AOR:3SG
'(S)he complained to the chairman of the parish council.' [Miller 1953:168]

d. *cəmə-š* *glai* *müaxol* *bəri-e* [Miller 1953:168]
I:POSS-3SG:A one plait cut:PAST-AOR:3SG
'(S)he cut off one of my plaits.'

Example (4) illustrates that such techniques were already in use in the times when of Parthian was spoken:

(4) *abāw-um* *harw-īn* *brādar-ān*
there-1SG:A all-OBL:PL brother-OBL:PL

ud *wxār-īn* *pad* *kirbag* *windād* *ah-ēnd*
and sister-OBL:PL to piety find:PPP COP-3PL:O>S

'There, I found all brothers and sisters in piety' [Rastorgueva & Molčanova 1981:223]

In this paper, I cannot elaborate in detail the evidence that Northwest Iranian languages of Ancient Azerbaijan as well as more recent varieties[2] have strongly influenced and reshaped both the morphosyntax and lexicon of Early Caucasian Albanian and Early Udi. Still, it is reasonable to assume that in order to set up a full picture of the history of agreement patterns in these languages, we have to consider in details data from Northwest Iranian, Old Armenian, Middle Armenian, modern local varieties of (Karabagh) Armenian as well as Azeri.

2.2 *The Caucasian Albanian and Udi paradigms*

Both the Caucasian Albanian and Udi paradigms differ from that of Tabasaran with respect to two points: First, in both languages, the third person is included in these paradigms, whereas it is exempted in Tabasaran (see below for details). Second, not all of the individual clitics can

[2] Including Christian Tātī (Southwest Iranian) that seems to have had a vast impact on Vartashen Udi.

be easily identified as older pronominal forms. Table 1 illustrates this point with the help of the basic agreement clitics of Caucasian Albanian and Udi:

	Pronouns		Basic Agreement Clitics (S=A)			
	CA	Udi		CA	Udi (N.)	Udi (V.)
1SG	*zow*	*zu*		*-zow*	*-zu*	*-zu*
2SG	*vown*	*(h)un*		*-nown*	*-un*	*-nu*
3SG	DX	DX	PrSt	*-Ø*	*-n(e), -e* *-a* (Wh-Q)	*-n(e), -e* *-a* (Wh-Q)
			PaSt	*-n(e)*		
1PL	*žan*	*yan*		*-žan*	*-yan*	*-yan*
2PL	*vˁan*	*vaˁn*		*-nan*	*-nan*	*-nan*
3PL	DX	DX		*-Ø*	*-ṭun*	*-q̇un*

Table 1: *Pronouns and basic agreement clitics in Caucasian Albanian and Udi*

Accordingly, the first person clitics *–zu (~ -zow*) and *-yan (~ -žan*) are the only instances of the paradigm that have immediate correspondences in the paradigm of personal pronouns. Most researchers have hitherto assumed that the remaining clitics also stem from the corresponding personal or deictic pronouns, describing in parts rather complicated phonetic processes in order to account for the differences. It is one of the goals of the present paper to revise this assumption and to show that the clitics for the second and third person have a partly fferent origin. Here, the third person clitic plays a crucial role. Table 2 gives the full paradigms of both Caucasian Albanian and Udi (for Udi, the possessive clitics are omited in the order not to complicate the matter):

			Caucasian Albanian				**Udi**			
			S=A			O/IO	S=A		IO	
			nFOC	FOC			Nizh	Vart.	Nizh	Vart.
				S	A					
1SG			*-zow*			*-za(x/s)*	*-zu*	*-zu*	*-zax*	*-za*
2SG			*-nown*			*-va(x/s)*	*-un*	*-nu*	*-vax*	*-va*
3SG	PrSt	m	*-Ø*	*-va*	*-o-en*	*-oow(x/s)* *-ağow(x/s)* *-a͡a(x/s)*	*-n(e), -e* *-a* (Wh-Q)	*-n(e), -e* *a-* (Wh-Q)	*-ṭux*	*-ṭu*
		f		*-ağ*	*-ağ-en*					
		n		*-ya*	?					
	PaSt	m	*-n(e)*	*-na-va*	*-n-o-en*					
		f		*-n-ağ*	*-n-ağ-en*					
		n		?	?					
1PL			*-žan*			*-ža(x/s)*	*-yan*	*-yan*	*-yax*	*-ya*
2PL			*-nan*			*-vˁa(x/s)*	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-väˁx*	*-vaˁ*
3PL	PrSt		*-Ø*	*-a͡-r*	*-a͡-n*	*-a͡a(x/s)*	*-ṭun*	*-q̇un*	*-ṭuˁx, -ṭoˁx*	*-q̇o*
	PaSt		*-n(e)*	*-n-a͡-r*	*-n-a͡-n*					

Table 2: *The agreement patterns of Caucasian Albanian und Udi*

As for Caucasian Albanian, we can summarize the paradigm as follows:

a. Caucasian Albanian allows the clitization of case marked pronouns in terms of polypersonal agreement.
b. The basic strategy is accusative, showing the fusion of the Agentive and the Subjective relation.
c. Non-focusing agreement clitics are not marked for number in the third person.
d. Caucasian Albanian knows a specific set of third person, case marked S/A clitics that have focus function. These clitics are subcategorized according to gender.
e. The third person non-focusing clitic is either zero or *-n(e)*, depending on the tense/aspect stem form of a given verb.

For Udi, the following observations are relevant:

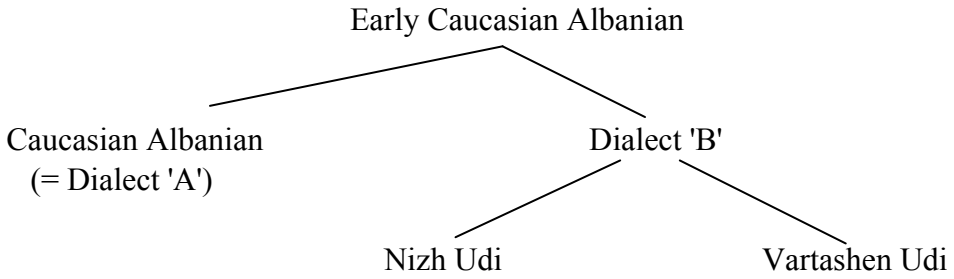
a. Agreement is generally monopersonal.
b. The basic strategy is accusative, showing the fusion of the Agentive and the Subjective relation.
c. The third person singular is subcategorized according to the question whether the sentence is marked for a Wh-question or not.
d. Udi allows endoclitization with certain tense/aspect forms.
e. Certain tense/aspect forms turn the clitics into suffixes that follow the corresponding tense/Aspect marker.

It becomes clear that in both languages, the tense/aspect form of a given verbal host plays an important role in both the formal expression of personal clitics and their placement rules. Table 3 summarizes the relevant information:

	Caucasian Albanian		**Udi**	
	TAM form	**Clitic**	**TAM form**	**Clitic**
Present	PrSt (TV *-a-*)	3SG *-Ø*	*-(e)sa*	Floating
Imperfect	PrSt (TV *-a-*/*-e-*) + *-hê-y*	3SG *-Ø*	*-(e)sa-y*	Floating
Past	PaSt (TV *-a-*/*-e-*) + *-y*	3SG *-ne*	*-y*	Floating
Pluperfect 1	PaSt + *-hê-y*	3SG *-ne*	*-i_-y*	Floating
Perfect			*-e*	Floating
Pluperfect 2			*-e-y*	Floating
Factitive Future			*-al-_*	Following
Modal Future			*-o*	Floating
Modal Future Past			*-o-y*	Floating
Hortative	*ġa-* + PaSt	3SG *-ne*	*ġa-_* + Past/Perf	Following
Modal			*-a-_*	Following
Modal Past			*-a-_-y*	Following
Conjunctive	*-al* + *anḳe-*	3SG *-Ø*	*-ay-*	Following
Prohibitive 1	*ma-*	Imperative	*ma-*	Imperative
Prohibitive 2	*ma-ġa-* + PaSt	3SG *-ne*	*ma-ġa-_* + Past/Perf	Following
Conditional	PrSt + *eńe-*	3SG *-Ø*	*(i)yi_-* ~ *(i)gi-_*	Following

Table 3: *Personal agreement and TAM forms in Caucasian Albanian and Udi*

In order to reconstruct the history of the Udi clitics, attention should be payed to both the formal and functional dimension of the given clitics. Caucasian Albanian may serve as a point of reference although it is far from being clear whether Caucasian Albanian had been an immediate forerunner of Udi (see the discussion in Gippert et al. 2009). We cannot relate all morphological segments of modern Udi to Caucasian Albanian. On the other hand, some of the Caucasian Albanian inflectional morphemes do not have a reflex in Udi. Hence, it is reasonable to assume either that Udi is marked of a complex innovate layer or that Caucasian Albanian is rather an 'aunt' to than the 'mother' of Udi, see compare the following tentative family tree:



I use the label 'Dialect B' to describe a hypothetical variety (or dialect) of Caucasian Albanian that differed from the dialect ('Dialect A') of the relevant sources (the Caucasian Albanian palimpsest texts) and that formed the starting point of the two modern Udi varieties.[3] The following features must have developed in Dialect B or in one of its later stages (agreement features only):

a. Wh-Clitic (third person singular)
b. TAM-related generalization of third person singular *-ne* and restriction to singular
c. New agreement marker for the third person plural
d. Endoclitization

'Dialect A' (Caucasian Albanian) is marked for the following features that are not continued in the Udi dialects:

a. Case/gender/number-marked focusing clitics (third person)
b. Tendency towards polypersonal agreement
c. No number distinction with non-focusing third person clitics

[3] Certain features of Caucasian Albanian seem to relate the language more directly to the Nizh dialect than to the Vartashen dialect of Udi (see Schulze 2005, Gippert et al. 2009).

2.3 *Subsets and positional preferences*

On the formal side, the correspondences between the clitics in Caucasian Albanian and Udi are rather straightforward:

	CA	Udi (N.)	Udi (V.)
1SG	*-zow* [= *-zu*]	*-zu, -z, -əz*	*-zu, -z*
2SG	*-nown* [= *-nun*]	*-un, -n, ən*	*-nu, -n*
1PL	*-žan*	*-yan*	*-yan*
2PL	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-nan*
3SG	*-n(e)* (PsSt, SG/PL)	*-ne, -n, -e*	*-ne, -n, -e*

The sound change *žan* > *yan* is regular (reflecting earlier **ź^{j}ən*, see Schulze 1999). A significant difference is found in the second person singular: Here, CA *-nown* [*-nun*] loses one of its nasals in each of the dialects (V.: *nun* > *-nu*, N.: *-nun* > *-un*). It is Jost Gippert's proposal to interpret the CA hapax legomenon *ah-own-za* (Lk. 4,34) 'I know you' (instead of expected **aa-nown-za*) as a residue of the original second person singular clitic (**-own*) stemming from the second person singular pronoun *vown* (**aa-$^{v}/_{w}$own-za* > *a(a)^{h}ownza*). If this were true, the standard CA form *-nown* would be innovative, whereas the Nizh variant would have preserved the original shape of the clitic.

We might even assume that *ahownza* has to be segmented as *a(a)-hown-za*. In this case **-hown* would resemble the Nizh 2SG pronoun *hun*. However, such a reading is rather improbable, given the fact that in the immediate context of *ahownza*, the 2SG clitic is *-nown*, compare: *ari-nown aṭes-biyesa žaq* : *ah-own-za hašķe-nown mowç'owro b˜ey* 'Have you come to destroy us? I know you, who you are: the holy one of God'. The presence of a 2SG with *ahownza* is suggested by the Armenian parallel (*gitem ķez ov es*). In the same verse, we thus have *-nown* twice and once **-own*. Also, it should be born in mind that the constructional pattern <know-S_{CL}-IO_{CL}> (that is: X (S_{CL}) is known (*-aa-*) to Y (IO_{CL}) is extremely rare in the texts available: There is only one secured example: *nowt-aa-z-v^{ʕ}a te deq bezi haṭenķe zaq aaeńev^{ʕ}a eṭ˜n dex bezi-al aaeńev^{ʕ}ahey* 'If you knew me, you would therefore also have known my father' (John 8:19). The example illustrates that *aa-* 'knowing' is normally followed by the IO-clitic (*aa-eńe-v^{ʕ}a*). *aa-* conforms to the pattern of verba sentiendi, having the 'stimulus of knowing' in the subjective (> absolutive case). However, with pronouns and other definite referents, the dative2 is used just the same way as in standard O (O-split). This is nicely shown by the forms *zax aaeńev^{ʕ}a* 'if you (IO) knew me (S>O_{DEF})' and *dex (...) aaeńev^{ʕ}ahey* 'you (IO) would have known (…) father (S>O_{DEF}). Hence, the form *-aa-z-v^{ʕ}a* goes against the

expected O-split in case it stems from *-*aa-zow-vˁa* (there is no reason to assume a shortened form of **-*aa-zax-vˁa*). One might argue that the O-split is canceled in this specific position, that is with a clitisized pronoun in stimulus function. Unfortunately, examples that reflect the construction <SAP knows SAP> are extremely rare. With a pronominal third person stimulus, O-split usually applies, based on the sequence *aa*-IO$_{CL}$-S>O$_{DEF/CL}$, as in {*nowt-al-*}*aa-vˁa oowq sa za aa-za oow*{*q*} 'you do not know him, but I do know him' (John 8:55). Nevertheless, the above-mentioned form *ah-own-za* 'I know you(SG)' conforms to the structure *-aa-z-vˁa* 'you(PL) know me'. From this, we might infer, that *-own* in *ahownza* is a special form of *-nown* used to mark (with *aa-*) the clitic version of a second person singular stimulus (instead of **aanownza*), just as it is true for *-z-* (< *-zow*) in *-aazvˁa*. Hence, the assumption that the hapax legomenon *ahownza* entails the earliest version of the basic 2SG clitic perhaps overvalues the relevance of this form.

The form *-n* (third person) calls for special attention: On the one hand, it can be related to analogous forms of the first and third person singular (*-z, -n*) that are marked for the loss of the final vowel. In Vartashen, this 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 endoclitic forms, compare (5a-c) as opposed to (5d-e):

(5) a. *gölö-z* *bas-ḳ-e*
much-1SG sleep-LV-PERF
'I have slept much'

b. *yaq̇-a-z-b-o*
way-DAT-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD
'I will send'

c. *beˁ-z-ğ-o*
see-1SG-$-FUT:MOD
'I will see / look at'

d. *bürmiš-zu-b-o* 'I will give order'
order-1SG-LV-FUT:MOD

e. *ar-zu-c-o* [Nizh: *ar-əs-c-o*]
sit-1SG-$-FUT:MOD
'I will sit down'

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':

(6) *zu* *bu-zu* *yaq̇* *vaʿ* *doğriluğ* *vaʿ* *kar-x-esun* [V; John 14:6]
I be-1SG way and truth and live-LV-MASD2
'I am the way and the truth and the life.'

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 (7a):

(7) a. *še-ṭ-a* *šägird-ġ-oxo* *te-nu* *un-al?* [V; John 18:25]
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN pupil-PL-ABL NEG-2SG you:SG-FOC
'Aren't YOU (one) of his pupils?'

b. *śel* *cil* *te-n* *biṭ-e-i* *vi* *düz-i?*
good seed NEG-2SG sow-PERF-PAST you:SG:POSS field-DAT
'Haven't you sown good seed on your field?' [V; Matthew 13:27]

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 endoclisis. 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, the full form *-nu* is preferred especially in copula function but also in the factitive future (*-al*). On the other hand, however, certain modal forms necessarily call for syncope, compare the following paradigms:

	Modal (Deontic)	**Madal (Deontic) Past**	**Modal (Epistemic) Past**
	-a	***-a-_-i***	***-a(y)i-_***
1SG	*-a-z ~ -a-zu*	*-a-zu-i*	*-a(y)i-z*
2SG	*-a-n ~ -a-nu*	*-a-nu-i*	*-a(y)i-n*
3SG	*-a-ne*	*-a-ne-i*	*-a(y)i-n*
1PL	*-a-yan*	*-a-yan-i*	*-a(y)i-yan*
2PL	*-a-nan*	*-a-nan-i*	*-a(y)i-nan*
3PL	*-a-q̇un ~ a-ṭun*	*-a-q̇un-i ~ a-ṭun-iy*	*-a(y)i-q̇un ~ -ayi-ṭun*

Table 4: *Personal agreement clitics with modal forms*

Syncope is thus always present with the past conjunctive (epistemic modal). Here, vowel elision occurs with all three singular clitics:

(8) a. *amma* *ägänä* *taǧ-ai-z* [V; John 16:7]
but if go:FUT-CONJ-1SG
'But if I go …'

b. *ägänä* *un* *za* *bul* *ḳoç-b-ai-n* [V; Luke 4:7]
if you:SG I:DAT head bow-LV-CONJ-2SG
'If you bow down for me …'

c. *oq-urx-oxun* *bäyiçˇ* *yaq̇* *taġ-ayi-z-al* [N; OR 70]
river-PL-COM swift way go:FUT-CONJ-1SG-FOC
'And if I would take the swift way along the rivers…'

In addition, it usually occurs with the hortative particle *q̇a-*, with the marker of the hypothetical *gi-*, and with the negative hypothetical *nä(y)i-* (~ *nä-gi-*):

(9) a. *śum-al* *uk-al-q̇-a-n* *bak-i* [N; OR 99]
bread-FOC eat-FUT:FAC-ADH-3SG be-PAST
'She should be eating bread.'

b. *ägänä* *zu* *žähil-gi-z* *bak-e-y* *oxari-ne-i* [V; 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-y* *bez* *viči* [V; John 11:32]
NEG-3SG die-FUT:MOD-PAST I:POSS brother

'If you had been here, my brother would not have died.'

Examples like *gamq̇aneci* 'that might become hot' or *čaxq̇aneci* '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-q̇a-ne-c-i* (hot-SUBJV-3SG-LV-AORI, Harris' glosses) and *čax-q̇a-ne-c-i* (cold-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST, no glosses given by the author). In fact, we have to deal with the '(medio-)passive' (MP) light verb *esun* < *'come/go' marked for a suppletive past stem (*-ec-* ~ *-c-*). Hence, *gam-esun* 'become warm' matches the structure of incorporating verbs such as *bes-besun* 'kill' (lit. 'dying-do') or *xabar-aqsun* 'take news' > 'ask'. The lexical stem *gam-* then serves as a clitic host just as can be observed fot *bes-* and *xabar-* in the above-given examples. Accordingly, the forms quoted by Harris perfectly match the above-mentioned generalization concerning the hortative particle *q̇a-*:

(10) a. *gam-q̇a-n-ec-i*
warm-ADH-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST
'It should become warm/hot.'

b. *čax-q̇a-n-ec-i*
cold-ADH-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST
'It should become cold.'

Neglecting specific aspects that are relevant for the negator *te-* (see Schulze (forthcoming) for details), we can set up a 'reduced' paradigm of singular agreement clitics in Udi that occurs with four modal categories:

	-a(y)i- (CONJ:PAST)	*q̇a-* (ADH)	*gi-* (HYP)	*näi-* (NEG:HYP)
1SG	*-z*	*-z*	*-z*	*-z*
2SG	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*
3SG	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*	*-n*

Table 5: *The subset of singular agreement clitics with modal forms*

As far as data go, we cannot describe this pattern as the result of a secondary process of syncope. The difference between these modal forms and the other tense/aspect forms marked for a vowel is given by the fact that the other forms (past: *-i*, perfect: *-e*, modal future *-o*, (deontic) modal *-a*) allow both variants (with and without syncope), whereas the clitic variants *-zu*, *-nu* and *-ne* are excluded with those modal forms listed in table 5.

In Caucasian Albanian, there are only partial reflexes of this pattern. The clitics *-zow* and *-ne* are the only ones that have non-vocalic variants. (*-z, -n*). However, the conditions under which the two variants occur are not as transparent as in Udi. The following calculus is based on the corpus of Caucasian Albanian texts as edited by Gippert et al. (2009). For *-z*(*ow*), we can isolate 458 occurrences. In Udi, similary the clitic can occur post- and preverbally (by 'verb' I mean that part of a verb phrase that is marked for tense/aspect/mood). Here, the following distribution shows up:

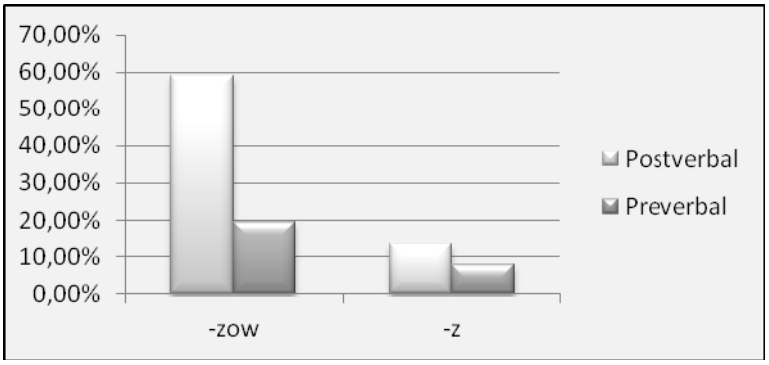


Diagram 1: *The distribution of* -zow *and* -z *in Caucasian Albanian*

The diagram illustrates that there is a pronounced preference for the vocalic version especially when used postverbally. As for the third person clitic *-n*(*e*), we have to take into account the fact that *–n* is obligatorily used if the clitic is followed by the corresponding focusing (or:

deictic) clitic, e.g. *-n-o-en* (3SG:M:ERG), *-n-aġ* (3SG:F:ABS) etc.. Basically, the same pattern applies for *-n(e)* as it has been described for *-z(ow)* (basis: 856 occurrences):

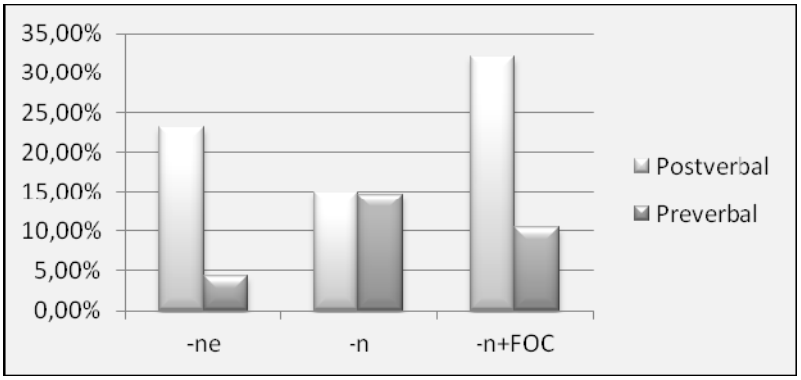


Diagram 2: *The distribution of* -ne *and* -n *in Caucasian Albanian*

However, if we include the focusing variant, it comes clear that the preferred format for the third person clitic is *-n(-)* rather than *ne*, compare diagram 3:

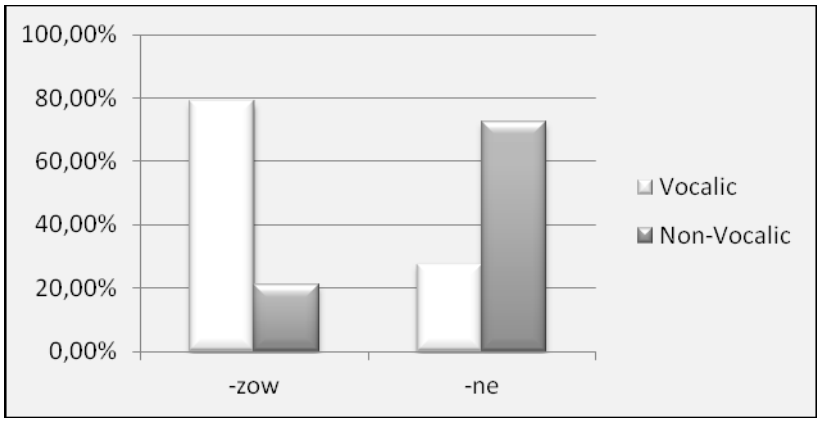


Diagram 3: *First and third person clitics in Caucasian Albanian*

On the other hand, the vocalic form *-zow* is default in the first person singular. The following two tables demonstrate that there is, nevertheless, a strong pronounced preference for one of the forms with specific constructions:

	-ne		**-n**		**-n-FOC**	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Hortative *ġa-*			72	59	31	35
Prohibitive *maġa-*			61		17	
Negation *te-*	15		37		31	3
Verb: PaSt	19	101	127			142
Copula		54		33	16	3

Table 6: *The distribution of* -ne *and* -n *in Caucasian Albanian in relation to constructional types*

	-zow		-z	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Hortative *ġa-*		3	16	12
Prohibitive *maġa-*	6			
Conditional *-eńe-*		29		10
anaķe-	17	71		
anķe-		32		
Verb: PrSt		39	20	42
Verb: PaSt		46		1
Copula		5		
Negation *te-*	25	12		
Relative		25		
Incorporation	47			

Table 7: *The distribution of* -zow *and* -z *in Caucasian Albanian in relation to constructional types*

Obviously, the hortative *ġa-* is strongly related to the non-vocalic clitics. The same holds for the prohibitive in the third person (*ma-ġa-n-*). It has to be born in mind that certain tense/aspect/mood categories exclude the presence of *-n(e)* (all present stem based forms), but not that of *-z(ow)*. This distributional pattern accounts for the fact that the categories given for *-z(ow)* are higher in number than those for *-n(e)*.

The data presented so far also illustrate that the distribution of first person and third person allomorphs also depends from their position related to the tense/aspect/mood marked verb. Generally speaking, Caucasian Albanian prefers the postverbal position. Diagram 4 summarizes the relevant data for all basic clitics (subjective/agentive function only):

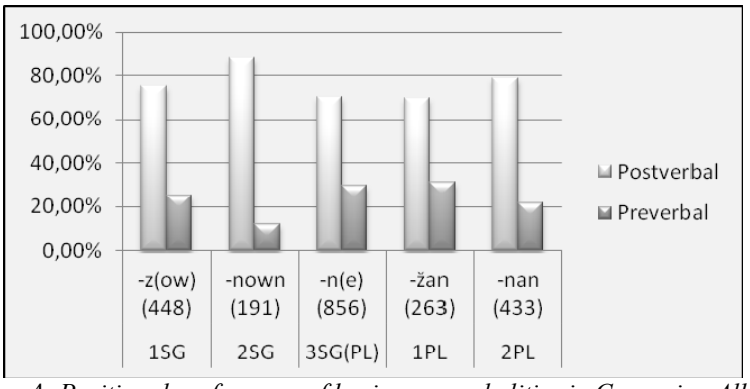


Diagram 4: *Positional preferences of basic personal clitics in Caucasian Albanian*

Basically, the same proportion shows up within the distribution of first and third person allomorphs. However, note that the preverbal clitic of the third person has a high preference for the non-vocalic version *-n*, as illustrated by diagram 5:

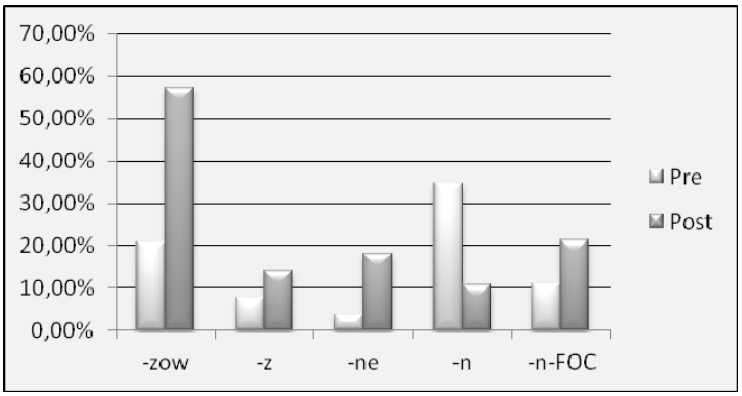


Diagram 5: *Positional preferences of first and third person clitics in Caucasian Albanian*

The basic distribution of preverbal and postverbal clitics has its best analogy in the Vartashen dialect of Udi. Analyzing two corpora of Udi narrative texts (1279 clitics for Nizh, 1201 clitics for Vartashen), the following picture emerges:

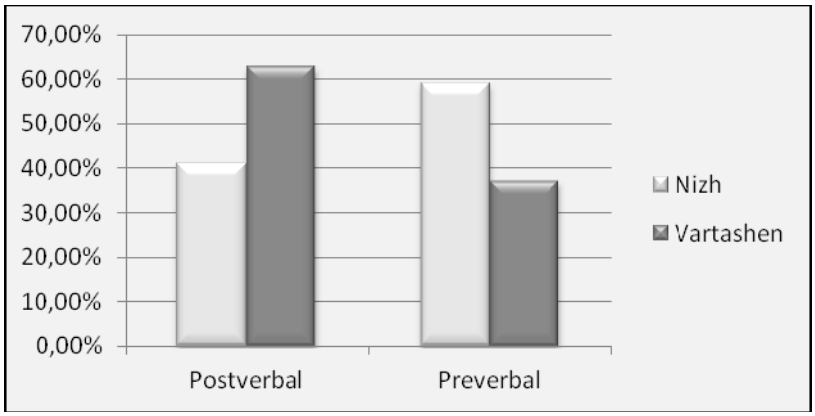


Diagram 6: *Preverbal and postverbal clitics in Udi dialects*

Obviously, Nizh has developed a pronounced tendency towards preverbal clitics (note, however, that the data in diagram 5 do not distinguish between clitics in optional position and clitics that become suffixes after certain tense/aspect/mood forms, see above). Still, the 'Drift' away from the postverbal position is present already in the Vartashen dialect. If we compare the first and third person singular clitics, we can easily observe that the postverbal position of floating clitics is rather below the average with respect to the third person. Instead, the third person clitic frequently shows up as an endoclitic, as illustrated in diagram 7:

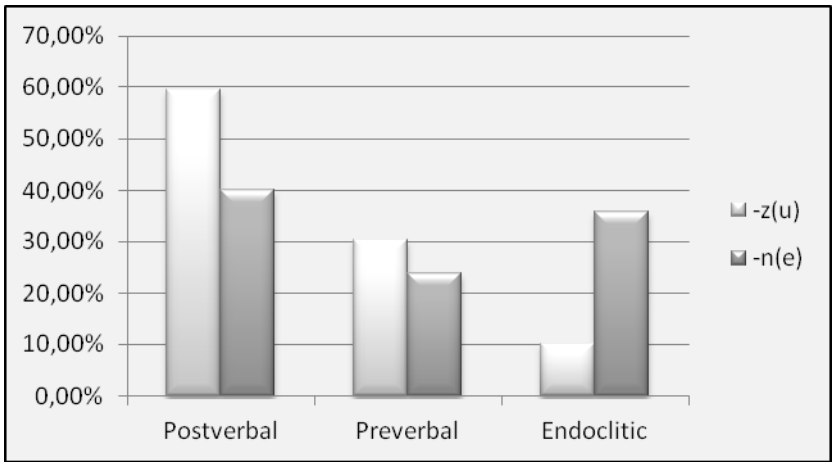


Diagram 7: *Positional patterns of first and third person clitics in Vartashen Udi*

Endoclitization plays a minor role in Nizh. Here, the above-mentioned preference for preverbal hosts is found for all persons, compare diagram 8 (data are taken from the two texts Jona and Ruth (see Anonymous 2009):

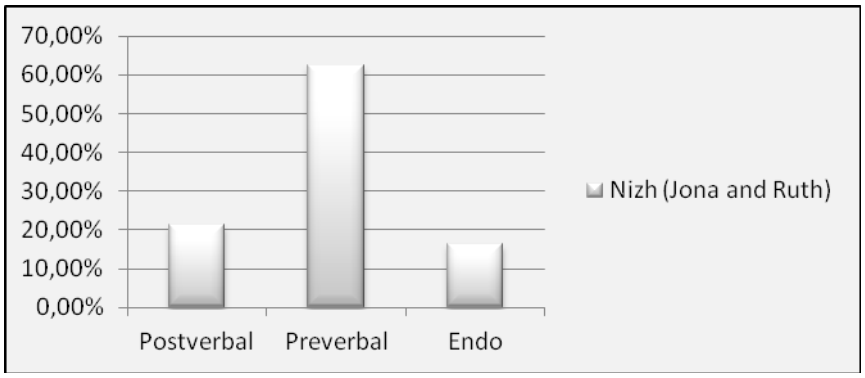


Diagram 8: *Positional patterns of person clitics in modern Nizh Udi*

Summing up what has been described so far, we can state that although Caucasian Albanian and the two dialects of Udi share a number of formal properties with respect to the paradigms of personal clitics, they differ considerably both from a distributional point of view and with respect to the functional (and in parts semantic) subcategorization of these paradigms. These differences cannot all be accounted for in terms of language change from Caucasian Albanian to Udi. Rather, we have to assume that the patterns of Udi partly reflect processes of language had started in Early Caucasian Albanian times and independently from the developments that took place in Caucasian Albanian itself. It comes clear that the basic paradigm of personal agreement must have emegered in Early Caucasian Albanian times resulting in two different patterns (Dialect A = Caucasian Albanian, Dialect B = Early Udi). Before trying to reconstruct the relevant processes in Early Caucasian Albanian as well as those that have led

to the patterns in the Udi dialects, it seems useful to summarize some functional aspects of personal agreement in Udi and Caucasian Albanian. The hitherto most comprehensive discussion of this issue can be found in Harris (2002), see Schulze (2004) for a critical evaluation.

3. The Udi Q-Clitic

3.1 *Preliminary remarks*

As has been mentioned above, Udi differs from Caucasian Albanian by using a special clitic for the third person singular especially in Wh-questions (*-a*, Q-clitic). 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. Otherwise, it is replaced by the usual clitics (*-ṭu(x)* 3SG:IO, *-ṭa(i)* 3SG:POSS). The standard clitics are also used in questions that contain a referent different from the third person singular:

(11) a. *eḳa-a* *äš-b-esa?* [V; field notes]
what-3SG:Q work-LV-PRES
'What does (s)he do?'

b. *eḳa-ṭu* *aḳ-i* [V; BH 70]
what-3SG:IO see-PAST
'What did she see?'

c. *eḳa-q̇un* *äš-b-esa?* [V; field notes]
what-3PL work-LV-PRES
'What do they do?'

In indirect questions and headless relative clauses based on grammaticalized interrogative pronouns, *-a* is normally replaced by the standard clitic *-ne*:

(12) a. *te-va* *aba* *mano* *sahat-a*
NEG-2PL:IO knowing which time-DAT

eġ-al-le *eʕf* *bixaǯux*
come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:POSS god

'You do not know when your God will come.' [V; Matthew 24:42]

b. *šin* *zax* *tarna-n-axo* *a-ne-q̇-o*
who:ERG I:DAT2 oven-SA-ABL take-3SG-$-FUT:MOD

šo-no-al *zaxol* *ta-ne-ġ-o* [V; IM 61]
DIST-REF:ABS I:COM go-3SG-$:FUT-FUT:MOD
'Who(ever) takes me out of the oven, will go with me.'

As a direct question, the first part of (12b) would read *šin-a zax tarnanaxo aq̇o?* (or: *zax tarnanaxo šin-a aq̇o?*) 'who will take me out of the oven?' 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:

(13) *mano* *baba-n-a* *eʕfaxo* *evaxte* *ġar-en*
which father-ERG-3SG:Q EMPH:you:PL:ABL when son-ERG

be-ne-s-sa *šo-ṭ-xo* *śum* *tad-a-ne*
ask=for-3SG-$-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-ABL bread give-MOD-3SG

šo-ṭ-u *źeʕ?* [V; Luke 11:11]
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?)'

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. Examples (14a-c) illustrate this type:

(14) a. *vi* *mano* *vičі-a* *ṗur-e?* [V; CO § 3]
you:SG:POSS which brother-3SG:Q die:PAST-PERF
'Which of your brothers has died?'

b. *ema* *śum-a* *eʕfaṣṭa?* [V; Mark 8:5]
how=much bread-3SG:Q EMPH:you:PL:ADESS
'How much bread do you have (with you)?'

c. *aba-z-bak-i* *šo-no* *ši* *ġar-a*
knowing-1SG-LV-PAST DIST-REF:ABS who:POSS son-3SG:Q
'I knew whose son he was.' [V; Gukasjan 1974:31]

In case a verb is marked by a tense/mood form that necessarily hosts a personal clitic, the Q-clitic follows the verb instead of the questioned constituent:

(15) *šin* *tov-d-al-a* *vax?* [John 21:20]
who:ERG sell-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:DAT2
'Who will have betrayed you?'

Just as it true for the standard third person clitic, the Q-clitic can be followed in predicative structures by the past tense marker *-y*:

(16) *ṭe* *xaʿ* *ši-a-i?* [V; CO § 8]
DIST dog who:GEN-3SG:Q-PAST
'To whom did that dog belong?'

In present-day Udi, the clitic *-a* cannot occur in polar questions. Here, the standard clitic is used both in positive and negative questions:

(17) a. *ṗoy* *bezi* *ḳož* *ala* *čur-e-ḳ-o?* [N; OR 130]
still I:POSS house upright stand-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
'Will my house still stand upright?'

b. *šuḳal-en* *nəšan* *tad-i* *te-ne?* [N; IntFor 35a]
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 some examples given by Schiefner 1863 (example (18c) is additional):

(18) a. *baba* *damnun* *eġ-o-a* *bazar-axo?* [V; CO § 10]
father morning come:FUT-FUT:MOD-3SG:Q bazaar-ABL
'Will the father come from the bazaar in the morning?'

b. *bulḳi* *te-ne* *bu-a?* [V; CO § 7]
roll NEG-3SG be-3SG:Q
'Are there no rolls?'

c. *adamar* *gölö-a-i* *beʿinś-en* *śel* *namaz-b-i-a?*
person much-3SG:Q-PAST priest-ERG good preach-LV-PAST-3SG:Q
'Had there been many people, did the priest preach well?' [V; CO § 8]

Another example can be found in ǯeiranišvili 1971:

(19) *ček-e* *ṭoš* *beʿġ-aʿ* *xaš* *bu-a* *yoxsam* *te*
go=out:IMP-IMP:2SG out see-imp:2sg light be-3SG:Q or NEG
'Go out and see whether it is (getting) light or not.' [V; ST § 31]

It is rather improbable that these few (and as for (16b) 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.

3.2 *The origins of the Q-clitic*

Harris (2002:185) correctly observes that the Q-clitic can also be used in (either/)or-questions. The disjunction 'or' is either expressed by *yoxsam* (~ *yoxsan* ~ *yoxsam*) 'or', borrowed from Azeri *yox-sa* 'or, if not, else' (lit.: 'if it were not'), or not expressed at all:

(20) *gögixo-a-y* *yoxsam* *adamar-ġ-oxo?* [V; Matthew 21:25]
heaven-ABL-3SG:Q-PAST or human=being-PL-ABL
'Has it (the baptizing) been from heaven or from human beings?'

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 *ya* ~ *ye* '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:

(21) a. *gölö* *vädä* *čе-bak-e* *ḳiçi-a* *čе-bak-e*
much time pass-3SG-LV-PRES little-*or* pass-LV-PERF
'Much time passed ?or little (time) passed…' [Okṭomberi; Harris 2002:183]

c. *te-za* *aba* *apči-a* *seri?* [V; CO § 5]
NEG-1SG:IO knowing lie-*or* truth
'I do not know (whether) it is a lie or the truth.'

Harris (2002:184) observes that example (19a) "make[s] use of a narrative formula". Hence, it can hardly serve as an argument for the origin of the clitic *-a*. Also note that (22a) has the clitic in the 'wrong' position in case Harris' hypothesis applies: As far as data go, the disjunction *ya* is never placed after the second segment of the junction. A more appropriate place is illustrated by the example (19b). 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-vâ-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 *ya* has ever been used in enclisis. Semantically, the clitic usually forms a unit with the segment that follows the particle

(22) *šu-te* *bu-ṭu-q̇-sa* *baba-x* *ye* *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 …' [V; Matthew 10:37]

This 'rightwards' orientation of the particle can also be seen from the complex *ya ... ya* (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:

(23) *ma* *aq̇-a-nan* *efaʿxol* *ye* *q̇əzəl* *ye* *gümiš*
PROH take-MOD-2PL EMPH:you:PL:COM or gold or silver

ye *mis-n-ux* *eʿf* *toxq̇i-ġ-o* *boš* *ye* *hävgi-n-ax*
or copper-SA-DAT2 you:PL:POSS belt-PL-GEN in or scrip-SA-DAT2

yaq̇-al *ye* *ṗaʿ* *q̇at* *partal-ax* *ye* *lapči-n-ax*
way-SUPER or two piece coat-DAT2 or shoe-SA-DAT2

ye ḳoval-ax [V; Matthew 10:9-10]
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.'

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 co-referential verbs. This type of gapping has also been described by Harris herself (Harris 2002:99-101):

(24) *baba* *pul* *ḳaći-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.'

(25) *me* *ḳoǯ* *ḳiḳe-a* *kala* [Okṭomberi; Harris 2002:185]
PROX house small-3SG:Q large
'Is this house small ?(or) large?'

Accordingly, (25) 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:

(26) *me* *ḳoǯ-a* *alalu* *yoxsam* *xod*
PROX house-3SG:Q high or tree
‘Is this house high or (is) the tree (high)?’

Finally, the examples given in (18) above not necessarily include the particle *ya* ‘or’ (> *-a*): One the one hand, Schiefner 1863:49 clearly marks the phrase quoted in (18c) 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 (rhetorical) question:

(27) *gölö* *vädä* *č̣e-bak-e* *ḳiçi-a* *č̣e-bak-e*
much time pass-3SG-LV-PRES little-*or* pass-LV-PERF
‘Much time passed, did little (time) pass?’ [Okṭomberi; Harris 2002:183]

This type of conjoining an assertion and an interrogation is a typical stylistic element often found in Northern Oriental and East Caucasian, compare:

(28) *at:it:i* *b-i-w-ḳ-un* *b-ur* *q:a-b-i-w-ḳ-un* *b-ur*
now III- be-III-$-PAST III-COP NEG- III-be-III-$-PAST III-COP

q:a-b-i-w-ḳ-un-gu *ciwan-s:iya* *ca* *šaʕraw-u* *ca*
III-be-III-$-PAST-still why-INFER:PAST one village-LOC one

dihil *aʕli* *ṭis:a* *ca* *q:uza* *i-w-ḳ-un* *ur* [Lak; Žirkov 1955:140]
Dihil Äli 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 Äli.’

A variant of the hypothesis that relates Udi *-a* to Persian *yā* 'or' would be to assume that **ʔ(y)a* had once been used as a marker in tag questions (compare German: *Sie ist in Berlin, oder?* 'She is in Berlin, isn't she?'). However, it should be noted that in Modern Persian, this type of tag usually takes an additional negator, compare:

(29) *otāġ-e-to* *tämiz* *kärd-ī* *yā* *nä?*
room-REL-you:SG clean do:PAST-2SG or not
'Did you clean your room or not?' [Mahootian 1997:10]

One might also think of the Turkish particle *ya*, the semantics of which, however, is not straightforward. When used as a sentence final clitic, it functions as a repudiative or reminding discourse connective. When followed by a negated sentence, it rather means 'but' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005:114-115). The only relation to the interrogative mood is given, if *ya* occurs in sentence-initial position then having a lexical value, compare:

(30) *ya* *para-sı* *yok-sa*
TAG money-3SG:POSS exist-MOD
'What if s/he doesn't have any money?' [Göksel & Kerslake 2005:115]

Obviously, this use of *ya* is parallel to that of *āyā* in Persian:

(31) *āyā* *īn* *säxs-o* *mī-šnās-īd* *yā* *nä?*
TAG PROX person-DEF:O DUR:IND-know:PAST-2SG or not
'Did you know this man or not?' [Mahootian 1997:10]

When used in sentence-final position to emphasize a rhetorical question, it is usually preceded by the interrogative marker *-mI*, as illustrated by the following example from Colloquial Turkish (Yilmaz 2004:54):

(32) *bakalım…* *Cenk* *Cenkle* *gör-üş-üyo-mu-sun* *ya?*
let's=see Cenk Cenk-INSTR see-REC-PRES-Q-2SG EMPH

biz *san-a* *o-nu* *sor-ucak-tı-k…*
we you:SG-DAT he-DEF:O ask-FUT-PAST-1PL

'Let's see … Cenk, do you see Cenk at all? We have always wanted to ask you about him.'

However, (33) shows that *ya* is not necessarily related to question constructions:

(33) *kör* *olası* *para-n-ı* *al-dı-n* *ya,*
blind likely money-2SG:POSS-O:DEF get-PAST-2SG EMPH

ben-den *daha* *ne* *bekl-iyor-sun?*
I-ABL more what await-PRES-2SG

'You´ve gotten your damn (= be it blind) money; what more do you expect from me?'

The Caucasian Albanian texts do not help to settle this question. Rhetorical questions including the notion of uncertainty are introduced by the particle *meçiqay*, compare

(34) *meçiq̇ay* *cex-al* *varṭaṗeṭ-owχ* *n-ahal-å͡r* [Cor I, 12:29]
TAG all-FOC teacher-PL NEG-be-PART:PRES-REF:PL:ABS
'Aren't all teachers?'

(35) *owḳa-he-y* *e* *vačar-owġ-on*
say:PRES-LV:PAST-PAST ART:PL Jew-PL-ERG

meçiq̇ay *ičey* *bowl* *bil'-al-anḳe-o-en-ah-al* [John, 8:22]
TAG REFL:GEN head kill-PART:PRES-FIN-he-ERG-be-PART:PRES

'The Jews said: Will he perhaps kill himself?'

The particle *meçiq̇ay* comes close to Persian *mäge* (< *mägär* 'but') that is used in nearly the same way as *meçiq̇ay* (although the pragmatic value is slightly different, see Jalali 1995:68-70 for details). An example is

(36) *mäge* *īn* *gorbe-ye-to* *e*
TAG PROX cat-REL-you:SG be:PRES:3SG
'Is this your cat?' (or: 'Is this cat yours?') [Mahootian 1997:10]

In sum, there is little evidence that the Q-clitic has developed from the particle *ya* / *ye* 'or' or from the Turkish emphatic particle *ya*. In order to arrive at an alternative scenario, it is important to recall that the Q-clitic is linked to the following properties:

a. Constituent Focus (blocked by certain TAM forms)
b. Third Person Singular reference
c. Subjective/Agentive function
d. 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 attacts it away 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, polar questions are often marked by clitics. For instance in Lezgi proper, the (additive) focus particle *-ni* marks polar 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):

(37) a. *wi* *dust-uni-z* *wiči-n* *pul* *žğa-na-ni?*
you:SG:POSS friend-SA-DAT REFL-GEN money find-AOR-Q
'Did your friend find his/her money?' [Haspelmath 1993:418]

b. *wi* *dust-uni-z* *wiči-n* *pul-ni* *žġa-na*
you:SG:POSS friend-SA-DAT REFL-GEN money-FOC find-PAST
'Your friend has found his/her money, too.' [V. G. 2002, p.c.]

Obviously, the distribution of Lezgi *-ni* is affected 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 (and Caucasian Albanian) reflex of the proto-Lezgian focus marker **-ni* (> *-ne*) became standard with declarative sentences, irrespective of the type of host (verbal or non-verbal). 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 paradigms only):

(38)

	Declarative	Interrogative
**-ni*	*-nī*	*-nī* (non-past) ~ *-ne* (past)
**-yi*	*-yī*	*-yī* (non-past) ~ *-yē* (past)

The variant *-ni* ~ *-ne* represents the less marked version of the two interrogative clitics. Nevertheless, Kazenin (1999:453) states that the semantic differences are difficult to describe. (39) illustrates the use of the clitics in yes/no questions:

(39) a. *aʕli* *a-r-i-ne* [Kazenin 1999:452]
Ali come-I-PERF-Q:PAST
'Did Ali come?'

b. *Galle* *milyon* *ɨʕq:-a-yī* *dawat-b-iši-s* [Kazenin 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:

(40) a. *aʕli-ē hiǯō-ne ha'-as?* [Kazenin 1999:452]
Ali-ERG what-Q do-FUT:POT
'What will Ali do?'

b. *aʕli-ē hiǯō kar-bö-nī ileš-e?* [Kazenin 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 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:

(41) a. *dʲaʕw'a-nī wo-b-na aʕljhā* [Tatevosov & Majsak 1999:705]
war-FOC COP-III-ATTR:III go:IMPERF
'(By that time) war went on.'

b. *maʕhammad-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.'

As has been said above, in Tsakhur both focus strategies can occur in interrogative sentences. If we assume that Early Udi (that is 'Dialect B') once knew a focus system that differentiated epistemic degrees, is 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 to 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*). (42) simulates this opposition with the help of data from Modern Udi (FOC:COG = 'focus on cognitive state'; FOC:VER = 'focus on verification'):

(42) a. **xinär ḳiçi-*ni*
girl young-FOC:COG
'(I know that ~ in my memory) the girl is young.'

b. **xinär ḳiçi-*a*
girl young-FOC:VER
'(I just have realized that ~ is it true that) the girl is young.'

A residue of this usage is present when the interrogative pronoun does not host the Q-clitic, compare:

(43) *eḳa* *śel-a* *yenḳ* [John 11,50]
what good-3SG:Q you:PL:BEN
'What is good for you?'

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 below). 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. 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, both clitics developed to third person agreement markers. Table summarizes the relevant processes for Udi (see section 4 for *-*ni*):

	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III	
	Decl.	Interr.	Decl.	Interr.	Decl. + y/n-Q	Wh-Q
FOC:COG	*-*ni*	*-*ni*	*-*ni*	---	-*ne* (3SG)	---
FOC:VER	*-*a*	*-*a*	---	*-*a*	---	-*a* (3SG)

Table 8: *The emergence of Udi 3SG clitics*

Nevertheless, the hypothesis presented here does not explain the ultimate origin of the Udi Q-clitic itself. Perhaps, the clitic is of proto-Lezgian origin. A parallel form can be found for instance in Archi (verbal focus: -*a* ~ -*ra*)

(44) *ċabu* *diʿč* *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. Tabasaran, too, has a postverbal particle to mark interrogation. Here, the clitic *-*ni* (> -*n*) ~ *-*yi* (> -*y* ~ -*i*) occurs in polar questions.[4] 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 Caucasian Albanian, there is no evidence for the existence of a question clitic -*a*, compare the following example for illustration:

(45) *hašow-ne* *gelńa-ba-al-hanay-o-en-ḳe* *K˜s* *Y˜s*
who-3SG guilt-do:PRES-PART-REL-he-ERG-REL Christ Jesus
'Who is the one who will condemn?' [Rom 8:34]

4. The origins of basic personal agreement clitics

4.1 *Pronoun or focus marker?*

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, the argumentation in this section does not proceed 'morpheme by morpheme'.

In Udi linguistics, it has since long become a general approach 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 (see above). Note, however, that agreement clitics in Lezgian (and East Caucasian) do not necessarily stem from pronominal forms: For instance, we also have to take into

[4] Note that in Tabasaran, the interrogative particle -*n* (~ -*i*) is placed before the second person clitic (first person clitics are canceled probably because such structures do not represent answerable polar questions, but rather rhetorical questions): *iwu iṗurdu-n-a* 'do you (SG) do (it)?', *iç̌^{w}u iṗurdu-n-uç̌^{w}a* 'do you (PL) do it?' (Magometov 1965:315).

consideration analytic structures confined to specific 'persons' as well as deictic, emphatic, focus, and locution markers, see Schulze (forthcoming b)).

As has been said in the second section of this paper, pronominal origin can safely be ascribed to those clitics that cross-reference a first person. The following table summarizes the relevant data for Udi and Caucasian Albanian:

	Singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	Clitic	Pronoun	Clitic
ABS/ERG	*zu*	*-zu ~ -z ~ -əz*	*yan*	*-yan*
GEN	*bez(i)*	*-bez* (V.)	*beš(i)*	*-beš* (V.)
DAT	*za*	*-za* (V.)	*ya*	*-ya* (V.)
DAT2	*zax*	*-zax*	*yax*	*-yax*

Table 9: *Udi 1SG clitics*

For Caucasian Albanian, the following morphemes can be described:

	Singular		Plural	
	Pronoun	Clitic	Pronoun	Clitic
ABS/ERG	*zow*	*-zow*	*žan*	*-žan*
GEN	*bezi*	---	*beši*	---
DAT	*za*	*-za*	*ža*	*-ža*
DAT2	*zax*	---	*žax*	---

Table 10: *Caucasian Albanian 1SG clitics*

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, 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, it can be shown that *h-*prothesis rarely occurs before *-u-*. The corresponding form in Caucasian Albanian *vown* shows that the Nizh pronoun stems from **wun* (cf. Vartashen *čubux* ~ Nizh *cuwux / čuhux* 'woman') which again reflects proto-Lezgian **ǧ* ^{w}*ə-n*, see Schulze (forthcoming b). In order to maintain the hypothesis of

metathesis, the Nizh pronoun *hun* must have lost its initial consonant in enclisis as shown in (46) ('X' represents any focus constituent or the verb itself):

(46) **hun* X-*hun* > **hun* X-*un*

An Early Udi version of the process would have been:

(47) **wun* X-*wun* > **wun* X-*un*

The resulting structure X-*un* would then have undergone metathesis similar to 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, table 11 gives the co-occurrence of the pronominal forms at issue in the Vartashen corpus:

	TOTAL	+ 1SG	+ 2SG
1SG	509	---	61
2SG	317	61	---
3SG	1210	49	33

Table 11: *Co-occurrence of singular personal pronouns in Vartashen Udi texts*

An example is:

(48) *un* *ex-nu* *te* *zu* *pasčaġ-zu* [V; John 18:37]
you:SG say:PRES-2SG SUB I king-1SG
'You say that I am the king.'

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 the word final sequence *-un* is rather common in Udi texts from Vartashen:

	Total	*-un#*	Percentage
Narratives	5256	238	4.53 %
Schiefner	4660	245	5.26 %
Gospels	56205	2531	4.50 %
Total	71370	3264	4.57 %

Table 12: -un-*final word forms in Vartashen Udi*

Hence, there is no obvious constraint on the sequence *-un#*. The fact that the second person clitic is frequently added to forms ending in a vowel (e.g. *pinu* 'you said', *kalanu* 'you are old' etc.) does not necessarily support the metathesis hypothesis: On the one hand, the sequence *-V-un#* can be observed in rather old forms such as *ġeun* '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 augment' occurs: *baru* 'wall' > *barunun* 'of the wall', *haso* 'cloud' > *hasonun* 'of the cloud' etc.

In addition, it should be noted that the morpheme *-ne* (= third person singular) can be used with second person singular imperatives to mark an emphatic imperative:

(49) a. *ek-e-ne* 'Just come!' [Ǯeiranišvili 1971:123]
come:IMP-IMP:2SG-FOC

b. *up-a-ne* 'Just speak!' [Ǯeiranišvili 1971:123]
say:IMP-IMP:2SG-FOC

Here, the morpheme *-ne* suggests that the second person (singular) is structurally related to the third person clitic *-ne*.

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. *van* ~ *väʿn*). So far, the plural clitic *-nan* has been analyzed in two different ways: Schulze 1982:171 has claimed that the initial *-n-* has been taken from the corresponding singular form (*vaʿn* x *-nu* > *-naʿn*). 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 the data goes, a formal interaction between the second person singular and its plural form never occurs. Harris' analysis is even more complicated: It presupposes that the pre-form of *-nan* must have co-existed with the original clitic ***-vaʿn*. 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-)analyzed as consisting of an 'ending' ***-an* added to a segment ***y-* (> *yan*). This segment would than 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 instance, it is difficult to explain, why **-*an* should be re-analyzed as 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 **-*vaʕn* (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.

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:

	SG	PL
1SG	-*zu*	-*yan*
2SG	-*nu*	-*nan*
3SG	-*ne*	-*q̇un* / -*ṭun*

Table 12: -n-*initial clitics in Udi*

Second, the superficially reduced forms of the conjunctive (see above) illustrate a syncretism of the two singular forms:

	SG	PL
1SG	-*z*	-*yan*
2SG	-*n*	-*nan*
3SG	-*n*	-*q̇un* / -*ṭun*

Table 13: *The reduced modal clitics in Udi*

Third, the Nizh variant of the indirect objective/possessive shows that the third person plural is derived from the corresponding singular form aided by re-analysis of the second person singular/plural:

	SG	PL
1SG	-*zax*	-*yax*
2SG	-*vax*	-*vaʕx*
3SG	-*ṭux*	-*ṭuʕx*

Table 14: *The objective/possessive clitics in Udi*

These structural properties mirror an architecture of personal agreement that is typical for some of those East Caucasian languages that have developed partial systems of personal agreement (Tsakhur, Akhvakh, Zakatal-Avar, Khunza),. For instance in Tsakhur, the first person of certain tense/aspect forms is marked with 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:

	I	II	III	IV
1SG	*zə wo-r-na*	*zə wo-r-na*	*zə wo-b-na*	*zə wo-b-on*
2SG	*ġu wo-r-or*	*ġu wo-r-or*	*ġu wo-b-ob*	*ġu wo-d-od*
3SG	*šena wo-r-or*	*šena wo-r-or*	*šena wo-b-ob*	*šen wo-d-od*

Table 15: *An instance of personal inflection in Tsakhur*

All languages in question show so-called egocentric systems: The first person is singled out via specific morphological devices, for instance participles or gerundial constructions, attributive markers, or – as in the case of Kryts – with personal pronouns. 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 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 table 1 above and the following examples from Northern Tabasaran (Magometov 1965:255):

(50) 1SG *izu* *aṗ-nu*[*-wu*]*-za*
I do-GER:PAST[-AUX]-1SG
'I usually did …'

2SG *iwu* *aṗ-nu*[*-wu*]*-wa*
you:SG do-GER:PAST-[-AUX]-2SG
'You usually did …'

3SG *du-ġu* *aṗ-nu-w*[*u*]
DIST-ERG:HUM do-GER:PAST-AUX:3SG
'(S)he usually did …'

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 clitization started with the first person singular overlapping with an older strategy of focus marking. This assumption accounts for the fact that the second and the third person have more

in common than each of them has with the first person. Accordingly, I take the position that the second person singular represents a phonetically and lexically 'disguised' variant of the third person singular clitic *-ne.*

4.2 *The third person clitic* -ne *and the Cleft Hypothesis*

Traditionally, the Udi 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:

	PROX	MED	DIST	CL (Vartashen)	CL (Nizh)
GEN	*meṭay*	*kaṭay*	*šeṭay*	*-ṭay*	---
DAT	*meṭu*	*kaṭu*	*šeṭu*	*-ṭu*	---
DAT2	*meṭux*	*kaṭux*	*šeṭux*	---	*-ṭux*

Table 16: *The third person singular 'oblique' clitics and demonstratives in Udi*

This correlation is discussed in more detail in Schulze (forthcoming a). 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* ~ *mono* (PROX), *kano* (MED), and *šeno* ~ *šono* (DIST). In order to account for the phonetic differences, Pančviʒe (1974:84) has suggested to analyze *meno* as **me-ne-o* etc. This gives him a segment **-ne* that is said to be identical with the third person singular clitic. 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 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. However, there is no evidence that a final **-o* has ever changed to *-e* in unstressed syllables (compare: *biq̇alo* 'a fishing one' (⤚ ***biq̇ale*), *suno* 'someone' (⤚ ***sune* etc.).

The assumption that the third person clitics stem from demonstrative pronouns leaves us with considerable problems. First and most importantly, it is difficult to see how the sequences *-ne*, *-ṭai*, *-ṭu* and *-ṭux* 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. (51) simulates this structure with the help of data from Modern Udi (Harris' notional conventions have been adapted to the format used in the present paper):

(51) 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. *düšmän* *adamar-en-ne* *b-e* *mo-ṭ-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*)*ṭin be moṭux*

'[It is] a wicked person he has done this.'

c. *eḳa-za i-bak-sa?* [Luke 16:2]
what-1SG:IO hear-LV-PRES
'What do I hear …'

< *eḳa* [COP] **no* **za ibaksa*

'[It is] what that I hear?'

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 no a complete coverage. For the purpose of the present paper, the following observations may be sufficient: First, and most importantly, the 'cleft hypothesis' can explain constituent focus, but not predicative (or: sentence) focus. 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 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. 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 (see Schulze (forthcoming a) for details).

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 *$^{?}$*no* (or: *$^{?}$*ṭin*) 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:

(52) *zu* BE [*zu* *xorag* *häzir-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 did not change Harris' glosses. Disregarding problems of case assignment and the dubious interpretation of the tense form, it becomes clear that Harris interprets the two clauses in (52) 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 have subordinated structures elsewhere.

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 *$^{?}$*no* $^{?}<$ ***ne-o*** from the corresponding form of the demonstrative pronouns. 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	*me-no*	*$^{?}$-no
MED	*ka-no*	
DIST	*še-no*	

Table 17: *The origins of Udi -ne (traditional view)*

The reduction to *ʔ-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.

If we instead start with the segment **ʔ-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 Caucasian Albanian). In addition, the cleft hypothesis has to explain, why the 'absolutive' was used in contexts that require an ergative. Here, Harris argues that "the use of the ergative case pronoun (*-ṭin*) 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 (**-ṭin* (SG) vs. *-q̇un/-ṭun* (PL). Crucially, the third person plural pronoun *-q̇un ~ -ṭun* is usually explained the other way round: Here, it is the ergative that is said to have replaced the expected absolutive (see below):

	SG		PL	
ABS	*ʔ-no	-ne	**-no-r	-q̇/ṭun
ERG	**-ṭin		*ʔ-ṭ-ġ-on	

Table 18: *The derivation of third person clitics in Udi (traditional view)*

4.3 *A new look at* -ne *and* -q̇un/-ṭun

We can thus say that the 'cleft hypothesis' faces considerable problems when referred to in order to explain the Udi third person clitics. These problems can be avoided if we interpret the clitic *-ne* as an immediate reflex of the proto-Lezgian focus particle **-ni*. As has been mentioned above, 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 *-q̇an*, too, is

marked by this particle (< *ġa-ni*).[5] Just as it is true for Lezgi *-ni*, the Udi clitic *-ġan* can be used both as a coordinator and as an additive focus particle.

(53) a. *gög-ġan* *oćal* *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-ġan*
NEG-2SG:IO be-FUT:MOD one hair-SA-DAT2-and

ye *maçi-b-es* *ye* *maʿin-b-es* [Matthew 5:36]
or white-LV-MASD or black-LV-MASD
'You cannot make even one hair white or black.'

Haspelmath (1993:328) describes the clitic as follows: "The suffix *-ni* always follows the constituent it focuses on 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):

(54) a. *kafir-di-z* *masa* *zaṭ-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?'

. *zun-ni* *qʰüre-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'." An example he gives is:

(55) *šafiga-di* *ada-n* *žawab* *güzlemiš-ni* *iyizwa-č-ir*
Shafiga-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-GEN answer wait:PER-FOC do-IMPF-NEG-PAST
'Shafiga didn't even wait for his answer.'

The structure in (55) nicely matches the position of Udi agreement particles with incorporated verbs, compare:

[5] The conjunction is *own* in CA. For the time being, we cannot safely claim that *own* has to do with the second segment in Udi *-ġan* < *ġa-ni*. Further more, CA *own* does not seem to entail the feature of 'additive focus'.

(56) *günäh-ġ-ox-al* *baġišlamiš-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 above, 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 above.

From a phonetic point of view, the Udi third person singular clitic can be safely derived from *-*ni* (compare PROX *me* < **mi*, DIST *ṭe* < *ṭi* etc.). Therefore, it is phonetically speaking reasonable to assume 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.

Possession of the 'case neutral' properties of the participle *-ni* meant that it could be used irrespective of the case the constituent in pivotal function (subjective/agentive or its demoted variants) was marked for. This holds especially for the so-called 'inversion' with *verba sentiendi* that is characterized by the use of the dative case for agents of low control:

(57) **adamar-a* *sa* *ḳož-ni* *aḳ-sa*
person-DAT one house-FOC see-PRES
'The person sees (lit.: perceives) a HOUSE.'

~ **adamar-a* *sa* *ḳož* *a-ni-ḳ-sa*
person-DAT one house see-FOC-$-PRES
'The person SEEs a house.'

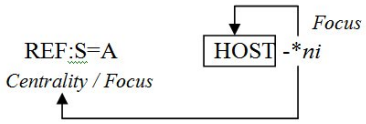
Note that both in Caucasian Albanian, this constructional pattern has survived:

(58) *aḳe-y-n-o-ow* *bowq̇-a* *anaḳe* *e* *vačar-owġ-os*
see:PAST-PAST2-3SG he-DAT love-PRES that ART:PL Jew-PL-DAT3
'He saw that it pleased the Jews' [Act 12,3]

Here, the emphatic or focusing clitic pronoun *oow* 'to him' (dative) is preceded by the regular third person marker *-n* < *-ne*, that is dropped in corresponding present stem-based forms:

(59) *išow-al* *aḳa-hanay-o-ow-ḳe* *zaq̇*
man-FOC see:PRES-REL-he-DAT-REL I:DAT2
'The man who sees me...' [John 12:45]

The older '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 probably resulted from the correlation of 'centrality' and emphatic 'focus': Accordingly, the two cognitively most salient parts of a sentence became a structural 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. Accordingly, the clitic attained the notion of 'subjecthood' or 'pivothood':



The (partly) inferential correlation between 'subject/pivot' and emphatic focus caused that the focus marker became sensitive for features related to the subcategorization of the 'subject/pivot' domain. Typically, the accusative orientation of the whole construction caused 'the person property' to be singled out as the most relevant criterion. In Udi, two aspects led to the type of subcategorization currently found: On the one hand, the 'egocentric' interpretation of the paradigm conditioned that the first person was specifically marked and that hosts related to this person took 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 for examples from Tsakhur). Therefore, the following paradigm emerged:

	Stage 1		**Stage 2**	
	Focus Marker ~ AGR marker		Focus Marker ~ AGR marker	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	**-ni*		**-zu*	**-žan*
2 + 3			**-ni*	**-ni*

Table 19: *Stages 1 and 2 in the development of basic clitics in Caucasian Albanian and Udi*

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 stage 2 was elaborated. The paradigm probably first changed in the singular: Here, the old cluster *-*ni* + second person (Old Udi) *vown* fused to -*nun* (< *-*ni*+*vown*). This assumption explains why the second person clitic differs from the corresponding personal pronoun (see above): The clitic -*nu(n)* is not an echo of the pronoun itself, but a reflex of the old emphatic clitic *-*ni* to which **vun* (or **wun*) had been added..

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. Table 20 illustrates this stage of the paradigm:

	Stage 3	
	Focus Marker > AGR marker	
	SG	PL
1	*-*zu*	*-*žan*
2	*-*ni*-*vun* > -*nun*	*-*ni*
3	*-*ni* > -*ne*	*-*ni*

Table 19: *Stage 3 in the development of basic clitics in Caucasian Albanian and Udi*

It is not fully clear whether the plural forms (2PL -*nan*, 3PL -*q̇un* (V.) ~ -*ṭun* (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*+*vaʿn* 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 a hortative or imperative context. In Lezgi, this morpheme turns up as a 'hortative' (-*in*), whereas it is used as a second person (singular!) marker in Tabasaran and Aghul (-*n*). In Udi, a reflex of *-*in* is present in the first person plural hortative (*taġ-en* 'let's go'). 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*+*vaʿn* ~ *-*in* probably conditioned that the final -*n* has been preserved in the plural whereas it has been lost in the singular.

The third person plural clitic represents the perhaps most mysterious form of the paradigm. It has been the standard assumption that both the Vartashen and the Nizh variants (-*q̇un* / -*ṭun*) derive from the plural marked distal **ṭ-* (> -*ṭux*) to which the ergative morpheme -*en* has been added. The resulting form **ṭ-ux-on* is said to have changed to **ṭġon* just as it is true for the oblique plural of referentialized forms. The form * *ṭġon* would then have changed to -*q̇un* in Vartashen, but to -*ṭun* 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 (*-q̇o(i)*) and dative (*-q̇o*). In order account for this fact, we have to describe the following sound change that, however, is without parallels in Udi:

(60) *o* → *u* / **ṭq̇*(> *q̇*)__ *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 above). Third, the hypothesis again starts with either full demonstrative pronouns that have been used in constituent focus (*meṭġon*, *kaṭġon*, *šeṭġon*) or with the bare stem **ʔṭ-* (distal). We have no evidence that bare deictic stems could ever be marked for the plural by adding the (rather young!) plural morpheme *-ux*. Finally, the claim that the cluster **-ṭġ-* has changed to *-q̇-* in Vartashen, but to *-ṭ-* in Nizh cannot be supported though additional examples. Superficially, it could be argued that the general constraint on word initial CC-clusters has caused the simplification of the cluster **ṭġ-* > *q̇-* / *ṭ-*. However, clitics usually form a prosodic unit with their host. Hence, the segment **ṭġ-* cannot be regarded as a word initial segment. In addition, it is not quite clear why the clitic would have undergone this simplification, whereas the corresponding referential form did not (e.g. *kala-ṭ-ġ-on* ⋟ ***kala-q̇on* (old-REF:OBL-PL-ERG) 'The old ones (did …)'). In order to account for these problems, a rather specific sound change would have to be postulated: Accordingly, the cluster **ṭġ-* would have become *-q̇-* in Vartashen, but *-ṭ-* in Nizh if the cluster is added to a stressed syllable (recall that agreement clitics always are unstressed):

(61) *ṭġ* → *q̇* ~ *ṭ* / σ́__ *o* ~ *u*

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the sequences *q̇un* and *ṭun* themselves are exceptional. As far as data go, the sequence *q̇un* is practically undocumented for underived words. The only possible exception is the etymologically problematic term *teʿq̇un* 'gift'. If ever this sequence shows up, it reflects an *-un*-genitive added to a stem ending in *-q̇* (e.g. *beʿinq̇-un* (darkness-GEN)) or - in Nizh, the second person singular clitic added to a stem ending in *-q̇* (e.g. *čʼuṗlaq̇-un* (naked-2SG) 'you are naked'). Likewise, the sequence *ṭun* is extremely rare in underived words (examples are *ṭuntuz* 'rump, tail' and *ṭunḳur* (V., < *ṭəḳər* (N.)) 'rolling, round' < Azeri *dəyir(-mi)* 'round'). Typically, the sequence occurs in the masdar of verb forms marked by the light verb *-desun* (> *-sṭun*). Hence, both Vartashen *-q̇un*

and Nizh *-ṭun* 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.

Hence, both morphological and semantic evidence suggests that the third person plural clitics represent rather young forms. This is confirmed by Caucasian Albanian, which adds (with animate plurals) fully inflected deictic pronouns to the focus particle **-ni* (with past stem verbs). Hence we have (past stem based): absolutive *-n-å͡r*, ergative *-n-å͡n*, Genitive *-n-å͡y* etc. (in the Palimpsest, these clitics always are abbreviated).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail a possible alternative scenario (see Schulze (forthcoming a) for details). Nevertheless, this scenario can be summarized as follows: The fact that the two variants *-q̇un* and *-ṭun* behave like the third personal singular clitic *-ne* (subjective/agentive) suggests that these have a 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 been marked for **-ni* added to the segments **q̇u-* and **ṭu-*. From a formal point of view, the reduction of **-ni* to *-n* is paralleled by the adhortative mood (**q̇a-ni* > *q̇a-n*) and the hypothetical mood (**gi-ni* > *gi-n*). Accordingly, we should assume that the segments **q̇u-* and **ṭu-* allowed piggybacking the same way as for *q̇a-* (ADH) and *gi-* (HYP). Note that there are several examples in the Udi Gospels that are marked for a third person plural *q̇u-* instead of *-q̇un*: An example is (also cf. Luke 14:1, Mark 6:56):[6]

(62) *vaʿ* *ǯuġab-q̇u-tad-i* *te-ya* *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.'

Disregarding the question whether there are actual traces of the variant *-q̇u*, it is likely that this segment once expressed 'plurality of human beings'. The underlying paradigm can be simulated as follows:

(63) a. *adamar* *ar-i-Ø-*ni*
person come.PAST-PAST-SG-FOC
'The person came.'

[6] Admittedly, the examples are rather doubtful. In contemporary Vartashen Udi, the third person plural clitic always is *-q̇un*, never *q̇u-*. In addition, we cannot exclude that the example in (62) is marked for a typographical error.

b. *adamar-ux* *ar-i-*ġu-*ni*
person-PL come:PAST-PAST-PL-FOC
'The people came.'

Compare the use of *-n(e)* with third person plurals in Caucasian Albanian:

(64) a. *ee* *pe-y-anḳe-o-en* *avel-å͡r*
PROX:REF say:PAST-PAST-as-he-ERG many-REF:PL:ABS

håya-he-y-n *o-ow*
believing-be:PAST-PAST-3 he-DAT

'When he (had) said this, many believed in him.' [John 8:30]

b. *sa* *pas-ace-y-å͡r* *ace-y-ġa-n* *eṭen*
but part-MP:PAST-PART:PAST-REF:PL:ABS go:PAST-PAST-HORT-3 by=this
'But those (who have been) dispersed shall go on it' [Is. 35:8]

This analysis suggests that **-ġu* itself did not have referential properties. Rather, it expressed the presence of a group of (non necessarily agentive) animate/human referents that are involved in the state/event. This function relates the segment to the (collective) plural marker **-ġu* that is preserved in the plural *čubġox* 'women'. This form most probably stems from **čub-ġu-ox* (woman-COLL-PL). It represents a variant of the standard form *čub-ux* (PL *čub-ġ-ox*) in Vartashen and *čuhux* > PL *ču(h)-ġ-ox* in Nizh.

From a functional point of view, the segmentation *-ġun* < **-ġu-ni* is not without problems. The analysis suggests that **-ġu* has semantic rather than cross-referencing properties. Nevertheless, it is not very probable that the element once functioned as a plural suffix. In this case, plurality would have been 'local'. For instance, in the following sentence, **-ġu* would have pluralized the referent on objective function:

(65) *adamar-ġ-on* *ḳoǯ-*ġu-*ni* *ser-b-sa*
person-PL-ERG house-COLL-FOC build-LV-PRES
?'The people build houses.'

However, the sentence in (62) actually means 'the people build a house'. In addition, this analysis would go against the observation that *-ġun* cross-references human (or animate) referents only. Accordingly, it is more probable that **-ġu* functioned as a clitic that highlighted the plurality of referents in subject function.

In Nizh, the same process seems to have occurred. Here, the clitic used to mark a clause for plurality must have been *-*ṭu* instead of *-*q̇u* 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: There is no evidence for a sound change *ṭ > q̇- for Vartashen or q̇- > ṭ- for Nizh. Still, it seems possible to relate the two clitics by postulating a proto-form *-*λ'u*: The lateral affricate would have had a more dental pronunciation in Nizh (> -*ṭ*-), and a more velar/uvular pronunciation in Vartashen (> -*q̇*-).

5. A brief summary

Summarizing the analyses presented in this paper, we can safely claim that the Caucasian Albanian and Udi paradigms of personal agreement clitics do 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. In 'Dialect B' (Early Udi), this opposition had been marked by the 'collective' clitic *-*q̇u* ~ -*ṭu* (perhaps < *λ'u*):

	Dialect A (CA)		Dialect B (Early Udi)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*
Second	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*
Third	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*Ø*	*-*q̇u* ~ -*ṭu*

In a second step, the proto-Lezgian technique of 'local' focus (*-*ni* > -*ne*) became the default with all declarative clauses that involved a referent in subjective or agentive function:[7]

	Dialect A (CA)		Dialect B (Early Udi)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*ne*
Second	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*ne*
Third	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*ne*	*-*q̇u-ne* ~ *-*ṭu-ne*

By that time, the 'verificational' focus marker *-*a* could probably have been used with all persons. The feature of 'personality' was then gradually introduced with the first person:

[7] Here, I generally give the form *-*ne* for the focus clitic. We might likewise assume that it still had been *-*ni* at early stages of the development described in this section.

	Dialect A (CA)		Dialect B (Early Udi)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First	**-zow*	**-žan*	**-zow*	**-žan > -yan*
Second	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-ne*
Third	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-q̇u-ne ~ *-ṭu-ne*

This 'egocentric' paradigm was later changed to a paradigm that opposed speech act participants from non-speech act participants: The clitic **-ni > -ne* merged with the second person singular clitic pronoun **wun* resulting in **-nun*. The second person plural underwent the same process (**-ni+waʿn > -nan*).

	Dialect A (CA)		Dialect B (Early Udi)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First	**-zow*	**-žan*	**-zow*	**-žan > -yan*
Second	**-ne-(w)un*	**-ne(-(w)aʿn*	**-ne-(w)un*	**-ne-(w)aʿn*
Third	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-ne*	**-q̇u-ne ~ *-ṭu-ne*

In Dialect B (Early Udi), the third person piggybacking clitic **-q̇/ṭu-ni* merged to *q̇un /-ṭun*, whereas Dialect A (Caucasian Albanian) maintained the simple form **-ni > -ne*. In Dialect B, the use of the clitic **-ni > -ne* thus became confined to the third person singular. The same happened to the 'verificational' clitic *-a* that developed to the actual Q-clitic. In Dialect A, the original semantics of **-ni* (cognitive focus) conditioned that its use was restricted to past tense based verb forms.[8] As a result, the paradigm took the actual shape:

		Dialect A (CA)		Dialect B (Early Udi)	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First		*-zow*	*-žan*	*-zu*	*-yan*
Second		*-nown*	*-ne*	*-un / -nu*	*-nan*
Third	Present Stem	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-ne*	*-q̇un ~ -ṭun*
	Past Stem	*-n(e)*	*-n(e)*		

[8] There is little or no evidence that Early Udi once shared this feature with Caucasian Albanian. Hence, it is difficult to say whether the use of *-ne* with non-past tense/mood-forms in Udi reflects an innovation or an archaism. Given the fact that 'cognitive focus' ('I know/re-call that X is') strongly appeals to memory and memorized event images, we may hypothesize that the linkage of **-ni* with past tense constructions is rather natural and unmarked. In addition, we may claim that in Caucasian Albanian, **-ni* is strongly correlated with 'foreground information', because the three subordination clitics *-anḳe* 'as, because, for', *-anaḳe* 'that' etc. and *-eńe* (conditional, prostatis) block the use of *-ne* even with past tense stem forms, compare the examples in (64) above (*pey-anḳe-oen*, *acey-q̇a-n*).

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