

**A Functional Grammar of Udi – Sample Text****Note: This text is for information purposes only!****DO NOT QUOTE except permission is given by the copyright holder!**

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**3.2.8 Pronominal reference**

The term ‘pronominal reference’ encompasses those referential structures that infer, presuppose, or relate to the (discursive) reality of a nominal referent. Conventionally, this class of lexemes is termed ‘pronouns’. In the present description of Udi however, personal pronouns are excluded from this class because they do not satisfy the above-mentioned condition from a semantic point of view. Pronominal reference is represented by the following paradigmatic classes: Qualitative/quantitative reference (3.2.8.1), deictic reference (demonstratives and anaphors (both standard and emphatic, 3.2.8.2.1)), reflexives/reciprocals (3.2.8.2.2), indefinite and general reference (3.2.8.3.1), negative reference (3.2.8.3.2), and Q-reference (3.2.8.4). ‘Q-reference’ encompasses all interrogative pronouns. Finally, relative reference is carried out in terms of relative pronouns (3.2.8.5). In this section, I present only the basic forms together with the corresponding paradigmatic structures. Sections 3.3.6-9 will discuss the inflectional paradigms.

**3.2.8.1 Qualitative/quantitative reference.** In Udi, any qualifying or quantifying adjective can be referentialized with the help of the referentializer *-o* (see 3.2.3). From a semantic point of view, such forms are pronouns because they replace a specifically qualified or quantified nominal referent, compare:

(X) (a) S1: *ma-no-a me xinär-muğ-oxo haq’ullu?*  
 which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX girl-PL-ABL clever  
 ‘Who of these girls is clever?’

S2: *kala-o gölö haq’ullu-ne* [f.n.]  
 old-REF:ABS much clever-3SG  
 ‘The old one is very clever.’

(b) S1: *eq’q’ara e<sup>š</sup>-va buq’-sa?*  
 how=many apple-2SG:IO want-PRES  
 ‘How many apples do you want?’

S2: *bütün-t’-ux-za buq’-sa* [f.n.]  
 all-REF:OBL-DAT2-1sg:IO want-PRES  
 ‘I want (them) all.’

### 3.2. Reference

A referentialized adjective behaves like a noun. It can take an attribute (X,a), be linked to a possessor (X,b and c), function as a possessor (X,d), be counted (X,e), and be marked for deixis (X,f).

- (X) (a) *kala ć'óca'-o-r uć'-n-axo muć'a-ne* [f.n.]  
 big red-REF:ABS-PL honey-SA-ABL sweet-3SG  
 'The big red ones (speaking of berries) are sweeter than honey'
- (b) *me dūniä-n-un kala-o tämbäi bak-eğ-al-le* [John 16:11]  
 PROX world-SA-GEN old-REF:ABS punishment be-PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG  
 'The ruler of this world will be punished.'
- (c) *xalx-n-a kala-t'-ğ-on ağaluğ-q'un b-esa šo-t'-ğ-o laxo*  
 people-SA-GEN old-REF:OBL-PL-ERG rulership-3PL do-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN on  
 'The elders of the people oppress them.' [Matthew 20:25]
- (d) *k'ac'i-t'-a pex qai-p-i* [John 9:6]  
 blind-REF:OBL-GEN eye:DAT2 open-LV-PAST  
 '...having opened the eye(s) of the blind'
- (e) *p'a<sup>ſ</sup> k'ic'i-o-r sa kala-t'-uxo zorru-ne* [f.n.]  
 two little-REF:ABS-PL:ABS one big-REF:OBL-ABL strong-3SG  
 'Two little ones are stronger than one big (one).'
- (f) *me k'ic'i-o sel te-ne* [f.n.]  
 prox little-REF:ABS good NEG-3SG  
 'This small one (s.c. 'apple') is not good.'

However, note that the attribution of referentialized adjectives is rare. Such structures occur especially when the referentialized adjective has lost its segmental semantics (adjective + (generic or typical) reference). The blend of qualification and reference then produces a 'new' noun that again can be qualified by an attribute:

- (x) *baćnakalao* 'captain' < *bać-n-a kala-o*  
 hundred-SA-GEN big-REF:ABS
- > *pis baćnakalao*  
 'bad captain';
- p'a<sup>ſ</sup>ćolao* 'hypocrite' < *p'a<sup>ſ</sup>ćo-la-o*  
 two face-ADJ-REF:ABS
- > *ai va<sup>ſ</sup>n k'ic'i p'a<sup>ſ</sup>ćolao-r-ran* [f.n.]  
 oh you:PL little hypocrite-PL-2PL  
 'Oh, you are little hypocrites!'

**3.2.8.2 Deictic, anaphoric and reflexive/reciprocal reference.** The three classes ‘exophoric deixis’, ‘anaphorics’, and ‘reflexives/reciprocals’ represent a specific functional category that is characterized by the feature of cross-referentiality. Note, however, that the Udi pronouns in question do not reflect this general feature in their morphological architecture: Deictic and anaphoric reference is not discriminated morphologically: Whether or not a deictic pronoun is exophoric or endophoric (anaphoric) can only be inferred from context. Reflexives and reciprocals, on the other hand, are based on specific paradigms.

**3.2.8.2.1 Deictic and anaphoric reference.** In Modern Udi, deictic reference (in terms of ‘demonstrative pronouns’) follows the typology of an adnominal-based deictic paradigm:

(X)	Referential			Relational				
	Demonstrative	3.2.8.2.1	Adnominal	3.2.9.3	Adverbial	3.5.1	Identificational	5.3.5
	+ REF		Base form		+ LOC		+ REF + PAM	

§§ 1-10 describe the basic distributional patterns of demonstrative pronouns for the dialect of Vartashen. §§ 12-16 illustrate the (reduced) paradigm in contemporary Nizh. Note that the formal distinction of referential vs. non-referential deictic forms is a later innovation. In Old Udi, the base form can be used as a demonstrative, as an adnominal as well as in identificational constructions.

§ 1. The adnominal (attributive) deixis represents the unmarked structure that is augmented by referentialization strategies in order to form demonstrative pronouns or deictic reference. The derivational procedure is that of referentialization: To the deictic stem, the morpheme *-o* is added preceded by the ‘determinative’ *-n-* (in Nizh only if the demonstrative has endophoric/anaphoric function, see § 12 below). Section 2.4.2 describes the impact of the vowel *-o* on the stem vowels. Parallel to the adnominal deixis, deictic reference is subcategorized according to a threefold monocentric opposition:

(X)		Deictic Reference	Emphatic	Adnominal
	Proximal	<i>meno ~ mono ~ moo</i>	<i>hašo(no)</i>	<i>me</i>
	Medial	<i>kano ~ koo</i>	<i>haka(n)o</i>	<i>ka</i>
	Distal	<i>šeno ~ šono ~ šoo</i>	<i>hašo(no)</i>	<i>t'e</i>

Note that the distal lacks a corresponding adnominal form (*\*še*), see 3.2.9.3. It is not quite clear why the referential distal uses the base *še-* instead of expected *t'e*. Lexical data do not suggest that there has been a constraint on the sequence *\*t'eno*. Nevertheless, the oblique stem would have yielded *\*t'e-t'* (see 3.3.7) that may have undergone dissimilation (but note *t'at'i* ‘grandmother’). A residue of the pronoun *\*t'eno* (< *\*t'i-n-o*, see 3.3.7.1) is the form *t'et'il* ‘just there’ that has been reported by Schiefner 1863:55 for Nizh:

- (x) *ć'öć'a ćöla xüyär-en t'e-t'-il vax k'al-e-ne* [Nizh]  
 red faced girl-ERG DIST-REF:OBL-SUPER you:SG:DAT2 call-PERF-3SG  
 'The girl with red cheeks just there has called you.'

Still, the form *t'et'il* has not been confirmed by informants. In addition, it represents a case form (superessive) that is based on the *-i*-dative (see 3.3.3.6). The *-i*-dative, however, is not used with demonstrative pronouns (see 3.3.7.1).

The segment *še-* is paradigmatically isolated: Whereas *me* and *t'e* are both used to form adverbs and other deictic structures (*mia* 'here', *t'ia* 'there', *melan* 'from here', *t'elan* 'from there', *migila* 'behold (here is)', *t'igila* 'behold (there is)' etc., see 3.5.1), *še-* is never used with such derivational patterns. The distal *še-* has a remarkable match in Tsakhur *še-* (distal, < \**ši*, see Schulze 2002). However, this isogloss itself remains unexplained; it has perhaps resulted from areal contact between speakers of early Udi and those of a Tsakhurian dialect of Proto-Samur. The morpheme *še* surely did not belong to the Proto-Samur system of demonstrative pronouns. Whether it should be proposed for the Proto-Lezgian level remains doubtful (see 3.2.9.3 for the diachronic background of the other deictic elements).

§ 2. Semantically speaking, the three deictic strategies are monocentric: They subcategorize the (real, imagined, or metaphorized) visual axis of a speaker according to the feature [distance]. Polycentric orientation, that is the orientation towards the region of a speaker/hearer etc. plays a minor role, see 3.2.9.3 for details. Contrary to many other East Caucasian languages, Udi lacks a vertical subcategorization (above/below).

All three demonstrative pronouns can be used to express both exophoric and endophoric reference. (X) illustrates the exphoric use:

- (X) (a) *me-n-o eğel-le ha-še-n-o gena e<sup>h</sup>k* [f.n.]  
 PROX-REF:ABS-ABS sheep-3SG EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-ABS CONTR horse  
 'This is a sheep, but that is a horse.'

- (b) S1: *ma-no-a me xa<sup>f</sup>-urğ-oxo pis?*  
 which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX dog-PL-ABL bad  
 'Which of these dogs is dangerous?'

- S2: *me-no!* [f.n.]  
 prox-REF:ABS  
 'This one!'

§ 2. Spatial reference is normally carried out with the help of deictic adverbs (see 3.5.1). The referential forms are only used if the space represents the region of an object that is referred to anaphorically:

- (x) (a) *t'ia gölō q'uš-urux-ne* [f.n.]  
 DIST:ADV much bird-PL-3SG  
 ‘Over there are many birds.’
- (b) *ist'ak'an me-t'-a laxo lad-a!* [f.n.]  
 glass PROX-REF:OBL-GEN on put=on-IMP:2SG  
 ‘Put the glass on it / here (on the table)!’
- (c) *t'ia-zu tac-e* [f.n.]  
 DIST:ADV-1SG go:PAST-PERF  
 ‘I have gone to that (place) / there.’
- (d) *še-t'-u tac-i-ne* [f.n.]  
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-DAT go:PAST-PAST-3SG  
 ‘(S)he went to him/her’.

§ 4. In Udi, endophoric reference normally is anaphoric. The choice of the particular demonstratives is conditioned by textual organization, discourse knowledge, and features of empathy. The closer the anaphor is to its referent, the more likely the proximal is used. In long distance, distals are preferred. However, this distribution is influenced by the degree to which the invariant component of the spatial source domain is preserved in the metaphorical use of demonstratives as anaphors. In other words: A referent that is close to its anaphor in the text but that semantically refers to a distant location, is more frequently represented by a distal than by a proximal compare:

- (X) *aiz-i sa adamar-zu beg-e. šo-no k'ac'i-ne-i.* [f.n.]  
 village-DAT one man-1SG see-PERF DIST-REF:ABS blind-3SG-PAST  
 ‘In the village I saw a man. He was blind.’

Analogically, a proximal can be used to refer to a textually distant, but spatially close object:

- (X) (a) *šel cil mo-no bu-q'un ġar-mux pasč'aġluġ-un* [Matthew 13:38]  
 good seed PROX-REF:ABS be-3PL son-PL kingdom-GEN  
 ‘The children of the kingdom are the good seed.’
- (b) *xinär-a gena q'ə<sup>ʕ</sup>-t'u-b-sa te ič laiġ-a-ne ioldaš-muġ-o*  
 girl-DAT CONTR fear-3SG:IO-LV-PRES SUB REFL go=up:FUT-MOD-3SG friend-PL-DAT
- ak'-a-q'o te mo-no bütün-t'-uxo šavat'-t'e* [R 12]  
 see-MOD-3PL SUB PROX-REF:ABS all-REF:OBL-ABL beautiful-3SG  
 ‘The girl fears that if she pulls herself up, the friends would see that she is the most beautiful (girl) of all.’

### 3.2. Reference

§ 5. The choice of deictic reference is also determined by case marking and certain features of empathy. Note, however, that in actual Nizh, the distal has become the general anaphoric pronoun. The distributional criteria mentioned above no longer condition the choice of deixis (see below § 12 for a description of demonstrative pronouns in Nizh). In Vartashen, the distinction between the three pronouns are more vivid. In order to illustrate this point I first compare the overall frequency of deictic reference in a cumulated data base of oral tales and the Gospels: In the cumulated data base of oral tales, there are 147 instances of deictic reference (demonstrative pronouns), as opposed to 4364 occurrences in the Gospels. (X) compares the frequencies to the use of the corresponding adnominal deixis (tales: 177, Gospels: 498):

(X)	Tales		Gospels	
	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal
Proximal	63,94 %	68,92 %	8,56 %	66,26 %
Medial	6,80 %	7,90 %	1,27 %	0,40 %
Distal	29,25 %	23,16 %	90,07 %	33,33 %

In the tales, there is a general preference for the proximal. Distals represent less than one third of the corpus. As expected the general frequency of the medial is rather low. Note that in the tales, there only is an insignificant difference between demonstrative and adnominal use of deictic elements. In the Gospels, however, the distal dominates the corpus of demonstrative pronouns: It is generally used to indicate an unmarked anaphor. Obviously, the distributional patterns are strong influenced by both the Russian source and the type of text: In the tales, the proximal often refers to a specific object or person, mentioned before. In the Gospels, however, anaphoric pronouns frequently refer to concepts that are more general or to a group of people that represent the scenic 'background'.

§ 6. Hence, the choice of the unmarked distal is also determined by semantic aspects of its referents. (X) illustrates this point: In the Gospels, the proximal is nearly inexistant with plural referents (percentage of all occurrences):

(X)	Gospels	Tales
PROX	0,39	15,64
MED	0,12	0
DIST	35,54	6,80
TOTAL	36,05	22,44

Table (X) summarizes the general distributional patterns in terms of a diagram:

### 3.2. Reference

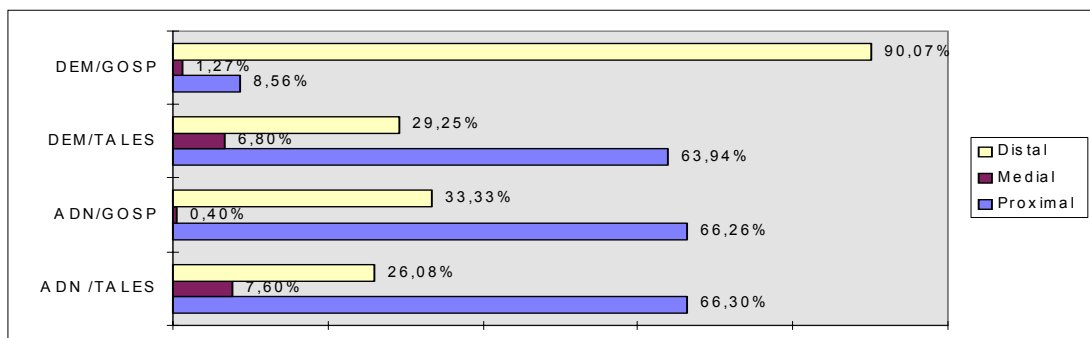


Table (X): Frequency of deictic elements in oral tales and the Gospels

§ 7. Finally, case marking (see 3.3.6) plays an important role in the choice of demonstratives to encode deictic (anaphoric) reference. The following diagrams show the frequencies of demonstratives in the five basic cases absolute, ergative, genitive singular, dative singular, and dative2:

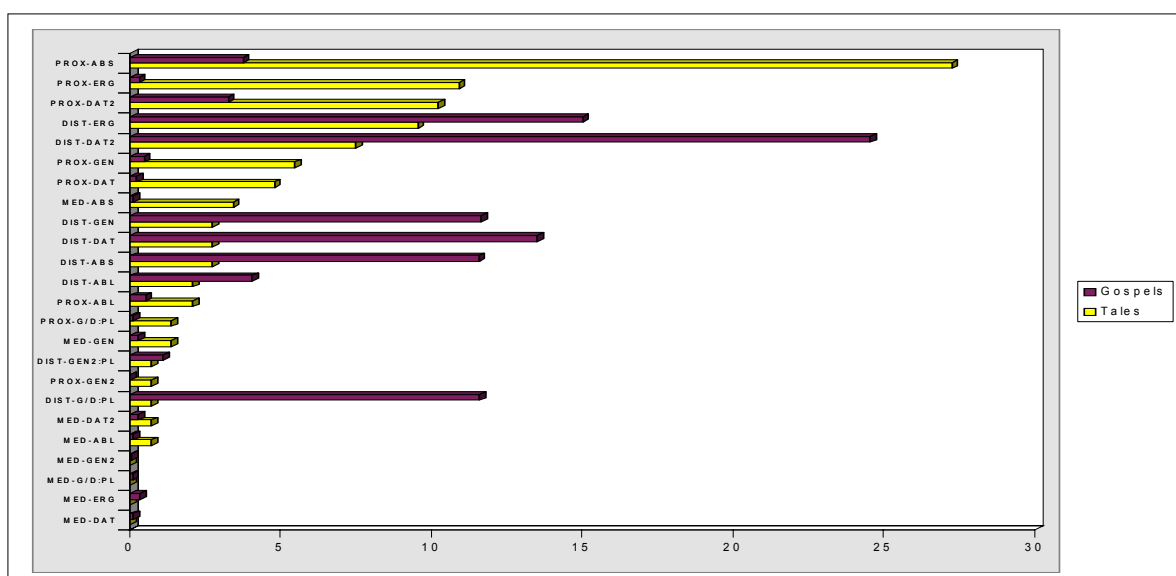


Table (X): Usage-based frequency of anaphors in relation to case marking

In this diagram, the values for the oral tales have been set as the default because they roughly correspond to what can be observed in conversation, too. The distribution of demonstratives in the Gospels is in parts idiosyncratic: The texts are dominated by transitive constructions that involve an ergative case marking (see 5.4.2.2). Additionally, intransitive constructions are often embedded in terms of subordinated ‘sentences’ resulting in the deletion of referents in subjective function (see 5.8.3). In consequence, demonstrative pronouns marked by the absolute are less frequent than in ordinary style. Also, note that anaphors in oblique function (possessive, objective, indirect objective etc.) dominate the Gospels more than the tales because of the rather complex textual information structure involving a great number of different referential types in the same context.





### 3.2. Reference

coreference with ‘objects’ that are culturally or textually related the feature ‘sympathy’. The distal is more often used in coreference with ‘objects’ that have a negative connotation. For instance, in the tale *The Greatful Death* (Dirr 1928) the three deictic elements used as demonstratives show the following distribution: proximal 18, medial 1, distal 15. (X) lists the referents the pronouns refer to. Additionally, the functional values of the pronouns are given:

(X)	S	A	O/IO	Possessive	Locative	Com
	boy	[bad] man	goods	hero	hero	hero+prince
	hero	goods	goods	king	<i>dev</i>	<i>bad comrades</i>
	hero+prince (5)	<i>bad man</i> (2)	<i>bad man</i>	<i>hero</i> <i>(indirect)</i>		
	merchants	<i>bad boy</i>	<i>ears of devs</i>	<i>devs</i>		
	sons	<i>sons</i> <i>(indirect)</i>	<i>bad boy</i>			
			<i>prince</i> <i>(indirect)</i>			

Proximal coding is indicated by normal letters, distals are given in italics. Note that the table disregards demonstratives that coreference ‘events’. Here, the distal is the standard option with events that precede another event. Else, the proximal or the medial is preferred. (X) illustrates the general coupling of proximal and sympathy vs. distal and antipathy. This distributional pattern, which is also relevant for the adnominal deixis (see 3.2.7.3) seems to be influenced if not conditioned by the analogeous behavior of demonstratives in Armenian (see Klein 1996:107f.). But note, that contrary to Armenian, the medial is the unmarked category in Udi, whereas in Armenian it is the distal.

§ 9. (X) summarizes the prototypical distribution of the two semantically marked demonstratives. Note, that the features associated with the two types of deictic reference do not represent binary features, but poles on scales that are structurally coupled. The resulting blends can incidentally highlight one feature more than the others.

(x)	Proximal	Distal
Spatial	In speaker’s region	Away from speaker’s region
Cognitive	In speaker’s mental region	Away from speaker’s mental region
Empathy	Sympathy	Antipathy
Discreteness	Singular	Plural
Actancy	Subjective/Agentive	Oblique
Time frame	Present	Past

§ 10. Here, a characterization of the medial has been neglected. In fact, it is rather difficult to fix the semantics of this demonstrative. The following examples illustrate its use:

- (x) (a) *ka kažz-un boš cam-ne-c-i te ġar bai-es-xolan*  
 MED letter-GEN in write-3SG-PASS:PAST-PAST SUB boy come-MASD-CV:PAR

*ka-t'-a q'o<sup>ʃ</sup>q'-ex bot'-a-nan* [K&S 85]  
 MED>ANAPH-REF:OBL-GEN throat-DAT2 cut-MOD-2PL

‘In that letter it has been written that when the boy comes in you (pl.) should cut his throat.’

- (b) *tad-a-nan ka-t'-u uġ-sun* [Mark 5:44]  
 give-MOD-2PL MED-REF:OBL-DAT drink-MASD2  
 ‘Give him (to) drink!’

- (c) *ek'a-nan ka-t'-u imux-lax-sa* [John 10:21]  
 what-2PL MED-REF:OBL-DAT ear-lay-PRES  
 ‘Why do you listen to him?’

- (d) *e pislugħ-a b-e ka-t'-in* [Matthew 27:23; Mark 14:15]  
 which evil-3SG:Q make-PERF MED-REF:OBL-ERG  
 ‘Which evil did he make?’

- (e) *ka-no xrist'os-a* [Luke 3:16]  
 MED-REF:OBL Christ-3SG:Q  
 ‘Is he Christ?’

- (f) *p-i-q'un Iliax-ne k'al-exa ka-t'-in* [Matthew 27:47]  
 say-PAST-3PL Ilias:DAT2-3SG call-LV:PRES MED-REF:OBL-ERG  
 ‘They said: He calls Ilias!’

The medial is often used in direct or indirect speech and then refers to an entity that is thought to be involved in the reported event. The best gloss seems to be ‘spoken about’. Only incidentally, the pronouns is used to refer to an inanimate object or to an event:

- (x) (a) *ka-no vi borž te-ne* [GD 61]  
 MED-REF:OBL you:SG:POSS fault NEG-3SG  
 ‘That is not your problem!’

- (b) *zu ka-t'-ux p'a<sup>ʃ</sup> čüt-en ta-s-š-o* [TR 69]  
 I MED-REF:OBL-DAT2 two pair-ERG carry-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD  
 ‘I will carry it (a beam) with (the help of) two pairs (of oxen).’

§ 11. Emphatic variants of demonstratives are produced with the help of the expressive segment *ha-* (see 3.5.3). Semantically, *ha-* reflects a proto-Lezgian strategy to relate to an ‘afore-mentioned’ referent (Lezgi *h-a*, emphatic *he-* in Aghul, medial *ha-* in Rutul, emphatic *ha-* in Tsakhur, distal *hu-* (class I, *hă-* (class I-IV) in Khinalug). In Udi, demonstratives marked by *ha-* are normally embedded into an identificational context (also see 5.3.5) that reflects the old usage of *ha-* in the sense of ‘afore-mentioned’. Additionally, *ha-* is frequently used with deictic adverbs (see 3.5.1). (X) illustrates the use of *ha-* plus demonstrative:

(X) (a) *bez baba-n uk'-al-o šor ha-mo-no-ne* [GD 61]  
 I:POSS father-ERG say:FUT-PART:nPAST-REF:ABS DIST:ADV EMPH-PROX-REF:ABS-3SG  
 ‘He is like that what my father has said.’

(b) *p'uran xabar-q'un aq'-i šo-t'-xo ha-me-t'-a baxt'in*  
 again question-3PL take-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ABL EMPH-PROX-REF:OBL-GEN for  
 ‘Again they asked him for this.’ [Mark 10:10]

(c) *nut' bu-t'-ai-t'-u gena aq'-eğ-al-le*  
 not be-REF:OBL-GEN2-REF:OBL-DAT CONTR take-PASS:FUT-FUT-3SG

*ha-šo-no-al ek'k'a-te bu-t'-ai* [Matthew 25:29]  
 EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-FOC what-SUB be-REF:OBL-GEN2  
 ‘It will be taken from him who has nothing even what he has.’

(d) *šux-te muč-ai-z ha-šo-no-ne* [Mark 14:44]  
 who:DAT2-SUB kiss-CONJ-1SG EMPH-DIST-REF:ABS-3SG  
 ‘It is just that (person) whom I kiss.’

§ 12. In Nizh, the paradigm of demonstrative pronouns is semantically and (in parts) morphologically reduced. Some grammarians report that the absolutive case of the pronouns usually lack the ‘determinier’ *-n-* (Pančviže 1974:85, Gukasyan 1985:16; 1974:277). Although the resulting forms *mo(o)* < \**me-o*, *ko(o)* < \**ke-o*, *šo* < \**še-o* can occasionally be heard, most speakers seem to prefer the standard forms *mono* < *meno* (proximal) and *šono* < *šeno* (distal). The short forms are usually associated with an exophoric function (and accompanied by a deictic gesture), compare the exophoric pronoun *šo* in (x,a) as opposed to the endophoric/anaphoric pronoun *šono* in (x,b):

(x) (a) *šo gele kala-ne!* [f.n.]  
 DIST:REF:ABS much big-3SG  
 ‘That one is very big!’

(b) *šo-no gele haq-'ec-i* [TARAK; OR 126]  
 DIST-REF:ABS much take-LV:PASS:PAST-PAST  
 ‘He (was) very surprised (lit.: taken).’

See section 3.3.7 for the inflection of demonstratives in Nizh.

§ 13. From a semantic point of view, the Nizh paradigm is strongly influenced by the corresponding Azeri paradigm: Just as in Azeri, anaphoric reference is normally carried out with the help of the distal. The medial is rarely ever used as a demonstrative. (x) compares the frequencies of the deictic pronouns in the Nizh corpus of narrative texts (Keçaari 2001; 155 demonstratives, 92 adnominal forms) to those given above for Vartashen narratives and the Gospels:

	Vartashen: Tales		Vartashen: Gospels		Nizh	
	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal	Demonstratives	Adnominal
Proximal	63,94 %	68,92 %	8,56 %	66,26 %	7,10 %	35,87 %
Medial	6,80 %	7,90 %	1,27 %	0,40 %	3,87 %	1,09
Distal	29,25 %	23,16 %	90,07 %	33,33 %	89,03 %	63,04 %

The distribution of demonstrative pronouns in Nizh comes close to what can be described for the Gospels. With respect to standard Vartashen texts, Nizh behaves totally different: The proximal is totally marginalized. The proximal is normally used in exophoric (identificational) contexts (direct speech) only. Most often, it is coupled with the interrogative pronoun *he ~ hik'ä* ‘what’:

(x) (a) *mo-no he arux-a?* [ACHI; OR 120]

PROX-REF:ABS what fire-3SG:Q

‘Which fire is this?’

(b) *mo-no he äit-ä i-yan-baksa?* [ACHI; OR 119]

PROX-REF:ABS what word-3SG:Q hear-1PL-LV-PRES

‘Which word is this (that) we hear?’

(c) *mo-no he sä-s-ä i-z-bak-sa* [KAL; OR 123]

PROX-REF:ABS what voice-3SG:Q hear-1SG-LV-PRES

‘Which voice is this (that) I hear?’

§ 14. Very rarely, the proximal has anaphoric function. Examples for its use as a pivot (subjective/agentive function) are:

(x) (a) *mo-rox oša bak-al-e* [KACH; OR 48]

PROX-PL then be-FUT:FAC-3SG

‘These (things) will then happen...’

(b) *mo-rox xib-alen gār-bak-i sun-a ta-t'un-sa qeiraz patč'agğ-a*

PROX-PL three-COLL collect-LV-PAST one:REF-DAT go-3PL-\$.PRES other king-DAT

‘Having collected one by three, they go to another king.’ [PA 118]

Else, it normally has objective function (in junction with a *verbum sentiendi*):

### 3.2. Reference

- (x) (a) *agronom-en mo-t'-o ak'-i p-i-ne* [HE; OR 131]  
 agronom-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT see-PART:PAST say-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Having seen him, the agronom said...’
- (b) *mo-t'-o ak'-i nex-t'un-iy* [ACHI; OR 119]  
 PROX-REF:OBL-DAT see-PART:PAST say:PRES-3PL-PAST  
 ‘Having seen him, they said...’
- (c) *žöy hema-hema šeir-en mo-t'-o qay ak'-es-e-st'a*  
 other some-some poem-ERG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT clearly see-MASD-3SG-LV:CAUS:PRES  
 ‘Some other poems show this clearly.’ [Danakari; OR 3]
- (d) *me-t'-ğ-oxon žok ġeiri zu ak'-e-zu ...* [Schiefner 1863:57]  
 PROX-REF:OBL-ABL separate other I see-PERF-1SG  
 ‘Apart from these, I have seen other(s)...’

§ 15. The standard anaphoric pronoun of Nizh is *šono* ‘that one’ (distal). Contrary to Vartashen, there are no strategies to encode features of empathy or agentivity. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *sa ġi šo-no ič-al zoq'al-n-a xod-al-xun bi-ne-t-i*  
 one day DIST-REF:ABS REFL-FOC cornel-SA-GEN tree-SUPER-ABL fall-3SG-\$-PAST  
 ‘One day, he himself fell from top of a cornel tree.’ [ELEM; OR 134]
- (b) *šo-t'-ay sa bin bin-e-al*  
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 one daughter=in=law daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC  
  
*bip' äyil-t'ux bu-i* [TARAK; OR 125]  
 four child-3SG:POSS be-PAST  
 ‘She had a daughter-in-law, (and) the daughter-in-law had four children.’
- (c) *ai xunči a-n-k'-sa murad xeneza-ne*  
 oh sister see-2SG-\$-PRES Murad thirsty-3SG  
  
*šo-t'-in čay-q'a-n u<sup>š</sup>ğ-i* [XOZ; OR 51]  
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG tea-ADH-3SG drink-PAST  
 ‘Oh sister, you see (that) Murad is thirsty. He should drink tea!’

§ 16. The medial *kono* is restricted to direct speech. Just as in Vartashen, it usually refers to an ‘object’ (or concept) present but ‘passive’ in a given speech act. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *vič-en p-i-ne ko-no zaluğ te-ne* [ZU; OR 130]  
 brother-ERG say-PAST-3SG MED-REF:ABS my=affair NEG-3SG  
 ‘The brother said: This does not concern me [lit. is not myhood].’

(b) *šo-t'-oxun xavar-e haq'-i ko-no hikä-n-b-sa?* [ZU; OR 130]

DIST-REF:OBL-ABL news-3SG take-PAST MED-REF:ABS what-3SG-LV-PRES

‘He asked him: ‘What is that what you do?’

(c) *ai viči seri-ne ko-t'-ai maral-a zer-d-ala*

oh brother true-3SG MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 deer-DAT equal-LV-PART:FUT2

*sa čuhux-t'ux bu* [UKS; OR 134]

one woman-3SG:POSS be

‘Oh brother, it is true: He has a wife who equals a deer.’

(d) *me ġar har-i p'ap'-ala kinä bezi xüyär-ä*

PROX boy come:PAST-PART:PAST enter-PART:FUT2 as I:POSS daughter-DAT

*ko-t'-oxun kabin-b-anan* [PAC; OR 122]

MED-REF:OBL-COM marry-LV-MOD-2PL

‘When this boy has finally come in, marry him to my daughter!’

**3.2.8.2.2 Reflexive/reciprocal reference.** In Udi, both reflexivity and reciprocity are expressed lexically. Whereas the lexeme used to encode reflexivity has gained this function through a metaphorization process, the lexeme denoting reciprocity is motivated by iconicity.

§ 1. Reflexive reference is established with the help of the lexeme *ič* ‘self’. In Nizh, the form *iz* ~ *izi* is used in attributive contexts with singular referents. In Vartashen, clause internal reflexivity is often marked by the complex form *ič-en ič-* (REFL-ERG REFL-CASE), see sections 3.3.8.1 and 5.4.8. In Nizh, this strategy that is typical for many East Caucasian languages, has become obsolete.

In inflection, the lexeme behaves like a noun, see 3.3.8.1. From this we can infer that *ič* originally had referential properties. From an etymological point of view, it is difficult to fix the origin of this element. On the one hand, there are good arguments to relate it to a number of lexemes with reflexive function in the other Lezgian languages, compare Rutul and Tasakhur \*-əž-, Tabasaran (*u*)č<sup>(n)</sup>-, Aghul (Burkikhan) (*u*)č<sup>(n)</sup>-, *wič<sup>h</sup>* (third person), Kryts *ug* (class I and II, Budukh *ug* (class I and II), and Archi *inž* (logophoric only; oblique *žu* (class I), *že* (class II and III)). Though certain phonetic and structural aspects remain obscure, it seems plausible to assume a proto-Lezgian reflexive noun \*(ə)ž<sup>n</sup>ə ‘self’. Unfortunately, the source domain of this metaphor is not yet discovered. On the other hand we have to bear in mind that there is a strong resemblance between the Udi reflexive noun *ič* and Azeri *iç* ‘inside’. Additionally, the Lower Nizh variant *iz* cannot be separated from the Azeri reflexive noun *öz* ‘self’. Nevertheless, Old Udi *ič* (reflexive) suggests that we have to deal with a native term.

### 3.2. Reference

Semantically speaking, Udi *ič* is restricted to animate referents. It does not distinguish between speech act participants and hence follows the typology of person-neutral reflexivity. It covers the whole reflexive scale ‘empathy < textual salience < empathic subject < indirect object / locatives < direct object. See 5.4.8 for a detailed description of the syntax of *ič*.

§ 2. Reciprocity is expressed by the ionic term *sunsun-*. It can only occur in the following oblique cases: *sunsun-a* (dative), *sunsunax* (dative2), *sunsunaxo* (ablative), *sunsunaxol* (comitative), *sunsunač’* (allative), *sunsunal* (superessive), *sunsunast’a* (adessive), see 3.3.8.2. The term is based on the cardinal number *sa-* in the qualifying genitive case: *s-un* (see 3.2.9.1). The reduplicated form iconically copies the notion of reciprocity. Most probably, the first segment *sun-* represents the unmarked absolutive case covering both subjective and agentive functions. Accordingly, *sun-sun-* originally meant ‘the one (*sun-*) [verbed] in the direction of one (*sun-*)’. The grammaticalization of *sunsun-* has conditioned the shift of the agreement clitic from the singular to the plural:

- (x) *sunsun-a q’uda p-i-t’un* [BAT; OR 115]  
 each=other-DAT relative say-PAST-3PL  
 ‘They called each other ‘relative’.

Note that the reciprocal pronoun lacks referentialization, which is often present with the simplex: *sun-o* ‘one (being)’. The syntax of *sunsun* is discussed in 5.4.8.

In Nizh, the reciprocal incidentally lacks the first segment *sun-*:

- (x) *loroc’-in bel-xun sun-ai nišanlu baksun-a-al ava-t’un-iy*  
 cradle-GEN head:SUPER-ABL each=other-GEN engaged be-DAT-FOC knowing-3PL-PAST  
 ‘They knew that they had been engaged to each other since the times (lit.: head) of the cradle.’ [BAT; OR 115]

**3.2.8.3 Unspecific, general, and negative reference.** In order to encode unspecific, general, or negative reference, Udi uses a set of rather heterogeneous pronouns some of them derived from adjectives or adverbs. Additionally, certain nouns or noun-like forms are integrated into this semantic paradigm. (X) lists all indefinite structures that are documented for Vartashen Udi:

(X)

		Unspecific		‘Other’	General	Negative	
		Human	Non-human			Human	Non-human
Singular	New/Neutral	<i>so</i>	<i>sazad</i>			<i>šuk’al</i> + NEG	<i>ek’al</i> + NEG
	Given	<i>fulano</i>	<i>sai ~ sak’i</i>	<i>t’eso</i>	<i>har-o</i>	<i>šuk’al</i> + NEG	<i>ek’al</i> + NEG
			<i>saial ~ sak’ial</i>	<i>q’eirio</i>			
Restricted		<i>saemo</i>	<i>saemo</i>				

### 3.2. Reference

Plural	Main	<i>šuk'al</i>	<i>ek'al</i>	<i>q'eirior</i>	<i>bütin(o)</i>	<i>šuk'al</i> + NEG	<i>ek'al</i> + NEG
	Relative	<i>šute</i>	<i>ek'(k')ate</i>			<i>šute</i> + NEG	<i>ek'(k')ate</i> + NEG

**3.2.8.3.1 Unspecific und general reference.** Basically, the ‘indefinite pronouns’ are subcategorized according to the two features [number] and [given/new]. The feature [given/new] encompasses those pragmatic aspects that are related to presuppositions or inferences regarding the givenness of an indefinite referent. ‘Number’ refers to the (con)textual inference of the degree of plurality associated with a given pronoun. Unspecific reference is expressed by so-called indefinite pronouns or nouns marked for ‘indefinite’ or unspecific semantics:

(X)	<i>ek'al</i>	‘anything, something’
	<i>fulano</i>	‘a certain’
	<i>ingän</i>	‘a little something’ [rare]
	<i>saemo</i>	‘some’
	<i>sazad</i>	‘something’
	<i>so</i>	‘somebody’ [Nizh often <i>sun</i> ~ <i>soğo</i> ]
	<i>šuk'al</i>	‘anybody, somebody’

§ 1. The degree of referentiality varies among these forms: *ek'al*, *šuk'al*, and *saemo* are highly referential whereas the other forms sometimes call for another referential entity to establish full reference. The following elements normally mark unspecific reference towards a singular entity:

(X)	<i>fulano</i>	‘a certain’
	<i>ingän</i>	‘a little something’ [rare]
	<i>sazad</i>	‘something’
	<i>so</i> ~ <i>soğo</i>	‘someone’

§ 2. The pronouns *so* and *sazad* are derived from the numeral *sa* ‘one’. *so* [Nizh *soğo*] represents the lexicalized referential form *sao* ‘a one’. It is inflected on the basis of the qualitative genitive *sun* to which the oblique referentializer *-t'* is added. It often is used as a dummy to refer to a ‘new’ singular entity. (X) illustrates the use of *so*:

(X) (a) *so*            *laf-ne-d-e za* [Luke 8:46]  
 somebody touch-3SG-LV-PERF I:DAT  
 ‘Somebody has touched me.’

(b) *va<sup>f</sup> migila*    *so*    *iša bak-i*    *p-i-ne*    *šo-t'-u* [Matthew 19:16]  
 and behold:PROX someone close become-PAST say-PAST-3SG DIST-REF:OBL-DAT  
 ‘And behold someone came close (and) said to him...’



### 3.2. Reference

- (c) *t'evaxt'a bu-ne-i tussaǵ-a so* [Mark 15:7]  
 in=that=time be-3SG-PAST prison-DAT someone  
 'By that time there was someone in the prison...'
- (d) *tac-i bazar-ax so-al bi-ne-q'-sa* [GD 60]  
 go:PAST-PAST bazar-DAT2 someone-FOC take-3SG-\$-PRES  
 'Having gone to the market he hires someone.'
- (e) *sa kol-l-a qošt'an sun-t'-in exne* [GD 61]  
 one bush-SA-GEN behind someone:OBL-REF:OBL-ERG say:PRES-3SG  
 'Someone says from behind a bush...'
- (f) *sun-t'-ux biq'-i e-ne-sč'a* [GD 61]  
 someone:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-PAST bring-3SG-\$:PRES  
 'Having hired someone, he brings (him home).'

However, note that the underlying non-metaphorical use of *so* in the sense of 'one of X' is more frequent. (X) illustrates this usage:

- (X) (a) *bix-axo bi-ne-t-i xib e<sup>š</sup> so zenk'*  
 god-ABL fall-3SG-\$-PAST three apple one I:BEN

*so naǵl-uk'-al-t'-enk' so-al imux-lax-al-t'-uǵ-onk'* [R 19]  
 one story-say:FUT-PAST:nPAST-REF:OBL-BEN one-FOC ear-lay-PART-nPAST-REF:OBL-PL-BEN  
 'Three apples have fallen from God: one for me, one for the story-teller, and one for the audience.'

- (b) *me šähär-ä p'a<sup>f</sup> iaq'-ne tai-sa*  
 PROX town-DAT two way-3SG go-PRES  
 'Two ways lead to this town:

*so vu<sup>š</sup> ğe-n-ei-ne so xib xaš-n-ei* [GD 61]  
 one seven day-SA-GEN2-3SG one three month-SA-GEN2  
 one takes seven days, the other (takes) three months.'

(X,b) also illustrates the frequent use of *so ... so* in the sense of 'the one ... the other'. Often, the second segment is marked by the distal *t'e*:

- (X) (a) *so aća a<sup>f</sup>m-exo t'e-so-al soloxa a<sup>f</sup>m-exo* [Matthew 20:21]  
 one right shoulder-ABL DIST-one-FOC left shoulder-ABL  
 'one on the right side (and) one on the left side....'

- (b) *mia p'a<sup>f</sup> e<sup>š</sup>s-ne so muć'a-ne t'e-so-al te* [f.n.]  
 PROX:ADV two apple-3SG one sweet-3SG DIST-one-FOC not  
 'Here are two apples: one is sweet, the other is not.'

### 3.2. Reference

In Nizh, the indefinite pronoun *soğo* [~ *sun*] is extremely frequent. It is often used with a preceding referent marked by the genitive or ablative plural to indicate unspecific reference (see 3.3.3.5 for the use of *sunt'ai* (genitive) instead of *soğo*):

- (x) (a) *admar-x-oi sun-t'-in xä<sup>ʕ</sup>-ye q'onžugč-o p-i-ne* [FA; OR 129]  
 man-PL-GEN2 one-REF:OBL-ERG dog-GEN master-DAT say-PAST-3SG  
 'One of the men (= a man) said to the master of the dog...'
- (b) *čalxal-ğ-oi sun-t'-uxun xavar-e haq'-i* [BO; OR 131]  
 friend-PL-GEN2 one-REF:OBL-ABL news-3SG take-PAST  
 'He asked one of the friends (= a friend) ....'
- (c) *amdar-xo-xun sun-t'-ai kala sa händ-n-u äš-b-ala-ne bak-i*  
 man-PL-ABL one-REF:OBL-GEN2 big one field-SA-DAT work-LV-FUT2-3SG be-PAST  
 'One of the men (= a man) was working on a large field.' [f.n.]

§ 3. Incidentally, the form *t'eso* is also used to indicate unspecific singular reference. However, note that in such a usage, it has a strong contrastive connotation:

- (X) *va<sup>ʕ</sup> ba-ne-k-i še-t'-a kul dürüs etär-te t'e-so*  
 and be-3SG- $\$$ -PAST DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-GEN hand sound as-SUB DIST-one  
 'and his hand became as sound as the other [is].' [Luke 6:11]

§ 4. The delimiting semantics of *so* can be stressed with the help of the element *täk-* (< Azeri *tək*, Persian *tak* 'only'). The resulting form *täksao* ~ *täksö* 'only one' represents the referentialized form of the adverb *täksa* ~ *täksä* 'only'. It is normally inflected as the simplex *so* (oblique *sun-t'-* ~ *so-t'-*). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *šo-no täk-so-ne bezi* [Luke 9:38]  
 DIST-REF:ABS only-one-SG I:POSS  
 'He is my only (son).'
- (b) *amma šin-te moğor-d-ai-n täk-so-t'-ux*  
 but who:ERG-SUB astray-LV-CONJ-3SG only-one-REF:OBL-DAT2  
  
*me k'ic'k'e-t'-uğ-oxo* [Matthew 18:6]  
 PROX little-REF:OBL-PL-ABL  
 'But who leads astray only one of those little ones...'
- (c) *ma pexo sak-a-nan täk-sun-t'-ux me k'ic'k'e-t'-ğ-oxo*  
 PROH eye:ABL throw-MOD-2PL only-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 PROX little-REF:OBL-PL-ABL  
 'Do not despise one of these little ones.' [Matthew 18:10]

§ 5. The pronoun *so* is related to the two indefinite grading element *sai* and *saial* both denoting ‘a little bit, somewhat’. They serve to reduce or augment the absolute semantics of adjectives and adverbs, compare:

(x) (a) *e<sup>ʕ</sup>ś-n-a*    *soo-t'-u*    *la-ne-x-sa*    *sa ga-l-a*    *saial a<sup>ʕ</sup>xi<sup>ʕ</sup>l*  
 apple-SA-GEN one-REF:OBL-DAT put-3SG-§-PRES one place-SA-DAT a=little distant  
 ‘She places one of the apples a little bit farer,

*te me ġar sai a<sup>ʕ</sup>xi<sup>ʕ</sup>l č'e-ġ-a-ne* [CH&T 170]  
 SUB PROX son a=little far out-go:FUT-MOD-3SG  
 so that this boy would go a little bit farer away.’

(b) *amma še-t'-in*    *saial kala umud-en pi-n-e* [Mark 14:31]  
 but DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ERG a=little big hope-ERG say-PAST-3SG  
 ‘But he said with even more conviction...’

From a diachronic perspective, both forms represent old referential words. Most probably, *saial* is a now fossilized focus variant of *sai* (< \**sai-al*). The term *sai* seems to be derived from *sa* just as *ek'al* ‘whatever’ and *šuk'al* ‘whosoever’ are derived from *e* ‘which, what’ (attributive) and *šu* ‘who’ (see 3.2.8.4). According to this analysis, *sai* would have developed from \**sa-k* ‘one + ?’. The final velar would have been palatalized to \*-*kj* resulting in *-i* (see 2.2.2.3). Relicts of the former palatalized velar perhaps are *sak'i* ['sak<sup>ʕ</sup>'] and *sak'ial* ['sak<sup>ʕ</sup>'al]:

(x) (a) *dešik' bak-al-le sak'ial pis* [Matthew 9:16]  
 tear be-FUT:FAC-3SG a=little:FOC bad  
 ‘The tear will become worse.’

(b) *amma sak'ial gölö-n q'azamiš-b-esa* [TR 69]  
 but a=little:FOC much-2SG exert-LV-PRES  
 ‘But you will commit some more (sins).’

(c) *sak'i te suruk'-qun-b-esa me-t'-in c'iġi-ne-xa* [R 11]  
 a=little SUB low-3PL-LV-PRES PROX-REF:OBL-ERG cry-3SG-LV-PRES  
 ‘When they lowered (the rope) a little bit, he cried...’

It should be noted, however, that this analysis has its shortcomings: First, it is difficult to fix the function or semantics of the element \*-*k*'. In case *-k*' is also present in the pronoun *ek'a* ‘what’ (see 3.2.8.4), we may think of an derivational element restricted to the absolutive case (compare *e-t'-in* (what-REF:OBL-ERG)). Second, the distribution of forms marked with and without *-al* is not clear at all. In fact, both *sai* and *saial* (~ *sak'i* and *sak'ial*) can occur in exactly the same position. The pragmatics of both forms are hardly distinguishable. Finally, if *-al* represents the old focus marker, we should assume the same function for the *-al*-marked indefinites *ek'al* ‘whatsoever, anything’ and *šuk'al* ‘whosoever, anybody’ (see below). Contrary

to *saial* and *sak'ial*, these two forms can be inflected (e.g. *šuk'alen* ‘whosoever:ERG’ etc.). The general rule of *-al*-focus in Udi is to place it after case marking suffixes (such as *šet'in-al* ‘(s)he:ERG-FOC’). In other words: if *-al* is a reflex of the Udi focus marker *-al*, it must have undergone lexicalization in *saial* and *sak'ial* just as in *ek'al* and *šuk'al*. Note that there is a variant of the numeral *sa* ‘one’ marked by *-al* that denotes ‘suddenly’ (*saal* ~ *sal*). Obviously, we have to deal with the superessive case here (lit.: ‘on one ~ once’). (X) illustrates this use:

(X) *ha-me ait-urğ-ox p-es-xolan saal t'ia-ne be<sup>š</sup>-sa ....*  
 EMPH-PROX word-PL-DAT2 say-MASD-CV:PAR at=once DIST:ADV-3sg see-PRES  
 ‘When saying these words, he suddenly sees that there....’ [TR 68-9]

§ 6. The term *sazad* inferring singular unspecific reference (‘something’) is derived from the noun *zad*, itself a borrowing from Persian *zad* ‘hit, kick’. The derivational pattern is well-known in the area (compare Lezgi *sazat* ‘something’). The numeral *sa* ‘one’ conditions singular reference. Syntactically speaking, *zad* once played the role of a classifier used without case marking. The underlying noun phrase would have been *sa zad šei* ‘one hit thing’ etc. Today, *sazad* is widely used to encode the notion of ‘something’, compare:

(x) (a) *ägänä šin-te efa<sup>š</sup> sazad uk'-ai-n* [Matthew 21:3]  
 if who:ERG-SUB you:PL-DAT something say:FUT-CONJ-3SG  
 ‘If someone of you says something...’

(b) *sazad tavaxq'a[-q'un]-b-i še-t'-xo* [Matthew 20:21]  
 something demand[-3PL]-LV-PAST DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ABL  
 ‘...they asked him for something.’

(c) *sazad k'am-ne venk'ena* [Mark 10:21]  
 something few-3SG you:SG:BEN  
 ‘You lack one thing.’

(d) *sazad uksun bu-va-q'-sa?* [f.n.]  
 something eat-MASD2 want-2SG:IO-\$-PRES  
 ‘Do you want something to eat?’

(e) *te šuk'al-en taš-a-ne-i sazad namaz-axo* [Mark 11:16]  
 SUB anyone-ERG carry-MOD-3SG-PAST something temple-ABL  
 ‘...that anyone should carry something (away) from the temple.’

§ 7. Unspecific singular reference towards human beings can be expressed with the help of the loan *fulan* ‘someone, a certain’ (Arabic *fulān* ‘a certain person’). It is more frequent in Vartashen and Nizh than in Okt'omberi. Originally, *fulan* had been used in attributive function only. The referential form is *fulan-o*, see 3.3.9.1. Today,

*fulan* can occasionally undergo unmarked conversion to a noun and is then used just as *fulano*:

(X) (a) *take-nan šähär-ä fulan-t'-a t'o'ğo'l* [Matthew 26:18]  
 go:IMP-2PL city-DAT someone-REF:OBL-GEN at  
 ‘Go to the city, to a certain person ...’

(b) *me aš-urux fulan-t'-ai bu-t'ai* [f.n.]  
 PROX thing-PL someone-REF:OBL-GEN2 be-3SG:POSS  
 ‘These thing belong to somebody.’

(c) *mia sa fulan-o bak-a-ne-i!* [f.n.]  
 PROX:ADV one someone-REF:ABS be-MOD-3SG-PAST  
 ‘Someone must have been here!’

Note that the use of *fulan* as an attribute is more frequent. Often, the speaker wants to avoid referential specification. (X) gives an example:

(X) *fulan čäläg-i xib döv-ne kar-x-esa* [R 7]  
 a=certain wood-DAT three dev-3SG live-LV-PRES  
 ‘In a certain wood, there live three dev.’

§ 8. Indefinite plural reference makes use of the following pronouns: *ek'al* ‘whatsoever’ ~ ‘anything’, *šuk'al* ‘whosoever’ ~ ‘anybody’, and *saemo* ‘some’. Additionally, *šute* ‘whoever’ and *ek'ate* ‘whatever’ are used in subordination. The four pronouns *ek'al*, *šuk'al*, *ek'ate* and *šute* form a common paradigm that is derived from the two interrogative pronouns *ek'a* ‘what’ and *šu* ‘who’ (see 3.2.8.4; 3.2.8.5 discusses the use of *šute* and *ek'ate* as ‘general’ relative pronouns). Both *ek'ate* and *šute* are transparent as for their derivational pattern: To the interrogative pronouns, the general subordinator *te* is added (see 3.5.3 and 5.8.3). The pronouns usually occur in subordination. Note that *ek'a* has an emphatic variant *ek'k'a* that is especially frequent in the Gospels. (X) illustrates the use of *šute*, (X) that of *ek'a* ~ *ek'k'a*:

(x) (a) *amma šu-te me vu'ğ ğe-n-e iaq'-axo ta-ne-sa...* [GD 61]  
 but who-SUB PROX seven day-SA-GEN way-ABL go-3SG-\$.PRES  
 ‘But who(ever) goes on this seven-days-road...’

(b) *šux-te be'ğ-al-lu me-t'-u up-a te* .....[f.n.]  
 who:DAT2-SUB see-FUT:FAC-2SG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT say:IMP-IMP:2SG SUB  
 ‘Whoever you will, tell him/her that...’

(c) *šin-te ič-ux ala-ne-b-sa* [Matthew 23:12]  
 who:ERG-SUB REFL-DAT2 high-3SG-LV-PRES  
 ‘Who(soever) exalts him/herself....’

- (x) (a) *ek'a-te pexambarluğ-q'un-b-i pexambar-ğ-on* [Luke 24:25]  
 what-SUB prophesy-3PL-LV-PAST prophet-PL-ERG  
 'Whatever the prophets have prophesied ...'
- (b) *še-t'-in b-i-ne ek'k'a-te ba-t'u-k-i* [Mark 14:9]  
 DIST-REF:OBL-ERG do-PAST-3SG what:EMPH-SUB be-3SG:IO-\$-PAST  
 'She has done what(ever) she could.'
- (c) *šuk'al-a ek'al te-q'un p-i ek'k'a-te a-q'o-k'-e* [Luke 9:36]  
 anybody-DAT anything NEG-3PL say-PAST what:EMPH-SUB see-3PL:IO-\$-PERF  
 'They did not tell anybody anything about what they had seen.'
- (d) *k'ual ek'a-al te-bez bu* [Ch&T 170]  
 home:SUPER anything-FOC NEG-1SG:POSS be  
 'At home, I do not have anything.'
- (e) *ek'a-te ğaç'-k'-ai-z zap'-nu-k'-o* [GD 62]  
 what-SUB bind-LV-CONJ-1SG pull=up-2SG-LV-FUT:MOD  
 'Whatever I tie (to the rope), you shall pull (it) up.'

§ 9. As has been said above, the two pronouns *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything, something' and *šuk'al* 'whosoever, anyone, someone' show a somewhat obscure morphology. The standard analysis explains *šuk'al* as an amalgamation from *šu* 'who' plus *uk'al* 'saying' ('who to say') (see Jeiranišvili 1971:278). However, this explanation fails for syntactic and semantics reasons: From a syntactic point of view we would expect an ergative marked pronoun *šin* (who:ERG). Semantically, the structure \**šu uk'al* would mean 'who (?) (is) saying'. Though words for 'saying' are likely to be used in an indefinite context, the construction mentioned above would hardly produce an indefinite structure. Additionally, note that Jeiranišvili's analysis only aims at the pronoun *šuk'al* whereas the parallel form *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything' is not taken into consideration. In order to get closer to the problem, it should be noted that *šuk'al* is derived from a referential pronoun (*šu* 'who?'), whereas *ek'al* is derived from an attributive pronoun (Vartashen *e* ~ Nizh *he* 'which'). The referential form of *e* ~ *he* is *ek'a* ~ *hik'ä* (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.3.9.5). In case the segment *-k'al* is functionally and derivationally identical with both pronouns, either *ek'al* lacks a referentialization morpheme, or *šuk'al* is referentially 'overloaded':

(X)	[+REF]	<i>e-k'a</i>	<i>šu</i>
	[+INDEF]	<i>e-k'al</i>	<i>šu-k'al</i>

The best way to account for this asymmetry is to assume that *šu* originally had at least both referential and attributive functions. It would then have behaved like the Lezgi interrogative pronoun *wuč* 'what, which'. The new interrogative pronoun *mano* (see 3.2.8.4) that could (and can) be used in both functions would have

confined the functional distribution of *šu* to referential contexts. From this we can induce that *šu* lacks the segment *-k'a* present in *ek'al* just because it no longer called for a referential marker. This analysis suggests that the segment *-k'a* originally represented a technique to encode reference. The inflectional paradigm of *ek'a* (Nizh *hik'ä*) ‘what’ supports this analysis: In the oblique cases, *-k'a* is replaced by the standard oblique marker for referentiality (see 3.2.3 and 3.3.9.5):

(x)	<i>kala-o</i> ‘the big/old one’	⇒	OBL	<i>kala-t'-</i>
	<i>ek'a</i> ‘what’	⇒	OBL	<i>e-t'-</i>

Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that *-k'a* once had a function analogous to the referentializer *-o*: It marked the attributive interrogative pronoun *e* ~ *he* ‘what’ for referentiality in the absolutive case (see 3.3.9.5). If the segment *-k'a* is also present in the two indefinite pronouns *ek'al* and *šuk'al*, we are left with two problems: First, the segment *-l* remains unidentified. It cannot be explained as the focus marker *-al* because it normally follows case marking, compare *ek'al* < *ek'aal* ‘what:FOC’, ergative *e-t'-in-al*, *šu-al* ‘who:FOC’, ergative *šin-al* etc. (X) illustrates case marking of focused interrogatives, whereas (x) exemplifies case marking of the two indefinite pronouns:

(x)	(a)	<i>e-t'-in-al-te</i>	<i>uś-n-ux</i>	<i>xa<sup>ś</sup>xa<sup>ś</sup>-n-exa</i> [f.n.]
		which-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC-SUB	firewood-SA-DAT2	cut-2SG-LV:PRES
		‘Whith what (so ever) you (sg.) cut the firewood....’		

(b)	<i>e-t'-ux-al-te</i>	(~ <i>ek'al-te</i> )	<i>be<sup>ś</sup>ğ-sa-ne</i> [f.n.]
	which-REF:OBL-DAT2-FOC-SUB	(~ anything-SUB)	see-PRES-3SG
	‘Whatever (s)he sees...’		

(c)	<i>šu-al</i>	<i>šähär-ä-ne</i>	<i>č'er-i-q'a-n</i> [Luke 21:21]
	who-FOC	town-DAT-3SG	leave:PAST-PAST-ADH-3SG
	‘Whoever is in the town should leave (it).’		

(d)	<i>šin-al</i>	<i>aš-b-al-le</i>	<i>mo-no</i>	<i>gäräg</i>	<i>zoren</i>	<i>bak-a-ne</i>
	who:ERG-FOC	work-do-FUT:FAC-3SG	PROX-REF:ABS	must	strong	be-MOD-3SG
	‘Whoever will do this work: (s)he must be strong.’ [f.n.]					

(x)	(a)	<i>t'e</i>	<i>ğe-n-a</i>	<i>va<sup>ś</sup>n</i>	<i>nut'</i>	<i>xabar-aq'-al-lan</i>	<i>zaxo</i>	<i>et'al-un</i>	<i>baxt'in</i>
		DIST	day-SA-DAT	you:PL	NEG	question-take-FUT:FAC-2PL	I:ABL	anything-GEN	for
		‘That day you will not ask me anything.’ [John 16:23]							

(b)	<i>šuk'al-a-al</i>	<i>te-t'u-bak-o</i>	<i>p-es</i> [TR 69]
	anybody-DAT-FOC	NEG-3SG:IO-be-FUT:MOD	say-MASD
	‘Nobody can say...’		

- (c) *ma naǵl-b-a šuk'al-ax aiz-un boš* [Mark 8:26]  
 PROH story-LV-IMP:2SG anybody:DAT2 village-GEN in  
 'Don't tell (it to) anyone in the village.'
- (d) *šet'abaxt'inte te-n be<sup>ǰ</sup>-sa šuk'al-i čo-el* [Mark 12:14]  
 because NEG:2SG see-PRES anyone-GEN face-SUPER  
 'because you (sg.) do not look at the face of anyone'
- (e) *šuk'al-a tad-a-ian bie-sun-a* [John 18:32]  
 anyone-DAT give-MOD-1PL die-MASD2-DAT  
 'that we would cause the death of anybody.'
- (f) *ian q'ulurux-ian ek'al-a nut' laft'-al-a* [Luke 17:10]  
 we slave-PL-1PL anything-DAT NEG touch-PART:nPAST-ATTR  
 'We are slaves who do not touch anything.'

Especially those pronouns that are additionally marked for focus as in (X,b) illustrate that the two segments *-al* are compatible. From this we can induce that the segment *-k'al* is not marked for focus. Also note that there are (rare) examples for an attributive use of *ek'al* 'whatsoever, anything'. In this position, however, there is a constraint on focus (see 5.7.2.2).

- (X) (a) *kala xinär-al*  
 old girl-FOC  
 'the old GIRL'
- (b) *\*kala-al xinär*  
 old-FOC girl  
 'the OLD girl'

Also, when used as an attribute, *ek'al* normally is marked by the (yet obscure) attributive marker *-a* that is else restricted to the non-past participle *-al* in attributive function (see 3.4.10):

- (x) *ek'al-a hünär-ru b-esa?* [R 9]  
 what=kind=of-ATTR heroic=deed-2SG do-PRES  
 'What kind of heroic deed do you do?'

Second, the semantics of the segment *-k'a* remains obscure. In case it is related to the segment *-k'a* in *ek'a* (see above), the only thing we can tell for sure that it was originally linked to the absolutive case. Bearing in mind, however, that *e-* (Nizh *hi-*) is an attributive element (see 3.2.8.4), we should assume that *-k'a* once represented a nominal (referential) lexeme. This assumption is supported by the following fact: In Nizh, *k'a* is often used instead of *hik'ä* to encode 'what' [Gukasjan 1965:17]:



- (x) (a) *k'ä-z b-esa?*  
 what-1SG do-PRES  
 ‘What am I doing?’
- (b) *k'ä-n tast'a?*  
 what-2SG give:PRES  
 ‘What do you (sg.) give?’
- (c) *k'ä-ne uk-sa?*  
 what-3SG eat-PRES  
 ‘What does (s)he eat?’
- (d) *k'ä b-en?* [f.n.]  
 what do-IMP:1PL  
 ‘What shall we do?’
- (e) *k'ä-n haq'-sa?* [f.n.]  
 what-2SG take-PRES  
 ‘What do you take?’
- (f) *ay brat k'ä-n-b-sa?* [I 4a, Nizh]  
 VOC brother what-2SG-DO>LV-PRES  
 ‘Oh brother, what do you do?’
- (g) *k'ä-t'un b-e va ud-oğ-on?* [I 83b, Nizh]  
 what-3PL do-PERF you:SG:DAT Udi-PL-ERG  
 ‘What have the Udis done to you?’

Note that with a third person singular, the standard PAM clitic *-ne* is used instead of the interrogative clitic *-a* (see 3.4.3 and 5.9). Compare again (X,c) and the Vartashen parallel in (X):

- (X) *ek'a-a uk-sa?* [f.n.]  
 what-3SG:Q eat-PRES  
 ‘What does (s)he eat?’

Obviously, *k'a* is not treated as a typical interrogative pronoun. Rather, it behaves like a noun that is also present with the indefinite pronoun *sai* < \**sa-k'(i)* ‘something’ (see above). Its original meaning perhaps was ‘thing, object’ etc. In the pronoun *ek'al*, it would have been augmented by an element *\*-l* the nature of which, however, is unclear. In a second step, the whole group (in parts reanalyzed as a participle *\*k'-al* (see 3.4.10) would have also been added to the interrogative pronoun *šu* ‘who’ > *šuk'al* ‘anyone’.

§ 10. The complex pronoun *saemo* is used to denote ‘some (people)’. It represented the referential form of *saema* ‘some’ (lit.: ‘a how-much/many’), see 3.2.9.4. Note that the form does not necessarily take plural morphology to refer to a distributive plural:

- (x) (a) *bu-ne saem-o mia čur-p-i-t'-ǧ-oxo*  
 be-3SG some-REF:ABS PROX:ADV stand-LV-PART:PAST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL  
*ma-t'-ǧ-o-te nut' aba-bak-al-q'o biesun* [Mark 9:1]  
 REL-REF:OBL-PL-SUB NEG know-FUT:FAC-3PL:IO die-MASD2  
 ‘There are some among those who stand here who do not know the death.’
- (b) *t'e ǧi ar-i-q'un saem-o farisei-ǧ-oxo* [Luke 13:31]  
 DIST day come:PAST-PAST-3PL some-REF:ABS Pharisee-PL-ABL  
 ‘That day, some Pharisees came (to him)...’
- (c) *šo-t'-ǧ-oxo saemo-t'-in p-i-q'un-i* [Luke 11:15]  
 DIST>ANAPH-REF:OBL-ABL some-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST-3PL-PAST  
 ‘Some of them said...’

In fact, plural marking is less frequent. An example is:

- (X) *saem-o-r mo-t'-ǧ-oxo ar-e-q'un axə<sup>l</sup> ga-mx-oxo*  
 some-REF:ABS-PL PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ABL come:PAST-PERF-3PL far place-PL-ABL  
 ‘Some of them came from places far away.’ [Mark 8:4]

With case markers, the referentializer - *o* is often preserved:

- (x) *saemo-t'-ux aq'-al-zu* [f.n.]  
 some-REF:ABS-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-FUT:FAC-1SG  
 ‘I will take some (of them).’

§ 11. The pronominal concept ‘other’ is expressed in two ways: *t'eso* (already discussed above) indicates ‘the other of a pair’. or ‘another’. The loan *q'eirio* (< Arabic *ǧeir* ‘other’) is used to separate peripheral participants from central participants. (X) illustrates the use of *t'eso* (lit. ‘that one’)

- (X) (a) *ar-i-ne t'eso va<sup>f</sup> p-i-ne* [Luke 19:17]  
 come:PAST-PAST-3SG another=one:REF:ABS and say-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Another one came and said...’
- (b) *t'esun-t'-ux aq'-al-le* [f.n.]  
 other:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-FUT:FAC-3SG  
 ‘(S)he will take the other one.’

Note that *t'eso* can also be used in its literal meaning:

- (X) *t'e-sun-t'-u*                      *t'ağa me-sun-t'-u*                      *mağa* [Ch&T 170]  
 DIST-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT there    PROX-one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT here  
 'this one here, that one there...'

In order to contrast a given referent with 'others', the term *q'eiri* is used. As it has been said above, the term ultimately stems from Arabic (*ğeir* 'other'). The final *-i* represents the Persian indefinite marker *-ī* (< *yek* 'one'). In Nizh, the pronoun usually is *q'eiraz* < \**qeir* plus Azeri *az* a little, few'. *q'eiri* is normally used as an adjective calling for the referentializer *-o* in referential contexts. (X) illustrates the attributive use:

- (X) (a) *sa xaš-ixo*    *oša q'eiri bilži-ne*    *ar-e* [K&S 84]  
 one month-ABL after other    wise=man-3SG come:PAST-PERF  
 'One month later, there came another wise man.'

- (b) *me-t'uğ-oxol*    *ta-q'un-sa q'eiri sövdäkär-ux-al* [GD 61]  
 PROX-REF:OBL-PL-COM go-3PL-\$.PRES other    merchant-PL-FOC  
 'The other merchants go together with them.'

As a referential pronoun, *q'eirio* is be used both in the singular and the plural (see 3.2.3 for a discussion of the referentializer *-o*). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *q'eiri-t'-a*    *qošt'an te-q'un tai-sa* [John 10:5]  
 other-REF:OBL-GEN behind    NEG-3PL go-PRES  
 'They do not follow (lit.: go behind) another one.'

- (b) *va<sup>š</sup> t'ia-l*    *bu-q'un-i gölö mit'ar-ux va<sup>š</sup> q'eiri-o-r* [John 5:29]  
 and DIST:ADV-FOC be-3PL-PAST much publican-PL and other-REF:ABS-PL  
 'And there were many publicans and others.'

- (c) *fikir-q'un-b-i*    *te šo-no*    *ta-ne-sa q'eiri-t'-ğ-oxol* [Luke 2:44]  
 thought-3PL-LV-PAST SUB PROX-REF:OBL go-3SG-\$.PRES other-REF:OBL-PL-COM  
 'They thought that he would go with the others.'

- (d) *p'uran q'eiri-t'-ux-ne*    *iaq'-a-b-e* [Mark 12:5]  
 again    other-REF:OBL-DAT2-3SG way-DAT-LV-PERF  
 'Again he sent another'.

- (e) *q'eiri-t'-uğ-on*    *ex-q'un-i* [Mark 6:15]  
 other-REF:OBL-PL-ERG say:PRES-3PL-PAST  
 'Others said...'

§ 12. General indefinite reference is expressed with the help of the two universal quantifiers *haro* ‘each’ and *bütün(o)* ‘all’. A graded variant of *bütün(o)* is *gölöo* ‘many, much’. All three terms are ultimately borrowings: *har-* < Persian *har* ‘each, every’, *bütün* ~ *bütüm* ~ *bito* < Azeri *bütün* ‘all’, *gölö-* < Northwest Iranian \**gele-* (e.g. Sōrānī *gelék* ~ *gele* ‘much, many’; also compare the Persian intensifier *gele*). Whereas *haro* and *gölöo* necessarily call for the presence of the referentializer *-o*, *bütün* is frequently used as a noun. (X) illustrates the use of *haro*:

(X) (a) *har-o-te me aiz-i-ne kar-x-esa qoc’c’e usen-axo kala-ne*  
 every-REF:OBL-SUB PROX village-DAT-3SG live-LV-PRES fifty year-ABL old-3SG  
 ‘Everybody who lives in this village is older than fifty years.’ [f.n.]

(b) *ta-ne-st’a har-t’-u qo uq bac manat* [GD 60]  
 give-3SG-\$.PRES each-REF:OBL-DAT five six hundred rubel  
 ‘He gives each (of them) five six hundred rubles.’

(c) *be<sup>ǰ</sup> č’eǰ-al vaxt’-a har-t’-in ič eǰel-ǰ-ox*  
 sun go=out:FUT-PART:nPAST time-DAT every-REF:OBL-ERG REFL sheep-PL-DAT2

*q’oruǰ-a ta-ne-š-sa* [f.n.]  
 pasture-DAT drive-3SG-\$.PRES  
 ‘At sun rise, everybody drives his/her sheep to the pasture.’

(d) *har-t’-in ič-ux b-al-o pasč’aǰ*  
 every-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-DAT2 make-PART:nFUT-REF:ABS king

*K’esarev-i düšman-ne* [John 19:12]  
 Caesar-GEN enemy-3SG  
 ‘Every one who makes himself a king is Caesar’s foe.’

Frequently, *haro* is used in apposition to another noun. It then conveys the meaning of ‘each of N’, compare:

(X) (a) *bip’ ioldaš-en-al sunsun-a ta-q’un-d-esa*  
 four friend-ERG-FOC each=other-DAT give-3PL-\$.PRES

*har-t’-in sa baboča’l* [R 16]  
 every-REF:OBL-ERG one ring  
 ‘The four friends give each other a ring.’

(b) *mo-no-r aiz-er-i ta-q’un-sa har-o sa ga-n-u* [GD 60]  
 PROX-REF:ABS-PL rise-LV:PAST-PAST go-3PL-\$.SA every-REF:ABS one place-SA-DAT  
 ‘They rised and went (away - each of them) to a(nother) place.’

- (c) *va<sup>f</sup> ič ağa boşlu-t'-ğö k'al-p-i har-t'-ğ-o žok'*  
 and REFL lord:GEN owing-REF:OBL-DAT call-LV-PAST every-REF:OBL-PL-DAT separate  
 'And he called the debtors of his lord, each (of them) separately.'  
 [Luke 16:5]

§ 13. The universal quantifier *bütün* ~ *bitun* ~ *bütüm* ~ *bito* < Azeri *bütün* 'all' can be used both as a noun and in its referentialized form (*bütüno*). In normal speech, *bütün* and its variant are more frequent than *bütüno*. The lexeme then often has a collective rather than a distributive meaning:

- (X) (a) *bütün tad-ec-i-ne za bez baba-xo* [Matthew 11:27]  
 all give-PASS:PAST-PAST-3SG I:DAT I:POSS father-ABL  
 'Everything is given to me by my father.'
- (b) *ser-b-a-ne-i bütün* [Matthew 17:12]  
 build-LV-MOD-3SG-PAST all  
 '... so that he would build everything.'
- (c) *šet'abaxt'inte lazum-ne bütün ha-me-tär bak-a-ne* [Matthew 24:6]  
 because necessary-3SG all EMPH-PROX-so be-MOD-3SG  
 '...because all must happen this way.'
- (d) *bias-un şum kä-i bütün bas-q'un-k'-esa* [GD 61]  
 evening-GEN bread eat:PAST-PAST all sleep-3PL-LV-PRES  
 'In the evening, after having eaten bread, they sleep.'
- (e) *dirist'uğ up-a bito-a* [I 10b, Nizh]  
 greeting say:IMP-MOD:2SG all-DAT  
 'Give greeting(s) to all?'

When referentialized, both singular and plural forms are used (*bütünö* ~ *bütünor*).

(X) illustrates the use of *bütüno*:

- (x) (a) *te bütün-t'-in çu-q'a-n-p-i ič có<sup>f</sup>-el* [S&S 91]  
 sub all-REF:OBL-ERG spittle-ADH-3SG-LV-PAST REFL face-SUPER  
 '... that everyone should spit in their face.'
- (b) *bütün-t'-uxo dürüst'luğ-on p-i bul aq'-i ta-ne-sa* [R 9]  
 all-REF:OBL-ABL truth-ERG>INSTR say-PART:PAST head take-PAST go-3SG-\$.PRES  
 'Having said 'goodbye' [lit.: 'with truth'] (and) having bowed to everybody,  
 (lit.: 'taken head') he leaves.'
- (c) *me tämbäl-un aš-b-esun-un ion bütün-t'-ai kefil-le-sa* [Ch&T 171]  
 PROX lazy-GEN work-LV-INF2-GEN kind all-SA:OBL-GEN2 pleasing-3SG-PRES  
 'The way the lazy one is working is a pleasure to everybody.'

- (d) *še-t'-in gena bütün-t'-ux t'oš č'e-v-ne-k'-i (...) p-i-ne*  
 dist-REF:OBL-ERG contr all-REF:OBL-DAT2 out out-CAUS-SG-LV-PAST (...) say-PAST-3SG  
 'He, however, chased away everyone (...) and said...' [Luke 8:54]

The plural *bütünor* is frequent in the Gospels, but rare elsewhere:

- (X) (a) *ek'k'a ex-zu ex-zu bütün-t'-ğ-o* [Mark 13:37]  
 what say:PRES-1SG say:PRES-1SG all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT  
 'What I say I say to everybody.'
- (b) *bütün-t'-uğ-on-al xrist'os-a-q'un va<sup>š</sup>-bak-sa* [TR 69]  
 all-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-FOC Christ-DAT-3PL belief-LV-PRES  
 'All believe in Christ.'
- (c) *bütün-t'-ğ-o q'ə<sup>š</sup>-q'o-b-i* [Mark 1:27]  
 all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT fear-3PL:IO-LV-PAST  
 'All feared ...'
- (d) *bütün-t'-ğ-oč' p-i-ne* [Luke 9:23]  
 all-REF:OBL-PL-ALL say-PAST-3SG  
 'He said to all...'
- (e) *bütün-t'-ğ-oenk' nökär* [Mark 9:35]  
 all-REF:OBL-PL-BEN servant  
 '... a servant for everyone.'
- (f) *bütün-o-r buš-urğ-o laxo ar-q'un-c-esa* [f.n.]  
 all-REF:ABS-PL camel-PL-GEN on sit-3PL-\$-PRES  
 'All sit on camels.'
- (g) *Ioann-en žuğab-ne-b-i bütün-t'-ğ-o* [John 3:16]  
 John-ERG answer-3SG-make-PAST all-REF:OBL-PL-DAT  
 'John gave all the answer...'

Note, that *bütün* is frequently used as an adverb (with the meaning 'totally', see 3.5.1). The same holds for the third universal quantifier, *gölö* 'many, much'. As a referential pronoun, it means 'the many'. Contrary to *bütün*, it cannot be used without the referentialization marker *-o*. Normally, the form is used in the plural. Examples include:

- (X) (a) *amma ek'a mo-no me-ma gölö-t'-a baxt'in* [John 6:9]  
 but what PROX-REF:ABS PROX-quantity many-REF:OBL-GEN for  
 'But what for is this so much?'
- (b) *ak'-q'un-ec-i gölö-t'-ğ-o* [Matthew 27:53]

see-3PL-PASS:PAST-PAST many-REF:OBL-PL-DAT

‘They showed themselves to many.’

- (c) *gölö-t'-ğ-on q'adağ-a-q'un-b-esa-i šo-t'-ux harai-b-esan*  
 many-REF:OBL-ERG prohibition-3PL-LV-PRES-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 cry-LV-CV:TEL  
 ‘But many forbade him to cry.’ [Mark 10:48]

- (d) *me vaxt'-a še-t'-in gölö-t'-ğ-ox šel-le-b-i* [Luke 7:12]  
 PROX time-DAT DIST-REF:OBL-ERG many-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2 sound-3SG-LV-PAST  
 ‘In this time, he healed many.’

**3.2.8.3.2 Negative reference.** Just as it is true for many languages in the areal, Udi lacks specific pronouns to indicate negative reference. Instead, the indefinite pronouns are used together with a verbal or sentential negator (see 3.4.9). The general scheme is:

- (x) *ek'al* ‘anything + NEG > ‘nothing’  
*sazad* + NEG > ‘not a (single) thing’  
*so* ‘one’ + NEG > ‘not one, none’  
*šuk'al* ‘anybody’ + NEG > ‘nobody’  
*täkso* + NEG > ‘even none’

Examples are:

- (X) (a) *šuk'al-ax iaq'-al ma tad-a-nan salam* [Luke 10:4]  
 anybody-DAT2 way-SUPER PROH give-MOD-2PL greeting  
 ‘Do not greet anyone on the road!’

- (b) *šu-a ġar šuk'al-a te-t'u aba baba-xo žok'* [Luke 10:22]  
 who-3SG:Q son anybody-DAT NEG-3SG:IO knowing father-ABL except  
 ‘Nobody knows who is the son except the father.’

- (c) *šuk'al te-ne taic-e gög-il* [John 3:13]  
 anybody NEG-3SG go:PAST-PERF heaven-SUPER  
 ‘Nobody is gone to heaven.’

- (d) *täk-sa-o-al šo-t'-ğ-oxo bit-al-te-ne oçal-al*  
 even-one-REF:ABS-FOC DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ABL fall-FUR:FAC-NEG-3SG earth-SUPER  
 ‘Not one of them will fall onto the earth.’ [Matthew 10:29]

- (e) *täk-sun-t'-a šo-t'-ğ-o t'o'ğō'l te-ne bak-e-i*  
 even-one:OBL-REF:OBL-GEN DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN at NEG-3SG be-PERF-PAST

*Ilia iaq'-a-bak-ec-i* [Luke 4:26]  
 Elias way-DAT-LV-PASS:PAST-PAST

‘Elias was not sent even to one of them.’

- (f) *iaq'-al ek'al nu aq'-a-q'un* [Mark 6:8]  
 way-SUPER anything PROH take-MOD-3PL  
 ‘... that they do not take anything (with them)’
- (g) *me šavat' xinār-a ek'al te-t'u aba-bak-sa* [R 19]  
 PROX beautiful girl-DAT anything NEG-3SG:IO knowing-LV-PRES  
 ‘The beautiful girl does not know anything (about....)’
- (h) *ek'al te-ne p-i* [GD 62]  
 anything NEG-3SG say-PAST  
 ‘He did not say anything’
- (i) *me e<sup>š</sup>-n-uxo ek'al muća te-ne* [f.n.]  
 PROX apple-SA-ABL anything sweet NEG-3SG  
 ‘Nothing is sweeter than this apple.’

**3.2.8.4 Q-reference.** The term ‘Q-reference’ is used to denote referential structures that are based on interrogative strategies. In order not to complicate the descriptive picture, this sections includes all types of (object-oriented and concept-oriented) reference. See section for 3.2.9.5 for the corresponding adnominal pronouns. All Q-words are marked for natural focus. In consequence, they normally are followed by the focusing personal agreement markers (see 3.4.3 and 5.6.2). With a third person singular, the Q-clitic *-a* is normally used (see 3.4.3, 5,9 and Harris 1992).

‘Objects’ are questioned with the help of the following three pronouns:

<b>(X)</b>	Modern Udi	Old Udi	
	<i>šu ~ šu</i>	<i>ha-šow</i>	‘who?’
	<i>ek'a ~ hik(')ä</i>	<i>ya</i>	‘what?’
	<i>mano</i>	<i>hanay</i>	‘which/who of X?’
	<i>or</i>	<i>hanay</i>	‘which’

§ 1. The pronoun *šu* (often pronounced *šu*) asks for human beings. In fairy tales that have non-human animate protagonists, *šu* may also be used to refer to animals. Contrary to some other Lezgian languages such as Tabasaran (*fuž ~ fužur*), Aghul (*fuš ~ fušar*), Rutul (*wuš ~ wušar*), and Archi (*k<sup>wi</sup>iri ~ k<sup>wi</sup>ibi*), Udi *šu* does not have a separate plural form. Historically, the pronouns goes back to an Early Udi form \**əš:ˀə* (< proto-Lezgian \**w-əš:ˀ*, see 3.3.9.5 for details). Contrary to *ek'a*, *šu* is inflected like a noun (ergative *šin* etc., see 3.3.9.5). Examples are:

- (X)** (a) *un šu-nu?* [f.n.]  
 you:SG who-2SG



‘Who are you (sg.)’

- (b) *šu-a bixo-xo kala?* [f.n.]  
 who-3SG:Q God-ABL great  
 ‘Who is greater than God?’
- (c) *me k'ož ši-a?* [f.n.]  
 PROX house who:POSS-3SG:Q  
 ‘To whom belongs this house?’
- (d) *me-t'-ux šin-a ser-b-e?* [R 18]  
 PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 who:ERG-3SG:Q build-LV-PERF  
 ‘Who has built this?’
- (e) *šu-a me ġar?* [R 14]  
 who-3SG:Q PROX boy  
 ‘Who is this boy?’
- (f) *Šakira šu-a b-ay?* [I 65, Nizh]  
 Shakira who-3SG:Q be-CONJ  
 ‘Who should be (this) Shakira?’

Incidentally, the Q-clitic may follow another constituent, as in:

- (X) (a) *šin tov-d-al-a vax?* [John 21:20]  
 who:ERG sell-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:SG:DAT2  
 ‘Who will betray you (sg.)?’
- (b) *oq-axun va šin č'e-v-k'-al-a?* [Nizh; KAL; OR 123]  
 river-ABL you:SG:DAT who:ERG go=out-CAUS- $\$$ -FUT:FAC-3SG:Q  
 ‘Who will take you out of the river?’

Note that when *šu* is used as an indefinite pronoun in subordination, the Q-clitic is often replaced by the standard agreement marker (*-ne*):

- (X) (a) *te-vi bu lazumluğ te šin xabar-aq'-a-ne vax* [John 16:30]  
 NEG-2SG:POSS be necessity SUB who:ERG question-take-MOD-3SG you:SG:DAT2  
 ‘It is not necessary for you to be asked by someone.’
- (b) *ü'ğ-n-ä k'ož-a šu bu-ne cir-e-q'a-n oq'a*  
 roof-SA-GEN house-DAT who be-3SG go=down:PAST-PERF-ADH-3SG down  
 ‘Who(ever) is on the roof [lit.: roof-house], should come down!’  
 [Nizh; BUSH; OR 136]

§ 2. The pronoun *ek'a* asks for non-human objects and concepts. The Nizh variant *hik'ä* (~ *hikä*) reflects the earlier vocalization of the first segment that is used independently as an interrogative pronoun in attributive function ( $e < *hi$  'which?', compare Tsakhur *hi-žō*, Archi *hi-n-* (obl.), Lezgi *hi* 'what'). See 3.2.8.3.1 for a discussion of the segment *-k'a* \*'thing' and 3.3.9.5 for the derivation of the stem  $e \sim hi-$ . In the oblique cases, the segment *-k'a* is substituted by the standard oblique referentializer *-t'* (see 3.3.9.5). Note that the absolutive form *ek'a* can appear with emphatic gemination ( $> ek'k'a$ ). *ek'k'a* sometimes has a contrastive meaning (Jeiranišvili 1971:226). The third person singular Q-clitic *-a* often fuses with the final vowel producing a mid-long to long vowel *-ā*. (X) illustrates the use of the pronoun:

(X) (a) *ek'a-ian uk-o ek'a-ian u<sup>ǰ</sup>ǰ-o ie ek'a-ian lak'-o?*  
 what-1PL eat-FUT:MOD what-1PL drink-FUT:MOD or what-1PL put=on-FUT:MOD  
 'What shall we eat? What shall we drink? Or, what shall we put on?'  
 [Matthew 6:31]

(b) *ta-q'un-sa be<sup>ǰ</sup>ǰ-san mo-no ek'a(a)* [GD 63]  
 go-3PL-\$.PRES see-CV:TEL PROX-REF:ABS what(:3SG:Q)  
 'They go to see what this is.'

(c) *e-t'-a eq'-va buq'sa* [AR 69]  
 what-REF:OBL-GEN meat-2SG:IO want-PRES  
 'Which kind of meat do you want?'

(d) *e-t'-in-va čal-x-esa?* [R 14]  
 what-REF:OBL-ERG-2SG:IO know-LV-PRES  
 'Where do you know from' (lit.: 'with what do you know?')

(e) *ek'a-nan b-esa?* [f.n.]  
 what-2PL do-PRES  
 'What do you do?'

(f) *za ek'a-n tad-o?* [AR 69]  
 I:DAT what-2SG give-FUT:MOD  
 'What will you give me?'

Just as it has been said for *šu*, the Q-clitic *-a* may incidentally follow the verb instead of the interrogative pronoun. This is especially true for verbs marked by the factitive future *-al*:

(X) (a) *ek'a b-al-a č'ap'luǰ-un k'onžug-on?* [Mark 12:9]  
 what do-FUT:FAC.3SG:Q vineyard-GEN master-ERG  
 'What will the master of the vineyard do?'

(b) *ek'a bak-al-a me a<sup>ǰ</sup>il?* [Luke 1:66]

what become-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q PROX child  
 ‘What will this child become?’

- (c) *isä hik’ä b-esun-a lazəm?* [Nizh; KUL; OR 113]  
 now what do-MASD2-3SG:Q necessary  
 ‘Now, what is to do?’

In Nizh, *ek’a* often is shortened to *k’ä* < *k’a*. See (x) above for examples.

§ 3. The adnominal pronoun *mano* ‘which’ (see 3.2.9.5) reflects an older referential structure (< \**ma-no* ‘where-REF:ABS’, see 3.3.9.5) that, however, is rarely used as an interrogative. If ever, it is used in the sense of ‘which/who of X’, compare:

- (X) (a) *ek’e sinamiš-b-a-z ma-no-a me ġar-muġ-oxo haq’ullu?*  
 how find=out-LV-MOD-1SG where-REF:ABS-3SG:Q PROX son-PL-ABL clever  
 ‘How can I find out who of these sons is the most clever one?’ [GD 60]

- (b) *be<sup>š</sup>ġ-en mo-t’-ġ-oxo ma-no-a šel* [TR 68]  
 see-ADH:1PL PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ABL where-REF:ABS-3SG:Q good  
 ‘Let us see which of these (religions) is good.’

- (c) *xabar-re-aq’-sa te ma-t’-ai zor* [R 18]  
 news-3SG-TAKE-PRES SUB where-REF:OBL-GEN2 power  
 ‘She asks: Whose (is this) power?’

The examples illustrate an intermediate state in the grammaticalization of the pronoun *mano*: It has still kept its basic, though indirect interrogative function coupled with speech act verbs or verbs of perception. Also, the typical interrogative clitic *-a* (3SG) is used. Ultimately, the grammaticalization of *mano* ends in terms of a relative pronoun (see 3.2.8.5 and 3.3.9.5). *mano* replaces the Old Udi form *hanay* ‘which’ [J. Gippert] that is related to Aghul *neye*, Tsakhur *ne-n(a)*, Tabasaran *fu-nu* ~ *š<sup>w</sup>-nu-b* ‘which’ (to the stem, the emphatic particle *ha-* has been added > *ha-nay* [thanks to Jost Gippert for this segmentation]).

§ 4. The interrogative pronoun *or* ‘which (way), how (> when)’ has been erroneously derived from a ‘pronominal stem’ \*\**-o* by Schiefner 18963:21. In fact, we have to deal with a loan from Armenian *or* ‘which’. It is rather frequent in the texts edited by Schiefner 1863, but rare elsewhere. Examples are:

- (X) (a) *mia or-q’a-n bak-i?* [IM 60]  
 PROX:ADV which-ADH-3SG be-PAST  
 ‘What should happen here?’ [Lit.: Which (event) should be here?’]

- (b) *ama or-q’un še-t’-ux e<sup>š</sup>b-sa?* [IM 67]  
 but how-3PL DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 sew-PRES

‘But how do they sew it?’

(c) *or bak-sa or te?* [GD 61]

what be-PRES what NEG

‘What will be, what will not (be)?’

(d) *or kala-a bak-sa-i saq'aral še-t'-u-ğ-o mu'lu'ğ*

how great-3SG:Q be-PRES always DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN joy

‘How great was always their joy?’ [Schiefner 183:72-3]

§ 5. The following interrogative pronouns make reference to (conceptual) space or dimensions metaphorized there from:

(X) <i>ma, mai-</i>	‘where (to)?’ (Old Udi <i>ha-may</i> )
<i>mal ~ malla, malin, malan</i>	‘where from?’ (Old Udi <i>ha-most'ay</i> )
<i>et'abaxt'in</i>	‘why?’ (Old Udi <i>e-ṭ'n</i> )
<i>evaxt'</i>	‘when?’ (Old Udi <i>e-moč-en ~ ha-moč-en</i> )
<i>et'e</i>	‘how?’ (Old Udi <i>e-šin</i> )
<i>et'in</i>	‘with what, why?’ (Old Udi <i>e-šin</i> )

The locative stem *ma-* ‘where’ is unknown elsewhere in the Lezgian languages. However, it is not clear whether *ma-* is a loan from a yet undiscovered source. There is a vague chance to relate it to the temporal interrogative pronouns in Lezgi (*mus*), Aghul (*mus*), Rutul (*mis*), Tsakhur *misa ~ mis:ay*, Kryts (*mus*), and Budukh (*mis*). Obviously, one of the languages (Lezgi?) has served as the donor language at least for Aghul, Kryts and Budukh. Though further studies are needed, it can be tentatively assumed that *mus* represents a metaphorized variant of *\*mV-* ‘where’ (> *\*mu-s* ‘where-DAT’?). On the other hand it should be noted that *ma-* is paradigmatically related to the proximal *me* (< *\*mi*), see 3.2.9.3.

§ 6. In Udi, *ma* is used both in essive and allative contexts (‘where, where to’). In the Gospels, the pronoun is occasionally lengthened (> *maa*). With a third person singular Q-clitic (*-a*), a glide is often inserted (> *maia*). But note, that it is yet unclear whether *-i-* originally had a distinct function or not. There are some examples that illustrate the use of *ma* with the Q-clitic *-a* > *maa* instead of *maia*, compare:

(X) (a) *e'š-n-a ga ma-a?* [S&S 83]

apple-SA:OBL-GEN place where-3SG:Q

‘Where is the [place of] the apple?’

(b) *vi iš-e zor ma-a* [R 18]

you:POSS husband-GEN power where-3SG:Q

‘Where is the power of your husband?’

### 3.2. Reference

Perhaps, the segment *-i-* reflects an older locative case marker that encoded an allative function (Old Udi *ha-ma-y* ‘where (to)’). It would then be related to the segment *-i-* found in a number of petrified preverbs (e.g. *tai-* ‘thither’, *qai-* ‘back’, *bai-* ‘into’, see 3.4.4 and Harris 2002, Harris (in press)). Examples are:

- (X) (a) *mai-a otağ maa-te zu bez šägird-ğ-oxol b-a-z axc'im-ax*  
 where-3SG:Q room where-SUB I I:POSS pupil-PL-COM make-MOD-1SG feast-DAT2  
 ‘Where is a room where I can celebrate the feast with my pupils?’  
 [Mark 14:14]
- (b) *šo-no mai-a?* [f.n.]  
 DIST-REF:ABS where-3SG:Q  
 ‘Where is (s)he?’
- (c) *vi baba mai-a?* [f.n.]  
 you:POSS father where-3SG:Q  
 ‘Where is your father?’
- (d) *yan miya-yan hun maya-nu?* [I 34, Nizh]  
 we here-1PL you:SG where-2SG  
 ‘We are here - where are you?’

With agreement clitics others than that of the third person singular, the pronoun normally is *ma* (especially in Vartashen):

- (X) (a) *ma-q'un lax-e šo-t'-ux?* [John 20:2]  
 where-3PL put=down-PERF DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2  
 ‘Where did they put him down?’
- (b) *ma-z tai-sa?* [John 8:14]  
 where-1SG go-\$.PRES  
 ‘Where do I go to?’
- (c) *ma-n bak-sa?* [John 1:38]  
 where-2SG be-PRES  
 ‘Where are you?’
- (d) *ma-n buiruğ-b-esa ia hazir-b-a-ian?* [John 22:9]  
 where-2SG order-LV-PRES we:DAT prepare-LV-MOD-1PL  
 ‘You give us order where to prepare (...)’
- (f) *ma-q'un šo-no-r?* [f.n.]  
 where-3PL DIST-REF:ABS-PL  
 ‘Where are they?’

- (g) *tāngi-n-ax ma-q'un xarž-b-e?* [GD 61]  
 money-SA-DAT2 where-3PL spend-LV-PERF  
 'Where have they spent (their) money?'

§ 7. The ablative pronoun 'where from' has various forms in Udi. The following variants are documented: *mal*, *malan*, *malin*, and *malla*. Obviously, the base form is *mal* 'where from'. It represents an old superessive of *ma* 'where' > *ma-l*. Except for standard superessive forms (see 3.3.4.1 §5), the morpheme *-l* also appears in a number of adverbs such as *melan* 'from here', *t'elan* 'from there' etc., see 3.5.2. In Nizh, it is generally changed to *-y-* (e.g. *mayin* 'wherefrom?'). The shift in function (superessive > ablative) is probably conditioned by analogy with the complex forms *malan* ~ *malin*, see below. The simple pronoun *mal* is rare. Examples include:

- (X) (a) *ma-l bak-al-a venk' dürüs xe?* [John 4:11]  
 where-SUPER>ABL be-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q you:SG:BEN living water  
 'Where from will you get the living water?'

- (b) *ma-l-ian aq'-o śum?* [John 6:5]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-1PL take-FUT:MOD bread  
 'Where will we take bread from?'

- (c) *ma-l-lan va<sup>h</sup>n* [Luke 13:27]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-2PL you:PL  
 'Where are you (pl.) from?'

- (d) *ma-l-lu un?* [John 19:9]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-2SG you:SG  
 'Where are you (sg.) from?'

§ 8. The form *malla* is restricted to sentences with third person singular actants (subjective/agentive). From this we can infer that *malla* is marked for the third person singular Q-clitic *-a*. Yet, the gemination of *-l-* remains unexplained. Perhaps it simply represents an emphatic variant that later has become canonical. Examples for the use of *malla* include:

- (X) (a) *ma-ll-a ka-t'-ai me-tär abaluğ va<sup>h</sup> zor?*  
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 PROX-so knowledge and power  
 'Where does he have this knowledge and (this) power from?'  
 [Matthew 13:54]

- (b) *ma-ll-a ka-t'-ai bütün mo-no* [Matthew 13:56]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q MED-REF:OBL-GEN2 all PROX-REF:ABS  
 'Where does he have all this from?'

- (c) *ma-ll-a*                      *mo-no*                      *ka-t'-ust'a* [Mark 6:3]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX-REF:ABS MED-REF:OBL-ADESS  
 ‘Where does he have it from?’
- (d) *va<sup>ʃ</sup> ma-ll-a*                      *mo-no*                      *zenk'ena* [Luke 1:43]  
 and where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX-REF:ABS I:BEN  
 ‘And where is this for me from?’
- (e) *va<sup>ʃ</sup> žuğab-q'un-tad-i*    *te-ia*                      *aba*                      *ma-ll-a* [Luke 20:7]  
 and answer-3PL-give-PAST NEG-1PL:IO knowing where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q  
 ‘And they answered: We do not know where he (is) from.’
- (f) *ma-ll-a*                      *me*                      *fi?* [John 2:9]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q PROX wine  
 ‘Where is this wine from?’
- (g) *ma-ll-a*                      *esa*                      *va<sup>ʃ</sup> ma*                      *tai-sa* [John 3:8]  
 where-SUPER>ABL-3SG:Q go:PRES and where go-PRES  
 ‘Where does it (the wind) come from and where does it go to?’

§ 9. The two variants *malin* (Nizh > *mayin*) and *malan* are likewise derived from the base form *ma-l-* ‘where (from)’. The form *malin* is the standard variant. Most probably, we have to deal with an old ablative suffix (see 3.3.4.2), or – less probably – with the instrumental-ergative morpheme. Examples are:

- (x) (a) *ma-l-in*                      *bai-č-a-q'un-i*                      *šo-t'-ux* [Luke 5:19]  
 where-SUPER-ABL into-carry-3PL-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2  
 ‘From where could they carry him into (the house).’
- (b) *ma-l-in-a*                      *č'er-e*                      *t'ia*                      *il?* [Matthew 13:27]  
 where-SUPER-ABL-3SG:Q go=out:PAST-PERF DIST:ADV weeds  
 ‘Where have the weeds here come from?’
- (c) *ma-l-in-nan*                      *va<sup>ʃ</sup>n* [f.n.]  
 where-SUPER-ABL-2PL you:PL  
 ‘Where are you (pl.) from?’
- (d) *ma-l-in-ian*                      *aq'-o*                      *ian*                      *me*                      *beivan*                      *ga-n-u*                      *t'e-ma*                      *śum*  
 where-SUPER-ABL-1PL take-FUT:MOD we PROX wild place-SA-DAT DIST-quantity bread  
 ‘From where in this desert can we take so much bread?’ [Matthew 15:33]

The variant *malan* is much rarer than *malin* and restricted to the Vartashen dialect. The vocalization of the suffix is perhaps taken from the corresponding set of locative adverbs (*melan* ‘from here, *t'elan* ‘from there’, see 3.5.1). The pronoun sometimes means ‘where to’, compare:

(x) (a) *ma-l-an-nu tai-sa* [f.n.]  
 where-SUPER-ABL-2SG go-PRES  
 ‘Where do you go?’ [rather than: ‘where do you come from’]

(b) *vi nana ma-l-an-a?* [f.n.]  
 you:SG:POSS mother where-SUPER-ABL-3SG:Q  
 ‘Where is your mother from?’

The Nizh variant *mayin* ‘where from’ is often shortened to *ayn* especially if followed by a V-initial clitic:

(x) *hun udi-nu? Maskvi-n-a mayn-un baft'-e?* [I 89, Nizh]  
 you:SG Udi-2SG Moscow-SA-DAT where=from-2SG fall=onto-PERF  
 ‘Are you an Udi? How did you happen to come to Moscow?’

§ 10. The ablative is sometimes replaced by the compound *maćxo* < *ma ćexo* ‘from which side’. Likewise, *maćo* ‘(in) which side’ (> Nizh *maću*) is used for ‘in which direction’. Also note *malcirik* ‘till where’ < *ma-l cirik* (where-SUPER till).

§ 11. The four pronouns *et'abaxt'in* ‘why?’, *evaxt'* ‘when?’, *et'e* ‘how, why?’, *etär* ‘how’, and *et'in* ‘with what, why?’ are derived from the attributive interrogative pronoun *e* (Nizh *he ~ hi*) ‘which’, see 3.2.9.5. Except for *et'e*, the semantics of the single pronouns can easily be inferred from the derivational pattern:

(X)	<i>et'abaxt'in</i>	<	<i>e-t'-a</i>	<i>baxt'-in</i>
	‘why’		which-REF:OBL-GEN	fate-ERG>INSTR
			‘with the fate of what?’	
	<i>evaxt'</i>	<	<i>e</i>	<i>vaxt'</i>
	‘when?’		which	time
			‘(at) which time?’	
	<i>e-t'-in</i>	<	<i>e-t'-in</i>	
	‘how (instrument)’		which-ref:obl-erg>instr	
			‘with what’	
	<i>e-tär</i>	<	<i>e-tär</i>	
	‘how (quality)’		which	mode
			‘(with) which mode’	

The pronoun *et'e* ‘why, how’ is not as transparent as the pronouns mentioned in (X). The form is obviously based on the referential pronoun *ek'a* ‘what?’, marked for an oblique case: *e-t'-e* ‘which-REF:OBL-?’. However, the paradigm of *ek'a* itself lacks a case morpheme *-e* (see 3.3.9.5). It is also present in *šet'e* ‘thus’ (< *še-t'-e* ‘DIST-REF:OBL-?’) that incidentally occurs in older texts: Most probably, we have to deal



with an older locative marker that was used in an adverbial context. Examples for the use of *et'e* include:

- (X) (a) *et'e-z za žafa tast'a?* [IM 66]  
 why-1SG I:DAT effort give:PRES  
 'Why do I make so much effort?'
- (b) *et'e-a me-t'-in t'ap'-exa* [GD 60]  
 why-3SG:Q PROX-REF:OBL-ERG hit-LV:PRES  
 'Why does he hit (the grave)?'
- (c) *et'e-a k'ala-exa?* [R 16]  
 why-3SG:Q lame-LV:PRES  
 'Why is he lame?'
- (d) *et'e xorag hazir te-a?* [R 10]  
 why food ready NEG-3SG:Q  
 'Why isn't the food ready?'
- (e) *et'e te-n vi viče baxt'in čubux ečša?* [S&S 92]  
 why NEG-2SG you:SG:POSS brother:GEN for wife bring:PRES  
 'Why don't you bring a wife for your brother?'
- (f) *et'e te-q'un vi šägird-ğ-on tam-b-esa atababa ädät-ä?*  
 why NEG-3PL you:SG:POSS pupil-PL-ERG fulfill-LV-PRES forefather:GEN habit-DAT  
 'Why don't your pupils observe the habit(s) of the forefathers?'  
 [Matthew 15:2]

It should be noted that *et'e* is more frequent with negated clauses. In case the negator *te* (see 3.4.9) is present, the agreement clitic follows rather the negator than the interrogative pronoun *et'e*, cf. the examples (X,d-f).

§ 12. The other interrogative pronouns listed above can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

- (X) (a) *et'abaxt'in-ian va<sup>š</sup> farisei-ğ-on gölö ği-rux-ian ef-sa?* [Matthew 9:14]  
 why-1PL and Pharisees much day-PL-1PL keep-PRES  
 'Why do we and the Pharisees fasten so often?'
- (b) *et'abaxt'in-a še-t'-in p-i šo-t'-ux me ait-ax?*  
 why-3SG:Q DIST-REF:OBL-ERG say-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2 PROX word-DAT2  
 'Why has he spoken this word to him?' [John 13 :28]
- (c) *et'abaxt'in Ioann-un šägird-ğ-on usin usin e-q'un-f-esa ği-rux?*  
 why John-GEN pupil-PL-ERG soon soon keep-3PL-3-PRES day-PL

‘Why do John’s pupils fasten again and again?’ [Luke 5:33]

- (d) *evaxt’ mo-no bak-al-a?* [Matthew 24:3]  
 when PROX-REF:OBL be-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q  
 ‘When will this happen?’
- (e) *evaxt’-ia ak’e vax busa?* [Matthew 25:38]  
 when-1PL:IO see-PERF you:SG:DAT2 hungry  
 ‘When have we seen you hungry?’
- (f) *evaxt’ aiz-ix tağ-al-lu?* [f.n.]  
 when village-DAT go:FUT-FUT:FAC-2SG  
 ‘When will you go to the village?’
- (g) *et’in-nu el-en-b-o šo-t’-ux?* [Matthew 5:13]  
 how-2SG salt-ERG-LV-FUT:MOD DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2  
 ‘How will you make it salty?’
- (h) *šähär-ä et’in-nu tac-e?* [f.n.]  
 town-DAT how-2SG go:PAST-PERF  
 ‘How have you gone to town?’
- (i) *vax etär q’onağ-b-a-z* [Ch&T 170]  
 you:SG:DAT2 how guest-LV-MOD-1SG  
 ‘How can I host you?’
- (k) *etär-q’a-n me-t’-ux bat’-ev-k’-i* [R 7]  
 how-ADH-3SG PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2 perish-CAUS-LV-PAST  
 ‘How could he destroy him?’

§ 13. In order to ask for a quantity, the referentialized adnominal form *ema* ‘how much’ > *emao* > *emo* is used (see 3.2.9.5). It is normally used in the singular.

- (x) (a) *emo-t’-in ser-b-e me k’uax?* [PA 93]  
 how=many:REF:ABS-REF:OBL-ERG build-LV-PERF PROX house:DAT2  
 ‘How many have built this house?’
- (b) *emo-t’-uxol-lu kar-x-esa?* [f.n.]  
 how=many:REF:ABS-REF:OBL-COM-2SG live-LV-PRES  
 ‘With how many (relatives) do you live?’

The interrogative pronoun can be reduplicated in an emphatic context:

- (x) *emo emo-r-q’un ar-i?* [PA 93]  
 how=many:REF:ABS how=many:REF:ABS-PL-3PL come:PAST-PAST

‘How many have come?’

**3.2.8.5. Relative reference.** Within in Lezgian, Udi is unique in having a full paradigm of pronouns that establish relative reference. Here, the term ‘relative reference’ is used to describe strategies that copy a referential term into a relative clause (see 5.8.2). The technique is already elaborated in Old Udi. Here, the relative pronoun is based on the adnominal interogative *hanay* (see above), which again is referentialized and followed by the subordinator *-k’e* (< Iranian). A typical example is:

- (x) *sa q’Aw-q’a-v<sup>h</sup>a-h-ê iXoy o-owl-oxoc k’ibo-k’a*  
 but fear-ADH-2PL:IO-LV-PERF more DIST-SUPER-ABL be=able-LV:PRES-PRES  
*hanay-o-n-k’e hel own marmin at’-es-biy-esa gehena.* [Mt 10,28]  
 which-REF-ERG-SUB soul and body destroy-INF-do:INF-INF hell:DAT  
 ‘But be more afraid of him who can destroy the soul and the body in hell.’

In Modern Udi, the same verse reads as follows:

- (x) *amma abuz q’ə-q’a<sup>h</sup>-va<sup>h</sup>-b-i šo-t’-xo ma-t’-u-te*  
 but more fear-ADH-2PL:IO-LV-PAST DIST-REF:OBL-ABL REL-REF:OBL-SUB  
*ba-t’u-k-sa el-muğ-ox-al va<sup>h</sup> lašag-ax*  
 be-3SG:IO-3-PRES soul-PL-DAT2-FOC and body-DAT2  
*bat-ev-k’-a-ne geena.*  
 perish-CAUS-LV:PRES-MOD-3SG hell:DAT

In Udi, there are two types of referential heads: specific and general. Specific heads are overtly marked by nouns or pronouns, whereas general heads are lexically empty and inferred from context. Historically speaking, general heads had been represented by interrogative pronouns such as *šu* ‘who’, *ek’a* ‘what’ etc., followed by the subordinator *te* (see 5.8). The resulting structures *šute*, *ek’ate* etc. should today be described as relative clause internal heads. Note that in Nizh, relative pronouns are much rarer than in Vartashen. Instead, participle strategies or asyndetic coordination/subordination is preferred (see **x.x.x**). Occasionally, the Oriental (Persian) subordinator *ki* (~ *ke*) is used as a relative pronoun:

- (x) *hun ki bütün kărvän-ä-al tad-ayi-n*  
 you:SG REL all old=woman-DAT-FOC give-CONJ-2SG  
*zu ko-t’-ğ-o vax te-z tad-o* [Nizh; PA 169]  
 I MED-REF:OBL-PL-DAT you:SG:DAT2 NEG-1SG give-FUT:MOD

‘(To) you who has given all to the old woman, I will not give those (things) to you.’

§ 1. Both specific and general relative pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns. The overall base is *ma* ‘where’. Though the use of interrogatives to derive relative pronouns is a typologically well documented strategy, it is alien (from a synchronic point of view) to the three contact languages of Udi that show sentential relativization, namely Iranian, Armenian, and Georgian. Hence, we have to assume that relativization on the clause level is a structural borrowing in Udi based on lexically native material. Infact, it copies the structure of the Old Udi relative ‘pronoun’:

(x)		Interrogative	Referential	Subordinator
	Old Udi	<i>hanay</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-k'e</i>
	Modern Udi	<i>ma</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-te</i>

The exact procedure of deriving relative pronouns from the interrogative pronoun *ma* is difficult to describe in semantic terms. Morphologically speaking, the pronoun is simply marked for referentiality (*ma* > *mano*). Nevertheless, the two variants *manu* and *mani* (occasionally followed by *ki* ‘that’) reveal that this derivation is not straightforward. There is no Nizh sound change that would derive *mani* from *mano*, whereas *manu* can tentatively be interpreted as a variant of *mano*. Possibly, *mani* represents the older form that is made up of *ma* ‘where’ plus *\*-ni* (Early Udi focus marker, see 3.4.3). Accordingly, the resulting form *mani* represents the original attributive pronoun ‘which’ (< *\*‘where-FOC’*), compare Nizh:

- (x) *mani ga-n-uxun bak-sun-a p-es te-t'un bak-s-a-i* [ACHI; OR 118]  
 which place-SA-ABL be-MASD2-DAT say-MASD NEG-3PL be-PRES-PAST  
 ‘They could not tell from which place (it) originated.’

In Vartashen, *\*mani* would have become *\*mane*. This forms would then have been referentialized with the help of the referentializer *-o* > *\*maneo* ‘the one who/which’. In a second step, the unstressed vowel *\*-e-* would have merged with *-o* (see 2.5.2.1 a description of for this process).

§ 2. The pronoun *mano* normally means ‘which’ (see 3.2.8.4 and 3.2.9.5), literally ‘the where one’. Note that *mano* in the sense of ‘which’ often is used in adnominal function, compare:

- (x) (a) *vi iś-e zor mano ga-n-u-t'ai* [R 18]  
 you:SG:POSS man-GEN power which place-SA-DAT-3SG:POSS  
 ‘In which place does your husband have (his) power?’

- (b) *mano k'ua-te bai-ğ-ai-nan* [Luke 10:5]  
 which house:DAT-SUB into-go:FUT-CONJ-2PL

‘When you enter which house (so ever)’

- (c) *mano sahat-a eĝ-al-a abazak’* [Luke 12:39]  
 which hour-DAT come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG:Q thief  
 ‘When will the thief come?’ [lit.: ‘In which hour will the thief come?’]

§ 3. The examples illustrate that *mano* is not inflected in adnominal function (see 3.3.9.5 for details). When used as a relative pronoun, *mano* is fully inflected (see 3.3.9.4) and normally followed by the general subordinator *te* (see 5.8) that today is often cliticized to the pronoun. In case the pronoun has a possessive function, the clitic, however, follows the possessum (see 3.2.9.2):

- (X) (a) *šo-no Ioann-ne ma-t’-a bex-te bo-z-t’-e* [Mark 6:16]  
 DIST-REF:ABS John-3SG REL-REF:OBL-GEN head:DAT2-SUB cut-1SG- $\text{\$}$ -PREF  
 ‘He is John the head of whom I have cut.’

- (b) *ama vai t’e adamar-a ma-t’-a kin-te*  
 but woe DIST man-DAT REL-REF:OBL-GEN hand:ERG-SUB

*šo-no tog-ne-sa* [Luke 22:22]  
 DIST-REF:ABS sell-3SG-PASS:PRES  
 ‘But woe unto that man by whose hand he is betrayed.’

- (c) *bo<sup>ŝ</sup>ĝa<sup>ŝ</sup>-nan-b-o žähl e<sup>ŝ</sup>le<sup>ŝ</sup>m ma-t’-a laxo-te*  
 find-2PL-LV-FUT:MOD young donkey REL-REF:OBL-GEN on-SUB

*šuk’al adamar-ĝ-oxo te-ne arc-e* [Mark 11:2]  
 anyone man-PL-ABL NEG-3SG sit-PERF  
 ‘You will find a young donkey on which (never) has sat any person.’

- (d) *mo-no-ne k’ož ma-t’-a boš-te bez baba-ne kar-x-e* [f.n.]  
 PROX-REF:ABS-3SG house REL-REF:OBL-GEN in-SUB I:POSS father-3SG live-LV-PERF  
 ‘THIS is the house in which MY FATHER has lived.’

§ 4. Occasionally, the subordinator *te* is missing. This is especially true for Nizh:

- (x) *amdar-en manu aq’unči-ne me dizik’-a bes-p-es te-ne bak-sa!*  
 man-ERG REL coward-3SG PROX snake-DAT kill-LV-MASD NEG-3SG be-PRES  
 ‘A man who is a coward cannot kill this snake!’ [f.n.]

§ 5. There are no semantic constraints on the use of *mano-te* as a relative pronoun. It can refer to both animate and inanimate objects:

- (X) (a) *t’ia bu-ne-i adamar ma-t’-ai kul q’ari-ne-i* [Mark 3:1]  
 DIST:ADV be-3SG-PAST man REL-REF:OBL-GEN2 hand dry-3SG-PAST

‘There was a man, the hand of whom was withered.’

- (b) *gölö q'eiri-o-r ma-t'-ğ-on-te*  
 many other-REF:ABS-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB

*q'ulluğ-q'un b-esa šo-t'-u* [Luke 8:3]  
 service-3PL do-PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT  
 ‘... many others who serve him’

- (c) *čoban-ux ma-t'-ğ-on-te e-q'un-f-esa-i biasun-un q'araul-ax*  
 shepherd-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-ERG-SUB keep-3PL-\$-PRES-PAST evening-GEN watch-DAT2  
 ‘... the shepherds who kept the evening watch.’ [Luke 2:8]

- (d) *kä-i-ne nişq'art-ux ma-t'-ğ-ox-te*  
 eat:PAST-PAST-3SG shewbread-PL REL-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2-SUB

*gäräg nu uk-a-ne-i šuk'al-en* [Luke 2:27]  
 must PROH eat-MOD-3SG-PAST anybody-ERG  
 ‘He ate the shewbreads that nobody must eat.’

- (e) *mi-gila säs gög-ixo ma-t'-in-te p-i-ne* [Matthew 3:17]  
 PROX-behold voice sky-ABL REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB say-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Behold (there was) a voice from the sky which said...’

- (f) *mia sa lek'er-re ma-t'-in-te*  
 PROX:ADV one pitcher-3SG REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB

*ienk' xe eč-es ba-va-k-sa* [f.n.]  
 we:BEN water bring-MASD be-2SG:IO-\$-PRES  
 ‘Here is a pitcher with which you can bring us water.’

- (g) *iaq'-al me-t'-u sa adamar-re lamand-esa*  
 way-SUPER PROX-REF:OBL-DAT one man-3SG meet-PRES

*ma-t'-in-te ič kex uq'-na xod-ax biq'-i* [R 9]  
 REL-REF:OBL-ERG-SUB REFL hand:DAT2 nut-GEN tree-DAT2 take-PAST  
 ‘On the road, a man comes to meet him who had taken in his hand(s) a nut tree’

§ 6. Occasionally, the relative pronoun *mano-te* is used to refer to local entities, such as:

- (x) *me šähär-ä tağ-en ma-t'-u-te e<sup>h</sup>k-urux tov-q'un-d-esa* [f.n.]  
 PROX city-DAT go:FUT-IMP:1PL REL-REF:OBL-DAT-SUB horse-PL sell-3PL-LV-PRES  
 ‘Let’s go to this city where they sell horses.’

### 3.2. Reference

However, in the majority of cases, the simple interrogative pronoun *ma* is used with ‘locative’ heads. Often, the vowel is lengthened before the subordinator *te* (> *maate*). Though the exact morphological pattern remains unclear, we can suppose that the segment *-a-* causing the lengthening of the vowel is related to the adverbial/locative marker *-a* in the two adverbs *mia* ‘here’ (prox:ADV) and *t’ia* ‘there’ (dist:ADV), see 3.5.1. Example for the use of *ma(a)te* ‘where (relative)’ are:

(x) (a) *čubg’ox ta-ne-sša düz t’ia ma-te sanduǰ la-x-ne*  
 woman-DAT2 bring-3SG-\$.:PRES directly DIST:ADV where-SUB box lie-LV:PRES-3SG  
 ‘She brings the woman directly (to the place) where the box lies.’ [R 18]

(b) *rust’am me-l-an düz ta-ne-sa t’e č’äläg-i*  
 Rustam PROX-ABL-ABL directly go-3SG-\$.:PRES DIST wood-DAT

*ma-te da<sup>h</sup>ria<sup>h</sup>-q’un biq’-e* [R 16]

where-SUB hut-3PL take-PERF

‘Rustam goes directly from here to that wood where they had built (lit.: taken) a hut.’

(c) *saemo-al bi-ne-t-i že-rx-o q’ati*  
 some:REF:ABS-FOC fall-3SG-\$.-PAST stone-PL-GEN between

*maa-te bu-ne-i k’ic’i k’ul* [Matthew 13:5]

where-SUB be-3SG-PAST little earth

‘Some fell between stones where there was little earth.’

(d) *be<sup>h</sup>g’a-nan ga-n-ux maa-te ba-ne-k-e bixažux* [Matthew 28:6]  
 see-MOD-2PL place-SA-DAT2 where-SUB be-3SG-\$.-PERF Lord/God  
 ‘Look at the place where the Lord has been.’

(e) *bo<sup>h</sup>g’a<sup>h</sup>-ne-b-i ga-n-ux maa-te cam-ne-i* [Luke 4:17]  
 find-3SG-LV-PAST place-SA-DAT2 where-SUB written-3SG-PAST  
 ‘He found the place where [it] was written....’

§ 7. From a synchronic point of view, general pronominal reference is represented by headless (or head internal) relative clauses. The following pronouns are used:

(x) *šu-te* ‘who’  
*ek’a-te* ‘what’  
*maa-te* ‘where’

Normally, the pronoun agrees with the embedded verb:

(X) (a) *šin-te uk’-ai-n haq’lnut’ baf-t-al-le geen-un arǰ-o*  
 who:ERG say:FUT-CONJ-3SG fool fall-LV-FUT:FAC-3SG hell-GEN fire-DAT

‘Whoever says ‘(you) fool!’ will fall into the fire of the hell.’ [Matthew 5:23]

- (b) *šu-te bu-t'u-q'-sa bak-a-ne ef boš bešumži*  
 who:DAT-SUB want-3SG:IO-PRES be-MOD-3SG you:PL:POSS in first  
*bar-t-a ba-q'a-n-k-i ef baxt'in q'ul* [Mark 10 :43]  
 let-LV-IMP:2SG be-ADH-3SG-\$-PAST you:PL:POSS for slave  
 ‘Whoever wants to be the first among you, should be a slave for you.’

- (c) *šu-te ič čubg'oxol žok'-ne-bak-sa (...)*  
 who:ABS-SUB REFL wife-COM separate-3SG-LV-PRES (...)  
  
*ta-ne-st'a še-t'-u iaq' q'ähbäluğ-a* [Matthew 5:32]  
 give-3SG-\$:PRES DIST-REF:OBL-DAT way adultery-DAT  
 ‘Who(ever) separates from his wife (...) will show her the way towards adultery.’

- (d) *k'al-le-p-i ič t'o<sup>š</sup>g'o<sup>l</sup> šux-te ič-u bu-t'u-q'-sa-i*  
 call-3SG-LV-PAST REFL at who:DAT2-SUB REFL-DAT love-3SG:IO-\$-PRES-PAST  
 ‘He called unto him whom he loved.’ [Mark 3:13]

§ 8. The use of *ek'ate* in terms of a general relative pronoun can be illustrated with the help of the following examples:

- (x) (a) *p-i-ne ek'a-te bešun-t'-in-ne p-i* [K&S 84]  
 say-PAST-3SG what-SUB first-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG say-PAST  
 ‘He said what the first one had said.’

- (b) *ek'a-te man-ne-d-o o<sup>š</sup>ša zu u-z-k-o* [GD 61]  
 what-SUB remain-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD later I eat-1SG-\$-FUT:MOD  
 ‘I will eat later what remains.’

- (c) *ek'a-te ex-ne hazir-q'un-b-esa* [R 7-8]  
 what-SUB say:PRES-3SG ready-3PL-LV-PRES  
 ‘They prepare what he says.’

- (d) *pasč'ag-un ġar-en ek'a-te ič ġädi-n-en ex-ne*  
 king-GEN son-ERG what-SUB REFL boy-SA-ERG say:PRES-3SG  
  
*bütün tam-ne-b-esa* [GD 62]  
 all fulfill-3SG-LV-PRES  
 ‘The prince fulfills all what his boy (‘servant’) says.’

§ 9. The use of *ma(a)-te* as a ‘general’ relative pronoun to encode ‘where(ever)’ is shown in (X):



(x) (a) *šet'abaxt'intē maa-te ef dövlät-t'e*  
 because where-SUB you:PL:POSS riches-3SG

*t'ia bak-al-le ef uk'*  
 DIST:ADV be-FUT:FAC-3SG you:PL:POSS heart

'Because where(ever) is your treasure, (there) will be your heart.'  
 [Matthew 6:21]

(b) *maa-te karoz-tad-eğ-al-le daft'ar me bütün dünüä-n-i*  
 where-SUB preach-give-LV:PASS:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG book PROX all world-SA-DAT  
*uk'-al-q'un ka-t'-a c'i-ax*  
 say:FUT-FUT:FAC-3PL MED-REF:OBL-GEN name-DAT2

*ek'k'a-te ka-t'-in b-e-ne* [Mark 14:9]

what-SUB MED-REF:OBL-ERG do-PERF-3SG

'Where(soever) the book will be preached in this world, they will tell her name (and) what she has done.'