

## Declension in Caucasian Albanian

Roman Lolua

*Department of Mountainous Ibero-Caucasian Languages, Arnold Chikobava Institute of Linguistics, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia*

(Presented by Academy Member Vazha Shengelia)

**ABSTRACT.** Morphology of Caucasian Albanian, including its declension system, is close to analogous systems of Udi and other Lezgian languages both from the point of view of functions of forms and their inventory. It should be also said that Caucasian Albanian reveals an especial similarity with Udi. Apart from functional and formal closeness, we also have examples of regular sound correspondences in the affixes. There are both identical and not identical correspondences:  
Absolutive: CA - $\emptyset$  – CL \*- $\emptyset$  > Lezg. - $\emptyset$ : Tab. - $\emptyset$ : Agh. - $\emptyset$ : Rut. - $\emptyset$ : Tsakh. - $\emptyset$ : Kryz - $\emptyset$ : Bud. - $\emptyset$ : Ud. - $\emptyset$ : Arch. - $\emptyset$ : Khin. - $\emptyset$ ;

Genitive: CA -n – CL \*-n > Lezg. -n: Tab. -n: Agh. -n: Tsakh. -n: Ud. -n: Arch.-n;

Dative: CA -Vs – CL \*-s: > Lezg. -z: Tab. -z: Agh. -s: Rut. -s: Tsakh. -s / -s̄: Kryz -s: Bud. -z: Arch. -s̄;

Marker of localization “on a reference point”: CA -l- (superessive) – CL \*-l- > Lezg. -al: Tab. -l: Agh. -l: Rut. -l: Tsakh. -l: Bud. -l: Ud. -l;

Marker of localization “next to a reference point”: CA -x- (dative II II) – CL \*-l̄<sup>w</sup>- > Lezg. -w: Tab. -x̄ (f): Agh. -w: Rut. -x̄: Kryz -w: Bud. -w: Ud. -x: Arch. -l̄<sup>u</sup>;

Marker of localization “in contact with a reference point”: CA -k(a) (subessive) – CL \*-k- > Lezg. -k: Tab. -k: Agh. -k: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Arch. -k;

Marker of localization “under a reference point”: CA -q (adessive) – CL \*-k̄- > Lezg. -k: Tab. -k̄: Agh. -k̄: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Ud. - $\emptyset$ : Arch. -k̄: Khin. -k...

Plural Markers: CA -ur – CL \*-ur – Arch. -or/-ur: Ud. -ur;

CA -bur – CL \*-b-ur – Lezg. -bur: Agh. -bur, -vur: Rut. -b̄: Tsakh. -b̄: Khin. -(a)b̄: Arch. -bur; CA -m (in the forms of oblique cases) – CL \*- $\emptyset$ (V)m – Rut. -m- (in suffixe -m-ar), Ikhr. - $\emptyset$ m: Kryz -im: Bud. -im: Khin. -am(z̄r): Arch. -om/-um: Ud. -m- (in suffix -m-ux).

Besides, it seems to us possible to relate:

Arch. - $\gamma$ - (kul „hand“ – kur- $\gamma$ -ul „hands“): Ud. -ux, -x, -xo, -ox/-u $\gamma$ , - $\gamma$ , -o $\gamma$ : CA -ux, -x, -ix, -ax/-u $\gamma$ , - $\gamma$ , -i $\gamma$ . © 2018 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

**Key words:** Caucasian Albanian, declension

Morphology of Caucasian Albanian in general and its case system in particular can be considered among the least studied areas of Albanian studies. Except for several brief essays [1:152; 2:115-128; 3:144-163], the

first more or less full description of morphology of Caucasian Albanian is presented in [4,5].

Following principles underlie the declension system of Caucasian Albanian: Case forms and

plural are formed agglutinatively; case affixes are attached to a direct base (absolutive) and a plural form; a plural suffix always takes up position between a stem and case markers.

Caucasian Albanian declension system is complex. Variety of case affixes is observed, which can not be explained only by phonetic changes. Declensions of singular and plural forms, nouns and adjectives are distinguished. In addition, inserting elements (mainly: **-n-**, **-j-**, **-r-**) are found between a stem (as a rule, of monosyllable words) and case affixes. Cases in Caucasian Albanian, like in other Lezgic languages, are divided into two groups - abstract (primary, core) and spatial (secondary, postpositional, local) cases. In all, 21 cases can be identified in Caucasian Albanian, of which 7 are abstract (absolutive, ergative, three forms of dative, genitive and vocative) and 14 postpositional (subessive, equative, superablative, directive, comitative, two forms of ablative and anteablative and three forms of superessive).

Consider formation and functions of cases:

**Absolutive:** is used to mark a subject of an intransitive verb and a direct object.

**Ergative:** a form marked by it is a subject of a transitive verb and also plays instrumental role. Allomorphs: **-en** (the main one); **-in**; **-an**; **-ø**; **-e** (**-e** – as a rule, with the terms of kinship); **-on** (in plural).

**Genitive:** standard genitive case. Allomorphs: **-i** (mainly with proper names), **-j**, **-aj**, **-ej** (**-j**, **-aj**, **-ej** – with the words marked by **-e** in ergative), **-ja** (mainly with pronouns), **-un** (the most productive), **-in** (with the words marked by **-in** in ergative), **-oj** (in plural).

**Dative I:** is used to mark indirect object, as well as subjects of Verba sentiendi and can express spatial relations (inessive). Allomorphs: **-a** (the most productive); **-e**; **-i** (**-e** and **-i** are used rarely); **-u** (mainly with pronouns); **-o** (in plural).

**Dative II:** form marked by it is, as a rule, direct object, but it can also express spatial relations. It is formed on the basis of the dative I by means of the suffix **-x**.

**Dative III:** form marked by it is used as indirect object, but, in addition, expresses spatial relations as well. It is formed on the basis of the dative I by means of the suffix **-s**.

**Vocative:** Allomorphs **-e** (only in singular) and **-o**. Principle of distribution of these allomorphs has not been clarified. It should be noted that vocative is not reconstructed either for the Common Lezgic (CL) chronological level or for the Common Daghestanian one. Hence, we can assume that vocative appeared in Caucasian Albanian under the influence of other languages. We suggest that marker **-e** is borrowed from Greek, and **-o** from Georgian.

All forms of spatial cases of Caucasian Albanian, with the exception of ablative I, change in sync with dative I (as well as dative II and dative III). According to underlying stem these forms can be divided into four groups:

I group – namely, both forms of adessive, equative, subessive, as well as ablative I, most probably related historically to this group – is formed directly from the dative I.

II group (ablative II, anteablative II, superessive III, comitative, directive) is formed on the basis of the form of the dative II.

III group (superessive II, superablative) is formed on the basis of the form of superessive I. Anteablative I is formed on the basis of the form of the dative III. Morphemes of dative II (**-x**) and superessive (**-l**) should be localization markers by their structure, which cannot be said about the morpheme of the dative III (**-s**) which is the marker of the “old” dative, ascending to the marker of the CL dative **\*-sø**.

As for the functions of the postpositional cases, **ablative I** and **ablative II** are typical ablatives, **anteablative I** denotes movement from or towards a front part of a reference point (that is, combines in itself ablative and lative functions), **anteablative II**, as a rule, denotes movement from a reference point located above, **superablative** denotes movement from a surface or top part of a reference point; **adessive I** is used in its own and allative

meanings, and **adessive II**, apparently (this form is used rarely) denotes proximity or contact with a reference point; **comitative** is a typical comitative case; approaching of a moving object to a reference point is denoted by **directive**; **equative** has a meaning of likening or affinity to someone or something, being under a reference point is denoted by **subessive**, and being over a reference point – by

**superessive I**. Original meaning of **superessive II** should have been a designation of movement from a surface of a reference point, though this form occurs in palimpsests only four times and identification of its precise meaning is difficult. **Superessive III** denotes being of someone or something on a reference point and movement on a reference point.

Table 1. Case Affixes in Caucasian Albanian

	Cases	Singular	Plural
Core	Absolutive	Ø	Ø
	Vocative	-e, -o	-o
	Ergative	-e, -en, -in, -on, -an, -ø	-on
	Genitive	-i, -j, -aj, -ej, -ja, -un, -in	-oj
	Dative I	-a, -e, -i, -o, -u	-o
	Dative II	-V-x	-o-x
Spatial	Dative III	-V-s	-o-s
	Ablative I	-oc (< *-V-oc)	-oc (< *-o-oc)
	Adessive I	-V-k(a)	-o-k(a)
	Adessive II	-V-ç	-o-ç
	Equative	-V-γa	*-o-γa
	Subessive	-V-q	*-o-q
	Ablative II	-V-x-oc	-o-x-oc
	Superessive III	-V-x-ol	-o-x-ol
	Anteablative II	-V-x-ostaj	*-o-x-ostaj
	Comitative	-V-x-oš	-o-x-oš
	Directive	-V-x-u	-o-x-u
	Anteablative I	-V-s-tax-oc, -V-s-ax-oc	-o-s-tax-oc
	Superessive I	-V-l	-o-l
	Superablative	-V-l-oc	-o-l-oc
	Superessive II	-V-l-oš	-o-l-oš

Table 2. Case Affixes in Udi

	Cases	Vartashen dialect (v. Zinobiani)		Nidzh dialect	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Core	Absolutive	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
	Ergative	-en, -in, -on	-on	-en, -in, -on, -ən	-on
	Genitive	-i, -in, -n-in, -un, -n-un, -a[j], -n-a[j], -e[j], -n-e[j], -o[j], -n-u[j]	-o[j]	the same as in Vartashen and -ən, -n-ən	-o[j]
	Dative I	-a, -e, -u, -o, -i, -n-a, -n-e, -n-u	-o	the same as in Vartashen	-o
	Dative II	-ax, -ex, -ux, -ox, -ix, -n-ax, -n-ex, -n-ux	-ox	hardly used here	
Spatial	Ablative	-Vx-o	-ox-o	-Vx-un	-ax-un
	Comitative	-Vx-ol[an]	-ox-ol[an]	-Vx-un[an]	-ax-un[an]
	Adessive	-V-sta	-o-sta	-V-st <sup>a</sup> a	-o-st <sup>a</sup> a
	Allative	-V-ç	-o-ç	-V-ç	-o-ç
	Comitative	-V-l	-o-l	-V-l	-o-l
	Benefactive	-en-k[ena]	-on-k[ena]	-ajnak <sup>?</sup> , -ejnak <sup>?</sup>	-ojnak <sup>?</sup>

Note: In forms of postpositional cases of both languages the first vowel (V) coincides with the marker of dative I.

Compare case inventories of Caucasian Albanian (CA) and Udi:

Ergative: **-e, -en, -in, -on, -an** (CA) ~ **-en, -in, -on, -ən** (Udi);

Genitive: **-i, -j, -aj, -ej, -ja, -un, -in** (CA) ~ **-i, -aj, -ej, -oj, -un, -in...** (Udi);

Dative I: **-a, -o, -e, -o, -u** (CA) ~ **-a, -o, -e, -o, -u** (Udi);

Dative II: Dative I + **-x** (CA) ~ Dative I + **-x** (Udi);

Ablative: Dative II + **-oc** (CA) ~ Dative II + **-o** (Udi);

Supressive: Dative I + **-l** (CA) ~ Dative I + **-l** (Udi)...

In addition, adessive II of Caucasian Albanian could be brought closer with Udi allative (both are formed on the basis of dative I by means of suffixe **-ĉ**). Suffix of Udi adessive **V-sġa** is close to the morphemes of Caucasian Albanian anteablative (**V-s-tax-oc**, **V-x-os-ġa-j**). Udi comitative apparently has a common origin with Caucasian Albanian superessive III – both are formed by means of suffix **V-x-ol**. The single Udi case not having parallels in Caucasian Albanian is benefactive.

In contrast to Udi, as it was mentioned earlier, Caucasian Albanian was distinguished by the richness of case forms, and this should also have been characteristic for CL. Besides, relics of seriality of spatial cases were represented better in Caucasian-Albanian. If relics of seriality practically are not observed in Udi, excluding formation of dative II (**V-x**), ablative (**V-x-o**) and comitative (**V-x-ol[an]**), both serial and directive markers (**\*-o**, **\*-oc** and **\*-oš**) are well reconstructed for Caucasian Albanian.

Many phenomena of Udi morphology are explained only after taking into account Caucasian Albanian material. This is due to the fact that many phenomena peculiar to pra-Lezgian and lost in Udi were preserved in Caucasian Albanian. Thus, for example, morpheme of dative III **-s** of Caucasian Albanian is genetically linked with the marker of pra-Lezgian dative **\*-sə**, reconstructed on the basis of following formula of correspondences: Lezg. **-z**: Tab. **-z**: Agh. **-s**: Rut. **-s**: Tsakh. **-s** / **-sə**: Kryz **-s**: Bud. **-z**: Arch. **-sə**, see as well: [5: 45]. Marker of CL dative is apparently preserved in Udi only in the initial element of complex marker of adessive (**-as-ġa**) [6: 45].

In addition, there are the following parallels among the markers of core cases:

**Absolutive**: Cauc. Alb. **-o** - CL **\*-o** > Lezg. **-o**: Tab. **-o**: Agh. **-o**: Rut. **-o**: Tsakh. **-o**: Kryz **-o**: Bud. **-o**: Udi. **-o**: Arch. **-o**: Khin. **-o**. Only absolutive is reconstructed for the CL level [6: 45], though there is an indication on the possibility of reconstruction of nominative marker (**\*-a**) in Archi [7: II-10].

**Genitive**: marker of Caucasian Albanian genitive case (**-Vn**) regularly corresponds to CL genitive marker **\*-n**, which is represented in Lezgian languages with the following reflexes: Lezg. **-n**: Tab. **-n**: Agh. **-n**: Tsakh **-n**: Udi. **-n**: Arch. **-n**, see as well: [6: 45].

For CL the following model of the formation of postpositional cases should have been characteristic: oblique stem + marker of localization (series) + marker of direction [5: 46]. Along with that it should be noted as well that in CL oblique stem apparently coincided with the form of ergative - this situation persists so far in Lezgian, Tabasaran, Aghul and Archi. For CL, vocal suffix (**\*-e-**, **\*-ə-**, **\*-a-**, **\*-ā-**) [8: 75-76], suffix of CV structure (**\*-ra-**, **\*-nə-**, **\*-ni-**, **\*-li-**, **\*-ti-**) and alternation of vocals in a stem (**\*a ~ \*o**; **\*ā ~ \*i**) [5: 28] are supposed to be the markers of an oblique stem. Both in Caucasian Albanian and Udi oblique stem coincides with the direct one or is formed by means of consonant element **-n-** (in Caucasian Albanian also by **-j-** and **-r-**). Presumably, dative I should have been historically an oblique stem in Caucasian Albanian and Udi; this is confirmed by the fact that exactly the dative III, not dative I, is linked with pra-Lezgian dative genetically. Besides, practically all postpositional cases (except for benefactive in Udi and ablative I in Caucasian Albanian, although in the latter case we probably deal with the reduction of the marker of dative I) are formed on the bases of dative I.

For CL, we surmise the following markers of localization, cf.: [6: 49-50; 5: 49]:

- \*-l-** – «on a reference point»;
- \*-o-** – «inside of a reference point»;
- \*-l<sub>3</sub><sup>w</sup>-** – «next to a reference point»;
- \*-k-** – «in contact with a reference point»;

\*-q- – «behind a reference point»;

\*-qʰ- – «between, among, inside of a filled reference point»;

\*-tʰ- – «under a reference point».

Pra-Lezgian marker of localization “on a reference point” (\*-l-) is reconstructed on the basis of the following formula of correspondences: Lezg. -al: Tab. -l: Agh. -l: Rut. -l: Tsakh. -lʰ: Bud. -l: Ud. -l: Arch. -t // -tʰ, see also: [6: 49]. In Caucasian Albanian suffix -l corresponds to this pra-Lezgian marker. This morpheme has preserved original semantics – three forms of superessive and superablative are formed through it, though it should be noted that superessive III is formed on the basis of dative III by means of suffix -ol which here plays role of direction marker.

Pra-Lezgian marker of localization “inside of a reference point” (\*-θ-) is reconstructed on the basis of the following formula of correspondences: Lezg. -θ: Tab. -ʰ: Agh. -ʰ: Rut. -θ: Tsakh. -θ: Kryz -θ // -ω: Bud. -θ // -ω: Ud. -j: Arch. -θ, cf.: [9: 20; 10: 207; 6: 49; 5: 50].

Pra-Lezgian marker of the localization “next to a reference point” \*-f<sup>w</sup> is represented in Lezgian languages by the following reflexes: Lezg. -w: Tab. -xʰ (f): Agh. -w: Rut. -xʰ: Kryz -w: Bud. -w: Ud. -x: Arch. -f<sup>w</sup>, see also: [5: 51-52]. We suppose that both in Caucasian Albanian and Udi suffix of dative II -x corresponds to this marker (in both of these languages -x corresponds to pra-Lezgian \*-f<sup>w</sup>).

This case is, apparently, of spatial origin, more so that it has not lost its locative function even to this day. It appears that initially this case marked direct object (in parallel with absolutive), and then syntactic functions of both datives were merged in Udi. Besides, dative II has not lost features of a series marker which also confirms its locative origin – both in Caucasian Albanian and Udi postpositional cases are formed on the basis of dative II: in Udi it is the single relic of series – dative II (V-x), ablative (V-x-o) and comitative (V-x-ol[an]); and in Caucasian Albanian five cases – ablative II (V-x-oc), superessive III (V-x-ol),

anteablative II (V-x-ostaj), comitative (V-x-oš) and directive (V-x-u) are formed on the basis of dative II.

Pra-Lezgian marker of the localization “in contact with a reference point” (\*-k-) is reconstructed on the basis of correspondence of identical morphemes: Lezg. -k: Tab. -k: Agh. -k: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Arch. -k, see also: [5: 51-52].

In Caucasian Albanian, unlike Udi, there was an analogue of this marker – suffix -k(a), though it had already lost seriality – only the form of adessive II was formed in Albanian by means of it.

Pra-Lezgian marker of localization “behind a reference point” (\*-q-) is reconstructed on the basis of the following formula of correspondences: Lezg. -q: Tab. -q: Agh. -q: Rut. -x // -q: Tsakh. -qa: Kryz -x: Bud. -x: Ud. -x: Arch. -x (?): Khin. -x, see also: [6: 47]. The marker \*-q- [11: 36] – or \*-qa- [12: 163] denoting “behind a reference point”, “next to a reference point” – is reconstructed for Common Daghestanian level as well. It is doubtful that marker of dative II in Udi and Caucasian Albanian would correspond to \*-q-, more so that, as it was indicated above, it must have been a continuation of the localization marker – \*-f<sup>o</sup>. In addition, it should be noted that x in Udi does not correspond regularly to CL \*q, though opposite opinion was also expressed in scientific literature [13: 305-306]. As suggested by M. E. Alexeev, pra-Lezgian markers \*-q and \*-f<sup>o</sup> merged into Udi suffix -x [5: 54]. This proposal should not be completely dismissed, especially since, as it was noted, five forms of postpositional cases are formed on the basis of dative II in Caucasian Albanian.

Pra-Lezgian marker of the localization “between, among, inside of filled reference point” \*-qʰ- is reconstructed on the basis of comparison of the following affixes: Tab. -qʰ // -γʰ: Agh. -γʰ: Arch. -qʰ [5: 42]. It is possible, that Caucasian Albanian correspondence to this marker is the equative suffix -γα.

Pra-Lezgian marker of the localization “under a reference point” (\*-tʰ-) is reconstructed on the basis

of the following formula of correspondences: Lezg. -k: Tab. -k: Agh. -k: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Udi. -ø: Arch. -t̥: Khin. -k̥ [5: 55]. In Caucasian Albanian, unlike Udi, there is an analogue of this marker – suffix of subessive -q̥ (both in Udi and Caucasian Albanian uvular ejective affricate q̥ corresponds to CL \*t̥). It should be noted that \*t̥ is reconstructed for the Common Daghestanian level as well, cf. And. -t̥i: Akhv. -t̥i: Tsez -t̥: Darg. -‘u (Urakh.) // -gu (Kubach.)... [14: 84-85; 6: 48; 11: 35].

In addition, other markers of localization have also been identified in scientific literature:

-h- is assumed as a marker of localization “before a reference point” [5: 54]. It is postulated only on the basis of data from Tabasaran and Aghul languages which renders a reconstruction of this marker doubtful not only for the CL, but for Common Samurian as well.

-r- is assumed as another marker of localization with obscured semantics. It may be linked with CL marker of ablative [5: 55]. It is reconstructed on the basis of data from Archi and Shakhdag languages (included Khinalug). It should be noted that this marker is also reconstructed for the Common Andic (\*-ru) and Common Tsezic (\*-r) [14: 82]. There is no correspondence to this marker in Caucasian Albanian.

The following directive markers are reconstructed for Caucasian Albanian:

\*-oc – ablative marker preserved in the following forms: ablative I (-oc < \*V-oc); ablative II (-V-x-oc); anteablative I (-V-s-t-ax-oc, V-s-ax-oc); superablative (V-I-oc, V-I-ax-oc);

\*-oš - lative marker preserved in the following forms: comitative (V-x-oš); superessive II (V-I-oš). Udi ablative suffix -o is presumably genetically linked to Caucasian Albanian ablative marker \*-oc, and lative suffix \*-oš could be preserved in Udi lexeme iš<sup>a</sup> “close to, close”.

Locative markers were apparently unmarked in Caucasian Albanian, which is also assumed for the CL chronological level.

Morpheme of Caucasian Albanian ablative, in our opinion, corresponds to the following markers: Avar -s̥a: Tsez -za: Bezht. -s / -so / -š: Kwarsh. -žo || -z(i) (Inkh.); in addition, suffix -oc and morpheme -š in Archi and Khinalugh languages must be of common origin. In spite of that c is not regular correspondence to š, there are no insurmountable phonetic obstacles for bringing these affixes together. And marker \*-oš should correspond to lative morphemes in Archi (-ši) and Dargva (-šu || -š̥u || -ču (< \*-šu [15: 65])).

Thus, morphology of Caucasian Albanian, including its case system, is close to analogous systems of Udi and other Lezgian languages both from the point of view of functions of cases and their inventory. Apart from functional and formal closeness, we also have examples of regular sound correspondences in the case affixes. There are both identical and not identical correspondences:

**Absolutive:** Cauc. Alb. -ø – CL. \*-ø > Lezg. -ø: Tab. -ø: Agh. -ø: Rut. -ø: Tsakh. -ø: Kryz -ø: Bud. -ø: Udi. -ø: Arch. -ø: Khin. -ø;

**Genitive:** Cauc. Alb. -n – CL \*-n > Lezg. -n: Tab. -n: Agh. -n: Tsakh. -n: Udi. -n: Arch. -n;

**Dative:** Cauc. Alb. -Vs – CL \*-s̥: > Lezg. -z: Tab. -z: Agh. -s: Rut. -s: Tsakh. -s / -s̥: Kryz -s: Bud. -z: Arch. -s̥;

**Marker of localization “on a reference point”:** Cauc. Alb. -I- (superessive) – CL \*-I- > Lezg. -al: Tab. -I: Agh. -I: Rut. -I: Tsakh. -İ: Bud. -I: Udi. -I;

**Marker of localization “next to a reference point”:** Cauc. Alb. -x- (dative II II) – CL \*-İ<sup>w</sup>- > Lezg. -w: Tab. -x̣ (f): Agh. -w: Rut. -x̣: Kryz -w: Bud. -w: Udi. -x: Arch. -İ<sup>u</sup>;

**Marker of localization “in contact with a reference point”:** Cauc. Alb. -k(a) (subessive) – CL \*-k- > Lezg. -k: Tab. -k: Agh. -k: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Arch. -k;

**Marker of localization “under a reference point”:** Cauc. Alb. -q̥ (adessive) – CL. \*t̥- > Lezg. -k: Tab. -k̥: Agh. -k̥: Rut. -k: Tsakh. -k: Kryz -k: Bud. -k: Udi. -ø: Arch. -t̥: Khin. -k...

It should be noted that three Caucasian Albanian analogues of pra-Lezgian localization markers preserve original meaning, and as for marker of dative II **-x** corresponding to pra-Lezgian marker of localization “next to a reference point”, it becomes clear that it evolved from one of the locative forms to the case of direct object, having retained its locative functions. In addition to that, all four morphemes in Caucasian Albanian (**-l**, **-x**, **-k(a)**, **-q**) formally play a role of localization markers as they are placed between dative I (which, as it was noted above, must have been morpheme of oblique stem) and direction marker. Two of them (**-l**, **-x**) form all three forms (locative, ablative, lative), and the two others (**-k(a)**, **-q**) form only locatives.

In Caucasian Albanian, as in other Iberian-Caucasian languages, there are only two numbers – singular and plural. Opposition between singular and plural can be expressed both morphologically, by means of special affixes (in nouns, adjectives, some numerals and verbs), and lexically, through pronouns, numerals and some adverbs. Plural is always marked by affix, and singular is always unmarked. In the forms of oblique cases a plural marker always precedes a case marker.

Among the Caucasian Albanian plural markers, the most productive affixes are **-ux** (in absolutive) and **-uy** (in oblique cases). There are also phonetic variants of these markers: **-γ-**, **-ix**, **-iy**, **-ax**. Besides, following allomorphs are attested as well: **-r-**, **-r-γ-**, **-ur**, **-rux**, **-urux**, **-bur**, **-m-**, **-mux**.

Variety of plural markers is observed in Udi too:

Vartashen: **-ux**, **-ur**, **-ur-ux**, **-m-ux**, **-ur-m-ux**, **-or** (Direct); **-γ // -oy**, **-m-uy**, **-ur-m-uy**, **-ur-uy // -ur-γ** (Oblique);

Nidzh: **-ux // -xo**, **-ur**, **-ur-ux // -ur-xo**, **-m-ux**, **-ur-m-ux** (Direct); **-γ // -x**, **-ox**, **-ur-ux // -ur-x**, **-m-ux**, **-ur-m-ux** (Oblique);

Of these, **-ux** (in Vartashen) and **-ux // -xo** (in Nidzh) are the most productive suffixes in absolutive forms, and **-γ // -oy** (in Vartashen) and **-γ // -x** (in Nidzh) – in plural forms of oblique cases.

Multiplicity of plural markers in Lezgian languages does not allow us to reduce them to a single archetype. Therefore, we consider it appropriate to reconstruct for CL chronological level not one, but several plural markers (we present only those formulae in which the data from Caucasian Albanian is cited as well):

\***-ur** – Arch. **-or/-ur**: Ud. **-ur**: Cauc. Alb. **-ur**;

\***-b-ur** – Lezg. **-bur**: Agh. **-bur**, **-vur**: Rut. **-bər**: Tsakh. **-bə**: Khin. **-(a)bər**: Arch. **-bur**: Cauc. Alb. **-bur**. This morpheme should be a combination of previous suffix (\***-ur**) with the marker of III (so called object) class of nouns (**-b**).

It could be possible to relate \***-ur** and \***-b-ur** – morphemes with CL plural marker \***-ar**, though in this case there would not be regular correspondence between vowels.

\***-(V)m** – Rut. **-m-** (in suffixe **-m-ar**), Ikhr. **-əm**: Kryz **-im**: Bud. **-im**: Khin. **-am(zər)**: Arch. **-om/-um**: Ud. **-m-** (in suffix **-m-ux**): Cauc. Alb. **-m** (in the forms of oblique cases).

Besides, it seems to us possible to relate:

Arch. **-γ-** (kul „hand“ – kur-γ-ul „hands“): Ud. **-ux**, **-x**, **-xo**, **-ox/-uy**, **-γ**, **-oy**: Cauc. Alb. **-ux**, **-x**, **-ix**, **-ax/-uy**, **-γ**, **-iy**.

The project was carried out by the financial support of Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation [Grant Project № YS-2016-45, “Grammatical Analysis of Caucasian Albanian”].

## ენათმეცნიერება

## ბრუნება კავკასიის ალბანურ ენაში

## რ. ლოლუა

ივანე ჯავახიშვილის სახელობის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი, არნ. ჩიქობავას სახელობის ენათმეცნიერების ინსტიტუტი, მთის იბერიულ-კავკასიურ ენათა განყოფილება, თბილისი, საქართველო

(წარმოდგენილია აკადემიის წევრის ვ. შენგელიას მიერ)

კავკასიის ალბანური ენის მორფოლოგიური სტრუქტურა და, სახელდობრ, ბრუნების სისტემა, ძალიან ახლოსაა უდიურისა და სხვა ლეზგიური ენების ანალოგიურ სისტემებთან როგორც ინვენტარის, ისე ფუნქციათა მხრივ. აღსანიშნავია, რომ განსაკუთრებულ მსგავსებას კავკასიის ალბანური უდიურთან ავლენს. ბრუნების ინვენტარის ფორმოზირი და ფუნქციური მსგავსების გარდა, აფიქსებში გვაქვს რეგულარულ და კანონზომიერ ბგერათმესატყვისობათა მაგალითები. გვხვდება იდენტური (ბგერათივიგობანი) და არაიდენტური ბგერათმესატყვისობანი:

სახელობითი: კავკ.-ალბ. -შ – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-შ > ლეზგ. -შ: თაბ. -შ: აღ. -შ: რუთ. -შ: წახ. -შ: კრიწ. -შ: ბუდ. -შ: არჩ. -შ: ხინ. შ;

გენიტივი: კავკ.-ალბ. -Vნ – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ნ > ლეზგ. -ნ: თაბ. -ნ: აღ. -ნ: წახ. -ნ: უდ. -ნ: არჩ. -ნ;

დატივი: კავკ.-ალბ. -Vს (დატივი III) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ს > ლეზგ. -ზ: თაბ. -ზ: აღ. -ს: რუთ. -ს: წახ. -ს/-ს: კრიწ. -ს: ბუდ. -ზ: არჩ. -ს;

“ორიენტირზე” ლოკალიზაციის მაჩვენებელი: კავკ.-ალბ. -ლ (სუპერესივი) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ლ- > ლეზგ. -ალ: თაბ. -ლ: აღ. -ლ: რუთ. -ლ: წახ. -ლ: ბუდ. -ლ: უდ. -ლ: არჩ. -თ // თა (?);

“ორიენტირთან” ლოკალიზაციის მაჩვენებელი: კავკ.-ალბ. -ხ (დატივი II) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ლ<sup>ა</sup> > ლეზგ. -ჟ: თაბ. -ხ (ჰ): აღ. -ჟ: რუთ. -ხ<sup>ა</sup>: კრიწ. -ჟ: ბუდ. -ჟ: უდ. -ხ: არჩ. -ლ<sup>ა</sup>;

“ორიენტირთან უშუალო შეხება” ლოკალიზაციის მაჩვენებელი: კავკ.-ალბ. -ქ(ა) (ადესივი I) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ქ- > ლეზგ. -ქ: თაბ. -ქ: აღ. -ქ: რუთ. -ქ: წახ. -ქ: კრიწ. -ქ: ბუდ. -ქ: არჩ. -ქ;

“ორიენტირის ქვეშ” ლოკალიზაციის მაჩვენებელი: კავკ.-ალბ. -ყ (სუპერესივი) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-ტ<sup>ა</sup> > : ლეზგ. -ქ: თაბ. -ქ: აღ. -ქ: რუთ. -ქ: წახ. -ქ: კრიწ. -ქ: ბუდ. -ქ: არჩ. -ტ: ხინ. -კ...

მარავლობითის მაწარმოებლები: კავკ.-ალბ. -ურ – ს.-ლეზგ. \*ურ – არჩ. -ორ/-ურ: უდ. -ურ;

კავკ.-ალბ. -ბურ – ს.-ლეზგ. \*ბ-ურ – ლეზგ. -ბურ: აღ. -ბურ, -ვურ: რუთ. -ბგრ: წახ. -ბგ: ხინ. -(ა)ბგრ: არჩ. -ბურ;

კავკ.-ალბ. -მ (ირიბ ბრუნვათა ფორმებში) – ს.-ლეზგ. \*-(V)მ – რუთ. -მ- (-მ-არ სუფიქსში), იხრ. -გმ: კრიწ. -იმ: ბუდ. -იმ: ხინ. -ამ(ზგრ): არჩ. -ომ/-უმ: უდ. -მ- (-მ-უხ სუფიქსში);

ამას გარდა, შესაძლებლად გვესახება, რომ ერთმანეთს დავუკავშიროთ:

არჩ. -ღ- (ქულ „ხელი“ – ქურ-ღ-ულ „ხელები“) – უდ. -უხ, -ხ, -ხო, -ოხ/-ულ, -ღ, -ოღ: კავკ.-ალბ. -უხ, -ხ, -იხ, -ახ/-ულ, -ღ, -იღ.



## REFERENCES

1. Aleksidze Z. (2003) Language, writing and literature of Caucasian Albanians. Tbilisi (in Georgian).
2. Lolua R. (2009) Notes on the grammatical structure of Caucasian Albanian. *Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics*. XXXVII: 112-131 (in Georgian).
3. Lolua R. (2010) Issues of the structure of Caucasian Albanian. Doct. Thesis. Tbilisi (in Georgian).
4. Gippert J., Schulze W., Aleksidze Z., Mahé J.-P. (2009) The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai. 2 vols. Turnhout: Brepols.
5. Alekseev M. E. (1985) Voprosy sravnitel'no-istoricheskoi grammatiki lezginskikh iazykov: Morfologia. Sintaksis [Questions of comparative-historical grammar of Lezgian languages: Morphology, Syntax.]. M. (in Russian).
6. Bokarev E. A. (1960) K rekonstruktsii padezhnoi sistemy pralezginskogo iazyka. Voprosy grammatiki [To the reconstruction of pra-Lezgian case system, Issues of Grammar]. Moscow-Leningrad (in Russian).
7. Kibrik A. E, Kodzasov S. V., Olovjannikova I. P., Samedov D. S. (1977) Opyt strukturnogo opisaniia archinskogo iazyka [Towards a structural description of Archi]. I-III. M. (in Russian).
8. Starostin S. A. (1981) Rekonstruktsiia pralezginskix imennykh osnov na glasnyi. *padezhnyi sostav i sklonenie v iberiisko-kavkazskikh iazykakh. IX nauchnaja regional'naia sessia (teziy dokladov)* [The reconstruction of pra-Lezgian noun stems ending in vowel. *Case Inventory and Declension in Iberian-Caucasian Languages. IX Scientific Regional Session (abstracts)*]. Makhachkala: 75-76 (in Russian).
9. Khanmagomedov B. G.-K. (1958) Sistema skloneniia tabasaranskogo iazyka v sravnenii s sistemami skloneniia lezginskogo i agul'skogo iazykov. Avtoref. Kand. Dis. filol. nauk [Tabasaran declension system in comparison with those of Lezgian and Aghul// Synopsis of Doctoral dissertation]. Makhachkala (in Russian).
10. Topuria G. (1967) O vzaimootnoshenii ergativnogo i mestnogo IV padezhei v lezginskom iazyke. *Ergativnaja konstruksia predlozheniia v iazykakh razlichnykh tipov* [On the relation between ergative and locative IV in Lezgian. *Ergative Construction of a Sentence in Languages of Different Types*]. Leningrad (in Russian).
11. Gigineishvili B. (1976) Padezhnaia sistema obshchedagestanskogo iazyka v svete obshchei teorii ergativnosti. *Voprosy Iazykoznanii* [Case system of Common Daghestanian in the light of common theory of ergativity. *Issues of Linguistics*]. #1: 31-39. M. (in Russian).
12. Alekseev M. E. (2003) Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaiia morfologija nakhsko-dagestanskikh iazykov. Kategorii imeni [Comparative-historical morphology of Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Noun]. M. (in Russian).
13. Talibov B. B. (1980) Sravnitel'naia fonetika lezginskikh iazykov [Comparative phonology of Lezgian languages]. M. (in Russian).
14. Dumézil G. (1933) Introduction a la grammaire comparée des langues caucasiennes du Nord. Paris.
15. Musaev M.-S. M. (1984) Padezhnyi sostav darginskogo iazyka [Case inventory of Dargwa]. Makhachkala (in Russian).

Received April, 2018