

## On Agreement in Udi

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**ABSTRACT.** In this paper the conditions under which the person-number markers (PMs) occur in various positions are specified. © 2007 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

**Key words:** *Udi, agreement, person-number marker.*

Although the morphemes that indicate agreement in Udi have long been known<sup>1</sup>, no one has previously described the conditions under which the person-number markers (henceforth PMs) occur in various positions. It has been known that the PM may occur (i) between morphemes in the verb, as in *au-es-ne-b-e* [lose-INF-3SG-AORII] ‘he lost it’, (ii) word-finally in the verb, as in *eu-al-zu* [bring-FUTII-1SG] ‘I will bring’, (iii) enclitic to other words in the sentences, as in *turin nik’o-ne aui-p-e* [foot ball-3SG play-LV-AORII] ‘he played football’, or even inside the verb root, as in *e-ne-f-esa* ‘he keeps it’, where the PM *-ne-* [3SG] splits the morpheme *ef-* ‘keep’. But previous researchers have not stated the circumstances under which the agreement markers occurred in various positions and have implied or even stated that it was impossible to do so (Schieffner 1863, Ditt 1904, Bouda 1939, Jeiranilʼvili 1971, Gukasjan 1974, Ранидзе 1974, Schulze 1982, and Schulze-Fürhoff 1994). In this paper, the conditions under which the PM occurs in each position are specified; a more complete analysis is provided in Harris (2000 and 2002). The placement inside words is surprising because these PMs are not affixes, but clitics (Harris 2002: 94-114), and it was previously believed that clitics could not occur within a word, let alone within a morpheme (Klavans 1985).

The examples provided here are from the Vartalʼen dialect, but the facts are true of both dialects, Vartalʼen and Nij (Harris 2002 on the former, 2005 on the latter). The rules provided here are not mere tendencies but are firm rules that cannot be broken; they apply in all clauses that contain a finite verb. The rules are numbered such that a lower numbered rule always takes precedence over a higher numbered one. In rule 1, *Vx* refers to the complex consisting of the verb and the negative.

**Rule 1.** PMs are final in the *Vx* if the verb is in the future II, the subjunctive I, the subjunctive II, or the imperative.<sup>2</sup>

The tenses named are formed as follows: the future II with the suffix *-al*, the subjunctive I with the suffix *-a*, the subjunctive II with the suffix *-a* plus the clitic *-y/-i*, and the imperative with *-a*.

- (1)     sa     ait         xabar-aq’-al-**zu**  
       one    word     ask-take-FUTII-1SG<sup>3</sup>  
       ‘I will ask one word.’

<sup>1</sup> An exception is that it has been claimed that the third person singular subject marker in the Nij dialect is *-e* (Schulze 1982: 170). This is incorrect, as shown in Harris 2005.

<sup>2</sup> All rules are quoted from [10]; all examples and discussion are new here.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in glossing examples include the following: AORII, aorist II, CAUS causative, DAT dative, FUT I future I, FUT II future II, INF infinitive, LV light verb, NEG negative, NOM nominative, PL plural, PTCL past participle, PRES present, PURP purposive, SG singular, SUBJV I subjunctive I. In the text, the abbreviation PM is used for person (-number) marker. All examples here are taken from an unpublished text, ‘Taral’, but the facts can be confirmed from any of the published texts.

The clitic *-zu* ‘I’ is enclitic to the verb in (1). Although not shown in examples, no other position of the PM yields a grammatical sentence in this and other instances below.

**Rule 2.** PMs occur enclitic to a focused constituent.

- a- PMs occur enclitic to a negative particle.
- b- PMs occur enclitic to a questioned constituent.
- c- PMs occur enclitic to other focused constituents.

In Udi, focus is indicated by cliticizing the appropriate PM to the focused constituent (Harris 2002:44-63). Negative particles and question words are always in focus.

- (2) jurab-a      te-ne      ta-d-e.  
 answer-DAT NEG-3SG give-LV-AORII  
 ‘He did not give an answer.’
- (3) ma-z      ta-Γ-o?  
 WHERE-1SG go-LV-FUTI  
 ‘Where shall I go?’
- (4) gulu-q’ un      ta-Γ-o,      k’ic’i-q’un      ta-Γ-o.  
 much-3PL go-LV-FUTI little-3PL go-LV-FUTI  
 ‘They traveled a lot, they traveled a little.’

In these examples the PMs *-ne* ‘he, she, it’, *-z* ‘I’, and *-q’un* ‘they’, respectively, are enclitic to the focused constituents – the negative *te*, the question word *ma* ‘where’, and the words *gulu* ‘much’ and *k’ic’i* ‘little’. (*Ta-* in all of these verbs means ‘thither’, but I have glossed it according to the meaning of the whole lexeme.) Although space limitations prevent my showing it, rules 2a, b, and c apply to all negative particles, all question words, and all other focused constituents.

In (5), the conditions for rules 1, 2a, and 2c are met, but rule 1 takes precedence; no other position for the PM is grammatical.

- (5) uk’-a-i-n      p’uran      mand-a      nu      irazi      bak-a-n  
 say-SUBJV-PAST-2SG again stay-PURP NEG agreement.NOM be-SUBJV-2SG  
 ‘You should say you will not agree to stay again.’

The second person singular clitic *-n* must follow the subjunctive verb form and cannot be enclitic to the negative *nu* or to the focused *irazi* ‘agreement’. Although space prevents my showing it here, rule 2a also takes precedence over 2b and 2c, and 2b takes precedence over 2c (see Harris 2002 for more evidence to support this).

**Rule 3.** In clauses with zero copulas, PMs are enclitic to predicate nominals.

- (6) gorox-ne      me      iubux.  
 pitiful-3SG this woman  
 ‘This woman [is] pitiful.’

Because the zero copula cannot show the tenses named in rule 1, these two rules cannot interact; but rules 2a, b, and c all take precedence over rule 3.

**Rule 4.** PMs are endoclititic in a complex verbstem, occurring between the incorporated element and the light verb or verb root.

a- In a productive causative, PMs occur between the infinitive (in *-es*) and the light verb. In an archaic causative, PMs occur between the *-ev* affix and the light verb.

b- PMs occur between the incorporated element (noun, adjective, adverb, simplex verbstem, borrowed verb, unidentified element, or locative preverb) and the light verb or verb root.

Example (7) illustrates rule 4a, and example (8) 4b.

- (7) ...пiлъан-ах-аl      е-и-ег-и      аk’-es-nan-d-o.  
 sign-DAT-AND bring-LV-R-PTCPL see-INF-2PL-CAUS-FUTI  
 ‘...And having brought the sign [of it], you will show it to me.’
- (8) iubux      юмо[x]      t’oΓ      l      иur-p-i      imux-ne-lax-o.  
 woman.NOM door near stand-LV-PTCPL ear-3SG-put-FUTI  
 ‘The woman, standing near the door, listened.’

Example (7) contains a causative of the productive type, formed with the causative marker *-d*, which is a light verb. The second person plural marker *-nan* occurs between the incorporated element, *ak’-es* ‘to see’, and this light verb. In (8) we have the light verb *lax*; the agreement clitic *-ne* occurs between the incorporated element, *imux* ‘ear’, and this light verb.

Rules 1 and 2a-c take precedence over both parts of rule 4; logically rule 3 cannot interact with 4. In (9) the conditions for rules 1, 4a, and 4b are met, and the example illustrates that rule 1 takes precedence over both parts of rule 4. The conditions on rule 4b are met by the complex verb *kɔi-b-es* ‘to spend the night’, containing the light verb *b-* ‘do’ and the incorporated element *kɔi* ‘dawn’. The conditions on rule 4a are met by the light verb *-t-* and its incorporated element, the infinitive *kɔi-b-es*.

- (9) aginam ba-ne-k-o me ɣɣ kɔi-b-es-t'-a-nan  
 if be<sub>1</sub>-3SG-be<sub>2</sub>-FUTI this night dawn-LV-INF-CAUS-SUBJVI-2PL  
 ‘If it is possible that you let me spend the night tonight....’  
 For expository reasons, I discuss rule 7 before rules 5 and 6.

**Rule 7.** PMs are endoclititized immediately before the final consonant in monomorphemic verb roots.

In Udi, most verbs are complex, formed with a light verb; there are only about forty verbs with monomorphemic stems [Harris 2002: 64-93]. (10) illustrates the application of rule 7 with the monomorphemic root *b ɛ-* ‘look’. The third person singular agreement clitic, *-ne*, is situated inside this morpheme.

- (10) ɣɣ be.-ne-ɣ-o ɣɣbɣ-o laxo  
 well look<sub>1</sub>-3SG-look<sub>2</sub>-FUTI woman-DAT on  
 ‘He looked carefully at the woman.’

All other rules take precedence over rule 7. In (5) above, the conditions for rules 1, 2a, 2c, and 7 are all met, with the monomorphemic stem *bak-*; although this morpheme may elsewhere be interrupted as, for example *ba-ne-k-e* ‘s/he was’, in (5) rule one has precedence because of the tense. In example (7) the conditions for both rule 4a and rule 7 are met (with the monomorphemic stem *ak-* ‘see’ and the complex stem that contains it, *ak'-es-d-* ‘show, cause to see’); rule 4a takes precedence. In (10), as in other examples we have looked at, other positions for *-ne-* are impossible.

Rules 5 and 6 state exceptions to rule 7; they are numbered so that they take precedence over it.

**Rule 5.** For verbstems of class M, in the intransitive, PMs are endoclititic, occurring between the verbstem and the present tense marker.

Verbs of class M include pairs such as *u-ne-k-sa* ‘eats’ ~ *uk-ne-sa* ‘is edible’, *bo-ne-x-sa* ‘boils, cooks (TRANS)’ ~ *box-ne-sa* ‘boils (INTR)’. The intransitives are apparent exceptions to rule 7 (but see below).

**Rule 6.** With verb forms of category A and category B, PMs are enclitic to the entire verb form.

a- Category A consists of verb forms with a stem (or an allomorph of a stem) consisting entirely of a single consonant or a CV sequence.

b- Category B consists of irregular forms of other verbs: *aba-za* ‘I know’, *ex-ne* ‘she says’, *p'ur-e-ne* ‘he died’, *u'e-re-ne* ‘she went out’, *a-re-ne* ‘she came’, *ci-re-ne* ‘she went down’.

Verbs of Category A include stems of the form C or CV, including *b-* ‘do, make’, *bi-* one stem of the suppletive verb ‘die’, *bu-* ‘be’, *p-* one stem of the suppletive verb ‘say’, and *k-* one stem of the suppletive verb ‘eat’. For these forms it would not be possible to follow rule 7, and doing so would violate phonotactic rules.

The verbs of category B include *aba-bak-* ‘come to know, find out’, *ex-* one stem of the suppletive verb ‘say’, and three others.

The seven rules given here may be simplified if we make certain assumptions. First, rule 5 can be eliminated when we recognize that the light verb that forms all of the intransitive verbs of set M has a suppletive form. We see that this is so when we look at other tenses; for example, *box-ne-ɔ-sa* ‘it boils’, which appears to be irregular, corresponds to the aorist II *box-ne-c-e* ‘it boiled’, where the placement of the PM is perfectly regular by rule 4b, occurring before the light verb form *-c-*, which is suppletive and has a zero form in the present. Second, since their form prevents the verbs of rule 6a from undergoing rule 7, this rule can be eliminated with the assumption that the position enclitic to the verb is a default position. It is likely that rule 3 can also be eliminated with further study of the focus of copular sentences.

I have shown here that the position of PMs in Udi is fully predictable, contrary to statements made previously (see above). These endoclititics, occurring between morphemes or within a morpheme, are important for general linguistics because they challenge the notion of the unity of the word, and indeed of the morpheme.

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სემიოტიკა და ენათმეცნიერება

## შეთანხმება უღურ ენაში

ელის ჰარისი

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