

The basic paradigmatic structure of Udi, supplemented by corresponding data from Caucasian Albanian

Wolfgang Schulze © 2012¹

[The CA data are taken from Jost Gippert, Wolfgang Schulze, Zaza Aleksidze, Jean Pierre Mahé 2009. *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests from Mt. Sinai*, 2 vols. Turnhout: Brépols]

1. Nouns

1.1 Gender

No gender distinction on a synchronic level.

CA: Gender distinction based on ‘articles’ (see ‘deixis’, below):

M:SG	F:SG	N:SG	PL
<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>

1.2 Number

Synchronically speaking, no dual. Basic plural morpheme: *-ux* (> *-(o)ǵ-* in oblique cases); Nij often has *-xo* (~ *-ox*). Lexicalized plurals (to which the *-ux*-plural is added) are based on *-xo-*, *-ur-*, *-um-*, *-urm-*, *-q’-*. A (small) set of nouns use the old *-ur*-plural (~ *-ar*) without *-ux*.

CA: *-owq/x*, *-bowr*, *-(ow)mowq/x*, *-rowq/x*

1.3 Case marking

Udi distinguishes the following inflectional types:

- ⇒ Stem inflection: stem + case marker (SI).
- ⇒ Oblique inflection: stem + SA + case marker [expect for the absolutive case]. SA = ‘stem augment’, normally *-n-*, occasionally *-l-*. The distribution of stem inflection and augmented inflection is determined basically by the lexicon (OI)
- ⇒ Ergative inflection: stem + ergative / stem + {ergative > stem augment} + case marker (EI)
- ⇒ Ergative-genitive syncretism: Present in both stem and augmented inflection (EG)
- ⇒ Referential inflection (RI), see 4.1.2.1).
- ⇒ Pronominal inflection (personal pronouns, see 4.3.1.3).

Case marking:

Singular:

	SI	OI	EI	EG
Absolutive	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
Ergative	-en	-n-en	-en	-(n-)in
Genitive	-Vy / -un	-n-Vy / -n-un	-n-Vy / -n-un	-(n-)in
Benefactive	-enk’(ena)	-n-enk’(ena)	-n-enk’(ena)	-(n)enk’(ena)

¹ Note that this schematic overview does not aim at a full functional coverage of the individual morphological and morphosyntactic units.

Dative1	-V	-n-V	-n-V	-(n-)V
Dative2	-Vx	-n-Vx	-n-Vx	-(n-)Vx
Ablative	-Vxo	-n-Vxo	-n-Vxo	-(n-)Vxo
Comitative	-Vxol	-n-Vxol	-n-Vxol	-(n-)Vxol
Superessive	-VI	-n-VI	-n-VI	-(n-)VI
Allative	-Vč'	-n-Vč'	-n-Vč'	-(n-)Vč'
Adessive	-Vst'a	-n-Vst'a	-n-Vst'a	-(n-)Vst'a

Note:

◆ Variants are *-ainak'* for the benefactive and *-xun* for both the ablative and the comitative in Nij.

◆ The vocalization of the genitive morpheme *-Vy* can yield: *ay* (> *-a*), *-ey* (> *-e*), *-iy* (> *-i*). The distribution of these allomorphs is determined by the lexicon, but note the strong affinity of the *-i*-genitive to proper names and nouns indicating a specific reference to personality.

◆ The vocalization of the dative morpheme *-V* can yield: *-a*, *-e*, *-u*, *-i* (*-i* has a stronger locative function than the other variants). There is a partial relation between inflectional type, genitive and dative case marking, e.g. SI and genitive *-un* yield dative *-a*, OI and genitive *-ai* yield dative *-u* or *-e*, OI ~ EG yield dative *-a* etc.

◆ There is a case morpheme *-ala* related to the superessive that occurs with a restricted number of nouns (*ci'ala* 'in one's name' etc.). The morpheme is related to the present participle marker in attributive function *-ala* (cp. 4.1.4.5).

Plural: In the plural, the vocalization of the case morphemes has been aligned (*-o-* [labial umlaut conditioned by the plural morpheme]). Stem extension does not apply.

	Plural
Absolutive	-ux ~ -xo
Ergative	-(u)ǵ-on
Genitive	-(u)ǵ-o(y)
Benefactive	-(u)ǵ-oenk'(ena)
Dative1	-(u)ǵ-o
Dative2	-(u)ǵ-ox
Ablative	-(u)ǵ-oxo
Comitative	-(u)ǵ-oxol
Superessive	-(u)ǵ-ol
Allative	-(u)ǵ-oč'
Adessive	-(u)ǵ-ost'a

Morphological Cases in Udi and CA:

	UDI	CA
ABS	-Ø (PRO: -o)	-Ø
VOC	---	-e
ERG	-en, -in	-e, -en, -in
BEN	-enk'(ena) (V-Udi) - ^a /əynak' (N-Udi)	---
GEN1	-(V)y	-i, -y(a)
GEN2	-in, -un	-in, -own
ABL2	---	-oc
DAT1	-a, -e, -i, -u	-a, -e, -i, -ow
ADESS1	---	-DAT1-k(a)
ADESS2 (Udi > ALL)	DAT1-č'	-DAT1-č'
SUBESS	---	-DAT1-q'
EQUAT	---	-DAT1-ğa
SUPERLAT	-DAT1-l	-DAT1-l
SUPERABL	---	-DAT1-l-oc
SUPERESS1	---	-DAT1-l-oš
DAT2	-DAT1-x	-DAT1-x
SUPERESS3 (V-Udi > COM)	-DAT1-x-ol	-DAT1-x-ol
DIR	---	-DAT1-x-ow
COM	---	-DAT1-x-oš
ABL2	---	-DAT1-x-oc
ANTEABL2	---	-DAT1-x-ost'ay
ABL	-DAT1-x-o (V-Udi) -DAT1-x-un (N-Udi = COM)	---
DAT3	---	-DAT1-s
ANTEABL1	---	-DAT1-s-taxoc
ADESS (Udi)	-DAT1-s-t'a	---

2. Adjectives

2.1 Inflection

No inflection in attributive function (group inflection). But note that a present participle (-al) in attributive function is often followed by a 'conjoining' element -a.

Adjectives are inflected when used in referential function [no allomorphs]. In this case, a specific 'referential' inflectional type (RI) applies (absolutive -o (plural -o-r), oblique -t'-). Referential forms can also be derived from nearly any kind of inflected (pro)noun and verbal participle:

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	-o	-o-r
Ergative	-t'-in	-t'-ğ-on
Genitive	-t'-ay	-t'-ğ-o(y)
Benefactive	-t'-enk'(ena)	-t'-ğ-oenk'(ena)
Dative1	-t'-u	-t'-ğ-o
Dative2	-t'-ux	-t'-ğ-ox
Ablative	-t'-uxo	-t'-ğ-oxo
Comitative	-t'-uxol	-t'-ğ-oxol
Superessive	-t'-ul	-t'-ğ-ol
Allative	-t'-uč'	-t'-ğ-oč'
AdeSSive	-t'-ust'a	-t'-ğ-ost'a

CA: Group inflection.

Inflection of referentialized adjectives:

	M		F		N	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	-o	-ǎ~r	-aǧ	-aǧ-owr	-o	-ebowr
OBL	-o-	-ǎ~-	-aǧ-	-aǧ-r-	-(e)t'-	ed-ǧ- < *et'-ǧ-

2.2 Grading

There are no morphological means to indicate gradation (comparative, superlative etc) of adjectives.

CA: No morphological markers.

2.3 Predicative use

Adjective can be used in predicative function without further morphological specification. Two tense forms: Non past -∅, past -i.

CA: Same, but no tense distinction

3. Pronouns

3.1 Personal pronouns

No inclusive-exclusive distinction. Case marking does not distinguish absolutive from ergative. No stem augments occur.

	‘I’	‘you (sg.)’	‘we’	‘you(pl.)’
Absolutive	zu	un	yan	va ^f n
Ergative	zu	un	yan	va ^f n
Genitive	bez(i)	vi	beš(i)	e ^f (i)
Benefactive	zenk’(ena)	venk’(ena)	yenk’(ena)	ve ^f nk’(ena)
Dative1	za	va	ya	va ^f
Dative2	zax	vax	yax	va ^f x
Ablative	zaxo	vaxo	yaxo	va ^f xo
Comitative	zaxol	vaxol	yaxol	va ^f xol
Superessive	zal	val	yal	va ^f l
Allative	zač’	vač’	yač’	va ^f č’
Adessive	zast’a	vast’a	yast’a	va ^f st’a

Note:

◆ Nij has second person singular *hun*.

◆ The second person plural has a variant $e^f a^f n \sim efa^f n$ derived from the genitive. Case inflection is parallel to that of $va^f n$.

CA:	'I'	'you(sg.)'	'we'	'you(pl.)'
ABS/ERG	<i>zow</i>	<i>vown</i>	<i>žan</i>	<i>vʰan</i>
GEN	<i>bezi</i>	<i>vi ~ vey</i>	<i>beši</i>	<i>bʰefi</i>
DAT	<i>za</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>ža</i>	<i>vʰa</i>

3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

A tripartite monocentric system, distinguishing proximal (*me-*) ~ medial (*ka-*) ~ distal (*t'e* ~ *še-*) [no vertical distinction]. Demonstratives are not inflected in attributive function. Complementary distribution of two distal variants (*t'e* ⇒ attributive; *še-* ⇒ referential). Inflection of referential forms is analogous to referentialized adjectives. But note that (esp. in Vartashen) a segment *-n-* is added to the absolutive:

	Proximal		Medial		Distal	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	<i>me-n-o</i>	<i>me-n-o-r</i>	<i>ka-n-o</i>	<i>ka-n-o-r</i>	<i>še-n-o</i>	<i>še-n-o-r</i>
OBL	<i>me-tʰ-</i>	<i>me-tʰ-(u)ğ-</i>	<i>ka-tʰ-</i>	<i>ka-tʰ-(u)ğ-</i>	<i>še-tʰ-</i>	<i>še-tʰ-(u)ğ-</i>

- ◆ The demonstrative pronouns are used in anaphoric function to denote a 'third person' [distal being preferred].
- ◆ In Nij, the ABS-forms are frequently shortened to *mō*, *kō*, and *šō*; *-e* is often assimilated > *-o-* (*šot'in* etc.).

CA: Only the distal can be safely described:

	M		F		N	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
ABS	<i>o(o)</i>	<i>ā~r</i>	<i>ağ</i>	<i>ağ-owr</i>	<i>ya/ee</i>	<i>e-bowr</i>
OBL	<i>o-</i>	<i>ā~-</i>	<i>ağ-</i>	<i>-ağ-r-</i>	<i>ed/tʰ-</i>	<i>ed-ğ- < *etʰ-ğ-</i>

3.3 Possessive pronouns

They correspond to the genitive of the corresponding personal pronoun. In referential function, they are inflected as referentialized adjectives. (⇒ 1.2):

	mine	yours (sg.)	ours	yours (pl)
Absolutive	<i>bezi-o</i>	<i>vi-o</i>	<i>beši-o</i>	<i>eʰfio</i>
Oblique	<i>bezi-tʰ-vi-tʰ-</i>		<i>beši-tʰ-</i>	<i>eʰf-i-tʰ-</i>

- ◆ Note: Doubled possessives in referential function, eg. *vi-tʰ-ai-o* 'one of yours' etc.

CA: Same techniques as in Udi, e.g. *bʰefi-o-ow* 'yours one (male), DAT'.

3.4 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *ič* {EMPATHY < S=A:EMPHASIS < IO < O:POSS < O} is inflected as a SI noun:

	Singular	Plural	
Absolutive	ič	ič-ǧ-on	
Ergative	ič-en	ič-ǧ-on	
Genitive	ič-ay ~ ič-i	ič-ǧ-o(y)	
Dative1	ič-u	ič-ǧ-o	etc.

Note:

◆ The absolutive plural **ič-ux* is replaced by the ergative case.

◆ The genitive *iči* is used with strongly ‘personalized’ referents and forms the base for the possessive reflexive pronoun *iči* (referentialized *ičio*) ‘one’s own’.

◆ In ‘short distance reflexivity’, the pronoun is normally doubled: the pronoun (in the appropriate case form) is preceded by *ič-en* (ergative), hence *ičen-ičay boš*, *ičen-ičux* (dative2) etc. In long distance reflexivity, the simple reflexive pronouns is used.

CA: *ič*.
 ABS *ič*
 ERG *ič-en*
 GEN *ičey (ičē)*
 DAT *ičow*

Var.: *ičey bowl* (REFL head)

3.5 Interrogative pronouns

	who	what	which	
Absolutive	šu	ek’a	mano	
Ergative	šin	et’in	mat’in	
Genitive	ši	et’a(y)	mat’a(y)	
Dative1	šu	et’u	mat’u	etc.

◆ *ek’a* has a variant *he(k’a)* (in Nij). *he* is sometime used in the sense of ‘which’. Further interrogatives are derived by composition.

CA: who what which
 (*ha-)*šow *ya* *ha-nay*

3.6 Indefinite pronouns

	human	non-human	
Absolutive	šuk’al	ek’al	
Ergative	šuk’alen	ek’alen	
Genitive	šuk’ali	ek’alun	
Dative	šuk’ala	ek’ala	etc.

◆ Negative (indefinite) pronouns are construed with the help of negated verbs.

CA:	Human <i>ha-š-k'e < *ha-šow-k'e</i>	non-Human <i>ya-k'e</i>
------------	---	----------------------------

3.7 Relative pronouns

In V-Udi, the attributive interrogative pronoun *mano* is augmented by the subordinator *-te* (< Armenian *et'e* 'that'), e.g. *mano-te* 'who/which' (rel.). *manote* is inflected just as *mano*. If ever relative clauses are formed in N-Udi, the subordinator is mostly *ki* (< Azeri).

CA: The well documented relative pronoun *hanay-k'e* is formed in just the same way as V-Udi *mano-te*.

4 Verb

4.1 Stem formation

- ⇒ Basic verbs (pure stem)
- ⇒ Lexical base plus auxiliary (<*light verb): *-t'esun, -tesun, -desun, -q'esun, -xesun*
- ⇒ Lexical base + light verb (*esun* (intransitive), *baksun* (intransitive), *pesun* (transitive), *besun* (transitive), **desun* (transitive-causative)).
- ⇒ Composition (lexical base plus lexical verb, esp. *duğsun* 'hit', *aq'sun* 'take', *biq'sun* 'seize' etc.).

CA: Same techniques, but different auxiliaries/light verbs may show up:

Auxiliaries: **-desown, *-ğesown, *-kesown, *-k'esown, *-q'esown, *-tesown, *-t'esown, *-xesown*

Light verbs: (*i*)*hesown* (intransitive), *igesown* (intransitive), *pesown* ((in)transitive), *bibesown* (transitive-causative).

Composition, e.g. *dagesown* 'give', *heq'esown* 'take', *biq'esown* 'take'.

4.2 Suppletion

The following suppletive stems occur:

	Past	Present	Future-modal	Imperative
<i>esun</i> 'go'	ar- ~ -er-	e-	eğ-	ek-
<i>esun</i> (LV)	ec-	-Ø-	-eğ-	-ek-
<i>pesun</i> 'say, LV'	p-	ex-	uk'-	up- [heavy verb]
<i>uksun</i> 'eat'	kä-	uk-	uk-	uk-
[u ^ʕ ğsun 'drink'	(u ^ʕ)ğ-	u ^ʕ ğ-	u ^ʕ ğ-	u ^ʕ ğ-

CA:	Present	Past	Infinitive	Imperative	
	(ow)k'a-	(ow)pe-	(ow)pesown	(ow)pa-	'to say'
	ığa-	(a)ce-	igesown	owkal- ~ eke-	'to go'
	heğa-	ar-	heğesown	hekal-	'to come'
	bil'a-	powr-/bil'a-	owp/*bil'esown	bil'a-	'to die, kill'
	lowğa-	dağe-	dagesown	dağa-	'to give'

4.3 Masdar / Infinitive

The Udi verb knows both a masdar (verbal noun) and an infinitive. Both are derived from case forms:

ABS	*Verbal stem	[only in derivational structures like mediopassives or causatives]	
ERG	Verbal stem- <i>in</i>	[lexicalized, modal]	
GEN	Verbal stem- <i>un</i>	[lexicalized]	
*DAT3	Verbal stem- <i>es</i>	Infinitive	
	+ GEN	Verbal stem- <i>es-un</i>	Masdar
	+ ERG	Verbal stem- <i>es-in</i>	Modal
	+ DAT2	Verbal stem- <i>es-ax</i>	Converb
	+ * COP	Verbal stem- <i>es-a</i>	Present

E.g.	ABS	<i>uk-</i>	‘eat’ [compare <i>uk-t’esun</i> ‘let eat’]
	ERG	<i>uk-en</i>	‘eating’
	GEN	* <i>uk-un</i>	
	*DAT3	<i>uk-es</i>	‘in order to eat; for eating’
	+GEN	<i>uk-es-un</i>	‘eating’ (verbal noun)
	+ERG	<i>uk-es-in</i>	‘for/when (etc.) eating’
	+DAT(2)	<i>uk-es-a(x)</i>	‘while eating’
	*COP	<i>uk-es-a</i> < *- ‘ <i>a</i> ’	‘eat (PRES)’

The masdar has a complete inflectional paradigm (SI, genitive *-un*, dative *-a*):

ABS	<i>uk-s-un</i>	‘eat’
ERG	<i>uk-s-un-en</i>	
GEN	<i>uk-s-un-un</i>	
DAT	<i>uk-s-un-a</i>	<i>etc.</i>

CA: Basically, the same paradigm applies as in Udi :

	Infinitive	<i>-es</i> (< *DAT3)
	Masdar	<i>-es-un</i> (GEN or Infinitive).
Cf.	Modal	<i>-es-in</i> (ERG)
	Telic	<i>-es-ax</i> (DAT2)
	Additive	<i>-es-axoš</i> (COM)

4.4 Tense / Aspect / Mood

Two basic temporal domains: Past vs. nPast. Both domains are subcategorized. TAM marking is done with the help of (a) stem variation (cp. 4.2) and (b) TAM suffixes.

Udi is a tense-prominent language. Tense may have aspectual effects, but aspect is not a distinct category.

⇒ Basic Past /nPast distinction: Past *-i*, nPast *-∅*. Used esp. with adjectival predicates and copula (*bu*).

⇒ TAM pattern:

	Past	nPast	
	Past Stem	Present stem	Future-modal stem
Aorist	<i>-i</i>		
Perfect	<i>-e</i>		
Present		<i>-es-a</i>	
Future1			<i>-al</i>
Future2			<i>-o</i>
Optative			<i>-a</i>
Conditional			<i>-ay</i>

◆ The optative is used for the imperative (expect for *esun* ‘to go, LV’ and *pesun* ‘to say’ which have distincts IMP-stems (*ek-*, *up-*)).

◆ All TAM forms can be marked by the clitic *-i* to indicate a relative past tense/mood.

Conditional: *gi-* (clustered with AGR-clitics), also used as a conditional copula.

Adhortative: *q'a* (clustered with AGR-clitics), normally followed by the aorist.

Cond. negative: *nä-gi* > *näi-* (clustered with AGR-clitics).

Prohibitive: *ma-q'a-* (clustered with AGR-clitics).

CA:

(a) Aspectual stem formation:

	Perfective	Imperfective (> Iterative)
Ablaut	<i>-i-</i>	<i>-a-</i>
Infixation	<i>-Ø-</i>	<i>-r- / -l- (-l'-)</i>

(b) Tense stem formation (stem final thematic vowels):

	Present	Past	Infinitive	Imperative
Strong verbs	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-a-</i>
Weak verbs	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-e-</i>	<i>-a-</i>

(c) TAM-morphemes:

	Stem	TV	Suffix	Copula
PRES	<i>-a- / -r/l-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	
IMPERFECT	<i>-a- / -r/l-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-Ø-</i>	<i>-hey</i> (Past tense of <i>ihesown</i> ‘to be(come)’)
PERF	<i>-i- / -Ø-</i>	<i>-e/a-</i>	<i>-y</i>	
PLUPERFECT	<i>-i- / -Ø-</i>	<i>-e/a-</i>	<i>-y</i>	<i>-hey</i> (Past tense of <i>ihesown</i> ‘to be(come)’)

Derived TAM-forms

HORTATIVE/FUTURE	<i>q'a-</i>	Verbal stem:PERF	+ PERF
CONJUNCTIVE		Verbal stem:IMPERF	+ <i>-al</i> + <i>-ank'e</i>
CONDITIONAL		Verbal stem:IMPERF	+ PRES + <i>-eñe</i> (+ <i>-hey</i>)
PROHIBITIVE1	<i>ma-q'a-</i>	Verbal stem:PERF	+ PERF
PROHIBITIVE2	<i>nu-</i>	Verbal stem:IMPERATIV	

4.5 Participles

Past participle (S=A=O): *-i*

nPast participle (S=A): *-al* [often *-ala* in attributive function].

CA: nPast = Present stem
 Past = Past stem + -y

4.6 Converbs

Temporal: Anterior action: STEM(fut-mod) + -(a)t'an
 Parallel action: STEM(fut-mod) + -(a)xun, Nij: -t'an
 Posterior action: STEM(fut-mod) + -m(a), -min, -t'ama, t'amin; Nij:
 -ma, -mən, -mənža
 Final: Infinitive + -an, infinitive + -ax, masdar + -ax
 Modal: Infinitive + -in, masdar + -in

CA: Converbs are rare. Inflected forms of the infinitive may be used as converbs:

Final: Infinitive + -ax
 Modal: Infinitive + -in (ERG)
 Final/temporal: Past stem + *ank'e*
 Subordinating: Verb + *anak'e*

4.7 Copula

The copula is expressed by the AGR-clitics, cp. 4.8. They can be added to the 'verbum substantivum' *bu* [past *bui*]. Negative copula: *te*, conditional copula *gi*, negative conditional copula *nägi* (> *näi*).

CA: *bow* 'exist'
ihesown 'become'
 Agreement clitics

4.8 AGR-clitics

Matrix verbs are finite. They are marked by floating AGR-clitics that serve two purposes:

- ⇒ Agreement with the {S=A} domain;
- ⇒ Focusing of their host constituent (or host segment).

Udi AGR clitics are clitics because they can be added to any kind of word class (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, verbs etc.). They are floating because the speaker has (in parts) the choice where to put the clitic in a sentence. Yet, certain restrictions in the positioning of clitics apply (cp. A. Harris 2002. Endoclitics. The Origins of Udi Morphosyntax. Oxford. OUP).

AGR-clitics are marked by the following subparadigms:

- ⇒ AGR-clitics echoing the basic properties of the {S=A} domain
- ⇒ AGR-clitics echoing the demotion of S or A to IO.
- ⇒ AGR-clitics echoing a possessive structure (POSS, basically in Vartashen).
- ⇒ AGR-clitics denoting 'possibly acting' (DAT2, added to a modal verb [Nij]).

	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
S=A	zu	nu	ne	yan	nan	q'un
IO	za	va	t'u	ya	va ^f	q'o
POSS	bez	vi	t'ai	beš	e ^f	q'oy
Q	---	---	a	---	---	---

◆ Variants: S=A: 1sg *-əz-*, *-z-*; 2sg *-n-*, 3sg *-n-*, *-e-* (Nij), 3pl *-t'un* (Nij)
The position of AGR-clitics:

a) Within verb forms:

- ⇒ Endoclitization with basic verbs (CV_C-, V_C-)
- ⇒ Endoclitization with base+LV structures:
 - ⇒ Base-_-LV
 - ⇒ Base-CV_C (rare)
- ⇒ Endoclitization with composed verbs (Stem-_-VERB)
- ⇒ Enclitization (with any kind of verb)
 - ⇒ ...-TAM-AGR
 - ⇒ ...-TAM-AGR-past
- ⇒ Enclitization with modal markers:
 - ⇒ ADH q'a-AGR
 - ⇒ PROH ma-q'a-AGR
 - ⇒ COND gi-AGR
 - ⇒ COND:NEG nä-gi-AGR (> nai-AGR)
 - ⇒ NEG te-AGR

◆ The resulting morpheme complex behaves as a single AGR-structure, hence CV-q'a:AGR-C- etc. [*ba-q'a-ne-k-i* '(s)he should become' ~ *baksun* (*ba_k-*) 'become'].

b) Outside the verbal form: The AGR-clitic is always endoclititic.

◆ Certain constraints apply: AGR must follow

- ⇒ Modal particles
- ⇒ Future-modal structures (*-al*, *-a*).
- ⇒ The verbal stems *ex-* 'say:pres' and *ar-* 'go:past' do not tolerate endoclitization.

◆ Preferred slots in verbal complexes:

- ⇒ Endoclitization with unmarked basic verbs;
- ⇒ TAM-enclitization when the TAM-domain is focused;
- ⇒ Endoclitization between lexical base and light verb or compositional verb.

CA: (Modestly floating) agreement clitics, no (?) endoclitization in verbal stems. Function: S/A-agreement.

Pattern:

		Primary	Secondary (added to primary clitics)	
1Sg		-zow		
2Sg		-nown		
3Sg	Pres. Stem	-∅	S	-va
			A	-o-en
	Past Stem	-n(e)	S	-va
			A	-o-en
1PI		-žan		
2PI		-nan		
3PI	Pres. Stem	-∅	S	-â~r
			A	-â~n
	Past Stem	-n(e)	S	-â~r
			A	-â~n

a Agreement clitics may show up in the dative (secondary clitics in third person) to mark agreement with 'subject' of verba sentiendi. Else, these dative clitics may encode the O-or IO-function 'object':

	Verba sentiendi	O/IO
1Sg	-za	-zas, -zax
2Sg	-va	-vas, -vax
3Sg	-o-ow / -aġ-ow etc.	-o-ows, -o-owx, -aġ-ows, aġ-owx etc.
1PI	-žā	-žās, -žāx
2PI	-v'ā	-v'ās, -v'āx
3PI	-â~a, -aġ-r-a etc.	-â~as, -â~ax, -aġ-r-as, -aġ-r-ax etc.

Clitics have to follow 'heavy clitics' such as -q'a-, -eñe-, te- (negator), RelPro in clitic position, con-verb-like clitics -ank'e, anak'e, and -y (Past), if no other heavy clitic is present. Note that with thirds persons, -ank'e and -anak'e select the type of clitics controlled by the present stem.

4.9 Negation

Negation of assertive assumptions is based on the (in parts) floating negator *te*, necessarily followed by AGR-clitics if present. The resulting complex {te-AGR} behaves like a floating AGR-clitic (⇒ 4.1.4.8).

Negation of modal structures:

Prohibitive *ma-q'a-* + AGR-clitic (> {maq'a-AGR}-clitic cluster).

Strong prohibitive: *nu* + optative.

Conditional: *nä-gi-* + AGR-clitic (> {nä(g)i-AGR}-clitic cluster).

CA:

	Verbal negator	Copula
PastStem	<i>te-</i>	<i>te-</i>
PresStem / Pres. Participle	<i>now(t)- ~ -nowt</i>	
Prohibitive	<i>ma-</i>	---

4.10 Valence decrease/increase ~ diathesis

Passivization [A-backgrounding ~ mediopassives]: the light verb *esun* ('go') is added to the bare stem (-c-past, eġ-future-modal).

Intransitivization/Anticausatives: Light verb *baksun* added to the lexical base / stem.

Transitivization: light verb *pesun* or *besun* added to the lexical base / stem.

Causativization:

- ⇒ With the help of the suffix *-ev-* added to the verbal stem (lexicalized)
- ⇒ With the help of the auxiliaries *-desun*, *-t'esun* added to the masdar1.

There is no antipassive in Udi from a synchronic point of view.

CA:

Passivization [~ mediopassive]: Light *ihesown* (rare)

Anticausatives: Light verbs *ihesown*, *iġesown*

Transitivization: Light verbs *pesown*, *biyesown*

Causatives: Light verb *biyesown*

No antipassives in CA.