Origin of Udi Clitics

Relation of Agreement Clitics to Verb Stems

in Caucasian Albanian

The ancient Biblical translations recently published as *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai* (Gippert, Schulze, et al. 2009, *CAPMS*) provide the first large corpus of Caucasian Albanian (CA), an extinct member of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. The language is notable for a complex system of clitics, including person markers very similar to those found in Udi, a modern language of the same family (Harris, 2002). These clitics can occur in a wide variety of positions, including enclitic to the verb or enclitic to certain verb-external elements. Examining the distribution of these two clitic positions within *CAPMS*, we observe frequent variation in placement. This variation contrasts with the tightly restricted, prioritized system for clitic placement proposed for Udi by Harris (2002). The evidence examined here suggests a semi-prioritized system of preference, but not determination, for the position of the person-marking clitic in CA. The study confirms and further explains the statement by the editors of *CAPMS* that the clitic is more tightly bound to the verb in CA than in Udi.

Where in the Word is the Caucasian Albanian Clitic?

In 2009 the first real corpus of Caucasian Albanian, dating perhaps to the 6th century C.E., was published as *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai* (Gippert et al. 2009). Caucasian Albanian (henceforth CA) is an extinct member of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family and the closest known relative of modern Udi, perhaps its direct ancestor. Both Udi (Harris 2002) and CA are unusual in having complex systems of clitics, including ones indicating person and number of the subject. These clitics occur in specific conditions under specified circumstances. In Udi, the positions of the person-number clitics are strictly governed by prioritized rules. Harris and Duff (2018) have shown that the interaction of Rules 1, 2a, 2b, and 2c is much less rule-governed in CA than in Udi. In the present paper I compare the full set of seven rules of Udi with those of CA. I show that while the general system was already in place in CA, Rule 7 of Udi did not exist at all in CA. This is the rule that surprisingly puts clitics into root morphemes in Udi. I show that Rule 4 has a curious restriction in CA which is not present at all in Udi. The paper concludes with a summary of what we know, what we can infer, and what we would like to know about the development of this clitic system from ancient times into the modern language.

Harris, Alice C. 2021. Where in the Word is the Caucasian Albanian Clitic? *Webs of Relationships and Words from Long Ago: A Festschrift Presented to Ives Goddard on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, ed. by Lucy Thomason, David J. Costa, and Amy Dahlstrom, 151-177. Petoskey, MI: Mundart Press.

Tmesis in Aluan: Precursors of Endoclisis

Aluan (often called Caucasian Albanian) may be either the direct ancestor of the modern language Udi or its closest sister language. In Udi, person-number clitics (PMs) occur in several positions under certain specific circumstances (Harris 2002). Most unusually, these PMs may be endoclitic, occurring between the morphemes of the verb or inside the root morpheme of the verb. With few differences of form, clitics occur in Aluan and are found in positions corresponding in part to those in Udi (Harris and Duff 2018). In Aluan, however, PMs rarely occur between the morphemes of a verb and never occur inside the verb root (Harris 2021). In this paper, I discuss examples that seem to be the precursors of the endoclitic positions. I argue that tmesis in Aluan occurred when words were trapped during grammaticalization. I interpret this as meaning that the occasional tmesis of Aluan is the precursor of the systematic endoclitic positions that make Udi so unusual.

Harris, Alice C. 2022. Tmesis in Aluan: Precursors of Endoclisis. *Ha! Linguistic Studies in Honor of Mark R. Hale*, ed. by Laura Grestenberger, Charles Reiss, Hannes A. Fellner & Gabriel Z. Pantillon, 135-151. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

The Origins of Clitic Placement in Aluan and Udi

Aluan (or Caucasian Albanian) is an ancient Nakh-Daghestanian language known from palimpsest texts, *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mount Sinai* (Gippert et al. 2009). This language is the direct ancestor or closest indirect relative of modern Udi. Both languages have remarkable distribution of verbal clitics, and in Aluan one can see an early and less rigid stage of the Udi system. Both languages have endoclitics that occur between certain morphemes, but Udi also has endoclitics inside simple verb roots. In both languages, clitic placement depends upon diverse factors, including tense-aspect-mood category, focus, internal structure of the verb, and perhaps stress (Harris 2002, 2021). The rules for placement in Aluan follow.

Aluan Rule 1. If the verb stands in the future II, the present, the imperfect, or the imperative, the PM must be enclitic to the verb, no matter what other conditions exist.

Aluan Rule 2.

    a. Agreement clitics are enclitic to a clausal negator if one occurs.

b. Agreement clitics are enclitic to a question word, if one occurs.

c. Agreement clitics may be enclitic to a focused constituent, if one occurs.

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

Aluan Rule 4.

a. In a causative, PMs occur between the infinitive (in *-es*) 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 in a complex verb.

Lower numbered rules take precedence over higher numbered ones. The effects of these (partially flexible) rules are illustrated in (1-4b). The verb 'say' in (1) and (2a) is suppletive, *owḳa* in present, and *pē* in the past. In (4b), *ta-daġe* 'give' is a single, complex verb, separable only by certain clitics.

(1)	owḳa=**zow=vʕas**		Mt 5: 20
	say=**1SG=2PL.DAT**		
	'I say to you'		
(2a)	te=**zow=vʕas**	pē	John 16: 4
	NEG=**1SG=2PL.DAT**	say.PST	
	'I did not say to you'		
(2b)	hašu=**ne**	håya-hē	ihesun-aẋ	John 12: 38
	who=**3**	believe.PST-PST	hearing-DATIII	
	'who has believed hearsay?'		
(2c)	ćowdowaẋosṭay=**zow**	aci-båhē=ḳa	John 6: 42
	heaven.from=**1SG**	down-go.PST=QUOT	
	'"I have come down from heaven"'		
(3)	ayz-i	xaš=**zow**	John 9: 5
	world-GEN	light=**1SG**	
	'I am the light of the world'		
(4b)	ta=**q̇a=n**=daġē		Mt 10: 21
	thither=**FUT=3**=give		
	'[the brother] will deliver'		

Aluan was part of a *Sprachbund*, its core consisting of North Eastern Neo-Aramaic, certain "aberrant" Armenian dialects, Northern Tati, and some varieties of Talyshi (Noorland and Stilo 2015). In this presentation, I try to tease apart what in the complex systems of clitic placement found in Aluan and Udi is inherited, what may have originated with Aluan itself, and what is the effect of contact with other languages in the *Sprachbund*. I distinguish the different roles of tense-aspect-mood category, focus, internal structure of the verb, and stress, together with the origins of each.

Harris, Alice C. 2022. The Origins of Clitic Placement in Aluan and Udi. Invited presentation at the International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Oxford, England.

Slides

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