Relative Clauses in Vartashen Udi
Preliminary Remarks

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Abstract

The article provides a preliminary account of the structure of relative clauses in Udi, an endangered language of the Caucasus. Based upon written sources, mostly from Tsarist times, and audiovisual materials collected in a documentation project, it addresses the formation and use of relative pronouns that are built upon either interrogative or demonstrative stems. The main focus is on the question whether the latter type of relative pronouns can be regarded as a "sprachwirkliches" feature of spoken Udi; it is argued that further fieldwork with specific elicitation methods is necessary to give a reliable answer.

0.1 It is a typologically salient feature of German and, to a lesser extent, English, that in the formation of relative clauses, both interrogatives and demonstratives can be used as relative pronouns (*welcher; wer, was* vs. *der, die, das* etc. / *which; who, what* vs. *that*), with but a few restrictions as to their usage (e.g., English *that* is confined to restrictive relative clauses, and German *wer / was* are preferrably used in free, i.e., headless, relative clauses). To account for the emergence of this feature, it would be desirable to find comparable cases in non-related languages. Udi, an endangered language of the Caucasus, may possibly be adduced in this respect. In the following treatise,[1] I intend to address some preliminary questions that are related to the formation of relative clauses in Udi, and to outline on this basis the methods needed to draw a conclusive picture.

0.2 Since 1814 when it was first mentioned in the scientific literature, the Udi language has been reported to pertain to the 'Lezgian' stock of the East Caucasian language family.[2] Of the two main places of residence of Udi speakers, the villages of Vartashen[3] and Nizh[4] in North West Azerbaijan, only the latter has retained a stable population of Udi speakers till today, while most of the Udi inhabitants of Vartashen (now named Oğuz) left their village in consequence of the Armenian-Azerbaijanian clashes in the late 1980's and are now scattered about several states of the former Soviet Union. On the other hand, a group of Udi settlers from Vartashen moved to South East Georgia in the early 1920's where they founded the village of Zinobiani, later named Okṭomberi;[5] the Udi community of this village has remained intact eversince and was the object of the documentation project 'Endangered Caucasian Languages in Georgia' ('ECLinG') in 2002-7.[6] Today, the number of Udi

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[2] Klaproth 1814: 177: '... sprechen sie einen Lesghischen Dialect, den sie für ihre Muttersprache ausgeben, und aus dem ich hier einige Worte, mit anderen Lesghischen verglichen, folgen lasse'.

[3] Located 41° 4'5" N and 47°28'4" E. Erroneously spelt 'Waratschin' in Klaproth 1814: 177 and, depending on it, Hassel 1821, 762, 770; corrected to 'Wartaschin' in Sjögren 1837: 118, 'Wartaschan' in Schiefner 1854: 649 and, finally, to 'Wartaschen' in Schiefner 1863: 3. The Armenian-based etymology given there (Arm. *vard* 'rose' and *šēn* 'village', i.e. 'rose-village') seems first to have been proposed by A. Berger (Berže) as it is also found in Seidlitz 1863: 171 (where, however, the name is spelt 'Wartaschîn'). The Udi pronunciation of today is *vartašen*.

[4] Located 40°56'33" N and 47°39'56" E. First mentioned as a dwelling place of Udi speakers in Eichwald 1837: 16 with the spelling 'Nidsh'; this spelling, which is Russian-based, has remained widely used upto the present day. The Udi pronunciation of today is *niž* or *nėź* (with *ź* indicating a retroflex voiced sibilant and ʿ, the pharyngealisation of the underlying vowel). – In the older literature, a few other villages of Northwest Azerbaijan are mentioned as dwelling places of Udi speakers (Schiefner 1863: 4 and Seidlitz 1863: 171 list 'Sultan-Nucha / Ssultàn-Nuchà', 'Dshorly / Dshourly', 'Mirza-Beglü / Mirsabegli', 'Jangi-Kend / Jengikent' and 'Michlikuach / Michlikoach'; in Gukasjan 1963: 79 Mirzabekli is still named as a residence of Udi speakers).

[5] Located 41°53'51" N and 45°56'10" E. Named after the leader of the group, Zinobi Siliḳašvili (1890-1938); cf. Schulze 1982:3-4. There has been a tendency to return to the older name, Zinobiani, in recent times.

[6] The materials collected in the project, which was realised within the 'DoBeS' programme of the Volkswagen Foundation, are archived on the server of the MPI Nijmegen and available for registered users in http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser?openpath=MPI534222%23; cf. also http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/ecling/ecling03.htm#dProjekt. A few further recordings were made in the project 'The sociolinguistic situation of present-day Georgia' funded by the Volkswagen Foundation in 2005-2009; cf. http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser?openpath=MPI664513%23 and http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etce/cauc/udi/udissgg/udiss.htm.

speakers hardly exceeds 5000 in Nizh, 50 in Vartashen/Oğuz, and 300 in Okṭomberi/Zinobiani; there is a notable dialectal divergence between Vartashen (/Okṭomberi) and Nizh Udi manifesting itself both in the grammar and the lexicon of the language. As the latter variety has not been the object of the 'ECLinG' documentation project and less resources are available for it, the present treatise is confined to Vartashen Udi.

0.3 Apart from being a rather deviant vernacular within the Lezgian stock it is assigned to, Udi is peculiar among the East Caucasian family in being the successor of the so-called 'Caucasian Albanian' language of the Middle Ages, the manuscript remains of which have only recently been deciphered and gathered in a scholarly edition.[7] Udi is thus the only language of the Caucasus besides Georgian and Armenian that is accessible to diachronic investigations based on written materials.

1. Although Udi has been the object of several studies since the second half of the 19th century, there has been no investigation into the formation of relative clauses in this language, and the grammatical treatises available are rather sketchy in this respect. This is all the more astonishing as with the presence of 'finite' subordinate clauses introduced by pronominal elements, Udi has moved far away from basic patterns of Lezgian (and East Caucasian in general) where we would expect participial-like constructions instead. What we can learn from grammatical treatises of Udi is that in the Vartashen dialect, relative pronouns were developed, in imitation of neighbouring languages, on the basis of interrogative pronouns,[8] especially the pronoun *mano* 'which',[9] and that they are formed by adding *-te*[10] or *-al*[11] to the interrogative base. The former element (*-te*), which also appears in subjunctions and independently, has been claimed to be borrowed from Armenian *(e)tʿe*, a general 'subordinator' or complementiser,[12] while *-al* is the focussing clitic meaning 'also' or 'too'.

1.1 This basic account is by and large in accord with the data we find in the written sources of Udi, the largest bulk of which consists of the

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[7] Cf. Gippert/Schulze et al. 2009.

[8] Cf. Schulze 1982: 125: '... wurden auf der Basis der Fragepronomina entwickelt, um hypotaktische Syntagmen verschiedener Nachbarsprachen nachzuahmen'.

[9] Cf. Schiefner 1863: 22 (§ 84); Dirr 1904: 35-6 (f.); Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 502 (2.4.2.3).

[10] Cf. Schiefner 1863: 22 (§ 84); Dirr 1904: 35-6 (f.).

[11] Cf. Pančvidze 1974: 97-8 (§ 46).

[12] Cf. Schulze 1982: 202; Schulze 2001: 20.

complete text of the four Gospels translated from Russian by Semjon and Mixail Bežanov by the end of the 19ᵗʰ century.[13] In this invaluable source, we find an enormous amount of relative clauses that are introduced by a relative pronoun consisting of one of the interrogative stems plus the subordinator, *te*, rendering either relative pronouns or participial formations of the Russian model. The most frequent stem by far is *ma-,* which, used independently, conveys the locative meaning 'where' but is also the basis for *mano* 'which' and its declension forms. All in all, the Gospel texts provide more than 500 examples of relative forms like *ma(a)te* 'where', *malinte / malante* 'from where', *manote* 'which' (abs.sg.), *manorte* 'id.' (abs.pl.), *maṭinte* 'id.' (erg.sg.), *maṭaite* 'of which' (gen.sg.), *maṭute* 'to which' (dat.sg.), or *maṭġonte* 'which' (erg.pl.).[14] A few examples may suffice to illustrate their usage;[15] note that the subordinator (-)*te* must be kept distinct from the homonymous negator, *te:*[16]

(1) Lk. 9,57

amma	adamari	ġarei	te-ṭa	bu
but	man:GEN.SG.	son:GEN.SG.	not-he:GEN.SG.	be:PRES.
ga	**ma-te**	ič	bex	ḳoċba-ne
place:ABS.SG.	where-SUB.	own	head:DAT2.SG.	lean:SUBJ.-3.SG.

'But the son of man has no place where he could lean his head.'

(2) Jo. 7,42

... Xrisṭos	eġal-le	...	ṭe	ganuxo,
... Christ:ABS.SG.	come:FUT2-3.SG.	...	that	place:ABL.SG.
malan-te	bu-ne-i		David?	
from.where-SUB.	be:PRES.-3SG.-PRET.		David:ABS.SG.	

'... Christ will come from ... that place from where David had been?'

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[13] Published (in synopsis with the Russian text) in Bežanov / Bežanov 1902; the Udi text was re-published together with comprehensive indexes in Schulze 2001. An improved online version is available in Latin transcription in http://titus.uni-frank furt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/udi/udint/udint.htm.

[14] The complete set of attestations can be retrieved from the TITUS data base by using the URL http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/titusinx.asp? LXLANG=65528&LCPL=0&S=2&PF=5& LXWORD=ma*te&TCPL=0&LMT=-1 .

[15] In the interlinear versions provided below, the analysis of the Udi word forms is simplified to a certain extent. This is especially true for the analysis of verbal forms with so-called endoclitics (cf. Harris 2002 for a general treatise and Gippert 2005 for an account based upon the 'ECLinG' recordings). The different spellings used in the printed texts quoted here have been converted into a uniform transcription.

[16] Cf. Tandaschwili 2011 for a thorough investigation of the latter element.

(3) Mt. 11,3

un-nu   šono,   **mano-te**   gäräg   eġa-ne
you-2.SG.   that:ABS.SG.   which:ABS.SG.-SUB.   necessarily   come:SUBJ.-3.SG.
'Are you the one which must come...?'

(4) Lk. 13,30

bu-ġun   axrunor,   **manor-te**   bakal-ġun
be:PRES.-3.PL.   last:ABS.PL.   which:ABS.PL.-SUB.   become:FUT2.-3.PL.
beśumži,
first:ABS.SG.
vå   bu-ġun   beśumžior,   **manor-te**   bakal-ġun
and be:PRES.-3.PL. first:ABS.PL. which.ABS.PL.-SUB. become:FUT2.-3.PL.
axrunor.
last:ABS.PL.
'There are last ones that will be first, and there are first ones that will be last.'

(5) Lk. 5,21

šu-a   mono,   **maṭin-te**   bixox
who:ABS.SG.-3.SG.INT.   this:ABS.SG.   which:ERG.SG.-SUB.   God:DAT2.SG.
diźam-ne-desa?
blasphemy-3.SG.-give:PRES.
'Who is this one who blasphemes God?'

(6) Mt. 12,10

ṭia   bu-ne-i   adamar,   **maṭai-te**   kul
there be:PRES.-3.SG.-PRET. man:ABS.SG. which:GEN.SG.-SUB. hand:ABS.SG.
ġari-ne-i.
dry-3.SG.-PRET.
'There was a man whose hand was dry.'

(7) Lk. 7,34

migila   adamar,   **maṭu-te**   bu-ṭu-ġsa
behold   man:ABS.SG. which:DAT1.SG.-SUB.   please-3.SG.DAT1.-PRES.
uksun...
eating:ABS.SG.
'Behold, a man who loves eating...'

(8) Mt. 22,23

ṭe   ġi   iśa-ġun-baki   šeṭa   ṭóġól
that day:ABS.SG. close-3.PL.-become:PERF. this:GEN.SG.   towards
sadduḳeux,   **maṭǧon-te**   ex-ġun
Sadducee:ABS.PL. which:ERG.PL.-SUB.   say:PRES.-3.PL.
te-ne   bu   ṗuriṭǧo   aizesun
not-3.SG.   be:PRES.   dead:GEN.PL.   resurrection:ABS.SG.
'That day came close to him the Sadducees who say, there is no resurrection of the dead...'

In certain cases the subordinator, *-te*, can be separated from the pronominal base, esp. when this is combined with a postposition or subordinated to a noun; cf., e.g., the following cases:

(9) Lk. 21,6

eġal-le   ġimxox,   **maṭgo-boš-te**   ...
come:FUT2.-3.SG.   day:ABS.PL.   which:GEN.PL.-IN-SUB. ...
nuṭ   mandal-le   źe   źene   laxo
not   remain:FUT2.-3.SG. stone:ABS.SG. stone:GEN.SG. on
'Days will come in which no stone will remain upon a(nother) stone...'

(10) Lk. 22,22

amma   vai   ṭe   adamara,   **maṭa**   kin-**te**
but   woe   that   man:DAT.SG.   which:GEN.SG.   hand:ERG.SG.-SUB
šono   tog-ne-sa.
this:ABS.SG.   sell-3.SG.-PRES.
'But woe to that man by whose hand he is sold.'

The noun in question may in such cases represent the head-noun of the relative clause, copied or moved into it, and even additional material; cf., e.g.:

(11) Lk. 22,7

ari-ne   ačamun   **ġi,**   **mano** **ġena-te**
come:PERF-3.SG.   unleavened:GEN.SG. day:ABS.SG.   which   day:DAT1.SG.-SUB.
gäräg   śamḳa-ġun   axçimin   ġallu.
necessarily   slaughter:SUBJ.-3.PL.   Easter:GEN.SG.   lamb:DAT1.SG.
'(Then) came the day of the unleavened (bread), on which (sc. day) they must slaughter the Easter lamb.'

(12) Mt. 10,11

mano **šähärä**   ye   **äizi**   vån-**te**
which   city:DAT1.SG.   or   village:DAT1.SG. you:ABS.PL.-SUB.
bai-nan-ci   sürašizba-nan,   šu   ṭia   laiġlu-ne ...
into-3.PL.-go:PERF.   enquire:IMPV-2.PL. who:ABS.SG. there   worthy-3.SG. ...
'Into which(ever) city or village you have come, enquire who is worthy there...'

1.2 A similar picture is provided by the two other interrogative stems that appear as the basis of relative pronouns, viz. *š-* 'who' and *e-* 'what', both usually introducing generalising headless relative clauses, with forms such as *šu-te* 'who', *šin-te* 'id.' (erg.sg.), *šuu-te* 'id.' (dat.sg.), or *ši-te* 'whose', as well as *eḳ(ḳ)a-te* 'what', *eṭa-laxo-te* 'on what', or *eṭa-baxṭin-te* 'because of what'; cf., e.g.:

(13) Mt. 12,30

šu-te   zaxol   te-ne,   šono   bez
who:ABS.SG.-SUB.   I:COM.SG.   not-3.SG.   that:ABS.SG.   my
düšmän-ne;   vå   **šin-te**   te-ne   gir-besa
enemy:ABS.SG.-3.SG.   and   who:ERG.SG.-SUB.   not-3.SG.   gather-do:PRES.
zaxol,   šeṭin   pas-ne-besa.
I:COM.SG.   that:ERG.SG.   scatter-3.SG.-DO:PRES.
'Who(ever) is not with me, that one is my enemy; and who(ever) does not gather (together) with me, that one scatters.'

(14) Mk. 10,43

šuu-te   gena   bu-ṭu-q̇sa   baka-ne
who:DAT1.SG.-SUB.   however   please-3.SG.DAT1-PRES.   become:SUBJ.-3.SG.
ef   boš   abuz,   barta   ba-q̇a-n-ki   efénḳ
your:PL.   in   more   let:IMPV.   become-OPT.-3.SG.-PERF.   you:BENEF.
nökär.
servant:ABS.SG.
'Who, however, wants to be prominent among you, may become a servant for you!'

(15) Mt. 13,9 (etc.)

ši-te   bu-ṭai   imox   ibaksunun
who:GEN.SG.-SUB.   be:PRES.-3.SG.GEN   ear:ABS.PL.   listening:GEN.SG.
baxṭin,   imux-q̇a-n-laxi!
for   ear:PL.-OPT.-3.SG.-lend:PERF.
'Who(ever) has ears to listen, may listen!'

(16) Mt. 13,46

ta-ne-ci   vå   bütün   tov-ne-di,
thither-3.SG.-go:PERF.   and   all:ABS.SG.   market-3.SG.-give:PERF.
eḳḳa-te   bu-ṭa-i,   vå   a-ne-q̇i
what:ABS.SG.-SUB.   be:PRES.-3.SG.GEN.-PRET.   and   buy-3.SG.-PERF.
šoṭux.
that:DAT2.SG.
'... he went and sold everything which he had and bought that.'

(17) Lk. 5,25

šeṭin-al   ṭe-ssahat   aizeri   šoṭġo   béś,
that:ERG.SG.-FOC.   that-hour   rise:PERF.   that:GEN.PL.   before
a-ne-q̇i,   **eṭa-laxo-te**   bas-ne-ḳe-i
take-3.SG.-PERF.   what:DAT1.SG.-on-SUB.   sleep-3.sg.-AOR.-PRET.
'And at once he, having got up before them, took what he had slept upon...'

(18) Lk. 24,44

    migila   šono,   **eṭa-baxṭin-te**   zu   pe-z
    behold   that:ABS.SG.   what:DAT1.SG.-for-SUB.   I   say:AOR.-1.SG.
    efáx,   efáxol   bakiṭan,   te   gäräg   ...
    you:DAT2.PL.   you:COM.PL.   become:CONV.   SUB.   necessarily ...
    'Behold, this (is) on behalf of which I told you, being with you, that it is necessary...'

To the latter type we may further add conjunction-like formations such as *evax(ṭ)te* 'when', *etärte* 'how', *eq̇q̇arate* 'how much, as long as', or *emmate* 'while, until', which consist of *e-* 'what' combined with nouns like *vaxṭ* 'time' (lit. 'at what a time'; Arabic *waqt* 'time') and, possibly, *tähär* 'mode, way' (lit. 'in what a way'); cp., e.g.:

(19) Jo. 7,10

    amma   **e-vax(ṭ)-te**   ari-q̇un   šeṭa
    but   what-time:ABS.SG.-SUB.   come:PERF.-3.PL.   that:GEN.SG.
    vičimux,   **ṭe-vaxṭa**   šono-al   are-ne
    brother:ABS.PL.   that-time:DAT1.SG.   that:ABS.SG.-FOC.   come:AOR.-3.SG.
    äziz   ġena,   äšḳär   te,   amma   **e-tär-te**   čaṗḳin.
    feast   day:DAT1.SG.   open   not   but   what-way:ABS.SG.-SUB.   secretly
    'But when his brothers came, then he came, too, for the feast day, not openly, but as if secretly.'

(20) Lk. 11,8

    aizeri   ta-dal-le   šoṭu,   **eq̇q̇ara-te**
    rise:PERF.   thither-give:FUT2.-3.SG.   that:DAT1.SG.   how.much-SUB.
    be-ne-ssa.
    beg-3.SG.-PRES.
    'Having got up, he will give him as much as he wants.'

(21) Jo. 9,5

    emma-te   zu   düniänun   boš-zu,   zu   xaš-zu
    how.much-SUB.   I   world:GEN.SG.   in-1.SG.   I   light:ABS.SG.-1.SG.
    düniänun.
    world:GEN.SG.
    'As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world.'

(22) Mt. 6,10

    barta   ba-q̇a-n-ki   vi   ixṭiar,
    let:IMPV.   become-OPT.-3.SG.-PERF.   your:SG.   will:ABS.SG.
    e-tär-te   gögil,   **ṭe-tär-al**   oćalal.
    what-way:ABS.SG.-SUB.   heaven:SUP.   that-way:ABS.SG.-FOC.   earth:SUP.
    'May your will be done, as in heaven, so also on earth.'

The noun *tähär*, here assumed to underlie *e-tär-te* (as well as its deictic counterparts *(ha)me-tär, (ha)ka-tär, (ha)še-tär, ṭe-tär* 'so, in this / that way'), is still attested in the early Udi texts published by A. Schiefner and A. Dirr;[17] cf., e.g.,

(23) Dirr 1904, p. 72:

ḳuaxo-al	ṭoš	čeġala	**tähär**	te-ne
house:ABL.SG.-FOC.	out	leave:PART.FUT.	way:ABS.SG.	not-3.SG.

bu-i.
be:PRES.-PRET.
'And there was no way to get out of the house.'

1.3 The basics of the formation of relative pronouns as outlined above are as well confirmed by the older texts collected by Schiefner, Dirr and others. Cf. examples such as the following:

(24) Schiefner 1863, XII, p. 55:

zu	udin	övlädaxo-zu,	**manor-te**	man-q̇un-desa
I	Udi:GEN.SG.	tribe:ABS.SG.-1.SG.	which:ABS.SG.-SUB.	remain-3.PL.-PRES.

ṗå	aizun	boš	...
two	village:GEN.SG.	in	...

'I am from the tribe of the Udi(s), who live in two villages...'

(25) Bežanov 1888, p. 9:

yaq̇al	meṭu	sa	adamar-re	lamandesa,
way:SUP.SG.	this:DAT1.SG.	one	man:ABS.SG.-3.SG.	meet:PRES.

maṭin-te	ič	kex	uq̇na	xodax
which:ERG.SG.-SUB.	own	hand:DAT2.SG.	nut:GEN.SG.	tree:DAT2.SG.

biq̇i	exbalġonḳ	xoži-ne-bsa.
grasp:PERF.	plougher:BEN.PL.	shadow-3.SG.-do:PRES.

'On the way, he meets one (giant) man who is giving shadow to the ploughers by holding a nut tree in his hand.'

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[17] Schiefner's text 'Zinovi' (no. XVIII: p. 72-73) contains two attestations of the reduplicated noun *tähär-tähär* used in the sense of 'various'; in the same text as well as the preceding one ('Little Thieves', p. 72) we also find the ergative-instrumental form *tähären. tähär* obviously reflects Azeri *təhər* 'form, sort, description' but the question of the etymology of *-tär-* (cf. Schulze 2001: 275) remains open. The same holds true for *-q̇ar-* in *eq̇q̇ara-te* and *-ma-* in *emma-te*; but cf. the Caucasian Albanian lexemes *q̇ar* 'sort, type, seed' (cf. Gippert/Schulze et al.. 2009, IV-30) and **-moč-* 'time' (in *emočen* 'then', *hamoč-* 'when', and *kamoč-al* 'always', cf. ib., IV-15, IV-25 and IV-41).

(26) Dirr 1904, pp. 36 / 64:

šu-a	ka	čubux,	**maṭoxolan-te**	un
who-3.SG.INT.	that	woman:ABS.SG.	which:COM.SG.-SUB.	you:ABS.SG.

ait-ṭu-pe?
word-2.SG.-say:AOR.
'Who is that woman with whom you talked?'

(27) Dirr 1928, p. 61

amma	**šu-te**	me	vuǵ	ǵene	yaqaxo
but	who:ABS.SG.-SUB.	this	seven	day:GEN.SG.	way:ABL.SG.

ta-ne-sa,	hame	yaqal-gär	bat-ṭe-ḳsa;
thither-3.SG.-go:PRES	very.this	way:SUP.SG.-verily	perish-3.SG.-PRES.

'But who walks on this way of seven days, perishes on this very way.'

(28) Dirr 1928, p. 62

pasčaǵun	ǵaren	**eḳa-te**	ič	gädinen
king:GEN.SG.	son:ERG.SG.	what:ABS.SG.-SUB.	own	servant:ERG.SG.

ex-ne,	bütün	tam-ne-besa.
say:PRES.-3.SG.	all:ABS.SG.	complete-3.SG.-make:PRES.

'The king's son accomplishes everything which his servant says.'

(29) Dirr 1904, p. 93:

viči	**e-vaxṭ-te**	biasun
brother:ABS.SG.	what-time:ABS.SG.-SUB.	evening:GEN.SG.

ari-ne	ḳua,	xunčen	pi-ne.
come:PERF.-3.SG.	house:DAT1.SG.	sister:ERG.SG.	say:PERF.-3.SG.

'When the brother came home in the evening, the sister said...'

Note the following example with an embedded head noun:[18]

(30) Schiefner 1863, XIII, p. 57:

bėś	udiǵoi	boš	ärmein-al	ba-ne-ke
before	Udi:GEN.PL.	in	Armenian:ABS.SG.-FOC.	be-3.SG.-AOR.

gürži-al;	**mano pai-te**	Udin
Georgian:ABS.SG.-FOC.	which part:ABS.SG.-SUB.	Udi:GEN.SG.

padšaxluǵun	iśa-ne-bake	Ärmenisṭana
kingdom:GEN.SG.	near-3.SG.-BE:AOR.	Armenia:DAT1.SG.

armeinluǵ-ǫun-be,	**mano pai-te**	iśa-ne-bake
Armenianism-3.PL.-make:AOR.	which part:ABS.SG.-SUB.	near-3.SG.-BE:AOR.

Güržisṭana	güržiluǵ.
Georgia:DAT1.SG.	Georgianism:ABS.SG.

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[18] The inconsistent use of singular and plural forms in this sentence may be due to a *constructio ad sensum* for the latter; it is true, however, that the quality of Schiefner's Udi texts may be regarded as doubtful.

'In former times, there (were) Armenian and Georgian (people) among the Udis; (that) part of the Udi kingdom which was close to Armenia performed the Armenian rite, (that) part which was close to Georgia (performed) the Georgian rite.'

1.4 The basic setting as outlined above is further confirmed by a certain amount of examples occurring in the text recordings of the 'ECLiNG' documentation project.[19] Cf., e.g., the following instances:

(31) Toast women, 0:
dünyanun   ćol,   büṭümġo   šel   bu-ne
world:GEN.SG.   face:SUP.SG.   all:GEN.PL.   good   be:PRES-3.SG.
čubq̇oux,   **mano-te**   ḳožin   dövlat-te.
woman:ABS.PL.   which:ABS.SG.-SUB. house:GEN.SG.   wealth:ABS.SG.-3.SG.
'On the surface of the world, the best of all is women, which are (lit. is) the wealth of the house.'

(32) Udi Museum 1, 494:
meno   bu-ne   sifṭaumži   zaḳon,   sifṭaumži
this:ABS.SG.   be:PRES.-3.SG.   first   law:ABS.SG.   first
ädät   … **mano-te**   düz-ne-be
custom:ABS.SG. … which:ABS.SG.-SUB.   firm-3.SG.-make:AOR.
vačaganen.
Vačagan:ERG.SG.
'This is the first law, the first custom …, which Vachagan constituted.'

(33) Udi Museum 1, 450:
ośa   ba-ne-ke   urnair,   **maṭin-te**   a-ne-q̇e
after be-3.SG.-AOR.   Urnair:ABS.SG.   which:ERG.SG.-SUB.   take-3.SG.-AOR.
krisṭianobina.
Christendom:DAT1.SG.
'Afterwards (there) was Urnair, who adopted Christendom.'

(34) School 1, 89:
insanux   ba-q̇a-q̇un-ki   häzir   **maṭġon-te**   mya
people:ABS.PL. be-OPT.-3.PL.-PERF. ready   which:ERG.PL.-SUB.   here
muzen   ayt-pes   ba-q̇o-ksa,
language:ERG.SG.   word-speak:INF.   be-3.PL.DAT.-PRES.
'People are to be prepared who are able to speak (sc. with) the language here.'

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[19] The text passages are referenced by their names as stored in the metadata tree of the DOBES Archive under http://corpus1.mpi.nl/ds/imdi_browser/?open path=MPI534222%23 and the time position (in milliseconds) within the record.

(35) School 1, 40:
    isa   epsen   bur-yan-qe   yan,   mya   me   otaġa
    now   this.year   begin-1.PL.-AOR.   we   here   this   room:DAT1.SG.
    serbe-yan   biblioteḵa,   **ma-te**   bakal-le
    build:AOR.-1.PL.   library:ABS.SG.   where-SUB.   be:FUT2.-3.SG.
    mäsälä   udiġo   laxo.
    material:ABS.SG.   Udi:GEN.PL.   on
    'This year now we have begun, here in this room we have built a library, where there will be material(s) on the Udis...'

(36) Udi Museum 2, 148-151:
    biṗeççeumǯi   tarəġa   tadi   doḵumenṭ,
    fourteenth   century:DAT1.SG.   give:PERF.   document:ABS.SG.
    maṭa-boš-te   cam-ne   gergeçi   pičäten.
    which:GEN.SG.-in-SUB.   written-3.SG.   church:GEN.SG.   seal:ERG.SG.
    'A document issued in the fourteenth century, in which is written (lit. with) the seal of the church.'

(37) Agric2, 106:
    šu-te   äyzi   kar-re-xsa,   bitümṭay
    who-SUB.   village:DAT1.SG.   live-3.SG.-PRES.   all:GEN.SG.
    bu-ne   berġo   ḳoǯ.
    be:PRES.-3.SG.   sheep:GEN.PL.   house:ABS.SG.
    'Whoever lives in the village, (they) all have a sheepfold.'

(38) Toast women, 56:
    baxṭavarru   baka-nan,   muq   baka-nan,
    lucky   be:IMPV.-2.PL.   happy   be:IMPV.-2.PL.
    ši-te   neviux-ne   bu,
    who:GEN.SG.-3.SG.   grandchild:ABS.PL.-3.SG.   be:PRES.
    ši-te   išu-ne   bu.
    who:GEN.SG.-3.SG.   husband:ABS.SG.-3.SG.   be:PRES.
    'Be lucky, be happy, (you) who have grandchildren, (you) who have a husband.'

(39) Agric3, 88:
    šeṭu   mya   **eḵa-te**   bu-ne   ḳaç-zu-pe.
    that:DAT1.SG.   here   what:ABS.SG.-SUB.   be:PRES-3.SG.   destroy-1.SG.-AOR.
    'That what is here I have destroyed.'

2. This homogeneous picture notwithstanding, there are still several open questions as to the structure and use of relative clauses in Udi that need further investigation, all the more since they are likely to shed important light upon the general theory of relativisation. First, this is true for the position and status of the subordinator *te* appearing in the formation of relative clauses.

2.1 Both the Udi Gospels and the older published texts exhibit cases where the relative pronoun is not combined with the subordinator; cf., e.g., the following attestations:

(40) Mt. 16,19

và	**eḳḳa**	ġaćḳai-n	oćalun	laxo,
and	what:ABS.SG.	bind:COND.-2.SG.	earth:GEN.SG.	on

šono	ġaćeġal-le	gögil;	và	**eḳḳa-te**
that:ABS.SG.	bind:FUT2.-3.SG.	heaven:SUP.SG.	and	what:ABS.SG.-SUB.

ixṭiar	ta-dai-n	oćalal,	ixṭiar
will:ABS.SG.	thither-give:COND.-2.SG.	earth:SUP.SG.	will:ABS.SG.

ta-deġal-le	gögil-al.
thither-give:FUT2.-3.SG.	heaven:SUP.SG.-FOC.

'And what you would bind on earth, that will be bound in heaven; and what you would decide on earth, will be decided in heaven, too.'

It seems probable off-hand in this case that the subordinator is omitted in the first occurrence of *eḳḳa* because it is contained in the second; in other words, a repetition is avoided.[20]

(41) Lk. 21,6

eġal-le	ġimxox,	maṭġo-boš-te	và	mia
come:FUT2.-3.SG.	day:ABS.PL.	which:GEN.PL.-IN-SUB.	you:DAT1.	here

eḳḳa	a-và-ḳsa	nuṭ	mandal-le	źe
what-ABS.SG.	see-2.SG.DAT1.-PRES.	not	remain:FUT2.-3.SG.	stone:ABS.SG.

źene	laxo
stone:GEN.SG.	on

'Days will come in which a stone will not remain upon a stone (of) what you see here.'

The reason for the omittance of *-te* may in this case be seen in the fact that the *eḳḳa* ('what') clause is embedded in another relative clause introduced by *maṭġo-boš-te* ('in which') here, with the latter element containing a *-te* subordinator in its own right. The same reason may also be adduced in the following example, where the subordinator appears independently, as a complementiser.

(42) Jo. 6,39

zax	yaq̇abi	babai	ixṭiar-al	bu-ne
me:DAT2.	send:PERF.	father:GEN.SG.	will:ABS.SG.-FOC.	be:PRES.-3.SG.

šono,	**te**	šoṭxo,	**eḳḳa**	šeṭin	za
that:ABS.SG.	SUB.	that:ABL.PL.	what:ABS.SG.	that:ERG.SG.	I:DAT1.

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[20]Cf. Gippert/Schulze et al. 2009, vol. 2, p. II-39 n. 85 for a similar effect in the Caucasian Albanian texts.

ta-ne-de,   eḳ-al   nu   batevḳa-z
thither-3.SG.-give:AOR.   what:ABS.SG.-FOC.   not destroy:SUBJ.-1.SG.
'And the will of (my) father (who) sent me is that, that of those (things)
which (lit. what) he gave me I should not destroy anything.'

A similar analysis is further possible with sentences where a head-
less relative clause depends on a *verbum dicendi* or *sentiendi*; cf. the fol-
lowing examples:

(43) Lk. 8,39
qai-baka   vi   ḳua   vå naġəl-ba   **te eḳa**
back-be:IMPV.   your   house:DAT1. and story-do:IMPV. SUB. what:ABS.SG.
be   vaxol   bixoġon.
do:AOR. you:COM.   God:ERG.SG.
'Return to your home and relate (lit. that) what God has done to you.'

(44) Jo. 11, 45
ṭe-vaxṭa   gölöun   žuhuṭġoxo,   Mairami   ṭóġól
that-time:DAT1.   many:ABS.SG. Jew:ABS.PL.   Mary:GEN.SG.   to
arior   vå aḳi,   **te   eḳa**   bi
come:PERF.:ABS.PL. and see:PERF. SUB.   what:ABS.SG.   do:PERF.
Isusen,   vå-ǵun-baki   šoṭu.
Jesus:ERG.SG.   believer-3.PL.-be:PERF. that:DAT1.
'At that time, many of the Jews, having come to Mary and having seen (lit.
that) what Jesus had done, became believers in him.'

(45) Lk. 1,29
šoṭu-al,   aḳi   šoṭux,   saganuxo-ne
that:DAT1.SG.-FOC.   see:PERF. that:DAT2.SG. disorder:ABL.SG.-3.SG.
baki   šeṭa   äiturġoxo   vå fikir-re-bi,   **te**
be:PERF. that:GEN.SG. word:ABL.PL. and thought-3.SG.-do:PERF.   SUB.
mono   **e**   xabar   baksun-a.
this:ABS.SG. what information   being:ABS.SG.-3.SG.INT.
'And she, having seen him, was confused by his words and thought (lit. that)
what (kind of) information this was to be.'

Here we seem to witness the effect of a hierarchical arrangement of
te used as a subordinator: when it is used as the introducer of an object
clause, i.e., as a complementiser (lit. that), it cannot be copied further
onto the relativizing element. The same analysis imposes itself where
the object clause depends on verbs referring to 'not knowing', 'won-
dering' or 'asking', thus coming close to indirect questions; cf. the fol-
lowing examples:

(46) Jo. 15,15

te-ṭu	aba	q̇ullu,	**te**	**eḳa**	besa
not-3.SG.DAT1.	know:PRES.	servant:DAT1.	SUB.	what:ABS.SG.	do:PRES.
šeṭa	aġan.				
that:GEN.SG.	master:ERG.SG.				

'The servant does not know (lit. that) what his master does.'

(47) Dirr 1928, 60

xabar-re-aq̇sa		**te**	šeṭuġon	**eḳa**-q̇un	be,
information-3.SG.-take:PRES.		SUB.	that:ERG.PL.	what:ABS.SG.-3.PL.	do:AOR.
ma-q̇un	ta-ce,		**eḳa**-q̇o		aḳe,
where-3.PL.	thither-go:AOR.		what:ABS.SG.-3.PL.DAT1.		see:AOR.
tänginax		**ma**-q̇un	xarž-be.		
money:DAT2.SG.		where-3.PL.	spend-do:AOR.		

'He asks (lit. that) what they had done, where they had gone, what they had seen, where they had spent (their) money.'

(48) Dirr 1904, 34

mono	aq̇-ne-sa,		**te**	mono	**e**
this:ABS.SG.	wonder-3.SG.-PRES.		SUB.	this:ABS.SG.	what
älämät-a.					
miracle:ABS.SG.-3.SG.INT.					

'He wonders (lit. that) what a miracle this is.'

2.2 However, not all cases of relative pronouns missing the -*te* element can be explained by the principle of subordination hierarchy as outlined above. This is true, e.g., for the following verse from St. Matthew's Gospel which is peculiar for the repetition of the head noun in the relative clause:

(49) Mt. 2,16

ṗå	usenaxo	burqi	vå	oq̇a,	ṭe	**vädinal**	ciriḳ
two	year:ABL.SG.	begin:PERF.	and	below	that	time:SUP.SG.	until
mano	**vädinaxo**	aba-ṭu-bake		biližiġoxo.			
which	time:ABL.SG.	know-3.SG.DAT1.-AOR.		wise:ABL.PL.			

'... (children) ... beginning from two years and below, up to the time about which (lit. time) he had been informed by the wise (men).'

In contrast to this usage, the Gospel of Luke exhibits the following verse which does contain -*te* along with a repeated head noun (cp. example (11) above):

(50) Lk. 17,29

amma	ṭe	**ġena,**	**mano**	**ġena-te**	če-ri-ne
but	that	day:DAT1.SG.	which	day:DAT1.SG.-SUB.	out-go:PERF.-3.SG.

Loṭ   Sadomaxo,   bari-ne   gögixo
Lot:ABS.SG.   Sodom:ABL.SG.   pour:PERF.-3.SG.   heaven:ABL.SG.
arġoi   ꝗan   kükürtün   aġala.
fire:GEN.PL.   and   brimstone:GEN.SG.   rain:ABS.SG.
'But on the day on which (lit. day) Lot left Sodom, a rain of fire and brim-
stone poured down from the sky...'

For the following cases of relative clauses without *-te*, none of the hi-
therto adduced conditions can be made responsible.

(51) Schiefner 1863, XV, p. 64:
ama   dünianix   besalin-e   bu   **maṭuġo**
but   world:DAT2.SG.   beggar:ABS.SG.-3.SG.   be:PRES.   which:DAT1.PL.
ĭźena   mi-ne,   **maṭuġoi**   kürk   te-ne   bu.
winter:DAT1.SG.   cold-3.SG.   which:GEN.PL.   fur:ABS.SG.   not-3.SG.   be:PRES.
'But there are beggar(s) in the world for whom it is cold in winter(s), who
have no fur...'

(52) Schiefner 1863, XVI, p. 68:
ama   ăĭlux,   bėś   ba-nan   šeṭux,   **maṭux**,
but   child:ABS.PL.   before   do:IMPV.-2.PL.   that:DAT2.SG.   which:DAT2.SG.
ganuxo   aizeri,   besa-ꝗun   bitun   šel   ăĭluġon.
bed:ABL.SG.   rise:PERF.   do:PRES.-3.PL.   all   good   child:ERG.PL.
'But before, children, do that which all good children do, having got up from
bed.'

The same is true for instances like the following where *te* alone
seems to be used as a relative pronoun:

(53) Lk. 1,61
vå   pi-ꝗun   šoṭu: šuḳal   te-ne
and   say:PERF.-3.PL.   that:DAT1.SG.   nobody:ABS.SG.   not-3.SG.
bu   vi   ꝗoumluġa,   **te**   me   ċi
be:PRES.   your   kinship:DAT1.SG.   SUB.   this   name:ABS.SG.
baka-ne   šoṭġo   boš.
be:SUBJ.-3.SG.   that:GEN.PL.   in
'And they said to her: there is nobody in your kinship that would have this
name among them.'

2.3 Another open question is to what extent *-te* can be replaced by the
focussing particle *-al* in the formation of relative pronouns, as claimed
in Pančvidze's grammatical treatise.[21] As a matter of fact, the materials
available so far provide but very little evidence for this option, and even
among the examples of relative clauses adduced by Pančvidze himself

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[21] Cf. Pančvidze 1974: 97-8 (§ 46).

there is none with a relative pronoun extended by *-al*. The few instances that can be adduced here seem to suggest that *-al* can be used when the relative pronoun has a generalising meaning (in the sense of '-soever'); cp., e.g., the following sentence about horses which is taken from Samji Däs, the first Udi primer:

(54) Samji Däs 1934, p. 55 (cp. Šeiranišvili 1971, p. 149):

eznux	besa-ne,	xellux	zaṗ-n-exa,
ploughing:DAT2.SG.	do:PRES.-3.SG.	load:DAT2.SG.	drag-3.SG.-PRES.
ečnux	ṭaṗ-n-exa,	**ma-al**	
threshing.flail:DAT2.SG.	beat-3.SG.-PRES.	where-FOC.	
bu-va-q̇sa		vax	ta-ne-šša.
want-2.SG.DAT1.-PRES.		you:DAT2.SG.	thither-3.SG.-bring:PRES.

'It does the ploughing, it drags the load, it beats the threshing flail; where(ver) you want, it takes you.'

A similar analysis is appropriate for at least one example from the Gospels:

(55) Lk. 21,21

ṭe-vaxṭa	Yudeiaxo	bakalor	ṭi-q̇a-q̇un-ṭeri
that-time:DAT1.SG.	Judaia:ABL.SG.	be:PART.FUT.ABS.PL.	run-OPT.-3.PL.-PERF.
burq̇ol	và	**šu-al**	šähärä-ne,
mountain:SUP.PL.	and	who:ABS.SG.-FOC.	city:DAT1.SG.-3.SG.
če-ri-q̇a-n	ṭelan;	và	**šu-al**
out-go:PERF.-OPT.-3.SG.	thence	and	who:ABS.SG.-FOC.
händävärmuq̇o-ne,	ma	ba-ike	ṭia.
surrounding:DAT1.PL.-3.SG.	not	in-go:IMPV.	there

'Then those living in Judaia should run into the mountains, and who(ever) is in the city should go out from there, and who(ever) is in the outskirts, shall not go inside there.'

The only example of a relative pronoun extended by *-al* that can be adduced from the recordings of the 'ECLinG' documentation project requires another explanation as no generalising effect can be made out here:

(56) Contacts, 97

ič	düz	ayt-te	pe	zaza	aleksiʒen,
own	firm	word:ABS.SG.-3.SG.	say:AOR.	Zaza	Aleksidze:ERG.SG.
aḳademiḳos	zaza aleksiʒen-e,		**maṭin-al**		pe-ne,
Academician	Zaza Aleksidze:ERG.SG.-3.SG.		which:ERG.SG.-FOC.		say:AOR-3.SG.
te	meno siftaumži	burqesunen	gölö	šel	aš-ne,
SUB.	this first	beginning:ERG.SG.	very	good	work:ABS.SG.-3.SG.

te	beš	häkmäten	guresal	...
SUB.	our	government:ERG.SG.	fall.over:FUT2.	...

'A firm word of his own was spoken by Zaza Aleksidze, Academician Zaza Aleksidze, who said that with this first beginning (there) will be a very good work, that our government will fall over...'

As it is hardly likely that *-te* was substituted by *-al* here because the following two subordinate clauses are introduced by (independent) *te*, it seems rather conceivable that we have an influence of Georgian here, *maṭin-al* mirroring Georgian *romelma-c* which as a relative pronoun regularly contains the focussing element *-c* 'also'. This is all the more probable as the speaker in question, like many other Udi speakers of the community of Oktomberi, reveals many other interferences of Georgian in his speech.

2.4 Another problem that remains to be solved is the one we started from, viz. the co-existence of interrogative-based and demonstrative-based relative pronouns. In the Udi materials available, the latter type is represented by eleven examples in the Bežanov Gospels, nine of them containing the absolutive singular form *mono-te*, with *mono* (vs. *meno*) being the slightly more frequent phonetic variant of the independent (substantival) proximal demonstrative pronoun 'this one'.[22] The most prominent instance of *mono-te* is found in the first verse of the Lord's Prayer in the Gospel of Matthew:

(57) Mt. 6,9

baba	beši,	**mono-te**	bu-n	gögil!
father:ABS.SG.	our	this:ABS.SG.-SUB.	be:PRES.-2.SG.	heaven:SUP.SG.

'Our Father, who (lit. this that) are in heaven!'

The synoptic version of the prayer figuring in the Gospel of Luke has the interrogative-based relative pronoun *mano-te* instead,[23] thus speaking in favour of an equivalence of the two formations:

(57') Lk. 11,2

baba	beši,	**mano-te**	bu-n	gögil!
father:ABS.SG.	our	which:ABS.SG.-SUB.	be:PRES.-2.SG.	heaven:SUP.SG.

'Our Father, who (lit. which that) are in heaven!'

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[22] The Gospels provide 147 attestations of *mono* vs. 107 of *meno*. The latter must nevertheless be considered the primary variant, given that the underlying (adjectival) form ('this') is always *me* (312 attestations). Note that the difference as to the interrogative *mano* 'which' is minimal in both cases.

[23] For *mano-te*, the Gospels provide 113 attestations.

The Russian model of the Gospel translation cannot be responsible for the distinction as both *mano-te* and *mono-te* can translate both relative pronouns (*который* 'which') and participials; cf., e.g., Mt. 6,9 and Lk. 11,2 with the participle *сущій* 'being', in contrast to Lk. 6,16 with a relative clause introduced by *который* 'which':

(57") Mt. 6,9 / Lk. 11,2

Отче	наш,	**сущій**	на	небесах!
father:VOC.SG.	our	be:PART.PRES.	on	heaven:LOC.PL.

(58) Lk. 6,16

Iuda	Isķarioṭ,	**mono-te**	ośa	ba-ne-ki	tovdal.
Judas	Iscariot	this:ABS.SG.-SUB.	after	be-3.SG.-PERF.	traitor:ABS.SG.
Иуду	Искариота,	**который**	потом	сделался	предателем.
Judas	Iscariot	which:NOM.SG.	after	make:PT.REFL.	traitor:INSTR.SG.

'... Judas Iscariot, who afterwards became (his) traitor.'

Besides the nine attestations of the singular absolutive, *mono-te*,[24] we once find the corresponding plural form, *monor-te*:

(59) Lk. 18,9

ṭetär-al	pi-ne	saemoṭġo,	**monor-te**
thus-FOC.	say:PERF.-3.SG.	some:DAT1.PL.	which:ABS.PL.-SUB.
vá-ġun-i	ičġo	baxṭin,	te	šonor	doġri-ġun.
believe-3.PL.-PRET.	own:GEN.PL.	for	SUB.	this:ABS.PL.	true-3.PL.

'He likewise said to some who trusted in themselves that they are righteous...'

Such forms must clearly be distinguished from sequences of *monor* 'these' preceding the 'independent' subordinator, *te*, as in the following clause where *te* is used as a temporal conjunction 'when':

(60) Dirr 1904, p. 88

baban	te-ne	tašša,	**monor**	**te**
father:ERG.SG.	not-3.SG.	lead:PRES.	this:ABS.PL.	SUB.
ta-ġun-sa,	ķiçķe	xinär-al	qošṭan
thither-3.PL.-go:PRES.	little	daughter:ABS.SG.-FOC.	behind
ta-ne-sa.
thither-3.SG.-GO:PRES.

'The father does not lead (her into the forest, but) when these (two elder daughters) go away, the little daughter follows behind, too.'

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[24] Besides the examples mentioned above, *mono-te* occurs in Mt. 11,8; Mk. 4,8; 4,31; 13,34; Lk. 6,49; 11,50; 12,57.

The only oblique case form of *mono-te* that is available is the ergative plural form *moṭuġon-te* appearing in Mt. 21,15. Remarkably enough, this form contrasts with *maṭux-te*, the absolutive plural of the interrogative-based pronoun, within the same verse:

(61) Mt. 21,15
kala   běǐnśġon   vå   käġzabaṭġon   me   älämäṭġo   aḳi,
elder   priest:ERG.PL. and scribe:ERG.PL. this miracle:DAT1.PL. see:PERF.
maṭux-te   be-ne   šeṭin,   vå   åiluġox,
which:ABS.PL.-SUB.   make:AOR.-3.SG.   that:ERG.SG.   and   child:DAT2.PL.
moṭuġon-te   namazun   boš   ex-ġun-i ...
which:ERG.PL.-SUB.   prayer:GEN.SG.   in   say:PRES.-3.PL.-PRET.
'The chief priests and scribes, having seen these miracles which he performed and the children who were exclaiming in the church ...'

In this case, it is even the morphological structure that is remarkable as we would expect the middle syllable vowel to be syncopated (*moṭ-ġon-te); cp. the following verse that contains the corresponding form of the interrogative-based relative pronoun, *maṭġon-te*, side by side with the dative singular form *maṭux-te*:

(62) Mt. 4,18
šeṭu   a-ṭu-ḳi   ṗå   vičex,   Simonax,
this:DAT1.SG.   see-3.SG.DAT1.-PERF.   two brother:DAT2.SG.   Simon:DAT2.SG.
maṭux-te   ex-ġun-i   Ṗeṭr,   vå   Andreiax
which:DAT2.SG.-SUB.   say:PRES.-3.PL.-PRET.   Peter:ABS.SG.   and   Andrew:DAT2.SG.
šeṭa   vičex   **maṭġon-te**   bo-ġun-sesa-i
this:GEN.SG.   brother:DAT2.SG.   which:ERG.PL.-SUB.   throw-3.PL.-PRES.-PRET.
torrux   däriäna.
net:ABS.PL.   sea:DAT1.SG.
'He saw two brothers, Simon, who was named Peter, and Andrew, his brother, who were throwing nets into the sea...'

The question thus remains whether the relative formations that are built upon the demonstrative pronoun are at all 'sprachwirklich'. Given that they represent hardly ten percent of the occurrences of relative pronouns based on *mano-* in the Gospels; given that they are distinguished from the latter formations by but one character, *o* vs. *a*; and given that they seem not to occur in any other source available, esp. not in the recordings undertaken in the documentation project, one might argue for their being mere misprints. As a matter of fact, the Gospel text is anything but error-free, with misprints generating ghostwords here

and there;[25] one example is the form *manao* appearing in Mk. 12,28, which must be a misspelling of *mano-a*, i.e., the combination of *mano* 'which' with the interrogative 3ʳᵈ person singular marker, *-a*:

(63) Mk. 12,28

xabar-re-aqi		šoṭxo:	***mano-a**
information-3.SG.-take:PERF.		that:ABL.SG.	which:ABS.SG.-3.SG.INT.
beśumǯi	bütün	zaḳonġoxo?	
first:ABS.SG.	all	law:ABL.PL.	
спросил	Его:	**какая**	первая
ask:PRET.MASC.	he:ACC.SG.	which:NOM.SG.FEM.	first:NOM.SG.FEM.
из	всех	заповедей?	
out.of	all:GEN.PL.	law:GEN.PL.	

'He asked him: which one is the first of all laws?'

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[25] Cf. the following ghostwords that have escaped correction in Schulze 2001: *baqsun* 'fit into' (p. 253): The form *baqsa* rendering Russ. *вмѣщается* in Jo. 8,37 is obviously misspelt for *baksa*, the present form of the quasi-copula *baksun* 'be(come)'; cf. Jo. 2,6 where Russ. *вмещать* is as well translated by *baksun* (impf. *banekesai* = *вмѣщавшихъ*). — *bia* 'evening' (p. 257): The seeming dative form *biae*, a hapax in Mk. 14,27, is obviously misspelt for the regular (absolutive) form *bias*, cf. the parallel passage in Mt. 26,31. — *eki* in Jo. 7,41 is by no means a (genitive?) form of *ék* 'horse' (p. 377 / p. 276) as the verse in question is not about horses. The word in question stands for Russ. *разве* 'by any means' instead, and as in Mk. 6,37, the Udi equivalent should be *eni* (к misspelt for н). The latter particle mostly translates Russ. *неужели* 'possibly'; it fluctuates between the spellings ени and їени, the latter being prevalent in John, and the actual phonetic shape is likely to have been *yeni*. Whether this is derived from Arab *ya'ni* 'this is, id est' as proposed by Schulze (p. 285) remains doubtful as such a meaning does not meet the attestations in the Udi Gospels. — *pabakeġalle* 'will be destroyed' (Mt. 24,2) is rather a misspelling for regular *pasbakeġalle* (cf. Mk. 13,2 and Lk. 21,6) than the representation of an independent verb *pabaksun* (p. 306); the same holds true for *panebesa* 'tears apart' (Jo. 10,12) vs. regular *pasnebesa* (cf. Mt. 12,30; Lk. 11,23; 16,1). — *käeibor* in Lk. 6,20 is a misspelling of *käsibor* 'poor ones' (Russ. *нищіе*; cf. Mt. 5,3 etc.), not a form of *uksun* 'to eat' (p. 328). The index provided in Schulze 2001 contains some more erroneous entries under the latter lemma, viz. *käinebaki* in Jo. 21,4 which pertains not to *uksun* 'eat' but to *käibaksun* 'daybreak'; *käix* in Mt. 28,1 which represents the underlying noun 'morning' in the dative case; or *kalle* in Mt. 22,13 which is not a (future) form of *uksun* either but a simple corruption of *bakalle* 'will be(come)' (*baksun*) of the original text. Similarly, *käibakama* (Lk. 5,5) and *käibakaxun* (Mk. 13,35) are not misspelt forms of *qaibaksun* 'return' (p. 310) but correctly formed converbs of *käibaksun* 'daybreak', lit. 'become morning'; but *kaibaka* in Lk. 8,39 and *kaidane* in Lk. 1,17 do stand for *qaibaka* 'return' and *qaidane* 'will give back'. — Some entries in Schulze 2001 are due to misreadings of the original text, not misspellings; cf., e.g., *lenṭa* (p. 399: Mk. 12,42 and Lk. 21,2) which stands erroneously for *lepṭa* rendering Russ. (< Gk.) *lepta*, the name of a coin.

Finally, we may consider in the given context that the presumable an-
cestor of Udi, Caucasian Albanian, did possess a formation of interroga-
tive-based relative pronouns,[26] but none based upon demonstratives.
Even though the basic elements are different, at least for parts (the sub-
ordinator here is -ḳe, probably a borrowing from Middle Iranian, and in-
stead of *ma-* we meet with a stem *hanay-* in *hanay-ḳe* etc. 'which'), and
there are other word order regulations, the resemblances with the Udi
system are striking; cf., e.g., the following example:

(8') Mt. 22,23[27]

> ič   ġiya   ta-pē-n   oowχow
> same   day:DAT1.SG.   thither-put:PRET.-3.PS.   he:dir.sg.
> zadoḳaowġon   owḳa-**hanayå˜n-ḳe**-hē
> Sadducee:ERG.PL.   say:PRES.-which:ERG.PL.-SUB.-be:PRET.
> te-ne   harzesown
> not-3.PS.   resurrection:ABS.SG.
> 'On the same day approached him the Sadducees who used to say, there is
> no resurrection.'

> ṭe   ġi   iśa-ġun-baki   šeṭa   ṭȯġȯl
> that   day:ABS.SG.   close-3.PL.-become:PERF.   this:GEN.SG.   towards
> sadduḳeux,   **maṭġon-te**   ex-ġun
> Sadducee:ABS.PL.   which:ERG.PL.-SUB.   say:PRES.-3.PL.
> te-ne   bu   ṗuriṭġo   aizesun
> not-3.SG.   be:PRES.   dead:GEN.PL.   resurrection:ABS.SG.
> 'That day came to him the Sadducees who say, there is no resurrection of
> the dead...'

3. It is clear that the question whether the demonstrative-based relative
pronouns of the type *mono-te* are 'sprachwirkliche' elements of the Udi
grammar or not, cannot be decided with certainty on the basis of a
handful of attestations in texts printed in Tsarist times. On the other
hand, the fact that such formations do not occur in any of the record-
ings undertaken in a short-term documentation project cannot prove
either that they are ungrammatical, as relative clauses seem to be ra-
ther rare generally in the spoken language: the transcribed recordings
of the 'ECLinG' project (all in all ca. 7 hours of monological or dialogical
speech) provide not more than 85 examples of relative pronouns built
upon the stems *ma-* 'where, which', *š-* 'who', and *e-* 'what', and the usage
of an alternate formation might be determined locally or even ideolec-

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[26] Cf. Gippert/Schulze et al. 2009, vol. I, p. II-39–40.
[27] For the Albanian text (here quoted first) cf. Gippert/Schulze et al. 2009, vol. II,
p. VI-15.

tally. As a matter of fact, the ungrammaticality of a given formation or construction can only be judged by native speakers, and this requires a targetted interrogation. For further investigations into the system of relative formations of Udi, it is therefore necessary to develop and apply a special elicitation scheme that addresses the variation provided by the existing sources and tests it with a larger set of consultants, including the Nizh variety. It is quite obvious that documentation projects can never cover the complete system of a given language; it may be language-specific, however, what questions they leave open for future fieldwork.

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