

The functions of additive markers in two Lezgian languages (Agul and Udi)

1. Caucasian area > East Caucasian family > Lezgian group

❖ Three indigenous language families of the Caucasus

- West Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adygean): *Abkhaz, Adyghe* etc.
- East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian): *Chechen, Avar, Lezgian* etc.
- South Caucasian (Kartvelian): *Georgian, Mingrelian* etc.

❖ East Caucasian family Daghestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, adjacent areas of Azerbaijan and Georgia.

- Nakh (3 languages)
- Avar-Andic (9 languages)
- Tsezic (5-6 languages)
- Lak
- Dargwa (~15? languages)
- Lezgian (9 languages)
- Khinalug



Typical features: elaborate consonant inventories (ejectives, post-velars), ergative case alignment, rich case systems (including dozens of locative forms), nominal gender agreement, rich tense and aspect systems (including aspectual and evidential contrasts), dominant SOV order, etc.

❖ **Lezgian group**

Southern part of Daghestan and northern regions of Azerbaijan.

- *Lezgian, Tabassaran, Agul* (eastern branch)
- *Tsakhur, Rutul* (western branch)
- *Kryz, Budugh* (southern branch)
- *Archi* (northwestern outlier)
- *Udi* (southernmost outlier)

The only East Caucasian language with ancient, albeit interrupted, written tradition is *Udi*, the closest living relative to the extinct *Caucasian Albanian* language (cf. the Palimpsests found on Mt. Sinai and published in Gippert et al. 2008). Apart from this, there are no sources on older stages of Lezgian languages before the 19th century (when the first grammatical sketches and recorded texts were published).

❖ Scope of the study

On the whole, additive particles are a characteristic feature of the East Caucasian languages, and probably of the Caucasus area in general; these markers are very frequent and polyfunctional.

I limit my analysis to the two languages of the Lezgian branch, as

- these are the two languages of this branch I am most familiar with,
- comparatively large corpora are available for these languages,
- though both belonging to the Lezgian group, the languages are not closely related and have not been in contact for more than 3,000 years (presumably),
- the additive particles in the two languages do not seem to be etymologically related, and their range of functions is not identical.

In both languages, the ADDITIVE ‘also’-markers are contrasted to the COORDINATING ‘and’-markers (see 3 below), although this is not universal; e.g. in *Lezgian*, one and the same enclitic *-ni* is used both as an additive and a coordinator.

❖ Data sources

- AGUL: annotated oral corpus of the Huppuq’ dialect (ca. 92,000 words)
- UDI: published folklore and small prose in the Nizh dialect, as well as an annotated oral corpus in the same dialect (ca. 23,500 words)

2. Additive markers and their functions (overview)

❖ Additives

- In both languages, the additive markers are enclitics:
 - ra* in Agul (as a rule, changes to *-la* after /l/, to *-na* after /n/)
 - al* in Udi (depending on the context, can surface as *-äl*, *-l*, *-jal*, *-wal*)
- The two markers are probably not etymologically related¹.
- In both languages, the additive markers are very frequent: e.g. in the Agul corpus, there are >3600 additives (~one additive morpheme per 25 words).
- Typical hosts: noun phrases, adverbials, (rarely) non-finite verbs.

❖ Functions

- discourse function of ADDITION of information (‘X also’), CONTRAST with the information already known (‘X, in its turn’) and the like, see section 4;
 - in particular, ‘symmetrical’ COORDINATION (‘both X and Y’), as opposed to the more canonical ‘asymmetrical’ coordination by means of the coordinating enclitics (section 3);
- deriving CONCESSIVE verb forms from conditional forms (‘even if P’ < ‘if P’);
- deriving NEGATIVE PRONOUNS from interrogative ones (e.g. ‘nothing’ < ‘what?’);
- deriving COLLECTIVE NUMERALS from cardinal numerals (e.g. ‘both’ < ‘two’);
- part of certain constructions and lexicalized phrases expressing addition.

¹ E.g. Alekseev (1985: 103) reconstructs the Proto-Lezgian particle **-ra* based on the cognates in Agul, Tabassaran, Lezgian and Archi, but he doesn’t include the Udi clitic among them.

❖ Discourse addition/contrast, etc.

AGUL, ADD: ‘X also’

- (1) *ha-ge naq’-ar.i-ŋ ʒa-a imam šamil.a-n naq’-ra.*
 EMP-DEMG grave-PL-INTER {INTER}be-PRS [imam Shamil-GEN grave]=ADD
 ‘Among these graves there is Imam Shamil’s grave as well.’

UDI, ADD: ‘X also’

- (2) *za-al taš-a-nan!*
 [I:DAT]=ADD take_away-IMP=2PL
 ‘Take me also!’

AGUL, ADD: ‘X, in its turn’

- (3) *me-ra razi x.u-nadawa gi-l.*
 [DEMM]=ADD content become.PF-PRF:NEG DEMG-SUPER
 ‘{The king suggested him to choose any girl.} and/but he did not agree to this.’

UDI, ADD: ‘X, in its turn’

- (4) *buχažIov-on za sa var, va-al sa χijär-e tad-e.*
 God-ERG I:DAT one son [you:DAT]=ADD one daughter=3SG give-PRF
 ‘God gave me a son, and for you he gave a daughter.’

❖ ‘Symmetrical’ coordination

- ‘Both X and Y’, usually with emphatic meaning.
- The enclitic is attached to each conjunct.

AGUL, ADD: ‘X and Y’

- (5) *aχp:a ŋ.a-a me-wur, dad-ra gada-ra (...)*
 then go/come.IPF-PRS DEMM-PL [father]=ADD [son]=ADD
 ‘So they keep going, both the father and the son...’

UDI, ADD: ‘X and Y’

- (6) *čukudi-n-a-al, šo-t-aj šlalakı-a-al aχa-tun-p-i.*
 [Chukudi-O-DAT]=ADD [DIST-NO-GEN bundle-DAT]=ADD put_on_back=3PL=LV-AOR
 ‘So they took both Chukudi {a small boy} and his bundle of brushwood.’

❖ Concessive verb forms

- Like in many other East Caucasian languages, concessive verb forms (a type of converbs) are derived from conditional forms by means of the additive clitic.
- In AGUL, the enclitic *-ra* tends to be hosted by the conditional form.

- (7) *haraj q’.u-čin-na un-x.a kas an-dawa.*
 [cry do.PF-COND]=ADD sound-become.IPF person {IN}stay-PRS:NEG
 ‘Even if you cry, there is no one to hear you.’

- In UDI, the enclitic *=al* can occur on the conditional form (as an enclitic or intraclitic), or on another constituent, especially the preceding NP.

- (8) *žöj šaq:qı-in-aχun bak-aji-n-al, sa ajiz-lu-jan,*
 [separate district-O-ABL become-COND=2/3SG]=ADD one village-ADJ=1PL
sun-sun-aχ šahat=jan čalχ-sa.
 each_other-DAT2 good=1PL be_acquainted-PRS
 ‘Although he is from another district, we are from one village and know each other well.’

❖ Negative pronouns

- In AGUL, negative pronouns from interrogative pronouns and also from certain indefinite expressions are derived by means of the additive clitic.
- Here, *-ra* is an “external” enclitic, which is hosted by an already inflected form of an interrogative pronoun.

(9a)	<i>fiš-ra</i> [who]=ADD ‘nobody’	(9b)	<i>mus-ra</i> [when]=ADD ‘never’	(9c)	<i>zat'-ra</i> [thing]=ADD ‘nothing’
(9d)	<i>fi-ra</i> [what]=ADD ‘nothing’	(9e)	<i>fi.ti-s-ra</i> [what-DAT]=ADD ‘to nothing’	(9f)	<i>fi.ti-n-ra</i> [what-GEN]=ADD ‘of nothing’

- In UDI, negative pronouns have stems in *-al*, but it is not quite clear whether it represents a lexicalized (“petrified”) additive *=al* or whether this is just a coincidence. The final *-al* is a part of the negative stems, not an external enclitic².

(10a)	<i>šu</i> who ‘who’	(10b)	<i>šuk:k:al</i> nobody ‘nobody’ (ABS)	(10c)	<i>šuk:k:al-en</i> nobody-ERG ‘nobody’ (ERG)
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❖ Collective numerals

- In AGUL, collective numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by means of the additive clitic.
- More precisely, these are collective noun phrases derived from numeral phrases, as not only the substantivized numeral can be the head of the phrase.

(11a)	<i>ʔu-d-ra</i> [two-S]=ADD ‘both came’	<i>qaj-ne</i> RE:come:PF-AOR	(11b)	<i>ʔu</i> [two	<i>gada-ra</i> boy]=ADD ‘both boys came’	<i>qaj-ne</i> RE:come:PF-AOR
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- In UDI, this kind of derivation of collective numerals is absent.

3. Additives and coordinators

❖ Coordinating markers

- Additives as a means of ‘symmetric’ coordination (cf. exx. 5 and 6) can be contrasted to ‘plain’ coordinating markers whose main function is ‘asymmetric’ non-emphatic coordination.
- In both languages, the coordinators are also enclitics:
-na in AGUL (vs. the additive *-ra*)³
-q:a in UDI (vs. the additive *-al*)
- Typical hosts: noun phrases and adverbials (not finite verbs).

² If not an additive enclitic diachronically, the final *-al* may be the agent noun / imperfective participle marker on the speech verb: e.g. *šuk:k:al* < *šu* ‘who’ + *uk:al* ‘saying’, ‘one who says’ – although the use of this form does not seem to be semantically motivated, unlike the use of the additive.

³ Given that /n-ra/ in most cases assimilates to /n-na/, the two markers are indistinguishable after hosts ending in /n/ (e.g. *zun-na* can be both [I=ADD] and [I=COORD]).

❖ Major differences between coordinators and additives

- The coordinators occur in the “X=and Y” construction, where the marker is only hosted by the first conjunct.

AGUL, COORD

- (12) *qa-j xibu kas ʕo.a-a, e-wa,*
 {POST}be-CONV three person go/come.IPF-PRS COP-Q
sa idemi-na ʔu xir.
 [one man=COORD two wife]
 ‘Three people go with them, isn’t it, one man and two women.’

UDI, COORD

- (13) *ek-i-nan, ajaq:χo eχ-t-en, beši p:aʕ cicik:*
 come-IMP=2PL glass-PL take-LV-HORT our two flower
ʁar-e:q:a χüjār-i dirist-luβ-a duβ-en.
 [boy-GEN=COORD girl-GEN] healthy-ABST-DAT beat-HORT
 ‘Let’s take our glasses and drink to our two flowers, to the health of the groom and the bride!’

- Apart from compound numerals (see below), in the coordinating construction there are two conjuncts, with very rare examples of the type “X=and Y=and Z” (just 2 examples in the Agul corpus, with ~150 examples with the two conjuncts).

AGUL, COORD

- (14) *muχ-na k’aχ-ar-na süil ij če a-je-f.*
 [barley=COORD lentil=COORD rye] COP:PST our:EXCL {IN}be-PART-A
 ‘We had only barley, lentil and rye.’

- ...whereas for the additives, the occurrence in longer strings like “X=also Y=also Z=also (etc.)” is more common.

UDI, ADD

- (15) *traχtorist-χo=val, sädir-äl, kömäjči-joχ-al gir-e-c-i.*
 [tractor_driver-PL]=ADD [chief]=ADD [assistant-PL]=ADD gather=3SG=LV-AOR
 ‘The tractor driver, the chief and his assistants all gathered together.’

- The coordinating construction represents a neutral coordinating strategy, as the conjuncts in this case are not contrasted or compared, but are introduced as a single whole. Most typical examples of such coordination in the Agul corpus include groups of relatives like ‘father and mother’, ‘husband and wife’, ‘brother and sister’, ‘two sons and one daughter’ and so on. Cf. a typical introduction of a group, with an addition of an extra participant later in another clause.

AGUL, COORD + ADD

- (16) *dad.a-s-na baw.a-s k:and-e-j-čiči, za-s-ra k:and-e.*
 [father-DAT=COORD mother-DAT] want-COP-CONV-COND [I-DAT]=ADD want-COP
 ‘If the parents (lit. father & mother) want this, I want too.’

- In the coordinating constructions, the conjuncts are always linearly adjacent, while the two (or more) items connected with the help of the additives do not have to occur immediately close to each other.

AGUL, ADD

(17) *sa haramči=ra x.u-naa, sa malla=ra.*
 [one sinner]=ADD become.PF-PRF [one mullah]=ADD
 ‘There lived one sinner, and one mullah (priest).’

- Coordinators are much rarer: in Agul, *-na* is ~10 times less frequent in texts than the additive; in Udi, *-q:a* is ~20 times less frequent than the additive.
- The fact that coordinators are a bit more common in Agul may be related to their use in compound numerals (one third of all occurrences of the coordinator); this strategy is not represented in Udi.

AGUL, COORD

(18) *abzur=na jarč'a ξ_oerš=na jaq'uq:a-n-na c'ejri-d-pu is.a*
 [1000=COORD [9 100=COORD [80-S=COORD 17-S-ORD]]] year(TMR)
mart.i waz.ala zun š.u-ne ziyarat.i-s mak'a.ji-s.
 March(GEN) month(TMR) I go.PF-AOR ziyarat-DAT Mecca-DAT
 ‘In March, 1997 (lit. 1000 and 900 and 80 and 17) I went to a pilgrimage to Mecca.’

4. Additive markers in discourse

Supporting the position taken by Kibrik for TSAKHUR (Lezgetic branch; Kibrik et al. 1999: 616-617) and Maisak for BAGWALAL (Andic branch; Kibrik et al. 2001: 712-713), I assume that the diverse discourse uses of the additive particles in Agul and Udi manifest one and the same abstract function of addition of a new piece of information to the preceding fragment of discourse. The following list presents the most regular uses of the Agul (mostly) and Udi additives.

❖ Addition (participant)

- ‘X also takes part in the situation’ (see also exx. 1-2)

AGUL, ADD

(19) *za-s ha-je-f-e, zun=na x.u-naje-f-e ti-s-ar.i-?*
 I-DAT know-PT:PRS-S-COP [I]=ADD become.PF-PT:PRF-S-COP DEMT-LOC-PL-IN
 ‘{He went to district of Baku called ‘The Black City’} I know it, I also have been there.’

UDI, ADD

(20) *šo-t-ob-oj boš sa dadal=al bu=ne=j.*
 DIST-NO-PL-GEN inside one cock=ADD BE=3SG=PST
 ‘{They brought several hens.} There was also a cock among them.’

- In AGUL, the ‘additive proper’ use frequently occurs in the possessive construction with the locative verb *qaa* ‘be at’...

(21) *me-wr.i-q žu šünük:-ra qa-a.*
 DEMM-PL-POST [two child]=ADD {POST}be-PRS
 ‘{There lived a father and a mother.} And they had two children.’

- ...and in the comitative construction (introducing a secondary participant) with the converb of a locative verb *qaa* ‘be at’ or *faa* ‘be with’.

(22) *qaj-ne=kaĵ* *uč* *ajd.i-as* *wart*
 RE:come:PF-AOR=CIT self down-(IN)ELAT up
ha-ge *hub=ra* *fa-j*.
 [EMP-DEMG sheep]=ADD {APUD}be-CONV
 ‘He went up (the mountains) with this sheep.’

❖ Addition (situation)

- ‘the situation P also took place’

AGUL, ADD

(23) *ürge=ra* *uH.a-j-e* *me-wur.i*.
 [stallion]=ADD take_care.IPF-CONV-COP DEMM-PL(ERG)
 ‘{He chooses and brings home a skinny stallion.} And they bring up the stallion.’

- This happens, in particular, in comments describing the relevant background information...

AGUL, ADD

(24) *ge=ra* *e* *ʒurd.ana* *waxt*.
 DEMG=ADD COP winter(GEN) time
 ‘{We misbehaved at school and the teacher punished us, he made us sit in the classroom till 9 p.m.} And it was winter time.’

UDI, ADD

(25) *baĵč-in* *boš-al* *sa* *hovuz=e=bu=j*.
 garden-GEN inside=ADD one swimming_pool=3SG=BE=PST
 ‘{He came into the king’s garden.} And in the garden there was a pool.’

- ...including dependent clauses, especially headed by a perfective converb (26), but not exclusively (27); here, the additive is usually hosted by an absolutive NP.

AGUL, ADD

(26) *š.u-na,* *baluB-ar-ra* *fac.u-na,* *qu-ŋ̇.a-j-e* *me*.
 go_away.PF-CONV [[fish-PL]=ADD seize.PF-CONV] RE-go/come.IPF-CONV-COP DEMM
 ‘{The old man goes fishing to the sea.} He went, and after having caught some fish,
 he comes back.’

AGUL, ADD

(27) *tut.a-j* *čamadan-na,* *ha-ge* *req.ü-?* *a-a=kaĵ* *uč*.
 [shake.IPF-CONV [suitcase]]=ADD EMP-DEMG road-IN {IN}be-PRS=CIT self
 ‘{Then he hurried to his village.} He goes along the road, waving his suitcase.’

- ✓ NB: In some East Caucasian languages, e.g. in the Andic languages Bagwalal and Godoberi, the additive particle *-la* obligatorily occurs in certain dependent clauses, in particular in adverbial clauses headed by the preterite converb; preferably, the clitics are also hosted by absolutive NPs. As K. Kazenin notes, the additive clitic is obligatory in those sentences, which are “semantically close to the prototypical coordinating construction, referring to a sequence of independent events belonging to the same plot line” (Kibrik et al. 2001: 558).

❖ **Contrast**

- ‘{Y did Q,} and/but X did P’ (see also exx. 3-4)

AGUL, ADD

(28) *ge aftabuz tin p.u-guna me-wur.i-ra i-ndawa.*
 DEMG bus give(IMP) say.PF-TEMP [DEMM-PL(ERG)]=ADD give:PF-AOR:NEG
 ‘He asked them to lend him the bus, but they didn’t give it.’

AGUL, ADD

(29) *me amirg.u-ne te q:al.a-?, xir-ra me q:al.a-?*
 DEMM {IN}stay.PF-AOR DENT side-IN [wife]=ADD DEMM side-IN
 ‘He remained inside, and his wife – outside.’

UDI, ADD

(30) *vič-en vicimžī-n-a, χunč-en-al vu^hbimžī-n-a-ne k:al-e.*
 brother-ERG tenth-O-DAT [sister-ERG]=ADD seventh-O-DAT=3SG study-LV:PRS
 ‘My brother is in the tenth, and sister in the seventh grade’.

❖ **Scalar meaning**

- ‘even’, ‘not at all’ – in negative clauses

AGUL, ADD

(31) *č'al-la v.a-j-dewa čiči-s mi.*
 [speech]=ADD say.IPF-CONV-COP:NEG sister-DAT DEMM(ERG)
 ‘He doesn’t tell a word to his sister.’

AGUL, ADD

(32) *ha-le p:arza.ji-q-ra uq'.u-ndawa čin.*
 [EMP-DEML pass-POST]=ADD sit.PF-AOR:NEG we:EXCL
 ‘{We were absolutely exhausted.} But we didn’t even sit down for a while at the mountain pass.’

UDI, ADD

(33) *sa kilo-al č:ap:b-ez te-jan bak-o.*
 [one kilogram]=ADD hide-LV-INF NEG=1PL become-POT
 ‘We cannot hide a single kilogram.’

❖ **Narrative coda**

- ~‘so, this is how it happened’

AGUL, ADD

(34) *me kar-ra x.u-ne mi-šti.*
 [DEMM affair]=ADD become.PF-AOR DEMM-ADV
 ‘This is how it all happened.’ (~ ‘And such thing happened this way.’)

UDI, ADD

(35) *te bi-n-aχun-al sūrū-n-ä ereq:lub-a bastun-aχun*
 [DIST day-O-ABL]=ADD flock-O-DAT hazelnut-ABST-DAT put_in+MSD-ABL
kul-e haq:i.
 hand=3SG take-AOR
 ‘So, from that day he stopped driving his flock (of sheep) to the hazelnut garden.’

