

Towards a History of Udi

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1. Introduction

Udi represents an endangered language of the Southeast Caucasian (Lezgian) language family. Currently, it is spoken by some 4.000 people in the village of Nizh (*ni^ʕʒ*) in Northern Azerbaijan as well as by some 50 people in the neighboring village of Oguz (formerly Vartashen). In addition, a significant number of Udi speakers (~ 200) dwell in the village of Okt'omberi in Eastern Georgia, a settlement founded by Vartashen emigrants under the leadership of Zinobi Silik'ašvili in 1922. Finally, there are many Udi communities in the Diaspora, e.g. in the province of Lori (Armenia, refugees from Vartashen), Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Balabanovo (near Moscow), Dubovyj Ovrage (near Volgograd), Krasnodar', Taganrog, Volgograd, Shakhtinsk, and Barnaul (all in the Russian Federation), Aktay (in Kazakhstan). A practical knowledge of Udi is widespread among the inhabitants of Nizh (Udi *ni^ʕʒ*, simply called *ayz* 'village' by many emigrants from Nizh), as well as among the refugees in Lori. Else, the knowledge of Udi depends from several sociolinguistic factors, such as the existence of communicative ties to Nizh, the intra-family type of communication in the Diaspora, working conditions (e.g. the existence of an Udi 'chatting' group in an industrial complex in Balabanovo, some eighty km from Moscow), and the degree of participation in a recently established internet communicative network, with contributions in both Russian and Udi (this network is established mainly by younger Udi people). In sum, we can assume that there are about 8.000 'ethnic' Udis, of whom some 70 % still have a practical knowledge of the language.

Udi shows up in two dialects, Nizh and Vartashen. Until 1988/98, the Vartashen dialect had been spoken mainly in the village of Vartashen (some 3.000 people) and in the settlement of Okt'omberi, established by Vartashen inhabitants. In 1988/98, most Udis living in Vartashen had been expelled, due to the intervention of the local authorities of the Azerbaijan National Front. The expulsion was part of the overall Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict that had its outbreak in 1988/9 (beginning secession of the Mountain Karabakh (Artsakh) region from Azerbaijan): The Udis from Vartashen, bearing Armenian names and belonging to both the Armenian and the Gregorian Church, had been viewed as Armenians and hence suffered the same fate as other Armenians in Azerbaijan (or Azerbaijanis in Armenia). Today, the number of Vartashen speakers in the renamed city of Vartashen (> Oguz) is rather low. Still, the dialect is preserved especially in Okt'omberi as well as in the Armenian province of Lori (as far as data go). Since the expulsion of Vartashen Udis, the dialect of Nizh has become the major variety of Udi. It is the target variety for efforts to establish a written and schooling tradition and to produce both autochthonous and translation literature (Yasha Udin, Zhora Kechaari). In parts, the two dialects are mutually intelligible; still, the number of divergent phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical features is considerable (see below).

Since long, Udi has met the interest of both linguists and historians. The officially supported 'revival' of Udi (since 1992) is based on the assumption that the Udis represent the last reflex of an autochthonous segment of the population of Azerbaijan. This segment is usually associated with one of the ethnic groups of Ancient Caucasian Albania (see below) said to have dwelt in the Karabakh region 'long before' the immigration of Armenians and the gradually Armenization of its original inhabitants. This correlation is used to corroborate the Azerbaijani claim that the Karabakh region is occupied by Armenians in later times rather than continuously populated by Armenians. Hence, the official 'care' taken for the Udi ethnic

group from Nizh is strongly related to its ‘exploitation’ as a chief witness for a non-Armenian history of Mountain Karabakh.

2. The linguistic tradition

As far as linguistics is concerned, the Udi language has experienced a long-standing descriptive tradition. As early as 1863, Anton Schiefner (1871-1879) published the first comprehensive description of (basically Vartashen). Before, the German Julius von Klaproth (1783-1835), in his *Beschreibung der Russischen Provinzen zwischen dem Kaspischen und Schwarzen Meere* (Klaproth 1814), for the first time listed a couple of Udi words (from the Vartashen dialect; I give both Klaproth’s notation and the modern transcription):

(1)	Gott (<i>god</i>)	Bacha	(~ Udi <i>bixox</i> / <i>bixažux</i>)
	Weib (<i>woman</i>)	Schuwuk	(= Udi <i>čuvux</i> ~ <i>čubux</i>)
	Sohn (<i>son</i>)	Gari	(~ Udi <i>ğar</i>)
	Tochter (<i>daughter</i>)	Chinar	(= Udi <i>xinär</i>)
	Bruder (<i>brother</i>)	Witschi	(= Udi <i>viči</i>)
	Mädchen (<i>girl</i>)	Ssengi	? (Udi <i>xinär</i>)
	Knabe (<i>boy</i>)	Galli	? (Udi <i>ğar</i>)
	Wasser (<i>water</i>)	Chee	(= Udi <i>xe</i>)
	Wein (<i>wine</i>)	Fieh	(~ Udi <i>fî</i>)
	Apfel (<i>apple</i>)	Oesch	(= Udi <i>e^š</i>)
	Mein Bruder (<i>my brother</i>)	Bis witschi	(= Udi <i>bez viči</i>)

The only phrase given by Klaproth reads:

- (2) Iß Brod mit uns, mein Bruder Mieeke arza schum uka bis witschi
(Eat bread with us, my brother)

Obviously, we have to deal with a wrong translation of the following Udi phrasing:

- (3) *mi-a eke arc-a śum uk-a bez viči*
PROX:ADV-DAT come:IMP:2SG sit-OPT:2SG bread:ABS eat-OPT:2SG my brother:ABS
‘Come here, sit down [and] eat bread, my brother!’

In 1847, the Geographic Society of Russia formulated a first hypothesis concerning the genetic background of Udi: Its members speculated that the ethnonym, wrongly transmitted as *Jemudi*, should be analyzed as being composed from a term *jem*, said to be an ethnonym of the Finno-Ugric (Permic) Votjaks or Udmurts and *udi*, the actual ethnonym of the group at issue. The Caucasian division of the Society received a list of 325 Udi words that should be compared to the corresponding terms in Udmurt. This list (based on the collection of two Udis names A. Khutsiev and A. Chelokaev) had been published in 1853 (*Slovar obščepotrebitel’neišix terminov kavkazkix Udinov s perevodom na Russkij jazyk*. Sanktpeterburg). The above-mentioned Anton Schiefner exploited this list together with an anonymous grammatical description of Armenian for Udi seminarists (ante 1840). This manuscript that still awaits publication lists Armenian paradigms together with their Udi ‘correspondences’. In addition, Schiefner made use of texts written down by the Udi school teacher (in Nukha) Georgi Bezhanov. Note that most of Georgi Bezhanov’s texts represent translations from the Russian school book *Drug detey*. The idiosyncrasies present in this translation as well in some phrases translated for a mediator (the Hofrat Adolph Berger) of Schiefner by Georgi Bezhanov’s brother Stephan as well as by the Nizh speaker Artemius

Khamayanc, are occasionally interpreted as residues of an older stage of Udi (e.g. Harris 2002). Still, it must be born in mind that the grand seigneur of early Udi grammar writing, Adolf Dirr (1867-1930) heavily questioned the reliability of these texts: “The texts are neither Udi nor Russian from which they are translated. They resemble so few to the Udi language that I could not continue working with them with my Udi teacher (...), a native from Vartashen. Frequently, he did not understand (the texts) and asked me no longer to bother him with these texts” (Dirr 1904:viii; translation W.S.). In fact, it is difficult to believe that within fifty years, Udi had changed so much that native speakers could no longer understand a text produced by another native speaker of the same dialect. Accordingly, we have to assume that Schiefner (who never met an Udi speaker) has worked on texts that reproduced the massive idiosyncrasies of their author (and their sources). The fact is crucial because Harris assumes that these texts “represent a slightly earlier form of the language, with diachronic change accounting for the difference” (p.134; p.137 she even refers to Schiefner’s texts as representing a ‘subdialect’).

Some thirty years after the publication of Schiefner’s grammar, two relatives of Georgi Bezhanov, Semjon and Mikhail Bezhanov, started work on the native language. These two brothers from Vartashen can be regarded as the most important native researchers in the last century. Semjon Bezhanov served as a pope in Tbilisi and Vartashen and spent much of his time collecting Udi folk songs, proverbs, and folk tales with the help of his brother Mikhail the profession of whom is unknown to me. Both intended to publish their materials, among them an Udi dictionary, in the famous *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija plemen i mestnostej Kavkaza* (SMOMPK). However, except for the tale *Rustam*, published by Mikhail Bezhanov in SMOMPK IV (Tbilisi 1888), this aim had never been achieved.

In 1893, Semjon Bezhanov – assisted by his brother Mikhail – compiled an Udi version of the Gospels. His translation is based on the Russian (Baptist) version and is heavily influenced by the language of this source, especially with respect to syntax. In 1898, the exarch of Georgia and archbishop of Kartli and Kakhetia, Flavian, agreed that the curator of the Caucasian Educational District (*kavkazkij učebnyj okrug*) M.R. Zavadskij should undertake the preparation of the manuscript for publication in SMOMPK. In 1902 the Gospels appeared as volume 30 of the *Sbornik*; however, most of the copies seem to be lost (see Schulze 2001 for a critical reedition). At least in Nizh and Vartashen, no such copy exists. Hence, we do not know exactly, to which extent this version of the Gospels came into use among Udis. Interestingly enough, the version of the Lord’s Prayer (Mt 6,9-13) given in the Bezhanov Gospels differs considerably from a fragmental version published at roughly the same time by the Armenian Archbishop Smbateanc^c (Smbateanc^c 1896:197). (4) gives the two versions together with a variant recorded by the German journalist Nikolaus von Twickel in Nizh in the year 2004 (speaker: Zhora Kechaari; transcription and analysis: Wolfgang Schulze & Jost Gippert):

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| (4) | Kechaari | <i>ä(y) gö(y)lxo(l) bakala beši bawa</i> |
| | Smbateanc ^c | <i>yaxčešiyo beši hun alanu</i> |
| | Bezhanov | <i>baba beši manote bun gögil</i> |
| | Kechaari | <i>barta vi c'i ive^ʃl q'an baki</i> |
| | Smbateanc ^c | <i>bač'a baki c'i vi</i> |
| | Bezhanov | <i>barta vi c'i baq'aki ive^ʃl</i> |
| | Kechaari | <i>barta hareq'an vi pasčağluğ</i> |
| | Smbateanc ^c | <i>hareq'an čxark'usun vi</i> |

Bezhanov	<i>barta ariq'an vi pasč'ağluğ</i>
Kechaari	<i>göylül bakala gena oçalal vi ixt'iar q'an baki</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>bakeq'atun vi hak'əl vi hetär alanu q'a olk'a</i>
Bezhanov	<i>barta baq'an ki vi ixt'iar etärte gögil t'etäral oçalal</i>
Kechaari	<i>har ğine beši ğala şumax yax ğe tada</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>şum beši hameşa tada ya ğa ğe</i>
Bezhanov	<i>şum beši lazumla tada ya ğe</i>
Kechaari	<i>beši günähğoxun čovkaba</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>barta ya tat'alağon ya</i>
Bezhanov	<i>va bağışlamişba boržurğox beši</i>
Kechaari	<i>yanal boržlubakalt'ğoxun čoveyankfa</i>
Smbateanc ^c	-----
Bezhanov	<i>t'etäral yan bağışlamişyanbo boržlut'uğox</i>
Kechaari	<i>va yax osfaharan ma zaka</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>ma taşa yax meğaç'(u)rğoy boş</i>
Bezhanov	<i>va ma baiča ya sinamişbesuna</i>
Kechaari	<i>amma yax čər pčaraxun čxark'est'a</i>
Smbateanc ^c	-----
Bezhanov	<i>amma čxark'est'a yax har sa pis aşlaxo</i>
Kechaari	<i>şot'anaki vi pasč'ağluğ zor va kala čalxesun hamişaluğa</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>ki vie čxark'usun q'a zor čava axir ğinalc[i]ri[k']</i>
Bezhanov	<i>šet'abaxt'inte vi bune pasč'ağluğ va^s zor va^s şükür hammaşa</i>
Kechaari	<i>amine</i>
Smbateanc ^c	<i>amin</i>
Bezhanov	<i>amin</i>

For comparative reasons, I add the Armenian and Russian original (the diacritics in the Cyrillic version are slightly modified):

- (5) Աֆրեյցի Կօնչոուի բէշի Իսուս Քրիստոս, ամէն. Եախ-
ձէշիյօ բէշի հուն ալանու, պաճա բաքի ձի վի հարեղան չխար-
կուսուն, վի բաքեղատուն, վի հակըլ, վի հէթար, ալանու դա
օղկա, շում բէշի համէշա թատա, եա դա դէ բարթա, եա թա-
տալաղօն, եա մա թաշա. Եախ մէղաճրղօյրոչ, քվ վի է չխար-
կուսուն. դա զօչավա եխիր դիալցրի, ամին.
- (6) 9. Афраїанан метәр: Баба
беши, моноіе бун гөгил!барға
Ви ңи бакаки ивёл;
10. барға арикан Ви Пас-
чаһлуһ; барға баканки Ви их-
тиар, етәрте гөгил, теғарал
очалал;

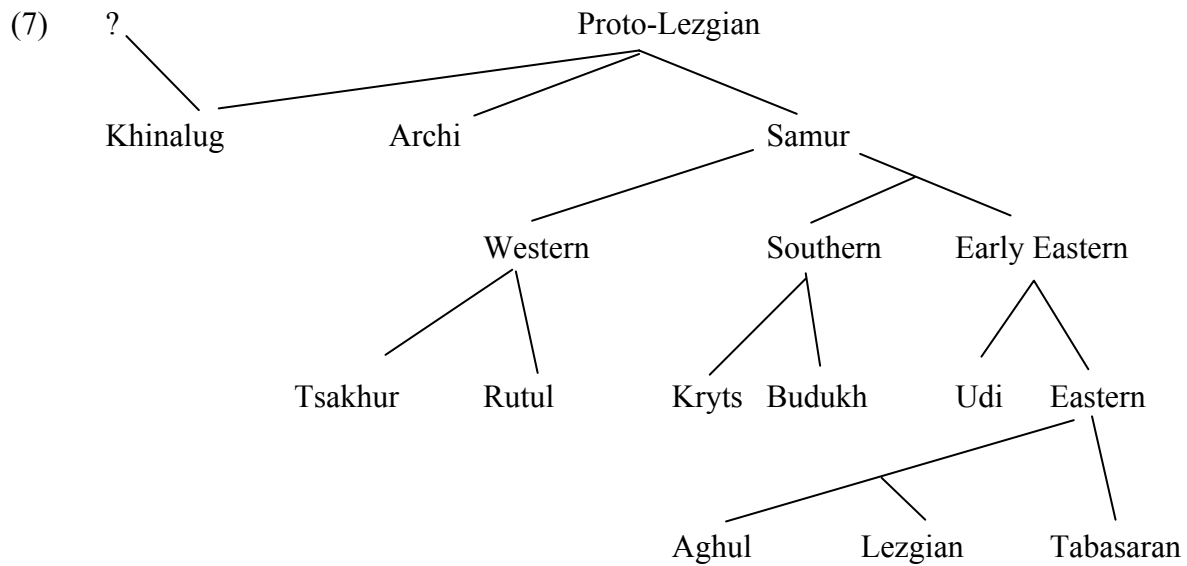
11. шум беши лазумла та-
да ia ђе;
12. ва бађишламишба ia
борџурђох беши, терарал iан
баишламишианбо ia бошлуту-
ђох;
13. ва ма байча ia синä-
мишбесуна, амма чхаркеста
iax һар са һис ашлахо; ше-
табахтинте Ви буне Пасчађ-
луђ ва зор ва шükür һа-
маша. Амин.

The differences especially between the versions of Smbateanc^c and Bezhanov are remarkable. Most likely, the Smbateanc^c version has conserved an older stage of Udi. This can be seen for instance from the use of the term *bač'a* ‘holy’, most likely a younger variant of Old Udi *muč'ur* ‘holy’, see below. Also, the deictic adnominal *ga* is unknown in contemporary Udi. In addition, some words in the Smbateanc^c version escape from Modern Udi parallels at all. In a word list, published by the Armenian teacher Ž. Barxowtareanc^c (Baxrowtareanc^c 1893:93-96) and containing 209 entries from Vartashen (plus one Udi phrase), some 10 words are without a parallel in contemporary Udi. These words had been recorded around 1880 and illustrate that the Vartashen dialect (by that time) did not differ lexically from what is known from later sources. From this, we can infer that the Smbateanc^c version of the Lord’s Prayer must be slightly older.

Following Dirr’s remarkable treatment of Udi (Dirr 1904), linguists gradually became interested in not just describing the language, but to interpret the Udi data from various points of view. For instance, in 1934 the two brothers Tödör Ivanovič and Mixak Ivanovič Dzhejrani published a first Udi primer called *Sämži das* ‘First Lesson’ (Dzheirani 1934); their orthographical system was based on phonetic analyses prepared by D. Karbelašvili (Karbelašvili 1935). Soon after the project to introduce a written convention for Udi had been abandoned (in 1936), The Georgian Vladimir Pančviže started to teach Udi at the Georgian Academy of Sciences (1937-1943). He wrote a great number of scientific articles on Udi, cumulating in his dissertation published as late as 1974 (Pančviže 1974).

Interestingly enough, the question of how Udi is genetically related to other East Caucasian languages has rarely been addressed explicitly until 1982. In his two-volumes book *Reise auf dem kaspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus* (Eichwald 1834-38), Eichwald tells about Nizh: “Its inhabitants speak a language of its own, which can - beyond any doubt - be regarded as a mixture of Georgian and Armenian” (translation W.S.). R. von Erckert seems to have been the first author who related Udi to the Southeast Caucasian language family (Erckert 1895:86). Trubetzkoy 1922:186 classifies Udi as a separate East Caucasian language, whereas Trombetti 1922:128 even thinks of Udi as a separate Caucasian (!) language. Dirr 1928:2 comes back to Erckerts classification, treating Udi as a separate Southeast Caucasian language. Another drawback is given by Deeters’ proposal to classify Udi again as a separate East Caucasian language (Deeters 1963:11ff.). The linguistic tradition in the former USSR tended to classify Udi as an ‘isolated’ language within the Lezgian (or Southeast Caucasian) language family. This perspective has also been taken by Schulze 1982 and 1988. Still, the recent findings related to the Old Udi or Caucasian Albanian Palimpsest (see below) now allow a more refined picture. Accordingly, (Old) Udi shares important isoglosses and

innovations with the Eastern Samur branch of Lezgian. The following tree diagram illustrates the position of Udi, as we can fix it by now:



Still, it must be stressed that up to now, we lack both a comprehensive comparative grammar of the Lezgian languages and etymological dictionaries for the individual languages. Preliminary work on Udi etymologies can be found in Schulze 1988 and 2001, a comparative grammar of Udi will be included in Schulze (forthcoming). Hence, the above-given diagram should be regarded as what it is: a preliminary scheme that eventually helps to orient future research.

It must be stressed that the growing interest in Udi is also motivated by its typological peculiarities. On the one hand, the language is marked for a number of typologically salient features (see Schulze 1982, 2000, Harris 2002, Schulze (forthcoming)): Although the Udi morphosyntax is clearly derived from the standard Lezgian (or even East Caucasian) grammatical architecture, the language has been highly innovative with respect to (among others) the following features: a full-fledged system of ‘floating agreement clitics’, the loss of Class agreement, the use of an old allative case to mark definite ‘objects’ (in Given Topic function), the reduction of the former ‘binary’ system of local case, and a new temporal-modal system resulting from the fusion of former analytic verb forms. These innovative features necessarily call for a diachronic survey. It will be of the utmost interest to formulate the diachronic dynamics of Udi in terms of both typological generalizations and genetic hypotheses. The fact that we now have at hands comprehensive data on a variant of Udi spoken some 1500 years ago (see below) renders the language the historically best documented East Caucasian language (recall that for any other language of this language family, the earliest documented sources stem from (at best) the 17th century).

3. A preliminary survey of the history of Udi

In the present paper, I want describe a brief history of the Udi language as it becomes apparent both from the present-day language and from earlier sources. The reader should note that, in this paper, I cannot dwell upon an extensive description of the Lezgian ‘basis’ of Udi, which would call for both the presentation of both Udi sound change patterns (see Schulze 1988) and a historical grammar of Udi (see Schulze (forthcoming)). Likewise, I cannot elaborate in details all the relevant layers of ‘foreign’ impact as they have been fossilized in

the actual language. Rather, I want to shed some light on the history of Udi with the help of illustrative data in order to propose a methodological pathway that can (ideally) be applied to other East Caucasian languages, too.

Today, Udi shows up as a lexically ‘mixed’ language, which illustrates long-standing periods of language contact and multilingualism of Udi speakers (see Schulze 2004 for details). Nevertheless, Udi also qualifies as an admittedly marginalized Lezgian language. Both loan layers and the development of the Lezgian substrate in Udi allow to subdivide the historical processes as follows:

(8)	Early Udi	~ 2.000 BC – 300 AD
	Old Udi	300 AD – 900 AD
	Middle Udi	900 AD – 1800 AD
	Early Modern Udi	1800-1920 AD
	Modern Udi	Since 1920 AD

In the paper, I will briefly look at each of these stages with the exception the stage of Modern Udi, which has been the subject of a number of specialized monographs (see Schiefner 1863, Dirr 1904, Džeinaišvili 1971, Pančviže 1974, Gukasyan 1974, Schulze 1982, Schulze 1994, Schulze 2000b, Harris 2002, Schulze (forthcoming)).

3.1 Early Udi

Comparative evidence suggests that Udi once was part of the early Eastern Samur branch of Lezgian (Southeast Caucasian). Proto-Lezgian itself had resulted from processes of language change that took place in late Proto-East Caucasian. A seemingly valid hypothesis relates the speakers of Proto-East Caucasian to the Kuro-Araxes culture (~ 3.500 BC), although it is out of question that cultural commonalities do not tell anything about the linguistic situation. Most likely, members of the Kuro-Araxes cultural area belonged to more than just one linguistic tradition (including speakers of Proto-Kartvelian, Proto-Hurrian and others). Nevertheless, the above mentioned correlation allows us to specify what has later become the Media Atropatene as a part of the Proto-East Caucasian *urheimat*. Multiple migrations into the Eastern Caucasus gradually reduced the linguistic ‘sphere’ in this region to Proto-Lezgian (see Schulze 1998:169-186 for details). Historical dialect geography suggests the following migration ‘waves’:

- (9) Proto-East Caucasian homeland: Western / Central Azerbaijan
 First wave: Migration of Proto-Tsez speakers (> Derbend > North)
 Second wave: Migration of Avaro-Andi speakers (> Derbend > North)
 Third wave: Migration of Dargi and Lak speakers (> Derbend > North)
 Fourth wave: Migration of Nakh speakers (> Eastern Georgia > North)

We cannot tell for sure, when the disintegration of Proto-Lezgian commenced. An approximate guess based on internal glottochronology suggests that this process may have started in the beginning of the second millennium BC. Obviously, the major part of Late Proto-Lezgian speakers left the region of what is now Azerbaijan or expended their habitat to the north, transgressing the East Caucasian mountain range via Derbent (the ancient region of Τζουρ or *Čolay*) and the ‘Albanian Pass’ (Ἀλβάνια πύλαι), settling along the River Samur and its tributaries. As far as we know, the only surviving linguistic unit that remained in the original homeland was that of Early Udi. Its speakers continued dwelling on the plains and in the mountainous regions between the river Kura (Κύρ(ν)ος < Κόρος, see Strabo XI,3,2 = Kryts *kur* ‘river’), Kembeç (Καμβύσης), and Kalayor (‘Ποιτάκης).

It seems useful to refer to the state of Udi between (roughly) 2000 AD and its first documentation in terms of ‘Early Udi’. Actually, we do not have direct evidence that would tell us about the linguistics of Udi by that time. Nevertheless, comparative evidence as well as a few number of old loan words help to characterize at least parts of this state. First, important grammatical changes must have taken place that considerably obscured the ‘Lezgian’ character of Early Udi. The following processes can be safely described:

- (10) Loss of the ‘lateral’ articulation series (at the times of Early East Samur)
 Loss of the lenis series of stops and lenition of old fortis stops
 Change of monosyllabic *(C)VrC to (C)V^rC (after separation from Early East Samur)
 Loss of the Proto-Lezgian system of covert noun classification
 (together with Early Lezgi and Early Aghul)
 Reduction of the inventory of ergative morphemes (Early Eastern Samur)
 Beginning erosion of the binary system of local case markers
 Loss of ergative case forms of personal pronouns
 Loss of the inclusive/exclusive distinction with first person plural pronouns
 Reduction of the Proto-Lezgian converbial system
 Beginning development of analytic (> incorporated) verb forms
 Introduction of focus based, personal agreement clitics
 Development of overt conjunctions (‘subordinate clauses’)

The differences between a standard ‘Lezgian’ language (Kryts, Southern Samur) and Udi can easily be seen from the following example:

- (11) *garəna-na-r c’əc’ giĥ-ri si^ŕ-ri tändər-ä*
 old=woman-SA-ERG thorn(IV) pull-ASS:PRES:IV throw-ASS:PRES:IV oven-IN:ESS
 ‘The old woman pulls out the thorn (and) throws it into the oven.’ [Kryts, f.n.]
- karnu-n-en cac-a čič-er-i tarn-a-ne bos-sa*
 old=woman-SA-ERG thorn-DAT pull=out-PAST-PART:PAST oven-DAT-3SG:A throw-PRES
 ‘Having pulled out the thorn, the old woman throws (it) into the oven.’ [Udi, f.n.]

A small set of loans illustrate possible stages of language contact: The following words suggest contact with speakers of a non-Satem Indoeuropean language:

- (12) Udi *e^ŕk* ‘horse’ ~ IE *e^{k̑}wo- ‘horse’
 Udi *bo^ŕq* ‘pig’ (< *borq) ~ IE *por^{k̑}ko- ‘pig’
 Udi *fi* ‘wine’ (OBL *fin-*) ~ IE (?) *uoino- ‘wine’ [not Arm. *gini*, Geo. *γvino*]
 Udi *ul* ‘wolf’ (Cauc.Alb. *owl*) ~ IE *ul^{k̑}os

However note that at least *bo^ŕq* ‘pig’ and *ul* ‘wolf’ may likewise have Lezgian correlates, compare (for ‘pig’) Lezgi *wak* (obl. *wak’-*), Aghul *wak’*, Rutul *wok* (only in *yakdə wok* ‘pork meat’), Tsakhur *wok*, Kryts *wok*, Budukh *wak*, Archi *bo^ŕλ:* < PL *b^werλ:’ ?); for ‘wolf’ we have Rutul *ubul*, Tsakhur *umul*, Kryts *eb*, Archi *yam*, which may go back to PL *(y)əb^w-ul > Early Udi *uwul (?). Note that in Lezgian (just as in East Caucasian) ‘horse’-words are frequently borrowed (there is not common Proto-East Caucasian term for this animal), compare Lezgi *balk’an*, Rutul *balkan*, Kryts *barkan* ~ *balkän* (Turkic), Tabasaran and Gahul *ħa^ŕywan*, Tsakhir *hiywan* (Arabic), Khinalug *pš^hi* (Iranian). Only Archi *no^ŕš* and Budukh *ħila* as yet lack a secured etymology. The same foreign impact also holds for other East Caucasian languages, compare Avar *ču* and Lak *č^wu*, perhaps taken from Georgian *ačua* ‘horse’

(preserved in child language), obviously stemming from a satemized variant of IE **eḱʷo-* ‘horse’, Karata *ḥʷane*, Akhwakh *ḥʷani*, Ghodoberi *ḥʷani* (Arabic) etc.

In addition, it is rather tempting to relate the Udi word for ‘plough’ (*penec*) to a satemized reflex of IE **perḱ-* ‘to tear up, scratch, make a furrow’, which would have yielded **pers* ~ **perc* in some stage of Late Proto-East Caucasian. Reflexes of this stem are for instance Avar *puruc*:, Karata *peric*:, Bagvalal *perc* ~ *perec*: ‘plough’, also compare Tsez *birus*, Hunzib *bərus*, Bežta *boros*, Khvarshi *buruc* ‘wooden plough’. Further look-alikes are Dargwa *darac*:, Tabasaran *curuc*, Lezgi *turaz*, Aghul < Dargwa (?) *duruc*:, Tsakhur *wēcā* < **werc-a*. The change of the syllable type CVrC > CVnC is rather common in Southeast Caucasian. Hence, we may think of a development Early Udi **perc*’ > Udi **penc*’ > *penec*’.

Another IE look-alike is Udi *beḡ* ‘sun’ which has parallels in Lezgi and Aghul *raḡ*, Tabasaran *reḡ*, Rutul *wirəḡ*, Tsakhur *wirəḡ*, Kryts *wuraḡ*, Budukh *wiraḡ*, Archi *barq* (all ‘sun’). Udi *beḡ* regularly derives from **berḡ* < **bʷerG*. If we include reflexes of the same stem in other East Caucasian languages, we arrive at a PEC reconstruction **^mberλ*. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that this reconstruction is not fully secured. It may well be that at least the PL term (together with Lak *barḡ* and Dargwa *barḥi*) has been borrowed from an IE language that handed over its word for ‘bright, shining, clear’ etc. **ar(e)ḡ-*. To this adjectival (?) form, the East Caucasian class marker of Class III (important, relevant non-human objects) **^mb-* would have been added (in a collocation like ‘shining (object)’ or so) > **mbar(e)ḡ* > **^mbarḡ* etc.

The above-mentioned terms illustrate that Early Udi (as well as its forerunner(s)) may have been in contact with one or more early IE languages. Still, it must be stressed that for the time being, the assumption of early IE loan layers in East Caucasian remains nothing but a vague hypothesis. It may, however, well be that once the loan layers of more East Caucasian languages have been isolated, this early layer (~ 2000 BC) becomes more visible.

Starting in the middle of the second millennium BC, Iranian languages gradually became a significant factor in (Eastern) Transcaucasia. In Azerbaijan (Media Atropatene), Early Northwest Iranian (Early Medic) started to influence the local languages roughly at the beginning of the first millennium BC. Due to the fact, that we know only little about the ‘substance’ of the early variants of Northwest Iranian languages, it is not always possible to safely identify an Iranian loan segment as Northwest Iranian. In addition, the lack of etymological research for the other Lezgian languages obscures the degree to which the same layer is also present in these languages. Still, it comes clear that both Early and Old Udi had been subjected to a relatively strong impact from Iranian. Perhaps the clearest evidence stems from grammar: At that time, Udi must have developed its system of floating agreement clitics: These ‘personal’ clitics are ‘bipolar’: They focus their host and are cross-referencing a given Noun Phrase in agentive or subjective function (that is, they show an ‘accusative’ behavior, see Schulze 2000a for details). Below, this pattern is illustrated with the help of examples from Old Udi and Modern Udi:

- (13) Old Udi (2 Cor 11,15, © Schulze 2004, transcription)
zu ḡi un šu būḡali-ḡ-ox marḡ(i)-zow-h-ê
 I day and night depth-PL-DAT2 suffering-1SG-LV-PERF2
 ‘A night and a day I have been in the depth.’
 [~ Udi: *zu ḡe q’an šu boḡaluḡox portzube*]

- (14) Modern Udi (I 49b, Nizh)
zu sa śamat'-axun ośa aiz-e tağ-o-z
 I one week-ABL after village-DAT go:FUT-FUT:MOD-1SG
 'I will go to the village (Nizh) in one week.'

This strategy has its (partial) match e.g. in the Northwest Iranian language Northern Tolyšī:

- (15) *mə i tüfang-a pošna-m ž-a ba palang-i kalla*
 I:OBL a rifle-ATTR butt-1SG hit:PAST-PERF to leopard-OBL head
 'I hit [the] rifle butt on the leopard's head.' (Schulze 2000c:74⁵²)

Lexically, the Early Iranian loan layer of Udi is far from being fully described. Much depends from the forthcoming analysis of the Caucasian Albanian (Old Udi) lexicon as documented in the Mt. Sinai Palimpsest (see below). A Late Early (or Middle?) Northwest Iranian loan is for instance Old Udi *k'e* (relative pronoun). Another early Iranism seems to be present with the Udi prohibitive particle *ma*, which, however, is also given in a number of other Lezgian languages. To the Iranian layer we can add the Old/Modern Udi negation *na-*. A highly interesting word is Udi *a'm* 'arm', which cannot be separated from Avesta *arəma-* 'Arm'. Up to now, it is not fully clear, when the above-mentioned process VrC > V^cC came to its end. More recent loans such as Udi *port-besun* 'to suffer' (~ Latin *portāre*, see below), *girk* 'book' (Armenian), or *marc* 'end' (Armenian *marz* ~ Modern Persian *maraz*) suggest that the pharyngealization of *-r-* in the Cluster (C)VrC ended some hundred years before the documentation of Old Udi. Hence, the borrowing of an Iranian term corresponding to Avesta *arəma-* must have taken place rather early.

The change from Early Udi to Early Old Udi must have taken place around 100-200 AD. This period is marked for an admittedly small number of loans from Greek and Latin. Greek words are for instance Udi *lek'er* (cf. Greek *ληκάνη*) 'dish', Udi *levet* (cf. Greek *λέβης*) 'kettle, pot, bassin', and Udi *oq'o* 'vinegar' (~ Greek *ὄζος* 'vinegar'), *k'al-pesown* 'call' (Old Udi *he-kal-* 'call hither'), compare Greek *καλέω* 'call hither'. A clear Latin base is given for Udi *portbesun* 'carry, suffer', which can be related to (late) Latin *portāre* 'carry, suffer'.

It is not fully clear, whether the Udi (Nizh) term *mal* 'few, little' should be added to this layer. Superficially, the word resemblance to Russian *malyj* 'few, little' etc. However, note that the Udi word frequently occurs in the Old Udi palimpsest (see below). Udi *mal* does not have cognates in Lezgian, hence it is rather probable that we have to deal with a loan. The nearest source would be Latin *malus* 'bad < low, few' (in Greek, we only have the derived form *μῆλον* 'small livestock, sheep', which cannot be the source for the Udi term).

The time period alluded to in the last paragraph probably also witnessed the emergence of the so-called O-split in Udi (Fluid-O, see Schulze 2000a). By this is meant that a Noun Phrase in objective function is marked for definiteness, whereas its indefinite variant remains unmarked. This strategy, also known as Differentiated Object Marking, is a common strategy in many Iranian languages, (partially) in Armenian, and in Turkic. An example for the Udi usage would be:

- (16) *xunč-en śum-ne uk-sa*
 sister-ERG bread:ABS-3SG eat-PRES
 'The sister eats bread.' (Vartashen, f.n.)

- (17) *xunč-en śum-ax u-ne-k-sa*
 sister-ERG bread-DAT2 eat₁-3SG-eat₂-PRES
 ‘The sister eats the bread (we’re talking about).’ (Vartashen, f.n.)

The constructional type present in (17) comes amazingly close to a pattern present in Old Armenian. The standard pattern for this formula is:

- (18) *nora ê gorc-eal z-gorc*
 (s)he:gen be:PRES:3SG work-PART:PAST ACC-work
 ‘(S)he has done the work.’

It is not fully clear, to which extent the Old Iranian languages already knew the O-split by the time it came up in Udi. It should be noted that this pattern is present in Old Udi, too, compare:

- (19) *som čar źe-m-o oq’a biy-ay zax*
 one:COLL fold stone-PL-GEN under make-PAST I:DAT2
 ‘Once [they] put me under stones.’ (2 Cor. 11,25, © W. Schulze)

The fact that the Udi O-split had already been fully elaborated in Old Udi suggests that this innovation (which is alien in the other East Caucasian languages) must have started some centuries before the first documentation of Udi. A source may have been Old Armenian or some variety of Northwestern Iranian.

The early sources of Old Udi (see below) document that – lexically speaking – Old Udi has preserved a great number of Common Lezgian terms: If we start from the well-known Swadesh list (100 items version), we can identify some 70% of the Old Udi correspondences as Lezgian. In Modern Udi, this figure is reduced to roughly 60% (of some 8.000 Modern Udi terms, some 3.000 are loans, a figure, which confirms the estimation stemming from the Swadesh list). The loss of Lezgisms in Modern Udi is due to the strong impact of Azeri, see below. Nevertheless, both Old and Modern Udi share a layer of etymologically obscure words (Swadesh: 19 % in Modern Udi, 16 % in Old Udi). For the time being, we cannot identify this peculiar layer. It may well be that it reflects another contact language of Late Early Udi, which is neither Iranian nor Armenian or Georgian. Finally it should be noted that as far as evidence goes no immediate loans from pre-Oghuz Turkic, namely (Caspian) Bolghar or Early Kipčak can be described so far for Old or Modern Udi. Obviously, the Turkification of Udi commenced two or three centuries after the use of Old Udi as a written language. By that time, the few Bolghar and Kipčak groups present in Azerbaijan had already been absorbed by Early Azeri (note that in the *Patmowčiwñ Ałownanic^c* (see below), the number of Turkic terms (especially terms from the sphere of gentile administration) is remarkable).

It is obvious that the stage of Early Udi cannot be safely marked off from Old Udi. In fact, the dividing line is defined by a rather artificial feature, namely that of direct documentation.

3.2 Old Udi

A famous passage in the Armenian *Patmowčiwñ (Ašxarhi) Ałownanic^c* (History of the Albanians) by Movsēs Kałankatuac^ci (or Dasxowranc^ci; 11th century (?)) tells us that the Armenian scribe, monk and (later) missionary Mesrop Mašt^coc^c (362-440) has “created with the help [of the bishop Ananian and the translator Benjamin] an alphabet for the guttural, harsh, barbarous, and rough language of the Gargaračik^c” (Pat.Ał. Book II, 3, compare Dowsett 1961:69). The Gargar(ač)i^ck^c represented one of the peoples of the kingdom of Albania the name of which is already attested in Strabo XI,5,1 and which can be associated

with the Armenian toponym *daštn Gargarac^cowc^c*, a region southeast of the central part of the river Kura (compare the contemporary river name *Gargar*, a tributary to the Araxes). Most likely, the Gargar(açi)k^c, whose habitat was located to the east of the Aluan province Utik^c, played a crucial role in the state's administration at least by the time of conversion to the Christian faith (~ 2-300 AD). Although the 'Albanian' state started to disintegrate soon after 705, the Aluan script seemed to have been in continuous use until at least the 12th century. For instance, the Kilikian historian Haythou (Hethum), a nephew of the Kilikian king Hethum I (1226-1269), reported in 1307: "Literas habent Armenicas, et alias etiam, quae dicuntur Haloën" (*Haythoni Armenii historia orientalis, quae eadem et De Tartaris inscribitur*, Coloniae Brand. 1671:9). The existence of an Aluan alphabet has been confirmed by two (re-copied, in parts corrupt) alphabet lists that have survived in medieval manuscripts (now kept in the Matenadaran museum, Erevan; M 7117, f 142 and M 3124, see Abuladze 1938:70, Kurdian 1956, Hewsen 1964, Annasian 1969, Schulze 1982, Gippert (in press)). In addition, a small number of inscriptions on candleholders, roofing tiles and on a pedestal found since 1947 in Central and Northern Azerbaijan (see below) illustrate that the Aluan alphabet had in fact been in practical use.

Until 1996, little had been known about the language used in connection with the Caucasian Albanian alphabet. The earliest word said to be 'Albanian' or Aluan documented so far stems from the fragment of a lexical list ascribed to a certain Heracleides. This list is included in the so-called Oxyrhynchis Papyri (100-200 AD). The relevant passage reads:

- (20) *μιληχ γενειον υπο Αλβανιων των ομορουντω[v]*
 (,milēkh – beard according to the neighboring Albanians', Pap. Oxy. 1802⁶⁵
 (Grenfell & Hunt 1922:158).

Although the word at issue has a Lezgian 'look' (compare Archi *mužur*, Tabasaran (Dübek) *mižri*, Rutul *məč'ri*, Lezgi *čiri* (> Kryts *žiri*), Tsakhur *muč'ri*, Budukh *mič'er*, Khinalug *mič:äš*, all 'beard'), it is difficult to relate it to any of the candidate languages (in Udi, the Lezgian term has been replaced by *k'ažux*).

It is a matter of dispute whether parts of the Patmowt^ciwn Ałowniac^c, compiled by at least three authors (Adrianê, Viroy, and Movsês Dasxowran^cci), are based on Caucasian Albanian sources or are even translated there from. Nevertheless, there is a slight chance to isolated admittedly very few terms in the 'History' that are not Armenian but that have possible matches in (Old) Udi. For instance: In book II,33 and 34, the term *enibay* (with variants) is given denoting a wicked evil person (personal name) in 34 and the negative epithet of an enemy (in 33). In Udi, there is the term *yeniba(y)* that is used to indicate a wicked, artful, treacherous person. In Book I,10, four manuscripts of the Patmowt^ciown make use of the term *ašnowt* to indicate a peculiar property of the sun during autumn. Two other manuscripts have *eraštowt* instead of *ašnowt*: *eraštowt* seems to be related to Armenian *eraštowt^ciwn* (!), which means 'aridity, dryness' etc. It may well be that the form *ašnowt* represents a corrupt variant of *eraštowt* (which, however, should have been written *eraštowt^c*). The meaning of the passage would then have been "[The sun] (...) is parched in autumn". However, this interpretation poses a number of problems. If, on the contrary, we take *ašnowt* (unexplained in Armenian) as the point of departure, we might think of Udi *aš-nut* 'without (-nut) work (*aš*). Both segments are fairly well documented already in the language of the Palimpsest (see below). The meaning of the phrase would then have been: "The sun (...) is without task in autumn". Note that the full passage reads: *t`aw(n)owt() garnani ew as^nowt as^nani*. It may well be that the first word (*t`aw(n)owt()*) conventionally translated as 'raining, providing with wetness' etc, too, contains the (Old) Udi private particle -nowt (thanks to Jost Gippert for this

suggestion).

Other look-alikes are the name of a forest (*Č^clax*), mentioned in Book I,28, which can perhaps be compared to Udi *č'äläg ~ čäläg* (Vartashen), *č'äläy ~ čäläy* (Nizh) 'forest, wood'. In Book II,51, a pseudo-Armenian term *č'arb* shows up to indicate some kind of tissue. In two Armenian dictionaries, the word is glossed: "a special net for catching fish" (Dowsett 1961:183). It reminds us of Udi *tor* 'net for fishing', which seems to be an early loan from an Oghuz variant of Turkic. Finally, in Book II,14, the term *saloyc^c* (with variants) is used to indicate 'icy'. In Armenian, *saloyc^c* (Modern Armenian *saṙoyc^c*) means 'ice', but not 'icy'. The word is without a convincing etymology. It may well be that we have to deal with a derivation from a term **sal* 'ice' which resembles to Udi *čax* 'ice' (*l* is the standard way in Armenian to represent a number of East Caucasian Uvulars).

A list of so-called Albanian month names surviving in a number of medieval manuscripts gave the first clue to the language of the Aluan. Basically, we have to deal with the manuscript 'Paris Arm 114' (Brosset 1832), a list of month names compiled by par Anania Širakac^ci, variants which occur for instance in manuscripts by Hovhannēs Imastaser (~ 12th century, Armenian) et Sulkhan Saba Orbeliani (18th century, Georgian), see Schulze 1982:284-5; Gippert 1988 for details. (21) lists the names of those months for which a secure interpretation can be given (only one variant is given for each term; the reader should refer to Gippert 1988 for a comprehensive presentation and analysis):

(21) <i>t'ulin</i>	Cf. Udi <i>t'ul</i> 'raisin', <i>t'ul aferek'al xaš</i> 'month of praising the raisin'
<i>č'iley</i>	Cf. Udi <i>c'il</i> 'seed' (genitive)
<i>bok'awon</i>	Cf. Udi <i>boq'sun</i> 'to pick'
<i>exnay</i>	Cf. Udi <i>ex-besun</i> 'to plough'
<i>caxowl-</i>	Cf. Udi <i>žogul</i> 'spring time' (< geo. <i>zapxuli</i> ?)

Obviously, at least parts of the month names are clearly related to Udi. As a result, the long-standing hypothesis has emerged according to which the language of the 'Aluan' script represents an older variant of Udi. A number of co-arguments have supported this hypothesis. For instance, the Udi are the only Christian group in Azerbaijan. According to their own tradition, they once had been part of the Albanian Church, which had been abolished by Tsarist authorities in 1836 (re-established in 2003). In addition, names obviously related to the ethnonym *udi* had been constantly referred to by ancient sources when speaking of the Caucasian Albanian region. This region had been known in Classical times by its name Ἰαβανία or Ἰαβανίς, in the Armenian tradition the term Աղուանք (*alowan^c*) had been used (Georgian რანი (*rani*), probably derived from Arabic الران (*ar-rānu*), which again had been borrowed from the Armenian toponym Արան (*aṙan*)). Caucasian Albania represented a rather heterogeneous 'state' that had been Christianized as early as the 2nd or 3rd century (according to the tradition by Elišē (Eleusius), a disciple of the apostle Thaddeus and said to be ordained by James, the brother of Jesus, see Məmmədova 2003). One of the provinces of Aluan had been Uti, the population of which is referred to by the name *Udini* (or, if the same ethnic group, *Utitorsi*) in Latin sources, and by the name Οὐτίτοι in Greek sources. In Armenian, the terms Աօտիք (*owtik^c*) or Աօտիպօղիք (*owtiaçik^c*) had been used. The province of Owtik^c was located between the middle course of the river Kura and the Mountain Qarabakh region, thus south (west) of the actual habitat of the contemporary Udi speakers. Most likely, the inhabitants of Owtik^c at least in parts spoke a language related to or equal to that of the Gargarac^cik^c, mentioned above.

It should be noted, however, that none of the three names (Udini ~ Ούίτιοι ~ Owtik^c; Ἀλβανία ~ Ałowank^c; Γαργαροί ~ Gargar(ac^ci)k^c) can be safely etymologized with the help of contemporary Udi (in Book I,4 of the Patmowt^ciwn Ałowanic^c, the author suggests to derive *alowank^c* from *alow* ‘sweet’, “on account of its agreeable disposition” (Dowsett1961:4)). There is a slight chance to relate the term *udi* (also used as a self-denomination of the contemporary Udis) to the ethnonym *qūtīm* which labels a gentile group having ruled over Central and Southern Mesopotamia (2200-2100) and said to stem from the northern regions of the Zagros mountains. The list of Qūtīm rulers in Akkad, however, does not show any resemblance with Udi terms, compare (22):

(22)

The names of the Gutean Kings		
Erridupizir (?)	Igeša’uš	Irarum
Imta	Iarlagab	Ibrānum
Inkišuš	Ibate	Xablum
Sarlagab	Iarlangab	Puzursīn
Šulme	Kurum	Iarlaganda
Elulumeš	Xabilkīn (?)	Si’um
Inimabakeš	La’erabum	Tiriqan

Urartian sources mention a river *Uduri* said to be located at the border of the land *Etiu* (e.g. Meščaninov 1978:319), and it may well be that one of the two ethnonyms can be equaled to the term *udi*. The term Ἀλβανία ~ *Ałowank^c* probably reflects a form **aluan* which is sometimes paralleled to both the name of a village in the Shah-Dagh mountains (*Alpan*) and to the name of a pre-Islamic deity in Lezgian (*Alpan*). However, this proposal neglects important historical facts and should not be taken into serious consideration.

Another indirect evidence to relate contemporary Udi to one of the languages of Aluan stems from Udi itself. In fact, Udi is the only surviving language in Azerbaijan that knows an important loan layer stemming from the different stages of Armenian. For instance, the following Udi words are probably related to Old Armenian (see Schulze 2002 for details).

(23)

<i>abuz</i> (~ <i>ağuz</i>) ‘much’	< Armenian <i>bazum</i> ‘much’. Though we have to assume a complex metathesis which is characterized by the change of CV to VC ordering (<i>ba</i> > <i>ab</i> and <i>zu</i> > <i>uz</i>), the Armenian origin of the Udi words seems to be secure.
<i>č’äk</i> ‘elected, selected’	< Armenian <i>čokel</i> ‘to select’
<i>c’il</i> ‘seed, shoot’	< Old Armenian <i>c’il</i> ‘seed’ (New Armenian <i>šiv</i>)
<i>čur-esun</i> ‘to love, want’:	The stem <i>čur-</i> seems to reflect Armenian <i>sēr</i> ‘love’
<i>el</i> ‘salt’	< Armenian <i>al</i> ‘salt’? It should be noted, however, that the Udi term can likewise be derived from Proto-Lezgian <i>*q’əl</i> ‘salt’, see Schulze 2001: 274.
<i>fu^çq’esun</i> ‘to skin, to flay, to pluck’	< Armenian <i>p^cok-el</i> ‘to tear out’. Aspirated <i>p^c-</i> is represented by <i>f-</i> . The resulting form <i>*fok-</i> is marked by expressive pharyngealization which additionally caused the shift from the velar stop - <i>k</i> to uvular - <i>q</i> ’

<i>hāz</i> ‘pleasant’	< Armenian <i>hačeli</i> ‘pleasant’ (?)
<i>ha^hvpesun</i> ‘to gather’	< Armenian <i>havak^c</i> ‘gathering, meeting’, <i>havak^cel</i> ‘to gather, collect’
<i>lerec</i> ~ <i>loroc</i> ‘cradle’	< Armenian <i>ororoc^c</i> ‘cradle’
<i>mangal</i> ‘sickle’	< Armenian <i>mangal</i> ‘sickle’. The Semitic origin of this word (cf. Arabic <i>minjal</i> , Aramaic <i>maggāla</i> etc.) calls for Armenian as the transmitter language
<i>marc</i> ‘edge, border’	< Armenian <i>marz</i> ‘border, borderland’. Though we could also refer to Modern Persian <i>marz</i> ‘border(land)’ the semantics of the term make it more probable that it is borrowed from Old Armenian.
<i>mugin</i> ‘altar wine’	< Armenian <i>gini</i> ‘wine’, perhaps contaminated with Udi <i>mugin</i> ~ <i>muq’in</i> ‘secret’ (< <i>q’in</i> ‘closed’). The segment <i>mu-</i> remains unclear
<i>nedun</i> ‘sour dough, leaven’	< Armenian <i>ndrun</i> ‘sodium’ (Greek <i>νίτρον</i>); the verb <i>nest’un</i> < <i>*nedesun</i> ‘to leaven’ shows that <i>nedun</i> has been reanalysed according to Udi verb formation rules
<i>nik’ar</i> ‘image, picture’	< Armenian <i>nkar</i> ‘image’ (itself from Iranian)
<i>ot</i> ‘shame’	< Armenian <i>amot^c</i> ‘shame’
<i>šəlap’əzt’an</i> ‘flatterer’	< Armenian <i>šotop^cort^c</i> ‘flatterer’
<i>t’eracu</i> ‘deacon’	< Armenian <i>tēr</i> ‘lord, sir’ (?)
<i>tošol</i> ‘weak’	< Armenian <i>tujl</i> ‘weak’
<i>xáč</i> ‘cross, moon’	< Armenian/Iranian <i>xáč^c</i> ‘cross’ (substituting the name of the old Moon Deity, Schulze 2001:27-8).

From this we can conclude, that the ancestors of Udi speakers must have once been in contact with Old Armenian speakers. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the representation of Old Armenian *l*: A number of Armenian borrowings into Udi show the preservation of *l* (> *l*), whereas others stem from a period when the velarization of *l* had already taken place (> *ǰ*). As the velarization of *l* did not happen in Armenian later than the 11th century, we must infer a language contact between ‘old Udi’ and Armenian already before this century.

In sum, both direct and indirect evidence suggest that the ‘major’ language of Aluan (i.e. the language of the Gargar(acⁱ)k^c) must have been an early variant of Udi. This assumption saw confirmation in 1987, when the Georgian scientist Zaza Aleksidze discovered a palimpsest stored in the Mt. Sinai Abbey, see 4.2.

3.2.2 The language of the ‘Caucasian Albanian Inscriptions’

Above, I have mentioned a small corpus of so-called Caucasian Albanian or Aluan inscriptions the most famous of which is the Mingečaur inscription found in 1949 during excavations in the Mingečaur region in Central Azerbaijan. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that one or two of the (often fragmentary) inscriptions are fakes, we can still maintain that the major part of this corpus is related to and stems from the Old Udi period. We have to deal with three types of inscriptions: a) a longer, running text on a pedestal; b) shorted texts on candleholders and roofing tiles, c) parts of Aluan alphabet lists. None of the texts has been safely read and interpreted so far. Nevertheless, those parts that are open to a linguistic interpretation clearly show that the underlying language is a variant of Old Udi. The following documentation of the inscriptions does not aim at a full interpretation. Rather, I will refer to

those parts that evince an Udi origin (see Murav'ev 1981 for a description of the corpus. I do not refer to his in major parts false interpretation):

T 1 (= Mingečaur Pedestal (serving to carry a cross (Schulze) or throne (Gippert)) [ca. 60 x 60 cm]; Probably 558/9 AD (year 27 of Khosrow I, see Gippert (in press)) [New Reading: © Jost Gippert 2003 (see Gippert (in press)) / Modifications: © Wolfgang Schulze 2004]

(24) 1 *(c'iyas* *BE* *be(s)(i)(n) lo(x)o arahêne* *e i*
 name(?):DAT3 lord:GEN ?:GEN on place(?):LV:PERF2:3SG PROX sanc-
 'For the X of God on (this) X placed(?)

2 *hAl* *yê* *owsena* *xosroo(w)_*
 tuary(?) 27 year:DAT Khosrow[:GEN]
 '[...] in the year 27 of Khosrow'

3 _____ *serb[aown]* _____
 firs[t]
 '[.....] firs[t.....]

4a *Aw/s** *čo^s(i)(n) isk'ap'osen* *bi*
 PN Čo^s:gen bischop:ERG make:PAST

4b *yayn*
 PART:PAST:3SG

'In the name(?) of the Lord on X this sanctuary(?) in the year 27 of Kosrow first PN the bischop of Chol made.'

The present reading deviates in minor parts from the up to now most comprehensive and most reliable interpretation of the Mingečaur inscription (Gippert (in press)), which also aims at situating the contents of the inscription into the clerical history of Albania. Here, I cannot discuss in details Gippert's high promising and methodologically well-founded approach. Nevertheless, the reader should note that for the first time we have at hands an interpretation that seems to be coherent with both historical data and the findings related to the language of the Palimpsest, see below. As for the date, the inscription most likely refers to 558/9 AD (the 27th year of the rule of Khosrow I Anōšērvān (531-574), see Gippert (in press) for details)). The following segments of the Mingečaur inscription can be safely related to Udi or to the language of the Palimpsest:

(25) <i>c'iyas</i> (Gippert: <i>miyas</i>)	Obviously the now lost Old Udi -s-Dative ('DAT3') added to <i>c'i</i> 'name' (? [reading of <i>c'</i> is uncertain])
<i>BE</i>	Abbreviation of 'lord' (= Palimpsest)
<i>hêne</i> (?)	= Palimpsest <i>h-E-ne</i> (be-PERF2-3SG:FOC)
<i>loxo</i> (Gippert)	Perhaps ~ Udi (Nizh) <i>loxol</i> 'on' (Gippert)
<i>ihAl</i>	= Udi <i>ive^sl</i> (?) 'holy (place)' (Schulze)
<i>owsena</i>	= Udi <i>usen-a</i> 'in the year' (Schulze)
<i>[s]er[b]-</i>	= Palimpsest <i>serbaown</i> 'first' (Gippert)
<i>isk'ap'os</i>	= Palimpsest <i>isk'ap'os</i> 'bischof' (Schulze)
<i>en</i>	= Udi ergative <i>-en</i>
<i>biyayn</i>	= Palimpsest <i>biyay</i> (do:PAST:3SG) (Schulze)

T 2 (Candleholder, Mingečaur) [8 x 5 x 5 cm]

(Trever 1959:Tabl.35, new reading W. Schulze)

(26)	I	II	III	IV
1	zayo			
2	ggo			
3	kar(x)	Xena	i [˘] ow	b~E et'
4a				owXbe(c)
4b	e			g^ahak'
5	hAwk'e	q'a(k').(x)bi	yay	

The four sides of the candleholder are not fully aligned. Hence, the restoration of the original lines is somewhat problematic. Nevertheless, a possible reading is:

(27) *za yog gokar(e)XE nai[˘]ow b~E et'owX be(c)e*
 I:dat ? sin:LV:PERF2 servant God:GEN this(?):DAT2 beg:PERF(?)

g^ahak' hAwk'e q'a(g^).(x) biyay
 ? joy ? make:part:past

The following elements can be identified:

(28) *za* = Udi *za* 'I:DAT'
gokar(e)XE = Palimpsest *gokarXE* (Perf2) 'having sinned, sinner'
nai[˘]ow = Palimpsest *nai[˘]ow* 'servant, slave'
b~E Abbreviation meaning 'god' (genitive or ergative)
hAwk' = Palimpsest *hAwk'* 'joy'
biyay = Palimpsest *biyay* (do:PAST)

T 3 (Fragment of candleholder (?), Mingečaur) [16 x 4(,5) cm]

(Murav'ev 1981:275, new reading W. Schulze)

(28) 1(?) *zow va ba(l)a oa[_____?]*
 I you:SG do:PART:FUT ?

2(?) *.....biya(y) [_____?]*
 ... do:PART:PAST

3(?) *?iye bowq'ana [_____?]*
 beloved

(Old) Udi segments are:

(29) *zow* = Udi *zu* ,I'
va = Udi *va* 'you:SG:DAT'
bala = Udi/Palimpsest *b-ala* 'do-FUT2'
biyay = Palimpsest *biyay* (do:PAST)
bowq'ana = Palimpsest *bowq'ana* 'beloved'

T 4 (Candleholder, Mingečaur) [18 x 11 x 10 cm]

(Murav'ev 1981:279, new reading W. Schulze)

- (30) *zow ki(W)pe*
 I burn(?):LV:PERF

The meaning of *ki(W)pe* is obscure. Obviously, we have to deal with a 'simple' perfect (-e) added to the light verb *-p-*. The initial form *zow* corresponds to Udi *zu* 'I'.

T 5 (Roofing tile (?), Mingečaur) [10 x 10,5 cm]

(Murav'ev 1981:273, new reading W. Schulze)

- (31) 1 *zow m[_____]*
 I ...
- 2 *bAwğa[_____]*
 in=midth ...
- 3 *h~k'e zow[_____]*
 because I...
- 4 (b). *hel(i)[_____]*
 [do] soul:GEN ...
- (x) [_____]

This fragment shows the following correspondences with (Old) Udi:

- (32) *zow* = Udi *zu* I'
bAwğa = Palimpsest *bawğa* 'in midth' (Udi *bə'ğ* 'middle')
h~k'e = Palimpsest *h~k'e*, an abbreviation meaning 'who' (rel.pro.).
hel = Palimpsest *hel* (> Udi (pl.tant.) *el-mux*) 'soul, spirit'

T 6 (Roofing tile (?), Mingečaur) [16 x 4 cm]

(Murav'ev 1981:281)

- (33) *mana (k')?[_____]*
 [Personal name?]

The interpretation of this passage remains unclear.

T 7 (Candleholder, Mingečaur) [11 x 7 x 7 cm]

(Murav'ev 1981:277, new reading W. Schulze)

- (34)
- | | I | II | III | IV |
|---|----|-------|-----|------|
| 1 | ab | g(d) | ezE | Ytč' |
| | | i(s)i | | ğar |



This inscription contains the first 10 letters of the Aluan alphabet. In addition, two words appear in vertical lines. *i(s)i* remains unclear, whereas *ğar* undoubtedly means ‘son, child’ (= Udi/Palimpsest *ğar*).

3.2.2 The Mt. Sinai Palimpsest

In 1996, the Georgian scientist Zaza Aleksidze – while doing documentary work in the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai – discovered two Georgian palimpsest manuscripts (conventionally labeled N/Sin-13 or M13 and N/Sin-55 or M55) that contain in their lower, heavily washed layer texts in Albanian script (see Aleksidze & Mahé 1997, 2002 for a detailed presentation of the manuscripts and a preliminary discussion of the language of the lower layers). Meanwhile, the preliminary work of Aleksidze has been continued by Jost Gippert (Frankfurt) and Wolfgang Schulze (Munich). For the time being, nearly the totality of the readable folios of both manuscripts has been deciphered and interpreted by these two authors. Aleksidze’s assumption that we have to deal with a rather old lectionary used in the Holy Service turned out to be correct. In addition, we have to deal with the original of a part of the Gospels, namely with the Gospel of John. For copyright reasons, I cannot go into the details of the whole corpus (see the projected publication Aleksidze & Gippert & Schulze (forthcoming/2006)). Hence, I have to restrict myself to rather general remarks.

In sum, the two manuscripts consist of roughly 180 folios (recto/verso), in parts heavily distorted and only fragmentary. They show the Aluan text in horizontal lines crossed by the upper layer of Georgian text in vertical lines. The Aluan text is heavily washed out. Its characters have (in parts) merged with the Georgian letters of the upper layer. The original Albanian text was written in two columns (22 to 23 lines per page) with 15 to 20 characters per line. In addition, smaller characters were used to add commentaries relevant for the use of the lectionary in the Holy Service.

The bulk of the lectionary is preserved in M13, whereas M55 is much smaller and more fragmentary in nature. It is not quite clear whether both manuscripts had been written at the same time. Perhaps, parts of M13 are older stemming from the 5th or 6th century, whereas parts of M55 have been written in the 7th century. Nevertheless, it comes clear that both manuscripts originally represented a single ‘book’, which contained passages from the New Testament as well as at least one passage from the Old Testament (Jesaiiah). The pages read by J. Gippert and W. Schulze represent a corpus of roughly 6.000 word tokens. To this corpus, we can add roughly 1.500 word tokens stemming from M55.

The following passage from Sinai M13 n75 (Folio 76r-77v) helps to illustrate the language of the Palimpsest. The passage contains a translation of 2 Cor. 11,[2]5-2[7]. Note that the glosses are derived from the system applied to Udi in Schulze (forthcoming). A preliminary reading of 2 Cor 11,26-27 had been prepared by Zaza Aleksidze. Here, I give a strongly revised interpretation together with the new read verses 2 Cor. 11,24-26 (© Wolfgang Schulze):

[24]

vačar[-uğ-]oxoc xu-om p’⁵a-q’ə sa himiq’ana heq’_____
 Jew-PL-ABL five-COLL two-twenty one lacking receive:_____

‘Of the Jews five times received I forty save one.’

Ի հրէից, հնդիցս՝ քառասուն միով պակաս արբի.

[25]

Xib-om šap'r?-ǵ-on iga(y) zax som čar źe-m-o oq'a biy-ay zax
three-COLL rod-PL-INSTR beat-PAST I:DAT2 one:COLL fold stone-PL-GEN under make-PAST I:DAT2
'Thrice I was beaten with rods. Once they put me under stones.'

Երիցս ճաղկեցայ. միանգամ քարկօծ եղէ.

xib-om n^ʰažiž-ac-ê h-ê zu ġi un šu bəǵali-ǵ-ox marǵ(i)-zu-h-ê
three-COLL shipwreck-LV:MP:PAST-PAST LV-PAST I day and night depth-PL-DAT suffering-1SG-LV-PERF2
'Thrice I suffered shipwreck, A night and a day I have been in the depth.'

Երիցս նաւակոծ եղէ. գտիւ եւ զգիչեր յանդՕւնդս տառապեցայ.

[26]

l'aq'-m-ox avel-om čar marak'esun-ux t'ur-m-oxoc marak'esun-ux abazak'-uǵ-oxoc
way-PL-DAT2 much-COLL fold danger-PL river-PL-ABL danger-PL thief-PL-ABL

'Often on the roads, in danger of rivers, in danger of thieves,'

՞ի ճանապարհս բ(ա)զ(ու)մ անգամ: Վիչտս ՞ի գետոց, վիչտս յաւազակաց,

marak'esun-ux ć'inux-oc marak'esun-ux het'anos-uǵ-oxoc marak'esun-ux kalak-a
danger-PL compatriot-ABL danger-PL gentil-PL-ABL danger-PL town-DAT

'in danger of the compatriots, in danger of the gentils, in danger in the town.'

վիչտս յազգէ, վիչտս ՞ի հեթանոսաց, վիչտս ՞ի քաղաքի,

marak'esun-ux k'^ʰaban-a marak'esun-ux c'ay-ax marak'esun-ux a?dê iše-b-axoc
danger-PL desert-DAT danger-PL sea-DAT2 danger-PL false brother-PL-ABL

'in danger in the desert, in danger in the sea, in danger of false brethren.'

վիչտս յանապատի, վիչտս ՞ի ծովու, վիչտս ՞ի սուտ եղբարց:

[27]

marak'esun-uǵ-on un borzun-uǵ[-on] nuǵur bur-es[un-en av]el-om čar
danger-PL-ERG and labor-PL-ERG wake stand-MASD-ERG much-COLL fold

'with dangers and labors, in watches often'

՞ի ջանս՝ եւ ՞ի վաստակս. ՞ի տքնութի(ւն)ս բ(ա)զ(ու)մ անգամ

busin un iǵ(e)[_]

hungry and thirst[ty]

'in hunger and thirst...'

՞ի քաղց՝ եւ ՞ի ծարաւ.

Both the lexical inventory and the morphology of this passage clearly relate to Modern Udi. This can be seen from the following table:

(35)	<i>a?pê</i>	'false'	Udi <i>apçi</i> 'liar' ?
	<i>abazak'uǵoxoc</i>	'thief' (pl., abl.)	Armenian <i>abazak</i> , Udi pl. - <i>ux</i> , abl. - <i>oxo</i>
	<i>avelom</i>	'much' (coll.)	Armenian <i>aveli</i> , Udi ordinal – <i>un</i> < * <i>-um</i>
	<i>bəǵaliǵox</i>	'depth' (pl, dat2)	Udi <i>boǵalu</i> 'deep', dat2 - <i>ox</i>
	<i>biyay</i>	'make' (past)	Udi <i>besun</i> 'do'
	<i>borzunūǵon</i>	'load' (pl., erg.)	Armenian <i>borj</i> , Udi plural - <i>ux</i> , erg. – <i>on</i>
	<i>bü^ʰǵa</i>	'in the middle'	Udi <i>bə^ʰǵ</i> , dat. – <i>a</i>

<i>buressunen</i>	‘stand’ (masd., erg.)	Udi masd. <i>-esun</i> , erg. <i>-en</i>
<i>busin</i>	‘hunger’ (instr.)	Udi <i>busa</i> ‘hungry’
<i>č’inoxoc</i>	‘compatriot’ (abl.)	Udi abl. <i>-uxo</i>
<i>čar</i>	‘fold’	No parallel
<i>ği</i>	‘day’	Udi <i>ği</i> ‘day’
<i>hê</i>	‘be’ (perf2)	Udi perf2 <i>-ey</i>
<i>heq’ _____</i>	‘receive’ (?)	Udi <i>haq’</i> - ‘take’
<i>het’anosuğoxoc</i>	‘gentile’ (pl., abl.)	(Greek >) Arm. <i>hetanos</i> ‘gentile’, Udi pl. <i>-ux</i> , abl. <i>-oxo</i>
<i>himiq’ana</i>	‘lacking’	No parallel
<i>iğ(e)</i>	‘thirst’	No parallel
<i>iga(y)</i>	‘beat’ (past)	No parallel
<i>išebaxoc</i>	‘joint-brethren’ (pl., abl.)	Udi abl. <i>-axo</i>
<i>k’^šabana</i>	‘open field, desert’ (dat.)	Udi <i>q’^šava’ⁿ</i> ‘wilderness, open field’, dat. <i>-a</i>
<i>kalaka</i>	‘city’ (dat.)	Arm. <i>k^čalak^č</i> , Udi dat. <i>-a</i>
<i>l’aq’^šmox</i>	‘way’ (pl., dat2)	Udi <i>yaq’</i> , pl. <i>-m-</i> , dat2 <i>-ox</i>
<i>marak’esunuğon</i>	‘suffer-see’ (masd., pl. erg.)	Udi <i>ak’sun</i> ‘to see’, pl. <i>-uğ-</i> , erg. <i>-on</i>
<i>marak’esunux</i>	‘suffer-see’ (masd., dat2)	Udi <i>ak’sun</i> ‘to see’, dat2 <i>-ux</i>
<i>marğ(i)zuhE</i>	‘suffering’ (1sg, perf2)	Udi 1sg <i>-zu</i> , perf2 <i>-ey</i>
<i>n’^šažižacê</i>	‘shipwreck’ (mp, perf2)	Udi medio-passive (past) <i>-ac-</i> , perf2 <i>-ey</i>
<i>nuğur</i>	‘awake’	Udi <i>moğor</i> ‘awake’
<i>oq’a</i>	‘under’	Udi <i>oq’a</i> ‘under’
<i>p’^ša-q’^ə</i>	‘two-twenty’	Udi <i>p’a^š-q’a</i> ‘twenty’
<i>sa</i>	‘one’	Udi <i>sa</i> ‘one’
<i>šap’r’ğon</i>	‘rod’ (pl., instr.)	Udi <i>-ğ-on</i> (pl, erg)
<i>som</i>	‘one’ (coll.)	Udi <i>ša</i> ‘one’
<i>šu</i>	‘night’	Udi <i>šu</i>
<i>t’urmuxoc</i>	‘river’ (pl., abl.)	Udi pl. <i>-m-</i> , abl. <i>-oxoc</i>
<i>un</i>	‘and’	Udi <i>q’a-n</i> ‘and’
<i>vačar[-uğ-]oxoc</i>	‘Jew’ (pl., abl.)	Arm./Iranian <i>vačar</i> ‘merchant’
<i>xibom</i>	‘three’ (coll.)	Udi <i>xib</i> , ord. <i>-un</i> < <i>*-um</i>
<i>xuom</i>	‘five’ (coll.)	Udi <i>qo</i> ‘five’
<i>žemo</i>	stone (pl., gen.)	Udi <i>že^š</i> ‘stone’
<i>zax</i>	‘I’ (dat2)	Udi <i>zax</i> ‘I’ (dat2)
<i>zu</i>	‘I’	Udi <i>zu</i> ‘I’

The language of the palimpsest is marked for a considerable number of words that do not have correspondences in Modern Udi (as *bur-* ‘to stand’, *t’ur* ‘river’, *n’^šažiž-* ‘shipwreck’, *čar* ‘fold’, *ig-* ‘beat’, *mar-* ‘suffer’, *himi-* ‘lacking’, *iğe-* ‘thirst(y)’ in the given passage). Up to now, we cannot say for sure whether these words are old borrowings or continue a Proto-Lezgian layer. Nevertheless, a great deal of both the lexicon and the morphology can be related to Udi, more precisely to the Nizh variant of this language. On the other hand, the language of the Palimpsest has retained older lexical and morphological features that are lost in present-day Udi, such as the *-s-*dative, the use of *-n(e)* ~ *-e* as a general focus clitic (third person singular in Modern Udi), a set of complex locative case forms, and locative auxiliaries,

the use of *o* as an independent anaphor etc. The complete coverage of both the lexicon and the grammar of the Palimpsest will tell more about the ‘distance’ of Old Udi to Modern Udi (see Aleksidze & Gippert & Schulze (forthcoming)).

To the Old Udi passage quoted above, I have added the corresponding Old Armenian version in order to illustrate that much of the syntax of the Palimpsest texts is borrowed from Armenian during the translation process. Obviously, the biblical texts of the Palimpsest had once been translated from Armenian (and not from Greek or Georgian). This aspect coincides with the fact that the language of the Palimpsest is marked for a number of loans from Old Armenian, albeit it is evident that the translators have paid special attention to loan translations rather than to immediate borrowings. The question of which source the translators may have used is of crucial importance for the discussion of the early Mountain Karabakh history. The fact that the translators have consulted (among others) an Armenian source does not necessarily imply that in the 5th-8th century, Caucasian Albania had been massively inhabited by Armenians. Still, it is rather likely that the region stood in constant linguistic contact with Armenian speaking communities. Else, it would be difficult to explain how such common terms as *avel* ‘much’, *vart’ap’et* ‘teacher’, or *marmi* ‘body’, all of them stemming from Armenian, would have entered the Old Udi lexicon.

In addition, we can assume that Old Udi had been marked for Iranian loans not present in Armenian. A clue term seems to be Old Udi *vačar* ‘Jew’ (Armenian *hrey*), which cannot be separated from the Iranian ‘market’-words (Modern Persian *bāzār* etc.). Accordingly, we have to assume that the speaker of Old Udi must have been in contact with Iranian prior to their contacts with Armenian. It is, however, not fully clear, whether the semantic shift ‘merchant’ > ‘Jew’ has taken place *in situ*, or whether this shift had already become fixed in the Iranian donor language.

In sum, the following development can be assumed for the times of Old Udi: At roughly 300 AD, Udi formed a dialect continuum reaching from the Eastern Karabakh / Tawuš region in the West to the Qəbələ region in the Northeast of what now is Azerbaijan. The central region was represented by the province of Utik^c (Otena) with the main city Partaw. Most likely, we have to deal with at least three varieties of Old Udi:

- (36) East (Centers: Qəbələ / Kish etc.)
Central (Inscriptions from Mingəçaur, center: Partaw, Kałankaytuk^c)
West/South (Gargar, language of the Mt. Sinai Palimpsest,
centers: Gardman, Khalkhal, Mec Arank)

The Udi written tradition developed in the Gargar region and was later adopted by the ‘center’ (after 430 AD (?)). Gargar-Udi (= Western Udi) was subjected to a moderate ‘Armenization’ between 450-650. A considerable number Gargar-Udi/Nizh isoglosses suggests that Gargar-Udi has in parts survived in the dialect of Nizh. Among these isoglosses, we can name:

- (37) Use of the Perfect(2) (*-e ~ -ey / -ay*) instead of the Simple Past (*-i*):
Use of the (now) ‘present’ tense marker *-esa* as a telic infinitive;
Preference for the *h*-prothesis (Palimpsest *hel* ‘soul’ = Udi *el-mux*, *hayz-* ‘rise’ instead of *aiz-*, *heq* ‘take’ instead of *aq-* etc.);
Non emphatic form of the second person plural (*v^ʃa* (dative)).
An number of lexical isoglosses (e.g. *mal* ‘few, little’)

The Old Udi of Mingečaur ('Central Old Udi') confirms the interpretation of the Palimpsest readings. The writing tradition has at least in parts been influenced by the Palimpsest language (e.g. use of abbreviations: *b~E* = **bix-ey* 'of God', *h~k'e* = *hanay-o-k'e* 'who-he-that' = rel.pro etc.). However, the fragmentary character of the inscriptions does not yet allow a comprehensive interpretation. As for Eastern Old Udi, the ancestor of Vartashen Udi, no documents have been found so far. Hence, it is difficult to decide from a language-internal point of view, whether this dialect had been more conservative or more innovative with respect to the Central and Western Udi variants.

4. 'Middle Udi'

Although we cannot tell for sure, until when Old Udi has been in use as a written language, indirect evidence suggests that soon after 700, its use became restricted to the religious service. An important fact was the forced conversion of the Albanian population to the Armenian monophysitic tradition, promoted by the Umayyad invaders that started 680-705 AD. At the same time, the immigration of Oghuz-Turkic gentile groups commenced and led to the gradual assimilation of important parts of the medieval Eastern Udi population. The conversion to the Armenian tradition of monophysitism later affected especially the Aluan-Udi population in Mountain Karabakh and was coupled with the settlement of Armenian speakers. As a result, a number of Western Udi speakers migrated to the northeast and settled in the region of Nizh where their language underwent important changes under the influence of Eastern Udi.

As late as the 15th century, we have to assume that the mass of Middle Udi speakers concentrated in the region between Sheki in the west and Qəbələ in the east. The fact that those Udi stemming from the western regions had retained their monophysitic belief led to a secondary 'Armenization' of their language. On the other hand, those (eastern) Udi who had stuck to dyophysitism oriented themselves towards the Georgian tradition, which again caused the intrusion of Georgian loans into Eastern Udi. In addition, local languages such as Northern (Jewish) Tātī, Early Azeri, and (in parts) Lezgi influenced the late-medieval varieties of Udi.

As has been said above, we do not know of any sources that are written in 'Middle Udi'. Hence, the term should be used to describe the transitory stage of the language from Old Udi to (Early) Modern Udi rather than to describe a precise language 'stage'.

5. (Early) Modern Udi

It seems useful to introduce the term 'Early Modern Udi' to describe a stage of the language that has been documented in the early western sources of the 19th century. As Alice Harris has put it: "I assume that [these texts] represent a slightly earlier form of the language [...] rather than they represent a different (sub)dialect" (Harris 2002:134). In fact the Udi texts as published by Anton Schiefner (1863) and in, parts by Dirr (1904) show a number of peculiarities that do not show up in Modern Udi (e.g. certain types of heavy endoclitization, a more conservative constructional type used with *verba sentiendi* etc.). However, recall that A. Dirr heavily questioned the originality of Schiefner's texts (see above, section 1). Nevertheless, the assumption of an 'Early Modern stage' of Udi can perhaps be justified by referring to the fact that before say 1920, the language had not yet undergone a process of 'modernization'. By this term, I refer to the frequently observed tendency of languages spoken in colonial regions to adopt constructional and discourse patterns of the language of the 'colonizers', even if the colonizers do no longer play a role in the administration of the region. Most likely, the modernization process of Udi that evidently started in the Soviet

period was moderated by Azeri, the major contact language of Udi by that time (see Schulze 2004b for a contrastive analysis of Early Modern and Modern Udi texts).

Modern Udi differs from Old Udi especially for the composition of its lexicon. Here, the massive intrusion of Oriental loans (in parts via Azeri) has turned Udi into a typical ‘mixed’ language. The following passage taken from an autobiographical text (OL 2004,10) illustrates this point:

(38) ägär sa tur be^šš ava-bak-a-yan ki kala müdüür eğ-al-e
if one foot ahead know-LV-MOD-1PL SUBJ major director come:FUT-FUT:FAC-3SG

müt'läq' cöy-a xam-p-sun-e lazəm
absolutely face-DAT shave-LV-MASD-3SG necessary

‘If we know beforehand that the general director will come, it is absolutely necessary (for us) to shave the face.’

Those words that can be related to the Oriental layer of Udi are underlined. In addition, several grammatical processes have obscured the Lezgian character of Modern Udi still apparent in Old Udi. For instance, the system of personal agreement/focus clitics has been elaborated, now allowing these clitics to occur even inside verbal roots, e.g. *ba-ne-k-sa* ‘(s)he is’ (stem *bak-*, *-ne-* = 3sg). In sum, the following processes help to illustrate the grammatical changes:

(39)	OLD UDI		MODERN UDI
	Personal enclitics	>	In parts endoclitics (in parts new paradigm)
	Present tense	>	Modal
	Infinitive	>	Present tense
	Simple tense system	>	Complex tense system
	Two-dimensional locatives	>	Mono-dimensional locatives
	Rel. pronoun <i>hanay-o-k'e</i>	>	Rel. pronoun <i>mano-te, ki</i>
	Complex system of deixis	>	Reduced system of deixis
	Gender with deixis	>	No gender distinction
	Analytic causatives	>	In parts derivational causatives (-v- + stem)
	System of articles	>	No articles

Nevertheless, note that - as it has been said above - there are a number of grammatical isoglosses that link the Nizh dialect of Udi closer to Old Udi than Vartashen. Perhaps the most important feature is the retention of nominal stem augments in Vartashen that are retained in both Old Udi and Nizh in very few instances only, compare Old Udi *hü^šk'ax* (‘to the heart’, dative2) = Nizh *ü^šk'-e*, but Vartashen *uk'nux* etc. The following passage from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 10,41) illustrates some of the differences mentioned above:

Old Udi	Udi (1902)	Matthäus 10,41 (King James)
Sinai M13 n13Aa © W. Schulze 2004	Bezhanov 1902	
efa hanay oen k'e marğavenax marğavenun c'iyen varz marğavenun heq'ay q'an oen efa hanay oenal seroux seroya c'iyen varz seroya heq'ay q'an oen.	šinte aneq'sa pexambarax pexambari c'iala aq'alle peškäš pexambari va' šinte aq'alle günähnut'ux günähnut't'a c'iala aq'alle peškäš günähnut't'ai.	He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward.

It is interesting to see that the shift from Old Udi to Modern Udi has hardly affected the phonological system. To the extent the alphabet of Caucasian Albanian, documented in the Mt. Sinai Palimpsest, has been deciphered (some 95%, by J. Gippert und W. Schulze), only very few sound changes can be described. This phonetic conservatism goes together with what can be described e.g. for the history of Georgian, Armenian, and Azeri. Obviously, articulatory traditions figured among the prominent features of the linguistic knowledge among speakers in Transcaucasia.

6. Conclusions

The discovery of the Old Udi (or: Caucasian Albanian) Palimpsest from Mt. Sinai for the first time allows to trace back the history of an East Caucasian language. Hitherto, East Caucasian languages had been known from sources that do not go beyond the 16th century (for Dargwa and Lak), to the 18th century (for Avar and Lezgi), and to the 19th century for most other East Caucasian languages. In this sense, the Old Udi data are of unique importance for both the internal history of Udi (and, by this, of Azerbaijan) and comparative approaches to Southeast Caucasian (Lezgian). In addition, the language of the Palimpsest enables us to look more closely at diffusional processes in Azerbaijan and to infer there from aspects of historical sociolinguistics.

The scenario set up above to describe the emergence of Modern Udi also modifies what we have known about the internal organization of the Lezgian ‘stammbaum’. Udi no longer shows up as a marginal Lezgian language, but seems to constitute one branch of Eastern Samur, thus being more closely related to Lezgi proper, Tabasaran, and Aghul. This assumption leads us to a new perspective concerning both the alleged antiquity and the innovative features of this language group.

It comes without saying that the comparison of Old and Modern Udi also help to better understand certain typological parameters of language change. Still, it has to be stressed that the major changes seem to have occurred in times of Early Udi rather than within the period marked off by Old and Modern Udi. This holds especially for the development of agreement clitics, for the system of Fluid-O marking (see above) and for the highly elaborated strategies to construe subordinate clauses. Most likely, these processes had become part of the dynamics of Udi grammar some centuries before the commencing Udi-Armenian contacts and the first translation(s) of Biblical texts. In this sense, Old Udi also will help to shed more light on the grammatical system of early Northwest Iranian. Once the Palimpsest has been published (see Aleksidze & Gippert & Schulze (forthcoming)), many points, which I could touch upon only superficially, will become more substantial and ready for further studies. Nevertheless, I hope to have shown how the history of a linguistic region, hitherto traditionally labeled ‘undocumented’ and hence ‘difficult to access’, gradually becomes unveiled.

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