Alice C. Harris. *Endoclitics and the Origins of Udi Morphosyntax.*
Oxford: Oxford University Press, xvi, 299pp.

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1. Introduction

According to the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis, "words are composed according to morphological principles that differ in kind from the syntactic principles responsible for the composition of sentences" (Harris 2002: 3). Therefore, "the morphological composition of a word is not accessible to the rules of syntax" (ibid.). This hypothesis is related to very basic assumptions on the nature of 'words' and is thus widely accepted. Hence it takes no wonder that Alice Harris has devoted a whole book to illustrate that morphosyntactic integrity of 'words' is not a universally valid condition of language. Although Harris' account is based on one language only (Udi), her findings sufficiently show that the morphosyntactic (better: morphopragmatic) 'disintegration' of words (here: verb stems and verb roots) figures as a possible technique among the languages of the world. Harris convincingly shows that Udi agreement clitics that have syntactic and pragmatic properties may show up in terms of 'endoclitics': These clitics can go into a verb stem/root and hence contradict to the general assumption that endoclitization is not possible at all (e.g. Klavans 1979). It may well be the case that now the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis has been empirically defeated, parallel phenomena in other languages will give additional evidence for the need of a more differentiated view of the nature of 'words'.

Udi is a South East Caucasian (or: Lezgian) language that is currently spoken by roughly 3.000 people in now two villages (Nizh in Azerbaijan and Okt'omberi in Georgia). Until 1989, there has been another important Udi population in the multilingual village of Vartashen (Azerbaijan). Due to the Armenian-Azerbaijani clashes of 1989, however, most of the Udi speakers have left this village (now called Oghuz) and have moved to either Nizh or

Okt'omberi (and well as to places in Russia, Kazakhstan, and Armenia). Udi has two dialects: Nizh and Vartashen. The Okt'omberi variety is close to that of Vartashen, whereas Nizh is marked for three different local varieties (Upper, Middle, and Lower Nizh).

Until 1995, most linguistic descriptions and analyses of Udi have relied upon data from Vartashen (together with its variant spoken in Okt'omberi). Data from Nizh were scant. This picture has changed since the appearance of a collection of Nizh Udi poems and tales published by Kechaari 1995 (additional material is given in Kechaari 2001 and Kechaari 2003). In addition, new materials have been collected by Gippert and Tandašvili among Nizh speakers who have recently moved to Okt'omberi (Gippert & Tandašvili 2002).

Else, Udi is documented by narrative texts (both native and translations from Russian), poems, and samples of the conversational style that had been recorded in the 19th and 20th century (1850–1986). A translation of the Gospels has been prepared in the end of the 19th century (Bežanov & Bežanov 1902, Schulze 2001b). In a total, the Vartashen dialect is currently documented by a corpus of roughly 70.000 words, whereas the Nizh corpus comprises about 50.000 words.
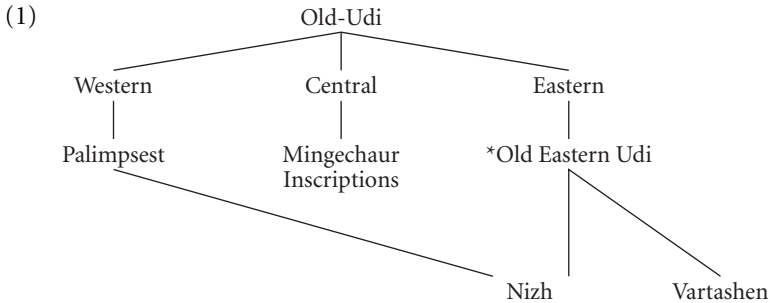
It is unnecessary to say that the author of 'Endoclitics' is highly qualified with respect to the language at issue. For more than 20 years, she has importantly contributed to the knowledge of this language (a highlight being her analysis of the Udi question particle -a (Harris 1992)). In fact, it is Alice Harris we have to thank that Udi data have been included in many typological treatments.

Typologically speaking, the language is marked for a number of features that are alien to its sister (better: cousin) languages (such as Lezgi proper, Tabasaran, Aghul etc.). These features include the 'personalization' of the agreement system (instead of noun classification), massive presence of verb forms marked for incorporation, and the partial splitting of the relational primitives S (Subjective), A (Agentive), and O (Objective) (see Schulze 2000b for details): Basically, Udi shows an ergative case paradigm. Nevertheless, S and A can be demoted to the 'Indirect Objective' domain (S/A > IO) with verba sentiendi and to encode a potential mood. On the other hand, S can be promoted to the Agentive function (S > A) to mark a strongly controlling referent in subjective function. Note that the two dialects differ considerably as for these 'motion' features. Finally, the Objective is marked for one of the two Dative cases in case the referent is thought to be (textually) definite. The agreement system is basically accusative: The constituent echoed by an agreement clitic always belongs to the Subjective/Agentive domain.

In 1996, Zaza Aleksidze — while doing documentary work in the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai — discovered two Georgian palimpsest manuscripts (conventionally labelled N/Sin-13 or M13 and N/Sin-55 or M55) that contain in their lower, heavily washed layer texts in the so-called Caucasian Albanian script (see Aleksidze & Mahé 1997, 1998–2000, 2001 for a detailed presentation of the manuscripts and a preliminary discussion of the language of the lower layers). Quite in accordance with both the local tradition and earlier scientific hypotheses, it soon became obvious that we have to deal with an old version of Udi. Meanwhile, Aleksizde's preliminary work on deciphering and interpreting the lower layer of the palimpsests 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 (some 100 folios) has been deciphered and interpreted by these two authors, which gives us a corpus of roughly 5.000 Old Udi words. Aleksidze's assumption that we have to deal with fragments a Christian lectionary written down at roughly 500 AD and used in the Holy Service turned out to be correct.

For the first time, we are now able to describe the state of an East Caucasian language as is was 1500 years ago. The palimpsest data also allow accessing the history of Udi in 'real mode' (in addition to internal and external reconstruction). Unfortunately, by the time Harris wrote the book at issue, she did not yet have access to the Palimpsest data. From this it comes clear that some of her reconstructions and proposols concerning grammaticalization processes have to be seen in a different light now that an earlier stage of Udi has become known. In my review, I will occasionally draw the reader's attention to the palimpsest data in order to show to which degree internal reconstruction meets the evidence.

It is important to note that the language of the palimpsest cannot be seen as the ancestor of both actual dialects of Udi (Nizh and Vartashen). Rather we have to assume that it once represented a 'western' variety of Old Udi spoken in the (eastern) Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. Its speakers later either assimilated Armenian or/and Azeri or migrated to Northern Azerbaijan where their language developed to an important layer of the actual Nizh dialect. In other words: We cannot relate the totality of Udi morphosyntax to the language of the palimpsest. Especially for the Vartashen dialect, we have to think of independent processes of language change related to an eastern variaty of Old Udi. The following scheme tries to sum up the relevant aspects (see Schulze (in press a) for details):

(1)
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                          Old-Udi
          ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────┐
       Western            Central             Eastern
          │                  │                    │
      Palimpsest         Mingechaur         *Old Eastern Udi
                         Inscriptions           ╱     ╲
                              │                 │       ╲
                              └──────────────── Nizh    Vartashen
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2.   The book

As has been said above, the main purpose of Harris' book is to provide evidence that endoclitization represents a synchronically valid technique of syntactic organization. Basically, it deals with the following constructional type (examples in this review are from Vartashen less otherwise indicated and stem from the reviewer's field work):

(2) *xinär-en sa   źeʔ   a-ne-q'-sa*
     girl-ERG one stone:ABS take-3SG-$-PRES
     'The girl takes a stone.'

Here, the verb stem *aq'-* 'to take' is split up by the agreement clitic *-ne-* (third person singular) which is coreferential with the referent in agentive function *xinär* 'girl' (the second part of the discontinuous root is glossed by '$' following the convention of Schulze 2000).

However, the book goes far beyond this synchronic issue: It aims at the explanation of how and why the endoclitization technique once arose in Udi. This diachronic perspective is embedded into the general framework of Diachronic Syntax as presented in Harris & Campbell 1995. In order to substantiate the diachronic perspective, Harris also exploits comparative evidence stemming from related languages in the Eastern Caucasus. In order to formulate the synchronic mechanisms of endoclitization, Harris pays special attention to Optimality Theory (Chapter 7).

The book is organized as follows: A first introductory section (pp. 3–19) states the basic problems dealt with in the monograph. Section Two (pp. 23–165) discusses the synchrony of the Udi agreement system both from a paradigmatic and a syntagmatic (functional) point of view. This section

concentrates on the formulation of 'rules' that determine the placement of agreement clitics in a clause. In section Three (which, in fact, represents the core of the book), Harris outlines a complex scenario of the emergence of endoclitization in Udi (pp. 169–284). The book concludes with a brief 'Afterword' (pp. 283–4), a comprehensive bibliography and an index.

In sections One and Two, Harris step by step familiarizes the reader with the grammar of Udi which makes the book more than just a comprehensive presentation of endoclitization in Udi: As the subtitle of the book suggests ('Origins of Udi Morphosyntax'), Harris is well aware of the fact that the Udi agreement system is at the core of the grammatical organization of the language: Agreement controls a wide range of syntactic and pragmatic properties (focus, verbal valence, referential tracking, 'subject' alignment etc.), just as it is controlled by such properties (functional cases, communicative and deictic reference, Tense/Mood system, types of Speech Act etc.). Consequently, Harris has to introduce the major features of Udi grammar (including certain aspects of morphophonology), which makes the book also an introduction into the (functional) grammar of Udi.

In this sense, the first two chapters are compiled from a didactic perspective. This aspect comes also clear from the fact that here, interlinear glosses are given only for those forms that are at issue in the given context. This may irritate the reader who wants to use the monograph as a reference book. However, the further Harris progresses in her argumentation, the more explicit the interlinear glosses become.

The depiction of the Udi grammatical system relies on both standard grammars (there are five such grammars available ranging from Schiefner 1863 to Schulze 1982) and textual data. Unfortunately, Harris does not make use of the large Vartashen corpus given in the Gospels (see below). Harris concentrates her analysis on the dialect of Vartashen (and on its variety as spoken in Okt'omberi). Obviously, Harris had finished her manuscript before the new Nizh materials (Keçaari 1995, 2001) were available. The fact that the Nizh dialect plays a minor role in her analysis surely is a disadvantage: Data from Nizh in fact question some of Harris' generalizations. This is especially true for hypotheses on the history of agreement clitics and on the emergence of certain Tense/Mood based constraints (see below). As for the grammatical system of Udi as such, Harris confirms what has been said in the descriptive sources. There is, however, one major exception: None of the grammatical treatments of the Udi agreement system published so far ever accounted for the functional distribution of personal clitics: These can occur both with verbs and with extra-verbal constituents, cf.

(3) a. *xinär-en lavaš   u-ne-k-sa*
     girl-ERG bread:ABS eat-3SG-$-PRES
     'The girl EATs bread.'

    b. *xinär-en lavaš-ne   uk-sa*
     girl-ERG bread:ABS-3SG eat-PRES
     'The girl eats BREAD.'

    c. *xinär-en lavaš-ax   k'ua-ne   uk-sa*
     girl-ERG bread-DAT2 house:DAT-3SG eat-PRES
     'The eats the bread AT HOME.'

(Capital letters indicate focused constituents). Harris is the first who relates the formal distribution of these clitics to a functional scenario. Accordingly, the placement of agreement clitics is governed by both properties of the clausal information flow (constituent or sentence (propositional) focus) and special features of the constituent. For instance, certain particles and pronouns that are in 'natural' focus (negation, adhortative, question) always call for a personal clitic. In case these particles again have clitic properties, 'piggybacking' can take place: I use this term to describe the fact that the resulting clitic cluster behaves as a single clitic (see Schulze (forthcoming) for a detailed account of the piggybacking process):

(4) a. *ğar-en śum-q'a-n   uk-sa*
     boy-ERG breadABS-ADH-3SG eat-PRES
     'The boy should eat BREAD.'

    b. *ğar-en Śum   u-q'a-n-k-(e)sa*
     boy-ERG bread:ABS eat-ADH-3SG-$-PRES
     'The boy SHOULD EAT bread.'

Four Tense/Mood categories always call for a clitic in enclitic position: The Factitive Future (labeled Future2 by Harris), the Modal (called Subjunctive by Harris), and the Imperative (usually derived from the Modal). In addition, the same constraint applies for the 'telic' future marked by the suffix *-ala* (not discussed in details by Harris). To the tense forms that can (incidentally) be marked for endoclitization, we have to add the perfective *-iyo* that is especially present in Nizh but not dealt with by Harris, compare (Nizh, Bouda 1939: 71):

(5) *axsap'et'-en   q'a k'irk'or-en óne-t'un-p-iyo*
    Akhsapet-ERG and Kirkor-ERG weep-3PL-LV-PERF2
    'Akhsapet and Kirkor wept.'

Harris carefully analyses the distributional patterns in question and convincingly relates them to a set of 'rules' (nicely summarized on p. 130). In addition, Harris gives an account of these 'rules' in terms of Optimality Theory: "[I]t is shown that this approach can account elegantly for the complex set of requirements and option for placement of the Udi PM [Personal markers, W. S.]" (p. 7). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that Harris does not fully explain what she means by 'rules'. It is true that Udi speakers usually do not allow 'exporting' agreement clitics to the constituent domain with the tense/mood forms just mentioned. But a closer look at the distribution of clitics with other tense/mood forms reveals that here, too, certain preferences can be described. The following distribution can be described for narrative texts (CL = clitic, see Schulze (forthcoming) for details):

(6)

	Nizh narratives			Vartashen narratives		
	+CL	−CL	Total	+CL	−CL	Total
PRES	44,32 %	55,68 %	176	70,54 %	29,46 %	740
PAST	41,03 %	58,97 %	836	46,79 %	53,21 %	327
PERF	46,84 %	53,16 %	79	59,34 %	40,66 %	91
FUT:MOD	31,91 %	68,09 %	188	60,47 %	39,53 %	43
Total	41,01 %	58,99 %	1279	62,86 %	37,14 %	1201

It comes clear that Vartashen less frequently uses agreement clitics (CL) to focus verb external constituents than Nizh. Obviously, Nizh is marked for a stronger tendency to 'pragmatically' manipulate the information structure of an utterance. In addition, there is a strong tendency to mark the present tense form by clitics. Hence, it seems to be more appropriate to treat Harris' rules in terms of 'stabilized preferences'. In contemporary Udi, the process of stabilization has not yet come to its end. This fact illustrates a shortcoming of Harris' account for constraints on the placement of agreement clitics: Her approach neglects usage-based considerations in favor of morphosyntactic and constructional arguments.

Also, Harris' synchronic account does not make sufficiently clear (to me), whether Udi speakers process 'simplex' verbs marked by endoclitics (type *a-ne-q'-sa* (take-3SG-$-PRES) '(s)he takes') in a segmental way or not. In other words: Do verbs marked by endoclitics represent true discontinuous lexemes as suggested by Harris ("The PM [= Personal Marker, W. S.] is, after all, a clitic, a distinct word" (p. 136))? The alternative would be to assume that Udi speakers

process such verbs 'en bloc'. In this case, we would arrive at a (admittedly large) set of lexical 'allomorphs' (e.g. *azuq'-sa* (take:1SG-PRES), *anq'-sa* (take:2SG-PRES), *aneq'-sa* (take:3SG-PRES) etc.). These 'allomorphs' would reflect 'indexed' verbs as opposed to non-indexed verbs that occur if the clitic does not appear verb-internally (we could then compare such forms for instance to 'tense-indexed' verb stems as known from the Germanic languages (ablaut verbs).

Another important issue is the question whether there is a functional difference between verbal endoclitization and verbal enclitization:

(7) a. *še-t'-in*   *sa xaˤ*   *beˤ-ne-ǧ-i*
     DIST-REF:OBL-ERG one dog:ABS see-3SG-$-PAST
     '(S)he saw a dog.'

   b. *ośa še-t'-in*   *beˤǧ-i-ne*   *sa xaˤ*
     then DIST-ERF:OBL-ERG see-PAST-3SG one dog:ABS
     'Then (s)he saw a dog (and…).'

Verbal (or: sentence) focus is directly connected with endoclitization. The use of personal agreement markers as post-verbal enclitics is rare and marked except for those verbs that do not have an endoclitic slot. Harris calls the postverbal placement of clitics 'permissive placement' and comments: "I am not aware of any evidence that permissive usage was ever associated with either sentence- or predicate-focus to the exclusion of each other" (p.137, fn. 25). Instead, Harris argues: "Placement differences are a matter of careful vs. rapid speech. It is easier for a speaker to put the PM at the end of the word (…). The end of the verb is the default position" (p.138). Nevertheless, a closer look at the textual data reveals that positional variation in the placement of agreement clitics has its functional value. For instance, postverbal positions are preferred by many speakers from Vartashen, if the verb is in non-final position and if the speaker wants to indicate that another 'event' depends from or follows the 'event' expressed by the verb in question. Hence, the enclitic position is associated with the function 'and then'. This function is associated with an iconic interpretation of the sequence verb + agreement marker. The following table illustrates the distribution of both clitization types in texts (EC = endoclitization, CL = enclitization):

(8)

	Vartashen		Nizh		Gospels	
	EC	CL	EC	CL	EC	CL
PRES	358	38	60	0	917	1
FUT:MOD	12	0	32	0	200	0
PAST	66	12	211	0	2198	56
PERF	20	1	4	75	513	0
	456	51	307	75	3828	57

In Nizh, enclitization is not documented with the simple past tense of those verbs that are marked for an endoclitic slot. On the other hand, the 'perfect' (or: resultative) tense/mood strongly favors enclitization. This fact suggests that we have to deal with the emergence of a complementary distribution:

(9)

	Endoclitization	Enclitization
Past	+	−
Perfect	−	+

This distribution suggests that the functional value of the opposition 'endoclitization' vs. 'enclitization' is much higher than assumed by Harris.

Nevertheless, the fact that Harris successfully describes a set of functional conditions for the placement of Udi agreement clitics can be safely termed a 'linguistic discovery'. Harris has opened the door to a truly 'new' perspective for the description not only of the Udi system but also of other systems that, too, show floating agreement clitics (such as some Northwest Iranian languages, e.g. Northern Talysh, see Schulze 2000b). This perspective is characterized by the linkage of syntactic and pragmatic arguments that serve as a descriptive scenario for morphological facts. By 'focusing on focus', Harris shows that the clausal organization in Udi is heavily dominated by non-categorial, but pragmatic features that bounce back on nearly every grammatical 'category' (see Schulze (in press b)). In addition, the pragmatic domain is also present in the ontology of 'words' in Udi: In Chapter 4, Harris gives an illuminating discussion of the degree of 'wordiness' of Udi verbs. She shows that clitization and prosodic features interact to produce incorporated verb forms. As typologically expected, this process is coupled with the gradual dereferentialization of the host, compare:

(10) a. *xinär-en aš-ne   b-esa*
          girl-ERG work:ABS-3SG make-PRES
          'The girl does a/the WORK.'

      b. *xinär-en aš-ne-b-sa*
          girl-ERG work-3SG-make>LV-PRES
          'The girl WORKs.'

Harris shows that verb forms marked for incorporation structurally behave like simplex verbs: They are marked for just those constraints on agreement clitics that are characteristic for simplex verbs. Nevertheless, Harris correctly observes that stem-internal endoclitization is blocked with incorporating verbs:

(11) a. *xinär-en nana-xo   xabar-re-aq'-sa*
          girl-ERG mother-ABL news-3SG-take-PRES
          'The girl asks (lit.: takes news from) mother.'

      b. ?**xinär-en nana-xo   xabar-a-ne-q'-sa*
          girl-ERG mother-ABL news-take-3SG-$-PRES

Note that according to my informants, (11,b) can incidentally be processed, although we would arrive at a different reading ('the girl takes (the) news from (her) mother' > 'the girl is informed by her mother (that…)'). The fact that incorporated elements represent the preferred host of agreement clitics with sentential focus illustrates that agreement is not lexically determined but conditioned by pragmatic factors: Incorporated elements represent the semantic (or: lexical) 'highlight' in complex verbal structures that then end in rather desemantisized 'light verbs' (LV) no longer accessible for endoclitics.

  Both pragmatic and syntactic conditions have given rise to the fact that Udi agreement clitics in parts copy the relational properties of their 'personal' trigger: Accordingly, these clitics are 'bipolar': They identify their host as being in focus and relate it to the referential 'center' of a clause, which then is subcategorized according to the feature 'person' (three persons for both singular and plural). This 'identifying' property of the agreement clitics usually is organized in an accusative way (echoed referents are in subjective/agentive function). In case these referents are demoted to the 'indirect objective' function (with verba sentiendi), the clitic echoes this process at least in the speech of elder people from Vartashen: Here, the 'Dative' clitics are used instead of the S/A-clitics, compare:

(12) a. *xinär-a / xinär-en śum   a-t'u-k-sa*
          girl-DAT / girl-ERG bread:ABS see-3SG:IO-$-PRES
          'The girl sees a bread.'

b. *xinär-en sa   śum   beʕ-ne-ǧ-sa*
girl-ERG one bread:ABS look=at-3SG-$-PRES
'The girl sees (looks at) the bread.'

Harris (pp. 29) calls this constructional pattern 'Inversion'. In Sections 8.2 and 11.4, she illustrates the gradual adjustment of this pattern to the standard transitive pattern claiming that in Nizh, this process has today come to its end. Note, however, that there is evidence that Nizh has preserved an older state than Vartashen. For instance, the language of the palimpsest tends to mark the external actant by the dative, which, however, is echoed by an absolutve/ergative clitic:

(13) *ak'-ey-n   o-ow   bic'-esown*[Act 13,36]
see-PERF2–3SG he-DAT corrupt-MASD
'He saw corruption.'

The assumed 'reformulation' of this constructional pattern relates to the diachrony of Udi morphosyntax (and: morphosemantics). In fact, Harris devotes nearly the totality of Section Three to the diachrony of Udi morphosyntax in order gain an explanatory basis for her analysis. Whereas Chapter Two takes a rule-based perspective, Chapter Three interprets the data in terms of dynamic features. The explanatory section is divided into five chapters: In Chapter 8, the author gives an outline of the morphological history of those forms that are involved in the make-up of Udi clauses: case morphemes and agreement clitics. However, note that the title of Chapter 8.2 ('Inherited Case Marking') is somewhat misleading: Unfortunately, Harris does not talk about historical morphology but illustrates the degree to which the basic case marking patterns in Udi match those of the cognate languages. This perspective is somewhat 'anachronistic', because the functional scope of the modern case system is projected upon older states without taking into account the possibility of functional (and) formal shifts in the case system itself.

Chapters 8.3 and 8.4 take a more 'morphological' perspective: Harris argues that the whole set of Udi personal clitics has "developed from independent pronouns, and this is clearly correct, even though some problems remain" (p. 182). In fact, this claim that reflects standard assumptions on the origin of Udi agreement markers comes true for at least the 'oblique' (Dative and Genitive) of the clitics echoing speech act participants. In addition, the same provenience must be described for the 'first person' in general. However, the claim is not easy to support for the remaining clitics. Both phonetic and morphosyntactic problems heavily weigh upon this hypothesis which is guided

by a perhaps too 'universal' perspective. Recent research has shown that the emergence of Udi agreement clitics is probably conditioned by a rather complex interplay of phonetic extension, paradigmatic adjustment, and syntagmatic reformulation (see below and Schulze (forthcoming)).

In addition to the standard clitics, Udi knows a special clitic to echo a questioned third person singular referent (Q-clitic). So far, this clitic has remained unexplained. Harris is the first to propose a diachronic model that is said to have produced this morpheme (pp. 183–6): Accordingly, she interprets the clitic *-a* as a reflex of the Persian conjunction *yā* meaning 'or' used in yes/no-questions. As an analogon, Harris takes into consideration the German pattern *Sie bleiben hier, oder?* ('Are they staying here?' < 'They stay here, or?'). To this we can add the Turkish pattern *Ahmet var ya* 'Ahmed is there, or (not)', occasionally used in the sense of yes/no-questions. However, it should be noted that neither the German nor the Turkish pattern represent morphologically marked 'questions'. Rather, we have to deal with shortened 'or' constructions that are marked for an additional prosodic pattern that finally produces the yes/no-question. The same is true for the rare instances, in which Udi *ya* (~ *ye*) is used in constructions that superficially show up as either/or-questions. Harris' analysis is based on the assumption that here, *ya* has lost its initial element *y-* when added to a constituent ending in *-i*. In a second step, the resulting element *-a* is said to have been extended to first yes/no-questions, and later to WH-questions. Note that in contemporary Udi, *-a* is no (longer) used with yes/no-questions. Although Harris' proposal is rather attractive, it is difficult to support both from a functional point of view and from the diachronics of Udi. For instance, the reduction of *ya* to *-a* presupposes that *-i*-final constituents were frequent enough to initiate this process. Although it has been often observed that less frequent paradigmatic types can induce reanalysis and extension, we have nevertheless to bear in mind that out of a lexical corpus of 3.856 Udi words liable to host the 'clitic' *-ya*, only 104 are marked by final *-i* (= 2.7 %). In addition, Harris' proposal does not explain why the Q-clitic 'replaces' the standard third person singular clitic, as in:

(14)   a.   *xinär-en śum-ne   uk-sa*
            girl-ERG bread:ABS-3SG eat-PRES
            'The girl eats BREAD.'

       b.   *xinär-en ek'a-a   uk-sa?*
            girl-ERG what:ABS-3SG:Q eat-PRES
            'WHAT does the girl eat?'

Obviously, both clitics stand in complementary distribution (except for the fact that *-a* cannot occur as an endoclitic). This distribution suggests that both element (*-ne* and *-a*) have a common categorial background. This hypothesis allows to relate the two clitics to two different focal strategies in Proto-Lezgian (as they have, for instance, survived in Tsakhur, see Kibrik 1999). Accordingly, *-ne < *-ni* would have been used in so-called 'knowledge-based' (or: cognitive) focal contexts, where *-a* indicated a 'verificational' (or: indexal) focus (see Schulze (forthcoming) for details). Harris' proposal also raises problems concerning certain constructions in the palimpsest which probably show the clitic *-a*, too. It should be born in mind that the Persian disjunction *yā* itself is a relatively recent form that is derived from Pehlevi *aivāp* ('*dwp*) 'or' (~ Middle Persian *ayāb* ('*y'b*)) < Old Iranian *ada-vā-pi* (then-or-emph). In other words: The form *yā* probably did not yet exist by the time the Q-clitic had emerged.

Chapters 9–12 concern the origin of the agreement pattern in Udi. In Chapter 9, Harris relates the endoclitic technique to the history of Udi verbal stem formation. She carefully discusses possible stem types in Early Udi and in Proto-Lezgian. Here, she refers to the standard hypothesis that many of the Udi simplex verbs are marked for so-called petrified class markers: Accordingly, Udi once knew an agreement system that was based on the semantic subcategorization of a referential noun in subjective or objective function. In Udi, this technique is completely lost. Nevertheless, certain verbs such as *bak-* 'to be(come)' probably show traces of this paradigm: Here, the first element *b-* is seen as a reflex of the class marking strategy (**b-* = Class III (basically (grow-up) non-human animates and socially/culturally relevant objects). In addition, a verb stem could be marked by one or two local preverbs (see Harris 2002:197,218). In order to account for the 'endoclitic' slot in Udi verb stems, Harris develops four hypotheses: a) The paradigm of agreement clitics developed in situ: She dismisses this hypothesis, because she assumes that the Udi clitics "have developed from independent personal pronouns" (p.211). b) 'Trapping': According to this hypothesis, endoclisis would have resulted from the univerbation of formally distinct lexical structures (incorporated element + verb). In order to account for root endoclisis, Harris refers to a third hypothesis: c) Simple movement of the 'Person Markers'. Here, it is claimed: "Intramorphemic positions developed as a result of the intermorphemic positions which has come about through univerbation" (p.212–3). d) The fourth hypothesis describes "person markers as the 'slot holder' of Proto-Lezgian C[lass] M[arker]s" (p.213). According to this hypothesis, Udi agreement clitics would have taken over the position of the former class markers that already occurred

in endoclisis. On pp. 215–222, Harris compares the last three hypotheses by referring to the individual history of a number of Udi simplex verbs stems. She concludes that all three hypotheses "play a role in the explanation of the origins of endoclisis in Udi". The cumulation of different hypotheses to explain a superficially 'single' fact perhaps irritates readers who expect to have in hands a coherent scenario of how endoclitization has emerged. However, it is crucial for Harris' argumentation that the procedural aspect involving different types of dynamic features is thought to have an 'endemic' character.

Viewing the fact that Harris' book is entitled 'Endoclitics', the reader might expect a more detailed account of the origins of endoclisis in Udi than given by the author. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the whole process of endoclisis can only be understood in the full context of agreement marking in Udi. In this sense, Harris' argumentation is straightforward and the limitation in the discussion of Udi endoclisis does not result from shortcomings in the book but from the limitations of our knowledge of the prehistory of Udi.

The Chapters 10 to 12 interpret the emergence of the Udi agreement technique in terms of both a formal and a functional diachrony. Harris argues that constituent focus stems from older cleft strategies residues of which are said to be found in Udi sources of the 19th century. To explain this point, let me quote an example from Harris (see pp. 237–240):

(15)   *xunči-muǧ-on xorag-ax-q'un   häzir-b-esa*
       sister-PL-ERG food-DAT2–3PL prepare-DO-PRES
       'The sisters are preparing the FOOD.'

According to the Cleft Hypothesis, such a construction would have resulted from the following pattern (note that here, the past tense is used by Harris not to complicate the matter):

(16) **xorag*   BE [*no   xunči-muǧ-on häzir-b-i*]
       food:ABS COP it:ABS sister-PL-ERG prepare-DO-PAST
       'It is FOOD that the sister are (read: were) preparing.'

The structure in (16) differs from that in (17) in that the 'agreement marker' (said to be an anaphoric pronoun) copied the clefted constituent in just the case form that is expected by the verb in the dependent clause (Objective > Absolutive). Harris argues that the "process of reanalysis (here of (16), W.S.) (…) must have consisted of the reinterpretation of the biclausal cleft as a monoclausal structure" (p. 240). In consequence, "the case of the FocC (= Focused Constituent, W.S.) changed from absolute to that determined by its

grammatical relation in the monoclausal structure. (…) [T]he pronoun/PM changed from agreeing with the FocC to agreeing with the subject" (p. 240–1). Harris extensively dwells upon this rather problematic hypothesis that perhaps is too strongly oriented towards more general assumptions on the fate of Clefts in the languages of the world. Contrary to the preceding section of the origins of endoclitization, Harris does not consider alternative proposals to explain the focal nature of agreement clitics in Udi. This fact renders Chapter 10 somewhat suggestive. Readers familiar with Cleft typologies will probably happily refer to this chapter in order to draw more general conclusions. However, they are deprived from possible alternative perspectives which would orientate them towards a more 'Lezgian-based' argumentation.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that once Harris has taken her position, which is well formulated, theoretically well-grounded, and empirically supported by well-chosen examples, the analysis ends in a (by itself) coherent and (by itself) convincing scenario. It ends in the explanation of the positional constraints on Udi agreement clitics (Chapter 12). Here, Harris pays special attention to those Tense/Mood forms that necessarily call for a clitic and hence disallow constituent focus. The author does not relate these constraints to a single cause but argues that different functional and morphological processes have led to the ultimate result. Most importantly, Harris is the first to suggest an explanation for the fact that the modal verb forms ('subjunctive' in her terms) are always followed by the agreement clitics. Accordingly, the modal forms stem from the reanalysis of sequences marked by a postponed clitic cluster (adhortative particle *q'a-* + clitic), see below. In sum, Harris arrives to design a scenario for the emergence of all those positional constraint that are illustrated in Chapter 2.

All claims and arguments put forward by Harris are easy to read and to follow. In fact, the book is well organized and full of summarizing paragraphs that allow the reader to check whether (s)he has fully understood the by itself rather complicated matter. The main advantage of the book is that it (also) addresses an audience that is not familiar with East Caucasian linguistics. The careful (nearly pedagogical) way of introducing Udi linguistics to the reader makes the book a pleasure to read. It appeals to the analytic interest of the reader and to his/her readiness to re-enact proposals to solve the puzzle of Udi morphosyntax and morphopragmatics. Harris not only tells the thrilling story of how Udi morphosyntax may have emerged, but also constantly helps the reader to locate the analyses in more general perspectives on language function and language change. Nevertheless, Harris' argumentation and analysis raises a number of problems a selection of which will be addressed in the following section.

3. Critique

'Endoclitics' is said to "appeal to theoretical linguists, especially those interested in the interface between syntax and morphology. It will also be of considerable interest to historical linguists and students of Caucasian languages" (from the cover of the book). This quote illustrates the three basic perspectives the author has taken. It is quite natural that specialists in either of these perspectives will look differently at what Harris' analysis is built upon. In my remarks, I will take the perspective of both a Caucasianist and a Typologist and will leave the debate on whether the Optimality Theory perspective taken by Harris in Chapter 7 is appropriate or not to people more qualified than I am. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Harris' theoretical argumentation heavily relies on the correctness of the Udi data that represent the bulk of the empirical background of the book. It is out of question that Harris has very carefully worked with her informants in order to investigate the functional scope of agreement clitics and related phenomena in contemporary Udi. Harris again and again refers to how her informants interpreted and/or reacted upon constructions at issue. In addition, the author has exploited the texts available to her to an extent that is rarely found among typologists. However, the selection and evaluation of the texts referred to by Harris causes certain reservations.

As has been said above, the corpus exploited by Harris does not represent the totality of what is currently available for Udi. Crucially, Harris does not take into consideration the Udi Gospels (Bežanov & Bežanov 1902). In fact, the Gospels represent more than the half of all Vartashen Udi data. Although the Gospels are translated from Russian and thus have to be taken with great care, a closer look reveals that the morphosyntax of the Gospels (not necessarily its syntax) comes close to what Udi has been the like at the end of the 19th century. On the other hand, Harris heavily relies on the texts edited by Schiefner 1863. Most of these texts, however, have a rather obscure history. Again, the bulk of these texts is translated from Russian (and, as for the dialogs even from German (!), it seems). Contrary to the Gospels, we cannot safely describe the degree of authenticity of these texts. As Dirr (1904: v) says, Schiefner's work has to be referred to with great caution. More concrete: "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.). This critique is the more important because Schiefner's texts

are said to stem from the hand of a native Udi (Georgi Bežanov). 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. 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 referrs to Schiefner's texts as representing a 'subdialect'). In fact, the author frequently takes Schiefner as the starting point to pinpoint a given aspect of Udi language change. Here, it would have been wise if Harris had taken a more critical position. Only if we have additional material that stems from other authors of the same period we can judge whether Schiefner's Udi actually reflects 'true' Udi. On the other hand, Harris attributes certain features to the language of Schiefner which are said not to be found in later sources (p. 137). This point is crucial for the interpretation of postverbal clitics followed by the past tense 'clitic' *-i ~ -y*, compare (Nizh; Keçaari 2001: 122)

(17)   *šo-t'-in*   *iz-i*   *ćo-ya*   *oc'-k'-ala-ne-y*
      DIST-REF:OBL-ERG REFL-GEN face-DAT wash-LV-FUT2–3SG-PAST
      'She wanted to wash her face.'

According to Harris, "[T]he fact that the past marker *-y/-i* occurs with words from a variety of form classes indicates that it is a clitic." However, this claim disregards the fact that the element *-i ~ -y* is never added to nouns, adjectives, or adverbs etc. as such, but always to a personal agreement marker that again is cliticized to the lexeme in question (piggybacking).

     The type mentioned in (17) is much more frequent than assumed by Harris and cannot be attributed to an older stage of the language. However, the distribution of sequence tense/mood marker + clitic + past clitic is not even with respect to tense/mood forms: For instance, it is nearly inexistent with the present tense (Harris (p. 27) mentions an 'imperfect' form (present-past) *b-esa-ne-y* (do-PRES-3SG-PAST) '(s)he was doing', which suggests that this tense form, too, allows the sequence -CL-PAST. However, the sequence *-sa*-CL-*i* is documented neither for Vartashen nor for Nizh texts and informants constantly rejected to use it).

     The fact that Harris did not consult the Gospels (which can still be processed by contemporary Udi speakers from Vartashen) has conditioned that the author sometimes arrives at problematic generalizations. For instance, she

postulates a set of monoconsonantal verbs that do not allow endoclitization. Among others, Harris refers to the verb *b-esun* (masdar2) 'to do, make' (stem *b-*). On p.219, she claims that endoclitization does not occur with this verb. However, the Gospels nicely show examples like

(18)   *be-z-sa*
      do-1sg-$:PRES
      'I do'

      be-ne-sa-y
      do-3sg-$:PRES-PAST
      '(S)he did…'

Such forms are rejected by Harris (p.219). However, Matthew 26,10, Mark 6,14, John 8,41; 7,3, 10,38 clear evince the possibility to use endoclitics with the verb *besun.* Also note *be-q'un-sa* (do-3pl-$:PRES) 'they do' in the native tale Rust'am (1888). Accordingly, *besun* is not a monoconsonantal verb, but reflects an older stem **be-_-*'- (-_- is used to indicate the endoclitic slot) that again is derived from a root **-ᵊ a-* (preceded by the petrified class marker **b-*). Hence, we have to eliminate this verb from the list of monoconsonantal verb stems (or: root verbs). The description of the stem structure of such simplex verbs, however, is crucial for the explanation of endoclisis. Here, another weakness of Harris' argumentation becomes obvious: She does not take into account the fact that at least in Proto-Lezgian, but probably also in Early Udi, verb stems were marked for a so-called thematic vowel that was sensitive to transitivity grading (and, most likely, speech act). Thus, we arrive at a different stem structure: It seems to be characterized by a 'strong' vowel following the root consonant and by a weak prothetic vowel (*-ᵊCV-). The final vowel affected the quality of the prothetic vowel which became the 'stem vowel' after a shift of accent had taken place (> *-VC-). Therefore, Udi seems to have developed a strong preference for (verb-internal) centripetal structures that supported the movement of clitics to the left of the root consonant (> CV-_-C ~ V-_-C-).

Some of the reconstructions proposed by Harris importantly affect her general analysis. This holds especially for the origin of the clitics themselves. As has been said above, Harris takes the position that the Udi clitics stem from independent (personal or deictic) pronouns. This hypothesis gives her the clue to establish the Cleft Hypothesis. Without alluding to the problems raised by this hypothesis itself, it must nevertheless be said that the proposal to derive the whole set of clitics from pronouns has so many phonetic and functional shortcomings that it becomes difficult to subscribe to it any longer. Rather, we

should think of an admittedly complicated interplay of older focal strategies based on (local) constituent focus (Proto-Lezgian *-*ni* ~ *-*a*) and the gradual development of personal paradigms that started with the first person (a process that is currently on its way in a number of other Lezgian languages). This assumption allows proposing an alternative scenario that does not make use of the Cleft Hypothesis. A simple example is:

(19)   *xinär-en śum-ne   uk-sa*
       girl-ERG bread:ABS-3SG eat-PRES
       'The girl eats BREAD.'

       < **xinär-en śum-ni   uk-sa*
         girl-ERG   bread-FOC eat-PRES

According to this hypothesis, the 'local' focus marker *-*ni* once had been used with all persons (or: impersonally). In 'egocentric' contexts (involving a first person), it became replaced by the first person pronoun whereas in the second person, the clitic *-*ni* was (later) accommodated to the phonetic shape of the corresponding pronouns (see Schulze (forthcoming) for details). The table in (20) summarizes the relevant processes (Absolutive/Ergative clitics):

(20)

	Palimpsest	Nizh	Vartashen	Early Udi
1SG	*-zu*	*-zu*	*-zu*	*-*zu* (Pro)
2SG	*-nown*	*-nu* ~ *-un*	*-nu* ~ *-un*	*-*ni* x *vun (Pro)
3SG	*-n(e)*	*-n(e)* ~ *-e*	*-n(e)* ~ *-e*	*-*ni*
1PL	*-žan*	*-yan*	*-yan*	*-*žan* (Pro)
2PL	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-nan*	*-*ni* x *van (Pro)
3PL	*-n-ă-ğowr* (Abs)	*-t'un*	*-q'un*	*-*ni* (?)
	-n-ă ğron (Erg)			

I have elaborated this point in order to show that Harris' Cleft Hypothesis takes a perhaps too narrow perspective. The critique of other hypotheses put forward by Harris is perhaps less relevant for the evaluation of the whole scenario described by the author. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the constraints on the use of clitics with certain verbs of motion and certain Tense/Mood forms could be explained in a way different from that proposed by Harris. Incidentally, the reader must have the impression that the author takes the risk to describe unnecessarily complicated processes of language change that

have two types of consequences: On the one hand, some rather specific claims appear to be 'ad hoc'. For instance, Harris has to describe a rather idiosyncratic sound change (*-i-q'a- > *-i-a > -ai) to account for the constraint on the modal ('subjunctive') (see above). However note that in Nizh (as well as the language of the gospels), it is the perfect tense form (-e ~ -ey) which is used with the adhortative particle q'a-, not the Simple Past (-i). The combination q'a- + Simple Past ist typical only for Vartashen. If we bear in mind that Nizh makes frequent use of the Modal form -ay, we arrive at a mismatch between formal analysis (in the sense of Harris) and the possible grammaticalization source.

In a second step, she has to describe a process of reanalysis (> -a-_-i > (which gives her the source for the non-past variant -a-_) to arrive at the actual paradigm of the Udi modal. Neither the sound change, nor the metathesis can be safely described for Udi. In addition, the assumed process of reanalysis is without parallels in Udi. In fact, it is much more simple to assume that the Udi 'Past Modal' (the form on -ai followed by agreement clitics) once represented a modal form of its one (< Conditional), which later (in parts) merged with the past variant of the standard modal in -a (which itself is taken from the old present). This analysis refers to the functional (or: categorial) cluster 'Epistemic < Deontic' which is crucial not only for Udi but also from the point of view of a general theory of Modality.

Likewise unnecessarily complicated arguments are put forward in connection with the analysis of the Udi set of verbs of motion (pp. 222–25): For instance, Harris claims that the placement of the clitic slot in the Udi verb e-_-sun 'to come' has resulted from the reanalysis of the original stem *e(ǧ)- as a preverb (>'hither'). This verb was opposed to the verb ta-_-(i)sun 'to go' (thither). It is difficult to understand why the 'come' verb once lacked a preverb whereas the 'go' verb (said to be derived from the 'come' verb (!)) was marked by such a preverb. Instead, it seems more reasonable to assume that both forms are ultimately derived from a common root (*ǧe- 'move' (intr.)) to which the two preverbs *(h)e- and *ta- had been added. Contrary to Harris 2002: 223, the preverb *e- < *he- is documented outside the set of motion verbs (cf. e-f-sun 'to keep' etc., see Schulze (forthcoming) and rather productive in the language of the palimpsest. The assumption that Udi once knew two basic MOVE-verbs (*ǧe- (intr.) and *če- (trans.)) optionally marked by preverbs considerably simplifies the matter.

Finally, it should be added that unfortunately, Harris rarely refers to language contact as a clue for our understanding of Udi morphosyntax. It is out of question that the paradigm of personal clitics has been both formally and

functionally influenced especially by Northwest Iranian languages, but also by Old Armenian, by Georgian, and, last but not least, by the local varieties of Azeri. The amazing closeness of the Udi paradigm of floating clitics to that of some Northwest Iranian languages can be illustrated with the help of the following example from Northern Talysh:

(21) *palang-i* (…) *əšta*   *ǧəč-əš*   *sipi* *kā*
      tiger-OBL (…) REFL:POSS tooth-3SG white do:PAST:PERF
      'The tiger (…) bared his teeth.' [Schulze 2000b: 74[53]]

The same probably holds for the emergence of Fluid-O structures (also know as 'Differentiated Object Marking', DOM) the understanding of which is crucial for the discussion of focus, as Harris has convincingly shown herself. It cannot be understood without referring to parallel techniques in Classical Armenian, Northwest Iranian, and Azeri (see Schulze (in press c)).

Nevertheless, it has to be stressed that most of the critical remarks and alternative proposals given in this review would not have been possible without the work by Harris. As has been said above, the author is the first who publicly addresses the history of Udi morphosyntax from a diachronic and functional point of view. However, the reader would probably have profited from a more critical presentation of the analyses. Especially those readers who are not trained in the diachronics of Udi (and of the other Lezgian languages) will perhaps take 'granted' much of what Harris says. Consequently, the book is at risk to be used as a source book for those readers interested in typological and theoretical issues. Perhaps it would have been wise to guide the reader through the deep waters of Lezgian linguistics by telling them more about where the risks are and which measures have to be taken in order to avoid to founder. This does not mean that Harris' approach is methodologically wrong. Most likely, what Harris tells us is currently one of the best (and most straightforward) proposals we have at our disposal to approach the typology of endoclitization in Udi. But we should be aware of the possibility that progress in Comparative Lezgian (and Udi) linguistics may arrive at a partially or totally different picture of Udi morphosyntax in earlier times and of how its present structure has emerged. The fact that the functional properties of Udi clitics can be explained by both a Cleft Hypothesis and a hypothesis that refers to Local Focus sufficiently illustrates this possibility. It becomes even more apparent if we keep in mind that the newly discovered palimpsest will probably both refine and contradict to many of the assumptions made so far with respect to the diachrony of Udi morphosyntax. Hence, Harris' analysis should be taken as what it is: A remark-

able and highly professional study in the morphosyntax of Udi that reflects our knowledge of this language at the turn of the century.

The book itself is well done from a formal point of view. The bibliography refers the reader to most of the relevant literature. An index helps him/her to spot points of interest in the text. Unfortunately, the book contains a number of typographical errors that, however, normally do not affect the understanding of Harris' argumentation. In sum, we have to praise the author for having undertaken the enterprise to approach the functional and formal scope of agreement clitics from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. This book will surely help to familiarize typologists and theoreticians with this language, which — as shown by Harris — challenges some of the generalizations current in contemporary linguistics.

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