The Aorist/Perfect distinction in Nizh Udi

- **Udi language:**
  - the southernmost outlier of Nakh-Daghestanian languages
  - a peripheral member of the Lezgic branch
  - quite different from the “Daghestanian standard” (cf. the loss of gender agreement, absolutive/dative DOM, finite subordination strategies etc.)

- **Udi dialects:**
  - Nizh (*Nic, big village in Qabala district of Azerbaijan*)
  - Vartashen (now *Oğuz, center of Oğuz district of Azerbaijan*), with Zinobiani, or Oktomberi subdialect (small Udi village in Kvareli district of Georgia)
  - about a half of Udi speakers (or even more) now lives in Russia

- **Data:**
  - elicitation during fieldwork in Nizh and other places
  - texts recorded by the “Udilang” project (Ganenkov/Lander/Maisak)
  - published written texts (from mid-1990s)

1. **TAM system of the modern Nizh dialect**

- **Three groups of basic indicative tenses:**
  - Past: AORIST, PERFECT (+ PERFECT II, very marginal)
  - Present: PRESENT
  - Future: GENERAL FUTURE, POTENTIAL FUTURE (+ DEBITIVE FUTURE)

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<th></th>
<th>‘be, become’</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT</strong></td>
<td>bak-e</td>
<td>tac-e</td>
<td>p-e</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>AORIST</strong></td>
<td>bak-i</td>
<td>tac-i</td>
<td>p-i</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT II</strong></td>
<td>bak-ijo</td>
<td>tac-ijo</td>
<td>p-ijo</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PRESENT</strong></td>
<td>bak-sa</td>
<td>taj-sa</td>
<td>neχ̄</td>
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<td><strong>POTENTIAL FUTURE</strong></td>
<td>bak-o(n)</td>
<td>tar-o(n)</td>
<td>uk:-o(n)</td>
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<td>uk:-ala</td>
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Three stems:

- **Perfective**:  
  \(\text{tac-} \text{ ‘go away’}, \quad \text{p-} \text{ ‘say’}\)
- **Infinitive**:  
  \(\text{ta(j)-} \text{ ‘go away’}, \quad \text{p-} \text{ ‘say’} \text{ (but irregular Present neχ)}\)
- **Imperfective**:  
  \(\text{tas-} \text{ ‘go away’}, \quad \text{ukː-} \text{ ‘say’}\)

Personal markers (clitics):

- **Argument/adjunct before the verb, when focused:**
  \(\text{šähär-e-ne tac-e} / \text{tac-i}\)
  city-LOC=3SG go.away-PERF go.away-AOR
  ‘s/he went TO THE CITY’

- **Enclitic to the verb form:**
  \(\text{šähär-e tac-e-ne} \text{ ‘s/he went (PERF) to the city’}\)

- **Endoclitic inside the verb stem:**
  \(\text{šähär-e ta-ne-c-i} \text{ ‘s/he went (AOR) to the city’}\)

Asymmetry in the default placement on the verb:

- **Endoclitic-preferring TAM forms**: most of them, incl. AORIST
- **Enclitic-preferring TAM forms**: PERFECT and two futures

Cf. the forms with the preferred position of the personal marker (3SG \(\text{ne} / \text{e}\)):

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Retrospective derivatives: past particle \(\text{ej}\)

- “retrospective” Present = Imperfect
- “retrospective” futures = various “Futures in the past”
- “retrospective” Perfect = Pluperfect
- no Aorist-based Pluperfect (“retrospective aorist”) like \(*ba-ne-k-i-j*\)

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<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT</strong></td>
<td>bak-e-ne-j</td>
<td>tac-e-ne-j</td>
<td>p-e-ne-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AORIST</strong></td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERFECT II</strong></td>
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<td>ta-al-a-ne-j</td>
<td>ukː-al-a-ne-j</td>
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</table>
Cf. similar strategy in Lezgian (verb fin ‘go’), without the gap for Past Aorist:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Past Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Aorist</td>
<td>fe-na</td>
<td>fi-da</td>
<td>fe-na-j</td>
<td>fi-da-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>fe-nwa</td>
<td>fi-zwa</td>
<td>fe-nwa-j</td>
<td>fi-zwa-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Haspelmath 1993: 127)

Historically, the contraction with the postpositional auxiliary/copula in the past.

2. **Aorist in -i: perfective past**

- Functions of the i-form:
  - Aorist (AOR): head of a finite clause, person marker obligatory
  - Perfective Converb (AOC): head of an adverbial clause
  - Perfective Participle (AOP): head of a clause modifying a noun phrase

```
(1) rutː-en ši tːoˁʁoˁl äš-b-sun-a qːajnako eχlät-b-i,
    Ruth-ERG [whose near work-LV-MSD-DAT mother-in-law(DAT) talk-LV-AOC]
p-i-ne, «be zu äš-pː-i očIal-i qːonǯIus-oj cːi
    say-AOR=3SG [today I work-LV-AOP] land GEN landowner GEN name
boaz=xe».
    Boaz=3SG
```

Then Ruth told (= having spoken with) her mother-in-law about the one at whose place she had been working. “The name of the man I worked with today (= the landowner of the land I worked) is Boaz,” she said. (Ruth 2:19)

- **Origin:**
  - probably based on the original perfective converb, maybe with (lost) the auxiliary/copula in the present tense
  - cf. Tsakhur Aorist qari ‘came’ (= PF stem) = converb qari ‘having come’
  - cf. Lezgian Aorist fe-na ‘went’ = converb fe-na ‘having gone’
  - cf. Central Agul Aorist šu-ne ‘went’ < converb šu-na + copula e
  - cf. Qushan Agul Aorist χi-naw ‘went’ < converb χi-na + copula wu

- **Perfectivity:**
  - ‘did in X time’ (temporal NP in the Ergative)
  - ‘did for X time’ (temporal NP in the Absolutive)

```
(2) a. gena-n χib saad-en čöl-ä ez-e-b-i.
    Gena-ERG three hour-ERG field-DAT plough=3SG=LV-AOR
    Gena ploughed the field in three hours.

b. gena-n χib saad ez-e-b-i čöl-ä.
    Gena-ERG three hour plough=3SG=LV-AOR field-DAT
    Gena ploughed the field for three hours {and then he went to have dinner}.
```
Aorist vs. Imperfect

- *‘was doing at reference point’ (Imperfect should be used)
- OK, ‘did after reference point’

(3) zu køj-a qaj-bak-atːan,
I house-DAT return-LV-TEMP

a. ...naa-n za-jnakː χupː➔e boχ-saj.
mother-ERG I-BEN pilaf=3SG cook-PRS=PST

*When I came home, mother was cooking pilaf for me.*

b. ...naa-n za-jnakː χupː➔e boχ-i.
mother-ERG I-BEN pilaf=3SG cook-AOR

*When (after) I came home, mother cooked pilaf for me.*

Narrative main line

- most frequent use of the Aorist in texts
- most frequent form used in this function
- secondary narrative strategies – Present, Potential Future

(4) sa kārām, sa kārām ta=s-c-i maskːv-in-a...
one time one time go.away=1SG=ST-AOR Moscow-O-DAT
tac-i cir-i➔z vnuːkːovo ajrapːortː-a.
go.away-AOC go.down-AOR=1SG Vnukovo airport-DAT
tːejin arc-i p-i➔zu, za šāhār-e taš-a.
DLOC:ABL sit-AOC say-AOR=1SG I:DAT city-LOC take.away-IMP
ta-neːšer-i šāhār-e. šāhār-e cir-i➔z.
take.away=3SG=ST-AOR city-LOC city-LOC go.down-AOR=1SG

*Once, once I went to Moscow... I got off at the Vnukovo airport. I sat (into a taxi) and said: “Take me to the city!” And he took me to the city. In the city I got off.*

“Past for future” (intention/imminence)

(5) {A man saw two donkeys near his fence, and told his wife:}
bezi dostː-ur har-eːtːun, zu ta=z-c-i.
my friend-PL come-PERF=3PL I go.away=1SG=ST-AOR

*My friends have come, so I’m going away (lit. I went).*

(6) {At night, a man heard some noise, took his rifle and shouted:}
uːʁ-n-ā køj-a šu bu-ne, cir-eːqːa-n oqː-a!
loft-O-DAT house-DAT who COP=3SG go.down-PERF=JUSS=3SG down-DAT
te-ne, doʾp-uzːd-i!”
NEG=3SG shoot=1SG=LV-AOR

*The one who sits at the loft, let him come out! If not, I’ll shoot (lit. I shot)!*
3. **Perfect in -e: current relevance / resultative**

NB: The origin is not immediately clear; not identical to any non-finite form.

- **Current relevance**
  - based on *The Perfect Questionnaire* (## 2, 3, 5), published in Dahl (ed.) 2000

(7) {— Can I go for a walk now?}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hun</th>
<th>därs-urχo</th>
<th>b-e=nu?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you.SG</td>
<td>lesson-PL</td>
<td>do-PERF=2SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

— *Have you done your homework?*

(8) {— It seems that your brother does not read books.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he-t:u</th>
<th>görä</th>
<th>ki,</th>
<th>k:al-e-ne,</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>girk-ä</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what-NO-DAT for</td>
<td>PTCL</td>
<td>read=3SG=LV:PRS</td>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>book-DAT</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**k:al-p-e-ne** *šo-t:-in.*

read-LV-PERF=3SG | DIST-NO-ERG

— *Why, he does, he has read this book!*

(9) {— Is our old teacher still alive?}

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<tr>
<th>tā,</th>
<th>šo</th>
<th>p:ur-e-ne.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>DIST:NA</td>
<td>die-PERF=3SG</td>
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— *No, he has died.*

- the most frequent use in texts

(10) {Two men discuss a poem about a local poet’s wife, published in a paper.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>šo-t:-in-al</th>
<th>p-i-ne-ki,</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIST-NO-ERG=ADD</td>
<td>say-AOR=3SG=COMP</td>
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</tbody>
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**k:ā-vak-e?**

what:NA+3SG:Q-be-PERF

p-i-ne, *“pːoj te-n akː-sa, memija kːazet-a***

say-AOR=3SG | PTCL | NEG=2SG | see-PRS | RDP:PLOC | newspaper-DAT

**cam-p-e-ne-ki** iz čuχ | me-tār-e, | pis-e”...

write-LV-PERF=3SG=COMP | own | wife | PROX-ADV=3SG | bad=3SG

*He said: “What happened?” — and (the first one) said: “Don’t you see, here in the paper he has written that his wife is such-and-such, she’s bad...”*

(11) {After a vulture’s attack, birds are looking for the rooster.}

| tac-i | be-t:un-x-sa, | bac-e-ne | sa...
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>go.away-AOC</td>
<td>look=3PL=ST-PRS</td>
<td>go.in-PERF=3SG</td>
<td>one</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**o-j-e | oqː-a | č:ap-p-e-e-ne.**

hay-O-GEN | down-DAT | hide-LV-PERF=3SG

**ney-t:un, “ä, ek-i, čovak-i tac-e-ne** q:i:zilq:uʃ”.

say:PRS=3PL | VOC:M | come-IMP | pass-AOC | go.away-PERF=3SG | vulture

*They look and see: he has climbed into... has hidden under hay. They tell him: “Hey, come here, the vulture has left!”*
Perfect and adverbials

- deictic past-time expressions (12)
- definite time adverbs (13)

(12) neχ-t:un č:ovak-i šü vi q:onši bäl:jär-ä-q:a
say:PRS=3PL pass-AOP night your.SG neighbour Baylar-DAT=COORD
χojid beʾb-ala aslan-a enke:vede-n-en tašer-e-ne.
field look-PART Aslan-DAT NKVD-O-ERG take.away-PERF=3SG
...they say, that last night NKVD has taken your neighbour Baylar, and also Aslan who looks after the rice field.

(13) nizami 1141-ǯi usen-a gänǯä šähär-e... käsib sa amdar-e
Nizami 1141-ORD year-DAT Ganja city-LOC poor one person-GEN
doj-ane nana-χun bak-e.
house-DAT=3SG mother-ABL be-PERF

Nizami was born in 1141 in Ganja city, in a family of a poor man.

- habitual adverbs (14); but the main means of describing habitual situations in the past is certainly the Imperfect

(14) {From a story about the family: Our granny liked to spend time with children.}
kalna-n ene постоянно ājl-oxun futbol-e āči-p-e. (...)
granny-ERG yet permanently child-PL+ABL football=3SG play-LV-PERF
hämišä čur-ec-e-ne-kı jan k:al-k-a-jan.
always want-LV-PERF=3SG=COMP we study-LV-SUBJ=1PL

Granny also used to play football with children. (...) {She was glad when we entered colleges.} She always wanted that we study.

Resultativity

- refers to a present state resulting from a previous event (resultative, or “statal perfect”, in terms of Nedjalkov et al.)
- co-occurs with hälā(ki) ‘still’ and häjsä ‘now’, e.g. ‘s/he is now sitting’, ‘s/he is still sitting’

(15) beʾ-neʾ-k-i, sa ost:ahar darvaz-in bo-n-a
look=3SG=ST-AOR one strong gate-GEN inside-O-DAT
nu-ak-ec-i, sa šavat: χ:ujär-e arc-e.
NEG=see-DETR-AOP one good girl=3SG sit-PERF
izi k:αʾk:αʾp-el-al sa maʾjiʾn dev-e bask:-e.
own knee-SUPER=ADD one black dev=3SG sleep-PERF

He looked and saw: behind a strong gate a wonderful, beautiful girl is sitting. And a black dev (~a giant monster) is sleeping at her lap.
The cow is standing with its mouth open at the place where they sell cattle.

**“Weak” resultativity**

- the stative interpretation – ‘is still V-ing’, ‘is now V-ing’ – is not available, but some interesting adverbial modification is possible
- temporal NP in the Absolutive + 3SG marker (probably a lexicalized clause “it is X time that...”): the period for which the result holds

I have been a widower for a year (lit. it is a year that...).

I have been a widower for a year (~ they are dead since last year).

The letter was written long ago (~ is written since long ago).

as it is written in the Law of the Lord... (Luke 2:23)
Experiential
• (based on The Perfect Questionnaire, ##1, 4)

(23) {Have you read this book?}
yes read-LV-PERF=1SG read=1SG=LV-AOR MED book-DAT
Yes, I have read this book.

(24) bez kalba ak-e-nu (*a=n-k:-i) sal?
my grandfather(DAT) see-PERF=2SG see=2SG=ST-AOR at.all
Have you ever seen my grandfather?

• ‘There lived...’: the initial narrative formula
• occurs rather regularly in the literature (fairy-tales)
• seems to be unusual cross-linguistically¹

(25) bak-e-ne, te-ne bak-e sa čoval.
be-PERF=3SG NEG=3SG be-PERF one sparrow
There lived (lit. there has been, there has not been) a sparrow.

• NB: Perfect is not used in the narrative main line as a non-witnessed past (evidential distinctions do not seem to be grammaticalized in the Udi verb system)

4. Pluperfect: retrospective Perfect
• relevance to the reference point in the past (temporal precedence in the past)

yesterday I school-DAT come-TEMP lesson-PL begin-PERF=3SG=PST
When I came to school yesterday, the lessons had already begun.

(27) {When the enemies came to the village, people hid in the reed.}
young.man-PL-ERG self-PL-GEN war-GEN tool-PL=ADD take-LV-PERF=3PL=PST
Young men had taken their weapons with them.

(28) {When Herod saw Jesus, he was greatly pleased,}
šo-tː-aj barada gele šej-určo-ne i-bak-e-j,
DIST-NO-GEN about much thing-PL=3SG hear-LV-PERF=PST
ič-u-val ak:-sun-e čur-e-sa:j.
self-DAT=ADD see-MSD=3SG want-LV-PRS=PST
for a long time he had been wanting to see him. From what he had heard about him
(lit. he had heard much about him)... (Luke 23:8)

¹ But such use of the perfect occurs, e.g., in Forest Nenets (listed as an unexpected meaning in Khanina & Shluinsky 2013).
• remoteness effect (in comparison to the Perfect)

(29) {Have you ever see my grandfather?}

\text{micːikː \ bak-atːan \ akː-e-zuːj (^{\text{OK}}akː-e-zu)}.

\text{little \ be-\text{TEMP} \ see-\text{PERF}=1\text{SG}=\text{PST} \ see-\text{PERF}=1\text{SG}}

\textit{I have seen him, when I was a boy.}

• cancelled past

(30) \text{me \ ſar \ p:ur-e-neːj, \ beʾjin-e \ bak-i,}

\text{PROX \ son \ die-\text{PERF}=3\text{SG}=\text{PST} \ alive=3\text{SG} \ be-\text{AOR}}

\text{ko \ ačI-e-neːj, \ bašaʾ-ne-c-i.}

\text{MED \ get.lost-\text{PERF}=3\text{SG}=\text{PST} \ be.found=3\text{SG}=\text{LV-\text{AOR}}}.

\textit{For this son of mine was dead and is alive again (lit. rose from the dead); he was lost and is found. (The Parable of the Lost Son; Luke 15:24)}

• cf. the contrast with the Perfect (based on The Perfect Questionnaire, ##80, 81)

(31) ši-n-a \ biqː-e \ (*biqː-eːj) \ me \ kilis-in-ā?

\text{who-\text{ERG}=3\text{SG}:Q \ build-\text{PERF} \ build-\text{PERF}=\text{PST} \ PROX \ church-O-DAT}

\{Near the church:} Who has built this church?

(32) ši-n-a \ biqː-eːj \ (*biqː-e) \ me \ kilis-in-ā?

\text{who-\text{ERG}=3\text{SG}:Q \ build-\text{PERF}=\text{PST} \ build-\text{PERF} \ PROX \ church-O-DAT}

\{Near the ruins of the church:} Who had built this church?

• resultative (state in the past)

(33) hun \ zäng-b-atːan, \ zu \ baskː-e-zuːj.

\text{when \ ring-\text{LV-\text{TEMP}} \ I \ sleep-\text{PERF}=1\text{SG}=\text{PST}}

\textit{When you called me, I was sleeping.}

• narrative setting: usually, the first clause(s) of the story, with the subsequent main line in the Aorist

(34) sa \ išqːar \ čuʁ-oχun \ sagala \ bazar-e-ne \ tac-eːj.

\text{one \ man \ wife-\text{ABL} \ together \ market-\text{LOC}=3\text{SG} \ go.away-\text{PERF}=\text{PST}}

\textit{One man went to the market with his wife...}

(35) {People were planting mulberries – food for the silkworm.}

\text{sun-tː-in \ kamaž-χo \ bul-ur \ oqː-a, \ tum-ur \ al-a-ne}

\text{one-\text{NO-\text{ERG}} \ plant-\text{PL} \ head-\text{PL} \ down-\text{DAT} \ root-\text{PL} \ up-\text{DAT}=3\text{SG}}

\text{bittː-eːj.}

\text{sow-\text{PERF}=\text{PST}}

\textit{And one man planted the trees with their roots up, and heads down...}
5. Negation strategies

- Three negation markers
  - \( ma \) imperatives and commands
  - \( nu \) all non-finite and some non-indicative forms
  - \( te \) indicative clauses; the personal markers always follow this negation marker (cf. \( te \equiv 'NEG=1SG', te \equiv 'NEG=2SG', te \equiv 'NEG=3sg' etc.).

- Two positions for NEG-PersM
  - preverbal negation: \([NEG V]\) the whole verb is in its scope
  - “endoclitic” negation: \( V_{LEX} [NEG V_{TAM}] \) the “functional head” of the verb (i.e. -LV- or -ST-) is in its scope

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>affirmative</th>
<th>preposed NEG</th>
<th>endoclitic NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>bak-e-ne</td>
<td>te-ne bak-e</td>
<td>ba-te-ne-k-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AORIST</td>
<td>ba-ne=k-i</td>
<td>te-ne bak-i</td>
<td>ba-te-ne=k-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT II</td>
<td>ba-ne=k-ijo</td>
<td>te-ne bak-ijo</td>
<td>ba-te-ne=k-ijo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>ba-ne=k-sa</td>
<td>te-ne bak-sa</td>
<td>ba-te-ne=k-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTENTIAL FUTURE</td>
<td>ba-ne=k-o(n)</td>
<td>te-ne bak-o(n)</td>
<td>ba-te-ne=k-o(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL FUTURE</td>
<td>bak-al=e</td>
<td>te-ne bak-al</td>
<td>ba-te-ne=k-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEBITIVE FUTURE</td>
<td>bak-al-a-ne</td>
<td>*te-ne bak-al</td>
<td>*ba-te-ne=k-al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Negation and Aorist
  - cf. the two negative strategies with the verb ‘be’ (which means ‘can’ when takes the infinitival complement)

(36) sa paj高额l mačIuk高额l tıt高额-es te高额ne bak高额-i.
    one part=ADD nowhere run.away-INF [NEG=3SG be=AOR]
    {Some people ran away and hid.} However, one group could not flee anywhere.

(37) ama nep高额y高额-ec高额-es ba高额te高额-ne=k-i高额.
    but fall.asleep-LV-INF be=[NEG=3SG=ST-AOR]
    {He went to sleep early.} but he could not fall asleep.

- Negation and Perfect
  - preverbal negation: \([NEG V]\), the whole verb in its scope (40)

(38) {Your grandson fell in the river and has probably been carried away by it.}
    heq高额ara qa高额v高额-e高额-c高额-e高额-jan高额, te高额jan ba高额x高额a高额-b高额-e高额.
    how.much search-LV-PERF=1PL [NEG=1PL find-LV-PERF]
    However much we searched for him, we have not found him.
also used to contrast an argument/adjunct in the preverbal position (39)

(39) nana-n  jeqː-a  te-ne        žIal-d-e,
    mother-ERG  meat-DAT         [NEG=3SG  boil-LV-PERF]
    kartzʰopː-in-ᵃ-ne        žIal-d-e.
    potato-O-DAT=3SG  boil-LV-PERF

Mother hasn’t boiled MEAT, she boiled POTATOES.

• “endoclitic” negation: \( V_{\text{LEX}} \) [NEG \( V_{\text{TAM}} \)], only the “functional head” in its scope (38)

(40) {You seem to be drunk!}
    tä, äräʔi  uʰ-teʔ-ʃ-k-e.
    no vodka  drink=[NEG=1SG=ST-PERF]

No, I haven’t drunk vodka!

• also used to contrast the lexical part \( V_{\text{LEX}} \) in the “preverbal” position (41)

(41) nana-n  jeqː-a       žIal-te-ne-d-e,  tːatːa-ne-p-e.
    mother-ERG  meat-DAT  boil=[NEG=3SG=LV-PERF]  fry=NEG=3SG=LV-PERF

Mother hasn’t BOILED meat, she FRIED it.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ vulnerably} \\
\text{ The third negation of the Perfect} \\
\text{ • a postposed NEG-PersM with the } i \text{-form (} \ast \text{bak-} e \text{-}\text{te-} n\text{e, only bak-} i \text{-}\text{te-} n\text{e) } \\
\text{ • still, this construction functions like negation of the Perfect, not the Aorist } \\
\text{ • this strategy is not available for other forms}\footnote{With the possible exception of the General Future / Debitive Future (cf. bak-ala te-ne ‘s/he won’t be’); but this case is not quite parallel.} \\
\text{ • most general sentential negation?}
\end{align*}\]

(42) gele  vaχtː-e  va  akː-i  te-zu!
    many  time=3SG  you.SG:DAT  see-AOP/AOC  NEG=1SG

I haven’t seen you since long ago!

(43) ke  šej-a  zu  fikir-b-i  te-zu.
    MED  thing-DAT  I  think-LV-AOP/AOC  NEG=1SG

I haven’t thought about that.

(44) me  našil-χo  hälä  čap-a  tad-ec-i  te-ne.
    PROX  fairy.tale-PL  still  printing-DAT  give-DETR-AOP/AOC  NEG=3SG

These tales have never been published yet.

(45) nana-n  jeqː-a  žIal-d-i  te-ne,
    mother-ERG  meat-DAT  boil-LV-AOP/AOC  NEG=3SG
    eχtː-i  tɔʰɔ的一款  laχ-e-ne.
    take-AOC  near  put.above-PERF=3SG

Mother hasn’t boil meat, she (took it and) put it aside.
6. Summary of (non-trivial) Udi Perfect properties, with an attempt of diachronic explanation

- Perfect has a clear resultative meaning, which historically often precedes the perfect meaning (cross-linguistic path RESULTATIVE > PERFECT)
  → Perfect is a comparatively young form in Udi?
    o no Perfect in Caucasian Albanian palimpsests, acc. to Gippert et al. 2009

- Perfect is synthetic, and there is no corresponding non-finite form in -e, although typologically perfect tends to be a periphrastic construction with a participle or converb and an auxiliary/copula
  → Perfect is a morphologized periphrastic form?

- Perfect is enclitic-preferring
- Perfect has a postpostional negation strategy with i-form
  → all this reflects its original periphrastic structure [V AUX]?
    o auxiliaries are postpositional in Nakh-Daghestanian languages
    o perfects in Tsakhur and Archi: perfective converb + copula
    o perfects in Lezgian and Agul: perfective converb + locative verb ‘be in’

* * *

The possible origin of the Perfect, explaining the properties listed above:

\[
V_{\text{PERFECT}} \leftarrow *\text{VERB}_{\text{PF.CONV/PF.PART}} + \text{AUX} \text{ (copula?)} \\
bak-e(\text{-ne}) \leftarrow *\text{bak-i} + X
\]

The structure of the negative form:

\[
V_{\text{PERF.NEG}} \leftarrow *\text{VERB}_{\text{PF.CONV/PF.PART}} + \text{NEG.AUX} \text{ (copula?)} \\
bak-i \text{ te(\text{-ne})} \leftarrow *\text{bak-i} + \text{te}X
\]

The existence of the third negation of the Perfect might thus reflect an early stage, when the structure of this form was the same as in other Lezgic languages.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – person; ABL – ablative; ADD – additive clitic; ADV – adverb; AOC – aorist converb; AOP – aorist participle; AOR – aorist; BEN – benefactive; COMP – complementizer; COORD – coordinative; COP – existential verb; DAT – dative; DETR – detransitive; DIST – distal demonstrative; DLOC – distal locative; ERG – ergative; GEN – genitive; IMP – imperative; INF – infinitive; JUSS – jussive; LOC – locative; LV – light verb (in complex verbs); MSD – masdar; NA – nominalization, absolutive; NEG – negation; NO – nominalization, oblique stem; O – oblique stem; ORD – ordinal; PART – imperfective participle; PERF – perfect; PL – plural; PROX – proximal demonstrative; PRS – present; PST – past (retrospective); PTCL – particle; RDP – reduplication; SG – singular; ST – part of verbal stem (separated by clitics); SUBJ – subjunctive; SUPER – superessive; TEMP – temporal adverbial; VOC:M – vocative, masculine.
References

Sources for the Udi examples include:

The Udi translations of Bible portions are cited from:
The English translations are from the New International Version.

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