The Udi additive clitic -al in prose discourse
Удинская аддитивная клитика -al в прозаическом дискурсе

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Udi is a North Caucasian (East Caucasian, Lezgic) language spoken in Azerbaijan. The Udi clitic -al carries a range of meanings, depending on the grammatical and semantic context. This paper investigates the function of this clitic in Udi prose discourse and shows that it has the following functions in the area of focus: 1. Marking topic switch between participants salient to a story; 2. Marking additional focus and giving a reinforcing effect; 3. Marking the beginning and end of an episode and drawing attention to changes in storyline by conveying prominence of an event, time, etc. in a larger discourse context.

Key words: Udi, Azerbaijan, North Caucasian, Lezgic, topic switch, focus, discourse, narrative

Удинский язык относится к северокавказской семье (восточнокавказская ветвь, лезгинская группа) и распространен в Азербайджане. Удинская клитика -al выражает целый ряд значений в зависимости от грамматического и семантического контекста. В статье рассмотрены функции этой клитики в удинских прозаических текстах и показано, что ей свойственны следующие функции, связанные с выражением фокуса: 1. Маркирование смены топикального участника среди наиболее значимых протагонистов повествования; 2. Маркирование аддитивного фокуса, сопровождаемое усиливающим эффектом; 3. Маркирование начала и конца эпизода и привлечение внимания к изменениям в сюжете за счет выделения определенного события, времени и пр. в более широком дискурсивном контексте.

1. Introduction

Udi is a North Caucasian (East Caucasian, Lezgic) language spoken mainly in the Oghuz and Gabala districts of Azerbaijan, with also a considerable diaspora outside of the country, especially in Russia. There are two dialects of Udi: the Nij dialect and the Oghuz dialect, also known as Vartashen.

The Udi clitic -al carries a range of meanings, depending on the grammatical and semantic context. Languages spoken in the same geographical region like Persian and Talysh have clitics (respectively *ham* and *an(i)*) with similar, yet not fully correlating functions (Paul, ms.). This article investigates the function of the Udi clitic -al.

The Udi examples with source reference are taken from Harris' and Schulze's works, and from Udi stories by Keçaari and Ant'onova (see bibliography). The examples from the Nij dialect without reference that are used to evaluate (un)grammaticality have been gathered in the context of my Udi language learning in 2014–2016, in Baku and Nij. The examples are cited in the current version of the Udi orthography as used in Nij. A list of abbreviations is included at the end.

2. General properties of -al

2.1 Overview

The Udi marker -al has the form of an affix and cannot appear on its own, it only imparts meaning when attached to a host. It can be attached to words of a wide variety of types: verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and postpositions. It can thus be properly characterized as a clitic [Harris 2002: 102]. The basic function of -al is that of addition, i.e. it marks a chunk of information which is being added to the information conveyed

by the speaker earlier. In this respect, *-al* is a representative of a cross-linguistically common type of additive markers, as described recently by Forker [2016].

   In the following examples, various positions and meanings of *-al* are illustrated: in (1a), it is hosted by a postpositional phrase 'upon them', in (1b) it is hosted by the ergative subject 'chicken', in (1c) by a numeral 'one' (here, the combination has an idiomatic meaning), and in (1d) by an adjective within a noun phrase.

(1) a. Əylux   nep'ax-t'un-iy,   iç-oğo-y
       children sleep-3PL-PST   REFL-PL-GEN
       loxol-xun-**al**   but'-e-y.
       upon-ABL-**ADD**   covered-3SG-PST
       'The children were asleep, **even** covered.' ["Tarak'ala xaxal"; Keçaari 2001: 125–126)

    b. K'ok'os'-en-**al**   p'urum   bur-e-q-sa
       chicken-ERG-**ADD** again   begin$_1$-3SG-begin$_2$-PRS
       q'ızıl-i   qoq'la   lax-s-a.
       gold-GEN   egg   lay-INF-DAT
       '**As for the chicken**, [she] began to lay golden eggs again.' ["Q'ızıli qoq'la"; Ant'onova 2012: 35]

    c. Sa-**al**   t'ia-ne   bĕğ-sa   nə-əl   amdar-xo
       one-**ADD** there-3SG see-PRS nor-ADD   person-PL
       te-ne   bu,   nə-əl   śaś.
       NEG-3SG   BE   nor-ADD thorn
       '**At once** there he sees that there are neither people, nor thorns.'[1] [Harris 2002: 57)

    d. mis'ik'-**al**   k'oj
       small-**ADD** house
       '**and also** a small (FOCUS) house'

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[1]   Rendering as given by Harris. Personally, I would render this Udi sentence in English as follows: "**Once more** he looked in that direction: there are no people, nor thorns." To make a good choice between these variants, the context of this sentence is needed.

As becomes clear from the examples above, *-al* conveys a variety of meanings: 'even' (1a), 'as for' (1b), 'at once' or 'once more' (1c, together with *sa* 'one'), 'and also' (1d, and also a *small* house as opposed to a big house), which seem to point to focus. In this article, 'focus' is understood in a broad way: referring to a participant's activation state, salience of a participant, event, or speech, and general prominence in a discourse context. In Udi, sentence level focus is also expressed by position and by the placement of the person marker, which is attached to the constituent in focus. We will take a brief look at this below.

Note that the clitic can appear as *-l* after a host ending in a vowel: e.g. *t'et'iya* 'there' becomes *t'et'iya-l*. Other variants of *-al* are *-əl*, as in some cases [a] changes to [ə], depending on the preceding vowel, e.g. *bədən* 'body' becomes *bədən-əl*. An epenthetic [y] or [v] can be inserted in intervocalic contexts: *arane* 'between' becomes *arane-yal*, *zu* 'I' becomes *zu-val*.

2.2 Focus by position

The default word order in Udi is S/A O V:

(2) a. vi   xunçi har-e-ne
        you.GEN   sister come-PERF-3SG
        'Your sister has come.' [Schulze 2001/2]
    b. vi   xunçi-n-en   mal-lux tov-ne-d-i
        you.GEN sister-OBL-ERG good-PL sell-3SG-LV-AOR
        'Your sister sold the goods.' [Schulze 2001/2]

A constituent in focus would normally appear in the slot before the verb. Consider this example:

(3) Bez   baba-n   q'al-l-ux   sa
     I.GEN   father-ERG lamb-OBL-DAT2 one
     me-n-en-e   šam-p-i
     knife-OBL-ERG-3SG cut-LV-AOR
     'My father slaughtered the lamb **with a knife**.' [Schulze 2001/2]

In the example above, the fact that father slaughtered the lamb *with a knife* is stressed. The word 'knife' both occupies the slot before the verb (default would be to place it before the object) and has the 3SG person marker attached to it (see 2.3). However, for putting the focus on the fact that father slaughtered *a lamb* (as opposed to a chicken), the word 'lamb' needs to occupy the default object slot before the verb ('My father with-a-knife a lamb slaughtered') but to distinguish this from the default and convey focus, another focus marker like *-al* would be attached to 'lamb'. Note that in this case the 3SG person marker would be attached to the verb.

2.3 Focus marked by placement of the person marker

Example 4 below shows how Udi can express focus by attaching the person marker to the constituent in focus:

(4) a. Zu šum   u-za-k-sa.
       I   bread   eat$_1$-1SG-eat$_2$-PRS
       'I am **eating** bread.'
    b. Zu šum-ez   uk-sa.
       I   bread-1SG eat-PRS
       'I am eating bread.' (DEFAULT)
    c. Zu-z šum   uk-sa.
       I-1SG bread eat-PRS
       '**I** am eating bread.'

For a verb like *uksun* ('to eat'), 4b would be the default SOV (there is no emphasis on the action of eating itself); in transitive clauses, the person marker by default attaches to the object. However, as becomes clear from these examples, the person marker can be attached to other elements if focus is required. In these cases, the word order does not need to be changed.

Harris shares this view in her *Endoclitics and the origins of Udi morphosyntax* [2002: 63] as she concludes that the person

marker in Udi attaches to a constituent that is in focus (like question words, answers to questions, and negators).[2]

Harris's exposition of placement of person markers in relation to focus in Udi is thorough and helpful. However, no special attention is given to the function of the clitic -al in relation to the placement of the person marker as a focus marker. Harris glosses -al as an additive conjunction 'and, also', which indeed covers one of the functions of -al as we will see below.

(5) Me-t'-in-**al**   burim   sa   yärävgä
    PROX-OBL-ERG-**ADD** apparently one   bag.ABS
    q'əzəl-le   haq'-sa
    gold.ABS-3SG   take-PRS
    'She also, apparently takes a **bag of gold**.' [Harris 2002: 44, example 1]

Harris uses example 5 to state that 'bag of gold' is in focus, which indeed is the case if just looking at the placement of the 3SG person marker. Yet in this particular sentence *met'in* ('this one', 'she') is hosting the clitic -al which could be conveying focus, too (to determine with certainty whether focus is conveyed rather than a mere additive function, a context would be needed for this sentence). However, as mentioned before, in transitive clauses the object hosts the person marker by default. Since the verb 'take' naturally points to what is taken, it would be more true to consider it default for the person marker to attach to 'bag of gold' rather than this being a deliberate expression of focus; 'bag of gold' is also in the default object position. In this

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[2]   Harris also points out that the complex unit composed of focused constituent in argument-focus + person marker generally occurs immediately before the verb. Preverbal position in argument-focus structures therefore can be considered as another way of marking focus. (Note that in SOV constructions the object is by default placed before the verb, so this does not imply focus; only other constituents in a preverbal slot are in focus).

sentence, *met'in* seems to be marked for topic switch by *-al*, which communicates that this new character is now prominent in the story. As we will see later, *-al* does not necessarily always have only an additive function 'also, too, just like the other person mentioned in the preceding context' but can also convey other meanings depending on discourse context. A similar case of *-al* marking prominence of a participant is shown in examples 6a and 6g below:

(6) a. Zu-**val** šum-ez   uk-sa.
       I-**ADD** bread-1SG   eat-PRS
       '**I** am eating bread.'
       (or, depending on context, *-al* expresses additive function:
       'I, too, am eating bread')
       (*'I, too, am eating **bread**.')

   b. Ṣo-t'-in   namak'-e   yaq'-a-b-sa.
      DIST-OBL-ERG   letter-3SG   road-DAT-do-PRS
      'He sends a letter.'

   c. Ṣo-t'-in-**al**   namak'-e
      DIST-OBL-ERG-**ADD**   letter-3SG
      yaq'-a-b-sa.
      road-DAT-do-PRS
      '**It is he who** sends a letter.'
      (or, depending on context, *-al* expresses additive function:
      'He, too, sends a letter')
      (*'He, too, sends **a letter**.')

   *d. Ṣo-t'-in   namak' yaq'-a-ne-b-sa
       DIST-OBL-ERG   letter   road-DAT-3SG-do-PRS

   e. Ṣo-t'-in   namak'-**al**   yaq'-a-ne-b-sa.
      DIST-OBL-ERG   letter-**ADD** road-DAT-3SG-do-PRS
      'He sends **also** the letter.'

   *f. Ṣo-t'-in   namak'-**al**-e   yaq'-a-b-sa.
      DIST-OBL-ERG   letter-**ADD**-3SG road-DAT-do-PRS

   g. Ek'a-te   Giorgi-n-en   a-t'u-k'-e
      what-REL   Giorgi-OBL-ERG   see$_1$-3SG-see$_2$-AOR2

muzeum-a,   zu-**val** běš   a-za-k'-e.
museum-DAT   I-**ADD** before see$_1$-1SG-see$_2$-AOR2
'What Giorgi saw in the museum, **I, too,** had seen earlier.' [Harris 2002: 44, example 21e]

6b has default word order and placement of person marker; 6a and 6c however show prominence of the subject by using -*al*; the person marker placement is again default and therefore does not convey particular focus. Note that in both 6a and 6c -*al* could have an additive function rather than expressing focus; this depends on context. To establish if -*al* truly conveys focus and does not just express an additive function, I investigate the use of -*al* in discourse context in section 3. Example 6d is ungrammatical since the person marker has to be on 'letter' in combination with 'sent'. This is solved in 6e, where 'letter' is host to the clitic -*al* and the person marker stays attached to the verb, rather than to 'letter'. However, in this example 'letter' is definite since -*al* here implies that this letter has been mentioned before and the action of sending is a continuation of something that happened earlier.

We see that there are several ways focus is expressed in Udi: one expressed by the placement of the person marker, the other expressed by non-default word order. Focus vs. background can be marked additionally by using a clitic like -*al*.[3] Schulze [2001/2] indeed recognizes this difference by stating that the placement of the person marker indicates *bound* focus (defined as "a kind of focus that is necessarily related to a referent in S=A function"), but that *free* focus is indicated by -*al*, being either emphatic or contrastive.

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[3]   In Udi, -*al* is not the only clitic that can be used for this purpose. There is also a contrastive topic clitic *isə*, which is the adversative equivalent of -*al* (as a topic switch marker). However, -*al* is used for additive focus or topic switch, whereas *isə* always marks a contrastive topic (see also below).

Schulze [2001/2] gives an example of the emphatic use of *-al*:

(7) Zu xe-zu ŭğ-i šum-ax-**al**
    I water-1SG drink-AOR bread-DAT-**ADD**
    u-zu-k-i
    eat$_1$-1SG-eat$_2$-AOR
    'I drank water and ate the **bread**.' [Schulze 2001/2]

Schulze does not give further context for this sentence, which makes it difficult to judge why 'bread' would be in focus here. The following example makes this use of *-al* clearer:

(8) Oçal-in ço günəx-i q'a bi-sun-i
    world-GEN face sin-GEN CONJ die-MSD-GEN
    ga-ne bay. Amma Buxačuğ-on hələ-**l**
    place-3SG be.AOR but God-ERG still-ADD
    insan-xo çark'est'un-e çur-e-sa-y
    person-PL save+MSD-3SG want-LV-PRS-PST
    'The world had become a place of sin and death. But
God **still [even now]** wanted to save the people.' [Danakari, Şıxmalova 2017]

The considerations above point to the clitic *-al* being used as discourse marker, and that sentence level focus is mainly conveyed by word order and placement of the person marker. For this reason we proceed to investigate if and how *-al* functions as a discourse marker.

3. Use of the clitic *-al* in prose discourse

To see how the clitic *-al* functions in prose discourse, I have analysed several prose texts. The main findings are presented and explained below.

3.1. The clitic -al marks topic switch between participants in a story

In the course of a story, *-al* is used for topic switch between different participants. Below are a few lines from the story "The walking sieve". This story is about an elderly lady, her daughter-in-law and four granddaughters, who live together in a house. One night, when all are asleep, the daughter-in-law wakes up because of a strange sound. She notices the sound comes from under a sieve that has been turned upside down, and what is more, the sieve is moving through the house! She screams in fear, waking up the girls:

(9) Bin-ey   səs-əxun   xuyər-mux   muğur-t'un
    daughter.in.law-GEN voice-ABL   girl-PL   awake-3PL
    bak-i. Əyl-oğ-on-**al**   xaxal-i
    be-AOR child-PL-ERG-**ADD**   sieve-GEN
    tara-p-sun-a   ak'-i   bur-t'un-q-i
    walk-LV-MSD-DAT   see-AOR   begin$_1$-3PL-begin$_2$-AOR
    s'irit-b-s-a.   Kalna   muğur-bak-i
    outcry-DO-INF-DAT   grandmother   awake-be-AOR
    p-i-ne: "Axır, ay bin,   ay bal-oox,
    say-AOR-3SG Now   oh daughter.in.law oh little.one-PL
    mo   he   s'irit'-e?   He-t'-aynak'   te-nan
    PROX.ABS what outcry-3SG what-OBL-BEN NEG-2PL
    bar-e   bask'-a-yan?"   Bin-en-**al**,
    let-LV:PRS sleep-SUBJ-1PL daughter.in.law-ERG-**ADD**
    xuyər-moğ-on-**al**   xaxal-a-t'un   ak'-es-t'-i
    girl-PL-ERG-**ADD**   sieve-DAT-3PL   see-INF-CAUS-AOR
    oşa-l   p-i-t'un: "Sa bĕğ-a
    then-ADD say-AOR-3PL one look-IMP.2SG
    xaxal hetər-ə   tara-ne!   İz   oq'a
    sieve how-3SG:Q walk-LV:PRS REFL.GEN under
    şeytan-e   bu." Kalna-n   xaxal-a
    devil-3SG BE grandmother-ERG sieve-DAT

ak'-i   bur-e-q-i   axšum-b-s-a.
see-AOR begin₁-3SG-begin₂-AOR laugh-LV-INF-DAT
"Vəx   zu hik'ə   uk'-a-z!   **Zu-val**
you.PL.DAT I   what.ABS say-SUBJ-1SG I-ADD
nex-su   he-t'-aynak'-t'un   haray-e."
say.PRS-1SG what-OBL-BEN-3PL scream-LV:PRS

'The girls woke up from the voice of the daughter-in-law. When **the children** saw the sieve walking they began to scream. The grandmother woke up and said: "Now, oh daughter-in-law, oh little ones, what is this screaming about? Why did you not let us sleep?" Both **the daughter-in-law** and **the girls** pointed to the sieve and said: "Just look how the sieve is walking! There's a devil underneath." Grandmother saw the sieve and began to laugh. "I'll tell you something! **I** will say what you've been screaming about."' ["Tarak'ala xaxal"; Keçaari 2001: 125–126]

In the story above we see how -*al* is used for topic switch, and in the last occurrence in combination with contrastive focus. The grandmother is introduced into the scene, but 'grandmother' does not host the clitic -*al* until she takes the lead: "*I* will say what you've been screaming about", and thus marks a development in the storyline.

A similar case is found in the story "The three axes". There is topic switch between three participants: a mother, her son, and a helpful stranger. The story starts with a poor woman who has a son and works hard to provide for him. Then the son becomes the main actor, shown by use of -*al* (see example 10 below). The son wants to help the mother earn money and goes to the forest where he cuts down trees to sell the wood. One day he loses his axe as it slips out of his hands and falls into the water. A stranger appears on the scene and asks him why he is crying. The boy tells him what has happened. Then the stranger becomes the main actor, shown by -*al*; he takes the lead as he goes into the water to look for the axe:

(10) Şo-t'-in   ğar-a   nex-e: "Ay bala,
     DIST-OBL-ERG boy-DAT say.PRS-3SG oh   little.one
     he-t'-aynak'-en   ŏnŏ-ne?   Ğar-en   t'e
     what-OBL-BEN-2SG cry-LV:PRS boy-ERG DIST
     işq'ar-a   exlət'-e-b-sa,   işq'ar-en-**al**
     man-DAT talk-3SG-DO-PRS man-ERG-ADD
     şo-t'-o   nex-e: "Ma ŏnŏ-p-a,
     DIST-OBL-DAT say.PRS-3SG NEG cry-SAY-IMP.2SG
     həysə zu vi   tavar-a   bĕğĕ-b-i
     now   I   you.GEN axe-DAT find-DO-AOR
     c'evk'-o-z."
     take.out-FUT-1SG

   'He said to the boy: "Oh little one, what are you crying
for?" The boy talked to that man, **the man** said to him: "Don't cry,
now I will find your axe and take it out." ["Xib tavar"; Ant'onova
2015: 49–50]

   Note that -*al* is only used at the moment that the man takes
the lead and begins to act and change the course of events, rather
than at the moment the man first speaks.
   The use of -*al* for marking topic switch is particularly
distinctive at the beginning of stories. Presentational focus of
the first participant in a story is usually conveyed by *sa* ('one,
a certain'). When a new participant is introduced, -*al* is generally
used to focus on this new participant. An example of this is the
story "New year":

(11) Təzə usen har-i   p'ap'-e-ne.   Ğe   nana
     new year come-AOR reach-PERF-3SG today mother
     əş-ə   tağ-ala-te-ne.   Nana-n   paxlava,
     work-DAT go-FUT-NEG-3SG mother-ERG baklava
     t'ort-e   bast'a.   Zu-**val** çur-ez-ś-i
     cake-3SG bake+PRS I-ADD   want-1SG-LV-AOR
     nana   kömǝy-b-a-z.
     mother   help-DO-SUBJ-1SG

'New year has come. Today mother does not have to go to work. Mother will bake baklava and cake. **I** want to help mother.' ["'Təzə usen"; Ant'onova 2012: 29]

This example shows how the first participant, mother, is the prominent character until the second participant (I) is introduced and becomes the main actor; therefore *-al* is attached to the 1SG pronoun. Of course in this case mother does not need to get introduced with *sa* ('one, a certain'), since in this context 'mother' is a definite term of itself; the child that tells the story has only one mother.

Another example of consecutive participant introduction is found in the story "The three axes" at which we looked before (10). The first participant is a woman, introduced by *sa* ('one, certain') which conveys presentational focus. She remains the prominent character, even when the son is first mentioned. It is only when the son begins to play the main role in the story, that *-al* is used to mark this.

(12) Ba-ne-k-sa   te-ne-bak-sa   sa   çuux-e
    be₁-3SG-be₂-PRS NEG-3SG-be-PRS one woman-3SG
    bak-sa, izi-**yal**   sa   ğar-e   bak-sa.
    be-PRS REFL.GEN-ADD one son-3SG be-PRS
    Me   çuux   gele kəsib-e   bak-sa.
    PROX woman very poor-3SG be-PRS
    T'iya-miya əş-p'-i   iz
    here-there work-DO-AOR REFL.GEN
    əyel-ə-ne   bĕğ-sa.   Əyl-en-**al**
    child-DAT-3SG look-PRS child-ERG-ADD
    kala-bak-sun-en   çalış-e-bak-sa   iz
    big-be-MSD-ERG   try-3SG-be-PRS REFL.GEN
    nana   köməy-b-a-ne.   Şo-t'-in
    mother help-DO-SUBJ-3SG DIST-OBL-ERG
    c'ələy-əxun uš   k'as'-p'-i   toy-d-i
    forest-ABL   wood cut-LV-AOR sell-LV-AOR

təngə-ne   q'azainş-b-sa.
money-3SG   earn-DO-PRS
'Once upon a time there was a certain woman, **and she** had a son. This woman was very poor. She worked here and there to care for her child. **The child**, when he was growing up, was trying to help his mother. He cut and sold wood from the forest and earned money.' ["Xib tavar"; Ant'onova 2015: 49–50]

It must be noted that a newly introduced participant *only* hosts the clitic -*al* when:

1) the new participant is actually salient to the discourse, and

2) when no other discourse marker is used for expressing prominence (for example *sa* conveying presentational focus).

At the beginning of the anecdote "The walking sieve" several participants of the story are introduced: an elderly lady, her daughter-in-law, and the daughters of the daughter-in-law. All will play a role in the story. Then it is mentioned that the son of the elderly lady, the husband of the daughter-in-law, has gone to fight in a war. He does not play an actual role in the story, the statement only serves to explain why there is no further mention of the son/husband/father in this story:

(13) Nex-t'un   mani-sa   aiz-e   sa   q'oja
      say.PRS-3PL which-INDEF village-DAT one old
      q'aynak-o,   sa   bin   sa-al
      grandmother-BE.3SG one daughter.in.law one-ADD
      bin-ey**-al**   bip' xuyər
      daughter-in-law-GEN**-ADD** four girl
      əyəl-t'ux-bu-y.   Bin-ey
      child-3PL:POSS-BE-PST   daughter.in.law-GEN
      işq'ar-a   dav-in-a-t'un   taşer-e-y.
      husband-DAT   battle-OBL-DAT-3PL take-PERF-PST
      K'oj-in   bütüm əş-urxo mand-e-ne-y
      house-GEN   all   work-PL stay-PERF-3SG-PST

bin-ey   ozan-e.
daughter.in.law-GEN   neck-DAT

'They say that somewhere in a certain village there was an old grandmother, a daughter-in-law and **the daughter-in-law** had four little daughters. The husband of the daughter-in-law had been taken to war. All the house chores were the responsibility of the daughter-in-law.' ["Tarak'ala xaxal"; Keçaari 2001: 125–126]

Not only does the man not play a part in the story, after the statement that he went to war the story continues by saying that the daughter-in-law had to do all the work. The statement about the husband only serves to give background information about the daughter-in-law, as does the statement that she has four daughters. Throughout this passage, the daughter-in-law remains the main character.

The following example, taken from the beginning of the story "Dragonfly and ant" shows how a *contrastive* topic is not marked by -*al* but with the contrastive topic clitic *isə*. Note that *isə* has been borrowed from Azeri. Whereas *isə* overlaps with -*al* in the sense that both can indicate topic switch, it conveys a sense of contrast, while -*al* can never indicate contrast.

(14) Xuritur-en   yəy-n-ul   iĭ-eynak'
     ant-ERG   summer-OBL-SUPER   winter-BEN
     yem-e   gir-b-e.   Sal   sa   dəyğə
     food-3SG   gather-DO-PERF   at.all   one   minute
     dinc   arś-i   te-ne.   Amma   cırcırmin-en
     rest   sit-AOR   NEG-3SG   but   dragonfly-ERG
     isə   mĕğ-e-p-e.
     TOP   sing-3SG-LV-PERF
     'The ant gathered food for winter in summer. It didn't sit still for one minute. **But as for the dragonfly** – it was singing.' ["Cırcırma saal xuritur"; Ant'onova 2012: 30]

Here we see how the dragonfly is introduced as the second participant and is immediately contrasted with the ant by the use of *ama* ('but'). Moreover, 'dragonfly' hosts the contrastive topic clitic *isə*, which is the adversative equivalent of *-al* (as a topic switch marker) and thus matches the use of 'but'. The use of *-al* would not be suitable here; *-al* is used for additive focus or topic switch, whereas *isə* always marks a contrastive topic. However, note that in example 9 the contrastive constituent is left implicit and therefore *-al* can be used: '**I** will tell you what you've been screaming about!'.

The clitic *-al* is also used at the end of many stories. Often the narrator relates with a summary statement what happened to each main participant in the story. When there is more than one participant about whom a concluding statement is made, *-al* is used for topic switch.

An example of this can be found in the story "The golden egg". In this story we meet the poor girl Zina, who despite her poverty is always ready to help others. God is pleased with her and therefore gives her a chicken. The chicken lays a golden egg every day and Zina and her mother become rich. Riches change Zina for the worse, and she is no longer helping the poor. God is displeased and punishes Zina by making the chicken lay normal eggs. Zina shouts at the chicken and beats it. The next day God comes to tell Zina that it's not the chicken's fault, but a punishment for Zina's own sins. Zina remembers her own previous poverty, understands her mistake and asks for forgiveness. God then gives her another chance with the chicken. The story concludes:

(15) K'ok'os'-en-**al**   p'urum bur-e-q-sa
       chicken-ERG-**ADD** again   begin$_1$-3SG-begin$_2$-PRS
       q'ızıl-i   qoq'la lax-s-a.   Zina-n-**al**
       gold-GEN egg   lay-INF-DAT Zina-ERG-**ADD**
       bur-e-q-sa   kəsib-xo kömey-b-s-a.
       begin$_1$-3SG-begin$_2$-PRS poor-PL   help-DO-INF-DAT

'**As for the chicken**, [she] began to lay golden eggs again. **As for Zina**, [she] began to help the poor.' ["Q'ızılı qoq'la"; Ant'onova 2012: 35]

This use of -*al* not only serves to switch between topics, but also connects the concluding statement to the preceding context and marks the end of an episode (in this case the entire story).

So far, we have seen how the clitic -*al* works on the discourse level and that on the clausal level, Udi mainly uses placement of the person marker and non-default word order for focus. But as noted before, one could argue that -*al* also functions on the clausal level when it indicates an additive function: between propositions with the same predicate and different subjects (see example 6g above and 16 below), or propositions with different predicates and the same subject.

(16) Rayon-in   işk'ol-xo   k'al-k'-ala
     region-GEN   school-PL   read-LV-PTCP
     əyl-ox   usum-usum   Nourgöl-ə
     child-PL   often   Nour.lake-DAT
     tara-p-s-a-t'un   tay-sa.   Bez
     walk-LV-INF-DAT-3PL   go-PRS   I.GEN
     viçi-**yal**   taś-e-ne.
     brother-**ADD**   go-PERF-3SG
     'The children studying at the schools in the region often go out to Lake Nour. My **brother also** went.'

Indeed -*al* serves here to convey an additive function. However, note that after this the story continues telling what the brother saw at Lake Nour and what happened while he was there. The clitic -*al* therefore not only marks the additive here (the children, and my brother *too*), but also functions to introduce a new participant (topic switch) and mark the beginning of a new episode.

So the *-al* clitic serves in the discourse context to mark topic switch between participants throughout the entire story, especially where introduction of new participants marks the beginning of a new episode, and at the end of an episode. Yet topic switch does not account for all uses of *-al* in stories. This clitic can also be attached to other elements, as we will see below.

3.2. The clitic -al marks a reinforcing additive function

The *-al* clitic can be used to put focus on elements that are not story participants. Consider the following examples.

In the "Walking Sieve" story we read how the daughter-in-law wakes up to a strange sound and goes to check on her children to see if everything is in order; see example (1a). The clitic *-al* here serves to stress that the children were not only asleep, even the blanket was in order (additive focus).

Below is a similar example from the same story, when the daughter-in-law realizes that the strange sound is coming from the sieve:

(17) Xaxal gəh   ta-ne-sa-y,   gəh
     sieve a.little go-3SG-PRS-PST a.little
     çur-e-ne-y.   Xaxal-i   oq'a-xun-al
     stand-3SG-LV:PRS-PST sieve-GEN under-ABL-**ADD**
     səs-e   c'ey-sa-y...
     sound-3SG come.out-PRS-PST
     'The sieve walked a little, then stopped for a while. **And
from under** the sieve came a sound...' ["Tarak'ala xaxal"; Keçaari
2001: 125–126]

In this example, the first strange thing that is described is the fact that the sieve is moving; the second strange thing is a sound coming from underneath it. The clitic *-al* conveys an additive function here and is also reinforcing the overall effect.

Another example of this reinforcing effect is found in "The legend of the crowing rooster". This legend tells about a battle that

Timur the Lame (a.k.a. Tamerlane) fought in the Udi village Nij. In the first lines of the legend, Timur is introduced as a fearsome conqueror.

(18) Ömür-e   dava-ğo-y   boş-e
     life-DAT   battle-PL-GEN   in-3SG
     c'ovak'-es-t'-e-y.   Sal   sa   kərən-**əl**
     pass-INF-CAUS-PERF-PST at.all one   time-**ADD**
     te-ne   c'ax-e-ś-e-y.
     NEG-3SG   get.lost-3SG-LV-PERF-PST
     'His entire life was spent fighting battles. He **never ever**
lost one.' ("Dadali ele legenda"; Keçaari 2001: 116–118]

   Note that the sentence would also be grammatical without -*al*; in that case, the meaning would be 'He never lost one' rather than 'He never ever lost one'.

   In this same legend, the reinforcing effect is conveyed by repetitive use of -*al* when the narrator describes how Timur's armies come closer and closer to Nij village. The repetitive use of -*al* points to more than a mere connective or additive function:

(19) Ği-nurxo-y   sun-t'-ust'a   Teymur-i   q'oşun
     day-PL-GEN   one-OBL-AD   Timur-GEN   army
     Qəbəl-in   pervar-e-al   har-i
     Gabala-GEN   region-DAT-**ADD**   come.-AOR
     c'er-e.   Usunluğen   şo-t'-ay
     come.out.AOR-3SG   soon   DIST-OBL-GEN
     afata   bak-ala   ayiz-muğ-o-al
     around   be-PART   village-PL-DAT-**ADD**
     bi-t'un-q'-i.   Teymur-i   kiy-e
     take$_1$-3PL-take$_2$-AOR Timur-GEN   hand-DAT
     koft'-i   ayiz-muğ-oxun   soğo-al
     take-AOR   village-PL-ABL   one.ABS-**ADD**
     Nij-e-y.
     Nij-3SG-PST

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'In one of those days Timur's army came to **the [very] town** of Gabala as well. Soon they had taken the **surrounding villages, too**. And **one** of the villages that Timur had laid his hand on was Nij.'

Another example from this same legend:

(20) K'odoğ-o   hik'ə śam-eś-e-ne,
     forehead-DAT   what.ABS be.written-LV-PERF-3SG
     şono-**al**   bak-ala-ne-y.
     DIST.ABS-**ADD**   be-DEB-3SG-PST
     'Whatever is written on the forehead, **that very thing** had to be.' (meaning: whatever is one's destiny will come to pass)

And finally an example from the expository text "The Udi language":

(21) Tarix-en   yax   nex-e   ki,
     history-ERG   we.DAT say.PRS-3SG that
     Udi muz   4-5-ci   əsir-xo-st'a
     Udi language 4-5-ORD century-PL-AD
     əş-eś-e-ne,   ba-ne-k-o
     be.used-LV-PERF-3SG   be$_1$-3SG-be$_2$-FUT.MOD
     ko-t'-oxun-**al**   bĕš.
     MED-OBL-ABL-**ADD**   before
     'History tells us that the Udi language was used in the 4th or 5th century, possibly **even before that**. In ancient times the inhabitants of Gabala lived in the Albanian kingdom.' ["Udi Muz"; Ant'onova 2015: 36]

This appearance of *-al* clearly marks a superlative: 'even before that'. Without *-al*, the meaning becomes more neutral: 'before that'.

3.3. The clitic -al marks the beginning of a new episode

A new episode in a story, like the shift from a general description to a particular event, is also marked by *-al*. We already saw this in examples (9) and (10) where the introduction of a new character starts off a new episode. However, new episodes can also begin with a change in location or time. We come across this phenomenon in the story "The golden egg". The narrator tells: "When Zina became rich, she herself began to act like a rich person. She didn't help the poor anymore. **One day** Zina fought with a little orphan child, because he wanted a piece of bread from her. The little orphan child went away crying. God got angry at Zina." ["Q'ızıli qoq'la"; Ant'onova 2012: 35]. 'One day' is hosting *-al*, alerting the reader that now a new episode is beginning, in which a new event will take place and the storyline will develop.

4. Conclusion

Considering the above, we can conclude that *-al* functions in three ways on the discourse level:
1. To mark additional focus and give a reinforcing effect;
2. To mark topic switch between story participants who are salient to the discourse (often related to the beginning of a new episode);
3. To mark the beginning and end of an episode (also in other ways than topic switch), drawing attention to changes in storyline by conveying prominence of an event, time, etc. in a larger discourse context.

It is clear that, whereas the placement of the person marker and non-default word order mark focus on the sentence level, the clitic *-al* mainly plays a role in marking focus (e.g. prominence of characters and events) on the discourse level.

Abbreviations

1PL	First person plural (person marker)
2PL	Second person plural (person marker)
3PL	Third person plural (person marker)
1SG	First person singular (person marker)
2SG	Second person singular (person marker)
3SG	Third person singular (person marker)
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
ADD	Additive clitic
AOR	Aorist
BE	Existential verb
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CONJ	Conjunction
DAT	Dative
DIST	Distal pronoun
DO	Light verb 'to do'
ERG	Ergative
FUT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
LV	Light verb
MSD	Masdar (action nominal)
NEG	Negation
ORD	Ordinal number
POSS	Possessive pronoun
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PROX	Proximal pronoun
PRS	Present
PST	Past tense
PTCP	Participle

REFL   Reflexive
REL   Relative
TOP   Adversative topic

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