Demonstratives in Zilo Andi
(handout)

Samira Verhees

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory NRU HSE

jh.verhees@gmail.com

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Мѣстоименія указательныя.
Ихъ очень много.

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Краткий очерк андийскаго языка
— A.M. Dirr (1906: 33)

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1. Introduction

This handout summarizes some of my findings on demonstrative pronouns in Andi from a field trip to Zilo, Daghestan in July 2019. It provides a first attempt at a systematic description of the basic contrasts expressed by demonstratives in Andi, taking into account data from various dialects. Unless indicated otherwise, examples are from elicitation or overheard conversation during this trip.

2. Paradigm

The Andi language has a large number of demonstrative pronouns, ranging from at least 7 in the Rikvani dialect (Sulejmanov 1957) to 27 in Gagatli (Salimov 1968). For the Andi dialect, Dirr (1906) describes 15 forms, and Tsertsvadze (1965) 16 (10 of these are mentioned in both sources).

The system consists of four basic stems associated with a particular deictic value:

· ho- — proximal
· he- — medial/distal
· hu- — distal
· hi- — distal

The basic underlying structure is

hV	-n(V)	-d/g/łV	-cм
stem	extension 1	extension 2	class marker
deixis	emphasis	elevation	agreement

Not all components are mandatory, and not all logically possible combinations are represented (see Table 1).

The function of the first possible extension is to emphasize pointing at a specific referent. Imagine a situation where speaker A asks speaker B to hand object X, which is in the vicinity of speaker B. First, the speaker may ask for *hindi-b dan* 'that thing'. When speaker B reaches for the wrong object, speaker A may redirect them using *hinídi-b dan* 'THAT thing'. In Salimov (1968), this function is described as 'pointing more to the object' (больше указывающий на предмет). It is associated with the extensions *-Vcм* and *-nV* — *n* without vowel seems to be part of an unmarked stem. Tsertsvadze (1965) distinguishes forms with *-nV* as a variant of *-n* (cf. his notation *hin[i]gi-b*). Similarly, Sulejmanov

(1957) considers *hono-b* 'this' a variant of *ho-b* 'this'. Salimov (1968) counts all of these forms as distinct demonstrative stems, which in part explains the large number of demonstratives described for Gagatli.

The second extension marks elevation with respect to the speaker's position, where:

· d — same level (o)
· g — lower (-)
· ɬ — higher (+)

Elevation is encoded relative to the speaker. (Location on the same level means the referent is at eye-height.) Sometimes the speaker can assume the addressee's perspective to direct them more effectively. In narratives, the speaker can assume the perspective of a character (see examples (5) and (13) below). Elevation extensions are not available for proximal stems (*ho-*).

Table 1: Demonstratives in Andi

Form nr.	Form	Stem	Ext1	Ext2	Deixis	Elevation	Emphasis	Zilo
ho1	ho-b	ho			proximal	-		+
ho2	ho-b-o-b	ho	cm-o		proximal	-	+	+
ho3	hono-b	ho	no		proximal	-	+	+
he1	he-b	he			medial			+
he2	he-b-e-b	he	cm-e		medial		+	+
he3	hene-b	he	ne		medial		+	+
he4	hede-b	he		de	distal	o		+
he5	hege-b	he		ge	distal	-		+
he6	heɬe-b	he		ɬe	distal	+		+
he7	hende-b	he	n	de	distal	o	+	
he8	henede-b	he	ne	de	distal	o	+	
hu1	hundo-b	hu	n	do	distal	o		+
hu2	hungo-b	hu	n	go	distal	-		+
hu3	hunɬo-b	hu	n	ɬo	distal	+		+
hu4	hunudo-b	hu	nu	do	distal	o	+	+
hu5	hunugo-b	hu	nu	go	distal	-	+	+
hu6	hunuɬo-b	hu	nu	ɬo	distal	+	+	+
hi1	hidi-b	hi		di	distal	o		?
hi2	higi-b	hi		gi	distal	-		?
hi3	hiɬi-b	hi		ɬi	distal	+		?
hi4	hindi-b	hi	n	di	distal	o		+
hi5	hingi-b	hi	n	gi	distal	-		+
hi6	hinɬi-b	hi	n	ɬi	distal	+		?
hi7	hinidi-b	hi	ni	di	distal	o	+	+
hi8	hinigi-b	hi	ni	gi	distal	-	+	+
hi9	hiniɬi-b	hi	ni	ɬi	distal	+	+	+

The structure presented above is an idealized projection of what I suppose are the underlying components of the demonstrative forms. At the present stage, however, the pattern is not productive. Based on the forms attested in individual dialects, each stem could have at least 12 forms * 4 stems = 48 demonstratives in total. In reality, 26 forms are attested in all dialects together.[1] All 26 forms are represented in the Gagatli dialect,[2] 9 in Rikvani (if we count *ho-b //*

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[1] This includes the forms marked as variants by other authors. I decided to include the variants with an *nV* extension, e.g. *hono-b* as opposed to *ho-b*, but also *hindi-b* as opposed to *hinidi-b* as distinct forms, because they have a slightly different meaning (+ emphasis). Perhaps this is not necessary, and the stressed vowel in the forms with an *nV* extension can be interpreted as a prosodic, rather than a morphological phenomenon.

[2] Salimov counted 27 stems, but one of them is mentioned twice.

hono-b and *he-b // hene-b* as separate items), 21 in Andi, and at least 20 in Zilo (19 of which coincide with Andi). I have some doubts about the existence of hi 1, 2 and 3 as distinct forms — several speakers denied their existence, saying that the proper pronunciation includes an *n* (i.e. hi 4, 5 and 6), though forms without *n* are attested in our data. The low number for Rikvani is probably due to the incompleteness of Sulejmanov's description. A quick survey of the texts recorded during a field trip in 2015, for example, confirms that *hi* forms are also attested in this dialect, while they are not mentioned in Sulejmanov (1957).

Remarkably, the forms look the same in all of the Upper dialects, despite dialectal variation in other domains. In the Lower dialects, at least the basic forms *he-CM* and *ho-CM* are represented, as well as *hede-CM* in Kvankhidatli, cf. the text samples recorded by Tsertsvadze (1965). According to Tsertsvadze (1965), forms distinguishing elevation in Muni lack a deictic stem (*hV-*), resulting in the forms *de-, ge-, łe-*.

3. Functions

Demonstrative pronouns in Andi fulfill several different functions.

- Demonstrative: pointing to an object and localizing it relative to the speaker
- Anaphoric: referring back to a referent introduced before
- Information structural(?): directing or redirecting the attention of the addressee to a referent

Demonstratives modifying a nominal agree with their heads in gender and number. Case is marked only on the head. As regular attributive forms, demonstratives can act as the head of a noun phrase, in which case they bear case-marking. Oblique stems of demonstratives are formed by dropping the noun class suffix and replacing it with a formant *-š:u-* for male humans, and *-łi-* in all other cases. Since Andi has only first and second person pronouns, demonstratives also function as third person pronouns.

3.1 ho stems

Forms with the stem *ho-* point to a referent near the speaker. Usually it is in their hands or at least within their reach. In Zilo, *ho-CM* and the extended *hono-CM* seem to be variants in affirmative contexts, as is also the case in Rikvani (Sulejmanov 1957: 324), see example (1).

(1) ho-b   // hono-b   ručka
     DEM-INAN1 // DEM-INAN1 pen
     'This is a pen.'

The extended form seems to be preferred in questions. If speaker A asks speaker B to hand them something, and speaker B is not sure which object they are referring to, they point to or pick up an object and ask the question in example (2), where the vowel in the *nV* extension may or may not be stressed.

(2) honó-b=le?
     DEM-INAN1=Q
     'THIS [one]?' (i.e. Is it THIS you want?)

The reduplicated form *ho-CM~o-CM* refers back to a referent already introduced, and emphasizes specific reference, as in example (3).

(3) hono-w muħammadi. **ho-w~o-w**   zolo c'udil moč'i.
     DEM-M Muħammad. DEM-M~DEM-M very smart child.
     'This is Mohammed. **He** (as opposed to other children) is a very smart child.'

ho-CM~o-CM seems to be the only proximal form that can be used anaphorically. It cannot introduce a referent. A speaker commented on my attempt to elicit example (4), that it would be appropriate only as an answer to a question.

(4) ho-j-o-j   di-j   joc:i.
     DEM-F~DEM-F I-F[GEN] sister
     ???'This is my sister.'

In narrative texts, *ho-CM* occurs only in reported speech contexts.

(5) imu-di   džawab ič:i: "**ho-b**   den-ni b-uq'i-r-s:i   łudi   nodži-λi. **ho-b**
    father-ERG answer give.AOR DEM-INAN1 I-ERG   INAN1=cut-PROG=ATR firewood oak-GEN. DEM-INAN1
    š:u-b   b-iku-ja."
    good-INAN1 INAN1-burn-FUT.
    'Father answered: "**This** wood I am cutting is oak. **It** burns well."'
    (Tsertsvadze 1965)   зиловский

In example (5), the father refers to the wood he is working with using *ho-CM*. The use of the second *ho-CM* in example (5) could be interpreted as anaphoric parallel to the translation, but so far I have found no other examples where *ho-CM* seems to refer back to a previously introduced referent.

3.2   he stems
The forms *he-CM* and *hene-CM* are used to reference objects near the addressee, e.g. *hene-CM* is used to tell a child to put down an object which they are not supposed to play with.

(6) hene-b   šamm-o!
    DEM-INAN1 throw-IMP
    'Leave that!'

Speakers of Zilo do not use *he-CM* to point to a referent without overtly mentioning it: example (7) was rejected. Example (8) was considered an improvement, but (6) was preferred for this particular context.

(7) *he-b   šamm-o!
    DEM-INAN1 throw-IMP
    'Leave that!'

(8) he-b   dan šamm-o!
    DEM-INAN1 thing throw-IMP
    'Leave that!'

he- forms with an elevational extension indicate distal, rather than medial deixis, as in example (9), where 'that mountain' is equally far away from the speaker and the addressee.

(9) di-b   bužu-r-s:u   **hełe-b**   bilo-ʔo   w-oχin-ija-do
    I-INAN1[GEN] believe-PROG-NEG DEM-INAN1 mountain-SUP.LAT M-ascend-FUT-?
    'I don't think I can climb **that** mountain.'

In the texts recorded by Tsertsvadze (1965), *he-* is frequently used in all dialects to refer back to a referent already introduced. Example (10) is from the Zilo translation of a parallel text. The *he* form refers to the first person subject's father, who was introduced earlier in the text.

(10) den-ni **he.š:-qi**   rac':in: "ima, ilʔo men-ni łudi   b-oλ'u   b-ed:o-j
     I-ERG   DEM.M.OBL-INSTR ask.AOR father, why you-ERG firewood INAN1-between INAN1-leave-CVB
     b-uq'-e?"
     INAN1-cut-HAB
     'I asked **him**: "Father, why do you cut the wood, choosing?'
     (Tsertsvadze 1965)   зиловский

The distal forms *hede-CM* and especially *hege-CM* seem to be preferred in fictional narratives. *hege-CM* often functions as the default anaphor for some definite referent, in which case its elevational dimension is neutralized. When a speaker is asked to translate a separate sentence about a third person subject, *hege-CM* will be used to translate the third person pronoun, as in the elicited example (11).

(11) hege-w χ:eχ:i helli-j   w-uʔon.
     DEM-M fast   run-CVB M-go.AOR
     'He ran away fast.'

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Out of 195 attested demonstrative forms in the Zilo FLEx project (which at the moment contains mainly answers to surveys and a few original narratives),[3] 131 were *hege-см*. *he-см* occurs 38 times, while all other attested forms occur only 1–4 times. Similarly, a small sample of 26 elicited short narratives of ten sentences each contained 133 references to known referents, 117 of which were rendered with *hege-см*.[4] The sample contained 10 narratives by 5 speakers of the Rikvani dialect, 12 by 6 speakers of the Zilo dialect, 2 by a Rushukha speaker,[5] and 2 by a speaker from Muni. The speaker from Muni used *he-см* instead of *hege-см*.[6]

3.3   hu stems

Forms with the *hu-* stem do not occur without *n* (see Table 1), but it can be extended with a (stressed) vowel to emphasize reference. The contrast between *hundo-см* and *hunudo-см* is thus similar to *ho-см* / *hono-см*. *hu-* forms can refer to anything not directly near the speaker or the addressee. By default, they are interpreted as referring to something far away, but they can also be used to point to objects which are in the same room but not within the reach of either the speaker or the addressee, as in example (12).[7]

(12)   hundo-b   ručka
       DEM-INAN1 pen
       'That pen over there.'

hu- froms can also fulfill a kind of contrastive function, pointing to referents which are relatively further away than those indicated with *hede-см/hege-см/heɫe-см* and forms with the *hi* stem. One speaker explained to me, that they can ask me to hand them a certain cup from a cupboard saying *hinɫi-b čaška* 'that cup up there'. If I misunderstand which one they mean, they can redirect me with *hun(u)do-b čaška* — 'that cup over there'. In this case, the elevational value of the demonstrative changed because in situation 1, we were sitting behind the table and the cup was in a cupboard that was above eye-height. In situation 2, I was standing in front of the cupboard, looking straight at the cups.

3.4   hi stems

hi- forms appear to have the same deictic value as *hu-* forms, i.e. they point to any referent not located directly near the speaker or the addressee. Whereas *he-* forms refer back to known referents, *hi* introduces a new topic into a conversation, or marks the transition to a new topic. Example (13) below is from a story about Mullah Nasreddin recorded by Dirr (1906). Three men separately visit Mullah Nasreddin, and ask to borrow his donkey the next day. After the third man has left, Mullah Nasreddin's wife remarks:

(13)   du-χo   w-uɢo   **higi-w** ɫob-gu   hek'a **higi.lu-λi-ku**   sːe-w=ʁib   w-uɢo-tːtːu
       you-AD.LAT M-come.AOR DEM-M three-NUM person DEM.PL.OBL-INTER-EL one-M=RESTR M-come-PF
       du-b   hamoroχi b-ičin-nu,   onšːilo r-eχudu-ku   w-uɢo-b   č'e-gu   hek'a.š-qi
       you-AN[GEN] donkey   AN-take-INF, then   INAN2-after-EL M-come-PST.PTCP two-NUM person.M.OBL-INSTR
       e-b-ʁi-l   hit'in-no?
       what-INAN1-Q-PL say-HAB
       '**Those** three men came to you. [Imagine] one of **them** came to take your donkey, then what will you tell the second man who comes after?'
       (Dirr 1906)   андийский

In this case, Mullah Nasreddin's wife uses *higi-см* to bring up the subject. Because of this introductory function, speakers tend to translate *hi-* forms with 'this' (это). Some may also use *higi-см* or *hin(i)gi-см* instead of *hege-см* to introduce an assumed known referent in isolated, elicited sentences, though the latter is a much more common strategy.

4.   Forms derived from demonstrative stems

The four demonstrative stems also appear in other parts of speech, including spatial adverbs, adpositions, adjectives and particles. Spatial adverbs can be derived from demonstrative forms by replacing the noun class suffix with *-ɫu*

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[3]Counted on 13.07.2019.

[4]Demonstrative stems as part of the collocation 'at that time' *he-b-rihi//he-rbihi* were not counted.

[5]Rushukha is a *khutor* where several mixed households live. Their variant of Andi has elements of the Andi, Zilo and other dialects.

[6]These narratives were collected as part of my dissertation. Annotated versions at some point will be available here: https://github.com/sverhees/dissertation_evidentiality.

[7]Example (12) was translated to Russian as *Вон там ручка*.

(in Zilo) / *-ƚːu* in other dialects, e.g. *ho-ƚu* [PROX-ADV] 'here', *hege-ƚu* [DIST+LOWER-ADV] 'down there'. I have found no limitations on which demonstratives can attach *-ƚu*. In some cases their meaning can be derived from their composite parts (e.g. *hiʔa* 'above' and *hiʔo* 'up' consist of the demonstrative stem *hi* + the SUPERESSIVE (*ʔa*) and the SUPERLATIVE (*ʔo*) case), but not always: *hege-ƛ'ej* 'also, like that' [DIST+LOWER-???].

5. Other Andic languages

Andi features the largest set of demonstrative pronouns among the Andic languages.[8] Second to Andi is Tindi, with a four by four system: there are two sets of proximal forms, distinguishing four elevational values: neutral, same level, lower and higher. One of the proximal sets (with an initial *h* and a nasalized vowel) emphasizes reference, cf. Section 2. above and (Magomedova 2012: 126–127), while the other set is neutral in this respect. According to Magomedova, the remaining two sets of demonstratives are both medial, referring to objects near the addressee, though Gilles Authier defined both of them as distal in an unpublished grammar sketch. The examples presented in Magomedova confirm that the *o-CM* set can indicate distal deixis, as in example (14) below, where *o-ƚa-b* refers to a horse on top of a mountain that is far from both the speaker and the addressee.

(14) **oƚa-b** k'atu besalo: ébala b-eƚ-a   mi:
     DEM-N horse mountain-SUP.LAT down N-bring-IMP you
     'You chase **that** horse down from the mountain.'
     (Magomedova 2012: 129)   тиндинский язык

The non-proximal sets feature the same opposition in terms of emphasis as the proximal forms. Magomedova also describes some additional, pragmatic effects of using these forms – they express a *negative emotional attitude* towards the referent (Magomedova 2012: 127). The visibility of the referent seems to be a parameter in Tindi and Botlikh, see some notes on Tindi in (Magomedova 2012: 129). For Botlikh, this component is described briefly and without examples in a forthcoming chapter by Alekseyev and Verhees (nd).[9] During elicitation with Zilo speakers, visibility was rarely mentioned as a parameter. It seemed to be more of a contextual interpretation of some distal forms: speakers would imagine appropriate contexts for e.g. *hede-b*, and come up with a specific situation where the referent is somewhere far away, perhaps in another room, but this does not exclude the use of this pronoun in contexts where the referent is far away yet still visible to the speaker. On the other hand, one of my Botlikh consultants explicitly mentioned that *go-CM* is used to talk about a person who is not present during the conversation, and the dictionary describes the meaning of *go-CM* as referring to something "outside the sphere of the speech act participants" (Saidova and Abusov 2012). Another distal form *do-CM* points to objects or people that are far away but visible, see example (15). Another socio-cognitive factor that might play a role in the use of demonstratives is the degree of familiarity of a certain referent (both to the speaker and the addressee), though this requires further investigation.

(15) do-lehe **do-l**   mak'il
     DEM-ADV DEM-AN.PL child.PL
     '**Those** children over there.'
     (Saidova and Abusov 2012)   ботлихский язык

Besides Andi and Tindi, the elevational component (with cognate markers) is present in Chamalal (Bokarev 1949), Karata (Magomedbekova 1971), Akhvakh (Magomedbekova 1967), and Avar (Alekseev et al. 2012), but not in Botlikh (Gudava 1962), Godoberi (Gisatullina and Toldova 1996) and Bagvalal (Tatevosov 2001). Consequently, the presence or absence of elevation does not seem to correlate with genealogical or areal clustering. The demonstrative forms are quite similar among the various Andic languages and Avar, and seem to derive from the same core system in the proto-language. (Proximal forms show the famous *o–a* correspondence between Andi and other members of the Avar-Andic group: *ho-CM* in Andi vs. *(h)a-CM* in all other languages.) At the same time, the paradigms seem quite different in number (in some cases this might be due to an incomplete description), and they probably also diverge in their functional distribution beyond the spatial dimensions.

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[8]According to (Schulze 2003: 318), this large inventory represents an innovation of Andi, rather than the vestiges of an older system.

[9]The description in Alekseyev and Verhees (nd) comes from an unpublished manuscript by M.E. Alekseyev. I am not sure what his data was — perhaps it is from Gudava's reference grammar in Georgian (Gudava 1962), or from personal fieldwork.

6. Summary

· Zilo Andi features a remarkably large set of demonstrative pronouns, similar to Salimov's description of the Gagatli dialect (Salimov 1968). The same might also be true for Andi and Rikvani.

· Some forms (with a syllable -(n)V- inserted between the deictic stem and the class marker) could be dismissed as intonational variants, though they serve a specific discursive purpose: emphasizing a specific reference. The same contrast is realized in Tindi by *hã-cm* and *hŭ-cm*, as opposed to *a-cm* and *o-cm*, respectively.

· A composite structure can be reconstructed: spatial deictic / demonstrative stem + emphatic extension + elevation + class agreement/inflection, but the pattern is not (or no longer) productive.

· Contrasts expressed by demonstrative forms include: proximal, medial and distal spatial deixis, elevational deixis (same level (= eye-height), lower and higher), the introduction of a new referent and referring back to a known one, introducing a new topic or redirecting the addressee's attention to a topic that was mentioned before.

· It remains unclear whether visibility plays a role in (Zilo) Andi as it seems to do in Tindi and Botlikh — Salimov hints that this might be the case for *hege–cm* and *heɬe-cm* in Gagatli (Salimov 1968: 146), though Zilo speakers allow reference to a distant yet visible referent with these demonstratives.

This handout covers only the basic values of the system. The actual distribution of the forms in discourse requires further investigation with the help of experiments and / or a corpus with more interactive speech.

Glossary

AD ad
ADV adverbial
AN non-human animate noun class
AOR aorist
ATR attributive
CVB converb
DEM demonstrative
EL elative
ERG ergative
F feminine
FUT future
GEN genitive
HAB habitual
IMP imperative
INAN1 inanimate 1
INAN2 inanimate 2
INF infinitive

INSTR instrumental
INTER interessive
LAT lative
M masculine
N neuter
NEG negative
NUM numeral
OBL oblique
PF perfect
PL plural
PROG progressive
PST past
PTCP participle
Q question particle
RESTR restrictive particle
SUP super essive

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