

PRONOMINAL DEIXIS IN EAST CAUCASIAN STABILITY AND RENEWALS

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Deixis

- 1) **person** (speaker vs addressee),
- 2) **space** (distance, mono- or polycentric),
- 3) **time**

*'Did **you** write **this** (yesterday)?'*

(Temporal deixis in East Caucasian is, like in European languages, marked by bound morphemes on verbs, and adverbs)

locus of deixis: matter for a *series* of lectures

Free words

Personal pronouns

I, you, we

Demonstratives

this / that (up/level/down)

Adverbs

there (up/level/down)

Copula / predicatives

is / enter / comes / goes (up/level/down)

Bound elements

Person markers

go-es

verbal 'satellites' and affixes

go in / en-ter (up/level/down)

Flagging (cases)

on/at/under, etc

Outlines

What I *will* speak about: *Diachrony*

1) demonstratives: grouping, branching based on innovations

2) personal pronouns: branching based on innovations, avoidance-based replacements, (analogy), with a focus on clusivity

What I will *not* have time to speak about: synchronic systems

- morphology
- grammaticalization
- morphosyntax
- syntax

1) E-C demonstrative (pronouns)

Adnominal vs pronominal demonstratives usually the same in EC
(exception: Kryz pronoun *u-* / *am* / *a-* vs adnominal *lu-* / *lam* / *la-*)

The systems are not uniform across the family,
with some languages or branches showing simple, **horizontal systems**
(but at least three roots are used - no 'minimal' systems).
while others have **elevational** distinctions

a horizontal system: Nakh

Chechen			Ingush			Tsova-Tush / Batsbi		
PROX	MED / 3	DIST	PROX	MED / 3	DIST	PROX	MED	DIST / 3
hara	i / iza	dʒora	jer	iz	dʒāra-D-ar	e	is	o

only distance / person oriented (grammars not always clear on this)

higher: laqara

lower: laxara

Horizontal systems

are geographically (and phylogenetically) peripheral:

Peripheral features = *retentions...* or due to external contact

Nakh (archaism, + renewal)

Tsezic (diverse, non-transparent complexity: **loss**)

~~Avar-Andi~~ **Botlikh** (non-transparent complexity: **loss**)

~~Dargwa-Lak~~ southernmost **Arakul** (non-transparent complexity: **loss**)

Southern part of **Lezgic**: Tsakhur, Rutul, Kryz, Udi: probably **loss**

Other horizontal systems: Tsezic, ‘Southern’ Lezgitic

	PROXIMAL	MEDIAL/ADR	DISTAL
Tsez	<i>ž</i> <i>a</i>	<i>how-da</i> , <i>en-da</i>	<i>how-ž</i> <i>a</i>
Hunzib	<i>bə-d</i>	<i>bə-l</i>	<i>ə-g</i>
Botlikh	<i>h</i> <i>a</i> - <i>b</i>		<i>hu-b</i> / <i>do-b</i> / <i>go-b</i>
Arakul Lak	<i>w</i> <i>a</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>hawa</i> / <i>ho</i>
Udi	<i>m</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>t</i> <i>e</i>
Kryz	<i>u</i> -	<i>a</i> <i>m</i>	<i>a</i> -
Rutul	<i>m</i> <i>i</i>	<i>h</i> <i>a</i>	<i>t</i> <i>i</i>
Tsakhur	<i>i</i> -	<i>m</i> <i>a</i> -	<i>š</i> <i>e</i> -

elevational systems: Central Daghestan, 2 groups

Eastern

Lak (except Arakul < contact with Rutul)

Dargwa

North-Eastern Lezgic (Archi, Tabasaran, Agul, Lezgian)

In Dargwa and Lezgic, elevational roots also serve as cases, copulas and preverbs.

Khinalug

Western

Avar-Andic (except Botlikh):

large, transparent systems;

the roots are only free words, without internal or external cognates

Large elevational system: 8 forms in Southern Akhwakh (Muravev)

near , neutral

ha-

near and **higher** than the speaker'

*ha-**ǰe**-*

near and **same level** as the speaker'

*ha-**de**-*

near and **lower** than the speaker'

*ha-**ge**-*

far, neutral

hu-

far and **higher** than the speaker'

*hu-**ǰe**-*

far and **same level** as the speaker'

*hu-**de**-*

far and **lower** than the speaker'

*hu-**ge**-*

Maximal elevational system: 16 forms in Tindi

Neutral

Elevational:

up

level

down

Prox1

a-b

a-**ta**-b

a-**ja**-b

a-**gja**-b

Prox2

han-b

han-**ta**-b

han-**ja**-b

han-**gja**-b

Dist1

o-b

o-**ta**-b

o-**ja**-b

o-**gja**-b

Dist2

hun-b

hun-**ta**-b

hun-**ja**-b

hun-**gja**-b

The more elaborate and regular, the more recent

Eastern Lezgian and Archi: only distal elevation

	level	up	down
Agul	te	le	ge
Tabasaran	du	gu, bu	k:u, žu
Lezgian	a(-t'a)	aʁa	(wini)
Proto-Lezgian?	*t-	*λ' = SUPER	λ:'i = SUB
Archi	tu	bu	gu ≠ -λ:'i !

Eastern elevational demonstratives

	Khin.	ARCHI.(M)	LAK	DARGI	Avar-Andic cases / dem.	
PROX SPEAKER	dä	<i>ju-w</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>iš</i>	*?	<i>a-</i>
PROX ADRESSEE	<i>hä</i>	<i>ja-mu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>il</i>	*?	<i>ha-/e-</i>
DISTAL UP	ot'u	bu -du	k'a	ik'	< *λ' = λ'	≠ λo- !
DISTAL LEVEL	otu	tu -w	ta	it, id	< *t:	= <i>do-</i>
DISTAL DOWN	oq:u	gu -du <	gwa	(iχ < iɁ)	< *λ': = λ':	≠ bo- !

Reconstruction

Khinalug = Lezgic = Lak = Dargwa

Distal **up** ***λ'-**

Distal **level** ***d-**

Distal **down** ***λ':**

~~Tsezic~~

~~Andic-Avar~~ (other, more recent system: **λ-**, (d-), **ʁ-**)

Demonstratives and E-C branching

1) Proto-East Caucasian: horizontal; no spatial cases

2) Proto-Daghestanian **innovation**:
grammaticalization of 'up' and 'down' as spatial cases

(= Nakh)

3) Proto-Lak-Dargwa-Lezgic-Khingug **innovation**:
'up' and 'down' roots as demonstratives

4) proto-Avar-Andic-Tsezic **innovation**:

other 'up' and 'down' demonstrative roots

5) Tsezic: **innovation**:loss

Proto-Avar-Andic

East Lezgic, Archi
Lak, Dargwa

6) South+West Lezgic+Udi, Arakul **innovation**:
loss of elevational demonstratives

E-C personal pronouns

are characterized by *systemic stability*

and *numerous renewals* in the elements of paradigms,

especially with regards to the expression of *clusivity*

maximum stability list (Sergej Starostin)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1–10 **we** two **I** eye **you sg** who fire tongue stone name

Personal pronouns in East Caucasian

inherited... stable ?

	Proto-EC	Akhwakh	Avar	Dargwa	Kryz	Tabasaran	Rutul	Khinalug
1sg	*zi	dene	dun	du	zi(n)	uzu	zi	zi
2sg	*ɬu(n)	m-ene	m-un	i	vin	uvu	bu	vi
1pl excl	*ži	issi	n-iž	n-us:a	ži(n)	uču	ži	jir
INCL	*ɬ:i	iɬ:i	n-iɬ	n-ix:a	ji(n)	uxu	ji	kin
2pl	*š:wi	ušti	n-už	n-uš:a	vin	učvu	žu	zur

1sg 'I'

Proto-EC	Akhwakh	Avar	Hunzib	Dargwa	Lak	Kryz	Rutul	Khinalug	Nakh
* <i>zi</i>	<i>dene</i>	<i>dun</i>	<i>də</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>zi(n)</i>	<i>zɪ</i>	<i>zɪ</i>	<i>so</i>
				(obl. <i>ttu-</i>)				(dat. <i>as</i> erg. <i>as</i>)	

Peripheral, conservative

/ Central, innovative

cf. *du*, Khinalug proximal1 demonstrative 'close to me'

2sg 'you'

Proto-E-C	Akhwakh Avar Hunzib	Dargwa Lak	Kryz	Rutul	Khinalug Nakh
2sg * <i>ʕu</i>	<i>m-ene m-u-n mə</i> (obl. <i>du-</i> !!!)	<i>ħu ina</i> (obl. <i>vi-</i>)	<i>vu-n bu</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>ħo</i> (dat. <i>ux</i> erg. <i>aħ</i>)

Peripheral, conservative

/Central, innovative:

cf. *mu* Lak etc. demonstrative 'close to you'

2pl 'you'

Proto-E-C	Akhwakh	Tsez	Avar	Dargwa	Lak	Kryz (proper)	Rutul	Khinalug	Nakh
*š:wi	<i>ušti</i>	<i>me-žu</i>	<i>n-už</i> Zakat. <i>muž</i>	<i>n-uš:a</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>žuʼ</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>šu</i>

Peripheral, conservative

/Central, innovative:

cf. ***n-*** plural marker

maximum stability list (S. Starostin)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

1–10 we two I eye you sg who fire tongue stone name

Clusivity in East Caucasian languages: inherited... / stable ?

	Proto-EC	Avar	Akhwakh	Kaytag Dargwa	(proper) Kryz	Tabasaran	Ikhrek Rutul	Khinalug
1sg	* <i>zi</i>	<i>dun</i>	<i>dene</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>zi(n)</i>	<i>uzu</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>
2sg	* <i>ɕu(n)</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>vun</i>	<i>uvu</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>vi</i>
1pl excl	* <i>ži</i>	<i>niž</i>	<i>is:i</i>	<i>nus:a</i>	<i>ži(n)</i>	<i>uču</i>	<i>ži</i>	<i>jir</i>
INCL	* <i>ɭ:i</i>	<i>niɭ</i>	<i>iɭ:i</i>	<i>nix:a</i>	<i>ji(n)</i>	<i>uxu</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>kin</i>
2pl	* <i>š:wi</i>	<i>nuž</i>	<i>ušti</i>	<i>nuš:a</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>učvu</i>	<i>žu^ɕ</i>	<i>zur</i>

+ Loss in Lak and Tsezic

Clusivity, a *recessive* but resilient feature

exclusive first persons (both singular and plural) are likely to be **avoided and replaced** (Helmbrecht 2013)

Rarely attested in larger, open societies: **why does clusivity not disappear** altogether?

associated with ‘societies of intimates’:

“**inclusive** forms may turn out to play a crucial role in diachronic developments as they have a variety of honorific uses and display **syncretisms** with other SAP person forms (Cysouw 2005a, 2005b)”

In E-C

- the feature is rather **stable**
- its realisation **varies** a lot across pronominal sets

Loss of clusivity

All Tsezic languages (cf. loss of elevation grams)

Not in any Avar-Andic language

Two paths:

- Generalisation of INCL > 1PL
- Generalisation of 1PL.EXCL > 1PL

loss of clusivity 1st type, extension of the inclusive:

Tsezic (subbranch level)

	Proto-EC	(Akhwakh)	Hunzib	Bezhta	Hinuq	Tsez	Khwarshi
1sg	*zi	dene	də	do	de	di	do
2sg	*ʕu(n)	mene	mə	mi	me	mi	mo
1pl-excl	*ʒi	<i>is:i</i>	-	-	-	-	-
INCL > 1PL	*ʔ:i	<i>iʔ:i</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>iljo</i>
2pl	*š:wi	ušti	miže	miže	meži	meži	mižo

Loss of clusivity, 1st type : extension of the inclusive:

Budugh, Rutul dialect

	Proto-EC	Kryz	Budugh		Proto-EC	Rutul, Ikhrek	Rutul, Luchek
1sg	*zi	zi(n)	zi(n)	1sg	*zi	zi	zi
2sg	*ɕu(n)	vun	vin	2sg	*ɕu(n)	bu	bu
1pl excl	*ži	ži(n)	ji(n)	1pl excl	*ži	ži	jä
INCL	*λ:i	ji(n)		INCL	*λ:i	ji	
2pl	*š:wi	vin	vin	2pl	*š:wi	žu	žu

Loss of clusivity, 2d type: extension of the exclusive in Lak

	Proto-EC	Lak
1sg	* <i>zi</i>	<i>na</i>
2sg	* <i>ɕu(n)</i>	<i>ina</i>
1pl excl	* <i>ʒi</i>	<i>ʒu</i>
INCL	*<i>ʌ:i</i>	
2pl	* <i>š:wi</i>	<i>zu</i>

Extension of the exclusive in Lezgian in contact Tsakhur and Lezgian

	Proto-EC	Tsakhur	Lezgian
1sg	* <i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zun</i>
2sg	* <i>ʕu(n)</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>vun</i>
1pl excl	* <i>ʒi</i>	 <i>š:i</i>	<i>čun</i>
INCL	* <i>ʒi</i>		
2pl	* <i>š:wi</i>	<i>šu</i>	<i>kün</i>

Loss of clusivity, extension of the exclusive or inclusive in northern Rutul dialects

	Proto-EC	'Western' Rutul, Ikhrek	'Middle' Rutul, Luchek	'Northern' Rutul, Shinaz & Mukhrek
1sg	*zi	zi	zi	zi
2sg	*ʕu(n)	bu	bu	bu
1pl excl	*ʒi	ʒi		ʒi
INCL	*ʎ:i	ji	jä	
2pl	*š:wi	žu	žu	žu

Loss of clusivity (extension of the exclusive or inclusive) in various Dargwa dialects

	Pr-Dargwa	Kaytag	Chirag		Akusha	Tsugni
1sg	<i>*dun</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>du</i>	1sg	<i>nu</i>	<i>du</i>
2sg	<i>*ɕu</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u^ɕ</i>	2sg	<i>ħu</i>	<i>u</i>
1pl excl	<i>*nis:a</i>	<i>nis:a</i>	<i>nus:a</i>			
INCL	<i>*nix:a</i>	<i>nix:a</i>	<i>nux:a</i>	1pl	<i>nuša</i>	<i>nux:a</i>
2pl	<i>*uš:a</i>	<i>niš:a</i>	<i>nuš:a</i>	2pl	<i>ħuša</i>	<i>ux:a</i>
					<u>(analogy)</u>	<u>(analogy)</u>

extension of the exclusive in Dargwa

Parallel loss in **Lak** and **Northern Dargwa**

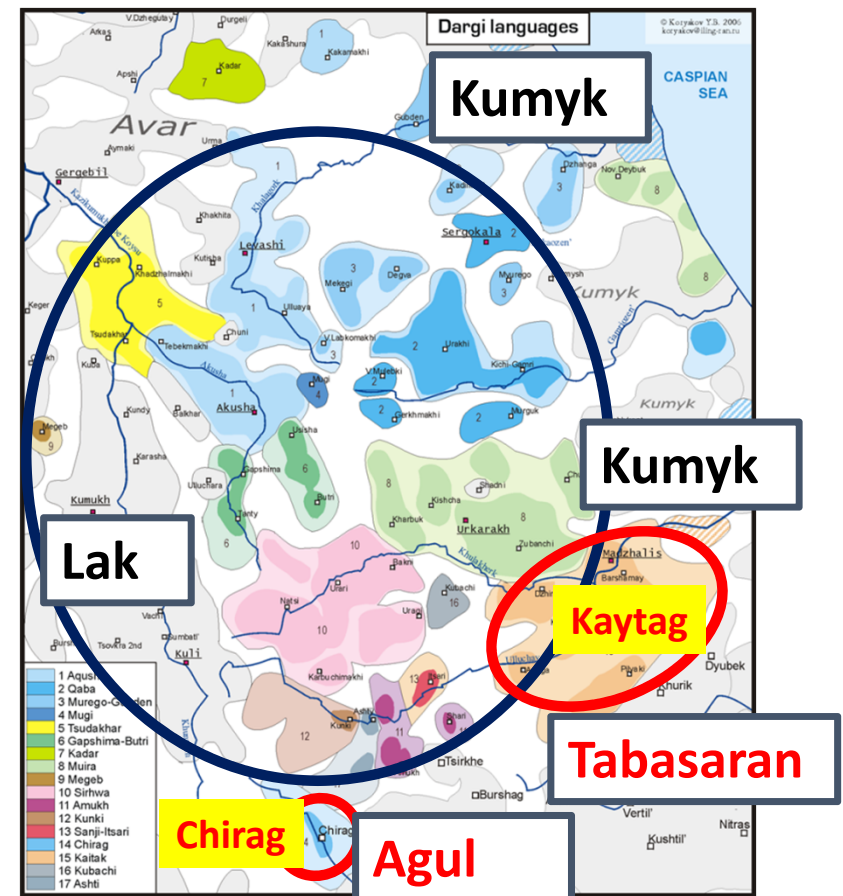
< contact with Kumyk (Turkic)?

Southernmost dialects retain clusivity

((isolation: retention))

+ contact ?

with **Agul** and **Tabasaran** (Lezgetic) which also retain it.



(Loss, followed by) renewal of clusivity

Loss of clusivity, pronoun borrowing and renewal of clusivity in Nakh

	Proto-EC	Nakh	Ossetic	Old Persian
1sg	*zi	so		
2sg	*ʑu(n)	ħo		
1pl excl	*ži → ∅	txo		
INCL	*λ:i →	vaj	max	vajam
2pl	*š:wi	šu		

a polite, 'diplomatic' form

Achaemenid tablet from Phanagoria (Kerch) Museum



*Fig. 1. The Old Persian inscription of Phanagoria (DFa)
(Photograph after Кузнецов/Никитин 2017, p. 156, fig. 2).*

Pronoun borrowing

Nichols & Peterson 1996: 'barring non-normal transmission, pronouns are almost always inherited...'

/ Thomason & Everett 2001: given appropriate social circumstances, pronouns and even whole pronominal paradigms are readily borrowed.

A rare syncretism without loss of clusivity: Alik dialect of Kryz

Proto- EC	Proto- EC	Kryz proper	Kryz, Alik
1sg	*zi	zi(n)	zi(n)
2sg	*ɕu(n)	vun	vun
1pl excl	*ži	ži(n)	ži(n)
INCL	*ɭ:i	ji(n)	ji(n)
2pl	*š:wi	vin	

cf. Cysow, *Clusivity as honorific reference*

renewal by copulative compound in Mukhad Rutul

	Proto-EC	Rutul, Ikhrek	Rutul, Shinaz & Mukhrek	Rutul, Luchek	Rutul, Mukhad
1sg	* <i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>	<i>zi</i>
2sg	* <i>ʕu(n)</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu</i>
1pl excl	* <i>ʒi</i>	<i>ʒi</i>	<i>ʒi</i>	<i>jä</i>	<i>je</i>
INCL	* <i>ʎ:i</i>	<i>ji</i>			<i>je-vʼa</i>
2pl	* <i>ʂ:wi</i>	<i>ʒu</i>	<i>ʒu</i>	<i>ʒu</i>	<i>vʼa</i>

Plural-Singular shift and renewal in Southern Rutul

	Proto-EC	Rutul, Ikhrek	Rutul, Shinaz & Mukhrek	Rutul, Luchek	Rutul, Mukhad	Proto- Southern Rutul	Rutul, <i>Khnov</i>	Rutul, <i>Borch</i>
1sg	*zi	zi	zi	zi	zi	*ji	ji	ji
2sg	*ɕu(n)	bu	bu	bu	bu	*bu	bu	bu, vu
1pl excl	*ži	ži	ži	jä	je	*ji	ju-qʼumbɪ	ja-nur
INCL	*λ:i	ji			je-vʼa		ju-qʼumbɪ / ji-ne-vi	ju-qʼner
2pl	*š:wi	žu	žu	žu	vʼa	*vi	vi	vi

Khinalug

	'I'	'you (sg)'	'we (excl)'	'we (incl)'	'you (pl)'
NOM	<i>zɪ</i>	<i>vɪ</i>	<i>jir</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>zur</i>
ERG	<i>jär</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>jir</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>zur</i>
DAT	<i>as</i>	<i>oχ</i>	<i>širu</i>	<i>kiru</i>	<i>suru</i>



Botlikh

	'I'	'you (sg)'	'we (excl)'	'we (excl)'	'you (pl)'
NOM	<i>den</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>iši</i>	<i>iλi</i>	<i>bišti</i>
ERG	<i>iškur</i>	<i>min-di</i>	<i>iši</i>	<i>iλi</i>	<i>bišti</i>
DAT	<i>di-j</i>	<i>du-j</i>	<i>iši-j</i>	<i>iλi-j</i>	<i>bišti-j</i>

iškur du-j quča b-ac'-aj ida.

1.erg 2.obl-dat book n-arrive-caus.inf cop

‘I will get you the book.’

‘je te...’

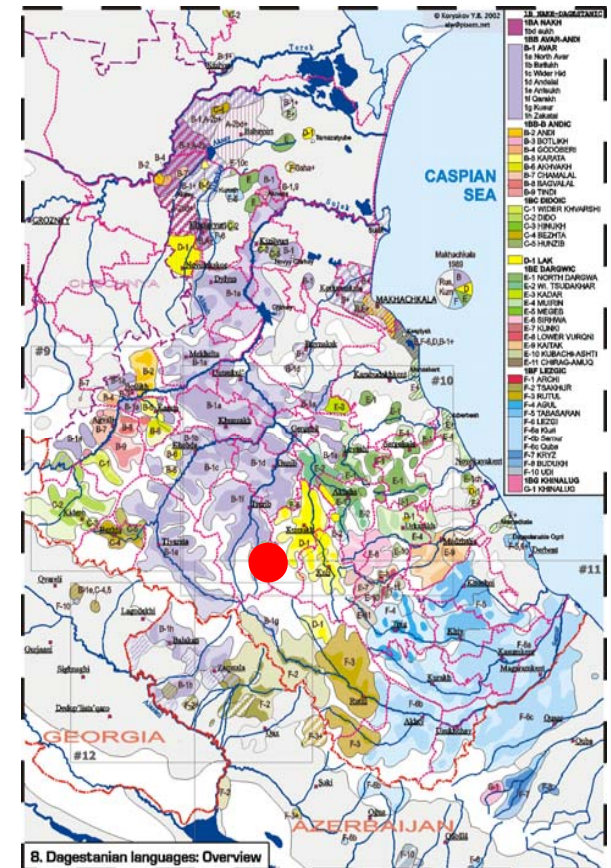
Plural-Singular shift in Botlikh

	Avar	Akhwakh	Tindi	Godoberi	Andi (M/F)	Botlikh
1sg NOM	<i>dun</i>	<i>dene</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>din / den</i>	<i>den</i>
1sg ERG	<i>di-ca</i>	<i>de-de</i>	<i>de:</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>din / den</i>	<i>iš-kur</i> (ablative)
2sg	<i>mun</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>me:</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>min</i>
1pl excl	<i>niž</i>	<i>issi</i>	<i>iš:a</i>	<i>iš:e</i>	<i>iš:il</i>	<i>iš:i</i>
INCL	<i>niļ</i>	<i>iļ:i</i>	<i>iļ:a</i>	<i>iļ:e</i>	<i>iļ:il</i>	<i>iļ:i</i>
2pl	<i>nuž</i>	<i>ušti</i>	<i>bis:a</i>	<i>bit:e</i>	<i>bis:il</i>	<i>bišt:i</i>



Replacement, loss and renewal in Archi (in the NOM)

	Proto-EC	Archi (NOM)	Avar
1sg	*zi	zon	dun
2sg	*ɕu(n)	un	mun
1pl excl	*ži ➔ ∅	n-en	n-iž
INCL	*λ:i ➔ ∅	n-en-t'u	n-iļ
2pl	*š:wi	žwen	nuž



Renewal of clusivity

- Loss, shift and borrowing in **Nakh**
- Syncretism without loss: 1PL.INCL = 2PL: **Alik Kryz**
- Renewal by dvandva ‘we and you all’: **Mukhad Rutul**
- Syncretism 1SG/1PL + Renewal: 1+PL: **Southern Rutul**
- Total replacement: **Archi**

Morphology, morphosyntax, syntax

Neutral / accusative alignment on SAP: Kryz

S **zin** *Ɂvaxir-d*
1(M) PV.(M).come-AOR(M)
'I(M) came back.'

P *a-n-ir* **zin** *Ɂvava-d-u*
3-H-ERG 1(F) PV.F.bring-AOR-F
'He brought me(F) back.'

A **zin** *lu* *ixlat* *uxva-d-u*
1(M) this story(F) read-AOR-F
'I(M) read that story(F).'

A=S/P **zin** **zi-vun** *Ɂvava-d-u*
1(M) 1.A-2P(F) PV.F.bring-AOR-F
'I brought you(F) back.'

Split ergative marking (unexplained)

Tsez

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
NOM	<i>di</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>meži</i>
ERG			<i>elaa</i>	<i>mežaa</i>

Bagvalal

1SG	2SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2PL
<i>di:</i>	<i>mi:</i>	<i>is:i</i>	<i>iłi</i>	<i>biti</i>
<i>de:</i>	<i>min:</i>			

Agreement with constituents in Archi

Person	I	you sg.	we (excl.)	we (incl.)	you plu.
Case					
Nom	zon	un	nen	nen=t'=u	ž'en
Erg. I	za-rɪ	un	nen	nen-a=w	ž'en
Erg. II				nen-a=r=u	
Gen. I	w=ɪs		u=lù	là=w=u	
Gen. II	d=ɪs	wɪt	d=olò	là=r=u	wɪš
Gen. III	b=ɪs		b=olò	là=b=u	
Gen. IV	ɪs		olò	la=t'=u	
Dat. I	w=eɪ	was	w=eɪ	w=eɪ-a=w	wɛž
Dat. II	d=eɪ		d=eɪ	d=eɪ-a=r=u	

the **ergative** agrees in gender with the nominative !

the **genitive** agrees in gender with the head, cf. *me-us*, *me-a*, *me-um*

the **dative** agrees in gender with the nominative !

Verbal agreement with NP-possessors in Tabasaran

xpir ac'u du-x-na=jiz.

wife fat PERF-become-PERF=**1SG.GEN**

'My wife has grown fat.'

gardan jiv-ur-za=jav.

neck strike-FUT-1SGA=**2SG.GEN**

'I will cut your head off.'

P-agreement blocking: Tsugni Dargwa

dali it-i-j dila rurs:i ru-luk:-un-da. 'I give **him** my daughter.'

1SG.ERG **DEM**-OBL-DAT my daughter **F**-give.IPF-PRS-1

eli it-i-j ela rurs:i ru-luk:-un-de. 'You give **him** your daughter.'

2SG.ERG **DEM**-OBL-DAT your daughter **F**-give.IPF-PRS-2

dali et dila rurs:i luk:-un-da. 'I give **you** my daughter.'

1SG.ERG **2SG**.DAT my daughter **Ø**- give.IPF-PRS-1

eli dam ela rurs:i luk:-un-de. 'You give **me** your daughter.'

2SG.ERG **1SG**.DAT your daughter **Ø**- give.IPF-PRS-2

