

Person deixis in Northern Akhvakh reported speech

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1. Introduction

This paper deals with person deixis in Northern Akhvakh reported speech. Northern Akhvakh is the variety of Akhvakh spoken in four villages of the Axxvaxskij Rajon in the western part of Daghestan (Tadmagitl', Lologonitl', Kudijab-Roso, and Izani), in recent settlements in the lowlands of Daghestan (Sovetskoe, Kamyškutan), and in Axaxdərə near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan). The paper, based on a collection of texts collected in Tadmagitl' and Lologonitl', is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the pronouns involved in person deixis. Section 3 puts forward some theoretical remarks about the distinction between direct and indirect speech. Section 4 describes the coding of speech act participants in Northern Akhvakh reported speech. Section 5 summarizes the main conclusions.

2. The pronouns of Akhvakh: inventory and morphological description

Given the topic of this paper, this presentation of Akhvakh pronouns is limited to personal pronouns, demonstratives, and the anaphoric pronoun *ži-*, since the other words commonly classified as pronouns play no direct role in the mechanisms described in the following sections.

2.1. Personal pronouns

Akhvakh has no 3rd person pronouns proper. The anaphoric / deictic function fulfilled in other languages by specialized 3rd person pronouns is fulfilled in Akhvakh by demonstratives.

2.1.1. 1st & 2nd person singular pronouns

1st & 2nd person singular pronouns do not exhibit gender distinction in their form, but trigger M or F agreement according to the sex of their referent. They have the following morphological particularities:

- the ergative ending does not attach to the oblique stem selected by the other case endings, but to a reduced form of the nominative;
- the genitive has a zero ending irrespective of gender (whereas in noun inflection, F nouns select the genitive ending *-īi*).

	(1SG)	(2SG)
Nom.	<i>dene</i>	<i>mene</i>
Erg.	<i>de-de</i>	<i>me-de</i>
Dat.	<i>di-la</i>	<i>du-la</i>
Gen.	<i>di</i>	<i>du</i>
Comit.	<i>di-k'ena</i>	<i>du-k'ena</i>
etc.		

2.1.2. Plural pronouns representing speech act participants

Akhvakh has an inclusive pronoun distinct from the 1st person plural and 2nd person plural pronouns.

The case inflection of plural pronouns representing speech act participants differs from that of all other nominals (including singular pronouns) in the fact the ergative and dative endings select a stem identical to the nominative form, whereas the other cases are formed from a stem identical to the genitive.

Contracted forms of the ergative and dative endings are possible with other nominals, in particular those whose oblique stem includes the formatives *-s̄u-* (M) or *-š̄i-* (F), but they are particularly common in the inflection of plural pronouns representing speech act participants.

	(1PL)	(INCL)	(2PL)
Nom.	<i>iš̄i</i>	<i>iīi</i>	<i>ušt̄i</i>
Erg.	<i>iš̄i-de ~ iš̄-e</i>	<i>iīi-de ~ iī-e</i>	<i>ušt̄i-de ~ ušt̄-e</i>
Dat.	<i>iš̄i-la ~ iš̄-a</i>	<i>iīi-la ~ iī-a</i>	<i>ušt̄i-la ~ ušt̄-a</i>
Gen.	<i>eš̄e</i>	<i>eīe</i>	<i>oš̄te</i>
Comit.	<i>eš̄e-k'ena</i>	<i>eīe-k'ena</i>	<i>oš̄te-k'ena</i>
etc.			

2.1.3. The intensive form of 1st & 2nd person pronouns

1st and 2nd person intensifiers (i.e., forms used to emphasize the identity of a participant), used in particular in reflexive function, are formed by adding the intensifying particle *-da* to the forms described in the preceding section. Note that *-da* is added after the case markers.

2.2. Demonstratives

2.2.1. Inventory

Akhvakh demonstratives are based on the roots *ha* (proximal) and *hu* (distal), alone or enlarged by one of the three formatives encoding vertical deixis *-de/u*, *-le/u*, and *-ge/u*:

(proximal)	(distal)	
<i>ha</i>	<i>hu</i>	(neuter with respect to vertical deixis)
<i>ha-de</i>	<i>hu-du</i>	(same level as the deictic center)
<i>ha-le</i>	<i>hu-lu</i>	(higher than the deictic center)
<i>ha-ge</i>	<i>hu-gu</i>	(lower than the deictic center)

2.2.2. Demonstratives as determiners

Demonstratives preceding a noun they modify optionally take suffixes expressing gender-number agreement with their head, but in practice, agreement suffixes are very rarely used with demonstratives in modifier function.

2.2.3. Demonstratives as pronouns

In pronoun function, demonstratives are inflected for gender-number and case. In the nominative, they take a suffix *-we* (M), *-je* (F), *-be* (N), *-ji* (HPL), or *-re* (NPL). In the other cases, they take an oblique stem formative *-su-* (M), *-ši-* (F/N), *-do-* (HPL), or *-di-* (NPL), followed by the case marker.

2.2.4. Demonstratives and the intensifying particle *-da*

‘The same *N*’ can be expressed by attaching the intensifying particle *-da* to demonstratives in determiner function, but the intensifying particle cannot attach to demonstratives used as pronouns.

2.3. The anaphoric pronoun *ži-*

ži- is called ‘anaphoric pronoun’ because it can refer exclusively to entities already introduced in the discourse and cannot draw its reference from the speech situation. Its inflection involves gender-number suffixes in the nominative, and oblique stem formatives followed by the case marker in the other cases, with the following particularities:

- the HPL suffix is *-ba* instead of the regular HPL suffix *-ji*;

- the oblique stem formatives are the same as for the demonstrative pronouns, but they attach to a stem *ĩ-* entirely different from the stem *ži-* to which class suffixes attach in the nominative.

Nom.	<i>ži-we</i> (M)	<i>ži-je</i> (F)	/	<i>ži-be</i> (N)
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Erg.	<i>ĩ-š<u>u</u>-de</i>	<i>ĩ-š<u>ĩ</u>-de</i>
Dat.	<i>ĩ-š<u>u</u>-la</i>	<i>ĩ-š<u>ĩ</u>-la</i>
Gén.	<i>ĩ-š<u>u</u></i>	<i>ĩ-š<u>ĩ</u>-l<u>ĩ</u></i>
Comit.	<i>ĩ-š<u>u</u>-k'ena</i>	<i>ĩ-š<u>ĩ</u>-k'ena</i>
etc.		

Nom.	<i>ži-ba</i> (HPL)	<i>ži-re</i> (NPL)
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Erg.	<i>ĩ-do-de</i>	<i>ĩ-di-de</i>
Dat.	<i>ĩ-do-la</i>	<i>ĩ-di-la</i>
Gén.	<i>ĩ-do</i>	<i>ĩ-di-l<u>ĩ</u></i>
Comit.	<i>ĩ-do-k'ena</i>	<i>ĩ-di-k'ena</i>
etc.		

The forms given in the chart above are used as long-distance reflexive pronouns, or logophoric pronouns (see Section 4.1).

The addition of the intensifying particle *-da* to the anaphoric pronoun *ži-* gives intensifiers used to emphasize the identity of referents other than speech act participants. In other words, functionally, the intensive form of *ži-* is the intensifier corresponding to demonstrative pronouns. In addition to its use as 3rd person intensifier, the intensive form of *ži-* is used as a 3rd person reflexive pronoun in local reflexivization.

3. Direct and indirect speech: general remarks

Reported speech involves a reporting speech act and a reported speech act. The theoretical perspective adopted here is that canonical direct speech and canonical indirect speech are ideal(ized) types that are not necessarily attested in languages, but provide a theoretical framework within which it is possible to develop a typology of the variations in the way languages organize reported speech:

- in *canonical direct speech*, the reported utterance is not necessarily the exact reproduction of its original formulation, but it is formulated as it could have been uttered by the original speaker;
- in *canonical indirect speech*, the reported utterance is in all respects re-formulated from the perspective of the reporting speaker.

In this perspective, languages do not necessarily have a clear-cut distinction between two (or more) alternative strategies incompatible with each other within the limits of a given instance of reported speech. It is perfectly conceivable that features characteristic of (canonical) direct and indirect speech co-exist in one and the same reported utterance, and a cross-linguistic study of a variety of languages would be necessary before putting forward any hypothesis about the possible combinations of direct and indirect speech features in the way languages codify reported speech.

Deictic shifts are admittedly a crucial element of canonical indirect speech: in canonical direct speech, all deictically sensitive expressions encode the perspective of the original speaker, whereas in canonical indirect speech, they invariably reflect the perspective of the reporting speaker. Among deictic shifts, those affecting person deixis are particularly easy to observe.

Non-canonical instances of reported speech may involve splits according to semantic dimension (e.g. deictic shift in person, but not in spatial deixis, or in tense). However, among the phenomena contradicting the traditional assumption of a universal dichotomy between direct and indirect speech, those involving splits within the same semantic dimension are particularly significant. This paper deals with a split in person deixis in Northern Akhvakh reported speech.

In some languages, the deictic shifts characteristic of indirect speech may correlate with morphosyntactic characteristics of reported clauses, for example, the use of a complementizer in indirect speech contrasting with its absence in direct speech. Nothing similar exists in Northern Akhvakh: irrespective of the presence of features characteristic of either direct or indirect speech, reported utterances are invariably followed by *(e)l'ē*, converbial form or *eL'urula* 'say'. This means for example that it is impossible to find in Akhvakh the equivalent of the distinction between English *A said: 'B came'* and *A said that B came*. The corresponding Akhvakh sentence (*A-de eL'ari [B woq'ari] l'ē*)¹ shows absolutely no evidence of having been built according to a direct or indirect speech strategy.

4. The coding of speech act participants in Northern Akhvakh reported speech.

4.1. The use of the anaphoric pronouns *ži-* in logophoric function

An important characteristic of Northern Akhvakh reported speech is the use of the anaphoric pronoun *ži-* in logophoric function. As illustrated by ex. (1), in Akhvakh, as in other languages in which reported speech is sensitive to logophoricity, the pronouns used to represent already introduced referents in non-logophoric contexts (in Akhvakh, the demonstrative pronouns) cannot be used to represent the original speaker of a reported utterance.

¹ In the examples, square brackets delimit reported utterances.

- (1) a. *ek^wa-s^w-e eĭ^ʔ-ari [ĩ-s^w-a b-eq^ʔ-ik-e] ĩ^ʔē.*
 man-M₀-ERG say-PF₁ ANA-M₀-DAT N-know-PF.NEG-N say-ADV.N
 ‘The man_i said that he_j does not know.’
- b. *ek^wa-s^w-e eĭ^ʔ-ari [hu-s^w-a b-eq^ʔ-ik-e] ĩ^ʔē.*
 man-M₀-ERG say-PF₁ DIST-M₀-DAT N-know-PF.NEG-N say-ADV.N
 ‘The man_i said that he_j does not know.’

4.2. Variations in the encoding of the original speaker

The use of the anaphoric pronouns in logophoric function constitutes of course a feature characteristic of indirect discourse. The original speaker may however be encoded by a 1st person pronoun in the reported utterance, as in (1c), and both strategies are equally well-attested in my corpus.

- (1) c. *ek^wa-s^w-e eĭ^ʔ-ari [di-la b-eq^ʔ-ik-e] ĩ^ʔē.*
 man-M₀-ERG say-PF₁ 1SG₀-DAT N-know-PF.NEG-N say-ADV.N
 ‘The man said: I do not know.’²

Moreover, in the same stretch of reported speech, it is common that the anaphoric pronoun and the 1st person pronoun are alternatively used to encode the same original speaker, which quite obviously constitutes a lack of consistency with respect to the distinction between direct and indirect speech. In ex. (2), the original speaker is successively represented in the reported utterance by *dĭla*, dative of the 1st person singular pronoun, and *ĩswe*, masculine singular ergative of the anaphoric pronoun. Note that the reverse order, with the original speaker represented successively by the anaphoric pronoun and the 1st person pronoun, is also attested in the corpus.

- (2) [*mede čwige dĭlada rãč^ʔada jaše dĭla rãč^ʔiwa? ĩswe huje jeĭlida gĭla*] ĩ^ʔē č^ʔilo
eĭa wõho gudi.
 ‘He said “Why did you ask for **me** the girl you had asked for yourself? I will not marry her” and left.’

Evans Forthcoming mentions cases of languages in which person deixis in reported utterances is conditioned by the syntactic role fulfilled by the pronouns representing the participants in the reported speech act. In Northern Akhvakh, there is no syntactic conditioning in the choice between *ži-* in logophoric function and the 1st person pronoun.

4.3. The encoding of the original addressee

When the original addressee coincides with the reporting speaker (as in *He told me that I should go*) the 1st person is commonly used in the reported utterance to encode the participant fulfilling at the same time the roles of original addressee and

² Note that, in Akhvakh, this sentence is ambiguous with ‘The man said that I do not know’.

reporting speaker, but when this is not the case, the original addressee is almost invariably represented by a 2nd person pronoun, as in Ex. (3).

- (3) *χã-sũ-de rãc'-ẽ-wudi, [me-de čugu c'ar-uš-e-wa] l'ẽ.*
 king-M₀-ERG ask-N-PF₃ 2SG-ERG why drink-NEG-N-PF₄ say-ADV.N
 'The king asked him why he did not drink.'

Ex. (4) illustrates the possibility that the original addressee (here *žiži žamaŋatẽiga* 'all the džama'ats (allative₁)') is represented by the demonstrative (here *hudode* 'they (human plural, ergative)'), but this possibility is extremely marginal since my corpus includes no other instance of a reported utterance with a demonstrative representing the original addressee.

- (4) *dabistaĩ gubernatoršwe amru gujẽ bik'wawudi žiži žamaŋatẽiga, [hudode ĩdoda ģdo kuraku muħamaħarune eša belilala, hugu hãdila č'o ruħida] l'ẽ.*
 'The governor of Daghestan had given an order to all the džama'ats, saying that if **they** did not withdraw their men from Kuraku Muhama's army, the villages should be burnt.'

There is consequently a clear asymmetry in the way the original speaker and the original addressee are encoded in Northern Akhvakh reported speech: both strategies (direct and indirect) are equally common in the encoding of the original speaker, which in particular can be unambiguously encoded by *ži-* in logophoric function, whereas the direct strategy is the only usual strategy for the original addressee, unless s/he coincides with the reporting speaker.

4.4. Reported clauses mentioning both the original speaker and the original addressee

As illustrated by Ex. (5), the asymmetry in the treatment of the original speaker and the original addressee results in the frequency of reported utterances combining the indirect strategy in the encoding of the original speaker and the direct strategy in the encoding of the original addressee. In my corpus, reported utterances including both a logophoric pronoun encoding the original speaker (indirect strategy) and a 2nd person pronoun encoding the original addressee (direct strategy) constitute an extremely common configuration.

- (5) *wašo-de žawa o-x-e godi, [me-de ži-we w-uħuħ-ari] l'ẽ.*
 boy₀-ERG answer N-give-ADV.N COP₁.N 2SG-ERG ANA-M M-raise-PF₁ say-ADV.N
 'The boy answered, "You raised me."'

8. Conclusion

In Northern Akhvakh reported speech, the encoding of deictically sensitive expressions constitutes the only clue to the distinction between direct and indirect

speech, and reported utterances with mixed person deixis are extremely common. Aspects of deixis in reported speech other than person deixis remain to be investigated, but the obvious conclusion one must draw from the observation of person deixis is that reported speech in Northern Akhvakh cannot be described on the basis of a global classification of reported utterances as direct or indirect quotations. In this paper, I have shown that Northern Akhvakh reported speech is characterized by a marked asymmetry in the treatment of the participants in the original speech act: even when both are mentioned in the same clause, the original addressee is almost invariably represented by a 2nd person pronoun (unless s/he coincides with the reporting speaker), whereas the encoding of the original speaker by a 1st person pronoun or by a logophoric pronoun are equally common.

I am not in a position to determine the extent of this phenomenon across the branches of the Nakh-Daghestanian family, but reported clauses including a logophoric pronoun representing the original speaker and a 2nd person pronoun representing the original addressee seem to be common at least in the other Andic languages.

Abbreviations

...₀ = oblique stem, ADV = adverbial agreement,³ ANA = anaphoric pronoun, COP = copula, DAT = dative, DIST = distal, ERG = ergative, F = feminine, M = masculine, N = non-human, NEG = negation, PF = perfective, SG = singular.

References

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³ 'Adverbial agreement' designates a set of agreement marks found in several types of adverbial forms, including the general converb.