DEMONSTRATIVES IN NIVKH: A SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

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This paper offers a comprehensive analysis of the morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features of Nivkh demonstratives, which represent a typologically interesting example of an exceptionally elaborated speaker-anchored deictic system. The deictic properties of the demonstratives can be described either in terms of a binary system, with the opposition between proximal and non-proximal areas as viewed from the deictic centre, or in terms of a multiple system that is organized hierarchically and may be divided into primary and secondary systems, which together define fifteen spatial zones around the deictic centre. Beyond spatial proximity, the demonstratives may also encode a number of non-deictic features, such as quality, quantity, dimension, location, preciseness of location, and visibility. This paper distinguishes between six morphosyntactic classes of demonstratives and shows how the different deictic and non-deictic features correlate with their pragmatic uses.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nivkh, also known as Gilyak, is a moribund language spoken in several dialects on Sakhalin Island and in the Amur region of Russia.[1] Being a language isolate not genetically connected with any other languages spoken in the area or elsewhere, it is traditionally classified as "Paleosiberian" or "Paleoasiatic". Nivkh forms a chain of dialects with a major split between the Amur dialect on the continent, as well as on West and North Sakhalin, on the one hand, and the East Sakhalin and the South Sakhalin (extinct) dialects, on the other. These dialects differ substantially in phonology, grammar, and lexicon, and according to native speakers their mutual intelligibility is very limited.

Typologically, Nivkh is an agglutinating, head-marking, polysynthetic language with elements of morphological fusion and SOV word order (Mattissen 2003; Gruzdeva 2003). The East Sakhalin dialect also displays some analytical features.

Nivkh belongs to so-called "spatial languages" that have an extremely elaborated and complex system for the expression of spatial reference. The language employs different kinds of frames of reference (Levinson 2003) and various strategies for spatial orientation that are lexicalized in different word classes. A special role is played by the anthropocentric or, more precisely,

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egocentric frame of reference, which is thoroughly grammaticalized in the group of demonstratives that represent the most numerous and elaborated subclass of Nivkh spatial expressions. Nivkh demonstratives form a complex deictic system, which comprises up to fifteen distance categories and clearly challenges the predominant theoretical view that there are never really more than three in language deictic systems (Fillmore 1982: 48–49).

Historically, Nivkh was in contact with Tungusic languages both in the Amur area and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu (isolate) language on Sakhalin. Although Nivkh has received typological influence, especially from the Tungusic side, this influence seems to have not affected the system of deictics. In fact, none of the neighboring languages have a deictic system that is even remotely comparable in complexity to that of Nivkh. In the North Eurasian context, only Eskaleutic (Eskimo-Aleut) languages can compete with Nivkh in this regard.

A detailed spatial differentiation is based on the common territorial knowledge shared by the speaker(s) and the addressee(s). Being a semi-sedentary people whose main occupation is fishing and sea-mammal hunting, the Nivkh used to be divided into clans, with each clan occupying a rather small area that comprised, first, their summer and winter dwellings and, second, their hunting and fishing territories. The Sakhalin Nivkhs, for instance, occupied territories along the sea shore that were almost completely surrounded by water and therefore isolated from the neighbouring areas. Every Nivkh was aware of the local landscape and was able to easily orient himself/herself in the surrounding territory. This tradition of geographical knowledge resulted in the development of a unique spatial system, which is the focus of the present article.

Previous studies have focused on various aspects of Nivkh demonstratives. The first article specifically devoted to Nivkh spatial orientation was written by E.A. Krejnovich (1960), who returned to this issue also later (Krejnovich 1986). Both articles focus on the geocentric system of spatial reference, in which connection the author briefly touches on the specific semantics of several Nivkh demonstratives. Importantly, Krejnovich was the first scholar to notice the deictic distinctions that in the current paper are defined as the secondary deictic system. A more detailed description of demonstratives in Amur Nivkh was provided by V.Z. Panfilov in his grammar (1962: 240–247; 1965: 176, 179). He distinguishes three semantic classes of demonstrative pronouns, which in the present article are labeled as "basic", "qualitative", and "quantitative". Panfilov also indirectly differentiates between demonstrative determiners and adverbs, draws attention to a specific class of demonstrative identifiers, and points out some relevant dialectal differences. The East Sakhalin data on spatial orientation was considered in (Gruzdeva 2006; 2008).

As of now, there still exists no holistic description of the various classes of demonstratives used in different dialects, nor is there a systematic understanding of their semantic peculiarities. Moreover, little is known about the possible pragmatic uses of Nivkh demonstratives. This article aims at filling these gaps by presenting a comprehensive analysis of the morphosyntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of demonstratives, as attested in both the East Sakhalin (ES) and the Amur (A) dialects. The discussion is basically descriptive, but besides presenting the language data, I will offer some generalizations concerning the conceptualization of space and the correlation between the semantic and pragmatic features of demonstratives. The description is based on data from the extant research literature, as well as from my own field data collected during my fieldwork on Sakhalin Island and in the Amur area in 1989–2019 (especially in 2000). The study includes both elicited examples and examples of actual use of demonstratives in context. It should be noted that contemporary speakers do not necessarily remember and, therefore, do not use some of the demonstratives discussed in this paper. In order to reconstruct

the whole system, it was crucial to rely on the data recorded by former researchers under "healthier" linguistic conditions. Due to ongoing language obsolescence, it seems to be already impossible to perform any experiments or collect any new data on the topic.

The article is organized as follows. Section 2 specifies the parameters that underlie the typology of Nivkh demonstratives. Section 3 discusses pragmatic uses of demonstratives, whereas Section 4 presents their morphological structure. Section 5 focuses on the Nivkh conceptualization of space, showing the opposition between binary and multiple deictic systems. Sections 6 through 11 consecutively investigate the properties of demonstratives belonging to the various morphosyntactic classes. Section 12 reviews the pragmatic uses of the demonstratives, while Section 13 summarizes the main findings.

2. TYPOLOGY OF DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives can be simply defined as grammatical words – or, occasionally, clitics or affixes – which can have a pointing (or deictic) reference (Dixon 2003: 61). They are basically employed for conveying spatial deictic relations, and their meaning depends on the external frame of reference (i.e. a set of coordinate axes in terms of which position or movement may be specified). Himmelmann (1996: 210) suggests the following criterion for identification of demonstratives: "the element must be in a paradigmatic relation to elements which […] locate the entity referred to on a distance scale: as proximal, distal, etc." The basic communicative function of deictic forms is "to individuate or single out objects of reference or address in terms of their relation to the current interactive context in which the utterance occurs" (Hanks 1992: 47).

This section discusses the grammar, semantics, and pragmatics of both prototypical demonstratives that fall under the definitions given above and grammatical words that can be conventionally called "quasidemonstratives". These words do not have a pointing reference but are used in discourse in a deictic function typical of demonstratives, which they also resemble structurally.

Cross-linguistically, the grammar and semantics of demonstratives may be analysed according to several parameters (specified by Hanks 1990; 1992; Diessel 1999). Let us have a brief preliminary look at the system of Nivkh demonstratives from the point of view of these parameters.

Morphosyntactic features

In Nivkh, the variety of forms with a spatial deictic reference is quite considerable. Deictically contrastive words which according to the definition given below may be qualified as demonstratives form a closed class of forms that belong to six morphosyntactic categories: (i) demonstrative pronouns, (ii) demonstrative determiners, (iii) demonstrative verbs, (iv) demonstrative adverbs, (v) demonstrative identifiers, and (vi) demonstrative sentence connectives.[2] The morphosyntactic distinctions between different types of demonstratives are based on their morphological properties, syntactic functions, and specific forms, which are discussed in detail in the corresponding sections below.

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2 Four of these categories are suggested in Diessel (1999: 4). However, Diessel does not distinguish between demonstrative verbs or demonstrative sentence connectives.

Referent type

A referent or denotatum type defines classes of referents individuated by different categories of the deictic (Lyons 1977; Hanks 1990; 1992: 51). Diessel (1999: 47) considers a referent type within the category of ontology, arguing, first, that this category subsumes two semantic domains (i.e. person/object vs. location), and, second, that in most languages location is referred to by demonstrative adverbs, whereas person or object is indicated by demonstrative pronouns. Indeed, Nivkh differentiates reference to persons/objects and locations, but in contrast to Diessel's statement, location may be indicated in this language not only by demonstrative adverbs but also by demonstrative pronouns.

Characterizing features

Nivkh demonstratives may encode the referent without indicating its properties (which is done by general or non-specialized demonstratives) or they may include reference to such properties of the referent(s) as quality, dimension, quantity, location, and preciseness of location.

Additional semantic and pragmatic features

Other additional semantic and pragmatic features that are integrated into the system of Nivkh demonstratives are visibility, politeness, and size (of quantity).

Deictic (relational) features

Demonstratives that can be used in the deictic function (i.e. prototypical demonstratives) may be classified according to their deictic features, which specify their relation to the deictic centre (see Bühler 1982). In Nivkh, the deictic centre is always represented by the speaker. The basis of a deictic relation is a location of an entity on a distance scale relative to the deictic centre. The Nivkh deictic apparatus may be divided into *binary* and *multiple* deictic systems. The binary system, based on the opposition of proximal (≈ this) and non-proximal (≈ that) zones around the speaker, is well known cross-linguistically. More than a half of Nivkh demonstratives make use of this opposition. The multiple deictic system has a hierarchial structure and may be further subdivided into the basic primary system and the secondary system, which is integrated into the primary one. The primary system involves the following five spatial zones around the speaker: proximal, close, medial, remote, and distal. Based on this system, several classes of Nivkh demonstratives have a set of five forms, each of which refers to one or another of these five spatial zones. The secondary system involves the opposition of close, medial, and remote spatial zones within each of the primary zones, so that the number of distance distinctions reaches fifteen. In Nivkh, only one specific class of demonstratives (viz. the locational pronouns) employs both the primary and the secondary multiple systems.

The typology of Nivkh prototypical demonstratives that summarizes all the features considered above is represented in Table 1.

Table 1 The typology of Nivkh prototypical demonstratives

Morphosyntactic class	Referent type	Characterizing features	Additional semantic and pragmatic features	Deictic system
Demonstrative pronouns	basic	general	visibility	multiple (primary)
		qualitative	politeness (in ES)	binary
		dimensional	—	binary
		quantitative	size (in A)	binary
	locational	precise	—	multiple (primary + secondary)
		non-precise	—	multiple (primary + secondary)
Demonstrative determiners		general	visibility	multiple (primary)
		qualitative	politeness (in ES)	binary
Demonstrative verbs		qualitative	politeness (in ES)	binary
		dimensional	—	binary
		locational	—	binary
Demonstrative adverbs		qualitative	politeness (in ES)	binary
		locational	—	multiple (primary)
Demonstrative identifiers		general	—	multiple (primary)

3. PRAGMATIC USES OF DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are known to be used in three major types of domain: exophoric (situational) use, endophoric (contextual) use, and expressive use (Himmelmann 1996: 218–43).

Following Halliday and Hasan (1976: 57–76) and Diessel (1999: 91), I use the notion *exophoric* for demonstratives that are used with reference to entities which are concretely present in the speech situation and are therefore located in the speaker's perceptive area. Being used exophorically, demonstratives serve a language-internal function - they focus the hearer's attention on entities in the speech situation and are characterized by the following three features that distinguish them from all other uses (Diessel 1999: 94): (a) they involve the speaker as the deictic centre, (b) they indicate a deictic contrast on a distance scale, and (c) they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture.

The term *endophoric* basically refers to the following three types of demonstrative uses: anaphoric use, discourse deictic use, and recognitional use.

Demonstratives in anaphoric and discourse deictic functions refer to elements of the ongoing discourse (Lyons 1977; Levinson 1983; Himmelmann 1996; Fillmore 1997; Diessel 1999). Demonstratives in *anaphoric* use are coreferential with a prior NP, keeping track of preceding discourse participants, whereas demonstratives in discourse deictic use – or textual anaphors (Dixon 2003: 64) – are related to propositions; they link the clause in which they are embedded to the propositions to which they refer (Levinson 1983: 83; Diessel 1999).

Demonstratives in *recognitional* use are not connected with the elements of the surrounding discourse. Rather, they are used to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on specific shared knowledge (Diessel 1999: 93). As is also typical of other languages, recognitional use is restricted in Nivkh to demonstrative determiners.

The *expressive*, emotional, or affective function of demonstratives serves to attract attention to the referent. It is usually considered outside the scope of endophoric usage, since it is in no way directly connected with the text.

As has been noted, the system of Nivkh demonstratives comprises so-called "quasidemonstratives" that cannot be qualified as prototypical demonstratives, since they are not used in a deictic or pointing function. They do not have any deictic reference to an activity, either actual or mimicked (Dixon 2003: 72), and they do not encode any sort of distance distinction. They are used only in an endophoric (or, more precisely, discourse deictic) function. Nivkh has several quasidemonstratives (i.e. a quasidemonstrative verb, a quasidemonstrative determiner, and quasidemonstrative sentence connectives).

4. MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF NIVKH DEMONSTRATIVES

Nivkh demonstratives are bi-morphemic and consist of a deictic root (base) and a derivational suffix which defines the morphosyntactic category of the demonstrative. Demonstratives with identical semantic and deictic features are usually built on the same root. Thus, all proximal demonstratives have a root that begins with the consonant *t* (cf. demonstratives with the root *tu-/tə-* in Table 2 and with the roots *təɲɪi-/təmci-*, *təmra-* in Table 3).

The final element of a demonstrative differs depending on its morphosyntactic class and may represent, for instance, a nominalizer for pronouns and determiners, a locative marker for adverbs, and so forth.

Table 2 Proximal demonstratives with the root *tu-/tə-* in the East Sakhalin dialect[3]

Proximal demonstrative	Morphosyntactic and semantic class
tu-d, tu-nt, tə-nt	general demonstrative pronoun
tu-n, tu-nə, tu-na, tu-nək, tu-nak, tu-nař, tu-ɲira, tu-ɲijeq, tu-ɲeq, tu-ɲijeqnər, tu-ɲeqnər, tə-ɲivarər	dimensional demonstrative pronoun
tu-s	precise locational demonstrative pronoun
tu-kř	non-precise locational demonstrative pronoun
tu-ŋs, tu-ŋks, tu-ŋř	quantitative demonstrative pronoun
tu-ŋ, tə-ŋ	general demonstrative determiner
tu-na-d	dimensional demonstrative verb
tu-nx	locational demonstrative adverb
tə-ɲeq, tə-ɲira	demonstrative identifier

Table 3 Proximal qualitative demonstratives with the roots *təɲɪi-/təmci-*, *təmra-*
in the East Sakhalin dialect

Proximal qualitative demonstrative	Morphosyntactic and semantic class
təɲɪi-d, təmci-d, təmra-d	qualitative demonstrative pronoun / verb
təɲɪi-ŋ, təmci-ŋ, təmra-ŋ	qualitative demonstrative determiner
təɲɪi-ř/təɲɪi-t, təɲɪi-gu-ř/təɲɪi-gu-t/ təɲɪi-gu-n, təmra-ř	qualitative demonstrative adverb

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3 All Nivkh examples are given in IPA transcription, except for the voiceless trill/fricative, which is pronounced [r̥] in the Amur dialect and [r̥ʃ] in the East Sakhalin dialect. In the examples cited in this paper, this sound is indicated by the letter *ř*. The components of (poly)synthetic complexes are separated by the symbol "+". The transcription of examples taken from the research literature is kept without changes. The morphological line in all examples is mine.

5. NIVKH CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SPACE

As has already been noted, the Nivkh speaker may conceptualize the surrounding space in different ways. It may be, for instance, conceived of as a binary (or a two-term) system with the opposition between proximal and non-proximal areas, assuming the speaker as the deictic centre. Alternatively, it may be conceptualized as a multiple system, comprising either five or fifteen spatial zones around the speaker.
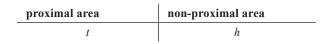
Choosing one or another demonstrative for spatial specification is determined by the speaker's perspective, which may change, depending on the described situation. It is known that the semantic values of demonstratives depend on the real-world context in which they are uttered (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 301). As Laury (1997: 52) points out, speakers use demonstratives dynamically to create attentional focus and to regulate and express their orientation and stance towards referents, as well as their own and their addressees' access to them.

The deictic centre may be constant or it may shift between the participants of the speech situation. The constant deictic centre represented by the speaker is typical mostly of binary systems. Cross-linguistic studies demonstrate that in multiple systems (with three, four, or more distant distinctions), there are usually several deictic centres, namely, the speaker, the addressee, and the area that surrounds both participants of the speech situation. The Nivkh system differs from most other distance-based systems, since it can be described as basically speaker-anchored or egocentric (see Hawkins 1984; Janssen 2004). As will be shown, Nivkh demonstratives are sensitive to the position of the addressee only when the speaker and the addressee form a united deictic centre with respect to which the location of the third-party participants is defined.

5.1 Binary deictic system

According to Anderson and Keenan (1985: 281), all languages exemplify at least two distinct deictic categories. As expected, in Nivkh, the binary system is based on the fundamental opposition between a speaker's – or proximal – area, which is marked by demonstratives beginning with the consonant *t*, and a non-speaker's – or non-proximal – area, which is referred to by demonstratives with an initial *h*, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4 The initial consonants of demonstratives encoding the binary deictic system in Nivkh

proximal area	non-proximal area
t	*h*

The terms proximal versus non-proximal, as used here, are conventional, since the semantic distinction between demonstratives in *t* and *h* may be interpreted not only as purely spatial, based on the location of referents in the objective world, but potentially implying different pragmatic factors, among which a central role is played by the accessibility of a referent to the speaker and by the speaker's attentional and actional focus. According to Enfield (2003), a proximal area may be more precisely called the speaker's engagement area, which at the speech moment is the conceived site of the speaker's currently dominant manual and attentional engagement (see also the notion of "region of focal referential concern" in Janssen 2002: 181–182). The perimeter of this area may shift constantly, increasing or decreasing from moment to moment.

In general, the binary deictic opposition is not symmetrical, since the non-proximal demonstratives are less specific than the proximal ones. In many cases, non-proximal demonstratives simply indicate that the referent is outside of the speaker's area without specifying its actual location.

The binary deictic opposition is encoded in Nivkh by qualitative, dimensional, and quantitative demonstrative pronouns, as well as by qualitative demonstrative determiners, demonstrative verbs, and qualitative demonstrative adverbs.

5.2 Multiple deictic system

The multiple deictic system is organized hierarchically and may be divided into primary and secondary systems, both of which are distance-oriented.

5.2.1 Primary multiple deictic system

The semantic basis of the primary multiple deictic system is a five-term contrast along the horizontal dimension of the distance to the speaker. The speaker has a clear conception of the surrounding space, which can be divided into consecutive radial areas that are easily identifiable both by the speaker and by the addressee: once the referent is in one or another area, it can be referred to by a demonstrative with the corresponding deictic root (see Table 5). However, the distance between the deictic areas is relative and the boundaries of each area may shift, depending on the speech situation.

Table 5 The roots of demonstratives encoding the primary multiple deictic system in Nivkh

	proximal area	close area	medial area	remote area	distal area
ES	*tu-*	*hu-*	*eɣ-/e-*	*au-/a-*	*ajɣ-/aj-*
A	*tə-*	*hə-*		*a-/ahə-*	*ae:hə-*

Moreover, as in the binary deictic system, the choice of demonstratives encoding the multiple system is determined not only by concrete distance from the speaker but also by such contingent factors as attention, common ground, and cultural and personal conceptions of space, as well as physical features of the interactional space (Enfield 2003: 83, 91), first of all its openness or closeness.

The proximal or the speaker's area of a multiple system is characterized by the same features as the corresponding area in the binary system. As a sphere of the speaker's current attention and action, it forms an inner circle around the speaker, whereas all other areas belong to the outer circle, according to Levinson (2003: 68). As will be seen from the examples below, the proximal area may be spatially rather extended, especially when the interaction takes place in a closed space. The corresponding demonstratives are derived from the roots with the initial consonant *t*, as in the binary system.

The close area of a multiple system is reasonably close to the speaker, being located up to several metres away. It is not, however, directly associated with the addressee. In fact, the concrete distance from the speaker is seldom decisive in the use of the demonstratives derived from the corresponding root. What is important is that the close area does not belong to the speaker's inner circle. Even if a certain class of demonstratives encodes all possible grades of

spatial distance from the speaker, the speaker may still use a close demonstrative in a simple non-proximal sense, referring to any person or object outside the speaker's area, no matter how far away from the speaker he/she/it is located. In that case, the speaker, in principle, has an opportunity to specify the location of the referent according to the multiple deictic system, but chooses to use the binary one. As can be seen in Table 5, the corresponding demonstratives have the initial consonant *h*, like the non-proximal demonstratives utilizing the binary system.

On the contrary, the concrete distance to the speaker is mostly essential for the medial, remote, and distal areas that form the outer circle with respect not only to the speaker but to the addressee. One can say that with respect to these areas, the deictic centre is conceptualized as the common domain of the speaker and the addressee (Diessel 1999: 41). In general, however, the primary five-term deictic system is not sensitive to the position of the addressee proper.

The perimeter of the outer circle depends on the openness or closeness of the interactional space. Thus, in the open space it is usually extended up to the skyline. In that case, the medial area is something relatively far away from both interlocutors, whereas the remote area is even farther away, but still visible nonetheless. The distal area is the most distant region, being located somewhere near the horizon.

In case the interlocutors interact in a closed space (for example, in a room), demonstratives derived from all the above-mentioned deictic roots may be used to emphasize the position of referents located at different distances from the speaker within the space. Naturally, the proximal form is used with respect to the closest referent, whereas the distal form encodes the referent maximally distant from the speaker (located, for instance, near the opposite wall).

Since the system fails to provide the angular specification of a location, the use of these demonstratives is often accompanied by pointing gestures or glances, functioning as a "gestural" aid and giving finer degrees of angular arc. Demonstratives indicating more distant referents are pronounced with a prolonged intonation (e.g. *a-a-a-ud* 'that one (far away)').

Superimposed on distance distinction is the semantic dimension of the visibility/invisibility of the speaker, which is actualized only in two classes of demonstratives. Demonstratives with the deictic roots cited above may encode only visible referents, while entities out of sight are referred to by demonstratives with the root *ku-* (ES, A). With respect to the invisible demonstratives, the distance distinction is irrelevant – a referent may occur at any distance to the speaker.

In Nivkh, the five-term distance opposition is typical of general basic and locational demonstrative pronouns, general demonstrative determiners, locational demonstrative adverbs, and demonstrative identifiers.

5.2.2 Secondary multiple deictic system

Besides the primary five-term distance contrast, additional dimensions of distance contrast are integrated into the part of the deictic system in the East Sakhalin dialect. This system, which pertains only to the locational demonstrative pronouns, may be called the secondary multiple deictic system.

As has been shown in the previous sections, a deictic root denotes the spatial area within which the position of a referent is determined. In the case of locational demonstrative pronouns, this referent is a place. A spatial area has conventional initial and final borders. For instance, the close area set up by the root *hu-* has an initial border with the proximal area and a final border with the medial area (see Table 5). It appears that it is possible to define the position of a place within each spatial area even more precisely, specifying the relative distance of this place to the

initial border of the area. This secondary deictic system is based on a three-way opposition of close, medial, and distal locations (see Table 6).

Table 6. The suffixes of demonstratives encoding the secondary multiple deictic system in the East Sakhalin dialect

	close place	medial place	distal place
precise location	deictic.root-*s*	deictic.root-*z-ŋa*[4]	deictic.root-*z-ŋa-jo*
non-precise location	deictic.root-*kř*	deictic.root-*kr-ŋa*	deictic.root-*kr-ŋa-jo*

The forms in -*s* and -*kř* without additional deictic markers usually refer to a place close to the initial border of the area (cf. *eγ-s* 'precise place located in the medial area (relative to the speaker) close to the border of the close area'). This initial border of a particular area is the deictic centre for a secondary deictic system. The suffixes -*s* and -*kř* correspondingly refer to precise and non-precise locations.

In case the place is located within the same area but farther away from its initial border, the demonstrative is augmented by the additional suffix –*ŋa* (cf. *eγ-z-ŋa* 'place located in the medial area (relative to the speaker) farther away from the border of the close area').

If the location is even farther away from the area's initial border, one more suffix, -*jo*, appears on the demonstrative (cf. *eγ-z-ŋa-jo* 'place located in the medial area (relative to the speaker) even farther away from the border of the close area').

Note that the system does not make any reference to the final border of the area; therefore, a demonstrative comprising all three suffixes does not necessarily refer to a place close to the final border.

6. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative pronouns make up a complete NP and are principally used independently in argument positions of verbs as subjects, primary objects or secondary objects. They exhibit nominal morphological features, i.e. inflect for number and case in the same way as nouns. In some rare cases (e.g. in possessive constructions) given pronouns can be used adnominally, i.e. function as determiners (cf. formally distinguished demonstrative determiners in Section 7). There seems to be no difference in deictic content between their uses as pronouns or determiners. According to their referential properties, Nivkh demonstrative pronouns are divided into basic (non-locational) demonstrative pronouns, whose denotatum may be characterized as 'the one', and locational demonstrative pronouns that refer to locations.

6.1 Basic demonstrative pronouns

Based on characterizing features, four types of pronouns can be distinguished: general demonstrative pronouns, qualitative demonstrative pronouns, dimensional demonstrative pronouns, and quantitative demonstrative pronouns.

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4 The suffix -*s* and the final consonant of the suffix -*kř* become voiced before -*ŋ*.

6.1.1 General demonstrative pronouns

General demonstrative pronouns encode persons or things without referring to their properties and may be translated as 'this one' and 'that one'. These pronouns comprise a deictic root which is different for each pronoun and the derivational suffix -(*n*)*d*/-(*n*)*t* (ES), -*ɟ*/-*c* (A) which is common for all pronouns, cf. Table 7. The derivational suffix is a nominalizer that also functions as the most commonly occurring predicate marker, synchronically reinterpreted as indicative. As a whole, there is a series of six terms in ES and five terms in A (the last one lacks the medial visible pronoun) that is based on the deictic opposition and the visibility of a referent. The pronouns can serve both exophoric and endophoric functions.

6.1.1.1 Exophoric use

All Nivkh general demonstrative pronouns can be used in the exophoric function, making use of the primary multiple system.

Table 7 General demonstrative pronouns in Nivkh

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-d, tu-nt, tə-nt	*tə-ɟ*	proximal visible one	—
hu-d, hu-nt, hə-nt	*hə-ɟ*	close visible one	immediate anaphora
eɣ-d, ehə-d, ehə-nt	—	medial visible one	—
aɣ-d, ahu-d, aw-d	*a-ɟ, ahə-ɟ*	distal visible one	—
ajɣ-d, ai:x-nt	*ae:hə-ɟ*	remote visible one	—
ku-d, ku-nt	*ku-ɟ*	invisible one	delayed anaphora

The proximal pronoun *tud*/*tunt*/*tənt* (ES), *təɟ* (A) encodes the referent which is in the immediate vicinity of the speaker and is perceptually accessible to both the speaker and the addressee. The objects located in this area can be touched or taken into one's hands, as was pointed out already by Krejnovich (1960: 89). The referent can be either small or big. It is always close enough to be reached by the speaker, being visible and usually known to him/her, therefore expressing both the concrete and social accessibility of the referent (Laury 1997: 59). Only the proximal demonstrative can be used for reference to objects which the speaker is manipulating. In (1) and (2), the speaker is holding in his hands an object referred to by *tud* and *təɟ*, giving or showing it to the addressee:

(1) **tud** + *ɣe-ja!*
    proximal.one + take-IMP:2SG

    'Take this one!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(2) *atak-a:!*   **təɟ** + *ajma-ja!*   **təɟ**   *siɟ=ŋa?*
    grandfather-VOC   proximal.one + look-IMP:2SG   proximal.one   what=Q

    'Grandfather! Look at this! What is this?' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 242)

The proximal demonstrative is therefore associated with high-focus gestures, such as presenting in one's hands, touching, or pointing to the referent (Hanks 1990: 22). Even if the speaker does not hold the object in his/her hands, the last one should be in the immediate vicinity of the speaker and represent the focus of his/her attention; cf. (3) and (4):

(3) *ɲi naf-toɣo əɣřciŋ* **tud-ak** *pil-ŋ + cʰxəf + kʰu-ɢavr-d.*
    I   now-DEST never proximal.one-COMP be.big-NMLZ + bear +kill-NEG-NMLZ/IND

    'Until now I [have] never killed a bear bigger than this one.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(4) *cʰi* **təɟ** *+ xna-l?*
    you:SG proximal.one + paint-Q

    'Did you paint this one?' (A) (Krejnovich 1934: 212)

In case the speaker interacts inside an enclosed area surrounded by physical barriers (e.g. a room), the whole place irrespective of its size may be considered a speaker's proximal area. Correspondingly, all the persons/objects in this area that comprise the focus of the speaker's attention and whose physical distance to the speaker is not relevant in that particular speech situation may be referred to by the proximal pronoun cf. *tund-xun* 'these ones' in (5):

(5) *antx-a   eʁnkuř   kuz-ř   vi-ja!* **tund-xun** *uɲiřk-xun=ta.*
    guest-VOC fast:3SG come.out-CVB:NAR:2SG go-IMP:2SG proximal.one-PL cannibal-PL=FOC

    'Guest! Coming out, go [away] quickly! These ones are cannibals!' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 7)

In other cases, such as when the interactional space does not have any clear physical boundaries or when the physical distance of the referent to the speaker within the enclosed place is relevant, the use of the proximal pronoun in an extended sense is impossible.

   The close pronoun *hud/hunt/hənt* (ES), *həɟ* (A) indicates that the referent is at a moderate distance from the speaker, visible, and often (but not necessarily) unknown. Krejnovich (1960: 89) emphasizes that persons or objects located in the close area cannot be touched but should be pointed at. For instance, in (6), the speaker is standing on the shore, whereas the boat which is referred to by *hud* is at some distance from him in the water. Likewise, in (7), a person referred to by *həɟ* is at least several metres away from the speaker.

(6) *Pulkun* **hud-ɣiř** *vi-d.*
    Pulkun   close.one-INSTR go-NMLZ/IND

    'Pulkun went by that one (=boat).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(7) *ɲi* **həɟ-ax** *cʰ-sa-gu-nə-ɟ=ra.*
    I   close.one-CAUSEE 2SG-beat-CAUS-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

    'I shall force that one to beat you.' (A) (Krejnovich 1934: 209)

It should be noted that apart from objects, persons are typically referred to by personal pronouns rather than by demonstratives. By using the close demonstrative with respect to a person, the speaker may either want to focus on the location of the referent or make understood that he/she is not familiar with the person(s) he/she is talking about. In the latter case, the demonstrative is used with the "emotional connotation" (see, e.g., Dixon 2003: 91). Therefore, while the proximal pronoun indicates both concrete and abstract proximity, such as relative physical location and mental familiarity (Mithun 1999: 133), the close pronoun expresses both more distant location and less mental familiarity; cf. (8):

(8) **hud-ɣun-doχ** *cʰo + roz-d.*
    close.one-PL-DAT   fish + give.out-NMLZ/IND

    '[I] gave out fish to those ones (not familiar to me).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

In line with the previous observation, the situational spatial opposition between proximal and close pronouns loses its importance when the pronouns are used to address somebody. Thus, when appealing to a wife, husband, or person of the same age who appears to be "psychologically proximal" to the speaker (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 278), the latter uses the vocative form of the proximal pronoun (cf. *tud-a:* 'this one' in (9)). By using the close pronoun (which is situationally more distant), the speaker addresses an unknown person or emphasizes a slighting attitude towards the addressee (cf. *həɹ-a* in (10)). In both cases, the situational distance from the speaker is not a decisive factor, since either addressee may be in the same near-to-speaker area.

(9) **tud-a:** *oz-ja!*
  proximal.one-VOC get.up-IMP:2SG

  'This one, get up!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

(10) **həɹ-a** *cʰi oʁla + tʰo-r pʰrə-lo?*
  close.one-VOC you:SG child+ bring:CVB:NAR:2SG come-Q

  'That one, did you bring a child?' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 243)

The spatial factor comes back into the picture when the addressee is situated in the far-to-speaker area. In that case, the vocative form of the remote pronoun is used; cf. *aɹ-a* in (11):

(11) **aɹ-a** *ɲəŋ-doχ pʰrə-ja!*
  remote.one-VOC we:EXCL-DAT come-IMP:2SG

  'That one, come to us!' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 28)

The semantic distinction between the medial pronoun *eɣd/ehəd/ehənt* (ES), the remote pronoun *aɣd/ahud/awd* (ES), *aɹ* (A), and the distal pronoun *ajɣd/ai:xnt* (ES), *ahəɹ/ae:həɹ*[5] (A) seems to be purely spatial (cf. (12–16)). In all cases, the referent remains visible but is not associated with either a speaker or addressee. Using these pronouns, the speaker typically points laterally away from the place where the speaker and addressee are interacting, facing one another. These far-from-speaker forms are used much less frequently than near-to-speaker forms.

An object or person referred to by the medial pronoun is typically located more than a few metres away both from the speaker and the addressee. Thus, in order to bring the object named by this pronoun to the speaker, an addressee must make at least several steps (cf. *eɣd* in (12)). Similarly, a person referred to by the speaker with the same pronoun *eɣd-ux* in (13) is about twenty to thirty metres away from both the speaker and the addressee.

(12) **eɣd** *ɲi-ɣm-ve!*
  medial.one 1SG-give-IMP:2PL

  'Give me that one!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(13) **eɣd-ux** *qaŋ les + iv-d.*
  medial.one-ABL dog many+ exist/have-NMLZ/IND

  'That one has many dogs.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The referent specified by the remote pronoun is far from both the speaker and the addressee and cannot be easily reached by them; cf. *aud* in (14) and *aɹ* in (15):

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5 This pronoun is cited only in Krejnovich 1979: 305, but without any phrase examples.

(14) **awd**   *uŋɣř*   *ɲa-qř*   *awd*   *ena-ŋ*   *ɲa-qř.*
     remote.one   star   one-CL:generic   remote.one   be.another-NMLZ   one-CL:generic

     'That one [is] one star, that one [is] another one' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

(15) **aɟ**   *mu=la*   *lərk-c?*
     remote.one   boat=Q   float-NMLZ/IND

     'Is that one a boat floating?' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 242)

The distal pronoun encodes the referents located so far away from both the speaker and the addressee that they can hardly be visible. Thus, the sea-devils in example (16) referred to by the pronoun *ajihund* appear on the horizon and therefore are located at the maximum possible visible distance from the speaker:

(16) *ak-a*   **ajihund**   *tol + milk*   *prə-ifu-ŋra.*
     elder.brother-VOC   distal.one   sea + devil   come-PROGR-EVID:DIR

     'Elder brother! Those ones, sea devils, are coming.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 35)

The invisible pronoun *kud*/*kunt* (ES), *kuɟ* (A) indicates referents that are out of sight. A referent may be invisible because it is not present in the speech situation and is probably far away (cf. *kuɟ-řəkə* in (17)), or because the speaker does not simply see it around (cf. *kud* in (18)), such as when the entity the speaker is looking for is virtually located somewhere nearby but is hidden from the speaker.

(17) *ɲəŋ*   *nəx*   **kuɟ-řəkə**   *vi-nə-ɟ=ra.*
     we:EXCL   tomorrow   invisible.one-DEST   go-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

     'We'll go up to that one tomorrow.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 122)

(18) **kud**   *jaŋko?*
     invisible.one   where

     'Where is that one?' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

6.1.1.2 Endophoric use

Only two of the six demonstrative pronouns discussed above (i.e. the close and invisible pronouns) can be used in an endophoric – in this case, anaphoric – function. The choice between these pronouns depends on their distance to the antecedent in the discourse.

The most frequent pronoun *hud*/*hunt*/*hənt* (ES), *həɟ* (A) 'close one' refers to the non-topical participant mentioned in the preceding discourse.[6] It is an immediate (= short-distance) anaphor, whose antecedent is typically located in the previous clause or sentence. A typical context for tracking the use of demonstratives within a discourse node is what is called the "immediate anaphora after first mention" (Lichtenberk 1996). This strategy for the introduction of a new participant seems to be very common in languages where no definite article exists (Himmelmann 1996: 229). Quite often, demonstratives occur after the first mention of a thematically prominent referent that persists in the subsequent discourse (Diessel 1999: 96).

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6 The topical participant is tracked by the reflexive pronoun.

The corresponding Nivkh demonstrative pronoun normally refers to a non-human object and constitutes the only way to refer back to a non-human referent; cf. *hud* in (19):

(19) *cʰi   tʰas-toχ   ɲe-vlatok + si-d?*
      you:SG   what.precise.place-DAT   1SG-shawl + put-NMLZ/IND

   hud   *platok   ha-rlo?*   *poz + uɣri.*
   close.one   shawl   do/be.like.that-NEG:ASS:2SG   cloth + piece

   'What place did you put my shawl in? Was that a shawl? [Just] a piece of cloth.'(ES)
   (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

In a non-topical position, the human referent is usually tracked by the third-person pronoun. In some cases, however, it may also be encoded by a demonstrative pronoun, as in (20), where *həɟ* is coreferential with the non-topical noun phrase *pʰ-o:la* 'her child' in the previous clause:

(20) *əmək   pʰ-o:la + dəu-jnə-ra*   *həɟ*
      mother   REFL-child + teach-DES/INCH-COORD:3SG   close.one

   pʰ-rəu-jger-ra.
   REFL-teach-not.want-COORD:3SG

   'Mother wanted to teach her child, [but] he (lit. that one) did not want to study' (A)
   (Nedjalkov & Otaina 1981: 192)

The animals mentioned in the discourse can be tracked only by a demonstrative pronoun:

(21) *hə + aiz + mur + oc-ror*   **həɟ-ɣir**   *tʰlə-roχ   mər-ja.*
      close.DET + be.gold + horse + ask-CVB:TEMP:2SG   close.one-INSTR   sky-DAT   get.up-IMP:2SG

   'Asking that gold horse, get up on it (lit. by it) to the sky.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 227)

The following examples (22–23) taken from the same text illustrate how different pragmatic functions determine the choice between proximal and close pronouns. In both cases, the entities referred to (the egg and the drug) are located in the same place (i.e. in the speaker's bosom). This is definitely the speaker's proximal area; that is why in (22), where the speaker directly points at the egg and shows it to the hearer, he uses (exophorically) the proximal pronoun *təɟ*. In contrast, in (23), the speaker does not point at the drug he is talking about, but using (endophorically) the anaphoric pronoun refers back to the antecedent mentioned in the preceding phrase. In this case, the physical distance of the object to the speaker turns out to be irrelevant. What is relevant is that the anaphoric pronoun is textually close to its antecedent, which motivates the speaker's choice of the immediate anaphor (i.e. the close pronoun *həɟ*).

(22) *hoʁo-r*   *mer + ŋafq*
      be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   we:INCL + friend

   ul + mi-x   *i-ŋojaq + ɣuz-r*   *it-c.*
   bosom + inside-ABL   3SG-egg + take.out-CVB:NAR:3SG   say-NMLZ/IND

   atak-a   **təɟ** + *aima-ja!*   **təɟ**   *siɟ=ŋa?*
   grandfather-VOC   proximal.one + look-IMP:2SG   proximal.one   what=Q

   'Then our friend, taking his egg from [his] bosom, says: "Grandfather! Look at this one! What is this one?"' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 224)

(23) *əcik*   *ɲi-mə-ɟ + oχt*   *ul + mi-in*   *hum -ɟ.*
      old.woman   1SG-give-NMLZ + drug   bosom + inside-LOC   be/live-NMLZ/IND

      həɟ + ɣuz-t   *i-ɲ-nəkta.*
      close.one + take.out-CVB:NAR:1SG   3SG-eat-IMP:1SG

      'The drug given to me by the old woman is in [my] bosom. Taking it (lit. that one) out, let me eat it.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 229)

Another less frequent pronoun *kud/kunt* (ES), *kuɟ* (A) 'invisible one' (Panfilov 1962; Krejnovich 1979) encodes the referent formerly mentioned in the preceding discourse. It is therefore a delayed (= long-distance) anaphoric pronoun, whose antecedent may be located at a significant distance from it. The pronoun "reactivates" the old discourse referent (Lichtenberk 1996) and brings it back into the focus of attention. In (24–25), the speaker refers to persons about whom he was talking some time ago but who, nevertheless, are identifiable to the addressee:

(24) *imŋ*   **kuɟ-ɣir**   *maŋg-ɟ.*
      they   invisible.one-INSTR   be.strong-NMLZ/IND

      'They are proud of that one.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 122)

(25) *ɲəŋ*   **kuɟ-uin**   *muɣv* *me-qr*   *hum-ɟ.*
      we:EXCL   invisible.one-LOC   day two-CL:generic be/live-NMLZ/IND

      'We stayed at that one's [place] for two days.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 122)

The anaphoric usage of the invisible general demonstrative pronoun is extremely infrequent. In most cases, the general demonstrative determiner derived from the same root is used in this function (see Section 7.1).

6.1.2 Qualitative demonstrative pronouns

Qualitative demonstrative pronouns refer to persons or objects, focusing attention on their properties and qualities. These features are not specifically mentioned but can be pointed to or understood from the context or situation. The pronouns may be translated as 'like this one (by quality)' and 'like that one (by quality)'.

In both dialects, qualitative demonstratives are derived by nominalization from corresponding indicative qualitative demonstrative verb forms with the suffix -(*n*)*d*/-(*n*)*t* (ES), -*ɟ*/-*c* (A) that have the meaning 'be proximal (by quality)' and 'be non-proximal (by quality)' (see Section 9.1).

In the East Sakhalin dialect, there are two sets of pronouns, one of which is considered politer than the other (see Table 8).[7] It is possible that the same distinction holds between the corresponding Amur demonstratives as well; however, there is no information about that in the dialect descriptions. The Amur pronouns are represented in Table 9. In both dialects the pronouns can be used exophorically, endophorically, or expressively.

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   7 This opposition is not marked in the examples in the morphological line.

Table 8 Qualitative demonstrative pronouns in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
təмɟi-d, təmci-d	proximal one by quality (less polite)	expressive
təmra-d	proximal one by quality (politer)	
həмɟi-d, həmci-d	non-proximal one by quality (less polite)	immediate anaphora
həmra-d	non-proximal one by quality (politer)	

Table 9 Qualitative demonstrative pronouns in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
toɣo-ɟ, toɣa-ɟ, toʁa-ɟ, tuŋrə-ɟ	proximal one by quality	expressive
hoɣo-ɟ, hoɣa-ɟ, hoʁa-ɟ, huŋrə-ɟ	non-proximal one by quality	immediate anaphora

6.1.2.1 Exophoric use

In this subclass of demonstratives, Nivkh makes use of the binary deictic system, admitting only two-way distance distinction (i.e. proximal vs. non-proximal). The corresponding pronouns are often used in response to questions beginning with the interrogative pronouns *tʰamɟid/tʰamcint, tamrant* (ES), *jaɣoɟ* (A) 'of what quality?'.

The proximal qualitative pronoun is basically used in the same context as the corresponding general pronoun (see Section 6.1.1). It refers to persons and things that are located in the immediate vicinity of the speaker and represent the focus of his/her attention or action. Example (26) shows how a speaker uses the proximal qualitative pronoun *təmɟid* for referring to the dress that she is holding in her hands and is currently focusing on:

(26) *ɲi **təмɟid** + aɣu-d.*
    I   qualit.proximal.one + not.want- NMLZ/IND

    'I do not want [a dress] like this one (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The non-proximal qualitative pronoun refers to persons and things that are outside the speaker's area and in principle may be located at any distance from him/her. However, in reality, these pronouns do not usually refer to persons or objects located far away from the speaker, with the corresponding remote or distal general demonstrative pronouns being used instead (see Section 6.1.1). In (27), the object which the speaker is talking about is in the addressee's hands; being definitely located outside the speaker's area, it may be referred to only by the non-proximal pronoun *huŋrəɟ*:

(27) *oʁla!*   **huŋrəɟ** + vo-ɟ   *uiɣi-ɟ=ra.*
    child:SG:VOC   qualit.non.proximal.one + take-NMLZ/IND   be.sinful-NMLZ/IND=FOC

    'Child! This is a sin to take [a thing] like that one (by quality).' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 244)

The following example (28) is rather interesting, because the contrastive meaning is encoded here by two demonstratives that have different deictic and characterizing features. The speaker examines the properties of two objects that are both in the focus of his attention and are located at the same distance from him. However, the primary focus is on the object that is referred to by the proximal general demonstrative pronoun *təɟ*, occupying the prominent syntactic position

of a subject. This object is considered to be inside the speaker's area. It is compared with the object whose properties are essential for comparison but which is conceived of as being outside the speaker's area. These two factors motivate the choice of the non-proximal qualitative demonstrative pronoun *hoɣoɟ-ək*, which is used in the comparative case.

(28) **təɟ**   **hoɣoɟ-ək**   *ur-d.*
     proximal.one   qualit.non.proximal.one-COMP   be.good-NMLZ/IND

'This one by comparison with [an object] like that one (by quality) is good.' (A)
(Panfilov 1962: 244)

6.1.2.2 Endophoric use

Only the non-proximal qualitative demonstrative pronouns may occur in the anaphoric function. The pronoun serves as an immediate anaphor, referring to the antecedent in the previous clause or sentence. In (29), *huŋrəɟ* refers to *koscum* 'suit' mentioned in the previous sentence:

(29) *hevgun*   *cʰorbaɣ-uin*   *koscum + ɣe-ɟ.*   *ɲ=an=vara*   *vi-t*
     Hevgun   Nikolaevsk-LOC   suit + buy-NMLZ/IND   I=FOC=also   go-CVB:NAR:1SG

     huŋrəɟ + *ɣe-nə-ɟ.*
     qualit.non.proximal.one + buy-FUT-NMLZ/IND

'Hevgun bought a suit in Nikolaevsk. I will also, going [there], buy [a suit] like that one (in terms of quality).' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 244)

6.1.2.3 Expressive use

The proximal qualitative demonstrative can be used in an expressive function, emphasizing the qualities of the referent; cf. *toʁaɟ* in (30):

(30) *kʰinŋu-ra*   *uɣmə + ɲivx*   **toʁaɟ**   *ha-ri.*
     be.pleasant-EVID:DIR be.brave + man   qualit.proximal.one   do/be.like.that-EVID:DIR

'It is pleasant, such a brave man indeed.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 244)

6.1.3 Dimensional demonstrative pronouns

Dimensional demonstrative pronouns refer to persons or objects, focusing on the size of the referent, which is not specifically mentioned but must be shown by the speaker. In my data, there are attested only proximal dimensional pronouns formed from a proximal deictic root *tu-* (ES), *tə-* (A) by various derivational suffixes, including the nominalizer *–k* (see Table 10). They may be translated as 'like this one (by size)'. According to (Krejnovich 1979: 305), pronouns with dimensional semantics can be derived from different deictic roots; however, I was not able to find any examples of non-proximal forms, and I suspect that they simply do not exist in Nivkh. This can be explained by the fact that the dimensions of the referent must always be explicitly shown by the speaker, which presupposes the existence of exclusively proximal dimensional pronouns. For the same reason, Nivkh seems to have only a proximal dimensional verb (see Section 8.2). The dimensional pronouns are attested only in exophoric use.

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-n, tu-nə, tu-na, tu-nək, tu-nak, tu-nař, tu-ɲira, tu-ɲijeq, tu-ɲeq, tu-ɲijeqnər, tu-ɲeqnər, tə-ɲivarɢr[8]	*tə-n, tə-ɲi, tə-ɲin, tə-nda, tə-ɲira, tə-ɲinda*	proximal one by size	—

Dimensional demonstrative pronouns are only found in two syntactic functions. In the function of an attribute they form a polysynthetic complex with a following head nominal (cf. *tunə/ tunař* in (31) and *tuna/tunak/tunək* in (33)). Another possible syntactic function is a predicative (cf. *tunak* in (32)). These pronouns do not inflect for any categories.

This subclass of demonstratives is often used in response to the question beginning with the interrogative pronoun *tʰana/tʰanak* (ES) 'of what size?' (cf. (32–33)). Answering the question, a speaker must show the size of a person or object he/she is talking about. Thus, in (31) the speaker demonstrates how short her hair is:

(31) *ɲi* **tunə/tunař** + *pakl-kař* + *namx.*
    I   dimens.proximal.one + be.short-AUG + hair

    'I [have] short hair like this one (by size).' (ES) (Gruzdeva FM 2000)

However, an actual person or object whose size is referred to may be absent from the speech situation. In that case, a speaker may indicate the referent's size with his/her hands and in this way bring it into the speech situation. In (32), the speaker shows the height of her child and uses the pronoun *tunak*, whereas in (33) she demonstrates the size of a fish that she has caught and uses one of the pronouns *tuna*/*tunak*/*tunək*. Both a child and a fish are physically absent but potentially present in the speech situation.

(32) *cʰ-eɣlŋ*   *tʰanak?*   *ɲ-eɣlŋ*   **tunak.**
    2SG-child   of.what.size   1SG-child dimens.proximal.one

    'How tall is your child? My child is like this one (by size).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(33) *tʰanak + so + xu-d?*   **tuna/tunak/tunək** + *so + xu-d.*
    of.what.size + fish +kill-NMLZ/IND   dimens.proximal.one + fish + kill-NMLZ/IND

    'Fish of what size did you catch (lit. killed)? [I] caught (lit. killed) a fish like this one (by size).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

A property on the basis of which the size is determined is typically specified by the nominalized form of the corresponding qualitative verb comprising the suffix *-kař-*, which in other contexts has an augmentative meaning. Consider the following examples from the East Sakhalin dialect:

(34) *tunak + verl-kař*   'wide like this one'
      tunak + ul-kař   'high like this one'
      tunař + tol-kař   'thick like this one'
      tunə + noskl-kař   'thin like this one'
      tunař + kəl-kař   'long like this one'

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8 This East Sakhalin dimensional demonstrative pronoun is derived from the deictic root *tə-*, which is typical of the Amur dialect.

6.1.4 Quantitative demonstrative pronouns

Quantitative demonstratives pronouns, which can alternatively be called pro-numerals, refer to some quantity of referents which is not specifically mentioned but can be pointed to or understood from the context or situation. The pronouns in the Amur dialect demonstrate the opposition between 'non-large quantity' and 'large quantity',[9] which is not attested in the East Sakhalin dialect. This subclass of demonstratives is derived from deictic roots with the suffixes *-ŋs*, *-ŋks*, *-ŋř* (ES) (see Table 11) and *-ŋs*, *-ŋrəmk* (A) (see Table 12). They can be used both exophorically and endophorically.

Table 11 Quantitative demonstrative pronouns in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-ŋs, *tu-ŋks*[10], *tu-ŋř*	proximal one by quantity	—
hu-ŋs, *hu-ŋks*, *hu-ŋř*	non-proximal one by quantity	immediate anaphora

Table 12 Quantitative demonstrative pronouns in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-ŋs	proximal one by non-large quantity	—
tu-ŋrəmk	proximal one by large quantity	—
hu-ŋs	non-proximal one by non-large quantity	immediate anaphora
hu-ŋrəmk	non-proximal one by large quantity	—

Quantitative pronouns are found in the argument positions of a verb or in an attributive function. They do not inflect for number and do not attach a comitative suffix, but seem to inflect for case in the same way as nouns. Despite this potential ability, they appear extremely rarely in the oblique cases (cf., however, the instrumental form *tuŋs-kir* 'by this amount [of dogs]' in (36) and the comparative form *hunz-ak* 'than that amount' in (40)).

6.1.4.1 Exophoric use

This subclass of demonstratives shows a two-way distinction of proximity (i.e. proximal vs. non-proximal). Often found in the answers to the question *tʰaŋs* (ES), *řaŋs* (A) 'of what quantity?', they are frequently accompanied by gestures. In example (35), answering the question about his age, the child uses the proximal quantitative pronoun *tuŋs* and shows the amount of years by holding up the corresponding number of fingers:

(35)   *cʰi*   *tʰaŋs + aŋ=ŋa?*   *namř*   *ɲi*   **tuŋs** + *aŋ*
       you:SG   of.what.quantity + year=Q   yesterday   I   quant.proximal.one + year

       ha-d.
       do/be.like.that-NMLZ/IND

       'How old are you? – Yesterday I became so old (lit. I am this amount of years).' (ES)
       (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

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9 This opposition is not marked in the examples in the morphological line.
10 The forms *tuŋks* and *huŋks* are cited in Krejnovich 1960: 89.

As it is typical of other pronouns with the same deictic semantics, proximal quantitative pronouns refer to some quantity of persons or objects that are in the immediate vicinity of the speaker and can be touched or taken into the hands; cf. *tuŋs-kir* in (36):

(36)   **tuŋs-kir**=*park*   *vin-ɟ.*
        quant.proximal.one-INSTR=only   go-NMLZ/IND

        '[I] go only by this amount [of dogs].' (A) (Krejnovich 1934: 206)

The non-proximal pronouns in turn refer to some quantity of persons or objects outside the speaker's area that should be pointed at (Krejnovich 1960: 89). The difference between the deictic meanings of proximal and non-proximal quantitative pronouns is illustrated by Panfilov (1962: 245) in (37a–b). In both examples, there is the same number of books in the room with several tables. In (37a), the books are on the table or in some other place which is located near the speaker, as can be seen from the use of the locational demonstrative pronoun *tu-in* 'in a precise proximal place' occurring in the first sentence. Due to the proximity of books, the speaker refers to them with the proximal quantitative pronoun *tuŋs*. In (37b), the books are on another table, probably the most distant one in the room (cf. the remote general demonstrative determiner *a-* in the noun phrase *a + dər-uin* 'on a remote table'), which is why the speaker refers to the books with the non-proximal quantitative pronoun *huŋs*:

(37a)   *tu-in*   *meɣo-qr*   *cetraɟ*
         precise.proximal.place-LOC   twenty-CL:generic   notebook

         jiv-ɟ.   *shkol-uin*   **tuŋs** + *po-ja.*
         exist/have-NMLZ/IND   school-LOC   quant.proximal.one + take-IMP:2SG

         'Here are twenty notebooks. Take the same (lit. this) amount in school.' (A)
         (Panfilov 1962: 245)

(37b)   *a + dər-uin*   *meɣo-qr*   *pitɣə hum-ɟ.*
         remote.DET + table-LOC   twenty-CL:generic   book be/live-NMLZ/IND

         shkol-doχ   *vi-rot*   **huŋs** + *po-ja.*
         school-DAT   go-CVB:TEMP:2SG   quant.non.proximal.one + take-IMP:2SG

         'There are twenty books on that table. After going to school, take the same (lit. that) amount.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 245)

The following examples (38–39) illustrate the use of quantitative pronouns referring to a large quantity of objects. In (38), with the proximal pronoun *tuŋrəmk* the speaker refers to the fish that are present in the speech situation and located close to the speaker:

(38)   *ɲi* **tuŋrəmk** + *so* + *ɲřə-doχ*   *qʰau-ɟ.*
        I   quant.proximal.one + fish + see-DAT   NEG-NMLZ/IND

        'I [haven't] seen this large a quantity of fish.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 245)

In (39), the dogs referred to by the non-proximal pronoun *huŋrəmk* are either at some distance from the speaker or the speaker does not observe them at all, due to their absence in the speech situation.

(39) *mer + qan-gu*   **huŋrəmk** + *ʁan-gu*   *sək + urku-ɣət-c=ra.*
     we:INCL + dog-PL   quant.non.proximal.one + dog-PL all + make.off-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND=FOC

     'Our dogs, that large quantity of dogs, [he] made off with all.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 245)

6.1.4.2 Endophoric use

Only the non-proximal quantitative pronouns can be used in the anaphoric function. In the Amur dialect, this function is performed exclusively by non-proximal pronouns specifying the non-large quantity. Consider *hunz-ak* and its antecedent *mɣo-qř cʰo* 'ten fish' in (40):

(40) *jaŋ*   *mɣo-qř*   *cʰo + xu-d.*   *ɲi*   **hunz-ak**
     s/he ten-CL:generic fish + kill-NMLZ/IND I   quant.non.proximal.one-COMP

     malɣo + xu-d.
     be.abundant + kill-NMLZ/IND

     'He caught ten fish. I caught more than that amount.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

6.2 Locational demonstrative pronouns

Locational demonstrative pronouns use the deictic specification for place reference. The systems of locational pronouns differ in the East Sakhalin and Amur dialects.

    In the East Sakhalin dialect, these pronouns display the multiple deictic system, within which both primary and secondary systems are used. The pronouns have one of the following structures:

  (a) deictic root + suffix *-s/-kř*,[11]
  (b) deictic root + suffix *-s*[12]*/-kř* + suffix *-ŋa*, and
  (c) deictic root + suffix *-s/-kř* + suffix *-ŋa* + suffix *-jo*.

A deictic root encoding a distance of location to the speaker (i.e. a primary deictic system; see Section 5.2.1) obligatorily attaches either the suffix *-s* or the suffix *-kř*, which mark precise and non-precise locations correspondingly (see Section 6.2.1.2). Furthermore, locational demonstratives may additionally take either the suffix *-ŋa* or the suffix *-ŋa* in combination with the suffix *-jo* (placed immediately after the suffixes *-s* or *-kř*). These additional suffixes serve as the markers of a secondary deictic system that defines a distance of location (close vs. medial vs. distal) to the initial border of the spatial area set up by the deictic root of a demonstrative.

    As a whole, including both primary and secondary systems, East Sakhalin locational demonstrative pronouns exhibit fifteen distance categories. These pronouns are summarized in Table 13.

    In the Amur dialect, the system of locational demonstrative pronouns also makes use of the multiple deictic system. However, apart from the East Sakhalin dialect it employs only the primary system (see Table 14).

    The pronouns are derived from the corresponding deictic roots with the suffix *-r* or the suffix *-kr*. Note that the Amur dialect lacks the medial locational pronouns.

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11 Some of my informants pronounce this suffix with the velar *q* (i.e. *-qř*). The final consonant of the suffix *-kř* becomes voiced before *-ŋ*. The suffix usually loses its final consonant when the pronoun takes the dative suffix *-toχ/-roχ/-doχ* (ES, A).
12 The suffix *-s* becomes voiced before *-ŋ*.

Table 13 Locational demonstrative pronouns in exophoric use in the East Sakhalin dialect

Distance from the speaker (primary multiple deictic system)	Type of location	Distance to the initial border of a spatial area (secondary multiple deictic system)		
		close	medial	distal
proximal	precise	*tu-s*	*tu-z-ŋa*	*tu-z-ŋa-jo*
	non-precise	*tu-kř*	*tu-kr-ŋa*	*tu-kr-ŋa-jo*
close	precise	*hu-s*	*hu-z-ŋa*	*hu-z-ŋa-jo*
	non-precise	*hu-kř*	*hu-kr-ŋa*	*hu-kr-ŋa-jo*
medial	precise	*eγ-s*	*eγ-z-ŋa*	*eγ-z-ŋa-jo*
	non-precise	*e-kř*	*e-kr-ŋa*	*e-kr-ŋa-jo*
remote	precise	*aw-s*	*aw-z-ŋa*	*aw-z-ŋa-jo*
	non-precise	*a-kř*	*a-kr-ŋa*	*a-kr-ŋa-jo*
distal	precise	*ajγ-s*	*ajγ-z-ŋa*	*ajγ-z-ŋa-jo*
	non-precise	*ˀaj-kř*[13]	*ˀaj-kr-ŋa*	*ˀaj-kr-ŋa-jo*

Table 14 Locational demonstrative pronouns in exophoric use in the Amur dialect

Distance from the speaker (primary multiple deictic system)	Type of location	Locational pronoun
proximal	precise	*tu-r*
	non-precise	*tu-kr*
close	precise	*hu-r*
	non-precise	*hu-kr*
medial	precise	—
	non-precise	—
remote	precise	*a-r*
	non-precise	*a-kr*
distal	precise	*ae:-r*
	non-precise	*ˀae:-kr*

6.2.1 Exophoric use

6.2.1.1 Primary deictic system

Within the primary deictic system, locational demonstrative pronouns exhibit the same five-way spatial distinction as the general demonstrative pronouns. The variation of proximal, close, medial, remote, and distal location is encoded by the deictic root. However, the visibility/invisibility opposition is not relevant for locational demonstratives. Locational demonstrative pronouns use the deictic specification for both static and dynamic location reference.

The proximal locational pronoun with the root *tu-* encodes a location in the spatial area immediately around the speaker. Thus, the speaker points at the place nearby, using the pronoun *tus* in (41); in the same way, the pronoun *tur* is used in (42):

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13 Hereafter the pronoun under a question mark is a theoretical construct that is not attested in my data.

(41) *tafk*   *pʰr̆ə-vul*
      long.time.ago   come-CVB:TEMP

    tus *+ pʰi-t*   *sarɢu-d.*
      precise.proximal.place + be.located-CVB:NAR:1SG   rest-NMLZ/IND

    'When I came [here] long time ago, I had a rest in this place.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1986: 160)

(42) ***tur*** *+ vəj-un*   *tu*   *hum-ɟ=ra.*
      precise.proximal.place + under-LOC   lake   be/live-NMLZ/IND=FOC

    'There is a lake under this place.' (A) (Panfilov 1965)

When the speaker asks someone to come up (i.e. 'to move towards the speaker's proximal area'), he/she uses the proximal demonstrative in the dative case; cf. *tus-toχ* in (43):

(43) ***tus-toχ***   *pʰr̆ə-ja!*
      precise.proximal.place-DAT   come-IMP:2SG

    'Come here!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

The proximal area may be extended within the limits of the enclosed area (e.g. a room), as it is also observed with respect to general demonstrative pronouns. Thus, in (44), the speaker asks other people why they are in the house, using the proximal pronoun *tus*:

(44) *cʰiŋ*   *jaŋənd* ***tus*** *+ pʰi-nd-xun=ŋa?*
      you:PL   why   precise.proximal.place + be.located-NMLZ/IND-PL=Q

    'Why are you here?' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 39)

According to my data, in the East Sakhalin dialect the speaker cannot use this pronoun in a wider sense, meaning a place or an area definitely outside the proximal area (e.g. 'here, in my village' or 'here, on earth'). This function is performed in this dialect by locational adverbs. However, in the Amur dialect the use of a proximal pronoun for such a meaning is acceptable; cf. the *tu-in* in (45):

(45) ***tu-in***   *urla + tʰoχ*   *qʰau-ɟ.*
      precise.proximal.place-LOC   be.good + elk   NEG-NMLZ/IND

    'There are no good elks here.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 187)

The close locational pronoun with the root *hu-* indicates a location at a moderate distance from the speaker. From example (46), one can conclude that something is going on in the close area relative to the speaker's location and this event causes everyone to look in that direction. This direction is expressed by the close pronoun *huk-toχ*:

(46) *sikm*   ***huk-toχ***   *tʰər-d-ɣun.*
      all   non.precise.close.place-DAT   look-NMLZ/IND-PL

    'Everyone looked at the place in that direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The Amur close locational pronoun *hur* in (47) refers to the place where the speaker put the sugar, which is located not far away:

(47) *ɲi seta* **hur** + *tʰiv-ɹ*[14].
    I   sugar   precise.close.place + put-NMLZ/IND

    'I put sugar in that place.' (A) (Krejnovich 1960: 87)

The medial locational pronouns with the root *eɣ-/e-* refer to locations that can be rather distant from the speaker and the addressee but are still visible to both of them (cf. *eɣs* in (48)). In general, with respect to distance, these pronouns are mostly neutral. In folklore texts, they often refer to a place whose relative distance from the speaker and/or the addressee is irrelevant. However, it is important that the place is not close to either participant of the speech situation.

(48) **eɣs** + *pʰi-ř*   *cʰo* + *maɣ-d.*
    precise.medial.place + be.located-CVB:NAR:3SG   fish + prepare-NMLZ/IND

    'Being in that place, [she] prepares fish.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

The remote locational pronouns (cf. *akr-uɣe* in (49)) and the distal locational pronouns (cf. *ajɣz-ux* in (50)) denote locations far away – and even farther away from the speaker respectively – in areas which may be already invisible to him/her. In case the place is located on the horizon, it can be referred to only by the distal pronoun with the root *ajɣ-*.

(49) *qanŋ* + *tʰu* + *ɲa-qř*   **akr-uɣe**   *pʰřə-d.*
    dog + sledge + one-CL:generic   non.precise.remote.place-PERL   come-NMLZ/IND

    'A dog sledge came from the place in that direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(50) **ajɣz-ux**   *taf*   *jiv-d=ra.*
    precise.distal.place-ABL   house   exist/have-NMLZ/IND=FOC

    'There is a house in that place.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

As well as in other languages (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 278), spatial reference serves as the basis for a variety of metaphorical extensions into other domains. For example, the proximal pronoun may be interpreted by extension to "temporally close" (i.e. the immediate future of the speaker). Only the spatial reference of proximal and close locational pronouns can be extended to temporal reference (Krejnovich 1986: 161). In that case, the proximal pronoun refers to the time of the speech moment (cf. *tuz-uɣe* 'from this time' in (51) and *tuk-toχ* 'till this time' in (52)), whereas the close pronoun refers to the past or future time (cf. *huk-toʁ=at* 'till that time' in (51) and *hu-ge* 'since that time' in (52)):

(51) *ha-ŋə*   **tuz-uɣe**   *huk-toʁ=at*   *at-xir*
    do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP   this.time-PERL   that.time-DAT=FOC   tiger-INSTR

    ɲiv + *kʰe-ve!*
    man + consider-IMP:2PL

    'Then from this time till that time consider a tiger as a man.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1986: 161)

(52) **hu-ge**   **tuk-toχ**   *hə* + *cʰir-ux*   *als*   *pand-ijsu-ɹ.*
    that.time-PERL   this.time-DAT   close.DET + hill-ABL   berry   grow-NEG.USIT-NMLZ/IND

    'Since that time till this time no berries have been growing on that hill.' (A) (Otaina 1978: 66)

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14 In most contexts the original complex form *hurcʰiv-* has been lexicalized into the verb with the generic meaning 'put'.

6.2.1.2 Types of location

Basically, there are two types of location that are specified by locational demonstrative pronouns: precise location and non-precise location.[15]

6.2.1.2.1 Precise locational demonstrative pronouns

A precise location is characterized by more or less clear boundaries. Typically, it is a specific spatial point or a specific spatial area which can be easily and precisely identified by both the speaker and the addressee. This type of location is encoded by the locational pronouns with the suffix *-s* (ES), *-r* (A) (see Table 15).

Table 15 Precise locational demonstrative pronouns (primary deictic system) in Nivkh dialects

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-s	*tu-r*	a precise proximal place	—
hu-s	*hu-r*	a precise close place	immediate anaphora
eɣ-s	—	a precise medial place	—
aw-s	*a-r*	a precise remote place	—
ajɣ-s	*aē-r*	a precise distal place	—

Locational demonstrative pronouns often appear in replies to *where*-questions – or, more precisely, *which place*-questions – that comprise the interrogative pronoun with the root *tʰa-*, which may take one or another derivational suffix, depending on the type of location. If the question tends to elicit the precise location, the interrogative pronoun takes the suffix *-s* in the same way as locational demonstrative pronouns. Answering a *tʰa-s*-question, the speaker may refer to a specific place or just use a corresponding precise locational pronoun; cf. the precise proximal pronoun *tus* in (53) and the close proximal pronoun *hus* in (54):

(53) *cʰi*   *tʰas*   *qo-d?*   *ɲi* **tus**   *qo-d.*
      you:SG   what.precise.place   hurt-NMLZ/IND   I   precise.proximal.place   hurt-NMLZ/IND

      'What place does [it] hurt? [It] hurts in this place.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(54) *cʰi*   *tʰas + pʰi-d?*   *ɲi*
      you:SG   what.precise.place + be.located-NMLZ/IND   I

      hus *+ pʰi-d.*
      precise.close.place + be.located-NMLZ/IND

      'What place do you live in? I live in that place.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

In (55), the speaker points at her own house, using the pronoun *tus* 'a precise proximal place', because she refers to a specific place that is located in the proximal area. It can be easily seen and thus identified without any difficulties by both participants in the speech situation.

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15 See a similar opposition of "points" versus "regions" in Maya (Hanks 1990: 20) and "restricted" versus "extended" in Eskimo (Jacobson 1977; Denny 1982).

(55) *tafk*　　　　*pʰřə-ful*　　　　*ɲi*
　　long.time.ago　come-CVB:TEMP　I

　　***tusʼ*[16] + *pʰi-t*　　　　　　　　　　*sarʁu-d.*
　　precise.proximal.place + be.located-CVB:NAR:1SG　rest-NMLZ/IND

　　'A long time ago, coming, being in this place, I had a rest.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1986: 162)

In case the place is located outside the speaker's area (because the question is not about the speaker's own house) but the place is still close to the speaker and identifiable by both participants of the speech situation, the speaker uses the precise close pronoun; cf. *hus* in (54) and *hu-jn* with the same meaning in (56):

(56) *ɲi* ***hu-jn***　　　　　*lət-c.*
　　I　precise.close.place-LOC　make-NMLZ/IND

　　'I made [it] in that place.' (A) (Krejnovich 1960: 82)

In (57), the speaker uses the precise medial pronoun *eɣz-ux*, because she points at the definite place which is located at a distance from both the speaker and the addressee:

(57) ***eɣz-ux***　　　　　　　*qanŋ-gun*　*ve-t*
　　precise.medial.place-ABL　dog-PL　　run-CVB:NAR:3PL

　　tʰak-toχ=pəřk=lu　　　　　*vi-d-ɣun.*
　　which.direction-DAT=only=INDEF　go-NMLZ/IND-PL

　　'The dogs went away from that place in some direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

In (58), the speaker and the addressee can hardly see the place they are talking about; that is why when referring to it the speaker uses the precise remote pronoun *aw-s*. However, both interlocutors are supposed to be able to identify the place where the tree used to grow, since it is precisely marked by the stump.

(58) ***awz-ux***　　　　　　　*cʰχař*　*kəpr-ř*　　　　*hunv-ux*
　　precise.remote.place-ABL　tree　stand-CVB:NAR:3SG　place-ABL

　　os=pəřk　　*hunv-nd.*
　　stump=only　be/live-NMLZ/IND

　　'There is only a stump in that place where the tree used to grow.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The next example (59) illustrates the use of the precise distal locational pronoun *aehu-jn*, which refers to a definite place located far away from both interlocutors:

(59) *ɲi* ***aehu-jn***　　　　　　*lət-c.*
　　I　precise.distal.place-LOC　make-NMLZ/IND

　　'I made [it] in that place.' (A) (Krejnovich 1960: 82)

6.2.1.2.2 Non-precise locational demonstrative pronouns

Locational demonstrative pronouns with the suffix *-kř* (ES), *-kr* (A) encode a non-precise location lying in a certain direction. These terms put emphasis on the spatial vector directed towards

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16 In this particular article (Krejnovich 1986), the author marks the sound *s* as palatalized (i.e. *sʼ*).

the location. The default vector is always directed from the speaker: "a source" of the vector coincides with the speaker's location, whereas "a goal" is located in the spatial area encoded by the deictic root.

The East Sakhalin dialect has five corresponding pronouns that are used within the primary deictic system, whereas in the Amur dialect only three pronouns are attested (see Table 16).

Table 16 Non-precise locational demonstrative pronouns (primary deictic system) in Nivkh

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-kř	*tu-kr*	a place located in the direction towards a proximal area	—
hu-kř	*hu-kr*	a place located in the direction towards a close area	—
e-kř	–	a place located in the direction towards a medial area	—
a-kř	*a-kr*	a place located in the direction towards a remote area	—
aj-kř	–	a place located in the direction towards a distal area	—

Example (60) demonstrates that both the interrogative pronoun and the locational pronoun, appearing in the answer to the *tʰa*-question, are derived with the same suffix, in this case with the non-precise suffix *-kř* (ES), *-kr* (A). From the answer to the question one can conclude that the speaker's friend lives in a close area relative to the speaker's location at the speech situation, and one can thus identify the direction in which the speaker is going:

(60)　*cʰi*　　　*tʰak-toχ*　　　　　　*vi-d=ŋa?*
　　　you:SG　what.non.precise.place-DAT　go-NMLZ/IND=Q

　　　huk-toχ　　　　　　　*pʰ-ŋafq-roχ*　　　*vi-d=ra.*
　　　non.precise.close.place-DAT　REFL-friend-DAT　go-NMLZ/IND=FOC

　　　'Place in which direction are you going to? [I] am going to the place in that direction to my friend.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

Quite predictably, these pronouns are typically used while specifying a dynamic location (cf. *huk-toχ* in (60), and *tuk-toχ* in (61)). In both examples, the non-precise pronouns occur in the dative case. In (60), this is a sign that the direction encoded by the pronoun *huk-toχ* coincides with the direction denoted by the motion verb *vi-* 'go'. However, when the corresponding pronoun is derived from the proximal deictic root and is used in the dative case (cf. *tuk-toχ*), it always indicates "a goal" of the motion directed towards the speaker and is typically used with the verb *pʰřə-* 'come', as in (61):

(61)　***tuk-toχ***　　　　　　　　*pʰřə-ja!*
　　　non.precise.proximal.place-DAT　come-IMP:2SG

　　　'Come here (lit. to the place in this direction)!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

In case the directions of motion referred to by a directional pronoun and the verb do not coincide, the former takes either the ablative or the perlative suffix; cf. *ekr-uɣe* in (62):

(62)　***ekr-uɣe***　　　　　　　*ɲ-eɣlŋ-gun*　　*mu-ɣiř*　　*pʰřə-jvu-d-ɣun.*
　　　non.precise.medial.place-PERL　1SG-child-PL　boat-INSTR　come-PROGR-NMLZ/IND-PL

　　　'My children are coming by boat from the place in that direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

Besides dynamic location, given locational pronouns can be also used for specifying a static location; cf. *ekr-ux* in (63):

(63)   **ekr-ux**   *pʰxi*   *jiv-l?*
       non.precise.medial.place-ABL   thicket   exist/have=Q

       'Is there a thicket in the place in that direction?' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

6.2.1.3 The secondary deictic system

In the East Sakhalin dialect, locational demonstrative pronouns make use of the secondary deictic system. There are attested 27 locational pronouns altogether, with the addition of three other theoretically possible forms (see Table 13 above). In the Amur dialect, the secondary deictic system is not attested.

The following examples (64a–c) demonstrate the use of medial pronouns in the relevant contexts. The closest place to the initial border of the medial area is referred to by *eɣ-s*, the place located farther away by *eɣ-z-ŋa*, and the most distant place by *eɣ-z-ŋa-jo*.

(64a)   **eɣs-toχ**   *vi-ř*   *cʰχař + ke-ja!*
       close.precise.medial.place-DAT   go-CVB:NAR:2SG   tree + take-IMP:2SG

       'Going to that place, take the firewood (lit. the tree)!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(64b)   **eɣzŋa-roχ**   *vi-ř*   *cʰχař + ta-d.*
       medial.precise.medial.place-DAT   go-CVB:NAR:3SG   tree + fall-NMLZ/IND

       'Going to that place, [he] fell down a tree.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(64c)   **eɣzŋajo-roχ**   *pʰ-mu + ɣe-ř*
       distal.precise.medial.place-DAT   REFL-boat + take-CVB:NAR:3SG

       řori-ř   *j-up-t.*
       pull.aside-CVB:NAR:3SG   3SG-tie-NMLZ/IND

       'Taking his boat to that place, pulling [it] aside, [he] tied it [to something].' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The following examples (65a–b) illustrate the use of three non-precise remote locational demonstrative pronouns that refer to the remote area, that is, the close pronoun *a-kř*, the medial pronoun *a-kr-ŋa*, and the distal pronoun *ak-r-ŋa-jo*:

(65a)   *ɲ-ətk*   **akř** + *pʰi-ř*   *hunv-nd.*
       1SG-father   close.non.precise.remote.place + be.located-CVB:NAR:3SG   be/live-NMLZ/IND

       'My father is in the place in that direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(65b)   **akrŋa-ux**   *ɲin*   *tafk*
       medial.non.precise.remote.place-ABL   we:EXCL   long.ago

       alř   *les + pʰe-d-ɣun*
       berry   a.lot.of + pick-NMLZ/IND-PL

       'Long ago we picked a lot of berries in the place in that direction.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(65c) **akrŋajo-x**   *ɲ-ətk   cambaŋ + oz-u-d.*
       distal.non.precise.remote.place-ABL   1SG-father   tent + get.up-TR-NMLZ/IND

       'My father pitches a tent there.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

6.2.2 Endophoric use

Only close locational demonstrative pronouns may be used endophorically as an anaphor or discourse deictic. In my data, only precise locational pronouns are attested in this function.

6.2.2.1 Anaphoric use

The use of given pronouns in the anaphoric function is shown in (66–67); cf. *hus-toχ* and its antecedent *malaf-toχ* 'to close place' in (66), as well as *hu-tχ* and its antecedent *kʰnək* 'cape' in (67):

(66) *malaf-toχ*   *izŋ*   *pʰřə-ŋa*   **hus-toχ**
      close.place-DAT   they   come-CVB:TEMP   precise.close.place-DAT

      izŋ   *χa-t*   *izŋ + xu-fke.*
      they   shoot-CVB:NAR:3PL   they + kill-CVB:DUR

      'When they came closer (lit. to the close place), they shoot at that place, killing them [for a long time].' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 10)

(67) *...mer + vo + aqrak*   *kʰnək   hum-ɟ.*
      we:INCL + village + place.in.direction.down.river   cape   be/live-NMLZ/IND

      hela **hu-tχ**   *qa-ja*
      well precise.close.place-DAT   go.in.direction.down.river-IMP:2SG

      maŋg-la + gins   *jiv-ɟ.*
      be.strong-PERM + devil   exist/have-NMLZ/IND

      'There is a cape in the direction down the river from our village. Well, go to that place; there is a strong devil [there].' (A) (Otaina 1978: 126)

The difference between the exophoric and anaphoric uses of the locational pronouns may be illustrated by (68). The example comprises two different pronouns referring to the same place. The pronoun *es-tox*[17] 'to a medial precise place' is used in the exophoric function, referring to a place that is not close to the speaker. It is an antecedent to the anaphoric pronoun *huz-mi* 'in a close precise place', which is used in the next clause.

(68) **es-tox**   *teʁa-ř*   *mif + kəzi-ř*
      medial.precise.place-DAT   climb-CVB:NAR:2SG   land + dig.up-CVB:NAR:2SG

      huz + mi + *fi-ř*   *jaŋ*
      close.precise.place + inside + be.situated-CVB:NAR:2SG   s/he

      maʁ-ifu-ŋa   *xəmi*   *e-sp-ř*   *i-xu-ja!*
      approach-PROGR-CVB:TEMP   upwards   3SG-stab-CVB:NAR:2SG   3SG-kill-IMP:2SG

      'Climbing to that place, digging up the earth, being in that place, when he is approaching, stabbing him upwards, kill him!' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 10)

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17 This is Shternberg's variant of the dative form of the precise medial pronoun *eɣs-toχ*.

6.2.2.2 Discourse deictic use

In example (69), the close precise pronoun *huz-ux* does not have a specific antecedent in the preceding discourse. However, the place which it refers to can be understood from the situation described in the previous clauses. In that case, the pronoun functions as a textual anaphor; that is, it has a deictic discourse use.

(69) *pal +milk-roχ*   *u-xmu-xarə-fke*
      forest + devil-DAT   REC-fight-INT/COMPL-CVB:DUR

      pal + milk + xu-t   **huz-ux**
      forest + devil + kill-CVB:NAR:3PL   precise.close.place-ABL

      vəkəzi-nd   *ex-t*   *pʰ-řaf-toχ*   *pʰřə-t.*
      leave-NMLZ/IND   come.back-CVB:NAR:3PL   REFL-house-DAT   come-NMLZ/IND

      'Fighting with a forest devil for a long time, [they] killed the forest devil, left [him] at that place, came back home.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 11)

7. DEMONSTRATIVE DETERMINERS

Demonstrative determiners (pro-adjectives or more precisely pro-participles)[18] do not make up a complete NP but occur in an NP with a noun. Co-occurring with a pronoun is not allowed in Nivkh. Demonstrative determiners always precede the noun and other noun modifiers. They do not decline and are unstressed, forming a polysynthetic complex with the following head noun and functioning as an attributive modifier. The usage of demonstrative determiners is extremely frequent and involves the broadest among the range of functions of demonstratives.

Three types of demonstrative determiners are distinguished in Nivkh: general demonstrative determiners, qualitative demonstrative determiners, and a quasidemonstrative determiner.

7.1 General demonstrative determiners

General (non-specialized) demonstrative determiners do not specify any properties of the referent. They are derived from the same deictic roots as the general demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.1.1), and they display the same deictic opposition, based on the distance and visibility of the referent. In the Amur dialect, which lacks the medial visible determiner, the root does not take any additional markers, whereas in the East Sakhalin dialect the root takes the suffix *–ŋ* (see Table 17). This suffix, which is basically used for deriving nominalized forms from verbs, in some cases may be omitted. Given determiners are used in exophoric and endophoric functions.

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18 Nivkh does not have the morphosyntactic class of adjectives; their functions are performed by nominalized verbal forms.

Table 17 General demonstrative determiners in Nivkh

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-ŋ, tə-ŋ	*tə*	proximal visible	—
hu-ŋ, hə-ŋ	*hə*	close visible	immediate anaphora
eɣ-ŋ	—	medial visible	—
aɣ-ŋ, aw-ŋ	*a*	distal visible	—
ajɣ-ŋ	*aēh*	remote visible	—
ku-ŋ	*ku*	invisible	delayed anaphora, recognitional

7.1.1 Exophoric use

The semantics of general demonstrative determiners that form the six-term deictic system is very close to that of general demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.1.1).

The proximal determiner is used with respect to the referents that are in the speaker's engagement area. This includes the objects that the speaker wears on his/her fingers (cf. *tuŋ + kujvaŋ* 'this ring' in (70)) or holds in his/her hands (cf. *tə + lark* 'this shirt' in (71)):

(70) **tuŋ** *+ kujvaŋ + ɲřə-ŋa*   *pʰ-əmk + hujvu-tʰa-d.*
      proximal.DET + ring + see-CVB:TEMP   REFL-mother + remember-ITER:1SG-NMLZ/IND

   'When I see this ring, I [always] remember my mother.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(71) *pandi-jvu + o:la*   *ha-ŋan*   **tə** *+ lark*   *ərk*   *mχaq-xitla.*
      grow-PROGR + child   do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP   proximal.DET + shirt   already   be.short-CATEG

   'Since the child is growing, this shirt is definitely already short [for him].' (A) (Otaina 1978: 76)

The proximal determiner is rather frequent in folklore texts, where it is used in addresses; cf. *tə + ɲivɣ-a!* 'this man!' in (72):

(72) *hoʁo-ŋan*   *pəki*   *it-c.*   **tə** *+ ɲivɣ-a!...*
      non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:TEMP   cuckoo   say-NMLZ/IND   proximal.DET + man-VOC

   'Then the cuckoo said: "This man!..."' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 225)

Similar to the respective pronouns, the general demonstrative determiners admit extending the speaker's engagement area within the borders of an enclosed place (i.e. a room or a house). Moreover, the demonstrative determiners allow even wider extension, as in the following example (73), where the speaker uses the proximal determiner *tu* with the noun *mif* 'land':

(73) **tu** *+ mif + cʰoŋř=ax + pi-ŋ + řanx + ŋa-t*
      proximal.DET + land+ head=FOC + be.located-NMLZ + woman + look.for-CVB:NAR:1SG

   přə-nd=ra.
   come-NMLZ/IND=FOC

   'I came, looking for a woman living at the head of this land.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 4)

The close determiner is used with referents outside the speaker's engagement area that are close to the speaker or whose distance to the speaker is irrelevant:

(74) **huŋ** + *vo-wx*   *ɲiɣvŋ-gun*   *kic-χar-d-ɣun.*
     close.DET + village-ABL   man-PL   run.away-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND-PL

     'People ran away from that village.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

(75) **hə** + *bitɣə-gu* + *bo-ve.*
     close.DET + book-PL + take-IMP:2PL

     'Take those books.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 436)

The medial determiner is used with respect to referents located at some distance from both the speaker and the addressee:

(76) **eɣŋ** + *ɲiɣvŋ-gun*   *ɲi namř*   *va-d-ɣun.*
     medial.DET + man-PL   I   yesterday   fight-NMLZ/IND-PL

     'Yesterday I fought with those men.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(77) **eɣŋ** + *daf* + *pʰi-ŋ* + *matʁc*   *cʰo-xis*   *veřki-d.*
     medial.DET + house + be.located-NMLZ + old.woman   fish-INSTR   sell-NMLZ/IND

     'An old woman, who lives in that house, sells fish.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

Distal and remote determiners occur with referents located far away from the speaker:

(78) *ɲi* **aɣŋ** + *daf-toχ*   *j-uɣ-d.*
     I   distal.DET + house-DAT   3SG-come.in-NMLZ/IND

     'I came into that house.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(79) **awŋ** + *ɲiɣvŋ*   *hoqlhoql-t.*
     distal.DET + man   limp-NMLZ/IND

     'That man is limping.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The deictic semantics of visible demonstrative determiners is reflected in the names of the corners (*coɲx*) of a traditional Nivkh dwelling (see Figure 1):
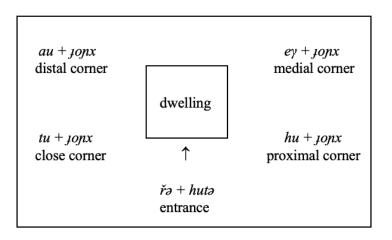

Figure 1 Nivkh traditional dwelling on Sakhalin Island

An invisible determiner encodes referents that are out of sight, being unseen because they are far away, as in (80), or because the speaker cannot find them around, as in (81):

(80) **ku** + *ɲivx*   *ərk*   *tʰəlf-toχ*   *vi-ɟ=ra.*
     invisible.DET + man   already   faraway.place-DAT   go-NMLZ/IND=FOC

     'That man has already gone far.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 122)

(81) *pana*   *jaŋko*   **kuŋ** + *andχ?*
     suddenly   where   invisible.DET + guest

     'Where did that guest disappear?' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

Proximal and close determiners may be also used in the temporal meaning similar to locational pronouns (see Section 6.2.). Proximal determiners refer to the present or near-future time, as in (82), whereas the close ones refer to the past time, as in (83):

(82) ... **tə** + *uřk*   *j-ətŋu-ve.*
     proximal.DET + night   3SG-guard-IMP:2SG

     'Guard him this night.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 223)

(83) **huŋ** + *gu*   *kʰřuɣru*   *kə-d.*
     close.DET + day   all.the.time   rain-NMLZ/IND

     'That day it was raining all the time.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

7.1.2 Endophoric use

Demonstrative determiners may be used in anaphoric and recognitional functions, as described in the following sections.

7.1.2.1 Anaphoric use

Following the corresponding system of general demonstrative pronouns, only two demonstrative determiners (i.e. close and invisible) can be used in the anaphoric function.

The close determiner, which functions as an immediate anaphor, is used with respect to the last-mentioned antecedent. Example (84), representing a section of a narrative, illustrates the difference between the exophoric and anaphoric uses of determiners. An old woman talks to a young man and gives him the clothes. She uses a proximal determiner with the noun 'clothes', since the referent is in her engagement area (cf. *tə* + *ha:s* 'these clothes'). In the next sentence, the same noun 'clothes' is used with the close determiner, which functions anaphorically and refers back to the object of the converb *e-v-r* 'taking them' and the finite verb *xe-ɟ* 'put [them] on' in the preceding sentence, as well as to the object of the converb *xe-ŋan* 'when [he] put [them] on' in the preceding clause (cf. *hə* +*haʁas* 'those clothes'):

(84) *o:la!*   ***tə*** *+ ha:s + kʰe-ja.*
child:SG:VOC   proximal.DET + clothes + put.on-IMP:2SG

hoʁo-r   *if*   *e-v-r*
be.non.proximal.by quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   s/he   3SG-take-CVB:NAR:3SG

xe-ɹ.   *xe-ŋan*   ***hə***+ *haʁas*   *sək*
put.on-NMLZ/IND   put.on-CVB:TEMP   close.DET + clothes   all

cus + mi-rx   *təvu-ɹ.*
meat + inside-DAT   enter-NMLZ/IND

'"Child! Put on these clothes." Then taking them, he put [them] on. When [he] put [them] on, all those clothes penetrated into his body.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 226)

The invisible determiner in the anaphoric use serves as a delayed anaphor. The use of immediate and delayed anaphors is demonstrated by examples (85a–f). This set of examples also represents a part of a narrative, which among other participants involves two women (i.e. *umgu*$_i$ and *umgu*$_j$). The first woman, *umgu*$_i$, is mentioned once in the beginning of the story, in (85a). The following narrative comprises 66 phrases without a single reference to her. Then the storyteller introduces another woman, *umgu*$_j$, into the tale and soon (after one phrase) refers back to her, using the immediate anaphor (i.e. the close determiner; cf. *hə*$_j$ + *umgu*$_j$ 'that woman', in (85b)). Later, after the following three phrases, the first woman, *umgu*$_i$, reappears in the story. Since she was mentioned before already, a long time ago, the narrator refers to her by means of the delayed anaphor (i.e. the invisible determiner; cf. *ku*$_i$ + *umgu*$_i$ 'that woman', in (85c)). The next time the first woman, *umgu*$_i$, appears in the story is after 62 phrases. The major protagonist of the story is inside the house, talking to himself. He decides to free the woman who is tied with the iron net outside the house and refers to her by the close determiner, which in this case is used in a recognitional function (cf. *hə*$_i$ + *umgu*$_i$, in (85d)). In the next sentence, the same woman is referred to by the narrator by means of the same close determiner, functioning already as an immediate anaphor (cf. *hə*$_i$ + *umgu*$_i$, in (85e)). The subsequent discourse concentrates on the activities of the major protagonist, which is the main topic of the next five sentences. The events described in these sentences temporarily last for a long time – from winter till summer. Therefore, when the woman *umgu*$_i$ is mentioned again, she is referred to by the delayed anaphor (i.e. the invisible determiner; cf. *ku*$_i$ +*umgu*$_i$, in (85f)).

(85a) *...pal + erq*   *tulks-uin*   ***umgu***$_i$ *+ ɲa-qř*   *hum-ɹ.*
forest + side   dais-LOC   woman + one-CL:generic   be/live-NMLZ/IND

umgu$_i$*=an=vara*   *sək + hup-ɣəta-r*   *hum-ɹ...*   [66 sent.]
woman=FOC= also   all + tie.round-RES-CVB:NAR:3SG   be/live-NMLZ/IND

'There was one woman$_i$ on the dais from the forest side. The woman$_i$ was also completely tied around…'

(85b) *vi-r*   ***umgu**$_j$ + ŋəŋk + vo-r*   *irlə-r*
go-CVB:NAR:3SG   woman + hair + take-CVB:NAR:3SG   pull-CVB:NAR:3SG

tʰeŋadox   *volu-ror*   *joc-c.*   *cʰi*
backwards   throw.down-CVB:TEMP:3SG   ask-NMLZ/IND   you:SG

pʰ-ətək + viɲ-lo?   *hoʁo-ŋan*
REFL-grandfather + feel.sorry-Q   be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:TEMP

***hə**$_j$ + **umgu**$_j$*   *it-c...*   [3 sent.]
close.DET + woman   say-NMLZ/IND

'Going, taking woman's$_j$ hair, pulling, after throwing [her] on [her] back, [he] asked: "Do you feel sorry for your grandfather?" Then that$_j$ woman$_j$ said…'

(85c) *pʰu-ŋan*   ***ku**$_i$ + **umgu**$_i$ + ajma-ŋan*   *napə*
go.out-CVB:TEMP   invisible.DET + woman + look-CVB:TEMP   still

vəc + hela + mi-in   *hum-r*   *comsomu-r*
iron + net + inside-LOC   be/live-CVB:NAR:3SG   be.quite-CVB:NAR:3SG

hum-ɟ.   [62 sent.]
be/live-NMLZ/IND

'Going out, when he saw that$_i$ woman$_i$, being still in the iron net [she] was quiet.'

(85d) *hoʁa-r*   *if*   *kʰəmlə-ɟ.*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   he   think-NMLZ/IND

***hə**$_i$ + **umgu**$_i$*   *vəc + hela-x*   *səu-nəkta.*
close.DET + woman   iron + net-ABL   take.out-IMP:1SG

'Then he thought: "Let me take out that$_i$ woman$_i$ from the iron net."'

(85e) *hoʁa-r*   *vi-r*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   go-CVB:NAR:3SG

hə + hela + zosq-ŋan   ***hə**$_i$ + **umgu**$_i$*   *oz-ra*
close.DET + net + break-CVB:TEMP   close.DET + woman   get.up-COORD:3SG

pʰ-xuku-ra   *siɟ=hagin + it-toχ*   *qʰau-ra.*   [5 sent.]
REFL-shake.off-COORD:3SG   what=FOC + say-DAT   NEG-COORD:3SG

'Then, going, when [he] broke that net, that$_i$ woman$_i$ got up, shook herself off [and] said nothing.'

(85f) *hoʁa-r*   ***ku**$_i$ + **umgu**$_i$ + ŋəŋ-ɟ.*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   inivisible.DET + woman + look.for-NMLZ/IND

'Then [he] looked for that$_i$ woman$_i$.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 223–225)

7.1.2.2 Recognitional use

Recognitional demonstratives do not have a referent in the preceding discourse or the surrounding situation; rather, they are used to activate specific shared knowledge (Diessel 1999: 105). Himmelmann (1996: 236) points out that a recognitional demonstrative may be coreferential with a distant NP that is no longer activated. In Nivkh, only the invisible demon-

strative determiner may be used in the recognitional function. Formally, the recognitional function and the function of delayed anaphora are marked in the same way.

The following example (86) comprises the noun *kʰeř* 'story' that occurs with the invisible demonstrative determiner at its first mention. The determiner does not encode any referent in the speech situation or surrounding discourse, and therefore it is not used in either exophoric or anaphoric functions. Rather, it indicates that the speaker believes that the hearer knows the story he is talking about due to their common knowledge.

(86) *ɲi əkəka   **kuŋ** + **xer** + mə-ba   qaʁjo-tʰa-d.*
     I   always invisible.DET + story + hear-CVB:TEMP   cry-ITER:1SG-NMLZ/IND

'Every time, as soon as I hear that story, I cry.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

7.2 Qualitative demonstrative determiners

Qualitative demonstrative determiners focus attention on the properties and qualities of persons or objects. These determiners have the same qualitative deictic roots as the corresponding qualitative demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.1.2). In the East Sakhalin dialect, the nominalizer *-ŋ* is attached to the root, whereas in the Amur dialect the root is used without any additional markers. The East Sakhalin dialect has two sets of qualitative determiners: less polite and more polite determiners (see Table 18).[19] In the Amur dialect, the parameter "politeness" is irrelevant for this subclass of demonstratives (see Table 19). The determiners can be used in the exophoric, endophoric, and expressive functions.

Table 18 Qualitative demonstrative determiners in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
təmʝi-ŋ, təmci-ŋ	proximal by quality (less polite)	expressive
təmra-ŋ	proximal by quality (politer)	
həmʝi-ŋ, həmci-ŋ	non-proximal by quality (less polite)	discourse deictic
həmra-ŋ	non-proximal by quality (politer)	

Table 19 Qualitative demonstrative determiners in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
toɣo, toɣa, toʁa, tuŋrə	proximal by quality	expressive
hoɣo, hoɣa, hoʁa, huŋrə	non-proximal by quality	discourse deictic

7.2.1 Exophoric use

Qualitative demonstrative determiners express a two-way distance contrast: proximal vs. nonproximal. These demonstratives are often found in responses to the question *tʰamʝiŋ* (ES), *jaɣo* (A) 'what kind of?'.

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19 As in other cases, the degree of politeness of a particular demonstrative pronoun is not shown in the morphological line of examples.

As usual, the proximal determiners together with the head nouns refer to persons or objects that are in the speaker's engagement area. The speaker may hold an object referred to in his/her hands; cf. (87) and (88), or an object may be located nearby, as in (89) and (90):

(87)   *ɲ-uin*   *ərk*   **toɣa** + *bitɣə*   *jiv-ɹ.*
        I-LOC   already   proximal.by.quality.DET + book   exist/have-NMLZ/IND

        'I already have a book like this (by quality).' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 356)

(88)   *ɲi*   **tuŋrə** + *bos* + *cʰmo-ɹ.*
        I   proximal.by.quality.DET + cloth + like-NMLZ/IND

        'I like cloth like this (by quality).' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 244)

(89)   **təmɟiŋ** + *ŋa*   *əɣřciŋ*   *i-də-ɢavr-d.*
        proximal.by.quality.DET + beast   never   3SG-see-NEG-NMLZ/IND

        'I never saw a seal like this (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(90)   *tunx*   *cʰaχ*   *malɣo-ŋa*   **təmciŋ** + *cʰŋəř*
        in.proximal.place   water   be.abundant-CVB:TEMP   proximal.by.quality.DET + grass

        tus + *orř-ux=pərk*   *paɲ-řa-d.*
        precise.proximal.place + bank-ABL=only   grow-ITER:3SG-NMLZ/IND

        'Since there is a lot of water here, the grass like this (by quality) grows only on the banks of this place.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

In a certain context, the engagement area around the speaker may become rather extended, as in (91), where the speaker talks about weather:

(91)   **təmraŋ** + *la-wx*   *vi-ŋa*   *əki-d=ra.*
        proximal.by.quality.DET + weather-ABL   go-CVB:TEMP   be.bad-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'It is bad to go in weather like this (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

The non-proximal determiners are in turn used with referents that are located outside the speaker's engagement area, as in (92):

(92)   *imŋ*   **hoɣa** + *pəimu* + *ɲřə-ɹ=la?*
        they   non.proximal.by.quality.DET + aircraft + see-NMLZ/IND=Q

        'Did they see an aircraft like that (by quality)?' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 429)

The difference between the use of proximal and non-proximal determiners may be illustrated by the following set of examples (93a–b). In (93a), the speaker is inside the house and expresses the desire to have a similar house, using the proximal determiner. In (93b), the speaker expresses the same desire; however, since she is outside the house, the non-proximal determiner is used:

(93a)   *ɲi* **təmɟiŋ** + *daf* + *aɣni-d.*
        I   proximal.by.quality.DET + house + want-NMLZ/IND

        'I want a house like this (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(93b)   *ɲi* **həmɟiŋ** + *daf* + *aɣni-d.*
        I   non.proximal.by.quality.DET + house + want-NMLZ/IND

        'I want a house like that (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The set of examples (94a–b) shows another case of deictic opposition between proximal and non-proximal determiners. In (94a), the speaker is eating some food, to which she refers with the noun phrase comprising the proximal determiner. In (94b), the speaker is just observing food, not eating it, which is why she uses the non-proximal determiner.

(94a) ***təmɟiŋ*** *+ iŋk*   *ɲi e-zmu-d.*
        proximal.by.quality.DET + food   I   3SG-like-NMLZ/IND

        'I like food like this (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(94b) ***həmɟiŋ*** *+ iŋk*   *ɲi e-zmu-d.*
        non.proximal.by.quality.DET + food   I   3SG-like-NMLZ/IND

        'I like food like that (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

7.2.2 Endophoric use

The non-proximal demonstrative determiners can be used in the discourse deictic function. For instance, in (95), *həmraŋ* refers back to the earlier description of the woman's qualities:

(95) *kʰeŋ j-at-ux*   *mari-ŋ + para-d.*   *loŋ*   *j-alɣo-f*
       sun   3SG-in.front.of-ABL   rise-NMLZ + be.like-NMLZ/IND   moon   3SG-behind-NMLZ

       taj-ŋ + para-d.   ***həmraŋ*** *+ řaŋq*   *cʰi*
       shine-NMLZ + be.like-NMLZ/IND   non.proximal.by.quality.DET + woman   you:SG

       e-sqa-d.
       3SG-not.like-NMLZ/IND

       'It looks like the sun rises in front of her. It looks like the moon shines behind her. You don't like a woman like that (by quality)!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

7.2.3 Expressive use

The proximal determiner can be used for expressing the speaker's attitude towards the referent. It is the way to emotionally emphasize the importance of the referent's properties:

(96) *ɲ-ətk*   *namř*   ***təmraŋ*** *+ cʰo + xu-d.*
       1SG-father   yesterday   proximal.by.quality.DET + fish + kill-NMLZ/IND

       'Yesterday my father caught (lit. killed) such (by quality) a fish!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(97) *cʰi*   ***təmraŋ*** *+ ɲiɣvŋ + cʰχa-d!*
       you:SG   proximal.by.quality.DET + man + not.like-NMLZ/IND

       'You don't like such (by quality) a man!' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

7.3 Quasidemonstrative determiner

The quasidemonstrative determiner that can be translated as 'like that' has the same root *ha-* as the corresponding quasidemonstrative verb 'do/be like that' (see Section 8.4). In the Amur dialect, the determiner is represented only by the root, whereas in the East Sakhalin dialect the root attaches the nominalizer -*ŋ* (see Table 20).

Table 20 Quasidemonstrative determiners in Nivkh

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
ha-ŋ	*ha*	—	discourse deictic

This determiner can be used only in the endophoric (i.e. discourse deictic) function, as in (98), where *haŋ* refers back to the qualities of the house, that is, to its length mentioned in the preceding sentence:

(98) *kələf-tox*   *min + a=ra.*   ***haŋ*** *+ taf + pi-t*
      length-DAT   eight + sazhen=FOC   like.that.DET + house + be.located-CVB:NAR:3PL

   hunv-t.
   be/live-NMLZ/IND

   '[The house was] eight sazhens long. [They] lived in a house like that.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 35)

8. DEMONSTRATIVE VERBS

Nivkh has several types of demonstrative verbs: qualitative demonstrative verbs, a dimensional demonstrative verb, locational verbs, and a quasidemonstrative verb.

8.1 Qualitative demonstrative verbs

Qualitative demonstrative verbs specifying the qualities of persons or objects are found in a predicative position, where they behave as state verbs and can be translated as 'be like this (by quality)' or 'be like that (by quality)'. They have the same deictic roots with qualitative demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.1.2), which are used in the subject or object functions, and the corresponding determiners (see Section 7.2), which are used in the function of attributive modifier. In case the verb occurs in the finite position, the indicative suffix -(*n*)*d*/-(*n*)*t* (ES), -ɟ/-*c* (A) is attached to the root. In the East Sakhalin dialect, these verbs are divided into less polite and more polite (see Table 21). This distinction does not apparently hold in the Amur dialect (see Table 22).

Table 21 Qualitative demonstrative verbs (indicative finite forms) in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
təmɟi-d, təmci-d	be proximal by quality (less polite)	expressive
təmra-d	be proximal by quality (more polite)	
həmɟi-d, həmci-d	be non-proximal by quality (less polite)	discourse deictic
həmra-d	be non-proximal by quality (more polite)	

Table 22 Qualitative demonstrative verbs (indicative finite forms) in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
toɣo-ɟ, toɣa-ɟ, toʁa-ɟ, tuŋrə-ɟ	be proximal by quality	expressive
hoɣo-ɟ, hoɣa-ɟ, hoʁa-ɟ, huŋrə-ɟ	be non-proximal by quality	discourse deictic

The verbs are not very frequent in the narratives, but they can be used in various functions: exophoric, endophoric, and expressive. Similar to other state verbs, qualitative demonstrative verbs inflect for different verbal categories (e.g. tense); cf. the forms with the future suffix *-nə-* (A) in (99):

(99a) *təf* ***toɣa-nə-ɹ.***
       house   be.proximal.by.quality-FUT-NMLZ/IND

    'The house will be like this (by quality).' (A) (Otaina 1978: 16)

(99b) *təf* ***hoɣa-nə-ɹ.***
       house   be.non.proximal.by.quality-FUT-NMLZ/IND

    'The house will be like that (by quality).' (A) (Otaina 1978: 16)

These verbs appear both in finite, as in (99), and non-finite positions, such as the converbal form in (100):

(100) *cʰi* ***təmɹi-ř***   *nə-d.*
       you:SG be.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:2SG do-NMLZ/IND

    ɲ=at ena + boci-gu-t   *nə-d.*
    I=FOC be.another + be.like-CAUS-CVB:1SG do-NMLZ/IND

    'You do it like this (by quality). I do it in another way.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

8.1.1 Exophoric use

Qualitative demonstrative verbs show two-way opposition between proximal and non-proximal verbs, making use of the binary deictic system. The verbs are often found in responses to the questions *tʰamɹid* (ES), *jaɣoɹ* (A) 'be of what kind?'.

    The proximal qualitative verbs are used in the contexts typical of other proximal demonstratives. Thus, in (101) the speaker compares the distant house with the house which is located nearby. The properties of the latter are designated by the proximal verb *tuŋrə-ɹ*:

(101) *a + dəf*   ***tuŋrə-ɹ.***
       remote.DET + house   be.proximal.by quality-NMLZ/IND

    'That house is the same (lit. like this by quality).' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 244)

In (102), the speaker is observing some actions performed by a man near him and wonders why this man behaves in such a way, using the proximal verb *təmɹi-d* or *təmra-d*:

(102) *tud*   *jaŋř*   ***təmɹi-d / təmra-d?***
       proximal.one   why:3SG be.proximal.by.quality-NMLZ/IND

    'Why is this one like this (by quality)?' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The non-proximal verbs refer to qualities of the object or person that is located outside the speaker's area; cf. *hoɣa-nə-ɹ* in (99b).

8.1.2 Endophoric use

The discourse deictic function can be performed only by the non-proximal qualitative verbs. Here they can function either as a textual anaphor, as in (103), or as a textual cataphor, referring to the upcoming text, as in (104):

(103) *ɲin + əmk-xun*   *tolvaj-ŋə*   *als + pʰe-ta*
       we:EXCL + mother-PL   be.summer-CVB:TEMP   berry + pick.up-COORD:1PL

       tək + řo-ta   *qalχ + χa-ta*
       basket + carry-COORD:1PL   tuber + pull.out-COORD:1PL

       həmʝi-d.
       be.non.proximal.by.quality-NMLZ/IND

       'When summer came, our mothers picked berries, carried baskets, pulled out tubers, did like that (by quality).' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(104) *huŋ + eɣlŋ*   **həmʝi-d**.
       close.DET + child   be.non.proximal.by.quality-NMLZ/IND

       mə-jn-ger-d.
       listen-DES/INCH-not.want-NMLZ/IND

       'That child is like that (by quality). [He] does not want to listen.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

8.1.3 Expressive use

Qualitative demonstrative verbs can also express the speaker's attitude towards the properties of the person or object s/he is talking about. Only the proximal verb with the root *təmra-* (ES), *toʁa-* (A) can be used in this function.

In (105), using the converb form *təmra-ř* the speaker wants to stress that it is too cold outside to go out, whereas in (106) the courage of the hero is emphasized by the indicative form *toʁa-ɹ*:

(105) **təmra-ř**   *civ-ŋa*   *tʰas-toχ*
       be.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG   be.cold-CVB:TEMP   what.precise.place-DAT

       vi-gu-i-l?
       go-CAUS-FUT-Q

       'Where do [you] send [me] to go when [it] is so cold (lit. when, being like that (by quality), [it] is cold)?' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(106) **toʁa-ɹ**   *ha-re*   *u:məv + ɲivx*
       be.proximal.by.quality-NMLZ/IND   do/be.like.that-EVID:DIR   be.brave + man

       toŋgur   *kins-tox*   *va-řa-ɹ*   *ha-re*.
       in.proximal.way:3SG   devil-DAT   fight-ITER:3SG-NMLZ/IND   do/be.like.that-EVID:DIR

       'Such (by quality) a brave man fights with a devil in this way.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 228)

8.2 Dimensional demonstrative verb

The dimensional demonstrative verb is used when the speaker is talking about the size of an actual person or object. Only one verb with the meaning 'be like this (by size)' exists in the East Sakhalin dialect. It is derived from the proximal root *tu-* with the derivational suffix *-na-* and

in the finite position attaches the indicative suffix *-d* (ES) (see Table 23). No dimensional verbs are attested from the Amur dialect. Like the dimensional demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.1.3), the corresponding verb can be used only in the exophoric function.

Table 23 Dimensional demonstrative verb (indicative finite form) in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tuna-d	be proximal by size	—

By using this verb, the speaker may, for instance, point at the actual person or object. Thus, in (107), the speaker directs her finger at different pairs of footwear, trying to find one of proper size for the addressee, while using the interrogative form of the dimensional verb:

(107) *cʰi*   *tʰana + gi + xiz-d=ara?*
        you:SG   of.what.size + footwear + wear-NMLZ/IND=Q

tuna-d=lu*?*   **tuna-d=lu***?*
be.proximal.by-size-NMLZ/IND=Q   be.proximal.by-size-NMLZ/IND=Q

'What size is your footwear? Like this (by size)? [Or] like this (by size)?' (ES)
(Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

8.3. Locational verbs

In the Amur variety there are two pairs of locational verbs that seem to be used only in the exophoric function (see Table 24).

Table 24 Locational demonstrative verbs (indicative finite forms) in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tum-ɹ	be located in a proximal area	—
hum-ɹ	be located in a non-proximal area	—
tuɹi-ɹ-	put sb./sth. to a proximal area	—
huɲɹi-ɹ/huɹi-ɹ	put sb./sth. to a non-proximal area	—

The first pair is represented by intransitive verbs expressing location in proximal or non-proximal areas correspondingly. The verb *tum-* 'be located in a proximal area' is extremely rare; cf. (108). Its non-proximal counterpart *hum-* is widely used in both varieties, but mostly in the non-deictic meaning 'be/live', as in (109). This verb has been also grammaticalized as a part of the analytical form rendering the continuative meaning; cf. *por-r hum-ɹ* '[he] was lying' in (110).

(108) **tum-ř**   *ɲəŋ + ŋarma-ja.*
        be.in.proximal.area-CVB:NAR:3SG   we:EXCL + wait-IMP:2SG

'Wait for us staying here!' [A] (Panfilov 1965: 226)

(109) *tur + vəj-un*   *pʰəz + ru*
        precise.proximal.place + under-LOC   abandon + lake

        hum-ɟ=ra.
        be.in.non-proximal.area-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'There is an abandoned lake under this place.' [A] (Panfilov 1965: 226)

(110) *nəkə*   *mər-r*   *coŋr*   *ximi-r*
        a.little   go.up-CVB:NAR:3SG   head   be.with.face.up-CVB:NAR:3SG

        por-r   ***hum-ɟ.***
        lie-CVB:NAR:3SG   be.in.non-proximal.area-NMLZ/IND

        '[He] was lying, rising a little, with [his] face up.' [A] (Panfilov 1965: 227)

Two other locational verbs are transitive. Note that the verb *tuɟi-* 'put sb./sth. to a proximal area' is mentioned only by (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 362) without any examples. The non-proximal verb *huŋɟi-*/*huɟi-* is found in the texts much more often both in the deictic context and with a more general meaning 'put sb./sth. smwh.'; cf. (111).

(111) *cʰapř*   *pʰi-mɣ-gu-ř*
        scoop   REFL-give-CAUS-CVB:NAR:3SG

        řakř + ***huɟi-ra***
        where + put.in.non-proximal.area-COORD:3SG

        mulk + rulku-ř   ***huɟi-ra***
        basket + shove-CVB:NAR:3SG   put.in.non-proximal.area-COORD:3SG

        'Taking back a scoop, [he] put [it] there, shoving in to the basket.'

8.4 Quasidemonstrative verb

The quasidemonstrative verb *ha-* (ES, A) can be glossed roughly as 'do/be like that'. It does not form a deictic opposition with other verbs, as there is no such verb as *ta-* 'do/be like this' in Nivkh. Historically, this verb is probably connected with the interrogative verb *j-a-* (ES, A) 'do what?'. The verb *ha-* does not involve any pointing reference to an action, but is used only as a discourse deictic, referring back to the earlier description of actions or states (see Table 25).

Table 25 Quasidemonstrative verb (indicative finite form) in Nivkh

ES	A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
ha-d	*ha-ɟ*	—	discourse deictic

In general, the verb functions as an action verb and can be used in different tenses and moods; cf. the imperative form *ha-xajro* in (112):

(112) ***ha-xajro***   *vi-n*   *mu-i-nd=ra.*
        do/be.like.that-IMP:3SG   go-CVB:NAR:1SG   die-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'Let me do like that, going [there], I shall die.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 5)

In certain constructions, the verb is completely grammaticalized. In this capacity it participates in the derivation of various analytical forms. Thus, in (113) and (114), the indicative finite

forms *ha-d* and *ha-ɹ* simply close the chains of coordinated forms, not bringing any additional semantic content to the sentences:

(113) *jaŋ*   *ərk*   *pil-ra*   *vesqar-ra*   **ha-d**.
       s/he   already be.big-COORD:3SG be.strong-COORD:3SG do/be.like.that-NMLZ/IND

       'He is already big and strong.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

(114) *ləx* *maŋgur*   *kə-ra*   *ləj*   *ci-ra*
       rain strongly:3SG rain-COORD:3SG thunder thunder-COORD:3SG

       varparu-ra   **ha-ɹ**.
       lighten-COORD:3SG do/be.like.that-NMLZ/IND

       'It was a strong rain, it thundered and lightened.' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 421)

Various converbal forms of the quasidemonstrative verb serve as regular means of textual anaphora in Nivkh, as for instance, the narrative converb *ha-t* that summarizes the number of persons living in the house in (115):

(115) *ɲa-χř-toχ*   *vi-ř*   *j-ugə-ř*
       one-CL:generic-DAT go-CVB:NAR:3SG 3SG-come.in-CVB:NAR:3SG

       əcʰx + ɲen-əŋ   *mam + ɲen-əŋ*
       old.man + one-CL:humans old.woman + one-CL:humans

       verax + ɲen-əŋ   **ha-t**   *hunəvə-nd-xun*.
       maid + one-CL:humans do/be.like.that-CVB:NAR:3PL be/live-NMLZ/IND-PL

       'Going to one [house], coming into it, one old man, one old woman, one maid, so many (lit. doing like that) lived [there].' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 3)

9. DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERBS

Nivkh has two types of demonstrative adverbs that are used as non-inflecting adverbial modifiers of verbs: qualitative adverbs and locational adverbs.

9.1 Qualitative demonstrative adverbs

Qualitative demonstrative adverbs refer to some indicated, described, or implied way or manner in which the action is performed. They may be translated as 'in this way' and 'in that way'. Demonstratives of this type are derived by adverbialization of converbal forms of qualitative demonstrative verbs with the suffixes *-ř/-t/-n* (ES), *-r/-t* (A) or *-guř/-gut/-gun* (ES), *-guř/-gut* (A).[20] These adverbs retain such converbal features as agreement in person and number with the subject. In the East Sakhalin dialect, the adverbs are distinguished according to politeness, as is typical of all qualitative demonstratives (see Table 26). In the Amur dialect, this distinction is not relevant (see Table 27). The qualitative demonstrative adverbs appear in exophoric, endophoric, and expressive functions.

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20 Note that *-gu-* is a causative suffix.

Table 26 Qualitative demonstrative adverbs in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
təmɟi-ř/təmɟi-t/təmɟi-n, *təmɟi-guř/təmɟi-gut/təmɟi-gun*	in a proximal way (less polite)	expressive
təmra-ř/təmra-t/təmra-n	in a proximal way (politer)	
həmɟi-ř/həmɟi-t/həmɟi-n *həmɟi-guř/həmɟi-gut/həmɟi-gun*	in a non-proximal way (less polite)	discourse deictic
həmra-ř/həmra-t/həmra-n	in a non-proximal way (politer)	

Table 27 Qualitative demonstrative adverbs in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
to(ŋ)-gur/to(ŋ)-gut, toɣa-gur/toɣa-gut[21]	in a proximal way	expressive
ho(ŋ)-gur/ho(ŋ)-gut	in a non-proximal way	discourse deictic

9.1.1 Exophoric use

As well as all other demonstratives with qualitative semantics, qualitative demonstrative adverbs demonstrate the binary opposition of proximal and non-proximal adverbs.

The proximal adverb is typically used in a speech situation when the speaker actually demonstrates how one or another action should be performed. Thus, in (116), the wolf shows the way in which it is going to jump, whereas in (117) the speaker shows the addressee how to hold a fishing rod, keeping it in his own hands:

(116)   *if*   *pʰrə-ʁaj*   *ɲi*   **toŋgut**   *carq-nə-ɟ=ra.*
        s/he   come-CVB:COND   I   in.proximal.way:1SG   jump-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'If he comes, I'll jump in this way.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 228)

(117)   **togur**   *kʰerqos + po-ja!*
        in.proximal.way:2SG   fishing.rod + hold-IMP:2SG

        'Hold a fishing rod in this way!' (A) (Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 356)

Non-proximal adverbs are used when the speaker is talking about the way or manner of some action performed by other person(s):

(118)   *lařk*   *veřa-d.*   **həmɟigt**[22]   *j-i-d-ɣun=ajaq.*
        dress   be.crooked-NMLZ/IND   in.non.proximal.way:3PL   3SG-cut.out-NMLZ/IND-PL=PROB

        'The dress is crooked. [They] seem to cut [it] out in that way.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(119)   *xa-ŋan*   *hə + pək*   *it-c.*   *ajka*   *jar*
        shoot-CVB:TEMP   close.DET + cuckoo   say-NMLZ/IND   oh   why:2SG

        hoŋgur   *nə-ɟ=ŋa?*
        in.non.proximal.way:2SG   do-NMLZ/IND=Q

        'When [he] shot, that cuckoo said: "Oh, why do you do in that way?"' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 230)

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21   The corresponding form *hoɣa-gur/hoɣa-gut* means 'then, afterwards'.
22   In fast speech, the medial vowel *u* of the converbal suffix ES *-guř/-gut/-gun* is often dropped.

9.1.2 Endophoric use

The non-proximal qualitative demonstrative adverbs are frequently used as discourse deictics, pertaining to the organization of the text. They function as a textual anaphor summarizing the information presented in the preceding discourse, like the adverb *həmɹit* in (120), whose closest equivalent in English would be 'thus'. When used in the beginning of the sentence, this adverb functions in a similar way as sentence connectives (see Section 11).

(120) *ɲ-əcx=at*   *ŋastu-ŋə*   *...pajnřak*   *ɲ-řəj-d*
      1SG-old.man=FOC tell.tales-CVB:TEMP all.the.time 1SG-shake-NMLZ/IND

      ɲ-řəj-d.   *ɲ-aχ*   *qʰo-ɢavr-gu-jn*
      1SG-shake-NMLZ/IND   I-CAUSEE sleep-NEG-CAUS-CVB:PURP

      mə-gu-jnə-d   *ha-ʁajnapə*   *qʰo-d.*
      listen-CAUS-DES/INCH-NMLZ/IND do/be.like.that-CVB:CONC sleep-NMLZ/IND

      ...həmɹit   *nudziŋ + aɣzu-ʁar-d.*
      in.non.proximal.way:1SG   nothing + not.know-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND

      'When my husband was telling tales, … [he] all the time shook me and shook me. Making me not to sleep, [he] made me listen. In spite of that [I] slept… Thus, [I] don't know anything.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The following example (121) comprises the interrogative adverb *tʰamɹiguř* in the relative function and the non-proximal demonstrative adverb *həmɹigut* used endophorically:

(121) *cʰi*   *tʰamɹiguř* *it-t*   *həmɹigut*   *j-aj-d-ɣun.*
      you:SG how:2SG say-NMLZ/IND in.non.proximal.way:1PL 3SG-make-NMLZ/IND-PL

      'We did as you told us.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

9.1.3 Expressive use

The proximal qualitative adverbs can be also used expressively in combination with state verbs, meaning 'so/so much'; cf. *təmɹiř* in (122):

(122) *ɲi* *kʰəmlə-ɹi-ɢavr-d*   *pʰxi-wx*   *təmɹiř*   *ciw-ɢavr-d.*
      I   think-EMPH-NEG-NMLZ/IND thicket-ABL in.proximal.way:1SG be.loud-NEG-NMLZ/IND

      'I did not know that it was so quiet (lit. not loud) in the thicket.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1991)

9.2 Locational demonstrative adverbs

The full set of locational demonstrative adverbs seems to be found only in the East Sakhalin dialect. Until now I have found only one locational demonstrative adverb *huŋk/huŋg* in the Amur data (Panfilov 1965: 224, 228). The adverbs are derived from the same deictic roots as locational demonstrative pronouns (see Section 6.2), with the suffix *-nx/-nux*[23] (ES) (see Table 28). They express a non-precise location which is characterized by unclear boundaries or is undetermined or uncertain. The adverbs always represent some spatial area, never a specific point. The locational adverbs occur in both exophoric and endophoric functions.

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23 This suffix apparently comprises the nominalizer *-n* and the ablative suffix *-x/-ux*.

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tu-nx	in a proximal area	—
hu-nx	in a close area	immediate anaphora
eɣ-nux, eɣ-nx	in a medial area	—
aw-nx	in a remote area	—
ajɣ-nux	in a distal area	—

9.2.1 Exophoric use

Being used exophorically, locational adverbs form a system parallel to that of the locational pronouns; that is, they display a five-way distance contrast. A speaker uses these terms when the information about a precise location of an event is not important or is irrelevant, or when he/she does not know the precise location or does not want to reveal it. According to the principle "Answer as precisely as you are asked", the adverbs in *-nx* often appear in answers to questions using the interrogative pronoun *tʰa-nx* 'where?' derived with the same suffix *-nx*.

The proximal adverb refers to the area around the speaker, as in (123), but also allows spatial extension of the deictic area. In the latter case, the proximal pronoun may refer to places of arbitrary extension, as in (124):

(123) *ɲi* **tunx**   *kʰeq + ɲr̆ə-d.*
       I   in.proximal.area   fox + see-NMLZ/IND

       'I saw a fox here.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1986: 162)

(124) *təŋank*   **tunx**   *nudvaŕklu + ɲiɣvŋ-gun*   *jiv-d-ɣun.*
       long.time.ago   in.proximal.area   some + man-PL   exist/have-NMLZ/IND-PL

       'A long time ago some people lived here.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

Other locational adverbs are used with locations outside the speaker's area; cf. the medial adverb *eɣnx* in (125) and the remote adverb *awnx* in (126):

(125) *i-də-ja!*   **eɣnx**   *ca-qr+ ɲiɣvŋ=lo*
       3SG-see-IMP:2SG   in.medial.area   three-CL:humans + man=INDEF

       nə-rŋ + ɲiɣvŋ=lo   *kʰəpr-t*   *hunm-d-ɣun.*
       four-CL:humans + man=INDEF   stand-CVB:NAR:3PL   be/live-NMLZ/IND-PL

       'Look! Three or four men are standing there. (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(126) **awnx**   *naŕciŋ*   *qavr-ʁar-d.*
       in.remote.area   nobody   NEG-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND

       'There is nobody there.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

9.2.2 Endophoric use

Only the close locational demonstrative adverb may be used in the endophoric – namely, in the anaphoric – function. In (127), the narrator uses the demonstrative *huŋk*, which refers back to a place which is not directly mentioned in the context but is understood from the meaning of the verb *təvu-* 'come [into the house]':

(127)   *carq-r*   *təvu-ŋan*   **huŋk**   *j-ajma-ɹ.*
        jump-CVB:NAR:3SG   come.in-CVB:TEMP   in.close.area   3SG-look-NMLZ/IND

        'When [he] jumped [into the house], [he] looked around there. (A) (Panfilov 1965: 224)

10. DEMONSTRATIVE IDENTIFIERS

Nivkh belongs to those languages that exhibit elements called demonstrative identifiers, which are used to indicate an item's location or to signal its appearance in (or relative to) the observational field of the speaker (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 279). Demonstrative identifiers that are usually translated as 'here is/are' and 'there is/are' function to identify a referent in the speech situation (Diessel 1999: 5), and they are formally distinguished from demonstratives in other contexts. They are commonly used to introduce new discourse topics, but they have different syntactic properties. Demonstrative identifiers are usually embedded in a specific grammatical construction, most typically a copular or non-verbal clause (Diessel 1999: 79).

In both Nivkh dialects, the identifiers are derived from the deictic roots by various derivational suffixes. In my East Sakhalin data, I have several forms of demonstrative identifiers but not the whole paradigm (see Table 29). One can assume that in principle this subclass of demonstratives makes use of the multiple primary deictic system, showing the variation between five spatial areas. In the Amur dialect, four series of demonstrative identifiers are attested (see Table 30) (Krejnovich 1960: 89; Panfilov 1962: 245–246; Saveljeva & Taksami 1970: 32). This dialect lacks the medial identifier, which is also typical of other Amur demonstratives that use the multiple deictic system.

All identifiers can be used only in the exophoric function. They usually occur in responses to questions about the location of a person or object (e.g. *tʰanx* (ES) 'where?', *janko* (A) 'where?'). Syntactically they behave as predicates or are used in a so-called presentative function. In the East Sakhalin dialect, these demonstratives can be inflected for number. Taking a plural suffix, the identifiers drop their final *-q* (cf. *hə-ne-ɣun*).

Table 29 Demonstrative identifiers in the East Sakhalin dialect

ES	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
tə-ɲeq, tə-ɲira	proximal identifier	—
hə-ɲeq	close identifier	—
eɣ-ɲi, eɣ-ɲeq	medial identifier	—

Table 30 Demonstrative identifiers in the Amur dialect

A	Exophoric use	Endophoric and expressive use
to-ɲi, to-ŋɲi, tə-ŋɲi, tə-ɲin, to-nda	proximal identifier	—
ho-ŋɲi, hə-ŋɲi, ho-nda	close identifier	—
—	medial identifier	—
a-ɲi, a-ŋɲi, ahə-ŋɲi, a-nənda[24]	distal identifier	—
ae:hə-ŋɲi	remote identifier	—

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24 *Tonda*, *honda*, and *anənda* are considered by Panfilov (1962: 246) as adverbs, though they function in exactly the same way as other demonstrative identifiers.

The following examples illustrate the use of proximal identifiers as presentatives:

(128) **tǝɲeq**   *kʰeřqŋ.*
       proximal.IDENT   sea

       'Here is the sea.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 1989)

(129) **tǝɲira**   *cʰ-aɲʁej.*
       proximal.IDENT   2SG-wife

       'Here is your wife.' (ES) (Shternberg 1908: 12)

(130) **toŋɲi**   *megi + oʁla   ha-bar.*
       proximal.IDENT   we:DU + child   do/be.like.that-ADVERS

       'Here is our child.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 246)

(131) **tonda**   *ɲǝŋ + kʰu + ɲivɣ-gu=da.*
       proximal.IDENT   we:EXCL + kill + man-PL=FOC

       'Here are the people who were killing us.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 246)

In the next set of examples, the proximal identifiers function as predicates. *Toɲi=ra* in (132) and *tǝɲin=ta* in (133) occur with the focus marker, while *toɲi=hajra* in (134) attaches the probabilitive clitic:

(132) *tǝɟ*   **toɲi=ra.**   *ɲi cʰam + lovr-ux*
       proximal.one   proximal.IDENT=FOC   I   shaman + arm.pit-ABL

       sǝu-t   *řǝpr-ɟ=ra.*
       take.out-CVB:NAR:1SG   bring-NMLZ/IND=FOC

       'Here is the one. Taking [it] out from the shaman's armpit, I brought [it].' (A)
       (Panfilov 1962: 246)

(133) *ɲi hǝskkut   mař-kiř   pǝiz-ŋan   cʰo   hǝskkur*
       I   a.little:1SG   scale-INSTR   throw-CVB:TEMP   fish   a.little:3SG

       vi-řa-ɟ=ra.   *ɲi **tǝɲin=ta.***
       go-ITER:3SG-NMLZ/IND=FOC   I   proximal.IDENT=FOC

       'When I throw a small amount of scales, a small amount of fish comes. Here I am.' (A)
       (Panfilov 1962: 246)

(134) *ɲi tǝv-uin   qʰo-ŋan   tʰǝi-d.   tǝɟ   **toɲi=hajra.***
       I   house-LOC   sleep-CVB:TEMP   dream-NMLZ/IND   proximal.one   proximal.IDENT=PROB

       'When I slept in the house, [I] dreamed. Here is this one.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 246)

The close identifiers are predominantly used in the presentative function:

(135) **hǝne-ɣun**   *ɲin + xu-jnǝ-ŋ + ɲiɣvŋ-gun.*
       close.IDENT-PL   we:EXCL + kill-DES/INCH-NMLZ + man-PL

       'There are people who are going to kill us.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(136) **hoŋɲi**   *umumz + ɲivx   tǝvɣ-ivu-ɟ.*
       close.IDENT   be.brave + man   come.in-PROGR-NMLZ/IND

       'There is a brave man coming into the house.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 246)

(137) **honda**   *hə + ŋa*   *imŋ + kʰu~ɣu-ɟ=ra.*
     close.IDENT   close.DET + beast   they + kill-NMLZ/IND=FOC

     'There is that beast [that] is killing them.' (A) (Panfilov 1962: 246)

In (138), the close identifier *həne-ɣun* forms a full sentence, being used as a predicate:

(138) *tʰas-toχ*   *kʰerqoř-kun*   *vəkz-ʁar-d?*   **həne-ɣun**.
     what.precise.place-DAT   fishing.rod-PL   disappear-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND   close.IDENT-PL

     'Where have the fishing rods disappeared? – There [they] are.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

The presentative function is also typical of the medial identifiers, as in (139) and (140), as well as of the distal identifiers, as in (141):

(139) *cʰ-eɣlŋ*   *tʰaɲi*   *ha-ra?*   **eɣɲi**   *ha-ra.*
     2SG-child   where   do/be.like.that-EVID:DIR   medial.IDENT   do/be.like.that-EVID:DIR

     'Where is your child? –There [he] is.' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(140) **eɣɲeq**   *řawdvařklu*   *hup-ř*   *hunm-d.*
     medial.IDENT   somebody   sit-CVB:NAR:3SG   be/live-NMLZ/IND

     'There is somebody sitting [there].' (ES) (Gruzdeva, FM 2000)

(141) **anənda**   *pʰal-uin*   *paχ.*   *həɟ*   *qʰas=ta.*
     distal.IDENT   floor-LOC   stone   close.one   tambourine=FOC

     'There is a stone on the floor. It (lit. that one) is a tambourine.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 194)

11. DEMONSTRATIVE SENTENCE CONNECTIVES

Nivkh has a large group of sentence connectives[25] that are used to signal cross-clause or cross-sentence relations, typically summarizing the information expressed in the preceding discourse. These grammatical words are never used in the exophoric function and therefore belong to the class of quasidemonstratives. Being very common in narratives, they can appear only sentence- or clause-initially and cannot move around in the sentence or clause. Most of them can be translated simply as 'then'. Sentence connectives represent different converbal forms of the quasidemonstrative verb and the non-proximal qualitative demonstrative verb.

11.1 Sentence connectives formed from the quasidemonstrative verb

Both in the East Sakhalin and Amur dialects, sentence connectives can be formed from the root of the quasidemonstrative verb *ha-* (ES, A) 'do/be like that', which attaches various converbal suffixes indicating semantic relationships between clauses or sentences. Nivkh has about twenty-five converbs that convey various types of narrative, temporal, conditional, concessive, causal, and purposive relations. It seems that only a part of the converbal suffixes may be used with the quasidemonstrative root. The attested converbs[26] are represented in Table 31.

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25 Demonstratives are known to be a common historical source for sentence connectives (Diessel 1999: 102).

26 Lacking here is the data on cause, purpose (negative), and concession sentence connectives in the Amur dialect.

The sentence connectives formed with the narrative converb suffix *-ř/-t/-n* (ES), A *-r/-t*, which in the Amur dialect may also comprise the causative suffix *-gu-*, are very frequent in different types of texts due to their semantic neutrality.

Table 31 Sentence connectives derived from the quasidemonstrative verb in Nivkh

ES	A	Semantic relationships between clauses
ha-ř/ha-t/ha-n[27]	*ha-r/ha-t,* *ha-gu-r/ha-gu-t*	narration
ha-roř/ha-tot/ha-non	*ha-rot/ha-ror/ha-tot*	temporality: anteriority
ha-ŋa	*ha-ŋan*	temporality: anteriority or simultaneity
ha-ʃke	*ha-ʃke*	temporality: anteriority
ha-ʁaj, ha-χaj	*ha-ʁaj*	condition
ha-lax		cause
ha-jilakrř/ha-jilakrt		purpose (negative)
ha-ʁajnapə		concession

In (142), *ha-ř* is used in one of the typical contexts, referring back to the thoughts of the hero of the story.

(142)   *jaŋgut*   *kʰrəz-nə-ɟ=ŋa?*   **ha-ř**   *kʰəmlə-ɟ.*
        how:1SG   be.full-FUT-NMLZ/IND=Q   do/be.like.that-CVB:NAR:3SG   think-NMLZ/IND

'"How shall I be full?" – [He] thought like that.' (A) (Panfilov 1965)

Another common sentence connective has the suffix *-roř/-tot/-non* (ES), *-rot/-ror/-tot* (A), which conveys the temporal meaning of anteriority (cf. *ha-non* in (143), meaning 'after that'). The same example comprises the conditional sentence connective *ha-χaj* 'if you do like that'.

(143)   *ɲin-aχ*   *tus + pʰi-g-na.*
        we:EXCL-CAUSEE   precise.proximal.place + be.located-CAUS-COORD:2PL:FUT

        ha-non   *tuz-ux*
        do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP:3PL   precise.proximal.place-ABL

        ɲin + dav + aj-na.   **ha-χaj**
        we:EXCL + house + make-COORD:2PL:FUT   do/be.like.that-CVB:COND

        ɲi tauru   *morqa-na.*
        I   for.a.long.time   live- COORD:2PL:FUT

'[You] will put us in this place. After doing like that, you will build our house in this place. If [you] do like that, I shall live for a long time.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1979: 328)

The following examples illustrate the use of the temporal sentence connectives *ha-ŋə* 'then (lit. when it (snow) did like that)' in (144), *ha-ŋan* 'then (lit. when you do like that)' in (145), *ha-ʃke* 'after doing like that [for a long time]' in (146) , the causal sentence connective *ha-lax* 'if [you] do like that' in (147), and the negative purposive sentence connector *ha-jilakrt* 'in order that [you] do not do it like that' in (148):

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27 The choice of a particular variant of a converb suffix comprising the consononats ES *r/t/n*, A *r/t* depends in both dialects on the number and person of the converb subject, and in the East Sakhalin dialect also on the tense/ mood of the finite verb.

(144)   *qʰavi*   *mləhar*   *kə-nt.*   **ha-ŋə**   *kuz-r.*
        snow   a.little:3SG   fall-NMLZ/IND   do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP   go.out-CVB:NAR:3SG

        'Snow [has] fallen a little. Then [he] went out.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1979: 328)

(145)   *nuknuko*   *cʰ-o:la*   *paɲd-r*   *pil-ŋan*   *cʰi*
        wait   2SG-child   grow.up-CVB:NAR:3SG   be.big-CVB:TEMP   you:SG

        həjm-ɟ=ra.   **ha-ŋan**   *ɲi*   *cʰəŋ +ɟuz + ɲi-nə-ɟ=ra*
        know-NMLZ/IND=FOC   do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP   I   you:PL + meat + eat-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'Wait, when your child grows up, you will know. Then I shall eat your meat.' (A)
        (Panfilov 1965: 228)

(146)   *ərk=ziŋ*   *muɣf=ciŋ*   *qʰo-nd.*   **ha-fke**
        night=FOC   day=FOC   sleep-NMLZ/IND   do/be.like.that-CVB:DUR

        muɣv + ɲi-x   *os-nt.*
        day + one-CL:days   get.up-NMLZ/IND

        '[He] was sleeping days and nights. After doing like that [for a long time], [he] got up.'
        (ES) (Krejnovich 1979: 328)

(147)   *ɲ=an*   *j-ajm-nd=ra.*   **ha-lax**   *cʰ-aχ*
        I=FOC   3SG-know-NMLZ/IND=FOC   do/be.like.that-CVB:CAUSE   you:SG-CAUSEE

        wi-ŋg-inə-nd=ra.
        go-CAUS-DES/INCH-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'I also understand. Because [I] am doing like that, I am going to let you go.' (ES)
        (Krejnovich 1979: 328)

(148)   *cʰi*   *prə-χaj*   *caj*   *pʰ-ŋafq-xun + dor-ra*
        you:SG   come-CVB:COND   again   REFL-friend-PL + miss-COORD:2SG

        wi-in-ŋ-aʁɲi-ra.   **ha-jilakrt**   *cʰe-rχ*
        go-DES/INCH-NMLZ-want-COORD:2SG   do/be.like.that-CVB:PURP:NEG:3SG   you:SG-DAT

        cʰχəf   *qoj~χoj-ŋg-inə-nd=ra.*
        bear   kill-NMLZ-DES/INCH-NMLZ/IND=FOC

        'If you come, you will miss your friends again. In order that [you] do not do like that,
        the bear is going to kill you.' (ES) (Krejnovich 1979: 328)

11.2 Sentence connectives formed from the non-proximal qualitative demonstrative verb

In the Amur dialect, sentence connectives can also be formed from the non-proximal qualitative demonstrative verb with the root *hoʁo-/hoʁa-/hoɣo-*. The verb root takes one or another converbal suffix that signals semantic relationships between clauses or sentences. In the process of formation, the root may lose the component *ʁo/ʁa*, resulting in the root *ho-* (cf. *ho-r/ho-t*), and change the quality of the medial vowel, resulting in the root *hu-* (cf. *huŋ-ge*). Both reduced roots may end in the nasal *ŋ* (cf. *ho(ŋ)-ke*). Furthermore, the reduced root *ho-* may attach the causative suffix *-gu-* (cf. *ho(ŋ)-gu-r/ho(ŋ)-gu-t*). Table 32 summarizes the sentence connectives that are attested in the Amur data.

Table 32 Sentence connectives derived from the non-proximal demonstrative verb in the Amur dialect

A	Semantic relationships between clauses
hoʁo-r/hoʁo-t, hoʁa-r/hoʁa-r, ho-r/ho-t, ho(ŋ)-gu-r/ho(ŋ)-gu-t	narration
hoʁo-rot/hoʁo-ror/hoʁo-tot	temporality: anteriority
hoʁo-ŋan, hoʁa-ŋan	temporality: anteriority or simultaneity
ho(ŋ)-ke, huŋ-ge	temporality: anteriority
hoʁo-ʁaj	condition
hoʁa-gin, hoʁa-girn	concession

Sentence connectives with the narrative converb suffix A *-r/-t* are semantically the most neutral. The choice of *-r* or *-t* variant depends on the number and person of the subject of the converb. In (149), *hoʁo-r* is used to connect two coordinated clauses, whereas in (150), *hoʁo-t* creates a link between two sentences.

(149) *luvr*   *me-qr + ɲi-ra*   ***hoʁo-r***
spoon   two-CL:generic + eat-COORD:3SG   be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3SG

kʰrəz-ra.
be.full-COORD:3SG

'[He] ate two spoons, then [he] was full.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 226)

(150) ***hoʁo-ŋan***   *əlc-ɣu*   *hemar*   *it-c*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:TEMP   servant-PL old.man say-NMLZ/IND

ŋarla-gu-t   *sək + nə-ɣət-c.*
do.in.the.same.way-CAUS-CVB:NAR:3PL all + do-INT/COMPL-NMLZ/IND

hoʁo-t   *uřka-ŋan*   *əlc-ɣu*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:NAR:3PL be.nightfall-CVB:TEMP servant-PL

qanga + tʰəu-ɟ.
qanga + play-NMLZ/IND

'Then the servants did everything as the old men said. Then when nightfall [came], the servants played qanga.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 223)

The sentence connectives *ho(ŋ)-gu-r/ho(ŋ)-gu-t* comprising the causative suffix *-gu-* are typically used in two cases. First, they occur in the sentences whose subject is not coreferential with the subject of the preceding sentence, as in (151). Second, they appear when there is a causal relationship between two sentences, as in (152). In the latter case, the subjects of the two adjacent sentences can be the same.

(151) *...acik*   *ərk*   *pil-ra*   *pal-rox*   *mər-ra*
younger.brother already be.big-COORD:3SG   forest-DAT go.up-COORD:3SG

cʰolŋaj + xu-ra   *tʰoχ + kʰu-ra*   *qʰotr + kʰu-ra.*
reindeer + kill-COORD:3SG elk + kill-COORD:3SG bear + kill-COORD:3SG

hoŋ-gu-t   *hum-ke...*
be.non.proximal.by.quality-CAUS-CVB:NAR:3PL be/live-CVB:DUR

'…younger brother is already big, [he] goes to the forest, kills reindeer, kills elk, kills bears. In that way [they] lived for a long time…' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 222)

(152)   *lerler-ɟ.*   *miv + ŋəŋg-irucez-ɟ.*
         be.lost-NMLZ/IND   land + look.for-not.able-NMLZ/IND

         hoŋ-gu-r   *řak-tox*
         be.non.proximal.by.quality-CAUS-CVB:NAR:3SG   where-DAT

         vi-ɟ=lu   *pʰan-para.*
         go-NMLZ/IND=Q   not.know-ADVERS

         '[He] is lost. [He] cannot find the land. Because of that he does not know where to go yet.'
         (A) (Panfilov 1965: 244)

One of the most frequent sentence connectives is *hoʁo-rot*/*hoʁo-ror*/*hoʁo-tot*, which summarizes the events expressed in the preceding discourse and emphasizes that they all took place before the events that will be referred to in the following discourse:

(153)   **hoʁo-ŋan**   *hə + uɣŋa*   *j-erq + cʰe-ř*
         be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:TEMP   close.DET + loon   3SG-side + turn-CVB:NAR:3SG

         j-ajma-ɟ.   **hoʁo-ror**   *hə + ŋa*
         3SG-look-NMLZ/IND   be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:TEMP:3SG   close.DET + beast

         it-c.
         say-NMLZ/IND

         'Then that loon turning at his side, looked. After that that beast said.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 225)

Depending on the aspectual characteristics of verbs in the connected clauses or sentences, the converb *hoʁo-ŋan*/*hoʁa-ŋan* may express anteriority, as in (150), or simultaneity, as in (153).

    The converb *ho(ŋ)-ke*/*huŋ-ge* always indicates anteriority, emphasizing that the previous action/state lasted for a long time; cf. *hoŋ-ke* in (154):

(154)   *əcik-a!*   *ɲi paj*   *ler-t*   *nəŋ-ɟ=ra.*
         grandmother-VOC   I   just   play-CVB:NAR:1SG   look.for-NMLZ/IND=FOC

         hoŋ-ke   *cʰi-vrə + ɲřə-t*   *təvu-ɟ=ra.*
         be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:DUR   2SG-tent + see-CVB:NAR:1SG   come.in-NMLZ/IND=FOC

         'Grandmother! I am looking for [something] just playing. Doing like that [for a long time], seeing your tent, [I] came in.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 226)

The following examples illustrate the use of the conditional converb *hoʁo-ʁaj*, in (155), and the concessional converb *hoʁa-girn*, in (156):

(155)   *cʰi...*   *əŋk + hava-ra*   *ɲax + tʰeɲŋavu-ra*   *ha-ja!*
         you:SG   mouth + open-COORD:2SG   eye + close-COORD:2SG   do/be.like.that-IMP:2SG

         hoʁo-ʁaj   *ɲi cʰ-əŋg-roχ*   *pəiz-nə-ɟ=ra.*
         be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:COND   I   2SG-mouth-DAT   throw-FUT-NMLZ/IND=FOC

         'You … open [your] mouth well and close [your] eyes. In case you do like that, I shall throw [it] into your mouth.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 225)

(156) *ɲi umgu*   *ha-ŋan*   **hoʁa-girn**
      I woman do/be.like.that-CVB:TEMP be.non.proximal.by.quality-CVB:CONC

      siŋ-ɣir   *cʰ-xuzə=lo.*
      what-INSTR 2SG-reward=PROB

      'Though (lit. when) I am a woman, I shall reward you with something.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 225)

12. SUMMARY OF PRAGMATIC USES OF DEMONSTRATIVES

Table 33 summarizes the pragmatic uses performed by various types of demonstratives and reveals that deictic and characterizing features obviously correlate with the ability of one or another demonstrative to perform a certain pragmatic function. As can be seen from the previous discussion, most demonstratives can be used in both exophoric and non-exophoric functions. The exceptions are represented, on the one hand, by dimensional demonstrative pronouns, the dimensional and locational demonstrative verb, and demonstrative identifiers that can be used only exophorically, and, on the other hand, by the quasidemonstrative determiner and verb and sentence connectives that by definition can function only endophorically.

The *delayed anaphora* can be expressed only by invisible demonstratives, as the link between anaphora and visibility is not difficult to make. The immediate anaphor is located in the vicinity of its antecedent and is therefore visible to it, whereas the delayed anaphor is distant from its antecedent and hidden from it by the text.

The *discourse deictic function* is typical of a non-proximal qualitative demonstrative determiner, verb, and adverb, as well as of all quasidemonstratives. Note that all the mentioned (quasi)demonstratives begin with the same "deictic" consonant *h*, which is also an initial consonant of demonstratives that serve as immediate anaphors. Therefore, all close/non-proximal demonstratives can be used with an anaphoric reference, either as an immediate anaphor or as a discourse deictic.

The *recognitional function* can be performed exclusively by the invisible general demonstrative determiner, which can be explained by the fact that in this case the referent can be identified only on the basis of shared knowledge. The referent is absent from both the speech situation and the text, and therefore it is exophorically and anaphorically invisible to both the speaker and addressee.

Only proximal demonstratives from various morphosyntactic classes can perform the *expressive function*. The use of these demonstratives for conveying the speaker's emotions seems to be in line with their exophoric function, which is always associated with the speaker.

Table 33 Pragmatic uses of Nivkh demonstratives

Endophoric and expressive use	**ES**	**A**	**Exophoric use**
immediate anaphora	*hu-d, hu-nt, hə-nt*	*hə-ɟ*	close visible general demonstrative pronoun
	hu-ŋ, hə-ŋ	*hə*	close visible general demonstrative determiner
	hu-s	*hu-r*	precise close locational demonstrative pronoun
	hu-nx	*hu-ŋk, hu-ŋg*	close locational demonstrative adverb
	həmɟi-d, həmci-d, həmra-d	*hoɣo-ɟ, hoɣa-ɟ, hoʁa-ɟ, huŋrə-ɟ*	non-proximal qualitative demonstrative pronoun
	hu-ŋs, hu-ŋks, hu-ŋř	*hu-ŋs*	non-proximal quantitative demonstrative pronoun
delayed anaphora	*ku-d*	*ku-ɟ*	invisible general demonstrative pronoun
	ku-ŋ	*ku*	invisible general demonstrative determiner
discourse deictic	*həmɟi-ŋ, həmci-ŋ, həmra-ŋ*	*hoɣo, hoɣa, hoʁa, huŋrə*	non-proximal qualitative demonstrative determiner
	həmɟi-d, həmci-d, həmra-d	*hoɣo-ɟ, hoɣa-ɟ, hoʁa-ɟ, huŋrə-ɟ*	non-proximal qualitative demonstrative verb
	həmɟi-ř/həmɟi-t/ həmɟi-n, həmɟi-guř/ həmɟi-gut/həmɟi-gun, həmra-ř/həmra-t/ həmra-n	*ho(ŋ)-gur/ho(ŋ)-gut, hoɣa-gur/ hoɣa-gut*	non-proximal qualitative demonstrative adverb
	ha-ŋ	*ha*	quasidemonstrative determiner
	ha-d	*ha-ɟ*	quasidemonstrative verb
	ha-ř/ha-t/ha-n, ha-roř/ ha-tot/ha-non, ha-ŋa, ha-ʃke, ha-ʁaj, ha-χaj, ha-lax, ha-jilakrř/ ha-jilakrt, ha-ʁajnapə	*ha-r/ha-t, ha-gu-r/ha-gu-t, ha-rot/ha-ror/ha-tot, ha-ŋan, ha-ʃke, ha-ʁaj, hoʁo-r/hoʁo-t, hoʁa-r/ hoʁa-r, ho-r/ho-t, ho(ŋ)- gu-r/ho(ŋ)-gu-t, hoʁo-rot/ hoʁo-ror/hoʁo-tot, hoʁo-ŋan, hoʁa-ŋan, ho(ŋ)-ke, huŋ-ge, hoʁo-ʁaj, hoʁa-gin, hoʁa-girn*	quasidemonstrative sentence connectives
recognitional	*ku-ŋ*	*ku*	invisible general demonstrative determiner
expressive	*təmɟi-d, təmci-d təmra-d*	*toɣo-ɟ, toɣa-ɟ, toʁa-ɟ, tuŋrə-ɟ*	proximal qualitative demonstrative pronoun
	təmɟi-ŋ, təmci-ŋ təmra-ŋ	*toɣo, toɣa, toʁa, tuŋrə*	proximal qualitative demonstrative determiner
	təmɟi-d, təmci-d təmra-d	*toɣo-ɟ, toɣa-ɟ, toʁa-ɟ, tuŋrə-ɟ*	proximal qualitative demonstrative verb
	təmɟi-ř/təmɟi-t/təmɟi-n, təmɟi-guř/təmɟi-gut/ təmɟi-gun, təmra-ř/təmra-t/ təmra-n	*to(ŋ)-gur/to(ŋ)-gut, toɣa-gur/toɣa-gut*	proximal qualitative demonstrative adverb

13. CONCLUSION

This study has discussed the grammatical and semantic features of Nivkh demonstratives and their uses in different pragmatic functions. As can be seen, Nivkh demonstratives represent a typologically interesting example of a multi-term, speaker-anchored, distance-oriented deictic system, which exploits an elaborated inventory of distance contrasts. The deictic properties of the demonstratives can be described either in terms of a binary system with the opposition between proximal and non-proximal areas as viewed from the deictic centre, or in terms of a multiple system that is organized hierarchically. The latter may be further divided into primary and secondary systems, which together define fifteen spatial zones around the deictic centre. The secondary system is attested only in the East Sakhalin dialect and can be seen as an innovation that has developed already on Sakhalin Island. Beyond spatial proximity, the demonstratives may also encode a number of non-deictic features, such as quality, quantity, dimension, location, preciseness of location, and visibility. As a result, the language possesses altogether more than seventy demonstratives.

It is possible to postulate six morphosyntactic classes of Nivkh demonstratives, whose semantics can be analysed according to their referential, characterizing, deictic, and other semantic and pragmatic features. The demonstratives are divided into prototypical demonstratives, which can be used in an exophoric function, and non-prototypical demonstratives (= quasidemonstratives), which can be used only in an endophoric function.

Within the system of Nivkh demonstratives, deictic and characterizing features balance each other as follows. When certain specific properties of a referent are to be indicated, a speaker chooses a specialized demonstrative – qualitative, dimensional, or quantitative. These specialized demonstratives make use of a binary deictic system and give only a general idea of the spatial location of a referent relative to the deictic centre. When, however, the referent properties are kept in the background, the speaker uses a non-specialized (= general) demonstrative. General demonstratives exploit the multiple deictic system and can therefore rather precisely indicate the spatial location of a referent relative to the deictic centre. Naturally, the significance of detailed information on the position of a referent culminates when the referent itself represents a location. In that case, a speaker has the possibility to use both primary and secondary deictic systems in order to specify the spatial location of a referent as precisely as possible.

Furthermore, Nivkh demonstratives display an interesting correlation between various pragmatic uses. Thus, the demonstratives exophorically exploiting the binary deictic system also display the binarity in their non-exophoric uses, so that non-proximal demonstratives turn out to be responsible for endophoric (anaphoric and discourse deictic) functions, while proximal demonstratives stand for an expressive function. In turn, the demonstrative pronouns and determiners that exophorically employ the multiple deictic system, including the opposition between visible and invisible forms, show more semantic distinctions in their non-exophoric functions. More precisely, they display an additional distinction between immediate and delayed anaphors, as referred to by the close visible and invisible demonstratives, respectively.

Altogether, the analysis of the semantics and pragmatics of Nivkh demonstratives proves that this closed class of words functions as a well-balanced mechanism with a complex structure, exhibiting a case of an exceptionally elaborate deictic system of a type rarely found in the languages of the world.

ABBREVIATIONS

A   Amur dialect

ES   East Sakhalin dialect

1	first person	DAT	dative	INT	intensive
2	second person	DES	desiderative	ITER	iterative
3	third person	DEST	destinative	LOC	locative
ABL	ablative	DET	determiner	NAR	narrative
ADVERS	adversative	DIR	direct	NEG	negative
ASS	assertive	DU	dual	NMLZ	nominalizer
AUG	augmentative	DUR	durative	PERL	perlative
CATEG	categorical	EVID	evidential	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	EXCL	exclusive	PROB	probabilitive
CAUSE	causal	FOC	focus	PROGR	progressive
CAUSEE	causee	FUT	future	Q	question
CL	classifier	IDENT	identifier	REFL	reflexive
COMP	comparative	RP	imperative	RES	resultative
COMPL	completive	INCH	inchoative	SG	singular
CONC	concessive	INCL	inclusive	TEMP	temporal
COND	conditional	IND	indicative	USIT	usitative
COORD	coordinated	INDEF	indefinite	VOC	vocative
CVB	converb	INSTR	instrumental		

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