FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN CONTEMPORARY SOIKKOLA INGRIAN

Elena Markus, Fedor Rozhanskiy
University of Tartu, EE
elmarkus@ut.ee, handarey@yahoo.com

Abstract. This article discusses demonstrative pronouns in the Soikkola dialect of the Ingrian language. The material for the research comes from a collection of spontaneous speech samples recorded in the 21st century. Most examples are being published for the first time. The article presents mainly a qualitative analysis and aims to provide an overview of the basic functions of the Ingrian demonstrative pronouns *tämä* and *še*. It is shown that in contemporary Ingrian the demonstratives are used as deictic and anaphoric devices, and also as discourse markers. Individual speakers demonstrate differences in the use of these pronouns due to the contact influence from neighbouring languages.

Keywords: Ingrian, pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, deixis, anaphora, discourse markers, language contact

1. Introduction

Four historical stems have been reconstructed as sources of contemporary Finnic demonstratives: **tämä*, **se*, **too* and **taa* (Larjavaara 1986: 75). The distribution of these stems across the Finnic languages is patchy (see the maps in Tuomi & Suhonen 2004: 424–428); the stem **taa* is found only in South Estonian and in some North Finnic varieties (Larjavaara 1986: 95; Tuomi & Suhonen 2004: 427; Pajusalu 2015: 170–171). Larjavaara (1986: 75) mentions that the Proto-Finnic pronominal system, which had three pronouns and later acquired the fourth stem, significantly changed over time in particular varieties. Sometimes development was due to divergence, and sometimes the differences decreased because of convergent processes that led to levelling.

In contemporary Finnic languages, the system of demonstratives can be unipartite, bipartite or tripartite. In the latter case, proximal, medial,

and distal demonstratives are opposed. The functions of particular pronouns in demonstrative systems are not the same across the varieties. For example, the stem *se (which is found in all Finnic languages) functions as medial in Finnish and Karelian (and means 'close to the listener'), but in South Estonian it has changed from medial to proximal, and in Livonian and North Estonian it has taken over all spatial spheres (Laanest 1982: 196–199; Pajusalu 1996: 148, 2009: 123; Tomingas 2018; Yurayong 2020: 31–34). In contemporary Votic and Veps, *se* functions as distal, while the proximal demonstratives are derived from the same stem *se combined with deictic intensifiers (Kettunen 1943: 403; Yurayong 2020: 34). This latter development was likely induced through contact with Russian that has a similar model (Yurayong 2020: 34, 205–206). The composition of demonstrative systems in contemporary Finnic languages is therefore highly heterogeneous.

Ingrian apparently had a tripartite system of demonstrative pronouns: proximal *tämä ~ tää*, medial *se*, and distal *too*, as attested in the oldest published description of Ingrian (Porkka 1885: 83–85). The dictionary by Nirvi (1971: 616, 514, 594) also contains all three pronouns but it gives only five Soikkola examples for the distal pronoun *too*. In contrast, there are five times more examples for *tämä ~ tää* and even more examples for *se* in this dictionary. This possibly indicates that *too* was much rarer in speech than the other two pronouns. Later publications (e.g. Laanest 1978; Saar 2017) do not mention the distal *too* at all, and it is also absent from published Soikkola Ingrian texts (Porkka 1885; Ariste 1960; Laanest 1966a) as well as from recent recordings. Contemporary Soikkola Ingrian has a two-way opposition between *tämä*, which functions as proximal 'this', and *še*, which is the unmarked pronoun, and which can read both as 'this' and 'that'[1] and is far more frequent than *tämä* (Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022: 167).

The distribution and function of different demonstratives from syntactic, semantic and pragmatic points of view has been widely discussed for the major Finnic languages, Finnish and Estonian (cf. Laury 1996, 1997; Priiki 2017; Seppänen 1998; Pajusalu 2006, 2009, 2015; Nahkola et al. 2020; Reile et al. 2020; Taremaa et al. 2021). For other Finnic languages, considerably less research has been done so far. Karelian and Veps demonstratives were studied by Larjavaara (1986); Livonian

---

1   Below we always gloss *še* as 'that'.

demonstrative proadjectives were described by Tomingas (2018). The doctoral thesis by Yurayong (2020) investigates demonstratives in most Finnic languages and also North Russian dialects, the primary focus being on postposed demonstratives. This in-depth study is in fact the only work where Ingrian demonstratives are considered (alongside other languages) from the point of view of their syntactic and pragmatic functions, including referential and information-structural uses.

When used as referential devices, Finnic demonstratives are usually classified as being either deictic or anaphoric (Laury 1996; Pajusalu 2006, 2009). Yurayong (2020: 153–160) offers a more detailed classification based on the chapter by König (2018) and the doctoral thesis by Becker (see 2021, the revised version), and distinguishes seven types of reference relations:

a) A **deictic** referent is new in the discourse, and it is usually a concrete visible entity that can be pointed to with a gesture.

b) A **recognitional** referent is also new information, but not directly visible; it is identified by the interlocutors through common or shared knowledge or experience.

c) An **absolutely unique** referent points to a unique entity, for example the Sun or God. Pajusalu (2009: 132) notes that such reference is not possible in Estonian; in the expression *see päike* 'this sun' the demonstrative conveys the physical presence of the sun but not its uniqueness.

d) An **anaphoric** reference is made to an entity that was already explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse. The gap between the antecedent and the demonstrative is usually short, but anaphora can also be used to reactivate referents mentioned 50–200 words earlier.

e) A **bridging** reference is similar to an anaphoric one, but it was not directly mentioned before; rather it associates with some previously mentioned entity through inalienable relations. For instance, 'the footprints' can be a bridging reference to the walking forest angel mentioned earlier in the text (example from southern Lude in Yurayong (2020: 158)).

f) A **situationally unique** reference also associates with some previously mentioned entity but does not have inalienable relations with it. The link between the reference and its antecedent is provided by the context.

g) Finally, an **establishing** reference is new information in the discourse that is immediately followed with some clarifying details about the referent.

For Ingrian postposed demonstratives, Yurayong (2020: 161) only observed deictic and anaphoric uses.

As concerns the distribution of demonstrative vs personal pronouns in their referential uses, a distinction is usually made between animate vs inanimate or human vs non-human referents. Pajusalu (2015: 169–170) notes that these distinctions are not strict in the Finnic family, and demonstratives can refer to both animate and inanimate referents. She mentions, however, that in Finnish and Estonian written discourse, probably under the influence of Indo-European languages, human/ animate beings are more typically referred to by personal pronouns. Since contemporary Ingrian does not have a written variety,[2] and was not subject to normalizing, we expect that here the human antecedents can be encoded with demonstratives.

Syntactically, a demonstrative can function as an independent constituent or as a determiner in a noun phrase (NP). Within an NP, demonstratives can both precede or follow a noun.[3] In Ingrian, preposed demonstratives clearly prevail, but postposed usages also occur. Yurayong (2020: 186–187) notes that "deictic use is more frequently found in the use of preposed demonstratives, whereas anaphoric and other referential uses are more common for postposed demonstratives".

The small number of published speech samples is a serious obstacle for detailed research on Ingrian demonstratives. There is currently no published corpus of the Ingrian language, while the number and size of the published texts is very limited. For Soikkola Ingrian, there are two tales published by Porkka (1885), ca. 2000 words; three tales published by Sovijärvi (1944), ca. 3000 words; texts and folklore pieces recorded mainly by one speaker (Ariste 1960), ca. 7500 words; and texts recorded by one speaker (Laanest 1966a), ca. 5000 words. The Ingrian material used in the study by Yurayong (2020) comes from the text collection by

---

2   A written variety and school teaching of Ingrian was introduced in the beginning of the 1930s (Musaev 2004: 248) but was banned by 1938.

3   In Lude and Veps, postposed demonstratives can also attach to non-nominal parts of speech (Yurayong 2020: 140–142).

Laanest (1966a); apart from the Soikkola dialect, the Heva data from the same publication are also considered.

For the current study, we use our own field recordings of Soikkola Ingrian spontaneous speech (see details in section 2). The size of this field corpus is bigger than in any of the published sources and contains data from many native speakers, which gives us the possibility to analyse the Ingrian demonstratives in more detail. This article is the first step of the analysis and presents preliminary research of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature. Our aim is to give an overview of the functions of demonstratives in contemporary[4] Soikkola Ingrian[5] and also to formulate preliminary hypotheses for further study.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the data used in our research, section 3 gives the basic information on the forms of Ingrian demonstrative pronouns, section 4 presents the analysis of their functions, section 5 offers some observations on the variation between the native speakers and in section 6 we formulate the conclusions and further hypotheses.

2. Data

The material for the current research comprises a collection of spontaneous speech samples that we recorded, together with colleagues, on linguistic field trips to the Soikkola peninsula. We have about 4 hours of transcribed texts in Soikkola Ingrian, consisting of approximately 20,000 words. These speech samples are mostly narratives and a few dialogues recorded by 21 speakers between 2006 and 2013. The genre of the texts is mostly life stories. The data were collected in different dialectal zones, namely in the northern, central (transitional) and

---

4   By "contemporary Ingrian" we mean the language used by Ingrian native speakers in the 21st century.

5   In this article, we do not consider demonstratives in Lower Luga Ingrian for two reasons. First, it is not just an Ingrian dialect in a strict sense, but a convergent language based on Ingrian and Votic with some influence of Ingrian Finnish and Estonian (Rožanskij & Markus 2013). The analysis of Lower Luga Ingrian material would be most effectively done in comparison with all these languages, but such a task is beyond the scope of this article. Second, we do not have a representative corpus of transcribed text samples in Lower Luga Ingrian.

southern parts of the Soikkola peninsula.[6] The recordings were processed and transcribed in ELAN (2020), an audiovisual annotation tool, during the course of the project "Documentation of Ingrian: collecting and analysing fieldwork data and digitizing legacy materials" financed by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (2011–2013).[7]

For each example, we provide a code to indicate the text which the example is taken from. The code combines the title of the text and the index of the native speaker. The list of Soikkola Ingrian speakers that are mentioned in this article is given in Table 1. The table specifies the year and place of birth, the place of recording, and the dialectal zone for each speaker. Villages mentioned in Table 1 are plotted on the map in Figure 1.[8]

Table 1. List of native speakers.

Index of speaker	Year of birth	Place of birth	Place of recording	Dialectal zone
AG	1936	Reppola	Voloitsa	Northern
AI	1926	Viistina	Viistina	Transitional
EI	1929	Viistina	Otsave	Southern
EN	1932	Venakontsa	Venakontsa	Southern
GI	1936	Viistina	Viistina	Transitional
KV	1939	Säädinä	Säädinä	Southern
LK	1949	Saarove	Saarove	Southern
MM	1920	Viistina	Viistina	Transitional
OM	1931	Viistina	Viistina	Transitional
RP	1927	Saarove	Saarove	Southern
ST	1924	Mättüizi	Savimää	Northern

---

6   See Kuznetsova (2009: 19) on the dialectal zones of the Soikkola peninsula.

7   See details of the project in Rozhanskiy & Markus (2019).

8   The village names in Table 1 and Figure 1 correspond to the way they are attested in our field recordings but spelled according to the Finnish tradition with *ü* rendered as *y* and *š/ž* rendered as *s/z*. In the case of several variants of a name being attested (e.g. *Tammigondu ~ Tammikonttu ~ Tammikondu*), we chose the variant that was confirmed by most speakers and corresponds most closely to Ingrian phonetics. The name *Hovinmaa* (in Russian, *Krasnaja Gorka*) does not occur in our records; it was reported by Aleksei Kriukov who recorded it during his fieldwork with Soikkola Ingrians.
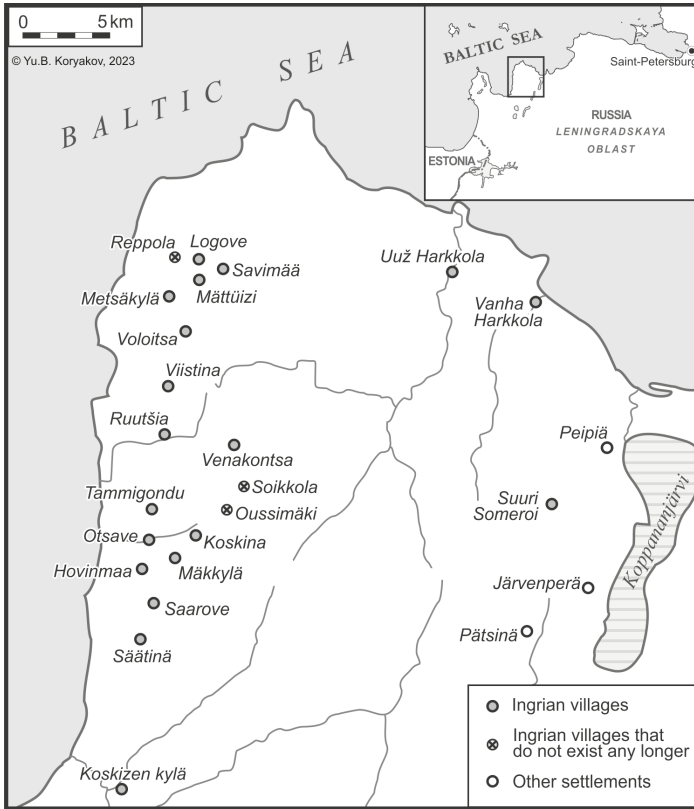
Figure 1. Map of the Soikkola peninsula.

For spelling the examples we use a standardized transcription which does not reflect specific phonetic features of individual speakers. In particular:

a) The historically long mid vowels *oo*, *öö*, *ee* in the stressed syllable that can be pronounced as mid, mid-high or high[9] (e.g [*šoo* ~ *šǫǫ* ~ *šuu*] 'swamp') are always transcribed as mid-high (*šǫǫ*);

b) The occasional durational shortening and qualitative reduction of the vowel at the stem–case marker boundary is not indicated, e.g. *metsää-ž* 'forest-INE' [metsā̈ž ~ metsäž ~ metsež];

c) Short geminates are written as double characters with a breve (*p̆p*, *n̆n*, etc.) in all phonetic contexts;

---

9   See Kuznetsova (2009: 127–133, 140–145) for details.

d) Single *p*, *t*, *k*, and *š* are spelled as voiced *b*, *d*, *g*, *ž* except word-initially, in clusters with *p*, *t*, *k*, *š*, *f*, or *h*, and in non-adapted borrowings, e.g. *haaba* 'aspen', *nüblä* 'button', *joob* 'drink.PRS.3SG', but *pada* 'pot', *lüpšää* 'milk.INF'.

3. Forms of the demonstrative pronouns in Soikkola Ingrian

Paradigms of Ingrian demonstrative pronouns were first listed by Porkka (1885: 83–84). In more recent studies, the full paradigms are not given; several basic forms are mentioned in Nirvi (1971: 338, 355, 514, 616), Laanest (1966b: 108, 1978: 252, 1986: 120), and Saar (2017: 127).[10]

The full paradigms of demonstrative pronouns in Table 2 (cited from Schwarz & Rozhanskiy 2022) represent Soikkola Ingrian as spoken in the 21st century (the data are taken both from spontaneous speech and from elicitation sessions). The essive and excessive forms were not attested in our recordings, apart from the corresponding historical forms *šiin* and *šiind* that function as the inessive and elative forms in the contemporary language, and the historical essive *tänä* that has been lexicalized and is used exclusively in a temporal sense.

The short forms of the nominative (*tää*), genitive (*tään*), and nominative plural (*nää*) from *tämä* 'this', listed by Porkka (1885: 83) and Laanest (1966b: 108), are not attested in the contemporary materials.

---

10 Full paradigms of demonstrative pronouns are given also in Junus (1936: 99). However, we do not consider them, because this grammar is prescriptive, not descriptive. The forms from Junus (1936) do not always match our data. For instance, Junus lists *šenen* and *šen* as the genitive and accusative forms, respectively. In our materials, these two forms both function as genitive (the distribution is idiolectal), while there is no morphologically independent accusative form at all. Also, it is not clear whether the essive forms *tämännä* 'this.ESS', *senennä* 'that.ESS', *näinnä* 'this.PL.ESS', and *niinnä* 'that.PL.ESS' given by Junus have ever existed.

Table 2. Paradigms of demonstrative pronouns in contemporary Soikkola Ingrian.

Number / Case	'this'		'that'	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
NOM	*tämä*	*nämäd ~ nämä*	*še ~ šee*	*need ~ nee ~ ned ~ ne*
GEN	*tämän*	*näijen*	*šenen ~ šen*	*niijen*
PART	*tädä*	*näidä*	*šidä*	*niidä*
ILL	*tähä*	*näihe*	*šihe ~ šiihe*	*niihe*
INE	*täž*	*näiž*	*šiin*	*niiž*
ELA	*täšt*	*näišt*	*šiind*	*niišt*
ALL	*tälle*	*näille*	*šille*	*niille*
ADE	*täl*	*näil*	*šil*	*niil*
ABL	*täld*	*näild*	*šild*	*niild*
TRANS	*täkš*	*näikš*	*šikš*	*niikš*

In addition to the locative forms of pronouns, there are also pronominal adverbs that either have an identical form (e.g. *täž* 'here' and *täž* 'this.INE') or a very close form with the pronouns (e.g. *tääl* 'here' and *täl* 'this.ADE'; it is rather typical for such forms to be pronounced similarly in fast speech). This homonymy sometimes poses a problem for analysing the corresponding forms. In (1), the adverb *täšt* 'from here' is syntactically dependent on the predicate *pääššä poiž* 'get out'. In (2), the pronoun *täšt* 'this.ELA', which agrees with the head noun in case and number, hardly allows an adverbial interpretation 'from here' – there is no preceding context that says something about 'here'. However, in (3), *täšt* can be easily interpreted both as an agreeing pronoun ('from this house') and as an adverb that depends on the predicate ('were driven away from here from the house').

(1)   Kala_ja_metsä_EN
    miä   *e-n*   *pääš-t*   **täšt**   *poiž*
    1SG   NEG-1SG   get.in-PRTACT   from.here   away
    'I could not get out **from here**.'

(2)   Pedro_OM

täšt	***nügünäižee-št***	***eloi-št***	*miä*	*hüvvä-ä*
this.ELA	modern-ELA	life-ELA	1SG	good-PART

e-n	*nää*	*miťťää*
NEG-1SG	see.CNG	what.NEG.PART

'I do not see anything good **in this modern life**.'

(3)   Šoda_AG

i	*tämä*	*meidä*	***täšt***	***koi-št***
and	this	1PL.PART	this.ELA/from.here	house-ELA

taaž	*aje-ttii*	*poiž*
again	drive-IMPRS.PST	away

'And this, we were again driven away **from this house / from here from the house**.'

Similarly, in examples (4) and (5), *täž* and *tähä* can be interpreted in two ways.

(4)   Elo(B)_AI

a	*nüd*	***täž***	***meijen***	*otsaa-ž*	*eľlää*
but	now	this.INE/here	1PL.GEN	edge-INE	live.PRS.3SG

kaig	*vanha*	*vägi*	*nọor-d*	*väǩki-ä*	*ei-oo=gaa*
all	old	people	young-PART	people-PART	be.NEG.3SG=PTCL

'And now **in this part of ours / here in our part** only the old people live; there are no young people.'

(5)   Püüdämääž_GI

kümmen	*vai*	*kakštoišt*	*henǩki-ä*	*ain*	*meil*
ten	or	twelve	person-PART	always	1PL.ADE

joga	*họọmuž*	*korjahu-i-d*	*täž*	<…>
every	morning	get.together-PST-3PL	here	

ain	***tähä***	***ühtee***	***paikkaa***	*korjahu-i-d*
always	here/this.ILL	one.ILL	place.ILL	get.together-PST-3PL

'Ten or twelve people would always gather here at our place each morning. (They) always gathered **in this one place** / **here, in one place**.'

This kind of homonymy can be a real challenge for the analysis of demonstrative pronouns.[11] However, it is not very relevant for the current

---

11   It should be pointed out that the semantic opposition of the spatial vs deictic usage cannot be considered a reliable criterion for distinguishing between adverbs and pronouns. E.g. Etelämäki (2009: 40–43) notes that the Finnish demonstrative *tämä* 'this' may be used as a means of organizing the interaction, for example marking "a new phase within the telling", and concludes that the spatial use of demonstratives requires further investigation.

paper. None of the illustrative examples below contain homonymic forms that can be considered as adverbs. In section 5, where the ratio of different demonstratives is calculated, only the nominative forms are considered. The only place where calculations could be affected by this homonymy is Table 3 in section 4, which lists all forms of pronouns. In this calculation, we excluded all occurrences where the pronominal interpretation looked unnatural and artificial, and the adverbial interpretation looked definitively better. All ambiguous occurrences, where both the adverbial and pronominal interpretations are equally possible, were counted separately.

4. Function of demonstrative pronouns

This section presents a functional analysis of the demonstratives in contemporary Soikkola Ingrian. First, we discuss which morphological forms occur in our corpus.

Table 3 presents the number of occurrences of each form. If no number is indicated, the corresponding form is not attested in our data. A number in parentheses refers to ambiguous cases when a locative form can be interpreted either as a pronoun or as an adverb (see section 3).

Table 3. Number of occurrences of each demonstrative form in spontaneous speech samples.

Number / Case	'this' Singular		'this' Plural		'that' Singular		'that' Plural	
NOM	*tämä*	77	*nämä(d)*	23	*še(e)*	156	*ne(e)(d)*	64
GEN	*tämän*	9	*näijen*		*šen(en)*	32	*niijen*	
PART	*tädä*	11	*näidä*	11	*šidä*	72	*niidä*	7
ILL	*tähä*	2 (+4)	*näihe*	1	*ši(i)he*	2	*niihe*	
INE	*täž*	(11)	*näiž*		*šiin*	1 (+3)	*niiž*	1
ELA	*täšt*	1 (+1)	*näišt*		*šiind*	1	*niišt*	
ALL	*tälle*	2	*näille*	2	*šille*	4	*niille*	
ADE	*täl*	7	*nail*	1	*šil*	2	*niil*	1
ABL	*täld*		*näild*		*šild*	1	*niild*	
TRANS	*täkš*		*näikš*		*šikš*		*niikš*	

As seen from Table 3, the "syntactic cases" (i.e. the nominative, genitive and partitive) are considerably more frequent than other case forms; also, the forms of *še* (at least the syntactic cases) are generally more frequent than forms of *tämä*. The latter observation suggests that *še* is the unmarked variant in the pair 'this – that' (unlike, for example, in English).

The locative forms of demonstrative pronouns are rather rare in our materials, so we cannot offer any generalizations about their typical functions. In the majority of examples, these forms occur within an NP and represent one of the deictic or anaphoric uses discussed in this section.

Below we investigate the functions of demonstrative pronouns (primarily, their nominative forms) in our corpus. We distinguish two main groups of functions: referential uses of demonstrative pronouns and discourse uses. In its referential use, a demonstrative marks or brings into focus a certain referent. In its discourse use, a demonstrative pronoun functions as a discourse marker, i.e. marks hesitation, repairing, codeswitching, transition to a new topic, etc.

As mentioned in the Introduction, two main classes of referential uses of demonstratives are usually distinguished for Finnic languages, namely deictic and anaphoric. The deictic reference points to a nonlinguistic object that exists in space, while the anaphoric reference is made to something mentioned in the preceding text (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976; Fillmore 1997). For the Ingrian examples observed in the data we offer a more fine-grained classification that intersects to a certain extent with the one proposed by Yurayong (2020).[12]

Since the function of a particular demonstrative form may differ depending on whether it occurs independently or as part of an NP, we treat these cases separately. Table 4 summarizes the functions of demonstratives observed in our material. The numbers in the right part of the table refer to the sections where the corresponding functions are discussed in the paper.

---

12 Our classification partially combines the parameters distinguished by Yurayong (2020: 153–172) as referential vs information-structural uses. We combine these, because the information-structural uses also serve to bring a referent into focus.

Table 4. Functions of demonstratives in Soikkola Ingrian and the corresponding sections in the article.

Type	Sub-type	Function	Syntactic status	
			Within NP	Independent
Referential	Deictic	Deictic introducing	4.1.1	4.2.1
	Deictic	Deictic indexical	4.1.2	4.2.2
	Anaphoric	Anaphoric (pure)	4.1.3	4.2.3
	Mixed	Inexact reference	4.1.4	4.2.4
	Mixed	Choosing a referent	4.1.5	
	Anaphoric	Serving as a personal pronoun		4.2.5
	Deictic	Deictic contrast		4.2.6
Discourse		Change in syntactic structure, searching for the correct word, transition to a new sub-topic		4.3

4.1. Referential uses within an NP

4.1.1. *Deictic introducing*

Yurayong (2020: 154–155) distinguishes a recognitional reference type that refers to something not mentioned in the preceding text but identifiable to the interlocutors through common or shared knowledge. We propose a more general deictic introducing type where a demonstrative provides a link to a referent from the field of the speaker's knowledge. This knowledge may be shared by both interlocutors and in this case the demonstrative serves as a device that "synchronizes" the corresponding piece of the speaker's and hearer's knowledge, cf. (6). It is precisely this usage which is called recognitional by Yurayong (2020).

(6) Pahhain_elo_MM
     (A reference is made to the folklore ensemble from the village of Logi.)
     meidä   *jokka*   *paikka-a*   *vęędel-ttii*
     1PL.PART   every   place-ILL   carry.around-IMPRS.PST
     ühellain   *ku*   *nüttä*   ***nämäd***   ***logovee-n***   ***oma-d***
     same   when   now   this.PL   Logi-GEN   own-PL.NOM
     katso-i-tta   *tȭȭ*   *fakľörnöi-dä*   *nu*   *vod*
     look-PST-2PL   2PL   folklore-PART   well   PTCL
     'We were taken to all places. The same way as **these from the Logi village** now. Did you see (the performances) of the folk ensemble? That's it.'

However, in a very similar way the speaker may refer exclusively to her/his knowledge. Sometimes it is not possible to define whether the referent is known also to the listener. For instance, in (7), the listener might know about the Finnish researchers that come to visit the Ingrian villages or (s)he might not.

(7)   Elo(B)_AI
(There was no preceding talk mentioning the Finnish visitors.)

a	*šiž*	*vod*	*nüd*	*ku*	**nämäd**	**šǫǫmelaiš-t**
and	then	PTCL	now	when	this.PL	Finn-PL.NOM

alǩko-i-d	*tänne*	*kävvä …*
begin-PST-3PL	here	go.INF

'And then, now when **these Finns** started to visit here …'

In other cases, the referent is known exclusively to the speaker. Thus, the function of the demonstrative pronoun is to mark the introduction of some new information from the speaker's sphere of knowledge into the current discourse, as in (8) and (9).

(8)   Püüdämääž_GI
(The preceding narrative described the process of fishing. There was no mentioning of the brigade.)

kaigin	*kä-i-väd*	**še**	**brigada**	*vęęl*
all.together	go-PST-3PL	that	brigade	also

kakštoišt	*henǩki-ä*	*ain*	*kümmen*	*vai*
twelve	person-PART	always	ten	or

kakštoišt	*henǩki-ä*
twelve	person-PART

'Everybody used to go (fishing). **That brigade** also... (There were) always twelve people, ten or twelve people.'

(9)   Konna_ST
(The story tells about frogs that the speaker very much dislikes. The nephew is introduced for the first time.)

a	**tämä**	**pleǩmäänikk**	*ku*	*männöö*	*šaunaa*
and	this	nephew	when	go.PRS.3SG	sauna.ILL

nii	*šęęl*	*ono*	*taiǩtaa*	*lämme-mb*	*talvee-l*
so	there	be.PRS.3SG	probably	warm-COMP	winter-ADE

nii	*krǫǫkkaa-d*	*toiže-n*	*kerra-n*
so	croak.PRS.3PL	other-GEN	time-GEN

nii	*hää*	*tuľloo*	*že*	*šiun*	*dovarišša-d*
so	3SG	come.PRS.3SG	PTCL	2SG.GEN	friend-PL.NOM

šęęl   *kro̜o̜k̆kaa-d*
there   croak.PRS-3PL

'And **this nephew**, as he goes to the sauna, it is probably warmer there in the winter, so they croak sometimes. And he comes (to mock at me): "Your friends are croaking there!"'

Examples (6–9) demonstrate different variants of the distribution of knowledge between the speaker's and hearer's "territory of information" (in terms of Kamio 1997). Apparently, both *tämä* and *še* can be used for synchronizing the speaker's and hearer's knowledge, but it is not entirely clear which factors trigger the choice of a particular pronoun. Evans et al. (2018a: 123–134) have shown that, cross-linguistically, demonstrative systems are among the grammatical means used to encode differences in the accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee. The authors introduce a category of "engagement" to refer to such cases. Applied to Ingrian, it remains a question for further investigation to understand how the use of *tämä* vs *še* correlates with the asymmetry of knowledge between the interlocutors.

4.1.2. Deictic indexical

This type of reference is made to an object visible to the speaker and hearer (10, 11), so there is no need to synchronize the knowledge between the interlocutors as in the previous type. The demonstrative pronouns in this type of reference are often accompanied by a pointing gesture (cf. the deictic reference by Yurayong 2020).

(10)   Hirvi_GI
       (The speaker tells and shows how she was bitten by mosquitoes in her garden.)
       jala-d=ki   *kaig*   *paľlo-i-d*   *hö̜ö̜*   *niin*
       leg-PL.NOM=PTCL   all   burn-PST-3PL   3PL   so
       kovašt   *i*   *käe-d*   **nämäd**   **paiga-d**
       very   and   hand-PL.NOM   this.PL   place-PL.NOM
       i   *liitsa*   *niin*   *on*   *paljo*   *tänä*   *vo̜o̜-n*
       and   face   so   be.PRS.3SG   many   this[13]   year-ESS
       'Even my legs were all burning. They (bit) so much, the hands, **these places**, and the face, there are so many (of them) this year.'

---

13 Since we treat the historical essive form of *tänä* as lexicalized (see section 3), we do not mark it with a grammatical gloss.

(11)   Munad(B)_AI
(This example is video recorded. The speaker is pointing as she talks.)

aitta	*meil*	*näd*	***še***	***aitta***	*ve̜l*
barn	1PL.ADE	such	that	barn	more

paraiǩkoi=gi	*šeiššoo*	*ved*	*reunaa-ž*
now=PTCL	stand.PRS.3SG	indeed	edge-INE

'Our barn, **that barn** is even now still standing at the edge.'

4.1.3. Anaphoric (pure)

A pure anaphoric reference is made to a word mentioned in the preceding text (12, 13).

(12)   Varaštamaaž_OM
(The cherry tree was mentioned several sentences before.)

män-i-mmä	*a*	***še***	***meži-marja***	*on*
go-PST-1PL	and	that	cherry	be.PRS.3SG

moǩkooma	*šuur*	*moǩkooma*	*polnoi*	*kaig*
such	big	such	full	all

'We went, and **that cherry**(-tree) is so big all full (of berries).'

(13)   Püüdämääž_GI

minjä	*nüttä*	*taaž*	*kera*
daughter-in-law	now	again	also

tämä	***minjä***	*noiž-i*	*jo*
this	daughter-in-law	become-PST.3SG	already

maišto-i	*šao-i*	*što*	*hüvä*	*rokka*
taste-PST.3SG	say-PST.3SG	that	good	cabbage.soup

'Now also the daughter-in-law, **this daughter-in-law** started (to eat the cabbage soup, she) already tried (and) said that (it is) a good cabbage soup.'

4.1.4. Mixed anaphoric-deictic: inexact reference

We use this term to denote cases when a reference is made not to a particular word in the text, but to the object described in the preceding context. It may be a word that was intended to be pronounced but in fact was not (so one can only guess what word it is), or a referent that was described by a whole situation but not named (compare with the notion of a bridging referent in the classification by Yurayong (2020: 157–158)). This type of uses can therefore be interpreted both as anaphora and deixis.

(14) Keeled(B)_KV
(The speaker tells about belongings that were hidden before the depor-
tation but then disappeared.)

miä	*od-i-n*	*maa-št*	*no*	*ku*	*need*
1SG	take-PST-1SG	land-ELA	well	when	that.PL

meijen	*midä*	*meil*	*ol-i*	*hauva-ttu*
1PL.GEN	what.PART	1PL.ADE	be-PST.3SG	bury-PRTPASS

vaattii-d	*ja*	*kaigveež*	*šinne*
clothes-PL.NOM	and	everything	there

koi-d	*polde-ttii*
house-PL.NOM	burn-IMPRS.PST

a	*ked*	*ked-leǩkenää*	***need***	***havva-d***
but	who.PL.NOM	somebody.PL.NOM	that.PL	hole-PL.NOM

kaig	*ott-ii-d*	*ott-ii-d*
all	take-PST-3PL	take-PST-3PL

'I took from the ground, well... When those our (things) that we had
hidden, the clothes and everything there... The houses were burnt. And
somebody (emptied) **those pits**, took everything.'

Although example (14) mentions the buried things, the word *hauda*
'hole, pit' does not occur previously. There is no pure anaphoric
reference here, and the demonstrative can be analysed either as refer-
ring to a word that was omitted (although implied) or as referring to
an object from the speaker's sphere of knowledge, similar to the type
'Deictic introducing'.

(15) Hirvi_GI

männä	*voọ-n*	*miul*	*šue-d*	*šö-i-väd*
last	year-ESS	1SG.ADE	wolf-PL.NOM	eat-PST-3PL

koira-n	*a*	*nüttä*	***še***	***šuži***	*ammu-ttii*
dog-GEN	but	now	that	wolf	shoot-IMPRS.PST

'Last year wolves ate my dog. And now **that wolf** was shot.'

At first, the speaker describes the situation with a general non-
specific referent: 'wolves' in the plural. The plural form does not neces-
sarily mean here that the dog was eaten by several wolves: in such
a context, the plural form is semantically unmarked if compared with
its singular counterpart and can refer to both a single wolf and several
wolves. In the second sentence, a concrete wolf is reported to have been
shot, and it is implied that it was the one that had eaten the dog. Again,
the demonstrative may be analysed here as referring either to the wolf

from the text above (labelled with the generic plural "wolves") or to the specific wolf from the speaker's sphere of knowledge.

4.1.5. Mixed anaphoric-deictic: choosing a referent

A demonstrative pronoun marks a new referent that is being introduced into the discourse, when there are other potential referents in the same text.

(16) Püüdämääž_GI
    a   **še**   **ton'a**   *kumba*   *ono*   *smenkovaa-ž*
    but   that   Tonja   which   be.PRS.3SG   Smenkovo-INE
    'And **Tonja**, who is (= lives) in Smenkovo…'

In the preceding narrative, different sisters of the speaker were mentioned. Now she starts talking about another sister. It should be noted that in (16) the newly introduced referent is followed by a restrictive attributive phrase, which corresponds to the establishing type in the classification by Yurayong (2020). However, this is not always the case, cf. (17).

(17) Pahhain_elo_MM
    voi-b   *ol-la*   **še**   **vunukka**   *tul̆loo*
    be.able-PRS.3SG   be-INF   that   grandchild   come.PRS.3SG
    nii   *ve̞e̞-b*   *miun*   *kalmoi-lle*
    so   carry.PRS-3SG   1SG.GEN   graveyard-ALL
    'Maybe **this grandson** will come, then he will take me to the cemetery.'

In the preceding text, another grandson of the speaker was mentioned, so the demonstrative marks the change of the referent to a different grandson.

4.2. Referential uses of independent demonstratives

4.2.1. Deictic introducing

The deictic introducing type that provides a link to a referent from the field of the speaker's knowledge cannot be expressed with independent demonstratives. If the referent is not visible (unlike in the deictic indexical type), and has not previously been mentioned, it can only be referred to with a full NP and not with an independent pronoun.

4.2.2. Deictic indexical

Unlike deictic introducing, deictic indexical reference, which is often accompanied by a gesture, is rather common for independent demonstratives (18, 19).

(18)   Pahhain_elo_MM
(The conversation takes place in the speaker's house, to which the reference is made.)

kodi	*meil*	*ol-i*	*meil*	*ol-i*	*vanha*	*kodi*
house	1PL.ADE	be-PST.3SG	1PL.ADE	be-PST.3SG	old	house

tämä	*on*	*teh-tü*	*uuž*	*meil*
this	be.PRS.3SG	do-PRTPASS	new	1PL.ADE

'We had a house, we had an old house, **this** (one) is the new (one) made.'

(19)   Lastochkad_LK[14]

tul-ǩkaa	*katso-ǩkaa*	*tul-ǩkaa*	*katso-ǩkaa*
come-IMP.2PL	look-IMP.2PL	come-IMP.2PL	look-IMP.2PL

midä	*ono*	*paljo*	*lastotška-a*
what.PART	be.PRS.3SG	many	swallow-PART

što	*vod*	***nämäd***	*ol-laa*	*nǫǫrikkaiš-t*
that	PTCL	this.PL	be-IMPRS.PRS	young-PL.NOM

nämäd	*ol-laa*	*jo*	*vanhekkaiš-t*
this.PL	be-IMPRS.PRS	already	old-PL.NOM

'Go and look, how many swallows! **These** (ones) are young, and **these** (ones) are already older.'

4.2.3. Anaphoric (pure)

An anaphoric reference expressed with an independent pronoun is only possible when the antecedent is located closely in the preceding text (otherwise, it becomes unclear to which entity the demonstrative refers). Typically, such reference is made to a word within the same sentence (20, 21) or within the preceding sentence (22) but no further back in the discourse.

---

14   This speaker has some idiolectal features. E.g. in this example, we observe *katsoǩkaa* 'look.IMP.2PL' instead of *katsogaa*, the impersonal form *ollaa* 'be.IMPRS.PRS' in the personal context, and the Russian borrowing *lastotška* 'swallow' instead of the regular Ingrian *pääšköi*.

(20)   Metsääž_EN
prapalot'   *še*   *on*   *kitki-mää*
[RUS] to.pull.weeds   that   be.PRS.3SG   to.pull.weeds-SUP
'(Russian) *propolot'* is (Ingrian) *kitkimää.*'

(21)   Pedro_OM
ken   *mišt*   *tul-i*   ***še***   *šęęld*   *i*   *ott-i*
who   what.ELA   come-PST.3SG   that   from.there   and   take-PST.3SG
'From where a person (lit. who) came, from there **he** (lit. that) took.'

(22)   Elo(B)_AI
egle   *häne-lle*   *tǫǫ-t̆tii*   *uut-ta*   *maderi-a*
yesterday   3SG-ALL   bring-IMPRS.PST   new-PART   fabric-PART
midä   *nüd*   *kodi-loj-a*   *pan-naa*
what.PART   now   house-PL-PART   put-IMPRS.PRS
plastikaa-l   *šęęl.*   *nii*   *kä-i*   *valerik*   *katso-maa-ž*
plastic-ADE   there   so   go-PST.3SG Valera   look-SUP-INE
nii   *küžü-i*   *paljo*   ***tämä***   *makšaa*
so   ask-PST.3SG   many   this   cost.PRS.3SG
'Yesterday a new material was brought to him (to the neighbour), that is put on the houses these days, the plastic there. So Valera went to look, so he asked how much **this** costs.'

4.2.4. Mixed anaphoric-deictic: inexact reference

This reference type is rather common for independent demonstratives. The pronoun refers to some situation described in the previous narrative for which the speaker did not use any specific cover term. In (23), *še* refers to the situation of speaking in Russian that is described in the preceding sentence. The utterance in (24) comes after the speaker tells about her mother knowing many songs in the Ingrian language that the children did not learn for some reason. The independent demonstrative *še* refers to the knowledge of Ingrian songs that has been lost.

(23)   Pahhain_elo_MM
nii   *a*   *hǫǫ*   *šidä*   *e-väd*   *šuv̆vaa*   *ku*   *venäheešt*
so   but   3PL   that.PART   NEG-3PL   love.CNG   when   in.Russian
heile   *šao-d*   ***še***   *heile*   *ei*   *näüttii*
3PL.ALL   say.PRS-2SG   that   3PL.ALL   NEG.3SG   like.CNG
'Yes, and they do not like it when you speak Russian with them. They do not like **it.**'

(24) Elo(B)_AI
[the first part of this sentences is quoted above as (7)]

a	*šiž*	*vod*	*nüd*	*ku*	*nämäd*	*šo̜o̜melaiš-t*
but	then	PTCL	now	when	this.PL	Finn-PL.NOM

alǩko-i-d	*tänne*	*kävvä*	*vod*	*oǐl-iiš=ki*
begin-PST-3PL	here	go.INF	PTCL	be-COND.3SG=PTCL

kelvanuund[15]	*kaig*	***še***
fit.PRTACT	kaig	that

'And then, now when these Finns started to visit here, **it** all would have been so handy.'

4.2.5. Anaphoric: serving as a personal pronoun

Independent demonstratives can be used anaphorically in place of personal pronouns. This often happens when a human referent is distinguished among a group of similar people (25, 26) or a switch to a different referent takes place (27).

(25) Elo(B)_AI
(In the preceding narrative, the speaker mentioned other members of her family.)

a	*šiž*	*tämä*	*miun*	*toiže-n*	*šiar*
but	then	this	1SG.GEN	other-GEN	sister

galina	*ivanna*	***še***	*ku*	*kä-i*	*to̜o̜-ž*
Galina	Ivanovna	that	when	go-PST.3SG	work-INE

'And then my other sister, Galina Ivanovna, when **she** went to work…'

(26) Püüdämääž_GI

a	*še*	*ton'a*	*kumba*	*ono*	*smenkovaa-ž*
but	that	Tonja	which	be.PRS.3SG	Smenkovo-INE

še	*ei*	*käü-nd*	*mere-l*	***še***	*teg-i*
that	NEG.3SG	go-PRTACT	sea-ADE	that	do-PST.3SG

to̜o̜-dä	*narvaa-ž*
work-PART	Narva-INE

'And that Tonja, who is (= lives) in Smenkovo, **she** did not go to the sea.[16] **She** worked in Narva.'

---

15 This form is not attested either in our data or in other sources on Ingrian known to us. It is possibly a participle *kelvand* (from *kelvada* 'to fit, to suit, to be worth') that was built incorrectly. However, as pointed out by one of the anonymous reviewers, similar forms occur in Estonian dialects, especially in the island dialect, cf. a group of participles which is labelled "reduplicated forms" in Viikberg (2020: 279).

16 The speaker means that her sister did not work in a fishing crew.

The beginning of this example was quoted above as (16). Here again the reference is made to one of the sisters, while several other sisters were mentioned in the preceding story. After this sister (the new referent) is introduced, she is consistently referred to with the demonstrative *še* and not with the personal pronoun *hää*.

(27)   Maod2_LK
   (In the preceding narrative, the nephew of the speaker was mentioned.)
   miä   *katso-n*   *mado*   *pr'amo*   *koi-n*
   1SG   look.PRS-1SG   snake   [RUS] direct   house-GEN
   ald   **tälle**   *šao-n*   *što*   *tol'ko*
   from.under   this.ALL   say.PRS-1SG   that   [RUS] only
   elä   *mää*   *oo*   *hiligaišta*   *hiligaišta*
   NEG.IMP.2SG   go.IMP.2SG   be.IMP.2SG   *quiet*   *quiet*
   'I look: a snake (comes out) right from under the house. I tell **him** (the nephew) that "Just do not go (= move), stay still, still!"'

In (27), if the speaker had used the personal pronoun *hänelle* 'to him', that could have been addressed to the snake, so she used the demonstrative *tälle* 'to this' to mark the switch to the nephew as the preceding referent.[17]

4.2.6. Deictic contrast

In the data, we have examples of contrastive relations when an object is opposed or compared to another object. It is however not typical in Ingrian to use the pair of demonstratives *tämä* 'this' vs *še* 'that' for expressing this kind of contrast. More often a demonstrative is opposed to a pronoun from another category (28), or the contrast is expressed with two demonstratives of the same type (29, cf. also (19) above with two demonstratives *nämäd* both used for deictic indexical reference).

In (28), events happening on work days are referred to with the relative pronoun *migä* 'what', and they are compared to the events happening on weekends, expressed by the demonstrative *še* 'that'.

---

17 The problem of logophoricity and the distribution of demonstrative and personal pronouns has been extensively discussed for Finnish (see, for example, Kaiser (2018) and the publications referred to therein).

(28) Pedro_OM
      (In the preceding narrative, the speaker tells how people used to dress up
      on weekends when she was young.)

a	*nüttä*	***migä***	*argi-pää-n*	***še***	*pühä-päivää-n*
but	now	what	workday-ESS	that	holiday-ESS

      'But now **what** (a person wears) on a workday, **this** (same (s)he wears)
      on a holiday.'

Example (29) describes the situation where a person who went
fishing himself for the collective farm got less fish than those who did
not go fishing but had larger families. The demonstrative *še* 'that' refers
anaphorically to the relative pronoun *ken* 'who' and is contrasted with
the plural form *need* of the same demonstrative.

(29) Kala_ja_metsä_EN

ken	*itse*	*kä-i*	*mere-l*	***še***	*välištää*
who	oneself	go-PST.3SG	sea-ADE	that	occasionally

ša-i	*vee̯l*	*vähe-mb*	*kuin*	***need***	*kel*
get-PST.3SG	more	small-COMP	as	that.PL	who.ADE

oĺl-ii-d	*šuure-d*	*pere-d*[18]
be-PST-3PL	big-PL.NOM	family-PL.NOM

      '(The one) **who** used to go to the sea himself, **he (lit. 'that')** would occa-
      sionally get even less (fish) than **those** who had big families.'

Similarly, in the example from Heva Ingrian (Laanest 1966a: 49,
quoted in Yurayong 2020: 165), the contrast of two types of bears is
expressed via the same postposed demonstrative *ne* 'that.PL': *metsä
karhu-d **ne** on suure-D. a kagra karhu-d **ne** on pikkarais-t. just nigu
koira* 'Forest bears are big. But bears in the oat field are small. Just like
a dog'.

4.3. Discourse uses of demonstratives

Both *tämä* 'this' and *še* 'that' demonstratives can function as place-
holders and mark certain complications in text production. It has been
noted that demonstratives are a very common source of placeholders in
the world's languages, because the "pointing function of demonstrative

---

18 Here we observe a form levelling: the speaker pronounced *pered* instead of *pe řreehed*
    'families'.

reference allows the speaker to draw the hearer's attention to the yet-to-be-specified referent while attempting to articulate it" (Hayashi & Yoon 2010: 48). Demonstratives may function as placeholders also in Finnic languages, cf. Keevallik (2010) on the Estonian *see* 'this'.

The most typical situations when demonstratives function as placeholders in Ingrian are the following:

a) The speaker fails to construct the initially intended syntactic structure of the clause, so she changes the structure. The point of change is marked with a demonstrative (30, 31).

(30) Püüdämääž_GI

kaigelaiže-d	<pause>	***tämä***	*nọọr*	*vägi*
different-PL.NOM		this	young	people
ei	*ol-d*	*miž*	*tọọ-dä*	*tehhä*[19]
NEG.3SG	be-PRTACT	where	work-PART	do.INF

'All kind of... well, young people, there was no place to work.'

(31) Lehmä_EI

a	*mọọ*	<e-e>	***tämä***	<pause>	*a*	*meil*
but	1PL		this		but	1PL.ADE
eňnää	*lehmä-ä*	*šiž*	*ei*	*ol-d*		
else	cow-PART	then	NEG.3SG	be-PRTACT		
konž	*vẹẹ-ťtii*		*meije-d*	*šọọmee*		
when	carry-IMPRS.PST		1PL-ACC	Finland.ILL		

'But we… well, we did not have a cow anymore. When they brought us to Finland …'

b) The speaker fails to find the correct word (32, 33).

(32) Püüdämääž_GI

liha	*ol-i*	*oma*	*nii*	*kiuǩkaa-ž*	*ain*	***še***
meat	be-PST.3SG	own	so	oven-INE	always	that
ol-i	<pause>	*muǩna-a*	*ja*	*liǩha-a*		
be-PST.3SG		potato-PART	and	meat-PART		
pan-du	*kiuǩka-šše*					
put-PRTPASS	oven-ILL					

'We had our own meat. So there was always in the stove … There were some potato and meat, put into the stove.'

---

19 The common infinitive form of this verb in contemporary Ingrian is *tehä* but this particular speaker uses the form with a geminated consonant.

At first the narrator cannot remember the name of the food made in the oven. She replaces it with *še* 'that', and after a pause she finds another way of describing the food that was prepared.

(33) Šoomeež_OM

mȫ	*hänen*	*kera*	*ühe-l*	*<pause>*	***še***
1PL	3SG.GEN	with	one-ADE		that

emänaižee-l	*ol-i-mma*
mistress-ADE	be-PST-1PL

'We worked (lit. were) together with her for the same mistress.'

The speaker hesitates while trying to recall the word for 'mistress'. In Soikkola Ingrian, the usual term is *emändä*, but either the speaker did not remember it or for some reasons she chose a more peripheral word *emän(n)ain.*

A pause while looking for a word which is overtly marked with a demonstrative is especially common when the speaker is trying to render in Ingrian a certain concept taken from the Russian language (34).

(34) Keeled(B)_KV
(The story tells about the problem of indicating one's Ingrian nationality in passports.)

peräšt	*šoa-n*	*to*	*ol-i*	*kovašt*	*stroga*
after	war-GEN	PTCT	be-PST.3SG	very	[RUS] strict

hervi-ttii	*što*	*<pause>*	*hervi-ttii*	*što*
be.afraid-IMPRS.PST	that		be.afraid-IMPRS.PST	that

tämä	*<pause>*	*no*	*migä-iǩkeä*	*vod*	*<pause>*
this		well	something	PTCL	

vod	*migä-iǩkeä*	*špionɨ*
PTCL	something	[RUS] spies

'After the war it was very strict. (People) were afraid that... (people) were afraid that, well... well, (we were) some kind of spies.'

In (34), the speaker is searching for a word in Ingrian, fails to find it, inserts *tämä* as a placeholder, and finally opts to say the word in Russian.

(35)   Kazahstaniiž_RP
  a *šiž* *šoda* *loppu-i* *šiž* **tämä**
  but then war finish-PST.3SG then this
  v'elikij *meild*[20] *stalin*
  [RUS] great 1PL.ABL [RUS] Stalin
  'And then the war ended, then, well, our great Stalin...'

In (35), the demonstrative *tämä* signals the code-switch to a Russian adjective.

Sometimes the speaker starts with a wrong code and then repairs the phrase in the intended code; the moment of repair is marked with a demonstrative. In (36), the speaker starts to pronounce the date in Russian, stumbles, inserts *tämä* and then succeeds in expressing the date in Ingrian.

(36)   Pahhain_elo_MM
  neljää-l–kümmenää-l *kolmee-l* *vo̯ovvee-l* *meidä*
  forty-ADE three-ADE year-ADE 1PL.PART
  ve̯e̯-t̆tii *poiž* *<d'ev'e...>* **tämä** *ühekšän-toižee-l*
  carry-IMPRS.PST away   this nineteen-ADE
  tšislaa-l *v d'ekabr'e*
  number-ADE [RUS] in December
  'They brought us away in the year forty-three. The nineteenth of December.'

c) A demonstrative pronoun can be used as a discourse marker to indicate a transition to a new sub-topic in the narrative (37, 38).

(37)   Tapuuna_AI
  šiž *veli* *ol-i* *mőkkooma* *tubli* *me̯e̯ž*
  then brother be-PST.3SG such brave man
  šiž **tämä** *hää* *šaňnoo*
  then this 3SG say.PRS.3SG
  'Then, my brother was a brave person. Then, well, he says…'

---

20 It is not clear why the ablative form is used. Probably the genitive form *meijen* 'our' was intended.

(38)   Pahhain_elo_MM

še	*heile*	*ei*	*näüttii*	*nu*	***še***	*šiid*
that	3PL.ALL	NEG.3SG	like.CNG	well	that	then

miä	*män-i-n*	*męęhele*	*šakšalaišš-ii-n*	*aiǩka-a*
1SG	go-PST-1SG	married	German-PL-GEN	time-PART

'… They do not like it. Well, then I got married during the time of the Germans.'[21]

Although both *tämä* and *še* occur in the examples as discourse markers, our preliminary observations show that *tämä* is considerably more frequent in this function: around 45% of examples where *tämä* occurs in the nominative form (35 out of 77 occurrences) are discourse uses, while for the nominative *še* the percentage of discourse uses is around 12% (18 out of 156 occurrences, see Table 3). We can propose two possible explanations for this imbalance. On the one hand, it may reflect the Russian influence on the contemporary bilingual Ingrian speakers. In Russian, the proximal demonstrative pronoun *èto* 'this' is often used as a discourse marker (see, for example, Podlesskaya 2010: 12, 28) but its distal counterpart *to* 'that' is not. On the other hand, it might be the case that a proximal demonstrative is generally more preferable as a placeholder, because it correlates with the speaker's sphere of knowledge and is therefore more natural for marking the speaker's difficulties in text production (cf. again the notion of engagement in Evans et al. (2018a, b)). This question remains for further investigation.

5. Variation between the speakers and contact influence

In section 4, we observed the differences between the demonstrative pronouns *tämä* 'this' and *še* 'that'. In this section, we look at whether the use of these demonstratives is homogeneous for all speakers or whether there are significant individual differences. Figure 2 plots the ratio between the frequency of occurrences of the nominative forms *tämä* and *še* for particular speakers. We use the data from 7 native speakers for whom the number of demonstrative pronouns is the biggest in our corpus. Speakers are ordered from the one with the lowest to the one with highest *tämä* − *še* ratio. The indexes of the speakers are indicated on the X-axis.

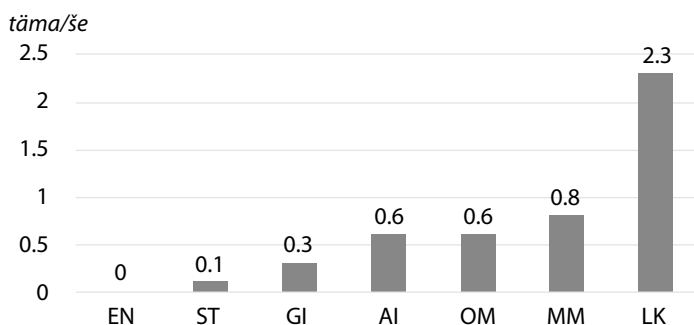21   The narrator means the period of the German occupation during the Second World War.

Figure 2. The ratio of occurrences of *täma* to occurrences of *še* by different speakers.

It can be clearly seen that there is a difference between the speakers: Speaker LK has a ratio of 2.3, meaning that *tämä* is more than twice as frequent in her speech as *še*. For all other speakers, the ratio is below 1, so they use *še* more frequently than *tämä*. On the left side we see two speakers who do not use *tämä* at all (EN) or use it minimally (ST). The four speakers in the middle have more homogeneous ratios.

The differences between the speakers do not correlate with the dialectal zones, for instance EN and LK both represent the southern zone, while ST is from the northern zone. These differences can however be explained with the speakers' language biographies. Both EN and ST have spent significant parts of their lives in Estonia. In Standard Estonian (based on the northern dialect), *see* 'this' is basically the only demonstrative pronoun (Pajusalu 2006), while *tema* 'he/she' functions as a third person singular pronoun. Thus, it would appear that the Estonian system influenced the use of Ingrian demonstratives in the speech of EN and ST, and they (almost) completely switched to a unipartite system.

Speaker LK is the youngest and her speech demonstrates more Russian elements and more code-switching into Russian compared to other speakers. We suggest that the predominance of the proximal *tämä* over *še* reflects the Russian influence in her case, because in Russian the unmarked and more frequent pronoun is the proximal *ètot* 'this' and not the distal *tot* 'that'. Other speakers, GI, AI, OM, MM, lived their whole lives in Ingrian villages and communicated in their native language.

It therefore seems that the demonstrative pronominal system is very sensitive to contact influence.

6. Conclusions

Contemporary Ingrian has preserved only two components of the original tripartite system of demonstrative pronouns: proximal *tämä* and neutral *še*. The pronoun *še* is used as the unmarked variant in this pair. It is very untypical for Ingrian to express a contrast between referents by opposing these two demonstratives. Based on these observations, we hypothesize that the system of Soikkola Ingrian demonstratives was developing towards a unipartite system in a similar fashion to northern Estonian dialects (Pajusalu 2006). This shift was, however, slowed down due to the increase in discourse uses of *tämä*. In contemporary data, the demonstrative *tämä* is frequently found as a discourse marker. This may well be due to the influence of the Russian language, where the proximal demonstrative *ètot* is often used in discourse functions unlike its distal counterpart. The contemporary picture is far from being complementary distribution, but we nevertheless observe a slight tendency towards distributing the referential vs discourse uses between *še* and *tämä*, respectively. In a way, the preservation of the bipartite system in Soikkola Ingrian due to the Russian influence is reminiscent of the situation in Votic and Veps, where the bipartite system was restored due to the Russian influence (see Introduction).

The material that we analysed shows a wide range of functions for the demonstrative pronouns. In the texts recorded in the middle of the 20th century, Yurayong (2020) only found the deictic and anaphoric uses (in terms of his classification). In the contemporary data, we also have examples of other reference types, including recognitional and bridging references, as labelled in the classification by Yurayong (2020).

Yurayong's (2020: 186) suggestion that "deictic use is more frequently found in the use of preposed demonstratives, whereas anaphoric and other referential uses are more common for postposed demonstratives" was not entirely confirmed by the contemporary Ingrian material. Postposed demonstratives are quite rare in our data, while preposed demonstratives have various functions including anaphoric ones.

We found many examples where the reference to human antecedents is encoded with demonstratives, and not with personal pronouns. This fact supports the observation expressed by Pajusalu (2015) about the difference between written and spoken languages. The predominance of third person pronouns referring to human/animate entities in written

Finnish and Estonian is believed to have been artificially introduced under the influence of Indo-European languages (Pajusalu 2015: 170). Ingrian, which had a written variety only for a very short time period, seems to tolerate the use of demonstratives for referring to human beings quite easily.

Although the functions of demonstrative pronouns are similar for most speakers of Soikkola Ingrian, we observed individual differences, particularly in speakers who had been exposed to another language (Estonian or Russian) for extended periods of time. The speakers who lived in Estonia for a long time have lost or considerably reduced their use of *tämä*. On the contrary, the speaker with the greatest Russian influence uses this pronoun more frequently than the others. Apparently, the demonstrative system is very sensitive to contact influence, so the language biographies of individual speakers should be taken into account when making general conclusions about its function.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ABL – ablative, ACC – accusative, ADE – adessive, ALL – allative, CNG – connegative, COMP – comparative, ELA – elative, ESS – essive, GEN – genitive, ILL – illative, IMPRS – impersonal, INE – inessive, INF – infinitive, NEG – negative, NOM – nominative, PART – partitive, PL – plural, PRS – present tense, PRTACT – active participle, PRTPASS – passive participle, PST – past tense, PTCL – particle, RUS – Russian word, SG – singular, SUP – supine, TRANS – translative, 1 – 1st person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3rd person

References

Ariste, Paul. 1960. Isuri keelenäiteid. In Paul Ariste (toim), *Soome-ugri keelte küsimusi* (Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituudi uurimused 5), 7–116. Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus.

Becker, Laura. 2021. *Articles in the world's languages* (Linguistische Arbeiten 577). Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110724424.

ELAN [Computer software]. 2020. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive. Version 6.0 retrieved from https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan.

Etelämäki, Marja. 2009. The Finnish demonstrative pronouns in light of interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41. 25–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.005.

Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2018a. The grammar of engagement I: Framework and initial exemplification. *Language and Cognition* 10(1). 110–140. https://doi.org/10.1017/langcog.2017.21.

Evans, Nicholas, Henrik Bergqvist & Lila San Roque. 2018b. The grammar of engagement II: Typology and diachrony. *Language and Cognition* 10(1). 141–170. https://doi.org/10.1017/langcog.2017.22.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1997. *Lectures on Deixis*. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman Group Limited.

Hayashi, Makoto & Kyung-Eun Yoon. 2010. A cross-linguistic exploration of demonstratives in interaction: with particular reference to the context of word-formulation trouble. In Nino Amiridze, Boyd H. Davis & Margaret Maclagan, (eds.), *Fillers, pauses and placeholders*, 33–66. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.93.03hay.

Junus, Väino I. 1936. *Izoran keelen grammatikka: morfologia opettaijaa vart*. Leningrad/Moskova: Ucpedgiz.

Kaiser, Elsi. 2018. Effects of perspective-taking on pronominal reference to humans and animals: Logophoricity in Finnish. *Open Linguistics* 4. 630–656. http://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2018-0031.

Kamio, Akio. 1997. *Territory of Information*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.48.

Keevallik, Leelo. 2010. The interactional profile of a placeholder: the Estonian demonstrative see. In Nino Amiridze, Boyd H. Davis & Margaret Maclagan, (eds.), *Fillers, pauses and placeholders*, 139–172. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.93.

Kettunen, Lauri. 1943. *Vepsän murteiden lauseopillinen tutkimus* (MSFOu 86). Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Kuznetsova, Natalia V. 2009. *Fonologičeskie sistemy ižorskix dialektov*. Institut lingvističeskix issledovanij RAN, Sankt-Peterburg. Ph.D. thesis.

König, Ekkehard. 2018. Definite articles and their uses. Diversity and patterns of variation. In Daniël Van Olmen, Tanja Mortelmans & Frank Brisard (eds.), *Aspects of Linguistic Variation* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 324), 165–184. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110607963-006.

Laanest, Arvo. 1966a. *Isuri murdetekste*. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia, Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.

Laanest, Arvo. 1966b. Ižorskij jazyk. In *Jazyki narodov SSSR. Vol. 3. Finno-ugorskie i samodijskie jazyki*, 102–117. Moskva: Nauka.

Laanest, Arvo. 1978. *Istoričeskaja fonetika i morfologija ižorskogo jazyka*. Institut jazyka i literatury Akademii nauk Èstonskoj SSSR, Tallinn. Ph.D thesis.

Laanest, Arvo. 1982. *Einführung in die ostseefinnischen Sprachen*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Laanest, Arvo. 1986. *Isuri keele ajalooline foneetika ja morfoloogia*. Tallinn: Valgus.

Larjavaara, Matti. 1986. *Itämerensuomen demonstratiivit I. Karjala, aunus, lyydi ja vepsä* (SKST 433). Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura..

Laury, Ritva. 1996. Conversational use and basic meaning of Finnish demonstratives. In Adele Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language*, 303–319. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Laury, Ritva. 1997. *Demonstratives in Interaction. The Emergence of a Definite Article in Finnish* (Studies in Discourse and Grammar 7). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/sidag.7.

Musaev, Vadim I. 2004. *Političeskaja istorija Ingermanlandii v konce XIX–XX veke. Izdanie vtoroe, ispravlennoe i dopolnennoe*. Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istorija.

Nahkola, Tiina, Maria Reile, Piia Taremaa & Renate Pajusalu. 2020. Space, contrast and joint attention: Demonstrative adverbs in Russian, Estonian and Finnish. In Åshild Næss, Anna Margetts & Yvonne Treis (eds.), *Demonstratives in discourse* (Topics at the grammar-discourse interface 6), 243–271. Berlin: Language Science Press. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4054814.

Nirvi, Ruben E. 1971. *Inkeroismurteiden sanakirja* (Lexica societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVIII). Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Pajusalu, Renate. 1996. Pronoun systems of common Estonian and Estonian dialects in a contrastive perspective. In Mati Erelt (ed.), *Estonian: Typological Studies 1*, 145–164. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool.

Pajusalu, Renate. 2006. Death of a demonstrative: person and time. The case of Estonian *too*. *Linguistica Uralica* 42(4). 241–253. https://doi.org/10.3176/lu.2006.4.01.

Pajusalu, Renate. 2009. Pronouns and reference in Estonian. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 62. 122–139. https://doi.org/10.1524/stuf.2009.0008.

Pajusalu, Renate. 2015. Võro demonstratives: changing or disappearing? *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 6(2). 167–190. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2015.6.2.07.

Podlesskaya, Vera I. 2010. Parameters for typological variation of placeholders. In Nino Amiridze, Boyd H. Davis & Margaret Maclagan (eds.), *Fillers, pauses and placeholders*, 11–32. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.93.02pod.

Porkka, Volmari. 1885. *Ueber den Ingrischen Dialekt: mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen finnisch-ingermanländischen Dialekte*. Helsingfors: J. C. Frenckell & Sohn.

Priiki, Katri. 2017. *Hän, se, tää vai toi? Vuorovaikutussosiolingvistinen tutkimus henki-löviittauksista Kaakkois-Satakunnan nykypuhekielessä*. University of Turku, Turku. Ph.D. thesis.

Reile, Maria, Helen Plado, Harmen B. Gudde & Kenny R. Coventry. 2020. Demonstra-tives as spatial deictics or something more? Evidence from Common Estonian and Võro. *Folia Linguistica* 54(1). 167–195. https://doi.org/10.1515/flin-2020-2030.

Rožanskij, Fedor I. & Elena B. Markus. 2013. O statuse nižnelužskogo dialekta ižorskogo jazyka sredi rodstvennyx idiomov. In *Lingvističeskij bespredel – 2. Sbornik naučnyx trudov k jubileju A. I. Kuznecovoj*, 219–232. Moskva: Izdatel-stvo Moskovskogo universiteta.

Rozhanskiy, Fedor & Elena Markus. 2019. A new resource for Finnic languages: the outcomes of the Ingrian documentation project. In Sofia Björklöf & Santra Jantunen (eds.), *Multilingual Finnic. Language contact and change* (Uralica Helsingiensia 14), 303–326. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura. https://doi.org/10.33341/uh.85039.

Saar, Eva. 2017. *Isuri keele Soikkola murde sõnamuutmissüsteem*. Dissertationes philo-logiae uralicae Universitatis Tartuensis 19. Tartu: University of Tartu.

Schwarz, Anna & Fedor Rozhanskiy. 2022. The pronominal system of Soikkola Ingrian: personal, demonstrative, reflexive and reciprocal pronouns and their variation. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 13(2). 151–184. http://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2022.13.2.05.

Seppänen, Eeva-Leena. 1998. *Läsnäolon pronominit: tämä, tuo, se ja hän viittaamassa keskustelun osallistujaan* (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 715). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Sovijärvi, Antti. 1944. *Foneettis-äännehistoriallinen tutkimus Soikkolan inkerois-murteesta* (Suomi-kirjan eripainoksia 5). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Taremaa, Piia, Helen Hint, Maria Reile & Renate Pajusalu. 2021. Constructional variation in Estonian: demonstrative pronouns and adverbs as determiners in noun phrases. *Lingua* 254, 103030. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2021.103030.

Tomingas, Marili. 2018. Demonstrative proadjectives in Livonian – morphosyntactic use and semantic functions. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 9(2). 241–255. https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2018.9.2.11.

Tuomi, Tuomo & Seppo Suhonen (eds.). 2004. *Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum 1* (Suoma-laisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 800, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 118). Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Viikberg, Jüri. 2020. *Eesti murrete grammatika*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut.

Yurayong, Chingduang. 2020. *Postposed demonstratives in Finnic and North Russian dialects*. University of Helsinki, Helsinki. Ph.D. thesis.

Kokkuvõte. Elena Markus, Fedor Rozhanskiy: Demonstratiivpronoo-menite funktsioonid tänapäeva isuri keele Soikkola murdes. Käesolevas artiklis käsitletakse demonstratiivpronoomeneid isuri keele Soikkola murdes. Uurimuse materjal pärineb 21. sajandil salvestatud spontaanse kõne näidiste kogust. Kõik näited avaldatakse esimest korda. Artiklis esitatakse peamiselt kvalitatiivne analüüs ja selle eesmärk on anda ülevaade isuri demonstratiiv-pronoomenite *tämä* ja *še* põhifunktsioonidest. Näidatakse, et tänapäeva isuri keeles kasutatakse demonstratiive deiktiliste ja anafoorsete vahenditena ning ka diskursuse markeritena. Üksikutel kõnelejatel esineb nende asesõnade kasu-tamisel erinevusi naaberkeelte kontaktmõju tõttu.

Märksõnad: isuri keel, asesõnad, demonstratiivpronoomenid, deiksis, ana-foorid, diskursusemarkerid, keelekontakt