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Язык для книги рекордов Гиннесса: пятнадцать (или больше?) рефлексивных местоимений в хваршинском языке

В статье описана беспрецедентно богатая система из простых (однословных), двойных и тройных рефлексивных местоимений в хваршинском языке, относящемся к восточнокавказской (или нахско-дагестанской) языковой семье. Местоимения образуются на основе прономинала, иногда с добавлением частицы-интенсификатора. Рефлексивные местоимения мало отличаются по дистрибуции: они все локальные и не имеют выраженной ориентации, мотивированной синтаксическими асимметриями.

Ключевые слова: восточнокавказские языки, рефлексивные местоимения, анафоры, рефлексивность, область связывания, субъектная ориентация, типология анафоры.

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A language for Guinness World Records: Fifteen (or more?) reflexive pronouns in Khwarshi

The paper outlines the unprecedentedly rich system of simple (one-word), double and triple reflexive pronouns in the Khwarshi language of the East Caucasian (or Nakh-Dagestanian) language family. The pronouns are formed on the base of a pronominal stem, sometimes with the intensifier particle. The reflexive pronouns show little difference in their distribution: they are all local and apparently lack orientation motivated by syntactic asymmetries.

Key words: East Caucasian languages, reflexive pronouns, anaphors, reflexivity, binding domain, subject orientation, typology of anaphora

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1. Introduction. Elements of which reflexives are made up

The Khwarshi language, together with Tsez and Ginukh (otherwise spelled as Hinukh or Hinuq), belongs to the western branch of the Tsezic group of the East Caucasian, or Nakh-Dagestanian, family. It is spoken by approximately 8000 persons in the valley of Khwarshi river, a right tribute
of Andi Koysu, North Dagestan highlands, and in some villages in the lowland part of North Dagestan. The data are from the author’s fieldwork in Khonokh (Tsumada district) in 2016–2018 and in Mutsalaul (Khasavyurt district) in 2016–2017 in the Republic of Dagestan, Russian Federation.

There is no simplex free monomorphemic reflexive pronoun in Khwarshi. There is no morphological verbal reflexive either. Unlike some other languages of the Tsezic group, in which a verbal reflexive derivation of restricted productivity is found [cf. e.g. Polinsky, Comrie, 1999, p. 324; Polinsky, 2015 on the phenomenon in Tsez], there is none in Khwarshi—same as in Ginukh, another West Tsezic language [Forker, 2013, p. 665]. To express the meaning of the inherent, or natural reflexive, verbs (the term cf. in [Kemmer, 1993, p. 58], Khwarshi employs either cognate noun objects (1), or A-labile verbs (2), with the intended reflexive meaning unmarked (2b); all examples below, if it is not specified otherwise, are elicited:

(1) žikʷa šiƛ̣ u šiƛ̣ a-ha
man.erg clothes.abs clothe-prs
‘The man clothes himself.’

(2) a. žikʷa mašina esan-ho
man.erg car.abs wash-prs
‘The man washes the car.’
b. žikʷa esan-ho
man.abs wash-prs
‘The man washes himself.’

However, there is a huge compensation for the lack of both: no less than 15 complex reflexive pronouns, apparently with very little distributional difference.

The goal of this paper is to demonstrate the fact rather than to suggest a comprehensive analysis within a framework of one of the current theories of anaphora. For the latter task, the data are still incomplete. They include elicited sentences and a small Khwarshi corpus—several texts in the Khwarshi dialect in [Karimova, 2014].

1 The simplex long-distance reflexive pronoun in the languages of the Tsezic group probably originating from Proto-Tsezic *žu (Tsez Žo-tew, Ginukh zo, Gunzib žu, Bezhta žü) has become in Khwarshi a 3rd person personal pronoun žu (singular) and židu (plural), maybe with a contamination of the distal demonstrative pronoun stem -žu <*-gu (cf. Ginukh and Bezhta -go distal pronominal stem; for the regular phonological correspondence see e.g. Bezhta ōg – Inkhokwari dialect ōg – Khwarshi proper ūź ‘axe’), since the demonstratives in the East Caucasian languages are sometimes the source for 3 person personal pronouns.

2 Abbreviations: dat – dative case; erg – ergative case; gen1, gen2 – genitive 1, 2 case; gnr – general tense; i, ii, iii, iv – I, II, III, IV class singular; imp – Imperative ; inf – infinitive; ints – intensifier; lat – lative; loc – locative case; neg – negation; obl – oblique stem; pl – plural; prf – perfect; prs – participle; pst – past; sg – singular.
The main typological characteristics of Khwarshi are as follows. Khwarshi is a SOV language with free order of constituents both at the clause and at the phrase level. It has a consistent ergative/absolutive system of alignment in case marking and argument-verb agreement. In the **ergative construction**, the subject of a transitive verb is marked with Ergative (3), the direct object (3) and the subject of an intransitive verb (4) with Absolutive:

(3) obu-ṭi uža ĵek-ko
father-ERG boy.ABS I.lead-PRS
‘Father is bringing the boy here.’

(4) obu halṭida-ha gole
father.ABS work-PRS AUX.PRS
‘Father is working.’

Intransitive verbs employ the **absolutive** construction. They need not be monovalent and may take an indirect object marked with one of the numerous locative case forms:

(5) obu uža-qo-l gica-na gole
father.ABS boy-AD-LAT look-PRF AUX.PRS
‘Father is looking at the boy.’

With verbs denoting emotional or perceptive experience, the **affective** construction is used, in which the subject experiencer is marked with Dative, and the object stimulus is in Absolutive (6):

(6) o-w-si ḵʷa-l uža ajk-a
that-obl man-DAT boy.ABS I.see-PST
‘That man saw the boy.’

The class (gender) and number agreement occurs in many (not all) verbs and adjectives and some pronouns and adverbs and is triggered by the NP in Absolutive only:

(7) a. di-l θ-akʷa-ha θ-agu χirija-w hamaṣe
I-DAT I-see-PRS I-good dear-I friend.ABS (I CLASS SG)
‘I see a good dear (male) friend.’

b. di-l b-akʷa-ha b-agu-ta χirija-b-ta
I-DAT PL.HUM-see-PRS PL.HUM-good-PL dear- PL.HUM-PL
friend-PL.ABS (I CLASS PL)
‘I see good dear friends.’

c. di-l j-akʷa-ha j-agu χirija-j hamaṣe
I-DAT II-see-PRS II-good dear-II friend.ABS (II CLASS SG)
‘I see a good dear (female) friend.’
The position of the class/number agreement marker is normally prefixal, except the adjectives borrowed from Avar which retain their suffixal agreement slot (χərija- ‘dear’ in 7a-c), and some adverbs and pronouns.

The class/number prefixes (infrequent affixes aside) are as represented in Table 1.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I (men)</th>
<th>Ø-</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class II (women)</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>b- (m- with a nasalized stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III (nonhuman animate, inanimate)</td>
<td>b- (m- with a nasalized stem)</td>
<td>I- (n- with a nasalized stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV (nonhuman)</td>
<td>l- (n- with a nasalized stem)</td>
<td>l- (n- with a nasalized stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V (nonhuman)</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two Genitives in Khwarshi, traditionally called Genitive 1 in -s and Genitive 2 in -lo; the former marks a nominal modifier of a noun in the direct (Absolutive) case, the latter a nominal modifier of a noun in an oblique (any other than Absolutive) case:

(8) a. dada-s mašina
   father-GEN1 car.ABS
   ‘Father’s car’

b. dada-lo mašina-ma
   father-GEN2 car-LOC
   ‘in Father’s car’

The intensifying particle -č (-eč after consonants), below called Intensifier, is more or less identical in function with the English -self intensifier pronouns:

(9) di-l-eč idu b-akʷ-aj
    I-DAT-INTS it.ABS III-see-PST.NEG
    ‘I didn’t see it myself.’

3 person pronouns differ from demonstratives in that only the former, but not the latter can be long-distance-bound by superordinate subjects,
in accordance with the (maybe universal) principle that demonstratives may be used anaphorically, but obey Principle C, cf. in English

(10) The flowers are too expensive for me to buy them (*these).

The difference between the pronominals and the demonstratives is shown in the paradigm (12) below, the dative forms of four pronouns and their class membership are given in (11), cf. also [Šarafutdinova, Levina, 1961, p. 109]:

(11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(11a)</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>žu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>idu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11c)</td>
<td></td>
<td>o-w-žu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a-w-du</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation: Category: Binding Principle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(in 12a)</td>
<td>‘(s)he, it’</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in 12b)</td>
<td>‘(s)he, it’</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in 12c)</td>
<td>‘that’ distal</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in 12d)</td>
<td>‘this’ proximate</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) a. uža-l l-īqe de isu-l kumak b-uho-sa

boy-DAT IV-know.gnr I.ERG he-DAT help.abs III-do-prt

‘The boyi knows that I will help him repeats.

b. uža-l l-īqe de idisu-l kumak b-uho-sa

boy-DAT IV-know.gnr I.ERG he-DAT help.abs III-do-prt

‘The boyi knows that I will help him repeats.

c. uža-l l-īqe de o-w-su-l kumak b-uho-sa

boy-DAT IV-know.gnr I.ERG that<1>-DAT help.abs III-do-prt

‘The boyi knows that I will help that (person)j trusted.

d. uža-l l-īqe de a-w-di-su-l kumak b-uho-sa

boy-DAT IV-know.gnr I.ERG this<1>-DAT help.abs III-do-prt

‘The boyi knows that I will help this (person)j trusted.

As can be seen from (12), 3 person pronouns (pronominals) can take long-distance subject antecedents whereas demonstratives cannot.

Locutor pronouns are pronominals:

(13) *di-l da akʷ-aj

I-DAT I.ABS I.see-pst.neg

literally: ‘*I didn’t see me.’

Building blocks for the reflexive constructions are provided mostly by the pronominal žu. Its inflectional forms are given in (14). As is often with pronouns, there are irregularities in declension:
(14) Singular: Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>žu</td>
<td>židu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>ili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>ili-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>isu-lo</td>
<td>ili-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>isu-l</td>
<td>ili-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative I ‘on’</td>
<td>isu-žo</td>
<td>ili-žo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative II ‘at’</td>
<td>isu-qo</td>
<td>ili-qo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locutor pronouns also occur as parts of reflexives. A fragment of their inflectional paradigm cf. in (15):

(15) ‘I’ ‘you (SG)’ ‘we’ ‘you (PL)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>dija</td>
<td>deba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>di-lo</td>
<td>deb-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>di-l</td>
<td>deb-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative I ‘on’</td>
<td>di-žo</td>
<td>deb-žo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative II ‘at’</td>
<td>di-qo</td>
<td>deb-qo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now we turn to the list of reflexive constructions in Khwarshi. All of them are complex, i.e. consist of at least two elements.

2. A list of recorded constructions

The following survey of reflexive constructions, or rather complex pronouns, in Khwarshi, begins with the two pronouns that show the simplest of all, although not simplex, or monomorphemic, structure.

2.1. One pronominal stem: A Pronominal + Intensifier

The simplest reflexive construction in Khwarshi is one of the two apparently synonymous 3 person pronominals, žu or idu, provided with an intensifier clitic (16)–(17) which therefore performs the structural function of “protecting the variable” turning a non-reflexive construction into a reflexive one [Reuland, 2001]:

(16) a. ow-si žikʷa žu iha-χ-χa
    that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
    ‘That i man killed himʃ.’

b. ow-si žikʷa žu-č iha-χ-χa
    that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
    ‘That i man killed himselfʃ.’
Therefore žu-č and idu-č are the first two reflexive pronouns in my list. The same structure of reflexive pronouns is attested in the closely related Tsez language [Imnajšvili, 1963, p. 123]: žo ‘he, she, it’ + tew intensifying particle → žotew ‘self’.

Demonstratives with the Intensifier clitic are no reflexives; the intensifying meaning of the clitic is tentatively translated below with English same:

(17) a. ow-si žikʷa idu iha-χ-χa
   that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
   ‘That i man killed him.’

   b. ow-si žikʷa idu-č iha-χ-χa
   that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
   ‘That i man killed himself.’

Both reflexives of this type can be employed with intransitive (19) verbs, and with the affective verbs denoting experiences that require the subject-experiencer be in Dative and the object-stimulus in Absolutive (20):

(19) o-w-žu žikʷa isu-qol-eč muťu-lejža gičć-a
   that-I-ABS man.ABS he-LOC-INTS mirror-LOC look-PST
   ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(20) o-w-si žikʷa-l žu-č muťu-lejža ajk-a
   that-OBL man-DAT he.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
   ‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

Reflexives 1 (žu-č) and 2 (idu-č) can only be local, and seem to share that characteristic with all other more syntactically complex Khwarshi reflexives, for more evidence see below. This means that, in Khwarshi, there is no observable correlation between the complexity of a reflexive and its (in) ability of a long-distance use, well attested crosslinguistically [cf. Reinhart, Reuland, 1993; Büring, 2005, p. 72] and in other East Caucasian languages [Testelec, Toldova, 1998]:

(21) aminat-el qičča-na paṭimat-el žu-č //idu-č muťu-lejža j-akʷ-a
    Aminat-DAT want-PRF Patimat-DAT she.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC II-see-INF
    ‘Aminat wants Patimat to see herself (her+i/*k) in the mirror.’
With demonstratives, neither the local, nor the superordinate subject can be the antecedent (in accordance with Principle C):

(22) a. aminat-el  ḡuča-na  paṭimat-el  o-j-eẓu-č
    Aminat-DAT    want-PRF  Patimat-DAT  that(person)<II>.ABS-INTS
    muṭu-lejža  j-akʷ-a
    mirror-LOC    II-see-INF
   ‘Aminat wants Patimat to see that same person in the mirror.’

b. aminat-el  ḡuča-na  paṭimat-el  a-j-du-č
    Aminat-DAT    want-PRF  Patimat-DAT  his(person)<II>.ABS-INTS
    muṭu-lejža  j-akʷ-a
    mirror-LOC    II-see-INF
   ‘Aminat wants Patimat to see this same person in the mirror.’

Reflexives of this type can produce the bound variable interpretation (sloppy identity), although strict coreference reading is also available; in this characteristic, too, they seem not to differ from all the other types of reflexive pronouns:

(23) kad  ili-qol-eč  muṭu-lejža  gič-a,  ili-s  es-na
    girl.ABS  she-LOC-INTS  mirror-LOC  look-pst  she-gen1  sister.abs-and
   ‘The girl looked at herself in the mirror, and her sister did, too.’

Sloppy identity: ‘the sister looked at herself’ – OK
Strict coreference ‘the sister looked at the girl’ – OK

It seems likely that no reflexive pronoun must obligatorily be an argument; each element belonging to the list presented in the next section may be e.g. a possessive modifier of a noun:

(24) a. žu  isu-lo-č  mašina-ƛo  aṭi iq-ą-a
    he.abs  he-gen2-INTS  car-LOC  I-come-pst
   ‘He came in his car.’

b. žu  is-i  isu-lo  mašina-ƛo  aṭi iq-ą-a
    he.abs  he-erg  he-gen2  car-LOC  I-come-pst
   ‘He came in his car.’

2.2. Double reflexives: Two Pronominal Stems

2.2.1. Ergative («frozen») + Genitive 1 («frozen»)

In the third reflexive construction, the complex reflexive consists of two pronominals in “frozen” case forms, i.e. not sensitive to syntactic context: the first one is in Ergative, and the second one in Genitive 1, irrespective both of the case of the antecedent and the case required of the reflexive nominal itself:
The reflexive’s both parts are “frozen” in case, because it cannot change according to syntactic context. The reflexive can replace a direct object in Absolutive (25), a locative oblique object in (26) and the stimulus object in Absolutive (27).

The reflexive may also be possessive, its second element remaining in the “frozen” Genitive 1, in spite of that Genitive 2 is required in the context:

(28) is-i  is-a  ḥalti-ʔo-l  ʔa-ka-ha  uža-n  eča-na
he-ERG  he-GEN1  work-LOC-LAT  I-go-PRS  boy-ADD  I-be-PRF
‘The young man would go to his work.’
(“The Young Daughter-in-law” [Karimova, 2014, р. 306])

Of other Tsezic languages, “frozen” elements of reflexives have been recorded in Tsez.

In one of the two complex reflexives, the first component is invariably in Ergative and the second is in the case required by the syntactic context (government by a verb or a postposition). This complex reflexive is available for all cases other than Ergative; e.g. in (29), the first component is in “frozen” Ergative although there is no element in the clause that might require this case value.

In the second type of complex reflexives, the first component is in the case required by the context, and the second component is invariably in Absolutive, irrespective of the case of the antecedent or of the target case, i.e. that is required of the reflexive pronoun itself (30). The second type is available for all cases other than the Ergative and Absolutive [Polinsky, Comrie, 1999, р. 324; Polinsky, 2015].

(29) Tsez:

madina  nel-ā  nela-go-r  j-ezu-s
Madina.ABS  she-ERG  she-SUPER-LAT  II-look-PST
‘Madina looked at herself.’
(30) Tsez:

\[
\begin{align*}
dunjal & \quad nela-q & \quad ža & \quad šeṭu & \quad b-uti-χ
\end{align*}
\]

world.abs   it-poss  it.abs  around  III-turn-prs
‘The earth turns around itself.’

In Khwarshi, a reflexive analogous to the Tsez first type is described below in 2.2.7, but no reflexive containing an invariable, or “frozen”, Absolutive, has been found.

This type of reflexive is ambiguous with respect to semantic binding:

(31) \[
\begin{align*}
oj-łi & \quad kande-l & \quad il-i & \quad ili-s & \quad muṭu-lejža
\end{align*}
\]

that-obl  girl-dat  she.erg  she-gen1  mirror-loc

\[
\begin{align*}
aja-k-a, & \quad ili-lo & \quad es-ṭe-l-na
\end{align*}
\]

II-see-pst  she-gen2  sister-obl-and

‘That girl saw herself in the mirror, and her sister did, too.’

Sloppy identity: ‘the sister saw herself’ – OK
Strict coreference ‘the sister the girl’ – OK

The reflexive is local:

(32) \[
\begin{align*}
di-l & \quad q̄uča-na & \quad a-j-li & \quad kande-l & \quad d-e & \quad d-ija
\end{align*}
\]

I-dat  want-prf  this-II-obl  girl.obl-dat  I-erg  I-gen

muṭu-lejža  akʷ-ä
mirror-loc  I.see-inf

‘*I want this girl to see myself in the mirror.’

2.2.2. Pronominal in “frozen” Genitive 1 + Pronominal in the Target Case

(33) \[
\begin{align*}
ow-si & \quad žiökʷa & \quad is-a & \quad žu & \quad iha-χ-χa
\end{align*}
\]

that-obl  man.erg  he.gen1  he.abs  die-caus-pst

‘That man killed himself.’

(34) \[
\begin{align*}
ow-žu & \quad žiökʷa & \quad is-a & \quad isu-qol & \quad muṭu-lejža & \quad gič-a
\end{align*}
\]

that-abs  man.abs  he.gen1  he-loc  mirror-loc  look-pst

‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(35) \[
\begin{align*}
ow-si & \quad žiökʷa-l & \quad is-a & \quad žu & \quad muṭu-lejža & \quad ajk-a
\end{align*}
\]

that-obl  man-dat  he-gen1  he.abs  mirror-loc  I.see-pst

‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

(36) \[
\begin{align*}
is-a & \quad isu-l & \quad huni-ho-l & \quad laça-ča-n & \quad gîl-na,
\end{align*}
\]

he-gen1  he-dat  road-loc-lat  food-supply-add  take-cnv

χiž-a  šižunežu-n  gîl-na  āka-na
change-inf  clothes-add  take-cnv  I.go-prf

‘He took with himself a supply of food, clothes and set off (to look for his brother).’
(from “The Sons of a Smith” [Karimova, 2014, p. 20])
2.2.3. Pronominal in “frozen” Genitive 1 +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case + Intensifier

(37) ow-si źikʷa is-a źu-č iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-GEN1 he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

(38) ow-žu źikʷa is-a isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža gičc-a
that-ABS man.ABS he-GEN1 he-LOC-INTS mirror-LOC look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(39) ow-si źikʷa-l is-a źu-č muṭu-lejža ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-GEN1 he.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.2.4. Pronominal in the case of the Antecedent +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case + Intensifier

(40) ow-si źikʷa is-i źu-č iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

(41) ow-žu źikʷa žu isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža gičc-a
that-ABS man.abs he.abs he-LOC-INTS mirror-LOC look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(42) ow-si źikʷa-l isu-l źu-č muṭu-lejža ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-DAT he.abs-INTS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

(43) ił-i ił-i-ho-č idu-n j-eča-na
she-ERG she-obl-loc-ints she.abs-add II-be-prf
‘She thought (it), lit: “was in herself”.

2.2.5. Pronominal in the case of the Antecedent +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case

This reflexive without the Intensifier clitic is hardly acceptable if the target NP is the direct object:

(44) ?ow-si źikʷa is-i źu iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he.ERG he.abs die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

But if the target NP is of a low syntactic status, e.g. a non-core benefactive (45)–(47) or adjunct (48)–(50), the intensifier clitic becomes optional, cf. the following text examples:
(45) ventus-sa m-i debe-l j-ezo
red-ATTR you(sg)-ERG you(sg)-DAT V-take.IMP
‘The red one you (sg.) take for yourself.’
(“The stepdaughter” [Karimova, 2014, p. 158])

(46) m-i debe-l pajda-χajir b-uw-a
you(sg)-ERG you(sg)-DAT income-profit.ABS III-do-INF
eq
I.begin.IMP
‘Begin to earn for yourself!’
(“The Ashes’ Man” [Karimova, 2014, p. 185])

(47) ɪl-i qaba-ma beṭerhan-es b-eča-na is-i
that-OBL jar-LOC master-GEN1 III-be-PRF he-ERG
isu-l χiš-a b-uj-a zila
he-DAT drink-INF III-make-INF beer.ABS
‘In the jar, there was the master’s beer that he had made
for himself.’
(“The Cat and the Mouse” [Karimova, 2014, p. 264])

(48) is-i isu-ʁal qaban pohoχek-na lazzat-λo
he-ERG he-LAT pot.ABS draw.near-PRF pleasure-LOC
ṭule-za-l ḥal l-ač-a eq-na dibir
finger-PL-DAT butter.ABS IV-eat-INF I.begin-PRF mullah.ABS
‘The mullah drew the pot nearer to himself and began
to eat the butter pleasurably with his fingers
(“Malla Nasreddin’s Raven” [Karimova, 2014, p. 171])

(49) has b-uqû balahi d-e di-λo-l b-aṭa-ka-bču
one III-big trouble I-ERG I-LOC-LAT III-come-CAUS-NEG
lolgosa-za-λoru
footwear-PL-because
‘In order not to bring myself (literally: “on myself”)
into a big trouble because of the footwear’
(“The High Boots” [Karimova, 2014, p. 178])

(50) is-i isu-ʁal Ĭdu hoc-a hukmu b-un-na
he-ERG he-LOC at.home leave-INF decision III-do-PRF
is-i Ĭdu keca
he-ERG that.ABS bird.ABS
‘He decided to leave the bird at his place (“by himself”).’
(“The Motherland” [Karimova, 2014, p. 183])
2.2.6. Pronominal in the Case of the Antecedent + Intensifier +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case

(51) ow-si ḣikʷa is-i-č žu iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG-INTS he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

(52) ow-žu ḣikʷa žu-č isu-qol muťu-leţa gičc-a
that-ABS man.ABS he.ABS-INTS he-LOC mirror-LOC look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(53) ow-si ḣikʷa-l isu-l-č žu muťu-leţa ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-DAT-INTS he.ABS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.2.7. Pronominal in “frozen” Ergative +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case + Intensifier

(54) ow-si ḣikʷa is-i žu-č iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he.ABS-ints die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

(55) ow-žu ḣikʷa is-i isu-qol-eč muťu-leţa gičc-a
that-ABS man.ABS he-ERG he-LOC-ints mirror-LOC look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(56) ow-si ḣikʷa-l is-i žu-č muťu-leţa ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-ERG he.ABS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

(57) m-i m-i ma-č ajk-a
you(sg)-ERG you(sg.-ERG you(sg).ABS-ints burn-PST
‘You burned yourself.’

(58) ma m-i deb-χo-č buţi-aj
you(sg).ABS you(sg.-ERG you.OBL-LOC-ints believe-PST.NEG
‘You don’t believe yourself.’

2.2.8. Pronominal in the Case of the Antecedent +
+ Intensifier + Genitive 1 («frozen»)

(59) ow-si ḣikʷa is-i-č is-a iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG-INTS he-GEN1 die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’
(60) *ow-žu žikʷa žu-č is-a muṭu-lejža gičć-a*
that-abs man.abs he.abs-ints he-gen1 mirror-loc look-pst
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(61) *ow-si žikʷa-l isu-l-eč is-a muṭu-lejža ajk-a*
that-obl man-dat he-dat-ints he-gen1 mirror-loc I.see-pst
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.2.9. Pronominal in the “frozen” Ergative + Intensifier +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case

Only one example of this type has been recorded:

(62) *ow-žu žikʷa is-i-č is-u-qo-l muṭu-lejža gičć-a*
that-abs man.abs he-erg-ints he-oobl-ad-lat mirror-loc look-pst
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

2.3. Triple Reflexives: Three Pronominal Stems

Triple reflexives consist of more than two pronominal stems. Reflexives of this type have been recorded for other Tsezic languages earlier, although they show less variation than Khwarshi, cf. in the Tladal dialect of Bezhta [Kibrik, Testelets, 2004, р. 291]:

(63) *is-ṭi hin-i žü-žü äžel-lō*
brother-erg self-erg self.abs-self-abs I.beat-pst
‘Brother beat himself.’

In Bezhta, the triple reflexive employs the double absolutive form of the reflexive žü to denote the direct object with a transitive verb.

2.3.1. Pronominal in the Case of the Antecedent +
+ Genitive 1 («frozen») + Pronominal in the Target Case + Intensifier

(64) *ow-si žikʷa is-i is-a žu-č iha-χ-χa*
that-obl man.erg he.erg he-gen1 he.abs-ints die-caus-pst
‘That man killed himself.’

(65) *ow-žu žikʷa žu is-a isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža gičć-a*
that-ABS man.abs he.abs he-gen1 he-loc-ints mirror-loc look-pst
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(66) *ow-si žikʷa-l isu-l is-a žu-č muṭu-lejža ajk-a*
that-obl man-dat he-dat he-gen1 he.abs-ints mirror-loc I.see-pst
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’
2.3.2. Ergative («frozen») + Genitive 1 («frozen») +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case + Intensifier

(67) ow-si  žiḵʷa  is-i  is-a  žu-č  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he-GEN1 he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

Of course examples with the antecedent and the first component
of the reflexive in Ergative like (64) above cannot be distinguished from
the construction with the “frozen” Ergative of this type, like in (67).

(68) ow-žu  žiḵʷa  is-i  is-a  isu-qol-eč  muṭu-lejža  gič-c-a
that-ABS man.ABS he-ERG he-GEN1 he-LOC-INTS mirror-LOC look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(69) ow-si  žiḵʷa-l  is-i  is-a  žu-č  muṭu-lejža  ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-ERG he-GEN1 he.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.3.3. Pronominal in the Case of the Antecedent +
+ Genitive 1 («frozen») + Intensifier +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case

(70) ow-si  žiḵʷa  is-i  is-a-č  žu  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he-GEN1-INTS he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’

(71) ow-žu  žiḵʷa  žu  is-a-č  isu-qol  muṭu-lejža
that-ABS man.ABS he.ABS he-GEN1-INTS he-LOC mirror-LOC
gič-c-a
look-PST
‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(72) ow-si  žiḵʷa-l  isu-l  is-a-č  žu  muṭu-lejža
that-OBL man-DAT he-DAT he-GEN1-INTS he.ABS mirror-LOC
ajk-a
I.see-PST
‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.3.4. Ergative («frozen») + Genitive 1 («frozen») + Intensifier +
+ Pronominal in the Target Case

(73) ow-si  žiḵʷa  is-i  is-a-č  žu  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he-GEN1-INTS he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’
(74) $ow$-$žu$  $žik^{w}a$  $is$-$i$  $is$-$a$-$č$  $isu$-$qol$  $mu$-$tu$-$lejža$

\hspace{1cm}
that-abs  man.abs  he-erg  he-gen1-ints  he-loc  mirror-loc 

\hspace{1cm}
giçç-a
look-pst

‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(75) $ow$-$si$  $ži$-$k^{w}a$-$l$  $is$-$i$  $is$-$a$-$č$  $žu$  $mu$-$tu$-$lejža$

\hspace{1cm}
that-obl  man-dat  he-erg  he-gen1-ints  he.abs  mirror-loc 

\hspace{1cm}
ajk-a
I.see-pst

‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

2.4. More Reflexives?

Several examples with the II (female human) singular reflexive pronoun have been recorded where the form $ila$ is employed which resembles the Genitive 1 forms of other personal pronouns ($dij$-$a$ ‘my’, $deb$-$a$ ‘yours (sg.)’, $is$-$a$ ‘his’, $il$-$a$ ‘our’, $miž$-$a$ ‘your (pl.)’, $žid$-$a$ ‘their’. The difficulty is in that the regular form of Genitive 1 from nouns of II singular is $ili$-$s$, with is the nouns’ affix of the Genitive 1, cf. (14)–(15) above and (76):

(76) $kad$  $ila$  $ili$-$qol$  $mu$-$tu$-$lejža$  giçça-ha

\hspace{1cm}
girl.abs  she-gen1  she-loc-ints  mirror-loc  look-prs

‘The girl is looking at herself in the mirror.’

Along with $il$-$a$ $žu$, a pronoun with both parts in Genitive, the first part in the irregular form in $-a$, the second one in the regular form in $-is$, has been recorded. This kind of reflexive allows for the bound variable interpretation:

(77) $hãda$  aminate-$l$  $il$-$a$  $ili$-$s$  $mu$-$tu$-$l$  $j$-$ak^{w}a$-$na$

\hspace{1cm}
only  Aminat-dat  she-gen1  she-gen1  mirror-loc  II-see-evd

‘Only Aminat saw herself in the mirror.’

1. Non-variable reading: ‘Nobody else saw Aminat in the mirror’ OK

2. Bound variable reading: ‘Nobody else saw herself in the mirror’ OK

$ila$ may be an irreguality, a special form of “frozen” Genitive 1 for $žu$ (II singular), but this form requires further investigation.

3. Unacceptable combinations and why they may be ungrammatical

Not all combinations of the same elements have been accepted by speakers. E.g. when both “frozen” cases occur together, the intensifier clitic can be attached neither to the second (78)–(80) nor to the first (81)–(83) element:
(78) *ow-si  žikʷa  is-i  is-a-č  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL  man.ERG  he.ERG  he.GEN1-INTS  die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(79) *ow-žu  žikʷa  is-i  is-a-č  muṭu-lejža  giçc-a
that-ABS  man.ABS  he.ERG  he.GEN1-INTS  mirror-LOC  look-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(80) *oj-li  kande-l  il-i  ili-s-eč  muṭu-lejža  j-ajk-a
that-OBL  girl-DAT  she.ERG  she.GEN1-INTS  mirror-LOC  II-see-PST
expected meaning: ‘That girl saw herself in the mirror.’

(81) *ow-si  žikʷa  is-i-č  is-a  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL  man.ERG  he.ERG-INTS  he.GEN1  die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(82) *ow-žu  žikʷa  is-i-č  is-a  muṭu-lejža  giçc-a
that-ABS  man.ABS  he.ERG-INTS  he.GEN1  mirror-LOC  look-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(83) *oj-li  kande-l  il-i-č  ili-s  muṭu-lejža  j-ajk-a
that-OBL  girl-DAT  she.ERG-INTS  she.GEN1  mirror-LOC  II-see-PST
expected meaning: ‘That girl saw herself in the mirror.’

A tentative generalization may be that with the two “frozen” cases the intensifier is redundant.

Khwarshi does not employ the “frozen” absolutive žu(-č), – even in the Absolutive, unlike the Inkhuwari dialect [Khalilova, 2009, p. 161] and the Tsez language [Polinsky, 2015]:

(84) *ow-si  žikʷa  is-i  žu  žu-č  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL  man.ERG  he.ERG  he.ABS  he.ABS-INTS  die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(85) *ow-žu  žikʷa  žu  žu  isu-gol-eč  muṭu-lejža  giçc-a
that-ABS  man.ABS  he.ABS  he.ABS  he-LOC-INTS  mirror-LOC  look-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(86) *ow-si  žikʷa-l  isu-l  žu  žu-č  muṭu-lejža  ajk-a
that-OBL  man-DAT  he-DAT  he.ABS  he.ABS-INTS  mirror-LOC  I-see-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

(87) *ow-si  žikʷa  is-i  žu-č  žu  iha-χ-χa
that-OBL  man.ERG  he.ERG  he.ABS-INTS  he.ABS  die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’
(88) *ow-žu ẑikʷ-a žu žu-č isu-qol muṯu-lejža gičć-a
that-ABS man.ABS he.ABS he.ABS-INTS he-LOC mirror-LOC look-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(89) *ow-si ẑikʷ-a-l isu-l žu-č žu muṯu-lejža
that-OBL man-DAT he-DAT he.ABS-INTS he.ABS mirror-LOC
ajk-a
I.see-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

There is no reflexive of the structure: Pronominal in the Case of the Antecedent + “frozen” Genitive:

(90) *ow-žu ẑikʷ-a žu is-a muṯu-lejža gičć-a
that-ABS man.ABS he.ABS he-gen mirror-LOC look-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

There are no complex (double or triple) reflexives based on the 3rd person pronominal idu:

(91) *ow-si ẑikʷ-a is-a // id-isa idu ida-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-gen he.abs die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(92) *ow-si ẑikʷ-a is-i idu-č ida-χ-χa
that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he.abs-INTS die-CAUS-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(93) *ow-si ẑikʷ-a-l idisu-l žu-č muṯu-lejža ajk-a
that-OBL man-DAT he-DAT he.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
expected meaning: ‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

4. Lack of orientation

As is the case with many East Caucasian languages, in Khwarshi the reflexives show but very little sensitivity to grammatical hierarchy (in terms of c-command, th-command, hierarchy of the grammatical relations ‘subject > direct object > indirect object > arguments of lower status > adjuncts’, and the like), e.g. they may be object-oriented, even being themselves in the subject position (first noticed in: [Kibrik, 1980] for Inkhokwari and some other East Caucasian languages and later thoroughly investigated in Bagvalal, a language of the Andic group, cf. [Ljutikova, 1999, 2001]).

In Tsez and Ginukh, two other West Tsezic languages, non-subject orientation is ruled out: the ergative noun phrase can antecede the reflexive
in the absolutive in the direct object position, but the opposite pattern is impossible (cf. [Polinsky, 2015; Forker, 2013, p. 672]).

Of all the reflexives listed above, only žu-č seems to be more or less strictly subject-oriented:

(94) a. rasul-i žu-č qʷarid uwā-te
   Rasul-erg he-INTS harm I.DO.GNR-NEG
   ‘Rasul won’t harm himself.’

   b. rasul iš-i-č qʷarid uwā-te
   Rasul.abs he.OBL-ERG-INTS harm I.DO.GNR-NEG
   ‘He himself, won’t harm Rasul.’
   *‘Rasul won’t harm himself.’

Double reflexives as subjects, however, allow object orientation:

(95) a. rasul-i iš-i žu-č qʷarid uwā-te
   Rasul-erg he-erg he-INTS harm I.DO.GNR-NEG
   ‘Rasul won’t harm himself.’

   b. rasul iš-i žu-č qʷarid uwā-te
   Rasul.abs he-erg he-INTS harm I.DO.GNR-NEG
   ‘Rasul won’t harm himself’, lit.: ‘Himself won’t harm Rasul’

5. Summary

The Khwarshi reflexive pronouns known so far may be summarized in the following table 2.

To incorporate this overabundance of reflexive constructions in Khwarshi in the typology and theory of anaphora, further investigation is necessary. That the exuberant system outlined above is redundant both syntagmatically and paradigmatically, is obvious – which seems hardly compatible with any formal or functional theory of reflexivity that involves (very differently understood) economy considerations.
### Reflexive Pronouns in Khwarshi

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedent</th>
<th>Ergative (“frozen”)</th>
<th>Genitive (“frozen”)</th>
<th>Target Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>One stem:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>źu-č</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>idu-č</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Two stems:</strong></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>is-i</td>
<td>is-a</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>is-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>is-i</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>is-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>is-i-č</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>is-i</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>is-i-č</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>is-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>is-i-č</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Three stems:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>is-i</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>–</td>
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<td>is-a-č</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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