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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 локальны 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 pronoun¹ 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) *žik^{wa}* *šiču* *šiča-ha*
 man.ERG² clothes.ABS clothe-PRS
 'The man clothes himself.'

(2) a. *žik^{wa}* *mašina* *esan-ho*
 man.ERG car.ABS wash-PRS
 'The man washes the car.'

b. *žik^{wa}* *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 *ög* – Inkhokwari dialect *ög* – Khwarshi proper *üž* '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* *ĩḫek-ko*
 father-ERG boy.ABS I.lead-PRS
 ‘Father is bringing the boy here.’

(4) *obu* *ħalṭida-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* *giça-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* *žikʷa-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* *Ø-akʷa-ha* *Ø-agu* *ḫirija-w* *hamake*
 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-ṭa* *ḫirija-b-ṭa*
 I-DAT PL.HUM-see-PRS PL.HUM-good-PL dear- PL.HUM-PL
hamake-ba
 friend-PL.ABS (I CLASS PL)
 ‘I see good dear friends.’

c. *di-l* *j-akʷa-ha* *j-agu* *ḫirija-j* *hamake*
 I-DAT II-see-PRS II-good dear-II friend.ABS (II CLASS SG)
 ‘I see a good dear (female) friend.’

- (7) d. *di-l* *b-ak^wa-ha* *b-agu* *ki^htu*
 I-DAT III-see-PRS III-good cat.ABS (III CLASS SG)
 'I see a good cat.'

The position of the class/number agreement marker is normally prefixal, except the adjectives borrowed from Avar which retain their suffixal agreement slot (*χirija*- 'dear' in 7a-c), and some adverbs and pronouns.

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

Table 1

	Singular	Plural
Class I (men)	∅-	<i>b-</i> (<i>m-</i> with a nasalized stem)
Class II (women)	<i>j-</i>	
Class III (nonhuman animate, inanimate)	<i>b-</i> (<i>m-</i> with a nasalized stem)	<i>l-</i> (<i>n-</i> with a nasalized stem)
Class IV (nonhuman)	<i>l-</i> (<i>n-</i> with a nasalized stem)	
Class V (nonhuman)	<i>j-</i>	

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-ak^w-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)	Absolutive (unmarked case):		Dative:			
	in (12a)	<i>žu</i>		<i>isu-l</i>		
	in (12b)	<i>idu</i>		<i>idisu-l</i>		
	in (12c)	<i>o-w-žu</i>		<i>o-w-su-l</i>		
	in (12d)	<i>a-w-du</i>		<i>a-w-di-su-l</i>		
		Translation:	Category:	Binding Principle		
	in (12a)	‘(s)he, it’	pronominal	B		
	in (12b)	‘(s)he, it’	pronominal	B		
	in (12c)	‘that’ distal	demonstrative	C		
	in (12d)	‘this’ proximate	demonstrative	C		
(12) a.	<i>uža-l</i>	<i>l-īqe</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>isu-l</i>	<i>kumak</i>	<i>b-uho-sa</i>
	boy-DAT	IV-know.GNR	I.ERG	he -DAT	help.ABS	III-do-PRT
	‘The boy _i knows that I will help him _{ij} .’					
b.	<i>uža-l</i>	<i>l-īqe</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>idisu-l</i>	<i>kumak</i>	<i>b-uho-sa</i>
	boy-DAT	IV-know.GNR	I.ERG	he -DAT	help.ABS	III-do-PRT
	‘The boy _i knows that I will help him _{ij} .’					
c.	<i>uža-l</i>	<i>l-īqe</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>o-w-su-l</i>	<i>kumak</i>	<i>b-uho-sa</i>
	boy-DAT	IV-know.GNR	I.ERG	that <I>-DAT	help.ABS	III-do-PRT
	‘The boy _i knows that I will help that (person) _{j/*i} .’					
d.	<i>uža-l</i>	<i>l-īqe</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>a-w-di-su-l</i>	<i>kumak</i>	<i>b-uho-sa</i>
	boy-DAT	IV-know.GNR	I.ERG	this <I>-DAT	help.ABS	III-do-PRT
	‘The boy _i knows that I will help this (person) _{j/*i} .’					

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 ak^w-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:
	Absolutive	<i>žu</i>		<i>židu</i>
		I class (male human)	other	
	Ergative	<i>isi</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>žid-i</i>
	Genitive 1	<i>isa</i>	<i>ili-s</i>	<i>žid-a</i>
	Genitive 2	<i>isu-lo</i>	<i>ili-lo</i>	<i>žil-lo</i>
	Dative	<i>isu-l</i>	<i>ili-l</i>	<i>židu-l</i>
	Locative I ‘on’	<i>isu-žo</i>	<i>ili-žo</i>	<i>židu-žo</i>
	Locative II ‘at’	<i>isu-qo</i>	<i>ili-qo</i>	<i>židu-qo</i>

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

(15)	‘I’	‘you (SG)’	‘we’	‘you (PL)’	
	Absolutive	<i>da</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>miža</i>
	Ergative	<i>de</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>miži</i>
	Genitive 1	<i>dija</i>	<i>deba</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>miža</i>
	Genitive 2	<i>di-lo</i>	<i>deb-lo</i>	<i>il-lo</i>	<i>mil-lo</i>
	Dative	<i>di-l</i>	<i>debe-l</i>	<i>ilu-l</i>	<i>mižu-l</i>
	Locative I ‘on’	<i>di-žo</i>	<i>deb-žo</i>	<i>ilu-žo</i>	<i>mižu-žo</i>
	Locative II ‘at’	<i>di-qo</i>	<i>deb-qo</i>	<i>ilu-qo</i>	<i>mižu-qo</i>

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* *žik^va* *žu* *iha-χ-χα*
that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
‘That_i man killed him_j.’
- b. *ow-si* *žik^va* *žu-č* *iha-χ-χα*
that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That_i man killed himself_i.’

- (17) a. *ow-si* *žikʷa* *idu* *iha-χ-χa*
 that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That_i man killed him_j.’
- b. *ow-si* *žikʷa* *idu-č* *iha-χ-χa*
 that-OBL man.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That_i man killed himself_i.’

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*:

- (18) a. *o-w-si* *žikʷa* *o-w-žu-č* *iha-χ-χa*
 that-I-OBL man.ERG that (person)<I>.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That_i man killed that same person_j.’
- b. *o-w-si* *žikʷa* *a-w-du-č* *iha-χ-χa*
 that-I-OBL man.ERG this (person)<I>.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That_i man killed this same person_j.’

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* *muṭu-lejža* *gičc-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* *muṭu-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; Büiring, 2005, p. 72] and in other East Caucasian languages [Testelec, Toldova, 1998]:

- (21) *aminat-el* *quča-na* *paṭimat-el* *žu-č/|idu-č* *muṭu-lejža* *j-akʷ-a*
 Aminat-DAT want-PRF Patimat-DAT she.ABS-INTS mirror-LOC II-see-INF
 ‘Aminat_i wants Patimat_j to see herself_j (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* *quča-na* *paṭimat-el* *o-j-ežu-č*
 Aminat-DAT want-PRF Patimat-DAT that(person)<II>.ABS-INTS
muṭu-lejža *j-ak^w-a*
 mirror-LOC II-see-INF
 ‘Aminat_i wants Patimat_j to see that same person_k in the mirror.’
- b. *aminat-el* *quča-na* *paṭimat-el* *a-j-du-č*
 Aminat-DAT want-PRF Patimat-DAT his(person)<II>.ABS-INTS
muṭu-lejža *j-ak^w-a*
 mirror-LOC II-see-INF
 ‘Aminat_i wants Patimat_j to see this same person_k 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* *gičc-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-žo* *aṭiqq̄-a*
 he.ABS he-GEN2-INTS car-LOC I.come-PST
 ‘He_i came in his_i car.’
- b. *žu* *is-i* *isu-lo* *mašina-žo* *aṭiqq̄-a*
 he.ABS he-ERG he-GEN2 car-LOC I.come-PST
 ‘He_i came in his_i 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:

- (25) *ow-si žikʷa is-i is-a iha-χ-χa*
 that-OBL man.ERG he.ERG he.GEN1 die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That man killed himself.’
- (26) *ow-žu žikʷa is-i is-a muṭu-lejža giçç-a*
 that-ABS man.ABS he.ERG he.GEN1 mirror-LOC look-PST
 ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’
- (27) *oj-ti kande-l il-i ili-s muṭu-lejža j-ajk-a*
 that-OBL girl-DAT she.ERG she.GEN1 mirror-LOC II-see-PST
 ‘That girl saw herself in the mirror.’

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 halti-ḷo-l āḡa-ha uḡa-n eča-na*
 he-ERG he.GEN1 work-LOC-LAT I.go-PRS boy-ADD I-be-PRS
 ‘The young man would go to his work.’
 (“The Young Daughter-in-law” [Karimova, 2014, p. 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, p. 324; Polinsky, 2015].

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

(30) Tsez:

dunjal *nela-q* *ža* *šetu* *b-uti-χ*
 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) *oj-li* *kande-l* *il-i* *ili-s* *muṭu-lejža*
 that-OBL girl-DAT she.ERG she-GEN1 mirror-LOC
jajk-a, *ili-lo* *es-ṭe-l-na*
 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) **di-l* *ḡuča-na* *a-j-ti* *kande-l* *d-e* *d-ija*
 I-DAT want-PRF this-II-OBL girl.OBL-DAT I-ERG I-GEN
muṭu-lejža *ak^w-a*
 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) *ow-si* *žik^wa* *is-a* *žu* *iha-χ-χa*
 that-OBL man.ERG he.GEN1 he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
 ‘That man killed himself.’

(34) *ow-žu* *žik^wa* *is-a* *isu-qol* *muṭu-lejža* *giçç-a*
 that-ABS man.ABS he.GEN1 he-LOC mirror-LOC look-PST
 ‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(35) *ow-si* *žik^wa-l* *is-a* *žu* *muṭu-lejža* *ajk-a*
 that-OBL man-DAT he-GEN1 he.ABS mirror-LOC I.see-PST
 ‘That man saw himself in the mirror.’

(36) *is-a* *isu-l* *huni-ho-l* *laça-ça-n* *gil-na,*
 he-GEN1 he-DAT road-LOC-LAT food-supply-ADD take-CNV
χiž-a *šižunežu-n* *gil-na* *ãka-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 žikʷa is-a žu-č iha-χ-χa*
that-OBL man.ERG he-GEN1 he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’
- (38) *ow-žu žikʷa is-a isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žikʷa-l is-a žu-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 žikʷa is-i žu-č iha-χ-χa*
that-OBL man.ERG he.ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
‘That man killed himself.’
- (41) *ow-žu žikʷa žu isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žikʷa-l isu-l žu-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) *il-i il-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”.
 (“Who Is More Able?” [Karimova, 2014, p. 313])

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 žikʷa is-i žu 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) *uŋtej-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-çajir 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) *il-i qaba-ma beŋerhan-es b-eça-na is-i*
 that-OBL jar-LOC master-GEN I III-be-PRF he-ERG
isu-l çilâ-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-kaI qaban pohoyek-na lazzat-žo*
 he-ERG he-LAT pot.ABS draw.near-PRF pleasure-LOC
ŋule-za-l laI l-aç-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-uçu balahi d-e di-žo-l b-aça-ka-bçu*
 one III-big trouble I-ERG I-LOC-LAT III-come-CAUS-NEG
lolqosa-za-ŋeru
 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-kaI İdu hoc-a ħukmu b-un-na*
 he-ERG he-LOC at.home leave-INF decision III-do-PRF
is-i idu 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 žikʷa 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 žikʷa žu-č isu-qol muṭu-lejža 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 žikʷa-l isu-l-eč žu muṭu-lejža 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 žikʷa 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 žikʷa is-i isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža 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 žikʷa-l is-i žu-č muṭu-lejža ajk-a*
that-OBL man-DAT he-ERG he.ABS-INTS 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-ļo-č buž-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 žikʷa 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 žik^wa žu-č is-a muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žik^wa-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 žik^wa is-i-č is-u-qo-l muṭu-lejža giçç-a*
 that-ABS man.ABS he-ERG-INTS he-OBL-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, Testelet, 2004, p. 291]:

- (63) *is-ṭi hin-i žü-žü äḷel-lö*
 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 žik^wa 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 žik^wa žu is-a isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žik^wa-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 žiḱ^wa 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 žiḱ^wa is-i is-a isu-qol-eč muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žiḱ^wa-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 žiḱ^wa 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 žiḱ^wa žu is-a-č isu-qol muṭu-lejža*
that-ABS man.ABS he.ABS he-GEN1-INTS he-LOC mirror-LOC
giçç-a
look-PST
'That man looked at himself in the mirror.'
- (72) *ow-si žiḱ^wa-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 žiḱ^wa 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^wa is-i is-a-č isu-qol muṭu-lejža*
 that-ABS man.ABS he-ERG he-GEN1-INTS he-LOC mirror-LOC
giçç-a
 look-PST

‘That man looked at himself in the mirror.’

(75) *ow-si žik^wa-l is-i is-a-č žu muṭu-lejža*
 that-OBL man-DAT he-ERG he-GEN1-INTS he.ABS mirror-LOC
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 the nouns’ affix of the Genitive 1, cf. (14)–(15) above and (76):

(76) *kad ila ili-qol muṭu-lejža giça-ha*
 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) *hāda aminate-l il-a ili-s muṭu-l j-ak^wa-na*
 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 irregularity, 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 giçç-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-ti 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 giçç-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-ti 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 Inkhokwari 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-qol-eč muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žik^wa žu žu-č isu-qol muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žik^wa-l isu-l žu-č žu muṭu-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 žik^wa žu is-a muṭu-lejža giçç-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 žik^wa is-a/id-isa idu iha-χ-χa
 that-OBL man.ERG he.GEN he.ABS die-CAUS-PST
 expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(92) *ow-si žik^wa is-i idu-č iha-χ-χa
 that-OBL man.ERG he-ERG he.ABS-INTS die-CAUS-PST
 expected meaning: ‘That man killed himself.’

(93) *ow-si žik^wa-l idisu-l žu-č muṭu-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 is-i-č qʷarid uwā-te*
 Rasul.ABS he.OBL-ERG-INTS harm I.do.GNR-NEG
 ‘He himself_i won’t harm Rasul_j.’
 *‘Rasul won’t harm himself.’

Double reflexives as subjects, however, allow object orientation:

- (95) a. *rasul-i is-i žu-č qʷarid uwā-te*
 Rasul-ERG he-ERG he-INTS harm I.do.GNR-NEG
 ‘Rasul won’t harm himself.’
- b. *rasul is-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.

Table 2

Reflexive Pronouns in Khwarshi

	Antecedent	Ergative (“frozen”)	Genitive (“frozen”)	Target Case
One stem:				
1	—	—	—	<i>žu-č</i>
2	—	—	—	<i>idu-č</i>
Two stems:				
3	—	<i>is-i</i>	<i>is-a</i>	—
4	—	—	<i>is-a</i>	<i>žu</i>
5	—	—	<i>is-a</i>	<i>žu-č</i>
6	<i>is-i</i>	—	—	<i>žu-č</i>
7	<i>is-i</i>	—	—	<i>žu</i>
8	<i>is-i-č</i>	—	—	<i>žu</i>
9	—	<i>is-i</i>	—	<i>žu-č</i>
10	<i>is-i-č</i>	—	<i>is-a</i>	—
11	—	<i>is-i-č</i>	—	<i>žu</i>
Three stems:				
12	<i>is-i</i>	—	<i>is-a</i>	<i>žu-č</i>
13	—	<i>is-i</i>	<i>is-a</i>	<i>žu-č</i>
14	<i>is-i</i>	—	<i>is-a-č</i>	<i>žu</i>
15	—	<i>is-i</i>	<i>is-a-č</i>	<i>žu</i>

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