Reflexives in Khwarshi
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I. Introduction
Sociolinguistic data
- Khwarshi – Dagestanian language
- Native speakers – about 3000
- Almost all speakers are bilingual or even trilingual (Russian and Avar are lingua franca)
- Khwarshi has five dialects: Khwarshi Proper, Inkhokwari, *Kwantlada*, Santlada and Xwaini

Morphosyntax
- Absolutive/Ergative language
- Rich nominal morphology [abstract and locative cases, gender(classes)]
- It is a verb final language. Basic word order is SOV that is unmarked order though other five word orders are possible
- Agreement is triggered by the absolutive argument and is shown on verbs, adjectives with the help of the gender markers

II. Types of reflexives

2.1 Compound reflexives
The compound reflexives are reduplicated pronominal forms. It consists of, in first position, the ordinary pronoun in the ergative case and, in the second position, the ordinary pronoun in the case appropriate to the noun phrase's syntactic or semantic role in the clause (ex.1). However, there is a gap in the paradigm; there is no reduplicated form for the Absolutive case.

(1) Kul-un   išet'i   iłe iłe-s   kad   maγul
    throw-PST:UW   mother.ERG   REFL-GEN1 girl   outside
     'The mother threw out her own daughter […].' [orphan.022]

Table 1: Partial reflexive paradigm

	3S(G1)	3S(G2)
ABS	(žuč)	(žuč)
ERG	ise ise	iłe iłe
GEN1	ise iso	iłe iłe-s
GEN2	ise isu-lo	iłe iłe-lo
LAT	ise isu-l	iłe iłe-l

2.2 -č pronouns (simple reflexives)

The reflexive meaning can also be expressed by a pronoun with an emphatic particle -č.

(2) Uža-l   žu-č   mat'u-ma   ø-ak-i
     Boy.OBL-LAT   he-EMPH   mirror-IN   G1-see-PST:W
     'The boy saw himself in the mirror.'

III Status of reflexives: <u>Different position of reflexivization</u>

Patient of transitive verb:

In the transitive clause, the antecedent appears in the ergative case while the reflexive
pronoun is in the absolutive.

3a. Axmad-i   žu-č   ø-uwox-i
    Axmed-ERG   he-EMPH   G1-cut-PST:W
    'Axmed killed himself.'

Arguments of ditransitive verb:

4a. Kandi$_i$ surat   **iłe iłeqo$_i$**   b-ak-x-i
     Girl.ERG   picture   REFL.CONT   G3-see-CAUS-PST:W
     'The girl showed a picture to herself.'

 b. Kandi$_i$ surat   **iłeqo-č$_{i/j}$**   b-ak-x-i
     Girl.ERG   picture   she.CONT-EMPH   G3-see-CAUS-PST:W
     'The girl showed a picture to herself/or someone else.'

d. Kandi   **žu-č**   mat'u-ma   isu-qo   y-ak-x-i
   Girl.ERG   she-EMPH   mirror-INTER   he.OBL-CONT   G2-see-CAUS-PST:W
   'The girl showed herself in the mirror to him.'

Co-object position:

5a. Aysat-i$_i$ γina-qa$_j$ **iłe iłesuč** $_{i/*j/*k}$ xabar   b-est-i
    Ayšat-ERG   woman-CONT   REFL.GEN1   story(G3)   G3-let-PST:W
    'Ayšat talked to the woman about herself.'

b. Aysat-i$_i$ γina-qa$_j$ **iłesu-č** $_{j/k/*i}$ xabar   b-est-i
   Ayšat-ERG   woman-CONT   she.GEN1-EMPH   story(G3) G3-let-PST:W
   'Ayšat talked to the woman about her/ and someone else.'

Reflexives in non-argument positions:

Benefactive:
6a. Ayšat-i$_i$ iłelu-č $_{i/j}$ laca   l-iy-i
    Ayšat-ERG   she.LAT-EMPH   food(G4)   G4-do-PST:W
    'Ayšat cooked food for herself/ or for someone else.'

b. Ayšat-i$_i$ iłe iłel $_i$ laca   l-iy-i.
   Ayšat-ERG   REFL.LAT   food(G4)   G4-do-PST:W
   'Ayšat cooked food for herself.'

Locative:
7a. Ayšat$_i$ **iłe-λ'o-č$_{i/j}$**   qwaqwaλ-še
    Ayšat   she.OBL-SUP-EMPH   laugh-PRS
    'Ayšat is laughing at herself/ and someone else.'
 b. Ayšat$_i$ **iłe iłe-λ'o$_i$**   qwaqwaλ-še
    Ayšat   REFL.SUP   laugh-PRS
    'Ayšat is laughing at herself.'

Postposition:
8a. Kandu-l$_i$ **iłe iłeγo$_i$**   (oge)   bekol   b-ak-i
     Girl-LAT   REFL.APUD   (near)   snake(G3)   G3-see-PST:W
     'The girl saw a snake beside her.'

 b. Kandu-l$_i$ **iłeγo-č$_{i/j}$**   (oge)   bekol   b-ak-i
    Girl-LAT   she.APUD-EMPH   (near)   snake(G3)   G3-see-PST:W
    'The girl saw a snake beside her / or someone else.'

Subordinate constructions

'to be afraid'
9a. Axmad$_i$ ø-uλ-še   obu$_j$ **isu-qolu-č** $_{j/k/i}$ ø-ixxidōy   λun
   Axmed G1-afraid-PRS   father   he-CONT-PART   G1-scold.GNT   QOUT
   'Axmed is afraid that the father will scold him$_i$/himself$_j$/ and the third party$_k$.'

b. Axmad$_i$ ø-uλ-še   obu$_j$ **ise isu-qo-l** $_{j/*i/*k}$ ø-ixxidōy   λun
   Axmed G1-afraid-PRS   father   REFL.CONT-LAT   G1-scold.GNT   QOUT
   'Axmed is afraid that the father will scold himself.'

c. Axmad$_i$ ø-uλ-še   obu$_j$ **isu-qo-l** $_{i/k/*j}$ ø-ixxidōy   λun
   Axmed G1-afraid-PRS   father   he-CONT-LAT   G1-scold.GNT   QOUT
   'Axmed is afraid that the father will scold him (or the third person).'

'to say'

10a. Axmad-i_i   iλ-i   obu-t'i_j   **isulu-č**_{j/k/*i}   kumak   b-iy-in
   Axmed-ERG say-PST:W father-ERG he.LAT-EMPH help(G3) G3-do-PST:UW
   λun
   QUOT
  'Axmed said that the father helped himself/ or someone else.'

b. Axmad-i_i   iλ-i   obu-t'i_j   **ise isul** _{j/*i/*k} kumak   b-iy-in
   Axmed-ERG say-PST:W father-ERG REFL.LAT   help(G3) G3-do-PST:UW
   λun
   QUOT
  'Axmed said that the father helped himself.'

c. Axmad-i_i   iλ-i   obu-t'i_j   isu-li_{i/k/*j} kumak b-iy-in   λun
   Axmed-ERG say-PST:W father-ERG he-LAT   help(G3) G3-do-PST:UW QUOT
  'Axmed said that the father helped him (or some other third person).'

IV. Logophoricity (Speas 2004) **vs. Antilogophoricity**

> SOURCE: the one who makes the report
> SELF: the one whose 'mind' is being reported
> PIVOT: outsider

Khwarshi allows logophoric pronouns to refer to SOURCE, SELF, PIVOT.

(11) Uža-l_i   qoč-če   us-t'i_j   isulu-č_{i/j/k}   heše   b-ez-a
    Boy-LAT want-PRS   brother-ERG he.LAT-EMPH   help(G3) G3-buy-INF
     'The boy_i wants (his) brother_j buy him_i/ himself_j/ or the third person_k/ a book.'

Hierarchy of pragmatic roles
                  SOURCE > SELF > PIVOT >

Languages do not seem to allow logophoric pronouns to refer to the SOURCE and PIVOT but not SELF, or SELF and PIVOT but not SOURCE!
But Khwarshi does! Khwarshi emphatic pronoun can refer to the SELF and PIVOT but not to the SOURCE in logophoric context (ex.12).

12. Axmad-i_i   iλ-i   obu-t'i_j   **isulu-č**_{j/k/*i}   kumak b-iy-i
   Axmed-ERG say-PST:W father-ERG he.LAT-EMPH help(G3) G3-do-PST:W
   λun
   QUOT
  'Axmed_i said that the father_j helped himself_j/ or someone else_k.'

Logophoric predicate hierarchy: (Culy, 1994: 1042)

SPEECH > THOUGHT > KNOWLEDGE > DIRECT PERCEPTION

These verbs are more likely to be logophoric, i.e. used with logophoric pronouns.
But Khwarshi does allow logophoric context within these predicates.

Table2

	SAY	THINK	KNOW	SEE	OTHER VERBS
SOURCE	-	-	-	+	+
SELF	+	+	+	+	+
PIVOT	+	+	+	+	+

Khwarshi does not allow logophoric pronouns to have their antecedent as the subjects of
the verbs of speech, knowledge and thought.

Hierarchy of positions of reflexives [Testelets & Toldova 1998]
Table 3

	(1) Direct object in two place predicate	(2) Direct object in three place predicate	(3) Co-object position	(4) Non-argument position (circonstant or adjunct)	(5) NP in the dependent non-finite clause	(6) NP in the dependent finite clause
complex reflexive form	+	+	+	+	-	-
emphatic pronoun	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
pronominal	-	-	-	-	+	+

Table 4 (revised)

	(1) Direct object in two place predicate	(2) Direct object in three place predicate	(3) Co-object position	(4) Non-argument position (circonstant or adjunct)	(5) 'TO BE AFRAID' and other verbs	(6) verbs 'TO SAY', 'TO KNOW' 'TO THINK'
complex reflexive form	+	+	+	+	-	-
emphatic pronouns	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+	-
pronominal	-	-	-	-	+	+

V. Status of antecedent: Syntactic function of the antecedent

1) Ergative constructions

It is an Ergative noun phrase that controls reflexivity.

13a. Ayšat-i_i   **iłe iłe-l_i**   laca   l-iy-i.
    Ayšat-ERG   REFL-LAT   food(G4)   G4-do-PST:W

 b. **iłe iłel**   Ayšat-i   laca   l-iy-i.
    REFL-LAT   Ayšat-ERG   food(G4)   G4-do-PST:W
    'Ayšat cooked food for herself.'

 c. Ayšat-i_i   **iłelu-č_{i/j}**   laca   l-iy-i.
    Ayšat-ERG   she.LAT-EMPH   food(G4)   G4-do-PST:W
    'Ayšat cooked for herself/her.'

2) Biabsolutive constructions

Khwarshi has biabsolutive constructions, where agent and patient appear in the absolutive. In such construction the absolutive argument controls reflexivity.

14a. Axmed   ø-uk-un   zu-č   ø-eccic-a
    Axmed   G1-must-PST:UW   he-EMPH   G1-praise-INF
    'Axmed must praise himself.'

 b. Axmed   ø-uk-un   ise-iso   ø-eccic-a
    Axmed   G1-must-PST:UW   REFL   G1-praise-INF
    'Axmed must praise himself.'

3) Dative constructions (affective)

In the dative-experiencer constructions, the experiencer appears in the Lative case and the stimulus in the Absolutive. It is the Lative experiencer that controls the reflexivized absolutive Stimulus.

15a. Axmadu-l   **žu-č**   ø-iyōq
    Axmed-**LAT**   he/ABS-EMPH   G1-know.GNT

b. **žu-č**   Axmadu-l   ø-iyōq
   he/ABS-EMPH   Axmed-**LAT**   G1-know.GNT

c. **žu-č**   ø-iyōq   Axmadu-l
   he/ABS-EMPH   G1-know.GNT   Axmed-**LAT**
    'Axmed knows himself.'

There is another possible construction where the absolutive antecedent controls the Lative reflexive.

16a. Axmad   ise isul   ø-iyōq
     Axmed.**ABS**   REFL-LAT   G1-know.GNT

 b. ise isul   Axmad   ø-iyōq
     REFL-LAT   Axmed.**ABS** G1-know.GNT

 c. ise isul   ø-iyōq   Axmad
     REFL-LAT   G1-know.GNT Axmed.**ABS**
     'Axmed knows himself.'

4) Potential constructions (Comrie 2000)
The potential construction is made by adding a potential marker -l to the (in)transitive verb and the agent-like noun phrase appears in the Cont:essive and a patient in genitive case.

17a. Marijam-qa$_i$ **iłe iłe-s$_i$**   l-ič'-l-i
     Marijam-CONT   REFL-GEN1   G4-cut-POT-PST:W
     'Marijam cut herself (accidentally).'

 b. Marijam-qa$_i$ **iłesu-č$_{i/j}$**   l-ič'-l-i
     Marijam-CONT   she.GEN1-EMPH   G4-cut-POT-PST:W
     'Marijam cut herself or someone else (accidentally).'

There is also a reverse marking as in dative construction. The antecedent is in the genitive and the reflexive is in the Cont:essive.

 c. Marijamu-s   iłe iłe-qo   l-ič'-l-i
     Marijam-GEN1   REFL-CONT   G4-cut-POT-PST:W
     'Marijam cut herself (accidentally).'

5) Causative constructions

18a. Obu-t'i$_i$ uža-qa$_j$ žu-č$_{i/j}$ šuk-x-i
     father-ERG   boy.OBL-CONT   he.ABS-EMPH   bit-CAUS-PST:W
     <small>CAUSER   CAUSEE   PATIENT</small>
     'The father made the boy hit him$_i$/himself$_j$.'

18b. Obu-t'i$_i$ uže$_j$ ise isuqo$_{j/*i}$ šuk-x-i
     father-ERG   boy.ABS   REFL.CONT   bit-CAUS-PST:W
     <small>CAUSER   CAUSEE   PATIENT</small>
     'The father made the boy hit himself$_j$.'

V. Locality

Compound reflexives are strictly local, i.e. the reflexive pronoun is coreferential with its antecedent within one clause and it cannot show coreference across the boundary of the clause (see the example below).

(19a). Obut'u-l$_i$ qočče   uža$_j$ **ise isu-γo-γul** $_{j/*k/*i}$ kaγat
       Father-LAT   want-PRS   boy.ERG   REFL-APUD-VERS   letter (G3)
       b-ešt'-a
       G3-send-INF
       'The father wants the boy send a letter **to himself**.'

(19b.) Obut'u-l$_i$ qočče   uža$_j$ **ise-γo-γulu-č**$_{j/k/i}$ kaγat
       Father-LAT   want-PRS   boy.ERG   he-APUD-VERS-EMPH   letter (G3)
       b-ešt'-a
       G3-send-INF
   'The father wants the boy send a letter **to him**$_i$/ **himself**$_j$/or **to someone else**$_k$.'

(19c). Obut'u-l$_i$ qoč-če   uža$_j$ ise-γo-γul$_{i/k/*j}$ kaγat
       Father.OBL-LAT   want-PRS   boy.ERG   he-APUD-VERS   letter (G3)
       b-ešt'-a
       G3-send-INF
   'The father wants the boy send a letter **to him**.'

VI. Possessive reflexives: Case of ambiguity
The possessive reflexive shows coreference both to the subject and the object of the clause.
20a. Obu-t'i$_i$ uža-qa$_j$ **ise iso**$_{i/j}$ bataxu   y-ac'-x-i
     father-ERG   boy-CONT   REFL.GEN1   bread(G5)   G5-eat-CAUS-PST:W
   'The father made the boy eat his bread.'

b. **ise iso**$_{i/j}$ bataxu   obu-t'i$_i$ uža-qa$_j$ y-ac'-x-i
   REFL.GEN1   bread(G5)   father-ERG   boy-CONT   G5-eat-CAUS-PST:W
   'The father made the boy eat his bread.'

c. Obu-t'i$_i$ uža-qa$_j$ **iso-č**$_{i/j/k}$ bataxu   y-ac-x-i
   father-ERG   boy-CONT   he.GEN1-EMPH   bread(G5)   G5-eat-CAUS-PST:W
   'The father made the boy eat his bread.'

Conclusion

Reflexives are allowed in various structural positions. The trigger for reflexivization is the absolutive argument in the intransitive clause and the ergative argument is a preferred trigger in the ergative construction, in the affective construction both Lative and Absolutive can be triggers.

Glossing:

ABS – Absolutive, EMPH – emphatic, G – Gender, GNT – General tense, LAT – Lative, OBL – Oblique, POT – Potential, PST:W – Past Witnessed, PST:UW – Past Unwitnessed, PST:PTCP – Past Participle,

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