I. Introduction
Sociolinguistic data
- Khwarshi – Dagestani 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 ile ile-s kad mayul
    throw-PST:UW mother.ERG REFL-GEN1 girl outside
    ‘The mother threw out her own daughter […]’ [orphan.022]

Table 1: Partial reflexive paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>3S(G1)</th>
<th>3S(G2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>(žuč)</td>
<td>(žuč)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN1</td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>ile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN2</td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>ile-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAT</td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>ile-l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: Different position of reflexivization

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 surat ile ileqo: b-ak-x-i
Girl.ERG picture REFL.CONT G3-see-CAUS-PST:W
‘The girl showed a picture to herself.’

b. Kandi surat ileqo-čiq 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-iί γίνa-qaį ile ilesuč ɲi/ŋi k xabar b-est-i
Ayşat-ERG woman-CONT REFL.GEN1 story(G3) G3-let-PST:W
‘Ayşat talked to the woman about herself.’

b. Aysat-iί γίνa-qaį ilesu-č jİ/jİ xabar b-est-i
Ayşat-ERG woman-CONT she.GEN1-EMPH story(G3) G3-let-PST:W
‘Ayşat talked to the woman about her/ and someone else.’
Reflexives in non-argument positions:

Benefactive:
6a. Ayšat-ii ilelu-či 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-ii ile ilel i laca l-iy-i.
Ayšat-ERG REFL.LAT food(G4) G4-do-PST:W
‘Ayšat cooked food for herself.’

Locative:
7a. Ayšati ile-č’o-či qwaqwaše
Ayšat she.OBL-SUP-EMPH laugh-PRS
‘Ayšat is laughing at herself/ and someone else.’

b. Ayšati ile ile-č’oi qwaqwaše
Ayšat REFL.SUP laugh-PRS
‘Ayšat is laughing at herself.’

Postposition:
8a. Kandu-li ile ileyo (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-li ileyo-či (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. Axmadi ø-ulf-še obuj isu-qolu-čj/k/i ø-ixkidōy ίλun
Axmed G1-afraid-PRS father he-CONT-PART G1-scold.GNT QOUT
‘Axmed is afraid that the father will scold him/himself/ and the third party.’

b. Axmadi ø-ulf-še obuj ise isu-qo-lj/*k/*k ø-ixkidōy ίλun
Axmed G1-afraid-PRS father REFL.CONT-LAT G1-scold.GNT QOUT
‘Axmed is afraid that the father will scold himself.’

c. Axmadi ø-ulf-še obuj isu-qo-lj/*k ø-ixkidōy ήλun
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-ii iλ-ı obu-t’ij isulu-čj/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-ii iλ-ı obu-t’ij ise isulj/*l/*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-ii iλ-ı obu-t’ij isulj/*l/*k 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-li qoč-če us-t’ij isulu-čj/k heše b-ez-a
Boy-LAT want-PRS brother-ERG he.LAT-EMPH help(G3) G3-buy-INF
‘The boyi wants (his) brotherj buy himj/ himselfj/ or the third personj/ 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-ii iλ-ı obu-t’ij isulu-čj/k/i kumak b-iy-i
Axmed-ERG say-PST:W father-ERG he.LAT-EMPH help(G3) G3-do-PST:W
λun
QUOT
‘Axmedı said that the fatherj helped himselfj/ or someone elseı.’
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>SELF</th>
<th>PIVOT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THINK</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNOW</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER VERBS</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Direct object in two place predicate</th>
<th>(2) Direct object in three place predicate</th>
<th>(3) Co-object position</th>
<th>(4) Non-argument position (circonstant or adjunct)</th>
<th>(5) NP in the dependent non-finite clause</th>
<th>(6) NP in the dependent finite clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>complex reflexive form</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emphatic pronoun</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<th>(3) Co-object position</th>
<th>(4) Non-argument position (circonstant or adjunct)</th>
<th>(5) ‘TO BE AFRAID’ and other verbs</th>
<th>(6) verbs ‘TO SAY’, ‘TO KNOW’ ‘TO THINK’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>complex reflexive form</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emphatic pronouns</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. Status of antecedent: Syntactic function of the antecedent

1) Ergative constructions

It is an Ergative noun phrase that controls reflexivity.

    Ayšat-ERG REFL-LAT food(G4) G4-do-PST:W

b. ile ilel Ayšat-i laca l-iy-i.
    REFL-LAT Ayšat-ERG food(G4) G4-do-PST:W
    ‘Ayšat cooked food for herself.’

c. Ayšat-ì ilelu-čì 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 żu-č ø-iyôq
    Axmed-LAT he/ABS-EMPH G1-know.GNT

b. żu-č Axmadu-l ø-iyôq
    he/ABS-EMPH Axmed-LAT G1-know.GNT

c. żu-č ø-iyôq 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-qai ile ile-si l-ič’-l-i
Marijam-CONT REFL-GEN1 G4-cut-POT-PST:W
‘Marijam cut herself (accidentally).’

b. Marijam-qai ilesu-či 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 ile ile-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 uža-qaž ju-či šuk-x-i
father-ERG boy.OBL-CONT he.ABS-EMPH bit-CAUS-PST:W
CAUSER CAUSEE PATIENT
‘The father made the boy hit him/himself.’

18b. Obu-t’i užeš ise isuqoči šuk-x-i
father-ERG boy.ABS REFL-CONT bit-CAUS-PST:W
CAUSER CAUSEE PATIENT
‘The father made the boy hit himself.’
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-li qočće užaj ise isu-γο-γυλ j/*k/*i kayat
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-li qočće užaj ise-γο-γυλу-εψ/εκ/εκ kayat
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/ himself/ or to someone else.’

(19c) Obut’u-li qočće užaj ise-γο-γυλα/εψ kayat
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-qař ise isoř 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 isoř bataxu obu-t’i i uža-qař 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-qař iso-čisř 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:

References: