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THE SYSTEM OF REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS IN DARGWA LANGUAGES

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Outline

- An introduction: anaphoric devices
- Dargwa languages: basic information
- General Dargwa system: Muira dialect
- Mehweb system
- Discussion
- Conclusions

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Types of anaphoric devices

- There are three basic types of pronouns under consideration
 - (1) *Vasya_i poranil sebya_i*
 - (2) *Vasya_i pobil Petyu_k, a tot_j sebya_{*i/k} / ego_i*
- proper reflexive pronouns (like Russian ‘sebya’)
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- distant anaphors
 - the antecedent (binder) is the subject of the main clause, the pronoun (bindee) is in subordinate non-finite clause
- pronominals
 - the antecedent must not be the subject of the same sentence

Basic types of proper reflexives in Daghestan

Traditional grammars: there are simple pronouns that are called reflexives, however, for many languages they do not meet all the requirements

There are usually complex pronouns that are locally bound:

There are two basic paths of forming complex reflexives:

- reflexives with a particle meaning ‘the same’ (Avar, Andi)
- double pronouns ‘Stem+Case_{BINDER} Stem+Case2_{BINDEE}’

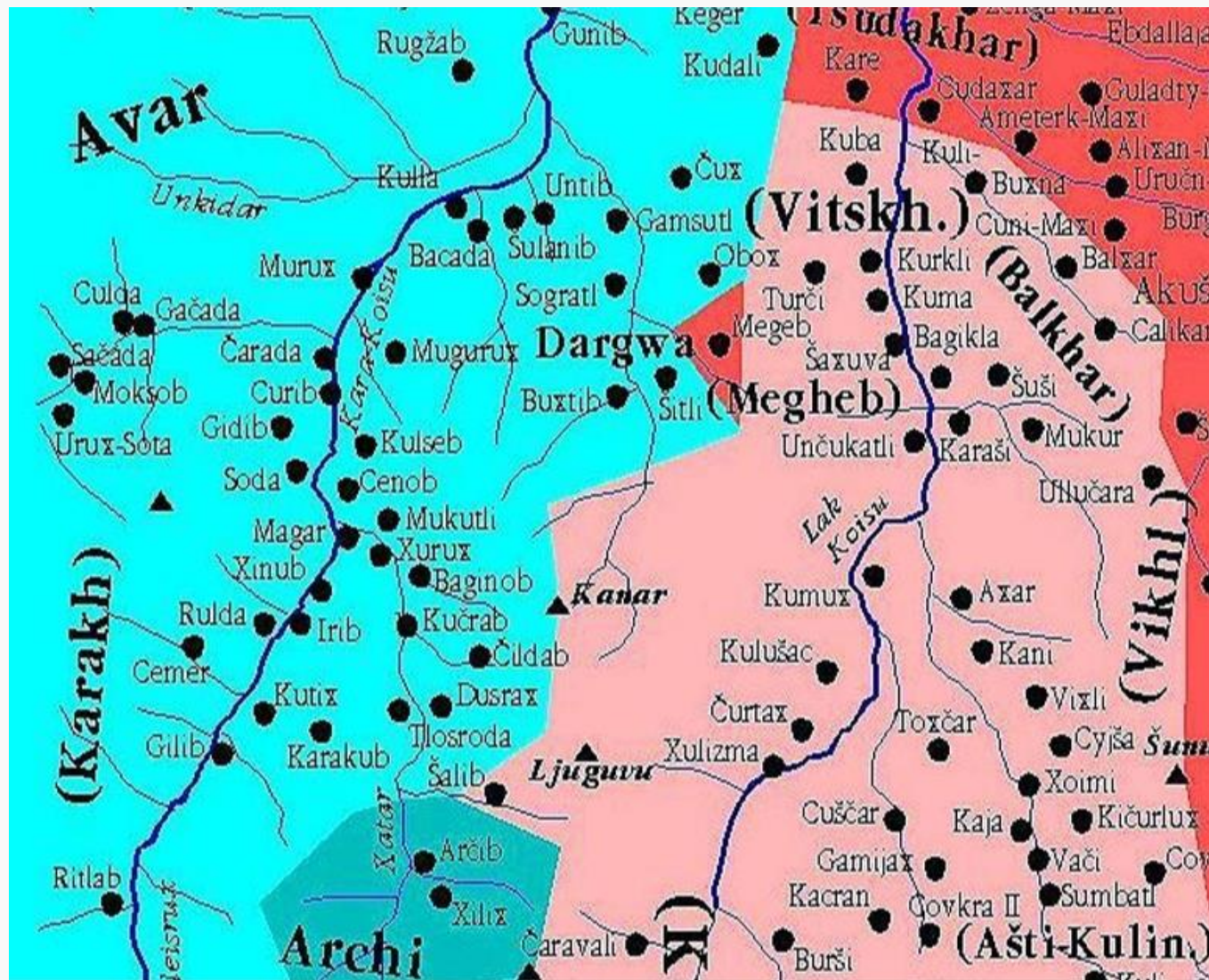
The sources of reflexives

- The simple pronouns:
 - Type 1. The logophors: they are used in the context of reported speech and coindexed with the speaker, they must not be locally bound (cf. Archi, Kibrik 1977)
 - Type 2. Unrestricted pronouns (cf. Tsakhur, Toldova 1999): pronouns that could be bound within a sentence, could be coreferential to an NP out of the sentence and could be locally bound as well

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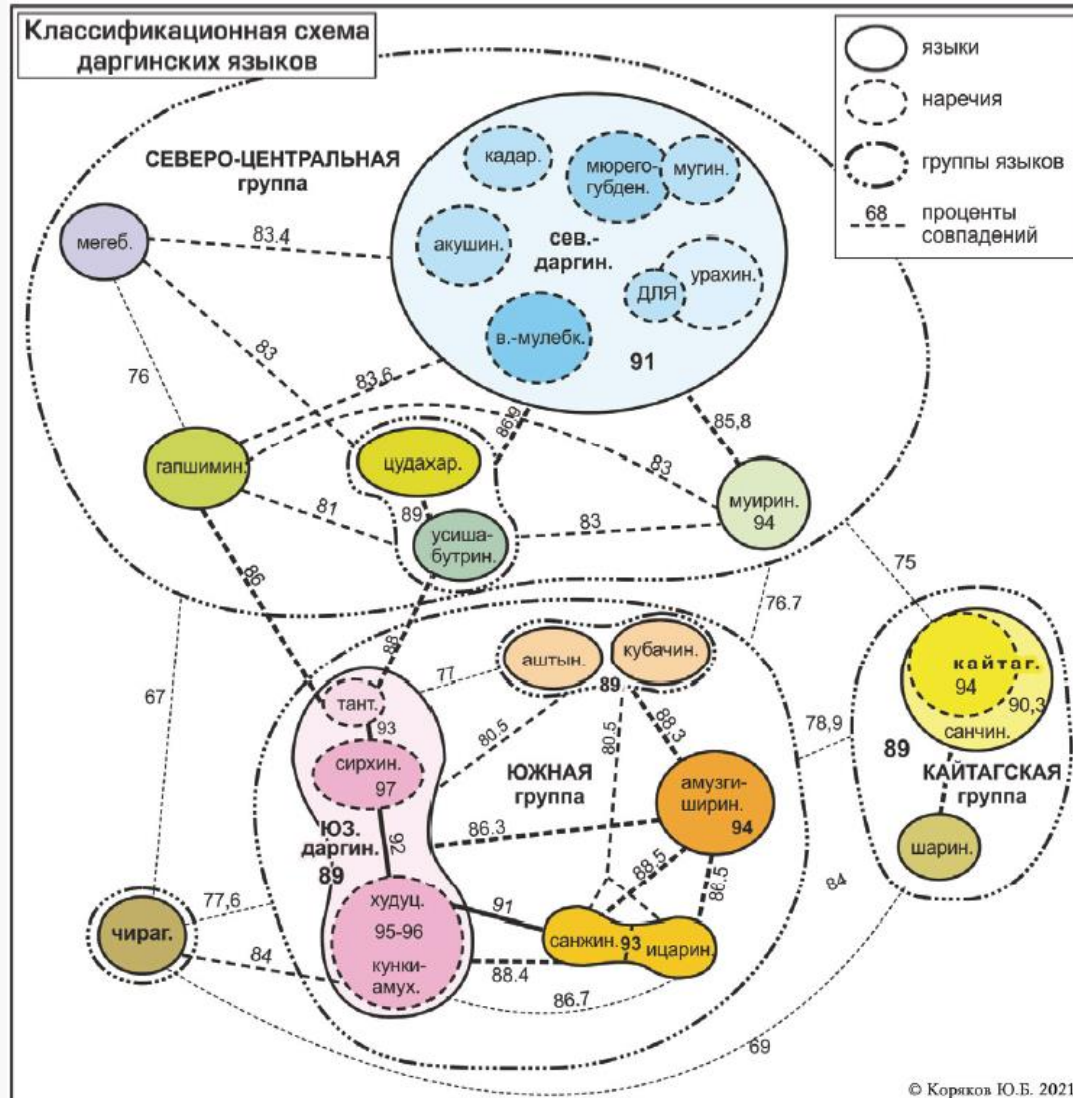
Dargwa languages



■ — Avar
 ■ — Archi
 ■ — Lak
 ■ — Dargwa

- Dargwa constitutes a separate branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family, along with Lak, Avar-Andic, Tsez, Nakh, Lezgetic and Khinalug.
- Typically treated as a single language, although the variation within it is great.
- According to lexicostatic analysis in (Koryakov, 2021), there are at least 15 Dargwa languages

Dargwa languages



(Koryakov 2021)

- Both Muira and Mehweb belong to **North-Central group**, as specified by (Koryakov, 2021).
- Muira (35.000 speakers) is the language of more than 20 villages in the Dakhadaevsky and Kaytagsky districts.
- Mehweb (1.300 speakers) is spoken in a single village called Mehweb. It is geographically separated from other Dargwa languages and is surrounded by speakers of Avar and Lak.

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Reflexive pronouns in Muira Dargwa

- Two pronouns traditionally classified as reflexives:
 - simple reflexive *saj*
 - complex (double) reflexive *sunni saj*
- Both are used only with antecedent in 3rd person. In reflexives with 1st and 2nd persons the appropriate personal pronouns are used:

(1) *nu-ni* *nu* *č̣i<w>i-w-r=ra*
I-ERG I <M>see-PRS-CONV=1SG
'I see myself'.

(2) *ħu-ni* *ħu* *č̣i<w>i-w-r=ri*
you-ERG you <M>see-PRS-CONV=2SG
'You see yourself'.

Reflexive pronouns in Muira Dargwa

- Morphology of simple reflexive *saj*:

	SG			PL		
	M	N	F	H	N	1/2
ABS	<i>saj</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>sa<r>i</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>sa<d>i</i>	<i>sa<d>i</i>
ERG	<i>sun-ni</i>			<i>ču-li</i>		
GEN	<i>sun-na / sun-i-la</i>			<i>ču-la</i>		
DAT	<i>sun-i-s</i>			<i>ču-li-s</i>		
COMIT	<i>sun-i-čuli</i>			<i>ču-čuli</i>		
CONT	<i>sun-i-čilla</i>			<i>ču-čilla</i>		

Reflexive pronouns in Muira Dargwa

■ Functions of simple reflexive *saj*:

– reflexive/anaphoric pronoun:

- (3) *Rasul-li_i* *saj_{i/j}* *gap<w>arq'-ib*
R.-ERG SELF.M <M>praise-AOR
'Rasul_i praised himself_i // him_j'.

– logophoric pronoun:

- (4) *Murad-li_i* *Rasul-li-c:i_j* *at'-ib* [*sun-ni_{i/*j}*] *bic'*
M.-ERG R.-OBL-INTER tell-AOR SELF-ERG wolf
či∅-ab *w-ik'-u-li]*
<N>see-AOR M-say-PRS-CONV
'Murad_i told Rasul_j he_{i/*j} saw a wolf'.

Additional functions of simple pronouns in Muira Dargwa

■ Functions of simple reflexive *saj*:

– resumptive pronoun:

- (5) [*sun-i-s_i* *nu-ni* *arc* *d-ič':-ib-il*] *admi_i*
SELF-OBL-DAT I-ERG money NPL-fall-AOR-ATR man
'The man to whom I gave money'.

– intensifier:

- (6) *saj* *Rasul* *χink'-i* *d-irq'-uj*
SELF.M R. khinkal-PL NPL-make-AOR.CVB
'Rasul himself cooks khinkal!'

Reflexive pronouns in Muira Dargwa

■ Double reflexive *sunni saj*:

- consists of two occurrences of the simple reflexive:
 - the first component copies the case of the antecedent or is in genitive;
 - the second component bears the case of the reflexivized argument.
- used as reflexive pronoun exclusively and encodes co-indexed arguments of a predicate;

(7) *Pat'imat-li_i* *Murad-li-c:i_j* [*pro_j* {*sun-ni* *sun-i-s*}_{*j*}/_{**i*}/_{**k*}
P.-ERG M.-OBL-INTER SELF-ERG SELF-OBL-DAT


čaj *kaq'iq-ara*] *tilediarq'-ib*
tea pour-INF <N>ask-AOR

'Patimat_i asked Murad_j to pour himself_j // *her_{i/k} some tea'.

Some other Dargwa systems

- A similar system has been attested in other Dargwa languages:
 - **Tanti** (Sumbatova, 2016),
 - **Icari** (Sumbatova, Mutalov, 2001),
 - **Aqusha** and **Chirag** (Ganenkov, Bogomolova, 2020)

Typological perspective

- One of the main theoretical assumptions considering anaphoric systems:
 - Reflexive pronouns are bound within their local domain, the pronominals must not be bound in this domain;
 - The reflexive pronouns could not be used in context of discourse anaphora (when their antecedent is out of the sentence)
- 
- The pronouns that can have both bound and unbound interpretation within are highly unexpected in the languages of the world; such systems are exotic

Typological perspective

- Such a pronoun was detected for Tsakhur (Toldova 1999, Lyutikova 1999)
 - Besides, it was reported for Turkic
 - and for Greek, cf. an instantiation of so-called **Discourse Anaphor** [-Obviative] in (Kiparsky, 2012) approach.
-
- Now we can see that Dargwa languages also have such an ‘exotic’ anaphoric system

Some other Dargwa systems

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- However, there is an exception

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Reflexive pronouns in Mehweb Dargwa

- Mehweb has one extra reflexive pronoun:
 - simple reflexive *sawi*
 - complex (emphatic) reflexive *sawi-jal*
 - double reflexive *sunejni-jal sawi-jal*
- Complex reflexive: *sawi* + particle *-al*, which functions as emphatic when attached to nominal stems and demonstratives.
- Double reflexive consists of two occurrences of the **complex** reflexive:
 - the first component is always in **ergative**;
 - the second component bears the case of the reflexivized argument.

Reflexive pronouns in Mehweb Dargwa

- Simple reflexive *saw* may be used as LDR (long-distance reflexive) or logophor:

(8) *Rasuj-s_i dig-uwe le-w adaj-ze_j [sa<w>i_{i/ *j} daħmic'aj-ħe-w g^w-es]*
R-DAT want-CVB AUX-M father-IN <M>SELF mirror-IN-M see-INF
'Rasul_i wants his father to see him_{i/ *j} in the mirror'. (Kozhukhar, 2013)

- Local antecedent is prohibited:

(9) **Rasuj-ni sa<w>i w-it-ib*
R.-ERG <M>SELF M-beat-AOR
'Rasul_i beat himself_i'. (Daniel et al., 2019)

- As in Muira, Mehweb simple reflexive can also be used as resumptive and intensifier.

Reflexive pronouns in Mehweb Dargwa

- Complex reflexive *sawi-jal* is only used with antecedents within its local domain:

(10) *Rasuj-s_i dig-uwe le-w adaj-ze_j sa<w>i-jal_{j/ *i} daħmic'aj-ħe-w g^w-es*
R-DAT want-CVB AUX-M father-IN <M>SELF mirror-IN-M see-INF
'Rasul_i wants his father to see himself_i // him_{*j} in the mirror'. (Kozhukhar, 2013)

- Double reflexive *sunejni-jal sawi-jal* is also local, but it requires a co-argument antecedent:

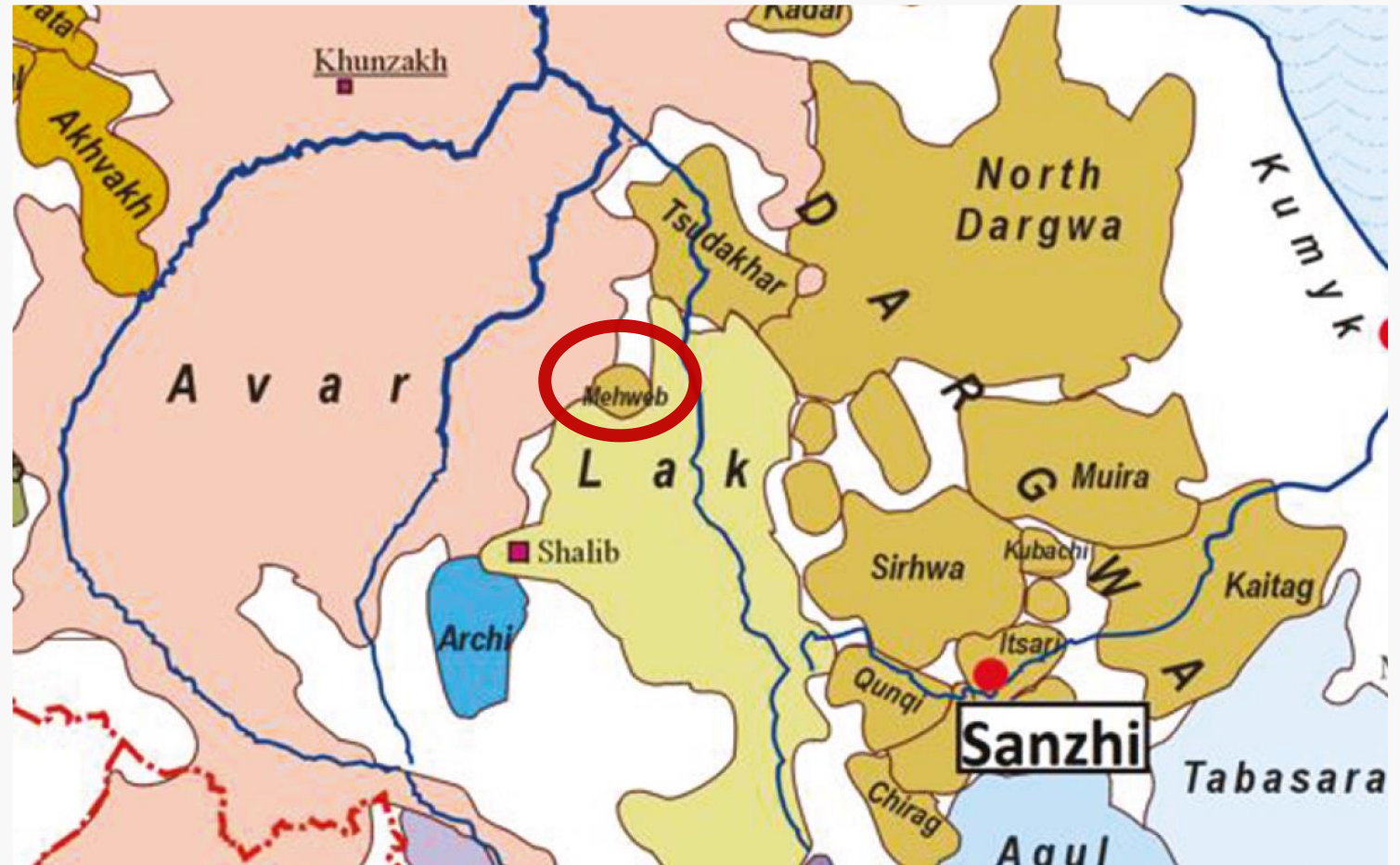
(11) *it-i-ze sune-jni-jal sa<w>i-jal daħmic'aj-ħe-w gu-b*
this-OBL-INTER SELF-ERG-EMPH <M>SELF-EMPH mirror-IN-M see-AOR
'He saw himself in the mirror'. (Kozhukhar, 2013)

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Discussion

- Mehweb Dargwa is isolated
- Is near the Avar region



Reflexive pronouns in Avar

- A similar to Mehweb three-dimensional system is featured in neighboring Avar language:
 - simple reflexive *ži-w*
 - complex reflexive *ži-w=go*
 - double reflexive *žinc:a=go ži-w=go*
- Simple reflexive *ži-w* is strictly non-local and logophoric:

(12) *Pat'imati-ca ab-una xadižati-da žindi-e čaj t'e=jilan*
P.-ERG say-PST Kh.-LOC SELF-DAT tea pour.IMP=COMP
'Patimat_i told Khadizhat_j to pour her_i/*_j some tea'. (Rudnev, 2015)

Reflexive pronouns in Avar

- Complex reflexive **ži-w=go** is local and long-distance:

(13) *ebelal-da b-ix-ana Maliki-ca žindi-e=go ruq' b-a-l-e-b*
mother.OBL-LOC N-see-PST M.OBL-ERG SELF-DAT=EMPH house N-built-PRS-PCTP-N
'Patimat_i told Khadizhat_j to pour her_{i / *j} some tea'. (Rudnev, 2015)

- Double reflexive **žinc:a=go ži-w=go** is strictly local:

(14) *Ķali-ca žinca=go ži-w=go č'w-ana*
A.-ERG self.ERG=EMPH self-M=EMPH kill-PST
'Ali killed himself'. (Rudnev, 2015)

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Conclusuons

- Dargwa languages have the basic ‘exotic’ system:
 - they have unrestricted simple pronoun that can have two different interpretations: bound and unbound within the same local coargument domain, it can be used both as a reflexive pronoun and as a discourse anaphoric pronoun
- However, we can see different system in Mehweb Dargwa (of Avar type)
- It is influenced by the anaphoric system of the Avar language

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