Reflexive pronouns in Sanzhi Dargwa
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1. Introduction
- simple reflexive pronouns (Table 1) and two types of complex reflexive pronouns (Table 2) for third person reflexivization.
- reflexive pronouns are marked for gender (in the absolutive only), for number and case
- the absolutive case of the reflexive pronoun is identical to the copula and might be diachronically related to it
- for all other cases suppletive stems

Table 1: Simple reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	ca-w /-r /-b	ca-b /-d
Ergative	cin-ni	ču-l
Genitive	cin-na	ču-la
Dative	cini-j	ču-j
Comitative	cini-cːella	ču-cːella

- both types of complex reflexive pronouns consist of a reduplicated form of the simple reflexive (Table 1)
- first variant: one part of the reflexive undergoes case-copying from the controller (in Table 2 exemplified with an ergative controller), and the second part takes the appropriate case-marking
- second variant: the first part is invariably genitive; the second part takes the case-marking
- the complex genitive reflexive lacks a form for the genitive and can never occur as possessor

Table 2: Complex reflexive pronouns

	Singular		Plural	
	Case copying (with ergative controller)	Genitive reflexive	Case copying (with ergative controller)	Genitive reflexive
Absolutive	cinni ca-w /-r /-b	cinna ca-w/ -r / -b	čul ca-b /-d	čula ca-b /-d
Ergative	#	cinna cin-ni	#	čula čul
Genitive	cinni cin-na	#	čul čula	#
Dative	cinni cini-j	cinna cini-j	čul ču-j	čula ču-j
Comitative	cinni cini-cːella	cinna cini-cːella	čul ču-cːella	čula ču-cːella

2. Functions of the simple reflexive pronouns
- in local reflexivization (binding within the same clause)
- emphatic reflexive use
- in non-local reflexivization (including logophoric contexts)
- to establish reference across clausal boundaries,
- as pause fillers (only genitive reflexive pronouns)
- in comitative constructions (only the absolutive reflexive pronouns)

2.1. Local reflexivization
- bound within the clause

(1)   ca   ca   iltːa-j   d-ičː-ib,   ca   **cin-i-j**   b-at-ur

         one   one   3pl.obl-dat   npl-give.pfv-pret   one   refl.sg-obl-dat   n-let.pfv-pret

         (The boy) gave them one pear each, one he kept for himself.

- case marking of binder and bindee can swap
- but fixed word order; if the order of demonstrative (as binder) and reflexive is reversed, the reflexive reading is lost
- case swaping is only available for affective verbs with dative experiencers; forbidden for transitive verbs and other valency classes

 (2a)   it-i-j   **ca-w**   // it   **cin-i-j**   či-w-ig-ul   ca-w

         3sg-obl-dat   refl-m   // 3sg refl.sg-obl-dat   spr-m-see.ipfv-icvb   be-m

         He sees himself

2.2. Emphatic reflexive use
- not bound by a co-referent argument in the clause
- mostly without the co-referent nominal, but if they co-occur then the reflexive is following the nominal
- functions of emphatic reflexives (König & Gast 2006)
(i) adnominal (*X, not Y* or *X, in contrast to Y*)
(ii) adverbial-exclusive (*alone, without help*)
(iii) adverbial-inclusive (*also, too*) (not common in Nakh-Daghestanian)
(iv) attributive (*own*)

(3a)   **cin-ni**   a-b-erkʷ-un-ne   turba-le-r   lak'

         refl.sg-erg   neg-n-eat.pfv-pret-cvb   chimney-spr-abl   throw

         bi-ka-b-arq'-ib   ca-b   qili   hel   qix

         in-down-n-do.pfv-pret   be-n   home   that   nut

         (When she was sweeping, she found a walnut.) She did not eat the nut herself, but threw it through the chimney into the house.

(3b)   **ca-r**   ka-r-icː-ur   ca-r   er-či-ka-r-ik'-ul   heχ-i-j

         refl-f   down-f-stand.pfv-pret   be-f   look-spr-down-f-look-icvb   3sg-obl-dat

         (He says, Hello, Asja Iwanowna.) (She) herself is standing and looking at him

(3c)   ħurija   ja   **ca-r**   ha-r-ax-ul   akːu   ja   du   r-ax-ul   akːʷa-di

         Hurija   or   refl-f   up-f-go-icvb   neg   or   1sg   f-go-icvb   be.neg-1

         Neither Xurija herself comes (to me) nor do I go (to her).

(3d)   **ca-b**   ka-b-iž-ib-le   daʕʔ   amzu   d-irq'-ul   ca-d

         refl-n   down-n-be.pfv-pret-cvb   face   clean   npl-do.ipfv-icvb   be-npl

         (The fox brought a lot of animals to the poor farmer. The farmer came home and was wondering, looked at them) Itself (the fox itself) is sitting and cleaning its face.

2.3. Long-distance reflexivization
- logophoric contexts (this includes longer stretches of discourse that are framed by verbs of speech and cognition)

(4a)   xunul-li-cːe=ra   durħuʕ-cːe=ra   χabar   b-urs-il   ca-b

         woman-obl-in=add   boy-in=add   story   n-tell.pfv-ptcp   be-n

[**cin-ni-j**   ag-ur-il-la]
refl.sg-obl-dat   go.pfv-pret-ptcp-gen
He tells his wife and his son what had happened to <u>him</u>.

(4b)   tusnaq-le-w=q:ella   hek'-i-j   d-aqil   cik'al   han
         prison-spr-m=when   3sg-obl-dat   npl-much   something   remember

         či-sa-d-irk-ul=de   hel   admi-li-j   [cet'le   milic'a-b-a-l
         spr-hither-npl-occur.ipfv-icvb=pst   that   person-obl-dat   how   police-pl-obl-erg

         ca-w   w-it-ib-ce=de=l,   cet'le   **cin-ni**   x:unul   it-ul
         refl-m   m-beat.up-pret-attr.sg=pst=indq   how   refl.sg-erg   woman   beat.up-icvb

         kelg-un-ce=de=l]
         remain.pfv-pret-attr.sg=pst=indq
         When the man was in prison he remembered a lot, how the police beat <u>him</u> up, how <u>he</u>
         beat up his wife.

- relative clauses

(5)   il=q:el   juldaš-li   [juldaš:-a-l   **cin-i-j**
         that=when   friend-erg   friend.pl-obl-erg   refl.sg-obl-dat

         sa-q:-ib-te]   xunul-be   ʔaˤli-j   d-ič:-ib
         hither-carry.pfv-pret-attr.pl   gift-pl   Ali-dat   npl-give.pfv-pret
         At that the friend gave to Ali the gifts that his friend had brought to <u>him</u>.

- other contexts of co-reference across clauses: referring to a topical referent in the discourse
(not necessarily used as an argument in the preceding clause)

(6a)   hel   ʔuˤrus   x:unul   er   r-ik'-ul   r-už-ib-le;
         that   Russian   woman   look   f-look.at.ipfv-icvb   f-be-pret-cvb

         alžana   b-ik:-ab   **cin-i-j**
         heaven   n-give.pfv-opt.3   refl.sg-obl-dat
         It turned out that the Russian woman had looked (at the events), may heaven be given
         to <u>her.</u>

(6b)   tuχum-te   ruc-be   ak:u=x:ar,   w-alχ-an   uc:i   urš-b-a-l,
         relative-pl   sister-pl   neg=conc   m-know.ipfv-ptcp   brother   guy-pl-obl-erg

         du-l=ra   usal-dex   a-b-irq'-id   mas-la   arc-la,
         1sg-erg=add   weak-nmlz   neg-n-do.ipfv-1   wealth-gen   silver-gen

         ču-l=ra   a-b-irq'-ul   er   r-arq'-ib=da
         refl.pl-erg=add   neg-n-do.ipfv-icvb   life   f-do.pfv-pret=1
         Although there were no brothers (relatives) and sisters, my friends (known brothers),
         the guys, I also did not show lacking of money, things (i.e. supported them), and <u>they</u>
         also did not, so I have lived (my life).

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(6c) di-la pikri ħaˁsible, **cin-i-j** b-urq-an=da
   1sg-gen thought following refl.sg-obl-dat n-hit.ipfv-ptcp=1

   ik'-ul   ca-w ik'
   say.ipfv-icvb be-m dem.up
   (discussing the possible thoughts and actions of figures on picture) In my opinion, he
   says, I will hit <u>her</u>.

2.4. Pause fillers
- the genitive reflexive pronouns are frequently used as pause fillers (both singular and plural)
- hypothesis: singular plural when the subject-like argument is singular (7a), plural pronoun
for plural arguments (7b) (because of the original use as genitive reflexive pronouns)

(7a) heχ **cinna** c'aq'-le w-artaq-ib   admi ca-w
   3sg pause.filler very-advz m-enjoy.oneself.pfv-pret person be-m
   He is a person that is very extroverted.

(7b) **čula**   d-urkː-ar   iχ-tːi   ganza-l-gu-d   gu-d
   pause.filler npl-find.ipfv-cond.3 dem.down-pl ground-obl-sub-npl down-npl

   daˁʔle ca-d
   as   be-npl
   Well, probably they are like under the ground (growing).

2.5. Comitative construction
- the reflexive pronouns in the absolutive are used in a comitative construction (as an
alternative to the comitative construction with the comitative case)
- [Y=ra X=ra] 'X with Y'
- X is animate (usually human), expressed through the reflexive
- Y is a nominal in the absolutive case (?), can be animate or inanimate
- both are marked with the additive =ra and most commonly adjacent to each other
- but they do not make up a conjoined NP that takes an argument position in the clause; the
arguments are expressed independently
- described for Standard Dargwa by van den Berg (2004)

(8) hin-na [badra=ra **ca-w**=ra] heχ ka-jcː-ur   ca-w
   water-gen bucket=add refl-m=add dem.down down-stand.pfv-pret be-m
   With a bucket of water he is standing.

- might have evolved from the emphatic reflexive function: when the emphatic reflexive is
used in a conjoined NP: X X-self and Y (both … and …)

(9) ca xːunul-li χːap b-arq'-ib-le   hil-i-la   wešimišuk'=ra
   one woman-erg grab n-do.pfv-pret-cvb that-obl-gen backpack=add

   b-erqː-ib   ca-b **ca-r**=ra ag-ur   ca-r
   n-carry.pfv-pret be-n refl-f=add go.pfv-pret be-f
   There one woman grabbed his backpack, took it and went away with it.
   lit. she also took [the backpack], and [she herself] also went away
   -> she went away with the backpack

3. The complex reflexive pronouns
- local reflexivization
- emphatic reflexivization
- reciprocal constructions (only plural reflexive pronouns)

3.1. Local reflexive use (Forker 2014)
- the only corpus example (first occurrence is emphatic reflexivization)

(10)　u-l　　　daˤʔle　cin-ni　　　čaj-la　　istikan　a-b-irqʼ-u　　　**cin-ni**
　　　　2sg-erg　as　　　refl.sg-erg　tea-gen　glass　　neg-n-do.ipfv-prs　refl.sg-erg

　　　　cin-i-j
　　　　refl.sg-obl-dat
　　　　(talking about the sister of one of the speakers) She does not make herself a glass of
　　　　tea like you.

- in complementary distribution with personal or demonstrative pronouns
-the c-command requirement holds, i.e. a possessor cannot control a reflexive pronoun (11a)
- must be locally bound (11b)

(11a)　Madina-la　　<u>aba</u>　　**cinij**　　**ca-r**　　či<r>ig-ul=ca-r
　　　　Madina-GEN　mother　REFL.DAT　REFL-F　see<F>-CVB=COP-F
　　　　'Madina's$_i$ mother$_j$ sees herself$_{*i/j}$.'

(11b)　Madina-j　　　b-ik:-ul=ca-b　　　[<u>aba</u>　　**cinij**　　**ca-r**　　či<r>až-ib-le]
　　　　Madina-DAT　N-want-CVB=COP-N　　mother　REFL.DAT REFL-F　see<F>-PRET-CVB
　　　　'Madina's$_i$ wants that the mother$_j$ sees herself$_{*i/j}$.'

- within a ditransitive construction the direct or the indirect object can function as <u>binder</u>
(though simple reflexive pronouns would be preferred in such examples):

(12a)　Pat'imat-li　<u>Rašid$_i$</u>　　surratic:e-w　　**cin-na**　　**cinij$_i$**　　či<w>ižaq-ul-de
　　　　Patimat-ERG　Rashid　picture.IN-M　REFL-GEN　REFL.DAT　show<M>-CVB-PST
　　　　'Patimat showed Rashid$_i$ to himself$_i$ on the picture.'

(12b)　Pat'imat-li　či<w>ižaq-ul-de　　<u>Arsen-ni-j$_i$</u>　surrat-le-w　　či-w$_i$
　　　　Patimat-ERG　show<M>-CVB-PST　Arsen-OBL-DAT picture-SPR-M　on-M

　　　　cinij　　**ca-w**
　　　　REFL-M　　REFL.DAT
　　　　'Patimat showed to Arsen$_i$ himself$_i$ on the picture.'

- with transitive and affective predicates the distribution of the case marking in reflexive
constructions is free, i.e. either the controller or the pronoun takes the ergative or the dative
case suffix:

(13a)　Rasul-li　　**cin-ni**　　**ca-w**　　/　　**cin-na**　　**ca-w**　　gap.w.irq'-ul=ca-w
　　　　Rasul-ERG　REFL-ERG REFL-M　/　　REFL-GEN　REFL-M　praise.M-CVB=COP-M
　　　　'Rasul is praising himself.'

(13b) Rasul **ca-w** **cin-ni** / **cin-na** **cin-ni** gap.w.irq'-ul=ca-w
       Rasul REFL-M REFL-ERG / REFL-GEN REFL-ERG praise.M-CVB=COP-M
       'Rasul is praising himself.'

- out of context there is no semantic or pragmatic difference between reflexive constructions with standard case marking and reflexive constructions with reversed marking (in contrast to other Nakh-Daghestanian languages)
- the reversal of the marking is forbidden for coarguments of extended intransitive verbs
- some restrictions on the word order, concerning both standard reflexive constructions and those with reversed marking

3.2. Reciprocal constructions
- always clause-bound

(14) Madina-j=ra   Pat'imat-li-j=ra   **čula**   **ca-b**
      Madina-dat=add   Patimat-obl-dat=add   refl.pl.gen   refl-hpl

      či-b-ig-ul   ca-b
      spr-hpl-see.ipfv-icvb   cop-hpl
      Madina and Patimat see each other.

3.3. Emphatic reflexive use
- the complex genitive reflexives are also used as emphatic reflexives, e.g. function (i), (ii)

(15a) hel-tː-a-li   ču-la   ču-l   d-iqː-ul   hetːi
       that-pl-obl-erg   refl.pl-gen refl.pl-erg npl-carry.ipfv-icvb   those

       qːup-re   d-ic'-ib-le
       sack-pl   npl-fill.pfv-pret-cvb
       They themselves were carrying the sacks and when they were filled.

(15b) tem.bolee   nišːa-la   priezd-li-j=ra   ču-la   ca-b=ra
       moreover   1pl-gen   arrival-obl-dat=add   refl.pl-gen refl-hpl=add

       padgatuwlennij=de
       prepared=pst
       Moreover, (the Icari people) themselves were prepared for our coming.

(15c) absalut'na cin-na   ca-w   w-aš-i
       absolutely refl.sg-gen   refl-m   m-go-hab.pst
       He went completely on his own (alone).

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