



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

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**THE PRONOUN SAWI
AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN DARGWA
MEHWEB**

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: LINGUISTICS

WP BRP 14/LNG/2014

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THE PRONOUN SAWI AND ITS FUNCTIONS IN DARGWA MEHWEB²

This study analyzes the phenomenon of pronominal multi-functionality in the Mehweb language, which is a Dargwa group from the Nakh-Dagestanian language family. The pronominal stem has three functions; reflexive, logophoric and intensifier, which are described in detail below.

Keywords: Daghestan, East Caucasian, Mehweb, multifunctionality, reflexive, logophor, intensifier

JEL classification code: Z19

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² The author would like to express gratitude to Nina Dobrushina (Higher School of Economics), Michael Daniel (Higher School of Economics) and Dmitry Ganenkov (The Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences) for their support and comments. I am also deeply grateful to all my consultants for their time and patience.

1. Introduction

Mehweb is a language which is spoken in the aul³ of the same name in the Hunib district of the Republic of Dagestan (Russia). Mehweb is a lect of the Dargwa group of the Nakh-Dagestani (East Caucasian) language family and is only spoken by the residents of Mehweb and, sparsely, as a second language (L2) in some neighboring villages such as Obokh or Shangoda [Kozhukhar, Barylnikova 2013].

According to oral history, Mehwebs separated from other Dargwa-speaking communities and re-settled among Avar- and Lak-speaking villages approximately seven centuries ago. Mehwebs are confident that they originally descended from the village of Mugi (Akusha district). The reasons for the Mehwebs' separation are not clear, and they offer two alternative stories of how their village was founded. Some say that their ancestors were ostracized from Mugi as a punishment for a homicide (a practice that used to be common in Dagestan) or for thuggery in general. Another version is that the ancestors of the current Mehwebs, who reportedly lived in a separate homestead which belonged to the Mugi villagers, fled the army of Timur at the end of the 14th century. Mugi residents willingly share the Mehwebs' conviction that they came from Mugi. Today, Mugi and Mehweb residents celebrate occasions together such as «village day». However, there is no linguistic evidence that Mehweb as a lect is particularly closely related to the Dargwa variety spoken in Mugi (the Akusha dialect), since these two dialects are not mutually intelligible. Some lects of the Dargwa group seem to have more common linguistic features with Mehweb than Akusha dialect has [Moroz 2013].

Mehweb does not have its own writing system. The Mehwebs are literate in Avar and Russian. Since Mehweb is located in the Hunib district which is mostly inhabited by Avars, Avar, not Mehweb, is taught as a mother tongue to Mehweb children at school.

Various Nakh-Dagestani languages (e.g. Cahur [Kibrik 1999], Bagvalal [Kibrik 2001] and Dargwa [von den Berg 2001]) have a multifunctional pronominal stem. This pronoun is also present in Mehweb. The data for this study was collected during two field trips to Mehweb in May 2013 and in May 2014⁴. I discuss three pronominal systems which are based on the same pronominal root pronoun *sawi*:

- a. logophoric pronouns
- b. reflexive pronouns
- c. intensifier

The objective of this paper is to describe these three systems in detail.

³ Turkic 'village'

⁴ This study (research grant No 13-05-0007) was supported by The National Research University 'Higher School of Economics' Academic Fund Program in 2013-2014.

A strong divergence from other Dargwa lects, caused by a long isolation, lead some researchers to consider Mehweb to be a separate language [Koryakov 2006]. According to the 2010 Census, today the number of Mehweb villagers (and therefore Mehweb native speakers) is around 700. The prospects of the language's survival and transmission are therefore not very optimistic due to the downward migration of the youth.

The paper consists of five sections. First I give an introduction to the subject, and then I describe the methods used in this research, including a description of the pronominal systems based on the root *sawi* and how the nuclear function of *sawi* is determined, followed by my conclusions. The third part has three sections, which discuss the logophoric, reflexive and intensifier in turn, which are the separate pronominal functions of *sawi*.

2. Methods

2.1. Data

Language data was collected through elicitation. Elicitation included the following three steps, which were carried out in iterations:

- a. compiling a questionnaire in Russian⁵
- b. translating the stimuli into Mehweb, assisted by native speakers
- c. verifying translations with other native consultants to avoid personal (idiolectal) biases
- d. data analysis

However, elicitation imposes limitations on each stage of the field work. Most crucially, elicitation has one conceptual drawback that violates the validity of the data, given that it is not anchored in the discourse. In future, it would be important to support the theoretical interpretations suggested below with contexts taken from natural discourse.

2.2. Data presentation

Each elicited example is given as follows. The first line uses the Avar Cyrillic orthography, the second line is a transcription in (a somewhat simplified version of) IPA, the third line shows the morphological glossing, and the fourth line provides a translation into English.

To refer to the pronominal root I will use *sawi* as a lemma, although it is important to keep in mind that *sawi* is a form of the masculine class (note the class infix *-w-* in the pronominal root – cf. see Table 2). More accurately, the pronominal root is *sa<CL>i*, where CL is a class infix slot.

⁵ Russian is spoken by the vast majority of Daghestanis and serves as a lingua franca in most parts of the Northern Caucasus.

3. Functions of the pronoun *sawi*

Mehweb does not possess separate reflexive, logophoric and intensifier pronouns. Instead, it has a pronoun that can be used in any of the three functions. The three functions differ in four ways:

- a. morphological: emphatic suffix *-al*
- b. morphosyntactic: agreement
- c. syntactic: binding domain
- d. semantic: meaning

Therefore, the reflexive pronoun (i.e. *sawi* used as reflexive) has an emphatic suffix, does not agree in case with its antecedent, is used co-predicatively and shows co-reference to the subject of the clause. *Sawi* used as a logophoric pronoun lacks an emphatic suffix, cannot be bound locally, is ungrammatical in the co-predicative position, and can either agree with its antecedent or not (depending on the case form). The intensifier has an emphatic suffix, is used co-predicatively with its antecedent, agrees in number and case with its antecedent and emphasizes the role of its antecedent in the situation described.

3.1. Logophoric function

Logophoricity is a means of marking the co-reference between the subject of the main clause and the argument of the dependent clause in the context of reported speech. From a functional point of view, logophoric pronouns are a particular way of defining the focus of empathy (for instance, Latin *ipsum*) [Kuno 1987], or the point of view the situation is described from [Toldova 1999].

According to [Culy 1994], there are two types of logophoric expressions in the languages of the world:

- a. Strict logophoricity. Languages with strict logophoricity have special morphological or syntactic forms that can be used only in logophoric domain:
 - i. logophoric pronouns
 - ii. addressee pronouns
 - iii. verbal morphology or verbal inflection
- b. Mixed logophoricity. Languages of this type lack formally dedicated logophoric means and employ existing means instead, such as reflexive pronouns or deictic pronouns, to refer to the speaker whose speech is being reported (reported speaker below).

Languages of the first type are common in West Africa. Nakh-Daghestanian languages belong to the second type. Therefore, in Mehweb, the material used to express the focus of empathy is ‘shared’ with other functions such as reflexives. The two alternative readings of the English “*Father said that he had made a mistake*⁶” are disambiguated in Mehweb by using the pronoun *sawi*, a demonstrative (see examples (1) and (2)).

According to Clements [1975], logophoric pronouns have three distinctive properties :

- a. Logophoric pronouns are discourse-bound
- b. The antecedent of a logophoric pronoun must occur in the clause which introduces reported speech
- c. The antecedent is the person whose perspective is reported

3.1.1. Theoretical background

It was expected that, as in most other Daghestani languages (see [Testelets & Toldova 1998]), Mehweb would have morphologically complex reflexives (MCR) and morphologically simple reflexives (MSR), with a strict functional distribution. MCRs are used for the co-predicative position of reflexivization, where the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent are in one clause. MSRs are used in the long-distance reflexivization position, where the reflexive pronoun and its antecedent are in different clauses. [Daniel in prep.] observe that long-distance reflexives and logophoric pronouns in East Caucasian languages are formally connected. In Mehweb, however, the two pronominal phenomena are straightforwardly identical. Moreover, below I argue that the notion of long-distant reflexivization for Mehweb may be dispensed of, since all of its functional scope may be accounted for by the logophoric uses of the pronoun *sawi* [Clements 1975].

3.1.2. Morphology

The paradigm of the pronoun *sawi* in the logophoric function shows a pure pronominal stem without the suffix *-al*, as presented in Table 1:

⁶ First – ‘Father; said that he; had made a mistake’; second – ‘Father said that someone third had made a mistake’

Table 1. Case-gender-number forms of the pronoun sawi (part of the inventory)

	NOM		ERG	DAT	INTER-LAT	INTER-EL	GEN	COMIT
3SG	M	<i>sa<w>i</i>	<i>sune-jni</i>	<i>sune-s</i>	<i>sune-ze</i>	<i>sune-ze-la</i>	<i>sune-la</i>	<i>sune-ču</i>
	F/F1 ⁷	<i>sa<r>i</i>						
	N	<i>sai</i>						
3PL	HPL	<i>sai</i>	<i>ču-ni</i>	<i>ču-s</i>	<i>ču-ze</i>	<i>ču-ze-la</i>	<i>ču-la</i>	<i>ču-ču</i>
	NPL	<i>sa<r>i</i>						

It is also possible to use personal pronouns in the subordinate clause if the actual speaker refers to themselves or to the actual addressee.

3.1.3. Syntax

Sawi in its logophoric function can be used in various syntactic positions in the reported speech clause. Personal reference in reported speech is best understood in comparison with the first person pronoun and personal marking on the verb, as in (1).

Example (1a) differs from example (1b) in the verb form in the subordinate clause. In (1a), *wikib*⁸ ‘become’ is a third person form. In (1b), *wikira* is a first person form. The pronoun *nu* (first person singular pronoun) in the example (1) refers to the reported speaker, the subject of the main clause (i.e. father), as in (a), or to the actual speaker, as in (b), depending on the verb form in the subordinate clause.

- (1) a. Адайни иб ну гъямле викиб
adaj-ni ib nu kaʔmle w-ik-ib
father-ERG say.PFV.AOR 1SG wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
- иле
i-le
say.PFV-CVB
- ‘Father_i said that he_i made a mistake’.

⁷ In contrast to other Dargwa lects (Icari [Mutalov & Sumbatova 2003], Kaitag [Temirbulatova 2006]) Mehweb has class suffixes or infixes in certain cases such as nominative forms of logophors (*-w* – masculine; *-r* – feminine, *-b* – neutral; *-b* – human plural, *-r* – non-human plural) and class prefixes that occur with the verbs under the object agreement. The feminine class suffix does not distinguish between married and unmarried women, but the feminine class prefix adjoins *d-* when the object is an unmarried woman and *r-* (i.e. the prefix is the same as suffix) when the object is a married woman [Magometov 1982]. Following the semi-independent class which uses the prefix *d-* and suffix *-r* is defined as F1 in the present paper.

⁸ Finite verb forms in Mehweb consist of three components (excluding the causative suffix and the pre-verb slot): a. class prefix (some verbs have no prefix) and the root, b. tense-aspect-mood marker, and c. personal marker. In the examples (1), (2) and (3) the root of the verb ‘become’ is *w-ik-*, the TAM marker is *-i-* or *-ib-*, which varies for three lexical types of Mehweb verb. The consonant *-b* drops if there are other suffixes to the right, and the marker *-ra* which is used as the marker of the first person in affirmative clauses and as the marker of the second person in interrogative clauses.

b. Адайни иб ну гъямле викира
adaj-ni ib nu ва²mle w-ik-i-ra
 father-ERG say.PFV.AOR 1SG wrong M-become.PFV-AOR-1/2
 иле
i-le
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘Father said that I made a mistake’.

In example (2), the pronoun *sawi* shows different behavior:

(2) a. Адайни иб сави гъямле викиб
adaj-ni ib са<w>i ва²mle w-ik-ib
 father-ERG say.PFV.AOR <M>self wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
i-le
 say.PFV.AOR-CVB

b. Адайни иб сави гъямле викира
adaj-ni ib са<w>i ва²mle w-ik-i-ra
 father-ERG say.PFV.AOR <M>self wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
i-le
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘Father_i said that he_i made a mistake’.

In (2a) and (2b), the antecedent of the pronoun *sawi* is always the subject of the main clause, irrespective of the verb form. This indicates that *sawi* functions as a logophoric pronoun. To show the disjointed reference in this context, Mehweb employs the demonstrative *it* ‘that’, which cannot be combined with the first person of the verb:

(3) a. Адайни иб ит гъямле викиб
adaj-ni ib it ва²mle w-ik-ib
 father-ERG say.PFV.AOR this.NOM wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
i-le
 say.PFV-CVB

б. *Адайни иб ит гъямле викира
 **adaj-ni* *ib* *it* *ka'mle* *w-ik-i-ra*
 father-ERG say.PFV.AOR 3SG.NOM wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
i-le
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘Father_i said that he_y made a mistake’.

Table 2 shows all the types of co-reference possible in contexts in (1), (2) and (3):

Table 2. Combinations of pronoun and verb forms according to their grammar

Pronoun	Verb form	Interpretation available		
		Subject of the main clause	Actual speaker	Third person
<i>nu</i>	1SG	*	+ (1b)	*
<i>nu</i>	3SG	+ (1a)	*	*
<i>sawi</i>	1SG	+ (2b)	*	*
<i>sawi</i>	3SG	+ (2a)	*	*
<i>it</i>	1SG	*	*	* (3b)
<i>it</i>	3SG	*	*	+ (3a)

As (1) shows, the reference of *nu* depends on the verb form. If the verb has the personal suffix *-ra*, then *nu* refers to the actual speaker⁹. If no personal marker is present, then *nu* refers to the subject of the main clause, the reported speaker. Unlike personal pronouns, the reference of *sawi* does not depend on the verb form. The pronoun *sawi* (*sari*, *sabi*) can be used with both the personal form and the form which lacks a personal marking, but always refers to the reported speaker (non-coreferent to the actual speaker). The change of the verb form does not give the sentence a new interpretation. Additionally, Table 1 shows how the reference is disjointed: *it* can only be used with the third person singular verb form and excludes personal marking.

3.1.3.1. Non-subject position

The pronoun *sawi* can be used in a non-subject position in the subordinate clause (finite, cf. (5), and non-finite, cf. (6) and (7)):

⁹ It also means that verb will be marked with the noun class controlled by the actual speaker. For example, if the speaker is an unmarried woman, then the agreement prefix of the noun class will be *d-*.

- (4) a. Расуйс дигуве леб адай сунече
rasuj-s *dig-uwe* *le-b* *adaj* *sune-če*
 rasul.OBL-DAT want:IPFV-CVB AUX-N father(NOM) self.OBL-SUP(LAT)
 x1улевизес
ħule<w>iz-es
 <M>look:PFV-INF
 ‘Rasul_i wants his father_y to see him_{i/*y}’.
- b. Расуйс дигуве леб адай
rasuj-s *dig-uwe* *le-b* *adaj*
 rasul.OBL-DAT want:IPFV-CVB AUX-N father(NOM)
 сунечел x1улевизес
sune-če-l *ħule<w>iz-es*
 self.OBL-SUP(LAT)-EMPH <M>look:PFV-INF
 ‘Rasul_i wants his father_y to see himself_{*i/y}’.
- (5) Уршилизе хьуматур сунес адайни машина асри
urši-li-ze *qumat-ur* *sune-s* *adaj-ni* *mašina* *as-ri*
 boy-OBL-INTER(LAT) hear-AOR self.OBL-DAT father-ERG car buy.PFV-CVB
 ‘The boy_i heard that his father_y had bought him_{i/*y} a car’.
- (6) Итис урче-б леб сави Расуйни
it-i-s *ur-če-b* *le-b* *sa<w>i* *rasuj-ni*
 this-OBL-DAT heart-SUP-N(ESS) be-N <M>self rasul.OBL-ERG
 вितिбдеш
w-it-ib-deš
 <M>hit.PFV-AOR-NMLZ
 ‘He_i remembers that Rasul_y hit him_{i/*y}’

Cases where *sawi* is in the main clause and its antecedent is in the subordinate clause were considered ungrammatical or interpreted as a disjointed reference:

- (7) а. Сунес дигуве леб адай Расуйче
sune-s *dig-uwe* *le-b* *adaj* *rasuj-če*
 self.OBL-DAT want:IPFV-CVB AUX-N father rasul.OBL-SUP(LAT)
 хІулевизес
ħule<w>iz-es
 <M>look:PFV-INF
 ‘He_i wants his father_y to Rasul_z’.

I have no evidence that *sawi* in the non-subject position can be co-referential to a non-subject argument of the main clause. *Sawi* in the subject position can in principle be co-referential to a non-subject argument (see 3.1.4), but the interpretation with non-subject co-reference is less natural. Consultants often choose the subject co-reference as the default interpretation.

3.1.4. Types of predicates

Logophoric pronouns are prototypically used in reported speech constructions, but may expand to other predicates. In order to define the logophoric scope of *sawi* in terms of the predicates that allow it, I group them into several classes. First, it is important to check whether the use of the pronoun depends on the presence of the form *ile* ‘having said’, the perfective converb of *es* ‘to say’ used in citation contexts.

Predicates that permit both logophoric and personal pronouns under the converb *ile* (optionally) convey a meaning close to ‘say’:

- (8) Итис бикиб сави гъямле викиб
it-i-s *b-ik-ib* *sa<w>i* *kaʔmle* *w-ik-ib*
 3SG-OBL-DAT N-happen.PFV-AOR <M>self(NOM) wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 (иле)
 (*i-le*)
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘He_i thought that he_i had made a mistake’.

- (9) Итис бикиб ну гъямле викиб
it-i-s *b-ik-ib* *nu* *kaʔmle* *w-ik-ib*
 3SG-OBL-DAT N-happen-AOR 1SG.NOM wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 (иле)
 (*i-le*)
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘He_i thought that I had made a mistake’.

There is another group of predicates, including ‘be afraid’ *урух k’es*, which can be considered as licensing logophoric uses of *sawi*. Cf. (10), where it is similar to *bikes* ‘happen’ (in the sense of ‘think’) or *es* ‘say’ :

- (10) а. Ит урух кIуве лев сави гъямле викиб
it *урух* *k'-uwe* *le-w* *sa<w>i* *kaʔmle* *w-ik-ib*
 3SG fear LV.PFV-CVB AUX-M <M>self wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
 (*i-le*)
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘He is afraid that he made a mistake’.

- б. Ит урух кIуве лев ну гъямле викиб
it *урух* *k'-uwe* *le-w* *nu* *kaʔmle* *w-ik-ib*
 3SG.NOM fear LV.PFV-CVB AUX-M 1SG.NOM wrong M-become.PFV-AOR
 иле
 (*i-le*)
 say.PFV-CVB
 ‘He is afraid that I made a mistake’.

These verbs, however, may also use a different strategy, with a different meaning:

- (11) Ит урух кIуве лев сави (*ну) гъямле
it *урух* *k'-uwe* *le-w* *sa<w>i* (**nu*) *kaʔmle*
 3SG fear LV.PFV-CVB AUX-M <M>self (*1SG) wrong
 вikes (иле)
w-ik-es (*i-le*)
 M-become.PFV-INF (say.PFV-CVB)
 ‘He is afraid of making mistakes’.

In (11), *uruχ k'es* allows the logophoric pronoun *sawi* with or without *ile* but does not allow the use of a personal pronoun to refer to the subject of the main clause. The subordinate clause is probably finite since, in Mehweb, the infinitive is the main means for third person future reference and may thus be considered a finite form in this context.

3.1.5. Ambiguity

There are cases where the pure *sawi* stem can have two alternative antecedents. In these cases, consultants prefer the subject of the main clause. Example (12) has the reported speaker *rasujni* and the reported addressee *musaze* in the main clause, and the presumably logophoric pronoun *sunejni* in the subordinate clause (12):

(12)	Расуйни	иб	Мусазе	сунейни	ошибка
	<i>rasuj-ni</i>	<i>ib</i>	<i>musa-ze</i>	<i>sune-jni</i>	<i>ošibka</i>
	rasul.OBL-ERG	say(AOR)	musa-INTER(LAT)	self.OBL-EGR	mistake(NOM)
	бакъиб	иле			
	<i>b-aq'-ib</i>	<i>i-le</i>			
	N-do.PFV-AOR	say-CVB			
	'Rasul _i said to Musa _y that he _{i/y} had made a mistake'.				

All the informants have claimed that *sunejni* in example (12) can refer to Rasul and Musa as well, although all of them said that understanding the pronoun as referring to Rasul was more natural.

3.2. Reflexive function

According to König and Siemund [2013], reflexive pronouns are prototypically used to express the co-reference of a non-subject argument to the subject of the sentence, to show that the pronoun refers to the same entity as the subject. Testelefs & Toldova [1998] extend this definition somewhat by saying that a reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that can be used as anaphor and require a priority-driven antecedent which occurs in the same sentence. In Mehweb, these pronouns are morphologically based on the same pronominal root *sawi*.

3.2.1. Morphology

[Testelefs & Toldova 1997] argue that Daghestani languages have two types of reflexives; the simple pronoun, also used in logophoric contexts, and the morphologically complex reflexive

pronoun (MCR), which is formed by the same pronoun suffixed with the emphatic (intensifier) particle. However, I argue that Mehweb may be qualified as having only one reflexive series, the MCRs, while the simple pronoun *sawi* is used in contexts which may all be qualified as extensions of the logophoric function (see however 3.1.5 above). MCR, on the other hand, can be bound only in the co-predicative position.

As *sawi* itself, MCRs inflect for number, case and class are in most cases, co-referential to the subject. Morphologically, they are formed by adding the emphatic suffix *-al*, which also appears with cardinal numerals [Magometov 1982] and is used with nouns (14a) and pronouns (14b) in order to, informally ‘intensify’ them:

(14) a. Ит дурсиличел хИулевизур
it *dursi-li-če-l* *ħule<w>iz-ur*
 3SG.NOM girl-OBL-SUP(LAT)-EMPH <M>look.PFV-AOR
 ‘(S)he only looked at this girl’.

b. Урши итичел хИулевизур
urši *it-i-če-l* *ħule<w>iz-ur*
 boy 3SG-OBL-SUP(LAT)-EMPH <M>look.PFV-AOR
 ‘The boy_i looked only at him_y/her_y’.

The suffix *-al* is added to the inflected pronominal and the MCR consist of three components; the root *sawi* (with the class infix), the case suffix and the emphatic marker *-al*. When *-al* is added to the pronominal stem ending in the vowel, the epenthetic *-j-* appears, as in the ergative *sunejnijal* or the nominative *sawijal* (see Table 3) After the labialized vowel, the epenthetic *-w-* is used instead, as in the comitative form *dičuwal* or the nominative form *nuwal* (see Table 3).

The pronoun *sawi* has three suppletive stems: *sa<CL>i-*, *sune-* and *ču-*. The first stem is used only in the nominative (direct case), both in the singular and in the plural. The second stem is used for oblique forms in the singular, including the ergative case. The third stem is used for oblique forms in the plural. Table 3 shows a fragment of the MCR paradigm.

Table 3. MCR paradigm

	NOM		DAT	GEN	COMIT
1SG	<i>nu-wal</i>		<i>nab-al</i>	<i>di-la-l</i>	<i>di-ču-wal</i>
2SG	<i>ħu-wal</i>		<i>ħad-al</i>	<i>ħu-la-l</i>	<i>ħa-ču-wal</i>
3SG	M	<i>sa<w>i-jal</i>	<i>sune-s-al</i>	<i>sune-la-l</i>	<i>sune-ču-wal</i>
	F/F1	<i>sa<r>i-jal</i>			
	N	<i>sai-jal</i>			
1PL	<i>nuša-l</i>		<i>nušab-al</i>	<i>nuša-la-l</i>	<i>nuša-ču-wal</i>
2PL	<i>ħuša-l</i>		<i>ħušab-al</i>	<i>ħuša-la-l</i>	<i>ħusa-ču-wal</i>
3PL	HUM	<i>sai-jal</i>	<i>ču-s-al</i>	<i>ču-la-l</i>	<i>ču-ču-wal</i>
	NONHUM	<i>sa<r>i-jal</i>			

3.2.2. Syntax

MCRs are used in the co-predicative (coargument) reflexivization position, i.e. within the same clause as the antecedent; cf. (15):

- (15) a. Расул сунечел хІулевизур
rasul *sune-če-l* *ħule<w>iz-ur*
 rasul(NOM) self.OBL-SUP(LAT)-EMPH <M>look:PFV-AOR

- b. *Расул сунече хІулевизур
 **rasul* *sune-če* *ħule<w>iz-ur*
 rasul(NOM) self.OBL-SUP(LAT) <M>look:PFV-AOR
 ‘Rasul_i looked at himself_i’.

MCR can be used in a non-finite subordinate clause if its antecedent is located in the same subordinate clause; cf. the infinitive complement clause in (16):

(16)	Расуйс	дигуве	леб	адай
	<i>rasuj-s</i>	<i>dig-uwe</i>	<i>le-b</i>	<i>adaɟ</i>
	rasul.OBL-DAT	want:IPFV-CVB	AUX-N	father(NOM)
	сунечел	хӀулевизес		
	<i>sune-če-l</i>	<i>ħule<w>iz-es</i>		
	self.OBL-SUP(LAT)-EMPH	<M>look:PFV-INF		
	‘Rasul _i wants his father _y to look at himself _{y/*i} ’.			

The antecedent of the MCR in the majority of cases must be a subject and therefore has to be an ergative (for transitive predicates), a nominative (for intransitive predicates), or the dative, interlative or interrelative (for experiential predicates).

3.2.3. Semantics

There are two types of semantic relations between an anaphoric pronoun and its antecedent [Chomsky 1981]:

- a. co-reference anaphora: the pronoun assumes the reference of the antecedent and the antecedent can be placed outside the binding area (outside sentence);
- b. bound-variable anaphora: binding only takes place within the sentence.

These two ways of interpreting anaphora can be confirmed by the ambiguity in contexts such as *John loves his wife*. One possible reading is ‘John loves John’s wife’ and another possible reading is ‘John loves someone else’s (not John’s own) wife’ [Ross 1967]. Due to this duality of interpretation, a special effect takes place in contexts like *John loves his wife, and Peter too*. The interpretation of ‘John loves John’s wife and Peter loves Peter’s wife’ is called sloppy identity. The interpretation ‘John loves John’s wife and Peter loves John’s wife’ is called strict identity. The following section describes the semantics of the pronoun *sawi* with respect to this distinction.

(17)	Расуйни	сунелал	хьунул	ардукиб
	<i>rasuj-ni</i>	<i>sune-la-l</i>	<i>ħunul</i>	<i>ar-d-uk-ib</i>
	rasul.OBL-ERG	self.OBL-GEN-EMPH	wife	AWAY-F-steal:PFV-AOR
	МухӀамадинира	илваънал		
	<i>muħamad-i-ni-ra</i>	<i>ilwaʔn-al</i>		
	muhammad-OBL-ERG-ADD	same.way-EMPH		
	‘Rasul stole his wife, and Mohammad too’.			

Example (17) can only be interpreted as Rasul_i stole his_{i/*y} wife and Muhammad_y stole his_{y/*i} wife (sloppy identity). This could be explained by its distribution (i.e. boundedness within its clause), since a morphologically complex reflexive always has a bound reading irrespective of the syntactic role of its antecedent (18) or whether the antecedent NP is quantified or not (19, 20):

(18)	ПатѠматини	ѓализе	сунесал	(*сунес)
	<i>pat'imat-i-ni</i>	<i>ѓali-ze</i>	<i>sune-s-al</i>	(* <i>sune-s</i>)
	fatima-OBL-ERG	ali-INTER(LAT)	self.OBL-DAT-EMPH	(*self.OBL-DAT)
	машина	асахѠиб		
	<i>mařina</i>	<i>as-aq-ib</i>		
	car(NOM)	buy:PFV-CAUS-AOR		
	‘Fatima _i made Ali _y buy herself/himself _{i/y} a car’.			

(19)	ѓарил	адајни	уршилизе	сунесал
	<i>har-il</i>	<i>adaј-ni</i>	<i>urři-li-ze</i>	<i>sune-s-al</i>
	every-ATR	father-ERG	son-OBL-INTER(LAT)	self.OBL-DAT-EMPH
	(*сунес)	машина	асахѠиб	
	(* <i>sune-s</i>)	<i>mařina</i>	<i>as-aq-ib</i>	
	(*self.OBL-DAT)	car(NOM)	buy:PFV-CAUS-AOR	
	‘[Every father] _i made his son _y buy himself _{i/y} a car’.			

(20)	Адајни	ѓарил	уршилизе	сунесал
	<i>adaј-ni</i>	<i>har-il</i>	<i>urři-li-ze</i>	<i>sune-s-al</i>
	father-ERG	every-ATR	son-OBL-INTER(LAT)	self.OBL-DAT-EMPH
	(*сунес)	машина	асахѠиб	
	(* <i>sune-s</i>)	<i>mashina</i>	<i>as-aq-ib</i>	
	(*self.OBL-DAT)	car(NOM)	buy:PFV-CAUS-AOR	
	‘Father _i made [every son] _y buy himself _{i/y} a car’.			

Mehweb tends to use complex forms consisting of an intensifier and a morphologically complex reflexive. This combination also only has a bound reading:

(21) Расуйзе	сунезел	савиял
<i>rasuj-ze</i>	<i>sune-ze-l</i>	<i>sa<w>i-jal</i>
rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT)	sune.OBL-INTER(LAT)-EMPH	<M>self(NOM)-EMPH
дахІмицІайхІев	губ	
daħmic'aj-ħe-w	gu-b	
mirror-IN-M(ESS)	see:PFV-AOR	
‘Rasul saw himself in the mirror’.		

3.2.4. Universal hierarchy of reflexive positions

Below, I map *sawi*'s observed distribution in its reflexive use onto the universal hierarchy of reflexive positions introduced by [Testelets & Toldova 1998]. This hierarchy generalizes the limitations of the distribution of each type of reflexives, according to its binding area. The idea behind this hierarchy is that the segment of the hierarchy for each type of reflexive cannot be discontinuous. The hierarchy includes the direct object of bivalent predicate (DO_{DV}), direct object of trivalent predicate (DO_{TV}), obligatory indirect object (IO_{OB}), optional indirect object (IO_{OP}), a noun phrase in an infinitive subordinate clause (NP_{INF}) and a noun phrase in the finite subordinate clause (NP_{FV}):

Scheme 1. Universal hierarchy of reflexive positions in Mehweb

	DO _{DV}	DO _{TV}	IO _{OB}	IO _{OP}	NP _{INF}	NP _{FV}
MCR (e.g. <i>sawijal</i>)	+	+	+	+	*	*
Logophoric (e.g. <i>sawi</i>)	*	*	*	*	+	+
Anaphoric (e.g. <i>it</i>)	*	*	*	*	*	+

As can be seen from Scheme 1 there are no discontinuities in the segments of distribution for each of the pronoun types. Mehweb therefore confirms the generalizations on which this hierarchy is based.

The examples given or referred to below prove that in all positions where there is a plus sign in Scheme 1, the use of the respective *sawi*-based pronominal is grammatical.

1. MCR in the direct object position of the bivalent verb:

(22) Расуйни	савиял	(*сави)	витиб
<i>rasuj-ni</i>	<i>sa<w>i-jal</i>	<i>(sa<w>i)</i>	<i>w-it-ib</i>
rasul.OBL-ERG	<M>self-EMPH	(<M>self)	M-hit.PFV-AOR
‘Rasul hit himself’.			

2. MCR in the direct object position of the trivalent verb:

- (23) Расуйни савиял (*сави) тухИтелис бухІахъиб
rasuj-ni sa<w>i-jal (sa<w>i) tuħte-li-s buħaq-ib
 rasul.OBL-ERG <M>self-EMPH (<M>self) doctor-OBL-DAT show.PFV-AOR
 ‘Rasul show himself to the doctor’.

3. MCR in the indirect object position (where IO is obligatory) is given in example (15a).
4. MCR in the indirect object position (where IO is optional) is given in example (17). The form *sunela* in (17) is ungrammatical.
5. Logophoric *sawi* in the infinitive subordinate clause is given in example (12). Using an MCR changes the pronoun’s referent.
6. Logophoric *sawi* in the finite subordinate clause is given in example (2). Using an MCR changes the referent of the pronoun.
7. The anaphoric *it* in the finite clause is given in example (3), and shows disjoint reference.

3.3. Intensifier function

The pronoun *sawi* in its intensifier meaning agrees in number, case and class with the argument of the clause (S (24), DO (25) or IO (26)) whose role in the situation must be emphasized:

- (24) Итини сунейниял деркун хинчІе
it-i-ni sune-jni-jal d-erk-un ħinč’-e
 3SG-OBL-ERG self.OBL-ERG-EMPH NPL-eat:PFV-AOR khinkal-PL(NOM)
 ‘(S)he him/herself ate the khinkals’.

- (25) Расуйни савиял МухІамад ВИТИБ
rasuj-ni sa<w>i-jal muħamad w-ib-ib
 rasul.OBL-ERG <m>self.nom-EMPH muhammad(nom) M-hit:PFV-AOR
 ‘Rasul_i hit Muhammad_y himself_{y/*i}’.

- (26) Расуйни сунесал МухІамадис эжа асиб
rasuj-ni sune-s-al muħamad-i-s eħa as-ib
 rasul.OBL-ERG self.OBL-DAT-EMPH muhammad-OBL-DAT goat(NOM) buy:PFV-AOR
 ‘Rasul_i bought Muhammad_y himself_{y/*i} a goat’.

Table 4 shows several intensified pronouns:

Table 4. Mehweb intensifiers (part of the inventory)

		ERG	NOM	DAT	INTER-LAT	SUP-LAT
3SG	M	sune-jni-jal	sa<w>i-jal	sune-s-al	sune-ze-l	sune-če-l
	F/F1	sune-jni-jal	sa<r>i-jal	sune-s-al	sune-ze-l	sune-če-l
	N	sune-jni-jal	sai-jal	sune-s-al	sune-ze-l	sune-če-l
3PL	HUM	ču-ni-jal	sa<r>i-jal	ču-s-al	ču-ze-l	ču-če-l
	NONHUM	ču-ni-jal	sai-jal	ču-s-al	ču-ze-l	ču-če-l

The pattern of the intensifiers is identical to that of the MCRs. Note, however, that there are no contexts in which the ergative form can be used as a reflexive. Examples like *sunejnijal rasul witib* with the *sunejnijal* are confirmed, but they are translated contrastively (‘he was the only one who hit rasul’), i.e. *sunejnijal* is an intensified pronoun here.

MCRs can be used together with an intensifier pronoun that agrees in number, case and class with the subject of the sentence. I believe that this combination should be considered not as a compound reflexive (cf. *sam sebya* in Russian), but as a combination of a pronominally intensified subject with an MCR. Syntactic evidence for this could be a topic for further research, but it is clear that my consultants all interpreted this as a subject intensifier.

- (27) Расуйзе сунезел савиял
[rasuj-ze *sune-ze-l]* *sa<w>i-jal*
 rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT) self.OBL-INTER(LAT)-EMPH <M>self(NOM)-EMPH
 ryb
gu-b
 see:PFV-AOR
 ‘Rasul_i himself_i saw himself_i’.

4. Isolating the nuclear function

The pronominal stem *sawi* can therefore be used in three different functions, including the logophoric, reflexive and intensifier. It is important to find out whether one of these functions may be considered to be nuclear and, if so, to monitor the development of the other two functions.

4.1. Nuclear function

Culy [1997] argues that logophoric pronouns in languages with mixed logophoricity should be treated as a secondary function, if the same pronominal stem conveys both reflexive and logophoric functions. However, Toldova [1999] suggests, that for Daghestani languages logophoricity should be considered to be the primary function, while the reflexive function is secondary. Culy uses the semantic approach exclusively, which states that the main function of logophoric pronouns is to establish the deictic shift and they can therefore be used as unbound within the sentence¹⁰. Toldova's approach is based on the assumption that the logophoric pronoun marks both the deictic shift and the co-reference between the pronoun and its antecedent (the subject of the main clause). My elicitation shows that co-reference is indeed crucial for the logophoric *sawi*, licensing it in the subordinate clause, which supports Toldova's approach.

The logophoric function is the nuclear one, because it is morphologically less marked than the reflexive and intensifier forms. Reflexives, which are used in the co-argument position, require an emphatic marker, and intensifier pronouns are also always suffixed with *-al*.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I described the multifunctional pronoun *sawi* and showed that *sawi* can have three different usages (logophoric, reflexive and intensifier). One of these functions, logophoricity, is considered to be the primary one. I suggest that Mehweb lacks long-distant reflexives *per se* and that the uses of non-locally bound *sawi* are better treated as extensions of the logophoric function. The paper also discusses the third use of the pronoun *sawi*, the intensifier, which developed separately and can combine with the pronominal root *sawi* in two other functions (logophoric and reflexive) in one clause.

7. List of abbreviations

1 – first person

1/2 – first/second person

2 – second person

3 – third person

ADD – additive

AOR – aorist

ATR – attributive

AUX – auxiliary

¹⁰ Mehweb logophoric pronouns behave similarly.

CAUS – causative
CVB – converb
DAT – dative
EL – elative
EMPH – emphatic
ERG – ergative
ESS – essive
F – feminine
HUM – human
IN – «in» localization
INF – infinitive
INTER – «inter» localization
IPFV – imperfective
LAT – lative
LV – light verb
M – masculine
N – neuter
NMLZ – nominalization
NOM – nominative
NONHUM – non-human
OBL – oblique
PFV – perfective
PL – plural
SG – singular
SUP – «super» localization

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