

Chapter 9

Reflexive constructions in Abaza

Peter M. Arkadiev

University of Mainz

Sonia Durneva

Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

In this article we describe reflexivization constructions in Abaza (Northwest Caucasian), a polysynthetic language characterized by consistent head marking and morphological ergativity. Abaza features two dedicated reflexivization markers: (i) the prefix *čə-* used to reflexivize the absolutive argument, and (ii) the lexical reflexive based on the noun *qa* ‘head’, which is able to reflexivize arguments of different types. Besides that, coreferentiality of arguments can be expressed by the ‘doubling’ of ordinary person-number prefixes, which is primarily used when an indirect object of a transitive verb is coreferential to its ergative subject. The absolutive reflexive prefix also has such uses as anticausative and autocausative. A possible path of diachronic development of the Abaza system of reflexivization markers is also briefly discussed.

1 Introduction

1.1 Classification and location of Abaza; sources of data

Abaza (*abáza-bəzšá*, ISO 639-3 *abq*) belongs to the Northwest Caucasian language family, and together with the closely related Abkhaz, it forms the Abkhaz-Abaza branch of this family. The language is spoken by about 50 thousand people, mainly in the Abazinsky district of the Karach-Cherkess Republic in the Russian North Caucasus and in Turkey, see the map in Figure 1.





CC-BY Yuri B. Kuriakov

Figure 1: The geographic distribution of the Northwest Caucasian languages

In Russia, Abaza enjoys the status of one of the official languages of the Karachay-Cherkess Republic and has a written standard used in press, teaching and books. Despite that, the language is mostly used in colloquial situations and rural environments and is undergoing a constant pressure from Russian. Most if not all speakers of Abaza in Russia are bilingual in Russian, and many are also fluent in Kabardian, the distantly related language of the same family with which Abaza has been in intense contact. The major dialect of Abaza is Tapanta, often considered to be the only ‘Abaza proper’ variant (see the genealogical tree of the Abkhaz-Abaza dialects in Chirikba 2003: 14).

The data in our paper mainly comes from the fieldwork conducted in the village Inzhich-Chukun (*jənʒʹəgʹ-čʹkʷən*) of the Abazinsky district of the Karachay-Cherkess Republic. The data was collected in 2017–2019 during field trips organized by the National Research University – Higher School of Economics and the Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow). Most examples are elicited, but data from a small collection of oral narratives recorded and annotated by the members of our research team as well as from published texts are also used. Published descriptions of Abaza include the grammars by Genko (1955) and Tabulova (1976) (in Russian), a short sketch by Lomtadze & Klychev (1989)

and a generative account of certain aspects of morphosyntax by O’Herin (2002) (in English). The questionnaire by Janic & Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]) has served us as guidance for the structuring and analysis of the data.

Our chapter is structured as follows. In the remainder of this introduction we provide a brief overview of the relevant grammatical features of Abaza. In §2, we describe reflexive constructions, dealing with the absolutive reflexive prefix in §2.1 and with the reflexive pronoun derived from the noun ‘head’ in §2.2; §2.3 discusses the ways of encoding reflexivity in the domains not covered by these dedicated expressions. §3 describes the non-reflexive functions of the absolutive reflexive prefix, and §4 addresses the questions of diachrony.

1.2 Salient grammatical features

1.2.1 Clause structure and polysynthesis

Like all languages of the Northwest Caucasian family (see Arkadiev & Lander 2021), Abaza is polysynthetic and predominantly morphologically ergative. Its morphosyntax is consistently head-marking on both clausal and phrasal levels, all arguments being indexed by prefixal pronominal markers on verbs, see (1),¹ possessed nouns and postpositions, see (2). Overt nominals cross-referenced by pronominal prefixes are optional and do not show any case marking, see (2–3).

- (1) *j-gʷ-ʃa-sə-rə-m-t-χ-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-CSL-1SG.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give(AOR)-RE-DECL
 ‘They did not give it back to me.’ [textual example]
- (2) *h-babuška l-pnə h-ʃa-n-χa-n*
 1PL.IO-granny[R] 3SG.F.IO-at 1PL.ABS-CSL-LOC-remain-PST
 ‘We remained at our granny’s.’ [textual example]
- (3) *phʷəs-k_i l-sabəj d_j-ʃa-l_i-q-aštələ-n*
 woman-INDF 3SG.F.IO-child 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-3SG.F.IO-LOC-forget-PST.DECL
 ‘A woman forgot about her child.’ [textual example]

Basic word order tends to be head-final, but this is not strictly so for clauses. In addition to person-number-gender prefixes, verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, mood and finiteness and besides that can include affixes expressing negation,

¹Abaza examples are given in the Caucasological transcription rather than in IPA (see Arkadiev & Lander 2021: 372–376). The most important divergences from IPA are as follows: ejective consonants are marked by a dot below or above the symbol; palatalization is marked by an apostrophe; *c* = [tʃ], *č* = [tʃʰ], *š* = [ʃ], *ʒ* = [dʒ], *ž* = [dʒʰ], *ž* = [ʒ], *š* = [ç], *ž* = [ʒ], *č* = [tʃʰ].

causative, various applicatives, as well as spatial, aspectual, modal and evaluative meanings. Verbal forms heading main and subordinate clauses are in most cases formally distinct, with overt affixes expressing both the independent status of predication and various types of subordination (relativization, nominalization, different types of converbs). The general verbal template is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Verbal template

	-12	absolutive
	-11	subordinators, negation
preverbs	-10	repetitive
	-9	potential
	-8	applicatives
	-7	directional preverbs
	-6	locative preverbs
	-5	indirect object
	-4	ergative
	-3	negation
stem	-2	causative
	-1	sociative
	0	root
	+1	directional suffixes
	+2	event operators
	+3	plural
endings	+4	aspect
	+5	negation
	+6	tense, mood
	+7	subordinators, force

Abaza shows ‘omnipredicativity’ (Launey 2004), whereby almost any content word, including nouns and adjectives as well as their combinations, can function as a predicate without a copula and be inserted into the regular verbal morphology, cf. example (4).

- (4) *sara s-an* ***d-adəg’a-b***
 1SG 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-Circassian-NPST.DECL
 ‘My mother is Circassian.’ [textual example]

1.2.2 Noun phrases

Noun phrases in Abaza minimally contain a noun, which can be inflected for number, definiteness, indefiniteness, possession and oblique cases and take modifiers such as demonstrative, possessor, simple or complex numeral, adjectives, other nouns and relative clauses. With such modifiers as adjectives, non-referential nouns and simple numerals, the head noun forms the so-called nominal complex – a tightly integrated word-like entity with rigid internal order, which is inflected and modified as a whole, see (5). Other modifiers do not form part of the nominal complex; most notably, the adnominal possessor forms a full noun phrase and is obligatorily cross-referenced by a possessive (=indirect object) prefix, as in (6).

(5) *a-[bəzša-dərə-ɣ^w-ča-dəw]-k^wa*
 DEF-language-know-NAG-PLH-big-PL
 ‘the great linguists’ [textual example]

(6) *s-an l-aš’a*
 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.F.IO-brother
 ‘my mother’s brother’ [textual example]

As said above, noun phrases cross-referenced by person-number-gender prefixes, including verbal core arguments, do not bear any case marking and are optional. Abaza distinguishes singular and plural number and human and non-human gender, with human being further subdivided into masculine and feminine. Gender is reference-based and manifests itself almost exclusively in pronominal markers on verbs and other argument-taking expressions.

1.2.3 Independent and bound pronouns

Abaza has both independent and bound person forms, the two classes being clearly formally related. Independent pronouns are optional and, like other nominals, lack core case marking, while bound person forms distinguish the absolutive and the oblique (=ergative/indirect object) series and are generally obligatory. The two types of person forms are shown in Table 2.

Independent 3rd person pronouns shown in Table 2 occur only rarely and are mainly used for emphasis; normally, demonstratives are used in this function. These are shown in Table 3.

The prefixes of the absolutive series occur in the slot –12 and encode the S argument of intransitive verbs (7a) and the P argument of transitive verbs (7b),

Table 2: Independent and bound person forms

	Absolutive	Oblique	Independent
1SG	<i>s(ə)-</i>	<i>s(ə)-/z-</i>	<i>sara</i>
2SGM	<i>w(ə)-</i>	<i>w(ə)-</i>	<i>wara</i>
2SGF	<i>b(ə)-</i>	<i>b(ə)-/p-</i>	<i>bara</i>
3SGM	<i>d(ə)-</i>	<i>j(ə)-</i>	<i>jara</i>
3SGF	<i>d(ə)-</i>	<i>l(ə)-</i>	<i>lara</i>
3SGN	<i>j(ə)-</i>	<i>a-/na-</i>	<i>jara</i>
1PL	<i>h(ə)-</i>	<i>h(ə)-/ʔ-</i>	<i>hara</i>
2PL	<i>š(ə)-</i>	<i>š(ə)-/ž-</i>	<i>šara</i>
3PL	<i>j(ə)-</i>	<i>r(ə)-/d(ə)-</i>	<i>dara</i>

Table 3: Demonstratives

	Singular	Plural
Proximal	<i>arəj</i>	<i>arat</i>
Medial	<i>anəj</i>	<i>anat</i>
Distal	<i>awəj</i>	<i>awat</i>

while the prefixes of the oblique series encode the A argument of transitive verbs in slot –4 (7b), indirect and applied objects in slots –8, –6 and –5 (7c), as well as objects of postpositions and adnominal possessors (2 and 6 above).

- (7) a. *h-bzaza-d*
 1PL.ABS-live(AOR)-DECL
 ‘We lived.’ [textual example]
- b. *awaʔa hə-ça-də-r-ça-χ-nəs*
 there 1PL.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-put-RE-PURP
 ‘So that they bury us there.’ [textual example]
- c. *j-ʃa-hə-r-tə-n*
 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST
 ‘They gave it to us.’ [textual example]

Verbal pronominal prefixes are obligatorily overt with one general exception: 3rd person singular non-human and 3rd person plural prefixes of the absolutive

series, both of which take the form $j(\partial)$ -, are usually dropped if the predicate is immediately preceded by the corresponding full noun phrase. Contrast example (8a), where the absolutive object follows the verb furnished with an absolutive prefix, with (8b), where the prefix j - is absent in the presence of the immediately preceding absolutive NP.

- (8) a. *mhamat-g'arəj j_i-ʕa-jə-r-t-t*
 Muhamat-Girey 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DECL
adg'əl_i
 land
 'They gave land to Muhamat-Girey.' [textual example]
- b. *ẓ-zə-ẓə-k* *ʕa-h-χ^wʕa-n*
 cow-one-CLN-ADNUM CSL-1PL.ERG-buy-PST.DECL
 'We had bought one cow.' [textual example]

1.2.4 Verb classes, valency and applicatives

Abaza verbs can be monovalent, bivalent or polyvalent, and non-monovalent verbs can be transitive, intransitive and inverse (or 'oblique-absolutive'). The valency classes are defined by patterns of verbal cross-reference, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Valency classes of verbs

	A-like argument	P-like argument	Other arguments	Examples
Transitive	ERG	ABS	(IO, APPL)	<i>dər</i> 'know', <i>t(a)</i> 'give'
Intransitive	ABS	(IO, APPL)	(APPL)	<i>bzaza</i> 'live', <i>pšə</i> 'look at', <i>cqraʕa</i> 'help'
Inverse	IO, APPL	ABS	(APPL)	<i>ma</i> 'have', <i>q-aštəl</i> 'forget'

Examples (9a–9c) illustrate the three verb classes.

- (9) a. Transitive
sə-l-ba-t
 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-see(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She (Erg) saw me (Abs).’
- b. Intransitive
sə-l-pšə-t
 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-look(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I (Abs) looked at her (IO).’
- c. Inverse
sə-l-q-aštəl-t
 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-LOC-forget(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She (IO) forgot me (Abs) (lit. I got forgotten on her).’

Abaza possesses a rich system of applicative prefixes occurring in slots –8 and –6, which freely combine with verbs of all valency types and introduce indirect objects expressed by personal prefixes immediately preceding the corresponding applicative prefix (see e.g. O’Herin 2001). Despite being prone to lexicalization, most applicatives are highly productive. Below we provide examples of the benefactive (10a), malefactive (10b), comitative (10c), instrumental (10d), and estimative (10e) applicatives; the latter mostly combines with non-verbal stems and introduces the role of a person evaluating the situation, (Jacques 2022).

- (10) a. *d-sə-z-ſa-r-g-χ-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-BEN-CSL-3PL.ERG-carry-RE(AOR)-DECL
 ‘They brought him back to me.’ [textual example]
- b. *j-g’ə-j-čə-ça-h-k-wa-m*
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-MAL-LOC:under-1PL.ERG-hold-IPFV-NEG
 ‘We do not conceal it from him.’ (Tabulova 1976: 184)
- c. *buχgalter-qada-ta* *d-sə-cə-n-χ-əj-t*
 accountant[R]-chief-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DECL
 ‘She works with me as a chief accountant.’ [textual example]
- d. *a-čəɾB^wə* *a-zerno*
 DEF-spade DEF-corn[R]
a-la-ſ-ça-r-g-əj-t
 3SG.N.IO-INS-CSL-LOC:under-3PL.ERG-carry-PRS-DECL
 ‘They gather corn with a spade.’ [textual example]

- e. *d-rə-ma-λapa-p-ta* *aχč'a*
 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-EST-expensive-NPST.DECL-ADV money
g'-jə-r-t-wa-m
 NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPFV-NEG
 'They consider him expensive (lit. he appears expensive to them) and
 don't pay him.' [textual example]

Besides that, many of the numerous locative prefixes ('preverbs') occurring in the slot -7 (see e.g. Klychev 1995) are also applicatives and introduce indirect objects, consider (11) with a preverb meaning 'behind'.

- (11) *šamiḡ čəŋ^w-ta* *d-na-sə-š'ta-lə-n*
 Šamil horseman-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-TRL-1SG.IO-LOC:behind-go.in-PST.DECL
 'Šamil followed me on horseback.' [textual example]

2 Reflexive constructions

There are two dedicated reflexive constructions in Abaza, one verbal (morphological) and one nominal (lexical). The verbal reflexive construction involves the prefix *čə-* occurring in the absolutive slot -12 and limited to the reflexivization of the absolutive argument, as illustrated in (12); it will be discussed in §2.1. The nominal reflexive construction employs the body-part noun *qa* 'head' with a possessor prefix coreferential with the A-like argument of the verb, cf. (13). The nominal reflexive can be used to reflexivize different syntactic positions, including the absolutive, where it competes with the verbal reflexive prefix. It will be discussed in §2.2. Apart from this, certain types of coreference between arguments can be expressed by the use of the appropriate pronominal prefixes in two distinct slots, as seen in (14); even though this strategy is not restricted to reflexivization, it deserves attention and will be discussed in section §2.3.

- (12) *č-hə-r-pχ-əw-n*
 REFL.ABS-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm-IPFV-PST
 'We were warming ourselves up.' [textual example]
- (13) *p-qa* *b-a-pšə*
 2SG.F.IO-head 2SG.F.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look(IMP)
 'Look at yourself!' (said to a woman)
- (14) *zakə-zakə haq^wə šə-c-tə-ž-g-əw-š-t*
 one-one stone 2PL.IO-COM-LOC-2PL.ERG-carry-IPFV-FUT-DECL
 'Each of you will take along (lit. with you) a stone.' [textual example]

2.1 Reflexive constructions with the absolutive reflexive prefix

The absolutive reflexive prefix *čə-* normally occurs in slot –12 and is used in situations when the absolutive argument is coreferential with some other argument higher in agentivity which is encoded in the usual way. The most common situation of this kind is attested with transitive verbs, where the absolutive reflexive indicates coreference of the ergative agent and the absolutive patient. For transitive verbs, the use of the absolutive reflexive *čə-* seems to be fully productive; in particular, extroverted and introverted verbs behave similarly in this respect. Example (15) shows an extroverted verb ‘injure’ and (16) shows an introverted verb ‘wash’.

- (15) a. *sə-j-χ^{wə}-t*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-injure(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He injured me.’
 b. *čə-j-χ^{wə}-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-injure(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He injured himself.’
- (16) a. *jə-l-žž-əj-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-PRS-DECL
 ‘She is washing it.’
 b. *čə-l-žž-əj-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-PRS-DECL
 ‘She is washing (herself).’

Importantly, the absolutive reflexive prefix does not render the verb intransitive and hence cannot be regarded as a valency-reducing device. This is evidenced not only by the presence of the ergative prefix in (15b) and (16b), but also by the formation of the imperative. Imperative forms of Abaza transitive verbs obligatorily lack the ergative prefix corresponding to the 2nd person singular actor, and this occurs in ordinary transitive (17a) and reflexive (17b) constructions alike.

- (17) a. *a-sabəj d-žžə*
 DEF-child 3SG.H.ABS-wash(IMP)
 ‘Wash the child!’
 b. *čə-žžə*
 REFL.ABS-wash(IMP)
 ‘Wash yourself!’

The use of the reflexive prefix under coreference of the absolutive with a higher ranking argument is obligatory, as indicated by (18a), where the doubling of the 1st person prefix results in ungrammaticality, as opposed to (18b) with the reflexive prefix, and by (18c) showing that the use of the ordinary 3rd person human absolutive prefix is only compatible with a disjoint interpretation.

- (18) a. * *sə-z-dər-əj-t*
 1SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DECL
 intended: ‘I know myself.’
- b. *čə-z-dər-əj-t*
 REFL.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DECL
 ‘I know myself.’
- c. *də-l-žžə-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She washed her/him/*herself.’

The absolutive reflexive prefix is also used when the antecedent is an indirect object rather than the ergative. This happens, first, in inverse constructions derived from transitive verbs by means of the potential prefix *zə-*, as in (19), and the involuntative prefix *mqa-*, as in (20). Both these prefixes induce the shift of the A-like argument from the ergative to the indirect object (cf. O’Herin 2002: 185), see the difference between the transitive construction in (19a–19b) and the inverse construction in (19c–19d).

- (19) a. *sə-j-k^waba-t*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-bathe(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He bathed me.’
- b. *čə-j-k^waba-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-bathe(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He bathed [himself].’
- c. *sə-j-zə-k^waba-t*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-POT-bathe(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He managed to bathe me (lit. I bathed to him).’
- d. *čə-j-zə-k^waba-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-POT-bathe(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He managed to bathe (lit. to him bathed himself).’

- (20) a. *sə-j-mqa-χ^wə-t*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-INVOL-injure(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He accidentally injured me (lit. I got injured on him).’
- b. *č-jə-mqa-χ^w-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-INVOL-injure(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He accidentally injured himself (lit. on him got injured himself).’

Second, the absolutive reflexive can be coreferential with an indirect object encoding the causee (original ergative subject) in morphological causatives based on transitive verbs. In such cases two interpretations are possible, with the antecedent being either the original agent (the causee IO), as in (21c, i.) or the new agent (the ergative causer), as in (21c, ii.) and (22).

- (21) a. *jə-z-žžə-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-wash(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I washed it.’
- b. *j-sə-j-rə-žžə-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-wash(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He made me wash it.’
- c. *č-sə-j-rə-žžə-t*
 REFL.ABS-1SG.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-wash(AOR)-DECL
 i. ‘He made me_i wash (myself)_i.’
 ii. ‘He_i made me wash him_i.’
- (22) *zawaḷ a-zə*
 Zawal DEF-water
č-a-j-rə-q^wara-χ-t
 REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DECL
 ‘Zawal drowned himself (lit. he_i let the water strangle him_i).’ [textual example]

Third, the absolutive reflexive can occur in non-derived inverse verbs where its antecedent is an experiencer rather than an agent, as in (23a) and (23b).²

- (23) a. *d-s-čə-maB-p*
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-be.unpleasant-NPST.DECL
 ‘I hate him.’

²Reflexive constructions of all types can optionally include the reflexive suffix *-χ* (on its uses in Abaza see Panova 2019) serving to reinforce the reflexive meaning. On such uses of reflexive markers see Stojnova (2010).

- b. *č-s-čə-maβ-χ-þ*
 REFL.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-be.unpleasant-RE-NPST.DECL
 ‘I hate myself.’

Finally, the absolutive reflexive can be used in inverse denominal predicates derived by the estimative applicative *ma-*, see (24).

- (24) a. *d-sə-ma-þšʒa-ʔ*
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-EST-beautiful(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I considered him/her beautiful.’
 b. *č-sə-ma-þšʒa-ʔ*
 REFL.ABS-1SG.IO-EST-beautiful(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I considered myself beautiful.’

The absolutive reflexive cannot be used in polyvalent intransitive verbs that encode their A-like argument in the absolutive slot, as shown in (25) (cf. 9b above).

- (25) * *čə-l-þš-əj-ʔ*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.F.IO-look-PRS-DECL
 intended: ‘She looked at herself.’

2.2 Reflexive constructions with the reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun (or rather the reflexive noun) in Abaza is based on the noun root *qa* ‘head’ obligatorily furnished with a possessive (indirect object) prefix with the person, number and gender features matching those of the antecedent. The reflexive pronoun itself is cross-referenced by a 3rd person non-human marker in the appropriate slot. Example (26b) shows the reflexive in the absolutive position, and (27b) shows the indirect object reflexive. The corresponding examples, (26a) and (27a), feature ordinary nouns in the same syntactic positions. In (26b) the reflexive pronoun immediately precedes the verb, hence the corresponding absolutive prefix is absent.

- (26) a. *sara s-an* *də-z-ba-ʔ*
 1SG 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-see(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I saw my mother.’
 b. *sara a-ŋʷəga-la* *s-qa* *z-ba-χ-ʔ*
 1SG DEF-mirror-INS 1SG.IO-head 1SG.ERG-see-RE(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’

- (27) a. *j-an* *də-l-c-qrɑɫ-əj-t*
 3SG.M.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.IO-COM-help-PRS-DECL
 ‘He helps his mother.’
- b. *j-qa* *d-a-c-qrɑɫa-χ-əj-t*
 3SG.M.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM-help-RE-PRS-DECL
 ‘He helps himself.’

With a plural antecedent, the reflexive pronoun can optionally take the plural suffix *k^wa*, in which case it is cross-referenced by a plural prefix, see (28a–28b).

- (28) a. *hara h-qa* *j-a-zə-h-χ^wɣa-t*
 1PL 1PL.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-1PL.ERG-buy(AOR)-DECL
 b. *hara h-qa-k^wa* *jə-r-zə-h-χ^wɣa-t*
 1PL 1PL.IO-head-PL 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-1PL.ERG-buy(AOR)-DECL
 ‘We bought it for ourselves.’ (a=b)

The reflexive pronoun is the only reflexivization strategy available for intransitive verbs like ‘look at’ or ‘help’ in (25) and (27) above, but is used more widely. With transitive verbs, it competes with the verbal reflexive prefix, which seems to be the default option and is especially preferable in those cases when the use of the nominal reflexive may induce a body-part rather than a reflexive interpretation, as seen in (29–31).

- (29) a. *d-sə-r-q^wanč^ʻ-əj-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DECL
 ‘I accuse him/her.’
- b. *s-qa* *sə-r-q^wanč^ʻ-əj-t*
 1SG.F.IO-head 1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DECL
 ‘I accuse myself.’/??‘I accuse my own head.’
- c. *č-sə-r-q^wanč^ʻ-əj-t*
 REFL.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DECL
 ‘I accuse myself.’
- (30) a. *čə-l-žž^ʻ-əj-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-PRS-DECL
 ‘She is washing (herself).’
- b. *l-qa* *l-žž^ʻ-əj-t*
 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.F.ERG-wash-PRS-DECL
 ‘She is washing her head.’/*‘She is washing.’

- (31) a. *č-a-čə-s-χč'a-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
 'I protected myself from it.'
- b. *s-qa a-čə-s-χč'a-t*
 1SG.IO-head 3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
 'I protected myself/my head from it.'

The nominal reflexive can also be used instead of the verbal reflexive in inverse verbs, cf. (32).

- (32) *s-qa j-sə-čə-maβ-χ-ḫ*
 1SG.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-be.unpleasant-RE-NPST.DECL
 'I hate myself.'

The reflexive pronoun also occurs in the position of indirect or applied object with transitive verbs, where its antecedent is the ergative agent, see (33–34); as we show in the next section (§2.3), this pattern of coreference can be expressed by mere doubling of pronominal prefixes.

- (33) a. *sara bara j-b-a-s-h^w-t*
 1SG 2SG.F 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DECL
 'I said it to you (woman).'
- b. *awəj l-qa j-a-l-h^w-χ-t*
 DIST 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.ERG-say-RE-DECL
 'She said it to herself.'
- (34) a. *d-b-čə-s-χč'a-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-2SG.F.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
 'I protected him from you (woman).'
- b. *s-qa d-a-čə-s-χč'a-t*
 1SG.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
 'I protected him/her from myself.'

Finally, the nominal reflexive can also express coreference with a non-subject argument, e.g. with the absolutive P as in (35), where the nominal reflexive is an applied object.

(35) *aslan j-qa*

Aslan 3SG.M.IO-head

d-a-čə-s-χč'a-χ-t

3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-RE-DECL

'I protected Aslan from himself.'

The nominal reflexive can co-occur with the verbal reflexive when both the absolutive and the indirect object are coreferential with the ergative participant, as in (36).

(36) *s-qa č-a-čə-s-χč'a-t*

1SG.IO-head REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL

'I protected myself from myself.'

The nominal reflexive cannot be used as an intensifier, this function being expressed by (simple or reduplicated) 3rd person pronouns, see Panova (2020). This is shown in (37a), where the reduplicated 3rd person masculine pronoun *jara* functions as a self-intensifier, while the use of the reflexive noun in the same position renders the sentence infelicitous (37b).

(37) a. *zažg'əj a-č'k'wən*

nobody DEF-boy

d-g'-p-jə-m-qə-t,

jara-jara

3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-cut(AOR)-DECL 3SG.M-INTF

j-qa pə-j-qə-χ-t

3SG.M.IO-head LOC-3SG.M.ERG-cut(AOR)-RE-DECL

'Nobody injured the boy, he injured himself.'

b. # *...j-qa awəj d-p-na-qə-χ-t*

3SG.M.IO-head DIST 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3SG.N.ERG-cut(AOR)-RE-DECL

'...his head cut him.'

The 3rd person pronoun is also used to disambiguate the reflexive and disjoint readings in adpossession constructions, see (38a); the nominal reflexive is ungrammatical in this position (38b).

(38) a. *dasəwzłakg'əj jara j-tʃača*

whoever.it.is 3SG.M 3SG.M.IO-family

də-r-zə-nχ-əj-t

3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-work-PRS-DECL

'Everyone works for his own family.'

- b. * *dasəwzlaḡʻəj j-qa* *a-tfaċa*
 whoever.it.is 3SG.M.IO-head 3SG.N.IO-family
də-r-zə-nχ-əj-t
 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-work-PRS-DECL
 intended: ‘=a’

The nominal reflexive cannot occur in the position of the subject, i.e. as the ergative argument of transitive verbs, (39), or the absolutive argument of intransitive verbs (40).

- (39) a. *a-ph^wəspa_i* *a-ŋ^wəga* *a-pnə* *l-qa_i*
 DEF-girl DEF-mirror 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.F.IO-head
l-ba-χ-əj-t
 3SG.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DECL
 ‘The girl sees herself in the mirror.’ (Testelet 2017: ex. 10a)
- b. # *l-qa_i* *a-ph^wəspa_{j/*i}* *a-ŋ^wəga* *a-pnə*
 3SG.F.IO-head DEF-girl DEF-mirror 3SG.N.IO-at
d-a-ba-χ-əj-t
 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DECL
 ‘#Her head again sees the girl in the mirror.’ (≠a) (Testelet 2017: ex. 10b)
- (40) a. *l-qa* *d-a-ċ-ŝ-əj-t*
 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DECL
 ‘She fears herself.’
- b. * *l-qa* *jə-l-ċ-ŝ-əj-t*
 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DECL
 (only #‘Her head is afraid of her.’)

Normally the antecedent of the nominal reflexive must belong to the same clause, but some of our consultants allowed examples like (41) with the matrix subject anteceding a reflexive in a non-finite clause.

- (41) *aslan_i* [*rəwslan_j* *j_{i/j}-qa* *d-a-z-ʒərŋ^wə-rnəs*]
 Aslan Ruslan 3SG.M.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-listen-PURP
j-a-j-h^w-t
 3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DECL
 ‘Aslan told Ruslan to listen to himself (=Ruslan/%=Aslan).’

2.3 Domains not covered by the dedicated reflexive constructions

In addition to the dedicated verbal and nominal reflexives, coreference in Abaza can be expressed by the use of the same personal prefixes in two distinct slots, which we call ‘doubling’. In particular, this is the only strategy available for the reflexivization of the adnominal possessor or postpositional object, cf. (42–43).

- (42) *wə-nbʒʹaɣ^w-ča-k^{wa} z-ɣa-wə-m-d-ja*
 2SG.M.IO-friend-PLH-PL REL.RSN-CSL-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-lead-QN
 ‘Why didn’t you (man) bring your friends here?’ [textual example]

- (43) *j-pnə w-a-n-jə-r-pχʹa-wa*
 3SG.M.IO-at 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-IPFV
 ‘He lets you (man) spend the night at his (place).’ [textual example]

Besides these rather expected cases, doubling of personal prefixes systematically occurs in transitive verbs as well to indicate coreference between the ergative agent and an indirect object. This happens in morphological causatives from transitive verbs (cf. Tabulova 1976: 188), see (44).

- (44) a. *lə-bəzša-gʹəj h-lə-r-dər-t*
 3SG.F.IO-language-ADD 1PL.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She taught (lit. caused to know) us her language.’ [textual example]
- b. *j-ɣa-s-sə-r-dər-əj-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-1SG.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-know-PRS-DECL
 ‘I learn it (lit. I cause myself to know it).’ (Tabulova 1976: 188)

As expected, the coreferential interpretation is obligatory only with the 1st and 2nd person prefixes, while verb forms with identical 3rd person prefixes may have both coreferential and disjoint interpretations depending on the context, see (45).

- (45) a. *j-ɣa-j-lə-r-ba-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-3SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-see(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She showed it to him.’
- b. *j-ɣa-l-lə-r-ba-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-CSL-3SG.F.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-see(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She_i showed it to her_j/herself_i.’

Expression of coreference by doubling of personal prefixes is widespread with applied objects of transitive verbs. It is attested with the comitative, see (14)

above, benefactive (46), malefactive (47),³ as well as with some locative preverbs (48).

- (46) a. *jə-l-zə-w-χ^wʕ-əj-t*
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-buy-PRS-DECL
'You (man) buy it for her.'
- b. *jə-w-zə-w-χ^wʕ-əj-t*
3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-buy-PRS-DECL
'You (man) buy it for yourself.'
- (47) a. *d-a-čə-s-χč'a-t*
3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
'I protected him/her from it.'
- b. *d-sə-čə-s-χč'a-t*
3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
'I protected him/her from myself.'
- (48) a. *j-ʕ-a-čə-w-ç-əj-t*
3SG.N.ABS-CSL-3SG.N.IO-LOC:under-2SG.M.ERG-put-PRS-DECL
'You (man) put this under that.'
- b. *j-ʕa-wə-čə-w-ç-əj-t*
3SG.N.ABS-CSL-2SG.M.IO-LOC:under-2SG.M.ERG-put-PRS-DECL
'You (man) put it under yourself.'

When the semantics allow it, it is possible to combine the doubling strategy with one of the dedicated reflexivization devices, cf. (49a) with the verbal reflexive and (49b) with the nominal reflexive; cf. also (36) above.

- (49) a. *č-s-čə-s-χč'a-t*
REFL.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
- b. *s-qa jə-s-čə-s-χč'a-t*
1SG.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-MAL-1SG.ERG-protect(AOR)-DECL
'I protected myself from myself.' (a=b)

A special case of doubling of personal prefixes occurs in constructions involving relative verbal forms, i.e. relative clauses, content questions (see Arkadiev 2020) and argument focus constructions. Here a coreferential (or more precisely:

³Note that our consultants allow a broader application of this strategy than reported by O'Herin (2001: 490–491), who claims it to be disallowed with benefactive and malefactive.

covarying, i.e. semantically bound) interpretation is only available if all occurrences of the relevant personal prefix are replaced by the relative prefix *zə-* in the same slot (see a discussion in O’Herin 2002: 264–265). This happens both in verbs with indirect objects, (50a), and in adpossession constructions, (51a). If the regular personal prefix is used instead of the relative prefix in the lower position, only the disjoint interpretation is possible, cf. (50b) and (51b).

- (50) a. *awəj z-zə-r-dər-wa-z-da?*
 DIST REL.IO-REL.ERG-CAUS-know-IPFV-PST.NFIN-QH
 ‘Who learned (lit. caused oneself to know) it?’
- b. *awəj j-zə-r-dər-wa-z-da?*
 DIST 3SG.M.IO-REL.ERG-CAUS-know-IPFV-PST.NFIN-QH
 ‘Who taught him that?’/*‘Who learned it?’
- (51) a. *z-χaḡat-k^wa-la čə-zə-m-bž’a-χ-wa*
 REL.IO-mistake-PL-INS REFL.ABS-REL.ERG-NEG-educate-RE-IPFV
d-laga-p̄
 3SG.H.ABS-fool-NPST.DECL
 ‘The one_i who does not learn by his/her_i own errors is a fool.’
- b. # *j-χaḡat-k^wa-la čə-zə-m-bž’a-χ-wa*
 3SG.M.IO-mistake-PL-INS REFL.ABS-REL.ERG-NEG-educate-RE-IPFV
d-laga-p̄
 3SG.H.ABS-fool-NPST.DECL
 ‘The one_i who does not learn by his_j (someone else’s) errors is a fool.’

The distribution of the three types of expression of coreference in Abaza, including two dedicated reflexivization strategies and the doubling of personal prefixes, is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Distribution of reflexivization strategies in Abaza

Strategy	ERG>ABS	IO>ABS	ERG>IO	ABS>IO	X>POSS
Verbal reflexive <i>čə-</i>	+	+	–	–	–
Nominal reflexive <i>qa</i>	+	+	+	+	–
Doubling of personal prefixes	–	–	+	–	+

3 Related functions of the absolutive reflexive prefix

The verbal reflexive has anticausative and anticausative uses with both controlling animate and non-controlling inanimate subjects. Verbs allowing such a use of reflexive include verbs denoting caused motion, (52) caused change of posture, (53), and certain verbs of caused change of state, (54).

- (52) a. *sara č-a-ca-sə-r-pa-ʔ*
 1SG REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC:back-1SG.ERG-CAUS-turn(AOR)-DECL
 ‘I turned (lit. myself) back.’
- b. *a-fljuđer*
 DEF-vane[R]
č-a-ca-na-r-pa-ʔ
 REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC:back-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-turn(AOR)-DECL
 ‘The weather-vane turned (lit. itself).’
- (53) a. *nana čə-na-lə-r-qʷ-ʔ*
 granny REFL.ABS-TRL-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DECL
 ‘Granny bent (to get something from the floor).’
- b. *a-čla čə-na-na-r-qʷ-ʔ*
 DEF-tree REFL.ABS-TRL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DECL
 ‘The tree bent.’
- (54) a. *awəj č-a-kʷ-jə-r-βʷβʷa-ʔ*
 DIST REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC:on-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-straight(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He stretched (lying on a bench).’
- b. *a-napa-kʷa čə-də-r-βʷβʷa-χ-ʔ*
 DEF-page-PL REFL.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-straight-RE(AOR)-DECL
 ‘The pages became smooth again (after the book was put under a press).’

From the data we have, it may appear that most of the verbs that allow such a use of the reflexive are morphological causatives, but simplex verbs allow it as well, see (55–56).

- (55) *a-qəš-kʷa čə-sa-r-ʔə-ʔ*
 DEF-window-PL REFL.ABS-CSL-3PL.ERG-open(AOR)-DECL
 ‘The windows opened.’ (Tugov 1967: 362)

- (56) *č-a-d-h-klə-n* *zəmʕ^wa-g'əj*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1PL.ERG-gather-PST all-ADD
 ‘We all gathered there.’ [textual example]

A less trivial use of the reflexive prefix is attested only in combination with the morphological causative and involves the meaning of simulation or pretence, cf. (57–58).

- (57) *čə-j-rə-g^wzaža-wa-n*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-hurry-IPFV-PST
 ‘He pretended to be in a hurry.’
- (58) *č-jə-r-laga-t*
 REFL.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-fool(AOR)-DECL
 ‘He pretended to be a fool.’

4 Diachronic development

The diversity of reflexivization strategies attested in Abaza and their distribution can be explained as a result of successive cycles of grammaticalization (i.e. *layering*, Hopper 1991). The etymology of the absolutive reflexive *čə-* is unclear, but comparative data from Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979: 77–78) indicates that it goes back to a noun with a possessive prefix incorporated into the absolutive slot of the verb, as shown in (59).⁴

- (59) *l-čə-l-k^waba-jt*
 3SG.F.IO-REFL-3SG.F.ERG-bathe(AOR)-DECL
 ‘She bathed.’ (Abkhaz, Hewitt 1979: 78)

This diachronic process has reached a more advanced stage in Abaza than in Abkhaz and must have started with the absolutive arguments of highly transitive verbs, which is commonly recognized as the most natural reflexive context, see Faltz (1977: 3), Kemmer (1993: 42–52), Haspelmath (2008), Haspelmath (2019: 16–17), then extending to derived and lexical inverse predicates by analogy.

The nominal reflexive *qa* ‘head’ with a possessive prefix is nothing but a newer instance of the same development. The grammaticalization path from ‘head’ to reflexive is cross-linguistically recurrent (see e.g. Schladt 2000; Heine & Kuteva

⁴Transcription and glossing adapted.

2002: 168–169; Evseeva & Salaberri 2018⁵) and is common in the languages of the Caucasus, being attested across the Northwest Caucasian family as well as in the Kartvelian languages. The strategy with doubling of pronominal prefixes is probably a vestige of an earlier state with no dedicated reflexive marking, ousted to the periphery of the system when the specialized means of expression emerged.

Acknowledgments

This article was prepared as part of the project № 18-05-0014 realized through the National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Academic Fund Program in 2019–2020 and financed through the Russian Academic Excellence Project 5-100. We thank all our Abaza consultants, especially Dina Usha, for their patience and generosity, as well as Martin Haspelmath, Ekaterina Lyutikova, Maria Polinsky, Nicoletta Puddu and an anonymous reviewer for their useful feedback on the preliminary versions of this paper. All faults and shortcomings remain ours.

Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

ADD	additive	MAL	malefactive
ADNUM	adnumerative	N	non-human
AOR	aorist	NAG	agent nominal
CLN	non-human classifier	NFIN	non-finite
CSL	cislocative	NPST	non-past
DAT	dative applicative	PLH	human plural
DIST	distal demonstrative	POT	potential
EMP	emphatic	QH	human interrogative
EST	estimative	QN	non-human interrogative
H	human	R	Russian loan
INTF	intensification	RE	refactive
INVOL	involuntative	RSN	reason subordinator
IO	indirect object	TRL	translocative
LOC	locative applicative		

⁵It should be noted that the data on Abaza and Abkhaz adduced in these works are erratic and probably all stem from errors in the table given by (Schladt 2000: 108) without reference to sources.

References

- Arkadiev, Peter M. 2020. Syntax in morphological guise: Interrogative verbal morphology in Abaza. *Linguistic Typology* 24(2). 211–251.
- Arkadiev, Peter M. & Yury A. Lander. 2021. Northwest Caucasian languages. In Maria Polinsky (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of the languages of the Caucasus*, 369–446. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chirikba, Vyacheslav A. 2003. *Abkhaz*. Munich: LINCOM Europa.
- Comrie, Bernard, Martin Haspelmath & Balthasar Bickel. 2008. *The Leipzig glossing rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*. Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & Department of Linguistics of Leipzig University. Leipzig.
- Evseeva, Natalia & Iker Salaberri. 2018. Grammaticalization of nouns meaning ‘head’ into reflexive markers: A cross-linguistic study. *Linguistic Typology* 22(3). 385–435.
- Faltz, Leonard M. 1977. *Reflexivization: A study in universal syntax*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Genko, Anatolij N. 1955. *Abazinskij jazyk: Grammatičeskij očerk narečija tapanta* [The Abaza language: A grammatical sketch of the Tapanta dialect]. Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2008. A frequentist explanation of some universals of reflexive marking. *Linguistic Discovery* 6(1). 40–63.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2019. Can cross-linguistic regularities be explained by constraints on change? In Karsten Schmidtke-Bode, Natalia Levshina, Susanne Maria Michaelis & Ilja A. Seržant (eds.), *Explanation in typology: Diachronic sources, functional motivations and the nature of the evidence*, 1–23. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.2583804.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hewitt, B. George. 1979. *Abkhaz*. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. Some principles of grammaticalization. In Bernd Heine & Elizabeth C. Traugott (eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization*, vol. 2, 17–35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jacques, Guillaume. 2022. Estimative constructions in crosslinguistic perspective. *Linguistic Typology*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingty-2021-0054> (6 October, 2022).
- Janic, Katarzyna & Martin Haspelmath. 2023. Questionnaire on reflexive constructions in the world’s languages. In Katarzyna Janic, Nicoletta Puddu & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *Reflexive constructions in the world’s languages*, 847–853. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7874992.

- Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Klychev, Rauf N. 1995. *Slovar' sočetaemosti lokal'nyx preverbov s suffiksoidami i glagol'nymi kornjami v abazinskom jazyke* [The collocational dictionary of locative preverbs with suffixoids and verbal roots in Abaza]. Cherkessk: Karačaevo-čerkeksskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Launey, Michel. 2004. The features of omnipredicativity in Classical Nahuatl. *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 57(1). 49–69.
- Lomtadze, Ketevan & Rauf N. Klychev. 1989. Abaza. In George B. Hewitt (ed.), *The North West Caucasian languages*, vol. 2, 89–154. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.
- O'Herin, Brian. 2001. Abaza applicatives. *Language* 77(3). 477–493.
- O'Herin, Brian. 2002. *Case and agreement in Abaza*. Arlington: SIL International & University of Texas Press.
- Panova, Anastasia B. 2019. Refaktivy v abazinskom jazyke [Refactives in Abaza]. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 15(2). 195–212.
- Panova, Anastasia B. 2020. *Referential choice in Abaza*. Master student's term paper, School of Linguistics, Higher School of Economics, Moscow.
- Schladt, Mathias. 2000. The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier & Traci S. Curl (eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and functions*, 103–124. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stoynova, Natalia M. 2010. Refleksivnye i refaktivnye značenija: Semantičeskie i tipologičeskie svjazi [Reflexive and refractive meanings: Semantic and typological links]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Ser. 9, Filologija* 3. 115–132.
- Tabulova, Nurya T. 1976. *Grammatika abazinskogo jazyka: Fonetika i morfologija* [A grammar of Abaza: Phonetics and morphology]. Čerkessk: Karačaevo-Čerkesskoe otdelenie Stavropol'skogo knižnogo izdatel'stva.
- Testelet, Yakov G. 2017. *Grammatičeskie asimmetrii v abazinskom jazyke* [Grammatical asymmetries in Abaza]. Handout.
- Tugov, Vladimir B. (ed.). 1967. *Abazinsko-russkij slovar'* [Abaza-Russian Dictionary]. Moscow: Sovetskaja ènciklopedija.

