

## Some peculiarities of anaphoric devices in Dagestian languages

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The study of anaphora is often focused on the syntactic properties of reflexive pronouns. There is a lot of investigations dealing with unusual features of reflexive pronouns in Dagestian languages (e.g. their non-locality or the possibility of non-subject control in some languages, c.f. [Lyutikova 1997], [Toldova 1998], [Testelefs, Toldova 1998] etc.). However, the syntactic features of other pronouns used as anaphoric devices in complex sentences also need detailed analysis, for these features are not predictable from the point of view of the standard Binding theory.

Dagestian languages usually use demonstrative pronouns as discourse anaphoric device. These pronouns can be coindexed with any NP in the previous sentence or with a non-subject NP within a sentence as in example (1) from the Tsakhur language:

- (1) **bajram**      maXačk'al<sub>i</sub>-ē-qa      sa=r=k'il-inGal,      rasul<sub>i</sub>-ē  
Bajram<sub>i</sub>.1    Makhachkala-IN-ALL    1=return.PF-TEMP1    Rasul-ERG

**ma-n-Gu-s**      p'il      qil-es-in.  
this<sub>i</sub>.1-A-1.OBL-DAT    money.4    4.give-POT-A

*When Bajram<sub>i</sub> returns from Makhachkala, Rasul<sub>i</sub> will return  
him the money.*

According to the standard binding theory pronominals should be free in the local domain and can be bound within a sentence contrary to the full NPs, that are not bound. For instance, the English anaphoric pronoun *he* in the subordinate clause can be coindexed with the subject of the main clause (c.f. (1) *John<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> / \*John would come*). As far as demonstratives in some Dagestian languages are concerned they can not be coindexed with any subject in the sentence, cf. (2) from Tsakhur:

- (2) \*ajšat-i-s      i<sub>k</sub>an-o=d      jič<sub>o</sub>-ē      **ma-n-Gi-s**  
Ajshat<sub>i</sub>-OBL-DAT    4.want.IPF-be=4    sister-ERG    this<sub>\*i/m</sub>.2-A-2.OBL-DAT  
gurt      ališ-es.  
dress.4    4.buy-POT

*Ajshat<sub>i</sub> wants her sister to buy her<sub>\*i/m</sub> a dress.*

Thus, the main claim of the presentation is that the syntactic behaviour of demonstratives in some Dagestian languages is “non-subject” oriented and can serve as the criteria for singling out the Subject NP.