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**Grammaticalization of nouns meaning ‘head’
as reflexive markers
in the Kartvelian and Basque languages**

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Abstract

Nouns denoting human body parts often participate in grammaticalization processes in the languages of the world. In particular, body part nouns sometimes serve as a source for reflexive markers. Reflexive markers derived from the word ‘head’ are attested in quite a limited number of the world’s languages, two examples of which are the Kartvelian language family and the isolate Basque language. Some generalizations about such patterns have been established. However, not so many studies on the grammaticalization of reflexive pronouns provide a comparative analysis of similar developments in unrelated languages. This work presents a more detailed insight into the diachronic evolution of the Georgian noun *tavi* ‘head’ used as a reflexive marker, as well as into its interaction with another reflexivization strategy existing in the language. The corresponding data from other Kartvelian languages (Svan, Megrelian and Laz) provide additional evidence for the hypothesis that ‘head’ as a marker of reflexivity spreads areally. The Basque noun *buru* ‘head’ shows a rather similar, but not completely identical picture of grammaticalization process, and, as in Georgian, the Basque construction coexists with another reflexivization strategy. Both Georgian and Basque grammaticalization patterns present some differences with respect to the universal developments proposed in previous literature.

Keywords: grammaticalization, reflexives, body parts, Kartvelian, Basque, reflexivization strategies.

0. Introduction

Studies on language change and grammaticalization theory occasionally focus on the diachronic development and typology of reflexive markers across languages (Lehmann 2002, Schladt 2000, König and Siemund 1999). Several universal sources for reflexive markers have been identified, such as body part names (body, head, bone, skin etc.), object personal pronouns and locative prepositions, among others. However, little has been done to compare the development of similar reflexive constructions in unrelated languages.

The aim of this paper is to go into detail concerning the evolution of the reflexive markers whose origin can be traced back to the noun denoting ‘head’. Basque (a well-known language isolate spoken in West Europe) and the Kartvelian language family (consisting of Georgian, Mingrelian, Svan and Laz and spoken in the Caucasus region), with a special focus on Georgian, constitute the object of study of this work. In both cases, the main reflexivization strategy uses a noun meaning ‘head’ (*buru* in Basque, *tavi* in Georgian), sometimes accompanied by a possessive pronoun, although other Kartvelian languages show the presence of different means. More specifically, these means imply the use of reflexive pronouns derived from demonstratives or interrogatives. An alternative strategy in these languages is verbal reflexivization, i.e. the presence of a reflexive morpheme in the verb. In the case of Basque, no specific reflexive morpheme is used, but a different auxiliary verb is chosen instead. This work deals with the interaction between these two coexisting strategies. .

As an additional contribution to earlier comparative grammaticalization studies (Schlady 2000, Heine and Kuteva 2002), the present work presents analyses of parallel development paths in order to observe the commonalities and differences between processes of change in unrelated languages. This study aims at confirming or refuting previous claims on the pathways through which nouns denoting ‘head’ are grammaticalized and about the way in which two different reflexivization strategies can interact in one and the same language.

The work is structured as follows: in Chapter 1, the different theoretical concepts used in this work are laid out. The terms ‘grammaticalization’ and ‘reflexivity’ are defined, different types of reflexive markers singled out by researchers as well as two categories closely related to reflexivity (intensifiers and middle voice), are discussed. Special attention is paid to the body part nouns that can become reflexive markers in the world’s languages. After that, the stages of the grammaticalization process of reflexives are analysed, as well as the possible

developments of reflexives to markers of other grammatical categories. Finally, verbal reflexivization and its interaction with the nominal reflexivization strategy are presented.

In Chapter 2, the Kartvelian and the Basque data are discussed. First, the evolution of the Georgian noun *tavi* ‘head’, which is used as a reflexive marker from Old Georgian until the modern language, is analysed. Moreover, verbal reflexives in Georgian (the so-called version) and the choice of the reflexivization strategy are addressed. In addition, data from the other Kartvelian languages (Svan, Megrelian and Laz) are presented. After that, Basque data are studied, i. e. the use of the noun *buru* ‘head’ and the detransitivization of the auxiliary verb as a reflexivization strategy.

Lastly, Chapter 3 presents the conclusions of the work.

Chapter 1: Theoretical background

1.1 Grammaticalization of nouns denoting body parts

One of the key notions in the studies on linguistic change is the term ‘grammaticalization’, which could be defined as a process whereby “a lexical item or construction in certain uses takes on grammatical characteristics, or through which a grammatical item becomes more grammatical” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 2). Cross-linguistically, one can observe regularities in this process; there are some common models of change, or grammaticalization paths. These particular routes which some individual forms or groups of forms can take are often called ‘grammaticalization channels’ (Lehmann 2002: 22), ‘grammaticalization chains’ (Heine 1992: 335) or ‘grammaticalization clines’ (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 6).

The similarities between the grammaticalization paths found in the languages belonging to different genetic and areal groups are due, as Bybee et al. (1994) note, to the “existence of common cognitive and communicative patterns underlying the use of languages” (Bybee et al. 1994: 15). Two important aspects need to be pointed out while dealing with the universality of the paths. On the one hand, the unidirectionality hypothesis, a fundamental, yet controversial¹ principle in the grammaticalization theory that predicts the sequence of language changes (Bybee et al. 1994: 12, Hopper and Traugott 2003: 16). On the other hand, as far as source lexical items are concerned, the ones entering the grammaticalization process tend to be the most basic in the human experience. The most important experiences are related to the human body, so it is not surprising that body part terms are involved in a range of grammaticalization processes. One of the most common cases is the use of body parts as a source for the expressions denoting spatial orientation (Heine 1997: 38). Many African languages, for example, have developed adpositions through grammaticalization of some

¹A significant number of counterexamples to the changes predicted by the unidirectionality hypothesis has been found (for example, changes from an inflectional affix to clitic, or from clitic to word described in Newmeyer (2001)). Some researchers consider these counterexamples insignificant (Heine 1991: 4), while others, such as Campbell (2001), Newmeyer (2001), Janda (2001) and Joseph (2001) find that they falsify the unidirectionality hypothesis. If unidirectionality is accepted as part of the definition of grammaticalization, in view of some authors (for example, Campbell (2001: 157)), this raises the question whether the grammaticalization theory has any value at all, since the phenomena it describes rely on other processes and mechanisms of linguistic change (see a monographic treatment of degrammaticalization in Norde 2009).

specific parts of a body, like in the following example from Dhaasanac (an Afro-Asiatic language spoken in southern Ethiopia):

(1) *kúo bil ʔaf taalli?*

2.SG.Shouse mouth stand.PERF

‘Were you (standing) in front of the house?’ (Narrog and Heine 2011: 698)

These locative markers can afterwards develop into temporal markers, as observed by Schladt (2000: 111) for Kikuyu (a Niger-Congo language spoken in Kenya):

(2) a. *thutha* ‘back’ > behind, rear (LOC) > after (TEMP)

b. *thutha uĩ-cio nd-a-na-coka gũ-tũ-ruma*
 behind CL.14-that NEG-3.SG-PST-return INF-1.PL.O-abuse

‘After that he did not abuse us again’

Body part nouns such as ‘hand’ and ‘foot’ can become numerals, as in the following example from Teso (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 166): *a-kan* ‘hand’ > *akañ* ‘five’. Some cases are also attested of body part terms developing into demonstratives (Amiridze and Leuschner 2002: 260), or comitative markers (Schladt 2000: 112), but one of the domains where this kind of nouns is the most important source of derivation for the new markers is the category of reflexivity.

1.2 Reflexivity and types of reflexive markers

Here, we will adopt the broad definition for all the grammatical phenomena related to reflexivity which have in common the function of “making identity with or back reference to an entity involved in the same proposition (sentence or clause)” (Lehmann 2002: 37). Schladt (2000) also refers to reflexive markers in a very wide sense, including both nominal or pronominal and verbal reflexivity. Since the aim of this paper is to show the diachronic development of the words with the meaning ‘head’ into any kind of reflexive, the definition stated above will be assumed here.

According to Lehmann (2002: 38), reflexive markers in the world’s languages fit into the following four categories:

- a. autophoric nouns. These are nouns that have also a free, non-reflexive use, such as Sanskrit *ātmán* ‘breath, soul’ or Buginese (an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia) *elena* ‘body’. Such nouns are often accompanied by a possessive pronoun.
- b. reflexive nouns. These differ from the autophoric nouns in the sense that they do not have any meaning other than ‘self’, so that they are etymologically not so transparent. This is the case of German *selbst* or Spanish *mismo*.
- c. reflexive pronouns. They are syntactically identical to the ordinary personal pronouns. Examples are German *sich* or Russian *sebjá*.
- d. verbal reflexives. This category covers all the verb affixes expressing the action that affects the subject. An example of this case is the Swahili *-ji-*.

Some of the anaphoric and reflexive nouns can be called ‘head reflexives’ (Amiridze and Leuschner 2002: 265) because of their syntactic behaviour: the noun expressing reflexivity is the head of the noun phrase, it is preceded by a possessive pronoun, and both noun and pronoun take the case marking according to the function of the NP in the sentence. The following example is from Vedic Sanskrit (Lehmann 2002: 38):

- (3) *utá sváyā tanvā sám vade*
 and POSS.REFL:INST.SG.F self.INST.SG.F together speak:I
tát
 that:ACC.SG.N
 ‘And I thus converse with myself’

Another type of reflexive can be the ‘adjunct reflexive’. These are markers which cannot function as a syntactic head, but only as an adjunct of a pronoun or another noun. The classic examples are the English *himself* or a French *lui-même*.

Finally, it should be mentioned that one language can synchronically have various strategies for reflexive marking, as is the case of Russian, which uses the following means to express reflexivity: *sam* (reflexive noun), *sebjá* (reflexive pronoun) and *-sj(a)* (verbal reflexive), diachronically derived from the second form.

The four categories of reflexives listed above are arranged on a grammaticalization scale: as the evidence suggests, reflexive markers are likely to arise as autophoric nouns and then

become progressively grammaticalized until they merge morphologically with the verb. Lehmann (2002: 40-41) and Edmondson (1978: 641-642) provide some examples of these diachronic changes: Old Norse *finna sik* ‘find themselves’ >*finnask*>*finnast*>*finnaz*> Swedish *finnas* ‘are found’ (Lehmann 2002: 41)

1.3 Reflexivity and related categories: intensifiers and middle voice

We will now take a look at two categories which are closely related to reflexivity. First, some expressions that might coincide formally with reflexive markers exhibit very specific syntactic and semantic properties, which could be a reason for classifying them as a separate lexical category. These are such expressions as the English *himself* (*The President himself will attend the ceremony*), or Russian *sam*. Such forms are traditionally named intensifiers (Moravcsik 1972, König 2001) or emphatic pronouns (Heine 1999, Schladt 2000). The main difference between intensifiers and reflexives lies in their syntactic behaviour: while intensifiers function as adjuncts of noun or verb phrases, reflexive pronouns occur in argument positions. In some languages, however, intensifiers and reflexives have different origins; therefore, when speaking about the grammaticalization processes, we will take into account both reflexive markers in the narrow sense and intensifier constructions.

Another phenomenon associated with reflexivity is the middle voice. Middle markers are used in events involving internal coreference, such as grooming, change of body posture, translational motion, emotional reaction (i.e., being angry, frightened, sad or happy), mental state or process and other (for more examples, see Kemmer 1993: 16). In many languages middle voice and reflexivity are encoded in the same way, as is the case in Romance languages: cf. Spanish *Juan se afeitó* ‘Juan shaved himself’ vs. *Juan se mató* ‘Juan killed himself’. Sometimes the boundary between the two uses is difficult to set.

1.4 Body part terms as sources of reflexives

As it was previously said, body part terms are often involved in grammaticalization processes as lexical sources. According to the study conducted by Schladt (2000), the main strategy for the development of a reflexive marker is the grammaticalization of a noun denoting some part of the human body: “at least a majority of the reflexive markers must have derived from nominal sources, most probably ‘body’ or the like” (Schladt 2000: 117). Other common

strategies imply the use of nouns denoting ‘person’, ‘self’, ‘owner’, emphatic pronouns, object personal pronouns, verbs with a meaning ‘to return, come back’ or locative prepositions. Schladt analysed data from 148 languages of the world, and 89 of them have reflexives originating in body part terms. He points out the importance of the areal factor for the choice of the particular grammaticalization strategy: when looking at the distribution of all possible sources for reflexives throughout the continents (Africa, America, Asia, Australia/Oceania and Europe), one can observe some general tendencies in the strategies preferred in one or another region. For example, Europe is the only region where emphatic pronouns are one of the main strategies; Africa has body part terms as the dominant source of reflexives, and Australia/Oceania languages often grammaticalize words with a ‘return’ meaning, which is quite uncommon in other continents. However, as Schladt states, the use of body part terms may be called universal in the world’s languages, although they have a different degree of importance in different areas.

In relation to this it is interesting to look at the body part lexemes used as sources for reflexive markers. Only a limited list of words denoting parts of the human body can grammaticalize; as Schladt claims, “the frequency in communication and the organic characteristic of certain body parts seems to be of special importance” (Schladt 2000: 112). Besides ‘body’, words such as ‘head’, ‘bone’, ‘skin’ and ‘face’ are used in the development of reflexives, where the latter three present fairly infrequent instances (Schladt’s study lists correspondingly 2, 2 and 1 language using those strategies). According to these data, we can observe the influence of the areal factor in the case of the ‘head’ word: there are no examples of a reflexive marker derived from ‘head’ in the America or Australia/Oceania regions; 3 of the 4 Asian languages listed by Schladt belong to the same area (Caucasus), and some of the African languages which make a reflexive use of the ‘head’ lexeme are in a situation of language contact. Bernd Heine, in his work “Polysemy involving reflexive and reciprocal markers in African languages”, reaches a similar conclusion: whereas the grammaticalization of “body” as a reflexive or reciprocal marker seems rather universal, that of ‘head’ “appears to be suggestive of an areal distribution: with one exception (K’emant), all occurrences of ‘head’ are confined to west and west-central Africa” (Heine 1999: 9). Outside of Africa and the Caucasus region, ‘head’ is used only in Basque and the Mordvin languages (Erzya and Moksha), two Uralic languages spoken in Southwestern and Southeastern Russia (Genušienė 1987: 303).

1.5 The grammaticalization process of the reflexive markers

Various parameters have been proposed in order to describe the development of the grammatical forms according to the grammaticalization theory. Following Heine and Kuteva (2002), we will speak about four interrelated mechanisms: desemanticization, or “semantic bleaching” (the form loses its meaning content), extension, or context generalization (the form starts to be used in new contexts), decategorialization (the form loses its morphosyntactic properties), and erosion, or “phonetic reduction” (the form loses its phonetic substance²):

desemanticization
extension
decategorialization
Erosion

Table #1: Mechanisms of grammaticalization

As far as the grammaticalization of the reflexive markers is concerned, we can distinguish several stages both in conceptual change (desemanticization and extension) and in the formal one (including decategorialization and erosion). Schladt (2000) proposes the following outline of the conceptual shift for the case of reflexive markers derived from body part nouns:

- I. The body part noun is the object of the clause, has a possessive modifier correlating with the subject of the sentence, and has its source meaning.
- II. By the synecdoche mechanism, the body part noun is reinterpreted and starts to stand for the subject referent, acquiring the reflexive pronoun function. At this stage ambiguity is observed: the expression can have both the source and the target meaning.
- III. The noun functions only as a reflexive pronoun, and can develop new functions.

²Walter Bisang has pointed out that phonetic reduction is frequent, even very frequent, but not necessary in grammaticalization processes (see Bisang 2004).

These stages are not compulsory either diachronically or synchronically; Schladt presents Modern Hungarian as a language which had undergone the first stage and synchronically is now between the second and the third stages.

The loss of the linguistic properties of this type of reflexives, according to Schladt, ensues in four main stages:

- I. The combination ‘body part’ + pronominal possessive modifier is morphosyntactically marked in a normal, unconstrained manner, the noun phrase behaves as any other object (no word order permutation constraints), and the body part noun has all the properties of the ‘normal’ nouns. An important feature of this stage is that if the subject is in the plural, the object, too, is used in the plural form.
- II. The expression may optionally demonstrate some loss in morphosyntactic properties, for instance, the object noun is no longer marked for number, or the possessive marker is omitted, or there are some constraints in word order permutations which do not exist for the normal object noun phrases.
- III. The noun phrase obligatorily corefers with the subject; complement topicalization is impossible. The anaphoric object noun phrase cannot be moved to the beginning of the clause.
- IV. The reflexive marker does not exhibit the behaviour of the object noun phrase; it had acquired the distinct properties of a pronoun.

The next step in the development of some reflexives may be cliticization: the forms expressing the reflexive and the main verb are independent words (stage I), then the reflexive marker turns into a clitic (stage II), and finally, becomes a verbal affix.

The processes described above represent the decategorialization mechanism of the grammaticalization of reflexive markers; the erosion can also take place during one or another stage, depending on language. The following example is from Lamang, a Chadic language: the noun *ghvà* ‘body’ gave rise to the reflexive marker *và* (Schladt 2000: 116).

We can correlate this analysis of the evolution of reflexives with Lehmann’s classification of reflexive markers given above. An example of transition from an autophoric to a reflexive noun (the former representing what Schladt calls stage I of the conceptual shift, and the latter stage III), is Modern Arabic, more specifically its Cairene Egyptian colloquial variant, where

the item *nafs* functions as a reflexive noun with obligatory possessive suffixes, and no longer has the lexical meaning of ‘soul’ that it had in Classical Arabic (Lehmann 2002: 40).

As far as the next transition is concerned (reflexive noun to reflexive pronoun), it is doubtful whether this change is a universal path: Lehmann (2002) provides no examples of a stage “where a reflexive pronoun stemming from a reflexive noun can no longer be apposed to a noun to emphasize the identity of reference” (Lehmann 2002: 40). Going further, the author (2002: 41) even speaks of the impossibility of such an evolution. Taking into account the fact that the so-called intensifiers, or emphatic pronouns, fall into Lehmann’s category of reflexive nouns, we can observe that in a range of languages the intensifiers and the reflexive pronouns are derived from different sources (see, for example, the maps provided by König and Siemund 2005: 196-197), so the change ‘intensifier > reflexive pronoun’ does not occur systematically. König and Siemund (1999) propose the following grammaticalization path:

(4) ‘body parts’ => (intensifiers) => reflexive pronouns

They point out that intensifiers are not necessarily involved in this process since some languages lack this intermediate step; on the other hand, reflexive pronouns can arise from the same-subject markers, or logophoric pronouns (Lehmann 2002: 41), also see below Kemmer (1993)). In any case, if such a change takes place, it may be described in terms of decategorialization: the noun gradually loses its typical morphosyntactic properties until it becomes a pronoun (stage IV according to Schladt).

The following development (verbal reflexives from reflexive pronouns) is well attested cross-linguistically. This is the case of the Latin *se* which turned into the clitic *se* in Romance languages; this process is what Schladt calls cliticization, so Italian, Spanish and Portuguese are now on the stage II, and Russian would be an example of stage III: the reflexive pronoun *sebjja* is reduced to *-sj(a)*, which occurs only as a verb affix. However, verbal reflexives may have other diachronic sources different from reflexive pronouns (see Kazenin 2001:917 for more details).

1.6 Posterior grammaticalization of reflexive markers

Sometimes reflexive markers derived from body parts terms in general (and from ‘head’ in particular) undergo further evolutions and start marking some other categories, such as

reciprocity, middle voice or passive voice. The relation between the reflexive markers and intensifiers, which are often seen as separate phenomena (see above), has already been mentioned; now, we turn to the other possible grammaticalization paths which include reflexives. Heine (1999), relying on an extensive material from the languages of Africa, suggests the following scale:

- (5) 'body', 'head' > EMPH > REFL > RECI > MIDD > PASS

Here EMPH stands for 'emphatic reflexive' (intensifier), REFL for 'reflexive', RECI for 'reciprocal', MIDD for 'middle' (described above), and PASS for 'passive' (functions usually called 'medio-passive', 'neutro-passive', 'facilitative' or 'intransitivizer', included). Kemmer (1993: 197) gives a similar pattern:

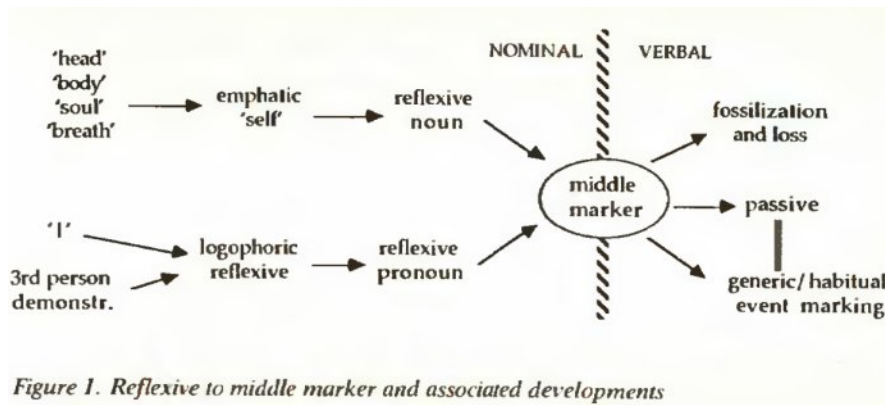


Figure 1. Reflexive to middle marker and associated developments

Haspelmath (1990) also lists reflexive markers as one of the possible sources for passives (see Haspelmath 1990: 54 for his diagram). Note that anticausatives are included in the passive category in Heine's and Kemmer's classification, and the middle markers fall into reflexive ones in Haspelmath's approach.

Similar to the process of grammaticalization of a body part noun to a reflexive, the evolution from a reflexive marker to the marker of a related category is accompanied by the mechanisms of desemanticization, extension, decategorialization and erosion. Heine (1999: 7) points out the following regularities in the languages he studied:

- (a) "The morphology employed for encoding a given meaning figuring in the scale above is less nominal than that of any of the meanings located to its left" - that is, the form undergoes decategorialization;

(b) “The phonetic substance employed for encoding a given meaning is smaller than that of any of the meaning to its left” - that is, an erosion mechanism is involved.

1.7 Verbal reflexives and two reflexivization strategies in one language

Finally, it should be noticed that during the grammaticalization process of reflexives into another category the item often maintains its previous meaning, so we can speak of cases of polysemy. As noted by Kazenin (2001), it happens virtually always in verbal reflexives, which means that we have no evidence of a verbal affix marking only reflexive but not other related categories. The data provided by Heine (1999) confirms this finding: all the languages in his list using verbal suffixes to denote reflexive meaning use the same suffix for other categories.

Another important note on verbal reflexives is that they rarely occur as a unique reflexivization strategy in a given language; of the three possible combinations (both verbal and anaphoric reflexive; only anaphoric reflexive; only verbal reflexive) the latter is only attested in some polysynthetic languages (Kazenin 2001: 926 cites Mohawk as an example). Most languages belong either to the first or to the second type, and according to Kazenin, their distribution is related to the opposition between valence-increasing and valence-decreasing languages. As shown in Haspelmath (1993), the majority of languages exhibit a clear preference for valence-increasing or valence-decreasing morphological tools; interestingly, preferring valence-decreasing seems to be a European areal feature (Haspelmath 1993: 102-103). Thus, as far as verbal reflexives are one of the ways to decrease the valence, they would be found only in valence-decreasing languages.

In the languages that have both verbal and nominal strategies (or, in general, two different reflexivization strategies), the choice of one or another is connected to the verb semantics. This correlation is formulated by König and Siemund (2001: 758) as follows: “the more complex strategy tends to be used for the more remarkable (i.e. conventionally other-directed) situation; the less complex strategy tends to be used for inherently reflexive verbs and for conventionally non-other directed situations”. Haspelmath (2008: 47) underlines the importance of the frequentist approach while determining which verbs are conventionally other-directed and which are not; he formulates the corresponding universal tendency in these terms: “in all languages, verbs with higher frequency of reflexive use show shorter reflexive marking than verbs with lower frequency of reflexive use”.

Chapter 2: Analysis and discussion

2.1. Reflexivity in the Kartvelian languages

The Georgian language is a member of the Kartvelian, or South Caucasian, language family, the other members being Svan (which is spoken in the mountainous area of north-western Georgia), Mingrelian (or Megrelian, which is spoken in western Georgia) and Laz (which is spoken mostly in present-day Turkey). The latter two are closely related genetically, while Svan is considered to be the first language to separate from Proto-Kartvelian. The genetic relationships between the four mentioned languages can be represented as follows (Harris 1985: 6):

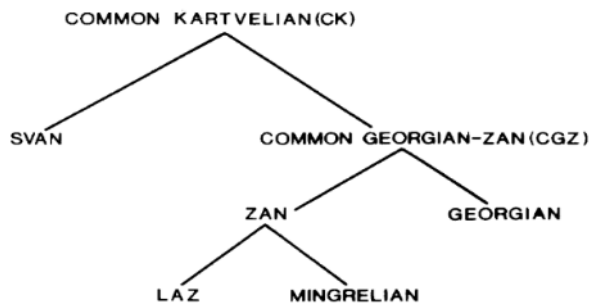


Figure 1.2 Relationships among the Kartvelian languages.

Some intrinsic features of Kartvelian languages include the lack of grammatical gender in nominal categories, the presence of postpositions, the use of circumfixes in word-formation, and a complex verb system. Verb tense-mood-aspect categories are grouped in so-called ‘series’ according to the alignment type (accusative, ergative or active); thus, the Kartvelian languages belong to the split-ergative type³. Besides the aspect-based split, all Kartvelian languages present a split in person: 1st and 2nd person pronouns have the same forms in nominative and ergative cases, while 3rd person pronouns distinguish between these two cases (Tuite 1997: 18). Another characteristic of the Kartvelian verb is polypersonal agreement: a verb has affixes which mark not only agreement with the subject, but also with other core arguments.

Some features can be observed that are due to language contact between Kartvelian languages: Boeder (2005: 7) cites the development of specific analytic future forms in some

³Georgian and Svan has the ergative construction only in the aorist series; Mingrelian has developed a more accusative system and Laz a more ergative one; for the details see, for example, Harris (1985).

Laz dialects and in southern dialects of Georgian. It should be mentioned that Kartvelian languages have been in contact with each other for a long time; Mingrelians and Svans have been using Georgian as their literary language for almost 1500 years. Nowadays, only Georgian has an official status in Georgia and is taught in schools; practically all Mingrelian and Svan speakers are bilingual in Georgian, and the majority of Laz speakers are Laz-Turkish bilinguals.

Thus the Georgian language has been used by all Kartvelians as a literary language for a significant period of time (it is continuously documented since the 5th century), which gives us a possibility to look at our object of study from a diachronic point of view.

2.1.1. Old Georgian

The Old Georgian language encompasses the period from the 5th to the 11th century, the majority of texts being religious works; however, from the 9th century on there are examples of other types of literature. The beginning of the documented period is posterior to the adoption of Christianity as the official religion in Georgia (4th century AD); thus, the first written texts show a strong influence from the Greek, Armenian and Aramaic languages. These languages had already been used as written languages in the Orthodox world, as a result of which many Old Georgian documents are translations from either Greek, Armenian or Syriac.

Reflexivity in Old Georgian is marked in various ways, one of them being the use of body part nouns in the function of reflexive pronouns. One such reflexive pronoun is *suli* 'soul', whose appearance may be due to the mentioned contact with Greek or Armenian: as Mart'irosovi (1964: 108) points out, "in the corresponding places of the Armenian or Greek Gospel we always have *andza* or *psichē*, which mean 'soul' and are used in the reflexive pronoun sense". However, the most common means of expressing reflexivity is the use of *tavi* 'head'; sometimes, in the different editions of the same text either *suli* or *tavi* are found interchangeably, like in the following quote from the New Testament (Matt 6:25). The sentence (6a) is taken from the so-called Adishi Four Gospels, written in AD897, while the example (6b) belongs to the Georgian translation from the 10th century of *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius of Alexandria (Fähnrich 1991: 154, see also Mart'irosovi 1964: 107-108 for more examples):

- (6) a. *nu* *∅-zrunav-t* ***tav-ta*** *tkwen-ta-tvis*
no 2.S-care-2.PL.S head-PL.OBL 2.PL-PL.OBL-for
- b. *nu* *h-zrunav-t* ***sul-ta*** *tkwen-ta-tvis*
no 2.S-care-2PL.S soul-PL.OBL 2.PL-PL.OBL-for
- ‘Do not care for yourselves’

Both *suli* and *tavi* are always accompanied by an appropriate possessive pronoun in Old Georgian; Amiridze and Leuschner (2002: 11) mention that the use of bare *tavi* without the possessive modifier is not attested.

We will now focus on *tavi*, as its existence seems to be the only intrinsic Georgian feature that is not due to calquing from some other language. The possessive pronouns used along with *tavi* always follow the basic word order of Old Georgian, that is, head-modifier (in Modern Georgian, as will be shown later, the opposite order is observed). Therefore, in this case the reflexive pronoun does not show any special characteristics with regard to nouns.

What deserves special attention with respect to possessive pronouns following *tavi*, are the 3rd-person possessives used. The Old Georgian distinguishes between the non-reflexive (*misi* for singular, *mati* for plural) and reflexive (*twisi*) possessive pronouns, the former being derived from the genitive form of the anaphoric 3rd-person pronouns, and the latter from the genitive of *tavi*. The phonetic alternations observed in the form *twisi*, that is, syncope of the vowel /a/ in the final syllable and the allophonic variation between [v] and [w] are regular for Old Georgian (see, for example, Tuite 2008: 148-149).

As far as the difference in the use of *misi/mati* vs. *twisi* together with full nouns is concerned, this has been thoroughly studied by Mart’irosov (1964) and Vogt (1988). According to these authors, the reflexive possessive constitutes a relatively recent innovation of Old Georgian, since the sister Kartvelian languages do not have the corresponding pronoun, whereas the Western dialects of Modern Georgian which are in contact with Mingrelian or Laz, present a more limited use of *twisi* in relation to *misi/mati* (Mart’irosovi (1964: 66-67, 124), Vogt (1988: 506)). Vogt (1988: 508) gives the following table to illustrate the state of things concerning the use of the reflexive possessive pronoun in Old Georgian:

	Antecedent in singular	Antecedent in plural
non-reflexive	<i>Misi</i>	<i>mati</i>
reflexive	<i>twisi</i> (more rarely <i>misi</i>)	<i>mati</i> (more rarely <i>twisi</i>)

Table#2: Reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in Old Georgian.

What happens in the case of the *tavi* used as a reflexive pronoun is that it is practically always accompanied by *twisi* if the antecedent is in the singular (according to Mart'irosovi (1964: 106), the combination *tavi* + *misi* is not attested. As far as the occurrence of *mati* vs. *twisi* together with *tavi* is concerned, in Old Georgian a preference for the reflexive possessive pronoun rather than non-reflexive is observed. Mart'irosovi (1964: 106) speaks about the usage of *mati* as “rare”, and gives no examples; however, Fähnrich (1991: 154) presents the following evidence:

- (7) *ganiq`v-es* *samosel-i* *čem-i* *tav-isa* *mat-isa*
 divide-3.PL.S garments-NOM my-NOM head-GEN their-GEN
 ‘They divided my garments among themselves’

As can be observed in this example, the reflexive pronoun *tavi* and the corresponding possessive pronoun do not agree in number with the subject of the clause; however, this is not typical for Old Georgian. According to Schanidse (1982: 185), *tavi* and the possessive pronouns can have plural forms, and also condition the number agreement in the polypersonal Old Georgian verb. The next example (Boeder 2005: 55) illustrates the mentioned plural agreement:

- (8) *da-i-cv-en-i-t* *tav-n-i* *tkwen-n-i*
 PREV-SV-protect-**PL**-PM-S.PL head-**PL**-NOM your-**PL**-NOM
q`ovl-isa-gan angahreb-isa
 all-GEN-from covetousness-GEN
 ‘Protect yourselves of all covetousness’

Both Schanidse (1982: 185) and Vogt (1988: 507) agree in that number agreement is constantly missing in the instrumental forms; as Vogt (1988: 507) mentions, ‘the expression in the instrumental case *tavittwisit* gives an impression of a fixed expression’.

Thus, the study of the Old Georgian ‘head’ noun and its morphosyntactic properties shows that it is found at the 1st stage of grammaticalization according to Schladt’s classification (see 1.5 above): the use of the pronominal possessive modifier is obligatory and *tavi* noun behaves as a ‘normal’ noun. This means that the word order head-modifier is maintained, that the case marking shows no anomalies, and, especially, that number agreement with the subject, both in the noun phrase (*tavi* and its possessive) and in the verb, is present.

2.1.2. Modern Georgian

Present-day Georgian continues using the *tavi*+ possessive pronoun reflexivization strategy⁴; however, the construction has undergone several changes. First of all, the word order in this noun phrase has shifted from head-modifier to modifier-head, so it would be more correct to refer to this construction as possessive pronoun + *tavi*. However, this shift is not exclusive of the reflexive pronoun phrase; it is the general word order in Modern Georgian (see, for example, Boeder 2005: 49-50). The same refers to the loss of number agreement of the modifier in possessive + *tavi* phrases: as Boeder (2005: 16) notes, in modern Kartvelian languages nominal modifiers agree with their heads only in case. Nevertheless, not only the modifier of *tavi* has lost the plural forms, in accordance with this diachronic change in the language, but also *tavi* itself is not used in the plural as a reflexive in Modern Georgian, which is more relevant for our understanding of the grammaticalization process.

Another difference in the structure of the possessive pronoun + *tavi* construction in Modern Georgian is found in the possessive pronouns forms of 3rd person: both in the singular and the plural only the reflexive possessive pronouns are possible, the singular form being *tavisi* (genitive of *tavi* according to Modern Georgian declension), and the plural *tavianti* (also derived from *tavi*, but unattested in Old Georgian).

An important feature of the Modern Georgian reflexive construction is the possibility of omission of the possessive. The rules according to which the use of *tavi* without the corresponding possessive pronoun is grammatical are discussed in Amiridze and Leuschner (2002: 263-265). The authors come to the conclusion that, for the possessive to be dropped, the *tavi* pronoun, functioning as direct object, must be coreferent only with the subject and be controlled only by the subject of the clause; in other words, in all contexts bare *tavi* can be

⁴The noun *suli* ‘soul’ is not used as a reflexive pronoun in Modern Georgian.

replaced by possessive + *tavi*, but it is not possible to drop the possessive if the mentioned constraint is not fulfilled. In the following example (from Amiridze and Leuschner 2002: 265), the phrase loses its initial meaning after the deletion of the possessive pronoun:

- (9) a. (*is*) (*šen*) *šen-s* *tav-s*
 he.NOM you.DAT your-DAT head-DAT
 *g-i-xat'-av-s*⁵
 2.O-OV-draw-TS-3.SG.S
 ‘He_i draws you_j/your head_j for yourself’
- b. (*is*) (*šen*) *tav-s* *g-i-xat'-av-s*
 he.NOM you.DAT head-DAT 2.O-OV-draw-TS-3.SG.S
 ‘He_i draws himself_i/a head_i for you’/*He draws you for yourself.

We have mentioned *tavi*’s coreference to the subject of the clause; yet one can find instances in Modern Georgian where the *tavi* expression seems to be used for marking the coreference between the direct and indirect objects, like in example (a) above, or in the following one, taken from Amiridze and Leuschner (2002: 265):

- (10) (*šen*) (*mas*) *tavis* *tav-s* *ø-u-xat'-av*
 you.NOM he.DAT self’s head-DAT 2.S-OV-draw-TS
 ‘You draw him_i for himself_i’

However, a more adequate description of the occurrence of the possessive + *tavi* construction in these examples would not be the use of *tavi* for marking the direct object and indirect object coreference: the need to use *tavi* expression here is motivated by the morpheme structure of the Georgian verb and its polypersonal nature.

Georgian direct and indirect object markers of the 1st and 2nd persons are prefixes (the marker of the 3rd person indirect object is a zero prefix); however, two or more person marking prefixes cannot co-occur in the verb form. Boeder (2005: 28) formulates this rule as ‘prefix slot filling constraint’: ‘there is one, and only one, morphological slot for objects’. To resolve this constraint, Georgian resorts to the use of an external argument: the *tavi* noun with

⁵In this example the noun *tavi* can be understood both in its source meaning (as ‘head’) and in a target meaning (as a reflexive pronoun), which accounts for a stage II of the conceptual shift according to Schladt (2000).

an appropriate possessive pronoun, which triggers 3rd person verb agreement. The rules which explain the preference of one over another marker in the slot are formulated in a different manner by the researchers; Winfried Boeder in the work cited above speaks about ‘object slot filling hierarchy’; Alice Harris (1981: 31) introduces the syntactic rule which she denominates Object Camouflage: ‘if a clause contains an indirect object, a first or second person direct object is realized as a possessive pronoun + *tavi*, where the possessive reflects the person and number of the input form’. This can be illustrated by the following examples (Harris 1981: 48-49):

- (11) a. **vano* (*šen*) *g-adar-eb-s* *givi-s*
 Vano.NOM you.DAT 2.O-compare-TS-3.SG.S Givi-DAT
 ‘Vano is comparing you to Givi’
- b. *vano* *šen-s* *tav-s* *adar-eb-s*
 Vano.NOM your-DAT head-DAT compare-TS-3.SG.S
 givi-s
 Givi-DAT
 ‘Vano is comparing you to Givi’

Thus, we can identify uses of *tavi* which are not restricted to reflexivity; in the case of Object Camouflage the noun phrase possessive + *tavi* is recruited to serve as a verb-external argument. This is not the only use of this construction beyond reflexivization; it can also provide an emphatic reading:

- (12) *čem-s* *tav-s* *v-u-k'rep* (Boeder 2005: 56)
 my-DAT head-DAT 1.S-OV-pick
 ‘(For whom do you pick the apple?) I pick it for **myself!**’

If we recall the intensifier category singled out by some researchers, we can find out possessive + *tavi* functioning as syntactic adjuncts. As Amiridze and Leuschner (2002: 273) note, this happens only when *tavi* is a subject reflexive, as in the example provided by Boeder (2005: 56)⁶:

⁶Note that Boeder (2005) does not single out the intensifier category, so according to this author both examples fall into ‘emphatic variants’ for the personal pronouns.

- (13) *čem-ma tav-ma m-aižul-a me*
 my-ERG head-ERG 1.O-force-PST I.NOM
 ‘It was me who forced myself’

Thus, the possessive + *tavi* expression is not an absolute intensifier. However, the Georgian language has other pronouns which serve as intensifiers. These are indeclinable forms *tvit*, *tavad* and *tviton* (used more or less interchangeably), all diachronically related to *tavi*:

- (14) *tvit*<*tw-it*<*tav-it* head-INSTR (Mart’irosovi 1964:219)
tavad<*tav-ad* head-ADV
tviton<*tvitvan*<*tv-it man* head-INSTR DEM.ERG (Mart’irosovi 1964:220).

These are the intensifiers according to the definition stated in Chapter 1: they are adjuncts to the noun phrase, such as in the following example (Hewitt 1995: 85):

- (15) *me bečed-i mi-v-e-c-i tviton/tvit/tavad dedopal-s*
 I.ERG ring-NOM PREV-1.SG.S-OV-give-PST self queen-DAT
 ‘I gave the ring to the queen herself’.

It should be noted that in Old Georgian the place of the intensifier *tvit* was not strictly determined: it could be situated before or after the noun phrase (Mart’irosovi 1964: 361), which reflects an earlier stage of grammaticalization if compared with Modern Georgian, where this adjunct occupies the position right before the noun phrase, like in the example above.

Thus, in the case of Georgian we have intensifiers derived from the noun meaning ‘head’. The question is how such intensifiers are diachronically related to the reflexive *tavi* ‘head’: it seems appropriate not to use the path proposed in Chapter 1 (intensifier => reflexive) and to suggest an independent development as stated in Amiridze and Leuschner (2002: 261):

- (16) a. body part noun => intensifier
 b. body part noun => reflexive

To sum up, it is not possible to reconstruct for Modern Georgian the grammaticalization path which includes the ‘head’ noun and its gradual development affecting different grammatical categories; instead of this, we can observe some independent grammaticalizations of the word for ‘head’: reflexive pronoun, reflexive possessive pronoun, external object marker and intensifier. Nevertheless, different stages of the grammaticalization process can be observed in the development of *tavi* as a reflexive marker; these stages are attested cross-linguistically and do not present any deviation from the schema envisaged by Schladt (2000).

In the next sections, the Georgian verbal reflexive and its relation with the *tavi* construction will be discussed.

2.1.3. Version

All Kartvelian languages possess the grammatical category traditionally called ‘version’ (*kceva* in Georgian), expressed by vowels preceding the verbal root⁷. Version specifies the semantic role of the indirect object; for example, the Objective version specifies the indirect object as a beneficiary or an experiencer, like in the following sentence (Hewitt 1995: 177):

- (17) *k'arada-s* *mas* *vin* *u-k'et-eb-s?*
 bookcase-DAT he/she.DAT who OV-do-TS-3.SG.S
 ‘Who is making a bookcase for him/her//his/her bookcase?’

The kind of version that will concern us here is usually labeled as Subjective (Boeder 2002, Hewitt 1995, Aronson 1982) or Benefactive (Harris 1981). Its marker is the pre-radical vowel *i-*. This version is used to mark coreference between the subject and the indirect object:

- (18) *v-i-k'rep* *vašl-s*
 1.SG.S-SV-pick apple-DAT
 ‘I pick an apple for myself’ (Boeder 2005: 36)

This version is not usually labeled as reflexive in Georgian linguistic tradition; one reason for this seems to be the fact that the vowel *i-* has more functions than the one shown above (for

⁷Aronson (1982) has questioned the need to distinguish version as a separate grammatical category in Georgian.

example, it is used to form passives, so it functions as a detransitivizer). But if we recall the studies on verbal reflexives discussed in Chapter 1, we can see that verbal affixes marking reflexive practically always are polysemous and mark some other related categories as well. Therefore, there is nothing unusual in the case of Georgian.

Thus, in Georgian there are two reflexivization strategies, one verbal and one nominal. In the following section the relation between the two strategies will be shown.

2.1.4. Two reflexivization strategies in Georgian

The relationship between *tavi* reflexives and *i-* verbal reflexives has been thoroughly studied by Amiridze (2006). According to this author, possessive pronoun + *tavi* and the bare *tavi* noun should be seen synchronically as two different nominal reflexivization strategies. The reason for this statement is the different behaviour of possessive + *tavi* vs. *tavi* without a modifier in two-argument verbs. As has been shown above, for three-argument verbs the deletion of the possessive pronoun does not result in a change of meaning or ungrammaticality; however, this is not true for two-argument verbs. The simple omission of the modifier results in ungrammaticality. Compare the following examples (19a) and (19b):

- (19) a. *me čem-i tav-i v-ak-e*
 I.ERG my-NOM head-NOM 1.SG.S-praise-PST
 ‘I praised myself’ (Amiridze 2006: 97)
- b. **me tav-i v-ak-e*
 I.ERG head-NOM 1.SG.S-praise-PST
 ‘I praised myself’ (Amiridze 2006: 101)

For the second example to be grammatical, the verb form with a verbal reflexive marker *i-* would be needed:

- (20) *me tav-i v-i-k-e*
 I.ERG head-NOM 1.SG.S-SV-praise-PST
 ‘I praised myself’.

So, for two-argument verbs only the combination of the *tavi* pronoun with the verbal reflexive *i-* is interchangeable with the possessive pronoun + *tavi*. It must be pointed out, though, that there are some groups of verbs which do not allow both constructions. Amiridze (2006: 104-105) contends that transitive verbs of physical destruction or violence, i.e. those verbs denoting actions usually not realized on oneself, take only the simple *tavi* pronoun, while the possessive + *tavi* option is not available⁸:

- (21) a. *k'ac-ma mo-i-k'l-a tav-i*
 man-ERG PREV-SV-kill-PST head-NOM
 'The man killed himself'
- b. **k'ac-ma mo-k'l-a tavis-i tav-i*
 man-ERG PREV-SV-kill-PST his.REFL-NOM head-NOM
 'The man killed himself'

A different situation is observed in the case of two-argument intransitive verbs which take an indirect object. For such verbs the omission of the possessive pronoun and the concomitant insertion of the verbal reflexive marker *i-* are not possible (these kind of verbs have a special marker of indirect object for intransitives, namely *e-*). The following example illustrates this:

- (22) a. *k'ac-i e-lap'arak'-eb-od-a tavis tav-s*
 man-NOM IO-talk-TS-IMPF-PST his.REFL head-DAT
 'The man was talking to himself'
- b. **k'ac-i i-lap'arak'-eb-od-a tav-s*
 man-NOM SV-talk-TS-IMPF-PST head-DAT
 'The man was talking to himself' (Amiridze 2006: 108)

To sum up, synchronically in Georgian the grammaticalization of *tavi* 'head' and its loss of morphosyntactic properties can be observed. As we have seen before, in present-day language *tavi* is never marked for number and is gradually losing the possessive pronoun modifier.

⁸As König and Siemund (2001: 758) point out, for the conventionally other-directed situations a more complex reflexivization strategy is used. In the case of Georgian, it is not very clear if the combination of *-i-* and *tavi* should be considered more complex than the construction possessive + *tavi*. However, combining a nominal and a verbal strategy (*tavi* and verbal marker *-i-*) vs. using only nominal reflexives (possessive + *tavi*) may be seen as a way to underline that the situation is more remarkable.

These are common developments widely attested cross-linguistically, but what is remarkable in the case of Georgian is that in the latter process, the *tavi* reflexivization strategy comes into interaction with the verbal reflexivization strategy involving the *i-* marker. Neither *tavi* without a modifier nor the *i-* prefix could be called reflexivization strategies on their own; as it has been shown, the use of bare *tavi* is only possible for three-argument verbs and the *i-* marker without any supporting reflexive pronoun can only reflect the coreference between the subject and the indirect object. For two-argument verbs, either possessive + *tavi* or bare *tavi* + *i-* is required, that is, the simple omission of the modifier is not allowed and a complex strategy is involved. Recall that there is one class of these verbs that nowadays does not use the simple strategy, namely the verbs of destruction, violence and other verbs which are usually other-directed. If we regard the combination of *tavi* and *i-* prefix as a complex reflexivization strategy, there is nothing unusual in this fact: as noted in the work by König and Siemund (2001) discussed above, there is a universal correlation between predicate meaning and reflexivization strategies, according to which the more complex strategy is used with normally other-directed situations.

Besides the grammaticalization of *tavi* as a reflexive pronoun, two other independent derivations based on this word, both related to reflexivity, are attested: the reflexive possessive pronoun *tavisi* and the intensifiers *tvit*, *tavad* and *tviton*.

However, no other grammatical category (such as reciprocity, middle voice, or passive) is expressed in Modern Georgian by means of (possessive) + *tavi*. In the next section a short overview of reflexivization strategies in other Kartvelian languages will be presented, where the situation is to some extent different.

2.1.5. Reflexives in other Kartvelian languages

The reflexivity category in the Kartvelian languages besides Georgian has not received such an attention from the linguists. All three languages — Svan, Mingrelian and Laz — share to some extent the feature of involving the noun denoting ‘head’ to mark reflexivity. However, for none of these languages is it the only existing reflexivization strategy.

2.1.5.1. Reflexives in Svan

Let us first turn to Svan, which has the word *txwim*⁹ (the stem is *txum* in some oblique cases) meaning ‘head’ used within reflexive constructions. It is accompanied by a possessive pronoun, like in Georgian, and never appears in plural form. The following examples illustrate its use:

- (23) a. *č’q’int’ miča txwim-s a-pšwd-i*
 boy.NOM his head-DAT 3.SG.S-praise-PASS
 ‘The boy praises himself’ (Harris 1985: 276)
- b. *yertem m-ac’vēn-a-s švidebd isgwej*
 God.ERG 1.SG.O-see-OPT-3.SG.S peacefully your.PL
txwim
 head.NOM
 ‘May God let me see you in peace!’ (Boeder 2005: 55)

The latter example shows the non-reflexive use of the possessive + ‘head’ construction, namely the one occurring in Georgian discussed above: the 2nd-person object appears as an external argument because of the morphosyntactic slot filling constraint.

What is interesting in Svan when compared to Georgian is the occurrence of *txwim* within the constructions that express reciprocity, as noted by Boeder (2005: 56). For this purpose, instead of the possessive pronoun modifier, the genitive form of the reciprocal pronoun *ušxwar* (variants *ušxwār*, *ušxwār*) ‘each other, one another’ is used:

- (24) *māra-j māra ušxwāre txwim*
 man.DAT-and man.DAT each.other head.NOM
x-alt’-ēna-x
 3.S-love-PERF-PL.S
 ‘People apparently liked each other’ (Boeder 2005: 38)

⁹The Svan word for head comes from the Proto-Kartvelian root **txem* ‘summit’ (Fähnrich (2007: 207), Klimov and Khalilov (2003: 71)).

As far as the version category is concerned, Svan also has the so-called subjective version with the marker *i-* described above for Georgian. The same marker is used in passives (Tuite 1997: 26, Schmidt 1991: 509). The correlation between the presence of this verbal reflexive marker and the pronoun *txwim* requires a separate analysis, but it seems that the pronominal construction is not as frequent as the marking of reflexivity by means of the *i-* morpheme; therefore, as Mart'irosovi (1964: 109) points out, the possessive + *txwim* expression in Svan is not genuine of the language and its occurrence is due to calquing from Georgian.

The last point to be taken into account while talking about Svan is that it presents an intrinsic development of a reflexive pronoun that is unrelated to the noun denoting 'head'. This is the pronoun *ža* (plural form *min*), which is derived from the demonstrative pronoun *eža* 'that' and has two main functions. On the one hand, it is used in reported speech (Tuite 1997: 40, Boeder 2003: 78ff.) to replace the 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns that would occur in direct speech:

- (25) *sosruq'-d rākw ere ža eser*
 Sosruq-ERG 3.SG.S.say.PST that that.NOM QUOT
x-ājsen-ā-wne txwim-s
 3.O-kill-CAUS-FUT head-DAT
 'Sosruq said: I [*ža*] will let them kill me' (Tuite 1997: 40)

This example may lead to think that *ža* in this case acts like a logophoric pronoun; however, this is not the case, as in order for *ža* to be used there is no need for the subject of the main clause to be coreferent with the subject of the subordinate clause¹⁰.

The other function of *ža* is its emphatic use (similar to that of the Georgian intensifiers *tviton/tavad/tvit* described above):

- (26) *i ž' āčād q'orāl lak'rālte*
 and that.NOM 3.SG.S.go.out.PST door.PL.NOM to.open
 '[He put the sleeping woman's head aside], and went (himself) to open the door'
 (Boeder 2003: 84)

¹⁰For discussion, see Boeder (2003: 78).

However, Mart'irosovi (1964: 221) reports of intensifier use of the borrowed Georgian pronouns *tviton* and *tvit* in Svan; another possibility to form the intensifier is the instrumental case-marked possessive + *txwim* construction (Boeder 2003: 88), similarly to Georgian *tavit*.

Thus, Svan, apart from sharing with other Kartvelian languages the verbal marking of reflexivity, possesses its proper intensifiers based on a demonstrative pronoun form. The involving of demonstrative pronouns in coding reflexivity, as we have seen in Chapter 1, is typologically quite common; the grammaticalization path proposed by Kemmer (see page 13 above) includes a step “logophoric reflexive”, which is something similar to what one can observe in the Svan development of *ža*. However, due to contact with Georgian, Svan copied the possessive pronoun + ‘head’ strategy and incorporated it to its own language system as a basic means to express reflexivity. After that, the ‘head’ noun in Svan started its own evolution, and has acquired the possibility to be used in reciprocal constructions, a feature which Georgian does not possess.

In the case of intensifiers, one can see both calquing and direct borrowing from Georgian; this fact is also evidence of the Svan borrowing of the possessive + ‘head’ construction and not developing it by itself.

2.1.5.2. Reflexives in Mingrelian and Laz

Now, a few facts about the Zan branch of Kartvelian languages should be mentioned. Both Laz and Mingrelian use nouns meaning ‘head’ in order to mark reflexivity; however, these occurrences are usually labeled as ‘sporadic’ (Mart'irosovi 1964: 109, Harris 1985: 277, Holisky 1991: 418, 464), and, as in the case of Svan, they appear to be due to language contact with Georgian. The Laz word is *ti*, derived from Proto-Kartvelian **taw-* (Fähnrich 2007: 187), while the Mingrelian one is *dudi*, reconstructed as **dud-* ‘summit, tip’ (Fähnrich 2007: 137, Klimov and Khalilov 2003: 71).

Both languages also have the subjective version with the same marker as Georgian; however, its use in Laz is to some degree different from Georgian. It has been pointed out that the subjective version is restricted only to body part objects (Boeder 2005: 36, Klimov and Alekseev 2010: 158); so the example *xe i-bonums* ‘he/she washes his/her hand’ should be grammatical, while *kovali i-k'watums* ‘he/she cuts bread for himself/herself’ should not. René Lacroix, in his study of the Laz dialect of Arhavi, comes to the conclusion that *i-* is, first of all, a middle marker (Lacroix 2009: 456). Consequently, according to this author, in Laz there

is a verbal middle marker which has no reflexive meaning; there is also the opinion (Klimov and Alekseev 2010: 158) that the middle was the initial meaning of the subjective version in the Kartvelian languages. If this is so, we face a middle > reflexive direction of development, which is the opposite of the grammaticalization paths discussed in Chapter 1.

Contrary to Laz, Mingrelian does not have such a constraint on the use of the *i-* marker and is more similar to Georgian in this respect (Putkaradse 2012: 16).

Apart from verbal markers, the Zan languages have their own pronominal means to express reflexive meaning, which do not involve the ‘head’ noun. It is the pronoun *muk*, etymologically related to the interrogative pronoun *mu* ‘what’ (Mart’irosovi 1964: 188). For Laz, Holisky (1991: 414) reports only the intensifier use of *muk* (‘intensive pronoun’, in her classification) while Lacroix (2009) points out both emphatic (intensifier) and reflexive uses:

- (27) a. *ali-k* *mtsxul-i* *mu-ši* *šeni* *k-ezd-u*
 Ali-ERG pear-NOM REFL-GEN for PREV-take-3.S.PST
 ‘Ali took the pear for himself’. (reflexive) (Lacroix 2009: 158)
- b. *čobani-k* *mu-k* *zembali-s*
 shepherd-ERG REFL-ERG basket-DAT
 ko-dolo-xed-u-doren
 PREV-PREV-sit-3.S.PST-EVID
 ‘[The shepherd took the hodja out of the basket] The shepherd himself sat
 down in the basket’ (emphatic) (Lacroix 2009: 159)

Lacroix (2009: 158ff) also notes that *muk* can take an antecedent external to the clause, what is not common for intensifiers; the author concludes that the value of *muk* and its difference from the ordinary 3rd-person pronoun “is not evident to define”. Lacroix also fails to provide examples where *muk* would mark the subject-direct object coreference, the function he attributes to the possessive + ‘head’ construction.

As far as the Mingrelian *muk* pronoun is concerned, both the intensifier use (Mart’irosovi 1964: 222) and its use to mark the coreference beyond the clause (the example stated in Kipshidze 1914: 46) are attested; further research would be needed to clarify the function of this form. Again, in Mingrelian the originally Georgian intensifier *tviton* is found (Mart’irosovi 1964: 222), a direct borrowing like in the case of Svan.

Thus, in Zan languages there is an intrinsic verbal reflexivization strategy with the *i*-marker, which has different uses in Laz and Mingrelian and also a proper pronominal means of coding intensifying and sometimes reflexive meaning. The ‘head’ constructions are at the periphery of the reflexive systems of these languages and seem to be borrowed from Georgian.

2.2. Reflexivity in Basque

Basque is an isolate language spoken in northern Spain and southwestern France. It is characterized by ergativity, polypersonal verbal agreement, case agreement by means of postpositions and absence of gender category in nouns, among other features.

The first texts of considerable size written in Basque date back to the 16th century CE. It must be pointed out that the language has preserved a great dialectal richness until nowadays.

At first sight, there seems to be only one way to mark reflexivity in Basque throughout all its documented history: by means of the reflexive pronoun *buru* ‘head’. Nevertheless, a different reflexivization strategy is also used, namely that of transitive verbs being detransitivized.

First we will take a look at the development of the reflexive pronoun. Nowadays Basque uses the following structure: the word *buru* ‘head’, followed by the definite article *-a* and preceded by a possessive pronoun:

- (28) *Ezagutzen* *al* *d-u-zu* *zeure*
 know Q 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-2.SG.S your (intensive)
buru-a?
 head-DEF.ABS
 ‘Do you know yourself?’ (de Rijk 2008: 365)

This construction is already found within the earliest texts. It should be pointed out from the very beginning that the possessive pronouns attested in the older stages of language in the majority of cases present the traditionally called “intensive” personal pronoun forms¹¹.

¹¹The forms used as possessive pronouns for 1st and 2nd persons are genitives of personal pronouns; that’s why some scholars (for example, Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 159) do not single out possessive pronouns as a separate class.

These “intensive” pronouns are emphatic counterparts of ordinary personal pronouns; the forms of 1st and 2nd person arose from adding the demonstrative form *(h)au(r)* to the personal pronouns (Trask 1997: 97) and present dialectal variation. The forms are the following (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 152):

<i>neu, nerau, nihaur</i>	‘I myself’
<i>heu, herori, hihaur</i>	‘you yourself’ (intimate)
<i>geu, gerok, guhaur</i>	‘we ourselves’
<i>zeu, zerori, zuhaur</i>	‘you yourself’ (unmarked)
<i>zeuek, zerok, zuihauk</i>	‘you yourselves’

Table #3: Intensive 1st and 2nd personal pronouns in Basque.

These emphatic pronouns are commonly used when they are in focus or appear in the part of the sentence which is in the focus position (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 152, de Rijk 2008: 797):

- (29) *Neu-k* *ere* *ongi* *d-aki-t* *hori*
 I(intensive)-ERG also well 3.PRES.O-know-1.PRES.S that.ABS
 ‘I also know this well’ (de Rijk 2008: 797)

Basque uses the demonstrative pronouns as personal pronouns in the 3rd person; however, the “intensive” pronouns have a different origin. The forms are *bera* for 3rd person singular and *berak* for plural, variants being *beraur/berauk*; the forms *berori/beroriek* also exist and were used as pronouns of address when the addressee has a markedly superior status (Trask 1997: 97, de Rijk 2008: 115). Besides the uses already described for the “intensive” pronouns, *bera* or *berak* can be postposed to a noun function as classical intensifiers:

- (30) *Sorgin-a-k* *ber-a-k* *esan* *d-u*
 witch-DEF-ERG self-DEF-ERG say 3.PRES.S-be.TRANS
 ‘The witch has said it herself’ (de Rijk 2008: 794)

So, the possessive pronouns that are used within the reflexive construction at the initial documented stages in the history of the language are formed from the “intensive” personal

pronouns discussed above. Thus, in the Basque language of that period one can find two sets of possessive pronouns, the ordinary and the “intensive”. Their distribution in the early literature written in the Lapurdian dialect can be explained by the rule known as Linschmann’s Law, or Linschmann-Aresti Law (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 625, Trask 1997: 239)¹²: the “intensive” possessives appear only in case of coreference with another full noun phrase in the same simple clause. This explains why ordinary possessive pronouns were not found together with *buru* in older Basque; however, nowadays the language presents another type of evidence.

Most of the modern dialects of Basque do not follow Linschmann’s Law; only the eastern dialects still preserve this rule for the 3rd person pronouns (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 625). Western dialects allow the non-presence of the antecedent of *bere/beren* in the same clause, resulting in the fact that these pronouns have been reanalysed as ordinary possessives. The following sentence, which could be understood as ‘Peio said that **his** dog died’ by speakers of eastern dialects according to the Linschmann’s Law, has another interpretation for western Basque speakers:

- (31) *Peio-k esan du haren txakurr-a hil*
 Peio-ERG say 3.PRES.S-be.TRANS his dog-DEF.ABS die
d-e-la
 3.PRES.S-be.INTRANS-COMP
 ‘Peio say that his [that person’s] dog died’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 626)

These changes in the use of possessives affected the reflexive construction involving *buru*, so that nowadays not only the “intensive” possessives are used within this expression, but also the regular possessive pronouns (de Rijk 2008: 364). They occur less often than the “intensive” forms, and their use is more common in eastern dialects of Basque (the earlier texts in Navarro-Lapurdian dialect show only regular possessive pronouns with *buru* (Lafitte 1962: 92). Nevertheless, we do not find the 3rd person regular possessives in the reflexive construction; the only forms used are the “intensive” *bere* (singular, for all varieties) and *beren, bere* or *euren* (plural, the 2nd one is preferred by eastern speakers (Mitxelena 1987:

¹² This law is named after German priest and bascologist Theodor Linschmann and Basque writer and linguist Gabriel Aresti, who independently discovered this rule (Sarasola 1979: 431).

Therefore, this possibility of relativization speaks for an earlier stage of grammaticalization of *buru*; another sign of possessive + *buru* still behaving as a regular noun phrase is the number agreement (both verbal and nominal) present in this construction. In the older Basque texts *buru* appears both in plural and in singular; the plural is more frequent (Mitzelena 1987) and always triggers plural agreement in the verbal form. In the modern language, plural reflexives are still acceptable, although singular ones are preferred (de Rijk 2008: 365):

- (34) a. *Geure buru-a engainatzen*
 our (intensive) head-DEF.ABS deceive
d-u-gu
 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-1.PL.S
- b. *Geure buru-a-k engainatzen*
 our (intensive) head-DEF-ABS.PL deceive
d-it-u-gu
 3.PRES.O-PL-be.TRANS-1.PL.S
 ‘We are deceiving ourselves’

As the last note about the use of the reflexive construction involving *buru*, we should mention that sometimes it appears in contexts where no overt antecedent is present in the clause; such examples are found since the earliest texts. In some of them, we can see *buru* occupying the subject position:

- (35) *Hebe-tik ioan gabe ene buru-ia egin*
 here-ABL go without my head-DEF.ABS do
behar d-u-zu ene nahi-a
 must 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-2.SG.S my will-DEF.ABS
 ‘Before I leave this place you must do my will’ (Ibarretxe 2002: 22)

More frequently, *buru* is found as a direct object of a transitive verb. In the following example, there is no 1st person personal pronoun governing *buru*, but semantically it is governed by *ene bekhatuek*:

- (36) *Ene bekhatu-ek iragan eta erdiratu*
 my sin-ERG.PL pierced and tear
d-u-te ene buru-a
 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-3.PL.S my head-DEF.ABS
 ‘My sins have pierced and torn myself’ (Mitxelena 1987: 672)

Some examples where *buru* is used either as direct or indirect object of transitive verbs deserve special attention. These are the cases where the presence of *buru* seems to be due to a morphological constraint existing in the Basque polypersonal verbs: the same person markers of the subject and any of the objects (* *n-au-t* 1.SG.O-be.TRANS.-1.SG.S) cannot be overtly realized in the verbal form. This can be seen in the following examples:

- (37) a. *Geure buru-a aipatu*
 our (intensive) head-DEF.ABS mention
d-u-t
 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-1.SG.S
 ‘I have mentioned ourselves’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 623)
- b. *Ni-k gure buru-a-ri mezu-a bidali*
 I-ERG our head-DEF-DAT message-DEF.ABS send
d-i-o-t
 3.PRES.O-be.TRANS-3.SG.IO-1.SG.S
 ‘I have sent us a message’

As we have previously mentioned, reflexive constructions with *buru* ‘head’ are not the sole means of reflexivization in Basque. The other means of expressing reflexivity is the detransitivization of the auxiliary verb **edun*, which becomes the intransitive **izan*. This option is not possible for all types of predicates: some verbs (such as *maite izan* ‘to love’, *ezagutu* ‘to know’ and some other stative verbs) do not allow detransitivization while others can reflexivize either with the intransitive auxiliary or with the reflexive pronoun. The last group, as reported by Hualde (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 381), is the largest one and includes such verbs as *aurkeztu* ‘to introduce’, *goraipatu* ‘to praise’, *libratu* ‘to set free’, *babestu* ‘to protect’, *prestatu* ‘to prepare, to arrange’, and others. It needs to be mentioned, however, that the admission of both structures used with each verb varies from dialect to

dialect and in many cases only one strategy is accepted. Hualde (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 382) also notices that the two alternative constructions, if admitted, are not always equivalent. For example, in the case of the verb *babestu* ‘to protect’ detransitivization becomes the only possible reflexivization strategy if the allative modifier is present:

- (38) *Gerrilari-a-k baso-ra babestu d-ira*
 partisan-DEF-PL woods-ALL protect 3.PRES.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘The partisans protected themselves into the woods.’
 (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 382)

Another example could be the verb *prestatu* ‘to prepare, to arrange’: the use of the reflexive construction with the noun *buru* ‘head’ is forbidden in the following sentence because of the presence of the complement *azterketarako*:

- (39) *Azterketa-ra-ko prestatu n-aiz.*
 exam-ALL-LOC.GEN prepare 1.SG.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘I have prepared myself for the exam’

On the other hand, there is a small amount of verbs which only admit detransitivization as a means of reflexivization in standard Basque. Nearly all such verbs belong to a semantic class that in many languages shows middle morphology (Kemmer 1993: 16), namely the class of verbs of grooming or body care. Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina (2003: 383) call these verbs ‘inherent reflexives’; examples of this group of verbs include *apaindu* ‘to make up’, *jantzi* ‘to dress’, *garbitu* ‘to wash’, *zikindu* ‘to soil’, *orraztu* ‘to comb’ and others. Although they cannot take the reflexive construction with *buru*, they do have transitive forms when a non-reflexive argument is present in the sentence, for example:

- (40) a. *Xabier garbitu d-a*
 Xabier.ABS wash 3.PRES.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘Xabier washed’
 b. *Xabierr-ek zakurr-a garbitu d-u.*
 Xabier-ERG dog-DEF wash 3.PRES.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘Xabier washed the dog’ (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 384)

It should be noted, however, that the situation described is true mostly for standard Basque and is the one recommended by prescriptive grammars (see, for example, *Euskal Gramatika*: 131). Many Basque speakers use both the detransitivization and the *buru* pronoun reflexivization strategies interchangeably for these verbs; thus the sentence *Xabierrek bere burua garbitu du* will be grammatical for these speakers. Interestingly, for verbs such as *ebaki* ‘to cut’, *zikindu* ‘to soil’ or *busti* ‘to wet’ the pronoun reflexivization strategy, if admitted, adds an intentional meaning¹³, for example:

- (42) a. *Jon-ek bere buru-a ebaki d-u*
 Jon-ERG his head-DEF.ABS cut 3.PRES.S-be.TRANS
 ‘Jon cut himself (intentionally).’
- b. *Jon ebaki d-a.*
 Jon.ABS cut 3.PRES.S-be.TRANS
 ‘Jon cut himself (accidentally).’

This example reflects the abovementioned correlation between verbal and nominal reflexivization strategies formulated by König and Siemund (2001: 758). “Cut” is a typical case of a violent action which is usually other-directed, especially if intended. Therefore, the choice of the reflexivization strategy with *buru* is to be expected in Basque when there is a subject-object coreference, as well as for the example in Russian: *Ja poreza-l-sja* 1.SG.NOM

¹³This choice between ergative and nominative marking according to the intentionality of the action is similar to what happens in languages with “S-fluid systems” (term introduced by Dixon (1979: 80)). One such language is Batsbi (also known as Tsova-Tush), a Nakh-Daghestanian language spoken in eastern Georgia. Subjects of some verbs such as “fall down” can take ergative case if the action is intended (41a) or nominative case if the action is not intended:

- (41) a. (as) *vuiž-n-as*
 1.SG.ERG fell-AOR-1.SG.ERG
 ‘I fell down (intentionally)’
- b. (so) *vož-en-so*
 1.SG.NOM fell-AOR-1.SG.NOM
 ‘I fell down (unintentionally)’ (Holisky 1987: 105)

cut-PRET-REFL ‘I cut myself (inadvertently)’ vs. *Ja sam sebja poreza-l* 1.SG.NOM self REFL cut-PRET ‘I cut myself (intentionally)’ (*ibid.*).

A last note on the interplay between the two reflexivization strategies in Basque concerns the tendency of many present-day Basque speakers to prefer detransitivization over the structure with *buru*. This preference can be observed with all types of verbs mentioned above, and is possibly due to the influence of neighbouring Romance languages. Zubiri and Zubiri (2012: 132) report some of these cases as frequent mistakes:

- (43) *Nor d-e-n galdetzen n-aiz*
 who 3.PRES.S-be.INTRANS-COMP ask 1.PRES.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘I ask myself who that is’.

Another such example would be:

- (44) *Ispilu-a-n begirutzen z-ara*
 mirror-DEF-LOC look 2.PRES.S-be.INTRANS
 ‘You look at yourself in the mirror’.

Summing up, the reflexive construction consisting of a possessive pronoun and body part noun *buru* ‘head’ is still found at the earlier stage of grammaticalization as defined by Schladt (2000), although we can observe some changes which can be a sign of a grammaticalization in progress. The so-called intensive possessive pronouns used in older Basque with *buru* give way to “normal” possessives in some Basque varieties; the number agreement of *buru* and its subject, frequent in older language, is hardly present in modern Basque. There are also some examples of omission of the possessive (which could speak as well for the ongoing process of grammaticalization), although this is not a widely spread phenomenon.

There is no evidence that the construction with *buru* has developed other meanings described in Chapter 1 (reciprocal, middle, etc.). However, the other means of reflexivization present in Basque, namely detransitivization of the auxiliary verb, has not only a reflexive meaning, but is also used to express middle or passive voice. Its use as a verbal reflexive is not possible for all types of predicates (for example, many stative verbs cannot be reflexivized in this way), but a tendency towards a wider use of this strategy can be observed in modern Basque.

Chapter 3. Conclusions

The comparison of the reflexive constructions including a noun denoting ‘head’ in the Kartvelian and Basque languages laid out in this work has provided evidence of an ongoing grammaticalization process in both cases.

Looking at the Old Georgian data we observed that the reflexive construction with the noun *tavi* ‘head’ preserved many features of a regular noun phrase: number agreement with the subject was present, the possessive pronoun used together with *tavi* could never be dropped, standard possessives were used in the majority of cases. Modern Georgian shows a different picture: the ‘head’ noun has lost plural forms, the possessive pronouns can be left out in some contexts, and the regular possessives forms are no longer used for the 3rd person.

The Basque data show a similar evolution in some respects. Number agreement of the noun *buru* ‘head’ preceded by a possessive, with its subject, is much more frequent in older stages of Basque than in its modern varieties. Besides that, nowadays Basque presents the loss of other features typical for noun phrases in the *buru*-reflexive construction: it does not normally admit adjectives and it is not freely relativized. Nevertheless, the development of possessives is somehow different in Georgian and Basque. The so-called intensive possessive pronouns always used with *buru* in older Basque give way to standard possessive forms in some modern Basque dialects.

Summing up, we can say that both modern Georgian and modern Basque reflexive constructions are now found at the second stage of decategorialization as established by Schladt (2000).

The evolution of the ‘head’ noun reflexive constructions in Georgian and Basque has some connection with verbal reflexives in both languages. Georgian verbs, as well as the verbs of all other Kartvelian languages, have a special morpheme with the reflexive meaning (the so-called subjective version). Interestingly, this morpheme can be used on its own only with 3-argument verbs in Georgian; for 2-argument verbs it needs to be accompanied by *tavi* ‘head’ without the possessive, and cannot be used with intransitive 2-argument verbs. That may speak for the initial meaning of that morpheme not being reflexive (as mentioned above, in Proto-Kartvelian it was supposed to be a middle marker). Basque also has another means of reflexivization, that is, detransitivization of the auxiliary verb. Again, it is less frequently used than a combination of the possessive pronoun with *buru*, but its use is spreading possibly due

to the influence of the neighbouring Romance languages which have a verbal strategy of reflexivization. It needs to be pointed out that for most Basque verbs with a middle meaning only detransitivization is allowed. This was probably the initial use of said reflexivization strategy. Usually, a reflexive >middle development is proposed by most researchers, as shown above. In any case, verbal reflexives would need a separate analysis for both languages.

Finally, the data from other Kartvelian languages deserve special attention. In addition to the ‘head’ + possessive pronoun strategy, all of them have developed other reflexive pronouns out of demonstratives (Svan) or interrogatives (Mingrelian and Laz), as well as verbal reflexives (however, the verbal reflexivization strategy is used only with body parts in Laz). Interestingly, in Svan the noun ‘head’ plus a possessive pronoun has acquired a reciprocal meaning, which, as has been previously explained, is a common phenomenon in the world’s languages.

However, the use of the reflexive construction with ‘head’ in Svan, Mingrelian and Laz is rather limited and leads to think about borrowing from Georgian. Areal influence is supposed to play an important role in the choice of a grammaticalization strategy cross-linguistically (see, for example, Heine (1999) for the discussion of the reflexives in languages of Africa). A further analysis of the rest of languages that use the noun ‘head’ as a reflexive marker would shed additional light on this issue.

List of Abbreviations

ABS	absolute case
ACC	accusative case
ADV	adverbial case
ALL	allative case
CAUS	causative
CL	noun class
COMP	complementizer
DAT	dative case
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
ERG	ergative case
EVID	evidential
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
IMPF	imperfect
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental case
INTRANS	intransitive
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative case
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative case
O	object
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative
OV	objective version
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PL	plural

PM	paradigm marker
PRET	preterit
Q	question particle
QUOT	quotative
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PREV	preverb
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative marker
S	subject
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
SV	subjective version
TRANS	transitive
TS	thematic suffix

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