

On the 'aspect of' reading of the Georgian grammaticalized body-part *tav-* 'head'

Georgian reflexive construction consisting of a grammaticalized body-part noun *tav-* "head" preceded by a possessive pronoun (cf. (1a)) is similar to other possessive constructions of the language (cf. (1b)) with the possessor preceding a possessum, both marked by a case according to the syntactic function of the possessive NP in the sentence.

The NOM possessive NP (cf. *chem-i tav-i* in (1a)) is an object argument of the verb and triggers a 3rd person object agreement (*davxate* "I drew him/her/it"). However, the reflexive possessive phrase in (2) is a subject argument. Georgian (cf. (2)), unlike English (cf. **Himself surprised the man*), and like, for instance, *Basque* (cf. (3)), *Modern Greek* (cf. (4)), *Dargwa* (Kibrik (1997)), *Nepali* (Bickel & Yadava (2000)), etc. allows reflexives to appear as a subject argument of object experiencer (OE) verbs. Some languages allow reflexives as subjects also with agentive verbs (cf. (5)) and in Georgian one can find reflexives as subjects of causatives as well (cf. (6)).

Note that (7) is a case of binding of an anaphor contained within an NP by an antecedent which appears lower in the clause (Belletti & Rizzi 1988) while (2), (5a), (6) illustrate that an anaphor is not contained within an NP, but instead occupies an argument position. In all the cases like Georgian (2), (5a), (6) as well as Greek (4) and Basque (3), (5b) the reflexives refer to a part/property but not the whole of the referent of the co-referential NP.

Note that among possible interpretations (2) can also have the interpretation of (7). In case of 'picture' noun phrases as in (7), the possessive NP *tavis-ma moxerxebuloba-m* can only have its literal meaning "his own smartness". While the reflexive in subject position *tavis-ma tav-ma* (cf. (2)) is open to different interpretations, including but not limited to the 'smartness'. Therefore, the grammaticalized head noun *tav-* in subject function is a variable (cf. (2), (5a), (6)). However, its interpretations largely depend on a particular context (mostly motivated by the verb semantics) (cf. (8)) and are more narrowed down by a constraint which requires the referents of the reflexives in subject position to be inanimate (cf. (9)).

Body-part reflexives in the languages of the world, and in Georgian in particular, illustrate how body-part terms are being interpreted as a synecdoche for the whole referent ('pars pro toto', Schladt 1999). We will argue that what the subject use of the Georgian reflexive phrase (a later development for Modern Georgian first discussed in Asatian 1982) illustrates is a possibility for body-parts to retain a concept of being a part of a whole and refer to a part / property / something related to / associated with a whole.

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| (1) | (a) <i>me davxate chem-i tav-i</i>
I(ERG) I.drew.him/her my(NOM) head(NOM)
"I drew myself" | (b) <i>me davxate chem-i saxl-i</i>
I(ERG) I.drew.it my(NOM) house(NOM)
"I drew my house" |
| (2) | <i>tavis-ma tav-ma gaaoca k'ac-i</i> [Georgian, Amirdze (2001)]
self's-ERG head-ERG he.surprised.him man-NOM
"The man got surprised because of something related to himself" (Lit.: himself surprised the man) | |
| (3) | <i>egunotan, neure buru-a-k kezkatzen nau</i> [Basque, Hualde & de Urbina, (in press)]
day-DET-in my-own head-DET-ERG worry-HAB me-has-it
"These days, my(own)self worries me" | |
| (4) | <i>O eaftos tu ton provlimatizi ton Petro</i> [Greek, Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999)]
The self his Cl _{ACC} puzzle-3sg the Peter _{ACC}
"Himself puzzles Peter" | |
| (5) | a. <i>shen-ma tav-ma gatsama shen</i> [Georgian, Amirdze & Everaert (2000)]
your-ERG head-ERG (s)he-tortured-you you(NOM)
"Something related to you made you suffer" (Lit.: Yourself tortured you (but the only reading available is with non-physical torture)) | |
| | b. <i>neure buruak hilko nau</i> [Basque, Xabier Artiagoitia (p.c.)]
my head-DET-ERG it.kills.me aux | |

- “Something like my personality, the things I do and worry about... that is going to kill me”
(Lit.: Myself killed me)
- (6) *chem-ma tav-ma chamadenina me danashaul-i*
my-ERG head-ERG it.made.me.commit.it I-DAT crime -NOM
“Something in myself made me commit the crime” (Lit.: Myself made me commit the crime”)
- (7) *tavis-ma moxerxebuloba-m gaaoca k'ac-i*
self's-ERG smartness-ERG he.surprised.him man-NOM
“The man got surprised by his own smartness”
- (8) a. *tavis-ma tav-ma ixсна p'rezident'-i*
self's-ERG head-ERG he.saved.him president-NOM
“His own positive / *negative personal properties, and/or his past achievements / *failures, etc. saved the president” (Lit.: Himself saved the president (the only available reading is to be out of the hard situation rather than to survive physically))
- b. *tavis-ma tav-ma dag'upa prezident-i*
self's-ERG self-ERG he.ruined.him president-NOM
“His own *positive / negative personal properties, and/or his past *achievements / failures, etc. ruined the president” (Lit.: Himself ruined the president (the only available reading is to have no way out of the hard situation rather than to be destroyed physically))
- (9) *tavis-ma tav-ma damarxa mixa* [Georgian, Amiridze & Everaert (2000)]
self's-ERG head-ERG he.buried.him Michael(NOM)
“Michael’s savings made it possible to pay for all the expenses related to his funeral” (Lit.: Himself buried Michael (the reading with actually placing the dead body in the grave is out)”)
“*Someone (a friend/close relative/etc.) keeping a good memory of Michael buried him (here, paid the expenses)”

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