

### Subjects of Decreased Control in Kartvelian Anticausatives

This paper portrays part of my work-in-progress research on verbal valency and aims to provide a hierarchical representation of valency operations in Kartvelian. A special emphasis will be placed on the pre-radical valency marker *e-* (in Georgian and Svan), a prefix, as will be shown below, of subtlest function, and on the most complex valency derivation, namely the anticausative of decreased control, in whose formation *e-* is involved. This phenomenon is addressed from the perspectives of morphology, syntax, and semantics.

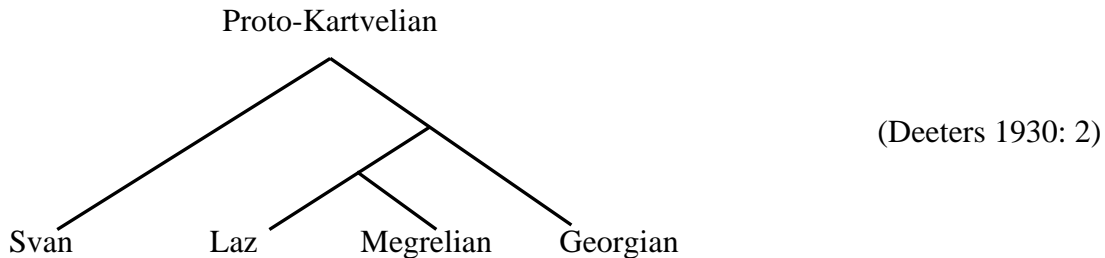
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### The Kartvelian, or South-Caucasian, Languages

- lit.: Georgian: Old Georgian [the literary tradition going back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD], Middle Georgian, Modern Georgian
- non-lit.: Svan, Megrelian, and Laz

FIGURE 1. THE KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES



- spoken by approx. 4,500,000 people in Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, and Russia
- perhaps the best described language family, only 2<sup>nd</sup> to IE  
 cf. (Deeters 1930; Klimov 1986; Harris 1991a; Tuite 1998; Hewitt 2004; Boeder 2005)

MAP 1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL LAYOUT OF THE KARTVELIAN DIALECTS



NOTE: GEO dialects – blue; SVAN dialects – red; MEGR dialects – green; LAZ dialects – purple

- general typological information:

- (i) a complex consonant phonology that comprises three rows of stops and affricates, namely voiced ( $b, d, g, \text{ʒ}, \text{ʃ}$ ), voiceless aspirated ( $p^h, t^h, k^h, q^h, c^h, \text{č}^h$ ),<sup>1</sup> and voiceless glottalized, or abruptive/ejective ( $p', t', k', q', c', \text{č}'$ );
- (ii) a mostly agglutinative morphology with different degrees of fusion (including the ablaut) and a sophisticated system of verbal inflection and derivation;
- (iii) an ergative-to-active (LAZ) and ergative-to-accusative (GEO, SVAN, and MEGR) morphosyntax.<sup>2</sup>

- quite different for Kartvelianists, these languages seem to typologists to exhibit similar valency changing patterns; for reasons of space, it is Georgian and Megrelian that will be chosen as a major source for illustration;

- with literary Georgian taken as a standard, lots of phenomena evidenced in the colloquial language but not addressed in respected normative grammars have never been described for its sister languages either, no matter how widespread these tend to appear.

### The Kartvelian Verb

- both suffixation and prefixation employed;
- long affix chains possible;
- cross-referencing up to three participants;

<sup>1</sup> Conventionally, the aspirated stops and affricates will be presented hereafter without the aspiration sign <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The labels “ergative-to-active” and “ergative-to-accusative” imply that the morphosyntactic systems are basically active (in Laz) and accusative (in Georgian, Svan, and Megrelian) from a synchronic point of view, but for all the languages, ergative morphosyntax is reconstructed and, moreover, a number of trends and features, characteristic of ergativity, still persist.

- a range of morphologized valency operations, to be discussed in detail in this talk;
- biplenty of room for morphological polysemy despite the existence of a great variety of morphological means;
- plenty of instances of syncretism and lexicalization;
- plenty of affixes of unclear status with respect to derivation vs. inflection

## The Structure of the Finite Verb

cf. (Deeters 1930; Harris 1991a, 1991b; Hewitt 2004; Boeder 2005)

FIGURE 2A. THE MEGRELIAN VERB TEMPLATE MODEL. PREFIXATION

SLOT	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	<b>-1</b>	0
MARKER	NEG	AFF/PRF	PRV	IMPRF.PRIV	EVID.PRIV	IO/DO/S	<b>VER</b>	R

MEGR (1) ge- g[i]=no- no- r- -č'ar- -u -e[n] -t  
 -6 -5 -3 -2 write +1 +4 +9  
 'X has seemingly been rewriting [e.g. poems] for you<sub>PL</sub>'

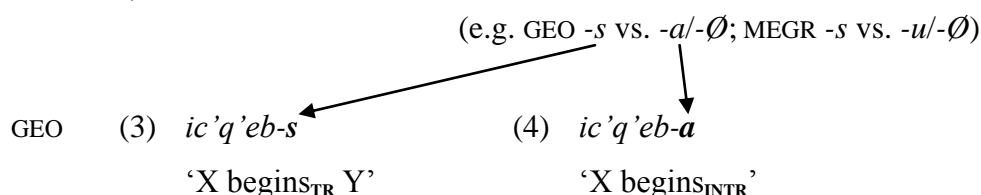
FIGURE 2B. THE MEGRELIAN VERB TEMPLATE MODEL. SUFFIXATION

SLOT	0	+1	<b>+2</b>	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9	+10
MARKER	R	R.EXT	<b>AUX<sub>I</sub>/CAUS</b>	INCH.INTR	SM	EM	MOOD	AUX <sub>II</sub>	S	PL	COND

MEGR (2) m- o- -č'ar- -ap=u[n] -an -d -a -s  
 -2 -1 write +2 +4 +5 +6 +8  
 'So that X makes me write Y'

## Agreement & Inversion

- slot -2 and +8 (+9) affixes maintain person and number agreement; slot -1 affixes are also involved, see below;
- two basic sets are the SUBJECT markers and OBJECT markers;
- in case they co-occur (e.g. in slot -2), OBJECT markers override SUBJECT markers due to a deictic hierarchy (LOCUTOR vs. NON-LOCUTOR, cf. Kibrik 2003: 276–279); this opposition is continuously morphologized in the agreement systems of all the Kartvelian languages and expands on the area of spatial deixis as well;
- slot +8 markers divide into two subsets, namely “active” and “inactive” (or, rather, “not as active as the proper active”):



- different portmanteaus possible (e.g. GEO *gv-* O<sub>1</sub>PL);
- disambiguation is sometimes required, as in ex. (5) below featuring the slot +9 PL marker *-t* (GEO, MEGR, LAZ) that can refer to either SUBJECT or OBJECT, i.e. works according to the leftover principle; it also overrides the S<sub>3</sub>SG *-s* in case they co-occur:

GEO (5) *ga-g-i-g-o-∅/\*s-t*  
 PRV-IO<sub>2</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-understand-SBJ-S<sub>1</sub>/S<sub>3</sub>SG-PL  
 ‘so that I/we/X<sub>SG</sub> understand(s) **you<sub>SG</sub>/you<sub>PL</sub>/you<sub>HNR</sub>**’

The term “inversion” stands for a particular means to refer to the roles of the arguments of the verb in a specific way and involves the interplay of agreement markers, pre-radical vowels, and certain suffixal morphemes in two major domains, namely the perfect TAM paradigms of agentive verbs and a class of verbs of decreased SUBJECT control, aka EXPERIENCER verbs, which refer to states denoting possession, feelings, emotions, intention and possibility to take an action.

The **EXP** coded by the **DAT** is cross-referenced in the **prefixal slot -2** and is often accompanied by the pre-radical vowel, *i-* for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, and *u-* for the 3<sup>rd</sup>. If this vowel is *e-*, the marker does not vary depending on the person.

The **THEME/STIM** coded by the **NOM** (sometimes **GEN**) is cross-referenced in the **suffixal slot +8**.

GEO (6)	<i>m-i-q</i> ‘var- <u>s</u> IO <sub>1</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -love-S <sub>3</sub> SG ‘ <b>I</b> love <u>X</u> ’	(7)	<i>g-i-q</i> ‘var- <u>s</u> IO <sub>2</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -love-S <sub>3</sub> SG ‘ <b>you<sub>SG</sub></b> love <u>X</u> ’	(8)	<i>∅-u-q</i> ‘var- <u>s</u> IO <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -love-S <sub>3</sub> SG ‘ <b>X</b> loves <u>Y</u> ’
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### Morphosyntax & Case-Marking Alignment

Agentive verbs (*write, cut, jump, play, sing*, but also: *cough, yawn*) case-shift, whereas non-agentive verbs (*be, stand/sit/lie, grow<sub>INTR</sub>*, but also: *stand up/sit down/lie down, walk, go, play for smb, sing for smb*) and experiencer verbs (*love, like, remember, have*, but also: *bring<sub>PRS/FUT</sub>, take<sub>PRS/FUT</sub>*) do not.

FIGURE 3. CASE-MARKING ALIGNMENT

	“A” VERBS			“N-A” VERBS		“E” VERBS	
	S	DO	IO	S	IO	S	O
PRS TAM paradigms	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM/GEN
AOR TAM paradigms	ERG	NOM	DAT	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM/GEN
PERF TAM paradigms	DAT	NOM	BEN	(NOM	SOC)	DAT	NOM/GEN

## Pre-Radical Vowels and Their Functions

Pre-radical vowels, aka versionizers (cf. the traditional label “version” as a cover term for the troublesome vowels that pop up right in front of the root and crucially affect the valency of the verb) represent one of the core domains in the Kartvelian verb. They are a set of slot -1 morphemes that only occur in finite verb forms and convey a great amount of functions connected with valency and other areas of grammatical structure, both synchronically and diachronically.

The pioneer of Kartvelian studies in the West, Gerhard Deeters labeled them “Charaktervokale” and defined them as follows:

„bestimmte Vokale, die in Verbalformen zwischen Personalpräfix und Wurzel stehen und die Beziehung zwischen Täter und Ziel oder zwischen näherem und fernerem Ziel zum Ausdruck bringen“ (1930: 70).

(Šerozia 1984; Testelets 1984; Žorbenaze 1991; Hewitt 2004; Gurevich 2006) and, specifically, (Boeder 1969, 2005: 34–38 and Lacroix 2009: 448–576, 2011)

### A General Overview

These vowels are involved in the forming of passives and interact with modality to create [passive] potentials, as well as pseudo-passives and their lookalikes in the domains of decreasing and interpreting derivations.

They also increase the number of the core arguments of the verb in several ways, thus creating applicatives and causatives.

Finally, these vowels can increase the valency of the downgraded verb or decrease the upgraded one; in neither way does this happen along the same cline, down which the verb had been derived from its verbum simplex, e.g. the anticausatives of decreased control which title this talk.

### Etymology and Diachrony

(Klimov 1998; Fähnrich, Saržvelaze 2000)

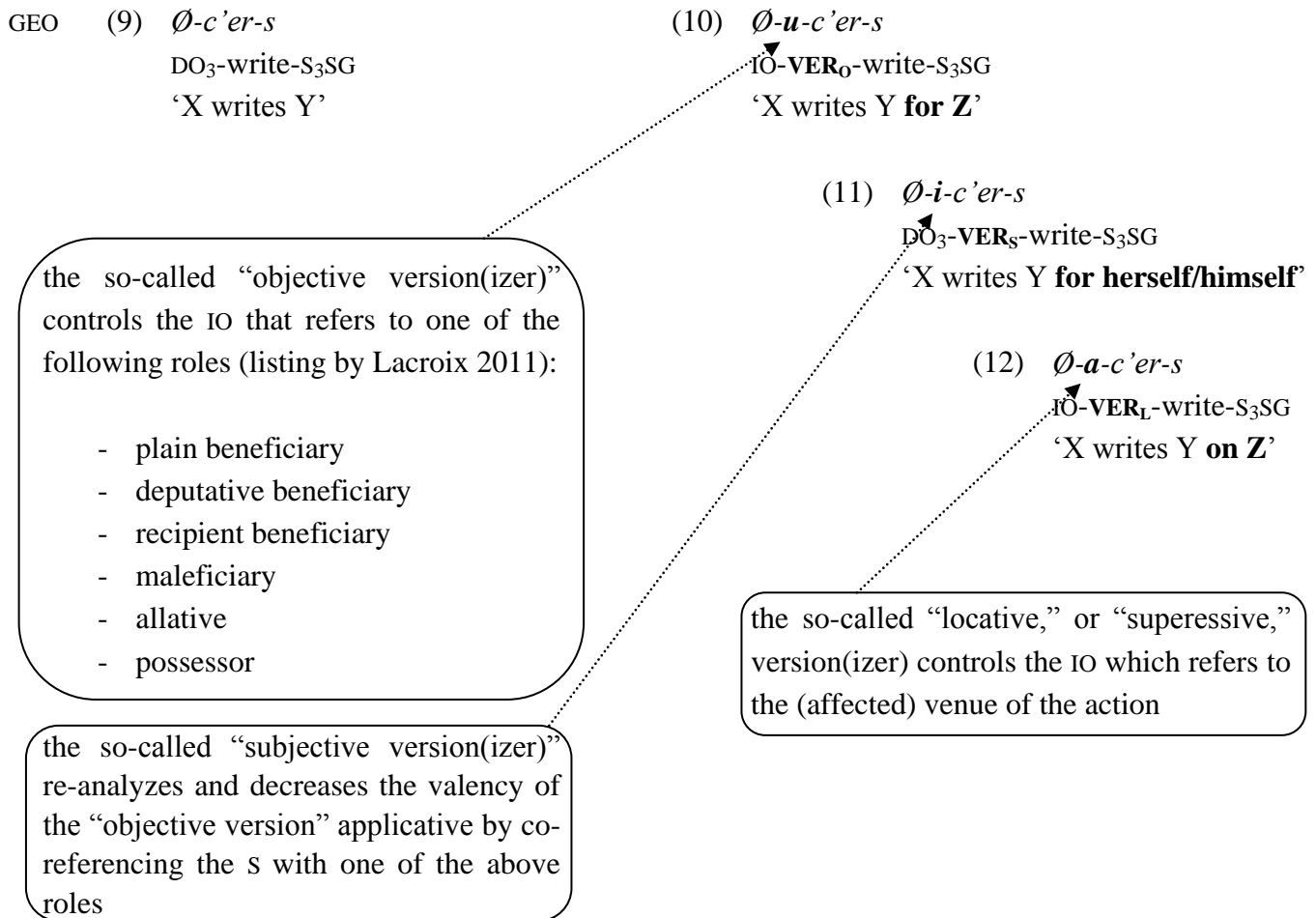
In the traditional terminology, version markers (= pre-radical vowels) can be “locative”, “relative”, “objective”, and “subjective”, the latter kind being often viewed as a sub-type of the objective version. All Kartvelian languages share this pattern and seem to have very few exceptions with respect to the application of the markers at issue in function, diachronic use, and conventionalization.

FIGURE 4. KARTVELIAN PRE-RADICAL VOWELS IN THE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

version	PK archetype	GEO	SVAN	MEGR	LAZ
locative	* <i>a</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>
relative	* <i>e-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
subjective	* <i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
objective	* <i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>

## Synchrony

All pre-radical vowels are involved into the formation of **APPLICATIVES**:



GEO (13) *bič'-i* (*gogona-[i]s[a]-tvis*) *leks-s*  $\emptyset$ -*c'er-s*  
boy-NOM girl-GEN-BEN verse-DAT DO<sub>3</sub>-write-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
'The boy is writing a verse (for a girl)'

MEGR (14) *boš-i* (*cira-šo[t]*) *lers-i-s*  $\emptyset$ -*č'ar-un-s*  
boy-NOM girl-BEN verse-R.EXT-DAT DO<sub>3</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
'idem'

GEO (15) *bič'-i* *gogona-s* *leks-s*  $\emptyset$ -*u-c'er-s*  
boy-NOM girl-DAT verse-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-write-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
'The boy is writing a verse **for a girl**'

MEGR (16) *boš-i* *cira-s* *lers-i-s*  $\emptyset$ -*u-č'ar-un-s*  
boy-NOM girl-DAT verse-R.EXT-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
'idem'

- GEO (17) *bič'-i leks-s Ø-i-c'er-s*  
 boy-NOM verse-DAT DO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-write-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'The boy is writing a verse **for himself**'
- MEGR (18) *boš-i lers-i-s Ø-i-č'ar-un-s*  
 boy-NOM verse-R.EXT-DAT DO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'idem'
- LAZ (19) *hemu-k oxo[r]i-Ø Ø-i-k'od-um-s*  
 DEM<sub>D</sub>-ERG house-NOM DO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-build-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'X builds a house **for herself/himself**'

(Lacroix 2009: 511)

- SVAN (20) S<sub>1</sub>SG *xw-i-qn-i-Ø* GEO *v-i-xn-av-Ø* 'I plough X **for myself**'  
 S<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-SG S<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-S<sub>1</sub>
- S<sub>2</sub>SG *x-i-qn-i-Ø* GEO *Ø-i-xn-av-Ø* 'you<sub>SG</sub> plough X **for your<sub>SG</sub>self**'  
 S<sub>2</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-SG S<sub>2</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-S<sub>2</sub>
- S<sub>3</sub>SG *Ø-i-qn-i-Ø* GEO *Ø-i-xn-av-s* 'X ploughs Y **for herself/himself**'  
 S<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-SG S<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-plough-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG

(Topuria 1967: 45)

- GEO (21) *bič'-i surat-s magida[s]-ze Ø-xat'-av-s*  
 boy-NOM picture-DAT table.[DAT]-SUPERESS DO<sub>3</sub>-paint-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'The boy is drawing a picture on the table'

- GEO (22) *bič'-i surat-s magida-s Ø-a-xat'-av-s*  
 boy-NOM picture-DAT table-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-paint-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'The boy is drawing a picture **on the table**'

- MEGR (23) *boš-i surat-s st'ol-s gi-Ø-o-xant'-an-s*  
 boy-NOM picture-DAT table-DAT PRV-IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-paint-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'idem'

On the inadequacy of rewordings like APPL + DAT (ex. 22) → VERBUM SIMPLEX + PSTP (ex. 21) (still applied in grammatical descriptions both in Georgia and in the West):

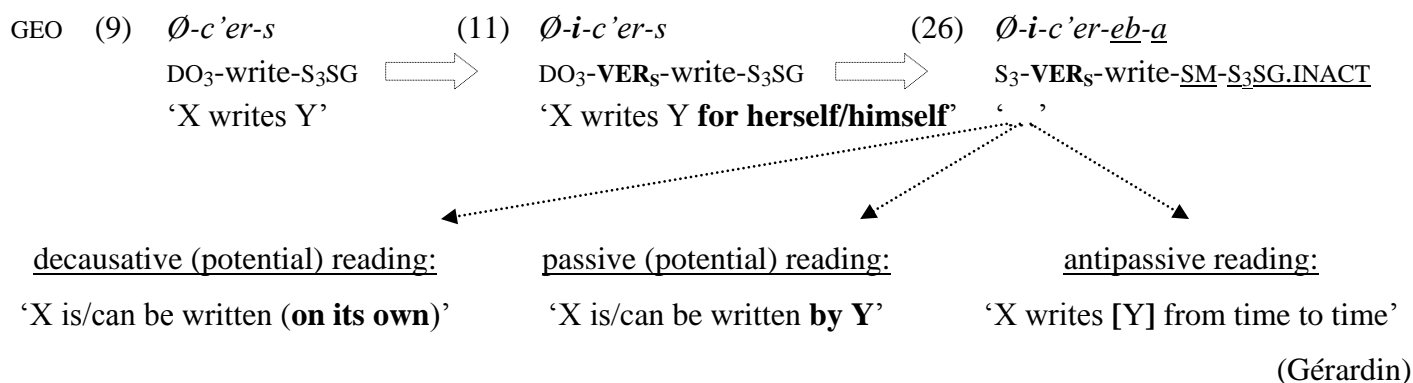
- GEO (24) *bavšv-eb-ma p'ort'ret'-eb-s rk[a]-eb-i mi-Ø-a-xat'-es*  
 child-PL-ERG portrait-PL-DAT horn-PL-NOM PRV<sub>D</sub>-IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-paint-S<sub>3</sub>PL.PRT  
 'The children drew horns **to / on** the portraits (e.g. in school textbooks)'

- MEGR (25) *baγan-ep-k p'ort'ret'-ep-s ka-l-ep-i ki-gi-Ø-o-xant'-es*  
 child-PL-ERG portrait-PL-DAT horn-SBM-PL-NOM PRF-PRV-IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-paint-S<sub>3</sub>PL.PRT  
 'idem'

It is more or less obvious that *the horns* are to be added in this case on top of the heads of the people painted on the pictures, not on their sides, shoulders etc., that is, one could speak here of, in Talmy's terminology (1982: 242), a specific "adjacency to a biased part" and Levinson's "intrinsic frame of reference" to the IO (1996: 366: ff.). A rewording such as GEO *rkebi p'ort'ret'eb-ze* (PSTP SUPERESS) *da-Ø-xat'es* // MEGR *kalepi p'ort'ret'ep-s* (DAT:LOC) *do-xant'-es* 'they painted the horns on the portraits' would therefore be entirely inappropriate.

## Valency Decrease

Valency decreasing operations are typically yielded by the pre-radical vowel *i-* accompanied by *inactive* suffixation:



GEO (27) *es saxel-i sxvanairad Ø-i-c'er-eb-a (prang-eb-is mier)*  
 DEM<sub>p</sub>.NOM name-NOM otherwise S<sub>3</sub>-**VER<sub>S</sub>**-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT French-PL-GEN by  
 'This name is/can be written/spelled (by the French) in another way'

GEO (28) *Zurab-i Germani[a]-idan [c'eril-eb-s] Ø-i-c'er-eb-a xolme*  
 Zurab-NOM Germany-EL letter-PL-DAT S<sub>3</sub>-**VER<sub>S</sub>**-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT HAB  
 'Zurab writes (letters) [home] from Germany from time to time'

Perfectivity in the finite verb does not correlate with the antipassive meaning:

GEO (29) *\*is pul-s xolme da-Ø-i-xarž-a*  
 DEM<sub>D</sub>.NOM money-DAT HAB PRF-S<sub>3</sub>-**VER<sub>S</sub>**-spend-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
 expected translation: 'S/he spent money from time to time'

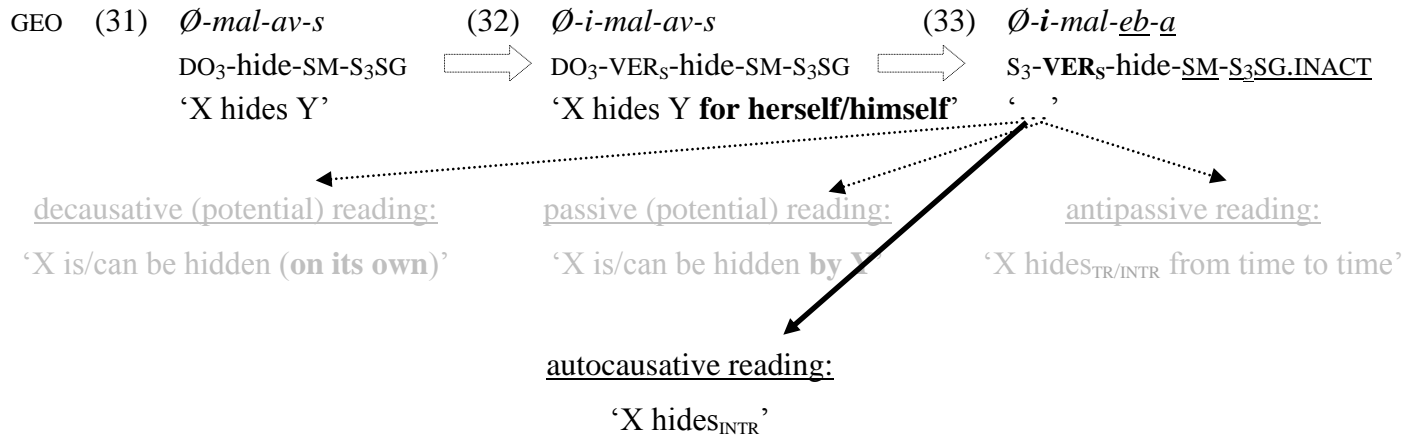
and is hardly compatible with the passive (potential) meaning:

GEO (30) *pul-i sc'rapad da-Ø-i-xarž-a (??im-is mier)*  
 money-NOM quickly PRF-S<sub>3</sub>-**VER<sub>S</sub>**-spend-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT DEM<sub>D</sub>.OBL-GEN by  
 'The money **got** spent quickly (??the money **was** spent by her/him quickly)'

which is why with the perfective aspect the decausative reading is preferred.



In addition to decausatives, the vowel *i-* can mark autocausatives:



A statistical remark on the productivity:<sup>3</sup>

A frontal check of Rayfield’s 2006 voluminous “Comprehensive Georgian-English Dictionary” (some 120k entries) provided the following numbers for parallel finite forms out of some 14k verb entries) with and without one of the pre-radical vowels:

VERBUM SIMPLEX ( $\emptyset$ -c’ers) vs. VER <sub>O</sub> u- + VERBUM SIMPLEX (u-c’ers)	1005 pairs
VERBUM SIMPLEX ( $\emptyset$ -c’ers) vs. VER <sub>S</sub> i- + VERBUM SIMPLEX (i-c’ers)	169 pairs
VERBUM SIMPLEX ( $\emptyset$ -c’ers) vs. VER <sub>L</sub> a- + VERBUM SIMPLEX (a-c’ers)	1561 pairs
(CAUS & FACT also included)	
VERBUM SIMPLEX (gada- $\emptyset$ -xdeba) vs. VER <sub>R</sub> e- + VERBUM SIMPLEX (gada-e-xdeba)	<b>6 pairs</b>

### The Pre-Radical Vowel *e-*

No active-marking pairs according the above accounts being available (cf. e.g. *e-brʒvis* ‘X struggles against Y’ vs. \* $\emptyset$ -brʒvis expected translation: ‘X struggles’), the *e*-derivates basically parallel the *i*-derivates with inactive suffixal marking (143 relevant pairs found):

GEO	(34)	<i>bič’-i</i>	<i>sardap[s]-šī</i>	$\emptyset$ -i-mal-eb-a	
		boy-NOM	basement.[DAT]-INESS	S <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>S</sub> -hide-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.INACT	
		‘The boy is hiding in the basement’			
GEO	(35)	<i>bič’-i</i>	<i>sardap[s]-šī</i>	$\emptyset$ -e-mal-eb-a	<i>deda-s</i>
		boy-NOM	basement.[DAT]-INESS	IO <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>R</sub> -hide-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.INACT	mother-DAT
		‘The boy is hiding in the basement <b>from his mother</b> ’			

<sup>3</sup> I am largely indebted to a friend of mine, M.A. Oleg Bulatovskij of Lviv, who kindly performed the accounting procedures.

- MEGR (36) *bayana-∅ sardap-i-s ∅-i-t'q'-eb-u*  
 child-NOM basement-R.EXT-DAT S<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-hide-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT  
 ‘The child is hiding in the basement’
- MEGR (37) *bayana-∅ sardap-i-s ∅-a-t'q'-eb-u nana-s*  
 child-NOM basement-R.EXT-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-hide-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT mother-DAT  
 ‘The child is hiding in the basement **from his/her mother**’

Being the most peculiar and at the same time under-described pre-radical vowel in Kartvelian (quite often not even included into the relevant paragraphs), *e-* in GEO & SVAN as well as their MEGR & LAZ cognate *a-* are most troublesome in the ways they work. Their basic function is to relate the ACTION/EVENT/STATE to a new participant in a way that the latter becomes indirectly involved.

For verbal lexemes featured in examples (35) and (37), the tradition holds the term “relative passive/potential”, which, however, does not seem to be perfectly adequate. In fact, these represent an instance of and upgrade of autocausatives, i.e. an applicative derivation (semantically of a quite subtle kind though).

Decausatives increase their valency by adding a(n agentive) participant whose control over the action is decreased; this new participant (DAT) is either an unwilling performer of the action, or the one who unwillingly provides the venue for the action, or the intended RECIPIENT, or the EXPERIENCER (cf. the aforementioned “relative passives” and “relative potentials”).

- GEO (38) *bič'-s ∅-e-c'er-eb-a leks-i*  
 boy-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT verse-NOM  
 ‘The verse is/can be written **to/for/at the place of the boy**’
- MEGR (39) *boš-i-s ∅-a-č'ar-u[n]-∅ lers-i*  
 boy-R.EXT-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT verse-NOM  
 ‘The verse is written **by/to/for/at the place of the boy**’
- MEGR (40) *boš-i-s ∅-a-č'ar-e[n]-∅ lers-i*  
 boy-R.EXT-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-POT-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT verse-NOM  
 ‘The verse can be written **by/to/for/at the place of the boy**’  
 = ‘The boy **can** write a/the verse’
- SVAN (41) *č'q'int'-s leks-∅ x-e-ir-un-i-∅*  
 boy-DAT verse-NOM IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-CAUS-INACT-SG  
 ‘The verse is/can be written **to/for the boy**’

## Intermediary Results

The data on valency change so far discussed can be summarized in the following chart below:

FIGURE 5. VALENCY DERIVATIONS IN GEO. PART 1.

	morphology	syntax	semantics
<p><i>c'er-s</i> 'X writes Y'</p> <p>(1a) ↓ <i>a-c'er-s</i> 'X writes Y on Z'</p>	addition of versionizer <i>a-</i>	+ ARG 3 IO DAT	+ venue
<p>(1b) ↓ <i>u-c'er-s</i> 'X writes Y for Z'</p> <p>(2) ↓ <i>i-c'er-s</i> 'X writes Y for herself/himself'</p>	addition of versionizer <i>u-</i>	+ ARG 3 IO DAT	+ beneficiary etc.
<p>(3) ↓ <i>i-c'er-eb-a</i> 'X gets/is written (by Y)'</p>	replacement of versionizer <i>u-</i> by versionizer <i>i-</i>	– ARG 3 IO DAT	reflexivization
<p>(4) ↓ <i>e-c'er-eb-a</i> 'X gets/is written <b>for Y</b>'</p>	replacement of active suffix(es) <i>-(eb)-s</i> by inactive suffixes <i>-eb-a</i>	– ARG 1 S NOM/ERG/DAT, loss of case-shifting	decausativization
	replacement of versionizer <i>i-</i> by versionizer <i>e-</i>	+ ARG 3 IO DAT	<b>applicative of indirect involvement</b>

## Causatives

(Gec'a3e et al. 1969)

Kartvelian causatives are formed by means of circumfixation. The prefixal part is the pre-radical vowel associated with the locative version (*a-* in GEO), whereas the suffixal part can vary depending on semantic and formal properties of the verb (e.g. *-in*, *-(e)v-in*, *-eb-in*, etc. in GEO).

The addition of the CAUSER to the proposition shifts the case-marking alignment of the verb as follows:

FIGURE 6. CASE MARKING ALIGNMENT IN GEO (EXTRACT)

	ARG 1, S/A	ARG 2, DO/P
PRS TAMs	NOM	DAT
AOR TAMs	ERG	NOM
PERF TAMs	DAT	NOM



FIGURE 7. CASE MARKING IN GEO CAUSATIVES

	CAUSER	ex-ARG 1, ex-S/A	ARG 2, DO/P
PRS TAMs	NOM	DAT	DAT
AOR TAMs	ERG	DAT	NOM
PERF TAMs	DAT	BEN	NOM

GEO (42) *gogona-∅ bič'-s leks-s ∅-a-c'er-in-eb-s*  
 girl-NOM boy-DAT verse-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-CAUS-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'The girl **makes** the boy write a verse'

MEGR (43) *cira-∅ boš-i-s lers-i-s ∅-o-č'ar-apu[n]-an-s*  
 girl-NOM boy-R.EXT-DAT verse-R.EXT-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-CAUS-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
 'idem'

SVAN (44) *dina-∅ č'q'int'-s leks-s x-a-ir-un-e-∅*  
 girl-NOM boy-DAT verse-DAT IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-CAUS-SM-SG  
 'idem'

Note that a canonical passivization of a causative is not possible: the PATIENT, say, *a verse* in a sentence, such as, e.g. 'The girl makes the boy write a verse', is the 2<sup>nd</sup> argument and only takes the DAT when governed by the PRS TAM verb forms, whereas the case-shifting AOR and PERF TAM paradigms require the PATIENT in the NOM. This consequently means that *the boy*, who is caused to write a verse, represents the 3<sup>rd</sup> argument of the verb and is coded by the DAT with PRS and AOR TAM transitives and by the (oblique) PSTP BEN when governed by the PERF TAM verb forms of transitives, which makes it virtually impossible to create a *proper* passive, as in e.g. 'The boy is forced (by the girl) to write a verse', with *the boy* being the intended SUBJECT of the resulting passive, out of an active causative verb,

GEO (45) *\*bič'-i leks-s ??∅-i-c'er-in-eb-a gogona-[i]s mier*  
 boy-NOM verse-DAT S<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-write-CAUS-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT girl-GEN by  
 expected translation: 'The boy **is forced** by the girl to write a verse'

as it would imply the promotion of the non-1<sup>st</sup> argument of the (transitive) causative verb to the SUBJECT position requiring the NOM/ERG/DAT encoding.

This phenomenon of causative downgrades is only scarcely represented in translations of examples in dictionaries (cf. e.g. (46) *net'avi k'vesi xom ar gapuč'da, cexls rom ayar i-q'r-ev-in-eb-a*<sup>4</sup> 'I wonder if the flint steel got broken, as it **is** no longer **starting** a fire', ANTIPASS from *a-q'r-ev-in-eb-s* 'X makes Y drop/throw Z' < *q'r-i-s* 'X drops/throws Z').

The pre-radical vowel *e-* takes part in increasing the valency of (allegedly) decreased causatives, this derivation mechanism implying the deletion of the CAUSER without returning the agentive argument into the SUBJECT position. Morphologically, the starting point is the CAUS stem, say, *a-c'er-in-* 'make write' (cf. ex. (42) *a-c'er-in-eb-s* above), which undergoes the pre-radical vowel change, from *a-* to *e-* (quite likely through the intermediate *i-* stage), and attaches the series marker *-eb* with the medial (INACT) set of agreement suffixes. What also happens is the shift of the SUBJECT cross-reference in the prefixal agreement slot from (formal) SUBJECT marking to (formal) OBJECT marking.

GEO (47) *bič'-s*      *∅-e-c'er-in-eb-a*      *leks-i*  
 boy-DAT    IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-CAUS-SM:STAT-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT    verse-NOM  
 'The boy **is very much like to and is about to** write/cannot help writing a verse'

This construction (highly colloquial in Standard GEO) is perhaps the solution that GEO offers for the problem of the CAUS valency downgrade, cf. ex. (45) *??i-c'er-in-eb-a* above.

In MEGR, a similar vowel change takes place, viz. *o-* (> *??i-*) > *a-*, and yields a parallel derivation (which is quite likely to be the source for the similar phenomenon in GEO):

MEGR (48) *boš-i-s*      *∅-a-č'ar-apu[n]-apu[n]-∅*      *lers-i*  
 boy-R.EXT-DAT    IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-CAUS-STAT-S<sub>3</sub>SG.INACT    verse-NOM  
 'idem'

SVAN, unlike LAZ (according to my informants), allows for a similar downgrade of the CAUS verb (quite probable, again under the MEGR influence):

SVAN (49) *č'q'int'-s*      *x-e-ir-un-ä:l-i-∅*      *leks-∅*  
 boy-R.EXT-DAT    IO<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>R</sub>-write-CAUS-SM:DECAUS-INACT-SG    verse-NOM  
 'idem'

Considering that every CAUS falls into the active transitive group according to all parameters (active morphology, transitive morphosyntax, case-shifting, etc.), one might try to apply to it the operations illustrated by FIGURE 5 on page 11 and finally find out that only two steps out of the aforementioned four for a proper non-CAUS transitive are in this case available.

<sup>4</sup> Kadagize, D. & N. Kadagize. 1984. Batsbi-Georgian-Russian Dictionary.

First of all, step (1b) falls out, because a CAUS verb needs the -1 “version” slot for its mere existence: on the one hand, the pre-radical vowel, otherwise responsible for a locative argument, is involved in the formation of the CAUS circumfix, which means that it is formally impossible to replace the pre-radical vowel by any other one from the respective set; on the other hand, this operation would have also been blocked semantically, as one does not necessarily need to create applicatives (i.e. make an additional upgrade) from causatives.

Step (2) is ruled out due to the same reason, as it should have been a direct consequence of step (1b).

Step (3) is seemingly quite imaginable and not ruled out by the language, but always causing frowns in my informants.

Step (4) perfectly exists—most probably thanks to its semantic necessity and through the morphological *imaginability* of the problematic step (3).

These data can be summarized in the chart below:

FIGURE 8. VALENCY DERIVATIONS IN GEO. PART 2.

	<b>morphology</b>	<b>syntax</b>	<b>semantics</b>
<p><i>a-c'er-in-eb-s</i> 'X makes Y write Z'</p> <p>(3)</p> <p><i>??i-c'er-in-eb-a</i> exp. tr.: 'X is made write Z by Y'</p>	<p>replacement of active suffixes <i>-in-eb-s</i> by inactive suffixes <i>-eb-a</i></p>	<p>– ARG 1 S NOM/ERG/DAT, ARG 3 IO DAT &gt; ARG 1 NOM, loss of case-shifting</p>	<p>decausativization</p>
<p>(4)</p> <p><i>e-c'er-in-eb-a</i> 'X cannot help writing Y'</p>	<p>replacement of phantom versionizer <i>i-</i> by versionizer <i>e-</i></p>	<p>+ ARG 3 IO DAT in place of ARG 1 S NOM/ERG/DAT</p>	<p>anticausatives of decreased control</p>

## Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	MEGR	Megrelian
A	agent	NEG	negation
ANTIPASS	antipassive	NOM	nominative
AOR	aorist	OBL	oblique
APPL	applicative	P	patient; proximal
ARG	argument	PASS	passive
AUX	auxiliary	PERF	perfect
BEN	benefactive	PK	Proto-Kartvelian
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	POT	potential
D	distal	PRF	perfectivizer
DAT	dative	PRS	present
DECAUS	decausative	PRT	preterite
DEM	demonstrative	PRV	preverb
DO	direct object	PSTP	postposition
EL	elative	R	root
EM	extension marker	R.EXT	root extension
ERG	ergative	RES	resultative
EVID	evidential	S	subject
EXP	experiencer	SBJ	subjunctive
FACT	factive	SBM	submorph
FOC	focus	SG	singular
FUT	future	SM	series marker
GEN	genitive	SOC	sociative
GEO	Georgian	STAT	stative
HNR	honorific	STIM	stimulus
IMPF	imperfect	SUPERESS	superessive
IMPRF	imperfectivizer	SVAN	Svan
INACT	inactive	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
INANM	inanimate	TR	transitive
INCH	inchoative	VER <sub>L</sub>	locative versionizer
INTR	intransitive	VER <sub>N</sub>	neutral versionizer
IO	indirect object	VER <sub>O</sub>	objective versionizer
LAZ	Laz	VER <sub>R</sub>	relative versionizer
LOC	locative	VER <sub>S</sub>	subjective versionizer

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