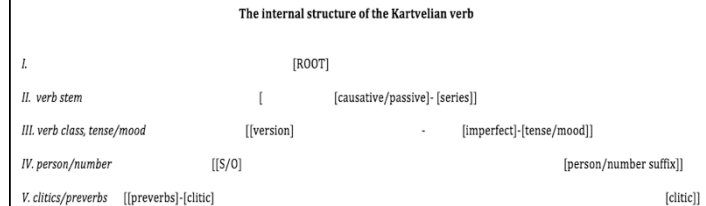


Explorations in Kartvelian marginal verb classes: Medial verbs with version vowel /e/.

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The hierarchical internal structure of the Kartvelian verb



- Version vowels between person prefixes and verb root

The category of version in Svan

Class A

Neutral version: [-a-/Ø-] dina qæn-s æ-b-em [girl:NOM bull-DAT NtV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up the bull' (no specific orientation)

Subjective version: [-i-] dina qæn-s i-b-em [girl:NOM bull-DAT SbV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up her own bull, ties it for herself' (orientation toward subject)

Objective version: [-i/o] dina mu-s qæn-s x-o-b-em [girl:NOM father-DAT bull-DAT O3-ObV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up her father's bull, ties it up for him' (orientation toward indirect object)

Superessive version: [-a-] dina megæm-s qæn-s x-a-b-em [girl:NOM tree-DAT bull-DAT O3-SupV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties the bull to a tree' (indirect object denotes surface on[to] which action is directed)

Class P

Neutral (Subjective) version: i-mč-i [SbV-age-SM] 'sb is getting old'.

Objective version: x-e-mč-i [O3-ObV-age-SM] 'sb is getting old for/on sb; sb's sb [e.g. relative] is getting old'

/e-/ marking objective version of prefixal passive verbs SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVE

saxl-i šen-d-eb-a
house-NOM build-PASS-SM-S3sg
"A/the house is being built"

Objective version: saxl-i elene-s u-šen-d-eb-a
house-NOM Elena-DAT OV-build-PASS-SM-S3sg
"A/the house is being built for Elena"

PREFIXAL INTRANSITIVE

c'erili-i i-gzavn-eb-a
boy-NOM SV-send-SM-S3sg
"The letter is sent"

Objective version: c'erili-i elene-s e-gzavn-eb-a
boy-NOM Elena-DAT OV-send-SM-S3sg
"The letter is sent to/for Elena"

Formally passive verbs in /e/-version

Functions of the /e/-passive

1. passive verb with indirect object (*m-e-gzavn-eb-a* "it is sent to me")
 2. comitative deponent with indirect object (*v-e-lap'arak'-eb-i* "I speak with sb")
 3. indirect verbs of possibility (*m-e-č'm-eb-a* "I can eat it; it is edible for me")
 4. indirect verbs of other kinds (*m-e-šok'olad-eb-a* "I feel like eating chocolate")
 5. pluperfect & perfect conjunctive of active verbs (*m-e-č'am-a* "I had eaten it")
 6. aorist & optative of mediopassive verbs (*m-e-cv-a* "I wore it")
- Functions 1-3 in other Kartvelian languages; remainder largely limited to Georgian
 - In all Kartvelian languages, however, /e/-prefix attested with a small number of non-passive verbs

Problematic distribution of the /e/ prefix

1. A small number of forms based on the aorist stem of the verb /-c-/ "give" in Georgian (1st & 2nd-person aorist, and 3rd-singular imperative):

mi=v-e-c-[i] "I gave sthg to sb"
 mi=e-c-[i] "you gave sthg to sb"
 mi=e-c-in "may s/he give sthg to sb"

All other aorist-stem forms have no version vowel, e.g.

mi=s-c-a "s/he gave sthg to sb"
 mi=v-s-c-e "I will give sthg to sb"
 mi=s-c-ed "may they give sthg to sb"

/e/ prefix in medial verbs

2. A half-dozen Old Georgian medial (medioactive) verbs [Shanidze 1953 §366; Kavtaradze 1954: 309-12; Suxishvili 1976: 40-2], e.g.

e-glov-s "mourns for sb" e-k'icx-ev-s "reproves, mocks sb"
 e-t'q'eb-s "keens over sb (while striking one's head)"
 e-vlt'-i-s "avoids, flees from" e-cin-i-s "mocks, laughs at sb"

3. A dozen or so Svan medial verbs, as well as isolated examples from Mingrelian and Laz (in the latter two languages, /a/ is cognate to Georgian /e/):

Svan: x-e-töp "shoots (gun) at" x-e-ldey "herds (animals)"
 x-e-lč-e "guards sthg/sb" x-e-msaxwir "serves sb"

Ming: a-ngar-s "mourns for sb" a-lin-an-s "serves sb"
 Laz: a-bgar-s "mourns for sb"

These /e/-medials lack the stem formants and person suffixes that mark passive verbs. In terms of their morphology, they resemble active verbs rather than passives.

Examples of /e/-version medials

EARLY OLD GEORGIAN

eri igi x-e-žieb-d-a mas
 people the:NOM O3-eV-seeK-IMP-S3sg him:DAT
 "the people were seeking him" [Lk 4: 42]

x-e-k'icx-ev-d-e-n mas da t'anž-o-n igi
 O3-eV-mock-SM-IMP-CONJ-S3sg him:DAT and torment-CONJ-S3pl him:NOM
 "they shall mock him and torment him" [Mk 10: 34]

SVAN

bāp' xam-är-s x-e-ldey
 priest:NOM pig-PL-DAT O3-eV-herd
 "the priest is herding swine"

MINGRELIAN

si do=zoj-i ma g-a-lin-an-k
 you PV=sit-S2sg I O2-eV-serve-SM-S1sg
 "you sit down, I will serve you"

The /e/-prefix in mi=v-e-c “I gave it to sb” as a red herring?

- Problem: (a) transitive verb with /e/ (mi=v-e-c) limited to Georgian; (b) all other anomalous /e/-verbs are intransitive atelic medials that usually do not appear in aorist-series paradigms
- Kavtaradze (1954: 309) took it at face value as evidence of /e/-version with transitive active verbs
- Shanidze (1976: 550-1) wondered if the /e/ could have originally been part of the root: /c/ < */hec/
- No trace of /e/ version (nor of any root vowel) in Laz & Mingrelian cognates of Geo /c/.

/e/ from umlauted version vowel /a/ ?

Old Georgian verb forms with mobile stress in the past-indicative paradigms.

	IMPERFECT (prs. x-k'l-av-s “kills”)	AORIST (prs. x-[a]-c-em-s “gives”)
S1sg	x-w-k'l-ev-d ⇐ *x-w-k'l-áv-i-d-i	x-w-e-c ⇐ *x-w-á-c-i
S2sg	x-k'l-ev-d ‘you were killing’	x-e-c ‘you gave’
S3sg	x-k'l-v-id-a ⇐ *x-k'l-av-id-a	x-c-a ⇐ *x-a-c-á

- Evidence from Svan as well as Old Georgian of mobile stress in past-indicative verb forms: stem or prefixal accent in 1st & 2nd person, suffixal accent in 3rd-person
- Old Georgian imperfect paradigms show stress-conditioned vowel syncope, as well as /a/ > /e/ umlaut conditioned by suffixal /i/.
- Eliminating the highly atypical case of Geo /-c-/ reveals the numerous commonalities among the remaining examples of anomalous /e/-version.

(a) Almost all /e/-version medials paired with /i/-version

Old Georgian

e-glov-s “mourns for sb”	i-glov-s “mourns”
e-t'q'eb-s “keens over sb”	i-t'q'eb-s “keens”
e-myer-i-s “sings to; mocks”	i-myer-i-s “sings, dances”
e-vlt'-i-s “avoids, flees from”	i-vlt'-i-s “flees, runs away”
e-cin-i-s “mocks, laughs at sb”	i-cin-i-s “laughs”

Svan

x-e-lč'āl “mourns, laments over sb”	i-lč'āl “mourns, laments”
x-e-ldey “herds, shepherds”	i-ldey “works as shepherd”
x-e-msaxwir “serves sb”	i-msaxwir “serves”
x-e-mzər “prays to”	i-mzər “prays”

Mingrelian & Laz

a-ngar-s “mourns for sb”	i-ngar-s “mourns”
a-bgar-s “mourns for sb”	i-bgar-s “mourns”

(b) Semantic features of /e/-version medial verbs

- Atelic (activity verbs). Mostly used in present and imperfect tenses; seldom or never in aorist series of tenses (punctiliar aspect)
- Semantic prototype: “mourn, keen”, represented in Geo (2x), Svan (2x), Laz & Mingrelian (albeit by non-cognate roots).
- Common to all Kartv. Languages: socially-situated asymmetric vocal/speech acts (mourn, mock, chat, pray ...).
- Second argument (a) animate, usually human; (b) entailed by action, but can be backgrounded; (c) role comparatively passive (object of mourning, mocking, seeking, etc.).
- For most mono-/bi-valent pairs, the /i/-version counterpart seems unmarked compared to /e/-version. (Exceptions: Old Geo. /e-sav-s/ “trusts in”, /e-k'icxev-s/ “mocks”)

/e/ version in Kartvelian

- 1. /e/-version almost always paired with /i/
- 2. /e/-version limited to intransitive verbs (passive & medial)
- 3. (probably small) class of medials with /i/ and /e/ version prefixes can be attributed to Proto-Kartvelian, the semantic range of which included certain types of socially-situated asymmetric vocal/speech activities.

e/i-medials and the morphology of middle voice

- Kemmer (1993) identified “situation types” associated with middle voice in 30-language sample
- Kartvelian: no single morphological marker of middle, covering full range of situation types
- (1) Verb types with version /i/ and/or /e/: e/i-medial, deponent, subjective-version transitive, indirect passive;
- (2) Other verb types: root intransitive, medioactive, indirect mediopassive

Kemmer's situation types	Greek middles (MT = medium tantum)	Kartvelian equivalent (SV = subjective version)
SOCIALLY SITUATED ACTIVITY		
Emotive speech actions	<i>oduro-mai</i> “I mourn, lament” (MT)	<i>VE-MEDIAL, DEPONENT</i> : <i>v-e-glov</i> “I mourn for sb” <i>v-i-gin-eb-i</i> “I curse”
Naturally reciprocal events	<i>marna-mai</i> “I fight, do battle with/against” (MT)	<i>DEPONENT</i> : <i>v-e-brdz-v-i</i> “I fight against sb” <i>v-e-k'amat-eb-i</i> “I argue with sb”
ACTIVITIES NOT ENTAILING SOCIAL CONTEXT		
Grooming or body care	<i>xureo-mai</i> “I shave myself”	SV OF ACTIVE VERB, <i>DEPONENT</i> : <i>v-k-p'ars-av</i> “I shave myself” <i>v-k-p'udr-eb-i</i> “I powder myself”
Nontranslational motion	<i>hallo-mai</i> “I spring, leap” (MT)	MEDIOACTIVE, <i>DEPONENT</i> : <i>v-xt'una-ob</i> “I jump up and down” <i>v-k-zmor-eb-i</i> “I stretch my limbs”
Translational motion	<i>aphiknéo-mai</i> “I arrive, come to” (MT)	ROOT INTRANSITIVE, <i>DEPONENT</i> : <i>mi=ved-i</i> “I arrived, came to” <i>v-k-zlazz-eb-i</i> “I move slowly, lazily”
Change in body posture	<i>kathezo-mai</i> “I sit down”	ROOT INTRANSITIVE: <i>da=v-jd-eb-i</i> “I sit down”
SPONTANEOUS CHANGE NOT REQUIRING ANIMATE PARTICIPANT		
Spontaneous events	<i>sapruno-mai</i> “become rotten, stinking” (MT)	ROOT INTRANSITIVE: <i>lp-eb-a</i> “it rots”
INTERNAL STATES OF SUBJECT		
Emotion middle	<i>musatto-mai</i> “I loathe, feel disgust (at)” (MT)	INDIRECT (MEDIO)PASSIVE: <i>m-dzul-s</i> “I hate” <i>m-e-zlzy-eb-a</i> “I loath”
Cognition middle	<i>oio-mai</i> “I expect, suppose, believe” (MT)	INDIRECT (MEDIO)PASSIVE: <i>m-gon-i-a</i> “I suppose” <i>m-e-sizmr-eba</i> “appears to me in a dream”

Evolution of e/i-medials

- Georgian: i/e-medials remain marginal group among medioactives (half-dozen)
- Svan: paired i/e-medials denoting wider range of interactional and relational activities (chat, serve, be disciple of, ask, steal from); extension of /e/ version to ablauting (root) intransitives (*x-e-t'x-en-i* “returns to sb” vs. *x-o-t'x-en-i* “sb’s sthg returns”)
- Mingrelian: /e/-medials marginal. Productive type of /i/-medial with suffixes –in-an-, denoting person’s expression while looking/staring (e.g. *i-dyvidyv-in-an-s* “glowers, looks menacingly”). These correspond to one class of deponent verbs in Georgian

/i/-prefixed intransitives: passive and “deponent” uses

- /i/-prefixed intransitives are primarily passives of transitives formed from same root (e.g. Geo. *c'er-s* “writes”, *i-c'er-eb-a* “is being written”).
- In all Kartvelian languages, certain /i/- (also /e/)-prefixed intransitives have “deponent” readings. The agent is foregrounded, rather than backgrounded.
- Kartvelian deponents typically denote repeated, habitual activities, especially when characteristic of the subject, or conspicuous for their appearance or (in)appropriateness, e.g. *i-c'er-eb-a* “writes [letters, news] regularly”; *i-landzy-eb-a* “curses, is [habitually] foul-mouthed”.
- Deponent (anti)passives found in all Kartvelian languages (especially numerous in Georgian and Svan). Attested in earliest periods of Georgian literature.

i/e-prefixed medials and passives

- The prototypical meaning of i/e-prefixed medials is very close to that of i/e-prefixed passives when used as “deponents”:
- 1. Socially-situated, attention-getting activity.
- 2. Foregrounding of agent rather than recipient or addressee.
- 3. Atelic, durative aspect

Implications for the reconstruction of version category in Kartvelian

- i/e-version prefixes associated with intransitive verbs, medials as well as passives
- Although i/e-version medials such as *i-glov-s* /*e-glov-s* and “deponents” are comparatively marginal verb classes in the modern Kartvelian languages, the evidence points to their long history in this family.

I/E-PREFIXED INTRANSITIVE VERB TYPES IN KARTVELIAN

i-glov-s “mourns”	medial intransitive, denotes emotive speech/vocal act
i-čxrik'-eb-a (1) “rummages, pokes through” < čxrek'-s “rummages” (transitive)	anti-passive “deponent”: agent foregrounded, habitual, repeated, attention-getting action
i-čxrik'-eb-a (2) “is searched, rummaged through”	passive: patient foregrounded