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

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The hierarchical internal structure of the Kartvelian verb

The category of version in Svan

Class A

Neural version: [-a-] dina qen-s e-b-em [girl:NOM bull-DAT S1V-tie-SM] ‘the girl ties up the bull’ (no specific orientation)

Subjective version: [-i] dina qen-s e-b-em [girl:NOM bull-DAT S1V-tie-SM] ‘the girl ties up her own bull, ties it up for herself’ (orientation toward subject)

Objective version: [-i/i] dina mu-s qen-s e-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)

Superjective version: [-a-] dina meg-s qen-s e-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

Neural (Subjective) version: Em/M [SbV-2age-SM] ‘sb is getting old’.

Objective version: x-em/M [O3-ObV-2age-SM] ‘sb is getting old for/on sb; sb’s sb [e.g., relative] is getting old’

• Version vowels between person prefixes and verb root

/e/- marking objective version of prefixal passive verbs

SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVE
saxl-i šem-d-eb-a
house-NOM build-PASS-SM-S3sg
“A/the house is being built”

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

PREFIXAL INTRANSITIVE
cerli-i gzm-eb-a
boy-NOM SV-send-SM-S3sg
“The letter is sent”

Objective version: cerli-i elene-s gzm-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-gzamn-eb-a "it is sent to me")
2. comitative deponent with indirect object (v-e-lap’ar’ak-eb-a-l "I speak with sb")
3. indirect verbs of possibility (m-e-čm-eb-a "I can eat it; it is edible for me")
4. indirect verbs of other kinds (m-e-sok’olad-eb-a "I feel like eating chocolate")
5. pluperfect & perfect conjunctive of active verbs (m-e-čam-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

/e/ prefix in medial verbs
2. A half-dozen Old Georgian medial (mediactive) verbs [Shanidze 1953 §366; Kvatridze 1954: 309-12; Suxishvili 1976: 40-2], e.g.
   • glov-s "mourns for sb"
   • k’ox-ev-s "reproves, mocks sb"
   • t’q’eb-s "keens over sb (while striking one’s head)"
   • vi’l-i-s "avoids, flees from"
   • 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, /i/ is cognate to Georgian /e/);
   Svan: x-e-top’ "shoots (gun) at" x-e-ddey "herds (animals)"
   x-e-t’-e "guards sthg/sb" x-e-smaswxr "serves sb"
   Ming: ngar-s "mourns for sb" lin-an-s "serves sb"
   Laz: 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.

Problematic distribution of the /e/ prefix
1. A small number of forms based on the aorist stem of the verb l-c-l/ "give" in Georgian (1st & 2nd-person aorist, and 3rd-singular imperative):
   mi=v-e-c-[l] "I gave sth to sb"
   mi=v-e-c-[l] "you gave sth to sb"
   mi=e-c-in "may s/he give sth to sb"

   All other aorist-stem forms have no version vowel, e.g.
   mi=s-c-a "s/he gave sth to sb"
   mi=v-s-c-e "I will give sth to sb"
   mi=s-c-ed "may they give sth to sb"

Examples of /e/-version medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EARLY OLD GEORGIAN</th>
<th>x-e-zieb-d-a mas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>people theNOM</td>
<td>G3-EV-seek-IMP-S3sg him:DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;the people were seeking him&quot; [Lk 4: 42]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWAN</th>
<th>x-e-k’tx-ev-d-e-n mas da t’an3-o-n igl</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03-EV-mock-SM-IMP-CONJ-S3sg him:DAT and torment-CONJ-S3pl him:NOM</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;they shall mock him and torment him&quot; [Mt 10: 34]</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SVAN</th>
<th>xam-ar-s x-e-ddey</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>priestNOM</td>
<td>pig:PL-DAT 01-EV-herd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;the priest is herding swine&quot;</td>
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</table>

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<tr>
<th>MINGRELIAN</th>
<th>si do-zoj-i ma g-a-lin-an-k</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you FV=sit:S2sg</td>
<td>02-EV-serve-SM:S1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;you sit down, I will serve you&quot;</td>
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</table>
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/ ?

- 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"
- e-t’q’eb-s "keens over sb"
- e-mer-i-s "sings to, mocks"
- e-vit-i-s "avoids, flees from"
- e-cin-i-s "mocks, laughs at sb"

Svan
- x-ii-c’alë “mourns, laments over sb”
- x-i-dey “herds, shepherds”
- x-e-maxwir “serves sb”
- x-e-mzor “prays to”

Mingrelian & Laz
- a-ngar-s “mourns for sb”
- a-bgar-s “mourns for sb”

(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 (punctiliear 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”)

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<th>Mingrelian &amp; Laz</th>
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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.

Kemmer's situation types  | Greek middles (MT = medium tautian)  | Kartvelian equivalent (SV = subjective version)
--- | --- | ---
Emotive speech situations | odhros-mai “I mourn, lament” (MT)  | SV of active verb, depenent:
Natural reciprocals events | mhrma-mai “I fight, do battle with/against” (MT)  | I fight against sb
Grooming or body care | xwroo-mai “I shave myself”  | SV of active verb, depenent:
Nontranslational motion | hallo-mai “I spring, leap” (MT)  | MEDIOACTIVE, DEPENDENT:
Translational motion | uphlikho-mai “I arrive, come to” (MT)  | ROOT INTRANSITIVE, DEPENDENT:
Change in body posture | karthuxo-mai “I sit down”  | ROOT INTRANSITIVE:
Spontaneous events | lagprze-mai “Become rotten, stinking” (MT)  | INDIRECT (MEDIO)PASSIVE:
Emotional middle | muca-ta-i “I loathe, feel disgust” (MT)  | INDIRECT (MEDIO)PASSIVE:
Cognitive middle | coa-mai “I expect, suppose, believe” (MT)  | INDIRECT (MEDIO)PASSIVE:

Evolution of /e/-medials

Georgian: /e/-medials remain marginal group among medioactives (half-dozen)
Svan: paired /e/-medials denoting wider range of interational and relational activities (chat, serve, be disciple of, ask, steal from); extension of /e/ version to ablauting (root) intransitives (x-ε-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-dyvidy-v-in-an-s “glowers, looks menacingly”). These correspond to one class of deponent verbs in Georgian

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/-medial, deponent, subjective-version transitive, indirect passive;
(2) Other verb types: root intransitive, medioactive, indirect mediopassive
/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 “moums”                   | medial intransitive, denotes emotive speech/vocal act |
| i-čerk’-eb-a (1) “rummages, pokes through” < čerki’s “rummages” (transitive) | anti-passive “deponent”: agent foregrounded, habitual, repeated, attention-getting action |
| i-čerk’-eb-a (2) “is searched, rumbled through” | passive: patient foregrounded |

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