

THE KARTVELIAN SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVE

Kevin Tuite, Université de Montréal (Bremen Festival of Languages, 30 Sept 2009)

0. Using an admittedly imperfect¹ classificatory scheme based primarily on Shanidze (1953), I divide Modern Georgian verbs into the following four classes (also called “conjugations”), according to their case-assignment properties and future-stem morphology:

Case-shifting and non-case-shifting conjugation classes (Modern Georgian)

	<i>case-shifting</i> [assigns ERG in Series 2]	<i>non-case-shifting</i> [cannot assign ERG]
<i>future stem = present stem (+ preverb):</i>	CLASS 1 [mostly transitive] (ga)=a-xar-eb-s “makes sb happy”	CLASS 2 [intransitive] (ga)=u-xar-d-eb-a “becomes happy”
<i>future stem ≠ present stem:</i>	CLASS 3 [active intransitive] xar-ob-s “rejoices”	CLASS 4 [mostly stative] u-xar-i-a “is happy”

Class 2, sometimes labelled the “passive voice” (*vnebiti gviri* [Shanidze 1953: 297-299]), comprises three morphologically-distinct verb types.

	PREFIXAL	SUFFIXAL	ROOT (“UNMARKED”)
Class 2 stem	-i-√-, -e-√-	-√-d- (OGeo -√-n-)	√ (+ ablaut)
Source of root‡ {...} = ancient source, no longer productive	[transitive] verbs; {denominal + /-n-}	nouns, adjectives; medial & stative verbs; {transitive verbs}	{primary verbs}
Example, with transitive counterpart	<i>i-pšvn-eb-a</i> “is pulverized” [trans. <i>pšvn-i-s</i>]	<i>c’itl-d-eb-a</i> (<i>c’itel</i> -“red”) “turns red, blushes” [trans. <i>a-c’itl-eb-s</i>]	<i>sxlt’-eb-a</i> “slips, tears loose” [trans. <i>sxlet’-s</i>]
Semantics	passivization	inchoative, change of state	spontaneous change, motion, applied force
Other Kartvelian languages	productive in Zan, Svan	nonproductive in Zan; absent in Svan	nonproductive in Zan, Svan

‡ (Not including specialized uses of prefixal passive to form verbs of desiring/craving, etc. such as *m-e-myer-eb-a*, *m-e-šok’olad-eb-a*, etc.)

Prefixal passives are formed productively from primary verb roots, including several old, nonproductive types (vowelless roots, roots undergoing vowel alternation in the aorist stem). A small number of roots appear to have been derived from nominal stems, with the addition of a suffixal /n/ (e.g. *gzav-n-i-s* “sends”, *i-gzavn-eb-a* “is sent”; cp. *gza* “road” [Shanidze 1953 §454; Melikischvili 1978]). With regard to their semantics, these verb roots are bivalent, their Class 2 forms being in most cases genuine passives. The second group, consisting in intransitives formed by addition of the suffix /d/, is highly productive in Georgian. It is the usual means for forming new verbs from noun and adjective stems, as well as from atelic (medial & stative) verbs. Derived verbs in /d/ characteristically denote a change of state (*ga=q’vitl-d-a* “turned yellow”);

¹ Among the imperfections of this scheme is the presumption of paradigmaticity: that for each verb a future-tense form of “the same verb” can be identified (Tuite 1996, 2000). For a critical review of this and other approaches to the categorization of Georgian verbs see Cherchi (1997)

those formed from nouns or medial verbs are typically inchoative (*ga=k'omunist'-d-a* “became a communist”; *a=myer-d-a* “began to sing”). The third group comprises several dozen root intransitives. This is an archaic and closed class of verbs with distinctive morphophonemic features (some root intransitives have /e/ vocalism in the 1st/2nd-person aorist; the corresponding transitives of a subset of them are also marked by ablaut). At first glance the root intransitives seem semantically heterogeneous: the group includes verbs of movement (come/go, fall, sit down), spontaneous change (dry, freeze, wilt), and a subgroup denoting for the most part the consequences of applied force (break, wear out, be squeezed dry).

The first and third groups of Class 2 verbs are well-attested in the other members of the Kartvelian language family. Both types of prefixal passives are productively formed in the Zan languages (Laz & Mingrelian) and in the outlier Svan. All Kartvelian languages have a small, closed set of root intransitives. The attestation of the suffixal intransitives, however, presents a puzzle: They are present, but in small numbers, in Zan; in fact, their comparative rarity led some specialists to wonder if the morpheme had in fact been borrowed into Zan from Georgian (Marr 1910: 57; Chikobava 1936: 114). As for Svan, the /d/-intransitive or anything clearly cognate to it appears to be totally absent. Compounding the mystery of the suffixal intransitive is its allomorphic distribution in Old Georgian. The suffix added to form denominal or deadjectival change-of-state verbs varied according to the final consonant of the stem: as a rule, /-d-/ appeared only after the alveolar sonants (/n/, /r/, /l/); elsewhere the suffix was the ablauting /-(e)n-/ (e-grade in the 1st/2nd-person aorist).

-n-/-en	-d-
gan=did- n -a “became great, wealthy”	gamo=brc'q'in- d -a “shone forth”
gan=v-risx- en “I became angry”	gan=v-axl- d -i “I was renewed”

Whereas the other two types of Class 2 verb could be confidently reconstructed for the Kartvelian proto-language, the distribution of suffixal intransitives was sufficiently problematic to require explanation. Shanidze (1919 [1957]) hypothesized that the /-(e)n-/ allomorph, originally a denominal verbal formant, was older, and that the /-d/ suffix arose from dissimilation from the preceding sonant. Ertelishvili (1960) regarded both allomorphs as reanalysed past-tense stem formants. More recently, Jorbenadze compared the two suffixes to the adverbial case desinence of nouns, for which he reconstructed the allomorphs /-ad/ and /-an/ (1975: 138-142). In my view, the most promising line of inquiry into the prehistory of the Georgian suffixal intransitive was opened up by Marr (1925: 140-141), Topuria (1940) and Vogt (1947), who noted the high frequency of final dental stops in root-intransitive and ablauting-transitive verb roots. In Topuria's opinion, these root-final segments, which are also attested in Svan, were once separate morphemes cognate with the /-d/ suffix of interest to us here. In this paper I will take another look at these hypotheses from sixty or more years ago, and attempt to weave them into a plausible diachronic narrative.

1. Anomalous suffixal intransitives in Old Georgian and their Zan counterparts. The jumping-off point of my narrative is a small group of morphologically anomalous Old Georgian

suffixal intransitives (Topuria 1940, 1953; Baramidze 1976: 93; Shanidze 1919: 37; 1920: 180).² These verbs have vowelless stems, evidently the result of syncope of the root vowel manifested in the corresponding Class 1 transitives. Vowel alternations of this kind — most likely the consequence of an earlier mobile accent — occur in other ancient verb classes (Gamq’relidze & Mach’avariani 1965; Tuite 2003). Whereas most other Georgian suffixal intransitives are formed from noun or adjective or expressive stems, all of the anomalous d-intransitives are derived from verb stems, many of them from Class 1 transitives.

CLASS 2 SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVE	MEANING	CLASS 1 TRANSITIVE
<i>gan=st̥k-d-eb-i-s</i> (Early Geo <i>gan=x̥tk-d-eb-i-s</i>)	bursts	<i>gan=xetk-s</i>
<i>aγ=/gan=/mi=s-t̥q̣-d-eb-i-s</i> (< *t̥x-d-)	breaks	<i>aγ=t̥ex-s</i>
<i>da=h-qsn-d-eb-i-s</i>	is undone; falls apart	<i>da=h-qsn-i-s</i>
<i>gan=ḳp-d-eb-i-s</i>	wears out, wastes away	<i>gan=ḳap-s</i>
<i>gamo=č̣n-d-eb-i-s</i>	appears, becomes visible	<i>gamo=a-č̣en-s</i>

Confirming the impression that the above-listed suffixal intransitives are archaic as well as anomalous is comparative evidence from the two Zan languages (Laz and Mingrelian). Although /d/-intransitives are not common in Mingrelian and Zan, a convincing case has been made that they are indeed inherited from the Georgian-Zan ancestral language, rather than representing a borrowing from Georgian (Danelia 1976: 173-4). Both languages have suffixal intransitives with simple stems. These are derived from verbal roots, and denote spontaneous events or changes. Among the tiny number of Laz d-intransitives, the semantic field of nonvolitional mental phenomena is best represented.³

SIMPLE-STEM SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVES IN ZAN (Danelia 1976; Kajaia 2001-2; Marr 1910)	
LAZ	
<i>ga=b-c̣q̣'en-d-u-r</i>	I become bored, tired of sthg (cp. Geo <i>mo=m-c̣q̣'in-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>mo=m-c̣'on-d-u-n</i>	I like sthg/sb (cp. Geo <i>mo=m-c̣'on-s</i>)
<i>mo=b-yor-d-um</i>	I err, am deceived/mistaken (cp. Geo <i>mo=a-yor-eb-s</i> “deceives sb”)
<i>ke=č̣kin-d-u-n</i>	appears, becomes visible (cp. Geo <i>ga[mo]=č̣n-d-eb-i-s</i>)
MINGRELIAN	
<i>tan-d-u-n</i>	dawns (cp. Geo <i>teneb-i-s</i> ; Laz <i>tan-u-n</i>)
<i>šin-d-u-n</i>	swells (cp. Geo <i>siv-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>rč̣kin-d-u-n</i>	appears, becomes visible (cp. Geo <i>ga[mo]=č̣n-d-eb-i-s</i>)
<i>č̣xon-d-u-n</i>	becomes happy, blessed (cp. Geo <i>cxon-d-eb-i-s</i>)
<i>žin-d-u-n</i>	dries in the sun, airs out
<i>rgi-d-u-n</i>	cools off (cp. Geo <i>gril-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>c̣'k'ond-id-u-n</i>	(turbid water, etc.) clarifies (cp. Geo <i>c̣'k'nd-eb-a</i>)

² Some of the anomalous verbs have syllabic stems, but with the suffix /d/, rather than the expected /-(e)n/, after a non-sonant consonant. Most of these probably represent replacement of an earlier /-(e)n/ suffix by /d/, a shift noted as early as the 9th-c. *Sinai Mravaltavi* (Sarjveladze 1984: 481-6). A handful of such verbs, however, seem never to have taken the /-(e)n/ suffix, for example *da=a-vic̣'q̣-d-eb-i-s* “forgets”.

³ In the variety of Laz described by Lacroix (2009), two of the d-intransitives listed here have been absorbed into the class of root intransitives, the /d/ suffix having been reinterpreted as part of the stem (*č̣kind-*). This might be a harbinger of the eventual disappearance of suffixal intransitives in Laz.

Some of the vowelless Georgian d-passives and many of the simple-stem Zan suffixal intransitives are derived from stative or atelic verbs. According to the diachronic scenario formulated by Mach’avariani (1973: 109), the Kartvelian suffix *-ed — the ancestor of the suffixal intransitive formant -d — was added only to atelic verb stems, for the purpose of deriving “dynamic” (change of state) intransitive verbs; for example Geo. *čan-s* “is visible” > *gamo=čn-d-eb-i-s* “becomes visible”. Mach’avariani took note of the attestation of d-suffixal forms derived from transitive stems such as *t’q’-d-eb-i-s* and *xtk-d-eb-i-s*, but dismissed them as “sporadic” and atypical phenomena to be disregarded in the reconstruction of the original function of the d-suffix (1973: 109). I agree that they are atypical, but unlike Mach’avariani, I interpret this as symptomatic of their chronological depth. In any case, the inclusion of transitive stems as possible inputs to d-suffixation does not necessitate a significant revision of Mach’avariani’s reconstruction of the suffix’s semantic force: The primary effect of the ancestor of the Georgian and Zan d-suffix was aspectual — creating change-of-state verbs — but in the case of transitive stems, the agent argument was backgrounded (and possibly removed from the case frame), giving an intransitive, monoactantial output. The following examples from Old Georgian texts would support this interpretation:

da=qsn-d-es dzarywni misni (When Ieboste heard that Abener had died)
 “his sinews (hands) grew weak” [2 Samuel 4 :1]

gamoabrc’q’invos ..., vidremdis gan=k’p-d-es mtovare (In his days he shall radiate justice and abundance of peace) “until the moon fades away”
 (Vulgate: *donec non sit luna*) [Psalm 71 (72): 7]

ara gan=xtk-d-a badē igi (Simon Peter hauled ashore the net full of fish)
 “and the net did not burst (*ouk esxisθē*)” [Jn 21:11, Xanm.]

In contrast to the above-mentioned verbs, the majority of Mingrelian suffixal intransitives, which have compound stems formed by addition of the suffix *-on-*, are derived from adjectival, nominal and expressive stems. Their semantic range however is essentially the same as that of the simple-stem suffixal intransitives. Compound-stem suffixal intransitives are not attested in Laz.

COMPOUND-STEM SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVES IN MINGRELIAN (Danelia 1976; Kajaia 2001-2)	
root + /on/	A. spontaneous natural change
<i>č’it-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>č’ita</i> “red”	turns red (cp. Geo <i>c’itl-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>ʔvit-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>ʔvit-</i> “yellow”	turns yellow (cp. Geo <i>q’vitl-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>xik’-on-d-u-n</i>	becomes bone-dry
<i>pižv-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>pižvi</i> “lungs”	swells up
<i>bit’k’-on-d-u-n</i> (cp. Geo <i>p’ut’k’una</i> “chubby”)	gets fat (cp. Geo dial. <i>p’it’k’in-d-eb-a</i>)
<i>žiž-on-d-u-n</i>	gets wet, soaked
<i>χix-on-d-u-n</i>	begins to rot
<i>c’ic’-on-d-u-n</i>	ripens, fills out
<i>č’k’ir-on-d-u-n</i>	wilts
	B. change of mental state
<i>škur-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>škurini</i> “fear”	becomes frightened
<i>čič-on-d-u-n</i> ? < <i>čičie</i> “poor, stupid”	becomes dumbfounded, stunned; stiffens
<i>jürj-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>jürja</i> “numb, stiff”	is stunned; [hair] stands on end
<i>go=χviz-on-d-u-n</i> < <i>χvizini/χvirini</i> “scowl”	becomes furious
<i>go=q’viq’-on-d-u-n</i>	gets angry

In terms of the greater range of lexical categories from which stems can be formed, as well as their meaning, the Mingrelian compound stem d-intransitives can be compared to regular Old Georgian suffixal intransitives, especially those attested in the earliest documents. The suffixal intransitives occurring in the so-called Xanmeti texts (5th-8th cc.) denote naturally-occurring events (get dark, become tender, appear, grow old); changes of state (become heavy, ill, poor; be healed); emotional reactions (become angry, worried, astonished; see the verb inventories in Sarjeladze 1971, Kajaia 1984). Notably absent from Mingrelian as well as the early Old Georgian corpus are suffixal intransitives denoting the undertaking of volitional actions such as Mod Geo *myer-d-eba* “begins to sing”, *korc'in-d-eba* “gets married” and the like.

SUFFIXAL INTRANSITIVES	OLD GEORGIAN	ZAN (LAZ-MINGRELIAN)
Type 1 (archaic): deverbal only	vowelless stems (<i>xtk-d-</i> “burst”); other anomalous d-stems (<i>vic'q'-d-</i> “forget”)	L: all d-stems M: simple d-stems
Type 2: denominal, deadjectival, etc.	(e)n- (<i>q'wav-n-</i> “flourish”; <i>suk-n-</i> “fatten”) -d- (<i>cen-d-</i> “sprout”; <i>ksin-d-</i> “get angry”)	(L: absent) M: compound <i>-on-d-</i> stems
SEMANTICS	(1) spontaneous natural event or change of state (2) nonvolitional change of psychological state	

2. Root intransitives in Georgian and Zan. The semantic characteristics of Laz and Mingrelian suffixal intransitives, as well as those attributed to the oldest verbs of this type in Georgian, are encompassed by the range of meanings associated with the third type of Class 2 verb mentioned at this beginning of this paper, the unmarked (*unišno*) or root intransitives. A further indication of a close link between the oldest Georgian suffixal intransitives and root intransitives is the verbal-noun formant *-om-a*, which appears in the masdar forms of Group II and IV root intransitives (see the tables below), as well as a handful of ancient suffixal intransitives, such as *t'q'd-oma* “breaking”, *stkd-oma* “bursting”.⁴ I have divided root intransitives into eight semantic fields, of which four overlap with those of Old Georgian and Zan d- intransitives. The zone of non-overlap corresponds to meanings related to movement (or its lack, staying put).

Semantics of root intransitives compared to Old Georgian and Zan (Laz-Mingrelian) d-intransitives (examples from Georgian)

	root intransitives	d- intransitives
1. natural, spontaneous change	<i>dn-</i> “melt”	<i>bnel-d-</i> “grow dark”
2. [incapacitating] change of emotional/psychological/physical state	<i>tvr-</i> “get drunk”	<i>qsn-d-</i> “grow feeble”
3. change of posture	<i>dg-</i> “stand up”	—
4. “stay, remain”	<i>št-</i> “remain”	—
5. volitional movement	<i>dzvr-</i> “move, creep”	—
6. appearance, sudden manifestation	<i>t'q'vr-</i> “appear, be manifest suddenly”	<i>čn-d-</i> “appear, become visible”
7. sudden movement	<i>k'rt-</i> “shudder”	—
8. [destructive] effect of applied force	<i>c'q'vd-</i> “break”	<i>xtk-d-</i> “break, burst”

⁴ D-intransitive masdars in *-om-a* are particularly numerous in the northeast Georgian highland dialect Xevsur, where they appear in such forms as *ač'kavdoma* (cp. *a=č'kav-d-eb-is* “calls, cries out”), *gardaprintdoma* (cp. *garda=prin-d-eb-is* “jumps across”; Ch'inch'arauli 2005)

New root intransitives are no longer formed in any Kartvelian language. Svan and Georgian have in the neighborhood of 80-90 each; the Zan languages have fewer, about two dozen (Lacroix 2009). An initial categorization of Georgian root intransitives can be made according to morphological properties, in particular the phonological contours of the root and the form of the corresponding transitive. This classification correlates in an interesting way with semantic features, rendering it potentially useful for grouping the root intransitives of the other Kartvelian languages. The first group is composed of root intransitives with simple 2- or 3-consonant stems. Some of these verbs undergo e-grade ablaut in the 1st/2nd-person aorist (e.g. OGeo *gan=v-t'ep* “I became warm”). The corresponding transitives contain the transitivizing preradical vowel /a/ and the series marker /ob/, e.g. *v-a-t'p-ob* “I warm sthg”. Mingrelian cognates of Georgian Group I root transitives show similar morphology, albeit with some differences in the series markers added to the verb stems (cp. Geo. *dn-eb-i-s*; M. *din-u-n* < **dn-av-n*; Tuite 2003).

Georgian root intransitives

Group I. CS or CC stem, transitive in a-√-ob; (most) masdars in -ob-a		
Ia. root shape /CS/; S1/2 aorist /CeS/ (S = /r, n, m/)		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	MEANING
<i>qm-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-qm-ob-s</i>	“dries”
<i>dn-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-dn-ob-s</i>	“melts”
<i>č'k'n-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-č'k'n-ob-s</i>	“wilts, withers”
<i>kr-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-kr-ob-s</i>	“vanishes, is extinguished”
<i>zr-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-zr-ob-s</i>	“freezes”
<i>šr-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-šr-ob-s</i>	“dries”
<i>cxr-eb-i-s</i> (S1/2 aor. - <i>cxer</i>)	<i>a-cxr-ob-s</i>	“wanes, calms”
<i>tvr-eb-a</i> (- <i>tver</i>)	<i>a-tr-ob-s</i>	“becomes drunk”
<i>s-3vr-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-3r-ob-s</i>	“[skin, bark] peels off”
<i>švr-eb-a</i> (- <i>šver</i>)		“becomes tired, weary”
<i>yr-eb-a</i>	----	“[plant] wilts, fades”
Ib. root shape /CG/ (consonant + grave [labial/velar/uvular]; S1/2 aorist /CeG/		
<i>t'p-eb-i-s</i> (- <i>t'ep</i>)	<i>a-t'p-ob-s</i>	“warms”
<i>t'k'b-eb-a</i>	<i>a-t'k'b-ob-s</i>	“is sweetened”
<i>3ɣ-eb-a</i> (- <i>3eɣ</i>)	<i>a-3ɣ-eb-s/ a-3ɣ-ob-s</i>	“is sated”
<i>lb-eb-a</i>	<i>a-lb-ob-s</i>	“softens”
<i>lp'-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-lp'-ob-s</i>	“rots”
<i>lqv-eb-i-s/ lyv-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-lqv-ob-s</i>	“begins to melt, thaw”
<i>cxv-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-cx-ob-s</i>	“is baked”
<i>c'q'v-eb-a</i>	<i>a-c'q'-ob-s</i>	“is destroyed”
<i>gb-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-gb-ob-s</i>	“is boiled”
<i>sxw-eb-i-s</i>	——	“thickens, becomes stout”
<i>ččw-eb-i-s</i>	——	“grows soft, tender”

Georgian Group I root transitives with Mingrelian cognates

INTRANSITIVE	ACTIVE (*a-√-(a)w-ew-)	MEANING
<i>qm-eb-i-s</i> ; <i>M. xum-u-n</i>	<i>a-qm-ob-s</i> ; <i>M. o-xum-u-an-s</i>	“dries”
<i>dn-eb-i-s</i> ; <i>M. din-u-n</i>	<i>a-dn-ob-s</i> ; <i>M. o-din-u-an-s</i>	“melts”
<i>kr-eb-i-s</i> ; <i>M. nkir-u-(n)</i>	<i>a-kr-ob-s</i> ; <i>M. o-nkir-u-an-s</i>	“vanishes, is extinguished”
<i>šr-eb-i-s</i> ; <i>M. skir-u-(n)</i>	<i>a-šr-ob-s</i> ; <i>M. o-skir-u-an-s</i>	“dries”
<i>yr-eb-a</i> ; <i>M. yur-u-n</i> “dies”	----	“[plant] wilts, fades”
<i>t’p-eb-i-s (-t’ep)</i> ; <i>M. t’ib-u-n</i>	<i>a-t’p-ob-s</i> ; <i>M. o-t’ib-u-an-s</i>	“warms”

Group I root intransitives are associated with semantic fields 1 & 2 in the diagram on the preceding page: various types of naturally-occurring changes of state (melt, dry, wilt, freeze, rot), including some that affect human subjects (become tired, drunk, sated). The second group of Georgian root intransitives are distinguished by their root shape — most of them end in alveolar stops — as well as the causative suffix *-en-* which appears in their transitive forms. Most Group II root intransitives denote types of voluntary movement, although a small number of them signify manifestation or appearance (semantic fields 3-6). Some Georgian Group II verbs have Zan cognates, although these do not manifest a transitive-stem morphology distinct from Group I.

Group II. monomorphemic stem, transitive in a-√-en; (most) masdars in -om-a		
Ia. root shape /CT/; S1/2 aorist /CeT/; (T = /d, t, r/)		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	MEANING
<i>jd-eb-i-s</i> (S1/2 aor. -jed)	<i>a-ǰ(d)-en-s</i> / (stative) <i>z-i-s</i>	“[one] sits down”
<i>sxd-eb-i-s</i> (-sxed)	---- (stative) <i>sxed-s</i>	“[many] sit down”
<i>s-c’vd-eb-a</i> ; Sv. <i>li-hwd-i</i> “give”	<i>a-c’vd-en-s</i>	“reaches for, attacks”
<i>h-xvd-eb-a</i> ; <i>M. xvad-u(n)</i>	<i>a-xvd-en-s</i> / <i>a-xved-r-eb-s</i>	“meets, encounters”
<i>dzvr-eb-i-s</i> (-dzver)	<i>a-dzvr-en-s</i>	“creeps, moves”
<i>št-/šd-eb-i-s</i> (-šed); <i>M. skid-u-n</i>	<i>a-št-en-s</i>	“remains”
<i>ct-eb-i-s</i> (-cet)/ <i>cd-eb-a</i>	<i>a-ct-un-eb-s</i> / <i>a-cd-en-s</i>	“is mistaken, is wasted”
<i>qd-eb-a</i> (-qed); Sv. <i>qed-ni</i>	<i>a-qd-en-s</i> ; 3sg aor. <i>qad-a</i>	“go, happen”
<i>t’q’vr-eb-a</i> (-t’q’ver)	<i>a-t’q’vr-en-s</i>	“appears unexpectedly; [thunder] bursts”
Ib. non-alveolar-final roots		
<i>c’v-eb-i-s</i> (-c’ev)	<i>a-c’v-en-s</i> / (stative) <i>c’ev-s</i>	“lies down”
<i>dg-eb-i-s</i> (-deg)	<i>a-dg-en-s</i> / (stative) <i>dg-a-s</i>	“stands up”
<i>rcxv-eb-i-s</i>	<i>a-rcxv-en-s</i>	“causes shame (to sb)”

The small set of Georgian root intransitives that I will tentatively designate as Group III are characterized principally by the existence of medial verbs in *-i-* (ancient permansives?) paralleling the intransitives in *-eb-*. Most of them have complex roots similar in form to those of Group IV, but without ablauting transitives. On the whole, Group III verbs denote sudden, involuntary movements, especially when associated with fright or surprise (semantic field 7).

Group III. root intrans. contrasts with medial verb in /-i-s/; (most) masdars in -ol-a			
IIIa. root shape C(R)C			
INTRANSITIVE	MEDIAL	TRANSITIVE	MEANING
<i>k'rt-eb-i-s</i>	<i>k'rt-i-s</i>	<i>a-k'rt-ob-s</i>	“shudders, trembles”
<i>prtx-eb-i-s</i> ; M. <i>i-ntx-eb-un</i>	<i>prtx-i-s</i>	<i>a-prtx-ob-s</i>	“is startled”
<i>zrc'-eb-i-s</i>	<i>zrc'-i-s</i>	<i>a-zrc'-un-eb-s</i>	“shakes, trembles”
<i>x(l)t'-eb-a</i>	<i>x(l)t'-i-s</i>	<i>a-xt'-un-eb-s</i>	“jumps, leaps”
<i>cb-eb-a</i>	<i>cb-i-s</i>		“is mad, raves”

The final group is comprised of root intransitives which are paired with ablauting transitives (athematic e-grade present, i-grade aorist). Group IV roots are phonologically more complex than those of Group I or II verbs, comprising an initial consonant or harmonic cluster, followed by a sonant (/r, l, n/ and a final occlusive, which for the large majority of Group IV roots has apical (dental-alveolar) articulation. In addition to their distinctive morphology, these meanings of these verbs, especially the majority of them that have apical-final stems, cluster in semantic field 8: destruction, disruption or distortion due to the application of force.

Group IV. bimorphemic stems with ablauting transitives; masdars in -a//om-a		
IVa. root shape /CS-T/ (apical-final: /t', d, t, ʃ /)		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE (present /aorist)	MEANING
<i>šrt'-eb-i-s</i>	<i>šret'-s / šrit'-a</i>	“is extinguished, dried up”
<i>sxlt'-eb-i-s</i>	<i>sxlet'-s / sxlit'-a</i>	“slips, tears loose”
<i>c'rt'-eb-i-s</i>	<i>c'ret'-s / c'rit'-a</i>	“is drained, squeezed dry”
<i>č'q'lt'-eb-is / č'q'd-eb-a</i>	<i>č'q'let'-s / č'q'lit'-a</i>	“is crushed, mashed”
<i>da=ylt'-a > daq'ta</i> [Gurian]	<i>ylt'-s / ylit'-a</i>	“is shredded”
<i>c'q'(v)d-eb-a</i>	<i>c'q'ved-s / c'q'vid-a</i>	“perishes; snaps in two, breaks”
<i>c'q'(m)d-eb-a</i>	<i>c'q'me(n)d-s</i> “destroys”	“perishes, is damned”
<i>c'(mn)d-eb-a</i>	<i>c'me(n)d-s / c'mi(n)d-a</i>	“[liquid] clarifies”
<i>c'k'nd-eb-a</i>	----	“[liquid] clarifies”
<i>cvd-/cvt-eb-i-s</i>	<i>cvet-s / cvit-a</i>	“wears out”
<i>bnd-eb-i-s</i>	<i>bned-s / bnid-a</i> “stuns”	“swoons, faints”
<i>g(l)j-eb-i-s</i>	<i>glej-s / glij-a</i>	“tears, shreds”
IVb. root shape /CS-C/ (labial or dorsal-final)		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	MEANING
<i>drk'-eb-i-s</i> (S1/2 aor. - <i>derk'</i>)	<i>drek'-s / drik'-a</i>	“bends, bows”
<i>zrk-eb-i-s</i>	---	“gets fat, greasy, sluggish”
<i>k'rb-eb-i-s</i> (S1/2 aor. - <i>k'erb</i>)	<i>k'reb-s / k'rib-a</i>	“gathers”

Many Georgian Group IV root intransitives have Mingrelian and/or Laz cognates, the transitive correlates of which show evidence of ablaut.

Georgian Group IV root transitives with Mingrelian cognates		
INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE	MEANING
<i>šrt'-eb-i-s</i> ; M. <i>škirt'-u-n</i>	<i>šret'-s</i> / <i>šrit'-a</i> ; M. <i>škirit'-un-s</i>	“is extinguished, dried up”
<i>sxlt'-eb-i-s</i> ; M. <i>u-cxirt'-u-n</i>	<i>sxlet'-s</i> / <i>sxlit'-a</i> ; M. <i>cxilat'-</i>	“slips, tears loose”
<i>c'rt'-eb-i-s</i> ; M. <i>c'ird-u-n</i>	<i>c'ret'-s</i> / <i>c'rit'-a</i> ; M. <i>c'irid-un-s</i>	“is drained, squeezed dry”
<i>c'q'(v)d-eb-a</i> ; M. <i>č'q'ord-u-n</i>	<i>c'q'ved-s/c'q'vid-a</i> ; M. <i>č'q'vid-un-s</i>	“perishes; breaks”
<i>drk'-eb-i-s</i> (S1/2 aor. <i>-derk'</i>) M. <i>dirk'-u-n</i> (< * <i>drk'-aw-n</i>)	<i>drek'-s</i> / <i>drik'-a</i> ; M. <i>dirik'-ən-s</i> (< * <i>drik'-aw-s</i>)	“bends, bows”

Svan root intransitives have not been discussed up to now, since they represent a morphologically — if not semantically — homogenous verb class. All of them form their present stems by addition of the suffix *-en-*, and have athematic aorist stems marked by ablaut of the root vowel. Many, but not all of them, are associated with transitives which are likewise formed by ablaut (Topuria 1967; Tuite 1997).

Semantic subgroups of Svan root intransitives

SEMANTICS	SVAN EXAMPLES	COGNATES	ABLAUTING TRANSITIVES
spontaneous change (= Group I), N= 3-4	<i>leqw-n-i</i> “thaws, melts” <i>x-e-hwr-en-i</i> “[sun] goes down”	G. <i>lqw-eb-i-s</i>	mostly absent
volitional movement (= Group IIa), N = 25+	<i>qed-n-i</i> “comes” <i>x-o-čd-en-i</i> “escapes (from)”	G. <i>qd-eb-i-s</i>	mostly absent
appearance, revelation (= Group IIb), N = 6-8	<i>gweb-n-i</i> “is found” <i>x-o-k'wh-en-i</i> “appears, is revealed”		almost always absent
effect of applied force (= Group IV), N = 30+	<i>xwet'-n-i</i> “is annihilated, dies out” <i>beč'k'w-n-i</i> “breaks, splits”	G. <i>xwet'-s</i> “sweeps away”	almost always present

In order to bring this discussion back to suffixal intransitives, I will present what I believe is evidence of a significant link between them as a class and the root intransitives just discussed. In addition to the evident overlap of semantic fields, there is a formal similarity which merits investigation. One notes the comparatively high proportion of root intransitive stems with final dental stops. In the case of several Zan root intransitives with root-final /d/, comparison with Georgian cognates implies that this final segment originated as a suffix subsequently incorporated into the verb root (Mach'avariani 1973).

Proto-Georgian-Zan	Mingrelian	Georgian
* <i>q'r-/q'ar-</i>	<i>ʔord-u-n</i> “rots” (masdar <i>ʔorada</i>) < * <i>q'ar-d-</i>	<i>q'ar-s</i> “stinks”
* <i>xun-</i>	<i>xin(-)d-u-n</i> “rots; dries up” (alternate masdars: <i>xind-u-a</i> , <i>xin-apa</i>); cp. Laz <i>v-i-xin-er</i> “I turn yellow (from fever)”	<i>xun-d-eba</i> “fades, becomes discolored”
* <i>wic'q'-</i>	<i>o-č'q'ord-u-n</i> (masdar <i>č'q'olada</i>); cp. Laz <i>o-č'k'ond-u-n</i> [Klimov 1998: 53]	<i>a-vic'q'-d-eb-a</i> , <i>i-vic'q'-eb-s</i> “forgets”

The existence of Zan cognates of Georgian root intransitives with fused root-final /d/ leads one to wonder (1) if any Georgian verb roots also contain the ancestor of the d-suffix, and if so, (2) whether the d-suffix in fact originated as a formant of what are now root-intransitive verbs.

bimorphemic verb root		basic root [Vogt 1947; Klimov 1998]	
*bn-ed-	Geo. <i>bnd-eb-i-s</i> “swoons”; <i>bned-s</i> “stuns”	*bn-/bin-/ben-	Geo. <i>da=i-bn-ev-a</i> “be confused, scattered”; <i>bn-el-a</i> “dark”
*c’r-ed-	Geo. <i>c’rt’-eb-i-s</i> ; Mingr. <i>c’ird-u-n</i> “is squeezed dry”	*c’ur-	Geo. <i>c’ur-av-s</i> ; Mingr. <i>c’ir-an-s</i> “wrings, presses”
*s’x-ed-	Geo. <i>sxd-eb-i-s</i> “[many] sit down”	*s’x-	Geo. <i>da=sx-am-s</i> “seats/places [many]”
*šr-et’-	Geo. <i>šrt’-eb-i-s</i> ; Mingr. <i>škirt’-u-n</i> “is extinguished, dried up”	*šwr-	Geo. <i>šr-eb-a</i> ; Mingr. <i>skirt’-u-n</i> “dries up”
*č’q’l-et’-	Geo. <i>č’q’lt’-eb-is</i> ; Mingr. <i>č’q’ilit’</i> “is crushed, mashed”	*č’q’l-	Geo. <i>da=č’q’l-em-a</i> “crush, squash”

Here, then, is the hypothesis to be investigated: The ancestor of the intransitive suffix /-d/ was once employed to form what were for all intents and purposes new members of the root-intransitive verb class. In order to assess the well-foundedness of this proposal, it will be necessary to look into the evidence that a suffix related to /d/ can be segmented from root intransitives and perhaps other verb types, and then evaluate the semantic plausibility of such a scenario.

3. The d-suffix and ancient verb-stem formants. The possibility that the final VC segments in verb roots such as /bned/ and /šret’/ originated as a distinct morpheme has been proposed on several occasions by Kartvelologists. In his eccentric grammar of Old Georgian, Marr (1925: 140-1) deemed verb roots in final /(e)t’/ sufficiently numerous and semantically analyzable to

კებნ (↗ კებნ <i>кусать</i> , ср. ვ-კებნ-ებ <i>ყვავი</i>)	merit designation as a distinctive stem class
კებნ-ი <i>ყვებ</i> ¹	(<i>poroda</i>). Alongside the above-mentioned
სხელ <i>очищать</i> (отъ вѣтвей)	/šret’/ and /c’red(t’/), Marr analyzed the
შბ (← შებნ-ი შბგ: მ. შებნ-ი	transitive roots /k’vnet’/ “gnaw” < /k’ben/
<i>душа</i>)	“bite” + /et’/; and /sxlet’/ “tear off” < /sxl/
წბ (← წებნ: წებნა <i>выжигать</i>)	“prune [vine, branch]” + /et’/. In his view,

the dental suffix was a sort of pluralizer — a function he also assigned to the suffixal intransitive formants /d/ and /en/ — associated with “frequency” or “persistence” (*nastojčivost*). Even if one questions Marr’s inclusion of /t’/-final verbs as a stem type comparable to passive, subjective-version and causative stems, he deserves credit for having pointed out the possibility of segmenting out the /(e)t’/ element, attempting to associate it with semantic content, as well as linking it to the /d/-intransitive formant. Root-final VC segments were inventoried and analyzed in an insightful and important 1947 article by Hans Vogt. Following up on suggestions made by Topuria and Chikobava, Vogt hypothesized that a significant number of Georgian ablauting verbs of the form /Cⁿ-VC/, of which root intransitives represent a subset, were originally composed of a root followed by a -VC “primary suffix” (by which he designated verbal suffixes that appeared in all tense/aspect series). The /-et’/ segment isolated by Marr was one such primary suffix, but Vogt identified many others, representing almost every place and mode of articulation in the Georgian consonant inventory. It should be pointed out that not all transitive verbs with i/e ablaut are associated with root intransitives; indeed only a minority of them are.⁵ Nonetheless i/e ablauting verbs can be treated as a class, not

⁵ The relationship between root intransitives and i/e ablauting verbs remains to be worked out in detail. Some Georgian ablauting transitives with prefixal passives have Zan or Svan root-intransitive cognates,

only on morphological grounds but also with regard to their meaning. On the whole, these verbs denote various manifestations of violent, distorting, or disintegrating force applied to an object: slapping and beating (*txleš-*, *t'q'ep'-*), tearing and shredding (*dylez-*, *pxrec'-*), twisting (*grex-*, *znek-*), poking (*čvret'-*, *čxvlek'-*), squashing (*žyvlem-*, *sres-*), pinching (*p'rc'k'en-*, *čkmet'-*) and noisy eating (*tkvlep-*, *xvrep'-*, *k'vrex-*). Rather like the English monosyllabic expressives analyzed by Rhodes & Lawler (1981), one can detect groups of Georgian i/e-ablating transitives with phonetically similar initial or final segments which also share more or less precise elements of meaning. Some segments of this kind were included by Klimov in his Kartvelian etymological dictionary (1998: 44-48). In the following table I have assembled sets of Georgian ablating verbs which appear to have been formed by the addition of -VC primary suffixes to ancient roots.

“root”	labial stop	labial nasal	dental stop	sibilant	alveolar affricate	velar stop
<i>kl-</i> abrade	<i>klep</i> plane		<i>klet</i> , <i>klet'</i> tear [skin] off	<i>kles</i> plane off <i>kleš</i> rub		
<i>čxvl-/čxr-</i> <i>/čvr-</i> poke			<i>čxvlet'</i> pierce, <i>čvret'/č'vret'</i> perforate			<i>čxrek'</i> stir, rummage, <i>čxvlek'</i> poke
<i>xvr-</i> gnaw	<i>xvrep'</i> slurp	<i>xvrem</i> crunch, nibble	<i>xvret'</i> perforate [gnaw through?]			
<i>č'q'(v)l-</i> crush	<i>č'q'vlep'</i> crush, mash	<i>č'q'lem</i> crush, squash	<i>č'q'let'</i> crush			
<i>t'(v)l-</i> lick	<i>t'vlep'</i> lick, pick clean					<i>t'lek'</i> lick clean
<i>yr-</i> twist? growl?		<i>yvrem</i> hostile expression			<i>γrec</i> twist, make face; <i>γrej/γreč'</i> grimace	<i>γrek'</i> bend

Similar phono-semantic clusters can be discerned among the 80 or so Svan ablating verbs:

ONSET	CODA	INTRANSITIVE VERB	MEANING
b-	č'k'w	<i>beč'k'w-(e)n-i</i>	splits, bursts
	qw	<i>beqw-(e)n-i</i>	splits in two
	tk	<i>betk-(e)n-i</i>	explodes
	l	<i>x-a-bl-e</i> (trans.)	hurls, smacks down
tx- (cp. Geo. <i>tx-</i> “pour”)	k'	<i>x-e-txk'-en-i</i>	drips (on sb/sthg)
	r	<i>txer-(e)n-i</i>	burst & leak
	p	<i>x-e-txp-en-i</i>	is covered (by sthg)
k'w- (? Geo. <i>k'val-</i> “trace, footprint”)	š	<i>k'weš-en-i</i>	confesses, reveals (secret)
	h	<i>x-o-k'wh-en-i</i>	is revealed, made known
c'- (? Geo. <i>c'vet-</i> “drip”)	px	<i>x-e-c'px-en-i</i>	drips (on sb/sthg)
	kw	<i>x-e-c'kw-en-i</i>	drips (on sb/sthg)

e.g. Geo *qleč-s*, *i-qlič-eba* “tear off”; Ming. *xorck-u-n* “bursts”, Laz *xrock-un* “[animal] dies” [Klimov 1998: 339]. This could betoken the earlier existence of cognate root-intransitives in Georgian.

Phono-semantic clusters of Georgian e/i ablauting verbs

1. rub/abrade/scrub/strip

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
kl	p	plane off (cp. <i>kl-ib-</i> “file”)	core cluster: ONSET = kl- CODA 1: -t'/t [+change of state: take skin off] OTHER CODAS: -p/-s/-š
kl	t	tear skin off	
kl	t'	chafe, take skin off	
kl	s	plane, round off	
kl	š	rub down (sharp edge)	

2. perforate/poke/stick

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
čx	r	stick in sthg	base
čxvl	k'	poke	derived stem cluster: ONSET = base (čx[v]r/l)
čxvl	t'	puncture	
čxr	k'	poke, rummage	CODA 1: -t' [change, completion: puncture]
čvr	t'	make holes in sthg	CODA 2: -k' [poke]
č'(v)r	t	perforate	(partial inversion: glottalization)
qvr	t'	perforate	peripheral? onset w/o initial affricate

3. rip/tear/shred

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
čkl	t	tear to shreds	core cluster: ONSET: stop+velar/uvular+liquid CODAS: dental-alveolar-palatal
p'(x)r	c'	rip	
p(x)r	c'	rip	
dyl	z	rip, shred	periphery (onset w/o initial stop)
yl	t'	rip, swindle	
gl	ǰ	tear	
pl	t	rip, shred	
			also peripheral to above?

4. twist/bend

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
gr	x	twist, twirl	core? ONSET: g/ǰ+r
yr	k'	bend, crook	
yr	c	twist, contort	CODAS: -x/-k'/-c (semantic contrast?)
dr	k'	bend, twist	periphery
br	c	warp, twist	
p'r	x	twist, curl	

5. distorted facial expression

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
ɣr	n	growl	base: ɣr- “growl”?
ɣr	c	contort (<i>saxes ɣrecs</i> makes a face)	core cluster
ɣr	čʼ	grimace, bare teeth	ONSET = base
ɣr	ǰ	grimace	CODAS: alveolar affricate
kʼr	čʼ	(i) cut; (ii) bare teeth	(variant of above)
ɣrčʼ	n	gnash teeth (<ɣr-ečʼ)	secondary cluster:
xrčʼ	n	gnash, grind teeth	ONSET = core cluster (ɣrčʼ)
xčʼ	n	bare teeth	periphery of above
pč	n	open (mouth) wide, gawp	
bɣv	r	frown angrily	peripheral cluster (related by partial inversion?)
ɣvr	m	be sullen	

6. loud eating

ONSET	CODA	MEANING	
sl	k	lick, lap	cluster I (lick, lap)
tʼl	kʼ	lick up	ONSET = apical: s/tʼ +(v)+ l/r-
svl	pʼ	lap up, slurp	CODA 1: -k/kʼ
svr	pʼ	lap up	CODA 2: -pʼ
tʼvl	pʼ	lick clean	
tkvl	p	gobble, slurp	cluster II (gobble, slurp)
xvl	p	gobble up	ONSET = dorsal: (t)k/x +(v)+ l/r-
xvr	pʼ	slurp, sip	CODA: -pʼ/p
xvr	m	nibble	periphery of above clusters
tʼkʼv	r	chew, gnaw	

The clusters of ablauting verbs with initial /kl-/ and /čxvl-/čxr-/čvr-/ (clusters 1 & 2) provide contrasts indicative of what the earlier semantic force of /-etʼ/ and /-et/ might have been. Juxtaposing *čxvletʼ* “pierce” vs. *čxvlekʼ* “poke”; *klet*, *kletʼ* “tear [skin] off” vs. *kleš* “rub”, gives the impression that /-etʼ/ signalled change of physical integrity through the act of poking (in the sense of perforating the object), and a similarly dramatic change in the case of the second contrast. Dental codas are also frequent in the “rip, shred” cluster (#3). By contrast, /eT/ segments do not occur in verb clusters 4-6, denoting twisting/ bending, loud eating and distorted facial expressions. I hypothesize therefore that one of the functions of ancient Georgian /etʼ/ was the connotation of a change of state or physical integrity.

Can the stem-formant /etʼ/ be plausibly linked to the intransitive suffix /d/ on phonetic grounds? Klimov (1998: 45-46) made such a proposal, albeit with the time line going in the opposite direction. He accepted Marr’s argument that /etʼ/ could be segmented from ablauting verbs, adding that “originally it might have been a marker of Aktionsart”. In his opinion, however, the initial phonological form was *-ed/-id, with -etʼ/-itʼ as a variant that arose for the most part within Georgian as an “expressive substitution” (1998: 319), although some of his etymologies presuppose that the glottalized variant arose much earlier, in the common ancestor of Georgian and Zan (1998: 230, 253).

verbs with stem formant *-ed/-id (Klimov 1998)

	Georgian	Zan	Svan
CK *c ^l q'w-ed/-id/-d “perishes; breaks”	OG c'q'wed-a; G. c'q'vet'-s; c'q'd-eb-a	M. č'q'ord-u-n	šq'ed-n-i “falls; [gun] goes off”
CK *xw-ed/-d “meet, be found”	OG xwd-eb-i-s, xwed-a	M. v-xvad-i	x-e-xw-a “meets”, x-a-xwīd “met”
GZ (CK?) *sxl-et'/-t' “slip, tear loose”	sxlt'-eb-i-s	M. cxirt'-u-n	? cxwed-n-i “breaks off, is interrupted”
GZ *šr-et'/it'/-t' “extinguish”	šrt'-eb-i-s	M. škirt'-u-n	
GZ *yl-et'/it'/-t' “tear up”	ylet'-s/ylit'-a	M. yilit'-un-s	
GZ *qwr-et'/it'/-t' “make holes, pierce”	qwret'-s/qwrit'-a	M. xvirit'-un-s	
GZ *čxw(l)-et'/it'/-t' “prick, stick into”	čxvlet'-s / čxvlit'-a	M. čxvirt'-un-s	
GZ *č'q'l-et'/it'/-t' “crush, crumple”	č'q'lt'-eb-is	M. č'q'ilit'-	
GZ *c'r-ed/-id/-d “strain, squeeze”	OG c'red-a; G. c'rt'- eb-a	Mingr. c'ird-u-n	
? GZ *zyw-ed/-d “limit, enclose”	zyud-av-s “encloses”	M. o-zyod-uan-s “exterminates”, zyvind-un-s “beats, whips”	

The three-way distinction among plain (voiced), aspirated and glottalized occlusives is of course phonemic in the Kartvelian languages, but the distribution is less than arbitrary in certain domains of the lexicon. As has been noted by Neisser (1953: 7-10) and Holisky (1981: 123-4), numerous Georgian expressive verbs have doublets or near-doublets in which glottalic parameters are correlated with differences in intensity, pitch or other features of the sound-motion complex denoted by the verb stem (for example, *tuxtux-eb-s* “thick boiling liquid (jam, sauce) bubbles” (cp. *duγ-s* “boils”); *t'q'ap'-uni* “clatter of horse’s hooves; patter of feet”, *tkapa-tkupi* “loud splatter of rain, clatter of hooves”; *dyveb-s* “churns [butter]”, *tkvep-s* “whips [eggs]”). Alongside phonosemantically-motivated deployments of voicing and glottalization are seemingly sporadic variants, such as the synonyms *čvret'-s* and *č'vret-s* “perforates”, in which the glottalization feature appears to have migrated from the root coda to the onset. The other domain characterized by a non-arbitrary distribution of glottalic features is the inflectional morphology. As is the case in many other languages (Jakobson 1958; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 155), ‘marked’ phonemes are dispreferred in Kartvelian bound morphemes. Notably absent are the glottalized occlusives, whereas all of the high-resonance phonemes (vowels, liquids and nasals) appear in the declensional and conjugational morphology.

Inventory of phonemes in inflectional morphemes:

	<i>Georgian</i>	<i>Mingrelian</i>	<i>Svan</i>
<i>vowels:</i>	a/e/i/o/u	a/e/i/o/u	a/ā/e/ē/i/o/u/ə
<i>sonants:</i>	m/n/l/r	m/n/l/r	m/n/l/r/w
<i>fricatives:</i>	v/s/(h)	v/s/š	v/s/š/x
<i>occlusives</i>			
<i>plain (voiced):</i>	b/d/g	b/g	d/g/ǰ-
<i>aspirate:</i>	p/t	p/t/k	---
<i>ejective:</i>	---	---	---

In view of the above, at least two scenarios can be considered: (1) Klimov’s hypothesis that *ed was the older form of the stem-formant, from which the expressive variant /et’/ arose (independently?) in Georgian and Proto-Georgian-Zan; (2) the alternative proposal that the expressive, change-of-state (or Aktionsart) formant *et’ is older, and that the variant with final plain (voiced) stop evolved as a consequence of grammaticalization.⁶

stage	function	examples
I. Common Kartvelian	*-et’/-ed as ablauting verb-stem formant(s); present in transitive and intransitive verbs; connote change of state, termination	CK *c’ ¹ q’w-ed/-id/-d “perishes; breaks”
II. Georgian-Zan	-d as stem formant for deriving spontaneous change-of-state intransitives from transitive and stative verb stems	OGeo t’q’-d-eb-is “breaks” (masdar t’q’ <i>doma</i>) Ming ?ord-u-n “rots” (?orada)
III. Old Geo, Mingrelian	-d as suffix for deriving spontaneous change-of-state intransitives from verb, adjective, noun stems; (OGeo) allomorphic distribution with -(e)n-	Geo c’itl-d-eba, Ming č’it-on-d-u-n “reddens, blushes”
IV. Georgian	-d as productive inchoative / change-of-state intransitive formant	MGeo ga=demok’rat’-d-a “became democratic” [193 hits]; ga=zvezd-d-a “became a star”

4. The allomorph -(e)n. My principal focus in this paper has been the intransitive formant -d-, but I do not want to end without indulging in a bit of speculation about the origins of its Old Georgian allomorph -(e)n-. Shanidze’s hypothesis that they might have a common origin (with -d- a product of phonetic dissimilation) has not won widespread acceptance. In their etymological dictionary, Fähnrich & Sarjveladze accord the two suffixes separate entries. With regard to establishing an etymology for a suffix of the form -en/-n, it would appear that the primary difficulty would not be a lack of phonologically plausible candidates so much as an overabundance: /e/s and /n/s abound in the Kartvelian morphemic inventory, and several phonologically-identical morphemes (/en/ in Georgian and Svan, /an/ in Zan) have been inventoried. Limiting the search to intransitive or passive formants certainly reduces the pool of candidates, but leaves a pair of Svan morphemes in contention. The first candidate is the aorist-

⁶ As pointed out by Alice Harris at the oral presentation of this paper in Bremen, the most likely scenario is that the -ed/et’ suffix became incorporated into some verb roots, even as it remained a productive morpheme with punctiliar/change-of-state meaning.

stem suffix *-æn/-ēn/-ēn*, which is only employed by prefixal passives (e.g. Sv *æd-k'āp-ēn* “it was overturned”). Mach’avariani (2002: 104) rejected any link between this morpheme and the Old Georgian intransitive formant *-(e)n-* on distributional grounds, a proposal with which I am inclined to concur. A more likely cognate for the Svan passive-aorist suffix, in my view, would be the Old Georgian plural-absolutive suffix *-(e)n-*. This formant only appears in the aorist and pluperfect stems of transitive and prefixal-intransitive verbs, as a mark of agreement with a plural absolutive argument. According to the hypothesis I offer for consideration here, Svan once had a plural-absolutive suffix with the same form and distribution as in Old Georgian. It disappeared in the aorist of transitive verbs (as in Georgian), but remained as an aorist-stem formant in the passive. Rendering a reinterpretation scenario more plausible is the redundancy of the plural-absolutive suffix in the passive aorist, since plurality of the grammatical subject is already indicated by the person suffixes, e.g. *ay=x-e-srul-n-es* (PV=O3-ObjV-complete-AbsPL-S3pl) *dyeni igi* “his days (of service) were completed” [Lk 1: 23 Xanm.].

The second candidate, which received the endorsement of Deeters (1930: 205-6); Klimov (1964: 79); and Fähnrich & Sarjveladze (2000: 115), is the Svan present-series marker *-(e)n-*, which is only added to root intransitives (*t'ex-(e)n-i* “returns, comes back”). This morpheme does not appear in the transitive or prefixal-passive forms of these verbs (*t'ix-e* “returns sb/sthg”; *i-t'ix-i* “is being returned [by sb]”), nor is it used with the aorist or perfect stems. Although the link proposed by Deeters and others between the Svan present-series marker *-(e)n-* and the homophonous Georgian intransitive suffix seems reasonable enough without further meddling on my part, I will nonetheless offer some tantalizing evidence from Old Georgian. In the older texts, the (e)n-intransitive suffix is attached to atelic verb (*še=c'ux-n-a* “became worried”) and adjective stems (*da=glaxak'-n-a* “became poor”) for the most part. But among the earliest attested (e)n-intransitives are some verbs which are more commonly conjugated as root intransitives, such as these three:

(i) **ččw-(n)-** “grow tender, soften”

rt'oni misni da=ččw-ian “its branches grow tender “

[Mt 24: 32, Xanm]; later versions have the root intransitive *da=ččw-ian*

(ii) **zrk-(n)-** “get fat, sluggish”; (iii) **sxw-(n)-** “become thick, stout”

gan=suk-n-a da gan=sxw-a, gan=zrk-n-a “he became fat and gross and gorged” (another version has *gan=sxw-n-a*) [Deut 32: 15]

cp. *maxwili uplisay ... gan=zrk-a cmeltagan vactaysa* “The Lord’s sword ... became greasy with the fat of rams” [Isaiah 34:6]

The hypothesis to be investigated is whether these verbs preserve the last traces of the distribution of this formant in prehistoric Georgian.

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