

The Types of the Causative Construction in Georgian

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ABSTRACT. In the article, the types of causative constructions in Georgian are discussed with respect to semantic roles, syntactic functions, and morphological marking. The three types of causative: lexical, analytic, and morphological are mentioned, but within the scope of the article, all the analyses are focused on and the restrictive rules are established according to the latter. The Georgian Causative are checked according to the hierarchy of grammatical relations by Comrie and the generalisation of case marking by Baker. Theoretically possible and actually attested combinations of basic and syntactically derived constructions are calculated with respect to valency and transitivity. At the end of the paper the restrictive rules (according to Baker) and relationship with the Comrian ideas are established. The schemes are shown according to the relationship and correspondences of semantic roles and syntactic functions (taking into account both basic and derived constructions). The results are useful for the linguistic typology. © 2019 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

Key words: causative, grammatical relations, typological generalization, restrictive rules

The types of causative and some universal generalizations connected to the valency-increasing process are analysed in the article. According to some inductively established rules in typology, it is interesting to check them on the material of the Georgian language. Our aim is to examine Georgian causative constructions, consider various types of predicates which have different argument structure (monovalent, bivalent, trivalent, and equivocal quadrivalent) and see the differences and similarities between them.

We will overview some general types and rules connected to causative constructions and check them on the Georgian material. Then, after the survey of different approaches about the Georgian causative by different authors and taking into account general definition and generalizations, some basic types of the Georgian causative will be established, regardless of whether these types fit general approach to the problem.

Types of Causative Constructions and Cross-Linguistic Analysis

The causative is one of the types of valency-changing derivation; it increases argument number of a predicate: introduces the causer – a new argument into the situation. The analysis of a causative construction implies the interface between semantics, syntax and morphology. Semantically, it comprises two events:

the cause and its effect (or caused event) [1: 165]; and the participants of these events must be the causer and the causee [2: 192]. The three types of the causative construction are lexical, analytic (or periphrastic) and morphological [1; 2].

Lexical causatives are in the case of a suppletive pair of verbs that have no formal relationship but have semantic connection of the cause and effect [1: 168]; for example, Russian *ubitʹ* ‘to kill’ is the causative of *umeretʹ* ‘to die’: the former verb shows someone (i.e. the causer) who affects somebody (i.e. the causee) to die and the effect is that the somebody is dead that is shown by the latter verb.

The analytic causative is expressed by two predicates: one reflects the meaning of the cause and another – the caused event; for example, *I caused John to go*, *caused* implies the meaning of the cause and the effect is shown by the predicate *to go* [1: 167; 2: 193].

In morphological causative construction, the meaning “cause to X” is expressed by the regular morphological process: the basic predicate has meaning “X” and the meaning “cause” added to this predicate by affixation, ablaut, reduplication or other regular and productive morphological means [1: 167; 2: 193]; for example, in Warekena, /-ta/ suffix expresses the causative meaning and adds to the basic verb. The causee – *nu-tani* ‘my son’ is the direct (or primary) object in the causative construction and the causer ‘I’ (that is expressed by the verbal prefix) is the subject in the second clause [3: 144]:

- (1) Warekena
nu-tani *kurua* *weni*
 1SG-child 3SG.NF.drink water
 ‘My son is drinking water’.
- (2) *nu-kurua-ta* *nu-tani* *weni* *ima*
 1SG-drink-CAUS 1SG-child water with
 ‘I made my sone drink water’.

Morphological causative constructions are semantically biclausal but syntactically, it is monoclausal [4: 162; 5: 119], i.e. one clause is represented by the meaning of cause whose semantic roles are agent and the caused event and this caused event is represented by either a transitive or intransitive predicate.

These examples show that causative constructions are connected to the argument structure of the predicate (namely, the valence-increasing process), i.e. in causative constructions, a new argument is introduced. Generally, two types can be divided: the basic verb is intransitive and derived one is transitive or the basic is transitive and the derived one is ditransitive [6: 169; 3: 143]. In both cases, the new argument is the causer which occupies the subject position, while the causee can get different grammatical relation according to the language [2: 193-194; 3: 144]. The generalization of the different types of encoding of the causee depends on the hierarchy of grammatical relations: the causee receives the highest relation according to the hierarchy that is not in the subcategorization of the basic verb. The hierarchy is as follows: subject > direct/primary object > indirect/secondary object > oblique [1: 176; 2: 201].

Comrie [1] uses Turkish examples to show the hierarchical relationship. Again, if the predicate is intransitive, then in the derived transitive predicate, the causee is encoded as a direct (or primary) object; when the predicate is transitive, then in the derived ditransitive predicate the causee is expressed by the indirect (or secondary) object; and if the basic predicate is transitive, it is possible to get another transitive

and the causee is shown by the oblique (the same encoding is when the derived predicate is based on the ditransitive one). /-dür/ suffix represents causative meaning.

(3) Turkish

Hasan öl-dü

Hasan die-PST

'Hasan died'. [1: 175]

(4) *Ali Hasan-ı öl-dür-dü*

Ali Hasan-ACC die-CAUS-PST

'Ali killed Hasan'. [1: 176]

When the direct object slot is already occupied, the causee becomes the indirect (or secondary) object (in the dative case):

(5) *Müdür mektub-u imzala-dı*

director letter-ACC sing-PST

'The director signed the letter'.

(6) *Dişçi mektub-u müdür-e imzala-t-tı*

dentist letter-ACC director-DAT sing-CAUS-PST

'The dentist got the director to sign the letter'. [1: 176]

When both the direct and indirect object slots are occupied, then the causee becomes an oblique (marked by the preposition *tarafından*):

(7) *Müdür Hasan-a mektub-u göster-di*

director Hasana-DAT letter-ACC show-PST

'The director showed the letter to Hasan'.

(8) *Dişçi Hasan-a mektub-u müdür taraf-ın-dan göster-t-ti*

dentist Hasan-DAT letter-ACC director side-3SG.POSS-ABL show-CAUS-PST

'The dentist got the director to show the letter to Hasan'. [1: 176]

Also, the causative construction is possible to causativise again and the predicate has two morphological markers of causative; the process is as follows: an intransitive basic predicate becomes transitive and this transitive causative predicate is itself a basic of another causative construction: *öl* 'die' ~ *öl-dür* 'kill' ~ *öl-dür-t* 'cause to kill' [1: 167].

Another type of generalization is the connection of the grammatical relation of recipient and the encoding of the causee. Baker states that if the recipient is encoded in the primary (or direct) object then the tendency shows the causee marked as the primary (or direct) object; if the recipient is reflected as the secondary (or indirect) or oblique object then the causee is marked as a secondary (or indirect) or oblique object [4; 2: 195].

In the Swahili language, recipient is expressed by a primary object, so is the causee. In the example, grammatical relation is shown by the word order: the primary object occupies closer position to the predicate than the secondary object.

(9) Swahili

Halima a-li-m-p-a Fatuma zawadi

Halima SBJ-PST-OBJ-give-ASP Fatuma gift

‘Halima gave Fatuma a gift’.

(10) *Msichana a-li-(u-)fungu-a mlango*

girl SBJ-PST-OBJ-open-IND door

‘The girl opened the door’.

(11) *Mwalimu a-li-m-fungu-zish-a msichana mlango*

teacher SBJ-PST-OBJ-open-CAUS-IND girl door

‘The teacher made the girl open the door’. [2: 195]

In Turkish, the recipient is marked by either an indirect or oblique object; the causee shows the same marking. The direct object is expressed by the accusative case, while the indirect object – by the dative case.

(12) Swahili

Müdür Hasan-a mektub-u göster-di

director Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-PST

‘The director showed the letter to Hasan’. [1: 176]

(13) *Kasap et-i kes-ti*

butcher meat-ACC cut-PST

‘The butcher cut the meat’.

(14) *Hasan kasab-a et-i kes-tir-di*

Hasan butcher-DAT meat-ACC cut-CAUS-PST

‘Hasan had the butcher cut the meat’. [2: 197]

Analysis of Structural Types of Causative in Georgian

After discussing some general types and features of the causative constructions, let us turn to some specific issues in the Georgian language. Our aim is to represent the types of the causative constructions in the Georgian language, show their syntactic and semantic relationship and morphological marking; checking the Georgian causative according to the hierarchy of grammatical relations by Comrie and the generalization of case marking by Baker.

The Georgian language has both the lexical and analytic, as well as the regularly derived morphological causatives (that has both the true and permissive causative [1: 171]). Analytic can be expressed by the verb *aidzolebs* ‘to force’ or *nebas adzlevs* ‘to let’ (permissive) + aorist subjunctive form [7: 407; 8: 350; 9: 305-

306; 10: 272]; for example, *aḥzolebs feḡ'amḡs* 'he forces/makes him eat', *aḥzolebs tsavides* 'he forces/makes him go'; *nebas aḥlevs feḡ'amḡs* 'he let him eat', *nebas aḥlevs tsavides* 'he let him go'. Suppletive verbal roots can show the lexical causative; for example, *dḡdeba* ~ *(da)svams* 'he sits/is sitting down' ~ 'he seats/is seating him' (7: 407).

The Georgian language has regular morphological causative derived both from transitive and intransitive predicates. Also, intransitive bivalent predicates (i.e. an intransitive predicate with indirect object) exist in Georgian. Of course, we measure valency by the number of the core arguments connected to the predicate. Thus, according to valency (with the calculation of the theoretical number of the core arguments), we have to consider four types of causative constructions: **1.** The causative derived from a monovalent basic predicate (a predicate with one core argument + the causer); **2.** The causative derived from a basic bivalent intransitive predicate (a predicate with two core arguments + the causer); **3.** The causative derived from a bivalent transitive predicate (a predicate with two core arguments + the causer); **4.** The causative derived from trivalent predicate (a predicate with three core argument + the causer).

Generally (if we do not take into account verbs with perceptive and sense meanings and perfect forms), Georgian shows split ergative alignment: subject is expressed by the ergative case in aorist, while in present, it reflects by the nominative; the dative case implies the direct object in present and the nominative – in aorist; the indirect object is expressed by the dative case in both situations [11: 18-21].

The agentive subject of a monovalent predicate is expressed by the nominative case and is cross-referenced in the verb; but when a causer (*mḡs'vrt^hneli* 'the coach') becomes the subject (shown by the ergative case) of the derived predicate then the causee (*sp'ḡrt'smen* 'the athlete'; i.e. the subject of a basic predicate) becomes the direct object which is expressed again by the nominative in aorist but by the dative in present [12: 73-74]. In this case, it is not so easy to state exactly which morph expresses causative meaning. Sometimes /a-...-eb/ circumfix is said to express these (semantic and syntactic) changes [5: 120; 9: 209].

(15) Georgian

Basic monovalent intransitive

sp'ḡrts^hmen-i varḡjiḡb-s
athlete-NOM train-THEM-3SBJ
'The athlete is training'.

(16) *Derived bivalent transitive (present)*

mḡs'vrt^hnel-i sp'ḡrt'smen-s a-varḡjiḡb-s
coach-NOM athlete-DAT CAUS-train-THEM-3SBJ
'The coach is training the athlete'.

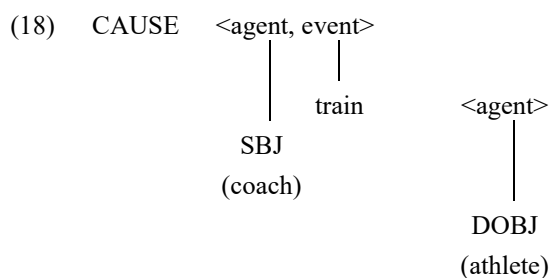
(17) *Derived bivalent transitive (aorist)*

mḡs'vrt^hnel-ma sp'ḡrt'smen-i a-varḡjiḡ-a
coach-ERG athlete-NOM CAUS-train-3SBJ
'The coach trained the athlete'.

A little note to the verb in (16): /-a/ prefix is also connected to the applicative (i.e. versional) meaning. As the pair *varḡjiḡb-s* ~ *a-varḡjiḡb-s* shows opposition basic ~ causative, it is enough to show this

distinction according to this prefix for our purposes. However, /a-...-eb/ circumfix is sometimes said to show this opposition, but the ergative alignment example shows /-eb/ suffix disappears that shows another, probably aspectual, opposition.

This causative is monoclausal construction in Georgian but schematically (linking of the semantic roles and grammatical relations), it can be shown as cause + causal event:

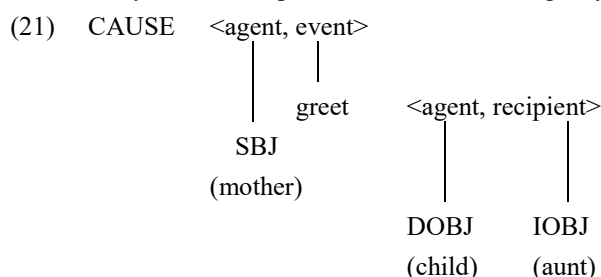


In aorist, a bivalent intransitive predicate has its subject (*bavṽi* ‘the child’) and the indirect object (*deidas* ‘the aunt’) in the nominative and the dative cases, respectively. In the correspondent causative construction, the causer (*dedam* ‘the mother’) is subject and is marked by the ergative case, the subject of the basic predicate – agent is now the causee expressed by the nominative; and the indirect object of the basic predicate remains the indirect object [12: 76; 8: 350].

- (19) *Basic bivalent intransitive*
bavṽ-i mi-esalm-a deida-s
 child-NOM PRE-greet-3SBJ aunt-DAT
 ‘The child greeted aunt’.

- (20) *Derived trivalent transitive*
deda-m miasalm-a bavṽ-i deida-s
 mother-ERG greet-3SBJ child-NOM aunt-DAT
 ‘The mother made the child greet aunt’. [12: 76]

Schematically, it can be represented in the following way:



Both types of basic intransitive predicate show that the derived one has the causee in the direct object relation, i.e. the subject of the basic intransitive predicate becomes the direct object of derived causative construction and the new argument – the causer is the subject.

In Georgian, transitive predicates can be basic (but having causative meaning) themselves and can derive a causative construction (i.e. the secondary causative). If the bivalent transitive predicate is basic, it has subject (*mziam* ‘Mzia’) in the ergative case and the direct object (*ts^hets^hxl-i* ‘fire’) in the nominative. When the new argument – the causer (*mamam* ‘father’) enters in the derived causative construction (that is marked by /-evin/ or /-in/ suffixes; Sometimes, it is said that /a-...-evin/ circumfix expresses the causative derived from the transitive basic predicates [11: 21], but we have already seen that /a-/ is connected to the causatives that are derived from the basic intransitive predicates), it becomes the subject of the trivalent predicate, the causee is demoted to the indirect object, because the direct object relation is already occupied by the patient in the following example [12: 75; 8: 350]. Also, /a-/ prefix is said to govern the indirect object causee [7: 408]:

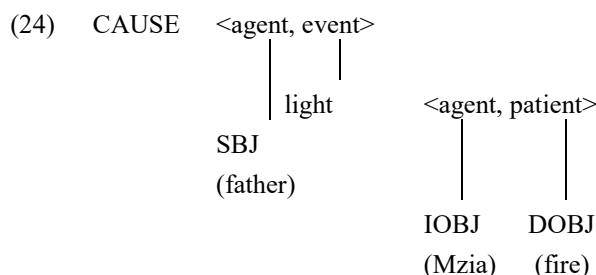
(22) *Bivalent transitive*

mzia-m ts^hets^hxl-i da-a-nt-o
 Mzia-ERG fire-NOM PRE-CAUS-light-3SBJ
 ‘Mzia lit the fire’.

(23) *Derived trivalent transitive*

mama-m mzia-s da-a-nt-eb-in-a ts^hets^hxl-i
 father-ERG Mzia-DAT PRE-CAUS-light-THEM-CAUS-3SBJ fire-NOM
 ‘The father made Mzia light the fire’. [12: 75]

Linking of the semantic roles and the grammatical relations can be represented as follows:



However, considering the example *ats^hermebs* ‘he is making him write’, Comrie states /a-...-in-eb/ circumfix as the causative marker [1: 171; cf. 9: 305-306; see also 10: 285-288]; but /-eb/ suffix is shown overtly in present whereas in aorist, it is not represented. Thus, the alternation reflects changing of grammatical meaning, probably, aspectual one. It implies that we should exclude /-eb/ (Traditionally, this morph is called thematic suffix) from the causative.

But if the predicate is transitive and has trivalent argument structure, then the causee (*mas* ‘him’) occupies the indirect object (*dedas* ‘to mother’) position (as it was in the previous type of transitive) but the recipient (*dedistvis* ‘for mother’) becomes from the indirect object to the oblique (the marker is /-tv^{is}/ ‘for’ postposition) [8: 350].

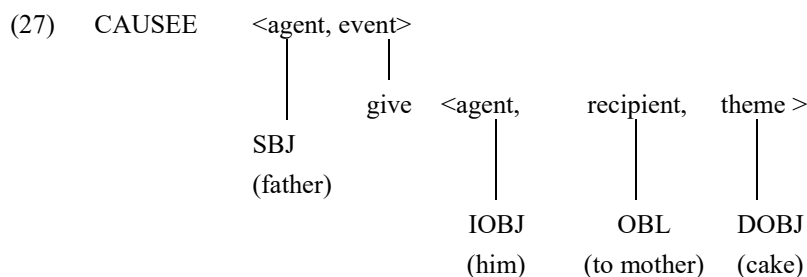
(25) *Basic trivalent transitive*

(man) mi-s-ts^h-a deda-s t'ort'-i
 3ERG PRE-3IOBJ-give-3SBJ mother-DAT cake-NOM
 ‘He gave the cake to mother’.

(26) *Derived trivalent transitive*

mama-m mi-a-t^h-em-in-a (mas) ded-is-tvis t'ort'-i
 father-ERG PRE-CAUS-give-CAUS-3SBJ 3DAT mother-GEN-for cake-NOM
 'Father made him give the cake to mother'. (cf. Harris 1981: 81)

The linking scheme is:



Therefore, this example shows that it is impossible for the causative predicate to become quadrivalent and because of this restriction one of the core arguments should become peripheral argument: in this case the indirect object of the basic predicate turns out to be the oblique.

General Restrictive Rules of the Georgian Causative

Considering Georgian examples according to different argument structures of the predicate and according to changing grammatical relations, some rules can be established. Thus, the restrictive rules shown according to above-discussed examples are as follows: **1.** the causee of the derived causative construction from the intransitive predicate (both monovalent and bivalent) can be expressed by the direct object of the transitive predicate; **2.** if the basic predicate is bivalent transitive, then the causee of the derived causative predicate occupies the indirect object slot because the direct object position is already occupied; **3.** but if the basic predicate is trivalent transitive then the derived causative predicate cannot become quadrivalent: the causer (as it is expected) is the subject, the causee is expressed by the indirect object (because the direct object position is occupied) but the indirect object is demoted to the oblique. Hence, another restriction results from # 3: **4.** the causee must be the core argument and that is why the indirect object is demoted to the oblique.

According to the generalization (Comrie does not consider intransitive bivalent predicates) by Comrie, mentioned above, the causee can be expressed (it is a tendency in the majority of languages) by the grammatical relation which is not subcategorized by the basic verb. It is correct for Georgian for the intransitive (both monovalent and bivalent) and transitive bivalent predicates, but it is not correct for the trivalent predicates because the causee must be expected to occupy the oblique relation (as the direct and indirect objects are already presented in the basic verb subcategorization), but it becomes the indirect object instead of oblique. Thus, a rule which is not the part of the generalization follows from this restriction: the causee must be expressed by the core argument.

The generalization by Baker connects the encoding of the recipient and the causee. Thus, the structure of the verb 'to give' in Georgian shows the correspondence between the semantic roles and grammatical relations:

(28) give <agent, recipient, theme>
 | | |
 SBJ IOBJ DOBJ

According to this generalization, the causee of the transitive predicate must be expressed by the indirect (or secondary) object. This rule is also correct for Georgian but because of the slot of the direct (or primary) object is already occupied and the empty position is the indirect (or secondary) object relation.

Conclusion

Summing up everything, we can conclude that the Georgian causative construction can be derived from both the intransitive (monovalent, bivalent) and the transitive (bivalent, trivalent) predicates. The causer always occupies the subject of the derived predicate and the grammatical relation of the causee depends on whether the basic predicate is transitive or intransitive: the causee is expressed by the direct object, if the basic predicate is intransitive and by the indirect object, if the basic predicate is transitive. The generalization by Comrie fits Georgian causative constructions except the oblique position: The causee never becomes the oblique (at least in the verbs of I and II series). As for the generalization by Baker about the grammatical relation, the recipient and the causee (in the trivalent transitive predicates) show the exact correspondence: both of them are expressed by the indirect object.

We have discussed different types of causative according to semantics, syntax, and morphology. Some approaches were overviewed cross-linguistically; then, widespread points of view about the Georgian causative were considered. At last we tried to check and establish the restrictive rules according to valency and grammatical relations that are specific to Georgian and some attempts were made to find the position of those rules in general causative theory.

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ნაშრომში განიხილება ქართული კაუზატიური კონსტრუქციები ზ. კომრის გრამატიკულ მიმართებათა (სინტაქსურ ფუნქციათა) იერარქიისა და მ. ბეიკერის ბრუნვათა მარკირების განზოგადების (გენერალიზაციის) მიხედვით. ვალენტობის გათვალისწინებით (ცენტრალურ აქტანტთა რაოდენობის გამოთვლით) განიხილება კაუზატიური კონსტრუქციის ოთხი ტიპი: 1. ამოსავალი ერთვალენტიანი ზმნისგან წარმოქმნილი კაუზატივი (ერთი ცენტრალური აქტანტი + კაუზატორი); 2. ამოსავალი ორვალენტიანი გარდაუვალი ზმნისგან წარმოქმნილი კაუზატივი (ორი ცენტრალური აქტანტი + კაუზატორი); 3. ამოსავალი ორვალენტიანი გარდამავალი ზმნისგან წარმოქმნილი კაუზატივი (ორი ცენტრალური აქტანტი + კაუზატორი); 4. სამვალენტიანი ზმნისგან წარმოქმნილი კაუზატივი (სამი ცენტრალური აქტანტი + კაუზატორი). ზმნის სხვადასხვა აქტანტური სტრუქტურისა და სინტაქსურ ფუნქციათა ცვალებადობის მიხედვით ქართულში შემდეგი შემზღვეველი წესები შეიძლება ჩამოვყალიბოთ: 1. გარდაუვალი ზმნისგან (როგორც ერთვალენტიანი, ასევე ორვალენტიანი) წარმოქმნილი კაუზატიური კონსტრუქციის კაუზირებული შეიძლება გამოიხატოს გარდამავალი ზმნის პირდაპირი დამატებით; 2. თუ ამოსავალი ზმნა ორვალენტიანი გარდამავალია, მაშინ წარმოქმნილი კაუზატიური ზმნის კაუზირებული იკავებს ირიბი დამატების ადგილს, რადგან პირდაპირი დამატების ადგილი უკვე დაკავებულია; 3. მაგრამ თუ ამოსავალი ზმნა სამვალენტიანი გარდამავალია, მაშინ წარმოქმნილი კაუზატიური ზმნა ოთხვალენტიანი ვერ გახდება: კაუზატორი ქვემდებარეა (როგორც მოსალოდნელი იყო), კაუზირებული ირიბი დამატებით გამოიხატება (რადგანაც პირდაპირი დამატების ადგილი დაკავებულია), ამიტომაც ამოსავალი ირიბი დამატება ქვეითდება და იკავებს უბრალო დამატების ადგილს. ამგვარად, კიდევ ერთი შეზღუდვა გამომდინარეობს №3-დან: 4. კაუზირებული უნდა იყოს ცენტრალური აქტანტი და ამიტომ ირიბი დამატება ქვეითდება და იკავებს უბრალო დამატების ადგილს.

ზ. კომრის განზოგადება შეესაბამება ქართულ კაუზატიურ კონსტრუქციას უბრალო დამატების პოზიციის გარდა: კაუზირებული არასდროს ხდება უბრალო დამატება. მ. ბეიკერის განზოგადება გრამატიკულ მიმართებათა (სინტაქსურ ფუნქციათა) შესახებ კი ზუსტად ასახავს რეციპიენტისა და კაუზირებულის (ამოსავალი გარდამავალი ზმნისგან) შესატყვისობას: ირიბი დამატება გამოხატავს ორივე მათგანს.

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