

# glottothèque languages of Anatolia, Caucasus, Iran, Mesopotamia

## Georgian ergative

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# goals and contents

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## Goals

- ergative in Georgian
- inherent or dependent

## Contents

- background information on ergative
- illustrative examples
- questions
- related research and ideas

# ergativity

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- Georgian is morphologically ergative language

<i>case</i>	<i>case markers</i>	
Nominative (NOM)	-i, Ø	person hierarchy
Ergative (ERG)	-ma, -m	1PL > 1SG > 2PL > 2SG > 3PL > 3SG
Dative (DAT)	-s	(Woolford 2008)
Genitive (GEN)	-is, -s(i)	
Instrumental (INSTR)	-it, -t(i)	<b>1SG</b> <b>1PL</b> <b>2SG</b> <b>2PL</b>
Adverbial (ADV)	-ad, -d	NOM    me <u>chven</u> <u>shen</u> <u>tkven</u>
Vocative (VOC)	-o, -v	ERG    me <u>chven</u> <u>shen</u> <u>tkven</u>
		DAT    me <u>chven</u> <u>shen</u> <u>tkven</u>
		GEN    chem- <u>chven-</u> <u>shen-</u> <u>tkven-</u>

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# ergativity

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- Georgian shows patterns of a split ergativity conditioned by tense+aspect

- (1)     a. *mk'vlevar-i*                   *mokhseneba-s*           *k'itkhul-ob-d-a.*  
         researcher-**NOM/ABS**   talk-DAT/ACC           read-THM-**IPFV**-3SG.SBJ:PST  
         'The researcher was giving a talk.'
- b. *mk'vlevar-ma*                   *mokhseneba-Ø*           *ts'a-i-kitkh-a.*  
         researcher-**ERG**                   talk-NOM/ABS           PR-PV-read-3SG.SBJ-**PFV**.PST  
         'The researcher gave a talk.'

# ergativity

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- Georgian exhibits an argumental-structural property of ergativity: so-called *split S*

	Accusative case alignment	Ergative case alignment	Split S alignment
Transitive	<u>S<small>NOM</small></u>	<u>O<small>ACC</small></u>	<u>S<small>ERG</small></u> <u>O<small>ABS</small></u>
Unergative	<u>S<small>NOM</small></u>		<u>S<small>ERG</small></u>
Unaccusative	<u>S<small>NOM</small></u>		<u>S<small>ABS</small></u>

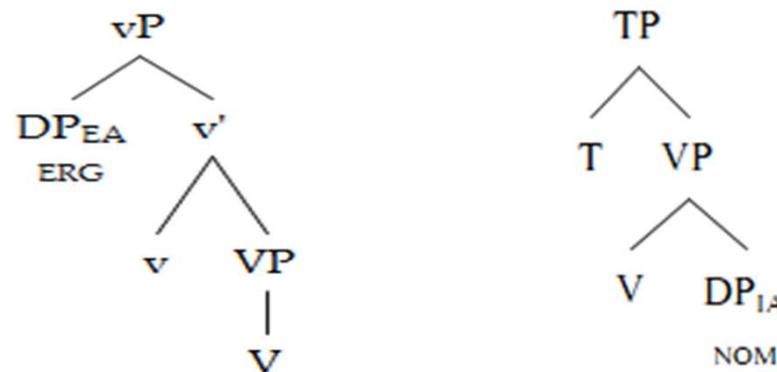
(see Harris 1981, 1982, 1990; Hewitt 1982, 1987, 1995;

See also Amiridze 2006 about ergativity in Georgian).

# Illustration 1: split-S

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- (2) a. *k'ats-ma*      *ga-i-tsin-a.*  
man-**ERG**            PR-PV-laugh-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST  
‘The man laughed.’
- b. *sakhl-i*      *ga-tb-a.*  
man-**NOM/ABS**    PR-PV-heat-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST  
‘The house was heated.’



## Illustration 2: morphologically ergative

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Argument omission in coordination is possible only if the common argument is a subject

- (3) a. [deda-∅<sub>k</sub> ts'avida] da [△<sub>k</sub> uk'an ar moikheda].  
mother-NOM went and ERG back not looked\_at.  
'Mother went and did not look back.'
- b. [deda-m<sub>k</sub> nakha shvil-i] da [△<sub>k\*j</sub> otakhidan gavida].  
mother-ERG saw child-NOM and NOM from\_room went\_out.  
'Mother saw a child and went out from room.'

## Illustration 3: morphologically ergative

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Ability to control the missing argument in a subordinate-adjunct clause is indicative of subjecthood in syntactically accusative languages

- (4) a. *nika-Ø<sub>k</sub>*    *dabrunda*    [PRO<sub>k</sub> *amb-eb-is*]    *mosaq'ol-ad*.  
    Nika-**NOM**    returned                    news-PL-GEN                    tell.PTCP-ADV  
    ‘Nika returned to tell news.’
- b. *nika-m<sub>k</sub>*    *mariam-i<sub>j</sub>*    *dainakha*    [PRO<sub>kj</sub> *otakh-shi*]    *shemosvlisas*.  
    Nika-**ERG**    Mariam-NOM    saw                    room-in                    entering  
    ‘Nika saw Mariam while entering the room.’

# questions

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Several questions arise that have been the subject of numerous studies on Georgian ergative

- how ergative is assigned?
- is it structural or inherent?
- why unaccusative intransitive subject (Sp) patterns together with transitive object (O), while unergative intransitive subject (Sa) patterns together with transitive subject (A)?

# case theory

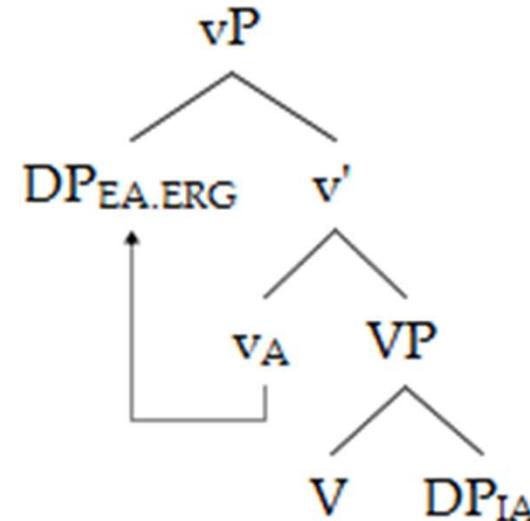
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## Inherent Case

is assigned by  $v$  to the external argument in  $\text{Spec}, vP$  together with the argument's theta role

- non-structural case
- associated with theta position

proposed by Woolford (2006)



# case theory

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## Dependent Case

is assigned to the higher DP when there are two DPs in the same domain.

The rule of DCT states:

“If  $NP_1$  c-commands  $NP_2$  and both are contained in the same domain (say, clause), then value the case feature of  $NP_1$  as ergative.”

(Baker and Bobaljik 2017: 112)

- structural case
- associated with a position relative to another DP

proposed by Marantz (1991)

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# DC theory

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Georgian ERG supports both IC theory (see Nash 1996, Legate 2008) and DC theory (see Marantz 1991, Nash 2017).

I adopt the view that Georgian ergative is best analysed under the DCT: ERG is assigned to the higher DP in a clause with transitive verbs, when the lower DP bears an unmarked case.

(5)	<i>p'ropesor-ma</i> professor- <b>ERG</b>	<i>ts'ign-i</i> book- <b>ABS/NOM</b>	<i>ts'a-i-k'itkh-a.</i> PR-PV-read-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST
'The professor read a book.'			

# unergatives

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If that is a case the question that arises is, what happens with verbs which take an ergative subject but have no second DP that can be counted as a case competitor for assigning ergative.

- (a) **indirect transitive verbs** without a second unmarked DP which have only a DP dative goal argument; and
- (b) **unergative intransitive verbs** lacking a second DP whatsoever.

# unergatives

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(6) *k'ats-ma*      *she-khed-a*      *kal-s.*

man-**ERG**

PR-look-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST

woman-**DAT**

'The man looked at the woman.'

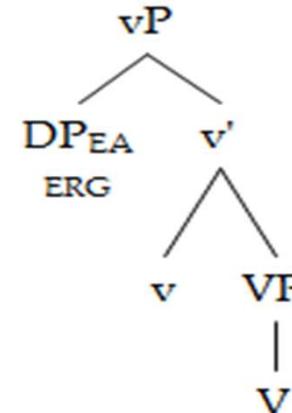
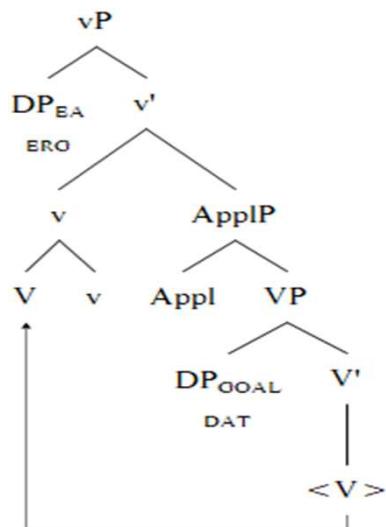
(7) *jarisk'ats-ma*      *bolo-mde*      *i-brdzol-a.*

soldier-**ERG**

end-till

PV-fight-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST

'The soldier fought till the end.'



# unergatives

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## Controversial accounts

- Unergatives are treated as intransitives, that borrow Aorist forms from transitive verbs (Vogt 1971; Shanidze 1980)
- Unergatives are treated underlyingly as transitives in Georgian (Schuchardt 1895; Hewit 1987; 1995; Nash 1995; 2017; Melikishvili 2001, 2014; Melikishvili, Humphries et. al. 2008)

Lazard (1998) treats them as anti-impersonal constructions and assumes that they have implicit cognate object.

(see Tuite 2017: 1118–1120 for an overview on this issue; see Hollisky 1981 for Georgian medial verbs)

# unergatives

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Claim: Unergatives involve a covert object in the nominative/absolutive

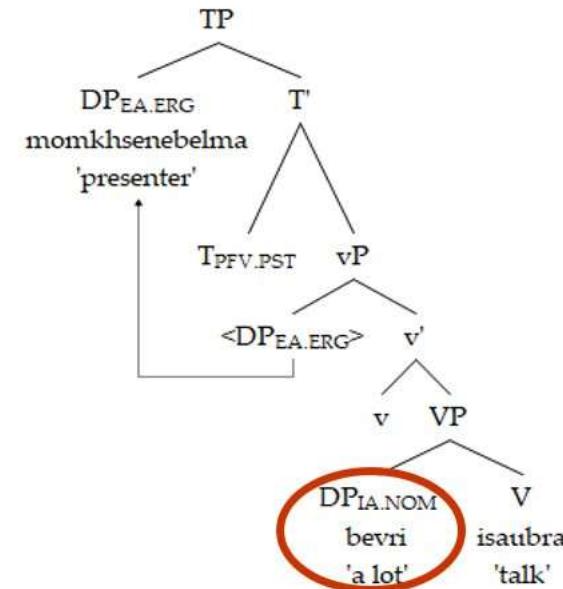
- transitive structure underlying unergatives: formation of Perfect tenses similar to transitives; subject case assignment; formation of causatives
- agreement morphology that indicates implicit argument
- an ability to add a D head as a residual of a DP with cognate object in ABS/NOM

# unergatives

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It is possible to add a quantifier *bevri/tsota* ‘many/few’ to all unergative verbs which do not imply a theme argument. Crucially, this quantifier has the same case marking as a direct object.

- PRS and FUT
- a. *momkhsenebel-i*      *bevr-s*      *saubr-ob-s.*  
 presenter-ABS/NOM      a lot-DAT/ACC      talk-THM-3SG.SBJ:PRS  
 ‘Presenter talks a lot.’
- PFV.PST
- b. *momkhsenebel-ma*      *bevr-i*      *i-saubr-a.*  
 presenter-ERG      a-lot-ABS/NOM      PV-talk-3SG.SBJ:PFV.PST  
 ‘Presenter talked a lot.’
- PREF
- c. *momkhsenebel-s*      *bevr-i*      *u-saubr-i-a.*  
 presenter-DAT      a lot-ABS/NOM      PV-talk-PRF-3SG.SBJ:PST  
 ‘Presenter has talked a lot.’



# ideas

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suggestions for further research

- to look for parallels in other ergative languages, the good example would be Basque unergatives
- to provide a critical overview on studies presenting controversial accounts (IC vs DC)
- to provide a critical overview on studies presenting controversial accounts on unergatives
- to provide a formal analysis of how case-assignment actually works in Georgian

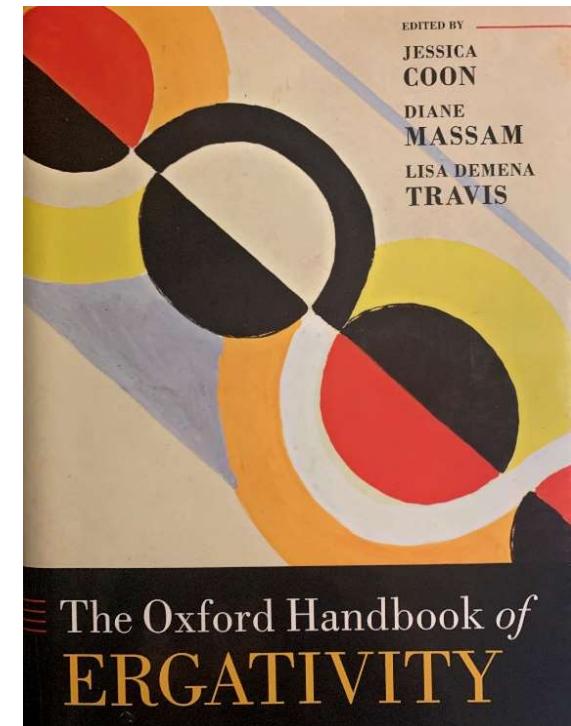
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# this lecture

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