

Towards some features of formation of the forms of Kartvelian degree

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Annotation

It should be assumed that the tendency to break the more complex system of formation of forms of degree in Kartvelian languages is caused by the general tendency to simplify the diverse linguistic system of the grammatical category of degree. Of the Kartvelian sub-systems, the unified process of simplification affected the Georgian the most, in which only the three-member system functions unchanged from the old Georgian to the present day.

Introduction

In the Kartvelian languages and dialects adjectives usually have forms of degree that express the features of the subject in a greater or lesser amount in relation to the root one: **didi – udidesi, modido** “big – biggest, biggish”; **tetri – utetresi, motetro** “white - whitest, whitish”. These forms are forms of degree in relation with each other. The basic form (**didi, tetri**) is called positive, and the ones derived from it are equality, morelative, slightlative, comparative, superlative. In Georgian, the comparative degree form is derived by means of **u – es** prefix-suffix and denotes a quality in more quantity than the root adjective: did-i - **u-did-es-i** “big – biggest”, ma-ghal-i - **u-maghl-es-i** “tall – tallest”. The derivative formant of the slightlative degree is **mo--o** prefix-suffix and expresses the quality with a smaller quantity: did-i - **mo-did-o** “big - biggish”, tetr-i - **mo-tetr-o** “white – whitish”...

Some adverbial adjectives do not have forms of degree (e.g. **kočli** “lame”), others have only slightlative forms (tbili - **mo-tb-o** “warm – warmish”), and others - only comparative forms (tsminda - **u-tsmind-es-i** “pure - purest). In contrast to Zan-Svan, in Georgian some derived and compound adjectives have forms of comparative degree: čkv-ian-i / **u-čkvi-an-es-i** “clever – cleverest”; zl-ier-i – **u-zlier-es-i** “strong – strongest”...

Within the work framework, the problematic issues of formation and genesis of degree of Common Kartvelian origin will be discussed in detail.

Main part

§1. Taking into account the Svan data, the ***ma- -e** prefix-suffixal formation is reconstructed as a formation of **superlative degree** in Common Kartvelian, which can be supported by the only relict example preserved in the Magrelian dialect of the Zan language. According to the author’s observations, **mo-tolu-a** form in Megrelian should be recognized as such exception. In content, **mo-tolu-a** means *unequal, superior, the most*. In oral speech, word-correspondence is common: “**irpeliš / irkočiš mo-tolu-a ren**” – “Sb is more than everything (all men, people)”. According to the formal analysis of the given word, **tolu** is separated as a positive (neutral) form (stem) of the

adjective, which can be listed in the series of adjectives with **-u** ending of the same structure: **šxu** "large", **titxu** "thin", **čirku** "small-soft-fruit bearing"... and separated suffix **mo- -a** confix was detached as a marker of superlative degree, which would be a natural morpho-phonetic correspondence of the Svan **ma- -e** marker of compound composition in adjectives of superlative degree, cf. sound-correspondence Sv. **a** : Zan **o**, Sv. **e** : Zan **a**... It is a fact that this only form expressing superlative degree was preserved thanks to stable expressions, however, according to **mo--a** confix, the real situation, which was historically characteristic of Magrelian morphology, could easily be reconstructed. On the basis of analogy, the following theoretically possible forms are reconstructed: **šxu** "large" - ***mo-šxu-a** "largest", **titxu** "thin" - ***mo-titxu-a** "thinnest", **čirku** "small-soft-fruit bearing" - ***mo-čirku-a** "smallest-soft-fruit bearing", etc.

In addition, in the Tush dialect of Georgian language, the particle **-od** has two different functions. In nouns, it plays the role of the particle **-c** of the literary language: **kaci-od** = **kaci-c**, and in adjectives it derives form of degree: **šavi-od** "blackest"... It can be shared the standpoint already known in the professional literature that historically they are of different origin and one of them is sourced from the particle **-od-e** - **kaci-od-e** → **kac-i-od** "even a man" [Kavtaradze 1954]. However, it should be noted here that the second function – to express the form of degree which seems unique in Tush, is of Common Kartvelian origin, and it has parallel in other Kartvelian subsystem, in particular, in the Magrelian dialect of Zan (Colchian) language, in only sample (so far) an exact phonetic-functional correspondence of Tush **-od-** (←***-od-e**) morpheme was confirmed in the form of a suffix **-ud-e/← -ud-a**, cf. Megr. **šxu** "thick", but **šxude/šxuda** (←***šxu-ud-a**) "rather thick"...

§2. Towards the morerelative suffix **-il** in Svan and its Zan correspondence.

It should be distinguished the *comparative* and *morerelative* terms, which are almost synonymous in the Kartveliological linguistic terminology [see *ibid.*], as concepts expressing different degrees. From the author's viewpoint, the types marked by means of Geo. **x-u -- e(-is)**, Zan **u -- a(-š-)**, Sv. **x-o - a** confixes are the forms of comparative degree, but morerelative degree which is unfamiliar to Georgian, is expressed by a separate (independent) suffix in Svan. A marker **-il** (**xaišuri: -îũ<-*il**) is considered as such a marker, the distribution area of which is preserved only in those cases when the forms of comparative degree are re-derived from fossilized (positive) adjectives of comparative degree, cf.:

Svan

xoša "big" -> **xoš-il** "bigger"

xoča "good" -> **xoč-il** "better"

xodra "bad" -> **xodr-il** "worse"

xoxura "small" -> **xokxur-il** "smaller".

xola "unfit, bad" -> [**xol-il**], Kaish. **xol-îũ** "worse"

In Svan, the derivative suffix **-il** of superlative degree should correspond to **-iš(i) -> -š(i)** in Zan; cf.:

Zan

did-i – u-did-a-š-i "biggest" – did-iš-i "bigger"

čipe "thin" – u-čip-a-š-i "thinnest" – čipe-š-i "thinner"

kunta "short" – u-kunt-a-š-i "shortest" – kunta-š-i "shorter"

jgir-i "good" – u-jgir-a-š-i "better" – jgir-i-š-i "better"...

The difference between Svan and Zan can be seen only in the distribution, since Sv. **l** : Zan **š** sound correspondence attested in these languages suggests the existence of archiphoneme of ***s** in the Common Kartvelian parent-language, therefore, the reconstruction of ***-is-** suffix of **morelative** degree for Proto-Kartvelian is grounded.

§3. From the viewpoint of in-depth study of the formation of adjective forms of **comparative degree**, the outcomes of Akaki Shanidze's investigations were noteworthy which were formulated in the work of significant historical-comparative value "The personal marker at the declinable word in the Kartvelian languages" [Shanidze 1981: 402-409]. As is known, in the named work, the scholar pays more (main) attention to the problem of formation and genesis of comparative degree in the Kartvelian languages and dialects.

The confix **u-e** appears as derivative one of an analytical degree in Georgian, the archaic type of which is separated **h-u — e-s** (in "haemeti" texts – early Old Georgian, when **h** prefix marked verb's 2pS and 3pIO) and **x-u - e -s**(in "khanmeti" texts – middle stage of Old Georgian when **x** prefix marked verb's 2pS & 3p IO), very noteworthy **u-e** is fixed in "The knight in the panther's skin". The scholar pointed out the correspondence of Zan **u- -a-š** in Megrelian, which quite naturally is corresponded by Svan **x-o- -a**. As expected, Akaki Shanidze defined the presented derivational affixes as a grammatical inventory of common origin and noted that they consisted of different components; In particular, it was said that in Old Georgian and Svan, prefix **x(/h)** is the marker of the third objective person, that is, of the person who is the object of **comparison**. In the prehistoric period, the prefixation of the objective person had to be variable according to the different persons: **m-** for the first objective person, **g** - for the second one, also for the objective person; i. e. personal forms should have been of this type:

m-i-did-e-is-i "big compared to me, bigger than me"

g-i-did-e-is-i "big compared to you, bigger than you"

xu-did-e-is-i "big compared to him, bigger than him"

The trend turned out to be similar in the Kartvelian subsystems, more specifically, the third person forms were generalized (**xudideisi, xuproisi, xuceisi...**), which have more or less survived to this day in all Kartvelian languages, while the first and second personal forms of the declensional word were lost [Shanidze 1981: 407]. The generalization of third personal verbal forms is known from Svan, cf. Sv. **xon-i** "wants" ->**xon-i** "even", "as if" [Chumburidze 2007: 102], from Laz -

Chkhalian: **ma bčara un(on)** "I will write", **si čara un (on)** "You will write", **emuk čaras un(on)** "Sb will write" .. In contrast to Old Georgian and Svan, in Megrelian and the subsequent Georgian of the Rustaveli period, the derivative prefixes (actually personal markers - **x/h**) of comparative degree were lost, cf. Geo. **x-u-c-e-s-i** : Zan **u-č-a-š-i** : Sv. **x-o-š-a...**

Suffixal **-e-is-** ending was later divided into two and together with the prefix **-e** was became as a marker of degree, while **-is** is a Genitive case marker, which does not seem necessary for the Rustaveli language: **u-am-e, u-ar-e...** Of modern Georgian in the discourse of the village Khreiti of the Imeretian dialect, Akaki Shanidze confirms the samples of word formation of **u-magl-e** "highest" and **u-xn-e** "oldest" types, which is an example of the fact that Georgian-Zan (**udides-** / **udidaš-**...) allomorphs are ex-genitive case forms in origin. The scholar supports the reality of his opinion by bringing Svan correspondences, when Georgian **-e** is corresponded by final **-a** in Svan (**x-o-č-a, x-o-š-a.**), while Genitive case formant **-is** (Zan **-iš/ /-š**) is corresponded by zero in Svan [Shanidze 1981: 141].

As It is seen, Akaki Shanidze speaks about the functional and not material corresponding of Geo. final **-e** and Svan **-a** morphemes, although he does not say anything about their origin, this issue remains unsolved for the scholar. At the next stage, G. Machavariani dedicated a special work to the problem of the genesis of different forms of Kartvelian comparative degree. He shared the idea of the verbal derivation of forms of degree and put forward a new statement that the suffix **-e** in Georgian is a verbal affix and is related to the suffix **-e** of aorist in Georgian [Machavariani 1958: 121-122]. This kind of approach was not shared by kartvelologists, since the suffix **-e** of Georgian aorist is corresponded by identical **-e** suffix in Svan, while the formative suffix of comparative degree is **-e** in Georgian, and in Svan it is represented by the suffix **-a**. This is an insurmountable obstacle, since the vowel sound correspondence Geo. **e** : Sv. **a** is not confirmed in Kartvelian comparative literature [Chumburidze 2007: 104].

So what can be the final **-e** and **-a** in Georgian and Svan?

The answer is unequivocal and represents the continuation-evolution of Akaki Shanidze's idea of verbal origin. The author thinks that Geo. **x-u-c-e-** and Sv. **x-o-š-a** are fully verbal forms in origin, but not of aorist, as G. Machavariani assumed, but in their origin they are well-known static forms of Kartvelian verbs. This is suggested by the inclusion of Zan material in the study of the genesis of suffixation of comparative degree, in particular the difference that is observed during the comparative study of Megrelian and Laz data. For this, it is clearly demonstrated that the staticity markers are different in Megrelian and Laz, cf. Megr. **u-čk-u-n**/Laz **u-čk-i-n** "knows"; **mo-b-γ-u-n**/mo-m-γ-i-n "is put on me; I've sth on"... The situation is exactly the same for the suffixes of comparative degree forms, cf. Megr. **u-jg-u-š-i**/Laz **u-jg-i-š-i** "better". It would be said that the verbal **-jg-** is represented in Megrelian by **u-jg-u-n**, and in Laz by **u-jg-i-n** "is better" forms. This finding can easily explain the existence of the ending **-i** in Laz, where the Megrelian dialect presents the natural **-a** that correspondences to Georgian **-e**, cf. Geo. **u-did-e-s-** : Megr. **u-did-a-š-** : Laz. **u-did-i-š-** "biggest"..., that is, Geo. **-e**, Megr. **-a**, Laz **-i** are suffixes indicating static feature.

Svan also confirms this situation, since the static marker **-a** is very common in Svan, cf.: **m-a-y-a** "I have", **m-a-č-a** "I laugh", **x-a-žax-a** "Sb/Sth's name is" and others. By this the author wants to say that, for example, **x-o-š-a** "biggest" is completely a verbal form in Svan and expresses the content of "is relatively big". Megrelian **-u**, from which historically Laz **-i** is sourced (**u** -> **i**) has parallels even in Georgian, when **-o** appears as a suffixal part of comparative degree in Old Georgian, in two samples of too modern Georgian (**u-mcr-o-s-i**, **u-pr-o-s-i**, **u-tkb-o-s-i**...). Geo. **-o** : Zan **-u** is as regular and natural sound correspondence as Geo. **-e** : Zan **-a** (**xuts-e-s/uč-a-š-**). Just this **-e** should be detached as a marker of staticity in static verbs of the **h-hgi-e** type in Georgian, which is very productively evident in Georgian forms of **u-did-e...** type of degree.

Conclusion from this: the comparative degree forms in Kartvelian are fully of verbal origin, in particular, they are personal forms of the static verb, which are formed by means of Genitive case markers in Georgian-Zan, in Svan it was maintained like in Rustaveli and village Khreiti and took on the grammar semantics of nominal forms without any nominal marker.

§4. Equality degree. According to the viewpoint in the professional literature, equality degree forms are preserved only in Megrelian. It revealed neither in Svan nor in Georgian. In Megrelian the formative confix of this category is **ma- - a**.

In modern Laz, "post-positions attached to a comparable object" are considered to convey equal content: **konaY**, **steri** "like", **oxoriškonaY(steri)** **mčxu divi** "a horned devil as big as a house, a horned devil of the size of a house"; **fukiristei** **mskva kulan** "a girl with/like flower beauty" [Danelia 2006: 119].

Laz should have had an equality degree, writes K. Danelia and brings examples: **mapejana**: "otxo Kitish **mapejana** picariši Ikipan bayu "They are making a barn with four-finger-thick planks" (Chik., 1, 148); **mapejana** is derived from the word **pej-i** (= "thick"): **ma-pej- an-a** (cf. **ma-šxv-a**) "thickness"...; **ma-mačxvar-a**: **emuš mamačxvara** "thickness of sb/sth" [Danelia 2006: 119].

That is, by comparing two forms described above, it turns out that **ma- -a**, **ma- -an-a**, **ma- -ar-a** is still a valid formation today.

Formation samples of equality degree in Megrelian:

ma-skuam-a= as beautiful as (cf. **skuam-** "beautiful");

ma-girdze-a /ma-gindze-a= as long as (cf. **gindze / girdze** "long");

ma-ku{n}t-a= as short as (cf. **ku{n}ta** "short");

ma-čip-a= as thin as (cf. **čipa** "thin");

ma-šxv-a= as thick as (cf. **šxu** "thick");

ma-rčel-a= as white as (cf. **rčela//rče//cče** "white");

ma-rčxel-a= as hot as (cf. **rčxeli//čxe** "hot")... [Kiria, Ezugbaia, Memishishi, Chukhua 2015 : 210-212].

In Georgian, as it was mentioned, there are no forms of equality degree characteristic of Megrelian: according to G. Rogava **ma-šv-a**=as thick as...**ma-gindz-a**=as long as... Historically similar adjectives of equality degree should have had existed in Georgian as well, already reduced and fossilized forms of which are adjectives with **m—e** confix: **m-tsar-e**, **m-zhav-e**, **m-laš-e**, **m-dzim-e**, **m-čat-e**, **m-tkic-e** and others.

According to G. Rogava's correct observation, his standpoint is supported by the use of affixes of equality **ma- -a**, **ma- -an-a** with another function, as well: in the formation of numeral, in particular, ordinals, in Zan the formation of ordinal numerals a **ma- -a** confix of equality degree is repeated/coincides with the confixal form formation of ordinal numerals as well, cf.: Zan **ma-sum-a** = Geo. **me-sam-e** = **me-sm-e** "third"... That what is a living derivation in Megrelian coincides with the original (parent-language) situation [Rogava 1958: 99-108].

§5. Slightlative degree. It is noteworthy that in Svan the suffixal formation of slightlative degree **-ara** (**sgel-ara** "thickish"...) is materially absolutely different from confixal derivation **/mo- -o/** : **/mo- -e/** (**mo-šav-o** - **mo-uč-e**) evident in Georgian and Megrelian. In terms of determining its origin, the author's attention is drawn to the Laz material, in which the exact correspondence of the Svan **-ara** suffix was revealed: **mo-//do- -ora**. Allomorphs of not so rare derivation were confirmed in Laz: **mo-gindz-ora/do-gindz-ora** "longish", **mo-mčit-ora/do-mčit-ora** "reddish", **mo-mčut-ora/do-mčut-ora** "smallish"...

The Laz case is also noteworthy that the situation in initial position is similar to that of Georgian-Megrelian, a preverb is used, and final affix coincides with Svan and reflects the ***-ara** morpheme of the Common Kartvelian parent-language.

Such empirical data of Laz is of great importance in terms of study of the degree of Common Kartvelian origin and the genesis of preverbs in Svan, since it is a well-known fact that the formation system of preverbs in Svan is different from Georgian-Zan both materially and structural-functionally. Geo.-Zan **mi-/ma- //mo-, da-/do-**, etc. and other types of preverbs are not confirmed in it today. However, historically their existence in Svan is permissible; By this the author'd like to say that the situation in Svan is secondary, the system of preverbs in Svan has been simplified over time. The fact that there existed for example, **me- //mğ-** (Geo. **ma-** → **//mo**, Zan **mo-** → **//mu-**) preverb can be clearly seen in the slightlative degree forms, where the Georgian-like derivation seems to be the main one. Svan **tvėtvne** "white" → **mğ-tven-a** = **mo-tetr-o** "whitish"; **mešxe** "black" → **mğ-mšx-a** = **mo-šav-o** "blackish"; **čgrni** "red" → **me-čgn-** = **mo-čitel-o** "reddish"; **sgeli** "thick" → **mğ-nsgl-a** = **mo-skel-o** "thickish"; **megre** "thick" → **mğ-ngr-a** = **mo-msxvil-o** "thickish"; **dğtxel** "thin" → **me-dğtxl-a** = **mo-txel-o** "thinish"... As it can be seen, **mo- -e/-o** (Old Geo. **mo-e**) confixes of literary Georgian are corresponded by the suffixes **me-/mğ-** in Svan, the preverb origin of the first segment of which is indisputable, due to the fact that it is freely replaced by the simple preverb **ča-** in Georgian (and **do-** in Laz) : **mo-čital -o** / **ča-cital-o** "reddish", Laz. **do-mčit-ora** "id"...

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that in the Common Kartvelian parent-language, all the forms of degrees described above were represented with their own markers, and through a comparative-historical study of the ancestor language, it is possible to reconstruct a more complex origin system, where (within which) the following forms of degree functioned: positive (neutral), morelative (*- **is**, Sv. **-il**), slightlative (*-**ara**), equality (***me- -e**), comparative (***u- -e**), superlative (***ma- -e**).

Most likely, the fact that, except for the slightlative degree, all other forms of degree marked with a certain marker are of confixal origin, and the suffix **-e** is repeated as the second (final) member of each of them.

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