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Focus on:

**Sentence types and sentence structures**

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## Protasis and apodosis in the Kartvelian languages\*

### Abstract

Modern Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages have both preposed and postposed subordinate clauses. Their subordinator occurs in clause-initial, clause-internal and clause-final position. Preposed subordinated clauses prefer clause-internal and in some cases clause-final subordinators, postposed clauses clause-initial subordinators. The latter are mostly attached to the preceding clause, and the same is the rule for coordinating conjunctions. As a consequence, Modern Kartvelian tends to have a protasis-apodosis structure in which the protasis is marked by a subordinating, coordinating or other cataphoric element, and tends to be followed by an unmarked apodosis even in those cases where the subordinator syntactically belongs to the apodosis. This protasis-apodosis structure superficially converges with the sentence structure of languages where subordinate units typically precede their superordinate unit (as in most neighbouring languages of Kartvelian).

It is one of the fundamental tenets of any comparative or typological undertaking that its objects should be comparable. So it is uncontroversial that, for instance, clauses should be compared with clauses in different languages. On a syntactic level, then, a structure like:

(1) [A]<sub>s</sub> B ]<sub>s</sub>

in one language has to be compared with objects of the same kind in other languages. However, there are cases where a structure like

(2) [A [B]<sub>s</sub> ]<sub>s</sub>

becomes comparable to structure (1). Starting from a general structure “A conj B”, it is obvious that although the conjunction or any conjunctive means, might belong to either A or B on a syntactic level, the conjunction can belong to the opposite constituent on a different level, for instance on a prosodic level, as in:

(3) [[ A {conj }<sub>s</sub> B ]]<sub>s</sub>

(4) [[ {A [conj ] B }<sub>s</sub> ]]<sub>s</sub>

where the braces mark non-syntactic, e.g. prosodic, units. (4) is at the root of a reanalysis that has occurred in many European languages, where:

(5) I know that [ it is wrong ] > I know [ that it is wrong ]

\* This is an abbreviated and modified version of an earlier article: “Protasis und Apodosis in den Kartvelsprachen”, in: *Varlam Topuria 100* (Tbilisi: Saxelmçipo Universiteti, Pilologiis Paqulteti; Sakartvelos Mecnierebata Aqademia, Enatmecnierebis Inqituti). Tbilisi: Tbilisi Universitetis gamocemloba 2001, 31–45.



1. The sentences of the first group consist of a subordinate protasis followed by a matrix clause apodosis. This is the classical form of a period, and for iconic reasons it is natural with conditional clauses, temporal clauses and causal clauses. The protasis is marked by a conjunction which typically follows its first constituent or the first word with its clitics (VOGT 1975), that is, in Wackernagel's position, as in (10), or in preverbal position, as in (11)

- (10) Georgian (Kartlian) [IMNAIŠVILI 1974: 99]  
*kali ro šua xidze šedga, zaytapirebma dauzaxes*  
 woman SUBORD middle bridge-on stood, dog-headed they.called.her  
 'When the woman stood halfway on the bridge, the dog-headed men called her.'

- (11) Svan (Lenžer) [BZ 54, 9]  
*[alas] gar eser ži hē xaskib [...]*  
 [this] only QUOT PREV if you.are.satisfied.with.it [...]  
 'If you will be content with this, ...'

In some cases the protasis is resumed by a correlative pronominal, as in:

- (12) Svan [BZ 68,6]  
*ču he ätvdagri, ežya dem opšeni*  
 PREV if I.die, therefore not I.will.worry'

In (9), we had a relative clause following its head noun. But its typical position in informal speech is before its head noun, and with a correlative pronoun in the matrix clause:

- (13) Svan [BZ 389,6]  
*mič eser er maškäd xāz,*  
 him QUOT SUBORD ring she.wears,  
*ala kāv laxvēm i yo k'ēser laxvedne*  
 this PREV.OPT she.gave.him, and then PREV.QUOT she.will.give.it.to.him  
 'I will give it to you if you give me the ring you are wearing.' (lit. 'he will give it to her if she gives him the ring, she is wearing')

In connection with our problem, it is interesting that one Old Georgian conjunction, *raj* 'when' occurs either in Wackernagel's position, as in (14), or in clause-final position, as in (15):

- (14) Old Georgian [Šušaniķis çameba V,72 apud MARTIROSOVI 1959: 269]  
*[še] ra vida igi țazarsa mas [...]*  
 [PREV] when she.went she sanctuary.to ART [...]  
 'When she went into the sanctuary, .....

- (15) Old Georgian [Grigol Xanzt. ed. MARR 1911 ch. 9, 12–13 apud MARTIROSOVI 1959: 270]  
*[moçapeta twsta upovarebaj ixila raj], miučia ... saxlsa*  
 [disciples his poverty he.saw when], he.went [...] house.to  
 'When he saw the poverty of his disciples, he went to the house.'

This is also the typical position of Mingrelian subordinators:

- (16) Mingrelian [QIPŠI3E 1914: 44,22 apud ABESA3E 1963: 15]  
*skani samartals iri koči ockvansə ni,*  
 your justice everybody praises SUBORD

*mati skani kariša kəmpɔrti*  
 I.too your door.to I.came  
 ‘Since everybody praises your justice, I came to your door.’

- (17) Mingrelian [AXALAIA 1996: 152]  
*mužansət uklašepi tec[a]li ren do, umosepi mu iʔii*  
 when younger such are and, older what they.will be  
 ‘If the younger people are like that, what will the older people be like?’

Among these clause-final subordinators we also find the interrogative particle *-a* whose post-verbal position is also known from Old Georgian:

- (18) Mingrelian [ABESA3E 1963: 18]  
*ʔudeša kəmortu-o, irpeli yaliri kəziru*  
 house.in he.came-INTERROG, everything taken.away he.saw  
 ‘When he came home, he saw that everything had been taken away.’

Some Georgian dialects mark the protasis by lengthening its last vowel (LOMTATI3E 1946).

So this is the simple case group, where a subordinate clause – sometimes with a final conjunction – precedes the matrix clause.

2. The second case group consists of examples where the protasis is not a subordinate clause. Some analysts of Georgian intonation (TEVDORA3E 1978, cf. BOEDER 1982: 385; LEŽAVA 1981; KIZIRIA 1987, 1992; ARABULI 2001) point out that conjunctions occurring between protasis and apodosis are most naturally followed by a pause, and this is indeed the position where unattentive or uneducated Georgians put a comma – contrary to what they were taught in school:

1) Protasis and apodosis coordinated

- (19a) Georgian [TEVDORA3E 1978: 78]  
*čvimam gadaiyo magram# mze ar čanda*  
 rain it.cleared.up but# sun not it.appeared  
 ‘The rainy weather cleared up, but the sun did not appear.’

- (19b) *čvimam gadaiyo #magram mze ar čanda*

2) Protasis: matrix clause, apodosis: subordinate clause

- (20a) Georgian [TEVDORA3E 1978: 46]  
*me mašinve# karebi mivxure rom# zaylebi# šin ar*  
 I immediately# doors I.closed.them SUBORD# dogs# in not  
*šəqolodnen*  
 followed  
 ‘I immediately closed the door to prevent the dogs from coming in, too.’

- (20b) *me mašinve# karebi mivxure# rom# zaylebi# šin ar*  
*šəqolodnen*

After the use of correlatives, a pause before the conjunction seems to be unnatural:

- (21) Georgian [KIZIRIA 1987: 60]  
*iseti amindi iqo, rom # zayls ar gaagdebdnen garet*  
such weather was, that # dog not they.put.it outside  
 'The weather was such that they did not turn the dog out of the house.'  
 \**iseti amindi iqo, # rom # zayls ar gaagdebdnen garet* (ib.)

The same is true for Mingrelian:

- (22) Mingrelian [DANELIA & CANAVA 1991: 102]  
*xençipeša apu močinelu namuda, tito koči*  
 king.to he.had sent.message that, each man  
*daxvamiluas ate merčkineli adgilsie*  
 he.should.make.meet.him this appointed place.at.QUOTE  
 'He had sent a message to the king that he should send each man to meet him at the appointed place.'

The reality of this attachment to the preceding clause is confirmed by two other phenomena. Firstly in poetry, the conjunction often occurs in a segment-final position (see now ARABULI 2001):

- (23) Mingrelian [GUDAVA 1975: 51]  
*dyašit vinçvalebuku do | serit vare čkimi ruli*  
 by.day I.am.tormented and | by.night not.is my sleep  
 'I am tormented by day, and I cannot sleep by night.'

Second, the final vowel of the preceding word is elided (contracted) in Svan (KALDANI 1953). In other words, the conjunction that syntactically belongs to the following clause is fused with the last word of the preceding clause.

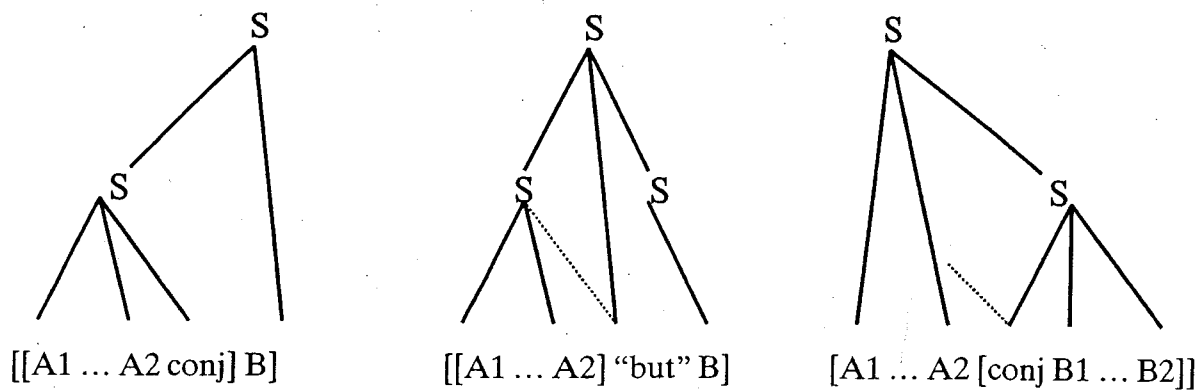
- (24) Svan [BZ 334,33 apud ABESAŽE 1960: 134]  
*räčv ežya oxvziz ägit', ěre sädil äžqīdēns*  
 rabbit therefore I.sent.him home, SUBORD dinner.meal he.shall.bring.it  
 'I sent the rabbit home to let him bring a meal for dinner.'

In addition, the "incorrect" repetition of the subordinator *er(e)* in the following example seems to indicate that its first instance belongs to the protasis, which is what we expect anyway with a correlative in it (cp. (21)!):

- (25) Svan (Lashkh) [ONIANI et al. 1979: 77, 17–18]  
*ešxu noxs lok ansqējne ežkalibs ere ešxu*  
 one rug QUOT she.will.make.it such SUBORD .one  
*saxelçip lok er adpīnas, xoša udild lēkv*  
 kingdom.NOM QUOT SUBORD it.will.cover.it, elder sister she.said  
 'I will make such a rug that it covers the whole kingdom, said the elder sister.'

On a phonetic level, all these structures correspond to those sentences where the protasis has a clause-final conjunction: they are superficially isomorphic:

- 1) subordinate + matrix S (16)      2) co-ordination (19)      3) matrix + subordinate S (22)



3. However, there are some special cases that deviate from these structures and deserve some consideration.

1) Clauses that “naturally” occur in initial position (for instance, conditional clauses), can be postposed; sticking to the ancient rhetorical terminology, I call this “hyperbaton”.

- (26) Georgian [KIZIRIA 1987: 60]  
*miesalmeboda, # kals rom daenaxa*  
 he.would.have.greeted.her, # woman SUBORD he.had.seen.her  
 ‘He would have greeted the woman if he had seen her.’  
 (or: *kals rom daenaxa, # miesalmeboda*)

- (27) Svan [ABESA3E 1960: 141]  
*kāv adje, miča gezal eser hē xaķuč*  
 PREV.OPT he.took.him.away, his child QUOT if he.wants.him  
 ‘Take him away, if you want my son.’ (lit. ‘he shall take him away, if he wants his son’)

While preserving formal features like Wackernagel’s position of the subordinator, these subsequent clauses are marked and present a different communicational structure: they are “epexegetic” and contain “old information” or the like.

2) A second deviation is the result of integrating the matrix clause in the subordinate clause, which I call “parenthesis”.

- (28) Mingrelian [DANELIA & CANAVA 1991: 154,26–27 apud LOMIA 1999: 186]  
*koči moķo ipkirueve*  
 man I.want.it that.I.hire(OPT).him.QUOT  
 ‘I want to hire the man.’

- (29) *skan diaras kobzirunk, daba muners aķetenki* [LOMIA ib.]  
 your wedding I.see.it well.then what.kind you.will.make.it  
 ‘Well, I see what wedding you are going to arrange.’

In sentences like these, the protasis-apodosis problem simply does not arise. No matter if we assume left dislocation of the first constituent after extraction from the subordinate clause, which leaves the bi-clausal syntactic structure intact (cp. HARRIS 1995) or if we consider the verb as a parenthetical constituent (cp. LOMIA 1999: 186–187 for some discussion),

these sentences do not form a protasis-apodosis diptych, but one prosodic unit in which the matrix clause verb is superficially integrated into its dependent clause (“clause mixing” apud HARRIS *ib.*) and semantically downgraded (LOMIA *ib.*).

3) The third deviation, which I call “epiphraasis” actually confirms the fundamental character of the protasis-apodosis structure:

- (30) Georgian (Gurian) [IMNAIŠVILI 1993: 201]  
*mere tavrobam mokida xeli da aašena axali šenoba,*  
 then government touched hand and built new building,  
*axla rom dgana, ikenei*  
 now SUBORD stands, there  
 ‘Then the government set about to build a new building where it now stands.’

- (31) Mingrelian [XUBUA 1937: 297,19–20 apud LOMIA 1999: 188]  
*bošik ... kã’otə škvili do sagani, mara vã’vilə,*  
 boy ... shot bow and arrow, but not.he.could.kill.him,  
*pulandami (r)də te demi-n, tišeni*  
 steely he.was that dev-SUBORD therefore  
 ‘The young man shot with his bow and arrow, but he could not kill the dev, because he was of steel.’

- (32) Svan [BZ 382,35]  
*lalem, māj xekväd eža*  
 he.ate.it, what he.wanted that  
 ‘He ate what he wanted.’

These structures are similar to the result of conjunction reduction, where the underlying form conforms to the general protasis-apodosis structure. Consider (30’):

- (30’) *aašena axali šenoba, axla rom dgana, ikenei* [sc. *aašena*]

The final expression “there” is a means of postposing the subordinate clause, at the same time marking it as a preceding subordinate clause, because it is followed by a reduced matrix clause. In this respect it conforms to type 1.

4) One way of marking an initial matrix clause as a protasis is to use a cataphoric correlative pronoun that makes us expect further specification in the apodosis:

- (33) Georgian [SOMXIŠVILI 1999: 132]  
*zogi iseti kacia, xars ar daasvenebs*  
 some such man.is, ox not he.lets.it.rest  
 ‘There are such people who do not let their ox rest.’

- (34) Georgian [BASILAIA 1974: 38, a proverb]  
*imitom vuxnav alosa, xarebi gamilalosa*  
therefore I.plough.it.for.him . field, oxen he.shall.drive.them.out.for.me  
 ‘This is why I do a day’s ploughing work for him, that he should drive out my oxen.’

5) Notice that the last two examples lack a subordinating conjunction, and asyndesis also occurs without cataphoric correlatives:



- (35) Georgian [BASILAIA 1974: 39]  
*Peride mzad iqo, etkva simartle moxucisatvis*  
 Peride ready she.was, she.said truth old.man.to  
 'Peride was ready to tell the truth to the old man.'
- (36) Svan [BZ 68,4]  
*ezer ira, jexvd äxqide*  
 good it.will.be, wife.as you.lead.her  
 'It will be good if you marry.'

In these cases, it is only a semantic property (the expectation of a complement) that points to a following clause. But what is more important here is a negative feature: the lack of a formal conjunction assimilates the subordinate clause to the unmarked apodosis of the fundamental type 1.

To conclude, we have seen that there are various forms of clause combining that converge in a preferred protasis-apodosis structure, where the protasis is formally marked in one way or the other, while the apodosis is superficially unmarked even in those cases where it is syntactically formed by a clause-initial subordinator. This is a situation that reminds us of many other languages, particularly Turkic, where the Iranian subordinator *ke/ki* prosodically belongs to the preceding main clause, as in Turkish:<sup>1</sup>

- (37) Turkish [SCHROEDER 1997: 348]  
*ancak üzü-erek ifade ed-iyor-um ki*  
 but regret-CONV expression do-PRES-1SG *ki*  
*bu hükümet-in işçi kesim-i ile diyalog-u kopuktur*  
 this government-GEN worker part-POSS with dialogue-POSS broken  
 'But I say with regret **that** the dialogue between this government and the working class is disturbed.'

Again, this superficial restructuring may be interpreted as a strategy to preserve a general structure of a language where subordinated constituents occur on the left side of their subordinating constituent.

Notice that *ki* has also been borrowed in the Georgian dialects of Turkey (PUŦKARAŦE 1993): *mixdebi ki aduyda, aduye karka* (p. 21) you.will.understand *ki* it.boiled.up, boil.it well 'when you notice that it boiled up, boil it well'; *vutxar ki, cxurebi mevqane-metki* (p. 211–212) I.told.him *ki*, sheep I.brought.them-QUOT 'I told him that I had brought the sheep'. But *ki* sometimes seems to replace Georgian *rom* in non-final position, too: *tiva mohqavan ki bevri, hqidvian* (p. 205) hay they.bring.it *ki* much, they.sell.it 'when they harvest much hay, they sell it'.<sup>2</sup>

The lesson that might be learned from these examples is that typological counterparts of syntactic structures must sometimes be sought on other levels than syntactic structure, and that in situations of language contact, a language may resort to rather superficial linguistic

<sup>1</sup> For a careful study of *ki*, its structural properties and its medieval predecessors (Turkish *kim* 'who' as a calque of Persian *ke*), see EGVANLI 1980–81. I am indebted to CHRISTOPH SCHROEDER for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>2</sup> For *ki* in Laz and other Anatolian languages, see HAIG 2001: 200–202. His conclusions are quite similar to the observations presented in this paper: "*ki* is more or less enclitic on the main clause, i.e. is not a constituent of the complement clause. This development brings *ki* into line with the typical Turkish pattern of marking syntactic relations at the right-hand boundaries of constituents, rather than at the left-hand boundaries." (p. 201).

means in order to cope with the task of – to use LARS JOHANSON's term (see e.g. JOHANSON 2002) – “copying” a language structure that is rather different from one's own.

### Abbreviations

ART	article	POSS	possessive
BZ	ŠANI3E-TOPURIA (1939)	PRES	present
CONV	converb	PREV	preverb
GEN	genitive	QUOT	quotative
INTERROG	interrogative	SG	singular
NOM	nominative	SUBORD	subordinator
OPT	optative		

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## Corrigenda

p. 17, (9): *unda dagviḡla-v ...*

Most of the following corrections I owe to Bernard Outtier and George Hewitt:

p. 18: (14), translation: ...she.went she **palace**.to ART ‘... into the **palace**’

p. 19, line 8-9: ... particle **-o** [...] Old Georgian **-a**

p. 19 (20a), translation: ‘I immediately closed the doors in order that the dogs might not follow him/her inside’

p. 20, first line: delete: “After the use of correlatives” (The unnaturalness is not triggered by correlatives)

p. 20 (22), translation: ‘It [sc. the dragon] sent a message to the king that he should send one man each day [litt. one man at a time] to meet it at this appointed place’

p. 20 (24), translation: **you**.should.have.brought.it ‘to let **you** bring a meal for dinner’

p. 21, section 3. 1) should read: “... (for instance, conditional clauses; *Ḳiziria* 1987: 59)

p. 21 (26), translation: ‘He would have greeted her, if the woman had noticed him.’

p. 21, section 3. 1) should read: “... (for instance, conditional clauses; *Ḳiziria* 1987: 59)