

GEORGIAN

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Volume 2

B.G. Hewitt

Georgian: A Structural Reference Grammar

GEORGIAN
A STRUCTURAL
REFERENCE GRAMMAR

B.G. HEWITT
University of London

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This grammar is dedicated to the memory of
the two finest scholars of Georgian
the West has produced:

Gerhard Deeters (1892-1961)

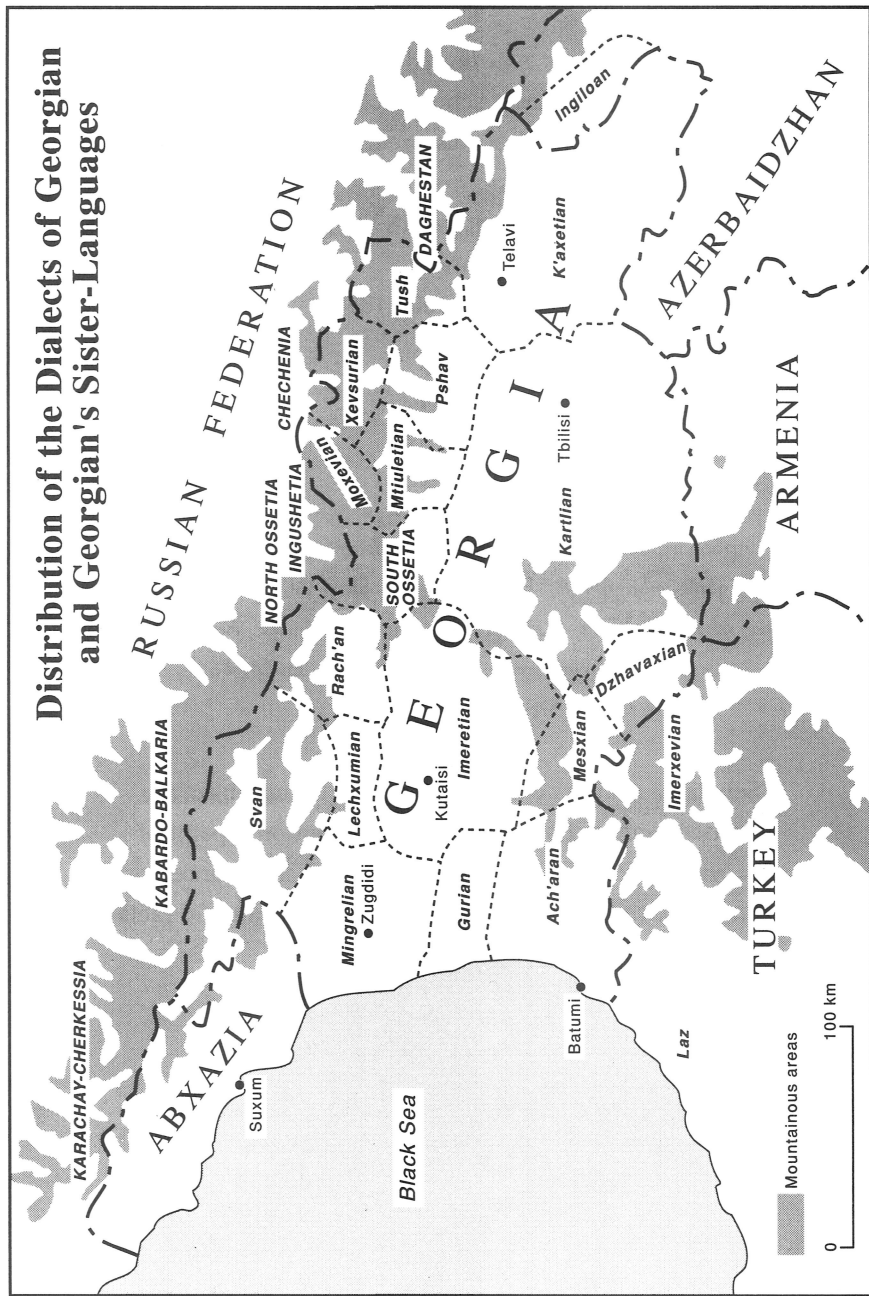
and

Hans Vogt (1903-1986)

მეცნიერული ანალიზი შეიძლება მხოლოდ და მხოლოდ
ფაქტების ობიექტურ, მიუღვამელ განხილვას ემყარებოდეს
და არა წინასწარ აკვიტებულ თვალსაზრისს, რომელსაც
უნდა შევუფარდოთ, შევუსაბამოთ ფაქტები
(ზურაბ სარჯველაძე)

'Scholarly analysis can be based only on an objective,
unbiased examination of the facts and not on a point of
view with which one has become obsessed in advance and
to which we then have to align and accommodate the facts'
(Zurab Sardzhveladze)

Distribution of the Dialects of Georgian and Georgian's Sister-Languages



CONTENTS

Map	vi
Preface	xiii
Acknowledgements	xiv
Abbreviations	xv
The Georgian Alphabet	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.0 Genealogy and Geography	1
1.1 The Languages of the Caucasus	3
1.2 The Georgian Scripts	4
1.3 The History of Georgian Philology	5
1.4 The Development of the Georgian Literary Language	8
1.5 Georgian Literature	8
1.6 Demography	9
1.7 The Language-issue	12
1.8 Scope of the Present Work	14
1.9 Principles of Citation	15
Chapter 2: Sound-system	19
2.1 Phonemes	19
2.1.1 <i>Consonants</i>	19
2.1.2 <i>Vowels</i>	20
2.2 Phonotactics	21
2.2.1 <i>Phonetic Realisation of the Consonants</i>	21
2.2.2 <i>Phonetic Realisation of the Vowels</i>	22
2.2.3 <i>Epenthesis</i>	22

2.2.4	<i>Reduction</i>	25
2.2.5	<i>Metathesis</i>	26
2.2.6	<i>Dissimilation</i>	27
2.2.7	<i>Assimilation</i>	27
2.3	Root-structure	28
2.4	Suprasegmentals	28
2.4.1	<i>Stress</i>	28
2.4.2	<i>Pitch</i>	29
2.5	Sound-symbolism	30
Chapter 3:	Non-verbal Morphology	33
3.0	Structure of the Chapter	33
3.1	Nouns	33
3.1.1	<i>Consonant-final Noun-stems</i>	33
3.1.2	<i>Vowel-final Vowel-stems</i>	37
3.1.3	<i>Examples of Old Georgian Oblique Plurals in Modern Georgian</i>	41
3.1.4	<i>Postposed Adnominal Genitives and Double Declension</i>	42
3.2	Adjectives	45
3.2.1	<i>Attributive Adjectives</i>	45
3.2.2	<i>Non-attributive Adjectives</i>	49
3.2.3	<i>Numeral Adjectives</i>	51
3.2.4	<i>Demonstrative Adjectives</i>	58
3.2.5	<i>Possessive Adjectives</i>	62
3.2.6	<i>Interrogative (Relative) Adjectives</i>	63
3.2.7	<i>Indefinite Adjectives</i>	63
3.2.8	<i>Negative Adjectives</i>	65
3.3	Adverbs	65
3.3.1	<i>Adverbs from Adjectives</i>	65
3.3.2	<i>Adverbs not Derived from Adjectives</i>	66
3.4	Postpositions	69
3.4.1	<i>Postpositions with the Nominative</i>	69
3.4.2	<i>Postpositions with the Genitive</i>	69
3.4.3	<i>Postpositions with the Dative</i>	74
3.4.4	<i>Postpositions with the Instrumental</i>	76
3.4.5	<i>Postpositions with the Adverbial</i>	76
3.5	Pronouns	76
3.5.1	<i>Personal Pronouns</i>	76
3.5.2	<i>Demonstrative Pronouns</i>	77
3.5.3	<i>Interrogative Pronouns</i>	80

3.5.4	<i>Negative Pronouns</i>	81
3.5.5	<i>Indefinite Pronouns</i>	81
3.5.6	<i>Relative Pronouns</i>	83
3.5.7	<i>Reflexive Pronouns</i>	84
3.5.8	<i>Emphatic Pronouns</i>	84
3.5.9	<i>Reciprocal Pronouns</i>	85
3.5.10	<i>Possessive Pronouns</i>	85
3.6	Particles	88
3.6.1	<i>Interrogative Particles</i>	88
3.6.2	<i>Conjoining Particles</i>	88
3.6.3	<i>Indefinite Particles</i>	89
3.6.4	<i>Speech Particles</i>	89
3.6.5	<i>Response Particles</i>	89
3.6.6	<i>Relative Particle</i>	89
3.6.7	<i>Emphatic Particles</i>	92
3.6.8	<i>Pleading Particles</i>	92
3.6.9	<i>Attention-grabbing Particle</i>	93
3.6.10	<i>Contrastive Particles</i>	93
3.6.11	<i>Evidential Particle</i>	93
3.6.12	<i>Habitual Particle</i>	93
3.6.13	<i>Approximative Particle</i>	93
3.6.14	<i>Verb-governing Particles</i>	94
3.7	Conjunctions	97
3.7.1	<i>Coördinating Conjunctions</i>	97
3.7.2	<i>Subordinating</i>	97
3.8	Interjections	99
3.8.1	<i>Pseudo-interjections</i>	100
3.9	Derivational Morphology	101
3.9.1	<i>Noun-derivation</i>	101
3.9.2	<i>Adjective-formation</i>	107
3.9.3	<i>Attested Compounds</i>	112
3.10	Acronyms and Semi-acronyms	114
3.10.1	<i>Abbreviations</i>	114
Chapter 4:	Verbal Morphology	117
4.0	Introduction	117
4.1	Pronominal Agreement-affixes	128
4.2	Thematic Suffixes	143
4.3	Preverbs	148
4.4	Version	170
4.4.1	<i>Neutral Version</i>	170

4.4.2	<i>Subjective Version</i>	170
4.4.3	<i>Objective Version</i>	177
4.4.4	<i>Locative Version</i>	184
4.4.5	<i>Indirect Object-marking without Version</i>	190
4.4.6	<i>Interplay of Versions and the Marking of Arguments</i>	192
4.4.7	<i>Indirect Object Versioniser</i>	204
4.5	Root	214
4.6	Causative	215
4.7	Screeve-formation	217
4.7.1	<i>Transitive Verb Class</i>	217
4.7.2	<i>Intransitive Verb Class</i>	276
4.7.3	<i>Medial Verb Class</i>	339
4.7.4	<i>Indirect Verb Class</i>	364
4.7.5	<i>Stative Verbs</i>	393
4.8	The Formation of Causatives	407
4.8.1	<i>An Old Causative Formant?</i>	416
4.8.2	<i>The Causative for Medial Verbs</i>	417
4.9	Non-finite Forms of the Verb	422
4.9.1	<i>Masdar</i>	423
4.9.2	<i>Active Participle</i>	430
4.9.3	<i>Future Participle</i>	432
4.9.4	<i>Privative Participle</i>	433
4.9.5	<i>Past Participle</i>	433
4.10	Irregular Verbs	446
4.10.1	<i>Version as Screeve-marker</i>	493
4.10.2	<i>Honorifics</i>	494
4.10.3	<i>Variable Actant Marking</i>	497
4.10.4	<i>Similarities across the sub-types of verb</i>	500
4.11	Grammatical Alternatives	501
4.11.1	<i>An Alternative Series III Formation for Transitive Verbs</i>	501
4.11.2	<i>A Series IV from Western Georgia</i>	502
Chapter 5:	Syntax	523
5.0	General Syntax	523
5.0.1	<i>Grammatical Resumé</i>	523
5.1	The Simple Clause	528
5.1.1	<i>Case-functions</i>	528
5.1.2	<i>The Adnominal Genitive</i>	535
5.1.3	<i>The Attributive Adjective</i>	536

5.1.4	<i>Adpositions</i>	541
5.1.5	<i>Masdars</i>	542
5.1.6	<i>Coördination</i>	546
5.1.7	<i>The Verb Phrase</i>	548
5.1.8	<i>Causatives</i>	557
5.1.9	<i>Complements</i>	561
5.1.10	<i>Reflexives</i>	563
5.1.11	<i>Reciprocals</i>	564
5.1.12	<i>'almost'</i>	565
5.1.13	<i>Questions</i>	565
5.1.14	<i>Negation</i>	569
5.1.15	<i>Commands</i>	571
5.1.16	<i>Wishes</i>	572
5.2	<i>Complex Sentences</i>	574
5.2.1	<i>Coördinate Clauses</i>	574
5.2.2	<i>Subordinate Clauses</i>	575
5.2.3	<i>Comparatives</i>	632
Chapter 6:	Texts	637
1.	N. Dumbadze <i>Sunny Night</i>	637
2.	D. K'ldiashvili <i>Along the Path of My Life</i>	642
3.	Ch'. Lomtadze <i>Confession</i>	646
4.	Ietim Gurdzhi <i>Why Have You Dressed in Black, Mother of Mine?</i>	649
5.	Vazha Pshavela <i>Song of an Old Man</i>	652
6.	N. Baratashvili <i>The Destiny of Kartli (Georgia)</i>	655
7.	I. Ch'avch'avadze <i>The Vaunting of Ignorance</i>	663
8.	A. Ts'ereteli <i>The Rearer: A True Story</i>	668
9.	Mark 10:17-22 & 25 in Modern Georgian	768
10.	Mark 10:17-22 & 25 in Old Georgian	681
Chapter 7:	Sample Vocabularies in Semantic Fields	685
7.1	Days of the Week	685
7.2	Months of the Year	685
7.3	Seasons of the Year	685
7.4	Kinship-terms	685
7.5	Body-parts	687
7.6	Mathematical Terms	693
7.7	Botanical Terms	694

References and Bibliography

697

Index

707

PREFACE

This work began with the aim, consistent with the general goal of the Benjamin-SOAS series of which it is a part, of presenting the essential structural characteristics of Georgian for the benefit of general linguists. As it progressed, however, it turned into something more than this. It had been my aim to write a reference grammar of Georgian after a further ten years or so of study, but the request from the Series' editors, Professor Thea Bynon and Professor Matt Shibatani, to contribute a description of Georgian happened to coincide with an unforeseen rift in my relations with Georgia which is unlikely to be repaired. And so, rather than continue to study this language, to which I was introduced seriously in 1975 when I travelled to Tbilisi as a Cambridge post-graduate student for a year of intensive learning on a British Council exchange, as, now of necessity for me, a virtual dead language, I decided that it was time to kill three birds with one stone. In marshalling here the sum total of the knowledge that I have acquired over the last twenty years I hope (a) to have satisfied the faith placed in my ability by Professors Bynon and Shibatani to write a grammar of use for the general linguist, (b) to have produced a worthwhile reference-grammar (the first in English) that it had always been my desire to compose, and (c) to end thereby the period when Georgian has represented the main focus of my study and research. If I succeed in easing even a few people's passage through the waiting mysteries, I shall conclude the last 20 years to have been well spent.

CORRIGENDUM

The Georgian for 'you (will) seat (plural) X' is *(da-)sx-am*, and not *(da-)a-sx-am*, as given throughout this work. The latter form does exist but in the meaning 'you (will) seat (plural) X on Y', which is to say that the pre-radical *a*-vowel functions fully as exponent of the Locative Version. The verb-form *(da-)a-sx-am* may, of course, also mean 'you (will) pour (liquid) X'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the two academic years (1975-76, 1979-80) I spent with The British Council in Tbilisi as well as in the course of other trips, such as my 3-month sabbatical there at the end of 1987 through the auspices of The British Academy, I came to know many Georgians, Mingrelians and Svans whom I regarded as dear friends and from whom I learned a great deal about Georgian and Georgia, whether or not they were conscious of their role as teachers! Under normal circumstances I would have been happy to list them all in the expectation that it might have gratified them to see their names in such a book. However, circumstances have changed, and, since I would not wish to embarrass anyone, I shall merely say that my gratitude remains undimmed and that any Kartvelian who is still interested in receiving thanks from me may consider themselves included in this anonymous list.

Dr. Riëks Smeets (Leiden University) was kind enough to read an early draft of chapter 5 and offer some helpful comments thereon. Thea Bynon's advice was, as anyone who knows her would naturally expect, especially valuable. Professor Donald Rayfield (Queen Mary Westfield, London University) cast his experienced eye over the whole manuscript and was a source of constant encouragement during the preparation of the work. Mrs. Joyce Hutchinson exhibited great patience in bringing the text into conformity with the requirements of the publishers, and SOAS was kind enough to support this publication by generously reimbursing her for so doing. Mrs. Catherine Lawrence of SOAS' Department of Geography enthusiastically made her skills available by drawing the map for this volume. And finally without the understanding of my long-suffering wife, Zaira, and daughters, Amra and Gunda, for my almost umbilical attachment to the computer-console while this book was gestating, its birth would have been considerably delayed. I thank all concerned and alone take the blame for any mistakes outstanding.

George Hewitt
22 March 1995

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABST	-	Abstract
ACT	-	Active
ADJ = Adj	-	Adjective
ADV	-	Adverbial
Adv	-	Adverb
AGR	-	Agreement
AI	-	Aorist Indicative
AOR = Aor	-	Aorist
AS	-	Aorist Subjunctive
BP	-	Bivalent Perfect
BPP	-	Bivalent Pluperfect
CAUS	-	Causative
CONDIT	-	Conditional
COP	-	Copula
DAT	-	Dative
DIM	-	Diminutive
DO	-	Direct Object
ERG	-	Ergative
F = FUT = Fut	-	Future
FI	-	Future Indicative
GEN	-	Genitive
HUM	-	Human
IMPER	-	Imperative
IMPERF	-	Imperfect
INCEP	-	Inceptive
INDEF	-	Indefinite
INDIC	-	Indicative
INST	-	Instrumental
INTRANS = Intrans	-	Intransitive
IO	-	Indirect Object
IOV	-	Indirect Object Version

LV	-	Locative Version
MASD	-	Masdar
MP	-	Monovalent Perfect
MPP	-	MonovalentPluperfect
NOM	-	Nominative
NV	-	Neutral Version
OV	-	Objective Version
PASS	-	Passive
PER	-	Person
PERF	-	Perfect
PL = Pl	-	Plural
PLUP	-	Pluperfect
POT	-	Potential
PREF	-	Prefix
PRES	-	Present
PREV	-	Preverb
PROH	-	Prohibitional
PTC	-	Participle
QU	-	Question
REL	-	Relative
SG = SING	-	Singular
SP.PART	-	Speech Particle
STAT	-	Stative
SUB	-	Subordinator
SUBJ	-	Subjunctive
SUFF	-	Suffix
SV	-	Subjective Version
TRANS = Trans	-	Transitive
TS	-	Thematic Suffix
UNM	-	Unmarked (case of Old Georgian)
VOC	-	Vocative

THE GEORGIAN ALPHABET

an	san
ban	t'ar
gan	un
don	par
en	kan
vin	gan
zen	q'ar
tan	šin
in	čin
k'an	can
las	jil
man	c'il
nar	č'ar
on	xan
p'ar	jan
žin	hae
rae	

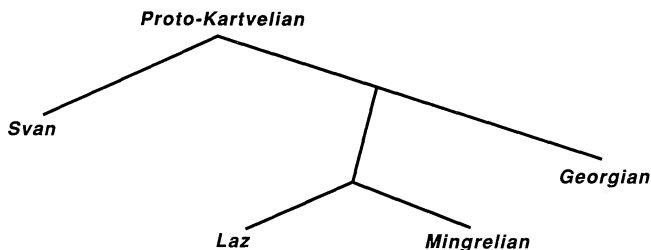
1 Introduction

1.0 Genealogy and Geography

Georgian belongs to the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, whose other three members are Svan, Laz and Mingrelian, the last two of which are sometimes treated, especially by linguists in Georgia, as dialects of the so-called Zan language. The schema (after Deeters 1930) in Table 1 shews the generally accepted path of historical divergences.

For discussions of the diachronic and inter-family relationships see Schmidt (1962; 1978), Ts'ereteli (1966), who examines the ideas of Gamq'relidze and Mač'avariani (1966), and Vogt (1967). Despite many attempts, no-one has yet succeeded in proving a genetic relationship between Kartvelian and any other language or language-family even within the area of the Caucasus, let alone further afield, for example the Georgian-Basque hypothesis, of which accessible critiques are available from Vogt (1955 or 1988) and Rayfield (1990). The four languages are together spoken over a relatively small, compact area, which in the main is centred on the Republic of Georgia, from 1921 to the break-up of the Soviet Union one of its three Transcaucasian republics. Exceptions to this are: (a) Laz, which, apart from a negligible number of speakers within Georgia, is confined to Lazistan, where an unknown, though perhaps sizeable number of speakers inhabit the coastal strip running roughly from Rize eastwards to the (Soviet/)Georgian frontier in modern-day Turkey; (b) Fereydanian, the Georgian dialect spoken in Iran by the descendants of those transported from East Georgia in the 17th century by Shah Abbas; (c) Imerxevian, the Georgian dialect spoken by ethnic Georgians in those provinces that have been part of Turkey since the 16th century; (d) Ingilooan, the Georgian dialect spoken in the Zakatala region of Azerbaydzhan; (e) Qizlar-Mozdokian, an obsolescent Georgian dialect spoken in the north-central Caucasus by descendants of those who sought safety there from East Georgia in the 18th century. Small émigré-communities of Georgians live in Germany, France and America, whilst a considerable number of Georgian Jews are to be found in Israel.

Table 1: Family-tree of the Kartvelian Languages



Within Georgia itself, as indicated on the accompanying map, Svan is spoken in the high mountain-valleys of the rivers Enguri and Cxenis-c'q'ali in the north-western region of Svaneti(a), east of Abxazia. Mingrelian is located in Mingrelia, the lowland area of West Georgia that is bounded by Abxazia, Svaneti(a), Imereti and Guria. As for Georgian, its many and diverse dialects are: Ač'aran, Gurian, Imeretian in the west, Lečxumian, Rač'an in the north-west, Mtiulur-Gudamaq'rulian, Moxevian in the north, Xevsurian, Pshavian and Tush in the north-east, K'ax(et)ian in the east, Mesxian, Dzhavaxian in the south(-west), and Kartlian in the centre. The literary dialect, which is described below, is based on the speech of the province of Kartli, in which the capital Tbilisi is situated.

It might be appropriate to observe at this point that, although the Georgians on the whole profess (Orthodox) Christianity, as a result of Turkish influence the natives of Ač'ara adopted Islam. The interplay of religion and ethnicity is also relevant with regard to the S.W. province of Mesxeti. On 15th November 1944 144,000 (according to the figure most regularly quoted) residents of the area and adherents of Islam were exiled to Soviet Central Asia, a fate that was suffered by a number of Soviet peoples around the time of World War II (Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and from the N. Caucasus Balkars, Karachays, Chechens and Ingush). Though acknowledged under Khrushchëv to have been guilty of no crimes (such as treason), these Mesx(et)ians have not yet secured permission to return to their homeland, principally because of opposition from the government of Georgia, and many had to be hurriedly evacuated from Uzbekistan following the inter-ethnic conflict that flared up in the Ferghana Valley in 1989. These people are usually referred to as «Mesx(et)ian Turks», and it has been suggested that they were removed from the border-area because of their pro-Turkish sympathies in advance

of a possible Soviet incursion into Turkey. The precise ethnic allegiance of the possibly 300,000 who wish to return to Georgia is a matter of dispute: are they turkified Georgians or ethnic Turks, descended from those who settled in an area regarded by Georgians as primæval Georgian land when it became the border between Georgia and Ottoman Turkey? The arguments put forward in support of Georgia's refusal to allow their resettlement are that: (a) the region has been repopulated, (b) there is no room elsewhere in Georgia either, (c) Christian Georgians have always been, and still are being, threatened by adherents of Islam¹, so that to accept the influx of so many muslims, especially along their border with Turkey, would be to invite trouble. The most that has been offered is resettlement *somewhere* within Georgia of those who (a) vow allegiance to Georgia, (b) know, or will learn, Georgian, (c) have, or will adopt, Georgian surnames, and (d) convert to Christianity.

1.1 The Languages of the Caucasus

The Caucasus has been famed since antiquity for the multiplicity of languages spoken there. In the 10th century the Arab al-Mas'udi named it «the mountain of tongues» (Catford 1977). A variety of language-families are represented there, such as Indo-European (Ossetic, Armenian, Russian) and Turkic (Azeri, Kumyx), but apart from these there are at least three, possibly four, autochthonous families. In addition to Kartvelian the others are: North West Caucasian (Abxaz-Abaza, Circassian, Ubyx), North Central Caucasian (Chechen, Ingush, Bats), North East Caucasian (Avar, Andi, Botlix, Ghodoberi, K'arat'a, Axvax, Bagval, T'indi, Č'amalal, Dido, Xvarsh, Hinux, Bezhti, Hunzib, Lak', Dargwa, Lezgi(an), Tabassaran, Arči, Aghul, Rutul, Ts'axur, Budux, Xinalugh, Udi, K'ryts'. North Central and North East Caucasian are treated by most as a single family. In fact, all the northern families may be genetically related. From the above-list Abxaz and Bats are spoken not in the geographical north Caucasus but within the republic of Georgia (cf. §1.6 below).

All these indigenous languages are characterised by the presence of an ejective series of consonants, and all apart from modern Mingrelian have normally been accepted as manifesting to a greater or lesser degree the phenomenon of ergativity, though this issue with respect to Georgian continues to foster much lively debate (see Hewitt 1983, 1987a, 1989 and 1995 for the details). If North West Caucasian as a family can be thought of as being marked by large consonantal inventories with correspondingly minimal vowel-systems and also by polysynthetic verb-forms with correspondingly simple morphology within the nominal system, elsewhere in

the north Caucasus one tends to find complex vowel-systems and rich morphology for the noun, balanced by relatively straightforward verbs. Kartvelian occupies a middle position by virtue of having (a) a reasonable proportion of consonants to vowels (even if, as shewn later, there is a surprising tolerance of consonant-complexes), and (b) a comparative complexity within both nominal and verbal morphology.

1.2 *The Georgian Scripts*

Georgian is unique amongst not only the Kartvelian languages but also the 38 or so autochthonous languages of the Caucasus as a whole in possessing an unbroken literary tradition of some 15 centuries; though some attempts were made in the 19th century to establish scripts for other indigenous languages in the region, those that today have literary status in the former USSR really only gained this in any meaningful sense following the establishment of Soviet power. Two legends are associated with the creation of the Georgian script—(a) that it was devised by King Parnavaz in the 4th/3rd centuries B.C., (b) that Armenian Bishop Mesrop Mashtots invented it c.400 A.D. along with the Armenian script and that of the «lost» Caucasian Albanians. Most, however, would concur that it was probably created some time in the 4th century (Ts'ereteli 1960), on the model of contemporary Greek (Gamq'relidze 1989), in order to facilitate the spread of Christianity, introduced in the 330s. The earliest inscription dates from c.430 at the Georgian church founded by Peter the Iberian in the Judæan desert near Bethlehem; within Georgia the oldest inscription hails from 494 at the Bolnisi Sion (60 kilometres to the south from Tbilisi).

During its history Georgian has had three scripts, all written from left to right and lacking the distinction between upper and lower cases: (a) from the 5th to the 9th century *mrg(v)lovani* 'rounded' (otherwise called *asomtavruli* 'majiscule') was used; (b) from this developed *k'utxovani* 'angular' (or *nusxuri* 'miniscule'), which, having made its first appearance in the testament appended to the Sinai Polycephalon of 864, continued to be used for most manuscripts written in the 10th/11th centuries—within such manuscripts the earlier script was employed in the function of capitals; (c) the modern *mxedruli* 'military, secular' script evolved from its predecessor in the 11th century. However, the Church continued to use the older scripts for sacred texts, such that the generic term *xucuri* 'ecclesiastical' came to be adopted jointly to distinguish them from their mutual descendant. The modern script has 33 characters and is fully phonemic; Old Georgian used 5 additional characters, which are bracketed in their *mxedruli*-forms in the table that follows:

Table 2: *The Three Scripts of Georgian*

<i>Mrg(v)lovani</i>	Ⴀ	Ⴁ	Ⴂ	Ⴃ	Ⴄ	Ⴅ	Ⴆ	Ⴇ	Ⴈ
<i>K'utxovani</i>	Ⴉ	Ⴊ	Ⴋ	Ⴌ	Ⴍ	Ⴎ	Ⴏ	Ⴐ	Ⴑ
<i>Mxedruli</i>	Ⴒ	Ⴓ	Ⴔ	Ⴕ	Ⴖ	Ⴗ	Ⴘ	(Ⴙ)	Ⴚ
<i>Transcription</i>	a	b	g	d	e	v	z	ey	t
<i>Mrg(v)lovani</i>	Ⴇ	Ⴈ	Ⴉ	Ⴊ	Ⴋ	Ⴌ	Ⴍ	Ⴎ	Ⴏ
<i>K'utxovani</i>	Ⴐ	Ⴑ	Ⴒ	Ⴓ	Ⴔ	Ⴕ	Ⴖ	Ⴗ	Ⴘ
<i>Mxedruli</i>	Ⴙ	Ⴚ	Ⴛ	Ⴜ	Ⴝ	(Ⴞ)	Ⴟ	Ⴠ	Ⴡ
<i>Transcription</i>	i	k'	l	m	n	y	o	p'	Ⴢ=[3]
<i>Mrg(v)lovani</i>	Ⴐ	Ⴑ	Ⴒ	Ⴓ	Ⴔ	Ⴕ	Ⴖ	Ⴗ	Ⴘ
<i>K'utxovani</i>	Ⴙ	Ⴠ	Ⴡ	Ⴢ	Ⴣ	Ⴤ	Ⴥ	჆	Ⴧ
<i>Mxedruli</i>	჈	჉	჊	(჋)	჌	Ⴭ	჎	჏	ბ
<i>Transcription</i>	r	s	t'	wi	u	p	k	g=[γ]	q'
<i>Mrg(v)lovani</i>	Ⴕ	Ⴖ	Ⴗ	Ⴘ	Ⴙ	Ⴚ	Ⴛ	Ⴜ	Ⴝ
<i>K'utxovani</i>	Ⴞ	Ⴟ	Ⴠ	Ⴡ	Ⴢ	Ⴣ	Ⴤ	Ⴥ	჆
<i>Mxedruli</i>	Ⴧ	჈	჉	჊	჋	჌	Ⴭ	(჎)	჏
<i>Transcription</i>	š=[ʃ]	č=[tʃ]	c=[ts]	j=[dz]	c'	č'	x	q	ა=[dʒ]
<i>Mrg(v)lovani</i>	Ⴇ	Ⴈ							
<i>K'utxovani</i>	Ⴉ	Ⴊ							
<i>Mxedruli</i>	Ⴋ	(Ⴌ)							
<i>Transcription</i>	h	o:							

Abuladze's palæographic album (1973) depicts the changing inscripational and hand-writing styles across the centuries.

1.3 The History of Georgian Philology

The earliest known work in Georgian to deal with philological issues in the language, namely *A Treatise on Articles*, was discovered by Mzekala Shanidze (1984) as part of the 11th-12th century manuscript No.6 from the collection of the Iveron Monastery on Mt. Athos, a work she tentatively attributes to the scholar Eprem Mtsire. Sulxan Saba Orbeliani (1658-1725) produced the first native dictionary in 1716, whilst the first grammar of the

language written in Georgian belongs to Zurab Shanshovani (1737), followed in 1753 and 1767 by versions of a more comprehensive description by Patriarch Ant'on I (1720-1788). A number of grammatical works appeared through the 19th and early 20th centuries, but it was essentially in the writings of 'The Father of Modern Georgian Philology', Ak'ak'i Shanidze (February 1887-March 1987), that Georgian grammar finally came of age. His monumental *Fundamentals of the Georgian Language*, most recently reprinted in 1980, will long remain the ultimate reference for all students of Georgian morphology once they have gained a reading-knowledge of the language. The Georgian Academy published the 8-volume *Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language* (KEGL, in abbreviation of its native title, viz. **kart+ul-i en-is gan+mart'+eb+it-i leksik'on-i**) between 1950 and 1964 under the general editorship of Arnold Čikobava, who contributed his own grammatical sketch in volume 1. Indeed, it has to be said that the preparation of this grammar was greatly facilitated by the invaluable information provided by this magnificent work, for apart from using the volumes to check the existence and morphology of many of the verb-forms quoted, I made lavish use of the illustrations included in the various articles consulted, many of which are quoted as presented, though in other cases I reduced the content for concentration on the feature in question. Working so intimately with these volumes over the months, I came to appreciate even more than I had before just how indispensable they are for any serious student of Georgian. I know that this dictionary has been the target of a good deal of criticism over the years, but I am happy to speak strongly in its defence here. It has the unparalleled advantage over any other dictionary of Georgian in its inclusion of so much illustrative material from attested usage. One of the great *desiderata* in Kartvelology is for a really good bilingual dictionary including illustrative material of just this kind, and the first step in any such project would surely be to render the Georgian definitions in KEGL into some appropriate second language (like English!) and then to publish the result in a single volume with a greatly reduced size of font on good quality thin paper, after the fashion of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. If such a project could be financed, at least two observations should be borne in mind: (i) the long quotes from the published works of Stalin that rather burden volumes 1-4 could usefully be pruned or replaced, and (ii) since citations are with 3rd person subject (and object(s)), it is not always possible to predict the form of a verbal root in some paradigms when the subject (or direct object) is 1st or 2nd person (e.g. given **ga-(Ø)-č'r-a** 'X cut Y/them', it is not possible to predict that 'I cut X/them' is **ga-v-(Ø)-č'er-i** with root expanded by **-e-**), so that this information should either be given as part of

the citation for relevant verbs, or appropriate examples should be included in the illustrative materials, which goal *KEGL* does not always achieve—see the suggestions along these lines I made in Hewitt (1991a). Without *KEGL* whatever value the present volume may have would have been considerably diminished. Useful articles will also be found in the ongoing series *Questions on the Culture of Georgian Speech*, whose 9th volume appeared in 1989. Numerous dialectal words are contained in the various volumes of *Materials on the History of Georgia's Domestic Industry and Craftsmanship* (in Georgian), which began publication in 1976.

Foreign investigation of Georgian began in the 17th century with the work of Italian missionaries—for the history of the study of Caucasian languages in general see (the Mingrelian) Arnold Chikobava (1965). In 1629 there were published in Rome the *Alphabetum Ibericum, sive Georgianum, cum Oratione Dominicali* and S. Paolini's *Georgian-Italian Dictionary*. In 1643 M. Maggio followed these with his *Georgian Grammar*. Facsimiles of these three bibliographical rarities were published in Tbilisi in 1983 under the title *First Printed Books in Georgian* (Xelovneba). F. Bopp, M. Brosset and H. Schuchardt dealt with aspects of Georgian in the 19th century, and in 1904 A. Dirr produced his short *Theoretisch-praktische Grammatik der modernen georgischen [grusinischen] Sprache* (Leipzig). More recent works that may be consulted with profit are: G. Deeters *Das kharthwelische Verbum* (Leipzig, 1930), K. Tschenkéli *Einführung in die georgische Sprache* (Zürich, 1958) in two volumes, as well as his *Georgisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* in three volumes (1965-1974), which is easily the most outstanding of any of the bilingual dictionaries currently available, H. Vogt *Grammaire de la langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1971), H. Aronson *Georgian—A Reading Grammar* (Chicago, 1982 & 1990)², H. Fähnrich *Kurze Grammatik der georgischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1986), whilst for Old Georgian there is this same scholar's 1982 German translation of A. Shanidze's short *Grammar of the Old Georgian Language* (both the original (1976) and the translation published in Tbilisi) as well as in his own right a grammatical sketch of 1991 and now the monograph *Grammatik der altgeorgischen Sprache* (Hamburg, 1994). My own *Georgian: A Learner's Grammar* (Routledge, 1995b) is now available as a self-tutor for English-speaking readers.

Standing at the intersection of Europe and Asia and occupying an important strategic position in the Transcaucasus, Georgia has been regarded as an attractive prize by more powerful peoples since time immemorial. Græco-Roman, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and, latterly, Russian influences have all left their traces on the language, especially in respect of the lexicon. The Academy Dictionary (*KEGL*) states the provenance of many foreign lexemes, and in 1964 M. Č'abashvili published a dictionary of

foreign words. The standard reference for Georgian-Iranian linguistic contacts is the 1966 monograph by Mzia Andronik'ashvili. For Armeno-Kartvelian contacts see Vogt (1938 & 1988).

1.4 The Development of the Georgian Literary Language

The natural dynamics of language-change have rendered Modern Georgian somewhat different from its earliest attested predecessor. Given the existence of 15 centuries of material, the urge to periodise is strong, and the standard divisions are: 5th-11th centuries for Old Georgian, 12th-18th centuries for Mediæval Georgian, 19th century for the start of Modern Georgian. However, Sardzhveladze (1984.253-275) counsels caution over too ready an acceptance of even the basic assumption that clearly defined breaks can be imposed on what is rather a continuum. He points out that the period commonly thought of as representing Old Georgian is not itself linguistically uniform, so that recognition of a certain set of changes would justify the establishment of at least the two sub-periods (a) 5th-8th and (b) 9th-11th centuries (*ibid.*269ff.). The problem thereafter is that the extant texts begin to cover other areas than the purely ecclesiastical, such that linguistic style is to a degree determined by subject-matter, with ancient norms prevailing but starting to be rivalled by features from the spoken language. The Church continued to regard the classical language as the only appropriate medium for worship and literature, with the result that, as time passed, the language was being written according to norms that were becoming ever more out of date and less understood. The move to rid the literary language of this artificiality and to re-invigorate it by aligning it with the type of Georgian people actually spoke was part of the general movement for Georgia's national revival in the latter half of the 19th century—for the most recent account of this period see Suny (1989.113-143; reprinted 1994). The most prominent supporter of modernisation was the writer and political activist, Prince Ilia Č'avč'avadze (1837-1907), who is now universally regarded as the 'Father of the modern Georgian nation' and who was canonised by the Georgian Church on the 150th anniversary of his birth.

1.5 Georgian Literature

The first native work of Georgian literature (i.e. other than translations) was Iak'ob Tsurt'aveli's *Martyrdom of St. Shushanik* (*šušanik'is c'ameba*), which, though written between the years 476 and 483, has come down to us in manuscripts that date from no earlier than the 10th century—a

monumental 7-language edition was published in Tbilisi in 1983 (Xelovneba). The oldest dated manuscript thus far discovered is the Sinai Polycephalon of 864. The oldest dated manuscript of any part of the Bible is that of the Adysh Gospels, named after the small Svanetian village in which it was discovered in the 19th century; its date is 897, and it was copied in the Shat'berd monastery, one of the most important cultural centres in Mediæval Georgia's south-western province of K'lardzheti (present-day E. Turkey). The most famous work of the mediæval period is, of course, Shota Rust(a)veli's great epic *The Man in the Panther's Skin* (in Georgian *vepxist'q'aosani*), composed c.1200 A.D. in Georgia's Golden Age under Queen Tamar (1184-1213). It consists of 1598 quatrains, end-rhyming for the final two or three syllables, the best English translation of which is undoubtedly that by Marjory Wardrop (1912 & 1966). Mention should also be made of the chronicles known as *kartlis cxovreba* '*History of Georgia*' (literally 'Life of Kartli'), an English translation of part of which is now available (Vivian 1991). The three most important literary figures of the late 19th, early 20th century were *Ilia Č'avč'avadze*, *Ak'ak'i Ts'ereteli* (1840-1915), and *Vazha Pshavela*, pseudonym of *Luk'a Razik'ashvili* (1861-1915), all perhaps best loved for their poetical works and affectionately known in Georgia by merely their Christian names. The finest prose-writer of this century is deemed by many to be the Mingrelian *K'onst'ant'ine Gamsaxurdia* (1891-1975), who, like Pasternak, spoke out against, and yet somehow survived, the purges of the 'thirties—others would perhaps award this accolade to *Mixeil Dzhavaxishvili*, who did not survive the purges. For a summary of Georgian history, both political and cultural, see *Salia* (1975), whilst *Rayfield* (1994) provides an encyclopædic reference-guide to Georgian literature.

1.6 Demography

According to the 1989 Soviet census there were 3,983,115 «Georgians» in the USSR, of whom 3,787,393 resided in Georgia, where they comprised 70.1% of the republic's population. However, this total is misleading. In the 1926 census 242,990 citizens declared Mingrelian nationality, and 13,218 Svan nationality. Sometime thereafter, probably around 1930, it seems to have been decided that these peoples were to be reclassified as «Georgians», with the result that these minor nationalities simply disappeared from subsequent censuses. Although in 1989 individuals again had the right to describe themselves as belonging to the nationality they, rather than officialdom, deemed appropriate, very few chose (for whatever reason) to deviate from the post-1926 orthodoxy. One consequence of this

is that there are no accurate figures for the Svan, Mingrelian and Laz populations of Georgia, though 40,000 plus is usually quoted for Svans, and up to one million for Mingrelians. More serious for the linguist is the absence of data on the strength of native-speaker knowledge of all four Kartvelian languages within Georgia. During the Soviet period all Svans as well as the vast majority of Mingrelians and Georgians (proper) have been educated through the medium of Georgian. The status of Georgian as the local literary *lingua franca* together with the facts that (a) Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz and Svan clearly derive from a common source, and (b) their speakers generally share a long Christian tradition within the Georgian Orthodox Church appears to be the main argument in defence of viewing these peoples as one «Georgian» race. The origin of this confused thinking is perhaps to be sought in the Georgian language itself. A Georgian calls himself **kart-v-el-i** (cf. **sa-kart-v-el-o** 'Georgia'), whereas anything non-human but Georgian is **kart-ul-i**. The Georgian expression for 'Kartvelian languages' is **kart-v-el-ur-i en-eb-i**. Regrettably, the language lacks the equivalent epithet for humans (***kart-v-el-el-i**), with the result that **kart-v-el-i** 'Georgian' remains the (as yet!) only available description. Since in English both 'Kartvelian' and 'Georgian' exist, there is no reason to overload the latter with an illogical ambiguity. Any attempt to argue for the non-Georgian status of Mingrelians and Svans regularly excites a ferocious response in Georgia (for details see Hewitt 1995a). Could this be the result of an exaggerated desire to present their nation as more numerous (and thus stronger) than it actually is? How else does one explain the fact that even the few thousand North Central Caucasian Bats (Ts'ova-Tush) people, who reside exclusively in the K'ax(et)ian village of Zemo Alvani and whose mother-tongue is in no way related to Georgian, are equally fiercely portrayed as «Georgians» (cf. Itonishvili 1990)? For a recent etymology of the ethnonym-root *kart-v-*, which derives it from the more familiar ethnonym 'Parthian', see Shanidze (1978).

Though united as a great feudal power from the time of David IV (nicknamed 'The Builder', 1089-1125) through the «Golden Age» under Queen Tamar (1184-1213) to the appearance of the Mongols in the second quarter of the 13th century, the concept of Georgia as a single socio-political unit did not really exist again until the birth of the revivalist-movement in the latter half of the 19th century, alluded to above. Thus, despite its long and distinguished literary tradition, one could argue that Georgia is quite a young nation. Despite frequent inter-regional feuding in the past the one thing that the Georgians have always had in common is their language, and a plausible case could be made for saying that their

pride in, and loyalty towards, their language have contributed greatly in helping to ensure the survival of the nation in the face of all the perils thrown up by history. At the same time, though, such devotion can be taken to extremes. The belief is widespread that the language suffered repression from Russia in favour of Russian throughout the Soviet period (1921-1991), whereas, in contradistinction to the treatment meted out to Georgian through much of the period of Tsarist rule in the 19th century, more objective observers would surely conclude that Georgian was given the opportunity actually to flourish during those 70 Soviet years when it benefited from enjoying the constitutional status as the state-language of one of the USSR's constituent republics (Hewitt 1985, 1989a), with universal publishing of both newspapers and books, radio- and television-broadcasting, and the possibility of completing the educational process from kindergarten through university in the mother-tongue. When in 1978 the first draft for the Brezhnevite constitution made no specific mention of Georgian being the main republican language, demonstrations forced the then 1st Secretary, Eduard Shevardnadze, to remedy the omission, as one may see by consulting Article 75. However, not everyone in Georgia speaks Georgian, even as a 2nd (or 3rd) language. Consider the 1989 census-data:

Table 3: 1989 Population of the Georgian SSR³

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
«Georgians»	3,787,393	70.1
Armenians	437,211	8.1
Russians	341,172	6.3
Azerbaijdzhanis	307,556	5.7
Ossetes	164,055	3.0
Greeks	100,324	1.8
Abxazians	95,853	1.8
Ukrainians	52,443	1.0
Kurds	33,331	0.6
Georgian Jews	14,314	0.3
Jews ⁴	10,312	0.2
Belorussians	8,595	0.2
Assyrians	6,206	0.1
Tatars	4,099	0.1
Others	37,977	0.7

Knowledge of Georgian cannot be automatically assumed among the

Azerbaydzhani population, living compactly in Kvemo Kartli, or amongst those Armenians not resident in the capital. In the Abxazian Autonomous Republic, where the 1989 population-figures for the six largest ethnic groupings were:

Table 4: 1989 Population of the Abxazian ASSR

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Abxazians	93,267	17.8
«Georgians»	239,872	45.7
Armenians	76,541	14.6
Russians	74,913	14.2
Greeks	14,664	2.8
Ukrainians	11,655	2.2

the main means of communication is Russian, followed by Mingrelian, since the vast majority of the 239,872 Kartvelians resident here at the time were in fact Mingrelians. In those areas where Mingrelians were found (predominantly in the southern half of the autonomous republic) the non-Kartvelian locals have traditionally had 2nd or 3rd language command of it. Since Georgian was little heard here, only those who attended Georgian-language schools (viz. the Kartvelians) could naturally be expected to have had a good knowledge of it. In the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast' (Region) Georgians were in a clear minority, as shown by the 1989 census-data:

Table 5: 1989 Population of the South Ossetian AO

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Ossetes	65,232	66.2
Georgians	28,544	29.0
Russians	2,128	2.1
Armenians	984	1.0

1.7 The Language-issue

Just as the position of the Georgian language played an important role in the 19th century revivalist movement, so it soon surfaced again at the time of nationalist stirrings in the wake of the weakening of authoritarian controls from Moscow in the late 1980s. The first draft of 'The State Programme for the Georgian Language', published in November 1988,

contained three crucial clauses proposing:

(I3) The creation in all institutions and enterprises of favourable conditions for citizens of non-Georgian nationality living in the republic to master the Georgian language;

(II10) The working out of proposals concerning the possibility of introducing in the republic's non-Georgian (Russian, Armenian, Azerbaydzhani, Abxazian and Ossetic) schools Georgian-language teaching according to obligatory rule;

(III16) The introduction of theoretical and practical courses in the Georgian language at Georgia's higher educational establishments in the faculties of Russian language and literature, Abxazian language and literature, Ossetic language and literature, Armenian language and literature, and Azeri language and literature.

In the final draft, ratified by the Georgian government in August 1989, these three clauses were altered to read as follows:

(I6) The creation in all institutions and enterprises (with financial and teaching-methodological safeguards) of favourable conditions for citizens living within the republic who have no knowledge of the Georgian language to master the Georgian language;

(III13) The working out of concrete proposals concerning the introduction of the obligatory teaching of the Georgian language in the republic's non-Georgian schools;

(III14) The introduction of an oral test in Georgian language and literature prior to entrance-exams for prospective students of non-Georgian sectors at the higher educational establishments of the Georgian SSR;

(III15) The introduction of courses in the practical stylistics of the Georgian language and the history of Georgian language and literature in the non-Georgian sectors of the philology faculty at the higher educational establishments of the Georgian SSR.

The director of the Linguistics Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences at the time said as an apparent after-thought at the end of a television-discussion to celebrate The Programme's promulgation that the

non-Kartvelian population should in no way feel threatened by these proposals, which, he claimed, were only designed to facilitate their learning of Georgian. It is clear, however, that, whether an individual non-Kartvelian felt he needed it or not for his daily life and work, he was going to be forced to learn Georgian at the school of his choice and would have to achieve a certain proficiency in it if he wished to receive higher education in what has always been a multi-ethnic republic. If these requirements are considered in conjunction with populist suggestions at the time that knowledge of Georgian should be one of the pre-requisites for obtaining citizenship in an independent Georgia, one will perhaps judge the post-1988 apprehensions among many of the non-Kartvelians (especially Abxazians⁵, Ossetes, Armenians and Azerbaydzhanis) in Georgia to be fully justified. Hitherto Georgian language had been merely an optional subject in the republic's Russian, Armenian, Azerbaydzhani, Ossetic and Abxazian schools (for details see Hewitt 1989a).

If the proposition advanced above is correct, namely that the troubles that began in 1989 sprang at least in part from the nationalists' forced promotion of Georgian through The State Programme, then one could conclude that a wiser step would have been to draw up a detailed statement as to how *all* of the languages of this small, cosmopolitan land would be safeguarded in a sovereign Georgia. In this way respect for language could have become a source of unity rather than a factor in the discord which led to the ferocious war in South Ossetia under the Gamsaxurdia regime and the even bloodier conflict in Abxazia (August 1992-September 1993), as a result of which both these provinces are today (1995) *de facto* independent of a disintegrating Georgia. As it is, the continuing welfare of Georgian can hardly be doubted, though the same cannot be said for its sister-languages Svan, Mingrelian and Laz, whose only mention in The State Programme is in connection with their meriting the same rights of study as Georgian's dialects proper. However, at the time of writing it is not the continued viability of these languages that is at issue but the very viability of the Republic of Georgia itself!

1.8 Scope of the present work

Though the general linguist will, I trust, find in the following pages whatever he may desire to know about the workings of the Georgian language, as it now stands this book represents my attempt to consign to paper in the form of a fully-fledged reference grammar all the knowledge of (as well as, I hope, the odd insight into) this challenging language that I have acquired over the last twenty years of close study. Because of the

structure of the language it is no accident that the largest chapter below is that devoted to the morphology of the verb. However, I have endeavoured to give the fullest possible information also about the language's syntax, since this is an area that is often cursorily treated, especially by native linguists in the Caucasus. The chapter on syntax begins with a recapitulation of the essentials of the overall properties of the language discussed in chapters 3 and 4, so that those primarily interested in questions of syntax might be able to derive some benefit from the syntactic descriptions presented in chapter 5 without necessarily having to master all of the complex morphology that precedes them.

With the publication of my course-book for Georgian in twenty lessons for Routledge (1995b) and the imminent appearance of my *Georgian Reader* (SOAS), I now draw this chapter in my linguistic endeavours to a close, leaving it to others to work on this language in the certainty that its future is fully secure; henceforth I shall concentrate on at least two of the languages in the Caucasus about whose future the same happy prediction can sadly not be made, namely Abxaz and Mingrelian—the irony is, one could argue, that it is in the very success of Georgian that the threat to these languages and cultures lies.

1.9 Principles of Citation

All words are divided into constituent morphemes. Morpheme-boundaries are indicated either by the hyphen or a plus-sign, the latter (+) being used either when the identity of each morpheme is not important to the particular phenomenon being explained (and thus they are not individually glossed in those instances where morpheme-analyses are provided) or when it is suspected that a morpheme-boundary is present but the precise analysis might be unclear. For example, we could gloss each component of the Past Participle 'baked' thus:

ga-mo-m-cxv-ar-i

Preverb-Preverb-Past.Participle.Prefix-bake-Past.Participle.Suffix-

Agreement.Marker

but it would normally be important only to know that this word is a verbal adjective meaning 'baked', and it would therefore usually be presented simply as:

ga+mo+m+cxv+ar-i

baked-AGR

'baked'

To illustrate the second case let us take the verbal noun (Masdar) of the copula, **q'+op+n-a**, where the Masdar-formant is the final **-a**.

Comparing this non-finite form with the finite **v-i-q'av-i** 'I was' vs **i-q'+o** <= earlier **i-q'v-a** 'X was', we see that the root is **-q'((a)v)-** (with **v** - marking 1st person subject, **(-i)-** an old passive marker⁶, **-i** an Indicative exponent for the Aorist tense, and **-a/+o** the indicator of a 3rd person singular subject). Readers will see that I have glossed the old passive marker with such (Series II) forms of the copula as the Subjective Version vowel, even though, rather arbitrarily, I have glossed what in origin was the same **i**-vowel in the Future Sub-Series forms of the copula, which derive from an old passive of another root meaning 'do, make' (namely **-k(m)n-**), as the Passive marker. What then in the Masdar are the components **-op-** and **-n-**? An equals-sign (=) is used either where the script would itself employ a hyphen or to indicate reduplication. A question-mark applied to a whole word raises doubts as the acceptability/existence of that word; when applied to an agreement-affix within a verb, it questions either the presence of that (zero-)affix or uncertainty as to the implied referent.

The provenance of some examples is stated, but mostly no such source is quoted. A large number of citations are taken from the illustrative material in *KEGL*; most of the rest have been noted by me over the years from my general reading of, and/or listening to, Georgian; occasionally simple sentences were made up by myself.

Readers cannot fail to notice the imbalance in the length of the chapters, with Chapter 4 on verbal morphology representing more than all the other chapters put together. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the chief difficulty (and, to the linguist, greatest attraction) of Georgian resides in the wonderful complexity of the verbal system. I have endeavoured to give too much rather than too little information on the various conjugational patterns (to such an extent that I suspect some may accuse me of unnecessary spoon-feeding). However, as the verb is the essence of this language, I felt it was important that readers new to the language should be able to turn up immediately any particular 'screeve' (= tense-, mood- or aspect-paradigm) and see how any individual sub-class of verb conjugates therein. I have also tried to give as much guidance as I could to help readers see and understand the many highways and byways traversed by individual verb-roots.

Notes

¹ The Azerbaydzhani population of Georgia was demanding the creation of an autonomous republic within Georgia at a time when Georgian nationalists, in government from the elections on 28th October and 11th November 1990 until the flight in January 1992 of Gamsaxurdia following the bloody coup that ultimately returned the former Party Boss, E.

Shevardnadze, to power in March of that year, were arguing for the abolition of such administrative units within the republic. There was also a widespread alarm that the high birthrate amongst Georgia's Islamic peoples could soon lead to a serious demographic problem within the republic, though the census-data given below hardly supported such fears of imminent disaster.

2 For my review see Hewitt (1983c).

3 I add the figures to the nearest thousand from 1979 for the sake of comparison: «Georgians» 3,433,000 (68.8%), Armenians 448,000 (9%), Russians 372,000 (7.4%), Azerbaydzhanis 256,000 (5.1%), Ossetes 160,000 (3.2%), Greeks 95,000 (1.9%), Abxazians 85,000 (1.7%), Ukrainians 45,000 (0.9%), Jews 28,000 (0.6%), Kurds 26,000 0.5%, Others 45,000 (0.9%).

4 'Georgian Jews' are those who have been long resident in the republic, cleave to Georgian culture and speak Georgian, whereas 'Jews' are those not so characterisable.

5 For a full discussion of the Georgian-Abxaz dispute see Hewitt (1993).

6 In origin the Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive of the copula derive from the passive of the root -q^h((a)v)- 'do, make'.

2 Sound-system

2.1 Phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants [tan+xm+ovn-eb-i]

There are 28 consonantal phonemes, with the opposition 'voiced vs voiceless aspirate vs voiceless ejective' present for all series of stops and affricates other than the dorso-uvular, may be set out as follows:

	<i>Stop</i>	<i>Affricate</i>	<i>Fricative</i>	<i>Sonant</i>
BILABIAL	<i>b p p'</i>			<i>m</i>
LABIO-DENTAL			<i>v</i>	
APICO-DENTAL	<i>d t t'</i>			<i>n</i>
APICO-ALVEOLAR		<i>j c c'</i>	<i>z s</i>	<i>l r</i>
LAMINO-PALATAL		<i>ʃ č č'</i>	<i>ʒ š</i>	
DORSO-VELAR	<i>g k k'</i>			
DORSO-VELAR/UVULAR			<i>ǰ x</i>	
DORSO-UVULAR	<i>q'</i>			
LARYNGAL			<i>h</i>	

2.1.1.1 Consonant-complexes

Whilst the basic inventory of consonantal phonemes may be unexceptional, Georgian is distinguished by its tolerance of consonant-complexes. Readers may like to refer to Hans Vogt (1958, reprinted 1988, or 1961 in Georgian translation) for a detailed analysis. Vogt catalogues a grand total of 740 initial complexes (ignoring, of course, sequences containing a morpheme-boundary). With all its 28 simplex consonants also all able to stand word-initially, Georgian thus has 768 possible ways of beginning a word consonantly. Of the complexes 233 are two-term, 334 three-term, 148 four-term, 21 five-term and 4 six-term.

Examples:

lt'ol-v-il-i 'refugee', **mq'aq'e** 'stagnant', **q'da** '(book-)cover';
grdeml-i 'anvil', **txmela** 'alder', **mxc+ovan-i/mcx+ovan-i** 'grey-haired, venerable' (cf. **(m)xce** 'grey hair'), **t'q'laš+ani-i** 'sound of clapping, slapping', **jrc'-ol-a** 'shaking', **tkven** 'you (Pl.)', **brbo** 'crowd', **t'k'b+il-i** 'sweet', **črčil-i** '(clothes') moth', **dvrit'a** 'rennet', **mc'q'er-i** 'quail', **p'c'k'ared-i** 'interlinear translation';
prtxil-i 'careful', **sxlt'-eb-a** 'it springs', **mgvrie** 'turbid', **brjgu** 'thick', **grgn-a** 'gnawing', **črčn-a** 'pecking, plucking out', **žgvlem-a** 'kneading roughly', **č'q'vlep'-a** 'kneading roughly with the hand', **čxnde** 'weir, dam', **čxndo** 'bundle';
c'vrtn-a 'training', **brč'q'vial-i** 'glitter', **bdgvrial-i/brdgvial-i** 'shining bright', **bdgvn-a/p't'k'vn-a** 'plucking';
brdgvn-a 'plucking', **prckvn-a** 'peeling', **prčxvn-a** (dialectal for **pšvn-a**) 'crumbling to pieces'.

For word-final position Vogt found 244 complexes (148 two-term, 82 three-term, 14 four-term).

Complexes, both initial and final, can often be lengthened by addition of other consonantal morphemes (e.g. **gv-prckvn-i** 'you peel us', **ančxl-s** 'hot-tempered one (Dative)').

Kartvelologists regularly set apart a special sub-set of complexes known as 'harmonic complexes'. Gamq'relidze (1966:77) defined these as 'consonant sequences in which a nonvelar voiced, voiceless (aspirated), or glottalized stop or affricate is followed by a homogeneous velar [sc. or uvular—BGH] consonant', such complexes having the characteristic that in the root-structure they are 'functionally identical with a simple consonant'. Harmonic complexes are, thus, of the type seen in : **pxa** 'fish-bone', **dge** 'day', **txov+n-a** 'request', **jg-om-a** 'stuffing oneself full', **t'q'e** 'forest', **uc'q'-i** 'you know', **cxim-i** 'fat', **bgera** 'sound', **č'q'let'-a** 'squashing', **pkv+il-i** 'flour', **dg-a-s** 'X is standing', **tkv-a** 'X said', **mt'k'avel-i** 'span', **c'k'n-d-eb-a** '(liquid) clears', **jger-a** 'beating (of heart)', **cker-a** 'looking', **jijgn-a** = **c'ic'k'n-a** 'ripping apart', **č'eč'k'-av** 'you chop into small pieces', **čečk-av** = **tetk-av** 'you soften by beating'. Mač'avariani (1965:81-96), from whom the previous illustrations were taken, also classifies as 'harmonic' those complexes with an initial alveolar fricative, such as: **zğva** 'sea', **sixxl-i** 'blood', **sk'a** 'hive'. He even includes those in which the second element is a dental-alveolar, such as: Old Georgian **stuel-i** (= Modern **rtvel-i**) 'vintage', **e-sc'r-eb-i** 'you attend X', **st'v+en-a** 'whistling'.

2.1.2 Vowels [xm+ovn-eb-i]

The five vowels are:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

2.2 Phonotactics

2.2.1 Phonetic realisation of the consonants

There is perhaps a slight tendency somewhat to devoice word-final voiced obstruents, but this is hardly a pronounced or widespread phenomenon. However, in a very few cases it has evidently led to some words which were originally Adverbials in final [-d] being pronounced *and written* today with final -t (e.g. **eg+r+e-t** [\leftarrow ?*eg+r+e-d] **c'od+eb+ul-i** 'so called', **u+neb+l+i+e-t** [\leftarrow *u+neb+l+i+e-d] 'unwillingly').

The uvular plosive is regularly accompanied by strong friction to produce the articulation [qʰ].

The labio-dental fricative when standing between consonant and vowel or between consonant and consonant (i.e. in the environments C-V & C-C) is often pronounced as the bilabial semi-vowel [w] (e.g. **k'ver-i** [k'veri] 'bread-roll', **jvl+ian-i** [jwliani] 'bone'). Before voiceless consonants it may be pronounced as a voiceless labio-dental or even bilabial fricative (viz. [f]/[ɸ]) (e.g. **bavšv-s** [bafšws]/[baɸšws] 'baby (Dative)', **v-tamaš-ob** [ftamašob] 'I play', **v-pikr-ob** [ɸpikrob]/[fpikrob] 'I think'). Pre-vocally word-initially or post-vocally word-finally Robins and Waterson (1952) report as a possible variant the voiced bilabial fricative [β] (e.g. **vi+gac** [βigac] 'someone', **mudm+iv** [mudmiβ] 'always'). Before /u/ and /o/ in verbs the labio-dental fricative regularly disappears, so that the past participle of verbs in -ev is in -e-ul- (e.g. **da-ngr-e-ul-i** [\leftarrow *da-ngr-ev-ul-i] 'destroyed')—**pex-i m-t'k'iv-a** 'my foot hurts' vs **pex-i m-t'k'i-od-a** 'my foot was hurting'; **ga-sa-g-eb-i da-g-k'arg-v-i-a** 'you've evidently lost the key' vs **ga-sa-g-eb-i da-g-k'arg-od-a** 'you had lost the key'. But when the fricative marks a 1st person subject by no means all speakers drop it when it is followed by /u/ (e.g. **v-u-txar-i** [vutxari] 'I told X/them'), though for those speakers who do drop it in these circumstances the distinction between the relevant verb with 1st and 2nd person subject is neutralised (viz. [utxari], which for such speakers may be the realisation of /v-u-txar-i/ 'I told X/them' or /u-txar-i/ 'you told X/them').

The two back-fricatives have both a fronted dorso-velar and a backed dorso-uvular articulation depending on the phonetic environment in which

they occur—hence their presentation separately from both the dorso-velar and the dorso-uvular series of stops. Robins and Waterson treat them as velars, whereas most commentators today place them alongside /q'/.

The 2nd person pronominal prefix **g-** when standing immediately before a velar or uvular is likely to be realised as a back fricative, either voiced or voiceless (e.g. **g-xed-av** [gʁedav]/[x:edav] 'I see you', **g-gl-i-s** [g:lis] 'X tires you', **g-q'av-s** [ʁq'avʁs]/[xq'avʁs] 'you have animate X/them')—cf. **mag-xel-a** [magxela] 'of that amount/size'.

The alveolar nasal has the velar/uvular allophones [ŋ]/[N] when followed by a velar/uvular plosive, as long as no morpheme-boundary intervenes (e.g. **gingl-i** [giŋgli] 'down', **zinq'-i** [ziNq'i] 'top of the hip' (dialectal) vs **gan-q'en+eb+it-i** [ganq'enebiti] 'abstract-').

The rhotic is more rolled than in standard English and may be devoiced when next to a voiceless consonant.

2.2.2 *Phonetic realisation of vowels*

The five vowels are short, though there is secondary lengthening under the influence of the rise-fall pitch that marks a yes-no question (see 2.4.2). Sequences of vowels are pronounced as such, so that there are always as many syllables per word as there are vowels (e.g. **ga-a-advil-eb** 'you will facilitate X/them' is the five-syllable [gaaadvileb]).

Sonants in consonant-complexes have no syllable-forming capacity.

2.2.3 *Epenthesis*

2.2.3.1 *-v*

Adjectives ending in **-a** and **-o** add **-v-** when they become the root of a verb (e.g. **brma** 'blind' ⇒ **a-brma-v-eb** 'you blind X/them' and **brma-v-d-eb-i** 'you become blind'; **parto** 'wide' ⇒ **a-parto-v-eb** 'you widen X/them' and **parto-v-d-eb-a** 'X widens'). However, if the adjective ends in **-u**, the addition of the fricative is essential only in the intransitive formation (e.g. **q'ru** 'deaf' ⇒ **q'ru-v-d-eb-i** 'you become deaf' BUT **a-q'ru-eb** 'you deafen X/them'—N.B. the optional presence of the fricative in the masdar [= verbal noun] **q'ru-(v-)eb-a**).

Some roots accompanied by the Thematic Suffix **-ob** end in a **-v** which naturally disappears before the o-vowel in this suffix (or, of course, in any other suffix that may take the place of this ending elsewhere in the conjugational paradigm). When not followed by an o-vowel, the fricative reappears (e.g. **a-cx-ob** 'you bake X/them' ⇒ **ga-mo-a-cxv-e** 'you baked X/them'). For some verbs this fricative is optional (e.g. **i-t'q-ob** 'you

notice/find out X/them' => **še-i-t'q'(v)-e** 'you noticed/found out X/them'). In some verbs the restored fricative slots inside the root itself (e.g. **a-tr-ob** 'you get X/them drunk' => **da-a-tvr-e** 'you got X/them drunk'); this is not limited to roots that end in a sonant (e.g. **a-c'rt-ob** 'you temper (metal)' => **a-c'vrt-e** 'you tempered X/them').

2.2.3.2 -a

Roots with Thematic Suffix **-av** which have no vowel in the Present and which end in one of the sonants **-l/n/r** expand the root in the Aorist Indicative when the subject is 1st or 2nd person (and also in the active Pluperfect when the direct object is 1st or 2nd person) (e.g. **k'l-av** 'you kill X' => **mo-v-k'al-i(-t)** 'I (we) killed X/them', **mo-k'al-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) killed X/them', **mo-k'l-a//mo-k'l-es** 'X killed Y/them//they killed X/them', **mo-v-e-k'al-i(-t)** 'X/they had killed me (us)', **mo-e-k'al-i(-t)** 'X/they had killed you (you Pl.)', **mo-gv-e-k'l-a** 'we had killed X/them'; **xn-av** 'you plough X/them' => **mo-v-xan-i** 'I ploughed X/them' etc...; **tval-s v-k'r-av** 'I catch sight of X/them' => **tval-i mo-v-k'ar-i** 'I caught sight of X/them', etc...).

The same expansion takes place in the Aorist of the suppletive root of the copula (viz. **v-i-q'av-i(-t)** 'I was (we were)', **i-q'av-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) were', **i-q'o** <= *i-q'v-a 'X was'/i-q'v-nen 'they were'). With this may be compared the homonymous root 'divide' (viz. **q'op** 'you divide X/them' => **ga-v-q'av-i(-t)** 'I (we) divided X/them', **ga-q'av-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) divided X/them', **ga-q'o//ga-q'v-es** 'X divided Y/them//they divided X/them').

A few roots with Thematic Suffix **-eb** or **-ob** behave in the same way (e.g. **a-sc'r-eb** 'you do X/them in time' => **mo-v-a-sc'ar-i(-t)** 'I (we) did X/them in time', **mo-a-sc'ar-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) did X/them in time', **mo-a-sc'r-o//mo-a-sc'r-es** 'X did Y/them in time//they did X/them in time'; **a-cn-ob** 'you introduce X/them to Y/them' => **ga-v-a-can-i(-t)** 'I (we) introduced X/them to Y/them', **ga-a-can-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) introduced X/them to Y/them', **ga-a-cn-o//ga-a-cvn¹-es** 'X introduced Y/them to Z/them//they introduced X/them to Y/them').

Some roots with Thematic Suffix **-i** and with no vowel in the Present expand the root in Series II (viz. Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive) as well in the active Pluperfect and IIIrd Subjunctive from Series III by adding **-a-** throughout (e.g. **šl-i** 'you erase X/them' => **c'a-v-šal-e(-t)** 'I (we) erased X/them', **c'a-šal-e(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) erased X/them', **c'a-šal-a//c'a-šal-es** 'X erased Y/them//they erased X/them', **unda c'a-v-šal-o** 'I must erase X/them' etc..., **c'a-e-šal-a-t** 'they had erased X/them' etc..., **ar m-a-xs+ov-s ra(i)-me c'a-m-e-šal-o-s** 'I don't recall erasing

[IIIrd Subjunctive] anything' etc...). This phenomenon is not restricted to roots that end in a sonant (e.g. **sj-i** 'you punish X/them' => **da-v-saj-e** 'I punished X/them' etc...).

2.2.3.3 -e

Some roots with Thematic Suffix **-ob**, **-eb**, or **-i** that end in a sonant and have no vowel in the Present expand the root in the Aorist Indicative when the subject is 1st or 2nd person or in the active Pluperfect when the direct object is 1st or 2nd person (e.g. **a-q'rdn-ob** 'you lean X/them against Y/them' => **mi-v-a-q'rden-i(-t)** 'I (we) leaned X/them against Y/them', **mi-a-q'rden-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) leaned X/them against Y/them', **mi-a-q'rdn-o//mi-a-q'rdn-es** 'X leaned Y/them against Z/them//they leaned X/them against Y/them', **mi-g-e-q'rden-i** 'you had propped me up (against X)' etc...; **a-k'l-eb** 'you reduce X/them for Y/them' => **da-v-a-k'el-i(-t)** 'I (we) reduced X/them for Y/them', **da-a-k'el-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) reduced X/them for Y/them', **da-a-k'l-o//da-a-k'l-es** 'X reduced Y/them for Z/them//they reduced X/them for Y/them', etc...; **č'r-i** 'you cut X/them' => **ga-v-č'er-i(-t)** 'I (we) cut X/them', **ga-č'er-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) cut X/them', **ga-č'r-a//ga-č'r-es** 'X cut Y/them//they cut X/them', etc...).

Some roots with Thematic Suffix **-ev** and no vowel in the Present expand the root in the *intransitive* Aorist Indicative by inserting **-e-** when the subject is 1st or 2nd person (e.g. **a-kc-ev** 'you knock X/them down' => **i-kc-ev-i** 'you fall down' => **c'a-v-i-kec-i(-t)** 'I (we) fell down', **c'a-i-kec-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) fell down', **c'a-i-kc-a/c'a-i-kc-nen** 'X/they fell down').

Some roots that are characterised by the so-called 'markerless passive' formation and have no vowel in the Present similarly expand the root in the *intransitive/passive* Aorist Indicative by inserting **-e-** when the subject is 1st or 2nd person (e.g. **tvr-eb-i** 'you get drunk' => **da-v-tver-i(-t)** 'I (we) got drunk', **da-tver-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) got drunk', **da-tvr-a/da-tvr-nen** 'X/they got drunk'; **h-q'v-eb-i** 'you follow X/them' => **mi-v-q'ev-i(-t)** 'I (we) followed X/them', **mi-h-q'ev-i(-t)** 'you (you Pl.) followed X/them', **mi-h-q'v-a//mi-h-q'v-nen** 'X followed Y//they followed X/them'; **jg-eb-i** 'you eat to satiety' => **ga-v-jex-i(-t)** [sic] 'I (we) ate to satiety', **ga-jex-i(-t)** [sic] 'you (you Pl.) ate to satiety', **ga-jg-a/ga-jg-nen** 'X/they ate to satiety').

2.2.4 Reduction

2.2.4.1 -v

Already in 2.2.1 we have seen that this fricative is lost in some verb-forms before an immediately following **-o** or **-u**. That we are here dealing with morpho-phonemic rather than thorough-going phonological rules is demonstrated by the presence of such non-verbs as: **sxiv-osan-i** 'spreading rays' and **sxiv-ur-i energia** 'ray-energy/electro-magnetic energy'. Indeed, the epenthetic rules outlined above are an integral part of the formation of certain types of verbs and will be recapitulated as such in the relevant sub-sections of Chapter 4.

Another instance of the loss of **-v** concerns those roots which end in this fricative and are accompanied by the Thematic Suffix **-am**. In certain forms, such as the masdar, this suffix reduces to **-m**, and this bilabial nasal causes the now immediately preceding labio-dental fricative to delete (e.g. **sv-am** 'you drink' => **s-m-a** <= *sv-m-a 'drinking'). For roots ending in **-v** but accompanied by the Thematic Suffix **-av**, in those forms where this suffix reduces to **-v** the expected double v-complex is reduced by loss of one of the fricatives (e.g. **jarcv-av** 'you rob X/them' => **jarcv-a** 'robbing' <= *jarcv-v-a).

2.2.4.2 Radical vowels

Section 3.1.1 contains a description of the phenomenon whereby predominantly either an **-a** or an **-e** in the root of certain nouns syncopates in the Genitive, Instrumental and Adverbial cases of the singular and in all case-forms throughout the plural. Some other examples are offered now of this syncope as it affects (as it less commonly does) some vowel-final nouns:

Case	Singular	Singular	Singular
NOMINATIVE	<i>p'ep'ela</i>	<i>panjara</i>	<i>kveq'ana</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>p'ep'ela-v</i>	<i>panjara-v</i>	<i>kveq'ana-v</i>
DATIVE	<i>p'ep'ela-s(a)</i>	<i>panjara-s(a)</i>	<i>kveq'ana-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>p'ep'ela-m</i>	<i>panjara-m</i>	<i>kveq'ana-m</i>
GENITIVE	<i>p'ep'l-is(a)</i>	<i>panjr-is(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>p'ep'l-it(a)</i>	<i>panjr-it(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>p'ep'l-ad(a)</i>	<i>panjr-ad(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-ad(a)</i>

Case	Plural	Plural	Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>p'ep'l-eb-i</i>	<i>panjr-eb-i</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>p'ep'l-eb-o</i>	<i>panjr-eb-o</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>p'ep'l-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>panjr-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>p'ep'l-eb-ma</i>	<i>panjr-eb-ma</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>p'ep'l-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>panjr-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>p'ep'l-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>panjr-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>kveq'n-eb-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>p'ep'l-eb-ad(a)</i> 'butterfly'	<i>panjr-eb-ad(a)</i> 'window'	<i>kveq'n-eb-ad(a)</i> 'country/world'

As also explained in 3.1.1 the radical o-vowel in polysyllabic roots is also affected by syncope; if it follows a labial consonant or if the preceding syllable contains **-o-**, it disappears altogether in the relevant case-forms, otherwise it reduces to **-v-** (e.g. **sap'on-i** (**sap'n-is**) 'soap (of soap)', **nigoz-i** (**nigvz-is**) 'walnut (of walnut)'). Looking at the syncopating forms of **sa+pu+ar-i** 'yeast' (e.g. Genitive **sa+puv+r-is(a)**), it appears that the radical **-a-** has altered to **-v-**; in fact, the original Nominative singular must have been ***sa+puv+ar-i**, from which the fricative has been lost (as from the other non-syncopating case-forms), to be retained in the syncopating case-forms.

2.2.4.3 Gemination

Geminate consonants are usually pronounced as such (e.g. **da-m-mal-a** [dam:ala] 'X hid me', **pas-s** [pas:] **a-d-eb-en** 'they put a price on X/them', **m-mart-v-el-i** [m:artveli] 'governor', **v-c'ev-v-a+r** [f'c'ev:ar] 'I am lying (prostrate)', **v-varjiš-ob** [v:arjišob] 'I exercise'). However, there are instances where the grammatically expected doubling is neither pronounced nor written (e.g. **g-a-xl-a-v-a+r** < ***g-a-xl-av-v-a+r**, which is the very polite way of saying 'I am', for which the regular copular form is simply **v-a+r**; cf. **g-a-xl-av-s** 'X is'; **c'a-val** < ***c'a-v-val** 'I shall go', a pattern repeated elsewhere in the paradigm of the verb of motion). Contrast, however, **v-u-nax-av-v-a+r** [(v)unaxav:ar] 'X has/they have seen me'.

2.2.5 Metathesis

The Thematic Suffix **-av** reduces to **-v** in the masdar. If this fricative comes into contact with one of the sonants **-l**, **-n**, **-r** and the relevant root lacks a vowel, then the fricative and sonant swap places (e.g. **k'l-av** 'you kill X/them' => **k'vl-a** < Old Georgian **k'l-v-a** 'killing'; **xn-av** 'you plough X/them' => **xvn-a** < Old Georgian **xn-v-a** 'ploughing'; **jr-av** 'you

set X/them in motion' => **jvr-a** <= Old Georgian **jr-v-a** 'setting in motion'). The numeral '8' is **rva**. However, '18' is **t+vra+met'-i** <= Old Georgian **at-rva-met'-i** '10-8-more-NOM'.

2.2.6 Dissimilation

Consider the two verbal roots **-rkv-** (e.g. **šota da-g-a-rkv-i-t** 'we named you «Shota»') and **-rtv-** (e.g. **pul-i ga-mo-g-a-rtv-i** 'I took the money off you'). The Thematic Suffix with which they are associated is **-ev**, and when this suffix is present, as in the Future Indicative, the radical **-v** dissimilates to **-m** (e.g. **šota-s da-g-a-rkm-ev-t** 'we shall name you «Shota», **pul-s ga-mo-g-a-rtm-ev** 'I shall take the money off you'). This again cannot be described as a purely phonological rule for we have such forms as **si-garib-e-s mi-g-a-čv-ev** 'I shall make you accustomed to poverty'.

Any derivational suffix (including the past participial formant) containing **-r** will dissimilate this to **-l** if the root to which it is added contains a **-r** (e.g. **k'vd-eb-i** 'you die' => **mo-m-k'vd-ar-i** 'having died' vs **i-xrč-ob-i** 'you suffocate/drown' => **da-m-xrčv-al-i** 'having suffocated/drowned'; **inglis-ur-i** 'English (thing)' vs **prang-ul-i** 'French (thing)').

2.2.7 Assimilation

Some examples of assimilation were mentioned above under discussion of the realisation of the consonants.

If **h-** is taken as the basic marker of 3rd person indirect objecthood among the agreement-affixes for verbs, it assimilates to **s-** when immediately followed by any of **-c, -c', -j, -č, -č', -j, -t, -t', -d**. The basic **h-** is retained before **-k, -k', -g, -q', -p'**. Before other consonants and any vowel the allophone is **∅-**. Up until (let us say) the IInd World War the allophones **s-, h-** were possible between 1st person subject-marker **v-** and the root-initial consonant (e.g. **mi-v-s-c'er** 'I shall write to X/them', **v-h-q'v-eb-i** 'I follow X/them'), but today this is no longer necessarily true, so that the above examples would be regularly rendered respectively as: **mi-v-c'er, v-q'v-eb-i**. N.B. the Past Participle **da-m-p'-al-i** 'rotten' <= ***da-m-lp'-ar-i** (cf. **da-lp'-eb-a** 'X will rot'), where the suffixal rhotic seems to have assimilated to the radical liquid in compensation for the loss of this liquid between the two labials.

2.3 Root-structure

Typical roots consist of a single consonant or consonant-cluster (e.g. **-k-** in **k-eb-a** 'praise/praising', **-k'vd-** in **k'vd-om-a** 'dying' or **si-k'vd-il-i** 'death'), consonant(-cluster) plus vowel (e.g. **ru** 'stream', **gru** 'hole'), vowel plus consonant(-cluster) (e.g. **av-i** 'evil, bad, poorly', **ert-i** 'I'), consonant(-cluster) plus vowel plus consonant(-cluster) (e.g. **mal-av** 'you hide X/them', **q'lap'-av** 'you swallow X/them', **k'arg-av** 'you lose X/them', **xvanj-av = xlart-av** 'you entangle/entwine X/them'). Polysyllabic roots also occur (e.g. **k'at'a** 'cat', **iol-i** 'easy', **a-k'varaxč'in-eb** 'you cunningly manage X/them'), reduplication often (though not exclusively) occurring with words depicting sounds (e.g. **xar=xar-i** 'belly-laughter', **xit=xit-i** 'giggle', **but'=but'-eb** 'you mumble', **lug=lug-eb** 'you slur your speech')—reduplications often alter the second component slightly (e.g. **abda=ubda** 'nonsense', **ogro=čogro** 'bumpy', **gac'a=mac'ia-ši v-a+r** 'I am run off my feet (= in a state of having much to do at once)'). Other than in derived forms, it is very rare for a verbal root either to begin or end in a vowel; a handful of verbs with Thematic Suffix **-eb** do, however, end in **-i** (e.g. **mo-i-x(+)-eni-eb** 'you will mention X/them', **mo-i-ger(i)-eb** 'you will ward off X/them', **mo-i-šveli-eb** 'you will use X/them as an aid', **mo-i-nani-eb** 'you will repent X/them'²).

2.4 Suprasegmentals

2.4.1 Stress

Stress is weak and, possibly for this reason, its placement has proved somewhat difficult to specify. Writing in 1904 Adolf Dirr gave the following description: 'Der Akzent ist im Georgischen ein Längenakzent; die Stimme steigt nicht wie im Deutschen oder Russischen... Die Betonung fällt: 1. in zwei- und dreisilbigen Wörtern auf die erste Silbe; 2. in mehrsilbigen auf die drittletzte. Diese Regeln bleiben auch dann gültig, wenn das Wort durch Deklination oder Konjugation verlängert wird. Zusammengesetzte Wörter haben den Hauptton auf dem ersten Element, das zweite bekommt einen Nebenton. Uebrigens wird der Akzent schwächer markiert als im Deutschen und die gewöhnliche Konversationsprache geht oft über die Akzentregeln hinweg' (pp.3-4). Tschenkéli (1958.LX) says: 'a. In Wörtern mit zwei oder drei Silben wird die erste Silbe betont...; b. Für Wörter mit mehr als drei Silben ist es kaum möglich, feste Regeln aufzustellen. Es lässt sich nur im allgemeinen sagen, dass in vier- und mehrsilbigen Wörtern gewöhnlich die erste Silbe betont wird, nie dagegen die letzte. Die

drittletzte Silbe bekommt oft den Nebenton...; c. Besonders in zusammengesetzten Wörtern trägt der erste Teil den Ton. Wenn gelegentlich auch der zweite Teil betont wird, so geschieht dies sekundär. Der Hauptton liegt, besonders wenn es sich um Präfixe handelt, immer auf dem ersten Teil, d.h. auf dem Präfix'.

Even in tri-syllabic surnames ending in **-je** 'son' (older 'heir') stress falls on the penultimate syllable (e.g. **ševardnāje**), just as it tends to fall on the same penultimate for surnames ending in the other common formant—**šv+il-i** 'child' (e.g. **kartvelišvili**), though for tri-syllabics in general it is true that the ante-penultimate syllable takes the stress. For words of more than three syllables, we can say that the stress will predominantly fall on the ante-penultimate (e.g. **me-or-m-oc-da-t-čkvs-met'-e** '56th'), though in some cases preference will be for the first syllable to carry it (e.g. **mčgobar-i** 'friend').

Since the stressed syllable is so relatively weakly distinguished from other syllables in the word, there is nothing like the vowel-weakening in unstressed syllables that is so characteristic of languages like Russian, though perhaps the origin of syncope is to be sought in an older stage of the language where stress might have been more prominent.

2.4.2 Pitch

Questions containing a question-word place a high-fall on the verb's stressed syllable, e.g.

a+s+e	adre	ra+t'om	mì-(Ø³-)di-x-a+r	kalak-ši?
so	early	why	PREV-(you-)go-you-be(PRES)	town-to
'Why are you going to town so early?'				
e+s	vin	ga-(Ø-)-à-k'et-a?		
this(NOM)	who(ERG)	PREV-(it-)NV-do-X(AOR)		
'Who did this?'				

If the answer is not heard and the essential components of the question are repeated, the question-word has a high-fall, whilst the final syllable of the accompanying verb carries a rise (**ràt'om mì-(Ø-)di-x-á+r?** 'Why are you going (sc. did you say)?', **vin ga-(Ø-)a-k'et-á?** 'Who did it (sc. did you say)?'). If an interruption is made using an interrogative only, then that interrogative carries high-falling pitch (A: **london-ši mì-v-di-v-a+r**. B: **sàd(a)?** 'A: I am going to London. B: Where?'). Yes-no questions take a rise-fall on the final syllable of the verb, which will regularly be the final word of the sentence—the presence of this pitch causes a concomitant

lengthening of the vowel on which it falls (e.g. **mi-(Ø-)di-x-a+r?** = [midixáàr] 'Are you going?'). Tag-questions are characterised by a high-falling pitch on the verb's stressed syllable (e.g. **xom mî-(Ø-)di-x-a+r?** 'You are going, aren't you?', **xom ar mî-(Ø-)di-x-a+r?** 'You aren't going, are you?'). Alternative questions have high-falling pitch on the negative element in the second part of the question (e.g. **mi-(Ø-)di-x-a+r tu àra?** = **mi-(Ø-)di-x-a+r tu àr mî-(Ø-)di-x-a+r?** 'Are you going or not (going)?').

2.5 Sound-symbolism

Holisky (1981.122-125) and at greater length Holisky and Kaxadze (1986.184-207) draw attention to some verb-sets indicating the production of types of sound where a particular nuance is introduced either by retaining the place of articulation of a consonant(-cluster) whilst altering the manner of articulation or by alteration to the vowels within the root.

Examples:

i. The set depicts loud, irritating crying of children, ugly and open-mouthed:

jgav-i-s indicates the loudest, lowest (not piercing) sound-production
vs

čxav-i-s which stands between the former and the following, being piercing and coarser than the following vs

č'q'av-i-s which is highest, piercing and sharp

ii. The two depict quiet, indistinct grumbling in an irritated, unhappy tone of voice, usually implying discontent:

burdgun-eb-s is the lower, more prolonged, continuous sound vs

burt'q'un-eb-s which is higher with less talking, perhaps more sudden, as when blurting something out

iii. The two depict sobbing, usually of children or very young teenagers:

zlukun-eb-s is the lower, louder, stronger, more involved vs

sluk'un-eb-s which is higher and softer

For the effect stemming from a change of vowel we take:

i. The set depicts irritated, angry complaining or scolding:

jujgun-eb-s suggests the lowest, softest sound-production vs

jijgin-eb-s which is higher and louder vs

Ja]gan-eb-s which is the loudest of the set with the subject angriest

- ii. The two depict innocent, sweet, soft talking, with pleasant connotations:
t'ut'un-eb-s is the lower representation, used both of children and adults vs
t'it'in-eb-s has the suggestion of higher pitch, used only of children

All these examples come from Holisky and Kaxadze (1986.188), and on the same page they exemplify a similar phenomenon resulting from alteration of the place of articulation of (in this case) one consonant, the manner of articulation being kept constant, viz.

- i. The two verbs depict indistinct muttering, involving bumpy, jerky talking, with unpleasant connotations:
bluq'un-eb-s conveys a lower pitch of sound vs
bluk'un-eb-s which suggests a higher pitch

Compare this parallel for a consonant-complex from Holisky (1981.123-124):

- ii. **dgrial-eb-s** make noise, thunder vs
tkrial-eb-s rattle, rush, make noise of horses' hooves vs
t'k'rial-eb-s laugh (of someone full of emotion, like a young girl)

Notes

- 1 This would appear to be one of those roots with Thematic Suffix **-ob** which ends in **-v**. Such roots are normally weak in the Aorist Indicative, which is to say that the indicative vowel **-e** is used when the subject is 1st or 2nd person, and the radical fricative re-appears before this ending. The present root is anomalous in being strong (i.e. having the indicative vowel **-i**) and expanding the root for the first two persons, such that the fricative does not appear. However, it reappears with the 3rd person plural in the Aorist Indicative and is present in the verb's Perfect form.
- 2 Are these verbs back-formations with Thematic Suffix **-eb** from the Aorist in **-i(v)** of the relevant roots plus the Thematic Suffix **-ev**? If so, the **i**-vowel will not originally have been part of the root. In the case of **a-p'at'i-eb** 'you forgive X/them Y/them' the full nominal form of the root is seen in **p'at'iv-i** 'honour, respect', from which the **-v-** is lost between the vowels in the denominative verb.
- 3 Such zero-morphemes were not indicated in any verb-form quoted earlier in this chapter.

3 Non-verbal Morphology

3.0 Structure of the chapter

The non-verbal parts of speech will be described in the following order: Nouns, Adjectives (including numerals), Adverbs, Postpositions, Pronouns, Particles, Conjunctions, Interjections, Derivational Morphology, and Acronyms.

3.1 Nouns (a+r+s+eb+it-i saxel-eb-i)

Essentially only one declensional pattern, distinguishing seven cases, exists for all nouns in Georgian, but there are slight variations depending on whether the noun-stem ends in a consonant or a vowel—for the use of the cases see 5.1.1. And so, this natural division is followed in the following presentation. As regards the plural-formation, the normal strategy is to employ the pluralising suffix **-eb-**, to which the same case-endings are then attached as are found in the singular. However, the usual formation for the plural in Old Georgian was different: distinct markers existed for the Nominative and Vocative cases, whilst representation of the remaining (oblique) cases was subsumed under a single portmanteau morph. This older pattern is still found in higher, archaising styles as well as in some set-expressions today, and it was indeed quite common in literature until well into the 20th century. Naturally, both formations are signalled below.

3.1.1 Consonant-final noun-stems

The declension of a typical consonant-final noun **k'ac-i** 'man' is set out, followed by necessary comments.

The thorough-going agglutination of the modern declensional pattern was matched only in the Nominative and Vocative of Old Georgian, where, however, the plural morpheme had a different morphic exponent; in the oblique cases Old Georgian employed only the synthetic **-t(a)**, which is but rarely attested, if at all, in the Instrumental and Adverbial cases.

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Old Plural</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>k'ac-i</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-i</i>	<i>k'ac-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>k'ac-o</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-o</i>	<i>k'ac-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>k'ac-s(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>k'ac-ma</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-ma</i>	<i>k'ac-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>k'ac-is(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>k'ac-it(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(k'ac-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>k'ac-ad(a)</i>	<i>k'ac-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(k'ac-t(a))</i>

As regards the actual shape of the modern case-markers, little needs to be said other than that four of them clearly exist in two forms, possessing both short and long variants. In essence the long form is a positionally determined variant of the short form, required, for example, in sequences before monosyllables such as **da** 'and', e.g.

k'ac-sa da kal-s

man-DAT and woman-DAT

'to the man and the woman'

tbilis-isa da kutais-is si+lamaz+e

Tbilisi-GEN and Kutaisi-GEN beauty(NOM)

'the beauty of Tbilisi and Kutaisi'

čibux-ita da p'ap'iros-it

pipe-INST and cigarette-INST

'with/by pipe and cigarette'

briq'v-ada da maimun-ad

idiot-ADV and monkey-ADV

'as an idiot and monkey'

If, for stylistic reasons, an adnominal Genitive is placed after its head-noun, as was the normal order in Old Georgian, the long form is again employed (e.g. **kutais-is si+lamaz+e** vs **si+lamaz+e kutais-isa** 'the beauty of Kutaisi')—cf. 5.1.2.

According to the pattern set out above the case-desinences are merely added to the stem, and this pattern is followed by all consonant-stem nouns with two exceptions: (i) the Vocative of proper-names is simply the bare stem itself (e.g. **zurabl** 'Zurabl', **elizedl** 'Elizabeth!'); (ii) some nouns (including some vowel-stems—see 2.2.4.2) undergo vowel-syncope within the root. Syncope primarily applies to the vowels **-a-** and **-e-** in the Genitive, Instrumental and Adverbial cases of the singular plus all the cases in the modern plural. The examples are of **gutani** 'plough' and **celi** 'year':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>gutan-i</i>	<i>gutn-eb-i</i>	<i>gutan-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>gutan-o</i>	<i>gutn-eb-o</i>	<i>gutan-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>gutan-s(a)</i>	<i>gutn-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>gutan-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>gutan-ma</i>	<i>gutn-eb-ma</i>	<i>gutan-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>gutn-is(a)</i>	<i>gutn-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>gutan-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>gutn-it(a)</i>	<i>gutn-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(gutan-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>gutn-ad(a)</i>	<i>gutn-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(gutan-t(a))</i>

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>c'el-i</i>	<i>c'l-eb-i</i>	<i>c'el-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>c'el-o</i>	<i>c'l-eb-o</i>	<i>c'el-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>c'el-s(a)</i>	<i>c'l-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>c'el-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>c'el-ma</i>	<i>c'l-eb-ma</i>	<i>c'el-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>c'l-is(a)</i>	<i>c'l-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>c'el-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>c'l-it(a)</i>	<i>c'l-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(c'el-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>c'l-ad(a)</i>	<i>c'l-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(c'el-t(a))</i>

Whilst one can state certain tendencies regarding the likelihood of syncope operating, hard and fast rules are elusive—for example, **tval-i** 'eye' does not syncopate (= Genitive **tval-is(a)**), whereas for the meaning 'precious stone' it does syncopate (= Genitive **tv1-is(a)**). One can do no better than quote Vogt (1971:21ff.), who gives the following observations (abbreviated here): 'The phonemic structure of the stem does not permit one to see whether the stem is stable or syncopating. The stem of **kal-i** 'woman' is stable, that of **bal-i** 'cherry' syncopating. Some stable stems become syncopating as second term of a compound. The stem of **kal-i** remains stable (e.g. **sepe+kal-i** 'princess', Genitive **sepe+kal-is(a)**), but the stem of **k'ar-i** 'door', which is stable (Genitive **k'ar-is(a)**), undergoes vocalic alterations in compounds (e.g. **c+is+k'ar-i** 'dawn', Genitive **c+is+k'r-is(a)**)... In certain instances one may suppose that the absence of syncope is due to phonemic [phonotactic?—BGH] factors... **m-k'vd-ar-i** 'dead person' has the Genitive **m-k'vd-r-is(a)**, but... **m-tvr-al-i** 'drunk person' has the Genitive **m-tvr-al-is(a)**. The form ***m-tvr-l-is(a)** would be tolerable only with difficulty in the system...

'Alternance **a/∅**. In monosyllabic stems vocalic syncope is exceptional if the beginning of the stem is a simple consonant... Monosyllables which in **anlaut** have a consonantal group are in general syncopated, unless factors of phonemic structure are against it... We thus have... **mt'k'var-i**

(Tbilisi's river) *Kura* [Genitive **mt'k'vr-is(a)**]... As exceptions one can mention... **k'val-i** 'track, trace' [Genitive **k'val-is(a)**], **svan-i** 'Svan person' [Genitive **svan-is(a)**]... In polysyllabic stems (Georgian or of foreign origin, especially Arabo-Persian), even in recent borrowings from Indo-European languages, syncope is the rule if the final consonant of the stem is a sonant. With final **-an** we have for example **ak'van-i** 'cradle' (Genitive **ak'vn-is(a)**), **bat'k'an-i** 'lamb' (Genitive **bat'k'n-is(a)**)... With final **-am** for example **at'am-i** 'peach' (Genitive **at'm-is(a)**)..., **katam-i** 'chicken' [Genitive **katm-is(a)**]. With final **-al** for example **dedal-i** 'female (of animal)' (Genitive **dedl-is(a)**)... With final **-ar** for example **bazar-i** 'market' (Genitive **bazr-is(a)**)... With final **-av** for example **k'arav-i** 'tent' (Genitive **k'arv-is(a)**)... In participle[-derived] stems in **-av** the stem is generally stable (e.g. **sa-nax-av-i** 'something to be seen', Genitive **sa-nax-av-is(a)**, **u-nax-av-i** 'something unseen', Genitive **u-nax-av-is(a)**). Stems whose final consonant is other than a sonant are generally stable, but syncope is probably the rule in **araq'-i** 'vodka' [Genitive **arq'-is(a)**], **nabad-i** 'shepherd's felt-cloak' [Genitive **nabd-is(a)**]...

'Alternance **e/∅**. The conditions of syncope are in the main the same as in the preceding instances. Monosyllabic words with consonant-initial do not syncopate... with the exception of **c'el-i** 'year', Genitive **c'l-is(a)**. Words with initial consonantal group may have syncope (e.g. **mgel-i** 'wolf', Genitive **mgl-is(a)**, equally... **mgvdel-i** 'priest' [Genitive **mgvdl-is(a)**]..., **c'ven-i** 'juice' [Genitive **c'vn-is(a)**]), but without syncope [are] **gvel-i** 'snake' [Genitive **gvel-is(a)**], **mc'er-i** 'insect' [Genitive **mc'er-is(a)**], **sxven-i** 'attic' [Genitive **sxven-is(a)**]... The words **ber-i** 'monk' and **per-i** 'colour' are with stable stem according to rule, but syncope is the rule in the derivative **beber-i** 'old woman' [Genitive **bebr-is(a)**]... and in the numerous compounds like... **q'vela+per-i** 'everything' [Genitive **q'vela+pr-is(a)**].

'In polysyllabic stems with sonant final syncope is the rule with restrictions of a phonemic order signalled (e.g... **ševarden-i** 'falcon' [Genitive **ševardn-is(a)**], **mzitev-i** 'dowry' [Genitive **mzitiv-is(a)**]. The numerous participial derivatives in **m(a)-el-i**, **sa-el-i**, and **u-el-i** in general have syncope, but syncope does not take place if the suffix is preceded by the sonant **-v-** (final of the present stem). Family-names with **-el-i** in general are syncopated (e.g.. **c'eretel-i** [Genitive **c'eretl-is(a)**]), but for nouns designating origin there is much fluctuation. One has **imer-el-i** 'Imeretian (person)', Genitive **imer-l-is(a)**, beside **k'ax-el-i** 'Kaxetian (person)', Genitive **k'ax-el-is(a)**, **kart+v-el-i** 'Georgian (person)', Genitive **kart+v-el-is(a)**. Nouns introduced more recently are in general

without syncope (e.g... **inglis-el-i** 'English (person)', Genitive **inglis-el-is(a)**). With final consonant other than a sonant syncope is met only in the words **beč'ed-i** 'ring' [Genitive **beč'd-is(a)**], **somex-i** 'Armenian (person)' [Genitive **somx-is(a)**].

In addition there are the straightforward irregularities like **ambav-i** 'news, report', which has Genitive **amb-is(a)** (cf. Nominative plural **amb-eb-i**), and **gmert-i** 'god', which has Genitive **gvt-is(a)**, although the regular **gmert-is(a)** is also found.

The vowel *-o-* in polysyllabic stems is also susceptible to syncope, though this vowel does not disappear altogether, unless it follows a labial consonant or the preceding syllable contains the vowel *-o-*, but rather reduces to *-v-*. The first illustration is of the noun **mac'on-i** 'yoghurt':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>mac'on-i</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-i</i>	<i>mac'on-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>mac'on-o</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-o</i>	<i>mac'on-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>mac'on-s(a)</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>mac'on-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>mac'on-ma</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-ma</i>	<i>mac'on-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>mac'vn-is(a)</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>mac'on-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>mac'vn-it(a)</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(mac'on-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>mac'vn-ad(a)</i>	<i>mac'vn-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(mac'on-t(a))</i>

Full loss of *-o-* is seen in **godor-i** 'basket':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>godor-i</i>	<i>godr-eb-i</i>	<i>godor-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>godor-o</i>	<i>godr-eb-o</i>	<i>godor-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>godor-s(a)</i>	<i>godr-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>godor-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>godor-ma</i>	<i>godr-eb-ma</i>	<i>godor-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>godr-is(a)</i>	<i>godr-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>godor-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>godr-it(a)</i>	<i>godr-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(godor-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>godr-ad(a)</i>	<i>godr-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(godor-t(a))</i>

The vowels *-i-* and *-u-* are never subject to syncope.

3.1.2 Vowel-final noun-stems

3.1.2.1 *a*-stems

The illustration has the noun **zgva** 'sea':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>zǵva</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-i</i>	<i>zǵva-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>zǵva-o, zǵva-v</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-o</i>	<i>zǵva-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>zǵva-s(a)</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>zǵva-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>zǵva-m(a)</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-ma</i>	<i>zǵva-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>zǵv-is(a)</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>zǵva-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>zǵv-it(a)</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(zǵva-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>zǵv-ad(a)</i>	<i>zǵv-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(zǵva-t(a))</i>

The stem's final **a**-vowel drops in those same instances where syncope occurs with some consonant-final stems (viz. throughout the modern plural and in the Genitive, Instrumental and Adverbial singular, though in this last case one could, of course, choose to segment as follows: **zǵva-d(a)**). The Vocative singular for such monosyllabic words as the one presented could retain the full syllabic desinence, though for polysyllabic **a**-stems this would reduce to **-v** (e.g. **deda-v** 'mother!'). The Ergative normally ends in just **-m**, the long form occurring before, for example, monosyllabic **da** 'and' or the clitic **-c** 'also'.

Proper names ending in the **a**-vowel behave slightly differently, e.g.

Case	Singular
NOMINATIVE	<i>šota</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>šota</i>
DATIVE	<i>šota-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>šota-m(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>šota-s(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>šota-ti</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>šota-d(a)</i>

This time the pre-consonantal vocalic element of the ending in the last three cases is missing. The first consequence of this is that the Genitive now falls together with the Dative (e.g. **šota-sa da mariam-is jma** 'Shota's and Mariam's brother', or **šota-sa da mariam-is(a)-tvis** 'for (= **-tvis**) Shota and Mariam'). Note that the Instrumental is in **-ti**. When the nouns **mama** 'father' and **deda** 'mother' are used in references to the speaker's parents, they function rather like proper names and will decline accordingly—compare the variants **deda-s na+m+cxv+ar-i** 'Mother's/Mum's cake' vs **ded-is na+m+cxv+ar-i** 'the/a mother's cake'.

Some common nouns in **-a** also follow this paradigm, though in the plural this **-a** disappears (e.g. **c+i+sa+rt'q'+el+a** 'rainbow', which has respectively Genitive, Instrumental and Nominative plural **c+i+sa+rt'q'+**

el+a-s(a), **c+i+sa+rt'q'+el+a-ti**, **c+i+sa+rt'q'+el-eb-i**; **mela** 'fox' has Genitive in **mela-s(a)** but its variant **melia** has **meli-is(a)**). Derivatives in **-a** described in 3.9.1 also belong here. Typically Mingrelian surnames in **-ia**, **-ua**, **-ava** follow this pattern too (e.g. **t'ogo gudava-s m+egr+ul-i gramat'ik'a** 'T'ogo Gudava's Mingrelian grammar', **gudav-eb-i** 'the Gudavas').

An example of a noun in **-a** undergoing syncopation of the root-vowel is **kveq'ana** 'world, country' whose Genitive, Instrumental, Adverbial Singular and Nominative Plural are respectively: **kveq'n-is(a)**, **kveq'n-it(a)**, **kveq'n-ad(a)**, **kveq'n-eb-i**.

3.1.2.2 *e*-stems

The illustration uses the noun **t'q'e** 'wood, forest':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Old Plural</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>t'q'e</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-i</i>	<i>t'q'e-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>t'q'e-o/t'q'e-v</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-o</i>	<i>t'q'e-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>t'q'e-s(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>t'q'e-m(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-ma</i>	<i>t'q'e-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>t'q'-is(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>t'q'-it(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(t'q'e-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>t'q'e-d(a)</i>	<i>t'q'e-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(t'q'e-t(a))</i>

There are parallels and differences in comparison with **a**-stem nouns. In the modern plural formation the radical **e**-ending is retained, as in the Adverbial singular, though it is lost in the Genitive and Instrumental singular. The Vocative singular ending of polysyllabic **e**-stems loses its syllabic value (e.g. **me+rje+v+e-v** 'milkman!').

Again proper nouns in **-e** are slightly different, though Georgian surnames ending in **-je** (a noun meaning 'son', earlier 'heir') are treated like **t'q'e**:

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>elene</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>elene</i>
DATIVE	<i>elene-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>elene-m(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>elene-s(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>elene-ti</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>elene-d(a)</i>

Again the Instrumental is in **-ti**.

Some common nouns in **-e** also follow this paradigm (e.g. **t'ire** 'dash', which has respectively Genitive and Instrumental **t'ire-s(a)**, **t'ire-ti**).

3.1.2.3 *o*-stems

The illustration takes the word **uro** 'hammer':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>uro</i>	<i>uro-eb-i</i>	<i>uro-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>uro(-v)</i>	<i>uro-eb-o</i>	<i>uro-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>uro-s(a)</i>	<i>uro-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>uro-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>uro-m(a)</i>	<i>uro-eb-ma</i>	<i>uro-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>uro-s(a)</i>	<i>uro-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>uro-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>uro-ti</i>	<i>uro-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(uro-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>uro-d(a)</i>	<i>uro-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(uro-t(a))</i>

This time the root's final vowel is never lost, the Instrumental singular is in **-ti**. The Vocative today is most likely not to shew any case-ending. Proper nouns in **-o** do not differ from the pattern just presented, though the Vocative of these will definitely fall together with the Nominative. The noun **dro** 'time' (and other monosyllables in **-o**) may have Genitive in **dro-is(a)**, e.g.

a+m dro-is k'ac-i
 this time-GEN man-NOM
 'a man of this time'

and Instrumental in **dro-it(a)**, e.g.

mosk'ov-is dro-it
 Moscow-GEN time-INST
 'by Moscow-time'

The most important noun **gvino** 'wine' is also irregular in having Genitive **gvin-is(a)** and Instrumental **gvin-it(a)**.

3.1.2.4 *u*-stems

The illustration takes the noun **juju** 'breast':

Case	Singular	Plural	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>juju</i>	<i>juju-eb-i</i>	<i>juju-n-i</i>

VOCATIVE	<i>juju-v</i>	<i>juju-eb-o</i>	<i>juju-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>juju-s(a)</i>	<i>juju-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>juju-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>juju-m(a)</i>	<i>juju-eb-ma</i>	<i>juju-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>juju-s(a)</i>	<i>juju-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>juju-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>juju-ti</i>	<i>juju-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>(juju-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>juju-d(a)</i>	<i>juju-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>(juju-t(a))</i>

Again the root-final *-u* is never lost, and the Instrumental singular is in *-ti*.

Monosyllables have Vocative singular in *-o* (e.g. *ru-o* 'stream!') and may have the Genitive in *-is(a)* (e.g. *ru-(i)s(a)* 'of the stream') and Instrumental in *-it* (e.g. *ru-it(a)* vs *ru-ti*). Proper nouns in *-u* follow the pattern just presented but do not distinguish between Nominative and Vocative.

3.1.2.5 *i*-stems

Such stems form a tiny class and are all non-native words, whether common or proper nouns. The illustrations are **t'aksi** 'taxi' and **giorgi** 'George':

Case	Singular	Plural	Proper Noun
NOMINATIVE	<i>t'aksi</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-i</i>	<i>giorgi</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>t'aksi</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-o</i>	<i>giorgi</i>
DATIVE	<i>t'aksi-s(a)</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-s(a)</i>	<i>giorgi-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>t'aksi-m(a)</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-ma</i>	<i>giorgi-m(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>t'aksi-s(a)</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-is(a)</i>	<i>giorgi-s(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>t'aksi-t(a)</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-it(a)</i>	<i>giorgi-t(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>t'aksi-d(a)</i>	<i>t'aksi-eb-ad(a)</i>	<i>giorgi-d(a)</i>

The root-final vowel is never lost and causes the identical vowel of the Instrumental ending in the singular to delete. The Vocative singular does not differ from the Nominative.

3.1.3 Examples of the Old Georgian Oblique Plural in Modern Georgian

Now that the basic patterns of noun-declension have been set out, a few examples can be given of the old oblique plural retained in certain expressions, especially titles, today:

sabč'o-ta **k'avšir-i**
 Soviet-GEN.PL union-NOM
 'The Soviet Union'

nadir-ta me+p+e (lom-i)
 beast-GEN.PL king(NOM) (lion-NOM)
 'the king of beasts (the lion)'

prin+v+el-ta me+p+e (arc'iv-i)
 bird-GEN.PL king(NOM) (eagle-NOM)
 'the king of birds (the eagle)'

xel-t/xel-ši ra g-a-kv-s?
 hand-DAT.PL/hand(DAT)-in what.NOM you-LV-have-it
 'What do you have in your hand(s)?'

melia-m katam-i xel-t/xel-ši (ča-)(Ø-)i-gd-o
 fox-ERG chicken-NOM hand-DAT.PL/hand(DAT)-in (PREV-)(it-)SV-
 seize-it.AOR
 'the fox got the chicken in its clutch(es)'

cf. the verb-root **-xel+t-** in:

dro-s (Ø-)i-xel+t-eb-d-a
 time-DAT (it-)SV-seize-TS-IMPERF-X
 'X used to seize the moment'

3.1.4 Postposed Adnominal Genitives and Double Declension

In modern Georgian adnominal Genitives almost always precede their heads and do not alter in any way as the head declines in either the singular or plural. Old Georgian, however, placed adnominal Genitives after their heads, and the head's case-ending was repeated in full (except for the Adverbial) after the Genitive desinence. The following example, based on Shanidze (1976:44), is for the phrase 'house of timber':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>saxl-i jel-isa-y</i>	<i>saxl-n-i jel-isa-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>saxl-o jel-isa-o</i>	<i>saxl-n-o jel-isa-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>saxl-s(a) jel-isa-s(a)</i>	<i>saxl-t(a) jel-isa-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>saxl-man jel-isa-man</i>	<i>saxl-t(a) jel-isa-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>saxl-is(a) jel-isa-ys(a)</i>	<i>saxl-t(a) jel-isa-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>saxl-it(a) jel-isa-yt(a)</i>	<i>(saxl-t(a) jel-isa-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>saxl-ad jel-isa(-d)</i>	<i>(saxl-t(a) jel-isa-t(a))</i>

Modern Georgian may order the elements of NPs similarly in imitation of the older pattern, and Shanidze gives (part of) the following declension, where **xe** is 'tree, timber', as a modern equivalent of the same Old Georgian phrase:

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>saxl-i x-isa</i>	<i>saxl-eb-i x-isa</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>saxl-o x-isa-v</i>	<i>saxl-eb-o x-isa-v</i>
DATIVE	<i>saxl-s x-isa-s</i>	<i>saxl-eb-s x-isa-s</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>saxl-ma x-isa-m</i>	<i>saxl-eb-ma x-isa-m</i>
GENITIVE	—	—
INSTRUMENTAL	—	—
ADVERBIAL	<i>saxl-ad x-isa-d</i>	<i>saxl-eb-ad x-isa-d</i>

Modern Georgian has no palatal glide, and so the head noun's Nominative ending cannot be repeated; this also no doubt explains the absence from the paradigm of such sequences when the head is either Genitive or Instrumental, for here too the initial i-vowel of the reduplicated endings should have been reduced to this same glide. Differently from Old Georgian, when the head is Vocative, Ergative or Adverbial, the form of the reduplicated case-ending is exactly what is required for these cases by a-stem nouns. However, in my experience such postposed adnominal Genitives are really only found today when the head-noun is either Nominative or Dative. And so, most of the paradigm just set out is somewhat artificial. However, it provides an analogue for the creation of Georgian's so-called 'double declension'.

In examples where we find a noun repeated with two (or more) different adnominal Genitives, as in 'Zurab's father took the book, but Zviad's father returned it', the word 'father' need not actually appear twice in either English or Georgian. Whilst English merely drops it (to give 'Zurab's father took the book, but Zviad's—returned it', where the dash marks the gapped nominal), Georgian adds the case-marker appropriate to the gapped noun onto the surviving adnominal Genitive. This example in Georgian would be:

zurab-is mama-m c'ign-i c'a-(Ø-)i-g-o,
 Zurab-GEN father-ERG book-NOM PREV-(it-)SV-take-he(AOR)
zviad-isa-m [**<= zviad-is mama-m**] **k'i**
 Zviad-GEN-ERG [**<= Zviad-GEN father-ERG**] however
da-(Ø-)a-brun-a
 PREV-(it-)NV-return-he(AOR)

An example where the head is Dative would be:

na+tes+a+ob+it-is porma mi+c+em+it-isa-s
 Genitive-GEN form(NOM) Dative-GEN-DAT

[<= mi+c+em+it-is porma-s] da-(Ø-)e-m+s+gav+s-a
 [<= Dative-GEN form-DAT] PREV-(it-)IOV-resemble-it(AOR)
 'the form of the Genitive came to resemble that of the Dative'

And so, we could set out just such a double-declension for the expression 'that/those of the lad', where 'lad' = **bič'-i**:

Case	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>bič'-isa</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-i</i>
DATIVE	<i>bič'-isa-s(a)</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>bič'-isa-m(a)</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>?bič'-is-is(a)</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>?bič'-is-it(a)</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>bič'-isa-d(a)</i>	<i>bič'-is-eb-ad(a)</i>

We have given concrete illustrations for the double declension where the gapped head-noun is Ergative and Dative. Let us now exemplify a gapped Nominative:

v-is-i **c'ign-i** **c'a-(Ø-Ø)-i-g-e?**
 who-GEN-AGR book-NOM PREV-(you-it-)SV-take-AOR
davit-isa-(Ø)
 David-GEN(-NOM)
 'Whose book did you take? David's'

It looks here for all the world as though the final word were simply the long form of the Genitive of this proper name. But this is not so—underlyingly it is a sequence of GENITIVE-NOMINATIVE, where the latter morpheme is realised by a zero morph. All nouns whose Genitive singular ends in *-is(a)* will shew *-isa* in such contexts. But of course not all nouns have a Genitive singular in **-is(a)**—some vowel-stems have their Genitive singular, as detailed above, in **-s(a)**, and all such will in the context we are describing end in **-s-i**, where the final **-i** is nothing other than the Nominative desinence of the gapped Nominative nominal (e.g. **v-is-i c'ign-i c'a-(Ø-Ø)-i-g-e?** *šota-s-i/giorgi-s-i/uča-s-i/vano-s-i/elene-s-i* 'Whose book did you take? (Lit. The one of) Shota's/Giorgi's/Ucha's/Vano's/Helen's'). Nouns of this type exhibit the following double declensional pattern, illustrated by the male proper name **vova**:

Case	Singular
NOMINATIVE	<i>vova-s-i</i>

DATIVE	<i>vova-sa-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>vova-sa-m(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>?vova-s-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>vova-s-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>vova-s-ad(a)</i>

Shanidze (1973:107) includes all these cases bar the Genitive in his own paradigm based on the male names **elguja** and **vano**. Note that the full form in **-sa** of the Genitive appears when the gapped noun stands in the Ergative or Dative.

3.2. Adjectives (*zed+sa+rt+av-eb-i*)

Adjectives carry no necessary formal distinguishing features. They may, like nouns, be either consonant- or vowel-final.

3.2.1 Attributive Adjectives

When qualifying nouns they stand first; vowel-final adjectives never alter for the case (or number) of their head-noun, whereas consonant-final adjectives change in certain ways depending on the case of their heads, as now demonstrated (cf. also 5.1.3) for the phrase 'the/a tall (**magal-i**), blind (**brma**) woman':

Case	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-i</i>	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-eb-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>maǰal-o brma kal-o</i>	<i>maǰal-o brma kal-eb-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>maǰal brma kal-s(a)</i>	<i>maǰal brma kal-eb-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>maǰal-ma brma kal-ma</i>	<i>maǰal-ma brma kal-eb-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-is(a)</i>	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-eb-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-it(a)</i>	<i>maǰal-i brma kal-eb-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>maǰal brma kal-ad(a)</i>	<i>maǰal brma kal-eb-ad(a)</i>

Should the older plural be selected, we would expect both types of adjective to shew full agreement, e.g.

Case	Old Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>maǰal-n-i brma-n-i kal-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>maǰal-n-o brma-n-o kal-n-o</i>
OBLIQUE	<i>maǰal-t(a) brma-t(a) kal-t(a)</i>

In Old Georgian attributive adjectives followed their heads and agreed with them in full (note the syncope and apocope in the adjective stems, declining now in exactly the same way as described earlier for their nominal usage), e.g.

Case	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>kal-i maġal-i brma-y</i>	<i>kal-n-i maġal-n-i brma-n-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>kal-o maġal-o brma-o</i>	<i>kal-n-o maġal-n-o brma-n-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>kal-s(a) maġal-s(a) brma-s(a)</i>	<i>kal-t(a) maġal-t(a) brma-t(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>kal-man maġal-man brma-man</i>	<i>kal-t(a) maġal-t(a) brma-t(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>kal-is(a) maġl-is(a) brm-is(a)</i>	<i>kal-t(a) maġal-t(a) brma-t(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>kal-it(a) maġl-it(a) brm-it(a)</i>	<i>(kal-t(a) maġal-t(a) brma-t(a))</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>kal-ad maġl-ad brma-d</i>	<i>(kal-t(a) maġal-t(a) brma-t(a))</i>

The language did not shift suddenly from the old pattern of postposed adjective in full agreement with its head to preposed adjectives manifesting the partial agreement (sc. for consonant-final adjectives) characterising the literary language today, as illustrated above. Georgian literature up to the early 20th century reveals slight variant-patterns for consonant-final attributive adjectives, which are now described. A Dative noun may produce agreement in its epithet (e.g. **maġal-s kal-(eb-)s(a)**). This same form of the adjective may be attested alongside a noun in the Adverbial (e.g. **maġal-s kal-(eb-)ad(a)**), and it is perhaps to be regarded as more normal than the bare stem when a possessive adjective (see 3.2.5) is construed with Dative and Adverbial nouns (e.g. **čem(-s) da-s my(-AGR) sister-DAT** 'to my sister'; **šen(-s) megobr-ad your(-AGR) friend-ADV** 'as your friend'). A Genitive head equally may impose its desinence on its attribute (e.g. **maġl-is kal-(eb-)is(a)**). This same form of the adjective was also possible alongside a noun in the Instrumental (e.g. **maġl-is kal-(eb-)it(a)**). Two further innovations in agreement-patterning may be noted: according to Shanidze (1973:84), the first is for the bare stem of the adjective (e.g. **maġal**) alone to be used for all cases of the head-noun other than the Nominative and Vocative. This development, of course, brings

consonant-final adjectives more into line with vowel-final adjectives, where, as we have seen, there is no agreement today at all. The second, styled as 'vulgar' in **The Norms of the Modern Georgian Literary Language** (1986:132, in Georgian), is for an adjective to keep throughout its declension the same form that it manifests in agreement with Nominative nouns (viz. **magal-i**). This would produce an exact parallel with Georgian's largest sister-language, Mingrelian, and, according to **The Norms**, this option is indeed restricted to some Western dialects.

Nouns indicating professions could be interpreted as virtual attributive adjectives when used in conjunction with a person's surname. In these circumstances a consonant-final attribute follows the following pattern for the expression 'President Zhordania':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>p'rezident'-i žordania</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>p'rezident'-o žordania-v</i>
DATIVE	<i>p'rezident' žordania-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>p'rezident'-ma žordania-m(a)</i>
GENITIVE	<i>p'rezident' žordania-s(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>p'rezident' žordania-ti</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>p'rezident' žordania-d(a)</i>

This pattern clearly differs somewhat from those already presented, and it is the one that is followed by expressions of the type **kalak-i tbilis-i** 'the city (of) Tbilisi'. In some older types of phrase, where the profession or, in reference to sovereigns, their number follows a Christian name, the word designating the profession (or number) declines, whilst the Christian name appears in its root-form only (e.g. 'Gaioz the Rector' in the Nominative and Ergative cases would be **gaioz rekt'or-i** vs **gaioz rekt'or-ma**; 'George I' would similarly be **giorgi p'irvel-i** vs **giorgi p'irvel-ma**; equally 'Queen Tamar' would be **tamar me+p+e** vs **tamar me+p+e-m**). A parallel to this is what happens when Christian and surnames are given together: the Christian name stays in its root-form, whilst the surname declines. Under Russian influence the patronymic system was introduced (with **je** for 'son' and **asul-i** for 'daughter'); if used, the patronymic too will not decline before the surname (e.g. the Nominative and Ergative of 'Zviad (son of K'onst'ant'ine) Gamsaxurdia' would be **zviad (k'onst'ant'ine-s je) gamsaxurdia** vs **zviad (k'onst'ant'ine-s je) gamsaxurdia-m**). In those rare instances when the reverse ordering is followed, the following paradigm is observed (with gaps in the Instrumental and Adverbial):

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>gamsaxurdia zviad</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>gamsaxurdia-v zviad</i>
DATIVE	<i>gamsaxurdia-s zviad-s</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>gamsaxurdia-m zviad-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>gamsaxurdia-s zviad-is</i>

3.2.1.1. Comparative and Superlative Grades (*u+pr+o+ob+it-i da aḡ+mat'+eb+t-i xarix-eb-i*)

There are two formations: the older synthetic pattern vs the newer analytic.

The analytic may apply without exception to any adjective in the language. To produce the comparative grade the adverb *u+pr+o* 'more' is placed before the positive form of the adjective, e.g.

'good'	<i>k'arg-i</i>	⇒	'better'	<i>u+pr+o k'arg-i</i>
'bad'	<i>cud-i</i>	⇒	'worse'	<i>u+pr+o cud-i</i>
'few'	<i>cot'a</i>	⇒	'fewer'	<i>u+pr+o cot'a</i>
'many'	<i>bevr-i</i>	⇒	'more'	<i>u+pr+o bevr-i</i>
'beautiful'	<i>lamaz-i</i>	⇒	'more beautiful'	<i>u+pr+o lamaz-i</i>
'red'	<i>c'itel-i</i>	⇒	'redder'	<i>u+pr+o c'itel-i</i>
'strong'	<i>magar-i</i>	⇒	'stronger'	<i>u+pr+o magar-i</i>
'long'	<i>grj+el-i</i>	⇒	'longer'	<i>u+pr+o grj+el-i</i>
'sweet'	<i>t'k'b+il-i</i>	⇒	'sweeter'	<i>u+pr+o t'k'b+il-i</i>
'old'	<i>jvel-i</i>	⇒	'older'	<i>u+pr+o jvel-i</i>
'easy'	<i>a+dv+il-i</i>	⇒	'easier'	<i>u+pr+o a+dv+il-i</i>
'blind'	<i>brma</i>	⇒	'blinder'	<i>u+pr+o brma</i>
'sour'	<i>mžave</i>	⇒	'sourer'	<i>u+pr+o mžave</i>
'ugly'	<i>ušno</i>	⇒	'uglier'	<i>u+pr+o ušno</i>
'deaf'	<i>q'ru</i>	⇒	'deafier'	<i>u+pr+o q'ru</i>

The superlative grade can only be produced syntactically by placing the word **q'vela-ze** 'than all' (lit. 'all-on') before either the positive or comparative grade e.g.

q'vela-ze (u+pr+o) mok'le k'aba
 all-than (more) short dress
 'the shortest dress'

The synthetic formation, which in meaning is rather neutral between comparative and superlative, employs the circumfix **u- -es¹ -i**. Sometimes changes will occur to the root: syncope may take place, a suffix may disappear, as does the final vowel of **e-stem** adjectives, whereas an epenthetic **-v-** appears between root-final **-a** and the initial vowel of the suffix. The analytic form for the first four adjectives in the above-list is irregular. With that list compare the following:

'good'	<i>k'arg-i</i>	=>	'better'	<i>u-k'et-es-i/u-</i> <i>m+ʃob-es-i</i>
'bad'	<i>cud-i</i>	=>	'worse'	<i>u-a+r-es-i</i>
'few'	<i>cot'a</i>	=>	'fewer'	<i>na+k'l+eb-i</i>
'many'	<i>bevr-i</i>	=>	'more'	<i>met'i</i>
'beautiful'	<i>lamaz-i</i>	=>	'more beautiful'	<i>u-lamaz-es-i</i>
'red'	<i>c'itel-i</i>	=>	'redder'	<i>u-c'itl-es-i</i>
'strong'	<i>magar-i</i>	=>	'stronger'	<i>u-magr-es-i</i>
'long'	<i>grj+el-i</i>	=>	'longer'	<i>u-grj-es-i</i>
'sweet'	<i>t'k'b+il-i</i>	=>	'sweeter'	<i>u-t'k'b-es-i</i>
'old'	<i>jvel-i</i>	=>	'older'	<i>u-jvel-es-i</i>
'easy'	<i>a+dv+il-i</i>	=>	'easier'	<i>u-a+dv+il-es-i</i>
'blind'	<i>brma</i>	=>	'blinder'	<i>u-brma-v-es-i</i>
'sour'	<i>mžave</i>	=>	'sourer'	<i>u-mžav-es-i</i>
'ugly'	<i>ušno</i>	=>	'uglier'	<i>u-ušno-es-i</i>
'deaf'	<i>q'ru</i>	=>	'deafier'	<i>u-q'ru-es-i</i>

In all such cases a clear superlative may be produced in the same way as for the analytical pattern by placing **q'vela-ze** (possibly immediately followed by **u+pr+o**) before either the form in **u- -es-i** or, of course, the simple positive grade. A special alternative for the meaning 'best' is **sa-u-k'et-es-o/sa-u-m+ʃob-es-o**; for 'most' there is **u-met'-es-i**.

Approximative forms are described in 3.9.2.

3.2.2 Non-attributive Adjectives

When associated with the copula as adjective-complement, the adjective takes the same form it would display when attribute to a Nominative noun, which means that for consonant-final adjectives the final element will be **-i**

(e.g. **kal-i magal-i-a/brma-a** *woman-NOM tall-NOM-is/blind-is* 'the woman is tall/blind'). If the copular subject is plural, the adjective may itself be pluralised, utilising either the modern or old Nominative plural ending e.g.

čven uk've did-i/did-eb-i/did-n-i
 we(NOM) already big-NOM/big-PL-NOM/big-PL-NOM
v-a+r-t
 1st.PER-be(PRES)-PL
 'we are already big'

Used predicatively or in apposition alongside a noun or pronoun in some particular case the adjective will itself take the appropriate case-marker e.g.

k'ar-s gia-s v-(Ø-)t'ov-eb
 door-DAT open-DAT I-(it-)leave-TS(PRES)
 'I leave the door open'
me, še+šin+eb+ul-ma, mo-v-(Ø-)k'al-i
 I(ERG) alarmed-ERG PREV-I-(X-)kill-AOR
 'it was I, alarmed, who killed X'

Ordinary attributive adjectives separated from their head-nouns (in poetry, for example) behave in the same way e.g.

mc'vane-s (Ø-)e-c'vd-eb-a potol-sa irem-i
 green-DAT (it-)IOV-strain.for-TS-it(PRES) leaf-DAT deer-NOM
 'the deer strains to reach the green leaf'

Clearly adjectives can themselves decline, and, when so doing, they behave just like consonant- or vowel-final nouns, possibly with syncope. Such freely declined adjectives function as reduced relative clauses. The following paradigms are for **magal-i** 'the tall one (= the one that is tall)', **mc'vane** 'the green one (= the one that is green)', **brma** 'the blind one (= the one that is blind)'.
 The old plural may of course be used (e.g. **magal-n-i/mc'vane-n-i/brma-n-i**, **magal-n-o/mc'vane-n-o/brma-n-o**, **magal-t(a)/mc'vane-t(a)/brma-t(a)**).

N.B. **q'vela** 'all', when used nominally in the sense of 'everyone', declines like proper nouns in **-a** (e.g. Genitive = **q'vela-s**).

Case	Singular	Plural
NOMINATIVE	<i>maǵal-i/mc'vane/brma</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-i/mc'vane-eb-i/brm-eb-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>maǵal-o/mc'vane-v/brma-o</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-o/mc'vane-eb-o/brm-eb-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>maǵal-s(a)/mc'vane-s(a)/brma-s(a)</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-s(a)/mc'vane-eb-s(a)/brm-eb-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>maǵal-ma/mc'vane-m(a)/brma-m(a)</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-ma/mc'vane-eb-ma/brm-eb-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>maǵl-is(a)/mc'van-is(a)/brm-is(a)</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-is(a)/mc'vane-eb-is(a)/brm-eb-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>maǵl-it(a)/mc'van-it(a)/brm-it(a)</i>	<i>maǵl-ɕb-it(a)/mc'vane-eb-it(a)/brm-eb-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>maǵl-ad(a)/mc'vane-d(a)/brm-ad(a)</i>	<i>maǵl-eb-ad(a)/mc'vane-eb-ad(a)/brm-eb-ad(a)</i>

3.2.3 Numeral (*ricx+v+it-i*) Adjectives

3.2.3.1 Cardinals (*ra+o+den+ob+it-i*)

The counting-system from 20 to 99 is based on units of twenty.

1	<i>ert-i</i>	2	<i>or-i</i>
3	<i>sam-i</i>	4	<i>otx-i</i>
5	<i>xut-i</i>	6	<i>ekvs-i</i>
7	<i>švid-i</i>	8	<i>rva</i>
9	<i>cxra</i>	10	<i>at-i</i>
11	<i>t-ert-met'-i</i>	12	<i>t-or-met'-i</i>
13	<i>ca-met'-i</i>	14	<i>t-otx-met'-i</i>
15	<i>t-xut-met'-i</i>	16	<i>t-ekvs-met'-i</i>
17	<i>čvid-met'-i</i>	18	<i>t-vra-met'-i</i>
19	<i>cxra-met'-i</i>	20	<i>oc-i</i>
21	<i>oc-da-ert-i</i>	22	<i>oc-da-or-i</i>
23	<i>oc-da-sam-i</i>	24	<i>oc-da-otx-i</i>
25	<i>oc-da-xut-i</i>	26	<i>oc-da-ekvs-i</i>
27	<i>oc-da-švid-i</i>	28	<i>oc-da-rva</i>
29	<i>oc-da-cxra</i>	30	<i>oc-da-at-i</i>

31	<i>oc-da-t-ert- met'i</i>	32	<i>oc-da-t-or- met'i</i>
33	<i>oc-da-ca- met'i</i>	34	<i>oc-da-t-otx- met'i</i>
35	<i>oc-da-t-xut- met'i</i>	36	<i>oc-da-t- ekvs-met'i</i>
37	<i>oc-da-čvid- met'i</i>	38	<i>oc-da-t-vra- met'i</i>
39	<i>oc-da-cxra- met'i</i>	40	<i>or-m-oc-i</i>
41	<i>or-m-oc-da- ert-i</i>	42	<i>or-m-oc-da- or-i</i>
43	<i>or-m-oc-da- sam-i</i>	44	<i>or-m-oc-da- otx-i</i>
45	<i>or-m-oc-da- xut-i</i>	46	<i>or-m-oc-da- ekvs-i</i>
47	<i>or-m-oc-da- švid-i</i>	48	<i>or-m-oc-da- rva</i>
49	<i>or-m-oc-da- cxra</i>	50	<i>or-m-oc-da- at-i</i>
51	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-ert-met'i</i>	52	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-or-met'i</i>
53	<i>or-m-oc-da- ca-met'i</i>	54	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-otx-met'i</i>
55	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-xut-met'i</i>	56	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-ekvs-met'i</i>
57	<i>or-m-oc-da- čvid-met'i</i>	58	<i>or-m-oc-da- t-vra-met'i</i>
59	<i>or-m-oc-da- cxra-met'i</i>	60	<i>sam-oc-i</i>
61	<i>sam-oc-da- ert-i</i>	62	<i>sam-oc-da- or-i</i>
63	<i>sam-oc-da- sam-i</i>	64	<i>sam-oc-da- otx-i</i>
65	<i>sam-oc-da- xut-i</i>	66	<i>sam-oc-da- ekvs-i</i>
67	<i>sam-oc-da- švid-i</i>	68	<i>sam-oc-da- rva</i>
69	<i>sam-oc-da- cxra</i>	70	<i>sam-oc-da- at-i</i>

71	<i>sam-oc-da-t-ert-met'-i</i>	72	<i>sam-oc-da-t-or-met'-i</i>
73	<i>sam-oc-da-ca-met'-i</i>	74	<i>sam-oc-da-t-otx-met'-i</i>
75	<i>sam-oc-da-t-xut-met'-i</i>	76	<i>sam-oc-da-t-ekvs-met'-i</i>
77	<i>sam-oc-da-čvid-met'-i</i>	78	<i>sam-oc-da-t-vra-met'-i</i>
79	<i>sam-oc-da-cxr-met'-i</i>	80	<i>otx-m-oc-i</i>
81	<i>otx-m-oc-da-ert-i</i>	82	<i>otx-m-oc-da-or-i</i>
83	<i>otx-m-oc-da-sam-i</i>	84	<i>otx-m-oc-da-otx-i</i>
85	<i>otx-m-oc-da-xut-i</i>	86	<i>otx-m-oc-da-ekvs-i</i>
87	<i>otx-m-oc-da-švid-i</i>	88	<i>otx-m-oc-da-rva</i>
89	<i>otx-m-oc-da-cxra</i>	90	<i>otx-m-oc-da-at-i</i>
91	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-ert-met'-i</i>	92	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-or-met'-i</i>
93	<i>otx-m-oc-da-ca-met'-i</i>	94	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-otx-met'-i</i>
95	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-xut-met'-i</i>	96	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-ekvs-met'-i</i>
97	<i>otx-m-oc-da-čvid-met'-i</i>	98	<i>otx-m-oc-da-t-vra-met'-i</i>
99	<i>otx-m-oc-da-cxra-met'-i</i>	100	<i>as-i</i>
101	<i>as ert-i</i>	102	<i>as or-i</i>
121	<i>as oc-da-ert-i</i>	199	<i>as otx-m-oc-da-cxra-met'-i</i>
200	<i>or-as-i</i>	250	<i>or-as or-m-oc-da-at-i</i>
300	<i>sam-as-i</i>	310	<i>sam-as at-i</i>
400	<i>otx-as-i</i>	415	<i>otx-as t-xut-met'-i</i>
500	<i>xut-as-i</i>	600	<i>ekvs-as-i</i>
700	<i>švid-as-i</i>	800	<i>rva-as-i</i>

900	<i>cxr-as-i</i>	1,000	<i>at-as-i</i>
1,001	<i>at-as ert-i</i>	1,231	<i>at-as or-as oc-da-t-ert- met'-i</i>
2,000	<i>or-i at-as-i</i>	2,501	<i>or-i at-as xut-as ert-i</i>
3,000	<i>sam-i at-as-i</i>	3,411	<i>sam-i at-as otx-as t-ert- met'-i</i>
4,000	<i>otx-i at-as-i</i>	4,999	<i>otx-i at-as cxr-as otx- m-oc-da- cxra-met'-i</i>
5,000	<i>xut-i at-as-i</i>	6,000	<i>ekvs-i at-as-i</i>
7,000	<i>švid-i at-as-i</i>	8,000	<i>rva at-as-i</i>
9,000	<i>cxra at-as-i</i>	10,000	<i>at-i at-as-i</i>
15,641	<i>t-xut-met'-i at-as ekvs-as or-m-oc-da- ert-i</i>	100,000	<i>as-i at-as-i</i>
200,533	<i>or-as-i at-as xut-as oc- da-ca-met'-i</i>	500,000	<i>xut-as-i at- as-i</i>
953,212	<i>cxra-as or- m-oc-da-ca- met'-i at-as or-as t-or- met'-i</i>	1,000,000	<i>milion-i</i>
2,500,301	<i>or-i milion xut-as-i at- as sam-as ert-i</i>	1,000,000,000	<i>miliard-i</i>

Some features in this list call for comment. From 11 to 19 the basic structure is '10-UNIT-more-NOM', as may be seen by taking the original form of '11' (viz. *at-ert-met'-i 10-1-more-NOM*); '13' <= **(a)t-sam-met'-i*; '17' <= **(a)t-švid-met'-i*; '18' <= **(a)t-rva-met'-i* (with metathesis); '19' <= **(a)t-cxra-met'-i*. The multiples of 20, such as '40', are of the structure '2-times-20-NOM'. Each multiple of 20 is then followed by *da* 'and' plus the appropriate digit from 1 to 19. Georgian does not parallel English in employing the coördinating conjunction between multiples of 100 and any

following tens or units. When compounded, there is no Nominative (or agreement-marker) on the non-final element(s). Nor does such an element appear on multiples of a hundred, a thousand, a million or a billion when these are followed by other components of the total numeral, even though they are written as separate words (e.g. **xut-as oc-da-or-i 5-100 20-&-2-NOM** '522'), unless they themselves are stating the multiple of the following component (e.g. **xut-as-i at-as xut-as oc-da-or-i 5-100-AGR 10-100 5-100 20-&-2-NOM** '500,522'). '1,000' has the structure '10-100'.

Numerals behave just like other adjectives when used attributively with a declining noun, but let us now examine what happens when complex numerals consisting of more than a single word are so used. The first illustration is for the phrase '102 women' (N.B. that after numerals and other quantifiers a Georgian noun remains in the singular):

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>as or-i kal-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>as or-o kal-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>as or kal-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>as or-ma kal-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>as or-i kal-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>as or-i kal-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>as or kal-ad(a)</i>

We see that, if the non-final component lacks *-i* in the Nominative, it does not alter when declined. Now consider what happens when the non-final component does end in *-i* in the Nominative and is stating the multiple of a thousand. The phrase is '3,000 women':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>sam-i at-as-i kal-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>sam-i at-as-o kal-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>sam-i at-as kal-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>sam-i at-as-ma kal-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>sam-i at-as-i kal-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>sam-i at-as-i kal-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>sam-i at-as kal-ad(a)</i>

The *-i* is retained for the designator of the multiple, whilst the compound component behaves like an ordinary adjective—in this example the basic thousand-unit happens to be the final component of the numeral, but this is not essential for its multiplier to retain its *-i*. Now, however,

compare what happens when it is a simple multiple of a million (or billion) that is stated, for the phrase '3 million women':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>sam-i milion-i kal-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>sam-o milion-o kal-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>sam milion kal-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>sam-ma milion-ma kal-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>sam-i milion-i kal-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>sam-i milion-i kal-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>sam milion kal-ad(a)</i>

This time both the basic unit and its multiplier behave like normal adjectives. But this pattern is not carried through to examples where the million (or billion) is not itself the basic numeral. Consider the phrase '3,400,221 women':

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>
NOMINATIVE	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert-i kal-i</i>
VOCATIVE	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert-o kal-o</i>
DATIVE	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert kal-s(a)</i>
ERGATIVE	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert-ma kal-ma</i>
GENITIVE	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert-i kal-is(a)</i>
INSTRUMENTAL	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert-i kal-it(a)</i>
ADVERBIAL	<i>sam-i milion otx-as-i at-as or-as oc-da-ert kal-ad(a)</i>

3.2.3.2 Ordinal (*rig+ob+it-i*) Numerals

All ordinals bar one are formed by means of the circumfix **me-** **-e** (for other derivational functions of this circumfix see 3.9.1). The exception is 'first', which is **p'ir+v+el-i**; however, the expected form **me-ert-e** is possible as an alternative (actually recommended by **The Norms**) for compound ordinals with 'first' as their final component.

Examples:

1st	<i>p'ir+v+el-i</i>	2nd	<i>me-or-e</i>
3rd	<i>me-sam-e</i>	4th	<i>me-otx-e</i>
5th	<i>me-xut-e</i>	6th	<i>me-ekvs-e</i>
7th	<i>me-švid-e</i>	8th	<i>me-rv-e</i>
9th	<i>me-cxr-e</i>	10th	<i>me-at-e</i>
11th	<i>me-t-ert-met'-e</i>	12th	<i>me-t-or-met'-e</i>