KARTVELIAN MORPHOSYNTAX. NUMBER AGREEMENT AND MORPHOSYNTACTIC ORIENTATION IN THE SOUTH CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES.

KEVIN TUITE

Université de Montréal

DEDICATION

To my Georgian teachers and Georgian friends, and to all those who share their hopes for a peaceful and prosperous community of Caucasian peoples.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the case of a work such as the one now before you, the person whose name appears on the title page has functioned more as a sort of chief executive officer than as an author in the traditional sense of the word. In writing the doctoral dissertation upon which this monograph is based, I have drawn upon resources provided by hundreds of people, most of whom I have never met. It is with these latter that I begin my acknowledgements.

Since the 13th century, when a disastrous sequence of foreign invasions brought Georgia's Golden Era to an end and at one point brought the Georgian people to the brink of extinction, the language, culture and traditions of this ancient nation have been kept alive only by determined effort. Many of the early Georgian gospel translations survive only because of the foresight of the unknown individuals who secreted them away in remote Svanetian villages to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Other manuscripts which had been stolen were ransomed by Georgian aristocrats or churchmen. Just as significant has been the effort of those who have preserved the intangible treasures of the Georgian people: the ethnographers, musicologists, folklorists, linguists and — not at all infrequently — concerned laymen who have recorded Georgia's oral literature and "spiritual culture" for posterity. The names of many of these individuals appear in the bibliography, since I have made extensive use of textual materials, especially in preparing Part II. They may not have had a reader such as me in mind; it is probably the case that they collected texts for the use of their fellow Georgians. It is my hope that some day many people who are not of this as yet little-known nationality will share my feeling of gratitude for the preservation of these cultural monuments.

Among these guardians of Georgian culture I wish to single out one for special recognition: Akaki Shanidze, who passed away in 1987, shortly after his one hundredth birthday. The achievements of his extraordinary career are already well known to anyone familiar with things Georgian, so I will not repeat them here. I will confine myself to pointing out two aspects of Prof. Shanidze's work which have been especially inspiring for me. The first is his dissertation on Georgian person-marking morphology [1920], which has set the standard which guided me in writing this monograph. The second is his extensive involvement in fieldwork, recording the folklore of the mountain tribes at a time when the archaic traditions of these people were still actively practiced. In honoring this great scholar I am honoring as well that devotion to Georgian culture, and the language which is its lifeblood, which has been characteristic of the finest Georgians for centuries. Akaki Shanidze has been the most outstanding representative of this tradition in the present century; he surely will not be the last.

Invariably the first question a Georgian would ask me, upon our becoming acquainted, concerns my reasons for learning a language so seldom studied by foreigners. Two answers were usually provided, the one focusing upon the importance of typologically "exotic" languages for linguistic research, the second — a bit more rhapsodic — going into the allure of a lithe and mysterious script once glimpsed in a book about the world's languages, a fascination with ancient and remote places, and so forth. All of this is fine and good, but mere zeal, whichever of the above sources it may have, is not enough to get one over the hurdles presented by this formidable and difficult language. One needs an instructor who not only comprehends the relevant grammatical principles, but who has the pedagogical acumen to assist others in grasping them. It was good fortune indeed that my first contact with Georgian was mediated by Howard Aronson. During the eight years of my apprenticeship, Howie gave me the foundation necessary to conduct research on the Kartvelian languages and has followed — and extensively annotated — my progress since then. Perhaps the most salient feature of his critical approach is his extreme lack of charity toward neat generalizations. As someone who is, on the whole, very fond of them, I found Howie's attitude to be enormously disquieting. It also forced me to look at data far more closely than I would have done otherwise, and derive insights a more superficial examination would not have yielded. If Howie has a Georgian counterpart it is Shukia Apridonidze of Tbilisi State University and the Linguistic Institute of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. Her reputation in Georgian scientific circles is based upon her carefully done and significant work on word order and discourse structure (extensively cited in Chapter III); her reputation among foreign Kartvelologists stems from her remarkable gifts as a language instructor. In particular, she makes very effective use of the Georgian language as a medium of instruction for teaching Georgian to foreigners. (This is not as simple a matter as it seems. In everyday life,

Georgians seldom encounter non-fluent adult speakers of their native language; if they do, they resort to Russian. They have, therefore, no experience in the art of simplifying their speech so that a foreigner can follow. Shukia is a rare, felicitous exception). While in Tbilisi from September 1985 to June 1986 I met regularly with Shukia and two of her colleagues at the university: Meri Nik'olaishvili and Nani Ch'anishvili. Each provided not only valuable judgments of acceptibility, but also her own perspective on the linguistic problems themselves. Deserving of special mention is Nani's consistently ზღაპრული *lobio,* which contributed significantly to the most rapid weight gain this author had undergone since infancy.

In addition to Howie Aronson (chairperson), my dissertation committee comprised two other individuals. Early in my career at the University of Chicago I dove into the celebrated "language and culture" course which Michael Silverstein teaches roughly every other year. This is one of those rare sequences of lectures that is nigh indigestible the first time through (unless you happen to be a second Silverstein), but which becomes, first, comprehensible and, subsequently, valuable as one gains more experience with language. Needless to say, the input Michael provided was extremely useful (to the extent that I digested it correctly), and his influence is reflected throughout the final product. The third committee member, Jerrold Sadock, came on board on short notice, when Jan-Terje Faarlund left Chicago to return to Norway. It was he who clarified for me the notion of morphosyntactic convergence which is so central to this dissertation.

Besides the important parts played by Howie, Shukia, Meri and Nani in my acquisition and understanding of Georgian, significant contributions were made by numerous individuals in a variety of settings. While my studies of its grammar began in the classroom, my awareness of the Georgian language as a multi-faceted and supple medium of communication arose in the context of personal contact. Georgians, and — I doubt this is a coincidence — those foreigners who have become involved with the Georgian language, have a real knack for blurring the line between colleagueship and friendship to the point where it ceases to be of relevance; many of the people whose names I will list here — alphabetically — are cases in point: Nia Abesadze, Elena Babunashvili, P'aat'a Buxrashvili, Rezo Ch'anturia, Maia Chijavadze, Ambak'o Ch'k'adua, Zurab Ch'umburidze, Elizabet Gazdeliani, Aleksandre Ghlont'i, Alice Harris, Dee Ann Holisky, Natela Imedadze, Ana K'alandadze, Dodona K'iziria, Giorgi Klimov, Leo K'vach'adze, Priscilla McCoy, Ketevan Megreli, Rusik'o and Zakro Megrelishvili, Damana Melikishvili, Givi Nebieridze, Johanna Nichols, Dali Sarjveladze, Zurab Sarjveladze, Nugzar and Dodo Surguladze. I also acknowledge the aid of the cheerfully helpful staff of Tbilisi State University, the Rustaveli Commision, the Vazha-Pshavela card files, the central library of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Tbilisi main public library and, last but not least, *Chais saxli*.

The research I conducted in Tbilisi from September 1985 to June 1986 and again from January to July 1988 was made possible through the International Research and Exchange Board, the Fulbright-Hays Foundation, and the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR. I also express my gratitude to the Whiting Foundation and the Title VI program of the Department of Education.

And, of course, certain special people deserve special mention: my parents (Matthew and Violet), sisters (Beverly, Meg and Annie), brothers (Matt and Jeremy), and friends (Eteri, Mike, Andrea, Síle, John, Iretha . . .). Had they not indulged this writer's obstinate refusal to achieve what our society terms "adulthood" on schedule, this work would never have been written.

Chicago, 1988

NOTE TO REVISED VERSION: My PhD dissertation was defended at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Chicago in September 1988. The text was revised in subsequent years, mostly in 1990-1991, but in all essential respects remains as it was a decade ago.

Montréal, 1998

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PART ONE.
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

In this monograph I will attempt to give a thorough description and analysis of the category of number in literary Georgian, its nonwritten dialects and the other Kartvelian languages. There are two primary reasons for this choice of topic. First of all, no one until now has attempted to describe this component of Kartvelian grammar in detail. Secondly, the phenomenon of number agreement between the verb and its main arguments (subject, direct and indirect objects) is, in comparison to case marking and person agreement, characterized by a far greater degree of variation throughout the Kartvelian-speaking territory. It is also a very complex process. In order to adequately describe the number agreement mechanism of many contemporary dialects, one must take account of notional, semantic, formal and discourse-functional factors.

When comparing Old Georgian to the modern literary language, Kartvelologists have often noted that the most significant change in the morphosyntax is that which the number agreement mechanism has undergone. To put the matter very briefly, it has shifted its 'focus' from morphological subjects (those NPs assigned nominative case and/or controlling subject agreement markers) to semantic subjects (roughly, the NP corresponding to the subject in an English translation). Here are some early Old Georgian examples. Note in particular that direct objects controlled number agreement when assigned nominative case. By contrast, (semantic) subjects assigned dative case could not control number agreement in this dialect of Georgian. (The object prefixes g- and x- indicate 2nd and 3rd person respectively, without any indication of number.)

{1} (mat)$_{SUB}$ da-x$_{SUB}$-e-drik'-**n**$_{DO}$-**es**$_{DO}$ [p'ir-n-i mat-n-i]$_{DO}$ kweq'n-ad.
they:DAT turn:IIIa:O_3:S_{3pl}:PLNOM face-PL-NOM their-PL-NOM earth-AD
"They had turned their faces toward the ground." [Luke 24:5 (Xanm.; c. 500 AD)]
(Class A verb in perfect series)

{2} uk'wetu g$_{SUB}$ -i-q'war-d-**en**$_{OBJ}$ [tkwen]$_{SUB}$ [moq'ware-n-i tkwen-n-i]$_{OBJ}$
if love:Ip:O_2:S_{3pl} you$_{pl}$:DAT lover-PL-NOM your$_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"If you$_{pl}$ would love those who love you . . ." [Luke 6:32 (Xanm.)]
(Class P indirect verb)

Here are the same sentences translated into Modern Standard Georgian. In both cases, the verb agrees for number only with its semantic subject, and not with its direct object, the reverse of the situation in Old Georgian.

{3} (mat)$_{SUB}$ da-Ø$_{SUB}$-e-drik'-a$_{DO}$-**t**$_{SUB}$ [mat-i p'ir-eb-i]$_{DO}$ mic'-isa-k'en.
they:DAT turn:IIIa:O_{3pl}:S_3 their-NOM face-PL-NOM ground-GEN-toward

{4} tu g$_{SUB}$ -i-q'war-d-e(s)$_{OBJ}$-**t**$_{SUB}$ [tkwen]$_{SUB}$ [tkwen-i moq'ware-eb-i]$_{OBJ}$
if love:Ip:O_{2pl}:S_3 you$_{pl}$:DAT your$_{pl}$-NOM lover-PL-N

These facts are interesting in their own right, of course, but they take on a greater significance when one considers that relatively little else has changed in Georgian morphosyntax. This pattern shift of apparently restricted scope is in fact the reflection of a fundamental change in what I will term the ORIENTATION of the morphosyntactic component. In assessing orientation one determines how morphological and syntactic 'privileges' (e.g. agreement, assignment of rectus

(nominative/absolutive) case, special word-order position) are distributed among the main arguments in the clause. If one class of arguments in a given language or dialect receives a disproportionately generous share of such privileges, the morphosyntax is said to be oriented toward that class. Most typically, the orientation is toward absolutives (intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects) or nominatives (subjects). Among the Kartvelian languages and their dialects both of these orientations, and also a third, quite different one, can be found. One especially significant feature of the dialects having the third orientation is that there is no functional basis for proposing a category of GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT, by which is meant that the orientation is such that morphosyntactic privileges do not in principle converge upon one particular NP per clause.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first part comprises a detailed description of the category of number as represented in the nominal and verbal morphology of the Kartvelian languages. It concludes with a proposal concerning number morphology in the proto-language (Common Kartvelian). The second part is given over to a description of the number agreement mechanism of the Georgian literary language and the contemporary Georgian dialects, and also Svan and Zan. On the basis of these data the dialects are divided into groups according to their orientation. It is further demonstrated that in all Kartvelian languages the distribution of number agreement privileges is consistent with Silverstein's hierarchy of NP types.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Georgian script:	ა	ბ	გ	დ	ე	ვ	ზ	ეი	თ	ი	კ’	ლ	მ	
Transliteration:	a	b	g	d	e	v	z	ey	t	i	k’	l	m	
Georgian script:	ნ	ო	პ	ჟ	რ	ს	ტ	უ	ფ	ქ				
Transliteration:	n	o	p’	ž	r	s	t’	u	p	k				
Georgian script:	ღ	ყ	შ	ჩ	ც	ძ	წ	ჭ	ხ	ჯ	ჰ	ჱ	ჶ	
Transliteration:	γ	q’	š	č	c	ʒ	c’	č’	x	q	ǰ	h	ho	f
Georgian script:	ჳ	ჴ	ჵ	ჷ	ჸ	ჹ	ჺ	჻	ჼ	ჽ	ჾ	ჿ	ᄀ	ᄁ
Transliteration:	a:	e:	i:	o:	u:	ä	ä:	ö	ö:	ü	ü:	ə	ə:	’

EXPLANATION OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Case and number:
NOMinative, ERGative, DATive, GENitive, INStrumental, ADVerbial, VOCative;
PLural. PL_{eb} (eb-plural), PL_{n} (n-plural)

Screeves:

Series I:	
present subseries:	present, imperfect, conjunctive, present iterative
future subseries:	future, conditional, future conjunctive
Series II:	aorist, optative, imperative, permansive, mixed conjunctive
Series III:	present perfect, pluperfect, perfect conjunctive

Verb agreement:
S (subject agreement set); O (object agreement set); pl(ural); incl(usive); excl(usive)

Verb class:
[A] ('active'), [P] ('passive').

Other:
PASSive, INCHoative, CAUSative, PLNOM (plural NOM NP); QT (quotation particle), QUEStion particle, EMPhatic particle.

Hyphens (-) indicate that the segmentation of the gloss mirrors the morpheme composition. The colon (:) indicates that no such 1-to-1 glossing of morphemes is attempted.

In glossing verbs, the person markers are indicated in the order: (semantic) subject > (semantic) object. In a direct construction, therefore, the Set S ("subject") marker is glossed first, while in the case of an indirect construction the Set O ("object") marker is indicated first.

GRAMMATICAL TERMS:

1. 'Semantic' roles [defined in §3.2]:

SS_{tr} (semantic subject of a transitive verb)
SS_{intr} (semantic subject of an intransitive verb)
SO (semantic object), either **DO** (direct object) or **IO** (indirect object)
SS_{ind} (semantic subject of indirect ('dative-subject') construction)
SO_{ind} (semantic object of indirect construction).

2. 'Morphological' roles [defined in §3.1]:

MS (morphological subject; controls Set S agreement markers)
MO (morphological object; controls Set O agreement markers)

3. Secondary case roles [defined in §2.2.1]:

NP1 (assigned ERG case by Class A verbs in Series II, and NOM by Class P verbs [in standard Georgian])
NP2 (assigned DAT case by Class A and P verbs)
NP3 (assigned DAT case in Series I; NOM in Series II & III by Class A verbs)
term NP (any of the above three)
[The relationship among these three sets of roles is summarized in {43} of Chapter III]

4. GS (grammatical subject) [defined in §15.2].

5. Verb types [described in §2.1 (b)]

Class A verbs: subdivided into
1st conjugation (mostly, but not exclusively, transitive)
3rd conjugation (also known as medioactive or medial verbs; atelic activity verbs, usually intransitive)
Class P verbs: all intransitive, subdivided into
2nd conjugation, comprising three formal subgroups:
prefixal (marked by preradical vowel i- or e-), mostly passive verbs
suffixal (marked by suffix -n or -d), mostly inchoative
root (unmarked)
4th conjugation (includes stative passives)

6. Other terms:

screeve (verb form specified for all categories except class, person and number)
direct syntax (clause in which the SS is marked as the MS)
indirect syntax (clause in which the SS controls Set O agreement and the SO controls Set S agreement)
direct conjugation (Set S agreement can occur in all numbers and persons)
indirect conjugation (Set O agreement can occur in all numbers and persons)
inversion (the reversal of case marking and agreement undergone by Class A verbs in the series III screeves)
local argument (that argument of the verb — usually a patient or theme — which is semantically closely bound to it. It normally surfaces as the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb.)

CHAPTER II. KARTVELIAN MORPHOLOGY.

§2.1. The Kartvelian verb.

The Kartvelian or South Caucasian language family is made up of either three or four languages, depending on how one counts: Georgian, Svan, Laz and Mingrelian (see the family tree on page 85). Many Georgian linguists consider Laz and Mingrelian to be dialects of the same language ("Zan") [Chikobava 1936; K'iziria 1967]; others treat them as separate, but closely related, languages [Klimov 1979]. For all of their differences, the Kartvelian languages have preserved fundamentally the same agglutinative verb structure [Deeters 1930]. The Kartvelian verb is composed of the following morpheme slots (taken from Deeters [1930:6-7] with slight changes):

{1} **Composition of the Kartvelian verb**

slot 1 *Preverb* (one or more) with more-or-less predictable directional meaning. In the modern Kartvelian languages these also contribute to verbal aspect: forms with preverbs are usually perfective, those without are not.[1]

slot 2 *Person agreement prefix* (Set S or Set O, sometimes both)

slot 3 *Preradical or "version" vowel*

slot 4 *Verb root*

slot 5 *Passive/inchoative or causative suffix*

slot 6 *Series marker (or "present/future stem formant")* a lexically-specified morpheme used to form the series I stem of a given verb, e.g.

series I: [Geo.] *da-v-tes-**av**-Ø* [Laz] *do-p-tas-**um**-Ø* "I sow sthg"
series II: *da-v-tes-**Ø**-e* *do-p-tas-**Ø**-i* "I sowed sthg"

slot 7 *Plural direct-object/intransitive subject suffix* [Old Georgian and Svan]

slot 8 *Stem suffix* (used to form the imperfect and related forms: conditional, conjunctive, Class P pluperfect); in Svan, a suffix is used in the series II forms of some Class P verbs

slot 9 *Tense/mood vowel* (distinguishes optative from aorist, conjunctive from imperfect, etc.)

slot 10 *Person agreement suffix* (Set S)

slot 11 *Plural suffix* (to be discussed in detail later)

Examples from Old Georgian, Svan and Mingrelian

{2} [Old Geo] *še-v-h-mtxw-ev-od-e-t* [Shanidze 1982:128]
[meet:IIIp:S1pl:O3]
1: še- <preverb: "in">
2: -v- <Set S 1st person>
2: -h- <Set O 3rd person>
4: -mtxw- <root: "meet">
6: -ev- <series marker>
8: -od- <imperfect stem formant for class P (and a few class A)>
9: -e- <conjunctive mood marker>
11: -t <Set S 1st/2nd plural suffix>
"had we met her/him/them" [class P perfect conjunctive: 1pl Set S; 3 Set O]

[1] The distinction is nicely exploited in certain Georgian proverbs, e.g.: *katamma čxrik'a, čxrik'a, da tavisi dasak'lavi dana gamočxrik'ao* [chicken-ERG poke:IIa:S3sg:O3 poke:IIa:S3sg:O3 and its killing knife-NOM poke.out:IIa:S3sg:O3-QT] "The chicken poked around, poked around <imperfective aorists: non-accomplished action> and (finally) poked out the knife that will be used to kill it <perfective aorist: the chicken's pecking uncovered the knife>" [cited by Shanidze 1953:272].

{3}[Svan] *ä-x-pxər-ə:l-ä:n-x* [Sharadzenidze 1954:195]
[$open_{pl}$:IIp:S3pl:O3]
1: a- <preverb an-: "up">
2: -x- <Set O 3rd person>
3: (-i-) <subjective version (expressed as umlaut of initial vowel)>
4: -pxər- <root: "open">
7: -ə:l- <plural intransitive subject marker>
8: -än- <Class P aorist stem formant>
10: (-a-) <Set S 3rd person (lengthens preceding vowel)>
11: -x <plural suffix>
"they (eyes) were opened to them" [class P aorist: 3pl Set S; 3 Set O]

{4}[Mingrelian] *Ø-o-č'ar-apu-an-d-u* [Deeters 1930:7]
[write:CAUS:Ia:S3:O3]
2: Ø- <Set O 3rd person>
3: -o- <version vowel: "objective version">
4: č'ar- <root: "write">
5: -apu- <causative suffix>
6: -an- <series marker>
8: -d- <imperfect stem (for most class A verbs)>
10: -u <Set S 3rd person singular suffix>
"s/he got her/him to write it" [class A imperfect: 3sg Set S; 3 Set O]

In the course of this monograph, I will frequently categorize Kartvelian verbs according to (a) person marking, (b) verb-stem class, and (c) series and screeve. I will discuss each of these here.

(a) Person marking: The two sets of person crossreferencing markers, referred to above as SET S and SET O, are frequently termed "subject" and "object" markers respectively.

{5} **SET S ("subject") AFFIXES**

	OLD GEO.		*GEORGIAN*		*ZAN*			*SVAN*	
1sg	v-	-Ø	v-	-Ø	v/b-	-Ø,r,k		x-	-Ø
1pl	v-	-t	v-	-t	v/b-	-t,rt	*excl:*	xw-	-(š)d
							incl:	l-	-(š)d
2sg	x/h/Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-Ø,r,k		x/Ø-	-Ø
2pl	x/h/Ø-	-t	Ø-	-t	Ø-	-t,rt		x/Ø-	-(š)d
3sg	-s,a/o,n,ed		-s,a/o		-s,u,n			(l)-	-s/(a)
3pl	-an,en,es,ed		-en,an,es,nen		-an,es,nan			(l)-	-x

{6} **SET O ("object") AFFIXES**

	OLD GEO.	*GEORGIAN*		*ZAN*		*SVAN*	
1sg	m-	m-		m-		m-	
1excl	m-	gv-		m-	-t,an,es,nan	n-	
1incl	gw-	gv-		m-	-t,an,es,nan	gw-	
2	g-	g-		k/g/r-		j-	
2pl	g-	g-	-t	k/g/r-	-t,an,es,nan	j-	-x
3	x/h/Ø-	Ø,s/h/Ø-		Ø-		Ø,x-	
3pl	x/h/Ø-	Ø,s/h/Ø-	-t	Ø-	-t,an,es,nan	Ø,x-	-x

Variant forms are given in some of the cells in {5} and {6}. As in Harris [1985], phonologically-conditioned variants are separated by a slash (e.g. Zan v/b); those separated by commas are conditioned by other factors. The 3rd person Set S (S_3) forms are determined by the tense or mood of the verb (e.g. Georgian Set S 3sg aorist -a; 3sg present -s). For Georgian and Svan the Set O 3rd person DIRECT OBJECT marker is Ø-, the INDIRECT OBJECT marker is x/h/sØ.[2] (These markers will be referred to henceforth as $\mathbf{O_3^{Ø}}$ and $\mathbf{O_3^{x}}$ respectively). Opposed singular and plural forms are given for Set S. For 1st and 2nd person a plural agreement morpheme -t/d is easily segmented; the more complex situation for the 3rd person in Set S will be taken up later. The suffixal plural agreement associated with Set O is where the greatest degree of morphosyntactic variation is found in the Kartvelian family. This topic will be discussed in detail in Part Two.

(b) Verb stem class: In his reference grammar of Georgian, Shanidze [1953:289-90] distinguishes two major classes of verb stems, termed "active" (*mokmedebiti*) and "passive" (*vnebiti*), along with a third termed "middle" (*sašualo*). As is usually the case when terms derived from notional semantics are applied to formal classes, there is real danger of confusing certain properties of prototypical class members with the actual criteria for class membership (which, for the case in question, are given in Harris [1981:259-67; 1985:42-58]). As it turns out, many "passive" verbs are semantically agentive (e.g. *gaikceva* "sb/sthg runs away"; *esaubreba* "sb converses with sb"), and many "active" verbs are not (e.g. *arsebobs* "sb/sthg exists"). Caveat lector. The verb stems belonging to Shanidze's "middle" class are further partitioned into "medioactive" and "mediopassive" subclasses [Shanidze 1953:484]. The former resemble active verbs (on formal grounds), the latter resemble passives. The "medial verbs" studied by Holisky [1981] correspond, for the most part, to Shanidze's medioactives. For simplicity's sake, and to avoid terminology-based misunderstandings, I will group active and medioactive verb stems under the rubric CLASS A, and passives and mediopassives under CLASS P.

{7}	**CLASS A**		**CLASS P**	
Shanidze [1953]	*active*	*medioactive*	*passive*	*mediopassive*
Tschenkéli [1958]	*transitive*	*middle*	*[passive + indirect]*	
Aronson [1982, 1989]	*1st conjugation*	*3rd conjugation*	*[2nd + 4th conjugations]*	
Harris [1981, 1985]	*Class 1*	*Class 3*	*Class 2*	

Figure {7} shows how various nomenclatures for Georgian verb stem classes line up. Aronson [1982, 1989] employs two formal criteria: case-assignment behavior (which distinguishes his 1st and 3rd conjugations from the 2nd and 4th), and presence or absence of a distinct future-tense form (which separates the 3rd and 4th conjugations from the 1st and 2nd). For most 1st and 2nd conjugation verbs the perfective form of the present (formed by the addition of a preverb, as in Slavic) is used to denote future tense. The taxonomy of verb-stem types employed in this monograph is given in {8} and {9}.

[2]Kartvelian morphology is characterized by limitations upon the number of arguments overtly crossreferenced. Slot competition protocols favor indirect objects over direct [Boeder 1968; Gamqrelidze 1981]. In general, a verb will agree with a formal direct object only if does not have a formal indirect object. Also, in all Kartvelian languages cooccurrence of Set S 1st and Set O 2nd person prefixes is not allowed. The v- prefix simply does not appear in such circumstances. Since the suffixes for 1st (also 2nd) and 3rd person subjects are distinct, no ambiguity results. Competition rules also apply to the postverbal slot; this will be discussed in a later chapter.

{8} **Class A verb stems**

	1st conjugation	*3rd conjugation* (medioactive verbs) [distinct future stem in i-]
EXAMPLES:		
present:	mal_4-av_6-s_{10}	$pikr_4$-ob_6-s_{10}
future:	da_1-mal_4-av_6-s_{10}	i_3-$pikr_4$-eb_6-s_{10}
	"sb hides / will hide sb, sthg"	"sb thinks / will think"

{9} **Class P verb stems**

	2nd conjugation (three varieties)			*4th conjugation*
	prefixal	suffixal	root	[distinct future stem in e-]
	[**i-/e-**]	[**-en/-d**]	[**unmarked**]	
EXAMPLES:				
present:	i_3-mal_4-eb_6-a_{10}			$Ø_2$-u_3-$q'var_4$-s_{10}
future:	da_1-i-mal-eb-a			Ø-e_3-q'var-eb_6-a_{10}
	"sb hides / will hide"			"sb loves / will love sb, sthg"

Tschenkéli's "indirect verbs" are a subclass of Class P verbs characterized by non-overlap of morphological and semantic subject, a phenomenon I will describe a bit further on.

Prefixal Class P verbs are marked by the version vowels i- and e- (the latter almost always signalling the presence of an indirect object), e.g.:

{10}		
	da-**i**-xat'-eb-a	"it is being painted"
	AORIST: da-**i**-xat'-a	PRES.PERF.: da-xat'-ul-a
	da-**e**-xat'eb-a	"it is being painted for her/him/them"
	AORIST: da-**e**-xat'-a	PRES.PERF.: da-(h)-xat'-v-i-a

Suffixal Class P verb stems are formed by the addition of the suffix -d- (in Old Georgian both -d- and its allomorph -n- were used):[3]

{11}		
	še-c'ux-**d**-eb-a	"s/he becomes troubled"
	AORIST: še-c'ux-**d**-a	PRES.PERF.: še-c'ux-eb-ul-a

Unmarked or root Class P verbs have no distinctive stem-derivational element; they are primary class P verbs:

{12}		
	mo-k'vd-eb-a	"s/he dies"
	AORIST: mo-k'vd-a	PRES.PERF.: mo-m-k'vd-ar-a
	mo-Ø-u-k'vd-eb-a	"s/he dies on her/him/them"
	AORIST: mo-Ø-u-k'vd-a	PRES.PERF.: mo-Ø-k'vd-om-i-a

[3]In Old Georgian (e)n was the basic form. In the context of a preceding /n/, /l/ or /r/ the (dissimilative) allomorph -d was used. In Modern Georgian -d is used in all environments [Shanidze 1953:298]. Suffixal Class P verbs are rare in Laz-Mingrelian [Danelia 1976:165], and do not occur in Svan [Topuria 1967:40].

Each of these three types of 2nd conjugation Class P verb forms its series I and II stems in its distinctive fashion. In series III, by contrast, all class P verbs form their stems in the same way.

The distinction between Class A and Class P verbs is important for case assignment, as we shall see. It is not, however, correlated with transitivity. Most 3rd conjugation (medioactive) verbs and many 1st conjugation verbs are intransitive.[4] As Holisky [1981] has demonstrated, the criterial distinction between medioactive verbs and other intransitives is one of lexical aspect: medioactives are atelic activity verbs. So, for example, the atelic verb *duγ-s* "sthg boils" is Class A medioactive; its telic inchoative *duγ-d-eb-a* "sthg begins to boil" is Class P. These two verbs have very different case assignment properties, even though both are nonagentive intransitives.

(c) Series and screeve: Both of these terms are adapted from Shanidze [1953]. A SCREEVE (Geo. *mc'k'rivi*) is a group of fully-inflected verb forms which have all verbal categories in common save person and number. This corresponds to the familiar arrangement of verb paradigms in school grammars of Latin, French, etc. A SERIES (Geo. *seria*) comprises a set of screeves with common case assignment and, except in the case of series III, stem formation characteristics. The above three series are common to all Kartvelian languages. (A so-called "series IV" found in some dialects of western Georgia will be described later).

§2.2. Case marking and agreement.

The one feature of Georgian morphological patterning that has drawn the most attention from linguists is the correlation between the mechanisms of crossreference and case marking. Georgian manifests a SPLIT ERGATIVE pattern along four of Dixon's [1979:79-96] dimensions: lexical verb class, NP type, tense/aspect and bound vs. free pronominals. In what follows I will be outlining the structure of standard modern Georgian. Svan manifests essentially the same pattern. The two Zan languages differ from Georgian and Svan — and from each other — in important respects; we will not discuss them until chapter XII.

§2.2.1. 3rd person nominals.

In discussing Kartvelian case marking, we should be careful to separate out the distinct phenomena of CASE ASSIGNMENT, a property of the verb stem, and CASE AVAILABILITY, a property of the nominal in question. For all Kartvelian languages, 1st and 2nd person pronominals behave significantly differently from 3rd person forms in this respect. To begin, we will look at case and person marking for 3rd person NPs in Georgian, shown in {13}.

Verb-argument relations at the lexical-semantic level can be characterized by at least two sets of roles. The first set comprises (DEEP) CASE or THEMATIC ROLES. Examples include "agent," "instrument," "patient," "theme," and so forth. In order to account for similarities in the morphological and syntactic behavior of the arguments of major classes of verbs, SECONDARY ROLES are also assigned by the verb [Foley & Van Valin 1984:28-36]. These secondary roles, it is important to note, are not always predictable from the deep-case roles. In the Kartvelian languages, case assignment and agreement reflect the three secondary roles given in chart {13} as **NP1**, **NP2** and **NP3**. In this way, one can represent the fact that the experiencer NP1 of the Georgian Class A verb *ganicdis* "sb

[4]According to Harris [1981:268-70] the reverse is also true: some Class P verbs are transitive, that is, according to her criteria their argument structures include both "initial subjects" and "initial direct objects." Examples from Georgian include *da-h-p'ir-d-eb-a* "sb promises sthg to sb," *e-ubn-eb-a* "sb says sthg to sb." Verbs of this type are often accompanied by case-assignment irregularities in series II. Alongside the normative usage *is mas mas dahp'irda* [she:NOM him/her:DAT it:DAT promise:IIp:S3sg:O3] "s/he promised it to him/her," one also hears *man mas is dahp'irda* [s/he:ERG him/her:DAT it:NOM promise:IIp:S3sg:O3].

undergoes sthg (usually unpleasant)" is case-marked in the same way as the agent NP1 of a verb like *daurt'q'ams* "sb hits sb."

{13} **Case and person marking for 3rd person NPs**

	CLASS A			CLASS P	
	NP1	*NP2*	*NP3*	*NP1*	*NP2*
series I					
agreement	S	O_3^x	$O_3^Ø$	S	O_3^x
case	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	DAT
series II					
agreement	S	O_3^x	$O_3^Ø$	S	O_3^x
case	ERG	DAT	NOM	NOM	DAT
series III					
agreement	O_3^x	— —	S	S	O_3^x
case	DAT	[+tvis]	NOM	NOM	DAT

series I = present/future, imperfect/conditional, conjunctive
series II = aorist, optative, imperative, (permansive)
series III = present perfect, pluperfect, perfect conjunctive
NP1 = agent, source, theme, patient
NP2 = addressee, recipient, experiencer, beneficiary
NP3 = patient, goal, theme, instrument
O_3^x = indirect object agreement
$O_3^Ø$ = direct object agreement

To illustrate the pattern of case assignment and agreement in Modern Georgian, Class A and P verbs in all three series formed from the root gzavn "send" are given below:

{14} **CLASS A**

present:	*švil-eb-i*	*c'eril-s*	*ga-Ø-u-gzavn-i-an*	*mama-s.*
	child-PL-NOM	letter-DAT	send:Ia:S3pl:O3	father-DAT
aorist:	*švil-eb-ma*	*c'eril-i*	*ga-Ø-u-gzavn-es*	*mama-s.*
	child-PL-ERG	letter-NOM	send:IIa:S3pl:O3	father-DAT
pres.pf:	*švil-eb-s*	*c'eril-i*	*ga-Ø-u-gzavn-i-a-t*	*mam-isa-tvis.*
	child-PL-DAT	letter-NOM	send:IIIa:O3pl:S3	father-GEN-for

"The children will send/sent/have sent a letter to (their) father."

{15} **CLASS P**

present:	*c'eril-i*	*ga-Ø-e-gzavn-eb-a*	*mama-s.*
	letter-NOM	send:PASS:Ip:S3sg:O3	father-DAT
aorist:	*c'eril-i*	*ga-Ø-e-gzavn-a*	*mama-s.*
	letter-NOM	send:PASS:IIp:S3sg:O3	father-DAT
pres.pf:	*c'eril-i*	*ga-Ø-gzavn-i-a*	*mama-s.*
	letter-NOM	send:PASS:IIIp:S3sg:O3	father-DAT

"The letter will be/was/has been sent to father."

Either NP3 or NP2 will control agreement in a series I or II Class A verb, but not both. Competition rules, to be discussed later, determine which gets overt marking in the verb. In the

above examples, the indirect object (NP2) controls agreement. The shift in case-assignment pattern between series I and II arose from an aspect-conditioned split ergative system, still largely intact in Old Georgian [Mach'avariani 1974; Schmidt 1984; Harris 1985:93-106]: the series I screeves were characterized by linear aspect, series II punctiliar. In the modern Kartvelian languages this aspectual opposition still remains, but an additional opposition — accomplished vs. non-accomplished action — is signalled by the presence or absence of preverbs. This newer system crosscuts series boundaries. Series I has three preverbed screeves [future, conditional and future conjunctive]. Conversely, preverb-less series II aorists are not infrequently encountered, especially for atelic medioactives [Deeters 1930:139-40; Holisky 1981b]. It is important to note that the pattern of person agreement does **not** shift for Class A verbs between series I and II.

Case assignment in Georgian, of course, is not ergative in any strict sense of the word, because of the large number of intransitive verbs assigning ERG case in series II [Harris 1982]. Consider our two verbs of boiling:

{16}

	medioactive (Class A)		inchoative (Class P)	
present:	*c'q'al-i*	*duγ-s*	*c'q'al-i*	*duγ-d-eb-a*
	water-NOM	boil:Ia:S3sg	water-NOM	boil:INCH:Ip:S3sg
aorist:	*c'q'al-**ma***	*i-duγ-a*	*c'q'al-**i***	*a-duγ-d-a*
	water-ERG	boil:IIa:S3sg	water-NOM	boil:INCH:IIp:S3sg
	"the water boils/boiled"		"the water begins/began to boil"	

1st and 3rd conjugation verbs in series III undergo INVERSION. The output of this transformation is a verb stem formally identical to a Class P relative passive (i.e. a passive with an indirect object). The agent or source NP is marked by DAT case, the patient or theme NP — if there is one — by NOM case [Harris 1981:117-45; see also Arabuli 1984; Saxokia 1985]. A diagram of the inversion process is given in {17}. In the modern Georgian Sprachgefühl, it should be noted, the series III screeves of Class A verbs are indeed regarded as Class A, and not as derived Class P verbs [Shanidze 1961]. The factor of paradigmatic unity outweighs a purely form-based perception.

{17}

Inversion for Class A verbs

	NP1x	*NP3y*	
series I:	NOM	DAT	$\mathbf{O_y}$-stem(a)-$\mathbf{S_x}$
series II:	ERG	NOM	$\mathbf{O_y}$-stem(a)-$\mathbf{S_x}$
series III:	DAT	NOM	$\mathbf{O_x}$-stem("p")-$\mathbf{S_y}$

Finally, it is to be noted that not all 3rd person nominals follow the pattern of case marking illustrated in {13}. Certain nominals lack distinct NOM and ERG forms. The animate interrogative/relative pronoun *vin* in Georgian [Shanidze 1953:102-3], the demonstrative *muk* in Laz [Chikobava 1936:76-7], and proper names in Old Georgian [Imnaishvili 1957:368-71] appear in their bare-stem forms in both NOM and ERG contexts [see also Mach'avariani 1970, Boeder 1979]:[5]

[5]There is evidence indicating that proper names in an earlier stage of Svan were also characterized by a declension pattern in which NOM and ERG were not distinguished [Ch'umburidze 1964].

{18} *c'ar-Ø-i-q'wan-a* *iesu-Ø* *p'et're-Ø* *da* *iak'ob-Ø*
take:IIa:S3sg:O3 Jesus-ERG Peter-NOM and Jacob-NOM
"Jesus took Peter and James." [Mt 17:1 (Xanmeti)]

§2.2.2. 1st and 2nd person nominals.

Person agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments follows the pattern in {18}. Case marking is considerably different from that given above, for the simple reason that in all Kartvelian languages, 1st and 2nd person pronouns have no distinct NOM, ERG and DAT forms. The root form is used in all three contexts.

{19} **Person marking for 1st/2nd person pronouns**

	CLASS A			CLASS P	
	NP1	*NP2*	*NP3*	*NP1*	*NP2*
series I agreement	S	O	O	S	O
series II agreement	S	O	O	S	O
series III agreement	O	—	S	S	O

{20} a. ***čven*** *ga-v-gzavn-e-t* *is* "We <ERG> sent it."
we:ERG send:IIa:S1pl:O3 it:NOM
b. *man* *ga-gv-gzavn-a* ***čven*** "S/he sent us <NOM>."
s/he:ERG send:IIa:S3sg:O1pl us:NOM
c. *man* *gamo-gv-i-gzavn-a* ***čven*** "S/he sent (it) to us <DAT>."
s/he:ERG send:IIa:S3sg:O1pl us:DAT

Note also the behavior of 1st/2nd person NPs in inversion constructions:

{21} a. ***čven*** *ga-gv-i-gzavn-i-a* *is* "We <DAT> have sent it."
we:DAT send:IIIa:S3sg:O1pl it:NOM
b. *mas* *ga-v-u-gzavn-i-var-t* ***čven*** "S/he has sent us <NOM>."
s/he:DAT send:IIIa:S1pl:O3 us:NOM

In these examples the case marking of the 1pl pronoun *čven* does not change, although the agreement it controls does (Set S in 20a and 21b, Set O in 20b, 20c and 21a). That this is due to the declensional properties of 1st/2nd pronouns — and not to case assignment characteristics of the verb itself — is demonstrated by instances where a 3rd person NP is in apposition to a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. The following example comes from a 13th century charter [Dzidziguri (ed) 1984:133]:

{22} *mo-g-e-c-Ø* *[me,* *mic'oblize-**man*** *paramuz]* *[tkwen* *monazon-**ta**]* *sigel-i*
give:IIa:S1:O2 I:ERG M.-ERG P.:ERG you_{pl}:DAT monk-DATPL seal-NOM
"I, Paramuz Mic'oblidze <ERG>, gave you monks <DAT> a seal." [Kart. ist'or. sabut. I]

The noun *mic'oblize* is marked for the ERG case assigned to the NP of which it is a part, although the pronominal head of the NP remains in its root form. Likewise, the word *monazon-ta* "monks" reflects the DAT case assigned to its NP although the pronoun *tkwen* does not.

The pattern for 1st/2nd person pronouns in series I and II, then, is purely nominative-accusative — i.e. the pattern manifest by the person-agreement system.

§2.2.3. Object agreement.

In regard to the pattern of agreement with morphological object NPs, Modern Georgian morphology shares some features with the "primary-object language" type proposed by Dryer [1986] (see also Blansitt [1984]). Such languages are characterized by morphosyntactic operations which treat notional indirect objects, and the notional direct objects of verbs that lack indirect objects, as a distinct grammatical relation ("primary object," abbreviated PO). The PO relation is accorded a greater morphosyntactic prominence than the "secondary object" (SO) relation — the notional direct objects of verbs which also have indirect objects.

Analyzing the grammar of the Kartvelian languages in terms of such categories yields some interesting insights. Consider Set O person marking, as shown in fig {6}. The 1st and 2nd person affixes (Georgian m-, gw-, and g-) are in fact PO markers. Earlier I mentioned that slot-competition protocols favor indirect objects (IOs) over direct objects (DOs). Specifically, should a 1st/2nd person addressee or recipient cooccur with a 1st/2nd patient or theme, the latter undergoes "tavization" [Braithwaite 1973:77-79], that is, it is replaced by a NP comprising the 1st or 2nd person possessive and the pronoun *tav-* "head,self":

{23}	*man*	*gamo-m-i-gzavn-a*	*me*	*šeni*	*tav-i*
	s/he:ERG	send:IIa:S3sg:O1sg	me:DAT	$your_{sg}$	self-NOM
	"S/he sent you (lit. 'your self') to me."				

The *tav-* headed NP is formally 3rd person, and does not control person agreement.

When a 1st/2nd person patient/theme competes with a 3rd person addressee or recipient, one of two things can happen, depending on the dialect of the speaker. Tbilisi Georgians employ tavization here as well [Harris 1981:283]:

{24}	*deda-tkven-ma*	*tkveni*	*tav-i*	*ča-**Ø**$_a$-a-bar-a*	***mas**$_a$*
	$mother\text{-}your_{pl}$-ERG	$your_{pl}$	self-NOM	entrust:IIa:S3sg:O3	him:DAT
	"Your mother entrusted you to him/her."				

Speakers from other areas may crossreference the direct object in preference to the indirect object [Boeder 1968:90]:

{25}	*deda-tkven-ma*	***tkven**$_b$*	*ča-**g**$_b$-a-bar-a-**t**$_b$*	*mas*
	$mother\text{-}your_{pl}$-ERG	$your_{pl}$:NOM	entrust:IIa:S3sg:O2pl	him:DAT
	"Your mother entrusted you to him/her."			

In all Kartvelian languages, of course, in the absence of an IO a 1st/2nd person DO is crossreferenced by the same Set O agreement affix an IO would control. So, in Tbilisi Georgian, the

1st/2nd person Set O affixes are associated with a primary object relation in Dryer's sense. The 3rd person markers, however, pattern differently, in that they correlate with the IO/DO opposition.[6]

{26} **Pattern of person agreement in Georgian**

	Morphological subject	Primary object	Secondary object
1st:	v- /v- -t	m- /gv-	-Ø- [tavization]
2nd:	Ø-/Ø- -t	g-	-Ø- [tavization]
		Indirect object	Direct object
3rd:	-s,a,o/en,an,es	h/s/Ø-	-Ø-

§2.3. The Silverstein NP hierarchy and Kartvelian morphology.

The agreement and case marking phenomena discussed in this chapter are in accordance with Silverstein's observation [1976,1981] concerning the correlation between NP types, ranked according to a hierarchy of features, and morphological patterning. Those NP types in higher positions on the hierarchy (e.g. 1st and 2nd person pronouns, 3rd person demonstratives and anaphors, proper names) are more likely to manifest a nominative-accusative marking pattern, while those lower on the hierarchy are more likely to manifest an ergative-absolutive pattern.

Three groups of nominals can be distinguished in Kartvelian on the basis of their case-expression properties: (i) 1st and 2nd person pronouns [no distinct NOM, ERG and DAT forms]; (ii) the interrogative/relative pronoun *vin* 'who' in Georgian, the Laz demonstrative *muk* and proper names in Old Georgian [no distinct NOM and ERG forms]; (iii) other nominals. The marking patterns for these groups are shown below ('Ø' indicates the unmarked root form of a nominal). Groups (i) and (ii) manifest a purely nominative-accusative marking pattern, while the marking for group (iii) shifts from nominative-accusative in Series I to a split ergative system in Series II.

{27} **Subject/direct-object marking and NP type**

	CLASS A NP1	CLASS P NP1	CLASS A NP3
1st/2nd pronouns			
agreement:	S	S	O
case (series I/II):	Ø	Ø	Ø
proper names, demonstratives			
agreement:	S	S	O
case (series I):	Ø	Ø	DAT
case (series II):	Ø	Ø	Ø
other nominals:			
agreement:	S	S	O
case (series I):	NOM	NOM	DAT
case (series II):	ERG	NOM	NOM

[6]This characterization applies to standard modern Georgian and Svan. Since both Zan languages have only one Set M 3rd person affix (Ø-), there is no basis for postulating a patterning split between 1st/2nd and 3rd person agreement. Old Georgian Set M 3rd person marking presents special complexities I will not address here. See Shanidze [1920] and Tuite [1990]. In those Georgian dialects which allow sentences like {24}, the situation is somewhat more complicated in that tavization in sensitive to the relative ranking of the NPs involved. (This is an instance of what Silverstein terms "global" — as opposed to "local" — conditioning of a pattern split [1976: 124-5, 134-7].)

A similar diagram can be made for object marking, which splits according to NP type between a PO/SO marking pattern and an IO/DO pattern. In this case the split is between 1st and 2nd-person and 3rd person.

{28} **Object marking and person of NP head**

	NP2	NP3 (NO NP2)	NP3 (WITH NP2)
1st/2nd person head			
agreement:	𝕆	𝕆	[tavization]
case (series I/II):	Ø	Ø	— —
3rd person head			
agreement:	$O_3{}^x$	$𝕆_3Ø$	$𝕆_3Ø$
case (series I):	DAT	𝔻𝔸𝕋	𝔻𝔸𝕋
case (series II):	DAT	ℕ𝕆𝕄	ℕ𝕆𝕄

More precisely, the patterning split is between NPs headed by 1st or 2nd person arguments (whether or not overtly expressed) and NPs headed by 3rd person arguments. This is very different from the first case-marking split, which depends on the nominal itself, regardless of the person of the NP head. (This was illustrated in example {22}). As the NP-type hierarchy is based upon independent metapragmatic factors, there is no reason to expect that its effects will be limited to the case and agreement phenomena in which it was first described. And indeed, the Silverstein hierarchy will come up yet one more time in this discussion of Kartvelian morphosyntax, when the data concerning number agreement are analyzed in the concluding section of the book.

CHAPTER III. MORPHOLOGICAL SUBJECT AND SEMANTIC SUBJECT.

In this chapter Kartvelian evidence concerning the category of subject will be examined. The two main points I wish to make are these:

(i) On the basis of crosslinguistically validated criteria, we can establish two classes of clausal arguments which can be called 'subjects': one based on semantic criteria, and one based on formal criteria. In many languages (e.g. English), the two overlap extensionally. In most Kartvelian dialects, however, there is a large class of verbs which mark their semantic subjects as (indirect or direct) objects.

(ii) In comparison to languages such as English, in which a number of grammatical rules — in particular those relating to clause linking and the use of zero anaphora — make specific reference to the category of subject, its counterpart in the Kartvelian languages is not very prominent at all. Only a handful of grammatical rules specify the subject.

The Georgian word corresponding to our "subject" is *kvemdebare,* a direct calque of the Greek *hupokeímenon*. It was frequently used in medieval Georgian philosophical works as a logical term [D. Melikishvili, personal communication]. Along with Greek-based terminology, Georgian scholars imported a Greek-based conception of grammar, often with bizarre results.[7] The 18th century grammars of Shanshovani (1737) and Catholicos Ant'on I (1767), for example, imposed a four-gender system (masculine, feminine, neuter and "common") on Georgian declension despite the complete absence of such a category in any Kartvelian language, even for 3rd person pronouns [Chikobava 1942:248-54]. A Greek-based notion of case relations was similarly shoehorned onto Georgian split-ergative patterning. The earliest grammatical sketch of Georgian, by the Italian Francesco-Maria Maggio (1670), describes the ERG case as a variant of the nominative. Shanshovani ignores it altogether. The French scholar M. F. Brosset in various works termed the ERG an "article emphatique" (1827) or "démonstratif" (1837). Even as recent a work as Zorell's Old Georgian grammar of 1930 lists the ERG as a "second nominative" [1930:92]. Likewise, an "accusative case" [Geo. *braldebiti*], identical to the NOM, appears in Georgian grammars from Shanshovani to Zorell [Chikobava 1969:114]. Only since the appearance of Schuchardt [1895] is the split-ergative nature of Georgian and Svan morphology explicitly acknowledged. Until this point the western European notion of subjecthood, grounded in the overlap of several structurally independent semantic, morphological and syntactic phenomena, influenced Georgianists to impose a nominative-accusative pattern by terminological fiat. Crudely put, this method involved the juxtaposition of Georgian and standard-average-European (SAE) translation equivalents, and the assignment of case designations to the former by using the latter as a template. Formal considerations were largely overridden. Schuchardt's accomplishment can be trivialized as a mere substitution of passive SAE translation equivalents for active ones, to more closely align with Georgian series II patterning — hence the title of his 1895 article: "The passive character of the Caucasian transitive." This insight is in fact much richer than one might at first suppose (for two quite different extrapolations see Anderson [1976], Saxok'ia [1985]). One consequence Schuchardt himself drew from it is the need to partition the classical notion of subject into its semantic and formal components. In this work, the term SEMANTIC SUBJECT will refer to a grammatical relation based on semantic criteria, and the term MORPHOLOGICAL SUBJECT to a grammatical relation based on formal criteria.

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[7]The brief history of Georgian grammatical description presented here is largely based on Schuchardt [1895:56-61] and Chikobava [1969].

§3.1. Morphological subject.

The relationship of clausal arguments to the verb can be indicated by case, word order or agreement. Within the relation-coding systems of many languages, one case, word order slot or agreement affix set will stand out in some respect. In many languages with case marking, for example, there is one case which is formally opposed to the rest. In a case system of nominative-accusative alignment, the case marker associated with the subject is in many languages marked by a zero morpheme, and in ergative-absolutive systems, it is the absolutive (the case associated with the intransitive subject and transitive direct object) which is expressed by a zero morpheme.

There are other means of setting one case in contradistinction to the others. In the declensional systems of many languages, some or all nominals have two distinct stems. One stem (the RECTUS stem) is used for the nominative or absolutive case, and the other (OBLIQUE) stem — often derived from the first stem by addition of a suffix — is used as the base for all other cases. Here are sample declensions from an Eskimo dialect spoken in Northwest Greenland [Thalbitzer 1911: 1018, 1049] and from Eastern Pomo [McLendon 1975: 107-111]. In Eskimo, which has a case-marking system with ergative-absolutive alignment, the absolutive case is indicated by the rectus stem. Eastern Pomo has a rather involved case-marking system with split alignment [McLendon 1978]. The case associated with the rectus stem for 1st and 2nd singular pronouns, and which is unmarked relative to the objective case (marked by the suffix *-al*) for other pronouns and kinterms, indicates the semantic subject (i.e. it is a nominative case).

{1} **Examples of rectus/oblique stem opposition in Eskimo and Pomo**

NORTHWEST GREENDLANDIC ESKIMO

rectus stem:	ABS	iλλo ‘house’	una ‘he/she/it there’
oblique stem:	REL[8]	iλλu-p	oom-a
	ALL	iλλu-m-ut	oom-oŋŋa
	LOC	iλλu-m-e	oom-ane
	ABL	iλλu-m-it	oom-aŋŋa
	INS	iλλu-m-ik	oom-iŋŋa

EASTERN POMO

rectus stem:	SUBJECT	ha ‘I’	ma ‘you	SUBJECT	wa: ‘we’
				OBJECT	wa:-l
oblique stem:	OBJECT	wi	mi[9]		
	GEN	wa-x	mi:-bax	GEN	way-bax
	COMIT	wi-mak’	mi:-mak’	COMIT	way-mak’
	POSS	wi-	mi:-	POSS	way-

[8]The Eskimo relative case marks the transitive subject (i.e. it functions as an ergative) and also indicates possession (genitive function).

[9]McLendon [1973: 56] reconstructs *-í- as the oblique-stem formant for 1st and 2nd singular pronouns in Proto Pomo.

Using similar criteria, the NOM case of the Kartvelian languages can be shown to have a special status compared to the other cases. Consider the following Svan and Georgian declensional paradigms:

{2} **Examples of rectus/oblique stem opposition in Kartvelian**

		SVAN		GEORGIAN	
rectus stem:	NOM	žeɣ "dog"	mäy "what"	is "he/she/it"	isi-ni "they; those"
oblique stem:	DAT	žaɣ–w	im	ma-s	ma-t
	ERG	žaɣ–w-em	im-n-e:m	ma-n	ma-t
	GEN	žaɣ–w-m-iš	im-ša	m-is	ma-t
	INS	žaɣ–w-š	im-n-ošw	m-it	
	ADV	žaɣ–w-d	im-n-är-d		

Yet another indication that a particular grammatical-relation marker has special status is OBLIGATORINESS within the clause or within the morphological structure of the verb. One of the more familiar examples is the obligatory presence of an NP in the word-order slot associated with the SS in English and some other West European languages (e.g. the use of a dummy subject in weather and time expressions: 'it is 4:00,' 'es regnet,' etc.). A similar constraint in languages with ergative-absolutive relation-marking systems is the obligatory presence of an absolutive-case NP in the case frames associated with every verb in Chechen-Ingush, Archi and many other languages of the Northeast Caucasian family [Kibrik 1979; Nichols 1984].

As for agreement systems, in languages with more than one set of agreement markers (verbal bipersonalism or polypersonalism) it is sometimes the case that a marker from one set must occur in every finite verb, even when it does not crossreference a noun phrase semantically subcategorized by the verb. The Kartvelian verb, which employs two sets of person-agreement markers, is constrained by such a rule: a marker from the "subject" set (Set S) must occur in every finite verb. No such constraint applies to the "object" agreement set (Set O) [Shanidze 1961:190-193; Oniani 1978: 40-41]. In the following two Georgian examples, the 3rd person Set S marker (-s) is a dummy morpheme. It does not crossreference a referentially-contentful NP (Δ = dummy argument).

{3} *ʒaɣl-s* *s-ʒinav-**s*** ***Δ***.
dog-DAT sleep:Ip:O3:**S3sg** (**Δ**:NOM)
"The dog is sleeping." (lit. '**it$_{Δ}$** sleeps to the dog')

{4} *c'vim-**s*** ***Δ***.
rain:Ia:**S3** (**Δ**:NOM)
"**It$_{Δ}$** is raining."

The verb *s-ʒinav-s,* like most Kartvelian verbs of emotion, sensation, bodily state and possession, belongs to the set of INDIRECT VERBS [Merlan 1982]. These verbs subcategorize for a (typically animate) experiencer, which is denoted by an NP in the DAT case. This argument is often referred to as the "real" or "psychological" subject, even though it is crossreferenced by Set O (i.e. object) agreement markers.[10] While most indirect verbs govern a NOM NP, denoting the thing per-

[10]Indirect verbs are sometimes said to have undergone a process of "inversion" similar to that

ceived, experienced or possessed, many seldom or never allow such an argument. The verb in {3} is a case in point, as are *s-civ-a* "sb is cold", *Ø-γviʒavs*, "sb is awake", *h-ši-a* "sb is hungry", *Ø-e-mtknar-eb-a* "sb feels like yawning." The verb in {4}, like weather verbs in many pro-drop languages, has a syntactic valence of zero and a morphological valence of one.[11] What these two verbs have in common is a non-referring S_{3sg} marker.[12]

For a given language, the unmarked/rectus relational marker must be determined separately for each morphological system. Within the coding systems of English and other Indo-European languages, the subcomponents (case and/or word order, and agreement) converge upon the same argument. In English, for example, the NP occurring in the subject slot is also the only NP which can control agreement in the verb. This NP is unambiguously the MS.

The morphological systems of some languages are not so unanimous. Blake [1977] notes that in many Australian languages, the agreement and case-assignment systems do not pattern in the same way: case assignment follows an ergative-absolutive pattern, while "bound pronominals" (i.e. agreement affixes) manifest a nominative-accusative pattern. As was mentioned earlier, this is also true of Georgian Class A verbs in series II. The NP1 argument controls Set S agreement, but is assigned an oblique case (ERG). The argument assigned rectus (NOM) case, the NP3, controls Set O ("object") agreement; e.g.:

{5} *xatuna-*m_p *motxroba-*$Ø_q$ *še-*$Ø_q$*-txz-a*$_p$
X.-ERG story-NOM compose:IIa:S3sg:O3]
"Xatuna <ERG, **S_{3sg}**> composed a short story <**NOM**, $O_3^{Ø}$>."

---

implicated in the derivation of the series III forms of Class A verbs [Harris 1981:117-45]. While the ancestors of the Class A series III screeves were most probably indirect verbs [Harris 1985:288-9], Shanidze [1961] argues that the reinterpretation of these verb forms as part of the Class A conjugation paradigm is grounds for separating them from verbs with lexically-based, screeve-independent indirect syntax. I will use the term "inversion" to refer only to the process which derives the series III forms of Class A verbs, since this process does in fact invert the relation between coding and grammatical role observed in series I and II.

[11]These terms are adapted from Gamq'relidze [1979]. The syntactic valence (Geo. *valent'oba*) of a verb is the number of arguments it governs (i.e. assigns case), while morphological valence (*p'irianoba*) is the number of arguments controlling crossreferencing affixation in the verb — in standard modern Georgian this can be either one or two. In most cases, the two values are equal. Ditransitive verbs will have a higher syntactic (3) than morphological (2) valence, because only one of the grammatical objects will control agreement. The converse also occurs, as in the above examples.

[12]As it turns out, this morphotactically-conditioned Set S dummy (Δ) is one of at least three "empty categories" to be found in the Kartvelian languages. The other two are:

(a) zero anaphors: The Kartvelian languages allow the omission of NPs denoting unemphatic or presupposed arguments. Compare:

{i} *mi-s-c-a* *man* *is* *mas*
gave:IIa:S3sg:O3 s/he:ERG it:NOM him/her:DAT
{ii} *mi-s-c-a* ***Ø*** ***Ø*** ***Ø***
"S/he gave it to him/her."

(b) fossils: Some Georgian verbs require O_3^x markers although they never govern a formal indirect object [Shanidze 1920: §35; Deeters 1930:35-37; Boeder 1979:464]; e.g.

{iii} *man* *da-h-pl-a* *is* ***Δ***
s/he:ERG bury:IIa:S3sg:O3 him/her:NOM (Δ:DAT)
"S/he buried him/her."

Shanidze hypothesizes that a highly presupposed DAT argument (e.g. "to-the-earth" for the above, as is attested in some early texts) faded from use, leaving the O_3^x marker as its only trace.

It therefore appears that either of these arguments could be claimed to be the MS of this sentence. Kartvelologists have more or less arbitrarily selected one or the other morphological subcomponent as indicative of MS-hood. For Schuchardt [also Deeters 1930:93-8], the MS is marked by NOM case — this is axiomatic. In sentences such as the above, then, the NP3 argument (direct object) is the MS; the person affixes on the verb mark **semantic** and not morphological subject and object [Schuchardt 1895:49]. Most Georgian linguists (e.g. Chikobava [1967]) take the opposing view, and define Set S agreement as the marker of MS-hood. This latter definition will be adopted here: for the Kartvelian languages, the MS is the argument crossreferenced by Set S affixation.

§3.2. Semantic subject.

The "subject properties list" devised by Keenan [1976] is composed of three main groups of criteria: (a) semantic, (b) coding and (c) behavioral and control properties. The category of "semantic subject" (SS) which will be used here is based primarily upon criteria from the first group. The definitions of subject given by Keenan [1976] and Dixon [1979:101-18] refer to notions such as "agentivity," "autonomy" and "control." Tests for (semantic) subjecthood proposed by these authors include:

> semantic role: The SS is the most agentive argument of the verb. This implies a hierarchy of deep-case roles from most to least agentive, something like the following (adapted from Foley & Van Valin 1984:59):
>
> *agent > effector/instrument > experiencer > theme > patient*
>
> imperatives: The (usually deleted) 2nd person argument of a verb functioning as an imperative is the SS. This argument is, by definition, conceived of as able to exert control over some action or state.
>
> autonomous reference: According to Keenan [1976:313], "the reference of a b(asic) subject must be determinable by the addressee at the moment of utterance. It cannot be made to depend on the reference of other NPs" within the clause. In other words, pronominals which must be coreferent with another clausal argument cannot be in subject position. This "is plausibly a universal necessary condition" on subjecthood [ibid:314].

Consideration should be given to the transformational level at which these tests operate, that is, to the effect of voice on SS-hood. While agentivity is a reliable important semantic correlate of the SS in "basic" sentences [see Keenan 1976:309-11 for guidelines on the application of this latter term], it does not always work for other sentence types. In English, the subject in passive construction functions as SS according to the other tests above, even though the agent is present in a prepositional phrase, as in the (c) and (d) sentences above. In Tagalog, a voice transformation (if that is what change of focus in fact is) does not affect SS status. The most agentive argument functions as SS, whether or not marked as formal topic (i.e. subject) [Schachter 1976: 503-7;1977: 292].

The autonomous reference condition corresponds to the "nominative-island condition" of the GB framework [Chomsky 1986:168]); e.g.

{6} a. They$_i$ betrayed each other$_i$.
b. *Each other$_j$ betrayed them$_j$.
c. They$_k$ were betrayed by each other$_k$.
d. *Each other$_l$ was betrayed by them$_l$.

The reciprocal pronoun *each other,* which depends on another NP in the clause for its reference, cannot function as SS.

§3.2.1. The Georgian semantic subject and the nominative-island condition.

Concerning the referential autonomy test, one notes that the Georgian reflexive pronominal *tav-* and the reciprocal *ertmane(r)t-* observe the nominative island condition, and thus can serve as reliable means for determining SS-hood. The reflexive *tav-* "is always coreferent with the subject of its clause" [Harris 1981: 24]. In the relational-grammar approach used by Harris, the meaning of "subject" is decomposed into several sets of properties, associated with distinct syntactic levels. The antecedent of *tav-* must be an "initial" subject — which usually corresponds to what I term a SS — and a final term (NP1, NP2 or NP3) [ibid:207-8]. Some examples:

{7} *nino-m$_j$* *tavis-tvis$_j$* *i-q'id-a* *es* *c'ign-i*
Nino-ERG self-for buy:IIa:S3sg:O3 this book-NOM
"Nino bought this book for herself."

{8} *vano-s$_k$* *Ø-u-q'var-s* *tavisi* *tav-i$_k$*
Vano-DAT love:Ip:S3sg:O3 his self-NOM
"Vano loves himself."

{9} *ekim-ma$_l$* *Ø-a-lap'arak'-a* *vano$_m$* *tavis* *tav-ze$_{l,m}$*
doctor-ERG talk:CAUS:IIa:S3sg:O3 Vano-NOM his/her self-on
"The doctor got Vano to talk about him/herself."

In {8} the DAT experiencer of an indirect verb binds the reflexive. In {9}, two arguments are possible antecedents. The verb is a causative derived from the root *lap'arak'* "talk." If one postulates for this clause, as Harris does, an underlying structure as in {10}, then both the surface SS and DO are deep-structure subjects:

{10} [doctor$_l$ CAUSE [Vano$_m$ talk about-himself$_{l,m}$]]

It is this initial-layer subjecthood that is criterial for antecedents of the reflexive *tav-* [Harris 1981:72]. The conclusion I draw from the preceding is that ability to serve as antecedent to *tav-* is determined lexically. For a given verb, the NP associated with the most agentive case role assigned by the verb root can assume this function. Causative derivation creates a new stem with its own agent, but the one assigned by the underlying verb root retains its ability to bind *tav-* . In the case of periphrastic passives, according to Harris, **neither** the surface nor deep subject can bind the reflexive. Sentence {11} is ill-formed no matter how one interprets it [Harris 1981:105-6].

{11} **vano* *daxat'uli-a* *cnobili* *mxat'vr-is* *mier* *tav-is-tvis.*
V:NOM painted:NOM-is famous painter-GEN by self-GEN-for
"Vano was painted by a famous painter for him/herself."

Occasional exceptions, where an oblique agent NP binds *tav-*, are attested. Harris reports that the following example is acceptable:

{12} *bevri sisulele i-q'-o nalap'arak'ev i vano-s*$_p$ *mier tav-is tav-ze*$_p$
much silliness:NOM be:IIp:S3sg spoken:NOM V-GEN by his self-on
"Many silly things were said by Vano about himself."

It appears that Georgian reflexivization represents an intermediate case between the morphological-subject controlled phenomenon in English, and its agentivity-controlled counterpart in Tagalog. Georgian prefers SS antecedents for its reflexives, unless they are semantic patients, in which case — occasionally — an oblique agent can antecede *tav-* .

Reciprocal pronouns in the Kartvelian languages are based on stems meaning "one-one" (Geo. *ert-man-e(r)t-*, *urt-i-ert-*: Laz *arti-k-art-*) or "one-second" (Geo. *ert-i-meore*, Mingrelian *art-i-mažira)* [Mart'irosovi 1964:211-9]. They share many of the properties characteristic of English *each other*. In the vast majority of cases the antecedent is the SS, whether or not it is marked as MS:

{13} *Ø*$_x$ *ertmanert-i*$_x$ *ar ga-v-Ø-c'ir-o-t* [Vepxist'q'.:664,4]
Ø:1pl:ERG each.other-NOM not sacrifice:IIa:S1pl:O3
"Let us not sacrifice each other."

{14} *[mama-tkven-sa da me]*$_y$ *gana k'i gv-e-ǰavreb-a ertmanet-i*$_y$*?*
father-your$_{pl}$-DAT and I:DAT really indeed be.angry:Ip:S3sg:O1pl each.other-NOM
"Are your father and I really angry at each other?" [Vazha-Pshavela]

On rare occasions the antecedent is not the SS:

{15} *Ø Ø*$_z$ *ertmanert-isa*$_z$ *šeq'r-ita ga-g-a-xar-a-t*
Ø:3sg:ERG Ø:2pl:NOM each.other-GEN meeting-INS make.happy:IIa:S3sg:O2pl
(lit. "He made you happy with each other's meeting.") [Rusudaniani 491:11]

This also can occur in English, e.g. "I told them$_w$ about each other$_w$" [see Chomsky 1986:166]. In constructions with two plural NPs, both term arguments of the verb, preceding the reciprocal, either of them can be plausibly interpreted as the antecedent:

{16} a. *pot'ograp-eb-ma*$_a$ *Ø-u-čven-es mat*$_b$ *ertmanet-is*$_{\mathbf{b>a}}$
photographer-PL-ERG show:IIa:S3pl:O3 them-DAT each.other-GEN
surat-eb-i.
picture-PL-NOM
b. *mat*$_b$ *Ø-u-čven-es pot'ograp-eb-ma*$_a$ *ertmanet-is*$_{\mathbf{a>b}}$ *surat-eb-i.*
"The photographers showed them each other's pictures."

According to one of my consultants, the plural term NP closest to the reciprocal is the favored antecedent (as long as it precedes). Also, when 3rd plural and 1st or 2nd plural term NPs are both present within the clause, the 3rd person NP is the preferred binder of *ertmanet-* , even if the other argument is closer to the reciprocal.

The antecedent need not be an argument of a finite verb, as long as both it and the reciprocal it binds are constituents of the same NP, e.g:

{17} *[$_S$st'umr-eb-i* *h-k'virobd-nen* *[$_{NP}$tagv-eb-is$_i$* *amgvar*
guest-PL-NOM marvel:Ip:S3pl:O3 mouse-PL-GEN this.much
ertmanet-isa-dmi$_i$ *šebraleba-s* *da* *tanagrʒnoba-s$_{NP}$]$_S$]*
each.other-GEN-toward pity-DAT and compassion-DAT]
"The guests marvelled at the degree of pity and compassion (shown) toward each other by the mice." [Vazha-Pshavela]

Although the plural NP *st'umrebi* is the SS of the only finite verb in the clause, it is clear that the antecedent of the reciprocal is *tagvebi*, the "subject" of the conjoined nominalized verbs of which *ertmanet-* is also an argument. Here the binding domain is the NP, not the entire sentence.

Chomsky observes that bound anaphors in English may not serve as morphological subjects of finite verbs (the "nominative island condition" [Chomsky 1986:168]). Georgian reciprocals appear to observe a similar constraint, if we substitute SS for morphological subject in the statement of the rule:

{18} a. **k'ac-eb-i* *mo-Ø-u-k'lav-s/t* *ertmanet-s*
man-PL-NOM kill:IIIa:O3sg/pl:S3 each.other-DAT
b. *k'ac-eb-s* *mo-Ø-u-k'lav-t* *ertmanet-i*
man-PL-DAT kill:IIIa:O3pl:S3 each.other-NOM
"The men <DAT, MO/SS> have killed each other <NOM, MS/SO>."

Finally, it should be noted that a reciprocal can occur **within** the SS as long as it is an adjunct and not head of the NP:

{19} *k'ac-eb-i* *mo-Ø-k'l-es* *[$_{NP}$ertmanet-is* *col-eb-ma]*
man-PL-NOM kill:IIa:S3pl:O3 each.other-GEN wife-PL-ERG
"The men were killed by each other's wives."
(lit. "Each other's wives <ERG> killed the men <NOM>.")

To sum up this overview of bound pronominals in Georgian: The reflexive pronoun *tav-* and the reciprocal *ertmanet-* must appear within the same clause (or NP) as their antecedents. Both pronominals observe the Georgian equivalent of the nominative island condition — they cannot serve as the heads of SS NPs. The antecedents of these bound pronominals are, in the vast majority of cases, SSs according to the other criteria mentioned at the beginning of this section. Exceptions to this generalization indicate that lexical factors (semantic selection by the verb stem) and to a lesser degree word order play some part in determining permissible or preferred antecedent-anaphor relations. Word order and pragmatic factors (e.g. keeping two possible antecedents of a given anaphor distinct) play an important role in determining the configuration of antecedent-anaphor relations, in both Old and Modern Georgian.

§3.2.2. Indirect verbs.

In English, we note that the argument functioning as SS is coded as MS. In other languages, the SS and MS need not be the same argument. Here are two Icelandic sentences (from A. Andrews, cited in Cole et al [1980:723-4]):

{20} *Jón$_m$* *rétti* *Haraldi* *{sín$_m$ / *hans$_m$}* *föt.*
J.:nominative handed H.:dative his.own/his clothes:accusative
"John$_m$ <SS/MS> handed Harold his$_m$ clothes."

{21} *Henni*$_n$ *svelgdist á stéikinni {sinni*$_n$ / **hennar*$_n$*}.*
she:dative misswallowed on steak her.own/her
"She$_n$ <SS/MO> swallowed her$_n$ steak wrong."

It is a rule of Icelandic grammar that a possessive adjective coreferent with the SS must be reflexive; the nonreflexive possessive (*hans, hennar)* can only be coreferent with an argument other than the SS of its clause — this is a corollary of the referential autonomy condition mentioned above. In {20} it is clear that the MS, marked by nominative case and controlling verb agreement, is functioning as SS. In {21}, the argument displaying SS properties is marked as a morphological object (MO): it is assigned dative case, and does not control agreement. Constructions of this sort are referred to as "indirect" or "inverse."

Indirect constructions occur frequently in the Kartvelian languages. According to Chikobava [1967:44-5], when the MS — defined as the argument controlling Set S agreement in the verb — coincides with the SS, we have a DIRECT CONSTRUCTION [*prjamoj stroj*]. When it does not, that is, when the SS is crossreferenced by Set O agreement markers, the construction is INDIRECT.[13] One prominent type of indirect construction — the assignment of DAT case and Set O agreement to the NP1 arguments of Class A verbs in series III — has been described above. The other type of indirect construction is that accompanying indirect verbs. Because the number of indirect verbs in the Kartvelian languages is so large, we will give special attention to them here.

Several groups of indirect verbs have been described by scholars. The principle group comprises Tschenkéli's [1958:446-90] "indirekte Verben," Aronson's [1982:332-44] 4th conjugation verbs.[14] In Shanidze's classification scheme these verbs are a subgroup of the mediopassives [1953:316-7]. 4th conjugation verbs are primarily stative verbs of perception, physical or mental state, and possession. Some examples are listed below. In each verb the 1st person experiencer is marked by O_{1sg} ("object") agreement, and the 3rd person theme or source by S_{3sg} ("subject") agreement.

{22}	present	future	
	m-ʒul-s	m-e-ʒul-eb-a	"I hate sb/sthg"
	m-i-nd-a	m-e-ndom-eb-a	"I want sb/sthg"
	m-a-xsov-s	m-e-xsom-eb-a	"I remember sb/sthg"
	m-a-k'l-i-a	m-e-k'l-eb-a	"I lack sthg"
	m-e-sm-i-s	m-e-sm-eb-a	"I hear, understand sthg"
	m-a-kv-s	m-e-kn-eb-a	"I have sthg"
	m-γviʒ-av-s	m-e-γviʒ-eb-a	"I am awake"
	m-c'q'ur-i-a	m-e-c'q'ur-eb-a	"I am thirsty"
	m-t'k'iv-a	m-e-t'k'in-eb-a	"My sthg (e.g. body part) hurts"

Equivalent verbs in many other languages also specify "dative-nominative" clause structure [Merlan 1982]; traces of this are found in early English (*me thinks, me seemeth)* and German (*es träumt mir)*. This type of construction is basic and unmarked for the above roots in Georgian. 1st conjugation transitive verbs derived from the same roots (e.g. *še-v-i-ʒul-eb* "I will <intentionally, by act of will> hate sb") are semantically marked for agentivity and/or aspect [Merlan 1982:304-8; cp Tschenkéli 1958:465-6].

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[13]The term used by Chikobava [1967:44-5] is "inverse construction" (*inversivnyj stroj*). I prefer to employ the word "indirect," in order to avoid confusion with "inversion," as defined above.

[14]Aronson [1989] has recently modified the basis for membership in the 4th conjugation to purely formal criteria. Stative passives are now included in this group, although they need not be associated with indirect syntax.

The Set O / DAT argument (experiencer, possessor) of a 4th conjugation verb almost always denotes an animate referent. The Set S / NOM argument (theme), depending on the verb, may denote an animate being, a thing, or nothing at all (dummy NP). In terms of their formal structure, 4th conjugation verbs are very similar to the series III screeves of Class A verbs. Both types of verbs have inflectional patterns characteristic of passives of state [Shanidze 1953: 323-32; Tschenkéli 1958: 434-45].

Syntactically, the DAT NPs of Class A series III verbs have functioned as SSs from the earliest Old Georgian texts onward. Though several series III screeves are believed to have evolved from passive forms in prehistoric Kartvelian [Harris 1985:288-91], there is no evidence in attested Georgian texts for a stage when the MS functioned as SS for these verbs.

Several semantic subgroups of 2nd conjugation verbs (i.e. Class P verbs with future screeves formed by the addition of a preverb to the present screeve) are characterized by indirect syntax. One subgroup comprises verbs of the same general semantic field as that of 4th conjugation verbs [Tschenkéli 1958:464-85], e.g:

{23}	(ga)-m-a-xsen-d-eb-a	"I recall, remember sb/sthg"
	(da)-m-i-gvian-d-eb-a	"I am delayed, I arrive too late"
	(ga)-m-i-t'q'd-eb-a guli	"My heart breaks (= I am disappointed)"
	(še)-m-e-zizγ-eb-a	"I am disgusted by sb/sthg"
	(Ø)-m-e-q'nos-eb-a	"I smell sthg"
	(mo)-m-c'q'ur-d-eb-a	"I become thirsty"

Shanidze [1953:299-301] discusses three more homogeneous subgroups, termed passives of possibility (š*esazlebloba)*, assessment (*mičneva)* and mood (*guneba)*. These verbs are productively derived from noun, adjective and verb stems.

{24} <u>possibility</u>
v-a-č'mev-Ø "I feed sb" ⇒ m-e-č'mev-a "I can eat sthg, sthg is edible for me"
v-cxovrob-Ø "I live" ⇒ m-e-cxovreb-a "I can live, make a living"
example: *čven k'i aγar **gv**-e-cxovreb-i-s magat-gan*
we:DAT indeed no.longer live:Ip:**O1pl**:S3sg them-from
"We can no longer make a living off of them" [A. Q'azbegi (Shanidze 1953:300)]

{25} <u>assessment</u>
m'care "bitter" ⇒ m-e-mc'ar-eb-a "it seems bitter to me"
k'et-ili "good, kind" ⇒ m-e-k'et-eb-a "it seems good to me"
bevr-i "many, much" ⇒ m-e-bevr-eb-a "it seems a lot to me"
example: **m**-e-k'et-a ese tatbir-i
good:IIp:**O1sg**:S3sg this advice-NOM
"This advice seemed good to me." [<u>Vepxist'q'aosani</u> 419:1]

{26} <u>mood</u>
v-i-mγer-i "I am singing" ⇒ m-e-mγer-eb-a "I feel like singing"
kiziq'i (EGeo. province) ⇒ m-e-kiziq'-eb-a "I feel like going to Kiziq'i"
mc'q'ems-i "shepherd" ⇒ m-e-mc'q'ems-eb-a "I feel like being a shepherd"

example: *ra* ***g**-e-kiziq'-eb-a?*
what:NOM Kiziq':IIp:**O2sg**:S3sg
"Why do you want to go to Kiziq'i?" [Vazha (Shanidze 1953:300)]

Pochxishvili [1969] adds a fifth class of 2nd conjugation verbs with indirect syntax: verbs of nonvolitionality (*uneblioba)*. These are related to 1st conjugation verbs with agent-patient deep case frames. For example, corresponding to *mo-v-k'al-i* "I <ERG> killed sb" there is *šemo-m-a-k'vd-a* "I <DAT> killed sb by accident" [lit. "sb died on me"]; corresponding to *pul-i da-v-xarǰ-e* "I <ERG> squandered money" there is *pul-i šemo-m-e-xarǰ-a* "my money ran out on me <DAT>," and so forth. According to Jorbenadze [1983:99] "verbs of possibility, unintentional action and expression of mood are indirect: from a semantic point of view the morphological indirect object is perceived as the subject."

The set of indirect Class P verbs includes both stative and change-of-state verbs. 4th conjugation verbs, and indirect 2nd conjugation verbs with the preradical vowel -e- are predominantly stative, and 2nd conjugation verbs marked with the suffix -d- and root verbs tend to denote changes of state. Stative and inchoative indirect verbs frequently come in pairs, e.g. *m-i-q'var-s* [4th conjugation] "I love sb," *še-m-i-q'var-d-eb-a* [2nd conjugation in -d] "I will fall in love with sb."

The set of screeves in which stative verbs can be used is often less than the full complement. Many only appear in present subseries screeves (present, imperfect, present conjunctive); among them are *m-e-smev-a* "I can drink sthg," *m-e-pikreb-a* "I am preoccupied with sthg." Others appear in future and series III screeves, but do not form series II screeves, e.g. *m-i-q'var-s* [present], *m-e-q'vareb-a* [future], *m-q'vareb-i-a* [pres. perfect], but not **m-e-q'var-a* [aorist] (see Tschenkéli 1958:464-83). The imperfect and present conjunctive "substitute" for the aorist and optative respectively. The change-of-state indirect verbs usually have the full set of screeves [ibid:618-22].

Most indirect verbs are from Class P. Among Class A verbs, we have some medioactive (3rd conjugation) verbs whose NP2s function as SSs. These are verbs denoting sound, light and motion effects which require inanimate MSs [Holisky 1981:160-6]. The NP2s (SSs) are possessors, beneficiaries or experiencers.

{27} *moxuc-eb-s* *tval-eb-i* ***Ø**-u-brc'q'inav-**t***
old.people-PL-DAT eye-PL-NOM sparkle:Ia:**O3pl**:S3sg
"The old people's <DAT, SS> eyes <NOM, SO> sparkled."
[G. Shat'berashvili II:314, cited in K'iziria 1985:104]

Indirect Class A transitive verbs (1st conjugation) also occur. While in Tbilisi I investigated this issue with the assistance of several native-speaker linguists, and found that at least three dozen transitive verbs were associated with indirect syntax. All of these verbs specified an inanimate, usually abstract, NP1 (agent) argument, and an animate NP2 (beneficiary, possessor, experiencer) or NP3 (patient, theme). The latter argument, which is crossreferenced by Set O agreement, functions as SS.

{28} **Indirect transitives: SS = NP2 (possessor, experiencer)**

a. *a-Ø-u-k'ank'aleb-s* sthg makes sb's sthg (e.g.hands) shake
b. *da-Ø-u-manč'av-s* sthg (e.g.pain) distorts sb's sthg (face)
c. *a-Ø-u-msuq'eb-s* sthg (rich food) sates sb's sthg (heart)
d. *še-Ø-u-ruǰav-s* sthg (flame) singes sb's sthg (e.g.hair)
e. *a-Ø-a-t'k'iveb-s* sthg makes sb's sthg (body part) hurt
f. *a-Ø-u-panckaleb-s* sthg makes sb's sthg (heart) fibrillate
g. *Ø-u-cxuneb-s* sthg (sun) burns sb's sthg (body part)
h. *Ø-u-ǰiǰgni-s* sthg torments sb's sthg (heart)
i. *h-gvrem-s* sthg gives sb stomach-ache

{29} **Indirect transitives: SS = NP3 (theme, patient)**

a. *da-Ø-a-elmeb-s* sthg makes sb crosseyed
b. *da-Ø-a-k'ut'eb-s* sthg makes sb crippled
c. *ga-Ø-a-p'irkušeb-s* sthg puts sb in a bad mood
d. *ga-Ø-a-rindeb-s* sthg makes sb mute
e. *aγ-Ø-a-t'q'ineb-s* sthg makes sb ecstatic
f. *da-Ø-a-pikrianeb-s* sthg makes sb pensive
g. *aγ-Ø-a-prtovaneb-s* sthg thrills sb
h. *a-Ø-a-caxcaxeb-s* sthg makes sb tremble
i. *ga-Ø-a-k'oxt'aveb-s* sthg (clothing) suits sb, looks good on sb

Indirect Class A verbs, like indirect Class P verbs, fall into two main groups: those that focus on states (usually psychological), and those that describe changes of state. Several of the verbs above are stative (e.g. *gaak'ox'tavebs, uǰiǰgnis, daapikrianebs)*. These verbs are seldom used in screeves other than those of the present subseries.[15]

[15]According to my consultants, future subseries, series II and series III screeves — that is, those screeves associated with perfective aspect — are marked, though not unacceptable. Since Class A verbs undergo inversion in series III, indirect transitive verbs of the type shown in {28} (NP3 [DO] = SS) will have **direct** syntax in the present perfect and pluperfect. In practice, such verbs are extremely rare. Pxak'adze [1984:103] cites an example from the 17th-century author Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani:

{i} *me niadag šen-sa sakme-sa* ***ga-v-u-k'virveb-i-var***
I:NOM always your-DAT affair-DAT surprise:IIIa:S1sg:O3
"Your affairs <MO/SO> have always surprised me <MS/SS>."
(cp. future [series I]: *me šeni sakme ga-m-a-k'virveb-s*
I:DAT your affair:NOM surprise:Ia:O1sg:S3sg
"Your affairs <MS/SO> will always surprise me <MO/SS>.")

In the case of change-of-state indirect transitives (about half of the verbs in {28} and {29} are of this type) certain series II and III forms seemed very artificial to Georgian speakers. Among indicative-mood screeves, the present was almost always acceptable, the future (formed by addition of a preverb to the present) and aorist forms were occasionally rejected or disfavored, and (Series III) present perfect forms of indirect transitives — although listed in Tschenkéli's three-volume dictionary — were rarely judged to be acceptable. Whenever an indirect Class A verb was disfavored, a monopersonal Class P verb formed from the same root was substituted, along with an oblique agent phrase (Tuite 1996).

§3.2.3. Labile verbs.

The majority of Georgian verbs can be described as direct or indirect, since they are associated with only one or the other type of construction. A sizeable number of verbs in Georgian, however, allow both constructions. These verbs are termed LABILE. This term (in Russian: *labil'nyj)* was used by Chikobava [1967:45] to describe surface ambiguities such as *še-Ø-xvd-a mas is* [meet:IIp:S3sg:O3 s/he:DAT s/he:NOM]. Two interpretations are possible: "sb <DAT, SS> encountered, ran into sb <NOM, SO>," or "sb <NOM, SS> met sb <DAT, SO>." Shifting from an indirect to a direct construction is accompanied by a shift in perspective: "the psychological focus (*smyslovoj akcent*) can shift from the dative to the nominative." There is nothing in either the verb or the two NPs which would indicate which argument is functioning as SS. According to Chikobava, only sentences with 3pl arguments are unambiguous in this respect, since the verb will agree in number with its SS. In the sentence *še-Ø-xvd-a-**t** mat is* [meet:IIp:S3sg:**O3pl** they:DAT him/her:NOM] "povstrečalos' im to" the focus is on the DAT NP, and the construction is indirect; whereas in *še-Ø-xvd-**nen** mas isini* [meet:IIp:**S3pl**:O3 him/her:DAT they:NOM] "povstrečalis' oni s nim" the focus is on the NOM NP, and the construction is direct [ibid]. The difference in meaning between the two constructions in which labile verbs can participate varies from slight and predictable to idiosyncratic. Tschenkéli [1958:487-90] provides some examples from both ends of the spectrum:

{30} a. *es saxl-i* *da-Ø-u-ǰd-**a*** *čem-s* *mšobl-eb-s* *bevri* *pul-i*
thishouse-NOM cost:IIp:S3sg:O3 my-DAT parent-PL-DAT much money-NOM
b. *čem-s mšobl-eb-s* *da-**Ø**-u-ǰd-a-**t*** *es* *saxli* *bevri* *pul-i*
my-DAT parent-PL-DAT cost:IIp:**O3pl**:S3sg this house-NOM muchmoney-NOM
"This house cost my parents a lot of money."

Betonung:
a. **Dieses Haus** verursachte meinen Eltern eine grosse Ausgabe.
b. **Meine Elter** sind die "Betroffenen" indem sie für dieses Haus viel zu bezahlen hatten.

{31} a. *gak'vetil-i* *Ø-e-c'q'eb-**a*** *moc'ape-eb-s* *xval* *rva saat-ze*
lesson-NOM begin:Ip:S3sg:O3 pupil-PL-DAT tomorrow 8 hour-at
b. *moc'ape-eb-s* ***Ø**-e-c'q'eb-a-**t*** *gak'vetil-i* *xval* *rva saat-ze*
pupil-PL-DAT begin:Ip:**O3pl**:S3sg lesson-NOM tomorrow 8 hour-at
"The lesson will begin for the students tomorrow at eight o'clock."

Betonung:
a. **Der Unterricht** beginnt.
b. **Die Schuler** sind die "Betroffenen" indem sie morgen beim Unterricht zu erscheinen haben.

Tschenkéli's glosses indicate that while the (a) and (b) variants denote the same type of event, they differ in terms of focus placement (or "empathy," in Kuno's sense: "the speaker's identification, in varying degrees, with a participant in an event" [Kuno 1976:431]).

By contrast, observe the meaning difference between the direct and indirect interpretations of *Ø-e-čven-eb-a* "sb <NOM/SS> shows him/herself to sb <DAT>" or "sb <NOM> appears to sb <DAT/SS>, e.g. in a dream" [Tschenkéli 1958:489].

{32} a. *mepe* *Ø-e-čven-eb-**a*** *xalx-s*
king:NOM appear:Ip:**S3sg**:O3 people-DAT
"Der König <NOM, SS> wird sich dem Volke <DAT, SO> zeigen"

b. *deda-s* ***Ø****-e-čven-eb-a* *švil-i* *sizmar-ši*
mother-DATappear:Ip:**O3**:S3sg child-NOM dream-in
"Der Mutter <DAT, SS> erscheint das Kind <NOM, SO> im Traum"

Some Class A transitive verbs are also characterized by lability. Representatives of this subclass are given here.

{33} **Labile transitives**

a. da-Ø-a-int'ereseb-s sb/sthg interests sb
b. ga-Ø-a-k'virveb-s sb/sthg surprises sb
c. da-Ø-a-mt'vrev-s sb/sthg makes sb extremely tired
d. da-Ø-a-mʒimeb-s sb/sthg burdens sb
e. da-Ø-a-naγvleb-s sb/sthg troubles sb
f. ga-Ø-a-oceb-s sb/sthg astonishes sb
g. še-Ø-a-c'uxeb-s sb/sthg bothers sb
h. ga-Ø-a-xareb-s sb/sthg makes sb rejoice

Animacy is an important factor in determining the syntax of most of these verbs. When the NP1 argument is animate, labile Class A verbs are usually interpreted as having a direct construction. When the NP1 argument has inanimate reference, these verbs are indirect. Consider the pair of sentences below [from Jorbenadze 1983:82]:

{34} a. *masc'avlebel-i* *mosc'avle-s* *Ø-a-xasiateb-**s***
teacher-NOM student-DAT characterize:Ia:**S3sg**:O3
"The teacher <MS = SS> characterizes the student <MO = SO>."
b. *am mosc'avle-s* *k'argi mičveva* ***Ø****-a-xasiateb-s*
thisstudent-DAT good habit:NOM characterize:Ia:**O3**:S3sg
"This student <MO = SS> is characterized by good habits <MS = SO>"

It is also the case that many labile Class A verbs are stative in meaning, or have a stative interpretation when used as indirect verbs. The above sentences provide an example of this kind of meaning shift. Sometimes a labile verb has a higher syntactic valence when employed in a direct construction than when used as an indirect verb [Tschenkéli 1958:489-90]. In some of these cases the indirect-syntax form is monovalent: the Set S suffix is associated with a dummy argument [Abesadze 1972; Jorbenadze 1983:82-3].

{35} a. *mariam-i* *Ø-a-cxeleb-s* *c'q'al-s* [Tschenkéli 1958:490]
Mary-NOM heat:Ia:S3sg:O3 water-DAT]
"Mary <MS = SS> is heating the water <MO = SO>."

b. *avadmq'op-s* *Ø-a-cxeleb-s* [ibid]
sick.person-DAT heat:Ia:O3:S3sg
"The patient <MO = SS> is running a fever." (MS = dummy)

In Chikobava's view, all of the verbs described above allow or require the non-overlap of morphological and semantic subject.

Evidence for the SS status of the Set O argument comes from instances where indirect verbs function as imperatives. The addressee NP in such cases is marked by Set O agreement. Here are two examples from late 19th century Georgian poetry:

{36} *ag-s-deg, gmirt-gmir-o, nu **g-ʒinav-s*** [A. C'ereteli]
rise:IIp:S2 hero-GENpl-hero-VOC don't sleep:Ip:O2sg:S3sg
"Rise up, hero of heroes, do not sleep!"

{37} *Ø-e-cad-e ʒlier da **g-kond-es** smena!* [G. Ch'aladideli]
try:IIp:S2 hard and have:IIp:S3sg:O2 hearing-NOM
"Try hard and pay attention!"

In both cases an indirect verb with a Set O 2sg DAT SS is conjoined with an agentive Class P verb with a Set S 2sg NOM SS. Imperatives of indirect verbs are attested in Old Georgian also. The New Testament injunction to "love your enemies" is rendered in the Adish gospels (897AD) with a direct Class A verb derived from the root q'war "love."

{38} *h-q'war-ob-d-i-t mt'er-ta tkwen-ta* [Matthew 5:44]
love:Ia:S2pl:O3 enemy-DATpl $your_{pl}$-DATpl

The gospel translations of Op'iza (913AD) and T'beti (995AD) employ the more basic indirect Class P stem, with a 2pl DAT experiencer:

{39} *g-i-q'war-d-ed mt'er-n-i tkwen-n-i*
love:Ip:O2:S3pl enemy-PL-NOM $your_{pl}$-PL-NOM

In regard to the referential autonomy test for SS-hood, we note that in constructions with indirect verbs, the argument crossreferenced by Set O agreement has always been an island under the nominative island condition. In a 10th-century Old Georgian manuscript we find *gw-ʒul-s ertmanert-i* [hate:Ip:S3sg:O1pl each-other-NOM] "we <MO/SS> hate each other <MS/SO>." A construction such as **v-s-ʒul-t ertmanet-s* "each other <MO/SO> hates us <MS/SS>" where the MS of an indirect verb binds a reciprocal in the MO slot has never been attested. The contrast in binding pattern is illustrated here:

{40} **Indirect syntax (4th conjugation verb)**

gw-ʒul-s ertmanert-i	*v-s-ʒul-t ertmanert-s
"We:DAT hate each other:NOM"	"We:NOM are hateful to each other:DAT"

Direct syntax (1st conjugation verb)

v-s-cem-t ertmanert-s	*gw-cem-s ertmanert-i
"We:NOM hit each other:DAT"	"We:DAT are hit by each other:NOM"

Labile verbs, as noted above, permit both direct and indirect syntax. If we use pronominal binding and the nominative-island condition as a diagnostic of SS-hood, the following two patterns are equally possible:

{41} **labile Class P verbs**

direct:	*bavšv-eb-i*	*Ø-e-k'argeb-i-**an***	*ertmanet-s*	[elicited]
	child-PL-NOM	lose:Ip:**S3pl**:O3	each.other-DAT	
indirect:	*bavšv-eb-s*	***Ø**-e-k'argeb-a-**t***	*ertmanet-i*	
	child-PL-DAT	lose:Ip:**O3pl**:S3sg	each.other-NOM	

"The child are losing each other."

direct:	*bavšv-eb-i*	*Ø-e-maleb-i-**an***	*ertmanet-s*	[elicited]
	child-PL-NOM	hide:Ip:**S3pl**:O3	each.other-DAT	
indirect:	*bavšv-eb-s*	***Ø**-e-maleb-a-**t***	*ertmanet-i*	
	child-PL-DAT	hide:Ip:**O3pl**:S3sg	each.other-NOM	

"The child are hiding from each other."

Compare the above syntactic lability to the binding patterns of direct and indirect verbs shown in {40}. The meaning difference between the direct and indirect variants of the labile verbs in {41} is difficult to characterize precisely; the direct variant in both cases implies intentional activity on the part of the losers or hiders.[16] A similar pattern is characteristic of labile Class A verbs. Note the binding behavior of the two principal arguments of *daaint'eresebs* in its direct (a) and indirect (b) uses.

{42} a.

es gogo-eb-i	*ertmanet-s*	*Ø-a-int'ereseb-**en***	*zγap'r-eb-it*	
this girl-PL-NOM	each.other-DAT	interest:I:**S3pl**:O3	tale-PL-INS	

"These girls are getting each other interested in folk tales."

b.

am gogo-eb-s	*ertmanet-i*	***Ø**-a-int'ereseb-**t***
this girl-PL-DAT	each.other-NOM	interest:I:**O3pl**:S3

"These girls are interested in each other."

The two sentences have different meanings. The direct use of the verb requires an additional argument in the instrumental case, while the indirect use, with a stative meaning, does not. Literally translated, the (a) sentence is "These girls interest each other with folk tales"; the (b) sentence would be something like "Each other interest the girls."

§3.3. Subjects and objects.

Categories of direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) have been devised by Georgian linguists as well. The most widely accepted definitions are those summarized by K'vach'adze in his syntax textbook [1977:73-84]. The formal criteria for DO and IO are based on the behavior of typical class A ditransitive verbs, as illustrated in example {14} of Chapter II. As we saw, the NPs

[16]Holisky [1987] has argued that variable case-marking behavior exhibited by certain intransitive verbs in the North-central Caucasian language Tsova-Tush is sensitive to the degree of agency (control, volition) associated with the primary argument. Ergative case implies agency, nominative case lack of agency. The disposition of Tsova-Tush speakers to use one or the other case depends on the semantics of the individual verb, and on pragmatic considerations. For some verbs the nominative is unmarked, and use of the ergative entails unusual circumstances or behavior; for others the reverse is true, and for yet others no clear preference can be established. I suspect that something along these lines plays a role in determining the likelihood that Georgian speakers will use direct or indirect conjugation with a given labile verb in a given situation. The evidence I have collected so far is not sufficient to prove this point, however.

corresponding to the agent (NP1) and patient or theme (NP3) shift case from series to series. The agent, as both Chikobava and Shanidze agree, is the "semantic subject." The NP denoting the theme (NP3) is termed the "case-shifting object" (*brunvacvalebadi damat'eba*) by Georgian grammarians, for whom this is the criterion for DO status. I will follow this usage, and when necessary refer to all case-shifting non-SS NPs as direct objects. The NP linked with the recipient (NP2) remains in the DAT case in series I and II, and is replaced by a postpositional phrase in -tvis ("for") in series III. It is referred to as the "non-case-shifting object" (*brunvaucvleli damat'eba*) by K'vach'adze. This will be the formal criterion for indirect objecthood. In most cases, however, non-SS term NPs (including DOs and IOs) will be grouped together under the heading SO ("semantic object"). The correlation among secondary roles and the two types of grammatical roles for direct and indirect Georgian verbs is presented in tabular format below:

{43} **Grammatical relations in Georgian**

	CLASS A VERBS			*CLASS P VERBS*	
series I,II	**direct**	**indirect**	*all series*	**direct**	**indirect**
NP1	MS / SS	MS / SO	NP1	MS / SS	MS / SO
NP2	MO / SO	MO / SS **or** SO	NP2	MO / SO	MO / SS
NP3	MO / SO	MO / SO **or** SS			
series III					
NP1	MO / SS	MO / SO			
NP2	— — —	— — —			
NP3	MS / SO	MS / SO **or** SS			

§3.4. The role of the semantic subject in Kartvelian grammar.

In many languages — English, for example — not only is it the case that the relation-marking component keys upon the semantic subject (i.e. with few exceptions, the MS is the SS), furthermore the subject plays an important role in the grammar. A number of grammatical rules of English can be listed which specifically operate upon the SS, in particular those which relate to the linking of clauses and the use of zero anaphors. In the Kartvelian languages, by contrast, the SS is relatively unimportant: only a few rules have been described which specify it. In this section, the function of the SS in the structuring of discourse will be described. In most cases, there is a statistical preference for SSs to undergo deletion under coreference or be placed in initial position in the sentence, but not the rigid requirement the subject, and only the subject, function as the 'pivot' of such discourse-structuring operations. In this sense, the grammar of the Kartvelian languages is very different from that of 'subject-centered' languages such as English.

§3.4.1. Word order and grammatical relations.

In its earlier, less specialized sense, the subject is "what the proposition is about," the discourse topic or theme. In her recent book, Apridonidze [1986] addressed one important element of this issue: word order. Apridonidze analyzed a large corpus of modern Georgian written material, classifying word order according to such argument categories as "subject," "direct object," "predicate," "indirect object" and expressions of place, time, manner, and so forth. In deference to Shanidze, the NOM arguments of indirect verbs were classified as "subjects," but inventoried separately. As is well known, Georgian — like many case marking languages — is characterized by "free" word order. More accurately, almost any ordering of clausal constituents is possible under appropriate discourse conditions. So, of the twenty-four possible arrangements of the SS, DO and IO of a ditransitive Georgian verb, Vogt [1974] found all but two attested in a random 50-page

sample taken from a modern novel. Just as we would expect, the distribution is by no means uniform. Apridonidze's data indicate a tendency for SSs and IOs to occur at the front of the sentence [1986:17-21], while DOs are more likely to be placed toward the rear. The sentence-position preferences of selected constituent types is shown in the following tables (sample size: 30,000 sentences).

{44} **Sentence position** [Apridonidze 1986:136]

	initial	*middle*	*end*
SS (direct verbs)	58.0%	19.3%	22.7%
IO	42.6	39.8	27.8
MS (indirect verbs)	28.4	39.8	31.8
DO	28.2	24.8	47.0

{45} **Sentence length and position** [ibid:17,19,25,29]

	TOTAL NUMBER OF SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS			
SS (direct verbs)	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
first position	79%	61%	53%	40%
second position	21%	24%	24%	34%
SS (indirect verbs)				
first position	——	82%	58%	——
DO				
final position	31%	29%	30%	25%
next-to-last	69%	43%	30%	27%
IO				
final position	38%	27%	38%	39%
next-to-last	62%	36%	18%	15%

{46} **Subject-verb order according to transitivity** [ibid:141]

	INTRANSITIVE				TRANSITIVE		TOTAL	
	one-person		*two-person*		*two-person*			
S-V:	1989	78.2%	261	80.6%	247	87.0%	2497	79.2%
V-S:	556	21.8%	63	19.4%	37	13.0%	656	20.8%

As shown in the first table, the MS of an indirect verb (i.e. the argument in the NOM case) is no more likely to appear in initial position than a regular DO. Conversely, the DAT argument of an indirect verb shows a distinct preference for sentence-initial position (second table). Case is in general a poor predictor of word order. For Class A verbs, the DAT SS of a series III verb shows the same gravitation toward the front of the sentence as the NOM SS of a series I active verb — 92% of Class A series III DAT NPs and 90% of Class A series I NOM NPs precede the verb [ibid:19].

Overall, the SSs of transitive verbs (which are Class A) occur more frequently in preverbal position than the SSs of intransitives (mostly Class P): see fig {46}. Those instances where the SS follows the verb ("inverted order") are associated with certain discourse functions. Among those described by Apridonidze are introductory and presentational sentences such as the following [ibid:86-91]:

{47} *iq'o* *erti* *mepe . . . .*
be:IIp:S3sg one king:NOM
"There (once) was a king . . . "

The verbs *q'opna* "be," *ic'q'eba* "sthg begins" and *ibadeba* "sb is-born," and visual/acoustic phenomenon verbs like *ismeba* "sthg is-heard," *čndeba* "sb/sthg appears" and *kreba* "sthg/sb disappears," frequently occur toward the front of the sentence, followed by their subjects. These verbs typically are used to present new characters or signal new event sequences. Verbs denoting reactions to unexpected events ("become frightened/concerned") also show a tendency to precede their SSs [ibid:88]. Almost all of the verbs described here belong to Class P. Finally, Apridonidze points out that non-pronominal (hence, less presupposed) SSs are over-represented in inverted word-order constructions [ibid:90].

Modern Standard Georgian word-order preferences are different in significant ways from those characteristic of Old Georgian texts. Modern Standard Georgian has a preferred word order of SOV and modifier-head, that is, a left-branching constituent structure. By contrast, Old Georgian was predominantly right-branching. As documented by Sarjveladze [1984:510-531], genitive NPs, demonstratives and indefinite articles generally followed the head of the noun phrase, while adjectives and quantifiers tended to precede; preferred word order in the clause was SVO. Sarjveladze examined a large corpus of Old Georgian texts and found an interaction between grammatical relations, NP types and word order. For a selection of 36 texts in various genres from the Old Georgian period (5th-13th centuries) Sarjveladze [1984:531-42] determined position relative to the verb for subject and object arguments classified into three NP types: pronouns, proper names, and (other) nouns. The following picture emerges:

{48}

	SUBJECTS			**DIRECT OBJECTS**		
	V-SS	*SS-V*		*V-DO*	*DO-V*	
pronouns	1882	6318	77%	2111	1685	44%
proper names	1431	968	40%	259	70	22%
other Ns	7636	5747	43%	7274	3407	32%
TOTAL:	*10949*	*13033*	*54%*	*9644*	*5162*	*35%*

The majority of SSs precede the verb and the majority of DOs follow it. However, as Sarjveladze's data demonstrate, this is mainly due to the overwhelming preference for preverbal position on the part of pronominal SSs; 58% of non-pronominal SSs **follow** their verb. Discourse-structural factors clearly play a major role here — new, less presupposed information comes later in the clause in general than older, more presupposed information. Here are some examples of inverted order from the fifth-century "Martyrdom of St Shushanik":

{49} *da* *šemdgomad* *sam-isa* *dγ-isa* *mo-vid-a* *varsk'en p'it'iaxš-i;*
and after three-GEN day-GEN come:II:S3sg V. duke-NOM
da *Ø-u-txr-a* *sp'ars-man* *man* *parul-ad . . .* [Shush. IV]
and tell:II:S3sg:O3 Persian-ERG the:ERG hidden-ADV
"After three days Duke Varsk'en came; and the Persian told him secretly ..."

{50} *da* *aγ-i-p'q'r-n-a* *qel-n-i* *twis-n-i* *zec-ad* *c'mida-man šušanik'*
andraise:II:S3sg:O3:NOMPL hand-PL-NOM own sky-ADV saint-ERG Sh.:ERG
"And St. Shushanik raised her hands toward heaven." [Shush. V]

The correlation between NP type and word order is less striking for DOs, but clearly present. Non-pronominal DOs are more likely to follow the V (68%) than pronominal DOs (56%).

§3.4.2. Subject and pivot.

The category of "pivot" was devised to describe the syntax of clause chaining in various types of languages [Heath 1977; Dixon 1979:120-4; Foley & Van Valin 1984:108-24]. The pivot NP plays a special role in operations involving deletion under coreference, switch-reference marking, relativization and raising. In English, only the NP in morphological subject position can be the pivot, e.g.:

{51} a. Annie came and took Ø Caitlin to dinner.
b. *Annie came and Caitlin took Ø to dinner..
c. Annie came and Ø was taken to dinner by Caitlin.

{52} a. John wants [Ø to help Fred]
b. *John wants [Fred to help Ø]
c. John wants [Ø to be helped by Fred]

English, like other Indo-European languages, has a prominent category of pivot. In a large number of syntactic operations involving zero anaphora under coreference in linked clauses the zero NP must be in a particular position. For this reason, in many languages, transformations (passive and antipassive) are available to elevate an NP to pivot status for purposes of clause chaining, as in the above English examples. Other languages, however, do not have such transformations, and some cannot be said to have a category of pivot at all [Foley & Van Valin 1984:115-24].

In the Kartvelian languages, as the evidence presented later in this chapter demonstrates, clause chaining is not so tightly restrained. Here are the Georgian equivalents of {51} a and b:

{53} ***Ani*** *mo-vid-a* *da* ***Ø*** *c'a-i-q'van-a* *k'et'lin-i* *sasadilo-d.*
Annie:NOM come:IIp:S_{3sg} and Ø:ERG take:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 C.-NOM to.dine-ADV
"Annie came and took Caitlin to dinner."

{54} ***Ani*** *mo-vid-a* *da* *k'et'lin-ma* *c'a-i-q'van-a* ***Ø*** *sasadilo-d.*
Annie:NOM come:IIp:S_{3sg} and C.-ERG take:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 Ø:NOM to.dine-ADV
"Annie came and Caitlin took her to dinner."

The use of zero anaphora is much freer in Georgian than in English, and is not restricted to one particular type of argument per clause. This indicates that the Georgian pivot does not play nearly as dominant a role in clause chaining as the English pivot does. According to Harris [1981: §1.4], the Kartvelian languages allow zero anaphora in the term argument positions (i.e. those argument types which have the potential to govern agreement: NP1, NP3, NP2).

Enukidze [1978] looked at the distribution of zero anaphors in a corpus drawn primarily from the prose works of Vazha-Pshavela (1861-1915).[17] Frequency of occurrence as an overt NP was compared with argument type (essentially the same categories Apridonidze used in her study),

[17]This author is best known for his poetry, written in his native Pshavian dialect. Vazha's prose works — short stories, essays, ethnographic studies, journalistic writings, etc. — are written in standard Georgian.

person, series, valence and lexical class of the verb stem. Overall, likelihood of zero anaphora followed a ranking similar to that for clause-initial position: SSs were more likely to undergo pro-drop than IOs, and IOs more than DOs [Enukidze 1978:74]. Not surprisingly, 1st and 2nd person pronominals were more frequently dropped than 3rd person NPs [ibid:66-9]. The interaction between argument type and series is interesting. For Class A transitive verbs, DOs are much more likely to be overtly expressed in series II (80-90%) than series I (50-70%) [ibid:67-70]; no such trend is apparent for SSs in the two series. In Enukidze's corpus, SSs are represented by overt NPs 20 to 90% of the time, depending on the type of verb, as shown below (the terms are Enuk'idze's [ibid:74] — as far as I can tell "intransitive" = Class P, "transitive" and "causative" = Class A).

{55} **Clausal arguments represented by overt (non-zero) NPs**

	SS	**DO**	**IO**
basic intransitive 1-valent:	64%		
derived intransitive 1-valent:	91%		
basic transitive 2-valent:	40%	74%	
derived causative 3-valent:	30%	80%	60%
basic intransitive 2-valent:	39%	88%	
derived intransitive 2-valent:	65%	40%	
basic transitive 3-valent:	20%	70%	30%

This chart embodies Enukidze's main point, which is that distribution of zero anaphora is not determined by surface grammatical relations alone. One must take a deeper level of representation into account. According to Enukidze, the higher percentage of overtly expressed SSs for derived Class P verbs as compared to basic ones is correlated with the higher frequency of overt DOs, which are assumed to be the derivational source (via passive formation) of these surface SSs. One can also interpret these statistics in terms of deep-case roles. The NOM arguments (NP1s) of derived Class P verbs are more likely to be patients, while the NOM arguments associated with basic Class P verbs are frequently themes or even agents. Let us, for the sake of illustration, apply these predominant correlations of semantic and syntactic roles across the board, and realign fig {55} accordingly:

{56}	agent	theme	ben/recip	patient
basic intr.1-valent:		64%		
derived intr. 1-valent:				91%
basic tr. 2-valent:	40%			74%
basic intr. 2-valent:		39%	88%	
derived intr. 2-valent:			40%	65%
basic tr. 3-valent:	20%		30%	70%
derived tr. 3-valent:	30%		60%	80%

Roughly speaking, NPs representing semantic roles toward the left end of the deep-case hierarchy (agent > effector/instrument > experiencer > theme > patient) show a greater propensity for undergoing pro-drop than those toward the right end.

Enukidze's work, like Apridonidze's, indicates that a notion of SS based on a hierarchy of semantic roles is useful for describing certain syntactic phenomena associated with the "communicative dynamism" of the clause [Firbas 1966]. SSs tend to represent **presupposed** material.

I have selected some short texts from Old Georgian, several modern dialects, Mingrelian and Svan, and analyzed the correlation between zero anaphora and the formal and relational attributes of NPs. The method employed was simple and mechanical: Only 3rd person NPs assigned a syntactic case (ERG, NOM or DAT) by the verb were counted. Zero anaphors were regarded as bearing the case an overt NP in the same relation to the verb would have been assigned. Coreference relations were counted only if they occurred across adjacent clauses; these were assigned to two categories according to whether reference was maintained by a zero anaphor (NP ⇒ Ø) or an overt NP (NP ⇒ X).

{57} **Argument chaining [adjacent clauses]**

	GRAMMATICAL ROLE				CASE		AGREEMENT		
	S⇒S	*O⇒O*	*S⇒O*	*O⇒S*	*same*	*diff.*	*same*	*diff.*	**TOTAL**
Old Georgian									
NP⇒X:	20	10	10	13	18	35	29	24	**53**
NP⇒Ø:	155	15	7	18	106	89	166	29	**195**
									[79%]
Std. Mod. Geo.									
NP⇒X:	7	3	2	4	6	10	8	8	**16**
NP⇒Ø:	65	14	7	6	53	39	58	34	**92**
									[85%]
Xevsurian									
NP⇒X:	3	2	1	1	2	5	3	3	**7**
NP⇒Ø:	40	3	1	0	24	20	27	17	**44**
									[86%]
Fereidanian									
NP⇒X:	2	3	1	1	2	5	5	2	**7**
NP⇒Ø:	52	3	1	4	33	27	44	16	**60**
									[90%]
Gurian									
NP⇒X:	5	1	1	5	4	8	7	5	**12**
NP⇒Ø:	64	15	4	0	45	38	65	18	**83**
									[87%]
Mingrelian									
NP⇒X:	6	2	2	2	3	9	4	8	**12**
NP⇒Ø:	30	7	1	2	27	13	28	12	**40**
									[77%]
Svan (Upper Bal)									
NP⇒X:	14	5	1	6	8	18	14	12	**26**
NP⇒Ø:	30	8	5	5	29	19	36	12	**48**
									[65%][18]

[18]The following texts composed my sample:
Old Georgian: *"c'amebay c'midisa šušanik'isa dedopalisay"* [The martyrdom of Saint Shushanik the queen] — XI c. (from V c. original)]
Standard modern Georgian: Otar Ch'iladze *gzaze erti k'aci midioda* [One man was going down the road (1979) pp 57-60]
Xevsurian dialect: *"menadiris xiparti šavc'q'al"* [The hunter's mishap at Shavc'q'ali — Gigineishvili et al 1961:18-20]

The figures given indicate the correlation between manner of reference maintenance across adjacent clauses and certain properties of the NPs involved: grammatical role [S = "semantic subject" (SS); O = "semantic" direct or indirect object (DO, IO)], same or different case, agreement by same or different set of person markers. Looking over the chart, one notices first of all the high overall frequency of zero anaphora — over 75% in all texts except the one in Svan. While equivalence of grammatical relation, case and agreement set for coreferent arguments is correlated with an enhanced frequency of zero anaphora, it is clear that non-equivalence for any of these properties is no bar to the use of null pronominals. On the other hand, coincidence in any of these properties for coreferent arguments in adjacent clauses is no guarantee of zero anaphora, either. For most texts sampled, all cells in the chart are filled by at least one example.

Here are some examples of coreferent argument chains from these texts, with case, person agreement set, and grammatical role indicated:

{58} [Mingrelian] *skua-k* *Ø-u-c'-u:* ***arti*** ***čxomi*** <O_3, RDO>
son-ERG say:IIa:S3sg:O3 one fish-NOM
o-p'-čop-i *mara* ***Ø*** <S_3, SS> *ʒalami* *skvami* *rd-ə.*
catch:IIa:S1sg:O3 but Ø:NOM very beautiful be:IIp:S3sg
Ø <S_3, SO> *še-m-e-cod-ə* *da* *k'oni* ***Ø*** <O_3, SO> *gu-Ø-u-t'ev-a.*
Ø:ERG feel.sorry:IIp:O1sg:S3sg and again Ø:NOM release:IIa:S1sg:O3
"The son said: I caught a fish, but it was very beautiful. I felt sorry for it and I let it go again." [Qipshidze 1912: 11]

{59} [Fereidanian] *im γamit* ***Ø*** <S_{3pl}, SS> *a-h-k'id-es* (Ø-DAT) *da* ***Ø*** <S_{3pl}, SS>
thatnight:INS Ø:ERG load:IIa:S3pl:O3 and Ø:NOM
c'amo-id-es *tavis* *sopelsit.* *ert-ori-sami* *manzil-i* ***Ø*** <O_{3pl}, SS>
go:IIp:S3pl self-GEN village:INS one-two-three rest-stop Ø:DAT
h-konda-q'e, *ro* ***Ø*** <S_{3pl}, SS> *mo-id-en* *sopel-či*
have:IIp:O3pl:S3sg that Ø:NOM come:IIp:S3pl village-in
"That night they saddled up (horses) and Ø left for their village. They had two or three rest stops before they would get to the village."[GTK: 266]

{60} [Old Georgian] *da* *vitarca* *met'ad* $Ø_g$ $Ø_{sh}$ <O_3,SO> *Ø-a-iʒul-es*
and as more Ø:ERG Ø:NOM compel:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3
da *ʒl-it* $Ø_g$ $Ø_{sh}$ <O_3,SO> *c'ar-Ø-i-qwan-es* *t'aʒr-ad,*
and force-INS Ø:ERG Ø:NOM take:S_{3pl}:O_3:AOR temple-ADV
xolo $Ø_{sh}$ <S_{3sg}, SS> *gemo-y* *ara-raysa-y* *Ø-i-xil-a.* *xolo*
but Ø:ERG taste-NOM not-any-NOM see:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 but
col-man *ǰoǰik'-isa-man* $Ø_{sh}$ <O_3,SO> *mi-Ø-a-rtw-a* *γwino-y*
wife-ERG Jojik-GEN-ERG Ø:DAT offer:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3wine-NOM
č'ik-ita *da* $Ø_w$ *Ø-a-iʒuleb-d-a* ***mas***$_{sh}$ <O_3,SO> *rayta-mca*
glass-INS and Ø:NOM compel:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3 her:DAT that-OPT

Fereidanian dialect: *"Gapi"* [Gigineishvili et al 1961:266-7]
Gurian dialect: *"bat'oni da misi kališvili"* [The master and his daughter — Gigineishvili et al 1961:429-31] and *"avi dedinacvali"* [The evil stepmother — ibid:432-3]
Mingrelian: *"skvami čxomi"* [The beautiful fish — Qipshidze 1912:11] and *"žiri jima k'oči"* [The two buddies — ibid:12]
Svan (Upper Bal dialect): *"xaji daut"* [Shanidze & Topuria 1939:368-70]

***Ø**$_{sh}$* <S_{3sg}, SS> *igi* *xolo* *še-Ø-sw-a.*
Ø:ERG it:NOM but drink:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
"And so they compelled her <Shushanik> and took her by force to the temple, but she did not even taste the food. Then Jojik's wife offered her a glass of wine, and compelled her to drink it." [*Shushanik* VI: 4-6]

The central referents in these short passages can evidently be tracked with ease, despite shifts in the grammatical role and the type of verb agreement controlled by the null pronominals denoting them. In episodes where more than one participant in the 3rd person is in focus, zero anaphora is still used, though it appears that tracking according to grammatical role takes precedence over morphological criteria, as in the following Mingrelian example:

{61} ***mečome-s*** <O_3, SS> *še-Ø-e-cod-ə* *e* *čom-k* <S_3, SO> *do*
fisherman-DAT feel.sorry:IIp:O3:S3sg this fish-ERG and
Ø <S_3, SS> *Ø* <O_3, RDO> *ki-d-Ø-naxun-u* *c'q'ar-s* *k'oni.*
Ø:ERG Ø:NOM put.in:IIa:S3sg:O3 water-DAT again
"The fisherman felt sorry for the fish, and put it back in the water."

Zero anaphora is one of several grammatical devices frequently employed as a means of REFERENCE MAINTENANCE in the world's languages. A number of mechanisms tied in with this function have been identified, operating at different levels: within the clause, between conjoined clauses, or at the level of the "paragraph." Georgian zero anaphora, as we have seen, is an instance of paragraph-level reference maintenance. English zero anaphora, on the other hand, is restricted to the linked-clause level [Givon (ed.) 1983].

In her book on Georgian syntax, Harris inventories several clause-linking processes which reflect the role of pivot. These phenomena involve the use of verbal nouns. The Georgian future passive participle performs some of the same functions as the English infinitive. When it does, the NP corresponding to its SS is "deleted" by Equi [Harris 1981:154-6], that is, the SS functions as pivot:

{62} *[me$_j$* *a-ved-i* *čems* *k'abinet'-ši* *[Ø$_j$* *c'eril-is* *mo-sa-c'er-ad* *upros-is-tvis]]*
I:NOM go.up:IIp:S1sgmy study-in Ø$_{1sg}$ letter-GENto.write-AD boss-GEN-for
"I went up to my study to write a letter to the boss."

The future participle also occurs in "object raising" constructions [ibid:53-65,140]:

{63} a. *k'argi* *magalit-eb-i* *ʒneli-a* *[Ø$_k$mo-sa-ʒebn-ad]* *čem-tvis$_k$*
good example-PL-NOM difficult-is Ø to.seek-AD me-for
"Good examples are hard for me to find."

b. *direkt'or-i* *advili-a* *vano-s-tvis$_l$* *[Ø$_l$ še-sa-ʒuleb-ad]*
director-NOM easy-is Vano-GEN-for Ø to-hate
"The director is easy for Vano to hate."

The last example illustrates Equi deletion of the experiencer argument of the participle formed from an indirect verb; this operation therefore is not restricted to the agents of Class A verbs.

Other nonfinite verbs allow their subjects to be overtly expressed. The primary determinant of how various retired terms are marked is **surface transitivity** rather than semantic role. Basically, if a nonfinite verb is transitive, the argument corresponding to the DO is assigned GEN case, and the SS, if present, appears in a postpositional phrase headed by mier "by" [ibid:170-1]. Nominalized indirect verbs also display this pattern [ibid:177-8].

{64} a. *[monadir-is mier]$_{SS}$ [nadir-is]$_{DO}$ mok'vla ak'rʒaluli-a*
hunter-GEN by game-GEN killing:NOM forbidden-is
"It is forbidden for hunters to kill game."

b. *čem-tvis gaugebari-a [vanos mier]$_{SS}$ [čemi megobr-is]$_{DO}$ šeʒuleba*
me-for incomprehensible-is V-GEN by my friend-GEN hating:NOM
"Vano's hating my friend is incomprehensible to me."

The SS of nonfinite verbs without the equivalent of a DO receives GEN case, regardless of what lexical class the verb stem belongs to. This gives two distinct patternings for those Class A verbs which **optionally** subcategorize for DOs [ibid:185]:

{65} a. *[givi-s mier]$_{SS}$ [pexburt-is]$_{DO}$ tamaš-i*
G.-GEN by football-GEN playing-NOM]
"Givi's playing football"

b. *[givi-s]$_{SS}$ tamaš-i*
G.-GEN playing-NOM]
"Givi's playing"

The pattern displayed by these verbal noun constructions indicates a degree of syntactic ergativity (what Dixon [1979:120-1] terms an "S/O pivot"). In any event it reflects, albeit indirectly, the semantically-based categories SS and DO.

Much more can be said about the salience of the Schuchardtian category of "real subject" (i.e. semantic subject) in Kartvelian syntax. The foregoing has been in essence a summary of the facts presented by those Kartvelologists [Chikobava, Shanidze, Harris] who have had the most to say about grammatical relations in Georgian, with a smattering of additional data from my own field work and reading.

Little has been said about the other Kartvelian languages — Svan, Laz and Mingrelian. Nothing I have found out about these languages, however, contradicts the impression that a category of SS with roughly the same properties as the Georgian SS has can be postulated for them as well [Tuite 1985a].[19]

In a language with a distinct category of subject, one argument within any given clause will have a disproportionate allotment of morphosyntactic "privileges" related to case marking, agreement, reference maintenance, pronoun binding and so forth. In many languages, one can pick out an argument class on the basis of morphological or lexicosemantic criteria to which **of necessity** SS and pivot-related properties will pertain, to the exclusion of other argument types ("objects," "oblique NPs," etc.). English is such a language, in that the one clausal argument which governs

[19]For example, inverse and indirect verbs occur in all Kartvelian languages. As demonstrated by Kortava [1982:62-71] and Harris [1985:272-7], the DAT MOs (SSs) of these verbs bind reflexives and correspond to the addressee of imperatives, as in Georgian.

agreement in the verb has by far the lion's share of word order, intraclausal binding and crossclausal zero-anaphora privileges. In the case of the Kartvelian languages we have, first of all, a large class of verbs which assign MS marking to an argument other than that which functions as SS. Furthermore, the number of constructions which unambiguously select for the SS (purpose clauses, imperatives, the nominative-island condition) is much smaller than in English. The English subject and the Georgian SS are more than quantitatively different, however. The difference between a process in some language A that is sensitive to a given category 100% of the time and a comparable process in language B that is sensitive to a comparable category 90% of the time is not just 10%. In the first case we have to do with a category that is crucial for the statement of conditions relevant to a grammatical rule; in the second case only a (functionally-based) tendency for the category in question to coincide with some other category that **is** relevant to a grammatical rule [Newmeyer 1983:125-6].

IV. THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER IN THE KARTVELIAN NOUN.

This and the following two chapters will be given over to a detailed discussion of the category of number in the Kartvelian noun and verb, concluding with a proposed reconstruction of the number category in Common Kartvelian. With regard to the structure of the book, these facts, along with the facts concerning morphological and semantic subject presented earlier, provide the necessary background for the analysis of number-agreement phenomena and morphosyntactic orientation in the second part. In Chapter IV we will look at the category of number in Kartvelian nominal morphology. The presentation will be organized according to NP type, beginning with common nouns, and then covering pronouns. In the concluding section, agreement for number within the noun phrase will be discussed.

§4.1. Number in Kartvelian common nouns.

§4.1.1. Types of plural declension.

Scholars have noted the existence of two parallel declension paradigms for the Georgian common noun in the plural: one "agglutinative" and the other "flectional" [Dondua 1931]. We will look at the agglutinative system first, it being the more frequently used in modern Georgian, and the only system available in Laz-Mingrelian and Svan [Klimov 1962].

{1} **Declension paradigms for common nouns in Georgian and Zan**

a. MODERN GEORGIAN[20]

	singular	*plural*	*singular*	*plural*
NOM	kal-i "woman"	kal-eb-i	msxal-i "pear"	msxl-eb-i
ERG	kal-ma	kal-eb-ma	msxal-ma	msxl-eb-ma
DAT	kal-s	kal-eb-s	msxal-s	msxl-eb-s
GEN	kal-is	kal-eb-is	msxl-is	msxl-eb-is
INS	kal-it	kal-eb-it	msxl-it	msxl-eb-it
ADV	kal-ad	kal-eb-ad	msxl-ad	msxl-eb-ad

b.

	singular		*plural*	
	LAZ	*MINGRELIAN*	*LAZ*	*MINGRELIAN*
NOM	k'oči-Ø	k'oč-i "man"	k'oč-epe-Ø	k'oč-ep-i
ERG	k'oči-k	k'oč-k	k'oč-epe-k	k'oč-en-k
DAT	k'oči-s	k'o-s	k'oč-epe-s	k'oč-en-s
GEN	k'oči-š(i)	k'oč-iš(i)	k'oč-epe-š(i)	k'oč-ep-iš(i)
ALL	k'oči-ša	k'oč-iša	k'oč-epe-š(a)	k'oč-ep-iša
ABL	k'oči-še(n)	k'oč-iše	k'oč-epe-še(n)	k'oč-ep-iše
INS	k'oči-te(n)	k'oč-it(i)	k'oč-epe-te(n)	k'oč-ep-it(i)

Many Georgian noun stems undergo truncation (if they are vowel-final) or contraction before the endings of the oblique cases [GEN, INS, ADV] in the singular. Such nouns are in truncated or contracted form for **all** cases in the plural [Aronson 1969; Vogt 1971:20-30]. Compare the non-truncating consonant-stem *kal-* to the contracting *msxal-* in {1a} above. The marker of plurality in this example is -eb-; its cognate in Zan is -ep- (with positional variants) as shown in in the declension of *k'oč-* "man" in {1b} [Chikobava 1936:44].

[20]Not included in these charts is the Georgian **vocative** case in -o (plural -n-o, -eb-o) considered by Vogt to be of recent origin [1947:99; see also Shanidze 1984:44-6]. In Zan and Svan the NOM desinence is used in direct address.

In contrast to Georgian and Zan, a profusion of plural suffixes are found in Svan. Topuria [1985:113] lists -är/ä:r (and in cases of dissimilation -äl/ä:l); -e:l (Lashx dialect), -ol (Lower Bal dialect); -a, -u, -i:r, -e:r, -a:ru, -e:du; the circumfix la- -a, "and their dialect variants." As with -eb/ep these suffixes are inserted between the noun stem and the case desinences, e.g.:

{2}**Declension paradigms for common nouns in Svan (Upper Bal)**

a. *Most common plural suffix.* [Palmaitis and Gudjedjiani 1985:i-iii]

	singular	plural
NOM	megäm-Ø "tree"	megm-är-Ø
ERG	megäm-d	megm-är-d
DAT	megäm-s	megm-är-s
GEN	megm-iš	megm-ar-eš
INS	megam-šw	megm-ar-šw
ADV	megäm-d	megm-är-d

b. *Other plural suffixes (shown in NOM only).* [Sharadzenidze 1954]

di "mother"	di-la:ru
xexw "wife"	lä-xxw-a
mamč'iräy "lazy person"	mamč'ira-w
hok'er "bottom, base"	hok'r-iä:du
uγwna "wrist"	uγwn-e:l

Georgian has, in addition, a second declensional paradigm in the plural, which is more frequently attested than the eb plural in Old Georgian texts. The following table is taken from Vogt's article on the case system of Old Georgian [1947:134]:

{3} **Declension of *k'ac-* "person" in Old Georgian**

	generic	*specific*	
		singular	plural
NOM	k'ac-Ø[21]	k'ac-i	k'ac-n-i
ERG	k'ac-man	k'ac-man	
DAT	k'ac-s	k'ac-s-a	k'ac-t-a
GEN	k'ac-is	k'ac-is-a	
INS	k'ac-it	k'ac-it-a	(k'ac-it-a)
ADV	k'ac-ad	k'ac-ad	(k'ac-ad)

The generic forms express "l'idée nominale dans toute sa généralité sans distinction de nombre" [ibid:103]. They are typically used to mark predicate nominals, incorporated objects, the first element of compounds, adverbial expressions, and so forth [Imnaishvili 1957:637-61]. For example, the fifth commandment (Matthew 5:21) is rendered in Old Georgian *ara k'ac-Ø h-k'l-a* "thou shalt

[21]The generic NOM is sometimes listed as a distinct case, termed "absolutive" (*c'rpelobiti*) [Shanidze 1982:36]. While Shanidze agrees that the generic and specific NOMs are linked diachronically [1953:640-1], he feels that the use of bare-stem forms in non-NOM contexts (e.g. proper names assigned ERG case) justifies an absolutive case distinct from the NOM. Harris 1985:83 gets around this objection by postulating a "non-articulated" ERG in -Ø in the declension of proper names and 1st/2nd person pronouns.

not kill person (= a person, any person, people)."[22] By comparing the contexts in which generic case forms were used in Old Georgian texts with crosslinguistic data on the formation of case desinences, Harris [1985, 1988] has established that the case forms Vogt termed 'generic' descended from forms without a definite article, while the 'specific' forms are derived from postposed articles.

Concerning the category of number, two significant facts are captured in Vogt's diagram: the neutralization of case oppositions in the oblique plural -t-a, and the neutralization of number oppositions for the generic forms and, overall, for the instrumental and adverbial cases. The use of -t as a DAT, ERG and GEN plural is widely attested in Old Georgian. Shanidze [1982:36] regards it as a possible, but rarely used, INS and ADV plural as well; some examples of this have been collected by Imnaishvili [1957:272-9]. For the most part, notionally plural INS and ADV NPs were either not marked for number, or the alternate plural forms -eb-it(a) and -eb-ad were used [ibid; Vogt 1947:109-16].

Svan and the two Zan languages have nothing comparable to the n/t plural declension for common nouns, the agglutinative system being the only one available [Klimov 1962:8-11,108]. Cognates to these morphemes are found outside of the inflectional system, however. Vogt [1947:127-8,136] links Georgian -t with the derivational suffix -et found in many place names, e.g. *somx-et-i* "Armenia" (cp. *somex-i* "an Armenian")[23]. Cognates of this toponymic suffix are attested in Zan (e.g. *zan-at-i*, a village in southern Mingrelia [Klimov 1964:80]) and, rarely, in Svan (*qae-yšd* < **qev-it-i,* a village in southwest Upper Svaneti [Ch'k'adua 1987:207-8)]. This putative link between plurality and place names finds support in the attestation of what appear to be the other two Georgian plural suffixes (-n and -eb) in various toponyms [Shanidze 1953:137-41; Ghlont'i 1981]. It seems likely, then, that the ancestors of the Georgian plural suffixes -n and -t were present in the Common Kartvelian morpheme inventory, though it is not clear that they were **declensional** morphemes at that stage.

§4.1.2. The semantics of number for common nouns.

§4.1.2.1. Count nouns.

The existence of two distinct declensional patterns for the Georgian plural has led to much speculation concerning semantic differences, if any, between them. Marr [1926:36] saw them as linked to two separate social strata: the n/t plural was "literary" (*knižnyj*), the eb plural "popular" (*narodnyj*). Dondua 1932 postulated a selectional distinction. Originally, he believed, eb was used to pluralize nouns denoting "the class of things, the class of socially passive beings [*social'no-passivnyx suščestv*] and abstract concepts" [Dondua 1967:143]. Exceptions to this pattern are attributed to a semantic shift occurring later in the Old Georgian period. Imnaishvili [1957:297-9] takes exception to Dondua's proposal — which includes, by the way, postulating a system of grammatical classes for prehistoric Georgian[24] — and gives as counterevidence numerous eb plurals of nouns denoting humans from the early Old Georgian period. A more widely-accepted hypothesis concerning these morphemes is that eb was originally a COLLECTIVE marker, denoting a group taken as a whole, and not associated with the formal category of number

[22]Aronson [1976:225] points out that *ara h-k'l-a* would mean "do not kill him/her/them," i.e. the unexpressed direct object would be interpreted as referring to a previously specified argument.

[23]This suffix had other uses in Old Georgian [Boeder 1992]. It appears in the ERG/DAT/GEN plural of the relative/interrogative pronoun *vin* "who": *vi-et*. Another function of et is discussed in a later section.

[24]According to another believer in proto-Kartvelian grammatical classes, both eb (<*b) and n are descended from inanimate-class markers [Chikobava 1942; 1954:69].

at all. Blake [1932:252] observes that in early Old Georgian texts eb most often appeared with "words which denote concrete objects, especially household and farming implements . . . . when an indefinite quantity is conceived of and not a specific number." In his Old Georgian grammar Zorell [1930:19] glosses *švil-i* as "Kind," *švil-n-i* as "Kinder," but *švil-eb-i* as "etwa = eine Kinderschar." Deeters [1930:64] shares this view, while Vogt [1947:132-6] diverges somewhat. He points to the lack of a clear semantic difference between eb and n/t in Old Georgian texts (on occasion they substitute for each other in different redactions of the same passage [see Imnaishvili 1957:293]), and hypothesizes that originally **both** t and eb were derivational suffixes with collective meaning (no statement is made concerning n). Harris [1984:159-62; 1985:194-6] also accepts the eb-as-collective proposal.

With the shift from -n/-t to -eb as the plural marker of choice came attendant reanalysis in different Georgian-speaking areas of the morphological function of the older plural markers. Evidence for this comes from scattered instances of doubly-marked plurality in Old Georgian texts [Imnaishvili 1957:314; Sarjveladze 1984:380], e.g.

{4} *vinayca* *sopl-**eb**-**n**-i-ca* *mi-s-c-n-a* *k'ac-man*
thus village-PL_{eb}-PL_n-NOM-also give:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM man-ERG
man *γmrt-isa-man* *giorgi*
the:ERG God-GEN-ERG G.:ERG [Cxov.Serap'ion Zarzmelisay 167:34 (10th c.)]
"Thus Giorgi, the man of God, gave the villages (to them)."

One would expect either *sopel-n-i-c* or *sopl-eb-i-c*.[25] Similar examples are attested in some modern Georgian dialects [Dondua 1967:160].

§4.1.2.2. The 'generic' (nonarticulated) case forms.

It was mentioned earlier that Old Georgian declension distinguished 'generic' (nonarticulated) from 'specific' (articulated) forms of the NOM, DAT, GEN and INS cases. While the specific forms were further subdivided into formally singular and plural inflections, there was no opposition of number for generic forms.

In two contexts in particular, the lack of a formal number opposition is clearly shown. First of all, generic case forms frequently occur after quantifiers (see Imnaishvili [1957: 557-560], Harris [1988]). In this context, there is no plural desinence used. Specific case forms, by contrast, have the n/t plural available:

{5} **Generic and specific case forms with quantifiers.**
generic: or k'ac [two:NOM_{gen} man:NOM_{gen}] "two men" [Luke 24:4 (Ad)]
specific: or-n-i k'ac-n-i [two-PL-NOM_{spec} man-PL-NOM_{spec}] "two men"

generic: mraval gz-is [many-Ø way-GEN_{gen}] "many times" [Matthew 17:15]
specific: mraval-ta sir-ta [many-GEN_{spec}PL sparrow-GEN_{spec}PL] "many sparrows" [Mt10:31]

Direct objects which have been more-or-less incorporated into the verb appear in the generic NOM, DAT or GEN case. In some instances these nouns have clearly plural reference, but are never

[25]At least some of the rare instances of doubly-marked plurality may not be due to reanalysis of the function of n/t but in fact what they appear to be: plurals of collectives. Whether it was the case that, say, {4} referred to **groups** of villages, remains to be established [see also Vogt 1947:132].

formally declined for plurality, e.g.: *c'am-Ø-u-q'v-n-a* "he winked (lit. eyelash:NOM$_{GENERIC}$+did) at him" [John 13:24 (T'beti)]; *twal Ø-a-g-n-a* "She cast her eyes (lit. eye:NOM$_{GENERIC}$+set) upon Joseph." [Genesis 39:7] (examples from Sarjveladze [1984:561-5; Harris [1985:334]).

§4.1.2.3. Quantified nominals and collectives.

There are two major types of formally singular count nouns with plural reference.

[a] Quantified nominals: In the modern Kartvelian languages, nouns modified by numerals or other quantifiers usually do not take a plural suffix: e.g. Georgian *cxra kal-i*, Mingrelian *čxoro osur-i*, Svan *čxara zural-Ø* [nine woman-NOM] "nine women." (In contrast to the Old Georgian n/t plural which could appear in a quantified NP, as was noted above). In some nonstandard Georgian dialects, quantified nominals can be pluralized by eb; e.g. Lower Imeretian *sami d-**eb**-i* [three sister-PL-NOM] "three sisters" (cp standard Georgian *sami da-Ø*) [K'ublashvili 1985:184; Shanidze 1953:80]. A similar use of ep with quantified nominals is attested on rare occasions in Mingrelian also [Q'ipshidze 1914:038].

[b] Collective nouns: Many formally singular nouns denoting groups or collections occur in the Kartvelian languages; e.g. Georgian *xalx-i* "people," *ǰgup-i* "group," *brbo* "crowd, mob." Plurals in eb or n/t denote more than one group or set: *tkwen g-e-t'q'w-i er-**ta,** t'om-t**a** da ena-**ta*** "I will say this to you nations, tribes and languages" [Daniel 3:4]. Many nouns, when unmarked for number, can refer to either individuals or groups as a whole, e.g. Georgian *xe* "(a, the) tree," or "trees in general," cp. *xe-eb-i* "(the) trees" [Shanidze 1953:38]. Also, the singular of nouns denoting things or animals which are frequently dealt with or perceived in groups can be used to denote a collection of appropriate size: e.g. Georgian *cxvar-i* "(a, the) sheep," or "a herd of sheep," (cp. *cxvr-eb-i* "(the) sheep$_{pl}$"); *potol-i* "(a, the) leaf," or "the leaves in a tree," (cp. *potl-eb-i* "(the) leaves") [Shanidze 1953:39].

§4.1.2.4. Mass nouns.

Many nouns are seldom, if ever, pluralized: e.g. Georgian *nacar-i* "ash(es)," *tovl-i* "snow," *t'vin-i* "brain(s)," *mex-i* "thunder." Plural forms are only possible when reference is made to more than one type or variety (e.g. *c'q'l-eb-i* [water-PL-NOM] "varieties of (mineral) water" [Shanidze 1953:80]. In the northeastern Georgian dialect Pshavian, some mass nouns, which do not form plurals in standard Georgian, appear in the n/t plural form; e.g. *dov-n-i* "buttermilk" (cp. std Geo *do*), *elda-n-i* "terror" (cp. std Geo *elda*) [Gogolauri 1978:116]. A similar use of the eb suffix is reported for the speech of northern Kartli; e.g. *cecxl-eb-i* "fire" (cp. std Geo *cecxl-i*) [Imnaishvili 1974:200].

§4.2. Proper names.

Georgian surnames can be pluralized in eb or n/t, to indicate the members of a family, e.g. *č'avč'avaʒe-eb-i, č'avč'avaʒe-n-i* "the Ch'avch'avadzes" [Shanidze 1953:53]. The ancient forms of Svan family names consisted of the name of the senior male member of the clan inflected in the GEN case, followed by the plural suffix -a or -e:r; e.g. *set'el-š-a* [Set'el-GEN-PL], lit. "those of Set'el"; *otar-š-e:r* [Otar-GEN-PL], lit. "those of Otar" [Kaldani 1974:155].

The et suffix, which occurs in many Georgian toponyms, and is believed to be etymologically related to the oblique plural desinence t, was often added to names in Old Georgian to derive nouns denoting a group centered in some sense around a particular individual, e.g. *p'avle-et-n-i* [Paul-et-PL-NOM] "Paul and his companions," *mariam-et-i* "Mary and Martha" (John 11:45 [Adish]), *vaxt'ang-et-i* "the royal house founded by King Vaxt'ang (Gorgasali)" [Imnaishvili 1957:385-91; Boeder 1992]. In these contexts Svan a/e:r and Old Georgian et code the sort of

notional number associated with the "plural" forms of 1st and 2nd person pronouns: "we" = speaker + group centered around her/him, "you$_{pl}$" = addressee + group centered around her/him [Lyons 1968:277].

§4.3. 3rd person pronouns.

In the case of 3rd person anaphoric and demonstrative pronouns standard Georgian uses the n/t plural declension exclusively, while Svan and Zan and some Georgian dialects employ the same declension as common nouns [Mart'irosovi 1964:310-30]. Here are partial paradigms for the basic 3rd person anaphoric pronoun:

{6}	**GEORGIAN**	**LAZ**	**MINGRELIAN**	**SVAN** (Upper Bal)
NOM sg	is/igi	mu-k	mu-Ø	eja
ERG sg	ma-n	mu-k	mu-k	ejneem/ečneem
DAT sg	ma-s	mu-s	mu-s	ejas/ečas/ečan
GEN sg	m-is	mu-š(i)	mu-š(i)	ejiš/eča
NOM pl	isi-n-i / igi-n-i	mu-t-epe-Ø	mu-n-ep-i	ejy-är-Ø
ERG pl	ma-t	mu-t-epe-k	mu-n-en-k	ejy-är-d
DAT pl	ma-t	mu-t-epe-s	mu-n-en-s	ejy-är-s
GEN pl	ma-t	mu-t-epe-ši	mu-n-ep-iši	ejy-är-eš

The -t- and -n- preceding the plural suffix in the two Zan paradigms might at first glance appear to be remnants of the flectional system, which were generalized to all cases in the plural.[26] Chikobava [1936:77] sees Laz -t- and Mingrelian -n- as "having equivalent morphological value, but from different language strata [*sxvadasxva enobrivi penidan*]." Their origin and function remain to be explained. A similar disribution of -n/-t in the plural paradigms of various Zan demonstrative pronouns is ascribed to **loss** of a root element (*t) in the singular declension [ibid:78-82; Mart'irosovi 1964:141-3]. Nothing in the various Svan declensional paradigms can be related to Georgian -n/-t.

In the pronominal declensional paradigms of some Georgian dialects the NOM-case pluralizer -n has been reinterpreted as a generalized plural marker, supplanting the oblique pluralizer -t. Here is a Lower Imeretian example [K'ublashvili 1985:109]:

{7} NOM sg mage "s/he, it" ⇒	NOM pl	mage-n-i
	ERG pl	mage-n-ma
	DAT pl	mage-n-s
	GEN pl	mage-n-is

In the usage of other Lower Imeretian speakers, n has been incorporated into the pronominal stem, and eb is employed as a plural suffix: *mage**n**-eb-i, mage**n**-eb-ma*.

[26]The phoneme correspondences are not unreasonable. Cp. Common Kartvelian (CK) *-d: Geo -t, Zan -t [1st/2nd Set S plural suffix]; CK *-n: Geo -n, Zan -n [3sg Set S suffix] as reconstructed by Klimov [1964:67,144].

§4.4. 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

The Georgian pronouns *me* "I/me," *čwen* "we/us," *šen* "you$_{sg}$" and *tkwen* "you$_{pl}$" indicate number by suppletion. The same is true of their equivalents in the other Kartvelian languages [Mart'irosovi 1964:298-304]. In Old Georgian, the 1pl and 2pl pronouns were only employed in connection with referentially plural referents centered around the speaker or addressee. Beginning in the Late Middle Georgian period, the 2pl pronoun has also been used for deferential reference to a single addressee.

§4.5. Agreement for number within the noun phrase.

Whatever the semantics of the two types of plural declension might have been before and during the Old Georgian period, there is ample evidence that agreement processes tended to treat nouns in n/t as FORMALLY PLURAL and nouns in eb as FORMALLY SINGULAR. Old Georgian had rich intra-NP agreement morphology between both adjectival and genitive modifiers and their heads [Imnaishvili 1957:544-633]. Here are some examples of agreement with postposed modifiers [Shanidze 1982:48-50]:

{8}	**DEFINITE ARTICLE**	**"the man"**	
	singular	**eb** plural	**n/t** plural
NOM	k'ac-i igi	k'ac-eb-i igi	k'ac-n-i igi[27]
ERG	k'ac-man man	k'ac-eb-man man	k'ac-ta mat
DAT	k'ac-sa mas	k'ac-eb-sa mas	k'ac-ta mat

{9}	**ADJECTIVE**	**"high mountain"**	
NOM	mta-y maɣal-i	mt-eb-i maɣl-eb-i[28]	mta-n-i maɣal-n-i
ERG	mta-man maɣal-man	mt-eb-man maɣl-eb-man	mta-ta maɣal-ta
DAT	mta-sa maɣal-sa	mt-eb-sa maɣl-eb-sa	mta-ta maɣal-ta

{10}	**GENITIVE ADJUNCT**	**"wooden house" (house of wood)**	
NOM	saxl-i ʒel-isa-y	saxl-eb-i ʒel-isa-y	saxl-n-i ʒel-isa-n-i
ERG	saxl-man ʒel-isa-man	saxl-eb-man ʒel-isa-man	saxl-ta ʒel-isa-ta
DAT	saxl-sa ʒel-isa-sa	saxl-eb-sa ʒel-isa-sa	saxl-ta ʒel-isa-ta

In addition to the extremely frequent double case marking of adjunct NPs as in {10} (which also occurs, under different conditions, in modern Georgian [Aronson 1982:213-4]), **triply** case-marked genitives are not rare. Here is a specimen cited by Vogt [1947:130], which can serve to illustrate the agreement-governing powers of t and eb. Both the article and the genitive NP agree with t (here serving as GEN plural), while neither agrees with eb.

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[27]Note that the NOM article fails to agree in number with its head (although the latter is an n plural) while the oblique article does agree (igi = NOM sg; mat = ERG/DAT/GEN pl). Instances of article agreement in both number and NOM case are attested, but extremely rare. I have found only one, cited in Sarjveladze [1984:548]: *sakme-n-i igi-**n**-i* [matter-PL-NOM the-PL-NOM] "the(se) things" [ms A-135: Psaltery (1035 AD)]

[28]This appears to be an exception, in view of the agreement pattern for articles and GEN NPs. As it turns out, noun-adjective agreement in case only is also frequently found in Old Georgian texts (e.g. *sul-eb-i igi uk'etur-i* "the unclean spirits" [Acts 19:13, cited in Shanidze 1982:183])

{11} *[[sasxdomel-eb-i$_a$ igi]* *[[msq'idel-ta$_b$* *mat]* *t'red-isa-ta$_b$-y$_a$]]*
stall-PL$_{eb}$-NOM the:NOM seller-GENPL the:GENPL dove-GEN-GENPL-NOM
"the stalls of the dove-sellers" [Mark 11:15]

It is clear that for postposed modifiers in Old Georgian intra-NP agreement with n/t-nouns is obligatory,[29] while agreement with eb-nouns is the exception rather than the rule.

Head-modifier ordering is considered basic in the Old Georgian period where demonstratives, possessives, genitives and indefinite articles are concerned [Sarjveladze 1984:510-30]. Adjectives frequently precede their heads; when they do, the pattern of agreement does not change [Imnaishvili 1957:546-51]. GEN NP modifiers, when preceding their heads, in general do **not** agree with the latter in either case or number [e.g. *ʒel-isa saxl-man, ʒel-isa saxl-ta*]. If number agreement does occur in this context, it is with n/t, not eb [ibid:580-5]. Quantifiers almost invariably precede their heads. Numerals, and such words as *q'ovel* "all," *esoden* "this much" and *raoden* "how much" agree as adjectives with n/t nominals. In Old Georgian, as in the modern language, eb almost never occurs in quantified NPs. One could render "seven men-NOM" as *švid-n-i k'ac-n-i* (n plural) or *švid-i k'ac-i* (singular), but *švid-i k'ac-eb-i* is rare. When an eb nominal takes a quantifier, as in {13}, the latter does not agree for number [ibid: 554-75].

{12} *gan-h-k'urnebd-es* *q'ovel-ta* *sen-ta* [Matthew 10:2]
cure:Ia:S$_{3pl}$:O$_3$ all-DATPL sickness-DATPL
"They cured all diseases."

{13} *q'ovel-sa* *kalak-eb-sa* *da* *dabn-eb-sa* [Luke 10:1]
all-DAT city-PL$_{eb}$-DAT and village-PL$_{eb}$-DAT
"all cities and villages"

One final case of intra-NP agreement for number will be only briefly dealt with here. This involves agreement between head nouns and coreferent relative pronouns in subordinate clauses:

{14} *da* *p'ur-n-i* *igi* *šesac'irav-ta-n-i* *še-č'am-n-a,* [Matthew 12:4]
and bread-PL$_n$-NOM the sacrificial-PL-NOM eat:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$:PLNOM
romel-ta-y *ara* *ǰer* *i-q'-o* *č'am-ad* *misi*
which-GENPL-NOM not appropriate be:IIp:S$_{3sg}$ eating-ADV his:GEN
"He (David) ate the loaves of holy bread, [although] his eating them was not allowed."

---

[29]There is one exception to the rule that formally-plural NP heads control number agreement in their adjuncts. According to K'ik'nadze [1951:218; see also Dondua 1931:132-8] a sort of surface morphological constraint filters out the morpheme sequence *-ta-ta, substituting the singular case ending for the expected second ta:

{i} *da-s-dvi-an* *beč'-ta* *zeda* *k'ac-ta-sa*
lay:IIa:S3pl:O3 shoulder-DATPL upon man-GENPL-DAT**sg**
"They lay (burdens) upon men's shoulders." [Matthew 23:4] (expected: *k'ac-ta-t**a***)

The phenomenon is clearly very old, being attested in Old Georgian texts as early as the 6th-7th century. Also, it appears that in the early Georgian period the *-ta-ta filter applied to the sequence -et-t(a) as well [Boeder 1992]. (A similar, but much less strict, constraint operated in Old Georgian in the case of doubled GEN singular desinences. Imnaishvili [1957: 588-90] points out several instances where the sequence -isa-ysa was specifically avoided by deletion of one of the two morphemes).

{15} *da* *mo-c'q'wd-a* *q'ovel-i* *q'rm-eb-i* *romel-n-i*
and perish:IIp:S_{3sg} all-NOM boy-PL_{eb}-NOM which-PL_{n}-NOM
i-q'v-n-es *betlem-s*
be:IIp:S_{3pl}:PLNOM Bethlehem-DAT]
"And all baby boys who are in Bethlehem perished." [Matthew 2:16]

According to a study by K'vant'aliani [1983], agreement as in {14} is the rule for antecedent nouns with the n/t plural marker. For antecedents in the eb plural, number agreement almost always occurs if they have animate reference, as in {15}, but not if they refer to inanimates. In later texts, animacy becomes the primary factor determining antecedent-relative pronoun number agreement. This example is from the introduction to Saba Orbeliani's Georgian dictionary (early 18th-century):

{16} *ar-i-an* *aso-n-i,* ***romel-i*** *q'ovel-ta* *sit'q'va-ta* *Ø-e-taveb-i-s*
be:Ip:S_{3pl} letter-PL-NOM which-NOM all-DATPL word-DATPL end:Ip:S_{3sg}
"There are letters <PL> which <**SG**> come at the end of all words." [Saba Leksikoni, 19]

It is, of course, relevant to this analysis that the head-adjective or head-GEN NP relationship is in several respects different from that between an NP and a coreferent relative pronoun in a subordinate clause. The latter is an intermediate case between a cross-clausal coreference relationship of the more general sort and intra-NP head-adjunct relationships between non-coreferent nominals [Tuite 1984]. For this reason semantic rather than purely formal factors can come into play.

The rich system of Old Georgian intra-NP agreement is built upon several fundamental asymmetries, as we have seen:

(a) features spread rightward more easily than leftward[30]
(b) agreement in case takes priority over agreement in number
(c) agreement for n/t plurality is much more likely than for eb
(d) types of modifiers can be ranked for receptivity to spread features:
adjectives > articles > GEN nominals > quantifiers

Old Georgian was a right-branching language. As such, constituents of the NP could often be found at some distance to the right of the head. Under most circumstances, the constituency of a NP was clearly bracketed, since adjuncts to the right of it were marked by feature spreading, and adjuncts to the left of it, although often unmarked, were in its immediate vicinity.

On some occasions, however, constituents to the left of the head are separated from it by intervening material not pertaining to the NP, e.g. the verb. (This device is more frequent in particular texts, for example, the Sinai *mravaltavi* [collection of patristic writings] of 864). In such cases leftward agreement — which otherwise would not be used — enables recoverability of the NP's internal structure [Imnaishvili 1957:552]:

[30]Foster and Hofling [1987] sampled thirty languages of different word-order types, and concluded that agreement was more likely when the head and adjunct within a constituent were not in the typologically regular order. In an SVO language, such as Old Georgian, one expects head-modifier order within the NP. Foster and Hofling would predict agreement to be more likely when the modifier precedes the head [1987:489], exactly the reverse of what is observed in Old Georgian. (In Serbo-Croatian, for example, genitive-case NPs agree with their heads only when they precede.)

{17} *ubrc'q'invaleys-n$_a$-i$_b$ . .* *agmo-tkv-n-a* *sit'q'wa-n$_a$-i$_b$*
most.brilliant-PL-NOM pronounce:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM word-PL-NOM
"He uttered the most brilliant words." [Sin.mrav.12v]

The patterns of intra-NP case and number agreement are much less elaborate in modern Georgian. Also, the internal structure of the NP is predominantly left branching — adjectives and GEN adjuncts generally precede their heads [Aronson 1982:68-9,132-5]. Preposed adjectives employ a reduced agreement paradigm, and preposed GEN NP adjuncts do not agree at all (as in Old Georgian) [Shanidze 1953:83-95].

{18} **Adjective - head (Modern Georgian)**

NOM	did-i	k'ac-i / k'ac-eb-i"big man / men"
ERG	did-ma	k'ac-ma / k'ac-eb-ma
DAT	did-Ø	k'ac-s / k'ac-eb-s
GEN	did-i	k'ac-is / k'ac-eb-is
INS	did-i	k'ac-it / k'ac-eb-it
ADV	did-Ø	k'ac-ad / k'ac-eb-ad

The suffix eb is the unmarked and predominant marker of plurality in modern Georgian. The n/t plural is still in use, though for the most part confined to high-style usage, officialese and fixed phrases (e.g. *mc'eral-ta k'avšir-i* "Writers' Union," *xalx-ta megobroba* "friendship of [among] peoples," *ena-t-mecniereba* "science of languages [= linguistics]"). When it appears on the head of an NP, agreement is as in Old Georgian [*did-n-i k'ac-n-i; did-ta k'ac-ta*]. Head-modifier word order is used in marked contexts in modern Georgian: in archaicized or poetic language [Gigineishvili 1984], or for reasons of emphasis, tempo or rhythm [Apridonidze 1986:86-94]. As a rule, postposed adjectives show full agreement for case [Shanidze 1953:91]:

{19} **Head - adjective (Modern Georgian)**

NOM	mta-Ø / mt-eb-i maγal-i "high mountain / mountains"
ERG	mta-ma / mt-eb-ma maγal-ma
DAT	mta-sa / mt-eb-sa maγal-sa

If the head is in the n/t plural, the adjective agrees with it as in Old Georgian; number agreement is on rare occasions attested with eb also (e.g. *mt-eb-i maγl-eb-i* in Vazha-Pshavela's "gvelis mč'ameli" [1901], written in the conservative Pshav dialect). Postposed genitives agree with their heads optionally in case and never in number [Shanidze 1953:91-2,111-3; Gigineishvili 1984], exception again being made for n/t plurals (*saxl-eb-i x-isa-Ø* [house-PL-NOM wood-GEN-NOM], *saxl-eb-ma x-isa-m* [house-PL-ERG wood-GEN-ERG] but *saxl-n-i x-isa-n-i, saxl-ta x-isa-ta*). Agreement between heads and coreferent relative pronouns in modifying subordinate clauses does not follow hard-and-fast rules in modern Georgian [Kvantaliani 1983:72], but shows a clear dependence on animacy, as in Old Georgian.

Figure {20} sums up the preceding discussion of Old and Modern Georgian intra-NP agreement. Along with the general reduction of case-agreement morphology, we note a shift in markedness and statistical preponderance in favor of two factors which work against head-modifier feature sharing: eb plurals as opposed to n/t, and preposed as opposed to postposed modifiers.

{20} a. **Preposed modifiers**

	GEN NP	*Adjective*	*Quantifier*	*Article*	
Old Georgian:	(c,n)	c,n,(e)	**c,n,(Ø)**	c,n	*HEAD*
Modern Georgian:	**Ø**	**c_r,n**	**c_r,n**	—	*HEAD*

b. **Postposed modifiers**

		Article	*Adjective*	*GEN NP_1*	*GEN NP_2*	*Rel pro*
Old Georgian:	*HEAD*	**c,n**	c,n,(e)	**c,n**	**c,(n)**	**(n)$^+$**
Modern Georgian:	*HEAD*	—	c,n	(c),n	— —	**(n,e)$^+$**

KEY: c = case agr; n = n/t num agr; e = eb num agr; c_r = reduced case agr; Ø = no agreement; () = optional agr; $^+$ = dependent on animacy; **bold** = preferred word order

Before delving into verb morphology, a few words about number agreement in non-literary Kartvelian are in order. As summarized by Klimov [1962:124-30], both Zan and Svan prefer modifier-head word order [see also Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis 1986:42-3]. Preposed adjuncts agree neither in number nor in case, and, as mentioned earlier, only eb-type plural marking is used.

{21}	LAZ		SVAN	
NOM	č'ič'e	čit'-epi-Ø "little birds"	c'erni	usgv-är-Ø "red apples"
ERG	č'ič'e	čit'-epi-k	c'erni	usgv-är-d
DAT	č'ič'e	čit'-epi-s	c'erni	usgv-är-s
GEN	č'ič'e	čit'-epi-š	c'erni	usgv-r-eš

In these languages postposed adjectives and genitives will often agree with their heads in case but not number (e.g. Laz *kitab-epe-k agne-k* [book-PL-ERG new-ERG] "new books," Mingrelian *k'eteba-s 'ude-ši-s* [building-DAT house-GEN-DAT] "construction of the house," Svan *našdabw ma:r-e:miš luwzer-e:miš* [work-NOM man-GEN diligent-GEN "the work of a diligent man"). Examples are attested in Mingrelian where the postposed modifier carries the **only** case desinence in the NP, the head being in the unmarked NOM form: *boš-i č'ič'e-k* [boy-NOM little-ERG] "little boy" [Klimov 1962:128-9].

Appendix. The northeast Georgian "dual."

I will examine here the unusual case reported by Shanidze [1915,1967] of a DUAL number in some northeast Georgian mountain dialects. In Old Georgian, as far as can be determined, n/t and eb were semantically equivalent, differing only in their formal properties. In the modern standard language the two are differentiated stylistically, as well as morphologically, but not otherwise. In his 1915 article, Shanidze makes the following assertion: "To this day the Xevsurian dialect distinguishes a dual [*c'q'vilobiti*] from the singular and plural . . . . The dual endings are -n-i [NOM], -n-o [vocative] and -t-a [oblique], which later took on plural meaning as well, but they have not completely lost their original [*p'irvandeli*] dual meaning. -eb is the plural marker" [1915:13]. In his various writings on this topic, Shanidze uses at least three Georgian names for this "dual" category: *c'q'vilobiti* (from *c'q'vili* "pair"), *mrčoblobiti* (from *mrčobli* "twins"), and most recently *orobiti* (from *ori* "two"). The first term seems to me the most apt, but uses better captured by the other two are attested. Here are some examples as glossed by Shanidze [ibid:13-4]:

{22} **Xevsurian duals**

a. *qel-**n**-i* "two hands, a pair" (cp *qel-**eb**-i* "many hands, 3,4,5 and so on")
b. *laš-**n**-i* "two lips, a mouth"
c. *qel mo-g-i-mart-as(t) wož-**n**-o* [hand direct:IIa:O_{2pl}:S_{3sg} man-"DUAL"-VOC] "a greeting formula, used to address two men. When addressing many men: *qel mogimartast wož-**eb**-o"*
d. *sasc'or-čareka-**n**-i*: "'scale and quart jug', the name of a constellation" (also in Pshav dialect)
e. *q'da-**n**-i:* "knitting apparatus with two dowels [*q'da*]" (also in Moxevian, Pshav, Tushetian)

Dondua [1932/1956:163] quotes a passage collected by Besarion Gabuuri in Xevsureti in which the singular, plural and "dual" are contrasted:

{23} *da-u-c'q'-es* *ǰiqv-is* *rk-**eb**-s* *šinǰva . . .* *is*
begin:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 mt.goat-GEN horn-PL_{eb}-DAT examining:NOM that:NOM
adua-is *mok'luli* *ǰiqv-is* *rka-**Ø*** *upro* *did* *i-q'v-a,*
Adua-GEN killed mt.goat-GEN horn-NOM most big be:IIp:S_{3sg}
a-i-t'an-a *qel-ši* *mangia-m* *da* *k'virob-s:* *es* *ǰiqv*
lift:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 hand-in Mangia-ERG and exclaim:Ia:S_{3sg} this:NOM mt.goat:NOM
sad *k'lde-ši* *ga-i-zard?* *am* *rka-**t*** *rogor* *Ø-e-reod?*
where cliff-on grow:IIp:S_{3sg} this:OBL horn-DAT:"DUAL"how manage:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_3
*did-**n*** *rka-**n*** *ar* *g-koniv-an-a?!*
big-NOM:"DUAL" horn-NOM:"DUAL" not have:IIIp:O_{2sg}:$S_{3"dual"}$

"They began to examine the mountain goat horns [*plural — horns from several animals*] . . . The horn [*singular — one horn*] from the goat killed by Adua was the biggest of all. Mangia took it up in his hands and exclaimed: On what cliff did this mountain goat grow up? How did it manage (to carry) such horns [*dual — pair of horns from one animal*]? Have you ever had horns [*dual*] as large as these?"

Most recently, M. Rogava and T. Met'reveli undertook a two-week field trip to Xevsureti in September 1967 to investigate the current status of the *orobiti.* Informants as young as nineteen distinguished n/t from eb forms for at least a few lexical items. A total of twenty-three words are reported on by Rogava & Met'reveli 1976 — three types of "dual"/plural opposition are apparent:

{24} a. n/t = two identical items forming a set, especially paired body parts or pieces of clothing [*tval-n-i* "pair of eyes," *k'aloš-n-i* "pair of galoshes," *cxvir-n-i* "pair of nostrils," etc.]; eb = several pairs of such items (10 examples)

b. n/t = single set or item with two salient but different components — usually named by a two-word compound [*par-qmal-n-i* "shield and sabre," *kal-važ-n-i* "woman and man," *saaraq'e kvab-n-i* "still (for making moonshine)", consisting of a *kvabi* (pot) and *zarpuši* (lid)]; eb = more than one set (6 examples)

c. n/t = two, sometimes three, individuals [*ʒaγl-n-i* "2 or 3 dogs," *k'art'op'il-n-i* "2 or 3 potatoes," *švil-n-i* "two offspring"]; eb = more than three (7 examples)

The "dual"/plural opposition, it appears, still lives on in Xevsureti for at least a couple dozen lexical items, including some recent loanwords. It does not seem to be doing so well elsewhere in northeast Georgia. In a recent article on the Pshavian dialect, Gogolauri [1978:116] makes no

explicit mention of a dual number, but does point out that the n/t desinence is used in words denoting single items (e.g. *ǰara-n-i* "spinning wheel" and *čxut'-n-i* "churn") which have two or more salient components.

Is this category of dual, (or paucal, or componential) number an innovation in the northeast Georgian dialect group, or an archaic survival — of which there are many in these dialects? Shanidze believes the latter is the case: "One can say that the plural in -n and -t is by origin a dual [*orobiti*] that had lost its original meaning, became a plural, and gradually pushed out the eb plural as the preferred form [in Old Georgian — *KT*]" [Shanidze 1982:35-6]. He goes on to point out that languages with a dual (classical Greek, Arabic) distinguish fewer case forms in the dual than in the singular or plural; the same pattern is noted for n/t as against eb and the singular [ibid]. According to Shanidze's hypothesis, Xevsurian is in this one respect more conservative than even the earliest attested stage of Old Georgian. He also proposes that the eb morpheme was the original plural morpheme, and not n/t as Deeters and Harris would have it.

One can also argue for the opposite point of view. Kurylowicz [1964:14] noted that "an empirical fact to be frequently observed in linguistic diachrony is the eviction or replacement of a morph by a new morph only in the former's primary or secondary function." The secondary function of a morpheme is that which it has in specified contexts, while the primary function is unmarked.

Let us assume that at one time n/t was the basic plural morpheme in the northeast dialects, as in Old Georgian. For nouns denoting objects of the sort exemplified in {23} (a) and (b), which almost always come in pairs, the unmarked function of the plural would have been to indicate a pair or set. The marked (secondary) function of the plural — a plurality of pairs or sets — would have been assumed only when the context specified it: *xuti k'acis qel-n-i* "the hands of five men." When the collective marker eb came to be used as a plural marker, it supplanted n/t in this secondary function. Later, n/t was reinterpreted as a dual/paucal morpheme, and was used with this new meaning with other semantic classes of nouns (e.g. {23} (c)). These three stages of semantic reanalysis are shown below:

{25}	**Stage I**	**Stage II**	**Stage III**
plural:	*qel-n-i* "hands" 1º function: pair 2º function: >2	plural I: *qel-n-i* 1º function: pair	dual/paucal: *qel-n-i*
collective:	*qel-eb-i*	plural II: *qel-eb-i* 2º function: >2	plural: *qel-eb-i*

NOTE: Just before the submission of the final version of this text, my colleague Winfried Boeder kindly sent me a copy of a newly-published article of his, in which the matter of n/t and eb number marking in Pshav-Xevsurian receives detailed and sophisticated treatment. The conclusions arrived at by Boeder are in most respects compatible with those presented here.

Boeder, Winfried. 1998. Syntax und Semantik von Einheit und Vielfalt beim georgischen Nomen. *Sprache in Raum und Zeit: In memoriam Johannes Bechert,* ed. by W. Boeder, C. Schroder, K. H. Wagner & W. Wildgen, Band 2, pp 251-268. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

CHAPTER V. THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER IN THE KARTVELIAN VERB.

Agreement has been defined as "coincidence in grammatical categories, features, or feature values on two different words in a sentence, where one word has the category or feature for a principled reason and the other merely acquires it from the first" [Nichols 1985: 274]. The presence of a category or feature on a word can be due to [1] the properties of the lexical category (e.g. gender and class in nouns, aspect and tense in verbs); [2] syntactic government (e.g. assignment of case to NPs by verbs, adpositions or other nouns); or [3] agreement (e.g. concord for gender, case and number between determiners and nouns). [1] and [2] are considered to be "principled reasons" for the appearance of the feature in question. It follows that agreement is to be distinguished from what I will term FEATURE COINCIDENCE, that is, instances in which both constituents that share a feature do so for principled reasons. Where feature coincidence occurs each word is independently marked for the feature in question rather than acquiring it from the other word. The examples to be discussed in this chapter concern the feature of number in verbs.

§5.1. Verbal plurality.

In a study of lexicalization patterns, Talmy [1985: 125-138] inventoried certain properties likely to be incorporated into the semantic structure of verb roots. Most of them pertain to the "essential qualities" of the denoted event, such as manner and aspect. Also to be found on Talmy's list is number, defined as "the numerosity of the participants — from one to many — behaving as any single argument of a verb." This notional category corresponds to "an essential aspect of an event, because such numerosity affects how the event is manifested" [ibid: 133]. Person and gender, by contrast, are not regarded as coding essential qualities of the event, but rather the relationship between the actors in the reported event and the speech-act context or categories of the lexicon. Nor are they ever specifically incorporated into the semantics of verb roots, as far as the author knows [ibid: 135-136].

Several studies have focused upon the coding of number in the verb [Dressler 1968, Frajzyngier 1985, Mithun 1988]. The category of "verbal plurality" described by Dressler covers different semantic ranges in different languages: iterativity, collective or distributive action, habituality, etc. Whenever the semantic range of verbal plurality includes the numerosity of the arguments, almost invariably the relevant participants correspond to the subjects of intransitive verbs or direct objects of transitives, i.e. "the participants most directly affected by an action" [Mithun 1988: 214; see also Uhlenbeck 1916: 191-195; Dressler 1968: 70-71]. Here are some examples from Zuni [Bunzel 1938: 455-460]. As in many other North American languages, several verb stems occur in pairs according to participant numerosity:

{1} **Paired singular and plural verb stems in Zuni.**

transitive verbs	
ela'u "sb sets it upright"	λuwala'u "sb sets them upright"
p'iya'u "sb hangs it"	wo:hana'u "sb hangs them"
intransitive verbs	
utce "sb is inside"	upe "they are inside"
elemaku "sb stands up"	λuwalemaku "they stand up"

The verb stems comprising the pairs shown above are clearly not related to each other etymologically. In many languages, derivational processes — most often reduplication — can be employed to form specifically plural verbs. Observe the use of the "multiple-event" affix *-ta-* in the following Central Pomo examples [Mithun 1988: 224]:

{2} *transitive verb:* ts'íič'kam "fold it"
ts'iič'-táa-kam "fold lots of things"
intransitive verb: 'aa madúmač' "I woke up"
ya madúmač'-ta-m "we woke up"

Derivational processes of this type can lead to interesting cases of surface ambiguity, as in this Washo example [Jacobsen 1964:530]. The semantic range of verbal plurality as marked by the infix -ng- includes iterativity as well as numerosity of the participants:

{3} *basic stem:* tu'manga' "to have one's foot on something"
derived stem: tu'm-ng-anga'i "he has both feet on it" **or**
"he keeps putting his foot/feet on it" **or**
"they have their feet [one or two each] on it" **or**
"they keep putting their feet [one or two each] on it."

In this monograph I will use the term LOCAL ARGUMENT to indicate that argument of the verb — usually a patient or theme — which is especially closely bound to it, as indicated by selectional restrictions and phenomena such as noun incorporation and idioms (for more on this topic see Tuite [1990]). The local argument normally surfaces as the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb.

The stem suppletion or derivation in the examples shown above reflects the contour of the reported event, and is determined independently from any indications of number on the absolutive NP. (Indeed, in many North American languages, nominal plural marking is restricted to certain classes of nouns, and even then is not used every time reference is made to multiple participants [Frajzyngier 1985, Mithun 1988]). In those clauses where a plural local argument and a plural verb occur we clearly have an instance of feature coincidence. The category of number in the verb is determined lexically, and not by NP-verb agreement.

§5.1.1. Verbal plurality versus number agreement.

A very different kind of number marking in the verb is that which is associated with person agreement. As was mentioned earlier, the category of person is not considered to reflect an essential quality of a reported event in Talmy's sense. The presence of person markers in the verb is ascribed by some to the mechanism of syntactic government [Chomsky 1981] and by others to agreement [Nichols 1985]; I will adopt the latter analysis here.

In the vast majority of languages that I have examined, if there is agreement for person there is agreement for number as well. In many cases, distinct singular and plural agreement markers are only available for the 1st and 2nd persons. In some other languages, 3rd person NPs can control plural number agreement only if they have animate reference. The degree to which referential, as opposed to formal, features can influence agreement for number (also gender) varies greatly from language to language. One finds examples of plural agreement with formally singular NPs (e.g. *A whole lot of people are coming*) and also cases of plural agreement with formally plural but referentially singular NPs (e.g. the plural of politeness: *Herr Schmidt, haben Sie dieses Buch gelesen?*) [see Comrie 1975; Moravcsik 1978].

A comparison of the two types of verbal number marking in a variety of languages gives the following picture:

[1.] *Number (numerosity) coding associated with the category of verbal plurality:*
- a. Codes number of local arguments only (i.e. absolutive patterning)
- b. Always reflects referential (rather than formal) characteristics
- c. Marking always possible regardless of person, gender, animacy, etc. of NP referring to relevant participants
- d. Category coded by stem suppletion, reduplication, or segmentable morpheme

[2.] *Number marking associated with person agreement:*
- a. Any core grammatical relation can be coded. Nominative, ergative or active-stative patterning possible (nominative pattern predominates)
- b. Can reflect purely formal as well as referential characteristics
- c. May not be possible in some person(s), gender(s), etc., or for NPs with inanimate reference
- d. Coded by segmentable morpheme, portmanteau morpheme; occasionally by suppletion (e.g. *I am, we are*)

§5.1.2. Verbal plurality in Kartvelian.

Parallels to the verbal plurality phenomena we have just looked at are also to be found in the Kartvelian languages. Verb-root suppletion occurs in both Old and Modern Georgian [Shanidze 1953:516-38]. A prominent part is played by the root -sx- which appears as the plural verb stem in several suppletive pairs. Here are some Old Georgian examples [from Shanidze 1982:145-7]. The roots in {4} and {5} are transitive, and those in {6} and {7} are intransitive.

{4} ***-gd-/-q'r-*** "throw"

man *da-Ø-a-**gd**-o* *pičw-i* *twis-i* [Mark 10:50]
s/he:ERG throw$_{sg}$:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ cloak-NOM his.own-NOM
"He threw aside his cloak."

da *da-**q'ar**-n-a* *k'ap'rč'-n-i* *twis-n-i* *ešmak'-man*
and throw$_{pl}$:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$:PLNOM quiver-PL-NOM his.own-PL-NOM devil-ERG
"And the devil threw away his quivers (of arrows)." [sin. mravalt. 224:6]

{5} ***-sw-/-sx-*** "set, lay"

*da-v-**sw**-a* *igi* *saq'dar-ta* *šen-ta* [Psalm 131:11]
set$_{sg}$:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$ her/him:NOM throne-DATPL your-GENPL
"I will set him upon your throne."

*da-v-**sx**-n-e* *mt'er-n-i* *šen-n-i* *kweše* *perq-ta*
set$_{pl}$:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$:PLNOM enemy-PL-NOM your-PL-NOM under foot-DATPL
šen-ta [Matthew 22:44]
your-DATPL
"I will place your enemies beneath your feet."

{6} ***-v-/-sx-*** "have" (indirect class P)

*g-i-**v**-i-s* *ʒma-y* [Genesis 43:7]
have$_{sg}$:Ip:O$_2$:S$_{3sg}$ brother-NOM
"Do you have a brother?"

*m-i-**sx**-en* *xut-n-i* *ʒma-n-i* [Luke 16:28]
have$_{pl}$:Ip:O$_{1excl}$:S$_{3pl}$ five-PL-NOM brother-PL-NOM
"I have five brothers."

{7} ***-vrd-/-cwiv-*** "fall"

mraval gz-is		*šta-**vard**-i-s*	*igi*	*cecxl-sa*
manyway-GEN		$fall_{sg}$.down:Ip:S_{3sg}	he:NOM	fire-DAT
"He often falls into the fire."				[Matthew 17:15]
še-ct-ian	*da*	*or-n-i-ve*	*mtxrebl-sa*	*šta-**cwiv**-ian*
err:IIp:S_{3pl}	and	two-PL-NOM-EMP	pit-DAT	$fall_{pl}$.down:IIp:S_{3pl}
"They will err, and both will fall into a pit."				[Matthew 15:14]

Number suppletivism involving the root -šx- (cognate to Georgian -sx-) is also attested in Mingrelian [Klimov 1964:178-9; cp. Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990: 289]. As these examples illustrate, Georgian verb-root suppletion reflects features of the local argument, but never features of the transitive agent [Harris 1981:18-21].

Verb-stem derivational processes sensitive to number manifest the same patterning. Two such lexical operations have been described in Kartvelian. According to Shanidze [1953:262-5] the preverb da- (basic meaning "downward") is frequently substituted for other preverbs (especially ga- "out," the most commonly-used preverb and the one with most attenuated directional meaning) to denote what he calls "intensity of action" (*mokmedebis int'ensioba*). By this he means multiple, usually serial, completion of the action denoted by the verb [ibid:262]. More specifically, for a large number of verbs — over 150, according to Vogt [1971:175] — use of the da- preverb implies plurality of the local argument. Some examples [Shanidze 1953:263-4; Schmidt 1957:14]:

{8} transitive verbs

a.	*k'ak'al-i* ***ga**-Ø-t'ex-a*	*k'ak'l-eb-i* ***da**-Ø-t'ex-a*
	nut-NOM break:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3	nut-PL-NOM $break_{pl}$:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
	"S/he cracked the nut."	"S/he cracked the nuts."
b.	*bavšv-i* ***ga**-Ø-zard-a*	*bavšv-eb-i* ***da**-Ø-zard-a*
	child-NOM raise:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3	child-PL-NOM $raise_{pl}$:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
	"S/he raised the child."	"S/he raised the children."

{9} intransitive verbs

a.	*k'vercx-i* ***ga**-laq'-d-a*	*k'vercx-eb-i* ***da**-laq'-d-a*
	egg-NOM addle:IIp:S_{3sg}	egg-PL-NOM $addle_{pl}$:IIp:S_{3sg}
	"The egg went bad."	"The eggs went bad."
b.	*bavšv-i* ***ga**-i-zard-a*	*bavšv-eb-i* ***da**-i-zard-nen*
	child-NOM grow-up:IIp:S_{3sg}	child-PL-NOM $grow_{pl}$:IIp:S_{3pl}
	"The child grew up."	"The children grew up."

Certain verbs that require plural local arguments on semantic grounds employ the da- preverb: *da-mc'k'riv-d-eb-ian* "they line up," *da-natesav-d-eb-ian* "they are related" [Schmidt 1957:14-15]. According to Schmidt [ibid] the da- preverb can also signal "adverbial plurality," as in the following instances: *da-Ø-k'ocn-i-s* "sb kisses one person many times, or several people once," *da-srial-eb-s* "sb slides or skates back and forth," *da-Ø-q'id-i-s* "sb sells many things, or goes around selling things," *da-Ø-čxvlet'-s* "sb sticks or pricks sb/sthg many times," *da-pren-s* "sb/sthg flies around."[31] Shanidze [1953:263] contrasts *p'ur-is **ga-č'ra*** (bread-GEN cutting-NOM) "cutting bread in two," with *p'ur-is **da-č'ra*** "cutting bread into many slices."

[31]As such Georgian da- resembles the Polish preverb po- as described by Frajzyngier [1985:97-8],

A second verb-stem derivational process connected with number is found in some dialects of Svan. The suffix -a:l- and its variants can signal plurality of the local argument, or of the action in general [Deeters 1930:66-8; Sharadzenidze 1954; Schmidt 1957:19-20; Topuria 1967:233].

{10} *xam-är* *ady-**a:l**-e*
pig-PL:NOM drive$_{pl}$.away:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$
"He drove the pigs away."

{11} *o-xv-šk'ad-**a:l**-a* *lucman-är*
forge$_{pl}$:IIIa:O$_3$:S$_{3sg}$ nail-PL:NOM
"He has forged the nails."

{12} *mäg* *ušxvid* *än-ərd-**a:l**-ä:n-x*
all:NOM together grow$_{pl}$:Ip:S$_{3pl}$
"They all grew up together."

{13} *lə-kač* "to cut"
*lə-kčan-**ie:l**-e* "to cut repeatedly"

{14} *a-ma:r-e* "sb prepares sthg"
*a-ma:r-**al**-e* "sb is preparing many things" **or** "sb is preparing repeatedly"

{15} **Svan verbal nouns (Upper Bal dialect)** [Gujejiani & Palmaitis 1985]
li-šxbi "to sew one thing" li-šxbiy-e:l-i "to sew many things"
li-je:lwe "to sweep sthg" li-je:lw-ä:l-i "to sweep sthg many times"
li-c'b-i:ne "to dangle (tr/intr) li-c'e:b-ä:l "to dangle many things, to dangle on sthg many times"

In addition, many Class A denominal verbs denoting activities (events perceived in terms of their temporal duration rather than change of state) are derived with the suffix *-a:l-* [Chumburidze 1981:149ff], e.g.:

{16} **Activity verbs in -a:l- (Upper Bal)**
li-bəlkow-ä:l-i "to play cards" [< *bəlkow*, a name of a card game]
li-wγw-in-ä:l-i "to work with a yoked ox" [< *uγwa* "yoke"]
li-lc-e:r-ä:l-i "to water, irrigate" [< *lic* "water"]

All of these denominal verbs in *-a:l-* are characterized by atelic aspect, in which respect they resemble the Georgian medial (or medioactive) verbs [Nozadze 1974; Holisky 1981]. Overall, the semantic range of the Svan verbal pluralizer *-a:l-* is quite similar to that of the Georgian preverb *da-* discussed previously.

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which is correlated with both "plurality of action" (e.g. *po-stal w kolejce* "he stood in line <for quite some time>") and plurality of the local argument (e.g. *po-otwieral okna* "he opened <all> the windows;" cp. *po-spadali* "they fell down" with **po-spadal* "he fell down").

In addition to sharing an ergative-like alignment, the three phenomena presented in this section are the only number-coding processes attested in Kartvelian which can be employed by **nonfinite** as well as finite verbs [Shanidze 1953:262; 1982:146; Boeder 1979:452]:

{17} *suppletion* [Old Georgian]
mo-**g**-eba-y c'ign-isa-y [bringing-NOM book-GEN-NOM] "bringing a book"
mo-**xw**-ma-y c'ign-ta-y [bringing$_{pl}$-NOM book-GENPL-NOM] "bringing books"

{18} *suppletion* [Modern Georgian]
kv-is gada-**gd**-eba [stone-GEN throwing-NOM] "throwing a stone"
kv-eb-is gada-**q'r**-a [stone-PL-GEN throwing$_{pl}$-NOM] "throwing stones"

{19} *preverb **da-*** [Modern Georgian]
picr-is **ga**-tl-a [board-GEN planing-NOM] "planing a board"
picr-eb-is **da**-tl-a [board-PL-GEN planing$_{pl}$-NOM] "planing boards"

{20} *suffix **-a:l-*** [Svan]
mə-ma:r-e "someone preparing (one thing)"
mə-ma:r-**ä:l**-i "someone preparing many (things)"

This is to be expected given the nature of this sort of feature sharing. Unlike the situation in agreement processes (if we accept Nichols' definition), the category of number involved in these three lexical operations pertains to **both** verb stem and local argument for "principled reasons." It may well prove to be the case that we are not really dealing with the same category in the verb as in the noun. On the one hand we have nominal NUMBER,[32] on the other hand something like the lexical AKTIONSART of the verb stem. In most cases these overlap extensionally, though instances such as Georgian *dak'ocnis* or Svan *ama:rali* show that the overlap is by no means perfect. The ergative-like patterning observed in number-related verb root suppletion and stem-derivation phenomena is a consequence of the deep semantic structure associated with verbs in general.

§5.2. Number agreement I: Old Georgian *-en-* .

While numerous languages have derivational or case-assignment processes which pattern ergatively, verb agreement will pattern accusatively if anything does [Bossong 1984:386-7]. Languages with ergative agreement systems are not rare, however; the better-known examples include Basque, Mayan, and several Northwest Pacific coast languages. Agreement for grammatical class in the Northeast Caucasian languages is a case in point. In Archi [Kibrik 1979:67-8] and Avar [Tchekhoff 1982] verbs and adverbials agree in class with the absolutive-case NP, corresponding to the direct object of a transitive verb or the grammatical subject of an intransitive verb. In the following example, from Archi, observe how the verb, indirect object and adverbial all agree with the direct object for grammatical class (b- is the class III agreement marker):

[32]More precisely, nominal number in its notional rather than formal sense. Shanidze [1982] points out that formally singular collective nouns tend to cooccur with the plural member of suppletive root pairs: *er-i ese romel-i **sxed-s** mta-sa mas* [people-NOM this which-NOM sit$_{pl}$Ip:S$_{3sg}$ mountain-DAT the] "these people who are sitting on the mountain" [Judith 5:3]. Note that the verb, despite having a plural-local-argument root, is marked with a 3**sg** Set S agreement suffix [see also Imnaishvili 1957:308-9].

{21} *buwa-mu* ***b****-ez* *dit'a-****b****-u* *x^{o}alli* *a-****b****-u*
mother(II)-ERG III-me:DAT early:III bread(III)-NOM baked:III
"Mother baked me the bread early." [Kibrik 1979:68]

One agreement phenomenon attested in Kartvelian manifests a patterning similar to the above: plural number agreement in -n-/-en- in Old Georgian [Shanidze 1982:75; Deeters 1930:61-5].[33] NOM case DOs of Class A verbs and MSs of i/e-prefixed Class P verbs can control number agreement in (e)n. This agreement is however limited to the series II screeves and those series III screeves based on series II stems (i.e. the pluperfect, conjunctive perfect and iterative perfect) [Harris 1985:303].[34] Consider the following pair of sentences, from the late-9th century Adish gospels. The same Class A verb is used in both. In the first example, the verb is in a Series I screeve (the imperfect), and does not agree in number with its DAT-case plural DO. In the second example the verb is in the aorist (a Series II screeve) and thus assigns NOM case to its DO. The latter NP (*perq-n-i*) is formally plural, and the verb agrees with it in number.

{22} *da* *tm-ita* *twis-ita* *c'ar-h-qoc-d-a* *perq-ta* *mis-ta*
and hair-INS own-INS wipe:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3 foot-DATPL his-DATPL
"And she was wiping his feet with her hair." [John 12:3]

{23} *da* *c'ar-h-qoc-****n****-a* *perq-****n****-i* *tm-ita* *mis-ita*
and wipe:I**Ia:**S_{3sg}**:**O_3:PLNOM foot-PL-NOM hair:INS her:INS
"And she wiped his feet with her hair." [John 11:2]

The class of arguments which can control number agreement in (e)n is highlighted in {24}:

{24} **NPs controlling number agreement in (e)n (Old Georgian)**

		CLASS A			CLASS P (i/e-prefixed only)	
		NP1	*NP2*	*NP3*	*NP1*	*NP2*
series I	agreement	S	O_3^{x}	$O_3^{\emptyset}$	S	O_3^{x}
	case	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	DAT
series II	agreement	S	O_3^{x}	$O_3^{\emptyset}$	S	O_3^{x}
	case	ERG	DAT	NOM	NOM	DAT
series III	agreement	O_3^{x}	— —	S	S	O_3^{x}
	case	DAT	[+tvis]	NOM	NOM	DAT

Here are some examples (from [Chikobava 1948:59-61] and [Arabuli 1984:64-78]):

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[33]The underlying form of the plural agreement morpheme is en according to Shanidze [1982:75], with syncope of the e in specified environments [Harris 1985:171,210].

[34]Most class A verbs form their present perfects on the basis of the series I stem. A not inconsiderable number of them employ the series **II** stem for this purpose [Shanidze 1953:446-8]. They do not, however, manifest en agreement. Cp:

{i} *present* 3sg: Ø-a-k'urtx-eb-s "sb blesses sb"
pres.perf. 3sg: Ø-u-k'urtx-eb-i-es "sb has blessed sb"
pres.perf. 3pl: Ø-u-k'urtx-eb-i-an "sb has blessed them"
{ii} *present* 3sg: Ø-a-sc'av-eb-s "sb teaches sb"
pres.perf. 3sg: Ø-u-sc'av-i-es "sb has taught sb" (cp aor *Ø-a-sc'av-a*)
pres.perf. 3pl: Ø-u-sc'av-i-an "sb has taught them" (**u-sc'av-n-i-an*)

class A, series II ("mixed conjunctive" screeve)

{25} *rayta c'ar-Ø-a-vlin-**n**-od-i-s igini kadageb-ad*
that send:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM them:NOM preach-ADV
"that he would send them to preach" [Mark 3:15 (Adish)]

class A, series III (conjunctive perfect screeve)

{26} *romel-ta mo-Ø-e-k'wdin-**n**-en sakme-n-i*
which-DATPL die:CAUS:IIIa:S_{3pl}/3:PLNOM matter-PL-NOM
qorc-ta-n-i krist'e-ys mier
flesh-GENPL-PL-NOM Christ-GEN by [Revelation 20:6]
"those who would cause the things of the flesh to die for the sake of Christ . . "

class P, series II (permansive screeve)

{27} *or-n-i-ve igi da-i-marx-**n**-i-an*
two-PL-NOM-same the:NOM preserve:PASS:IIp:S_{3pl}:PLNOM]
"Both will be preserved." [Matthew 9:18]

Of the three formal subgroups of Class P verbs, which were introduced in chapter II, only prefixal class P verbs (those which are marked with the preradical vowels -i- or -e-) manifest en agreement in series II. Clear evidence of this comes from parallel passages collected by I. Imnaishvili [1968], where one version employs a prefixal Class P, the other a suffixal Class P derivation of the same verb root (Class P verb-stem formants are underlined):

{28} root **-tov-** "snow" in Psalm 67:15
a. *gan-i-tov-**n**-es igi-**n**-i selmon-s*
snow:$IIp_{prefixal}$:S_{3pl}:PLNOM they-NOM Zalmon-DAT
b. *gan-s-tov-d-es igi-n-i selmon-s*
snow:$IIp_{suffixal}$:S_{3pl}:O_3 they-NOM Zalmon-DAT
"They were snowed on in Zalmon." (not:**gan-s-tov-d-**n**-es*)

Likewise Old Georgian root Class P verbs are never attested with en agreement:

{29} *mo-k'wd-en did-n-i da mcire-n-i* [Jeremiah 16:6 (Bakari)]
die:IIp_{root}:S_{3pl} great-PL-NOM and small-PL-NOM
"The great and the lowly shall perish." (not: **mo-k'wd-**n**-en*)
[cp. *mo-i-sr-**n**-en did-**n**-i da mcired-**n**-i*
exterminate:PASS:$IIp_{prefixal}$:S_{3pl}:PLNOM great-PL-NOM and small-PL-NOM
"The great and the lowly shall be wiped out." [Jeremiah 16 (Oshk'i)]

4th conjugation Class P verbs, which are marked with the preradical vowel -e- in series II, also manifest en agreement (cp. *m-e-gon-a* "it-NOM seemed to me-DAT," *m-e-gon-**n**-es* "they-NOM seemed to me-DAT"; *Ø-e-sx-**n**-en sandal-n-i* "they-DAT should wear sandals-NOM" [Mk 6:9]).

The generalization to be made, is that plural NOM NPs control en agreement in (a) series II class A verbs, and (b) verbs with i-/e-prefixed class P series II stems.[35]

[35]This will include stative passives, and also those series III screeves of class A verbs which use the version vowel e, e.g. (from the verb *da-c'er-s* "s/he writes it")

Mention should also be made of the two Old Georgian verbs — *Ø-i-c-i-s* and *Ø-uc'q'-i-s,* both of which mean "sb knows sthg" — which assign ERG case to their NP1 arguments in series I (instead of the expected DAT or NOM). The NP3 (denoting the object of knowledge) is assigned NOM case. According to Chikobava [1948] these verbs are fossils left by an earlier stage of Kartvelian, when the series I screeves had not yet been formed, and the ancestors of the series II screeves performed a wider range of functions. In essence, the present screeve forms of these two verbs are old permansives, and the imperfect forms may have descended from what are known as mixed conjunctives ([ibid:68-9]; on mixed conjunctives see Shanidze [1982:118-9], Sarjveladze [1984:454-7]). In Old Georgian these verbs displayed <u>en</u> agreement in both present and imperfect screeves, e.g. (example cited in Chikobava [1948:68-9]):

{30} *ɣmert-man* *Ø-uc'q'-**n**-i-s* *gul-n-i* *tkwen-n-i*
God-ERG know:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM heart-PL-NOM your$_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"God knows your hearts." [Luke 16:15 (Adish)][36]

1st and 2nd plural arguments can also govern <u>en</u> agreement in series II and III screeves if they appear in contexts assigned NOM case by the verb, e.g. (examples from Chikobava [1968:192-200] and Arabuli [1984:64-78]):

{31} *g-e-vedr-eb-i-t* *rayta* *Ø-e-vedr-**n**-i-t* *upal-sa* *da*
pray:Ip:S_{1pl}:O_2 that pray:IIp:S_{2pl}:O_3:PLNOM lord-DAT and
*še-m-i-c'q'al-**n**-es* *čwen*
pity:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_{1excl}:PLNOM us-NOM [<u>C'art'q'w. ierusaleymisay</u> 60:10]
"We entreat you$_{pl}$ to pray to the Lord and he will have mercy on us."

{32} *ʒil-sa* *da-v-e-p'q'r-**en**-i-t* *(čwen)*
sleep-DAT overcome:IIIa:O_3:S_{1pl}:PLNOM (us:NOM)
"Sleep had overcome us." [<u>Sinuri mravalt.</u> 153:2]

Note the double marking of plurality in the verbs *Ø-e-vedr-**n**-i-**t*** and *da-v-e-p'q'r-**en**-i-**t*** in the above sample.[37] This results from the convergence of two distinct agreement processes: <u>en</u> agreement and Set S ("subject") agreement, to be discussed in the next section.

On the basis of the facts presented up to this point we can make the generalization that formally plural NOM NPs can control <u>en</u> agreement in verbs with series II stems. The class of formally plural NPs includes nouns marked by the <u>n</u> plural morpheme, but not nouns with the suffix <u>eb</u>.

(present perfect) *da-Ø-<u>u</u>-c'er-i-an igi-n-i* "s/he has written them"
(pluperfect) *da-Ø-<u>e</u>-c'er-**n**-es igi-n-i* "s/he had written them"
(conjunctive perf.) *da-Ø-<u>e</u>-c'er-**n**-en igi-n-i* "s/he would have written them"
(iterative perfect) *da-Ø-<u>e</u>-c'er-**n**-i-an igini* "s/he had been writing them"
This generalization also covers the lack of <u>en</u> agreement in those class A present perfects formed from series II stems (previous footnote).

[36]The Jruch'i and P'arxuli versions of this passage employ the plural-DO form of the synonymous verb *Ø-i-c-n-i-s* [Chikobava 1948:68].

[37]The series III screeves of class A verbs are in most cases formally indistinguishable from class P forms [Shanidze 1953:454-5; Aronson 1983]. This reflects their history: series III in the Kartvelian languages is believed to have its origins in the reinterpretation of certain class P (especially stative passive) forms as resultatives [Harris 1985:286-95].

Shanidze [1982:182] cites the following minimal pair to illustrate that NOM nouns marked by the n plural morpheme can control en agreement in the verb, but NOM nouns in eb-i cannot:

{33} *šen* *še-h-musr-**en**-Ø* *tav-**n**-i* *vešap'-ta-n-i*
you:ERG crush:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_3:PLNOM head-PL_n-NOM dragon-GENPL-PL_n-NOM
"You crushed the heads of the dragons." [Psalm 73:13]

{34} *šen* *še-h-musr-e* *tav-**eb**-i* *vešap'-isa-y* *mis*
you:ERG crush:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_3 head-PL_{eb}-NOM dragon-GEN-PL-NOM the:GEN
"You crushed the heads of the dragon." [Psalm 73:14]

In the first sentence the DO *tav-n-i* controls agreement in both its GEN case adjunct *vešap'-ta-n-i* and the series II Class A verb *še-h-musr-en,* while the semantically equivalent *tav-eb-i* controls agreement in neither.[38]

Even NOM NPs which are functioning as adverbials of quantity or temporal extent can control en agreement if they are formally plural [Shanidze 1953:498-9; Imnaishvili 1957:680-1]:

{35} *sam-n-i* *c'elic'ad-**n**-i* *i-pilosop-**n**-a* *mis-tana*
three-PL-NOM year-PL-NOM philosophize:IIa:S_{3sg}:PLNOM him-with
"For three years he philosophized with him." [xronoγrapi (11th c.)169:5]

{36} *ra* *mepe-man* *mo-i-smin-a,* *da-i-zax-**n**-a* *met'ismet'-**n**-i*
what king-ERG hear:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 wail:IIa:S_{3sg}:PLNOM much-PL-NOM
"When the king heard this, he wailed excessively." [Vepx.t'q'ao. 812:1]

In addition, NOM-case incorporated objects in the bare-stem form with implied plural reference can control this agreement, although they cannot be marked with the n pluralizer [Sarjveladze 1984:561-5; Harris 1985:334]:[39]

{37} ***c'am**+Ø-u-q'v-**n**-a* *mas* *simon-p'et're*
eyelash:NOM+do:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM him-DAT S-P.:ERG
"Simon-Peter winked at him." (lit. "did eyelashes to him") [Jn 13:24 (T'beti)]

It may have been the case that such nouns were treated by the number-marking component of the grammar in the same way as the personal pronouns *čwen* "we/us" and *tkwen* "you_{pl}": as formally plural nominals which (because of their declensional properties) cannot be marked with the plural suffix -n-.

Although they show similar patterning, en is clearly inflectional, while verb-root suppletion, Georgian da- and Svan -a:l are derivational. Only the latter three processes can be used in all three series and with non-finite verbs. Agreement in en is far more restricted, and more closely correlated with the **form** (case, type of plural marking) of the NP controlling it, as well as with the form of the verb stem.

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[38]This is the general rule, and it accounts for the vast majority of cases. Exceptions do in fact crop up from time to time in the Old Georgian corpus. Sarjveladze [1984: 543-565] inventories several dozen examples of n-plurals failing to control en agreement, or of eb-plurals which do.

[39]The generic forms of nouns could not be marked for number in Old Georgian (Ch. IV, fig {3}).

§5.3. Number agreement II: Set S.

All four Kartvelian languages have two agreement processes in common: verb — morphological subject (Set S) and verb — morphological object (Set O). It follows that all members of this family are characterized by both monopersonal and bipersonal verbs. The major asymmetry between Set S and Set O agreement, as was mentioned in chapter II, is that a morphological rule requires that every well-formed finite verb must have a Set S affix, even if it does not govern an NP in the appropriate case. Set S comprises agreement markers for both person and number in all three persons. The Set S affix chart is reproduced here:

{38} **SET S ("subject") AFFIXES**

	OLD GEO.		*GEORGIAN*		*ZAN*			*SVAN*	
1sg	v-	-Ø	v-	-Ø	v/b-	-Ø,r,k		x-	-Ø
1pl	v-	-t	v-	-t	v/b-	-t,rt	*excl:*	xw-	-(š)d
							incl:	l-	-(š)d
2sg	x/h/Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-Ø,r,k		x/Ø-	-Ø
2pl	x/h/Ø-	-t	Ø-	-t	Ø-	-t,rt		x/Ø-	-(š)d
3sg	-s,a/o,n,ed		-s,a/o			-s,u,n		(l)-	-s/(a)
3pl	-an,en,es,ed		-en,an,es,nen			-an,es,nan		(l)-	-x

§5.3.1. S_1 and S_2 markers.

Set S agreement for 1st/2nd person arguments is essentially the same in all screeves in all four languages. The plural suffix is Georgian/Zan -t; Svan -d.

{39} [early Old Georgian] *1sg* **v**-p'ov-e-**Ø** *1pl* **v**-p'ov-e-**t**
"I/we/you/you$_{pl}$ found it" *2sg* **x**-p'ov-e-**Ø** *2pl* **x**-p'ov-e-**t**

{40} [Laz] *1sg* **b**-γur-u-r *1pl* **b-**γur-u-r-**t**
"I/we/you/you$_{pl}$ are dying" *2sg* **Ø**-γur-u-r *2pl* **Ø**-γur-u-r**-t**

{41} [Mingrelian] *1sg* **b**-dv-a-**Ø** *1pl* **b**-dv-a-**t**
"May I/we/you/you$_{pl}$ lay it" *2sg* **Ø**-dv-a-**Ø** *2pl* **Ø**-dv-a-**t**

{42} [Svan (Lashx dialect)] *1sg* lo-**xw**-e-m *1excl* lo-**xw**-e-m-**d**
"I/we/you/you$_{pl}$ ate it" *2sg* la-**x**-e-m *2pl* la-**x**-e-m-**d**
(class A aorist)

{43} [Svan (Upper Bal dialect)] *1sg* **xw**-i *1excl* **xw**-i-**šd**
"I/we/you/you$_{pl}$ am/are" *2sg* **x**-i *2pl* **x**-i-**šd**

The Svan plural suffix -šd only occ urs in the single verb shown. There is no unanimity of opinion as to whether it represents the original form of the plural suffix, or was formed from the final consonant of the original verb root plus the -d found in the Set S 1st/2nd plural of all other Svan verbs [Topuria 1967: 9].

§5.3.2. S_3 markers in Old Georgian and Zan

The third-person Set S agreement markers, by contrast with the Set S 1st/2nd markers, are portmanteau morphemes, indicating screeve as well as person and number. If we use Old Georgian

and Zan data as our basis, four groups of screeves can be distinguished in terms of Set S 3rd person marking (CGZ = form reconstructed for Common Georgian-Zan by Klimov [1964]; CK = Common Kartvelian).

Major screeve groups (by Set S 3rd person marking)

{44} **A. PRESENT-PERMANSIVE GROUP** [cp Klimov 1964:79: CGZ *-en S_{3pl} present]

Old Georgian: S_{3sg} ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-en/an*** [40]

[ser.I: present,iterative imperfect; ser.II: permansive; ser.III: present perfect, permansive perfect]

(*PRESENt*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb gathers sthg"	"sb rises"
1sg:	v-k'reb-Ø	aγ-v-dg-eb-i-Ø
3sg:	k'reb-**s**	aγ-dg-eb-i-**s**
3pl:	k'reb-**en**	aγ-dg-eb-i-**an**

(*PERMANSIVE*)	"sb writes"	"sb rises"
1sg:	da-v-c'er-i-Ø	aγ-v-dg-i-Ø
3sg:	da-c'er-i-**s**	aγ-dg-i-**s**
3pl:	da-c'er-i-**an**	aγ-dg-i-**an**

(*PRESENT PERFECT*) **Class A** [O = Set O agr, S = Set S agr]

S_{1sg} (patient)/ O_3 (agent): mo-(v)-u-k'l-av-Ø "sb/they have killed me"
S_{3sg} (patient)/ O_3 (agent): mo-Ø-u-k'l-av-s "sb/they have killed sb"
S_{3pl} (patient)/ O_3 (agent): mo-Ø-u-k'l-av-**an** "sb/they have killed them"

Class P

S_{1sg}/O_3: mo-v-h-k'wd-om-i-e-Ø "I have died on sb/them"
S_{3sg}/O_3: mo-h-k'wd-om-i-e-**s** "sb has died on sb/them"
S_{3pl}/O_3: mo-h-k'wd-om-i-**an** "they have died on sb/them"

Zan: S_{3sg} ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-a(n)***

[series I: present (Class A only)]

	Laz	**Mingrelian**
	"sb measures sthg"	"sb measures sthg"
1sg:	b-zum-um-Ø	b-zim-un-k
3sg:	zum-um-**s**	zim-un-**s**
3pl:	zum-um-**an**	zim-un-**a(n)**

[40]The 3rd plural suffix -an is, according to Rogava [1968], of secondary origin, being derived from an underlying *en which dissimilated to an after /i/. The appearance of an in contexts where no /i/ precedes (i.e. the present screeve of some class P verbs and the present perfect of some class A verbs) is explained away by invoking an earlier proposal of Chikobava's [1948:105-6] that an -i- suffix, marking durative/stative aspect, was once there but had been lost (see also Oniani [1978:207]).

{45} **B. CONJUNCTIVE/OPTATIVE GROUP** [cp Klimov 1964:161: CK *-s S_{3sg} optative]

Old Georgian: S_{3sg} ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-(a)n***
[series I: conjunctive; series II: optative, mixed conjunctive; series III: perfect conjunctive]

(*CONJUNCTIVE*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb would write sthg"	"sb would rise"
1sg:	v-c'er-d-e-Ø	aγ-v-dg-eb-od-i-Ø
3sg:	c'er-d-e-**s**	aγ-dg-eb-od-i-**s**
3pl:	c'er-d-e-**n**	aγ-dg-eb-od-i-**an**
(*OPTATIVE*)	"sb will/should write sthg"	"sb will/should rise"
1sg:	da-v-c'er-o-Ø	aγ-v-dg-e-Ø
3sg:	da-c'er-o-**s**	aγ-dg-e-**s**
3pl:	da-c'er-o-**n**	aγ-dg-e-**n**

(*CONJUNCTIVE PERFECT*)	**Class A**
S_{1sg} (patient)/ O_3 (agent):	mo-v-e-k'l-a-Ø "sb/they would have killed me"
S_{3sg} " " " *:*	mo-Ø-e-k'la-**s** "sb/they would have killed sb"
S_{3pl} " " " *:*	mo-Ø-e-k'l-n-e**-n** "sb/they would have killed them"
	Class P
S_{1sg}/O_3:	mo-v-h-k'wd-om-od-i-Ø "I would have died on sb/them"
S_{3sg}/O_3:	mo-h-k'wd-om-od-i-**s** "sb " " " " " "
S_{3pl}/O_3:	mo-h-k'wd-om-od-i-**an** "they" " " " " "

Zan: S_{3sg} ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-n(i)***
[series I: conjunctive; series II: optative]

(conjunctive)	"sb would measure sthg"		"sb would die"	
	Mingrelian	**Laz**	**Mingrelian**	**Laz**
1sg:	b-zim-un-d-a-Ø	b-zum-um-t'-a-Ø	b-γuru-d-a-Ø	b-γuru-t'-a-Ø
3sg:	zim-un-d-a-**s**	zum-um-t'-a-**s**	γuru-d-a-**s**	γuru-t'-a-**s**
3pl:	zim-un-d-a-**n(i)**	zum-um-t'-a-**n**	γuru-d-a-**n**	γuru-t'-a-**n**

(*OPTATIVE*)	"sb will measure sthg"		"sb will die"
	Mingrelian	**Laz**	**Mingrelian/Laz**
1sg:	b-zim-a-Ø	b-zum-a-Ø	do-b-γur-a-Ø
3sg:	zim-a-**s**	zum-a-**s**	do-γur-a-**s**
3pl:	zim-a-**n**	zum-a-**n**	do-γur-a-**n**

{46} **C. PAST INDICATIVE GROUP** [Klimov 1964:41-2,79: CGZ *-a/*-es S_{3sg}/S_{3pl} past]

Old Georgian: S_{3sg} ***-a****, S_{3pl}* ***-es***
[ser.I: imperfect; ser.II: aorist; ser.III: pluperfect]

(*IMPERFECT*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb was writing sthg"	"sb was rising"
1sg:	v-c'er-d-(i)	aγ-v-dg-eb-od-e
3sg:	c'er-d-**a**	aγ-dg-eb-od-**a**
3pl:	c'er-d-**es**	aγ-dg-eb-od-**es**
(*AORIST*)	"sb wrote sthg"	"sb rose"
1sg:	da-v-c'er-e	aγ-v-deg
3sg:	da-c'er-**a**	aγ-dg-**a**
3pl:	da-c'er-**es**	aγ-dg-**es**

(*PLUPERFECT*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb (Set O) had killed sb (Set S)"	"sb (Set S) had died on sb (Set O)"
S_{1sg}/O_3:	mo-v-e-k'al-Ø	mo-v-h-k'wd-om-od-e
S_{3sg}/O_3:	mo-Ø-e-k'l-**a**	mo-h-k'wd-om-od-**a**
S_{3pl}/O_3:	mo-Ø-e-k'l-n-**es**	mo-h-k'wd-om-od-**es**

Zan: S_{3sg} ***-u****, S_{3pl}* ***-es***
[ser.I: imperfect; ser.II: aorist]
(only Laz forms given below)

(*IMPERFECT*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb was measuring sthg"	"sb was dying"
1sg:	b-zum-um-t'-i	b-γur-u-t'-i
3sg:	zum-um-t'-**u**	γur-u-t'-**u**
3pl:	zum-um-t'-**es**	γur-u-t'-**es**
(*AORIST*)	"sb measured sthg"	"sb died"
1sg:	b-zum-i	do-b-γur-i
3sg:	zum-**u**	do-b-γur-**u**
3pl:	zum-**es**	do-b-γur-**es**

{47} **D. ITERATIVE/PRESENT GROUP** [cp Klimov 1964:144: CGZ *-n S_{3sg}]

Old Georgian: S_{3sg} ***-n****, S_{3pl}* ***-ed***
[ser.I: iterative present, imperative I; ser.II: imperative II]

(*ITERATIVE PRESENT*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"sb writes sthg"	"sb rises"
3sg:	c'er-**n**	aγ-dg-eb-i-**n**
3pl:	c'er-**ed**	aγ-dg-eb-i-**ed**

(*IMPERATIVE II*)	**Class A**	**Class P**
	"may sb write sthg"	"may sb rise"
2sg:	da-c'er-e-Ø	aγ-deg-Ø
3sg:	da-c'er-e-**n**	aγ-deg-i-**n**
3pl:	da-c'er-e-**d**	aγ-dg-ed

Zan: S_{3sg} ***-(n)****, S_{3pl}* ***-na(n)***
[series I: present; series III: pres. perfect (class P only)]

(*PRESENT*)	**Mingrelian**	**Laz** "sb is dying"
1sg:	b-γur-u-k	b-γur-u-r
3sg:	γur-u-**(n)**	γur-u-**n**
3pl:	γur-u-**na(n)**	γur-u-**nan**

(*PRESENT PERFECT* [Mingrelian])	"sb has (evidently) died"
1sg:	do-b-γur-el-e-k
3sg:	do-γur-el-e-**(n)**
3pl:	do-γur-el-e-**na(n)**

In addition, -(e)d as a Group D S_{3sg} marker is not infrequently attested in Old Georgian. Sarjveladze [1984:394-402] and Arabuli [1984:52-61] list numerous instances from Old Georgian texts of the 9th - 13th centuries, e.g.:

{48} [class A present perfect]
ara Ø-a-qsov-n *ra-y* *Ø-u-kmn-i-**ed***
not remember:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_3 what-NOM do:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg}
"He does not (usually) remember what he has done." [Ezra zorobab. 3:23 (978)]
(other versions of this passage have *Ø-u-kmn-i-e-s, Ø-u-kmn-i-e-n*)

{49} [stative class P present]
aramed *h-mos-i-**ed*** *mas* *sel-isa* *samosel-i*
rather wear:Ip:O_3:S_{3sg} he-DAT flax-GEN garment-NOM
"Rather he wears a linen garment." (expected: *h-mos-i-e-s*) [Sin.mravalt (864 AD) 55:12]

The vast majority of these S_{3sg} -ed endings — 96 of the 102 in Sarjveladze's corpus — occur in the present perfect screeve of class A verbs, the present screeve of stative Class P verbs, or the imperative II of both class A and class P verbs. Sarjveladze and Arabuli also report the frequent

occurrence of -n as a S_{3sg} marker in several screeves where -s would be expected; in particular, the present perfect of class A verbs.[41]

§5.3.3. S_3 markers in Modern Standard Georgian.

In Modern Standard Georgian, by contrast with Old Georgian, verb class as well as screeve is relevant to the determination of S_3 marking [Shanidze 1953:433-503; Oniani 1979].

{50} COMPARISON OF OLD AND MODERN GEORGIAN S_3 MARKING

Old Georgian	**Standard Modern Georgian**
A. *S_{3sg}* ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-en***	***A_1.*** *S_{3sg}* ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-en***
Class A present	Class A present/future
Class P present	some stative & mediopassive present
	some Class A present perfect
	A_2. *S_{3sg}* ***-a****, S_{3pl}* ***-an***
	most Class P present/future
Class A present perfect	most Class A present perfect
Class P present perfect	Class P present perfect
B. *S_{3sg}* ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-n***	***B_1.*** *S_{3sg}* ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-n***
Class A optative/future	Class A optative
	i/e-prefixed Class P optative
	B_2. *S_{3sg}* ***-s****, S_{3pl}* ***-nen***
Class P optative/future	root, d-suffixed Class P optative
	B_3. *S_{3sg}* ***-es****, S_{3pl}* ***-nen***
Class A,P conjunctive	Class A,P conjunctive
C. *S_{3sg}* ***-a****, S_{3pl}* ***-es***	***C_1.*** *S_{3sg}* ***-a****, S_{3pl}* ***-es***
Class A aorist	Class A aorist
	C_2. *S_{3sg}* ***-a****, S_{3pl}* ***-nen***
Class P aorist	Class P aorist
Class A,P imperfect	Class A,P imperfect/conditional
Class A,P pluperfect	Class (A),P pluperfect

Four major changes have occurred:

(i) the number of distinct verb forms has declined — the standard language no longer has a set of permansive, iterative and imperative screeves, these functions having been taken over by other screeves.

(ii) the group D desinences (S_{3sg} -n and S_{3pl} -ed) are no longer in use.[42]

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[41]It is clear that misanalysis played some role. Arabuli [1984:56] and Sarjveladze [1984:402-3] have found two instances of double-marked 3rd person Set S agreement, one of them from the Sinai *mravaltavi* of 864 AD:

{i} *sadaca-igi* *h-nt-i-**ed**-**n*** *q'ovlad* *mun* *ar-n* [Sin.mr. 122:7]
where is.lit:Ip:S3sg:O3 always there be:Ip:S3
"Wherever it (candle) shines, he is always there."

[42]As far as I can tell, these allomorphs are no longer used in any modern Georgian dialect, with the apparent exception of the local variant of Mountain Rach'an spoken in the village Glola [Dzidziguri 1940]. S_{3sg} -n alternates with -s in the optative, imperative and perfect conjunctive screeves. The

(iii) the S_{3sg} desinence -a has spread to several screeves where -s had been used.
(iv) a new Set S ending — S_{3pl} -nen — has been introduced.[43]

§5.3.4. S_3 markers in Svan.

Corresponding to the A (present-permansive) group of screeves in Georgian and Laz we have a large number of screeves in Svan with S_{3sg} -Ø, S_{3pl} -x, where the 1st/2nd singular Set S ending is also -Ø. The distinction among persons is primarily marked by prefixes. The screeves in question are: (series I) present, future; (series III) present perfect, pluperfect; (series IV) imperfect evidential. Here is a sample paradigm from the Lent'ex (Lower Svan) dialect:

{51}	series I (present)	*Class A*	*Class P*
	[Lent'ex]	"sb prepares sthg"	"sb/sthg is being prepared"
	1sg:	xw-a-mar-e-Ø	xw-i-mar-i-Ø
	3sg:	a-mar-e-**Ø**	i-mar-i-**Ø**
	3pl:	a-mar-e-**x**	i-mar-i-**x**

Svan has -s as its S_{3sg} marker in all three of its conjunctive/optative screeves. This is evidently cognate with the -s found in the group B screeves of Georgian and Zan. The corresponding 3rd plural marker is, as elsewhere, -x:

{52}	series I (conjunctive)	*Class A*	*Class P*
	[Lent'ex]	"sb would prepare sthg"	"sb/sthg would be prepared"
	1sg:	xw-a-mar-d-e-Ø	xw-i-mar-ol-d-e-Ø
	3sg:	a-mar-d-e-**s**	i-mar-ol-d-e-**s**
	3pl:	a-mar-d-e-**x**	i-mar-ol-d-e-x

The Svan aorist and imperfect screeves, for which we would expect group C 3rd person endings, present special difficulties. First, there is a bewildering degree of variation from dialect to dialect — also within dialects — in the manner of forming these screeves, especially the imperfect [G. Mach'avariani 1980]. Second, there is the matter of distinct stems for the 1st/2nd person singular versus S_{3sg} and all plurals.[44] The situation in the aorist screeve is more readily sorted out. Kaldani [1978] has proposed that the aorist of transitive verbs was formed by the addition of a suffix *-i to the root, followed by an *-a in the S_{3sg} and all plurals. (Hence -e from *-i-a.) This same *-a suffix is employed in the formation of class P aorists. It is cognate with the Georgian-Zan S_{3sg} -a.

3pl marker in these screeves is also -n.

[43]The origins of S_{3pl} -nen have been established by Nik'olaishvili [1978], who traced the evolution of this marker from the late Old Georgian period to the present. He discerned two distinct processes responsible for the development and spread of -nen to its current range of uses. The first of these involves the replacement of -es by -en in the aorist and imperfect screeves, beginning in the second half of the 15th century. The second is the reanalysis of the pluralizer -(e)n- (which marked number agreement with NOM-case NPs in Series II and III) as a component of the S_{3pl} suffix, a process which was well underway by the 17th century.

[44]The opposition within the screeve of a 1st/2nd singular stem to a 3sg + all plurals stem may be quite old, rather than an innovation peculiar to Svan. Schmidt [1982] has hypothesized that some Common Kartvelian screeves were structured in this fashion.

{53} **Class A imperfect** "sb was preparing sthg" (Becho and Eceri are Lower Bal subdialects)

	Upper Bal, Lent'ex	*Becho*	*Eceri*	*Lashx*
1sg	xw-a-ma:r-**äs**	xw-a-mar-a-**sgw**	xw-a-mar-**Ø**	xw-a-ma:r-**is**
2sg	x-a-ma:r-**äs**	x-a-mar-a-**sgw**	x-a-mar-**Ø**	x-a-ma:r-**is**
3sg	a-ma:r-a	a-mar-a	a-mar-a	a-ma:r-(d)a
1excl	xw-a-ma:r-a-d	xw-a-mar-a-d	xw-a-mar-a-d	xw-a-ma:r-(d)a-d
1incl	l-a-ma:r-a-d	l-a-mar-a-d	l-a-mar-a-d	l-a-ma:r-(d)a-d
2pl	x-a-ma:r-a-d	x-a-mar-a-d	x-a-mar-a-d	x-a-ma:r-(d)a-d
3pl	a-ma:r-a-x	a-mar-a-x	a-mar-a-x	a-ma:r-(d)a-x

{54} **Class A aorist** "sb prepared sthg" [Topuria 1967]

	Upper Bal	*Lower Bal*
1sg	o-xw-mä:r-Ø <*an+xw+ma:r+i	o-x-mär-Ø
3sg	an-ma:r-**e** <*an+ma:r+i+**a**	an-mar-**e**
1excl	o-xw-ma:r-**e**-d	o-x-mar-**e**-d
3pl	an-ma:r-**e**-x	an-mar-**e**-x

The key points to be noted here are the lack of clear correspondences between Svan and the other Kartvelian languages for 3rd person Set S markers — with the exception of the conjunctive S_{3sg} -s — and the employment of a single 3rd person Set S pluralizer (-x) in all Svan screeves, rather than the distinct S_{3sg}/S_{3pl} pairings found in Old Georgian and Zan.

A different interpretation of the Svan facts is proposed by Oniani [1978: 166-85]. The only S_3 marker that can be reconstructed for Proto-Svan, according to Oniani, is the prefix l- preserved in a handful of verbs [Topuria 1967:3-4], e.g.:

{55} **Some Upper Bal verbs with S_3 *l-***

1sg	xw-i "I am"	lo:-xw-äm "I ate it"	lo-xw-ä:m-a "I should eat it"
2sg	x-i	la:-x-äm	la-x-ä:m-a
3sg	**l**-i	la-**l**-e:m	la-**l**-ä:m-a-s
3pl	**l**-i-x	la-**l**-e:m-x	la-**l**-ä:m-a-x

The cooccurrence of the prefix l- and the suffix -s in verbs such as *la-**l**-ä:m-a-**s*** "sb should eat sthg" (cp also Lashx ***l**-es-e-**s*** "sb/sthg should be") indicates to Oniani that the alleged Group B S_{3sg} suffix -s is derived from a screeve marker [1978:172-4]. He further supposes that the opposition between a $S_{1/2sg}$ stem and a stem for S_{3sg} and all plurals (see above) once extended to other screeves besides the aorist and imperfect in Svan. The element -s was used to form the 3sg + plurals stem in all conjunctive screeves. It was lost in the plural forms due to the addition of consonantal suffixes marking plurality (e.g. S_{2pl} *la-x-ä:m-a-d* < **la-x-ä:m-**as-d*) [ibid:173-4]. He believes that a similar argument can be made in regard to the origin of the *-a suffix mentioned above. In fact, this hypothesis can be extended to embrace the S_3 suffixes in the other Kartvelian languages. If Oniani is correct, these too originated as screeve markers (i.e. tense/aspect/mood suffixes). The Common Kartvelian S_3 morpheme was either a prefix (*s_1- or *l-, both of which would give Svan l-) or zero, perhaps in conjunction with a two-stem system like that occurring in the Svan aorist and imperfect [ibid:174-8]. The strong similarities between the Georgian and Zan S_3 markers suggest that they antedate the breakup of Common Georgian-Zan [ibid:178].

§5.4. Number agreement III: Set O.

The early Old Georgian data suggests that the two sets of person agreement markers were aligned in accordance with different principles. The early Old Georgian Set S markers formed a 3x2 matrix, according to person <1,2,3> and number <+/- plural>. The underlying structure for Set O was a 2x2 matrix, based on two features pertaining to the category of person: <+/- speaker> and <+/- addressee> [Melikishvili 1977].[45] There was no opposition of number; the distinction between the O_1 prefixes m- and gw- being rather one of exclusive versus inclusive 1st person. In this section, the evidence indicating such an opposition in Old Georgian, and also in Svan, will be presented.

{56} **Early Old Georgian person-agreement feature matrices.**

Set S					Set O			
v-	<1,-pl>	v-	-t	<1,+pl>	gw-	<+sp,+ad>	m-	<+sp,-ad>
x-	<2,-pl>	x-	-t	<2,+pl>	g-	<-sp, +ad>	x/Ø-	<-sp, -ad>
-s/a/n	<3,-pl>		-en/es	<3,+pl>				

In his grammar of Old Georgian, Shanidze asserts that "there is evidence that in the earliest stage of literary Georgian inclusive and exclusive 1st plural were distinguished in the object series [i.e. Set O]: gw- must have been the inclusive marker, m- the exclusive marker… However it must be pointed out that overall in the texts that have come down to us inclusive and exclusive forms are not strictly distinguished" [1982:74]. Examination of texts from the early Old Georgian period indicates that Shanidze is correct. The 6th century Xanmet'i scriptural texts edited by Molitor [1956] contain only three instances of Set O m- with plural reference and the same number of Set O gw-. With one exception, they correlate with an inclusive/exclusive distinction. On the other hand, the patristic writings in the Xanmet'i dialect show no inclusive/exclusive opposition at all [Sarjveladze 1984:407-8]. Of the major gospel translations of the 10th century, the earliest (Adish, 897) reflects an inclusive/exclusive distinction the most weakly, while the Op'iza (913), Jruch'i (936), P'arxali (973) and T'beti (995) versions show it more clearly. Consider this excerpt from the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25:8-9; the Adish [Ad], Op'iza [O] and T'beti [T] versions are compared:[46]

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[45]The NA suffix -(e)n- is not considered here. For NOM-case Set O arguments (i.e. DOs in Series II), it served to distinguish singular and plural 1st exclusive, both of which took the Set O prefix m-. For example *m-i-qsn-en borot'-isa-gan* [Matthew 6:13] could only mean "deliver **us** [excl] from evil"; with a singular object the verb would be *m-i-qsen* "deliver me" [Mt 14:30]. In the case of DAT Set O 1st person arguments, there was, of course, no indication of number in the verb.

[46]This comparison is based on the Old Georgian gospel of Matthew as edited by R. Blake, in which the Adish text is given, along with variant readings from the Op'iza and T'beti versions. In a 1978 article T. Met'reveli has examined the use of m- and gw- in the Adish, Jruch'i and P'arxali gospel texts. The same trend emerges. Almost without exception, 1pl m- is correlated with exclusive contexts, while gw- can be used in both inclusive and exclusive contexts. In the Jruch'i and P'arxali gospels, the correlation of gw- with inclusive reference is notably stronger than in the Adish version. Met'reveli reports another interesting fact: Later Georgian translators of the Bible retained 1pl m- in at least some passages, even though it was evidently no longer in use in their native dialects. The 11th century monk Giorgi Mtac'mideli, in fact, appears to have **added** some Set O 1pl m- prefixes to the Georgian text of the Psaltery, as compared to earlier translations that have come down to us [e.g. Ps. 79:15, 84:5, 84:7]. Further, these prefixes are inserted predominantly in exclusive contexts. (By contrast, in Giorgi Mtac'mideli's orginal writings 1pl m- is never used) [Met'reveli 1978:27-9].

{57} *sulel-ni* *igi* *Ø-e-t'q'-od-es* *brʒen-ta* *mat:*
foolish-PL-NOM the:NOM say:Ip:S_{3pl}:O_3 wise-DATPL the:DATPL
***gw**-e-c-it [Ad]/**m**-e-c-it [O,T]* *zet-i* *zet-isa* *magis* *tkwen-isa-y*
give:IIa:S_{2pl}:**O_{1excl}** oil-NOM oil-GEN that:GEN $your_{pl}$-GEN-NOM
rametu *santel-ni* *čwen-n-i* *da-**gw**-šrt'eb-i-an [Ad]/ da-šrt'eb-i-an [O,T].*
because lamp-PL-NOM our-PL-NOM extinguish:Ip:S_{3pl}(:O_{1pl}[Ad])
mi-Ø-u-g-es *brʒen-ta* *mat* *da* *h-rkw-es:* *nu-uk'we* *ver*
reply:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 wise-ERGPL the:ERGPL and tell:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 lest can't
***gw**-e-q'-o-s [Ad,O,T]* *čwen* *da* *tkwen.*
suffice:IIp:**O_{1incl}**:S_{3sg} us:DAT and you_{pl}:DAT
"The foolish ones said to the wise: Give us (exclusive) some of your oil, because our lamps are going out. But the wise ones replied: No, there will not be enough for us and you (inclusive)."

While the T'beti and Op'iza versions formally distinguish the exclusive reference of the indirect object in ***m-**e-c-i-t* from the inclusive reference of ***gw-**e-q'-o-s,* the Adish text employs the prefix gw- in both cases. In their respective versions of the gospel of Matthew, Op'iza has the prefix m- in 17 of 20 contexts where exclusive reference is implied and a Set O 1st person marker appears; Adish has m- in only 10 of 21. Elsewhere gw- appears.[47]

The inclusive/exclusive distinction is still found in Svan, in both Set S and Set O [Oniani 1978: 217-30]. It is especially faithfully maintained in the more isolated Upper Svan dialects (Upper and Lower Bal); according to Topuria [1967:25] the Lower Svan dialects have "lost" the exclusive Set O prefix n-, and the prefix gw- (the inclusive marker in Upper Svan) has been reinterpreted as a Set O 1st plural marker. Georgian influence, more strongly felt in the more accessible Lower Svan villages, is blamed for this. Here are some examples in the Upper Bal dialect [Topuria 1967: 32-4]:

{58} [*Set S incl*] *näy* *bäč-məq'* *deš* *a-**l**-čäd-**d***
we:NOM stone-by cannot go:IIp:S_{1incl}
"We(incl) couldn't go by the stone."

{59} [*Set S excl*] *mutwr-i* *nišgwey,* *näy* *deš* *ä-**xw**-meqr-e-**d***
teacher-NOM our we:ERG cannot understand:IIa:S_{1excl}:O_3
"Teacher, we(excl) couldn't understand it."

{60} [*Set O incl*] *näy* *ä-**gw**-γel-i . . .* *likp-i*
us:DAT await:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_{1incl} labor-NOM
"Our work (bearing loads on our backs) awaits us(incl)"

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[47] Since personal pronouns frequently cooccurred with verbs in Old Georgian, they may have exerted an influence on the agreement system:
[stage I (Early OGeo)] *me m-e-ʒin-a* "I slept" / *čwen m-e-ʒin-a* "we_{excl} slept"
/ *čwen gw-e-ʒin-a* "we_{incl} slept"
[stage II (Later OGeo)] *me m-e-ʒin-a* "I slept" / *čwen gw-e-ʒin-a* "we slept"
Presumably the use of m- with (exclusive) plural reference came to be perceived as a secondary, context-dependent function of this prefix; i.e. the appearance of *čwen* in syntagms such as *čwen mezina* was more nearly obligatory than the appearance of *me* in *me mezina*. It was precisely in this secondary function that gw- supplanted m-.

{61} [*Set O excl*] *mutwr-i* *nišgwey,* *ž-a-**n**-meqr-ä:w-i-n*
teacher-NOM our understand:CAUS:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_{1excl}
"Teacher, help us(excl) understand it!"

Some observations concerning the inclusive/exclusive distinction in Kartvelian:
[a] In both Old Georgian and Svan, suffixal number marking was employed with some of these prefixes, even in cases where it would seem redundant. Early Old Georgian ***gw-i-xil-n-a*** [see:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_{1incl}:PLNOM] "sb saw us(incl)," for example, was not semantically opposed by **gw-i-xil-a*, nor is Svan ***l-a-hwd-i-d*** [give:Ia:S_{1incl}:O_3] "we(incl) give it to sb" in opposition to a form **l-a-hwd-i*. These phenomena lend support to the belief held by most Georgian linguists (e.g. Dondua 1954, Melikishvili 1977, Oniani 1978) that the inclusive/exclusive distinction was distinct from the category of (formal) number in the agreement system of the verb. This in turn is consistent with the more general hypothesis of Chikobava's [1980] concerning the independence of prefixal person agreement and suffixal number agreement in prehistoric Kartvelian.
[b] There is almost no trace of an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the nominal systems of the Kartvelian languages. The Georgian pronoun *čwen* and Svan *näy* are both 1st plural in reference, with no indication of inclusion or exclusion of the addressee. The one exception is the Upper Svan possessive adjective paradigm, which mirrors the Set O pattern: *mi-šgwi* "my," *ni-šgwe:y* "our (excl)," *gw-šgwe:y* "our (incl)" [Upper Bal forms cited in Palmaitis and Gudjedjiani 1985; see also Topuria 1967:27]. These are composite forms: the root *-šgwe:y* to which the personal prefixes ni- and gw- have been added is, according to Klimov [1964:220] cognate with Georgian *čwen-* and Zan *čkin-* "our (general 1pl)"; likewise for *-šgwi,* which is linked with Georgian *čem-*, Zan *čkim-* "my" [ibid:219; for a more detailed discussion, see Mart'irosovi 1964:96-101]. Gamq'relidze [1959:46] has proposed that Common Kartvelian had an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the personal pronouns as well: **na-* [1pl excl] and **čwe-n(a)* [1incl], alongside **me-(na)* [1sg]. Only Svan preserves all three of these roots.

§5.5. Number agreement IV: the particle q'e (Georgian).

One other marker of plurality remains to be discussed: the particle q'e, found only in some Georgian dialects. It is correlated with notionally plural arguments governing Set O agreement, i.e. morphological IOs and DOs. The earliest reported attestations of q'e are in 12th century texts [Sarjveladze 1984:567-8]:

{62} *esodeni* *šiš-i* *da-g-i-p'q'rob-**q'e**tkwen*
this.much fear-NOM seize:Ia:S_{3sg}:$O_{2\mathbf{pl}}$ you_{pl}:DAT
"This much fear will seize you." [ms A-52 123r:31]

The following passage appears in a charter granted by King David the Builder to the monastery at Shio-Mghvime in 1124 [Dzidziguri (ed.) 1984:57]:

{63} *twit* *adr-it-gan* *mamaoba-sa* *Ø-e-c'er-a-**q'e*** *saebisk'oposo-d*
self:INS early:INS-from father(coll)-DAT write:IIIa:S_{3sg}:$O_{3\mathbf{p}}$ episcopacy-$ADV_{\mathbf{l}}$
"From the very beginning the fathers had written to the episcopacy."

In the first example q'e indicates the notional plurality of the 2nd person DAT DO, in the second that of the collective noun *mamaoba-sa* "group of fathers [i.e. priests]," which serves as SS of a class A verb in the pluperfect, a series III screeve.

Several 18th and 19th century Georgian grammarians (cited in Schuchardt 1897) indicate that q'e also was used as an affirmative or emphatic particle, a variant of k'i "however; indeed; yes." Some occurrences of q'e in Old Georgian texts most likely reflect this second meaning; e.g.:

{64} *mk'urnal-n-i da dast'akar-n-i c'amal-ta-**q'e** mo-g-i-t'and-es*
healer-PL-NOM and surgeon-PL-NOM medicine-DATPL-**q'e** bring:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_2
"Healers and surgeons will bring you$_{sg}$ medicine." [VT 519:2]

In the above passage, and also in the other sentence containing q'e in the "Knight in the tiger's skin," the particle is cliticized onto the noun preceding the verb. Most often, it attaches to the verb itself.

The particle q'e is no longer used in literary Georgian, but it lives on in many modern dialects: K'axetian, Ingiloan, Fereidanian, Lower Imeretian, Rach'an [Deeters 1930:60-1; Chikobava 1968:276-7; K'iziria 1974]. Documentation and analysis of its use in these dialects will be given in later chapters. The same q'e occurs in a few dialects (Moxevian, Mtiulian, Fereidanian) correlated with iterative/habitual aspect, e.g.

{65} [*Fereidan.*] *ver-vin ver ga-i-ar-i-s-**q'e** ik-eb-c-i*
no.one:ERG cannot go:IIa:S_{3sg}:"pl" there-PL-also-NOM
"No one can go in those places." (verb in permansive screeve)

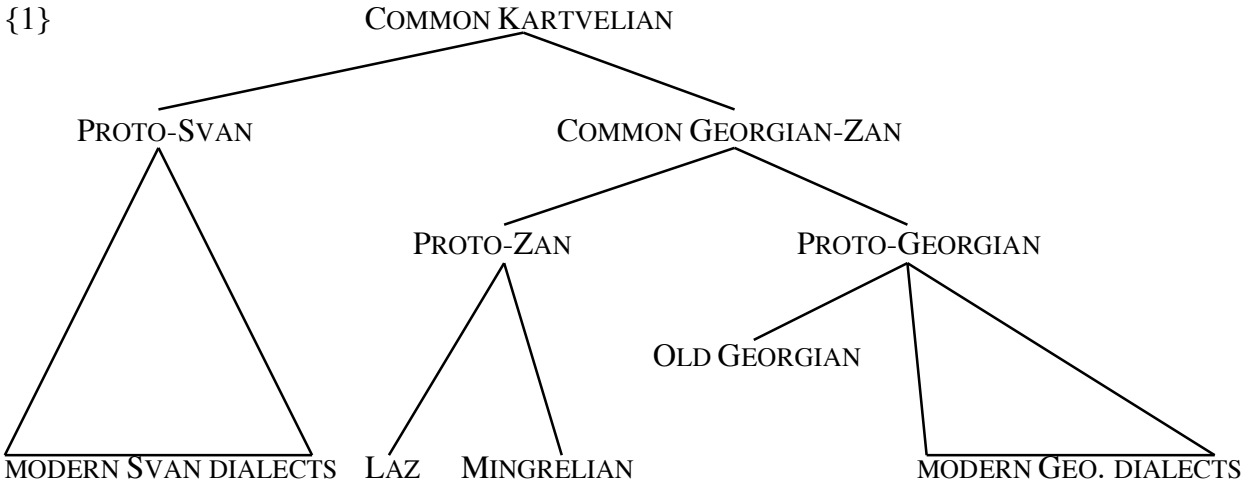
While this sort of semantic field — indication of both plurality of verbal arguments and aspectual 'plurality' — is reminiscent of the verbal plurality markers (Svan) -a:l- and (Georgian) da-, note that q'e is not specifically associated with local argument plurality. If anything, it is more frequently attested in conjunction with plural IOs.

CHAPTER VI. THE CATEGORY OF NUMBER IN COMMON KARTVELIAN.

In this chapter I will summarize the facts presented in the previous two chapters concerning the systems for coding number features in the Kartvelian languages, and present a reconstruction of the system of number in the ancestral language, Common Kartvelian. I hope to demonstrate in particular that Common Kartvelian had a well-developed system of verbal plurality marking, which was indicated by morphemes common to both verbal and nominal morphology.

The nomenclature for the prehistoric stages of Kartvelian used here is adapted from Harris [1985:6]. The protolanguage will be referred to as Common Kartvelian (CK), and the ancestor of Georgian, Laz and Mingrelian will be called Common Georgian-Zan (CGZ). I will refer to early, unattested stages of the individual languages as Proto-Georgian, Proto-Svan, and Proto-Zan.

{1}



§ 6.1. Common Georgian-Zan number agreement.

The plural suffix associated with S_1 and S_2 marking is *-t* in Georgian and Zan, and one can assume an ancestral **-t* in Common Georgian-Zan. In both Georgian and Zan, the S_3 markers are portmanteau morphemes, indicating tense and mood as well as person and number. The relation between tense/mood and S_3 marking in Old Georgian was the same for both major verb classes (Class A and P). Since that time there has been a significant realignment of this pattern in literary Georgian and most attested dialects [Oniani 1979; Tuite 1988 §2.3.3.2]. As was discussed in the preceding chapter, four groups of tense/mood forms (screeves) can be discerned, each with its own set of S_3 markers. The forms reconstructed for Common Georgian-Zan are in most cases those given in Klimov's etymological dictionary [1964].

{2} **Cognate S_3 suffixes in Old Georgian and Zan.**

screeve group		*3sg*	*3pl*
A. PRESENT/PERMANSIVE	*OGeo:*	-s	-en/an
	Zan:	-s	-an
	CGZ:	*-s	*-en
B. CONJUNCTIVE	*OGeo:*	-s	-n
	Zan:	-s	-n
	CGZ:	*-s	*-n

C. PAST INDICATIVE	*OGeo:*	-a	-es
	Zan:	-u	-es
	CGZ:	*-a	*-es
D. ITERATIVE/PRESENT	*OGeo:*	-n/ed	-ed
	Zan:	-n	-nan
	CGZ:	*-n	*-ed(?)

The feature composition of the agreement affixes of early Old Georgian (5th-8th centuries) was quite different for Set S and Set O, though each set was internally symmetric.

{3} **Person agreement system in early Old Georgian**
[pl = plural; sp = speaker, ad = addressee]

Set S					*Set O*			
v-	<1, -pl>	v-	-t	<1, +pl>	gw-	<+sp, +ad>	m-	<+sp, -ad>
χ-	<2, -pl>	χ-	-t	<2, +pl>	g-	<-sp, +ad>	χ/Ø-	<-sp, -ad>
-s/a/n	<3, -pl>		-en/es	<3, +pl>				

Comparison with Svan makes it reasonable to assume a similar feature composition for Common Georgian-Zan. Note that at this stage there was no feature of number (<±plural>) in Set O. The presence of specifically plural Set O affixes in Georgian and Zan is due to separate innovations. The plural suffixes which were originally restricted to the Set S system were extended to the Set O system to code the plurality of discourse-prominent NPs (1st/2nd person NPs and subjects). In Zan, the choice of suffix to mark plurality in Set O is dependent on tense and mood (as with S_3), and also on the person of the morphological subject. This reanalysis of the function of the plural-agreement suffixes, along with the loss of the old opposition between inclusive and exclusive 1st person (already underway by at least the 7th century [Metreveli 1978; Shanidze 1982: 74; Sarjveladze 1984: 407]) resulted in the development of a similar feature structure for the two sets of agreement markers.

§6.2. Common Kartvelian number agreement.

The plural suffixes associated with S_1 and S_2 marking are -d and -šd in Svan [Deeters 1930:57-60]. This latter suffix is restricted to the copular verb in the Upper Bal dialect [Topuria 1967:9]:

{4} xw-i “I am” xw-i-šd “We_{excl} are” ǁ l-i-šd “We_{incl} are”
x-i “You_{sg} are” x-i-šd “You_{pl} are”
l-i “S/he, it is” l-i-x “They are”

Klimov [1964:67-8] proposes *-*d* as the Common Kartvelian ancestor, but notes that a Common Kartvelian *-*(s$_1$)t* could also account for the two Svan forms as well as Georgian -*t* (cp Gamkrelidze & Machavariani [1982:49,80]). Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990 reconstruct *-*t* as the Common Kartvelian S_1/S_2 plural suffix. It is unclear whether Common Kartvelian had an inclusive/exclusive

opposition in the Set S system, as there is in some Svan dialects (Deeters [1930:27-28]; Melikishvili [1977]; Oniani [1984]), and has been reconstructed for Proto-Svan. Oniani [1978: 229-230] considers the $O_{1excl pl}$ prefix *n-* to be an innovation in the Proto-Svan period, encroaching upon the semantic range of O_{1excl} *m-*, which was inherited from Common Kartvelian:

{5} **Person agreement system in early Proto-Svan**

Set S					*Set O*	
xw-	<+sp, -ad, -pl>	xw-	-(š)d	<+sp, -ad, +pl>	m-	<+sp, -ad>
		l-	-(š)d	<+sp, +ad, (+pl)>	gw-	<+sp, +ad>
x-	<-sp, +ad, -pl>	x-	-(š)d	<-sp, +ad, +pl>	j-	<-sp, +ad>
(l)-	<-sp, -ad, -pl>	(l)-	-x	<-sp, -ad, +pl>	x-	<-sp, -ad>

{6} **Person agreement system in later Proto-Svan**

Set S					*Set O*	
xw-	<+sp,-ad,-pl>	xw-	-(š)d	<+sp,-ad, +pl>	m- <+sp,-ad,-pl>	n- <+sp,-ad,+pl>
		l-	-(š)d	<+sp,+ad,(+pl)>	gw-	<+sp, +ad>
x-	<-sp,+ad,-pl>	x-	-(š)d	<-sp, +ad, +pl>	j-	<-sp, +ad>
(l)-	<-sp, -ad,-pl>	(l)-	-x	<-sp, -ad, +pl>	x-	<-sp, -ad>

Since the evidence for an inclusive/exclusive opposition in Set O for Common Kartvelian is very compelling, it is reasonable, on the grounds of symmetry, to propose that the features <±sp, ±ad> were also used to structure the Common Kartvelian Set S affix system. The presence of distinct inclusive and exclusive S_1 forms would then be a conservative element of Svan morphology, and not an innovation.[48]

Several proposals have been advanced concerning the origins of S_3 marking. The only S_3 markers found in all Kartvelian languages are **-s* (3sg conjunctive [Group B]) and **-a* (3sg aorist/imperfect) [Klimov 1964: 41-2,161; Kaldani 1978; Boeder 1979: 471 note 22; Schmidt 1982:70; Harris 1985: 397,402]. The other markers can be traced back to the Common Georgian-Zan period at best. The likely explanation for this state of affairs is either that portmanteau S_3 suffixes such as those of Georgian and Zan also existed in prehistoric Svan, but later were eliminated — a change comparable to that now underway in the southwest Georgian dialects [Jorbenadze 1989] — or that screeve-dependent S_3 marking did not develop until the Common Georgian-Zan period.

Oniani [1978], Klimov [1979] and Schmidt [1982] have argued that S_3 agreement was not marked suffixally in Common Kartvelian.[49] One possibility, entertained by Oniani [1978: 172-

[48] The reader will note that this is a tenuous proposal, since no traces of an inclusive/exclusive opposition in Set S, or of a cognate for the Svan S_{1incl} prefix *l-* have been attested in the other Kartvelian languages. It should also be taken into account that Svan has preserved a sizeable number of archaic features, compared to the other members of the family [Schmidt 1978].

[49] According to a widely-held hypothesis first proposed by Chikobava [1940], the Common Kartvelian S_3 marker was a prefix, giving prefixal agreement for all three persons in both Set S and Set O (see also Topuria [1967:8]; Andghuladze [1968:178-200]; Oniani [1984:167-85]). The only Kartvelian language where an S_3 prefix occurs is Svan. Topuria [1967:2-3] lists four verbs which

178], is that the Common Kartvelian ancestors of the S_3 suffixes were associated with tense, mood and aspect, as they are now, but contained no person and number features. After the separation of Common Georgian-Zan and Proto-Svan, these suffixes were reshuffled to give the S_{3sg} and S_{3pl} suffixes for each of the four screeve groups (see chart below).[50] The Svan system of marking S_{3pl} agreement by addition of a suffix (*-x*) to the S_{3sg} form is believed by Schmidt [1982: 67] to be older than the Georgian-Zan system of paired suffixes.

{7} **Hypothesized origin of Georgian-Zan S_3 suffixes**

CK tense-mood morphemes	*CGZ S_3 suffixes [by screeve groups; see §5.3.2]*
*-a	C. 3sg *-a
*-(e)s	A, B. 3sg *-s; C. 3pl *-es
*-(e)n	D. 3sg *-n; A, B. 3pl *-(e)n
*-(e)d	D. 3sg/pl *-ed

The reshuffling hypothesis is problematic in several respects. First of all, there is no evidence that the forms with and without vowels are descended from a common ancestor. If they are, the reconstructed Common Kartvelian 'tense-mood morphemes' **-(e)s* and **-(e)n* are each associated with several screeve groups in Georgian-Zan, for which no semantic rationale readily presents itself. Secondly, the fate of these morphemes in Svan is unclear: no cognates have been found for most of them. Furthermore, Boeder [1979: 450] points out that Oniani's hypothesis "leaves the absence of these suffixes in the 1st/2nd person unexplained."

The reconstruction of the Common Kartvelian person/number agreement system proposed here agrees in most details with that presented in Oniani [1978], with the emendations mentioned earlier. Both the Set S and Set O paradigms are structured by the features <±speaker> and <±addressee>. In addition, the feature of number, <±plural>, is present in the Set S system for all feature pairs except <+sp, +ad>, which is redundantly <+pl>; and <-sp, -ad>. The absence of a number opposition in the 3rd person is a common occurrence in the agreement systems of languages throughout the world.

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take the prefix *l-*, one of which is the copular verb shown above. Chikobava [1940:41] argued that Svan S_3 *l-* and its phonological variants *-y-* and *-n-*, are reflexes of the Common Kartvelian S_3 prefix **n-* . This prefix is also hypothesized to be the ancestor of the Georgian-Zan S_3 marker *-n*, having undergone a shift from prefixal to suffixal position in Common Georgian-Zan. This suffix originally marked person only and not number, like the prefix from which it was descended. Oniani [1978:185] believes that the S_3 prefix was still used in Common Georgian-Zan when the realignment of tense-modal suffixes as person markers took place. The prefix, now redundant, disappeared soon afterwards. Recently Schmidt [1982] challenged this hypothesis. In his view, agreement with 3rd person arguments was not marked on the Common Kartvelian verb at all, as is the case in some modern Northwest Caucasian languages [1982:65-7]. The development of S_3 marking took place later, and followed different pathways in Prehistoric Svan and Common Georgian-Zan. In the former, an *l-* prefix related to the preverb *la-* was reinterpreted as a person marker [1982:68-9], and in the latter tense-modal suffixes were reinterpreted for the same purpose.

[50]Certain instances of number-agreement neutralization might be interpreted as traces of this earlier function of the S_3 suffixes. In 9th-13th c. Georgian texts the Group D suffix *-ed* occasionally appears as a 3sg as well as 3pl Set S marker in certain screeves [Arabuli 1984:52-61; Sarjveladze 1984:394-9]. In the unusual Mountain Rachan subdialect spoken in the village Glola, the S_3 suffix used in the conjunctive and optative screeves (*-n*) does not code number: *man//mat kn-a-n* "s/he:ERG//they:ERG should do it" [Dzidziguri 1940].

{8} **Reconstructed agreement system for Common Kartvelian**

Set S					*Set O*	
*(x)w-	<+sp, -ad, -pl>	*(x)w-	*-t	<+sp, -ad, +pl>	*m-	<+sp, -ad>
		*l-	*-t	<+sp, +ad, (+pl)>	*gw-	<+sp, +ad>
*x-	<-sp, +ad, -pl>	*x-	*-t	<-sp, +ad, +pl>	*g-	<-sp, +ad>
		*Ø-	<-sp, -ad>		*x-	<-sp, -ad>

§6.3. Constraints upon agreement in Common Kartvelian.

Evidence from the attested Kartvelian languages suggests that the agreement morphemes listed above could not cooccur freely with each other. Gamqrelidze [1979:48-50] has proposed that the Common Kartvelian verb was constrained by a principle of "prefixal monopersonalism." In the attested languages, usually no more than one person prefix can occur in the verb. When the verb governs two arguments, each of which can control prefixal person marking, hierarchies of agreement set and person determine which of the two will appear in surface structure. The hierarchies are the same in all Kartvelian languages: (a) Set O > Set S; (b) 1st, 2nd > 3rd person.

{9} **Prefixal person marking in early Old Georgian**

MS	*MO*	*person prefix*	*examples* [MS = morphological subject, MO = morph. object]
2	1	O_1	šen me mo-**m**-c-e "You$_{sg}$ will give it to me"
1	2	O_2	me šen mo-**g**-c-e "I will give it to you$_{sg}$"
3	2	O_2	man šen mo-**g**-c-e-s "S/he will give it to you$_{sg}$"
2	3	S_2?	šen mas mi-**x**-c-e[51] "You$_{sg}$ will give it to him/her"
3	1	O_1	man me mo-**m**-c-e-s "S/he will give it to me"
1	3	$O_3 + S_1$	me mas mi-**x-w**-c-e "I will give it to him/her"

When the morphological subject is 1st person and the morphological object is 3rd person, in Old Georgian and many modern Georgian dialects both S_1 and O_3 appear in the prefixal agreement slot.[52] According to Gamqrelidze, this departure from the constraint so rigidly adhered to elsewhere is an innovation dating from the Proto-Georgian period [1979: 47-8]. Earlier the S_1 prefix was **xw-* as in Svan, but by the early Old Georgian period it had been reinterpreted as two morphemes, at the expense of the prefixal monopersonalism constraint [see Klimov 1964: 258].

In the Georgian and Zan verb two agreement morphemes can appear in suffixal position. The first morpheme has different forms for 3sg, 3pl and non-3rd person morphological subject, and the second, in word-final position, codes for number. In the following Laz examples, the morphemes in question are represented by *-i/u/es* and *-t*, respectively:

{10} 1sg: b-γurut'-i "I was dying" 1pl: b-γurut'-i-t "we were dying"
2sg: Ø-γurut'-i 2pl: Ø-γurut'-i-t
3sg: γurut'-u 3pl: γurut'-es

[51]In view of the phonological identity of the S_2 and O_3 prefixes, it cannot in fact be decided on formal grounds which prefix appears in this verb.

[52]In the early Old Georgian (Xanmeti and Haemeti) texts the O_3 marker preceded the S_1 marker: *x-w-*, *h-w-* . In later Georgian the S_1 morpheme always comes first: *v-h-*, *v-s-* .

The situation in Svan is less easy to assess, due to the complex morphophonemic rules which operate in that language. For most screeves, the only suffix sensitive to the category of person is the word-final number agreement marker (1pl/2pl *-(š)d*, 3pl *-x*). The aorist and imperfect screeves, however, are characterized by distinct stems for the S_{1sg} and S_{2sg} forms, versus the S_{3sg} and all plural forms (examples in §5.3.4) [Topuria 1967: 102-6; 196].

Schmidt [1982] believes that this harks back to the general pattern of verb inflection in Common Kartvelian: the unmarked S_3 form would have served as the stem for the S_{1pl} and S_{2pl} forms, while the S_{1sg} and S_{2sg} would have employed a second, more marked stem, as diagrammed below:[53]

{11} **Common Kartvelian Set S marking**

S_{1sg}:	**xw-stem*$_1$	S_{1pl}:	**xw-stem*$_0$-**t*
S_{2sg}:	**x-stem*$_1$	S_{2pl}:	**x-stem*$_0$-**t*
		S_3:	stem$_0$ (BASE FORM)[54]

If Schmidt's hypothesis is correct, then the Common Kartvelian verb was characterized by suffixal as well as prefixal monopersonalism: one Set S or O prefix in initial position, and either a number agreement morpheme or a 1sg/2sg stem formant in final position. Although the calculus is a bit involved, there would have been distinct verb forms for each permissible combination of morphological subject and object:[55]

{12} **Common Kartvelian Set S and Set O marking**

S_{1sg}/O_2:	**g-stem*$_1$	$S_{1exclpl}/O_2$:	**g-stem*$_0$-**t*
S_{2sg}/O_{1excl}:	**m-stem*$_1$	S_{2pl}/O_{1excl}:	**m-stem*$_0$-**t*
S_{1sg}/O_3:	**xw-stem*$_1$	$S_{1exclpl}/O_3$:	**xw-stem*$_0$-**t*
		S_{1incl}/O_3:	**l-stem*$_0$-**t*
S_{2sg}/O_3:	**x-stem*$_1$	S_{2pl}/O_3:	**x-stem*$_0$-**t*
		S_3/O_{1excl}:	**m-stem*$_0$
		S_3/O_{1incl}:	**gw-stem*$_0$
		S_3/O_2:	**g-*stem$_0$

[53]"Die Ableitung von der 3.Sg. als Basisform erfolgte dann in Protokartvelischen für die ersten beiden Personen des Singulars unabhängig von den drei Personen des Plurals" [1982:70].

[54]If something like the 'reshuffling' hypothesis illustrated in Table 5 corresponds to reality, it is likely that stem$_0$ contained the tense-mood morphemes which later evolved into the Georgian-Zan S_3 suffixes.

[55]The same would be true if the $S_{1/2pl}$ forms employed the same stem as the $S_{1/2sg}$, as long as the S_3 form has a distinct stem. This in fact was the path followed by Prehistoric Georgian, as evidenced by the ablaut patterns in the aorist (see Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965). There is at present no convincing argument that one reconstruction of the patterning of Common Kartvelian stems is to be preferred to the other. It is presumably because of the many archaicisms in Svan that Schmidt attributes greater antiquity to the Svan pattern. There is one other point to be made: in the attested Kartvelian languages the alternation of stems within a screeve is limited to the past indicative (aorist and imperfect) in Svan and, to a less widespread degree, in Georgian. We have as yet no firm basis for reconstructing such an alternation in the other groups of screeves.

§6.4. Common Georgian-Zan *-en- as a verbal plurality morpheme.

There is in addition one more agreement morpheme which codes the feature of number. This is the suffix *-(e)n-*, which occurs in Old Georgian and some conservative modern dialects (Pshav-Xevsurian, Glola Rachan). Its function was discussed in §5.2: it codes agreement in number in certain contexts with formally plural NOM NPs. The distribution of *-(e)n-* has been difficult to account for. It is restricted to certain types of finite verbs (Class A and prefixal Class P) in certain screeves (the series II screeves, and those series III screeves which are formed from aorist stems).

I propose that at some earlier stage, perhaps in the Common Georgian-Zan period, the morpheme **en* — the ancestor of the number agreement morpheme mentioned above, and also of certain morphemes attested elsewhere in Georgian and in Zan — was a derivational suffix with a semantic range similar to that of the Svan pluralizers discussed in the previous section. I have two primary reasons for believing so, which will be presented here:

(A.) The position of *-en-* in the verb. Although it is not completely agglutinative, the Kartvelian verb has essentially the same sequence of morphemes in all three languages. Its morphemic composition can be diagrammed as follows [cp. Deeters 1930: 6-7]:

{13} **Morphemic composition of the Kartvelian verb**[56]

$[S/O_1=[ver_2=[[root_3]_a=inch/caus_4=psf_5=plural_6]_b=impf_7=tns/md_8]_c=S_9=num_{10}]_d$

Structural levels:

(a) Verb root.

(b) Components occurring in nonfinite as well as finite verb forms: root, causative formant (slot 4), present-stem formant, (slot 5), pluralizer (slot 6). All of these components occur in Svan verbal nouns. In Georgian, the pluralizer *-en-* is limited to certain types of finite verbs. There is also an inchoative-intransitive formant (*-n/d-*), for which no comparable morpheme has been found in Svan [Topuria 1967: 40]; it may represent a Common Georgian-Zan innovation.

(c) Components indicating verb class and screeve: the above plus the version vowel (slot 2), imperfect-stem formant (slot 7) and tense/mood vowel (slot 8).

(d) The fully-inflected finite verb: all of the above with the addition of the Set S/O person agreement prefix (slot 1), the Set S person agreement suffix (slot 9) and the number agreement suffix (slot 10).

Examples:

{14} OLD GEORGIAN $c'ar_{preverb}+Ø_1=a_2=vlin_3=\mathbf{n}_6=od_7=i_8=s_9$
send.away:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM
"he would send them" [Mark 3:14 (Adish gospels, 897)]

{15} SVAN $ži_{preverb} + x_1=a_2=nd_3=un_4=\mathbf{a:l}_6=wn_{(4)}=e_8=x_{10}$
$want_{pl}$:CAUS:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
"they will cause him to want them" [Topuria 1967: 234 (Lashx dialect)] [57]

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[56] In the composition of the verb in the modern Kartvelian languages, one or more directional prefixes (preverbs) precede the initial person marker. These, together with the verb stem and certain other derivational morphemes, compose the lexical listing of the verb (semantically, Kartvelian preverbs resemble the adverbial particles in English verb-particle constructions). Evidence from Old Georgian and Svan indicates that at one time these preverbs were distinct sentential constituents [Schmidt 1969].

[57] This verb is, from a purely formal point of view, a double causative, with the pluralizer

In all three Kartvelian languages the Set S and O person agreement morphemes are positioned at the extreme periphery of the verb. The Svan and Georgian pluralizers, by contrast, occupy a position much closer to the verb root, along with other stem-derivational morphemes. Although Georgian *-en-* is only attested as a number agreement marker, its location in the verb betrays its original nature.

(B.) The distribution of *-en-* and cognate suffixes in Georgian and Zan.

(B1.) *en* -agreement in Georgian. As was noted in section §5.2, this morpheme is restricted to certain types of Class A and prefixal Class P verbs in the aorist-series screeves, and those perfect-series screeves which are formed from aorist stems. There does not appear to be any semantic explanation ready to hand which would cover these and only these verb forms. One feature which is shared by most of the verbs which can be marked by *-en-* in Old Georgian is that they are "highly transitive" in the sense developed by Hopper & Thompson [1980]. Specifically, they are characterized by punctual aspect (item D on Hopper & Thompson's list of transitivity parameters [1980: 252]) and a transitive semantic structure (item A). The former criterion accounts for the restriction of *en* -agreement to aorist stems: in early Old Georgian the aorist stem was associated with punctilear aspect, and was opposed to the linear, durative aspect of the present-series stem [Machavariani 1974; Schmidt 1984].

Concerning the second point, Gamqrelidze [1979:46-47] has noted that prefixal passives (those Class P verbs marked by the pre-radical vowels *-i-* and *-e-* in both the present and aorist series) are semantically more like true passives than the other types of Class P verbs. Many prefixal passives give evidence of having transitive semantic structures. For example, they allow oblique agent phrases, while root and suffixal Class P verbs almost never do [Harris 1985:60-61]. Oblique agent phrases (marked by the postpositions *mier* 'by' or *gan* 'from') are not especially common in Old Georgian texts, but when they do occur it is with a prefixal — and never with a root or suffixal — Class P verb, e.g.:

{16} *mi-x-i-q'wan-a* *igi* *angeloz-ta-gan* *c'iaγ-ta*
take:PASS:IIp:S_{3sg}:'O_3' he:NOM angel-GENpl-from bosom-DATpl
abraham-is-ta.
Abraham-GEN-DATpl
"He was taken by the angels to the bosom of Abraham." [Luke 16:22]

In those cases where both prefixal and root or suffixal Class P stems can be derived from the same verb root the difference is easily discerned. Compare the following two Modern Georgian sentences:

{17} *xač'ap'ur-i* *cxveb-a* *(*ded-is* *mier)*
cheesebread-NOM bake:Ip_{root}:S_{3sg} mother-GEN by
"The cheesebread is baking (*by mother)."

{18} *xač'ap'ur-i* *i-cxob-a* *ded-is* *mier*
cheesebread-NOM bake:$Ip_{i\text{-prf}}$:S_{3sg} mother-GEN by
"The cheesebread is being baked by mother."

---

intervening between the two causative formants. This semantically unmotivated doubling of causative formants is not rare in Svan [Topuria 1967: 234-235].

The contrast between {18} and {19} is similar to the contrast between what are sometimes termed "unaccusative" (or "ergative") and passive constructions in English [Keyser & Roeper 1984]. The semantic structures underlying the two constructions are quite different:

TRANSITIVE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE

(a^1) *transitive construction:*	agent ⇒ subject	patient/theme ⇒ direct object
(a^2) *passive construction:*	agent ⇒ oblique NP	patient/theme ⇒ subject

INTRANSITIVE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE

(b) *"unaccusative" construction:*	patient/theme ⇒ subject

By the time of the earliest Georgian texts, *en* -agreement was no longer motivated by the above rule. Although it plausible that in the late Proto-Georgian period all prefixal passives had transitive semantic structures, by the time of the earliest Georgian texts there were already some exceptions to this pattern (though most prefixal passives then, and in modern Georgian, continue to be underlyingly transitive). Secondly, those Class P verbs which have aorist-series forms marked by the pre-radical vowel *-e-* (passives of state and verba sentiendi) are also capable of *en*-agreement in Georgian. Almost all of these latter verbs are stative, and the original motivation for the presence of *-en-* in this case can be linked with that of a morpheme which I believe to be cognate in the verbs to be discussed in the following section.

(B^2.) The suffix *-(a/e)n-* in Georgian stative verbs and in Zan. There are a half-dozen Georgian stative verbs for which a synchronically-unmotivated suffix *-(a/e)n-* appears in the S_{3pl} present and present-indicative forms; e.g. *c'v=an=an* "they are lying down" (cp. 3sg *c'ev=s*); *sx=en=an* "they are sitting." For some of these verbs this suffix also appears in the imperfect stem: *x=gv=an=d=a* "sb resembled sb" (present *x=gav=s*); *x=a=kw=n=d=a* "sb had sthg" (present *x=a=kv=s*). All of these belong to the group of root Class P verbs, which is believed to be among the most archaic verb types [Harris 1985: 59].

Shanidze [1953: 426-427] sees in the *-(a/e)n-* morpheme the descendent of a present-stem formant (slot 5) which has lost its original function. More recently, Harris [1985: 222-228] has argued that this suffix, and also the *-n-* element of the S_{3pl} suffix used in the present and present-perfect screeves of all Class P verbs in Zan,[58] is to be equated with the Georgian pluralizer *-en-*. This proposal, I believe, is fundamentally correct, although my interpretation of the data differs from hers in some respects.

If one accepts the hypothesis that Common Georgian-Zan **en* was a verbal plurality morpheme along the lines of Svan *a:l*, then one can make predictions about where its traces would most likely be found in the daughter languages. First of all, where it is attested in connection with plural number agreement, it should only correlate with local arguments (absolutive NPs). The Zan S_{3sg} suffix *-n-an*, as Harris notes, is only used by Class P verbs, all of which are intransitive. It never appears in correlation with transitive subjects. In the other environments where the ancestor form of Zan *-n-* would be expected to appear — in correlation with plural direct objects and non-3rd person intransitive subjects — it is no longer in evidence. A second environment where remnants of

[58]E.g. Laz *γuru=n=an* "they are dying" (3sg *γuru=n*). Chikobava [1936: 91; 1968: 163 n.3] interprets this pattern as the remnant of a more archaic, agglutinative mechanism of number agreement marking: 3pl = 3sg (*γuru=n*) + plural (*-an*). Contrast this with the pattern for Zan Class A verbs: *zumum=an* "they are measuring it" (3sg *zumum=s*).

Common Georgian-Zan **en* would be likely to turn up is in verbs connoting iterative, continuative or habitual Aktionsart, these being the semantic features most often associated with verbal plurality marking [Dressler 1968: 60-65, 74-77]. Both Zan *-n-* and the anomalous Georgian formant *-(a/e)n-* occur in the present series, which was associated with durative aspect in Old Georgian [Machavariani 1974; Schmidt 1984]. In the case of Georgian, one notes that *-(a/e)n-* only occurs in stative verbs. Such verbs denote situations, qualities, etc. which of necessity extend over a period of time. For this reason they do not have opposed present-series and aorist-series forms, and the conflation of the present and present-iterative screeves observed in many Old Georgian texts is particularly common for stative verbs [examples in Sarjveladze 1984: 425ff]. A similar situation may have obtained at an earlier time in regard to verbal-plurality marking, i.e. there was no semantic opposition between iterative and non-iterative Aktionsart for stative verbs, and therefore the appearence of the **en* formant was not motivated as it was for other verb types. Presumably it became a purely lexical component of these stative verbs at an early stage.

(B^3.) The suffix *-n-* in Georgian medial verbs. Finally, what may be traces of Common Georgian-Zan **en* can be observed in the declension of Georgian medial (medioactive) verbs. Although usage varies, many Georgian speakers employ a stem formant *-n-* in the perfect-series screeves of medial verbs [Shanidze 1953: 491]; e.g. *Ø=u=duγ=n=i=a* "it has boiled" (aorist *i=duγ=a*); *Ø=e=tamaš=n=a* "s/he had played." In Shanidze's opinion, this suffix originated in the pluperfect, and later spread to the present perfect [1953: 455]. In the few Early Old Georgian examples, the formant *-n-* is found only in the pluperfect or other perfect-series screeves formed from the aorist stem, e.g. *x=e=q'iv=n=o=s* "<the rooster> will have crowed" (perfect conjunctive) [John 13:38 (Xanmeti gospels, 5th-6th c.)]. If this otherwise-unexplained suffix is in fact descended from the pluralizer **en*, then it would have had a semantic range very close to that of the Svan verbal-plurality formant *-a:l-* which appears in many medial verbs (see §5.1.2).

It is clear from the above data that at some time in the Proto-Georgian period the range of usage of **en* came to be restricted in a way not characteristic of its cognate in Zan, nor of Svan-*a:l-*. For all non-stative verb types **en* was restricted to verb forms based on the aorist stems — this is the case in Old Georgian for both the number agreement marker *-en-* and the formant *-n-* attested in some medial verbs. More precisely, it was in complementary distribution with the present-stem formants (slot 5 in {13}). This is true even of the stative verbs described in B^2 above (hence Shanidze's hypothesis that this *-(a/e)n-* morpheme was once a present-stem formant).

The conclusion I wish to derive from these data is that the various Georgian and Zan *-(a/e)n-* suffixes discussed here reflect two different stages in the history of the Common Georgian-Zan pluralizer **en* :

STAGE I [Common Georgian-Zan period] — The formant **en* is used to derive plural verb stems. The semantic range of this suffix is comparable to that of Svan-*a:l-* : plurality of local argument; iterative, habitual, continuative Aktionsart. Remnants of this stage include the *-n-* in the S_{3pl} suffix of certain intransitive verbs in Zan, and the *-(a/e)n-* formants appearing in some screeves of Georgian stative and medial verbs (which are, of necessity, aspectually continuative).

STAGE II [Proto-Georgian period] — The pluralizer**en* came to be restricted to verb forms based on aorist stems. Later it was reanalyzed as an inflectional suffix, marking number agreement with the direct objects of verbs with transitive deep structures. The number agreement suffix *-en-* of Old Georgian and some modern dialects is a continuation of this morpheme.

§6.5. Verbal plurality and nominal plurality.

In this section I will examine the nominal and verbal pluralizers attested in the Kartvelian languages. The evidence points to the existence of a well-developed category of "number" that was marked in both noun and verb in Common Kartvelian.

§6.5.1. Svan -a:l- and Geo -en-.

Both of these verbal pluralizers show a correlation with local arguments and bear a strong resemblance to nominal pluralizers in their respective languages. They are juxtaposed in {19}:

{19} **Comparison of Georgian *-en-* and Svan *-a:l-***

verbal morpheme	*distribution*	*related forms*
Georgian *-(e)n-*	Correlated with *n*-plural NOM NPs in aorist series and those perfect series forms based on aorist-series stems; Used in Class A and *i/e*-prefixed Class P verbs	*-n-* [NOM plural]
Svan *-a:l-* | *-ie:l-/ -ə:r-* | *-a:l* |	1. Code local-argument plurality; 2. Code iterative action; 3. Appear in many medioactive verbs; [nominal pluralizers]. Used in finite and nonfinite verb forms.	*-ar* | *-e:r* | *-i:r*| *-a:ru* | *-ie:l* | *-ə:r*| ....

In his analysis of Kartvelian Aktionsart, Schmidt [1957: 19-21] conjectures that the verbal and nominal pluralizers juxtaposed above are etymologically related.[59] For Svan, Sharadzenidze [1954: 202] reconstructs six pluralizers (**a:r, *u:r, *a:l, *a:d, *u, *a*),[60] the first three of which are common to verbs and nouns. In terms of their semantic range, Svan *-a:l-*, *-i-e:l-* (<**a:l*) and *-ə:r-* (<**u:r*) can be conceived of as supracategorial pluralizers of the type proposed by Dressler [1968], for which plural reference and plural Aktionsart can be regarded as "combinatorial variants of the sememe 'plurality' for nouns and verbs, respectively."[61]

The Georgian pluralizer *-en-* is clearly a number agreement morpheme, but the evidence summarized in the preceding section suggests that it is descended from a Common Georgian-Zan verbal plurality formant. Its nominal counterpart is the NOM case form in the 'flectional' plural declension, which is based upon the fundamental opposition NOM (rectus) *-n-* :: DAT/ERG/GEN (oblique) *-ta* (summarized in Chapter IV). Alongside their obvious differences, Georgian *-n-* and the various Svan nominal pluralizers share one characteristic: both are treated as markers of formal plurality by the syntax. In this respect they differ sharply from Georgian *-eb-* and its Zan cognate *-em-* / *-ep-*. Nouns marked with the latter can control plural number agreement only if they refer to animate beings, if even then. A chart of the nominal pluralizers used in the different Kartvelian languages is given below, along with an assessment of the agreement-controlling potential of nominals marked with these affixes:

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[59]The etymological connection between the Old Georgian pluralizers *-en-* (verbal) and *-n-* (nominal) is also accepted by Deeters [1930: 62] and Boeder [1979: 453].

[60]Of the plethora of Svan nominal pluralizers inventoried, *-ar* is used by the largest class of nouns. Sharadzenidze [1954: 200] has hypothesized that the vowel quantity is a comparitively recent development, and that a form with a long vowel (**-a:r*) is to be reconstructed.

[61]"Im Rahmen der allgemeinen Grammatik greift der Gegensatz von Singularität und Pluralität über die Wortarten hinweg . . . In der allgemeinen Grammatik wird man wohl nominalen Plural und Aktionsarten der verbalen Pluralität als kombinatorischen Varianten des Semems Pluralität bei Nomen und Verben bestimmen" [Dressler 1968: 94].

{20} **Potential for number agreement (NA) of plural NPs.**

	Obligatory NA	*Not obligatory*
Old Georgian	-n-/-t(a)	-eb- (NA not possible)
Northeast dialects	-n-/-t(a)	-eb- (occasional NA, if animate)
Modern Georgian	-n-/-t(a) (seldom used)	-eb- (NA if animate)
Mingrelian, Laz	———	-ep(e)- (NA if animate)
Svan	-ar/-e:r/-a:l/la- -a/ &c.	————

{21} **Kartvelian nominal pluralizers and number agreement.**

number agreement with inanimate subjects

-ar- [Svan] *lekwr-iš bač-är eser-i qečn-i-**x***
mill-GEN stone-PL:NOM QUOT-also wear.out:Ip:S_{3pl}
"Millstones wear out also." [Davitiani 1973:56]

-n- [Old Georgian] *rabam-n-i kwa-n-i ar-i-**an** ese*
how.many-PL-NOM stone-PL-NOM be:Ip:S_{3pl} this
"How many stones there are!" [Mk 13:1 (Adish)]

no number agreement with inanimate subjects

-eb- [Old Georgian] *rabam-i kw-eb-i ar-s*
how.many-NOM stone-PL-NOM be:Ip:S_{3sg}
"How many stones there are (lit. 'is')!" [Mk 13:1 (Xanm.)]

-ep- [Mingrelian] *ǰal-ep-i ko-čan-s*
tree-PL-NOM stand:Ip:S_{3sg}
"The trees are standing (lit. 'is standing')." [Qipshidze 1914:5]

§6.5.2. Georgian/Zan -eb- / -em- / -ep-.

The above facts indicate that the ancestor of Georgian *-eb-* and Zan *-em-* / *-ep-* was something other than a 'true' plural marker. A number of authors have, in fact, suggested that these suffixes are descended from a collective marker, as was mentioned in §4.1.2.1.

There are also several derivational morphemes in Georgian which may be related to *-eb-* : the suffixes *-ev-* (which occurs in some toponyms, e.g. *vašl-ev-i* "Apples," the name of a village [Shanidze 1953: 138]) and *-ob-* (used to form abstract nouns and collectives, e.g. *st'udent'-ob-a* "student life; student body," *st'umr-ob-a* "being a guest; the guests [as a group]"). The failure of number agreement to occur with *eb-* suffixed nouns in Old Georgian can be explained as stemming from the time when *-eb-* was used to derive formally singular collective nouns.[62]

[62]The exact function of *-eb-* in the attested Old Georgian period is difficult to establish, since it was used much less frequently than the *-n/ta* plural. Also, there are several cases of the-*eb-* and-*n/ta* plurals substituting for each other in different Old Georgian redactions of the same passage [Imnaishvili 1957: 293; Vogt 1947: 132ff].

Harris [1984; 1985: 194ff] accepts this interpretation, and extends it a step further. In her view, the Common Georgian-Zan ancestor of-*eb-* was a morpheme which indicated collectivity in nouns, and durative aspect in verbs. Its descendents in the verbal system are the present-stem formants — suffixes added to the basic stem in all present-series screeves. Most of the Georgian and Zan present-stem formants are composed of a vowel followed by a labial consonant; e.g. Georgian *-eb-, -ob-, -av-, -am-, -em-* ; Zan *-um-, -im-, -ap-, -ep-, -em-*. Harris points out several examples of "haphazard" correspondences of labial phonemes between cognate forms in Georgian-Zan [1985: 208 note 3], and on this basis argues that most of the present-stem formants are derived from a single Common Georgian-Zan antecedent **ev*.[63] Its function in verbs was to derive the durative-aspect present-series stem from the more basic aorist-series stem. Added to nouns, it formed the collective.[64]

§6.6. Common Kartvelian verbal/nominal plurality.

There is good evidence that at least three Kartvelian plural morphemes were at one time productively used by verbs and nouns alike: Common Georgian-Zan **(e)n*, Common Georgian-Zan **ev* (or **eb*) and Svan **a:l* / **a:r* / **u:r*. In each case the semantics of the attested nominal and verbal uses are consistent with Dressler's crosslinguistic findings. In view of their functional parallelism, one might wonder if Common Georgian-Zan **(e)n* is cognate with any of the Svan pluralizers. The evidence from Kartvelian comparative phonology is suggestive but not convincing [Oniani 1978:210-211]. The alternation [n]:[l] is observed both within Svan (e.g. Upper Bal ***l**ic*, Becho ***n**ic* "water" [Topuria 1967: 168]) and within Georgian (e.g. Std Georgian *c'e**l**-i*, Kaxetian *c'e**n**-i* "year" [Gamkrelidze & Machavariani 1982: 45]). There is, however, no systematic [n]:[l] correspondence between the two languages [Schmidt 1962: 86-87].

If these reconstructions are accurate, Common Georgian-Zan, and perhaps Common Kartvelian, was characterized by a three-way plurality opposition:[65]

	NOMINAL	**VERBAL**
Ø:	unspecified/singular	unspecified/punctiliar
**en* / **a:l* (others?):	'true' plural	distributive-iterative
**ev* / **eb* (others?):	collective	durative

[63]There is, in any event, strong evidence for a correspondence between the present-stem formants *-eb-* (Geo.) and *-ap-* / *-ep-* (Zan), on the one hand, and between the Georgian and Zan nominal pluralizers. In both cases the antecedent has been reconstructed as **eb* [Klimov 1964: 78]. This brings up the question of whether there were in fact several pluralizers common to nouns and verbs in Common Georgian-Zan, as there are in Svan. In recent work I have reconstructed several present-stem formants for earlier stages of Kartvelian, divided into two principal semantic classes [Tuite 1997, 1998].

[64]"The collectivizer **ev* was used in series I forms to mark durative aspect; it indicated that a set of actions was viewed as a whole, just as it indicated that a set of substantives was viewed as a whole" [Harris 1985: 207]. The semantic correspondence between durativity in verbs and collectivity in nouns was also noted by Dressler [1968: 75].

[65]It may be more faithful to the facts to consider the plural-iterative and collective-durative as two potentially crosscutting categories. This would allow, in theory, plurals of collectives, and iterative or distributive duratives (cp. Dressler [1968: 86-87]). Old Georgian nouns marked with both *-eb-* and *-n-* have been noted (e.g. *sopl-eb-n-i* 'village-PL_{eb}-PL_n-NOM' = 'several groups of villages'? [Imnaishvili 1957: 314; Sarjveladze 1984: 380]), and the Svan verb can have both a present-stem formant (also an old collective-durative?) and the distributive-iterative suffix *a:l*.

In principle, nominal and verb stems came in threes, though there were, no doubt, exceptions. Certain stems had specifically plural meaning (examples in §5.1). Verbs which of necessity denoted states or activities extending over a period of time, rather than focusing on a change of state (i.e. stative and medial verbs) may have had defective stem paradigms. One certainly sees evidence of this in Old Georgian: in general, neither statives nor medials had opposed present-stem (durative) and aorist-stem (punctiliar) forms [Shanidze 1953: 477, 498].

In regard to nominals, it may have been the case that only certain Common Kartvelian nouns were regularly marked for number. The number of other types of nouns was inferred from context, quantifiers, or the presence of a plural verb. This manner of coding number is characteristic of many languages of North America [Mithun 1988]. Instances of nouns unspecified for number in conjunction with a plural verb are found here and there in Georgian texts, especially when the noun in question refers to an object most often met with in sets or groups [Shanidze 1953: 39; Imnaishvili 1957:283-5]; e.g.:

{22} *purcel-i* *misi* *ara* *da-s-cwiv-i-s*
leaf-NOM its:NOM not $fall_{pl}$:IIp:S_{3sg}
"Its leaves will not fall off." [Psalm 1:3]

{23} *c'am* *Ø-u-q'w-n-a* *mas* *simon-p'et're*
eyelash:NOM do:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM him:DAT S-P:ERG
"Simon Peter winked (lit. did his eyelashes) at him." [John 13:24 (T'beti)]

The referential plurality of *purcel-i* "leaf" and *c'am* "eyelash" is coded only by the plural verb roots: *-cwiv-* "many fall" contrasts with *-vrd-* "one falls," and the stem-*q'w-n-* "do many" includes the *en* pluralizer.

§6.7. Conclusion.

Agreement, as Nichols [1985] defines it, is an asymmetric process: one constituent merely reflects a feature proper to another constituent. The system reconstructed here was characterized by considerable symmetry between noun and verb. If both constituents coincided in bearing one of the above morphemes, it was because each was independently marked for the category. In comparison to nominal and verbal plurality marking, true number agreement was weakly developed in Common Kartvelian, being confined to the 1st and 2nd person of the Set S affix system. When a rich number-agreement system evolved in Kartvelian, it was — especially in Georgian-Zan — accompanied by the breakdown of the old plurality system. Morphemes which had been the common property of noun and verb morphology split into distinct nominal and verbal desinences, which went off in their separate directions. Some of the morphemes which had once been verbal-plurality markers were reanalyzed as agreement morphemes (e.g. Old Georgian *en*, perhaps Georgian dialectal *q'e*); they became markers of reflected, rather than proper, features. Others took on entirely new functions (e.g. Georgian-Zan *eb*/*ep* as present-stem formants; Zan *-n-* in S_{3pl} of Class P verbs), and some presumably were lost. To sum up: the Kartvelian morphological system has always coded number in both noun and verb, but the nature of that coding appears to have changed profoundly.

APPENDIX

This chapter has focused upon the Kartvelian pluralizers for which reasonably plausible reconstructions are possible. In this appendix I will touch upon some of the remaining plural

morphemes which are attested in one or the other of the Kartvelian languages, and review some attempts to reconstruct their earlier distribution.

(i) Georgian -t(a). This is the oblique-plural desinence paired with NOM-plural *-n-*. The attempt has been made [Chikobava 1954] to motivate a connection between this morpheme and the $S_{1/2}$ number agreement suffix (CK **(s$_1$)t*). Chikobava proposes that *-t(a)* is "older" than *-n-*, and was used to mark the plural of nouns in all contexts, e.g.:**k'ac-**t** v-ar-**t*** 'man-PL S_1-be-PL' = "we are men" [ibid: 74]. More likely to be cognate with *-t(a)* is the Georgian suffix *-et*, which is used to derive place names, and which was also added to names in Old Georgian to derive nouns denoting a group centered in some sense around an individual (discussed in §4.1.1 and §4.2).

(ii) Svan -x. The origins of this suffix, which codes number agreement for the 3rd person in Set S and the 2nd and 3rd persons in Set O, remain obscure. Marr and some of his disciples linked it with a superficially similar Abkhaz plural morpheme. At the end of her article on Svan pluralizers, Sharadzenidze [1954: 203] avers that the *-x-* element in the word *yer**x**i* "some [people]" may have plural meaning (cp. *yer* "somebody, something"), but draws no further conclusions. Dzidziguri [1935] proposed an etymological link with the particle *q'e* (see below), although there is no sound correspondence between Svan and Georgian which would support this hypothesis [Schmidt 1962: 70-71].

(iii) Georgian q'e. This postclitic is used in some contemporary Georgian dialects, and sporadically attested in medieval texts [Deeters 1930: 60-61; Chikobava 1968: 276ff; Tuite 1987, 1988]. Two distinct functions have been reported for *q'e* and its phonological variant *k'e* : (1) In several eastern and northwestern dialects, it codes the plurality of 2nd and 3rd person NPs when they function as sentential topics, and would otherwise not be able to control number agreement (i.e. because they are crossreferenced by Set O agreement affixes). (2) In some areas of north-central and eastern Georgia, *q'e* indicates habitual or permansive Aktionsart. Only in the far eastern provinces (Saingilo, Kiziqi, Fereidan) is *q'e* used with both functions.

It is highly unlikely that the contexts in which this morpheme appears as a number agreement marker represent its original distribution. Compare the agreement system shown below with the early Old Georgian feature matrix shown in {3}. In all modern Georgian dialects, the Set O paradigm lost the inclusive/exclusive opposition and realigned according to the feature matrix of Set S. In most regions, either the $S_{1/2}$ number agreement marker *-t* or the clitic *q'e* was used to fill in gaps in the paradigm, where no means of coding number was inherited from Proto-Georgian.

{24} **Agreement system in east and northwest Georgian dialects**

Set S				*Set O*			
v-	<1, -pl>	v- -t	<1, +pl>	m-	<1, -pl>	gw-	<1, +pl>
Ø-	<2, -pl>	Ø- -t	<2, +pl>	g-	<2, -pl>	g- **-q'e**	<2, +pl>
-s/a/n	<3, -pl>	-en/es	<3, +pl>	h/Ø-	<3, -pl>	h/Ø- **-q'e**	<3, +pl>

If one were to hypothesize that *q'e* was once a verbal-plurality morpheme similar to those of modern Svan, one would also have to accept that it was only correlated with the plurality of local arguments at that time. Later in the Proto-Georgian it would have been reanalyzed and employed in a new range of contexts, just as the former $S_{1/2}$ number agreement marker *-t* was in modern literary Georgian and some other dialects. This would have occurred in connection with a shift in the morphosyntactic orientation of the dialects in question, which will be the main topic of Part Two of this monograph.

KEVIN TUITE

KARTVELIAN MORPHOSYNTAX

PART TWO.

CHAPTER VII. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN LITERARY GEORGIAN, 1: OLD AND MIDDLE GEORGIAN.

Number agreement manifests the highest degree of variation among Kartvelian syntactic phenomena. Likewise, of the various components of Kartvelian morphology, number marking varies greatly across time and space. This and the next seven chapters will be devoted to number agreement in literary Georgian, the Georgian dialects, and the other Kartvelian languages respectively.

Georgian linguists divide into two camps concerning the segmentation of the literary language into periods. One group, centered around Shanidze, distinguishes three periods: Old Georgian [5th - 11th c.], Middle Georgian [11th - 18th c.], and Modern Georgian [19th - 20th c.]. The second group takes its cue from Chikobava, who denied the separate status of Middle Georgian, viewing it as the earliest phase of Modern Georgian [Chikobava 1938; see also K'iziria 1954, Kavtaradze 1975; Sarjveladze 1984]. For the purpose of arranging the material on the evolution of number agreement to be presented in this chapter, I have followed Shanidze's segmentation, with additional subdivision within the Old and Middle Georgian periods:

(a) *Early Old Georgian:* [5th - 7th c.]
(b) *Classical Old Georgian:* [8th - 11th c.]
(c) *Early Middle Georgian:* [12th - 13th c.]
(d) *Late Middle Georgian:* [14th - 18th c.]
(e) *Modern Georgian:* [18th - 20th c.]

§7.1. Early Old Georgian (5th-7th centuries)

According to G. C'ereteli [1961], inscriptions discovered in the ruins of a monastery at Bir-el-Qutt in Israel indicate that by the third decade of the 5th century, Georgian was a written language. The oldest known Georgian texts found on Georgian territory are three inscriptions dated 494 AD on the walls of the Sioni cathedral at Bolnisi, about 40 km southwest of Tbilisi. The earliest manuscripts — mostly palimpsests — date from the 5th through 7th centuries [Molitor 1956; Sarjveladze 1971, 1984:20-40]. All of these texts are written in the *xanmet'i* dialect of Old Georgian, so called because the 2nd person Set S and 3rd person Set O prefix x- is used in all contexts, including prevocalically.[66]

Number agreement in early Old Georgian was strongly correlated with two other morphological categories: case and person agreement. NPs assigned NOM case and/or crossreferenced by Set S ("subject") agreement markers in the verb had the potential to control number agreement. NPs assigned DAT case (crossreferenced by Set O markers) did not have this potential. In the following chart those argument classes capable of controlling number agreement in early Old Georgian highlighted.

[66]The term *xanmet'i,* meaning "superfluous x's," is first attested in the writings of the 11th c. translator and author Giorgi Mtac'mideli [Kavtaradze 1975:576]. By the end of the classical Old Georgian period the person-marking norms characteristic of these early texts had become so alien to Georgian scribes that "superfluous" x- prefixes were erased. Most of the 5th-7th c. manuscripts that have come down to us show evidence of this tampering.

{1} **Number agreement pattern in early Old Georgian**

	CLASS A			CLASS P	
	NP1	*NP3*	*NP2*	*NP1*	*NP2*
Series I	NOM/S	DAT/O	DAT/O	NOM/S	DAT/O
Series II	ERG/S	NOM/O	DAT/O	NOM/S	DAT/O
Series III	DAT/O	NOM/S	————	NOM/S	DAT/O

As a general rule, 3rd person NPs were considered formally plural if marked with the n/t desinence; otherwise they controlled singular agreement. Plural number agreement was marked by the Set S markers discussed in section §5.3, and by the morpheme -(e)n- [§5.2]. Potential for number agreement in this period was strictly based on formal characteristics, and was not correlated with semantic role. The plurality of DAT-case SSs (agents and experiencers) was not marked on the verb, while that of patients denoted by plural NOM NPs was, regardless of animacy.

The only apparent exception to this pattern was presented by the 1st person Set O prefixes m- and gw-. As was demonstrated in section §5.4, the distinction between these prefixes was originally exclusive vs. inclusive — a distinction pertaining to the category of person — rather than singular and plural number. Here are some examples illustrating various facets of 5th - 7th century Georgian agreement (from Kajaia [1984] and Molitor [1956]; NA = number agreement):

{2}Indirect Class P verb: NA with 3pl MS (SO), no NA with 2pl MO (SS)
*da uk'uetu g-i-q'war-d-**en**tkwen moq'ware-n-i tkwenni*
and thus love:Ip:O_2:S_{3pl} you_{pl}:DAT lover-PL-NOM $your_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"And so you will love those who love you." (ModG: *g-i-q'var-d-e-**t***) [Luke 6:32]

{3}Indirect Class P verb: no NA with 1pl [exclusive] MO (SS)
*da c'ar-Ø-i-p'ar-es igi vidre čwen **m**-e-ʒin-a*
and steal:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 it:NOM while we:DAT sleep:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_{1excl}
"And they stole it while we slept" (ModG: ***gv**-e-ʒin-a*) [Matthew 28:13]

{4}Series II Class A verb: NA with NOM DO
*c'ar-Ø-a-vlin-**n**-a mona-n-i twis-n-i*
send:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM servant-PL-NOM his-PL-NOM
"He sent his servants away" (ModG: *c'a-Ø-a-vlin-a*) [Proverbs 9:3]

{5}Series I Class A verb: no NA with 2pl DAT DO
me-ca c'ar-g-a-vlin-eb-Ø tkwen
I:NOM-too send:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_2 you_{pl}:DAT
"I also will send you_{pl} away." (ModG: *c'a-g-a-vlin-eb-t*) [John 20:21]

{6}Series III Class A verb: NA with 3pl MS (RDO), no NA with 3pl MO (SS)
*šešinebul x-i-q'v-**n**-es igini da da-x-e-drik'-**n**-es*
frightened be:IIp:S_{3pl}:PLNOM they:NOM and turn:IIIa:O_3:S_{3pl}:PLNOM
p'ir-n-i mat-n-i kweq'an-ad [Luke 24:5]
face-PL-NOM their-PL-NOM earth-ADV
"They were frightened, and turned their faces toward the ground"(ModG: *da-e-drik'-a-t*)

The pattern of early Old Georgian number agreement reflected two basic asymmetries:

(a) **person marking**: As mentioned in §5.4, the two sets of person agreement markers were aligned in accordance with different principles. The early Old Georgian Set S markers formed a 3x2 matrix, according to person <1,2,3> and number <+/- plural>. The underlying structure for Set O was a 2x2 matrix, based on two features pertaining to the category of person: <+/- speaker> and <+/- addressee>.

{7}

Set S					***Set O***			
v-	<1,-pl>	v-	-t	<1,+pl>	gw-	<+sp, +ad>	m-	<+sp, -ad>
x-	<2,-pl>	x-	-t	<2,+pl>	g-	<-sp, +ad>	x/Ø-	<-sp, -ad>
-s/a/n	<3,-pl>		-en/es	<3,+pl>				

(b) **case**: Evidence from early Georgian morphology strongly indicates that the NOM enjoyed a special status relative to the other cases in the prehistory of the language. Nominative vs. oblique stem oppositions are present in the pronominal system, paralleling the n/t distinction in the plural declension paradigm. In Old Georgian NPs assigned NOM case could control number agreement, even when — in series II screeves of class A verbs — they were crossreferenced by Set O person marking. The agreement paradigms for NOM and DAT Set O arguments are:

{8} **Set O agreement in Old Georgian**

	NOM object (DO)		*DAT object (DO,IO)*
1sg	m-		m-
1excl	m-	-en-	m-
1incl	gw-	-en-	gw-
2sg	g-		g-
2pl	g-	-en-	g-
3sg	Ø-		x/h/Ø-
3pl	Ø-	-en-	x/h/Ø-

While NOM arguments can control number agreement in all three persons, DAT arguments did not have this capability in Old Georgian. As was illustrated in {4} and {5} above, when a Class A verb is in a series II screeve, its DO, which is assigned NOM case, controls number agreement. When the same verb is conjugated in a series I screeve, it assigns DAT case to its DO, and therefore the latter does not control number agreement.

§7.2. Classical Old Georgian (8th-11th centuries).

After the Arab conquest of Tbilisi in 655, the center of literary activity shifted to western Georgia and to Georgian settlements abroad. The 8th century *haemet'i* lectionary[67] and the 9th century Sinai *mravaltavi* were composed in Jerusalem, where Georgian churchmen had been active since the 5th century. The Adish, Jruch'i and P'arxali gospels were copied at Shat'berdi in southwestern Georgia. A large number of the major translations, hagiographies, and philosophical and theological treatises of the 10th and 11th centuries were written by the community of Georgian scholars at Iveron monastery on Mt Athos [K'ek'elidze & Baramidze 1969:38-9].

[67]The term *haemet'i* "superfluous h's" was coined by Shanidze in reference to a small corpus of 7th-8th century inscriptions and manuscripts characterized by the employment of h- as the S_2/O_3 prefix. The use of this allomorph is less consistent than the use of x- in Xanmet'i texts. A handful of verbs conjugated in Haemet'i fashion also appear in the late 9th century Adish gospels (e.g. John 13:31, 21:14), implying that manuscripts (now lost) written in this earlier dialect were consulted [Sarjveladze 1971; Shanidze 1981].

Though the language of these manuscripts is different in some respects from the *xanmet'i* dialect of the earliest texts, the pattern of number agreement is essentially unchanged, save for one important component. The inclusive/exclusive distinction in the Set O system was clearly giving way to a distinction of number. Some texts from as early as the 9th century (e.g. the Sinai *mravaltavi* of 864) reflect only the newer norm. By the 11th century, the distinction between the Set O prefixes m- and gw- was one of number, not inclusion. This was a very significant change. The symmetrical feature matrix underlying the early Old Georgian Set O system has shifted to an asymmetric matrix based on the same features as those underlying the Set S agreement system. The feature composition for the earlier and later Old Georgian Set O systems are contrasted in {9}:

{9}

Early Old Georgian				**Classical Old Georgian**	
gw-	<+sp, +ad>	m-	<+sp, -ad>	m- <1, -pl>	gw- <1, +pl>
g-	<-sp, +ad>	x/Ø-	<-sp, -ad>	g- <2>	
				h/Ø- <3>	

Number agreement with all Set S arguments and NOM case Set O arguments continued through the later Old Georgian period, though with a slight decrease in consistency. Georgian texts up through the 10th century generally displayed a rigidly form-based determination of number agreement. As shown in the table below, in the texts sampled, NOM and ERG case 3rd person NPs in the n/t plural consistently controlled number agreement, while the few scattered instances of eb-plural NOM NPs were characterized by nonagreement. (In {10}, the number of instances of nonagreement is given in parentheses.) The animacy of the referents is largely irrelevant to the morphosyntax, though one might discern the first harbingers of the changes to come.

{10}

		n/t - plural		*eb - plural*	
		SS	**DO**	**SS**	**DO**
xanmet'i corpus[68]	**animate:**	40 (0)	22 (0)	— —	— —
(5th-7th c.)	**inanimate:**	22 (0)	23 (0)	— —	0 (1)
haemet'i corpus	**animate:**	30 (0)	8 (0)	— —	— —
(7th-8th c.)	**inanimate:**	10 (0)	5 (2)	— —	0 (1)
gospel of St John	**animate:**	75 (0)	22 (0)	— —	— —
(Adish, 897)	**inanimate:**	20 (0)	55 (0)	— —	0 (6)

This pattern of number agreement remained the norm for Old Georgian through the middle ages. DAT NPs functioning as SSs of Class A verbs in series III, or the experiencers of Class P verba sentiendi, failed to control number agreement, even though they had much the same word-order, binding and control properties as their counterparts in the modern language. Consider the binding of reflexive and reciprocal pronominals by DAT NPs in the following 10th-century examples. Though not indicated by the morphology, the distinction between direct and indirect verbs was as relevant for Old Georgian syntax as it is in Modern Georgian.

{11} *gw-ʒul-s* *ertmanert-i*
hate:Ip:O_{1pl}:S_{3sg} each.other-NOM
"We <DAT> hate each other <NOM>." [ms Sin 43 (10th c.) 50r]

[68]The Xanmet'i and Haemet'i corpora are from Molitor [1956], which contains almost all of the known texts in these dialects. The Adish version of the St John gospel is from Blake & Briere [1950].

{12} *martal-ta tana še-Ø-e-racx-a tav-i twisi* [cx. grig. xanʒ. (951) O:11]
right-DATPL with consider:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg} self-NOM his:NOM
"He <DAT> considered himself <NOM> one of the righteous."

Exceptions to the Old Georgian number-agreement norm are relatively rare. Sarjveladze [1984:543] has inventoried some examples of series II verbs without number agreement with n-plural DOs from 9th-10th century manuscripts; e.g.:

{13} *da ra-ysa-twis da-m-a-šov-e čwen* [ms Sin-11 (10th c.) 60v:19]
andwhat-GEN-for bear:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_{1excl} us:NOM
"And for this reason you gave birth to us (exclusive)." (expected: *da-m-a-šov-e-**n***)

Likewise, nonagreement for number with the NOM case MS (= SO) of indirect Class P verbs is occasionally attested in texts from this period:

{14} *g-i-q'war-d-i-**n** mt'er-n-i tkwen-n-i* [ms Sin-16 (10th-11th c.) 18r:6]
love:Ip:O_2:S_{3sg} enemy-PL-NOM $your_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"Love your enemies." (compare: *g-i-q'war-d-ed mt'erni tkwenni* [ibid: 173v:2])

Less often, NOM case SSs in the n-plural failed to control number agreement. Such NPs were almost always inanimate.

{15} *mis-twis da-i-gdeb-i-**s** alag-n-i igi garčev-isa-n-i* [ms H-622 (10th c.) 92v]
him:GEN-for lie:Ip:S_{3sg} path-PL-NOMthe selection-GEN-PL-NOM
"The pathways of decision lie before him." (expected: *da-i-gdeb-i-an*)

As for eb-plural NPs, the norm was for them to be treated as formally singular:

{16} *k'ac-eb-man man vitarca i-xil-**a** sasc'aul-i igi*
man-PL-ERG the:ERG as see:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 miracle-NOM the:NOM
"When the people saw <no NA> the miracle. . ." [Jn 6:14 (Adish, 897)]
(compare: *k'ac-ta mat i-xil-**es*** [Jn 6:14 (Op'iza, 913)])

However, plural number agreement with eb-plural NPs began to appear in 10th century texts [Sarjveladze 1984:563; Imnaishvili 1957:306-8].

{17} *huria-ta q'rm-eb-man vitarca i-smin-**es** c'inasc'armet'q'weleba-y*
Jew-GENPL servant-PL-ERG as hear:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 prophecy-NOM
"When the servants of the Jews heard the prophecy . . . " [p'arxali mrvlt. (10th c.) 93a]

{18} *še-k'rb-**es** marzap'an-eb-i da eristav-eb-i*
gather:IIp:S_{3pl} lord-PL-NOM and prince-PL-NOM
"The lords and princes assembled." [Daniel 3:3 (11th c.)]

(cp: *še-k'rb-**a** mtavr-eb-i igi da eristav-eb-i sopl-isa-y*
gather:IIp:S_{3sg} chief-PL-NOM the and prince-PL-NOM world-GEN-NOM
"The chiefs and princes of the world assembled." [Daniel 3:94])

Occasionally one even finds plural number agreement in -(e)n- with eb-plural NOM DOs, as in the following verse from the Op'iza gospels of 913:

{19} *i-xil-**n**-e-t* *q'an-eb-i* [John 4:35]
see:IIa:S_{2pl}:O_3:PLNOM field-PL-NOM
"See the fields." (other versions have *i-xil-e-t*)

Still, the proportion of eb to n/t plurals is small in the texts from this period, and will remain so until the Modern Georgian period. In the Adish version of the gospel of Mark, for example, 41 eb-plurals occur alongside 520 n/t-plurals [Vogt 1947:133]. In a sample drawn from the 11th-century "Life of Sts Iovane and Eptwime" by Giorgi Mtac'mideli, a mere 4 eb plurals occur, compared to 96 n/t-plural nominals.

According to Sarjveladze [1984:563], instances of number agreement with eb-plurals are less numerous than instances of nonagreement with n-plurals. These developments affected the syntactic behavior of NPs with animate and inanimate reference alike. Of 100 cases of nonagreement for number with n-plural DOs taken from Sarjveladze [1984:543-7], 66 had inanimate, 34 animate reference. Of 14 reported instances of plural number agreement with eb-plural NOM DOs, 12 involved NPs with inanimate referents [ibid:562-3]. Only later did a clear correlation between number agreement and animacy make itself apparent.

§7.3. Early Middle Georgian (12th-13th centuries)

In 1122, King David the Builder drove the Turkish armies out of Tbilisi, and brought an end to five centuries of foreign occupation. This new period of Georgian autonomy was only to last a little over a century, but it saw a great flowering of secular literature, culminating in Shota Rustaveli's magnificent epic poem [K'ek'elidze & Baramidze 1969:183-6]. The return of the royal court to Tbilisi was accompanied by changes in the literary language, due in particular to the renewed influence of the eastern Georgian dialects [Chikobava 1950:018].

As far as the phenomenon of number agreement is concerned, the 11th-12th centuries witnessed the beginnings of a major patterning shift which is still underway in the modern language: the extension of suffixal number agreement to DAT NPs. Three distinct ways of marking this are attested. The first appears in a small number of texts copied in Jerusalem [Sarjveladze 1984:568]. The -t suffix employed in early Old Georgian for marking 1st and 2nd person plurality as a part of Set S agreement morphology has been utilized to code the plurality of DAT case arguments controlling Set O agreement — in this example, a 2pl addressee:

{20} *amas* *ra-y* *g-e-t'q'od-e* *tkwen . . .* *ara tu*
this:DAT what-NOM tell:Ip:S_{1sg}:O_2 you_{pl}:DAT not if
arcebn-isa-twis *g-i-txrobd-i-**t***
naught-GEN-for say:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_{2pl} [ms Jer-32 (11th c.) 137r]
"This which I will tell you . . . I wouldn't be saying it to you for naught."

A second means of marking number agreement with certain DAT case NPs surfaces in the 12th century manuscript Jer-73 (*psevdomak'ari megwip't'elis sc'avlani*), of southwest Georgian origin [Sarjveladze 1981]. The verbs in {21} are Class P verbs assigning DAT case to their experiencer arguments. The verb in {22} is the present perfect form of a Class A verb, which — due to inversion — assigns DAT case to its NP1 argument. In each case the DAT NPs function as SSs. These are 3pl NPs, controlling Set O person marking, but their plurality is indicated by the **Set S** 3pl

suffix -an. (This S_{3pl} marker would be appropriate for both of these screeves: Class P present and Class A present perfect).

{21} *romel-n-i* *igi* *ari-an* *glaxak'sul-ita* *da* *šemusrvil* *gul-ita*
which-PL-NOM the:NOM be:Ip:S_{3pl} poor soul-INS and downtrodden heart-INS
da ***h**-š-i-**an*** *da* ***s**-c'q'ur-i-**an*** *maradis* *simartl-isa-twis* *da*
andhunger:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 and thirst:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 eternal justice-GEN-for and
Ø**-sur-i-**an *srul-isa* *mis* *p'at'iv-isa-twis* [Jer-73:172r]
hope:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 complete-GEN the:GEN honor-GEN-for
"those who are poor in spirit and humble of heart, and who hunger and thirst for eternal righteousness and yearn for complete honor." (expected: *h-š-i-a, s-c'q'ur-i-a, Ø-sur-i-a*)

{22} *amat* *mo-**Ø**-u-g-i-**an*** *didebuleba-y* *igi* *sul-isa-y* [Jer-73:126v]
these:DAT receive:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 greatness-NOM the soul-GEN-NOM
"They have received greatness of spirit." (expected: *mo-Ø-u-g-i-e-s*)

As far as I know, Jer-73 is the only manuscript from the early Middle Georgian period where number agreement marking of this sort occurs. Both of the patterning shifts exemplified in {20}-{22} involve extension of the semantic domain of Set S plural morphemes in order to agree in number with NPs controlling Set O agreement. Put another way, the underlying feature matrix for Set O has been realigned to correspond to that of Set S, and Set S morphological material has been exploited for the expression of this new alignment.

{23} **Realignment of Set O feature matrix (Middle Georgian).**

Set S		*Set O*	
v- <1,-pl>	v- -t <1,+pl>	m- <1,-pl>	gw- <1,+pl>
Ø- <2,-pl>	Ø- -t <2,+pl>	g- <2,-pl>	g- **-t** <2,+pl>
-s/a/n <3,-pl>	-an/en/es <3,+pl>	h/Ø- <3,-pl>	h/Ø- **-t** <3,+pl>
			— ***or*** —
			gw- <1,+pl>
			g- **-an** <2,+pl>
			h/Ø- **-an** <3,+pl>

It may well be the case that the reinterpretation of the old inclusive/exclusive opposition in Set O, already underway in the early Old Georgian period, paved the way for this change by introducing the category of number to the feature matrix of the Set O system.

One major difference between the Set S and Set O systems of early Middle Georgian must be emphasized. Set S number agreement for all 1st and 2nd person arguments, and for 3rd person arguments in the n/t plural, was essentially obligatory. The exceptions, such as example {15}, were rare. The new Set O number agreement suffixes, by contrast, were not used in all circumstances where they might be applicable. (Until the 17th century, in fact, they appeared only very sporadically). Consider example {20}: the first verb does not agree in number with its 2pl IO, but the second verb does. In the case of 3pl Set O arguments, those controlling number agreement in these 11th-12th century texts were invariably the SSs of their clauses, a restriction which did not apply to 2pl DAT NPs. Until the 11th century all Class P verbs, and the series III screeves of Class A verbs, were treated alike by the morphosyntax. Only the NOM NP (the grammatical subject) could control number agreement, and never the DAT NP.

The Middle Georgian period saw the development of two conjugational patterns, reflecting the underlying syntax of the clause. The majority of verbs continued to agree in number with 3pl NOM arguments, but not 3pl DAT arguments. Such verbs will be referred to as allowing DIRECT CONJUGATION — i.e. singular and plural Set S agreement for all three persons.

{24} **Direct conjugation: Set S agreement.**

da-**v**-e-malv-i-**Ø**	"I will hide from him/her/them"
da-**v**-e-malv-i-**t**	"Wewill hide from him/her/them"
da-**Ø**-e-malv-i-**Ø**	"You$_{sg}$ will hide from him/her/them"
da-**Ø**-e-malv-i-**t**	"You$_{pl}$ will hide from him/her/them"
da-Ø-e-malv-i-**s**	"He/she/they will hide from him/her/them"
da-Ø-e-malv-i-**an**	"They will hide from him/her/them"

On the other hand, number agreement in Set O only is possible in the 1st and 2nd persons, not the 3rd:

{25} **Direct conjugation: Set O agreement.**

da-**m**-e-malv-i-s	"He/she will hide from me"
da-**gw**-e-malv-i-s	"He/she will hide from us"
da-**g**-e-malv-i-s	"He/she will hide from you$_{sg/pl}$"
da-**g**-e-malv-i-s-**t**	"He/she will hide from you$_{pl}$"
da-**Ø**-e-malv-i-s	"He/she will hide from him/her/them"
(*da-**Ø**-e-malv-i-s-**t**	"He/she will hide from them")

The new pattern for indirect verbs and series III forms of Class A verbs which came into use at this time is so-called INDIRECT CONJUGATION, that is, singular and plural Set O agreement in all three persons.

{26} **Indirect conjugation: Set O agreement.**

m-c'q'ur-i-a	"I am thirsty"
gw-c'q'ur-i-a	"We are thirsty"
g-c'q'ur-i-a	"You$_{sg/pl}$ are thirsty"
g-c'q'ur-i-a-**t** / **g**-c'q'ur-i-**an**	"You$_{pl}$ are thirsty"
s-c'q'ur-i-a	"He/she/they are thirsty"
s-c'q'ur-i-a-**t** / **s**-c'q'ur-i-**an**	"They are thirsty"

The first verbs attested as allowing indirect conjugation had formal IOs associated with experiencer or agent semantic roles. These arguments displayed many real-subject properties of the sort discussed in chapter II. The association of indirect conjugation with these verbs in particular, and not with all verbs having IOs, implies that at least some Georgian speakers in the 12th century were employing radically different criteria for determining potential for number agreement than those indicated in earlier Georgian texts:

{27} **Syntax and agreement in Old and Middle Georgian**

syntax:	*direct (MS = SS)*	*indirect (MO = SS)*
conjugation (Old Geo.):	DIRECT	DIRECT
conjugation (Middle Geo.):	DIRECT	**DIRECT or INDIRECT**

In early Old Georgian the two properties of the NP qualifying it for control of number agreement were determined by the verb: (1) case; (2) the set of agreement markers with which the NP was crossreferenced. The new developments in the early Middle Georgian period reflect the relevance of at least two new criteria: grammatical role and person.

The significance of person for the number agreement process, of course, goes back to at least the 8th-9th centuries, when the Set O prefix gw- was reinterpreted as a marker of 1st plural agreement. This set up distinct number agreement privileges for 1st as against 2nd and 3rd persons. When the new Set O plural number agreement markers came into use, they were employed more readily in conjunction with 2nd than 3rd person NPs. There is evidence of non-SS 2pl IOs controlling number agreement (e.g. the second verb in {20}), but all of the 3pl MOs controlling number agreement were functioning as SSs. (In other words, number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments did not imply that the verb in question allowed indirect syntax). The available evidence is compatible with a person hierarchy:

1st person: *obligatory number agreement in Set O*
2nd person: *optional number agreement in Set O*
3rd person: *optional number agreement in Set O with SSs*

As was mentioned at the end of Chapter V, the morpheme q'e is first attested in the early Middle Georgian period. According to Sarjveladze [1984:567-8], this particle appears in at least eight 12th century texts, from western as well as eastern Georgia [see also Abuladze 1973:465]. The following two examples are from the 12th-century Gelati Bible and Rustaveli's *The knight in the tiger's skin* (c. 1200), respectively. (In the second excerpt, q'e marks the plurality of the recipients of the fresh arrows (Rostevan and Avtandil), who are correlated with zero anaphors throughout this passage).

{28} *ra-ysa-twis mo-x-wed-i-t čem-da; mo, ac' odes g-i-qm-**q'e** me*
what-GEN-for come:IIp:S_{2pl} me-ADV here now when need:Ip:O_{2pl}:S_{1sg} me:NOM
"For this reason you$_{pl}$ came to me; come, now that you$_{pl}$ need me." [Gelati Bible 276v]

{29} *mi-Ø-xocd-es da mi-i-srod-es, mindor-s sisxl-ita mi-Ø-a-sxmid-es;*
slaughter:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3 and shoot:Ia:S_{3pl} field-DAT blood-INS smear:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
*ra isar-i da-Ø-e-liv-is, mona-n-i-**q'e** mi-Ø-a-rtmid-es*
what arrow-NOM exhaust:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_3 servant-PL-NOM-pl proffer:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
"They slew and shot, drenching the field with blood; whenever their arrows ran out, servants brought them more." [VT 75:2,3]

The particle q'e fulfills a function similar to that of -t and -an in exs {20}-{22}. A significant difference between q'e and the latter is the lack of any real-subjecthood constraint on the use of q'e in conjunction with 3pl Set O arguments (as in the second example above), even though q'e, like -t and -an, is never obligatory with plural arguments.

Another difference is that q'e does not appear to have been appropriated from another morphological subsystem. Its origins remain obscure. As I argued in the appendix to the previous chapter, it is probably the case that the range of q'e in the modern dialects and Old Georgian does not represent its original distribution. It marks number agreement with plural 2nd and 3rd person Set O arguments, but is never attested coding the plurality of 1pl Set O arguments. This indicates

that q'e, like -t and -an, was recruited to fill out the Set O paradigm after the feature <plural> was introduced:

{30} **Evolution of Set O marking in Georgian**

Stage I		⇒	*Stage II*		⇒	*Stage III*		
m-	<+sp, -ad>		m-	<1, -pl>		m-	<1, -pl>	gw- <1, +pl>
gw-	<+sp, +ad>		gw-	<1, +pl>				
g-	<-sp, +ad>		g-	<2>		g-	<2>	g- **-t/an/q'e** <2, +pl>
x/Ø-	<-sp, -ad>		h/Ø-	<3>		h/Ø-	<3>	h- **-t/an/q'e** <3, +pl>

-t $S_{1/2}$ *pluralizer*
-an S_{3pl} *suffix*
-q'e ?verbal plurality marker

I should make one point clear: The preceding discussion concerns a small number of attested forms. Most texts from this period did not depart from Old Georgian norms where number agreement was concerned. Except for two uses of q'e, Rustaveli rigidly observed the earlier agreement pattern in his poem. Note the lack of number agreement with a 2pl DAT SS in {31}, and presence of number agreement with a plural NOM DO in {32}.

{31} *tkwen* *ertmanert-i* *ar* *mo-g-xvd-es* [VT 919:4]
you$_{pl}$:DAT each.other-NOM not meet:IIp:O_2:S_{3sg}
"You$_{pl}$ will not meet each other." (ModGeo: *mo-g-xvd-e-t*)

{32} *avtandil-s-ca* *a-Ø-e-t'ir-**n**-**es**,* *gardmo-q'ar-**n**-a*
A.-DAT-also weep:IIIa:O_3:S_{3pl}:PLNOM gush:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM
creml-n-i *cxel-n-i* [VT 1125:2]
tear-PL-NOM hot-PL-NOM
"Avtandil likewise had begun to weep and gushed forth hot tears."

§7.4. Late Middle Georgian (14th-18th centuries).

The Georgian Golden Age was brought to an abrupt end by a devastating wave of invasions from the east. The Khorezmians under Jalal ad-Din swept through Georgia in 1230, followed soon afterwards by the Mongols. In the 14th century Tamurlane invaded Georgia eight times, leaving the eastern half of the country in ruins. There was, understandably, little literary activity in the years 1250-1400. The ecclesiastical and administrative documents from this period [Shoshiashvili (ed) 1984:121-196; Ch'ank'ieva & Jghamaia (eds) 1979:254-305] give no evidence of deviation from Old Georgian norms for number agreement.[69]

A wider range of texts comes down to us from the 15th-16th centuries, including the Georgian versions of the Persian epic *Shah-Name* and some sections of the chronicle *Kartlis cxovreba* [K'ek'elidze & Baramidze 1969:313; Brosset (ed) 1849]. The employment of -t as a Set O number agreement marker is attested [K'iziria 1954]:

[69]The solitary exception known to me occurs in a passage from the early 14th c. *mariam dedopliseuli kartlis cxovreba* cited in K'ek'elidze [1981 II:302]:
da *arca* *sjul-i* *Ø-u-c-**t*** *cud-isa* *sakm-isa* *kmnad* [line 625]
and not-also faith-NOM lie:Ip:**O_{3pl}:**S_3 bad-GEN deed-GEN doing-ADV
"nor do they <DAT> have a belief <NOM> in performing evil deeds"

{33} *p'ur-i* *mo-**h**-kond-a-**t*** *okro-s* *pas-eb-ši*
bread-NOM bring:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} gold-GEN price-PL-in
"They brought bread at the price of gold." [Shah-Name (K'edelauri, c.1500)]

{34} *man* *mo-**g**-c-es-**t**,* *ra-s-ac* *igi* *da-**g**-p'ireb-i-a*
he:ERG give:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}** what-DAT he:NOM promise:IIIp:S_{3sg}:**O_2**
"He will give you$_{pl}$ what he has promised you$_{pl}$." [Shah-Name 1396:4]

As the last example indicates, there continued to be variability in the use of -t, even within adjacent sentences in the same text. The earliest manuscripts of the "Chronicle of the Georgian kings" (part of the *Kartlis cxovreba*), which date from the 15th c., have only a handful of instances of number agreement in -t with Set O NPs (e.g. *šiši Ø-a-kwnd-a-t nebrotian-ta* "The Nebrotians <DAT> were afraid"). In the vast majority of cases, number agreement was as in Old Georgian (e.g. *Ø-a-kwnd-a šiši sp'ars-ta* "The Persians <DAT> were afraid") [Sarjveladze et al 1986]. Elsewhere in this work we find evidence of at least one indirect verb allowing both direct and indirect conjugation. It is attested agreeing in number with both 3pl Set S and 3pl Set O arguments.

{35} *col-krmob-isa-twis* *ara* ***Ø**-u-čnd-a-**t*** *natesaoba* [Kart. cx. I:16,8]
marriage-GEN-for not appear:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} relation:NOM
"They <MO/SS> did not recognize a relationship <MS/SO> of marriage."
[indirect conjugation]

{36} *romel-n-i-igi* *γmert-ad* *Ø-u-čnd-**es*** *er-sa* *mas* *kartl-isa-sa*
which-PL-NOM-the god-ADV appear:Ip:O_3:S_{3pl} people-DAT the:DAT K.-GEN-DAT
"which <MS/SO> the people <MO/SS> of Kartli regarded as gods" [ibid I:90,2]
[direct conjugation]

Number agreement with NOM RDOs in series II and III was still the general practice in 15th-16th c. writings, but exceptions were becoming more frequent [K'iziria 1954:148]. Ex. {41} with number agreement, and {42} without come from the same text.

{37} *or-n-i-ve* *mqar-n-i* *amo-i-q'ar-**n**-a*
two-PL-NOM-EMP spear-PL-NOM throw:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:PLNOM
"He threw both spears." [Shah-Name 372:14]

{38} *me* *da-v-lec'-o* *ʒval-n-i* *mat-n-i*
I:ERG rend:IIa:S_{1sg}:O_3 bone-PL-NOM their-PL-NOM
"I will break their bones." [ibid 2175:4]

In the case of eb-plural NPs, the first evidence of what is to become a major syntactic realignment — the association between animacy and the ability to control number agreement — is found in this period. In the passage cited below [K'ek'elidze & Baramidze 1969:313], the verb *xrevdian* agrees in number with an eb-plural NOM NP with animate reference (*cxen-eb-i* "horses"), but neither of the two NPs with inanimate reference controls number agreement (even though one is in the n-plural form):

{39} *xe-sa* *xrevd-i-**an*** *cxen-eb-i,* *k'bil-eb-i* *garda-s-cvdebod-**a***
tree-DAT gnaw:Ia:S_{3pl} horse-PL-NOM tooth-PL-NOM wear:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_3
cxen-isa *qorc-n-i* *vercxl-tana* *c'on-ad* *ar* *i-šovebod-**a***
horse-GEN flesh-PL-NOM silver-with weight-ADV not find:Ip:S_{3sg}
"Horses were gnawing on trees until their teeth wore down; horse meat could not be obtained for its weight in silver." [Shah-Name (K'edelauri)]

The end of the Middle Georgian period, the 17th-18th centuries, saw a rebirth of literary activity, highlighted by the construction of the first Georgian-language printing press under the direction of King Vaxt'ang VI (reigned 1719-1733). Important writers from this period include Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (1658-1725), Davit Guramishvili (1705-1792), and several Georgian kings, including Vaxt'ang himself. The newer syntactic norms are very much in evidence in late Middle Georgian texts, even as many of the Old Georgian rules were maintained. The following passage, from an 18th-century version of the *Kartlis cxovreba* is a case in point [Brosset (ed) 1849:35]:

{40} *uk'uetu . .* ***g**-nebav-s-**t*** *mepe-d* *tkwen-da* *ʒe* *čemi,*
if want:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_{3sg} king-ADV you_{pl}:ADV son:NOM my
tkwen *q'ovel-ta* *eristav-ta* *mo-m-e-c-i-t* *me*
you_{pl}:ERG all:ERGPL prince-ERGPL give:IIa:S_{2pl}:O_{1sg} me:DAT
mʒeval-i, *da* *mo-**g**-c-e* *ʒe* *čemi* *mepe-d*
hostage-NOM and give:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_2** son:NOM my:NOM king-ADV
tkwen-da, *da* *q'ovl-ita-ve* *nič'-ita* *aɣ-**g**-a-vs-**n**-e.*
$your_{pl}$-ADV and all-INS gift-INS fill:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_2**:**PLNOM**
"If you want my son as your king, all you princes must me a hostage, and I will give you my son as your king, and lavish all kinds of gifts upon you."

The first verb in this passage has a 2pl IO (=SS) with which it agrees in number, employing the suffix -t for this purpose. An earlier manuscript, dated 1640, has *g-nebav-s,* without number agreement, in this sentence [Sarjveladze et al 1986:21-22]. The verb *mo-g-c-e* shows no number agreement with its 2pl recipient (cp. ModGeo *mo-g-c-e-t* "I would give it to you_{pl}"). The last verb also lacks the Set O plural marker -t, but it does contain the pluralizer -(e)n-, indicating a plural NOM DO (in this case, 2pl). The modern Georgian form of this verb would be *a-g-a-vs-o-t* "I would fill you_{pl} up." Number agreement in (e)n with NOM DOs is still found fairly consistently in the later (17th-18th c.) manuscripts of the *Kartlis cxovreba*, e.g.:

{41} *da* *še-a-b-**n**-a* *k'ar-n-i* *kvit-k'ir-ita*
and bind:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:**PLNOM** door-PL-NOM stone-lime-INS
"And he sealed the doors with cement." [I:17 (Brosset, p 34)]

Plurals in eb are very rare, even in the later versions of the *Kartlis cxovreba* (2 of 100 formally plural nouns in a sample from Brosset 1849:32-37), and do not control number agreement. Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is found more frequently than in the earlier texts [Sarjveladze et al 1986:21-22], e.g.:

{42} *da-**Ø**-e-banak'-a-**t*** *ior-sa* *zeda* [I:45,19 (18th c. ms.)]
camp:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} Iori-DAT on
"They had camped by the Iori River." (cp. *da-Ø-e-banak'-a* in 16th-17th c. mss.)

In Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani's writings, number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is almost always used, and number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs generally occurs, even in Orbeliani's stylistically conservative devotional works:

{43} *γvino da p'ur-i mo-Ø-a-k'ldeb-i-s-**t***
wine:NOM and bread-NOM lack:Ip:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$
"They will lack wine and bread." [sc'avla simtrvalisatwis]

{44} *raoden-**ta** tav-i twis-i mo-Ø-u-k'lav-s-**t** . . . . anu*
how.many-DATPL self-NOM own-NOM kill:IIIa:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$ or
*raoden-**n**-i Ø-u-naxv-**an** . . simtrval-ita mk'vdar-n-i?*
how.many-PL-NOM see:IIIa:O$_3$:S$_{3pl}$ drunkenness-INS dead-PL-NOM
"How many have killed themselves, . . . or how many has he seen dead from drunkenness?" [sc'avla simtrvalisatwis]

This second passage indicates that for Orbeliani, both subjective conjugation (the earlier norm) and objective conjugation (the newer norm) were possible with Class A verbs in series III. The verb *mo-Ø-u-k'lav-s-t* shows number agreement with its DAT SS (MO), while *Ø-u-naxv-an* agrees with its 3pl RDO (MS).

The Old Georgian number agreement rule for NOM DOs in series II is still observed in the majority of cases by Orbeliani, especially in the religious works. In his famous book of fables (*sibrzne-sicruisa*) some deviation from this rule is evident, but still relatively little. In the following sentence, the first verb agrees with its n-plural DO, but the second does not.

{45} *tval-n-i c'a-Ø-u-xv-**n**-es samepo-d da*
gem-PL-NOM take:IIa:S$_{3pl}$:O$_3$:PLNOM palace-ADV and
k'ac-n-i sik'vdil-sa še-Ø-a-b-es
man-PL-NOM death-DAT bind:IIa:S$_{3pl}$:O$_3$ [sibr.-sicr. "ubed. didvač'."]
"They took the gems away to the palace, and tied the men up for execution."

Plurals in eb are rare in Orbeliani's religious writings; in the secular *sibrzne-sicruisa* they make up about one-fifth of the formally plural nouns. The number agreement mechanism still favors plurals in n, but number agreement with eb plurals, especially if animate, is found too:

{46} *sxva mezobl-eb-i agarak'-ta adgil-ta c'ar-sul-i-q'v-**n-es***
other neighbor-PL-NOM country-GENPL place-DATPL go:IIIp:S$_{3pl}$**:PLNOM**
"Other neighbors had gone away to places in the country." [ibid]

Letters written by members of the Georgian court during the 17th century have a slightly more modern appearance than other documents of the time. Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is the rule rather than the exception. Interesting irregularities in number agreement result from the use of 2pl and 3pl forms to denote the (referentially singular) addressee. This manner of coding deference is not attested in Old Georgian or early Middle Georgian. In these letters one observes, on the one hand, frequent lack of number agreement with the 2pl pronoun *tkven* when used with singular reference, and on the other hand, instances of **3pl** number agreement with formally singular NPs denoting the addressee. The following examples are excerpted from letters written by King Bagrat IV in 1677 to the Russian court [Brosset (ed) 1861:95-7]. Particularly striking is the nonoccurrence

in the first sentence below of the **Set S** number agreement suffix -t in conjunction with *tkven*. Throughout the Old Georgian period, number agreement in Set S with the 1pl and 2pl pronouns was absolutely exceptionless. Bagrat, using the 2pl pronoun as a polite form of the singular, vacillated between form-based and referentially-based number agreement.[70]

{47} *da tkven* *c'ign-s* *mo-gv-c'er-**Ø*** [op cit: 97]
and you(**pl** = polite sg) letter-DAT write:Ia:**S_{2sg}**:O_{1pl}
"And you will write us a letter"

In the same letter, several 3sg NPs referring to the addressee (Tsar Alexis of Russia) are associated with 3pl agreement as a sign of deference, parallel to the use of 2pl pronouns with singular reference, and the "royal we" [Comrie 1975; Corbett 1979:208]. This usage is directly parallel to — and perhaps modelled after — a usage once common in the Slavic languages (e.g. Russian *vaše vysokoblagorodie prikazali* "your worship <neuter sg> ordered **<3pl>** . . . "):

{48} *bednier-s qemc'ipe-s* *q'ur-i* ***Ø-**e-gd-o-**t**,* *c'q'alob-is*
fortunate-DAT ruler-DAT ear-NOM throw:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} mercy-GEN
tval-it *mo-**Ø**-e-xed-a-**t**,* *dabeč'duli* *c'ign-i-c*
eye-INS look-IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} sealed letter-NOM-also
Ø**-e-boʒ-a-**t *da* *c'q'aloba-c* ***Ø**-e-kn-a-**t***
grant:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} and mercy:NOM-also do:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"May the well-favored sovereign lend an ear, look with merciful eyes,
grant a sealed letter, and do a gracious act." [Brosset (ed) 1861:97]

The range as well as the frequency of number agreement in -t with 3pl DAT NPs increases in late Middle Georgian. Here are some examples from various 17th-18th century sources.[71]

{49} *da man* *grʒneb-ita* *twis-ita* *da-Ø-a-brm-o* *kek'ap'os* *mepe*
and he:ERG sorcery:INS his:INS blind:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 K. king:NOM
da *sp'a* *misi* *da* *ver* *še-vid-a* *lek'et-s,* *da*
and army:NOM his and can't enter:IIp:S_{3sg} L.-DAT and

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[70]In a discussion of Georgian deference-indexing verbs, Shanidze [1953:531-5] includes the following charming example from the *Rusudaniani*, a 17th-18th c. collection of didactic tales:

tetrman *gvelman* *Ø-u-txr-a* *šav-sa:* ***tkven*** *upros-i*
white-ERG snake-ERG say:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 black-DAT you(pl = polite sg) elder-NOM
*xar-**Ø**-o* *da* *umravles-i* ***g**-i-nax-a-o.* ***tkven*** *bʒan-e-**t***
be:Ip:**S_{2sg}**-QT and more-NOM see:IIIa:**O_{2sg}**:S_{3sg}-QT you(pl) command:IIa:**S_{2pl}**:O_3
da, tu ram *v-i-c-i,* *me-c* *mo-**g**-a-xseneb-o.*
and if what know:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_3I:NOM-also remind:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_2**-QT

"The white snake said to the black one: You are older and have seen more.
You 'command' and I, if I know anything, 'remind' you."

This passage refers to medieval Georgian verbs of saying. Higher-status individuals "commanded" their inferiors, while the latter "dared" or "reminded" their superiors. Only people of equal rank "told" or "said" things to each other. Note how all of the verbs in the excerpt mark 2sg agreement with *tkven*, save the high-to-low verb of saying *b(r)ʒanet*.

[71]One especially useful source of quotations from late Middle Georgian documents is the card-file compiled by the research staff of the Rustaveli Commission [G. C'ereteli Oriental Institute, Tbilisi], who graciously granted me access to their materials.

uk'mo-i-kc-a, *da* *mašin-γa* *gan-**Ø**-u-natld-a-**t*** *tval-eb-i*
turn.around:IIp:S_{3sg} and then-EMP light:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} eye-PL-NOM
"And by sorcery he blinded King Kek'ap'os and his army, and he (K.) could not enter Lek'eti, so he turned back; and just then sight was restored to their (Kek'ap'os and his army's) eyes." [kart. cx. (Brosset 1849:24)]

{50} *saxelo-si* *barat-i* *še-**Ø**-rčebod-es-**t***
office-GEN note-NOM remain:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"a certificate of office would remain for them" [samart.IV 253:25 (1713)]

{51} *cileb-isa-gan* *šur-isa* *opl-man* *da-**Ø**-a-sx-a-**t*** *(mat)*
rivalry-GEN-from envy-GEN sweat-ERG pour:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** them:DAT
"Due to their rivalry, the sweat of envy poured over them." [kilila (c.1700) 203:35]

The NPs with which these verbs agree in number are not necessarily functioning as SSs. They denote possessors, beneficiaries and patients rather than agents and experiencers. Example {51} is particularly significant, in that the verb is from Class A, and the IO, rather than SS, controls number agreement (*oplman **mat** daasxat*). All of the verbs that have allowed indirect conjugation have been, until now, either indirect Class P verbs, or the series III forms of Class A verbs.

The sentences in {49}-{51} have the following two characteristics in common, neither of which has had significant impact on the syntax in earlier periods of literary Georgian: (a) The MS of each verb has inanimate reference, while the MO has animate reference; (b) The MO is represented by a zero anaphor. Both factors will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Finally, it should be mentioned that of the two other morphological strategies for coding plural DAT-case NPs which appeared in the 11th-12th centuries (i.e. the clitic q'e and the use of S_{3pl} suffixes), neither received wide-spread attestation in the written records of the succeeding centuries. Dzidziguri [1970:52] has collected some specimens from 16th-18th century documents of western Georgian origin:

{52} *amisi* *per-i* ***Ø**-kond-**en*** [Guria, c. 1650]
this-GEN type-NOM have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3
"They had such a one."

{53} *tkven . . .* *sik'vdil-it* *ara* ***g**-i-šavd-**en*** [Lechxumi, c. 1710]
you$_{pl}$-DAT death-INS not harm:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_3
"You$_{pl}$ would not be harmed by death."

{54} *vinca* *usamartlod . . .* *čamo-**g**-i-xd-es-**q'e*** [Imereti c. 1520]
who:NOM unjustly plunder:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"anyone who would unjustly deprive you$_{pl}$"

In written Georgian the extension of the S_{3pl} suffixes -an/-en to use in conjunction with plural Set O arguments is only attested — and sporadically at that — in documents of west Georgian origin.

The particle q'e was more widely used in Middle Georgian. In addition to appearing in west Georgian texts such as the above, q'e cropped up from time to time in works written in Tbilisi.

Among the noted authors who have used it we can include the 18th-century grammarian Catholicos Ant'on I (example {55}, cited in Schuchardt [1897:280]) and Orbeliani [*sc'avla simtrvalisa*]:

{55} *romel-n-i-ca zep'ir sc'avl-ad* ***Ø**-u-xm-s-**q'e*** *axal ɣrammat'ik'os-ta*
which-PL-NOM orally learn-ADV need:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_{3sg} young grammarian-DATPL
" . . . which young grammarians need to memorize"

{56} *krist'e-s siq'warul-isa survil-sa mi-**s**-t'aceb-s-**q'e***
Christ-GEN love-GEN wish-DAT abduct:Ia:S_{3sg}:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$
"It will take away the desire for the love of Christ from them."

Compared to the near-universal acceptance by the end of the Middle Georgian period of -t as a Set O plural number agreement marker for written Georgian, the role played by -en/an and q'e in this capacity was decidedly minor. Neither is accepted in the modern literary language as a means of coding number agreement with Set O NPs.

CHAPTER VIII. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN LITERARY GEORGIAN, 2: MODERN STANDARD GEORGIAN.

§8.1. Transitional period (18th-19th centuries).

The considerable variation in morphosyntactic patterning observed in works by Late Middle Georgian authors implies a diglossic situation. The gap was widening between the norms of Old Georgian and those of the current spoken language. Consider for example the literary styles of Vaxt'ang VI and Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani. Both men were raised and educated by families of high rank, and were close associates in both literary and diplomatic affairs. It is not unreasonable to assume that these two writers spoke closely similar idiolects of early-18th-century upper-class Tbilisi Georgian. They differed noticeably in the extent to which the norms of their spoken language were reflected in the Old Georgian-based literary idiolects they employed [cp. Nik'olaishvili 1978:105-6]. If one charts their use of number agreement with 3pl arguments, a significant difference becomes apparent. (figures in parentheses indicate number of cases of nonagreement for number):

{1} **Number agreement with NOM and ERG arguments**

		n/t - plural		***eb - plural***	
		SS	*DO*	*SS*	*DO*
Orbeliani	**animate:**	57 (0)	11 (9)	5 (0)	0 (12)
	inanim.:	11 (4)	6 (1)	1 (2)	0 (6)
Vaxt'ang	**animate:**	7 (0)	1 (0)	— —	— —
	inanim.:	4 (8)	2 (9)	0 (10)	0 (8)

The figures for Orbeliani are based on a 60-page sample from the *sibrʒne-sicruisa*, a collection of fables which is written in a less elevated style than that characteristic of Orbeliani's religious writings. Plural marking in n/t predominates, and SSs thus marked almost always control number agreement. NOM-case DOs in ni still control number agreement in the majority of cases. Animacy has almost no effect on either of these phenomena. While the number of exceptions has increased, the pattern has not radically changed from that of Old Georgian. As for eb plurals, the one significant change is the occurrence of number agreement with animate SSs, but not elsewhere. This is the dominant pattern characteristic of Modern Georgian. Orbeliani appears to have observed the Old Georgian norm in connection with n/t NPs, and the Modern Georgian norm in the case of eb plurals.

The sample of Vaxt'ang's works available to me is small. He clearly used a higher proportion of eb plural nouns (50% of the total, for all cases) than his contemporaries. Most of the plural SSs and DOs I found in Vaxt'ang's poetry had inanimate reference. The eb plurals never controlled number agreement, and even the n/t plurals did so only a quarter of the time. All seven n-plural animate SSs controlled number agreement.

The poets Davit Guramishvili (1705-1792) and Aleksandre Ch'avch'avadze (1786-1846) can be considered Modern Georgian writers as far as number agreement is concerned. Number agreement with 2pl DAT NPs and 3pl DAT SSs is the rule, as in the works of Orbeliani and Vaxt'ang. Further, number agree-ment in -(e)n- with NOM DOs is very sporadic (in a sample of Guramishvili's poetry it occurs for 3 of 16 n-plural DOs; for A. Ch'avch'avadze, 1 of 15).

In Shanshovani's Georgian grammar of 1737, (e)n agreement with NOM DOs is neither mentioned nor used. Likewise, the fable "Miriani," written around 1770, reflects Modern Georgian number agreement norms exclusively [Boch'iashvili 1978:129]. In Nik'oloz Baratashvili's long

poem *bedi kartlisa* ("The fate of Kartli," composed in 1839) number agreement in -(e)n- with DOs does not occur at all:

{2} *bind-ma* *ga-h-q'ar-a* *mebrʒol-n-i* *mt'er-n-i*
dusk-ERG separate:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 fighting-PL-NOM enemy-PL-NOM
"Dusk separated the battling enemies." [line 78]

Animate SSs in the eb plural consistently control number agreement, e.g:

{3} *irak'li-m* *i-c-i-s* *rome* *kartvel-eb-s* *ara-d*
I.-ERG know:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3 that Georgian-PL-DAT nothing-ADV
*mi-**Ø**-a-čnd-i-**t*** *ubedureba,* *tu* ***Ø**-a-kv-**t*** *twis-t*
seem:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_3 misfortune:NOM if have:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_3 own-GENPL
č'er-t *kveš* *tavisupleba* [lines 270-1]
roof-GENPL under freedom:NOM
"Irak'li knows that the Georgians think nothing of misfortune, as long as they have freedom beneath their own roofs."

The relative proportion of eb to n/t plurals remained low in mid-19th century poetry, but is quite high in prose works of this time. For example, 32 of 50 formally plural nouns in a sample of Ilia Ch'avach'avadze's poetry were marked with n/t, but only 21 of 100 in pp 1-30 of his book *k'acia — adamiani* (1869). The correlation between animacy and number agreement for eb-plural NPs is easily discernable in the latter work:

{4} **Agreement with 3pl NOM and ERG NPs:**

		n/t - plural		*eb* - plural	
		SS	*DO*	*SS*	*D0*
Ilia — *prose*	**animate:**	8 (0)	— —	24 (0)	0 (5)
(1869)	**inanim.:**	1 (0)	— —	1 (10)	0 (14)

{5} uc'in ar i-q'-**o** magis-tana amb-eb-i, xorciel-eb-i ar i'q'v-**nen**
before not be:IIp:S_{3sg} this-kind news-PL-NOM fleshly-PL-NOM not be:Ip:$\mathbf{S_{3pl}}$
"Earlier such things did not happen <no NA>, there were <NA> no people." [p 43]

§8.2. Number agreement in Modern Standard Georgian

During the latter half of the 19th century a vigorous debate was taking place concerning the basis of the literary language. Some, most prominently the Orthodox Catholicos Ant'on I, wished to continue using a standard based on the norms of Old Georgian. Others argued that the written language should more closely reflect the spoken language, and in particular the dialects spoken in the vicinity of Tbilisi [Imnaishvili 1974:9]. It was this second group, led by the prominent writers Ilia Ch'avch'avadze, Ak'ak'i C'ereteli and Iak'ob Gogebashvili, that prevailed, though, as the facts presented above indicate, their triumph led to the official recognition of a fait accompli and not the imposition of a radically new set of norms. In this section we will examine the morphosyntax of number agreement as it is reflected in standard contemporary Georgian usage. Sources include both recent published works and elicitation sessions conducted by the author in Tbilisi (Sept 1985 — June 1986) with educated speakers of the standard dialect. Where possible, attestations in

belles-lettres or scholarly literature have been sought to corroborate elicited constructions. In this chapter, the term "Modern Georgian" refers to this standard dialect, suitable for written use.

§8.2.1. Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments.

Until the 8th century, the Set O prefix m- was associated with 1st exclusive and gw- with 1st inclusive. Inconsistencies are apparent in 8th century Haemet'i texts, and the shift to a singular/plural opposition is complete by the end of the 10th century. Until the 11th century, number agreement with 2pl DAT arguments was not attested; and number agreement with 2pl NOM DOs was only marked by -(e)n-. Beginning in the 11th century number agreement in -t is attested with 2pl Set O arguments. This number agreement pattern is practially obligatory by the 18th century. After these two realignments were complete, number agreement was fully incorporated into the Set S and O person-marking systems for 1st and 2nd person arguments:

{6}	**Set S**				**Set O**	
	singular		*plural*		*singular*	*plural*
1st:	v-	-Ø	v-	-t	m-	gw-
2nd:	Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-t	g-	g- -t

This agreement is completely automatic, not subject to the influence of semantic or discourse-structural factors. Any 1st or 2nd person MS or MO controls both person and number agreement. The addition of the Set O 2nd and 3rd person plural suffix -t to the verb can be blocked by a S_{3pl} desinence, however; see Appendix 3 following this chapter.

There is evidence that for at least some 19th-century writers, the S_1 and S_2 suffixes were portmanteau morphs, as is the case for S_3 marking. As mentioned in Chapter V, plural NOM arguments of Class P verbs marked with the preradical vowels -i-/-e- controlled double number agreement in series II and III; e.g. *čwen da-v-i-mal-**en**-i-**t*** "we hid ourselves." These forms remained in use throughout the Middle Georgian period and into the modern period. Number agreement in -(e)n- with plural NOM MSs of prefixal Class P verbs still occurred in the usage of some mid-19th century writers:

{7} *tkven hei! čamo-m-e-cal-**en**-i-**t**!*
you_{pl} hey stand.aside:IIp:$\mathbf{S_{2pl}}$:O_{1sg}
"Hey you! Get out of my way!"[I. Gogebashvili deda ena II:48 (1876)]
(std. ModGeo *čamo-m-e-cal-e-t*)

In the verb paradigms given in Shanshovani [1737], prefixal Class P verbs without infixed en in the 1pl and 2pl predominate, but forms with en are attested several times. (This variation is nowhere commented upon by Shanshovani.) Shanidze's 1953 reference grammar allows prefixal Class P forms both with and without (e)n in series II and III screeves [1953:460-71]; e.g.

{8}	*singular*	*plural*
1st:	davimale	davimal-**en-**it / davimalet
2nd:	daimale	daimal-**en-**it / daimalet
3rd:	daimala	daimal-**n-**en
	"I / we / you_{sg} / you_{pl} / she,he / they hid"	

Shanidze notes that the 1st/2nd plural forms without en are displacing the older forms in usage. These older 1st/2nd plural forms are no longer mentioned in more recent pedagogical grammars of Modern Georgian (e.g. K'vach'adze 1981:288-90).

What was the synchronic motivation for the en suffix occurring in the above two late 19th-century examples? An examination of verb forms occurring in a sample drawn from the prose works of Gogebashvili and I. Ch'avch'avadze indicates that [a] number agreement in (e)n with plural NOM DOs was not used by either author, and [b] the S_{3pl} suffix -nen was used in the same contexts as in modern Georgian. The S_{3pl} suffix -nen found in Modern Georgian aorist, optative and imperfect screeves came about through reanalysis of the earlier number agreement suffix -(e)n- followed by S_{3pl} -en; e.g. *igini da-i-mal-n-en* "they would hide themselves" ⇒ *igini da-i-mal-nen*. In view of these facts, it may be the case that for Gogebashvili, Ch'avch'avadze and other late 19th-century authors who used the older conjugation pattern for prefixal Class P verbs, the (e)n infix was not perceived as a distinct morpheme, but rather as part of the Set S plural endings, as shown below.

{9} **Plural Set S endings for Series II Class P verbs (19th c. Geo.)**

	prefixal Class P				*other Class P*			
	aorist		*optative*		*aorist*		*optative*	
S_{1pl} :	v-	-enit	v-	-net	v-	-it	v-	-et
S_{2pl} :	Ø-	-enit	Ø-	-net	Ø-	-it	Ø-	-et
S_{3pl} :		-nen		-nen		-nen		-nen

With the disappearance of verb forms such as that shown in {7} from literary usage in this century, the same S_1 and S_2 markers are used for all screeves in Modern Standard Georgian. There is no need to postulate portmanteau person-number-screeve morphemes for S_1 and S_2 in the modern language.

§8.2.2. Number agreement with 3rd person MS/SSs of direct verbs.

In Old Georgian n/t plurals constituted the vast majority of plural nouns. Number agreement was not correlated with animacy: n/t plurals functioning as MSs controlled plural number agreement, while eb plurals did not (more precisely, nouns in eb were not plural from a morphosyntactic point of view). The relative proportion of n/t to eb plurals remained high in Middle Georgian literature until the 18th century. By the mid-19th century the proportion had reversed, with eb plurals predominating in written usage (with some genre-related variation). The association of number agreement with animacy is first observed in a few 16th century writings, and more firmly established in the usage of such 18th century authors as Vaxt'ang VI, for whom animacy was relevant to number agreement with both n/t and eb plurals. The preferred Modern Georgian usage crystallized in the 19th century: number agreement with animate eb-plural and all n/t-plural SSs, no number agreement with inanimate eb NPs [K'vach'adze 1977:100-5; K'iziria 1982:128-31]. Here are some examples, cited by K'vach'adze [1977:101-3], illustrating number agreement with SSs denoting animates:

Number agreement with animates

{10} *saʒovr-eb-i-dan* *ʒrox-eb-i* . . . . *brundebod-**nen***
pasture-PL-GEN-from cow-PL-NOM return:Ip:**S_{3pl}**
"The cows were returning from the pastures." [R. Gvet'adze: 71]

{11} *ik ǰgup-ad i-sxd-**nen** buz-eb-i*
there group-ADV sit:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** fly-PL-NOM
"The flies sat there in groups." [I. Ch'av. k'ac.-adam.:17]

{12} *mxedr-eb-i ertmanert-ši i-reod-**a***
warrior-PL-NOM each-other-in mix:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$**
"The warriors mingled among themselves." [Vazha-Pshavela V:3]

My examination of modern Georgian texts indicates that instances of nonagreement for number with animate plural SSs, such as in sentence {12} above, must be extremely rare. According to one of my consultants in Tbilisi, this usage is marginally acceptable, and carries the strong implication that the referent of the NP is being regarded as a group, rather than as a plurality of individuals. For example, the first two sentences below are acceptable, but the second two are not. The explanation offered was that one can view the arrival of a crowd of guests or the slaughter of foes as mass actions. On the other hand, women sewing dresses or hunters killing a deer, although engaged in a common activity, are more likely to be perceived as individuals.

{13} *st'umr-eb-i mo-vid-**a**, da mxolod cot'a xn-it da-rč-nen.*
guest-PL-NOM come:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$** and only little while-IN stay:IIp:S$_{3pl}$S
"The guests came, and only stayed for a short time."

{14} *mt'r-eb-ma da-Ø-xoc-**a** kist'-eb-i*
enemy-PL-ERG slaughter:IIa:**S$_{3sg}$**:O$_3$ Kist'i-PL-NOM
"The enemy slaughtered the Kist'is."

{15} **kal-eb-i Ø-k'er-av-**s** k'ab-eb-s*
woman-PL-NOM sew:Ia:**S$_{3sg}$**:O$_3$ dress-PL-DAT
"The women are sewing dresses." (must be *k'erav-**en***)

{16} ??*monadire-eb-ma mo-Ø-k'l-**a** irem-i*
hunter-PL-ERG kill:IIa:**S$_{3sg}$**:O$_3$ deer-NOM
"The hunters killed the deer." (preferred: *mok'l-**es***)

Nonagreement with plural pronouns denoting animates is never acceptable: *isini mo-vid-**a*** [they:NOM come:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$**] "they came" could only be used with inanimate reference (see {24} below). In the case of inanimate SSs, there is considerable variation in usage. Nonagreement for number ({18}, {20}) appears to be more common than agreement ({17}, {19}).

Number agreement with inanimates

{17} *udardelad čemi dγe-eb-i ik mi-diod-**nen***
without.care my day-PL-NOM there go:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$**
"My days there went by without care." [I. Ch'avch'avadze: 153]

{18} *ase mi-diod-**a** moxuc-is dγe-eb-i*
thus go:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$** old.person-GEN day-PL-NOM
"Thus the old person's days went by." [A. Q'azbegi II:314]

{19} *xmel-is* *c'ipl-is* *t'ot'-eb-i . . .* *dedamic'a-s* *s-cemd-**nen***
dry-GEN beech-GEN branch-PL-NOM mother.earth-DAT fall:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$**
"The dried-out beech tree's branches fell to earth." [Vazha V:87]

{20} *c'vim-is* *cvar-eb-i . . .* *s-cemd-**a*** *panǰr-eb-is* *šuš-eb-s*
rain-GEN drop-PL-NOM fall:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$** window-PL-GEN pane-PL-DAT
"The rain drops fell on the window panes." [Vazha VI:78]

According to K'vach'adze [1977:103], number agreement with inanimate eb-plural nominals is more likely when the verb is active rather than passive, or when animate properties are ascribed to the referent:

{21} *mt-eb-ma* *šavi* *nabd-eb-i* *c'amo-i-sx-**es***
mountain-PL-ERG black cloak-PL-NOM throw.on:IIa:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$
"the mountains wrapped themselves in black cloaks" [Vazha V:56]

A comparison of the number-agreement properties of eb-plural animate and inanimate SSs from two modern prose works — a philosophical treatise by Arnold Chikobava [1968] and a novel by Naira Gelashvili (*dedis otaxi* [1985]) — is shown below:

{22} **Number agreement with eb-plural SSs in modern Georgian**

	Chikobava [1968:1-25]		*Gelashvili [1985:6-21]*	
	NA	*no NA*	*NA*	*no NA*
animate:	17	(0)	10	(0)
inanimate:	10	(22)	18	(21)

All of the SSs with animate reference control number agreement, while over half of the inanimate SSs fail to do so. The likelihood of number agreement with an inanimate NP is significantly enhanced if the NP in question is a pronoun or an n/t plural [K'vach'adze 1977:103-4]. In the sample from Chikobava, 14 of 18 inanimate n/t-plural NPs controlled number agreement. In the following example, from Gelashvili [dedis otaxi: 6], only the n-plural NP controls number agreement, even though both NPs have inanimate reference:

{23} *gamosaxuleba-**n**-i* *krebod-**nen**,* *xaz-**eb**-i* *i-šlebod-**a***
image-PL-NOM disappear:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$** line-PL-NOM spread:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$**
"The images disappeared <NA>, the outlines became indistinct <no NA>."

This is not an exceptionless rule. Even n-plural pronoun SSs can fail to control number agreement if they have inanimate reference, as in this example from Chikobava [1968:11]:

{24} *rogorc t'ermin-eb-i,* *isi-**n**-i* *sašualo* *sauk'une-eb-ši xmareba-ši ar q'opil-**a***
as term-PL-NOM they-NOM middle century-PL-in use-in not be:IIIp:**S$_{3sg}$**
"As (technical) terms, they were not in use during the Middle Ages."

Notionally plural animate nominals with formally singular stems do not control number agreement in modern standard Georgian [K'vach'adze 1977:98-9]. This includes collective nouns, quantified NPs and compounds; e.g.:

{25} *cacxv-is* *črdil-ši* *xalx-i* *i-sxd-**a***
linden-GEN shadow-in people-NOM sit_{pl}:IIp:**S_{3sg}**
"The people sat in the shadow of the linden tree." [K'vach'adze 1977:99]

{26} *ormoc-amde* *kartveli* *miliciel-i* *mo-s-devd-**a***
forty-until Georgian militia-NOM follow:Ip:**S_{3sg}**:O_3
"Up to forty Georgian militiamen pursued him." [M. Javaxishvili IV:105]

{27} *gada-Ø-e-xv-i-**a*** *deda-švil-i* *ertmanet-s*
embrace:IIp:**S_{3sg}**:O_3 mother-child-NOM each-other-DAT
"The mother and her child embraced each other." [A. Gaixarashvili *k'era*]

Though it is not the normative usage, formally singular but notionally plural SSs are occasionally accompanied by 3pl agreement in the verb [K'vach'adze 1977:99]; e.g.:

{28} *meore otax-i-dam* *gamo-cvivd-**nen*** *sami damaluli bič'-i*
second room-GEN-from fall.out:Ip:**S_{3pl}** three hidden boy-NOM
"Three boys who had been hiding tumbled out of the second room." [Ilia Ch'avch'. 309]

Zero anaphors with notionally plural animate antecedents always control plural number agreement if functioning as SSs, even if the antecedents do not.

{29} *ori q'mac'vil-i*$_b$ *gadamt'erebuli* *i-q'-**o*** *ertmanet-ze.* *sadac*
two boy-NOM hostile be:IIp:**S_{3sg}** each.other-on where
k'i *Ø*$_b$ *še-xvdebod-**nen*** *ertmanet-s,* *utuod*
indeed Ø:3pl:NOM meet:Ip:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 each.other-DAT inevitably
čxub-i *unda* *Ø*$_b$ *mo-**Ø**-svlod-a-**t**.*
fight-NOM must Ø:3pl:DAT come:IIIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} [Gogebashvii deda ena II:112]
"Two boys were <no number agreement> enemies with each other. Whenever they would meet <NA> each other, they inevitably would get <NA> into a fight."

§8.2.3. Number agreement with 3rd person MO/SOs of direct verbs.

While the modern Georgian verb agrees in number with 1st and 2nd person SSs and SOs alike, number agreement with 3rd person SOs is much more restricted. According to K'vach'adze [1977:107-110], direct verbs which allow number agreement with a 3rd plural IO are generally Class P verbs specifying two animate arguments: an agentive MS (=SS) and an addressee or beneficiary IO. Many of them are comitative verbs derived from Class A medioactives (e.g. *v-tamašob-Ø* "I am playing" > *v-e-tamašeb-i* "I <NOM> am playing with/against sb <DAT>" [see Aronson 1982:209-10]), others are verbs of motion. The following occurred in a spontaneous narration by an educated speaker of Tbilisi Georgian which I recorded:

{30} *am* *dros* *mat* *gamo-**Ø**-e-lap'arak'eb-a-**t*** *es* *morige*
this time them:DAT converse:Ip:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** this duty.officer:NOM
"At this point the officer on duty converses with them."

The verb agrees in number with its 3pl DAT IO (addressee). Earlier in the narration the same verb is used with direct conjugation:

{31} *ertmanet-s* *Ø-e-lap'arak'eb-i-**an***
each.other-DAT talk:Ip:S_{3pl}:O_3
"They are conversing with each other."

The verb *elap'arak'eba* "sb converses with sb" allows both direct and indirect conjugation:[72]

{32}	***direct conjugation***	***indirect conjugation***
1sg:	**v**-e-lap'arak'eb-i	**m**-e-lap'arak'eb-a
	"I am conversing with sb"	"sb is conversing with me"
2sg:	**Ø**-e-lap'arak'eb-i	**g**-e-lap'arak'eb-a
3sg:	Ø-e-lap'arak'eb-**a**	**Ø**-e-lap'arak'eb-a
1pl:	**v**-e-lap'arak'eb-i-**t**	**gv**-e-lap'arak'eb-a
2pl:	**Ø**-e-lap'arak'eb-i-**t**	**g**-e-lap'arak'eb-a-**t**
3pl:	Ø-e-lap'arak'eb-i-**an**	**Ø**-e-lap'arak'eb-a-**t**

This speaker rejected the sentence **ertmanet-i gamo-Ø-e-lap'arak'eb-a-t* "each other <NOM> is conversing with them <DAT>." This fact, alongside {31}, indicates that the addressee argument (NP2) cannot function as SS, but the agent (NP1) can. The use of indirect conjugation does not necessarily imply indirect syntax. Several other examples of direct verbs which allow both direct and indirect conjugation are given in K'iziria [1985:104-5]:

{32} *isidore* *γimil-it* *šemo-**Ø-**e-geb-a-**t*** *č'išk'ar-tan*
I.:NOM smile-INS meet:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** gate-by
"With a smile, Isidore came to meet them by the gate." ["cisk'ari" 1981 #5]

{33} *mdevar-i* *mi-**Ø**-e-švel-a-**t***
pursuer-NOM help:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"The pursuer came to their aid." [M. Javaxishvili IV:198]

The syntactic prominence of the IOs of these verbs approaches that of the MSs (=SSs). When the latter is 3sg and the former 3pl, number agreement with the IO will often occur, though it is by no means obligatory; compare the following two sentences from a work by Gogebashvili [cited in K'iziria 1985:104]:

{34} a. *irem-i* *monadire-eb-s* *t'q'e-ši* *da-Ø-e-mal-a* [Goge. V:197]
deer-NOM hunter-PL-DAT forest-in hide:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_3
b. *irem-i* *monadire-eb-s* *t'q'e-ši* *da-**Ø**-e-mal-a-**t*** [Goge. V:399]
deer-NOM hunter-PL-DAT forest-in hide:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"The deer hid from the hunters in the forest."

Tschenkeli [1958:487-90] discusses the difference between the direct and indirect-conjugation interpretations of the direct Class P verb *gaep'areba* "sb <NOM> will escape from sb <DAT>." It appears that indirect conjugation is correlated with a shift in focus or "empathy."

[72]An important restriction on the cooccurrence of MS and MO markers should be noted. Speakers of standard Georgian reject the use of -t as an O_{3pl} suffix in combination with any MS marker other than S_{3sg}. Therefore, the verb form *v-e-lap'arak'eb-i-t* can only mean "we are conversing with him/her/them," and not "I am conversing with them."

{35} a. (direct conjugation) *kurd-i* *ga-Ø-e-p'ar-**a*** *p'oliciel-eb-s*
thief-NOM escape:IIp:**S_{3sg}**:O_3 police-PL-DAT
b. (indirect conjugation) *p'oliciel-eb-s* *ga-**Ø**-e-p'ar-a-**t*** *kurd-i*
police-PL-DAT escape:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** thief-NOM
"The thief escaped from the police."

Betonung: a. **Der Dieb** brachte es fertig, den Polizisten zu entkommen.
b. **Die Polizisten** sind die "Betroffenen" indem sie das Missgeschick hatten, dass ihnen der Dieb entkam.

One important factor, according to K'vach'adze [1977:110], is that "the subject must not require plural agreement in the verb"; that is, it must not be animate and plural. When both SS and IO are 3pl and animate, according to K'iziria [1985:105], the verb "usually" agrees with the SS:

{36} *st'umr-eb-i* *k'arga xan-s* *Ø-e-saubr-**nen*** *t'q've-eb-s*
guest-PL-NOM good time-DAT converse:IIp:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 captive-PL-DAT
"The guests conversed with the prisoners for a long time." [K. Lortkipanidze]

Occasionally a 3pl IO will control number agreement despite the presence of an animate plural SS. In this case, the plurality of the SS is not marked in the verb:

{37} *tavidašvil-eb-s* *q'm-eb-i* *čamo-**Ø**-e-rtmev-a-**t***
aristocrat-PL-DAT serf-PL-NOM take.away:Ip:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"The serfs will be taken away from the nobility." [Ilia k'ac.-adam.: 43]

Recently Hewitt [1987] has examined the question of indirect conjugation with direct-syntax verbs. He checked the sentences from Tschenkéli ({35}) with two Georgian speakers. Both agreed that the O_{3pl} suffix could be added to the (a) variant or deleted from the (b) variant without changing the meaning significantly. This implies that the difference in "Betonung" depends on word order more than number agreement pattern. With plural MSs substituted for the singular ones in Tschenkeli's examples, one finds likewise that direct and indirect conjugation can be varied independently of word order:

{38} a. *kurd-eb-i* *ga-Ø-e-p'ar-**nen*** // *ga-**Ø**-e-p'ar-a-**t*** *policiel-eb-s*
thief-PL-NOM escape:IIp:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 // escape:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** police-PL-DAT
b. *policiel-eb-s* *ga-Ø-e-p'ar-**nen*** // *ga-**Ø**-e-p'ar-a-**t*** *kurd-eb-i*

It is Hewitt's view that indirect conjugation is an "option" available to many Class P verbs which is not necessarily connected with either a shift in SS-hood from MS to MO, or a change in meaning. We will return to this question in the discussion of labile verbs below.

Indirect conjugation with direct Class A verbs is rare, and evidently only occurs when the MS/SS is inanimate and the MO/SO is animate. Here is a 19th-century example collected by K'iziria [1985:109]. The verb agrees in number with the unexpressed 3rd plural NP2 (inalienable possessor of the NP3), not with the MS "sleep."

{39} *mere ʒil-i* *mo-**s**-t'aceb-**t*** *tval-s* *Ø*
then sleep-NOM abduct:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** eye-DAT Ø-<3plDAT>
"Then sleep will carry off their eyes." [G. Shat'berashvili II:389]

When used with an animate MS/SS the verb only allows direct conjugation:

{40} *mgl-eb-i* *mo-s-t'aceb-**en*** *mat* *cxvr-eb-s*
wolf-PL-NOM abduct:Ia:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 them:DAT sheep-PL-DAT
"The wolves will carry off their sheep."

Further examples of Class A direct verbs with indirect conjugation from recent published works are given below:

{41} *ar v-i-c-i,* *ikneb* *mat$_j$* *tval-ši-c* *ucnaur-i* *v-čan-var* *da*
not know:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_3 perhaps their eye-in-too odd-NOM appear:Ip:S_{1sg} and
amit'omac m-e-rideb-ian. *ucxo,* *dak'virvebuli* *mzera* *m-a-kv-s*
therefore avoid:Ip:S_{3pl}:O_{1sg} strange attentive look:NOM have:Ip:O_{1sg}:S_{3sg}
da *še-i-ʒleb-a* *ese-c* ***Ø**-a-k'rtob-**t*** *Ø$_j$.*
and is.possible:Ip:S_{3sg} this:NOM-too spook:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø-<3plDAT>
"I don't know, I must seem odd to them, and so they avoid me. I have a strange attentive gaze, and perhaps this, too, spooks them." (M. Xucishvili: "Ganc'menda"[1985])

{42} *redk'olegi-eb-is* *c'evr-eb-i$_k$ . . . .* *taviant-i* *tanat'ol-eb-is*
editorial.committee-PL-GEN member-PL-NOM their age.mate-PL-GEN
cxovreb-it *cxovrob-en,* *erti* *azr-i* *da* *mizan-i*
life-INS live:Ia:S_{3pl} one idea-NOM and purpose-NOM
Ø**-a-mokmedeb-**t *Ø$_k$.*
impel:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø-<3plDAT>
"The members of the editorial board live the life of their peers, one idea and purpose sets them in action." (newspaper "sabč'ota p'edagogi" 13/III/86)

{43} *radgan* *šah-is* *k'ar-ze* *dac'inaurebulididebul-eb-i$_l$ . . . .* *tav-is* *mok'veta-s*
because shah-GEN court-at prominent noble-PL-NOM head-GEN cutting-DAT
c'amdauc'um *Ø-e-lod-nen,* *šiš-ma* *ga-**Ø**-a-bedin-a-**t*** *Ø$_l$.*
perpetually wait:IIp:S_{3pl}:O_3 fear-ERG embolden:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø-<3plNOM>
"Because the prominent noblemen at the Shah's court were continually expecting to be beheaded, the fear emboldened them." (G. Dochanashvili "mic'a da vano")

Most of the examples of direct Class A verbs with indirect conjugation which I have found in Modern Georgian literature are in the present or imperfect screeves (but note that the verb in {43} is in the aorist screeve). These screeves are aspectually imperfective, as opposed to the aorist and perfect screeves. My consultants judged number agreement with the 3pl MO of a direct Class A verb to be more unlikely, or even impossible, in the perfective-aspect screeves.

§8.2.4. Number agreement for indirect verbs.

In Old Georgian only direct conjugation was possible, regardless of the semantics of any given verb or the syntactic pattern associated with it. In Middle Georgian, as we have seen, indirect conjugation became possible, and was first employed in Class P 4th conjugation verbs (along with series III forms of class A verbs). In Modern Georgian, only indirect conjugation is permitted for most 4th conjugation verbs, even those allowing animate MSs:

{44} **Early Old Georgian**

1sg/3:	x-w-u-q'war-Ø "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves me"	*3sg/1exc:*	m-i-q'war-s "I/we(exc) love sb_{sg}"
2sg/3:	x-u-q'war-Ø "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves you_{sg}"	*3sg/2:*	g-i-q'war-s "$you_{sg/pl}$ love sb_{sg}"
3sg/3:	x-u-q'war-s "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves sb_{sg}"	*3sg/3:*	x-u-q'war-s "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves sb_{sg}"
1pl/3:	x-w-u-q'war-t "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves us"	*3sg/1inc:*	gw-i-q'war-s "we(inc) love sb_{sg}"
2pl/3:	x-u-q'war-t "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves you_{pl}"		
3pl/3:	x-u-q'war-an "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves them"		

{45} **Modern Georgian**

1sg/3:	v-Ø-u-q'var-var "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves me"	*3/1sg:*	m-i-q'var-s "I love $sb_{sg/pl}$"
2sg/3:	Ø-u-q'var-xar "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves you_{sg}"	*3/2sg:*	g-i-q'var-s "you_{sg} love $sb_{sg/pl}$"
3/3sg:	Ø-u-q'var-s "sb_{sg} loves $sb_{sg/pl}$"	*3/3sg:*	Ø-u-q'var-s "sb_{sg} loves $sb_{sg/pl}$"
1pl/3:	v-Ø-u-q'var-var-t "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves us"	*3/1pl:*	gv-i-q'var-s "we love $sb_{sg/pl}$"
2pl/3:	Ø-u-q'var-xar-t "$sb_{sg/pl}$ loves you_{pl}"	*3/2pl:*	g-i-q'var-t "you_{pl} love $sb_{sg/pl}$"
		3/3pl:	Ø-u-q'var-t "they love $sb_{sg/pl}$"

Note the lack of a Modern Georgian form *Ø-u-q'var-an* corresponding to Old Georgian *x-u-q'war-an* "he/she/they love(s) them." Modern Georgian *Ø-u-q'var-s* means both "he/she loves him/her" and "he/she loves them." For all indirect verbs which can take animate themes, indirect conjugation is blocked when the Set S / NOM argument is 1st or 2nd person [Tschenkeli 1958:459-62]. So, *v-Ø-u-q'var-var* can mean either "he/she <DAT> loves me <NOM>" or "they <DAT> love me <NOM>." Conversely, *v-Ø-u-q'var-var-t* only means "he/she/they <DAT / Ø> love us <NOM / v- -vart>" and not "they <DAT / Ø- -t> love me <NOM / v- -var>."[73]

The number agreement rules for Class A series III screeves in standard Georgian are as for 4th conjugation verbs [Tschenkéli 1958:510-1, 519-20]. They only allow indirect conjugation.

{46} *arc'iv-eb-s* *mo-**Ø**-e-sr-a-**t*** *mteli* *prinvel-eb-i*
eagle-PL-DAT slaughter:IIIa:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_{3sg} entire bird-PL-NOM
"The eagles had slaughtered all of the birds." [Vazha-Pshavela V:97,19]

[73]This is the normative rule for Modern Standard Georgian. According to Tschenkéli [1958:461] in colloquial usage (Umgangsprache) one does encounter *v-Ø-u-q'var-var-t* with the meaning "they love me." Likewise for *Ø-u-q'var-xar-t* meaning "they <DAT> love you(sg) <NOM>."

The verb in the above sentence agrees in number with its DAT MO (SS), and not with its NOM MS (SO), even though both arguments denote animates. The same sentence in Old Georgian would have the reverse number agreement pattern, agreeing in number with the MS and not the MO:

arc'iv-ta *mo-Ø-e-sr-**n-es*** *mprinvel-n-i*
eagle-DATPL slaughter:IIIa:O_3:S_{3pl}**:PLNOM** bird-PL-NOM

Even in those rare cases when the MS (SO) is animate and the MO (SS) is inanimate, only indirect conjugation is allowed in Modern Georgian:

{47} *es-aa* *ertgvar-ad* *im* *migraci-eb-is*$_m$ *t'raekt'ori-is*
this-is similar-ADV that migration-PL-GEN trajectory-GEN
aγdena, *roml-eb-s-a-c*$_m$ *aγnišnuli* *xalx-eb-i*
reconstruction:NOM which-PL-DAT indicated people-PL-NOM
taviant *ist'oriul* *mic'a-c'q'al-ze* *unda* *mi-**Ø**-e-q'van-a-**t***
their.own historical land-water-to must bring:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"This is, similarly, the reconstruction of the pathways of those migrations, which <MO/SS> must have brought the peoples in question <MS/SO> to their historical homelands."
[T. Gamq'relidze "indoevr. c'in-samšoblo"]

The two types of verbs just discussed were the first to manifest indirect conjugation in written Georgian. By the end of the Middle Georgian period this phenomenon had been attested with other types of indirect verbs also. For example, the Class P verbs of possibility, seeming, mood and nonvolitionality, which were described in chapter 1, are characterized by indirect conjugation in Modern Georgian. An example is given here (see also Jorbenadze [1983:98-9]).

{48} *amistana* *dro-s* *im šercxvenil-eb-s* *ra* *Ø-e-mc'q'emseb-a-**t***
such time-DAT those shameful-PL-DAT what:NOM shepherd:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
da *ra* *Ø-e-cxvreb-a-**t***
and what:NOM sheep:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"At a time such as this how can these shameful characters feel like being shepherds and taking care of sheep?" [A. C'ereteli (in Vogt 1971:115)]

In comparison to the enormous number of indirect Class P verbs, indirect Class A verbs are relatively uncommon. As one would expect, they are characterized by indirect conjugation in Modern Georgian.

{49} *usazγvro-a* *mt-eb-is*$_p$ *molodin-i . . .* *sisxl-is-pr-ad*
boundless-is mountain-PL-GEN waiting-NOM blood-GEN-color-ADV
šededebuli *Ø-u-timtimeb-**t*** *Ø*$_p$ *gul-mk'erd-ši*
clotted flow.slowly:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 Ø-<3pl DAT> heart-chest-in
"The expectancy of the mountains is boundless . . . blood-colored, clotted, it flows turgidly through their hearts and breasts." [Vazha mtani maγalni]

{50} *bednier-eb-i,* *umcros-eb-i*$_q$, *pikr-i* *rom* *ar* *Ø*$_q$
happy-PL-NOM young-PL-NOM thought-NOM that not Ø<3pl DAT>
***s**-ǰiǰgnid-a-**t**,* *pikr-is* *c'q'evla* *rom* *ara* *Ø*$_q$
torment:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} thought-GEN curse:NOM that not Ø<3pl DAT>

***s**-devd-a-**t** . . .* *i-q'v-nen,* *cxovrobd-nen*
pursue:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} be:IIp:S_{3pl} live:Ia:S_{3pl} [Gelashvili dedis otaxi I:9]
"They were fortunate, the younger ones, for thought did not torment them,
the curse of thought did not harass them . . . they existed, they lived."

Just as some direct verbs, such as those in examples {30}-{43}, allow both direct and indirect conjugation, so also do some indirect verbs. The 4th conjugation verbs *h-q'av-s* "sb has sb" and *mo-s-c'on-s* "sb likes sb/sthg" are used with animate themes as well as animate possessors or experiencers. In such cases, direct conjugation can occur (albeit less frequently than indirect conjugation) [see also Jorbenadze 1981:71]. Both *h-q'av-t* "they <DAT> have him/her/them <NOM>" and *h-q'van-**an*** "he/she/they <DAT> has (have) them <NOM>" are used. When both MO (SS) and MS (SO) are plural NPs, the verb can agree with either (but not both):

{51} a. *mat* ***h**-q'av-**t*** *d-eb-i* [elicited]
they:DAT have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 sister-PL-NOM
"They have sisters."
b. *mat* *h-q'van-**an*** *d-eb-i*
they:DAT have:Ip:O_3:**S_{3pl}** sister-PL-NOM
"They have sisters."

The indirect suffixal Class P verb *šeuq'vardeba* "sb will fall in love with sb" also allows both conjugation patterns:

{52} a. *mat* *isini* *še-**Ø**-u-q'var-d-a-**t*** [elicited]
they:DAT them:NOM love:INCH:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"They fell in love with them."

b. *mat* *isini* *še-Ø-u-q'var-d-**nen*** [elicited]
they:DAT them:NOM love:INCH:IIp:O_3:**S_{3pl}**
"They fell in love with them."

While the shift in agreement pattern is correlated with a shift in focus, there is no evidence that the MS, whether or not controlling number agreement, functions as SS (i.e. one cannot say **isini ertmanet-s še-Ø-u-q'var-d-nen* "each other fell in love with them," while *mat ertmanet-i še-Ø-u-q'var-d-a-t* is perfectly acceptable). The occurrence of direct conjugation with indirect verbs is related to the animacy of the referents of the NOM arguments, and not indicative of a shift in clause structure. Similar in behavior to the above are a handful of labile Class P verbs which manifest a strong preference for indirect syntax. Consider ex. {53}, cited in Aronson [1982:394]:

{53} *mšobl-eb-i* *adre* *da-Ø-e-xoc-**a*** *(mas)*
parent-PL-NOM early die:IIp:O_3:**S_{3sg}**
"His parents died while he was young" [Sh. Amiranashvili]
(lit. The parents <NOM> died early on him <DAT>)

The lack of number agreement with an animate 3pl MS, as in {53}, is a characteristic usually reserved to indirect verbs. According to one of my informants, the sentence *mšobl-eb-i da-Ø-e-xoc-**nen***, with S_{3pl} marking, would also be acceptable.

§8.2.5. Number agreement for labile verbs.

Labile verbs, which can participate in either direct or indirect-syntax constructions, allow both direct and indirect conjugation.

{54} *damšeul zaγl-eb-s* *sun-i* ***Ø**-e-c-a-**t*** [A. C'ereteli]
famished dog-PL-DAT smell-NOM fall:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"The famished dogs <MO/SS> picked up the scent <MS/SO>."

{55} *damšeul zaγl-eb-s* *mgl-eb-i* ***Ø**-e-c-**nen***
famished dog-PL-DAT wolf-PL-NOM fall:IIp:S_{3pl}:O_3
"The wolves <MS/SS> fell upon the famished dogs <MO/SO>." [K'vach'adze 1977:110]

My consultants indicate that the pattern of number agreement is correlated with the type of construction. This corroborates Chikobava's observation [1967:45], noted in §3.2.3, that when a labile verb has indirect syntax (MO = SS), this is marked by indirect conjugation.

{56} *ded-eb-s* *Ø-e-čveneb-i-**an*** *tavianti bavšv-eb-i* [elicited]
mother-PL-DAT appear:Ip:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 their.own child-PL-NOM
"The children <MS/SS> appeared before their mothers <MO/SO>."

{57} *ded-eb-s* ***Ø**-e-čveneb-a-**t*** *tavianti bavšv-eb-i*
mother-PL-DAT appear:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} their.own child-PL-NOM
"The children <MS/SO> appeared to their mothers <MO/SS> (in a dream)."

{58} *kal-eb-i* *še-Ø-xvdeb-i-**an*** *kmr-eb-s*
woman-PL-NOM meet:Ip:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 husband-PL-DAT
"The women <MS/SS> will meet their husbands <MO/SO>."

{59} *kal-eb-i* *še-**Ø**-xvdeb-a-**t*** *kmr-eb-s*
woman-PL-NOM meet:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} husband-PL-DAT
"The husbands <MO/SS> will meet the women <MS/SO> (by chance)."

Class P verbs, such as the above, make up the vast majority of labile verbs. Class A labile verbs also allow both direct and indirect conjugation, depending on the underlying construction. The following verbs are being used with indirect syntax, and therefore take indirect conjugation. While in most cases the IO or DO (functioning as SS) is animate, in a few instances an inanimate SS controls plural number agreement.

Indirect syntax, indirect conjugation

{60} *umcros-eb-s . . . ar* ***Ø**-a-c'uxebd-a-**t*** *es morčileba* [Gelashvili I:8]
younger-PL-DAT not bother:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} this submission:NOM
"The younger ones <MO/SS> were not bothered by submission (to this rule) <MS/SO>."

{61} *am gogo-eb-s* *ertmanet-i* ***Ø**-a-int'ereseb-**t***
this girl-PL-DAT each.other-NOM interest:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_3
"These girls <MO/SS> are interested in each other <MS/SO>." [elicited]

The same verbs, when used with direct syntax, only allow direct conjugation:

Direct syntax, direct conjugation

{62} *umcros-eb-s* *upros-eb-i* *Ø-a-c'uxebd-**nen***
younger-PL-DAT older-PL-NOM bother:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
"The older ones <MS/SS> were bothering the younger ones <MO/RO>."

{63} *es gogo-eb-i* *ertmanet-s* *Ø-a-int'ereseb-**en*** *zγap'r-eb-it*
this girl-PL-NOM each.other-DAT interest:Ia:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 folktale-PL-INS
"These girls <MS/SS> are getting each other <MO/SO> interested in folk tales."

One type of indirect construction involving Class A verbs only occurs in the aorist screeve. Melikashvili [1978] and K'iziria [1982:88-9] briefly note that many transitive verbs — especially causatives — can be used in the aorist with the desiderative particle *net'av(i)*. These verbs undergo a surface valence change, in that no ERG case NP may appear in the clause.[74] 3rd person arguments seldom occur as objects of these modal aorists, but when they do, number agreement with the verb is possible if the grammatical object is DAT:

{64} *net'avi* *a-**Ø**-mγer-a-**(t)*** *is* *mat*
may sing:CAUS:IIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} it:NOM them:DAT
"May they <MO/SS> sing it" (lit. "may sb/sthg cause them to sing it")

{65} *net'avi* *ga-**Ø**-a-k'etebin-a-**(t)*** *is* *mat*
may do:CAUS:IIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} it:NOM them:DAT
"May they <MO/SS> make it" (lit."may sb/sthg cause them to make it")

The 3sg Set S marker -a in the above two verbs crossreferences the MS, a dummy ERG argument; the -t crossreferences the 3pl DAT SS/MO.[75] When used as ordinary causatives with a full complement of arguments only direct conjugation is allowed:

{66} *masc'avlebel-ma* *a-Ø-mγer-**a*** *is* *mat*
teacher-ERG sing:CAUS:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 it:NOM them:DAT
"The teacher <MS/SS> got them <MO/SO> to sing it."

{67} *amxanag-ma* *ga-Ø-a-k'etebin-**a*** *is* *mat*
comrade-ERG do:CAUS:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 it:NOM them:DAT
"Their friend <MS/SS> got them <MO/SO> to make it."

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[74]This can be accounted for in the etymology of the particle *net'avi*. According to Shanidze [1953:636], it is a contraction of the desiderative *net'ar* and the ERG-case pronoun *vin* "who."

[75]Similar to the above are verbs which direct the agency of some other-worldly being upon an earthling. K'iziria 1985 gives some examples, among them

{i} *da-**s**-c'q'evl-o-**t*** *γmert-ma!*
damn:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** god-ERG
"God <MS/?SS> damn them <DO/?SO>!"

In set phrases of this sort, the GS ("God," "the devil," etc.) has little more salience than the dummy argument in the hortative causatives. The grammatical object is much more subjectlike, in the traditional sense [on similar phenomena in Kashmiri, also involving transitive verbs with dummy agents, see Hook 1986].

§8.3. Summary: the evolution of number agreement in written Georgian.

During the 1500 years that the Georgian language has been attested, the patterns of case assignment and person agreement have changed relatively little. Also, the evidence indicates that the correlation between case and person marking and real-subject status for various classes of verbs was the same in Old Georgian as in the modern language: both direct and indirect constructions occur. The only component of the morphosyntax to have undergone a major realignment is number agreement. In early Old Georgian, only those NPs assigned NOM or ERG case controlled number agreement. Other factors, such as grammatical role, were not relevant to this process. Further, n/t-plural NPs could control plural agreement, while eb-plural NPs were treated as formally singular. Beginning in the Old Georgian period, the criteria for controlling number agreement changed; case, person-agreement marking and type of plural suffix became less significant, and factors such as person, animacy, discourse topicality and grammatical role became relevant. The data from Modern Standard Georgian presented in this chapter reflect the following hierarchies of syntactic prominence:

{68} **Hierarchies relevant to syntactic prominence in Georgian**

I.	*Notional*	animacy:	animate > inanimate
II.	*Formal*	person:	1st > 2nd > 3rd
III.	*Lexical-semantic*	grammatical role:	semantic subject >semantic object
IV.	*Discourse*	presupposition:	presupposed > new information

The nature of the interaction among these hierarchies varies from one type of verb to another. For example, the series III form of a Class A verb will never show number agreement with a 3rd-person SO (MS), even if the latter is animate and the SS (MO) is animate (ex {47} above). On the other hand, some Class A verbs do allow number agreement with 3pl SOs in series I (exs {39}-{43}). As shown in {45}, for 4th conjugation verbs, number agreement with a 2pl SO (MS) takes precedence over agreement with a 3pl SS. For direct verbs, the reverse is true: when a verb takes a S_{3pl} suffix, number agreement with a plural O_2 argument is blocked (see appendix 3 below).

To illustrate some of the changes that have occurred between the earliest and most recent stages of the Georgian literary language, the early Old Georgian sentences cited at the beginning of Chapter VII are compared with their Modern Georgian equivalents:

{69} **Indirect conjugation for indirect verbs**

OldG: NA WITH 3PL MS (SO), NO NA WITH 2PL MO (SS):

*g-i-q'war-d-**en*** *tkwen* *moq'ware-n-i* *tkwen-n-i*

love:Ip:O_2:**S_{3pl}** you_{pl}:DAT lover-PL-NOM $your_{pl}$:PL-NOM

ModG: NO NA WITH 3PL MS (SO); NA WITH 2PL MO (SS):

g**-i-q'var-d-e-**t *tkven* *tkveni* *moq'vare-eb-i*

love:Ip:O**2pl**:S_3 you_{pl}:DAT $your_{pl}$ lover-PL-NOM

"You_{pl} should love those who love you_{pl}." [Lk 6:32]

{70} **Indirect conjugation for series III Class A verbs**

OldG: NA WITH 3PL MS (SO), NO NA WITH 3PL MO (SS):

(mat)	*da-x-e-drik'-**n**-**es***	*p'ir-n-i*	*mat-n-i*	*kweq'an-ad*
(they:DAT)	turn:IIIa:O_3:**S_{3pl}:PLNOM**	face-PL-NOM	their-PL-NOM	earth-ADV

ModG: NO NA WITH 3PL MS (SO), NA WITH 3PL MO (SS):

(mat)	*da-**Ø**-e-drik'-a-**t***	*mati*	*p'ir-eb-i*	*mic'-is*	*mimart*
(they:DAT)	turn:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}	their	face-PL-NOM	earth-GEN	toward

"They turned their faces toward the ground" [Lk 24:5]

{71} **Prefixal number agreement in O_1**

OldG: NO NA WITH 1PL [EXCLUSIVE] MO (SS):

čwen ***m**-e-ʒin-a*
we:DAT sleep:IIp:**O_{1excl}**:S_{3sg}

ModG: NA WITH ALL 1PL MOS:

čven ***gv**-e-ʒin-a*
we:DAT sleep:IIp:**O_{1pl}**:S_{3sg}
"we slept" [Mt 28:13]

{72} **Loss of (e)n agreement with NOM DO of Series II Class A verbs**

OldG: NA WITH 3PL NOM NP3 (SO):

*c'ar-Ø-a-vlin-**n**-a*	*mona-n-i*	*twis-n-i*
send:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:**PLNOM**	servant-PL-NOM	his.own-PL-NOM]

ModG: NO NA WITH 3PL NOM NP3 (SO):

c'a-Ø-a-vlin-a	*tavisi*	*mon-eb-i*
send:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3	his.own	servant-PL-NOM

"He sent his servants away" [Proverbs 9:3]

{73} **Number agreement with 2pl MOs**

OldG: NO NA WITH 2PL DAT MO:

me-ca	*c'ar-g-a-vlin-eb-Ø*	*tkwen*
I:NOM-too	send:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_2	you$_{pl}$:DAT

ModG: NA WITH ALL 2PL MOS:

me-c	*c'a-**g**-a-vlin-eb-**t***	*tkven*
I:NOM-too	send:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}**	you$_{pl}$:DAT

"I also will send you$_{pl}$ away." [Jn 20:21]

APPENDIX 1
ANIMACY AND SEMANTIC SUBJECTHOOD.

As we have seen, the animacy of its referent is a crucial factor in determining whether the formally plural SS of a verb controls 3pl agreement. It is also noteworthy that most Class P verbs that allow indirect conjugation are verbs whose MSs denote inanimate things, and whose IOs have animate reference. The number of such verbs is very large. Some 55% of the Class P verbs with IOs listed in Tschenkéli's Georgian-German dictionary are characterized by "objektive Reihe." By this is meant that only S_{3sg} markers are used with such verbs, while Set O marking for all three persons is possible. This implies an inanimate MS and an animate IO. (By contrast, only 8% of Class A verbs mentioned in this dictionary bear this designation.) According to my consultants in Tbilisi, indirect conjugation is almost always possible for Class P verbs which subcategorize for an inanimate MS and an animate IO. Here are a couple of examples from K'iziria [1985:104-5]:

{74} *axla misi šiš-i-c mi-**Ø**-e-mat'-a-**t** mezobl-eb-s*
now his-GEN fear-NOM-too increase:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} neighbor-PL-DAT
"The neighbors' <SS> fear <SO> of him now increased." [K'ldiashvili I:30]

{75} *ga-**Ø**-u-nat-d-a-**t** tval-eb-i moxuc-eb-s*
shine:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} eye-PL-NOM old.people-PL-DAT
"The old people's <SS> eyes <SO> lit up." ["Tbilisi" 16/II/67]

For the verbs above, as is the case for many verbs characterized by "objektive Reihe," the MO functions as SS. By contrast, for the corresponding monovalent verbs the MS is also SS, e.g.:

{76} *otax-eb-i ga-natd-a*
room-PL-NOM light:IIp:S_{3sg}
"The rooms <SS> lit up."

The addition of an animate possessor or beneficiary argument is accompanied by a shift from direct to indirect syntax. Similarly, for many labile verbs, the animacy of one or the other argument is a reliable indicator of direct or indirect syntax. For labile Class A verbs like *axasiatebs* "sb/sthg characterizes sb," *ak'virvebs* "sb/sthg surprises sb," *axarebs* "sb/sthg makes sb happy," it is most often the case that the verb is direct when the MS is animate, and indirect when the MS is inanimate, e.g.:

{77} *amxanag-eb-i Ø-a-xareb-**en** ertmanet-s*
comrade-PL-NOM make.happy:Ia:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 each.other-DAT
"The friends <MS/SS> are making each other <MO/SO> happy."

{78} *amxanag-eb-s **Ø**-a-xareb-**t** ertmanet-is ambeb-i*
comrade-PL-DAT make.happy:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 each.other-GEN news-NOM
"The friends <MO/SS> are happy over each other's news <MS/SO>."
(lit. "Each other's news makes the friends happy")

But while such shifts are usually correlated with the animacy of the arguments, they need not be. In certain contexts, some of these verbs can take inanimate MO/SSs, e.g.:

{79} *mesame seri-is nak'vt-eb-s saerto punkcia* ***Ø****-a-ertianeb-****t***
third series-GEN form-PL-DAT common function:NOM unite:Ia:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$
"The Series III forms <MO/SS> are united by a common function." [Gogolashvili 1984: 14]

For many verbs, of course, the determination of syntactic pattern remains completely independent of animacy (e.g. {47}).

APPENDIX 2
WORD ORDER, ANAPHORA AND NUMBER AGREEMENT

There is evidence that, all other things being equal, word order can influence the determination of number agreement in Modern Georgian. This is especially true for direct verbs which allow indirect conjugation, and labile verbs. To test this, I solicited judgments concerning the acceptability of different agreement patterns for three types of constructions involving a labile Class P verb in its indirect-syntax interpretation. The preference expressed by my consultants for number agreement with 3pl DAT NP2s (=SSs) depended to a degree on word order and NP type:

{80} a. *burt-i da-****Ø****-e-k'arg-a-****t*** // *da-****Ø****-e-k'arg-a bavšv-eb-s*
ball-NOM lose:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$ // lose:IIp:**O$_3$**:S$_{3sg}$ child-PL-DAT
(both possible, *daek'argat* preferred)
"The children lost their ball."

b. *bavšv-eb-s da-Ø-e-k'arg-a-****t*** // *?da-Ø-e-k'arg-a burt-i*
(stronger preference for *daek'argat*)
"The children lost their ball."

c. *mat* // *Ø* *da-****Ø****-e-k'arg-a-****t*** *burt-i*
they:DAT // Ø-<3plDAT> lose:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$ ball-NOM
(only *daek'argat* acceptable)
"They lost their ball."

Placing the NP2 after the verb (a marked word order) carries the implication that it conveys new information, while the NP1 (*burti* "ball") conveys given or thematic information [Apridonidze 1986:86-90]. In the (b) sentence the NP2 *bavšvebs* occupies the word-order position associated with thematicity, and in (c) its presupposed status is more clearly indicated by the use of a pronoun or zero anaphor. The preference for marking number agreement with the NP2 increases with the latter's thematicity. Also, compare these two sentences from A. C'ereteli, cited by K'iziria [1985:104]. In this case the syntax is direct, and the NP2 functions as SO. No number agreement occurs with the overt 3pl DAT pronoun *mat* in {81}, while the zero anaphor with 3pl reference controls number agreement with the same verb in {82}:

{81} *mat c'in mi-****Ø****-u-ʒγod-a . . . tetr-cxeniani mxedar-i*
them:DAT before lead:Ip:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_3$** white-horsed knight-NOM
"A knight on a white horse led them." [IV:399]

{82} *Ø c'in k'irile mγvdel-i* ***Ø****-u-ʒγod-a-****t***
Ø-<3plDAT> before K. priest:NOM lead:Ip:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{3pl}$**
"The priest K'irile led them." [IV:125]

In Modern Georgian thematicity is generally only relevant for the determination of number agreement with 3pl Set O arguments (MOs). For 1st and 2nd person arguments number agreement has become automatic. In the case of 3pl Set S NPs (MSs), there is no firm evidence that thematicity is a significant factor in the standard language, though it appears to be relevant in some dialects (see the following chapters).

It has also been observed that number agreement between Class A verbs which allow indirect conjugation and their animate patients, possessors and beneficiaries is not as automatic as that between direct transitives and their (animate) agents. As in example {81} above, two factors associated with topicality — word order and givenness (i.e. the use of anaphors) — were correlated with the likelihood of number agreement. For some of my Georgian consultants, but not others, which argument immediately precedes the verb is crucial for determining the pattern of number agreement. Compare these sentences:

{83} a. *am k'ac-eb-s* ***s**-c'vav-**t*** *sircxvil-i*
these man-PL-DAT burn:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 shame-NOM
<NA with 3pl DAT MO/SS>

b. *am k'ac-eb-s sircxvil-i* ***s**-c'vav-**t*** // *s-c'vav-**s***
these man-PL-DAT shame-NOM burn:Ia:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 // burn:Ia:O_3:**S_{3sg}**
<NA with either 3pl DAT MO/SS **or** 3sg NOM MS/SO>
"these men burn with shame."

Both sentences have the same meaning. Placing the morphological subject before the verb increases its chances of blocking number agreement with the animate MO (SS). In the examples given in {39}-{43}, a direct Class A verb agrees in number with a zero-anaphor DO or IO having plural reference.

It is indeed the case that more highly presupposed arguments are more likely to govern number agreement. 1st and 2nd person pronominals, which are presupposed by the act of speaking itself [Silverstein 1981] govern number agreement more readily than 3rd person forms, and among the latter, NP types associated with topicality (anaphors; NPs denoting animate, more agentive arguments) are favored by the number agreement mechanism. My consultants confirmed that number agreement with the 3pl DAT NP of a transitive verb which allows indirect conjugation was more likely to occur if the argument in question is represented by a zero anaphor than by an overt NP.

{84} *amind-i ver da-Ø-a-brk'oleb-s / ?? da-**Ø**-a-brk'oleb-**t*** *mat*
weather-NOM can't hinder:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3 // hinder:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** them:DAT
(for 2 of 3 informants, *daabrk'olebs* preferred)
"The weather (MS/SS) cannot hinder them (MO/SO)."

{85} *amind-i ver da-**Ø**-a-brk'oleb-**t*** *Ø*
weather-NOM cannot hinder:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø-3pl:DAT
(for 2 of 3 informants only *daabrk'olebt* acceptable when Ø anaphor has plural animate reference)

{86} *ver da-**Ø**-a-brk'oleb-**t*** *Ø* *amind-i*
cannot hinder:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø-3pl:DAT weather-NOM
(for all 3 informants *daabrk'olebt* strongly preferred)

APPENDIX 3
SLOTS FOR SUFFIXAL NUMBER AGREEMENT IN GEORGIAN

When the suffix -t began to code number agreement with 2pl or 3pl Set O arguments in Middle Georgian, it remained in the final morpheme slot (slot 11), that is, the same slot where the -t used for number agreement with 1pl or 2pl Set S arguments is placed. The preceding slot (slot 10) is occupied by Set S person markers. In Middle Georgian usage it appears that no restrictions applied to the sequence of morphemes in slots 10 and 11, save one. When the Set S suffix in slot 10 marked 1st or 2nd person, or 3rd singular, its surface expression was not influenced by a -t suffix in slot 11. Here are some late Middle Georgian examples from the Rustaveli Commission card files:

{87} **Morpheme sequences (Slots 10 and 11)**

Set S 3sg + Set O 2pl: g_2-neb_4-av_7-s_{10}-t_{11} [Bagr. ist'. (c. 1800) 45:35]
desire:Ip:O_{2pl}:S_{3sg}
"you$_{pl}$ desire it"

Set S 3sg + Set O 3pl: $gamo_1$-$Ø_2$-vid-$_4$-es_{10}-t_{11} [sjul. 87:17 (late 18th c.)]
come:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"it would happen to them"

Set S 1sg + Set O 2pl: g_2-i_3-mt'k'ic_4-eb_7-$Ø_{10}$-t_{11} [sjul. 87:16]
solidify:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_{2pl}
"I establish it for you$_{pl}$"

On the other hand, I have not found any examples of the cooccurrence of Set S 3pl and Set O 2/3pl suffixes in Middle Georgian texts. In all of the cases known to me number agreement with a 2pl or 3pl Set O argument is not expressed when the MS controls 3pl Set S agreement. The following verb is attested in the Bagrat'ioni history cited above:

{88} *g_2-e_3-kmn_4-e_9-n_{10}* *mt'er-n-i* *tkven-n-i*
have:IIp:O_2:S_{3pl} enemy-PL-NOM your$_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"You$_{pl}$ will have your enemies." [Bagr. ist'. 60:21]

In 19th-century Georgian literature as well the Set O number agreement suffix -t could not cooccur with a S3pl suffix [K'iziria 1985:102], and this has been retained as the normative usage in Modern Standard Georgian [Tschenkeli 1958:363; K'vach'adze 1977:107-9; K'iziria 1982:139]. Tschenkeli [loc cit] gives the example sentence *isini tkven g-xat'av-en* [they-NOM youpl-DAT paint:Ia:S3pl:O2] "they are painting youpl." The form **g-xat'-av-en-t* is unacceptable in standard Georgian. Exceptions to this rule are attributable to the influence of nonstandard dialects.[76] In the

[76]Tschenkeli [1958:363] claims that "in der Umgangssprache" one encounters verbs with two successive plural suffixes, especially when the Set S 3pl marker is -es (the allomorph used in the aorist screeve of Class A verbs):

{i} *mat* *da_1-g_2-xat'$_4$-**es_{10}**-**t_{11}*** *tkven*
they:ERG paint:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_{2pl} you$_{pl}$:NOM
"they painted you$_{pl}$"

Tschenkéli does not indicate in which dialect area such verbs are used. This usage appears to me to be more characteristic of K'axetian or the northeast dialects than of Kartlian.

works of 19th-century authors from rural Kartli one finds verbs such as *še-Ø-u-ʒl-i-an-t (mat is)* "they:DAT can do it:NOM," *g-c'ad-i-an-t (tkven is)* "youpl:DAT wish it:NOM" [Imnaishvili 1968:103].77 When the MO (=SS) is 2pl or 3pl, the Set O plural number agreement marker -t is often attested in slot 11, following the Set S suffix -an- in slot 10.

Since the 19th century a distinct tendency to omit the 3sg Set S morpheme -s before Set O -t has been apparent [Shanidze 1953:183-4]. This is now the normative usage in written Georgian [Tschenkeli 1958:353-4]. So, corresponding to the first two 18th-century verb forms given in {87} we have the contemporary Georgian forms *g-nebav-t* "you$_{pl}$ desire it" and *gamo-Ø-u-vid-e-t* "it would happen to them."

[77]In the Kartlian and K'axetian dialects many indirect Class P verbs are conjugated in the present screeve with what appear to be 3pl Set S suffixes, even though these suffixes crossreference a **singular** 3rd person NOM argument [Imnaishvili 1974:50] (see §11.4).

CHAPTER IX. THE GEORGIAN DIALECTS.

The modern Georgian language comprises about fifteen dialects (estimates vary) showing greater or lesser divergence from the Kartlian-K'axetian based standard language. They are for the most part mutually intelligible, though showing interesting morphological and syntactic differences. The term "dialect" is applied to those regional varieties of Georgian denoted by the words *k'ilo* or *dialekt'i* in the scholarly literature upon which this section is based. The term "subdialect" translates the Georgian *k'ilok'avi* . Map #1 has been prepared from the detailed descriptions given in Gigineishvili, Topuria & Kavtaradze 1961 (henceforth abbreviated GTK) concerning the distribution of individual dialects and subdialects. Depicted is the Georgian Republic, which covers an area of 26,875 square miles, roughly identical in size to Ireland and somewhat smaller than South Carolina. A crow flying due east from Poti on the Black Sea coast to Q'vareli near the border with Daghestan would travel 400 kilometers. At the beginning of the 1990's, Georgia had a population of over five and a half million, of which 71% identify themselves as of Georgian nationality. In the 1979 census, 99.5% of ethnic Georgians living within Georgia declared Georgian their mother tongue, so one can assume that nearly all of the 3.9 million Georgians within the republic are native speakers of at least one Kartvelian language. (It is to be noted that Mingrelians, Svans and those Laz speakers living within Georgia identify themselves as Georgian). The Mingrelian speech community is estimated at 360,000, and the Svan community at 43,000. Subtracting these, one arrives at a round figure of three and half million speakers whose (primary) native language is Georgian. Almost all of the Laz speakers are on the Turkish side of the border, along the Black Sea coast [see also Schmidt 1978:247]. The 1965 Turkish census reported that 26,000 citizens declared Laz as their mother tongue, and 59,100 as their second language. Among the more prominent non-Kartvelian groups whose homelands are within Georgia are the Abxazians (Northwest Caucasian) and the Ossetians, who speak an Indo-European language of the Iranian group. Four dozen or so nationalities are represented in Tbilisi, most notably Russian and Armenian. Much of the territory south of Tbilisi is now occupied by Azerbaidjanians. On the other hand, many speakers of Laz and Georgian are found on the Turkish side of the border, and a small pocket of Georgians still exists in Iran.

I have divided the Georgian dialects into four groups on the basis of geographical and linguistic considerations. My classification is somewhat less finely-divided than that employed by Jorbenadze [1989] in his recent book on Georgian dialectology. The two dialect groupings — mine and Jorbenadze's — are juxtaposed below:

	THIS BOOK		JORBENADZE [1989]
I.	*Northeast dialects:*	**I.**	*Eastern mountain dialects:*
	Pshavian		Pshavian
	Xevsurian		Xevsurian
	Moxevian		Moxevian
	Mtiulian and Gudamaq'rian		Mtiulian and Gudamaq'rian
	Tushetian		Tushetian
II.	*East-central dialects:*	**II.**	*Eastern lowland dialects:*
	K'axetian		K'axetian
	Ingiloan		Ingiloan
	Fereidanian		Fereidanian
	Kartlian		Kartlian

II. *East-central dialects (concl'd):*
Javaxian and Mesxian

III. *Southwest dialects:*
Gurian
Ach'arian
Imerxevian

IV. *Northwest dialects:*
Upper Imeretian
Lower Imeretian
Lechxumian

Rach'an

III. *Southwest dialects:*
Javaxian and Mesxian

VI. *Western dialects (Lower zone):*
Gurian
Ach'arian
Imerxevian

V. *Western dialects (Middle zone):*
Imeretian

Lechxumian

IV. *Western dialects (Upper zone):*
Rach'an

The analyses of the Georgian dialects given in this section are derived from sources of two types: texts in the various dialects collected and transcribed by Georgian scholars, and grammatical descriptions presented in linguistic articles and monographs. For each dialect, several features relevant to number agreement will be evaluated. My statements concerning these dialects are to be interpreted in the light of the type of source upon which they are based. This is especially important in the case of negative claims. If a statement about the occurrence, non-occurrence or frequency of a linguistic phenomenon is given which directly reflects a claim made by a Georgian scholar, I will give a reference to the relevant literature. Otherwise I am relying upon impressions gleaned from my reading of the primary texts. The quantity of materials available to me in any given dialect or subdialect varies considerably. Fortunately, I have had access to fairly sizeable corpora in at least one dialect from each of the four groups, as well as at least one book-length grammatical description. Also, it should be noted that the bulk of the textual materials examined in this section were gathered in the first half of the present century. Since World War II the Georgian dialects have undergone considerable levelling due to the wide dissemination of the standard language through the mass media and the schools. We shall see some examples of this.

In most aspects of their morphology and syntax, the dialects of the Georgian language resemble each other closely. The complex case-marking system described in chapter 1 is found in the modern dialects, with some notable exceptions to be described later. The Set S and Set O person-agreement systems of the Georgian dialects are similar to those of the standard language. The inclusive/exclusive opposition characteristic of O_1 agreement in the earliest Georgian texts is not attested in any contemporary dialect. There is almost no variation in S_1 and S_2 marking in the dialects. Some variation in S_3 marking occurs in western Georgia; this will be described in the appropriate section. The distinction between $O_3{}^{X}$ ("indirect object") and $O_3{}^{\emptyset}$ ("direct object") marking has been lost in many modern dialects, especially in the west [Shanidze 1920]. The mapping between real-subjecthood and case and person agreement for the various semantic groups of verbs is quite uniform throughout the Georgian-speaking area. The distinction between direct and indirect verbs, and the process of inversion, are attested in all dialects.

As was the case for the written language, number agreement is the morphosyntactic component showing the greatest degree of variation among dialects. Considerable differences are observed from region to region, and sometimes from village to village. For this reason, attention will once again be focussed on the morphology and syntax of number agreement.

The descriptions of number agreement in the individual dialects will follow a particular format. Each section will be divided into five (or six) subsections, to make for ready comparison between dialects of the range of NPs controlling number agreement. The subsections are listed below, along with the corresponding data from the earliest and most recent stages of Literary Georgian (summarized in the preceding two chapters):

[a] 1st/2nd person number agreement.

Early Old Georgian: 1st and 2nd person NPs had no greater number agreement privileges than 3rd person NPs. Only Set S NPs could control number agreement, with the single exception of those Set O NPs assigned NOM case.

Modern Standard Georgian: All 1st and 2nd person Set S and Set O NPs can control number agreement, except when blocked by certain constraints on suffixation (Appendix 3, Chapter VIII).

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs.

[i] Number agreement with DOs.

Early Old Georgian: Formally-plural NPs (n-plural NPs, pronouns, certain nominals in the bare-stem (nonarticulated) NOM form) controlled number agreement in -(e)n- when functioning as the DOs (NP3s) of Class A verbs in those screeves (all Series II and most Series III screeves) based on aorist stems. This was the only context where Set O NPs had number agreement privileges.

Modern Standard Georgian: This type of agreement no longer occurs.

[ii] Number agreement with MSs of prefixal Class P verbs.

Early Old Georgian: Formally-plural NPs assigned NOM case (MS/NP1) by PREFIXAL CLASS P VERBS (those Class P verbs with the preradical vowel -i- or -e-) controlled two number agreement morphemes: the morpheme -(e)n- and also an S_{3pl} suffix.

Modern Standard Georgian: This type of agreement no longer occurs.

[c] Verbs with indirect syntax (indirect and inverse verbs).

Early Old Georgian: Only DIRECT CONJUGATION was available. The NOM-case Set S SO/MS controlled number agreement (if formally plural), while the DAT-case Set O SS/MO could not.

Modern Standard Georgian: INDIRECT CONJUGATION is available, and for most indirect verbs and all Class A verbs which have undergone inversion in Series III, it is obligatory. The agreement pattern is nearly the reverse of that for Old Georgian: the NOM-case Set S SO/MS cannot control number agreement (unless it is 1st or 2nd person), while the DAT-case Set O SS/MO controls number agreement in all three persons.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O non-SSs (other than [b_i] above).

Early Old Georgian: This type of agreement apparently did not occur. (It was, however, attested in a small number of texts beginning in the 12th century, marked by the particle q'e.)

Modern Standard Georgian: 1st and 2nd person Set O NPs can always control number agreement, whether or not they are functioning as SSs. In the case of 3rd person Set O NPs, as a general rule only SSs have this privilege. However, from time to time instances of indirect conjugation (Set O agreement for all three persons and both numbers) in verbs with direct syntax are observed in contemporary Georgian literature (examples in §8.2.3 of Chapter VIII).

[e] Animacy and number agreement.

Early Old Georgian: There was no correlation between animacy and the ability of an NP to control number agreement.

Modern Standard Georgian: Plural 3rd person NPs referring to animate beings almost always control number agreement, if they are functioning as SSs. NPs referring to inanimates do so comparatively seldom, especially in spoken usage.

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena. (Optional)

CHAPTER X. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN THE NORTHEAST DIALECTS

The Northeast Georgian dialects — Moxevian, Mtiulian, Xevsurian, Pshavian and Tushetian — are spoken in the mountainous provinces surrounding the north branches of the Aragvi river, due north of Tbilisi. Until very recently the cultural and linguistic influence of the capital was not as strongly felt here as in the lowland regions of Georgia. The distinctive features of the northeast dialects have begun to disappear from use, but are well preserved in the speech of the older generations, especially in folk poetry and songs. In addition to GTK, major sources of Northeast Georgian textual materials consulted during the preparation of this section are Shanidze's *kartuli k'iloebi mtaši* ("Georgian mountain dialects," abbreviated KKM: prose and poetic texts collected in the 1910's) and volume I of the collection *kartuli xalxuri p'oezia* ("Georgian folk poetry," abbreviated KXP: an important source of ritual and mythological poetry collected in the 1930's). I will begin this section with a detailed analysis of the morphosyntax of the Pshavian dialect, and from there proceed to less extensive discussions of the other northeast dialects, emphasizing those aspects in which they differ from Pshavian.

§10.1. Pshavian.

Despite its many phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences from the standard language, this dialect is known to every Georgian. One person is responsible for this: the writer Vazha-Pshavela (1861-1915), probably the most brilliantly original poet in recent Georgian literature. Vazha's poetry (but not his prose) was composed in his native dialect. Furthermore, Vazha did important ethnographic work on the traditional culture of Pshavi, and assisted in the collection of texts. The Pshavian dialect shares many morphological features with Old Georgian which are no longer characteristic of Modern Standard Georgian. The Series II permansive screeves are still in use, the S_{3sg} suffix -s is used with Class P verbs in the present and Class A verbs in the present perfect, S_2 prefixes are used (e.g. ***s-****tbeb-i* "you warm up"; cp OG *s-t'peb-i*, ModG *Ø-tbeb-i*), and ni/ta plurals are relatively common [Gogolauri 1978]. The pattern of number agreement is also considered more "archaic," if one takes the modern literary language as the standard.

[a] 1st/2nd person number agreement: Number agreement is essentially the same as in Modern Standard Georgian. In the 2nd person, number is marked on the verb for any argument controlling agreement, Set O as well as Set S (see Cocanidze [1978:67]).

{1} *tval-ta-c* *c'amo-**g**-d-i-s-**t*** *ʒmar-i-o* [KKM:89]
eye-DATPL-also come:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_{2pl} vinegar-NOM-QT
"Vinegar is coming out of your$_{pl}$ eyes."

{2} *pšavl-eb-o,* ***g**-e-lekseb-i-an-**t*** *kist'-eb-i-o* [Gogolauri 1978:122]
Pshav-PL-VOC poetize:Ip:S_{3pl}:O_{2pl} Kist'i-PL-NOM-QT
"Pshavians, the Kist'is are reciting poems to you$_{pl}$."

Note the cooccurrence of Set S 3sg and 3pl markers in slot 10 with the Set O plural suffix -t, unlike the norm for Modern Standard Georgian (Chapter VIII appendix 3; K'iziria [1985: 102-3]).

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs: This type of number agreement was attested in literary Georgian up to the 19th century. Many examples are found in Pshavian texts collected before World War II [Shanidze 1915; Gogolauri 1978:128; Cocanidze 1978:121-4].

{3}Number agreement with 1pl NOM DO
švid-n-i-ve-mc *kal-ad* ***gv**-a-kciv-**n**-a*
seven-PL-NOM-all-OPT woman-ADV change:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{1pl}:PLNOM**
"May he change all seven of us into women!" [KKM:76]

{4}Number agreement with 2pl NOM DO
γmertma ***g**-a-mq'op-**n**-es-**t**,* *da-**g**-loc-**n**-es-**t***
God-ERG sustain:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}:PLNOM** bless:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}:PLNOM**
"May God sustain you$_{pl}$ and bless you$_{pl}$" [Gogolauri 1978:123]

{5}Number agreement with 3pl NOM DO
kalman-n-i *k'i* *a-**Ø**-i-xv-**n**-a* *da* *xanǰr-it*
sandle-PL-NOM however take:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_3:PLNOM** and dagger-INS
*da-**Ø**-k'ap-**n**-a*
chop:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_3:PLNOM** [GTK:143]
"He picked up the leather sandles and hacked them with his dagger."

Cocanidze began collecting his Pshavian materials in 1971 from informants seventy to one hundred years of age. Examples of number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM DOs are found, but the pattern is less consistent, even within the same text:

{6} *da-gv-γup'-**n**-a . . .* *xo* *da-gv-γup'-e-o?*
destroy:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_{1pl}:**PLNOM** QUES destroy:IIa:S_2:O_{1pl}-QT
"He destroyed us . . Didn't you destroy us? (we said)" [Cocanidze 1978:132]

[ii] Number agreement with MSs of prefixal Class P verbs: The double-marking of plurality for the NOM MSs of Class P verbs prefixal with the vowels -i- or -e- is no longer found in literary Georgian, but it is the norm in Pshavian [Gogolauri 1978:124; Cocanidze 1978:59-60]:

{7} *xt-is* *k'ar-zed* *še-v-i-q'ar-**en**-i-**t*** *xt-is* *nabade-n-i*
God-GEN court-at gather:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM** god-GEN born-PL-NOM
"We, the offspring of God, shall gather in God's court." [KKM:69]

The S_{3pl} suffix -nen, which developed in standard Georgian through the reanalysis of the (e)n pluralizer (e.g. MSG *c'a-vid-nen* "they left," *da-i-zard-nen* "they grew up"), does not occur in Pshavian. The S_{3pl} markers -es and -en are used in the aorist and optative screeves of Class P verbs much as they were in Old Georgian [Cocanidze 1978:64-6]: *c'a-vid-es, da-i-zard-n-es.*

[c] Verbs with indirect syntax: Here as well the pattern of number agreement is more reminiscent of Old Georgian than Modern Standard Georgian. Verbs associated with indirect syntax (indirect verbs and series III forms of Class A verbs) are attested with direct conjugation in Pshavian texts. Consider the following instances of number agreement with 3pl NOM MSs (= SOs):

{8} *part'ena-n* *Ø-u-stv-i-**an*** *i* *deda-sa* *da* [Cocanidze 1978:213]
wool.clump-PLNOM spin:IIIa:O_3:**S_{3pl}** that mother-DAT and
c'q'al-n-i *m-c'q'ur-**an**-o* *balγ-s* *Ø-u-tkvam*
water-PL-NOM thirst:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}**-QT child-DAT say:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg}
"The mother <DAT, MO/SS> spun clumps of wool <NOM, MS/SO>, and the child said: I <DAT, MO/SS> am thirsty for water <NOM, MS/SO>." (ModG *Ø-u-stv-i-a, m-c'q'ur-i-a*)

On the other hand, indirect conjugation is almost never found with indirect-syntax verbs. According to Gogolauri [1978:128] number agreement in -t with 3pl DAT SSs is "completely alien" to Pshavian syntax.

{9} *imata* *xut manet-i* *de-Ø-e-gd-o* *ika* *da* *c'e-Ø-e-q'van-a* *i* *bočola-y*
those:DAT five ruble-NOM throw:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg} there and take:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg} that calf-NOM
"They <DAT, MO/SS> threw down five rubles <NOM, MS/SO> and took the yearling calf <NOM, MS/SO> away." (ModG *da-Ø-e-gd-o-**t**, c'a-Ø-e-q'van-a-**t***) [Cocanidze 1978:215]

{10} *gadmo-sul-iq'v-nen* *i* *mt-eb-ita* *da* *ge-Ø-e-rek'-a*
come:IIIp:S_{3pl} that mountain-PL-INS and drive:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg}
imat *ʒrox-eb-i*
those:DAT cow-PL-NOM
"They <NOM, MS/SS> had come down from the mountains, and they <DAT, MO/SS> had driven off the cattle." (cp ModG *ga-Ø-e-rek'-a-**t***) [ibid:156]

In {10}, the 3pl argument ("they") controls number agreement with the first verb, with which it functions as MS, but not the second verb, with which it is marked as MO, even though it is the SS of both verbs.[78]

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O non-SSs (other than above): This is not attested anywhere in the Pshavian texts available to me.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural suffix n(i) and t(a) are used much more frequently in Pshavian texts than in Modern Standard Georgian ones; they are especially common in poetry. According to Cocanidze [1978:121-4] and Gogolauri [1978:128-9] nouns in -n(i) (NOM plural) or -t(a) (ERG plural) can control plural number agreement, while NOM or ERG NPs headed by nouns in the eb-plural generally do not, even when they have animate reference.

{11} *beber-n ded-mama-**n**-i* *m-q'vand-**en**,* *d-**eb**-i*
old-PL mother-father-**PL_n**-NOM have:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** sister-**PL_{eb}**-NOM
*m-q'vand-**a***
have:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3sg}**
"I had elderly parents, I had sisters." [Cocanidze 1978:212]

[78]While this is the dominant agreement pattern for indirect verbs attested in the Pshavian corpus, including the most recent texts, a handful of exceptions — reflecting, perhaps, the influence of the literary Georgian — are also found:
gmiri *k'op'ala-s* *šišita* *dev-eb-s* *ver* *ga-**Ø**-u-xar-i-a-**t*** [KXP:131]
hero K'-GEN fear-INS ogre-PL-DAT cannot rejoice:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"From fear of the hero K'op'ala the ogres <DAT, MO/SS> cannot rejoice."

{12} *da-i-kc-**a*** *ise-**eb**-i . . .* *da-rč-**a*** *e balγ-**eb**-i*
run.away:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$** that-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM remain:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$** thischild-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM
"Those people ran away . . . these children remained." [KKM:65]

In those instances when number agreement does occur with ERG or NOM case eb-plural nouns (including NOM DOs of Class A verbs), these invariably denote animate beings:

{13} *da mo-idod-**en*** *mezobl-**eb**-i*
and come:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$** neighbor-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM
"and the neighbors <NOM, MS/SS> would come" [Cocanidze 1978:205]

{14} *da-v-sv-**en*** *i balγ-**eb**-i,* *da-v-a-c'vin-**en***
set:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM** that child-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM lay:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM**
"I laid the children <NOM, MO/SO> down, I put them to bed." [ibid:123]

As for n/t plurals, animacy is basically irrelevant in determining number agreement. Of 68 instances of number agreement with n/t plurals given in Cocanidze [1978:121-4] and Gogolauri [1978:128], 42 involve NPs denoting inanimate things.

{15} *leks-n* *v-i-c-**n**-i*
poem-PLNOM know:Ia:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM**
"I know the poems <NOM, MO/SO>." [Gogolauri 1978:128]

§10.2. Xevsurian.

The province of Xevsureti is immediately to the north of Pshavi and extends to the northern slopes of the Caucasus range. It is a region of rugged topography and alpine climate. Unlike some of its neighboring dialects, Xevsurian has not been prominently represented in Georgian literature. It is, however, the medium of transmission for a very rich oral tradition. In terms of morphology and syntax Xevsurian resembles the Pshavian dialect just described in many respects.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: The same pattern is found here as that characteristic of Pshavian and Modern Standard Georgian. Some variation in number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments has been documented. Here are four excerpts from a ritual beer-drinking litany collected in four different Xevsurian villages in the late 1930's:

{16} a. *aem č'ika-barʒim-ita,* *santel-supr-ita* *tkven* ***g**-a-did-a-s* *da*
this cup-chalice-INS candle-table-INS you$_{pl}$:NOM magnify:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_2$** and
*ga-**g**-i-marǰ-o-s* *γmert-ma, mtavarangeloz-is* *laškar-n-o!*
triumph:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_2$** God-ERG archangel-GEN troop-PL-VOC
"With this chalice, this candle-bedecked table, may God magnify you$_{pl}$ and grant you$_{pl}$ victory, O legions of the archangel!" [KXP #134:36-7 (Shat'ili)]

b. *aem č'ika-barʒim-ita,* *santel-supr-ita* *tkven* ***g**-a-did-**n**-a-s-**t**,*
this cup-chalice-INS candle-table-INS you$_{pl}$:NOM magnify:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$:PLNOM**
*ga-**g**-i-marǰ-o-s-**t**,* *p'irkuš* *molaškre-morazme-n-o!*
triumph:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2p}$** P'irkush soldier-troop-PL-VOC$_{\mathbf{l}}$
"With this chalice, this candle-bedecked table, may God magnify you$_{pl}$ and grant you$_{pl}$ victory, O soldiers of P'irkush (god of blacksmiths)!" [KXP #133:13-4 (Bacaligo)]

c. *aem č'ika-barʒim-zeda tkven **g**-a-did-a-s-**t**,*
this cup-chalice-upon you$_{pl}$:NOM magnify:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$**
*tkven ga-**g**-i-marǰ-o-s-**t**, laškar-n-o xt-isa-n-o!*
you$_{pl}$:DAT triumph-IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** troop-PL-VOC God-GEN-PL-VOC
"Upon this chalice, may he magnify you$_{pl}$, may he grant you$_{pl}$ victory, O armies of God!." [KXP #129:30-1 (Ghuli)]

d. *aem č'ika-barʒim-zeda tkven **g**-a-did-a-**t**, da*
this cup-chalice-upon you$_{pl}$:NOM magnify:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** and
*tkven ga-**g**-i-marǰ-o-s-**t**, qevsuretel-n-o xt-is-švil-n-o!*
you$_{pl}$:DAT triumph-IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** Xevsurian-PL-VOC God-GEN-child-PL-VOC
"Upon this chalice, may he magnify you$_{pl}$, may he grant you$_{pl}$ victory, O children of God (deities) of Xevsureti!" [KXP #131:7-8 (Xaxmat'i)]

In (a) no number agreement occurs between both the 2pl NOM DO and the 2pl DAT IO and their respective verbs, a phenomenon reminiscent of Old Georgian. Other Xevsurian texts, including other texts from the village Shat'ili, do show number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments, so (a) may well represent an archaism preserved by rote memorization.

In the first verb of (b), [g$_2$-a$_3$-did$_4$-n$_7$-a$_9$-s$_{10}$-t$_{11}$], two distinct morphemes with distinct functions are marking number agreement with a 2pl NOM DO. As in Old Georgian, the morpheme -(e)n- in slot 7 codes the plurality of a NOM case DO of a series II Class A verb. As in Modern Standard Georgian, the morpheme -t in slot 11 indicates number agreement with a 2pl Set O argument (cp OG g-a-did-**n**-e-s, ModG g-a-did-o-**t**).

The two verbs in (c) differ from their Modern Standard Georgian counter-parts only in the cooccurrence of the S$_{3sg}$ suffix -s (slot 10) and O$_{2pl}$ -t (slot 11).

The first verb in (d) shows deletion of the Set S suffix -s before -t, as in Modern Standard Georgian (see Appendix 3 of chapter VIII).

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: In Xevsurian, as in Pshavian and Old Georgian, number agreement in -(e)n- is attested. This usage is especially common in poetry and pre-war texts.

{17} *exla mo-o-s is vešap'-i da čven Ø-u-nd-o*
now come:Ip:S$_{3sg}$ thatwhale-NOM and us:NOM want:Ip:O$_3$:S$_{3sg}$
*da-**gv**-č'am-**n**-a-s-o*
eat:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{1pl}$:PLNOM**
"Now this whale comes along and wants to eat us up." [KKM:58]

{18} *qmelet-ze v-i-arebodid-i, salaɣobel-**n**-i da-v-a-cxv-**n**-id-i-o* [79]
dry.land-on go:IIa:S$_{1sg}$ treat-**PL$_n$**-NOM bake:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM**-QT
"I wander the earth, I bake treats." [KXP #28:6]

Variability in usage is also found, even within a single poem:

[79]Both verbs are in the (Series II) permansive screeve, though they bear a formal resemblance to the "mixed conjunctive" of Old Georgian (see ex {25}, §5.2).

{19} a. *č'iɣu-**n**-i* *mi-s-c-a* *tuǯ-isa-n-i*
clasp-**PL$_{n}$**-NOM give:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_{3}$ lead-GEN-PL-NOM
"He (Morige) gave him (the old man) leaden buckles." [KXP #80:14]

b. *č'iɣu-**n**-i* *mi-s-c-**n**-a* *sina-sa-n-i*
clasp-**PL$_{n}$**-NOM give:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_{3}$:**PLNOM** bronze-GEN-PL-NOM
"He give him bronze buckles." [KXP #80:50]

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: As would be expected, given the above facts, double number agreement with the NOM MSs of prefixal Class P verbs occurs:

{20} *xt-is* *k'ar-zed* *še-v-i-q'ar-**en**-i-t* [KXP:121]
God-GEN court-at gather:IIp:S$_{1pl}$:**PLNOM**
"Let us gather at God's court!" (cp ModG *še-v-i-q'ar-o-t*)

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: As in Pshavian and Old Georgian these verbs manifest direct conjugation despite their syntax:

{21} *ɣmert-s* *vašl-n-i* *čamo-Ø-u-q'r-i-**an*** [GTK:24]
God-DAT apple-PL-NOM throw.down:IIIa:O$_{3}$:**S$_{3pl}$**
"God <DAT, MO/SS> has thrown down apples <NOM, MS/SO>."
(ModG *čamo-Ø-u-q'r-i-a*)

Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs of indirect-syntax verbs is rarely found.[80]

{22} *ert deda* *x-q'on-iv-as-a* *cxra-t* *ʒma-t*
onemother:NOM have:IIIp:O$_{3}$:S$_{3sg}$ nine-DATPL brother-DATPL
"The nine brothers <DAT, MO/SS> had a mother." [GTK:24]
(cp ModG *h-q'ol-i-a-**t***)

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): This phenomenon is not attested in the Xevsurian corpus.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Number agreement with NOM-case n(i)-plurals and ERG-case t(a)-plurals appears to be obligatory, as in Pshavian. Instances of non-agreement for number with eb-plural NOM and ERG NPs are not as common as in Pshavian, and are correlated with inanimate reference.

{23} *xe-eb-s* *ma-s-č'r-i-**an*** *k'ac-**eb**-i* [GTK:5]
tree-PL-DAT cut:Ia:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_{3}$ man-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM
"The men will cut down the trees." *<Number agreement with plural animate NP>*

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[80]As in Pshavian, a few instances of number agreement in -t with 3pl DAT RSs are attested. This probably reflects the influence of the standard language.
šua-ši *vac-ver ʒ-n-i* *ša-i-b-n-es,* *rka-t* *isar*
middle-in goat-sheep-PL-NOM bind:IIp:S$_{3pl}$:PLNOM horn-DATPL arrow:NOM
Ø *ga-s-di-**t*** *tbian-i* [KXP:130]
Ø:3pl:DAT go:Ip:**O$_{3pl}$:**S$_{3}$ feathered-NOM
"The goats and sheep were caught in the middle, a feathered arrow <NOM, MS/SO>
goes past their <DAT, MO/SS> horns."

{24} *sisxl-is* *c'vet-eb-Ø* *da-cemul-iq'v* *kazdar-zed* [GTK:17]
blood-GEN drop-**PL$_{eb}$**-NOM fall:IIIp:**S$_{3sg}$** floor-on
"Drops of blood had fallen on the dirt floor."*<no NA with plural inanimate NP>*

§10.3 Moxevian.

The dialect, spoken in the province of Xevi, is known to most Georgians through the writings of Aleksandre Q'azbegi, which are heavily flavored with dialectisms.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: This patterns as in Modern Standard Georgian, including agreement with 2pl Set O arguments:

{25} *p'ir-ma* *da-**g**-loc-a-s-**t*** *γt-isa-ma* [KXP:140]
face-ERG bless:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** God-GEN-ERG
"May the face of God bless you$_{pl}$."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: No examples of number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM DOs are attested in the 25 pages of texts in GTK (collected 1948-1957) or in the half-dozen Moxevian poems from the 1930's in KXP.

{26} *sul ga-rek'-e* *eseni* [GTK:49]
all drive.out:IIa:S$_{2sg}$:O$_3$ these:NOM
"Throw all of them out!" (cp OG/Pshavian *ga-rek'-**en**-(i)*)

It is only in some of the Moxevian lyric and epic poems collected by Shanidze before World War I that we find examples of number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM DOs. (Note the inconsistent use of -(e)n- in the following example: number agreement is marked in the first verb but not the second, even though both have plural NOM DOs).

{27} *uk'u-Ø-i-xviv-**n**-a* *ʒuʒu-**n**-i,* *magra* *ša-Ø-i-k'r-a*
wrap:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM** breast-**PL$_n$**-NOM strong tie:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$
*tma-**n**-i-o* [KXP:206]
hair-**PL$_n$**-NOM-QT
"She wrapped her breasts, tied up her hair tightly."

{28} *tevz-**n**-i* *ga-Ø-c'q'vit'-**n**-a* *c'q'urvil-ma* [KKM:206]
fish-**PL$_n$**-NOM destroy:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$:**PLNOM** thirst-ERG
"Thirst killed the fish" (i.e. the fish died of thirst)

It has been noted that linguistic archaisms that are not used in other forms of speech may be preserved in memorized texts, such as poems or myths.[81]

[81]One instance that comes to mind concerns the Australian language Aranda. Kacnel'son [1967] reported that the pattern of case assignment is different in ritual and mythological texts than in other types of Aranda speech. In ordinary "conversational" Aranda, transitive verbs assign ergative case to their agent NPs, but intransitive verbs do not, even when their subject is a notional agent. (Many verbs of motion, as in Georgian, are intransitive and agentive.) In myths and ritual texts — which are likely to have been transmitted by memorization — examples of ergative-case subjects of

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: The use of -(e)n- in the Series II plural forms of i/e-prefixed Class P verbs appears to be the norm in Moxevian, even in the more recent texts.[82]

{29} *isri* *v-i-q'v-**n**-e-t-o* [GTK:34]
so be:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM**-QT
"That's how we were."

A couple of prefixal Class P verbs without -(e)n- are attested in GTK; they represent a minority of these forms:

{30} *mt'er-i* *unda* *da-gw-e-c-n-es-o* *da* *mzas i-q'av-i-t-o*
enemy-NOM must attack:IIp:S_{3pl}:O_{1pl}:PLNOM-QT and ready be:IIp:S_{1pl}-QT
"The enemy is going to attack us, so be ready." (cp OG: *i-q'v-**en**-i-t*) [GTK:42]

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: A few examples of number agreement with the 3pl NOM MS/SOs of indirect-syntax verbs are found in Shanidze's Moxevian texts:

{31} *imat* *mocnaur-n-i* *Ø-q'vand-**es*** *amorčeul-n-i*
those:DAT acquaintance-PL-NOM have:Ip:O_3:**S_{3pl}** selected-PL-NOM
"They <DAT, MO/SS> have selected (their) acquaintances <NOM, MS/SO>." [KKM:198]

Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is also attested with these verbs, especially in GTK:

{32} *Ø* *šarigeba* *ro* *Ø-undod-a-**t*** *mo-Ø-e-qdin-a-**t***
Ø<3pl:DAT> reconciliation:NOM that want:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} influence:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"those <DAT, MO/SS> who wanted to encourage reconciliation" [GTK:34]

And, in several cases, no such number agreement occurs:

{33} *mat* *h-q'vand-a* *tavisi* *q'araul-i* [GTK:49]
they:DAT have:Ip:O_3:S_{3sg} their.own guard-NOM
"They had their own guard." (cp ModG: *h-q'vand-a-**t***)

In GTK's Moxevian corpus, in 9 of 10 occurrences of number agreement in -t with 3pl DAT arguments the latter are represented by zero anaphors. By contrast, in all five cases where no number agreement occurs, an overt 3pl DAT NP is present in the clause. It seems likely that givenness — assumption by the speaker that certain knowledge is in the consciousness of the addressee [Chafe 1976:30-3] — is a factor contributing to number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs in Moxevian, just as it is relevant to several agreement phenomena in literary Georgian.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): This pattern of agreement is evidently not found in Moxevian.

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agentive intransitives are attested. From this Kacnel'son concludes that Aranda recently shifted from an active-stative to an ergative-absolutive case system.

[82]Evidence that the above is indeed doubly-marked number agreement comes from other Class P verbs. Their S_{3pl} suffixes in series II are -es or -en, as in Old Georgian; one does not find the suffix -nen, which would indicate that -(e)n- no longer has independent status.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural morphemes n(i) and t(a) are less common in Moxevian than in Pshavian and Xevsurian, and are largely restricted to poetry and songs.[83]

In GTK's corpus, number agreement is strongly correlated with animacy, and especially humanness. The type of pluralizer, -n/t or -eb, is not the primary factor as in the more conservative northeast dialects:

{34} *cxen-eb-i* *da-diod-**a*** [GTK:38]
horse-PL-NOM go:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$**
"The horses would go (back and forth)."

{35} *kist'-eb-i* *amo-diod-**es*** [GTK:47]
Kist'i-PL-NOM come.up:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$**
"The Kist'is (a North Caucasian tribe) came up."

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: The particle k'e, a variant of the q'e morpheme described in chapter V (section §5.5) is used in Moxevian, but not for coding plurality of Set O arguments. It is associated with iterative and habitual aspect, and often cliticizes onto verbs in the permansive screeve.

{36} *c'inav* *satib-ad* *maxrili cel-eb-i* *i-q'v-i-s-**k'e*** [GTK:28]
before for.mowing curved scythe-PL-NOM be:IIp:S$_{3sg}$-k'e
"Earlier there were curved scythes for mowing hay." <*verb in permansive*>

§10.4. Mtiulian and Gudamaq'rian.

Mtiulian and its subdialect Gudamaq'rian are spoken to the south of Xevi. The number agreement mechanism here is fundamentally the same as in Moxevian.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: 2pl Set O arguments control number agreement in -t:

{37} *c'a-**g**-a-rtmev-**t*** *kal-s-o* [GTK:68]
take:Ia:S$_{1sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** woman-DAT-QT
"I will take the woman away from you$_{pl}$."

An exception is attested in a narrative collected in the 1930's:

{38} *tkven* *ar* *mi-**g**-i-šob-s-o* [Chikobava 1937:59]
you$_{pl}$:DAT not release:Ia:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_2$**-QT
"He will not let you$_{pl}$ out."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: In Mtiulian, as in Moxevian, this pattern of number agreement is only attested in poetic texts. The following sentences come from several variants of a Mtiulian poem given in KXP:139,348-9. In one version, recorded in 1950 from a 76-year-old informant (village Seturni) number agreement in -(e)n- with a NOM DO is marked:

[83]The suffixes -en and -et, used to form family and clan designations, appear to be related to these pluralizers (e.g. NOM *čopik'-**en**-i* "Chopik's clan," GEN *čopik'-**et** givargi* "George of Chopik's clan").

{39} *da-v-lax-**n**-e-t* *kviša-n-i* [KXP:139]
cross:IIa:S_{1pl}:O_3:**PLNOM** sand-PL-NOM
"We crossed the sands."

Another variant recorded in 1916 also has number agreement in -(e)n- with the DO: *da-v-lax-**en** kviša-n-i* "I crossed the sands" [KXP:348]. Two other versions, one of them recorded in 1876, have the same verb without number agreement: *da-v-lax-e-t kviša-n-i*.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Prefixal Class P verbs with plurals in (e)n- are attested in Mtiulian and Gudamaq'rian texts [Chikobava 1937:54]:

{40} *da-i-mal-**en**-i-t* *tkvena-o!* [GTK:75]
hide:IIp:S_{2pl}:**PLNOM** you_{pl}:NOM-QT
"Hide yourselves!"

The other types of Class P verbs (root and d-suffixed) do not have plurals with -(e)n- in Series II, nor has a S_{3pl} marker corresponding to Modern Standard Georgian -nen evolved [Chikobava 1937:54].

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Number agreement with 3pl NOM MSs (SOs) of indirect verbs is observed in some Gudamaq'rian and Mtiulian texts.

{41} *rka-n-i* *h-kond-**en*** *okro-s* *mis-n-i* [KKM:156]
horn-PL_n-NOM have:IIp:O_3:**S_{3pl}** gold-GEN its-PL-NOM
"It (deer) <MO/SS> had horns <MS/SO> of gold."

Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is more widespread in both dialects, even in the texts collected by Shanidze in the 1910's:

{42} *mtiul-eb-sa* *ik* *unda da-**Ø**-e-liv-a-**t*** *mžavlis* *c'ven-i*
Mtiulian-PL-DAT there must drink:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} sorrel juice-NOM
"There the Mtiulians <MO/SS> had to drink sorrel juice <MS/SO>." [KKM:172]

In a few cases givenness seems to play a role in determining whether number agreement occurs:

{43} *im kal-eb-s_k* ***Ø**-u-q'idn-i-a* *sazamtro* *sami* *da*
that woman-PL-DAT buy:IIIa:**O_3**:S_{3sg} watermelon:NOM three and
$Ø_k$ *ga-**Ø**-u-gzavn-i-a-**t*** *mam-isa-tvin*
Ø<3pl:DAT> send:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} father-GEN-for [(Mtiulian) GTK:63]
"Those women bought <no NA> three watermelons and sent <NA> them to their father."

{44} *imat$_m$* *sopel-sa* ***Ø**-q'vand-a* *meore* *sopl-isa*
those:DAT village-DAT have:IIp:**O_3**:S_{3sg} second village-GEN
k'ac-i *dač'ril-i.* *$Ø_m$* *čxub-ši* *de-**Ø**-e-č'r-a-**t**.*
man-NOM wounded-NOM Ø<3pl:DAT> fight-in wound:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
$Ø_m$ *mo-**Ø**-svl-iq'o-**t*** *šuγl-i*
Ø<3pl:DAT> come:IIIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} quarrel-NOM

"In the village they had wounded <no NA> a man from another village. They had wounded him <NA> in a fight. A quarrel had broken out <NA>among them." [(Gudam.) GTK:87]

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): As in the other northeast dialects, this is not attested in Mtiulian and Gudamaq'rian.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The correlation between animacy and number agreement is essentially the same as in Moxevian. The n/t plural is found more in poetry than in prose, and number agreement with such plurals is independent of animacy. Number agreement with 3pl NPs in eb is dependent on animacy, as in Modern Standard Georgian.

{45} *zvae-eb-i* *čamo-di-**s*** [GTK:55]
avalanche-PL-NOM come.down:Ip:**S_{3sg}**
"Avalanches come down."

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: As in Moxevian the particle k'e is used in connection with habitual aspect, but does not have any number agreement function [Chikobava 1937:54-5].

{46} *namgaal-it* *q'ana-sa* *v-mk'i-t-**k'e*** [GTK:55]
sickle-INS field-DAT mow:Ia:S_{1pl}:O_3-k'e
"We (habitually) mow the field with sickles."

§10.5 Tushetian.

The Georgian dialect spoken in Tusheti is better known for its phonetic peculiarities than for its grammatical ones. Morphosyntactically Tushetian resembles the other northeast dialects.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Number agreement in -t with 2pl Set O arguments generally occurs, though it can sometimes be blocked by a S_{3pl} suffix occupying slot 10.

{47} *mta-ze* *da-**g**-i-ʒax-o-n-**t** . . .* *bar-ši* *da-**g**-i-ʒax-o-n* [KKM:231]
mountain-on call:IIa:S_{3pl}:**O_{2pl}** lowland-in call:IIa:S_{3pl}:**O_2**
"May they call on you$_{pl}$ in the mountains . . . may they call on you$_{pl}$ in the lowlands."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Instances of number agreement with NOM DOs occur in Tushetian texts, especially the older ones, but less frequently than in Pshavian or Xevsurian. Here also variants of a poem have been collected in which the same verb shows number agreement in one version but not in another:

{48} a. *tetr-ad* *da-tov-**n**-a* *mta-n-i* [KKM:237]
white-ADV snow:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:**PLNOM** mountain-PL-NOM
b. *tetr-ad* *da-tov-a* *mta-n-i* [ibid]
white-ADV snow:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 mountain-PL-NOM
"It (snow) whitely snowed over the mountains."

Only one instance of number agreement in -(e)n- with a NOM DO is attested in the more recently collected Tushetian texts in GTK:

{49} *ded-mama-t* *da-**gv**-zard-**n**-es* [GTK:123]
mother-father-ERGPL raise:IIa:S_{3pl}:**O_{1pl}:PLNOM**
"Our parents raised us."

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: The use of -(e)n- with plural forms of prefixal Class P verbs is the norm in Tushetian.

{50} *tkven-av* *mo-m-e-švel-**n**-id-i-t-av* [GTK:122]
you_{pl}:NOM-QT help:IIp:S_{2pl}:O_{1sg}:**PLNOM**-QT
"You_{pl} (habitually) helped me."

There is some evidence in GTK that this pattern of number agreement in -(e)n- has spread to other Class P verbs in series II:

{51} *exl* *c'a-v-id-**n**-e-t,* *rame* *mo-v-i-koni-o-t,*
now go:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM** something:NOM get:IIa:S_{1pl}:O_3
*da-v-mc'q'emsd-**n**-e-t* [GTK:123]
shepherd:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM**
"Let's go and earn something, let's become shepherds."

The first verb in {51} is a root Class P verb, and the third is a d-suffixed (inchoative) Class P verb. Neither of these types of verb ever allowed number agreement with NOM MSs in -(e)n- in Old Georgian. The existence of forms like those in {51} is evidently due to extension by analogy with prefixal Class P verbs.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: In general, number agreement with the NOM MS (SO) of indirect-syntax verbs, and not with the DAT MO/SS is favored in Tushetian.

{52} *šin* *ara g-q'vand-**es**-t* *bič'-eb-i* [KKM:236]
inside not have:IIp:O_{2pl}:**S_{3pl}** boy-PL_{eb}-NOM
"You_{pl} did not have boys at home."

{53} *tuš-t* *de-Ø-e'-č'ir-**n**-**es*** *or-n-iv,*
Tushetian-DATPL catch:IIIa:O_3:**S_{3pl}:PLNOM** two-PL-all
*c'ame-Ø-e'-q'van-**n**-**es*** [GTK:116]
take:IIIa:O_3:**S_{3pl}:PLNOM**
"The Tushetians <DAT, MO/SS> had caught both of them <NOM, MS/SO>
and brought them here."(cp ModG *da-Ø-e-č'ir-a-t, c'amo-Ø-e-q'van-a-t*)

Note the variability in number agreement behavior in this excerpt from an invocation. (Two other versions have only *g-ind-a* [KXP:124,125]; another has only *g-i-nd-an* [KXP:278].

{54} *p'ur-sa-γ* *Ø-u-mat'-e,* *giorgi, tu* *g-i-nd-**a*** [KXP:118]
bread-DAT-EMPH increase:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_3 G.-VOC if want:Ip:O_2:**S_{3sg}**
k'od-n-i *savse-n-i;* *cxvar-sa-γ* *Ø-u-mat'-e,*
trough-PL-NOM full-PL-NOM sheep-DAT-EMPH increase:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_3
giorgi, tu *g-i-nd-**an*** *rka-ǰangian-n-i*
G.-VOC if want:Ip:O_2:**S_{3pl}** horn-iron-PL-NOM
"Increase the grain, [St.] George, if you want full troughs;
Increase the sheep, George, if you want iron-bedecked horns."

Number agreement with a 3pl DAT SS is less common. A few exceptions to this pattern are attested in KKM:

{55} *c'es-i* *Ø-a-kv-**t*** *tuš-is* *švil-ta* [KKM:258]
law-NOM have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 Tusheti-GEN child-DATPL
"The children of Tusheti have a custom"

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): Nothing indicating the presence of this phenomenon is attested.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural suffixes n(i) and t(a) appear to be a bit more frequently used in Tushetian than in Moxevian or Mtiulian. Number agreement is basically the same as in the other northeast Georgian dialects.

{56} *kvatemt-is mta-zed* *agebul* *i-q'-**w*** *ivana'urt-is* *tem-is* *cixe-eb-i*
K.-GEN mountain-on built be:IIp:S_{3sg} I.-GEN family-GEN fort-PL-NOM
"The fortresses of the Ivanaurt clan were built on Kvatemt Mountain." [GTK:105]

§10.6. Summary.

The more conservative northeast dialects (Pshavian, Xevsurian) resemble Old Georgian in their lack of a distinct indirect conjugation. All verbs, even if they participate in indirect constructions, take direct conjugation. In other words, in the northeast dialects, as in Old Georgian, the feature of number has not spread to all persons in the Set O system. Pshavian and Xevsurian do differ from Old Georgian in extending the number opposition to O_2 agreement, though traces remain which indicate that at an earlier time 2pl IOs and DOs did not control number agreement (e.g. the Xevsurian invocation collected at Shat'ili, ex. {16}).

{57} **Person marking in the conservative northeast dialects**

Set S markers					*Set O markers*			
v-	<1, -pl>	v-	-t	<1, +pl>	m-	<1, -pl>	gv-	<1, +pl>
Ø-	<2, -pl>	Ø-	-t	<2, +pl>	g-	<2, -pl>	**g-**	**-t** <2, +pl>
-s,a	<3, -pl>		-en,es	<3, +pl>			h/s/Ø-	<3>

Also, agreement in (e)n with DOs and MSs in series II and III is attested in these dialects, especially in texts collected before World War II. This indicates that the NOM case enjoys a special status in the syntactic component of the grammar, as was the case in Old Georgian.

Finally, it has been noted that plural marking in n/t is far more common in the northeast dialects than in the modern literary language. in this respect as well these dialects resemble Old Georgian. In

Pshavian, the sharp distinction in syntactic behavior between n/t-plurals and eb-plurals is still maintained: only the former can control S_{3pl} agreement.

CHAPTER XI. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN THE EAST-CENTRAL DIALECTS

§11.1. K'axetian.

This dialect is spoken in a large area extending from the outskirts of Tbilisi eastward to the Azerbaidjan border. K'axetian, along with Kartlian, forms the dialect base from which the modern literary language has developed. According to Gigineishvili et al [GTK:177] "the K'axetian dialect is essentially a homogeneous one, but three dialect varieties can be distinguished: Outer K'axetian (west), Inner K'axetian (northeast), and Kiziq'uri (southeast)." Significant subdialectal differences will be discussed where relevant.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments is as in Modern Standard Georgian. The plurality of 2pl Set O arguments is always marked in the verb. Especially in Outer K'axetian, the suffix -t is used for this purpose. (Note the cooccurrence of the -t suffix and the S_{3pl} marker -en in the following example).

{1} *k'ino-ši xo **g**-a-čveneb-en-**t*** [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:127]
cinema-in QUES show:Ia:S_{3pl}:**O_{2pl}**
"Will they show it to you_{pl} at the movies?"

Throughout K'axeti, especially in the eastern part, the suffix -q'e is used to code plurality:

{2} *me or-ta-ve-s mo-**g**-xad-e-**q'e** bodiš-i*
I:ERG two-DATPL-all-DAT give:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** apology-NOM
"I apologized to both of you <DAT, IO>." [GTK:179]

Sometimes both -t and -q'e are present in the same verb. Usually this indicates a 1pl Set S MS and a 2pl Set O MO:

{3} *sam sanaʒleo-s da-**g**-i-dep-**t**-**q'e*** [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:128]
three wager-DAT lay:Ia:S_{1pl}:**O_{2pl}**
"We <(v)- -t> will lay three bets on you_{pl} <g- -q'e>."

According to Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili [1956:129] the double marking of 2nd person plurality, with -t and -q'e present in the same verb, has also been attested:

{4} *me eg tkven unda še-**g**-e-k'itx-o-**t**-**k'e***
I:ERG that:NOM you_{pl}:DAT must ask:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}:pl**
"I should ask you_{pl} <g- -t-k'e> that."

(Note the use of -k'e, a phonetic variant[84] of -q'e). Sometimes one and the same speaker will use first the one (-t), then the other (q'e/k'e) suffix to code plurality. The following sentences come from a narrative recorded in Gurjaani Raion (Inner K'axeti):

{5}a. *bič'-ma Ø-u-txr-a-t . . . aem or šaur mo-**g**-cem-**q'e**-o.*
boy-ERG tell:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_{3pl} this two sh.:DAT give:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}**-QT
"The boy told them ... I will give you two shauri (10 kopecks)." [GTK:192]

[84]On the "sporadic" alternation between [k'] and [q'] see Schmidt [1962: 70-71].

b. *me* *tkven* *kal* *rogor* *mo-**g**-cem-**t**-o?*
I:NOM you_{pl}:DAT woman:DAT how give:Ia:S_{1sg}:$\mathbf{O_{2pl}}$-QT
"How will I give the woman to you_{pl}?" [GTK:193]

According to Chikobava [1968:276-7] the use of -q'e was once more widespread in K'axeti, but under the influence of literary Georgian it is gradually being replaced by -t.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: This is not found in modern K'axetian, though a few Class A verbs agreeing in -(e)n- with NOM-case DOs are attested in 17th-century documents from K'axeti [Uturgaidze et al 1984:124].

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: The suffix -(e)n- appears in the plural forms of prefixal Class P verbs in series II screeves [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:95].

{6} *švid-as-n-i* *mt'er-n-i* *da* *švid-n-i* [GTK:180 (Inner K'ax)]
seven-hundred-PL-NOM enemy-PL-NOM andseven-PL-NOM
ǰoxar-n-i-o *xevgrʒela-s* *ša-v-i-q'ar-**en**-i-t-o*
J.-PL-NOM-QT X.-DAT meet:IIp:S_{1pl}:**'PLNOM'**-QT
"We, seven hundred enemies and seven Joxari brothers, met at Xevgrdzela."

It is unlikely that this represents true double number agreement such as is found in the northeast dialects, since number agreement in (e)n is no longer found with Class A verbs in series II. Also, there is evidence that 1pl and 2pl endings containing (e)n have spread to other types of Class P verbs in series II: *a-v-dg-**net*** "We arose, got up" (cp 3pl *a-dg-nen*) [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:95]. A more reasonable interpretation is that a new set of S_{1pl} and S_{2pl} markers (v- -net and Ø- -net) have arisen in K'axetian, paralleling the S_{3pl} marker -nen also found in Modern Standard Georgian (see section 2.2.3). These endings are only used in the series II screeves of Class P verbs. I have not found any series III forms of Class P verbs with these endings; only forms without (e)n are attested in GTK's K'axetian corpus:

{7} *gada-v-sul-iq'av-i-t* [GTK:205 (Outer K'ax.)]
go.across:IIIp:S_{1pl}
"We had gone over there." (cp Pshavian *gada-v-sul-iq'v-**en**-i-t*)

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: As a rule indirect and inverse verbs manifest indirect conjugation. Plurality of 3pl DAT SSs is indicated by -t or -q'e. Only the former is attested in this role in the K'axetian texts in GTK:

{8} ***Ø**-u-t'ex-i-a-**t*** *t'q'e* *da* ***Ø**-u-čex-i-a-**t***
break:IIIa:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_{3sg} wood:NOM and chop:IIIa:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_{3sg}
"They broke up the wood and chopped it." [GTK:204 (Outer K'ax.)]

Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili [1956:128] have collected four examples of verbs with q'e/k'e as the marker of DAT SS plurality:

{9} *me* *mat* *ar* *mi-v-**Ø**-q'vand-i-**q'e***
I:NOM they:DAT not lead:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{1sg}
"They <DAT, MO/SS> did not bring me <NOM, MS/SO>."

In each of these four examples, q'e/k'e cooccurs with a 1st or 2nd person Set S suffix. It is probably the case that in K'axetian, as in Rach'an [Dzidziguri 1970:242], speakers avoid the use of -t as a Set O plural marker in those contexts where it could be misinterpreted as a Set S 1st or 2nd plural suffix. If this is true, K'axetian *mi-v-Ø-q'vand-i-**t*** can only mean "he/she/they <DAT> brought us <NOM>," and not "they <DAT> brought me/us <NOM>."

On occasion, verbs associated with indirect syntax have been attested with direct conjugation. In each case, the MS (SO) denoted animate referents [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:127].

{10} *c'inat* *k'i* *m-i-naxv-**a-nan*** *isini*
before however see:IIIa:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** them:NOM
"I have indeed seen them before."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): The plurality of 3pl IOs and DOs of verbs with direct syntax is frequently marked in K'axetian. Both -t and -q'e are used for this purpose.

NUMBER AGREEMENT WITH 3PL ADDRESSEE

{11} *šemo-id-nen* *q'ačaγ-eb-i.* *upros-i* ***Ø**-e-ubneb-a-**t** . . .*
come-in:IIp:S_{3pl} robber-PL-NOM senior-NOM say:Ip:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"The robbers entered. The boss says to them . . . " [GTK:207]

NUMBER AGREEMENT WITH 3PL RECIPIENT/BENEFACTOR

{12} *aγar* ***Ø**-a-ʒlev-s-**q'e***
no.longer give:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"He no longer gives it to them." [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:128]

NUMBER AGREEMENT WITH 3PL THEME/PATIENT

{13} *bič'-ma* *natesav-eb-i* *c'a-**Ø**-i-q'van-a-**q'e*** *im* *boʒ-tan*
boy-ERG relatiion-PL-NOM take:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** that pillar-by
"The boy took his relatives to that pillar." [ibid:128]

{14} *sa-ca* *k'i* *de-**Ø**-e-cem-a-**t*** *an xalx-s an sakonel-s,*
where indeed fall.on:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** or people-DAT or livestock-DAT
gaupuč'ebel-s *ar* ***Ø**-u-šveb-**t**.*
unharmed-DAT not release:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"Whenever it (dragon) attacked either people or livestock it did not release them unharmed." [GTK:190]

As the above examples illustrate, both NOM and DAT-case objects can control number agreement in -t or -q'e. Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili [1956:128] give one remarkable — and possibly unique — instance of number agreement in -t with the 3pl NOM NP3 (MS) of a Class A verb in series III:

{15} *turme* *i* *dev-s* *ga-Ø-u-kvaveb-i-**a-t*** *Ø*
apparently that ogre-DAT petrify:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg}:**pl** Ø:3pl:NOM
"Evidently that ogre <DAT, MO/SS> has turned them <NOM, MS/SO> into stone."
(cp OG *ga-Ø-u-kvaveb-i-an,* ModG *ga-Ø-u-kvaveb-i-a*)

Compare {15} to example {10}: *me isini m-i-naxv-a-**nan*** "I <DAT, MO/SS> have seen them <NOM, MS/SO>." Though syntactically similar, these two sentences represent two distinct stages in the history of the language. Example {10}, with direct conjugation, can be considered an archaism, a throwback to an earlier stage characterized by Old Georgian-type morphosyntactic patterning (i.e. direct conjugation for verbs of all types, regardless of how their SSs were crossreferenced). Its retention in modern K'axetian is motivated by the animacy of the referent of its MS, a consideration that may not have been relevant earlier in the history of this dialect. Example {15} represents, I believe, a relatively recent extension of the semantic field of -t. Chikobava has argued that the use of -t to mark number agreement with 3pl non-SSs came about through a process of replacement [1968:276-7]. Earlier, according to Chikobava, -q'e alone was used to code plurality of 2pl and 3pl DOs and IOs. Since then the morpheme -t has been appropriating the functions characteristic of -q'e and therefore taking on a semantic range it does not have in Modern Standard Georgian. Though I have not found examples to back up this claim, I believe that at one time -q'e could be used in sentences like {21}: *ga-Ø-u-kvaveb-i-a-**q'e** mas isini* "he <DAT> has turned them <NOM> into stone." Only later did -t encroach on this semantic territory.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Nominal plurals in -n(i) or -t(a) are rare in K'axetian, though not unheard of [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:125]. They are largely confined to family and clan names (*odoǰaan-t p'at'arʒali* "a bride from the Odoja clan") and NPs with numeral quantifiers (*švid-n-i ʒma-n-i* "seven brothers") [Jorbenadze 1989:325-6]. It is clear that plural formation in -eb predominates.

Number agreement with plural NPs denoting inanimates seldom occurs [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:127]. NPs with plural animate reference usually control plural number agreement. At the same time, in certain contexts formally plural NPs with animate reference are attested controlling singular number agreement in the verb [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:127]:

{16} *čveni* *p'ap'-eb-i* *ori* *ʒma-n-i* *q'opil-a.* *es* *ori* [GTK:204]
our forefather-PL-NOM two brother-PL-NOM be:IIIp:**S_{3sg}** this two
ʒma-n-i *obl-eb-i* *q'opil-**a**.* *tavad-sa* *Ø-q'ol-i-a*
brother-PL-NOM orphan-PL-NOM be:IIIp:**S_{3sg}** prince-DAT have:IIIp:O_3:S_{3sg}
q'm-eb-ita, *da-Ø-u-č'ern-i-a.* *eseni* *a-mdgar-**an*** *turme,*
serf-PL-INS take-IIIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 these-NOM arise:IIIp:**S_{3pl}** apparently
iʒulebul-i *ga-xd-**nen*** *da* *gama-i-p'ar-**nen***
forced-NOM become:IIp:**S_{3pl}** and escape.here:IIp:**S_{3pl}**
"Our ancestors were <no NA> two brothers. These two brothers were <no NA> orphans. A prince owned them as serfs, he took them into his service. They apparently rose up <NA>, they were forced to <NA>, and they escaped <NA> (and came) here."

All of Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili's examples of nonagreement for number with animate plural arguments involve an overt NP, usually nonpronominal. Unfortunately they do not give examples of more than a single sentence in length. The longer passage given above shows that marking of 3pl agreement begins once the full NPs are replaced by pronouns and zero anaphors.

Earlier in this chapter we observed the relevance of givenness for number agreement with the DAT SSs of series III verbs in some of the northeastern Georgian dialects. Both of these phenomena involve NPs crossreferenced by Set O agreement. In the K'axetian dialect givenness appears to be relevant to number agreement with SSs crossreferenced by Set S agreement markers, a phenomenon not observed in Modern Standard Georgian or the northeastern dialects.

As for number agreement with 3pl non-SS arguments, the same factors are relevant as for SSs, but the threshold for agreement is higher. All fifty examples of number agreement in -t or -q'e/k'e with arguments of this type that I have found involve NPs with animate reference. Likewise, givenness seems to play a part in determining number agreement: in GTK's K'axetian corpus 10 of 12 instances of number agreement in -t with a 3pl non-SS occurred when the latter was represented by a zero anaphor.

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: Distinct permansive screeves are still used by some older-generation K'axetian speakers. They are especially common in the Kiziq'ian subdialect [Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:96-8]. On occasion verbs denoting habitual aspect are accompanied by -q'e/k'e as in Mtiulian. This function is distinct from the plural number agreement function discussed elsewhere in this section:

{17} *v-i-ar-e-t-**k'e*** *gza-ši*
go:IIa:S_{1pl}-k'e way-in
"We went along the road (habitually)."

§11.1.1. Writers from K'axeti.

Some Georgian authors of K'axetian origin have used verb forms in their writing which are not viewed as standard, in that number agreement with 3pl arguments which are not functioning as SSs frequently occurs. This is particularly true of 19th-century writers. Here are some examples from the works of Ilia Ch'avch'avadze, born in central K'axeti [K'iziria 1985; Mart'irosovi & Imnaishvili 1956:129-30].

{18} *bič'-ma p'asux-i mi-**Ø**-u-t'an-a-**t** **Ø***
boy-ERG answer-NOM bring:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:DAT
"The boy did not bring them an answer." [Ilia Coll. works II:226]

The following passage is taken from a novel by the popular contemporary writer Otar Ch'iladze, a native of southeastern K'axeti. In his works Ch'iladze frequently uses the suffix -t to mark number agreement with 3pl non-SS arguments. According to K'ik'nadze [1983], he uses this as a means of maintaining explicit reference to topical plural arguments represented by zero anaphors. Here is an example from pg. 205 of the novel *q'ovelman čemman mp'ovnelman:*

{19} *madlobl-eb-i-z i-q'v-**nen**, saertod tu ga-**Ø**-a-nebebd-a-**t** **Ø-z** tav-s . . .*
thankful-PL-NOM be:IIp:S_{3pl} in.general if leave:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:DAT self-DAT
*ar a-**Ø**-i-ʒulebd-a-**t** **Ø-z** gazet-eb-isa da p'rok'lamaci-eb-is*
not force:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:DAT newspaper-PL-GEN and proclamation-PL-GEN
*k'itxva-s . . . . mšvidad še-**Ø**-a-č'mevd-a-**t** **Ø-z** ert ǰam šeč'amand-s*
reading-DAT peacefully feed:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:DAT one plate food-DAT
*da mšvidad ča-**Ø**-i-q'vand-a-**t** **Ø-z** glexur saplav-eb-ši*
and peacefully lead:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:DAT peasantgrave-PL-in

"They would be thankful if in general one left them alone . . . didn't force them to read newspapers and proclamations . . let them eat their one plate of food in peace, and let them go down peacefully to their peasant graves."

§11.1.2. Tianetian.

The speech of this tiny province to the northwest of K'axeti is basically Kartlian-K'axetian with strong traces of Pshavian and Xevsurian influence [GTK:146].

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: As in K'axetian, number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments always occurs. The suffix -t is used for number agreement; -q'e is not attested in this subdialect.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not found.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: As in K'axetian, prefixal Class P verbs in series II have plural forms with (e)n: *v-i-q'v-en-i-t* "we were" [GTK:154].

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: For indirect and inverse verbs number agreement in -t with 3pl DAT SSs is usually found, but exceptions are attested.

{20} *mo-**Ø**-u-c'vel-i-a cxvar-i memcxvare-eb-s. p'ur-i ara*
milk:IIIa:**O_3**:S_{3sg} sheep-NOM shepherd-PL-DAT bread-NOM not
*Ø **Ø**-a-kv-**t**, ro rʒe-ši ča-i-q'ar-o-n,*
Ø:3pl:DAT have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 that milk-in scatter:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3
Ø cariela-sa y-č'am-en [GTK:163]
Ø:3pl:NOM empty-DAT eat:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
"The shepherds <DAT, MO/SS> have milked <no NA> the sheep. They <DAT, MO/SS> do not have <NA> bread to crumble into the milk, so they eat it plain."

Note the onset of number agreement once the topic NP ("shepherds") is replaced by a zero anaphor (compare the Moxevian examples {32}-{33} in Chapter X).

Number agreement with 3pl NOM SOs (MSs) of indirect-syntax verbs is possible, though it is much less common than indirect conjugation:

{21} *ar m-i-nd-a-**nan** isini-o* [GTK:153]
not want:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** those:NOM-QT
"I do not want those."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): Not attested.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Apparently as in Modern Standard Georgian.

§11.2. Ingiloan.

The Ingiloan dialect is spoken in ten villages to the east of K'axeti, on the Azerbaidjanian side of the Alazani river. It has two subdialects, K'ak'ian and Aliabatian, both of which have been influenced by the Azerbaidjani language and more recently by standard Georgian [Dzhangidze 1978].

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Number agreement with 2pl DAT NPs is almost always found. Unlike K'axetian, agreement is marked with the suffix -q' (a variant of -q'e) in all cases:

{22} *insn-eb* *da-**g**-i-k'lav-**q'*** [Imnaishvili 1966:187 (K'ak'ian)]
man-PL-NOM kill:IIIa:**O_{2pl}**:S_3
"You$_{pl}$ have killed the men."

A couple of instances of nonagreement for number are recorded in Imnaishvili's corpus:

{23} *tkön* *es* ***g**-i-tkom* [Imnaishvili 1966:173-4 (K'ak'.)]
you$_{pl}$:DAT this:NOM say:IIIa:**O_2**:S_3
"You$_{pl}$ have said this and I too have brought it."

[b] Number agreement in <u>-(e)n-</u> with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Unlike its K'axetian counterpart, the Ingiloan prefixal Class P verb does not take forms in <u>(e)n</u> in series II or III:

{24} *me-m-e-šöl-e-t* [Imnaishvili 1966:206 (Alia.)]
help:IIp:S_{2pl}:O_{1sg}
"(You$_{pl}$) help me!

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Number agreement with 3pl MSs (SOs) is not attested in the Ingiloan corpora I have examined. Only indirect conjugation is found, with <u>-q'(e)</u> almost exclusively used to mark number agreement with 2pl/3pl DAT SSs [Imnaishvili 1966:137].

{25} *ake* *<u>menabati-eb-s</u>* *ertmert-i* *ga-**Ø**-u-lanzγav-**q'e***
here customer-PL-DAT each-other-NOM insult:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"Here the customers were insulting each other." [Imnaishvili 1966:198 (Alia.)]

A single example of Set O MA in <u>-t</u> is found in an Aliabatian text collected by Imnaishvili [1966:204] (see also ibid:138).

{26} *čem* *mama-mc* *me-**Ø**-e-k'l-a-**t***
my father:NOM-OPT kill:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"They would have killed my father."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): As in K'axetian this is a very common occurrence in Ingiloan speech, with <u>-q'(e)</u> marking number agreement. The same wide range of semantic roles is associated with number agreement:

{27} *<u>es q'macül-eb-i</u>* *er* *zulum-it* *ga-v-**Ø**-zard-e-**q'e***
this child-PL-NOM one difficulty-INS raise:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"I raised <u>these children</u> with difficulty." [<u>GTK</u>:245 (Alia.)]

{28} *<u>im šül-eb-i-be</u>* *manac'ev* *c'il-eb* *mi-**hs**-c-a-**q'***
thatchild-PL-GEN-for harvest portion-PL-NOM give:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"He gave the shares of the harvest <u>to the children</u>." [Imnaishvili 1966:191 (K'ak'.)]

Sentence {28} deserves special notice. The number agreement suffix -q' is associated with a postpositional phrase ("for the children"). According to Imnaishvili [1966:98] the postposition -be "for" is often used in contexts where Modern Standard Georgian would use an ordinary DAT-case indirect object (***im švil-eb-s*** *monac'evi c'il-eb-i mi-s-c-a*). Furthermore, this postposition phrase is crossreferenced by the Set O 3rd person prefix -hs-. Examples of person agreement with non-term NPs is also attested, albeit rarely, in Old Georgian [Shanidze 1953:356; Danelia 1975].

There is evidence that in Ingiloan, as in K'axetian, number agreement with IOs and DOs is dependent to a degree on givenness [Tuite 1989]. This appears to be the case in the following example:

{29} *danarčom bič'-eb-s da dad-eb-s*$_b$ ***Ø**-u-k'eteb-en plav-s,*
remaining boy-PL-DAT and bridesmaid-PL-DAT make:Ia:S_{3pl}:**O_3** pilaf-DAT
čey-s; *Ø*$_b$ ***Ø**-a-č'mev-en-**q'e**,* *da* *Ø*$_b$ ***Ø**-a-levineb-en-**q'e***
tea-DAT Ø:3pl:DAT feed:Ia:S_{3pl}:**O_{3pl}** and Ø:3pl:DAT drink:CAUS:Ia:S_{3pl}:**O_{3pl}**
"For the remaining boys and bridesmaids they prepare <no NA> pilaf and tea; they feed them <NA> and give them <NA> something to drink." [GTK:244 (Alia.)]

[e] Animacy and number agreement: This is essentially the same as in K'axetian. Plurals in -n(i) and -t(a) are not uncommon, although -eb is far more frequently used. In the Ingiloan texts I have examined, only animate NPs control number agreement in -q'. Nothing like K'axetian givenness-related nonagreement with animate plural NPs has been noted in this dialect.

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: Imnaishvili [1966:121] reports that distinct permansive screeves are not used in modern Ingiloan. Habitual or repeated action can be coded by -q'(e), as in Mtiulian or K'axetian:

{30} *har dγe xink'al-s č'omd-i-t-**q'***
whole day xink'ali-DAT eat:Ia:S_{2pl}:O_3-q'
"You$_{pl}$ were eating xink'ali[85] all day."

§11.3. Fereidanian.

This unusual and much-studied dialect is spoken by the descendents of 100,000 eastern Georgians taken into captivity by Shah Abbas I in 1616. Some were sold as slaves, others resettled in the Persian province of Fereidan, about 100 km west of Isfahan. Today 12000 people in fourteen Iranian villages preserve a form of Georgian similar in many respects to K'axetian and Ingiloan. In 1972 many Fereidanian Georgians were repatriated to the homeland of their ancestors. They now reside in K'axeti (Gurjaani and Sagarejo Raions) [Uturgaidze et al 1979].

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Fereidanian resembles Ingiloan in its almost exclusive use of -q'(e) to mark number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments.

{31} *pul-sa-ti mo-**g**-q'ev-i-t-**q'e**-o* [GTK:256]
money-DAT-too tell:IIp:S_{1pl}:**O_{2pl}**-QT
"We told you$_{pl}$ about the money."

[85]A popular Georgian dish, consisting of small dough sacks filled with spiced meat.

The employment of -t for marking number agreement with Set O arguments is relatively uncommon in Fereidanian.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested in Fereidanian [Uturgaidze et al 1984:124].

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: This does occur in Fereidanian [ibid:124-8]

{32} *ge-v-Ø-e-p'ar-**n**-e-t-q'e* [GTK:255]
escape:IIp:S_{1pl}:**O_{3pl}**:**PLNOM**
"We escaped from them."

Some variability in usage of forms with -(e)n- is noticeable in the texts recorded by Uturgaidze and colleagues in 1973-4:

{33} *ar ga-i-q'ar-**n**-e-t-o, ertat v-i-q'-o-t-o!* [Uturgaidze et al 1979:97]
not separate:IIp:S_{2pl}:**PLNOM**-QT together be:IIp:S_{1pl}-QT
"You$_{pl}$ should not separate, let's be together!" (cp OG: *ga-i-q'ar-n-e-t, v-i-q'v-n-e-t*)

Note also that the S_{3pl} endings used with suffixal and root Class P verbs in Series II are -es and -en, and not -nen as in Modern Standard Georgian [Uturgaidze et al 1979:84].

{34} *da eseni c'a-vid-**es**, mi-a-dg-**es** ert sopel-sa*
and these:NOM go:IIp:S_{3pl} arrive:IIp:S_{3pl} one village-DAT
"And they left, and came upon a village." [GTK:263]

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: As in Ingiloan, only indirect conjugation is attested. The morpheme -q'(e) is used almost exclusively for marking number agreement with 2pl and 3pl DAT SSs.

{35} *imat sasadilo **h**-kond-a-**q'e*** [Uturgaidze et al 1979:94]
those:DAT dining.room:NOM have:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"They had a dining room."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): This phenomenon occurs as frequently, perhaps more frequently, in Fereidanian than in either K'axetian or Ingiloan. Here is an extended passage from a Fereidanian narrative presented in GTK:266.

{36} *tko ro namai-a gamo-**Ø**-a-γiʒ-e-**q'e**-o Ø$_m$, minac$_m$ em*
say:IIa:S_{3sg} that good-is wake:IIa:S_{2sg}:**O_{3pl}**-QT Ø:3pl:NOM who:NOM the
sxo otaγeb-či c'vanan-o — ro keniʒ-eb-i i-q'v-nen. ša-vid-a da
other rooms-in lie:Ip:S_{3pl}-QT that maid-PL-NOM be:IIp:S_{3pl} enter:IIp:S_{3sg} and
*gamo-**Ø**-a-γiʒ-a-**q'e** Ø$_m$. ema-t$_m$ **h**-k'itx-a-**q'e** ro "em dedak'ac-tan*
wake:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:NOM them-DAT ask:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** that this woman-with
min ari ro c'ev-s-o?" emeeb-ma$_m$ Ø-u-txr-es ro "es
who:NOM be:Ip:S_{3sg} that lie:Ip:S_{3sg}-QT they-ERG tell:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 that this
dedak'ac-i ari erti taǰer-is dedak'ac-i-o, da ans-i-c
woman-NOM be:Ip:S_{3sg} one merchant-GEN woman-NOM-QT and this-NOM-also

tavis bič'-i-a-o . . . ." ema-s balki go-Ø-u-xard-a, ama-Ø-i-γ-o
her boy-NOM-is-QT this-DAT very.much rejoice:IIp:O_3:S_{3sg} take.out:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
*rakteni pul-i, čo-**Ø**-u-q'ar-a-**q'e** emeeb-sa$_m$ "ša-d-i-t,*
so.much money-NOM throw:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** them-DAT enter:IIp:S_{2pl}
*gamo-Ø-a-γiʒ-e-t-o." em keniz-eb-ma-c$_m$, pul-i k'i go-**Ø**-u-xard-a-**q'e**,*
wake:IIa:S_{2pl}/3-QT the maids-ERG money-NOM indeed rejoice:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
*amma Ø$_m$ **Ø**-e-šinod-a-**q'e** ro: "em dro-s min*
but Ø:3pl:DAT fear:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} that this time-DAT who:NOM
ari ese-o, ro čamo-sul-a-o?!"
be:Ip:S_{3sg} this-NOM-QT that come:IIIp:S_{3sg}-QT

"He said: 'It's a good idea to wake up the people who are sleeping in the other rooms' — where the maids were. He went in and woke them up. He asked them: 'Who is lying with this woman?' They told him: 'This woman is the wife of a merchant, and that is her son.' He was happy (to hear this) and took out a large sum of money and tossed it to them: 'Go in and wake them up.' The maids were indeed very happy about the money, but still frightened: 'Who is this person who has come to us at this hour?'"

Compare this paragraph to the excerpt from Ch'iladze's novel in {19}. In both instances, number agreement is used to aid the tracking of a topical plural argument, especially when it is associated with a pronoun or zero anaphor (a mark of givenness). One difference between this passage and {19} is the use of q'e to mark number agreement with a new topic, even before it is first explicitly mentioned (in the first and second lines). Also, note that the speaker did not use q'e to mark number agreement with the plural object of *gamoaγiʒeto* "wake up <the woman and the boy>" in the 7th line, evidently preferring to reserve Set O number agreement for the primary topic "maids."

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural declension in -eb is almost exclusively used. As in the other eastern dialects, only NPs with animate reference appear to have the capacity to control number agreement. In general, arguments denoting inanimates do not control number agreement:

{37} *bevri adamian-is qmel kala-eb-i da ʒol-eb-i ikeb-či*
many human-GEN dry skull-PL-NOM and bone-PL-NOM there-at
*Ø-e-q'ar-**a*** [GTK:253]
be.scattered:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_3
"Many dry human skulls and bones lay scattered about in those places."

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: The Fereidanian morpheme -q'e, like its Ingiloan counterpart, is often used to indicate habitual/permansive aspect:

{38} *zog dγe-sa sakme ver ča-i-gd-i-s xel-či, sadil-ze* [GTK:260]
some day-DAT affair-NOM can't grasp:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 hand-in dinner-to
*šamo-id-i-s-**q'e** da Ø-u-txr-i-s-**q'e** q'ein-is q'or-sa: dγe-s*
enter:IIp:S_{3sg}-q'e and tell:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3-q'e king-GEN girl-DAT day-DAT
*sakme ar ča-m-i-vard-a-o. zog dγe-s ro e-mušavn-i-s-**q'e***
affair:NOM not fall:IIp:O_{1sg}:S_{3sg}-QT some day-DAT that work:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg}-q'e
*saγamo-s em q'ein-is q'or-ma h-k'itx-i-s-**q'e**: dγe-s*
eve-DAT the king-GEN girl-ERG ask:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3-q'e day-DAT

sad i-q'av-o, mis-tana i-mušavob-d-i-vo?
where be:IIp:S_{2sg}-QT who:GEN-with work:Ia:S_{2sg}-QT
"On those days when things do not work out, he comes to dinner and tells the king's daughter: I didn't find a job today. On those days when he had been working, in the evening the king's daughter asks him: Where were you, with whom were you working?"

§11.4. Kartlian.

The Kartlian dialect is the largest of the modern Georgian dialects, both in number of speakers and area. Kartli extends from K'axeti on the east to the Lixi mountain chain (Georgia's continental divide) on the west, and encompasses most of the course of Georgia's principal river, the Mt'k'vari, and both the ancient (Mcxeta) and modern (Tbilisi) capitals. It was here that the first major Kartvelian kingdom, Iberia, was established around the 4th century BC.

As would be expected, the dialect of Kartli, more than that of any other region, lies at the basis of the literary language [GTK:269-71; Imnaishvili 1974:5-12]. The Kartlian dialect is more closely related to K'axetian than to any other dialect. The western and southern varieties of Kartlian, however, diverge in certain respects from the speech of central Kartli due to the influence of neighboring speech communities [Imnaishvili 1974:27,83-93,109-10].

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Agreement with 1st and 2nd person arguments is essentially the same as in Modern Standard Georgian. The number agreement marker for 2pl Set O NPs is -t, though occasionally there is no number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments:

{39} *tkven nu **g**-e-šin-i-an, me tkven mšier-s ar*
you_{pl}:DAT don't fear:Ip:**O2**:S_{3pl} I:NOM you_{pl}:DAT hungry-DAT not
*da-**k**-t'oveb-**t**-o* [GTK:313]
leave:Ia:S_{1sg}:$\mathbf{O_{2pl}}$-QT
"Don't be afraid, I will not leave you_{pl} hungry."

Compare:
{40} *exla nu-γar **g**-e-šin-i-an-**t**-o* [Imnaishvili 1974:236]
now no-longer fear:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{2pl}}$:S_{3pl}-QT
"Do not be afraid any longer."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: The -(e)n- affix is used with prefixal Class P verbs in series II in most of the Kartlian dialect area [Imnaishvili 1974:212-3]:

{41} *da-v-i-mal-**n**-e-t, ro ar da-v-i-γup'-**n**-e-t* [Imnaishvili 1974:213]
hide:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM** that not perish:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM**
"Let's hide, lest we perish."

West Kartlian speakers, perhaps reflecting the influence of the Imeretian dialects to their immediate west, do not conjugate these verbs in the above fashion. Only forms without -(e)n- are used [Imnaishvili 1974:93].

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Indirect conjugation is the norm for indirect and inverse verbs [Imnaishvili 1974:236]. When both the SS (MO) and SO (MS) are plural and animate, the tendency is for these verbs to agree with the SS:

{42} *or-ive-s* *še-**Ø**-e-ʒin-a-**t*** *važ-eb-i* [Imnaishvili 1974:236]
two-all-DAT receive:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} boy-PL-NOM
"Both of them <MO/SS> gave birth to boys <MS/SO>."

Only -t is used for number agreement with 2pl and 3pl Set O arguments; -q'e is nowhere attested in the Kartlian corpus.

On occasion verbs with indirect syntax do not agree in number with their DAT SSs:

{43} *ʒm-eb-s* *ʒalian* ***Ø**-e-ǰavrebod-a-**t*** *da* *xenc'ipe-s* *da-Ø-a-rig-es:*
brother-DAT much anger:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} and king-DAT advise:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3
mdev-eb-s *ʒalian* *k'argi* *xaliča* ***Ø**-a-kv-**t**.* *xutk'unc'ula*
ogre-PL-DAT very good carpet:NOM have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} X.:NOM
da-Ø-i-bar-a *xenc'ipe-m:* *dev-eb-s* *erti* *k'argi* *xaliča*
order:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 king-ERG ogre-PL-DAT one good carpet-NOM
***h**-kon-i-a* *da* *is* *unda* *mo-m-i-t'an-o-o.*
have:IIIp:**O_3**:S_{3sg} and that:NOM must bring:IIa:S_{2sg}:O_{1sg}-QT
"The brothers became very angry and advised the king: The ogres <NA> have a very fine carpet. The king ordered Xutk'unc'ula: The ogres apparently have <no NA> a fine carpet, and you must bring it to me." [GTK:239]

It is unclear from the two examples I have found whether this phenomenon is akin to the givenness-based nonagreement described in other dialects.

Also, as in K'axetian, number agreement with 3pl MSs (RDOs) of indirect verbs is attested, though this does not appear to be a frequent occurrence. Imnaishvili [1974:236] gives two examples, one of which is cited here:[86]

{44} *ʒaan* *m-i-q'var-**an*** *isini* [village Sveneti]
greatly love:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** those:NOM
"I love them very much."

Imnaishvili [1974:50] has observed that many indirect verbs take (what appears to be) the S_{3pl} suffix -an in the present screeve in K'axetian and Kartlian: *še-m-i-ʒl-i-**an*** "It is possible for me," *m-rcxven-i-**an*** "I am ashamed," *m-c'q'ur-i-**an*** "I am thirsty," *m-cal-i-an* "I have free time" (cp. ModG: *še-m-i-ʒl-i-**a**, m-rcxven-i-**a**,* etc. [Shinjiashvili 1972]).[87] All of the verbs he lists are 4th

[86]This syntactic pattern also appears in the works of some 19th-century authors of rural Kartlian origin. Here is an example from the writings of Anast'asia Eristav-Xosht'aria:
*m-i-naxva-**nan*** *xelob-is* *k'ac-eb-i* [Imnaishvili 1968:102]
see:IIIa:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** trade-GEN man-PL-NOM
"I have seen the craftsmen."

[87]Indirect verbs conjugated with -an are also commonly found in the northeast dialects, as in the following Pshavian example [Cocanidze 1978:50]:
sazile-d *ara* *s-cal-i-**an*** *k'udai* *xar-is* *p'at'ron-sa*
to.sleep-ADV not have.time:O_3:**$S_{3pl?}$** tailless ox-GEN owner-DAT
"The owner of a tailless ox does not have time to sleep."

conjugation Class P verbs. Some of these verbs are syntactically monovalent, i.e. their Set S suffixes do not crossreference a subcategorized argument. Others are associated with NOM-case NPs, but these need not be plural:

{45} *me ra uar-i še-m-i-ʒl-i-**an**?* [Imnaishvili 1974:50]
I:DAT what refusal-NOM possible:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}(?)**
"How can I refuse?"

Indirect verbs conjugated with -an are also found in the works of authors from K'axeti (e.g. Ilia Ch'avch'avadze) and northeast Georgia (e.g. Vazha Pshavela) [Imnaishvili 1968]:

{46} *g-cad-i-**an**-t xalx-is švela* [S. Mgaloblishvili]
wish:Ip:O_{2pl}:**S_{3pl}(?)** people-GEN help:NOM
"You$_{pl}$ desire to help the people."

A few such verbs are attested in Georgian literature, including the most ancient texts. The Early Old Georgian verb x-rkw-i-an "sb is called sthg [name]" could be considered a pseudo-stative with a 3rd plural subject, i.e. "they call sb sthg" (cp. Russian *ego zovut X*), although in the past and future it takes true stative Series II paradigms: x-e-rkw-a, x-e-rkw-a-s. Another possibility is that -an was not at first a 3pl suffix at all, but a remnant of the old 3**sg** Set S suffix -n (for the screeve group D, as illustrated in fig {48} of chapter V), which was commonly used by stative and resultative verbs [Arabuli 1984:52-61]. Since most 4th conjugation indirect verbs are stative, the survival of the 3sg -n affix with this group of verbs after it had ceased to be used elsewhere in the verbal system is not implausible, though it is not clear what its status in the grammar of contemporary Kartlian would be.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): In this respect Kartlian differs significantly from K'axetian [Imnaishvili 1974:57]. Indirect conjugation is generally only found with verbs associated with indirect syntax.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: In Kartlian, as in K'axetian, plural formation in eb predominates. Nominal plurals in n(i) or t(a) are mostly used in NPs with numeral quantifiers, and in the declension of family and clan names [Jorbenadze 1989:304].

As in the modern literary language, number agreement is strongly associated with animacy. Animate NPs serving as SSs almost always control number agreement — more often than in K'axetian — and SSs with inanimate reference usually do not [Imnaishvili 1974:54-55].

{47} *gz-is kveš baɣ-eb-i q'opil-**a*** [GTK:312]
road-GEN below garden-PL-NOM be:IIIp:**S_{3sg}**
"Beneath the road there apparently were gardens."

§11.5. Mozdok'-Q'izlar.

The small community of Georgian speakers resettled two centuries ago in the Daghestanian villages Mozdok' and Q'izlar still speak an essentially Kartlian dialect, though with many lexical borrowings from Russian [GTK:166]. The morphosyntax seems little different from that described above for Kartlian.

§11.6. Javaxian and Mesxian.

The dialects of south-central Georgia, Javaxian and Mesxian, strongly resemble Kartlian, from which they are believed to have developed [GTK:330].

§11.6.1. Javaxian.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: The number agreement mechanism as attested in GTK's Javaxian corpus is basically identical to that of Kartlian, including occasional instances of nonagreement for number with 2pl Set O arguments:

{48} *sai-dan* *ga-**g**-i-čnd-a-**t*** *bavšv-i,* *tkven* *ar* ***g**-q'avd-a*
where-from bear:IIp:**O_{2pl}**:S_{3sg} child-NOM you$_{pl}$:DAT no have:IIp:**O_2**:S_{3sg}t
kmar-i
husband-NOM [GTK:340]
"How did you$_{pl}$ <polite singular> beget this child, you don't have a husband."

Mart'irosovi [1984:100] reports several examples of verbs which do not agree in number with 2pl Set S arguments; e.g.:

{49} *arc* *tkven* *da-rčeb-i-**Ø*** *cocxal-i*
nor you$_{pl}$:NOM remain:Ip:**S_{2sg}** alive-NOM
"Nor will you remain alive."

It is not clear from his examples, all of which are cited without context, whether the 2pl pronouns were denoting single or plural addressees. In a twenty-page sample drawn from his chrestomathy of Javaxian texts, no examples of nonagreement with 2pl arguments occur.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: There is some variation in usage. Prefixal Class P verbs are usually conjugated with -(e)n- in series II [Mart'irosovi 1984:82-3], though forms without -(e)n- are attested (e.g. Mart'irosovi 1984:118).

{50} *de-Ø-e-mzad-**en**-i-t,* *Ø-e-cad-**en**-i-t* *q'očaγ-ad!*
prepare:IIp:S_{2pl}:O_3:**PLNOM** try:IIp:S_{2pl}:O_3:**PLNOM** brave-ADV
"Prepare yourselves, strive bravely!" [Mart'irosovi 1984:110]

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: For the most part, indirect verbs and the series III forms of Class A verbs take indirect conjugation, as in Kartlian.

{51} *še-**Ø**-u-q'vard-a-**t*** *ert-i* *ertmanet-i*
love:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} one-NOM each.other-NOM
"They fell in love with each other." [Mart'irosovi 1984:59]

The occasional instances of nonagreement with a 3pl DAT SS may be conditioned by the thematicity of the NP in question. The following example shows the same correlation between number agreement and informational status observed in other dialects:

{52} *tamar mepe-Ø šul-isa-tvin **Ø**-u-γalat'n-i-a mtavar*
T. king-GEN child-GEN-for betray:IIIa:**O3**:S_{3sg} chief
*atabeg-eb-s$_a$; Ø$_a$ šemo-**Ø**-q'van-i-a-**t** tatr-eb-i*
guard-PL-DAT Ø:3pl:DAT bring-in:IIIa:**O3pl**:S_{3sg} Tatar-PL-NOM
"The chief guards apparently have betrayed Queen Tamar's son; they have brought in the Turks." [GTK:351]

In one example, an indirect verb agrees in number with a plural animate MS (SO) [Mart'irosovi 1984:100]. This is the only such construction I have found.

{53} *sax-ši dgan-an kurt-eb-i; v-Ø-e-bʒv-i da ver*
house-in stand:Ip:S_{3pl} thief-PL-NOM struggle:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_3 and can't
*gama-m-q'van-**an** saxli-dan*
bring.out:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S3pl** house-from
"Thieves are standing in the house. I struggle with them, but I cannot get them out of the house."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): Not attested.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: As in the other east-central dialects, eb is the predominant nominal pluralizer [Mart'irosovi 1984:53]. The n/t pluralizer is rarely used, and is restricted to fixed expressions [ibid:55].

According to Mart'irosovi [1984:99] number agreement "usually" occurs with inanimate SSs, though in the Javaxian texts I examined this one occurred in 1 of 7 sentences with a plural inanimate SS. Plural SSs with animate reference almost always control number agreement (73 of 76 instances).

§11.6.2. Mesxian.

Mesxian morphosyntax also follows the Kartlian pattern for the most part. However, Dzidziguri [1970:148-9] reports constructions such as the following, where -nan, evidently based on the 3pl Set S suffix also used in Modern Standard Georgian, is employed to mark number agreement with 2pl and 3pl Set O arguments. This is probably due to the influence of the dialects to the west of Mesxeti, which will be discussed next.

{54} *šen deid-eb-s **Ø**-u-nd-a-**nan** igi-o*
your aunt-PL-DAT want:Ip:**O3pl**:S_3 it:NOM-QT
"Your aunts want it."

{55} *tkven mi-**g**-a-kv-a-**nan***
you_{pl}-DAT take:Ip:**O2pl**:S_3
"You_{pl} are carrying it."

§11.7. Summary.

In the east-central dialects, as in Modern Standard Georgian, the feature of number has been extended to all persons in the Set O system. In some areas, the suffix -t is used to mark O_2 and O_3 plurality; in other areas, -q'e/k'e is used. Control of number agreement by 2pl Set O arguments is

almost automatic. In the case of 3pl Set O arguments, the east-central dialects split into two groups. In K'axetian, Ingiloan and Fereidanian, animate topical NPs can control O_{3pl} agreement even if they are not functioning as SSs. In Kartlian, Javaxian and Mesxian, number agreement with 3rd person arguments is restricted to SSs, as in Modern Standard Georgian.

It has also been observed that animacy is relevant to Set S agreement in these dialects. In K'axetian, givenness sometimes plays a role as well. That is, the same factors which contribute to the Set S number-agreement process are relevant for the Set O system: grammatical role, person, animacy and givenness. The distinction between Set S and Set O person agreement, and NOM and DAT case, which is so central to the number-agreement process of Old Georgian, Pshavian and Xevsurian, is largely irrelevant to that of the east-central dialects.

Finally, the type of "plurality" relevant to the agreement system is very different in the east-central dialects. In Old Georgian, and — to a lesser extent — in the northeast dialects, 3pl agreement is restricted to anaphors and n/t-plural NPs. Other classes of notionally-plural NPs control 3sg agreement. In the east-central dialects, notional plurality is a more significant factor. Animate eb-plural NPs almost always control plural agreement. Formally singular nouns with collective meaning and quantified NPs frequently control plural agreement in these dialects as well. (According to the norms for the written language, such NPs control 3sg agreement):

{56} [Kartlian] *c'a-vid-**nen*** *xalx-i*
leave:IIp:**S_{3pl}** people-NOM
"The people left." [Imnaishvili 1974:235]

[Javaxian] *tatar-ma* *da-gv-i-q'ar-**es*** *t'q'via*
Turk-ERG throw:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O_{1pl} bullet:NOM
"The Turks fired bullets at us." [Mart'irosovi 1984:100]

For purposes of comparison, the factors relevant for number agreement in the two sets of dialects examined thus far are given below:

{57} **Factors constraining number agreement.**

A. *Old Georgian, northeast dialects*
Set S agreement (MS-hood)
NOM case (even if controlling Set O agreement)
person (OG: 1st > 2nd/3rd; northeastern dialects: 1st/2nd > 3rd)
formal plurality (n/t-plural, but not eb-plural NPs)

B. *Modern Standard Georgian, east-central dialects*
SS-hood
animacy
person (1st/2nd > 3rd)
givenness
notional plurality

CHAPTER XII. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN THE SOUTHWEST DIALECTS

The east coast of the Black Sea was once populated by Zan speakers along much of its length. In the 1st or 2nd century AD, according to Georgian scholars, Georgian-speaking tribes moved toward the coast from the east, splitting the hitherto united Zan community into separate northern (Mingrelian) and southern (Laz) groups. The numerous toponyms of Zan origin in modern-day Guria, and lexical borrowings from Zan in the southwest Georgian dialects form the basis of this hypothesis [Zhghent'i 1936:19-28; 1940]. As "the aboriginal population acquired the Georgian language, the latter was subjected to the strong influence of Zan (in particular Mingrelian)" [GTK: 414]. This hypothesized Zan substratum is believed to be the source of many of the characteristic features of the southwest Georgian dialects — Gurian and Ach'arian — including some pertaining to the morphosyntactic component. These latter phenomena will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Here I will briefly present one characteristic of the southwest dialects which is significant for our analysis of number agreement. K'iziria [1974] and others have observed a trend toward the unification of S_{3pl} agreement marking in several western Georgian dialects. While the 1st and 2nd person Set S markers do not contain any other feature, the 3rd person Set S markers in most Kartvelian dialects also function as screeve markers. In Georgian four singular/plural pairs of S_3 suffixes were in use (fig {45}-{48} of chapter V). In Modern Standard Georgian, three 3sg and five 3pl markers are found, paired in seven combinations (fig {51} of chapter V). Each combination is associated with one or more screeves for Class A and/or Class P verbs. The following S_{3pl} suffixes are used in Modern Standard Georgian (MSG) [Oniani 1979]:

{1} **Set S 3pl marking in Modern Standard Georgian**

-en:	Class A present/future
	some stative and mediopassive Class P present
-an:	most Class P present/future
	Class P present perfect
-(o/a/e)-n:	Class A optative
	prefixal Class P optative
-nen:	Class A/P conjunctive
	Class A/P imperfect and conditional
	Class P aorist
	Class P pluperfect
	suffixal and root Class P optative
-es:	Class A aorist

In Gurian and Ach'arian the S_{3pl} marker -en is attested in contexts where one of the other four suffixes in {1} would be used in Modern Standard Georgian, and there is evidence that the range of uses of -en has been expanding for some time. Here are some examples from Gurian [Zhghent'i 1936:62; Dzidzishvili 1958:196-9; K'iziria 1974:81-3]:

Comparison of Gurian and Modern Standard Georgian S_{3pl} marking

GURIAN -EN : MODERN STANDARD GEORGIAN -AN

{2} *ertat* *ar-i-**en*** *ʒm-eb-i*
together be:Ip:S_{3pl} brother-PL-NOM
"The brothers are together." (cp MSG *ar-i-**an***)

GURIAN -EN : MODERN STANDARD GEORGIAN -NEN

{3} *ge-i-zard-**en** ai bič'-eb-i*
grow:IIp:S_{3pl} this boy-PL-NOM
"These boys grew up." (cp OG *ga-i-zard-**n-es***; MSG *ga-i-zard-**nen***)

GURIAN -EN : MODERN STANDARD GEORGIAN -ES

{4} *da-k'l-**en** xar-i da kn-**en** korc'il-i*
kill:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 ox-NOM and do:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 wedding-NOM
"They killed the ox and celebrated the wedding." (cp MSG *da-k'l-**es**, kn-**es***)

According to K'iziria [1974:81-2] there is considerability variability in Gurian usage. The 3pl suffixes -es and -en, and -an and -en, appear to alternate freely, even in the usage of a single speaker:

{5} *game-Ø-i-t'an-**en** sadil-i da Ø-a-č'am-**es** glaxuna-sa-c*
bring:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 dinner-NOM and feed:IIa:S_{3pl}:O_3 G.-DAT-too
"They brought dinner and fed Glaxuna also." (also possible: *Ø-a-č'am-en*) [GTK:418]

The suffix -nen, which is employed in several Modern Standard Georgian screeves, does not appear in any of the Gurian texts available to me. It is probable that it never developed in the first place in southwestern Georgia.[88]

§12.1. Gurian.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: For Set S marking, the same principles apply as in Modern Standard Georgian. In the case of Set O agreement, there are significant differences. Number agreement with 2pl non-SS arguments is marked by the suffix -t.

{6} *q'vala-s undaq da-**g**-a-rt'q'-a-**t** rozg-i-o* [GTK:425]
all-DAT must beat:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** rod-NOM-QT
"I will have to beat all of you_{pl} with a rod."

Frequently, there is no number agreement with 2pl SOs (IOs and DOs):

{7} *γmert-ma q'vala-s mo-**g**-a-xmar-o-s* [GTK:424]
God-ERG all-DAT help:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_2**
"May God assist you_{pl}."

If a 2pl DAT argument is functioning as SS, one of three agreement patterns can be observed:

(1) *Number agreement in -t*

This is the norm in Modern Standard Georgian. Datik'o Lomadze, who dictated several Gurian texts to R. Bleichsteiner, followed Modern Standard Georgian number agreement norms almost

[88]This is a reasonable hypothesis in view of the newness of this suffix in Modern Georgian. The question of the use of -nen in screeves where -en had been used earlier was not resolved for the literary language until the 1930's, and then by fiat of the commission on linguistic norms [Nik'olaishvili 1978:107-8].

without exception. In the Gurian corpora assembled by Zhghenti [1936] and GTK, number agreement in -t with 2pl DAT SSs is attested only once. Lomadze's preference for number agreement in -t with 2pl Set O SSs might be a reflection of his educational level, and hence the influence of literary Georgian.

{8} *tkven* *naxav-t* *ra* *sadil-i* ***g-e-kneb-a-t***
you$_{pl}$:NOM see:Ia:S$_{2pl}$:O$_3$ what dinner-NOM have:Ip:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$
"You$_{pl}$ will see what kind of dinner you$_{pl}$ will have." [Bleichsteiner 1931:89]

(2) *Number agreement in -en*

Very frequently Gurian speakers employ the suffix -en, which in Standard Georgian is associated with S$_{3pl}$ marking, as a means of coding the plurality of DAT-case (therefore Set O) SSs [Dzidzishvili 1958:198-9]. In {9}, note the use of -en to code the plurality of a 2pl SS, and -t to code the plurality of a 2pl SO:

{9} *tkven* *rom* *gamo-**g**-a-dgeb-a-**t**,* *imisane* *samušier-i-c* *breveli-c*
you$_{pl}$:DAT that use:Ip:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** that.much work-NOM-too much-too
g**-e-kneb-i-**en [GTK:429]
have:Ip:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_3$
"Even if he <MS/SS> will be of use to you$_{pl}$ <MO/SO>, you$_{pl}$ <MO/SS>
will still have so much work <MS/SO> to do."

{10} *ra* ***g**-a-cineb-**en**?* [Dzidzishvili 1958:198]
what:NOM laugh:CAUS:Ia:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_3$
"Why are you$_{pl}$ <MO/SS> laughing?" (lit. What is making you$_{pl}$ laugh?)

The verb in {10} is evidently a labile Class A verb used with indirect syntax, similar to the Modern Standard Georgian verbs discussed in section §8.2.4 [Jorbenadze 1983:82]. Dzidziguri [1970:52] has documented instances of number agreement like the above in west Georgian texts dating from the 17th-18th c.:

{11} *tkveni* *xel-i* *ara* ***g**-a-kv-**an*** *ra* [circa 1700]
your$_{pl}$ hand-NOM not have:Ip:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_3$ what:NOM
"You$_{pl}$ do not have the ability."

(3) *No number agreement*

This is attested in one Gurian text in GTK. The first verb in {12} does not agree in number with its 2pl DAT SS, while the second verb, a Class A verb in the pluperfect, marks number agreement with -en.

{12} *tu* *mot'q'uoba* ***g**-i-ndod-a* *tkven,* *gamo-**g**-e-tval-**en**-o*
if deceit:NOM want:Ip:**O$_2$**:S$_{3sg}$ you$_{pl}$:DAT account:IIIa:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_3$-QT
"If you$_{pl}$ wanted to deceive, you should have reckoned (with it)." [GTK:420]

The second of the above three patterns — use of the S$_{3pl}$ marker for plural Set O SSs — appears to be the most commonly used in the Gurian texts available to me. According to Dzidzishvili

[1958:198], number agreement in -en can also be employed in conjunction with **1st person** plural Set O SSs:

{13} *axla umpro k'ai cxovreba **gv**-a-kv-**en*** [village Ask'ana]
now more good life:NOM have:Ip:**O$_{1pl}$**:S$_3$
"Now we <MO/SS> have a better life <MS/SO>."

{14} *še-**gv**-čeb-i-**en*** *ai masxroba čven* [village Ch'ach'ieti]
accustom:IIIp:**O$_{1pl}$**:S$_3$ this clowning:NOM we:DAT
"We <MO/SS> have gotten accustomed to such foolishness <MS/SO>."

In constructions like {13} and {14} the -en suffix is semantically superfluous, since the gv- prefix conveys both person and number information. I have not seen such forms in any other article on Gurian. In Zhghent'i [1936] and GTK's Gurian texts only 1pl Set O forms without -en are found.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:
[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.
[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Only Class P verbs without -(e)n- attested.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Only indirect conjugation is attested with indirect-syntax verbs. All seven examples of number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs in GTK's Gurian corpus, and ten instances in Zhghent'i [1936] involve the suffix -en.

{15} *mainzl-ep-s še-**Ø**-šineb-i-**en** da du-**Ø**-u-zaxeb-i-**en**: mo-bzand-i-o*
host-PL-DAT fear:IIIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$ and call:IIIa:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$ enter:IIp:S$_{2sg}$-QT
"The hosts were afraid and called out: Come in." [Zhghent'i 1936:109]
(cp ModG *še-Ø-šineb-i-a-t, da-Ø-u-zaxn-i-a-t*)

In Gurian, as the examples in this section illustrate, Set O number agreement with plural DAT SSs, 2nd person as well as 3rd person, is marked by the same suffix as that used for S$_{3pl}$ agreement. The process of unification of 3pl agreement marking described earlier appears to be correlated with the role of SS [Tuite 1985a]. In the case of 3rd person arguments, any plural NP functioning as SS, whether crossreferenced by Set S or Set O person markers, controls number agreement in -en.[89] Less often, number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs in Gurian is marked with -t as in Modern Standard Georgian. This is probably attributable to the influence of the latter.

{16} *šame-**Ø**-e-sm-a-**t** q'viril-i* [Zhghent'i 1936:127]
hear:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$ shout-NOM
"They heard a shout."

[89]On occasion S$_{3pl}$ markers other than -en can function as number agreement markers for Set O SSs. In such instances the selection of suffix is determined by screeve, just as it is in Set S agreement. For example, the suffix -es, which is used for S$_{3pl}$ marking in the aorist screeve of Class A verbs (e.g. tkv-**es** "they said it"), can appear in the aorist screeve forms of indirect verbs as a marker of number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs:
***Ø**-kond-**es** or-we-s tox-i* [Dzidzishvili 1958:199]
have:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$ two-all-DAT hoe-NOM
"Both of them had a hoe." (cp. ModG *h-kond-a-t*)

Five cases of number agreement in -t occur in the texts collected by Zhghent'i, and Lomadze uses it consistently. No examples occur in GTK's Gurian corpus.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): In Gurian, number agreement with 3pl DAT arguments is only found with indirect verbs, inverse verbs (Class A verbs in series III), and "verbs on the way toward indirect syntax" (*gainversiulebis gzaze mdgomi zmnebi*) [Dzidzishvili 1958:198]. This third category roughly corresponds to what we have been calling labile Class P verbs. In all of the examples noted in the Gurian corpora, it is probably the case that the DAT NP is functioning as SS, e.g.:

{17} *tavzardacemul osmal-ep-s me-**Ø**-e-land-**en** šavi dγe-i*
horrified Ottoman-PL-DAT appear:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 black day-NOM
"A black day appeared before the terrified Turks." (cp. ModG *mo-Ø-e-land-a-t*) [ibid:166]

No number agreement with non-SS 3pl arguments is attested, nor is the particle q'e used in Gurian [K'iziria 1974:85].

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The nominal plural suffixes n(i) and t(a) are rarely used in Gurian. According to Jorbenadze [1989:528], these pluralizers are largely restricted to 3rd person pronouns and family names. They are somewhat more frequently used in memorized texts (tales, poems, etc).

As in the eastern dialects, number agreement with plural NPs denoting inanimates seldom occurs [K'iziria 1974:81]. Also, incidents of nonagreement for number with plural animate SSs are not uncommon in the southwest dialects [ibid:81].

{18} *mag-i ro ge-Ø-i-gon-**a** im bič'-eb-ma$_b$, Ø$_b$ da-t'riald-**en***
that-NOM that hear:IIa:**S_{3sg}**:O_3 that boy-PL-ERG Ø:3pl:NOM turn:IIp:**S_{3pl}**
*da Ø$_b$ sax-ši c'e-vid-**en** mama-s-tan*
and Ø:3pl:NOM house-to go:IIp:**S_{3pl}** father-DAT-by [GTK:422]
"When the boys heard this, they turned around and went home to their father."

This resembles the K'axetian phenomenon remarked on earlier. K'iziria [1974:81] and Zhghent'i [1936:68] give six single-sentence examples illustrating the lack of number agreement with animate SSs. In five of these sentences the SS follows the verb, an indication that it is new information [Apridonidze 1986:86-8]. Again, note how in the above passage the onset of number agreement is correlated with the shift of the SS from rheme to topic.

§12.2. Ach'arian.

This dialect is spoken by the Georgians of the Ach'aran ASSR. Ach'ara was under Ottoman rule for three centuries, and many Georgians from this province became adherents of Islam. Scholars recognize two chief subdialects: Upper Ach'arian, which shares many features with the Mesxian dialect to its east, and Lower Ach'arian, which is closer to Gurian. Of particular interest is the variety of Lower Ach'arian spoken in the Ch'orox river valley close to the Turkish border, which reflects with special clarity certain typological changes in progress in southwest Georgian.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: 1st and 2nd person Set S is as in Modern Standard Georgian. In regard to 1pl Set O marking, there is no evidence of plural number agreement akin to Gurian *gv-a-kv-en* in any of the Ach'arian textual materials I have examined,

though Jajanidze [1960:123] reports a form *gv-a-k-**nen*** "we have sthg" and Jorbenadze [1989:559-560] cites several verb forms showing the strong influence of Zan morphology, which we will look at more closely later. Number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is strongly correlated with SS-hood. I have found only two examples of 2pl Set O SOs controlling number agreement, compared to eleven instances of nonagreement. Note the variability in number agreement with 2pl non-subjects in {19}.

{19} *me Ø-u-txar-Ø rom ar mo-**k**-cem-**t** . . . tkven xom*
I:ERG say:IIa:S_{1sg}:O_3 that not give:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** you_{pl}:DAT QUES
*ar **g**-a-ʒlev-Ø* [Dzidziguri 1956:363]
not give:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_2**
"I told them that I will not give it to you_{pl} . . I am not giving it to you_{pl}, am I?"

{20} *imas-tan mi-d-i-t da is mo-**g**-a-rigeb-s tkvena*
him:DAT-by go:IIp:S_{2pl} and he:NOM reconcile:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_2** you_{pl}:DAT
"Go to that person and he will reconcile you_{pl}." [GTK:397]

If a 2pl Set O argument is functioning as SS, number agreement always occurs. As in Gurian it is marked by the same suffixes used for S_{3pl} marking.

{21} *mara v-i-c-i, tkven k'inc'la mo-**g**-i-vl-**en***
but know:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_3 you_{pl}:DAT fight:NOM come:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_3
"But I know that you_{pl} will start fighting." (ModG *mo-**g**-i-v-a-**t***) [GTK:397]

{22} *tkven k'idev di-**g**-i-naxv-**an**-o*
you_{pl}:DAT again see:IIIa::**O_{2pl}**:S_3-QT
"You_{pl} have seen it again." (ModG *da-**g**-i-naxav-**t***) [GTK:397]

The suffix used for number agreement with the 2pl DAT SS varies according to screeve, corresponding to the portmanteau nature of S_{3pl} marking. The verb *mo-g-i-vl-en* in {21} is particularly interesting, in that it manifests the stem modification appropriate to a form with a S_{3pl} argument (the root is irregular: S_{3sg} *mo-**v-**a* "he/she/it will come," S_{3pl} *mo-**vl-**en* "they will come"). Number agreement in -t with 2pl DAT SSs is not attested in any of the Ach'arian texts I have read.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Given the evidence presented above that number agreement is strongly correlated with SS status, one would not expect to find number agreement in (e)n with NOM DOs to be preserved in Ach'arian. It is nowhere attested in any of the texts available to me. Jajanidze [1960:120] however reports that "in Kedis Raion [in south-central Ach'ara, Upper Ach'arian dialect area — KT] . . . we recorded a couple of verbs in which the old affix marking direct-object plurality was found, even though the object was in the eb-plural form."

{23} *baɣan-eb-i a-v-zard-**en**-Ø* [village Gorgivli]
child-PL-NOM raise:IIa:S_{1sg}:O_3:**PLNOM(?)**
"I raised the children."

{24} *ust'avleli k'ac-i v-ar mara p'ac'p'ac'-eb-i me-c*
uneducated man-NOM be:Ip:S_{1sg} but tiny-PL-NOM I:ERG-too

*ge-v-i-g-**en**-Ø* *axla*
understand:IIa:S_{1sg}:O_3:**PLNOM(?)** now [village T'ak'idzeebi]
"I am an uneducated man, but now I too have understood a few things."

According to Jajanidze: "This grammatical phenomenon does not represent a widespread norm. Undoubtedly it stems from Old Georgian" [ibid:120].

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: In Lower Ach'arian, prefixal Class P verbs form plurals in (e)n in series II [Nizharadze 1975:144], as in the eastern dialects:

{25} *ge-v-e-mzad-**en**-i-t*
prepare:IIp:S_{1pl}:O_3:**PLNOM**
"We got ready."

I have found an instance of this formation in an Upper Ach'arian narrative also:

{26} *baγv-eb-o, de-y-k'ark-**en**-i-t aki-dam!* [GTK:396]
child-PL-VOC lose:IIp:S_{2pl}:**PLNOM** here-from
"Go away from here, children!"

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: As in Gurian, only indirect conjugation is attested, and it is marked in the same fashion: S_{3pl} suffixes are used to code the plurality of 2pl and 3pl Set O SSs [Nizharadze 1975:142]. The suffix -t is not used for this purpose.

{27} *xerx-i **Ø**-a-kv-**an**.* [Dzidziguri 1956:366]
skill-NOM have:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_3
"They have skills."

{28} *kaǰ-eb-ma sačečl-it de-**Ø**-e-čxlit'-**en** sac'q'al kal-i*
Kaji-PL-ERG comb-INS prick:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 pitiable woman-NOM
"The Kajis poked the poor woman with a carding comb." [Harris 1985:380]
(cp ModG *kaǰ-eb-s sačečl-it da-Ø-e-čxlit'-a-t sac'q'ali kal-i*)[90]

Elsewhere in the Ach'arian dialect area the SSs of indirect and inverse verbs are assigned DAT case, as in Modern Standard Georgian, but number agreement is marked with the same suffixes used for S_{3pl} agreement.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): As in Gurian, this is not attested in Ach'arian, nor is the particle -q'e used [K'iziria 1974:85].

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural suffixes -n(i) and -t(a) are rarely used in Ach'arian. Number agreement is correlated with animacy, e.g.:

[90]Example {28} is from a narrative in the Ch'orox Valley variety of Lower Ach'aran briefly mentioned in the introduction. In this subdialect the ERG case is in the process of being reanalyzed as a general SS marker [K'iziria 1974:78-9; Harris 1985:376-80]. The verb is a Class A verb in the pluperfect screeve. The SS is assigned ERG case, rather than DAT case, and its plurality is marked by -en. The only remnant of the inversion process is the use of Set O person prefixes to crossreference the SS (here, the O_3 prefix is Ø-).

{29} *tutun-eb-ma* *ga-xm-**a*** [K'iziria 1974:81]
tobacco-PL-ERG dry:IIp:**S_{3sg}**
"The tobacco leaves dried out."

The correlation between number agreement and givenness observed in Gurian is not evident in the Ach'arian texts presented in GTK or Dzidziguri 1956.

§12.3. Georgian dialects in Turkey.

According to the Turkish census of 1965, some 34,300 Turkish citizens declared Georgian as their native language, and an additional 49,000 spoke it as a second language. Much of what is now northeastern Turkey was inhabited by Georgian and Laz speakers. During the 9th and 10th centuries, while Tbilisi was under foreign occupation, the monasteries of T'ao, K'larjeti and Shavsheti were important centers of Georgian literary and cultural activity. Beginning in the 16th c. this territory was bit by bit incorporated into the Ottoman empire, and most of the population converted to Islam. Georgian scholars travelling through K'larjeti and Shavsheti in the early years of this century found that in most villages the Georgian language was no longer in active use [GTK:377]. While on an expedition in northeast Turkey in 1911, N. Marr collected folk literature and ethnographic information from several villages along the Imerxevi river in the former province of K'larjeti. These texts, published in GTK:375-88 and Dzidziguri [1956:370-7], represent the only material I have been able to obtain so far on the Georgian dialects spoken in Turkey. The Imerxevian dialect is considered a close relative of Ach'arian [GTK:378]. As in the latter dialect, plural number agreement with 2pl and 3pl Set O SSs is coded by the same affixes as those used for S_{3pl} marking.

{30} *sama* ***g**-i-nd-a-**nan*** [Dzidziguri 1956:377]
drinking:NOM want:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_{3sg}
"You$_{pl}$ want to drink."

{31} *degirmanč-eb-s* *ra* ***Ø**-u-kn-i-**an**?* [GTK:384]
miller-PL-DAT what:NOM do:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_3
"What have the millers done?"

§12.4. Zan influence on the morphology of number agreement in the southwest Georgian dialects.

The phenomenon of coding plural number agreement with 2pl and 3pl Set O SSs with the same affixes as those used for S_{3pl} marking described for the southwest Georgian is the same as that reported by Sarjveladze [1981] in connection with the 12th-c. manuscript Jer-73 (see §7.3).

{32} *amat* *mo-Ø-u-g-i-**an*** *didebuleba-y* *igi* *sul-isa-y*
these:DAT receive:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 greatness-NOM the soul-GEN-NOM
"They have received greatness of spirit." (expected: *mo-Ø-u-g-i-e-s*) [Jer-73:126v]

Jer-73 contains several lexical items of Laz-Mingrelian origin, and in other respects "resembles those Old Georgian texts displaying southwest Georgian dialectisms" [Sarjveladze 1984:566].

Along with the texts cited by Dzidziguri [1970:52], from which the examples at the end of section §7.4 were drawn, this manuscript gives us a basis for hypothesizing a distinct developmental

history for the southwest Georgian dialects. The morphosyntactic patterning we find in contemporary Gurian and Ach'arian has been present for at least eight centuries in the dialects of the Black Sea coast. Both Sarjveladze [1981] and Dzidzishvili [1958:199] endorse the view that the use of S_{3pl} markers to code the number of Set O DAT SSs is to be ascribed to Zan influence. Since this morphological phenomenon is present in both Mingrelian and Laz, it is likely to have been present in Common Zan before it was split into two separate speech communities, that is, before Georgian speakers settled in what is now Guria and Ach'ara.

Another characteristic of Zan agreement marking is less widespread in the southwest Georgian dialect area. The Common Kartvelian Set O prefix *gw- (originally a marker of inclusive 1st person) has been inherited by Georgian and Svan, but not by the Zan languages. The only Set O 1st person prefix used in Zan is m-. Number agreement with 1pl Set O arguments must be indicated suffixly, as with 2nd and 3rd person NPs (more on this in Chapter XIV).

Sporadic Gurian forms such as ***gv**-a-kv-**en*** (= MSG ***gv**-a-kv-**s***), cited in {13} above, appear to be hybrids, with a Georgian O_{1pl} prefix and a Zan-like use of an S_{3pl} suffix. In addition, it has been reported that in the Kirnat-Maradidul subdialect of Lower Ach'arian (spoken near the Turkish border, along the valley of the Ch'orox River), verb agreement patterns more closely approximating the Zan model are in use, e.g. *de-**m**-e-nat'r-**en*** "we longed for him/her/them" (MSG *mo-**gv**-e-nat'r-**a***); *ge-**m**-e-teneb-i-**es*** "we had stayed up (all night)" (MSG *ga-**gv**-e-teneb-i-**a***) [Jorbenadze 1989:559-560]. The speakers of this Georgian dialect have been in close proximity to the Laz-speaking community of southwest Georgia and northeast Turkey.

To illustrate, forms of the Laz, Gurian, Kirnat-Maradidul Ach'arian and Modern Standard Georgian indirect verbs meaning "sb has sthg," conjugated by person and number of the (Set O) SS, are juxtaposed below:

{33}	*Laz*	*Kirnat-Marad.*	*Gurian*	*ModStdGeo*
1sg	m-i-γu-n	m-a-kv-s	m-a-kv-s	m-a-kv-s
2sg	g-i-γu-n	g-a-kv-s	g-a-kv-s	g-a-kv-s
3sg	Ø-u-γu-n	Ø-a-kv-s	Ø-a-kv-s	Ø-a-kv-s
1pl	**m**-i-γu-**nan**	**m**-a-kv-**en**	**gv**-a-kv-**s** // **gv**-a-kv-**en**	**gv**-a-kv-**s**
2pl	g-i-γu-nan	g-a-kv-**en**	g-a-kv-**en**	g-a-kv-**t**
3pl	Ø-u-γu-nan	Ø-a-kv-**en**	Ø-a-kv-**en**	Ø-a-kv-**t**

The parallel is a striking one. Nothing similar is attested in the other Georgian dialect areas.

§12.5. Typological shift in the southwest Georgian dialects.

The morphosyntax of number agreement in the southwest dialects is best viewed against the background of other changes in the grammar of these dialects. The system of case assignment is quite uniform among the attested varieties of Georgian. The only divergence from the standard Georgian pattern (shown in figure {13} of chapter II) found in most of the Georgian-speaking region is the extension of ERG-case marking to the MSs of agentive Class P verbs in series II, which are assigned NOM case in standard Georgian. This extension is attested almost everywhere, except in the more conservative northeast dialects [K'iziria 1974; Boeder 1979; Harris 1981:268-73]. Boeder [1979:443-4,467] gives several examples illustrating this phenomenon:

{34} *im matxovara-**m** še-Ø-e-muk'r-a-t* [K'axetian]
that beggar-**ERG** implore:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_{3pl}
"That beggar implored them . . . ." (MSG *is matxovar-**i** **[NOM]** še-Ø-e-muk'r-a*)

{35} *mi-vid-a am bič'-**ma**, santel-i unda a-Ø-a-nt-o-s* [Kartlian]
go:IIp:S_{3sg} this boy-**ERG** candle-NOM must light:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
"The boy left, he had to light the candle." (MSG *mi-vid-a es bič'-**i** **[NOM]***)

Among intransitive verbs, the primary semantic difference between those in Class A and those in Class P is one of lexical aspect. Most Class A medioactives (i.e. 3rd conjugation verbs, almost all of which are intransitive) are classified as atelic, that is, they denote activities which are not inherently directed toward a goal or end-point [Holisky 1981:137-48]. Class P intransitives are typically telic (end-point directed) or stative (e.g. 4th-conjugation verbs) [Holisky 1979]. In Old and Modern Standard Georgian, therefore, the pattern of case assignment in series II corresponds closely to this distinction of lexical aspect. It is also the case that most Class A verbs are agentive — this includes the majority of transitive verbs, all of which belong to Class A, and the most productive types of medioactive verbs [Holisky 1981:160-9]. On the other hand, while many Class P verbs — the verbs of motion, for example — are agentive, the majority of Class P verbs are nonagentive. The extension of ERG marking to the agent NPs of agentive Class P verbs in series II reflects a reanalysis brought about by the considerable overlap of the two pairs of sets: Class A vs. Class P; and agentive vs. nonagentive verbs.[91]

In the southwest Georgian dialects a much more radical change in the case-assignment system is taking place. The ERG case is frequently assigned by series II Class P verbs in Gurian, including some clearly nonagentive verbs (*xenc'ipe-**m** mo-k't'-a* [king-**ERG** die:IIp:S_3] "the king died" [Zhghent'i 1936:69]). In the variety of Lower Ach'arian mentioned in the preceding section (Kirnat-Maradidul Ach'arian, spoken in the Ch'orox valley, near the Turkish border), verbs of either class can assign ERG case to their SSs in series I as well as II [K'iziria 1974:78-9; Boeder 1979:445; Harris 1985:376-80], e.g.:

{36} *sakonel-**ma** ar mo-di-s* [K'iziria 1974:79]
cattle-**ERG** not come:Ip:S_{3sg}
"The cattle are not coming." (MSG *sakonel-**i** ar mo-di-s* [cattle-**NOM** not come:Ip:S_{3sg}])

{37} *gamk'etebel-**ma** ar Ø-e-sm-i-s ra-ina ga-Ø-a-k'et-o-s*
doer-**ERG** not understand:Ip:O_3:S_{3sg} what-must do:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
"The doer (one doing a thing) doesn't understand what he should do." [Harris 1985:379]
(Mod Std G *gamk'etebel-**s** ar Ø-e-sm-i-s* [doer-**DAT** not understand:Ip:S_{3sg}:O_3])

"It appears," Harris observes, "that Lower Ach'arian is approaching an accusative case system in both series, where the narrative [ERG — KT] will mark subjects, and the nominative will mark direct objects" [Harris 1985:379].

The changes in the agreement system described earlier in this chapter are consistent with this prediction. In Gurian, and more so in Ach'arian, the control of number agreement is almost an exclusive property of SSs. Direct and indirect objects (SOs) — even if 2pl — almost never control suffixal number agreement. The morphological means of coding number agreement with SSs is

[91]Children appear to acquire the principles underlying the standard Georgian case system with great ease, and make few mistakes. One "error" they do systematically commit involves the extension of ERG marking to agentive Class P verbs in series II screeves. For example, a 34-month-old girl produced the sentence *k'at'a-**m** xe-ze a-vid-a* [cat-**ERG** tree-on go-up-IIp-3] "the cat climbed the tree." Four months later she was correctly assigning NOM case to the agents of such verbs (evidence in K'axadze 1969, summary and analysis in Imedadze & Tuite 1992).

becoming unified in the southwest dialects, with the morpheme -en coming to be a general 3pl SS suffix for both Set S and Set O. For the purpose of illustration the means of coding 3pl SSs in Modern Standard Georgian and that developing in Ch'orox Valley Ach'arian are compared here:

{39}

Modern Standard Georgian		**Kirnat-Maradidul**	
case	agreement suffix	case	suffix
NOM	-an, -nen, -en		
ERG	-es, -n	ERG	-en
DAT	-t		

In most dialects neither case assignment nor agreement morphology is directly correlated with SS status. In modern standard Georgian, NOM and DAT case can be assigned to SOs as well as SSs. In Old Georgian, and in the conservative northeast dialects, the 3pl SOs (MSs) of indirect verbs control number agreement in -an, -en, -es, and so forth. In the southwest dialects, by contrast, the correlation is already strong and becoming stronger. The grammar is realigning so as to bestow syntactic prominence and unambiguous marking upon the SS [Tuite 1985b].[92]

[92]Assignment of ERG case by verbs in series I is also attested in three southern Kartlian villages, each of which is surrounded by non-Georgian speech communities (Azerbaidjanian, Armenian). The case-assignment conventions observed in these villages differs from that of Ch'orox Valley Ach'arian in that ERG case is not assigned by nonagentive verbs [Imnaishvili 1961:161-3].

CHAPTER XIII. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST DIALECTS.

Each of the three dialect regions presented in this chapter so far has been associated with a characteristic syntactic pattern and certain morphological features.

I. Northeast dialects
syntax: number agreement correlated with case and person agreement
morphology: -(e)n- suffix in Series II and III

II. East-central dialects
syntax: number agreement correlated with animacy and givenness
morphology: suffixes -t and -q'e in association with Set O arguments

III. Southwest dialects
syntax: number agreement correlated with SS function
morphology: unification of 3pl marking

The characteristic feature of the northwest Georgian dialects is that there is no characteristic feature. Elements from each of the three types listed above are found somewhere in the varieties of Georgian spoken in Imereti and Rach'a. These dialects present striking examples of the phenomenon that makes the Kartvelian language family such an interesting laboratory for typological investigation: varieties of the same language, or even of the same subdialect, closely related in terms of lexicon, phonology and morphology, yet very different in their syntactic organization. Georgian scholars have been aware of this for some time. Several investigators, most notably Shota Dzidziguri, have devoted special attention to the northwest Georgian dialects.

§13.1. Upper Imeretian.

Traditionally, the Georgian spoken in the large western province of Imereti was regarded as a single dialect, with two principal subdialects [GTK:436]. In a recent monograph, K'ublashvili [1985:13] has argued persuasively that Upper and Lower Imeretian are sufficiently different that they ought to be treated as distinct dialects. For this reason I will discuss Upper Imeretian and Lower Imeretian separately. Upper Imeretian is spoken in eastern Imereti, and shares many features with the Kartlian dialect spoken on the other side of the Lixi mountains from it.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: As in Kartlian, 2pl Set O arguments control number agreement in -t, whether or not functioning as SSs.

{1} *verc* ***g****-i-zmob-****t*** *da verc* ***g****-i-q'mob-****t*** *me-o*
cannot brother:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** and nor serve:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** I:NOM-QT
"I can neither befriend you$_{pl}$ nor serve you$_{pl}$." [GTK:448]

In the northern part of Upper Imereti (Ch'iatura Raion), number agreement in q'e is sometimes found, as in the Rach'an dialect spoken to the immediate north:

{2} *sam sak'itx-s* ***g****-e-t'q'v-i-Ø-****q'e*** [GTK:457]
three question-DAT tell:Ip:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"I will ask you$_{pl}$ three questions."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Class P verbs with -(e)n- are not attested, even in the 3pl. As in the southwest dialects, the S_{3pl} marker -nen is not found.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Only indirect conjugation is attested with indirect-syntax verbs. Number agreement with 3pl Set O SSs is marked by -t.

{3} ***Ø**-u-svr-i-a-**t*** *ori-ve-sa.* [GTK:446]
shoot:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} two-all-DAT
"They both fired (their guns)."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): This is observed in connection with roughly the same range of arguments as in K'axetian. Throughout Upper Imereti number agreement with 3pl SOs is marked with -t. In the Ch'iatura area the suffix -q'e is also used [K'iziria 1974:87].

{4} *de-Ø-i-bar-a* *paša-m* *egeni$_s$ . . .* *da* *da-**Ø**-a-mt'q'vev-a,*
summon:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 pasha-ERG those:NOM and arrest:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_3**
Ø$_s$ *go-**Ø**-u-c'q'r-a-**t**,* *Ø$_s$* *da-**Ø**-a-naobax-a-**t***
Ø:3pl:DAT anger:IIp:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** Ø:3pl:NOM jail:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"The pasha summoned them . . . and arrested them, became angry at them <DAT, IO> and threw them <NOM, DO> into jail." [GTK:461]

{5} *mo-**Ø**-txov-a* *vezir-eb-ma$_v$* *sami* *dγ-is* *vada-i.*
request:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 vizier-PL-ERG three day-GEN deadline-NOM
Ø$_v$ *versa* *veravin* *veraper-i* *ver* *Ø-u-txr-a.*
Ø:3pl:DAT nowhere no.one:ERG nothing-NOM can't tell:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_3**
xval *Ø$_v$* *Ø-u-xteb-a-**t*** *vada.* *mi-vid-**en***
tomorrow Ø:3pl:DAT expire:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} deadline:NOM go:IIp:**S_{3pl}**
Ø$_v$ *ert* *dinare-s-tan.* *gaγma* *erti* *meǰoge-a . . .*
Ø:3pl:NOM one river-DAT-by across one herdsman-is
Ø$_v$ *Ø-k'itx-**es**,* *rac* *Ø$_v$* *Ø-u-ndod-a-**t**.*
Ø:3pl:ERG ask:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 what:NOM Ø:3pl:DAT want:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
Ø$_v$ *Ø-u-txra-**q'e*** *ra* *v-i-c-i?*
Ø:3pl:DAT tell:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** what:NOM know:Ia:S_{1sg}:O_3
"The viziers asked for a three-day grace period. No one was able to tell them anything. Tomorrow their time will be up. They came to a river. On the other side there is a herdsman. . . . They told him what they <DAT, MO/SS> wanted. He said to them <DAT, MO/SO>: What do I know?" [GTK:458]

The impression I have from reading the Upper Imeretian materials in GTK:441-466 is that -q'e is only used to mark number agreement with Set O SOs (direct and indirect objects). The suffix -t is used for number agreement with both SSs and SOs controlling Set O agreement.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Plural NPs with animate reference (including formally singular collectives and quantified NPs) almost always control plural number agreement. Givenness

does play some role in determining number agreement, as the first clause of {5} (*mo-Ø-txov-**a** vezir-eb-ma*) would indicate.

§13.2. Lower Imeretian.

This interesting dialect has recently been studied in depth by K'ublashvili [1985]. It is her opinion that Lower Imeretian is more closely related to Gurian and Lechxumian than to Upper Imeretian [1985:14,48]. Map #2 shows the region where the Lower Imeretian dialect is spoken. It should be of use in locating the various local varieties of Lower Imeretian to be discussed in this section.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Set S agreement is the same as in Modern Standard Georgian [K'ublashvili 1985:184-5].[93] Number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is marked in a variety of ways in Lower Imeretian.

(1) *NUMBER AGREEMENT IN -T*

According to K'ublashvili 1985:142-3, the use of -t with DAT SSs of indirect verbs (e.g. *g-i-nd-a-t*) is relatively uncommon, and reflects the influence of the literary language.

{6} *ap'a, ra **g**-i-nd-a-**t**, ra **g**-i-q'-o-**t**-o?*
well what:NOM want:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_{3sg} what:NOM do:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"What do you$_{pl}$ want, what can I do for you$_{pl}$?" [GTK:472 (C'uluk'idze)]

(2) *NUMBER AGREEMENT IN -Q'E(N)*

Several variant forms of -q'e are attested in Lower Imeretian: -k'e, -k'en, -q'e, -q'en, -c'q'en. The last is derived from the assimilation and affricatization of a preceding -s.[94]

{7} *imisana adgili-dan gamo-**g**-č'vrit'av-**q'e***
such place-from watch:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"I will watch you$_{pl}$ from that kind of place." [K'ublashvili 1985:155]

{8} *ise gamc'arebuli-a ro da-**g**-i-cacxan-o-**c'**-**q'en***
so embittered-is that insult:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"He is so embittered that he will insult you$_{pl}$."
(= *da-g-i-cacxan-o-s* + *-q'en*) [Dzidziguri 1970:157]

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[93]K'axadze [1954:177] however reports the following curious instance of nonagreement for number with a 2pl NOM SS controlling Set S agreement. The example was recorded in the vicinity of Ok'riba (T'q'ibuli Raion):

*muš-eb-o, ra-s Ø-e-ʒep-**Ø** maɣaro-šia?* [K'axadze 1954:177]
worker-PL-VOC what-DAT seek:Ia:**S_{2sg}**:O_3 mine-in-QUES
"Workers, what are you looking for in the mine?"

This is the only example of such nonagreement I have ever found in any form of Georgian. Unlike the instances of nonagreement with *tkven* given in chap. VII (ex {47}), the above sentence clearly contains a referentially plural 2nd person argument. K'axadze does not provide any context or explanation concerning this phenomenon.

[94]The same assimilation occurs when the homophonous postposition -q'en (a variant of -k'en "towards") follows the GEN case ending -is: *t'q'-is* [forest-GEN] + *-q'en* [towards] = *t'q'i**c'**q'en* "towards the forest" [Dzidziguri 1970:157].

As analyzed by Dzidziguri [1970:156] -q'en is derived from the addition of the plural morpheme -n to -q'e. Another possibility is that -q'en comes from -q'e plus the verbal suffix -en, which, as in Gurian, has supplanted other means of marking 3pl agreement, and been extended to the marking of number agreement with 2pl arguments also:

(3) *NUMBER AGREEMENT IN -EN*

{9} *mo-**g**-e-xseneb-i-**en*** *mag-i* [GTK:479]
recall:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S3 that-NOM
"You$_{pl}$ will remember him."

Lower Imeretian differs significantly from Gurian in that -en is also used for number agreement with 2pl arguments that are not functioning as SSs [K'ublashvili 1985:144-5]:[95]

{10} *šoper-ma* *rom* *ga-**g**-i-t'ac-**en*** [K'ublashvili 1985:32]
chauffeur-ERG that carry.off:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"when the driver <MS/SS> took you$_{pl}$ <MO/SO> away"

Some indirect Class P verbs use a postclitic based on the 3pl form of the verb "to be" (*ar-i-en*) to mark number agreement with a 2pl or 3pl SS (MO), for example: ***g-**i-q'varl-**ar-i-en*** [love:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_3] "you$_{pl}$ love him/her" [K'ublashvili 1985:155].[96]

(4) *NONAGREEMENT FOR NUMBER*

A couple of examples of nonagreement for number are found in GTK's Lower Imeretian texts. This appears to be much less common than in Gurian or Ach'arian:

{11} *tkven* *unda* ***g**-i-axl-o-s-o* [GTK:478]
you$_{pl}$:DAT want:Ip:O_3:S_{3sg} approach:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_2**
"He wants to approach you$_{pl}$(= polite sg)."

Sometimes two different means of coding number agreement can appear in successive verbs:

{12} *masc'avlebel-i or-s* *da-**g**-i-t'axuneb-**en*** *tav-ši,* *gak'vetil-i* *ro*
teacher-NOM two-DAT whack:Ia:S_3:**O_{2pl}** head-in lesson-NOM that
ar ***g**-e-codineb-a-**t*** [K'ublashvili 1985:145]
not know:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_{3sg}
"The teacher will hit the two of you$_{pl}$ over the head if you$_{pl}$ do not know your lessons."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:
[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.
[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Not attested.

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[95]In this respect the semantic range of Lower Imeretian -en corresponds to that of its cognate morpheme in Mingrelian (see chapter XIV), or that of -t in literary Georgian.

[96]The form of the root used in this and similar verb forms is based on the perfect participle. It thus appears to have been derived from a periphrastic construction which has become a (synthetic) verb form. I have only encountered these forms in K'ublashvili's grammar of Lower Imeretian; they do not appear in GTK's texts.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: As in several other dialects, indirect conjugation is allowed by all such verbs. In addition **direct** conjugation is possible if the SO (MS) has animate reference. K'ublashvili [1985:154-6,187] gives examples of direct conjugation with indirect-syntax verbs:

indirect verbs

{13} *ʒalian m-i-q'varl-ari-**en** baγn-eb-i*
much love:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}** child-PL-NOM
"I love children very much."

{14} *raprat Ø-e-zizγebl-ari-**en** beča am bovš-s e k'at'-eb-i*
somehow dislike:Ip:O_3:**S_{3pl}** alas this child-DAT this cat-PL-NOM
"Alas, how this child <SS/MO> hates the cats <SO/MS>."

inverse verbs (Class A verbs in series III)

{15} *bovš-eb-i gvianoba-mde ar ga-m-i-γviʒebl-ari-**en***
child-PL-NOM late-until not wake:IIIa:O_{1sg}:**S_{3pl}**
"I didn't wake up the children until it was late."

In each case a suffix based on the 3pl present form of the copular verb is used to mark number agreement with a 3pl NOM SO (MS). (Compare the use of copula-based suffixes in the 1st and 2nd person of indirect 4th conjugation and inverse verbs in Modern Standard Georgian — see chap. VIII, ex. {45}). This number agreement pattern resembles that described previously for Kartlian (*me m-i-q'var-an isini* "I <DAT> love them <NOM>"). However the same postposed copula (*ar-i-en*) can also be used to crossreference a plural DAT SS [K'ublashvili 1985:154-6]:

{16} *bovš-eb-s mart'o tamaš-i **Ø**-u-q'varl-ari-**en***
child-PL-DAT only play-NOM love:IVp:**O_{3pl}**:S_3
"Children <SS/MO> only love playing <SO/MS>."

This indicates that suffixal -arien, which is used by stative and 4th conjugation verbs in the present, and all verbs in the present perfect screeve, performs the same double duty as -en in the southwest dialects: coding both Set S and Set O plural arguments. The essential difference between the two is that Gurian and Ach'arian -en only crossreferences SSs; Lower Imeretian -arien can be associated with both SSs and SOs.

Besides -arien, the other plural number agreement morphemes mentioned above — -t, -q'e(n) and -en — can code the plurality of 3pl DAT SSs.

{17} *tatr-ep-s_t č'virt-at šek'ruli c'k'nel-i **Ø**-kond-a-**q'en** turme*
Turk-PL-DAT weight-ADV bent branch-NOM have:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} apparently
*aparebuli c'in, da $Ø_t$ t'q'vi-eb-i ver **Ø**-xvdebod-a-**t**;*
spread before and Ø:3pl:DAT bullet-PL-NOM cannot meet:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
*mara čven-ep-s turme zarbazn-eb-i **Ø**-kond-a-**t***
but our-PL-DAT apparently cannon-PL-NOM have:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"The Turks, it is said, had branches bent down with weights shielding them, and bullets couldn't get at them; but our guys had cannons." [GTK:469]

{18} *tevz-eb-i*$_f$ *amo-sul-**a*** *c'q'l-id-gan da* *Ø*$_f$
fish-PL-NOM come.up:IIIp:**S$_{3sg}$** water-from and Ø:3pl:DAT
simind-i *šu-**Ø**-u-č'am-i-**en**-o*
corn-NOM eat:IIIa:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$-QT
"The fish came up out of the water and ate up the corn." [GTK:473]

The use of -t for number agreement with DAT SSs is quite rare in Lower Imeretian [K'ublashvili 1985:142-3], and represents the influence of the literary language. In some parts of Lower Imereti, in particular the Ok'riba (T'q'ibuli) [K'axadze 1954:174] and Terjola [Dzidziguri 1970:171-2] areas, -q'e is apparently fading from use and being replaced by -t. This resembles the change reported by Chikobava [1968:276-7] for the K'axetian dialect region. Elsewhere in Lower Imereti both -q'e and -en are used for number agreement with DAT SSs. In the C'uluk'idze, Samt'redia and C'q'alt'ubo raions -en is more often used and -q'e less often. In the Xani-Zegani area, the Ok'riba area and Terjola Raion -q'e is more frequently used than -en. In Van Raion all three morphemes are in use [K'ublashvili 1985:143-4].

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): Number agreement with non-SSs is commonly attested in Lower Imeretian, in which respect it differs sharply from Gurian and resembles the dialects to its north. In most cases the suffix -q'e(n) is used for this purpose.

{19} *c'ip'i-eb-i* *ga-v-**Ø**-den-e-**q'en*** *ezo-ši*
duckling-PL-NOM drive:IIa:S$_{1sg}$:**O$_{3pl}$** yard-in
"I drove the ducklings out into the yard." [Dzoc'enidze 1948:56 (Vani)]

In some areas, e.g. Ok'riba, -t is attested coding number agreement with 3pl SOs:

{20} *xazein-ma k'ac-ma* *gamo-**Ø**-u-ar-a-**t*** *iseve* *am bič'-ep-s*
host-ERG man-ERG come:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{3pl}$** likewise this boy-PL-DAT
"Likewise the host came over to the boys." [K'axadze 1954:175]

K'ublashvili [1985:144-5] claims that -en can also be used for number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs. She gives a dozen examples. In all but one case the MS is inanimate, and in the remaining one the verb is a stative passive (a class of verbs prone to indirect syntax). All of K'ublashvili's Lower Imeretian examples involve verbs that allow indirect conjugation in Modern Standard Georgian; most of them are labile Class P and Class A verbs:

{21} *ra* *ǰandeba* *gada-**Ø**-rev-**en*** *magens?*
what disaster:NOM drive.crazy:Ia:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$ those-DAT
"What the hell is driving them <MO/SS> mad?"

In the above sentence, and in the remaining examples cited by K'ublashvili, it is almost certainly the case that the MO is functioning as SS.

It is my impression that two different number agreement systems are present in Lower Imeretian. The suffixes -q'e(n), -t (and -arien, in the case of stative verbs and present-perfect screeve forms) mark number agreement with prominent plural animate arguments regardless of their syntactic role (SS or SO). The morpheme -en has a more restricted range. When employed to

code number agreement with Set O arguments, it is attested in conjunction with 2pl SSs and SOs, but with 3pl SSs only.

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The plural suffixes -ni and -ta are essentially unknown in Lower Imeretian; even 3pl pronouns use the -eb plural: *egen-eb-i* [those-PL-NOM], *magn-eb-ma* [those-PL-ERG]; cp MSG *ege-n-i, maga-t* [K'ublashvili 1985:102].

As in the other western dialects 3pl NPs with inanimate reference rarely control number agreement [K'iziria 1974:81]. Several linguists have observed that not all animate plural SSs control number agreement in Lower Imeretian [K'iziria 1974:81; Dzoc'enidze 1948:57; K'axadze 1954:176-7; K'ublashvili 1985:185-6].

Here are excerpts from two versions of a folktale recorded in C'q'alt'ubo Raion [GTK:471] and C'uluk'idze Raion [GTK:474], respectively. Three brothers, two smart and one foolish, have gotten into trouble with their employer and are running away. Note that in the first sentence of the passage in {22}, the brothers are initially referred to by a zero anaphor, and 3pl agreement is marked on the verb. When an overt NP (*samve ʒmanebi*) is used to refer to the same protagonists, there is no number agreement with the verb (note also {18} above).

{22} *Ø$_b$ a-dg-**en** mere, c'e-vid-**en** da ge-Ø-e-kc-a*
Ø:3pl:NOM arise:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** then go:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** and escape:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$**
*sam-ve ʒman-eb-i$_b$ xazein-s, Ø$_b$ še-**Ø**-e-šind-a-**q'en***
three-all brother-PL-NOM boss-DAT Ø:3pl:DAT fear:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$
*sikvt'il-s. Ø$_b$ če-vid-**en** ert c'isk'vil-ši dinare-ze*
death-DAT Ø:3pl:NOM go.down:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** one mill-in river-at
*Ø$_b$ da ikine a-tevd-**en** γame-s . . .*
Ø:3pl:NOM and there spend:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** night-DAT
e sulel-i ʒma-i c'e-vid-a da xumara-ši da-c'w-a.
this foolish brother-NOM go:IIp:S$_{3sg}$ and hopper-in lie:IIp:S3s
e umprosva-n-i ʒman-eb-i$_e$ p'ol-ze da-c'v-a, Ø$_e$
this elder-PL-NOM brother-PL-NOM floor-on lie:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$** Ø:3pl:ERG
*e-i-γ-**en** ǰamǰame da Ø$_e$ da-c'v-**en** gasatpobat.*
take:IIa:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$ slat:NOM and Ø:3pl:ERG burn:IIa:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$ to.warm
"They got up <number agreement>, went out <NA>, and the three brothers ran away <no NA> from the boss; they were frightened <NA> to death. They went down <NA> to a mill by the river and spent <NA> the night there . . The foolish brother went and lay down in a grain hopper. The older brothers lay down <no NA> on the floor, took <NA> a grain chute and burned <NA> it to keep warm."

{23} *dila-ze gare-dan pxak'a-pxuk'-it mo-vid-a tagv-eb-i$_m$*
morning-at out-from scratching-INS come:IIp:**S$_{3sg}$** mouse-PL-NOM
*da Ø$_m$ ga-Ø-a-ps-**en** xvimir-i pul-it.*
and Ø:3pl:ERG fill:IIa:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$ hopper-NOM money-INS
game-Ø-e-k'id-a sulel-i tagv-eb-s$_m$ da Ø$_m$
chase:IIp:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ foolish-NOM mouse-PL-DAT and Ø:3pl:DAT
da-Ø-a-t'ueb-i-a pul-eb-i. ga-Ø-a-ps-o didi
leave:CAUS:IIIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ money-PL-NOM fill:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ big
sapule pul-it da c'e-vid-a sax-ši.
money.bag:NOM money-INS and go:IIp:S$_{3sg}$ home-in

č'kviani ʒman-eb-i$_S$ sax-ši da-Ø-xt-a. Ø$_S$ veraper-i
smart brother-PL-NOM home-in meet:IIp:S_{3sg}:O_3 Ø:3pl:DAT nothingNOM
*ver Ø-e-šon-a-**t** da ke Ø$_S$ da-brunebul-iq'v-**en** calier-i.*
cannot find:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} andindeed Ø:3pl:NOM return:IIIp:**S_{3pl}** empty-NOM
"In the morning the mice <no NA> came from outside with a scratching sound and filled <NA> the hopper with money. The foolish brother chased away the mice and made them leave the money behind. He filled a large bag with the money and went home. The smart brothers <no NA> met him at home. They had not found <NA> anything, and had returned <NA> empty-handed."

It appears that in Lower Imeretian, as in the other dialects where this kind of nonagreement has been described, in those cases where number agreement with an animate SS does not occur the argument in question is represented by an overt NP, usually non-pronominal. Once the argument in question becomes presumed information, represented by a zero anaphor or pronoun, number agreement begins.

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: Dzidziguri [1940:164; 1970:157] has described an unusual extension of the range of uses of -q'en in the variety of Lower Imeretian spoken in C'uluk'idze Raion. Plural number agreement with the ERG case SSs of Class A verbs in the optative and imperative screeves (series II) is marked with -q'en (see also K'iziria 1974:87). All of the verbs in Dzidziguri's examples have the optative-screeve ending -o-s, which functions as a S_{3sg} in other Georgian dialects. Here it appears to function simply as a general S_3 marker. Plurality is indicated agglutinatively through addition of -q'en [Dzidziguri 1940:164]:

{24} *ame-Ø-i-q'van-o-c'-**q'en** kal-eb-ma q'vel-i-o*
bring-up:IIa:S_{3sg}+**pl**:O_3 woman-PL-ERG cheese-NOM-QT
"The women should bring up the cheese." <NA with 3pl ERG agent>
(S_{3sg}: *ame-Ø-i-q'van-o-s*; **S_{3pl}**: *ame-Ø-i-q'van-o-s + -q'en = ameiq'vanoc'q'en*).
(cp MSG **S_{3pl}** *amo-Ø-i-q'van-o-**n***)

This phenomenon is also observed in the Samt'redia area. In Samt'redian speech, the initial phoneme of -q'en drops out after being added on to -s [K'ublashvili 1985:141]:[97]

{24} *akane k'inisgza-i unda gi-Ø-i-q'van-o-s-**en** da tbilis-s*
here railroad-NOM must bring:IIa:S_{3sg}+**pl**:O_3 and Tbilisi-DAT
*da pot-s unda šu-Ø-u-ert-o-s-**en*** [GTK:477]
and Poti-DAT must join-IIa:S_{3sg}+**pl**:O_3
"They are supposed bring the railroad here and connect Tbilisi and Poti."
(cp MSG **S_{3pl}** *ga-Ø-i-q'van-o-**n**, še-Ø-u-ert-o-**n***)

In his 1940 article Dzidziguri had claimed that this use of -q'en to mark number agreement with Set S arguments was limited to the optative and imperative screeves. More recent data indicates that this pattern has spread to indicative screeves as well [K'ublashvili 1985:139-41]:

[97]It may be the case that the q'e element of q'en (< q'e + en, according to Dzidziguri) is not present in the underlying form, and only en is added onto the S_3 ending to give the plural form. K'ublashvili does not present phonological evidence to back up her claim.

{25} *ver ʒlebulob-s-**k'en** amden sakme-s ertad*
cannot manage:Ia:S_{3sg}+**pl**:O_3 this.many matter-DAT together
"They cannot manage to do so many things at the same time."

{26} *do-Ø-u-ʒax-**en**-**k'en***
call:IIa:**S_{3pl}+pl**:O3
"They called out."

In some of these verbs (e.g. {26}) plurality is marked twice, both by the appropriate S_{3pl} morpheme and by -q'en/k'en. In the case of verbs like *douʒax-en-k'en* the suffix -k'en can have either of two functions: coding plurality of the IO or the SS. This surface ambiguity it shares with -t (in most dialects) and -en (in some varieties of Lower Imeretian).

§13.3. Lechxumian.

The Lechxumian dialect is spoken in a small province to the north of Imereti. In the opinion of some experts, Lechxumian is an Imeretian subdialect [GTK:482]. K'ublashvili [1985:40] notes that "the similarity between Lechxumian and Lower Imeretian can be observed in every component of the linguistic system" (see also Dzidziguri [1970:186]). Due to lack of sufficient materials, I will only present those aspects of Lechxumian grammar discussed by Dzidziguri [1970:174-86] and K'ublashvili [1985:40-7], or illustrated in the thirteen pages of text in GTK:485-97.

(1) Number agreement in -(e)n- in series II and III: Not attested (e.g. *de-v-Ø-e-txov-o-t* "Let's take our leave of him" [GTK:485]).

(2) Unification of S_{3pl} marking: As in the southwest dialects and Imeretian, the S_{3pl} marker -en is used in contexts where other markers would be used in Modern Standard Georgian, e.g. *t'iri-**en*** "they are weeping" (MSG *t'iri-an*); *Ø-u-txr-**en*** "they said sthg to sb" (MSG *Ø-u-txr-es*); *de-i-xoc-**en*** "they perished" (MSG *da-i-xoc-nen*) [K'ublashvili 1985:44].

(3) Number agreement with 3pl Set O SSs: All three of the morphological means employed in Lower Imeretian are attested in Lechxumian usage. Here, for example, are three sentences containing indirect Class P verbs and series III Class A verbs with 3pl DAT SSs:

{27} ***Ø**-q'oli-a-**t*** *erti švil-i*
have:IIIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} one child-NOM
"They had one child. They found a wife for him." [GTK:497]

{28} *kbil-i, imdoni šo-**Ø**-u-naxav-s-**q'e**, **Ø**-u-puč'deb-a-**q'e***
flour-NOM that.much preserve:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} spoil:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"The flour which they stored will go bad on them." [GTK:488]

{29} *go-**Ø**-u-k'eteb-i-**en***
make:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S3
"They have made it." [K'ublashvili 1985:44; Dzidziguri 1970:181]

It appears from the examples in GTK's Lechxumian corpus that the first and second means of coding number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs are more common than the third.

(4) Number agreement with 3pl non-SSs: Both -t and -q'e are used for this purpose [Dzidziguri 1970:179-81; K'iziria 1974:85-7; K'ublashvili 1985:45-6]:

{30} *i ǰvar-i ise-a ro q'oliper-s* ***Ø**-u-sruleb-**t*** *xalx-s*
that cross-NOM so-is that everything-DAT fulfill:Ia:S3:**O_{3pl}** people-DAT
"That shrine can do anything for the people." [Dzidziguri 1970:181]

{31} *mast'avlebl-eb-i sk'ola-ši da-v-**Ø**-t'ov-e-**q'e*** [GTK:486]
teacher-PL-NOM school-at leave:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"I left the teachers at the school."

(5) 18th century documentation: Dzidziguri [1970:52] gives an example of number agreement with a 2pl DAT SS in a Lechxumian document dated c. 1710:

{32} *sik'vdil-it ara **g**-i-šavd-**en***
death-INS not harm:IIp:**O_{2pl}**:S_3
"You$_{pl}$ were not harmed by death."

§13.4. Rach'an.

The province of Rach'a, writes Dzidziguri [1970:189] "is a mountainous place, extending on both sides of the river Rioni; some villages are built along the banks of the river, others are nestled high up in the mountains. This contributes to linguistic diversity and those local variations for which Rach'an stands out in Georgian dialectology." Dzidziguri has written several extensive articles on this remarkable dialect, and the discussion in this section will be built around the materials this noted Georgian scholar has made available. It is a noteworthy fact that in such cultural spheres as family organization, ritual and music, the Rach'ans — especially those from the northern highlands — resemble the eastern Georgians more than their lowland neighbors to the south and west. The resemblance is particularly close with the mountaineers of northeast Georgia: the Mtiulians, Xevsurians, etc. [Dzidziguri 1970:189-90].

Geographically, Rach'a is divided into three regions, termed Lower Rach'a, Upper Rach'a and Mountain Rach'a. The main subdialects of Rach'an correspond to these geographical divisions fairly closely [Dzidziguri 1970:201-2; see map #3]. Lower Rach'an "shows such a strong similarity to Lower Imeretian and Lechxumian that, except for certain phenomena, they could be considered varieties of a single dialect" [GTK:500]. The variety of Georgian spoken in the eastern villages of Lower Rach'a stands closer to Upper Rach'an [Dzidziguri 1970:252-3]. The latter subdialect and Mountain Rach'an are physically more isolated from the other Georgian dialects [Dzidziguri 1970:253]; they adjoin non-Georgian-speaking communities (Svans, Ossetians, North Caucasian peoples). Because of the degree to which the subdialects of Rach'an differ from each other in their morphology and syntax, I will discuss each of them separately.

§13.4.1. Lower Rach'an.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is usually marked by -t:

{33} *sc'ret* *tkvena* ***g**-gamd-a-**t*** *čemi* *col-i-o*
exactly you$_{pl}$:DAT resemble:IIp:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{2pl}$** my wife-NOM-QT
"My wife looks exactly like you$_{pl}$." [GTK:514]

One instance of double marking of plurality, using both -t and -q'e, has been reported [K'iziria 1974:87-8]:

{34} *nik'orc'mid-is* *ek'lesia* *tkven* *ar* ***g**-e-naxuleb-a-**t-q'e***
St.Nicholas-GEN church:NOM you$_{pl}$:DAT not see:Ip:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$
"You$_{pl}$ haven't seen the church of Nik'orc'minda." [GTK:503]

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:
[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.
[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Not attested.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: One example of an indirect verb marked for direct conju-gation is attested in GTK. This verb allows direct conjugation in Modern Standard Georgian also.

{35} *katm-eb-i* *m-q'amd-**en*** [GTK:504]
chicken-PL-NOM have:IIp:O$_{1sg}$:**S$_{3pl}$**
"I had chickens."

Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is found with most indirect and inverse verbs. Both -t and -q'e are attested as markers of plural number agreement. Variability in number agreement behavior has been observed with these verbs, e.g.:

{36} *č'enč'erik'a-s* *ʒm-eb-s* ***Ø**-u-ndod-a* *mdev-is* *koneba*
Ch'.-GEN brother-PL-DAT want:Ip:**O$_3$**:S$_{3sg}$ ogre-GEN wealth:NOM
*gamo-**Ø**-e-t'anebi-o-s* *č'enč'erik'a-sa-tvis.* *a* *ʒm-eb-s*
bring:CAUS:IIIa:**O$_3$**:S$_{3sg}$ Ch'.-GEN-for this brother-PL-DAT
č'enč'erik'a-s *sik'vdil-i* ***Ø**-u-ndod-a-**q'e**.* [Dzidziguri 1956:285]
Ch'.-GEN death-NOM want:Ip:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$
"Ch'ench'erik'a's brothers wanted <no number agreement> to make <no NA> Ch'ench'erik'a carry the ogre's possessions away. The brothers <NA> wanted Ch'ench'erik'a to die."

The use of -en to code plural number agreement with Set O SSs is also found in Lower Rach'an [Dzidziguri 1970:252], e.g. *mo-**Ø**-u-xmareb-i-**en*** "they <DAT> have helped sb <NOM>."

[d] NA with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): The suffix -q'e, and occasionally -t as well, is found serving this function in Lower Rach'an.

{37} *da-**Ø**-a-val-a-**q'e*** *ime-eb-s* [GTK:512]
oblige:IIa:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{3pl}$** that-PL-DAT
"She gave them an order."

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The relation between animacy and number agreement appears to be about the same as in Modern Standard Georgian. Almost all plural nouns are marked

with the suffix -eb, and only animate nouns can control number agreement. Dzidziguri has collected one example of nonagreement for number with a plural animate SS:

{38} *še-Ø-a-c'ux-**a*** *bač'a* *mk'ule-eb-ma* [Dzidziguri 1956:286]
bother:IIa:S_{3sg}:O B.-NOM adorned-PL-ERG
"The lavishly-dressed people bothered Bach'a."

It is likely to be the case that in Lower Rach'an, as in Imeretian, topicality plays a role in the determination of whether number agreement will occur. Example {36} is a case in point: number agreement with the NPs referring to the brothers does not begin until they are established as a discourse topic.

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: As in the southwest dialects, a distinct trend toward the unification of S_{3pl} marking is apparent, though it has not affected the aorist-screeve S_{3pl} ending -es [Dzidziguri 1970:252]: *ar-i-en* "they are," *c'a-sul-en* "they have left" (Mod G *ar-i-an, c'a-sul-an*); but *mo-k'l-**es*** "they killed sb."

§13.4.2. Upper Rach'an.

To the east and upland from Lower Rach'a lies the Upper Rach'a dialect area. This region is less accessible to travellers from lowland Georgia [Dzidziguri 1970:190], and the speech of its inhabitants is said to represent "true Rach'an" (i.e. there is less evidence of Imeretian influence) [GTK:501].

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: As in Lower Rach'an, either -t or -q'e can mark number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments.

{39} *k'ai* *km-eb-i* *še-**g**-xdomod-en-**q'e*** [GTK:518]
good husband-PL-NOM meet:Ip:S_{3pl}:**O_{2pl}**
"May you_{pl} find good husbands."

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:
[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.
[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Not attested.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Indirect conjugation is found with these verbs. Number agreement with plural DAT SSs can be marked with -t or -q'e:

{40} *k'ac-eb-s* *čoxa* ***Ø**-e-cv-a-**q'e*** [GTK:515]
man-PL-DAT cloak:NOM wear:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
"Men wore the choxa (a type of garment)."

The morpheme -en is not used for number agreement with Set O SSs [Dzidziguri 1970:251-2]. In this respect Upper Rach'an differs from Lower Rach'an.

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): The suffixes -t and -q'e are attested serving this function.

{41} *da-**Ø**-a-q'en-a-**q'e*** *mosamsaxure-eb-i* *tav-ze* [GTK:519]
place:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** servant-PL-NOM head-at
"He placed his servants at the front."

{42} *mi-**s**-c-a-**t*** *oc-oci* *tuman-i* *da* ***Ø**-u-txr-a-**t** . . . .*
give:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}** twenty-each 10.ruble-NOM and say:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"He gave each of them 200 rubles, and told them . . . " [Dzidziguri 1970:242]

Upper Rach'an speakers avoid the use of -t to code the plurality of a 3pl Set O IO or DO when the SS (which controls Set S agreement) is 1st or 2nd person. In such circumstances only -q'e can be used. In this way a potential surface ambiguity concerning the interpretation of -t (plurality of 1st/2nd person Set S or 3rd person Set O argument) is avoided. So, the verb *Ø-u-txar-i-t* can only mean "you_{pl} told him/her/them," and never "you_{sg} told them." The latter meaning can only be expressed as *Ø-u-txar-i-**q'e*** [Dzidziguri 1970:242].

[e] Animacy and number agreement: It appears that Upper Rach'an does not significantly differ from Lower Rach'an and Modern Standard Georgian in terms of the correlation between animacy and number agreement.

{43} *saxl-eb-i* *i-q'-**o*** *gadaxurul-i* [GTK:514]
house-PL-NOM be:IIp:**S_{3sg}** cover-NOM
"The houses were covered over (with roofs)."

[f] Other noteworthy phenomena: The S_{3sg} suffix -s is often not found in certain Upper Rach'an verbs with which it would be required according to the norms of Standard Georgian. In each case the "missing" -s would crossreference the SO; i.e. the verbs in question are indirect (in the present screeve), or inverse (Class A verbs in the present perfect) [Dzidziguri 1970:232].

{44} *m-i-k'vir-_* (MSG *m-i-k'vir-**s***) "I am surprised (by sthg)"
g-ʒinam-_ (MSG *g-ʒinav-**s***) "you are asleep"
Ø-u-naxav-_ (MSG *Ø-u-naxav-**s***) "sb has seen sthg/sb"

This "loss" of S_{3sg} -s does not occur when then the verb is associated with direct syntax [Dzidziguri 1970:232]. This optional omission of S_{3sg} marking with indirect and inverse verbs is not restricted to Upper Rach'an. Similar phenomena have been described in the Pshavian dialect [Cocanidze 1978:74-77].

§13.4.3. Mountain Rach'an (Ghebi and Ch'iora).

The province known as Mountain Rach'a (*mtarač'a*) is located along the head of the Rioni river. It is bordered on north and south by mountain chains with an average altitude of 3800 meters above sea level [Dzidziguri 1970:192]. This remote region was once occupied by Svans. A 15th-century document cited by Dzidziguri [1970:193-4] indicates that at that time Rach'ans were moving northward into the highlands and coming into conflict with the local population, who later abandoned their villages and resettled westward into what is now Svaneti. There are now three Georgian-speaking villages in Mountain Rach'a: Ghebi, Ch'iora and Glola (see map #3). The variety of Georgian spoken here is characterized by some phenomena found only in the most conservative northeast dialects or Old Georgian [Dzidziguri 1970:195-6]. For example, Dzidziguri

[1937:74] notes that on occasion nouns assigned ERG or NOM case by the verb appear in the bare-stem form in Mountain Rach'an texts. This most often involves proper names and is more likely in poetry than in prose. A similar declension pattern was found in Old Georgian texts: proper nouns did not have distinct NOM and ERG forms, the bare stem form (c'rpelobiti) being used in both contexts [Imnaishvili 1957:368-71]. Here are some Mountain Rach'an examples:

{45} *avtandil* *ked-n-i* *maγal-n-i* *gada-Ø-i-ar-a*
A.:**ERG** range-PL-NOM high-PL-NOM cross:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3
"Avtandil crossed high mountain ranges." [(Glola) Dzidziguri 1937:90]
(cp Old Georgian: ***avtandil*** *ked-n-i maγal-n-i gada-Ø-i-ar-n-a;*
Modern Georgian: *avtandil-**ma** maγali ked-eb-i gada-Ø-i-ar-a*)

{46} *Ø-u-txr-a* *zurab*
say:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 Z.:**ERG**
"Zurab said to him . . . ." [(Ghebi/Ch'iora) Dzidziguri 1937:93]
(cp Modern Georgian *Ø-u-txr-a zurab-**ma**)*

This declensional pattern is not found in any other modern dialect, nor has it been attested in the literary language since the Middle Ages. The variety of Georgian spoken in the easternmost of the three Mountain Rach'an villages, Glola, has drawn special attention for its "archaic" features. Because it differs in such significant ways from the speech of the other Mountain Rach'an villages, it will discussed in a separate section. The speech of the villages Ghebi and Ch'iora resembles Upper Rach'an in many respects [GTK:501], and in others the Glola subdialect.

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: Number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is marked with -q'e, as in some eastern dialects (the morpheme -t only appears once in the Mountain Rach'an corpus available to me as a marker of Set O 2nd person plurality).

{47} *is* ***g**-e-t'q'vi-s-**q'e*** *vinaoba-sa* [Dzidziguri 1937:93]
that:NOM tell:Ip:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}** identity-DAT
"He will tell you$_{pl}$ his identity."

In a poem imbedded in a narration from Ghebi, nonagreement for number with 2pl Set O arguments is attested:

{48} *vinc* *tkven* *bed-i* *da-**g**-i-c'i-o-s* . . [GTK:530]
who:ERG you$_{pl}$:DAT fate-NOM draw:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_2**
"who would grant you$_{pl}$ (good) fortune . . . "

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:
[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Not attested.
[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: Series II prefixal Class P verbs with -(e)n- in their plural forms are attested in texts from Ghebi and Ch'iora:

{49} *suq'vela* *da-v-i-zard-**en**-i-t-o* [Dzidziguri 1971:32]
all:NOM grow:IIp:S_{1pl}:**PLNOM**-QT
"We have all grown up."

With other types of Class P verbs (root and d-suffixed), the S_{3pl} endings -es and -en are still used in series II (e.g. Dzidziguri [1937:95]).

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: Indirect conjugation occurs in most cases where it would be expected. Number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs is generally marked with -q'e [Dzidziguri 1970:210; Topuria 1961:244]. According to Topuria [1961:244] -t can be used in some of the same contexts as -q'e. It appears to be much more rarely used in Mountain Rach'an.

{50} *ča-sul-an* *γebur-eb-i,* *svan-eb-s* *čamo-**Ø**-u-q'van-i-a-**t-q'e***
go.down:IIIp:**S_{3pl}** Ghebian-PL-NOM Svan-PL-DAT bring:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg}
nepe. *č'iorl-eb-s* *mxar-i* *Ø-u-kn-i-a-**q'e*** *svan-eb-i-k'e.*
bride:NOM Ch'ioran-PL-DAT flank-NOM do:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} Svan-PL-GEN-toward
Ø *še-**Ø**-kn-i-a-**q'e*** *davidaroba* *da* *čxub-i,* *da* *e*
Ø:3pl:DAT do:IIIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} quarrel:NOM and fight-NOM and this
č'iorl-eb-i *γebel-eb-s* *da-**Ø**-u-laxav-s.* *Ø*
Ch'ioran-PL-NOM Ghebian-PL-DAT beat:IIIa:**O_3**:S_{3sg} Ø:3pl:DAT
*c'amo-**Ø**-u-q'van-i-a-**q'e*** *svan-eb-i* *da* *ikitakit* *mocikuloba* *Ø*
bring:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} Svan-PL-NOM and around mediation:NOM Ø:3pl:DAT
*še-**Ø**-kn-i-a-**q'e*** *da* *c'a-**Ø**-u-rtmev-i-a-**q'e*** *e* *nepe* *da*
do:IIIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 and take:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_{3sg} this bride:NOM and
č'iorl-eb-i *kve* *ga-**Ø**-u-šv-i-an-**q'e*** *galaxul-eb-i*
Ch'ioran-PL-NOM indeed release:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:**S_{3pl}** beaten-PL-NOM
"The Ghebians went down, the Svans brought the bride down. The Ch'iorans formed a flank facing the Svans. They started quarreling and fighting, and the Ghebians beat these Ch'iorans. They brought the Svans and here and there they negotiated, and they took away the bride and released the beaten Ch'iorans." [Dzidziguri 1937:98]

In a few instances number agreement with a 3pl DAT SS does not occur. The verb *da-Ø-u-laxav-s (mat isini)* "they <DAT> have beaten them <NOM>" in the passage above agrees in number with neither MS nor SS. By contrast, the final verb of the same passage *ga-Ø-u-šv-i-an-q'e (mat isini)* "they <DAT, Ø- -q'e> have released them <NOM, -an>" agrees with **both** MS and SS.

The last example is not an isolated one: direct conjugation is not uncommonly found with indirect and inverse verbs, when the MS (SO) has animate reference:

{51} *tx-eb-i* *da-Ø-u-č'am-i-**an*** *mgl-eb-sa-o* [GTK:527]
goat-PL-NOM eat:IIIa:O3:**S_{3pl}** wolf-PL-DAT-QT
"The wolves have eaten the goats."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): In the Ch'iora-Ghebi subdialect, as in Upper and Lower Rach'an, verbs frequently display number agreement with 3pl Set O arguments which are not SSs; this agreement is marked by -q'e [Dzidziguri 1970:210].

{52} *ra-ti* *da-v-**Ø**-c'vel-o-**q'e*** *irm-eb-i-o?* [GTK:525]
what-INS milk:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{3pl}** deer-PL-NOM-QT
"How could I milk deer?"

The suffix -t is less often used in this function [Topuria 1961:244]:

{53} *iman* ***Ø**-a-mɣer-a-**t*** [GTK:527]
that:ERG sing:CAUS:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"He made them sing it."

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Almost all plural nouns take the suffix -eb rather than -n(i) or -t(a). As is the case elsewhere, number agreement is correlated with animacy.

{54} *umal i-q'-**o** otx-pexi supr-eb-i* [GTK:523]
before be:IIp:**S_{3sg}** four-leg table-PL-NOM
"In the past there were four-legged tables."

Instances of nonagreement of number with animate SSs are not nearly as common as in Lower Imeretian, but they do occur (e.g. {51} above).

§13.4.4. Glola.

The variety of Georgian recorded in this remote mountain village near the Ossetian border has drawn a great deal of attention for its morphological and syntactic characteristics. For example, in Glola, but nowhere else in contemporary Georgian, -n is attested as a S_{3sg} marker in certain conjunctive-mood screeves [Dzidziguri 1940]. The primary corpora of texts from Glola are those published by Dzidziguri [1937:86-91; 1956:248-70] and the materials transcribed by Topuria (in 1958), published in GTK:534-47.

It is my impression that two distinct sets of grammatical norms are represented in these texts. One norm is basically the same as that of the Ghebi-Ch'iora subdialect, the other is distinctly Glolan. This second norm predominates in the Dzidziguri 1937 and Topuria collections, and in two of the eight narratives in the Dzidziguri 1956 chrestomathy dictated by the informant Mixa Sult'an-ishvili (who uses the Ghebi-Ch'iora norm in the other six).

[a] Number agreement with 1st/2nd person arguments: In the Glola narratives in GTK, and in several of Dzidziguri's 1956 texts, **no** number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is found, as in Old Georgian:

{55} *tkven **g**-e-barebod-e-n da ravarc **g**-i-nd-a ise mo-Ø-u-ar-e-t*
you_{pl}:DAT entrust:Ip:S_{3sg}:**O2** and how want:Ip:**O2**:S_{3sg} so care:IIa:S2pl:O3
"May he be entrusted to you_{pl}, and as you_{pl} wish, take care of him." [GTK:547]

In those of Dzidziguri's texts otherwise characterized by Ghebi-Ch'iora subdialect features, number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments in -q'e is found.[98]

{56} *mo-**g**-i-t'an-s-**q'e*** [Dzidziguri 1956:257]
bring:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"He will bring them to you_{pl}."

[98]Dzidziguri claims that "we only come across the particle -q'e in Ghebi and Ch'iora; no trace of it is apparent in Glola" [1970:210]. This statement is only correct is we interpret it as referring to subdialects and not villages.

[b] Number agreement in -(e)n- with NOM-case NPs:

[i] Number agreement with DOs of Class A verbs: Number agreement in -(e)n- with the plural NOM DOs of Class A verbs in series II and III is found in the Glola subdialect, as in some of the northeast dialects and Old Georgian [Topuria 1961:242; Dzidziguri 1970:209].

{57} *kal-eb-i* *da-gv-t'ac-**n**-es,* *zog-n-i*
woman-PL-NOM abduct:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O_{1pl}:**PLNOM** some-PL-NOM
*da-Ø-xoc-**n**-es* [GTK:538]
slaughter:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O3:**PLNOM**
"They abducted our women; some they slaughtered."

{58} *mo-i-q'van-a* *e* *lek'va-n-i* *da* *suq'vela-n-i* *da-zard-**n**-a.*
bring:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 the puppy-PL-NOM and all-PL-NOM raise-IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3:**PLNOM**
"He brought the puppies home <no NA> and raised <NA> all of them." [Dzidziguri 1937:36]

Observe that both -n-i and -eb plural NOM DOs can control number agreement in -(e)n-. Such number agreement is not obligatory, as the second verb of {58} exemplifies. Here is an instance of number agreement in -(e)n- with a Class A verb in the pluperfect screeve (series III). Number agreement with the MS (SO) is marked twice, as in Old Georgian: by the -(e)n- morpheme and by the S_{3pl} suffix:

{59} *cxra-n-i* *mgel-s* *da-Ø-e-č'am-**n**-en* [GTK:541]
nine-PL-NOM wolf-DAT eat:IIIa:O_3:S_{3pl}**:PLNOM**
"The wolf had apparently eaten nine (goats)."

[ii] Prefixal Class P verbs: These verbs also have the -(e)n- infix in series II and III:

{60} *c'a-v-id-e-t* *da* *ik* *da-v-i-saxl-**n**-e-t-o* [Dzidziguri 1937:86]
go:IIp:S_{1pl} and there settle:IIp:S1pl:**PLNOM**-QT
"Let us go and make our home there."

Some variability of usage is observed. In the same Glolan narrative in GTK:544 we find both *v-i-q'v-**n**-e-t* and *v-i-q'-o-t* for the 1pl optative "we should be."

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: In the Glolan subdialect, only the direct conjugation pattern is allowed, even when the verb is associated with indirect syntax. In the following example, the (notionally) plural NOM-case MS (SO) controls number agreement, but the plural DAT-case MO does not, even though it functions as SS:

{61} *i-q'v-n-es* *xuces-i* *da* *misi* *kal-i* *da* *h-q'avd-**es***
be:IIp:S_{3pl}:PLNOM old-NOM and his wife-NOM and have:IIp:O3:**S_{3pl}**
cxra-y *švil-i* [Dzidziguri 1937:86]
nine child-NOM
"There was an old man and his wife and they had nine children."

The lack of agreement for number with 3pl DAT SSs is attested frequently in Glolan texts:

{62} *imat* ***Ø****-e-ʒin-a* *q'vela-sa* [GTK:547]
those-DAT sleep:IIp:**O$_3$**:S$_{3sg}$ all-DAT
"They were all asleep."

Only in Glolan texts characterized by Ghebi-Ch'iora norms do we find number agreement with 3pl DAT SSs:

{63} *mama* ***Ø****-q'avd-a-****q'e*** *imat* [Dzidziguri 1956:256]
father-NOM have:IIp:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_{3sg}$ those:DAT
"They had a father."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl Set O SOs (other than above): No number agreement with 3pl Set O IOs and DOs is attested in texts characterized by Glolan subdialectal features. Examples of number agreement of this type are only found in those narratives in Dzidziguri [1956] reflecting the influence of Ghebi-Ch'iora norms. (In the following sentence, the plural agreement is with a notionally, but not formally, plural NP).

{64} *tetr-i* *im* *dev-is* *ar-i-s-o,* *xal-s* *rom* *č'am-s-****q'e****-o*
money-NOM that ogre-GEN be:Ip:S$_{3sg}$ people-DAT that eat:Ia:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{3pl}$**-QT
"The money belongs to that ogre who eats people." [Dzidziguri 1956:256]

[e] Animacy and number agreement: Glolan differs from all other west Georgian dialects in the high frequency of n(i) and t(a) plural nouns compared to eb plurals. In poetic texts the proportion is especially high [Dzidziguri 1970:203-4]. In this, as in many other respects, Glolan resembles the northeast dialects more than it does the western lowland dialects.

One very significant difference between the number agreement pattern of Glolan and the patterns we observed in Old Georgian and Pshavian is the role played by animacy. In a sample of northeast Georgian texts, less than one-half (21 of 44) of the NOM-case DOs controlling number agreement in -(e)n- with Class A verbs in series II refer to animate beings. In the Glolan corpus, almost all such DOs controlling number agreement (24 of 26) have animate reference, including many eb-plural NPs, which rarely control number agreement in Pshavian and Old Georgian.

These data indicate that the Glola subdialect, despite its otherwise extremely conservative morphosyntax, has followed the general trend in the east-central and western Georgian dialects, and in Zan, to restrict number agreement privileges to NPs with animate reference. In some cases, it appears that topicality is also a consideration in the determination of agreement, including number agreement in -(e)n- with the NOM-case DOs Class A verbs ({58} above).

Likewise, number agreement with arguments functioning as SSs is correlated with animacy in Glolan:

{65} *ap'ovr-eb-i* *cacxv-is* *kerk-is* *ar-i-****s*** [GTK:539]
leash-PL-NOM linden-GEN bark-GEN be:Ip:S$_{3sg}$
"The leashes are (made) of linden bark."

CHAPTER XIV. NUMBER AGREEMENT IN SVAN AND ZAN.

The Svan and Zan languages have been documented only since the 19th century. At present both remain nonwritten languages. Georgian is the medium of education and written communication throughout Mingrelia and Svaneti. I have been told that monolingualism has almost disappeared among the Mingrelians, and is rare among the Svans. I have no information on the degree of monolingualism in the Laz-speaking provinces of northeastern Turkey.

The consensus among scholars is that Svan is the outlying member of the Kartvelian family [Deeters 1930:3; Klimov 1969:46; Schmidt 1978; Gamkrelidze and Machavariani 1982:17-24; Harris 1985:6; Tuite 1997]. Klimov [1961], working from a 100-word glottochronological assay list, estimated the separation of Svan from Georgian-Zan at around the 19th c. BCE, and the separation of Zan from Georgian at about the 8th c. BCE. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov [1984: 880-881] believe that the ancestor of the Svan dialects split off from Common Kartvelian at the beginning of the second millenium BCE. (The family tree is shown in fig. {1} of Chap. VI). In this chapter the patterns of number agreement in Zan and Svan will be reviewed and compared to the those attested in the Georgian dialects. The same format employed in the preceding chapters will be used here. [Transcription note: / ’ / = glottal stop; long vowels indicated by colon / : /]

§14.1. Svan.

§14.1.1. The Svan dialects.

At one time, Svan was spoken over a more extensive territory than it is today, reaching westward to the Black Sea [Palmaitis 1986:16] and eastward into Rach’a [Dzidziguri 1970:193-4; Topuria 1985:101]. Today the Svan language is spoken by approximately 43,000 people in the Mest’ia and Lent’ex Raions and in the eastern part of Abxazia [Comrie 1981:197; Sharadzenidze 1985:149]. Four principle dialects are recognized, primarily on phonological grounds: the Upper Svan dialects **Upper Bal** and **Lower Bal** (which further divide into subdialects), and the Lower Svan dialects **Lent’ex** and **Lashx** [Topuria 1985:144-7]. The case-assignment system of Svan is almost identical to that of Georgian; there is no evidence of an expansion of the range of the ERG case as in southwest Georgian or Zan.

§14.1.2. Number agreement in Svan.

[a] 1st and 2nd person arguments: In Svan, especially the more remote Upper Svan dialects, an inclusive/exclusive opposition is maintained in both Set S and Set O agreement systems. Examples from Topuria [1967] were given in section §5.4.

{1}

	Set S		***Set O***	
1sg	xw-		m-	
1exclpl	xw-	-d	n-	
1incl	l-	-d	gw-	
2sg	x-		j-	
2pl	x-	-d	j-	-x
3sg	Ø/l-	-Ø/s	Ø/x-	
3pl	Ø/l-	-x	Ø/x-	-x

The -d suffix employed for plural agreement in Set S is cognate to Georgian -t [Klimov 1964:67-8; Topuria 1967:9]. The obligatory cooccurrence of -d with the S_{1incl} prefix l- is informationally redundant — like the cooccurrence of O_{1incl} gw- and the plural marker -(e)n- in Old Georgian Class A verbs with a 1pl NOM direct object. This implies that suffixal number agreement

is independent to some extent from prefixal person agreement in both Set S and Set O in Svan. The use of the plural suffix -d is obligatory in the context of a 1st or 2nd plural MS. This includes cases when the MS is functioning as the SO of an indirect-syntax verb [Topuria 1967:21], as in ex. {2} [Lower Bal dialect; Shanidze et al 1939:106,30]:

{2} *zural* *mumšöbid* *mek'de* *m-a-r-**d***
woman:NOM in.childbirth-with annihilated have:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{2pl}**
"I have exterminated you$_{pl}$ along with the women in childbirth."

Number agreement in -x with 2pl Set O arguments is limited to specific contexts [see charts in Topuria 1967:21-3]. A distinct S_{2pl} marking is only possible when the Set S argument is 3rd person. When the Set S argument (MS) is 1st person and the Set O argument is 2pl, number agreement in -x does not occur:

{3} *liq'ä:ryel-s* *mi* *ži* *la-ǰ-to:n-i,*
quarreling-DAT I:NOM up teach:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_2**
"I will teach you$_{pl}$ to fight." [Upper Bal; Shanidze et al 1939:136,38-9]

According to Topuria [1967:24, note 4] number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is always expressed when the MS is 3rd person:

{4} *γerte-m* *či-v* *ǰ-a-mzər-a-**x***
God-ERG all-OPT bless:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}**
"May God bless all of you$_{pl}$." [Lower Bal; Chikovani 1972:81]

{5} *ka* *ǰ-i-pišvd-a-**x*** *he* *modei* *nalk'vih-s* *ǰ-i-d-i*
out release:IIIa:**O_{2pl}**:S_3 if not choice-DAT give:Ia:S_{1sg}:**O_2**
"If you$_{pl}$ have not released him I will give you$_{pl}$ a choice."
[Upper Bal; Shanidze et al 1939:292,70]

The S_{3pl} suffix is also -x. When the MS is 3pl and the DO or IO is 2pl, only one -x suffix appears in the verb [Topuria 1967:25, note 8].

{6} *eǰyär* *ǰ-a-hwd-i-**x*** *sgäy* *ečas*
they:NOM give:Ia:S3pl:**O2(pl)** you$_{pl}$:DATit:DAT]
"They are giving it to you$_{pl}$." (**ǰ-a-hwd-i-x-x*) [Upper Bal; Topuria 1967:24-5]

[b] The pluralizer -a:l-: The Svan suffix -a:l- (and its phonological variants) was discussed briefly in chapter V (sec. §5.1.2). Verb stems derived in -a:l- are often associated with plural local arguments (patients or themes), or iterative or intensive aspect [Deeters 1930:66-7; Sharadzenidze 1954:192-5]. Here are some examples from Svan texts:

{7} *semi zitunaxaw* *lok* *mag* *č-ot-čoš-**a:l**-a* *i*
three princess:NOM EMPH all copulate**$_{pl}$**:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg} and
*č-ot-γa:nw-**a:l**-a* *mag*
impregnate**$_{pl}$**:IIIa:O_3:S_{3sg} all:NOM [Lashx; Wonya:n 1917b:79]
"He slept with all three princesses and got them all pregnant."

{8} *(sgäy)* ***ǰ**-a-xt'äw-**ä:l**-i-**x***
you$_{pl}$:DAT paint$_{\mathbf{pl}}$:S$_{3sg}$:**O$_{\mathbf{2pl}}$**
"She is painting you$_{pl}$." [Upper Bal; Oniani 1978:193]

{9} *i-γ-ešg-**a:l**-w-ni-x* *ečr-iš* *bušw-a:r* [Upper Bal; Harris 1985:202]
take$_{\mathbf{pl}}$:Ia:S$_{3pl}$:O$_3$ Eceri-GEN bastard-PL:NOM
"The Eceri (village name) bastards will be carrying her off (repeatedly)"

In sentence {8}, the plurality of the 2pl DO is coded twice, by the Set O number agreement suffix -x (cp ex {1}), and by the derivation of a verb stem in -ä:l-. In {9}, the suffix -a:l- is associated with iterative Aktionsart. A number of Svan verbs (primarily medioactives) come in pairs, with and without -a:l-. Where this occurs, the verb stems in -a:l- are associated with iterative Aktionsart [Nozadze 1974:41]: Upper Bal *i-poe:r* "it flies," *i-per-un-ä:l* "it flies (repeatedly)"; Lower Bal *γač'ke* "s/he chatters," *i-γač'k-el* "s/he chatters (repeatedly)."

There is evidence that -a:l- can appear in Class P verbs, as do Georgian da- and -(e)n- [Sharadzenidze 1954:195], correlated with a plural MS. The result is superficially similar to the double number agreement observed in Old Georgian prefixal Class P verbs in series II and III.

{10} *šišd* *ka* *ä-x-pxər-ə**:l**-ä:n-**x*** *te:r-äl*
suddenly out open$_{\mathbf{pl}}$:IIp:S$_{3pl}$:O$_3$ eye-PL-NOM
"Suddenly their eyes opened." [Upper Bal; Shanidze & Topuria 1939:163]
(cp OGeo *a-**Ø**-e-xil-**n-es** tval-n-i*)

The forms without -a:l- can also be used with plural MSs [Sharadzenidze 1954:195; Boeder 1979:452]. None of the plural Class P verbs in Topuria's handbook on the Svan verb have stems with the -a:l- suffix; e.g. Upper Bal *čw-äd-i:t-ä:n-x* "they were divided" [Topuria 1967:194-5; also Harris 1985:311].

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: The number agreement pattern for indirect and inverse verbs in Svan resembles that observed in Kartlian. As a rule, Set O SSs control number agreement in Svan. For 2pl and 3pl Set O arguments, the suffix -x is used for this purpose.

{11} *ečkas* *nart-äl-s* *ši:ra* ***x**-o-q'r-a-**x***
then Nart-PL-DAT millstone:NOM hit:IIIa:**O$_{\mathbf{3pl}}$**:S$_{3sg}$
"Then the Narts <MO/SS> hit him with a millstone." [Upper Bal; Shanidze & Topuria 1939:174]

Indirect conjugation is also possible with a few transitive Class A verbs, though not as many as in Modern Standard Georgian:

{12} *sk'odi* *ǰävr* *gvi-s* ***x**-o-c'xvavd-a-**x*** *äl* *č'q'int'-i*
deep worry:NOM heart-DAT torment:Ia:**O$_{\mathbf{3pl}}$**:S$_{3sg}$ this boy-GEN
dede-s *i* *mama-s* [Lent'ex; elicited]
mother-DAT and father-DAT
"The boy's mother and father <MO/SS> were tormented by intense anxiety."
(lit. "Deep worry pained the heart for the boy's mother and father";
cp Geo *γrma mc'uxareba gul-s **Ø**-u-ǰiǰgnid-a-**t** am bič'-is mšobl-eb-s*)

One exception to the rule that 3pl Set O SSs control number agreement in -x concerns indirect verbs with 1st or 2nd person MSs (SOs). As in Modern Standard Georgian, number agreement with a 3rd plural SS is blocked in this context [Topuria 1967:21]; e.g.

{13} *eǰyär-s mi xw-a-lät'* (**xw-a-lät'-x*)
they-DAT me:NOM love:Ip:**O3**:S_{1sg} [Upper Bal; Topuria 1967:21]
"They love me." (cp Geo *mat me v-Ø-u-q'var-var*)

The 3pl MSs (SOs) of a few indirect verbs which typically take animate themes have been observed controlling number agreement. Topuria [1967:24] claims that number agreement with 3pl SOs is more likely to occur when the SS (MO) is 1st person, because there is no possibility of ambiguity concerning the interpretation of the suffix -x. (In Svan, as in the southwest Georgian dialects, the same morpheme used for S_{3pl} marking is also employed for number agreement with 2pl and 3pl Set O arguments. The number of 1st person Set O arguments is coded in the prefix). Here are two examples of number agreement with a 3pl NOM SO (MS). In the first the SS (MO) is 1st person; in the second, the SS is 3rd person.

{14} *kašg-ar m-i-xal-**x** moγlat' mišgwi*
Kabardian-PL-NOM know:Ip:O_{1sg}:S_{3pl} betrayer:NOM my
"I know the Kabardians (are) my betrayers." [Lashx; Wonya:n 1917b:83]

{15} *bepšw-s ču-ät-karw-ä:n-**x** xam-är*
child-DAT lose:IIp:O_3:S_{3pl} pig-PL:NOM
"The child lost the pigs." [Upper Bal; Harris 1985:312]

Number agreement with 3pl SOs in such contexts is optional [Topuria 1967:24 note 6].

[d] Number agreement with 3pl non-SSs (other than [b]): There is no evidence of number agreement with prominent 3pl IOs and DOs, as in K'axetian or Lower Imeretian in the Svan texts I have read, and a Svan linguist I consulted in Tbilisi stated that such agreement would not be grammatically acceptable (E. Gazdeliani, p.c.; see also Topuria [1967:24, note 5]).

[e] Animacy and number agreement: While comparing some published Svan texts with their Georgian translations, I noticed that on many occasions a Svan verb conjugated with a S_{3pl} ending was translated by a Georgian verb in the 3sg. In each case the MS had an inanimate referent:

{16} *q'o:r-äl ka ləd̥ə lä:sw-**x***
door-PL:NOM out locked be:IIp:S_{3pl}
"The doors were locked." [Upper Bal; Shanidze & Topuria 1939:369]
(cp Geo *k'ar-eb-i dak'et'il-i i-q'-**o*** [door-PL-NOM locked be:IIp:S_{3sg}])

Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis [1986:43-4] claim that "unlike Georgian, the predicate is always used in the plural if the subject is plural, animate or not." The Svan plural suffix -al/-ar seems to have the same properties in regard to number agreement as the Georgian plural -n(i)/-t(a): NPs marked with these endings are associated with 3pl agreement, even if inanimate.

The other Svan nominal pluralizers (see Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis [1986:51]) are mostly used by nouns denoting animates, in particular kinship terms and agentive nouns. In every instance known

to me such nouns control number agreement. The following examples contain the noun *la-xwb-a,* the plural (marked by the circumfix la- -a) of the kinship term *mu-xwb-e* "brother (for another brother)," and *pxul-ol*, the plural of *pxule* "finger":

{17} *la-xwb-a* *es-xr-i-**x**-əd* *i* *muγwlakäri- s* *at-a-sd-**x***
brother-PL:NOM go:IIp:S_{3pl}-also and shepherd-DAT meet:IIp:S_{3pl}:O_3
"The brothers went on and met a shepherd." [Lower Bal; Davitiani et al 1957:326]

{18} *mäg* *megwi* *pxul-ol* *eser-i* *mod* *omqed-**x***
all equal finger-PL:NOM QT-also not come.out:IIIp:S_{3pl}
"Not even the fingers (of the same hand) came out equal." [Lower Bal; Davitiani 1973:69]

Conjoined NPs, where both conjuncts refer to inanimates, rarely control plural number agreement in Georgian. In Svan, the agreement controlled by such NPs may be either 3sg or 3pl:

{19} *šuk'w* *i* *ragäd* *ču* *dem* *eser* *šdexni-**x***
road:NOM and talk:NOM down not QT exhaust:PASS:Ip:S_{3pl}
"The road and talk are never used up." [Lower Bal; Davitiani 1973:163]
(cp Geo *gza* *da* *lap'arak'i* *ar* *da-i-lev-a-o*
[road:NOM and talk-NOM not exhaust:PASS:Ip:S_{3sg}])

{20} *č'ir* *i* *gwämi* *mara* *čw* *eser* *xwire-**Ø***
labor:NOM and burden:NOM man:DAT down QT collapse:Ia:S_{3sg}:O_3
"Labor and heavy burdens wear a man down." [ibid:175]

§14.2. Zan.

The Mingrelian and Laz languages — or dialects — are the descendents of a more unified Zan language once spoken along the southeast Black Sea coast. An influx of Georgian-speaking settlers in the early centuries of our era divided the Zan community. The strikingly different case-assignment patterns of Mingrelian and Laz presumably evolved subsequent to the separation of Zan into two nonadjacent speech communities. On the other hand, the person and number agreement systems of Mingrelian and Laz are almost identical, an indication that these may have changed very little since the Common Zan period.

§14.2.1. Mingrelian.

§14.2.1.1. Case assignment in Mingrelian.

The feature of Mingrelian grammar that has drawn the most attention from linguists is its case-assignment system. The so-called ergative case (in -k) is only assigned in series II, as in Georgian and Svan, but is not restricted to constructions with Class A verbs. **All** Mingrelian verbs assign ERG case in series II. The range of verbs that undergo inversion in series III is also larger than in Georgian and Svan, though it does not include all Class P verbs [Uridia 1960:167-71; K'iziria 1982:82-3]. Classifying according to case-assignment properties, we have the following two verb groups in Mingrelian (compare this to fig {13} of chap. II). Group A comprises all Class A verbs and agentive Class P verbs. Group B includes nonagentive and stative Class P verbs.[99]

[99]Although the distinction is not relevant to case-assignment behavior as in Georgian, Class A and Class P verbs in Mingrelian can be differentiated on morphological grounds, especially in regard to

{21}

	Group A verbs			**Group B verbs**	
	NP1	*NP2*	*NP3*	*NP1*	*NP2*
series I, IV[100]	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	DAT
series II	ERG	DAT	NOM	ERG	DAT
series III	DAT	[+ postp.]	NOM	NOM	DAT

key: *NP1* = agent, source, theme, patient
NP2 = addressee, recipient, experiencer, benefactor
NP3 = patient, goal, instrument

Here are some examples to illustrate how Mingrelian case marking differs from Georgian:

Nonagentive Class P verbs with ERG-case MSs in series II
{22} *k'oč-**k*** *do-γur-u* [Harris 1985:57]
man-**ERG** die:IIp:S_{3sg}
"The man died." (cp Geo *k'ac-**i** mo-k'vd-a* [man-**NOM** die:IIp:S_{3sg}])

Agentive Class P verbs undergoing inversion in series III
{23} *baγana-**s*** *ku-d-**Ø**-u-xun-u* [K'iziria 1982:83]
boy-**DAT** sit.down:IIIp:$\mathbf{O_3}$:S_{3sg}
"The boy has sat down." (cp Geo *bič'-**i** da-mǰdar-**a*** [boy-**NOM** sit:IIIp:S**3**])

The extension of ERG case marking to the MSs of nonagentive Class P verbs in Mingrelian bears a superficial resemblance to the case-assignment pattern observed in Gurian and Ach'arian. These are in fact very different phenomena. In the southwest Georgian dialects the ERG case is in the process of becoming a marker of SS-hood, especially in Ch'orox Valley Lower Ach'arian. The function of the Mingrelian ERG case does not seem to be related to SS-hood at all, despite a considerable degree of extensional overlap. It is, if anything, a series (i.e. tense/mood) marker [Boeder 1979:440-1].[101] The rule for assigning ERG case in Mingrelian can be summed up as follows: Any constituent that is assigned NOM case in series I (whatever its grammatical role might be) is assigned ERG case in series II. Consider these examples, cited in Uridia [1960]:

{24} *čxom-k* *va* *Ø-o-č'op-u* [Q'ipshidze 1914:11]
fish-ERG can't catch:IIp:O3:S_{3sg}
"He <DAT, MO/SS> could not catch a fish <ERG, MS/SO>."
{25} *tina-k* *ok'o* *i-'u-as* *tiš* *komonǰ-k* [Xubua 1937:35]
he-ERG must become:IIp:S_{3sg} her husband-ERG
"He must become her husband."

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person agreement [Harris 1985:398-404].
[100]The term "series IV" refers to a group of screeves found in many western Georgian dialects, Svan and Zan, which stand in roughly the same relation to series III that series I has to series II. The series IV screeves are primarily used to report activities not directly witnessed by the speaker, as is series III, but do not have the perfective and resultative aspect associated with the latter series [Rogava 1953].
[101]On a similar use of case marking in the Australian languages Pitta-Pitta and Lardil, see Hale [1967], Dixon [1980:451-3].

In Mingrelian the themes of indirect verbs, and predicate nominals are assigned ERG case in series II [Q'ipshidze 1914:0133; Harris 1985:372-3]. None of these is functioning as a SS. While it is not implausible that contact with Mingrelian may have contributed to the extension of the Georgian ERG to nonagentive verbs in the southwest dialects, the process of refunctionalization of the ERG took a very different turn in the two languages.

§14.2.1.2. Number agreement in Mingrelian.

[a] 1st and 2nd person arguments: Neither of the Zan dialects retains any trace of the 1st person Set O prefix *gw- [Klimov 1964:60], or any other prefix containing number information. Plurality is coded by means of suffixes in all three persons in both Set S and Set O:

{26}

	Set S			**Set O**		
	singular	*plural*		*singular*	*plural*	
1st:	v*-	v*-	-t	m*-	m*-	-an/n/nan/es/t
2nd:	Ø-	Ø-	-t	g/r-	g/r-	-an/n/nan/es/t
3rd:	-n/s/u	-an/n/nan/es		Ø-	Ø-	-an/n/nan/es/t

[* — The 1st person prefixes v- and m- can undergo assimilation to following consonants to give b-, p'- or p- (see Gudava & Gamq'relidze [1981:216-21])]

The plurality of Set O arguments is coded by the same suffix the set S argument (MS) would take if it were plural. For example the form *m-a-rzen-t* can mean "You$_{pl}$ <-t> give it to me/us <m->," or "You$_{sg}$ give it to us <m- -**t**>."[102] Likewise the form *m-a-rzen-an* can mean "They <-an> give it to me/us <m->," or "S/he gives it to us <m- -**an**>" [Q'ipshidze 1914:076-7]. The choice of -an, -n, -nan or -es to code Set O plurality when the MS is 3rd person depends on verb class and screeve. The suffix -an is used in the Class A present screeve (that is, the same screeve where -a(n) is used as the S_{3pl} marker), -n is used in the conjunctive and optative, -na(n) in the Class P present and present perfect, and -es is used in the imperfect and aorist screeves [K'iziria 1982:140].

{27} *baγana-k* *do-**g**-i-xant'-**es*** *tkva* *surat-i* [K'iziria 1982:141]
child-ERG paint:IIa:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}** you$_{pl}$:DAT picture-NOM
"The child painted a picture for you$_{pl}$."

{28} *k'oč-i* ***r**-xat'un-**an*** *tkva* [K'iziria 1982:141]
man-NOM paint:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_{2pl}** you$_{pl}$:DAT
"The man was painting you$_{pl}$."

{29} *ma* *ga-**g**-i-gon-i-**t*** *(tkva)* [Kluge 1916:83]
I:ERG hear:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{2pl}** you$_{pl}$:NOM
"I heard you$_{pl}$."

Number agreement with Set O 1pl and 2pl arguments is obligatory in Mingrelian [Chikobava 1936:98; K'iziria 1982:140].

[102]A similar agreement-marking pattern has been reported for the Lower Ach'arian subdialect of Kirnat-Maradidi (which was discussed at some length in Chapter XII), e.g. the verb form *m-e-maleb-i-t* can mean "you$_{pl}$ <-t> are hiding from me/us <m->," or "you$_{sg}$ are hiding from us <m- -**t**>" [Jorbenadze 1989:560]. This is likely to have come about through the influence of the adjacent Laz-speaking community.

[b] There does not appear to be any morpheme with a function similar to that of either Old Georgian -(e)n- or Svan -a:l- in Mingrelian or Laz.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: The SSs of indirect and inverse verbs control number agreement in all three persons [Chikobava 1936:98; K'iziria 1982:140]. Number agreement for 3pl DAT SSs is marked with the same affixes, and according to the same rule, as for 1st and 2nd person Set O arguments.

{30} *k'oč-em-s* *du-**Ø**-'vilu-**na(n)*** *γeǰ-i* [Harris 1985:309]
man-PL-DAT kill:IIIa:**O_{3pl}**:S_3 pig-NOM
"The men have killed a pig."

{31} *ndi-iši 'ur-en-c* *va* *ma-**Ø**-a-xvamile-**es**-ə* kasagan-k-ə γank'-iša
ogre-GEN henchman-PL-DAT can't hit:IIp:**O_{3pl}**:S_3-QT arrow-ERG target-ALL
"The ogre's henchmen could not hit the target with their arrow(s)." [Q'ipshidze 1914:17]

According to Q'ipshidze [1914:084-5] number agreement in -t with a 3pl DAT SS is possible when the MS (SO) is 1st or 2nd person:

{32} *v-**Ø**-o-k'ord-i-**t*** [Q'ipshidze 1914:085]
(want:Ip:O_3:**S_{1pl}**) "S/he <Ø-> wants us <v- -t>," or:
(want:Ip:**O_{3pl}**:S_1) "They <Ø- -t> want me/us <v->."

Uridia [1960:177] states that 3pl DAT SSs of indirect verbs of possibility cannot control number agreement; e.g.

{33} *ma* *va* *v-**Ø**-a-'vil-e-k* *inen-s-ia* [Xubua 1937:2]
I:NOM can't kill:Ip:**O_3**:S_{1sg} these-DAT
"They <DAT, MO/SS> cannot kill me <NOM, MS/SO>."

Sentences such as {31} above appear to be counterexamples to Uridia's claim. However, one of my Mingrelian consultants in Tbilisi expressed disapproval of number agreement with the DAT SSs potentialis verbs in series IV, though he generated forms with 3pl Set O number agreement in other series: *k'oč-ep-s no-Ø-č'op-ue-(**n**)* // *?? no-č'op-ue-**na** čxom-i* [man-PL-DAT catch:IVp:**O3**:S3 fish-NOM] "The men apparently can catch the fish."

[d] Number agreement with 3pl non-SSs: This is not attested in Mingrelian, as far as I know, and my Mingrelian consultants deemed such agreement unacceptable (see also Harris [1985:308]).

[e] Animacy and number agreement: The Zan dialects have only one nominal plural ending: -ep- (and its variants), which is cognate with Georgian -eb- [Klimov 1964:78]. As in many Georgian dialects, inanimate SSs usually do not control number agreement [Uridia 1960:177]; e.g.

{34} *ǰal-ep-i* *ko-čan-**s*** [Q'ipshidze 1914:5]
tree-PL-NOM stand:Ip:**S_{3sg}**
"The trees are standing."

Q'ipshidze [1914:0137-8] has pointed out that often plural animate SSs fail to control number agreement in Mingrelian. When more than one verb is conjoined to the same plural SS, the first verb in the series sometimes fails to agree in number, but the succeeding verbs are marked for a 3pl SS (Uridia [1960:177]).

{35} *ǰvarel-ep-k$_j$* *di-i-šaq'ar-**u*** *Ø$_j$* *muši* *xat'i-s* *ka-Ø-a-xvec'-ə-**na***
Jvarian-PL-ERG gather:Ip:**S$_{3sg}$** Ø:3pl:ERG their icon-DAT pray:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$**
"The people from Jvari gather <no NA> and pray <NA> to their icon."[Q'ipshidze 1914:0138]

It appears that in Mingrelian, as in several Georgian dialects, the occurrence of number agreement is correlated with topicality.

§14.2.2. Laz.

Almost all speakers of the Laz dialect (also known as Ch'an) live in Turkey, with the exception of a small group in the village Sarpi, on the Georgian side of the border. Dumézil [1972:32] classifies the subdialects into two groups: eastern (Arhavi, Xopa, Vic'e) and western (Atina, Ardesen).

§14.2.2.1. Case assignment in Laz.

The distinctive characteristic of Laz morphology is the near-total elimination of case-pattern shift according to series. A case assignment pattern similar to that employed in series II in Georgian has been extended to series I and IV. Corresponding to Georgian series III, Laz has two groups of screeves, termed "old" and "new" series III [Harris 1985:297]. The case-assignment pattern in constructions with new series III verbs is the same as in series I, II and IV.

{36} Series I: *xurma-**Ø*** *i-mxor-s* *ǰoγoi-**k*** [K'iziria 1982:90]
persimmon-NOM eat:Ia:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ dog-ERG
"The dog is eating a persimmon."
(cp Geo: *xurma-**s** Ø-č'am-s dzaγl-**i*** [persimmon-DAT eat:Ia:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ dog-NOM])

{37} New series III: *k'oči-**k*** *do-q'vil-ere-n* *γeǰ-i* [Harris 1985:298]
man-ERG kill:III$_N$a:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ pig-NOM
"The man has killed a pig."
(cp Geo: *k'ac-**s** Ø-u-k'lav-s γor-i* [man-DAT kill:IIIa:S$_{3sg}$:O$_3$ pig-NOM])

In each of these series, ERG case (in -k, as in Mingrelian) is assigned to the MSs of Class A verbs, and, optionally, to the MSs of agentive Class P verbs [Klimov 1976:153; K'iziria 1982:84-5]. The assignment of ERG case according to agentivity rather than strictly along verb-class boundaries is also characteristic of many modern Georgian dialects. Compare the assignment of ERG case in {38} and NOM case in {39} to the agents of the verb *i-gzal-u* "s/he went."

{38} *ar* *k'oči-**k*** *mtugi-ši* *patišai-ša* *i-gzal-u* [K'iziria 1982:85]
one man-**ERG** mouse-GEN king-ALL go:IIp:S$_{3sg}$
"One man went to the mouse king."

{39} *mskibu-ša* *i-gzal-u* *xčini-**Ø*** [K'iziria 1982:85]
mill-ALL go:IIp:S$_{3sg}$ old.woman-**NOM**
"The old woman went to the mill."

The only exception to this generalization of case patterning is the old series III, in which inversion occurs with Class A verbs, as in Georgian [Harris 1985:297-8]. This set of screeves is evidently in the process of being replaced by the non-inverting new series III [Harris 1985:374]. Also, evidence that the DOs of Class A verbs in series I were once assigned DAT case has been found in Laz folk poetry [Chikobava 1936:181-2].

In some Laz subdialects the case system appears to be losing its diacritical function. In Vic'e [Marr 1910:77-8; Chikobava 1936:181] series I Class A verbs can assign "NOM" (i.e. unmarked) case to both MS and DO: *but'k'uǰi-**Ø** topri-**Ø** i-kum-s* [bee-"NOM" honey-"NOM" make:Ia:S_{3sg}] "the bee is making honey." In the subdialect of Ardesen, described in Dumézil [1972], there are no longer distinct NOM, ERG and DAT cases, the root form of the nominal being used in each context (see also Harris [1985:385-9]).

§14.2.2.2. Number agreement in Laz.

[a] 1st and 2nd person arguments: The person and number agreement systems in Laz are essentially identical to those of Mingrelian [Chikobava 1936:99-100].

{40}

	Set S			**Set O**		
	singular	*plural*		*singular*	*plural*	
1st:	v*-	v*-	-t	m*-	m*-	-an/nan/es/t
2nd:	Ø-	Ø-	-t	g/r-	g/r-	-an/nan/es/t
3rd:	-n/s/u	-an/nan/es		Ø-	Ø-	-an/nan/es/(?t)

[* — The same variant forms of the 1st person prefixes are found in Laz as in Mingrelian [Chikobava 1936:87-8,92,100].]

As in Mingrelian, the plurality of Set O arguments is coded by the same suffix that would be used to crossreference the Set S argument if it were plural. When the MS is 3rd person, the choice of suffix to code the plurality of the Set O argument is determined by screeve and verb class [see Chikobava 1936:160-8]. Here is an example from the Laz texts in the Arhavi subdialect collected by Dumézil [1967:80]:

{41} *žin k'at'i o-kos-oni **m**-i-γu-**nan**, ar do-**m**-i-kos-i-**t***
upper story-NOM to.sweep have:Ip:**O_{1pl}**:S3 one sweep:IIa:S2sg:**O_{1pl}**
"We have an upper story that needs sweeping; sweep it for us."

Plural number agreement with the 1pl DAT MO (SS) of the first verb is coded by -nan, since the MS is 3rd person and the verb is Class P present. The MS (SS) of the second verb is 2sg, so -t is used for number agreement with the O_{1pl} MO.

Chikobava [1936:94] states that 1pl and 2pl DOs and IOs "usually" control number agreement. The only example I have found where a verb does not agree in number with such an argument involves a 2pl pronoun used for polite reference to a single addressee:

{42} *tkwan mu **g**-i-no-**nan**, ot'i mo-**g**-i-γ-a?*
you_{pl}:DAT what:NOM want:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_3 that bring:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_2**
"What do you_{pl} want me to bring you_{pl}?" [Marr 1910:122]

[b] As in Mingrelian, no morpheme which specifically codes the plurality of local arguments, or which codes distributive-iterative Aktionsart, has been reported for Laz.

[c] Indirect and inverse verbs: The DAT-case SSs of verbs with indirect syntax control number agreement in all three persons [Chikobava 1936:95; Oniani 1978:192; Harris 1985:308-9]. The selection of number agreement marker is determined as in Mingrelian. The verb in {43a} is a Class P verb in the present screeve. Since the S_{3pl} suffix appropriate to this screeve is -nan, it is used to code the plurality of the 3pl Set O SS. For the same verb in the imperfect screeve, shown in {43b}, the suffix -es, used for S_{3pl} marking in the imperfect, marks number agreement with a 3pl DAT SS:

{43} a. ***Ø**-a-barbal-e-**nan*** [Marr 1910:60]
rave:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_3
"S/he <MO/SS> is infatuated."

b. ***Ø**-a-barbal-er-t'-**es***
rave:Ip:$\mathbf{O_{3pl}}$:S_3
"S/he <MO/SS> was infatuated."

The charts given in Chikobava's Laz grammar [1936:99-100] do not include -t as a number agreement marker for 3pl Set O arguments. This would imply that number agreement with a 3pl Set O SS is not marked when the MS (SO) is 1st or 2nd person, as in Svan or Georgian (and unlike Mingrelian).

The only example of a 3pl MS (SO) of an indirect verb controlling number agreement known to me occurs in a dialogue recorded by Marr, in which a visitor to a Laz village (Marr himself?) is inquiring about stones with inscriptions on them:

{44} *opša* *do-m-a-č'ir-er-**an*** [Marr 1910:93]
very.much need:Ip:O_1:S_{3pl}
"I need them (stones) very much."
(cp Russian translation: ***oni** očen' nužn-**y** mne*)

This sentence is doubly odd in that number agreement occurs with an inanimate argument, which is not expected in Laz (see below).

[d] Number agreement with 3pl non-SSs: Chikobava [1936:94] states that "the plurality of 3rd person objects of direct verbs is not marked." Others have made the same claim [Oniani 1978:192; Harris 1985:308]. Once again, a single counterexample crops up in an older text. Von Erckert [1895] distributed a list of sentences to be translated into various indigenous languages of the Caucasus. His Laz consultant is reported to have produced the sentence shown in {45}.[103]

[103]Erckert does not state what dialect his Laz informant spoke. Judging by the phonological form of the pronouns used in his examples, they come from the eastern dialect group of Laz, probably Xopian [Marr 1910:25-31].

{45} *sikiri-k* *emt-ep-s* *para* *me-**Ø**-č-**es**-i*
son-ERG this-PL-DAT money:NOM give:IIa:S_3:**O_{3pl}**
"Der Sohn hat ihnen Geld abgegeben." [v. Erckert 1895:349 #69]

The same verb form also appears in von Erckert [1895:353], with the same meaning. On the other hand, Harris elicited a sentence with the same verb, but without number agreement with the IO, from her Laz consultant:

{46} *baba-k* *cxeni* *me-Ø-č-**u*** *skir-ep-s*
father-ERG horse-NOM give:IIa:S_{3sg}:O_3 son-PL-DAT
"The father gave a horse to his sons." [Harris 1985:308]

[e] Animacy and number agreement: In Laz, as in Mingrelian, inanimate SSs generally do not control number agreement:

{47} *heya* *mskver-iš* *nkral-epe* *re-**n***
this deer-GEN horn-PL:NOM be:Ip:**S_{3sg}**
"These are the deer's horns." [Dumézil 1967:27]

Notionally plural animate SSs usually control number agreement, though examples of nonagreement for number are attested [Chikobava 1936:180]:

{48} *xoǰi-šen* *didi* *re-**n*** *hekon* *mskwer-epe$_d$,* *Ø$_d$*
bull-ABL big be:Ip:**S_{3sg}** there deer-PL-NOM Ø:3pl:NOM
isina-pe-s *var* *go-i-l-**an*** *škurna-te*
clearing-PL-DAT not go:IIp:**S_{3pl}** fear-INS
"The deer there are <no NA> as big as bulls, they walk <NA> in the clearings without fear." [Marr 1910:110]

In {48}, as in the Mingrelian passage in {35}, no number agreement occurs with an overt NP, but does occur when the argument is represented by a null anaphor. This is evidence that number agreement is to some extent correlated with topicality in Laz as well.

CHAPTER XV. MORPHOSYNTACTIC ORIENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL SUBJECTHOOD IN KARTVELIAN.

In this concluding chapter I will summarize the data presented in the previous chapters concerning the morphosyntax of the Kartvelian languages and dialects in terms of two typological parameters: morphosyntactic ORIENTATION, and the category of GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT.

§15.1. Alignment and orientation.

Before defining orientation, I will discuss one feature with which it is not to be confused: ALIGNMENT. Alignment is a characteristic of individual relation-marking components. It is a description of what is marked like what, without regard to the relative status (rectus vs. oblique, obligatory vs. non-obligatory) of the markers involved. The morphological component of a language generally assigns relational markers according to one or more of the following patterns [diagram adapted from Sapir 1917]:

{1} **Major alignment patterns.**

	SDO	**SS_{intr}**		**SS_{tr}**
ergative-absolutive:	A	A		B
		Class A	*Class B*	
split-intransitive:	A	A	B	B
nominative-accusative:	A	B		B

In the above diagram, 'A' and 'B' denote formal markers (case, agreement or fixed word order). In a split intransitive pattern — also known as 'active' [Harris 1985] or 'split-S' [Dixon 1994] — the semantic subject of a transitive verb and the SS of an intransitive verb pertaining to a particular lexical class (usually characterized by agentivity or aspect [Van Valin 1987, 1988]) are marked the same way (B), as are the semantic subject (SS) of an inactive verb and the semantic direct object (SDO) of a transitive verb (A). The patterns shown in {1} will be referred to by the term ALIGNMENT. Characterization by alignment is properly applied to grammatical components, or perhaps grammatical rules, within a language, and not to the language as a whole [cp. Moravcsik 1978]. Accordingly, I will make reference to, say, nominative-accusative agreement systems, but not to 'nominative languages.'[104]

Orientation, in contrast to alignment, is a characterization of the morphosyntactic system as a whole. It is a description of what class of clausal argument — if any — receives the lion's share of morphosyntactic privileges. The most widely-attested privileges are control of agreement in the

[104]This is not to say that I am taking issue with the contensive-typology framework of G. Klimov. He has claimed, and the evidence to support his claim continues to grow, that certain grammatical characteristics are likely to be associated with certain others. Among the properties shown to cluster in this way is alignment, in particular active-stative alignment (a variety of split-intransitive alignment) as opposed to the other two in Table 1 [Klimov 1977; Tuite, Agha & Graczyk 1985]. It has not been conclusively shown, however, that alignment is the core property around which other features cluster [see especially Nichols 1992]; for this reason I will avoid using alignment terminology to characterize languages rather than morphological or syntactic components.

verb, prominent word-order position (usually the first NP slot in the clause), marking with the rectus case, and obligatory presence in the clause.

In many languages these privileges are not distributed evenly among the NPs of the clause. In English and most other Indo-European languages, the NP assigned unmarked (nominative) case or occupying the first NP slot in languages with fixed word order is also the only NP which can control agreement for person and number in the verb, and — in English — the only NP which is obligatorily present in the clause. This asymmetrical distribution of privileges constitutes what I will term (following a suggestion by J. Sadock) MORPHOSYNTACTIC CONVERGENCE. Grammatical systems can manifest convergence to greater or lesser degrees. The English morphosyntactic system shows a high degree of convergence, and the class of argument thus converged upon is the SS. It can be described as a strongly SS-ORIENTED system.

A more even distribution of syntactic privileges is observed in languages such as Crow, a member of the Siouan family [Graczyk 1984]. The Crow verbal system employs two sets of person markers, with agreement manifesting a split-intransitive (active-stative) alignment. In a transitive construction, both SS_{tr} and SDO control verb agreement:

dii-waa-lichík
$2sg_{INACTIVE}$-$1sg_{ACTIVE}$-hit:PRESENT
"I hit you."

Neither set of agreement affixes is obligatory. Some intransitive verbs employ the active set, others the inactive set, to crossreference the SS_{intr}. In addition, Crow does not have a case-marking system, nor is word order fixed (the unmarked order is SS_{tr}-SDO-V). The contrast with English is quite clear: the English morphosyntactic system shows a high degree of convergence, while that of Crow shows hardly any at all. Crow morphosyntax can be described as a NON-ORIENTED system.

The Northeast Caucasian language Ingush has ergative-absolutive alignment, indicated by both case marking and agreement. The verb agrees according to class (gender) only with NPs assigned absolutive case. In the following example [Nichols 1982: 454-5] the participle and auxiliary verb agree for class with the SDO, but not with the SS_{tr} or SIO:

{2} *cu-o:* *cun-na* *<u>bij-Ø</u>* ***b**-iettaž* ***b**-a-q*
he-ERG him-DAT fist(ClassIII)-ABS ClassIII-hitting ClassIII-is-PTC
"He is hitting him with his fist" (lit: "He is hitting a fist to him").

Further indication of the special status of the NP assigned absolutive case is the fact the such an NP is obligatory in every clause (though it need not be overtly expressed in surface structure). Ingush, like English and unlike Crow, shows a strong degree of morphosyntactic convergence. The difference, of course, is that Ingush morphosyntax converges upon the SDO and SS_{intr} and not the SS_{tr}/SS_{intr} as in English. I will refer to this as an example of an ABSOLUTIVE-ORIENTED system. The morphosyntactic orientation of English, Crow and Ingush is summarized in Table {3}. In the case of both English and Ingush, the alignment and orientation coincide. English has a SS-oriented morphosyntax, and its relation-marking apparatus, having a nominative-accusative alignment, formally discriminates between the SS and other grammatical relations. Ingush has an absolutive-oriented morpho-syntax, and a compatible ergative-absolutive alignment in the relation-marking system. It is quite possible for there to be lack of correspondence between orientation and alignment. The Australian language Dyirbal, for example, has an agreement system

with nominative-accusative alignment. Its morphosyntax, however, clearly displays an absolutive orientation [Dixon 1979].

{3} **English, Crow and Ingush morphosyntactic orientation.**

	ENGLISH		
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**
rectus case:			
word order:	X	X	
agreement:	X	X	
obligatory:	X	X	
	CROW		
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**
rectus case:			
word order:	(x)	(x)	
agreement:	X	X	X
obligatory:			
	INGUSH		
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**
rectus case:		X	X
word order:	(x)	(x)	
agreement:		X	X
obligatory:		X	X

[X = marked by grammatical rule; (x) = preference in unmarked context]

§15.2. Grammatical subject.

In those languages where the morphology and syntax converge upon one argument per clause, which receives a disproportionate degree of 'privileges' of the sort described above, the category which I will term GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT can be said to be present. While SS and SDO are universal categories, a language need not have a grammatical subject (GS). Of the languages discussed in the previous section, English and Ingush have a clear category of GS, while Crow appears not to have such a category at all. Languages also differ in terms of the degree of prominence of the GS. This depends on the extent of morphosyntactic convergence (which is determined at the intraclausal level), and also on the nature of interclausal processes in the language.

Earlier (section §3.5.) the category of "pivot" was discussed in connection with such clause-linking configurations as EQUI-deletion, switch-reference marking, relativization and raising. Where the pivot plays a prominent role in interclausal syntax, the use of zero anaphors is restricted; a typical constraint is for zero anaphors to be possible only in pivot position. In some languages, the SS serves as pivot, in others the absolutive (SS_{intr} and SDO). Languages also differ in terms of whether they employ transformations such as passivization or antipassivization to raise a non-pivot argument to pivot position.

Some languages may not have a specific role of pivot at all, or have only a small number of clause-linking operations for which a pivot is specified. In such languages, there is no requirement

that a zero anaphor must be in a particular relation to the verb (SS or absolutive) in most linked-clause constructions. In Japanese, for example, the use of zero anaphors is much freer than in English. While there is some preference for zero anaphors in SS position, SS status is only one of several factors (and by no means the most significant) that come into play in the pronoun-interpretation mechanism [Kameyama 1988].

I will now summarize the two types of grammatical relation to be contrasted in this chapter:

semantic subject (SS): A universal category, defined by the agentivity hierarchy and other semantic and functional criteria. While the grammatical relations of SS_{tr}, SS_{intr}, SDO and SIO are found in all languages, languages will differ in regard to the possibilities of changing the grammatical relation associated with an argument through derivational means (e.g. causativization) or transformation (e.g. passive).

grammatical subject (GS): This category exists within a particular language if one particular class of argument plays a more important role in intraclausal and interclausal morphosyntax than other arguments. The GS — if there is one — can be characterized along two dimensions: [a] orientation, and [b] prominence. A prominent GS has intraclausal privileges (agreement, obligatoriness, rectus marking) not shared with other arguments, and functions as the pivot of clause-linking operations.

§15.3. Morphosyntactic orientation in the Georgian dialects.

In this section I will evaluate the evidence for a category of grammatical subject (GS) in the various Georgian dialects. Although the dialects are very similar to each other in most respects, and are mutually intelligible, they show a surprising diversity of morphosyntactic orientation. Three distinct orientations can be found. In any one dialect, elements of two, or perhaps all three, are present, though usually one orientation is predominant. The dialects which most prominently display each orientation will be discussed in this section.

§15.3.1. Type A: split-ergative orientation.[105]

In Old Georgian, the northeast dialects and Glola Rach'an, NPs coded by either NOM case or Set S agreement have greater number-agreement privileges than other arguments (in particular, arguments assigned DAT case). This goes back to the morphological structure of the protolanguage. Harris [1985] argues that the case assignment system of Common Kartvelian had an ergative alignment similar to that of Dyirbal or Basque, where the primary determinant of a verb's case assignment pattern is transitivity. In such a system the unmarked case (nominative-absolutive) is assigned to the direct object of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs (what I earlier termed the "local argument" [section §5.1]). This was the original function of the Kartvelian NOM case. The pattern of person marking was probably little different from that of the daughter languages, except for the lack of series III inversion (a later development). The Set S markers crossreferenced the NP1 argument of both transitive and intransitive verbs, while Set O crossreferenced the NP2 and NP3 arguments.

[105]The word 'type,' as applied to the three groups of dialects described in the preceding chapters, is used in a special sense developed by the Prague School linguist V. Skalička. A language type is "an extreme (not occurring in any of the actual languages) consisting in the combination of certain properties the occurrence of any one of which creates a favorable environment for the others" (quoted in Sgall [1971: 78]; cp. Skalička [1966: 157, 163]).

At this stage the ancestors of what are now the series I screeves of transitive verbs were the output of an antipassivization transformation, i.e. intransitive. The ancestors of the 3rd conjugation verbs, which follow the Class A case assignment pattern in the modern Kartvelian languages, assigned NOM case to their NP1 arguments in all screeves.

{4} **Case assignment in Common Kartvelian [Harris 1985]**

		TRANSITIVE VERBS (1st conjugation)			*INTRANSITIVE VERBS* (2nd, 3rd, 4th conj.)*	
		NP1	NP3	NP2	NP1	NP2
"series II"	*case*	ERG	NOM	DAT	NOM	DAT
	agreement	S	O	O	S	O

[* Includes "series I" antipassives of transitive verbs]

It was noted earlier that in the Kartvelian case system NOM case stands apart from the other cases, as does Set S compared to Set O agreement. This was motivated in Common Kartvelian by the special role of the nominative-absolutive case in a system of ergative typology, and by the semantic prominence of NP1 (which is usually the more agentive core argument). In the daughter languages this original motivation is largely obscured, due to changes in the system of screeves: the series I and III screeves of transitive verbs are no longer perceived as intransitive. Nonetheless the special status of the NOM and Set S is still apparent in many Kartvelian dialects. We will review the relevant facts here.

(1) NOM as unmarked case. In the declension paradigms of Georgian and Svan — and to a lesser degree, Zan — one finds instances where the NOM case form employs a particular stem, while all other case forms are added to a different stem [examples from Mart'irosovi 1964:317-24]:

{5} **Declension of proximal pronoun ("this") in Kartvelian**

	GEO.	*SVAN*	*MINGR.*	*LAZ (Xopi)*	*LAZ (Vic'i)*
NOM_{sg}	es	ala	atena	aya	haya
ERG_{sg}	ama-n	am-ne:m	ate-k	amu-k	haya-k
DAT_{sg}	ama-s	am-ən	ate-s	amu-s	haya-s
GEN_{sg}	am-is	am-iša	ate-ši	amu-ši	haya-ši
NOM_{pl}	ese-n-i	al-yär	aten-ep-i	at-epe	hat-epe
ERG_{pl}	ama-t	am-yär-d	aten-en-k	at-epe-k	hat-epe-k
DAT_{pl}	ama-t	am-yär-s	aten-en-s	at-epe-s	hat-epe-s
GEN_{pl}	ama-t	am-yär-eš	aten-ep-iši	at-epe-ši	hat-epe-ši

In Georgian and Zan, this is largely confined to the declension of 3rd person pronouns. In Svan, certain classes of common nouns [the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th declensions, according to the system of Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis 1986:46-9; see also Sharadzenidze 1955] are characterized by two-stem declension, where a NOM stem is opposed to an oblique stem for all other cases. An example of this is given in section §3.1, ex. {2}. The nominal plural suffixes -n-i and -t-a are distinguished by the same principle: NOM versus ERG/DAT/GEN. It is also worth noting that the NOM is employed as a citation form; titles and headings in Georgian texts are given in the NOM case.

(2) Set S as unmarked agreement. As noted by Shanidze [1961:190-3] and Oniani [1978:40-1], each well-formed finite Georgian verb must be marked with a Set S agreement affix, whether or not it crossreferences a semantically specified argument. No such requirement applies to Set O affixes. For this reason, any Georgian verb with a syntactic valence of one, where the one semantically specified argument controls Set O agreement, must have a morphological valence of two, i.e. it must be marked with a dummy Set S affix. A similar constraint applies in the other Kartvelian languages (e.g. Mingrelian *p-škiren-**s*** [hunger:Ip:O_{1sg}:**S_{3sg}**] "I am hungry," with a dummy S_{3sg} -s).

For reasons such as the above, NOM case and Set S have been interpreted as markers of grammatical subjecthood in the Kartvelian languages. Because these two markers do not converge in constructions with a Class A verb in series II, scholars have defined one or the other as the means of coding a category of MS. Despite this lack of complete overlap, it is the case that in those dialects reflecting Type A characteristics, both NOM case and Set S arguments are morphosyntactically privileged in a way that other classes of arguments are not. In early Old Georgian, only these two classes of NPs could control plural number agreement in the verb, as diagrammed in {6}. With Class A verbs in series II, both NP1 and NP3 had this privilege (e.g. mat_p $isini_q$ *nax-**n**$_q$-**es**$_p$* [they:ERG them:NOM see:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O_3:**PLNOM** "they saw them"). DAT case NPs, crossreferenced by Set O affixes, did not control number agreement even when functioning as SS (examples in section 3.1).

{6} **Number agreement pattern in early Old Georgian.**

	CLASS A			*CLASS P*	
	NP1	*NP3*	*NP2*	*NP1*	*NP2*
Series I	NOM/S	DAT/O	DAT/O	NOM/S	DAT/O
Series II	ERG/S	NOM/O	DAT/O	NOM/S	DAT/O
Series III	DAT/O	NOM/S	— — —	NOM/S	DAT/O

With the reanalysis of the earlier inclusive/exclusive opposition of Set O prefixes as a plural/singular opposition, the category of number was introduced into Set O. The dialects differ in terms of the degree of penetration of the number opposition, according to the person hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3 (more about this below). This is illustrated in the following tables. Feature matrices for the Set O agreement affixes for different Georgian dialects is given in {7}; in {8}, number agreement with a 1pl, 2pl and 3pl Set O SS of an indirect verb is shown:

{7} **Feature matrices for Set O agreement affixes.**

I. Early Old Georgian

<+spk, -add> *m-*
<+spk, +add> *gw-*
<-spk, +add> *g-*
<-spk, -add> *Ø/h/s-*

II. Late Old Georgian, Glola Rach'an

<1, -pl> *m-* <1, +pl> *gw-*
<2> *g-*
<3> *Ø/h/s-*

III. Pshavian, Xevsurian, Tushetian

<1, -pl> *m-* <1, +pl> *gv-*
<2, -pl> *g-* <2, +pl> *g- -t*
<3> *Ø/h/s-*

{8} **Number agreement with the plural SS of an indirect verb.**

Early Old Georgian	*Glola Rach'an*	*Xevsurian*	*Mod Std Georgian*
čven **gw**-e-ʒin-a "we$_{incl}$ slept"	**gv**-e-ʒin-a	**gv**-e-ʒin-a	**gv**-e-ʒin-a "we slept"
čven **m**-e-ʒin-a "we$_{excl}$ slept"			
tkwen **g**-e-ʒin-a "you$_{pl}$ slept"	**g**-e-ʒin-a	**g**-e-ʒin-a-t	**g**-e-ʒin-a-t
mat **x**-e-ʒin-a "they slept"	**Ø**-e-ʒin-a	**Ø**-e-ʒin-a	**Ø**-e-ʒin-a-t

The distribution of Type A characteristics in the contemporary Georgian dialects is shown in maps #4 and #5 at the end of the chapter. In map #4, those areas are indicated where number agreement in (e)n with NOM-case arguments has been attested. In materials collected in northeast Georgia and the Rach'an village Glola, all NOM NPs control number agreement in (e)n, regardless of their semantic role, when the verb is in a series II or III screeve. In these dialects, the plural NOM DO (NP3) of a Class A verb can control number agreement. The NOM MS (NP1) of a prefixal Class P verb can control two number agreement markers: (e)n in slot 7 of the verb, and the regular Set S suffix in slot 11. This is the same pattern as that observed in Old Georgian. In dialects adjacent to those mentioned above traces of agreement in (e)n can be found. In Kartlian, K'axetian, Tianetian, Ach'arian and Mountain Rach'an this morpheme has been incorporated into the conjugation of prefixal Class P verbs in series II and III. This usage was also common in literary Georgian up to the present century.

Variation in the conjugation pattern for indirect verbs and verbs that have undergone inversion (i.e. Class A verbs in series III) is presented in map #5. In the northeast dialects Pshavian, Xevsurian and Tushetian, and in Glola Rach'an, such verbs are treated no differently by the morphology than other verbs. As in Old Georgian, only the direct conjugational pattern is available, with an opposition of number in all three persons in the Set S agreement system, and in only 1st or 1st and 2nd person in Set O, regardless of the syntactic structure accompanying the verb. Therefore the SO (marked as MS (NP1)) of indirect verbs has greater morphosyntactic prominence than the SS (marked as formal IO (NP2)). In the other northeast dialects (Moxevian, Mtiulian, Tianetian), an indirect conjugational pattern — with number marking in all three persons in Set O — is available, but the direct pattern is still frequently encountered for indirect verbs. Elsewhere, indirect and inverse verbs employ indirect conjugation in almost all cases.

Early Old Georgian corresponds most closely to the idealized language type with a prominent MS. Still, its category of MS is not particularly strong in comparison with that of other languages. The only morphological or syntactic advantage attaching to the Georgian SS is number agreement. In the Indo-European languages, the MS is the only argument which can control verbal agreement in person as well as number. In a number of languages, the MS functions as the pivot for clause-linking operations; there is no evidence that the MS plays such a role in any of the above Georgian dialects. It is an interesting fact, however, that it is only in the Old Georgian, Glola Rach'an and northeast Georgian dialects that the nominal plural morphemes -n-i and -t-a are still in wide use. As mentioned above, these pluralizers, unlike the eb suffix in widespread use elsewhere, manifest a NOM/non-NOM opposition. The formal criterion for the special status of the NOM case is most clearly displayed in those dialects where the NOM has the greatest morphosyntactic prominence. Each of these characteristics "creates a favorable environment" for the other.

§15.3.2. Type B: semantic subject orientation.

The southwest Georgian dialects Gurian and Ach'arian (and probably Imerxevian) come the closest within the Kartvelian family to a standard Indo-European relation-coding system. The grammars of languages such as English, German and Latin feature a morphological component

which converges on the clausal argument assigned SS status by the verb. This NP is marked by a specific case or word order slot, and it alone can control verb agreement. The southwest Georgian dialects, especially some Lower Ach'arian subdialects, are characterized by a similar morphosyntactic alignment.

(1) Agreement with SS: The affixes which, in standard Georgian, code S_{3pl} agreement have undergone a reanalysis of function in the western dialects. In Old Georgian the morphemes -es, -an, -en and -n marked MS-hood (since they were Set S affixes). As such they crossreferenced the SSs of direct verbs, and the SOs of indirect verbs. In example {9}, from a 7th-century Old Georgian manuscript, the 3pl SO/MS of an indirect verb controls S_{3pl} agreement. The 2pl SS tkwen does not control number agreement, because it is formally an indirect object, crossreferenced by a Set O affix.

{9} *da uk'uetu g-i-q'ward-**en** tkwen moq'ware-n-i tkwen-n-i*
and thus love:Ip:O_2:**S_{3pl}** you_{pl}:DAT lover-PL-NOM $your_{pl}$-PL-NOM
"And thus you will love those who love you." [Luke 6:32]

In the western Georgian dialects, especially the southwest dialects Gurian and Ach'arian, these former S_{3pl} affixes code agreement with a plural SS, whether or not it controls Set S agreement. They can crossreference 2pl as well as 3pl Set O SSs, as in the following Gurian sentence:

{10} *tkven rai-ze mi-**g**-e-čkareb-i-**en**?*
you_{pl}:DAT what-on hurry:Ip:**O_{2pl}**:S_3
"Why are you in a hurry?" [GTK:429]

The Georgian S_3 suffixes are portmanteau morphemes: they indicate tense and mood as well as person and number. There is a distinct tendency in the southwest dialects toward the replacement of the various former S_{3pl} suffixes by the single suffix -en in all screeves. This also appears to be an aspect of morphological convergence. Along with becoming more prominent morphosyntactically, the SS is being coded more unambiguously. A similar tendency is observed in the case system.

As a corollary to the above, the morphosyntax of Gurian and Ach'arian is according less prominence to non-SS arguments than that of other dialects. In Modern Standard Georgian, 2pl Set O arguments control plural number agreement, whether or not functioning as SSs. In the southwest dialects, only SS NPs have this capability. 2pl SOs do not control number agreement, as in the following Ach'arian example:

{11} *is mo-**g**-a-rigeb-s tkvena-o* [GTK:397]
that:NOM reconcile:Ia:S_{3sg}:**O_2** you_{pl}:DAT-QT
"He will reconcile you." (cp. Std Geo *is mo-**g**-a-rigeb-**t** tkven*)

(2) Case marking of SS: Because of case shift, inversion and the large number of indirect and labile verbs, there is no 1:1 correlation between case assignment and either semantic role or SS-hood in most Georgian dialects. In Gurian and Ach'arian the ERG case marker is increasingly taking on the function of coding SS-hood. This is especially noticeable in the subdialects spoken near the Turkish border.

(3) Function of the SS: Despite its greater morphosyntactic prominence, the Gurian or Ach'arian SS does not appear to play a more important role in clause chaining than the SS of other dialects. Examination of southwest Georgian texts indicates that here as well no one clausal argument serves as obligatory pivot for most clause linking operations.

(4) Diminished prominence of MS: As a corollary to the enhanced status of the SS in regard to the morphosyntax, NPs marked with NOM case or Set S person agreement play a less important role. Number agreement is not obligatory with either class of argument. Also, the formal indicators of the special status of the NOM case are less in evidence in dialects with a prominent SS. In the declension of 3rd person pronouns in Gurian and Ach'arian the nominal plural morpheme -n-, which in literary Georgian is used in the NOM case only (see {1} above), appears in the other case forms as well (e.g. [Gurian] NOM *igi-**n**-i,* DAT *igi-**n**-s*; [Ach'arian] NOM *igi-**n**-eb-i*, DAT *igi-**n**-eb-s* "those" [Chartolani 1985:49]).

Three morphological means were utilized to mark number agreement with Set O SSs in the Kartvelian-speaking territory: the $S_{1/2}$ pluralizer (Geo.-t, Zan -t); the S_{3pl} suffixes (Geo. -en/an/es, Zan -an/nan/es, Svan -x); and a postclitic of unknown origin (-q'e). The coding of the plurality of Set O SSs by such means began a quite long time ago, at least in western Georgia. Laz and Mingrelian have an identical agreement system, which is not found elsewhere; this indicates that it dates back to Common Zan, at least sixteen centuries ago. The use of S_{3pl} suffixes to mark number agreement with Set O SSs is attested in a west Georgian manuscript from the 12th century. As shown in maps #5 and #6, the extension of the semantic range of S_{3pl} affixes such as -en and -an to crossreference Set O NPs is a widespread phenomenon in western Georgia. This marking has been noted in the Georgian dialects spoken in the provinces adjacent to Guria and Ach'ara: Mesxian, Lower Imeretian, Lechxumian and Lower Rach'an dialect areas. It is also characteristic of Mingrelian and Laz morphology.

A significant difference between Gurian-Ach'arian and the neighboring dialects appears in map #6. The affixes -en and -an mark number agreement with O_{2pl} arguments functioning as SSs throughout western Georgia. In the case of Set O 2pl non-SSs, no number agreement is observed in Gurian and Ach'arian. In the surrounding dialects, a different suffix (-t and/or -q'e) is used in this situation; the distinction between SS and SO is not correlated with degree of morphosyntactic privilege, although particular markers are only used for agreement with SSs.[106]

The only dialects where the $S_{1/2}$ plural suffix -t is used to code number agreement with 3pl Set O SSs (and not SOs) are in central Georgia: Kartlian, Mesxian, and Modern Standard Georgian. In the other dialects where -t is used in correlation with O_{3pl} arguments, it appears to have taken over the functions of -q'e: number agreement in these dialects is sensitive to topicality and givenness, not SS-hood.

[106]It is an interesting fact that in all Kartvelian dialects where former S_{3pl} morphemes are used to code plural agreement with Set O arguments, their range is restricted to Set O 3pl SSs. These morphemes are never used to code number agreement with Set O 3pl SOs, even though they code the plurality of all 1pl and 2pl Set O NPs in Zan, and 2pl NPs in Lower Imeretian and Svan, including SOs. The former $S_{1/2}$ plural marker -t, and the clitic q'e encompass a wider semantic range in the southeast and northwest dialects, where they mark agreement with Set O 3pl SOs as well as SSs. In those northwest dialects where both -t or -q'e and S_{3pl} suffixes are used to code number agreement with Set O arguments (Lower Imeretian, Lechxumian, Lower Rach'an), the same difference in semantic range appears: both -t/q'e and -en/es are attested agreeing with O_{3pl} SSs, but only -t/q'e with O_{3pl} SOs.

§15.3.3. Type C: discourse-prominence orientation.

Some Georgian dialects from the southeast (Ingiloan, Fereidanian, K'axetian) and northwest (Upper and Lower Imeretian, Lechxumian, most subdialects of Rach'an) represent a very different type of morphosyntactic alignment. These dialects differ from the first group in that the agreement privileges distinguishing NOM from DAT NPs, and Set S from Set O, are no longer found. They differ from the second group in that SS NPs are not specifically coded by their morphosyntax. Any of the argument classes shown in {6} can control number agreement in all three persons in any series. The feature matrices for Set S and Set O reflect the same pattern:

{12} **Feature matrices for Set S and O agreement affixes**

SET S					***SET O***				
<1, -pl>	*v-*	<1, +pl>	*v-*	*-t*	<1, -pl>	*m-*	<1, +pl>	*gv-*	
<2, pl>	*Ø-*	<2, +pl>	*Ø-*	*-t*	<2, -pl>	*g-*	<2, +pl>	*g-*	*-t/q'e*
<3>	*-s/a/Ø*	<3, +pl>	*-en/an/es*		<3>	*h/s/Ø-*	<3, +pl>	*h/sØ-*	*-t/q'e*

The reader will note that the opposition between forms in the 3rd person differs from that in the 1st and 2nd persons. There is no affix labelled <3, -pl>. The reason for this is that 1st and 2nd person NPs are always highly presupposed and always denote animate (or animated) referents, while 3rd person NPs are not restricted in this way.

The primary feature characterizing Type C is that animate and presupposed arguments have greater agreement privileges than inanimate or newly-introduced arguments. In the southeast and northwest dialects, those NPs controlling number agreement almost always denote topical, animate referents. This privilege is independent of case, agreement set and semantic role:

{13} *danarčom bič'-eb-s da dad-eb-s$_b$ **Ø**-u-k'eteb-en plav-s,*
remaining boy-PL-DAT and bridesmaid-PL-DAT make:Ia:S_{3pl}:$\mathbb{O}_3$ pilaf-DAT
*čey-s; Ø$_b$ **Ø**-a-č'mev-en-**q'e**, da Ø$_b$ **Ø**-a-levineb-en-**q'e***
tea-DAT Ø:3pl:DAT feed:Ia:S_{3pl}:$\mathbb{O}_{3pl}$ and Ø:3pl:DAT drink:CAUS:Ia:S_{3pl}:$\mathbb{O}_{3pl}$
"For the remaining boys and bridesmaids they prepare <no NA> pilaf and tea; they feed them <NA> and give them <NA> something to drink." [Ingiloan, GTK:244]

{14} *dila-ze gare-dan pxak'a-pxuk'-it mo-vid-a tagv-eb-i$_m$*
morning-at outside-from scratching-INS come:IIp:**S_{3sg}** mouse-PL-NOM
*da Ø$_m$ ga-Ø-a-ps-**en** xvimir-i pul-it.*
and Ø:3pl:ERG fill:IIa:**S_{3pl}**:O_3 hopper-NOM money-INS
"Mice came <no NA with SS> with a scratching sound and filled <NA> the hopper with money." [Lower Imeretian, GTK:474]

In {13}, we have an example of number agreement with the 3pl indirect object of a direct transitive verb. Note that the first verb does not agree in number with its GO/SO, while the last two verbs do. This reflects the degree of presupposedness of the argument in question, which is introduced as new information before the first verb in {13}, and is briefly maintained as discourse topic. A similar phenomenon is observed in {14}, with the difference that the NP *tagvebi* "mice" is the MS/SS of both verbs in the example.

Map #7 shows the location of dialects where non-SS arguments can control number agreement in all three persons. The suffixes used to mark number agreement with O_{2pl} and O_{3pl} arguments — -t and -q'e — are found in both northwest and southeast Georgia. The morpheme -q'e is more

widespread in eastern Georgia, where it is also used as a marker of habitual/iterative aspect (map #8). It may be the case, as Chikobava [1968:276-7] has argued, that the first marker used to code number agreement with topical O_{2pl} and O_{3pl} arguments was -q'e. The appearance of -t in this function results from the influence of the literary language; in such instances -t has replaced an earlier -q'e. A comparison of maps #7 and #8 supports this conjecture. Spreading out on both sides of Kartli, where only -t is used, are zones where -t is used in alternation with -q'e (western K'axeti; Upper Imereti, Lower Rach'a); further out from the center only -q'e is used (eastern K'axeti, Saingilo, Fereidan; Lower Imereti, Upper Rach'a).

It is unlikely to be a mere coincidence that there is little evidence for grammatical subjecthood in the southeast and northwest dialects. The special status of the NOM as against the other cases is indicated by two-base declension, as shown in {5} above. In Type C dialects, as in Type B dialects, the nominal pluralizer n/t, from which separate NOM and non-NOM bases are formed, is almost never used. The morpheme n only appears in the declension of 3rd person pronouns, where it is used in all case forms, like the pluralizer eb: e.g. Lower Imeretian NOM *mag-**en**-i,* ERG *mag-**en**-ma,* DAT *mag-**en**-s* "those." In some east-central and northwest dialects eb is used in pronominal declension: K'axetian *ege-**eb**-i* "those-NOM," Rach'an *ame-**eb**-ma* "these-ERG" [Mart'irosovi 1964:315-7; Chartolani 1985:44-51].

§15.4. Grammatical subjecthood in the Georgian dialects.

The Kartvelian languages and dialects can be divided into two groups: those for which there is evidence of a grammatical subject, and those for which there is not. The Type A and B Georgian dialects, along with Svan and the Zan dialects, compose the first group. The Type C dialects belong to the second. The intraclausal criteria relevant to determining the GS are tabulated below for Old Georgian, representing Type A, and the southwest Georgian dialects, representing Type B. In contrast to the situation in the older language, where the absolutive (SDO/SO_{ind}) was overall more privileged than the semantic subject (SS_{tr}/SS_{ind}), the Type B dialects are marked by a sharp withdrawal of syntactic privileges from the absolutive in favor of the SS. This is especially noticeable in the case of DAT SSs (SS_{tr}/SS_{ind}). It is also noteworthy that the special status of the NOM, clearly evident in Old Georgian, has all but disappeared in the southwest dialects.

{15} **Comparison of intraclausal morphosyntactic privileges for Old Georgian and the modern southwest Georgian dialects.**

Old Georgian	DIRECT CONSTRUCTION			INDIRECT CONSTRUCTION	
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**	**SS_{ind}**	**SO_{ind}**
rectus case					
present series:	X	X			X
aorist/perfect series:		X	X		X
word order:	(x)	(x)		(x)	
person agreement:	X	X	X	X	X
number agreement					
present series:	X	X			X
aorist series:	X	X	X		X
perfect series:		X	X		X
obligatory					
present series:	X	X			X
aorist series:	X	X			X
perfect series:		X	X		X

Southwest dialects	DIRECT CONSTRUCTION			INDIRECT CONST.	
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**	**SS_{ind}**	**SO_{ind}**
rectus case:					
word order:	(x)	(x)		(x)	
person agreement:	X	X	X	X	X
number agreement					
present series:	X	X		X	
aorist series:	X	X		X	
perfect series:	X	X		X	
obligatory					
present series:	X	X			X
aorist series:	X	X			X
perfect series:		X	X		X

In contrast to the Type A and B dialects, there is no morphosyntactic basis for postulating a category of subject in the grammars of the Type C dialects. The morphological and syntactic attributes of subjecthood — case, person and number agreement, word order, pivot function — are either distributed among more than one clausal argument, or, if they do pick out one argument, there is no convergence with other morphosyntactic components. The morphosyntax of the Type C dialects is summarized below:

{16} **case**: NOM, ERG and DAT NPs can control agreement. The relation between case and semantic role shifts from series to series.

person agreement: One or two NPs per clause control person agreement. There is no direct correlation between agreement set and case, semantic role or SS status.

number agreement: Up to three NPs per clause can control number agreement (e.g. *mo-gv-t'ac-es-q'e* "they (-es) abducted them (-q'e) from us (gv-)"). Number agreement is associated with person, animacy and givenness.

word order: Georgian is a free word order language.

pivothood: Up to three NPs per clause can be represented by null anaphors. Only a few clause-chaining operations specify one clausal argument as pivot.

Regardless of the verb form or the person of the SS, SDO or SIO, if two of these NPs refer to animate beings, they are both likely to control number agreement. The features toward which the morphosyntax of the Type C dialects is oriented (animate reference and topicality/presupposability) do not in principle converge upon one NP per clause, unlike those features toward which the Type A and B morphosyntactic systems are oriented. It is for this reason that no category of GS, as defined above, emerges in the Type C dialects. The distribution of morphosyntactic privileges is not sufficiently asymmetric.

{17} **Morphosyntactic privileges for the Type C Georgian dialects.**

	Type C Georgian dialects				
	DIRECT CONSTRUCTION			INDIRECT CONSTRUCTION	
	SS_{tr}	**SS_{intr}**	**SDO**	**SS_{ind}**	**SO_{ind}**
rectus case					
present series:					
aorist/perfect series:					
word order:	(x)	(x)		(x)	
person agreement:	X	X	X	X	X
number agreement					
present series:	X	X	X	X	X
aorist series:	X	X	X	X	X
perfect series:	X	X	X	X	X
obligatory					
present series:	X	X			X
aorist series:	X	X			X
perfect series:		X	X		X

§15.5. A diachronic perspective on Kartvelian number agreement.

The grammars of the Kartvelian languages and their dialects are characterized by free word order, a verb which agrees with two, sometimes three, arguments, a case assignment system which is sensitive to verb class and series as well as semantic roles, and a clause-chaining mechanism which seldom specifies a distinct category of pivot. For this reason, the morphosyntactic characteristics which define the category of subject in the familiar Indo-European languages — verb agreement, case marking, word order, pivot function — do not converge on one type of clausal argument in Kartvelian. Compared to the person agreement and case systems, the number agreement component of the morphosyntax is a sort of wild card, varying considerably from dialect to dialect. It is primarily from analysis of the patterning of number agreement that the three alignment types presented in the first section of this chapter were derived. In this concluding section I will offer some hypotheses concerning the diachronic relationship among the morphosyntactic alignment types observed in the Kartvelian family.

§15.5.1. Number agreement in the protolanguage.

In Chapter VI, I argued that the category of number in Common Kartvelian was likely to have been common to both verbs and nouns, and marked by the same morphemes in each. Furthermore, the number markers came in two groups, corresponding to two semantically distinct types of 'plurality': one set of markers indicated durative/continuative aspect in the verb, and collectivity in the noun (non-individuated, 'linear' plurality); and the other set indicated iterativity and distributivity in the verb, and numerosity of referents, viewed as individuals, in the noun (individuated, 'punctilear' plurality). The morphemes believed to have derived from the two sets of Common Kartvelian pluralizers are listed here:

{18} **Kartvelian pluralizers and their functions.**

Common Kartvelian function:		*Individuated plurality*	*Non-individuated plurality*
Old Georgian	*noun:*	-n-/-t(a)‡	-eb-†, -ev-/-ob-+
	verb:	-(e)n-#	-eb-/-ob-/-am-/-em-¶
Mingrelian, Laz	*noun:*	— — —	-ep(e)-†
	verb:	— — —	-um-/-im-/-ap-/-ep-/-em-¶
Svan	*noun:*	-ar/-e:r/-a:l/ la- -a/ etc.‡	— — — —
	verb:	-a:l-/-ie:l-/-ə:r-€	— — — —

functions: ‡ = nominal plural (always controls plural number agreement)
† = nominal plural (nonagreement for number occurs)
+ = derivational suffix (forms collective nouns)
¶ = present-stem formant (in verb)
€ = verbal pluralizer
= plural NOM agreement marker

The Common Kartvelian verb probably only had one true number-agreement marker: the Set S suffix *-s_1t which indicated the plurality of 1st and 2nd-person MSs. After the separation of Common Georgian-Zan from Proto-Svan, a distinct set of S_{3sg} and S_{3pl} markers developed, and the verbal pluralizer -(e)n- became reinterpreted as an agreement marker, indicating the presence of a formally plural NOM-case NP.

In section §4.1.2.1 it was pointed out that in several scholars' opinion, Old Georgian eb once denoted **collectivity**, or indefinite quantity. Nouns in eb were formally singular but notionally plural, as are collective nouns such as "crowd" or "equipment." This may be an indication that at one time the eb suffix was a derivational morpheme, while n/t was inflectional. If we assume the existence of semantically comparable morphemes in Common Georgian-Zan, which I will designate by the symbols N (plural) and EB (collective), the correlation between NP type and the capacity to control plural number agreement was as follows:

{19} **NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN COMMON GEORGIAN-ZAN.**

I. NA if NOM and/or Set S	***II. Plural NA not possible***
1st/2nd pronouns	collective nouns
3rd pronouns[107]	quantified NPs
N-nominals	EB-nominals (derived collectives)

§15.5.2. Noun-phrase types and number agreement.

In Common Georgian-Zan, the distinction between columns I and II was one of formal number, but without any corresponding lexicosemantic basis. By the time the earliest Georgian texts were written (5th-6th centuries) the morphosyntax was undergoing the first stages of the reorganization of the number agreement mechanism. There are at least three phenomena which are likely to have contributed to this profound shift in the distribution of number agreement privileges.

[107]In all Kartvelian languages, the plurals of 1st and 2nd person pronouns involve stem suppletion; no pluralizer can be segmented out. The plurals of 3rd person pronouns are formed by suffixation of n/t (in literary Georgian and many dialects), eb/ep (Zan and some Georgian dialects) and ar (Svan). It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the N-pluralizer was used with 3rd person pronouns in Common Kartvelian.

A. Number-agreement shift. In the system reconstructed for Common Kartvelian, all pronominals have the capacity to control number agreement. One phenomenon, attested in even the most ancient Georgian texts, which probably reinforced the sense of correlation between given or presupposed information, which is what pronouns are used to denote, and the capacity to control number agreement was what I will term NUMBER-AGREEMENT SHIFT in discourse. It derives from the tendency, observed in a number of languages, for anaphors to reflect notional rather than formal features (gender, number, etc) of their antecedents [Corbett 1979]. Number-agreement shift occurs when a formally singular but referentially plural NP controls singular agreement within its clause, while those NPs used to maintain reference to it, either overt pronouns or a zero anaphors, control plural agreement. This phenomenon is very frequently attested in Old Georgian texts, and it seems reasonable to suppose that it occurred in Common Georgian-Zan as well. Here are two examples from Old Georgian:

{20} *še-Ø-i-c'q'nar-**a**$_n$ igi [er-man man]$_n$ rametu*
welcome:IIa:**S$_{3sg}$**:O$_3$ him:NOM people-ERG the:ERG as
*Ø$_n$ mo-x-e-lod-**es**$_n$ mas.*
Ø:3pl:NOM wait:Ip:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$ him:DAT [Luke 8:40 (Xanmeti gospels, 6th c.)]
"The people gladly received <S$_{3sg}$> him, for (they) were awaiting <S$_{3pl}$> him."

{21} *xolo [k'ac-eb-man man]$_k$ vitarca Ø-i-xil-**a**$_k$ sasc'aul-i igi romel*
but man-PL-ERG the:ERG as see:IIa:**S$_{3sg}$**:O$_3$ miracle-NOM the which:NOM
*Ø$_l$ Ø-kmn-a$_l$, Ø$_k$ Ø-i-t'q'od-**es**$_k$ . . .*
Ø:3sg:ERG do:IIa:S$_3$:O$_3$ Ø:3pl:NOM say:Ia:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$ [John 6:14 (Adish, 897 AD)]
"But when the people saw <S$_{3sg}$> the miracle he performed, (they) said <S$_{3pl}$> …"

The use of referentially-based number agreement in contexts such as these enables the listener to keep track of a topical plural argument without the benefit of overt pronominals (as long as the argument in question is able to control number agreement). In this way, number agreement came to be more closely connected with topicality and presupposedness than person agreement, which does not shift in this fashion, did.

B. Increase in use of eb/ep(e) pluralizers. For the ancestor language of Georgian and Zan we can with confidence reconstruct the two types of nominal pluralizers mentioned above (ni/ta and eb/ep(e)), though an areal distinction in their relative frequency of use appears to have arisen at an early stage. In Old Georgian, Glola Rachan and the northeast dialects the ni/ta pluralizer is the preferred plural declension for common nouns. In most of the other Georgian dialects and in Zan the ni/ta pluralizer is seldom, if ever, used with common nouns, and is in the process of disappearing from the pronominal declension as well. Only the eb/ep(e) pluralizer is in productive use.

The decline of the ni/ta pluralizer in Western Georgia must have begun quite early, because almost no traces of these morphemes are to be found in either of the Zan dialects, which split off from Georgian around the beginning of the Christian Era. One effect of the increasingly frequent use of eb-NPs would have been an increase in instances of number agreement shift, as in {21} above. But it is also the case that with the increasing use of the eb pluralizer instead of ni/ta came a change in the syntactic capability of eb-NPs. In all of the Georgian and Zan dialects where the eb/ep(e) pluralizer dominates the plural declension, certain eb-NPs can control plural number agreement under circumstances which vary from dialect to dialect.

C. Loss of inclusive/exclusive opposition. The use of the Set O prefix m- as a marker of exclusive 1st person is attested in Georgian documents from the 6th to the 10th century, but even in the early part of this period there is evidence that the opposition of inclusive and exclusive 1st person was not being consistently observed. Not infrequently the prefix gw-, originally the inclusive 1st person agreement marker in Set O, was used in contexts where the listener was clearly not included in the reference. In this passage from an early Old Georgian manuscript, the two 1st person Set O prefixes appear to be used interchangeably. In both clauses exclusive reference is made:

{22} *vitar igi* ***m**$_a$-e-t'q'od-a* *čven$_a$* *gza-sa* *zeda da* *vitar igi*
as he:NOM talk:Ip:S_3:**$O_{1?}$** us:DAT road-DAT on and as he:NOM
*gamo-**gw**$_a$-i-targmanebd-a* *čven$_a$* *c'ign-ta.*
interpret:Ia:S_3:**$O_{1pl?}$** us:DAT book:DATpl [Luke 24:32 (6th-7th century)]
"as he talked to us <him and me> on the road and interpreted the scriptures for us'

By the 11th century the prefix m- was only used with 1st singular reference, and gw- with 1st plural reference (both inclusive and exclusive) [Metreveli 1978]. As a result of this change, the category of number was introduced to the Set O agreement system. This brought with it a complete restructuring of the feature system underlying Set O agreement, replacing the system based upon the features <± speaker> and <± listener> with one employing the same features of person and number used in Set S (figure {7} above).

This restructuring of the Set O system had as its consequence that 1st person SSs, SDOs, SIOs and SO_{ind}s (term NPs) controlled number agreement whether or not they were marked as GSs (Set S agreement and/or NOM case). 2nd and 3rd person NPs only exercised this privilege when assigned GS status. The correlation between NP type and syntactic capability in later Old Georgian was as shown in this diagram:

{23} **NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF PLURAL NPS IN LATER OLD GEORGIAN**

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS***	***III. NA not possible***
1st person	2nd person	lexically collective nouns
	3rd pronouns	eb-NPs
	ni/ta-NPs	quantified nouns

§15.5.3. The Silverstein NP hierarchy.

The distinction between the three groups of nominals in {23} is consistent with the hierarchy of NP-characterizing features established by Silverstein [1976, 1981] on the basis of case-marking patterns in languages with split-ergative systems.[108] In this hierarchy, speech-act pronominals stand at one extreme, followed by the different classes of 3rd person pronouns. NPs which are not specified for membership in some sort of lexical category are at the opposite end of the hierarchy.

The ranking is based upon the "unavoidability and transparency of metapragmatic reference" [1981: 241]: 1st and 2nd person pronominals presuppose nothing more than the act of speaking as a

[108]According to Silverstein [1976: 118] there is no intrinsic reason for assigning a higher ranking to either the 1st or 2nd person, though in some languages (e.g. the Australian languages Bandjalang and Gumbayngir) splits in case-marking behavior distinguish between them. In the case of Old Georgian, the splits occur between 1st and 2nd person pronouns, and between ni/ta-NPs and other classes of common nouns. Neither of these distinctions is motivated by the principles underlying the hierarchy. The important point is that the ranking of NP types not be inconsistent with the ordering principles.

condition for felicitous use. Anaphoric pronouns presuppose the speech context itself, and demonstratives presuppose the physical context in which the speech act takes place. Proper names, kin-terms, words referring to people, etc. presuppose a social matrix of some sort within which they have meaning. The top end of this hierarchy is shown below:

{24} **Hierarchy of noun-phrase types.**

[*social beings*]
[*social indexicals*]
[*indexicals of speech event*]
[*indexicals of speech*]
[*speech act participants*]

1st & 2nd person pronouns	3rd person anaphors	3rd person demonstratives	proper names, kinship terms	animate beings

Evidence from a wide range of languages suggests that the Silverstein hierarchy can be manifest in a variety of components of the grammar, and is probably a universal structuring principle of language.[109] It will be demonstrated below that the ranking of NP types in terms of their likelihood of controlling number agreement in the Kartvelian dialects is never inconsistent with this hierarchy. The closer to the left end of the hierarchy an NP is, the greater the range of contexts in which it can control number agreement.

§15.5.4. NP class and number agreement in the Type A Georgian dialects.

Type A. (1) Pshavian, Xevsurian, Tushetian. The distribution of number agreement privileges in these dialects, which are also of Type A, differs from that of Old Georgian in that both 1st and 2nd person core NPs can control number agreement. The split between columns I and II now corresponds to that between the first two NP types in {24}.

{25} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN PSHAV/XEVSUR/TUSHETIAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS***	***III. NA not possible***
1st & 2nd person	3rd pronouns	lexically collective nouns
	ni/ta-NPs	eb-NPs
		quantified nouns

Type A. (2) Glola Rachan. In most respects the morphosyntax of the Rachan subdialect spoken in the village of Glola resembles that of Old Georgian. In this dialect as well the GS is the NP assigned NOM case and/or Set S agreement. The patterning split between 1st and 2nd person, which has been eliminated in almost every other Georgian dialect, is still preserved. Glolan differs from Old Georgian in that the cutoff point between those NP types which can control plural number agreement and those that cannot has shifted downward a couple of rungs in the Silverstein hierarchy to include NPs with animate reference. At the same time the difference in agreement-controlling potential between ni/ta-NPs and eb-NPs is no longer observed. It is unclear whether this is an independent development or a reflection of the influence of the other northwest Georgian dialects, all of which have Type C morphosyntax.

[109]Within the grammars of the Kartvelian languages, at least two other phenomena are structured by the NP hierarchy: (a) case marking; (b) agreement with object NPs [the split between 'primary-object'/'secondary-object' and 'direct-object'/'indirect-object' patterning; see §2.3].

{26} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF PLURAL NPS IN GLOLA RACHAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS***	***III. NA not possible***
1st person	2nd person	collective nouns
	3rd person pronouns	quantified nouns
	animate ni/ta- and eb-NPs	inanimate NPs

Type A´. Moxevian, Mtiulian. The grammars of these two northeast Georgian dialects are particularly interesting because features from all three morphosyntactic types are represented. In regard to number agreement, there is a noticeable change, relative to the more conservative Type A dialects, in regard to 3rd person arguments. One difference is the special status of 3rd-person zero anaphors, which occupy an intermediate position in terms of number agreement privileges between 1st and 2nd person pronouns and overt 3rd-person NPs. A zero anaphor can control number agreement when functioning as the SS in an indirect constructions, while an overt DAT-case NP cannot, as in the following Mtiulian example:

{27} *[im kal-eb-s]$_w$ **Ø**$_w$-u-qidni-a sazamtro sami* [GTK: 63]
that woman-PL-DAT buy:IIIa:**O$_3$**:S$_{3sg}$ watermelon:NOM three:NOM
*da Ø$_w$ ga-**Ø**$_w$-u-gzavni-a-**t**$_w$ mam-isa-twin.*
and Ø:3pl:DAT send:IIIa:**O$_{3pl}$**:S$_3$ father-GEN-for
"Those women bought <O$_3$> three watermelons, and sent <O$_{3pl}$> them to their father."

Zero anaphors are not specifically mentioned in Silverstein's discussion of the NP hierarchy, since his presentation focuses on case marking data. Since zero anaphors presuppose a context sufficiently restricted that their meaning can be recovered, their placement near the left end of the hierarchy can be assumed.

It is only in regard to zero anaphors that SS status plays a part in determining syntactic prominence. Overt 3rd person NPs can only control number agreement if they also control Set S agreement. The syntactic prominence of NOM-case DOs (NP2s) has also declined in these dialects. DOs are only attested controlling number agreement in -(e)n- in poetic texts, in which grammatical norms which have passed out of active use are retained by rote memorization.

{28} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN MOXEVIAN AND MTIULIAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if SS or Set S***	***III. NA if Set S (rarely, NOM NP2)***	***IV. NA not possible***
1st & 2nd person	zero anaphors	3rd person pronouns	collective nouns
	animate eb-NPs	inanimate NPs	
	ni/ta-NPs	quantified nouns	

In Old Georgian and the more conservative Type A dialects, the number agreement component of the grammar had essentially no independent status. The potential of controlling number agreement could be predicted from other elements of the morphology: case, agreement set, person. In Moxevian and Mtiulian, number agreement appears as an independent morphosyntactic component. Factors which are not otherwise coded by the morphology are relevant to the occurrence of number agreement. Those which have been detected so far are SS-hood and animacy (in Mtiulian, humanness in particular is the relevant feature). The relationship between animacy or humanness and number agreement may be relatable to the Silverstein hierarchy. The distinction

between NPs referring to "social beings" and those denoting inanimates is necessitated by case-marking splits in some languages (e.g. Aranda and Bandjalang [Silverstein 1976: 125-8]). Different explanations have been offered to explain splits of this type. Some (e.g. Dixon's "potentiality of agency" scale [1979: 85]) are only applicable to the case marking of SSs, and will yield little insight into Kartvelian number agreement. The relevance of the Silverstein hierarchy to other grammatical phenomena implies that a more universal principle (or principles) is at work.[110]

The appearance of SS-controlled agreement, accompanied by the decrease in prominence of the SDO, indicates that these dialects have drifted away from an earlier split-ergative orientation toward an SS-oriented morphosyntax. At the same time, the according of special agreement privileges to 1st and 2nd person pronouns and zero anaphors is an indication of the prominence of topical, presupposable NPs. If one can say that the morphosyntax of Moxevian and Mtiulian has an orientation at all, it is toward NPs controlling Set S agreement, since they are the most likely to control number agreement. However, the number of contexts in which two NPs will have equal prominence within the clause is greater than in Old Georgian. The Set S NP can be regarded as the GS, but it is a rather weak one.

§15.5.5. NP class and number agreement in the Type B Georgian dialects.

Type B. Gurian and Acharian. In the southwest Georgian dialects the morphology accords special prominence to the category of SS. Only SSs can control number agreement, with the sole exception of 1st person arguments, which, as in Old Georgian, control prefixal number agreement in Set O regardless of their semantic role. In the statement of the conditions on number agreement, therefore, the semantic criterion of SS-hood replaces the formal conditions (case and agreement) obtaining in the Type A dialects.

{29} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN GURIAN AND ACHARIAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS (= SS)***	***III. NA not possible***
1st person	2nd person	inanimate NPs
	3rd person pronouns	
	animate (and topical) NPs	

The splits in the hierarchy occur at the same places as in Glolan ({26}), with a couple of differences. In addition to the criterion of animacy, examples can be found where topicality and presupposedness also play a part in determining number agreement, as in the Type C dialects (e.g. [GURIAN] *da-brund-**a**$_m$ im k'ac-eb-ma$_m$ da Ø$_m$ Ø-u-txr-**en**$_m$* [return:IIp:S$_{3sg}$ that man-PL-ERG and Ø:ERG say:IIa:**S$_{3pl}$**:O$_3$] 'the men returned and said …' [Jorbenadze 1989: 536]).

There are also numerous instances in which collectives and quantified NPs with animate reference control number agreement (e.g. [Acharian] *še-y-k'rib-**en**$_p$ xalx-ma$_p$* [gather:IIp:**S$_{3pl}$** people-ERG] 'the people gathered' (Jorbenadze [1989: 570]).

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[110]One possibility is that the principle of "unavoidability and transparency of metapragmatic reference" applies throughout. According to this view, NPs referring to humans occupy the place in the hierarchy that they do because they presuppose nothing more explicit than a social order including conspecifics and perhaps certain higher or domestic animals. This would still rank them above those maximally unpresupposing types of NPs, which have no limits to the universe of entities to which they can refer [Silverstein 1981:241]). Another possibility is that two or more independent principles (i.e. automaticity of reference and animacy) underlie the hierarchy [Richardson 1985]. Variability in the ranking of NPs would be evidence for this second proposal. Since the Kartvelian facts do not reflect any shift in the hierarchy, they are consonant with either view.

Type B'. Modern Standard Georgian, Kartlian, Javaxetian, Mesxian. The distribution of number agreement privileges is basically as above, with an expansion of the membership in the most privileged group to include both speech-act participant pronominals.

{30} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN MODERN STANDARD GEORGIAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS (= SS)***	***III. NA not possible***
1st & 2nd person	3rd person pronouns	quantified nouns
	animate eb-NPs	inanimate NPs
		collective nouns

Although such use of number agreement is not allowed in the literary language, speakers of the Kartlian dialect (upon which Modern Standard Georgian is based) and Mesxian/Javaxian often treat collective and quantified NPs as syntactically plural (Jorbenadze [1989: 310, 395]). One also notes instances of topicality-related number agreement in the latter dialects [loc. cit.].

§15.5.6. NP class and number agreement in the Type C Georgian dialects.

The pattern of number agreement in the Type C dialects is less easily pinned down in a diagram. The fundamental principle is that NPs with animate reference conveying topical, given information control number agreement. The animacy condition is observed practically without exception. The second condition is not as easily characterized because of the presence of interacting factors. For example, 3rd person NPs conveying new information usually control number agreement if they are also functioning as SSs, while similar NPs functioning as SOs usually do not control number agreement.

{31} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF NPS IN TYPE C GEORGIAN DIALECTS

I. NA if term NP	***II. No NA***
1st/2nd pronouns	other NPs
animate/topical NPs	

In these dialects ni/ta-NPs almost never occur; eb is the only pluralizer in common use. Compared to Old Georgian, where they could not control number agreement, eb-NPs have moved up a notch in most modern dialects. In modern Georgian, number agreement with eb-NPs is dependent on animacy, and often on topicality. It is important to note that neither of these criteria is correlated in a precise fashion with formal NP classes. There is no morphologically-marked class of animate nominals in Kartvelian.[111]

The quality of givenness or presupposedness relevant to number agreement in the dialects in question is likewise notional rather than formal: overt, non-pronominal NPs can control number agreement when they denote topical referents, as in the following Ingiloan example:

{32} *[es q'mac'vil-eb-i]$_c$ er zulum-it ga-v-**Ø**$_c$-zard-e-**q'e**$_c$*
thischild-PL-NOM one difficulty-INS raise:IIa:S_{1sg}:**O_{3pl}**
"I raised these children with difficulty." [GTK: 245]

[111]It has been claimed that the Kartvelian protolanguage did in fact distinguish animate and inanimate noun classes by means of prefixes [Chikobava 1942; counterarguments in Oniani 1985]. There is no evidence that a system of this sort functioned in any attested stage of the daughter languages.

In view of the wide dispersion of the Type C dialects in both eastern and western Georgia (including the Fereidanian speech community in Iran, which has been cut off from contact with Georgia for over 350 years), topicality-oriented morphosyntax must have been present among the Georgian dialects for many centuries. Traces of it can be found in Georgian literary works going back to the 12th century. In the following passage from Rustaveli's *The knight in the tiger's skin*, the particle q'e is used to indicate the plurality of the topic NP which, being the SIO of its clause, could not ordinarily control number agreement in medieval literary Georgian:

{33} *$Ø_r$ mi-xocd-es$_r$ da mi-i-srod-es$_r$, $Ø_r$*
Ø:NOM slaughter:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3 and shoot:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3 Ø:NOM
mindor-s sisxl-ita mi-Ø-a-sxmid-es$_r$; ra isar-i $Ø_r$
field-DAT blood-INS smear:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3 what arrow-NOM Ø:DAT
*da-$Ø_r$-e-liv-i-s, mona-n-i-**q'e**$_r$ $Ø_r$ mi-$Ø_r$-a-rtmid-es.*
exhaust:IIp:S_3:O_3 servant-PL-NOM-**q'e** Ø:DAT bring:Ia:S_{3pl}:O_3
"They slew and shot, drenching the field with blood; whenever their arrows ran out, servants brought (them) more." [Vepxist'q'aosani 75: 2,3 (c. 1200)]

§15.5.7. NP class and number agreement in the other Kartvelian languages.

(1). Zan. The pattern of number agreement in Zan, as in the central Georgian dialects, favors SSs. Likewise, any 1st or 2nd person argument can control number agreement. The capability of controlling number agreement is almost exclusively exercised by NPs with animate referents. On occasion NPs denoting new information do not control number agreement, while zero anaphors do, as in this Mingrelian example:

{34} *ǰvarel-ep-k$_z$ di-i-šaq'ar-**u**$_z$ $Ø_z$ muši xat'i-s ka-Ø-a-xvec'-**ənа**$_z$.*
Jv.-PL-ERG gather:Ip:**S_{3sg}** Ø:3pl:ERG their deity-DAT pray:Ia:**S_{3pl}**:O_3
"The people from Jvari (a village in north-central Mingrelia) gather <S_{3sg}> and pray <S_{3pl}> to their local deity." [Qipshidze 1914: 0138]

{35} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF PLURAL NPS IN ZAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if GS (= SS)***	***III. NA not possible***
1st & 2nd person	3rd person pronouns	quantified nouns
	animate ep(e)-NPs	inanimate NPs
		collective nouns

The shift of number agreement capability to Set O arguments probably followed different paths in Georgian and Zan, since no traces of the former Set S 1st person exclusive prefix gw- remain in the latter language. It is likely to be the case that this prefix disappeared from Zan when the inclusive/exclusive opposition was reanalyzed, leaving a three-way distinction of person, but no coding of number, in Set O. If the introduction of a number opposition to Set O followed the NP hierarchy, then it probably appeared in the 1st and 2nd persons simultaneously. In both Laz and Mingrelian number agreement is indicated by suffixes (identical to those used in set S) for all three persons in the Set O agreement system.

(2). Svan. Svan morphosyntax has a SS orientation. In Svan, as in Zan and Modern Standard Georgian, 1st and 2nd person SDOs and SIOs can control number agreement, but 3rd person

non-SSs cannot. Further, 1st person arguments enjoy slightly greater morphosyntactic prominence than 2nd person ones. In the presence of an S_1 argument an O_2 argument cannot control number agreement, but the reverse is not true [Topuria 1967: 21-23].

{36} *Ø$_{2pl}$ Ø$_3$ ka ǯ-i-pišwd-a-**x*** [Shanidze et al 1939: 292]
Ø:DAT Ø:NOM out release:IIIa:**O$_{2pl}$**:S$_3$
he modei Ø$_{1sg}$ Ø$_{2pl}$ nalk'wih-s ǯ-i-d-i.
if not Ø:NOM Ø:DAT choice-DAT lay:Ia:S$_{1sg}$:**O$_2$**
"If you$_{pl}$ have not released released him, I will give you$_{pl}$ a choice."

This is apparently connected to the fact that number agreement with an O_{2pl} NP is indicated suffixally (as in Georgian), while number agreement with plural O_1 arguments, inclusive and exclusive, is coded in the prefixes. Svan employs a distinct exclusive plural Set O prefix (n-), which, according to Oniani [1978:229-230], is an innovation. The nonoccurrence of O_{2pl} number agreement in the presence of an S_1 argument is a remnant of an earlier agreement pattern in which Set O NPs did not control number agreement at all, as in early Old Georgian. At this stage a single O_{1excl} prefix would have been used (*m-, according to Oniani; see figures {4} and {5} in Chapter VI). With the extension of the range of the former S_{3pl} suffix -x to include agreement with O_{2pl} and O_{3pl} NPs, the present-day Svan number agreement pattern was achieved. 3rd person NPs marked by any of the Svan pluralizers[112] control number agreement, regardless of their animacy, if functioning as SSs.

{37} NUMBER AGREEMENT CAPACITY OF PLURAL NPS IN (MODERN) SVAN

I. NA if term NP	***II. NA if term NP (except if S_1 present)***	***III. NA if GS (= SS)***
1st person	2nd person	3rd person NPs

§15.6. Conclusions.

The history of Kartvelian morphosyntactic alignment, as presented in the literary Georgian evidence accumulated over fifteen centuries and the more recently gathered material from the Georgian dialects, Zan and Svan, is one of slow change away from a system characterized by ergative typological features.

Among these features is the syntactic prominence of NPs marked by NOM case and Set S agreement. The direction of change has been toward a greater prominence for (a) the category of SS (a shift toward nominative-accusative structure) and (b) animate and topical NPs. With a few exceptions, the Kartvelian dialects represent aspects of both trends, though in different proportions.

The grammatical component most affected by these changes is number agreement. In Old Georgian number agreement had been an exclusive privilege of MSs and NOM NPs. One concomitant of the shift away from an ergative-type morphosyntax was the introduction of the capacity to control number agreement to arguments which had not enjoyed this privilege earlier. The progress of this change in morphosyntactic alignment in the literary language has been outlined in detail in chapters VII and VIII. Evidence from the contemporary Georgian dialects and the other

[112]NPs quantified by numerals may take the plural ending, and be treated as plural by the syntax [Gujejiani & Palmaitis 1986: 44). In this respect as well the Svan pluralizers resemble Old Georgian ni/ta and differ from Georgian/Zan eb/ep(e).

Kartvelian languages indicates a considerable range of variation in the pattern of number agreement.

In this concluding chapter I proposed that the parameter of morphosyntactic orientation can be of use in describing grammatical systems. The grammars of the Kartvelian dialects can be described in terms of three basic orientation types, elements of which are present to different degrees in different dialects. In many cases the orientation mirrors the alignment of the relation-marking mechanism. This is basically true of the conservative (Type A) Georgian dialects, and the Type B dialects of southwest Georgia. There are also instances where orientation and alignment do not coincide:

(a) In Dyirbal, one of the relation-marking components, agreement, manifests a nominative-accusative alignment, although the morphosyntax has overall a strong ergative-absolutive orientation.

(b) In languages such as Crow, morphosyntactic privileges are distributed evenly to more than one class of clausal arguments. There is no morphosyntactic convergence, and therefore the system has no orientation.

(c) The dialects spoken in eastern and northwestern Georgia are characterized by a split-ergative alignment similar to that of most other Georgian dialects. The orientation of the morphosyntactic system is, however, not associated with features determined at the clause-internal level (case, SS status, etc.), but rather with discourse-functional features (topicality, presupposability).

Analysis of the degree of penetration of the number opposition into the agreement systems of the various dialects, conjoined with some conjectures on the morphology of earlier stages of Kartvelian, has led to hypotheses concerning the motivation of changes in agreement morphosyntax. Furthermore, it has been shown that the conditions on number agreement for all known Kartvelian dialects are consistent with an apparently universal hierarchy of NP types.

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Abbreviations

BLS = Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society
CLS = Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistics Society
CSCO = Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientalium [Louvain: L. Durbecq]
DzKEKSh = ʒveli kartuli enis k'atedris šromebi (Proceedings of the department of the Old Georgian language)
EnIMKI = Ak'ad. N. Maris saxelobis enis, ist'oriisa da mat'erialuri k'ult'uris inst'it'ut'is mo-ambe (Bulletin of the Academician N. Marr Institute of language, history and material culture)
HAIL = The handbook of American Indian languages [Washington,D.C.]
IKE = iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecniereba (Ibero-Caucasian linguistics)
IKEC = iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecnierebis c'elic'deuli (Annual of Ibero-Caucasian linguistics)
KESS = kartvelur enata st'rukt'uris sak'itxebi (Issues in the structure of theKartvelian languages)
KSKS = kartuli sit'q'vis k'ult'uris sak'itxebi (Issues in Georgian linguistic culture)
KSPI = a. c'uluk'iʒis saxelobis kutaisis saxelmc'ipo p'edagogiuri inst'it'ut'is šromebi (Proceedings of the A. C'uluk'iʒe Pedagogical Institute in Kutaisi)
MJaJa = Materialy po jafetičeskomy jazykoznaniju [St. Petersburg/Leningrad: Akademija]
NTS = Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap / Norwegian journal of linguistics
PO = Patrologia Orientalis
TSUG = tbilisis saxelmc'ipo universit'et'is gamomcemloba (Tbilisi State University Press)
TSUSh = tbilisis saxelmc'ipo universit'et'is šromebi (Proceedings of Tbilisi State University)

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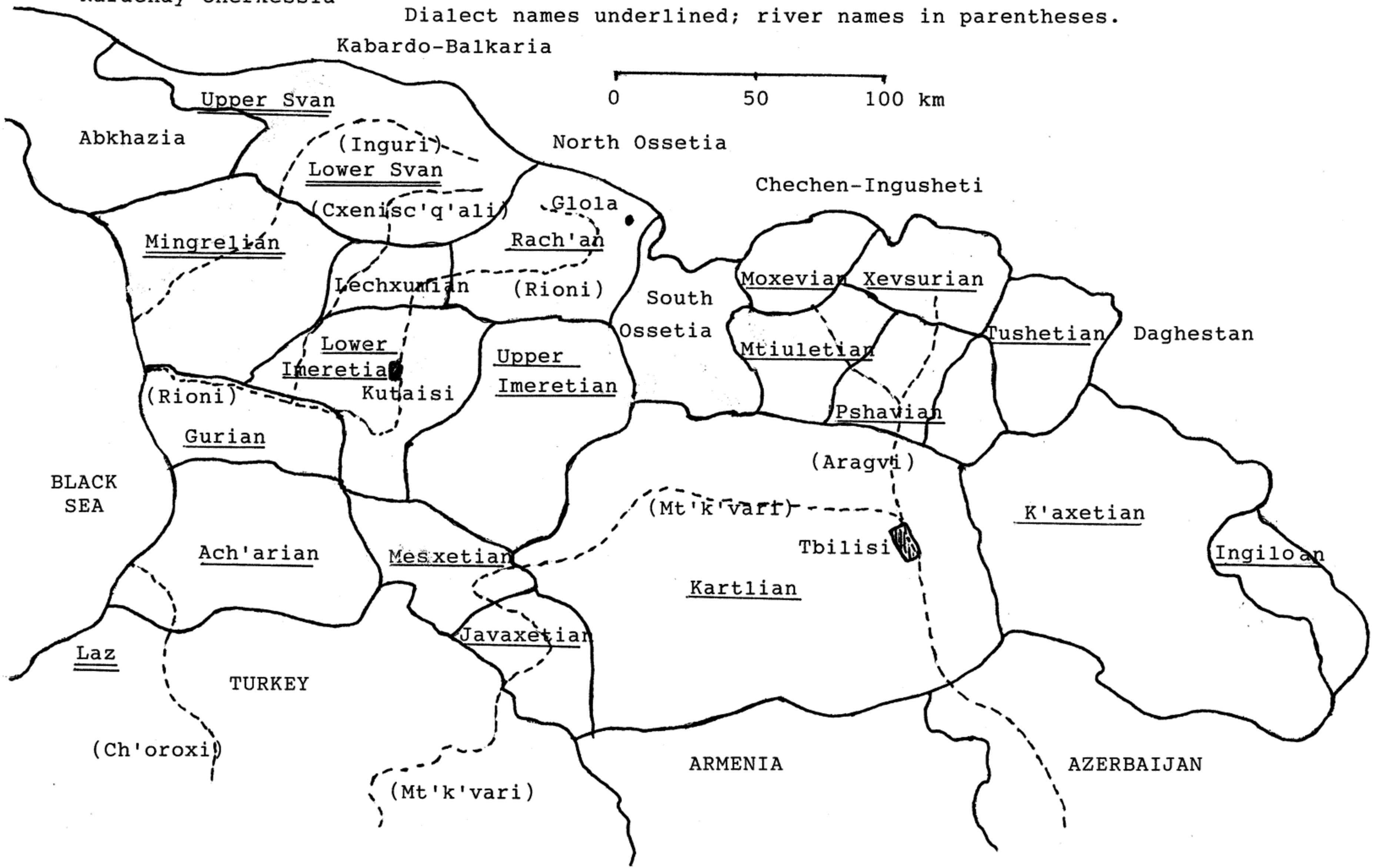
Map 1. The Kartvelian languages and dialects.

Dialect names underlined; river names in parentheses.



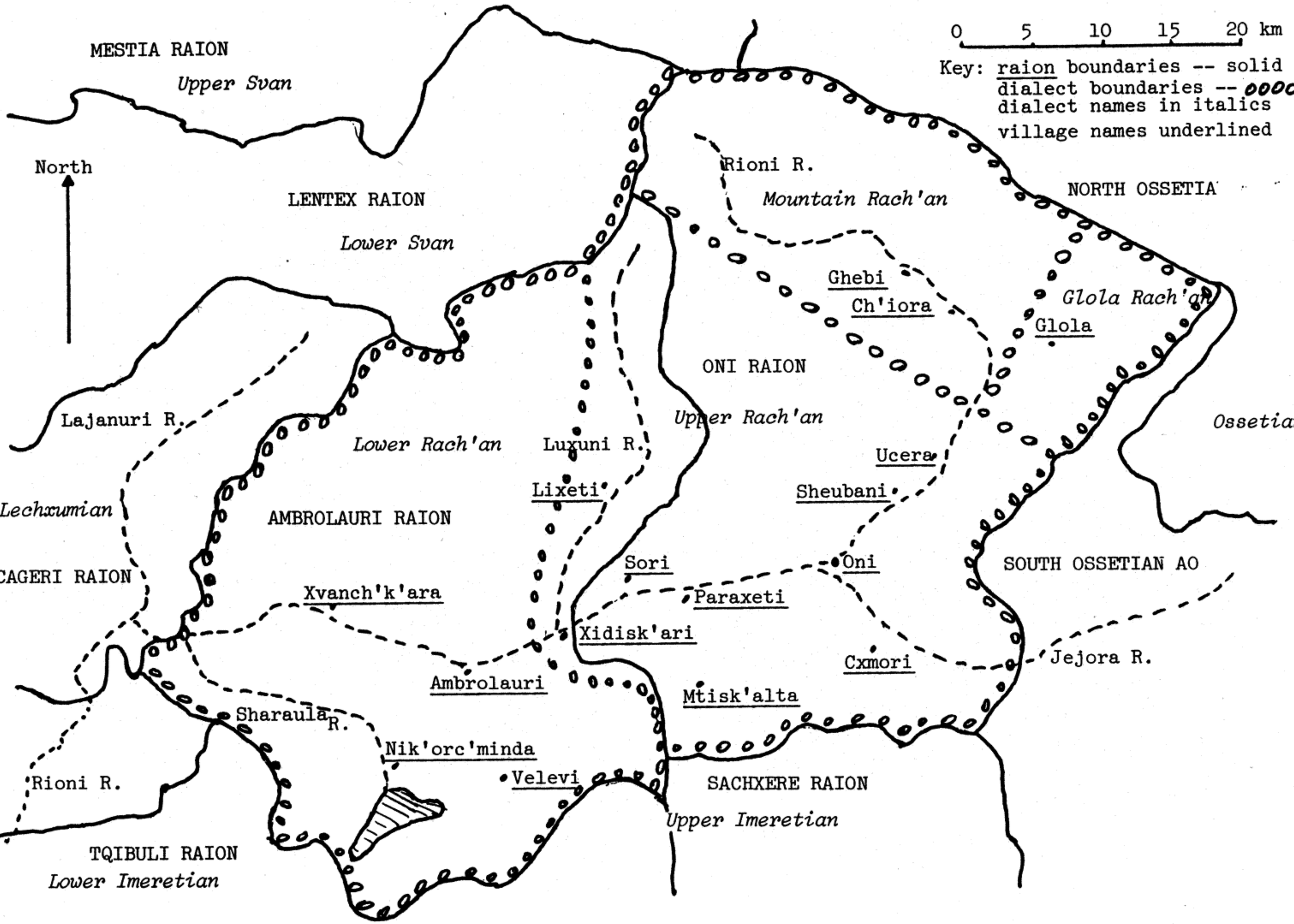
Map #2: Lower Imeretian dialect area

Lower Imeretian area surrounded by large dotted line
raion boundaries marked by solid line
village names underlined
names of neighboring dialects in italics

Leghxumian
GEGECH'KORI RAION
CULUKIDZE RAION
AMBROLAURI RAION
Rach'an
K'inchxa
Mingrelian
Rioni R.
Gegech'k'ori
Cxenisc'q'ali R.
Gurna
Sochxeti
C'q'alt'ubo
T'Q'IBULI RAION
C'uluk'idze
Gumbra
T'q'ibuli
Kutaisi
TERJOLA RAION
Alisubani
Maghlak'i
SAMT'REDIA RAION
C'Q'ALT'UBO RAION
K'vaxch'iri
Kolobani
K'virika R.
Terjola
Samt'redia
ZEST'APONI RAION
Rioni R.
Dimi
Obcha
Gomi
Upper Imeretian
Maiak'ovsk'i
Vani
Gora
Uxuti
VANI RAION
MAIAKOVSKI RAION
Choxat'auri
Gurian
CHOXAT'AURI RAION
Mesxetian

KABARDO-BALKAR

Map #3: Rach'an dialect area



Map #4: Distribution of -en- in the Georgian dialects

Agreement with DOs of Class A verbs

Agreement only with GSs of prefixal Class P verbs

0 50 100 km

KABARDIAN-BALKAR

ABXAZ

Inguri R.

NORTH OSSETIA

CHECHEN-INGUSH

Svan

Cxenis+c'q'ali R.

Gldla

Rach'an

Lechxumian

Rioni R.

SOUTH OSSETIA

Moxevian

Xevsurian

BLACK SEA

Mingrelian

Tushetian

DAGHESTAN

Lower Imeretian

Mtiulet'ian

Upper Imeretian

Kutaisi

Pshavian

Tia netian

Rioni R.

Gurian

Aragvi R.

ACHARIA

K'axetian

Mt'k'vari R.

Ach'arian

Mesxetian

Tbilisi

Ingiloan

Kartlian

Javaxetian

Imerxevian

Laz

TURKEY

AZERBAIDJAN

ARMENIA

Ch'oroxi R.

Mt'k'vari R.

Map #5: Agreement pattern -- indirect and inverse verbs

Direct conjugation only

Direct and indirect conjugation possible

Indirect conjugation only (NA in -t/-q'e)

Indirect conjugation only (NA in -en/-an/-es)

0 50 100 km

KABARDIAN-BALKAR

ABXAZ

Inguri R.

NORTH OSSETIA

CHECHEN-INGUSH

Svan

Cxenis+c'q'ali R.

Rach'an

Ts'ola

Lechxumian

Rioni R.

SOUTH OSSETIA

Moxevian

Xevsurian

BLACK SEA

Mingrelian

Tushetian

DAGHESTAN

Lower Imeretian

Upper Imeretian

Mtiuletian

Kutaisi

Pshavian

Tianetian

Rioni R.

Gurian

Aragvi R.

ACHARIA

Mt'k'vari R.

K'axetian

Ach'arian

Meskhetian

Tbilisi

Kartlian

Ingiloan

Javaxetian

Imerxevian

Laz

TURKEY

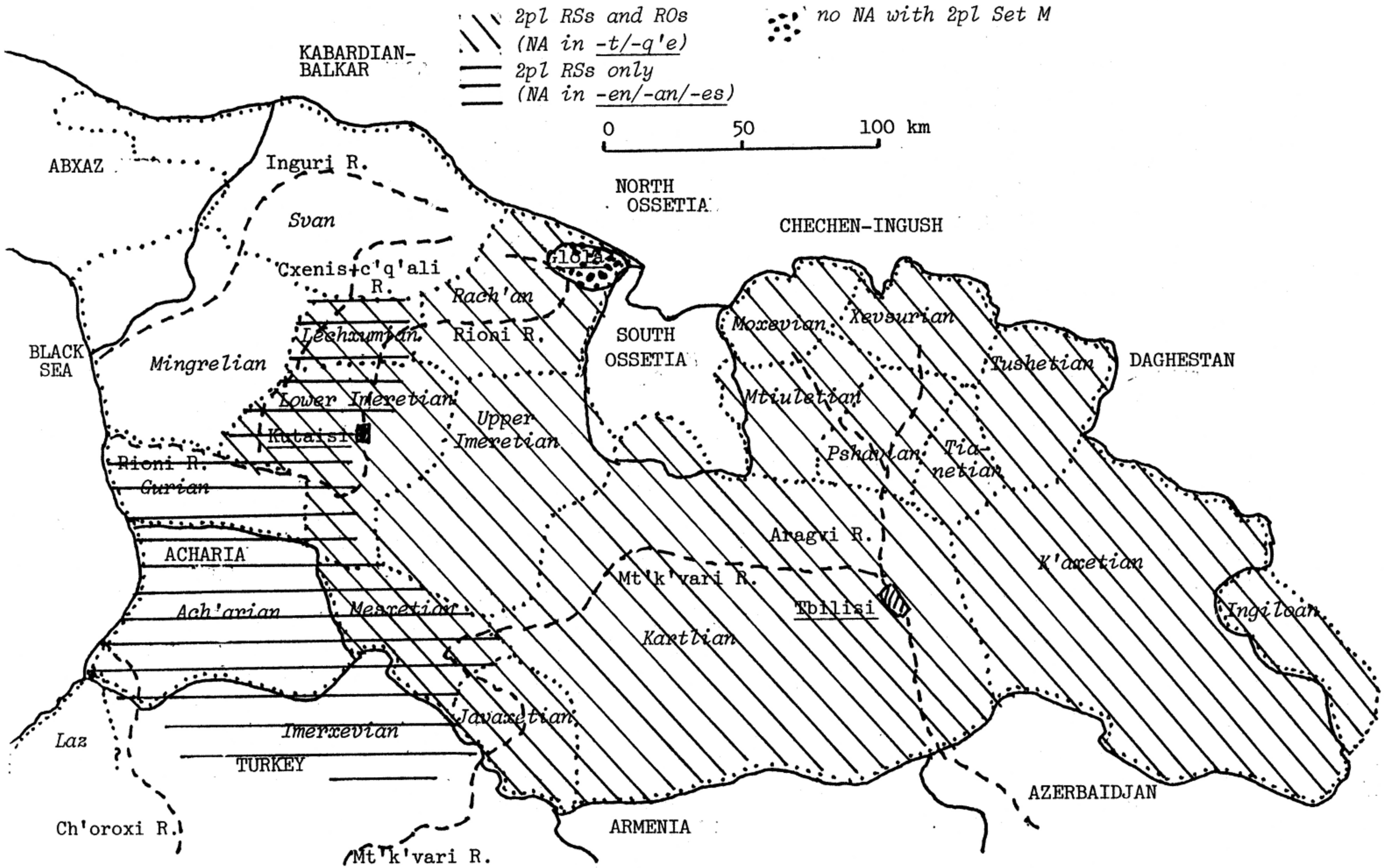
AZERBAIDJAN

ARMENIA

Ch'oroxi R.

Mt'k'vari R.

Map #6: Number agreement with Set M 2pl arguments



Map #7: Number agreement with 3pl non-RSs

Number agreement in -t

Number agreement in -q'e

0 50 100 km

KABARDIAN-
BALKAR

ABXAZ

Inguri R.

Svan

NORTH
OSSETIA

CHECHEN-INGUSH

Glola

Cxenis+c'q'ali
R.

Rach'an

Lechxumian

Rioni R.

SOUTH
OSSETIA

Moxevian

Xevsurian

BLACK
SEA

Mingrelian

Tushetian

DAGHESTAN

Lower Imeretian

Upper
Imeretian

Kutaisi

Mtiuletian

Rioni R.

Gurian

Pshavian

Tia-
netian

Aragvi R.

ACHARIA

K'axetian

Mt'k'vari R.

Ach'arian

Mesxetian

Tbilisi

Ingiloan

Kartlian

Javaxetian

Laz

Imerxevian

TURKEY

AZERBAIDJAN

Ch'oroxi R.

ARMENIA

Mt'k'vari R.

Map #8: Distribution and functions of -q'e/-k'e

Number agreement with Set M arguments

Number agreement with Set M & V arguments

Iterative/habitual aspect

0 50 100 km

KABARDIAN-BALKAR

ABXAZ

Inguri R.

NORTH OSSETIA

CHECHEN-INGUSH

Svan

Cxenis+c'q'ali R.

Glola

Rach'an

Lechxumian

Rioni R.

SOUTH OSSETIA

Moxevian

Xevsurian

Tushetian

DAGHESTAN

BLACK SEA

Mingrelian

Lower Imeretian

Kutaisi

Upper Imeretian

Mtiuletian

Pshavian

Tianetian

Rioni R.

Gurian

ACHARIA

Aragvi R.

K'axetian

Ingiloan

Mt'k'vari R.

Tbilisi

Ach'arian

Mesxetian

Kartlian

Javaxetian

Laz

Imerxevian

TURKEY

AZERBAIDJAN

Ch'oroxi R.

ARMENIA

Mt'k'vari R.