

## Some data from the project “Synchrony and Diachrony of the Word in Georgian”

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- (1) ert-i megobar-ta-gan-i  
one-NOM friend-PL.GEN-from-NOM  
'one of the friends'
- (2) ert-i megobr-eb-isa gan  
one-NOM friend-PL-GEN from  
'one from the friends'
- (3) ert-i am saxel-ta-gan-i, saxeldobr *op'iza*, c'minda č'anur-megruli  
one-NOM this noun-PL.GEN-from-NOM namely --- pure Laz-Mingrelian  
porma-a [Šaniḡe 1957: 32]  
form-it.is  
'One of these nouns, namely *op'iza*, is a pure Laz-Mingrelian form....'
- (4) zogi am pakt'or-ta-gan-i dasaxelebuli-a [Topuria 1979: 263]  
some this factor-PL.GEN-from-NOM named-it.is  
'Some of these factors are named.' (i.e. '...have names.')
- (5) Nominative ert-i megobar-ta-gan-i 'one of the friends'  
Narrative ert-ma megobar-ta-gan-ma  
Dative ert megobar-ta-gan-s  
Genitive ert-i megobar-ta-gan-is  
Instrumental ert-i megobar-ta-gan-it
- (6) k'ac-i tav-is-i megobar-ta-gan-it Ⴟlier-i-a  
man-NOM self-GEN-NOM friend-PL.GEN-from-INST strong-NOM-he.is  
'A man<sub>i</sub> with [some of] his<sub>i</sub> friends is strong.'
- (7) ert-i čem-i megobar-ta-gan-isa-tvis es gvak'ete  
one-GEN my-GEN friend-PL.GEN-from-GEN-for this.NOM I.do.it  
'I did this for one of my friends.'
- (9) (a) †megobar-ta gan  
friend-PL.GEN from  
'from (the) friends' (archaic)  
(b) megobar-eb-isa gan  
friend-PL-GEN from  
'from (the) friends'
- (10) mk'a-ta-tve  
mowing-PL.GEN-month  
'the month of mowing', i.e. 'July'
- (11) dye-ta mačvenebel-i (KEGL 8:1391)  
day-PL.GEN indicator-NOM  
'a week in the Orthodox calendar'
- (12) sabč'o-ta k'avšir-i  
soviet-PL.GEN union-NOM  
'union of soviets', i.e. 'Soviet Union'

- (13) mecniereba-ta ak'ademia  
science-PL.GEN academy.NOM  
'Academy of Sciences'
- (14) kal-ta saertašoriso dye  
woman-PL.GEN international day.NOM  
'International Women's Day'
- (15) (a) †megobar-ta saxl-i  
friend-PL.GEN house-NOM  
'[my] friends' house'  
(b) megobr-eb-is saxl-i  
friend-PL-GEN house-GEN  
'[my] friends' house'
- (16) megobr-is gan 'from a/the friend' Singular with short genitive.  
megobr-isa gan 'from a/the friend' Singular with long genitive.  
megobr-eb-is gan 'from (the) friends' Plural with short genitive.  
megobr-eb-isa gan 'from (the) friends' Plural with long genitive.  
†megobar-ta gan 'from (the) friends' -ta genitive plural; archaic.
- (17) \*megobr-is-gan-i  
\*megobr-isa-gan-i  
\*megobr-eb-is-gan-i  
\*megobr-eb-isa-gan-i  
megobar-ta-gan-i 'of (the) friends' Not archaic or formal.
- (18) (a) sit'q'v-eb-is sint'aksuri k'avširi c'inadadeba-ši (KEGL IV, 1014)  
word-PL-GEN syntactic union sentence-in  
'the syntactic joining of words in a sentence'  
(b) ...činet-is k'avširi (KEGL IV, 1015)  
China-GEN union  
'the Chinese union'
- (19) (c) *sul-ta-mxutav-i* 'angel of death' (literally 'soul/breath-PL.GEN-confining-NOM')  
(a) am megobr-isa=ve gan  
this.OBL friend-GEN=EMPH from  
'from these very friends'  
(b) am megobr-isa gan=ve  
(c) ama=ve megobr-isa gan  
these.OBL=EMPH friend-GEN from  
'from these very friends'
- (20) (a) \*(ert-i) megobar-ta=ve-gan-i  
one-NOM friend-PL.GEN=EMPH-from-NOM  
'one of (the) friends indeed'  
(b) (ert-i) megobar-ta-gan-i=ve  
one-NOM friend-PL.GEN-from-NOM=EMPH  
'one of the friends indeed'
- (21) (a) \*da da 3ma-m gaak'etes  
sister.NOM and brother-NAR they.do.it  
'The sister and brother did it.'

- (b) \*da-m            da            3ma            gaak'etes  
sister-NAR            and            brother-NOM            they.do.it  
'The sister and brother did it.'
- (c) da-m            da            3ma-m            gaak'etes  
sister-NAR            and            brother-NAR            they.do.it  
'The sister and brother did it.'
- (22) (a) \*disšvil            da            3misšvil-i            movlen  
sister's.child            and            brother's.child-NOM            they.come  
'The sister's child and brother's child will come.'
- (b) \*disšvil-i            da            3misšvil            movlen  
sister's.child-NOM            and            brother's.child            they.come  
'The sister's child and brother's child will come.'
- (c) disšvil-i            da            3misšvil-i            movlen  
sister's.child-NOM            and            brother's.child-NOM            they.come  
'The sister's child and brother's child will come.'
- (23) gamq'reli3-isa            da            mač'avarian-is            mier  
Gamq'reli3e-GEN            and            Mač'avariani-GEN            by  
'by Gamq'reli3e and Mač'avariani'
- (24) d-isa            da            3m-isa            gan            miviye  
sister-GEN            and            brother-GEN            from            I.receive.it  
'I received it from [my] sister and brother.'
- (25) saxl-sa            iak'ob-is-sa            [cited by Šani3e 1976: 50]  
house-DAT            Jacob-GEN-DAT  
'(to) the house of Jacob'
- (26) opl-ita            p'ir-isa            šen-isa-yta [Boln. 61, 1, kv., cited by K'ala3e 1961:112]  
sweat-INST            face-GEN            you.SG-GEN-INST  
'by the sweat of your brow'
- (27) more'mune-ta            mat            misa            mimart-ta [John 7:39]  
believer-PL.NAR            the.OBL            him.GEN            toward-PL.NAR  
'the believers in (*lit.* toward) him'
- (28) makus            me            nič'-i            krist'e-is            mier-i  
I.have.it            I.DAT            talent-NOM            Christ-GEN            through-NOM  
'I have talent through Christ' [Habo, cited by Šani3e 1976: 51]
- (29) q'ur-i            yvi3l-isa            codv-isa            3lit-isa-y [Leviticus 9:10 G, Abula3e 1973:526b]  
caul-NOM<sub>i</sub>            liver-GEN<sub>j</sub>            sin-GEN            for-GEN<sub>j</sub>-NOM<sub>i</sub>  
'the caul of the liver of the sin offering'
- (30) mašin            huriastan-isa-ni            ivlt'oded            mta-d [Mt 24: 16C, Boeder 1995: 186]  
then            Judea-GEN-PL.NOM            they.flee            mountain-ADV  
'Then let [those] in (*lit.* of) Judea flee into the mountains.'
- (31) visi            šal-it            moxvedi? —            bebia-s-it [K'axa3e 1969: 19, Boeder 1995: 188]  
whose shawl-INST            you.come            grandmother-GEN-INST  
'With whose shawl have you come? — With Grandmother's.'

- (32) (a) igini hurisatan-isa-ni  
those.PL.NOM Judea-GEN-PL.NOM  
'those of Judea'
- (b) X-ni huriastan-isa-ni
- (33) (a) bebia-s šal-it  
grandmother-GEN shawl-INST  
'with Grandmother's shawl'
- (b) bebia-s X-it  
grandmother-GEN X-INST  
'with Grandmother's X'
- (34) ert-man Iesu-ys tana-man [Mt 26:51 E, cited by Boeder 1995:161]  
one-NAR Jesus-GEN with-NAR  
'one [person who was] with Jesus'
- (35) ert-i morec'e-ta šen-ta gan-i  
one-NOM<sub>i</sub> hired.servant-PL.GEN<sub>j</sub> you.SG-PL.GEN<sub>j</sub> from-NOM<sub>i</sub>  
'one of thy hired servants' [Luke 15:19 C, Abulaže 1973: 483a]
- (36) ara xart cxovar-ta čem-ta gan-ni  
NEG you.PL.are sheep-PL.GEN my-PL.GEN from-PL.NOM  
'Ye are not of my sheep.' [J 10:26 C, cited by Abulaže 1973: 512a]
- (37) toma,ert-i igi atormet'-ta gan-i, ara iq'o mat tana  
Thomas, one-NOM that.NOM twelve-PL.GEN from-NOM NEG he.is them.OBL with  
'Thomas, one of the twelve, was not with them.'  
[John 20:24 Ad, cited by Šaniže 1976:51]
- (39) er-isa-gan-ta mat mtavr-isa-ta c'ariq'vanes iesu  
people-GEN-from-PL.NAR the.OBL governor-GEN-PL.NAR they.take.him Jesus.NOM  
'Some of the soldiers of the governor took Jesus.' [Mt 27:27AB]
- (40) masal-eb-i lazur-i zep'irsit'q'viereb-isa tvis [title, K'art'ozia 1968]  
material-PL-NOM laz-GEN oral.literature-GEN for  
'Materials on (lit. for) Laz traditional oral literature'
- (41) (a) is saxl-i am šenob-is uk'an mxat'vr-eb-is at'elie-a  
that house-NOM this building-GEN behind painter-PL-GEN studio.NOM-it.is  
'That house behind this building is a painters' studio.'
- (b) \*is saxl-i am šenob-is uk'an-i mxat'vr-eb-is at'elie-a  
that house-NOM this building-GEN behind-NOM painter-PL-GEN studio.NOM-it.is
- (44) nazmnar-i saxel-is mier saxel-is martva brunva ši  
deverbal-NOM noun-GEN by noun-GEN government.NOM case in  
udur ena ši [title, Pančviže 1960]  
Udi.DAT language.DAT in  
'Government of a noun in a case by a deverbal noun in the Udi language'
- (45) ...gansazyvreb... c'in užyvis mismier gansazyvrul sit'q'va-s  
modifier.NOM before it.precede it.GEN by modified word-DAT  
'The modifier precedes the word modified by it.' [K'alaže 1961: 76]
- (46) mam-issurat-s xat'av-s?  
father-GEN picture-DAT he.paint.it  
'Is he painting father's picture?'

- (a) ara, d-is            da        3m-isa-s    [Tschenkéli 1958: 57]  
no   sister-GEN and   brother-GEN-DAT  
'No (the) sister's and brother's.'
- (b) ara, d-isa-s                da 3m-isa-s  
no   sister-GEN-DAT and brother-GEN-DAT  
'No (the) sister's and brother's.'

	Case markers as they appear on nouns	Proximal 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular, 'he, she, it'	Distal 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular, 'he, she, it'	Remote 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular, 'he,she,it'	Question word, 'who?'
Nominative	-i/Ø	es	eg	is, igi	vin
Narrative	-m(a)	aman	magan	man, iman	vin
Dative	-s	amas	magas	imas	vis
Genitive	-is	amis	magis	imis	vis
Instrumental	-it	amit	magit	imit	---

Table 1. Comparison of the form of case markers (as they appear on nouns) with the forms of selected pronouns in Modern Georgian (omitting the long forms of cases).

- (47) (a) bavšv-ma c'ign-i c'aik'itxa  
child-NAR book-NOM he.read.it  
'The child read a book.'
- (b) c'ign-i romel-ma bavšv-ma c'aik'itxa?  
book-NOM which-NAR child-NAR he.read.it  
'Which child read a book?'
- (48) (a) \*am megob(a)r=ve=isa gan  
this.OBL friend=EMPH-GEN from  
'from this very friend'
- (b) \*am megob(a)r=gan=isa=ve  
(c) \*am megob(a)r=gan=ve=isa  
(d) \*am megob(a)r=ve=gan=isa
- (49) (a) am megobr-isa gan  
this.OBL friend-GEN from  
'from this friend'
- (b) \*am megob(a)r=gan=isa
- (50) (a) am megobr-isa=ve  
this.OBL friend-GEN=EMPH  
'of this very friend'
- (b) \*am megob(a)r=ve=isa

- (51) mam-is surat-i daxat'a?  
 father-GEN picture-NOM he.paint.it  
 'Did he paint father's picture?'

- (a) \*ara, d-is(a) da ʒm-isa-i  
 no sister-GEN and brother-GEN-NOM  
 'No (the) sister's and brother's.'
- (b) ara, d-is da ʒm-isa  
 no sister-GEN and brother-GEN  
 'No (the) sister's and brother's.'
- (c) ara, d-isa da ʒm-isa  
 no sister-GEN and brother-GEN  
 'No (the) sister's and brother's.'

(51a) is ungrammatical for all speakers. My less normative consultants found (51b) ungrammatical also, but accepted (51c).

- |      |              |                   |                  |          |
|------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|----------|
| (52) | <b>Case</b>  | <b>Short form</b> | <b>Long form</b> |          |
|      | Genitive     | d-is              | d-isa            | 'sister' |
|      | Dative       | da-s              | da-sa            |          |
|      | Instrumental | d-it              | d-ita            |          |

- (53) bič'-eb-isa da mamak'ac-eb-is gund-i  
 boy-PL-GEN and man-PL-GEN team-nom  
 'a team [composed] of boys and men'

(54) *čven-tan-it* 'from among those with us' (Gabunia 1989)

(55) *bag-is-mier-i* [lip-GEN-by-NOM] 'labial (sound)'

## Compounds

*deda-boʒ-i* [mother-post-NOM] 'central, main post in a building'

*gul-k'etil-i* [heart-good-NOM] 'kind hearted [person]'

*ʒal-yone* [strength-strength] 'strength'

- (56) (b) [Adj N]<sub>N</sub> (e.g. *axal-kalak-i* [new-city-NOM] 'new city', a toponym)  
 (c) [N Adj]<sub>N</sub> (e.g. *daba-ʒvel-i* [town-old-NOM] 'old town', a toponym) (Šaniže 1973)

- |      |              |           |                  |            |        |
|------|--------------|-----------|------------------|------------|--------|
| (57) | Nominative   | maxvil-i  | 'stress, accent' | sit'q'va   | 'word' |
|      | Narrative    | maxvil-ma |                  | sit'q'va-m |        |
|      | Dative       | maxvil-s  |                  | sit'q'va-s |        |
|      | Genitive     | maxvil-is |                  | sit'q'v-is |        |
|      | Instrumental | maxvil-it |                  | sit'q'v-it |        |
|      | Adverbial    | maxvil-ad |                  | sit'q'va-d |        |

- (58) (a) q'av-is-per-i  
coffee-GEN-color-NOM  
'coffee colored'
- (b) jar-is-k'ac-i  
army-GEN-man-NOM  
'soldier'
- (59) (a) mam-i-da  
father-GEN-sister.NOM  
'father's sister, aunt'
- (b) t'an-i-samos-i  
body-GEN-clothing-NOM  
'clothing'
- (60) (a) yor-Ø-mucel-i (KEGL)  
pig-GEN-stomach-NOM  
'a person who eats a great deal'
- (b) cxvir-Ø-saxoc-i  
nose-GEN-wiper-NOM  
'handkerchief'
- (61) (a) sabčo-ta k'avšir-i  
soviet-PL.GEN union-NOM  
'Soviet Union, union of soviets'
- (b) mk'a-ta-tve  
mowing-PL.GEN-month.NOM  
'July, month of mowings'
- (62) (a) mic'a-t-mokmedeba (KEGL 5: 503)  
earth-PL.GEN-movement-NOM  
'agriculture'
- (b) nav-t-sadgur-i (KEGL 5: 1283)  
ship-PL.GEN-station-NOM  
'port'
- (63) tav-Ø-mjdomare  
head-DAT-sitter-NOM  
'chairman, head, chief'
- (64) xel-Ø-nac'er-i  
hand-INST-written-NOM  
'manuscript'
- (65) t'ol-amxanag-i  
age.mate-comrade-NOM  
'comrade'
- (66) sik'vdil-sicocxle  
death-life  
'life-or-death'
- (67) col-švil-i  
wife-child-NOM  
'nuclear family [for a man]'

- (68) šubl-tetr-i  
forehead-white-NOM  
'one characterized by having a white forehead'
- (69) (a) gor-mayal-i  
hill-tall-NOM  
'high hill'  
(b) cvet'-i-cxovel-i  
column-NOM-living-NOM  
'living column' (also the name of a cathedral)  
(c) t'aba-xmel-i  
lake-dried-NOM  
'dry lake' (Šaniže 1973: 154)
- (70) (a) mam-is megobar-i  
father-GEN friend-NOM  
'father's friend'  
(b) \*mam-i megobar-i  
(c) \*mam megobar-i
- (71) Nominative gr3el-i sit'q'va 'long word'  
Narrative gr3el-ma sit'q'va-m  
Dative gr3el sit'q'va-s  
Genitive gr3el-i sit'q'v-is  
Instrumental gr3el-i sit'q'v-it  
Adverbial gr3el sit'q'va-d
- (72) (a) šav-k'liav-i  
black-plum-NOM  
'variety of plum'  
(b) 3vir-pas-i  
expensive-price-NOM  
'precious'

Prefixes: *ara-* 'un-, in-', e.g. *ara-išviati* 'not infrequent' from *išviati* 'infrequent'

Suffixes: *-(i)an*, for example, *lobi-an-i* 'with beans, having beans' is based on *lobio* 'bean(s)'

Circumfix: *u--o* '-less'; *sa--o* 'place for, for the purpose of' (glossed 'for' in examples)

- (73) u-švil-o  
less<sub>1</sub>-child-less<sub>2</sub>  
'childless'
- (74) sa-st'umr-o  
for<sub>1</sub>-guest-for<sub>2</sub>.NOM  
'hotel'

*švil-o* 'oh, child'

*šen-obit* 'with the familiar second person pronoun' (based on *šen* 'you, SG')

*gaa-igive-eben* 'they make them similar' (based on *igive* 'similar, same' from *igi* 'he, she, it REMOTE')



*vin-aoba* 'identity' (from *vin* 'who?')

*tavis-ebureba* 'peculiarity, characteristic' (from *tav-is* 'self's', the genitive case form of *tav-* a noun which means 'head' and is used also as the reflexive)

*čem-iani* 'me-ite', *šen-iani* 'you-ite', *čem-nairi* (or *čem-naira*) 'like me', *šen-nairi* (or *šen-naira*) 'like you', *čem-odeni* 'as many/ much as I', *šen-odeni* 'as many/much as you', *čem-euli* 'having once belonged to me', *šen-euli* 'having once belonged to you', *čem-peri* 'like me', *šen-istana* 'comparable to you'

- (75) miveci merab-s    ati c'ign-i,    da axla merab-s    akvs    čemodeni  
I.give Merab-DAT ten book-NOM and now Merab-DAT he.have as.many.as.I  
'I gave Merab ten books, and now he has as many as I.'

*imis-iani* 'her-ite (REMOTE)', *imis-nairi* 'like her (REMOTE)', *imis-odeni* 'as many/ much as she (REMOTE)', *imis-euli* 'having once belonged to her (REMOTE)', *amis-tana* 'comparable to this (PROXIMAL)', *magis-eburi* 'like that (MEDIAL)', *imis-peri* 'like it (REMOTE, dialectal)', *imis(i)-šesaperi* 'comparable to it (REMOTE)', *sa-imis-o* 'for that (REMOTE)' (with the circumfix *sa--o* 'for the purpose of; location of'

*am-gvari* 'this kind (of)', *im-nairi* 'that kind (of)'

*merabis-iani* 'Merab-ite', *gelas-nairi* 'like Gela', *gelas-odeni* 'as many as Gela', *klint'onis-nairi* 'like Clinton', *dedis-euli* 'having once belonged to Mother'

- (76) ak'ak'i c'eretl-is    saxl-muzeum-ši    viq'avi gušin,    da vnaxe  
Akaki Cereteli-GEN house-museum-in I.am yesterday and I.see

imis-eul-i                    /ak'ak'-is-eul-i                    sac'eri magida  
REMOTE-BELONG-NOM Akaki-GEN-BELONG-NOM writing table-NOM

'I was in Akaki Cereteli's house-museum yesterday, and I saw the writing table that once belonged to him<sub>i</sub>/ to Akaki<sub>i</sub>.'

*vis-ianebi* 'who-ites?' *vis-nairi* 'who-like, like who?', *vis-odeni* 'as many as who?', *vis-euli* 'having once belonged to whom?'; *tavis-iani* 'self-ite', *tavis-odena* 'as much/ many as self'; *aravis-iani* 'no-one-ite', *aravis-nairi* 'like no one', *aravis-odeni* 'as many as no one', *aravis-euli* 'having once belonged to no one'; *q'velas-nairi* 'like everyone', *q'velas-odeni* 'as many as everyone'

- (77) č'ianč'vela    tav-is-oden-a                    t'virt-s    miatrevda  
ant.NOM    self-GEN-QUAN-HAVING    load-DAT    it.carry  
'The ant was carrying a load as big as itself.'

- (78) (a) giorgi-m    tav-is-nair-i                    aušena                    megobar-s  
Giorgi-NAR self-GEN-type-NOM he.build.it.for.him friend-DAT  
'Giorgi<sub>i</sub> built his friend one like his<sub>i</sub>.'
- (b) giorgi-m    tav-is-i                    msgavs-i    aušena                    megobar-s  
Giorgi-NAR self-GEN-NOM similar-NOM he.build.it.for.him friend-DAT  
'Giorgi<sub>i</sub> built his<sub>i</sub> friend one like his<sub>i</sub>.'

- (79) merab-i      čamovida    tbilis-ši    tav-is-ian-eb-tan      ertad  
 Merab-GEN    he.come    Tbilisi-in    self-GEN-DERIV-with    together  
 'Merab<sub>i</sub> arrived in Tbilisi together with him<sub>i</sub>-ites.'

*šen-nair-i* 'like you, your type', *imis-nair-i* 'like her (REMOTE)', *tavis-nair-i* 'like oneself', *ra-nair-i* 'what kind of?', *aravis-nair-i* 'like no one, unlike anyone', *q'velas-nair-i* 'like everyone, like everything'

*šen-oden-i* 'as many as you [have, represent]', *imis-oden-i* 'as many as she (REMOTE)', *tavis-oden-i* 'as many as oneself', *vis-oden-i* 'as many as who?', *aravis-oden-i* 'as many as no one', *q'velas-oden-i* 'as many as everyone'

*gvar-i* 'type', *per-i* 'color', and *šesaper-i* 'corresponding'

*deda-čem-i* 'my mother', *deda-šen-i* 'your (SG) mother', *deda-misi* 'her mother'

*šen-ian-i* 'you-ite', *mis-ian-i* 'her-ite', *tavis-ian-i* 'self-ite', *vis-ian-i* 'who-ite?', *aravis-ian-i* 'no one-ite'

*am-yam-indel-i* 'until this evening (tonight)', *im-žam-indel-i* 'until that time', or *rod-indel-i* 'until when?'

- (80) es    imis-ian-i-a  
 this    her.REMOTE.GEN-ite-NOM-is  
 'she is a him-ite'

- (81) buš-i      čamovida    sakartvelo-ši    tav-is-ian-eb-tan      ertad  
 Bush-NOM    arrive      Georgia-in    self-GEN-ite-PL-with    together  
 'Bush arrived in Georgia with self-ites.'

- (82) buš(-is-i)an-eb-i      čamovidnen  
 Bush-GEN-ite-PL-NOM    arrive  
 'Bush-ites arrived.'

*u--o* '-less': *u-šen-o* 'you-less', *u-imis-o* 'her-less (REMOTE)', *u-arapr-o* 'having nothing'  
*sa--o* 'for (the purpose of)': *sa-amis-o* 'for it (PROXIMAL)', *sa-imis-o* 'for it (REMOTE)', *sa-tavis-o* 'for oneself, reflexive', *sa-arvis-o* 'for no one', *sa-q'ovelta-o* 'for everyone', but *\*sa-čem(is)-o* 'for me', *\*sa-šen(is)-o* 'for you'

- (83) sa-amis-o      pul-i      ara    makvs  
 for.it.REMOTE    money-NOM    NEG    I.have  
 'I don't have money for that.'

- (84) Nominative    šen-i      megobar-i      'your (SG) friend'  
 Narrative      šen-ma      megobar-ma  
 Dative          šen(-s)      megobar-s  
 Genitive        šen-i      megobr-is  
 Instrumental    šen-i      megobr-it  
 Adverbial        šen        megobr-ad

- (85) Nominative šen-nair-i megobar-i 'a friend like you'  
Narrative šen-nair-ma megobar-ma  
Dative šen-nair megobar-s  
Genitive šen-nair-i megobr-is  
Instrumental šen-nair-i megobr-it  
Adverbial šen-nair megobr-ad
- (86) Nominative šen-ian-i 'you-ite'  
Narrative šen-ian-ma  
Dative šen-ian-s  
Genitive šen-ian-is  
Instrumental šen-ian-it  
Adverbial šen-ian-ad
- (87) axalux- da šarval-čacmuli (Šaniže 1973)  
shirt- and pants-dressed  
'[man] dressed in shirt and pants'
- (88) (a) eseni čem-ian-eb-i da šen-ian-eb-i-a  
these.PL.NOM me-ite-PL-NOM and you-ite-PL-NOM-be  
'They (PROXIMAL) are me-ites and you-ites.'  
(b) \*eseni čem- da šen-ian-eb-i-a  
these.PL.NOM me- and you-ite-PL-NOM-be  
'They (PROXIMAL) are me-ites and you-ites.'
- (89) (a) is čem-nairi da čem-iani-a  
she me-like and me-ite-is  
'She is like me and a me-ite.'  
(b) \*is čem-nairi da -iani-a  
she me-like and -ite-is  
'She is like me and a me-ite.'
- (90) klint'on-is-ve \*klint'on-is-ve-ian-i  
Clinton-GEN-EMPH Clinton-GEN-EMPH-ite-NOM  
'Clinton's indeed' 'precisely a Clinton-ite'
- imis-ve \*imis-ve-ian-i  
her-EMPH her-EMPH-ite-NOM  
'precisely hers' 'precisely a her-ite'
- ded-is-ve \*ded-is-ve-eul-i  
mother-GEN-EMPH mother-GEN-EMPH-belonging-NOM  
'precisely mother's' 'having once belonged precisely to mother'
- \*imis-ve-eul-i  
'having once belonged precisely to her'

merab-is-ve                      \*merab-is-ve-ebur-i  
 Merab-GEN-EMPH              Merab-GEN-EMPH-LIKE-NOM  
 'precisely Merab's'          'like Merab precisely'

\*imis-ve-ebur-i  
 her-EMPH-LIKE-NOM

- (91) gamsaxurdia čemi saq'vareli mc'erali-a, da u-am-mc'eral-o-d kartuli  
 Gamsaxurdia my favorite writer-is and less<sub>1</sub>-this-writer-less<sub>2</sub>-ADV Georgian

lit'erat'ura c'armoudgenili-a  
 literature unimaginable-is  
 '[Konstantine] Gamsaxurdia<sub>i</sub> is my favorite writer, and without this<sub>i</sub> writer Georgian literature is unimaginable.'

- (92) merab-i k'maq'opil-i-a u-am-c'ign-o-d  
 Merab-NOM satisfied-NOM-is less<sub>1</sub>-this-book-less<sub>1</sub>-ADV  
 'Merab is satisfied these-books-less.'

- (93) ...es k'idev ar nišnavs imas, rom imave rigis sxva zmnebi ...u-r-supiksod ar ixmarebodes  
 imave raemet'i pormebs gavrcelebis arešic. k'idev met'i, igive pormebi, romlebšic -r  
 supiksi gv xvdeba, čveulebriv uamsupiksodaa. (Asatiani 1973:281, underlining added -  
 ACH)

'...this still does not mean that other verbs of the same set ...are not used r-suffix-less in the same [geographical] area in which forms having **r** are widespread. Further, the same forms in which we find the **r<sub>i</sub>** suffix are ordinarily this<sub>i</sub>-suffix-less.

- (95) (a) am supiks-i  
 this suffix-NOM  
 'this suffix'  
 (b) u-am-supiks-o-d-aa  
 less<sub>1</sub>-PROXIMAL-suffix-less<sub>2</sub>-ADV-is  
 'is this-suffix-less'

- (96) ?čemi d<sub>i</sub>-is-švil-i movida st'umr-ad, da is<sub>i,j</sub> movida mastan  
 my sister-GEN-child-NOM come guest-ADV and s/he.NOM come him-with

ertad  
 together  
 'My sister<sub>i</sub>'s child came to visit, and s/he<sub>i,j</sub> came with him.'

- (97) ?sa-megrel<sub>i</sub>-o-a, magram isini<sub>i</sub> umciresoba arian  
 for<sub>1</sub>-Mingrelian-for<sub>2</sub>-is but they minority be  
 'It is Mingrelia (lit. place of the Mingrelians<sub>i</sub>) but they<sub>i</sub> are [in] the minority.'

- (98) (a) ojax-is-tav-i  
family-GEN-head-NOM  
'head of the family'  
(b) er-is-tav-i  
people-GEN-head-NOM  
'commander-in-chief; district superintendent'  
(c) kin<sub>3</sub>-is-tav-i  
coriander-GEN-head-NOM  
'pin, brooch'
- (99) (a) im-yam-indel-i  
that-night-SUF-NOM  
'from the time of that night' 'until that night'  
(b) am-dro-indel-i  
this-time-SUF-NOM  
'dating from this time' 'until this time'
- (100) (a) am zmn-is c'in dgas zedsartav-i  
this verb-GEN before stand adverb-NOM  
'an adverb stands before this verb'  
(b) zmn-is-c'in-i  
verb-GEN-before-NOM  
'preverb'  
(c) \*am-zmn-is-c'in-i  
this-verb-GEN-before-NOM  
'pre-this-verb'  
(d) es zmn-is-c'in-i  
this.NOM verb-GEN-before-NOM  
'this preverb' (not 'the preverb before this verb')
- (101) (a) lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i  
bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM  
'bread containing beans'  
(b) \*am-lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i  
this-bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM  
'bread containing these beans'  
(c) es lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i  
this.NOM bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM  
'this bread containing beans'
- (102) am bič'-is xač'ap'ur-i  
this boy-GEN cheese.bread-NOM  
'this boy's cheese-bread' Phrase
- (103) *am-den-i*, *am-oden-i*, and *am-oden-a* (all) 'this many, this much, of this size'
- (104) *mag-den-i*, *mag-oden-i*, *mag-oden-a*, \**mag-den-a* (all) 'that (MEDIAL) many /much, of that size'
- (105) *čem-nair-i* 'like me', *šen-nair-i* 'like you (SG)', *imis-nair-i* 'like him, her, it (REMOTE)', *čven-nair-i* 'like us', and *tkven-niar-i* 'like you (PL)', but ?*imat-nair-i* 'like them (REMOTE)'

- (106) *čem-per-i* ‘like me’, *šen-per-i* ‘like you (SG)’, *amis-per-i* ‘like him, her, it (PROXIMATE)’, *čven-per-i* ‘like us’, *tkven-per-i* ‘like you (PL)’, *\*amat-per-i* ‘like them (PROXIMATE)’.
- (107) *sa-amis-o* ‘for him/her/it (PROXIMATE)’ and *sa-imis-o* ‘for him/her/it (REMOTE)’, *sa-st’umr-o* ‘hotel’ (lit. ‘for guest’), *\*sa-čem(is)-o* ‘for me’, *\*sa-šen(is)-o* ‘for you’
- (108) *-ian-i*: *gela-s-ian-i* ‘Gela-ite’, *šen-ian-i* ‘you-ite’, *vis-ian-i* ‘who-ite?’, *aravis-ian-i* ‘no one-ite’, *\*q’velas-ian-i* ‘everyone-ite’
- (109) *mam-i-da* [father-’s-sister] ‘paternal aunt’, *deida* ‘maternal aunt’, *\*vi(s)-da* ‘whose sister?’, *\*tav-i(s)-da* ‘self’s sister’
- (110) (a) u-čem-o  
less<sub>1</sub>-me-less<sub>2</sub>  
‘me-less’  
(b) čem-ian-i  
me-ite-NOM  
‘me-ite’  
(c) \*u-čem-ian-o  
less<sub>1</sub>-me-ite-less<sub>2</sub>  
‘me-ite-less’
- (111) imis-ian-i  
him.GEN-ite-NOM  
‘\*himite’
- (112) u-šen-o  
less<sub>1</sub>-you.SG-less<sub>2</sub>  
‘\*youless’
- (113) mat-gan-i  
them-from-NOM  
‘[one] of them’
- (114) bag-is-mier-i  
lip-gen-by- NOM  
‘labial’
- (115) v-i-tval-is-c’in-eb  
1.SG-REFL-eye-GEN-before-SM  
‘I am examining it.’
- (116) ert-ze-met’-marcvl-ian-i  
one-on-more-syllable-ite- NOM  
‘polysyllabic’
- (117) p’ir-da-p’ir [face-and-face] ‘straight, direct, opposite one another’  
sxva-da-sxva [other-and-other] ‘various’  
tav-da-p’irveli [head-and-first] ‘original, initial’
- (118) oc-da-or-i  
20-and-2- NOM  
‘twenty-two’

### Comparative data on circumfixes

Georgian      *me--e* agentive: *me-bay-e* 'gardener', from the root *bay-* 'garden'  
                 *sa--o* place: *sa-sadil-o* 'dining room, cafeteria' from *sadil-* '(midday) dinner'

Modern Georgian   *t--met'* '-teen':    *t-ert-met'i* 'eleven', from *ert-* 'one'  
   *t-or-met'i* 'twelve', from *or-* 'two'  
   *t-otx-met'i* 'fourteen', from *otx-* 'four'

Old Georgian   *at-ert-met'-ni*                      *igi*                      *moc'ape-ni* (Matthew 28:16)  
                         ten-one-more-PL.NOM            the.NOM            disciple-PL.NOM  
                         'the eleven disciples'

*at-or-met'-ni*                      *igi* (Luke 18:31)  
                         ten-two-more-PL.NOM    the.NOM  
                         'the twelve'

*naresav-i*                      *at-otx-met'-i* (Mt. 1:17)  
                         generation-NOM            ten-four-more-NOM  
                         'fourteen generations'

Svan (data from Topuria 1967:82)

*yešd/yešt'* 'ten'  
                 *ešxu* 'one'            *(y)ešd-ešxu* 'eleven' / *ešt'-ešxu*  
                 *yori* 'two'            *(y)ešd-yori/ ešt'-yeri* 'twelve'  
                 *semi* 'three'           *(y)ešd-semi* 'thirteen' etc.

Zan (data from Chikobava 1938:212-214, 218-219)

*viti* 'ten'  
                 *arti* 'one'                      *vit'-var/vit'-o-ar* 'eleven' (< \**vit-do-ar*)  
                 *žuri* Laz, *žiri* Ming.           *vit'-o-žur* 'twelve' (< \**vit-do-žur*)  
                 *sumi* 'three'                   *vit'-o-sum* 'thirteen'

Old Georgian   *sa-qel-i* 'sleeve'                      Modern Georgian      *sa-xel-o*  
                         SA-arm-NOM

-e: *sa-katm-e* 'chicken coop', from *katam-* 'chicken'

-et: *sa-prang-et-i* 'France'

-is: *sa-cxen-isa* 'horse barn', from *cxen-* 'horse', -*isa* GEN

*svan-et-i* 'place where the Svans live', *somx-et-i* 'Armenia', from *somex-i* 'Armenian'

*perd-o* 'slope (of a mountain)'            *perd-i* 'side (of the body), flank'

*gverd-o* 'very steep place'                   *gverd-i* 'side, flank'

*mi-dye-mdis* (L 1:20Ad)

thither-day-until

'until that day'

*mi-sik'udid-mde* (Mt 26:38Ad)  
thither-death-until  
'until

*mo-aka-mde* (Mt 11:12Ad, etc., all from Imnaišvili 1957: 324-325)  
hither-here-until  
'until now'

#### Mingrelian

<i>i-tas-e-n</i>	<i>a-tas-e-n</i>
I-sow-TM-3SG	A-sow-TM-3SG
'it can be sown'	'she can sow it'

<i>i-tas-u-n</i>	<i>a-tas-u-n</i>
I-sow-TM-3SG	A-sow-TM-3SG
'it is sown'	'it is sown for her, hers is sown'

Old Georgian *a--en/in* causative: *a-vl-en-s* 'sends', from *vl-* 'go'  
*a-tb-ob-s* 'she warms it', from *tb-* 'warm'

<i>i-č'er-s</i>	<i>a-č'er-in-eb-s</i>
REFL-catch-3SG	CAUS-catch-CAUS-TM-3SG
'she catches it'	'she causes someone to catch it'

*e-č'er-in-eb-a* (Jorbenaze et al. 1988:237)  
E-catch-CAUS-TM-3SG

<i>da-u-č'er-in-eb-i-a</i>	<i>da-m-i-č'er-in-eb-i-a</i>
ASP-3SG-catch-CAUS-TM-I-3SG	ASP-1SG-I-catch-CAUS-TM-I-3SG
'she has evidently caused someone to catch it'	'I have evidently caused...'

KEGL = *Kartuli enis ganmart'ebiti leksik'oni*. Prof. Arn. Čikobava, General Editor, 1950-1964. Tbilisi: Sakartvelos Mecnierebata Ak'ademiis Gamomcemloba.

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