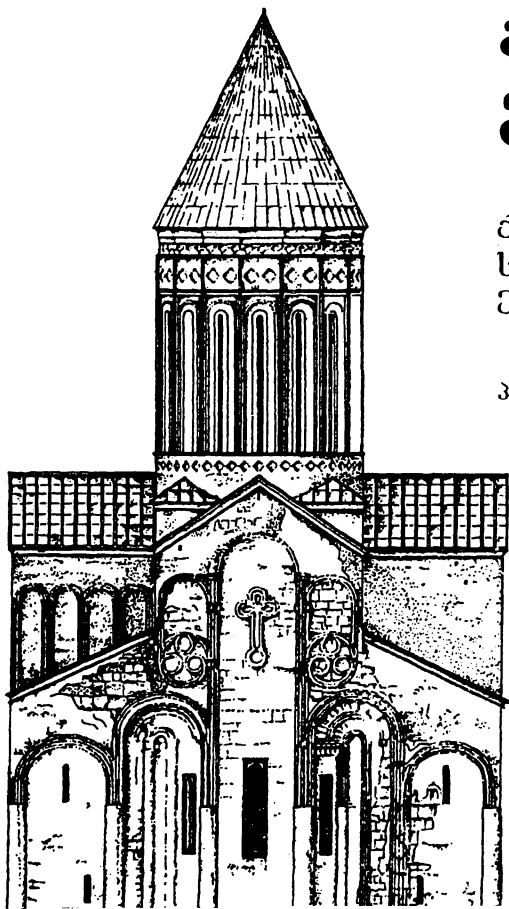


GEORGIAN

THE KARTVELIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

P. J. HILLERY



ქართული ენა

ქართველური
სალიტერატურო
ენა

პატრიკ ჰილერი

PREFACE

This booklet provides a brief description of Georgian, the principal member of the Kartvelian (South Caucasian) language group. It covers all main features of the language, but particular emphasis is placed on identifying general patterns in the complex verb system, once rather unfairly described by a native scholar as consisting solely of irregular verbs. The use of the Georgian script has been kept to a minimum to make the material more accessible.

There is insufficient space for detailed English glosses of the Georgian examples, but an English translation is always given. Two points should be kept in mind throughout: (a) Georgian does not distinguish between 'he/him', 'she/her' and 'it' and, although only the first is used in the translations below, either of the other two pronouns can usually be substituted; and (b) the Georgian verb invariably includes an implicit subject and – if transitive – one or more objects, whether or not these are always expressed in English. Morpheme boundaries are usually indicated below, but they have sometimes been omitted for the sake of clarity. In keeping with the Georgian practice, proper names have not been capitalized in the transliterations.

Non-standard abbreviations used in the text include the following (the page references are to definitions of the terms in the text):

AV	auxiliary verb (p. 19)	PSF	present stem formant (p. 18)	-	morpheme boundary
C	verb class (p. 14)	PV	pre-radical vowel (p. 17)	+	as '-' but tightly bound
PI	passive infix (p. 19)	PVB	preverb (p. 17)	∅	zero morph
Pl.	plural marker (p. 16)	SA	stem augment (p. 19)	—	root or stem
PM	pronominal marker (p. 16)	SM	screeve marker (p. 19)	bold	root of finite verb

The cover illustrations depict examples of eleventh century Georgian ecclesiastical architecture. The front cover shows the east façade of Alaverdi Cathedral which stands in the Alazani valley in Kakheti. The illustration on the back cover shows the west porch of Manglisi Cathedral in Kartli (the original building dates from the sixth century). The reproductions are from *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Georgien* (Wachtang Beridse / Edith Neubauer, Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1981) with the permission of the publisher.

"The TbilisiText and TbilisiCaps fonts used to print this work are available from Linguist's Software, Inc., P.O. Box 580, Edmonds, WA 98020-0580 tel. (206) 775-1130." Other Georgian fonts used in printing this work are copyright © GPC Task Force, 1993.

The Languages Information Centre exists to provide inexpensive, accessible and straightforwardly presented introductions to the lesser known languages of the world, living and dead. It depends for its funding – indeed for its very survival – on the sale of unique and interesting booklets produced by the Centre. A free catalogue is available on request from LANGUAGES INFORMATION CENTRE, 32 STRYD EBENESER, PONTYPRIDD CF37 5PB, WALES

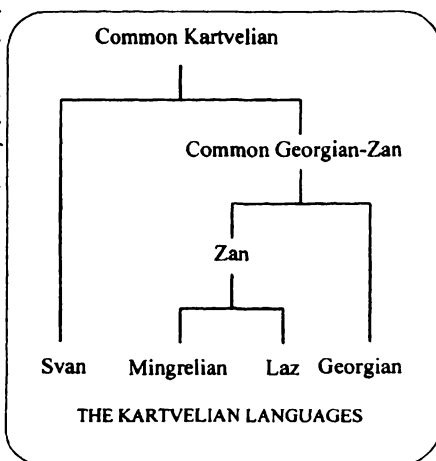
INTRODUCTION

There is considerable linguistic diversity in the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea that is divided into the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia by the Caucasus mountains. It is not surprising that a number of the world's major language families are represented in this region which finds itself between Europe, the Near East and Asia: Indo-European (Armenian, Ossete, etc.), Altaic (Azerbaijani, Karachai-Balkar, etc.) and Afro-Asiatic (Modern Aramaic). These language families have extended into a part of Eurasia where a number of indigenous tongues (about 40), collectively known as the Caucasian languages, have been spoken for at least four millennia, and which today have a total of about 5.5 million speakers in the Caucasus and in some countries of the Near East (the latter largely as the result of forced migrations).

The Caucasian languages are divided into four areal groups each consisting of a number of related languages: North West Caucasian (NWC), whose main members are Kabardian and Adyghe; North Central Caucasian (NCC) or Nakh (which includes Chechen and Ingush, and which is viewed by some as part of the NEC group); North Eastern Caucasian (NEC) or Daghestanian (includes Avar, Lezgi and Dargva); and the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) languages which are spoken in west and central Transcaucasia.

Although taken as axiomatic by a number of specialists, a genetic relationship between the four Caucasian language groups has not satisfactorily been demonstrated. Areal features, such as ejective consonants, an agglutinative morphology, verb subject and object prefixes, postpositions and ergativity, may also be accounted for in terms of a sprachbund (linguistic area), based either on long contiguity or on a common prehistoric substratum. While it is possible that a link between the North Caucasian groups may one day be demonstrated, a relationship between these and the Kartvelian languages will be more difficult to establish. Numerous attempts have been made to link Caucasian languages with other languages and language families, but several have been discredited and others lack convincing evidence. There have been several attempts to find links with Basque or with the languages of the ancient Near East (Hattic, Hurrian, etc.). Ablaut patterns (morphologically determined root vowel changes) and a small number of loan words have been used to support the view that there were early contacts between the Kartvelians and the Indo-Europeans. More speculative hypotheses include the Kartvelian languages in the Nostratic 'superfamily', while the other groups have been assigned to the Sino-Caucasian (or Dene-Caucasian) superfamily.

In spite of the areal features common to all or some of the Caucasian language groups there are also some striking differences in phonology, grammar and syntax between the various languages. The Kartvelian group is distinguished from the other three in a number of respects, including the use of relative pronouns and conjunctions together with finite verb forms in subordinate and relative constructions, the absence of noun classes, formal rather than functional ergativity, and the exclusive use of postpositions in locative expressions. The Kartvelian group also has the simplest consonantal system, although it permits more complex consonant clusters than any other Caucasian language. Georgian, the Kartvelian literary language, is written in the only native Caucasian script to have survived in use up to the present day.



The Kartvelian languages of Transcaucasia are: Svan, spoken by about 40,000 in the high mountainous areas of the north-west Caucasus centred on Mest'ia and Lent'ekhi; Georgian, spoken by more than 3 million over an area stretching from the Black Sea to east of the Alazani river; Mingrelian, with about 360,000 speakers in an area between the Black Sea and the Tskhenists'q'ali river and bordering the Svan homeland to the north; and Laz (Ch'an), spoken by about 50,000 on the Black Sea littoral between Pazar (Atina) and Sarpi. Although mutually unintelligible, Mingrelian and Laz are viewed by some as dialects of a single language, Zan. Georgian serves both as a lingua franca and as a literary language for speakers of Svan and Mingrelian, while most Laz speakers are bilingual in Turkish.

The relationship between Mingrelian and Laz is close. Glottochronological studies suggest that Zan diverged from Georgian – both of which are derived from Common Georgian-Zan – about 2,700 years before the present (Mingrelian is somewhat closer to Georgian than is Laz). The validity of such studies, which are based upon lexical comparisons (using word lists such as that reproduced on p. 24 below), is disputed. The time depth for the separation of the Svan language from Common Georgian-Zan, is of the order of 4,000 years. As a result of this early separation Svan preserves a number of archaic forms. Also, on account of its relatively isolated location in the Caucasus mountains, it has fewer loan-words from languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Greek from which the other Kartvelian languages to the south have borrowed extensively. A subject of ongoing study is the possibility of a NCC-NEC substratum in Svan. All Kartvelian languages have, to a greater or lesser extent, been influenced by the culturally dominant member of the group, Georgian. Although the above figures for the divergence of the various branches may be speculative, the internal relationships within the Kartvelian language group are well established (see the diagram on the previous page). It has been possible to reconstruct a number of the features of the proto-language, known as Common Kartvelian or Proto-Kartvelian, partly by distinguishing between the innovations and the inherited features in each language.

An extract from a Mingrelian folk tale is given below, together with a translation into Georgian, as a general illustration of the surface similarities between the two languages. The symbol 'ə' is used to indicate an unrounded mid back vowel (and not the schwa) present in the Zugidi-Samurzaq'an dialect of Mingrelian. The 'ʔ' indicates the glottal stop.

Mingrelian	Georgian
<i>arti sats'əq'ali chilami k'ochi koʔopen do arti skuashi met'i vanoʔunue, mara dzalami skvimi do shelebiani ʔope do sakheli jokhodə „geria”. arti dghasə te boshik ot'q'alasha midartə do onjuas ʔudesha miishəni, ...</i>	<i>erti sats'q'ali tsoliani k'atsi q'opila da erti shvilis met'i ar hq'olia; magram dzalian lamazi da dzlieri q'opila da sakheli erkva „geria”. ert dghes es bich'i sanadirod ts'avida da saghamos sakhishi rom modioda, ...</i>

The table below lists the first ten cardinal numbers in each of the Kartvelian languages. Equivalent data from representatives of each of the other Caucasian groups have been included to contrast with the obvious similarities between the Kartvelian languages. Each of the three non-Kartvelian languages shown is spoken in close proximity to a member of the Kartvelian group. Abkhaz belongs to the NWC group and has about 80,000 speakers to the north-west of the areas where Mingrelian and Svan are spoken. The NCC language Bats (Ts'ova-Tush) has about 3,000 speakers in the otherwise Georgian-speaking district of Tusheti. The Lezgian (South-East Daghestanian) language Udi, the putative descendant of Caucasian Albanian, has about 4,000 speakers in three villages, one of which is in the Georgian-speaking Q'vareli district.

KARTVELIAN NUMERALS					NWC	NCC	NEC
num.	Svan	Mingrelian	Laz	Georgian	Abkhaz	Bats	Udi
1	<i>eshkhu</i>	<i>erti</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>erti</i>	<i>ak'ə</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>sa</i>
2	<i>yori</i>	<i>zhiri</i>	<i>zhur</i>	<i>ori</i>	<i>y'əba</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>p'q</i>
3	<i>semi</i>	<i>sumi</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>sami</i>	<i>khpa</i>	<i>qo</i>	<i>khīb</i>
4	<i>wōshtkhw</i>	<i>otkhi</i>	<i>otkho</i>	<i>otkhi</i>	<i>pshba</i>	<i>d-wiv'</i>	<i>bip'</i>
5	<i>wokhwishd</i>	<i>khuti</i>	<i>khut</i>	<i>khuti</i>	<i>kh'ba</i>	<i>pkhi</i>	<i>qo</i>
6	<i>usgwa</i>	<i>amshvi</i>	<i>ans</i>	<i>ekvsi</i>	<i>fba</i>	<i>yetkh</i>	<i>yq</i>
7	<i>ishgwid</i>	<i>shk'viti</i>	<i>shkvit</i>	<i>shvidi</i>	<i>bəzhbā</i>	<i>vorl'</i>	<i>vygh</i>
8	<i>ara</i>	<i>bruo</i>	<i>ovro</i>	<i>rva</i>	<i>ābā</i>	<i>barl'</i>	<i>mugh</i>
9	<i>chkhara</i>	<i>chkhoro</i>	<i>tskho(v)ro</i>	<i>tskhra</i>	<i>zh'ba</i>	<i>iş</i>	<i>vuy</i>
10	<i>yeshd</i>	<i>viti</i>	<i>vit</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>zh'abā</i>	<i>iť</i>	<i>vits'</i>

The dialects of Georgian can be divided into an eastern and a western group on the basis of shared features; a total of 17 can be identified. They differ from each other in certain aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary, but all retain an overall set of features not very dissimilar to the standard language as described below. Some of the dialects have come under the strong influence of neighbouring languages. Ingilo, spoken in an area to the east of the Alazani river, has been influenced by Azerbaijani and by Avar, while Klarjian has come under the influence of Turkish, the dominant language of the region in which it is spoken. The Persian influence on the Fereidan dialect of Georgian is a special case, as the latter is spoken today in Iran by the descendants of Kakhetians who were deported there by the Safavid monarch Shāh 'Abbās I in the 17th century. Among the features which are found in the Georgian dialects are: the addition of *i-* and *w-* before certain vowels (as in *yerti* and *wori* in place of the standard *erti* and *ori*); the distinction between long and short vowels; umlaut; the presence of both *q* and *q'* phonemes (see p. 6 below); the use of the *n*-plural (see p. 9 below); plural adjectival forms; and others. In general, the mountain dialects are more conservative and preserve a number of archaisms that have disappeared from other dialects. However, the simplification of certain complexities of standard Georgian also occurs in the dialects. The standard literary language is based on the eastern lowlands Kartlian dialect.

From the morphological viewpoint Georgian is predominantly an agglutinative language with inflectional features. The agglutinative nature of the language is most evident in the verb complex. For example, the Georgian verb *dagvalevinebdito* ("you would give it to us to drink", he said') may be broken down into the following morphological units: *da-gv-a-lev-in-eb-d-i-t-o* preverb - indirect object marker - pre-radical vowel - verb root (*-lev-* 'drink') - causative marker - present stem formant - stem augment - screeve marker - plural marker - indirect speech marker. These various elements and their functions are examined in some detail below.

As has been noted above, a common characteristic of the Caucasian languages is that they are of the ergative grammatical type. This refers to the occurrence of constructions in which the object of a transitive verb is marked in the same way as the subject of an intransitive verb. Compare the two Georgian sentences:

bich'-ma dzaghl-i bagh-shi da-mal-a.

boy (narr.) dog (nom.) garden-in he-hid-it (trans.)

The boy hid the dog in the garden.

dzaghl-i bagh-shi da-i-mal-a.

dog (nom.) garden-in he-hid-himself (intrans.)

The dog hid in the garden.

Here the absolutive is marked by the nominative case suffix *-i*, while the ergative is marked by narrative case suffix *-ma*. Ergativity is a feature of the aorist series only, as is seen by putting the above sentences into the future (the *-s* suffix marks the dative case):

bich 'i dzaghl-s bagh-shi da-mal-av-s.

dzaghl-i bagh-shi da-i-mal-eb-a.

The intransitive verb in the examples above is a member of Class 2, the 'intransitive verbs' (verb classes are discussed in some detail on p. 15 below). There is also another class of intransitive verbs (Class 3) that pattern as the transitive (Class 1) verbs. The following sentences illustrate the behaviour of these two types of intransitive in the aorist series:

bich 'ma bagh-shi i-tamash-a.

boy (narr.) garden-in he-played (intrans.)

The boy played in the garden.

bich 'i bagh-shi da-rch-a.

boy (nom.) garden-in he-remained (intrans.)

The boy remained in the garden.

This behaviour has led to the suggestion that Georgian is more accurately portrayed as an example of an 'active' language. In this language type the subject of a transitive verb is marked with the same case as the subject of an 'active' intransitive, while the object of a transitive verb is marked with the same case as the subject of an 'inactive' intransitive (the narrative and the nominative, respectively, in the case of Georgian). Note that the terms 'active' and 'inactive' are used here not to describe semantic categories, but rather as verb class labels.

Ergativity in Georgian is purely formal, unlike the situation in some other Caucasian languages where it can have semantic significance. In Bats the contrast between the use of the absolutive and the ergative is used to express the degree of control by the subject over the events described. Svan patterns similarly to Georgian, whereas Mingrelian uses the narrative case to mark the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs in the aorist, while Laz uses the narrative to mark the subject of transitive verbs in all series, not only the aorist.

Ergativity is just one of the features that make the Caucasian languages especially interesting to linguists. Georgian is not only more accessible than the other Caucasian languages because of the wealth of published material available, it is also often the only language in which materials essential to the study of Georgian and Caucasian linguistics, history, culture and society is available.

Georgian has a rich literary tradition stretching back over one and a half millennia. The oldest extant works are hagiographical, although historiographical and philosophical texts survive from an early date. The apogee of the Golden Age of Georgian literature is represented by the thirteenth century epic romance *vepkhist'q'aosani* ('The Knight in the Panther's Skin') by Shota Rustaveli. Georgian literary output declined after the area suffered a number of invasions, but the sixteenth century saw the beginning of a renaissance that lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The most prominent figures in this revival were the lexicographer Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, David Guramishvili and Besik'i. Although in earlier periods Georgian literature incorporated elements from neighbouring Byzantium and Persia, it later found a more European orientation. The main representatives of the Romantic movement were Aleksandre Ch'avch'avadze and Nik'oloz Baratashvili. In the late nineteenth century Georgian literature played an important role in the re-awakening of national consciousness (Ilia Ch'avch'avadze and Ak'ak'i Ts'ereteli). Important writers of the modern period include the novelists Mikheil Javakhishvili, K'onst'ant'ine Gamsakhurdia and Grigol Robakidze, the singular poet Vazha-Pshavela, and the outstanding lyric poets Galak't'ion T'abidze, P'aolo Iashvili and T'itsian T'abidze. Georgian also has an extremely rich repertoire of folk poetry and songs.

SCRIPT

The contemporary Georgian script is known as *mkhedruli* ('military') in contrast to the earlier *khutsuri* ('ecclesiastical') script (see p. 30 below). The oldest surviving examples of *mkhedruli* date from the 11-12th centuries, and it may well be that the script was a development of a cursive form of *khutsuri*. The forms of the *khutsuri* letters may have been derived from the northern Arsacid variant of the Pahlavi (or Middle Iranian) script, which itself was derived from the older Aramaic. However, the direction of writing (from left to right), the use of separate symbols for the vowel sounds, the numerical values assigned to the letters in earlier times, and the order of the letters all point to significant Greek influence on the script.

ა	ბ	გ	დ	ე	ვ	ზ	თ	ი	კ	ლ	მ	ნ	ო	პ	ჟ	რ
a	b	g	d	e	v	z	t	i	k'	l	m	n	o	p'	zh	r
ს	ტ	უ	ფ	ქ	ღ	ყ	შ	ჩ	ც	ძ	წ	ჭ	ხ	ჯ	ჰ	
s	t'	u	p	k	gh	q'	sh	ch	ts	dz	ts'	ch'	kh	j	h	

Modern Georgian makes use of 33 letters. These are given above, together with the transliteration system adopted here. This scheme is not ideal in that it uses several digraphs, but it does have the merits of avoiding diacritics (with the exception of the apostrophe), and of being suited to the English-speaking reader. There is no ambiguity, as the digraph letter pairs do not occur as combinations of two individual letters.

Georgian does not distinguish between upper and lower case letters. For emphasis, letters which are normally printed with ascenders and descenders, or both, are all printed as if to fit between two parallel horizontal lines (cf. 'საქართველო' and 'საპარტიზელო' - 'Georgia'). Four letters (ლ, ო, რ and ჯ) have variant forms (ლ, ო, რ, ჯ) which are widely encountered in handwriting (the alternate forms for ლ and რ are to be found in some founts).

✈

საქართველოს ტექნიკური უნივერსიტეტის
სტუდენტურ კავშირთან არსებული

ტურიზმის მოყვარულთა კლუბი

ბთავაზოვბთ საინტერმსო მოზაზაშრობებს
შეძლები გარშრობებით:

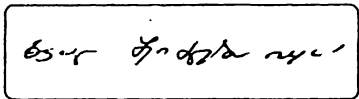
ისრაელში - გემით, მზავრობის ხანგრძლივობა
7 დღე.

ევვაბტე-თურქეთი - გემით, 8 დღე.

პოლონეთი, გერმანია, პოლანდია და უკან -
კომფორტული ავტობუსით - 10 დღე.

ღაბშმარმბითი თურქეთისა და აღმოსავ-
ლეთ ევრობის ქვეყნებში ინდივიდუალური
ტურისტული საგზურებით მზავრობაში.
პაპოპალმტპბითი ჯგუფებს ჩინეთში

Georgian handwriting can often be a little difficult to read, not least because of the number of ligatures used. The random extract shown here reads *khval sheidzleba iq'os*.



The advertisement reproduced on the left contains a selection of founts, and illustrates the method described above for emphasis (see lines 3-5). Transliteration should yield a number of recognizable words. The aircraft outline gives a clue to the nature of the advertisement (it is for a travel club).

PHONOLOGY

Vowels Georgian has five vowel sounds: two front, unrounded (*i*, *e*), two back, rounded (*u*, *o*), and one neutral (*a*). Short and long vowels are not distinguished in standard Georgian, and vowel length is between short and half-long. The sound values are approximately as shown below. The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols used are those closest to the sounds of Georgian. The English accent referred to is Received Pronunciation (RP).

GEORGIAN	IPA	RP	GERMAN	FRENCH	EXAMPLE
<i>i</i>	[ɪ]	pit	bitte	—	<i>ik</i> ('there')
<i>e</i>	[ɛ]	pet	Bett	merci	<i>es</i> ('this')
<i>u</i>	[ʊ]	put	Hund	—	<i>tu</i> ('if')
<i>o</i>	[o]	—	Advokat	eau	<i>okro</i> ('gold')
	[ɔ]	—	Sonne	donner	
<i>a</i>	[a]	—	matt	plage	<i>ak</i> ('here')

The precise value of *o* [ɔ] lies between the two cardinal vowels shown. Note that there are different phonemic realizations (allophones) of some of the above vowels. The vowel *i* has allophones [ɪ] and [i], the latter as in the French 'vie' or the German 'wie'. Allophones of *e* are [ɛ] and [e], the latter as in the French 'thé'.

In general, there are no diphthongs in Georgian, so there are as many syllables as vowels, e.g. the word *miuakhloeb's* ('he brings it closer to him') has five syllables, and each of the four vowels in *gaaakhla* ('he renewed it') is individually pronounced.

Consonants Georgian plosives and fricatives exhibit a three-way opposition: voiced, voiceless aspirated and voiceless ejective. The table below groups these consonants together, with the corresponding IPA transcriptions in brackets. Note that *q'* does not form part of such a triad.

VOICED	<i>b</i> [b]	<i>d</i> [d]	<i>dz</i> [dz]	<i>j</i> [dʒ]	<i>g</i> [g]	—
VOICELESS ASPIRATED	<i>p</i> [pʰ]	<i>t</i> [tʰ]	<i>ts</i> [tsʰ]	<i>ch</i> [tʃʰ]	<i>k</i> [kʰ]	—
VOICELESS EJECTIVE	<i>p'</i> [pʷ]	<i>t'</i> [tʷ]	<i>ts'</i> [tsʷ]	<i>ch'</i> [tʃʷ]	<i>k'</i> [kʷ]	<i>q'</i> [qʷ, xʷ]

Let us take the *g-k-k'* triad as an example. The difference between the voiced and the voiceless aspirated phonemes in Georgian is similar to the difference between the 'g' sound in 'ghoul' [gu:l] and the 'k' sound in 'cool' [kʰu:l]. The 'k' sound in 'school' [sku:l], on the other hand, is voiced but not aspirated (no breath is detected if the palm of the hand is placed in front of the mouth while saying it). If the exhortation 'Just think!' is spoken 'in a clipped precise manner' then the final 'k' sound can sometimes approach that of the third element of the triad. In technical terms, the ejectives are produced using air compressed in the mouth cavity while the supply of air from the lungs is cut off by complete closure of the glottis. In other words, the basic 'k' sound (as in 'school') and a glottal stop [ʔ] (as between the two 'o's in 'co-operate') are produced simultaneously. Georgian has six such ejectives: *p'*, *t'*, *ts'*, *ch'*, *k'* and *q'*. Their phonemic status is demonstrated by such word pairs as *kudi* ('cap') / *k'udi* ('tail') and *tsili* ('slander') / *ts'ili* ('share').

Note that all English near equivalent sounds are only approximations to the Georgian.

The ejective *q'* can present some difficulty as there is no near equivalent English sound. Its pronunciation can vary dependent upon neighbouring sounds. The basic [q'] sound is articulated further back than [ɣ] and [x] (i.e. it is uvular, as is the similar Arabic ق *qāf*), but it is sometimes realized as an ejective uvular fricative [χ'] similar to the Arabic ح *khā'* (which itself is not an ejective, nor is its voiceless equivalent, the 'r' sound [ʁ] in the French 'prêtre') or as [qχ'].

The non-ejectives in the above table can be approximated as follows: *b* ('bat'), *d* ('dab'), *dz* ('lads'), *j* ('just'), *g* ('got'), *p* ('poor'), and *t* ('too').

Three other pairs of consonants show a voiceless / voiced contrast: *s* [s], *z* [z] ('see', 'zoo'), *sh* [ʃ], *zh* [ʒ] ('she', 'leisure'), and *gh* [ɣ], *kh* [x]. The velar sound [x] is similar to the 'ch' sound in the Scottish 'loch' or the German 'acht'. Its voiced equivalent, [ɣ], occurs in the Spanish 'luego', and is similar to the Arabic ح *ghayn*.

The sounds of *m* [m] and *n* [n] are approximately as in 'mow' and 'now' (the latter has allophone [ŋ]), and *h* [h], which is rare in Georgian, is as in 'ham'. The pronunciation of *r* varies from [r] as in RP 'rate' to [r̥] as in the Spanish 'pero' (a single tap). Two varieties of *l* occur: [l] as in RP 'late' and [ɫ] as in RP 'all'. The sound of *v* can vary from [v] ([f] before voiceless consonants), through [β] as in the Spanish 'saber', to [w] as in 'wail', dependent upon adjacent sounds.

Consonant clusters Groups of consonants are widespread in Georgian, especially **harmonic clusters** in which the point of articulation of the group moves from the front to the back of the mouth, and in which the individual elements are of the same type (voiced, voiceless aspirated or voiceless ejective). Examples are *dḡhe* ('day'), *t'q'e* ('forest'), *bḡera* ('sound'), *tkven* ('you'), *zghva* ('sea') and *skhva* ('other'). In general, consonant clusters can range from two to six or more terms, e.g. *mts'vrtneli* ('trainer') and *vprtskveni* ('I am peeling it'). In general, there is little or no assimilation in Georgian.

Syncope Under certain circumstances the last vowel of a stem ending in a consonant is lost. This is quite common with *a*, *e* and *o*. Note that the loss of an *o* can result in the reinstatement of a *v* (certain phonological conditions can give rise to the loss of a *v*). Adding the plural marker *-eb-* to a noun can cause syncope, e.g. *mkhat'vari* ('painter') → *mkhat'vreb-i*, *mezobeli* ('neighbour') → *mezobeli*, and *mindori* ('field') → *mindvreb-i*.

Metathesis The letter *v* can sometimes shift its position from after certain other consonants to before. For example, in place of the expected **trvamet'i* for '18' (see p. 12 below), we find instead *trvamet'i*. Compare also *mok'lavs* ('he will kill him') and *mk'vleli* ('killer'), where both syncope (the loss of the *a*) and metathesis (the change in position of the *v*) are evident.

Stress Stress in Georgian is very weak and is not significant at the lexical level (i.e. it is not used to differentiate between words that are otherwise the same). In words of two and three syllables the stress is usually on the first. It is often on the second syllable in words of four syllables. It is difficult to generalize where the stress will fall in longer words, and there is often a secondary stress in addition to the main one. Examples are *chi't'i* ('bird'), *ka laki* ('town') and *p'ara šk'evi* ('Friday'). Georgian intonation is generally even except in the case of yes-no questions, which end on a rising pitch (cf. *khval mova* 'he will come tomorrow' and *khval mova /??* 'will he come tomorrow?')

DERIVATION

Georgian uses three main derivational means to form new stems:

Reduplication The stem is repeated, sometimes with a slight alteration. Examples are *nela* ('slowly') → *nel-nela* ('very slowly, gradually'), *tskheli* ('hot') → *tskhel-tskheli* ('very hot'), *akhlo* ('close') → *akhlo-makhlo* ('near at hand').

Compounding The two stems, which may be from different parts of speech, are combined as in the following examples: *jari* ('army') + *k'atsi* ('man') → *jarisk'atsi* ('soldier'), *goneba* ('mind') + *makhvili* ('sharp') → *gonebamakhvili* ('quick-witted'), *ori* ('two') + *suli* ('soul') → *orsulad* ('pregnant').

Affixation This is the most productive method of derivation, and usually involves either suffixation or the use of a prefix and a suffix together. The list of affixes below is not exhaustive. Affixes are grouped according to general function.

ATTRIBUTION *-ian*: *tsoli* ('wife') → *tsoliani* ('married'), *marili* ('salt') → *mariliani* ('salty'); *-ier*: *nich'i* ('talent') → *nich'ieri* ('talented'), *k'anoni* ('law') → *k'anonieri* ('legal') (*-iel* if the stem contains an 'r': *khortsi* ('meat, flesh') → *khortsieli* ('corporal, carnal'); *-osan*: *tskheni* ('horse') → *tskhenosani* ('horseman'), *kudi* ('cap') → *kudosani* ('wearing a cap'); *-ovan*: *sakheli* ('name') → *sakhelovani* ('renowned'), *k'lde* ('rock') → *k'ldiani* ('rocky').

DEPRIVATION *u—o*: *tsoli* ('wife') → *utsolo* ('unmarried'), *marili* ('salt') → *umarilo* ('without salt'); *u—ur*: *bedi* ('fate, fortune') → *ubeduri* ('unfortunate'), *gemo* ('taste') → *ugemuri* ('tasteless') [also *u—ul* if the stem contains an r: *peri* ('colour') → *uperuli* ('colourless')].

TRADE *me—e*: *puri* ('bread') → *mepure* ('baker'), *baghi* ('garden') → *mebaghe* ('gardener'); *me—ur*: *zghva* ('sea') → *mezghvauri* ('sailor'), *bade* ('net') → *mebaduri* ('fisherman') [also *me—ul* if the stem contains an r: *bargi* ('luggage') → *mebarguli* ('porter')].

PLACENAME *-et*: *somexhi* ('Armenian') → *somkheti* ('Armenia'), *utskho* ('foreigner') → *utskhoeti* ('abroad'); *sa—et*: *prangi* ('Frenchman') → *saprangeti* ('France'), *berdzeni* ('Greek') → *saberdzneti* ('Greece'); *sa—o*: *kartveli* ('Georgian') → *sakartvelo* ('Georgia'), *megreli* ('Mingrelian') → *samegrelo* ('Mingrelia').

ORIGIN *-el*: *sopeli* ('village') → *sopleli* ('villager'), *tbilisi* ('Tbilisi') → *tbiliseli* ('person from Tbilisi'); *-ur*: *berdzeni* ('a Greek') → *berdznuli* ('Greek'), *kalaki* ('town') → *kalakuri* ('urban') [also *-ul* if the stem contains an r: *rusi* ('a Russian') → *rusuli* ('Russian')].

PURPOSE *sa—e*: *titi* ('finger') → *satite* ('thimble'), *ghori* ('pig') → *saghore* ('pigsty'); *sa—o*: *ekimi* ('doctor') → *saekimo* ('medical'), *st'umari* ('guest') → *sast'umro* ('hotel, guest-'); *sa—ur*: *pekhi* ('foot') → *sapekhuri* ('step'), *dgoma* ('standing') → *sadguri* ('station') [also *sa—ul* if the stem contains an r: *bargi* ('burden') → *sabarguli* ('lorry platform')].

ABSTRACTION *-oba*: *megobari* ('friend') → *megobroba* ('friendship'), *musha* ('workman') → *mushaoba* ('work'); *-eba*: *bednieri* ('happy') → *bedniereba* ('happiness'), *metsnieri* ('scientist') → *metsniereba* ('science'); *si—e*: *lamazi* ('beautiful') → *silamaze* ('beauty'), *gharibi* ('poor') → *sigharibe* ('poverty').

WORD CLASSES 1

Nouns Georgian nouns do not distinguish gender or class. There are two numbers, singular and plural, and seven cases. There are no articles ('a', 'the') in Georgian. Noun stems may end in a consonant or in a vowel other than *-i*.

The noun cases are: nominative (used for subjects and direct objects in some verb 'series' – see p. 14 below), **narrative** (usually known in English as the **ergative**, and used for subjects in certain circumstances), dative (used for both direct and indirect objects, and in expressions of place and time), genitive (for possession or other close relationships), instrumental (to express 'by means of'), adverbial (to denote manner), and vocative (used in addressing).

Georgian noun declension is by means of suffixes and is extremely regular. The following table summarizes the process.

CASE	SINGULAR			eb-PLURAL†		n-PLURAL
	stem: consonant	-a, -e	-o, -u	-a	other	all
nominative	-i	∅	∅	[T]-eb-i	-eb-i	-n-i
narrative	-ma	-m	-m	[T]-eb-ma	-eb-ma	-t(a)
dative	-s(a)	-s(a)	-s(a)	[T]-eb-s(a)	-eb-s(a)	-t(a)
genitive	-is(a)†	[T]-is(a)†	-s(a)†	[T]-eb-is(a)	-eb-is(a)	-t(a)
instrumental	-it(a)†	[T]-it(a)†	-ti†	[T]-eb-it(a)	-eb-it(a)	—
adverbial	-ad(a)†	-d(a)†	-d(a)†	[T]-eb-ad(a)	-eb-ad(a)	—
vocative	-o	-o, -v, ∅	-o, -v, ∅	[T]-eb-o	-eb-o	-n-o

∅ no change to stem

(a) long form of case ending (case extension)

† syncope may occur

[T] truncated stem (i.e. stem less -a or -e)

The examples below illustrate the various cases as determined by the syntactical relationships between the nouns and the other words in the sentences.

<i>bavshvi</i> ('child')	<i>bavshv-i tamash-ob-s.</i>	The child is playing.
<i>panjara</i> ('window')	<i>panjr-eb-i ga-v-ts'mind-e.</i>	I cleaned the windows.
<i>kali</i> ('woman')	<i>kal-ma u-tkhr-a.</i>	The woman told him.
<i>gogo</i> ('girl')	<i>gogo-s v-khed-av.</i>	I see the girl.
<i>saghamo</i> ('evening')	<i>am saghamo-s mo-vl-en.</i>	They will come this evening.
<i>sakhli</i> ('house')	<i>is sakhl-is p'at'ron-i ar-i-s.</i>	He is the owner of the house.
<i>tsa</i> ('sky'), <i>mitsa</i> ('earth')	<i>ts-is-a da mits-is ...</i>	... of the sky and of the earth
<i>mts'erali</i> ('writer')	<i>m-ts'er-al-ta k'avshir-i</i>	the Writers' Union
<i>dana</i> ('knife')	<i>dan-it mo-ch'r-a.</i>	He cut it off with a knife.
<i>ekimi</i> ('doctor')	<i>ekim-ad musha-ob-s.</i>	He works as a doctor.
<i>shvili</i> ('son or daughter')	<i>mo-d-i-t ak, shvil-eb-o!</i>	Come here, children!

The *eb*-plural is the usual; the *n*-plural is used in some fixed phrases and for a limited number of stylistic purposes. Inanimate plural nouns have the verb in the singular. The *-a case extension* (long form) of the case endings is used in certain circumstances, such as for the first of two genitives linked by *da* ('and'). Note the syncope and truncation in the example using *panjara*.

Adjectives Adjective stems have the same endings as those of nouns. Adjectives usually precede the nouns which they qualify, and are declined as in the table below. When they come after the nouns (mostly in poetry), stand alone, or are used substantively, they are declined as nouns (and

may undergo syncope). **Possessive adjectives** ('my', 'your', etc.) have the same form as the corresponding possessive pronouns (q.v.). They are declined as below, but sometimes have the dative in *-s* except for the third person singular.

CASE	SINGULAR, <i>eb</i> -PLURAL		<i>n</i> -PLURAL
	stem: consonant	vowel	all
nominative	<i>-i</i>	∅	<i>-n-i</i>
narrative	<i>-ma</i>	∅	∅
dative	∅	∅	∅
genitive	<i>-i</i>	∅	∅
instrumental	<i>-i</i>	∅	—
adverbial	∅	∅	—
vocative	<i>-o</i>	∅	<i>-n-o</i>

The **comparative** degree is formed by placing the word *upro* ('more') before the positive form. The English 'than' is rendered by *vidre* or using the postposition *-ze* ('on'). The **superlative** may be formed using *u — es* (with possible syncope and, on occasions, some alteration to the stem) or periphrastically using *q'velaze* (*upro*) ('on-all (more)') and the positive form. Certain common adjectives show some irregularities in comparison. **Demonstrative adjectives** show a three-way opposition between close to the speaker (e.g. *es* (oblique form *am*) 'this'), close to the person addressed (eg (oblique form *mag*) 'that'), and distant from both (*is*, *igi* (oblique form *im*) 'that there'). ('Oblique' refers to cases other than the nominative.)

akhal sakhl-s a-shen-eb-en.

They are building a new (*akhali*) house.

romel p'erang-s cha-i-tsv-am? tetr-s.

Which shirt will you wear? The white (*tetri*) one.

did-ma bich'-ma m-i-tkhr-a.

The big (*did-i*) boy told me.

es chven-i p'at'ar-eb-is otakh-i-a.

This is our little (*p'at'ara*) ones' room.

A upro did-i-a vidre B. = A B-ze (upro) did-i-a. A is bigger than B.

A q'vela-ze did-i-a. = A u-did-es-i-a. A is the biggest.

Note: *-a = ar-i-s* ('is')

Adverbs Adverbs are formed from the adverbial case of the corresponding adjective, e.g. *k'argi* ('good') → *k'argad* ('well'), *lamazi* ('beautiful') → *lamazad* ('beautifully'). Sometimes the *-d* is omitted, e.g. *chkari* ('fast') → *chkara* ('fast'), *neli* ('slow') → *nela* ('slowly'). **Demonstrative adverbs** also show a three-way opposition, e.g. *ak* ('here'), *mand* ('there'), *ik* ('there').

Pronouns **Demonstrative pronouns** also have a three-way contrast: *es* (oblique stem *ama-*) ('this'), *eg* (oblique stem *maga-*) ('that'), and *is*, *igi* (oblique stem (*i-*)*ma-*) ('that there'). There is no difference in meaning between the forms with *i-* and those without.

Personal pronouns ('I', 'you', etc.) are declined as in the table below. Note that the demonstrative pronoun is used for the third person, with the *n*-plural being the norm. The personal pronouns are used in Georgian mainly for emphasis or contrast, as the pronominal markers in the verb complex fulfil the same function. The second person plural is used to show respect.

CASE	PERSON					
	1 sing.	2 sing.	3 sing.	1 plur.	2 plur.	3 plur.
nominative	<i>me</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>is, igi</i>	<i>chven</i>	<i>tkven</i>	<i>isi-n-i, igi-n-i</i>
narrative	<i>me</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>(i-)ma-n</i>	<i>chven</i>	<i>tkven</i>	<i>(i-)ma-t</i>
dative	<i>me</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>(i-)ma-s</i>	<i>chven</i>	<i>tkven</i>	<i>(i-)ma-t</i>
genitive	<i>chem</i>	<i>shen</i>	<i>(i-)m-is</i>	<i>chven</i>	<i>tkven</i>	<i>(i-)ma-t</i>
instrumental	—	—	<i>(i-)m-it</i>	—	—	—
adverbial	—	—	<i>(i-)m-ad</i>	—	—	—
vocative	—	<i>she(n)</i>	—	—	<i>tkve(n)</i>	—

Possessive pronouns ('mine', 'yours', etc.) are formed by adding *-i* to the genitive of the personal pronoun (the form without *i-* is used in the third person), e.g. *chemi, sheni, misi*. The reflexive possessive pronouns are *tavisi* ('his own') and *tavianti* ('their own').

The reflexive pronouns are formed using *tavi* ('head') with the appropriate possessive adjectives, e.g. *sheni tavi* ('yourself'). Note the third person form *tavisi tavi*. The reciprocal pronoun is *ertmaneti* ('each other'), and the emphatic pronoun is *tviton*, which is not declined, e.g. *me tviton* ('I myself').

Interrogative pronouns include *vin* ('who'), *ra* ('what'), *ramdeni* ('how many'), *romeli* ('which'), *rat'om* ('why'), *rogor* ('how'), *rodis* ('when'), *sad* ('where'), *saidan* ('from where'). Relative pronouns are derived from these by adding *-(a)ts*, e.g. *romelits, rats, sadats*, but note *rodis* → *rodesats, rotsa*. Indefinite pronouns are formed with *-ghats(a)* and *-me*.

<i>maga-s g-e-ubn-eb-i!</i>	That's what I'm telling you!
<i>(me shen) ver g-khed-av.</i>	I can't see you.
<i>shen-s-(a-s) khval mo-g-tsem.</i>	I'll give you yours tomorrow.
<i>gogo-m tavis-i sa-tamash-o da-k'arg-a.</i>	The girl lost her toy.
<i>tav-is tav-ze ishviat-ad lap'arak'-ob-s.</i>	He seldom speaks about himself.
<i>ertmanet-s kucha-shi she-khvd-nen.</i>	They met each other in the street.
<i>(shen) tviton rat'om ar a-k'et-eb?</i>	Why don't you do it yourself?
<i>rodis mo-kh-val?</i>	When will you come?
<i>mo-val, rotsa mza-d v-i-kn-eb-i.</i>	I'll come when I'm ready.

Postpositions In place of the English prepositions ('on', 'for', etc.) Georgian uses postpositions which may be in the form of either a postfix attached to the noun, or a separate word which follows it. Postpositions can govern various cases. Some of the more common postpositions are listed below, together with their primary meanings and the cases they govern.

DATIVE With some postpositions (marked *) the *-s* of the dative is omitted.

*-ze** ('on, onto') *sk'am-ze* ('on the chair'), *k'edel-ze* ('on the wall'). Note: *shemodgoma-ze* ('in autumn'), *k'reba-ze* ('at a meeting')

-tan ('at, near') (* for consonantal stems) *magida-s-tan* ('at the table'), *k'areb-tan* ('near the door').
 Note: *megobar-tan* ('at a friend's house'), *manana-s-tan* ('at Manana's')
-tan ertad ('together with') (* for consonantal stems) *natsnob-tan ertad* ('together with an acquaintance'), *tkven-tan ertad* ('together with you')
-vit ('like, as') (with the long form of the case ending, or with a nominative consonantal stem)
musha-s-a-vit ('like a worker'), *gmir-i-vit* ('like a hero')
*-shi** ('in, into') *otakh-shi* ('in(to) the room'), *ivnis-shi* ('in June')
shoris ('between, among') (also with genitive) *kalak-s-a da sopel-s shoris* ('between town and country'), *mezobleb-s shoris* ('among the neighbours')

GENITIVE Some postpositions (marked *) may also be used with the long case ending.

gamo ('because of, on account of') *amind-is gamo* ('on account of the weather'), *shen-s gamo* ('because of you' – note the unexpected -s)
*-gan** ('from, of') *tanamshroml-is-gan* ('from a work colleague'), *kh-is-gan* ('made from wood')
garda ('except for') *st'udent'eb-is garda* ('except for the students'), *p'arask'ev-is garda* ('except for Friday')
*-tvis** ('for') *momavl-is-tvis* ('for the future'), *tkven-tvis* ('for you')
*-k'en** ('in the direction of, towards') *kalak-is-k'en* ('towards the city'), *sakhl-is-k'en* ('homeward')
mier ('by') *mts'eri-is mier* ('by the writer'), *mshobleb-is mier* ('by the parents')
uk'an ('behind') (also with dative) *im-is uk'an* ('behind him'), *sakhl-is uk'an* ('behind the house')
kvesh ('under, beneath') (also with dative) *ts-is kvesh* ('under the sky'), *mits-is kvesh* ('underground')
shemdeg ('after') *dzil-is shemdeg* ('after sleep'), *erti k'vir-is shemdeg* ('a week later')
shesakheb ('about, concerning') *sakm-is shesakheb* ('concerning the matter'), *im-is shesakheb* ('about him')
ts'in ('before, in front of') *shenob-is ts'in* ('in front of the building'), *korts'il-is ts'in* ('before the wedding')

INSTRUMENTAL

-dan ('from, out of, since') (the -t of the instrumental is omitted) *tsikh-i-dan* ('from the fortress / prison'), *dabadeb-i-dan* ('since birth')

ADVERBIAL

-mde ('up to, as far as') (the -d of the adverbial is omitted) *navsadgur-a-mde* ('as far as the harbour'), *sik'vdil-a-mde* ('until death')

Numerals The Georgian counting system is fundamentally vigesimal (based on 20), with some decimal features. The basic **cardinal numbers** are: 1 *ert-i*, 2 *or-i*, 3 *sam-i*, 4 *otkh-i*, 5 *khut-i*, 6 *ekvs-i*, 7 *shvid-i*, 8 *rva*, 9 *tskhra*, 10 *at-i*, 20 *ots-i*, 100 *as-i*. To these may be added *nul-i* ('zero') and *million-i* ('million'). The form of numbers between 11 and 19 may be represented as **[a]t-x-met'-i*, i.e. '10-x-more', viz. 11 *t-ert-met'-i*, 12 *t-or-met'-i*, 13 *tsa-met'-i*, 14 *t-otkh-met'-i*, 15 *t-khut-met'-i*, 16 *t-ekvs-met'-i*, 17 *chvid-met'-i*, 18 *tvra-met'-i*, 19 *tskkhra-met'-i*. Cardinal numbers between 21 and 99 have the form **[x-m]-jots-da-y*, i.e., '[x.] 20 + y', e.g. 22 *ots-da-or-i*, 43 *or-m-ots-da-sam-i*, 56 *or-m-ots-da-t-ekvs-met'-i*. Other numerals are formed using a combinations of the above, e.g. 2675 *or-i at-as ekvs-as sam-ots-da-t-khut-met'-i*, i.e. (2 x 10 x 100) + (6 x 100) + (3 x 20) + (10 + 5). The cardinal numerals are declined in the same manner as nouns. (Only the last number in compound numbers is declined.) The singular number is used with numerals.

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding *me* — *e* to the last element of the numeral, e.g. 54 *ormots-da-me-toikhmet'-e*. This is abbreviated as *me-54* (the hyphen is written). Note that 'first' is *p'irvel-i*, but 'twenty-first' follows the general rule (*ots-da-me-ert-e*). Note also that 'eighth' is *me-rv-e*, and 'ninth' is *me-tskhr-e*.

Conjunctions Among the more common conjunctions are: *da* ('and'), *magram* ('but'), *tu* ('if'), *tumtsa* ('although'), *tundats* ('even if'), *tiitkos* ('as though'), *vinaidan* ('because'), *radgan* ('for, because'),

Particles This word class includes the following:

khom: Used in questions expecting an affirmative answer, e.g. *khom ar i-ts-i-t sad ar-i-s?* ('You don't happen to know where he is, do you?').

gana: Used when a negative answer is expected, e.g. *gana martla egre i-q'-o?* ('Surely it wasn't really like that?').

net'a(y): Introduces wishes, e.g. *net'a cha-mo-vid-od-nen da-gham-eb-a-mde!* ('Wouldn't it be good if they arrived before nightfall!'). It adds a note of curiosity to questions, e.g. *net'a ra-s a-k'et-eb-s kholme saghamo-ob-it?* ('What, I wonder, does he usually do in the evenings?').

ho, k'i, diakh: All have the basic meaning of 'yes', but *diakh* is used to show respect to the person addressed. The particle *k'i* has a number of other meanings and uses ('however', 'but', to add emphasis, etc.), e.g. *chmem-i megobr-eb-i kucha-shi tamash-ob-d-nen, me k'i sakhl-shi v-sts' avl-ob-d-i* ('My friends played in the street, but I used to study at home').

-metki: (written with hyphen) Used by the speaker when quoting his own words, e.g. *uk've g-i-tkhar-i, ar v-i-ts-i-metki*. ('I've told you already: I don't know.').

-o: Used in reporting a third person's speech, e.g. *bich'-ma tkv-a, me ik v-i-q'-av-i da araper-i ar m-i-nakh-av-s-o* ("I was there", the boy said, "and I didn't see anything.").

-tko: (written with hyphen) Used when a second person is to repeat the speaker's words to a third, e.g. *u-tkhar-i, shen-ts mo-di-tko* ('Tell him he should come too.').

-ts(a): Draws attention to a noun or pronoun; can often be translated by 'also' or 'too', e.g. *me-ts v-nakh-e* ('I, too, saw him.').

-ve: Emphasizes identity, e.g. *dila-s mi-v-di-v-ar, magram dghe-s-ve da-v-brun-d-eb-i*. ('I'm leaving this morning, but I'm returning this very day.'). Note *igi-ve* ('the same'), *or-i-ve* ('both'), *ik-ve* ('in that very place').

ar(a), ver(a), nu: all are negative particles. The form *ar(a)* indicates simple negation, in contrast to *ver(a)*, which conveys the idea of inability, e.g. *ver ga-g-i-k'et-eb; dro sul ara m-a-kv-s*. ('I can't do it for you; I simply don't have the time.'). The particle *nu* is used in prohibitions, e.g. *nu g-e-shin-i-a nur-a-pr-i-s*. ('Don't be afraid of anything.').

WORD CLASSES 2 (THE VERB)

In contrast to other word classes the Georgian verb is relatively complex. Comparison with the verb systems of the more familiar Indo-European languages shows a number of significant differences, including the following:

- a higher average number of morphemes per word (agglutination)
- contrasts between intransitive / transitive and static / dynamic verbs (class)
- tense-aspect-mood-status paradigms in place of the more familiar tenses ('screeves')
- the ability to encode the person and number of the subject, direct object and indirect object (polypersonalism)
- the ability to mark indirect objects as benefactors, possessors, etc. ('version')
- a more complex system of identifying subject and objects (case marking)
- a more precise distinction of direction with verbs of motion than in many of the more familiar languages (directional preverbs).

Given the complexity of the Georgian verb it is not surprising that differing analyses have been proposed by linguists. Here an attempt is made to give a broad overview of the verb system while, at the same time, illustrating some of the more unfamiliar concepts. Certain simplifications have had to be made, and many details and irregularities have had to be omitted due to lack of space.

Screeve system Each 'conjugational pattern' in Georgian represents a unique combination of tense, aspect, mood and 'status', and is known as a screeve. This word was coined from the Georgian term *mts'k' rivi* ('row') to avoid using the label 'tense' with its strong temporal connotations. A screeve consists of the pattern of verb forms for each person and number (cf. Latin *amo, amas, amat*, etc.). There are eleven screeves in Georgian, grouped into three series (see table below). Series 1 (S1) (the 'present series') has two subseries ('present' and 'future'), each with three screeves. Series 2 (S2) (the 'aorist series') has two screeves, while Series 3 (S3) (the 'perfect series') has three, although the perfect subjunctive is now obsolescent. The status of a Georgian verb may be 'evidential' or 'nonevidential'. All Series 3 screeves are evidential, indicating a certain distancing of the speaker from the statement.

SCREEVE SYSTEM

SERIES	SCREEVES	
1 ('present')	present subseries	future subseries
	present imperfect	future conditional
	present subjunctive	future subjunctive
2 ('aorist')	aorist optative (second subjunctive)	
3 ('perfect')	perfect (first evidential)	
	pluperfect (second evidential)	
	[perfect subjunctive (third evidential)]	

Verb class Georgian verbs as a whole may be divided into broad categories, called classes, which share general morphological, syntactic or semantic characteristics. These groupings are generalizations: some verbs in each class may show a level of irregularity, and some verbs may not fall into any of the classes.

CLASS 1 (C1) (the ‘transitive verbs’) comprises for the most part transitive verbs, i.e. there is a subject and a direct object. Examples are *ts'er-s* (‘he writes it’) and *zrd-i-s* (‘he rears him’, ‘he grows it’). A small number of verbs are intransitive, e.g. *a-khvel-eb-s* (‘he coughs’), while others can include both an indirect and a direct object, e.g. *a-chuk-eb-s* (‘he will give it to him as a gift’). This class also includes causatives such as *a-ts'er-in-eb-s* (‘he will cause him to write it’). The future / aorist stem of C1 verbs is formed by adding a preverb, e.g. *ga-zrd-i-s* (‘he will raise him’, ‘he will grow it’), *da-a-ts'er-in-a* (‘he caused him to write it’).

CLASS 2 (C2) (the ‘intransitive verbs’) includes the following three types: Type (a) (the radical intransitives) have the suffix *-eb* in the present series, but no distinctive C2 marker in the aorist series. In many cases there is a corresponding C1 verb using the same root. This type includes verbs such as *tb-eb-a* (‘it warms up’) and *rck-eb-a* (‘he remains’). Type (b) (the prefixal intransitives) use the prefix *i-* to derive intransitive verbs (which also usually have corresponding C1 forms), and have the suffix *-eb* in the present series, e.g. *ga-i-zrd-eb-a* (‘it will grow (up)’). The resulting verbs are almost invariably passive in meaning with respect to their C1 counterparts, e.g. *da-i-ts'er-a* (‘it was written’) (cf. *da-ts'er-a* ‘he wrote it’). Type (c) (the suffixal intransitives) use the suffix *-d* to derive verbs from nouns or adjectives (denominatives). Many of these denote changes of state, e.g. *ga-dzvir-d-eb-a* (‘it will become dear’), from *dzviri* (‘dear’). There are some exceptional transitive verbs in C2, e.g. *u-q'v-eb-a* (‘he tells it to him’).

CLASS 3 (C3) (the ‘medial verbs’). Although case marking is the same as in C1, C3 verbs differ in that most denote intransitive activities, and so never take a direct object, e.g. *t'ir-i-s* (‘he cries’). In some instances a direct object is optional, e.g. (*burts*) *tamash-ob-s* (‘he plays (ball)'), while in others a direct object is obligatory, e.g. *q'id-ulob-s* (‘he buys it’). There are three main verb types: basic verbs such as *q'vir-i-s* (‘he yells’), denominatives such as *bat'on-ob-s* (‘he rules’) from *bat'oni* (‘lord, master’), and expressives such as *k'rial-eb-s* (‘it gleams, shines’), *k'ank'al-eb-s* (‘he trembles’), which depict noise, light or certain types of motion. All C3 verbs form the future / aorist stem with the prefix *i-*, e.g. *i-t'ir-eb-s* (‘he will cry’) and usually – but not always – with the suffix *-eb* in the future subseries (cf. *i-s't'ven-s* ‘he will whistle’). With the exception of those verbs that take an obligatory direct object (and whose stems mostly end in *-ulob* in the present subseries), C3 verbs describe dynamic situations that are viewed as lasting for a certain period of time.

CLASS 4 (C4) (the ‘inversion verbs’). A characteristic of C4 verbs in all series is that the subject is marked with the dative case, and the direct object with the nominative (inversion), e.g. *gogo-s ts'ign-i a-kv-s* (‘the girl has a book’). This ‘inverted’ construction can be approximated in English in this case by ‘to-the-girl a-book in-her-possession-is’. Most C4 verbs denote feelings, emotions, sensations and states of being that endure for periods of time. The C4 verbs include desideratives, which indicate an urge to do something and which are formed using the circumflex *e-* — *-eb*, e.g. *e-tsek'v-eb-a* (‘he feels like dancing’) (cf. *tsek'v-av-s* ‘he dances’). A few C4 verbs mark the direct object with the genitive, e.g. *gogo-s dzaghl-is e-shin-i-a* (‘the girl is afraid of the dog’).

Case marking A characteristic feature of Georgian is that apparent subjects and objects are not always marked consistently. Indeed, the subject of a clause may be marked with either the nominative, narrative or dative case. There are three patterns of case marking for the subject and direct object (Nom./Dat., Nar./ Nom., Dat./Nom.), the actual pattern being determined by the verb class and series (see table below). Both C1 and C3 verbs have the same case marking patterns. Note that the narrative is only used to mark the subjects of C1 and C3 verbs in the aorist series. When the subject is marked with the dative and the direct object with the nominative (‘inversion’), then the postposition *-vis* (‘for’) is used to mark any indirect object (referred to as a vis-nominal), e.g. *dato-s megobr-is-ivis da-u-rek'-i-a* (‘Dato [apparently] telephoned his friend’).

CASE MARKING

CLASS	SERIES	SUBJECT	DIRECT OBJECT	INDIRECT OBJECT
1,3	Present	Nominative	Dative	Dative
	Aorist	Narrative	Nominative	Dative
	Perfect	Dative	Nominative	(-tvis)
2	all	Nominative	Dative	Dative
4	all	Dative	Nominative	—

Verb structure Georgian verbs consist of an obligatory root or stem, and zero or more affixes. One analysis posits a total of 24 affix slots, or positions, in addition to the root slot. In practice, no verb will have all possible slots occupied. The minimum of zero affixes is illustrated by the imperative *ts'er* ('write it'). The model proposed here has a total of eleven slots (three pre-radical and seven post-radical – see table). Verb stems range from the single consonant *-k-* ('praise') to the compound *-ert+m+nishvn+el+ian-* ('reduce to a common denominator'), but the most common form is consonant(s)-vowel-consonant(s), e.g. *-k'et-* ('do'), *-mskhverpl-* ('sacrifice').

VERB COMPLEX

-3	-2	-1	0		1
preverb(s)	pronominal marker(s)	pre-radical vowel	ROOT or STEM		passive infix
		participle prefix			
2	3	4	5	6	7
present stem formant	causative marker(s)	stem augment	screeve marker	pronominal marker	plural marker
	participial suffix	(i)n-infix		auxiliary verb	

Pronominal marker (PM) In addition to marking the subject, the Georgian verb can also incorporate markers for direct and indirect objects. These pronominal markers can occupy either a pre- or post-radical slot, or both (see table). The second person subject marker is usually \emptyset (i.e. no written affix), but a few verbs retain an older form, *kh-*, e.g. *kh-ar* ('you are'), *mi-kh-val-t* ('you will go'). Note how the plural marker (Pl.) *-t* is used.

PRONOMINAL MARKERS

PERSON	SUBJECT	DIR. OBJECT	INDIR. OBJECT
1 sing.	v- —	m- —	m- —
2 sing.	\emptyset ; (<i>kh-</i> —)	g- —	g- —
3 sing.	— <i>-s, -a, -o</i>	\emptyset	<i>s, h-</i> —; \emptyset
1 plur.	v- — <i>-t</i>	gv- —	gv- —
2 plur.	— <i>-t</i> ; (<i>kh-</i> — <i>-t</i>)	g- — <i>-t</i>	g- — <i>-t</i>
3 plur.	— <i>-en, -an, -nen, -n, -es</i>	\emptyset	<i>s, h-</i> — <i>-t</i> ; — <i>-t</i>

— indicates the verb root or stem. Note the plural marker *-t*.

The choice of third person subject marker is dependent upon the verb class and screeve, and some examples are given below. The form of the third person indirect object marker depends upon the

following letter. The use of *s-* and *h-* is declining in the modern language. Where a subject and an object marker occur together the former is usually omitted. The only exception is when a first person subject and a third person indirect object co-occur. The norm is that both are written, but this is seldom the case in the contemporary language, where the object marker is omitted. Examples of the use of the PM are: *g-khed-av* ('I see you'), *m-khed-av* ('you see me'), *gv-khed-av-t* ('you see us'), *khed-av-en* ('they see him / them'), *v-khed-av-t* ('we see him / them'), and *mi-v-[s-]ts'er-e-t* ('we have written it to him / them').

Preverb (PVB) The primary function of the preverb is to indicate direction when used with verbs of motion. It has the secondary functions of indicating the perfective aspect, and of changing the basic meaning of a verb stem. The preverb has also acquired additional functions which are not considered here.

The more common preverbs with their directional meanings are: *mi-* ('hither'), *mo-* ('thither'), *a(gh)-* ('up'), *ga(n)-* ('out, away, off'), *ga(r)da-* ('over, across, through'), *da-* ('down'), *she-* ('in'), *cha-* ('(in and) down'), *ts'a(r)-* ('away, off'). Compound preverbs, formed by adding *-mo-* to any but the first two in this list, result in a reversal of direction from 'away from' the speaker to 'towards' the speaker. Examples of the use of directional preverbs are *mi-di-s* ('he goes'), *gad-mo-tsur-a* ('he swam across to here') (the final *-a* of *gada-* is dropped before *-mo-*).

There is an aspectual difference between the corresponding screeves of the present and future subseries, a contrast between incompleted action ('imperfective') and completed action ('perfective'), marked by a PVB in the case of C1 and C2 verbs. This aspectual distinction is clearer if there are no additional time or mood contrasts, as in the aorist screeve where there is an imperfective aorist (albeit seldom used) in addition to the usual perfective aorist described below, e.g. *gushin ori saati v-ts'er-e es si'at'ia, magram ver da-v-ts'er-e bolomde* ('For two hours yesterday I wrote this article, but I could not complete it' – literally: 'I could not write it to the end').

Preverbs can qualify the basic meaning of a verb root and, on occasions, the resulting verbs may have apparently totally unrelated meanings, e.g. *cha-rt-av-s* ('he will switch it on'), *mo-rt-av-s* ('he will decorate it'), *she-rt-av-s* ('he will marry him to her', 'he will mix it with it'). In such cases the verb form in the present subseries is not in itself sufficient to distinguish between the various meanings, and contextual information must be used instead.

Pre-radical vowel (PV) The pre-radical vowels (version vowels) *a-*, *e-*, *i-* and *u-* occur immediately before the verb root or stem. They have a number of functions, the more common of which are summarized below. In some cases, however, no apparent function can be assigned to the PV. (The PV *a-* should not be confused with the PVB of the same form.)

-a-: forms C1 denominatives, e.g. *a-parto-eb-s* ('he widens it' – from *parto* 'wide'); forms causatives (see C1 verbs, p. 15 above); indicates that the action takes place 'on' something (see p. 20), e.g. *a-ts'er-s* ('he writes it on it');

e-: refers to indirect objects, mostly with C2 verbs; refers to pluperfect screeve subjects;

i-: indicates first and second person indirect objects when the action takes place for someone's benefit (see p. 20), and marks inverted subjects in the first and second persons, e.g. *g-i-shen-eb-t* ('we build it for you'), *ga-g-i-g-i-a* ('you have heard it'); indicates reflexivity, e.g. *i-ban-s* ('he washes himself'); forms the future / aorist stem of C3 verbs (see p. 15);

u-: indicates an indirect object or an inverted subject in the third person (cf. *i-* above).

C1-3 present and aorist series verbs In these screeves the verb is based on one of two stems: the 'present' and the 'future / aorist'. The present stem consists of the verb root followed by a suffix – the **present stem formant** (PSF) – and forms the stem used in the screeves of the present subseries, e.g. *-khat'-av-* ('paint'). The future / aorist stem consists of the root alone, and is used in forming the future subseries and the aorist series, e.g. *-khat'-*.

VERB STRUCTURE (PRESENT, AORIST SERIES)

SCREEVE	CLASS 1
Present	PM - [PV] - ROOT - PSF - PM - [Pl.]
Imperfect, Present subjunctive	PM - [PV] - ROOT - PSF - SA (d) - SM - PM - [Pl.]
Aorist, Optative	PVB - PM - [PV] - ROOT - SM - PM - [Pl.]
SCREEVE	CLASS 2
Present	(a) PM - ROOT - PI (eb) - SM - PM - [Pl.] (b) PM - PV (i) - ROOT - PI (eb) - SM - PM - [Pl.] (c) PM - ROOT - PI (d) - PSF (eb) - SM - PM - [Pl.]
Imperfect, Present subjunctive	as Present screeve, but with SA (od)
Aorist, Optative	(a) PVB - PM - ROOT - SM - PM - [Pl.] (b) PVB - PM - PV (i) - ROOT - SM - PM - [Pl.] (*) (c) PVB - PM - ROOT - PI (d) - SM - PM - [Pl.]
SCREEVE	CLASS 3
Present, Imperfect, Pres. subj.	as Class 1, but with PV (Ø), SA (od) with PSF (i)
Future †	PM - PV (i) - ROOT - [PSF (eb)] - PM - [Pl.]
Aorist, Optative	PM - PV (i) - ROOT - SM - PM - [Pl.]

Fut. (exc. †) = PVB + Pres.; Cond. = PVB + Imp.; Fut. subj. = PVB + Pres. subj.

* Many Class 2(a) verbs show peculiarities in the formation of aorist series screeves.

The most frequent forms of the PSF are *-i* (e.g. *ch'r-i* 'you cut it'), *-av* (e.g. *khat'-av* 'you paint it'), *-am* (e.g. *ch'-am* 'you eat it'), *-eb* (e.g. *d-eb* 'you put it'), *-ob* (e.g. *tskhovr-ob* 'you live'), and *Ø* (e.g. *ts'er* 'you write it'). The forms *-em* and *-op* are much less common. The PSF *-eb* is usual with C1 denominatives, C2(c) verbs and in the C3 future subseries, while *-ob* often occurs with C3 verbs. Note the PSF *Ø* with C2 (a, b) verbs.

SCREEVE AND PRONOMINAL MARKERS

SERIES	SCREEVE	VERB CLASS	SCREEVE MARKER	PRONOMINAL MARKER	
				3 sing. subj.	3 plur. subj.
present	present, future	1, 3	Ø	-s	-en, -an
		2	i, Ø*	-a*, -s*	-an
	imperfect, conditional	1,2,3	i, Ø*	-a*	-nen*
		subjunctive	1,2,3	e, Ø*	-s
aorist	aorist	1,3	e, Ø*	-a*, -o*	-es*
			i, Ø*	-a*	-es*
		2 (a, c)	i, Ø*	-a*	-nen*
		2 (b)	e, Ø*	-a*, -o*	-nen*
	optative	1, 2 (b), 3	o	-s	-n
			a	-s	-n
		2 (a, c)	e, Ø*	-s	-nen*

* denotes that the SM Ø is used with the corresponding third person PM

In some verbs the form of the verb root as used in the present and future stems differs from that used in the aorist stem; examples are *-ch'r-* → *-ch'er-* ('cut'), *-k'l-* → *-k'al-* ('kill'), *-tskh-* → *-tskhv-* ('bake'). Some C2(b) verbs show peculiarities in the formation of the aorist series.

The **screeve marker** (SM), which is either a vowel (except *u*) or \emptyset , precedes the second PM slot, but it is seldom sufficient in itself to identify the screeve unambiguously. It is always \emptyset in the present and future screeves and, in all but two screeves, it is omitted before the third person PM (see table above). The stem is extended by the addition of a suffix (*-d* or *-od*), known as the **stem augment** (SA), in the imperfect and present subjunctive. The **passive infixes** (PI), *-d-* and *-eb-*, are used in the formation of C2 screeves (see p. 15). In addition to these affixes there are also the PM, PV and plural marker as described earlier. This complex structure is tabulated above in very general terms. The table is primarily for reference purposes, and contains details which cannot be examined in the space available here. Instead, some examples of verb conjugation patterns are given to illustrate how these various affixes combine in typical Georgian verbs:

Screeve:	Present	Conditional	Aorist	Optative
Root:	<i>-k'et'-</i> (C1)	<i>-ts'ül-</i> (C2)	<i>-ts'er-</i> (C1)	<i>-tamash-</i> (C3)
1 pers.	<i>v-a-k'et'-eb(-t)</i>	<i>ga-v-ts'ül-d-eb-od-i(-t)</i>	<i>da-v-a-ts'er-in-e(-t)</i>	<i>v-i-tamash-o(-t)</i>
2 pers.	<i>a-k'et'-eb(-t)</i>	<i>ga-ts'ül-d-eb-od-i(-t)</i>	<i>da-a-ts'er-in-e(-t)</i>	<i>i-tamash-o(-t)</i>
3 sing.	<i>a-k'et'-eb-s</i>	<i>ga-ts'ül-d-eb-od-a</i>	<i>da-a-ts'er-in-a</i>	<i>i-tamash-os</i>
3 plur.	<i>a-k'et'-eb-en</i>	<i>ga-ts'ül-d-eb-od-nen</i>	<i>da-a-ts'er-in-es</i>	<i>i-tamash-on</i>
Gloss	'do it'	'would blush'	'made him write it'	'may play'

C4 and perfect series verbs In the present screeve the noun or pronoun logical subject of a C4 verb is marked with the dative case, and the verb incorporates the corresponding indirect object PM often together with a PV that points to the logical subject. The logical direct object is marked with the nominative case and, within the verb, with a suffixed **auxiliary verb** (AV) which is a variant of the present tense of the verb *q'opna* ('be'), viz. *v-ar(-t)* ('I am / we are') → *v-* — *-var(t)*, *kh-ar(-t)* ('you are') → — *-khar(t)*, and *ar-i-s* ('he is') / *ar-i-an* ('they are') → — *-s, -a*. Examples are:

tav-i m-t'k'iv-a. ('I have a headache', literally: 'my head pains me.')

g-i-nd-a rame? ('Do you want something?')

mtsenare-eb-s ts'q'al-i u-nd-a. ('Plants need water.')

bavshveb-s dzalian v-u-q'var-var-t. ('The children love us very much.')

mama-s pul-i a-kv-s. ('Father has money.')

The pattern in the other screeves is similar to that of C2 verbs with PV *e* (i.e. the 'relative verbs' – see p. 20). Many C4 verbs have no aorist screeve, and use the imperfect instead. In screeves other than the present, the direct object is not marked with an AV, but with a combination of SM and subject PM as in direct verbs. Examples are: *m-i-khar-i-a* ('I am glad') → *ga-m-i-khar-d-eb-od-a* ('I would be glad'), *g-i-q'var-s* ('you love him') → *g-i-q'var-d-a* ('you loved him'), *v-u-q'var-s* ('he loves me') → *v-u-q'var-d-i* ('he loved me' – note the *v-*). Inversion occurs in all screeves.

The perfect series of C1 and C3 verbs is based on the future / aorist stem, while C2 verbs use a combination of the perfect participle and the verb 'be' (in the case of 'absolute verbs'), or a stem based on the verb noun (in the case of 'relative verbs'). (See the following sections for the contrast between absolute and relative verbs, and for details of non-finite verb forms.) The AV is used to mark logical direct objects in the perfect screeve and in the pluperfect of absolute C2 verbs,

although the third person plural forms sometimes differ from those used with C4 verbs; the past tense of *q'opna* ('be') is used in the pluperfect of absolute C2 verbs. Inversion occurs with C1 and C3 verbs. Space does not permit more than a few examples (the nouns are all subjects). Note the behaviour of the C1 verbs with PSF *-av* and *-eb*.

Class	Aorist	Perfect	Pluperfect
C1	<i>k'ats-ma da-ts'er-a</i>	<i>k'ats-s da-u-ts'er-i-a</i>	<i>k'ats-s da-e-ts'er-a</i>
C1	<i>kal-ma da-khat'-a</i>	<i>kal-s da-u-khat'-av-s</i>	<i>kal-s da-e-khat'-a</i>
C1	<i>deda-m ga-a-k'et'-a</i>	<i>deda-s ga-u-k'et'-eb-i-a</i>	<i>deda-s ga-e-k'et'-eb-in-a</i>
C2 (abs.)	<i>dzma da-rch-a</i>	<i>dzma da-rchen-il-a</i>	<i>dzma da-rchen-il-iq'o</i>
C2 (rel.)	<i>gogo da-e-khmar-a</i>	<i>gogo da-khmar-eb-i-a</i>	<i>gogo da-khmar-eb-od-a</i>
C3	<i>bich'-ma i-tamash-a</i>	<i>bich'-s u-tamash-[n]-i-a</i>	<i>bich'-s e-tamash-[n]-a</i>

Indirect relations The Georgian verb can code both direct and indirect objects. For example, in the sentence *gogo megobar-s ts'ign-s mi-s-tsem-s* ('The girl will give [her] friend a book') the indirect object PM *s-* in the verb refers to the indirect object (*megobar-s*) which is in the dative, as is the direct object (*ts'ign-s*) which is marked in the verb with the PM \emptyset . The indirect object relation is clearer in the aorist: *gogo-m megobar-s ts'ign-i mi-s-ts-a*. However, the structure changes in the perfect, where the sentence becomes *gogo-s megobr-is-tvis ts'ign-i mi-u-ts-i-a* – the process of inversion has put the subject of the English sentence into the dative in Georgian, and the English indirect object has become a *tvis*-nominal (see p. 15). The verb still expresses an indirect relationship, but it now points to the 'logical subject' (*gogo-s*) using the pre-radical vowel *u-*.

The PRV plays an important role in expressing an indirect relation, a concept which itself is much broader in Georgian than in English. The sentence *k'ats-i sakhl-s a-shen-eb-s* ('the man is building a house') makes no reference to an indirect relation (and is thus sometimes said to have neutral version). Changing the PRV to *i-* (*k'ats-i sakhl-s i-shen-eb-s*) changes the meaning to 'the man is building a house for himself' (subjective version). The PRV *u-* refers to a third person indirect relation as in *k'ats-i dzma-s sakhl-s u-shen-eb-s* ('the man is building a house for [his] brother'), and is known as the objective version. This distinction is preserved in the aorist series, but it is lost in the perfect series as the PRV now points to the 'logical subject' (*k'ats-s*) and not to the beneficiary of the action. Class C2(c) verbs also use the PRV *u-* to express an indirect relation, e.g. *dzma-s sakhl-i u-shen-d-eb-a* ('The house is being built for the brother').

The prefixal intransitives (C2(b) verbs) use the PRV *e-* in their relative forms: cf. *bich'-i i-mal-eb-a* ('the boy is hiding') and *bich'-i da-s e-mal-eb-a* ('the boy is hiding from [his] sister'). In this case the contrast between the unmarked (absolute) and the marked (relative) forms of the verb is preserved in the perfect series (see the examples in the table above).

The PRV *a-* is used to mark another indirect relationship, indicating that the action of the verb takes place 'on' a surface; cf. *surat-s khat'-av-s* ('he is painting a picture') and *surat-s k'edel-s a-khat'-av-s* ('he is painting a picture on the wall'). This is sometimes referred to as the superesive version.

It should be noted that, in general, the pre-radical vowels have a number of different functions in addition to signalling an indirect relation as described here.

Non-finite verb forms The masdar is a verbal noun which may be imperfective or perfective in aspect. The derivational methods vary; cf. *ts'er-s* ('he writes it') → *ts'er-a* ('writing'), *khat'av-s* ('he paints it') → *khat'v-a* ('painting'), *s-tkhov-s* ('he asks him for it') → *tkhov-na* ('request'), *u-nd-a* ('he wants it') → *nd-oma* ('desire'), *i-brdzv-i-s* ('he fights') → *brdz-ola* ('fight'). As a derived nominal the masdar behaves as any other noun, and may be translated in various ways, e.g.

agh-ar m-i-nd-a im-is nakh-v-a ('I no longer wish to see that' – literally: 'the seeing of that.')
ga-svl-is ts' in shuk-i ga-mo-rt-o. ('He switched off the light before going out.')

Note that the masdar is the usual citation form of the verb in Georgian dictionaries. The usual practice of listing verbs by masdar (and not by root) can make the use of Georgian dictionaries particularly difficult for the student unfamiliar with the verb system.

Georgian possesses a number of participles, some of which can also often function as nouns. The present active participle is formed with *m(o)-* and is used to derive the name of the 'doer' of the action described by the corresponding verb, e.g. *k'l-av-s* ('he kills him') → *m-k'vl-el-i* ('killer'), *she-k'er-av-s* ('he will sew it') → *m-k'er-av-i* ('tailor'). The future passive participle is formed with *sa-* and usually describes what something is intended for, e.g. *ga-a-gh-eb-s* ('he will open it') → *ga-sa-gh-eb-i* ('key'), *ch'am-s* ('he eats it') → *sa-ch'm-el-i* ('food'). The perfect participle is formed in a number of different ways and is usually translated by the English past participle, e.g. *da-ts'er-s* ('he will write it') → *da-ts'er-il-i* ('written'), *da-khat'av-s* ('he will paint it') → *da-khat'-ul-i* ('painted'), *gamo-a-tskh-ob-s* ('he will bake it') → *gamo-m-tskhv-ar-i* ('baked'), *mo-v-a* ('he will come') → *mo-sul-i* ('come').

A privative participle may be formed with *u-* — (*-el/ar-*), e.g. *da-ts'er-s* ('he will write it') → *da-u-ts'er-el-i* ('unwritten'), *mo-i-sven-eb-s* ('he will rest') → *mo-u-sven-ar-i* ('restless'). The future passive participle in the adverbial case can often be translated by the English infinitive, e.g.

she-sa-khed-av-ad ara-per-i ar ar-i-s. ('He's nothing to look at.')
da-sa-sven-eb-l-ad ts'a-vid-a utskho-et-shi. ('He went abroad to rest.')

Peculiarities The above treatment of the Georgian verb has focused on general patterns that can be identified in the language. Here, by way of contrast, some peculiarities of the verb system are singled out, not as representatives of any general pattern, but as being of interest in themselves. It should be noted that some of these peculiarities are encountered relatively infrequently.

Some verbs use different stems to form different series or, indeed, different screeves. The following roots are all used for 'say': *-mb(ob)-*, *-amb-*, *-i'q'v-*, *-tk(v)-*, *-ubn-* and *-tkh(ar)-*, while the roots *-shv(e)r-*, *-z-* and *-shrom-* are all used for 'do, make'.

Certain verbs can only be used of persons, a different verb being required in impersonal contexts, e.g. *ban-s* ('he washes him') and *retskh-av-s* ('he washes it'), *ts'ev-s* ('he is lying') and *dev-s* ('it is lying').

Another peculiarity is that some verbs are only used in the singular, while others are used for the plural, e.g. *da-k'l-av-s* ('he will slaughter it') and *da-khots-av-s* ('he will slaughter them'), *chavard-eb-a* ('it will fall down') and *cha-tsviv-d-eb-a* ('they will fall down').

Finally, a number of verbs are used to show respect to the person being addressed (the so-called 'verbs of politeness'). Examples include: *da-jek-i-t* ('sit down') and *da-brdzan-d-i-t* ('please take a seat'), *ch'am-e-t* ('eat it') and *mi-i-rtv-i-t* ('please eat it'), *ar-i-s* ('he is') and *ga-khl-av-t* ('he is').

SYNTAX AND SCREEVE USAGE

In English both the constructions 'my friend's brother's house' and 'the house of the brother of my friend' are permissible. The former is a left-branching structure, and is the only type found in Georgian. For example, the above phrase is translated as *chem-i megobr-is dzm-is sakhl-i*. Left-branching can lead to some phrases that might appear cumbersome to the English speaker.

Although the word order in certain phrases is fixed (e.g. the determiner precedes the noun, the adverb precedes the verb), Georgian shows considerable variation at the sentence level. The order 'subject – indirect object – direct object – transitive verb' (e.g. *shvil-i deda-s ts'eril-s u-gzavn-i-s* 'the son sends a letter to [his] mother') might be described as neutral, but other word orders are entirely acceptable. In general, bringing a phrase forwards towards the beginning of the sentence serves to emphasize it. However, not all word order variants are permissible; e.g. **dedas ugzavnis ts'erils shvili* is unacceptable in Georgian.

If a yes / no answer is expected a question can be indicated by a rising tone on the last syllable of a sentence that otherwise does not differ from the corresponding statement (see p. 7 above). Alternatively, the subject can follow the predicate, e.g. *da-i-dzin-es bavshv-eb-ma?* ('Have the children gone to sleep?'). Interrogative pronouns usually take first place in the sentence and are followed by the predicate, e.g. *rai'om ar m-e-lap'arak'-eb-i?* ('Why are you not speaking to me?').

Double negation in Georgian serves to reinforce the negation, e.g. *me veraper-i ver ga-v-i-g-e* ('I couldn't understand a thing'), where *veraperi* is a form of *araperi* ('nothing') that indicates inability (approximately 'can ... nothing', cf. *nuraperi* 'can ... no longer').

Indirect speech can be reported using the particles *-metki*, *-tko* and *-o* with no change in the original quote (see p. 13). The conjunction *rom* ('that') may also be used, in which case the verb screeve and person are changed. Compare the sentences *levan-ma tkv-a*, *ar mo-val-o* and *levan-ma tkv-a*, *rom ar mo-vid-od-a*. Both may be translated as 'Levan said that he would not come', but the first indicates that Levan's not coming is still in the future at the time the speaker is reporting Levan's words. The latter sentence with its use of *rom* and the conditional indicates that his not coming is already an event in the past at the time of reporting (i.e. the time at which he might have come is already past).

It is usual in Georgian for third person plural inanimate subjects to take a singular verb. This rule of number agreement is exemplified by the sentence *metsnier-eb-ma* (Pl.) *agh-mo-a-chin-es* (Pl.), *rom p'lanet'-eb-i* (Pl.) *mz-is garshemo modtra-ob-s* (Sing.) ('Scientists have discovered that the planets move around the sun'), in which both subjects are plural but the second verb is in the singular.

The subjunctive mood (as in the present, future and perfect subjunctive and optative screeves) is widely used in Georgian. It is employed to express desire, intention, necessity, possibility, fear, and the like. It may stand on its own to express a general desire or wish, or it may be used with verbs such as *m-i-nd-a* ('I want to ...') and *m-e-shin-i-a* ('I am afraid that ...'), with adverbs such as *net'a* ('if only ...'), and with the negative particle *ar(a)* to express a request rather than an order. Note the difference between *m-e-shin-i-a*, [*rom*] *ar mo-vid-es* ('I'm afraid that he might not come') and *m-e-shin-i-a*, *rom ar mo-va* ('I'm afraid that he will not come').

The present and future subseries each has a subjunctive screeve, the difference between the two being one of aspect. These screeves are used to express a wish, as in *male mo-vid-es!* ('May he come soon!'). They are also used in counterfactual conditions in the present and the future. The

verb in the main clause is in the conditional and the subordinate clause is signalled by the conjunction *rom* ('if'), e.g. *dro rom m-kon-d-es, ts'ign-s da-v-ts'er-d-i* ('If I had time I would write a book'). In potential conditions, on the other hand, the future is used in both clauses, with *tu* ('if') as the conjunction, e.g. *dro tu m-e-kn-eb-a, ts'ign-s da-v-ts'er* ('If I shall have time I shall write a book'). It should be noted that the conjunctions *rom* and *tu* are not necessarily the first words in the subordinate clauses, as can be seen in these examples.

The subjunctive screeve of the aorist series is known as the optative but, like the corresponding screeves of the present series, it also refers to present or future time. It is used in dependent clauses to express a wish or request, e.g. *m-i-nd-a, rom ts'ign-i da-v-ts'er-o* ('I wish to write a book'). It is also used with certain impersonal verb constructions such as *u+nd+a* ('must'), *sa+ch'ir-to-a* ('it is necessary'), *she-i-dzl-eb-a* ('it is possible') and others, e.g. *dro-a sakhl-shi ts'a-vid-e-t* ('It is time that we went home'), *she+u+dzl+eb+el+i-a, [rom] ar da-g-i-nakh-o-i* ('It is impossible that he will not catch sight of you').

To express past modality the pluperfect has now largely displaced the perfect subjunctive in Modern Georgian, e.g. *ts'ign-i rom da-m-e-ts'er-a, akhla me-or-ze v-i-mush-av-eb-d-i* ('If I had written the book, I would now be working on a second one').

The perfect screeve describes an action in the past, the result of which is evident in the present, hence the alternative names 'evidential' and 'resultant'. Inversion occurs in the perfect as it does in all screeves of the perfect series. The perfect is used to mark inferred action, where the speaker infers that an action must have taken place in the past. It is often used with the adverb *turme* ('apparently'). The contrast between the usage of the aorist and perfect screeves is evident in the sentence *rezo-m da-ts'er-a ts'eril-i da misamart-i maia-s mi-u-ts'er-i-a – mis khel-s v-tsn-ob* ('Rezo wrote the letter and it appears that Maia wrote the address – I recognize her hand'). The perfect is also used with past negation (with the particle *ar* 'not') where there is no purpose or intentionality, e.g. *gushin ga-v-i-g-e, rom mo-v-a, magram ar ga-m-i-g-i-a zust'-ad rodis* ('I heard yesterday that he will come, but I haven't heard precisely when'). The use of the aorist in place of the perfect in past negations suggests an unwillingness to perform the action. The perfect is also used in reported actions not directly witnessed by the speaker, e.g. *medea-s k'olkhet-shi u-tskhovr-i-a* ('Medea [is said to have] lived in Colchis'). Among other uses of this screeve are questions such as *es ts'ign-i ts'a-g-i-k'itkh-i-a-t? ts'a-v-i-k'itkh-e* ('Have you read this book? I have read it').

Other verb constructions include the resultative formed using the verb 'to have' in combination with the past participle, e.g. *st'at'ia uk've da-ts'er-il-i m-kon-d-a, rotsa shota mo-vid-a* ('I had already written the article when Shota came'), *nugzar-s tavis-i soplel-i natesav-eb-i na-nakh-i ar-a h-q'-av-s* ('Nugzar has not seen his relatives in the country'). (Note that Georgian has two verbs 'to have', one for inanimate objects – *m-a-kv-s* 'I have it' – and one for animate objects – *m-q'-av-s* 'I have him'.) The resultative contrasts with the perfect screeve which makes an inference rather than focuses on the result of an action. The periphrastic passive uses the past participle in combination with the verb 'to be', e.g. *es khelnats'er-i shua sauk'une-eb-shi-a da-ts'er-il-i* ('This manuscript was written in the Middle Ages'). Another passive form that occurs with a rather limited number of verbs is the passive of state which has the same meaning as the periphrastic passive, e.g. *ts'ign-shi s-ts'er-i-a, rom avt'or-i prang-i-a* ('It is written in the book that the author is a Frenchman').

Finally, a number of verbs in the colloquial language have a shortened version in addition to the regular imperative form (which itself has the same form as the second person aorist). These are known as truncated imperatives and include *mome* (< *mo-m-e-ts-i* 'give it to me'), *ade* (< *a-dek-i* 'stand up') and *moitsa* (< *mo-i-tsad-e* 'wait').

VOCABULARY

Georgian has a very rich vocabulary which is capable of meeting the widest range of demands, from traditional folk tales, through lyrical poetry to the requirements of modern science and technology. Throughout its long history Georgian has borrowed from the other languages with which it came into contact, and this process continues up to the present day (and is not restricted to vocabulary: Georgian syntax, for example, has been significantly influenced by external contact).

The Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages constitute a very important source of loanwords. Borrowings from Arabic were sometimes direct, but were also via Persian and Turkish. Loans from these languages are numerous and include: *saati* 'clock, hour' (Arabic *sā'a*, Persian *sā'at*, Turkish *saat*); *k'alami* 'pen' (Ar. *qālam*, Pe. *ghalam*, Tu. *kalemi*); *jibe* 'pocket' (Ar. *jayb*, Tu. *jib* Pe. *jib*); *q'asabi* 'butcher' (Ar. *qassab*, Pe. *ghassāb*, Tu. *kasap*); *khalkhi* 'people' (Ar. *khalq*, Tu. *halk*); etc.

Greek, Latin and the major European languages (including Russian) have provided a very large number of loanwords (with the exception of some early loans directly from Greek, these borrowings have almost invariably been via Russian and are of relatively recent origin). Examples include: *ek'lesia*, *ep'isk'op'osi*, *p'lombi*, *k'ost'umi*, *gazeti*, *zhurnali*, *romani*, *k'onp'e'i*, *p'amidori*, *baza*, *k'lasi*, *lamp'a*, *t'ragedia*, *rezhisori*, *p'rotsesi*, *elekt'rodinamomet'ri*, etc.

Borrowed verb roots are less common, and include: cf. *-pikr-* 'think' (cf. Ar. *fikr*, Pe. *fikr*); *-targmn-* 'translate' (cf. Ar. *tarjam*, Pe. *tarjome*, Tu. *tercüme*); *-analiz-* 'analyze'; etc.

The following is a list of one hundred basic Georgian words.

I	<i>me</i>	root	<i>pesv-i</i>	breasts	<i>dzu+dzu</i>	rain	<i>tsvim-a</i>
you	<i>shen, tkven</i>	bark	<i>kerk-i</i>	heart	<i>gul-i</i>	stone	<i>kva</i>
we	<i>chven</i>	skin	<i>t'q'av-i</i>	liver	<i>ghvidzl-i</i>	sand	<i>kvisha</i>
this	<i>es</i>	flesh	<i>khorts-i</i>	drink	<i>-sv-; -lev-</i>	earth	<i>mitsa</i>
that	<i>eg, is</i>	blood	<i>siskhl-i</i>	eat	<i>-ch'am-</i>	cloud	<i>ghrubel-i</i>
who	<i>vin</i>	bone	<i>dzval-i</i>	bite	<i>-k'ben-</i>	smoke	<i>bol-i; k'vaml-i</i>
what	<i>ra</i>	grease	<i>tskhim-i</i>	see	<i>-khed-; -nakh-</i>	fire	<i>tsetskhl-i</i>
not	<i>ar(a)</i>	egg	<i>k'vertskh-i</i>	hear	<i>-smen-</i>	ash	<i>na+tsar-i</i>
all	<i>q'vela</i>	horn	<i>rka</i>	know	<i>-ts-; -tsnob-</i>	burn	<i>-ts'v-</i>
many	<i>bevr-i</i>	tail	<i>k'ud-i</i>	sleep	<i>-dzin-</i>	path	<i>bilik'-i</i>
one	<i>ert-i</i>	feather	<i>bumbul-i</i>	die	<i>-k'vd-</i>	mountain	<i>mta</i>
two	<i>or-i</i>	hair	<i>tma</i>	kill	<i>-k'al-</i>	red	<i>ts'itel-i</i>
big	<i>did-i</i>	head	<i>tav-i</i>	swim	<i>-tsur-</i>	green	<i>mtsvane</i>
long	<i>grdz+el-i</i>	ear	<i>q'ur-i</i>	fly	<i>-pren-</i>	yellow	<i>q'vitel-i</i>
small	<i>p'at'ara</i>	eye	<i>rval-i</i>	walk	'go' + 'on foot' *	white	<i>tetr-i</i>
woman	<i>kal-i</i>	nose	<i>tskhvir-i</i>	come	'go' + 'hither' *	black	<i>shav-i</i>
man	<i>k'ats-i</i>	mouth	<i>p'ir-i</i>	lie	<i>-ts'ol-; -ts'ev-</i>	night	<i>ghame</i>
person	<i>adamian-i</i>	tooth	<i>k'bil-i</i>	sit	<i>-jdom-; -skhdom-</i>	hot	<i>tskhel-i</i>
fish	<i>tevz-i</i>	tongue	<i>ena</i>	stand	<i>-dgom-</i>	cold	<i>tsiv-i</i>
bird	<i>chit'-i</i>	claw	<i>k'lanch'-i</i>	give	<i>-ts(em)-; -dzlev-</i>	full	<i>save</i>
dog	<i>dzaghl-i</i>	foot	<i>pekhi-i</i>	say	<i>-mb(ob)-; -t'q'v-</i>	new	<i>akhal-i</i>
louse	<i>t'il-i</i>	knee	<i>mukhl-i</i>	sun	<i>mze</i>	good	<i>k'arg-i</i>
tree	<i>khe</i>	hand	<i>khel-i</i>	moon	<i>mtvare</i>	round	<i>mrgval-i</i>
seed	<i>tesl-i</i>	belly	<i>mutsel-i</i>	star	<i>varsk'vlav-i</i>	dry	<i>m+shr+al-i</i>
leaf	<i>potol-i</i>	neck	<i>k'iser-i</i>	water	<i>ts'q'al-i</i>	name	<i>sakhel-i</i>

* the verb 'go' uses the following roots: *-svl-*, *-di-*, *-va(l)-*, *-ved-*, *-vel-*, *-s-*, *-ar-*

SAMPLE TEXT

This folk tale comes from Svaneti, the mountainous homeland of the Svans who are one of the Kartvelian peoples. Four versions of the tale are given: the Georgian text, a transliteration with a limited amount of grammatical information, a word-for-word gloss and a free translation. The piece illustrates many of the salient features of the Georgian language that have been described above.

1 სწორ-მრუდის მაკრატელა

2,3 იყო და არა იყო რა, იყო ხუთი ძმა. ერთხელ ძმებმა მოითათბირეს:

4 – მოდი, ერთი ისეთი კოშკი ავაშენოთ, მთელ ხეობაში იმისთანა მეორე არ იდგესო.

5,6 მართლაც, ადგნენ და წავიდნენ ოსტატის საძებნელად. ბევრი ძე-
 7 ნისა და კითხვა-კითხვის შემდეგ იპოვეს ერთი კარგი ოსტატი და
 8 შუუდნენ კოშკის აშენებას. თორმეტ წელიწადს აშენეს და, როგორც
 9 იქნა, მეთორმეტე წელიწადს დაასრულეს. აშენება რომ დაამთავრეს,
 10 ოსტატმა თქვა:

9 – წადით ახლა, მთელი ხეობა დაიარეთ და თუ სადმე უკეთესი
 კოშკი ნახოთ, რაც გინდათ, ის მიყავითო.

10 დაიარეს ძმებმა მთელი ხეობა, ყველა კოშკი დაათვალიერეს,
 11 მაგრამ თავიანთი კოშკისთანა, მართლაც, მეორე ვერ მონახეს. ძმებმა
 12 იფიქრეს: კოშკი კი ყველაზე უკეთესი გვიდგას, მაგრამ ჩვენმა
 13 ოსტატმა ხომ შეიძლება სხვასაც აუშენოს ასეთი კოშკი. მოდი,
 14 ოსტატი დილეგში ჩავამწყვდიოთ და სხვა კოშკს ვეღარ ააშენებსო.

13 ძმები შინ დაბრუნდნენ, ოსტატი დილეგში შეაგდეს და უთხრეს:

14 – კოშკი საუკეთესო აგვიშენებია, მაგრამ სანამ თუჯის კარსაც არ
 ჩამოაბამ, დილეგში იჯდებითო.

15 – კარგო, – უთხრა ოსტატმა, – ოღონდ, ერთ რამესა გთხოვთ
 და ის უნდა ამისრულოთ: ჩემს ცოლთან მიმეგზავნეთ და უთხარით,
 თორმეტკლიტულში რომ ჩემი სწორ-მრუდის მაკრატელა დევს, ის
 გამოგატანოთ, თორემ თუჯის კარს ვერ ჩამოვაბამო.

16 ძმებმა იფიქრეს, რა გვენაღლება, წავალთ, იმ სწორ-მრუდის მაკ-
 რატელას მოვიტანთ, თუჯის კარსაც ჩამოვაბამთ, ოსტატის დაშუქვლე
 ვას კი მერეც მოვესწრებითო.

17,18 გაგზავნეს ორი ძმა. ბევრი სიარულის შემდეგ ძმები ოსტატის
 19 ცოლს მიადგნენ და დანაბარები მოახსენეს. ქალი მამინვე მიხვდა
 ყველაფერს, შეიყვანა ძმები თორმეტკლიტულში, კარი გარედან მა-
 გრად დაუკეტა და მიაძახა:

- 20 – ერთი კაცი ხომ ჩემი ქმარია დამწყვედუელი, ორნიც თქვენ იქნებითო.
- 21 ძმებმა რომ დაიგვიანეს, ადგა კიდევ ორი ძმა და იმათი ამბის
22 გასაგებად გაეშურა. ოსტატის ცოლმა ამათაც იგივე დღე აწია: შვი-
ყვანა თორმეტკლიტულში, ორ ძმას კიდევ ორი მიუმატა და გარედან
კარი მაგრად დაუკეტა.
- 23 – ერთი ჩემი ქმარი იქნება დამწყვედუელი, ოთხი კი თქვენო.
- 24 გავიდა ხანი და ძმებმა იფიქრეს: თუ რაზე არ ვიღონეთ, ამ თორ
მეტკლიტულში ამოვიხოცებითო და ოსტატის ცოლს შეუთვალეს:
- 25 – ოღონდ აქედან გაგვიშვი და რასაც ითხოვ, ავისრულებთო.
- 26 ოსტატის ცოლმა უპასუხა:
- 27 – რამდენი ლოდიც თქვენს ციხე-კოშკს მოხმარდა, იმდენ ხარ-
ძროხას სანამ არ მომიყვანთ და ჩემს ქმარსაც არ გამოუშვებთ, დღის
სინათლეს ვერ ეღირსებითო.
- 28 რაღას იზამდნენ დამწყვედუელი ძმები, შინ დარჩენილს კაცი გაუ-
გზანენს და ყველაფერი წერილად შეუთვალეს: ჩვენი ოსტატიც გა-
29 მოუშვი, რაც ხარ-ძროხა გეყავს, ისიც დღესვე აქ მორეკო. ამ ხუ
30 თივე ძმას უთვალავი ხარ-ძროხა ჰყავდა. გამოუშვა ძმამ დიღეგში
დამწყვედუელი ოსტატი, გაირეკა წინ ხუთივე ძმის ჯოგი, ოსტატის
31 ცოლს კარზე მიაყენა. ოსტატის ცოლმაც თავისი აასრულა, გაათავის-
უფლა თორმეტკლიტულში დამწყვედუელი ოთხივე ძმა და უთხრა:
- 32 – აი, ესეც თქვენი სწორ-მრუდის მაკრატელა, წაბრძანდით და
ღმერთმა სიკეთეში მოგახმაროთო.
- 33 კუდამოძუებული ძმები შინ დაბრუნდნენ, ოსტატმა და მისმა ცოლმა
კი ბედნიერად იცხოვრეს.

უჭა ცინდელიანი «სვანური ზღაპრები» © გამომცემლობა „ნაკადული“ თბილისი 1991

Transliteration Morpheme boundaries are indicated by '-' ('+' if tightly bound). Verb stems are in bold, including non-finite forms. Abbreviations used are: N nom., E nar., G gen., D dat., A adv.; P present, A aorist, Pf perfect; VN verbal noun, PF perfect participle, FP future participle passive.

1 *sts'or-mrud-is* (G) *mak'rat'ela* (N). 2 *i-q'-o* (-A) *da ar+a i-q'-o* (-A) *ra*, *i-q'-o* (-A) *khut-i dzm-a* (N). 3 *ert+khel dzm-eb-ma* (E) *mo-i-tatbir-es* (1A): 4 *mo-di* (-A), *ert-i ise+i-i k'oshk'-i* (N) *a-v-a-shen-o-t* (1A), *mtel-i kheoba-shi* (D) *im+tis+tan-a me-or-e ar i-dg-es-o* (3A). 5 *martla+ts*, *a-dg-nen* (2A) *da ts'a-vid-nen* (-A) *ost'at'-is* (G) *sa-dzebn-el-ad* (FP:A). 6 *bev-r-i dzebn-is-a* (VN:G) *da k'itkh-v-a-k'itkh-v-is* (VN:G) *shemdeg i-p'ov-es* (3A) *ert-i k'arg-i ost'at'-i* (N) *da she-u-dg-nen* (1A) *k'oshk-is* (G) *a-shen-eb-a-s* (VN:D). 7 *t+or+met'is'elits'ad-s* (D) *a-shen-es* (1A) *da*, *rogort-is i-kn-a* (2A), *met+or+met'e ts'elits'ad-s* (D) *da-a-srul-es* (1A). 8 *a-shen-eb-a* (VN:N) *rom da-a-mtavr-es* (1A), *ost'at'-ma* (E) *tkv-a* (-A): 9 *ts'a-di-t* (-A) *akhla*, *mtel-i kheoba* (N) *da-i-ar-e-t* (1A) *da tu sad-me u+k'et+es-i k'oshk'-i* (N) *nakhk-o-t* (1A), *ra+ts g-i-nd-a-t* (4P), *is m-i-q'avi-i-t-o* (1A). 10 *da tu ar-es* (1A) *dzm-eb-ma* (E) *mtel-i kheob-a* (N), *q'vela k'oshk'-i* (N) *da-a-tval+ier-es* (1A), *magram tav+ian+ t-i k'oshk'-is-tan-a* (G), *martla+ts*, *me-or-e ver mo-nakh-es* (1A). 11 *dzm-eb-ma* (E) *i-pikr-es* (3A): *k'oshk'-i* (N) *k'i q'vela-ze* (D) *u+k'et+es-i gv-i-dga-s* (3P), *magram chven-ma ost'at'-ma* (E) *khom she++idzl+eb+a skhva-s-a-ts* (D) *a-u-shen-os* (1A) *ase+i-i k'oshk'-i* (N). 12 *mo-di* (-A), *ost'at'-i* (N) *dileg-shi* (D) *cha-v-a-mts'q'vd-i-o-t* (1A) *da skhva k'oshk'-s* (D) *ve+ghar a-a-shen-eb-s-o* (1P). 13 *dzm-eb-i* (N) *shin da-brun-d-nen* (2A), *ost'at'-i* (N) *dileg-shi* (D) *she-a-dg-es* (1A) *da u-tkhr-es* (-A): 14 *k'oshk'-i* (N) *sa-u+k'et+es-o* (N) *a-g-i-shen-eb-i-a* (1PF), *magram sanam tuj-is* (G) *k'ar-s-a-ts* (D) *ar cha-mo-a-b-am* (1P), *dileg-shi* (D) *i-ijd-eb-i-o* (-P). 15 *k'arg-i-o*, *u-tkhr-a* (-A) *ost'at'-ma* (E), *oghond*, *ert ra-me-s-a* (D) *g-tkhov-t* (1P) *da is* (N) *u+nd+a a-m-i-srul-o-t* (1A): *chem-s tsol-tan* (D) *mi-m-e-gzavn-e-t* (2A) *da u-tkhar-i-t* (A), *t+or+met'-k'lit'ul-shi* (D) *rom chem-i* (N) *sts'or-mrud-is* (G) *mak'rat'ela* (N) *dev-s* (3P), *is* (N) *ga-mo-g-a-t'an-o-t* (1A), *torem tuj-is* (G) *k'ar-s* (A) *ver cha-mo-v-a-b-am-o* (1P). 16 *dzm-eb-ma* (N) *i-pikr-es* (3A), *ra* (N) *gv-e-naghvl-eb-a* (4P), *ts'a-val-t* (P), *im sts'or-mrud-is* (G) *mak'rat'ela-s* (G) *mo-v-i-t'an-t* (1P), *tuj-is* (G) *k'ar-s-a-ts* (A) *cha-mo-v-a-b-am-t* (1P), *ost'at'-is* (G) *da-mts'q'vdev-a-s* (VN:D) *k'i mere-ts mo-v-e-sts'r-eb-i-t-o* (2P). 17 *ga-gzavn-es* (1A) *or dzma* (N). 18 *bev-r-i si+ar+ul-is* (VN:G) *shemdeg dzm-eb-i* (N) *ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-s* (D) *mi-a-dg-nen* (2A) *da da-na-bar-eb-i* (PP:N) *mo-a-khsen-es* (1A). 19 *kal-i* (N) *mashin-ve mi-khvd-a* (2A) *q'vela+per-s* (D), *she-i-q'van-a* (1A) *dzm-eb-i* (N) *t+or+met'-k'lit'ul-shi* (D), *k'ar-i* (N) *gare+dan magr-ad da-u-k'et'-a* (1A) *da mi-a-dzakh-a* (1A): (20) *ert-i k'ats-i* (N) *khom chem-i kmari-a* (N) *da-mts'q'vde-ul-i* (PP:N), *or-n-i-ts* (N) *tkven* (N) *i-kn-eb-i-t-o* (-P). 21 *dzm-eb-i* (N) *rom da-i-gvian-es* (1A), *a-dg-a* (2A) *k'idev or-i dzma* (N) *da ima+t-i amb-is* (G) *ga-sa-g-eb-ad* (FP:A) *ga-e-shur-a* (2A). 22 *ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-ma* (E) *am+a+t-a-ts* (D) *igi+ve dgh-e* (N) *a-ts'i-a* (1A): *she-i-q'van-a* (1A) *t+or+met'-k'lit'ul-shi* (D), *or dzma-s* (D) *k'idev or-i* (N) *mi-u-mat'-a* (1A) *da gare-dan k'ar-i* (N) *magr-ad da-u-k'et'-a* (1A). 23 *ert-i chem-i kmari* (N) *i-kn-eb-a* (-P) *da-mts'q'vde-ul-i* (PP:N), *otkh-i* (N) *k'i tkven-o* (N). 24 *ga-vid-a* (-A) *khan-i* (N) *da dzm-eb-ma* (E) *i-pikr-es* (3A): *tu ra-me* (N) *ar v-i-ghon-e-t* (3A), *am t+or+met'-k'lit'ul-shi* (D) *a-mo-v-i-khots-eb-i-t-o* (2P) *da ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-s* (D) *she-u-tval-es* (1A): 25 *oghond ake+dan ga-gv-i-shv-i* (1A) *da ra-s-a-ts* (D) *i-tkhov* (1P), *a-g-i-srul-eb-t-o* (1P). 26 *ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-ma* (E) *u-p'asukh-a* (3A): 27 *r+am+den-i lod-i-ts* (N) *tkven-s tsikhe-k'oshk'-s* (D) *mo-kkhar-d-a* (2A), *im+den khar-dzrokha-s* (D) *sanam ar mo-m-i-q'van-t* (1P) *da chem-s kmars-a-ts* (D) *ar ga-mo-u-shv-eb-t* (1P), *dgh-is* (G) *si+natl+e-s* (D) *ver e-ghirs-eb-i-t-o* (2P). 28 *ra-gha-ts* (N) *i-z-am-d-nen* (P) *da-mts'q'vde-ul-i* (PP:N) *dzm-eb-i* (N), *shin da-rchen-il-s* (PP:D) *k'ats-i* (N) *ga-u-gzavn-es* (1A) *da q'vela+per-i* (N) *ts'er+il-ad* (A) *she-u-tval-es* (1A): 29 *am khut-i-ve dzma-s* (D) *u+tval+av-i khar-dzrokha* (N) *h-q'av-d-a* (4P). 30 *ga-mo-u-shv-a* (1A) *dzma-m* (E) *dileg-shi* (D) *da-mts'q'vde-ul-i* (PP:N) *ost'at'-i* (N), *ga-i-rek'-a* (1A) *ts'in khut-i-ve dzm-is* (G) *jog-i* (N), *ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-s* (D) *k'ar-ze* (D) *mi-a-q'en-a* (1A). 31 *ost'at'-is* (G) *tsol-ma-ts* (E) *tav+is-i* (N) *a-a-srul-a* (1A), *ga-a-tav+is+upl-a* (1A) *t+or+met'-k'lit'ul-shi* (D) *da-mts'q'vde-ul-i* (PP:N) *otkh-i-ve dzma* (N) *da u-tkhr-a* (A): 32 *ai. es+e+ts* (N) *tkven-i* (N) *sts'or-mrud-is* (G) *mak'rat'ela* (N), *ts'a-brdzan-d-i-t* (2A) *da ghmeri-ma* (E) *si+k'et+e-s* (D) *mo-g-a-kkhar-o-t* (1A). 33 *k'ud+a+mo+ dzu+eb+ul-i* (PP:N) *dzm-eb-i* (N) *shin da-brun-d-nen* (2A), *ost'at'-ma* (E) *da mis-ma tsol-ma* (E) *k'i bed+n+ier-ad i-tskhov-es* (3A).

Gloss Space does not permit full grammatical detail to be represented in this word-for-word gloss of the text. The very different structure of Georgian results in some rather awkward English glosses, especially in the case of verbs. The figures refer to the numbered lines of the transliteration above.

1 of-straight-curve shears 2 it-was and not it-was what, it-was five brother. 3 once brothers they-deliberated-it-with-themselves: 4 you-come, one such tower let-us-build-it, whole in-valley of-such-a-kind other not they-built-it-for-themselves-they-said. 5 indeed, they-got-up and they-went-off of-craftsman in-order-to-look-for. 6 much looking and questioning-questioning after they-found-him one good craftsman and they-began-it of-tower building. 7. twelve years they-built-it and, as it-became, twelfth year they-completed-it. 8 building when they-finished-it, craftsman he-said: 9 you-go now, whole valley you-travel-around-it and if somewhere better tower you-may-see-it, which you-want-it, that you-do-it-to-me-he-said.

10 they-travelled-around-it brothers whole valley, all tower they-viewed-it, but their-own tower-like, indeed, another could-not they-may-look-and-find-it. 11 brothers they-thought-it: tower however on-all best it-stands-to-us, but our craftsman surely it-is-possible other-also he-may-build-for-him such tower. 12 you-come, craftsman in-dungeon let-us-lock-him-down and another tower cannot-no-more he-shall-build-it-they-said. 13 brothers home they-returned, craftsman in-dungeon they-threw-him-in and they-said-to-him: 14 tower best you-have-apparently-built-it, but until of-cast-iron door-also not downward-you-will-hang-it, in-dungeon you-will-sit-they-said. 15 good-he-said, he-said-to-him craftsman, only, one something I-ask-you-it and that must you-may-fulfill-it-for-me: my to-wife be-you-sent-there-for-me and you-say-to-her, in-twelve-lock-thing that my of-straight-curve shears it-lies that she-may-give-it-to-you-to-here, else of-cast-iron door cannot downward-I-shall-hang-it. 16 brothers they-thought, what it-concerns-us, we-shall-go-away, that of-straight-curve shears we-shall-bring-it-to-here, of-cast-iron door-also downwards-we-shall-hang-it, of-craftsman locking-up indeed later-also we-shall-live-until-then. 17 they-sent-him two brother. 18 much walking after brothers of-craftsman wife they-came-to-her and been-entrusted-to they-said-it-to-her. 19 woman then-exactly she-perceived-it everything, she led-them-in brothers into-twelve-lock-thing, door from-outside firmly she-closed-it-on-them and she-shouted-it-after-him:

20 one man is-it-not my husband-is been-locked-up, two-people-also you you-will-be-she-said. 21 brothers when they-were-late, he-got-up again two brother and their news in-order-to-learn-of he-hurried-there. 22 of-craftsman wife these-also very-same day she-gave-rise-to-it-to-them: she-led-them-in twelve-lock-thing, two brother again two she-added-it-to-him and from-outside door firmly she-closed-it-on-him. 23 one my husband he-will-be locked-up, four indeed you-she-said. 24 it-passed time and brothers they-thought-it: if something not we-attempted-it this in-twelve-lock-thing we-shall-all-be-killed-they-said and of-craftsman wife they-let-it-be-known-to-her: 25 only from-here you-let-us-out and that-which you-ask-for-yourself, we-shall-fulfil-it-for-you-they-said. 26 of-craftsman wife she-answered-them: 27 as-many stone-blocks your fortress-tower it-was-used-for-it, so-many bull-cow until not you-will-bring-me-here and my husband-also not you-will-let-him-out, of-day light cannot you-will-at-last-get-it-she-said. 28 something-or-other they-would-do it been-locked-up brothers, at-home having-remained man they-sent-him-to-him and everything by-letter they-informed-him: our craftsman-also you-let-him-out, that-which bull-cow we-have-him, that-also even-today here you-drive-it-here-they-said. 29 this five-same brothers countless bull-cow they-had-him.

30/ he-let-him-out-here brother in-dungeon been-locked-up craftsman, he-drove-before-him-there forwards five-same of-brother herd, of-craftsman wife on-door he-brought-them-to-her. 31 of-craftsman wife her-thing she-fulfilled-it, she-freed-him in-twelve-lock-thing been-locked-up four-same brother and she-said-to-them: 32 there, this-also your of-straight-curve shears, you-please-go-away and God in-goodness may-he-help-you-with-it-she-said. 33 tails-been-drawn-in brothers home they-returned, craftsman and his wife happily they-lived.

Free translation This translation attempts to capture the essence of the original, but many of the nuances of the Georgian text cannot readily be conveyed. Note that watch-towers are a distinctive feature of Svaneti, the earliest of which date from the first millennium BC. Many were erected in medieval times to help defend the land and, of these, about two hundred have survived.

The Straight-Curved Shears

Once upon a time there were five brothers. One day they deliberated: "Come," they said, "let's build a tower, the like of which no one else has built in the whole valley."

And so they set out to look for a master-builder. After much searching and questioning they found a good builder, and they began to construct the tower. They were twelve years building it and, at long last, they finished it in the twelfth year. "Go now and travel around the whole valley", the builder said when it was completed, "and, if you see a better tower anywhere, you may do whatever you want with me."

The brothers travelled around the whole valley viewing all the towers, but they just could not find another like their own. Then the thought occurred to them: "Although we have the best tower of all, it is surely possible that our builder may construct another like it for someone else. Come, let us lock him up in the dungeon, and he will no longer be able to build another tower."

The brothers returned home and threw the builder into the dungeon. "You may have built the best tower of all," they said to him, "but unless you add a cast iron door, you will remain in the dungeon." "All right," the builder said, "but I have one request which you must grant me: go to my wife for me and tell her to give you my straight-curved shears that is kept behind twelve locks, for without it I cannot hang the cast iron door."

The brothers thought: "What does it matter to us – we'll go and fetch the straight-curved shears, we'll have the cast iron door, and we'll be able to lock up the craftsman later." They sent two of the brothers off. After much walking they reached the builder's wife and gave her the message. She immediately realized what was afoot, led the brothers into the room with twelve locks, firmly locked them in, shouting: "My husband is a prisoner, and you'll make two more!"

When the brothers were overdue, two others set off to find out what had happened to them. The builder's wife played the same trick on them that very day. She led them into the room with twelve locks, and put the two of them with the other pair, and closed the door firmly on them from outside. "My husband is a prisoner, and now you'll make four more!"

Some time passed and the brothers thought: "If we don't attempt something, we shall all die here in this room with twelve locks." "If you just let us out of here", they proposed to the wife, "we shall do anything you ask of us." "Until you bring me here as many cattle as you have used stones in the tower, and until you have freed my husband," the builder's wife replied, "you will never see the light of day again!"

What could the imprisoned brothers do but send a man to the remaining brother at home, explaining everything in a letter. "Let our builder go, and drive all our cattle here this very day", they wrote. These five brothers had very many cattle indeed. The brother set the builder free from the dungeon and drove the brothers' herd before him, arriving unannounced at where the builder's wife lived. She kept her side of the bargain, and freed the four brothers who were imprisoned in the room with twelve locks. "There's your straight-curved shears for you!", she said to them. "Please leave us alone, and may God in his goodness help you."

The brothers returned home with their tails between their legs, and the builder and his wife lived happily ever after.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caucasian languages Klimov (1969) provides a good general introduction, and includes maps and comparative data. Catford (1977) surveys the languages under several topic headings, and Comrie (1981) gives an overview of morphology and syntax. Comrie (1981) also covers the non-Caucasian languages of the Caucasus. The series under the general editorship of Greppin provides detailed descriptions of many of the Caucasian languages.

Catford, J. C. 1977. 'Mountain of tongues: the languages of the Caucasus', in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 6, pp. 283-314

Comrie, B. 1981. *The Languages of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge)

Greppin, J. A. C. (general editor). *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus* (Caravan Books, Delmar): vol. 1, ed. Harris, A. C. 1992 *The Kartvelian Languages*; vol. 2, ed. Hewitt, B. G. 1989 *The North West Caucasian Languages*; vol. 3, ed. Job, D. M. and Smeets, R. (forthcoming) *The North East Caucasian Languages, part 1*; vol. 4, ed. Smeets, R. (forthcoming) *The North East Caucasian Languages, part 2*

Klimov, G. A. 1965. *Кавказский языки [The Caucasian Languages]* (Moscow), translated as Klimov, G. A. 1969. *Die kaukasischen Sprachen* (Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg)

Phonology Robins and Waterson (1952) provide a summary of the phonetics of Georgian based on a detailed study of the speech of one informant. The Language Laboratory of Indiana University, Bloomington, has produced sets of cassette tape recordings to accompany Aronson (1990) (5 tapes) and Tschenkéli (1958) (8 tapes).

Robins, R. H. and Waterson, N. 1952. 'Notes on the Phonetics of the Georgian Word', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 14 (pt 1), pp. 55-72

Script Jensen (1970) notes the possible links with Middle Iranian, while Gamq'relidze (1989) deals in depth with Greek influence (the book contains an extended Russian-language résumé). Mach'avarani (1989) (in Georgian) is a short monograph with illustrations showing how the shapes of the Georgian letters have evolved over the centuries.

Gamq'relidze, T. 1989. *წერის ანბანური სისტემა და ძველი ქართული დამწერლობა* ['Alphabetic Writing and the Old Georgian Script'] (თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, Tbilisi)

Jensen, H. 1958. *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin), translated as Jensen, H. 1970. *Sign, Symbol and Script* (Allen & Unwin, London).

Mach'avarani, E. 1989. *შწიგნობრობაჲ ქართული* [Written Georgian] (ქართული საბჭოთა ენციკლოპედია, Tbilisi)

Grammars Fähnrich (1987) is a concise descriptive grammar, with emphasis on word formation, irregular verbs and syntax. Vogt (1971) provides a detailed description of the language, with numerous illustrative examples. Aronson (1990) is a pedagogical grammar aimed at those wishing to acquire a reading knowledge of the language. Tschenkéli (1958) is in two parts: a detailed pedagogical grammar with numerous paradigms, and a combined set of exercises and chrestomathy. K'raveishvili and Nakhutsrishvili (1972) (in English) is a useful introductory course.

Aronson, H. I. 1990. *Georgian: a Reading Grammar*, corrected edition, (Slavica Publishers, Columbus)

Fähnrich, H. 1987. *Kurze Grammatik der georgischen Sprache* (Verlag Enzyklopädie, Leipzig)

K'raveishvili, M. and Nakhutsrishvili, G. 1972. ქართული ენისა და წერა-კითხვის თვითმასწავლებელი ['Teach Yourself Georgian'] (უცხოეთში მცხოვრებ თანამემამულეებთან კულტურული კავშირის საქართველოს საზოგადოება, Tbilisi)

Tschenkéli, K. 1958. *Einführung in die georgische Sprache*, 2 vols (Amirani Verlag, Zürich)

Vogt, H. 1971. *Grammaire de la langue géorgienne* (Universitetsforlaget, Oslo)

Dictionaries No other dictionary approaches the standard set by Tschenkéli (1965-74), with its listing of verbs by root and the wealth of grammatical information included. The only other dictionary below that lists verbs by root is Lange (1987), but the range of vocabulary is very limited, as it is in Torikashvili (1992). Lomtadze (1983) provides quite good coverage. There are no field labels in Gvarjaladze (1975), while Gvarjaladze (1979) has a useful selection of vocabulary. Marchev (1986) is a listing of Georgian affixes, together with details of their usage. For each affix there are cross-references to the relevant sections in Tschenkéli (1958).

Gvarjaladze, T. and I. 1975. ინგლისურ-ქართული ლექსიკონი [English-Georgian Dictionary] (საბჭოთა საქართველო, Tbilisi)

Gvarjaladze, T. and I. 1979. ქართულ-ინგლისური ლექსიკონი [Georgian-English Dictionary] (საბჭოთა საქართველო, Tbilisi)

Lange, W. 1987. *Kleines Wörterbuch Georgisch-Deutsch, Deutsch-Georgisch* (Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg)

Lomtadze, K. et al. (ed.) 1983. რუსულ-ქართული ლექსიკონი [Russian-Georgian Dictionary] (საბჭოთა საქართველო, Tbilisi)

Marchev, Y. 1986. *Die Morpheme der georgischen Sprache* (Amirani Verlag, Zürich)

Torikashvili, J. J. 1992. *Georgian-English, English-Georgian Dictionary* (Hippocrene Books, New York)

Tschenkéli, K. 1965-74. *Georgisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols (Amirani Verlag, Zürich)

Old Georgian Schanidze (1982) is a detailed descriptive grammar of the Old Georgian Language. Zorell (1978) is briefer, but includes some sample texts and a short vocabulary.

Schanidze, A. 1976. ძველი ქართული ენის გრამატიკა [Grammar of the Old Georgian language] (თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, Tbilisi), translated as Schanidze, A. 1982 *Grammatik der altgeorgischen Sprache* (Universitätsverlag Tbilisi, Tbilisi)

Zorell, F. 1930. *Grammatik zur altgeorgischen Bibelübersetzung*, reprinted 1978 (Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, Rome)

Journals *The Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes* (ISSN 0373-1537) is an annual journal devoted to linguistic, literary, historical, archaeological and cultural material on Georgia and on the Caucasus. This publication succeeds *Bedi Kartlisa*, which appeared during the period 1957-84. The annual journal *Georgica* (ISSN 0232-4490) covers a similar range of material.

