A SHORT DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SVAN LANGUAGE.

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0. SOCIO- AND GEOLINGUISTIC SITUATION.

0.1. Area of distribution and number of speakers. Svan speakers refer to themselves as šwan-ær (singular mušwan) and to their language as lušnu nin. Although their language is mutually unintelligible with Georgian — in fact, it is no closer to Georgian than Icelandic is to Modern English — the Svans consider themselves to be part of the Georgian ethnic group, and were registered as Georgians during the Soviet period (as they continue to be in the Georgian Republic). The speech community numbers around 35,000 to 40,000. Most Svans live in their traditional homeland, along the upper reaches of the Enguri River ("Upper Svaneti", corresponding to the administrative district of Mest'ia Raion) and the Cxenis-c'q'ali River ("Lower Svaneti", Lent'ex Raion). In the 19th century families from various Upper Svan villages established settlements along the Nensk'ra and upper K'odori River (the latter in Abkhazia), and in recent years, especially following the destruction of several Svan villages by avalanches during the tragic winter of 1987-1988, many families have been resettled in eastern Georgia.

0.2. Dialects. Most linguists distinguish four Svan dialects, these being:

(1) *Upper Bal* [Geo. balszemouri, i.e. upriver from the Bal pass], spoken in a succession of communities, from Lat'al to Ushgul, along the upper Enguri and its adjoining rivers. This being the only part of Svaneti not subjected to feudal domination during the 16th to 19th centuries, the Upper Bal region was earlier known as "Free Svaneti" [tævisupæl šwæn].

(2) *Lower Bal* [Geo. balskvemouri], spoken along the Ingur valley from Qayšd [Xaishi] to Becho, and in more recently-established communities in the Nensk'ra valley.

(3) *Lent'ex,* spoken along the Cxenis-c'q'ali valley from Rcxmeluri to the Cholur community, and in the villages located in the Xeledur valley.

(4) *Lashx,* in the Cxenis-c'q'ali valley upriver from the Lent'ex area.

There is, however, some difference of opinion as to how one draws the Lower Svan dialect map, since the Svan spoken in the village of Saq'dar and the neighboring Cholur community is in many respects intermediate between the Lent'ex and Lashx speech varieties, and even considered to represent a third Lower Svan dialect [e.g. Lip'art'eliani 1994]. Some of the features distinguishing the Svan dialects and subdialects will be discussed below.

0.3. Vocabulary. The percentage of Svan vocabulary cognate with the other Kartvelian languages is quite low.[1] According to Klimov [1969: 40], Svan shares 360 lexemes with Georgian and 340 with Zan (i.e. Laz-Mingrelian), while the latter two languages share 825. Unlike Mingrelian, which is not considered especially difficult for Georgians to learn, Svan has a reputation for being archaic, harsh-sounding, and impossible for non-Svans to acquire. To give an idea of just how impenetrable Svan sounds to other Georgians, here are four lines from a traditional Svan poem, along with the Georgian translation, chosen at random from *SP* 54, lines 45-48:

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[1]This is not to say that the percentage of inherited Kartvelian vocabulary is particularly low in Svan. There are certainly many Svan lexemes that have all the typical features of Kartvelian roots, but for which no Georgian or Zan cognates have been found.

Svan text

cxemæd miča ži xok'ida

liz-ličedi č'ur xobina.

mešjæl mare mæg wešgd laxcwir,

sgwebin otčæš, txum, esogæn.

Georgian translation

tavisi mšvild-isari auɣia,

svla-c'asvla dauc'q'ia.

meomari k'aci q'vela uk'an dast'ova,

c'in gausc'ro, tavši moekca.

Gloss of Svan text

[bow.and.arrow:NOM his up he.has.taken

go-leave indeed he.has.begun

fighter man:NOM all:NOM behind he.left

before he.managed, head:DAT, he.stood.to.them]

Free translation

'He has taken up his bow and arrow,

He has set out.

He left all the warriors behind,

He took the lead, he stood at their head.'

The Svan vocabulary bears the traces of longstanding cultural contacts with their neighbors across the Caucasus, in particular speakers of Northwest Caucasian languages [Shagirov 1977]. While some of the proposed Svan/Northwest-Caucasian lexical parallels do not seem likely to stand up to scrutiny, among the more plausible are a handful of terms pertaining to agriculture, which appear to be early borrowings into Svan from Circassian: zǝntx 'oats', cp. Kabardian zantx 'oats'; k'wecen 'wheat', cp. Bzhedugh k:ᵒac:ǝ 'wheat'; gwiz 'special-quality wheat or millet flour used for baking ritual bread on feast-days', cp. Kabardian gᵒaӡ 'wheat'.[2] Although the Northeast Caucasian language family does not now adjoin Svan, it may have at one time. It is certainly the case that the Svan speech community once extended further to the east, to include the northern part of the province of Rach'a, as recently as the 15th century [Dzidziguri 1970: 190-1]. Fähnrich 1988 published a list of possible Northeast Caucasian loanwords in Svan; the more convincing ones come from Chechen-Ingush, as one would expect on geographical grounds: dæl (name of the goddess of game animals and the hunt), cp. Ingush dæla 'god';[3] dam 'wheat flour', cp. Chechen dama 'flour'; t'q'irš 'mud, sediment', cp. Chechen t'q'aršin 'mud'. The Ossetian philologist V. I. Abaev has examined several dozen lexical parallels between Svan and Ossetic, two speech communities which have been in extensive contact for centuries [v. also Klimov 1963; Charachidzé 1987]. One interesting parallel is the word for hemp (Svan kan, Ossetic gæn[æ], Abxaz a-kᵒnǝ), containing a biconsonantal form, unique to the Central Caucasus, of the widespread root found in Indo-European, Semitic and other Eurasian language groups [Abaev 1949: 296].

0.4. Viability and bilingualism. The Svan language has been, of course, the primary medium of communication within the Svan community for centuries, though it is extremely seldom used as a medium of written communication. Among Svans, literacy means literacy in Georgian. Knowledge of Georgian was fairly widespread, at least among the local nobility, in the middle ages, but declined after successive invasions of lowland Georgia cut off regular contact with remote highland regions such as Svaneti. Up to the 19th century, many, perhaps most Svans were monolingual, although those living near other speech communities, and men engaged in commerce or working outside of

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[2]The Kabardian and Bzhedugh terms for 'wheat' are cognates [Kuipers 1975]; the Svan lexemes could represent borrowings from different dialects and/or different historical stages of Circassian.

[3]The name of this deity has inspired much etymological speculation: links have been proposed to Ossetic dælimon/delujmon 'devil', and Georgian dila 'morning (star?)' [Abashidze 1971]. My personal belief is that the word is ultimately of Indo-European origin.

Svaneti, would know Georgian, Mingrelian or Balkarian. Volkova [1978] observed that a number of older men in the Upper Svan communities of Becho, Mestia, Mulax, and Ushgul, who had worked as migrant laborers in Karachay and Balkar villages in the 1930's, retained a good knowledge of Karachay-Balkar (which they confusingly refer to as lusæw "Ossetian").

Since the late 19th century, successive administrations — Russian, Soviet and Georgian — have opened schools in Svanetia, with the medium of instruction being, in most cases, Georgian. Almost all adult speakers of Svan can now read and write Georgian, and many, especially those who received a higher education or who did military service during the Soviet period, have a good knowledge of Russian.
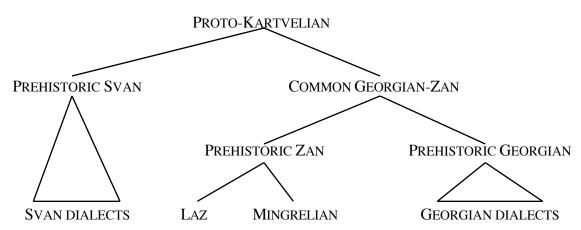
In recent times one notices signs of decreasing use of Svan by children, especially in the larger Svan villages and in families living outside of Svaneti. During visits to Upper and Lower Svaneti, this writer observed many instances of parents addressing their children in Georgian, even though they spoke Svan with other adults, especially older adults from the same town. When asked about the state of the language, most respondents insisted that children will still acquire Svan somehow — indeed, it is considered a central element of Svan identity — although they will not speak it as 'purely' as the older generation or people from small, remote villages. In those smaller villages where I had the opportunity to listen to children, it appears that Svan is their primary language.

0.5. Literary status; alphabets used. Most examples of written Svan are contained in linguistic and ethnographic textual collections, that is, they are examples of oral literature reduced to writing by specialists. Some early examples employ a modified Cyrillic script similar to the Abkhaz alphabet; more recent texts are written in Georgian characters, usually with diacritics to represent long and umlauted vowels. Arsena Oniani [Wonja:n] (1879-1948), from the Lashx-speaking village of Sasa:š, produced a sizeable corpus of Svan texts, including a botanical dictionary and important ethnographic descriptions [Oniani 1917a, 1917b; Oniani/Kaldani/Oniani 1979]. A rare example of a diary written in Svan (using Georgian script), by a soldier from Mestia sent to fight in the Russo-Turkish war of 1908, is included in the collection *UB* 41-48.

0.6. Position of Svan in the Kartvelian family. The consensus opinion among experts has been that the Svan language is the outlying member of the Kartvelian family [Deeters 1930; Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965; Schmidt 1962, 1989]. This view is based on a number of considerations, such as the low percentage of vocabulary shared between Svan and Georgian or Zan, and the highly divergent morphology, especially where suffixation is concerned. The S3sg and S3pl suffixes of Old Georgian and Zan, for example, are nearly identical, and show the same allomorphy according to tense, aspect and mood. Most Svan paradigms have no S3sg suffix at all, and only two — one of which is purely hypothetical — appear to be cognate with Georgian and Zan morphemes.

S₃ (SET S, 3RD PERSON) SUFFIXES IN OLD GEORGIAN, ZAN AND SVAN

tense-aspect-mood group		*3sg*	*3pl*
A. Present/permansive	OGeo:	-s	-en/an
	Zan:	-s	-an
	Svan:	**-0**	**-x**
B. Conjunctive	OGeo:	-s	-n
	Zan:	-s	-n
	Svan:	**-s**	**-x**
C. Past indicative	OGeo:	-a	-es
	Zan:	-u (< *-a)	-es
	Svan:	***?-a**	**-x**
D. Iterative/present	OGeo:	-n	-ed
	Zan:	-n	-nan
	Svan:	**-0**	**-x**

The Kartvelian family tree accepted by most scholars, and the one adopted by the two Kartvelian etymological dictionaries [Klimov 1964, Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990], is shown below:

PROTO-KARTVELIAN

PREHISTORIC SVAN   COMMON GEORGIAN-ZAN

PREHISTORIC ZAN   PREHISTORIC GEORGIAN

SVAN DIALECTS   LAZ   MINGRELIAN   GEORGIAN DIALECTS

There is important disagreement over how the family tree is to be reconciled with the sound correspondances among sibilants and affricates shown in the following table. Leaving aside some relatively recent phonological innovations in Svan, Zan and Svan stand together, while Georgian has different reflexes for many cognate sets. (The curious correspondence Geo. /c'/ : Zan /č'/ : Sv. /h/ may go back to a distinct Proto-Kartvelian phoneme, perhaps a lateral affricate *λ' [Fähnrich 1992; Manaster Ramer 1996]).
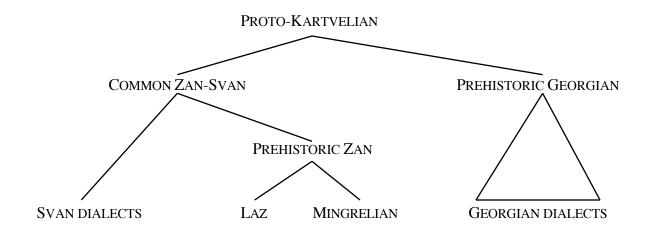
TABLE 0. KARTVELIAN SIBILANTS AND AFFRICATES.

SCHMIDT	G & M	GEORGIAN	ZAN	SVAN
*z	*z	z [zɣwa "sea"]	z [zoɣa "sea"]	z [zuɣwa "sea"]
*ž	*z¹	z [ze- "up"]	ž [ži-n "up"]	ž [ži "up, on"]
*s	*s	s [sam- "three"]	s [sum-]	s [sam-/sem-]
*š	*s¹	s [svan- "Svan"]	š [šon-]	š [šwan-]
*šk	*š	š [šwid- "seven"]	šk [škwit-]	šg [i-šgwid]
*ʒ	*ʒ	ʒ [ʒgib- "fill"]]	ʒ [ʒgib-]	ʒ [ʒg(u)b-]
*ǯ	*ʒ¹	ʒ [ʒma "brother"]	ǯ [ǯima]	ǯ [ǯim-il]
*ǯg	*ǯ	ǯ [biǯ- "step"]	ǯg [biǯg-]	ǯg [biǯg]
*c	*c	c [cila "egg-white"]	c [cila]	c [cil]
*č	*c¹	c [cxra "nine"]	č [čxoro]	č [čxara]
*čk	*č	č [čw- "(ac)custom"] [čwen- "our"]	čk [(r)čkw-] [čkən-]	1. čk [čkw-] 2. šg [gu-šgwe-]
*c'	*c'	c' [c'on- "weigh"]	c' [c'on-]	c' [c'on-]
*č'	*c'¹	c' [c'el- "gut"] [c'ab-l- "chestnut"]	č' [č'i] [č'ub-ur-]	1. č' [č'in-č'il] 2. h [heb "cherry"]
*č'k'	*č'	č' [č'r-ial- "squeak"] [č'ed- "forge"]	č'k' [č'k'ir-] [č'k'id-]	1. č'k' [č'k'ər-] 2. šk' [šk'æːd-]

Schmidt [1962] takes the Zan-Svan phonemes as directly inherited from Proto-Kartvelian (PK), and treats the Georgian reflexes as the product of a consonant shift postdating the breakup of Common Georgian-Zan. This reconstruction has the advantage of providing a straightforward match with the family tree given above, but it commits Schmidt to postulating one set of PK affricate + velar stop clusters (/čk/, /č'k'/, /ǯg/) which lose their second element in Georgian, while another (admittedly, much smaller) set does not, e.g. PK *čk(a)l- "tear, injure" ⇒ Geo. čkl-, Mingrelian čkol- [*FS* 390]). The alternative reconstruction of the PK phoneme inventory by Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965 [G&M in the above table], which has gained considerable acceptance in both Georgia and abroad, includes three places of articulation in the alveolar-palatal region rather than two: *sifflantes* (/s/, /z/, etc.), *chuintantes* (/š/, /ž/), and something else — variously called "hissing-hushing" (*sisina-šišina*) or "mid-sibilant" (*šuasibilant'uri*) — the phonetic nature of which remains to be worked out. The common evolution of the three sibilant series in Zan and Svan would appear to pose a problem for a family tree including a distinct Common Georgian-Zan branch. The authors save the situation by postulating an ancient West Kartvelian contact area including Svan (already separated from the ancestral language), and those dialects of Common Georgian-Zan from which Zan eventually evolves. This area would have been the locus of a Martinet-esque *chaîne de traction* sound shift, where the CK "mid-sibilants" become *chuintantes,* while the latter sprout a velar stop.[4]

A third, more radical alternative has come to the forefront recently. Several Georgian linguists

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[4]Readers interested in knowing more about the debate over CK phonology can consult Boeder's translation of Gamkrelidze & Machavariani [1982], with extremely helpful commentary and annotated bibliography.

[Lomtatidze & Osidze 1996; Kurdiani 1996] accept the most straightforward implication of the Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani reconstruction, namely that Georgian, rather than Svan, was the first daughter language out of the nest. They interpret the consonant shift as evidence of a Common Zan-Svan stage, giving a family tree such as this:

PROTO-KARTVELIAN

COMMON ZAN-SVAN   PREHISTORIC GEORGIAN

PREHISTORIC ZAN

SVAN DIALECTS   LAZ   MINGRELIAN   GEORGIAN DIALECTS

The morphological, phonological and lexical features which distinguish Svan from its sisters are mostly innovations, attributable to the erosion of word-final elements and the relative isolation of the Svan speech community from the rest of Georgia. To my knowledge the provocative hypothesis of K. Lomtatidze and her colleagues is still in the process of development, and its implications for the history of the Kartvelian languages have as yet to be worked out. In the discussion to follow, I continue to assume the traditional family tree, with Svan as the outlying branch.

0.7. Notes on fieldwork. The author's fieldwork on the Svan language in the Republic of Georgia was undertaken in 1985-86, 1988, in 1991, and in the summer of 1995. The first two visits were with the support of the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), and the most recent was funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and les Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche du Québec. Special thanks go to Ambak'o Ch'k'adua, who checked over the manuscript and supplied much useful data (all unattributed Lower Bal examples are his); to Zurab Ch'umburidze, with whom I studied Svan grammar at Tbilisi State University in 1988; to my colleagues P'aat'a Buxrashvili, Berucha Nik'olaishvili, Mikhail Chartolani and Zviad C'indeliani, and to all those who generously shared their expertise, narratives, linguistic intuitions, hospitality and home-brewed haræq' with the author: Nia Abesadze, Nino Avaliani, Zina Ch'k'adua, Tamar Girgwliani, Chat'o Gujejiani, Irma Kaldani, Aslan Lip'art'eliani, Evt'ix Lip'art'eliani, Mariam Meshveliani, Meri Nik'olaishvili, David and Meri Nizharadze, Junis Oniani, Giorgi Pircxelani, Varden Zurabiani.

1. PHONOLOGY.

1.1. Consonants and vowels. The inventory of consonant phonemes of the Svan dialects is essentially the same as that of Classical Georgian (i.e. all of the consonants of standard Modern Georgian plus /j/ and /q/). Svan lacks /v/ as a distinct phoneme, but it has the labiovelar glide /w/. Zhghent'i [Z 141-148] reports having detected a distinct voiced uvular phoneme /ɢ/, in a couple of dozen lexemes (many of them expressive or onomatopoetic) elicited from both Lower and Upper

Svan speakers; e.g. <u>Ǧeh</u> (name of edible alpine plant), <u>ǯǧwlæp'</u> 'sound of someone walking in slush'. None of the speakers consulted by Kaldani [1955] or myself produced such a consonant.

TABLE 1. SVAN CONSONANT PHONEMES

	OBSTRUENTS			FRICATIVES		NASALS	SONANTS	
	voiced	*aspirate*	*ejective*	*voiced*	*voiceless*			
(Bi-) Labial	b	p	p'	(v)	—	m	w	
Dental	d	t	t'			n		
Alveolar	ʒ [dz]	c [ts]	c' [ts']	z	s		r	l
Palatal(-alveolar)	ǯ [dʒ]	č [tʃ]	č' [tʃ']	ž [ʒ]	š [ʃ]		j	
Velar	g	k	k'					
Uvular	(G?)	q	q'	ɣ [ʁ]	x [χ]			
Glottal					h			

The vowel inventories of the Svan dialects differ from each other and from Georgian. Phonologically distinct long vowels occur in the Upper Bal and Lashx dialects, although the number of minimal pairs distinguished by length is surprisingly small (e.g. <u>ma:re</u> 'man' vs. <u>mare</u> 'but', and some verb forms: <u>læ-x-q'ah-**æn**</u> [PV-O3-kiss-Pass.AOR.S1/2sg] 'you.sg kissed sb' vs. <u>læ-x-q'ah-**æ:n**</u> [PV-O3-kiss-Pass.AOR(S3/pl)] 'sb kissed sb'). The Lent'ex and Lower Bal dialects do not have — or rather, no longer have — long vowels, although evidence from morphophonemics (see below) attests to their earlier existence. The feature of length can thus be reconstructed for Proto-Svan. Other vowel phonemes occuring in Svan but not Georgian are the back unrounded mid-high vowel /ə/ (usually transcribed as a schwa, but to my ears sounding more like [ɯ] or [ɤ]), the low front /æ/, and the front rounded vowels /œ (ö)/ and /y (ü)/. These latter are often realized as the diphthongs /we/ and /wi/, respectively, and some analysts prefer not to treat them as separate phonemes for this reason [*PG* 17-18]. Upper Bal has the full set of nine vowels: /a, e, i, o, u, ə, æ, œ, y/, as well as their long correlates, for a total of 18 vowel phonemes; Lower Bal and Lent'ex have the same nine vowels without a length distinction; and Lashx has the first six — all but the umlauts — both short and long, for a total of 12.

TABLE 2. SVAN VOWEL PHONEMES

DIALECT	SHORT				LONG			
	front un-rounded	*front rounded*	*back unr'd*	*back rounded*	*front un-rounded*	*front rounded*	*back unr'd*	*back rounded*
Upper Bal	æ, e, i	œ, y	a, ə	o, u	æ:, e:, i:	œ:, y:	a:, ə:	o:, u:
Lower Bal	æ, e, i	œ, y	a, ə	o, u	——	——	—	——
Lent'ex	æ, e, i	œ, y	a, ə	o, u	——	——	—	——
Lashx	e, i	——	a, ə	o, u	e:, i:	——	a:, ə:	o:, u:

1.2. Phonotactics. Unlike Georgian, whose consonant clusters inspire the admiration of phonologists, Svan imposes strict limitations on the combinations of consonants allowed word-initially [Z189-194]. In essence, these are limited to clusters phonotactically functioning as single consonants (i.e. harmonic clusters, as in Georgian and Zan, e.g. <u>txe:re</u> 'wolf', <u>č'q'int'</u> 'boy';

clusters of consonant + /w/[5]), or historically derived from them (/šd/, believed to derive from a palatalized /*tʲ/ in Proto-Kartvelian[6]). Other initial clusters inherited from Proto-Kartvelian or borrowed from other sources are broken up by epenthetic vowels (k'aravæt' ⇐ Russ. krovat´ 'bed'), or prosthetic vowels (aq'ba 'cheek, jaw', cp. Geo q'ba). It is probably as a consequence of this restriction that the 1st-exclusive and 2nd person subject prefixes xw- and x- are deleted before initial consonants, with metathesis of the /w/ ({xw-t'ix-e} ⇒ t'wixe 'I return it'; cp. {xw-i-t'ix-e} ⇒ xwit'xe 'I return it for myself'), and an epenthetic schwa is interposed after other person markers ({m-t'ix-e} ⇒ mət'xe 'sb returns me').

Conversely, Svan phonotactics tolerates daunting final clusters, of a sort never seen in Georgian: axeqwsg 'you stole up on sb', xosgwǯ 'I ordered sb'. Zhghent'i [loc. cit.] attributes this to a tendency toward weakening and loss of vowels in word-final syllables, as in the Georgian dialects of the northeast highlands (e.g. Xevsurian).

1.3. Prosodic features. Although Svan does not give one the impression of being a stress-timed language like Russian or English, its morphophonemics bespeak the presence, at some stage of the language's history, of a strong, mobile accent. The evidence includes the loss of many final segments preserved in Georgian and Zan, syncopation of short vowels in even-numbered syllables, and some cases of vowel lengthening.

1.3.1. Vowel length. While distinctly long vowels can be confidently reconstructed for Proto-Svan, it is not at all clear whether they in turn reflect a quantitative opposition in Proto-Kartvelian, as proposed by Oniani 1962 and Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965.[7] Many long vowels appear to represent innovations, due to: (a) contraction of two adjacent vowels in underlying structure (see below); (b) compensatory lengthening (e.g. PKrt *č'am- 'eat' ⇒ Geo. -č'am, Sv. -e:m- [Klimov 1964: 22]); (c) phonological context, especially a following sonant [see the detailed treatment by Zhghent'i 1949 and the summary in Schmidt 1992]. Short vowels in nominal stems occasionally lengthen when the same stem is used to form a verb (e.g. čxət' 'pebble' ⇒ li-čxə:t'-al 'children's game played with pebbles' [cited in Ch'umburidze 1981]), which may have something to do with accentuation. A large number of suffixes contain long vowels, e.g. the diminutives -i:l and -o:l, the iterative/durative/plural verb formants -æ:l and -i-e:l, etc. At the same time, many stems with well-attested length in both Upper Bal and Lashx resist any such explanation: mu:kw 'smile', aso:q'e 'sb/sthg drives sb crazy', le:t 'night'. It should also be mentioned that there is no limit on the number of long vowels per word; the most I have encountered is four: kæ:di:ɣa:læ:n {ka-ad-i-iɣ-a:l-æ:n} [PV-PV-SbV-undress-VPL-Pass.AOR] 'sb got undressed' [*UB* 204].

1.3.2. Accentuation. Several Lower Svan speakers, when asked about differences among varieties of Svan speech, mentioned that their neighbors from the next village up or down the road

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[5]Including the clusters /ɣw/, /xw/ arising from labiovelarization of an initial */w/, e.g. Svan ɣwæina < Russ. vojna 'war' [Z 137; Topuria 1941; Schmidt 1992].

[6]For example, cp. Sv. šdugw, Geo. tagv- 'mouse'. For arguments in favor of a Proto-Kartvelian /tʲ/ see Schmidt 1962: 75; the opposing view is presented by Gigineishvili 1987.

[7]Ancient long vowels are invoked to account for the retention of vowels in Old Georgian in contexts where reduction would have been expected. In a couple of such cases, the Svan cognate does in fact contain a long vowel, but in most instances the Svan data provide no support for the hypothesis [Ch'umburidze 1987].

'accented' their words differently, citing examples illustrating the different reduction rules of Lent'ex and Lashx (see 1.4.1 below).[8] A particularly interesting instance of Svan accentuation at work comes from reduction and vowel quantity alternations in the S1/2sg aorist stems of ablauting verbs (also non-ablauting strong verbs). These reflect what can only be a shift of the accent from the root to the prefix.[9] The effect is especially pronounced in the Upper Bal dialect, as shown by the following alternations (accentuated syllables in bold-face):

(i) ablauting intransitives: deletion of stem vowel in S1/2sg.
S2sg: {**'a**-x-t'ex} ⇒ æt'x 'you came back'
S3sg: {a-**'t'æx**} ⇒ at'æx

(ii) ablauting verbs: vowel-lengthening in preverb <u>la</u>- in S1/2sg.
S2sg: {**'la**-x-e-t'ex} ⇒ la:xet'x 'you came back for sb/sthg'
S3sg: {la-x-e-**'t'æx**} ⇒ læxt'æx

(iii) non-ablauting strong verbs with long root vowels: shortening of root vowel in S1/2sg.
S2sg: {**'la**-x-o-t'u:l} ⇒ loxt'ul 'you called to sb'
S3sg: {la-x-o-**'t'u:l**-e} ⇒ loxt'y:l

Of uncertain origin is the lengthened S3/pl stem of the imperfect of several stative verbs in Lashx [*T* 97, 244; *GM* 213]:
S2sg: sg**u**r-d 'you were sitting'
S3sg: sg**u:**r-d-a

1.3.3. The phonology of traditional Svan poetry. In her candidate thesis I. Chant'ladze [1969] investigated the suggestion made by A. Chikobava that the language of traditional Svan poetry was pan-dialectal, in the sense that its phonological features were essentially the same in all four dialect areas. Among the characteristics noted by Chant'ladze in the corpus of Svan poetry are: (i) lack of long and umlauted vowels; (ii) rarity of reduction (see §1.4.1); (iii) use of filler vowels to reach the required syllabic quantity (usually eight syllables per line). It appears from an examination of her examples that these vowels are of two general types: either etymologically-motivated vowels which are no longer retained in ordinary spoken Svan (e.g. poet. <u>t'ub**a**</u> 'gorge', ordin. Svan <u>t'ub</u> < *t'aba; cp. Geo <u>t'ba</u> 'lake'), or the default filler vowel /i/ (e.g. <u>t'wib**i**</u> < <u>t'ub+i</u>).

1.4. Morphophonemics. Compared to the relatively transparent agglutination characteristic of the other Kartvelian languages, Svan morphology seems bewilderingly complex. This is due to phonological change (loss of final segments preserved elsewhere in Kartvelian) and to the combined

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[8]I noted comments of this sort among residents of Leksura (a Lent'ex-speaking village) and Saq'dar (several kilometers away, where a subdialect transitional between Lent'ex and Cholur/Lashx is spoken [Topuria 1965]).

[9]The imperfect also has distinct S1/2sg and S3/pl stems. Here too a forward displacement of the accent in the S1/2sg may have been responsible for differences in the two stems, e.g. LBal S2sg *t'ex-**'en**-i-w > <u>t'exen(w)</u> 'you were coming back' vs. S3sg *t'ex-en-**'i**-w > <u>t'exniw</u> 'sb was coming back' [Mach'avariani 1980].

agency of a handful of morphophonemic and phonotactic principles, which obscure the underlying morphemic structure.

1.4.1. Reduction. In all Svan dialects save Lent'ex, every even-numbered vowel (except the final one) of a word is liable to syncope or reduction [Topuria 1946; Nik'olaishvili 1984]. The conditions on reduction include the following: (a) The rounded vowels /o/ and /u/ reduce to /w/; /i/ and /e/ undergo complete syncopation, but can cause umlaut of the preceding vowel (see below); /a/, /æ/ and /ə/ disappear without a trace ({næb**o**z-æš} ⇒ næb**w**zæš 'evening-GEN'; {x-a-c'**e**d-un-**i**-da} ⇒ xæc'dynda 'sb longed to see sb/sth'). (b) Should reduction occur in the context /CVSC/ [S = sonant], a schwa is inserted ({lə-p**i**ndix} ⇒ ləp**ə**ndix 'having bullets'). (c) Long vowels do not undergo reduction. In Lower Bal, which lacks phonemic length, those vowels which correspond to long vowels in Upper Bal and Lashx are likewise immune to reduction (Cp. {a-k'ar-e} ⇒ UBal/LBal ak're 'sb opens sthg' vs. {a-ma:r-e} ⇒ UBal ama:re, LBal amare 'sb prepares sthg'). This of course is evidence that Lower Bal once had long vowels (or some other feature — accentuation? — which served to distinguish them from short vowels).

As for Lent'ex, while it lacks the every-second-vowel-reduction rule (cp. Lntx t'exeni 'sb comes back', vs. UBal/LBal/Lshx t'exni), the vowel /i/, and occasionally /u/, undergoes reduction in certain contexts, but only in the penultimate syllable: {a-qæn-in-e} ⇒ Lshx a-qæn-n-e, UBal/LBal a-qn-in-e 'sb will be ploughing' [Ch'umburidze 1953]; {x-a-j-esk'-un-e} ⇒ Lshx xæjesk'wne, cp. UBal xæjæ:sgune 'sb will make sb take sthg away' [*T* 234]. Data of this type indicate a different accentuation pattern in early Lent'ex, distinct from that of the other Svan dialects.

Vowels can also be dropped when a vowel-final word or outer preverb is immediately followed by a vowel-initial word (if the latter begins with a vowel other than /i/ or /u/). The second vowel can undergo compensatory lengthening, as in line 20 of the text following this sketch: al **e:**ser < ala 'this' + eser 'QT' [Kaldani 1953].

1.4.2. Assimilation. Undoubtedly the most celebrated morphophonemic phenomenon in Svan grammar is umlaut, by which two types of assimilation are meant: (a) fronting of /a/, /o/, /u/ and /ə/ under the influence of an /i/ or /e/ in the following syllable (palatal umlaut [Shanidze 1925/1957]); (b) more recently, Kaldani 1969 has demonstrated that the high vowels /i/ and /e/ can be lowered to /æ/ or /a/ by assimilation to a following /a/ or /w/. The first type of umlaut has left its traces in all four dialects, with Lashx being less affected than the others.[10] The Svan palatal umlaut rules boil down to the following hierarchies, with different subdialects observing different cut-off points, at different historical stages (/x/ > /y/ = "x is more susceptible or likely than y"):

(i) Susceptibility to umlaut: /a/ > /o/ > /u/; short vowels > long; root vowels > affixal.

(ii) Likelihood to trigger umlaut: /i/ > /e/ > /æ/; reduced vowel > unreduced; short vowel > long; underlying /i/, /e/ > /i/, /e/ from transformation of other segment (e.g. /i/ from /y/ ⇒ /wi/).

The effects of both types of umlaut — fronting and lowering — can be illustrated by comparing loanwords from Georgian to their source: (a) gœč'/gweč' ⇐ Geo. goč'i 'suckling pig'; zedæš ⇐ Geo. zedaše 'drink offering in religious ceremony'; (b) Lntx. konab, UBal/LBal konæb ⇐ Geo.

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[10]Kaldani [1969: 143-59] discerns three stages of umlaut in the history of Svan: (i) an early, intensive umlaut, affecting all dialects, which ran its course before the earliest attestations of Svan lexemes (13th-15th centuries); (ii) an umlaut rule touching fewer contexts than the preceding, observed in all dialects save Lashx; (iii) the continuation of stage (ii) umlaut in some Lower Bal and Lentex subdialects after it had ceased to be productive elsewhere (cp. Mach'avariani 1970).

koneba 'possessions'; UBal <u>satætwr</u>, LBal <u>satetwr</u> ⇐ Geo. <u>satitur-</u> 'thimble'.

1.4.3. Metathesis. Another feature that spreads is labialization, as when a 1st-person subject marker appears directly before the root. In some instances the metathesized labial feature attaches to the root-initial consonant, in other cases the vowel is rounded: e.g. UBal {xw-re:ka} ⇒ <u>rwe:ka</u>, <u>rœ:ka</u>; cp. Lashx <u>lo:kwar</u> 'I said'; in the Laxamulan variety of Lower Bal, the /w/ migrates all the way to the **second** consonant of the root: {xw-rekar} ⇒ <u>rek**w**ar</u> 'I said'. The direction of spread also varies: {a-xw-t'əx} ⇒ UBal/LBal/Lshx <u>ot'əx</u>, Lntx <u>at'ux</u> 'I returned it'.

Both metathesis and umlaut play a part in the complex transformations undergone by the preradical segments in the verbal complex (preverb(s) + person marker + version vowel). The output varies considerably from one variety of Svan speech to another, notably in Lent'ex, which does not follow the reduction pattern of the other dialects: e.g. {ad-xw-a-kač-en} ⇒ Lshx. <u>ot-kačen</u>, Lntx <u>atwa-kačen</u> 'I had been cut for sb'; {an-xw-o-sq'} ⇒ UBal/LBal/Lshx <u>oxo-sq'</u>, Lntx <u>axu-sq'</u> 'I did sthg for sb' [*T* 175, 57].

1.4.4. Dissimilation. As in Georgian, suffixes containing /r/ are prone to dissimilation to /l/ if the root to which they attach already contains an /r/; cp. the plural suffix in <u>megmær</u> {megæm-ær} 'trees' vs. <u>txe:ræ:l</u> {txe:re-æ:r} 'wolves' [Schmidt 1992]. Dissimilation is especially common in the two Lower Svan dialects, whereas in Upper Svan words with two /r/'s in successive syllables are tolerated; cp. {pur-ær} ⇒ UBal <u>purær</u>, Lntx <u>puræl</u> 'cows' [Z164]. Zhghent'i [1947] also noted cases of dissimilation of voicing: <u>la-**g**wirk'-a</u> 'shrine of St. K'wirik'e' < **k'**wirik'e; <u>kris**d**e</u> 'Christ' < <u>kris**t'**e</u>.

1.4.5. Ablaut. True ablaut, if by this we mean vocalic alternations not conditioned by umlaut, reduction, etc. at some reasonably shallow morphophonemic and/or historical level, is restricted to one class of Svan verbs (Topuria 1967's Group II verbs, Ch'umburidze 1974's 3rd conjugation [*puʒedrek'adi zmnebi*]), which account for roughly 15% of the verbs listed in Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis' Svan-English dictionary [1985]. These verbs retain some characteristics of the Proto-Kartvelian ablaut patterns, but with changes noted by Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965 and Mach'avariani 1986.[11] Ablauting verbs in Upper Bal and Lashx (i.e. the dialects with distinctive length) show the following vocalic alternations:

(i) *high vowels [i/ə]* — TRANSITIVE: present stem (thematic): UBal <u>dig-e</u>, Lshx <u>dəg-e</u> 'sb extinguishes sthg'; aorist stem (athematic): S1/2sg stem <u>a-xw-dəg</u> 'I extinguished sthg', S3/pl stem <u>a-dig</u> 'sb extinguished sthg'

(i.a) STATIVE/RESULTATIVE present stem (athematic), formed from certain ablauting verbs: <u>sid</u> 'sthg/sb is left, remains' [cp. dynamic passive <u>sed-n-i</u>]; <u>x-a-p'iž</u> 'sb/sthg is hidden' [*T* 208-10].

(ii) *low vowels [e/æ/a]* — DYNAMIC (MONOVALENT) INTRANSITIVE present stem (thematic): <u>deg-en-i</u> 'sthg [fire, candle] goes out, burns out'; aorist stem (athematic): S1/2sg stem <u>a-xw-deg</u> 'I burnt out'; S3/pl stem UBal <u>a-dæg</u>, Lshx <u>a-dag</u> 'sthg went out, burnt out'

(iii) *long vowels [i:/e:]* — ATELIC INTRANSITIVE: passive (deep-structure bivalent) present stem (thematic): <u>i-di:g-i</u> 'sthg is being extinguished (by sb)'; atelic intransitive present stem (thematic): <u>i-de:g-ur-æ:l</u> 'it [fire] is just about to go out'

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[11]According to Mach'avariani 1986 a handful of Svan transitive verbs still preserve the original vocalic alternation between present and aorist stem, e.g. <u>ter</u> 'sb recognizes sb', aorist <u>a-tir</u>.

1.4.5.1. The prehistory of Svan ablaut. Whereas in Proto-Kartvelian the transitive present and dynamic intransitive aorist employed the same stem (athematic, e-grade), in prehistoric Svan the system was realigned according to transitivity, with aorist and present stems employing the same vocalism, and the thematic conjugation associated with the present series [Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani 1965: 207-14; Mach'avariani 1986]:

	Proto-Kartvelian		**Prehistoric Svan**	
	trans.	*intrans.*	*trans.*	*intrans.*
present:	**deg	**deg-en-i	*dig-e	*deg-en-i
aorist:	**dig-e	**deg	*dig	*deg

The aorist stems underwent further diversification: In the two primary past-indicative paradigms, aorist and imperfect, Svan verbs employ distinct stems for the 1st and 2nd person singular subject (S1/2sg stem) vs. the 3rd singular and all plural forms (S3/pl):

	singular			*plural*
1st	{a-xw-**dǝg**} ⇒ odǝg		*exclusive*	{a-xw-dig-d} ⇒ odigd
			inclusive	{a-l-dig-d} ⇒ aldigd
2nd	{a-x-**dǝg**} ⇒ adǝg			{a-x-dig-d} ⇒ adigd
3rd	{a-dig} ⇒ adig 'sb extinguished sthg'			{a-dig-x} ⇒ adigx

This is an important difference from the pattern observed in Georgian ablauting verbs, where the 1st and 2nd person forms in <u>both numbers</u> have a different stem from the 3rd person singular and plural. This curious alignment of the stems in the aorist and imperfect, taken with other factors, has led some to wonder if Svan (or for that matter, Proto-Kartvelian) had any distinct marking for the 3rd person as such [Schmidt 1982, Tuite 1992; *GM* 214 consider the S1/2sg vs. S3/pl stem opposition an innovation in Svan]. As for the vocalism of these stems, there are at least two hypotheses that come to mind:

(a) As shown in the table above, Mach'avariani considered the i-grade of the transitive S3/pl stem and the e-grade of the intransitive S1/2sg stem to be ancient, and the other vocalisms to be derived. The /æ/ or /a/ of the intransitive S3/pl arose from the second type of umlaut, under the influence of a now lost S3 suffix *-a (as in Georgian): *a-deg-a ⇒ <u>adæg</u> ⇒ <u>adag</u> 'sthg went out, burnt out' [Kaldani 1978]. As for the /ə/ in the transitive S1/2sg stem, Mach'avariani has argued that it often alternates with /i/, with the latter as the umlauted transformation of the former (e.g. <u>miž</u> ⇐ *məž-i 'sun-NOM'). In the ablaut system, /ə/ is a reduced form of underlying /i/, perhaps due to the peculiar accentuation pattern found in these verbs (see 1.4.1. above).

(b) One can also argue that /ə/ is the underlying form in the transitive stem. This vowel occurs in the Lashx ablauting present stem <u>dəg-e</u> (the other dialects have <u>dig-e</u>, which might have resulted from umlaut at an earlier stage). The aorist vocalism reflects the traces of a prehistoric Svan transitive aorist stem formant *-i-, reconstructed by Kaldani 1978.[12] Due to loss of final vowels, it would have only been retained in the S3/pl stem, having been protected by the S3 suffix *-a, causing umlaut of /ə/ ⇒ /i/:

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[12]Gamq'relidze/Mach'avariani [1965: 346] likewise attribute the aorist root vocalism to umlaut triggered by a lost suffix *-i, although they consider the latter semantically 'functionless'.

S1/2sg: **[…]-dəg-i ⇒   *[…]-dəg ⇒   […]-dəg

S3/pl: **[…]-dəg-i-a ⇒ *[…]-dəg-i ⇒ […]-dig

I lean toward the second hypothesis. Additional evidence comes from the optatives of transitive ablauting verbs, which also have ə-grade (a-dəg-es 'may sb extinguish sthg'), and from the inability of the /i/ in the S3/pl stem to umlaut a preceding vowel, evidence that it is not the underlying vowel [Ch'umburidze 1953]. In view of the evidence for stress shift noted earlier, and the proposals offered by Kaldani [1978] and Mach'avariani [1980, 1986], I reconstruct the following history of the Svan transitive and intransitive past-indicative paradigms:

Prehistory of past-indicative paradigms [ablauting root -t'Vx- 'return']

TRANSITIVE AORIST 'X RETURNED STHG'

	Early Proto-Svan	*Stress placement*	*Modern forms (Lower Bal)*
S1/2sg	**[…]-t'əx-i†-Ø	*['…]-t'əx-i-Ø ⇒ -t'**əx**	S2sg {'a-x-t'əx} ⇒ at'əx
S3sg	**[…]-t'əx-i-a	*[…]-'t'əx-i-a ⇒ -t'**ix**	S3sg {a-'t'ix} ⇒ at'ix
S1/2pl	**[…]-t'əx-i-d	*[…]-'t'əx-i-d	S2pl {a-x-'t'ix-d} ⇒ a-t'ix-d
S3pl	**[…]-t'əx-i-a-x	*[…]-'t'əx-i-a-x	S3pl {a-'t'ix-x} ⇒ a-t'ix-x

†Transitive aorist-stem formant *-i-, as proposed by Kaldani [1978].

INTRANSITIVE AORIST 'X RETURNED / CAME BACK'

	Early Proto-Svan	*Stress placement*	*Modern forms (Lower Bal)*
S1/2sg	**[…]-t'ex-Ø	*['…]-t'ex-Ø	S2sg {'a-x-t'ex} ⇒ at'ex [UB æt'x]
S3sg	**[…]-t'ex-a	*[…]-'t'ex-a	S3sg {a-'t'ex} ⇒ at'**æ**x
S1/2pl	**[…]-t'ex-i-d	*[…]-'t'ex-d	S2pl {a-x-'t'ex-d} ⇒ a-t'æx-d
S3pl	**[…]-t'ex-a-x	*[…]-'t'ex-a-x	S3pl {a-'t'ex-x} ⇒ a-t'æx-x

TRANSITIVE IMPERFECT 'X WAS/WERE RETURNING STHG'

	Early Proto-Svan	*Stress placement*	*Modern forms (Lower Bal [Etser])*
S1/2sg	**[…]-t'ex-e-w-Ø	*[…]-'t'əx‡-e-w-Ø	S2sg {x-'t'ix-ew} ⇒ t'ix, Lshx t'əx-is¶
S3sg	**[…]-t'ex-e-w-(?a)	*[…]-t'əx-'e-w-(?a)	S3sg {t'əx-'ew} ⇒ t'ix-a, Lshx t'əx-da
S1/2pl	**[…]-t'ex-e-w-(?ə)-d	*[…]-t'əx-'e-w-d	S2pl {x-t'əx-'ew-d} ⇒ t'ix-a-d
S3pl	**[…]-t'ex-e-w-(?a)-x	*[…]-t'əx-'e-w-(?a)-x	S3pl {t'əx-'ew-x} ⇒ t'ix-a-x

‡Transitive aorist S3sg vocalism adopted to reflect transitivity [Mach'avariani 1986].
¶Paradigmatic regularization of vocalism in modern dialects (/i/ in LB, /ə/ in Lashx)

INTRANSITIVE IMPERFECT 'X WAS/WERE RETURNING / COMING BACK'

	Early Proto-Svan	*Stress placement*	*Modern forms (Lower Bal)*
S1/2sg	**[…]-t'ex-en-i-w-Ø	*[…]-t'ex-'en-i-w-Ø	S2sg {x-t'ex-'en-i-w} ⇒ t'exen(w)
S3sg	**[…]-t'ex-en-i-w-(?a)	*[…]-t'ex-en-'i-w-(?a)	S3sg {t'ex-en-'i-w} ⇒ t'exniw
S1/2pl	**[…]-t'ex-en-i-w-(?ə)-d	*[…]-t'ex-en-'i-w-d	S2pl {x-t'ex-en-'i-w-d} ⇒ t'exniwd
S3pl	**[…]-t'ex-en-i-w-(?a)-x	*[…]-t'ex-en-'i-w-(?a)-x	S3pl {t'ex-en-'i-w-x} ⇒ t'exniwx

1.4.5.2. Lengthened-grade passives. Some Svan ablauting verbs have one, sometimes two, stems with long root vowels. These forms have received little attention from linguists, although Topuria signalled their presence in his monograph on the Svan verb [*T* 181-182, 232]. They are of interest both for their semantics, as well as for the insight they afford on the evolution of Svan verbal morphology [Tuite 1998].

The lengthened-grade passive stem i-di:g-i 'sthg is extinguished (by sb)', is semantically distinct from the dynamic intransitive stem, in that it denotes an event or state with an underlying agent, i.e. it is transitive at the level of deep semantic structure. Some other lengthened-grade passives, elicited from Upper Bal and Lashx speakers: i-pxi:ž-i 'it is being spread (by sb)'; i-t'i:x-i 'it is being returned (by sb)'; i-q'wi:č-i 'it is being broken (by sb)'; i-gi:č'-i 'it is being held (by sb)'. This same stem, it appears, is also employed to form the Series III paradigms (see below) of the transitive verb, for example č'q'int'-s lemesg x-o-**di:g**-a [boy-DAT fire:NOM O3-ObV-extinguish-PERF] 'the boy has put out the fire'. As in Georgian, transitive verbs undergo inversion in Series III, with the underlying direct object controlling subject agreement, and in general bearing the morphological markers of an intransitive subject, while the underlying agent appears in the surface grammatical role of indirect object. The fundamental sense of the Svan i:-grade would be something like "underlying transitive transformed into surface intransitive"; in any event, the formal similarity between the passive and transitive perfect stems confirms the Georgian evidence that the Kartvelian Series III stems were derived from ancient passives [Harris 1985: 286-306; Tuite 1990]. I also recorded forms with lengthened e-grade and iterative/durative suffixes. As the suffixes indicate, these verbs are semantically atelic. They can denote (i) the final stage before a change of state: i-de:g-ur-æ:l 'it [fire] is just about to go out (Geo. *tandatan kreba, krebis bolo et'apzea*)'; (ii) an ongoing or repeated occurrence: x-e-t'e:x-ur-æ:l 'sb/sthg returns to sb often', x-e-qe:d-ur-æ:l 'sb/sthg comes to sb gradually, from day to day' [*T* 232]. It is not yet entirely clear to me how the lengthened e-grade verbs fit into the Svan ablaut pattern, but a morphological anomaly in the conjugation of stative verbs may point the way to a solution.[13]

A half-dozen or so stative verbs, including several of high frequency, are formed from roots consisting in either a single consonant or a consonant plus /w/. Some of these roots appear in dynamic Series I verb forms, with the addition of a series marker (often -em) and a version vowel. Others, such as -r- 'be' and -z- 'lie', form monovalent statives with the series marker -i. None of these forms are morphologically problematic. The bivalent statives — with a (sometimes dummy) DAT argument controlling Set O marking in the verb — employing the same vowelless roots, however, have lengthened version vowels. Topuria noted the phenomenon, but deemed the long vowels a problem 'remaining to be explained' [*T* 208].

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[13]The archaic ablauting verb li-q'er "hit" has a semantically similar lengthened-grade deponent passive, though with different vocalism: i-q'æ:r-ie:l (Lshx i-q'a:r-je:l) "fights, beats [repeatedly]".

VOWELLESS-ROOT BIVALENT STATIVES WITH LONG VERSION VOWELS.

GROUP I

root	*transitive present*	*stative (version vowel -e-)*	*stative (version vowel -o-)*[14]
-b-	x-a-b-em 'sb binds it to sthg'	x-**æ:**-b 'sthg is bound' < *x-e-b-aw	x-**o:**-b 'sthg is bound to/for sb'
-kw-	i-kw-em 'sb puts on sthg'	x-**æ:**-kw 'sb wears sthg'	
-cw-	i-cw-em 'sb hangs sthg'	x-**æ:**-cw 'sthg hangs'	x-**o:**-cw 'sthg hangs to/for sb'
-g-	ə-g-em 'sb sets sthg'	x-**a:**-g 'sthg stands on sthg' [Lshx] l-**ə:**-g 'sb/sthg stands'	x-**o:**-g 'sthg stands to sb'

GROUP II

root	*monovalent stative*	*superessive version -a-*	*objective version -a-*
-r-	æ-r-i 'sb/sthg is'	x-**a:**-r 'sb has sthg' < *x-a-r-i	x-o-r-i 'sb has sb'
-z-	z-i 'sthg lies'	x-**æ:**-z 'sthg lies on sthg'	x-**o:**-z 'sthg lies to/for sthg'

As can be seen in the table above, the exceptions themselves have exceptions. The objective-version stative formed from -r- 'be', x-o-r-i 'sb has sb' (lit. 'sb is to sb'), has a short vowel. This is doubly curious, since in the corresponding stative with version vowel -a-, x-a:-r 'sb has sthg', the latter is lengthened. Note as well the Lashx monovalent stative l-ə:-g 'sb/sthg stands', in which the schwa — morphophonemically inserted before vowelless roots that lack a version vowel — is long. It is an interesting fact, which I intend to explore in subsequent work, that the two exceptions have exceptional phonological shape as well: x-o-r-i is the only one of the bivalent statives of its class to have a series marker (-i), while l-ə:-g, lacking a series marker, has the same monosyllabic CVC(C) structure as the vowelless-root bivalent statives. It remains to be investigated what role, if any, the syllabic shape played in the evolution of long vowels in these verb forms. It seems likely, in any event, that the group II statives all originally had the series marker -i. As regards group I, I offer the following hypothetic scenario:

(b) The stative suffix was lost in Svan. At the time this occurred, a rule of compensatory lengthening was operative, e.g. **x-e-b-aw ⇒ *x-æ-b-a ⇒ *x-æ:-b. (A handful of Georgian loanwords into Svan attest to the existance of such a rule at some time in the past, e.g. Lashx c've:t ⇐ Geo. c'vet-i 'drop', di:r ⇐ Geo. dire '(roof)-beam'). The version vowel is lengthened.

(c) The opposition between short (x-a-b-em) and lengthened (x-æ:-b) vowels is morphologized. The lengthened grade is quite naturally extended to ablauting verbs, i.e. that class of verbs which already exploits vowel alternations to mark grammatical categories. Those ablauting verb forms sharing the same semantic configuration — bivalent (underlyingly transitive), stative/atelic, passive voice — acquire a lengthened root vowel. Hence the long vowels of i-di:g-i and i-de:g-ur-æ:l, and eventually, via the i-di:g-i-type passive, the lengthened-grade perfect stems such as x-o-di:g-a.

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[14]This type of alternation between e- and o- version characterizes other stative verbs, e.g. ter-a 'sthg is visible', x-e-t(e)r-a 'sthg is visible on sb', x-o-t(e)r-a 'sb/sthg is visible to/for sb', i.e. 'sb recognizes sb/sthg'.

2. MORPHOLOGY. By and large Svan inflection resembles that of Georgian and Zan: Svan nouns mark most of the same cases, in roughly the same contexts, as their Georgian homologues; the Svan verb — once its morphophonemics have been untangled — reveals the same basic sequence of morphemes, same tense/aspect/mood paradigms as elsewhere in Kartvelian.

2.1. Nominal morphology. Svan substantives are inflected for case and number; there is no category of grammatical gender, not even for pronouns. The degree of allomorphy is far greater than in Georgian or Zan [Oniani 1989].

2.1.1. Nouns. In a seminal work on Svan case marking, Sharadzenidze [1955] distinguished five declensions, using the DAT suffix as a criterion. Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis [1985] introduced further formal distinctions, to arrive at the eight declensions used in their Svan-English dictionary [see also Palmaitis 1979, Palmaitis & Gudjedjiani 1986]. Since this latter system is likely to be the most familiar to an English-reading audience, I will employ it here; for the history of Svan declension, I will be drawing principally on the work of G. Mach'avariani [1960, 1985].

TABLE 3. THE SVAN DECLENSION CLASSES.

	I [some pronouns]	II [some adjectives]	III
NOM	ala 'this'	ara 'eight'	ma:re ⇐ *ma:ra-i
DAT	am-i-s, ala-s, am-ən	ara-am	ma:r-a 'man'
INST	am-n-oš ⇐*am-na-wš	ara-am-šw	ma:r-oš ⇐*ma:ra-wš
ADV	am-n-ær-d	ara-am-d	ma:r-a-d
ERG	am-n-e:m-[d]	ar-e:m, ara-am-n-e:m	ma:r-e:m
GEN	am-n-e:m-iš, am-ša, am-iš	ar-e:m-iš	ma:r-e:m-iš

	IV	V	VI [vowel stem]	[consonant stem]
NOM	čæ:ž ⇐ *ča:ž-i	txwim ⇐ *txum-i 'head'	næ:ti 'kin'	qæn ⇐ *qan-i 'bull'
DAT	ča:ž-w 'horse'	txum ⇐ *txum-w	næ:ti-s	qæn-s, (arch.) qan-[a]s
INST	ča:ž-w-š	txum-šw	næ:ti-šw	qan-šw
ADV	ča:ž-w-d	txum-d	næ:ti-d	qæn-d, (arch.) qan-[a]d
ERG	ča:ž-w-em	txum-em	næ:ti-d	qæn-d, (arch.) qan-[a]d
GEN	ča:ž-w-(e)m-iš	txum-em, txum-m-eš	næ:ti-iš	qæn-iš

	VII	VIII [all plurals]	[proper names]
NOM	kor 'house'	txum-ær 'heads'	æmiran 'Amiran'
DAT	kor-[a]-s	txum-ær-s	æmiran-s
INST	kor-šw	txum-ær-šw	æmiran-šw
ADV	kor-[a]-d	txum-ær-d	æmiran-d
ERG	kor-[a]-d	txum-ær-d	æmiran-d
GEN	kor-æš ⇐ *kora-iš	txum-r-eš	æmiran-iš

The functions of the Svan cases differ little from those of their Georgian counterparts. In this section the formal characteristics of the cases, their histories and semantic peculiarities will be briefly presented.

(a) <u>Nominative</u>. As can be easily seen from an examination of the above table, the nominative often has a stem different from that on which the oblique cases are formed (declensions I-V).

Setting aside the stem suppletion characteristic of several Svan pronouns (see below), we note the effects of a lost vocalic suffix, which fronted the final stem vowel before vanishing. The vowel /i/, corresponding to the Georgian NOM suffix, would be a perfect candidate; however, some linguists argue that *-e̠ may have been the original Svan NOM, at least in some declensions. The evidence comes primarily from Svan poetry, which, having been passed down by rote memorization for centuries, retains archaic features no longer in current use. What appears to be an -e̠ NOM occurs sporadically in such texts, especially in the plural: gezal-e [child-NOM?] 'child' (mod. Sv. gezal); top-ar-e [rifle-PL-NOM?] 'rifles' (mod. Sv. top-ær) [Shanidze 1925/1957; Chant'ladze 1973; *FS* 111]. Oniani [1989: 94-106] considers this vowel an innovation, added to fill out the metre in Svan eight-syllable verse (a function sometimes assigned to other vowels as well [Klimov 1962: 116; Tuite 1994b: 22]); Kaldani 1974 derives it from *-a̠ (an old pluralizer) + NOM -i.

In those nouns with the same stem in all cases (declensions VI-VIII), we have to do with either (i) generalization of the NOM stem to the oblique cases (e.g. qæn 'bull', though the old un-umlauted stem is preserved as an archaism); (ii) originally vowel-final stems (e.g. kor ⇐ *kora 'house'), as shown by genitives in -æš̠ (⇐ *a-iš) or -eš̠; or (iii) proper names, which, as in Old Georgian, once employed the bare stem in nominative and ergative contexts [Ch'umburidze 1964].

(b) Dative. Compared to the Georgian and Zan languages, where -s̠ is the only allomorph of the DAT case, Svan shows unusual variety. Sharadzenidze 1955 recorded five allomorphs — -s̠, -w̠, -n̠, -a̠, -am̠ — as shown in the table above. In declensions I-IV the suffix marking the DAT appears in the other oblique cases as well, forming a secondary stem to which the case suffixes are added. This resembles the 'two-base declension' characteristic of most Northeast Caucasian languages, where the ergative suffix also functions as the oblique stem [Sharadzenidze 1983; Chant'ladze 1990]. The Svan DAT suffixes are of different origins, though not all scholars are agreed on what their original functions were. The suffix -w̠ has been explained as an ancient noun-stem formant *-l (e.g. Sv. žaɣ-w̠ 'dog' ⇐ *žaɣ-l, cp. Geo. ʒaɣl-), which underwent refunctionalization and spread to other noun classes [Palmaitis 1979]. The suffix -n̠ attested in a few pronouns and common nouns (e.g. šə̠n, from ši 'hand') may not be a true dative at all [Chant'ladze 1974b]; it is restricted to locatives and a few fixed expressions (q'or-**n** i q'or-**n** [door-DAT? and door-DAT?] 'from door to door'), and harks back, according to Mach'avariani 1985, to an ergative/adverbial allomorph in the four-case system he reconstructs for late Proto-Kartvelian [NOM *-i/-Ø, DAT *-s, GEN *-is₁/-es₁, ERG/ADV *-(a)d/-n(a)].[15] The -a in ma:ra 'man:DAT' is simply the final vowel of the stem; the ancient DAT suffix — if there was one — was lost, since the vocalism was sufficient to distinguish the NOM from the DAT [K'ot'inovi 1955]. Finally, the DAT in -am̠, as well as the secondary stem formants -am̠-/-em̠-, derives from a postposed demonstrative with the function of a definite article, as in Old Georgian (e.g. ma:re:miš 'man:GEN' ⇐ *mara-jš am-iš [man-GEN this-GEN] 'the man's'; cp. Old Geo k'ac-isa am-is [Mach'avariani 1960]). In recent decades DAT allomorphy is giving way to the suffix -s̠, probably encouraged by the now universal knowledge of Georgian among the Svans.

With regard to semantics, one noteworthy difference between Georgian and Svan datives is the use of the latter in locative expressions. In some dialects, and especially in the archaic language of Svan ritual poetry, nominal types typically used to denote location — toponyms and nouns meaning

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[15]Palmaitis 1979 link it to the 'archaic determinant' found in Georgian personal pronouns (še-n 'you.sg', tkve-n 'you.pl'; cp. Mingr. si, tkva).

'valley', 'mountain pass' and the like — are declined in the dative or adverbial case, as in Old Georgian (zagar-w ži xoqidax [mountain.ridge-DAT up bring:PLPF:O3pl] 'they have brought him up to the mountain ridge'), or even left unmarked (č'umber-Ø xwizge [Ch. live:PRS:S1sg] 'I live in (the village) Ch'umber') [Chant'ladze 1971, 1974a]. A kindred phenomenon to the unmarked locative is a sort of oblique nominative with temporal meaning, e.g. anqæd esnær **ašxw ladæɣ** krisde pusd i ta:ringzel [PV-come:AOR apparently **one:OBL day:OBL.NOM** Christ lord:NOM and archangel:NOM] 'And so, apparently, one day Christ the Lord and the Archangel came' [*Chr* 88, #102]. Although ladæɣ 'day' is in the unmarked NOM form, the adjective modifying it is in the oblique form used in non-nominative contexts (cp. ešxu 'one:NOM'). Such NPs might be best treated as datives with contextually-deleted suffixes.

(c) Instrumental. The Svan instrumental is believed to be a compound of two elements, -š and -w, which can appear in either order. Sharadzenidze 1955 interpreted these as the genitive and dative respectively, though this is hard to justify semantically. Some have linked the -š element to the Georgian/Zan instrumental in -it: (-š ⇐ *-išd ⇐ Proto-Krt *-is₁t) [G. Topuria 1977], or the -w to an archaic suffix preserved in Georgian adverbs such as mqr-i-v 'by/on the side of' and k'vl-a-v 'again' [Palmaitis 1979]. Oniani [1989: 197-202] finds none of these proposals satisfactory, and leaves the question open.

(d) Adverbial. This case has roughly the same uses, and the same form, as its Georgian and Zan homologues, i.e. to form adverbs from adjectives, and to form NPs of circumstance, destination and transformation (mušgwri-d 'as a guest'; bæč-d æd-sip'-da [stone-ADV PV-turn-IMP] 'he turned into a stone') [*PG* 41]. As mentioned above, Mach'avariani 1985 considers the -n case of some nominals to be an adverbial rather than a dative.

(e) Ergative. The Svan ergative has two basic allomorphs: -em/-e:m and -d. Traces of what might have been a third allomorph, -n, are incorporated into the stems of some pronouns. The first resembles the Georgian -m(a), and may have a similar origin, in that both derive from postposed articles. The second allomorph, which is spreading at the expense of the first in recent decades, is homophonous with the adverbial. The consensus among experts is that the adverbial and ergative in -d have a common origin; there is less agreement as to whether the adverbial and ergative functions were formally indistinct in Proto-Kartvelian declension, or if Svan -n goes back to a distinct ergative desinence also retained in the Georgian pronouns vi-n 'who:ERG/NOM' and ma-n 's/he-ERG' [cp Klimov 1962; Mach'avariani 1966, 1985].

The ERG case in Svan is assigned by the Series II paradigms of Class A verbs to their morphological subjects (see below). Since not all of these verbs are transitive, the Svan ergative can be assigned to the single argument of an intransitive verb. As in Georgian, these verbs are aspectually atelic activity verbs, e.g. LBal **eʒnem** æd-(i)-p'or-al-e [that:ERG PV-SbV-fly-VPL-AOR] 'it [bird] flew'; **eʒjær-d** æd-(i)-burg-al-e-x [they-ERG PV-SbV-wrestle-VPL-AOR-PL] 'they wrestled' [Holisky 1981; Tuite 1994c].

(f) Genitive. The genitive suffix -iš is clearly cognate with its Georgian and Zan homologues, and fulfills essentially the same functions. In declensions I-V the genitive is either added to a secondary base identical to the ergative, or is itself homophonous with the ergative. The latter effect is due to a more general Svan phenomenon of (optionally) shortening the genitive when it directly precedes its head, e.g. Lntx xæm-i[š] leɣw-i[š] liesk' [pig-GEN meat-GEN taking] 'taking pig meat'; UBal k'oʒ-æ[š] ʒir-te-jsga [cliff-GEN base-to-in] 'to the base of the cliff' (examples from *Chr* 290, #305; *UB* 64-5, #67).

(g) <u>Pluralizers</u>. Svan substantives employ a number of pluralizers, none of which are obviously cognate with the Georgian and Zan plural formants.[16] The most frequently used allomorph is <u>-ær</u> and its variants <u>-æl</u>, <u>-æːr</u>, <u>-æːl</u>, <u>-iːr</u> (Lashx <u>-ar/-al/-aːr/-eːl</u>). The l-final variants are used with roots containing /r/, with some variation between dialects if the root contains both /l/ and /r/ (UBal <u>zural-æːr</u>, Lshx <u>zural-eːl</u> 'women') [Oniani 1989: 224-5]. Kinterms are pluralized with a circumflex <u>la- -a</u>, which may be of participial origin [Shanidze 1925/1957]: <u>læ-dj-a</u> {la-di-a} 'mothers' ⇐ <u>di</u> 'mother'; <u>la-dčur-a</u> 'sisters' (from their brother[s]' point of view) ⇐ <u>dačwir</u>. Other noun types with special plural forms include (i) agentive participles in <u>me/mə-</u> and nouns derived with <u>-aːr</u> (plural in <u>-u</u>, e.g. <u>məšk'd-u</u> 'blacksmiths' ⇐ <u>mə-šk'id</u> [agent-forge] 'blacksmith'; <u>zisq'aːr-u</u> 'flea-infested ones' ⇐ <u>zisq'-aːr</u> [flea-characterized.by] 'flea-infested'); (ii) nouns of professions in <u>mə-</u> (plural in <u>-a</u>, e.g. <u>məgm-a</u> 'builders' ⇐ <u>mə-gem</u> [agent-build] 'builder'; (iii) old family and clan names (plural in <u>-a</u> or <u>-eːr</u>, e.g. <u>set'el-š-eːr</u>, <u>set'el-š-a</u> [S.-GEN-PL] 'the members of the Set'el clan') [Kaldani 1974]; (iv) the collective plural in <u>-ra</u> of plant and tree names (<u>icx-ra</u> [pear-collective] 'pears') [op. cit.].

2.1.2. Adjectives. Svan adjectives in attributive position show limited agreement with the noun they modify, distinguishing at most a NOM and an oblique form (<u>luwzer**a** maːreːmi našdabw</u> [diligent:**OBL** man-GEN work] 'the work of a diligent man'; cp. <u>luwzere maːre</u> [diligent:**NOM** man:NOM] 'a/the diligent man'); when used as NP heads they decline as nouns (<u>luwzer-**eːmi** našdabw</u> [diligent-**GEN** work] 'the work of the diligent one') [*PG* 43].

The comparative degree of certain adjectives, in particular the more archaic ones, is formed synthetically, by addition of the circumflex <u>x-o- -a</u>, e.g. <u>c'ərni</u> 'red' ⇒ <u>xo-c'ran-a</u> 'redder'.[17] Superlatives employ the circumfix <u>ma- [eːn]-e</u>, e.g. <u>ma-c'ran-e</u> 'reddest'; <u>ma-hwr-eːn-e</u> 'youngest', cp. <u>xo-xwr-a</u> [⇐ *xo-hwr-a] 'younger'; among other contexts they appear in juxtaposition to the archaic adverbial of <u>mæg/či-</u> 'all' (see above), e.g. <u>či-n ma-č-eːn-e</u> [all:OBL-ADV SUPERL-good-SUPERL] 'the best of all' [*SJa* 113, 117].

2.1.3. Pronouns. As in the other Kartvelian languages, the Svan 1st and 2nd person pronouns do not decline; the basic stem is used in NOM, ERG and DAT contexts: 1sg <u>mi</u>, 1pl <u>næj</u>, 2sg <u>si</u>, 2pl <u>sgæj</u>. The 1st and 2nd person possessive stems are cognate to the Georgian and Zan possessives: Sv. <u>-šgw-</u> [1st-person possessive], Geo. <u>čwe-(n)</u> 'our' ⇐ Proto-Krt *<u>čwe-</u> 'our' [1st exclusive plural]; Sv. <u>-sgw-</u> [2nd-person possessive], Ming. <u>skan-</u> 'your.sg' ⇐ Proto-Krt *<u>šwen-</u> 'your.sg' [Gamq'relidze 1959: 46; Klimov 1964: 219-220; Mart'irosovi 1964: 96-101]. Prefixed to the 1st-person possessives are what appear to be the object agreement (O1) prefixes (including the distinct inclusive and exclusive forms); the i- in the 2nd-person possessives is a prosthetic vowel added to avoid a disallowed initial cluster (see 1.2 above). Also to be noted is the final element <u>-eːj</u>, which distinguishes plural from singular possessives, most likely a Svan innovation. The dative/oblique forms end in <u>-(w)a</u> (e.g. <u>isgw**a** jexw-s</u> [your:OBL wife-DAT] 'to your wife').

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[16]Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990 compare <u>-ær</u> to an obscure element <u>-ar-</u> found in some Georgian toponyms (e.g. <u>Gom-ar-et-i</u> [??stall-PL-toponym-NOM]; cp. <u>gom-i</u> 'stall for wintering cattle').

[17]The circumflex consists of a frozen O3 prefix and objective-version vowel, and a suffix of uncertain origin (stative/perfect marker?); the O3 prefix presumably crossreferenced the object of comparison [Topuria 1985: 117; Tuite 1990].

1sg m-i-šgu, mišgwi 'my'   *1pl exclusive*   n-i-šgw-e:j 'our [but not your]'
                                   1pl inclusive   gu-šgw-e:j 'my/our and your'
2sg i-sgu, i-sgwi 'your.sg'   *2pl*   i-sgw-e:j 'your.pl'

Svan, like Georgian, does not have 3rd-person pronouns distinct from the demonstratives, of which there are only two (rather than three as in Georgian): ala 'this' and eǯa 'that'. The latter functions as the unmarked 3rd-person pronoun. Many pronominals have distinct nominative and oblique stems, including the demonstratives ala 'this' (oblique stem am-), eǯa 'he, she, it; that'; jær 'who' (oblique stem jæ-/iša-); mæj 'what' (oblique stem im-); mæg 'all, everybody' (oblique stem či-); and the pronoun ǯa 'oneself' (oblique stem mič-), most commonly met with in quoted speech (see 3.3.2.2). These pronouns belong to declension I in the singular. The plural demonstratives alj-ær 'these', eǯj-ær 'those' belong to declension VIII, as does min 'they', the plural counterpart of ǯa [Mart'irosovi 1964]. Indefinite pronominals and adverbials are formed by addition of the suffix -w-a:le, e.g. jær 'who' > jærwa:le 'anyone', im-xen 'from where?' > im-wa:le-xen 'from anywhere' [Kaldani 1964].

2.1.4. Numerals. The Svan numerals have well-established Kartvelian pedigrees, albeit somewhat obscured by prosthetic vowels and glides, and the sound correspondence Geo/Zan /t/ : Sv. /šd/: ešxu '1', jeru / jo:ri '2', semi '3', wo:štxw '4', woxwišd '5', usgwa '6', išgwid '7', ara '8', čxara '9', ješd '10'; ješd-ešxu '11'; jerw-ešd '20', etc. Numerals to ašir '100' and beyond can be generated, though in practice Svan speakers will draw on Georgian or Russian to express higher figures (in the 1908 diary reproduced in Shanidze/Topuria [1939: 41-48], numbers much above ten, if written out, are in Russian). The vigesimal system characteristic of Georgian is not used in Svan, although some speakers have adopted such a counting system, employing multiples of jerw-ešd '20', under Georgian influence (e.g. the Laxamul subdialect of Lower Bal: ur-in jerw-ešd '40' (lit. 2 times 20; cp. UB wo:štxw-ešd '4-10'); sum-in jerw-ešd i ješd '70' (lit. 3 x 20 + 10).

2.1.5. Derivation of nouns. In addition to the participles described below (2.2.10), Svan has several noun-forming affixes in common use:

(i) Diminutive formants (-əl[d], -il[d], -o:l[d], -æ:d). These suffixes are more frequently employed in Svan than in Georgian. The suffix generally adds a sense of small size or affection:

eče-ži   a-d-isg-x,   xoxra   bepšw-**ild**-ær   axa   æt-[i]-dagr-i-w-x,
there-at   NtV-put-SM-PL   little   child-DIM-PL:NOM   if   PV-SbV-die-SM-IMP-PL
eǯær-e   le-pane   xoxra   dir-**ild**-ær-s   i   let'wra
them-GEN   PPL-consecrate   little   bread-DIM-PL-DAT   and   candle:DAT
a-t'wr-e-x   ečeču.
NtV-light-SM-PL   there
"If small children from the household have died they set there little loaves of bread consecrated to them, and light a candle.' [Lower Bal; *LB* 75, #41]

Other diminutives, especially in poetry, seem to be motivated by metric rather than semantic considerations, as in the following lines from a round-dance song [Tuite 1994b, # 33].

dæl-**il**   k'oǯa-s   x-e-lgwaž-al-e …
Dal-DIM   cliff-DAT   O3-ObV-give.birth-VPL-SM
'Dali is giving birth on the cliff …'

čukwan	txer-**ol**	x-o-daraǯ-i,
below	wolf-DIM	O3-ObV-watch-SM

'Down below a wolf is lying in wait for them …'

(ii) The suffix -aj/-æj, used to forms nouns denoting 'lover of …' or 'one given to …', e.g. kartobl-æj 'lover of potatoes', qep-æj 'biter' ⇐ qepa 'to bite' [*SJa* 115].

(iii) The circumfix na- -i, for deadjectival nouns: na-bg-i 'firmness' ⇐ bəgi 'firm' [ibid: 114].

2.1.5.1. Derivation of adjectives. The principal affixes for deriving adjectives are (i) lə- 'having, possessing', e.g. lə-qæn 'having a bull, bull-owning'; (ii) -æ:r and variants, e.g. tæš-æ:r [cheese-ADJ] 'cheese-containing', ip-æ:r [ash.tree-ADJ] (name of Upper Svan community, lit. 'having many ash trees'); (iii) -ur/-ul 'without'; e.g. tetr-ul 'moneyless' [*SJa* 117].

2.1.5.2. Compounding. According to Topuria [1985: 115], Svan does not employ compounding or reduplication as extensively as Georgian, though the same range of compound lexemes are attested, e.g. xexw-č'æš [wife-husband] 'married couple'; ɣæri-ɣura 'gorge' [reduplication with vowel mutation of ɣær 'ravine, valley'].

2.2. Verbal morphology. Svan verbal morphology, despite considerable innovation, paradigmatic realignment and erosion of final elements, is recognizably Kartvelian, as is the arrangement of verbal forms into paradigms and series. As in Georgian, Svan verbs divide into two basic groups: Class A verbs, which assign ERG case in Series II, and Class P verbs, which cannot. Many Class A transitives are paired with Class P passives formed from the same stem:

Class A active verbs (transitive)	*Class P passive verbs (intransitive)*
non-ablauting (strong & weak)	**non-ablauting**
æ-č'm-e "s/he mows hay"	i-č'm-i "[hay] is mowed"
a-hræq'-i "s/he brews vodka"	i-hræq'-i "[vodka] is brewed"
i-šx-i "s/he burns his/her own sthg"	i-šx-i "sthg burns"
ablauting	**ablauting**
px**i**ž-e "s/he spreads sthg"	px**e**ž-n-i "sthg is spread, scattered"
kw**i**c-e "s/he cuts sthg"	kw**e**c-n-i "sthg is cut"

In addition to transitive Class A verbs, there is a sizeable — and productive — subclass of intransitive Class A verbs, known as "medial" or "medioactive" verbs. Most of these are semantically atelic, and their stems generally contain the frequentative/durative suffixes *-æ:l-* or *-ie:l-*. Although intransitive, they assign ERG case to their subjects in Series II.

Class A medioactive verbs (intransitive, atelic)
i-ɣr-æ:l "sb sings"
i-pšd-æ:l "sb sighs"
i-gi:c'-æ:l "sb/sthg swings"
i-gwn-i "sb weeps"
q'u:l-i "[cow] moos"
i-q'wi:l-ie:l "[goat] bleats"
i-bərcan-æ:l "sb staggers around [drunk]"

Finally, mention should be made of two further groups of Class P verbs: statives and mediopassives. Many statives have defective or morphologically unusual paradigms [Gagua 1976], and those that are bivalent are almost always associated with indirect syntax (see below):

Class P stative verbs (intransitive)
sk'ur "sb is seated"
tera "sb/sthg is visible"
x-a-c'ǝx "sb [DAT] needs sthg [NOM]"
x-o-šgur "sb [DAT] is ashamed [NOM]"
x-o-xal "sb [DAT] knows sthg [NOM]"

The mediopassives are mostly change-of-state verbs, many of which take the medioactive suffix -æ:l in the present series. Their Series II verb forms, however, are typically Class P (note the passive-aorist suffix -æ:n), and the suffix -æ:l is dropped in most dialects.

Class P mediopassive verbs (intransitive)

aorist (suffix -æ:n)	*infinitive (suffix -æ:l)*
æd-kurc'il-æ:n "s/he got married"	li-kurc'il-æ:l "to marry"
æd-či:ž-æ:n "he married (i.e. formed an alliance with another clan)"	li-či:ž-æ:l "to become son-/brother-in-law"
æd-ruxn-æ:n "it thundered"	li-rxun-æ:l "to thunder"
æd-rǝh-æ:n "it dawned"	li-rh-æ:l "to dawn"
æd-mut'k'wn-æ:n "it got dark"	li-mt'k'un-æ:l "to get dark"

The case-assignment properties of the Svan verb correspond to those of its Georgian counterpart, that is, the case pattern for Class A verbs shifts from series to series, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 4. AGREEMENT AND CASE ASSIGNMENT FOR 3RD-PERSON NPS.

	CLASS A VERBS			CLASS P VERBS	
	NP1	**NP2**	**NP3**	**NP1**	**NP2**
present series					
agreement	S	O	[O][18]	S	O
case	NOM	DAT	DAT	NOM	DAT
aorist series					
agreement	S	O	[O]	S	O
case	ERG	DAT	NOM	NOM	DAT
perfect series					
agreement	O	— —	S	S	O
case	DAT	— —	NOM	NOM	DAT

NP1 =	agent, source, experiencer, patient, theme …
NP2 =	addressee, recipient, experiencer, beneficiary …
NP3 =	patient, goal, theme, instrument …
present series:	present, imperfect, conjunctive, future, conditional, impf. evidential
aorist series:	aorist, optative, imperative
perfect series:	present perfect, pluperfect, perfect conjunctive
Class A verbs:	all transitives; intransitives denoting (atelic) activities
Class P verbs:	stative and change-of-state intransitives

Since 1st & 2nd-person pronouns are not case-marked in NOM, ERG and DAT contexts, they do not express the case-shift pattern.

TABLE 5. AGREEMENT FOR 1ST- AND 2ND-PERSON NPS.

	CLASS A VERBS			CLASS P VERBS	
	NP1	**NP2**	**NP3**	**NP1**	**NP2**
present series					
agreement	S	O	[O]	S	O
aorist series					
agreement	S	O	[O]	S	O
perfect series					
agreement	O	— —	S	S	O

2.2.1. Order of morphemes. Although it is not completely agglutinative, the Kartvelian verb has essentially the same sequence of morphemes in all three languages. The morphemic composition of the Svan verb is as follows [cp. Deeters 1930: 6-7; Schmidt 1992; Tuite 1992]:

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[18]The direct object controls agreement if there is no indirect object in the same clause.

[preverb]$_0$ + [S/O$_1$=[ver$_2$=[[root$_3$]$_a$=intr/caus$_4$=plural$_5$=sm$_6$]$_b$=impf$_7$=tns/md$_8$]$_c$=S$_9$=num$_{10}$]$_d$

Structural levels:

a. Verb root (internal changes due to ablaut not shown).

b. Components occurring in nonfinite as well as finite verb forms: root, causative formant (slot 4), pluralizer (slot 5), series marker (slot 6). All of these components occur in Svan verbal nouns, save the intransitive formant (-*(e)n*).

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

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

2.2.2. Preverbs (slot 0). Svan has two sets of preverbs: (a) the inner preverbs <u>an</u>-, <u>ad</u>-/<u>a</u>-, <u>es</u>-/<u>as</u>-, and <u>la</u>-; (b) the outer preverbs <u>sga</u>- 'in', <u>ka</u>- 'out', <u>ži</u>- 'up', <u>ču</u>- 'down'. The inner preverbs directly precede the verbal complex, and are intimately bound to it, as shown by their morphophonemic interaction with the person prefixes and version vowels. The outer preverbs are far more loosely tied to the verb, and can even be separated from it by intervening lexemes (see Section 3.3.2.1 below).

Unlike the outer preverbs, which have clear links with postpositions in Svan and have cognates elsewhere in Kartvelian (cp. Geo. <u>šua</u> 'middle, between', <u>ze</u>- 'up', <u>kve</u>- 'down'), the inner preverbs bear no resemblence to the preverbs of comparable function in Georgian or Zan. Of the four, <u>an</u>- has the most clearly-defined meaning, marking motion toward the speaker, often in opposition to <u>ad</u>-/<u>a</u>- or <u>es</u>-: Lntx. **<u>an</u>**-<u>a</u>-<u>sk'in</u>-<u>e</u> [hither-NtV-jump-AOR] 'sb jumped hither' vs. **<u>ad</u>**-<u>a</u>-<u>sk'in</u>-<u>e</u> [thither-NtV-jump-AOR] 'sb jumped away'; UBal <u>ž</u>-**<u>an</u>**-<u>ɣr</u>-<u>i</u> [up-hither-go-SM] 'sb comes up (towards me)' vs. <u>ž</u>-**<u>es</u>**-<u>ɣr</u>-<u>i</u> [up-thither-go-SM] 'sb goes up (away from me)' [*T* 53, 66]. The fourth preverb, <u>la</u>-, is used less often than the others, and often adds the sense of an action done slightly, or not to completion: **<u>la</u>-**<u>j</u>-<u>ǯiš</u>-<u>n</u>-<u>e</u> [slightly-NtV-weave-FUT-SM] 'sb will weave a little'; cp. **<u>æn</u>**-<u>ǯiš</u>-<u>n</u>-<u>e</u> [hither-weave-FUT-SM] 'sb will weave'; **<u>læ</u>-**<u>j</u>-<u>berg</u>-<u>isg</u> [slightly-Sbj.V-hoe-SM] 'sb will hoe a bit, but not to completion (*toxnis momavalši, magram ar daamtavrebs*)' [Ch'umburidze 1986: 188-90].

2.2.3. Agreement (slots 1, 9, 10). Svan has two sets of person-marking affixes, most of which have Georgian and Zan cognates. The prefixes appearing in slot 1 are particularly close to those of Early Old Georgian [Tuite, *in press*]: the S2 and O3 markers in <u>x</u>-, S1 <u>xw</u>-, and the distinction between inclusive and exclusive 1st person. The latter distinction is morely formally elaborated in Svan than in Early Georgian, in that it has been extended to Set S (prefix <u>l</u>-), and a specifically plural Set O exclusive prefix (<u>n</u>-) is opposed to O1sg <u>m</u>-. Oniani [1978: 229-230] considers the O1exclpl prefix <u>n</u>- to be an innovation in the Prehistoric Svan period; the S1incl prefix may well reflect a Proto-Kartvelian morpheme lost in Georgian and Zan [Tuite 1992]. The O2 prefix <u>ǯ</u>- (⇐ Proto-Krt *g-) has undergone yet further palatalization to j- in Lashx and the Etser and Laxamulan subdialects of Lower Bal [*T* 32]. The Set S plural suffix appearing in slot 10, -<u>d</u>/-<u>šd</u>, is undoubtedly linked to Georgian-Zan -<u>t</u> [Klimov 1964: 67-8; *FS* 141; cp. Palmaitis 1986]. The allomorph -<u>šd</u> appears in only one verb in one dialect, this being the Upper Bal copula: <u>xw</u>-<u>i</u>-<u>šd</u> 'we$_{excl}$ are', <u>l</u>-<u>i</u>-<u>šd</u> 'we$_{incl}$ are'; cp. <u>xw</u>-<u>i</u> 'I am' [*T* 9].

TABLE 6. PERSON AGREEMENT AFFIXES IN UPPER SVAN DIALECTS.

	Set S				Set O		
	singular		*plural*		*singular*		*plural*
1st	xw-	*exclusive*	xw-	-(š)d	m-	*exclusive*	n-
		inclusive	l-	-(š)d		*inclusive*	gw-
2nd	x-		x-	-(š)d	ž-		ž- -x
3rd	(l)- -s, *-a?(l)-		-x	x-		x-	-x

The question of Set S 3rd person marking in Svan — and its implications for Proto-Kartvelian — has inspired much speculation and debate, with no consensus in sight. The crux of the problem is this: only one, or possibly two, of the various Georgian and Zan S3 suffixes seem to have Svan cognates: a suffix -s̱ added to the S3 forms of all modal paradigms, and the existence of distinct S1/2sg and S3/pl stems in the aorist and imperfect, which some attribute to vanished S3 markers [Kaldani 1978].[19] There is also a pluralizer of unknown origin, -x̱, which serves to indicate the plurality of any argument controlling Set S or Set O agreement, for which no other means of coding number is available (i.e. S3, O2, O3).[20]

The -s̱ modal marker may have been borrowed from Georgian, according to some [Andghuladze 1968: 186], though this seems unlikely. The S3/pl aorist and imperfect stems may indeed owe their form to an ancient S3sg past-indicate suffix *-a̱, as Kaldani argues, though this leaves the use of these same stems in all persons in the plural unexplained. One scenario worth considering is that the accentual shift responsible for at least some of the S1/2sg aorist and imperfect stems (see 1.3.2) is itself a secondary development from an ancient formal opposition between the S1sg and S2sg, which in the imperfect and the athematic aorist and present had no suffixation after the stem, and the S3sg and all plurals, which invariably did. This distinction is even apparent in Old Georgian, despite the very different alignment of the ablaut patterns.

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[19]Conversely, what appears to be an S3 prefix occurs in several Svan verbs, especially in some Lower Bal subdialects, where an infix -l- or its phonological variants appears in the Series II S3 forms of all verbs with the preverb la̱- (e.g. Lshx ḻ-ə:g 's/he, it stands'; cp. x-ə:g 'you.sg stand'; la-ḻ-ə:š 's/he, it drank it'; cp. la-x-ə̱š 'you.sg drank it' [*T* 2-3; Kaldani 1958, 1979]. The prevailing opinion, since Chikobava [1940], has been to regard the Svan prefix as a true S3 marker, and furthermore as evidence that all three persons were marked by prefixes in Proto-Kartvelian [Oniani 1978]. Schmidt [1982], on the other hand, regards the close correlation between la̱- and S3 ḻ- as an indication that the latter derives from a reinterpretation of the former, with subsequent renewal of the preverb [**la₀-əš₃ 'sb drank sthg' > *l₁-(a)₂-ə:š₃ > la₀-l₁-ə:š₃]. He advances the provocative hypothesis that S3 was not marked at all in Proto-Kartvelian; the Georgian/Zan suffixes and the Svan prefix represent innovations after the breakup of the protolanguage [Schmidt 1989].

[20]Sharadzenidze [1954: 203] avers that the -x̱- element in the word jerx̱i 'some [people]' may have plural meaning (cp. je̱r 'somebody, something'), but draws no further conclusions. Chkadua [1987: 210] points to an apparent -x- suffix in many Kartvelian toponyms, which may have had plural/collective meaning (e.g. č'or-ox̱- [river in SW Georgia] <? Zan č'(q')or- 'water'; t'ao-x̱- [name of Georgian province (in Greek sources)] <? t'a̱o [SW Georgian province, now in Turkey]; cp. also Sv. ba̱le 'leaf', Geo. ba̱lax 'grass' (<? *bala-x).

Past-indicative and optative paradigms (Becho subdialect of Lower Bal)

	imperfect	*aorist*	*optative*
S1sg	{xw-t'ix-asgw} ⇒ t'wix-**asgw**	{a-xw-t'əx} ⇒ ot'**əx**	o-t'əx-e
S2sg	t'ix-**asgw**	{a-x-t'əx} ⇒ at'**əx**	a-t'əx-e
S3sg	t'ix-a	a-t'ix	a-t'əx-e-**s**
S1exclpl	{xw-t'ix-a-d} ⇒ t'wix-a-d	o-t'ix-d	o-t'əx-e-d
Sincl	lə-t'x-a-d	a-l-t'ix-d	a-l-t'əx-e-d
S2pl	t'ix-a-d	a-t'ix-d	a-t'əx-e-d
S3pl	t'ix-a-x	a-t'ix-x	a-t'əx-e-x
	'they were returning sthg'	'they returned sthg'	'may they return sthg'

Old Georgian verb forms [*GM* 273]

	imperfect	*athematic aorist*	*athematic present*
S1sg	x-v-q'r-id ⇐ Proto-Krt *h-w-q'r-ej-d	v-qan	x-v-c'er
S2sg	x-q'r-id 'you were scattering it'	x-qan 'you ploughed it'	x-c'er 'you write it'
S3sg	x-q'r-id-**a** ⇐ Proto-Krt *h-q'r-j-id-a	qn-**a**	x-c'er-**s**
S1pl	x-v-q'r-id-**i-t**	v-qan-**t**	x-v-c'er-**t**
S2pl	x-q'r-id-**i-t**	x-qan-**t**	x-c'er-**t**
S3pl	x-q'r-id-**es**	qn-**es**	x-c'er-**en**

The presence of suffixes, be they the pluralizers -d̲ and -x̲, or some sort of S3sg suffix now lost, would have set the S3sg and all plural forms apart from the unsuffixed S1sg and S2sg in prehistoric Svan. This distinction was later extended to all aorists and imperfects, perhaps through the intermediate phase of an accent shift, and elaborated into a variety of suffixation patterns in the imperfect (see below). In all other paradigms the 3rd person has no suffix of its own; in fact, in the case of verb forms without version vowel or preverb, the three persons in the singular have identical forms, e.g. s̲g̲u̲r̲ 'I/you$_{sg}$/ she, he, it sits'; Lshx t̲'̲e̲x̲-̲n̲o̲:̲l̲-̲n̲-̲o̲:̲l̲ [return-IMP-PASS-CND] 'I / you$_{sg}$ / she, he, it would be coming back'.

2.2.4. Indirect syntax and inversion. The clausal argument crossreferenced by the Set S marker corresponds, in the majority of contexts, to the grammatical subject.[21] The Set O markers generally agree with the indirect or direct object, especially if animate.[22] This correlation between grammatical relations and person markers is called "direct syntax"

ežjær	næj	tæš-s	gw-a-hwd-i-x
they:NOM	us	cheese-DAT	O1incl-ObV-give-SM-S3pl

'they are giving us the cheese'

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[21]The grammatical subject is that NP which binds reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, denotes the addressee of imperatives, etc.

[22]It should be noted that the correlation between O3 agreement and animacy is not as strong in Svan as in Georgian, especially in the more archaic registers. Locative arguments in the DAT case often control object agreement in Svan poetry, e.g. d̲æ̲l̲-̲i̲l̲ **k'oja-s x-e**-l̲ɣ̲w̲a̲ž̲a̲l̲-̲e̲ [D.-DIM:NOM cliff-DAT O3-Obj.V-give.birth-PRS]; in Georgian, as in English, one can only translate this as 'Dalil is giving birth **on** the cliff'[Chant'ladze 1971].

In Svan, as in Georgian and Zan, it is quite often the case that the relation between grammatical relations and person markers is the inverse of that shown in the above sentence: the grammatical subject controls agreement with a Set O prefix. I will refer to such an agreement pattern as "indirect syntax". As in Georgian, indirect syntax is selected by (i) the Series III verb forms of Class A verbs, which undergo inversion; (ii) a large number of verbs, mostly intransitives, denoting psychological or physical states, involuntary actions, desires, etc.

eǯjær-s   nišgwej-d   tæš   loxwhodax {la-x-o-hod-a-x}
they-DAT   us:GEN-ADV   cheese:NOM   PV-O3-ObV-give-PERF-O3pl
'they have given us the cheese'
ma:ra   x-æ-č'm-un-e
man:DAT   O3-SupV-mow-CAUS-SM
'the man longs to mow hay' (*tibva enat'reba*) [*T* 236]
Cp. <u>ma:re æ-č'm-e la:ra</u> [man:NOM NtV-mow-SM field:DAT] 'the man mows the hayfield'

The object-marking and subject-marking functions of the Set O prefixes are constrasted in the following Series I and Series III paradigms of the Class A verb <u>li-k'wš-e</u> "to break":

Set O person markers in direct and indirect constructions.

	present	*present perfect*
O1sg	**m-**i-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for me**"	**m-**i-k'wi:š-a "**I** have broken it"
O2sg	**ǯ-**i-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for you$_{s\,g}$**"	**ǯ-**i-k'wi:š-a "**You$_{s\,g}$** have broken it"
O3sg	**x-**o-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for him/her**"	**x-**o-k'wi:š-a "**S/he** has broken it"
O1excl	**n-**i-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for us$_{excl}$**"	**n-**i-k'wi:š-a "**We$_{excl}$** have broken it"
Oincl	**gw-**i-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for us$_{incl}$**"	**gw-**i-k'wi:š-a "**We$_{incl}$** have broken it"
O2pl	**ǯ-**i-k'wš-e-x "sb breaks it **for you$_{pl}$**"	**ǯ-**i-k'wi:š-a-x "**You$_{pl}$** have broken it"
O3pl	**x-**o-k'wš-e "sb breaks it **for them**"	**x-**o-k'wi:š-a-x "**They** have broken it"

2.2.5. Version (slot 2). The category known as 'version' [Geo. *kceva*] differs little among the Kartvelian languages. Svan has the four versions, and cognates of the four version vowels, that are described for Georgian [*T* 43-51]. Class A verbs can in principle appear in all four versions:

Neutral version: [-a-/-Ø-] <u>dina qæn-s æ-b-em</u> [girl:NOM bull-DAT NtV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up the bull' (no specific orientation)

Subjective version: [-i-] <u>dina qæn-s i-b-em</u> [girl:NOM bull-DAT SbV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up her own bull, ties it for herself' (orientation toward subject)

Objective version: [-i/o-, -e- (Class P only); -a-[23]] <u>dina mu-s qæn-s x-o-b-em</u> [girl:NOM father-DAT bull-DAT O3-ObV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties up her father's bull, ties it up for him' (orientation toward indirect object)

Superessive version: [-a-, -e- (Class P only)] <u>dina megæm-s qæn-s x-a-b-em</u> [girl:NOM tree-DAT bull-DAT O3-SupV-tie-SM] 'the girl ties the bull to a tree' (indirect object denotes surface on[to] which action is directed)

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[23]The vowel -a-, ordinarily associated with neutral or superessive version, marks objective version in certain paradigms (present perfect, imperfective evidential, etc.).

As in Georgian, the version vowel -i- also marks a subgroup of Class P verbs (prefixed passives, Geo. *iniani vnebiti*), which typically represent the passive counterparts to Class A verbs formed from the same stem, e.g. Class A æ-mč-e [NtV-age-SM] 'sb/sthg makes sb grow old' vs. Class P i-mč-i [SbV-age-SM] 'sb is getting old' [*T* 179]. The relative form of prefixed passives (i.e. the form subcategorizing an indirect object crossreferenced in the verb) is always in the objective version in -e-, e.g. x-e-mč-i [O3-ObV-age-SM] 'sb is getting old for/on sb; sb's sb [e.g. relative] is getting old'. Other types of Class P verbs can appear in distinct objective-version and superessive-version forms: x-a-sgur [O3-SupV-sit] 'sb sits on sthg/sb' vs. x-o-sgur [O3-ObV-sit] 'sb sits by sb'; x-e-t'x-en-i [O3-SupV-return-PASS-SM] 'sthg/sb returns to sb' vs. x-o-t'x-en-i [O3-ObV-return-PASS-SM] 'sb's sthg/sb returns (to sb)' [*PG* 77].

2.2.6. Paradigms: aspect, tense, mood (slots 6, 7, 8). The Svan verb paradigms are grouped by Kartvelologists into three series, according to the case-assignment patterns of Class A verbs (ERG case assigned in Series II, inversion in Series III). The principal semantic categories marked by the Svan paradigms are aspect and mood; while most verb forms have an unmarked tense indication, some permit other temporal references in specific contexts. As in Georgian, the paradigms tend to come in threes: nonpast, past and modal:

TABLE 7. SVAN VERB PARADIGMS.
Active and passive of t'Vx- 'return' [Upper Bal dialect]

	NONPAST	PAST	MODAL
Series I	*present* A: t'ix-e "sb returns sthg" P: t'ex-n-i "sb/sthg returns"	*imperfect* A: t'ix-a P: t'ex-en-d-a	*conjunctive* A: t'ix-e:d-s P: t'ex-en-d-e:d-s
	imperfective future A: t'ix-n-un-i P: i-t'x-æn-wn-i	*imperfective conditional* A: t'ix-n-un-o:l P: i-t'x-æn-wn-o:l	— — — — —
	perfective future A: æ-t'x-e P: æ-t'x-en-i	*perfective conditional* A: æ-t'x-a P: æ-t'x-en	— — — —
	imperfective evidential A: lə-m-t'ix-win=li P: lə-m-t'æx-win=li	*(evidential imperfect)* A: lə-m-t'ix-win=læsw P: lə-m-t'æx-win=læsw	*(evidential conjunctive)* A: lə-m-t'ix-win=lesw P: lə-m-t'æx-win=lesw
Series II	— — — —	*aorist* A: a-t'ix P: a-t'æx	*optative* A: a-t'əx-e-s P: a-t'ex-s
Series III	*present perfect* A: x-o-t'i:x-a P: æ-m-t'ex-e:=li	*pluperfect* A: x-o-t'i:x-æ:n P: æ-m-t'ex-e:=læsw	*perfect conjunctive* A: x-o-t'i:x-e:n-s P: æ-m-t'ex-e:=lesw

Series I (present series). These verb forms are marked by a stem formant in slot 6 ("series marker") that is not present in the Series II paradigms.[24] The most common series marker is -e-, especially in Class A verbs. The second most common is -i-, which appears in the passives (Class P) of Class A verbs in -e-, but also in many transitive verbs. Stative Class P verbs often have the series marker -a- (x-a-žx-a 'sb is called sthg [e.g. name]')[25] or none at all (sgur 'sb is sitting') [*T* 41-42; 208]. Several series markers of more complex shape are restricted to a handful of Class A verbs: -em (a-b-em 'sb ties sthg'); -er (i-kwt-er 'sb steals sthg'); -e:sg, -e:šg and variants, which are usually followed by yet another series marker (æ-j-e:sg-i [NtV-take-SM-SM] 'sb takes sthg').[26] The Series I paradigms include:

(a) Present. This is the unmarked present stem, i.e. with no markers in slots 7-9. The present paradigm is aspectually imperfective, and while it generally is employed to describe events or states in present time, in appropriate contexts this paradigm can have (imperfective) future reference [Ch'umburidze 1986: 159].

(b) Imperfect. The Svan imperfect is marked by a bewildering array of suffixes and stem vocalism shifts, especially in the Lower Bal subdialects. Mach'avariani [1980] inventoried no less than six principal allomorphs of the imperfect formant, these being: -a (for presents with the series marker -e); -d (cognate to the Georgian/Zan imperfect suffix); -w (widespread in Lower Bal, but unknown elsewhere); -n/-ən (restricted to stative verbs); -o:l (prefixed passives); deletion of the series marker (e.g. pres. t'ex-en-i 'sb is coming back' ⇒ impf. t'ex-en 'sb was coming back'; epecially for ablauting verbs in Upper Bal and Lent'ex) [for one view of the origin of the imperfect allomorphs see Schmidt 1997]. As noted above, the S1sg and S2sg forms employ a different stem from the S3sg and all plurals. This formal opposition, the roots of which have been discussed earlier, is sufficiently implanted in the grammar that all sorts of formal means, varying from region to region, have been recruited to express it. In one Lower Bal subdialect, for example, the S1/2sg stem of e-final Class A verbs is formed by the suffix -æsgw ⇐ *-esg-w (incorporating a present-series marker not used with these verbs, though Mach'avariani [1980] believes it might once have had wider distribution). Two and even three imperfect morphemes can appear in the same verb, as in the Becho (Lower Bal subdialect) form xw-i-mær-i-**d-asg-w** [S1-SbV-prepare-SM-IMP-IMP-IMP] 'I was being prepared' [op. cit., 212].

The Svan imperfect has the same range of uses as its Georgian counterpart, and in addition can

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[24]In Proto-Kartvelian, and to a large degree still in Old Georgian, the Series I paradigms were aspectually durative or linear, in opposition to the punctilear aspect signalled by the Series II paradigms; remnants of the older aspectual system are still to be found in Svan [Mach'avariani 1974; Tuite 1994c].

[25]The -a- series marker is fact the same suffix used to form the present-perfect of Class A and relative Class P verbs; these statives are formally analogous to the preterite-presents of Indo-European [*T* 42; Schmidt 1992].

[26]Osidze [1982] derives the single-vowel series markers from -VC suffixes such as *-an, *-ew, *-el/-il, for which Georgian cognates of approximately parallel function exist (*GM* 263 likewise derive Svan -e from the PK series marker *-ew; cp. Tuite 1998). Except for -em (cp. Geo -am), the -VC(C) series markers are unique to Svan. This may be taken as evidence that the paradigmatization of the Series I / Series II opposition occurred relatively late in the Proto-Kartvelian period, and was not completed when Svan split off from Georgian-Zan.

be employed as a softened imperative, compared to the aorist: <u>x-æ-sq'-e-w</u> [S2-NtV-do-SM-IMP] 'would you do it?' vs. <u>ž-a-x-æ-sq'</u> [PV-PV-S2-NtV-do:AOR] 'do it!' [*T* 168].

Some paradigms drawn from Topuria [1967] will illustrate the variety of Svan imperfect formants (Becho, Etser and Laxamul are subdialects of Lower Bal):

Class A imperfect "sb was preparing sthg" (present: <u>a-ma:r-e</u>)

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

Class A imperfect "sb was ploughing sthg" (present: <u>a-qn-i</u>)

	Upper Bal	*Becho*	*Etser*	*Laxamul*	*Lashx*
1sg	xw-a-qæn-d-**äs**	xw-a-qn-i-d-a-**sgw**	xw-a-qan-**Ø**	xw-a-qæn-w	xw-a-qn-**is**
2sg	x-a-qæn-d-**äs**	x-a-qn-i-d-a-**sgw**	x-a-qan-**Ø**	x-a-qæn-w	x-a-qn-**is**
3sg	a-qæn-d-a	a-qn-i-d-a	a-qn-i-w	a-qn-i-w	a-qn-əd-a

Class P imperfect "sthg/sb was burning" (present: <u>i-šx-i</u>)

	Upper Bal	*Becho*	*Laxamul*	*Lent'ex*	*Lashx*
1sg	xw-i-šx-o:l-d-**äs**	xw-i-šx-i-d-a-**sgw**	xw-i-šx-i-**w**	xw-i-šx-ol-d-**äs**	xw-i-šx-o:l-**Ø**
2sg	x-i-šx-o:l-d-**äs**	x-i-šx-i-d-a-**sgw**	x-i-šx-i-**w**	x-i-šx-ol-d-**äs**	x-i-šx-o:l-**Ø**
3sg	i-šx-o:l-[da]	i-šx-i-d-a	i-šx-i-**w**	i-šx-ol-[da]	i-šx-o:l-[da]

Class P imperfect "sb was returning, coming back" (present: <u>t'ex-n-i</u>)

	Upper Bal	*Becho*	*Etser, Laxamul*	*Lent'ex*	*Lashx*
1sg	t'wex-en-d-**äs**	t'wex-n-i-d-a-**sgw**	t'wex-en-**Ø**	t'wex-en-d-**äs**	t'ex-n-o:l-**Ø**
2sg	t'ex-en-d-**äs**	t'ex-n-i-d-a-**sgw**	t'ex-en-**Ø**	t'ex-en-d-**äs**	t'ex-n-o:l-**Ø**
3sg	t'ex-en-[da]	t'ex-n-i-d-a	t'ex-n-i-**w**	t'ex-en-[da]	t'ex-n-o:l-[da]

(c) Conjunctive. This paradigm is formed by addition of the suffix -<u>(d)e</u>-/-<u>(d)e:d</u>- (slot 8) to the S3sg/pl imperfect stem, followed by -<u>s</u> in the S3sg form, e.g. Etser [Lower Bal] <u>æ-d-asg-w-de-s</u> [NtV-put-SM-IMP-CNJ-S3sg.MOD] 'that sb be putting sthg'; cp. impf. <u>æ-d-asg-w</u> [*T* 107]. The conjunctives of the other Kartvelian languages are formed from the imperfect stem, which employs the formant -<u>d</u>-. The presence of what appears to be the same suffix in the Svan conjunctive could be taken to imply that -<u>d</u>- was the original formant of the imperfect stem in Svan as well, and therefore that the plethora of imperfects without -<u>d</u>- represents an innovation.[27]

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[27]This is the view I am presently leaning toward; Schmidt [1997], on the other hand, entertains the hypothesis that the imperfect-stem formant -<u>d</u>- represents a Georgian-Zan innovation, and that its presence in Svan is due to borrowing.

The conjunctive is aspectually imperfective; and typically appears (i) in subordinate clauses of purpose; (ii) after the particle <u>xek'wes</u> 'must'; (iii) in some types of main clauses expressing hypothetical circumstances; e.g.

lerekw   mæg   xoča   lušq'wed   xek'wes   x-a-ku-d-e-s
clothes:NOM   all   good   washed   must   O3-SupV-wear-IMP-CNJ-S3sg.MOD
'They must wear well-washed clothes' [Lntx; *Chr* 294 #312];

x-o-cx-e:n-ded-s   i   ladæg-isga   k'wicra-daqəl-s-i
O3-ObV-prefer-IMP-CNJ-S3sg.MOD   and   day-in   female.ibex-DAT-also
l-e-hwd-ini-d
S1incl(+O3)-ObV-give-FUT-PL
'If he desires [CONJUNCTIVE], we will give him [IMPERFECTIVE FUTURE] a female ibex each day' [UBal; *SP* 268].

(d) Imperfective future. Svan, unlike Modern Georgian, has two distinct future-tense paradigms: imperfective and perfective. The former is based on the present stem, to which is added the suffix -<u>(n)-un</u>- (Upper Bal), -<u>wn</u>-, -<u>ən</u>-, -<u>o:l-n</u>- (Lashx), or -<u>(i)n</u>- [Ch'umburidze 1986: 162], followed by the vowel -<u>i</u>; it is unclear whether this latter represents a series marker, or perhaps an optative-mood marker.[28] In Lower Bal, imperfective futures of Class A verbs frequently take on the formal characteristics of Class P prefixed passives; e.g. <u>i-qn-un-i</u> [SbV-plough-FUT-SM] 'sb will be ploughing' (cp. present <u>a-qn-i</u> [NtV-plough-SM]); with indirect object: <u>x-e-qn-un-i</u> [O3-ObV-plough-FUT-SM] 'sb will be ploughing for sb' (cp. present <u>x-o-qn-i</u> [O3-ObV-plough-SM]) [op. cit.: 167; *T* 185]. [29]

(e) Perfective future. The other future form is almost invariably preceded by one or two preverbs (slot 0), which in Svan, as in the other modern Kartvelian languages, serve to signal perfective aspect as well as their distinct lexical meanings [Mach'avariani 1974]. In many cases the preverbs represent the only formal difference between present and perfective future, e.g. Lntx. **a**-t'ex-en-i

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[28]In view of the similarity between the imperfective future formants and those appearing in some imperfects (e.g. -<u>w</u>, -<u>ən</u>, -<u>o:l</u>), it may well be that the Svan imperfective future was originally a conjunctive/future paradigm formed by the addition of the mood vowel -<u>i</u> to the imperfect stem. The latter vowel would most likely be the same as that used in the optatives of strong verbs (see below), and cognate with the -<u>i</u> formant in Old Georgian Class P conjunctives (which also functioned as imperfective futures), e.g. <u>da-xw-i-mal-v-od</u>-**i** "I will/ought to hide myself". The current Svan conjunctive could represent one of several allomorphs of the earlier conjunctive/future; it alone retained that meaning after the modal and temporal functions were distributed between two paradigms, with the remaining allomorphs having been reanalyzed as imperfective futures.

[29]The integration of a formally intransitive verb form into a transitive conjugation is anything but a novelty in Svan; similar phenomena have occurred since Proto-Kartvelian times. The Series I forms of Class A verbs originated as antipassives, with the series marker functioning as intransitivizing suffix. The Series III forms were originally stative passives. Each such case is consistent with Hopper & Thompson's hypothesis that forms used for backgrounding in narrative will be formally less transitive than those forms (such as the aorist) used to convey the principal story line.

[PV-return-PASS-SM] 'sb will come back' vs. present t'ex-en-i. Other verbs change their series markers as well, and add a suffix: -i(sg), -(i)n-e, -n-i , e.g. **an-(a)-ǯb-in-e** [PV-NtV-cook-FUT-SM] 'sb will cook sthg' vs. present a-ǯb-i [Ch'umburidze 1986: 200-208]. The aspectual difference between the two Svan futures is illustrated in the following excerpt from an Upper Bal text [*Chr* 161-2, #183]; the two imperfective futures are in boldface, and the perfective is underlined:

i	məxær	ham-s	ži:-w	an-ə:g-æn-x	i	bap'
and	tomorrow	morning-DAT	up-OPT	PV-arise-PassAOR-3pl	and	priest:NOM
i-bra:l-wn-i,		ečas	læk'wcæ:n	**x-e-ɣwe:-n-i,**		eǯas
SbV-bathe-FUT-SM		that:DAT	towel:NOM	O3-ObV-have-FUT-SM		that:DAT
ču	o-x-k'w-a:n-e		ǯa,	eǯa	ži:-w	
down	PV-O3-drop-CAUS-SM		himself:NOM	that:NOM	up-OPT	
æn-k'id			miǯne:m.			
PV-take:AOR			he:ERG			

'And tomorrow morning let us get up, and while the priest will be bathing [IMPERFECTIVE FUTURE], the towel that he will have [IMPERFECTIVE FUTURE], I will make him drop it [PERFECTIVE FUTURE], and you take it.'

(f) Imperfective conditional. This paradigm is formed from the imperfective future, by replacing the series marker by the suffix -o:l-/-ol-; e.g. Lntx. t'ex-en-wn-ol [return-PASS-FUT-CND] 'sb would be coming back'; cp. impf. fut. t'ex-en-wn-i.

(g) Perfective conditional. This form is the formal analogue to the Georgian and Zan conditional, in that it consists of the (perfective) future stem plus the imperfect suffix. In most cases this amounts to the imperfect preceded by a preverb (e.g. Lntx. **a-t'wexendæs** {a-xw-t'ex-en-d-æs} [PV-S1-return-PASS-IMP-S1/2sg] 'I would come back'; cp. impf. t'wexendæs); quite often, however, the conditional employs a different suffix (e.g. UBal ad-(a)-xat'w-i-**is** [PV-NtV-paint-SM-CND] 'sb would paint sthg'; cp. impf. axt'æwda {a-xat'aw-i-da}) [*T* 125-130]. The uses of the Svan conditionals correspond more or less to those of the Georgian conditional (irrealis mode, past habitual, future-in-the-past), though with the addition of an aspectual opposition e.g. Lntx. č'k'wieriæn dem i-čom-da, mare im **i-čom-n-ol**?! [Chk:NOM not.want SbV-do-IMP but what:DAT SbV-do-FUT-CND] 'Chkwierian didn't want to do this, but what could he do [IMPERFECTIVE CONDITIONAL]?!' [*Chr* 326-7 #350], or:

mola	nanxrewur		ču	dem	**æd-(i)-t'ent'ur-isg-w**,	eǯis
little	grudge.having:NOM		down	not.want	PV-SbV-mourn-SM-IMP	that:DAT
mezge	mendrow-d		**x-e-č'm-en-i-w**			
family:NOM	angered-ADV		O3-ObV-follow-PASS-SM-IMP			

'If someone, because of a small grudge, did not want to mourn [PERFECTIVE CONDITIONAL], the family, being angered, would follow suit [PERFECTIVE CONDITIONAL]' [LBal; *LB* 297, #155].

(h) Imperfective evidential. This paradigm is formed either synthetically or periphrastically, depending on the valence. Imperfective evidentials with indirect objects (i.e. NPs controlling Set O agreement) are based on the present stem, minus the SM, with addition of the suffixes -in-a, -un-a

(Class A), -wn-a, -o:l-n-a (Class P).[30] Verbs without indirect objects form their imperfective evidentials by placing the copula, which serves to mark the person and number of the subject,[31] after a participle formed with lə-m(a)- and the suffixes -(w)in-e (Class P verbs employ other suffixes). The imperfective evidential is in effect the imperfective counterpart to the present perfect, and the two forms often appear together in narratives, signalling — in opposition to the aorist and imperfect — that the content of the proposition is known through indirect evidence (hearsay, deduction, etc.), rather than having been directly witnessed by the narrator.[32] In practice the imperfective evidential and present perfect are frequently used at the beginning of a story, to frame it as an unwitnessed account, after which the two evidential paradigms give way to aorists, imperfects and even presents, which add — as in the familiar European languages — a touch of liveliness and immediacy to the narrative, as in the following excerpt [Upper Bal; *Chr* 163, #184]:

æn-bin-e		sosruq'-d	li-mbwi.	
PV-SbV-begin-AOR		S.-ERG	PPL-tell-NOM	

ašxw	ægi-s	eser	**x-æ-ldɣ-ina**		məldeɣ.
one:OBL	place-DAT	QT	O3-ObV-herd.sheep-IMEV		shepherd:NOM

eči:	žika:n	eser	werb	**lum-p'œ:r-ye:l**	i	š-un	buɣwæ:
that:GEN	above	QT	eagle:NOM	IMEV-fly-VPL	and	hand-DAT	ox:GEN

barž	**x-a-ɣw-e:n-a**.	a-x-(a)-šq'ed-a	eža	ču
shoulder.blade:NOM	O3-ObV-have-IMEV	PV-O3-ObV-fall-PERF	that:NOM	down

werb-s,	məldeɣ-i	tanw-isga	a-x-(a)-xwie:n-a,
eagle-DAT	shepherd-GEN	eye:DAT-in	PV-O3-ObV-meet-PERF

sga	otšq'æd {ad-x-o-šq'æd}	sga:men-te,	žibe	quru-s	a-čæd	ha
in	PV-O3-ObV-fall:AOR	inside-to	upper	hole-DAT	PV-go:AOR	or

čubeše	dæ:r-d	ma	moš	æn-(i)-meqr-e.
lower	nobody-ERG	not	different	PV-SbV-notice-AOR

'Sosruq began to tell the story: A shepherd was tending his flock [IMPERF. EVIDENTIAL] in a certain place. Above him an eagle was flying [IMPERF. EVIDENTIAL], and it had in its grasp [IMPERF. EVIDENTIAL] an ox's shoulder blade. The eagle dropped it [PRES. PERFECT], and it went [PRES. PERFECT] into the shepherd's eye. It fell [AORIST] inside his (eye), but whether it went [AORIST] in the hole under the upper (eyelid) or under the lower, no one could even tell [AORIST].'

Series II (aorist series). The two Series II paradigms employ a distinct stem, marked by the absence of the series marker, by ablaut, or occasionally by suppletion. The aorist and optative are

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[30]The -in-/-un-/-wn-/-o:l-n- morphemes are in all probability related to those used to form the imperfective-future stem; the suffix -a might be the same as that appearing in the present perfect.

[31]Forms of the copula are frequently suffixed to the synthetic narrative present as well in the Lower Svan dialects, especially Lashx.

[32]Palmaitis and Gudjedjiani [1986: 31] describe two additional evidential paradigms ("narrative imperfect, narrative conjunctive"), which bear the same formal relation to the imperfective evidential as the pluperfect and perfect conjunctive to the present perfect (e.g. x-æ-ldɣ-in-a 'sb was [evidently] herding sheep' > x-æ-ldɣ-in-æ:n, x-æ-ldɣ-in-e:n). The two paradigms are very rarely used in Svan speech, nor do they appear in my Svan corpus.

aspectually punctilear — representing an event or state as a single point within the narrative structure, rather than as a frame for another event — and also perfective. In Proto-Kartvelian and in Prehistoric Svan, the opposition of Series I and II forms was limited to telic verbs. Once the semantics of the aspectual opposition had shifted, permitting the extension of Series II paradigms to atelic verbs (statives, medioactives, mediopassives), different formal means were exploited to create the new forms. Many stative verbs, and some medioactives (in the Laxamulan subdialect of Lower Bal) simply added preverbs to their imperfect and conjunctive stems — paralleling the formal opposition between present and perfective future — to create (pseudo-)aorists and optatives, e.g. Laxamulan imperfect xeprebal (⟸ x-e-preb-æl-a) 'sb was caressing sb'; pseudo-aorist læxprebal (⟸ la-x-e-preb-æl-a) 'sb caressed sb' [Tuite 1994c]. Relative Class P mediopassive verbs in some dialects 'borrowed' their Series II paradigms from Class A, e.g. LBal present x-**e**-ɣrow-æl 'sb is lying to sb'; aorist otɣorwale (⟸ ad-x-**o**-ɣorow-al-e) [Gagua 1980].

The formal opposition between preverbed (perfective) and preverbless (imperfective) Series II forms allowed by the Georgian aspectual system does not occur in Svan: only the perfective forms are attested [Mach'avariani 1974; but see below]. In most respects the uses of the Svan aorist and optative correspond to those of their Georgian counterparts.

(a) Aorist. The aorists of Class A verbs can be divided into athematic (strong) and thematic (weak) conjugations, with ablauting verbs as a subtype of the strong conjugation.[33] All Class P verbs are thematic, except for ablauting verbs. With rare exceptions the S1/2sg and S3/pl stems are distinct, as shown in the following table ([V] = stem vowel):[34]

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[33]In Lashx, almost all of the non-ablauting verbs have gone over to the weak conjugation, cp. UBal/LBal/Lntx æn-q'id, Lashx en-q'id-**e** 'sb bought sthg'. Among the exceptions are Lshx x-a-qid 'sb hit sb'; čomin 'sb did sthg' [*T* 145-146]. Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani hypothesize that those early Kartvelian Class A roots they reconstruct with long vowels had weak aorists, although many short-vowel verbs subsequently shifted to the weak-aorist conjugation [*GM* 248, note 1].

[34]Fähnrich & Sarjveladze 1990 link this stem formant with the Georgian S1/2 aorist suffix -e, despite their rather different distributions [*FS* 109]. According to Kaldani [1978], Svan -e derives from *-i-a, where -i- is an ancient transitive aorist stem formant, and -a the S3 suffix. Whatever its origins, the weak conjugation is evidently the most productive in recent times: Svan verbs with stems borrowed from Georgian invariably have weak aorists (e.g. a-x-top-**e** [PV-O3-shoot-AOR.S3/pl] 'sb shot sb/sthg' < Geo top- 'rifle'). In the archaic language of Svan poetry, one encounters sporadic instances of aorists terminating in the vowel -i, e.g. m-a-t'q'op-**i** 'he struck me' (ordin. Svan m-a-t'q'wep) [*T* 147-8, 197; Chant'ladze 1969]. Gamq'relidze & Mach'avariani view this suffix as a so-called 'functionless' vowel added to originally athematic aorists and imperfects in all Kartvelian languages (for prosodic or euphonic reasons, one supposes) [*GM* 213, 231]. Whereas the 'functionless' -i its alleged original usage in Svan poetic language, in Georgian and Zan it was reanalyzed as a genuine aorist suffix (in the 1st and 2nd persons; cp *FS*). I suspect that the 'functionless' -i was not functionless in Proto-Kartvelian, and that it might be linked to the transitive-aorist stem formant *-i- reconstructed by Kaldani [1978]; see §1.4.5.1.

	non-ablauting			ablauting	
	Class A strong	*Class A weak*	*Class P*	*Class A*	*Class P*
S1/2sg stem	[V], unless: (1) reduced (2) shortened (3) /e/ ⟹ /æ/	[V+umlaut]	[V]-æn/-en	[ə]	[e]
S3/pl stem	[V+umlaut]	[V]-e	[V]-æ:n/-an/-æn	[i]	[a/æ]

The principal morphophonemic rules affecting the aorist are:

(i) Umlaut of the vowels /a/, /o/, /u/, /ə/ (and their long counterparts) in certain contexts;

(ii) In Class A strong verbs with short stem vowels, inner preverbs and version vowels, the <u>stem vowel</u> undergoes reduction in the S1/2sg, while the <u>version vowel</u> is reduced in the S3/pl (cp. S1sg <u>ætwic'wr</u> {ad-xw-i-c'or} [PV-S1-SbV-revenge:AOR.S1/2sg] 'I took revenge' vs. S3sg <u>ædc'œr</u> {ad-i-c'œr} [PV-SbV-revenge:AOR] 's/he took revenge' [*T* 142]).

(iii) In Class A strong verbs with long stem vowels, the latter is shortened in the S1/2sg; conversely, the preverb <u>la</u>- is lengthened in some S1/2sg forms (see (iv) below, and 1.3.2 above).

(iv) In Upper Bal strong verbs, the stem vowel /e/ becomes lowered to /æ/ in the S1/2sg (cp. S1sg <u>lo:xwæm</u> {la-xw-e:m} 'I ate sthg' vs. S3sg <u>lale:m</u> {la-l-e:m}).

(v) The Series II stems of Class P verbs are formed by the addition of a suffix *-<u>en</u>, the variant forms of which appear to reflect lowering umlaut by a lost final vowel (S3/pl -<u>an</u>/-<u>æn</u> < *-<u>en</u>-a), and length either due to compensatory lengthening or ancient stress shift. This stem formant may be cognate to the Old Georgian passive formant -<u>(e)n</u>- (e.g. <u>še-v-c'ux-en</u> 'I was bothered'); see 2.2.7 below.

(b) Optative. The Class A optative is formed from the S1/2sg aorist stem, with the addition of a mood vowel in slot 8. Class A verbs with weak aorists generally have optatives in -<u>a</u>-, strong verbs form their optatives in -<u>i</u>-, and ablauting verbs tend to have optatives in -<u>e</u>- (though the other two mood vowels occur as variants, sometimes within the same dialect).[35] Class P ablauting optatives also employ the S1/2sg aorist stem, either with no mood vowel (UBal, Lntx), or with -<u>e</u>- (Lower Bal and Lashx). Other Class P verbs take the suffix -<u>e:n</u>-/-<u>en</u>- (evidently related to the Class P aorist suffix), though this latter formant is usually dropped in Upper Svan and Lentex optatives [*T* 195]. (One suspects that this phenomenon is only the most recent of a long series of truncations or erosions of word-final segments in the history of Svan morphology). Truncation of the stem formant is accompanied by umlaut of the root vowel. All S3sg optative forms take the modal person marker -<u>s</u>.

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[35] Of these mood vowels, -<u>e</u>- has cognates with near-identical function in Georgian and Laz-Mingrelian, and a distribution which implies archaism. The vowel -<u>a</u>- may be relatable to one of the allomorphs of the Georgian optative formant; -<u>i</u>- is a puzzle, and might possibly derive from an ancient clitic with semantics similar to -<u>o(ɣ)(w)</u> (see 3.3.2).

Upper Bal optatives (S3sg only) [*T* 164-167]

	non-ablauting			ablauting	
	A strong	*A weak*	*Class P*	*Class A*	*Class P*
aor 2sg	a-qan	at-k'ælw	æt-k'a:p-æn	a-k'əl	æ-t'x {a-x-t'ex}
aor 3sg	a-qæn	ad-k'alw-e	æd-k'a:p/ æd-k'a:p-æ:n	a-k'il	a-t'æx
opt 3sg	a-qn-i-s	ad-k'alw-a-s	æd-k'a:p-e:n-s/ æt-k'æ:p-s	a-k'əl-e-s/ a-k'əl-a-s/	a-t'ex-[e]-s
	{a-qan-i-s}		{ad-i-k'a:p-e:n-s}	a-k'l-i-s	([e] in Ushgul)
	[plough]	[thresh]	[overturn (intr.)]	[shut, lock]	[return (intr.)]

Series III (perfect series). The three Svan Series III paradigms employ the same stem, unlike in Georgian, differing only in the suffixes, or postposed copular verb forms, they add. The inversion transformation, affecting the mapping between grammatical relations and morphology, is brought about not only by the Series III paradigms of Class A verbs (as in Georgian), but also by a handful of monovalent stative verbs, for reasons that remain obscure [Gagua 1976; *PG* 91; cp Hewitt 1987]: cp pres. **ma:re** **sgur** '**man:NOM** is.sitting', prespf. **ma:ra** **x-o-sgur-a** [**man:DAT** O3-ObV-sit-PERF] 'the man has been sitting'. The Svan series III stems of Class A and relative Class P verbs are formed from the respective aorist stems[36] (with their underlying, non-umlauted vocalism), with some exceptions: non-ablauting Class P verbs have the suffix -e:n in place of the aorist stem formant, and ablauting Class A verbs employ the lengthened-grade stem mentioned in 1.4.5 above. Class A verbs use Set O markers and the objective-version vowels -i-/-o- to mark the grammatical subject; relative Class P verbs all take the version vowel -a, regardless of what vowel is used in Series I and II (e.g. pres.pf. x-æ-c'd-a {x-a-c'ed-a} 'sb has caught sight of sb/sthg', vs. aor. x-e-c'æd). Monovalent Class P verbs, as in Georgian, have periphrastic perfects, comprising a past participle (lə- -e, me- -e) plus inflected forms of the copula.

(a) Present perfect. The non-periphrastic Svan present perfect employs the suffix -a. It is very often used in narratives, to indicate past unwitnessed action (in which usage it often contrasts aspectually with the imperfective evidential). Unlike the corresponding paradigm in Georgian, the Svan present perfect is often used without a preverb. According to Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis [1986: 75] "forms [of the present perfect — KT] without a preverb are used with pure resultative meaning. [Adding a] preverb stresses the unattested character of the situation." Interestingly, the preverbless perfect can be used in juxtaposition with the (preverbed) aorist to create a similar aspectual contrast to that between imperfective and perfective aorist in Georgian, e.g.

am-ži **x-o-km-a**, xokma, i ašir-te-ži **es-kim**.
this-way O3-ObV-add-PERF add… and hundred-to-on PV-add:AOR
'In this way he increased and increased [PREVERBLESS PRESENT PERFECT] (the number), and increased it [PREVERBED AORIST] to a hundred' [LBal; *LB* 324]

si lok čim-išw-d **ǯ-i-mši-a:l-wn-a** meqed
you_{sg} QT all:OBL-GEN-ADV O2-ObV-work-VPL-CAUS-PERF having.come

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[36]As in Georgian, though less frequently, Series III forms based on the <u>present</u> stem are attested (especially in Lent'ex: cp. UBal x-o-g-a, Lntx x-o-g-**em**-a [O3-ObV-erect-**SM**-PERF] 'sb has erected sthg') [*T* 170-171].

mušgwr-i:šw-da   i   mi   lok   dešsama   **la-m-məšj-a:l-un**.
guest-GEN-ADV   and   me   QT   cannot   PV-O1sg-work-VPL-CAUS-AOR
'You put all guests who came to work, but you could not put me to work.' [Lashx; *W* 51]

The Svan present perfect can be used used with the optative particle -oɣ(w)/-u(w). Like the modern Georgian pluperfect conjunctive, this is a modal construction of highly specific distribution, limited to blessings, wishes, curses and the like:

xoča   zæ   eser-**oɣ**   es-x-a-d-en-a,
good   year:NOM   QT-**OPT**   PV-O3-ObV-exchange-PASS-PERF
t'æn-iš   næhduri   eser-**oɣ**   la-hod-en-a {la-x-a-hod-en-a}!
body-GEN   health:NOM   QT-**OPT**   PV-O3-ObV-give-PASS-PERF
'May a good year be given you in exchange (for the past one), may health of body be given to you!' [Lower Bal; *LB* 73, #41]

(b) Pluperfect. The Svan pluperfect is, formally speaking, the perfect stem plus (i) the Class P aorist suffix (pluperfects of Class A and relative Class P verbs), or (ii) the past tense forms of the copula (monovalent Class P verbs). It is infrequently used, especially in comparison to the Georgian paradigm of the same name. The Svan pluperfect is primarily employed in past counterfactual constructions:

xexw-s   dæ:r   ʒ-a-hwed-da   hawe   mi   moma
wife-DAT   nobody:NOM   O2-ObV-give-IMP   except   I   not
læ-m-(i)-marʒw-æ:n
PV-O1sg-ObV-help-PLPF
'Nobody would have given you a wife, if I had not helped you.' [Upper Bal; *PG* 33]
čw-ad-k'ar-e   sadgom, xedi: xek'wes mo:d   ot-k'ar-e:n {ad-x-o-k'ar-e:n}
PV-PV-open-AOR.3/pl dwelling which must   not   PV-O3-ObV-open-PLPF
'He opened the dwelling, which he must not open' [Lashx; *W* 72-3]

(c) Perfect conjunctive. This paradigm functions approximately like the French imperfect subjunctive, i.e. as a modal in certain past-tense contexts (e.g. after the particle xek'wes 'must')

ečkas luɣpu:re   ɣwaž-ær   c'ərni   paq'w-ær-s   šgil-te:-sga
then   in.mourning   male-PL:NOM   red   cap-PL-DAT roofbeam-to-in
d-æ:sg-da-x   i   min   i-bn-a-x   liɣræ:l-s,   ere
put-SM-IMP-PL   and   they:NOM SbV-begin-IMP-PL   to.sing-DAT   that
mezga   lixi:rwil   **oxbinens** {an-x-o-bin-en-s}.
family:DAT   to.revel:NOM   PV-O3-ObV-begin-PRFCNJ-S3sg.MOD
'Then the men who were in mourning would set their red caps on the roofbeam, and would begin singing, so that the family could begin to have a good time' (… *pour que la famille commençât à se divertir*) [UBal; *Chr* #44, p. 44].

2.2.7. Derived intransitives, causatives (slot 4). The Svan causative formants are of the form -Vn- (-un-/-wn-, -in-, -ən-, -en-), e.g. x-æ-č'm-un-e [O3-ObV-mow-CAUS-SM] 'sb [SUBJECT] makes sb [INDIRECT OBJECT] mow sthg [DIRECT OBJECT]'; cp. æ-č'm-e 'sb mows

sthg' [*T* 234]. The causative formants are also used to form transitive verbs from noun stems, e.g. a-mž-un-e [NtV-sun-CAUS-SM] 'sb lays sthg out in the sun' ⇐ məž 'sun'. Semantically-unmotivated doubling of causative formants, sometimes with intervening morphemes, is not rare in Svan, e.g. Lshx ži-x-a-nd-**un**-a:l-**wn**-e-x [PV-O3-ObV-want-CAUS-VPL-CAUS-SM-PL] 'they will cause him to want them' [loc. cit.]

Passives are derived through both suffixation and ablaut. The Class P passives corresponding to non-ablauting Class A verbs are marked by the series marker -i and the version vowels -i- and -e-, rather as in Georgian (e.g. i-č'm-i 'sthg [e.g. hayfield] is being mowed'). Class A ablauting verbs have two different means of passivizing, distinguished by stem vocalism (see 1.4.5 above) and by affixation, e.g. Class A t'ix-e 'sb returns sb/sthg' : Class P t'ex-(e)n-i 'sb is returning, coming back' vs. i-t'i:x-i 'sb/sth is being returned [by sb]' [*T* 181]. The suffix -en- is believed by some to be cognate to the Georgian passive formant -n-/-en- [Deeters 1930: 205-6; Klimov 1964: 79; *FS* 115], although there are some important differences between the two. The Svan suffix is limited to the Series I forms of ablauting passives, rather like a series marker (on the other hand, the formally similar suffixes -æn/-æ:n/-e:n, which may share a common origin, are restricted to the Series II stems of non-ablauting passives). The Georgian -(e)n suffix is most often used in inchoative verbs, while the Svan suffix has a less specific meaning.

2.2.8. Verbal plurality (slot 5). The suffix-*a:l*- and its variants (-*ie:l*- , -*ə:r*-), found in some dialects of Svan, can signal plurality of the semantic absolutive (transitive direct object or intransitive subject), or of the action in general [Deeters 1930: 66-8; Sharadzenidze 1954; Schmidt 1957; *T* 233; Tuite 1992].

Plural direct object

t'abg-ær-ži   diær-s   i   leγw-s   æ-d-isg-**æl**-i-x.
table-PL-on   bread-DAT   and   meat-DAT NtV-lie-SM-VPL-SM-PL
'They put bread and meat on the tables.' [Lower Bal; *LB* 79]

Plural intransitive subject

mæg   ušxwid   æn-(i)-ərd-**æ:l**-æ:n-x
all:NOM   together   PV-SbV-grow-VPL-Pass.AOR-PL
'They all grew up together.' [Upper Bal; Sharadzenidze 1954: 195]

Here are some pairs of Upper Bal verbal nouns from Gujejiani & Palmaitis [1985]:
li-šxb-i 'to sew one thing'   li-šxbiy-**e:l**-i 'to sew many things'
li-ʒe:lw-e 'to sweep sthg'   li-ʒe:lw-**æ:l**-i 'to sweep sthg many times'

In addition, many Class A denominal verbs denoting activities (events perceived in terms of their temporal duration rather than change of state) are derived with the suffix -a:l-, e.g. UBal li-bəlkow-**æ:l**-i 'to play cards' (⇐ bəlkow, a name of a card game), li-lc-e:r-**æ:l**-i 'to water, irrigate' (⇐ lic 'water') [Chumburidze 1981]. All of these denominal verbs in -a:l- are characterized by atelic aspect, in which respect they resemble the Georgian medial (or medioactive) verbs [Nozadze 1974; Holisky 1981].[37] Overall, the semantic range of the Svan verbal pluralizer

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[37]In some dialects the -a:l- suffix of mediopassive verbs is dropped before the Series II formants -æn/-a:n. Compare the following aorists of i-t'bən-æl-x 'they are spitting': Lshx čw-ed-

-<u>a:l</u>- is quite similar to that of the Georgian preverb <u>da</u>- [Shanidze 1953:263].

2.2.9. Verb root (slot 3). A handful of Svan verbs employ etymologically-unrelated roots in some paradigms; in most cases suppletivism is correlated with the ancient aspectual distinction between Series I and Series II, e.g. the two stems for 'eat' (-<u>zwb</u>-/-<u>e:m</u>-) and 'drink' (-<u>tr</u>-/-<u>ə:š</u>-) [*T* 243-254; Gagua 1976]. As for the phonological structure of verb roots, while noun and adjective stems of all shapes can in principle be incorporated into verbs, the ablauting stems — clearly one of the most archaic groups of lexemes in Svan — are all of canonical Kartvelian CVC shape, where 'C' can be a simple consonant (including /šd/, see 1.2 above), a harmonic cluster, or either followed by /w/; e.g. -<u>bVr</u>- '(be) subtract(ed)', -<u>pxVž</u>- 'spread', -<u>k'wVš</u>- 'break', -<u>t'q'wVp</u>- 'explode'; -<u>žɣVp'</u>- '(be) squash(ed)', -<u>pVšwd</u>- 'let pass'.

2.2.10. Non-finite forms. Svan has a rich variety of verbal nouns and adjectives, including some not found in Georgian:

(i) The masdar (<u>li</u>-) is used in the roughly the same contexts as in Georgian, and can take nominal as well as verbal stems (e.g. <u>li-na:t-w</u> 'kinship' ⇐ <u>næ:ti</u> 'kin'). Ablauting verbs have separate Class A (transitive) and Class P (intransitive) masdars: <u>li-t'x-e</u> 'returning sthg/sb' vs. <u>li-t'ex</u> 'coming back, being returned'. The masdars of Class P ablauting verb stems can also be formed by addition of the suffix -<u>a</u>, e.g. <u>kwæc-a</u> 'cutting', <u>xwæt'-a</u> 'extinction (esp. from lack of a male heir)' [*GM* 210-1;*T* 213].

(ii) The agentive participle (<u>mə</u>-, <u>mo</u>-, <u>me</u>-), e.g. Class A <u>mə-t'x-e</u> 'returner [of sthg/sb]'; Class P <u>me-t'ex</u> 'who/which comes back'; from nouns: <u>mə-čæ:ž-i</u> 'horseman' (⇐ <u>čæ:ž</u> 'horse'); <u>mə-zn-i</u> 'Mingrelian [person]' (⇐ <u>zæn</u> 'Mingrelia').

(iii) Svan has two distinct future participles, denoting patients and themes (<u>le</u>-), and instruments and destinations (<u>la</u>- -<u>a</u>); cp. <u>le-tr-e</u> 'beverage [sthg to drink]' vs. <u>la-tr-a</u> 'drinking vessel, place for drinking'. Examples from noun stems: <u>le-pæq'w</u> '[material] to be used to make a cap' (⇐ <u>paq'w</u> 'cap'), <u>la-te-j</u> 'window in manger wall (for cow to see out)' ⇐ <u>te</u> 'eye'.

(iv) Past participle (<u>lə</u>- [-<u>e</u>], <u>me</u>- -<u>e</u>, <u>na</u>-): Class A <u>lə-qi:d</u> 'brought', Class P <u>me-qd-e</u> 'arrived'.

(v) Negative participle (<u>u</u>- -<u>a/-w</u>): Class A <u>u-qi:d-a</u> 'not brought', Class P <u>u-qæd-w</u> 'not arrived, not having come'; from nouns: <u>u-cw'il-a</u> 'unmarried girl' (⇐ <u>c'wil</u> 'bride').[38]

2.2.11. Derivation of verbs. Denominal and deadjectival verbs are quite common in Svan. In many such instances the noun root does not undergo special modification (e.g. <u>i-k'əlmæx-i</u> {i-k'almax-i} [SbV-fish-SM] 'sb fishes' ⇐ <u>k'almax</u> 'fish'; <u>č'əšxš-e</u> [round.dance-SM] 'sb dances a round dance' ⇐ <u>č'əšxæš</u> 'round dance' [*T* 72]. Many denominal verbs of atelic aspect add the verbal pluralizer -<u>æ:l</u> or one of its allomorphs [Chumburidze 1981; see 2.2.8 above].

3. SYNTAX.

3.1. Structure of the NP. Word order within the noun phrase is somewhat more rigid than in Georgian, in that postposed modifiers, including personal pronominals, are very rare. (On relative-clause modifiers, see 3.4 below). Adjectives and nominalized clausal modifiers precede the NP head, e.g.

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t'əbn-**a:l**-**a:n**-x, Lntx <u>čw-æd-t'əbn</u>-**an**-x [*T*237].

[38]Note that the past and negative participles of Class A ablauting verbs employ the same lengthened i-grade as the Series III verb stems and Class P passives. This supports the hypothesis that this ablaut grade is correlated with underlying transitivity and surface intransitivity (see 1.4.5)

li-ge:rg-i: to:-jsa   ka:m   me-pšwde   ča:r-s
St.George's   month-in   outside   PPL-let.go   horse-DAT
'… [to] a horse that was left outside during St. George's month' [Lashx; *W* 15]

The rare examples of postposed adjectives — invariably possessive pronouns — I have encountered are in poetry and song texts, e.g.

dede   mišgwi,   lusdwigw   a-x-kwič'!
mother   my   plaited.hair:NOM   PV-S2sg-release:AOR.1/2sg (= IMPER)
'Mother mine, let down your plaited hair!' [UBal; *SP* 268]

3.2. Structure of the PP. Svan has postpositions, like Georgian. These follow their nominals, often cliticising onto them. In general Svan postpositions govern the dative case, although they assign genitive case to certain types of nominals denoting humans (proper names, pronouns and kinterms) in certain contexts [Abesadze 1955, 1984; Manning 1994]; e.g.

tæš   sgo:tšq'æd {sga-ad-x-o-šq'æd}   **lemesg-te:-sga**
cheese:NOM   PV-PV-O3-ObV-fall:AOR   **fire:DAT-to-in**
'His cheese fell into the fire.'

min-eš-te:-sga   an-qæd-x   ušgwl-ær
them-GEN-to-in   PV-come:AOR-PL   Ushgulian-PL:NOM
'The people from Ushgul came to them (lit. came into their [place]).'

3.3. Structure of the clause. Although word order is not used to mark grammatical relations, Svan syntax is more structured than one might at first imagine. The verb is the central (and only obligatory) element in the clause, with the other elements deployed before and after it according to their discourse-structural and categorial properties, in fairly symmetrical fashion. The overall structure of the Svan clause is shown below; certain elements will be discussed in more detail further on in this section.

SVAN SENTENCE STRUCTURE.

D	C	B	A	0	A´	B´	C´	D´
setting; topic; vocative	new information	rheme; particles; quantifiers; adverbials; pronouns	preverbal clitics	VERB	post-verbal clitics	rheme; particles	new information	anti-topic

3.3.1. Spatio-temporal adverbials; topic and anti-topic. A variety of elements can appear in the initial slot of the Svan clause, which is set off, as it were, by a comma from the rest of the sentence. These include interjections and vocatives, topicalized NPs, and adverbial expressions describing the spatial or temporal setting of the episode about to be described (e.g. merma ladey 'the next day') or its sequence within the narrative (ečkas 'then', wešgimp'ils 'finally'). As in French [Lambrecht 1984], Svan has both left- and right-dislocated, or "topic" and "anti-topic", slots, the contents of which are often doubled by resumptive pronouns within the clause (slot B).

(**jexw-ær**)^D   (mine   lemzir-s)^C (ži-æ   <u>min</u>)^B   æ-mzər-i-w-x.
woman-PL:N   their   lemzir-D   on-also they:N   NtV-pray-SM-IMP-PL
"(As for) the women, they prayed over their *lemzirs* (ritual bread) as well." [*LB*#152, pp. 294]

(atxe)^D   (merme   sopl-ær-i)^C   (<u>am-te</u>)^B   an-ɣr-i-x   (**sgim-te-jsga**)^{D´}
now   other   villager-PL:N-also   this-to   PV-come-SM-PL   spring-to-at
"Now other villagers come here, to the spring." [*LB* #41, pp. 75]

The second-person pronoun often occurs in the anti-topic position in yes-no questions:
(aӡ-ɣa)^B   x-i-gwn-i   (mo)^{B´} (**si**)^{D´}?
this-because.of S2-SbV-weep-SM   QUES   you
"Is this why you are weeping?" (*UB* 67)

3.3.2. Particles and clitics. Much of the distinctive character of Svan discourse is due to the rich variety of particles and clitics, which, unlike other lexemes, have a fixed or preferred position in the clause. Most sentences have at least one, and often three or more of these elements, the exact sense of which is frequently difficult to convey. Examples from the major classes of particles are shown in the following table, along with their preferred position(s).

PARTICLES, PRONOUNS & CLITICS	Initial	Second	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal	Final
outer preverbs <u>ka</u>, <u>sga</u>, <u>ži</u>, <u>ču</u>			X	X	
quotative <u>eser/rokw</u> [UB/LB]		X	X		
quotative <u>lok</u> [Lower Svan]			X	X	
negative particles/pronouns			X		
relative/interrogative pronouns			X		
question particles -<u>a/mo</u> [UB/LB]					X
question particle <u>ma</u> [Lower Svan]				X	
clitics -<u>o(ɣ)(w)</u> 'OPT'; -<u>id</u> 'again'			X	X	
clitic -<u>e</u> 'if' [Lashx]		X			
subordinator <u>axa</u> 'if'			X		
subordinator <u>laxa</u> 'when(ever), if'		X			
subordinator <u>eši:</u> 'even if'	X				
subordinator <u>ehe</u> 'if', <u>a ma:de</u> 'if not'					X
particle <u>gar</u> 'only'			X		
particle <u>moš</u> 'at all', <u>do</u> 'indeed'		X	X		
particle <u>ser</u> 'indeed'		X		X	
particle <u>šišd</u> 'at once'	X	X		X	
particle <u>ɣal</u> 'alas, poor X'			X	X	

As shown in the chart, most particles occur in the immediate vicinity of the verb. When two or

more are present, preverbal particles tend to respect a certain relative order, although there can be considerable variation. As far as I can determine it, the more frequent preverbal particles maintain the following sequence:

preverb + <u>gar</u> + <u>axa</u> + relative/interrogative + negative + <u>moš</u> + quotative + -<u>o(ɣ)(w)</u> + VERB

3.3.2.1. Outer preverbs. The outer preverbs <u>sga</u>- 'in', <u>ka</u>- 'out', <u>ži</u>- 'up', <u>ču</u>- 'down' are lexically selected by the verb, and along with the inner preverbs serve to signal direction of motion as well as perfective aspect. Nine times out of ten they precede the verb, though other particles often intervene:

i-ʒri:nʒæ:l   i   **ka**   **de:m-te**   **moš**   i-spʼ-i.
SbV-squirm   and   out   cannot.anywhere-to   at.all   SbV-turn-SM
"She squirms, but cannot turn in any direction." [UBal; *Chr* 183, pp. 161-2]

On occasion the preverb follows the verb, in the **A′** slot:

la-x-a-tʼul-e-x   **ka**   i   k**<a>**   æn-[i]-skʼid-da   dæw.
PV-O3-NV-call-AOR-S3pl   out   and   out   PV-SbV-look-IMP   ogre:NOM
"They called out, and the ogre looked out." [Lentex; *Chr* #350, pp. 326-7]

Outer preverbs can be repeated in postverbal (anti-topic) position for emphasis [Davitiani 1954]:

isga   qid-e,   **isga**.
in   bring-SM   in
"He brings it in!"

3.3.2.2. Quotative particles and indirect speech. When the speaker is repeating his or her own speech, or that of the interlocutor, a clitic -<u>əʒ</u>/-<u>iʒ</u> is attached to a word just before the verb [Hewitt 1982; *SJa* 143]. The deictic elements (person and tense references) in the quoted speech are not shifted:

mi   lo:kar {xw-le:kar},   ere   məxar-**iʒ**   an-qd-en-i-x.
I   S1-say:AOR   that   tomorrow-QT   PV-come-PASS-SM-PL
'I said that they would come the day after [lit. "they will come tomorrow"]'

While reported speech from third persons can be delivered as an approximately direct quotation, with all person and tense markers unchanged, it is most often the case that person oppositions are suppressed, with the special pronouns <u>ʒa</u> [singular] and <u>min</u> [plural] replacing the 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The indirect speech is introduced by the complementizer <u>ere</u> 'that', and contains the quotative particles <u>eser</u> or <u>rokw</u>.

sosruqʼ-d   ræ:kw,   ere,   **ʒa**   <u>eser</u>   x-æ-jsen-æ:-wn-e
Sosruq-ERG   say:AOR   that   himself:NOM   QT O3-ObV-kill-CAUS-FUT-SM
txwim-s.   no:ta-w   **min**   <u>eser</u>   ka   im-te   otčædx {ad-x-o-čæd-x},
self-DAT   maybe-OPT   they:NOM   QT   out   where-to   PV-O3-ObV-go:AOR-PL

ǯa   <u>eser</u> xoxra   cod   l-i,   meča   <u>eser</u> li   (e)ser.
himself:NOM   QT   lesser   sin:NOM   S3-be   old:NOM   QT   S3-be   QT

'Sosruq said: I [**ǯa**] will let them kill me. Maybe you-all [**min**] can escape from them somewhere; since I [**ǯa**] am the oldest, it is less of a shame (if I am killed).' [UBal; *Chr* 162]

In the following example of quoted speech, note that the two interlocutors are referred to by forms of ǯa, while the 3rd-person arguments continue to employ the usual pronouns (<u>eǯas</u>, <u>ečas</u>):

eča-s   læk'wcæ:n   x-e-ɣw-e:n-i,   eǯa-s   ču
that-DAT   towel:NOM   O3-ObV-have-FUT-SM   that-DAT   down

oxk'wa:ne {ad-x-o-k'w-a:n-e}   ǯa,   eǯa   ži:-w
PV-O3-ObV-drop-CAUS-SM   oneself:NOM   that:NOM   up-OPT

æn-(i)-k'id   miǯne:m.
PV-SbV-take:AOR   himself:ERG

'The towel that he [**ečas**] will have, I [**ǯa**] will make him drop it [**eǯas**], and you [**miǯnem** (ERG case of ǯa)] take it.' [Upper Bal; *Chr* 161]

(<u>eser</u> in both 2nd & preverbal position)
atxe-n=ɣw<e>**eser** mins   demis **eser** x-e-c'd-en-i-x   læer-d.
now-after   QT   they:DAT   not   QT   O3-ObV-see-FUT-SM-PL   alive-ADV
"from now on you will not see us alive.'"

3.3.2.3. Negative pronouns and particles. Svan has a considerable inventory of negative pronouns and particles, many of them evidently derived from two- or three-morpheme compounds [Sharadzenidze 1946]. The three-way contrast represented in Georgian by the particles <u>ar</u> (not), <u>ver</u> (cannot) and <u>nu</u> (do not [prohibitive]) and their derivatives is also present in Svan, though not as transparently. Grouped by their initial segments, the Svan negative particles include (translations very approximate):
   (a) <u>no</u> 'do not [prohibitive]', <u>no:sa</u> 'must by no means not …', <u>noma</u> 'do not', etc.
   (b) <u>de</u> 'not', <u>deš</u> 'cannot', <u>dem</u> 'not want to …', <u>de:sa</u> 'not', <u>deš-yæs</u> 'no one can …', etc.
   (c) <u>dom</u> 'not', <u>dom-gwæš</u>, <u>dem-gwæš</u> 'nothing'
   (d) <u>ma:ma</u> / <u>mo:d</u> / <u>mad</u> 'not, cannot'

Three different types of negatives occur in this dialogue from an Upper Bal tale [*UB* 65]:

čik   **deš**   ɣərid {x-ɣər-i-d},   k'oč'o:l   bopš-ær   x-i-šd.
yet   can.not   S2-go-SM-PL   little   child-PL:NOM   S2-be-PL

ma:ma   ǯ-æ-jmæd-a-x   dæ:w-æ   li-bərgie:l.
not   O2-ObV-able-SM-PL   ogre-GEN   PPL-wrestling

a,   eši-eši   ɣurid {xw-ɣər-i-d}.   nau:zi-s   **dem**   xw-i-čo-d.
ah   nonetheless   S1excl-go-SM-PL   not.going-DAT   not.want   S1excl-SbV-do-PL

[Mother to children]: 'You cannot [<u>deš</u>] go yet, you are still little children. You are not [<u>ma:ma</u>] capable of tangling with an ogre.' [Children to mother]: 'Ah, but we will go anyway. We do not want [<u>dem</u>] to refrain from going.'

3.3.2.4. Interrogative pronouns and question particles. Interrogative pronouns precede the verb, and cannot be separated from it by any lexemes other than particles:

isgwi   mašed   **jær**   i-rol-e?
your   rescuer   who:NOM   SbV-be-SM
'Who is your rescuer?' [*SP* 268]

The response to a question is often introduced by an echo of the interrogative pronoun:

mæj   eser   x-a-k'u?
what:NOM   QT   O3-ObV-want
'What do you want?'
mæj   eser **i**   lædi: moxærž   eser   ža   l-i
what:NOM   QT   and   today:GEN   meal.provider:NOM   QT   self:NOM   S3-be
'[What and] you are to provide today's meal.' [*Chr* 162]

The outer preverb can be repeated as a positive response to a yes-no question [Davitiani 1954]:

Q: **ka**-čæd   ma-u?
    out-go:AOR QUES-QUES
    'Did he go out?'

A: **ka**.
    out
    'Yes (he went out).'

Kaldani [1964] lists a half-dozen question particles, which appear at the end of the sentence, or tacked onto the verb: -a (Laxamul -ha); -u (Lent'ex -ə); ma, mo. The clitics -a and -mo have equivalent functions, signalling yes-no questions when the questioner knows that the respondant has already begun the activity in question (x-æ-č'm-e-**a** / x-æ-č'm-e-**mo** [S2-NtV-mow-SM-QUES] 'are you mowing hay? [or have you finished or stopped?]'), whereas the clitic -ma is employed when the questioner does not know if the activity has begun as yet (/ x-æ-č'm-e-'**ma** [S2-NtV-mow-SM-QUES] 'are you mowing hay? [have you begun yet?]'). In the case of a verb to which -a or -mo has been adjoined, the accent can be either on the final syllable (i.e. the question clitic) or the penultimate; -ma on the other hand always attracts the accent. Yes-no questions acan also be marked by a clitic -(j)a:, onto which the accent shifts:

ka   loxt'u:læ'**ja:**? {la-xw-o-t'u:l-a-ja:}
PV   PV-S1-ObV-call-OPT-QUES
'Should I call him?' [UBal; Tamar Girgwliani (elicited)]

3.3.3. Mood. Certain verbs, particles and complementizers select verb forms in one of the modal paradigms, such as the particle xek'wes 'must', introduced earlier. The prohibitive particles noma and no:sa require a verb in the optative or conjunctive, e.g. noma čwemn-e [do.not do-OPT] 'don't do it!' (Geo. *ar gaak'eto*), although the roughly synonymous particle nom/nem takes a verb in the

present or future indicative: <u>nom x-i-čo</u> [do.not S2-SbV-do] 'don't do it!' (Geo. *nu švrebi*) [*T* 169]. Most subordinating conjunctions allow different moods, depending on the meaning. One of the more common, <u>lax</u> 'if' selects conditional forms when hypothetical or contrary-to-fact situations are being described, and the indicative otherwise, rather like its equivalents in the familiar European languages:

si	**lax**	mod	læ-m-txan-o:l,	mišgu	k'umaš	mæg
you.sg	if	not	PV-O1sg-appear-CND	my	livestock:NOM	all:NOM

m-e-ɣwp'aw-o:l
O1sg-ObV-die.off-CND
'If you had not come to me [CONDITIONAL], my livestock would all have died' [UBal; *A* 140]

lax	č'q'int'	æ-ӡ-ten-i	næj	šišd	odrid {ad-xw-r-i-d}
if	boy:NOM	PV-O2-born-SM	we	right.away	PV-S1-go-SM-PL

'If a boy is born [PERF. FUTURE], we will leave right away.' [UBal; *A* 139]

3.4. Subordinate clauses. Clauses can be imbedded through both nominalization (use of participles) and subordination, as in Georgian. The principle relative pronouns are derived from the corresponding interrogative pronouns by the addition of a suffix <u>-wæ:j</u>, which functionally, albeit not etymologically, resembles the Georgian suffix <u>-c</u>, e.g. <u>jer</u> 'who?' (Geo. *vin?*) ⇒ <u>jer-wæ:j</u> 'who' (Geo. *vin-c*); <u>ime</u> 'where?' (Geo. *sad?*) ⇒ <u>im-wæ:j</u> 'where' (Geo. *sada-c*); <u>mæ:zum</u> 'how much?' ⇒ <u>mæ:zum-wæ:j</u> 'as much as, to which extent'. [Abesdaze 1960]. If the pronoun has a postposition adjoined to it, <u>-wæ:j</u> can appear both before and after the postposition in Lent'ex (<u>xed-ka</u> 'where?' ⇒ <u>xed-wæj-ka-wæj</u> 'where') [Kaldani 1964]. Used as modifiers with a noun phrase, relative clauses represent the only common exception to the modifier-precedes-head principle, in that they almost always come after the NP head, e.g.:

eӡ	**ma:re**,	<u>xedwæ:j</u>	ætɣwæč' {⇐ ad-x-e-ɣwæč'},
that	man:NOM	which:NOM	PV-O3-ObV-pursue:AOR

gæč-d	æd-(i)-sip'-æ:n
knife-ADV	PV-SbV-turn-Pass.AOR

'The man who was pursuing him turned into a knife' [UBal; *A* 110]

When the relative pronoun itself heads the noun phrase, a coreferent resumptive pronoun (based on the distal root <u>eӡ-</u> 'that') usually follows:

<u>xedwæj-d</u>	lok	xoča	hark'-æl	læ:kw-a-s,	**eӡa-s**
which-ERG	QT	good	tale-PL:NOM	tell-OPT-S3sg.MOD	that-DAT

x-æ:-c-e-s		al	diær
O3-ObV-have-OPT-S3sg.MOD		this	bread:NOM

'Whoever tells good tales, let that one have this bread' [UBal; *A* 111]

læ-x-(e)-č'wed-da-x,	mæ:nk'wid	<u>er</u>	ka-an-qæd,	**eӡa-s**
PV-O3-ObV-ask-IMP-PL	first	that	PV-PV-come:AOR	that-DAT

'They asked the first one that came' [UBal; *A* 135]

3.5. Zero anaphora. In Svan, as in the other Kartvelian languages, reference maintenance across adjacent clauses through zero-anaphora (or deletion of an underlying coreferent NP, if one prefers to look at it that way) is relatively free. In order to demonstrate this in a quantitative fashion, I selected a small corpus of texts from Svan and Old Georgian, and analyzed the correlation between zero anaphora and the formal and relational attributes of NPs. The method employed was simple and mechanical: Only 3rd person NPs assigned a syntactic case (ERG, NOM or DAT) by the verb were counted. Zero anaphors were regarded as bearing the case an overt NP in the same relation to the verb would have been assigned. Coreference relations were counted only if they occurred across adjacent clauses; these were assigned to two categories according to whether reference was maintained by a zero anaphor (NP ⇒ Ø) or an overt NP (NP ⇒ X). The table shows the correlation between manner of reference maintenance across adjacent clauses and properties of the NPs involved: grammatical role [S = subject; O = direct or indirect object (DO, IO)], same or different case, agreement by same or different set of person markers. While equivalence of grammatical relation, case and agreement set for coreferent arguments is correlated with an enhanced frequency of zero anaphora, it is clear that non-equivalence for any of these properties is no bar to the use of null pronominals. On the other hand, coincidence in any of these properties for coreferent arguments in adjacent clauses is no guarantee of zero anaphora, either. For most texts sampled, all cells in the chart are filled by at least one example.

Argument chaining [adjacent clauses]

	GRAMMATICAL ROLE				CASE		AGREEMENT		
Svan	*S⇒S*	*O⇒O*	*S⇒O*	*O⇒S*	*same*	*diff.*	*same*	*diff.*	**TOTAL**
NP⇒X:	14	5	1	6	8	18	14	12	**26**
NP⇒Ø:	30	8	5	5	29	19	36	12	**48**
									[65%]
Old Georgian									
NP⇒X:	20	10	10	13	18	35	29	24	**53**
NP⇒Ø:	155	15	7	18	106	89	166	29	**195**
									[79%]

3.6. Number agreement between subject, object and verb. The factors conditioning the use of the Set S and Set O plural-agreement suffixes are sufficiently complex to merit separate treatment. The use of the plural suffix -d is obligatory in the context of a 1st or 2nd plural Set S argument, even when it is functioning as the direct object of an indirect-syntax verb [*T* 21]:

zural mumšœbid mek'de m-ar-**d**
woman:NOM in.childbirth-with annihilated O$_{1sg}$-have-**S2pl**
"I have exterminated you$_{pl}$ along with the women in childbirth." [Lower Bal; *SP* 106,30]

Number agreement in -x with 2pl Set O arguments is limited to specific contexts [see charts in Topuria 1967:21-3]. A distinct S$_{2pl}$ marking is only possible when the Set S argument is 3rd person. When the subject is 1st person and the direct or indirect object is 2pl, number agreement in -x does not occur, whereas number agreement with 2pl Set O arguments is <u>always</u> expressed when the subject is 3rd person:

ɣerte-m   či-v   **ӡ-**a-mzǝr-a-**x**
God-ERG   all-OPT   **O2**-NtV-bless-OPT-**PL**
"May God bless all of you_pl. "   [Lower Bal; Chikovani 1972:81]

ka **ӡ-**i-pišvd-a-**x**   he modei   nalk'vih-s   **ӡ-**i-d-i
out **O2**-ObV-release-PERF-**PL** if not   choice-DAT   **O2**-ObV-give-SM
"If you_pl have not released him I will give you_pl a choice." [Upper Bal; *SP* 292,70]

3.6.1. Animacy and number agreement. The S3pl suffix is also -x. When the subject is 3pl and the direct or indirect object is 2pl, only one -x suffix appears in the verb.

eӡjær   **ӡ-**a-hwd-i-**x**   sgæj   ečas
they:NOM   **O2**-ObV-give-SM-**PL** you_pl:DAT   it:DAT]
"They are giving it to you_pl."   [Upper Bal; *T* 24-5]

As noted by Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis [1986:43-4], in Svan, "unlike Georgian, the predicate is always used in the plural if the subject is plural, animate or not."

q'o:r-æl   ka lǝdǝ   læ:sw-**x**
door-PL:NOM   out locked be-**PL**
"The doors were locked."   [Upper Bal; *UB* 369]
(cp Geo k'ar-eb-i dak'et'il-i i-q'-**o** [door-PL-NOM locked be-**S3sg**])

Conjoined NPs, where both conjuncts refer to inanimates, rarely control plural number agreement in Georgian. In Svan, the agreement controlled by such NPs may be either 3sg or 3pl:

šuk'w   i   ragæd   ču   dem eser šdex-n-i-**x**
road:NOM   and talk:NOM down not QT   exhaust-PASS-SM-**PL**
"The road and talk are never used up." [Lower Bal; *D* 163]
(cp Geo gza da lap'arak'i ar dailev-**a**-o [road:NOM and talk-NOM not PV-PASS-exhaust-
                                                       S3sg-QT])
č'ir   i   gwæmi   mara   čw eser   xwir-e-**Ø**
labor:NOM   and burden:NOM man:DAT down QT   collapse-SM-**Ø**
"Labor and heavy burdens wear a man down." [ibid:175]

3.6.2. Indirect and inverse verbs: As a rule, the Set O subjects of indirect and inverse verbs control number agreement in Svan. For 2pl and 3pl Set O arguments, the suffix -x is used:

ečkas nart-æl-s   ši:ra   **x-**o-q'r-a-**x**
then   Nart-PL-DAT   millstone:NOM **O3**-ObV-hit-PERF-**PL**
"Then the Narts (DATIVE SUBJECT) hit him with a millstone." [Upper Bal; *UB* 174]

Indirect conjugation is also possible with a few transitive Class A verbs, though not as many as in Modern Standard Georgian:

sk'odi ǯævr   gvi-s   **x**-o-c'xvavd-a-**x**   æl č'q'int'-i
deep   worry:NOM   heart-DAT   O3-ObV-torment-IMP-**PL**   this boy-GEN
<u>dede-s   i   mama-s</u>   [Lent'ex; elicited]
mother-DAT and   father-DAT
The boy's <u>mother and father</u> (DATIVE SUBJECT) were tormented by intense anxiety."
(lit. "Deep worry pained the heart for the boy's mother and father";
cp Geo <u>γrma mc'uxareba gul-s Ø-u-ʒiʒgnid-a-**t** am bič'-is **mšobl-eb-s**</u>)

One exception to the rule that 3pl dative subjects control number agreement in <u>-x</u> concerns indirect verbs with 1st or 2nd person direct objects (morphological subjects). Number agreement with a 3rd plural dative subject is blocked in this context [Topuria 1967:21]; e.g.

eǯjær-s   mi   xw-a-læt'   (*xw-a-læt'-x)
they-DAT me:NOM   S1-NtV-love   [Upper Bal; *T* 21]
"They love me." (cp Geo <u>mat me v-Ø-u-q'var-var</u>)

The 3pl NOM-case objects of a few indirect verbs which typically take animate themes optionally control number agreement. Topuria [1967:24] claims that number agreement with 3pl arguments is more likely to occur when the dative subject is 1st person, because there is no possibility of ambiguity concerning the interpretation of the suffix <u>-x</u>. (The number of 1st person Set O arguments is coded in the prefix). Here are two examples of number agreement with a 3pl NOM object. In the first the dative subject is 1st person; in the second, it is 3rd person.

<u>kašg-ar</u>   m-i-xal-**x**   moγlat'   mišgwi
Kabardian-PL-NOM   O$_{1sg}$-ObV-know-**PL**   betrayer:NOM   my
"I know <u>the Kabardians</u> (are) my betrayers."[Lashx; Wonya:n 1917b:83]

bepšw-s   ču-æt-karw-æ:n-**x**   <u>xam-ær</u>
child-DAT   PV-PV-lose-PASS.AOR-**PL**   pig-PL:NOM
"The child lost <u>the pigs</u>."   [Upper Bal; Harris 1985:312]

4. Upper Bal text
[Lenjer community; source: Davit Guledani (Feb. 1940); *Chr* #55, p. 53

THE HOLY FIRE (qʼer)

1. didæb-i   leqed   qʼer   læ:t-šw   gar   i-sgwǯ-in-i,[39]
glory-GEN   coming   holy.fire:NOM   night-INST   only   SbV-go:HONORIFIC-PASS-SM
"The Coming-in-glory holy fire[40] only comes by night,"

2. i   imwæ:j   maše:ne   cʼqʼiljæn   adgil   x-a-bž-a,   ečeču:n
and   where   most   holy   place:NOM   O3-NtV-think-SM there
i-gn-i.
SbV-stand-SM
"And where the most holy place is thought to be, it stands there."

3. qʼer   rokw   æglezw-r-e   næqʼwil   l-i   i   eči:
fire:NOM   QT   angel-PL-GEN   piece:NOM   be-SM   and   that:GEN
li-mzir   ma:ra   mašed   x-a:r.
PPL-pray   man:DAT   rescuer:NOM   O3-have[P$_{inv}$]
"The holy fire is a piece separated from an angel (they say), and it aids the man who prays to it."

4. ka:-j   cʼqʼiljæn   mære   erwæ:j   l-i   ečis   gar
out-also   holy   man:NOM whoever:NOM   be-SM that:DAT   only
x-e-cʼwe:-n-i.
O3-ObV-appear-FUT-SM
"Also, it will only appear [IMPERFECTIVE FUTURE] to those who are holy."

5. qʼer   lemesg-ša:l   a-rh-e   læ:t-šw.
holy.fire:NOM   fire-like   NtV-light-SM   night-INST
"The holy fire lights up at night like a fire."

6. ašxw   ægi-xæn-ka   ži   pʼer-n-i,   ečkas   ser   məbid
one:OBL place-from-out   up   fly-PASS-SM then   indeed   lit
lampʼær-ša:l i-cʼwe:-n-i   lapʼo:r-te:-sga   ečxaw   e,   imwæ:j
candle-like   SbV-appear-PASS-SM   flying-to-in   over.there   that   where

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[39] The root -sgwǯ- has essentially the functions as Georgian -brʒan-, in that it indexes a degree of respect or deference toward the referent of the subject.

[40] "A holy fire by night going from one church to another and associated with a special angel" (*SEG* 270). Tinatin Ochiauri cites the following description from archival material recorded by Arsen Oniani: "Each valley or hunting ground has its protective divine force — *qʼer* — which watches over this or that valley, which is thus under its patronage (*gamgebloba-pʼatʼronoba*). For this reason hunters appeal to the divine force which protects the valley where they are hunting" [Ochiauri 1985: 173]. The epithet 'coming-in-glory' is frequently used in referring to Svan deities.

čuᵃ   i-sgwǯ-in-i   i   ečečuːnču   deg-n-i.
down SbV-go:HONORIFIC-PASS-SM and   there   down   extinguish-PASS-SM
"It flies up from one place, looking like a lit candle, and flies over there to the place where it descends, and there it goes out."

7.   q'er   erxi: murq'wm-ær-s-i: x-a-cxn-e
     fire:NOM   some:GEN   defense.tower-PL-DAT-also   O3-ObV-frequent-SM
     "The holy fire also frequents some people's defense towers,"

8.   i   eǯ   mezga   zaw-isga   obæšin lemzər-ær
     and that household:DAT year:DAT-in   often   sac.bread-PL:NOM
     x-aːr   le-mzəri   eǯ   murq'wam-isga   q'er-d.
     O3-have   PPL-offer:NOM   that   tower-in   fire-ADV
     "And that family in the course of the year must offer frequently sacrificial bread (*lemzirs*) in the tower for the holy fire."

9.   ašxw-žiːn   nišgwej sopel   žikaːn-xæn-ču   an-p'ær
     one:OBL-on   our_excl village:NOM above-from-down   PV-fly:AOR
     mir   eǯ-k'ælib, ere   lamp'ær-šaːl x-e-bid,
     something:NOM   that-kind that   lantern-like O3-ObV-burn[STATIVE]
     "Once, in our village, something began to fly down from above that burned like a lantern."

10. gun   mubwir   i   bəːrneːta le:t   læsw.
     very   dark   and pitch.dark night:NOM be:AOR
     "It was a very dark, pitch-dark night."

11. ala   čubaːw   es-ɣr<i>,   a   mu-t'wær mir.
     this:NOM downward PV-go-SM   this PPL-lit   something:NOM
     "It descends, this lit-up thing."

12. gim-s   obæš maːm x-a-ɣir   žibaːw   i   eč-žiːn
     earth-DAT many   not   O3-ObV-distance[STATIVE]   upward and that-on
     k-aːn-ərh-<e>,⁴¹ eːre   dab-ær   məǯæːr-šaːl i-c'weːn-i.
     PV-PV-light-FUT that   field-PL:NOM sunny-like   SbV-appear-SM
     "It is not very far above the ground, and it sheds so much light, that the fields appear as they do on a sunny day."

13. ætɣwæč'd {⇐ ad-xw-e-ɣwæč'-d}   xoxwr-æːl   læč'wm-uš.
     PV-S1excl-ObV-follow:AOR-S1/2.PL junior-PL:NOM running-INST
     "We young people ran after it."

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⁴¹Although formally a future-tense form, this verb functions in the narrative as a perfective (historical) present.

14. sga   lihe-s   xw-a-murჳ-i-d,   am-ži:n sga læn-hel-æ:n.
    in   to.overtake-DAT S1excl-ObV-try-SM-S1/2.PL this-way in   PV-lightning-AOR
    "We are trying to overtake it, but it took off like a flash of lightning."

15. næjž-es-w-čʼwe:n-d,   am-ži:n nišgwej čubi:n ži:-d
    we PV-PV-S1excl-turn:AOR-S1/2.PL this-way our_{excl}   below   up-again
    an-pʼær   lemasgw-ša:l i læ-j-bin-e   čuba:w li:-zi.
    PV-fly:AOR fire-like   and PV-SbV-begin-AOR downward PPL-go:NOM
    "We turned around, but from below us it took off again like a fire and began to go downward (i.e. southwest)."

16. næj li-ɣwečʼ-ə:d   loxwbined {⇐ la-xw-o-bin-e-d}.
    we   PPL-follow:NOM-again PV-S1excl-ObV-begin:AOR-S1/2.PL
    "We began to follow it again."

17. dab-r-e   hoskʼer-d   čwætɣwačʼd {⇐ ču-ad-xw-e-ɣwæčʼ-d},   eče-lekwa
    field-PL-GEN bottom-ADV PV-PV-S1excl-ObV-follow:AOR-S1/2.PL there-below
    xoša čʼalæj   an-ɣr-i   i   næj čwotə:gænd {⇐ ču-ad-xw-ə:-g-æn-d}.
    big   river:NOM PV-go-SM and we   PV-PV-S1excl-NtV-stand-PASS.AOR-S1/2.PL
    "We followed it to the bottom of the fields; below that there is a river, and we stopped."

18. ala:,   mə-bid mæ:j   læsw, ka:-čæd   ləc-eč-xæn
    this:NOM PPL-lit what:NOM be:AOR PV-go.out:AOR water-GEN-from
    šged-te   i   eče čw-a-twæp.
    shady.side-to and there PV-NtV-vanish:AOR
    "This lit-up thing went across the water to the shady side,[42] and there it vanished."

19. næjægi-t<e>   o:nqwædd {⇐ an-xw-qæd-d} i
    we home-to   PV-S1excl-go:AOR-S1/2.PL   and
    ko:xumbawed {⇐ ka-an-xw-o-əmbaw-e-d}   imwæ:j   xw-e-cʼæd-d
    PV-PV-S1excl-ObV-tell:AOR-S1/2.PL   what:NOM S1excl-ObV-see:AOR-S1/2.PL
    i   im-ži:n   ætɣwæčʼd.
    and   what-way PV-S1excl-ObV-follow:AOR-S1/2.PL
    "We went back home and reported what we saw and where we followed it."

20. xoš-æ:l-d   ræ:kw-x — al<a>   e:ser, didæb-i   le-qed,
    elder-PL-ERG say:AOR-PL this:NOM QT   glory-GEN PPL-coming:NOM
    qʼer   ləm-æ:r
    holy.fire:NOM   NARR-be
    "The elders said: 'This was a coming-in-glory one, a holy fire,'"

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[42]Since the Svans inhabit valleys running from east to west with high mountains on either side, almost all of their villages are located on the right-hand (north) slopes, which receive more sunlight. The 'shady' south side is uninhabited in most communities.

21. i   næj eser ɣal im   æxurminad {⇐ an-xw-i-rm-in-a-d}   ečis.
    and we   QT   alas how   PV-S1excl-SbV-capture-FUT-IMP-S1/2.PL that:DAT
    "And how could we poor creatures have caught it?'"

22. i   obæš anə:mbawex {⇐ an-əmbaw-e-x} al   q'er-i   bed-ži:n.
    and often PV-tell:AOR-PL   this holy.fire-GEN fate-on
    "And they talked frequently about the meaning of the holy fire."

23. erxi   q'əl-a-x   næp'o:l-æ   sæx   eser
    some:NOM say-IMP-PL bird-GEN   form:NOM   QT
    x-u-ɣw-e.
    O3-ObV-have-SM
    "Some were saying: 'It has the form of a bird.'"

24. erxi-d   ræ:kw-x   bepšw-i   sæx   eser
    some-ERG say:AOR-PL child-GEN form:NOM   QT
    x-u-ɣw-e.
    O3-ObV-have-SM
    "Others said: 'It has the shape of a child.'"

25. jer   im-ži:n   q'əlax   i   jer   im-ži:n.
    some:NOM what-way say-IMP-PL and some:NOM what-way
    "Some were saying it was this way, some the other way."

ABBREVIATIONS IN GLOSSES.

[…] morpheme glosses   {…} underlying morphology

(i) Verb morphology.

Slot 0: PV (preverb)

Slot 1: S1 …, O1 … (subject and object markers)

Slot 2: SbV (subjective version), ObV (subjective version), NtV (neutral version), SupV (superessive version)

Slot 3: [root]

Slot 4: PASS (passive), CAUS (causative)

Slot 5: VPL (verbal pluralizer)

Slot 6: SM (series marker)

Slot 7: IMP (imperfect-stem formant)

Slot 8: FUT (future), AOR (aorist), OPT (optative), PERF (present perfect), CND (conditional), CNJ (conjunctive), IMEV (imperfect evidential), PLPF (pluperfect), PRFCNJ (perfect conjunctive), Pass.AOR (passive aorist formant)

Slot 9: S1/2sg (1st and 2nd singular stem [past indicative]), S3/pl (3rd singular and all plurals [past indicative]), S3sg.MOD (modal 3rd singular suffix [-s̲])

Slot 10: PL (S3, O2 and O3 pluralizer [-x̲]), S1/2.PL (S1 and S2 pluralizer [-d̲])

(ii) Nominal morphology.

NOM (nominative case)   ERG (ergative case)

DAT (dative case)   GEN (genitive case)

ADV (adverbial case)   OBL (oblique stem)

INST (instrumental case)   PL (plural)

PPL (participial affix)   DIM (diminutive)

(iii) Particles.

OPT (optative particle [-w̲, -o̲ɣ̲w])   QT (quotative particle)

QUES (question particle)

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