

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

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

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

- (33) (a) bebia-s šal-it
grandmother-GEN shawl-INST
‘with Grandmother’s shawl’
- (b) bebia-s X-it
grandmother-GEN X-INST
‘with Grandmother’s X’
- (34) ert-man Iesu-ys tana-man [Mt 26:51 E, cited by Boeder 1995:161]
one-NAR Jesus-GEN with-NAR
‘one [person who was] with Jesus’
- (35) ert-i morec'e-ta šen-ta gan-i
one-NOM_i hired.servant-PL.GEN_j you.SG-PL.GEN_j from-NOM_i
‘one of thy hired servants’ [Luke 15:19 C, Abulaže 1973: 483a]
- (36) ara xart cxovar-ta čem-ta gan-ni
NEG you.PL.are sheep-PL.GEN my-PL.GEN from-PL.NOM
‘Ye are not of my sheep.’ [J 10:26 C, cited by Abulaže 1973: 512a]
- (37) toma, ert-i igi atormet'-ta gan-i, ara iq'o mat tana
Thomas, one-NOM that.NOM twelve-PL.GEN from-NOM NEG he.is them.OBL with
‘Thomas, one of the twelve, was not with them.’
[John 20:24 Ad, cited by Šaniže 1976:51]
- (39) er-isa-gan-ta mat mtavr-isa-ta c'ariq'venes iesu
people-GEN-from-PL.NAR the.OBL governor-GEN-PL.NAR they.take.him Jesus.NOM
‘Some of the soldiers of the governor took Jesus.’ [Mt 27:27AB]
- (40) masal-eb-i lazur-i zep'irsit'q'viereb-isa tvis [title, K'art'ozia 1968]
material-PL-NOM laz-GEN oral.literature-GEN for
‘Materials on (lit. for) Laz traditional oral literature’
- (41) (a) is saxl-i am šenob-is uk'an mxat'vr-eb-is at'elie-a
that house-NOM this building-GEN behind painter-PL-GEN studio.NOM-it.is
‘That house behind this building is a painters’ studio.’
- (b) *is saxl-i am šenob-is uk'an-i mxat'vr-eb-is at'elie-a
that house-NOM this building-GEN behind-NOM painter-PL-GEN studio.NOM-it.is
- (44) nazmnar-i saxel-is mier saxel-is martva brunva ši
deverbal-NOM noun-GEN by noun-GEN government.NOM case in
udur ena ši [title, Pančviže 1960]
Udi.DAT language.DAT in
‘Government of a noun in a case by a deverbal noun in the Udi language’
- (45) ...gansazývreba... c'in užývis mis mier gansazývrul sit'q'va-s
modifier.NOM before it.precede it.GEN by modified word-DAT
‘The modifier precedes the word modified by it.’ [K'alaže 1961: 76]
- (46) mam-is surat-s xat'avs?
father-GEN picture-DAT he.paint.it
‘Is he painting father’s picture?’
- (a) ara, d-is da ȝm-isa-s [Tschenkéli 1958: 57]
no sister-GEN and brother-GEN-DAT
‘No (the) sister’s and brother’s.’

- (b) ara, d-isa-s da 3m-isa-s
no sister-GEN-DAT and brother-GEN-DAT
‘No (the) sister’s and brother’s.’

	Case markers	Proximal 3 rd singular, ‘he, she, it’	Distal 3 rd singular, ‘he, she, it’	Remote 3 rd singular, ‘he,she,it’	Question word, ‘who?’
Nominative	-i/∅	es	eg	is, igi	vin
Narrative	-m(a)	aman	magan	man, iman	vin
Dative	-s	amas	magas	imas	vis
Genitive	-is	amis	magis	imis	vis
Instrumental	-it	amit	magit	imit	---

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

- (47) (a) bavšv-ma c’ign-i c’ait’itxa
child-NAR book-NOM he.read.it
‘The child read a book.’
(b) c’ign-i romel-ma bavšv-ma c’ait’itxa?
book-NOM which-NAR child-NAR he.read.it
‘Which child read a book?’
- (48) (a) *am megob(a)r=ve=isa gan
this.OBL friend=EMPH-GEN from
‘from this very friend’
(b) *am megob(a)r=gan=isa=ve
(c) *am megob(a)r=gan=ve=isa
(d) *am megob(a)r=ve=gan=isa
- (49) (a) am megobr-isa gan
this.OBL friend-GEN from
‘from this friend’
(b) *am megob(a)r=gan=isa
- (50) (a) am megobr-isa=ve
this.OBL friend-GEN=EMPH
‘of this very friend’
(b) *am megob(a)r=ve=isa
- (51) mam-is surat-i daxat’a?
father-GEN picture-NOM he.paint.it
‘Did he paint father’s picture?’

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

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

	Case	Short form	Long form	
	Genitive	d-is	d-isa	‘sister’
	Dative	da-s	da-sa	
	Instrumental	d-it	d-ita	

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

- (54) čven-tan-it ‘from among those with us’ (Gabunia 1989)
(55) bag-is-mier-i [lip-GEN-by-NOM] ‘labial (sound)’

Compounds

deda-boʒ-i [mother-post-NOM] ‘central, main post in a building’

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

ʒal-yone [strength-strength] ‘strength’

- (56) (b) [Adj N]_N (e.g. *axal-kalak-i* [new-city-NOM] ‘new city’, a toponym)
(c) [N Adj]_N (e.g. *daba-ʒvel-i* [town-old-NOM] ‘old town’, a toponym) (Šaniže 1973)

(57)	Nominative	maxvil-i	‘stress, accent’	(6b)	sit'q'va	‘word’
	Narrative	maxvil-ma			sit'q'va-m	
	Dative	maxvil-s			sit'q'va-s	
	Genitive	maxvil-is			sit'q'v-is	
	Instrumental	maxvil-it			sit'q'v-it	
	Adverbial	maxvil-ad			sit'q'va-d	

- (58) (a) q'av-is-per-i
coffee-GEN-color-NOM
‘coffee colored’
- (b) jar-is-k'ac-i
army-GEN-man-NOM
‘soldier’

- (59) (a) mam-i-da
 father-GEN-sister.NOM
 ‘father’s sister, aunt’
- (b) t'an-i-samos-i
 body-GEN-clothing-NOM
 ‘clothing’
- (60) (a) γor-∅-mucel-i (KEGL)
 pig-GEN-stomach-NOM
 ‘a person who eats a great deal’
- (b) cxvir-∅-saxoc-i
 nose-GEN-wiper-NOM
 ‘handkerchief’
- (61) (a) sabčo-ta k'avšir-i
 soviet-PL.GEN union-NOM
 ‘Soviet Union, union of soviets’
- (b) mk'a-ta-tve
 mowing-PL.GEN-month.NOM
 ‘July, month of mowings’
- (62) (a) mic'a-t-mokmedeba (KEGL 5: 503)
 earth-PL.GEN-movement-NOM
 ‘agriculture’
- (b) nav-t-sadgur-i (KEGL 5: 1283)
 ship-PL.GEN-station-NOM
 ‘port’
- (63) tav-∅-mjdomare
 head-DAT-sitter-NOM
 ‘chairman, head, chief’
- (64) xel-∅-nac'er-i
 hand-INST-written-NOM
 ‘manuscript’
- (65) t'ol-amxanag-i
 age.mate-comrade-NOM
 ‘comrade’
- (66) sik'vdil-sicocxle
 death-life
 ‘life-or-death’
- (67) col-švil-i
 wife-child-NOM
 ‘nuclear family [for a man]’
- (68) šubl-tetr-i
 forehead-white-NOM
 ‘one characterized by having a white forehead’
- (69) (a) gor-mayal-i
 hill-tall-NOM
 ‘high hill’
- (b) cvet'-i-cxovel-i

- column-NOM-living-NOM
 ‘living column’ (also the name of a cathedral)
- (c) t'aba-xmel-i
 lake-dried-NOM
 ‘dry lake’ (Šanižé 1973: 154)
- (70) (a) mam-is megobar-i
 father-GEN friend-NOM
 ‘father’s friend’
 (b) *mam-i megobar-i
 (c) *mam megobar-i
- (71) Nominative gr3el-i sit'q'va ‘long word’
 Narrative gr3el-ma sit'q'va-m
 Dative gr3el sit'q'va-s
 Genitive gr3el-i sit'q'v-is
 Instrumental gr3el-i sit'q'v-it
 Adverbial gr3el sit'q'va-d
- (72) (a) šav-k'liav-i
 black-plum-NOM
 variety of plum
 (b) 3vir-pas-i
 expensive-price-NOM
 ‘precious’

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

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

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

- (73) u-švil-o
 les₁-child-less₂
 ‘childless’
- (74) sa-st'umr-o
 for₁-guest-for₂.NOM
 ‘hotel’

švil-o ‘oh, child’

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

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

vin-aoba ‘identity’ (from vin ‘who?’)

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

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

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

imis-iani 'her-ite (REMOTE)', *imis-nairi* 'like her (REMOTE)', *imis-odeni* 'as many/ much as she (REMOTE)', *imis-euli* 'having once belonged to her (REMOTE)', *amis-tana* 'comparable to this (PROXIMAL)' *magis-eburi* 'like that (MEDIAL)', *imis-peri* 'like it (REMOTE, dialectal)', *imis(i)-šesaperi* 'comparable to it (REMOTE)', *sa-imis-o* 'for that (REMOTE)' (with the circumfix *sa--o* 'for the purpose of; location of'
am-gvari 'this kind (of)', *im-nairi* 'that kind (of)'
merabis-iani 'Merab-ite', *gelas-nairi* 'like Gela', *gelas-odeni* 'as many as Gela', *kint'onis-nairi* 'like Clinton', *dedis-euli* 'having once belonged to Mother'

- (76) ak'ak'i c'eretl-is saxl-muzeum-ši viq'avi gušin, da vnaxe
 Akaki Cereteli-GEN house-museum-in I.am yesterday and I.see
 imis-eul-i /ak'ak'-is-eul-i sac'eri magida
 REMOTE-BELONG-NOM Akaki-GEN-BELONG-NOM writing table-NOM
 'I was in Akaki Cereteli_i's house-museum yesterday, and I saw the writing table that once belonged to him_i/ to Akaki_i.'

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

- (77) č'ianč'vela tav-is-oden-a t'virt-s miatrevda
 ant.NOM self-GEN-QUAN-HAVING load-DAT it.carry
 'The ant was carrying a load as big as itself.'
- (78) (a) giorgi-m tav-is-nair-i aušena megobar-s
 Giorgi-NAR self-GEN-type-NOM he.build.it.for.him friend-DAT
 'Giorgi_i built his friend one like his_i.'
 (b) giorgi-m tav-is-i msgavs-i aušena megobar-s
 Giorgi-NAR self-GEN-NOM similar-NOM he.build.it.for.him friend-DAT
 'Giorgi_i built his_i friend one like his_i.'
- (79) merab-i čamovida tbilis-ši tav-is-ian-eb-tan ertad
 Merab-GEN he.come Tbilisi-in self-GEN-DERIV-with together
 'Merab_i arrived in Tbilisi together with him_i-ites.'

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

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

gvar-i ‘type’, *per-i* ‘color’, and *šesaper-i* ‘corresponding’
deda-čem-i ‘my mother’, *deda-šen-i* ‘your (SG) mother’, *deda-misi* ‘her mother’
šen-ian-i ‘you-ite’, *mis-ian-i* ‘her-ite’, *tavis-ian-i* ‘self-ite’, *vis-ian-i* ‘who-ite?’, *aravis-ian-i* ‘no one-ite’
am-γam-indel-i ‘until this evening (tonight)’, *im-žam-indel-i* ‘until that time’, or *rod-indel-i* ‘until when?’

- (80) es imis-ian-i-a
 this her.REMOTE.GEN-ite-NOM-is
 ‘she is a him-ite’
- (81) buš-i čamovida sakartvelo-ši tav-is-ian-eb-tan ertad
 Bush-NOM arrive Georgia-in self-GEN-ite-PL-with together
 ‘Bush arrived in Georgia with self-ites.’
- (82) buš(-is-i)an-eb-i čamovidnen
 Bush-GEN-ite-PL-NOM arrive
 ‘Bush-ites arrived.’

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

- (83) sa-amis-o pul-i ara makvs
 for.it.REMOTE money-NOM NEG I.have
 ‘I don’t have money for that.’
- (84) Nominative šen-i megobar-i ‘your (SG) friend’
 Narrative šen-ma megobar-ma
 Dative šen(-s) megobar-s
 Genitive šen-i megobr-is
 Instrumental šen-i megobr-it
 Adverbial šen megobr-ad
- (85) Nominative šen-nair-i megobar-i ‘a friend like you’
 Narrative šen-nair-ma megobar-ma
 Dative šen-nair megobar-s
 Genitive šen-nair-i megobr-is
 Instrumental šen-nair-i megobr-it
 Adverbial šen-nair megobr-ad

- (86) Nominative šen-ian-i ‘you-ite’
 Narrative šen-ian-ma
 Dative šen-ian-s
 Genitive šen-ian-is
 Instrumental šen-ian-it
 Adverbial šen-ian-ad
- (87) axalux- da šarval-čacmuli (Šaniže 1973)
 shirt- and pants-dressed
 ‘[man] dressed in shirt and pants’
- (88) (a) eseni čem-ian-eb-i da šen-ian-eb-i-a
 these.PL.NOM me-ite-PL-NOM and you-ite-PL-NOM-be
 ‘They (PROXIMAL) are me-ites and you-ites.’
 (b) *eseni čem- da šen-ian-eb-i-a
 these.PL.NOM me- and you-ite-PL-NOM-be
 ‘They (PROXIMAL) are me-ites and you-ites.’
- (89) (a) is čem-nairi da čem-iani-a
 she me-like and me-ite-is
 ‘She is like me and a me-ite.’
 (b) *is čem-nairi da -iani-a
 she me-like and -ite-is
 ‘She is like me and a me-ite.’
- (90) klint'on-is-ve *klint'on-is-ve-ian-i
 Clinton-GEN-same Clinton-GEN-same-ite-NOM
 ‘Clinton’s indeed’ ‘precisely a Clinton-ite’
- imis-ve *imis-ve-ian-i
 her-same her-same-ite-NOM
 ‘precisely hers’ ‘precisely a her-ite’
- ded-is-ve *ded-is-ve-eul-i
 mother-GEN-same mother-GEN-same-belonging-NOM
 ‘precisely mother’s’ ‘having once belonged precisely to mother’
- *imis-ve-eul-i
 ‘having once belonged precisely to her’
- merab-is-ve *merab-is-ve-ebur-i
 Merab-GEN-same Merab-GEN-same-LIKE-NOM
 ‘precisely Merab’s’ ‘like Merab precisely’
- *imis-ve-ebur-i
 her-same-LIKE-NOM
- (91) gamsaxurdia čemi saq'vareli mc'erali-a, da u-am-mc'eral-o-d kartuli
 Gamsaxurdia my favorite writer-is and less₁-this-writer-less₂-ADV Georgian

lit'erat'ura c'armoudgenili-a
literature unimaginable-is

'[Konstantine] Gamsaxurdia_i is my favorite writer, and without this_i writer Georgian literature is unimaginable.'

- (92) merab-i k'maq'opil-i-a u-am-c'ign-o-d
Merab-NOM satisfied-NOM-is less₁-this-book-less₁-ADV
'Merab is satisfied these-books-less.'

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

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

- (95) (a) am supiks-i
this suffix-NOM
'this suffix'
(b) u-am-supiks-o-d-aa
less₁-PROXIMAL-suffix-less₂-ADV-is
'this-suffix-less'

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

ertad
together

'My nephew (lit. sister_i's child) came to visit, and s/he_{i,j} came with him.'

- (97) ?sa-megrel_i-o-a, magram isini_i umciresoba arian
for₁-Mingrelian-for₂-is but they minority be
'It is Mingrelia (lit. place of the Mingrelians_i) but they_i are [in] the minority.'

- (98) (a) ojax-is-tav-i
family-GEN-head-NOM
'head of the family'
(b) er-is-tav-i
people-GEN-head-NOM
'commander-in-chief; district superintendent'
(c) kin₃-is-tav-i
coriander-GEN-head-NOM
'pin, brooch'

- (99) (a) im-yam-indel-i
that-night-SUF-NOM
'from the time of that night' 'until that night'
(b) am-dro-indel-i

- this-time-SUF-NOM
 ‘dating from this time’ ‘until this time’
- (100) (a) am zmn-is c'in dgas zedsartav-i
 this verb-GEN before stand adverb-NOM
 ‘an adverb stands before this verb’
- (b) zmn-is-c'in-i
 verb-GEN-before-NOM
 ‘preverb’
- (c) *am-zmn-is-c'in-i
 this-verb-GEN-before-NOM
 ‘pre-this-verb’
- (d) es zmn-is-c'in-i
 this.NOM verb-GEN-before-NOM
 ‘this preverb’ (not ‘the preverb before this verb’)
- (101) (a) lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i
 bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
 ‘bread containing beans’
- (b) *am-lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i
 this-bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
 ‘bread containing these beans’
- (c) es lobi-an-i xač'ap'ur-i
 this.NOM bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
 ‘this bread containing beans’
- (102) am bič'-is xač'ap'ur-i Phrase
 this boy-GEN cheese.bread-NOM
 ‘this boy’s cheese-bread’
- (103) *am-den-i*, *am-oden-i*, and *am-oden-a* (all) ‘this many, this much, of this size’
- (104) *mag-den-i*, *mag-oden-i*, *mag-oden-a*, **mag-den-a* (all) ‘that (MEDIAL) many /much, of that size’
- (105) *čem-nair-i* ‘like me’, *šen-nair-i* ‘like you (SG)’, *imis-nair-i* ‘like him, her, it (REMOTE)’,
čven-nair-i ‘like us’, and *tkven-niar-i* ‘like you (PL)’, but *?imat-nair-i* ‘like them
(REMOTE)’
- (106) *čem-per-i* ‘like me’, *šen-per-i* ‘like you (SG)’, *amis-per-i* ‘like him, her, it (PROXIMATE)’,
čven-per-i ‘like us’, *tkven-per-i* ‘like you (PL)’, **amat-per-i* ‘like them (PROXIMATE)’
- (107) *sa-amis-o* ‘for him/her/it (PROXIMATE)’ and *sa-imis-o* ‘for him/her/it (REMOTE)’, *sa-*
st'umr-o ‘hotel’ (lit. ‘for guest’), **sa-čem(is)-o* ‘for me’, **sa-šen(is)-o* ‘for you’
- (108) *-ian-i*: *gela-s-ian-i* ‘Gela-ite’, *šen-ian-i* ‘you-ite’, *vis-ian-i* ‘who-ite?’, *aravis-ian-i* ‘no
one-ite’, **q'velas-ian-i* ‘everyone-ite’
- (109) *mam-i-da* [father-’s-sister] ‘paternal aunt’, *deida* ‘maternal aunt’, **vi(s)-da* ‘whose sister?’,
**tav-i(s)-da* ‘self’s sister’
- (110) (a) u-čem-o
 less₁-me-less₂
 ‘me-less’
- (b) čem-ian-i
 me-ite-NOM
 ‘me-ite’

- (c) *u-čem-ian-o
 less₁-me-ite-less₂
 'me-ite-less'
- (111) imis-ian-i
 him.gen-ite-nom
 '*himite'
- (112) u-šen-o
 less₁-you.sg-less₂
 '*youless'
- (113) mat-gan-i
 them-from-NOM
 '[one] of them'
- (114) bag-is-mier-i
 lip-gen-by-nom
 'labial'
- (115) v-i-tval-is-c'in-eb
 1.sg-refl-eye-gen-before-sm
 'I am examining it.'
- (116) ert-ze-met'-marcvl-ian-i
 one-on-more-syllable-ite-nom
 'polysyllabic'
- (117) p'ir-da-p'ir [face-and-face] 'straight, direct, opposite one another'
 sxva-da-sxva [other-and-other] 'various'
 tav-da-p'irveli [head-and-first] 'original, initial'
- (118) oc-da-or-i
 20-and-2-NOM
 'twenty-two'

Comparative data on circumfixes

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

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

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

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

natesav-i *at-otx-met'-i* (Mt. 1:17)

generation-NOM ten-four-more-NOM
 ‘fourteen generations’

Svan (data from Topuria 1967:82)

<i>yešd/ yešt'</i>	‘ten’
<i>ešxu</i> ‘one’	(y) <i>ešd-ešxu</i> ‘eleven’ / <i>ešt'-ešxu</i>
<i>yori</i> ‘two’	(y) <i>ešd-yori/ ešt'-yeri</i> ‘twelve’
<i>semi</i> ‘three’	(y) <i>ešd-semi</i> ‘thirteen’ etc.

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

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

Old Georgian *sa-qel-i* ‘sleeve’
 SA-arm-NOM

Modern Georgian *sa-xel-o*

- e: *sa-katm-e* ‘chicken coop’, from *katam-* ‘chicken’
- et: *sa-prang-et-i* ‘France’
- is: *sa-cxen-isa* ‘horse barn’, from *cxen-* ‘horse’, *-isa* GEN
- svan-et-i* ‘place where the Svans live’, *somx-et-i* ‘Armenia’, from *somex-i* ‘Armenian’
- perd-o* ‘slope (of a mountain)’ *perd-i* ‘side (of the body), flank’
- gverd-o* ‘very steep place’ *gverd-i* ‘side, flank’

mi-dye-mdis (L 1:20Ad)
 thither-day-until
 ‘until that day’

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

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

Mingrelian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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