Some data from the project “Synchrony and Diachrony of the Word in Georgian”
Alice C. Harris, P.I.

(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 [Šaniège 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 3lier-i-a
man-NOM self-GEN-NOM friend-PL.GEN-from-INST strong-NOM-he.is
‘A man, with [some of] hisi 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) mecnireba-ta ak’ademia
14. kal-ta saertašoriso dye
   woman-PL.GEN international day.NOM
   ‘International Women’s Day’

15. (a) †megobar-ta saxl-i
       friend-PL.GEN house-NOM
       ‘[my] friends’ house’

(b) megobr-eb-is saxl-i
    friend-PL-GEN house-GEN
    ‘[my] friends’ house’

16. megobr-is gan ‘from a/the friend’ Singular with short genitive.
    megobr-isa gan ‘from a/the friend’ Singular with long genitive.
    megobr-eb-is gan ‘from (the) friends’ Plural with short genitive.
    megobr-eb-isa gan ‘from (the) friends’ Plural with long genitive.
    †megobar-ta gan ‘from (the) friends’ -ta genitive plural; archaic.

17. *megobr-is-gan-i
    *megobr-isa-gan-i
    *megobr-eb-is-gan-i
    *megobr-eb-isa-gan-i
    megobar-ta-gan-i ‘of (the) friends’ Not archaic or formal.

18. (a) sit’q’v-eb-is sint’aksuri k’avširi c’inadadeba-ši (KEGL IV, 1014)
      word-PL-GEN syntactic union sentence-in
      ‘the syntactic joining of words in a sentence’

(b) ...činet-is k’avširi (KEGL IV, 1015)
    China-GEN union
    ‘the Chinese union’

(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 ʒma-m gaak’etes
      sister.NOM and brother-NAR they.do.it
      ‘The sister and brother did it.’
(b) *da-m da ʒma gaak’etes
   sister-NAR and brother-NOM they.do.it
   ‘The sister and brother did it.’
(c) da-m də ʒma-m gaak’etes
   sister-NAR and brother-NAR they.do.it
   ‘The sister and brother did it.’

(22) (a) *disšvil da ʒmisšvil-i movlen
   sister’s.child and brother’s.child-NOM they.come
   ‘The niece and the nephew will come.’
(b) *disšvil-i da ʒmisšvil movlen
   sister’s.child-NOM and brother’s.child they.come
   ‘The niece and the nephew will come.’
(c) disšvil-i da ʒmisšvil-i movlen
   sister’s.child-NOM and brother’s.child-NOM they.come
   ‘The niece and the nephew will come.’

(23) gamq’reliʒ-isa da mač’avarian-is mier
   Gamq’reliʒe-GEN and Mač’avariani-GEN by
   ‘by Gamq’reliʒe and Mad’avariani’

(24) d-isa da ʒm-isa gan miverye
   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’alāže 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]

   caul-NOM, liver-GEN, sin-GEN for-GEN, the caul of the liver of the sin offering’

    then Judaea-GEN-PL.NOM they.flee mountain-ADV
   ‘Then let [those] in (lit. of) Judea flee into the mountains.’

    whose shawl-INST you.come grandmother-GEN-INST
   ‘With whose shawl have you come? — With Grandmother’s.’

(32) (a) igini huriastan-isa-ni
    those.PL.NOM Judea-GEN-PL.NOM
    ‘those of Judea’
(b) X-ni huriastan-isa-ni
(33) (a) bebia-s źal-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 hired.servant-PL.GEN you.SG GEN from-NOM


(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 Abulaţe 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.’


(39) er-isa-gan-ta mat mtavr-isa-ta c’ariq’vanes iesu
people-GEN-from-PL.NAR the.OBL governor-GEN-PL.NAR they.take.him Jesus.NOM

‘Some of the soldiers of the governor took Jesus.’ [Mt 27:27AB]

(40) masal-eb-i lazur-i zep’irsit’q’viereb-isa tvis
material-PL-NOM laz-GEN oral.literature-GEN for

‘Materials on (lit. for) Laz traditional oral literature’

(41) (a) is saxl-i am źenob-is uk’an mxat’vr-eb-is at’elie-a
that house-GEN 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 źenob-is uk’an-i mxat’vr-eb-is at’elie-a
that house-GEN this building-GEN behind-NOM painter-PL.GEN studio.NOM-it.is

(44) nazmnar-i saxel-is mier saxel-is martva brunva ši
developer-NOM noun-GEN by noun-GEN government.NOM case in
udur ena ši [title, Panĉviţe 1960]
Udi.DAT language.DAT in

‘Government of a noun in a case by a deverbal noun in the Udi language’

(45) ...gansazyveba... c’in u3yvis mis mier gansazyvrul sit’q’va-s modifier.NOM before it.precede it.GEN by modified word-DAT

‘The modifier precedes the word modified by it.’ [K’alaţe 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 ẓm-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  zm-isa-s
no sister-GEN-DAT and brother-GEN-DAT
‘No (the) sister’s and brother’s.’

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<th>Case markers</th>
<th>Proximal 3rd singular, ‘he, she, it’</th>
<th>Distal 3rd singular, ‘he, she, it’</th>
<th>Remote 3rd singular, ‘he, she, it’</th>
<th>Question word, ‘who?’</th>
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<td>Dative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
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<td>amis</td>
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<td>imis</td>
</tr>
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<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>amit</td>
<td>magit</td>
<td>imit</td>
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Table 1. Comparison of the form of case markers (as they appear on nouns) with the forms of selected pronouns in Modern Georgian (omitting the long forms of cases).

(47) (a) bavšv-ma c’ign-i c’aik’itxa
child-NAR book-NOM he.read.it
‘The child read a book.’
(b) c’ign-i romel-ma bavšv-ma c’aik’itxa?
book-NOM which-NAR child-NAR he.read.it
‘Which child read a book?’

(48) (a) *am megob(a)r=ve=isa gan
this.OBL friend=EMPH-GEN from
‘from this very friend’
(b) *am megob(a)r=gan=isa=ve
c
(c) *am megob(a)r=gan=ve=isa
d
(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?’
(51a) is ungrammatical for all speakers. My less normative consultants found (51b) ungrammatical also, but accepted (51c).

(52)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 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) čeven-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-γone [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
Adverbal 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-0/-mucel-i (KEGL)
pig-GEN-stomach-NOM
‘a person who eats a great deal’
(b) cxvir-0/-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-0/-mjdomare
head-DAT-sitter-NOM
‘chairman, head, chief’

(64) xel-0-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-maγal-i
hill-tall-NOM
‘high hill’
(b) cvet’-i-cxovel-i
'living column’ (also the name of a cathedral)

column-NOM-living-NOM

‘dry lake’ (Šaniže 1973: 154)
lake-dried-NOM

t’aba-xmel-i

‘father’s friend’
father-GEN friend-NOM

*mam-i megobar-i

‘father’s friend’
mam-is megobar-i

‘father’s friend’
mam megobar-i

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

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)

u-švil-o

les1-child-less2 ‘childless’

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’
I gave Merab ten books, and now he has as many as I.

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

I was in Akaki Cereteli’s house-museum yesterday, and I saw the writing table that once belonged to him/to Akaki.’

vis-ianiebi ‘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-odeni ‘as much/ many as self’; aravis-iani ‘no-one-ite’, aravis-nairi ‘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’

The ant was carrying a load as big as itself.’

(a) giorgi-m tav-is-nair-i aušena megobar-s
Giorgi-NAR self-GEN-type-NOM he.build.it.for.him friend-DAT
‘Giorgi, built his friend one like his.’

(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, built his friend one like his.’

Merab, arrived in Tbilisi together with him-ites.’

šen-nairi ‘like you, your type’, imis-nairi ‘like her (REMOTE)’, tavis-nairi ‘like oneself’, rana-nairi ‘what kind of?’, aravis-nairi ‘like no one, unlike anyone’, q’velas-nairi ‘like everyone, like everything’
šen-odeni ‘as many as you [have, represent]’, imis-odeni ‘as many as she (REMOTE)’, tavis-odeni ‘as many as oneself’, vis-odeni ‘as many as who?’, aravis-odeni ‘as many as no one’, q’velas-odeni ‘as many as everyone’
gvar-ı ‘type’, per-ı ‘color’, and šesaper-ı ‘corresponding’
deda-čem-ı ‘my mother’, deda-šen-ı ‘your (SG) mother’, deda-misi ‘her mother’
am-γam-indel-ı ‘until this evening (tonight)’, im-žam-indel-ı ‘until that time’, or rod-indel-ı ‘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
Nominative šen-ian-i ‘you-ite’
Narrative šen-ian-ma
Dative šen-ian-s
Gentive šen-ian-is
Instrumental šen-ian-it
Adverbal šen-ian-ad

axalux- da šarval-čacmul (Šaniže 1973)
shirt- and pants-dressed
‘[man] dressed in shirt and pants’

(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.’

(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.’

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

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
‘[Konstantine] Gamsaxurdia, is my favorite writer, and without this, writer Georgian literature is unimaginable.’

Merab is satisfied these-books-less.

‘...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, suffix are ordinarily this-suffix-less.

My nephew (lit. sisteri’s child) came to visit, and s/he came with him.’

‘It is Mingrelia (lit. place of the Mingrelians,) but they, are [in] the minority.’

‘from the time of that night’ ‘until that night’
this-time-SUF-NOM
‘dating from this time’ ‘until this time’

(100) (a) am zmн-is c’in dgas zedsartav-i
this verb-GEN before stand adverb-NOM
‘an adverb stands before this verb’
(b) zmн-is-c’in-i
verb-GEN-before-NOM
‘preverb’
(c) *am-zmн-is-c’in-i
this-verb-GEN-before-NOM
‘pre-this-verb’
(d) es zmн-is-c’in-i
this.NOM verb-GEN-before-NOM
‘this preverb’ (not ‘the preverb before this verb’)

(101) (a) lobi-an-i xač’ap’ur-i
bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
‘bread containing beans’
(b) *am-lobi-an-i xač’ap’ur-i
this-bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
‘bread containing these beans’
(c) es lobi-an-i xač’ap’ur-i
this.NOM bean-HAVING-NOM cheese.bread-NOM
‘this bread containing beans’

(102) am bič’-is xač’ap’ur-i
this boy-GEN cheese.bread-NOM
‘this boy’s cheese-bread’

(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)’,
čen-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)’,
čen-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’
(109) mam-i-da [father’s-sister] ‘paternal aunt’, deida ‘maternal aunt’, *vi(s)-da ‘whose sister?’,
*tav-и(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
'*hinite'

(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
l.sg.refl.eye-gen-before-sm
'I am examining it.'

(116) ert-ze-met'-marcvl-ian-i
one-on-more-syllable-ite-nom
'polysyllabic'

(117) p'ir-da-p'ir [face-and-face] 'straight, direct, opposite one another'
sxva-da-sxva [other-and-other] 'various'
tav-da-p'irveli [head-and-first] 'original, initial'

(118) oc-da-or-i
20-and-2-NOM
'twenty-two'

Comparative data on circumfixes

Georgian  
me--e agentive: me-bay-e ‘gardener’, from the root bay- ‘garden’

sa--o place: sa-sadil-o ‘dining room, cafeteria’ from sadil- ‘(midday) dinner’

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

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

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

natesav-i  at-otx-met’-i (Mt. 1:17)
generation-NOM ten-four-more-NOM ‘fourteen generations’

Svan (data from Topuria 1967:82)
yešd/ yešt’ ‘ten’
ešxu ‘one’ /ešt’-ešxu ‘eleven’
yori ‘two’ /ešt’-yeri ‘twelve’
semi ‘three’ /yešt’-semi ‘thirteen’ etc.

Zan (data from Chikobava 1938:212-214, 218-219)
viti ‘ten’
arti ‘one’
žuri Laz, žiri Ming. vit’-o-žur ‘twelve’ (<*vit-do-žur)
sumi ‘three’

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

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

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

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

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

\( i\)-\( tas\)-\( e\)-\( n \) \hspace{1cm} a\(-\)\( tas\)-\( e\)-\( n \)
\( I\)-sow-TM-3SG \hspace{1cm} A\(-\)sow-TM-3SG
‘it can be sown’ \hspace{1cm} ‘she can sow it’

\( i\)-\( tas\)-\( u\)-\( n \) \hspace{1cm} a\(-\)\( tas\)-\( u\)-\( n \)
\( I\)-sow-TM-3SG \hspace{1cm} A\(-\)sow-TM-3SG
‘it is sown’ \hspace{1cm} ‘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’

\( i\)-\( č\)'\( er\)-\( s \) \hspace{1cm} a\(-\)\( č\)'\( er\)-\( in\)-\( eb\)-\( s \)
REFL-catch-3SG \hspace{1cm} CAUS-catch-CAUS-TM-3SG
‘she catches it’ \hspace{1cm} ‘she causes someone to catch it’

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

\( da\)-\( u\)-\( č\)'\( er\)-\( in\)-\( eb\)-\( i\)-\( a \) \hspace{1cm} da\(-\)\( m\)-\( i\)-\( č\)'\( er\)-\( in\)-\( eb\)-\( i\)-\( a \)
ASP-3SG-catch-CAUS-TM-I-3SG \hspace{1cm} ASP-1SG-I-catch-CAUS-TM-I-3SG
‘she has evidently caused someone to catch it’ \hspace{1cm} ‘I have evidently caused...’

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