

GEORGIAN: ERGATIVE OR ACTIVE?

B. G. HEWITT

Hull University, England

1. Introduction

Although the existence of ergativity has been known since nearly the beginning of the last century, widespread awareness of the phenomenon really dates only from the 1860s, when Uslar began publishing his works on the indigenous languages of the Caucasus, with which group of languages this feature has been particularly associated ever since (cf. Catford (1975,1976)). It is, therefore, rather surprising that in recent years it has become fashionable to seek to prove that this or that Caucasian language does not in fact provide any evidence of ergativity – e.g. Paris (1979) for Adyghe (North West Caucasian), Mel'čuk (1983) for Lezgian (North East Caucasian), both Klimov (1977) and Harris (1981,1982) for Georgian (South Caucasian), and again Harris (1985) for Georgian and its sister-languages. It is Harris' activity-hypothesis that I wish to re-examine below, since the active-interpretation of the relevant phenomena in Georgian seems to be gaining favour (Merlan (1985)) and may easily become the definitive view amongst general linguists who, having no personal knowledge of the language(-family), will be unable to question its validity. The following defence of the traditional Ergative-interpretation will expand the basic arguments I have already given against Harris' proposal (Hewitt (1983a)) and amplify existing suggestions and observations (cf. Fähnrich (1967), Anderson (1977), Boeder (1979)) on how a language with the particular ergative characteristics manifested by Georgian might shift the relevant features in the direction of either an active or nominative(–accusative) configuration.

2. Case-marking and verb-agreement in Georgian

For the argumentation to be clear, it is first of all necessary to sketch the complex facts of case-marking and verb-agreement in Georgian. Three cases

must be distinguished for the marking of the verb's central arguments (A, S, O and I[ndirect] O[bject] – where the term 'subject' appears below, it is used as a cover for A and S): (i) the case in *-i* ($-\emptyset$ for vowel-final stems) is the NOM(inative); (ii) the case in *-s* is the DAT(ive), and (iii) the case in *-ma* (*-m* for vowel-final stems) is styled *motxrobiti* (= NARR[ative]) in Georgian. The two sets of agreement-affixes are:

	Set α		
	Singular	Plural	
1st person	v-	v-	-t
2nd person	\emptyset (/x ¹)-	\emptyset (/x)-	-t
3rd person	-s/a/o		-(a/e)n/es/nen
	Set β		
1st person	m-	gv-	
2nd person	g-	g-	-t
3rd person	(s/h/) \emptyset - ²	(s/h) \emptyset -	(-t) ³

The following patterns for combinations of case-marking and verb-agreement are then identifiable:

	A/S	O	IO
Pattern A	-m(α)	-i(β)	-s(β)
Pattern B	-i(α)	-s(β)	-s(β)
Pattern C	-s(β)	-i(α)	-tvis ⁴

It is now necessary to distinguish three series of 'screeves' (= tense-mood paradigms): Series I incorporates PRES(ent) INDIC(ative), PRES SUBJ(unctive), IMPERF(ect), FUT(ure) INDIC, FUT SUBJ, and CONDIT(ional);

¹ The fricative is restricted to the PRES of the copula, and to the FUT, CONDIT and AOR of *svla* 'come/go'.

² These bracketed prefixes are phonetically conditioned variants and correlate only with IOs or As standing in the DAT.

³ This bracketed suffix may only correlate with (predominantly) rational NPs functioning as As or as IOs with bi-valent intransitive verbs.

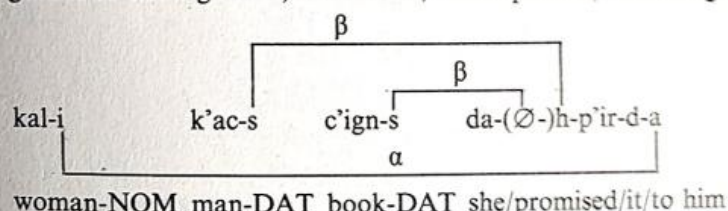
⁴ This postposition means 'for' and governs a noun in the GEN(itive) case; no-verb-agreement is possible.

Series II incorporates AOR(ist) INDIC and SUBJ; Series III incorporates PERF(ect), PLUP(erfect), and IIIrd SUBJ. And given four verb-classes, the patterns of case-marking and verb-agreement are distributed thus:

	Series		
	I	II	III
Class 1	B	A	C
Class 2	B	B	B
Class 3	B	A	C
Class 4	C	C	C

Class 4 verbs are affective predicates (verbs of feeling, such as 'love', and perception such as 'hear', 'understand'), and will be but briefly discussed below, as they do not concern the relevant area of grammar to be examined. Class 1 verbs are regular (bi- or tri-valent) transitives in the active voice. Class 2 verbs are simple intransitives, including the passive transforms of Class 1 verbs.⁵ Contrasting the configurations for Class 1 and Class 2 verbs in each of the screeval Series produces the following concrete picture:

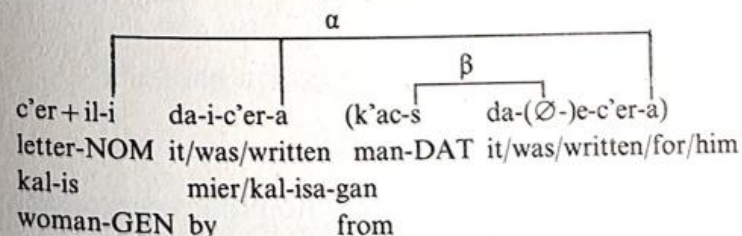
⁵ Pattern B specifies marking for O, but, since intransitive verbs have no such argument, this component of pattern B is simply irrelevant for *most* Class 2 verbs – there are, however, some exceptional Class 2 verbs which are bi- or tri-valent, where one of the DAT nominals may be regarded as the logical O, the second, where present, as the logical IO, e.g.:



woman-NOM man-DAT book-DAT she/promised/it/to him

'The woman promised the book to the man.'

Any monovalent Class 2 verb may become bi-valent by the addition of an IO, DAT noun. Under passivisation the deep A stands in the GEN, being governed by either the postposition *mier* 'by' or the secondary case-marker *-gan* 'from', and it imposes no concord-feature on its verb, e.g.:



letter-NOM it/was/written man-DAT it/was/written/for/him

kal-is mier/kal-isa-gan

woman-GEN by from

'The letter was written (for the man) by the woman.'

Series I (in the PRES)

- (1) α
 k'ac-i kal-s β (\emptyset -)k'l-av-s
 man-NOM woman-DAT he/kills/her
 'The man kills the woman.' Versus:

- (2) α
 k'ac-i k'vd-eb-a
 NOM he/dies
 'The man dies.'

Series II (in the AOR)

- (3) α
 k'ac-ma kal-i β mo-(\emptyset -)k'l-a
 NARR AOR
 'The man killed the woman.' Versus:

- (4) α
 k'ac-i mo-k'vd-a
 NOM AOR
 'The man died.'

Series III (in the PERF)

- (5) β α
 k'ac-s kal-i mo-(\emptyset -)u-k'l-av-s
 DAT NOM PERF
 'The man apparently killed the woman.' Versus:

- (6) α
 k'ac-i mo-m-k'vd-ar-a
 NOM PERF
 'The man apparently died.'

This reveals that Series I is characterised by the nominative-accusative configuration (A and S in the NOM with α -concord, O in the DAT with β -

concord); Series III by the ergative-absolutive configuration (S and O in the NOM with α -concord, A in the DAT with β -concord); Series II by a 'split' configuration (cf. Dixon (1979: 91 ff.)), such that case-marking manifests ergative-absolutivity (A in the NARR vs. S and O in the NOM//Absolutive) whilst concord shews nominative-accusativity (A and S take the α -set of affixes whilst O requires the β -set).

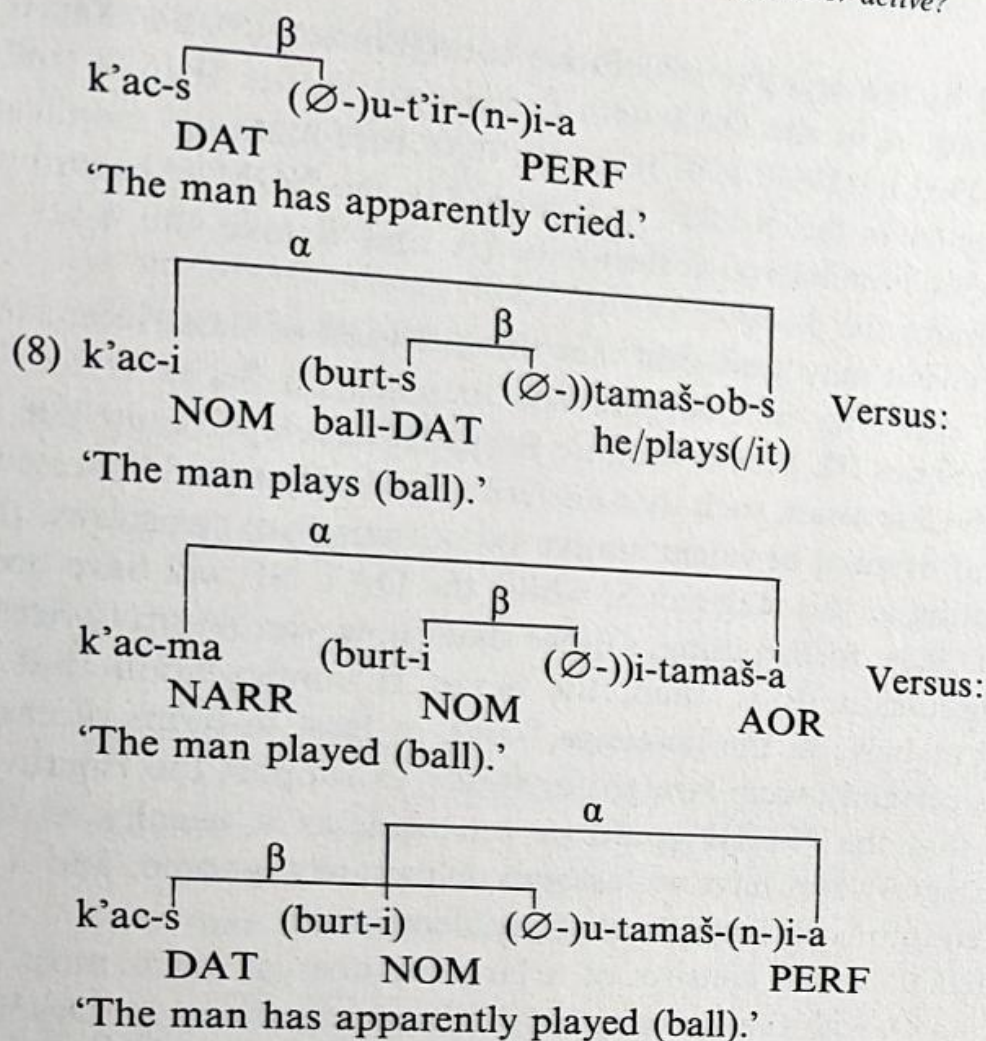
In view of the above it may seem odd that the attention of those interested in the question of ergativity in Georgian has focussed on Series II to the virtual disregard of Series III. This is because Series III developed quite late in the history of South Caucasian, such that Pattern C is simply styled 'inverted', having arisen out of original bi-valent stative (= intransitive) structures, the NOM NP representing at this stage an S, whilst the DAT NP will have been the IO (cf. Hewitt (1983a, forthcoming, a)); we shall, however, return to Series III later in the discussion. It is, then, the Series II configuration that is generally regarded as basic in the language,⁶ and, at least in terms of case-marking, this does certainly seem straightforwardly to support the Ergative-interpretation, so that the NARR could be renamed, as it usually is, the ERG(ative). But Class 3 verbs have so far been deliberately ignored, and it is when they are taken into consideration that problems arise.

Class 3 (the 'Medial' verbs) consists of a large number of verbs most of which cannot take an O, with the minority only infrequently doing so. Despite this, their single argument takes the NARR/ERG case in Series II, and all Medials undergo inversion in Series III – in other words, they have the characteristics of transitive (Class 1) verbs whilst appearing to be intransitive, e.g.:

(7) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \text{k'ac-i} \quad \text{t'ir-i-s} \end{array}$ Versus:
man-NOM he/cries
'The man cries.'

$\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \text{k'ac-ma} \quad \text{i-t'ir-a} \end{array}$ Versus:
NARR AOR
'The man cried.'

⁶ For the likely origin of the Series I configuration see Aronson (1979) and Harris (1985: 151–165).



This overall pattern of case-marking and verb-agreement leads Harris (1981, 1985) to argue as follows: Class 1 verbs have semantically agentive subjects⁷ (i.e. subjects that act volitionally and are in control of events); two types of intransitive subject may be distinguished – agentive (S_A) and non-agentive (S_O), the former being typically Class 3 subjects, the latter typically those of Class 2; certain Class 3 verbs have a corresponding inceptive form that belongs to Class 2, being semantically inactive and non-controllable; it is, thus, not ergativity but 'activity' that determines case-marking in Series II (and also inversion in Series III); this semantic distinction is given formal expression within the framework of Relational Grammar by assigning Class 3 verbs an initial subject (S_A ?) – for those Medials which may accommodate an O, if this O is actually present, underlyingly we shall presumably have A + O – whereas 'inactive' intransitives (such as 'die') will be assigned only an initial O [sic!], which will be advanced to final subjecthood (S_O) by the 'Unaccusative' rule;

⁷ Experiencers and 'cognizers' (Harris (1981: 236)) are permitted to assimilate to agents, so that for example 'recognise' in Georgian is a Class 1 verb.

case-marking in Series II will assign $-m(a)$ to final subjects (A/S_A) that are also initial subjects (A/S_A) but $-i(\emptyset)$ to final subjects (and of course O) that are initial O (i.e. S_O); in consequence it is no longer necessary to distinguish Class 1 from Class 3.⁸ Appeal was then made (Harris (1982, 1985: 209–230)) to Old Georgian for support for the Active-hypothesis (specifically for the existence of the Unaccusative-rule): in Old Georgian the NOM plural ended in $-n-i$, and there was a rule of *EN*-agreement which introduced the marker $-(e)n$ into Series II verbs in the presence *only* of an initial O, whether this was final O or final S_O (and whether or not the ending $-n-i$ was formally present on the relevant nominal), e.g.:

- (9) β
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{EN} \\ \text{gw-i-q'id-EN} \quad \check{\text{C}}\text{UEN} \\ \text{you/redeemed/us} \quad \text{us[NOM]} \\ \text{'You redeemed us(= final O)'} \quad (\text{Rev. 5: 9}) \end{array}$
- (10) α
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{EN} \\ \text{MTA-N-I} \quad \text{da-bad-eb-ul} \quad \text{i-q'v-N-es} \\ \text{mountain-PL-NOM} \quad \text{created} \quad \text{they/were} \\ \text{'The mountains were created(= final } S_O \text{' (Psalms 89: 2))} \end{array}$

⁸ Harris' framework of Relational Grammar does not differentiate underlying A from S_A – I have added in brackets in this summary of Harris' proposals the appropriate symbols to conform with the editorial requirements of the present volume, whereas Harris herself talks only of 'subjects' etc... Further simplification is achieved as a result of Harris' analysis of inversion – a rule of 'Inversion' demotes initial subjects (A/S_A) to IO-position (thus to be marked by the DAT) in Series III (and, for Class 4 verbs, in Series I and II as well). 'Unaccusative' then applies to raise any initial O to become final S_O (and NOM marking). This means that we now need only two case-marking patterns:

	<i>Initial S/S_A</i>	<i>Initial O</i>	<i>Initial IO</i>
A	$-m(a)$	$-i/\emptyset$	$-s$
B	$-i/\emptyset$	$-s$	$-s$

distributed thus:

	<i>Series I</i>	<i>Series II</i>	<i>Series III</i>
Class 1/3	B	A	B
Class 2/4	B	B	B

I have argued elsewhere (Hewitt (1983a, forthcoming, a)) that this analysis of inversion is probably invalid synchronically and certainly is diachronically, where a re-interpretation has occurred resulting in the original DAT IO becoming A and the original NOM S becoming O, such that today the phenomenon of inversion is an anachronistic reflection of the earlier syntax (cf. fn. 16).

- (11) β α EN COL
 romel-ta (\emptyset -)e-sx-N-e-n wife[unmarked for case/
 who-DAT/PL they/be/to them/AOR SUBJ plurality]
 'Whoever may have wives(= final S₀)' (1 Cor. 7: 29)

whereas the following have no EN-agreement for final subjects that are also initial subjects (A and S_A respectively):

- (12) β α
 (\emptyset -)gm-es k'ac-ta saxel-i ymrt-isa-y
 they/blasphemed/it man-NARR/PL name-NOM God-GEN-NOM
 'The men blasphemed the name of God.' (Rev. 16: 21)
- (13) α
 i-si₃v-es q'ovel-ta mepe-ta
 they/fornicated all-NARR/PL king-NARR/PL
 'All the kings fornicated.' (Rev. 17: 2)

Such, in essence, is the case for 'activity' in Georgian. The case against it will now be advanced according to the following arguments: (i) there are *numerous* prototypically 'active' verbs which belong to Class 2 and therefore have a NOM S in Series II (and, of course, fail to undergo inversion in Series III); (ii) there is plenty of evidence from the dialects of the NARR case being used with non-agentive S; (iii) by no means all Class 3 verbs are semantically 'active' and cannot therefore require agentive S, though there *is* an explanation for why they should take an *ERG* A in Series II (and undergo inversion in Series III); (iv) it is inadequate grossly to characterise inceptives as 'inactive'; (v) the 1982-appeal to Old Georgian fails to give an adequate account of the relevant data, which do not in fact support the proposed hypothesis at all, and (vi) the inversion-evidence in Series III.

2.1. Argument (i)

There are three main types of Class 2 verbs, designated (*i/e*-)prefixal, (*d*-)suffixal and markerless according to their pattern of morphological exponency in Series I and II:⁹ the prefixal type have *i-* *-e/ob-a* (sometimes *i-* *-ev-a*

⁹ In Series III all three types merge either participle and copula, if monovalent, or masdar (verbal

and *i-* -em-a) in the 3rd person singular PRES (in the presence of an IO the *i*-prefix becomes *e-*), the suffixal end in *-d-eb-a*, the markerless end in *-eb-a*. Each of these sub-types, especially the *e*-prefixal, contains verbs that prototypically require an 'active' S, which is an embarrassment to those wishing to make case-marking in Series II sensitive to the 'active-inactive' opposition. The following list of examples (where *is* is the NOM, *man* the NARR, *mas* the DAT of the 3rd person singular pronoun) is in no way exhaustive (the PRES is added in brackets for later comparison with Class 3 formations):

(14) *Markerless*

- is* (*man) *a-dg-a* (*dg-eb-a*) 'X stood up'
is (*man) *da-c`v-a* (*c`v-eb-a*) 'X lay down'
is (*man) *da-žd-a* (*žd-eb-a*) 'X sat down'
is (*man) *mas ga-h-q`v-a* (*h-q`v-eb-a*) 'X went off with Y'
is (*man) *mas mo-h-q`v-a* (*h-q`v-eb-a*) 'X related Y'¹⁰
is (*man) *a-xt`-a* (*xt`-eb-a*) 'X jumped'

Suffixal

- is* (*man) *ča-cuck-d-a* (*cuck-d-eb-a*) 'X squatted down'
is (*man) *ča-q`uq`-d-a* (*q`uq`-d-eb-a*) 'X squatted down'
is (*man) *da-brun-d-a* (*brun-d-eb-a*) 'X returned'
is (*man) *da-kveit-d-a* (*kveit-d-eb-a*) 'X dismounted'
is (*man) *mas da-(Ø)-neb-d-a* ((Ø)-*neb-d-eb-a*) 'X yielded to Y'
is (*man) *mas ča-(Ø)-a-civ-d-a* ((Ø)-*a-civ-d-eb-a*) 'X pestered Y'
is (*man) *mas mo-(Ø)-šor-d-a* ((Ø)-*šor-d-eb-a*) 'X moved away from Y'
is (*man) *mas mas da-h-p`ir-d-a* (*h-p`ir-d-eb-a*) 'X promised Y to Z'¹¹

Prefixal

- is* (*man) *ga-i-č`ač`-a* (*i-č`ač`-eb-a*) 'X strained with all his might'
is (*man) *ga-i-p`ranč`-a* (*i-p`ranč`-eb-a*) 'X shewed off'
is (*man) *ga-i-naz-a* (*i-naz-eb-a*) 'X behaved coyly'
is (*man) *ga-i-pxor-a* (*i-pxor-eb-a*) 'X(e.g. turkey) ruffled its feathers'

noun) and copula, if bi-valent, though the PLUP and IIIrd SUBJ of bi-valent Class 2 verbs do not follow this pattern.

¹⁰ Also found even in Tbilisi-speech is *man is mo-h-q`v-a*, cf. *is mas mas* (and even *man is mas mo-(Ø)-u-q`v-a* 'X related Y to Z').

¹¹ Also found even in Tbilisi-speech is *man is mas da-h-p`ir-d-a*.

- is (*man) *ga-i-xizn-a* (*i-xizn-eb-a*) 'X went into exile'
- is (*man) *ga-i-p'ar-a* (*i-p'ar-eb-a*) 'X sneaked away'
- c/ is (*man) *ga-i-kc-a* (*i-ky'ev-a*) 'X ran off'
- is (*man) *ča-(Ø-)e-r-i-a* ((Ø-)e-r-*ev-a*) 'X got involved'
- is (*man) *mas ga-(Ø-)e-devn-a* ((Ø-)e-devn-*eb-a*) 'X pursued Y'
- is (*man) *mas ga-(Ø-)e-k'id-a* ((Ø-)e-k'id-*eb-a*) 'X pursued Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-č'id-a* ((Ø-)e-č'id-*eb-a*) 'X wrestled with Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-br₃ol-a* ((Ø-)e-br₃ol-*eb-a*) 'X began to fight Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-b-a* ((Ø-)e-b-m-*eb-a*) 'X began to fight Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-rk'in-a* ((Ø-)e-rk'in-*eb-a*) 'X began to fight Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-s-i-a* ((Ø-)e-s-*ev-a*) 'X attacked Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-c-a* ((Ø-)e-c-em-*a*) 'X attacked Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-c'i-a* ((Ø-)e-c'-*ev-a*) 'X caught up on Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-byauč-a* ((Ø-)e-byauč-*eb-a*) 'X gripped hold of Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-xvec'-a* ((Ø-)e-xvec'-*eb-a*) 'X besought Y'
- is (*man) *mas še-(Ø-)e-c'i-a* ((Ø-)e-c'-*ev-a*) 'X aided Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-xmar-a* ((Ø-)e-xmar-*eb-a*) 'X helped Y'
- is (*man) *mas mi-(Ø-)e-švel-a* ((Ø-)e-švel-*eb-a*) 'X helped Y'
- is (*man) *mas da-(Ø-)e-mx-o* ((Ø-)e-mx-ob-*a*) 'X bowed down to Y'
- is (*man) *mas mi-(Ø-)e-t'an-a* ((Ø-)e-t'an-*eb-a*) 'X reached out for Y'
- is (*man) *mas mo-(Ø-)e-šv-a* ((Ø-)e-šv-*eb-a*) 'X left Y alone'

Apart from the *many* other verbs that one could add to this list one should perhaps include here the irregular basic verb of motion:

is (*man) *c'a-vid-a* (*mi-di-s*) 'X went'

Sometimes a verb from this list is synonymous with a non-Class 2 verb formed on the same root (with *is mas mi-(Ø-)e-švel-a*, cf. *man mas (Ø-)u-švel-a*, both meaning 'X helped Y'). This suggests that we are not dealing with a semantically-based case-marking distinction but with a classification of verb-formations into transitive and intransitive groups, with each governing its own case-marking pattern (and morphology) in Series II (and III).

Harris was aware of anomalies of this type (though she singles out for specific mention (1985: 111) *only* the roots 'come/go', 'sit down', 'stand up' and 'lie down' as relevant exceptions) and argues that, whilst the anomalies may exist in the conservative literary dialect, in less conservative dialects the 'active' system in Series II has been regularised, as recognised by the native Georgian linguists Topuria (1923, 1954), Džadžanidze (1970) and Džorbenadze (1975). And indeed it is true that in many non-standard varieties of Georgian there *are* examples of the NARR case marking the S of 'active' (intransitive) verbs in Series II. But now is the time to turn to argument (ii).

2.2. *Argument (ii)*

The dialects present a most interesting and variegated picture of case-marking patterns both in Series II and Series I (See Boeder (1979) for a convenient summary). But it may be emphatically stated that *no* dialect has yet been shown consistently and obligatorily to differentiate 'active' from 'inactive' intransitive verbs in Series II by *always* using the NARR case with the former and the NOM case with the latter, as the hypothesis predicts should happen. And worse than this – examples are not hard to find of the NARR case marking the S of an unambiguously 'inactive' verb.

Let us take Gurian, a west Georgian dialect. Džadžanidze's name is chiefly associated with this dialect, which also figured in the works by Topuria referred to above. But the first commentator actually to introduce the term 'activity' (in Georgian *akt'iuroba*), though he did not define what he meant by it, as the explanation for Gurian's use of the NARR for Ss in Series II was Žyent'i (1936: 69). Now of the twenty verbs he styles 'active' intransitives eight are palpably 'inactive', including, for instance, 'die', 'grow fat', 'grow old' and 'become afraid', and in Džadžanidze's publications are found:

- (15) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \hline \text{še-c'ux-t-a} \quad \text{kal-ma} \end{array}$
 she/became/upset woman-NARR
 'The woman became upset(= suffixal)' (1977: 17)

- (16) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \hline \text{a-m-i-kankal-d-a} \quad \text{tval-e-ma} \end{array}$
 it/began/to flutter/for/me eye-PL-NARR
 'My eyes began to flutter(= suffixal)' (1970: 258)

In Džorbenadze's list of verbs with a 'functionally active' S (1975: 219) are: 'grow angry', 'grow rich', 'grow up', 'die', 'become a doctor', 'become', 'wither', etc... This last is in fact specifically mentioned by Harris (1985: 40) as an 'in-active' predicate! Sardžveladze, another commentator who has made reference to 'activity' in this context, provides the next example from Kartlian (central Georgia) (1975: 244, 1984: 569):

- (17) α
 upros-ma $\text{\textsubscript{3}}\text{ma-m}$... $\text{\textsubscript{3}}\text{alian}$ ga- γ arib-d-a
 elder brother-NARR very he/became/poor
 'The elder brother became very poor.'

He also quotes the following from Old Georgian in his discussion of the relevant phenomenon (1984: 570):

- (18) α β
 rom + el-man gan-(\emptyset -)u-risx-n-e-s $\text{\textsubscript{3}}\text{ma-sa}$ tw + is-sa
 who-NARR he/will/be angry/with him brother-DAT his own
 'Who will be angry with his brother.'

What these examples demonstrate is that, whilst an explanation must be sought for the dialectal use of the NARR case with Class 2 S in Series II, no solution based on the 'active'-'inactive' opposition can have any relevance.

2.3. *Argument (iii)*

For Harris Class 3 verbs are not merely intransitive (regardless of dialect) but typically *require* agentive subjects, having an obligatory initial subject (plus in some cases an optional O) that takes the NARR in Series II, by which they differ from 'inactive' intransitives, which have only an initial O, that becomes final S_0 in the NOM case.

It is clear from Holisky's thorough investigation of the properties of the Medial class (1981) that there are many Medials which do not (indeed cannot) take S_A (e.g. 'boil', 'glimmer', 'rustle', 'shine', 'flow', etc...). Such verbs, like the 'active' members of Class 2, are dismissed as 'exceptions' (Harris (1981: 245, 1985: 359)); of the Class 3 'exceptions' Harris goes on to say: 'Every Class 3 verb that is an exception to my proposal is in a frozen, non-

productive subclass; most of the Class 3 verbs in the frozen subclass and all those in the productive subclasses are active verbs' (1981: 245). Interestingly Merlan has recently suggested how the 'exceptional' Medials might justifiably have been assimilated to the 'active' group: 'If the pattern found with canonical animates is implemented more widely, expressives and weather verbs will be among the first to pattern like animates. Now, all the expressive verbs taking inanimate subjects denote events with perceptible consequences such as displays of light, noise, or motion. The occurrence of these events is not prompted by any outside agency, but emanates from the entities themselves. The unifying semantic characteristics of the Georgian verbs which do not require animate subjects is precisely this spontaneous nature of the manifestation denoted by the verb. This apparently determines their grammatical assimilation to the patterning typical of transitive subjects. Much the same explanation holds for the verbs designating meteorological events characterized by external manifestations (thunder, etc...)' (1985: 344). Be this as it may, is it true that all of the 'non-exceptional' Medials require an agentive subject, as claimed? The verb 'croon, whistle' is specifically mentioned as being impossible with non-agentive subjects, and yet *my* informants were not prepared to judge as ungrammatical the collocation:

- (19) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \hline \text{čaidan-ma} \quad \text{i-γiyin-a} \\ \text{kettle-NARR} \quad \text{it/whistled} \\ \text{'The kettle whistled.'} \end{array}$

But all of these difficulties simply vanish if one accepts that case-marking in Series II (along with inversion in Series III) is the result of the transitivity of the verb-forms concerned. The traditional explanation of what we are examining (cf. Deeters (1930: 85–86), Tschenkéli (1958: 293–294)), though rejected by Harris, is surely the correct one. Harris summarises as follows: '[The explanation] that has been offered for case marking of Class 3 verbs in Series II is that these verbs "do not have their own Series II forms" and that the Series II forms used are "borrowed from the corresponding" Class I verbs... Thus, for example, the aorist of *vbat'onob* 'I reign' – *vibat'one* 'I reigned' – is said to be 'borrowed' from the Class I transitive verb: *gavibat'one čemi tavi* 'I made myself ruler'. Since the form is borrowed, it is implied, so is the case pattern (...) There are at least two problems with such an explanation. The first is that this theory does not explain why syntactic characteristics

should be 'borrowed' along with morphological ones' (1981: 233–234). To understand what is happening here, one must note the presence of the Subjective Version vowel¹² *i-* in ALL screeves of Class 3 verbs apart from both the PRES sub-Series (= PRES INDIC, PRES SUBJ, IMPERF)¹³ of Series I and Series III (cf. fn. 12). The claim is that, given the intransitive *v-bat'on-ob*, we can regularly produce the transitive causative *v-a-bat'on-eb* 'I make *X* master', from which comes the regular Subjective Versional form *v-i-bat'on-eb čem-s tav-s* 'I make myself master'. This is now the source for the originally missing screeves of *v-bat'on-ob*, the difference being that (a) the 'borrowed' Class 3 forms are preverbless, which, as Holisky has shown (1981), is a natural consequence of their atelic aspect, making a perfectivising preverb unnecessary, and (b) the reflexive *O* never appears at the surface (cf. the optional omission of such an *O* with the Class 1 verb *da-v-i-ban-e [čem-i tav-i]* 'I bathed [myself]'). Thus, this *i*-prefix has not only morphological but also crucial syntactic implications – specifically, a reflexive *O*-element is clearly implied by the very presence of versional vowel *i-* in the relevant verb-forms, which are *diathetically* active; compare the bracketed PRES active-voice forms in the following short list of Medials with the intransitive/passive morphology of the *i*-prefixed verbs quoted in argument (i) above:

- (20) man (*is) *i-kadag-a* (*kadag-eb-s*) 'X preached'
 man (*is) *i-mep-a* (*mep-ob-s*) 'X ruled'
 man (*is) *i-cek'v-a* (*cek'v-av-s*) 'X danced'
 man (*is) *i-duγ-a* (*duγ-s*) 'X boiled'
 man (*is) *i-q'ep-a* (*q'ep-s*) 'X barked'

And so, one may come to one of two conclusions: (a) in all but the PRES sub-Series of Series I Class 3 verbs are underlyingly transitive in the synchronic grammar of Georgian. The reflexive element, after causing the introduction of the Subjective Version vowel, case-marking on the A-nominal in Series II, and the operation of inversion in Series III is obligatorily deleted; (b) the

¹² This category is traditionally defined (Šanidze (1973: 327 ff.)) as serving to indicate that the transitive subject (A) is acting on himself or in his own interests. Its marker is *i-*, though in Series III the verbal complex may not indicate this or any other versional category.

¹³ Nozadze (1974) thinks that the *i*-prefix originally accompanied these three screeves also, given that it is found here too in a few Georgian Medials and more frequently in those of the sister-languages. He thinks it was then lost in Georgian as a result of an unmotivated phonetic process. Surely logic demands that, where it is so found, it would rather have been analogically introduced into these three screeves to remove the morphological inconsistency in non-Series III screeves?

reflexive element is no longer present in the grammar but *was* there when Series II (Ergative) case-marking and Series III inversion were established. I incline to the former view, but either ~~may~~ the peculiarities of Series II (and III) in Class 3 verbs are shewn to be sensitive to the verb-forms' transitivity¹⁴ (underlying or historical), such that Georgian is seen to be characterised by Ergative-alignment in the relevant areas, and the Active-hypothesis with all its anomalies can simply be disregarded.

There is, however, one argument adduced by Harris (1981: 75–76, 1985: 352–353) which at first sight seems persuasively to argue against the transitivity of the relevant forms of the Medials. She observes that under causative-formation the embedded subject (A) of a Class 1 verb will surface as the morphological causative's IO regardless of whether the embedded verb is actually accompanied by an O, e.g.:

- (21) vano-s da-v-a-c'er-in-e (c'er + il-i)
 Vano-DAT I/made/him/write(/it) letter-NOM
 'I made Vano write (a letter).'

But in the case of Class 3 verbs the embedded subject only surfaces as IO in the actual presence of an embedded O; otherwise the embedded subject does itself become the surface O, like any *intransitive* embedded subject (S), e.g.:

- (22a) vano-s v-a-tamaš-e burt-i
 I/made/him/play/it ball-NOM
 'I made Vano play ball.' Versus:
 (22b) vano v-a-tamaš-e
 NOM I/made/him/play
 'I made Vano Play.'

¹⁴ There are also some Class 1 verbs which are apparently intransitive and yet take a NARR subject in Series II and undergo inversion in Series III, e.g. *man* (*is) *mo-šard-a* 'X[NARR] urinated', and the bi-valent *man* (*is) *mas s-cem-a* 'X[NARR] hit Y[DAT]'. These can be treated roughly in the same way as all Class 3 verbs by assuming an 'understood' O either underlyingly (making them synchronically transitive) or historically (making them diachronically transitive) – specifically we shall have here either an 'internal' O 'urine' or something like 'a blow' (cf. Boeder (1979: 464–465)), though for 'hit' perhaps only historical transitivity is possible as in Modern Georgian the object used for hitting must stand in the Instrumental case, not the NOM (if in Series II), as in Old Georgian (Šanidze (1973: 365)). Under causative-formation the embedded subject here behaves just like any transitive subject (A) by surfacing as the causative verb's IO (e.g. *si + civ + e-m bavšv-s mo-a-šard-v-in-a* 'The cold[NARR] made the child[DAT] urinate').

This objection, however, fails to take account of the direction of derivation explicitly stated in the traditional explanation of the Medials' peculiar morphology – outside the PRES sub-Series the Medial screeves are themselves derived from an *already existing bi-valent* causative; a causative like the verb in (22b) is *not* itself derived from the Medial *v-i-tamaš-e* 'I played'. There is, thus, nothing unexpected in what may now be seen as Harris' pseudo-objection.

2.4. Argument (iv)

Some Class 3 verbs have Class 2 inceptive formations, which Harris argues are 'inactive' (1981: 251–252), thereby explaining their NOM Ss in Series II. If this were true, the following example should be impossible:

- (23) $\overbrace{\text{vano} \quad \text{sa} + \text{gan} + \text{g} + \text{eb} + \text{o} + \text{d} \quad \text{a-myer-d-a} \quad / \quad \text{a-t'ir-d-a}}^{\alpha}$
 NOM deliberately he/began/to sing he/began/to cry
 'Vano *deliberately* began to sing/cry'

and yet it was sanctioned by my informants. Thus, whilst there might well be a 'strong tendency', as Holisky properly describes it (1981: 119), for Medials to be restricted to agentive activities, with inceptives being neutral, Harris' uncompromising distinction between 'active' Medials (with initial S_A) and 'inactive' inceptives (with initial O alone) is clearly unacceptable.¹⁵

2.5. Argument (v)

EN-agreement in Old Georgian was motivated by the presence of either (a) a plural surface O with Class 1 (active-voice, transitive) verbs in Series II, or (b) a plural surface S with (intransitive) verbs *that also contained the i/e-prefix* in Series II (as did the copula of example (10) and the verb of (11)). If the intransitive verb was of the suffixal or markerless variety, no EN-agreement was possible, so that for such unambiguously 'unaccusative' verbs (in Harris'

¹⁵ I have elsewhere suggested (Hewitt (1983b: 370–371)) a pragmatic explanation for why examples like (19) and the preverbal *čaidan-ma c'a-i-γiγin-a* 'The kettle whistled a little' should have been starred by Harris' informants despite being fully grammatical, as witnessed by my informants' reactions to them.

terminology) as 'die' (= markerless) and 'be renewed' (= suffixal) (cf. Šanidze (1976: 116, 119)) no *EN*-agreement could occur, e.g.:

- (24) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \text{igi-n-i} \quad \text{mo-k'ud-es} \quad (*\text{mo-k'ud-N-es}) \\ \text{X-PL-NOM} \quad \text{they/died} \\ \text{'They died.'} \end{array}$

- (25) $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \text{salm + ob + a-n-i} \quad \text{čem-n-i} \quad \text{gan-m-i-axl-d-es} \quad (*\text{gan-m-i-axl-d-N-es}) \\ \text{woe-PL-NOM} \quad \text{my} \quad \text{they/were/renewed/for/me} \\ \text{'My woes were renewed.'} \quad (\text{Psalms 38: 3}) \end{array}$

EN-agreement thus turns out to be another indication of Ergativity in Series II, linking O and (admittedly only one type of) S, where the verb-morphology allowed. In her latest comment on this phenomenon (1985: 219) Harris suggests that the lack of *EN*-agreement in markerless intransitives 'must be treated synchronically as an exception' and proposes a phonological rule to explain its absence in suffixal intransitives, which explanation does however involve seeing the omission of *EN*-agreement at one stage in the development of suffixal intransitives as 'synchronically unmotivated' (1985: 222).

2.6. Argument (vi)

If it were true that in the appropriate dialects the NARR case-marking of the S_A in a collocation such as *man c'a-vid-a* 'X[NARR] went' resulted from this predicate taking an initial S_A as opposed to the NOM S_O of *is mo-k'vd-a* 'X[NOM] died' resulting from this predicate taking an initial O only, then, given Harris' analysis of inversion (cf. fn. 8), the IIIrd Series forms for *all* 'active' intransitive verbs in these dialects would have to manifest inversion, since by rule in Series III any initial subject (A/S_A) is demoted to IO. But, of course, nothing of the kind occurs – in *all* dialects the IIIrd Series of Class 2 verbs is uninverted¹⁶ (e.g. *is c'a-s-ul-a* 'X[NOM] has apparently gone'), proving that morpho-syntactic features are class-determined, Class 2 being

¹⁶ Very occasionally a Class 2 verb that represents the 'relative' form of a Medial (i.e. basic Medial sense plus IO) lacks its own uninverted Series III formation and borrows the corresponding Medial (inverted) form, expressing the IO externally to the verb, e.g.:

- $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \\ \begin{array}{c} \beta \\ \text{is mas} \quad (\emptyset)\text{-e-lap'arak'-eb-a} \end{array} \quad \text{'X[NOM] speaks with Y[DAT]'} \end{array}$

intransitive, Classes 1 and 3 transitive. Also, since inverted forms are formally bi-valent, by assuming an underlying transitivity for Class 3 verbs, we can explain the reference of the second agreement-affix in the verb – it refers to the ‘understood’ reflexive O, as formally indicated in the following example, though this was not shewn for the third verb in example (7):

- (26) β α
 mas (\emptyset -)u-t’ir-(n-)i-a (?tav-i)
 X/DAT X/apparently/cried self-NOM
 ‘X apparently cried.’

So, if we are required to preserve three distinct case-marking patterns and four verb-classes to account for the morpho-syntactic facts of Georgian, and if case-marking in Series II follows the ergative-absolutive pattern, how can we account for the spread of the NARR (ERG) case to the Ss of Class 2 (intransitive) verbs in Series II in certain dialects? Surely what is happening is simply a Georgian analogue to the change that has run its course already in the sister-language Mingrelian, where *all* IInd Series subjects (A/S)¹⁷ are

- α
 β
 is mas (\emptyset -)e-lap’arak’-a ‘X[NOM] spoke with Y[DAT]’

- β
 mas mas-tan (\emptyset -)u-lap’arak’-(n-)i-a ‘X[DAT] apparently spoke with[-tan] Y’

Interestingly, however, the preverbal form of this verb does have its own uninverted Series III formations, e.g.:

- α
 β
 is mas da-(\emptyset -)lap’arak’-eb-i-a ‘X[NOM] apparently spoke with Y[DAT]’

¹⁷ The suffix *-k* is used for the non-DAT argument with Class 4 verbs in Series II, e.g.:

- β α
 čkim+i osur+i+skua-s... komož-kə ka-(\emptyset -)a-š-u
 my daughter-DAT husband-NARR/NOM she/found/him
 ‘My daughter found a husband.’ (Uridia (1960: 167))

Since for the verbs of this type there are reasons to view the DAT nominal as the synchronic subject, I would argue that the *-k* replaced the original *-i/∅* NOM ending while this NOM noun was still the actual S of the construction, in the belief that, as for the inversion-construction in Series III of transitive verbs, the original (intransitive) NOM S was later re-interpreted as the O, whilst the original DAT IO turned into the subject (A) (cf. Hewitt (1983a: 252–259)). Thus, as in Series III of transitive verbs, we have an example of today’s morphology reflecting yesterday’s syntax (Givon (1971)).

obligatorily marked by the case in *-k*, which will formerly have been the functional equivalent of Georgian's NARR case, though today it is merely an allomorph for the NOM case that happens to be restricted to Series II. The Georgian ending *-m(a)* is the subject-marker *par excellence*, since its use is exclusively reserved for indicating subject-function (cf. Fähnrich (1967: 41)) – the Georgian NOM case marks both subject and O, whilst the DAT marks both subject and IO (sc. according to verb-class and screeve-Series). Therefore, one could well understand if the morph with the greater expressive power for the morpheme indicated (i.e. subject-function in Series II) should spread at the expense of the less expressive morph, despite the break-up of the Ergative-configuration necessarily resulting from the case-marking no longer being determined by the transitive–intransitive opposition. This is the process now underway in the relevant dialects, and, if carried to its logical conclusion, it will eventually produce in Georgian a nominative–accusative configuration in Series II roughly in parallel with that already existing in Mingrelian (cf. Anderson (1977), Boeder (1979: 465–469)). However, in view of Class 4 examples like the following (where the verb in (27), though formally a relative Class 2 formation, is functionally a Class 4 form by virtue of providing the missing screeves to the stative Class 4 (\emptyset -) *u-xar-i-a* 'X rejoices (at it)', (Tschenkéli (1958: 475)):

- (27) *em keniz-eb-ma-c pul-i k'i*
 these servant-PL-NARR-too money-NOM indeed
go-u-xar-d-a-q'e amma ...
 they/rejoiced/at it but
 'These servants were greatly pleased with the money but...'
 (Gigineišvili et al. (1961: 266))

from the Fereidani dialect spoken in Iran, and:

- (28) *ga + m + k'et + eb + el-ma ar e-sm-i-s ...*
 doer-NARR not he/understands/it
 'He who does it does not understand...' (Džadžanidze (1970: 259),
 quoted by Harris (1985: 379))

from the Lower Ač'arian dialect with the NARR extended even to Series I under the influence of neighbouring Laz, we can detect an interesting difference emerging between Georgian and Mingrelian – it is the DAT nominal that has here been replaced by the NARR *not* the NOM, as in Mingrelian (cf. fn.

16). This suggests that, if the NOM nominal retained its hypothetical original intransitive subject-function at the time it was replaced by the NARR in Mingrelian, in Georgian the DAT nominal has given up its hypothetical original IO function and has taken on the subject-role with Class 4 verbs (cf. Cole *et al.* 1980) and is thus now susceptible to replacement by the NARR in the relevant dialects (predominantly) in Series II. However, the evidence here is sparse and it is not with Class 4 verbs that we are really concerned. Perhaps worth emphasising is how the envisaged extension in the use of the NARR to S of Class 2 verbs would be facilitated by the fact that verb-agreement in Series II is already of the nominative-accusative type anyway, as observed above. And so, case-marking in Series II is simply being brought into alignment with cross-referencing on the verb in the relevant dialects – in Mingrelian the NARR case is used on all nominals requiring Set- α agreement-affixes on the verb, whereas, if our predictions for Georgian are correct, any dialect extending the NARR to arguments of Class 4 verbs as well will employ this desinence for the nominal taking Set- α agreement-affixes if the verb belongs to Class 1, 2 or 3 but for the nominal requiring Set- β agreement-affixes if the verb belongs to Class 4, reflecting the fact this particular nominal has become the subject of such verbs in Georgian. It is, then, *to subjects generally* that the NARR is spreading across the four verb-classes in the relevant Georgian dialects and not to 'active' subjects exclusively.

Georgian is clearly a morphologically complex language with a number of apparent anomalies – Class 1 verbs with a single surface A argument ('urinate') or with an A plus IO ('hit') vs. Class 2 verbs similarly with two arguments albeit an S plus IO ('pursue') vs. Class 3 verbs with almost always only a single surface argument representing an A. It would not be unusual if re-alignments were to occur.¹⁸ And given that Class 3 verbs do superficially seem to possess some intransitive characteristics, then, if there should come a time when there is perceived to be a close link between Medial verb and agentivity of the subject (now putatively re-interpreted as an S), it is not inconceivable that the NARR case *might* become associated with agentivity in Series II, since transitive subject (A) is after all typically agent. This would in turn lead to the establishment of an 'active-inactive' configuration in Series II *at some future date, in some dialect*. However, I hope to have demonstrated beyond all doubt both that this position has not been reached yet in any area of Georgian and that, were this semantic opposition to become relevant to

¹⁸ Imnaišvili (1971: 331–335) lists 23 verbs which in Old Georgian took a transitive subject (A) plus IO but which today shew A plus O. The verb 'hit' (cf. fn. 14) is currently under similar pressure (Šanidze (1979: 122)), cf. also fns 10 and 11.

Series II constructions, one could not possibly account for it in the Relational terms that Harris proposes unless inversion were also to start applying to all 'active' intransitive verbs in Series III, for which there is no evidence at all in Georgian.¹⁹

Aware of the asymmetries we have pointed out above between her 'active' vs. 'inactive' intransitive *verb-classes* and truly active vs. inactive *predicates* in Georgian, Harris virtually begins her latest book by seeking refuge from these embarrassing facts in stating: 'The fundamental difference between the active and inactive clause types is one of relational valence (...) rather than semantics' (1985: 15). However, since the sole reason for distinguishing between intransitive predicates, with some being assigned initial subject (S_A) only, others initial O only, was to accommodate the 'active' vs. 'inactive' semantic opposition in a Relational framework in the first place, this 'refuge' looks decidedly circular.

References

- Anderson, S.R., 1977. On mechanisms by which languages become ergative. In: C.N. Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*, 317–363. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Aronson, H.I., 1979. Towards a typology of transitivity: The strange case of the Georgian subject. *The Elements*, CLS parasession volume, 297–306.
- Boeder, W., 1979. Ergative syntax and morphology in language change: The South Caucasian languages. In: F. Plank (ed.), *Ergativity*, 435–480. New York: Academic Press.
- Catford, J.C., 1975. Ergativity in Caucasian languages. ERIC, Document Reproduction Service Number, ED 112704, 57 pp.
- Catford, J.C., 1976. Ergativity in Caucasian languages. *Papers from the 6th meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, 37–48.
- Cole, P., W. Harbert, G. Hermon and S.N. Sridhar, 1980. The acquisition of subjecthood. *Language* 56, 719–743.
- Deeters, G., 1930. *Das kharthwelische Verbum*. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von Markert und Petters.
- Dixon, R. M. W., 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55, 59–138.
- Džadžanidze, P., 1970. Sint'aksuri movlenebi gurulši. [Syntactic phenomena in Gurian.] *Kutaisi saxelmc'ipo p'edagogiuri inst'it'ut'is šromebi* 33, 249–262.
- Džadžanidze, P., 1977. Guruli dialekt'i I. [The Gurian dialect I.] Tbilisi: Mecniereba.
- Džorbenadze, B., 1975. Zmnis gvaris pormata c'armoebisa da punkciis sak'itxebi kartulši. [Questions on the formation and function of the verb's voice-forms in Georgian.] Tbilisi: University Press.
- Fähnrich, H., 1967. Georgischer Ergativ im intransitiven Satz. *Beiträge zur Linguistik und Informationsverarbeitung* 10, 34–42.

¹⁹ In Hewitt (forthcoming, b) I discuss some such examples from Mingrelian.

- Gigineišvili, I., V. Topuria and I. Kavtaradze, 1961. *Kartuli dialekt'ologia I*. [Georgian dialectology I.] Tbilisi: University Press.
- Givón, T., 1971. Historical syntax and synchronic morphology. *Chicago Linguistics Society* 7, 394–415.
- Harris, A.C., 1981. *Georgian syntax: A study in relational grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, A.C., 1982. Georgian and the unaccusative hypothesis. *Language* 58, 290–306.
- Harris, A.C., 1985. *Diachronic syntax: The Kartvelian case*. (Syntax and Semantics, 18.) New York: Academic Press.
- Hewitt, B.G., 1983a. Review article on Harris (1981). *Lingua* 59, 247–274.
- Hewitt, B.G., 1983b. Review of Holisky, (1981). *Lingua* 60, 363–373.
- Hewitt, B.G., forthcoming, a. Review article on Harris. To appear in: *Revue des Etudes Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes* 3 (1988).
- Hewitt, B.G., forthcoming, b. Unerwartete Subjektmarkierung in Kartwelischen. *Georgica*.
- Holisky, D.A., 1981. *Aspect and Georgian medial verbs*. New York: Caravan Books.
- Imnaišvili, I., 1971. *Kartuli enis ist'oriuli krest'omatia I, 2*. [A historical chrestomathy of the Georgian language I, 2.] Tbilisi: Ganatleba.
- Klimov, G.A., 1977. *Tipologija jazykov aktivnogo stroja*. [Typology of languages with active alignment.] Moscow: Nauka.
- Mel'čuk, I.A., 1983. Grammatical subject and the problem of the ergative construction in Lezgian. *Papers in Linguistics*, 16, 229–274.
- Merlan, F., 1985. Split intransitivity. In: J. Nichols and A.C. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause*, 324–362. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nozadze, L., 1974. Medioakt'iv zmnata c'armoebis zogi sak'itxi kartulši. [Some questions on the formation of medio-active verbs in Georgian.] *Iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecniereba* 19, 25–51.
- Paris, C., 1979. Une interprétation 'existencielle' de la 'construction ergative' de la phrase en tcherkesse. In: C. Paris (ed.), *Relations prédicat-actant[s] dans des langues de types divers I*, 105–121. *Lacito-documents, Eurasie* 3, SELAF. Paris.
- Šanidze, A., 1973. *Kartuli enis gramat'ik'is sapu,vlebi I*. [Fundamentals of the grammar of the Georgian language I.] Tbilisi: University Press.
- Šanidze, A., 1976. *veli kartuli enis gramat'ik'a*. [Grammar of the Old Georgian language.] Tbilisi: University Press.
- Šanidze, A., 1979. Scema igi tu scema mas. [X hit Y(NOM) or X hit Y(DAT).] In: A. Šanidze, *salit'erat'uro kartulis sač'irborot'o sak'itxebi*, 122. Tbilisi: Ganatleba.
- Sardžveladze, Z., 1975. *Kartuli salit'erat'uro enis ist'oriis sak'itxebi*. [Questions on the history of the Georgian literary language.] Tbilisi: Ganatleba.
- Sardžveladze, Z., 1984. *Kartuli salit'erat'uro enis ist'oriis šesavali*. [Introduction to the history of the Georgian literary language.] Tbilisi: Ganatleba.
- Topuria, V., 1923. Sint'aksuri analogiis erti šemt'xveva kartulši dialekt'ebis mixedvit. [One instance of syntactic analogy in Georgian according to the dialects.] *Čveni mecniereba I*, 113–121.
- Topuria, V., 1954. *Gramat'ik'ul movlenata ertgvarovani p'rocesi kartvelur enebši*. [A uniform process of grammatical phenomena in the Kartvelian languages.] *Iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecniereba* 6, 445–455.
- Tschenkéli, K., 1958. *Einführung in die georgische Sprache I*. Zürich: Amirani Verlag.
- Uridia, O., 1960. *Megrulis sint'aksuri taviseburebani kartultan mimartebit*. [Syntactic peculiarities of Mingrelian in relation to Georgian.] *Tbilisis universit'et'is šromebi* 93, 167–178.
- Žyent'i, S., 1936. *Guruli k'ilo*. [The Gurian dialect.] Tbilisi: Mecniereba.