

SYNTAX

3.1. The linguistic structure of Svan is typically Kartvelian and is characterized by the existence of the nominative, ergative and dative typology of sentences. The corresponding constructions appear at the intersecting points of the semantic coordinates of time-mood and transitivity-intransitivity. In this frame all kinds of situations* are realized. Using the descriptive method of M. Machavariani (1980_{1,2}, 1981, mutual discussions, her letters of 18.02 and 18.03.1982, etc.), a situation directed away from the communicant (the 1st and the 2nd persons) is termed *extravert* (ExVS: "I build a house for him"); a situation is *intravert* (IVS) if it is directed towards the communicant ("he builds a house for me"). Intravert situations are *reflexive* (Rx) if the communicant considers himself at the same time the subject and the indirect or direct object of the situation ("I build a house for myself", "I wash myself"). These relations are reflected in the 3rd person ("he builds a house for her" – ExVS, "he builds a house for himself" – Rx; "he washes himself" – Rx)**.

3.2.1. Systemically the existence of sentences of the three kinds of typology manifests in the three verbal tense-mood-series (screeves' series): present ("nominative"), aorist ("ergative") and perfect ("dative"), the dative construction existing also in the 1st series with static verbs. The traditional explication of the typology of sentences in Kartvelian is the following.

In the 1st series of screeves' only sentences of the nominative and dative typology are possible. In the former the logical subject (LS) coincides with the grammatical subject (S) and (predicate being transitive or intransitive – Pt, Pit) is in the nominative (NOM-absolutive ABS) case. The accusative is missing because the logical direct (LOd) and indirect (LOi) objects are grammatically expressed (Od, Oi) by the same case which in the ("ergative") 2nd series of screeves (where accusative is impossible in principle) functions as dative (DAT) of the indirect object and which in the dative construction of the same 1st series functions as dative of the logical subject, being signalled by versional markers in the verbal form as dative of the grammatical indirect object.

*Situation implies all kinds of verbal content (action, process, state).

**Because it is unmarked in correlation with the 1st and 2nd persons expressing participation in the communication act. This explains the later origin of the 3rd person morpheme in comparison with those of the 1st and the 2nd persons (M. Machavariani, 1980₂).

As for the sentence of the dative typology, the logical subject conforms there to the grammatical indirect object, the logical direct object conforming to the grammatical subject.

The sentence of the ergative typology is possible only in the 2nd series of screeves where the nominative typology is also possible. The first occurs when the predicate is expressed by the transitive verb. In this ergative construction the logical subject conforms to the grammatical subject in the ergative case, the logical direct object conforming to the grammatical direct object in the absolutive case. The former case is really ergative and the latter is really absolutive because in the corresponding absolutive construction (where the predicate is expressed by the intransitive verb and thus has no direct complement) the logical subject conforms to the grammatical subject in the same absolutive case. Because of the nominative functioning of this case in the 1st series, this absolutive construction is called nominative for the sake of economy.

In the 3rd series of screeves a sentence is of the dative typology if the predicative verb is transitive, and it is of the nominative typology if the verb is intransitive. The use of the two series of personal formants (i. e. the extravert and the intravert series) in the dative construction is reversed to their use in the nominative and ergative constructions in the 2nd as well as in the 1st series of screeves.

For Svan the following examples may be given:

The 1st series of screeves

1. Nominative construction

- a) al märe kor-s a-g-em
 this manNOM (a)house-DAT NVS-build₃-THEME
 A S(=LS) Od(=LO) Pt
- b) al märe kor-s i-g-em
 this manNOM (a)house-DAT IVS-builds-THEME(=for himself)
 A S Od PtRx
- c) al märe miča gezal-s kor-s x-o-g-em
 this manNOM (for)hisGEN son-DAT (a)house-DAT him-ExVS-builds-THEME
 A S A Oi Od Pt
- d) al mārēm-i kor i-g(m)-i
 this man's-GEN houseNOM IVS-is built-PASS/THEME
 A A S Pit
- e) al mārēm-i gezal-s kor x-e-g(m)-i
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseNOM him-ExVS-is built-PASS/THEME
 A A Oi S Pit

2. Dative construction

- al mār-a(s) x-o-g kor 'this man has a house'
 (for)this man-DAT him-"ExVS"-stands houseNOM
 A Oi(=LS) Pit S(=LO)

The 2nd series of screeves

1. Ergative construction

- a) al m̄ara-d kor ad-g-e
 this man-ERG (a)houseABS PV+(NVS)-built-3pers.AOR
 A S(=LS) Od(=LO) Pt
- b) al m̄ara-d kor ād-g-e
 this man-ERG (a)houseABS PV+for himself=IVS-built-3 pers.AOR
 A S Od PtRx
- c) al m̄ara-d miča gezal-s kor ot-g-e
 this man-ERG (for)hisGEN son-DAT (a)house ABS PV+him+ExVS-built-3 pers.
 A S A Oi Od Pt

2. "Nominative" (i. e. absolutive) construction

- a) al m̄arēm-i kor ād-g-ān
 this man's-GEN houseABS PV+IVS-was built-PASS
 A A S Pit
- b) al m̄arēm-i gezal-s kor āt-g-ān
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseABS PV+him+ExVS-was built-PASS
 A A Oi S Pit

The 3rd series of screeves

1. Dative construction

- al m̄ar-a(s) o-t-g-a kor
 this man-DAT PV+him+"ExVS"-has built-PF (a)houseNOM
 A Oi(=LS) Pt S(=LOd)

2. Nominative construction

- a) al m̄arēm-i kor al-g-el-[(l)i]
 this man's-GEN houseNOM PV+PXpc.pf.(PASS)-has been built-SFdur-[is]
 A A S Pit
- b) al m̄arēm-i gezal-s kor at-g-ēna
 (for)this man's-GEN son-DAT (a)houseNOM PV+him+ExVS-has been built-PASS
 A A Oi S Pit

3.2.2. In Svān there are no signs of the nominativization of the language structure as it takes place in Zan, though the very ergative structure in Kartvelian is not consistent. In this respect it may be called *defectively ergative* (cf. Aronson). Thus no parallelism exists between the use of the two series of personal formants and the use of the ergative and absolutive-nominative cases even in the 2nd ("ergative") series of screeves. The same extravert series of personal formants agree not only with the ergative subject but also with the absolutive subject. On the other hand, the intravert series of personal formants, which agree with the direct object, do not agree with the absolutive subject. In Svān:

ERG: mi oXW₁-iṭx mišgu gezal "I returned me my son"
 ABS: mi loXW₂-eṭx mišgu dis "I was returned to my mother"
 ABS: eṣnēm aM-ṭix korte "he returned me home"

} XW₂ ≠ M

The real ergative agreement does take place only in the 3rd series of screeves, cf.:

"ERG": mi M-iḥṭa mišgu gezal "I have returned my son"
 "ABS": mi amṭex-XW₁-i mišgu dite "I have been returned
 to my mother"
 "ABS": mi X₂-oḥṭa mišgu dis "I have returned to my
 mother"

} XW₁ = X(W)₂ ≠ M

Moreover, the case of the indirect object (*di-s*) is the same as the "ergative" in the 3rd series, so the "ergative" appears to have dative functions, as it is so typical of the ergative languages (K l i m o v, 1981).

Yet, the 3rd series cannot be classified as "ergative" and are classified as "dative", because the subject of the transitive verb is in the case which functions as dative of the indirect object (not as ergative!) in the 1st and 2nd series of screeves. It is impossible to determine this case as ergative and not to break the systemic rules of the syntax of the cases. The thing is that even taking into consideration a kind of complementary distribution between the use of this case in the 3rd and in the other series of screeves (there is no dative of the indirect object of the transitive verb in the 3rd series, nor the "ergative" use of the dative in the 1st or 2nd series), it can be determined neither as dative-ergative because of the existence of the "other" ergative case in the 2nd series. The latter case must be determined as ergative because of the typically twofold distribution of the subject cases with transitive and intransitive verbs. As the 1st series of screeves are characterized by the nominative structure, the single conclusion is that the ergative structure is inconsequentially represented in the 2nd series of screeves, the 3rd series being characterized by the dative structure. Such anomalies of ergativity are explained by G. K l i m o v (1980) as relics of the previous "active" (in our terms – fientive) linguistic structure, the main dominant of which was not the morphosyntactical opposition between transitivity and intransitivity but the semantical opposition between "activity" (i. e. fientivity) and "inactivity" (i. e. inertness, stativity). The secondary character of the category of transitivity-intransitivity in Kartvelian, Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) points out their primeval fientive structure (K l i m o v, 1977).

3.3. The usage of screeves in Svan deviates from Georgian in those instances when Svan has screeves of its own, i. e. future, conditional, narrative – all in the 1st series.

There are 15 screeves in Svan grouped according to the three series: 10 belong to the 1st series (1. present, 2. imperfect, 3. present conjunctive, 4. imperfective future, 5. perfective future, 6. imperfective conditional, 7. perfective conditional, 8. narrative present, 9. narrative imperfect, 10. narrative conjunctive), 2 belong to the 2nd series (11. aorist, 12. aorist conjunctive) and 3 belong to the 3rd series (13. perfect, 14. pluperfect, 15. perfect conjunctive). To these 15 one more screeve may be added, i. e. 0. injunctive, which formally is the semantical species of the present.

0. Injunctive

Present forms, while used with certain concrete words, often have the sense of the preterito-perfect; the same forms without the concrete words have the sense of the future:

xwājın dži lājrls "for many times he has taken letters" *vs.*

eʒa dži lājrls "he will take letters".

1. Present

It represents a situation which is taking place at the moment of speaking, or is referred to by narration as if taking place at the moment of speaking, or which takes place constantly or usually:

<i>mi</i>	<i>es-γwr-i</i>	<i>mestja-te</i>	"I go(=I am going) to Mestya"	
I NOM	PV-1 pers.-THEME	MestyaDAT-to		
<i>esnār</i>	<i>zagr-uš</i>	<i>metxwjār</i>	<i>an-γr-i,</i>	
as if	range-INSTR	hunterNOM	PV-go-THEME	

.....
metxwjār *mepsāj-d* *te* *x-a-rek-i*
 hunter Mepsay-ERG eyeABS to it-ExVS-struck

"it seems that along the range a hunter is coming, /.../

Mepsay the hunter caught sight of it (smth.)"

<i>laxe</i>	<i>mušwān</i>	<i>ʒwēdija-s</i>	<i>ču</i>	<i>i-dgār-i,</i>
when	(a)Svan-manNOM	(in-the)remote-DAT/LOC	PV'	IVS-dies-"PASS"
<i>kwin-i</i>	<i>lātxa-te</i>	<i>γar-i-x</i>		
(for) soul'-sGEN	returning-for	go-THEME- 3 PL		

2. Imperfect

It represents an imperfective situation which was taking place or has taken place before the moment of speaking, or which took place before it constantly or usually.

<i>lāt,</i>	<i>šomwāj</i>	<i>es-γur-dās</i>	<i>mestya-te...</i>	
yesterday	when	PV-1 pers.+go-IF	Mestya-to	"yesterday, when I was going to Mestya..."

<i>hančo</i>	<i>ar-da</i>	<i>mestja-s</i>	
Hanto	be-IF 3 pers.	Mestya-DAT/LOC	"Hanto lived in Mestya"

3. Present conjunctive

It represents a desirable (undesirable) imperfective situation, or expresses necessity in the main clause, or a purpose in a purpose clause, or unreal condition in oaths.

<i>kwinild</i>	<i>atxe</i>	<i>eʒa</i>	<i>i-γrāl-dēd-s</i>	"sing he now!"
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<i>if</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>heNOM</i>	<i>IVS-sing-CNJ-he</i>	
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<i>māre</i>	<i>jer</i>	<i>ču</i>	<i>mōm</i>	<i>x-e-γwēn-dēd-s,</i>	<i>šukw-s</i>	<i>xekwes</i>
man	in order to	PV'	not	to it-ExVS-tumble-CNJ-he	way-DAT	must

x-o-sgid-dēd-s

to it-ExVS-look-CNJ-he "in order not to tumble, one must watch the road"

tkic mōd mi-xal-dēd-s, ɣērbet-ū me-cwāl
 truthNOM if not me-know-CNJ-it GodNOM-PTC.CNJ me-is wrathful
 "if I do not know the truth, God be wrathful with me!"

Present conjunctive may also represent an ordered, aimed or conceded situation if a verb is not used in the 2nd series:

al māra xakuč, ere kwin-i liṭxēm-i loc x-o-xal-dēd-s
 this manDAT wants to soul-GEN returning-GEN prayerNOM him-"ExVS"-
 know-CNJ-he

"this man must know the prayer of soul-returning".

4. Imperfective future

It represents an imperfective situation following the moment of speaking.

amun-ɣo al dwrew-s ɣur-un-i mestja-te
 thisDAT-after this time-DAT/LOC I+go-FT-"PASS" MestyaDAT-to
 "henceforth at this time I shall go to Mestya".

5. Perfective future

It represents a perfective situation following the moment of speaking; its use may be contrary to the use of English anterior future or German Futurum II.

isgwa liqd-ālw mi mēhij-ār-s xw-i-xwr-un-i,
 thyDAT coming-till I NOM ripe-PL-DAT I pers.-IVS-pick-FT-THEME
 jaɣo, i čāw-s ušxud al-ḳwēd-ne-d
 so and litter-DAT together PV+1 pers.-take-FT-PL

"until thou comest (IF.FT) I shall pick ripe fruits, so, and we both shall take (PF.FT) the litter together".

māxār on+qwd-eni mestja-te
 to-morrow PV+1 pers.+come-"PASS" MestyaDAT-to
 "to-morrow" I shall come to Mestya".

6. Imperfective conditional

It is used: a) in the subordinate clause of time to express an imperfective situation preceding the moment of speaking; b) to express an imperfective situation which is supposed to have taken place before the moment of speaking; c) to express an unreal imperfective situation which makes a condition for another situation (the latter may be also expressed by the imperfective conditional).

a) al nən-ār nacādw lix manḳwi-neš, ašxw nən-zi
 this language-PL.NOM changed are firstly-from oneDAT language-on
 gar jer i-gərgāl-n-ōl-x māg, eča-neš
 only that IVS-speak-FT-PRT-PL allNOM that-from

"these languages have been changed since the first time when all (tribes) were speaking one language";

b) al"-ēser sāwj-ār-ənka jār ir-ōl?
 this-say North-Caucasian-PL.DAT-besides whoNOM will be-PRT

"Except North-Caucasians, who (else) would have been these? – he said";

c) mi lax xw-i-γrāl-n-ōl, šwān-ži gar xwiγrālñōl
I NOM if 1 pers.-IVS-sing-FT-PRT Svania-about only
"if I sang, I should sing only about Svania!"

7. Perfective conditional

It is used: a) in the subordinate clause of time to express a perfective situation preceding the moment of speaking; b) to express a perfective situation which is supposed to have taken place before the moment of speaking; c) for an unreal perfective situation which is conditioned by some preceding situation, expressed either by imperfect conditional (concerning present) or by perfect conjunctive (or plu-perfect with the modal particle -w) concerning past.

a) lixəlçip ān-bin-ōl, eča-neš xelçip ešxu xegād-x
monarchyNOM PV+IVS-begin-PRT that-from kingNOM oneNOM had-they
"the monarchy having begun, they had one king since that (time)";

b) amaxunka jār ad-dagr-īs ?
enemy+besides whoNOM PV-kill-FT+COND.
"except the enemy, who (else) have killed?"

c) mi lax xwiγrālñōl, šwānži gar ot-γirāl-n-š-s
PV+1 pers.-sing-FT-PRT-1,2 pers.SG
"if I sang, I should sing (a song completely) only about Svania!"

eža-s al lezweb lāt er ox-mār-ēn-s
he-DAT this foodNOM yesterday to PV+him+"ExVS"-prepare-CNJ-3 SG
(= ha-w ox-mār-ān), lādi ala-s lāxw-zweb-nās
PTC-PTC PV+him+"ExVS"-prepare-PPF to-day this-DAT PV+1 pers.+IVS-eat-SF
"had he prepared this dish yesterday, to-day I should have eaten it".

8. Narrative present

It refers to a situation which is not attested by the speaker and may be rendered according to the words of the 3rd person.

mezwbēl-te dāw al-māz-li i eža-s mindwer-s x-aqina
neighbour-to deveNOM PV+PX.PF-come-is and he-DAT field-DAT him-ploughs
"to the neighbour a deve (myth.) seems (= is said) to have come (= as if has come) and to plough (= as if ploughs) a field for him".

9. Narrative imperfect

10. Narrative conjunctive

In their usage the screeves 9, 10 correlate with 8 in the same way as 2 and 3 correlate with 1, i. e. the screeves 9, 10 represent the screeves 2, 3 in the narrative (= referring to an unattested situation) use.

11. Aorist

It represents a perfective situation which took place before the moment of speaking.

alj-ār-d sgā+çs-e-x kor-te wārg, tabāg
he-PL-ERG PV+NVS+call-AOR-PL houseDAT-to noblemanABS tableABS
ox-w-g-e-x

PV+him-ExVS-stand-AOR-PL

"they called the nobleman into the house, stood him a table".

For the aorist of the static verbs the form of the imperfect is used (often with a preverb):

çginç-s dīna la-x-laṭ-ən(da) "a boy fell in love with a girl".
boy-DAT girlNOM PV-him-love-IF

12. Aorist conjunctive

It represents a perfective situation which is ordered, aimed or conceded:

al gweš gwašagan-d čwemin-a-s!
this affairABS Gwashakan-ERG do-CNJ-3 sg.

"let Gwashakan do this affair!"

mezwbel an-qād, eḡya ere čweminas al gweš
neighbourNOM PV-came in order to
"the neighbour came to do this affair (now)".

jerwāj-d do čweminas, mām serde li
-ERG no care is

"whoever do, it would be the same".

"whoever do, it would be the same".

If a verb has no screeves of the 2nd series, the present conjunctive of the 1st series is used:

al māra xaḡuṭ, ere kwini liṭxēmi loc xoxaldēds "this man must know the prayer of soul-returning".

13. Perfect

Perfect represents a resulted situation. This situation is usually treated as unattested or is rendered according to the words of the 3rd person (modus relativus):

mezwbel-s kor ot-g-a
neighbour-DAT houseNOM PV+him+"ExVS"-build-PF

"the neighbour has built (so it seems, is said to have built) a house".

14. Plu-perfect

It may express a desirable (undesirable) unreal situation (in this instance the form is accompanied by the modal particle -w):

kwinild kā-w lox-marḡw-ān "if only he had helped!"
if only-PTC PV+him+"ExVS"-help-PPF

The plu-perfect sense of the screeve 14 is seen only in the unreal conditional clause and in the instances when it is used for the perfect conjunctive.

Plu-perfect being in the conditional clause, the screeve of the main clause depends on its aspectual characteristic, whether imperfective (the imperfect is used), as in

xexw-s	dār	ʒ-a-hwed-da,	hawe	mi	moma
wife-DAT	nobodyNOM	three-ExVS-give-IF	PTC.PF.COND.	I DAT	not

lām-marʒw-ān "nobody gave thee a wife except my

PV+1 pers.+ "IVS"-help-PPF

having helped (if I had not helped) thee", or perfective:

hawe	xočāmd	ot-g-ān-x,	ču	dem
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PTC.	well	PV+3 pers.+ "ExVS"-build-PPF-they	down	not
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ot-rejw-ēn "had they built well, it would not have fallen down".

PV+3 pers.+ "ExVS"-fall-CNJ

In the latter instance the

15. Perfect conjunctive

is used in the main clause. In general, the perfect conjunctive is used to express a conditioned or an aimed situation which is unreal or supposed. In the latter instance the modal verb is indispensable. In the same sense the plu-perfect is used with no difference:

tetnəlda-d	māma mārēs	x-a-šgwmin	rusiko-s,
Tetnulda-ERG	not perhaps	her-ExVS-asked(AOR)	Rusiko-DAT

ado	ečka	eʒa-s	xekwes	ka	lox-marʒw-ān = loxmarʒw-ēn-s
otherwise	then	she-DAT	must	PV'	PV+her+ "ExVS"-help-PPF/CNJ-3

"Perhaps Tetnulda has not asked Rusiko, otherwise then she had to help (us)".

3.4. The expression of the direct or of the indirect object depends on the valency of the verb. A bivalent verb is grammatically connected either with a direct or with an indirect object. A trivalent verb is grammatically connected with a direct as well as with an indirect object.

3.4.1. Since trivalent transitive verbs lose one degree of their valency in the 3rd series and therefore the expression of the indirect object in them is impossible there, this indirect object, while being no more connected with the verbal form, is used in the postpositional genitive as in Georgian:

al	māra	ot-g-a	kor	miča	gezl-āš-d
this	manDAT	PV+him+ExVS-build-PF	houseNOM	hisGEN	son-GEN-TFM

We consider this postpositional form (differently from Georgian) to be the genitive transformative*.

Sometimes the pure transformative is used:

*Cf. O. Georgian *mxaṗvr-isa-da* "to a painter" close to such pure genitive transformatives as *saubr-isa-d* in Sh. Rustaveli's *daʒa čerad anderjisad, sabralox saubrisad*. For the nature of the Georgian postposition *-da* see Palmaitis, 1978.

jās	eser	x-o-qr-a	maxwši-d	twep
whoDAT		him-ExVS-hit-PF	chief-TFM	gunNOM

"Who has shot at ('hit the gun to') the chief?"

3.4.2. One degree of valency is lost as a result of reflexivization, the indirect object being annulled (4.3.1.9):

mi	x-o-gem	kors	eža-s		
S	Pt.ExVS	Od	Oi		"I build a house for him"
* mi	x-o-gem	kors	mišgu	txwim-s*	
S	Pt.ExVS	Od	(my)	Oi	
mi	xw-i-gem	kors			"I build a house for myself"
S	Pt.Rx	Od			(= "for my head")

3.4.3. In Swan, as well as in the other Kartvelian languages, the simultaneous use of the same person as subject and as object (as German *ich – mich, du – dich*, etc.) is prohibited in the same form. If the predicate is transitive, the indirect relation 'somebody for himself' may be expressed either by the anaphoric pronoun with the postposition 'for', or by intraversion (reflexive), not by personal formants. As for the direct relation 'somebody-himself', it may be expressed by the word 'head' in the same case of the direct object and by intraversion:

mi	xwgem	kors	= mi	xwagem	kors	mišgwa	txum-eš-d
	IVS			NVS			head-GEN-TFM

"I build a house for myself";

i-dgāri	txum-s	"he kills himself"
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IVS-kill	head-DAT
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Therefore in all inclusive forms the 2nd person subject cannot be expressed, e. g. excl.: *eža nāj namāre* "he prepares us but not you (thee)", excl.: *si nāj namāre* "thou preparest us but not you", incl.: *eža nāj gwamāre* "he prepares us and you (thee)", however 'thou – us and you (thee)' is impossible.

3.4.4. To express the logical subject in passive either a dative (resp. genitive, 3.13) form is used with the postposition *-xānkq* 'out of' (= Geor. *-gan*), or an instrumental form (which is grammatically anomalous here, cf. 3.12.6.2) (T o p u r i a, 1967): *lāre ičmi laxwbaxānkq = laxwboš* "a meadow is mown by the brothers".

3.5. The sequence of tenses (i. e. screeves) is taken into account if a situation expressed in the main clause precedes a situation expressed by the conjunctive or the imperative in the subordinate clause:

siḡo-s	ču	x-o-xal,	miča	mu	er"	an-γr-i
Siko-DAT	PV'	him-"ExVS"-knows	his	fatherNOM	that	PV-come-THEME

"Siko knows that his father comes" –

siḡos	ču	x-o-xal-da,	miča	mu	er"amyri
		him-"ExVS"-know-IF			

*Unlike Georgian, such a transformation has no precedent in spoken Upper Swan where only the form of the degemitive transformative is met: *txumešd*. For the DAT *txums/txwims* see 4.2.1.5, 6.

"Siko knew that his father came (Svan: comes)" –

siḱo-s x-a-ḱu, miča mu er" an-qe-s
Siko-DAT him-"ExVS"-wants PV-comeCNJ-he

"Siko wants his father to come".

Though in the latter instance the preterite transformation in the main clause causes the corresponding transformation of the conjunctive in the subordinate clause:

siḱos x-e-ḱwād-da, miča mu er" ām-qed-ēl l-āsw
him-"ExVS"-wanted-IF PV+PX.PC-come-SF he-beCNJ

"Siko wanted his father to come".

3.6.1. Indirect speech does not deviate from the above rule:

siḱo-s x-ēka, ere mi deš
Siko-DAT him-ExVS+tell IP that I NOM not in any way
xw-ā-čm-e i mič-nēm ad-čem-a-s
I-NVS-mow-THEME and himself-ERG PV-mow-CNJ-he

"Tell Siko that I cannot mow and that he mow for himself"

(aorist in the meaning of the imperative in the main clause and the aorist conjunctive in the subordinate clause).

mi lwēka, ere mi deš xwāčme i mič* ot-čem-ān
I ERG I said himselfDAT PV+him+"ExVS"-mow-PPF

"I said that I could not mow and he should mow for himself"

(the preterite transformation in the main clause and, as a result, the plu-perfect in the subordinate clause).

3.6.2. The use of direct speech is restricted to the only instances when

a) the 1st or the 2nd person orders another person to do something or mentions himself in the 3rd person;

b) the 2nd or the 3rd person renders the words of another person as referring to the renderer. Then the 1st person is used with the particles *eser* or *rok*.

(a) If the speaker mentions himself in the 3rd person, -*č* and *eser* are to be used together, -*č* relating to the 1st and *eser* – to the 2nd or to the 3rd person:

mi xw-ēka siḱo-s: baba-e-č x-ēka,
I ERG I-ExVS+told Siko-DAT dad-DAT-PTC him-ExVS+tell IP
čū-č eser at-čem, mič-a-č māma x-o-žib
PV+PTC*PTC PTC PV-mow himDAT-PTC not him-"ExVS"-can

"I told Siko: "Tell thy dad: 'do mow, he cannot'";

(b) If the 2nd or the 3rd person renders the words of another person as referring to the renderer, the particles *eser* or *rok* (the latter mainly for the 3rd person) are to be used:

mu-d la-x-ḱix siḱo-s: ču-w rok ot-čem mo?
father-ERG PV-him-returned Siko-DAT PV'-PTC* PTC PV+I-mow PTC
"The father answered Siko: '(does he say,) 'I should mow?'"

* (čū- < ču)-w to transfer the indicative aorist (imperative in the case of the 2nd person) 2 SG. atčem, 1 SG. otčem into the conjunctive in accordance with the rule 3.9.

siço-d eʒa-s la-x-tix: ču eser.
 Siko-ERG he-DAT PV-him-returned PV' PTC

"Siko answered him: "Thou should" "

As can be seen, direct speech is used in Svan when it is double, i. e. when one quotation is subordinated to another. In all other instances indirect speech is used with the particles *rok*, *eser* or *-ʒ* (the conjunction *er(e)* "that" may be omitted). The latter always accompanies the 1st person of the speaker. If the speaker refers to himself but is not the 1st person, forms of the 1st person cannot be used. As for the 2nd and the 3rd persons of the speaker, the corresponding personal forms are used with the particles *eser* or (mainly for the 3rd person) *rok*:

mi xw-ēka siço-s, (ere) məxārə-ʒ xw-a-mšije
 I ERG I-ExVS+told Siko-DAT (that) to-morrow-PTC I-NVS-work

"I told Siko that I should work (Svan: I work) to-morrow".

si x-ēka (ere) siço-s, (ere) məxār eser
 thouERG thou-ExVS+told Siko-DAT (that) to-morrow PTC
 x-a-mšije
 thou-NVS-work

"thou told Siko that thou wouldst work (Svan: workst) to-morrow"

si m-ēka, (ere) məxār eser x-a-mšije
 thouERG to me-IVS+said (that) to-morrow PTC thou-NVS-work

"thou toldst me that thou wouldst work (Svan: workst) to-morrow"

eʒ-nem x-āk w siço-s, (ere) məxār eser||rok
 he-ERG him-ExVS+told Siko-DAT (that) to-morrow PTC PTC
 a-mšije
 NVS-work

"he told Siko that he would work (Svan: works) to-morrow".

3.7. In dialogues the only preverb is sufficient. to be repeated by answering; cf. the above drawn examples:

mud laxtix siços: čuw rok otčem mo? siçod eʒas laxtix: ču eser!

The same phenomenon is widespread in Georgian dialects. Typologically Lithuanian may be mentioned: *aš pa-kalbėjai su kaimynais?* – *pà* 'hast thou talked with the neighbours? – Yea'.

3.8.1. Interrogation is expressed by means of interrogative words and particles. Particles *-a*, *-ma*, *-mo* are placed at the end of a syntagma, the particle *-esə* may be postponed to any word, usually – to a verb. All the particles appear at the intonational peak of syntagmas. If a sentence begins with an interrogative word, particles are unnecessary. The intonational peak is on the interrogative word, e. g.

wofa lə-zāj xi "how old art thou?"
 how many of-year art

As for the typology of questions, it does not deviate from the Kartvelian type (cf. Georgian) which in its turn is close to the Indo-European model.

3.8.2.1. By negation one must distinguish mood in Kartvelian (similarly to Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, Semitic, etc.). Thus negation in the Svan imperative is

expressed by other particles than in the indicative. A typical Kartvelian feature is special negation for physical inability. Different particles are used for categorical and for polite (of advice) negation:

kor-s	děsa	xw-i-gem	"I do not build a house"
house-DAT	not	I-for myself-build	
kor-s	deš	xwigem	"I cannot build a house".
	not in any way		

While it is the aorist to be used for the affirmative imperative, the present is used for the negative imperative in the 2nd person:

num xigem kors "do not build a house (for thyself)!" (categorical),
 nōmis xigem kors "do not build a house, I advise thee!" (polite).

The (negative) imperative for the 1st and 2nd persons is expressed by the aorist conjunctive (or the present conjunctive if the 2nd series is missing):

numa dgas kor "let him not build a house (for himself)!" (AOR.CNJ).

3.8.2.2. The negative particle immediately precedes the verb if the particle -w is not inserted: the latter is always joined at the end of the negative particle:

mišgu	apxneg	ču	numa-w	qed-en	amxāw
my	friendNOM	PV'	not-should	come-IF	here

"my friend should not come here".

3.9. The indicative form may be used for the conjunctive provided with the particle -w/-u. The place of this particle is free:

mišgu apxneg iyrāl	"my friend sings"	
mišgu apxneg-u iyrāl (ID)	}	"let my friend sing!"
mišgu apxneg iyrāldēds (CNJ)		
iwas-u	x-ā-r-i	"thank you!"
for ever-PTC	thou-NVS-be-THEME.ID	

xoča	ladeγ-u	ǰ-ā-r	"good day!"
good	day-PTC	the-NVS-be(ID)	

3.10. Word order in Svan is free, however in the neutral style the predicate tends to be either after the subject and before the objects or after them at the end of a sentence. Shifts in the word order are a means of emphasis. Thus the predicate may appear at the beginning of a sentence, the subject appearing at the end of it.

3.10.1. The place of some particles has been discussed above (3.8, 9). The place of a secondary preverb in an affirmative sentence is free (if not taking into account junctions with nominal postpositions or indivisible syntagmas). Nevertheless, when put at the beginning of a sentence, a secondary preverb may emphasize the sense of the words following it:

mišgu apxneg	ču	anqād	amxāw = mišgu apxneg anqād amxāw	ču
my	friendNOM	PV'	cameAOR	here

"my friend came here", but
 ču mišgu apxneg anqād amxāw "it was my friend who came here".

In a negative sentence a secondary preverb cannot be between the verb and the negation (cf. 3.8.2.2):

mišgu apxneg ču māma anqād amxāw "my friend did not come here".

3.11. Sentences are simple and complex. Some kinds of simple sentences are observed above (3.8).

3.11.1. In simple copular sentences the overt copula is represented by the personal forms of the verb "to be":

tetnəlda	nišgwəj	apxneg	li
TetnūldaNOM	ourEXC	friendNOM	is
mi	xočāmd	xwāri	
I NOM	well	am(=exist)	

3.11.2. There is no general marker of subordination in Svan. Usually the subordination is expressed by conjunctions or adverbs with the anaphorical suffix *-wāj*.

3.11.2.1. The single conjunction for the noun-clause is *er(e)* "that":

mi	mi-xal-da,	ere	vāliḳo	i-rd-ōl	mestja-s
I DAT	me-know-IF	that	Valiko	IVS-live-COND	Mestya-in

"I knew that Valiko lived in Mestya".

Sometimes *er(e)* may be omitted (see direct and indirect speech 3.6.2).

3.11.2.2. *er(e)* may also be met in the adverbial clauses of purpose, manner and (*ešja ere*) cause. In conditional clauses the conjunction *er* may be met.

3.11.2.3. The usual marker of relative clauses and adverbial clauses of time is the anaphorical suffix *-wāj*, typologically identical with the Georgian *-c*, Armenian *inč* or O. Slavic *-že*, cp. Svan *xed-wāj*, Geor. *romeli-c*, Arm or *inč*, O. Sl. *i-že* "that who" in relative clauses.

3.11.2.4. For the adverbial clauses of condition, see 3.3.6, 7, 15.

3.11.2.5. Purpose is expressed either by the conditional mood in the purpose clause (the indicative form with the particle *-w* also may be used) or by the name of destination with the postposition *-te* in the simple clause:

šwan-ār	γər-i-x,	kwin	er	ān-ṭəx-a-x
Svan-PL	go-"PASS"-they	soulABS	to	PV+IVS-return-CNJ-they

= šwanār γərix kwin-i lāṭxa-te
soul-GEN returning-for

"Svans go to return a soul".

3.12. The use of cases in Svan is the same as in Georgian except the genitive of actor and the instrumental of actor.

3.12.1.1. The dative case expresses the inessive directly without any postposition as in O. Georgian, e. g.

muš-s	liz	lequnzela	gun
Mush-DAT	is	vineyardNOM	very

"there are very many vineyards in (the town of) Mush".

The same is used for the adverbial modifier of time:

hama	šinar-s	ži	am-čed-xwi,	ži amčedxwi	tanay-te-ži
morn	morning-DAT	PV'	PV+PX-go-am	ridge-to-above	

"morn at morning I (shall) have ascended, have ascended the ridge".

3.12.1.2. The (archaic?) use of the non-paradigmatic dative in *-n* is obscure, cf.

aman-γo "after this", *ladgarun-γo* "after the death", *dinan-ka* "besides a girl", *worun-čü (-un < -ən)* "under the earth (surface)". Genitives are attested too: *bogreši-n bogani čubaw* "under the Bogresh's bridge". Comparison with the latter instance shows *-n* to be a kind of determinative, not a case marker (nor an allomorph of a case marker) in Svan*.

3.12.1.3. The main function of the dative is to represent the direct and the indirect object in the 1st series of screeves**, to represent the indirect object in the 2nd series and the logical subject in the 3rd series (as well as the logical subject by the static verbs in the 1st series), and to represent the indirect object by the intransitive verb in the 3rd series of screeves.

3.12.2. Although the ergative has no special marker in Svan (the most "popular" is *-d* of the transformative), the use of this case, as well as the use of the nominative-absolutive, is the same as in Georgian. If the verb is transitive, in the 1st series of screeves the subject is in the nominative case, the direct and indirect objects being in the dative case; in the 2nd series the subject is in the ergative, the direct object in the absolutive(-nominative) and the indirect object in the dative case; in the 3rd series and by the static verbs in the 1st series of screeves the logical subject is in the dative while the logical direct object is in the nominative(-absolutive) case. If the verb is intransitive, in all the three series the subject is in the nominative(-absolutive) case and the indirect object – in the dative case. So the latter is the single case for the indirect object.

1st series

zurāl-ār	māg	tāš-s	x-o-qd-e-x
woman-PL.NOM	allNOM	cheese-DAT	him,them-ExVS-bring-THÈME-they
S	A	Od	Pt
bopš-ār-s			
child-PL-DAT			
Oi			
"all women bring cheese to children"			

*This *-n* seems to be the same Borealic ("Nostratic") marker of animateness (fientivity) as in Svan *mī-n(e)* 'their', 'them', O. Georgian nominative-absolutive formant of the animate nouns in the plural (*ḡac-n-i* 'men') (cf. also the verbal affix of the plurality of the direct object), Georgian *-n* in *vi-n(a)* 'who', *ma-n* ERG 'he', *me-(na)* 'I', *še-n(a)* 'thou', *čve-na(a)* 'we', *ikve-n(a)* 'you', Megr. *mu-n* 'they', 'them', *te-na* 'this', *ti-na* 'that', IE. Balt. *ma-ne*, Sl. *me-ne* GEN/ACC 'I', Got. *meina*, i. e. *mī-na* GEN 'I', Turk. *man/mə-n* 'I', *sa-n/sə-n* 'thou', F. U. **ma-na* 'I', **sa-na* 'thou', Semitic Arab.-Aram. *ma-n* 'who', etc. Since everywhere this formant tends to animateness, one should expect its occurring in some language as a marker of the fientive → ergative, and so it is in Geor. *man*. This single instance (cf. O. Geor. NOM/ABS *ḡac-n*, *vi-n* or Svan genitives and datives in *-n*), however, points out more to the occasional specialization than to the Common-Kartvelian status of *-n* as of an allomorph of the ergative case marker. "Kartvelian mimation" seems to be more suitable definition at least for Svan.

**W. B o e d e r, by developing the idea of G. D e e t e r s, explains the 1st series' dative of the direct object as grammaticalized "locative" → dative (B o e d e r. 1979).

2nd series

zurǎl-ǎr-d	čij-em	tǎš	ox-qid-x	bopšǎrs
woman-PL-ERG	all-ERG	cheeseABS	PV+him,them+Ex VS-břing-they	
S	A	Od	Pt	Oi

"all women (have) brought cheese to children"

3rd series

zurǎl-ǎr-s	čĭs	tǎš	on-qĭd-a-x	
woman-PL-DAT	all-DAT	cheeseNOM	PV+him+"Ex VS"-bring-PF-PL	
LS	A	LOd	Pt	

bopš-r-šš-d
child-PL-GEN-TFM
Oi
"all women (seem to) have brought cheese to children"

1st series

tǎš	x-o-qd-en-i-x	bopš-ǎr-s
cheeseNOM	him,them-Ex VS-bring-PASS-THEME-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi

"cheese is brought to children"

2nd series

tǎš	ox-qād-x	bopš-ǎr-s
cheeseABS	PV+him,them+Ex VS-bring-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi

"cheese was brought to children"

3rd series

tǎš	ax-qed-a-x	bopš-ǎr-s
cheeseNOM	PV+him,them-bring-PF-PL	child-PL-DAT
S	Pit	Oi

3.12.3. As is seen from the example above, the syntactical function is primary with the nominative/absolutive, ergative and dative. These cases are *grammatical* (Kuryłowicz, 1964), the other cases are *concrete*.

3.12.4.1. The general function of the genitive in all the Kartvelian languages is adjunctive. This implies the expression of possessivity as a special instance. In all instances the genitive case functions just as the relative adjective and this is the reason why Kartvelian restricts the amount of relative adjectives (instead of saying "wooden house" the Kartvelians say "house of wood", etc.). Determinans usually precedes determinatum in Svan, though the opposite sequence is possible just as in Georgian, e. g. Svan *gezl-ǎ kor* "son's house" (unmarked) vs. *kor gezl-ǎš* "house of the son" (marked). The sequence of the genitive adjunct – the determinatum follows the sequence of the adjective adjunct – the determinatum, cf. Svan *maxe kor* (unmarked) vs. *kor maxe* (marked) "a new house". Typologically the same may be seen in other

languages, cf. Lithuanian *sūnaūs nāmas* "son's house", *naūjas nāmas* "a new house" (unmarked) vs. *nāmas sūnaūs*, *nāmas naūjas* (marked) and the opposite in Latin *domus filii*, *domus nova* (unmarked) vs. *filii domus*, *nova domus* (marked), or Arab. *baytu waladīn*, *baytun ġadīdun* with the "Latin" sequence only and Estonian *poja maja*, *uis maja* with the "Lithuanian" sequence only. Unfortunately, such examples as Russian *dom syna* (the Latin type) and *novyj dom* (the Lithuanian type) seem to destroy the expected universal (see also Schmid, 1974).

3.12.4.2. As elsewhere, the genitive adjunct may be subjective and objective in Svan, e. g.

dī(j)-e malaḷ "love of a mother" = "love for a mother".

3.12.4.3. The genitive case may express an actor:

al	txēre	metxwjár-i	nagdarw	li
this	wolfNOM	hunter-GEN	killed	is

"this wolf is killed by a hunter".

Such expressions are met only with participles and never with the finite form. The absence of the word "by" differs them from Georgian*.

3.12.4.4. Since the genitive fulfils the function of a relative adjective, the whole genitive form may be declined anew in Kartvelian. The degenitive declension is especially developed in O. Georgian, being less but sufficiently represented in the present-day language. In Svan some traces are evident, especially in the derivation (cf. *koḷāš* "cliff's", and "alpinist" anew declined) or in proper names. In our opinion, it is the degenitive transformative fossilized in the postpositional genitive of destination (cf. above 3.4.1).

3.12.5.1. The transformative case expresses

a) transformation:

māre	čāž-d	ād-sig-da	"a man turned into a horse"
manNOM	horse-TFM	PV+IVS-turn-IF.AOR	

b) destination:

al	štamān	harg-i	šed-d	m-a-ḷu
this	jugNOM	whisky-GEN	vessel-TFM	me-NVS-want

"I want this jug as a vessel for whisky".

c) circumstance:

otar	mušgwri-d.	ān-ḷid-x
OtarABS	guest-TFM	PV+IVS-receive-they

"they received Otar as a guest".

qān	an-lāgw-n-e	usgwa	ašir-d
oxABS	PV-estimate-AOR	sixDAT	hundred-TFM

"he estimated an ox at six hundreds (roubles)".

*This is one of the Svan archaisms paralleled in Indo-European, particularly in Grabar and Baltic – cf. Lithuanian *iš vilkas yrū medžiotojo nudėias* but the later Latvian *iš vilks ir no medūša nogalināts* with no "of", "by" as Geor. -*gan, mler*.

lupxw-d al kor ka i-zgr-i
 spring-TFM this houseNOM PV IVS-finish-PASS

"until spring this house will be finished".

3.12.5.2. Adjective in the transformative case is the usual model of the adverb in Svan as well as in Georgian:

al gweš xočām-d an-eg-e
 this affairABS good-TFM PV-do-AOR

"he has carried out this affair well".

3.12.6.1. The instrumental case expresses instrumentality (*melan-šw xwājri* "with ink I write") or circumstance (*ašxw laday-šw sgwebin* "one day before").

3.12.6.2. The instrumental is also used for an actor in passive (cf. 3.4.4: *lāre ičmi laxwboš* "a meadow is mown by the brothers"). This phenomenon is typologically testified in various languages in participle constructions. In the Slavic verb it comes from passive participles (for the genesis of expressing actor in participle constructions cf. A m b r a z a s). With the finite forms in Svan this phenomenon is strange and seems to be new (cf. the absence of the instrumental of actor with the participle – 3.12.4.3).

3.13. All nominal postpositions are used with the (pure-stem) dative except the postposition *-d* "for" used with the genitive. The latter fact shows once again that *-d* is not a postposition but the ending of the transformative case. The genitive is a case with which all postpositions, except *-i/sgā* "in" (iness.), *-ka* "out", *-čū* "under", are used if a noun is proper (e. g. *kor-te* "to a house" but *dāwit-iš-te* "to Davit"). The postpositions *-i/sgā*, *-ka*, *-čū* are not used with the proper names.

3.14. Pronouns are declined in independent usage or while being postponed*.

ešj-ār-s laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 he-PL-DAT PV-them+gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to them they gave the biggest payment"

ešj-ar-e našdabw mačēne li
 he-PL-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"their work is the best"

*našdabw mārāl-eš ešjar-eš mačēne li
 men-GEN they-GEN

"the work of those men is the best"

* mārāl-s ešjār-s laxwēm-x mašēne pās
 men-DAT they-DAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to those men they gave the biggest payment".

In other instances, i. e. in the attributive preposition, the stem of the nominative-absolutive is used with the final vocalism usually dropped in the oblique cases:

*All examples on the inverted word-order are artificial here. Such word-order does not occur in everyday speech, in poetry it is testified merely by possessive pronouns, e. g.

dede-s lagwa si gar x-o-r-dā-s
 mother-DAT thyDAT thouNOM only her-"ExVS"-be-IF-1,2 SG

"thy mother had thee only".

eḥ mārāl-e naḥdabw mačēne li

that men-GEN workNOM the bestNOM

"those men's work is the best"

eḥ mārāl-s laxwēm-x mašēne pās

that men-DAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to those men they gave the biggest payment" .

3.15. Adjectives are fully-declined while being substantivized or (potentially*) postponed:

luwzera(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās

diligentDAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to the diligent (man) they gave the biggest payment"

luwzerē-mi naḥdabw mačēne li

diligent-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"the work of a diligent (man) is the best"

* naḥdabw mārē-miš luwzerē-miš mačēne li

man-GEN diligent-GEN

"the work of a diligent man is the best"

māra(s) luwzera(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās

manDAT diligentDAT

"to the diligent man they gave the biggest payment".

By normal (direct) word order the stem of the indirect (dative) case without a case-ending is regular in attributive usage:

luwzera mārē-mi naḥdabw mačēne li

diligentDAT man-GEN workNOM the bestNOM is

"the work of a diligent man is the best"

luwzera māra(s) laxwēm-x mašēne pās

diligentDAT manDAT gave-they the biggest paymentABS

"to the diligent man they gave the biggest payment".

In modern speech, however, there is a tendency (due to the Georgian influence?) to use the form of the nominative-absolutive instead of the indirect case stem:

luwzere mārēmi naḥdabw mačēne li

luwzere mārās laxwēm-x mašēne pās

The above is also true of possessive pronouns.

3.16. Adverbs may be declined as in Georgian:

lāt-ā sgwebne ladāy "the day before yesterday"

yesterday-GEN fore-day

məxār-xānka "from to-morrow"

məxār-d "up to-morrow"

məxār-iš "of to-morrow"

məx(ā)r-iš-d "from to-morrow", etc.

3.17. Unlike Georgian, the predicate is always used in the plural if the subject is in the plural, animate or not:

*See the previous foot-note.

al mārāl xoča li-x "these men are good"

-PL

al korāl xoča li-x "these houses are good"

-PL

The nominal part of the predicate is in the singular as well as the attributive adjunct of the plural noun:

luwzere mārāl-e našdabw mačēne li

SG PL

"the work of the diligent men is the best".*

3.18. Plural of politeness does not exist in Svan.

3.19.1. The use of numerals in Svan essentially differs from their use in Georgian, cardinals being able to conform to the grammatical number:

Ėxara isgwi mare ėu m-i-dgar-a
nineABS thyABS manABS.SG PV' me-"IVS"-kill-PF
"I have killed nine (of) thy men"

vrs.

Ėxara sāj-ār ėu m-i-dgar-a-x
nineABS Cherkez-PL.ABS PV' me-"IVS"-kill-PF-they

"I have killed nine Cherkezs".

Cf. in the same stanza:

semi gic-ār leziz-d ot-gih,
three ram-PL.ABS way-TFM PV+him+Ex VS-slaughtered
semi zāqi letre laxwēm
three wine-sackSG.ABS drinkingABS him he gave

"he slaughtered for him three rams for the way,
he gave him three wine-sacks of drink".

3.19.2. Cardinals are declined according to the adjective type:

ešxu māra x-e-g-ān ješd pwir "one man had ten cows".
one manDAT him-"VS"-have-PRT tenNOM cowNOM

3.19.3. The use of ordinals does not differ from the use of adjectives.

*With the inverted word-order the plural of the adjunct is expected (*mārāl-e luwzerāl-e), though such constructions have not been met by us.