MORPHOLOGY

4. There are neither class nor gender categories in Svan, however, the category of human-non-human is distinctly represented. Inflection is according to number, case, persons, inclusiveness-exclusiveness (in verbs and possessive pronouns). The latter is an exceptional property of Svan since the supposed relic in O. Georgian (1 PL. *m*- in verbs) is rather problematical.

4.1.1. Personal pronouns are indeclinable in Kartvelian.

In Svan they are:

1 SG. mi, 2 SG. si, 1 PL. nāj, 2 PL. sgāj.

For the 3rd person demonstratives *eǯa*, L. B. *eǯi*, *ǯej* "that, he", *ala*, L. B. *ali* "this, he" are used.

4.1.2. Svan possessive pronouns are:

1 SG. mišgu || mišgwi,   1 PL. EXC. nišgwē(j), L. B. nišg(w)e,

                               1 PL. INC. gušgwē(j), L. B. gušg(w)e,

2 SG. isgu || isgwi,   2 PL. isgwē(j), L. B. isg(w)e.

Their dative ends in *-(w)a*, the other case-forms are rare and follow the 2nd (ERG) and the 3rd (INST) types of declension (see further).

For the 3rd-person the corresponding genitive forms are used:

3 SG. miča, 3 PL. mine(š) || eǯjäre(š).

4.2. In a synchronical description there is no necessity to classify declensional types according to their origin (P a l m a i t i s, 1979). The mixed synchronic-diachronic classification of T h. S h a r a d z e n i d z e (1955, 1961) is inconvenient as it does not really cover all the types (T h. S h a r a d z e n i d z e distinguishes five types). The following classification takes into account, if not all, at least the main variations in case building. It is based on the differentiation between pronominal, adjective and substantive declension and on the form of the genitive case in the latter. Eight types are in the singular, the eighth being the only type in the plural. Besides, the first five types are more or less "artronal", i. e. they have an ancient article *am-*, a declined indirect stem of the demonstrative "this" (cf. O. Georgian NOM. *ḳaci ese* "this man", ERG. *ḳacman aman*, DAT. *ḳacsa amas*, GEN. *ḳacisa amis*, etc.) which is suffixed at least in one case-form. In the first type (and occasionally in the second type's ergative) the non-organic *-n* is incorporated before the "article" suffixed.

There are 6 cases in Svan: nominative/absolutive (NOM./ABS.), dative (DAT.), ergative (ERG.), transformative (TFM.), instrumental (INST.), and genitive (GEN.).

4.2.1.1. The first (1) type of declension is pronominal and is characterized by root suppletion, cf. *ala* "this", *eǯa* "that", *ǯa* "oneself", *mäj* "what", *jär* "who", *mäg* "all":

NOM/ABS.	ala		
DAT.	(arch.) amən, (innov.) amis ‖ alas		
ERG.	amnēmd		
GEN.	(arch.) amnēmiš ‖ amša, (innov.) amīš		
INST.	amnoš(w)		
TFM.	amnar(d)		
NOM/ABS.	eǯə	ǯa	mäj
DAT.	eǯas ‖ mič	mič	im
ERG.	eǯnēm ‖ miǯnēm	miǯnēm(d)	imnēm(d)
GEN.	ečiš ‖ miča	miča	imša
INST.	eǯnoš(w)	mičoš(w)	imnoš(w)
TFM.	eǯnar(d)	——	imnär(d)
NOM/ABS.	jär	mäg	
DAT.	jäs‖ järs	čī(s)	
ERG.	järd	čijem(d)	
GEN.	iša (‖ ješa)	čīmiš	
INST.	išašw	čiwš ‖ činoš(w)	
TFM.	išäšd	čid‖ činär(d)	

DAT. *amən* is used only in fossilized and adverbialized expressions; TFM. *činär(d)* means "for all".

The type is especially interesting as it shows *-ša* to be an allomorph of the GEN. *-iš* (cf. am-ša, not *amša < *amiša!, im-ša, i-ša, miča=*miǯ-ša)*.

The stem *miǯ-* is suppletive: ∅m- +∅ǯ.

From the interrogative pronouns relative (with the suffixed *-wäj*, e. g. NOM. *jerwäj, imwäj*) and indefinite (with *-wäle*, e. g. NOM. *imwäle*) pronouns are formed in which the first component (indirect stem) is indeclinable. Relatives (i. e. their second component) are declined according to the sixth (6) type, as for *jerwäle* "somebody", its declension is mixed: DAT. *jerwäla*, ERG/TFM. *jerwälēm(d)*, INST. *jerwäloš(w)*, GEN. *jerwälēmiš* (cp. further *twetne* 3, though ERG/TFM.!).

4.2.1.2. The second (2) type is adjectival, cf. *xoča* "good". Some cardinal numerals also belong to it: *ara* "eight", *čxara* "nine":

NOM/ABS.	xoča	ara
DAT.	xočäm	aräm
ERG.	xočēm(d)‖ xočēmnēm(d)	arēm(d)

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*Cf. also *bapła* "of priest", *otarša* "of Otars' clan" with *-ša* specialized in the descriptive meaning. This testifies to the primitive Kartvelian bicasualism: 1) the pure-stem form with the *a*-vocalized ultima in binomial conditions (O. Georgian absolutive, or nominative, dative, transformative with the later added *-j/i, -s, -d*), 2) the form in *-i* (O. Georgian gen. *-i-s(a)*, inst. *-i-t(-a)* with the meanings intercrossing as in dative and transformative!). Svan *-ša* shows that *-s₁ (a)*, and not *-is₁ (a)*, has been a postpositional formant with a specially genitive-concretizing meaning.

GEN.	xočēmiš	arēmiš
INST.	ҳočāmšw	arāmšw
TFM.	ҳočāmd	arāmd

Some adjectives (see further *twetne*) belong to the mixed 2/3 type.

4.2.1.3. The third (3) type is characteristic of substantives and adjectives with the alternating vocalic stem-ending NOM/ABS. *-e, -i*, DAT., ERG/TFM. *-a*, the genitive ending being *-ēmiš*, e. g. *māre* "man", *nagzi* "week", *twetne* "white":

NOM/ABS.	māre	nagzi	twetne
DAT.	māra(s)	nagza(s)	twetnām‖ twetna(s)
ERG/TFM.	mārad	nagzad	twetnad
INST.	māroš‖ mārawš	nagzoš‖ nagzašw	twetnāmš‖ twetnoš
GEN.	mārēmiš	nagzēmiš	twetnēmiš

Adjectives often follow the second (2) type in the dative and instrumental cases, sporadically — in the ergative case as well (cp. *jerwāle* above 4.2.1.1.).

Allomorphs of the dative case are a usual mishap in describing the Svan declension. The point is that in the third type *-a* is considered to be the allomorph, while in the fourth type (see further) it is *-w*, sometimes even called an exponent of the dative (S h a r a d z e n i d z e, 1961). Nobody takes into account the regular Kartvelian dative-exponent (the ending) *-s* which often occurs after the stem-ending (e. g. DAT. *māras*). According to the traditional view of the "mixed" character of Svan (A. C h i k o b a v a), only the sixth (6) type of the Svan declension (see further) is really Kartvelian ("Georgian") so that the appearance of *-s* is to be treated as an innovation from the "Georgian" type. Nevertheless no obstacles exist to see here an archaism. Nominative and dative are in fact cases of the simplest derivation in Svan though they differ one from another either by the stem-ending *(māre — māra)* or by the stem-vocalism *(žeɣ — žaɣw)*, while in the "Georgian" types (6, 7, 8) they differ only by the dative ending *-s* (cf. further *ladeɣ — ladeɣs)*. Here is the reason for the dropping of *-s* in the fourth and in the fifth types: the bare dative stem is sufficient to be paradigmatically opposed to the nominative as well as to the other cases. *-s* is systemically redundant there so that the whole dative form is well represented by the bare stem. Therefore neither *-w** in the fourth type should be considered a dative allomorph (all the more — any morpheme!).

The other five types are substantive in general although some adjectives and numerals also belong to them.

4.2.1.4. The fourth (4) type has genitive in *-em ‖ -miš* (sporadically — in *-ēmiš* in accordance with the third type) and is characterized by the alternating stem-vocalism in the nominative and in the other cases and by *-w* appearing immediately after the root in all the non-nominative cases. The stem alternates *e/a* or *ā/a*, cf. *žeɣ* "dog", *jeru* "two", *qān* "ox":

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*In many instances — a result of the historical generalizing of the stem-endings *-w < *-ɟ* and *-w/-u* — see P a l m a i t i s, 1979.

NOM/ABS.	žeɣ	jeru	qān	
DAT.	žaɣw	jarw	qanw	
ERG.	žaɣwem	jarwem	qanwem	
TFM.	žaɣwd	jarwd	qanwd	
INST.	žaɣwš	jarwš	qanwš	
GEN.	žaɣwem ‖	jarwem ‖	qanwem ‖	
	žaɣw(ē)miš	jarw(ē)miš	qanw(ē)miš	

The coincidence of the genitive form with the ergative one *(žaɣwem)* is typical of the fourth (4) and the fifth (5) types. As for the genitive ending *-miš*, it is accidentally possible almost everywhere, i. e. in the 6th type as well.

4.2.1.5. The fifth (5) type has genitive in *-em* coinciding with ergative and it has all the other case-endings of the previous type although there is no *-w* after the root here, while the alternations are *e/a (ā/a)*, *wi/u (= ū/u)*, *i/ə* or the stem has ə and does not alternate, cf. *semi* "three", *txwim* "head", *miž* "sum", *məṭ* "worm":

NOM/ABS.	semi	txwim	miž	məṭ
DAT.**	sam	⁺xum(s)	məž	məṭ(s)
ERG/GEN.	samem	txumem	məžem	məṭem
TFM.	samd	txumd	məžd	məṭd
INST.	samšw	txumšw	məžwš	məṭšw

Except for the word *semi*, this type has disappeared in the living speech, the ancient forms having been fossilized in adverbs, only. Nowadays it is entirely substituted for by the sixth (6) type, the fifth type being represented only in folklore and in texts recorded from the deceased generation.

4.2.1.6. The sixth, seventh and eighth types may be jokingly called Svan "indefinite gender" because there are no relics of the "article" *am-* in them, the types being "Georgian" (or "Kartvelian", using the wrong current term — all the types seem to be Kartvelian, not "mixed" with Abkhaz-Adyghe as conjectured from the times of N. M a r r).

The sixth (6) type has genitive in *-iš*, or in *-īš* while coalesced with the preceding stem-endings *-u* or *-i*, cf. *qān* "ox", *wisgw* "apple", (LB) *ladeɣ* "day", *nāpu* "piece", *nǟti* "kinsman":

NOM/ABS.	qān	wisgw	ladeɣ	nāpu	nǟti
DAT.	qāns, (arch.) qan(a)s	wisgws	ladeɣs	nāpus	nǟtis
ERG/TFM.	qānd, (arch.) qan(a)d	wisgwd	ladeɣd	nāpud	nǟtid
INST.	qanšw	wisgwš	ladeɣšw	nāpuwš	nǟtiwš
GEN.	qāniš	wisgwiš	lādǯiš	nāpwiš	nǟtīš

*The ending *-i* is apparently restored due to the Georgian influence (Geor. *sami*) since Georgian numerals are widely used by the Svans — cf. the hybrid *jōri* "two" (Geor. *ori*) side by side with the Svan *jeru* (the length, absent in *jeru*, shows *jōri* to be purely a Svan invention in accordance with Geor. *ori*).

**The *a*-vocalized stem-ending of the pure-stem dative (sometimes with the subsequent *-s*) is met in folklore texts: *txuma(s)*, *məža*, etc.

As can be seen, the umlaut from the nominative is generalized in the other cases in present-day speech (DAT. *qāns, wisgws,* not *qans, usgws).* The frequent absence of *ā*-umlaut in the instrumental *(qanšw,* though *wisgwš,* not *usgwš!)* is not an archaism but the result of the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2) *ā* ⟶ *a* as *e* ⟶ *ä.*

It is not surprising, due to the "Georgian" character of this type, that most of the loan words get in it. This type also includes a lot of derivatives which tend to spread because of the Svan-Georgian bilinguism.

4.2.1.7. The seventh (7) type is that of the *a*-stems with the historically short *-*a,* mainly reduced to zero, or long *-*ā* shortened. The type has genitive in *-āš* or in *-ǟš,* both being a result of the coalescence of *-iš* with the preceding stem-ending, short or long, cf. *kor* "house", *ǯihra* "oak":

NOM/ABS.	kor	ǯihra
DAT.	kors, (arch.) koras	ǯihras
ERG/TFM.	kord, (arch.) korad	ǯihrad
INST.	koršw	ǯihrawš
GEN.	korāš	ǯihrǟš

4.2.1.8. The eighth type has genitive in *-eš* or in *-ēš* similarly to *-āš, -ǟš* of the 7th type and includes *o*-stems (due to umlaut in the genitive), historical *e*-stems (with the narrowed genitive ending *-āš* > *-eš*) and *ē*-stems, cf. *lisdilǟl* "dining", *litre* "drinking", woman name *Salo:*

NOM/ABS.	lisdilǟl	litre	Salo
DAT.	lisdilǟls	litres	Salos
ERG/TFM.	lisdilǟld	litred	Salod
INST.	lisdilǟlšw	litrewš	Salošw
GEN.	lisdilǟleš	litrēš	Salwēš

4.2.1.9. Some irregular patterns are to be mentioned.

Formally the words *di* "mother", *ši* "hand" belong to the 7th or to the 8th type, nevertheless the ending *-em* is possible in the ergative, as it takes place in the 5th type:

NOM/ABS.	di	ši
DAT.	dis	šis, (arch.) šən
ERG.	did ‖ dijem	šid ‖ šijem
TFM.	did	šid, (arch.) šəd
INST.	diwš	šiwš, (arch.) šənšw
GEN.	dijāš ‖ dije- (in compounds)	šijāš ‖ šije- ‖ šimi-

The archaic DAT. *šən,* ERG. *šəd,* INST. *šənšw* point especially to the 5th type with the stem alternation *i/ə.*

zāj "year" is formally of the 4th type but its genitive is either of the 6th or of the 7th types:

NOM/ABS.	zāj
DAT.	(arch.) zaw, (innov.) zājs

ERG.	(arch.) zawem, (innov.) zâjɑ		
TFM.	(arch.) zawd, (innov.) zâjd		
INST.	(arch.) zawš, (innov) zâjwš‖ zâjšw		
GEN.	zawjāš, L. B. zawāš‖ (innov.) zâjiš‖ zâjāš		

gwi "heart", *ṭwi* "honey", *cxwi* "arrow" belong to the 5th type though with many variants:

NOM/ABS.	gwi
DAT.	L. B. gu(s), U. B. (innov.) gwis
ERG.	guwem‖ (innov.) gwid
TFM.	L. B. gud, U. B. (innov.) gwid
INST.	guwš, (innov.) gwiwš
GEN.	L. B. guwem, U. B. gwĭmiš

Ancient forms have been conserved with verbs and in adverbial usage.

The words ɣērbet "God", *pusd* "lord" show the stem suppletion:

NOM/ABS.	ɣērbet	pusd
DAT.	ɣērbatw	pusds
TFM.	ɣērbatwd	pusdd
INST.	ɣērbatšw	pusṭš (phonetically)
ERG.	ɣertem	pusdd
GEN.	ɣertāš	pusnāš (for *pusn*- cf. also 4.2.2.2)

4.2.1.10. In the present-day speech only the types 6, 7, 8 are productive and tend to substitute for other types. Nevertheless some innovations of this kind are still being perceived as errors, e. g. the introduction of the genitive ending -*eš* into the 3rd type: *mārēš* instead of *mārēmiš*. In this instance, however, the reason may be the strong position of the morpheme -(ē)miš which in its turn tends to penetrate into other types as inherently Svan.

4.2.2.1. In the plural the only 8th type is possible:

NOM/ABS.	ešjär	xočāl	mārāl	žeɣär	txumār
DAT.	ešjärs‖ mins	xočāls	mārāls	žeɣärs	txumārs
ERG/TFM.	ešjärd‖ mind	xočāld	mārāld	žeɣärd	txumārd
INST.	ešjaršw‖ minoš	xočālšw	mārālšw	žeɣaršw	txumaršw
GEN.	ešjareš‖ mineš	xočāleš	mārāleš	žeɣreš	txumreš

NOM/ABS.	qanār	nāpuwār	nǟtijär	korāl	ǯihrāl
DAT.	qanārs	nāpuwārs	nǟtijärs	korāls	ǯihrāls
ERG/TFM.	qanārd	nāpuwārd	nǟtijärd	korāld	ǯihrāld
INST.	qanaršw	nāpuwaršw	nǟtijaršw	koralšw	ǯihrālšw
GEN.	qanreš	nāpuwareš	nǟtijareš	korïeš	ǯihrāleš

The stem (but not necessarily in modern speech!) is not umlautized in the plural: *qān — qanār* (though *qǟnār* may be used as well!), *pwir — purāl, bepšw — bopšār, wisgw — usgār*, etc.

The plural morpheme *-ār* (<*-āre* of the folklore*) changes to *-āl* in accordance with the rule 2.3.3 in U. Bal, in L. Bal, however, *-ār* is generalized, e. g. *punār* "cows", except historical *-ā*-stems having plural in *-ol: marol* "men". U. B. *-āl*, L. B. *-ol* seems to be a usual ending in the plural of the 3rd type, or of the 7th one in *-a*, cf. *naxe* "sharp instrument" — PL. *naxāl*, L. B. *naxol*, *abga* "shoulder -bag" — *abgāl*.

4.2.2.2. Besides, there are peculiar plural patterns in Svan.

The suffix *-īr* is used only in PL. *gezlīr* of *gezal* "son".

The pattern *la——a* (with the usual stem-reduction) is typical of kinship words, e. g. SG. *udil* "sister for her sister" — PL. *lawdila*, *ǯemil* "brother for his sister" — *laǯmila*, *mu* "father" — *lamuwa*.

In one-syllable kinship words the suffix *-larw* is used, cf. the same word *mu* — PL. *mularw*, or *di* "mother" — PL. *dilarw*.

One-syllable words with the stem-endings *-a*, *-e* form plural with the suffix *-rāl: cxa* "nail" — PL. *cxārāl*, *te* "eye" — *tērāl* (the ancient length restored).

Descriptive nouns of peculiarities use the plural suffix *-w*, the sign *-j* of these nouns being dropped: *zoblāj* "eater" — *zoblaw*, L. B. * çadā* "cup-bearer" — *çadaw*.

Some nouns form plural with the suffix *-ādu: pusd* "lord" — *pusnijādu*, *meher* "remote" — *mehrijādu*.

Verbal substantives with the prefix *me-* of the agentive meaning form plural with the suffixes *-a* or *-āla*, cf. *mesgwre* "sitting", "servant" from the verb *lisgwre* "to sit" — PL. *mesgwrāla*, *mesed* "remainer" (*lised* "to remain") — *mesda* || *mesdāla*, *meyweč̣* "pursuer" (*liẏweč̣*) — *meẏwč̣a*, *meẏrāl* "singer" (*liẏrāl*) — *meẏrāla*. It is the suffix *-ol(u)* of these and of the resultative verbal substantives in L. Bal: *mewže* "sleeping" — *mewžolu*, *metwpe* "lost" — *metwpol(u)*.

4.2.3. In the plural the prefix *ma-* is dropped, thus in ethnonyms: *mušwān* "Svan-man" — *šwanār* "Svans", *mɑrwis* "Russian" — *rusāl*.

4.2.4. In all the types of declension in U. Bal GEN. *-š* is dropped in the adjunctive usage if determinandum precedes determinatum immediately, cf. *zagr-i-š i zagr-i nēsga* "between a ridge and a ridge", *šwānjā mērōl* vrs. *mērōl šwānjāš* "the sky of Svania". This *-š* is always preserved in L. Bal: *šwaneš merol*.

In the 4th and the 5th types of declension without GEN. *-š* the form of the genitive adjunct ends either in *-e* with the following *-m* dropped (e. g. *txume*)**, or coincides with the corresponding form of the 6th type (e. g. *žeyī*). This maintains new genitives of the 8th *(txumeš)* and the 6th *(žeyīš)* types. In L. Bal the genitive adjunct in *-em (txumem)* is usual.

-s of the dative is always dropped before postpositions.

4.2.5.1. Synchronically *-s*, *-∅* are allomorphs of the dative morpheme, and *-ī*, *-ē*, *-š̌*, *-īš*, *-ēš*, *-āš*, *-ša*, *-em*, *-(ē)mi*, *-(ē)miš* are allomorphs of the genitive morpheme.

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*E. g. *qanāre* "oxen". The morpheme is connected with the collectivity suffix *-ra:* *-*era-j* > *-*arāj* > *-*arej* > *-ār(e)* (K a l d a n i, 1974).

**Sometimes bare-stem patterns are also met.

4.2.5.2. Allomorphs of the instrumental morpheme are -wš̌, after vowels except a-, -oš̌, coalesced with the preceding stem-ending -a, and -š̌w after consonants.

4.2.5.3. Allomorphs of the ergative morpheme are -d, -em, -ēm, -ēmd. -d is also the morpheme of the transformative case thus coinciding with the ergative in the types 6, 7, 8.

4.2.6. There are four degrees of comparison in Svan adjectives and adverbs: positive, approximative, comparative and superlative. The approximative degree is formed with the affixes mə-, mə ——— a in comparing colours, e. g. muttwän (2.3.2) "whitish", məçrana "reddish" (çərni "red"), and with the suffix -āra in the other instances, e. g. ķəltxāra "rather high" (ķəltxi "high"). The comparative degree is formed with the affixes xo——a, e. g. xonxa "newer" (maxe "new"), and the superlative degree — with the affixes ma——(ēn)e, e. g. mamxēne "the newest". In 4 adjectives the suppletive comparative degree xoča "good", xola "bad", xoš̌a "big", xoxwra "small" is used as a positive one for the synonymous positive (correspondingly) ezār, leg, ȝyəd, ķoṭōl (these stems are not degreed). To form the comparative degree of these adjectives, the suffix -ēl is used: xočēl "better", xodrēl "worse", xoš̌ēl "bigger" xoxwrēl "smaller".

4.3.1. The verbal categories in Svan are: transitivity-intransitivity, dynamicity-stativity, causativity, iterativity, exclusiveness-inclusiveness, person, number, valency, version and reflexivity (voice), aspect, screeve (tense and mood).

The usual classification of the Kartvelian verbs is morphosyntactical. The Svan verb shows no deviations from the common Kartvelian model. From the syntactical point of view the verbs are transitive and intransitive. If a verb has no object, it is called absolute. A verb with a direct or indirect object is called relative. Transitive verbs are relative active ("to grow up smb.", "to grow up smb. for oneself, for smb."). Intransitive verbs may be absolute passive ("to be grown up"), relative passive ("to be grown up for smb."), absolute medial dynamic ("to grow up", "to go"), relative medial dynamic ("to grow up for smb.", "to call for smb."), absolute medial static ("to be", "to be growing up"), relative medial static ("to be for smb." = "to have", "to be growing up for smb."). From the morphological point of view the verbs are divided into three conjugational groups, the second being characterized by the stem ablaut and, as well as the third group, — by the infixation of the 1st and the 2nd personal formants into the stem. The lack of the "aorist" series of screeves is characteristic of the third group.

4.3.1.1. The category of transitivity-intransitivity is morphologically expressed by the stem ablaut in the verbs of the second conjugational group. On the morphosyntactical level it is expressed by the absolutive-ergative and dative-absolutive change of the subject and direct-object cases accordingly in the "nominative" and in the "aorist" series of screeves.

4.3.1.2. The category of dynamicity-stativity has no morphological means of expression of its own.

4.3.1.3. The category of causativity is morphologically expressed by means of the suffixes -un-, -(w)n- (with the non-palatal umlaut — 2.1.2.2. — of the preceding stem-

vocalism), *-ən-e*, *-in-e*, *-en-x* * *(,-e)*. The versional marker *a-* before the root is usual

ā-šx-i "he burns (it)" → *x-a-šx-un-e* "him he causes to burn (it)"

i-gz-ijēl "it stretches itself" → *a-gz-ən-e* "he stretches (it)"

çḳūl-i "it yelps" → L. B. *a-çḳul-in-e* "he causes it to yelp"

x-a-žār "he is yearning" → *x-a-žr-en-i* "him he causes to yearn"

sgur "he sits" → *a-sgwr-e* "he seats (him)"

(in the latter instance *-e* is a thematic suffix but not the special marker of causativity; here the combination of the associative means is used to express causativity).

4.3.1.4. The category of iterativity is expressed by suffixes *-āl(i)*, *-(i)jēl(i)*, *-ǯāl(i)*, *-ǯre* which may· be collated with the corresponding nominal suffixes of plurality. Iterative verbal ·forms in their turn very often express the plurality of objects, cf. *amāre* "he prepares(it)" → *amārāli* "he much, often prepares(it)", "he prepares many of (it)".

4.3.1.5. The category of exclusiveness-inclusiveness is still alive in Svan while in O. Georgian it is represented only as a relic. While in the system of possessive pronouns it may be an innovation in Svan, in the verb it seems to have come from the parent language (K l i m o v, 1977).

4.3.1.6. The category of person expresses the source and the goal of the communicated situation: the communicating person is opposed to other persons in respect of their extra- and intraorientation. Morphosyntactically it is expressed by personal formants which differentiate communicating (the 1st, the 2nd) and non-communicating (the 3rd) persons (M a c h a v a r i a n i M., 1980).

Each personal formant is burdened with either the extravert orientation from the corresponding person (the source of the situation), or the intravert orientation to it (the goal of the situation). Unlike Indo-European, there are not only the extravert but also the intravert series of personal formants in Kartvelian, owing to which the expression of the subject and object persons becomes possible in the same verbal form ("he-beats-me").

The usual position of the personal formant in a form is after the possible preverb and before the possible versional formant preceding the root, i. e. the second position. In Svan in the verbs of the second and the third conjugational groups the formants of the 1st and the 2nd persons are infixed into the root before its vowel if there is no versional formant in the form (otherwise the position is normal).

The extravert series of the personal formants in Svan is :

1. (sg.), I. (pl.) excl. xw-; I. incl. l-
2. x-
3. -, l-

The singular formant *l-* exists only in five verbs: *li* "is" (auxiliary), *lāsw* "was" (auxiliary), *ləg* "stands", *la-lēm* "he ate" AOR, U. Bal *lā-jīš*, L. Bal *la-jš*, but Lashkh *la-lāš* "he drank" AOR, *la-* being a preverb and *-l- (> -j-?)* being a personal formant. In the 1st series in Upper Svan this *l-* remains in all the screeves in the 3rd person.

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n — causatives demonstrate an ordinary Kartvelian — "Baltic Indo-European" isogloss.

We are inclined to connect this formant with the pronominal root *l* − cf. Svan *ala* "this" (cf. S c h u c h a r d t, 1895).

It may be mentioned that the auxiliary verb "to be", 3 sg. *li*, 1 sg. *xwi*, 2 sg. *xi*, being a manifestation of personal formants and the thematic stem-ending *-i* (plus number formants in the plural), seems to have no root in Svan. If so, this once again points out the pronominal origin of *l-* in the 3rd person: in many languages deixis is a usual juncture between the subject and the nominal predicate (cf. Arab. *huwa* "he" = "is", *hiya* "she" = "is").

Nevertheless the sporadic mysterious ending *-z* in the singular *xwiz, xiz* (G a g u a, 1976), *liz* cannot be ignored and not collated with the no less mysterious *-s-* in the imperfect and present conjunctive *läsw, lesw*. Is there a root *es*(?)**?

The intravert series of the personal formants is:

1. m-, I excl. n-, I incl. gw-;
2. ʒ- (Lakhmul, Etser j- before a consonant).

The 3rd person has no intravert orientation because it always belongs to the extravert series. It is especially clear in Georgian where the versionally-neutral forms do not demand the versional formant *-a-* (as it is usual in Svan), cf. paradigm of the verb "to kill" (Svan is in brackets):

v-k̲lav(xw-a-dgār-i) "I kill John"   m-k̲lav-s(m-a-dgār-i) "Jack kills me"
h-k̲lav(x-a-dgār-i) "Thou killst John"   g-k̲lav-s(ʒ-a-dgār-i) "Jack kills thee"
k̲lav-s(Ø-a-dgār-i) "Jack kills John"   ←——————— "Jack kills John"

The intravert series of personal formants is defective in Kartvelian***. It is quite natural, since the intravert semantics means the orientation to the person which is the centre of the situation. As for the third person, it is always the centre of the extravert situation, otherwise the reflexive transformation is to be applied (see Version 4.3.1.9.2.).

The personal formant of the 3rd indirect(-object) person is *x-*.

4.3.1.7. As for number, the plural is marked by the ending *-d* in the 1st and 2nd persons of the extravert series and by the ending *-x* in the 3rd person (since the latter is extravert it must be said that the plural is marked in the extravert series only, the same is to say that the marker of the plural always points to the extravert person):

xw-a-dgāri-d "we without you(thee) kill him, them"
l-a-dgāri-d "we and you(thou) kill him, them"
x-a-dgāri-d "you kill him, them"

$H_1\bar{e}s$(- + d?)/$H_1s\bar{e}d$- (cf. Geor. pl. *sxed-l* "they sit"): Skr. *āste*, Gk. *hēmai*, *káthētai*.

**V. T o p u r i a (G a g u a, 1976) conjectures *-z* in *liz* to be a second root *zi*, Ł. Ɓ. *zə* "is being put", "is lying". This conjecture does not explain all the forms (*liz* and *xwiz*, *läsw*) together, though *zi* may be independent word (not added to *li*) but of the same root! All these Kartvelian facts may be collated on the one hand with IE. *(H₁e)s-* "to be" or Semitic Akkadian *išu* "to be", Aram. *itay*, Hebr. *yēš* "is", Arab. *la-ysa* "is not" and on the other hand — with IE.

***It is surprising that M. M a c h a v a r i a n i did not draw this conclusion in 1980₂. She writes only about the neutralization of the orientation in the third person (p. 56).

m-a-dgắri-d "you kill me"
m-a-dgäri-x "they kill me"
n-a-dgäri-d "you kill us"
n-a-dgäri-x "they kill us but not you(thee)"
[*gw-a-dgäri-d* "you kill us and you(thee)"
is semantically prohibited! see 3.4.3]
gw-a-dgäri-x "they kill us and you(thee)"
ჳ-a-dgäri-d "we kill you", "he kills you"
[*"you(thou) kill(st) you, thee" is prohibited!]
ჳ-a-dgäri-x "they kill you, thee"

As can be seen, the number formants supplement the personal formants and specify the subject!

4.3.1.8. The category of valency morphologically manifests in the bipersonal marking of the finite forms in Kartvelian. The verbal valency is the ability of the verb to join a number of actants in a certain case-form meanwhile the verbal personality characterizes a verbal form in respect to the appearance in the latter of the exponents of those actants. Since in one form maximally two persons are able to be reflected in Kartvelian, the Kartvelian verb may be maximally bipersonal (not tripersonal!), though it may be trivalent (G a m k r e l i d z e, 1979).

In Svan, as well as in Georgian, if a verb is trivalent, one degree of its valency may be occupied by a versionizer (see 4.3.1.9.1) connecting the verb with an indirect person, another degree being occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person, and the third degree being connected with the direct-object person. Very often the latter degree is free (and the direct object is said to be "lost"). Verbs of this kind are transitive. The transitive bivalent verbs are bipersonal because one degree of their valency is occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person and the other degree may be occupied by a personal formant connected with the direct-object person if the subject is in the 3rd plural (in Georgian it may be also in the 3rd singular). The intransitive bivalent verbs are bipersonal because one degree of their valency is occupied by a personal formant connected with the subject person ant the other is occupied by versionizer connecting the verb with an indirect person. Monovalent verbs are monopersonal, the single degree of their valency being occupied by personal formant connected with the subject person. Such verbs are intransitive.

4.3.1.9.1. Version is the crucial morphosyntactical category in Kartvelian as well as in Indo-European and in many other languages. It is a basic category to understand the nature of reflexivity and voice. The following explications are based on the newest theory of M. M a c h a v a r i a n i (1980[1,2], 1981) which has made us refuse the traditional concepts of A. S h a n i d z e. The grammatical doctrine of A. S h a n i d z e is based on the opposition of subject to object. For M. M a c h a-v a r i a n i the concept of the communicant (the 1st and the 2nd persons) opposed to the non-communicant (the 3rd person) is the base. Therefore the reader will not find here the accustomed Shanidze terms, e. g. such as "the objective version", "the subjective version" — they have given their place to the entirely new terms "extraversion", "intraversion", "extravertizer", "extraversionizing", etc.

The category of version is to be defined according to its differential semantical

and morphosyntactical functions as follows: it changes the verbal valency by orientating the communicated situation towards or away from the communicant.

Since the communicant morphologically manifests in the communicating persons, such orientation is achieved by the interaction with the category of person which in its turn is connected with an extravert or intravert orientation. The personal formants orientate situations either extravertially away from the person, or intravertially towards it (4.3.1.6) as it is determined by the grammatical (morphosyntactical) semantics of these formants. The extravert and the intravert series of the personal formants correspond to the existence of the two versionizers, the extravertizer and the intravertizer, by means of which the versional orientation is realized.

The communicated situation, while orientated towards the communicant, is i n t r a v e r t. It is e x t r a v e r t while orientated away from the communicant.

If the versional orientation away from or towards the communicant coincides with the personal orientation away from or towards the actants, the valency of the verb increases by one degree. If the versional orientation is opposed to the personal one, the verb loses one degree of its valency.

This interaction of version and person is morphologically expressed by the use of versionizers.

There are four versionizers in Svan:

the extravertizer -o- (Geor. -u-) always orientates a situation away from the communicant;

the intravertizer -i- (Geor. -i-) always orientates a situation towards the communicant;

the versionizers -a- and -e- (Geor. -a-, -e-) are neutral and may be burdened with the extravert (a in transitive, e in intransitive verbs) as well as with the intravert functions. If we do not speak about scarce anomalies, -e- is the versionizer in the intransitive verbs, only. Sometimes the versionizer -a- is deprived of (versional) meaning ("neutral version" − NVS), sometimes it is used extravertially in order to increase the verbal valency up to the causative degree.

The place of a versionizer in a form is before the root (the third position).

In changing the verbal valency the version either creates objects, or eliminates them. It happens in the following way:

a) the versionizers i-, o-, e- create only indirect objects:

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x-ə-gem    si   kor-s    "thou buildst a house" ⟶
-GLIDE-    S    Od
m-i-gem    si   mi   kor-s    "thou buildst a house for me"
-IVS-      S    Oi   Od
xu-gem     mi   kor-s    "I build a house" ⟶
           S    Od
x-o-gem    mi   eǯa-s    kor-s    "I build a house for him"
-ExVS-     S    Oi       Od
xw-i-mč-i        mi    "I am aged" ⟶
-IVS-  -PASS     S
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xw-e-mč-i   mi   eʒa-ś   "I am aged for him"
-ExVS-   -PASS   S   Oi

b) the versionizer *a*- creates indirect as well as direct objects:

sgur	eʒa	"he sits" →	x-a-sgur	eʒa	eʒa-ś	"he sits on him"
	S		-ExVS-	S	Oi	
sgur	eʒa	"he sits" →	a-sgwr-e	eʒa	eʒa-ś	"he seats him"
	S		.ExVS-	S	Od	

c) the versionizer *i*- eliminates direct and indirect objects:

xw-a-mār-e	mi	eʒa-ś	"I prepare it" →	xw-i-mār-i	mi	"I am prepared"
-NVS-	S	Od		-IVS- PASS	S	
x-o-mār-e	mi	eʒa-ś	eʒa-ś	"I prepare it for him" →
-ExVS-	S	Od	Oi	
xw-i-mār-e	mi	eʒa-ś	"I prepare it for myself"
-IVS-	S	Od	

d) the versionizer *e*- eliminates direct objects only:

x-o-mār-e	mi	eʒa-ś	eʒa-ś	"I prepare it for him" →
-ExVS-	S	Od	Oi	
xw-e-mār-i	mi	eʒa-ś	"I am prepared for him"
-ExVS-	S	Oi	

In creating indirect but eliminating direct objects, *e*- is neither extra- nor intravertizer!

Thus it is the only *a*- which creates direct objects. Therefore it is used for causativity.

What is the state of the 3rd person by the interaction with the versional orientation?

While being excluded from the communicative act, the 3rd person follows the communicant, i. e. it conforms to the paradigm of the 1st and the 2nd persons.

Let us take the verb without versional orientation:

    mi   xw-a-prisd-e   eʒa-ś   "I baptize him"
si,   eʒa   m-a-prisd-e   mi   "thou baptizest, he baptizes me"
mi,   eʒa   ʒ-a-prisd-e   si   "I baptize, he baptizes thee"
→
     eʒa   a-prisd-e   eʒa-ś   "he baptizes him"

Now let us intraversionize and extraversionize the verb. If the communicant persons are intravert (the formants 1. *m*-, 2. *ʒ*-), only the intraversionizer *-i*-, but not the extraversionizer *-o*-, is used by them. In this way the intravert personal orientation coincides with the intravert versional orientation and the verbal valency increases to connect the indirect object with the verb:

si,   eʒa   m-i-prisd-e   eʒa-ś   mi   "thou baptizest, he baptizes him for me"
mi,   eʒa   ʒ-i-prisd-e   eʒa-ś   si   "I baptize, he baptizes him for thee"

Here the 3rd person cannot follow the paradigm of the communicant persons,

because, as we have seen above (4.3.1.6), there is no intravert personal orientation in the 3rd person, the 3rd person always being extravert. Therefore in the 3rd person the versional orientation as well is merely extravert (i. e. the orientation from one non-communicant to another non-communicant is realized extravertially but not intravertially), so that the 3rd person follows the paradigm of the extravert communicant persons.

If the communicant persons are extravert, the extravertizer -o- with transitive verbs and the versionizer -e- with intransitive verbs are used in normal (direct) orientation, the intravertizer -i- being used in reversed (reflexive) orientation.

In the first instance the extravert personal orientation coincides with the extravert versional orientation, and the verbal valency increases to connect the indirect object with the verb:

mi	x(w)-o-prisd-e	eʒa-s	eʒa-s	"I baptize him for him"
si	x-o-prisd-e	eʒa-s	eʒa-s	"thou baptizest him for him"
⟶				
eʒa	x-o-prisd-e	eʒa-s	eʒa-s	"he baptizes him for him"
or				
mi	xw-e-prisd-i	eʒa-s		"I am baptized for him"
si, eʒa	m-e-prisd-i	mi		"thou art, he is baptized for me"
mi, eʒa	ʒ-e-prisd-i	si		"I am, he is baptized for thee"
⟶				
eʒa	x-e-prisd-i	eʒa-s		"he is baptized for him"

4.3.1.9.2. Reflexivization means that the communicant considers ''himself an indirect- or direct-object person — the situation, which has originated from the communicant, returns back to the same communicant (cf. B o e d e r, 1968). In this way either indirect or direct objects are eliminated. For this purpose only -i- may be used: the communication originates only from the extravert person and therefore the opposite versional orientation is necessary to reduce the verbal valency and to eliminate objects. The opposite versionizer for the extravert person is the intravertizer -i-:

mi	xw-i-prisd-e	eʒa-s	"I baptize him for myself"
si	x-i-prisd-e	eʒa-s	"thou baptizest him for thyself"
⟶			
eʒa	i-prisd-e	eʒa-s	"he baptizes him for himself"
mi	xw-i-prisd-i		"I baptize myself"
si	x-i-prisd-i		"thou baptizest thyself"
⟶			
eʒa	i-prisd-i		"he baptizes himself"

In the first instance of the reflexivization the indirect object is eliminated (it is identified with the communicant ⟶ the 3rd extravert person), in the second instance it is the direct object (identified with the communicant ⟶ the 3rd extravert person, as well).

The expected reflexivization of the intravert (1. *m-*, 2. *ǯ-*) person, using the extravertizer *-o-*, is ruled out (i. e. **mo-*, **ǯo-*, Geor. **mu-*, **gu-*, are prohibited), because the intravert series of persons are marked in respect to the absent 3rd person. The 3rd person may be only extravert, and therefore the full (→) any) reflexivization is impossible in this series. In this way the extravertizer *-o-*, which thus may be used only with the extravert persons, in the 3rd person becomes irrelevant feature of the indirect-object formant *x-* in Svan:

x-o-gem "he builds it for him" side by side with *x-e-g-i* "it is built for him", *x-ā̈-g* "it is standing on him" [differently from *-e-* (passive)*, *(x)-a-* (stativity), *-o-* has no meaning of its own, except extraverticity which is also inherent to *x-*; therefore in modern Georgian, where the indirect-object formant *h-‖ s-* may be used without the versionizer and is lost before vowels, it becomes an allomorph of the indirect-object formant *h-‖ s-*, cf. *h-ḳvet-s* "he cuts it him off" and *u-ḳvet-s* "he ruins him" or *mo-s-di-s = mo-u-di-s* "it happens to him"**].

4.3.1.10. M. M a c h a v a r i a n i (1980₂) ascribes voice to conversive-inversive transformations of invariant semantics which belong to the relative level of the language structure and therefore do not need semantical definitions. In this respect voice is not a grammatical category at all. It has no morphosyntactical base of its own and uses the ready patterns present in a language. These are versional oppositions whose use as a morphosyntactical pattern for voice is the most typical.

Unlike A. S h a n i d z e (1953), M. M a c h a v a r i a n i defines as passive only conversive transformations, i. e. those which depend on the communicant's conscientious attitude to whether the subject or the object is the fundamental theme. Therefore conversion appears to have no semantics of its own. It is subordinated to version in Kartvelian (not every verb with versional opposition may undergo conversion), though version loses its semantics in the passive transformation.

Thus the necessary features of the passive in Svan are either the intravertizer *-i-*, or the versionizer *-e-*. The other feature is the suffix *-i* which signals the passive but is not its marker, since the same *-i* may be a theme-formant in the active. Its combination with a versional formant *(VS—i)* seems to be the marker of the passive in Svan though only in the present.

Medium has no marker either in Svan or in Georgian.

4.3.1.11. The category of aspect is represented by the imperfective and perfective which are expressed either by the screeves (see 4.3.1.12) as in O. Georgian or (the perfective) by preverbs as in Modern Georgian. The latter takes place in the apophonic stems (the second conjugational group); in other stems the screeval expression of the perfective is usually accompanied by preverbs except those rare instances when the verb cannot have a prefix.

4.3.1.12.1. In 1977 A. V o l o d i n and V. K h r a k o v s k y expressed an opinion that tense and mood should be treated as one category. Though they did

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**-o-* may be also used for passive in Svan but it is unmarked in respect to passive.

**The latter explications slightly differ from those of M. M a c h a v a r i a n i.

not point to A. S h a n i d z e who had drawn the same conclusion 36 years before (S h a n i d z e, 1941) and who employs the concept of this category, s c r e e v e, in all his works. For A. S h a n i d z e screeve is a complex category in the frame of which other categories are realized in the form of changing elements, such as person or number. Though the distinctive features of the category of screeve are certain constant elements by which one screeve differs from another, first and foremost — tense and mood (S h a n i d z e, 1982, 1978₁).

The three series of screeves differ from each other in their syntactical usage (see 3.3) in Kartvelian. As a result in the 3rd series the use of the two series of the personal formants, in respect of the logical subject, is reversed to their use in the 1st and 2nd series (see Conjugation 4.3.2.1). Such inversion also takes place with static verbs in the 1st series. By the inversion the versional differences are neutralized, the intravertizer *-i-* and the extravertizer *-o-* being used automatically in the 1st, 2nd and in the 3rd person.

In Svan in the perfective screeves of the 1st series (future, conditional) and in all the 2nd series the use of preverbs is the rule. Preverbs are not used only with defective verbs (habendi, sentiendi) which substitute for the 2nd series by forms of the 1st series. In the 3rd series the use of preverbs depends on aspect.

As well as in other Kartvelian languages (and also in Indo-European!), the 1st ("present-imperfect") series in Svan may differ from the 2nd ("aorist") series by the presence of a thematic suffix. No thematic suffix is possible in the 2nd series. As for the 3rd series, in Svan it uses stems of the 2nd series (such derivation sporadically occurs in Georgian, too) and therefore there are no thematic suffixes in it. In Georgian the stems of the 3rd series are derived from those of the 1st series and therefore there are thematic suffixes in the 3rd series in Georgian. Sporadically the use of the 1st series' stems for the 3rd series, and consequently — the presence of thematic suffixes, is testified also in Svan, especially in Lentekh, while in Georgian dialects the use of the 2nd series' stems without thematic suffixes for the 3rd series' stems is very common*.

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*Cf. *da-u-reḳ-ar-s* and *da-u-reḳ-ia* "he has rung". It makes no difference whether it is an innovation or not. All the data show the weakness of the thematic suffix and this is an evidence for the later formation of the 3rd series in Kartvelian. As for the relation of the 1st series' stems with thematic suffixes to the 2nd series' stems without them, it is a common Kartvelian—Indo-European isogloss, cf. O. Armenian 1st series praes. *banay* "he opens" — the 2nd series aor. *e-ba-c'* "he opened" or Greek praes. *ómnūsi* "he swears" — aor. *ómose* "he swore", *e-* in Armenian being augmentum (this appears only in one-syllable 3 sg. forms, a phenomenon which can explain the m e t r i c origin of augmentum also in Greek and Aryan, i. e. first in one-syllable forms).

It seems that the thematic suffix in the 1st series in Kartvelian and Indo-European was lexical-derivational with a permansive meaning. Later it began to mark those imperfective permansive (⟶ present, imperfect) stems which otherwise could not be differentiated from stems with the perfective (⟶ aorist) meaning. Modern Lithuanian well fits to illustrate this statement. Taking the permansive-iterative suffix *-inė-*, we may depict the parent-language "proto-present" as imperfective permansive *sak-inė-i̯-* (praes. *-o*, if. *-o*) "he use(-s, -d) to say" and "proto-aorist" as perfective *sāk-* (praes. *-o*, if. *-ė*) "says, said once and for all". Cf. without suffix: *mr̄k-o* (praes.) "is usually soaking": *mr̄k-o* (if.) "was soaked", *mer̄k-* "soak(ed) smth."

4.3.1.12.2. The imperative has no screeves of its own. The positive imperative for the 2nd person is expressed by the corresponding aorist form or (ask) by the imperfect form (imperfect also being used if the aorist is missing), the negative imperative is expressed by the present form with the negative particle *nōm(is)* or by the aorist conjunctive (by the present conjunctive if the aorist is missing) with the particles *nōma* or *nōsa*. For the 1st and the 2nd persons the conjunctive is used.

4.3.2.1. Let us illustrate the Svan conjugation first in one screeve.

a) absolute monovalent monopersonal intransitive static verb (masdar *lirde* "existing", present, neutral version):

(mi)	xw-ä-r-i	"I exist"
(si)	x-ä-r-i	"thou existest"
(eʒa)	ä-r-i	"he exists"
(näj)	xw-ä-r-i-d	"we exist without you (thee)"
–"–	l-ä-r-i-d	"we and you (thou) exist together"
(sgäj)	x-ä-r-i-d	"you exist"
(eʒjär)	ä-r-i-x	"they exist"

b) relative bivalent bipersonal intransitive static (*ligēne* "having of some animate", present, neutral version):

(mi – si, eʒa)	m-a-q-a	"I have thee, him"
(mi – sgäj)	m-a-q-a-d	"I have you"
(mi – eʒjär)	m-a-q-a-x	"I have them"
(eʒas, eʒjärs–mi)	xw-a-q-a	"he has, they have me"
(eʒas, eʒjärs–näj)	xw-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have us, not you (thee)"
–"–	l-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have us and you (thee)"
(si-mi, eʒa, eʒjär;		
sgäj-mi)	ʒ-a-q-a	"thou hast me, him, them; you have me"
(si, sgäj–näj)	ʒ-a-q-a-d	"thou hast, you have us (without thee, you)"
(sgaj-eʒa, eʒjär)	ʒ-a-q-a-x	"you have him, them"
(näj–si, eʒa)	n-a-q-a	"we without you (thee) have thee, him"
(näj–eʒjär)	n-a-q-a(-x)	"we without you (thee) have them"
(näj–sgäj)	n-a-q-a-d	"we without you (thee) have you"
(näj–eʒa)	gw-a-q-a	"we and you (thou) have him"
(näj–eʒjär)	gw-a-q-a(-x)	"we and you (thou) have them"
(eʒas-si, eʒa, eʒjär;		
eʒjärs-si)	x-a-q-a	"he has thee, him, them; they have thee"
(eʒas, eʒjärs-sgäj)	x-a-q-a-d	"he has, they have you"
(eʒjärs-eʒa, eʒjär)	x-a-q-a-x	"they have him, them"

From the possessor's point of view the verb is inversed (inversive), the logical subject (possessor = grammatical indirect object) being in the dative case and the logical direct object (grammatical subject) being in the nominative case. The same is true of the static verbs in the 1st series and of the transitive verbs in the 3rd series. Since in all

of the instances the logical subject is treated as grammatical indirect object, and since they are bivalent, no place remains for the grammatical direct object. Therefore only one vector of orientation is possible with any person, the versional transformation being impossible. As a result the two series of the personal formants are either used with the neutral versionizers -*a*-, -*e*-, or join the versionizers -*i*-, -*o*- depending on the corresponding orientation of their own, i. e. $m + i$, $\mathfrak{Z} + i$, $xw + o = xo$, $x + o$, $x + o$. Since version becomes automatical, the verbal valency does not increase.

Thus the conjugational pattern, e. g. for the paradigm of the 3rd series' inversives, always may be described by the following Shanidze scheme:

LS	LO						
	1·me (mi)	2·thee (si)	3·him (eʒa)	Lus exc. (nāj)	Lus inc. (nāj)	II·you (sgāj)	III·them (eʒjār)
I (mi) **1.**		mi-	mi-			mi-d	mi-x
thou(si) **2.**	ʒi-		ʒi-	ʒi-d			ʒi-
he(eʒas) **3.**	xo-	xo-	xo-	xo-d	lo-d	xo-d	xo-
we exc. (nāj) **I.**		ni-	ni-			ni-d	ni-(x)
we inc. (nāj) **I.**			gwi-				gwi-(x)
you(sgāj) **II.**	ʒi-		ʒi-x	ʒi-d			ʒi-x
they(eʒjārs) **III.**	xo-	xo-	xo-x	xo-d	lo-d	xo-d	xo-x

The analogous scheme is more simple in Georgian because of the absence of exclusivity-inclusivity there.

The typical anomaly of Svan is the expression of you-him with $\mathfrak{Z}—x$, -*x* being a formant of the 3rd person plural. The same is in the non-inversive verbs in which $\mathfrak{Z}—x$ means he-you.

c) absolute monovalent monopersonal intransitive reflexive (=passive) (*līmāre* "preparing", with the intraversion, present):

(mi)	xw-i-mār-i	"I prepare myself"
(si)	x-i-mār-i	"thou preparest thyself"
(eʒa)	i-mār-i	"he prepares himself", "it is prepared"
(nāj)	xw-i-mār-i-d	"we but not you(thou) prepare ourselves"
—,,—	l-i-mār-i-d	"we and you(thou) prepare ourselves"
(sgāj)	x-i-mār-i-d	"you prepare yourselves"
(eʒjār)	i-mār-i-x	"they prepare themselves"

d) relative bivalent bipersonal transitive active ("I prepare him, them", etc., with the neutral version, present):

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S	Od						
	1. me (mi)	2. thee (si)	3. him (eʒa-s)	I exc. us (näj)	I inc. us (näj)	II. you (sgäj)	III. them (eʒjär-s)
1. I (mi)		ʒ-a-mār-e	xw-a-mār-e			ʒ-a-mār-e	xw-a-mār-e
2. thou (si)	m-a-mār-e		x-a-mār-e	n-a-mār-e			x-a-mār-e
3. he (eʒa)	m-a-mār-e	ʒ-a-mār-e	a-mār-e	n-a-mār-e	gw-a-mār-e	ʒ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e
I exc. we (näj)		ʒ-a-mār-e-d	xw-a-mār-e-d			ʒ-a-mār-e-d	xw-a-mār-e-d
I inc. we (näj)			l-a-mār-e-d				l-a-mār-e-d
II. you (sgäj)	m-a-mār-e-d		x-a-mār-e-d	n-a-mār-e-d			x-a-mār-e-d
III. they (eʒjär)	m-a-mār-e-x	ʒ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e-x	n-a-mār-e-x	gw-a-mār-e-x	ʒ-a-mār-e-x	a-mār-e-x

As can be seen, the usage of formants is the opposite of their usage in the inversive verb. Here as well the same anomaly takes place: *(eǯa – sgāj) ǯ-a-mār-e-x* "he prepares you" with the formant *-x* of the 3rd person in plural.

e) relative trivalent bipersonal transitive active ("I prepare him, them for him, them", etc., with the intra- and extraversion, present) — the picture differs from the previous one only in versionizers pointing to the indirect object:

S	Od						
	1	2	3	I exc.	I inc.	II	III
1		ǯi-	xo-			ǯi-	xo-
2	mi-		xo-	ni-			xo-.
3	mi-	ǯi-	xo-	ni-	gwi-	ǯi-x	xo-
I exc.		ǯi-d	xo-d			ǯi-d	xo-d
I inc.			lo-d				lo-d
II	mi-d		xo-d	ni-d			xo-d
III	mi-x	ǯi-x	xo-x	ni-x	gwi-x	ǯi-x	xo-x

This scheme is especially convenient to compare with the inversive one.

Two other possibilities are to be mentioned:

f) relative bivalent bipersonal transitive active (the reflexivization of *i:* "I prepare him, them for myself", etc., with the intraversion, present), and

g) relative bivalent bipersonal intransitive passive (the passive reflexivization of *e:* "I prepare myself = I am prepared for him, them", etc., with the intra- and extraversion expressed by the common versionizer *-e-*, present):

S	Od						
	1	2	3	I exc.	I inc.	II	III
1		ǯi-	xwi-			ǯi-	xwi-
2	mi-		xi-	ni-		ǯi-	xi-
3	mi-	ǯi-	i-	ni-	gwi-	ǯi-x	i-
I exc.		ǯi-d	xwi-d			ǯi-d	xwi-d
I inc.			li-d				li-d
II	mi-d		xi-d	ni-d			xi-d
III	mi-x	ǯi-x	i-x	ni-x	gwi-x	ǯi-x	i-x

h) the final thematic vowel is substituted for by the formant *-i: xw-e-mār-i* (cp. c):

S	Oi						
	1	**2**	**3**	**I** exc.	**I** inc.	**II**	**III**
1		ʒe-i	xwe-i			ʒe-i	xwe-i
2	me-i		xe-i	ne-i		ʒe-i	xe-i
3	me-i	ʒe-i	xe-i	ne-i	gwe-i	ʒe-ix	xe-i
I exc.		ʒe-id	xwe-id			ʒe-id	xwe-id
I inc.			le-id				le-id
II	me-id		xe-id	ne-id			xe-id
III	me-ix	ʒe-ix	xe-ix	ne-ix	gwe-ix	ʒe-ix	xe-ix

4.3.2.2. Let us examine the derivation of screeves in all the three conjugational groups.

Group I (e. g. the verb *li-g-em* "building", *-em* being a thematic suffix) consists of verbs which undergo transitive active-intransitive passive conversive transformation without the stem ablaut. In the present their stems end in *-i*, *-e* or in a consonant with a preceding narrow (umlautized) vowel signalizing the former existence of the final *-i, *-e. *-i* is always represented in the present passive (or reflexive) where it is accompanied by the versionizers *-i-, -e-*.

Group II (e. g. the verb trans. act. *li-ţx-e* / intrans. pass. *li-ţex* "returning") consists of apophonic verbs with the *i*-degree of the stem vocalism (reduced or not) in the transitive active and the *e*-degree of the stem vocalism (reduced, umlautized, or not) in the intransitive passive or in the dynamic medium. This qualitative vowel gradation is not connected with screeve (unlike Georgian). The active forms are characterized by the lengthened stem vocalism (i. e. by *-ī-*) in the perfect.

Group III (e. g. the verb *li-g-ne* "standing") consists of (medial) static verbs and is characterized by the absence of a number of forms, namely — of the 2nd series.

The most characteristic feature of the verbs of groups II and III is the infixation of the 1st and the 2nd personal extravert formants (their sound *x* being lost and thus zero becoming the marker of the 2nd and the 3rd persons!) into the stem before its first vowel.

In all the three groups the verbal stem in the present active coincides with the corresponding masdar-stem (masdar form without the prefix *li-*).

In all perfective screeves (Groups I and II) the use of a preverb is the rule.

4.3.2.2.1. The first conjugational group, *ligem*

The 1st series of screeves

1. Present

Active bivalent with the neutral version:

xwagem	xugem	məgem
"I build it, them"	"I stand it",...	"he stands me",...

xagem	xəgem	ʒəgem
"thou buildest it",...	"thou standest it",...	"I stand thee",...
agem	jəgem	
"he builds it"	"he stands it"	
lagemd	ləgemd	gugem
"we all build it"	"we all stand it"	"he stands us and you"
	etc.	

Active trivalent with the intraversion:

migem
"he builds it for me"
ʒigem
"I build it for thee"
gwigem
"he builds it for us and you"
 etc.

Active bivalent reflexive:

xwigem	migem
"I build, stand it for myself"	"he stands me for himself"
xigem	ʒigem
"thou buildest, standest it for thyself"	"I stand thee for myself"
igem	
"he builds, stands it for himself"	
ligemd	gwigem
"we all build it for ourselves"	"he stands us and you for himself"

Reflexive-passive monovalent:

*xw-i-g(m)-i, xw-i-g-i
"I stand myself", "I am stood"*
*xigi
"thou standest thyself", "thou art stood"
igi
*"he stands himself", "it is built"
*ligid
"we and you stand ourselves", "we are stood"
etc.

Active trivalent with
the extraversion:

xogem
"I build it for him"
"thou buildest it for him"
"he builds it for him"

_____

*The meanings "to stand oneself", "to be stood" are artificial (the latter is not artificial in the 3rd person inanimate); since the meaning "to be built" is impossible in the 1st and 2nd persons in normal speech, these forms are not met. We give them in order to illustrate the full paradigm.

logemd
"we and you build it for him"
etc.

Reflexive-passive
bivalent:

*xwegi
"I stand myself by him",
"I am stood for him"
xegi
*"thou standest thyself by him"
"it is built for him"
*legid
"we and you are stood for him"

*megi
"he stands himself by me"
"he is stood for me"
*ǯegi
"I stand myself by thee"

*gwegi
"he stands himself by us and you"

etc.

As for the intravert trivalent forms, V. T o p u r i a (1967) points out one more meaning: *mirdi* "he brings me up for him". Such a possibility has not been testified by us in Upper Svan. Here we have to do with Georgian fact where -i- does really function as if it were extravert (Shanidzian 'sasxviso'), cf. AOR *da-m-i-qen-a vaǯar-s* "he appointed me to a merchant". We consider this phenomenon (which is exceptionally rare in Georgian) to be a later Georgian innovation (the same is M. M a c h a v a r i a n i's opinion) which is a supercorrection of the extravert *da-m-a-qen-a* according to the direct-object 1, 2 sg. (-m,...) in the bivalent form (*da-m-i-qen-a* regular "he appointed me for himself") and to the trivalent character of the form with the indirect-object 1, 2 sg. (*da-m-i-qen-a* regular "he appointed him for me") — cf. the Svan trivalent *migem* "he builds it for me" and the bivalent *migem* "he stands me for himself". We have not found anomalies of the type *mirdi* "he brings me up for him" in Upper Svan.

A significant peculiarity of the Svan passive in all the screeves of the 1st series is the unmotivated elimination of the thematic suffix there: *igi* instead of *igmi*. Passive forms with the thematic suffix are exceptional and sound unusual (cf. the following screeves).

If a verb has the single thematic stem-ending -i- in the present active, active forms with the intravertizer -i- always coincide with the monovalent passive forms in the present, e. g. *i-qn-i* "he ploughs it for himself" = "it is ploughed".

2. Imperfect

Active bivalent with
the version:
xw-a-gãm-dã-s, xugãmdãs   məgãmda
x-a-gãm-dã-s, xəgãmdãs   ǯəgãmda
a-gãm-da,   jəgãmda

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

l-a-gäm-da-d, ləgämdad gugämda   xw-i-g(m)-ōl-dä-s

       etc.   x-i-g - ōl-dä-s

Active bivalent reflexive: i-g - ōl-da

xwigämdäs   migämda   l-i-g - ōl-da-d

xigämdäs   ǯigämda   etc.

igämda

ligämdad   gwigämda

        etc.

Active trivalent with   **Reflexive-passive**

the intraversion: **bivalent*:**

        migämda

        ǯigämda   xwegōldäs   megōlda

        gwigämda   xegōldäs   ǯegōlda

        etc.   xegōlda

Active trivalent with the   legōldad   gwegōlda

extraversion: etc.

xogämdäs

xogämdäs

xogämda

etc.

Verbs with the present active in *-e* form the imperfect without *-da: xwamäre* "I prepare him" ⟶ *xwamäräs*, 2 sg. *xamäräs*, 3 sg. *amära*, etc. The imperfect pattern with *-da* correlates to the present active in *-i*: *xwaqni* "I plough it" ⟶ *xwaqändäs*. Here one can see the ground to collate the narrow vocalism of the stem vowel preceding the final consonant of the consonantal present-stem active verbs with the verbs in *-i*, cf.

1) *xwaqändäs = xwagämdäs*, but *xwaqni* and *xwagem*

                  vrs.

2)   *xwamäräs*, but *xwamäre*.

Thus the narrow stem vocalism in the present in the first instance seems to be the usual result of the umlaut, the final *-i* dropped**.

The "recreation" of the stem vocalism in the imperfect and in the present conjunctive (if. *xwa-qän-däs*, praes. cnj. *xwa-qän-dēd* vrs. praes. *xwa-qn-i*) seems to have occurred due to the addition of one more syllable, reduction having operated only in the syllables neighbouring upon the syllable which caused reduction, cf. 3 sg. if. *aqanđđa* vrs. praes. *aqđni*.

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*There is no versional orientation in the reflexive-passive, the extravert and intravert orientation being personal and expressed by personal formants (see also further, 4.3.2.2.2.2, the automatical use of *-o-*, *-i-* in this screeve in the second group). Therefore forms with the extravert and the intravert personal formants are to be given in the same paradigm.

**masdar **ligami*, praes. **xwagami* > **ligämi*, **xwagämi* > *ligem*, *xwagem*. The derivative model of 1) entirely differs from 2): the fact that in the instance of *xwagem* it is the stem vowel that is preserved, while it is the stem ending in *xwaqni* (the stem vowel reduced), points out some binomial relation. The distribution of this kind seems to have been developed due to athematic *(*xwaqn-i)* and thematic *(*xwag-am-i)* derivation of these stems.

If a verb has -ē- in the stem, it changes into -ā̈- in the imperfect and the present conjunctive, cf. *xwadēsgi* "I put it down" vrs. if. *xwadā̈sgdǟs*, praes. cnj. *xwadā̈sgdēd*. The reason seems to be either the non-palatal umlaut $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ under the influence of the hypothetical formant of the imperfect -w, once disappeared before -*da*, or the palatal umlautizing of the previous *ā* which turned into *ā̈* in the present after the disappearance of the final -*i*. Later the latter was morphologically reconstructed thus causing the secondary umlaut *ā̈* > *ē*.

Besides the models in -*q*, -*da*, a number of other, less popular models are in use, mostly in L. Bal. Thus in Bechwi the final -*s* of the 1st and the 2nd persons joins -*(g)w*: *xwamarasgw*, *xamarasgw*, *amara*, etc. (without -*g*- in speech of the younger generation) thus showing the reason of the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2) in U. Bal *(xwamār)ās*, *(xwagāmd)ās*, etc. In Etser -*e* and -*i*-stem verbs end in zero without the stem ending in the 1st and in the 2nd singular while in the 3rd singular *e*- stems end in -*a* and *i*-stems end in -*iw* or in -*ew*, this *w* being in other stems as well (*xwasoq*, *xasoq*, *asoqa*, etc. "-madded him", *xwadgār*, *xadgār*, *adgāriw*, etc. "-killed him").

For the models in -*ən* and (contaminated) - *ənda*, see static verbs 4.3.2.2.3.2.

3. Present conjunctive

Active: Passive:

xwa-, xwi-,   xo-gām-d-ēd   xwi-, xwe-g(m)-ōl-d-ēd
               xagām-d-ēd   xigōl-d-ēd
               agām-d-ēd-s   igōl-d-ēd-s
               lagām-d-ēd-d(!)   ligōl-d-ēd-d
               etc.   etc.

Features, characterizing the imperfect, characterize the present conjunctive too: e. g. verbs with the present active in -*e* form present conjunctive by the only -*ēd*- (i. e. without -*d*-): *xwamārēd*.

The pronunciation of the doubled *d* in the 1st plural inclusive is very clear.

4. Imperfective future

Active: Passive:

xwagm-uni   xwig(m)-ōl-ni
xagm-uni   xigōl-ni
agm-uni   igōl-ni
lagm-uni   ligōl-ni-d
etc.   etc.

In intransitive verbs without the indirect object the active forms use the suffix -*ini*: *igərgālni* < *i-gərgal-ini* "he will speak" but *x-a-gərgal-wni-* < -*uni* "he will speak to him".

5. Perfective future

Active bivalent with the neutral version:

ot-gem-ne	am-gem-ne
at-gem-ne	aʒ-gem-ne
ad-gem-ne	
al-gem-ne-d	agw-gem-ne
etc.	

Active bivalent reflexive:

ātw-gem-ne	āmgemne
ātgem-ne	āʒgemne
ādgem-ne	
ālgem-ne	āgwgemne
etc.	

Active trivalent with the intraversion:

āmgemne
āʒgemne
āgwgemne
etc.

Active trivalent with the extraversion:

otgemne
otgemne
odgemne
olgemned
etc.

Reflexive-passive monovalent:

ātw-g(m)-(ōl)-i ‖ a
ātg(ōl)-i ‖ ātg(ōl)a
ādg(ōl)-i ‖ ādg(ōl)a
ālg(ōl)-i ‖ ālg(ōl)a
etc.

Reflexive-passive bivalent:

ātwg(ōl)-i ‖ a	āmg(ōl)-i ‖ a
ātg(ōl)-i ‖ a	āʒg(ōl)-i ‖ a
ātg(ōl)-i ‖ a	
ālg(ōl)-i ‖ a	āgwg(ōl)-i ‖ a
	etc.

Here the preverb *ad-* of the perfective meaning is used. In pure shape it is represented in the neutra- or intravert forms of the 3rd person active and monovalent (absolute) passive because no *x* (of the 1st or the 2nd persons' formant) follows the preverb there (see the rule 2.3.2). On the contrary, in bivalent (relative) passive the consonant of the preverb is assimilated in the 3rd person to the following indirect-object formant *x-* and thus the differentation between the absolute and the relative passive forms is achieved in a paradigm with the extravert personal formants.

The vocalic mutation *a-* > *o-* at the onset is due to the progressive incontiguous assimilation either of *w* of the 1st singular formant or of the extravertizer *-o-* reduced. Upper Bal retains *w* of the 1st singular formant before the intravertizer *-i-* reduced: *ātw-*. In all instances in Lower Bal only *ot-* is met in the 1st person singular.

Verbs with the present active in *-e*, *-i* form the perfective future in *-i(-ne)*: *amāre*

"he prepares" ⟶ an-măr-i ‖ an-măr-ne. The latter form (together with the non-reduced Lentekh -ine) shows that we have -ine in the same adgemne as well (T o p u r i a, 1967).

In the passive the formant -ōl- may be optionally used only in the verbs with a thematic suffix (as li-g-em). Therefore verbs ending in -i in the active, when intravert, coincide with the corresponding (absolute) passive forms, e. g. čw"ăd-xaʃw-i "he will paint it for himself" and "it will be painted".

6. Imperfective conditional

The screeve is formed by means of the suffix -ōl from the forms of the imperfective future:

Active:	Passive:
xwagm-un-ōl	xwig(m)ōl-n-ōl
etc.	etc.

Forms in -iw are used in Lower Bal side by side with the forms in -ol, e. g. i-ǯb-un-iw ‖ iǯbun-ol "if he cooked".

7. Perfective conditional

The active is formed from the perfective future either by the suffix -a (with the ending -s < *-sw(?) in the 1st and 2nd singular), or by lengthening of the final -i and the formant -(i)s. The passive is formed by means of the suffix -ōl from the perfective future forms without -ōl-:

Active:	Passive:
ot-gem-n-ă-s	ătw-g-ōl
atgemnăs	ătgōl
adgemna	ădgōl
etc.	etc.

The active in -is is used if a verb ends in -i in the perfective future, e. g. adxaʃwi "he will paint it" ⟶ 1 sg. otxaʃwis, 2 sg. atxaʃwis, 3 sg. adxaʃwis, or of the verb "to prepare": oxwmărīs, axmărīs, anmărīs (with the preverb an-).

8. Narrative present

Active bivalent with the neutral version:	Passive monovalent:
lə-m-găm-win-xwi	lə-m-g(m)-ōl-win-xwi
-xi	-xi
(-li)	(-li)
etc.	etc.

Active extravert trìvalent   Passive bivalent:
with the neutral versionizer:

xw-ằ-gm-ina   mằgmina   xw-ằ-g(m)-ōl-na   mằgōlna
xằgmina   З̌ằgmina   xằgōlna   Ǯằgōlna
xằgmina   xằgōlna
lằgminad   gwằgmina   lằgōlnad   gwằgōlna
        etc.   etc.

Forms without indirect object are analytical, the first component being a past
participle form with the inserted -m(a)- and suffixed -une: ləmgằmune > ləmgằmwin.
The second component — the auxiliary verb "to be", is not necessary in the 3rd person.

9. Narrative imperfect

Active bivalent: Passive monovalent:

ləmgằmwin-xwằsw   ləmgōlwin-xwằsw
         -xằsw   -xằsw
         -lằsw   -lằsw
etc.   etc.

Active extravert trivalent: Passive bivalent:

xw-ằ-gm-in-ằn   mằgminằn   xw-ằ-g(m)-ōl-n-ằn   mằgōlnằn
xằgminằn   Ǯằgminằn   xằgōlnằn   Ǯằgōlnằn
xằgminằn   xằgōlnằn
lằgminằnd   gwằgminằn   lằgōlnằnd   gwằgōlnằn
        etc.   etc.

10. Narrative conjunctive

Active bivalent: Passive monovalent:

ləmgằmwin-xwesw   ləmgōlwin-xwesw
         -xesw   -xesw
         -lesw   -lesw
etc.   etc.

Active trivalent: Passive bivalent:

xw-ằgm-in-ēn   mằgminēn   xw-ằ-g(m)-ōl-n-ēn   mằgōlnēn
xằgminēn   Ǯằgminēn   xằgōlnēn   Ǯằgōlnēn
xằgminēn   xằgōlnēn
lằgminēnd   gwằgminēn   lằgōlnēnd   gwằgōlnēn
        etc.   etc.

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11. Aorist

Active bivalent with the neutral version:

ot-ə-g*	amge
at-ə-g	aȝge
ad-g-e	
al-g-e-d	agwge
etc.	

Active bivalent reflexive:

ātw-i-g	āmge
āt-i-g	āȝge
ād-g-e	
āl-g-e-d	āgwge
etc.	

Active trivalent with the intraversion:

	āmge
	āȝge
	āgwge
	etc.

Active trivalent with the extraversion:

ot-o-g
ot-o-g
od-g-e
ol-g-e-d
etc.

Reflexive-passive monovalent:

ātw-g-ān
āt-g-ān
ād-g-ān
āl-g-ān-d
etc.

Reflexive passive bivalent:

ātw-g-ān	āmgān
āt-g-ān	āȝgān
āt-g-ān	
āl-g-ān-d	āgwgān
	etc.

If the form of the 3rd person differs in its onset from the form of the 2nd person in the passive, their difference in the final morpheme may be eliminated: forms with the generalized *-ān* often occur in relative (monovalent) verbs.

The stem of the 3rd person singular is used to derive the plural forms, therefore the 1st and the 2nd persons appear to be unlike in the singular and in the plural, cp. 1 sg. *ātwig* and 1 pl. *ātwged* or 2 sg. *ātig* and 2 pl. *ātged*.

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* -ə- is a glide.

12. Aorist conjunctive

Active bivalent with
the neutral version:

ot-g-a	amgas
at-g-a	aȝgas
ad-g-a-s	
al-g-a-d	agwgas
etc.	

Active bivalent reflexive:

ātw-g-a	ămgas
ăt-g-a	ăȝgas
ăd-g-a-s	
ăl-g-a-d	ăgwgas
etc.	

Active trivalent with
the intraversion:

	ămgas
	ăȝgas
	ăgwgas
	etc.

Reflexive-passive
monovalent:

ătw-g-ēn
ăt-g-ēn
ăd-g-ēn-s
ăl-g-ēn-d
etc.

Reflexive-passive
bivalent:

ātw-g-ēn	ămgēns
ăt-g-ēn	ăȝgēns
ăt-g-ēn-s	
ăl-g-ēn-d	ăgwgēns
	etc.

Active trivalent with the extraversion:

ot-g-a
ot-g-a
od-g-a-s
ol-g-a-d
etc.

The 3rd series of screeves

13. Perfect

Active: *ămga* "I[1] (seem to) have built it[3]" (1–3)*, etc.

ăm-g-a (1-3)	ăm-g-a-d(1-II)	ăm-g-a-x(1-III)
ăȝga(2, II-1; II-3, III)	ăȝgad(2, II-I)	ăȝgax(II-3, III)
ăgwga(I inc.-3, III)		ăgwgax(I inc.-III)
ănga(I exc.-2, 3, III)	ăngad(I exc.-II)	ăngax(I exc.-III)

---

*Here and further persons of logical subject (Arabic means singular, Roman means plural) are given in the first place in brackets, and persons of the logical object (direct or indirect) are given in the second place after a dash.

olgad(3, III-I inc.)

otga(3, III-1, 2; 3-3, III)   otgad(3, III-I exc; 3, III-II)   otgax(III-3, III)

Forms without a preverb (*miga*, *ǯiga*, *gwiga*, *xoga*, etc.) are used in the pure resultative meaning. Preverb stresses the unattested character of the situation.

The forms of the auxiliary verb "to be" are not suffixed to differentiate the direct object of the verbs with the inversed extravert personal formant *(otga)*, as it takes place in Lower Svan (Lashkh, Lentekh) and in Georgian (cf. Geor. praes. *v-a-k-eb* "I praise him", pf. *m-i-k-ia* "I (seem to) have praised him" but *v-u-k-i + -v-ar* "I-him-praise + -I-am" = "he has praised me" or *v-u-k-i + -var-t* "I-him-praise + -we-are" = "he has praised us", etc.; in Old Georgian, however, *[v]ukie* in the both instances as in Svan).

The p a s s i v e may be absolute and relative. Absolute forms are analytic (participle + the auxiliary "to be": *algēl-(l)i* "it seems to have, it has, been built").

A b s o l u t e m o n o v a l e n t:	R e l a t i v e b i v a l e n t:
algēl-xwi	ot-g-ēna- (1-3, III)
	aǯ-g-ēna (1-2, II)
-xi	amgēna (2-1)
	atgēna (2-3, III)
	angēna (2-I exc.)
-li	amgēna (3-1)
	aǯgēna (3-2)
	aǯgēnax (3-II)
	atgēna (3-3, III)
	angēna (3-I exc.)
	agwgēna (3-I inc.)
-xwišd	aǯgēnad (1-2, II)
	otgēnad (I exc.-3, III)
-lišd	algēnad (I inc.-3, III)
-xišd	amgēnad (II-1)
	atgēnad (II-3, III)
	angēnad (II-I exc.)
-lix	amgēnax (III-1)
	aǯgēnax (III-2, II)
	atgēnax (III-3, III)
	angēna(x) (III-I exc.)
	agwgēna(x) (III-I inc.)

14. Pln-perfect

Active

All the forms (cf. perfect) may be brought together in the following scheme:

LS$_{sg.}$ – LO$_{sg., pl.}$: logical subject in the singular, logical direct object in the singular or plural (-d, -x):	LS$_{pl.}$ – LO$_{sg., pl.}$: logical subject in the plural, logical direct object in the singular or plural (-d, -x):
ām-g-ǎn, -d, -x aʒgǎn, -d otgǎn, -d; olgǎnd	āngǎn, -d(, -x); ågwgǎn(, -x) åʒgǎn, -d, -x otgǎn, -d, -x

Passive

Absolute monovalent:	**Relative bivalent:**
algēl-xwǎsw	ot-g-ēn-ǎn (1-3, III)
	aʒ-g-ēn-ǎn (1-2, II)
-xǎsw	amgēnǎn (2-1)
	atgēnǎn (2-3, III)
	angēnǎn (2-I exc.)
algēl-lǎsw	amgēnǎn (3-1)
	aʒgēnǎn (3-2)
	aʒgēnǎnx (3-II)
	atgēnǎn (3-3, III)
	angēnǎn (3-I exc.)
	agwgēnǎn (3-I inc.)
-xwǎswd	aʒgēnǎnd (1-2, II)
	otgēnǎnd (I exc.-3, III)
-lǎswd	algēnǎnd (I inc.-3, III)
-xǎswd	amgēnǎnd (II-1)
	atgēnǎnd (II-3, III)
	angēnǎnd (II-I exc.)
-lǎswx	amgēnǎnx (III-1)
	aʒgēnǎnx (III-2, II)
	atgēnǎnx (III-3, III)
	angēnǎn(x) (III-I exc.)
	agwgēnǎn(x) (III-I inc.)

15. Perfect conjunctive

Active

LS$_{sg.}$ – LO$_{sg., pl.}$ (-s) (-d, -x)	LS$_{pl.}$ – LO$_{sg., pl.}$ (-s) (-d, -x)
ām-g-ēn, -s, -d, -x ıʒgēn, -s, -d otgēn-s, -d; olgēnd	āngēn, -s, -d, -x; ågwgēn-s(, -x) åʒgēn, -d, -x otgēn, -d, -x

Absolute monovalent:	Relative bivalent:
algēl-xwesw	ot-g-ēn-ēn (1-3, III)
	aӡ-g-ēn-ēn (1-2, II)
-xesw	amgēnēn (2-1)
	atgēnēn (2-3, III)
	angēnēn (2-I exc.)
-lesw	amgēnēns (3-1)
	aӡgēnēns (3-2)
	aӡgēnēnx (3-II)
	atgēnēns (3-3, III)
	angēnēns (3-I exc.)
	agwgēnēns (3-I inc.)
-xweswd	aӡgēnēnd (1-2, II)
	otgēnēnd (I exc.-3, III)
-leswd	algēnēnd (I inc.-3, III)
-xeswd	amgēnēnd (II-1)
	atgēnēnd (II-3, III)
	angēnēnd (II-I exc.)
-leswx	amgēnēnx (III-1)
	aӡgēnēnx (III-2, II)
	atgēnēnx (III-3, III)
	angēnēn(x) (III-I exc.)
	agwgēnēn(x) (III-I inc.)

For the ending *-nx* in the plu-perfect and the perfect conjunctive forms, cf. 2.3.2.

4.3.2.2.2. The second conjugational group

The stem vocalism *i* is "restored" in the active and *e* in the passive "disappears" by reduction (2.1.3). Since the passive is marked, its forms always have some formants, here — the suffix *-en* signalling the passive meaning, while the radical *e* (similarly to *i*) may be reduced to zero. No thematic suffixes (except the "passive" ending *-i*) are used.

A specific phenomenon is the automatical* use of the versionizers *-i-*, *-o-* in this group, in the same medial verbs in which *-e-* is used. In this instance *-i-* and *-o-* point out some closer relation: "of one's own", cf. *miča amaxw x-e-ṭxeni* "his enemy returns to him" but *miča gezal x-o-ṭxeni* "his son returns to him". This fact probably points out the medial character of the "passive" here.

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*The use is determined by the personal formants of the corresponding orientation and does not change versional orientation: *xw-i-* is impossible!

1. Present

Active:	Medium (passive):

Active:

(*ţwiţxe* "I return it"; *ţiţxe* "thou
returnst it", "he returns it";
məţxe "thou returnst myself", "he
returns myself"; *xwaţxe* "I return
it (to) him"; *xoţxe* "I return it
for him"; *miţxe* "he returns me
to himself"; "he returns it for
me")

Medium (passive):

(*ţwexni* "I return";
xweţxeni "I return to him";
ţexni "thou returnst";
ţexni "he returns", "it is returned"
xeţxeni "thou returnst to him";
      "he returns to him";
      "it is returned to him"
meţxeni "he returns to me";
      "it is returned to me")

**Bivalent with the neutral
version:**

ţwix-e	m-ə-ţx-e*
ţix-e	ž-ə-ţx-e
ţix-e	
lə-ţx-e-d	gu-ţx-e
	etc.

Monovalent:

ţwex-n-i
ţex-n-i
ţex-n-i
lə-ţx-en-i-d
etc.

**Bivalent reflexive with
the versionizers -i-, -a-:**

xwiţxe	miţxe, mäţxe
xiţxe	žiţxe, žäţxe
iţxe	
liţxed	gwiţxe, gwäţxe
	etc.

**Trivalent with the
intraversion and the
versionizers -a-, -i-: —**

mäţxe, miţxe
žäţxe, žiţxe
gwäţxe, gwiţxe
      etc.

**Trivalent with the
extraversion and the
versionizers -a-, -o-:**

**Bivalent with the
versionizer -e- or with the
automatical versionizers
-o-, -i-:**

xw-e/o-ţx-en-i	m-e/i-ţx-en-i
xeţxeni, xoţxeni	žeţxeni, žiţxeni
xeţxeni, xoţxeni	
leţxenid, loţxenid	gweţxeni, gwiţxeni
	etc.

---

*-ə- is a glide.

xwãṭxe,   xoṭxe
xãṭxe,   xoṭxe
xãṭxe,   xoṭxe
lãṭxed,   loṭxed
       etc.

2. Imperfect

Active	Medium

Bivalent with the neutral Monovalent:
version:

ṭwix-ã-s	maṭxa	
ṭix-ã-s	ʒəṭxa	
ṭix-a		
lə-ṭx-a-d	guṭxa	ṭwex-en-dã-s
etc.		ṭex-en-dã-s
		ṭex-en-da
		lə-ṭx-en-da-d
		etc.

Bivalent reflexive with the
versionizers -i-, -a-:

xwiṭxãs	miṭxa, mãṭxa
xiṭxãs	ʒiṭxa, ʒãṭxa
iṭxa	
liṭxad	gwiṭxa, gwãṭxa
etc.	

Trivalent with the   **Bivalent with the**
intraversion and the **versionizer -e- or with**
versionizers -a-, -i-:   **the automatical**
                                versionizers -o-, -i-:

mãṭxa, miṭxa		
ʒãṭxa, ʒiṭxa		
gwãṭxa, gwiṭxa	xw-e/o-ṭx-en-dã-s	m-e/i-ṭx-en-da
etc.	xeṭxendãs, xoṭxendãs	ʒeṭxenda, ʒiṭxenda
	xeṭxenda, xoṭxenda	
	leṭxendad, loṭxendad	gweṭxenda, gwiṭxenda

                                         etc.

Trivalent with the
extraversion and the
versionizers -a-, -o-:

xwãṭxãs,	xoṭxãs
xãṭxãs,	xoṭxãs
xãṭxa,	xoṭxa
lãṭxad,	loṭxad
etc.	

For endings in Lower Bal, see above 4.3.2.2.1.2. Thus in Etser act. ʈwix, ʈix, ʈixa, etc., and -w in med. ʈwexniw, ʈexniw, etc.

3. Present conjunctive

Active		Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		**Monovalent:**
ʈwix-ēd	meʈxēds	
ʈix-ēd	ʒoʈxēds	
ʈix-ēd-s		ʈwex-en-d-ēd
lə-ʈx-ēd-d	guʈxēds	ʈex-en-d-ēd
etc.		ʈex-en-d-ēd-s
Bivalent reflexive:		l-ə-ʈx-en-d-ēd-d
xwiʈxēd	miʈxēds, māʈxēds	etc.
xiʈxēd	ʒiʈxēds, ʒāʈxēds	
iʈxēds		
liʈxēdd	gwiʈxēds, gwāʈxēds	
etc.		

Active		Medium	
Trivalent with the intraversion:		**Bivalent:**	
māʈxēds,	miʈxēds	xweʈxendēd,	meʈxendēds,
		xoʈxendēd	miʈxendēds
ʒāʈxēds,	ʒiʈxēds	xeʈxendēd,	ʒeʈxendēds,
		xoʈxendēd	ʒiʈxendēds
gwāʈxēds,	gwiʈxēds	xeʈxendēds,	
		xoʈxendēds	
etc.		leʈxendēdd,	gweʈxendēds,
		loʈxendēdd	gwiʈxendēds
		etc.	

Trivalent with the extraversion:

xwāʈxēd,	xoʈxēd
xāʈxēd,	xoʈxēd
xāʈxēds,	xoʈxēds
lāʈxēdd,	loʈxēdd
etc.	

4. Imperfective future

	Active	Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		**Monovalent:**

Active		Medium
ṭwix-n-uni	məṭxuni	xw-i-ṭx-ăn-wni
ṭix-n-uni	ჳəṭxuni	x-i-ṭx-ăn-wni
ṭix-n-uni		
lə-ṭx—uni-d	guṭxuni	i-ṭx-ăn-wni
etc.		l-i-ṭx-ăn-wni
		etc.

Bivalent and trivalent: **Bivalent:**

xwiṭxuni, etc.   xw-e/o-ṭx-ăn-wni, etc.
xwăṭxuni, xoṭxuni, etc.

The contaminational (from the passive) *-n-* in *ṭwixnuni, ṭixnuni* (though *ləṭxunid*, etc.) is peculiar to Upper Bal. It is interesting that the expected *ṭwixuni, ṭixuni* are reflected only in Lentekh and Lashkh while in Lower Bal forms without versionizers are not in use. Similarly to the Upper-Bal medium, the imperfective future in Lower Bal is formed by means of the versionizer *-i-* (cf. Geor. fut. med. *i-cxovrebs* "he will live", *i-ləṗaraḳebs* "he will speak"), i. e. *xw-i-ṭx-uni*, the intravert meaning being neutralized.

In the medium the *ā* vocalism of the suffix *-en* is due to *-w-* of the next syllable (the non-palatal umlaut, see 2.1.2.2).

5. Perfective future

	Active	Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		**Monovalent:**

Active		Medium
āṭwx-e	am-ṭix-e	āṭwx-en-i
āṭx-e	aჳ-ṭix-e	āṭx-en-i
āṭx-e		āṭx-en-i
āl-ṭx-e-d	agw-ṭix-e	āl-ṭx-en-i-d
etc.		etc.

Bivalent reflexive:

āxw-ṭix-(n)e	ām-ṭix-(n)e, la-m-ṭix-(n)e
āx-ṭix-(n)e	āჳ-ṭix-(n)e, la-ჳ-ṭix-(n)e
ān-ṭix-(n)e	
āl-ṭix-(n)e-d	āgw-ṭix-(n)e, la-gw-ṭix-(n)e
etc.	

Trivalent with the intraversion:		Bivalent:		
ãmṭix(n)e,	lamṭix(n)e			
ãӡ̌ṭix(n)e,	laӡ̌ṭix(n)e	lãxw-ṭex-ni,	loxṭexni	lãmṭexni
ãgwṭix(n)e,	lagwṭix(n)e	lã-x-ṭex-ni,	loxṭexni	lãӡ̌ṭexni
etc.		lã-x-ṭex-ni,	loxṭexni	
		lã-l-ṭex-ni,	lolṭexnid	lãgwṭexni
		etc.		

Trivalent with the extraversion:

ox-ṭix-(n)e,	lo-xw-ṭix-(n)e
ox-ṭix-(n)e,	la-x-ṭix-(n)e
ox-ṭix-(n)e,	la-x-ṭix-(n)e
ol-ṭix-(n)e-d,	la-l-ṭix-(n)e-d
etc.	

Here we see an ordinary mysterious example of the intricacy of Svan — the connection of preverbs with the versional meaning: in the active forms without a versionizer have the preverb *ad-*, forms with *-a-* have the preverb *la-* and forms with *-i-*, *-o-* — the preverb *an-*.

In the relative medial forms *-e-* and *-i-* are neutralized because of reduction.

6. Imperfective conditional

Active	Medium
ṭwixnun-ōl, etc.	xwiṭxānwn-ōl, etc.
xwiṭxnunōl, etc.	xweṭxānwnōl, xoṭxānwnōl, etc.
xwãṭxnunōl, xoṭxnunōl, etc.	

Forms are derived from those of the imperfective future by means of the suffix *-ōl* instead of *-i*.

7. Perfective conditional

Active	Medium
ãṭwx-ā-s, ãṭx-ā-s, ãṭx-a, etc.	
ãxwṭix(n)ãs, etc.	aṭwxēn, etc.
oxṭix(n)ãs, etc.	lãxwṭexēn, loxṭexēn, etc.
loxwṭix(n)ãs, etc.	

Forms differ from those of the perfective future only in the endings *-ãs*, *-a* instead of *-e* in the active and in the lengthened *-ēn* instead of *-(e)ni* in the medium.

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8. Narrative present

	Active		Medium
Bivalent:		**Monovalent:**	
lə-m-t̬ix-win -xwi-, -xi, etc.		lə-m-t̬äx-win -xwi, -xi, etc.
Trivalent:		**Bivalent:**	
xw-ä-t̬x-in-a, xä̯t̬xina, xä̯t̬xina, etc.		xw-ä-t̬x-än-wn-a, xä̯t̬xänwna, xä̯t̬xänwna, etc.

The vocalism -ä- of the versionizer is due to the palatal umlaut, the same vocalism of the stem and of the suffix in the passive is due to the non-palatal umlaut (2.1.2.2).

9. Narrative imperfect

	Active		Medium
Bivalent:		**Monovalent:**	
ləmt̬ixwin -xwäsw, -xäsw, etc.		ləmt̬äxwin -xwäsw, etc.
Trivalent:		**Bivalent:**	
xwä̯t̬xin-än, xä̯t̬xinän, xä̯t̬xinän, etc.		xwä̯t̬xänwnän, xä̯t̬xänwnän, xä̯t̬xänwnän, etc.

10. Narrative conjunctive

	Active		Medium
Bivalent:		**Monovalent:**	
ləmt̬ixwin -xwesw, etc.		ləmt̬äxwin -xwesw, etc.
Trivalent:		**Bivalent:**	
xwä̯t̬xinēn, xä̯t̬xinēn, xä̯t̬xinēn, etc.		xwä̯t̬xänwnēn, xä̯t̬xänwnēn, xä̯t̬xänwnēn, etc.

The 2nd series of screeves

11. Aorist

	Active		Medium
Bivalent with the neutral version:		**Monovalent:**	
ot̬əx*	am-t̬ix		ät̬wx ‖ ot̬x

---

*-ə- being glide.

aṭəx	aǯ-ṭix		ăṭx
aṭix			aṭăx
al-ṭix-d	agw-ṭix		al-ṭăx-d
etc.			etc.

Bivalent reflexive:

oxw-i-ṭx	ăm-ṭix, la-m-ṭix
ăx-i-ṭx	ăǯ-ṭix, la-ǯ-ṭix
ăn-ṭix	
ăl-ṭix-d	ăgw-ṭix, la-gw-ṭix
etc.	

Trivalent with the intraversion:

ăm-ṭix, la-m-ṭix
ăǯṭix, laǯṭix
ăgwṭix, lagwṭix
etc.

Bivalent:

lŏ-xw-e-ṭx	lă-m-ṭăx
lă-x-e-ṭx	lăǯ-ṭăx
lă-x-ṭăx	
lă-l-ṭăx-d	lăgw-ṭăx
	etc.

Trivalent with the extraversion:

ox-o-ṭx,	lŏ-xw-a-ṭx
ox-o-ṭx,	lă-x-a-ṭx
ox-ṭix,	la-x-ṭix
ol-ṭix-d,	la-l-ṭix-d
etc.	

For the use of preverbs, see the perfective future above. The length in *lŏ-*, *lă-* compensates for the structural impossibility of the reduction in the next syllable (cf. G a m k r e l i d z e – M a c h a v a r i a n i, 1965, 1982).

12. Aorist conjunctive

Active		Medium

Bivalent with the neutral version:

Monovalent:

oṭəx-a	am-ṭəx-a-s	oṭex
aṭəx-a	aǯṭəxas	aṭex
aṭəx-a-s		aṭex-s
al-ṭəx-a-d	agwṭəxas	al-ṭex-d
etc.		etc.

Bivalent reflexive:

ox-ṭəx-a   ămṭəxas, lamṭəxas

ə̄x-ṭəx-a   ā̰ǯṭəxā̰s, laǯṭəxas
ə̄n-ṭəx-a-s
ə̄l-ṭəx-a-d   āgwṭəxas, lagwṭəxas
          etc.

T r i v a l e n t w i t h t h e   **B i v a l e n t :**
i n t r a v e r s i o n :

āmṭəxas,   lamṭəxas   lo-xw-ṭex   lā̰m-ṭex-s
ā̰ǯṭəxas,   laǯṭəxas   lā-x-ṭex   lā-ǯ-ṭex-s
āgwṭəxas, lagwṭəxas   lā-x-ṭex-s
          etc.   lā-l-ṭex-d   lā-gw-ṭex-s
                                                    etc.

T r i v a l e n t w i t h t h e
e x t r a v e r s i o n :

ox-ṭəx-a,   lo-x-ṭəx-a
ox-ṭəx-a,   la-x-ṭəx-a
ox-ṭəx-a-s,   la-x-ṭəx-a-s
ol-ṭəx-a-d,   la-l-ṭəx-a-d
          etc.

loxwṭex instead of the expected **lōxwṭex* is probably due to the influence of aor. *lōxweṭx*.

In Lower Bal the active forms with the extravert personal formants are *oṭəx-e, aṭəx-e. aṭəx-e-s, alṭəxed (|| olṭəxed)*, etc. Such forms may be met in Upper Bal as well.

T h e   3 r d   s e r i e s   o f   s c r e e v e s

The stem vowel is lengthened in the active: -ī-.

13. Perfect

A c t i v e

$LS_{sg.}$ – $LO_{sg.,pl.}$	$LS_{pl.}$ – $LO_{sg.,pl.}$
ām-ṭīx-a || mi-ṭīx-a, -d, -x	ānṭīxa || niṭīxa ; āgwṭīxa || gwiṭīxa, -d (, -x)
ā̰ǯ-ṭīx-a || ǯi-ṭīx-a, -d	ā̰ǯṭīxa || ǯiṭīxa, -d, -x
ot-ṭīx-a || x-o-ṭīx-a, -d ; olṭīxad || loṭīxad	otṭīxa || xoṭīxa, -d, -x

Forms with a preverb usually have the meaning of narrativity while those without a preverb may be narrative perfect as well as purely perfect.

M e d i u m

A b s o l u t e   m o n o v a l e n t :   **R e l a t i v e   b i v a l e n t :**

āmṭex*   -xwi   oxṭexa (1-3, III)
                                             ā̰ǯṭexa (1-2, II)

---

*ām-ṭex with ad- and participial me- (not the personal formant m as in āmṭīxa!).

		amțexà (2-1)
		axțexa (2-3, III)
		anțexa (2-I exc.)
(-li)		amțexa (3-1)
		aჳțexa (3-2)
		aჳțexax (3-II)
		axțexa (3-3, III)
		anțexa (3-I exc.)
		agwțexa (3-I inc.)
	-xwišd	aჳțexad (1-2, II)
		axțexad (I exc.-3, III)
	-lišd	alțexad (I inc.-3, III)
		amțexad (II-1)
	-xišd	axțexad (II-3, III)
		anțexad (II-I exc.)
	-lix	amțexax (III-1)
		aჳțexax (III-2, II)
		axțexax (III-3, III)
		anțexa(x) (III-I exc.)
		agwțexa(x) (III-I inc.)

14. Plu-perfect

A c t i v e

$LS_{sg.}-LO_{sg.,pl.}$	$LS_{pl.}-LO_{sg.,pl.}$
āmțīxǎn ‖ miṭīxǎn, -d, -x	ānṭīxǎn ‖ niṭīxǎn, āgwṭīxǎn ‖ gwiṭīxǎn, -d (, -x)
aჳṭīxǎn ‖ ჳiṭīxǎn, -d	āჳṭīxǎn‖ჳiṭīxǎn, -d, -x
otṭīxǎn ‖ xoṭīxǎn, -d; olṭīxǎnd‖loṭīxǎnd	otṭīxǎn‖xoṭīxǎn, -d, -x

M e d i u m

āmțex		oxțexǎn (1-3, III)
	-xwǎsw	aჳțexǎn (1-2, II)
	-xǎsw	amțexǎn (2-1)
		axțexǎn (2-3, III)
		anțexǎn (2-I exc.)
	-lǎsw	amțexǎn (3-1)
		aჳțexǎn (3-2)
		aჳțexǎnx (3-II)
		axțexǎn (3-3, III)
		anțexǎn (3-I exc.)
		agwțexǎn (3-I inc.)

	-xwãswd	aʒ̣ṭexãnd (1-2, II)
		axṭexãnd (I exc.-3, III)
	-lãswd	alṭexãnd (I inc.-3, III)
	-xãswd	amṭexãnd (II-1)
		axṭexãnd (II-3, III)
		anṭexãnd (II-I exc.)
	-lãswx	amṭexãnx (III-1)
		aʒ̣ṭexãnx (III-2, II)
		axṭexãnx (III-3, III)
		anṭexãn(x) (III-I exc.)
		agwṭexãn(x) (III-I inc.)

15. Perfect conjunctive

Active

LS$_{sg.}$ −LO$_{sg.,pl.}$	LS$_{pl.}$ −LO$_{sg.,pl.}$
āmṭīxēn‖ miṭīxēn, -s, -d, -x	ānṭīxēn ‖ niṭīxēn, āgwṭīxēn‖ gwiṭīxēn,
aʒ̣ṭīxēn‖ ʒiṭīxēn, -s, -d	-s (, -d, -x)
otṭīxēns‖ xoṭīxēns, otṭīxēnd‖ xoṭīxēnd;	aʒ̣ṭīxēn ‖ʒiṭīxēn, -d, -x
olṭīxēnd ‖ loṭīxēnd	otṭīxēn‖ xoṭīxēn, -d, -x

Medium

āmṭex			
	-xwesw	oxṭexēn (1-3, III)
		aʒ̣ṭexēn (1-2, II)
	-xesw	amṭexēn (2-1)
		axṭexēn (2-3, III)
		anṭexēn (2-I exc.)
	-lesw	amṭexēns (3-1)
		aʒ̣ṭexēns (3-2)
		aʒ̣ṭexēnx ·(3-II)
		axṭexēns (3-3, III)
		anṭexēns (3-I exc.)
		agwṭexēns (3-I inc.)
	-xweswd	aʒ̣ṭexēnd (I-2, II)
		axṭexēnd (I exc.-3, III)
	-leswd	alṭexēnd (I inc.-3, III)
	-xeswd	amṭexēnd (II-1)
		axṭexēnd (II-3, III)
		anṭexēnd (II-I exc.)
	-leswx	amṭexēnx (III-1)
		aʒ̣ṭexēnx (III-2, II)
		axṭexēnx (III-3, III)
		anṭexēn(x) (III-I exc.)
		agwṭexēn(x) (III-I inc.)

4.3.2.2.3. The third conjugational group

Since it consists of static verbs, those which do not express (oriented) action, reflexivization is impossible in them and orientation is merely personal. The versionizers -i-, -o- are used automatically depending on the corresponding personal formants. Therefore the reflexive combinations xw-i-, x-i, are impossible.

The personal formants in bivalent verbs show the indirect object often coinciding with the logical subject which therefore is expressed by the dative case. Sometimes, however, alternative interpretations are possible, whether the grammatical indirect object is the same as logical subject or as logical object, e. g. x-o-r-i "for him it is" or: "he has", x-o-šgur "to him it is a shame" or: "he is ashamed". The prepositional translation is etymologically literal, the other presupposes the inversion of the subject and the object as it takes place in the 3rd series by the transitive verbs.

The 1st series of screeves

1. Present

Monovalent:

xu-g "I stand"="I am standing"	xu-g-d "we stand(=are standing) without you(thee)"
	l-ə-g-d "we stand together with you (thee)"
x-ə-g* "thou standest"	x-ə-g-d "you stand"
l-ə-g "he stands"	l-ə-g-d "they are standing"

Bivalent:

m-ā-g**	"on me smb., smth. is standing"
m-ā-g-d	"on me you are standing"
m-ā-g-x	"on me they are standing"
xwāg	"on him, them I am standing"
xwāgd	"on us without you(thee) he is, they are standing"
lāgd	"on us and you(thee) he, they are standing"
ǯāg	"on thee I am, he(it) is, they are standing"
ǯāgd	"on thee we(without you) are standing"
ǯāgx	"on thee, on you they are standing"
nāg	"on us without you(thee) thou art, he is standing"
nāg(x)	"on us without you(thee) they are standing"
nāgd	"on us without you(thee) you are standing"
gwāg	"on us and you(thee) he(it) is standing"
gwāg(x)	"on us and you(thee) they are standing"

---

*-ə- being glide: *x-g.

**These forms are derived from forms with the generalized (as if radical) -ə-: a + ə = ā; cf. also o further -i-, -ô-.

xāg	"on him, thou art, he(it) is, they are standing"
	"on them thou art standing"
xāgd	"on him, them you are standing"
xāgx	"on him, them he(it) is, they are standing"

<p align="center">S i m i l a r l y :</p>

mīg "by me smb., smth. is standing", mīgd, mīgx;

ǯīg, ǯīgd, ǯīgx;

nīg; gwīg;

xōg "by him I am, thou art, he(it) is, they are standing", xōgd, xōgx.

The Georgian-like use of the auxiliary verb "to be" to specify grammatical subject (e. g. ǯāg-xwi "on thee I am standing") is alien to Upper Svan (cf. 4.3.2.2.1.13).

<p align="center">2. Imperfect</p>

<p align="center">M o n o v a l e n t :</p>

xugdās ‖ xu-g-ān-dā-ə and L. B.	xugān ‖ xugn
xəgdās ‖ xəgān(dās)	xəgān(d) ‖ xəgn
ləgda ‖ ləgān(da)	ləgān ‖ ləgn
etc.	etc.

<p align="center">B i v a l e n t :</p>

māgda ‖ māgān(da), etc.

xwāgdās ‖ xwāgāndās, etc.

mīgda ‖ mīgān(da), etc.

xōgdās ‖ xōgāndās, etc.

In many static verbs the imperfect is formed by the single -ən, e. g. malṭən "I loved him" (or with a preposition: "to me he was dear"), ǯalṭən, xalṭən, etc. The contamination of these forms with the regular in -da (as malāṭda) results in hybrid derivatives in -ənda: malṭənda, ǯalṭənda, xalṭənda, etc.

<p align="center">3. Present conjunctive</p>

<p align="center">M o n o v a l e n t :</p>

xugdēd ‖ xugāndēd	and L. B. xugde ‖ xugānde
xəgdēd ‖ xəgāndēd	xəgde ‖ xəgānde
ləgdēds ‖ ləgāndēds ‖ ləgədēds	ləgdes ‖ ləgāndes
etc.	etc.

<p align="center">B i v a l e n t :</p>

māgdēds ‖ māgāndēds, etc.

xwāgdēd ‖ xwāgāndēd, etc.

mīgdēds ‖ mīgāndēds, etc.

xōgdēd ‖ xōgāndēd, etc.

4. Future (imperfective only!)

The screeve is formed according to the medial model (see 4.3.2.2.2.4).

Monovalent:

xw-ī-g-n-i	xwīgnid; līgnid
x-ī-g-n-i	xīgnid;
ī-g-n-i	īgnix

Bivalent:

mēgni, etc.
xwēgni, etc.

5. No perfective future is possible

6. Conditional (imperfective only!)

It is derived from the future by means of the suffix -ōl:

xwīgnōl, etc.
mēgnōl, etc.
xwēgnōl, etc.

7. No perfective conditional is possible

8. Narrative present

lə-m-g-en(-ēl)- -xwi, -xi, (-li,), etc.

9. Narrative imperfect

ləmgen(ēl)- -xwāsw, etc.

10. Narrative conjunctive

ləmgen(ēl)- -xwesw, etc.

No 2nd series of screeves is possible

11. See imperfect

It is the imperfect with preverbs that is used to express the perfective aspect: *xalṭən* "he loved" ⟶ *la-xlaṭən* "he fell in love".

12. See present conjunctive

The 3rd series of screeves

Verbs of the third conjugational group are intransitive, therefore the inversion of the subject and object in the 3rd series seems to be an inconceivable innovation of Svan (cf. Geor. *v-dga(var)* "I am standing" — *v-mdgar(var)* "I have been standing" but Svan *xu-g* — *m-igna* with the corresponding change of the subject cases*).

13. Perfect

$LS_{sg.} - LO_{sg.,pl.}$	$LS_{pl.} - LO_{sg.,pl.}$
m-i-g-n-a, -d, -x	nigna, gwigna, -d(, -x)
ʒigna, -d	ʒigna, -d, -x
x-o-gna, -d ; lognad	xogna, -d, -x

14. Plu-perfect

mign-ãn, -d, -x	nignãn, gwignãn, -d(, -x)
ʒignãn, -d	ʒignãn, -d, -x
xognãn, -d ; lognãnd	xognãn, -d, -x

15. Perfect conjunctive

mign-ēn, -s, -d, -x	nignēn, gwignēn, -s, -d, -x
ʒignēn, -s, -d	ʒignēn, -d, -x
xognēns, xognēnd, lognēnd	xognēn, -d, x

4.3.2.4. For the forms of the irregular verbs (with stem suppletion) *līre, liqde, liqed, lič̣ed, lirde, līzi, liqer, lit̥ūli, līkwīsg, liqle, lijēsgi* see our "Svan-English Dictionary".

4.4. Verbals in Svan are masdar and participles, as in all Kartvelian languages.

4.4.1. Unlike Georgian, the Svan masdar, as a rule, is not labile in respect to transitivity-intransitivity, and is always marked with the prefix *li-***. Masdars of the I conjugational group words may end in *-i* often signalling transitivity. Transitive masdars of the group II end in *-e* with the zero degree of the preceding stem vocalism *i*, meanwhile intransitive masdars have a zero ending and the full degree of the preceding stem vocalism *e*. Several static verbs (sentiendi) have a specific masdar form coinciding (sometimes with the exception of umlaut in a verbal stem) with the 1st singular form, e. g. *masisg* "hatred, hating" = *m-a-sisg* "I hate"***.

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*Even the description of such perfects by means of preverbs is difficult, e. g. *migna* "for me is the standing" (?).

**Kartvelian—Semitic isogloss — cf. the junction of the Semitic preposition *li-* with the Hebrew masdar.

***Umlaut is impossible in this stem, though cf. *malaṭ* "love, loving" and *malāṭ < malaṭi*(?) "I love". Nevertheless the origin of such masdars from the fossilized 1 sg. form *(I hate → I do not like his 'I hate')* is not ruled out.

There is no infinitive in Kartvelian. The nearest approximation to it is masdar in the transitive case in O. Georgian. In Svan it corresponds to the *la-* deverbals in the same case (*li-gem*, masdar, ⟶ *lā-gām-d* "for building", "to build").

4.4.2. Strictly speaking, there are no participles in Kartvelian, only various verbal nouns. It can be seen already from the absence of syntactical participle constructions.

Traditionally participles are defined according to voice on the one hand and to tense on the other, because participles derived from present stems are deprived of the tense meaning, cf. Svan *mə-mār-e* "preparing (now)" and "who has prepared". Past participles, on the contrary, may be deprived of the voice meaning, cf. Svan *našdabw* "done" and "who has done (worked)". When derived from the intransitive verbs (sometimes even from the passive form), they have an active meaning (Svan *meqde* "come"), and a passive meaning when derived from the transitive verbs (Svan *ləge*, "built", cf. the same in English). Nevertheless, the voice oppositions may be neutralized if the same stem occurs in the active as well as in the medium/passive (Svan. *lidgāri* "dying", "killing" ⟶ *lədgār* "died", "killed" = inertive "dead"). Future participles always have a passive meaning, as the Latin gerundivum, e. g. *legem* "aedificanda (domus)".

At the same time, in respect to their derivation, participles are formed with homonymous prefixes of the opposite meaning (cf. *mə-*) or with prefixes common to other verbal derivatives and according to the same models as the verbal nouns. Thus V. T o p u r i a (1967) ascribes to participles even such words as "bed" and "church" (places to lie and pray) or negative "participles" as *u-tx-ēl-a* "invisible".

Therefore we see no need to classify here unclassifiable "active (prefixes *mə-, me-, mo-, ma-**)", "future" *(le-, la-)*, "past" *(mə-, me-e, na-, lə-)* "participles" — for all that we refer the reader to the section "Derivation" (5).

4.5. Since numerals are interesting from the point of reconstruction and since they belong more to lexics than to grammar, it is not necessary to enumerate them here (see our Dictionary). Their use is examined in Syntax (3.19) and certain aspects of their reconstruction — in Lexics (6.1).

Two systems of notation are in use: duodecimal ("Kartvelian") and decimal. The latter is common in Upper Svania and seems to be archaic. Duodecimal is typical of Lower Svan.

Tens are compound words, ones are joined by the conjunction *i* "and":

atās	i	čxar″āšir	ı	wöštxw-ešd-i-wöštxw	zaw-ži
1000	and	9-100	and	4-10-and-4	year-on

"in the year 1944".

For the ordinals see "Derivation" (5).

All numerals are declinable.

4.6. Non-inflectional words are preverbs, nominal postpositions, other particles and adverbs (though cf. 3.16).

4.6.1. Verbs and verbals may be used with preverbs which signal or express the perfective aspect. The Svan preverbs are:

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*The root *m* of the participle prefix is a common Kartvelian–Afro-Asiatic (Semitic) isogloss.

ad-||a- with indeterminate meaning;

an-||a- with indeterminate meaning or the meaning of intravert direction;

es- with the meaning of extravert direction or indeterminate;

la- with indeterminate meaning.

4.6.2. The term "secondary preverbs" is sometimes used for preverbal compounds (4.6.3). This term is more suitable for verbal prepositions because the latter, although functioning as preverbs, are of later (adverbial) origin. They are:

sga arch. isga		meaning inward direction;
ži		meaning upward direction;
ka		meaning outward direction;
ču/čw(V)		meaning downward direction.

Their vocalism is preserved only before a consonant (2.1.4).

The same particles are used as nominal postpositions thus showing their common (adverbial) nature. Such parallelism has not been preserved in Georgian and seems to be an archaism of Svan.

4.6.3. The nominal postpositions are:

-isga "in" (iness.), "among"	(-d "for", see 3.13)
-ži "on", "over", "above", "about"	(-d "till", see 3.12.5.1)
-ka "out", "through"	-aw "till" (mostly in adverbs)
...V-n-ka "besides", "except"	-te "in", "to" (illat.)
-ču "under"	-məg "at" (adess., allat.)
	-neš "from" (implicating "till")
	(...V-n)-γo "after"
	-šäl "like", "as if"
	-caxän "with", "by"
	-xän "from"

The compounds are (cf. 5):

-tejisga, -tēsga	"into"
-teka	"up to" (excluding)
-məgka	"about" (adess.)
-xänka	"out of"
-čika	"in" (temporal)
-čikd	"up to" (excluding)

For the use of nominal postpositions see 3.13. While the dative ending -s does not appear before them, the GEN. -iš is fully represented. -γo is often preceded by a non-organic stem-ending -n which, while inserted before -ka, changes the meaning of the latter.

4.6.4. The other particles are negative and interrogative, -wäj, -le, -i with a special meaning, the quotative eser, esnār, -(ə)š, and some others belonging mostly to lexics.

4.6.4.1. The negative particles in indicative are de, dem, dēma, dēsa, māma, no, and deš, doš, no of physical inability.

For polite negation (advice) in the imperative nōmis is used.

The particles of categorical negation in the imperative are **nom, nōma, nōsa, numa.**
The particles of modal negation are **mād, mōd(e).**

For the use of the negative particles, cf. 3.8.2.

4.6.4.2. The interrogative particles are **-a, -ma, -mo, -esa*.** Their use is examined in 3.8.1.

4.6.4.3. Other particles to be mentioned here are:

eser	marking quoted speech (3.6);
esnār	meaning that the performance of the resulted situation is unknown to the communicant;
-eǯ	meaning "the same", "just";
-wāj	used anaphorically with the pronoun in the relative clause;
-i/-j	meaning "too", "and";
-le	meaning "only";
rok	marking quoted speech (3.6);
-u/-w, -oɣ	changing the meaning of the indicative form (which remains intact) into the conjunctive (3.9; 3.8.2.2);
-ǯ	marking quoted speech (3.6).

The example of a compound particle is

-wāle	meaning "some" *(-wāj + -le).*

4.6.5. Adverbs are primary and secondary. The most popular model of the latter is the adjective in the transformative case as in Georgian, e. g. Svan *maxe* "new" —→ —→ *maxe-d* "newly". Some adverbs seem to be compounds of the nominal postpositions with various particles. These are of the same four roots as the secondary preverbs:

sgāšura "inwards"
kāmaw, kām "outside"
žīn, žib "upwards"
čubaw, čukwān "downwards"

The complicated primary adverbs **(i)sgā, *kā, *žī, *ču* are apparent here**.

Adverbs in their turn may include postpositions: **kām-te** "outwards", **kām-xān** "from outside" (cp. 3.16).

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*Negative particles of the bare stem *mā, mō* also are attested, though in Lashkh. If *mōde, dēma* have been dissimilated from **mōnē, *nēmā* (and *dēsa < *nēsā* according to *dēma*), it would be able to reconstruct in Kartvelian the negative particles **nē, *nō,* the interrogative **ā,* the negative-interrogative-indefinite **mā* (cf. also pron. *mā-j* "what"), common to Indo-European and (**ā, *mā)* Semitic.

**This elucidates the free position of the secondary preverbs in a sentence (3.10.1) as a reflection of the use of those primary adverbs from which the secondary preverbs have originated. The change of the adverbs into preverbs on that historical level was a result of the increasing role of the primary preverbs (cf. *ad-, an-, es-, la-*) in expressing the perfective aspect. The four adverbs began to substitute for the four primary preverbs in the imperfective screeves (present, imperfect, present conjunctive, future, conditional) where the use of the primary preverbs became impossible. Typologically the same is in Baltic, cf. Latvian *vēlns aiz-bēga* (a preverb with the perfective aspect) *no Anša* "devil ran away from Ansis" vrs. *vēlns bēg* (the imperfective aspect without a preverb) *no Anša projām* (adverb) "devil runs from Ansis", av. *projām* = pv. *aiz-*.