
Depictives in Kartvelian

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6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a short survey of Kartvelian, specifically Georgian and Svan, depictives; to delineate the extent to which ‘adverbials’ have a restricted orientation in these languages; and to present some tentative thoughts on the semiotic and semantic relationship between ‘state’ depictives on the one hand, and manner and similitive expressions on the other, as conceptualized in traditional rhetorical theory. This survey does not claim to be exhaustive, nor does it claim to solve problems of grammatical theory. Rather, it draws attention to a specific form and distribution of depictives that has parallels in other languages and that presupposes the availability of unambiguous morphological means in the respective domains of participant-oriented expressions.

Many Georgian examples are taken from literary texts of novelists (who are indicated in brackets, the immediate source of the examples being introduced by *apud*).¹ Some of these examples may be more elaborate than most of the non-literary ones, but the relevant phenomena are essentially the same in the dialects. To show this, many examples are taken from these variants (which

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¹ In quoting Georgian sources, the following abbreviations are used: Chr=Šaniže et al. 1978; KEGL=Čikobava et al. 1950–64; K̄v 1=K̄vačaže 1996; K̄v 2=K̄vačaže 1999; K̄v 3=K̄vačaže 2000a; K̄v 4=K̄vačaže 2000b; Pr 1=Svan prose texts from Šaniže et al. 1939 (Upper Bal dialect); Pr 2=Svan prose texts from Davitiani et al. (1957) (Lower Bal dialect).

are also indicated in brackets). Dialect texts offer some features of the spoken language, but so far no specimens of authentic urban colloquial speech are available. If not otherwise stated, the examples are Georgian.

Besides Georgian and Svan, the Kartvelian or South Caucasian language family comprises Mingrelian and Laz, which form a continuum of dialects that are very similar to each other. The Laz dialect described by Kutscher and Genç (Ch. 7, this volume) represents a variant without case agreement. On the other hand, agreeing depictives can be found in Mingrelian, which is an immediate neighbour of Georgian.²

After a short outline of morphological and positional resources in section 6.2, I will give a survey of the different categories of depictives and related adjuncts on the basis of the typological predictions outlined by Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (Ch. 1, this volume). The first group shows agreement (3.1) that occurs most often with nominative controllers and which in this case shows a specific formal overlap with predicative complements. The depictive-like agreement of Tush ‘ablatives’ is one of the unsolved problems dealt with in this section. Formal similarity raises some problems of delimitation from copular and other constructions (3.2). Participant-oriented adjuncts without agreement (section 6.4) typically show adverbial and instrumental case forms, but also include a similitive postpositional construction. Section 6.5 deals with the formal and semantic relationship between depictives and adverbials, and with the behaviour of similitive constructions. Finally, I will venture a tentative interpretation of the Kartvelian coding properties differentiating the hierarchy of participant-oriented adjuncts (6.6).

6.2 Essentials on case-marking and agreement

To begin with, Georgian and Svan offer (a) case-marking, (b) agreement, and (c) word order as a solid basis for the description of participant orientation and for distinguishing depictives from attributive modifiers.

6.2.1 Agreement and word order of modifiers and depictives

CASE-MARKING is more or less agglutinative in Kartvelian, but Svan has many morphophonemic processes that make word forms rather intransparent.

² Cf. *gaxareb-ul-ep-kə gaqociis mišušī ?ude-ša* (gladden-PTCP-PL-ERG their.respective they.parted house-DIR; Qipšize 1914: (texts) 60, 15) ‘They parted and went home into their homes happy’; *arti osuri učat mončqili kigexe midgaši-ren sapules* (one:NOM woman:NOM black:ADV array:PTCP.NOM she.is.sitting somebody:GEN-it.is tomb:DAT; Xubua 1937: 17, 7) ‘A woman was sitting at somebody’s tomb dressed in black’. NB: The case traditionally called ‘ergative’ is used with subjects of both transitive and intransitive aorist verbs in Mingrelian.

TABLE 6.1. Georgian case and number suffixes

	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	<i>ḡarg-i ḡac-i</i>	<i>ḡarg-i ḡac-eb-i</i>	
Vocative	<i>ḡarg-o ḡac-o</i>	<i>ḡarg-o ḡac-eb-o</i>	
Ergative	<i>ḡarg-ma ḡac-ma</i>	etc.	
Genitive	<i>ḡarg-i ḡac-is</i>		
Dative	<i>ḡarg-ø ḡac-s</i>	Archaic plural:	
Instrumental	<i>ḡarg-i ḡac-it</i>	Nominative	<i>ḡarg-n-i ḡac-n-i</i>
Adverbial	<i>ḡarg-ø ḡac-ad</i>	Oblique	<i>ḡarg-ta ḡac-ta</i>

To facilitate morphological understanding, I give the formally transparent paradigm of the Georgian syntagm *ḡarg- ḡac-* ‘good man’ in Table 6.1.

In Modern Georgian non-poetic language, adjectival (and participial) modifiers normally precede their head noun. They agree with their head in case, but not in number. Compare nominative singular *ḡarg-i ḡac-i* and plural *ḡarg-i ḡac-eb-i*, ergative singular *ḡarg-ma ḡac-ma* and plural *ḡarg-ma ḡac-eb-ma*, etc. As we can see from the paradigm in Table 6.1, agreement is not simply copying of inflectional morphemes. Old Georgian had a morphologically more transparent case agreement: genitive *ḡarg-isa ḡac-isa*, dative *ḡarg-sa ḡac-sa*, instrumental *ḡarg-ita ḡac-ita* etc. Modern Georgian and Svan dialects show a variation between total lack of formal correspondence between nominal and adjectival inflectional morphemes (e.g. genitive *ḡarg-i ḡac-is*, dative *ḡarg-i ḡac-s*, instrumental *ḡarg-i ḡac-it*, etc.) and different forms of ‘reduced’ correspondence, one of which is used by the literary norm (as in Table 6.1). However, regardless of their formal make-up, all adjectival forms are glossed in the same way as the nominal forms they agree with: *ḡarg-i ḡac-it* (good-INS man-INS), etc.

CASE AGREEMENT OCCURS in depictive adjectives, participles, numerals (see 6.3.1.3) and nouns in genitive and instrumental case (resulting in double case-marking; see 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.1.4). Examples of case agreement in adjectival depictives are:

- (1) *mama cocxal-i movidaḡe*
 father:NOM alive-NOM he.came(AOR).to.them
 ‘Their father came home **alive**.’ (Fereidianian; Dial 259, Ḳv 3)
- (2) *tkvenistana ḡaḡivsacem ḡac-s xel-cariel-s ver*
 you.like:DAT honourable:DAT man-DAT hand-empty-DAT impossible
gavistumreb
 I.will.send.him.off.as.a.guest
 ‘I cannot let go a respectable man like you **empty-handed** as my guest.’
 (N. Lomouri *apud* Ḳv 1: 222)

The depictive adjectives in these examples have the ‘full’ inflection of head nouns. In this regard they are similar to discontinuous modifiers placed apart from their head (Apridonize 1986: 50), as in:

Svan

- (3) *ašxv hilv-s laxvedne vokvr-šv lə-lāb-s*
 one:DAT mule-DAT he.will.give.him gold-INS PTCP-load-DAT
 ‘He will give him a mule **loaded with gold.**’ (Pr 1: 332,31)

On the other hand, unreduced inflection distinguishes depictives and modifiers in discontinuous noun phrases from head-adjacent modifiers. Compare *ḡac-s xel-cariel-s* in (2) with *xelcariel-ø ḡac-s* ‘empty-handed man’.

Another difference between modifier and secondary predicate is NUMBER-MARKING. In contrast to nominal modifiers, depictives sometimes show NUMBER AGREEMENT, which is the same as with predicative complements (as in (4)): with plural controllers they can occur in the singular (as in (5a)) or in the plural (as in (5b)), depending on factors that need not concern us here:

- (4) *vačr-eb-i gaoceb-ul-eb-i iqvnen*
 merchant-PL-NOM amaze-PTCP-PL-NOM they.were(AOR)
 ‘The merchants were amazed.’
- (5) a. *vačr-eb-i gaoceb-ul-eb-i gamovidnen*
 merchant-PL-NOM amaze-PTCP-PL-NOM they.came.out
saxl-idan
 house-from
- b. *gaoceb-ul-i gamovidnen saxl-idan*
 amaze-PTCP-NOM they.came(AOR).out house-from
vačr-eb-i
 merchant-PL-NOM
 ‘The merchants came out of the house **amazed.**’ (A. Çereteli
apud K̄V 1: 227)

However, literary Georgian prefers the Old Georgian nominative plural form (see Table 6.1):

- (6) *vačr-eb-i gaoceb-ul-n-i iqvnen*
 merchant-PL-NOM amaze-PTCP-PL-NOM they.were
- (7) *vačr-eb-i gaoceb-ul-n-i gamovidnen saxl-idan*
 merchant-PL-NOM amaze-PTCP-PL-NOM they.came.out house-from
 ‘The merchants came out of the house **amazed.**’

Whereas the old nominative plural is felt as archaic in other contexts (e.g. *vačar-n-i gamovidnen* ‘merchant-PL-NOM they.came.out’), it is still the rule in predicative, depictive and discontinuous modifier constructions (Apridonize 1986: 50; see also (38), (39), (55), (115), and section 6.3.2.1). In other words: number agreement is a feature where predicatives and depictives go together (Plank 1985; see also 6.3.1.3).

As for *constituent order*, depictives and related constructions most often precede the verb (as in (1), (2), (5), (7)), which is also the almost exclusive position of manner adverbials (Apridonize 1986: 42). But depictives may also follow the verb, with or without intervening constituents (as in (8); Kvačaze 1996: 227). They normally follow their controller; they very rarely precede it, as in (5b). In most cases, position thus also distinguishes depictives from noun phrase-internal premodifiers:

- (8) *dabrunda šier-i gel-i gverd-eb-gaxvret-il-i*
 he.returned(AOR) hungry-NOM wolf-NOM side-PL-pierce-PTCP-NOM
 ‘The **hungry** wolf returned **with his sides pierced**.’
 ?* ‘the wolf returned hungry, with his sides pierced’ (Kartlian; Dial
 303, K̅v 3)

‘With pierced sides’ in (8) has to be interpreted as a depictive, and ‘hungry’ as a noun phrase-internal premodifier, rather than as a preposed depictive.

6.2.2 *Controllers of agreement in depictives*

The Georgian verb is polypersonal. Subject, direct object, and indirect object are coded in the verb, but do not necessarily have a verb-external counterpart (‘pro-drop’). Therefore, first-, second-, and third-person controllers of depictives need not be verb-external constituents (Boeder 2002):

- (9) *sait mi-di-xar, sad mi-xval*
 where PREV-go(PRS)-you.are where PREV-you.go(FUT)
egret-i dayoneb-ul-i?
 such-NOM depress-PTCP-NOM?
 ‘Where are you going, where will you go, **depressed** as you are?’
 (Kartlian; Dial 281, no. 228,53, K̅v 3)
- (10) *šen ravac ro b3ane, ise t̅qe=ši*
 you as CONJUNCTION you.ordered(AOR).it so forest=in
davt̅ie gaḳočv-il-i
 I.left(AOR).him bind-PTCP-NOM
 ‘I did as you ordered [me] and left him **bound** in the forest.’
 (Imerkhevian; Dial 381, no. 306,28, K̅v 3)

In addition, subject and object markers in the verb are not always overt. This is a result of morphological slot competition, as for instance in:

- (11) *me tkven mšier-s ar dakṭovebt*
 I you:PL hungry-DAT not I.will.leave.you
 ‘I will not leave you [plural] **hungry**.’ (Kartlian; Dial 313, ⚭v 3)
- (12) *me çamevedi cariel-i*
 I I.went(AOR).away empty-NOM
 ‘I went away **empty-handed**.’ (Gurian; Dial 420, ⚭v 3)

The verb form *da-k-ṭov-eb-t* in (11) consists of a perfectivizing preverb (that gives the verb form a future meaning), a root (*ṭov-* ‘leave’), a thematic suffix (which assigns the verb form to the present tense series), a second-person object marker *k-* ‘you’ (Standard Georgian *g-*), and a plural morpheme *-t* (which pluralizes the direct object ‘you’). The first-person subject marker *v-* (as in *da-v-ṭov-eb* ‘I will leave him/her/it’) is suppressed, because the object marker *k-* fills the person marker slot. In (12), *-v-* is lost before the initial *v-* of the root *-ved-* ‘go’.

Notice that personal pronouns (as in (11) and in (12) above) and verb-internal person markers (as in (9) and (11)) do not combine with modifiers in head-modifier syntagms (Apridonize 1986: 50). Only depictives and appositions can be linked to them.

Verb-external pronouns do occur, but explicit first- and second-person pronouns are unmarked for case and it is doubtful whether they should be considered controllers of agreement. The pronoun *me* ‘I’ is a form used for first-person subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects.

In Georgian and Svan, subject case-marking is aligned according to tense series and transitivity. Roughly speaking, the ergative is used with transitive verb subjects of aorist series verbs, the dative with transitive verb subjects of the perfect series and ‘indirect’ verbs, the nominative elsewhere.

ERGATIVE-marked depictives do occur but they are rare:

- (13) *sada xar=o? gaxarebul-ma damiçaxa*
 where you.are=QUOT gladdened-ERG he.called(AOR).me
 ‘“Where are you?”, he called me **happily**.’ (Kakhian; Dial 222, ⚭v 3)
- (14) *ṭan-šišvel-ma da pexšišvel-ma daiçqo*
 body-naked-ERG and foot-naked-ERG he.began(AOR).it
siarul-i
 going-NOM
 ‘**Naked and barefoot** he began to walk.’ (Iesaia 20,2 *Biblia* 1989)

By far the most frequent type is a depictive controlled by a NOMINATIVE-marked subject (as in (15)), including passives (as in (16)):

Svan

- (15) *pišir me-čdē li kor=te [...] txvim*
 many:NOM PTCP-go.away:NOM he.is house=to head
me-ḵvše
 PTCP-break:NOM
 ‘Many have gone home **with broken heads.**’ (Chr 18, 36–7)

Georgian

- (16) *brinž-i unda dejetos gūcexvel-i*
 rice-NOM it.is.necessary that.it.be.sown(OPT) unhusked-NOM
 ‘Rice must be sown unhusked.’ (Atcharian; Dial 409, Ḷv 3)

For examples with dative subject marking see (46), (47), (123b).

Examples (17–22) illustrate depictive agreement in Svan, where it seems to differ from Georgian: while depictives agree with dative objects (as in (17) and (18)), both nominative and ergative subjects seem to occur in the same ‘nominative’ form as in object-oriented nominative depictives (compare (22) with (19–21)):

Svan

- (17) *həngr-äl-s luččura*
 saddle-PL-DAT PTCP:break:DAT
itxax ägi=te
 they.brought(IPRF).them.back.for.themselves home=to
 ‘They brought the saddles back home **broken.**’ (Pr 1: 253, 8)
- (18) *luvär-s aštxivix*
 PTCP:live-DAT they.bury(PRS).him
 ‘They bury him **alive.**’ (Pr 1: 67, 1)
- (19) *çiçlär ləjür esxvīd*
 chicken:PL.NOM PTCP:alive:NOM they.met.with.him
 ‘He found the chicken **alive.**’ (Pr 1: 251, 18)
- (20) *Ṭariel lə-dgar äxgväbs*
 Tariel:NOM PTCP-die:NOM they.found.him
 ‘They found Tariel **dead.**’ (Pr 1: 61, 15)

- (21) *amnem* [...] *tyib=isga* *čvadkvär* *ter-är*
 he:ERG [...] lake=in he.put(AOR).him.down.into eye-PL
lə-xpəre
 PTCP-dig.out:NOM
 ‘He put [sc. the boy] down into the lake **with his eyes scratched out.**’
 (Pr 2: 29, 22, K̅v 4)
- (22) *dīna-d* *ädbine* *lizelāl* *hagär*
 girl-ERG she.began.it going:NOM barefoot.‘NOM’
 ‘The girl began to walk **barefoot.**’

(The ergative of ‘barefoot’ would be *hagär-d*.) All ‘nominative’ forms of Svan should perhaps be interpreted as basic and unspecified for case.

DIRECT OBJECT depictives occur in the nominative or in the dative, in conformity with split-ergative case alignment; the dative case is used with present tense series verbs, otherwise the nominative:

Svan

- (23) *tvep-s* *sga* *dēsgi* *ser* *bid=te* *ka* *lušdbuna*
 rifle-DAT in he.puts.it already case=to PREV PTCP:clean:DAT
 ‘He put the rifle into the case **cleaned.**’ (Pr 1: 54, 24)

Georgian

- (24) *unda* *çqal=ši* *gadaagdon* *isav*
 it.is.necessary water=in that.they.throw(OPT).him again
picar=ze *gaḱrul-i*
 board=on bound-NOM
 ‘They must throw [sc. Sizmara] into the water, **bound on a board.**’
 (Khevsurian; Dial 68, K̅v 3)
- (25) *kal-s* *raʔsa-γ* *miʔq̅vandes* *gulsgaxetkil-s!*
 woman-DAT what-only they.took.her.there heart.broken-DAT
 ‘How could they take the woman there **terrified as she was!**’
 (Tush; Dial 116, no. 101, 30)

INDIRECT OBJECT depictives (in the dative) are rare:

- (26) *ima-t* *am* *ambav-ma* *moumzadebl-eb-s*
 that-PL.OBL this:OBL news-ERG unprepared-PL-DAT
moaşcro
 it.reached(AOR).them³
 ‘This news found them **unprepared.**’ (V. Barnovi *apud* K̅v 1: 222)

³ The verb form *moaşcro* is transitive (ergative subject), but has an indirect, and no direct, object.

- (27) *ḡodala-s puḡur=ši mḡdomare-s ḡavaḡḡdi*
 woodpecker-DAT tree.hole=in sitting-DAT I.came(AOR).upon
 ‘I came upon a woodpecker **sitting in a tree-hole.**’ (Vaḡa Pḡavela
apud Ḳv 1: 222)

I was unable to find a Svan example of a depictive controlled by a dative object (nor does Ḳvaḡaḡe 2000b mention one). We may say that at least in narrative texts, nominative subjects and objects are the most frequent controllers of depictives. Other subjects and objects do occur, but indirect objects seem to be extremely rare. It remains to be investigated if other controllers are marginally possible.

6.3 Participant-oriented constructions showing agreement

This section reviews the semantic range of depictives in Georgian and Svan, using the semantic domains established in the introduction to this volume.

6.3.1 Semantic categories

6.3.1.1 *Posture, clothing, condition, state* This group is amply discussed and documented in the Georgian grammatical literature under the heading of ‘adverbial of modality’ (*vitarebis garemoeba*, I. Imnaiḡvili 1948), ‘predicate having an attribute’ (*atribuḡiviani ḡemasmeneli*, Flonḡi 1955), ‘predicative complement’ (*ḡrediḡaḡuli damateba*, Ḳvaḡaḡe 1957), ‘predicative specification’ (lit.: ‘determination’) (*ḡrediḡaḡuli gansazḡvrebba*, Basilaia 1966, Ḳvaḡaḡe 1996), ‘predicative expansion’ (*gavrcobili ḡemasmeneli*, Ḳiziria 1977), or ‘momentaneous characteristics’ (*momentobrivi maxasiatebeli*, Enukaḡvili 1977).⁴ Most examples are (anterior-)resultative participles (Boeder 1999b), as in (28–31), or adjectives that denote some deviance from a normal state, as in (32):

Svan

- (28) *jarv naḡza=unḡve [. . .] la-pḡir laxḡexa*
 two week=after [. . .] PTCP-increase:NOM they.returned
 ‘after two weeks [sc. the goats (nominative)] came back **multiplied.**’
 (Pr 2: 323, 36–7, Ḳv 4)

⁴ Contrary to Leo Ḳvaḡaḡe’s (1999: 51) judicious assessment of ‘predicative specifications’ (that they are today what they have always been), some authors derive them from nominal modifiers. They argue that these modifiers changed their position, came to be connected with the verb, lost their head noun, and ‘secondarily’ became adverbials of modality or ‘predicative specifications’ (see Burḡulaḡe 2002, with further references), or even that they are ‘semantic-stylistic variants’ of nominal modifiers, and that there is no specific structural property that corresponds to this ‘stylistic nuance’ (Davitiani 1973: 250–1).

Georgian

- (29) *deda Niblia mxr-eb-gašl-il-i*
 mother Niblia:NOM shoulder-PL-open-PTCP-NOM
miegeba zvirpas meuyle-s
 she.met(AOR).him dear:DAT husband-DAT
 'Mother Niblia welcomed her dear husband **with open arms.**'
 (T. Razikašvili *apud* K̄v 1: 223)
- (30) *çevida axla e kac-i gaxareb-ul-i*
 he.went(AOR) now this:NOM man-NOM gladden-PTCP-NOM
sax=ši
 house=in
 'Now this man went home **happy.**' (Rachian 515, K̄v 3)
- (31) *na-svam-i martavda mankana-s*
 PTCP-drink-NOM s/he.controlled(~~to~~) car-DAT H IPRF
 'S/He drove the car **drunk.**' (lit.: having drunk)
- (32) *ševida ai kac-i šier-i, mçqurval-i*
 he.went(AOR).in ART man-NOM hungry-NOM, thirsty-NOM
 'The man entered [sc. the mill] **hungry and thirsty.**' (Gurian;
 Dial 434, K̄v 3)

There is at least one other type of 'state', which is not (anterior-)resultative: future participles (marked by a circumfix *sa-...(-el)-*) with a gerundive meaning belong in this group (see also 6.4.3). They occur both as modifiers (*da-sa-qlav-i* 'to be slaughtered' in: *da-sa-qlav-i goč-i viqide* (PREV-PREF-kill-NOM piglet-NOM I.bought.it) 'I bought a piglet for slaughter') and as depictives:

- (33) *datv-i meore dye-s šua-dye-mde sovl-is šua*
 bear-NOM second day-DAT middle-day-till village-GEN middle
moedan=ze ga-sa-tqaveb-el-i egdo
 square=ON PREV-PREF-skin-SUFF-NOM he.lay.there
 'On the next day, the bear lay in the middle of the square till noon,
to be skinned.' (Važa Pšavela *apud* K̄v 1: 222)

These future participles are a counterpart of (anterior-)resultative participles: with resultatives, a present (or, rather, simultaneous) state is interpreted in terms of its causal relationship to a past event; with gerundives, the concurrent state is one of finality: in (33), 'to be skinned' is predicated of the bear for the time when it lies on the square.

6.3.1.2 *Phase* Secondary predicates denoting a phase also typically agree with their controller even in those instances where the adjunct itself is already case-marked (as in (37)).

- (34) *is žer kidev bavšv-i maxsovs*
 he:NOM still again child-NOM I.remember.him
 ‘I remember him **when he was still a child.**’

- (35) *igi pačara daoblada*
 he:NOM little:NOM he.became(AOR).an.orphan
 ‘He became an orphan as **a little child**’ / ‘he was a little child when he . . .’ (Važa Pšavela *apud* Kᵛ 1: 223)

Svan

- (36) *mu dīna-s adčwile ješdsemi lə-zäj-s*
 father:NOM girl-DAT marries(PRS).her thirteen POSS-year-DAT
 ‘The father gives his daughter in marriage **at the age of thirteen.**’

Georgian

- (37) *tekvsmeti čl-isa-m čarmateb-it daamtavra Tbilis-is*
 16 year-GEN-ERG success-INS he.completed(AOR).it Tbilisi-GEN
gimnazia
 gymnasium:NOM
 ‘He successfully finished secondary school in Tbilisi **at the age of 16 years.**’ [from a calendar]

Notice that Georgian and Svan employ different forms. Georgian has a genitive of age that is inflected;⁵ in Svan (and in Mingrelian and Laz, see Kutscher and Geņç, Ch. 7, this volume), a derivational affix is used: Svan has a possessive prefix *lə-*; compare *lə-gzel* ‘having a child (*gezal*)’ with *lə-zäj* ‘having year’ in *Ilia semi lə-zäj li* (Ilia three:NOM POSS-year:NOM is) ‘Ilia is three years old’ (Pr 1: 43,8).

6.3.1.3 *Quantity* The following examples illustrate quantity phrases restricting the number of the subject:

- (38) *çindaçin čwen sam-i kəc-i çavedit*
 beforehand we three-NOM man-NOM we.went(AOR)
marčə-n-i
 alone-PL-NOM
 ‘Beforehand, we three men went **alone.**’ (Mokhevian; Dial 35, Kᵛ 3)

⁵ Cf. also *igi tekvsmeti čl-isa-a* (s/he:NOM sixteen year-GEN-is) ‘S/He is sixteen years old’.

- (39) *movedit sam-n-i*
 we.came(AOR) three-PL-NOM
 ‘The three of us came.’

Svan

- (40) *voštʰv mārem bye=xän-ka yvaš*
 four men:ERG ravine=from-away male.ibex:NOM
kāxvtürned
 we.dragged.it.out
 ‘We were **four men** who dragged the ibex out of the ravine.’ (Pr 1: 40, 22)

- (41) *ešxu mišgu mu arda Cimbil-s*
 One:NOM my father he.was Siberia-DAT
 ‘Only my father was in Siberia.’ (Svan; Pr 1: 5, 13)

As seen in (38) and (39), the Old Georgian nominative plural forms with *-n-i* are used in these depictives. But the oblique counterpart (*-ta*, see Table 6.1) expected for the ergative etc. does not seem to be acceptable, the singular being used instead:

- (42) *es did-i kva zlivs sam-ma*
 this:NOM big-NOM stone:NOM scarcely three-ERG
 (**sam-ta*) *avçiet*
 (*three-OBL.PL) we.lifted(AOR).it
 ‘The three of us scarcely lifted this big stone.’

Notice that the forms with *-n-i* are also used for many predicative complements, especially in numerals and pronouns; (39) corresponds to: *sam-n-i vart* (three-PL-NOM we.are) ‘we are three’, *ra-n-i vart* (what-PL-NOM we.are) ‘what are we?’, *tagv-eb-i arian mimal-ul-n-i* (mouse-PL-NOM they.are hidden-PTCP-PL-NOM) ‘the mice are hidden’ (cp. the ‘modern’ plural marker *-eb-* in *isi-n-i megobr-eb-i arian* (s/he-PL-NOM friend-PL-NOM they.are) ‘They are friends’). The use of specific forms shared by depictives and predicative complements seems to point to a similar semantic and syntactic status—whatever the formal basis of this similarity might be.

6.3.1.4 *Place* In contrast to, for example, Old Greek (Lübker 1837; Boeder 1999a), location and time are not normally expressed by agreeing expressions in Georgian or Svan. There is one exception, though. In one of the east Georgian mountain dialects, Tush, the point of departure, which is coded by the instrument case and which we call ‘ablative’, seems to agree with the

subject (which has ergative case-marking in (43–45) and dative case-marking in (46) and (47) according to Georgian alignment rules):

Tush

- (43) *abano-t momdinara?-m balkun-ita-m*
 bath-INS coming-ERG balcony-INS-ERG
gadaxeda-d' [. . .]
 he.looked(AOR).down-and
 ‘[They took Guram quickly into the bathroom;] coming from the bath, he looked down **from the balcony** and [. . .]’ (Uturgaize 1960: 123, no. 48, 165)
- (44) *Revazo-m cxen=z-ita-ma=v i?yv vašrap?i*
 Revaz-ERG horse=ON-INS-ERG=just he.took.it pitcher:NOM
 ‘Revaz, sitting astride on a horse, just picked up the pitcher.’⁶
- (45) *izaxes žavax-ita-ma, gvišvelet, vin xart*
 they.called Javakhe-INS-ERG help.us who you.are
qml-ian-i
 sword-POSS-NOM
 ‘[The Chechens have come on a raid.] People called **from (the settlement) Javakhe**: Help us, those of you with a sword.’
- (46) *?i?k cixe=ši-ita-s dē ?çqò top-is sreva*
 there fortress=in-INS-DAT he.began.it rifle-GEN shooting:NOM
Dido-eb-isa-d
 Dido-PL-GEN-ADV
 ‘[Dja’o went into the fortress and] he began to shoot at the Dido men there **from the fortress**’ (Uturgaize 1960: 97, no. 29, 19)
- (47) *pirvel mosaxvev=ši-ita-s Kumala?urt-is tav enaxav*
 first bend=in-INS-DAT Kumala’urta-GEN head:NOM he.saw.it
 ‘from the first bend [sc. of the path] he could see the beginning of [sc. the settlement] Kumala’urta’ (Uturgaize 1960: 97, no. 29, 12)

Our hypothesis is that case agreement in Tush occurs only in cases like (43–47) where the ablative designates not only a point of departure, but also the position of the subject during the action denoted by the main predicate.

⁶ This and the following example are from an ethnographic book by Giorgi Cocanize (*Giorgobidan giorgobamde*, Tbilisi, 1990, p. 225).

The following examples, on the other hand, are different:

Tush (Georgian)

- (48) *ert* *ḡac* *gamovard* ***cix-ita-j***
 one:NOM man:NOM he.rushed(AOR).out fortress-INS-‘NOM’
gaqureb-ul-ì, *çqal-mocqureb-ul-ì*
 heated-PTCP-NOM water-become.thirsty-PTCP-NOM
 ‘One man rushed **out of the fortress** heated and thirsty.’ (Dial 106, No. 85, 13-14, ̒v 3)
- (49) *adg* ***aḡavan=šig-ita-j*** *ʔē ʔs* *da-i-d’* [...]]
 she.stood.up cradle=in-INS-‘NOM’ this:NOM sister-NOM-and
 ‘The sister stood up **from the cradle** and [...]]’ (Uturgaiže 1960: 123, no. 110, 12)
- (50) *eg* *sapõn-i=v* ***šor-ita-i=ve=v*** *naxevar*
 this:NOM soap-NOM=QUOT far-INS-‘NOM’=just=QUOT half
ert *ḡar-eb-s* *miasxi=v,* *naxevar*
 one door-PL-DAT pour(AOR).it=QUOT half
meore *ḡar-eb-sa=v*
 second door-PL-DAT=QUOT
 ‘Pour half of this soap **from far** at one door, and half of it at the second door.’ (Uturgaiže 1960: 114, no. 46, 170)
- (51) *memr* *turì* *ʔĩʔm* *yor-m* ***potl-eb=šìʔ-ita-j***
 then apparently that:OBL pig-ERG leaf-PL=in-INS-‘NOM’
naxa-d’ [...]]
 it.saw(AOR).it-and
 ‘[A pig frightens the other animals; the cat is going to eat;] then the pig, they say, saw it **from within the leaves** [...]]’ (Dial 122, no. 109, 34)
- (52) ***qvela? soḡl-eb-it*** *xalx* *movidisa-d’* *ševidis* *cixe=šig*
 all village-PL-INS people:NOM come-and enters.it fortress=in
 ‘People **from all villages** are used to coming and entering the fortress.’ (Dial 106, no. 85, 3)

In (48) and (49), the ablative does not denote the location of the subject during the action, but the starting point of a movement of the subject. In (50) and (51), the ending *-ita-j* in fact does mark a location, but *-j* cannot be the result of nominative agreement, since ‘to pour’ and ‘to see’ are transitive verbs that require an ergative subject marker (i.e. we would expect *šor-ita-m* in (50) and *potl-eb=šìʔ-ita-m* in (51)). In these examples, *-itaj* seems to be an allomorphic variant of *-ita-* or *-it* (the latter is illustrated in (52)); synchronically, *-j* is perhaps a word juncture marker in these instances (it is

glossed as 'NOM'). In other words, *-ita-j* seems to have two interpretations: it may represent (a) an instrumental + nominative sequence (based on agreement, i.e. nominative agreement in parallel with ergative and dative agreement as illustrated in (43)–(47))⁷, or (b) an allomorph of the instrumental case-marker.

In some cases, the locative meaning component is made precise by postpositions followed by *-ita-*. This position of *-ita-* shows that it is used as a phrasal case suffix. Sequences of this type, for instance =*z(e)-ita* 'on' in (44) and =*ši-ita* 'in' in (46), (47), and (51), occur in the the eastern Georgian mountain dialects that have been in contact with Chechen and other east Caucasian languages, where multiple case-markings are very common. In these languages we also find cases of subject agreement in adverbs like 'here', 'inside', 'around', but also 'quickly'. These forms of agreement remain to be explored.

There are two residual problems. First, expressions with *-ita-* also occur as modifiers, for instance in: *cxen=ze-it(a) ოც-მა* (horse=ON-INS man-ERG), *cxen=ze-it(a) ოც-ს* (horse=ON-INS man-DAT) etc. 'the man on the horse' (T. Uturgaiṣe, p.c.). Could examples (43–47) therefore be explained in terms of modifier constructions? We believe that this is unlikely. Notice, first, that these modifiers have a locative, not an ablative meaning ('on the horse', not 'from the horse'). Second, if *cxen=z-ita-მა* were a modifier in (44), it would have to precede its head noun. (An appositive interpretation, as in the English translation, cannot, however, be ruled out.) Third, (45) cannot be explained on the basis of a head-modifier construction: the verb is in the plural, but *ჰავაჰ-იტა-მა* is in the singular, and cannot mean 'those living in Javakha' (with ellipsis of a head noun); if it is analysed as a depictive, the singular is expected (as with predicative complements; see 6.2.1; see also (5b), (11), (17), (19), (24), and (28)). Note, incidentally, that modifiers in Georgian noun phrases have to be either in the genitive or adjectival. Thus, *-ita-* seems to convert postpositional phrases into adjectivals to make them available for attribution.

A second problem is the question of why agreement occurs with ablatives but not in other locative expressions. An answer may be given along the lines just hinted at. As the instrumental case suffix *-ita-* converts postpositional locatives into adjectival forms that make them available as modifiers, it makes postpositional phrases also available as agreeing depictives: postpositional

⁷ Unfortunately, I have not been able to find an unambiguous example with nominative subject agreement, but a present tense variant of (46) would probably be: *cixe=ši-ita-j იცებს თო-ის სრევა-ს* 'He begins to shoot from the fortress', with a nominative subject (because the verb is a present-tense form).

phrases in general cannot agree in case, but expressions inflected for genitive or instrumental can (see e.g. *-isa-m* in (37); see also Boeder 1995).

These highly tentative suggestions regarding Tush ablatives obviously are in need of further investigation.

6.3.2 Problems of delimitation

6.3.2.1 *Detached participles* One problem of delimitation of depictives from similar constructions is the lack of prosodic data. To the best of my knowledge, investigations on Georgian intonation have not dealt with depictive and similar constructions so far. However, intonational detachment from the rest of the clause can be an indicator of non-depictive status (see the introduction to this volume and Schroeder 2003), and the participial clause in the following example, considered in the literature as ‘predicative specification’, seems to be a sentence-margin adjunct whose detachment is marked by a comma (see, however, the detached construction *abano-t momdinara?-m* ‘coming from the bath’ in (43) without a comma):

- (53) *rayac* *ḵmaḡopileb-it* *gaḡaceb-ul-t*,
 some.specific satisfaction-INS ravish-PTCP-PL.OBL
im *ḡor-eb-s* *ertmanet-isa=tvis* *bevržer*
 that:OBL pig-PL-DAT each.other-GEN=for many.times
ḡautavazebiat *ding-i*
 they.have.presented.it muzzle-NOM
 ‘Ravished by some feeling of satisfaction, those pigs have pushed each other with their muzzles many times.’ (I. Čavčavaže *apud* Apridonize 1986: 50)

Notice that the participle agrees with the dative subject (the pigs): like predicative complements, it is marked by the old oblique plural marker *-t* (see 6.2.1).

6.3.2.2 *Copular constructions* Traditional Georgian grammar tends to confuse depictive and copular constructions. These are indeed difficult to distinguish in some cases, where the analysis of these expressions as depictive or copular depends on whether the verb is interpreted as a copula or as a main verb. As far as I can see, the following examples are not depictive but copular, with a non-omissible predicative complement. The copular verbs mean ‘to become and be’:

- (54) *zm-eb-i* *naḡḡen-i* *darčen*
 brother-PL-NOM annoyed-NOM they.became.and.remained
 ‘The brothers **became annoyed.**’ (Imeretian; Dial 444, Ḳv 3)

- (55) *gamovedit or-n-i obol-n-i am*
 we.came(AOR).out two-PL-NOM orphan-PL-NOM this:OBL
tril miča=ze u-ḡur-o-d,
 turning.round earth=on NEG-bread-SUFF-ADV
u-pul-o-d, u-bina-o-d,
 NEG-money-SUFF-ADV NEG-lodging-SUFF-ADV
u-nugeš-o-d, u-tvištom-o-d
 NEG-comfort-SUFF-ADV NEG-kinsman-SUFF-ADV
 ‘As a result, we were two orphans on this rotating earth, without bread, without money, without a roof, without consolation, without relatives.’ (I. Čavčavaže apud K̅V 1: 174)

- (56) *bič-i martlac ḡarg-i izrdeboda*
 boy-NOM truly good-NOM he.grew(IPRF).up
 ‘The boy indeed became [‘grew’] [a] **good** [one].’ (Gr. Abašiže apud K̅V 1: 222)

The meaning of the last sentence is not: ‘The boy grew up, being really good’ or the like. Again, compare the following semantically similar sentences:

- (57) *esa=o čem col-s vaḡaḡiev=o,*
 this:NOM=QUOT my wife-DAT I.forgave(AOR).her=QUOT
švil-i=o, cocxal-s davḡovem=o, mara
 offspring-NOM=QUOT alive-DAT I.will.leave.her=QUOT but
bič-i unda movḡla
 boy-NOM it.is.necessary that.I.kill(OPT).him
 ‘I have forgiven my wife for having a child, **I will let her live**, but I must kill the boy.’ (Rachian; Dial 520, K̅V 3)

Svan

- (58) *mesme nāt=i deš acvirx ləḡär*
 third part:NOM=also not.possible they.let.it PTCP:live:NOM
 ‘They did not even let a third [sc. of the soldiers] **survive**.’ (Pr 1: 4, 16)
- (59) *prinvel-s ar ḡaušobs ca=ze mimaval-s mouḡlav-s*
 bird-DAT not he.will.let.it.go sky=on going-DAT unkilld-DAT
 ‘[sc. Adua] will not let any bird that flies in the sky escape **without having killed it**.’ (Khevsur; Dial 19, no. 14, 12–13 apud K̅V 3)

(57) and (58) are copular, (59) is depictive. Semantically, ‘leave’ in (57) is a kind of causative of ‘remain’ in (54): in both cases, the complement (‘annoyed’, ‘alive’) cannot be omitted, but ‘unkilled’ in (59) can.

The following example (60a) is perhaps ambiguous between a predicative complement and a depictive reading. But the depictive reading can be

enforced by postposing the adjective phrase (as in (60b)), and the non-depictive reading by giving *šor-idan* ‘from afar’ a focusing intonation (‘From **a distance**, it looked white and beautiful, but when you came nearer, ...’):

- (60) a. *šor-idan mta tetr-i da lamaz-i*
 far-from mountain:NOM white-NOM and beautiful-NOM
čanda
 it.appeared
 ‘The mountain appeared from afar(,) **white and beautiful.**’ or: ‘The mountain looked white and beautiful from afar.’ (L. Gotua *apud* *Ḳv* 1: 222)
- b. *šor-idan mta čanda tetr-i da lamaz-i*

6.3.2.3 *Adverbial complements* Optionality is generally seen as a major criterion for distinguishing depictives not only from the copular constructions illustrated in the previous section but also from verbal complements, which likewise are considered to be obligatory. This criterion is not always easy to apply in the case of verbs of stance and posture that normally require some specifying adverbial expression. Agreeing nominals can fill this position, as shown in (61) and (62). However, these do not differ in any way from participles in depictive function, discussed in section 6.2.1, except that they appear to be ‘more obligatory’. Therefore, it might be wise to analyse them as depictives rather than introducing a new category for them:

- (61) *čakanc-ul-i dažda da daiçqo pikir-i*
 exhaust-PTCP-NOM he.sat.down and he.began.it thought-NOM
 ‘He sat down exhausted and began to think.’ (Mokhevia; Dial 34, *Ḳv* 3)
- (62) *didxan ižda dedupal-i šešineb-ul-i*
 longtime she.sat queen-NOM frighten-PTCP-NOM
 ‘The queen sat there frightened for a long time.’ (Gurian; Dial 432, *Ḳv* 3)

6.3.2.4 *Topicalization and quantifier floating* Since modifiers precede their head noun, the adjectives in the following examples cannot be simply postposed modifiers. But it is not clear if these adjectives should be considered depictives. Alternatively, their position could be the result of the topicalization of their head noun (comparable to cases of ‘split topicalization’ in English and German; H. van Riemsdijk’s term *apud* Kniffka 1996):

- (63) [*torola-m*] *ganabva oštatur-i icis*
 lark-ERG budging:NOM masterful-NOM it.knows.it
 ‘As for budging, [the lark] can do it in a masterly manner.’
 (I. Gogebašvili *apud* *Ḳv* 1: 222)
 cp. *torola-m oštatur-i ganabva icis* ‘The lark knows how to do **a masterful budging.**’

- (64) *simɣera* **ɣarg-i** *gcodnia*
 singing:NOM good-NOM you.know(PRS).it
 ‘To sing **well** is what you obviously know (but let us see how you dance?).’
 cp. *ɣargi simɣera gcodnia!* ‘You know a good song!’

Some quantifiers seem to have the same positional and semantic properties, and L. Ƙvačaze considers an example such as the following one, a ‘predicative specification’, i.e. as a depictive:

- (65) *ɕamsvlel-i* **bevr-i** *minaxam=o*
 leaving-NOM many-NOM I.have.seen.them=QUOT
da *momsvlel-i* *ɣi* *ara=o*
 and coming-NOM but not=QUOT
 ‘I have seen **many** people leave, but nobody who returns.’ (Kakhian; Dial 202, Ƙv 3)

Svan

- (66) *min-s* *eser* *sac̣kvar-s* *xahvdix* ***xvāj-s***
 they-DAT QUOT gift-DAT they.give.it.to.them many-DAT
 ‘As for gifts, they give many.’ (Pr 1: 5,2)

Yet the following example seems to offer a real case of ‘quantifier floating’, since *č̣i* ‘all’ does not show case-marking (expected: *č̣i-s* ‘all-DAT’):

Svan

- (67) *zurāl* *č̣i* *ka* *išəldāni* *lədgār-s*
 woman:NOM all PREV she.enumerates dead-DAT
 ‘The woman enumerates all the dead.’ (Pr 1: 8, 1)
- (68) *daqār-s* *eser* *ka* *xahvdi* ***č̣i***
 goat:PL-DAT QUOT PREV he.will.give all
 ‘He will give all the goats.’ (Pr 1: 390, 31)

6.4 Participant-oriented adjuncts without agreement

In section 6.3 we discussed various semantic classes of participant-oriented adjuncts showing agreement, and argued that these can be regarded as depictives, and delimited them from copular or complement constructions also showing agreement. Lack of agreement, however, does not prevent restricted, if not unambiguous, orientation. Some adjuncts without agreement are oriented towards the object with transitive verbs and towards the subject elsewhere.

6.4.1 Adverbial expressions without case-marking

Svan has quite a few idiomatic postpositional phrases that function as secondary predicates:

Svan

- (69) *ameču xoča gvi länīsdda*
 here good heart:NOM we.sat.down
 ‘We sat down here **in a good mood**.’ (Pr 1: 36, 6)
- (70) *xekväd dävä xolām gu=ži lipšvde*
 he.wanted dev:GEN bad:DAT heart=on sending.away:NOM
 ‘He wanted to send the dev away **bad-tempered**.’ [referring to the dev, a fabulous man-like being] (Chr 154, 5)

Some Georgian counterparts are also non-agreeing expressions such as *cud xasiat=ze* (bad character=on) ‘in a bad mood’, but others are agreeing participles: *moxarebul-* ‘gladdened, happy’; cf. (30). Where non-agreeing idiomatic expressions exist, these are usually preferred, but there is no categorial exclusion of agreeing expressions for any given semantic category.

Oriented adverbial expressions of state (‘posture’) are illustrated by expressions involving non-agreeing adverbs like *qiramala* ‘head over heels’, *pirkve* ‘prone’, *gul-aγma* (heart upwards) ‘with the face upwards’, *gul-daγma* (heart downwards) ‘prone’, *tav-daqira* ‘head first’, etc. with subject or object orientation:

- (71) *tavdaqira gadaešva çqal=ši*
 head.first s/he.plunged.over water=in
 ‘S/He plunged **head first** into the water.’
- (72) *tavdaqira gadaušva çqal=ši*
 head.first s/he.made.him/her.plunge.over water=in
 ‘S/He made him/her plunge **head first** into the water.’

Svan

- (73) *ušgul xoçbina saldät-s çer=xän-ču*
 reverse he.hung.him.up soldier-DAT ceiling=from-down
 ‘[sc. The giant] hung the soldier upside down from the ceiling.’
 (Chr 170, 8)

The same is true for an ‘ornative’ adverb like *amara* ‘having only x(+GEN)’, which has no adjectival counterpart. Semantically it belongs to the

instrumental ornative or concomitance expressions (as in (99)):

- (74) *mar̄to-d-mar̄to* *modioda* *xanžl-is* *amara*
 alone-ADV-alone:NOM he.used.to.come dagger-GEN having.only
 ‘He used to come all alone, having only his dagger.’ (V. Barnovi, KEGL s.v.)

‘Ornamental’ depictives for body-part postures and clothing, on the other hand, are most often coded by participial possessive compounds (see (14), (29), (75)).

All these uninflected expressions allow no agreement: as preferred lexicalized units they block the use of alternative agreeing expressions. Although most postures are coded by uninflected units in Georgian, there is no intrinsic necessity for such a form. In fact, there are some more specific expressions that can be inflected, as in:

- (75) *taxt=ze* *ižda* *pex-moḳvec-il-i*
 divan=on he.sat foot-fold-PTCP-NOM
 ‘He sat on the divan **with his legs folded.**’ (KEGL s.v.)

Svan also has, for instance, an agreeing adjective ‘upright’:

Svan

- (76) *er* *ḳaç* *ləg*
 some upright:NOM stands
 ‘Some people stand **upright.**’ (Pr 1: 8, 11)

6.4.2 Adverbial case forms with essive functions

One of the most important coding forms of adverbial relations in Kartvelian languages is the adverbial case, which may convey an ‘essive’ meaning. Examples (77) and (78) are from Georgian, and examples (79) to (81) from Svan.

- (77) *ekim-ad* *mušaobs*
 doctor-ADV s/he.works
 ‘S/He works **as a doctor.**’
- (78) *ḳarg* *ekim-ad* *itvleba*
 good doctor-ADV s/he.is.counted
 ‘S/He is considered **a good doctor.**’

Svan

- (79) *čäš-d* *xaḳu*
 husband-ADV she.wants.him
 ‘She wants him **as her husband.**’ (Pr 1: 256, 37)

- (80) *çel-d esvsiped*
 mule-ADV I.turned.her
 ‘I turned her **into a mule.**’ (Pr 1: 71, 26)
- (81) *ucxo kumäš-d änqdeni*
 strange cattle-ADV he.will.come
 ‘He will come **as a strange head of cattle** (says the giant sorcerer).’
 (Pr 1: 62, 16)

The adverbial case also occurs on possessive adjectives, where it is preceded by the possessive suffix *-ian* (which is a phrasal suffix, as seen in (83)). Expressions like these denote concomitance, and can also be interpreted as participant-oriented.

- (82) *col-švil-ian-ad movida*
 wife-child-POSS-ADV he.came
 ‘He came **with his wife and children.**’
- (83) *çqal-ma çamoatara mtel-i xe tavis*
 water-ERG it.carried.down whole-NOM tree:NOM its:REFL
toṭ-eb-ian-žirḳv-eb-ian-ad
 branch-PL-POSS-trunk-POSS-ADV
 ‘The water carried down the whole tree **with its branches and trunk.**’
 (V. Barnovi *apud* Flonṭi 1978: 85)

Svan

- (84) *anḡänx mäg kēsärša lu-zrāl-lə-bopšv-d,*
 they.rose all:NOM king’s.family:NOM POSS-woman-POSS-child-ADV
lu-goč-d, cicv-är i žey-är-i mäg
 POSS-piglet-ADV cat-PL.NOM and dog-PL.NOM=and all:NOM
ačädx lə-çh-a-d i läjbinex lälxin
 they.went PTCP-invite-PL-ADV and they.began banquet:NOM
 ‘All the king’s family rose, **wife and children and piglets included**, the cats and dogs all went **as guests** and began the banquet.’ (Svan; Chr 165, 21–2)

Georgian

- (85) [*xorc-s*] *nu šečamt naxevr-ad šemçvar-s an*
 meat-DAT not:IMP you.eat.it half-ADV roasted-DAT or
çqal=ši moxaršul-s; mxolod cecxl=ze šemçvar-i çamet
 water=in boiled-DAT only fire=on roasted-NOM eat:IMP

tav-pex-ian-ad *da* *šigneul-ian-ad*
 head-foot-POSS-ADV and inner.parts-POSS-ADV
 ‘You must not eat [the meat] **half-roasted or boiled in water**; but only roasted on a fire, **with head and feet and intestines.**’ (Exodus 12, 8–9, *Biblia* 1989)

The expression ‘with head and feet’ in the last example must refer to the object of eating. Notice that this expression parallels state/condition depictives in the preceding context: ‘half-roasted, boiled’, which are condition/state depictives with case agreement.

Besides derivational and inflectional forms, there is a periphrastic expression of concomitance consisting of the postposition *-tan* plus *ertad* ‘together’. Once again, this expression has a participant orientation which allows for different controllers and thus may give rise to ambiguity. In the following example, the agent either ate it in company of the dog, or ate it and the dog:

(86) *zayl=tan ertad šečama*
 dog=with together s/he.ate(AOR).it.up
 ‘S/He ate it up with the dog.’ or ‘S/He ate it and the dog up.’

6.4.3 Future participle with adverbial case-marking

From the point of view of morphological form and participant orientation, Georgian purpose expressions can also be regarded as non-agreeing participant-oriented expressions. They are future participles marked with the circumfix *sa-__-(e)l-* (see 6.3.1.1) and the adverbial case suffix *-ad*. They seem to be oriented towards subjects of intransitive verbs and towards direct objects of transitive verbs:

(87) *ḡunzul=ze miva da-sa-sveneb-l-ad*
 island=on s/he.will.go PREV-PREF-relax-SUFF-ADV
 ‘S/He is going to the island **to relax.**’

(88) *ḡunzul=ze gaagzavna da-sa-sveneb-l-ad*
 island=on s/he.sent.him/her PREV-PREF-relax-SUFF-ADV
 ‘S/He sent him/her to the island **to relax.**’

Svan

(89) *lic axäj ničvareš i toṭre la-brāl-d*
 water:NOM bring face:PL.GEN and hand:PL.GEN PTCP-wash-ADV
 ‘Go fetch some water **to wash our hands and faces.**’ (Pr 1: 376, 34–5)

In addition to the future participle followed by the adverbial case illustrated in (89), Svan has a second supine formation with the directional suffix

-*te* instead of -*d*:

Svan

- (90) *Cxvitägn lä-txviar=te ačad*
 Tskhvitagan:NOM PTCP-hunt=to he.went
 ‘Tskhvitagan went **hunting**.’ (Pr 1: 376, 4)

6.4.4 Other functions of the adverbial case

The adverbial case also forms simple adverbs most of which seem to have a semantic subject orientation:

- (91) *prt̄xil-ad midiodnen čven-i mgzavr-eb-i*
 cautious-ADV they.walked OUR-NOM traveller-PL-NOM
 ‘Our travellers walked **cautiously**.’
- (92) *mačarebel-i zant̄-ad daižra*
 train-NOM lazy-ADV moved
 ‘The train moved **lazily**.’ (R. Gvet̄aže *apud* K̄v 1: 181)
- (93) *šua mindor=ze lurž-ad molažlape t̄ba močanda*
 middle field=on blue-ADV blazing:NOM lake:NOM showed
 ‘In the middle of the field a shimmering lake appeared, **blue**
 [‘bluely’].’ (Važa Pšavela *apud* K̄v 1: 181)
- (94) *Šišia gul-ian-ad atvalierebda*
 Shishia:NOM heart-POSS-ADV he.inspected(IPRF).them
am napexur-eb-s
 this footprint-PL-DAT
 ‘Shishia was inspecting these footprints **excitedly**.’ (T. Razikašvili
apud K̄v 1: 181)

There are a few ‘real’ manner adverbs with the suffix -*a* instead of -*ad*: *čkar-a* ‘fast’, *xmamayl-a* ‘loudly’, *nel-a* ‘slowly’, etc. These adverbs seem to be exclusively process-oriented. Example (95) illustrates a typical contrast between a real manner adverb (‘fast’) and a depictive, which is well known from other languages:

- (95) a. *čkar-a mivida*
 fast-‘ADV’ s/he.went.there
 ‘S/He went there **fast**.’ (process-oriented)
- b. *močkarebul-i mivida*
 accelerated-NOM s/he.went.there
 ‘S/He went there **in a hurry**.’ (subject-oriented)

‘Fast’ in (a) is a simple manner adverb; the participle in (b) is a subject-oriented state depictive. It is an open empirical question as to which adverbs with the full adverbial case suffix *-ad* are exclusively process-oriented and which also allow participant orientation. In many instances, it will in fact be quite difficult to resolve this issue because of the possibility of metonymic shifts, as further discussed below in section 6.5.2.

Quantifying adjectives with adverbial case-marking seem to behave like agreeing quantifiers in every other respect. Compare (65) and (66) above with the examples in (96–98).

- (96) *pul-i* ***blom-ad*** *akvs*
 money-NOM abundant-ADV s/he.has
 ‘S/He has plenty of money.’ (‘abundantly’)

Svan

- (97) *diär-s* ***masär-d*** *amārex*
 bread-DAT abundant-ADV they.prepare.it
 ‘They prepare plenty of bread.’ (‘abundantly’) (Sv 1: 8, 24)

- (98) *māyvra-s* *ikēdx* ***masär-d***
 fine-DAT they.get abundant-ADV
 ‘They get a high indemnifying fine.’ (Sv 1: 6, 21)

6.4.5 Instrumental case forms

The instrumental case occurs in different contexts: concomitance expressions (see (99)), quantity expressions (see (100)), manner expressions (see (37), (101); cf. (91)):

- (99) *šakr-it* *svam* *čai-s* *tu* *r3-it?*
 sugar-INS you.drink.it tea-DAT or milk-INS
 ‘Do you drink tea **with sugar** or **with milk**?’
- (100) *čir-i* *šedis* ***urm-eb-ita*** *da* *gamodis*
 plague-NOM it.goes.into cart-PL-INS and it.comes.out
misxl-ob-ita=o
 ounce-COLLECTIVE-INS=QUOT
 ‘Calamity enters **in [quantities carried by] carts** and comes out **in ounces**.’
- (101) ***siprtxil-it*** *midiodnen* *čven-i* *mgzavr-eb-i*
 caution-INS they.walked our-NOM traveller-PL-NOM
 ‘Our travellers were going along there **with caution**.’ (A. Q̇azbegi
apud K̇v 1: 180)

There is an interlingual variation between instrumental-marked and depictive participles. The following expression in Svan takes instrumental case-marking:

Svan

- (102) *anyrix mäg läxiadäl-uš*
 they.come all joy-INS
 ‘They all come **cheerfully**.’ (Pr 1: 66, 37)

In Georgian, on the other hand, ‘cheerfully’ would be rendered by an agreeing participle, i.e. *gaxareb-ul-eb-i* (gladden-PTCP-PL-NOM); see also (13), (30), and note 3.

6.4.6 Expressions with =vit ‘like’

Expressions of comparison are similar to adverbial and instrumental case-marked expressions, except that they have postpositional marking instead of case-marking. They seem to be oriented towards subjects or direct objects, but their orientation is not formally marked.⁸ Notice that the post-position =vit ‘like’ occurs with either the ‘nominative’ form (-i-) or the dative (*3era-sa=vit*, *ḡaṡa-sa=vit* in (110))—interchangeably according to V. Imnaišvili (1997: 84). The ‘nominative’ is not an agreement marker: it also occurs with oblique controllers, for instance the ergative in (107).

- (103) *veravin ceḡvavda leḡur-sa da čačnur-s*
 nobody:NOM danced Lekuri-DAT and Chachnuri-DAT
Qazbeg-i=vit
 Qazbegi-‘NOM’=like
 ‘Nobody could dance the Lekuri and the Chachnuri **like Qazbegi**.’
 (V. Imnaišvili 1997: 87)

Svan

- (104) *pek=šāl esvgeni hoḡer=isga*
 flour=like I.will.fall.down ground=in
 ‘I will fall down to the ground **like flour**.’ (Pr 1: 69, 1)
- (105) *topi pindix=šāl azzi yumir-s*
 rifle:GEN bullet=like he.sends fir-DAT
 ‘He throws the fir **like a bullet**.’ (Pr 1: 60, 20)

However there is at least one feature that points to a participant orientation: the similitive construction ‘agrees’ in number with the relevant participant

⁸ The same is true for the periphrastic alternative with the word *rogorc* ‘like’, which has no particular orientation: *xelebi rogorc prtebi gašala* (hands **like** wings he.opened.them) ‘he opened his arms **like wings**’.

(Kvačaże 1996: 177–8):

- (106) *qvela-n-i kv-is zegl-eb-i=vit idgnen*
 all-PL-NOM stone-GEN monument-PL-‘NOM’=like they.stood
 ‘They all stood there **like monuments.**’ (M. žavaxišvili *apud* Kᵛ 1: 177)
- (107) *Zura-m da Erekle-m tagv-eb-i=vit dasunes*
 Zura-ERG and Erekle-ERG mouse-PL-‘NOM’=like they.sniffed.it
akauroba
 hereabouts:NOM
 ‘Zura and Erekle sniffed around here **like mice.**’ (M. žavaxišvili
apud Kᵛ 1: 178)
- (108) *xel-eb-i prt-eb-i=vit gašala*
 hand-PL-NOM wing-PL-‘NOM’=like he.spread.them
 ‘He opened his arms **like wings.**’ (M. žavaxišvili *apud* Kᵛ 1: 178)

The primarily semantic basis of this agreement, though, is evident from the fact that collectives count as ‘plurals’:

- (109) *glex-eb-i gaçvrtnil laskar-i=vit šemovidnen*
 peasant-PL-NOM trained army-‘NOM’=like they.came.in
 ‘**The peasants** came in **like a trained army.**’ (M. žavaxišvili *apud*
 Kᵛ 1: 178)

Furthermore, generics allow both singular and plural forms:

- (110) [*čxiqᵛ-i*] *xan kᵛux-i=vit čxavis, xan*
 jay-NOM sometimes brood-hen-NOM=like it.clucks sometimes
žera-sa=vit čivis, qaṭa-sa=vit qᵛnavis, an
 kite-DAT=like it.shrieks cat-DAT=like it.mews or
žayl-eb-i-vit qᵛeps
 dog-PL-‘NOM’=like it.barks
 ‘[A jay] sometimes clucks like a broody hen, sometimes shrieks like
 a kite, mews like a cat, or barks **like a dog** [‘like dogs’].’
 (T. Razikašvili *apud* Kvačaṭiraže 1978: 41–5)

6.5 The relationship between depictives and non-agreeing adjuncts

6.5.1 Formal relationship

As seen in the preceding section, the adverbs with the adverbial case suffix *-ad* and the instrumental suffix *-it* allow participant-oriented readings, and this makes them similar to the condition/state group of depictives discussed in section 6.3.1. And indeed, there are some properties that the condition/state depictives, on the one hand, and expressions of manner and concomitance, on the other, have in common.

6.5.1.1 *Interrogability* First, both can be asked for by *rogor* ‘how?’ (see I. Imnaišvili 1957: 676):

- (111) a. How did the merchants come out of the house?—Amazed.
 (see (5)): condition/state
 b. How did the train move?—Lazily. (see (92)): manner
 c. How did he come?—With his wife. (see (82)): concomitance
 d. **How** did you drink tea, with sugar or milk?—With sugar.
 (*čai rogor dalie, šakrit tu ržit?*—*šakrit*) (see (99)): concomitance
 but:
 e. What age/*How did he become an orphan?—As a child.
 (see (35)): phase
 f. How many were in their party?/*How did they come?—Three
 [of them]. (see (39)): quantity

6.5.1.2 *Coordination* Coordination of depictives of the same category with or without ‘and’ is possible (see (14), (32), and (48)); depictives that belong to different categories are not normally coordinated (see Schroeder 2003 for some discussion). However, Leo Kvačaze (1996: 225) in his standard syntax of Modern Georgian notes that what he calls ‘predicative modifiers’ (i.e. depictives) and manner adverbials can be coordinated (cf. I. Imnaišvili 1957: 676); however, he considers such coordinations ‘stylistically unjustified’ (*stilištiḡurad gaumartlebeli*). Since coordination presupposes both syntactic and semantic identity of the conjuncts on some level, both depictives and oriented manner adverbials can be assigned to essentially the same category of adjuncts. Furthermore, the fact that they can be coordinated is evidence of a semantic overlap between depictives and adverbials on the basis of a metonymic relationship (see further below 6.5.2). Examples:

- (112) *is midioda čqnar-ad*
 he:NOM he.walked(IPRF) quiet-ADV
da dapikrebul-i
 and absorbed.in.his.thoughts-NOM
 ‘He walked **quietly and absorbed in his thoughts.**’ (A. Qazbegi *apud* K̅V 1: 225)
- (113) *Murtuza mad-ian-ad da gamgeleb-ul-i*
 Murtuza:NOM appetite-POSS-ADV and become.a.wolf-PTCP-NOM
šamda
 he.ate(IPRF)
 ‘Murtuza had an appetite like a wolf.’ [‘M. **was eating with appetite and having become a wolf.**’] (A. Qazbegi *apud* I. Imnaišvili 1957: 676)

- (114) *tumca çqnar-is oxvr-it magram gaxarebul-i*
 although quiet-OBL sigh-INS but gladdened-NOM
çavidoda
 he.used.to.go
 ‘Although sighing, but still happy, he used to go [to fulfil the orders of his mistress].’ (A. Qazbegi *apud* I. Imnaišvili 1957: 676)
- (115) *siprtxil-it da gaçumebul-n-i midiodnen*
 caution-INS and silenced-PL-NOM they.went(IPRF).there
 ‘They walked cautiously [‘with caution’] and silently.’ (A. Qazbegi *apud* K̄v 1: 225; cf. (91))

6.5.1.3 *Cases of variation and overlap* Condition/state/concomitance depictives and manner expressions are used in similar contexts, with variation occurring within the same language, across related languages, and in diachronic development.

Condition/state~manner There is some variation between agreeing depictives and adverbial case forms within Georgian, as illustrated in (116) and (117). Subtle differences in meaning remain to be investigated.

- (116) *xorc-i um-i / um-ad miqvars*
 meat-NOM raw-NOM / raw-ADV I.like.it
 ‘I like meat **raw**.’
- (117) a. *šoridan mta tetr-i da lamaz-i*
 from.far mountain:NOM white-NOM and beautiful-NOM
čanda (=38)
 it.appeared
- b. *šoridan mta tetr-ad da lamaz-ad*
 from.far mountain:NOM white-ADV and beautiful-ADV
čanda
 it.appeared
 ‘From afar the mountain appeared(,) **white and beautiful**.’

In some instances, Svan has the adverbial case form where Georgian seems to prefer agreeing depictives. Thus, the translation equivalents of the adverbials in the Svan examples in (118) to (120) would carry nominative case in agreement with the intransitive subject in Georgian. Compare (118) with (2) and (12), (119) with (11), and (120) with (13), (30).

- Svan
 (118) *häri-d ägi=t’ ānqäd*
 empty-ADV home=to he.came
 ‘He came home **empty-handed**.’ (Pr 1: 54, 29)

- (119) *məṭma-d* *asädx*
 hungry-ADV they.remained
 ‘They remained **hungry**.’ (Chr 169, 13)
- (120) *očädd* *amži mugvri-d*
 we.went.away thus sulky-ADV
 ‘Thus we went away **sulkily**.’ (Pr 1: 39, 9–10)

Negative condition/state or manner With negative expressions of condition, state, or manner, likewise, there is some variation between adverbials (121a) and depictives (121b) in Georgian. Both types of expression are marked with the negative prefix *u-* and there is no clear difference in meaning.

- (121) a. *Epemia* *ga-u-xedel-ad* *içva*
 Euphemia:NOM PREF-NEG-REMOVE-ADV she.lay(AOR)
- b. *Epemia* *ga-u-xdel-i* *içva*
 Euphemia:NOM PREF-NEG-REMOVE-NOM she.lay
 ‘Euphemia lay there **in her clothes**.’ (R. Gveṭaṣe *apud* ḲV 1: 222)

In contrast, their positive counterparts do not seem to allow the adverbial variant, but only the agreeing expression:

- (122) a. *čacmul-i* *davçeki login=ši*
 dressed-NOM I.lay(AOR) bed=in
- b. **čacmul-ad* *davçeki login=ši*
 dressed-ADV I.lay(AOR) bed=in
 ‘I lay in bed with my clothes on.’

Negative concomitance or manner Similarly, concomitance expressions have negative counterparts, marked by a circumfix *u-___-o*, which exhibit the same variation. That is, unlike their positive counterpart, they can either have invariable adverbial case-marking (123a) or exhibit agreement. In (123b), the expression of negative concomitance agrees in dative case with its controller:

- (123) a. *Teklia-sa=c* *u-vaxšm-o-d* *daezina*
 Teklia-DAT=TOO NEG-supper-SUFF-ADV she.went.to.sleep
- b. *Teklia-sa=c* *u-vaxšm-o-s* *daezina*
 Teklia-DAT=TOO NEG-supper-SUFF-DAT she.went.to.sleep
 ‘Teklia, too, went to sleep **without supper**.’ (T. Raziḱašvili *apud* ḲV 1: 222)

Variation also has a diachronic dimension. There are medieval Georgian examples with adverbial case-marking whose modern equivalents require an

agreeing depictive:

Medieval Georgian

- (124) a. *ševe, vnaxe igi turpa mṭirl-ad da*
 I.went.in I.saw.her that:NOM lovely:NOM weeping-ADV and
creml-dasxm-ul-ad
 tear-pour.OVER-PTCP-ADV
 ‘I went in; I saw that lovely one weeping and flooded in tears.’
 (Rustaveli 1170(1174), 1; trans. M. Wardrop)

Modern Georgian

- b. *vnaxe ... mṭiral-i da creml-dasxm-ul-i*
 I.saw.her ... weeping-NOM and tear-pour.OVER-PTCP-NOM

However, this last example possibly does not really belong here since the status of *verba sentiendi* constructions remains to be investigated (a verbal complement analysis may be more appropriate than a secondary predicate analysis).

6.5.2 Semantic relationships between depictives and non-agreeing adjuncts

6.5.2.1 *Condition, state, concomitance, and manner* One may speculate about the reason for the phenomena of variation and overlap between depictive and adverbially marked adjuncts illustrated in the preceding section.

First, condition/state depictives characterize the predicate insofar as a metonymic relationship exists between the property predicated of a participant and the characteristics of the ‘action’ denoted by the matrix verb; this is the double relationship recognized by traditional Georgian grammarians and by general linguists (Nichols 1978b: ‘double dependency’): depictives ‘characterize the object and the action at the same time’ (Enukašvili 1977: 162). In *He walked happily*, the way of walking can express the interior state of the agent. At least some manner adverbs have the same property.

Second, with negative adjectives and participles, the unmarked variant seems to be the manner/concomitance coding with adverbial case-marking. This seems plausible if we think of them as expressions that code a less intimate relationship between some property and a participant. The idea that whenever variation is possible, condition/state depictives code a higher degree of participant relatedness is confirmed by the observation of my consultant (Rezo Ķiknaže) that the participant-related (b) variants in (121) are more ‘figurative’ (*xatovani*). Negative properties like not being dressed or having had no supper are less typical qualities attributable to some referent, because they rely on reflection rather than on direct observation.

Third, in some instances attribution of properties to a participant in the form of condition/state depictives is ‘figurative’ in the sense that properties of

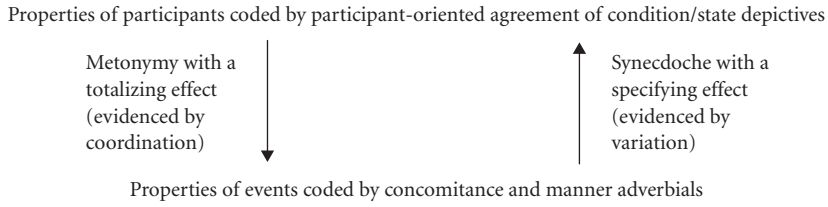


FIGURE 6.1 Relationship between classes of depictive and adverbial expressions

the event are conferred to the participant involved. This might be called a synecdochic transfer, which, in the formal framework of classical rhetorics, can be subsumed under the scheme of hypallage, as in (125), where ‘mischievously’ primarily refers to the subject, and only by metonymy to the event.

- (125) *tovl-is çql-eb-ma daiçqes celk-ad dena*
 SNOW-GEN WATER-PL-ERG they.began mischievous-ADV flowing:NOM
mındrvr-ad da xev-eb=ši
 field-ADV and gorge-PL=in
 ‘The snow-water began to flow **mischievously** down the field and into the gorges.’ (Važa Pšavela *apud* K̅v 1: 181)

In poetry, this type of transfer can even give rise to more extreme examples as in:⁹

Latin

- (126) *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte*
 they.walked dark:M.PL.NOM alone:F.ABL.SG under night:F.ABL.SG
per umbram
 through shadow:F.SG.ACC
 ‘**Dark** [nominative plural!] they walked through the shadow under the lonely night.’ (Vergil, *Aeneid* vi. 268), instead of: ‘Lonely they walked under the dark night.’

We have, then, two metonymic extensions across the categories of depictives: a transfer from participant-related qualities to events, and a transfer from concomitance and manner properties to participants (Figure 6.1).

Following the typology of metaphoric relationships developed by David Sapir (1977), we may say the following: the coordination of condition/state depictives with concomitance and manner adjuncts is an extension from the participant to the event with which it is connected by metonymy, and

⁹ This is Servius’ commentary (fourth century AD): *aut hypallage est: sub obscura nocte soli ibant, aut, sub sola nocte, id est, ubi nihil aliud est praeter noctem* ‘It is either a hypallage: under the dark night they walked alone, or: under the night alone, that is, where there was nothing but night.’ See Gerber (1871: 570–3) for more examples and some discussion.

the quality of the participant is ‘totalized’. The variation between negative concomitance and manner depictives and condition/state depictives is an extension from circumstantial event properties to the participants with which they are connected by synecdoche, a ‘reduction to a pertinent part’, namely the participant on which or with which the negative property does not occur.

6.5.2.2 *Similitive constructions* In Georgian grammatical tradition, similitives are considered adverbial expressions of manner (Kvačaze 1996: 176–9), which are correspondingly asked for by *rogor* ‘how?’. Alternatively, however, *ra-sa=vit* ‘what-DAT=like’ (‘like what?’) is sometimes used. V. Imnaišvili (1997: 88) feels that this last form is less appropriate for clauses where the similitive construction ‘is connected with the verb’. So ‘how?’ seems to be connected with an adverbial interpretation, whereas *rasavit* seems to favour a depictive interpretation. Be this as it may, the distinction does not seem to be clear-cut, and we may ask again for the reason for this partial overlap that manifests itself—however weakly—in a semantic number agreement. My impression is that this is a case of ‘interplay of external and internal metaphor’ (Sapir 1977: 25–8). Take for example ‘He opened his arms like wings’ (example (108)). The same comparison may be read as an internal metaphor (or metaphor proper), where the hands are like wings (an interpretation which is underlined by number agreement); and as an external metaphor (or analogy according to the Aristotelian theory of metaphor), where the hands are to the person and the action of opening his or her hands like the wings are to a bird and the action of opening its wings. Although an analogy where A is to A’s domain as X is to X’s domain does not presuppose a similarity between A and X, but between A and its domain on the one hand and X and its domain on the other (Sapir 1977: 23), A and X can be thought of as being similar on the basis of the analogy. In our example, the hands become similar to wings on the basis of their function in the act of opening them (in addition to some conceivable similarity between wing and hand that we might be inclined to detect in the first place!). The indeterminateness of orientation in similitive constructions could thus be the result of a transition from a primary ‘analogy’ between the compared propositions (‘He opens his arms’ \approx ‘A bird opens its wings’) to a metaphorical interpretation of the NP governed by ‘like’.

6.6 Summary and conclusions

Looking back at the different forms of Georgian depictives and related participant-oriented constructions, we get a picture as in Table 6.2. The

TABLE 6.2 Georgian (and Svan) participant-oriented expressions

	Coding	Possible controllers	Question word
1. Condition/state 2. Phase 3. Quantity 4. Concomitance	agreement (a) periphrastic <i>-tan ertad</i> 'together with' (b) possessive suffix (<i>-ian</i>) + adverbial case (<i>-ad</i>) (c) future part. + adv. (<i>-ad</i>)	core argument no intr. subject/tr. direct object	how?
5. Comparison	(a) periphrastic: <i>rogorc</i> 'like' (b) postposition = <i>vit</i> 'like', possible (semantic) number agreement	no no	how?
6. Manner	(a) adjective + adverbial case (<i>-ad</i>) (b) verbal noun + instrumental case (<i>-it</i>)	intr. subject/tr. direct object subject	
7. Location in Tush	agreement	subjects only (?)	

semantic categories 1–7 have the properties of an implicational hierarchy (Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt 2004). Higher up in the hierarchy, in the first three categories, we find agreement as an unambiguous device of participant orientation. These three categories also share the feature of allowing a superordinate clause paraphrase ('We went home happy' ~ 'We were happy when we went home'). If we neglect comparison, which is not coded as depictive in Georgian, categories 4 and 6 share case-marking, mainly adverbial case-marking, which can be semantically participant-oriented; but since this is not overtly coded, the interpretation depends on contextual information, as well as on the transitivity of the verb and the lexical-semantic category of the adverbial form itself: some forms with adverbial case-marking are process-oriented, others are participant-oriented. This is, in a sense, a weakening of restricted orientation coding.

Some of the categories that are lower in the hierarchy have alternative periphrastic expressions with postpositions, such as =*vit* 'like' in category 5,

and independent words, as in *-tan ertad* ‘together with’ in category 4. These expressions have no restricted orientation at all. We have, then, a scale of restricted orientation coding: agreement is the best, independent coding of participant orientation; coding by case depends on the context; and marking by postpositions and independent words involves no restrictions on participant orientation at all. This also explains the gap in category 5: comparison cannot be coded by agreement or case in Georgian, therefore it falls out of the continuum of the hierarchy. From this point of view, category 7, the place and time adverbials, should have case coding or postpositions, and indeed, it normally has in literary Georgian. The agreement occurring with Tush Georgian (locative) ablatives is exceptional in the lowest category of the hierarchy. Still, we normally expect that an implicational scale works on contiguous segments, and the ‘gap’ between categories that show participant orientation by agreement, and those that do not, disturbs this notion of contiguity. However, the scale should also be seen in the light of our discussion of morphological availability (6.3.1) and lexical blocking (6.4.1). Georgian and Svan have no dedicated morphological means for depictives (of the type described by Bucheli Berger, Ch. 4, this volume). Case and number agreement exist independently of depictives in adjectives, participles, etc. that have a modifier or predicative complement function, but for the categories without participant orientation there are simply no such adjectival formations available. Similarly, lexical blocking by non-oriented lexemes or idioms and the like is not ‘grammatical’. It is only those categories that offer the same resources as the categories higher up in the scale that count. In this sense, lack of agreement by itself does not falsify the implicational hierarchy.

Finally, we may ask whether the degree to which depictive (agreeing) constructions in a language cover the implicational hierarchy correlates with something else in that language. The following speculation may be relevant here. Agreement or any kind of cross-reference is a prerequisite of an unambiguous orientation towards a controller. But mere existence of agreement in a language does not imply its use in participant orientation: languages like German have morphological agreement in the noun phrase, but not in depictives. Rather, unambiguous coding of participant orientation correlates with a general tendency in some languages to avoid any constituent that is not formally related to a nominal or verbal head, and to prefer orientation towards nominal heads (Boeder and Schroeder 1998). The semantic map of depictives proposed by Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (Ch. 1, this volume), which predicts the highest incidence of formal depictives with ‘condition/state’ and their lowest incidence with ‘location in time

and space', could be related to the degree in which those languages allow discontinuity—'structural distance'—between constituents that belong together. In other words, the extension of the depictive coding strategy into the less usual areas of the domain possibly correlates with 'freedom of word order'.