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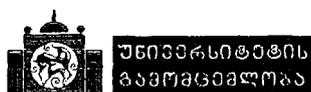
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## QUOTATIVE UNITS AND INFORMATION UNITS IN KHEVSURIAN<sup>1</sup>

One of the most striking contrasts between standard and non-standard Georgian is the abundance of quotative clitic particles in reported speech segments of dialect texts. While literary Georgian bans the ubiquity of quotative clitic-*o* and restricts it to sentence-final or at least clause-final positions, dialects allow it in seemingly any sentence-internal position, too:<sup>2</sup>

*ert-i-o kac-i-o mevida-o* (Gurian;ჭაჭანიძე 1970:39)

one-NOM-Q man-NOM-Q he.came-Q

A comprehensive study of this phenomenon is a desideratum of Kartvelology. In an important article on Georgian quotatives, Manning (1996) covers the whole range of the Eastern Georgian Mountain dialects and aims at establishing an implicational relationship between different positions of the quotative particle and the differential behaviour of the “mountain” and “valley” dialects. In the present context, I will concentrate on one single mountain dialect, a more or less archaic variant of Khevsurian, which promises to be more uniform than a dialect continuum. My observations are based on a rather homogeneous main corpus of 600 quotative units that occur in continuous passages of prose texts collected by a native Khevsur linguist, Aleksī Činčarauli (1960, no. 1, 2, 3, 61, 63).<sup>3</sup> Additional examples are taken from other texts of the same collection and from the “Georgian Dialectology” volume (Gigineišvili et al. 1961).<sup>4</sup>

The Khevsurian quotative clitic particle has the allomorphs *-o* in non-final position (as in: *binaši-a-o-da*) and *-v* in final position. By a general phonetic rule, this *-v* is deleted after *-o* (e.g. after the vocative suffix *-o*: *švil-o* < \**švil-o-v*child-VOC-Q),<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Many thanks go to my infatigable consultant of Khevsurian, Avtandil Arabuli (Institute of Linguistics, Georgian Academy of Sciences), without whose expertise and patient help I would not even have understood much of the data. However, he should not be held responsible for my misunderstandings and for my linguistic interpretation. I am also grateful to Mike Bauer (USA) who volunteered to correct an early version of my paper. All inadequacies are mine, of course.

<sup>2</sup> Tloni (1975:40) observes that the older the recording of a folklore text is, the more quotative particles are used.

<sup>3</sup> While Činčarauli’s texts probably do not represent a transcription of tape-recorded material, there is no doubt that they are faithful to the genuine norm of his dialect (viz the variant of Šaṭili).

<sup>4</sup> Besarion Gabuuri’s texts were not considered in order to avoid a possible influence of “non-prosodic” segmentation in non-oral data.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. ČT 361,24 *Nia-o* < \**Nia-o-v* *Nia-VOC-Q* vs. ČT 361,38 *Nia-v* *Nia-VOC*.

with the exception of monosyllables like *ho*: *ho-oyes-Q* in (1) below. In consonant-final words, an epenthetic vowel *-a* is inserted before *-v* (as for instance in *mšivis-a-v* < \**mšivis-v* in (2) below).

The goal of this paper is to describe quotative units, i.e. the segments that stretch from the boundary of a clause or from a quotative particle to the next occurrence of a quotative particle. It is argued that quotative units can be determined on the basis of constraints on their internal structure. They seem to correspond to phonological phrases and can be interpreted as easily processible units of information in natural speech.

Starting with a description of quotative units (1.), their grouping into segments preceding and following a clausal core unit (2.-4.), and their internal structure (5.-6.), I will discuss cases of mismatch between syntactic constituent structure and quotative units (7.) and their implications for the domain problem of the quotative clitic (8.). In a final chapter (9.), the question will be raised in what sense the sentence fragmentation into quotative units is related to “information packaging” and to phenomena like “noun phrase density”, polypersonality and “preferred argument structure”.

This paper is not cross-linguistic, but its typological leaning encourages me to dedicate it to the lasting memory of an eminent Georgian scholar who spent all her life on a typology-based study of Kartvelian and who I had the privilege to know and appreciate for forty years, **Irine Melikišvili**. She will remain a standard example to serious students of comparative-historical linguistics in this field.

1. There is quite a number of **non-clausal quotative units**, ranging from simple words (interjections, particles etc. in (1)-(5)) to phrases (formulaic expressions (6)-(7) and (17) below: vocatives (8)-(9)). (In the following, || marks clause boundaries, | boundaries between quotative units):

- (1) ||*ho-o*, | *eg dagvikali-v* (ČT 326,20)  
|| yes-Q | this kill.it.for.us-Q ‘yes, slaughter this one for us’
- (2) || *ara-v*, | *ayar mšivis-a-v* (ČT 384,26)  
|| no-Q | not.more I.am.hungry-EP-Q ‘no, I’m not hungry any more’
- (3) || *ḱarg-i-v* | *maš-a-v*, | *utxres*, | *miolt-a-v* | *čvena-v* | *im-is bina-ši-o-da* ...  
(ČT326,9)  
|| good-NOM-Q | then-EP-Q | *they.told.him* | *we.will.go.there-EP-Q* | *we-Q* | *that-GEN hut-in-Q-and* ... ‘well then, they told him, we will see him in his hut and ...’
- (4) || *aha-t-a-v*, | *me makv-a-v* | *dana-i-v*(ČT 327,22)  
|| look.here-PL-EP-Q | I I.have.it-EP-Q | *knife-NOM-Q* ‘look here, I have a knife’
- (5) || *arika-v*, | *mišvele-v* (ČT 378,8)  
|| hurry.up-Q | help.me-Q ‘quick, help me!’

- (6) || *gor-is angeloz-is c̑aloba-ma-v* (ČT 352,3)  
 || hill-GEN angel-GEN mercy-ERG-Q ‘by the grace of the Angel of the Hill’s icon!’
- (7) || *šeni čirime-v, | vera-s mišvel-a-e-v?* (ČT 351,7)  
 || *your plague.to.me-Q* | IMPOSS.what-DAT you.help.me-INTP-EP-Q  
 ‘o dear, can’t you help me with something?’
- (8) || *Imeda-o, | aset xari-v, | aget-i-v* (ČT 356,29)  
 || *Imeda-Voc.Q* | such.a.one.NOM you.are-Q | such.a.one-NOM-Q  
 ‘Imeda, you are a good-for-nothing’
- (9) || *dalocvil-o ymert-o, | neṭar ar maḳmaeb-a-e-v | amtven-s gačireba-sa-v* | (ČT 328,36)  
 || blessed-VOC God-VOC |would NEG you.let.me.have.it.enough-INTP-EP-Q |  
 so.much-DAT misery-DAT-Q ‘good God, why don’t you let so much misery be  
 enough for me?’

Vocatives occur in different positions. Some occur in clause-initial position and are stressed (as in (8)-(9)), others occur in second positions and are unstressed: they either follow a formulaic expression with which they form one single quotative unit (10)-(11), or they follow an initial phrase, where they form separate quotative units (12)-(13) which are similar to other inserted expressions (like the parenthesis in (14)).<sup>6</sup>

- (10) || *gamaržveba,<sup>7</sup> čem-o c̑ems-o!* (ČT 326,28)  
 || victory *my-VOC shepherd-VOC* ‘I greet you, my shepherd!’
- (11) || *magikvd tav, Nia-o!* | (ČT 361,24)  
 || it.died.to.you head.NOM *Nia-Voc.Q*  
 ‘may you die, Nia!’<sup>8</sup>
- (12) || *nu gešinis-a-v, | beča-o, | nu-a-v!* |(ČT 353,6)  
 || PROH you.are.afraid-EP-Q | *hapless-VOC* | PROH-EP-Q  
 ‘don’t be afraid, you hapless, don’t!’
- (13) || *eg myera ḳi ar mamḳons-a-v, | šoḳola-o, | ai(m) kven-it ro amadis-a-v, | ais myera mamḳons-a-v* |(ČT 351,33)  
 || this singing.NOM but NEG it.pleases.me-EP-Q | *Joqola-VOC* | that.OBL below-  
 INSTR SUB it.comes.up-EP-Q | that.NOM singing.NOM it.pleases.me-EP-Q  
 ‘This singing [i.e. lament] doesn’t please me, Joqola, it is the singing which  
 comes from the place below that pleases me’
- (14) || *me mitxra-v, | martal-i-a-v, | Nia-ma-v | eg-i-v*(ČT 356,36)  
 || I he.said.it.to.me-Q | *true-it.is-Q* | *Nia-ERG-Q* | this-NOM-Q ‘Nia told me this,  
 it is true’

<sup>6</sup> See Boeder 1985 for some discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Here and in the following example, the comma probably does not represent a prosodic reality, but follows a prescriptive rule of Georgian orthography.

<sup>8</sup> According to Činčarauli 2005 s.v. the speaker (Nia) addresses himself: ‘(lit.) may I die to you, Nia!’, i.e. he is angry at himself. Činčarauli translates the formula by Georgian: “vai dedasa, ara grcxvenia?”. Cf. (97).

Inserted expressions can be clauses which consist of more than one unit (15)-(16). If they are reported speech, they follow the rules of quotative marking (as in (17) vs. (15)): quotations and quotations embedded in quotations have the same quotative marking.

(15) || eg iset-s ra-s mamcems-a-v, | *tkva iman*, | ro ar gamitavdas-a-v (ČT 327,9)  
 || this.NOM such-DAT what-DAT he.will.give.it.to.me-EP-Q | *he.said.it*| SUB  
 NEG it.would.end.to.me-EP-Q

‘he will give me such a thing, he said, of which I will not be running short’

(16) || čına-s çuxra-sa-v | šen korčil-s vikamt-a-v, | *utkomavImeda-is-ad* | meore-s  
 çuxra-sa-v | ima-t korčil-s vaknev-a-v (ČT 358,10)  
 || before-DAT evening-DAT-Q | your wedding-DAT we.will.make.it-EP-Q |  
*he.has.said.it-EP-Q Imeda-GEN-ADV* | second-DAT evening-DAT-Q | that-  
 PLOBL wedding-DAT.I.will.make.them.make.it-EP-Q

‘on the evening before, we will celebrate your wedding, he told Imeda, they say, on the next evening, I will let them celebrate a wedding’<sup>9</sup>

(17) || Qurqan-is madl-ma-v, | *tkva-e-v* | *Uavarga-ma-v*, | sada-c žiqv gaprinda-v  
 [...] (ČT 352,24)  
 || Quran-GEN grace-ERG-Q | *he.said-EP-Q* | *Uavarga-ERG-Q* | where-REL  
 ibex.NOM.it.flew.out-Q [...]

‘by the grace of the Quran, *Uavarga* said, where the ibex will jump over [...]’

In addition, there are exclamatory non-verbal clauses that have the structure of copular clauses:

(18) | čem Zviad-i-v | *mtr-is-gan maqlul-i-o-da* | *uzebar-i-v!* (ČT 354,25)  
 | my Zviad-NOM-Q | *enemi-GEN-from killed-NOM-Q-and* | *unrevenged-NOM-Q*  
 ‘my Zviad killed by an enemi and still without revenge!’

2. My main interest in this paper are **multi-unit verbal clauses** like:

(19) || çqals-ik-ita-v | kamand-eb dgas-a-v | *kıdev-a-v* (ČT 359,7)  
 || water-there-INSTR-Q | guard-PL.NOM stands-EP-Q | again-EP-Q  
 ‘beyond the river, there are still guards standing there’

These clauses have an obligatory “core unit” containing a finite verb (*kamand-eb dgas-a-vin* (19)). Core units can occur alone (as in (20)). (In the following, core units will be underlined.) A core unit can be preceded by what I will call a “left periphery” (as in (21)-(22)) and they can be followed by a “right periphery” (as in (23)) or both (as in (19)).

(20) || ertuc-is mamklav mavklat-a-v (ČT 352,14)  
 || each.other-GEN killing.NOM we.will.kill.him-EP-Q ‘we will kill each other’s killer’

<sup>9</sup> “wedding” is ironically used for “killing”.

- (21) || ima-t codv-ita-v | mbruniale ciskvil dadga-v (ČT 352,30)  
 || that-PLOBL sin-INSTR-Q | rotating mill.NOM it.stopped-Q  
 ‘by their sin, the mill stopped turning’
- (22) || eg-i-v | tq̄uil-s ar itq̄vis-a-v (ČT 326,9)  
 || this-NOM-Q | lie-DAT NEG he.will.say.it-EP-Q ‘this one will not tell a lie’
- (23) | nu miklav-a-v | deda-sa-v! (ČT 355,26)  
 | PROH you.kill.to.me | mother-DAT-Q ‘do not kill my mother’

In most examples, there is just one quotative unit on the left periphery (as in (21)-(22)) and/or one on the right periphery (as in (23)). Examples with more than one peripheral unit are not rare, though, in both peripheral positions on the left and on the right side (24)-(25). Examples with more than two units on one side are (26)-(27).

- (24) | maga-sa-v | tq̄uil-sa-v | vera-vin ver aatkmevs-a-v! (ČT 326,7)  
 | this-DAT-Q | lie-DAT-Q | IMPOSS-who.NOM IMPOSS he.will.make.him.say-EP-Q  
 ‘this one [about whom you speak], nobody will be able to make him tell a lie’
- (25) | šen žmobil Zviad avar yrevav-a-v | dyses-a-v | mtibl-eb-či-a-v (ČT 354, 32 (33))  
 | your.NOM sworn.brother.NOM Zviad.NOM not.anymore he.feasts-EP-Q |  
 today-Q | hay-maker-PL-in-EP-Q  
 ‘your sworn brother Zviad does not feast anymore among the hay-makers today’
- (26) || ert-xan-a-v, | Imeda-m tkvis-a-v, | mi-a-da Uavarga-ma-v | Uavarga-is mesixle-n-i-v | kac-diac-n davxanžrenit-a-v | çiskvil-či-a-v (ČT 352,28) ||  
 one-time-EP-Q | Imeda-ERG he.used.to.say-EP-Q | I-Ep-and Uavarga-ERG-Q |  
 Uavarga-GEN avenger.of.blood-PL-NOM-Q man-woman-PL.NOM  
 we.daggered.them-EP-Q | mill-in-EP-Q  
 ‘once, Imeda used to say, I and Uavarga daggered Uavarga’s avengers of blood, men and women, in a mill’
- (27) || ert iq̄va-v | klde-ze šamždar-i-v | Kiṣṣ-i-v, | ai(m) çq̄al-či šagdebul-i-v | klde-zeda-v (ČT 351,6)  
 || one.NOM he.was-Q | rock-on mounted.on-NOM-Q | Chechen-NOM-Q |  
 that.OBLwater-in thrown.on-NOM-Q | rock-on-Q  
 ‘there was one Chechen who sat on a rock, who had been thrown on that rock [by the water]’

Right periphery units are more frequent than left periphery units (128 : 78 in my main corpus of 600 quotative units). Similarly, multiple right periphery units are more frequent than multiple left periphery units (16 : 8). This asymmetry may be connected with the fact that the earlier the verb is reached, the easier constituents can be assigned appropriate clausal functions.

3. The quotative units of the **left periphery** often seem to have specific syntactic, textual and pragmatic functions, e.g. conjunctions (28)-(29), relative pronouns (30),

adverbial question words (31), expressions of temporal and spatial orientation (32)-(33), contrast (34)-(36), topicality (37)-(39) etc.

- (28) || *tu-a-v* | me mamkles-a-v, | *šena-v* | *aba maxkḷidi-v* | sxva-s nu-vi-s maxkḷav-a-v | [...] || *tu šen ma(g)kles-a-v* [...] (ČT 356,21-23)  
 || if-EP-Q | I they killed.me-EP-Q | you-Q | now kill.them-Q | other-DAT PROH-who-DAT you.will.kill.him-EP-Q | [...] || if you they.kill.you-EP-Q  
 ‘if they kill me, you kill them, don’t kill anybody else [...] If they kill you [...]’
- (29) | *magrem-a-v* | *ert kḷtx-i-v* | mrud-í-akv-a-v (ČT 330,25)  
 | but-EP-Q | one.NOM corner-NOM-Q | skewed-NOM-it.has.it-EP-Q  
 ‘but one of its corners is skewed’
- (30) || icnob-a-e-v | *eexlada-v* | *im Mšavel-sa-v*, | *romen-ma-c-a-v* | *šena-v* | sisxl magidina-v? | (KD 13,24)  
 || you.will.recognize.him-INTP-EP-Q | right.now-Q | that.OBL Pshavian-DAT-Q | who-ERG-REL-EP-Q | you-Q blood.NOM he.made.it.flow.to.you  
 ‘will you recognize the Pshavian who shed your blood?’
- (31) || *radara-v* | *mi-a-v* | sxva-ta-vi(t) macxovreba-v? (ČT 329,1)  
 || why.not-Q | I-EP-Q | other-PLOBL-like you.make.me.live-INTP-Q  
 ‘why don’t you let me live like others?’
- (32) || zmobil ro mamiklan-a-v | *memr-a-v* | Guruel-ta-d miqola mamindeba-o-da | [...] (ČT 352,33)  
 || sworn.brother.NOM SUB they.kill.him.to.me.SBJV | *then-EP-Q* | Guruel-PLOBL-to following.NOM I.am.obliged-Q-and [...]  
 ‘should they kill my sworn brother, then I am obliged to take bloody revenge on the Guruels’
- (33) || *klde-čī-a-v* | *nadir-ta-v* | peqdapeq xqvebodis-a-v (ČT 352,19)  
 || *rock-in-EP-Q* | game-PLOBL-Q | on.its.heels he.follows.it-EP-Q  
 ‘on the rocks, he follows on the heels of the game’
- (34) || *eg-i-v* | qml-it gadmametaneba-o’ | *tkvena-v* | top daxkridit-a-v! (KD 16,5)  
 this-NOM-Q | sword-INSTR he.will.attack.me-Q.and | *you-Q* | rifle.NOM you.hit.him-EP-Q  
 ‘when he attacks me with his sword, you hit him with your rifle!’
- (35) || maga-s getqvi-v | *ert-sa-v*. || *meore-sa-v* | ima-s getqvi-v (ČT 327,13)  
this-DAT I.tell.it.to.you-Q | one-DAT-Q | *second-DAT-Q* | that-DAT I.tell.it.to.you-Q  
 ‘This<sup>10</sup> is one thing I tell you. The second thing I’ll tell you is the following’
- (36) || mesame-s ima-s getqvi-v, | ro col-s ro maiqvan-a-v, | *col-sa-v* | gul-isa ar utxra-v | (ČT 327,16)  
 || third-DAT that-DAT I.will.tell.it.to.you-Q | SUB wife-DAT SUB you.bring.her-EP-Q | *wife-DAT-Q* | heart-GEN.NOM NEG you.tell.her.SBJV-Q

<sup>10</sup> In Khevsur, second person deixis (*mag-*) is used with nouns expressing speech directed towards the addressee (A. Arabuli).

‘the third thing I tell you is that when you marry a wife, do not tell her your secret thoughts’

(37) | *top-sa-v* | *spilo-s zval ukrav-a-v* | *ima-sa-v* | *is-i-v* | *Čuča-i-a-v* | *Bukulišvil-i-v* | (ČT 353,31)

| *rifle-DAT-Q* | *elephant-GEN bone.NOM it.is.fastened.to.it-EP-Q* | *that-DAT-Q* | *that-NOM-Q* | *Chucha-NOM-he.is-Q* | *Bukulishvili-NOM-Q* |

‘that [man] has an elephant’s bone fastened at his rifle, that [man] is Chucha Bukulishvili’

(38) | *eg dana-i-v* | *čem iqva-v* (ČT 327,29)

| *this knife-NOM-Q* | *my.NOM it.was-Q* ‘this knife was mine’

(39) || *šen col-sa-v* | *Somex xqvarobs-a-v* (ČT 328,22)

|| *your wife-DAT-Q* | *Armenian.NOM he.loves.her-EP-Q*

‘an Armenian is the lover of your wife’

While it is plausible that topics and contrastive units occur on the left periphery, other units occur both on the left periphery and in the core unit. Compare the two contrastive sentences in (28), and (30) with (40).

(40) | *šamaixura-v* | *nabad-i-v*, | “*ka-is mamišvil-o*”, | *romen-sa-c utxres-a-v*, | *ais-i-v* | (ČT 358,33)

| *he.covered.himself-Q* | *Nabadi-NOM-Q* | “*good-GEN father.son-VOC*” | *who-DAT-REL they.said.to.him* | *that-NOM-Q* |

‘he covered himself with a *nabadi*, the one whom they addressed with “son of a good father”, that one’

In addition, coordinate constituents can be divided between the left periphery and the core unit:

(41) || *Nia-is top-i-v* | (*tkven-is pap-isa*, *čven-is pap-isa*) | *da Cika-is top magvcenit-a-o*’ [...] (ČT351,36)

|| *Nia-GEN rifle-NOM-Q* | (*your-GEN grandfather-GEN*, *our grandfather-GEN*) | *and Tsika-GEN rifle.NOM you.give.it.to.us-EP-Q*

‘give us Nia’s rifle (your grandfather’s, our grandfather’s) and Tsika’s rifle’

(42) || *kvirt-nakc-i-v*, | *čur čī-o-d*’ | *isetura ara geknebodat-a-e-v?* | (ČT 329,14)

|| *wool.remnant<sup>11</sup>-winter.wool<sup>12</sup>-NOM-Q-and* | *waste.wool-Q-and* | *such.NOM NEG you.PL.will.have.it-INTP-EP-Q* |

‘you haven’t got waste wool remnants and the like by chance?’

If we assume that coordinate constituents cannot differ in their functional category, we may conclude that left periphery units and core units do not necessarily differ in their functions.

<sup>11</sup> “low quality wool that remained in the comb during the process of hackling” (Činčarauli 2005 s.v. *kvirtī*)

<sup>12</sup> “low quality wool from a lamb that has passed the winter” (Činčarauli 2005 s.v. *nakci*)

4. Quotative units of the **right periphery** are dislocated constituents (or “tail constituents” in the sense of “Functional Grammar”, Dik 1997). They are supplements of the clause. For different reasons they are not included in the core unit. Right dislocation is obvious where noun phrases are split. For instance, attributive genitives (43)-(44) or adjectives (45)-(46) can be dislocated.

(43) | sam-s cagartom-a-v | *e saxl-isa-sa-v* (ČT 328,15)

| three-DAT I.will.take.them.away-EP-Q | this house-GEN-DAT-Q

‘I will take three things of this house away’

(44) || tu tkvis-a-v | Nia-ma-v | tu ert-xan tkuis-a-v | gamtquileba ces ar iqva-v | *im-isa-i-v* (ČT 362,1)

|| if he.said.it-EP-Q | Nia-ERG-EP-Q | if one-time he.said.it-EP-Q |

making something a.lie.NOM rule.NOM NEG it.was-Q | that-GEN-NOM-Q

‘if Nia had said something, if he had said something it was impossible for him to break his promise’

(45) ert kac gamagidgebist-a-v | *qvitel-čoqa-i-v* (ČT 353,30)

one.NOM man.NOM he.will.be.after.you.PL-EP-Q | yellow-chokha-NOM-Q

‘a man with a yellow chokha will be after you’

(46) || Mšavel mavida-v | *ert-i-v* (ČT 351,28)

|| Pshav.NOM he.came-Q | *one-NOM-Q*

‘There came one Pshavian’

There are even cases of double right dislocation:

(47) || ama-ši ki daxkargviv-a-v | *gageba-i-v* | *balax-t en-isa-i-v* (KD 18,32)

|| this.OBL-in but he.obviously.lost.it-EP-Q | *understanding-NOM-Q* | *plant-PL.OBL language-GEN-NOM-Q*

‘in living so he obviously lost the capacity to understand the language of the plants’

(48) dauçq̄a-v | *amxanig-sa-v* | *Kist-sa-v* (ČT 351,7)

he.began.to.him-Q | *fellow-DAT-Q* | *Chechen-DAT-Q*

‘he addressed his fellow Chechen’

The structure of these clauses can be derived as follows:

(49) (47') *daxkargviv gageba-i balax-t enisa-i* < *balax-t en-is gageba-i daxkargviv*

(48') *dauçq̄a amxanig-sa Kist-sa* < *Kist-sa amxanig-sa dauçq̄a*

Similarly, “heavy” constituents are often dislocated. In (50) the second post-verbal quotative unit is an amplifying, climactic epiphraasis of the first.

(50) || eeg qel-i-a-v | *čem-is žmobil-is mamklav-isa-i-v*, | *šen-is žm-is Zviad-is mamklav qel-i-v* (ČT 354,35(34))

|| this.NOM hand-NOM-it.is-EP-Q | *my-GEN sworn.brother-GEN killing-GEN-NOM-Q* | *your-GEN brother-GEN Zviad-GEN killing.NOM hand-NOM-Q*

‘This is the hand that killed your sworn brother, the hand that killed your brother Zviad’

There are examples of unambiguous afterthought constructions, for instance in (27), (40) and:

- (51) | gaucxadeba(-d) ar-c dadgeboda-v | *is-i-v*, | *Nia-i-v*(ČT 356,18)  
| without.having.made.it.real(-ADV) NEG-too he.stood.up-Q | *that-NOM-Q* | *Nia-NOM-Q*  
‘he did not stop before having realized [what he had said], he, Nia’

But none of these categories applies to the examples like the following, and a common function of all right dislocation seems improbable, for instance in (37) and:

- (52) || exla unda caxvida-v | *šena-v*(ČT 327,4)  
|| now NECESS you.go.away.SBJV | *you-Q* ‘you must go away now’  
(53) [...] da | mabrundes-a-v | *ukena-v*(ČT 354,12)  
[...] and | they.returned-EP-Q | *back-Q* ‘they came back’  
(54) | dažda-v | *ban-zeda-o-da* [...] (ČT 353,2)  
| he.sat.down-Q | *flat.roof-on-Q-and* ‘he sat down on the flat roof’

In the following example, coordinative constituents are divided between the core unit and the right periphery.

- (55) kal-i-c gaizardas-a-o-d' | *važ-i-ca-v* (KD 10,36)  
*girl-NOM-too she.should.raise-EP-Q-and* | *boy-NOM-too-Q*  
‘she should bring up both a girl and a boy’

However, the conjuncts are not contiguous as in (42), where they are divided between the left periphery and the core unit. Right dislocation of the second conjunct into the right periphery would require an unusual extraction from a coordinative structure.<sup>13</sup> It seems preferable to assume ellipsis: *kal-i-c gaizardas-a-o-d'* | *važ-i-c gaizardas-a-a-v* ‘she should bring up a girl and she should bring up a boy’ > *kal-i-c gaizardas-a-o-d'* | *važ-i-ca-v* (=55).

## 5. Now let us consider the **internal properties** of quotative units.

5.1 One common feature of all quotative units is the fact that they must contain at least one **stressed word**, where “stress” refers to any form of prominence in terms of prosodic features. In view of the lack of any systematic research on the prosody of quotative units in Khevsur, this remains a plausible hypothesis.

5.2. **Peripheral units** contain e.g. adverbials (26), (56)-(57), adverbial question words (31) and conjunctions and particles (28)-(29), (58)-(59). These units occur on the left or on the right peripheries or in the core unit. Cp. (60) vs (30) vs (61); (62) vs (63).

<sup>13</sup> It would be at variance with John Ross’ “coordinate structure constraint”.

- (56) | šiga-v | ai(m) tavriela-či xkrna-e-v(ČT 351,10)  
| in-Q | that.OBL head-in he.hit.him-EP-Q  
'he hit him right on his head [with a stone]'
- (57) | ageb šamaqdas-a-v | axlosa-v(ČT 354,5)  
| maybe he.comes.up.SBJV-Q | near-Q 'maybe he comes up nearby'
- (58) || ageraile-v | mta ro čans-a-v, | ima-s ik-iti ciṭ-eb-ad vikcevit-a-o-d' [...] (KD 18,7)  
|| here-Q | mountain.NOM SUB it.is.visible-EP-Q, | that-DAT there-INSTR bird-PL-ADV we.became-EP-Q-and 'look, where you see the mountain, beyond it we became birdsand'
- (59) || šayamda-v | ki-a-o-d' [...] (KD 17,39)  
|| night.came.on-Q | but-EP-Q-and | [...] 'it grew dark, however, and'
- (60) || eexlada-v | mixva-o-da | gklaven-a-v(ČT 327,27)  
|| now-Q | you.will.go-Q-and | they.will.kill.you-EP-Q  
'if you go there now, they will kill you'
- (61) || eexla ra-ya gišvela-v? (ČT 328,21)  
|| now what-only I.help.you.SBJV-Q 'now how shall I help you, I wonder?'
- (62) | raqla mamegebebian-a-v | netara-v?(ČT 329,13)  
| how they.will.meet.me-EP-Q | Part-Q  
'how will they welcome me, I wonder?'
- (63) || švil-o, | neṭa sad-ra xari-v? (ČT 360,1)  
|| child-VOC.Q | PART where-what you.are-Q  
'o my child, where might you be?'

The most frequent constituents on the periphery are pronouns (64)-(65), nouns (66) and noun phrases (67)-(68) or postpositional phrases (69).

- (64) | mi-a-v | šen cagiqvan-a-v(ČT 328,8)  
| I-EP-Q | you I.will.lead.you-EP-Q 'I will take you along'
- (65) || eg-i-v | itqvil-s ar itqvis-a-v(ČT 326,9)  
|| this-Nom-Q | lie-DAT NEG he.will.say.it-EP-Q 'this one will not tell a lie'
- (66) | ḳac-ma-v | tavis gačireba ar unda daicilas-a-v (ČT 329,23)  
| man-ERG-Q | his misery.NOM NEG NECESS he.forgets.it.SBJV-EP-Q  
'a man should not forget his misery'
- (67) || atkmie-v | šen kmar-sa-v(ČT 328,6)  
|| make.tell.it-Q | your husband-DAT-Q 'make your husband tell it [to you]'
- (68) | eeči-a-v | daicile-v | čem natkvam sitqo-i-v(ČT 327,32)  
right.now-EP-Q | you.forgot.it-Q | my said speech-NOM-Q 'you forgot what I told you at once'
- (69) | yvino mogvitanet-a-v | maran-ši-ita-v(ČT 329,28)  
| wine.NOM bring.it.for.us-EP-Q | wine cellar-in-INSTR-Q 'bring us wine from the cellar!'

### 5.3. Peripheral units are subject to **restrictions**:

a) Peripheral quotative units are restricted to one non-clitic constituent, except with personal pronouns in coordinative constructions. In (70), a personal pronoun and one noun are coordinated and form one quotative unit, but coordinated nouns as in (71) must be separate quotative units. (71') is ungrammatical.

(70) | *mi-a-da* Uavarga-ma-v (cf. (26))

| *I-EP-and* Uavarga-ERG-Q 'I and Uavarga'

(71) | *qel-eb-zeda-o-d'* | *tav-zeda-v* | (KD 17,1)

| *hand-PL-on-Q-and* | *head-on-Q* | 'on [our] hands and heads'

(71') \* | *qeleb-zeda-d'* *tav-zeda-v* |

On the other hand, personal pronouns can be quotative units in non-coordinative contexts (cp. *mi-a-v* in (31), and non-personal pronouns occur as quotative units both in non-coordinative (*eg-i-v* in (22)) and in coordinative structures:

(72) || *čem mamasaxl-i-o-d'* | *ese-eb-i-v* | *ertuc daxqocen-a-v* (KD 10,26)

|| *my.NOM host-NOM-Q-and* | *this-PL-NOM-Q* | *each.other.DAT they.kill.them*  
'my host and these kill each other'

b) Adnominal genitive nouns cannot be quotative units of their own.

(73) | *top-is* *konrax-zeda-v* | *spilo-s* *zval unatobda-v*(ČT 354,3; \*| *topisa-v* |

▷ *konraxzeda-v*)

| *rifle-GEN butt-on-Q* | *elephant-GEN bone.NOM it.shone.to.him*

'on the butt of his rifle there shone an elephant's bone'

(74) || *i čia-is mčaml-eb-is tavrivl-eb-sa-v*, | *šen-eb-is saxlišqac-eb-is tavrivl-eb-sa-v*,

| *aak magitan-a-v!* (KD 16,24; \**i čaisa-v mčamlebisa-v tavrivlebsa-v*, | *šenebis saxlišqacebisa-v tavrivlebsa-v*)

|| *that worm-GENeater-PL-GEN head-PL-DAT-Q* | *your-PL-GEN cousin-PL-GEN head-PL-DAT-Q* | *right here I.will.bring.them.to.you-EP-Q*

'I will bring you the heads of those worm-eaters, the heads of your cousins'

The same seems to be true for other attributive, adjectival constituents and adnominal adjuncts:

(75) || *šav čedila rogor gqav-a-v?* (ČT 326,28; \**šavi-v čedilarogor gqav-a-v?*)

|| *black.NOM wether.NOM how you.have.it-EP-Q* 'how is your black wether?'

(76) | *klde-ze šamždar-i-v* | (cf. (27); \* | *kldezea-v* | *šamždari-v* | )

*rock-on sitting.on-NOM-Q* | 'who was sitting on the rock'

(77) | *samzir-s* *časvlaiv* | (ČT 356,8; \* | *samzirs-a-v* | *časvlai-v* | )

| *ambush-DAT going.away-NOM-Q* 'going away to hide in an ambush'

(78) | *čem-sa-vittqve-eb xqvaniqva-v* | *ika-c-a-v* (KD 16,40; \**čemsavita-vtqveeb*)

| *I-DAT-like captive-PL.NOM they.had.had.them-Q* | *there-too-EP-Q*

'there, too, they had had captives like me'

We conclude that constituents which depend on their right-adjacent heads cannot be quotative units. **Not every constituent is a possible quotative unit.**

6. The **core unit** consists of two segments: a right-hand segment which we call “verb phrase” and which contains a finite verb form along with optional constituents whose positions are syntactically fixed relative to the verb, on the one hand (6.1-6.3), and a left-hand segment which precedes the verb phrase and whose positions are not fixed relative to the verb, on the other (6.4).

6.1. In most cases, the finite verb is in the final position of the **verb phrase** (but see below 8.4). It is preceded by stressed interrogative ((79)-(81)) or negative indefinite (82) pronouns; clitic indefinite (non-specific) pronouns ((81)-(83), (93)); a stressed negation particle (84); and the necessity particle *unda* (84), in this order<sup>14</sup> (Stress is not marked in the original.).

(79) || es dana sá-i(t) maiyi-v |(ČT 327,23)

| this.NOM knife.NOM where-*INSTR* you.got.it ‘where did you get this knife from?’

(80) [...] da | me rá-i-y vkna-e-v | eexlada-v? (ČT 328,22)

[..] and | I what-NOM-only I.do.SBJV-EP-Q | now-Q ‘what shall I do now?’

(81) | šen dana rá-š̄i vi-s ščirdeboda-v? | (ČT 327,33)

| your.NOM knife.NOM what-in who-DAT he.needed.it-Q |  
‘what did anybody need your knife for?’

(82) | axa ára-s vin gtxovdas-a-v |(ČT 327,26)

| while nothing-DAT who.NOM he.asks.you.for.it.SBJV-EP-Q |  
‘as long as nobody asks you anything’

(83) | rom<sup>15</sup> ra-s vin vi-s stxovdas-a-v, | šen ro ára-s gtxovdas-a-v |(ČT 327,11)

| SUB what-DAT who.NOM who-DAT he.asks.him.for.it.SBJV-EP-Q | you SUB nothing-DAT he.asks.you.for.it.SBJV-EP-Q

‘when somebody asks somebody for something, and when he doesn’t ask you for anything’

(84) | tavis gačireba ár unda daicilas-a-v |

| his.own misery.NOM NEG NECESS he.forgets.it.SBJV-EP-Q |(cf. (66))

6.2. Indefinite specific and non-specific pronouns ((81)-(83); cp.(92)) and nouns with the corresponding enclitic determiners ((85)-(87)) seem to be restricted to core units:

(85) || ert-a bečav-a Kist-a ra-i-m mavida-v | (ČT 353,2)

|| one-DIM miserable-DIM Chechen-DIM.NOM what-NOM-SPEC he.came-Q  
‘some miserable Chechen came’

(86) || Pičvtgor-a-v | kac ra-i-m čamačinda-v | (ČT 354,25(26))

<sup>14</sup> For the preverbal position and “logical accent” of the negation see Alxazišvili 1959:384; the preverbal position of interrogative pronouns is mentioned by Vogt 1971:224 §2.208.

<sup>15</sup> A. Arabuli informs me that *rom* is stressed.

- || Pichvtgor-EP-Q | *man-NOMwhat-NOM-SPEC he.appeared-Q* |  
 ‘some man appeared on Pichvtgori’  
 (87) | *kvirt ra miecit-a-v* | (ČT 329,17)  
 | *wool.remnant.NOM some.NOM give.PL.it.to.him-EP-Q* |  
 ‘give him some hackled wool remnants [cf. (42)]’

Indefinite, interrogative and negative indefinite pronouns seem to lack in peripheral positions. They form a natural class in that their reference is only “type identifiable” for the hearer.

6.3. If the core unit occurs in clause-initial position, it can have clause-initial proclitic particles (88) and conjunctions (89). Second position clitics also occur (90)-(93).

- (88) | *xo ertad ort-a-v* | (ČT 328,9)  
 | *indeed together we.are-EP-Q* | ‘we are together [like husband and wife], aren’t we?’  
 (89) | *manamka-s gza-ši-a-v* | (ČT 327,15)  
 | *as.long.as good-Dat way-in-it.is-Q* | ‘as long as you are on a good road’  
 (90) | *masvI-isa ki neba gakv-a-v* | (ČT 327,19)  
 | *coming-GEN but will.NOM you.have.it-EP-Q* | ‘but the permission to come you have’  
 (91) | *eegr ki ar davikargebi-v* | (ČT 327,29)  
 | *this.way but NEG I.will.be.lost-Q* | ‘surely I will not perish this way’  
 (92) | *memr xo | mi-a-c unda mavklna-v* | (ČT 353,11)  
 | *then indeed | I-EP-too NECESS I.kill.them.SBJV-Q* | ‘then I, too, must kill them, mustn’t I’  
 (93) | *ro tat-t vi-s davaksoviebdi-v, | peq-t ra-s čavicomdi-v* | (ČT 329,15)  
 | *SUB sock-PLOBLwho-DAT I.will.make.him.knit.them-Q | foot-PLOBL what-DAT I.would.put.them.on* | ‘so that I would let someone knit socks which I would put on’

6.4. The **segment preceding the verb phrase** consists of optional constituents that belong to the same class as the peripheral units. While the number of clitics and pronominal constituents is unrestricted ((94)-(95); cf. (15)), the number of non-pronominal arguments is restricted to one (96). (Note that the noun *tavi* ‘head’ in (97) semantically behaves like a pronoun with regard to its reflexive reference.) Exceptions to this restriction, though very rare, do occur. However, additional constituents are restricted to non-argumental adverbial expressions (oblique or postpositional phrases) (98)-(100):

- (94) | *ege-n me mamklaven-a-v* | (ČT 354,7)  
 | *this-PL.NOM I they.will.kill.me-EP-Q* ‘these will kill me’  
 (95) || *me-c eg mindoda-v!* | (ČT 354,1)  
 || *I-too this.NOM I.wanted.it-Q* | ‘I wanted this too!’

- (96) [...] da | me *tiril* *davicqi-v* |(ČT 354,23)  
 [...] and | I *weeping*.NOM I.began.it-Q | ‘and I began to weep’
- (97) || *tav-i-mc Nia-s maukvdeba-v* |(ČT 356,16)  
 || *head-NOM-OPTPART Nia-DAT it.will.die.to.him-Q*  
 ‘as sure as I live’
- (98) | *mqar-ze top edva-v* | (ČT 354,25(26))  
 | *shoulder-on rifle.NOM it.lay.on.it-Q* | ‘he had shouldered a rifle’
- (99) | *ert dÿe-s šenkorçil-s ikmen-a-v* | Guruel-n-i-o-d’ | *meore-s dÿe-s ki šen-is momklav-is korçil-sa-c vaknev-a-v!* (ČT 353,6)  
 | *one day-DAT your wedding-DAT they.will.make.it-EP-Q* | Guruel-PL-NOM-Q-  
 and | *second-DAT day-DAT but your-GEN killer-GEN wedding-DAT-tooI.will.make.them.make.it-EP-Q* | ‘one day, the Guruelis will celebrate your wedding, but on the second day I will make them celebrate your killer’s wedding, too’
- (100) | *Zviad-is cxen-i-c šimšil-s mamikvdeba-v*(ČT 354,22)  
 | *Zviad-GEN horse-NOM-too hunger-DAT it.will.die.to.me*  
 ‘Zviad’s horse will die from hunger, won’t it’

6.5. The core unit, i.e. the verb phrase and its left-adjacent segment taken together, is similar to peripheral units: both allow pronouns in addition to non-pronominal constituents and both allow a dependent lexical constituent together with its head (genitives, adjectival modifiers, adnominal adjuncts in peripheral units; an argument in the core unit). What distinguishes peripheral units from core units is the possibility of additional stressed constituents in the latter (pronouns and negations in the verb phrase, an adverbial constituent in its left-adjacent segment).

7. So far, we have specified some internal properties of quotative units. Now, let us consider the relationship between quotative units and syntactic structure.

Manning (1995) formulates placement rules that refer to constituents and to the concept of “head of a constituent”. For instance, the quotative clitic occurs “after the final constituent” of a clause, “after the initial constituent”, after the finite verb, after the complementizer introducing the clause, etc. Most placement rules are applied according to a preference order; others are optional, for instance: “after any constituent following the finite verb”. As appears from the constraint on personal pronouns in coordinative constructions (5.3a) and on constituents which depend on their right-adjacent heads (5.3b) the reference to constituents as the domain of quotative clitic placement must be specified.

Note that Manning’s approach does not require an exhaustive parsing of clauses into quotative units: placement rules specify their domain and the host of the clitic quotative particle. From our perspective, we will say that quotative units are determined with reference to syntactic structure and its categorial properties, but

that syntactic constituents and quotative units do not coincide and that there are several cases of **mismatch** between them.

7.1. First, there are quotative units that are not constituents. Proclitics can be combined with a stressed word constituent without being its co-constituent.<sup>16</sup> Consider the relative pronoun in (101) and the conjunctions in (102)-(104):

(101) | sam-i-v | eg-i-a-v, | ra-sa-c šena-v | qel daayire-o(ČT 328,28)  
 | three-NOM-Q | this-NOM-it.is-Q | what-DAT-REL you-Q | hand.NOMyou.  
reach.out.for.it-Q

‘these are the three things for which you reached out your hand’

(102) | šena-v | ro Guro-sa-v | zal daatane-v(ČT 363,6)  
 | you-Q | SUB Guro-DAT-Q | force.NOM you.inflicted.it.on.him-Q  
 ‘when you oppressed Guro’

(103) || an zurg-t amikide-v, | anšina-v | davbrundat-a-v | (ČT 330,12)  
 || either back-PLOBL load.me.upon.yourself | or home-Q | let.us.return-EP-Q |  
 ‘either carry me on your shoulder, or let us return home’

(104) || mivscat-a-v | top-eb-i-v, | tu es xalx-i-v | šin cava-v | (ČT 352,1)  
 || let.us.give.it.to.them-Q | rifle-PL-NOM-Q | if this.NOM people.NOM-Q |  
home they. go-Q |  
 ‘let us give them the rifles if these people leave to their home’

Similarly, the conjunction *ro(m)* introducing reported speech does not always align itself with constituent structure. It has three possible positions, which correlate with pauses and other prosodic features (cp. Tevdoraze 1978:45-46, 82, 90; Boeder 1982:385), with the use of correlatives, with clause function and with position (Kiziria 1987:60, Boeder 2005; cp. now Kojima 2014): In (105)-(106) it is proclitic to, but does not form a constituent with, its adjacent words, which belong to a subordinate clause (cp. *an* in (103) and *tu* in (104)). Whereas the second token of *ro* in (106) refers to the subordinate clause it occurs in, the scope of initial *ro* in (105) and (106) is a reported speech segment that can comprise everything from a single word to a sequence of sentences. In (107), the conjunction, being a stressed word, forms a quotative unit by itself (see Kiziria 1987: 60). In (107),<sup>17</sup> *rom* is enclitic: its host is the preceding verb (as in Standard Georgian). Syntactically, it belongs to its subsequent segment, but with regard to the segmentation into quotative units it attaches to the preceding verb, which is a typical feature of Modern Georgian conjunctions (Ležava 1981; Kiziria 1987:59-60; Boeder 2001;2005).

(105) | xo gitxari-v, | ro gul-isa-s nu etqvi-v | col-sa-v | (ČT 328,20)  
 | indeed I.told.you | SUB heart-GEN-DAT PROH you.tell.her | wife-DAT-Q |

<sup>16</sup> In Manning’s description, these proclitics can be disregarded because clitics are not considered to be syntactic constituents, but “phrasal affixes”. They can not be hosts of the quotative clitic.

<sup>17</sup> For this example, I rely on the competence of a Khevsur, Avtandil Arabuli.

- 'I told you, didn't I, that you should not tell your wife your secret thoughts'
- (106) | mesame-s ima-s getqvi-v, | ro<sub>1</sub> col-s ro<sub>2</sub> maiqvana-v, | col-sa-v | gul-isa ar utxra-v | (= (36))  
 | third-DAT that-DAT I.will.tell.it.to.you-Q | SUB<sub>1</sub> wife-DAT SUB<sub>2</sub> you.bring.her-EP-Q | wife-DAT-Q | heart-GEN.NOM NEG you.tell.her.SBJV-Q
- (107) | xo gitxari-v, | rom-a-v, | axa ara-s vin gtxovdas-a-v, | šen nu utxridi-v, | ro "me makv-a-v" | (ČT 327,26)  
 | indeed I.told.you-Q | SUB-EP-Q | while nothing-DAT who.NOM he.asks.you.for.it.SBJV-EP-Q | you PROH you.tell.him-Q | SUB I I.have.it-EP-Q |  
 'I told you, didn't I, that, as long as nobody asks you anything, don't say to him: "I have it" '
- (107') | xo gitxari rom-a-v, | axa [...]  
 | indeed I.told.you SUB-EP-Q | while [...]

7.2. There are constituents that are not quotative units. For instance, consider split constituents. One type of split is the result of dislocation: genitive noun phrases (108)-(109), attributive phrases (110) and appositive phrases (111). But the non-genitive coordinative constituents in (112)-(113) can not be regarded as dislocated (cf. ad (55)).

- (108) gel-i-a-v | čem-is žmobil-is mamklav-isa-i-v (= (50))  
hand-NOM-it.is-EP-Q | my-GEN sworn.brother-GEN killing-GEN-NOM-Q
- (109) sam-scagartom-a-v | e saxlisa-sa-v | (= (43))  
three-DAT I.will.take.them.away-EP-Q | this house-GEN-DAT
- (110) ert kac gamagidgebist-a-v | qvitel-čoqa-i-v (= (45))  
one.NOM man.NOM he.will.be.after.you.PL-EP-Q | yellow-chokha-NOM-Q
- (111) is-i-v | Čuča-i-a-v | Bukulišvil-i-v (= (37))  
that-NOM-Q | Chucha-NOM-he.is-EP-Q | Bukulishvili-NOM-Q
- (112) čem mamasaxl-i-o-d' | ese-eb-i-v (= (72))  
my.NOM host-NOM-Q-and | this-PL-NOM-Q
- (113) | šen deda-i-o' | Šitur-is deda-i-v | ertpera(d) namzvel-n ar arian-a-v | (ČT 360,8)  
 | your mother-NOM-Q.and | Shitur-GEN mother-NOM-Q | equally having.brought.forth-PL.NOM NEG they.are-Q |  
 'your mother and Shitur's mother have not equally brought forth offspring'

Each conjunct occurs as a separate quotative unit, but together they form a coordinative noun phrase constituent according to their standard interpretation. This seems to indicate that it is the lower level phrases (the single conjuncts) that underlie the formation of quotative units and not the whole (maximal) coordinative phrase. However, in non-coordinative phrases, this principle does not apply: attributive constituents cannot be quotative units inside a noun phrase (5.3b).

7.3. There are additional cases of mismatch between quotative units and syntactic constituents.

First, there is a kind of parsing paradox: the last conjunct of a coordinative structure can belong to quotative units that do not form proper constituents. In (114) *isetura*, while being a constituent parallel to *kvirt-nakci* and *čurčī*, does not form a proper constituent with *ara geknebodataev*. Similarly, *çiçkebis zidvai* in (115), while being a possible well-formed noun phrase, is not a proper constituent in this context.

(114) | *kvirt-nakc-i-v*, | *čurčī-o-d'* | *isetura ara geknebodat-a-e-v?* | (= (42))  
 | *wool.remnant-winter.wool-NOM-Q-and* | *waste.wool-Q-and* | *such.NOM*  
*NEGyou.PL.will.have.it-INTP-EP-Q*

(115) | *cuxrixan daicqes-a-v* | *napot-eb-isa-i-o-d'* | *çiçk-eb-is zidva-i-v* | (KD 17,33)  
*at.dusk they.began.it-EP-Q* | *chipping-PL-GEN-NOM-Q-and* | *brushwood-PL-*  
*GEN carry-NOM-Q* ‘at dusk they began to carry chippings and brushwood’

The last example is revealing: genitive noun phrases (*çiçk-eb-is*) that are adjacent to their head noun (*zidva-*) cannot be quotative units of their own (\**çiçk-eb-isa-vzidva-i-v*). However, if the genitive noun is not left-adjacent to its head noun, it can be a quotative unit of its own. The genitive noun is marked by case agreement ("Suffixaufnahme", Boeder 1995): *napot-eb-isa-I* agrees with *zidva-i*); it behaves like other genitive nouns that do not meet the head-adjacency condition, for instance right-dislocated genitives (cp. (44) *çes[-i]* [...] | *im-isa-i*; (50) *qel-i* | *čem-is zmobil-is mamklav-isa-i*; (109) *sam-s* [...] | *e saxlisa-sa*).

Second, not all coordinate constituents can be quotative units. As was said above (5.3a), there are examples with a personal pronoun as the first conjunct where coordinative structures cannot be split:

(116) || *karg oqşam mogvimzade-v* | *me da čem şumar-sa-v!* (ÇT 329,24)  
 || *good.NOM supper.NOM prepare.it.for.us* | *I and my guest-DAT-Q*  
 ‘prepare a good supper for me and my guest!’

These examples conform to the restriction that peripheral quotative units cannot contain more than one non-pronominal word, but preclude a simple one-to-one relationship between quotative units and syntactic constituents, since syntactically speaking they consist of two same-level conjuncts.

All these phenomena show that quotative units and syntactic constituents are related to each other, but that syntactic constituents cannot simply be mapped on quotative units and that they are not coextensive.

8. Now that we know that quotative units do not match syntactic constituents, we will look for a **kind of units** that belongs to a different level of linguistic structure. Our hypothesis is that quotative units are prosodic units. Again, we have to

distinguish between peripheral units (8.1) and core units containing a verb phrase (8.2) and other constituents (8.3-8.4).

8.1. Peripheral units are phonological phrases (specifically: clitic groups, to use a concept by Nespor, Vogel 1986:145-163) which are based on different types of syntactic phrases (noun phrases, postpositional phrases etc.) one word of which must be stressed, and their clitics. Besides proclitics (7.1), phrases can have enclitics which either precede or follow the quotative clitic. For instance, the quotative clitic *-v* follows the clitic *-c* which attaches to its narrow scope<sup>18</sup> (the pronoun *mi*) in (117). Similarly, it follows the clitic question particle *-e* (allomorph of *-a*) in (118) (cf. (30), (42)).

(117) || *mi-a-ca-v* | *šen-sa-vi(t) mtxovara viqavi-v* | (ČT329,22)  
 || *I-EP-too-Q* | *you-DAT-like beggar.NOM I.was-Q* | 'I too was a beggar like you'

(118) || *ar modian-a-e-v?* | (ČT 329,32)  
 || *NEGthey.come-INTP-EP-Q* | 'don't they come?'

On the other hand, the quotative can itself be followed by the conjunction *-d'/'-/-da* 'and'. Since the quotative particle here always occurs in its vocalic shape *-o* (instead of the auslaut shape *-v*), *-d(a)* and *-o* must belong to the same phonological word, and *-d(a)* be its final segment.<sup>19</sup>

8.2. The verb mostly has a final position in the verb phrase which is also the final position of the core unit.<sup>20</sup> However, the verb can have an initial position in its verb phrase if clause-final and clause-initial position coincide. In this case it can have second position clitics (119)-(120). In (121), the head noun is dislocated into the right periphery, whereas the indefinite pronoun *ra-i* remains in situ (i.e. in the core unit): *koxmax-i ra-i-v > ra-i-v* | *koxmax-i* (cp. (85)-(86)):

(119) || *maxv ki-a-o'* | *veyar caxv ki-a-v* | (ČT 358,15)  
 || *you.come but-EP-Q.and* | *IMPOSS.anymore you.go.away but-EP-Q* |  
 'you will come, yes, but you will not be able to go away anymore'

<sup>18</sup> This clitic must be distinguished from the homophonous (but etymologically identical) clitic *-c* which has the meaning of Georgian *nefa* 'I wonder, German *etwa, wohl* (in interrogative sentences)' and which follows the quotative clitic particle in: *am sakmis dyeta-v sanadirod-o-o-c* (< *sanadirod-a-o-c*) *kve aravin ikneboda-v?* (ČT 354,28) 'will anybody go hunting on these workdays, I wonder?'

<sup>19</sup> On the clitic nature of *-da* see Arabuli 2001. The shape of the conjunction seems to depend on its position: *-da* before the boundary of a clause (cp. (3)), *-d'* and *-'* elsewhere (cp. (42)). (Simple *-'* represents a specific intonation of the preceding syllable; Činčarauli 1960:68-69.)

<sup>20</sup> The final position of the verb seems to be called into question by an example cited by Manning (1995:203): *aik cedi šen-a-v* (KD 24,11) there you.go.forth you-EP-Q 'go away there!'. In the texts studied here, the final verb always has a quotative particle: *čem-tan-it unda caxvida-v* | *šen-a-v* (ČT 327,4) I-at-INSTR NECESS you.go.forth.SBJV-Q | you-Q 'you must go away from me'.

(120) [...] da | maugroet ra-i-v | am mtxovara-sa-v | (ČT 329,17)  
 and |you.PL.collect.it *what-NOM-Q* | *this.OBL beggar-DAT-Q* |  
 ‘and collect something for this beggar!’

(121) || daugližet ra-i-v | koxmax-i-o-d’ | (ČT 329,20)  
 || you.pluck.it.for.him *what-NOM-Q* | unripe.fruit-NOM-Q-and |  
 ‘pluck some unripe fruit for him and’

In some contexts the verb is fronted in its phrase.<sup>21</sup> This marked position denotes an unexpected event (122) or focussing (123).

(122) | gadmačinda Uavarga-i-ca-v | čem-s ik-iti-a-v (ČT 354,29(30))  
 | coming.over.he.appeared Uavarga-NOM-too-Q | I-DAT there-INSTR-EP-Q  
 ‘to my surprise,<sup>22</sup> Uavarga appeared coming over from the other side’

(123) | Nia-is topisa-sa-v, | [...] | aima-s ar šavxqsni-v, | mtel ro gagatavnant-a-v, |  
mivs cem ki ara-v (ČT 352,4)  
 | Nia-GEN rifle-GEN-DAT-Q | [...] | that.OBL-DAT NEG I.will.take.it.off-Q |  
whole.NOM SUBthey.end.you.SBJV-EP-Q | I.will.give.it but NEG-Q  
 ‘the needle [sticking in the muzzle] of Nia’s rifle [...] not even that will I take  
 down [and give it to the Chechens], even if they kill you all’

The position of the quotative particle, then, is not “after the verb”,<sup>23</sup> but at the right edge of the verb phrase. This edge **can** be marked by a pause, but it need not (N. Gamqrelize et al. 2006:39-40; in these transcribed texts, | and || mark pauses):

(124) znel-i qopila | sibere  
 difficult-NOM it.has.been | old.age.NOM ‘old age really is no good, I must say’

(125) ar-c omianob-is dro-s vyondebodit | āse  
 NEG-too war.time-GEN time-DATwe.worried | so  
 ‘even during the war we did not worry so much’

(126) tu kidev || çavidodes || žiqv-s maxkļavdes || didī žixv-s | moiye bdes qorc-s ||  
çaxkvrevdes ima-s karg-ad gaaketebdezədə || gāketebdes im-is keccul-s  
 if again || they.would.go.forth || ibex-DAT they.would.kill.it || big ibex-DAT |  
 they.would.bring.it meat-DAT || they.would.cut.it that-DAT good-ADV  
 they.would.make.it and || they.would.make.it that-GEN khachapuri-DAT  
 ‘if they went out again, they shot ibex, big ibex, they brought the meat, cut it,  
 prepared it well and made *khachapuri* filled with it’

Both the post-verbal position and the marked phrase-initial position are old: they correspond to the scribal punctuation in Old Georgian manuscripts, which marks a pauses (for loud reading; Boeder 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Cp. Skopeteas et al. 2009:103-104.

<sup>22</sup> See note 18.

<sup>23</sup> Manning (1995:200) interprets the clitic placement in this position as an instance of attachment to the head.

8.3. In the last two sections we have considered phrasal constituents: noun phrases, postpositional phrases etc. in peripheral units, on the one hand, and the verb phrase, on the other, and the clitics that attach to both of them. On the phonological level, they are phonological phrases. Disregarding for the moment the core unit, the rule would be:

The quotative particle is attached to the right edge of a phonological phrase which must contain a stressed word and which consists of a single syntactic phrase together with its clitics (except co-ordinated personal pronouns and attributive constituents; 5.3).

The core unit, on the other hand, cannot be described on the basis of unitary syntactic phrases and their restrictions alone. While the verb phrase segment of the core unit is a single syntactic phrase, this is not true for the core unit as a whole. The core unit is not based on a single syntactic phrase, and the segment to the left of the verb phrase can comprise several stressed non-pronominal constituents. This leads us to the question what kind of unit the core unit is based on.

8.4. Since we determined peripheral quotative units as phonological phrases, the core unit as a prosodic unit seems to be a possible interpretation, too, although we have no specifically prosodic evidence so far. We will posit the core unit as a phonological phrase which is based on one or more syntactic constituents. Taking its obligatory part, the verb phrase, as a basis, we may say that the core unit is a phonological phrase which is based on either the verb phrase alone or a combination of the verb phrase with one or more left-adjacent syntactic phrases and their clitics. For instance, in (a) (= (66)) the noun phrase (*tavis gačireba*) is joined to the verb phrase (*ar unda daicilas*): two phonological phrases are combined in a single phonological phrase (*tavis gačireba ar unda daicilas*). On the phonological level, two syntactic phrases are mapped on a single phonological phrase. In (b) (= (42)), the last of the three coordinated conjuncts is joined to the verb phrase, thereby disregarding the coordinative noun-phrase (NP') as a higher-level syntactic constituent and forming a new, larger non-syntactic unit.<sup>24</sup>

- (a) syntactic structure:  
 [kacma]<sub>NP</sub> [tavis gačireba]<sub>NP</sub> [ar unda daicilas]<sub>VP</sub>  
 phonological phrasing →  
 (kacma) (tavis gačireba) (ar unda daicilas)  
 restructuring →  
 (kacma) (tavis gačireba ar unda daicilas)  
 quotative particle attachment →  
 kacma-v | tavis gačireba ar unda daicilasa-v (= (66))

<sup>24</sup> Compare the opposite approach of Skopeteas et al. (2009: 105): "Every constituent forms its own prosodic phrase (p-phrase), with the exception of the verb, which may be integrated into the phrase of an adjacent argument." If quotative units represent prosodic units, as suggested here, they are not compatible with prosodic phrases in this sense. The integration of the verb into its adjacent argument phrase does not cover the whole range of multi-constituent core units.

- (b) syntactic structure:  
 [[*kvirt-nakci*]<sub>NP</sub> [*čurči*]<sub>NP</sub> da [*isetura*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> [*ara geknebodat*]<sub>VP</sub>  
 phonological phrasing →  
 (*kvirt-nakci*)(*čurči da*)(*isetura*) (*ara geknebodat*)  
 restructuring →  
 (*kvirt-nakci*)(*čurči da*) (*isetura ara geknebodat*)  
 quotative particle attachment →  
*kvirt-nakci-v,|čurči-o-d' | isetura ara geknebodat-a-e-v* (= (42))

This phenomenon is known as “restructuring” in studies of prosodic structure (where it is, however, restricted e.g. to modifiers and complements being joined into a phonological phrase that contains their head; Nespor 1993). As we pointed out above (6.b), it is subject to a specific condition: the left segment that precedes the verb phrase in the core unit can contain only one argument phrase, and additional phrases are probably restricted to one adverbial phrase per clause.

Note that restructuring, if correct, explains two properties of quotative marking: first, the difference between the internal structure of peripheral units and of the core units, and second, the fact that the attachment of quotative particles to peripheral units never skips a phrase: in the Khevsur materials considered here, there is no such case where, say, the first and the third phrase are marked by quotative particles, but not the second; the marked phrases form a continuous series, and there is no room for optional marking.<sup>25</sup>

8.5. One supplement is in order here. Predicative complements form one unit with their copula (127)-(128) and their bivalent variant “to have” (129). They never have a quotative particle: complement and copula are inseparable. In (130), the subject of the question is dislocated into the right periphery.

(127) *čvena-v | qvela-n gugute-eb ort-a-v* (KD 18,6)

*we-Q | all-PL.NOM cuckoo-PL.NOM we.are-EP-Q* ‘we are all cuckoos’

(128) *gvel-is čim-ze ašenebul-i-a-v* (ČT 328,11)

*snake-GEN skin-on built-NOM-it.is-Q* ‘it is built on a snake’s skin’

(129) *sasaxle ra-ze ašenebul akv-a-v?* (ČT 328,7)

*palace.NOM what-on built.NOM he.has.it-INTP-Q* ‘what has he built the palace on?’

(130) *ra-i-a-v | sopl-is qur-i-v? || sopl-is qur-i-v | zayl-i-a-v* (ČT 330,24)

*what-NOM-it.is-Q | village-GEN ear-NOM-Q? || village-GEN ear-NOM-Q | dog-NOM-it.is-Q*

‘what is the village’s ear? The village’s ear is the dog’

<sup>25</sup> In Manning’s approach (1995:209; similarly for pre-verbal constituents, p. 210) there is optional clitic placement: “In a non-SOV clause, any constituents following the finite verb and preceding the final constituent may be quotative if both the finite verb and the final constituent are...”

9. The results obtained above deserve some comments. They concern the distribution of arguments in core and peripheral quotative units on the one hand (2.-4.), and the internal structure of quotative units, on the other (5.-6.).

9.1. Consider the frequencies of arguments in the 600 unit corpus of narrative texts (A = agent, S = intransitive subject, direct object, IO = indirect object; 1., 2., 3. = first, second, third person pronouns; N = lexical(non-pronominal) noun):

	left periphery			core unit			right periphery		
	1./2	3.	N	1./2	3.	N	1./2	3.	N
A3	1	3		7	8	5	1	∅	2
S	2	1	11	7	13	45	3	∅	12
O	1	∅	2	4	18	50	∅	1	16
IO	1	2	3	6	3	13	2	1	6

- a) Argumental pronouns are relatively rare, as is to be expected in a language whose polypersonal verb codes the “person” of arguments.
- b) Both pronominal and lexical arguments are more frequent in the core unit than in the periphery units taken together. They tend to be left-adjacent to the verb, and the relatively high number of right periphery arguments can be interpreted as the result of frequent right dislocation. This distribution is compatible with the commonly held idea that Georgian is an SOV language. Note that the relative low frequency of arguments on the left periphery as compared with those in core and right periphery units makes it easier to process their relationship with their verb: they are predominantly either left-adjacent to the verb or follow it.
- c) The relative frequency of arguments is  $S/O > IO > A$ . The number of non-zero (verb-external) O and S is almost equal. The frequency of IO and A is similar to the findings of many other languages: intransitive verbs are more frequent than transitive verbs, and ditransitives are less frequent than intransitive and transitive verbs. Non-zero A is rare in accordance with Du Bois’ (1987, 2003:60) “Non-lexical A constraint”: “Avoid lexical A”. Lexical arguments typically have the function of introducing “new” arguments into discourse. However, new A arguments are less frequent: “Avoid new A” (Du Bois 1987, 2003:69). Most agents continue to be referred to by forms that code high accessibility. In Georgian these forms are primarily verbal affixes, and pronouns are used under special conditions like contrast.

9.2. As we have seen above, the internal structure of quotative units is subject to specific constraints, which are repeated here:

- 1) Peripheral units contain at least one stressed word (5.1). They are based on syntactic constituents and their clitics (7.1), except co-ordinated personal pronouns (5.3a) and attributive constituents (5.3b; dependent constituents, 6.5).

- 2) Core units consist of two segments: an obligatory verb phrase containing a verb, pronouns and clitics (6.1-6.3); and a non-obligatory segment preceding the verb phrase which can contain pronouns, clitics and only one non-pronominal argument constituent and one non-argumental (adverbial) constituent (6.4).

These constraints control the formation of quotative units: the clause is parsed into quotative units according to the limitations provided by the constraints.

9.3. The constraints have both quantitative and qualitative aspects: quantitative (e.g. “one and only one”), syntactic (e.g. “left-adjacent to its head noun”), relational (e.g. “argument”), categorial (e.g. “non-pronominal”) and phonological (e.g. “at least one stressed word”).

- a) Quantitative aspects are an important feature of spoken language. They are not restricted to the units described here. An extreme example may illustrate this: there are quadrivalent verb forms in Georgian, as in:

(131) *migišverine me šen žox-i mçqems-s xbo-s-tvis (/ xbo-s)*<sup>26</sup>

I.made.him.hold.it.out.for.you I you stick-NOM sheperd-DAT calf-GEN-for /  
calf- DAT

‘I let the shepherd hold out the stick at your calf’

But such clauses, while being correct, are extremely rare (if they occur at all). The normal case is the use of a verb form with zero, one or at most two lexical arguments in contexts which allow a maximum of zero anaphora for most of its arguments. In many languages quantitative restrictions on “noun phrase density” are valid on the clause level (Munro, Gordon 1982; Bickel 2003; Du Bois 1987: “Avoid more than one lexical core argument”). In this, then, the “information packaging” of quotative units is similar to that of clauses.

- b) However, the constraints on clause segmentation into quotative units are not purely quantitative. Quotative units can be quite voluminous, for instance in genitive modifier constructions like (132) and chains of pronouns as in (133) or combinations of argument plus adverbial phrase in the core unit of (134).

(132) [*i čia-is mčaml-eb-is*] tavrivleb-sa-v, [*šen-eb-is saxlisḱac-eb-is*] tavrivl-eb-sa-v (= (74))

[that worm-GEN eater-PL-GEN] head-PL-DAT-Q, [your-PL-GEN cousin-PL-GEN] head-PL-DAT-Q

(133) [rom *ra-s vin vi-s* stxovdas-a-v] (= (83))

[SUB what-DAT who.NOM who-DAT he.asks.him.for.it.SBJV-EP-Q]

(134) [*meores dyes ki*] [*šenis momḱlavis korčilsa-c*] (= (99))

[second-DAT day-DAT but] [your-GEN killer-GEN wedding-DAT-too]

<sup>26</sup> Avtandil Arabuli has kindly provided me with this extraordinary example.

It is rather a combination of different quantitative and qualitative features that matters.

- c) It is an interesting question if constraints on quotative structure are related to properties that make these “information packages” easily processible. A correspondence between prosodic units (intonation units which rarely contain more than one lexical noun or verb in English conversation) and “cognitive units” of information processing has been suggested by W. Chafe (1994 and earlier). However, while the relevance of quantity (“only one”) for processibility is straightforward, the impact of the distinction between head-dependent and coordinative structures on the ease of processing is less obvious. As for free pronouns, they have their counterparts in the polypersonal verb and are also highest on the scale of referent accessibility (Ariel 1990): “pronouns, especially personal pronouns, are significantly easier to process than, say, definite noun phrases” (Rohdenburg 1996: 174). This property of pronouns could explain why their additional occurrence in otherwise complex quotative units (such as the verb phrase) adds only a “tolerable degree” of complexity.
- d) However, new data may change the picture. The scarcity of information on the sound shape and phonological properties of quotative units (stress, prosody etc.) make a discussion of this aspect largely impossible. There are many aspects that remain to be clarified, for instance the question in how far the prosodic units established in the Georgian linguistic tradition (“rhythmic group”, “syntagma” etc.) are comparable to quotative units. And finally, we haven’t even discussed the question what it means to attach a clitic to a phonological phrase (8.4) in the framework of a general linguistic theory.

#### *Abbreviated category labels*

ADV	adverbial case	OPTPART	optative particle
DAT	dative	PART	particle
EP	epenthetic vowel	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	PROH	prohibitive
GEN	genitive	Q	quotative
IMPOSS	negation of possibility	REL	relative pronoun marker
INSTR	instrumental	SBJV	subjunctive
INTP	interrogative particle	SPEC	specific
NECESS	particle of necessity	SUB	subordinator
NEG	negation	VOC	vocative
OBL	oblique		

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Abbreviations: ČT = A. Činčarauli 1960; KD = I. Gigineišvili et al. 1961

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სხვათა სიტყვის ერთეულები და ინფორმაციის ერთეულები ხევისურულში  
რეზიუმე

უკვე კარგა ხანია ცნობილია, რომ ქართული დიალექტური მეტყველება უხვად იყენებს სხვათა სიტყვის ნაწილაკებს. აღმოსავლეთ საქართველოს მთის დიალექტებისთვის კ.პ. მანინგი შეეცადა „სხვათა სიტყვის კლიტიკების გავრცელების“ წესები განესაზღვრა შემადგენელთა სტრუქტურისა და წინადადებებში ზმნის მომდევნო პოზიციის საფუძველზე. წარმოდგენილ სტატიაში განხილულია ხევისურული სხვათა სიტყვის ნაწილაკების კორპუსი, რომელიც შეიცავს 600-ზე მეტ ერთეულს და რომელიც ამოკრებილია ა. ჭინჭარაულის მიერ გამოცემული ტექსტებიდან. გამოვყავით სხვათა სიტყვის ერთეულების სამი ტიპი მათი შინაგანი სტრუქტურისა და წინადადებაში მათი პოზიციის მიხედვით: ერთი მხრივ, ცენტრალური ერთეული, რომელიც შეიცავს ზმნის პირიან ფორმას და მეორე მხრივ, ერთეულები, რომლებიც გვხვდებიან ცენტრალური ერთეულის მარცხნივ და მარჯვნივ.

პერიფერიული ერთეულები ძირითადად წარმოადგენს ერთ სინტაქსურ შემადგენელს და კლიტიკას, ხოლო ცენტრალური ერთეული შედგება ზმნისგან, განუსაზღვრელი კლიტიკური ნაცვალსახელებისა და სხვა კლიტიკებისგან და შესაძლოა მაქსიმალურად რამდენიმე არაკლიტიკური ნაცვალსახელის, ერთი ლექსიკური არგუმენტისა და ერთი ლექსიკური ზმნიზედური ერთეულისგან. სინტაქსური შემადგენლებისა და სხვათა სიტყვის ნაწილაკებს შორის გამოვლენილი რამდენიმე ტიპის შეუსაბამობის საფუძველზე ვასკვნიტ, რომ სხვათა სიტყვის ერთეულები უშუალოდ არ გამოდინარეობს სინტაქსური სტრუქტურიდან. ეს პროსოდული ერთეულებია (ფონოლოგიური ფრაზები), რომლებშიც ერთი შემადგენელი შეიძლება მიუერთდეს მეორე შემადგენელს (სინტაქსური სტრუქტურა > შემადგენელთა შეზღუდული მიერთება > ფონოლოგიური ფრაზები). ეს პროცესი გარკვეული შეზღუდვებით ხასიათდება. ამ შეზღუდვათაგან ზოგიერთს შეიძლება კოგნიტიური და ფსიქოლინგვისტური საფუძველი ჰქონდეს: შესაძლოა დავუშვათ, რომ ისინი იმავდროულად ინფორმაციულ ერთეულებს წარმოადგენენ, რომელთა ერთდროული „დამუშავება“ (ანალიზი) არ უნდა იყოს ძნელი. მაგალითად, არც ერთი სხვათა სიტყვის ერთეული არ შეიცავს ერთზე მეტ დამოუკიდებელ, არაზმნურ და არანაცვალსახელურ ფრაზას, მაშინ როცა ცენტრალური ერთეული დამატებით შეიძლება შეიცავდეს რამდენიმე ნაცვალსახელს, რომელთა ანალიზიც შედარებით ნაკლებ „ხარჯს“ მოითხოვს.