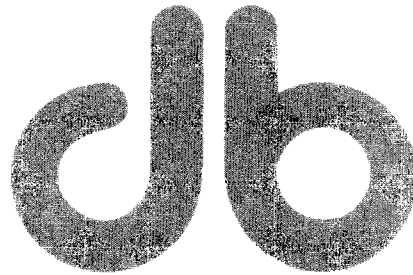


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Mood in Modern Georgian*

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1. Introduction

Georgian is one of the Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages which are spoken in a relatively compact area to the south of the Caucasus ridge where (as far as we know) they have always been in contact with each other: Georgian in the east, Megrelian (or Mingrelian) in the west and Svan in the north-western mountains of Georgia; Laz is mainly spoken in an area adjacent to the Black Sea between Trabzon and Batumi. Only Georgian has a long-standing 1500 year old written tradition.

Modern Georgian has a “moderate” system of nominal inflection of seven cases and a very rich verbal morphology, including numerous tense-mood distinctions. Relational coding is characterized by a split system of subject-object-marking depending on the tense-mood series of the verb. Most subordinate clauses have conjunctions or relative pronouns and finite verbs; there are verbal nouns (masdars), but no morphological infinitives (for a survey see Boeder 2005).

In the following sections, I will first give an outline of the verbal categories that are needed for an understanding of the Georgian mood system and of the examples instantiating its different uses (2.). One of the aims of the subsequent description is a tentative specification of tense-mood assignment (3.). Bare main clause subjunctives, imperatives and prohibitives, on the other hand, are interpreted on the background of overtly specified structures (4.-6.). Similarly, the use of the subjunctive in adverbial clauses mirrors its use with overt specification (7.). Lastly, we will mention some areas of future research (8.).

*This paper is an extract from a larger investigation into the modal systems of the Kartvelian languages. I am greatly indebted to Rezo Kiknadze (Lübeck/Tbilisi) without whose unending patience and insightful comments I could not have filled the gaps in the otherwise rich literature on mood in Georgian. He should not be blamed for any misrepresentation and for any pertinent questions I might have failed to ask. Similarly, Nino Doboržginiže (Tbilisi) volunteered to answer innumerable questions. Many comments I owe to Nino Saq̄vareliže (München/Tbilisi). Many thanks go to the editors of this volume for suggesting this topic in the first place and in particular for their unending patience with an unusually dilatory contributor.

2. The verbal morphology of Georgian

Consider the “active” paradigm of *ga-tl-a* PREVERB-CARVE-VERBAL.NOUN ‘cut, carve (wood), whittle’ (only 1st and 3rd person singular forms of the “active” are given):

Table 1. The verbal morphology of Modern Georgian (*gatla* ‘carve’)

	Non-past	Past	Subjunctive
Present series	Present	Imperfect	Present subjunctive
Imperfective	<i>v-tl-i</i> <i>tl-i-s</i>	<i>v-tl-i-d-i</i> <i>tl-i-d-a</i>	<i>v-tl-i-d-e</i> <i>tl-i-d-e-s</i>
Perfective	Future <i>ga-v-tl-i</i> <i>ga-tl-i-s</i>	Conditional <i>ga-v-tl-i-d-i</i> <i>ga-tl-i-d-a</i>	Future subjunctive <i>ga-v-tl-i-d-e</i> <i>ga-tl-i-d-e-s</i>
Aorist series		Aorist	Optative
Imperfective		<i>v-tal-e</i> <i>tal-a</i>	<i>v-tal-o</i> <i>tal-o-s</i>
Perfective		<i>ga-v-tal-e</i> <i>ga-tal-a</i>	<i>ga-v-tal-o</i> <i>ga-tal-o-s</i>
Perfect series	Perfect	Pluperfect	Perfect subjunctive
Imperfective	<i>m-i-tl-i-a</i> <i>u-tl-i-a</i>	<i>m-e-tal-a</i> <i>e-tal-a</i>	<i>m-e-tal-o-s</i> <i>e-tal-o-s</i>
Perfective	<i>ga-m-i-tl-i-a</i> <i>ga-u-tl-i-a</i>	<i>ga-m-e-tal-a</i> <i>ga-e-tal-a</i>	<i>ga-m-e-tal-o-s</i> <i>ga-e-tal-o-s</i>

The paradigm of the optative (marker: allomorph *-o*) illustrates Georgian verbal inflection:

Table 2. The paradigm of the optative

Subject	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	<i>ga-v-tal-o</i>	<i>ga-tal-o</i>	<i>ga-tal-o-s</i>
Plural	<i>ga-v-tal-o-t</i>	<i>ga-tal-o-t</i>	<i>ga-tal-o-n</i>

a. As in Old Greek and other old forms of Indo-European, Georgian has three *tense-mood* “series”: present series, aorist series, and perfect series.

Morphologically, the roots and stems of a series and of its subparts are marked in the verb by ablaut and/or affixation and/or suppletion. Most present series forms have thematic markers (TS) like Georgian *-i* (as in *v-tl-i* ‘I carve it’), *-av* (as in: *v-kl-av* ‘I kill it/him/her’), etc. Syntactically, the three series are distinguishable by their subject-object case alignment. For instance, the “logical subjects” of active transitives are in the nominative with present series verbs, in the ergative with aorist series verbs, and in the dative with perfect series verbs, whereas the direct object is in the dative with present series verbs and

in the nominative elsewhere. Some verbs like ‘fear’, ‘want’, ‘sleep’, ‘have’ etc. generally have the same “indirect (inverse)” construction as the transitive perfect series; they are comparable to impersonals of the type *me thinketh*. Since the perfect series of transitive verbs has an “indirect” construction, the “logical subject” is coded by object markers (e.g. *m-* in *ga-m-i-tl-i-a* PREV-1OBJ-OV-carve-PM-3SG.SBJ ‘I have carved (perfect) it’). – Note that the glosses SBJ, O, IO in this article refer to morphological, not to “logical” (or “syntactic”) relational categories.

b. As for the **aspectual meanings** of the series, the present series is “durative” in a broad sense, the aorist series is “punctual”, while the perfect series seems to be neutral with regard to this feature. Taking the past tenses as an example, we may say that the imperfect roughly has a “durative” meaning (e.g. *vtlidi* ‘I was carving it’), whereas the aorist is a “punctual” narrative tense ((*ga-*)*v-tale* ‘I carved it’). The perfect has evidential, “indefinite past”, and other meanings (*ga-g-i-tl-i-a* ‘you have apparently carved it’; ‘you have carved it [at a non-specified point in time]’ etc.; Boeder 2000). It regularly occurs in past time negative clauses.

c. *ga-* ‘out’ is one of the **perfectivizing preverbs**. With most verbs, we have aspectual oppositions that double each paradigm of the three series (Arabuli 1999): the imperfective aorist *tal-a* has a perfective counterpart *ga-tal-a* with the preverb *ga-*, and the optative *tal-o-s* is paralleled by *ga-tal-o-s*. Similarly, we have three additional perfective counterparts in the perfect series, and a corresponding opposition in the present series: a future that parallels the present tense, a conditional that parallels the imperfect, and a future subjunctive that parallels the present subjunctive. Note, however, that not all verbs have a perfectivity opposition: the so-called “middle verbs” (e.g. *v-muša-ob* ‘I (am) work(ing)’, imperfect *v-muša-ob-d-i*, subjunctive present *v-muša-ob-d-e*; Tschenkéli 1958: 300) are “aspectless” (Šaniže 1973 § 527) and have no perfective counterpart. Their future, conditional, and future subjunctive is formed without a perfectivising preverb (*v-i-muš-av-eb* ‘I will work’, conditional *v-i-muš-av-eb-d-i*, subjunctive future *v-i-muš-av-eb-d-e*). These temporal categories and their meanings, then, are independent of the aspectual perfectivity opposition marked by a preverb.

d. The *conditional* is sometimes characterised as a “perfective imperfect”, but if we look at Table 1, this is only one of three possible perspectives, and it is restricted to those cases where the future is a perfectivised present form. The second interpretation in this “vertical perspective” is the more general specification of the conditional as a future of the imperfect. A third interpretation ensues from the horizontal dimension of the paradigm: the conditional is the past of the future, and this perspective is supported for instance by stem formation and suppletion (see the forms of ‘work’ above and the suppletive paradigm of ‘do’: present *v-švr-eb-i* ‘I am doing it’, imperfect *v-švr-eb-od-i*, present subjunctive *v-švr-eb-od-e* vs. future *v-i-zam* ‘I will do it’, conditional *v-i-zam-d-i*, future subjunctive *v-i-zam-d-e*). These interpretations are perfectly mirrored in the paradigmatic relations of the future subjunctive, which is (a) the perfectivised present subjunctive (of many verbs), (b) the future counterpart of the present subjunctive, and (c) the subjunctive of

the future. However, the first interpretation, quite apart from its restricted applicability (see above), is irrelevant in the present context: while the category of future is relevant for tense-mood assignment, there seems to be no mood assignment rule that refers to the concept of “perfectivity”. Take for instance the future *i-ṭir-ḥ-s* SV-weep-TS-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he will weep’ (which is not marked for perfectivity). There is an additional perfective future formation *a-ṭir-d-eb-a* PREV-weep-INCH-TS-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he will burst in tears’, but the corresponding conditionals *i-ṭir-ḥ-d-a* ‘s/he would weep’ and *a-ṭir-d-eb-od-a* ‘s/he would burst in tears’ in no way differ with regard to the specific meanings of the conditional. A categorial interpretation of the conditional as “perfective imperfect” is therefore misleading. In sum, the paradigmatic positions of the conditional and of the future subjunctive allow more than one perspective that, as in cases of visual illusion (Hockett 1954), can be triggered by different contexts which will be specified below (5.2).

e. Although the dedicated forms of the **future group** (future, future subjunctive, conditional) are paradigmatically more or less dissociated from the present group (present, present subjunctive, imperfect) by suppletion, perfectivity, or difference of stem formation, they belong to the present tense series with regard to case alignment in Modern Georgian and very often share their thematic stem suffix with the present group.

f. The pluperfect in its non-modal use (i.e. where it occurs in “indicative” environments) is a resultative of the past (Vogt 1971: 193 §2.166): *cecxl-i e-nt-o* fire-NOM EV-ignite-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he had kindled a/the fire’. The **modal use of the pluperfect**, on the other hand (where a subjunctive would be expected in non-perfect series counterparts), is the result of *neutralisation*: the perfect series is marked in relation to the other series, and the subjunctive is a marked form in relation to the indicative; this cumulation of markedness is resolved by neutralising the opposition of moods. However, this neutralisation is not complete: the perfect subjunctive (see Table 1) survives in some specific contexts, for instance in manner clauses with *titkos* ‘as if’ (see (91) below; cp. Paṗiṣe 1979; Hewitt 1995: 572–573, 589–590; for a detailed discussion of the modal use of the pluperfect, the perfect subjunctive and its history see Kojima 2003).

g. As for the other **inflectional categories**, *v-* is the 1st person subject marker. “3rd person singular” suffixes (*-s*, *-a*, *-o* etc.) and “3rd person plural” suffixes (*-an*, *-en*, *-es* etc.) vary according to tense, mood, and voice. The suffix *-t* is a 1st and 2nd person plural marker. The Georgian verb is polypersonal. Subject, direct and indirect object markers compete for the same morphological slot. Cp. *mo-v-ḥl-av* PREV-1SBJ-kill-TS ‘I[kill him/her/it] with: *mo-m-ḥl-av* PREV-1OBJ-kill-TS ‘you[kill me]. – According to one grammatical tradition, *-d-/od-* in imperfect/conditional and subjunctive forms are called “extension markers” (EM). *-i*, *-e* in the past tenses and *-o*, *-a*, *-e* in subjunctives are called “paradigm markers” (PM) which assign verbal forms to the different tense-mood paradigms (Georgian term: *mḥḥrivi*, anglicized as ‘screeve’). The allomorphy of the *subjunctive marker* is controlled by series, voice or lexical information.

h. Wherever the subparts of a tense-mood series show different stem shapes, the **subjunctive** is formed on the basis of the distinctive 3rd person past tense indicative form

of the respective series (Tschenkéli 1958: 174; 522), i.e. it shares its root shape (including suppletion), its stem formation and its extension marker (if given). (For the concept of “past” see 3.1) below.) It is what after P. H. Matthews (1972) has come to be called a “Priscianic” formation. The rule says that the subjunctive is formed from the 3rd person form of the respective past tense minus person suffix: aorist indicative 1st person: *mo-v-ḳal-i* PREV-1SBJ-kill-PM ‘I killed him/her/it’, 3rd person *mo-ḳl-a* PREV-kill-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he killed him/her/it’ → subjunctive (optative) 1st person *mo-v-ḳl-a* PREV-1SBJ-kill-SBJV, 3rd person *mo-ḳl-a-s* PREV-kill-SBJV-3SBJ (with the subjunctive allomorph *-a-*); cp. Table 1: imperfect *tlid-a* → present subjunctive *tlid-e-s*, conditional *gatlid-a* → future subjunctive *gatlid-e-s*; pluperfect *gaetal-a* → perfect subjunctive *gaetal-o-s*; for suppletion cp. present *mi-di-s* ‘s/he is walking’ (root *di-*), imperfect *mi-di-od-a* → present subjunctive *mi-di-od-e-s* (extension marker *-od-*); future *mi-va* (root: *val-*), conditional *mi-vid-od-a* (root: *vid-*) → future subjunctive *mi-vid-od-e-s*. That this type of formation is not a purely formal idiosyncrasy appears from its neutralisation behaviour: with the exception of the prohibitive present and future (see 6.g.-i. below), the unmarked form in cases of neutralisation is the corresponding past indicative form: the pluperfect for the perfect subjunctive (see f. above) and the aorist for the optative (see 6.i. below).

3. The patterns of tense-mood assignment

In this section, we will consider the patterns of tense-mood assignment in clauses that can be said to “depend” on different predicate classes: verbs, modal particles and illocutionary forces. However, verbs and modal particles differ from each other with regard to their temporal and syntactic properties. A verb like ‘want’ is tensed, and its complement clause is subordinate, whereas a particle like ‘if only’ has no tense of its own and is a constituent of its dependent clause (see 3.1.g. below).

3.1 Preliminaries

a. The range of possible tense-moods varies with the classes of predicates on which they depend. For instance, a verb like ‘decide to’ occurs with a range of tense-moods that differs from the range occurring with ‘I don’t think that’. The distinctive **patterns of tense-mood assignment** specify the range of possible mood forms for each predicate-class. In addition, the patterns can, but need not, specify the event time associated with the tense-moods they permit to occur, and the tensed verbal members of the predicate-classes provide a reference time that can be used to specify further the event time of their dependent clauses. Specifically, the tensed verbs associated with pattern I and II add relational features to the respective event time specified by these patterns. For instance, a verb like ‘decide to’ specifies the event time of its complement clause by assigning to it a feature “posterior to the reference time (provided by the matrix clause)”: it is an essential

feature of a decision that its complement refers to a posterior state-of-affairs. For want of a better term I call the predicate-class exhibiting this property “future-oriented”. By contrast, the “modal” predicate class (which is a subclass of the “future-oriented” class) assigns the feature “non-anterior to the reference time”. The third, “attitudinal” predicate class (suggestive of the concept of “propositional attitude”), does not assign any relational feature: with this class, the event time does not hinge on the reference time provided by a tensed governing verb (if given).

b. While a verb like ‘decide to’ could be said to uniquely select a specific tense-mood pattern, the same does not hold true for all members of the predicate-class to which it belongs. For instance, the modal particle *unda* ‘it is/was/will be necessary’ selects several patterns, which assign different semantic readings to it: non-epistemic *unda* belongs to both the future-oriented and modal predicate classes. In the former case it occurs with the optative or the pluperfect, in the latter it occurs with the present subjunctive or the pluperfect, where the respective pluperfect is associated with different event time values: past in the former, past or future in the latter case. With epistemic *unda*, on the other hand, the pluperfect is associated with a past event time as with the future-oriented predicate-class. Thus, predicate classes are compatible with specific tense-mood patterns. In other words, there are many cases of multiple class membership. However, the selection of possible patterns is not unrestricted: as far as I can see, one and the same predicate can only occur with pattern I and either II or III.

c. The use of the subjunctive is “detachable” from the semantic conditions that typically underlie its use. Take e.g. a particle like *lamis* ‘almost’ (< Old Georgian *lam-i-s* wish-TS-3SG.S ‘wishes, intends’ > ‘tends to’ > ‘almost’, Šarašeniže 2000): whereas it requires the optative, its synonym *ķinayam* (< *ķnin-ya* ‘little-only’) occurs with the indicative. The historical origin of *lamis* (a volitive verb governing the subjunctive) in (1) overrides its present-day semantic parallelism with *ķinayam* in (2). In other words, this is a fossilized, lexically triggered use of the subjunctive, and semantic identity is not a sufficient basis for tense-mood selection:

- (1) *lamis ga-v-giž-d-e*
 almost PREV-1 SBJ-madden-INCH-SBJV
 ‘I almost went mad (optative)’
- (2) *ķinayam ga-v-giž-d-i*
 almost PREV-1 SBI-madden-INCH-PM
 ‘id. (indicative)’

d. Some governing predicates are associated with an *implicative value* of their complement when used according to a specific tense-mood pattern (see 3.3 below). For instance, *mindā* ‘I want’, non-epistemic *unda* ‘it is necessary’, and *neṭavi* ‘if only’ are negatively implicative in pattern II, *sašualeba akvs* ‘has the opportunity’ and *nebas aṣlevs* ‘allows’ are positively implicative in pattern II. Consider the implicative/non-implicative value in the following examples:

- (3) *çesrig-it ŧen unda axla uķve upro ķarg-ad*
 rule-INS you NEC now already more good-ADC
çer-d-e Kartul-ad (Tschenkeli 1958: 178)
 write-EM-SBJV Georgian-ADC
 'In principle, you should already write Georgian better now.'
- (4) *yirs-i [aris] i-xseni-eb-od-e-s* (Papiže 1984: 92)
 worthy-NOM [is] SV-commemorate-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'He deserves to be commemorated.'
- (5) *sašualeba a-kv-s (rom) universiķeť-ŧi ŧçavl-ob-d-e-s*
 means.NOM NV-have-3SG.SBJ (SUB) university-in learn-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He has the possibility to study at the university.'
- (6) *sašualeba h-kon-d-a (rom) universiķeť-ŧi e-ŧçavl-a*
 means.NOM 3IO-have-EM-3SG.SBJ (SUB) university-in EV-learn-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He had (imperfect) the possibility to study (pluperfect) at the university.'
- (7) *sašualeba a-kv-s (rom) universiķeť-ŧi i-ŧçavl-o-s*
 means.NOM NV-have-3SG.SBJ (SUB) university-in SV-learn-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He has the possibility to study (optative) at the university.'
- (8) *man gada-çqviť-a čamo-sul-iķo*
 s/he.ERG PREV-decide-3SG.SBJ PREV-go-PP-he.was
 'S/He decided to dismount (pluperfect).'
- (9) ~~man~~ unda čamo-sul-iķo H is
 s/he.ERG NEC PREV-go.PP-he.was H NOM
 'It was necessary that s/he dismounted (pluperfect).'

(3) means that in fact you *don't* write Georgian better (e.g. considering the long time you have already spent on learning it). In (5) s/he *does* study at the university; (6) is the past counterpart of (5). The implicative value depends on: (a) the illocutionary modality, (b) the semantic class of the governing predicate and (c) the tense-mood assignment pattern: (a) The implicational value occurs in non-interrogative, non-counterfactual, non-negative sentences. (b) While (3) has an implicative value, (4) has not, because *yirs-* 'worth' does not belong to the semantic class that is associated with an implicative value. (c) (5) follows one pattern (II) that is associated with an implicative value, but a different pattern (I) is not: (7) is neutral with regard to the realisation of its complement clause proposition; (7) simply means that s/he could study at the university (e.g. because s/he has passed the entrance exam), but it is an open question, if s/he will. Similarly, the same form, the pluperfect, can be neutral in one pattern and have an implicative value in the other. E.g., 'decide' (8) belongs to only one pattern (I), but with the necessity particle *unda* the pattern is semantically differential: (9) can mean either: 's/he was forced to dismount [i.e. s/he did]' (pattern I) or: 'It was necessary that s/he dismounted [but s/he didn't]' (pattern II).

The association between pattern and negative implicative value can be described by the following rule:

irreality in dependent clauses → pattern II

I.e. unreal modality requires the tense-mood assignment of pattern II. (The reverse is not true: (4) belongs to pattern II, but has no irreality meaning).

This implicative value does not seem to be an entailment. Rather, it is a cancellable implicature; e.g. the implicative value of (9) can be cancelled by adding an appropriate context: 'it was necessary that s/he dismounted, but I don't know if s/he did' is not contradictory. The implicatures seem to be connected with the oddity of speaking about the necessity, desirability or possibility of something which I know is, was or will be the case at a time when it is, was or will be necessary, desirable or possible.

e. In expressions of epistemic possibility and of volition, **backshift** is sometimes used as a means of weakening the probability of the fulfilment of their complement proposition. It has often been noted that this use is based on some pragmatic property of past tenses, e.g. that the threat of imposing something is softened by coding it as no longer obtaining (Palmer 2001: 220).

(10) *še-i-3l-eb-a* *gušin* *es* *mankana e-ṭar-eb-in-a*
 PREV-SV-CAN-TS-3SG.SBJ yesterday this.NOM car.NOM EV-lead-TS-CAUS-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He may (present) have driven (pluperfect) this car yesterday.'

(11) *še-i-3l-eb-od-a* *gušin* *es* *mankana e-ṭar-eb-in-a*
 PREV-SV-CAN-TS-EM-3SG.SBJ yesterday this.NOM car.NOM EV-lead-TS-CAUS-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He might (imperfect) have driven (pluperfect) this car yesterday.'

šeizleba 'can' in (10) and (11) has an epistemic meaning. In (10), the pluperfect is used according to pattern III. It could not represent the past event time of pattern I (which must be posterior to its reference time) nor of pattern II (which cannot be anterior to its reference time). (11) is a weaker variant of (10). The rule is:

Use backshift (assigning the feature "past") in governing modal predicates as an expression of weakening.

Note that in spite of its pragmatic function, backshift is not just a morphological transposition of tense, but a syntactically active phenomenon with regard to tense-mood assignment, and its result behaves like any other past form. While the present tense form *šeizleba* occurs with both the present subjunctive and the pluperfect, as in (10), the past tense form *šeizleboda* can only occur with the pluperfect, as in (11).

f. From the point of view of **reference time**, Georgian tense-moods are either *past* or *non-past* (present/future). The past tenses are: imperfect, conditional, aorist and pluperfect. Note that irrespective of its paradigmatic position in the future group, the conditional

is a past tense, and that the optative is not, although it is paradigmatically the subjunctive counterpart of the aorist. Consider:

- (12) s-txov-a, rom karg-ad e-sçavl-a / i-sçavl-o-s
 3IO-ask-3SG.SBJ, SUB good-ADC EV-learn-3SG.SBJ / SV-learn-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He asked (Aorist) him/her to learn (pluperfect, i.e. in the past) /
 (optative, i.e. in the future) well.'
- (13) unda s-txov-o-s, rom karg-ad
 NEC 3IO-ask-SBJV-3SG.SBJ, SUB good-ADC
 *e-sçavl-a / i-sçavl-o-s
 EV-learn-3SG.SBJ / SV-learn-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He must s/he ask (optative) him/her to learn (*pluperfect, i.e. in the past)/
 (optative, i.e. in the future) well.'

If the optative *s-txov-o-s* in (13) were a past form, the pluperfect should be possible in its complement clause according to the appropriate tense-mood assignment pattern (see 3.2 below), as with the aorist in (12). However, only the optative as a non-past form is permitted in the dependent clause. It is this distribution-based concept of past and non-past tenses that the term "reference time" refers to in the present context, and not to the paradigmatic position of tense forms (e.g. the paradigmatic correlation between aorist and aorist subjunctive (optative)).

g. The uninflected modal particles do not provide the reference time presupposed by a tense-mood assignment pattern, and their inherent temporal specification can even be at variance with the presupposed reference time. Consider *unda* 'it is/was/will be necessary' (cp. Harris 1995) and *neṭavi* 'if only, would that'. *unda* is unmarked for time reference, but *neṭavi* is lexically marked as a present-time expression of the speaker's wish ('I wish'). However, it can occur with a tense-mood pattern that presupposes either a non-past (present, future) or a past time reference.

- (14) u-nd-a ga-ḡid-o-s/ neṭavi ga-q.id-o-s
 3IO.OV-want-3SG.SBJ PREV-sell-SBJV-3SG.SBJ/ if_only PREV-sell-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He wants (present) to sell (optative) it/if only (particle) s/he sells (optative) it.'
- (15) u-nd-od-a ga-e-ḡid-a/ neṭavi ga-e-ḡid-a
 3IO.OV-want-EM-3SG.SBJ PREV-EV-sell-3SG.SBJ/ if_only PREV-EV-sell-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He wanted (imperfect) to sell (pluperfect) it/if only (particle)
 s/he had sold (pluperfect) it' or 'if only (particle) s/he would sell (pluperfect) it.'

(14) belongs to a tense-mood assignment pattern I which presupposes a reference time that is anterior to the non-past event time of 'sell'. And indeed, 'wants' conforms to this pattern, since it is a present tense verb, and in a sense the same applies to 'if only', since it is semantically specified for a present event time. By contrast, one of the interpretations of (15) is that

it belongs to a tense-mood assignment pattern II which presupposes a past reference time in 'wanted' and permits a past or a future event time interpretation of its dependent clause (e.g. 's/he wanted to sell it [yesterday/tomorrow, but s/he didn't/will not]'), and the same interpretation occurs with 'if only' ('if only s/he had sold it [yesterday, but s/he didn't] or 'if only s/he would sell it [tomorrow, but s/he will not]' with its meaning of irrealis, see above). Whatever the contextual source of "pastness" is in this case (e.g. 'he told me he *decided* to sell his car tomorrow'), the past reference time presupposed by the tense-mood assignment pattern is at variance with the inherent present event time of 'if only'. The possibility of this divergence of temporal properties arises from the fact that the particle is unmarked for tense and is thus compatible with a tense-mood pattern that specifies a specific reference time, without touching the lexically fixed event time of the modal particle. Tense-mood assignment patterns specify **compatibility conditions**. Particles are not marked for tense, and do not provide a reference time of their own. They are **transparent** to the temporal properties of a governing finite verb. Consider:

- (16) a. gada-çqvet-s, rom unda i-muša-o-s
 PREV-decide-3SG.SBJ, SUB NEC SV-work-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He will decide that s/he must work (optative).'
 b. *gada-çqvet-s, rom unda e-mušav-a
 PREV-decide-3SG.SBJ, SUB NEC EV-work-3SG.SBJ (pluperfect)

The ungrammaticality of (16b) cannot be derived from the properties of *unda*: *unda emušava* 's/he should have worked (pluperfect)' is correct, and the restriction on the clause depending from *unda* originates from the matrix clause verb, which is a future form that requires an optative form in its dependent clause.

While governing verbs and particles specify the range of possible mood assignment patterns, reference time is provided either by a superordinate tensed verb or by a context (e.g. by the illocutionary force of the sentence, see 4. below).

h. The patterns presented below are not valid for **stative verbs**. Stative verbs have a simpler pattern: in accordance with their inherent "durative" meaning, they neutralise the contrast between the present and aorist series: in contexts where non-stative verbs require forms of either series (specifically: present subjunctive or optative), present series forms are invariably used with stative verbs. This may be interpreted as a case of markedness reversal, since it is the aorist series which is unmarked in other contexts. (As in many other domains of linguistic structure, markedness is context-dependent in verbal systems.) For the sake of simplicity, stative verbs will be disregarded in the rest of this paper.

i. The following description of tense-mood assignment is highly tentative and non-exhaustive. Examples will be taken from complement clause and modal particle structures, since these structures provide a basis for the interpretation of main clause structures. The lists of verbs belonging to the relevant predicate-classes as presented here are in no way complete, and their description is a task for the future. Suffice it to say that most items occurring with the subjunctive express volition, possibility, necessity and the like. However,

“volition” is an insufficient characterisation of the relevant class. For instance, in spite of its volitional semantics, an expression like ‘hope’ takes the indicative, a fact that certainly cannot be dismissed as idiosyncratic. In addition, a complete description would, for instance, have to account for the distribution of the verbal noun (*masdar*) as well. It is used anaphorically (17), and refers to (an instance of) a given concept (e.g. a habit) (cp. (18) vs. (19); similarly, in a sentence like: ‘In this apartment you can play the trumpet the whole day long’, a verbal noun is preferred over the subjunctive).

- (17) *ma-s da-a-vičq-d-a e-tkv-a*
s/he-DAT PREV-NV-forget-INCH-3SG.SBJ EV-say-3SG.SBJ
čem-tvis [...] da-a-vičq-d-a tkma (from a letter)
me-for [...] PREV-NV-forget-INCH-3SG.SBJ saying.NOM
 ‘He forgot (aorist) to tell (pluperfect) me [several intervening sentences]
 he forgot to tell (verbal noun).’
- (18) *ert-i minda mo-v-çi-o*
one-NOM I.want PREV-1SBJ-smoke-SBJV
 ‘I would like to smoke (optative) one cigarette [before I go to sleep].’
- (19) *moçveva minda*
smoking.NOM I.want
 ‘I feel like smoking (verbal noun).’

/S

3.2 The future-oriented predicate-class pattern

Verbs like ‘ask’ (12)–(13), ‘try’, ‘decide’ (8), (21)–(23), ‘force’, ‘forget’ (17), etc. occur exclusively with the future-oriented pattern, whereas stative expressions like deontic ‘be necessary’ (see (9)), ‘have the opportunity’ (see (7)), non-epistemic ‘be possible’ (24), ‘it is difficult’, ‘want’ (see (14)–(15), (18)), ‘fear [that something may happen]’, ‘be shy/reluctant (to do something)’, *neṭavi*, *mainc* ‘if only’ (25)–(26) and other particles of ‘wishing’ (Vogt 1971: 197, Paṭiṣe 1981: 174) and particles of possibility: *egeb* (Šaraṣeniṣe 2001), *ikneb(a)* (with a nuance of wish; Šaraṣeniṣe 1999a) occur with both pattern I and II.

I	event time	tense-mood assignment
	past	pluperfect
	elsewhere	optative
	additional event time specification: posterior to reference time	

- (20) *deda kališvil-s xširad s-txov-s, rom*
mother.NOM daughter-DAT often 3IO-ask-3SG.SBJ, SUB
ḳarg-ad i-şçavl-o-s
good-ADC sv-learn-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 ‘Her mother often asks (present) her daughter to study (optative) well.’

- (21) gada-çqviṭ-es, rom tval-i e-devn-eb-in-a-t
 PREV-decide-3PL.SBJ SUB eye-NOM EV-follow-TS-CAUS-3SG.SBJ-PL
 ‘They decided (aorist) that they would/to have an eye on him/her/them
 (pluperfect) [afterwards in the past].’
- (22) gada-çqviṭ-es, rom tval-i a-devn-o-n
 PREV-decide-3PL.AOR SUB eye-NOM NV-follow-SBJV-3PL.SBJ
 ‘They decided that they would/to have an eye on him/her/them (optative)
 [from now on in the future].’
- (23) gada-çqveṭ-en, rom tval-i a-devn-o-n
 PREV-decide-3PL.SBJ that eye-NOM NV-follow-SBJV-3PL.SBJ
 ‘They (will) decide (future) that they will have/to have an eye on him/her/them
 (optative) [in the future].’
- (24) še-i-ṣl-eb-a aset-i mankana aset-ma
 PREV-SV-can-TS-3SG.SBJ such-NOM car.NOM such-ERG
 vinme-m a-ṭar-o-s?
 somebody-ERG NV-lead-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 ‘Is it possible that such a person will drive (optative) such a car?’
- (25) neṭavi male ga-ten-d-e-s (Γ 67)
 would_that soon PREV-dawn-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 ‘If only it became day soon (optative).’
- (26) da-m-e-çer-a mainc (Kojima 2003: 34)
 PREV-1OBJ-EV-write-3SG.SBJ yet
 ‘If only I had written it.’ (German: *wenn ich es doch bloß geschrieben hätte*)

Note the opposition between (21) and (22)–(23): a past event time takes the pluperfect, a non-past event time the optative. The reference time difference between (22) and (23) is irrelevant for tense-mood assignment; both past and future reference time are compatible with the optative.

3.3 The modal predicate-class pattern

a. The modal predicate-class comprises stative expressions that, as noted above, also occur with pattern I: ‘be necessary’ (cp. (3), (9)), ‘have the possibility’ (cp. (5), (6)), ‘deserve’ (cp. (4)), non-epistemic ‘be possible’ (27), ‘be obliged’, ‘want’ (28), ‘allow’, particles of wish (‘if only’) (30)–(31) and possibility (32)–(35), etc.

II	reference time	tense-mood assignment
	present	present subjunctive
	past	pluperfect
	additional event time specification: non-anterior to reference time	

- (27) gana še-i-ʒl-eb-a aset mankana-s aset-i
 PTL PREV-SV-CAN-TS-3SG.SBJ such car-DAT such-NOM
 vinme a-ʃar-eb-d-e-s? (Paṗiṣe 1984: 107)
 somebody.NOM NV-lead-TS-PM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'Can (present) such a person possibly drive such a car?'
- (28) m-i-nd-a xširad g-xed-av-d-e
 1IO-OV-want-3SG.SBJ often 2OBJ-see-TS-PM-SBJ
 'I would like (present) to see (present subjunctive) you more often [but I don't].'
- (29) m-i-nd-od-a ʃign-i ʃa-m-e-ḳitx-a
 1IO-OV-want-EM-3SG.SBJ book-NOM PREV-1OBJ-EV-read-3SG.SBJ
 'I wanted to read (pluperfect) a book.'
- (30) neṭav i-ḳid-eb-od-e (folk poetry, Paṗiṣe 1984: 96)
 would_that sv-buy-TS-EM-SBJV
 'Would that you were on sale (present subjunctive) [and I be your byer].'
- (31) neṭavi aṭelie-ši e-muṣav-a
 if_only studio-in EV-work-3SG.SBJ
 'If only s/he worked/had worked (pluperfect) in her/his studio.'

(28) and (30) illustrate the negative implication noted above (see 3.1) above).

The patterns I and II predict a temporal indeterminateness of the optative and the pluperfect, respectively. According to pattern I, the event time of the optative as such is indeterminate, its only specification being "posterior to reference time". For instance, the repeated action expressed in (20) provides a reference time that overlaps speech time and may precede it, and the event time of the complement clause is indeterminate between past and non-past (the mother could have begun to ask, and the daughter to have learned, before or after speech time). Similarly, the event time of the pluperfect in pattern II is indeterminate between past and future, whereas it is "past" in the case of pattern I. As a result, (29) has three different interpretations: (a) an interpretation deriving from pattern I with a past event time specification: 'I wanted to read it [e.g. yesterday]'; (b) a past event time interpretation deriving from pattern II with the negative value associated with the past: 'I wanted to read it [e.g. yesterday, but I didn't]'; (c) a future event time interpretation deriving from pattern II: 'I wanted to read it [e.g. tomorrow, but I will probably not be able to do so]'. And again, (31) can mean that it happened, or that it didn't happen, or it can refer to the future ('if only he was to work tomorrow, but I was told he won't').

b. There is a special use of the pluperfect forms that cannot be understood on the basis of pattern II alone. Consider:

- (32) ikneb es ʃa-i-ḳitx-o-t (Kojima 2003: 38)
 maybe this.NOM PREV-SV-read-SBJV-PL.SBJ
 'Maybe you (polite plural) (will) read (optative) this.'

- (33) *ikneb es ça-g-e-ķitx-a-t* (ib.)
 maybe this.NOM PREV-2IO-EV-read-3SG.SBJ-PL
 'Maybe you would (like to)/could read (pluperfect) this.' (polite injunction)
- (34) *ikneb mo-gv-e-nax-a vinme* (Žyenti 2004: 80)
 'maybe PREV-1OBJ.PL-EV-see-3SG.SBJ somebody.NOM'
 'Maybe we could visit (pluperfect) somebody.' (polite hortative)
- (35) *egeb mo-s-ul-iqo ak* (ib.)
 perhaps PREV-go-PP-s/he.was here
 'Maybe s/he could come (pluperfect) here.' (polite jussive)

(32) belongs to pattern I, but its meaning requires an additional pragmatic interpretation of *ikneb* 'perhaps, maybe'. This is a "redressed" variant of a request; the use of *ikneb* is a "pessimistic" strategy in the sense of politeness theory (presenting the requested act as a mere possibility). The pluperfect in (33) adds a further element of politeness: Kojima (2003) rightly points out that the past form (the pluperfect) is an expression of politeness as in English (*could you tell me* vs. *can you tell me*). This backshift rule is well established by independent evidence (3.1.e.). However, it is not clear in what sense the pluperfect could be a past form of the optative. Whereas, for instance, the conditional is indeed a paradigmatic past form of the future (see 2.d.) above), the same does not hold for the relation between optative and pluperfect. An alternative interpretation could be based on the modal backshift rule, where weakening would be an expression of (a higher degree of negative) politeness. Like *netavi* 'if only' (see 3.1.g.), *ikneb* has a lexically fixed present event time ('I consider it possible'). The backshift rule establishes a past reference time while keeping the event time of *ikneb* intact. However, there is a problem with the event time interpretation of the pluperfect, which permits a past or future event time interpretation predicted by its temporal indeterminateness in pattern II: in (33)–(35), the past event time option is ruled out. The difference between *netavi* and *ikneb* is that the latter is used in a proposal. One propositional content condition of this speech act is futurity, which constrains the temporal interpretation of the clause that depends on *ikneb*, and the pluperfect provides a form whose event time can be in the future. The present subjunctive option and the past time interpretation of the pluperfect are ruled out. This exclusion of options provided by the tense-mood patterns is the result of an interaction between grammatical features and illocutionary force: the illocutionary force of proposals filters out the present subjunctive and past event time options because it can only refer to the future.

3.4 The attitudinal predicate-class pattern

The attitudinal class pattern occurs for instance with *všiřob, meřinia* 'I fear [that something is the case]' in (36)–(37), epistemic *unda* (Pařize 1984: 102; řarařeniže 1999b: 53) in (38)–(39), epistemic *řeizleba* 'it is possible, perhaps' (cp. (10), (40)) and *ara mgonia* 'I don't think' (45). This pattern determines the past event time of the pluperfect in (37), as in pattern I, thus

differing from pattern II. It also differs from both pattern I and II by its lack of an additional direct or indirect event time specification: reference time is irrelevant (cp. (36) vs. (37)).

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| III event time | tense-mood assignment |
| present | present subjunctive |
| past | pluperfect |
| additional event time specification: none | |
- (36) v-šiš-ob bevr-s ar svam-d-e-s
 1SBJ-fear-TS much-DAT NEG drink-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'I fear he drinks too much.'
- (37) v-šiš-ob bevr-i ar da-e-li-a
 1SBJ-fear-TS much-NOM NEG PREV-EV-drink-3SG.SBJ
 'I fear he drank (pluperfect) too much.'
- (38) es ambav-i rayaca-s unda
 this.NOM news-NOM something-DAT NEC
 nišn-av-d-e-s (Papiže 1984: 102)
 signify-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'This news must mean something.'
- (39) Giorgi unda ça-s-ul-iqo
 Giorgi.NOM NEC PREV-GO-PP-he.was (pluperfect)

The pluperfect in (39) has four different interpretations: (a) deontic meaning according to pattern I: 'Giorgi was forced to leave [we apologise that he isn't here]'; (b) deontic meaning according to pattern II: 'Giorgi should have left [but he didn't]'; (c) deontic meaning according to pattern II: 'Giorgi was supposed to leave [in the future]'; (d) epistemic meaning according to pattern III: 'Giorgi must have left [it is necessary to conclude that he left]'. Note that (39) cannot mean: 'Giorgi will probably leave', since with pattern III, epistemic 'it is necessary' requires a past reference time for the pluperfect.

- (40) še-i-3l-eb-a am mankana-s a-ṭar-eb-d-e-s
 PREV-SV-can-TS-3SG-SBJ this.OBL car-DAT NV-lead-TS-PM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'He may (present) be driving this car [now].'

Similarly, (40) is ambiguous: with pattern II it has a non-epistemic meaning (the car is such that, e.g. even an invalid can drive it), but with pattern III, it is epistemic ('it is conceivable that such a person is driving such a car', cp. (41)).

Epistemic *ikneb* 'maybe' and *šeižleba* (id.) both can occur with the indicative. However, there might be a slight difference between (41) and (42): (41) is perhaps "more hypothetical" than (42). On the other hand, there is a partial complementary distribution between negation + subjunctive and the subordinator *rom* + indicative: (36)–(37) and (43)–(44) seem to be synonymous:

- (41) mxatvar-i še-i-3l-eb-a uķve
 painter-NOM PREV-SM-CAN-TS-3SG.SBJ already
 xať-av-d-e-s ķidec mat surat-s (Papiŗe 1984: 106)
 paint-TS-PM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ even their picture-DAT
 'The painter may (present) even already be painting their picture.'
- (42) mxatvar-i še-i-3l-eb-a uķve xať-av-s
 painter-NOM PREV-SV-CAN-TS-3SG.SBJ already paint-TS-3SG.SBJ
 ķidec mat surat-s (ib.)
 even their picture-DAT
 'The painter may (present) even already be painting (present indicative) their picture.'
- (43) v-ŗiŗ-ob rom bevr-s svam-s
 1SBJ-fear-TS SUB much-DAT drink-3SG.SBJ
 'I fear he drinks (present) too much.'
- (44) v-ŗiŗ-ob rom bevr-i da-li-a
 1SBJ-fear-TS SUB much-NOM PREV-drink-3SG.SBJ
 'I fear he drank (aorist) too much.'

Kojima (2003: 37) points out that past time complement clauses of 'I don't think/believe', 'I doubt' are in the pluperfect (45) (or the perfect subjunctive, see 2.f.), which codes the doubt of the speaker ("non-factuals", Hewitt 1995 §5.2.3.2). By contrast, the non-first person counterpart 's/he doesn't think/believe' has the indicative, not the subjunctive, in its complement clause in (48). The same modal value occurs with the present (47). The non-reality meaning of the present subjunctive and the pluperfect is comparable to the irrealis meaning of some subjunctives (see 3.1). Yet non-belief is not implied as in pattern II, but asserted. This is confirmed by the fact that 'I don't think' occurs with the same meaning in the optative referring to the future in (46) which belongs to pattern I. Since however 'I don't think' is a present tense form, it does not provide a basis for the selection of the pluperfect according to pattern I (which implies an event time posterior to the reference time). The exclusively past reference time of the pluperfect in (45) points to pattern III. In other words, 'I don't think' belongs to pattern I and III.

- (45) ara m-gon-i-a (rom) ma-s ase
 NEG OBJ-think-TS-3SG.SBJ (SUB) s/he-DAT SO
 e-ťkv-a/ †man ase ťkva (Kojima 2003: 37) /(?)
 EV-say-3SG.SBJ/ s/he.ERG SO say-3SG.SBJ
 'I don't think that s/he (has) said (pluperfect/ *aorist) such a thing.'
- (46) ara m-gon-i-a (rom) man ase ťkv-a-s
 NEG OBJ-think-TS-3SG.SBJ (SUB) s/he.ERG SO say-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'I don't think that s/he will say (optative) such a thing.'

- (47) ara mxec-i ara m-gon-i-a
 no beast-NOM NEG 1OBJ-think-TS-3SG.SBJ
 laparaḡ-ob-d-e-s (Papiḡe 1984: 107)
 speak-TS-PM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'I don't think that any beast can speak.'
- (48) ara h-gon-i-a (rom) man ase tkv-a
 NEG 3OBJ-think-TS-3SG.SBJ (SUB) s/he.ERG SO say-3SG.SBJ
 'S/He doesn't think that s/he said (aorist) such a thing.'

The speaker's doubt is not restricted to overt expression. In the following example, 'don't think that X' can only be a successful prohibition if it is connected with the preparatory condition that I don't think that X, and this feature of the illocutionary act is a sufficient trigger of mood assignment:

- (49) nu g-e-gon-o-s, rom madl-s
 NEG.IMP 2OBJ-EV-think-SBJV-3SG.SBJ, SUB favour-DAT
 g-i-ḡvr-eb-od-e ra-s-me (Papiḡe 1984: 103)
 2OBJ-OV-do-TS-PM-SBJV what-DAT-PTL
 'Don't think that I am doing you some favour.'

3.5 The future subjunctive

There is a very restricted pattern occurring with the particle *neḡavi, mainc* 'if only' (which also occur with pattern I and II), in conditional clauses and with wishes (see 4.1.a. below), etc. As with pattern I, reference time is relevant for further event time specification.

IV	event time	tense-mood assignment
	future	future subjunctive
	additional event time specification: non-anterior to reference time	

The future subjunctive expresses an unrealistic idea or improbability ("probably not", as a future counterpart of the irrealis meaning associated with the present subjunctive and the pluperfect; see 3.1.d.). (50) is an "intense", unrealistic wish, a kind of "prayer" for something whose fulfilment is improbable, whereas the optative (25) is "categorical" and neutral in this regard.¹

- (50) neḡav ḡa-vid-od-e-s bur-i (Papiḡe 1983: 75)
 if_only PREV-go-PM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ haze-NOM
 'If only the haze disappeared.'

1. These are comments by ḡ. Apridonḡe, N. Doborḡginḡe and R. Ḳiḡnaḡe.

first person pattern II form would be possible if, for instance, I worked in a state of unconsciousness or the like.

b. Similarly, subjunctives expressing epistemic possibility share the distribution of epistemic *šeižleba* 'it is possible' (cp. (41)), which could easily be supplied in (55) and (57). (55) and (56) are synonymous:

- (55) ak, bevri-bevri at-i mekšavaṭore
 here, many-many ten-NOM excavator.NOM
 muša-ob-d-e-s at-i atas-i
 work-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ ten-NOM thousand-~~GEN~~ **H GEN**
 šopr-is gverd-it (Paṭiže 1984: 104)
 driver-GEN side-INS
 'At best, ten excavators could work here together with ten thousand drivers.'

- (56) ak, bevri-bevri, at-i mekšavaṭore
 here, many-many ten-NOM excavator.NOM
 še-i-ṣl-eb-a muša-ob-d-e-s
 PREV-SV-CAN-TS-3SG.SBJ work-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ

- (57) ak, bevri-bevri mekšavaṭore-s e-mušav-a
 here, many-many excavator.DAT EV-work-3SG.SBJ
 'At best, an excavator could have worked (pluperfect) here.'

4.2 Subjunctives in interrogative clauses

The use of "dubitative" or "deliberative" subjunctives, as in (58), and of subjunctives in rhetorical questions like (59) can be interpreted as deriving from a necessity (obligative) meaning following pattern I and II: in all instances, non-epistemic *unda* 'it is necessary' could be added in Georgian:

- (58) ra v-kn-a?
 what.NOM 1SBJ-make-SBJV
 'What shall I do (optative)?'
- (59) meṭ-i ra-ya m-e-kn-a? (Γ 64)
 more-NOM what.NOM-only 1OBJ-EV-make-3SG.SBJ
 'What more should I have done (pluperfect), I wonder?'

Note that the pluperfect has the usual irrealis meaning and shows the indeterminateness of event time: 'what should I have done yesterday/tomorrow?'

There is one type of deliberative subjunctive which has a special, pragmatically conditioned use, namely the use as a *proposal*. In this context, it is *šeižleba* 'it is possible (present)' that can be used to augment the bare subjunctive: 'how about our doing X?' is

coded as: '[is it possible] that we do X?'. In this case, the subjunctive can be used as a polite hortative expression (Kojima 2003: 38–40; Žyenti 2004: 80–81):

- (60) qava da-v-li-o-t?
 coffee.NOM PREV-1SBJ-drink-SBJV-PL.SBJ
 'Shall we drink (optative) coffee?'
- (61) qava ar da-v-li-o-t?
 coffee.NOM NEG PREV-1SBJ-drink-SBJV-PL.SBJ
 'Shan't we drink (optative) coffee?'
- (62) qava xom ar da-v-li-o-t?
 coffee.NOM PTL NEG PREV-1SBJ-drink-SBJV-PL.SBJ
 'You won't like to drink (optative) coffee with me, will you?'

(60) is the simple deliberative use. (61) is a “redressed” variant (with the negation as a “pessimistic” strategy, see 3.3.b.) (62) is even milder by the use of the conducive particle *xom*. (63) and (64) are instances of polite backshift (see 3.1.e. with its divergence of event time and reference time (see 3.3.b.), and the appropriate form to augment (63) and (64) would be *šeizleboda* ‘it was possible (imperfect)’ (cp. (11)).

- (63) qava xom ar da-gv-e-li-a?
 coffee.NOM PTL NEG PREV-1OBJ.PL-EV-drink-3SG.SBJ
 'You wouldn't like to drink (pluperfect) coffee, would you?'
- (64) me-c xom ar m-e-kn-a rame?
 I-too PTL NEG 1OBJ-EV-do-3SG.SBJ
 'Couldn't I do (pluperfect) something, too?'

As in the case of *ikneb* + pluperfect (see 3.3.b.), the fact calls for an explanation that, in spite of the temporal indeterminateness of the pluperfect, the event time must be in the future. Again, futurity is a speech act condition for proposals and deliberations, and the present subjunctive and past event time options are filtered out.

5. The modal uses of the indicative in main clauses

5.1 Indicatives expressing wishes

There is a rather idiomatised use of the indicative in imprecations (Vogt 1971: 197, Tuite; to appear): the aorist indicative in (65a) is equivalent to the optative in (65b), which is a case of mood neutralisation. The “underlying” optative follows pattern I after verbs of the type ‘I want’, ‘I pray ...’, ‘may God grant that...’, depending on the illocutionary act appropriate

in a specific context. That the aorist indicative in these examples is an equivalent of the optative is supported by the fact that it occurs with *neṭavi* ‘if only’ in (66), which otherwise requires a subjunctive.

- (65) a. ga-g-i-xm-a eg ena (a curse, Pápiže 1981: 169)
 PREV-2OBJ-OV-dry-3SG.SBJ this tongue.NOM
 ‘May your tongue dry (aorist passive)!’
- b. ga-g-i-xm-e-s eg ena
 PREV-2OBJ-OV-dry-SBJV-3SG.SBJ this tongue.NOM
 ‘id. (optative passive)’
- (66) neṭa mo-m-c-a coṭa pul-i (Vogt 1971: 197)
 would.that PREV-1OBJ-give-3SG.SBJ little.NOM money-NOM
 ‘If only I were given/if only I got (aorist indicative) some money.’

5.2 Future and conditional

a. Morphologically, the conditional is the past form of the future (see 2.d.) above), but from the point of view of its contextual reference time, it is either a future of the past (“future with regard to the past”, Gegučaže 2005: 96), or a past form of the future (“backshifting”). The first perspective seems to be appropriate with the “habitual” or “customary” meaning of the conditional as in (67), where the parallel use of the imperfect and the conditional shows their similarity, though not identity, in meaning: the imperfect can denote habitual actions in the past (“repetitive”, Vogt 1971: 182 § 2.148), and the conditional can be said to inherit this meaning from the imperfect as its basis. The future, on the other hand, adds the “prospective” (“prospectif passé”, Lazard 1975) or “consecutive” (Šaniže 1973 § 257a) meaning which is also found in simple future forms (68), which are prospective counterparts of the present and often occur with the particle *xolme* ‘usually’ (Gegučaže 1980: 75). The conditional in the second half of sentence (67) is a prospective counterpart of the imperfect in its first part.

- (67) Pávle gvian brun-d-eb-od-a, axla ezo-ši
 Paul.NOM late return-INCH-TS-EM-3SG.SBJ, now courtyard-in
 mo-ṭrial-d-eb-od-a (Pápiže 1988: 166)
 PREV-turn-INCH-TS-EM-3SG.SBJ
 ‘Paul used to come (imperfect) home late, then he would walk (conditional)
 around in the courtyard.’
- (68) ert-or-zer ça-h-ṭep-en xolme (Gegučaže 2005: 92)
 one-two-time PREV-3IO-bark-3PL.SBJ PTL
 ‘[As soon as the dogs convince themselves that no enemy is around,] they
 will briefly bark (future) at him once or twice.’

b. However in (69)–(70), the conditional is not based on an imperfect and does not share its “habitual” meaning. Rather, it is a backshifted future:

(69) male da-brun-d-eb-od-a
 soon PREV-return-INCH-TS-EM-3SG.SBJ
 ‘S/He would return soon.’ (< ‘[s/he thought:] s/he will return soon’)
 (free indirect speech)

(70) še-m-þir-d-a, rom mo-vid-od-a (Pápiže 1988: 167)
 PREV-1OBJ-promise-INCH-3SG.SBJ SUB PREV-go-EM-3SG.SBJ
 ‘S/He promised (aorist) me that s/he would come.’ (< ‘... promised: I will come.’)

c The conditional is also a result of polite backshifting (see 3.1.e.; 3.3.b. above): the form *momçerdit* ‘you would write me’ in (71) is more polite than its future counterpart *mo-m-çer-t* ‘you will write me’. It expresses “tentativeness” or “conditionality” (Palmer 2001: 13–15, 32), and it behaves like the apodosis of a conditional clause. Note that backshift is again a syntactically active phenomenon: in (72) the verb of volition counts as a past form (in spite of its present event time): it governs a pluperfect. Note that in addition to its (contextually appropriate) future event time interpretation, the pluperfect also permits a past event time interpretation: ‘we wished we had seen you in Germany [but we didn’t], because ‘wish’ follows pattern II where event time is indeterminate between past and future.

(71) tkven-i romel-i misamart-i gamo-v-i-çen-o,
 your-NOM which-NOM address-NOM PREV-1SBJ-SV-apply-SBJV,
 xom ver mo-m-çer-d-i-t? (from a letter)
 PTL NEG PREV-1OBJ-write-EM-PM-PL.SBJ
 ‘You couldn’t write (conditional) me which of your addresses I shall use (optative), could you?’

(72) v-i-surv-eb-d-i-t male kvlav
 1SBJ-SV-wish-TS-EM-PM-PL.SBJ soon again
 gv-e-nax-e-t Germania-ši (from a letter)
 1SBJ.PL-EV-see-PM-PL.SBJ Germany
 ‘We would wish (conditional) we could see you (pluperfect) in Germany again soon.’

d. Future indicatives of stative verbs can have an epistemic meaning (cp. Gegučaze 1980: 74):

(73) saxl-ši i-žd-eb-a da qurmil-s ar i-γ-eb-s
 house-in SV-sit-TS-3SG.SBJ and receiver-DAT NEG SV-take-TS-3SG.SBJ
 ‘He will sit (future) at home and does not pick up (present) the receiver.’

Cp. *ecodineba* ‘s/he will know it’, *imušavebs* ‘he will be working’ (= ‘he is probably working’). This future has the conditional as its backshifted counterpart. Cp. (74) with (75):

(74) es kal-i ormoc-i çl-isa ikneb-a
 this.NOM woman-NOM forty-OBL year-GEN will.be-3SG.SBJ
 ‘This woman will be (future) forty years old.’

- (75) es kal-i ormoc-i çl-isa ikneb-od-a
 this.NOM woman-NOM forty-OBL year-GEN will.be-EM-3SG.SBJ
 'This woman would be (conditional) forty years old.'

e. However, the opposition between stative and non-stative verbs seems to be neutralised in the conditional, since it can have the epistemic ("assumptive", Palmer 2001: 28; "suppositional", Žyenti 1996: 173) meaning of (75) without having an epistemic future counterpart. While (75) is the past counterpart of (74), (76)–(77) have no epistemic future counterpart: the simple future counterpart of (76) *ça-a-sçr-eb-s* does *not* mean: 's/he will *probably* catch it' but simply: 's/he will catch it'.

- (76) vinme kurd-s ça-a-sçr-eb-d-a
 somebody.NOM thief-DAT PREV-NV-reach-TS-EM-3SG.SBJ
 'Somebody will have caught the thief [at stealing].'
- (77) am saxl-ši, romel-sa-c ma-s
 this.OBL house-in, which-DAT-REL he-DAT
 da-u-cl-i-d-nen, iseV
 PREV-3IO.OV-remove-TS-EM-3PL.SBJ again
 imdenive še-vid-od-nen (Gegučaze 2005: 95, simplified)
 as.many.NOM PREV-go-EM-3PL.SBJ

The ambiguity of (77) (Gegučaze *ib.*) shows the distinctiveness of the different meanings of the conditional: 'this house, which they would evacuate for him, as many people would enter again' (prospective-habitual 'they would repeatedly ...' as in (67), or backshifted thought: '[somebody thought:] They will evacuate... ' as in (69), or again: 'this house, which they will have evacuated for him, as many people will have entered again' (assumptive meaning as in (76)).

To sum up: by its paradigmatic position, the conditional is not a mood, but it shares the modal use of its non-past counterpart, the future. In addition however, it has an independent modal meaning whose relationship with the rich evidential system of Kartvelian remains to be explored.

6. Imperatives, prohibitives and subjunctives

Imperatives, prohibitives and subjunctives are systematically related to each other and are interpretable within the framework of the tense-mood patterns outlined above.

a. As we saw above (see 3.1.h. above), the contrast between the present and aorist series is neutralised with stative verbs. As a consequence, the morphological imperative (i.e. aorist) of non-stative verbs (78) is in *complementary distribution* with the present subjunctive of stative verbs (79):

- (78) ga-čum-d-i!
 PREV-be.silent-INCH-PM
 'Be silent (imperative aorist form)!'

- (79) i-c-od-e!
 sv-know-EM-SBJV
 'Know (present subjunctive)!' (i.e. 'I want you to know [that...]')

The 3rd person jussive subjunctive shares this distribution in that the present subjunctive is used with stative verbs where non-stative verbs would require the optative:

- (80) mis-i ḳudianob-is šenistana dedaḳac-eb-s
 his-NOM slyness-GEN like_you woman-PL-DAT
 e-šin-od-e-s (Pāpiḳe 1984: 97)
 EV-fear-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'Women like you should fear (present subjunctive) his slyness.'

b. Imperatives have a main clause privilege. In embedded reported speech, their *transposed* counterparts are subjunctives (as in many languages):

- (81) utxra, (rom) gamo-vid-e-s (< utxra: gamo-di!)
 s/he.told.him, (SUB) PREV-go-SBJV-3SG.SBJ s/he.told.him PREV-go!
 'S/He told him to come out (optative).' (< 's/he told him: Come out (imperative)!')

c. Bare 2nd person optatives are not normally used in standard Modern Georgian main clauses, imperatives being used instead. Thus in formulaic wishes, imperatives, as in (82), are the *second person* counterparts of 3rd person optatives, as in (83):

- (82) i-cocxl-e
 sv-be.alive-PM
 'May you live long!' (lit. 'be alive (imperative)!', said to someone sneezing)
- (83) ymert-ma i-neb-o-s tkven-i sicocxle
 God-ERG sv-will-SBJV-3SG.SBJ your-NOM life.NOM
 (from a traditional table song)
 'May it please God to keep you alive (optative)!'

"Imperative", then, is a formal category that is not restricted to the expression of commands. It expresses any volitional speech act: commands, wishes etc. For instance, the interpretation of an imperative as either a directive or a wish depends on different preparatory conditions such as controllability which belong to the lexical meaning of the verb (e.g. 'live' (82) and 'know' (79) are not under the control of the addressee and cannot be used as directives).

d. As 3rd person counterparts of imperatives, optatives are used in *orders* (jussives) (84) and *permissions* (85):

- (84) siḳva-m "revolucia" ar še-g-a-šin-o-s (Pāpiḳe 1981: 148)
 word-ERG revolution NEG PREV-2OBJ-NV-fear-SBJV-3SG-S
 'Let the word "revolution" not frighten you!'
- (85) acale, da-i-sven-o-s (Pāpiḳe 1981: 148)
 discharge.him, PREV-SV-recover-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'Let him be (2nd person singular imperative), let him take a rest (3rd person optative)!'

e. Inclusive 1st person plural optatives (Šaniḡe 1973 § 251) can have a *hortative* meaning:

- (86) ḡa-vid-e-t
 PREV-GO-SBJV-PL
 ‘Let us go!’

f. *Prohibitives* are the negated 2nd person present and future indicative forms of the present tense-mood series. The future can be used as a “weaker” variant of the present with a “nuance of request” (Paḡava 1985: 645), which is related to the uncertainty meaning of the future subjunctive (see 3.5):

- (87) nu muša(v)-ob amden xan-s
 NEG.IMP work-TS so_much time-DAT
 ‘Don’t work/ stop working so much (present)!’
- (88) nu i-mušav-eb amden xan-s
 NEG.IMP SV-work-TS so_much time-DAT
 ‘Don’t work so much (future)!’

g. The imperative or prohibitive indicative is the counterpart of the negative “requesting” optative. Consider the parallel use of the imperative and the negative optative in:

- (89) ar ga-u-šv-a-t, e-srol-e-t! (Γ56)
 NEG PREV-OV-let_GO-SBJV-PL, EV-shoot-PM-PL
 ‘Don’t let him go (optative), shoot him (imperative)!’

The modern use of the unmarked negation *ar(a)* + optative is considered to be more polite than the prohibitive indicative present use (Hewitt 1995: 569–570). Comparing the pragmatic properties of the present (87), future (88), and optative (89), the future seems to be the “mildest” form of the prohibitive, whereas the optative is a more or less conventionalised use, which may again be due to a form of “redressing” by means of a non-direct request form. The optative can perhaps be explained in the vein of politeness theory, where indirectness is a form of (negative) politeness: while the imperative is a “direct” expression of volition, the subjunctive does not necessarily require the speaker to be the addresser of an imposing request. In fact, the subjunctive often expresses a mediated imperative or obligation (cf. Paḡiḡe 1981: 147):

- (90) ḡamal-i da-li-o-s
 medicine.NOM drink-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 ‘Let him/her drink (optative) a medicine’ = ‘s/he shall drink a medicine’ =
 ‘tell him/her: Drink a medicine!’

h. The formal and semantic *distribution of imperatives, prohibitives and bare subjunctives* can now be described in a comprehensive way: imperatives and prohibitives belong to the same class of forms as the subjunctives occurring with volitional predicates and accordingly follow the patterns I and II (‘order’, ‘want’ etc.) and I, II, IV (‘if only’). However, the

speech act conditions are selective with regard to possible event time: whereas overt volitional predicates like 'want' can occur in the past and with past event time complements, volitional speech acts behave like present-tense predicates. Accordingly, directives cannot occur with the pluperfect, since future event time is one of their speech act conditions; neither pattern I nor pattern II allow a pluperfect with a present reference time and a past event time. Within these limits, where specific speech act conditions "filter out" certain tense-mood options, "imperatives", prohibitives and bare subjunctives are in complementary distribution: *in volitional speech acts, the unmarked indicative is used with 2nd person subjects, the subjunctive is used elsewhere* (cp. (85)). The indicative form of imperatives and prohibitives are a further case of mood neutralisation (see 2.f.).

On this background, the aorist form of the imperative and the present/future form of the prohibitive make sense on the basis of patterns I and II: the imperative is a neutralised indicative counterpart of the optative according to pattern I, and the prohibitive present indicative form is a neutralised counterpart of the present subjunctive according to pattern II, including its modal implicative value: 'stop doing it' implies that you do it.² Now consider the use of the preventive future in (88) above. If our analysis is correct, it should be a neutralised indicative counterpart of the future subjunctive. The specific semantics of this form noted above would follow from the fact that the future subjunctive does not occur with volitive predicates of the 'order' type, but only with an expression of wish ('if only', pattern IV), which is "weaker" than 'order' (because it does not necessarily presuppose an addressee on which the desired action is imposed).

7. The subjunctive in adverbial clauses

The subjunctive in adverbial clauses can only be hinted at. (For a survey see Hewitt 1987, 1995: 574–634 § 5.2.). Consider the following examples:

2. It remains to be investigated, if or under what conditions the present form can be used with a preventive meaning: 'Don't do it (in the future)!' ('do not (begin to) do it!'). However, the normal usage seems to be that preventives are either futures or optatives (see (88) and (89) above): *am gasayeb-s nu da-ḡarg-av!* this.OBL key-DAT NEG.IMP PREV-lose-TS/es *gasayeb-i ar da-ḡarg-o* this key-NOM NEG PREV-lose-OPT 'don't lose this key!' It is not clear to me if a formal distinction can be made between "prohibitive" ('stop doing it!') and "preventive". Schmidt (1969: 228) considers a correlation between prohibitive and imperfective and between preventive and perfective aspect. Frequent though this correlation is, it does not seem to hold true for Georgian, since although both (87) and (88) are "aspectless" forms (see 2.c.), they show the same contrast as: *nu a-ḡlev ḡḡbileul-s* 'don't keep giving him sweets (imperfective present)' vs. *nu mi-s-cem ḡḡbileul-s* 'don't give him sweets (perfective future)' (with root suppletion of 'give').

- (91) ise u-pasux-a [...] , litkos mtel-i mis-i
 so 3IO.OV-answer-3SG.SBJ [...], as_if whole-NOM his-NOM
 cxovreba [...] kosmos-ši ga-e-tar-eb-in-o-s (Papiže 2005: 193)
 life.NOM [...] cosmos-in PREV-EV-spend-TS-CAUS-SBJV-3SG.SBJ
 'He answered as if he had spent (perfect subjunctive) all his life in the universe.'
- (92) da-v-mal-av rom aravin ar i-pov-o-s
 PREV-1SBJ-hide-TS SUB nobody.ERG NEG SV-find-SBJV-3SG.SBJ (Vogt 1971: 207)
 'I will hide (future) him in order that nobody can find (optative) him.'
- (93) v-e-3-eb-d-i kac-s, bina rom
 1SBJ-EV-look-TS-EM-PM man-DAT, apartment-NOM SUB
 da-e-suptav-eb-in-a
 PREV-EV-clean-TS-CAUS-3SG.SBJ
 'I was looking for a man who would clean (pluperfect) my apartment'
- (94) tu e-3in-o-s, ga-a-yviz-e-t.
 if EV-sleep-SBJV, PREV-NV-wake.up-PM-PL.SBJ
 (Vogt 1971: 209: "s'approche du sens hypothétique")
 'Should he sleep (optative), wake him up (imperative).'
- (95) čit-is rše rom i-nařr-o, čvenianeb-i
 bird-GEN milk.NOM SUB SV-wish-SBJV, our_people-NOM
 ima-sa-c ar mo-g-a-kl-eb-en (T 236)
 that-DAT-too NEG PREV-2OBJ-NV-diminish-TS-3PL.SBJ
 'In case you should wish (optative) for some bird milk, our people
 will not fail to provide it, too.'
- (96) vin-c maržn-it ça-vid-e-s,
 who-REL right-INS PREV-go-SBJV-3SG.SBJ,
 xelmcipe ga-xd-e-s
 king.NOM PREV-become-SBJV-3SG.SBJ (fairy tale)
 'Whoever goes (optative) to the right side shall become (optative) the king.'
- (97) moçape rom karg-ad sçavl-ob-d-e-s,
 pupil.NOM SUB good-ADC learn-TS-EM-SBJV-3SG.SBJ,
 nišan-sa-c karg-s da-u-çer-d-nen (Papiže 1988: 191)
 mark-DAT-too good-DAT PREV-3IO.OV-write-EM-3PL.SBJ
 'If the pupil learned (present subjunctive) well, they would also give
 (conditional) him a good mark.'

(98) moçape rom qarg-ad i-şçavl-i-d-e-s,
 pupil.NOM SUB good-ADC SV-learn-TS-EM-SBJV-3PL.SBJ
 nişan-sa-c qarg-s da-u-çer-d-nen (ib.)
 mark-DAT-TOO good-DAT PREV-3IO.OV-write-EM-3PL.SBJ
 'If the pupil learned (future subjunctive) well, they would also give
 (conditional) him a good mark.'

(99) moçape-s rom qarg-ad e-şçavl-a, nişan-i-c
 pupil.DAT SUB good-ADC EV-learn-3SG.SBJ, mark-NOM-TOO
 qarg-i unda da-e-çer-a-t
 good-NOM NEC PREV-EV-write-3PL.SBJ
 'If the pupil had learned (pluperfect) well, they would also have been obliged to give
 (pluperfect) him a good mark.'

Most uses can be related to the details of their distribution in complement and main clause constructions. For instance, clauses of pretence show the irrealis meaning of pattern II in (91), purpose clauses follow pattern I in (92). The same holds true for (93), which is a translation equivalent of a relative clause (but unambiguous relative clauses with the inflected relative pronoun *romel-* have the indicative mood). Potential conditional clauses as in (94) belong to expressions of non-epistemic possibility according to pattern I. Contingency seems to be related to free choice, i.e. to volition (95)–(96). The counterfactual conditional shows the irrealis/ improbability meaning of the patterns II and IV in (97)–(98). Similar to many other languages (see Lazard 1975, 1998), the conditional occurs in its apodosis, where all temporal contrasts are neutralised, but are projectable from its protasis. That the tense of the protasis provides the reference time for the apodosis appears from (99), where *unda* is transparent to the relevant reference time (see 3.1.g.), and where the pluperfect of the apodosis is triggered by the past tense form of the protasis. The use of the conditional is related to the prospective/ consecutive meaning of the future (see 5.2.a): the only thing that needs to be specified in the apodosis is the non-anteriority to its reference time (as in pattern II and IV).

8. Conclusion

This outline of the Georgian mood system is tentative in its theoretical assumptions and limited in its coverage of data. It tries to understand the relevant paradigmatic units (optative, present subjunctive, future subjunctive, pluperfect, conditional etc.) by positing a limited number of tense-mood assignment patterns that seem systematically to account for many semantic distinctions which go unnoticed in a type of research that considers the meaning of each unit separately. What remains to be done is to examine the validity, theoretical status and completeness of these patterns, to determine the membership of large classes of predicates that are associated with them, and to investigate the distribution

of alternative forms occurring in the same environment (e.g. subjunctive vs. verbal noun (masdar) and (rarely) subjunctive vs. indicative etc.). In addition, the functional load of mood deserves a closer inspection, both structurally and statistically. (My impression is that a majority of tokens occur with particles like *unda* and in main clauses, i.e. in contexts without overt intrasentential triggers of a specific tense-mood assignment.) Finally, there is a vast field of other desiderata that could not be touched on here: the many specific convergences which Georgian shares with its neighbouring languages (Armenian, Greek, Iranian etc.) and the historical elaboration (rather than decline) of the mood system in Georgian and in particular in its sister languages Svan and Megrelian.

Abbreviations

ADC	adverbial case
NV	neutral version
PREV	preverb
EM	extension marker
OV	objective version
TS	thematic suffix
EV	e-version
INCH	inchoative
PM	paradigm marker

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Addenda et corrigenda

p. 605, section d. The **conditional** is sometimes ...

p. 607 above, add the following section:

i. The only dedicated imperative form in literary Modern Georgian is the lexicalized imperative of ‘to go’ (and its compounds): there is an opposition between the shortened imperative form: *mo-di* ‘come!’ (< *mo-ved-i*) and the full form of the corresponding indicative *mo-x-ved-i* ‘you came’ (with the 2nd person subject prefix allomorph *x-*). Otherwise, the appropriate 2nd person form of the aorist is used: *gatale* is both ‘you carved it’ and ‘carve it!’.

p. 614, line 4 from below:

II **event** time tense-mood assignment

p. 621, example (55): replace ten-NOM thousand-OBL by: ten-GEN
thousand-GEN

p. 624, paragraph following (70): replace c by c.

p. 625, line 6 from below:

(i.e. aorist; **cp. 2.i.**)

p. 626, section b. Imperatives (**cp. 2.i.**) ...

p. 632, second title: replace Kožima by *Იožima*

I am indebted to Shukia Apridonidze for drawing my attention to the following mistakes:

p. 606, lines 4 and 7 from above: replace *i-Ქir-i-s* SV-weep-TS-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he will weep’, *i-Ქir-od-a* by: *i-Ქir-eb-s* SV-weep-TS-3SG.SBJ ‘s/he will weep’,

i-Ქir-eb-d-a

p. 606, section g., lines 5-6: the translations should be: ‘I **will** kill him/her/it’, ‘you **will** kill me’

p. 609, example (9): replace *man* s/he.ERG by: *is* s/he.NOM

p. 613, example (19): replace *močveva* by *močeva*

p. 618, example (45): the sentence *ara mgonia (rom) man ase tkva* is acceptable according Š. Apridonidze. Y. Kojima marks it by “?”.

p. 631, Abbreviations, add: Γ Flonți 1996