### Old Georgian "Suffixaufnahme" Revisited (II)

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In the first part of the present paper,<sup>1</sup> I have tried to show how the knowledge about the Old Georgian phenomenon of "Suffixaufnahme" developed in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly by the efforts of the Georgian catholicos Anton I and the French scholar Marie-Félicité Brosset,<sup>2</sup> and argued that the main shortcoming of their treatises was the problem that the sources they relied upon were late and not very reliable for the grammatical analysis of Old Georgian proper. This is clearly visible in examples like  $bb_{1}$  by  $b_{2}$  by  $b_{3}$  by be by b\_{3} by  $b_{3}$  by by b\_{3} by  $b_{3}$  by  $b_{3}$  by  $b_{3}$  by  $b_{3}$  by "in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit", obviously taken from the Gospel of Matthew (28.19) in the Bakar Bible of 1743 (hereafter: "B"), where in the "double rapport", the instrumental ending -oms is reduced to -ms due to the loss of the character a = y after the -s of the genitive ending; the non-reduced endings are found in all older Georgian witnesses of the Gospel from khanmeti times up to the Athonite redaction, which read babacoos dadaba- and და ძისა- ითა და სულისა წმიდისა- ითა, thus testifying to the standard of Old Georgian grammar. In cases like jamons ango trees on also taken from the Bakar Bible (Acts 5.12),4 for earlier კელითა მოციქულთა- ათა, we even see the effect of a seeming violation of the rule that after the genitive plural ending -os, the addition of a second -os is excluded;<sup>5</sup> as a matter of fact, the double ending -ons-ons as representing older -ons-and is attested very often in sources of the period from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries which we may call "Late Old Georgian".<sup>6</sup> While this is still a spelling problem rather than a grammatical one, we even meet with true violations of the rule as in the first book of Maccabees in the Bakar Bible, which was translated from Russian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with რამეთუ არა სიმრავლეთა შინა მკედართა-თა ძლევა ბრძოლისა არს "for the victory of the fight is not in the multitudes of warriors" (I Macc. 3.20): here we should expect the substitution of the second -ons by its singular counterpart -bs, yielding \*bolcosgenos შინა მკედართა-სა. Similarly, we find the two lines რამეთუ ჰსცვიდა ბრძანებათა საღმრთოთა, რომელ არს დაცუა სჯულთა წინაპართა-თა "for he guarded the divine commandments, which means (lit. is) guarding the beliefs of the ancestors" in the preface for Anton I's Martyrikon<sup>7</sup> that was authored by his pupils Gaios and Ioane,<sup>8</sup> both renowned as authors of grammatical treatises of Georgian themselves;9 instead of Gobs356005-005, we should expect the form წინაპართა-სა with the dative singular ending replacing the "doubled" plural ending. In another verse from the Bakar Bible, from the first book of Chronicles, we even find a twofold violation of the Old Georgian rules in juj სახელნი მთავართა მკედართა-თა "these (are) the names of the leaders of the soldiers"; here the attached -ons should have been replaced by the genitive singular ending - obs, and the nominative plural ending of the head noun, bobgeofo "names", should have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gippert 2022: 120–141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Brosset 1834 and 1837; Anton 1895.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brosset 1834: 80; 1837: 232; see Gippert 2022: 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Brosset 1834: 80; 1837: 232; Anton 1885: 136; see Gippert 2022: 121, 125 and 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Brosset 1834: 83; 1837: 235; see Gippert 2022: 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., სავსე იყო კევი იგი სიმრავლითა კაცთათა (for კაცთაჲთა) "that gorge was full with a bulk of men" in *Kartlis Cxovreba* I (Qaukhchishvili 1955, 200, 1. 18).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gabidzashvili & Kavtaria 1980: 11, ll. 31–32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "მოწაფეთა მიერ გაიოს არხიდიაკონისა და თანამოწაფისა მისისა, მისი უმაღლესობის მეფის მოძღურის იოანეს მიერ, მის გავრიილისათა" (Gabidzashvili and Kavtaria 1980: 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> გაიოზ რექტორი and იოანე ბატონიშვილი, son of king George XII; see Gaioz 1789 (cf. Nikolaishvili 1970) and Ioane 1862.

been added at the end, yielding \*ໂລະຽງლნი მთავართა მკედართა-໑ໂა-ნი. The second witness of the given verse, the so-called Mtskheta Bible compiled by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> / beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (hereafter: "S"),<sup>10</sup> does not conform to the Old Georgian standard either: in ງໄປງ არს სახელები მთავართა მათ ერისათა, the concord with the nominative of the collective plural, სახელები, should have yielded ერისათა-ჲ, with the -ჲ mirroring the case of the head noun.

With the availability of a great bulk of older manuscripts and the explicit differentiation of Old Georgian from the spoken language by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the rules of Suffixaufnahme in Old Georgian could be determined more precisely, with N. Marr's grammar of "Old Literature Georgian" representing the first reliable account.<sup>11</sup> After further treatises by Karpez Dondua,<sup>12</sup> Ivane Imnaishvili,<sup>13</sup> Akaki Shanidze,<sup>14</sup> Heinz Fähnrich<sup>15</sup> and, especially, Winfried Boeder,<sup>16</sup> the general morphological and syntactical aspects of the phenomenon can be regarded as settled; however, there are still some questions left that have remained unsolved and require further research. One of them is the question whether the omission of a genitive ending after another genitive ending was possible *ad libitum*<sup>17</sup> or whether there were rules governing this. Another question concerns the diachrony of the phenomenon within Old Georgian: is it really true that preposed genitives were more prone for Suffixaufnahme in older stages of the language than later,<sup>18</sup> and was its application determined by different conditions in different times? In this context, the general question arises whether Suffixaufnahme behaved differently in khanmeti and haemeti texts from later ones. One more question that still needs clarification is that of the interrelation between "long" and "short" case endings as appearing in Suffixaufnahme contexts, including the use of the so-called "absolutive" case as a "short form corresponding to the long nominative form".<sup>19</sup> And lastly, the question remains whether the addition of the case endings of head nouns to their genitive attributes was limited to two as commonly assumed<sup>20</sup> or whether the "stacking" of endings could go beyond.

It is clear that answering these questions presupposes statistical investigations into the written heritage of Old Georgian. Having nearly all published text materials from the beginning of Georgian literacy up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century available for analysis in form of electronic corpora, this kind of investigations can be undertaken much more effectively today than ever before. In the following treatise, I intend to show how we can proceed with digital-based analyses using the TITUS and GNC corpora,<sup>21</sup> concentrating upon the last two questions mentioned: what were the rules concerning "short" in contrast to "long" case endings, and was the "stacking" of case endings limited?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ms. A-51 of the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (hereafter: KKNCM), Tbilisi; the Bible was edited in five volumes by Elene Dochanashvili (1981–86) and partly in Gigineishvili et al. 1989–91. A new edition is contained in Abuladze et al. 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Marr 1925: 64–67; the term used is "genitive with relation" ("родительный съ отношеніемъ").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Dondua 1930; the term used is "genitive case with relation" ("родитеьлный падеж с отношением").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Imnaishvili 1957: 585–615; the term used is "twofold declension" ("ორმაგი ბრუნება").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Shanidze 1976: 44–45; the term used is "twofold declension" ("ორმაგი ბრუნება").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Fähnrich 1994: 64–67; no special term is used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Boeder 1995; the term used is "Suffixaufnahme".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cf. Fähnrich 1994: 66: "Das Kasusmorphem des ersten Genitivs kann aber in der Endung des letzten Genitivs auch fehlen".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Cf. Boeder 1995: 163 (after Imnaishvili 1957: 584): "Suffixaufnahme by preposed genitives [...] is an archaism and [...] preposed genitives without Suffixaufnahme are a secondary development".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cf. Boeder 1995: 157 with reference to Dondua 1930 [1975: 32].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cf., e.g., Shanidze 1976: 45 and Fähnrich 1994: 66–67 who provide examples for a double Suffixaufnahme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> TITUS: <u>https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/texte2.htm#georgant;</u> GNC: <u>http://gnc.gov.ge</u>.

1. Short vs. long case endings in Old Georgian

### 1.1 The general picture

The number of cases assigned to Old Georgian is usually given as nine, comprising a nominative, a vocative, an ergative, a dative(-locative), a genitive, a directive, an instrumental(-ablative), and an adverbial, plus a case form without ending which is sometimes styled "absolutive". In the plural, only three case forms are distinguishable, namely, a nominative, a vocative, and an "oblique" case covering the functions of the ergative, dative, genitive and, rarely, the instrumental and the adverbial (usually the singular forms are used instead for the latter two cases). Most of the case endings, which are the same for all types of nominal stems, occur in a double form, with and without a final -s; this vowel, usually called "emphatic", is generally missing in the declension of personal names<sup>22</sup> but also (in the case of genitives) in compound-like combinations like المنابع بالمنابع "murder", lit. "man's killing". This suggests that there was a connotation of definiteness<sup>23</sup> underlying the "emphasis", with proper names, which are definite per se, not being in need of a special marking. A similar assumption also holds for the dichotomy of the "nominative" and "absolutive" cases, with the latter, which is normally used with personal names and in predicative functions, standing for indefiniteness, too. This observation further agrees with the fact that the endings of the vocative and the ergative are not attached to personal names;<sup>24</sup> the latter ending, -3,5, is identical with the corresponding case form of the demonstrative pronoun 020, which presupposes definiteness. In the adverbial case, the "emphatic" vowel precedes the consonantal element (-sg), place names like იერუსალწმ- "Jerusalem" or ბეთლემ- "Bethlehem" preferring the variant without ა (എന്നുപട്രാങ്ങൾ-ഇ, പ്പത്താപ്പി-ഇ), which exceptionally also occurs with certain common nouns (sogaoge- "place" > sogaoge-go and sogao-go, and lsbg- "house" > lsba-go), but an extended form -(s)gs also exists, occurring mostly with certain pronouns (e.g. 826-gs "to you" of 826 "you" sg.); personal names do not combine with the adverbial ending. In contrast to this, the final -s of the ending of the directive, -obs, which is stable, appears with proper names (e.g. in go3000-ols "to David") as well as common nouns, which suggests that it is based upon the genitive with an additional -s element that in its turn is related to the adverbial ending ("to David's, scil. house"); the directive may therefore be treated as an instance of Suffixaufnahme (cf. below). For the instrumental(-ablative), there is a by-form in -000-0 which typically occurs in combination with the adverbial as in Jamsj-on-o Jamsj-age "from city to city" (e.g., Mt. 23.34), possibly induced by euphony. We thus arrive at seven basic cases, five of which participate in the distinction of "indefinite" vs. "definite" in the singular (and the collective plural with the suffix -18-, which behaves like a singular throughout); in the "old" plural, only the common ending of the oblique cases, -ms, exhibits the dichotomy, with the "short" form revealing the same kind of indefiniteness in compounds like კაცთ-მოყუარება- "philanthropy", lit. "men's love". The alternation of (definite) long and (indefinite) short forms is illustrated in Table I with the proper name gogoon "David" and the common noun bobg- "house" serving as examples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. Dondua 1930 [1975: 25]; Boeder 1995: 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Boeder 1995: 159 uses the dichotomy of "referential" vs. "non-referential".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Except for cases of explicit subject-object disambiguation, where the ergative (as well as the nominative) may be marked on personal names, too; cf. Gippert 1984: 40.

Case	Personal Names	Singular		Pl	ural	
		short (indef.)	long (def.)	short (indef.)	long (def.)	
nominative(-absolutive)	დავით	სახლ	სახლ-ი	სახლ-ნი		
vocative	დავით		სახლ-ო	სახლ-ნო <sup>25</sup>		
ergative	დავით	სახ	ლ-მან			
dative	დავით-ს	სახლ-ს	სახლ-სა			
genitive	დავით-ის	სახლ-ის	სახლ-ისა	სახლ-თ	სახლ-თა <sup>26</sup>	
instrumental	დავით-ით <sup>27</sup>	სახლ-ით	სახლ-ითა			
adverbial(-directive)	(დავით-ის-ა)	(სახი-ღ)	სახლ-აღ			
Fab. I: Declension with short (definite) and long (indefinite) case endings						

#### 1.2 Possible combinations

Theoretically, both the short and the long genitives can combine in Suffixaufnahme with all short and long case endings as indicated in Table I; the resulting combinations are illustrated in Table II, with the head noun represented by Usber- "house" and the genitives with Suffixaufnahme, by the name @3300 and the common noun 27603- "widow". The combination of a noun in the short genitive plural  $(in - \sigma)$  with another case ending seems to be excluded; the single case of კერპთ-მან as occurring in the sentence ხოლო ქსანთიპა დედაკაცმან ქურუმ-მან კერპ-თ-მან რისხვით მიუგო მათ "But the woman Xanthippe, priest of idols, replied to them in anger" in the translation of a homily by John Damascene on Nativity (CPG 8067; see Fig. 1)<sup>28</sup> can be proven to be due to a misprint, the underlying manuscript (Athos, Iviron Monastery [hereafter: Ivir.], georg. 7) exhibiting the expected form with the long genitive ending (3)63ons-ds6, see Fig. 2).<sup>29</sup> As a matter of fact, the short genitive plural ending extended by Suffixaufnahme is only attested for the possessive pronouns as-m-, asas-m-, ada-m- in forms like, e.g., ds-on-o, dsgs-on-o, ds-on-dsb, sds-on-dsb, etc.,<sup>30</sup> which is why ds-on- is included in Table II instead of a noun. Note that in contrast to nouns with the genitive plural ending -ms, als-on- does not prohibit the addition of another -ons and enforce its substitution by the corresponding singular ending. Combinations that are not attested are marked by an asterisk and a grey background; in general, we can expect not to find  $\partial_{\sigma}$ - in combination with a head noun in a short, i.e., indefinite case form because this would interfere with the inherent definiteness of the possessive pronoun.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The vocative plural of *bsbcc*- "house" occurs only two times in the corpora, once each in the two translations by Euthymius the Hagiorite and Ephrem the Minor of Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oratio* no. 42 (26, 98); cf. Coulie et al. 2013: 352–353, 1. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> From about the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, a secondary case ending of the instrumental plural appears with the singular ending -am attached to -ms-, obviously induced by cases of Suffixaufnahme like Joggsb-om gdhsgm-ms-am "from the country of the Hebrews' (Gen. 40.15). Similarly, we find adverbial plural forms in -ms-m or -ms-ms, mostly used in the function of a benefactive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The instrumental of proper nouns usually occurs only with the postposition - mon 'together with'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. the edition in *Motkhroba* 1912: 17, ll. 13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ivir. georg. 7, fol. 6rb, ll. 29–31. The same form also appears in the manuscript Vienna, ÖNB, georg. 4, fol. 278ra, ll. 6–7 (see ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Forms of ods-*m*- are still rare in Old Georgian; e.g., for ods-*m*-bs we have only one attestation of considerable age in the complete corpus, namely, in the Balahvariani (A, 23) where we read dbgsgb ogmb msg-dmmbgmdsbs odsm-bs "it would be similar to the self-complacency of theirs" (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate [hereafter: Jer.], georg. 140, fol. 50, ll. 14–15, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271073355-jo/?sp=53</u>; cf. Abuladze 1957: 51, l. 18).

Singular		Head noun	Dependent g	enitive singular	Dependent	Dependent genitive plural	
	_		short	long	short	long	
Nom.	long	სახლ-ი	დავით-ის-ი	ქურივ-ისა-ჲ	მა-თ-ი	ქურივ-თა-ჲ	
	short	სახლ	დავით-ის	ქურივ-ისა	*მა-თ	ქურივ-თა	
Voc.		სახლ-ო	დავით-ის-ო	ქურივ-ისა-ო	*მა-თ-ო	ქურივ-თა-ო	
Erg.		სახლ-მან	დავით-ის-მან	ქურივ-ისა-მან	მა-თ-მან	ქურივ-თა-მან	
Dat.	long	სახლ-სა	დავით-ის-სა	ქურივ-ისა-სა	მა-თ-სა	ქურივ-თა-სა	
	short	სახლ-ს	*დავით-ის-ს	ქურივ-ისა-ს	*მა-თ-ს	*ქურივ-თა-ს	
Gen.	long	სახლ-ისა	დავით-ის-ისა	ქურივ-ისა-ჲსა	მა-თ-ისა	ქურივ-თა-ჲსა	
	short	სახლ-ის	*დავით-ის-ის	*ქურივ-ისა-ჲს	*მა-თ-ის	*ქურივ-თა-ჲს	
Instr.	long	სახლ-ითა	დავით-ის-ითა	ქურივ-ისა-ჲთა	მა-თ-ითა	ქურივ-თა-ჲთა	
	short	სახლ-ით	დავით-ის-ით	ქურივ-ისა-ჲთ	მა-თ-ით	ქურივ-თა-ჲთ	
Adv.	long	სახლ-ად	დავით-ის-ა(დ)	ქურივ-ისა-(დ)	მა-თ-ა	ქურივ-თა-(დ)	
	short	სახი-დ	დავით-ის-ა	ქურივ-ისა	მა-თ-ა	*ქურივ-თა	
Plural							
Nom.		სახლ-ნი	დავით-ის-ნი	ქურივ-ისა-ნი	მა-თ-ნი	ქურივ-თა-ნი	
Voc.		სახლ-ნო	დავით-ის-ნო	ქურივ-ისა-ნო	მა-თ-ნო	ქურივ-თა-ნო	
EDG	long	სახლ-თა	დავით-ის-თა	ქურივ-ისა-თა	მა-თ-თა	ქურივ-თა-ჲსა	
	short	სახლ-თ	*დავით-ის-თ	*ქურივ-ისა-თ	*მა-თ-თ	*ქურივ-თა-ჲს	
Table 1	II: Com	binations of a h	ead noun with depen	ndent genitives	•	•	

#### Jost Gippert, Old Georgian "Suffixaufnahme" Revisited (II)

- 17 ისხნეს ნებსით თვისით, და მოკუდეს რავ ცხი 23რებად საუკუნოდ აღვიდეს. ხოლო მათ განბასრეს იგი და დაწყევეს და ჰრქვეს: სამგზის დაწყეულო, დედაკაცისათვის გკითხეთ, არა თუ მამაკაცისა! ხოლო მან მიუგო: უძლეველთა ჟამთა იწყეს მოწევნად, ვინაცა დედაკაციცა იგი და მამაკმციცა და ყოველნივე მათთანანი კაცნი იძლინენ. ხოლო მათ აგინეს მისანი იგი და წარვიდეს მიერ და მივიდეს ტაძარსა ათინასსა, რომელსა შინა ქსოვდეს სამოსელსა სამღვდელოსა სახელოვანითა პორფირითა, და ური დად შესდვეს და შევიდეს ტაძარსა მას შინა. ო ქსანთიპა დედაკაცმან ქურმმან კერპbrim თმან რისხვით მიუგო მათ: უჟამოსა ჟამსა შემოხვედით აქა, წარმღებნო და უწესონო კაცნო! ხოლო მათ აგინეს იგიცა და ჰრქვეს: უღირსო ყოვლისა პატივისაო, უცხო ქმნილო სამლუდელოთა მადლთაგან, აგინება პორფირსა, რომელი იგი ღმერთთა მეფეთა მიანიჭეს, რომლისა მიერ დიდება და პატივი მოუგიეს, რომელთა ჰმოსიეს იგი? დასცხერ და განცოფებულად ნუ ჰზრახავ, ამპარტავანო და ზვავო! ხოლო მან მიუგო, ვითამედ არა მე მაგინებთ, არამედ უგინებელთა ღმერთთა, გარნა ყოველსავე ზედა მისნობა უცთომელი მიიღეთ და წარვე-

Fig. 1: Motkhroba 1912, 17

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Se uquandholm - quinter - gh Bertur gut tritismis - min chulimb Durfongs : Sa triding fin Sadary heriSan Stanfr manghi crititi muping fragmen criterer Se dudi Sal itos nulandes Laffau & erman & Lis for Berry Suge Lands anger See Segragana Ber anden Liston Berto unun en Si Si hinter cili may aprenuman . Son henter i SA Sugge audennerinane addane anun dana addane havna Misekinan aga Sedibelijane Berkinan Dianetielie lighte edageti Balli ji dan en galante dalar In enge Se autona Saludito Sedana Salu petutita es emfreo la las dimite ge me France quantaprotonon The unahri Set's gold Some Si armithu pointin 4470

Fig. 2: Ivir. georg. 7, fol. 6r

#### 1.3 Gaps or constraints?

Whether or not the non-occurrences are due to a gap in the data or to a systematical constraint, is not always easy to determine. In the case of the possessive pronoun 3500, we might suspect that it could not combine with a vocative (yielding  $\partial_{3} - \sigma - \sigma$ )<sup>31</sup> because only definite referents can appear in the vocative and therefore need no additional deictic element; however, the plural form as-on-for is indeed attested once, in a long address contained in a letter of benevolence issued by catholicos Domentius (IV) for a certain Gabriel Charmauli:<sup>32</sup> აწე თქვენ, წმინდანო და ყოვლად სანატრელნო კათალიკოზ-პატრიაქნო, ბრწყინვალენო და ღმრთის მოყვარენო მეფენო, კეთილმორწმუნენო დედოფალნო, კეთილად შობილნო **მენო და ასულნო მათნო** და ყოვლად შვენიერნო ერისთავნო, ყოვლად შემკობილნო ბრძენნო და მეცნიერნო, თავადნო და აზნაურნო, დიდო (!) და მცირენო, ყოველნო მართლმადიდებელნო და კეთილმორწმუნენო ქრისტიანენო, რომელმანც ეს ჩვენგან ბოძებული წყალობა და სიგელი დაუმტკიცოს, კურთხეულ და ნეტარ იყუნეს ხსენებანი მათნი – "Now you, holy and all-blessed catholicoi-patriarchs, brilliant and God-loving kings, pious queens, well-born sons and daughters of theirs, and all-beautiful commanders, all-adorned sages and scholars, princes and noblemen, tall and small, all orthodox believers and pious Christians, whoever (of you) will confirm this (letter of) benevolence and deed granted by us, may their memories be anointed and blessed!" Considering that the deed in question is dated to the year 1739 and thus belongs to the period we styled "Late Old Georgian" above, it need not represent the actual usage of the classical standard. In contrast to this, the lack of examples for Suffixaufnahme after the short genitives (in -0b and -0) seems to be systematic: as a matter of fact, these genitives only occur in quasi compounds of the types კაცის-კლვა- and კაცთ-მოყუარება- discussed above or, more generally, as preposed genitive attributes, and they do not combine with genitive attributes depending on them at all.

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$  In the few existing attestations of 35000, the -m is always the quotation particle, not the vocative ending

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> KKNCM, Ad 506; cf. Dolidze 1970: 749–750 and 1185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The other witnesses of the Second book of Chronicles have another wording with the nominative plural instead (∂ξρωρლ-δο რქοნ-οსა-δο და რვალ-οსა-δο); the phrase is missing in S because of a *saut du même au même* (cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 1423 with n.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kekelidze 1962: 63, l. 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> KKNCM, A-95, fol. 477va, l. 12; Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery (hereafter: Sin.), georg. 11 (fol. 223v, l. 23, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279388379-ms/?sp=232</u>) and 62 (fol. 95ra, l. 7, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271070378-ms/?sp=98</u>); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Georg. b 1 (fol. 267va, ll. 24–25, see <u>https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/e4c98007-81c8-4670-ad42-777faa2987e5/</u> surfaces/db76f4e8-1272-4eec-9629-8144ccf87cc4/).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. Shanidze et al. 1994: 230, l. 16.

in Mt. 2.1 and 2.5 in all old Gospel codices including the Adishi Gospels of 897,<sup>37</sup> in the Sinai, Tbeti and Parkhali *Mravaltavis*<sup>38</sup> and many other sources as well as, with the alternate spelling ურიასგან-ისა-სა appearing in the oldest Hymnary of Jerusalem.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, we may note, e.g., งธีสูดตาไดง- h งไขาตกอาดไง- hs "in Antioch of Syria" and มาใงค์ดง- h งีงอากไฟล์ดอี-ดไง- hs "in Caesaria of Palestine" in the Mravaltavis of Udabno and Klarjeti,<sup>40</sup> which suggests that the replacement of the short ending by the long one in Suffixaufnahme was the rule. The same may be assumed for the combination of personal names in the short dative with a genitive attribute attached to them: here, too, the long ending replaces the short one in Suffixaufnahme as in John 13.26 where all old Gospel codices have orges-b bodenb-ob-bs "to Judas (son) of Simon";41 similarly, we find &mmsdsdgm-b bsmsongm-ob-bs "to Zerubbabel (son) of Shealtiel" and obg-b ombagai 1.1, 1.12 and 2.1 in the Oshki Bible of 978 (hereafter: "O").<sup>42</sup> The same is further true of Mark 3.17–18 where the Adishi Gospels have იაკობ-ს ზებედე-ს-სა "to James (son) of Zebedee" and იაკობ-ს ალფე-ს-სა "to James (son) of Alphaeus",<sup>43</sup> here the other ancient witnesses have the corresponding nominative forms പ്പെനർ പ്പോപ്പെയ് പ്പെന്റ് പ്പോല് മാല്പ്പാം and പ്പെന്ന് a similar replacement of the long ending for the short one in Suffixaufnahme.<sup>44</sup> This, then, raises the question whether it was at all possible to have an "absolutive", i.e., an endingless nominative mirrored in Suffixaufnahme, which would mean to have a zero-ending on both the head noun and the genitive; with our examples from Table II, this would be the constellations სახლ-Ø დავით-ის-Ø, ქურივ-ისა-Ø, მა-თ-Ø, ქურივთა-Ø.

#### 2. Searching for attestations

How to approach this question, given that zero-endings cannot be searched for in a corpus if they are not marked as such? In order to answer this question, it is worthwhile contrasting the different searching facilities that are implemented in the two corpora of Old Georgian we possess.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Cf. the synoptic arrangement of the Old Georgian Gospels by Samushia & Dundua 2011–14 (<u>https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/ etca/cauc/ageo/nt/ntkpl/ntkpl002.htm#NT Mt. 2</u>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Sin. georg. 32+57+33, fol. 36ra, ll. 8–9 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386887-</u> <u>ms/?sp=38;</u> cf. Shanidze et al. 1959: 35, l. 28); KKNCM, A-19, p. 38 (cf. Abuladze 1944: 277, l. 28); the Parkhali *Mravaltavi* has orge-ob-bs instead (KKNCM, A-95, fol. 23rb, l. 31, cf. ib. n.). In another attestation, both the Mravaltavis of Tbeti and Parkhali have δ<sub>200</sub> - 0b-bs (A-19, p. 48r; A-95, fol. 28va, ll. 13–14; cf. ib. 284, l. 35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Sin. georg. 18, fol. 7r, l. 13, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279388902-ms/?sp=9;</u> cf. Metreveli et al. 1980: 21, l. 28. Another witness of the *ladgari* has ჰურიასტანისასა (Sin. georg. 40, fol. 168v, l. 1, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386930-ms/?sp=173;</u> cf. ib. 12. l. 23). The phrase ბეთლემ-ს ჰურიასტან-ისა-ს with the short ending in the Klarjeti *Mravaltavi* is again a digitisation error, cf. Mgaloblishvili 1991: 357, l. 8 with the long form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> A-1109, fol. 167r (cf. Shanidze et al. 1994: 287, l. 5); A-144, fol. 175r (cf. Mgaloblishvili 1991: 387, l. 38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> In John 6.71, the picture is less consistent, due to syntactical differences among the witnesses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ivir. georg. 1<sup>β</sup>, fol. 410vb, l. 24 – 411ra, l. 1; 411va, ll. 5–9; 411vb, ll. 15–18. The Jerusalem Bible (Jer. georg. 7) has ზორობაბელს სალათიელისა + იესუს იოსედეკისსა, ზორობაბელს სალათიელისასა + იესუს იოსედეკისსა instead (fol. 19ra, l. 26 – 19rb, l. 2; 19va, ll. 20–23; 19vb, ll. 24–27; see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072338-jo/?sp=21</u>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See the facsimile edition in Taqaishvili 1916, Tabl. 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For the divergent spelling of the genitive of the *e*-stem names ზებედე- and ალფე- see 2.1 below.

## 2.1 The TITUS facility

The TITUS facility<sup>45</sup> is solely based on the comparison of strings, i.e., characters or sequences of characters within words. By applying so-called wildcard symbols ("?" for any individual character, "\*" for any sequence of characters), we can in this way easily search for conglomerates of relevant endings such as \*okso, \*oksos, \*osos, \*ososo, \*osos, \*osos,

This facility has several shortcomings, though. First of all, for some of the possible search strings there is no warranty that the retrieved wordforms are really instances of Suffixaufnahme; e.g., a search for \*olm also yields matches like the adjective bolomous "eternal" (a derivate of asmsont "always" with the circumfix us- -m) or smoken, the verbal form meaning "he/she/it is" combined with the quotation particle, -m; and -ms6m is also contained in 3ms6m, vocative plural of 2003- "mountain". Searching for the combination of the short genitive plural with the ergative singular ending, -00356, we receive 171 types with a total of 16611 attestations of which only 577 are pertinent, namely those of the possessive pronoun forms as-on-as6 (454), sas-on-as6 (120), and ods-on-dsb (3), which oppose themselves to 13655 occurrences of pdatom-dsb "God"50 and 1150 of abor-dsb "one". A second shortcoming consists in the fact that the spelling of the genitive singular varies considerably depending on the stem of the given word: besides -ols-a, e.g., we have to consider the spellings -Bus-a (i.e. -n-aus-a, with stems in -e), -zus-a (i.e.  $-\gamma/3$ -obs- $\omega$ , with stems in -v or non-syllabic -u), and - $\omega$ bs- $\omega$  (with stems in other vowels, mostly -a and -o); considering that from at least the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, postvocalic  $\circ$  tended to disappear, spellings like - juse (for \*-B-Us- $a \sim *$ -j-aUs-a)<sup>51</sup> or -mUse (for \*-m-aUs-a)<sup>52</sup> must also be taken into account, and beyond the resulting confusion of  $\beta$  and  $\beta$ , there was also a spelling variation concerning m and my vielding forms like magnitude "of the fig" (for magnitude ~

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp</u> for searches of individual word forms and <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/index.asp</u> for searches of word forms in combination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The query URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp?lxlang=517&lxsublang=</u> <u>&lxxbd=\*D810E110D010F210&lxxop=1&C=H</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp?lxlang=&lxsublang=23045</u> <u>&lxxbd=\*D810E110D010F210&lxxop=1&C=H</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp?lxlang=&lxsublang=29189</u> &lxxbd=\*D810E110D010F210&lxxop=1&C=H.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/titusinx.asp?LXLANG=517&LXWORD=\*</u> DC10DD102600\*D710D010DC10DD10&LCPL=1&TCPL=1&C=H&T=0&LMT=100&K=1&MM=0&QF=1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> To these may be added 9 attestations of abbreviated ლ̃თმან and 28 attestations of the misspelt forms ლემრთმან (1), ლერთმან (2), ლმეთმან (7), ლმერათმან (3), ლმერათმან (3), ლმერათმან (1), ლმრთმან (6), ლმერ\თმან (with a line break inside, 4), and ლმერ.თმან (with a dot inside, 1). As such errors are not systematic and therefore not predictable, their correction is very time-consuming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Cf. 1.3 with note 44 above as to an example from the Adishi Gospels (Mk. 3.17–18).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The most frequent is mitmulsa (for mitmuls-a) "of gold" with 29 attestations.

ლელე-ისა- a).<sup>53</sup> This can be overcome by ignoring the character preceding -საa in the search string (i.e., using \*bao instead), which increases the number of hits to 7802 types with 94503 tokens.<sup>54</sup> The third shortcoming consists in the fact, already mentioned above, that a query for zero endings is not possible, which means that neither the endingless nominative nor a genitive with Suffixaufnahme depending on it can be searched for as such, the latter falling formally together with the simple (unextended) genitive in -ob, -obs, -o or -os and thus coming up with a huge number of hits (e.g., 32933 types with 539669 tokens for -obs),<sup>55</sup> which is way too high for being analysed. The only reasonable solution here is to search for individual words in the "absolutive" form in combination with a following genitive; we thus find, e.g., 10 attestations of lister followed by a short genitive in \*ol,<sup>56</sup> among them the sentences domotion lister ออีาสุดกองใน เอการ์ Bethania means (lit. is named) 'House of Peace''' in the Sinai Mravaltavi,57 ითარგმანების ბეთლემ სახლ ნაყოფიერების "Bethlehem translates (as) 'House of Fruitfulness'" in the Shatberdi Collection, 58 or துள சேரி பல் பலில் வில்லு வில்லு வில்லு வில்லு வில்லு பில்லு பில்லு வில்லு வ make you a house of holiness and a dwelling place of the Holy Spirit" in the Teachings of Fathers,<sup>59</sup> all of which clearly exhibit the predicative function of the endingless nominative. As to the genitives involved, we may note the difference between the "indefinite" abstract nouns appearing in the short form in all three examples given above and the "definite" Holy Spirit standing in the long form in the last one; this distribution is not straightforward though as the Athos witness of the Teachings shows where "of holiness" also appears in the long form, boffdogols.<sup>60</sup> And indeed, a search for labor in combination with genitives in -ols reveals a "Bethlehem..., which translates 'House of Bread'" in the treatise by Epiphanius of Salamis on Weights and Measures,<sup>62</sup> ეკლესია... რომელსაცა უწოდა სახლ მშჯდობისა "the church... which was named 'House of Peace'" in the legend of St Pancratius of Taormina,<sup>63</sup> and, with a whole series of predicatives, გექმენ თქუენ თავ და გიწოდე ასოებ ჩემდა; გექმენ თქუენ სამოსელ უკუდავებისა, სიძე უხრწნელებისა, სახლ შუენიერებისა, ძირ ცხორებისა, საჭმელ და სასუმელ უოხჭნოებისა, მწყემს კეთილ... "I will become a head for you and I will name you members of mine; I will become for you a clothing of immortality, a bridegroom of incorruptibility, a house of beauty, a root of life, food and drink of endlessness, a good shepherd..." in Euthymius the Hagiorite's version of the Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew by John Chrysostom.<sup>64</sup> It goes without saying that searching for every single possible candidate of a noun in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> All three spellings are attested in the manuscripts containing the Old Georgian translation of the Life of John Chrysostom; cf. Gvaramia 1986: 91, l. 3 with note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp?lxlang=517&lxsublang=</u> <u>&lxxbd=\*E110D010F210&lxxop=1&C=H</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/wordwhl.asp?lxlang=517&lxsublang=& lxxbd=\*D810E110D010&lxxop=1&C=H.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/titusinx.asp?LXLANG=517&LXWORD=E110D010EE10DA102600\*D810E110&LCPL=1&TCPL=1&C=H&T=0&LMT=100&K=1&MM=0&QF=1.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Sin. georg. 32-57-33, fol. 121va, ll. 7–8 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386887-ms/?sp=125</u>); cf. Shanidze et al. 1959: 126, l. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> KKNCM, S-1141, fol. 90r; cf. Gigineishvili & Giunashvili 1979: 158, ll. 38–39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> дэдэтэ სწავლანი, cf. Abuladze 1955: 226, l. 29 after manuscript C (KKNCM, H-1662, fol. 262v).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ivir. georg. 9, fol. 207vb, ll. 3–4; cf. Abuladze 1955: 226 n. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The URL is <u>https://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/database/titusinx/titusinx.asp?LXLANG=517&LXWORD=E110D010EE10DA102600\*D810E110D010&LCPL=1&TCPL=1&C=H&T=0&LMT=100&K=1&MM=0&QF =1, with 13 hits.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> KKNCM, A-691, fol. 181r; cf. Van Esbroeck 1984: 28, l. 31–29, l. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Ivir. georg. 17, fol. 78rb, ll. 22–23; cf. Khakhanashvili 1904: 87, ll. 8–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ivir. georg. 4, fol. 74va, ll. 4–14; cf. Shanidze et al. 1996–98: II, 95, ll. 8–11 / 2014: I, 382, ll. 19–21.

absolutive cannot be the method of choice for establishing a sound statistical basis when investigating the different functions of the short and long case forms.

#### 2.2 The GNC facility

In contrast to the TITUS approach, the Georgian National Corpus offers more than just stringbased searches (including the wild-card character "\*").<sup>65</sup> Using the sophisticated "CQL" query language of the Corpuscle system developed at the University of Bergen, Norway,<sup>66</sup> it facilitates much more complex queries that make use of a thorough morphological analysis of the text data (in the so-called "Advanced Search" mode). E.g., a noun in the "absolutive" singular followed by a noun in the genitive singular can be searched by the formula <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen")]>,<sup>67</sup> yielding 11121 hits across the subcorpora for "Old Georgian", "Middle Georgian", and "Law texts". Among the first examples showing up, we see the phrase ഇപ്പു അറ്റിം "cub of a lion", schematically ഇപ്പു-Ø അറ്റിം. in മപ്പെട്ടുറ്റും and იუდაისი, რომელ ლეკუ ლომის წოდებულ იყო "the rule of Judah, who was named a 'cub of a lion" from a homily by Meletius of Antioch on Annunciation (CPG 3425.8) appearing in the *Mravaltavi* of Parkhali,<sup>68</sup> clearly a quotation from the Old Testament (Genesis 49.9) where, however, the older witnesses show the long form of the genitive, main moduls.<sup>69</sup> The long genitive is, of course, also included in the results of the same query, as in another hit from the Mravaltavis which runs กุศุฑ อิงค์งตุกไป ไงอีกูอิงค์ ซีอีกตุงค... กุศต-ตอิศตกุกอิง ตุง กุศต-อิตงรูศศอิง ღმრთისა და მამისა და ერთ-ნება "the holy Trinity has always been... a single deity and a single leadership of God and the Father and a single intention";<sup>70</sup> here we may note the clear definiteness of the two genitives of "God" and "the Father". Included in the results are also plural genitives as in the nice example იყო იგი თუალ ბრმათა, ფერ ე კოჭლთა, სახლ უსახლოთა, მკურნალ სნეულთა, მზრდელ, მსახურ და ნუგეშინის-მცემელ "he was an eye for (lit. of) the blind, a foot for (lit. of) the lame, a house for (lit. of) the homeless, a healer for (lit. of) the sick, a rearer, servant and consoler" from the metaphrastic Life of St Ilarion the Iberian.<sup>71</sup>

In order to differentiate between singular and plural genitives or long and short forms, the search can further be refined; e.g., adding "Sg" to the second element in the query formula<sup>72</sup> reduces the number of hits to 7601, and adding "OldPl", to 2633. The distinction of long and short forms can be achieved in two ways: adding the feature "L" (for "long") to the search for singular genitives<sup>73</sup> yields 5698 hits of the long form, and the same feature can be negated as !"L", leaving 1903 hits. However, the results are not (yet) very reliable in this case; as a matter of fact, only two of the first 30 hits that appear for the latter query are pertinent, namely modumuls აქუს ხუთ კუეზა ქრტილის და ორ თევზ "who has five loaves of barley and two fish" from John

<sup>66</sup> Cf. <u>http://gnc.gov.ge/gnc/page?page-id=The\_query\_language</u> for details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Cf. <u>http://gnc.gov.ge/gnc/page?page-id=gnc-getting-started#basic\_search</u> for the so-called "Basic Search".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Angle brackets are used here to delimit the formulae; they are not part of them (but the rectangular brackets are). <sup>68</sup> A-95, fol. 14ra, ll. 26–28; cf. Abuladze 1944: 264, l. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Thus in the Oshki Bible (Ivir. georg.  $1^{\alpha}$ , fol. 67va, l. 11); the later manuscripts (KKNCM, H-1207 = "A", Kutaisi, State Historical Museum [hereafter: SHM], 28 = "K", and Saba's Bible, "S") have made / made instead of the endingless form (cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 151 n. 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Thus in the *Mravaltavi* of Tbeti (A-19, p. 22; cf. Abuladze 1944: 261, ll. 4–5); the Sinai and Athos *Mravaltavis* have a slightly changed word order (assigned ogen), and the latter omits the genitive (Sin. georg. 32+57+33, fol. 45va, ll. 10-15, cf. Shanidze et al. 1959: 46, ll. 18-20; Ivir. georg. 11, fol. 24ra, ll. 21-24). In the Parkhali Mravaltavi, the passage is missing due to a lacuna; cf. Van Esbroeck 1975: 210 (P 3.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Abuladze et al. 1971: 224, ll. 8–10;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen" "Sg")]>. <sup>73</sup> <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen" "Sg" "L")]>.

6.9 in the Adishi Gospels<sup>74</sup> (the other ancient witnesses have the long forms instead, by an 3760 ქრთილისაჲ და ორი თევზი)<sup>75</sup> and უკუეთუ სცე ბრძენსა მიზეზ სიბრძნის "if you gave a wise one the cause of wisdom" from the Fourth letter of St Antony.<sup>76</sup> The reason for this is that many constellations are ambiguous as to their morphological determination (including, e.g., the ambiguity of nominatives in -2, see above), and a thorough disambiguation, which would have to take syntactical conditions into account, has not yet been possible to the same extent for the Old and Middle Georgian texts as it has for Modern Georgian. But still we can proceed towards more reliable results, namely, by combining feature-based and string-based query conditions. E.g., by adding the information that the second word must end in  $-0^{17}$  the number of results is reduced to 540, and by further adding the information that the word following the phrase must not be a postposition,<sup>78</sup> we can exclude cases where the genitive does not depend on the preceding noun but on the latter element, thus leaving 443 hits for \*ok (among which 365 are from the Old Georgian corpus). Similarly, we arrive at 3580 hits for \*obs (3165 for Old Georgian) and 1485 for \*os (1390 for Old Georgian).<sup>79</sup> Further refinements remain possible, of course, but lastly, every single hit has to be checked before it can be used for a valid statistics.<sup>80</sup> At least for the short form of the genitive plural ending  $(-\infty)$ , we may safely state here that it does not occur on a noun after a singular "absolutive" in a Suffixaufnahme constellation. Absolutives of the collective plural with a depending genitive do occur, but extremely rarely: of the 34 hits of the corresponding query,<sup>81</sup> only one third can be regarded as pertinent, with nice examples like პირმშოდსა კუროდსად სიკეთე მისი, რქებ მარტორქისა რქანი dobbo "(that) of a first-born bullock is his beauty, horns of a unicorn (are) his horns" in a verse referring to Joseph in the book of Deuteronomy (33.17) in the Gelati Bible.<sup>82</sup> Absolutives of the "old" plural remain excluded as the nominative ending, -60, has no short variant.

For searching instances of Suffixaufnahme, the GNC provides an even more sophisticated feature, namely, tags for "doubled cases" like "DDat" for a dative attached to a genitive. Thus, e.g., a query for a noun in the dative singular with a following noun in the "doubled dative"<sup>83</sup> yields 11841 instances, with the phrase <code>bsbjggggg-bsgs-bs</code>"in the kingdom of the heavens" appearing several times.<sup>84</sup> It must be underlined, however, that the tag "DAbs" does not exist (because the forms in question are always identical with simple genitives) so that the "doubled case" structure cannot be retrieved explicitly with head nouns in the absolutive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> See Taqaishvili 1916: Tabl. 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Cf. Samushia & Dundua 2011–14: <u>https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/ntkpl/ntkpl074.htm#</u> <u>NT Jo. 6 9</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Cf. Garitte 1955: 30, l. 29; in accordance with the main manuscript used (Sin. georg. 35, 17ra, ll. 7–8, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027938698A-ms/?sp=18&st=image</u>) which uses **Q** throughout, the edition does not distinguish between  $\infty$  and  $\gamma_1(\infty_3)$ .

 $<sup>^{77} &</sup>lt; [\text{features} = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [\text{features} = ("N" "Gen" "Sg") \& ".*ol"]>.$ 

 $<sup>^{78} &</sup>lt; [\text{features} = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [\text{features} = ("N" "Gen" "Sg") \& ".* ob"] [\text{features} = (!"Pp")] >.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen") & ".\*obs"] [features = (!"Pp")]> and <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen") & ".\*os"] [features = (!"Pp")]>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Note that the hits presuppose that no other word material, e.g. an adjective or a verbal form, intervenes between the head noun and the depending genitive. For such cases, a separate query has to be applied; e.g., <[features = ("Abs" "Sg" "N")] [] [features = ("N" "Gen")] [features = (!"Pp")]> with [] indicating any type of word yields another 7183 hits off-hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> <[features = ("Abs" "Pl" "N")] [features = ("N" "Gen")] [features = (!"Pp")]>.

 $<sup>^{82}</sup>$  KKNCM, A-1108 = "Gb"; the second manuscript of the Gelati Bible (KKNCM, Q-1152 = "Ga") does not contain the verse. The other Old Georgian witnesses of Deuteronomy have a different wording throughout; cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 668b.

 $<sup>^{83} &</sup>lt; [features = ("Dat" "Sg" "N")] [features = ("N" "DDat")]>.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> E.g., in all old witnesses of Matthew 13.43.

### 3. Stacking ad infinitum?

### 3.1 Double Suffixaufnahme

Having the facilities of the two corpora at hand, we may now turn to the question whether the addition of endings in Suffixaufnahme was restricted to two or not. As a matter of fact, double Suffixaufnahme has well been described for quite some time, with examples like holooocobb (i.e. სიმდიდრე-a) იგი ნიჭ-ისა ღმრთ-ისა-alus-a "the wealth (nom.sg.) of the gift (gen.sg.) of God (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+nom.sg.)" from the Sinai Mravaltavi, 85 3ັດຕີຢ່າງຍົງໄດ້ ຊີ່ງວິຢິວດດານັ້ງດ້ວຍ ໂດສີ່ແກ່ວ່າ ຍັງ ໂດຍ ປະ-ຫ ະດີຊາແກນ-ດີເຈ-ດີ "he would believe in the truth (nom.sg.) of the words (gen.pl.) of the angel (gen.sg +gen.pl.+nom.sg.)" from Euthymius' version of the Commentary on Matthew,<sup>86</sup> and 6223-a 323-als b23-als b23-als-a "the wish (nom.sg.) of my father (gen.sg.) of the heavens (gen.+gen.pl.+nom.)" from the Gospel of Matthew (18.14),<sup>87</sup> all clearly showing that the stacking of case endings in Suffixaufnahme occurred on the last element of the phrase,<sup>88</sup> in a sequence "mirroring" that of the corresponding nouns<sup>89</sup> and with all of the endings necessarily representing genitives except for the last one, which refers to the head noun. Considering the existence of short and long case endings, the number of possible conglomerates in this constellation ("A of B of C" > "C+B+A") amounts to 192 even if we leave out the spelling variation caused by a; there would be 32 more possibilities if the combination of the long ending of the genitive plural  $(-\infty)$  with the same ending, no matter whether it stands for a genitive, dative or ergative, were not excluded, as has been known since Brosset's account (see above). However, for the short ending as appearing in the pronominal forms 33-0, 333-0, 333-0 and old-on, this restriction is not valid so that forms like lo-on-on-a, lo-on-on-lob, or loo-on-fo are systematically met with, thus adding another 32 candidates to the list. Again, there is quite a number of conglomerates that are not attested, either due to deficiencies of the textual heritage or because of constraints. The theoretically possible combinations of endings for gen.sg.+gen.sg.+CASE, gen.sg +gen.pl.+CASE, and gen.pl.+gen.sg.+CASE are illustrated in Tables III–V below with unattested forms marked by an asterisk and greyshading; for other forms, the number of types and tokens as retrievable from the TITUS corpus<sup>90</sup> is indicated in parentheses.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Sin. georg. 32+57+33, fol. 140v, ll. 22–24 (<u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386887-ms/?sp=144</u>); cf. Shanidze et al. 1959: 145, l. 38 – 146, l. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ivir. georg. 13, fol. 59rb, ll. 9–10; cf. Shanidze et al. 1996–98: I, 87, l. 4 / 2014: I, 78, l. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Thus the witnesses of the Protovulgate; cf. Samushia & Dundua 2011–14: <u>https://titus.uni-frankfurt.</u> <u>de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/ntkpl/ ntkpl018.htm#NT Mt. 18 14</u>. For a *khanmeti* version and that of the Adishi Gospels, cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Exceptionally, the *khanmeti* version of Mt. 18.14 as present in the palimpsest KKNCM, A-89, fol. 61va, ll. 4–6 (cf. Kajaia 1984: 44) seems to have β<sub>0</sub>∂<sub>0</sub>b<sub>3</sub> instead of β<sub>0</sub>∂<sub>0</sub>b<sub>3</sub>, with Suffixaufnahme anticipated on the second last element; this requires further investigation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Cf. Kamarauli 2022: 29–32 for illustrations of the "inverted order" of elements in Suffixaufnahme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> For lack of a pertinent language code, the GNC does not contain the *khanmeti* and *haemeti* texts yet so that the corresponding numbers will be a bit lower.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Not all instances have been checked; higher numbers indicated are provisional and only meant to give a rough picture. Attestations that are obviously erroneous, esp. from Middle and Late Old Georgian texts, are not counted.

Singular <sup>92</sup>		Conglomerates of genitive endings					
		long+long	long+short	short+long <sup>93</sup>	short+short <sup>93</sup>		
Nom.	long	-ดโง-อโง-อ (8/12)	*-ดโง-อโ-ด	-ob-ob-a (54/3774) <sup>94</sup>	*-ის-ის-ი <sup>95</sup>		
	short	-ისა-ჲსა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-ისა-ჲს-Ø <sup>96</sup>	-ის-ისა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	-ის-ის-Ø <sup>96</sup>		
Voc.		*-ისა-ჲსა-ო	*-ისა-ჲს-ო	-ის-ისა-ო (2/2)	*-ის-ის-ო		
Erg.		*-ისა-ჲსა-მან	*-ისა-ჲს-მან	-ის-ისა-მან (45/202) <sup>97</sup>	-ის-ის-მან (1/1)		
Dat.	long	-กษง-อษง-ษง (8/9)	*-ისა-ჲს-სა	-ის-ისა-სა (65/2553) <sup>98</sup>	*-ის-ის-სა		
	short	*-ისა-ჲსა-ს	*-ისა-ჲს-ს	*-ის-ისა-ს	*-ის-ის-ს		
Gen.	long	*-ისა-ჲსა-ჲსა	*-ისა-ჲს-ისა	-ob-ob-abs (2/17) <sup>99</sup>	*-ის-ის-ისა		
	short	*-ดโง-อโง-อโ	*-ისა-ჲს-ის	*-ดษ-ดษง-๛ษ	*-ის-ის-ის		
Instr.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-ჲთა (1/1)	*-ისა-ჲს-ითა	-ის-ისა-ჲთა (12/796) <sup>100</sup>	*-ის-ის-ითა		
	short	*-ดเง-	*-ისა-ჲს-ით	-ob-ob-an $(12/71)^{101}$	*-ის-ის-ით		
Adv.	long	*-ისა-ჲსა-დ	*-ისა-ჲს-აღ	-ის-ისა-დ (12/123) <sup>102</sup>	*-ის-ის-აღ <sup>103</sup>		
	short	-ისა-ჲსა-Ø <sup>104</sup>	-ისა-ჲს-ა <sup>104</sup>	-ის-ისა-Ø <sup>104</sup>	-ის-ის-ა <sup>104</sup>		
Plural							
Nom.		-ดษง-อษง-ชิด (3/5)	*-ისა-ჲს-ნი	-ов-овз-бо (27/770) <sup>105</sup>	*-ის-ის-ნი		
Voc.		*-ისა-ჲსა-ნო	*-ისა-ჲს-ნო	-ის-ისა-ნო (2/2) <sup>106</sup>	*-ის-ის-ნო		
EDG	long	-ถษง-ฉษง-๗ง (5/9)	*-ისა-ჲს-თა	-ის-ისა-თა (25/1241) <sup>107</sup>	*-ის-ის-თა		
	short	*-ისა-ჲსა-თ	*-ისა-ჲს-თ	*-ის-ისა-თ <sup>108</sup>	*-ის-ის-თ		

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 Table III: Conglomerates of endings gen.sg. + gen.sg. + CASE

 $<sup>^{92}</sup>$  Note that -ob in this and the following Tables also stands for -ob, -yb, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> The numbers in this column comprise forms of place names and other formations in -oko such as გωσωολ-o "Tbilisi" or საკურის-o "eunuch" that were derived as genitives, even though they cannot count as regular instances of syntactically conditioned Suffixaufnahme; not comprised are foreign words in -oko such as სუნიდის-o "conscience" < Gk. συνείδησις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The token number implies 2083 attestations of the pronoun ∂-ok-oks-a and 1372 of orz-k-oks-a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Cases like სახარება- დ მარკოზ-ის-ის-ი "Gospel of Mark" in the title of Mark in the Adishi Gospels (Taqaishvili 1916: Tabl. 65) are hypercorrect formations (for მარკოზ-ის-ი) and not counted here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> These conglomerates can stand for simple Suffixaufnahme; cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> The number comprises 1300 instances of ∂-ok-oks-ks and 937 of og-k-oks-ks / og/y/y-ok-oks-ks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Only the forms 2-ob-obs-abs (9) and 03-b-obs-abs (8) occur, for which cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> The number comprises 476 instances of 2-ob-obs-2003 and 297 of 03-b-obs-2003 / 03/3-ob-obs-2003.

<sup>101</sup> The number comprises 27 instances of 2-ok-oks-200 and 38 of my-k-oks-200 / my-ok-oks-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> The number comprises 26 instances of ∂-ol-ols-φ and 85 of σ3-l-ols-φ / σ3/y-ol-ols-φ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> All instances of θολολω and σγλολω must be regarded as containing -ολω-φ, not -ολ-ω.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> This conglomerate implies the forms of the so-called directive case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> The number comprises 671 instances of ∂-οl-οls-60 and 109 of σγ-l-ols-60 / σ3/y-ol-ols-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> The number comprises 1 instance of ∂-ol-ols-6m.

 $<sup>^{107}</sup>$  The number comprises 754 instances of  $\partial$ -ok-oks-os and 449 of  $\sigma_2$ -k-oks-os /  $\sigma_3/\gamma$ -ok-oks-os, for which cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> In all occurrences of  $\partial_0 \log_0 (4)$  and  $\sigma_2 \log_0 (7)$ , the ending is actually that of the instrumental (\* $\partial_0 \log_0 (7)$ ,  $\sigma_2 \log_0 (7)$ ,  $\sigma_2 \log_0 (7)$ ).

Singular		Conglomerates of genitive endings					
		long+long	long+short	short+long	short+short		
Nom.	long	-ดՆง-๗ง-๛ (293/1111)	*-ისა-თ-ი	-ob-os-a (131/1376)	*-ის-თ-ი		
	short	-ისა-თა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-ისა-თ-Ø	-ის-თა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-ის-თ-Ø		
Voc.		-ისა-თა-ო (12/23) <sup>109</sup>	*-ისა-თ-ო	-ის-თა-ო (2/8) <sup>110</sup>	*-ის-თ-ო		
Erg. <sup>111</sup>		-ისა-თა-მან (22/58)	*-ისა-თ-მან	-ის-თა-მან (21/113) <sup>112</sup>	*-ის-თ-მან		
Dat. <sup>111</sup>	long	-ისა-თა-სა (59/191)	*-ისა-თ-სა	-ის-თა-სა (52/1021) <sup>113</sup>	*-ის-თ-სა		
	short	*-ისა-თა-ს	*-ისა-თ-ს	*-ის-თა-ს	*-ის-თ-ს		
Gen.111	long	-ดโร-ตร-อโร (24/83)	*-ისა-თ-ისა	-ob-os-abs (10/268) <sup>114</sup>	*-ის-თ-ისა		
	short	*-ისა-თა-ჲს	*-ისა-თ-ის	*-ის-თა-ჲს	*-ის-თ-ის		
Instr.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲთა (12/19)	*-ისა-თ-ითა	-ის-თა-ჲთა (9/340) <sup>115</sup>	*-ის-თ-ითა		
	short	-ისა-თა-ჲთ (1/2) <sup>116</sup>	*-ისა-თ-ით	-ის-თა-ჲთ (2/8) <sup>116</sup>	*-ის-თ-ით		
Adv.	long	-ისა-თა-დ (1/1) <sup>117</sup>	*-ისა-თ-აღ	-ის-თა-დ (2/10) <sup>117</sup>	*-ის-თ-ად <sup>118</sup>		
	short	-ისა-თა-Ø <sup>104</sup>	*-ისა-თ-ა <sup>104</sup>	-ის-თა-Ø <sup>104</sup>	*-ის-თ-ა <sup>104</sup>		
Plural							
Nom.		-ისა-თა-ნი (75/255)	*-ისა-თ-ნი	-ის-თა-ნი (72/481) <sup>119</sup>	*-ის-თ-ნი		
Voc.		-ისა-თა-ნო (3/4)	*-ისა-თ-ნო	*-ის-თა-ნო	*-ის-თ-ნო		
EDG <sup>120</sup>		(-ისა-თა-მან etc.)	*(-ისა-თ-მან etc.)	(-ის-თა-მან etc.)	*(-ის-თ-მან etc.)		

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 Table IV: Conglomerates of endings gen.sg. + gen.pl. + CASE

 $<sup>^{109}</sup>$  In all other attestations of the conglomerate, the -m is the quotation particle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> In all other attestations of the conglomerate, the  $-\infty$  is the quotation particle or part of a circumfix ( $b_{-}/m^{-}-\infty$ ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> The given numbers comprise instances of the singular ending replacing the plural ending after -ms-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> The number comprises 47 instances of ∂-ol-ons-∂ან.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> The number comprises 657 instances of ∂-ok-ons-ks and 245 of or-γ-k-ons-ks.

<sup>114</sup> The number comprises 201 instances of 2-ol-ons-als and 64 of og-l-ons-als / og-ol-ons-als.

<sup>115</sup> The number comprises 237 instances of 2-ok-os-2003 and 97 of oy-k-os-2003/y-ok-os-2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> In all other instances, -magn represents the secondary ending of the instrumental(-ablative) plural, cf. n. 26 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> In all other instances, -0350 represents the secondary ending of the adverbial plural, cf. n. 26 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> All instances of dolosso and σ3 losso must be regarded as containing -σιs-φ, not -σ-sφ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> The number comprises 335 instances of d-ok-on-60 and 83 of og-k-on-60 / og-ok-on-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Because of the exclusion of \*- $\sigma$ s- $\sigma$ s-, the forms are identical with the corresponding singular forms and counted with them.

Singular		Conglomerates of genitive endings				
		long+long	long+short	short+long <sup>121</sup>	short+short <sup>121</sup>	
Nom.	long	-თა-ჲსა-ჲ (139/375) <sup>122</sup>	*-თა-ჲb-0 <sup>123</sup>	-ฮา-อไม-อ (2/785)	*-თ-ის-ი	
	short	-თა-ჲსა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-Ø <sup>96</sup>	-თ-ისა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-თ-ის-Ø <sup>96</sup>	
Voc.		-თა-ჲსა-ო (5/10) <sup>109</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-ო	*-თ-ისა-ო <sup>124</sup>	*-თ-ის-ო	
Erg.		-თა-abs-dsb (23/28)	*-თა-ჲს-მან	-თ-ისა-მან (2/57)	*-თ-ის-მან	
Dat.	long	-თა-ჲსა-სა (37/54) <sup>125</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-სა	-თ-ისა-სა (2/454)	*-თ-ის-სა	
	short	*-თა-ჲსა-ს <sup>126</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-ს	-თ-ისა-ს (1/2)	*-თ-ის-ს	
Gen.	long	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა (4/4) <sup>127</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-ისა	-თ-ისა-ჲსა (1/6)	*-თ-ის-ისა	
	short	*-თა-ჲსა-ჲს	*-თა-ჲს-ის	*-თ-ისა-ჲს	*-თ-ის-ის	
Instr.	long	-თა-ჲსა-ჲთა (2/2)	*-თა-ჲს-ითა	-თ-ისა-ჲთა (1/111)	*-თ-ის-ითა	
	short	*-თა-ჲსა-ჲთ <sup>128</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-ით	-ຫ-ດໄ <b>ئ-</b> ໑ຫ (1/5)	*-თ-ის-ით	
Adv.	long	-თა-ჲსა-დ (3/3)	*-თა-ჲს-აღ	-თ-ისა-დ (1/12)	*-თ-ის-აღ	
	short	-თა-ჲსა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-ა <sup>96</sup>	-თ-ისა-Ø <sup>96</sup>	*-თ-ის-ა <sup>96</sup>	
Plural						
Nom.		-თა-ჲსა-ნი (19/63)	*-თა-ჲს-ნი	-თ-ისა-ნი (2/132)	*-თ-ის-ნი	
Voc.		-თა-ჲსა-ნო (1/5)	*-თა-ჲს-ნო	*-თ-ისა-ნო	*-თ-ის-ნო	
EDG	long	-თა-ჲსა-თა (9/10)	*-თა-ჲს-თა <sup>129</sup>	-თ-ისა-თა (2/237)	*-თ-ის-თა	
	short	*-თა-ჲსა-თ <sup>130</sup>	*-თა-ჲს-თ	*-თ-ისა-თ	*-თ-ის-თ	

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#### Table V: Conglomerates of endings gen.pl. + gen.sg. + CASE

<sup>122</sup> The numbers include 1 instance of ∂-ol-os-ols-o and 6 of ∂s-or-os-ols-o, for which cf. below.

<sup>125</sup> The numbers include 2 instances of  $\partial$ -ok-ms-abs-bs, for which cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Only forms of  $\partial_{s}$ - $\sigma_{-}$ ,  $\partial_{s}$ ,  $\partial_{s}$ - $\sigma_{-}$  and  $\partial_{s}$ - $\sigma_{-}$  are regarded as pertinent in this column. Numbers would be much higher if all forms of place names in  $-\partial_{\sigma}$ -, which are derived from plural genitives, were counted, too.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> The forms dodosodo (spelt Õdos | lo?) and უფალთაასo (spelt yolo) as occurring in the Hymnary of Mikael Modrekili (KKNCM, S-425; cf. Gvakharia et al. 1978: II and III, 295, ll. 4–5 and 149: l. 17) are uncertain and remain obscure. In all other forms in -maslo, -mas- belongs to the word stem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> In the two occurrences of dismolism, the -m is the quotation particle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> The form grademonalush appearing in an apophthegm in Sin. georg. 35, fol. 318va, ll. 28–29 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027938698A-ms/?sp=328</u>; cf. Dvali 1974: 299, l. 23) remains obscure; there is no head noun involved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> The numbers include 1 instance of ∂-son-ons-abs-aons, for which cf. below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> The ending occurs only in the forms  $\mathfrak{G}_{3}\mathfrak{$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> The form & Boogsonsaluos as appearing in the Second Epistle by Macarius (Ninua 1982: 144, 1. 33) is erroneous for & Boogsonsalus (with single Suffixaufnahme) as present in Sin. georg. 35, fol. 113rb, 1. 27 (see <a href="https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027938698A-ms/?sp=117">https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.0027938698A-ms/?sp=117</a>) and Ivir. georg. 21, fol. 22r, 1. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> The form <u>eggmesosalso</u> appearing in Ez. 6.14 in the later witnesses (Saba's and Bakar's Bibles) stands for <u>eggmesosalso</u>, cf. note 128 above.

As the Tables show, the short variants of case endings usually do not occur as a second or third element in the conglomerates, which may be due to the fact that in a noun phrase with genitive attributes, it is rather the attributes that carry definiteness than the head noun; e.g., while "a house of the sons of David" is by all means well-formed and common, phrases like "David of the sons of the house" or "sons of David of the house" would require specific contexts.

In order to retrieve examples of complete noun phrases with double Suffixaufnahme, the GNC again provides a sophisticated feature, with tags like "DDErg" indicating an ergative combined with two genitives. Thus, the query string <[features = ("N" "Erg")] [features = ("Gen")] [features = ("DDErg")]> yields 19 valid instances of this constellation, the first one being სახიერება-მან გონებ-ისა ბრძენ-თა- ისა-მან "the gentleness (erg.sg.) of the mind (gen.sg.) of the wise (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+erg.sg.)" from Euthymius' version of the Commentary of Matthew by John Chrysostom.<sup>131</sup> By the way, we must not forget here that between the three basic elements of such noun phrases, other elements such as adjectives, pronouns or postpositions may be inserted; in order to retrieve such instances, it is necessary to add an empty feature in the query string as in <[features = ("N" "Dat")] [] [features = ("Gen")] [features = ("DDDat")]>, which (dat.pl.) of the Cross (gen.sg.) of Christ (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+dat.pl.)" from the Epistle to the Philippians.<sup>132</sup> Even verbal forms can appear inserted into the noun phrase as in არისტოტელი... ხუთ ყოფა-სა იტყუს ნაწილ-თა სულ-ისა-თა-სა "Aristotle... names (lit. speaks of) five essences (dat.sg.) of the elements (gen.pl.) of the soul (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+dat.sg.)".<sup>133</sup> The same is true for noun phrases with simple Suffixaufnahme.<sup>134</sup>

A special issue are again combinations with a head noun in the endingless nominative, given that the endings of the genitives they combine with (-oks-aks,-ok-oks, -oks-os, -os-aks etc.) can stand for any genitive (or, in the case of -oks-os, even a dative or ergative) of a head noun in simple Suffixaufnahme. Such cases do exist, of course, as in Matthew 18.14 in the Adishi Gospels<sup>135</sup> which runs 6<sub>3</sub>ds dsdoks 6<sub>3</sub>doks 8<sub>3</sub>doks, i.e. 6<sub>3</sub>ds-Ø dsd-oks 6<sub>3</sub>d-oks 8<sub>3</sub>ds-os-aks-Ø "wish of my father of the heavens". The feature "DDAbs" does not exist in the GNC but phrases like this can easily be retrieved with the formula <[features = ("N" "Abs")] [features = ("Gen")] [] [features = ("DGen")]>, with "DGen" substituting "DDAbs".

## 3.2 Beyond double Suffixaufnahme

Theoretically speaking, the sequence of genitive attributes that induces double Suffixaufnahme ("A of B of C" > "C+B+A") could be extendible *ad infinitum*, resulting, e.g., in a sixfold conglomerate ("F+E+D+C+B+A") in a phrase of the type "A of B of C of D of E of F". To explore whether Suffixaufnahme could really proceed beyond a double one,<sup>136</sup> it may be helpful

 $<sup>^{131}</sup>$  Cf. Shanidze 1996–98: III, 339, l. 17 / 2014: II, 395, l. 24. The given passage is missing in Ivir. georg. 10 due to a lacuna between fols 223 and 224; cf. Gippert et al. 2022: 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Phil. 3.18 in the pre-Athonite redaction (AB); the later one (CD) has a changed word order, resulting in abomy abomy b discould generate the genitive of "Christ" preposed (cf. Dzotsenidze & Danelia 1974: 290). In Sin. georg. 58 ("õ"), fol. 35rb, l. 2, we read the form <code>d(Kobb)</code> abomy which must be regarded as hypercorrect; cf. below for similar cases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Thus in the Georgian version of the treatise on the Making of Man by Nemesios of Emessa (*CPG* 3550), ch. 15; cf. Gorgadze 1914: 94, ll. 13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Cf. n. 80 above as to a sample query string.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Cf. above as to the wording of the other witnesses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> According to Kamarauli 2022: 29, "attributive nouns with more than two additional case markers are not attested."

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first to draw up the list of candidates for the possible combinations of endings again, starting with a triple setting ("A of B of C of D" > "D+C+B+A"). Of the 576 hypothetically possible combinations resulting, we may exclude off-hand those that turned out not to occur even in double Suffixaufnahme, i.e., combinations with short variants of the genitive or dative endings after the first element of the chain. Of the remaining 156 combinations, those with a sequence of two genitive plural endings can further be excluded (\*- $\sigma s$ - $\sigma s$ - being replaced by - $\sigma s$ - $\sigma s$ - $\sigma s$ -so that the 139 conglomerates listed in Tables VI–VIII remain.

Singular		Conglomerates of genitive endings: triple Suffixaufnahme				
		long+long+long	short+long+long	long+long+long	short+long+long	
Nom.	long	-กบง-ฉบง-ฉบง-ฉ	-റს-റിം-മിം-മ	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ჲ	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ჲ	
	short	-ถเง-อเง-อเง-Ø	-กษ-กษง-อษง-Ø	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-Ø	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-Ø	
Voc.		-ดโร-อโร-อโร-ต	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-ო	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ო	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ო	
Erg.		-ისა-ჲსა-ჲსა-მან	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-მან	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-მან	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-მან	
Dat.	long	-ດსა-ຂևა-ຂևა-ևა	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-სა	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-სა	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-სა	
Gen.	long	-กเง-อเง-อเง-อเง	-ดษ-ดษง- อษง- อษง	-თა-ຂსა-ຂსა-ຂსა	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ჲსა	
Instr.	long	-ดโง-อโง-อโง-อดง	-ດს-ດსა-ຂსა-ຂຫა	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ჲთა	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ჲთა	
	short	-ດໂა-ຂໂა-ຂໂა-ຂຫ	-റს-റსა-മსა-മთ	-താ-മിാ-മിാ-മത	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ჲთ	
Adv.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ღ	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-დ	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-დ	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-დ	
	short	-ถเง-อเง-อเง-Ø	-กษ-กษง-อษง-Ø	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-Ø	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-Ø	
Plural						
Nom.		-ดบง-อบง-อบง-бด	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-ნი	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ნი	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ნი	
Voc.		-ისა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ნო	ის-ისა-ჲსა-ნო	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-ნო	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-ნო	
EDG	long	-ดโง-อโง-อโง-ดง	-ის-ისა-ჲსა-თა	-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა-თა	-თ-ისა-ჲსა-თა	
Table V	/I: Cong	lomerates of endings ge	n.sg./pl. + gen.sg. + ge	en.sg. + CASE	•	

Singula	ar	Conglomerates of genitive endings: triple Suffixaufnahme					
		long+long+long	short+long+long	long+long+long	short+long+long		
Nom.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ჲ	-റს-თა-ჲსა-ჲ	(= -ตง-อโง-อโง-อ etc.)	-თ-თა-ჲსა-ჲ		
	short	-ดโร-ตร-อโร-Ø	-ถษ-ตง-ยษง-Ø		-თ-თა-ჲსა-Ø		
Voc.		-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ო	-ის-თა-ჲსა-ო		-თ-თა-ჲსა-ო		
Erg.		-ისა-თა-ჲსა-მან	-ის-თა-ჲსა-მან		-თ-თა-ჲსა-მან		
Dat.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-სა	-ის-თა-ჲსა-სა		-თ-თა-ჲსა-სა		
Gen.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა	-ის-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა		-თ-თა-ჲსა-ჲსა		
Instr.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ჲთა	-ის-თა-ჲსა-ჲთა		-თ-თა-ჲსა-ჲთა		
	short	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ჲთ	-റს-თა-ჲსა-ჲთ		-თ-თა-ჲსა-ჲთ		
Adv.	long	-ისა-თა-ჲსა-დ	-ის-თა-ჲსა-დ		-თ-თა-ჲსა-დ		
	short	-ถโง-ตง-อโง-Ø	-กษ-ตง-ฉษง-Ø		-თ-თა-ჲსა-Ø		
Plural							

-თ-თა-ჲსა-ნი

-თ-თა-ჲსა-ნო

-თ-თა-ჲსა-თა

Singular		Conglo	Conglomerates of genitive endings: triple Suffixaufnahme				
		long+long+long	short+long+long	long+long+long	short+long+long		
Nom.	long	-ດໂა-ຂໂა-თა-ຂ	-ის-ისა-თა-ჲ	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ჲ	-თ-ისა-თა-ჲ		
	short	-กเง-อเง-ดง-Ø	-ის-ისა-თა-Ø	-თა-ჲსა-თა-Ø	-თ-ისა-თა-Ø		
Voc.		-ისა-ჲსა-თა-ო	-ის-ისა-თა-ო	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ო	-თ-ისა-თა-ო		
Erg.		-ისა-ჲსა-თა-მან	-ის-ისა-თა-მან	-თა-ჲსა-თა-მან	-თ-ისა-თა-მან		
Dat.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-თა-სა	-ის-ისა-თა-სა	-თა-ჲსა-თა-სა	-თ-ისა-თა-სა		
Gen.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-თა-ჲსა	-ის-ისა-თა-ჲსა	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ჲსა	-თ-ისა-თა-ჲსა		
Instr.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-თა-ჲთა	-ის-ისა-თა-ჲთა	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ჲთა	-თ-ისა-თა-ჲთა		
	short	-ดโง-อโง-ตง-อต	-ის-ისა-თა-ჲთ	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ჲთ	-თ-ისა-თა-ჲთ		
Adv.	long	-ისა-ჲსა-თა-დ	-ის-ისა-თა-დ	-თა-ჲსა-თა-დ	-თ-ისა-თა-დ		
	short	-กเง-อเง-ดง-Ø	-ดเง-ดเง-ตง-Ø	-თა-ჲსა-თა-Ø	-თ-ისა-თა-Ø		
Plural							
Nom.		-ისა-ჲსა-თა-ნი	-ის-ისა-თა-ნი	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ნი	-თ-ისა-თა-ნი		
Voc.		-ისა-ჲსა-თა-ნო	ის-ისა-ჲსა-ნო	-თა-ჲსა-თა-ნო	-თ-ისა-თა-ნო		
EDG	long	(= -ดՆง- อโง- ตง- อโง)	(= -ถษ-ถษง-ตง-ตษง)	(= -თა-ჲსა-თა-ჲსა)	(= -ต-ถนง-ตง-ตนง)		
Table V	/III: Co	nglomerates of endings	gen.sg./pl. + gen.sg. +	gen.pl. + CASE			

3.2.1 The first positive example is from the book of Joshua (8.35) in the Gelati Bible;<sup>141</sup> it runs: რომელი არა აღმოიკითხა იისუმან ყურ-თა მიმართ ყოვლ-ისა ეკკლესი-ისა ძე-თა ისრაწლ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> The question mark as a wild card indicates that at least one more character must follow after the given string (because \* can also stand for "no character").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> In the form  $\partial_0 \log_0 \log_0 (\partial_0 \log_0 \log_0 \cos_0)$  occurring in the Georgian version of John Chrysostom's "Pearl" (Melikishvili 2015: 211, l. 25), the - $\infty$  is the quotation particle again, not the vocative ending, thus leaving a form of double Suffixaufnahme ( $\partial_0 \log_0 \log_0 \cos_0$ ). In addition to the indicated results, there are several instances with a nominal stem in -*s* such as, e.g.,  $\partial_0 gg \log_0 \log_0 \cos_0$  in the same author's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (Shanidze et al. 1996–98: II, 301, l. 28–29 / 2014: II, 34, l. 22); here, too, we have only double Suffixaufnahme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> In addition to the indicated results, there are several instances with a nominal stem in *-t* such as, e.g., αθόσοιδοσο (μθόσο-οδο-σο-α, of μθρόσο- "God") with 137 attestations; here, too, we have only double Suffixaufnahme. If we regard place names in -μσ- as (petrified) plural genitives, we might further count instances like διδιόβοσοδοσο (διδιόβ-μσ-οδο-α, of διδιόβ-μσ- "Persia") as showing triple Suffixaufnahme, which would add 8/12 instances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Again excluding forms of stems in -t such as പ്രാര്ദാത്താക്കാക (പ്രാര്ദാത്താക്കാം സ്പാരം, of പ്രാര്ദാത്താം "heathen").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> No variants in the two witnesses of G; cf. Abuladze 2017: I, 688.

ისა-თა- ისა-სა "which Joshua did not read to the ears (dat.pl.) of all the assembly (gen.sg.) of the sons (gen.pl.) of Israel (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.sg.)". In this verse, the Georgian text agrees with the Greek one of the Codex Vaticanus, which reads  $\delta$  out  $dv \epsilon v \omega$  'Inoout  $\epsilon c \tau d$ of the sons of Israel".<sup>142</sup> A similar wording as in G is found in the Bakar Bible where, however, the Suffixaufnahme appears reduced: რომელი არა წარიკითხა ისუ ყურთა ყოვლისა კრებულისა მეთა ისრაწლისათა "which Joshua did not read to the ears of all the congregation of the sons of Israel" (with กษตรษิฐากษร-ตร gen.sg.+dat.pl. instead of \*กษตรษิฐากษร-ตร-ตร). A reduced Suffixaufnahme is also found in Saba's Bible and the contemporary Tbilisi manuscript H-885 (hereafter: "D") where, however, the "sons" are missing in the sequence of genitives: რომელ არა აღმოიკითხა ისო (ისოს S) ყურთა ყოვლისა კრებულისა ისრაელისათა "which Joshua did not read to the ears of all the congregation of Israel" (with alfolig-also-galander also-galander). gen.sg.+gen.sg.+dat.pl.).<sup>143</sup> With the "sons" missing, the latter witnesses agree with the Greek Codex Alexandrinus<sup>144</sup> as well as the Armenian tradition, which has and in full pour journe յականջս ամենայն եկեղեցւոյն իսրաէյի "which Joshua did not read to the ears of all the assembly of Israel".145

3.2.2 The second example comes from the same book of Joshua (22.30) in the same Bible, and it shows a similar constellation: പ്രിക്ക്പ് ഇന്റ്റ്പായം പ്രാമുന്നം പ്രാമുന്നം പ്രാമുന്നം പ്രാമുന്നം പ്രാമുന്നം შესაკრებელ-ისა ძე-თა ისრაშლ-ისა-თა- a სა-თა ათასის თავ-თა, რომელნი იყვნეს მის თანა, სიტყუანი... "Phinehas the priest and all the leaders (dat.pl.) of the congregation (gen.sg.) of the sons (gen.pl.) of Israel (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.pl.), the chiliarchs (dat.pl.) who were with him, heard the words...".<sup>146</sup> Here, the "sons" are missing in both ancient Greek codices, and the Alexandrinus even omits "Israel": ἀκούσαντες Φινεες ὁ ἰερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς, οἱ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ, τοὺς λόγους... "Phinehas the priest and all the leaders of the congregation, having heard the words...".<sup>147</sup> The "sons" are also missing in the later Georgian witnesses, which in this verse clearly agree with the Armenian text that has divided the noun phrase into two: լուաւ փենէէս քահանալ, եւ ամենայն իշխանք ժողովրդեանն, եւ հաղարապետքն իսրաէլի որ էին ընդ նմա զբանսն... "Phinehas the priest and all the leaders of the congregation, and the chiliarchs of Israel who were with him, heard the words...",<sup>148</sup> reflected in Georgian in ესმა ფინეზს (ფინეზ S) მღდელსა და ყოველთა მათ მთავართა (მთავართა მათ B) ერისათა და (< S) ათასისთავთა (ასისთავთა D) ისრაელისათა, რომელ იყვნეს მის თანა, სიტყუანი ესე... $^{149}$  In this constellation, we have two instances of simple Suffixaufnahme, namely, an-ous-ons "of the people" (gen.sg.+dat.pl.) and obcosber-obs-ons "of Israel" (id.).

3.2.3 The third example is from the Gelati Bible, too, but from the book of Judges (20.6), where we read: წარვეც ყოველ-სა საზღვარ-სა მკუდრობ-ისა ძე-თა **ისრაელ-ისა-თა-ჲსა-სა** "I sent (her) away to all the border(s) (dat.sg.) of the inheritance (gen.sg.) of the sons (gen.pl.) of Israel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1209 (diktyon 67840), p. 248b, ll. 2–4; see <u>https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS Vat.gr.1209</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 688.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> London, British Library, Royal 01.D.VI (diktyon 74390), fol. 129b, ll. 38–40 (see the facsimile editions by Thompson 1888 and Keynon 1915); cf. Rahlfs 1979: 368 n. 2f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Thus the text in the Zohrab Bible (Zohrapean 1805: 432). In the Codex Vaticanus (but not the Codex Alexandrinus), verses 8.30–35 are arranged after 9.1–2 (and therefore inserted as 9.2a–f in the edition); cf. Rahlfs 1979: 367 n. 29. Other Old Georgian witnesses of the verse do not exist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Cf. Abuladze 2017: I, 721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Codex Alexandrinus, fol. 139a, l. 50–139b, l. 3; Codex Vaticanus, p. 267b, ll. 20–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Cf. Zohrapean 1805: 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Cf. Abuladze 2017: I, 721.

(gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.sg.)".<sup>150</sup> Here, again, the text comes closest to that of the Codex Vaticanus, which runs ἀπέστειλα ἐν παντὶ ὀρίῷ κληρονομίας υίῶν Ισραηλ "I sent (her) off to all the border(s) of the inheritance of the sons of Israel";<sup>151</sup> in the Codex Alexandrinus, the "sons" are once more missing.<sup>152</sup> The same is true of the other Georgian witnesses of the verse, this time including the Oshki Bible which even omits the "inheritance" in ∂οτρατρυδη ορο graggmos საზღვართა οსრაβლοსათა "I sent (her) to all the borders of Israel", with the Suffixaufnahme regularly reduced to a simple one (οსრაβლ-οსა-თა gen.sg.+dat.pl.).<sup>153</sup> In the Bibles of Saba and Bakar, we find οსრაელ-οსა-თა, too, but as a reduction for an expected double Suffixaufnahme in the phrases graggmos საზღვართა სამკუდრებელისა οსრაელ-οსა-თა (for \*ისრაელ-ისა-თა) and graggmos საზღვართა სამკუდრებელთა საზღვართა სამკუდრებელისა ასმკუდრებელისა ასა ტომთა "tribes" in graggmos საზღვართა სამკუდრებელისა (for \*ისრაელ-ისა-თა-სა);<sup>154</sup> and in D, which adds ტომთა "tribes" in graggmos საზღვართა სამკუდრებელისა (for \*ისრაელ-ისა-თა-ა.).

3.2.4 The fourth instance of a form containing \*bsossabs?\* is different. It is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews (6.4) as contained in the Athos manuscript Ivir. georg. 42 which, according to its colophons, was written between 963 and 969 on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia on behalf of a certain Mikael Zekepe.<sup>155</sup> The clause in question reads: რომელთა გემო- a უხილავს ნიჭ-თა მა-თ **bgg-obs-ms-abs-a** "who have perceived (lit. seen) the taste (nom.sg.) of the gifts (gen.pl.) of heaven (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+nom.sg.)".<sup>156</sup> Here, the Suffixaufnahme comprises one element too many: the form in question should be \*bgg-obs-os-a, with only two endings attached to the genitive (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.). This is clearly shown by most of the other ancient witnesses of the verse, which have just the form  $bggolsonsa;^{157}$  a deviant wording is only found in the Sinai manuscript georg. 58+31+60 (" $\eth$ ", dated 977), which reads  $m(m\partial_g)$ ლთა agdma mytoms and another genitive,  $m(\partial_g)$  ( $\partial m$ ) obsons "of God", added.<sup>159</sup> In any way, the form bggolsonsabsa in the Athos codex must be regarded as hypercorrect.

3.2.5 All the remaining 67 hits are forms of the possessive pronouns dol- (adol-, dagol-, odol-) "his/her/its", dao- (adao-, dago-, odao-) "their", and ogl- (with the variants ogol-, ogol-) "his/her/its/their own". Considering that all these pronouns are genitive formations (d-ol-, da-o-,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Cf. Abuladze 2017: I, 781.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Codex Vaticanus, p. 300c, ll. 39–42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Codex Alexandrinus, fol. 156vb, ll. 3–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Ivir. georg. 1<sup>α</sup>, fol. 139rb, ll. 15–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> This wording matches the Armenian with unugligh julbuuju uusuuu dunuuunufbuu hupuutth; cf. Zphrapean 1805: 514.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Cf. Gippert et al. 2022: 399–400; other codices that were written by the same hand are the Athos *Mravaltavi* (Ivir. georg. 11) and the hagiographical-homiletic collection Ivir. georg. 25 (cf. ib. 402; for sample images see <u>https://manuscripts.imiviron.gr/codices-and-scribes/</u>). Beyond Mt Athos, the hand has recently been identified by Dali Chitunashvili (2023) in the codex Jer. georg. 94+82 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.</u> <u>00271072880-jo</u>), which also contains the Pauline Epistles; to this we may add the fragment kept as V 1097-III in the University Library of Leipzig with Rom. 2.4–5.13 (cf. Assfalg 1963: 52), which is likely to stem from the lost first quire of the Jerusalem codex.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> We may again note the insertion of a verbal form, ybomszli "he has seen", in the nominal phrase.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Cf. Dzotsenidze & Danelia 1974: 359–360. From the older redaction, to which Ivir. georg. 42 belongs (as "T"), these are the manuscripts KKNCM, S-407 ("C") and S-1138 ("C"); the codex SHM, 176 ("C") does not contain the end of the phrase due to a lacuna between fols. 148v and 149r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Sin. georg. 31, fol. 1vb, ll. 14–17; see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279386899-ms/?sp=52</u>. <sup>159</sup> This addition is not registered in Dzotsenidze & Danelia 1974: 359; it may be due to a gloss that was erroneously copied into the main text.

 $\sigma_3$ -ok-),<sup>160</sup> the resulting patterns are just the same as with nominal genitives,<sup>161</sup> except for the short genitive ending being implied as the basis. A few examples may suffice to illustrate this. In the legend on the Translation of the Relics of St Stephen the Protomartyr (BHG 1651b). contained in the Athos manuscript Ivir. georg. 8 (c. end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), we read the წარხუმა-ჲ ცოლმან მისმან მოიგონა ნაწილ-თა ქმრ-ისა **თუ-ს-ისა-თა-**ჲ sentence კოსტანტინეპოლეს "his wife considered the transfer (nom.sg.) of the relics (gen.pl.) of the husband (gen.sg.) of (her) own (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.), to Constantinople",<sup>162</sup> and the same form of the reflexive possessive pronoun is found in the Ephrem the Minor's compilation of a Commentary on the Apostolicum (ad I Cor. 15.15) with dygaoos ღმრთეებისადთა აღადგინა მან გუამ-ი იგი კორც-თა d-ისა  $თ_3$ -ს-ისა-თა-a "by the nature of divinity he built the body (nom.sg.) of the flesh (lit. fleshes, gen.pl.) of the son (gen.sg.) of his own (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.)".<sup>163</sup> The form 2-ol-ols-os-a "his/her/its" occurs, e.g., in the Second Sermon by (Pseudo-)Macarius (CPG 2410.2), where we read dol dogo odgs ცხორება- a ყოველ-თა-ვე მორწმუნე-თა სახელ-ისა მ-ის-ისა-თა- a "by her was born the salvation (nom.sg.) of all believers (gen.pl.) in (lit. of) the name (gen.sg.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.)",<sup>164</sup> and the same form is also met with in the legend of the Nativity of John the Baptist (BHG 833f) as contained in the Klarjeti Mravaltavi, in a phrase with a remarkable split: Anderson and a sign of the second Herod was made the banquet bread of the day (lit. days) of the birth of his", lit. "the banquet bread (nom.sg.) was made for Herod of the day (lit. days, gen.pl.) of the birth (gen.sg.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.)".<sup>165</sup> Suffixaufnahme of an ergative ending is found once, in a phrase from the Georgian version of the Commentary on the Gospel of Luke by Theophylact of Ohrid which runs მომწოდებელ-მან თითო- alis კაცად-კაცად-ისა თანამდებ-თა უფლ-ისა მ-ის-ისა-თა-მან პრქუა პირველსა "the summoner (erg.sg.) of every single debtor (gen.pl.) of the Lord (gen.sg.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+erg.sg.) said to the first one".<sup>166</sup> The form antonsalisa appears, e.g., in the homily on Penitence by Meletius of Antioch as contained in the Udabno Mravaltavi, in the sentence ภูวิต-อ ดชิญตาษี แกลงสูงตาง-ดิเง-อ อิ-ดโ ตุง ไทย์กูตาง-ดิเง fisdsgr-os d-ob-os-abs-a "they would perceive (lit. see) the taste (nom.sg.) of the sweetness (gen.sg.+nom.sg.) and of the aroma (gen.sg.) of the drugs (gen.pl.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+nom.sg.)", with Suffixaufnahme on both coordinated attributes.<sup>167</sup> Similarly, we have doloosalislis with the dative in Suffixaufnahme in the book of the prophet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> σ·3<sup>L</sup>- is likely to represent an older form of the genitive of σ·3<sup>-</sup> "head" with syncope, contrasting with the regular form σ·3<sup>-</sup>ο<sup>L</sup>- without syncope.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> The same is even true of possessive pronouns like  $\Im_0 6$ -0 "your (sg.)" that are not genitival formations; cf. Kamarauli 2022: 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Ivir. georg. 8, fol. 9va, ll. 4–7, with an unmotivated paragraph break before the place name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Jer. georg. 9, fol. 29vb, ll. 17–19 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072314-jo/?sp=32</u>); cf. Kochlamazashvili 2006: 314, ll. 25–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ivir. georg. 21, fol. 62r, ll. 25–26; in Jer. georg. 73, fol. 55r, l. 17, we see the shortened form δοδοδοσο (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072867-jo/?sp=57</u>) and in SHM 181 ("D"), the nominative ending already appears a first time on δωσωθομοδω (cf. Ninua 1982: 201, ll. 26–27 with n.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> A-144, fol. 151v; cf. Mgaloblishvili 1991: 360, l. 3. In the Athos *Mravaltavi* (Ivir. georg. 11, fol. 146ra, ll. 11– 12) as well as Jer. georg. 17 (fol. 121va, ll. 13–14, see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.</u> <u>00271072387-jo/?sp=124</u>), the sentence is largely restructured and we again find the shortened form dokolsoos: 3ეროდე ყო პური დიდი დღეთა შუებისა (sic!) dokolsoos "Herod made a great banquet (lit. bread, nom.sg.) of the day (lit. days, gen.pl.) of the rejoicing (gen.sg.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Jer. georg. 22, fol. 145ra, ll. 3–6 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072429-jo/?sp=148</u>); cf. Sarjveladze 2010: 268, ll. 13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> A-1109, fol. 57v; cf. Shanidze et al. 1994, 132, ll. 19–20. In the corresponding passage of the Parkhali *Mravaltavi*, the ending is shortened again (δοίσο Δίδ: A-95, fol. 234rb, ll. 2–3).

Daniel (10.9) in the Bibles of Saba and Bakar in ajuda jas-a undergra-ons a-nu-ons-a go udgos-us შინა ჩემდა კმ-ისა სიტყუა-თა მ-ის-თა-als-ls... "I heard the voice (nom.sg.) of the words (gen.pl.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.), and in my (lit. to me) hearing (dat.sg.) of the voice (gen.sg.) of the words (gen.pl.) of his (gen.sg.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.sg.)...",<sup>168</sup> instead of the verbal noun "hearing", which clearly matches the text of the Theodotikon with ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαί με αὐτοῦ,<sup>169</sup> the Oshki and Jerusalem Bibles here have a subordinate clause (და კითარ მესმოდა "and as I heard").<sup>170</sup> Lastly, forms of 2-300- "their" with triple Suffixaufnahme are, e.g., მათთა დსად in რაოდენ მრავალ არს შეუთქუმელობა-დ იგი სიცოცხლ-ისა მა-თ-ისა-დ და რაოდენ მრავალ არს განყოფა- a შობ-ისა ნათესავ-თა მა-თ-თა-als-a "How manifold is the disagreement (nom.sg.) of the life (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+nom.sg.) and how manifold is the difference (nom.sg.) of the birth (gen.sg.) of the relatives (gen.pl.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.pl.+gen.sg.+nom.sg.)" from the first Georgian translation of the Hexaemeron by Basil the Great (CPG 2835),<sup>171</sup> and მათისათასა, two times occurring in მივსცნე იგინი კელ-სა მთავარნი მისნი მივსცნე კელ-სა მტერ-თა მა-თ-თა-სა და კელ-სა მეძიებელ-თა სულ-ისა δι-σ-olu-σu-lus "I will give them into the hand (dat.sg.) of the prosecutors (gen.pl.) of the soul (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+dat.sg) and into the hand (dat.sg.) of the enemies (gen.pl.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.sg.)..., and Zedekiah... and his leaders I will give into the hand (dat.sg.) of the enemies (gen.pl.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+dat.sg.) and into the hand (dat.sg.) of the prosecutors (gen.pl.) of the soul (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+dat.sg)" from the book of Jeremiah (34.20-21) in the Gelati and Mtskheta Bibles;<sup>172</sup> here, the older witnesses (O and J) have reduced forms (asomslus / alsonolisms).<sup>173</sup> The Gelati Bible provides a peculiar case with the forms alsonolisms and მათისათანი appearing in the book of Leviticus (25.33) in ... განვიდეს სყიდულობა- a სახლ-თა ქალაქ-ისა სამკჳდრებელ-ისა **მა-თ-ისა-თა-ჲ** მიტევებასა მას, რამეთუ სახლ-ნი ქალაქ-თა ლევიტელ-თა მკუდრობ-ისა მა-თ-ისა-თა-ნი... "... the selling (price, nom.sg.) of houses (gen.pl.) of the city (gen.sg.) of the inheritance (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg.) shall go into the jubilee, for the houses (nom.pl.) of the cities (gen.pl.) of the Levites (gen.pl.) from (lit. of) the residence (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.pl.)...";<sup>174</sup> here, we should even expect forms with quadruple Suffixaufnahme (\*a-m-olis-alis-ms-a, gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg., and \*მა-თ-ისა-თა-ჲსა-ნი, gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+ gen.sg.+nom.pl.) so that the attested forms must be regarded as reduced. The other witnesses of the given verse show a similar wording including the form dsmolsonsto, but with one element less in the chains: ... გამოკდეს სასყიდელ-ი მა-თ-ი, სახლ-ნი ქალაქ-თა სამკუდრებელ-ისა მა-თ-ისა-თა-ნი, მიტევებასა მას, რამეთუ სახლ-ნი ქალაქ-თა სამკჯდრებელ-ისა მა-თ-ისა-ნი... "... the selling price (nom.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+nom.sg.) (concerning) houses (nom.pl.) of the city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: II, 2881.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Cf. Rahlfs 1979: 926.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> Ivir. georg.  $1^{\alpha}$ , fol. 420rb, l. 19; Jer. georg. 11, fol. 132rb, l. 8 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/</u> <u>amedmonastery.00271072296-jo/?sp=135</u>). The Septuagint version of the same verse contains neither a verbal noun nor a subordinate clause; cf. Rahlfs 1979: 926.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Jer. georg. 44, fol. 37r, ll. 13–15 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072697-jo/?sp=39</u>); Jer. georg. 74, fol. 56v, ll. 6–9 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072879-jo/?sp=59</u>) has თοσωμεθρωδα-a "diversity" instead of შეუთქუმელობα-a and shows the Suffixaufnahme anticipated in სობისაa. Cf. Abuladze 1964: 98, ll. 15–17 (where the latter variant is not noted).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Cf. Danelia 1992: 141–142 for the text of the Gelati Bible, and Dochanashvili 1985: 219 with notes and Abuladze et al. 2017: II, 2655–2656 for that of Saba's Bible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Ivir. georg. 1<sup> $\alpha$ </sup>, fol. 276vb, ll. 9–22; Jer. georg. 11, fol. 21va, l. 24 – 21vb, l. 6 (see <u>https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271072296-jo/?sp=24</u>). Cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: II, 2655–2656 with n. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 397.

(gen.sg.) of the inheritance (gen.sg.) of theirs (gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.pl.) shall go into the jubilee, for the houses (nom.pl.) of the cities (gen.pl.) of the residence (gen.sg.) of theirs ( $\partial_{\sigma}$ - $\sigma$ - $\delta_{\sigma}$ - $\delta_{$ 

Of course, there are also some errors among the instances for triple Suffixaufnahme of possessive pronouns. E.g., in Hebrews 1.3, manuscript 176 of the SHM of Kutaisi has the form  $\partial_{000} \log_{00} \omega$  as if standing for gen.pl.+gen.sg.+gen.pl.+nom.sg. ( $\partial_{000} - \omega \log_{000} \omega$ );<sup>176</sup> however, there is no head noun in the nominative there, the final - $\omega$  being just a hypercorrect spelling, as the other witnesses show which have  $\log_{00} g_{000} - \omega \log_{000} g_{000}$ 

## 4. Conclusion

Erroneous formations like the ones treated above notwithstanding, we may conclude that triple Suffixaufnahme was indeed a regular feature of Old Georgian, at least for possessive pronouns. As to nouns, the three pertinent examples do raise doubts, given that they all come from two, even adjacent, books of the same redaction of the Old Testament, namely, the Gelati Bible, which was conceived in c. the  $12^{th}$  century in the Hellenising school of the Academy of Gelati, a school with a peculiar attitude towards the grammar of the Georgian language as is well known. Indeed, we may suspect that the given part of the Bible was elaborated by one and the same person who had a special predilection for the most complex grammatical forms producible. As there is a certain preference for texts provided by the Hellenising school also among the pronominal cases of triple Suffixaufnahme, this may be taken to reflect a tendency towards more linguistic reasoning in the given time frame. However, instances from earlier witnesses such as the older version of Basil's Hexaemeron, which is regarded as a translation from Arabic of c. the  $8^{th}$ – $10^{th}$  centuries,<sup>180</sup> show that triple Suffixaufnahme must have been a feature of Old Georgian even before. In contrast, "stacking" beyond triple Suffixaufnahme seems never to have been possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Thus the text version of the Saba Bible as well as A and K; the Bakar Bible has სამკულრებელთა მათთანი in the first instance. Cf. Abuladze et al. 2017: I, 397.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Fol. 145v, l. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Cf. Dzotsenidze & Danelia 1974: 343–344 with n.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Cf. Taqaishvili 1916: Tabl. 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Cf. Samushia & Dundua 2011–2014: <u>https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/nt/ntkpl/ntkpl045.htm#</u> <u>NT Lk. 1 32</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Abuladze 1964: 20.

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თვალთვაძემ, თინათინ კარსანიძემ, მანანა მაჩხანელმა, ნინო შარაშენიძემ, ნანა შუღლაძემ, თამარ ცოფურაშვილმა, თინათინ ცქიტიშვილმა, მარინე ოდიკაძემ; რედაქტორი: მზექალა შანიძე. თპილისი: პეთანია.

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# "Suffixaufnahme"-ს რევიზიისათვის ძველ ქართულში (II)

## იოსტ გიპერტი (ჰამბურგი)

მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ ქართული ენისათვის დამახასიათებელი ლინგვისტური ფენომენი Suffixaufnahme – ძველი ქართული ენის ტექსტებში დადასტურებული ადნომინალური ნათესაობითის (დეგენეტიური) ფორმები, რომლებიც გავრცობილია მათ მიერ განსაზღვრული არსებითი სახელის პრუნვის ნიშნით – ხშირად არის განხილული ქართული ენის გრამატიკოსთა მიერ, მისი გამოყენების წესები და გამონაკლისები ჯერ კიდევ არ არის ნათლად ახსნილი და სრულად წარმოდგენილი. შესაბამისად, ამ ფენომენის რამდენიმე მნიშვნელოვანი ასპექტი ჯერ კიდევ პასუხგაუცემელია. ნაშრომში განხილულია ორი საკითხი, კერძოდ: რამდენად შესაძლებელია, რომ მოკლე და გრძელი დაბოლოებები მონაწილეობდეს Suffixaufnahme-ში, და შესაძლებელია თუ არა მორფოლოგიური ელემენტების გამეორება ორზე მეტჯერ. ნაშრომში გამოყენებულია ციფრული კორპუსები: TITUS და GNC, რომლებიც მოიცავს ქართული ენის უზარმაზარ ტექსტობრივ მონაცემებს უძველესი წერილობითი ძეგლებიდან დღემდე; ასევე გათვალისწინებულია ის ხელნაწერებიც, რომელთა დედნები დღეისათვის უკვე ხელმისაწვდომია. ზემოთ მოყვანილი საკითხები გამოკვლეულია სტატისტიკური ანალიზის გამოყენებით, რაც აქამდე შეუძლებელი იყო. ამდენად, ნაშრომში მოცემულია ახალი ხედვა Suffixaufnahme-სა და მისი გამოყენეპის წესებთან დაკავშირებით.