

**Makvala Mikeladze**

**Interferential Processes in Thsovatush Language  
in Relation to the Stages of Bilingualism**



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Editors: Ketevan Gigashvili, Arsen Bertlani

Reviewers: Avtandil Arabuli, Mzia Gigashvili

Translator – Ekaterine Jinoridze

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## Introduction

Interference, or linguistic influence, represents the pervasiveness/dissemination of phonological and lexical-grammatical models of any other language into another language. It is a powerful transforming factor and can lead to significant results in long-term operation. These processes originate with the emergence of languages and are as old by the age as the languages themselves. Linguistic influence is caused by the language contact, which at a certain stage in connection with the change of the existing socio-political conditions can cease to exist, or vice-versa – can continue to the end. **It is the depth and scale of the impact that depends on its duration and intensity.**

Linguistic contact, as well as proper influence is achieved through bilingualism. The speech thinking of individuals speaking different languages is an area where interferential processes originate. Apparently, a connoisseur of any two languages is not bilingual. We deal with this phenomenon only when both languages are used simultaneously, or in parallel, as a means of daily communication (НИКОЛЬСКИЙ, 1976: 89). At this time, the native language dominates in certain situations, while the so-called foreign language dominates in other situations.

A language that affects another language, is called a ‘source language’ (S), and a language that is the object of influence, is called a ‘borrower’ (C).<sup>1</sup> The term ‘borrowing’ is equally conditional in terms of interferential processes. Its use is justified as long as it involves filling in the existing blanks, or ‘white spots’, in the lexical or grammatical systems of the language C with the material of the source language. However, it is a well-known fact that linguistic

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<sup>1</sup> In general linguistics, the borrowing language is denoted by the symbol C, and the source language is denoted by S.

influence is not limited to this, and under appropriate conditions, the words or grammatical forms of the language S expel own words or grammatical forms of the so-called borrowing language from the use. At this stage of the relationship, the already mentioned term acquires a purely conditional content.

Interference is a regular process that has its parameters. It is characterized by the direction of influence, the depth of pervasiveness of foreign linguistic elements and the scale of their dissemination and extent.

Depending on the direction, either one-sided or reciprocal influence is distinguished. This process is unilaterally directed when one of the two languages in contact is a constant source of influence, while the other is a constant object. Influence is reciprocal when the same process is directed bilaterally, when the same language is both a borrower and a source at the same time, provided that when it is a borrower, the other language is the source and vice versa. We do not have a principal difference between these types of interference, because the reciprocal influence is nothing more than the parallel dissemination of the regularities of a one-sided influence in two linguistic collectives.

The direction of interferential processes is directly determined by the nature of bilingualism. Under the influence of environmental conditions from two linguistic collectives in contact, a bilingual can become either both or only one. When both collectives are bilingual – two-sided or mutual influence is to be expected. When only one collective is bilingual, linguistic influence is being accomplished in one direction.

When we examine the direction of interferential processes, we usually consider the changes that bilinguals bring into their native language because of their good knowledge of foreign languages and their frequent use. It is also called internal changes. At the same time, it is well known that bilinguals bring certain patterns in their

own language before mastering a foreign language. They are thus called external changes. So, in a sense, each bilingualism is a set of two-sided interferential processes. Nevertheless, we talk about one-sided influence and we ignore the changes made by the bilinguals in a foreign language for several reasons:

1. These processes of reciprocally opposite influence are diachronic;
2. Changes in language S are localized by the bilingual speech of the language C and cannot achieve wide dissemination;
3. As soon as the knowledge of the language S reaches the proper level in the language C collective, the changes made in it are “corrected” by the bilinguals themselves.

The situation is more complicated when we examine the results of interferential processes, that is, the changes made by bilinguals in their own language. Researchers have different opinions about which level of linguistic hierarchy the internal changes can achieve. According to some researchers, foreign language influences can cover only lexical-grammatical and phonological levels of language; According to other researchers, this also applies to morphology-syntax. According to Academician I. Desheriev, “there is no level of linguistic structure that can remain inaccessible to linguistic influence during collective bilingualism” (Дешериев, 1966: 112). The question of the depth of pervasiveness of interferential processes is still debatable.

The depth and scale of changes caused by the influence of a foreign language are determined by a number of factors, such as: The nature of bilingualism; The level of bilingualism; The interrelationship of the structures of the C and S languages in terms of similarity; Territory; Duration of bilingualism; The factor of writing system; The interrelationship of the cultural levels of the C and S speech communities; Socio-political prestige; The numerical ratio and interdependence of collectives; Number of mixed families.

**If we consider that almost all the named factors have an infinite number of subtypes or transitional stages, the inexhaustible possibilities of their various ratios will become clear.**

Each of the named factors has its own value and can make a significant difference in bilingual situations. Nevertheless, we still have a difference between them in terms of their impact on the outcome. The greatest role in this regard is given to the nature of bilingualism, which can be individual or collective. The first one takes place when a small number of speakers of a language C speak a foreign language, and the second is when the majority of society speaks a foreign language. The effects of influence are so strongly affected by the collective nature of bilingualism that some researchers believe that individual bilingualism cannot even be considered as an essential factor of interferential innovations. “The term bilingualism should belong only to collective bilingualism, which, in turn, can be complete, that is, universal and partial,” writes B. Gavranek (Гавранек, 1972: 96).

Along with the listed factors, special importance is conferred to the level of bilingualism along with its nature. This factor implies the level of knowledge of a foreign language by the speakers of the C language, and the depth and superficiality of the interferential processes depend on it. It is noteworthy that the discussion of the levels of bilingualism shows an infinite number of transitional stages from one extreme point, which we call the weak knowledge of a foreign language, to the other extreme point, which is called good, thorough knowledge of the same language.

Such a level of contact, when a bilingual is equally fluent in both languages and freely switches from one code to another, is known as ideal bilingualism (Вайнрайх, 1972: 86).

Obviously, the term “ideal” here is devoid of social content and is used in a purely linguistic sense: it refers to the nature of bilingualism in relation to interferential processes.

The researchers unanimously note the role of the interrelations of the cultural levels of the linguistic collectives in contact to each other. This factor is so important that it can have a strong resistance to foreign linguistic influences even when all other factors lead to a bilingual situation in favour of the latter; Or conversely, it may be the reason for the spread of any language in a foreign collective (Мейе, 1954: 23).

The importance given to the interrelationship of the structures of the languages in contact in this sense is known. These structures may be similar or different. At the same time, the stages of similarities or differences will be varied. It is assumed that the process of linguistic influence will proceed with less obstacles between such units, because, as B. Jorbenadze writes: “A related language is much more pervasive, rather than a distant language from this point of view” (1989: 73).

Naturally, along with other factors, the direction and outcomes of influence are largely determined by the numerical ratio of the groups of C and S language collectives. In this regard, the greater the disproportion is in favour of the source language, the more favourable conditions will be created for one-sided influence.

In the case of one-sided collective bilingualism, the so-called mixed families bring disastrous results for the borrowing language. V. Berthold justly writes that “they help to strengthen the influence of a foreign language and significantly accelerate the process of interference” (Бертольди, 1972: 126). Unlike all other factors, that also lead the process of one-sided bilingualism, the numerical growth of such families brings the shift of the C language collective closer to the source language at a catastrophic rate. At this time, the percentage ratio of mixed families with the total number of the so-called pure, unmixed families is crucial for the expected outcomes.

The socio-political prestige of a foreign language collective often has a decisive influence on the direction and outcomes of

bilingualism. Friendly relations between collectives create the most favourable conditions for the same interferential processes; The intensity of the impact is also greatly facilitated by the common territory; The factor of writing system must be taken into account as well. All this is regulated by the time factor, because “the bilingual situation is determined not only by the synchronous factors of the relationship between languages but also by the duration of their validity,” – writes V. Mikhalchenko (Михальченко, 1976: 55).

As we have mentioned, there are infinitely many combinations of the listed factors, and the linguistic relationship in each case is different in its nature and consequences. The degree of difference between the bilingual situations varies depending on which factor changes and how: the change of some of them may accelerate slow down, stop, or reverse the process of linguistic influence by thousands of years, while changing of some factors has relatively little effect on it.

After reviewing a fairly long list of factors characterizing bilingual situations and their possible subspecies, it should no longer be debatable that **each bilingual situation is unique in its nature, and absolute coincidence is generally excluded**. Nevertheless, each case of bilingualism reveals the universal regularities of interferential processes and is interesting in terms of general linguistics, which is obviously due to the systemic nature of the language structures themselves.

The Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual situation is of particular interest in terms that in this case, we have a favourable combination of factors causing interferential processes, which creates optimal conditions for one-sided, deeply penetrating and irreversible influence. **It seems that in this small region, the fate itself has created a specially adjusted situation, where everything in the borrowing language serves the common purpose of the pervasiveness of regularities of the source language.**



Below we discuss the factors determining the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism and the consequences of their impact in a consistent and comprehensive manner.

In the form of relationship between the Tsovatush and Georgian languages, we deal with a sharply formed one-sided influence: the Georgian language is the source of the interference, while the Tsovatush is the object. Here, bilingualism has taken the form of ideal bilingualism. Moreover, many Tsovatush people today know Georgian better than their native language.

While characterizing the abovementioned bilingual situation, special attention is paid to the particularly friendly attitude between the Tsovatush people and the Georgian-speaking population. Despite the language differences, the Tsovatush people consider Georgia as their only homeland and have always referred to themselves as Georgians. Coexistence with Georgians for centuries, common religion, and the heroic contribution of this small nation to Georgia's struggle for independence have created an image of the community in the form of Georgia, as well as an inseparable homeland representation. Namely this factor has led to the voluntary nature of language assimilation in this region.

Although the Georgian and Tsovatush languages are members of the same family and are connected by a common origin, as a result of the action of divergent processes, they are so different in the modern stage of development that their kinship becomes noticeable only at the level of deep scientific analysis. The first is a member of the Kartvelian language branch of the Iberian-Caucasian language family, and the second belongs to the Nakh language branch of the same family. In addition to the Georgian language, the first branch combines the Svan and Zan languages, while the second also includes the Chechen and Ingush languages.

There is a big difference between Georgian and Tsovatush languages according to the number of speakers: Georgian is the

national language of the Republic of Georgia and about 5 million people speak it; This language is also spoken outside of Georgia. Today, about 1800 people speak the Tsovatush language in the only village of Kakheti - Zemo Alvani. Of great importance is the fact that half of the population in this village is Georgian-speaking.

The earliest dwellings of the Tsovatush people were in the mountainous villages of Tusheti: Tsaro, Sagirta, Etelta, Indurta and Mozarta. They settled in the valley only after the devastating flood of 1820, which washed away their villages and killed a large part of the population.

Prior to settling, the Tsovatush people used the valley only for nomadic sheep-farming. As known, for special merit before the country, King Levan of Kakheti granted them with pastures in the valley in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and then, in the following centuries, the pastures were expanded by the kings: Archil and Erekle II. As Vakhushti Batonishvili writes, **“the purpose of such a favour was to let their sheep graze safely in Kakheti”** (Vakhushti, 1913: 96).

Along with the close economic relations, the cultural and social contact of the Tsovatush people with the Georgian-speaking population became more and more widespread.

It is difficult to determine exactly the duration of the direct relationship between the Georgian and Tsovatush languages. Historical sources say that the neighborhood of these people was not known until recently, and linguistic realities point to contacts of the distant epoch. We first encountered information about the Tsovatush people in the poem “Archiliani” by Archil, the Georgian King-poet of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Archil, 1936: 205). The first scientific work, where the Georgian-Tsovatush linguistic relationship is discussed, belongs to a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences – J. Güldenstädt – “Travel in Russia and the Mountains of the Caucasus” (1962; 1964). This trip took place in 1768-1775.

J. Güldenstädt records show that by May of 1772, the Tsovatush people were still living entirely in the mountains. At that time, there were 22 villages in Tusheti, and people spoke the Kist language with mixed-Georgian in four villages. The inhabitants were more likely to be of Kist descent than anywhere else (Güldenstädt, 1962: 263). It is assumed that four villages of Tsovata are: Tsaro, Sagirta, Etelta, and Indurta.

As it turns out, two and a half centuries ago, the influence of Georgian language on Tsovatush was so significant that a traveling academician called this language “Kist with Georgian-mixed language”. J. Güldenstädt had the basis for such a statement: out of the 273 lexical-grammatical items offered for comparison with the languages used in the Caucasus, such as Tsovatush (the scholar calls it the Tush language), 37 words are Georgian (Güldenstädt, 1964: 340).

If the researcher had focused not advantageously on the words of the basic lexical fund, but had presented the lexis used entirely in the language for comparison, it is clear that the specific weight of the words borrowed from Georgian would have been much higher. If we take into consideration the fact that only four of the 236 Tsovatush words, attested by Güldenstädt, experienced the change of meaning (narrowing) so far, when the contact between these two linguistic collectives became much closer, it will become clear that this “Kist with mixed-Georgian” **could not have been the product of the linguistic influence of one or two centuries.**

So far, everything is based on assumptions and hypotheses, because the centuries hide the secret of the Tsovatush-Georgian language relationship.

Of crucial importance in terms of influence direction and results is the fact that in the course of hundreds of years, the Georgian language has been a major source for the Tsovatush people

of education, their relations with neighbouring Georgian tribes, and mastering their cultural and technical achievements.

Georgian has been the most widely spoken language among members of the Iberian-Caucasian language family in general and has the longest literary tradition. Documentary monuments of the Georgian writing system count the 16 centuries and scholars trace their origin earlier than our era. If we consider that the Georgian was the only language having a writing system in this numerous family during the epochs and that the script was developed for the rest of its members in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, while most of them are still deprived of this advantage, the great importance of Georgian for other languages in the context of the territorial neighbourhood will become clear. Over the past 15 centuries, rich and high-quality fiction has been created in the Georgian language; Historical, philosophical, and other works have been written. Both the writing and the script helped to develop the Georgian language and maintain its high virtues. The active public and political life led to the maximum development of its internal forces. Academician N. Marr justly wrote that “everything that can be said on earth in whatever language can be expressed in Georgian; there is no idea in any language, whether in Russia or Western Europe, that cannot be completely expressed or moulded in the artistic form in Georgian” (Mapp, 1926: 57).

The way, the Tsovatush language not having the writing system, and the people speaking it, passed in the same historical period in the inaccessible mountains of Tsovata, is diametrically different. It is inexplicable what vital functions the Tsovatush language had in internal family relations, that it could form the richest and most orderly tense-mood systems of the verb; or what full-blooded life it had in the far reaches of Asia Minor, where its trace is still barely visible, that today, thousands of years later, when it got in the tight contact with a monumental Georgian, possessing the

richest cultural and literary traditions, the deficit was fixed only on the lexis level. A Russian academician Peter Uslar wrote about it with sincere admiration: “The Tush language is extremely rich with grammatical forms containing the chance to express the most subtle nuances of an idea” (Услар, 1887: 28).

The reclusive and isolated life in the mountainous conditions hindered the further cultural growth and development of both the people and the language, but the Tsovatush language, like all other languages, responded to the requirements of the specific conditions set before it as much as possible. The practice has repeatedly confirmed a famous statement of G. Gleason that “the objective discussion will show not only the great complexity and conditionality of the language but also how convenient it is to perform its function” (Глисон, 1959: 34]. If the feeling of lexical deficit or foreign language models still emerge in this or that language at a certain stage of development, it is the result of the influence and not a reflection of the internal language inferiority.

According to the outcomes of the influence, we distinguish four periods of Tsovatush-Georgian linguistic relations, as follows:

The first period – coming down and settling of the Tsovatush people in the valley (before the 1820s) – the period of individual bilingualism;

The second period – from settling in the valley to the establishment of the Soviet government in Georgia (1820-1921) – the period of weakly developed collective bilingualism;

The third period – from the establishment of the Soviet system to the 80s (1921-1980) – the period of active collective bilingualism;

The fourth period – from the 80s to the present – the period of ideal bilingualism;.

According to these periods, the nature of bilingualism and the level of knowledge of the Georgian language – the two most important factors of linguistic influence – were also different.

The first period is much longer than all the others in terms of the length of the Tsovatush-Georgian language relationship. Prior to settling in the valley, the Tsovatush people lived a secluded life typical of a semi-feudal existence and were connected to neighbouring tribes that had been locked up like tribes in the mountains. Their relationship with the valley was casual and insignificant at the time. This relationship became relatively active in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when, as mentioned, the Tsovatush people received military protection from King Levan of Kakheti and pastures for sheep in order to spend the winter. In return, they were obliged to provide the kings with their divisions during the wars. At that time, the number of literate people, mostly men, was probably insignificant, and education should have been mainly in the hands of those serving in local churches. At that time, mixed families were completely excluded because of the defensive instinct characteristic of all small tribes, and the sole language of the cradle was the Tsovatush language. At that time, the Georgian language acted only as a mediator with the Georgian-speaking population.

According to the abovementioned, in the first period of the relationship between the C and S languages, the weakly developed individual bilingualism in the population and the low level of knowledge of the Georgian language are assumed. It is also noteworthy that bilinguals were predominantly men. **The fact that, despite the limited contacts, the vocabulary of the Tsovatush language at that time seems to have such a noticeable trace of foreign linguistic influence that it is called “Kist with mixed-Georgian”, can only be explained by the long duration of the relationship.**

It is also clear that in the period under discussion, the Tsovatush language is mainly influenced by the Georgian neighbouring dialects of the mountain. Settling in the valley was an important event in terms of deepening Georgian-Tsovatush language relations. From that time on, the cultural and economic contact of the Tsovatush people with the Georgian population became significantly closer; Mixed families emerged as rare exceptions, the centuries-old taboo on this issue was broken which gave rise to the unbridled intrusion of such families in the future; The relations with the places, where one could get an education, became easier.

Telavi was the main center of education and upbringing for the Tsovatush people at that time, and certain individuals were able to go even further: to Moscow, St. Petersburg, Germany, and France. The first school in Zemo Alvani was founded in 1864 by the Literacy Society. It was a Georgian educational institution for primary classes. The contingent of students was limited, so the right to study at school was allotted to the families according to the vote. Only one child from each family was given the right to study, and parents, who were granted this privilege, were choosing mostly their sons for obvious reasons. A woman still remained uneducated and chained to her family and hearth.

Thus, in the second period of contact between the C and S languages, the Tsovatush language remained the only language of the mother-child relationship. Bilingualism indeed took on a collective character, but it was not yet universal. The level of knowledge of a foreign language also remained low. The fact that the relationship of the Tsovatush language with the mountain dialects was replaced by the dialects in the valley, which was simultaneously added by the influence of the literary Georgian language, is significant for this period. **This is a period of weakly developed bilingualism.**

The third Period of the Georgian-Tsovatush linguistic relations covers the time after the October Revolution until the

1980s, for a total of about 60 years. Despite the short duration, this period, as expected, had a decisive impact on the depth and scale of the relationship between the two languages.

The results of the direct observations made by Professor Sergi Makalatia locally in 193, give a clear idea of the legacy of the third period of bilingualism from the previous period in terms of the level of knowledge of the Georgian language by the Tsovatush people. The researcher writes: the Tsovatush people “speak Tsovatush fluently at home and outside. Everyone in the family knows Tsovatush, its ignorance is a shame. The children learn to talk with the Tsovatush language and then learn Georgian. Everyone, except for children and some elderly women, knows Georgian” (Makalatia, 1936: 109).

It was only at the beginning of the third period, and then events developed with dizzying speed.

During the years of Soviet rule, the life of the Tsovatush people changed radically. The village of Zemo Alvani was actively involved in the construction of a socialist society and became one of the leaders with education and economic level of life. At that time, the relations with the Georgian-speaking collective became extremely close. Mass communication in Georgian language developed. Education became universal. At first, an eight-year school and then two Georgian secondary schools, staffed mainly by highly qualified local personnel, were open for the youth.

Due to such a tightening of the contact, the circle of communication functions of the Tsovatush language was getting narrower and narrower. This took place primarily because it lacked the vocabulary, especially scientific-technical terminology needed for new social relations, **The main and essential thing, however, was that the knowledge of the language of the numerous prestigious people increased the social mobility of the representatives of the small community.**



In a short time, the social composition of the population changed dramatically: if before the main stratum was represented by semi-literate peasants or completely uneducated peasants, now the leading force of the village was represented by the intelligentsia and workers along with the educated peasantry. By the 1980s, there were 364 high school graduates from 2840 Tsovatush people, working in both local and neighbouring Georgian villages or various cities of the republic, with 14 candidates of sciences and 4 doctors of sciences. Under such conditions, the prestige of the Georgian language was extremely high and the level of its knowledge was equal to that of the native language – **the period of typical ideal bilingualism began, which made Georgian the language of the cradle in many pure Tush families.**

The fourth period is the shortest of the Tshovatush-Georgian linguistic relations, but it turned out to be the most difficult according to the outcomes. Although it has many commonalities with the third period and the bilingual factors here almost completely coincide, we have the biggest difference in terms of foreign language proficiency: unlike conventional ideal bilingualism, when foreign language proficiency level is equal to the native one, now **the same foreign language proficiency level became higher than that of the native one.** Provided that this kind of bilingualism has completely different consequences in terms of the depth and scale of its interferential innovations, we have separated it from the usual ideal bilingualism, or as we call it in brief – overbilingualism.

Mixed families, along with other factors, contributed to the establishment of overbilingualism at this stage. The number of mixed families increased immeasurably by the beginning of the fourth period: 234 out of 590 Tsovatush families became mixed, with the majority of mothers of non-Tush origin. Those who grew up in such an environment either do not know the Tsovatush language at all or know it badly. Most young people under the age of twenty can no

longer speak or even understand their mother tongue, and those who still know it almost no longer speak it because of the unprecedented prestige of Georgian – the connection of generations through the native language was almost completely cut off in most Tsovatush families.

When describing the recent period, we have mainly focused on mixed families, as a specific feature. Intrinsically, significant changes related to such tightening of the contact are expected in the ratio of other factors contributing to foreign language influences, such as, first, the level of foreign language proficiency and the frequency of code-to-code switches for those whose native language is still Tsovatush.

We can conclude that over the mentioned periods, the Tsovatush language had relations sometimes mainly with the dialects of the Georgian language, sometimes simultaneously with the dialects and the literary language, and sometimes almost only with literary Georgian.

During the first period, in the conditions of living in the mountains, the relationship of the Tsovatush language with the neighbouring Georgian dialects of the mountain is probable; In connection with the settlement in the valley in the second period, the relationship should be considered, on the one hand, with the dialects again, and on the other hand, with literary Georgian; As for periods third and fourth, here we have a relationship mainly with literary Georgian because the influence was mainly literal.

Since the relationship between the Tsovatush language and the mountain dialects of the Georgian language took place under somewhat equal conditions, they most likely had the mutual influence and not only the one-sided influence of one of them on the other. Only one side of such influence has been studied in the scientific literature – the influence of Tsovatush and, in general, Nakh languages on the dialects of the Georgian language, the other

side of the same issue – what influence the Georgian dialects had on the Tsovatush language, has been left without discussion. Several circumstances hinder the study of this issue: one is that we do not have proper texts when the relationship of Tsovatush with Georgian was limited to the dialects of the latter, and the other and main thing is that Georgian dialects do not have such a structural difference in relation to literary language, the influence of which, as completely different, could be contrasted with the influence of literary Georgian. Nor can we raise the issue of purely dialectical influence at the level of lexis, because the borrowed dialect forms were later “corrected” according to the models of literary Georgian, while in contact with the latter.

Thus, throughout the past centuries, the influence of Georgian dialects and literary language on Tsovatush has been seen as a unified process of the influence of the Georgian language. It is to discuss this process that our monograph aims to explore, in particular, the depth and scale of interferential processes in lexis-phonology, morphology, and syntax in relation to the stages of bilingualism. A. Schifener, R. Gagua, J. Desheriev, T. Goniashvili, L. Sanikidze, D. Imnaishvili, K. Chrelashvili are discussing separate issues independently or in connection with other issues. We will discuss the views of the aforementioned researchers while analyzing the specific issues.

In this work, we examine each case of interference in relation to the levels of bilingualism and try to answer certain questions of general linguistics based on specific material:

1. What causes interferential changes;
2. What language levels the interference includes and what its scales are with respect to bilingualism;
3. What depth the interference can reach at this or that level of the linguistic hierarchy;
4. What types of the borrowed vocabulary there are;

5. How the language system is revealed in the process of word borrowing;

6. In what way the lexical-grammatical borrowings are established in the language;

7. How the “white spots” are filled up in the lexical-grammatical set of the borrowing language and how the “inconsistencies” of the same series are corrected;

8. What factors lead to the shift of the native speakers of C language to a foreign language and how this process is carried out.

To study the issues raised, as mentioned, there are ideal conditions in the bilingual research region, where **a peculiar miniature model of the global processes of world language contacts is presented. The maximally accelerated pace of these processes allows us to keep an eye on the whole dynamics of the spread of individual innovations from start to finish.**

The only obstacle in this regard is the unwritten nature of this language and the lack of texts reflecting the earlier stages of bilingualism. The lack is significantly complemented by the fact that certain issues can be clarified through the data of the nearest languages – Chechen and Ingush, and for a relatively late period, the collections of texts, enclosed to grammatical works or published separately, have great importance.

For the observation on the Tsovatush language at the modern stage of bilingualism, we have our own recorded texts and compiled list of borrowed vocabulary containing 4820 units in the form of borrowed words and synonymous parallelism. We also use field work material, such as questionnaires, interviews with respondents of different generations on selected topics.

## **Part I**

### **Interferential processes in vocabulary and phonology**

#### **Chapter 1**

##### **Processes of word borrowing and loss**

##### **in relation to the stages of bilingualism**

#### **Introduction**

Word borrowing is the most significant outcome of bilingualism. The high level of knowledge of a foreign language is also connected with the peculiar processes of the loss of the native language words in the bilingual speech. We are interested in:

1. What the characteristics of the process of word borrowing at different stages of bilingualism are;
2. How the systematization of language is manifested in the process of word borrowing, and
3. What causes the loss of the words of the borrowing language.

Separate paragraphs of the given chapter are devoted to the discussion of the named issues.

The number of borrowed words varies considerably depending on the age of the speaker. Every ten years make a noticeable difference in this matter, which, in turn, is an indicator of the intense nature of the process of linguistic influence; The level of knowledge of the respondent also plays a big role in this regard.

We took the speech of the Tsovatush middle-aged respondents (40-50 years old) with secondary education for analysis; We tried to avoid foreign terminology reflecting the achievements of science and technology, which illustrates the recent period of the

Tsovatush language relationship with Georgian and is less interesting in terms of form. As far as possible, we have accurately **recorded and analysed all the other foreign words that the bilingual of this generation uses today when speaking in native language.**

Sometimes, when regarding the form of word, we also considered the speech of the oldest and youngest generations. In such a case, we presented fixed different forms as parallelisms of the same words in this work.

It is noteworthy that, as Professor T. Uturgaidze points out: “some borrowed words have been lost in literary Georgian and its dialects, while they are still preserved in the Tsovatush language” (1960: 87).

### **§ 1. Word borrowing and stages of bilingualism**

Even minimal contact between languages is sufficient for word borrowing, while all other segments of language system are only subject to close and long-term contact. In literature, it is well known that even a single person who is fluent in a foreign language has enriched the lexical fund of the native language with many new units (Мартине, 1972: 85).

It is noted that word borrowing does not necessarily imply knowledge of the language from which the separate elements are borrowed (Росетти, 1972: 113). Of course, in order to learn one or two words from a foreign language, it is not necessary to know this language in the usual sense of the term, but the borrower needs to understand the meaning of even one word that he brings in his native language. The borrowing individual may have linked this notion to the word simply by reference, with the help of sign language, but it is

already the knowledge of some elements of a foreign language; Just because this element is insignificant compared to the language capacity, it is not usually recorded at the level of knowledge. In this regard, we could recall the so-called intermediate borrowing, when a bilingual person does not really know the language to which the mastered lexical unit belongs. Such reasoning is related to the history of speech, and the process of borrowing itself is direct here as well.

The study of the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual materials shows that the individual and collective bilingualism are characterized by a number of peculiarities in the issues of word borrowing, which is why we consider each step separately.

There are two ways to borrow words:

1. In one case, the borrowed words occupy free space in the borrowing language;
2. In the second case, synonymous pairs are formed with the words of the borrowing language.

In the case of individual bilingualism, the word “borrowing” justifies its semantics, because it basically refers to the transfer of those lexemes from one language to another, which the latter does not have of its own. The main basis for the lexical influence at this time is the feeling of the lexical deficit and borrowing serves to fill in the “white spots” in the lexical fund of C language. They occupy free spaces and the borrowed words at this time take the form of peculiar neologisms.

Obviously, when we talk about “white spots” in any language (C), we mean that these free spaces are observed only in the background of the lexical material of the second language (S); It would be illogical to even raise the issue of such spots in any separate language. White spots, i.e. incomplete spaces in this or that language are observed only during the contact with another language and they are caused by different levels of economic and cultural development of the speech communities of the C and S languages.

This or that field of well-developed cultural, political, or economic life will bring an abundance of proper terminology in the language, and, conversely, the same poorly developed fields will be accompanied by a limited number of relevant vocabulary. Given that language accurately reflects the cultural-economic level of its speech community, the opposition of these levels gives an idea of the ratio of the lexis they represent. In the language of this community, where the lower level of development of this or that field will be fixed in the mentioned comparison, empty places or white spots will appear on the background of the lexical material of the second community. **The process of word borrowing during individual bilingualism mainly serves to fill in the white spots.**

In our case, the speakers of C language are former inhabitants of the Caucasus alpine zone, for whom, along with poorly developed arable farming, the developed livestock farming represented the main agricultural field; At the same time, they had a well-developed technology of wool processing and indoor homemade fabric. On the contrary, the speakers of the language S, as residents of the valley, had maximally developed horticulture and viticulture, was advanced in education and by the level of common cultural development.

Indeed, the lexis of horticulture and viticulture in Tsovatush is almost entirely Georgian, while a large part of the terminology, denoting parts of the organism, kinship, and related to cattle-breeding, weaving, and household daily chores, is own. Terminology related to the enlightenment and Christianity, as well as official-political terminology, is Georgian as well.

This regularity of borrowing of sectoral lexis is so characteristic of the individual level of bilingualism that according to the Academician Sh. Dzidziguri, “the analysis and classification of borrowed lexical elements according to the meaning of words allow



us to judge on the spheres of economic and cultural life that were unequally developed in different peoples” (Дзидзигури, 1968: 74).

Of course, the borrowing of each foreign vocabulary unit occurs by a separate individual or individuals, but then, it spreads in the borrowing language and these units become the property of the whole collective. Even if bilingual individuals transfer many words from the S language, **almost only necessary words will remain in the C language during individual bilingualism, i.e. words which do not have their own equivalent in the borrowing language.** This is one of the main hallmarks of individual bilingualism in terms of word borrowing.

Individual bilingualism in this context is also characterized by another feature, which is revealed in the nature of the adaptation of the sound cover of borrowed words. In the process of borrowing, the full or partial assimilation of the sound cover of borrowed words can take place with the sound cover of the words of the borrowing language; This segment of the word can be left unchanged at all. This is due to the level of knowledge of a foreign language, on the one hand, and to the structure of the borrowed word, on the other hand. One part of the Georgian words used in the Tsovatush language, as we will see in the next chapter, shows all three stages of word adaptation and reflects different levels of knowledge of a foreign language in the borrowing collective.

During individual bilingualism, bilingual individuals master the S language poorly and alter the sound cover of foreign words in the process of borrowing in such a way that they approximate it to the structure of the native word. Thus, **the phonological rules for the distribution of C language sounds during the individual bilingualism determine the final look of the borrowed words** – this is another characteristic feature of individual bilingualism.

It is possible that at the same stage of bilingualism, an individual bilingual may be so fluent in the S language that he is able

to transfer the sound cover of the borrowed word without any changes. In such a case, the monolingual individuals, who are guided only by the phonological rules of the native language, will correct the unusual sound combination. U. Weinreich rightly points out that “at this time, monolingual individuals, as their number is noticeable in the collective, mechanically, completely unknowingly protect their native language from foreign linguistic influences (1972: 54).

Thus, the process of word borrowing during individual bilingualism is characterized by two essential features:

1. The borrowing is aimed at filling up the “white spots”;
2. The sound cover of new words changes according to the phonological model of the C language.

Based on these signs, we can prove that the following Georgian words are borrowed by the Tsovatush language at a low level of bilingualism, for example, ჯორ (ჭორ) (cross), მადელ (madel) (grace), აგლოზ (āgloz) (angel), ზედგა (zedgā) (trivet), მუჯგა (muǰgā) (jolt), სარკმელ (sarḱmel) (incense), მარჭკელ (marčḱel) (matchmaker)...

This stage has long been passed by the Tsovatush speech communities. This is why it is difficult to single out the proper examples in a multitude series of lexical borrowings. It is well known that **every subsequent step of bilingualism in languages without writing system makes its correction to the sound cover of previously borrowed words.**

One of the factors that stimulate the word borrowing during collective bilingualism is the tendency to fill in white spots. More or less “white spots” in the language, i.e. free spaces, always remain in opposition to the second language because it is impossible to fill them in once and for all. These free spaces, which at the first meeting of languages are conditioned by different levels of development of their speech communities, different codes of social customs and, in

general, by a number of ethnic characteristics, are easily replenished and for some time seem to establish a certain balance, but this balance is temporary because the lexical fund of the language is constantly changing and flowing. Social advancement is a source of endless flow of neologisms. That is why, **as long as there are two languages and two collectives, new free spaces will always be one of the powerful stimulus for word borrowing.** Such Georgian neologisms represented in the Tsovatush language in due time: რგოლ (rgol) (ring), კოლექტივეს (kolektivā) (collective), ბრიგად (brigad) (brigade), შრომდღი (šromdē) (labour day), საბჭო (sabčō) (council), სტახანოველ (staxanovel) (Stakhanovite), პრემია (premi) (prize)... The latest neologisms of the same type are: ატომი (atom) (atom), კოსმოსი (kosmos) (cosmos), რაკეტა (raketa) (rocket), თანამგზავი (tanamgzavr) (satellite)...

Nevertheless, the feeling of lexical deficit in collective bilingualism is no longer the main factor in the assimilation of words from the language, as it is in the case of individual bilingualism. Now the process of word borrowing is dominated by a **comprehensive trend – to replace the foreign word with the native one.** As Academician Sh. Dzidziguri writes: “The close literary, scientific, in general, cultural attitude of one ethnic group towards another is a precondition for the uninterrupted flow of words, despite the need. In this situation, this foreign language acts as a cultural legislator, its dictionary has become a kind of fashion” (1960: 59).

This general rule is especially true in the case of collective bilingualism, when, in fact, “despite the need,” there is unseen intrusion of foreign words in the C language. In addition to the words that fill in the “white spots”, there is a wide range of borrowed

lexical items that are equivalent to own words in the borrowing language.

This is the way the synonymous pairs are formed, one member of which belongs to the C language, the other member belongs to the S language. In such a case, the bilingual individual, according to Academician L. Shcherba, “borrows primarily a contextual tone that seems significant for some reason, rather than words from the second language” (Шчерба, 1958: 49). In the modern conditions of Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism, a high cultural and political prestige of the Georgian language is a stimulating factor for such borrowing.

This is how hundreds of local words have a Georgian synonymous parallel. For example, the Georgian მინდორი (mindori) (field) in the Tsovatush language is – ეც//მძღორ (e’//mīdor); მწყემსი (mçqemsı) (shepherd) – ღუე //წყემს (‘uv //çqems); მოსამართლე (mosamartle) (judge) – ველხოვ//მოსამართლ (qelxov//mosamartl); სოლი (soli) (wedge) – ბოლურ//სოლ (boıur//sol); ირემი (iremi) (deer) – საგ//ირემ (sag//irem); ვარსკვლავი (varskvlavi) (star) – ტშირ//ვარსკვლავ (tšır//varskvlav); მეგობარი (megobari) (friend) – ნაყბისტ//მეგობარ (naqбіst//megobar); ტახტი (taxtı) (seat) – მეც //ტახტ (meç//taxt); მტევანი (mtevani) (bunch) – გაგ//მტევან (gag//mtevā); ხელფასი (xelpasi) (salary) – ღუნალ//ხელფას (‘unal//xelpas); ლუკმა (luḵma) (morsel) – ბაკალ//ლუკმ (baḵal//luḵm); მჭრელი (mçreli) (sharp) – ღირა//მჭრელ (‘ırı//mçrel); მტვრევა (mtvreva) (break) – ყეგარ//მტვრევაღარ (qegar//mtvrevadar); გაცვლა (exchange) – ხარცარ//გაცვლაღარ (xarcar//gacvladar); მომატება (momateba) (increase) – ლატღარ //

მომატბადარ (latdar // momatbdar); შერევა (šereva) (mixing) –  
ეგდარ//შერევადარ (egdar//šerevadar); დამძიმება (damzimeba)  
(burden) – დაწდარ//დამძიმბადარ (daçdar//damzimbdar); გახსნა  
(gaxsna) (open) – დასტარ//გახსნადარ (daštār//gaxsnadar).

Listing of the examples could go a long way; The following numerical data will give us a clear idea of how widespread this phenomenon is at the modern stage of bilingualism: D. and N. Kadagidzes’ “Tsovatush-Georgian-Russian Dictionary” (1984) includes 3655 lexical units of Tsovatush origin, 2575 of them have already acquired such a parallel. Numerous daily information in Georgian language through newspapers, magazines, radio and television, education in the Georgian language, mixed families, and, in general, the whole environment leads the development of this process to this direction.

The examples of parallelisms given above contain only absolute synonyms, because the borrowed members of the pairs of relative synonyms have, for some reason, been attributed to refilling white spots.

Unlike common synonymous parallelisms, the members of these pairs are seldom found in the same sentence of the Tsovatush language: the members of the pairs of the first row (in the sequence of our writing – the words of the native language) mostly characterize the speech of the elderly and less educated persons, while the members of the second row characterize the speech of young and more educated persons; Obviously, we often meet them in the speech of the same person, but in different situations and with different interlocutors; It is also characteristic that one of the participants in the dialogue often uses one, the other uses another because both of them are equally understandable to both the speaker and the listener. Thus, when we call such pairs synonymous

parallelisms, we are not limited to separate sentences, but we consider the whole horizontal aspect of the language.

As known, “the members of the pairs, at the start, exist next to each other and freely interchange in the contexts, and then, in the course of time, one of them remains according to the development of the bilingual situation” (Вайнрайх, 1972: 49). The modern situation of the Tsovatush language shows that during a long linguistic influence the native is almost always lost and the foreign remains, although some pairs may long remain in the use as a source of synonymy.

Scientific literature has shown that “the words of the C language, when they are freely alternated with the words of the S language, provide some guidance to the latter and serve the purpose of establishing them in the native language” (Dzidziguri, 1960: 65). In our case, just because members of such pairs are almost never used in the same sentence, such a role for the C language words is less felt. In turn, this phenomenon is evident where these parallelisms create unrelated pairs. Their number in Tsovatush is limited, we have only a few relict forms: ან-ქარი (an-kari) (rheumatics, colics); დად-პატრონ (dad-patrõ) (owner); ლაფ-ტოკი (lap-tõak) (dirt); ჳელ-წესი (qel-çes) (order); ჩამ-გემი (çam-gemõ) (taste)... Nevertheless, many Georgian words are used in the C language today, which, judging by their content, cannot be included in the form of neologisms, for example, ძოლი (zoli) (bone); კუჭი (kuç) (stomach); ძირი (zir) (bottom); ბუმბული (bumbul) (feather); წამწამი (çamçam) (eyelash); ცა (ca) (sky).

Clearly, in due time, they must have been used as synonyms of proper Tsovatush words, and then, after expelling local forms, they became the only denominators of the concepts. We can conclude that **the intrusion of synonymous parallelisms is one of**

**the most notable features of collective bilingualism in terms of lexical influence.**

**It is well known that languages differ not only in lexical and grammatical structures, an obvious difference between them is also created by the different divisions and denominations of objects and events. This segment of language is known as the contextual structure. Observations show that the differences between the languages in contact in this regard play a certain role in the process of word mastering or loss.**

Despite the centuries-long intensive influence of the S language on Tsovatush, some differences in these languages are still observed in terms of classification and description of objects and events. This difference in word borrowing also plays a role in individual bilingualism, but the issue of rectifying inequalities in this series is actively on the agenda under the collective bilingualism. It seems that bilinguals, who finally master the S language, are starting to think in the native language with its models due to the frequent shift to the latter. For example, in Tsovatush we have the words ოც (o') (grain) and ჰუი (huj) (stone). In Georgian, they are opposed by three terms: the same two and the third, generalized – თესლი (tesli) (seed). The Tsovatush language borrowed the third one, and this happened not because the language lacked expressive accuracy, but because it was necessary for the Georgian style of thinking. Under the influence of Georgian, a general notion of *seed* appeared in the Tsovatush language, for which it was required to borrow the term.

The C language has the words სტაკ (stak) (man) and ფსტუინი (psťujnô) (woman) but lacks the word expressing the general notion of a human being. The deficit is replenished again with Tsovatush lexemes, such as indefinite pronouns: მემლი (memli) (someone) and მენახ (menax) (somebody). Since the correspondence

established in this way with Georgian contexts often lacks accuracy, the words: სუჯრელ (sujrel) (spiritual), გუჯრცელ (qujrcel) (fleshly), and ადმე (admē) (human) were mastered.

Until recently, ბოფხბარ (bōpxbar) equally meant wearing clothes and saddling up. Due to the fact that the event was evaluated differently in Georgian and was marked with a different term when the horse was brought out as an object of action, the Tsovatush language also considered it necessary to distinguish it. This was followed by the borrowing of the appropriate term. Today it is used according to age levels: own ბობხბარ (bobxbar) and borrowed შეკაზმაღბარ (šekazmadbar) (saddling up). We could give more examples. As we can see, **it is also noteworthy for collective bilingualism to borrow new lexical items to correct the existing differences in the patterns of word contextual structure of C and S languages.**

Raising the level of knowledge of a foreign language, i.e. reaching the point where switching from one language to another takes place already unconsciously and without any compulsion, has led to the fact that the change of the sound cover of the words borrowed in Tsovatush today has almost ceased taking place. The transfer of the sound cover of borrowed words is the third specific sign of collective bilingualism. Of the many transformations that the Georgian words subordinated to at the previous stage of bilingualism, only one continues today – the law of weakening of the auslaut vowel. We have the most recent borrowings left in an almost unchanged form, for example: ბოლოს (bolos) (in the end); ძლივს (člivs) (barely); გამეტებით (gameṭebit) (without mercy); დანანებით (dananebit) (ruefully); ეშმაკობით (ešmaḱobit) (cunningly);



მოხერხებით (moxerxebit) (skillfully); მარჯვენა (marǰvniv) (to the right); მარცხნივ (marcxniv) (to the left); ირიბად (iribad) (indirectly).

The issue of borrowing at this stage of the relationship has been simplified as much as possible, and this has been followed by a peculiar fusion of the vocabulary of the two languages. That is why today the C language has almost completely abandoned the use of its own means of word-building and has widely opened the door to the ready-made material from a foreign language. **Forgetting own means of word-building is another feature that characterizes collective bilingualism.**

If the Tsovatush language borrowed only the base for a number of nouns from Georgian at the beginning of the bilingualism and selected the corresponding word-building affixes from its own inventory of morphemes, the same nouns have been introduced without segmentation during collective bilingualism. For example:

Georgian	Tsovatush
უმოსავლო (umosavlo) (Low-yielding)	მოსავლე-წი // უმოსავლო (mosavle-čī // umosavlô)
ულალო (uɣalo) (Lean)	ლალე-წი // ულალო (ɣale-čī // uɣalô)
საკაბე (saɣabe) (Fabric for making a dress)	კაბ-დილ / საკაბე (ɣab-dil / saɣabê)
სახალათე (saxalate) (Fabric for making a gown)	ხალათ-დილ // სახალათე (xalat-dil // saxalatê)

Due to the widespread opening of the way to the ready-made units of a foreign language, the composition and derivation were almost completely forgotten as a means of enriching the vocabulary

of the language – **internal linguistic thinking was weakened**. Probably, this circumstance was taken into account by Academician Sh. Dzidziguri, when he wrote: “Excessive borrowing of foreign lexical material cannot be considered a positive event for the development of the borrowing language. This abundance of borrowings seems to be a sign of the enrichment of the language, but in essence, it is an obstacle to its evolution” (1941: 690).

We can conclude that there are four main trends in word borrowing during collective bilingualism:

1. Correct the models of the contextual structure of C language according to the appropriate models of S language;
2. Introduce lexical parallels of the S language for the words of C language;
3. Leave the borrowed sound cover of the words unchanged, and
4. Restriction of the processes of composition and derivation of lexemes in C language.

It is natural that these processes begun during the collective bilingualism, are completely lawful and acquire an unexceptional character in the periods of ideal bilingualism and overbilingualism.

## **§2. Parts of speech in terms of borrowings**

The existing or possible number of “white spots” in the borrowing language in relation to any particular language may be limited beforehand to the confrontation of economic and cultural-political levels of the speech communities of these languages. Lexical parallelisms, however, do not obey any boundaries in this respect and extend indefinitely until they cover all the words in the

dictionary. For members of the C language dictionary, this seemingly chaotic process of the emergence of parallels of the S language shows a certain regularity. An interesting situation is shown by the discussion of parts of speech in this regard in terms of borrowing. Here the systemic character of the lexis used in this or that language is most clearly seen.

**Special attention is paid to the quantitative ratio of borrowed words according to parts of speech of the borrowing language, in other words, attention is paid to the issue of openness of parts of speech in modern literature.** In this regard, the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual situation presents interesting material. There are two types of lexical borrowings in the Tsovatush language: on the one hand, we have borrowed words, which are the only indications of appropriate objects and events, and, on the other hand, borrowed words that are used in parallel with words of the same meaning. The foreign words used in parallel gradually expand the scope of use to such an extent that the corresponding lexical units of the C language are lost under the influence. Thus, the first type of borrowing has already been established in the language, while the second is on the way to being established.

The specific weight of both types of borrowings is already noticeable in the lexical fund of the Tsovatush language. Out of 5808 words included in D. and N. Kadagidzes' "Tsovatush-Georgian-Russian Dictionary", 2143 are borrowed from Georgian or through Georgian. Out of the remaining 3665 own Tsovatush words, 2575 units have already acquired the Georgian lexical parallel. These two layers of borrowing reflect different levels of bilingualism, **so discussing them in terms of parts of speech and comparing the data obtained allow us to discuss the openness of parts of speech in different stages of the relationship between the two linguistic collectives.**

We have divided the material included in the Kadagidzes' Dictionary into layers of borrowed and own Tsovatush origin words; We grouped each layer of words according to the parts of speech and compiled two types of tables. In the first table, we compared the numerical data of the Georgian and Tsovatush words already established and introduced in the dictionary according to the parts of speech and calculated the percentage ratio of borrowings in relation to the total number of the studied parts of speech (Tsovatush-Georgian); In the second table, again, according to the parts of speech, next to the words of the C language, we recorded their own Georgian lexical parallelisms and calculated the process ratio of the latter to the Tsovatush material. These parallelisms are not given in the dictionary, we have obtained them through middle-aged (40-50 years old) respondents. In the course of these calculations, we have not taken into account the interjection, because, as it is well known, it is difficult here to fully distinguish between own words and borrowings (Jghenti, 1946: 255).

These two tables allowed us to compare the degree of openness of parts of speech at different stages of bilingualism. The first table is based on the already established borrowings in the language and reflects the situation with individual and collective bilingualism, while the foreign words provided in the second table only enjoy the right of parallelism and characterize the latest situation, that is, ideal bilingualism or overbilingualism:

**Table I:**

<b>Parts of Speech</b>	<b>Tsovatush words</b>	<b>Borrowed words</b>	<b>Total number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Noun</b>	824	1556	2380	65.3%
<b>Adjective</b>	627	106	734	14.1%
<b>Numeral</b>	38	11	49	22.4%

<b>Pronoun</b>	49	-	49	0
<b>Verb</b>	1859	448	2305	19.2%
<b>Adverb</b>	224	14	238	6%
<b>Postposition</b>	14	-	14	0
<b>Conjunction</b>	7	2	9	22%
<b>Particle</b>	22	6	28	21%

**Table II:**

<b>Part of Speech</b>	<b>Tsovatush words</b>	<b>Georgian paralelisms</b>	<b>Percentage of paralelisms in relation to Tsovatush material</b>
<b>Noun</b>	824	545	66.1%
<b>Adjective</b>	628	448	71.1%
<b>Numeral</b>	38	2	5.2%
<b>Pronoun</b>	49	1	2.04%
<b>Verb</b>	1859	1459	78.5%
<b>Adverb</b>	224	85	38.03%
<b>Postposition</b>	14	1	7%
<b>Conjunction</b>	7	3	42.7%
<b>Particle</b>	22	5	22.7%

The table I shows that at the last stage of bilingualism, nouns were characterized by maximum openness towards borrowings in Tsovatush. The percentage of borrowed nouns was 65.3% of the total

number of nouns used in the Tsovatush language. Much less openness was found in adjectives (14%), numerals (22%), verbs (19%), adverbs (6%), conjunctions (22%), and particles (21%). As for pronouns and postpositions, they formed a completely closed system for the process of borrowing.

As known, the verb, together with the noun, occupies the largest place in the dictionary in terms of quantity. It was expected that the verb would still appear next to the noun according to the borrowing rate. In fact, the situation is the opposite: we have 19% of borrowed verbs next to 65% of borrowed nouns. It was difficult for the verb lexis of the Tsovatush language to adapt to the borrowing due to its sharply different structure from Georgian. In the case of borrowed verbs, a number of morphological-phonological transformations were required so that the new lexemes could be freely incorporated into the complex and strictly coded system of the conjugation of C language. At least recently, the base of the borrowed verb, which is turned into the base in Tsovatush by adding the auxiliary verb, must have been reduced to monosyllabic. In addition, a number of prohibitions were reported in the sequence of base-like consonants; Due to the fact that the vowel belonging to the base was loaded with a certain morphological function, it must have been realized in the form of **-a**.

The difficulty of transformation was the reason that during the centuries-long Tsovatush-Georgian language relationship and even now, the verb was a disobedient fortress for lexical influence. This time, the example of the verb clearly manifests the fact that **the more cohesive and systematically constrained this or that segment of the language is, the more difficult it is to penetrate the external elements in it.**

Compared to the conjugation system, the declination system is simpler in the Tsovatush language and the phonetic structure of the nouns is not as strictly regulated as that of the verbs. That is why the

nouns and, much later, the verbs gave up their positions in the process of borrowing earlier.

Adjectives and adverbs were distinguished from the nouns by the special derivative attached to the base. As we can see, certain changes were needed here as well, so that the borrowed adjective, or the adverb, naturally matched the new language system. That is why they, too, were subject to the lexical influence of a foreign language later than the nouns and began to adapt the Georgian borrowings later.

At this stage of bilingualism, a postposition and a pronoun are members of a completely locked system. Such resilience of the postposition to the lexical influence must be explained by its special role in the sentence: it is one of the most common means of establishing a syntactic connection between the words both in Georgian and in Tsovatush. Compared to major words, limited openness of other minor words also attracts attention in addition to the postposition. It seems that major words are more independent both in terms of use and in terms of borrowings; It is much easier to separate them from the foreign context and incorporate them into the new one, while minor words seem to be more deeply embedded in the syntactic model of the native language and create certain constructions from which it is relatively more difficult to remove them. In this regard, it is known that a postposition holds an extreme position.

The Tsovatush language material in this case once again confirms Schiefner's famous statement that "morphemes with complex grammatical functions are less likely to be borrowed than those with simple functions, and that, in particular, a postposition which governs several cases will be more difficult to assimilate than an original word" (1856: 355).

As for the pronoun as a member of an absolutely closed system to borrowing, we must explain such incompatibility in

everyday usage of words with a special frequency of its use. Only the named reason could protect this part of speech, as a major word, for so long and so reliably from the lexical parallels of the Georgian language.

Numerals show some peculiar situation in the matter of borrowing. If we compare the data in the first table shown above with the data in the second table in advance, we will see that all other parts of speech showed a percentage increase in the degree of openness over time, while here the situation is reversed; we have a sharp decline from 22% to 2%. How can this exception be explained?

The observation on the illustrative material of the “Brief Grammar of the Tsovatush language” written by I. Tsiskarov a century before the compilation of the Kadagidzes’ Dictionary, allows us to take into account the numerals that are no longer included in the dictionary and are considered to be lost. As in Georgian, the counting system in Tsovatush is decimal-vigesimal and contains prime and complex numbers. Due to the fact that in Georgia this vigesimal system is carried out only within 100, and in Tsovatush this system continues over the hundred to the end, we have obtained the difficult-to-understand numerals of the most complex set, which simultaneously contain several levels of mathematical operation. For example, we have:

a) Simple numerals:  $\text{ჭა}$  (ch $\grave{a}$ ) – one;  $\text{ში}$  (š $\grave{i}$ ) – two;  $\text{ჯო}$  (qo) – three;  $\text{იტი}$  (it $\grave{t}$ ) – ten;  $\text{ტიყა}$  (tq $\grave{a}$ ) – twenty...

b) Complex numerals containing multi-step mathematical operations:  $\text{შიწტიყაუბტიყა იწატიყა}$  (š $\acute{c}$ tq $\acute{a}$ uztq $\acute{a}$  i $\acute{c}$ atq) – twice twenty times twenty and ten times twenty (1000).

With such a system, for example, the number 1877 should have been as follows:  $\text{ღმეწტიყაუბტიყა იწატიყა ჯოუბტიყა}$



ვორსეშე (d̥oivɔ t̥qauzt̥q̄ɑ ɪçat̥q̄ɑ qouzt̥q̄ɑ vorʼʃejt) – four times twenty times twenty and ten times twenty and sixty and seventeen.

This excessive difficulty was the reason why the Tsovatush people soon forgot the counting system in their native language and shifted almost entirely to the Georgian system; To date, only the simple numerals and a few easy-to-understand complex numerals have survived. Thus, as soon as it came to simple numerals, this part of speech turned into an almost completely closed system to foreign language influences, and like pronouns, it is no longer lost due to the frequency of use.

We have declared the complexity of the construction as a criterion for storing words in connection with the verb, and here, on the contrary, we consider the reason for the loss as follows: In the first case, we assume its grammatical function in the complexity of the word, while here the issue is about the complexity of the content.

We can conclude that the lexical influence of a foreign language on this or that part of speech at the last stage of language contact was hindered by several reasons:

1. The phonological structure of the word, which was closely connected with its morphological structure;
2. The role of words in syntactic constructions, and
3. Frequency of usage.

Comparing the tables shows that the situation has changed significantly in terms of the openness of the parts of speech. It is noteworthy that the verb, and not the noun, is now characterized by maximum openness. As a result of the long-term impact of the Georgian language, as we can see, this part of speech also gave up its position: the polysyllabic models for borrowed verb bases have been developed alongside monosyllabic models for verb bases of C language, resulting in numerous verb synonymous parallels. The model for borrowing verb bases varied according to the stages of

foreign language influence. The current model is, of course, much simpler than the old one:

First, complex morphonological transformations of the base are no longer necessary; Second, the etymological connection of the borrowed words with the corresponding members of the S language is maintained. The ready-made, simple pattern now allows the Georgian parallel to appear in almost any verb of the borrowing language. The only exceptions to this process so far are the frequently used units, such as:

დათხარ (datxar) (crying), დელარ (delar) (laughter), დაფხარ (dapxar) (undressing), დოფხარ (dopxar) (dressing), დიშარ (dišar) (recumbency), დათარ (datar) (frying), თივარ (tivar) (resting), დექარ (dekar) (calling), ატარ (aṭar) (keep silence), დაჯღარ (daqdar) (increasing)... **It seems that the frequency of using lexemes has had more power against the lexical influence of a foreign language rather than their own constructive difficulty.**

In terms of openness, almost every part of speech has had an increase in percentage. After the verbs, the adjectives have experienced the biggest shifts in this respect. The degree of their openness has now increased from 14% to 71%. In the process of borrowing, a kind of grouping of Georgian adjectives took place: the adjectives with -იან (-ian), -ოსან (-osan), -ოვან (-ovan) suffixes of S language, which are similar to the adjectives in the C language by their nasal vowel in the end, today almost invariably and freely transfer to this language. As known, Tsovatush has already borrowed the Georgian adjectival ending (-ურ (→ულ) (-ur→ul) (Дешериев, 1953: 19). According to our observations, prefix-suffix უ - ო (u-o) has been borrowed as well, so these endings have already become natural for Georgian adjectives in Tsovatush. As for the different endings of the adjectives of the Georgian language: მაღალ-ი (maḡal-

i) (high/tall), წითელი-ი (citel-i) (red), their borrowing takes place less frequently.

Language could no longer make such a sharp leap when borrowing nouns, as the number of borrowings was already large; The increase in the degree of openness here accounted for only 1%, although only the abstract nouns of the peculiar derivation and content (e.g.: ღაზნა (γaznā) (goodness), ღაჯნა (laqnā) (height), წვეგნა (čegnā) (redness)... and the frequently used lexemes remained without the lexical parallels.

The minor change also affected the numerals, only pronouns and postpositions remained unchanged. The first is again protected by the frequency of use, while the second – by a special role in syntactic constructions.

**Thus, of the three factors mentioned above that have hampered the borrowing process, one has been removed almost entirely to date, and only two are continuing to operate: the frequency of usage and the role of words in syntactic constructions.**

From the point of view of borrowing, in order to take into account the near future of the C language, it is interesting to observe the speech of young (15-20 years old) bilinguals: here, both pronouns and postpositions tend to acquire foreign language parallels for native language words. So far, we have confirmed only a few examples of such borrowing:

1. The Tsovatush pronoun ოშტ-მაშტრუ (ošt-maštrū) (this kind of-that kind of) denoting a person of bad behaviour and the Georgian იმნაირ(ი) (imnair(i)) (such) are used in parallel.

2. In some context, the Georgian postposition კენ (ken) (to) is added to the forms with ჰ (h) postposition of the Tsovatush language. At the same time, you will meet, for example, ცერეჰჰე

(**cerivh**) and ცერვიჰჰენ (cerivhḥen) (towards the slope, towards the shore); სოგუჰჰენ (sogujh) and სოგუჰჰენ (sogujhḥen) (towards me)...

As we can see, the process of breaking down the most durable protective factors of borrowed language words from the lexical influence of a foreign language began very slowly during overbilingualism. It is difficult to say for sure which factor will last longer: the frequency of usage or the participation in syntactic constructions. It is conceivable that the first one will be more advantageous in this respect.

Well-known researcher of the borrowings, U. Weinreich discusses the statistics of the English borrowings in American Norwegian language and notes that “the percentage of noun borrowings is about 50% higher than the percentage of borrowings in Norwegian and English as a whole. On the other hand, for verbs, this percentage is lower by 20 than those in these languages at all, and some of the parts of speech are represented in a weaker form among the borrowings” (1972: 46).

Comparison of the results presented by U. Weinreich with the data in our tables (1, 2) shows different ratios with respect to periods of bilingualism.

The calculations made according to Table I in the matter of nouns almost completely coincided with the data of the English borrowings of the Norwegian language. In terms of verbs, the similarity was expressed by the fact that the difference gave us a negative number here as well. As for the results of Table II, which reflects the period of overbilingualism, the situation is reversed here: the difference in nouns is expressed in negative numbers and the difference in verbs – in positive numbers. These tables, as well as the calculations made according to them, show that **each new stage of bilingualism gives different results in terms of the openness of the parts of speech.**

As there can be seen from the table compiled for the Georgian lexical parallels of the words of the Tsovatush language, today the way is open to almost all parts of speech for Georgian borrowings in this language. A few more steps towards further straining the relationship of the languages in contact, that is, reaching the point where all bilinguals are able to switch freely from code to code, bode making Georgian substitutes for the left so far single lexemes, after which there will be a discussion regarding the switching of languages in the field of lexis: the emergence of synonymous parallels in the case of long bilingualism means entering on the path of a loss of the vast majority of words of the borrowing language.

Even today, if we take into account the speech of a Tsovatush man with higher education, who systematically has to be in the Georgian environment and speaks Georgian more often than his native language, we would see that many more words can acquire the Georgian parallel. In this respect, the narrow circle of everyday words from the main lexical fund of the language seems to be small exception and untouchable fund. It is this part of the lexis about which Abaev notes: “when we carefully study the historical fate of different layers of the lexis, we are convinced that it contains certain elements that can compete with the most enduring elements of phonetics and morphology by their sustainability” (Абаев, 1956: 57).

### §3. Loss of words

It is hard to imagine that the word can come out of usage, that is, be lost; This process develops through the gradual archaization of lexical items. That is why we consider the acquisition of an archaic look by this or that lexeme as a symptom of its heading towards the loss.

Word archaizing can be caused by a variety of circumstances, such as:

1. Obsolescence of the object: In such a case, as Arn. Chikobava writes, **“the fate of objects decides the fate of words”** (1975: 34).

2. Acquisition of the lexical parallel by the word: this parallel may again arise on the native ground, or enter from a foreign language. In such a case, we could say that the **word decides the fate of the word**.

The first one is called the turning of the words into historicisms, and the second one is known as the archaization of the words. Both the archaisms themselves and the historicisms are lost without leaving a trace in the language not having a writing system and are maintained in the dictionaries or other written monuments in the language having the writing system. Nevertheless, such units should be considered lost in the language having the writing system according to their participation in the process of active usage of words.

The Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual situation shows nothing specific and extraordinary in terms of turning words into historicisms. As for the archaization of the words, we should notice out:

a) Archaization of words under the influence of foreign language parallels, and

b) Archaization of words under the influence of models of foreign language contextual structure.

Below we will discuss these peculiar features of this special, bilingual situation of archaization and loss of words.

In a language that is under a strong lexical influence of the second language, borrowing a word of the same meaning is the most powerful factor in the archaization of words. The borrowed word, backed by a highly prestigious S language, persecutes the corresponding word of the C language in the course of time and makes it archaic. This is done by gradually restricting the use of the words of a borrowing language.

The borrowed word, at first, is satisfied with the role of lexical parallelism and is freely alternated with the word of the same content of the borrowing language, and then gradually in some contexts, it establishes the only right, which certainly narrows the area of application of its local parallel.

Narrowing the context of a word means reducing its viability. A word that remains in one or more contexts eventually becomes incomprehensible and loses its function. So, for example, the word ბუხ (bux) (bottom) has been kept in the only catchphrase to this day: „ბუხწიხრ გუბე ჭიკ თასლალუა“ (buxçiçô gubê çik taslaluj) (One lest falls into a bottomless puddle) which is used to refer to a cowardly person and should be translated into Georgian like this: “Woe to him if he falls into a bottomless pit.” Its specific meaning, although the expression is used quite often, is incomprehensible to modern Tsovatush people. This is the last step of word losing.

Usually, of course, the process of narrowing the context does not develop that way. A significant increase in the frequency of the use of the borrowed word compared to the use of a local word in bilingualism represents sufficient grounds for the loss of the latter. This is the way the words of C language were lost:

ბოტ (bot) (dough), ბოჭ (boh) (kid), კავ (kav) (wheat), სომ (som) (rouble), ყაკ (qak) (hammer), ბუც (buc) (grass), აყი (ajqi) (rock), უთხ (utx) (piece), დაყრ (daqd) (deceased), ყოხყ (qoqx) (snowflake), ფჰაშჰ (phašê) (shroud), ვადო (vadô) (harmful), ატივი (at'iv) (fate), მაყი (maqô) (freedom), ტყოცლო (tqo'lo) (future), ყეხკდარ (qexkdar) (obstacle), ნაფსო (napsor) (smashed down), ლაჯრი (yajri) (detachment)... Their place in the dictionaries was taken by the Georgian equivalent words written next to them.

Hundreds of words preserved in the Kadagidzes' Dictionary, which have already acquired Georgian lexical parallels, are on a path leading to the loss. Out of 3665 Tsovatush words preserved in the dictionary, only 1090 words have remained without Georgian parallels so far.

Each lexical parallel from a foreign language will inevitably lead to the loss of the appropriate unit of C language. This is due to the long-term impact of the foreign language collective, which is why the borrowing word is becoming more and more popular in terms of frequency of use. Ultimately, the frequency advantage of this use is decisive: frequently used words become stable, and those with less frequency are being lost.

Lexical parallels are in the relationship of absolute synonyms with each other, and such synonyms are mainly needed only in literary language to create the local colour during artistic narration, or for other purposes. **Lexical parallelisms for the language without a writing system become difficult-to-carry jewelry, which is why the latter will soon be free from them. We can argue that the acquisition of foreign language parallelism by the word means that it is on the path leading to the loss.**

The Tsovatush-Georgian bilingual situation presents another, peculiar way of archaizing and losing words. Its peculiarity lies in



the fact that it is conditioned by the differences in the models of the contextual structures of the languages in contact. At the current stage of Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism, the differences of this series are being disordered. In the contexts of the C language, where this or that word looks unusual on the background of the corresponding context of the S language, members are replaced by Tsovatush units close to the latter. This shift is gradual and is carried out by archaizing the changed lexeme. At such times, in contrast to the usual, complete archaization of words, its use in some contexts acquires the obsolete look, although sometimes the complete archaization of words also takes place for the same reason. In such cases, it can be said that **the contextual structure of the S language determines the fate of the word.**

Here are some examples:

1. დეკარ (deqar) – means paying/spending and still stands firmly in contexts where its use is similar to Georgian. In the Tsovatush language, it created one unusual pair for the Georgian language: 'ა დეკარ ('a deqar) (passing winter, or spending). Due to the fact that in Georgian **winter** is said to be used with the word **spending** and not **paying**, today in this context, bilinguals choose to say დიკარ (diqar) (spending). That is how we got a new pair: 'ა დიკარ ('a diqar). In the same context, the word დეკარ (deqar) already has an obvious archaic look and can only be heard in the speech of the very old people.

2. ჯაკარ (jaqar) – means getting back and is still used invariably in all contexts where its use is justified in terms of the Georgian language. Until recently, it was also used in addition to the word ბუძსა (bujśā) (night). The acquired pair ბუძსა ჯაკარ (bujśā jaqar) replaced **spending the night**, used in the Georgian language. Now here it has been replaced by ჯიკარ (jikar) the exact equivalent

of the Georgian verb ‘**spending**’, it is said: ცჳა ბუასნ დიქნას (ch̄a bujsā jiknas) (I spent one night).

3. დატარ (dāt̄ar) – means bursting, but with the word ბუბუკ (bubuk̄) (flower) it carried the meaning of the Georgian word blossoming. Today, this “inaccuracy” is rectified and instead of saying: ბუბუკ დატქ (bubuk̄ dat̄ē), they say: ბუბუკ დარქქ (bubuk̄ dar̄žē), which is the exact equivalent of the Georgian word “**blossoming**”.

There are many more examples we could name. While it is not possible to find the exact equivalent in Tsovatush, the appropriate Georgian word takes the place of the “unusual” word in the context. In such a case, the difference between the models of contextual structures becomes a reason for word borrowings, For example:

1. დარ (dar) – means making and is one of the most common verbs in the C language. In order to convey the content of the Georgian word **church wedding**, in due time, they formed a hybrid expression ჳორ დარ (ჭორ dar) (making cross) with its help. Today, again under the influence of the Georgian language, this verb has been replaced by the verb **write** – დარ (dar) borrowed from the Georgian language; Thus, a new pair has been created: ჳორ დარქადარ (ჭორ dač̄eradar) – church wedding.

2. ჰატხრქ (hat̄xrē) – carries the meaning of the word ‘**from the front**’. The use is still same today, except for the contexts in which it combines the essence of the Georgian word ‘instead’. As expected, the discrepancy was corrected, but due to the fact that the exact equivalent could not be found in the C language, a Georgian lexeme was introduced in its place. That’s how we got it: სრ ჰატხრქ

ღობ // სონ მაგივრათ ღობ (sō ḥatxrē γob // son magivrat γob) (go instead of me).

Examples of this type could still be looked for. We can see, the contexts of the Tsovatush language are being adjusted according to the situation in the Georgian language. This process of bringing contexts into line is being done with great precision. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the word serves the only context and is persecuted because Georgian does not have such a specific term.

**We should characterize the named cases of loss of words as the influence of the Georgian model of language thinking on the appropriate model of the Tsovatush language.** The bilinguals, who have mastered the Georgian model of thinking over time, cite their native language to match the latter.

It seems that **due to the fact that it is impossible to think in several ways, the differences of this character are rectified.** It can be said that there is little left in this direction to be corrected. Phraseological units have been also corrected. The new generation is no longer familiar with the proverbs and catchphrases preserved here and there in the speech of the elderly. The original Tsovatush idiomatic expressions were replaced by units translated from Georgian with the same content.

We can conclude that:

- I. We have two types of word loss according to the results:
  - a) When a word is lost from all contexts, and
  - b) When a word is lost from some contexts.
- II. According to the causes, we must distinguish three types of the same process:
  - a) When the fate of the object determines the fate of the word;
  - b) When the word of the source language determines the fate of the word, and

c) When the contextual structure of the source language determines the fate of the word.

## **Chapter II**

### **Types of lexical borrowings**

#### **Introduction**

All the novelty that appears under the influence of another language in the vocabulary of any language is mentioned as lexical borrowings. There are several ways of lexical borrowings:

1. When the content of a borrowed word is followed from one language to another by its sound cover (the sound cover may be completely or partially conveyed);

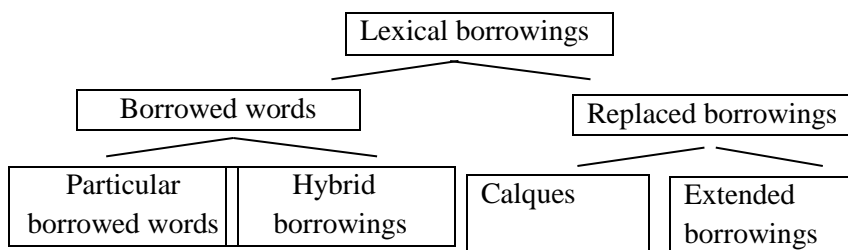
2. When the content of a borrowed word preserves only its morphological model, while the morphemes are selected from the borrowing language, and

3. When the content of a word taken from a foreign language is related to any of the lexeme already existing in the borrowing language.

According to these three possibilities, there are three types of lexical borrowings: borrowed words, calques, and semantic borrowings.

In all cases of lexical borrowings, only the content of the word functions invariably, and the sound cover sometimes remains the same and sometimes changes with the material of the borrowing language. Based on this fact, the renowned researcher in borrowings, Einar Haugen, simplified this trinomial classification and identified two main types of lexical borrowings: one was called borrowed words, and the other – replaced borrowings (replacement of the sound cover is assumed) (Хайген, 1972: 367). This time, as we can see, calques and semantic borrowings came together according to the sign that the sound cover of a word in both cases is replaced by the material of the borrowing language.

The researcher presented a clear and consistent system of these two main types of subclasses and subgroups of lexical borrowings, which includes almost all cases of existing or possible borrowings in this or that language. Under this system, borrowed words are divided into subclasses of specifically borrowed words and hybrid borrowings, while replaced borrowings are divided into calques and extended borrowings. Schematically it looks like that:



According to our materials below, we will discuss all four subclasses of lexical borrowings separately and distribute the lexical borrowings obtained as a result of Tsovatush-Georgian language relations in separate cells of the scheme. We have mentioned what we have and to what extent, what we lack, and why, what we have encountered more.

## §1. Specifically Borrowed words

The first type of lexical borrowings, called borrowed words, is most characteristic of the Tsovatush language; About 99% of the lexemes adopted from other languages are collected here. This type, as we have pointed out, forms two subclasses; The first was called specifically borrowed words, and the second was called hybrid borrowings. We have specifically borrowed words when the borrowing language assimilates the sound cover along with the content of the word, and hybrid borrowing is when any morpheme in the sound cover of the word is changed by the material of the borrowing language. The vast majority of words borrowed from a foreign language used in the Tsovatush language belong to the first subclass of the first type (specifically borrowed words); In this regard, the specific weight of the members of the second subclass (hybrid borrowings) of the same type in the total number of borrowed words is relatively insignificant.

The sound cover of a specifically borrowed word in a borrowing language can be subjected to a number of phonological transformations. According to the degree of these transformations, the subclass of the so-called borrowed words is divided into three subgroups. Subgroups are formed by fully assimilated, partially assimilated, and unchanged lexical units. Fully assimilated words no longer remind us of the basic form, and require specific linguistic analysis to establish such a connection; In this respect, words have a different position, where outwardly nothing has changed indeed.

Each borrowing is introduced into the language by the bilingual individual, and then it is accepted and repeated by the others. While a person who introduces a new word into a language is fluent in a foreign language, the sound cover of a borrowed word may remain unchanged, but then when it moves to the collective usage, members of the collective, who do not master a foreign

language well, will contribute to the borrowing process, that is, they will change it. There is another possibility, in particular, the sound cover of a word can be changed by the very first borrower if the latter does not speak a foreign language well.

In all the named cases, the phonological transformation of the borrowed word occurs unconsciously; The speaker does not change the word, he just hears it that way: the unusual sounds for the native language are difficult to hear and to be uttered. This is why bilingual individuals try to put unusual into usual frames and utter a foreign word the way they can. The question of what the sound cover of a borrowed word will look like is predetermined by the phonological model of the word, as well as the level of knowledge of a foreign language by a bilingual collective.

The system of word usage of the Tsovatush language includes many words borrowed from Georgian or through Georgian which are divided into three subgroups according to the current situation. Among them, the cases of total assimilation are the most insignificant today; These are the lexemes that the language borrowed in the first stage of the relationship and completely placed them under its own phonology.

Georgian.: გვირგვინი (gvirgvini) (crown), Tsovatush.: გირგიმი (girgim); კიკინა (kikina) (bleating) – კიკიმი (kikim); ზედადგარი (zedadgari) (trivet) – ზედგა (zedgã); საცერი (saceri) (sieve) – ცაც (cac); მუჯღუგუნი (muჭღუგუნი) (clout) – მუჯგა (muჭგã); მადლი (madli) (mercy) – მადელ (madel), კევი (kevi) (bubblegum) – კივი (kivi); ღვარი (gvari) (stream) – ღორ (gor); გვალვა (gvalva) (drought) – გოლრ (golõ); ჯვარი (ჭvari) (cross) – ჯორ (ჭor); გვარი (gvari) (family name) – გორ (gor); კვალი (kvali) (trace) – კოლი (kol); ზნე (zne) (temper) – ზა (zã); მტერიანი



(mtveriani) (dusty) – ბუტგლერქი (būglērē); გონიერი (gonieri) (clever) – გუჯნარ (gujnar) (gujnar); ღონიერი (ḡonieri) (powerful) – ლუჯნარ (yujnar); ზომიერი (zomieri) (moderate) – ზუჯმარ (zujmar); წმენდა (čmenda) (polish) – წამ-ღარ (čam-dar); არჩევა (arčeva) (choose) – ჩავარ-ღარ (čavar-dar); ცდა (cda) (try) – ცად-ღარ (cad-dar) (ღარ (dar) is auxiliary verb and forms infinitives); მაგრამ (magram) (but) – მა (mā) ...

Due to the fact that the phonological structure of the words of the C language itself differs significantly from the structure of the S language words, this subgroup should have been the most represented among the borrowings in the first stage of the Georgian-Tsovatush language relationship. The borrowed units would then need substantial transformations to organically combine the lexical material of the borrowing language. Today, this group of words assimilated from other languages, as well as many phonological processes related to it, is already a past step for Tsovatush and represents relicts of the past situation.

Just because the etymological connection of the named words with the proper forms of Georgian was no longer felt, Tsovatush re-borrowed many of them again. Today, the same Georgian word pair is used side by side, the first of which is completely assimilated, and the second – partially assimilated, or unchanged.

We have, for example:

<b>Georgian</b>	<b>Tsovatush</b>
მუჯღლუგუნი (muḡluguni) (clout)	მუჯღგა // მუჯღლუგუქ (muḡḡā // muḡlugū)
მადლი (madli) (mercy)	მადელ // მადლ

	(madel // madl)
კუდიანი (kudiani) (witch)	კუძღე // კუდი (kudĕ / kudî)
სახალათე (saxalate) (fabric for making a robe)	ხალათ-დილ // სახალათე (xalaT-dil // saxalatê)

In addition to the above-mentioned, for the same reason, the following are also re-borrowed: კიკი (kikî), ზედადგარ (zedadgar) (trivet), კვალ (kval) (trace), ზნე (zne) (temper), მტვრი (mtvri) (dust), ფრთხილ (prttil) (cautious), კუდი (kudi) (witch), გონიერ (gonier) (clever), ღონიერ (yonier) (powerful), ზომიერ (zomier) (moderate), წმენდა-ღარ (çmenda-dar) (polish), ცად-ღარ (cad-dar) (try), მაგრამ (magram) (but)... A total of 24 units were re-borrowed from the 31 fully assimilated words listed above by us.

Re-borrowed words, along with their previously assimilated forms, establish their own synonymous parallelisms for a certain time. **All pairs adopted in this way are synonymous, as their members communicate the same content independently of each other, and their peculiarity lies in the fact that they oppose each other as native to foreign, while both are borrowed, but at different times and with different requirements.**

Completely assimilated lexical borrowings are soon lost due to the acquisition of partially assimilated parallels. Based on the remained examples, we could say that the loss of syllable, the consonant loss, the emergence of the anaptic vowel, the epenthesis, and the fusion of sound complexes caused a break in the etymological connection between the initial and accepted forms of borrowed words. These powerful means of transformation of lexemes, which the C language naturally used to protect itself from

the phonological influence of the S language, are no longer valid in borrowings today.

At the present stage, when bilingualism has become universal and the level of knowledge of the Georgian language in bilinguals has increased, the living process of word assimilation is limited to two subgroups. Subgroups are formed by already partially assimilated and unchanged words. Among them, the most numerous today are the partially assimilated lexical items, although the whole sequence of events suggests the intrusion of unchanged words in the near future.

We consider the reduction of the auslaut vowel in two- and more-syllable words to be an event of a series of making partial assimilators. This subgroup will include all vowel-based borrowed nouns where the weakening/loss of the final vowel takes place. The consonant-based nouns will also be included here if we consider the loss of the nominative *o* (i) vowel on the plane of the reduction of other vowels. In addition to the weakening-loss of the final vowel, we also consider the reduction of the vowel inside the base and the nasalization of the vowel in the auslaut of the bases ending in *n* (n), as part of the events of the series of partial assimilators.

We can name the examples of the partially assimilated words:

1. With reduction of the auslaut vowel:

a) With the weakening and loosing of the auslaut vowel -*a* (-**a**): Georgian: სკოლა (skola) (school) – Tsovatush: სკოლ (skol); შენობა (šenoba) (building) – შენობ (šenob); ჩანთა (čanta) (bag) – ჩანთ (čānt); დავალება (davaleba) (homework) – დავალებ (davaleb); მოწმობა (močmoba) (certificate) – მოწმობ (močmob); განცხადება (gancxadeba) (announcement) – განცხადებ (gācxadeb); გეგმა (gegma) (plan) – გეგმ (geg m); პატიება (paṭieba) (forgiveness) –

პატეებ (paṭieb); აღსარება (aṡsareba) (confession) – აღსარებ (aṡsareb); გამოკლება (gamokleba) (deduction) – გამოკლებ (gamokleb); ხელობა (xeloba) (craft) – ხელობ (xelob); ჭრილობა (čriloba) (wound) – ჭრილობ (črilob) ...

b) With the weakening of the auslaut vowel -ე (-e):  
Georgian: სათავე (satave) (source) – Tsovatush: სათავე (satavê); ვაკე (vaḱe) (valley) – ვაკე (vaḱê); მეფე (mepe) (king) – მეფე (mepê); კუთხე (ḱutxe) (corner) – კუთხე (ḱutxê); კლიტე (kliṭe) (lock) – კლიტე (kliṭê); მონადირე (monadire) (hunter) – მონადირე (monadirê); მებაღე (mebaye) (gardener) – მებაღე (mebayê); სამაროლე (samarile) (cellar) – სამაროლე (samarilê); სიკეთე (siḱete) (kindness) – სიკეთე (siḱetê) ...

c) With the weakening of the auslaut vowel -ო (-o):

Georgian: ეზო (ezo) (yard) – Tsovatush: ეზო (ezô); ბოლო (bolo) (end) – ბოლო (bolô); წერო (čero) (crane) – წერო (čerô); წებო (čebo) (glue) – წებო (čebô); ჯილდო (žildo) (reward) – ჯილდო (žildô); უბილეთო (ubileto) (ticketless) – უბილეთო (ubiletô); სანდო (sando) (trustworthy) – სანდო (sandô); უხასიათო (uxasiato) (bad-tempered) – უხასიათო (uxasiatô); სასწრაფო (sasčrapo) (urgent) – სასწრაფო (sasčrapô)...

d) With weakening of the auslaut vowel -ღ (-d):

Georgian: კენგურუ (ḱenguru) (kangaroo) – Tsovatush: კენგურუ (ḱengurû).

2. With loosing of formant of nominative case: Georgian: მინდორი (mindori) (field) – Tsovatush: მინდორ (mīdor); თოთოლი

(potoli) (leaf) – ფოთოლ (potol); ღრუბელი (yrubeli) (cloud) – ღრუბელ (yrubel); ხორბალი (xorbali) (wheat) – ხორბალ (xorbali); მოსავალი (mosavali) (yield) – მოსავალ (mosaval); სურათი (surati) (picture) – სურათ (surat); კედელი (kedeli) (wall) – კედელ (kedel) ...

3. With reduction of the internal vowel of base: Georgian: კალაპოტი (kalapoti) (towpath) – Tsovatush: კალპოტ (kalpot); კალატოზი (kalaṭozi) (bricklayer) – კალტოზ (kaltoz); ბიძაშვილი (biḷašvili) (cousin) – ბიძშვილ (biḷšvil); ანგარიში (angariši) (account) – აგრში (āgriš); მარგალიტი (margaliṭi) (pearl) – მარგლიტ (marglit); დეკანოზი (deḷanozi) (archpriest) – დეკნოზ (deḷnoz); ანგელოზი (angelozi) (angel) – აგლოზ (āgloz); გენერალი (generali) (general) – ღერნალ (ḡernal); სარგებელი (sargebeli) (profit) – სარგებელ (sarebel); აუარებელი (auarebeli) (countless) – აუარებელ (auarbel); მატარებელი (maṭarebeli) (train) – მატარებელ (maṭarbel); უკარებელი (uḷarebeli) (unsociable) – უკარებელ (uḷarbel); უხსენებელი (uxsenebeli) (snake) – უხსენებელ (uxsenbel); გაუხარებელი (gauxarebeli) (joyless) – გაუხარებელ (gauxarbel).

4. With nasalization of auslaut vowel: Georgian: ხეივანი (xeivani) (path) – Tsovatush: ხეივან (xeivā); მავანი (mavani) (somebody) – მავან (mavā); მდივანი (mdivani) (secretary) – მდივან (mdivā); დენი (deni) (electricity) – დენ (dē); ხსენი (xseni) (colostrum) – ხსენ (xsē); ორდენი (ordeni) (order) – ორდენ (ordē); შევარდენი (ševardeni) (falcon) – შევარდენ (ševardē) ...

The boundary between full assimilated and partial assimilated subgroups of words is inconstant because it is impossible

to make a sharp differentiation of the phonological transformations as factors of the force of making fully and partially assimilations. Such a division would be conditional in any bilingual situation because the same event in one case would completely break the etymological connection of the word with the original form, while in the other case, it would no longer occur.

**The degree of detachment of the borrowed word from its base form depends not only on the nature of the transforming phonological process but also on the number of phonemes in the lexeme; The more phoneme sequence its structure provides for, the more difficult it is for the word to get rid of the base form.** Such units are usually called long. How do we draw the line between the length and shortness of the word?

It would be most natural to call monosyllabic words short and polysyllabic words - long, but even monosyllabic words differ from each other in this respect. The number of consonants seems crucial; Those monosyllabic words that contain several consonants share the fate of long words: they, like polysyllabic words, require the combined action of several transforming factors for complete assimilation.

The increase in the level of knowledge of a foreign language in the bilingual collective was followed by a restriction on the processes of assimilators of the borrowed words. Bilingual individuals are now able to perceive foreign language sound models almost without hindrance; In the borrowing language, new, hitherto unusual sound combinations have become permissible, and this has resulted in the fact that almost all the processes, in the Tsovatush language, which we have called complete assimilators, have ceased to function in the modern stage of bilingualism. Today, almost in front of our eyes, there is a certain limitation in the factors of partial assimilators. Only two of them continue to operate in the latest

borrowings: the laws of weakening of the final vowel and its own nasalization. No vowel reduction occurs inside the base.

Phonologically unchanged words form the third subgroup of lexical units borrowed on its own, as mentioned above. This subgroup is very rich in examples today, in terms of overbilingualism, while, in our opinion, we should have had single cases here in Tsovatush at the previous stage. Such would be, for example, the simplest monosyllabic words of the CV type, such as: ცა (ca) (sky) in Georgian – ცა (ca) in Tsovatush, კი (ki) (yes) – კი, ჰი (ki, ho) (yes). The words of the VC and CVC models could have been assimilated invariably.

We note that not always a simple structure would protect the word from phonological transformations, because even in the case of model identity, languages could have had different rules for the distribution of phonemes. For example, the Tsovatush language borrowed Georgian ხე (xe) (tree) in the form ხე (xē), კუ (ku) gave us კუვ (kuv), we got კივ (kiv) from კევ (kev) we got ხუმი (xum) from ხომ (xom) and others.

Today, a lot of conjunctions, particles, and hundreds of adverbs of Georgian origin belong to a completely unchanged subgroup of words. Several factors contributed to the unchanged transfer of the sound cover of the above-mentioned parts of speech: first, it is the latest layer of borrowings, and second, their structure seems quite natural and regular at the level of the modern, transformed phonological system for borrowings of Tsovatush language.

Some of the lexemes in this group are exceptional: ქვეთად (on foot) – ქუთად (kujtad); მაგივრად (magivrad) (instead) – მაჯარათ (majgarat); ხომ (xom) (after all) – ხუმი (xum); მაგრამ (magram) (but) – მა (mā); თურმე (turme) (apparently) – თურ (tur).

These, as mentioned above, are borrowed relatively early and represent relicts of the first subgroup.

In addition to the listed conjunctions, particles, and adverbs, the third subgroup of the borrowed words will be replenished with all the lexemes that have been assimilated to date, which will stand next to the same established word as the “correct” form to the “wrong” one. One of the specific features of the high level of language influence, as it is indicated in the scientific literature, is the correction of the so-called erroneous forms. Completely assimilated and partially assimilated words are “wrong”, and their unchanging forms are “correct”.

The high level of bilingualism allows the bilingual individual to see the deviation between the initial and the obtained, partially assimilated forms of the same word, and to correct the “error”. In due time, of course, it was the influence of the phonological model of the native language that compelled the listener to misunderstand what was being said in a foreign language. Due to the intensification of the borrowing process, in the course of time, unusual phonetic connections for its model became permissible in the phonology of the Tsovatush language, which resulted in a revision of the already assimilated word forms.

To date, many things have been corrected; Nearly all of the partially assimilated forms, in which epenthesis, vowel reduction, consonant loss, and fall of anaptic consonants took place, have been replaced by new ones. The words in the old form are used by the middle-aged generation. The Tsovatush people have left only a few things to correct today: this is to restore the last vowel of the weakened word to the full vowel, and also to abrogate the nasalization of the vowel acting in the auslaut of the word again. At this stage of the relationship, all other differences between the phonological systems of the S and C languages have been removed, the latest layer of borrowings subordinates only to these two



minimizing processes. As soon as the action of the first of them ceases, the action of the second one will cease as well, as the phonetic environment necessary for the nasalization of the vowel in the words will be removed. **So, today the mandatory reduction of the final vowel causes the changes in sound cover of the lexical borrowings of the Tsovatush language.**

Thus, the same word according to the stages of the relationship between languages can give us three different forms: fully assimilated, partially assimilated and unchanged. For example, the Georgian word მადლი (madli) (mercy), which is found today in Tsovatush language in the form of მადელ and მადლ (madel and madl), will later take the form of მადლი (madli), the word მუჯღლეგუნი (muჭღლუნი) (clout), which is confirmed by მუჯღ (muჭღ) and მუჯღლეგუნი (muჭღლეგუნი) forms, will be found in the form of მუჯღლეგუნი (muჭღლეგუნი). The same path is expected of other fully assimilated units preserved in the Tsovatush language to this day. So, in many cases, we will have three different forms in the C language as opposed to one Georgian word. These forms will not even be received from each other, but each of them will be independently connected to the first source.

Schematically it looks like that:

Georgian	Tsovatush
მადლი (madli) (mercy)	მადელ // მადლ // მადლი (madel // madl // madli)
მუჯღლეგუნი (muჭღლუნი) (clout)	მუჯღ // მუჯღლეგუნი // მუჯღლეგუნი (muჭღ // muჭღლეგუნი //

	muṣṭluguni)
კიკინა (kikina) (bleating)	კიკიმ // კიკი // კიკინა (kikim // kiki // kikina)

The third form is the most viable of the three received ones: it is supported by the growing bilingualism and prestige of a foreign language. That is why the significance of the other two forms is reevaluated in relation to it. The second form, as formal parallelism, will soon be erased by the third form, while the first, which will be in synonymous parallelism towards the latter, may remain for a long time. This differentiates only the fate of the formal and synonymous parallels of the borrowed words.

At first glance we might think that the three subgroups of fully assimilated, partially assimilated, and unchanged words reflect the results of the next three stages of language relationship. In part, this is indeed the case because the earlier a certain type of word is borrowed, the more change it has experienced and vice versa; Because the change in the cover of a word is conditioned by its structure, or rather by its correspondence of structure to the phonological pattern of the borrowing language: one of two words borrowed at the same time may remain absolutely unchanged, while the other may be subject to substantive transformations.

Such a different situation is presented by the Georgian lexical borrowings used in the Tsovatush language for the reason that the phonological systems of these two languages only partially overlap. Where we have word matching, borrowing takes place without any transformations, and where borrowed word structure differs, the changes are to take place. For example, it is possible to borrow the words at one time: ცა (< ცა) (ca) (sky) and ხარბილი

(čardil) (< ჩრდილი) (črdili) (shadow). The first remained unchanged because the CV type model was common in this language, while the second was transformed because the direct sequence of occlusive and sonant in the word auslaut was unusual.

In turn, obviously, there is a direct relationship between the degree of assimilation of words with the same structure and their borrowings of antiquities: the more altered the phonetic cover of a word is, the earlier it is borrowed from a less altered word in a similar set.

Thus, **according to the nature of the changes in the sound cover, it is possible to define approximately the relative chronology of some word borrowings.** However, we have quite a few lexical items towards which such an approach is fruitless. They have the same distribution of phonemes that is also characteristic of the C language. Because of this, their assimilation in an unchanged form could have taken place both centuries ago and nowadays.

A peculiar expression of lexical influence is the use of Georgian word-quotations in C language. Unlike borrowed words that organically merge with the lexical fund of the borrowing language, word-quotation is always unusual. In context it stands out for its peculiar form, or novelty of use. For example, today, in the conditions of the overbilingualism, we can encounter with:

1. კალამი დაჰ დავდინას (kalami dah davdinas) (I have lost my pen);
2. კაძიკ ბალახ დეწეს დაცაჰ (kaɟik balax deɟes dacā) (I need to mow some grass);
3. მეფეს ზეზვენ ხმალი ჩუქბადიენ (mepes zezven xmali čukbadien) (The king gave Zezva a sword).

In these expressions კალამი (kalami) (the pen), ბალახ (balax) (the grass) and ხმალი (xmali) (the sword) are quotations from

the Georgian language. The first quote is recognized because the ending -ა (-i) is unusual in the auslaut of the borrowed word, and the second because the word is not yet considered borrowed.<sup>1</sup> As for the third, it is presented as a quote by both the novelty of use and the form.

In a specific situation, any word from a foreign language dictionary can be used as a quotation. The speaker, like the listener, always chooses unmistakably which word is borrowed in his speech and which is the quotation. The use of quotation in conversation serves certain purposes. In this way a humorous mood can be created: making fun of the interlocutor for ignorance and disrespect for the native language, or, conversely, trying to show better knowledge of a foreign language compared to the native, and so on.

Unlike borrowed words, where the immutability of the sound cover agrees with the norm developed for a given stage of language relationship, the word-quotation brings in new, still unusual structure of the word. The use of word-quotations is another conducive condition for establishing new, previously unusual word forms in the borrowing language.

## **§2. Hybrid borrowings**

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<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that a word whose equivalent is not found in a given language, is not perceived as a quotation if the corresponding requirements in the matter of the phonetic membrane of the word are met.

The second subclass of borrowed words is constituted by the hybrid borrowings. Such a name was given to them because part of the sound cover of the word is derived from a foreign language, and part is replaced by the material of the borrowing language.

Depending on the fact whether the word is compound, simple, or derived, its various components can be replaced. In a simple word, a part of the root morpheme can be replaced, in a derived word – a generative affix, and in a compound word – one of the bases. According to this, three subgroups of hybrid borrowings are distinguished, which are called simple, compound and derivative, respectively.

Changes in the sound cover of a simple borrowed word are caused by two different factors: in one case, the phonological regularity of the borrowing language apply, and in the other case, the sound cover of any other lexical unit, already used in that sense, affects. In the first case, we receive a fully or partially assimilated borrowed word, and in the second case – the so-called simple hybrid borrowing.

Thus, simple hybrid borrowing is obtained by crossing two different (borrowed and local) words. This phenomenon is known as contamination in the linguistic literature (Akhvlediani, 1939: 234). Its examples are generally few in all languages and hard to find. Because the sound cover of the words of these two languages are significantly different from each other, the obtaining of simple hybrid borrowings was unlikely.

We were able to find one example of simple hybrid borrowings: წელთე (çelte) (in the year, at the place). Taken separately, წელთე (çelte) is not found in the Tsovatush language. It entered this language with the Georgian expression შუა წელში (šua çelši), and is used only when it indicates time or a place. The first part of this expression was replaced by the material of the borrowing

language, while the second remained alien. Thus, we got the expression **ახ წელთე** (*āx çelte*) (in the middle of the year, halfway through). According to the valid phonological laws in the C language, the Georgian word **წელი** (*çeli*) (year) should have given the form **წელ** (*çel*), which would then take the form of **წელე** (*çele*) after the adding of the **-ე** (*-e*) formant (marker of the place of origine). As we can see, instead of the approximate form we have the form **წელთე** (*çelte*). The only factor that could give rise to emergency of **-თ** (*-t*) here is its crossing with another member of a previously used **მუყმათე** (*juqmate*) (in the middle of the place) expression of similar meaning in this language.

The hybrid borrowing of the formed nouns must have taken place in the Tsovatush language at a certain stage of development. This is suggested by the fact that this language uses several derivation affixes: **-ო** (*u-o*), **-ურ** (*-ur*), **-ობ** (*-ob*) assimilated from Georgian. The acquisition of foreign affixes presupposes a grammatical analysis of foreign-formed nouns, and such a division of a word is followed by its hybrid borrowing. If today it is difficult to distinguish the hybrid borrowings formed in the C language word fund, it is because there has been a kind of merging of the lexical stock of Georgian and Tsovatush languages. Nevertheless, in the lexical borrowings of the Tsovatush language, it is possible to distinguish several words according to the form, which should represent hybrid borrowings. These are adjectives:

1. **ცუფტე** - **ცოფიანი** (*cujpč̣ - copiani*) (rabid)
2. **კუფტე** - **კუზიანი** (*kujzč̣ - kuziani*) (hunchback)
3. **ბრუფტე** - **ბრუტიანი** (*brujtč̣ - bruṭiani*) (cross-eyed)

Their base names are **ცოფ** (*cop*), **კუზ** (*kuz*), **ბრუტ** (*bruṭ*) and we had to receive **ცოფ-ე** (*cop-č̣*), **კუზ-ე** (*kuz-č̣*), **ბრუტ-ე** (*bruṭ-*

ჭი) by adding the adjective suffix -ჭი (-ჭი). The above-mentioned words, of course, are not received in this way; the analysis of their forms leads to Georgian formed nouns. These nouns are: ცოფიანი (copiani), კუზიანი (kuziani), ბრუტიანი (brutiani) (a rabid, a hunchback, a cross-eyed). After the obligatory reduction of the last vowel and the epenthesis of the vowels inside the base, they had to take the form ცუფა (cujpā), კუჯა (kujzā), ბრუტა (brujtā), but because the adjectives in Tsovatush end in -ჭი (-ჭი) suffix, these nouns obtained this suffix.

The third subgroup of hybrid borrowings combines compound words and is known as compound hybrids. These are cases where one of the base morphemes of compound word components is replaced by the material of the borrowing language. Similar principles of compound word structure in the S and C languages allowed this way of borrowing to be widely used, but the current situation does not prove it. The number of compound hybrids in the C language today is limited. We have: Georgian ცოდვა-მაღლი (codva-madli) (ability to distinguish good and evil) – Tsovatush ყა-მადელ (qa-madel); დანა-ჩანგალი (dana-čangali) (dinnerware) – ნეკ-ჩაგალ (nek-čāgal); თავ-ბოლო (tav-bolo) (top and end) – ქორთო-ბოლო (korto-bolō); წამა-უკუღმა (čayma-ukuyma) (topsy-turvy) – იუს-წალმ (jux-čaym); სირცხვილ-ნამუსი (sircxvil-namus) (sense of shame) – ღეუ-ნამუს ('ep-namus); სულ-წაწყმედილი (sul-čačqmedili) (damned) – სა-წაწყმენდაღმანო (sa-čačqmendajlnō); სულ-ცხონებულო (sul-cxonebuli) (blessed) – სა-ცხონებულ (sa-cxonbul).

In the modern stage of bilingualism, this last way of borrowing mostly compound words is used, and earlier, we think, in the possible case, preference would have been given to partial

translation. In addition to the many compound words transferred by means of partial translation, the same unchanged borrowed word is used today.

In the Tsovatush language, we often find composites where one component is foreign and one is its own. Nevertheless, they cannot be considered as hybrid borrowings, since these compound units are not assimilated from another language by a ready form, but are invented in the Tsovatush language itself by combining its own and borrowed base morphemes. For example, ჯერ-ფორ – ჯერ-ვახშამი (Žer-phor – Žer-vaxšami) (dinner and supper); იუყ-სუკი – ჯელ-სუკი (juq-suḳi – çel-suḳi) (waist and back); ბო-ხახო – ნიორ-ხახვი (bo-xaxô – nior-xaxvi) (onion and garlic)... We do not have such combinations of the named components in Georgian. By combining borrowed and own words, the creation of new lexical items in the scientific literature is sharply distinguished from hybrid borrowings and they are called new hybrid formations (Huagen, 1972: 369).

Thus, the second subclass of the first type, represented in the lexical borrowing scheme called hybrid borrowings, is also represented by three subgroups in the Tsovatush language, which are formed by: simple (contaminated) hybrid borrowings, formed hybrid borrowings, and compound hybrid borrowings.

### **§3. Replaced borrowings, or calques**



The second type of lexical borrowings includes words in which the sound cover has been completely replaced by the material of the borrowing language, only the structure and content of the word remained foreign. This series of words is known as substitute borrowing. According to this, we get a new unit as a result of lexical influence, if there is an expansion of meaning for already existing words in the language. This type, in turn, is divided into two subclasses: one is called formed borrowings, and the other – expanded borrowings.

The formed borrowings are also called borrowed translations, or calques, because in such words the whole combination of morphemes is borrowed from a foreign language and translated, although the morphemes themselves are selected from the proper inventory of the C language. The translation can be word-for-word, that is, accurate and approximate.

The strong influence that the Tsovatush language is experiencing from Georgian today implies only precise calques by logical necessity. The inaccuracies that could have been allowed in the early stages of the relationship when translating morpheme combinations seem to have already been corrected. This is evidenced by the fact that even the slightest difference, which has survived to this day in calques or other Georgian-Tsovatush matches, is diligently corrected.

It was difficult for us to find the formed calques in the Tsovatush language. In the infinite series of borrowings, we have found only a few examples of formed calques, such as: ფჰიტურ (phit̄ur) (frog-like), დალურ (dalur) (ambrosial) [64], დათხურ (datxur) (moistened curds) [64]. ფჰიტ-ურ (phit̄-ur), is an exact copy of the Georgian word ბაყაყური (baq̄aquri) (frog-like), which is obtained by attaching the borrowed suffix -ურ (-ur) to the base of the C language and is used only to denote a certain way of

swimming. It is noteworthy that in all other cases, when they want to indicate a frog-like creature, for example, or a frog-like jump, and others, they use a word ფჰიტ-ღჷ (phit-ḡē), derived from the same base with their own model; As we can see, the word survived only in the context in which the tracing took place; Only then did its foreign origin remain completely clear. The same is true of the words დაღურ (dalur) (divine) and დათხურ (datxur) (moistened curds) (carnal) (for comparison, დაღე (dalê) – God, დათხ (datx) – the flesh). Here, too, the traced content of the words remained clear only because of their limited and peculiar contexts. There are many words of similar structure in Tsovatush today, but, freely participating in different contexts, they appear more as hybrid neologisms than as formed calques.

The following composites can be named as examples of compound word-for-word, or exact calques: Georgian ხელ-მოკლე (xel-mokle) (necessitous) – Tsovatush ქო-დაცუ (ko-dacū); ხელ-გაშლილი (xel-gašlili) (open-armed) – ქო-ღარჷენო (ko-darženō); ხელ-მოჭერილი (xel-moçerili) (amputated hand) – ქო-ჰაჭყინო (ko-ħaçqinō); ხელ-მრუდე (xel-mrude) (pickpocket) – ქო-გამუ (ko-gamū); ხელ-ცარიელი (xel-carieli) (empty-handed) – ქო-დასე (ko-dasê); გულ-გახსნილი (gul-gaxsnili) (open-hearted) – დოკ-დასტინო (doḡ-dastinō); გულ-მოსული (gul-mosuli) (exasperated) – დოკ-დევენო (doḡ-de'venō); გულ-დაწყვეტილი (gul-daçqvetili) (pained at heart) – დოკ-ხიტენო (doḡ-xitēnō); თვალში-მოსასვლელი (tvalši-mosasvleli) (delightful) – ბჰარჷ-დაღუენი (bḡarḡ-dayujni); თავ-მკვდარი (tav-mḡvdari) (devoted) – ქორო-ბალინო (kort-balinō)... composites of similar type of idiomatic content today have almost all things completely in common with

Tsovatush-Georgian, so the number of examples can be increased to several tens and hundreds; Such great similarities in lexical units are difficult to imagine even in the more closely related languages without their close contact. Nevertheless, it is a difficult issue to decide which of them originated on their own linguistic basis and which represents the Georgian calque. The difficulty lies in the great similarity of the principles of composite structure of the S language in the C language, as well as the limited nature of the records of the previous stage of the development of the Tsovatush language.

In the modern stage of bilingualism, this way of borrowing compound words, tracing, is almost no longer used, and we think that earlier, the advantage of the borrowing capabilities of such units would have been given to the complete or partial translation. The choice, of course, would not be free either: for translation, it was first necessary to find the proper material in the C language lexical fund. In addition, the connection of new components should have provided an easy-pronounced unit.

Currently the main way to borrow compound words is to assimilate them without any translation. Some completely calqued compound words were re-borrowed first with a partial translation and then – in an unchanged form. So, this process of borrowing compound words takes place in the form of certain steps. We have:

Georgian	Tsovatush
გულ-ღია (gul-γia) (open-hearted)	ღოკ-ნჭადნბ // ღოკ-ღბ // გულ-ღბ (doḳ-nwaǰnî // doḳ-γī // gul-γī)
სულ- წაწყმედლი (sul-çaçqmedili) (wicked)	სა-ღავინბ // სა-წაწყმედღადღბ // სულ-წაწყმედლი (sa-davinô // sa-çaçqmedajlnô // sul-çaçqmedil))

Today, these forms are used side by side, and chronologically we first had to have completely translated forms, then – the form obtained by translating one component, and finally – transferred in an unchanged way. This path taken by the named words gives us a clear idea of the general tendency of the development of interferential processes.

#### **§4. Extended borrowings**

An interesting picture in terms of foreign language influence is given by the second subclass of substituted borrowings, the so-called extended borrowings. On the basis of the resemblance that sometimes a word can have in opposition to one of the lexemes of a foreign language, it often assimilates from the former the additional content that one lacks and the other has – an expansion of the meaning of the word is taking place. Three subgroups of extended borrowings are distinguished: homophonic, synonymous, and homologous. We have homophonic expansion when the resemblance to the source of interference is of a purely phonetic nature; Expansion is synonymous when two lexical units of different languages are connected by a common content, and homologous - when both the sound cover of a word and its content represent the way of connection.

According to the sound model, where both phonology and morphology of the word operate simultaneously, the lexemes of the Tsovatush language are drastically different from the Georgian ones. Therefore, there is a limited possibility for homophonic and

homologous extended borrowings to appear in this language under the influence of the Georgian language; As for the synonymous extension, its examples are quite common.

Many words of the C language, which are related to this or that member of the Georgian lexical fund by the main meaning, are loaded with the difference that the source language additionally had, for example:

1. The word წაკითხა (caukitxa) (he/she has read) in Georgian literally means to read a text to someone, while figuratively it means გაწყრომა (gaçqroma) (to be/get angry). Under its influence, the word ხატჩი (xaṭṭi) (he/she roiled him), which had only one meaning in the Tsovatush language until recently, acquires additional meaning. They will often say: ჯაზენი ხატჩნას (jazeni xajtṭnas) (that is, I really got angry at) ....

2. The word გააცურა (gaacura) (slide) – in Georgian literally means to slide someone or something, and figuratively – მოტყუება (motq̄ueba) (to lie). Under the influence of the latter, the verb ლაბჟდიჲ (labždië) (to slide) is used by both meanings in the Tsovatush language today.

We cannot say that in the named cases, the driving force of the process represented the feeling of lexical deficit: all the named examples of word meaning expansion are accompanied by another, independent lexical unit of the borrowing language, whose main function is to convey additional meaning acquired by the first unit. In this way peculiar pairs of words are created, the members of which can replace each other in certain contexts with the right of synonyms. For example, when it comes to reading the text, the only permissible word is ხატჩნას (xajtṭnas), but ‘getting angry at someone’ is implied, then depending on the context we can use ხატჩნას (xajtṭnas), or

დაბუჰადინას (dabuḥadinas) (I got angry at...). We could have named such pairs semi-synonyms, because unlike ordinary relative or absolute synonyms, they can change each other only in one set of contexts.

There are often cases when the influence of the Georgian language is not manifested in the extension of the meaning for the word, but, on the contrary, causes the narrowing of its meaning. For example:

1. The word ტათებ (tateb) has been used in the Tsovatush language for a long time. This one lexeme has two meanings, it means silver and money. We had a similar situation in Georgian, when the words *gold* and *silver* referred to noble metals and money. This situation has become archaic in this language. On the background of the modern Georgian model of thinking, such a dual content of the corresponding word of the C language appeared strange and incomprehensible. That is why it lost one of the parallel meanings and became only a sign of money, and Georgian ვერცხლ (vercxl) (silver) became the name of the corresponding metal.

2. The word მოთ (mot) was used with two meanings: it indicated a *bed* and a *place*. It has lost its second meaning today, where it has been replaced by a borrowed word from the Georgian language – ადგილ (adgil) (place). Old semantics have survived in several fossilized expressions: სტე მათე (st̄e mate)? მიჩმათე (mičmate)? აუყმათე (juqm̄ate)? (In which place? In what place? In the middle of a place). The meaning of the word was narrowed, because in Georgian ლოგინი (a bed) did not have such a double interpretation.

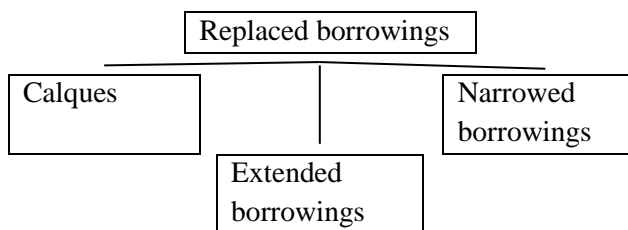
3. The word ბუბკი had two semantic meanings: 1. flowers, 2. jewelry. We think the second meaning was developed from the first one by expanding the content. The word has already lost such

meaning because the Georgian equivalent did not have it: ყვავილები (qvavilebi) (flowers).

The meanings of the words have been narrowed in the mentioned examples and the role of the Georgian language is undeniable here. It does not matter if the content of the word is added or deducted, when these processes are conditioned by the lexical influence of another language, we are dealing with borrowing both times.

Thus, in Einar Haugen's scheme, the two subsections allocated to the second type of borrowings – derived borrowings and extended borrowings – should be added to the third subclass according to the Tsovatush language materials and called narrowed borrowings. This circumstance was probably left unattended by the researcher due to the lack of proper examples.

According to what has been said, the mentioned section of the scheme will be changed and will take the following form:



The mentioned examples of expansion and narrowing, as well as “corrected” calques or equivalence, show that **in bilingualism, agreement and aligning of the two linguistic systems take place in the thinking of a bilingual; Language transformations –are the transformations that take place in the thinking. The thinking is one and the speaker tries, more or less successfully, to combine it with terms of the language, which is a**

**source of interference. If the speaker was able to think in several ways, the language influences would also be of a limited nature.**



## Chapter III

### Phonological model of the Tsovatush language words and its reflection in the lexical borrowings

#### Introduction

Phonological characterization of Tsovatush words aims to establish the specific rules that underlie the changes that occur during the adaptation of the sound cover of borrowed words. As known, these processes are caused by several facts:

1. The interrelationship of the sound systems of the languages in contact;
2. Ratio in C and S phoneme distribution rules, and
3. The difference between their word models.

The speech sound systems of the borrowing and the source languages differ significantly in synchronous aspect. The Tsovatush language preserves all the vowel or consonant phonemes that we have in modern literary Georgian. In addition, unlike modern literary Georgian, it has 4 more consonants: ჯ (q), ყ ('), თ (ω), ზ (h) and 14 vowels: five short: ა (ă), ე (ě), ი (ĩ), ო (ö), უ (ű), four long: ა (ā), ე (ē), ო (ō), უ (ū) and five nasal: ა (ã), ე (ê), ი (ĩ), ო (õ), უ (ü). The peculiarity of the speech sound system of the same language is also determined by nine diphthongs: აჲ (aj), ეჲ (ej), ოჲ (oj), უჲ (uj), აე (je), აო (ja), აი (jo), აუ (ju).

The fact that the object of interference and not the source of interference has different phonemes, is crucial in the word borrowing process. Since borrowing occurs from Georgian and not vice versa, Tsovatush “extra” phonemes seldom if ever could influence the sound cover of borrowed words. Therefore, we do not discuss the phonemic system of the C language here.

Even when we have the coincidence of the number and type of the phonemes of the S and C languages, the phonological structures of the given languages can be drastically different from each other. In such a case, the rules for distributing phonemes make a difference. As N. Trubetsky writes: “The rules for the distribution of phonemes are very different from each other in languages. They characterize languages no less than their own phonemic compositions (Грубейцкой, 1960: 284).

In the process of systematizing the materials for analysis, as expected, even the issue of word model of the Tsovatush language was raised; the interrelationship and mechanisms of specific types of vowel reduction, which are widespread in flexi-derivation systems of this language, are also to be elucidated in relation to the borrowings of multisyllabic words. The word of the borrowing language has not been studied in this regard, which is why we present below the results of our observations on these issues.

## **§1. The word model of the Tsovatush language**

The word of the Tsovatush language is broken down into morphemes. The formation of the root as part of speech occurs in two ways: it may or may not be attached by the word-producing affix. According to this, two morphological models of words are distinguished:

1. Simple word – base (for base words);
2. Base and derivative (for derived words).

We used the Kadagidzes' dictionary to study the base morphemes. 981 simple, undivided words – base or base morpheme – were taken from the dictionary of the Tush language. 795 of them

are monosyllabic, the remaining 186 are disyllabic. As we can see, the numerical advantage is clearly on the side of monosyllables, and the primary model of the base must be related to it.

Monosyllabic base morphemes show several models: V, VC, VCC, CV, CCV, CVC, CCVC, CVCC, CCVCC. In only three cases do we have the vowel base morpheme: these are the demonstrative pronouns: ე (e), ი (i), ო (o) (this, that). It is noteworthy that they have consonant variants as well: ეჰ (eh), იჰ (ih), ოჰ (oh). The CCV type bases are relatively more common; We have 21 cases of using this model. For example: ფხე (pxu) (a lit), თხო (txo) (we)... It is noteworthy that this model of base is not realized in verbs at all.

The use of CV type bases is limited to 31 cases. There are only nouns to list here: ჳა (qa) (a pig); ბო (bo) (garlic); ჩა (ča) (a bear). We counted up to 50 bases of the VCC model. We have: ათხ (atx) (a grindstone); ატყ (atq) (a bow); უთხ (utx) (a piece). 160 cases of the VC model of the bases have been confirmed. Most examples are verbs. For example: აკ-არ (ak-ar) (light); აბ-არ (ab-ar) (sew); ეღ-არ (eγ-ar) (break); ეც-არ (ec-ar) (buy); ეშ-არ (eš-ar) (decrease).

The most widely used CVC base models are realized – 382 cases are included in the dictionary: 221 of them are confirmed in verbs, 141 – in nouns, and 20 – in other parts of speech. We have: თას-არ (tas-ar) (throw); ლას-არ (las-ar) (sift); ლახ-არ (lax-ar) (find); მახ (mox) (wind); ზოქ (zok) (a beak); თურ (tur) (a sword); მიჩ (mič) (where); მაქ (mak) (on top); ჩაყ (čaγ) (far away) – შოხს... 83 cases of using the bases of the CVCC model have been confirmed. Most of them are verbs and nouns. Other parts of speech are also encountered. For example: სემს-არ (sems-ar) (smell); კორტ-არ (kort-ar) (get bored); სარ-არ (sar-ar) (curse); ლარქ (larx)

(an ear); ნახხ (načx) (cheese); მათხ (matx) (a sun) ... ჰათხ (hatx) (forward); ნიფს (nips) (right) ...

We counted 60 cases of the base CCVC models. Their use is entirely limited to nouns. We have: სკიფ (skiv) (embers); სტაკ (stak) (a man); ტირი (tʰoir) (a star)... A total of five cases are represented by the base CCVCC model. We have: ბჟარკ (bʰark) (an eye); ბჟორწ (bʰorc) (a wolf); ბჟასტ (bʰast) (hogweed); ფჰარს (phars) (an arm); მჟარ-ლ (mʰar-ʼ) (quite). If we consider that the first consonant element in nouns is seen everywhere in the class-mark here, then actually only one example will be left, as the rest will follow the CVCC model.

According to the frequency of use, the considered models of bases are sorted as follows: CCVCC (1 case), V (3), CCV (21), CV (31), VCC (50), CCVC (60), CVCC (87), VC (160), CVC (382). **Obviously, according to this range, the most widespread and natural model of the base is CVC syllable, whose plosion and implosion is compiled by one consonant.** In fact, this also includes the VC model, which is mainly represented by verbs, where the class-mark – the consonant element – is almost always implied in front of the base. **Two consonants each at the same time before and after the vowel are found to be inadmissible, while the use of consonant pairs in both separate positions is quite common.**

From the same row of bases sorted by increasing frequency we can also draw some conclusions about the plosion of base syllable. This row, as we see, begins with the open-syllabic bases and ends with the closed-syllabic ones: out of 795 cases, only 55 end in a vowel. **In such a case, being closed-syllabic seems to be an essential sign of Tsovatush bases.**

As mentioned, in addition to the common monosyllabic bases and word-bases, we found a total of 186 disyllabic word-bases

in the C language, of which 87 end in a vowel and the other 99 words in a consonant. Words ending in such a disyllabic consonant have only one consonant in auslaut, and this consonant is mostly sonant. In total, of the 87 disyllabic words ending in a consonant, four sonants complete 60 words.

Almost all consonants participate freely in the end of monosyllabic bases of the Tsovatush language. Under such conditions, the peculiar situation, presented in the disyllabic word-base auslaut, suggests that sonants here, or the last syllable containing them entirely, are producers of some kind, perhaps even a determinant. Such an assumption may become plausible if we recall that in other words of a certain type of this language, we find an indication of the possibility of distinguishing the determinant suffixes in R. Gagua's work (1943: 73); A similar opinion about the bases of nouns of the Ingush language is expressed in D. Imnaishvili's work as well (1957: 211). Also important in this regard is the fact that determinant suffixes containing sonants are essential components of Georgian noun models (Chikobava, 1942: 119).

Nevertheless, for the final conclusion, another 27 disyllabic words ending in a consonant must be broken down, or the issue of their borrowing must be clarified. In addition, disyllabic word-bases ending in vowels should also be properly qualified. A. Schiefner expresses an interesting view of the latter. According to the researcher, these "final vowels are a reminder of the paragogic (euphonic) speech of olden times" (1856:19). The assumption seems plausible in the sense that in order to improve the euphony of the form, the Tsovatush people can still attach a vowel to the end of any noun, verb, adverb, interjection... It is not clear, however, why the vowel should have merged only with the named bases.

**In the event of such a breakdown of words, being monosyllabic can be declared a common feature of the bases of the C language.** Such a statement would be supported by the fact

that the bases in Tsovatush verbs are always represented by a single syllable. The verb with its complex morphological-syntactic patterns remains to this day the most conservative part of this language, which is why it is assumed that it is best protected from borrowings and, in general, from any foreign linguistic influence.

After discussing the issues of base models and their syllables, the same questions should be discussed about the derived words. Since the bases are monosyllabic, obviously the final length of the word is decided by the number of affix syllables. Derivatives in Tsovatush are mostly suffixes. Only the class marker, which is a consonant:  $\mathfrak{g}$  (v),  $\mathfrak{b}$  (b),  $\mathfrak{d}$  (d), or a semivowel  $\mathfrak{a}$  and cannot affect the number of syllables of a word, can be found in the prefix. Instead, suffixes are essential, which almost always contain the vowel either as an organic part or as a means of connecting to the base. According to all this, we could think that simple words are monosyllabic in Tsovatush, and the derived words are again mono- or disyllabic.

The reference to the fact that the length of word in Tsovatush is regulated, we find in A. Schiefner's work. In particular, when the researcher characterizes the vowels of this language, he writes that "due to fear of being polysyllables, diphthongs are produced as a result of vowel epenthesis" (1856: 12). This implies that polysyllable of the word according to the current phonological model is inorganic for this language, but the researcher did not try to find out where this abundance of syllables begins. The author of the first grammar of the Tsovatush language I. Tsiskarov also discusses this issue, but almost in one sentence. He notes that "the words in this language are mostly mono- or disyllabic and very rarely – trisyllabic" (Цискаров, 1848: 71).

Despite some obstacles, we can conclude that **from the active mono-, di- and polysyllabic models of words in the Tsovatush language, the disyllabic model is basic. In the paradigms of the declination of nouns and the conjugation of**

**verbs in this language, two syllables appear as the marginal length of the word.**

## **§2. The process of vowel reduction in the Tsovatush language and its reflection in lexical borrowings**

Vowel reduction is organically linked to the word flexion and derivation systems of the Tsovatush language: in the declination of di- and polysyllabic nouns ending in consonants, the process begins when the suffix containing the vowel is attached to the base. This is the case even when a new lexeme is derived from the word with a base containing two or more syllables, and even when the base of a verb, which is always monosyllabic, is attached to several vowel producers during conjugation, that is, there is a danger of multiplication of syllables of the word.

For our discourse, it is very important the fact that this process of syllable reduction was reflected in Georgian borrowing with mathematical accuracy, which is why we present it in full here.

Reduction is carried out in two ways: in the first case the last vowel of the producing base is dropped without a trace under the influence of the next vowel morpheme, or morpheme with a vowel: ბადერი-ი → ბადრი (bāder-i → bādri) (children), ბადერი-ევ → ბადრევ (bāder-ev → bādrev) (child); in comparison: ბადერი (bāder) – (the child)); In the second case, the reduction is carried out by means of epenthesis: disyllabification of the last vowel of the producing base and transfer (epenthesis) to the previous vowel occur, resulting in a descending diphthong: დავირი-ი → დავირი? (davir-i →

dajvri?) (Has it been lost?) In comparison: **დავირ** (davor) (it has been lost)). The first is called simple reduction, and the second is called reduction by means of epenthesis. These phonetic processes acting in the words of the Tsovatush language are mentioned in the scientific literature (Shiefner, 1856: 57), but their mechanism is not clear. We present the results of our study on this issue.

Several questions arise regarding these reduction processes:

1. What is the relationship between these two types of reduction in the flexion and derivation systems of the Tsovatush language?

2. What causes these processes and what is their mechanism?

We have analysed almost all cases of reduction in Tsovatush and borrowed words. It turned out that:

(1) If the initial base is disyllabic and is accompanied by a vowel morpheme, or a morpheme with vowel, we preserve the disyllabic of the word by reduction;

(2) The variety of the reducing vowel does not matter for the implementation of the reduction;

(3) The first vowel of the base (from left to right), which always belongs to the base morpheme, does not change;

(4) The second vowel experiences reduction under the influence of the last, third (reducing) vowel;

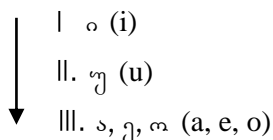
(5) The nature of the expected changes – simple reduction or reduction by epenthesis – is determined by the relation of the first and second vowels of the producing base according to the openness.

**The direct heterosyllabic sequence of the two vowels is not encountered in the Tsovatush words.** This language removes such a sequence in borrowed words as much as possible, referring to various means (sound activation, reduction, diphthongization). This time, when discussing both own and the borrowed material, we refer only to the sequence of vowels, when there is one or more



consonants between the vowels, that is, the sequence of vowels is mediated. For such a syntagmatic relationship we introduce the term – distant sequence or combination of vowels (CVCVCV or CVCVCVCV, CVCCVC, etc.).

Observation has shown that three stages of vowel openness are relevant for reduction by means of direct reduction and epenthesis in this language:



The degree of openness in the direction of the arrow increases.<sup>1</sup>

Both types of reduction can be described in the terms of the given scheme: if in the word the first vowel is larger with openness than the second, the reduction is carried out by the weakening of the second vowel and the epenthesis; And when we have an inverted sequence, or the vowels of equal openness are gathered, the reduction is done easily (we count the vowels from left to right).

If we express the degree of openness of the vowels with I, II, III indexes, then the place of the vowels in the base we express with 1, 2, 3 indexes, and the vowel – with the symbol V, then  $V^1_{1=(o)}$  (i), while  $V^1_{1=(o)}$  (i), which is in the first place.  $V^2_{2=(o)}$  (i), which is in second place, and  $V^3_{3=(o)}$  (i), which is in third place.  $V^{II}$  will be a symbol of ʊ (u), while  $V^{III}$  – a symbol of vowels ɔ, ɣ, ɔ̃ (a, e, o). V expresses any vowel, while  $\hat{V}$  – a vowel without a syllable.

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<sup>1</sup> As can be seen from the diagram, the difference in openness between phonemes ɔ, ɣ, ɔ̃ (a, e, o) is not relevant to the reduction process (see below).

The general formulas of reduction by means of simple reduction and epenthesis will take on such a specific form:<sup>1</sup>

a) Simple reduction:

- I.  $[V_1^I + V_2^I] + V \rightarrow [V_1^I] + V$
- II.  $[V_1^I/V_1^II + V_2^II] + V \rightarrow [V_1^I/V_1^II] + V$
- III.  $[V_1^I/V_1^II/V_1^III + V_2^III] + V \rightarrow [V_1^I/V_1^II/V_1^III] + V$

b) Reduction by means of epenthesis:

- I.  $[V_1^III/V_1^II + V_2^II] + V \rightarrow [V_1^III/V_1^II + \hat{V}_1^I] + V$
- II.  $[V_1^III + V_2^II] + V \rightarrow [V_1^III + \hat{V}_1^II] + V$

We have the following concrete realization of the given formulas:

a) Simple reduction:

Formula I -  $[V_1^I + V_2^I] + V \rightarrow [V_1^I] + V$

1.  $[\text{o}^2 + \text{o}] + V \rightarrow [\text{o}] + V$

ღღირბ (dyirib) (tall), ღღირბეს (dyirbes) ( $\rightarrow$ ღღირბ-ეს)<sup>3</sup> (dyiribes);

Formula II -  $[V_1^I/V_1^II + V_2^II] + V \rightarrow [V_1^I/V_1^II] + V$

1.  $[\text{u}^4 + \text{u}] + V \rightarrow [\text{u}] + V$ :

ნუჩურ (nučur) (snout), ნუჩრევ (nučrev) (ნუჩურ-ევ) (nučur-ev);

ბუბუკ (bubuk) (flower), ბუბკევ (bubkev) (ბუბუკ-ევ) (bubuk-ev)...

2.  $[\text{o} + \text{u}] + V \rightarrow [\text{o}] + V$ :

დიშურ (dišur) (lay), დიშრი? (dišri?) (დიშურ-ი) (dišur-i);

თივურ (tivur) (rested), თივრი? (tivri) (თივურ-ი) (tivur-i)...

<sup>1</sup> We put the producing base into square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> i

<sup>3</sup> In the brackets, we show that diachronic path, synchronous regularity described by us is based on.

<sup>4</sup> u

III -  $[V^I/V^II/V^III + V^III_2] + V \rightarrow [V^I/V^II/V^III] + V$

1.  $[s^1 + a] + V \rightarrow [a] + V$ ;

მაგაწ (maqac) (flint), მაგაწევ (maqcev) (მაგაწ-ევ) (maqac-ev);

ლაგაზ (lagaz) (bilberry), ლაგაზევ (lagzev) (ლაგაზ-ევ) (lagaz-ev)

...

2.  $[e^2 + e] + V \rightarrow [e] + V$ :

ვევერ (vever) (soother), ვევერევ (veverev) (ვევერ-ევ) (vever-ev);

ცენეხ (cenex) (this year), ცენეხეც (cenxe') (ცენეხ-ეც) (cenex-e'); ..

3.  $[o^3 + o] + V \rightarrow [o] + V$ :

მოსოლ (mosol) (harm), მოსლევ (moslev) (მოსოლ-ევ) (mosol-ev);

შოროლ (šorol) (width), შორლევ (šorlev) (შოროლ-ევ) (šorol-ev)...

4.  $[a + e] + V \rightarrow [a] + V$ :

საკერ (saker) (neck), საკრევ (sakrev) (საკერ-ევ) (saker-ev);

ფხანერ (pxaner) (shoulders), ფხანრევ (pxanrev) (ფხანერ-ევ) (pxaner-ev) ...

(pxaner-ev) ...

5.  $[a + o] + V \rightarrow [a] + V$ :

ხაკოლ (xaḱol) (thirst), ხაკლევ (xaḱlev) (ხაკოლ-ევ) (xaḱol-ev);

მაცოლ (macol) (huger), მაცლევ (maclev) (მაცოლ-ევ) (macol-ev)

...

6.  $[e + a] + V \rightarrow [e] + V$ :

ფეშკარ (peškar) (boy), ფეშკარი (peškari) (ფეშკარ-ევ) (peškar-ev);

ლესარ (lexar) (search for), ლესრევ (lexrev) (ლესარ-ევ) (lexar-ev)...

7.  $[e + o] + V \rightarrow [e] + V$ :

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<sup>1</sup> a

<sup>2</sup> e

<sup>3</sup> o

დელოლ (yelol) (weakness), დელლეე (yellev) (დელოლ-ეე) (yelol-ev);

ბერ-ლომ (ber'-lom) (whey), ბერ-ლმეე (ber'-l'mev) (ბერ-ლომ-ეე) (ber'-lom-ev) ...

8. [ლ + ა] + V → [ლ] + V:

თოხარ (toxar) (stroke), თოხრეე (toxrev) (თოხარ-ეე) (toxar-ev);

თოჰარ (tohar) (sleep), თოჰრეე (tohrev) (თოჰარ-ეე) (tohar-ev)...

9. [ლ + ე] + V → [ლ] + V:

ოთერ (oter) (he stood), ოთრი? (otri?) (ოთერ-ი) (oter-i);

მოთერ (moter) (he thought), მოთრი? (motri?) (მოთერ-ი) (moter-i)...

10. [ო + ა] + V → [ო] + V:

დიკარ (dikar) (to take), დიკრეე (dikrev) (დიკარ-ეე) (dikar-ev);

დისარ (disar) (to stay), დისრეე (disrev) (დისარ-ეე) (disar-ev) ...

11. [ო + ე] + V → [ო] + V:

დივერ (diver) (he seeded), დივრი? (divri?) (დივერ-ი) (diver-i);

დიკერ (dik'er) (he took), დიკრი? (dik'ri?) (დიკერ-ი) (dik'er-i) ...

12. [ო + მ] + V → [ო] + V:

ნისორ (nipsor) (peer), ნისრეე (nipsrev) (ნისორ-ეე) (nipsor-ev);

შიროლ (širol) (antiquity), შირლეე (širlev) (შიროლ-ეე) (širol-ev)...

13. [უ + ა] + V → [უ] + V:

დუღარ (duyar) (shout), დუღრეე (duyrev) (დუღარ-ეე) (duyar-ev);

დუსტარ (dustar) (measuring), დუსტრეე (dustrev) (დუსტარ-ეე)

(dustar-ev)...

14. [უ + ე] + V → [უ] + V:

დუღღრ (duyer) (he shouted), დუღღრი? (duyri?) (დუღღრ-ი) (duyer-i)

...

15. [უ + ო] + V → [უ] + V:

მუსტოლ (muṣṭol) (sourness), მუსტლევ (muṣṭlev) (მუსტოლ-ევ) (muṣṭol-ev);

დუროლ (durol) (saltness), დურლევ (durlev) (დუროლ-ევ) (durol-ev)...

b) Reduction by means of epenthesis:

Formula I -  $[V_1^{\text{III}}/V_1^{\text{II}} + V_2^{\text{I}}] + V = [V_1^{\text{III}}/V_1^{\text{II}} + \hat{V}_2^{\text{I}}] + V$

1. [ა + ი] + V → [ად] + V:

ქანიზ (kaniz) (grape), ქანზევ (kajnzev) (ქანიზ-ევ);<sup>1</sup>

დაწირ (daçir) (he chased), დაწირი? (daçiri?) (დაწირ-ი) (daçir-i)...

2. [ე + ი] + V → [ედ] + V → [იედ] + V → [ი] + V:

დებირ (dexir) (he asked for), დებირი? (dixri?) (დებირი / დებირი / დებირ-ი) (dijxri / dejxri / dexir-i);<sup>2</sup>

თეშირ (tešir) (he was convinced), თეშირი? (tišri?) (თეშირი /

თეშირი / თეშირ-ი) (tijšri / tejšri / tešir-i) ...

3. [ო + ი] + V → [ოდ] + V → [უდ] + V:

ჯოწირ (qoçir) (he put it on his shoulder), ჯოწირი? (qujçiri?)

(ჯოწირი / ჯოწირ-ი) (qojçiri / qoçir-i);

<sup>1</sup> Non-syllabic o(i), which will appear next to the preceding vowel after displacement, often causes its assimilation.

<sup>2</sup> These stages of assimilation are in some cases parallel to the Tsovatush's speech, so their named sequences are not always assumed at the reconstruction level.

დოწირ (doçir) (hang), დუაწირი? (duçeri) (დოაწირი / დოწირ-ი)  
(doçeri / duçir-i) ...

4. [უ + ი] + V → [უა] + V:

დუღირ (duğir) (shouted), დუღირი? (duğiri?) (დუღირ-ი) (duğir-i);  
დუსტირ (dustir) (measured), დუსტირი? (dustiri?) (დუსტირ-ი)  
(dustir-i)...

Formule II - [V<sub>1</sub><sup>III</sup> + V<sub>2</sub><sup>II</sup> + V → [V<sub>1</sub><sup>III</sup>/V<sub>1</sub><sup>II</sup>] + V

1. [ა + უ] + V → [აუ] + V → [აა/აუ] + V

ხაბურ (xabur) (mould), ხაბურეც (xajbrev) (ხაუბურეც / ხაბურ-ეც)  
(xaûbrev / xabur-ev);

დათხურ (datxur) (flour fried in melted butter), დათხურეც (dajtxrev)  
(დათხურეც / დათხურ-ეც) (dajtxrev / datxur-ev)...

2. [ე + უ] + V → [ეუ] + V → [ეა] + V → [ეა] + V → [ე] + V:

თებურ (tebur) (he said), თებური? (tibri?) (თებურ-ი) (tebur-i);

ხელურ (xelur) (vanished), ხილური? (xilri) (ხელურ-ი) (xelur-i)...

3. [ო + უ] + V → [ოუ] + V → [ოა] + V → [ოა] + V:

ბოღურ (boğur) (picket), ბუღურეც (buğrev) (ბოღურეც / ბოღურ-ეც)  
(boğrev / boğur-ev);

თოყურ (toqur) (it was enough for him), თუყური (tujqri) (თოყურ-  
ი) (toqur-i) ...

Thus, of the 25 theoretically possible two-part distant combinations of the 5 main vowels of the Tsovatush language, all options are realized in Tsovatush words. Some of these sequences are typical and widespread, while some are relatively rare. As we can see, all five vowels are subject to simple reduction, while only two are subject to reduction by epenthesis. Of the verified 25 two-part distant sequences of vowels, simple reduction occurs in 18 examples,

while the reduction through epenthesis occurs in 7. Distant two-part sequences of vowels in a language are precisely divided between simple reduction and reduction by epenthesis, and as a result both of them are followed by a decrease in the number of syllables in the grammatical-lexical word production of the Tsovatush language. This fact indicates that in the form of **named processes, we are dealing with different manifestations of the same phonemic tendency of decrease of syllables**. If we limited ourselves to the analysis of Tsovatush words, we could think that the processes of reduction mentioned above during the inflection and derivation of lexemes are of a purely phonetic nature and are conditioned by the influence of suffix vowel. **The reduction mechanism is clearly seen in word borrowings when multiple trisyllabic words are reduced without attaching an affix.**

As known, words borrowed in the Tsovatush language always drop a formant *o* (i) of the nominative case, as well as is dropped out of the base, or all other vowels in Auslaut weaken and lose their being syllable (Gagua, 1956: 469]. Therefore, when considering the number of syllables of borrowed words, we do not take them into account. Thus, for example, we consider the words: ანგელოზ-ი (angeloz-i) (angel), ხიზილალ-ა (xizilal-a) (caviar), ეშმაკობ-ა (ešmaḳob-a) (cunning)... equally as trisyllabic.

It is interesting the way Tsovatush applies when borrowing tri- and more syllabic words. As we have seen, the orientation within three syllables is natural for this language, so it treats the borrowed trisyllabic words as it treated own disyllabic producing base when attaching the third syllable (reducing element): In particular, there is a reduction, and the type of reduction (simple reduction or epenthesis) is distinguished by the same rules as discussed above:

a) Simple reduction: ალაზან-ი (alazan-i) (Alazani) → ალზა (alzā); ხელოსანი (xelosani) (a craftsman) → ხელსა (xelsā) ...

b) Reduction by epenthesis: პაპიროს-ი (papiros-i) (a cigarette) → პადპროზ (pajpros); გაბრიელი (gabrieli) (Gabriel) → გადბრალ (gajbral) ...

The four- and more syllable positions are unusual and difficult to care for this language, so this type of polysyllabic borrowed words have a stress on the third syllable from the end, thus last three syllables in the lexical unit composition are highlighted. As if it drops out of the word – the syllables in front of the stressed syllable remain without attention; With respect to the three distinct syllables, the language will work out the same patterns as it did with other trisyllabic words. For example, მოუხერხებელ (mouxerxebel) (clumsy) – მოუხერხებელ (mouxerxebel); გაუნათლებელ (gaunatlbel) (uneducated) – გაუნათლებელ (gaunatlbel) ...

Given the situation presented in the initial forms of borrowed polysyllabic words, it is impossible to talk about the reducing role of the vowels of the Tsovatush language affixes; As well known, the nominative case in this language is not marked. In this case, as far as any influence of the suffixes on the base vowels is excluded, we conclude that **the number of syllables in Tsovatush is regulated by reduction within separate forms; There is a tendency of the language to double the word syllables, and suffix vowels participate in the reduction only to the extent that they increase the number of syllables in the word.**

Of particular importance to our discourse this time is the fact that this rather complex system of the Tush language, with all its strictly defined variety of obligatory decrease of syllables in the word, was reflected with astonishing accuracy in the Georgian borrowings of the same language. We will now present the same tables of defined sequences of vowels with Georgian borrowings.

We have:



a) Simple reduction:

Formule I:

1.  $o^1 + o + V \rightarrow o + V$ :

Georgian: ირიბად (iribad) (obliquely) – Tsovatush: ირბათ (irbat);  
ხიზილალ (xizilal) (caviar) – ხიზლალ (xizlal).

Formule II:

1.  $u^2 + u + V \rightarrow u + V$ :

მუგუზალი (muguzali) (charred log) – ნუგზურ (nugzur);  
მუჯღუგუნი (mužluguni) (clout) – მუჯგა (mužgā)

2.  $o + u + V \rightarrow o + V$ :

გიჟურად (gižurad) (insanely) – გიჟრათ (gižrat); ჩინურად (činurad)  
(in Chinese) – ჩინრათ (činrat); დიდურად (didurad) (like older) –  
დიდრათ (didurat) ...

Formule III:

1.  $a^3 + a + V \rightarrow a + V$ :

შალაშინ-ი (šalašin-i) (jointer-plane) – შალშ (šalš); ქარავან-ი  
(karavan-i) (camelcade) – ქარვა (karvā); ალაჩოყ-ი (alac̣oq-i) (gipsy-  
cart) – ალჩოყ (alčoq); ანგარიშ-ი (angariš-i) (account) – აგრში  
(āgriš); მარგალიტ-ი (margaliṭ-i) (pearl) – მარგლიტ (marglit);  
გასაქანი (gasakani) (scope) – გასქა (gaskan) ...

2.  $e^4 + e + V \rightarrow e + V$ :

გენერალ-ი (general-i) (General) – ღერნალ (γernal); დაჯერებით  
(dažerebit) (convincingly) – დაჯერბით (dažerbit); მოსვენებით

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<sup>1</sup> i  
<sup>2</sup> u  
<sup>3</sup> a  
<sup>4</sup> e

(mosvenebit) (with relax) – მოსვენბით (mosvenbit); მოფერებით (moperebit) (caressingly) – მოფერბით (moperbit); დასასვენებელ-ი (dasasvenebel-i) (holiday home) – დასასვენებელ (dasasvenbel); ასაფეთქებელ-ი (asapetkebel-i) (explosive) – ასაფეთქებელ (asapetkbel); დაუბერებელ-ი (dauberebel-i) (unaging) – დაუბერებელ (dauberbel) ...

3.  $\alpha^1 + \alpha + V \rightarrow \alpha + V$ :

სოლომონ-ი (solomon-i) (Solomon)<sup>2</sup> – სოლომონ (solmō)

4.  $\alpha + \eta + V \rightarrow \alpha + V$ :

სარგებელ-ი (sargebel-i) (profit) – სარგებელ (sargbel); დარჯან-ი (darežan-i) (Daredjan)<sup>3</sup> – დარჯან (daržā); მიუკარებელ-ი (miuḱarebel-i) (insociable) – მიუკარებელ (miuḱarbel); აუჩქარებელ-ი (aučkarebel-i) (unhurried) – აუჩქარებელ (aučkarbel) ...

5.  $\alpha + \alpha + V \rightarrow \alpha + V$ :

საგალობელ-ი (sagalobel-i) (hymn) – საგალობელ (sagalbel); მანათობელ-ი (manatobel-i) (luminary) – მანათობელ (manatbel); მახარობელ-ი (maxarobel-i) (herald) – მახარებელ (maxarbel); მადლობელ-ი (madlobel-i) (grateful) – მადლობელ (madbel) ...

6.  $\eta + \alpha + V \rightarrow \eta + V$ :

ეშმაკობ-ა (ešmaḱob-a) (cunning) – ეშმაკობ (ešmḱob); დეკანოზი (deḱanozi) (archpriest) – დეკანოზ (deḱnoz) ...

7.  $\eta + \alpha + V \rightarrow \eta + V$ :

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<sup>1</sup>  $\alpha$

<sup>2</sup> First name of a man.

<sup>3</sup> First name of a woman.

ხელოსან-ი (xelosan-i) (artisan) – ხელსან (xelsan); ერბოკვერცხი (erboḳvercxi) (omelette) – ერკვერცხ (erḳvercx) ...

8. ო + ა + V → ო + V:

ორაგულ-ი (oragul-i) (salmon) – ორგულ (orgul); მონაზონ-ი (monazon-i) (monk) – მოლზონ (molzon) ...

9. ო + ე + V → ო + V:

საგორბელ-ი (sagorebel-i) (rolling) – საგორბელ (sagorbel); შესაცოდებელ-ი (šesacodebel-i) (pitiable) – შესაცოდებელ (šesacodbel); მოუშორებელ-ი (moušorebel-i) (inseparable) – მოუშორბელ (moušorbel)...

10. ი + ა + V → ი + V:

ბიძაშვილი (biḷašvili) (cousin) – ბიძშვილ (biḷšvil);

11. ი + ე + V → ი + V:

აუცილებელ-ი (aucilebel-i) (necessary) – აუცილებელ (aucilbel); მოურიდებელ-ი (mouridebel-i) (unmannerly) – მოურიდებელ (mouridbel); გაკვირვებით (gaḳvirvebit) (amusedly) – გაკვირბით (gaḳvirbit); დაჟინებით (dažinebit) (persistently) – დაჟინბით (dažinbit); ახირებით (axirebit) (persistently) – ახირბით (axirbit) ...

12. ი + ო + V → ი + V:

ნიკოლოზ-ი (niḳoloz-i) (Nikoloz)<sup>1</sup> – ნიკლოზ (niḳloz); კიდობან-ი (ḳidoban-i) (ark) – კიდბა (ḳidbā) ...

13. უ + ა + V → უ + V

14. უ + ე + V → უ + V

15. უ + ო + V → უ + V

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<sup>1</sup> First name of a man.

b) Reduction by means of epenthesis:

Formule I:

1. ა + ი + V → აი + V:

ლათინური (latinuri) (Latin) - ლათნური (lajtnur); აპრილი (aprili) (April) - ადპრალ (ajpral); ამირანი (amirani) (Amiran)<sup>1</sup> - ადმრან (ajmrā); ხასიათი (xasiati) (character) - ხადსათ (xajsat); მარიამი (mariami) (Mariam)<sup>2</sup> - მაძრამ (majram) ...

2. ე + ი + V → ეი + V → იე + V → ი + V:

ბედნიერი (bednieri) (happy) - ბიდნერ (bidner); მეცნიერი (mecnieri) (scientist) - მიცნარ (micnar); ბნედიანი (bnediani) (epileptic) - ბნიდჭ (bnidč); მოწერილობა (močeriloba) (correspondence) - მოწირლობ (močirlob); დადგენილება (dadgenileba) (resolution) - დადგინლებ (dadginleb) ...

3. ო + ი + V → ოი + V → იო + V:

მოციქულ-ი (mocikul-i) (apostle) - მუცქულ (mujckul); გონიერ-ი (gonier-i) (clever) - გუენარ (gujnar); ზომიერ-ი (zomier-i) (moderate) - ზუემარ (zujmar); ...

4. უ + ი + V → უი + V:

კუდიანი (kudiani) (tailed) - კუიდჭ (kujdč); კუზიანი (kuziani) (humpbacked) - კუიჯჭ (kujjč) ...

Formule II:

1. ა + უ + V → აუ + V → აი + V:

ქართულად (kartulad) (in Georgian) - ქადრულათ (kajrtlat); მოქარგულობ-ა (mokargulob-a) (embroidery) - მოქადრგლობ

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<sup>1</sup> First name of a man.

<sup>2</sup> First name of a woman.

(mokajrglob); მოხაზულობა-ა (moxazulob-a) (outline) - მოხაჯლობ (moxajzlob); განკარგულება-ა (gankarguleb-a) (order) - განკაჯრგლებ (gankajrgleb) ...

2. ე + უ + V → ეუ + V → ეო + V → იო + V:

გაბედულად (gabedulad) (bravely) - გაბიდლათ (gabidlat);

აგებულება-ა (agebuleb-a) (construction) - აგობლობ (agiblob);

უწესურად (uçesurad) (dishonourably) - უწისრათ (uçisrat) ...

3. ო + უ + V → ოუ + V → ოო + V → უო + V:

სომხურად (somxurad) (in Armenian) - სუმხრათ (sujmxrat) ...

Such borrowed tri- and more syllable words, where in the first two syllables of the last trisyllabic position we would have the distant sequence of vowels – უ-ა, უ-ე, უ-ო (u+a, u+e, u+o), could not be confirmed in the C language. **A review of borrowed lexemes in terms of sound cover adaptation once again shows that the transformations are an accurate reflection of the differences in the phonological systems of the C and S languages; Given their peculiarities, we can predict the nature of the expected transformation and vice versa, to form an idea about the peculiarities of the phonological system of the borrowing language according to the transformations.** To date, in the period of overbilingualism, this orderly process of the decrease of syllables in Georgian borrowings has been completely disrupted and, as expected, it has survived only in the speech of the older bilinguals.

### §3. Peculiarities of consonant distribution in Tsovatush language words and their reflection on the borrowings

Despite the simple construction of the base (CVC), today extremely complex groups of consonants are developed in the Georgian word anlaut, where the number of members can reach five or even six (Vogt, 1961: 12). In this respect, the situation of the Tsovatush language is clearly opposite, where mostly only one consonant functions in the initial position; A pair of consonants will meet almost only when this conjunction gives an OF sequence.<sup>1</sup>

As known, mutual combinations of members of the same class (OO, FF, SS) and, in general, participation of sonants in paired-consonant complexes (only two of such complexes are realized: ზჭ (mʷ), ზჭ (nʷ) are excluded in the word anlaut of the C language. These rules for distributing consonants of anlaut became the reason for a number of changes in Georgian borrowed words:

a) **In the paired-consonant complexes of the foreign words' anlaut, as unusual, any sequence of occlusive and sonant is systematically violated.** For this purpose, various means are used in the borrowing language, such as: the inclusion of anaptic vowel between members of the complex and the loss of any component.

In the role of anaptic vowel most often appears ა (a). We think that this circumstance is conditioned by the fact that in the bases of the words of the C language, which, as a rule, always come first in the words, the most frequently realized vowel is ა (a).

We will name the examples of the fission of consonant complexes containing sonant with anaptic vowel (we will explain

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<sup>1</sup> The symbols O, F, S respectively, denote occlusive, fricatives and sonants.

only those units whose meaning is completely or partially different from Georgian:

in Georgian: ჩრდილი (črdili) (shadow) – Tsovatush: ჩარდილ (čardil); ღრძილი (γrɟili) (gum (lateral chewing tooth) – ღარძილ (γarɟil); ჩრჩილი (črčili) (aphid) – ჩარჩილ (čarčil); ჭლიკვი (člikvi) (clover) – ჭალკო (čalkô); კრჩხა (krčxa) (krchkha) – კარჩხო (karčxô); ქრთამი (krtami) (food, usually bread, which is given to a cow before milking, if the cow does not give milk) – ქართამ (kartam); ფლასი (plasi) (carpet) – ფალაზ (palaz); კრახმალი (kraxmali) (starch) – კარხმალ (karxmal); წმედა (čmeda) (cleansing) – წამდარ (čamdar); ზნე (zne) (temper) – ზა (zâ).

We have encountered two instances of the use of the vowel *o*

(i) with the same function: გრკალი (grk̄ali) (earring) – კირკალ (kir̄kal); ზღმარტლი (zymart̄li) (medlar) – სიმადრტელ (simajrt̄ql).

The vowels *o* (*o*) and *u* (*u*) were also confirmed by this function: შროშანი (šrošani) (starling) – შორშა (šoršâ); ყრუ (qru) (deaf) – ყურ-უ (qur-û) (separated by the adjective suffix უ (û)).

b) In anlaut position of the borrowed words, the sonant-containing consonant complexes in the Tsovatush language often reach the point of losing one of its members, namely the sonant. This is how we obtained: მკათათვე (m̄k̄at̄atve) (July) – კათათ (k̄at̄at); მთათუშეთი (mt̄at̄uš̄eti) (MtaTusheti) – თათუშითა (t̄at̄uš̄it̄â); მზითევი (m̄z̄it̄evi) (dowry) – ზითავ (z̄it̄av); მსახური (ms̄ax̄uri) (servant) – სახურ (s̄ax̄ur); მკითხავი (m̄k̄it̄x̄avi) (fortune-teller) – კითხავ (k̄it̄x̄av); მკალავი (m̄k̄al̄avi) (tinsmith) – კალავ (k̄al̄av); მკედარი (m̄k̄ed̄ari) (tinsmith) – კედარ (k̄ed̄ar); მწვანელი

(mçvanili) (greens) – წონილ (çonil); მთავარანგელოზი (mtavarangelozi) (archangel) – თავარაგლოზ (tavarāgloz); მჭედელი (mçedeli) (blacksmith) – ჭედელ (çedel); მწვევარი (mçevari) (smoker) – წვევარ (çevar); მწვადი (mçvadi) (barbecue) – წოდ (çod); მჭახელ (mçaxed) (tart) – ჭახით (çaxit) ... We have the same situation in the inverted sequence complexes: ფლანელი (planeli) (flannel) – ფანელ (panel); კლანჭი (klançi) (claw) – კანჭ (känç).

Sonant's proximity to other consonants is usually violated in three- and four-member complexes as well. Such complexes are unusual for Tsovatush in several respects: first, the sonant is contained in the vicinity of another consonant, and, second, the number of members of the complex exceeds two. Inconsistencies are corrected by losing or moving “extra” sounds. For example, Georgian ფრთხილი (prtxili) (cautious) exists in three different forms in the Tsovatush language according to the stages of bilingualism: თხილ-ო, ფთხილ, ფრთხილ (txil-ō, prtxil, prtxil).

c) We should examine separately the change of consonant complexes containing *g* (v) in the words borrowed from Georgian.

**Here, *g* (v) standing next to the consonant in the pre-vowel position is almost always lost.** It does not matter which implosion of the syllable it is placed in: anlaut, inlaut, or auslaut of a word. When lost, this sound leaves a reflex in the form of labialization of the next *o*, *a*, *e* vowels. *o* (*o*) and *u* (*u*) vowels in this position, as it is known, can not be found in Georgian words (Uturgaidze, 1976: 150).

Examples of such loss of *g* (v) are:

1. **by labialization of the following *a*;**

Georgian: ძვალი (zvali) (a bone), Tsovatush: ძოლ (zol); კვალი (kvali) (a trace) – კოლ (kol); ჯვარი (žvari) (a cross) – ჯოლ



(ჭორ); ღვარი (γvari) (a stream) – ღორ (γor); ცვარი (cvari) (dew) – ცორ (cor); ზვავი (zvavi) (avalanche) – ზოვ (zov); სვავი (svavi) (a black vulture) – სოვ (sov); მოძღვარი (mozγvari) (a priest) – მოძღორ (mozγor); სირსვალი (sirsvali) (boiled whole beans) – სირსოლ (sirsol); ხვალი (xvadi) (a male) – ხოდ (xod); დაცვა (dacva) (protection) – დაცო-დარ (daco-dar); ტანჯვა (tanჳva) (suffering) – ტანჯო-დარ (tāჳo-dar); ხატვა (xaჳva) (drawing) – ხატო-დარ (xaჳo-dar); ხარჯვა (xaჳva) (spending) – ხარჯო-დარ (xaჳo-dar); წვალება (cvaleba) (torment) – წოლბა-დარ (colba-dar); ცხრილვა (cxrilva) (test) – ცხრილო-დარ (cxrilo-dar); მართვა (martva) (manage) – მართო-დარ (marto-dar); წირვა (cirva) (liturgy) – წირო-დარ (ciro-dar)...

By labialization of the following ი (i): ჭიჭკვიტა (čičkviṭa) (a wormwood) – ჭიჭკოტ (čičkot); ლეღვი (leγvi) (a fig) – ლეღრ (leγr); ფესვი (pesvi) (a root) – ფესრ (pesr); ვერხვი (verxvi) (a poplar) – ვერხრ (verxr); ნესვი (nesvi) (a melon) – ნესრ (nesr); ძარღვი (zarγvi) (a vein) – ძარღრ (zarγr).

By labialization of the following ე (e): მარჯვე (marჳve) (adroit) – მარჯრ (marჳr); ქვეითად (kveitad) (on foot) – ქუითათ (kujtat) (ქოითათ) (kojtat) ...

It is interesting, when the possibility of a similar loss of ვ (v) was on twice in a word, the expected transformation took place both times: we mean the word გვალვა (gvalva) (drought), which gave us a regular match გოლრ (golr) in C language.

We have one set of words where *g* (v) standing in the same position is lost without a trace. Observation shows that these are lawful exceptions. Such a traceless loss of *g* (v) takes place:

1. When there is a labial consonant directly in front of it, for example: შეღებვა (šeyebva) (painting) - შეღება-ღარ (šeyeba-dar); შენიღბვა (šeniγbva) (disguise) - შენიღბა-ღარ (šeniγba-dar); გაქლიბვა (gaklibva) (to file) - გაქლიბა-ღარ (gakliba-dar); დანამვა (danamva) (to bedew) - დანამა-ღარ (danama-dar); შხამვა (šxamva) (poisoning) - შხამა-ღარ (šxama-dar); დახუფვა (daxupva) (closing) - დახუფა-ღარ (daxupa-dar); დაღუპვა (dayupva) (to perish) - დაღუპა-ღარ (dayupa-dar); მიტყეპვა (mitqepva) (to slap) - მიტყეპა-ღარ (mitqepa-dar) ...

2. When the consonant complex containing it follows a labial vowel: ჟონვა (žonva) (leaking) - ჟონა-ღალარ (žona-dalar); ფუთვა (putva) (packing) - ფუთა-ღალარ (puta-dalar); გაწოწვა (gaçuçva) (splashing) - გაწოწა-ღარ (gaçuça-dar); შებოჭვა (šebočva) (binding) - შებოჭა-ღარ (šeboča-dar); ცოცვა (cocva) (crawling) - ცოცა-ღალარ (coca-dalar); ფოფხვა (popxva) (creeping) - ფოფხა-ღალარ (popxa-dalar); დაკეწვა (daķuçva) (chopping up) - დაკეწა-ღარ (daķuça-dar); ზრუნვა (zrunva) (caring) - ზრუნა-ღალარ (zruna-dalar); გაწურვა (gaçurva) (wringing out) - გაწურა-ღარ (gaçura-dar) ...

**II. The subsequent position of a vowel is relatively free in the Tsovatush language.** If consonant complexes of words in the head position of this language are less common, consonants in the end position are quite common, and almost all possible combinations of occlusives, fricatives, and sonants are used, we lack only the ფფ

(pp) sequence. In such a case, the fate of the sound cover of the borrowed words is determined not only by the presence or absence of this or that model, but also by the specific cases of individual models used in the borrowing language, for instance:

a) In the Tsovatush language, in the position after vowel, only three cases of model consisting of sonant and occlusive are realized in the words: ბლ, ფლ, ტრ (bl, pl, tr). This explains why all other patterns of this model have been violated in the borrowed words. We have: Georgian: მადლ-ი (madl-i) (clemency), Tsovatush: მადელ (madel); ჩექმ-ა (čekm-a) (boots) – ჩაკამ (čakam); ღაფნ-ა (dapn-a) (laurel) – ღაფა (dapā); მოცლ-ა (mocl-a) (leisure) – მოცალ-დარ (mocal-dar).

b) Complexes of sonants and occlusives are quite widely realized in the same position, but ლქ (lk) is not found among them. It should be attributed to the fact that the word borrowed from Georgian was established in the form ჩულქ-ი (čulk-i) (sock) ჩულაქ (čulak).

This is all that we have been able to say about the process of violation of the unusual consonant end-position complexes based on the examples of the borrowings made to date in the earlier stages of the Tsovatush-Georgian language relations. It seems that C language gave up this position earlier. This would be facilitated by the fact that morphemized complexes are found almost exclusively at the end of a word in this language. As known, the end-position complexes are characterized by more freedom than the head-position complexes, and they are easily changed by pressing down by the morphological model (Ertelishvili, 1964: 147).

The consonant complexes of the anlaut or auslaut of words are subject to one common phonological rule, which is that **only a deaf sound can stand with a deaf consonant**. Therefore, when such

complexes are obtained after the reduction of the base vowel or consonant in the borrowed words, where this rule is violated, its restoration takes place – the voiced sound included in the complex is replaced by the corresponding deaf sound. So, for example: Georgian: ჯოჯოხეთი (ჯოჯოხეთი) (hell) – ჯოჯოხითა (ჯოჯოხითა) // ჯოჯოხითა (ჯოჯოხითა); მარჯვაკელი (marǰakeli) (match-maker) – მარჯკელი (marǰkel) // მარჯკელი (marǰkel); ყობაღად (qoǰaǰad) (to be well) – ყოხათ (qoǰxat) // ყოხათ (qoǰxat); აბრეშუმი (abrešumi) (silk) – აბშულ (apšuy) // აბშულ (abšuy); ღვთისმობელი (ǰvtišobeli) (Our Lady) – ხთისმობელი (xtišobel) // ღვთისმობელი (ǰvtišobel).

The ნ (n) standing after the vowel in the auslaut of the words of the Tsovatush language was weakened and lost its independent existence, resulting in the nasalization of the preceding vowel. The scientific explanation of this articulatory phenomenon was given by N. Trubetsky. According to the researcher, in similar cases (it often happens to members of the sonant class) there is an excessive openness of the consonant, due to which the air friction reduces. As a result, the tone as a building material increases in the composition of the sound, and the consonant resembles the vowels (Трубецкой, 1960: 69). This is the way we got the following words in the C language: ან > ა̃ (an > ã) (cramps); ჰენ > ჰე̃ (hen > hẽ) (yours); პჰან > პჰა̃ (pʰan > pʰã) (a wing); დონ > დო̃ (don > dõ) (a horse).

As a result of the above-mentioned combination of sound alteration, a new rule was added to the system of rules for the distribution of a consonant standing after the vowel in the auslaut of the words of the Tsovatush language: The consonant ნ (n) cannot be found in the position VC of the base morphemes. In the C language words, this rule is without exception and also extends to borrowed

lexemes everywhere where **ნ** (n) has been placed in a forbidden position after the obligatory reduction of the auslaut vowel. For example, Georgian: ქოთანნი (kotani) (a pot), Tsovatush: ქოთა̃ (kotā); ფრთოსანი (prtosani) (feathery) – ფრთოსა̃ (prtosā); მგოსანი (mgosani) (a poet) – მგოსა̃ (mgosā); ორდენოსანი (ordenosani) (an order-bearer) – ორდენოსა̃ (ordenosā); დანარჩენი (danarčeni) (the rest) – დანარჩე̃ (danarčē); განაჩენი (ganačeni) (a verdict) – განაჩე̃ (ganačē); შევარდენი (ševardeni) (a hawk) – შევარდე̃ (ševardē); წვენი (čveni) (juice) – წვე̃ (čvē); რეზინი (rezini) (rubber) – რეზი̃ (rezi); ლხინი (lxini) (feast) – ლხი̃ (lxī); გარმონი (garmoni) (harmonica) – გარმო̃ (garmō); ბატონი (baṭoni) (Mister) – ბატო̃ (baṭō) ...

Researchers have indicated and discussed this rule of exchange of both their own and borrowed words: I. Desheriev (1953: 47), R. Gagua (1956: 275). For our part, we only add examples to it and look at the auslaut situation in relation to the end of the syllable, in general, within the whole word. As expected, such weakening of the **ნ** (n) occurs not only at the end of the word but also within the word, in the explosion of any syllable. For example, Georgian: მანქანა (mankana) (a car), Tsovatush: მა̃-ქა̃ (mā-kā); წინაგორი (činagori) (Tsinagori) – წი̃-გორა̃ (čī-gorā); ტანკი (ṭanki) (a tank) – ტა̃კ (ṭāk); მანკი (manki) (a defect) – მა̃კ (māk); მანდილი (mandili) (a headscarf) – მა̃დილი (mādil); ინსტიტუტი (inṣṭiṭuṭi) (an institute) – ისṭიṭუṭა̃ (iṣṭiṭuṭā); კონსერვი (konservi) (canned food) – კო̃სერვი (kōservi); მედალი (medali) (a medal) – მე̃დალი (mēdal).

Perhaps due to the fact that the consonant of the subsequent syllable implosion in the vicinity of the sound somewhat weakens **ნ**

(n) to a degree of such increased openness, and it progresses from a weak to a normal consonant, the researchers say nothing about its inlaut position. In this respect, ɸ's (n) proximity to the velar consonants is distinguished, where its great openness compared to the usual is particularly tangible.

At the end of the Tsovatush language lexemes, mainly closed syllables are functioning. This feature must have been the cause of some of the transformations taking place in the sound cover of borrowed words. In particular:

a) The vowel sound of the borrowed word in auslaut is weakened or completely lost. This rule applies equally to all bases containing two or more syllables, only monosyllabic lexemes remain unchanged. The above-mentioned rule of the reduction of a vowel in auslaut was equally subject to all nouns in its time: both own and general; In the process of adaptation, ɸ (a) was completely lost and the vowels ɣ, ɔ, ɛ, ɟ (e, i, o, u) were weakened. To date, this rule has been restricted in the proper nouns, resulting in leaving a number of words unchanged.

b) We also consider the cases when the consonant develops at the end of the words that end on vowel to show a tendency towards closed syllables; We mean masdars borrowed from Georgian. Georgian masdars mostly end in the vowel ɸ (a); The role of other producers is negligible here. In the Tsovatush language, the verb base, which is always represented by a closed syllable, is accompanied by the auxiliary verbs დარ (dar) or დარარ (dalar), to produce masdars. In the process of borrowing, Georgian a-producing masdars were conceived as a verb base, and the auxiliary verb was added to it. At this time, in accordance with the principle of mandatory closed-syllables of the base of the C language, it became

necessary to attach any consonant to the last ა (a). As known, დ (d) was used for this purpose.

We got the formula: Georgian Masdar + დ (d) + დარ (dar) // დალარ (dalar). Out of the 68 borrowed masdars from the Tsovatush dictionary of words compiled 160 years ago by Shiefner, only 62 are given in such დონ (don) form, we find only 6 without the დ (d). We have, for example: Georgian: არევა (areva) (messing up), Tsovatush: არევა-დ-დარ (areva-d-dar); კურთხევა (kurtxeva) (consecrating) - კურთხა-დ-დარ (kurtxa-d-dar); ქადაგება (kadageba) (preaching) - ქადგება-დ-დარ (kadgeba-d-dar); შერგება (šergeba) (benefiting) - შერგება-დ-დარ (šergeba-d-dar); სესხება (sesxeba) (borrowing) - სესხბა-დ-დარ (sesxba-d-dar); დაშლა (dašla) (fission) - დაშლა-დ-დარ (dašla-d-dar); დაბეჭდვა (dabečdva) (printing) - დაბეჭდა-დ-დარ (dabečda-d-dar); მიღება (miyeba) (receiving) - მიღება-დ-დარ (miyeba-d-dar); მოწერა (močera) (writing) - მოწერა-დ-დარ (močera-d-dar); მოლოცვა (molocva) (congratulating) - მოლოცა-დ-დარ (moloca-d-dar) ....

Today, the already mentioned model of the borrowed masdars has been replaced by new, დ-removed forms, and they are used in parallel according to the age levels of the speakers. Thus, another step was taken to bring the borrowed words closer to Georgian, which is why this model took the following, simpler form: Georgian Masdar + დარ (dar) // დალარ (dalar).

We have also encountered several cases where a consonant with a similar purpose has been added to an auslaut of vowel-based nouns. They are as follows: Georgian: ყუა (qua) (the back, blunt side), Tsovatush: ყუყ (quv); ძუა (zua) (horse's tail/hair) – ძუყ (zuv);

ქუ (ku) (a turtle)– ქუე (kuv); ცრუ (cru) (a lying) – ცრუე (cruv);  
ზოია (zoia) (Zoia) – ზუი (zuj’).

In this case, attention is drawn to the punctual equivalence that is manifested between the rules for the distribution of consonants in the words of the borrowing language and the changes observed in the same field of lexical units borrowed from Georgian. In this respect, we have a complete analogy with the mathematical accuracy of the matches found at the level of complex phonology of vowels in the same field of vocabulary borrowing, which is an interesting regularity in terms of general linguistics.



## Part II

### Interferential processes in morphology and Syntax of Tsovatush language

#### Chapter I

#### Interferential Processes in morphology of nouns

##### Introduction

Interference, which is limited to lexical influence during individual bilingualism, is already observed at high levels of language hierarchy in the period of collective bilingualism. Starting with borrowings of lexical units, the “harmless” influence of the source language launches an attack on the morphological-syntactic models of the borrowing language in the conditions of language overbilingualism.

Although Georgian and Tush languages are members of the same cognate language family and are related by common origins, as a result of divergent processes they are so different in the modern stage of development that their relationship is possible only at the level of deep scientific analysis.

According to similarity, the question arises of the common initial systems of the declination of nouns or the conjugation of verbs of these two languages. There is a significant difference in the ways and means of realization of the systems themselves. Every change made by bilinguals at the highest levels of bilingualism in their own language under the influence of the source language serves the leveling the differences in the implementation of these different microsystems. **In the form of these changes, a very interesting process of bringing together different thinking models eventually emerges, which draws attention to the limited scale of the**

## **penetration of innovations in the speech of bilinguals and the length of the path to their final establishment.**

We have thoroughly studied the morphological systems of the two languages in contact – Georgian and Tush – in terms of similarities and differences between them. The results of the research are published in separate papers. This time we rely on the ready-made results of the above-mentioned studies and consider each case of the difference or empty space observed between the systems in terms of the penetration of a foreign linguistic influence with respect to both nouns and verbs.

Both the similarities and the differences of the languages in contact are important for the study of the regularity of interferential processes, but it is the difference that makes it possible to observe the dynamics themselves. At the modern level of bilingualism, the interferential processes have more or less already affected almost all the segments different from Georgian, fixed in the paradigms of declination of nouns or conjugation of verbs in the Tush language. This time, we will consider each of them in sequence in terms of foreign influence.

### **§1. Ergative case in terms of interference**

In contrast to Georgian, the ergative of the Tsovatush language shows the peculiarity in such a way that nouns in this case are confronted according to the grammatical classes: the suffix  $\text{ႁ}$  (s) forms the nouns of the human class, while the suffix  $\text{ႂ}$  (v) – the nouns of object class. The aforementioned refers only to the singular form, while the plural form is not characterized by such a division,

and every noun is accompanied by the suffix *ჲ* (v). Such a confrontation of nouns in the ergative form reflect the different social value of the proper nouns: the language made a man confront the rest of the world. For visuals, we represent each noun of the human and object class: *ნან* (nan) (mother) and *ნეჭ* (neჭ) (knife) in the nominative and the ergative cases.

	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	ნანს (nana)	ნეჭს (neჭ)	ნან-ი (nan-i)	ნეჭ-ი (neჭ-i)
Ergative	ნანს-ს (nana-s)	ნეჭ-ე-ვ (neჭ-e-v)	ნან-ი-ვ (nan-i-v)	ნეჭ-ი-ვ (neჭ-i-v)

It is noteworthy that such a classification of subjects is not alien to Georgian grammatical reality either (Javakhishvili, 1992; Chikobava, 1942). Georgian speech psychology still distinguishes between categories of person and object, but, unlike Tsovatush, these principles are not reflected in the paradigms of the declination.

Due to the fact that during the confrontation of grammatical systems, we come from Georgian as a source language, the two-suffixing of Tsovatush ergative case seems unusual, as well as the one-suffixing of Georgian ergative would seem unusual, if we were already relying on Tsovatush in calculating the differences. Against this background of confrontation, it is natural that the two-digit ergative of Tsovatush attracts special attention. Due to the fact that the psychological basis of two-suffixing itself is overshadowed, one of the main features of the speech of modern bilinguals of different ages is revealed in the different attitudes towards these suffixes. Based on the regularities of bilingualism, the bilingual unknowingly faces with a mandatory choice. The fate of the choice in this case is

predetermined: due to the fact that conscious activity is the prerogative of a person's names, the scope of action is expanded precisely by the suffix ლ (s) producing the ergative of the person's own names. This process is naturally followed by the restriction of the position of გ (v), the producer of the ergative of the nouns of the object class, as a result of which the Georgian one-suffix paradigm begins to be established.

This morphological innovation is carried out in amazing sequence. It paves the way by parallel alternations with the basic forms, but this substitution is not free or arbitrary – the dynamics of the distribution of parallel forms is in full accordance with the rate of resilience of the language. Because the novelty should not add ambiguity to the communication process, the borrowing language, step by step, retreats restrictedly: **only after a certain novelty is established in a small part of the lexis, the possibility of the permission of the subsequent arises.** The old, so called legal, forms are defended with fanatical devotion by a tradition whose influence in this respect is immeasurably great. **The limit of the resilience of language and the tradition of its use are two powerful factors that make it difficult to innovate, even under ideal bilingualism.** The bilingual is given the opportunity to adapt a new grammatical form to only a small group of nouns. And, as a rule, only after this small group of nouns acquires a certain tradition of novelty, a small such group will be involved in the process again.

The new form of the noun ergative of the object class initially seems to “accidentally” replace the basic one in the form of a kind of language quotations. Only after some time, in the next step, do they acquire their own tradition and engage in free alternation. From here there are already a few steps left until their final establishment. Only after the above-mentioned set of nouns acquires the right of free parallel alternation with the old forms in the new

form of the ergative, the new nouns appear in the queue, and the possibility of new “cases” arises.

As we have mentioned, the “cases” of adapting new forms to nouns appear in the language in a very limited number and in stages: the “cases” allowed by the speaker must be tolerable for the listener and must not quantitatively exceed the limit of the resilience of the language. That is why all the nouns of the object class in the Tsovatush language do not yet have the parallel of the ergative with *ს* (s) marker and have not yet been included in the row of “cases”. There is a long gradual path to achieve this

The fluctuation in language in this regard seems to have started quite a long time ago. From this point of view, we have studied texts attached to A. Schiefner’s grammar of the Tsovatush language, written in 1864, that is, during a period of poorly developed bilingualism. Unfortunately, the texts are small in volume and limited in content. Here we have encountered only three abstract nouns from the object class nouns in the ergative, two of which are formulated in ergative case with the traditional *ვ* (v) marker and the third one is in the ergative with *ს* (s). It is interesting to note that of the two abstract nouns used in the same sentence, one is in the ergative with *ს* (s) marker and the other – in the ergative with *ვ* (v) marker: „მაცმე ბეკხეთილაეს იესუ ქრისტ თეწდარევა ლათბ ველბ ტყუდჰბადწნიში დესუნ...“ (macme **beḵxetilaes** iesû krist **teḥdareva** latī qelā ṭqujḥbajṇiši jesujn...) (“When the **miracles** and the **teaching** of Jesus Christ began to bring the followers to Jesus Christ...”) (Schiefner, 1856: 78).

Such different uses of abstract nouns in the same sentence, in our opinion, are not accidental and reflect the fluctuations that have already begun in the language. We have tried to understand the dynamics of interferential innovation according to the speech of

three different generations of modern Tsovatush people. For research, we have selected the older generation (60-90 years old), the middle generation (30-60 years old) and the younger generation (up to 30 years old).

As expected, over the century and the half since the publication of Schiefner's monograph, the initial situation has changed in the speech of even the oldest bilinguals, as they are already children of the Soviet mass literature era, almost all of them – being Georgian secondary school pupils; Often they graduated from a Georgian higher education institution. Out of 3000 Tush people, 460 are graduates during this period. Nevertheless, they have the great advantage over other generations that the speech of their parents and grandparents did not experience the omnipotent influence of ideal bilingualism, passing on the immediate descendants with less modified mother tongue.

For this reason, we rely on the speech of the older generation for comparison; The grammatical categories of human and object classes are contrasted well in their speech: nouns, which possess suffix **ს** (s) in the ergative case, form a separate group, while nouns that have **ვ** (v) with the same function form another group.

a) The first group of nouns contain, for example: **ნანა-ს** (nana-s) (mother); **დადა-ს** (dada-s) (father); **დაშა-ს** (jaša-s) (sister); **ვაშა-ს** (vaša-s) (brother); **ბიძი-ს** (biži-s) (uncle); **მამი-ს** (mami-s) (aunt); **აგა-ს** (aga-s) (grandmother); **ბაბო-ს** (babo-s) (grandfather); **წინუსე-ს** (çinuse-s) (bride); **მარნანა-ს** (marnana-s) (mother-in-law); **მარდადა-ს** (mardada-s) (father-in-law).

b) The second group of nouns include: **ათა-ვ** (at-a-v) (cow); **ღონე-ვ** (done-v) (horse); **ფსტარა-ვ** (pštara-v) (ox); **კამჩე-ვ** (kamče-v) (buffalo); **ყაი-ვ** (qai-v) (pig); **ასე-ვ** (ase-v) (calf); **ბაყო-ვ** (baqo-

v) (foal); ბურკევე (burķev) (young sow); ჩუხო-ვ (čuxo-v) (lamb); საგე-ვ (sage-v) (deer); გაზნე-ვ (gazne-v) (goat)...

Such is the basic model for the production of ergative forms of the modern Tsovatush language, numerous nouns are declined in this way in the speech of the older generation. In the speech of all three generations of bilinguals, the ergative case with ს (s) marker is inviolable in terms of interference, and the expected changes apply only to the ergative with ვ (v) marker. It is noteworthy that the novelty has to some extent already affected the speech of the older generation. We imply the use of ს (s) marker by them in the ergative of proper nouns that denote animals and birds. Here are some examples:

1. მურა-ს ჩა ცობასოთქ ქეცო (mura-s ča coba'itē žecī) (Mura (a dog's name) did not let the bear approach the sheep);

2. ყურშა-ს ჰაწუკ ლაცდიქ (qurša-s hačux lacdič) (Kursha (a dog's name) caught a bird);

3. პარასკო-ს ნახ ჟაბოხ ლეთეშ მშაპრ მჭოგოქ (parasko-s najx žabox leteš mwa'ō jwogī) (Parasco (the name of a cow) broke its horn in a fight with other cows);

4. უჲ დენი საღრე-ს ზორადში სახელეებადვიქსრ (uq deni sayre-s zorajšī saxelebadvičō) (On this day, Saghari (the name of a horse) brought me fame).

It is noteworthy from this point of view that if we refer to the same animals by general names in the same contexts, the ergative will already be formed with ვ (v) in the speech of the same older generation. Confirmed examples receive the following form:

1. ფჰარა-ვ ჩა ცო ბაპოთქ ქეცო. (phara-v ča co ba'itē žecī) „ფჰარა-ვ“ ... (phara-v) (dog);

2. ფჰარა-ვ ჰაწუკ ლაცდიე (phara-v haçuk lacdië) „ფჰარა-ვ“ ... (phara-v) (dog);

3. ათა-ვ ნადხ ებახს ლეთეშ მძაპრ მძოგო (ata-v najx žabox leteš mwa'õ jwogĩ) – „ათა-ვ“ (ata-v) (cow);

4. უნ დენი დონე-ვ ზორადში სახელეებადვიესრ (uq deni done-v zorajši saxelebadviëš) – „დონე-ვ“ (done-v) (horse).

In the speech of the older generation, a parallel ergative with ს (s) marker may appear in the common nouns of animals and birds in fairy tales, expressions or proverbs, where they perform a characteristic human action, that is, are personalized, for example:

1. ყოც-ე-ვ // ყოც-ე-ს უარ აღო მაჰოგო ლატრეს (qo'-e-v // qo'-e-s uar alĩ jahogõ latrex) (The raven refused to help the girl);

2. ჰათხ დაღეჩი ფხაკლ-ე-ვ // ფხაკლ-ე-ს ამბუე მაჰო ლომენ (hatx dağëçĩ foxakl-e-v // foxakl-e-s ambuj jahĩ lomen) (The promoted rabbit told the story to the lion);

3. ხილრ ჰაჯეჩი ირმ-ე-ვ // ირმ-ე-ს შარი კოკი დაუნბადვიე (xilõ haçëçĩ irm-e-v // irm-e-s šarĩ koki daçunbadjië) (The deer looking at the water did not like its legs).

This is the issue of the ergative of nouns of the object class in the speech of the older generation. The fact that exceptions are related to certain semantic groups shows that this innovation reflects changes that took place in bilingual speech psychology. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the rules for the use of ergative suffixes in the speech of the older generation are in order, the areas of action of ს (s) and ვ (v) markers are still separated from each other, and the use of each suffix is subject to its own microsystem. Interferential exceptions are observed only with the nouns of the



object class; they are quantitatively limited and are subject to certain regularities.

The speech of the middle generation is a kind of transitional stage in terms of the development of events of interest to us. It is true that the area of action of ლ (s) formant still remains inviolable for ჳ (v), but own positions of ჳ (v) marker are significantly weakened, as its place is increasingly taken by ლ (s). The situation is not steady, the bilinguals of this generation may again use the same nouns of the object class in another context as ergative with ჳ (v) marker: this creates a long series of morphological parallels, one member of which is historically justified, while the other is supported by the regularity of the development of interferential processes.

The subconscious division of the nouns of the object class into animate and inanimate nouns, which manifested itself in the speech of the older generation, takes on a broader character here. Due to the fact that the noun of the animate object is more logical in the active constructions of the verb, such a change in language could have taken place even without interferential processes, through internal evolution. But this time, in parallel with the nouns of animate objects, with the growing influence of the Georgian language, the suffix ლ (s) takes the place of the ჳ (v) with the nouns of inanimate objects as well. The latter process is developing so rapidly that the tendency to re-evaluate nouns (as animate and inanimate groups) cannot be overtaken, as it is overshadowed by another, newer and more general tendency – this is the Georgian way of disrupting any substantive differentiation of nouns in the matter of ergative.

Nevertheless, the speech of the middle generation of Tsovatush people still has a relatively small layer of vocabulary that has not yet been touched by the named grammatical innovation. This is the core of active fund of words, such as: თუჯი (tujxi) (salt);

მადჯი (majqî) (bread); ხი (xi) (water); წი (çe) (fire); ძეთი (jet) (cow); დო (dō) (horse); ჩუჯი (čujxî) (lamb); ლამ (lam) (mountain); მოთი (mot) (bed); ნაჩხი (načx) (cheese); ტოტი (tot) (hand) ...

As well known, the frequency factor plays a special role in bilingual situations where it acts as a defender of old language norms against interferential processes. The same is repeated in our case: if two suffixes already alternate in the ergative of other nouns of the object class, only ვ (v) marker performs the same function here.

We can conclude that in the speech of the middle generation bilinguals, according to the specific weight of the forms of ergative case, there are two groups of nouns of the object class:

I. Nouns where only ვ (v) is found as a formant of ergative case;

II. Nouns where both suffixes (ვ and ს) (v and s) are in free alternation.

The speech of the young generation of Tsovatush people is even more deeply imbued with interferential processes. Acceleration of language influence in this case is a mirroring of radical changes of such important factors that determine bilingual situations, such as: the level of knowledge of a foreign language, the numerical ratio of the so-called pure and mixed families and the frequency of switching from language to language – this is a generation of the period of overbilingualism.

In terms of the use of the formants of the ergative case in the speech of the third, that is, the youngest generation, we specifically studied the language of the seniors of village high school, where according to the results of influence, two groups of bilinguals were distinguished: one group is made up of students whose both parents are Tsovatush, and the other is made up of those who grow up in mixed families. As expected, the speech of students raised in mixed

families shows the traces of the influence of the Georgian language with special clarity, especially if the mother is not of Tsovatush origin. At the modern level of bilingualism, the coexistence of the Georgian and Tush-speaking populations has been such that a special role in accelerating the interferential processes has been given to mixed families due to their large share of specific weight (every third family is mixed today). Each mixed family, with a different set of bilingual factors, has become a separate microcosm of linguistic influence, which, though subject to one common pattern of development, presents this process at different stages and from different angles.

We chose the speech of the first group of students for the conclusions. We considered that the Tush language is better protected from extralinguistic factors here. In the speech of this group of young people, as well as in the speech of the previous two generations,  $\text{ʌ}$  (s) marker maintains independence and its positions are inviolable for  $\text{ɟ}$  (v), which, on the other hand, no longer has the function of an independent formant of the ergative, because instead of it,  $\text{ʌ}$  (s) already functions freely with almost every noun of the object class.

Some among young bilinguals sometimes properly defend the situation of the native language in the distribution of suffixes of the ergative case, but as soon as a lexeme denoting the subject of the object class is heard, which the bilingual has never heard in the context of the Tush language, the the ergative with  $\text{ʌ}$  (s) marker appears immediately. This circumstance clearly indicates that the suffix  $\text{ʌ}$  (s) dominates from the morpheme pair in the ergative in the linguistic consciousness of this generation.

Of fundamental importance in terms of the development of events is the fact that today in the speech of young bilinguals we no longer find the nouns of the object class, where the ergative is

expressed only by  $\mathfrak{g}$  (v). Such a group of nouns was real in the speech of both the older and the subsequent generations, but with the younger generation it no longer functions.

The controversy over the areas of action of the suffixes of the ergative case of the next three different generations of bilinguals shows that under the influence of the Georgian language, the process of switching to a single suffix system of this case in the Tsovatush language is consistently developing. In terms of the regularities of interference, it is noteworthy that the transition to a new, single-suffixed system of the ergative takes place through morphological parallels, which is manifested in the free alternation of two different affixes in the same implementation position. The dynamics of the distribution of these parallel forms is also interesting: alternating forms do not appear with all nouns at once. They are initially sporadic in nature and belong only to certain semantic groups, and in the next stage such substantive differentiation is disrupted by further violence of the foreign language model. At this point the parallelisms apply entirely to the less frequent nouns, and finally all the obstacles are removed by the force of influence, and the grammatical innovation encompasses the entire lexical fund.

In the form of certain types of morphological parallelisms functioning in the modern Tsovatush language, we see the way of development and the cultures of the near end at the beginning of interferential innovation that took place in the ergative case microsystem, which allows us to follow the interesting process of its development and evaluate its results as a linguistic reflection of the changes in the linguistic consciousness of the Tsovatush bilinguals under the influence of the Georgian language.

## §2. Plural forms of nouns

In terms of foreign language influence, certain attention is paid to the plural forms of the nouns of the Tsovatush language. In the modern Georgian language, we actually have one plural – the so-called -ებ (-eb) plural. It is predominant in spoken language and is already preferred in literary language as well. The production model of the -ებ (-eb) plural is extremely simple: the base stem of any noun takes the same -ებ (-eb) suffix denoting a plural, followed by the characters of the same case that were attached to the singular noun.

It is noteworthy that the plural forms are built on the principle of simple agglutination in the Tsovatush language itself: the basic root of the noun, as well as in Georgian, is followed here by a sequence of the number and then characters of the case. In addition to the above, in terms of similarity with the Georgian model of form production, attention is also drawn to the fact that the same formants of the case in the plural are repeated, which we have in singular.

The systemic similarity between the source and the borrowing languages in the production of the plural overshadows the way in which this system is realized. The most obvious difference in this respect is the abundance of plural suffixes in the Tsovatush language. The point is that while contrasting the plural with the singular forms, up to ten derivatives of the number are distinguished in this language. -ი (i), -იშ (-iš), -ში (-ši), -ბი (-bi), -მი (-mi), -ნი (-ni), -არ (-ar) // -აჯრ (-ajr), -აჯრჲ (-ajrĥ), -ღარ (-γar). At present, the principles of distribution of these production formants are almost completely overshadowed, which is why the issue of their attachment is resolved according to the tradition.

Of the listed plural suffixes, only -ბი (-bi), -ში (-ši), and -ღარ (-γar) are related to certain semantic groups. -ბი (-bi) mainly

produces plural nouns denoting origin, the suffix -*ყარ* (-*yar*) is related to patrimonial nouns, and -*ში* (-*ši*) expresses a number with participles. As for the other formants, they are protected by tradition in modern Tsovatush language.

Professor K. Chrelashvili convincingly explained in his work dedicating to this issue that such an abundance and complex composition of affixes were largely due to the wearing out of the base stems in the nominative case of singular nouns, which was caused by the action of a strong dynamic stress. This process resulted in the simplification of the base of this case, which is why, when contrasted with the plural, a certain part of it was found merged with the numeral formant. He also argued that “only one affix of the plural -*იშ* (-*iš*) in the beginning was confirmed in Tsovatush” (Chrelashvili, 1961: 45).

If we approach the issue from a diachronic point of view, it becomes clear that the production of plural forms was even simpler in the Tsovatush language than it is in Georgian today. However, because the interferential processes operate in a horizontal context, while contrasting, the quantitative ratio of the production forms represents the most obvious difference between the numbering systems of the nouns of the Georgian-Tsovatush language at the modern level: in Georgian there is mainly one producer, while in the Tsovatush language there are more than ten. Uncertain principles of distribution of these formants also create difficulties.

In addition to the multiplicity of plural formants, the difference existing between the basic stems of the singular-plural also make a significant difference in the system expressing the number in the Tsovatush language, which is known as a peculiar dual-stem and is significant for a fairly large group of nouns. Such dualism of stems is characterized by the opposition of the basic stem of the singular paradigms to the supporting root of the plural, which

is accomplished by changing the base vowel of the latter. This process of vowel substitution developed on a phonetic basis, but then it became grammatical and became mandatory for certain types of nouns. Such an important feature of the morphology of the nouns of the Tsovatush language in the time caused a significant change in the structure of the plural of nouns borrowed from a foreign language, and today the process has begun to reverse and pave the way for disruption in both its own and borrowed lexemes.

We will try to find out how the foreign language influence was reflected in the complex system of producers of plurals in the Tsovatush language. Consistent discussion of the issue again leads to the stages of bilingualism. Although the history of interferential transformations related to the plural of nouns goes back to the age of all modern generations and dates back quite a long time, we have a reason to argue that at the beginning of bilingualism the peculiarities of plural nouns in the Tsovatush language found regular expression in the morphology of the borrowed nouns. The survived sequence of early borrowings clearly shows that it is the borrowing language that is active in individual bilingualism, and it determines the nature of the changes. The influence of the source language in this period is superficial: its function is only to issue lexical items that subordinate the borrowing language to the requirements of its own phonology and morphology.

From this point of view, a small group of Georgian nouns, which have survived the process of “correcting” the old borrowings operating during the collective bilingualism, turned out to be noteworthy. The example of these nouns makes it clear that in the early stages of bilingualism, the borrowing language had an active influence on the structure of borrowings: it divided them into different groups of production of plurals based on sound analogy, and also applied the principle of dual-stem.

We will provide the examples of old borrowings according to the producing formants of the plural.

a) Suffix ბი (bi):

Singular: კუჭი (kūzj) (stump) - Plural: კაჭბი (kãz-bi); ქუდი (kud) (hat) - ქადბი (kad-bi); ყუჩვი (qũç) (stem) - ყაჩბი (qãç-bi); გუდი (snowball) (gũd) - გადბი (gãd-bi); კუჭი (kuç) (stomach) - კაჭბი (kaç-bi); ქილი (kil) (jar) - ქალბი (kal-bi); ვირი (vir) (donkey) - ვარბი (var-bi) ...

b) Suffix მი (mi):

Singular: ქოხი (kox) (hut) - Plural: ქოხმი (kox-mi)

c) Suffix -ნი (-ni):

Singular: ცორი (cor) (dew) - Plural: ცორნი (cor-ni); ტოტი (toť) (branch) - ტოტნი (toť-ni); გუბე (gubë) (puddle) - გაბნი (gab-ni); წვერი (çver) (tree top) - წვერნი (çver-ni); ბექი (bek) (hillock) - ბექნი (bek-ni).

d) Suffix აირი → ირი (ajr → ir):

Singular: თოტი (top) (rifle) Plural: თატი-ირი (tap-ir).

e) Suffix იში (iš) → ძში (jš):

Singular: სკა (skã) (hive) Plural: - სკა-ძში (skã-jš); ცდა (cda) (try) - ცდა-ძში (cda-jš); ზღვა (zɣva) (sea) - ზღვა-ძში (zva-jš); ტბა (ťba) (lake) - ტბა-ძში (ťba-jš); ყდა (qda) (cover) - ყდა-ძში (qda-jš) ....

The given borrowings, as mentioned above, are distinguished by a variety of formants of the plural. Some of them have also changed the root vowel in the plural base, thus they have switched to the obvious dual base, while some do not seem to have experienced such a change in vowel. Among the named borrowings



under this sign, layers of older and relatively new borrowings can be distinguished. This vowel alternation of bases no longer seems relevant to late borrowings.

This part of bilingualism was left behind, when the Tsovatush language itself controlled the fate of Georgian borrowings, now the interferential influence has an inverted character and it started to assemble its own Tsovatush nouns on the Georgian model. Georgian influence has already placed vowel-changing bases in the archaism; It should be elucidated how the Tsovatush language will be able to “regulate” the abundance of number-producing affixes today, under the conditions of overbilingualism.

Observations show that the process of Georgianization began with borrowing in the number production system. For some time, all new borrowings have been in the same plural form, which is why:

1. The base root of the nominative case of the singular was taken as a basis for all cases and numbers.

2. The expression of the grammatical category of a number was assigned to only one producer out of many - ი (i).

At the modern level of bilingualism, dozens of nouns borrowed from Georgian in the Tsovatush were established in such a simple way. For example:

Singular: კალამ (kalam) (pen), Plural: კალმ-ი (kalm-i); მერხ (merx) (desk) - მერხ-ი (merx-i); ფურცელ (purcel) (sheet) - ფურცლ-ი (purcl-i); ჩაბო (čât) (bag) - ჩანთ-ი (čant-i); დაფ (dap) (blackboard) - დაფ-ი (dap-i); რვეულ (rveul) (notebook) - რვივლ-ი (rvivl-i); დავალებ (davaleb) (assignment) - დავალ-ბი davalb-i) გამოცდ (gamocd) (exam) - გამოცდ-ი (gamocd-i); კლას (klas) (class) - კლას-ი (klas-i); დამრიგებელ (damrigebel) (tutor) - დამრიგებლ-ი (damrigebl-i); მორიგე (morigê) (somebody on duty) -

მორიგ-ი (morig-i); ჟურნალ (žurnal) (journal) - ჟურნალ-ი (žurnal-i); ნიშან (nišā) (mark) - ნიშნ-ი (nišn-i); კოსმონავტ (kosmonavt) - კოსმონავტ-ი (kosmonavt-i) (astronaut)...

From the point of view of the regularity of interferential processes, it is interesting that many long-assimilated Georgian nouns have taken on a new, common form of plural production. In the same paradigms where the principle of two-root based on vowel substitution was maintained, the basic root of the singular began to dominate. Early borrowings are being “corrected”, due to which the old and new forms of their plural number function side by side. We have:

Singular: ქუდი (kud) (hat) – Plural: ქად-ბი // ქუდი-ი (kad-bi // kud-i)

- ყუწი (qūc) (stem) - ყაწ-ბი // ყუწი-ი (qāc-bi // qūc-i)
- გუდი (gūd) (snowball) - გად-ბი // გუდი-ი (gād-bi // gūd-i)
- კუძი (kūz) (stump) - კაძ-ბი // კუძი-ი (kāz-bi // kūz-i)
- კუჭი (kuč) (stomach) - კაჭ-ბი // კუჭი-ი (kač-bi // kuč-i)
- თუგ (tūg) (copper jug) - თაგ-ბი // თუგ-ი (tāg-bi // ) (tūg-i)
- გუბე (gube) (puddle) - გაბ-ნი // გუბ-ი (gab-ni // gub-i)
- ყუთი (qut) (box) - ყათ-ბი // ყუთ-ი (qat-bi // qut-i)
- ქილი (kil) (jar) - ქალ-ბი // ქილი-ი (kal-bi // kil-i)
- ჩხირი (čxir) (stick) - ჩხარ-ბი // ჩხირ-ი (čxar-bi // čxir-i)
- ვირი (vir) (donkey) - ვარ-ბი // ვირ-ი (var-bi // vir-i)
- ძირი (zir) (bottom) - ძარ-ბი // ძირ-ი (zar-bi // zir-i)
- თოფი (top) (rifle) - თაფ-ირი // თოფ-ი... (tap-ir//top-i)...

In terms of the further development of events, it is noteworthy that under the influence of ideal bilingualism, in the words of the fund of the Tsovatush language, there was a tendency to

simplify the underlying base and unify the formant *o* (i). Many bases formed by other formants have already acquired the suffix-parallel *o* (i), which puts almost all other producers of the plural at risk of loss. We have, for example:

Singular: შატ (šat) (knot) – Plural: შატ-ნი // შატ-ი (šat-ni // (šat-i); კეჭ (keč) (wool) – კაჭ-ირ // კეჭ-ი (kač-ir // (keč-i); ჰერწო (herčô) (pot) – ჰერწო-აჯლჩ // ჰერწო-ა (herč-ajlč // herču-j); ზოკ (zok) (beak) – ზაკ-მი // ზოკ-ი (zak-mi // zok-i); ლოჭ (loč) (stick) – ლაჭ-ბი // ლოჭ-ი (lač-bi // loč-i); ღრუტ (grut) (small hole) – ღრატ-ბი // ღრუტ-ი (grat-bi // grut-i) ...

Adding the generalized suffix of the plural *o* (i) causes a number of phonetic transformations in the sound cover of both own and borrowed bases. It has a phonological purpose: it causes the reduction of the bases by one syllable and serves to maintain the obligatory disyllability of the word.

We can conclude that the borrowings of the Tsovatush language or the plural forms of the proper nouns contain material of different levels of bilingualism, which is interesting in terms of the nature of interferential processes. Several circumstances attract attention:

a) **The above-mentioned formant of the plural *o* (i), which begins to be intensively generalized, was not borrowed from the source language by the Tsovatush language, but was selected in its own morphological inventory as the simplest and most convenient to use.** This is a well-known algebraic borrowing and underlines well the essence of this innovation, according to which it is clear that not specific coordination material is essential to bilingual thinking, but the codification system itself.

b) The direction and nature of interferential processes change according to the levels of bilingualism. At the beginning of the contact, the borrowing language itself is active and obeys its own morphological regularities of lexical varieties, and with the tightening of the contact, the foreign language model starts to become violent, which is first used in parallel with the borrowing language model, then expels the latter and is left alone in the arena.

c) It is noteworthy that the new model of the plural was originally applied to borrowed words, which is why the latest borrowings were first applied to the new rules, then the previous borrowings were “corrected” according to these new rules, and finally the innovation penetrated the borrower's own vocabulary. It is true that in the nouns of the Tsovatush language itself, this process has just begun and at the moment it regulates only parallel forms, but the fact that only this one model works in the countless new Georgian borrowing points to the not-so-distant future of these parallelisms.

### **§ 3. “White spots” in the paradigm of noun declination**

In terms of interference, we have consistently discussed the difference that is marked in the issue of realization of this or that form of case or number in the Tsovatush language during the confrontation with Georgian language. From the same point of view, we would like to emphasize the difference that the lack of any case, or less functional load, creates in this language, which means to raise the issue of free spaces, or so-called “white spots”, in the case paradigms of the borrowing language.

Just as a grammatical event can be called “peculiar” only in relation to the proper system of another language, the terms “free spaces” or “white spots” are also conditional. It is well known how flexible and convenient it is to perform the function assigned to each of the several thousand languages of the world, and if we still use these terms in any language, we always have a foreign language background in mind.

Against the background of the grammatical system of the Georgian language, the lack of vocative case creates a free space or opening in the case paradigms of the Tsovatush language; a special form cannot be found in the Tsovatush language to convey its function; The Chechen and Ingush languages lack the vocative case as well. The base root of the three languages, that is, nominative case, holds the function of this case.

The use of the basic, or unformed base, with the function of vocative case was notable in Georgian at the time, but as a result of innovation over time, the two languages sharply confront each other in the expression of addressing forms: Undifferentiated nominative-vocative in Georgian today turned out to be localized only with the proper nouns, while in the Tsovatush language this phenomenon has a systematic character and equally includes both proper and common nouns.

The absence of special forms does not constitute an obstacle for speakers of the Tsovatush language in order to accurately distinguish the addressing from members of a sentence of identical phonetic composition. The means of difference is represented by a special pause by which the appeal is separated from the whole sentence, as well as the intonation of the peculiar ending that accompanies it as an independent syntactic unit. With this sign, the sentence without an appeal represents one intonation whole, while an addressing sentence is divided into two intonation units. In comparison:

1. a) კნათ ჰაშელ ვეხი ნაყბისტეს (ḵnat hašey vexī naqbiṣtes).  
(The boy was invited as a guest by a friend);  
b) კნათ, ჰაშელ ვეხი ჰო ნაყბისტეს (ḵnat, hašey vexī ḥo naqbiṣtes).  
(Boy, you are invited as a guest by a friend);
2. a) დალე ლეტე სე ბადრინ (dalê letê se bādrin).  
(God helps my children);  
b) დალე, ლეტალ სე ბადრინ (dale letal se bādrin).  
(God, help my children);
3. a) რევეკ თხადლოლჷ ცო მაგლაგ სე ბჷარკინ (reveḵ txadolī co jaglag se bōarḵin).  
(I refuse to see Reveka from today).  
b) რევეკ, თხადლოლჷ მა მაგლაგ სე ბჷარკინ (reveḵ, txadolin ma jaglag se bōarḵin).  
(Reveka, I refuse to see you from today).

Similar separation of addressing forms through intonation and pause is characteristic of Georgian as well, but due to the marked nature of the vocative, both represent additional marks, while in the Tsovatush language they are given a special role as the main means of reference to the syntactic role of lexemes. If we remove these means, then it will be difficult to distinguish the address, or better, to understand its syntactic role, there is a danger of qualifying it as a member of its sentence. This is especially true of sentences of such construction where the underlying nominative case form is assumed.

To avoid this peculiar syncretism, the dynamic stress acting in the forms of appeal is particularly strong. From our observation, the use of facultative vowel ა (a) serves as a distinguishing feature of the appeal forms from the other members. It often occurs with an appeal when it is impossible to accompany any other member of the

sentence. The use of facultative *ɔ* (a) is especially frequent when the appeal is in the middle or at the end of the sentence, where it is relatively difficult to distinguish it by intonation and pause. In comparison:

1. a) ღოცობ, ბძღერ // ბძღერ-ა, ჰად ნაყვ (do'ix, bāder/bāder-a, haj naqv).  
(Follow, my son, your own way);  
b) დანქ ბძღერ შერ ნაყვ (daxē bāder šer naqv).  
(My son followed his own way);
2. a) ჰათხ ვაღალ, ვოჰ // ვოჰ-ა, ნახნ (ħatx val'al, voh //voh-a, naxn).  
(Lead the people, boy).  
b) ჰათხ ვაღქ ვოჰ ნახნ (ħatx val'č voh naxn).  
(The boy led the people).

As we can see, in the named pairs of examples, the nouns have the *ɔ*-attached parallel forms only when used in reference, while in other cases, when the same nouns act as a member of the sentence, the adding of the said facultative vowel is excluded. If the noun has a vowel at the end of the base, which is usually weakened, the attachment of the facultative *ɔ* (a) is no longer needed when used for appeal, as it performs the same function of restoring the length of the auslaut vowel.

We think that in the case of the use of facultative *ɔ* (a) or the restoration of the weakened vowel of auslaut, we are dealing with an original attempt to distinguish between nominative-vocative omofomes, which is not fully outlined in language.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of distinguishing unmarked vocative forms, the fact of arithmetic borrowings from Georgian has emerged. We have in mind the peculiar case of

borrowings of the vocative **᠋** (o) formant itself. So far, we see only the germ of this trend. It is noteworthy that, as in other cases of interference, the borrowing process began here with parallel forms too.

It should be noted that if other cases of morphological innovation started with the so-called peripheral vocabulary, the same process was reversed here: the vocative **᠋** (o) formant was added, first of all, to the most frequently used words such as nouns implying relatives: **᠋᠋** (nan) mother), **᠋᠋᠋** (dad) (father), **᠋᠋᠋** (joh) (girl), **᠋᠋᠋** (voh) (boy), **᠋᠋᠋** (biz) (uncle), **᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋** (bäder) (child).

The borrowed suffix begins to establish itself in the usual way – in parallel alternation with local forms. For this reason, at the modern stage of development, each form of the nominative of the mentioned lexemes is replaced by two forms in the vocative, one of which is its own, unformed, and the other is borrowed and formed. Here, if we recall that the facultative **᠋**-vowel forms are in free alternation with the unformed vocative with the same function of appeal, then we have to imagine parallelisms with three members, two of which are own, and one – borrowed.

1. Nom. **᠋᠋** (nan) (mother)

Voc. **᠋᠋᠋**//**᠋᠋᠋-᠋**//**᠋᠋᠋-᠋** (nan//nan-a//nan-o)

2. Nom. **᠋᠋᠋**<sup>1</sup> (dad) (father)

Voc. **᠋᠋᠋**//**᠋᠋᠋-᠋**//**᠋᠋᠋-᠋** (dad//dad-a//dad-o)

3. Nom. **᠋᠋᠋** (joh) (girl)

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<sup>1</sup> Some nouns have lost the base vowel **᠋** (a) in the auslaut. This time, it is not restored in the forms of vocatives but it is extended by facultative vowel.



Voc.  $\text{ჯოჰ} // \text{ჯოჰ-ა} // \text{ჯოჰ-ო} \rightarrow \text{ჯოჰ-უ} \text{ (joh //joh-a // } \\ \text{(joh-o} \rightarrow \text{joh-u)}$

4. Nom.  $\text{ვოჰ} \text{ (voh) (boy)}$

Voc.  $\text{ვოჰ} // \text{ვოჰ-ა} // \text{ვოჰ-ო} \rightarrow \text{ვოჰ-უ} \text{ (voh //voh-a//voh-o} \\ \rightarrow \text{voh-u)}$

5. Nom.  $\text{ბიჯ} \text{ (biz) (uncle)}$

Voc.  $\text{ბიჯ} // \text{ბიჯ-ა} // \text{ბიჯ-ო} \text{ (biz // biz-a // biz-o)}$

6. Nom.  $\text{ბადერ} \text{ (bader) (child)}$

Voc.  $\text{ბადერ} // \text{ბადერ-ა} // \text{ბადერ-ო} \text{ (băder//băder-a//băder-} \\ \text{o)}$

Of two nouns implying relations, such as  $\text{ჯაშო} \text{ (jašô)}$  and  $\text{ვაშო} \text{ (vašô)}$ , the vocative  $\text{ო} \text{ (o)}$  finally merged with the base. The same happened in the composed nouns received with their participation, such as:  $\text{ნან-ე-შო} \text{ (nan-e-šô)}$  (aunt, mother's sister),  $\text{ნან-ვაშ-ო} \text{ (nan-vaš-ô)}$  (uncle, mother's brother),  $\text{დად-ე-შო} \text{ (dad-e-šô)}$  (aunt, father's sister),  $\text{დადვაშ-ო} \text{ (dadvaš-ô)}$  (uncle, father's brother).

Merging with the base of the case signs is not an unusual phenomenon from a general linguistic point of view. Similar cases are found in literary Georgian and its dialects, where, for example, cases of merging with the base of the nominative  $\text{ი} \text{ (i)}$  and vocative  $\text{ო} \text{ (o)}$  are known (Uturgaidze, 1986: 101; Nozadze, 1995: 45).

It is interesting that such merging of signs of the case with the base takes place in anthroponyms, and it mainly concerns the vocative case. Here, perhaps, a certain role is played by the circumstance that the vocative formant is by its nature significantly different from other conventional formants of cases, which is why it is often given a place in word production (Topuria, 1956: 47).

It is clear that nouns where the vocative formant has already been merged with the base, no longer have other, insignificant parallel forms in this case. As for the other nouns, we have free alternation of their parallel forms in the contexts.

It is true that a very small group of nouns has the borrowed formant  $\text{ო}$  (o) of the vocative case, but if we recall that these are the most commonly used lexical items, the large specific weight of the borrowed formants in the speech process becomes clear. This way, we could prove that certain nouns of the human class had a vocative case in the Tsovatush language. In such a case, it would occupy a proper place among the cases of this language with no postpositions.

Such a conclusion is prevented by a specific event which manifested itself in the declination of the above-mentioned nouns: We mean the circumstance that at a certain stage of the borrowings the grammatical model of the Tsovatush language itself was again forced and the Georgian forms of the vocative  $\text{ო}$  (o) mark were suddenly carried to nominative case. At this stage of development, the Tsovatush language's own regularity, according to which the form of the address must match the nominative, became the guiding factor again. **A new base root emerged, a new kind of declination emerged; There was a peculiar contamination: the form is Georgian, and the use, that is, the equal distribution in the nominative and vocative, is its own.**

This contamination of the two microsystems resulted in the parallel operation of a pair paradigm of the declination of the same noun, one of which is traditional and the other is built on a completely new base which was vocative in the past.

Here, we present the examples of parallel declination relying on the former vocative base:

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| a) Old declination                             | b) New declination      |
| Nom. $\text{დადა}(\text{ა})$ (dad(a)) (father) | $\text{დადა-ო}$ (dad-o) |

Erg. დადა-ს (dad-s)	დად-ო-ს (dad-o-s)
Gen. დადა- <sup>ფ</sup> (dada-j)	დად-ო- <sup>ფ</sup> (dad-o-j)
Dat. დადა-მ-ნ (dada-j-n)	დად-ო-მ-ნ → დად-უ-მ-ნ (dad-o-j-n → dad-u-j-n)
Instr. დადა-მ-ვ (dada-j-v)	დად-ო-მ-ვ → დად-უ-მ-ვ (dado-j-v → dad-u-j-v)
Transf დადა-მ-ლ (dada-j-γ)	დად-ო-მ-ლ → დად-უ-მ-ლ (dado-j-γ → dad-u-j-γ)
Voc. დად-ო (dad-o)	დადა დად-ო (dad-a dad-o)

a) Old declination

Nom. ნან(ა) (nan(a)) (mother)

Erg. ნანა-ს (nana-s)

Gen. ნანა-ნ (nana-n)

Dat. | ნანა-მ-ნ (nana-j-n)

Instr. ნანა-მ-ვ (nana-j-v)

Transf. ნანა-მ-ლ (nana-j-γ)

Voc. ნან-ო (nan-o)

b) New declination

ნანო (nano)

ნანო-ს (nano-s)

ნანო-<sup>ფ</sup> → ნანუ<sup>ფ</sup>  
(nano-<sup>ჟ</sup> → nanuj<sup>ჟ</sup>)

ნანო-მ-ნ → ნანუ<sup>მ</sup>  
(nano-j-n → nanujn)

ნანო-მ-ვ → ნანუ<sup>მ</sup>  
(nano-j-v → nanujv)

ნანო-მ-ლ → ნანუ<sup>მ</sup>  
(nano-j-γ → nanujγ)

ნან-ა ნან-ო

(nan-a nan-o)

The process of borrowing of the vocative formant seems to have started quite a long time ago because A. Schiefner got to know with these new forms with the **ო** (o) marker of vocative, after it had already been carried out in nominative. The researcher did not raise the issue of their original connection with the vocative, but noted interesting changes in the structure of these words. He is quite right

when he pointed out that the nouns ვაში (vašô) (brother) and ჯაში (jašô) (sister) are derived from the bases ვაშია (vaša) and ჯაშია (jaša), as this is the way their basic roots are in the Chechen language and thus preserved in the ergative of the Tsovatush language (Schiefner, 1856: 37).

Thus, in the Tsovatush language we find quite serious attempts to form the vocative. In the first case, there is the result of the internal, immanent development of the language through adding the facultative *ა* (a) or the use of the Georgian *ო* (o) formant, and in the second case, the active influence of the source language. Nevertheless, we are still far from forming the vocative case as an independent unit. The process, as we have seen above, was hampered by a very interesting process of converting the form-producing formant of the borrowed paradigm into the word-producing formant, which has resulted in a large internal resistance of the borrowing language towards grammatical innovations.

The unsuccessful attempt of the Tsovatush language to borrow the vocative formants from the Georgian language against the background of a large number of borrowings and the established derivative affixes is attracting attention as an unprecedented case of inflection borrowings. It is clear here how difficult and contradictory this process is even in the face of far-fetched ideal bilingualism, and how durable and flexible the borrowing language is in this respect. It is also an obvious interesting regularity that the derivational affix imported from the source language must first be related to a certain semantic group of lexemes, and only after it begins to function naturally in this group will it open the way to universal use. As for the issue of “white spots”, **the present case of the attempt to form a new case once again shows that interferential processes inevitably involve filling each opening at all levels of the linguistic structure. The only difference is the time factor, which**

**varies depending on which level of the grammatical hierarchy we are dealing with.**

#### **§4. Innovation in the grammatical class category of a noun**

Despite the ambiguity of the basics of classification, the grammatical class of the noun continues to exist in the Tsovatush language as a semantic category that retains its grammatical status in the verb. The point is that to this day it is the main means of connecting the nominal actants to the verb, and until it is freed from this role, it will continue to exist. It is noteworthy that interferential processes against the category of verb grammatical class have long been in place. We imply the circumstance that the formation of the person category started in the Tsovatush verb and this fact has a two-century written history: if until now only the noun class was marked in the verb, now a person can be marked in parallel. Take for example the verb ვ-აღრ (v-აღრ) (he comes) with classmarker ვ (v). Here the class marker ვ (v) gives an idea only of the fact that the action is performed by a man but we know nothing about which persons he is. To specify the identity of a person, pronouns should be added to nominated form of the verb:

ას ვ-აღრ (as v-აღრ) (I, a man, come)

აჰ ვ-აღრ (ah v-აღრ) (You, a man, come)

ო ვ-აღრ (o v-აღრ) (He, a man, comes)

Since the formation of the category of the person begun, the markers of a person of pronoun origin appeared, which are attached to the verb together with the markers of the class and give us an idea

already of the identity of the person (which one is he: the first, the second or the third). In this regard, it is no longer mandatory to add the personal pronouns:

ვ-აღო-ს (v-aγō-s) (I, a man, come)

ვ-ა-ღო-ჰ (v-a-γō-h) (I, a man, come)

ვ-ა-ღო (v-a-γō) (I, a man, comes)

An important fact in terms of the introduction of novelty is that the forms with the marker of person and without it are in parallel use of the verbs, and the priority in this respect still belongs to the forms with the marker of person: marking the actant class in the verb is obligatory, whereas the identity (which one is he: the first, the second or the third), according to the speaker, may or may not be marked. Only after the situation changes diametrically, that is, when it is mandatory to mark the identity and the class becomes facultative, the disorganization of the class-category will begin.

It is true that the interferential processes mentioned above have not been able to disorder the class as a grammatical category in the verb for obvious reasons, but they have made great shifts in its semantics. **This time we are referring to the very interesting process of unification of the female and male classes of human beings into one common general class, which is developing intensively in the Tsovatush language and is unfamiliar to the closely related Chechen and Ingush languages.** The processes refer to such common nouns that can be attributed equally to women and men.

It is noteworthy that the Tsovatush language used the marker of the object class ღ (d) as a means of such generalization and not one of any female and male class markers. In this regard, the point of view of Academician Arn. Chikobava is interesting, which he develops based on the materials of the Georgian language: “Disruption of the grammatical class-category implies a change of

the concrete by a more abstract one, while the category of the object adapts much better to the expression of abstractiveness than the category of a person” (Chikobava, 1942: 261).

The process of generalization has so far dealt only with the nouns denoting the craft and occupation, and presents three different stages of development: some of these nouns are used only with a marker of the new generalized class; Some specific and generalized classes are in parallel; And, some nouns have not been affected by this innovation at all. Here are some examples:

I. The process of generalization is over, and the new class **ღ** (d) of persons include the following nouns:

ადმე (admê) (a human being); ლაწმარ (laçmar) (a sick); ჰაშე (hašê) (a guest); ბირკაპრ (birka'ô) (carnival mummer), მასთხოვ (mastxov) (an enemy); მაქლათარ (maklatar) (an overseer at the table during the feast or woe); მაყარ (maqar) (a best man); მარჭკელ (marçkel) (a matchmaker); შპიო (špiô) (a spy); მოწაფე (moçapê) (a disciple); მორიგე (morigê) (someone on duty); მახარბელ (maxarbel) (a herald); მოწყალე (moçqalê) (a supporter); მუშაპრ (muša'ô) (a worker); ტუსალ (tuşay) (a prisoner); ამნათ (amnat) (a servant); ლათაგ (yatag) (a slave)...

II. The generalized class of person is in parallel use with the specific classes of female and male, for example:

Specific classes: **მა, ვა** (ja, va) // General classes: – **ღა** (da)

მასპიძელ (maspižel) (host) **მა, ვა** // მასპიძელ **ღა, (ja, va**  
//maspižel da)

მეგობარ (megobar) (friend) **მა, ვა**// მეგობარ **ღა, (ja, va** //  
megobar da)

ნაცხისტი (naqbiṣṭ) (friend) და, ვა // ნაცხისტი და, (ja, va // naqbiṣṭ da)

მდგმურ (mdgmur) (lodger) და, ვა // მდგმურ და, (ja, va // mdgmur da)

ნაცნობ (nacnob) (acquaintance) და, ვა // ნაცნობ და, (ja, va // nacnob da)

თანამშრომელი (tanamšromel) (collaborator) და, ვა // თანამშრომელი და, (ja, va // tanamšromel da)

ამომრჩეველი (amomrčeval) (elector) და, ვა // ამომრჩეველი და (ja, va // amomrčeval da)...

III. The following nouns belong only to the specific classes of female and male:

დოქტორი (doxṭur) (a doctor) ვა, და, (va, ja)

უჩიტელი (učitel) (a teacher) ვა, და, (va, ja)

მოსამართლე (mosamartlê) (a judge) ვა, და, (va, ja)

ნოკარი (nokar) (a salesman) ვა, და, (va, ja)

დირექტორი (direkṭor) (a director) ვა, და, (va, ja)

თავმჯდომარი (tavmždomar) (a chairman) ვა, და, (va, ja)

მდივანი (mdivã) (a secretary) ვა, და, (va, ja)

ბრიგადელი (brigadel) (a foreman) ვა, და, (va, ja)

ინჟინერი (inžiner) (an engineer) ვა, და, (va, ja)

გამომძიებელი (gamomžibel) (an investigator) ვა, და... (va,

ja)

Interestingly, this innovation primarily concerned the word ადამიანი (adamiani) (a human being). After that, the interrogative pronoun მქ (më) (who) was included in the circle of interferential



transformations, which, instead of two specific classes of female and male, is already found in three different classes. For example:

Ժժ ցճ (mẽ va) (Who is he)

Ժժ ռճ (mẽ ja) (Who is she)

Ժժ լճ (mẽ da) (Who is he) (human being, in general)

Naturally, innovation permeated among verbs as well, and the tendency to unite specific classes of female and male into one general class of people has embraced the entire language fabric. Thus, the Tsovatush language, under the influence of Georgian, took another step on the path of distance from the closest related Chechen and Ingush languages.

This innovation is the result of the action of interferential processes and reflects the change in the linguistic consciousness of bilinguals. The impetus for this was obviously given by the fact that Georgian, which today the bilinguals know better than their native language, has preserved only two semantic classes of human being and object. According to the current situation, the Tsovatush language will find its path here again.

**It is noteworthy that, as in all other cases of morphological innovations, the novelty here also begins to establish itself through parallel forms. Some nouns and, consequently, verbs have already passed the parallel class stage, some are now going through this stage, some have not yet acquired alternating forms.**

Thus, the grammatical class category of the noun underwent a significant change in the Tsovatush language, on the one hand, through internal development and, on the other hand, as a result of foreign language influence. In the initial stages, the classes of human and things were divided into classes of males, females and things, and today the process of unification of the classes of females and males into one common class of human beings is taking place.

Despite the serious fluctuations and alterations in the semantics of the grammatical class of the noun, there is still a very long and difficult way to go before it collapses. Even today, when ideal bilingualism is in the heyday of its development, we are unable to name a single example of a noun left without a class. This is practically impossible, because a class category is the main way to connect the noun with other members. It is true that again under the influence of Georgian, today this function is performed by the category of person in the Tsovatush language as well but the latter is only used in parallel with the category of class: the characterization of the subject by social value (class) and the characterization of the identity (person) take place simultaneously. The category of person does not yet have the right to function independently.

From the point of view of the regularity of the processes of language influence, it is interesting that despite the century-old unilateral active influence, the Georgian language has recently been able to fluctuate in the grammatical class category of Tsovatush language nouns with the beginning of unification of female and male class nouns into one class. We can conclude that despite the active attacks of interferential processes against the class category of a noun, this category could not be disrupted and no fundamental fluctuations could be made precisely because of its special systemic constraint as a morphological cell.

## §5. Parallel declination paradigms of borrowed adjectives

**The Tsovatush language adjective, according to its structure and inflexion, creates an independent system among the other parts of speech of the same language, which led to its separation-discussion in relation to interferential processes.** The adjective in the Tsovatush language, as in other languages, is attributive or substantive. We have both similarities and differences between these two types of adjectives in a given language. The similarity is created by their uniform ending, namely, the nasal vowel, which is equally attached to both in auslaut with the adjective function. We have, for example, ლაყ-ჲ სტაკ (laq-ē sṭak) (a tall man); ხენ-ჲ ფოთოლ (xen-ē potol) (a tree leaf) ...

The difference is that attributive and substantive determinants united in one class by the obligatory nasal vowel have different rules for producing transformations. Substantive delimiters repeat the base of the nominative case as a support in other cases, while attributive determinant produce a new base with the special ჩო (čo) suffix. Because of this, the attributive determinant stands apart from other nouns and forms its own marked system of case paradigms.

Crucial to the impact of interferential processes was the fact that the paradigm of declination of substantive determinant with its modified noun of the Tsovatush language completely coincides with the corresponding Georgian paradigm, and the only difference here is created by the declination affixes attached to the modified noun. For this reason, this type of determinant-modified was not affected by the interference at all. On the other hand, the greatest influence of Georgian was on the paradigm of the declination of the attributive

determinant with its modified noun where the difference is not only in the affixes, but the whole system of declination is different.

When attributive determinant declines separately, that is without modified noun, it is usually attached by the case markers, while in the case of declination together with modified noun, it function in the form of base with **-հո** (čö) suffix. For visualization, we present examples of declination, which can only be verified in the singular, because the determinant can not change at all according to the number in the Tsovatush language. We have:

- 1) Nom. **լա ջ-յ՛ զամ-ո** (laq-ě vaš-ô) (Tall brother)  
 Erg. **լա ջ-յ-հո** զամ-ս (laq-e-čô vaša-s)  
 Gen. **լա ջ-յ-հո** զամ-ժ (laq-e-čô vaša-ž)  
 Dat. **լա ջ-յ-հո** զամ-ա-ն (laq-e-čô vaša-j-n)  
 Instr. **լա ջ-յ-հո** զամ-ա-ց (laq-e-čô vaša-j-v)  
 Transf. **լա ջ-յ-հո** զամ-ա-լ (laq-e-čô vaša-j-γ)
- 2) Nom. **տոմ-ժ Վա** (tiš-ĩ ɸa) (Old house)  
 Erg. **տոմ-ո-հո** Վյն-ո-ց (tiš-i-čô ɸen-i-v)  
 Gen. **տոմ-ո-հո** Վյն-ժ (tiš-i-čô ɸen-ĩ)  
 Dat. **տոմ-ո-հո** Վյն-ո-ն (tiš-i-čô ɸen-i-n)  
 Instr. **տոմ-ո-հո** Վյն-ո-ց (tiš-i-čô ɸen-i-v)  
 Transf. **տոմ-ո-հո** Վյն-ո-լ (tiš-i-čô ɸen-i-γ)

After attaching the suffix **-հո** (čö) to the basic root of the nominative determinant, the former auslaut adjective vowel loses its nasality and acts as a kind of consonant separating. It is noteworthy that in individual bilingualism, the openness of an adjective constituted only 14%, while the openness of a noun amounted to 65%. At the time the adjective was almost equal to the verb due to its internal resistance. It was because of its complex structure that

borrowing adjectives was characterized by amazing limitations compared to nouns. Only after the removal of some morphological barriers did the process of assimilation of the latter accelerate relatively, causing their openness to increase to 71% on the next stage of bilingualism.

This time we are interested in the other side of the interference with the adjective: we are exploring the nature and scale of innovation in relation to the stages of bilingualism. We are exploring what the penetration of grammatical influence is in general and how it relates to the difficulties of inflection; In what way are the foundations laid for changes in the whole system of paradigms.

We can conclude that in relation to Georgian, if nine different forms in the paradigms of modified nouns are represented by cases, only two forms oppose to each other in determinants: one – for nominative case, with nasal vowel, and the other – common to all other cases with suffix  $-ჲო$  (čo).

Of particular importance is the fact that when the modified is in the nominative and is non-formant (the modified nominative is always marked with a zero morpheme in the Tsovatush language), it is obligatory for the determinant to add the genitive marker, while when the determinant is in any other case and, therefore, is marked with the case marker, the determinant appears to be non-formant. As we can see, **the simultaneous zero formation of both members of a determinant-modified syntagm is in principle excluded in any case, when one of them is always non-formant.** Here we are dealing with the action of the principle of linguistic economy. As has already been observed in other segments of morphology, here again the principle of economy has manifested itself. Oral languages seem to have enhanced this aspiration.

In this regard, it may not be uninteresting to note that separately declined determinants both attributive and genetic – have

the same  $-ჩო$  ( $\check{c}o$ ) marker and the case marker. Georgian does not have the determinant class with special formant as an independent morphological quantity, but in the Tsovatush language this system, as we have seen, is specially arranged, on the one hand, with the nasal-vowel endings of the basic stems, and, on the other hand, with  $-ჩო$  ( $\check{c}o$ ) marker or dual-bases implemented without it.

This particular difficulty and limitation of inflection and derivation was the difficult to overcome barrier that protected the attributive adjectives of the Tsovatush language from the intrusion of foreign units so reliably and for so long. In terms of borrowings at the beginning of the bilingualism and long afterwards, it was an almost completely closed system, getting in which could be possible only after serious morphological changes. Due to the difficulties of transformation, only a few units of adjectives borrowed until recently reached the Tsovatush lexical fund.

In this respect, the issue was simple with the substantive determinants, which for this purpose used the form of the genetic case of the already borrowed and established nouns. Namely this circumstance (the formants of the genetic case of the Tsovatush language was added on the already acquired bases) obscured their hybrid nature. This made it easier, on the one hand, to produce their forms and, on the other hand, to involve them in word circulation. Numberless Georgian, or nouns borrowed in a Georgian way took the form of a genitive and participated seamlessly in syntactic pairs.

The easier it was to deal with the form production and circulation of substantive determinants, the more difficult it was to resolve them with respect to attributive determinants. In the process of borrowing, the adjective had to be changed in such a way that the nasal vowel would naturally fit in the auslaut; In addition, the form obtained as the newly attached nasal vowel should have been placed within the mandatory two-syllable framework; Obviously, we had to

get rid of the unusual sound sequence for the Tsovatush language as well. Only then was the adjective mastered by the borrowing language, thus opening the way to its lexical fund. The basis for such conclusions is, on the one hand, the systematic binding-limitation of the adjectives of the Tsovatush language, and, on the other hand, the small percentage of borrowings and the complexity of the morphological transformations to which they were subjected. Let us consider a few examples from the earliest borrowings of attributive adjectives that have survived to the present day. We have:

Georg.:

Tsov.:

კუზიანი (kuziani) (hunchback)	//	კუძნჭ (kujzē)
ღარღიანი (dardiani) (sorrowful)		ღადრღვეჭ (dajrdvē)
ეჭვიანი (ečviani) (jealous)		იჭვეჭ (ičvē)
ნაკლიანი (nakliani) (faulty)		ნადკლვეჭ (najklvē)
კუდიანი (kudiani) (tailed)		კუდღჭ (kujdē)
ცოფიანი (copiani) (rabid)		ცუმფჭ (cujpē)
მადლიანი (madliani) (merciful)		მადღღჭ (majdlē)

These assimilated borrowed units were easily involved in the circulation of adjectives of the Tsovatush language: they adopted a -ჩო (čo) suffix and switched to dibasic. The paradigms of their declination exactly coincided with the paradigms of adjectives of the borrowing language. For example:

Hunchback brother

Nom. კუძნჭ-ჭ ვაშ-ო (kujz-ē vaš-ô)

Erg. კუძნჭ-ჩ-ჩო ვაშა-ს (kujz-ē-čô vaša-s)

Gen. კუძნჭ-ჩ-ჩო ვაშა-ჯ (kujz-ē-čô vaša-j)

Dat. კუძნჭ-ჩ-ჩო ვაშ-დ-ნ (kujz-ē-čô vaša-j-n)

Instr. კუძნჭ-ჩ-ჩო ვაშა-დ-ვ (kujz-ē-čô vaša-j-v)

Transf. კუჯ-ე-ჩო ვაშა-ი-ლ (kujz-ē-čô vaša-j-γ)

Voc. კუჯ-ე-ჩო ვაშ-ო (kujz-ē vaš-ô)

Jealous man:

იჭვ-ი ადმი (içv-ē admē)

იჭვ-ი-ჩო ადმი-ი-ს (içv-ē-čô admen-e-s)

იჭვ-ი-ჩო ადმი-ი (içv-ē-čô admen-ē)

იჭვ-ი-ჩო ადმი-ი-ნ (içv-ē-čô admen-e-n)

იჭვ-ი-ჩო ადმი-ი-ვ (içv-ē-čô admen-e-v)

იჭვ-ი-ჩო ადმი-ი-ლ (içv-ē-čô admen-e-γ)

იჭვ-ი ადმი (içv-ē admē)

Borrowed adjectives that have become Tsovatush to such an extent are seldom encountered today, as here, too, the usual activity for the ideal bilingualism is marked by a tendency to “correct” earlier borrowings, remove the “mistakes” of the past, and replace them with new, unchanged forms.

During the period of universal collective bilingualism and overbilingualism, the compression after contact with Georgian was followed by a large number of “white spots”, the filling of which became necessary in order to accelerate the development of bilingualism. For this purpose, the Tsovatush language tried to use its own abilities of word-formation to some extent, but the forceful foreign linguistic reality weakened its lexical energy. At the same time, there is a well-known factor of prestige of foreign words, which, unlike “white spots”, facilitates borrowing even when the borrowing language has its own equivalent to the borrowed words lexical items. **At that time even the simplest words, which denoted the same feature and were identical in additional connotations, differed only because they belonged to languages, one of which was less prestigious than the other.** It is noteworthy that at this



stage of bilingualism, the adjective openness increased from 14% to 71%.

In the face of such accelerated borrowings, the Tsovatush language found it difficult to arrange the borrowed adjectives on its own template, due to which it was forced to make concessions and abandon the auslaut adjective vowel. The requirement to include the suffix -ჩო (čö) was removed, the mandatory principle of disyllable was also violated. **In this way, a new model of adjective declination was formed in the Tsovatush language only for borrowed adjectives**, while the system of declination of own adjectives was not affected at all. We have:

Nom. ბოროტ მეზობელ (boroṭ mezobel) (wicked neighbor)

Erg. ბოროტ მეზობლ-ეს (boroṭ mezobl-es)

Gen. ბოროტ მეზობლ-ე (boroṭ mezobl-ë)

Dat. ბოროტ მეზობლ-ენ (boroṭ mezobl-en)

Instr. ბოროტ მეზობლ-ევ (boroṭ mezobl-ev)

Transf. ბოროტ მეზობლ-ელ (boroṭ mezobl-ey)

This change was followed by the numberless adjectives, which represent the most recent borrowings and appear in the modest role of lexical parallels. They no longer cover the “white spots” as the previous borrowings, but rather stand by the adjectives of the Tsovatush language itself and compete. The number of such parallelisms in the famous dictionary of Kadagidzes’ reaches 450.

This is an important morphological innovation, which will play a special role in the further alteration of the Tsovatush language. A revision of the old borrowings from this new point of view has already begun: new forms without -ჩო (čö) suffix have emerged alongside the paradigms with -ჩო (čö) suffix reinforced by their tradition. Thus, in many cases, there is a paradigm of two kinds of the same borrowed adjective, which can usually be called “old” and

“new”. For visualization, let us present such parallel paradigms of the pairs “a tempting man” and “a beautiful child”.

a) Old declination

Nom. ლამზურ ბადერ (lamzur bāder) (Tempting man)

Erg. ლამზურ-ჩო ბადერ-ეს (lamzur-čô bādr-e-s)

Gen. ლამზურ-ჩო ბადერ-ე (lamzur-čô bādr-ê)

Dat. ლამზურ-ჩო ბადერ-ენ (lamzur-čô bādr-e-n)

Instr. ლამზურ-ჩო ბადერ-ევ (lamzur-čô bādr-e-v)

Transf. ლამზურ-ჩო ბადერ-ელ (lamzur-čô bādr-e-γ)

Voc. ლამზურ ბადერ (lamzur bāder)

b) New declination:

Nom. ლამზურ ბადერ (lamzur bāder) (beautiful child)

Erg. ლამზურ ბადერ-ეს (lamzur bāder-e-s)

Gen. ლამზურ ბადერ-ე (lamzur bāder-ê)

Dat. ლამზურ ბადერ-ენ (lamzur bāder-e-n)

Intr. ლამზურ ბადერ-ევ (lamzur bāder-e-v)

Transf. ლამზურ ბადერ-ელ (lamzur bāder-e-γ)

Voc. ლამზურ ბადერ (lamzur bāder)

**The above-mentioned parallel use of different paradigms of the same adjective, i.e. the adaptation of new forms to traditional forms, means getting on the path of losing the latter, just as it happens in the case of lexical parallelisms.** As a result, of course, the same, Georgian-like paradigms will prevail throughout the borrowings, which at this stage will oppose the traditional paradigms with -ჩო (čô) suffix and the nasal vowel already functioning in the adjectives of the Tsovatush language. It is difficult to say when the paradigms of borrowings is completely Georgianized, or when similar parallelisms emerge with the

Tsovatush adjectives themselves, and where lies the end of these far-reaching innovations.

The situation with the adjectives of the Tsovatush language is interesting in the sense that, if in other cases of morphological transformations we are dealing with already far-reaching processes, here this tendency has just begun. This circumstance allows us to keep track of the various stages of development of interferential processes and to establish general patterns of innovations.

According to the changes in the Tsovatush language adjective microsystem, it can be concluded that in the case of ideal bilingualism, the knowledge of the source language equal to or greater than the mother tongue more or less successfully explains all the factors of the internal resistance of the borrowing language toward borrowings. With great hindrance, but like all other links in the linguistic hierarchy, morphology is subject to interferential change as well.

The logic of similar developments suggests that in the next period of bilingualism, or in case of prolongation of overbilingualism, the Georgian-like system of declination must be shared by the adjectives of the Tsovatush language, but switching of the Tsovatush population to the Georgian language is developing so actively that the expected process will probably remain unfulfilled.

## Chapter II

### Interferential processes in verb morphology

#### Introduction

The verb, with its content, is the soul and heart of the language, the foundation, the pillar of the grand structure, which is called speech. Nothing in the course of mankind existence has been created more astonishing than language, and the language itself is as distinctive as the verb in the expressive power of thinking. The great French thinker of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Michel Foucault, notes that the verb defines the first and most fundamental invariant of the sentence (invariable value); Elements (parts of speech) are given on both sides of the verb in the sentence; They are “indifferent” and are defined by a verb; They exist as if surrounding the judge – the defendants and the judged; Nouns stir endlessly like ants in front of the verb in the language” (Foucault, 2004: 138).

The flexibility of the language, its depth and breadth depend much on the structure of the verb and its grammatical richness. When we learn about the verb of the Tsovatush language from this point of view, we are amazed by its completeness, sophistication and systematicity in grammatical categories. This may have led Peter von Uslar, a renowned scholar of Nakh languages, to say that “the Tush language is extraordinarily rich in grammatical forms that give a chance to express the most subtle nuances of thought” (Uslar, 1887: 27).

The Tsovatush language verb has neat and definite systems of grammatical class, tense, mood, aspect, occasion, act, causative, voice, attribute/modifier, and has a refined system of conjugation. Amazing consistency manifests itself in the entrails of separate grammatical categories. If we recall the general linguistic statement that language acquires special expressive energy only at a large

social load, it remains difficult to explain, where and when the Tsovatush language should have been functionally so loaded in the speech of half village. Nothing is heard about it from the point of view of history, the origin of the phenomenon should be traced back to the centuries.

Today, probably after many centuries from the supposed social reign, when Tsovatush language without the written system was confronted with the monolithic Georgian with its centuries-old cultural and literary traditions, the deficit was observed almost only at the level of lexis. On the other hand, according to the number of grammatical categories, these languages, as members of the same genealogical family, are almost equally measured to each other, with some prevalence on each side. According to the number of grammatical categories of the verb, along with the similarities between the two languages in contact, we also have a noticeable difference: when confronted with Georgian, the Tsovatush language lacks the category of person identity (which one is the person: the first, the second or the third), and has more, i.e. Georgian lacks the grammatical class of the same person. This difference clearly distinguishes the Tsovatush language from Georgian today; However, it is assumed that we are dealing with two different stages of far-reaching divergent development of the same primary system (Javakhishvili, 1992; Chikobava, 1948). The only fundamental difference between the two related languages in contact was created by the category of voice, as the only prevalence on the Georgian side, although the active overbilingualism has already rectified this difference.

The difference is also evident in the aspects of the expression segment within the separate categories themselves. In the conditions of ideal bilingualism, interferential processes with special sequence, which have long gone beyond the sphere of lexis, level this difference and at the same time regulate the morphological-syntactic

reduction to common denominator of the Tsovatush language with Georgian.

Based on the specific material, we have monographically studied the similarities-differences in the morphology of the verbs of Georgian and Tsovatush languages and we have published the results of the research as a separate monograph (Mikeladze, 2013). This time, based on the prepared material, we will discuss each distinguishing section of the morphology of the verbs of these two languages in contact in terms of interference.

## **§1. Dual Tush-Georgian model of expressing the person of the verb**

As a result of many years of active influence, the Tsovatush language borrowed from Georgian a new, different system of expressing the person. The Tsovatush system of expression of active or passive person in a verb is based on class markers, according to which we determine the social value of a person, while the same morphological category in Georgian characterizes the same persons according to identity. The grammatical categories of person and class are equivalent to each other and perform the same syntactic function in a broad sense.

When we evaluate the situation of the Tsovatush language from the Georgian positions, the grammatical class category is the biggest feature of this language, just as not so long ago the biggest feature of the Georgian language for the Tsovatush population should have been the grammatical category of a person. Under the influence of unilaterally directed interferential processes, the

demarcation line was broken between two different grammatical categories of these two languages and a person-class category-based conjugation was formed at the place of the merely class category-based conjugation of the Tsovatush language. Both the class and the person have become organic to the language consciousness of bilingual Tsovatush, and for Georgian language psychology the grammar class is still foreign and inaccessible.

What is the connection of a grammatical class category with a person category?

If we judge the issue according to the morphological function of these categories, we can say that the category of grammatical class is neither prevalence for the Tsovatush language nor the lack for the Georgian one, because in this respect it is exactly equal to the category of person, i.e. it has exactly the same function as the category of person in Georgian. Both person and class are means of grammatical connection of the subject or object with the verb, i.e. grammatical categories in which one and the same logical concepts are seen and reflected from different angles of the subject and object. Both the class and person markers have one common function – to give a grammatical expression to the general logical concepts of subject and object.

A grammatical class is nothing more than a formal expression of the social value of things, just as a person is a similar formal expression of the identity of the thing. The similarity of these two categories lies in the origin: the same persons (subject and object) are marked both in terms of identity and social value. In Georgian we find out the identity of a person in the form of a verb and we know nothing about social value, in the Tsovatush language on the contrary: we know the class of a person and we do not know the identity. There is a big difference between these languages today in the sense that Georgian has a three-member classification of

persons according to the identity, while the Tsovatush language divides subjects into eight classes according to social value.

The grammatical class belongs to the noun because it is defined by the noun, but, nevertheless, it must be considered in relation to the verb, because it is in the verb that it is fulfilled with special markers.

Also interesting in terms of the actants in relation to the verb is the fact that the number of the subject or direct object is again expressed by class marker. It is the different ratios of the four known class markers (ჰ, ႁ, ზ, ლ) (v, j, b, d) that give the plural representation of subject and object. Only eight forms of this ratio of singular-plural are realized in modern Tsovatush, according to which eight classes of nouns are distinguished.

As we have mentioned, according to the singular forms we have only four classes of nouns in the Tsovatush language. For simplicity we discuss according to the situation with the singular number. Professor K. Chrelashvili's view is interesting from this point that “when discussing the category of the grammatical class, no matter from what point of view we are interested in it, the starting point should be a manifestation of the singular number, because in this aspect lies the whole mystery of the specifics of this category” (Chrelashvili: 2002: 208). Such a choice is also justified by the fact that in the plural the same singular affixes are reinterpreted to express a number.

Thus, according to the singular, we have four grammatical classes of nouns in the Tsovatush language:

1. Male class with the prefix ჰ (v);
2. Nouns of female and some object class with the prefix ႁ (j);
3. Object class nouns with the prefix ზ (b);
4. Object class nouns with the prefix ლ (d).



To compare the functions of class and person categories, let us take the same verb, for example, Georgian მოდის (modis) (he/she is coming) – Tsovatush ვაღრ (vaγô). In Georgian we learn by this one form that the action is performed by a third person, while in the Tsovatush language it turns out that the performer is a male. From a grammatical point of view, in both cases the result is the same: a syntactic connection of the noun and the verb is observed – there is a syntagm consisting of the subject and the predicate with the noun formants in the verb. In terms of the functional interrelationships of class and person markers, we are dealing here with different statements of the same fact.

Let us compare:

a) In Georgian:

მო-ვ-დი-ვ-არ (mo-v-di-v-ar) (I am coming)

მო-დი-ხ-არ (mo-di-x-ar) (You are coming)

მო-დი-ს (mo-di-s) (He/She is coming)

b) In Tsovatush:

ვ-აღრ (სტაკ) (v-aγô stak) (man)) – The man is coming

ღ-აღრ (თსტუინრ) (j-aγô pštūinô) (woman)) – The woman is coming

ბ-აღრ (დონ) (b-aγô don) (horse) – The thing of **b** class is coming

დ-აღრ (ასე) (d-aγô ase) (calf)) – The thing of **d** class is coming.

The person markers in Georgian examples represent class markers in Tsovatush examples.

As we can see, the morphological mechanism of the grammatical class-category is as systematic and orderly as it is in the case of the grammatical person category, so its use is not associated

with any difficulty; The difficulty today is the abundance of classes, and an almost complete obscurity of the principles of the distribution of nouns among them. If according to identity only three persons are distinguished in Georgian, today in the Tsovatush language only four classes are allocated according to the singular, and 8 classes – according to the singular-plural opposition.

The principle of grouping according to the identity of persons is extremely simple and clear, while when grouping nouns into classes, only the principle of distinguishing of two classes can be seen – the female class and the male class. For the other six classes today no functionally solid criteria are sought and the distinction is based on tradition.

It is impossible to mark any noun in a verb with a grammatical class marker, this process is strictly authorized and it is determined by the syntactic status of the noun: in the intransitive verb the subject class is indicated, in the transitive verb – only the direct object class. As we can see, the syntactic structure of the Tsovatush language in this case is in full accordance with the classical norms of languages with an ergative construction.

The grammatical class marker has two functions in the verb: it expresses the subject of the intransitive verb or the direct object of the transitive verb. It is attached to the beginning of the verb of a simple structure, while in the verbs of the complex structure – in the middle. Here are some relevant examples:

a) The class marker expresses the subject of the intransitive verb: ვოჰ ვ-ათხე (voḥ v-atxê) (the boy is crying); ჯოჰ ვ-ათხე (joḥ v-atxê) (the girl is crying); დონ ბ-აღო (don b-aγô) (the horse is coming); სტაკ ვ-ატი (stak v-aṭi) (the man has run away); წა დობე (ça doxê) (the house has collapsed); ძეთ ბ-აღი (jeṭ b-ăli) (the cow died); ხე ბ-ოჟე (xê b-ožê) (the tree has fallen); ასე დ-იშუ (asê d-išû)

(the calf is lying); დოს დ-ოჟკუ (dos d-oǰkû) (the firewood is burning); გაკვეთილ მ-ებლლა (gakvetil j-eblla) (the lesson begins).

b) The class marker expresses the direct object of the transitive verb: ბადერ დ-აჯდიქ (băder d-aqdič) (he/she has raised the child); ჩხადურ დ-ოხდიქ (čxădur d-oxdič) (he/she has worn out the sock); ბქ ბ-ოხბიქ (bč b-oxbič) (he/she ruined the nest); ჟაგნუდ ჩუქბა-დ-იქ (žagnuj čukba-d-ič) (he/she donated the books); ხი მახკ-დ-იქ (xi maxk-d-ič) (he/she poured water); შატნუდ დ-ასტქ (šatnuj d-asč) (he/she opened the knots); ბეხკ ბაჯქ (bexk bač) (he/she accused him/her of); ლობი მ-ეფცრ (lobi j-epcô) (he/she weaves fences); საძირკველ მ-ებლო (sazirkvel j-eblo) (he/she lays the foundation).

In the early stages of development, we only had a class-based conjugation of the verb in the Tsovatush language, when only the class was marked of subject and object. Obviously, **at that time we did not have a person identity as a grammatical category, but as a semasiological category, it was not neglected. Appropriate pronouns were attached to the verb to denote it.** The Georgian language had four matches in the Tsovatush language for one form of each person of the singular number of this or that verb.

Compare:

a) Georgian:

The first person – მე ვ-ყვირი (I shout)

The second person – შენ ჰ-ყვირი (You shout)

The third person – ის ყვირი-ს (He/She shouts)

b) Tsovatush:

The first person:

ას ვ-უღქ (as v-uč) (I, a man, shout)

ას მ-უღქ (as j-uč) (I, a woman, shout)

ას ბ-უღქ (as b-uč) (I, b class, shout)

ას ღ-უღჲ (as d-uyê) (I, d class, shout)

The second person:

ახ ვ-უღჲ (ah v-uyê) (You, a man, shout)

ახ მ-უღჲ (ah j-uyê) (You, a woman, shout)

ახ ბ-უღჲ (ah b-uyê) (You, b class, shout)

ახ ღ-უღჲ (ah d-uyê) (You, d class, shout)

The third person:

ო ვ-უღჲ (o v-uyê) (He shouts)

ო მ-უღჲ (o j-uyê) (She shouts)

ო ბ-უღჲ (o b-uyê) (b class shouts)

ო ღ-უღჲ (o d-uyê) (d class shouts)

We will have a similar prevalence of relevant forms in the plural number of the Tsovatush language. In terms of content, each of these forms is obviously more capacious compared to the corresponding form of the Georgian language, and in terms of simplicity, Georgian has the advantage.

We can conclude that the marker of the grammatical class in the verb of the Tsovatush language has the same purpose from the syntactic point of view as the person marker in the Georgian verb. It expresses the mechanism of ergative construction as successfully as the person marker in the proper circumstance. Nevertheless, **in the conditions of ideal bilingualism, when the norms of language development are determined by the factor of systemic opposition to the source language, the semantic difference between class and person markers has become a defining force of interference.** The category of the person of the verb has already been formed in the Tsovatush language and now the process of strengthening the category of the person is underway. The event is interesting, on the one hand, as a living case of the conception and development of new

linguistic categories, and, on the other hand, as a visible object of research on the regularities of interferential influence.

In terms of the time required for the formation of a new grammatical category, attention is drawn to the fact that the the situation in terms of expression of person identity reflected in the texts attached to the Tsovatush language grammar written by A. Schiefner half a century ago, was almost indistinguishable from the situation of the present period of ideal bilingualism (Schiefner, 1856).

Today there are two systems of verb conjugation in the Tsovatush language:

- I. Based on class category only
- II. Based on person and class categories

The first of the above is the already passed stage of the language and today it is protected only by the tradition factor, while the second stage is being established now and supported by the growing influence of the prestigious Georgian language. Similar parallelism of old and new forms has been observed in many parts of the morphology of the Tsovatush language as an objective regularity of the transformation of grammatical systems. **The old system, operating in parallel, acts as a kind of guide at such times and paves the way for the final establishment of the new forms.**

The following questions are to be asked regarding the category of the newly formed grammatical person of the Tsovatush verb:

1. What do the markers of a person represent in terms of material?
2. Which persons do they express?
3. How do a person's marker relate to class one?
4. How many persons are expressed in a verb at once?

In the Tsovatush language, proper personal pronouns were used as person markers, or rather, person markers were materially

related to personal pronouns. This phenomenon seems to be a linguistic universal and it takes place in other languages as well. This is how the same process developed, for example, in the Udi language (Panchvidze, 1974: 156).

This process seems to have begun with the strict determination of the place of the personal pronouns adjusted to a verb form. If normally their position was free and they could hold a place both before and after the verb, now the following position to express the person has become mandatory. The personal pronouns, now placed in a firm position, lost their independence over time, lost their own stress, and became enclitic of the verb. The loss of their own stress and the becoming of part of the verb was followed by a series of phonetic changes, which caused their external distancing from the supporting forms and discharging from the independent semantic content. This ended an interesting process of transformation of pronouns as a morpheme.

In such a transformation, pronouns retain the form of case of the member which they are to express, namely:

a) When denoting the subject of a passive intransitive verb, or the direct object of a transitive verb, pronouns have the form of a nominative case;

b) While conveying the subjects of the active intransitive and transitive verbs, they retain the form of ergative case.

For this reason, pronouns used to express person with a verb appeared in two different cases – nominative and ergative – which gave rise to the formation of corresponding two rows of person markers

The two sets of markers of the person obtained in this way in the Tsovatush language are significantly different from the two sets of markers of the person of the Georgian verb, where the markers of the subject and the object are sharply separated from each other. The situation in the Tsovatush language is complicated by the fact that,

on the one hand, we have a set of markers of subjective person of an active intransitive verb and a transitive verb, and on the other hand, a set of markers of subjective person of a direct object and a passive intransitive verb. Due to such a peculiar workload, their unambiguous qualification as the set of only subject and only object is not possible: in the following discussion we will refer to them by the markers of nominative and ergative sets.

The process of formation of these two rows of person markers can be traced back, on the one hand, to the examples of the passive subject of the intransitive verb and, on the other hand, to the active subject of the transitive verb. The first of them shows the markers of the nominative set, and the second – of the ergative set.

For simplicity, we will name only one example in the form of a male class:

a) Passive intransitive verb:

**Singular:**

The first person: ვაგლა სო (vaqla so) (I, a man, am growing up) → ვაგლა-სო (vaqla-sô) (I, a man, am growing up)

The second person: ვაგლა ჰო (vaqla ho) (You, a man, are growing up) → ვაგლა-ჰო (vaqla-hô) (You, a man, are growing up)

The third person: ვაგლა ო (vaqla o) (He, a man, is growing up) → ვაგლა-∅ (vaqla-∅) (A man is growing up)

**Plural:**

The first person: ბაგლა ვაჲ → ბაგლა-ვაჲ (baqla vaj → baqla-vaj) (I and you, men, are growing up) ((dual inclusive);

The first person: ბაგლა ვაჲ → ბაგლა-თ-ვაჲ (baqla vaj → baqla-t-vaj) (I and you, men, are growing up) (inclusive, singular).

The first person: ბაგლა თხო → ბაგლა-თხო (baqla txo → baqla-txô) (I and he // they, men, are growing up) (exclusive).

The second person: ბავლა შუ → ბავლა-შუ (baqla šu → baqlaj-šû) (You, men, are growing up)

The third person: ბავლა ობი → ბავლა-Ø (baqla obi → baqla-Ø) (They, men, are growing up).

b) Transitive verb:

**Singular:**

The first person: ბაყრ ას (baqô as) (I eat) → ბაყრ-ს (baqô-s) (I eat the subject of thing class)

The second person: ბაყრ აჰ (baqô ah) (You eat) → ბაყრ-ჰ (baqô-h) (You eat the subject of thing class)

The third person: ბაყრ ოჯუს (baqô oqus) (He eats) → ბაყრ (baqô) (He eats the subject of thing class)

**Plural:**

The first person: dual inclusive: ბაყრ ვად (baqô vaj) (We eat) → ბაყრ-ვად (baqô-vaj) (I and you are eating the subject of thing class)

The first person: inclusive, singular: ბაყრ ვად (baqô vaj) (We eat) → ბაყრ-თ-ვად (baqô-t-vaj) (I and you, we and you are eating the subject of thing class)

The first person: ექსკლუზივი: ბაყრ ათხ (baqô atx) (We eat) → ბაყრ-თხ (baqô-tx) (I and he, I and they are eating the subject of thing class)

The second person: ბაყრ ადში (baqô ajši) (You eat) → ბაყრ-დში (baqô-jši) (You are eating the subject of thing class)



The first person:  $\text{baq}\hat{o}$   $\text{oqar}$  (baqô oqar) (They eat) →  $\text{baq}\hat{o}$  (baqô) (They are eating the subject of thing class).<sup>1</sup>

**The attention is drawn to several circumstances in paradigms:**

a) the expression of the person and number of actants in the verb is related to the formants derived from the corresponding pronouns;

b) person markers are suffixes;

c) third person forms of both sets are without a marker in both singular and plural;

d) pronouns that become markers of a person lose the vowel of the anlaut, or the vowel of the auslaut is weakened according to the position;

e) the plural pronoun  $\text{vaj}$  (vaj) of the first person remains without phonetic changes;

f) the double-sided inclusive is opposed to each other through formant  $\text{t}$ : dual number and plural;

g) The auslaut vowel of the verb base is lengthening under the influence of a lost vowel of the pronoun.

As a result of such transformations, we have obtained two sets of person and number markers of a verb: the nominative set and the ergative set.

The markers of the nominative set denote the subject of the passive intransitive verb and the direct object of the transitive verb, while the markers of the ergative set express the subjects of the active intransitive verb and transitive verb.

This novelty resulted in a double expression of the subject of the intransitive verb, indicating both its class and identity. In

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<sup>1</sup> Examples have shown that the modern Tsovatush language has three types of plural in the first person: 1. Dual Inclusive (I and you); 2. Inclusive plural (I and you); 3. Exclusive plural (I and they).

transitive verbs, the functions are distributed: the class marker again expresses the direct object, and the person sign – the subject. In this way the transitive verb became two-person verb.

Unlike Georgian, where markers of person and number can be alternated according to tense-mood, in the Tsovatush language this set is the norm for all tenses and moods. Phonetic changes played a crucial role in the transformation of personal pronouns attached to the base of a verb as person markers, as mentioned above. By making these changes it is possible to re-attach the same pronouns to person forms and thus receive a dual expression of the person: grammatical and semantic.

Academician I. Desheriev categorically denies the existence of third person verb forms in the Tsovatush language. The researcher discusses the forms of the first two persons, and excludes the third, as it does not have any formant at all attached to it. He writes about it: “Unlike the verb in other Vainakh languages, the Bats verb has a personal conjugation for two persons – the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, singular and plural” (Дешериев, 1953: 135; Дешериев, 1963: 460).

The third person form of the verb is a reality in modern Tsovatush language and namely the absence of markers distinguishes it from the other person forms: given that the first and the second persons have appropriate markers in the verb, the third person is able to express the identity without it; This form, taken without a proper pronoun, gives the idea of the third person, and the identity does not cause any ambiguity. We believe that the principle of linguistic economy is revealed in the given absence of markers and we discuss the forms of three different persons according to the identity of the Tsovatush verb.

Today, in the Tsovatush language, the category of grammatical person with a proper system of person markers already plays a prominent role; The category of person includes all verbs

without exception. The only difference is that the grammatical class category is mandatory for verbs, and the person is still in free alternation with the so-called infinitive forms, although in terms of usage we still have a clear advantage over the first.

In this way, one of the largest white spots has been filled, that is, the free space for the grammar of the Tsovatush language, which was noticed against the background of the Georgian language. The time will come when the free-operating parallels with and without person markers of the Tsovatush language verb are no longer allowed in the language, after which the forms with person markers only will finally prevail. As known, parallelisms are a preparatory stage for any lexical or grammatical novelty in the language. This is how it is now. Such an accelerated force of the thinking model of the source language as is taking place today will significantly accelerate events.

We can summarize the abovementioned and note that with the direct influence of the Georgian language, the category of a grammatical person has emerged in the Tsovatush language and is in the process of being established. The main difference between the categories of person of Georgian and Tsovatush verbs in this issue is the following:

1. In Georgian, we have sets of subjective and objective person markers, and in the Tsovatush language we have sets of person markers of nominative case and ergative case.
2. In Georgian, one set of person markers expresses both a direct object and an indirect one, while in the Tsovatush language only a direct object is expressed by special markers so far.
3. There is evidence that if bilingualism persists for a long time, an indirect object will also begin to be reflected in the verb, and this will be based on the set of the dative case of person markers of new, again derived pronouns.

In terms of the nature of interferential processes, it is interesting to note that **under the influence of the Georgian language, a new grammatical category emerged in the Tsovatush language, namely the category of person identity, but the borrowing language found codification markers from its own inventory, due to which the pressure was observed only on the thinking model, that is, in this case the impact is of an algebraic nature.**

It is difficult to say, since the category of a person is finally established in the Tsovatush verb, what fate befalls the category of the class as superfluous and alien to the new model of thinking; Whether it will follow the tradition of time immemorial and the specific weight that it still has in the paradigms of conjugation.

## **§2. Novelty in the expression system of the perfective of the verb**

The aspect is most important, it might be said, fundamental grammatical category of the verb of Iberian-Caucasian language family. is the. Based on the scientific study of the Kartvelian language verb, Academician Arn. Chikobava concludes that “static and dynamic character, on the one hand, and aspect, on the other hand, preceded the basic standard tense paradigm of the verb (tense, voice ...)” (Chikobava, 1948: 97).

The same point of view is developed by Professor D. Imnaishvili according to the specific situation of the Nakh language verb. The researcher writes: “Aspect in the verb of the Nakh language group, as in other mountainous Iberian-Caucasian verb, is

an ancient category; It historically precedes the category of tense” (Imnaishvili, 1974: 100).

Academician A. Shanidze gives the following explanation for this category according to the situation of the Georgian language: “Aspect is a form that represents the action indicated by the verb either in such a way that it does not show the end, or in such a way that it shows the end. In the first case, the action is incomplete, in the second – complete, that is, we have an imperfective and perfective aspect” (Shanidze, 1980: 262).

In ancient Georgian, aspect was a category of conjugations, but today it belongs to the categories of derivation and the perfective and imperfective forms of the aspect are opposed to each other with attaching / not attaching the preverb. The languages of the Nakh group follow the archaic situation so far: here the aspect belongs to the categories of conjugation again and, together with the screeve, represents one of the (basic) supporting elements of the set.

In the Nakh languages, in general, and in the Tsovatush too the primary means of contrasting the bases of the perfective and imperfective aspects is the vowel ablaut. As the well-known researcher of Nakh languages D. Imnaishvili writes: “In order to analyse the aspect, the languages of the Nakh group mainly use the change of the basic vowel” (Imnaishvili, 1974: 04).

In addition to the Tsovatush system of aspect, today in this language we have quite a large group of verbs borrowed from Georgian, which produce this morphological category by means of a completely different system. The novelty followed the process of centuries-old Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism.

The events developed gradually. In this regard, a special study conducted by us showed that at the beginning of bilingualism, the lowest rate of openness toward the borrowing process was observed in the verb as part of the most systematically bound-constrained part of the speech.

Given that, as a rule, at each subsequent stage of bilingualism the “correction” of the borrowings of the previous stage takes place for the purpose of their re-approximation with the source language, the original situation has followed only a few verbs so far. Such is, for example, ჩავარ-ღճ (čavar-dā) (to choose), borrowed from Georgian. The base of the verb is dismantled and assembled on the Tsovatush grammatical model and depicts the entire complexity of the transformations, namely:

1. As mandatory for the analytical set, the auxiliary verb ճ (dā) is attached;
2. The յ (a) of anlaut has been removed;
3. The foreign sequence of consonants ճճ (rč) has been alienated;
4. Consonants were distributed according to the morphological model of the verb bases of the borrowing language;
5. As a support, a monosyllabic root ճ (čav) has been exposed in the base;
6. At the end of the base, as a mandatory, a verb-like suffix - ճ (ā) was fixed.

The Tsovatush has already easily subjugated the verbs assimilated by such complex transformations to the own system of aspect production at the borrowing stage under consideration. Here, to this day, the aspect pairs opposed by the base-like vowel ablaut of the given verbs have been functioning:

- Մալ-ճ (čam-dā) (to clean) (perfective) and Մլլ-ճ (čem-dā) (to clean) (imperfective)
- ճար-ճ (čavar-dā) (to choose) (perfective) and ճար-ճ (čavar-dā) (to choose) (imperfective).

**At the last stage of language influence, the Tsovatush language with the forceful new verb units, as expected, borrowed**

**the preverbs and created a new, semi-Georgian and semi-Tsovatush, hybrid system of aspect production for the borrowed verbs.** It is true that the expression of the perfective and imperfective aspect is entirely a matter of the preverb here, but where in the source language the bases with theme markers and without theme oppose each other, the Tsovatush language dismantled this unusual opposition for itself and generalized a single base with theme marker to match its own system.

As for the obligatory phonological and morphological transformations in the borrowed verb-like base of the early period listed above, only one of them is functioning today – the unconditional requirement to include the auxiliary verb. Verbs of the active voice are accompanied by **და** (dā) (to create), verbs of the passive voice – **დალ** (dalā) (passive voice of the verb – to create) are accompanied by the auxiliary verbs.

Thus, in the modern Tsovatush language, we have opposition pairs based on the hybrid method of expressing the aspect of each verb borrowed from Georgian, members of which distinguish the forms of perfective and imperfective aspects by attaching / not attaching the preverbs. Examples will be named according to the preverbs: Georgian – Tsovatush (perfective – imperfective).

We have:

a) Preverb **მი-** (mi-): (**perfective – imperfective**)

Georgian: **მი-ბეგვა** (mi-begva) (to beat): Tsovatush: **ბეგო-და**, **მი-ბეგო-და** (bego-dā, mi-bego-dā)

**მი-ცეცხლება**: **ცეცხლბა-და**, **მი-ცეცხლბა-და** (mi-cecxleba: cecxlba-dā, mi-cecxlba-dā) (to give grudgingly)

**მი-წერა** (mi-çera) (to write): **წერა-და**, **მი-წერა-და**... (çera-dā, mi-çera-dā)

b) Preverb **ა-** (a-):

Georgian: ა-კრძალვა (a-krzalva) (to forbid): Tsovatush.  
კრძალო-და, ა-კრძალო-და (krzalo-dā, a-krzalo-dā)

ა-ფეთქება (a-petkeba) (to explode): ფეთქა-და, ა-ფეთქა-  
და (petkba-dā, a-petkba-dā)

ა-შენება (a-šeneba) (to build): შენა-და, ა-შენა-და (šenba-  
dā, a-šenba-dā)...

c) Preverb და- (da-):

Georgian: და-ფანტვა (da-pantva) (to scatter): Tsovatush:  
ფანტო-და, და-ფანტო-და (pāto-dā, da-pāto-dā)

და-ბნევა (da-bneva) (to scatter): ბნევა-და, და-ბნევა-და  
(bneva-dā, da-bneva-dā)

და-რღვევა (da-ryveva) (to abrogate): რღვევა-და, და-რღვევა-  
და (ryveva-dā, da-ryveva-dā)...

d) Preverb გა- (ga-):

Georgian: გა-ბედვა (ga-bedva) (to dare): Tsovatush: ბედო-და,  
გა-ბედო-და (bedo-dā, ga-bedo-dā)

გა-სწორება (ga-sçoreba) (to correct): სწორა-და, გა-  
სწორა-და (sçorb-dā, ga-sçorb-dā)

გა-ხარება (ga-xareba) (to make glad): ხარა-და, გა-ხარა-და  
(xarba-dā, ga-xarba-dā) ...

d) Preverb შე- (še-):

Georgian: შე-ღებვა (še-γebva) (to paint): Tsovatush: ღება-და,  
შე-ღება-და (γeba-dā, še-γeba-dā)

შე-ტყობა (še-ṭqoba) (to find out): ტყობა-და, შე-ტყობა-და  
(ṭqoba-dā, še-ṭqoba-dā)...

We have a similar situation with other preverbs, which is why we do not continue with the examples. Here, it is true, the verbs of the active voice have been attested, but the same pattern of the



production of the forms of the perfective and imperfective aspects is followed by the verbs of the passive voice with the only difference being that the same verb **და** (dā) (to create) is attached to the latter in the passive form **dālā**. It is noteworthy that the Tsovatush language also converted the borrowed middle voice verbs into the mould of auxiliary verbs of passive voice **დალა** (dalā) and added the appropriate preverbs. For example:

1. Georgian: და-თვიქრება (da-pikreba) (to meditate)

Tsovatush:

a) Active voice: თვიქრება-და, და-თვიქრება-და (pikrba-dā, da-pikrba-dā)

b) Passive: თვიქრება-დალა, და-თვიქრება-დალა (pikrba-dālā, da-pikrba-dālā)

2. Georgian: და-ჩაგვრა (da-čagvra) (to oppress)

Tsovatush:

a) Active voice: ჩაგრო-და, და-ჩაგრო-და (čagro-dā, da-čagro-dā)

b) Passive: ჩაგრო-დალა, და-ჩაგრო-დალა (čagro-dālā, da-čagro-dālā)

3. Georgian: ა-ჩქარება (a-čkareba) (to hurry)

Tsovatush:

a) Active voice: ჩქარება-და, ა-ჩქარება-და (čkarba-dā, a-čkarba-dā)

b) Passive: ჩქარება-დალა, ა-ჩქარება-დალა (čkarba-dālā, a-čkarba-dālā)...

It is noteworthy that Tsovatush language also included the borrowed verbs of middle voice in the form of passive with **დალა** (dalā) auxiliary verbs mesvelzmians and added the appropriate verbs.

For example:

Georgian: ღელვა (yelva) (to trouble): Tsovatush: ღელბა-  
დწლწ, ა-ღელბა-დწლწ (yelba-dǎlǎ, a-yelba-dǎlǎ)

ცურვა (curva) (to swim): ცურა-დწლწ, ჩა-ცურა-დწლწ  
(cura-dǎlǎ, ča-cura-dǎlǎ)

ცოცვა (cocva) (to crawl): ცოცა-დწლწ, მო-ცოცა-დწლწ  
(coca-dǎlǎ, mo-coca-dǎlǎ).

As we have mentioned, **this hybrid system of aspect production works only for borrowed verbs in the Tsovatush language, their own verbs are still original in this matter and inaccessible to foreign language influence.**

We can conclude that in the Tsovatush language, the verb has a sharply expressed category of aspect, which creates a two-part correlation with perfective and imperfective forms. In terms of its morphology we have a different situation in own and borrowed verbs. In verbs of own origin, the aspect is expressed by the ablaut of the base-like vowel, while in borrowed verbs, the forms with and without preverb are opposed to each other according to this category.

In this given case of interference, it is noteworthy that in the past stage of poorly developed bilingualism, the Tsovatush language turned verbs borrowed from Georgian into its own form of expression of aspect after complex phonological transformations. The situation changed diametrically in the conditions of overbilingualism: in connection with the multiplication of verb units borrowed at that time, the language was forced to introduce a Georgian, preverb-based model of aspect production. **It is noteworthy in this regard that to date no case of adaptation of the new model to the Tsovatush verb has been observed.**

From the point of view of the regularity of interferential processes, it should be noticed out that the borrowed model was not mechanically adjusted to Georgian verbs, but certain changes were

made, as a result of which the model got a cross-hybrid look of Tsovatush-Georgian morphology.

### **§3. Category of voice – novelty in the morphology of the Tsovatush verb**

The Tsovatush language belongs to the Nakh branch of the Iberian-Caucasian language family. Unlike other members of the same branch, the Chechen and Ingush languages, which occupy certain regions of the Caucasus, it has survived in only half of the only village in the Republic of Georgia, Zemo Alvani, and is strongly influenced by Georgian cultural and social factors, which was reflected by one-way Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism in the field of language.

Centuries cover the secret of the duration of the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism, and according to the facts of language memory, its origin can be traced beyond our era. Centuries-old weak one-way bilingualism has been replaced by one-way but active overbilingualism, which has put the Tsovatush language in real danger of shifting to Georgian.

According to Professor K. Gigashvili's recent socio-linguistic research, the Tsovatush language, which was once a widely spoken language that survived in half of the village, is now considered to be the language of only 1558-member ethnic group. Only 95 of them speak their native language well, 803 do not know the language at all, and the rest understand the language one way or the other. Breakup between generations has begun (Gigashvili, 2014: 252).

It is known that “every bilingual situation is unique in its nature and absolute coincidence is excluded here. Nevertheless, each case of bilingualism reveals the general patterns of interferential processes and is interesting in terms of general linguistics, which is obviously due to the systemic nature of the language structures themselves” (Mikeladze, 2008: 9).

This time it is interesting for us that despite the difficult situation, the Tsovatush language continues the path of independent internal development. David Crystal rightly writes that “language definitely dies when there is only one interlocutor and he has no one to speak to” (Crystal, 2007: 52). K. Gigashvili makes a similar conclusion: “Any endangered language, regardless of the degree of danger, is alive as long as even one person speaks it” (Gigashvili, 2010: 156). An interesting situation in this regard is observed in the Tsovatush language.

In this case, the fact that both languages, Tsovatush and Georgian, which are in close contact, are members of the same genealogical family and are almost equally measured in terms of number and character of grammatical categories, played an important role in terms of foreign influence on the Tsovatush language. This is the reason why the centuries-old influence of the Georgian language on the Tsovatush language was mainly due to the levelling of the peculiarities of the expression of grammatical categories. The only grammatical category borrowed from Georgian by the Tsovatush language, or more precisely, emerged in the Tsovatush language under the influence of Georgian, is the category of the verb voice.

The voice is one of the most complex grammatical categories of a verb. It is formed in the later stages of development in languages and is based on strict logical regularity. In the Georgian language of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, it has been already presented in a refined form and has been studied properly. Academician A. Shanidze has analysed the category of the modern Georgian verb voice, its types

and forms of production in detail and has distinguished three voices with their subtypes: active, passive (dynamic and static) and middle (active and passive) (Shanidze, 1980: 280).

In the Tsovatush language, the category of the verb voice is introduced later from Georgian. This is confirmed by the fact that none of the closely related languages of Tsovatush – the Chechen and Ingush languages, has this category of verbs. The assumption that it was brought later into Georgian, is also confirmed by the fact that the stages of its gradual formation are still evident in this language. The most interesting thing in this process is the fact that the language, which is in real danger of shifting to Georgian in the near future and the number of speakers is extremely limited, creates a new type of verb voice, which neither Georgian nor any other language has it. Let us follow the issue consistently.

The issue of voice is quite difficult in the Tsovatush language, as it has not yet been fully formed and has not been properly studied. It was first noticed by I. Tsiskarov, the author of the manuscript grammar of this language, although he did not provide a morphological-syntactic description of it (Tsiskarov, 1840).

Later academician J. Desheriev in a monograph dedicated to the Tsovatush language, pays due attention to the morphology of the verb of this language, but categorically denies the existence of the voice (Дешериев, 1953: 91).

Professor K. Chrelashvili discusses the category of the Tsovatush verb voice in detail in the special monograph, but he distinguishes only two voices of the verbs: active and passive, and then divides the passive into dynamic and static subgroups. He combines in static passive all the intransitive verbs left without classification, which, in our observation, does not correspond to the real situation (Chrelashvili, 2002: 227).

We completely agree with Professor Chrelashvili regarding the fact that confrontation of active and passive voices is sharply expressed in modern Tsovatush. Nevertheless, we have a different view about the intransitive verbs declared by him as a single static passive. We believe that this group is in turn divided into groups of static passive and medio-active verbs.

We will start the discussion by the fact that the main difference between the verbs of the active voice, on the one hand, and the passive and the middle voices, on the other hand, is created by the presence or absence of a direct object, and the difference between the verbs of the passive and the middle voices is based on the subject's involvement or non-involvement in the action.

We have a peculiar situation with passive in this regard. Such verbs do not have a real performer of the action, here the action is formally attributed to the subject. As Academician A. Shanidze explains: “The purpose of passive is to present a direct-objective person in general as the author of the action, its performer” (Shanidze, 1980: 290). Thus, it is already concluded that passive is the inverted or converted form of the verb of the active voice. That is why in both Georgian and Tsovatush, almost all active voice verbs have properly matched passive voice verb.

This contextual confrontation between the passive and active voices of verbs is especially evident in the dynamic passives, which is why these types of passives also opposed to the actives in form. This function is successfully performed in the Tsovatush language by the suffix – ლა (la). For example, we have: თეფს-ლა (teps-la) (It is falling); წეგ-ლა (ceg-la) (He is blushing); დეთ-ლა (det-la) (It is pouring); ჳებწ-ლა (qebç-la) (It is hanging); ჳელ-ლა (čey-la) (It is fastening); დივ-ლა (**div-la**) (It is sowing); დებწ-ლა (debç-la) (It is attaching); თეგ-ლა (teg-la); (It is done); მებეკ-ლა (mexk-la) (It is

pouring); **ცებლ-ლა** (qabl-la) (It is covering); **კურჩ-ლა** (kurč-la) (It is rolling); **ლახ-ლა** (lax-la) (It is lowering).

Dynamic and static passives are united as one type of intransitive verbs by the subject 's passivity, and the difference is created by the fact that the same action is presented by dynamic passives as a process, and static passives as a result, i.e. in one situation. This functional confrontation between them is reflected by the different production of dynamic passives.

**აუკუ** (aŭkû) (It is burning); **დივუ** (divû) (It is sown); **დაიწუ** (daiçû) (It is attaching); **თოუკუ** (toŭkû) (It is sewn); **დადუ** (dajtû) (It is poured); **დოუქუ** (doŭpxû) (He is wearing); **დატე** (daťê) (It is scattered); **ოუხკუ** (oŭxkû) – **აუბუ** (aŭbû); **დოუხკუ** (doŭxkû) – (It is scattered in something); **ლაითი** (laitî) (It is fixed); **თადუსუ** (tajpsû) ... (It is laid down).

Both types of passives are connected by the fact that their subject is passive, which is why the verb is constantly adapted in the form of a nominative case. This circumstance, too, is, of course, a peculiar marker in relation to the verbs of the active voice, since the subject of the latter is constantly in the ergative case.

In the Tsovatush language, in contrast to passive, we also have such intransitive verbs where we do not have a direct object, but the subject actively performs the action expressed by the verb. In the absence of a direct object at this time such verbs resemble passives, while in the presence of a real subject they act like verbs of the active voice. All such verbs are of the middle voice.

We have already mentioned above that Professor K. Chrelashvili has combined the verbs of the middle voice of the Tsovatush language with static passives. The reason for this, probably, was that they did not have a special formative affix, by means of which they could oppose the rest of the intransitive verbs.

Nevertheless, they are markedly different from other intransitive verbs by their morphology, namely the fact that the subject expressed by the first and second personal pronouns will combine these verbs in the form of ergative case, which represents a significant confrontation between the passive and middle voice verbs. In this case, by adapting the ergative case to the subject conveyed by the first and second personal pronouns expresses, on the one hand, the similarity of these types of verbs with actives and, on the other hand, the difference from passives.

It is logical that the similarity of the subject of the verbs of the middle voice with the actives could not be complete, which is why a peculiar limit arose in the given issue, namely:

I. The ergative construction with the verbs of the middle voice is given while expressing the subject with the first and second personal pronouns, while with the verbs of the active voice the pronouns of all three persons with the same function take the form of narrative case.

II. When combining with the verbs of the active voice, all nouns (noun, numeral, adjective or pronoun) take the form of narrative case, while with verbs of the middle voice, this status is given only to pronouns, with certain restrictions, that is, excluding third person forms.

For example:

a) Active voice:

1.  $\text{as}$  (Erg.) -  $\text{axk\hat{o}}$  (I'm fastening)
2.  $\text{ah}$  (Erg.)  $\text{axk\hat{o}\ddot{o}}$  (You are fastening)
3.  $\text{oqus}$  (Erg.)  $\text{axk\hat{o}}$  (He is fastening)

b) Static passive:

1.  $\text{so}$  (Nom.)  $\text{aou\check{x}k\hat{u}}$  (I'm fastened)
2.  $\text{ho}$  (Nom.)  $\text{aou\check{x}k\check{u}}$  (You are fastened)
3.  $\text{o}$  (Nom.)  $\text{aou\check{x}k\check{u}}$  (He is fastened)

c) dynamic passive:



1. სო (so) (Nom.) ახკ-ლა (axk-la) (I'm being fastened)
2. ჰო (ho) (Nom.) ახკ-ლა (axk-la) (You are being fastened)
3. ო (o) (Nom.) ახკ-ლა (axk-la) (He is being fastened)

d) Middle voice:

1. ას (as) (Erg.) ვუღე (vuyê) (I'm shouting)
2. აჰ (ah) (Erg.) ვუღე (vuyê) (You are shouting)
3. ო (o) (Nom.) ვუღე (vuyê) (He is shouting)

The given tables clearly show the difference between the verbs of all three voices in terms of case of the subject and the independent grammatical status of each of them. From the same point of view, it is clear that great importance is attached to the distinction of passive voice verbs with a special suffix – ლა (la).

We can conclude that the middle voice is a reality in the Tsovatush language verb. We will name the examples of the verbs of the middle voice, we have: ლეღე (lelê) (he/she walks); ვუღე (vuyê) (he/she shouts); ვათხე (vatxê) (he/she cries); ქატე (katê) (he/she complains); იტე (itê) (he/she runs); ვიღრ (vilî) (he/she laughs); ვახე (vāxê) (he/she lives); ლითხე (litxî) (he/she jumps); ლესტე (lestê) (he/she sways); ლეფსე (lepsê) (it dries); ახე (axê) (it barks); ლეთე (letê) (he/she wrestles); ვახე (vaxê) (he/she gets drunk); ქატე (katê) (he/she complains); ლაიპწე (laipçî) (he/she plays)...

A review of the verified examples reveals that at the modern stage of development in this language there are four different groups of verbs according to the voice, we have: active voice verbs, dynamic passives, static passives and middle voice verbs. This classification is also supported by the systematic difference that is evidenced in the conjugation forms of verbs within these groups: verbs of the active, middle, and dynamic passive voice have full

paradigms of conjugation, while the static paradigm is asymmetric, lacking certain sequences.

Although only dynamic passives have a special marker from the types listed in the Tsovatush language verb voice, we consider it justified to single out the four types of voice listed in this language. In this case, we rely on the interesting conclusion of Academician T. Uturgaidze, which he makes according to the similar situation in the issue of the formal relationship between the types of the verb voice of the Georgian language: “It is possible to present this or that grammatical category in a language without a specific marker. Primary forms of active verbs in Georgian are not marked by voice. In this case, the specificity of the forms acts as a marker” (Uturgaidze, 2002: 85).

We can conclude that at the last stage of bilingualism, the Tsovatush language borrowed the voice of the verb from Georgian, with which it filled up the empty space in own grammatical system in relation to source language. Algebraic borrowing was observed, because the Tsovatush language did not bring any formant from the source language to highlight a new grammatical category, it created its own system of form production; As for the model of functional interrelation of forms of different voices, it is strictly Georgian.

It is interesting that the Georgian language verb remained at a given stage of development in the matter of voice, while the Tsovatush language, in the conditions of extremely forceful overbilingualism, created a new morphological category for both types of passive voice verbs completely independently; We imply the emergence of new opposing forms for both types of passives – static and dynamic, according to which it becomes clear that the subject of the verb is voluntarily or willingly involved in the action-inaction process, if all this happens against its will.

Let’s take the verb ვიმალება (vimalēbi) (I am hiding) as an example. There are two types of situation to be considered in relation

to it: in one case I, the subject of the verb, become active, I voluntarily hide under something or behind someone, that is, this time the hiding is done according to my will; In the second case I, the subject of the same verb, am passive, other or environment hides me. This means that the action is done without my will or unintentionally.

A similar contextual confrontation can come to the fore with regard to static passives. From this point of view, we have considered the verb  $\text{ածոս}$  (abia) (It is fastened). Here, too, the subject may be fastened by his or her own will – because he or she is doing some kind of job connected to height and is in danger of falling. Otherwise the subject may be involuntarily or forcefully tied.

Modern Tsovatush language has adapted different possible forms of verbs to such possible contextual confrontation in dynamic or static passive voice verbs, on the basis of which a new grammatical category has been formed, which we have called the category of voluntariness-involuntariness due to the contextual relations.

According to the new grammatical category, the contextual confrontation revealed between the verbs of the passive voice was initially expressed by a different case of the subject. If before the subject of both dynamic and static passives in all situations befitted indistinguishably in the form of nominative case, now there is a difference between them: the subject befitted the passive forms of volitional content in the first and second person in the form of ergative case; in case of involuntariness, no change applied to the case of the subject, it remained in the nominative. With the third person forms, the subject remained in the nominative with the forms of the voluntariness as well.

In connection with the peculiar system of expression of the new grammatical category of the passive voice verbs, attention is drawn to the fact that the above-mentioned activation of the

volitional forms by pronouns of nominative case occurred only in the case of the first and the second subjective person. In our opinion, the exclusion of third person forms from the process of introducing the novelty took place this time as well, in order that the syntax of these verbs did not completely coincide with the verbs of the active voice. In this respect, it is natural that the third person forms of the verbs were not affected by this change.

These undifferentiated or distinguished by only subject case forms of the voluntariness-involuntariness category are still quite actively used in the Tsovatush language, but, as expected, the language did not stop at this stage of development, the grammatical category of the new content was soon followed by proper form production. The marker function this time was assigned to the person marker.

Orientation to express volition was again taken for the first and second person forms for obvious reasons. For this purpose, both the dynamic and static passives of each set were supplemented by the person markers of the active subject. As for the category of involuntariness, its expression was imposed on pronouns of the nominative case used as the markers of the person of the passive subject. At this time, the different forms of the screeves have been formed by means of phonetic interaction of the auslaut of the forms of the verb screeves and sounds of anlaut of the person markers, resulting in the creation of independent paradigms of conjugation of verbs expressing voluntariness-involuntariness.

For visualization, we present the process of forming the present tense forms of the voluntariness-involuntariness for dynamic passives. We have:

a) **Forms of the voluntariness:**

Singular:

1. ას (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა - ას → ლეჭყლ-ას
- (as (Erg.) leçqla → leçqla - as → leçql-ās)

(I am hiding)

2. აჰ (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა – აჰ → ლეჭყლ-აჰ

(ah (Erg.) leçq̄la → leçq̄la – ah → leçq̄l-āh)

(You are hiding)

3. ო (Nom) ლეჭყლა

(o (Nom) leçq̄la)

(He is hiding)

Plural:

1. ათხ (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა-ათხ → ლეჭყლ-ათხ

(atx (Erg.) leçq̄la → leçq̄la – atx → leçq̄l-āt̄x)

(We are hiding)

2. ადჷ (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა-ადჷ → ლეჭყლ-ადჷ

(ajš (Erg.) leçq̄la → leçq̄la – ajš → leçq̄l-ajš)

(We are hiding)

3. ობი (Nom) ლეჭყლა

(obi (Nom) leçq̄la)

(They are hiding)

#### b) Forms of the involuntariness:

Singular:

1. სო (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა – სო → ლეჭყლა-სო

(so (Erg.) leçq̄la → leçq̄la – so → leçq̄la-sō)

(I am hiding)

2. ჰო (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა – ჰო → ლეჭყლა-ჰო

(ho (Erg.) leçq̄la → leçq̄la – ho → leçq̄la-hō)

(You are hiding)

3. ო (Nom.) ლეჭყლა

(o (Nom) leçq̄la)

(He is hiding)

Plural:

1. ვად (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა-ვად → ლეჭყლა-ვად

(vaj (Erg.) lečqla → lečqla – vaj → lečql-vaj)

(We are hiding)

2. შუ (Erg.) ლეჭყლა → ლეჭყლა-შუ → ლეჭყლა-აშუ

(šu (Erg.) lečqla → lečqla – šu → lečql-ajšū)

(You are hiding)

3. ობი (Nom.) ლეჭყლა

(obi (Nom) lečqla)

(They are hiding).

In this form, each verb of the dynamic passive voice expressing the voluntariness-involuntariness in the screeve of present tense is fixed in the speech of modern Tsovatush people.

We have:

a) **Forms of the voluntariness of the present screeve:**

ლეჭყლას (lečqlās) (I am hiding); თეფსლას (tepslās) (I am falling); ვაგლას (vaglās) (I'm letting him to see me); ჭელლას (čeylās) (I'm getting stronger); კერზლას (kerčlās) (I'm rolling); ვებჟლას (vebžlās) (I'm inyoking); ახკლას (axklās) (I'm putting to something); თარზლას (tar'zlās) (I'm resembling him); წებლას (čeglās) (I'm getting red).

b) **Forms of the involuntariness of the present screeve of the same verbs:**

ლეჭყლასრ (lečqlasô) (I am hiding); თეფსლასრ (tepslasô) (I am falling); ვაგლასრ (vaglasô) (I'm letting him to see me); ჭებწლასრ (qebčlasô) (I'm hanging); ჭელლასრ (čeylasô) (I'm getting stronger); კერზლასრ (kerčlasô) (I'm rolling), ახკლასრ (axklasô) (I'm putting to something); წებლასრ (čeglasô) (I'm getting red)...

Similar to form production, specific forms of voluntariness-involuntariness were developed for static passives as well.

Despite the identity of the suffixes in this case, the specificity of the forms was due to the cardinal difference of the

bases of dynamic passives from the bases of static passives. For comparison, we will present the step-by-step process of producing the forms of the category of voluntariness-involuntariness of static passives, again on the example of the present tense screeve.

We have:

a) **Forms of the voluntariness:**

Singular:

1.  $\text{ას (Erg.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე -ას} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-ას}$   
(as (Erg.) lajtû → lajt-as → lajt-ās)  
(I'm sticked)
2.  $\text{აჰ (Erg.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე -აჰ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-აჰ}$   
(ah' (Erg.) lajtû → lajt-ah → lajt-āh)  
(You are sticked)
3.  $\text{ო (Nom.) ლადოეჲ}$   
(o (Nom.) lajtû)  
(He is sticked)

Plural:

1.  $\text{ათხ (Erg.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე -ათხ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-ათხ}$   
(atx (Erg.) lajtû → lajt-atx → lajt-ātx)  
(We are sticked)
2.  $\text{აჲშ (Erg.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე -აჲშ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-აჲშ}$   
(ajš (Erg.) lajtû → lajt-ajš → lajt-ājš)  
(You are sticked)
3.  $\text{ობი (Nom.) ლადოეჲ}$  (They are sticked).  
(obi (Nom.) lajtû)

b) **Forms of the involuntariness:**

Singular:

1.  $\text{სო (Nom.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-სო} \rightarrow \text{ლადოეჲსო}$   
(so (Nom.) lajtû → lajt-so → lajtusô)  
(I'm sticked)
2.  $\text{ჰო (Nom.) ლადოეჲ} \rightarrow \text{ლადოე-ჰო} \rightarrow \text{ლადოეჲჰო}$

(ho (Nom.) lajtû → lajt-ho → latuhô)

(You are sticked)

3. o (Nom.) lajtû

(o (Nom.) lajtû)

(He is sticked)

Plural:

1. tso (Nom.) lajtû → lajt-tso → latutxô

(txo (Noom.) lajtû → lajt-txo → latutxô)

(We are sticked)

2. šu (Nom.) lajtû → lajt-šu → latujšû

(šu (Nom.) lajtû → lajt-šu → latujšû)

(You are sticked)

3. obi (Nom.) lajtû

(obi (Nom.) lajtû)

(They are sticked).

This is how the forms of the voluntariness-involuntariness of the present screeve of static passives function in the modern Tsovatush language. For example:

a) **Forms of the voluntariness:** ვიშას (višās) (I'm lying); ვადწას (qajčās) (I'm hanged); ლადას (lajtās) (I'm sticked); ვადჯას (vajžās) (I'm tied); ვოჯგას (voŭgās) (I'm involved); ჰადრჩას (hajrčās) (I'm wrapped); ვადლას (qajlās) (I'm clung); ოუპყას (oŭpqās) (I'm sticked).

b) **Forms of the involuntariness of the same verbs:** ვიშუსო (višusô) (I'm lying); ვადწუსო (qaçusô) (I'm hanged); ლათუსო (latusô) (I'm sticked); ვადჯუსო (važusô) (I'm tied); ვადგუსო (vagusô) (I'm involved); ჰადრჩუსო (harčusô) (I'm wrapped); ადყუსო (apqusô) (I'm sticked).

At the end of the discussion we can conclude that based on the category of the verb voice, a completely new grammatical



category appeared in the Tsovatush language, which was developed by a different, independent paradigm of conjugation. From the point of view of its genesis, it is noteworthy that we do not have a category with a similar function in the grammar of the Georgian language, nor is it observed in the closely related Chechen and Ingush languages. Interestingly, we do not have this grammatical category in German, as well as in French, Russian or English, from which it could have entered the Tsovatush language in a literate way.

The novelty of this category in the grammar of the Tsovatush language is clarified by the fact that the confrontation according to the voluntariness-involuntariness of the verb forms is based on the late formation of the voice category in this language. If we also take into account that the voluntariness-involuntariness of the subject of the action is expressed by the markers of the person in the verb, and the markers of the person are still in parallel use only with the forms without person markers and are not fully established, it becomes even clearer that this novelty is a late formation in Tsovatush grammar.

By creating a category of the voluntariness-involuntariness of the passive voice of verbs, the Tsovatush language further supplemented its grammar, which is very rich in its own and expressive means. In this regard, the Tsovatush language is highly valued by the well-known researcher of Caucasian languages – Peter Uslar: “The Tsovatush language is extraordinarily rich with its grammatical forms, which give a chance to express the most subtle tones of a thought” (Uslar, 1887: 27).

If we take into account that a new interesting grammatical category was created in the Tsovatush language when it has been in real danger of being shifted to Georgian and there is already a so-called intergenerational breakup between the speakers, we will have to agree with the researchers that “the language is alive as long as there are two people that speak it to each other.”

## **Chapter III**

### **Tsovatush language syntax in terms of interference**

#### **Introduction**

Syntax is radically different from morphology in terms of its function, although the connection between them is quite close because they cannot not exist without each other. This difference is well illustrated in the name of this side of the language itself, because “syntax” literally means to build, to construct a sentence, which is usually accomplished by the ready morphological material.

Syntax is the highest level of a language, both the vocabulary and grammar of the language are included in its direct service, starting with the word and ending with the paradigms of noun declination and verb conjugation. The word divides the formless mass of thinking into concepts, while morphology establishes solid formulas for the interdependence of words in relation to the specific correspondence of the tense and mood of the verb. It is these ready-made formulas that have been developed and legitimized over the centuries that become the basis in the construction of any sentence, that is, it becomes the basis of syntax whether in the relation of the main and secondary parts to each other or to the referral-connection of the verb-predicate.

The famous researcher V. Admoni gives the following definition of syntax as an area of linguistics: “Word combination and clauses are the basic linguistic units that syntax studies. Syntax clarifies what types of words fit together and how, what is the purpose of the words in the clause; Discusses the structure of a clause, its types, and the grammatical features of each, as well as the means by which words are combined in a sentence and in the joining of words” (Адмони, 1955: 14).

It is well known that “there is no level of language that, in the face of prolonged and active bilingualism, remains invulnerable to interference processes” (Дешериев, 1953: 27). This provision is fully justified by the example of the Tsovatush language, where interferential processes have long gone beyond vocabulary and morphology and gained a wide arena at the syntax level. At this stage of bilingualism, the Georgian language controls with amazing punctuality the construction patterns of the sentences of the language under its influence and “corrects” any differences in the given field of the borrowing language compared to its own.

A simple exception in terms of the scale of syntactic influence is made by simple sentence, where we have only one set of main or secondary parts and alternations in the structure of the verb at the morphological level cannot change the sentence model.

We have a different situation in this respect in compound or complex sentences, where many kinds of peculiarities may manifest themselves in the issue of the homogenous parts of a sentence and homogenous simple sentences or in the content-form relation of the main and dependent clauses. Due to the abovementioned situation, in terms of interference at the syntax level, we consider only compound and complex sentences of the Tsovatush language.

This time our work has been facilitated by the fact that based on specific material, we have already studied and published “Syntax of simple clause of modern Tsovatush language” (Mikeladze, 2015) and “Syntax of compound and complex clauses of modern Tsovatush” (Mikeladze, 2018) in separate monographs, where particular attention is paid to the interrelationships between homogenous parts of a sentence or the simple sentences themselves in terms of interference.

## §1. Compound sentence in terms of interference

In terms of the types of compound sentences, we have the same situation in the Tsovatush language that is confirmed in Georgian, that is, there are eight types of compound sentences. We have: compound sentences of homogenous predicate, homogenous subject, homogenous direct object, homogenous indirect object, homogenous simple object, homogenous attributive, homogenous adverbial modifier and mixed types. The given coincidence of these two languages in context is conditioned by their genetic connections and has nothing to do with interferential processes.

We have a complete analogy in the combined sentence of the Tsovatush language with the means of joining some homogenous parts of a sentence with Georgian: homogenous parts join each other with or without conjunction. While joining with conjunction, the means of connection are coordinating conjunctions or suffixes, while joining without conjunction, the homogenous parts are connected by the intonation of listing.

Homogenous parts of a sentence that are connected without conjunction have equal word stresses, they are distinguished by means of a pause and are characterized by the intonation of listing.

For example:

1. „რუსულ, აგლისურ, გერმანულ მატიშ სე ძაჰონ ღაზიშ ეეთ“ (rusul, ṭglisur, germanul maṭiš se jahon γaziš qet) (My daughter knows well Russian, English, German).

2. სონადნრ, ჰონადნრ, ჩურჩონადნრ, ნშადურეჩონადნრ ღაზოლ ლეჟ სო (sonajnō, honajnō, čurčonajnō, nšaj'rečonajnō γazol le' sō) (I want goodness for me, for you, for the relative, for the foreigner).

When homogenous parts of a sentence are extended with the words alongside, the intonation of the listing unites the entire group of words.

For example:

„ნანას აბინო ახლულ, ას დიენო ყარწე ჩხედრი, შეროს  
ოხკინო ჯვანი ქორთო წონალაშ დაფხურ ივნეგო“ (nanas abinô  
axluy, as dienô qarçê çxîdri, šerô oxkinô žani qortô çonalaš dapxur  
ivnego) (Ivane was complacently wearing a Caucasian tunic, sewn  
by mother, colourful socks, knitted by me, and sandals embroidered  
by him).

The homogenous parts listed without conjunction are accompanied by a sense of incomplete state and intonation, which makes it possible to easily add a new kind of part of a sentence without any changes. In such a case, the generalizing words, used with the homogenous parts of a sentence, control the situation or create a closed construction. Let us compare:

1. „სტაკ, ფსტუენო, დაცო, კაწკო – უდს დარ“ (stak,  
pstujnô, daqô, kaçkô – ujs dar) (Men, women, adults, and children –  
were there).

2. „სტაკ, ფსტუენო, დაცო, კაწკო – უძის უდს დარ“ (stak,  
pstujnô, daqô, kaçkô – **uma**’ ujs dar) (Men, women, adults, and  
children – they all were there).

The generalizing word sometimes precedes the homogenous parts of a sentence.

For example:

„უძის: სტაკ, ფსტუენო, დაცო, კაწკო – უდს დარ“ (‘uma’:  
stak, pstujnô, daqô, kaçkô – ujs dar) (All – men, women, adults, and  
children – were there).

We can conclude that today, in the Tsovatush language, a simple model of combined sentence is functioning without conjunction, which completely coincides with the corresponding model of Georgian language. Despite the abovementioned, we cannot attribute this coincidence to the influence of the Georgian language, because we believe that the discussed model of connection

of homogenous members without conjunction belongs to the set of linguistic universals with its special simplicity.

A very interesting situation in terms of the scale of interferential processes emerges when discussing the combined sentence with conjunction of this language. Compared to the combined sentence without conjunction, a combined sentence with conjunction functions much more frequently in the modern Tsovatush language word-circulation. The intense influence of the Georgian language syntax is already very visible in this field of Tsovatush language syntax. This is manifested both in the types of interrelationship between the homogenous members, as well as against the background of the conjunctions patterned after Georgian conjunctions with their own material or invariable borrowings.

Obviously, as in the language without writing system, we do not have in the Tsovatush language the number of conjunctions connecting the homogenous members of a sentence that functions in Georgian, but the basic models of the interrelationship of homogenous members of a sentence of the source language are thoroughly introduced, that is, the same three groups of conjunctions joining the homogenous members of a sentence that we have in the source language are confirmed. These groups are created by grouping, disjunctive, and alternative conjunctions.

From the point of view of the regularity of interferential processes, attention is drawn to the fact that today, among the conjunctions with the function of joining homogenous members, we have units in the Tsovatush language imported from Georgian language, both through own way, translated way or direct borrowing. For the purposes of illustration, we will list the conjunctions of the Tsovatush language in separate groups: own conjunctions of the Tsovatush language, translated conjunctions and conjunctions, borrowed from Georgian language without any changes. Thus, we have:

I. Grouping conjunctions:

1. Own: vowel suffixes: ა (ā), ე (ē) (and); separately standing conjunction **ლე** (le) (or).

II. Disjunctive conjunctions:

1. Own: **ლე - ლე** (le - le) (either ... or...);

2. Translated: **მაწყ - მაწყ** (maçq - maçq) (now ... now ...), **ლეცეჰ - ლეცეჰ** (le'eh - le'eh) (even if...), **ტყოცა - ტყოცა** (tqo'ā - tqo'ā) (even ... even ...);

3. Borrowed without translation: **გძღ - გძღ** (gǫd - gǫd) (as you like...), **თჟღ - თჟღ** (tǫd - tǫd) (even if...), **კიდევაც - კიდევაც** (kidevac - kidevac) (even ... even ...);

III. Alternative conjunctions:

1. Borrowed without translation: **მა** (mā), **მაგრამ** (magram) (but), **ხოლოთ** (xolot) (whereas), **კი** (ki) (as for/even), **ოღონდ** (oγōd) (only), **თუმცა** (tumca) (though).

Observing the presented list of connective conjunctions of homogenous members of the Tsovatush combined sentence, presents an interesting situation in the sense that this language has only own grouping conjunctions, while disjunctive conjunctions are full of translated or borrowed Georgian conjunctions without translation, and alternative conjunctions are all transferred from the Georgian language unchanged. In this way, interesting material is provided in order to take into account the past stages of expressing the relationship between the homogenous members of a combined sentence of this language.

As it has already been observed in the above table, the Tsovatush language has only its own grouping conjunctions. The function of the main grouping conjunction of the Georgian language **და** (da) (and) – is performed by the vowel suffix attached to different

forms of homogenous members. The vowel  $\bar{y}$  ( $\bar{e}$ ) performs this function in verbs, and in nouns and other parts of speech – the vowel  $\bar{a}$  ( $a$ ). The abovementioned vowels perform this function only when homogenous members have a consonant in auslaut, while in all other cases an auslaut vowel of the word to be connected has the same function. In such a case, the stress of the word moves from the beginning to the auslaut vowel, causing the lengthening of this vowel. Thus, in a particular situation, we may encounter with any vowel with the mentioned function.

The given system of connecting homogenous members is peculiar to the Tsovatush language in that the connective vowel suffix is attached to absolutely all homogenous members, while the conjunction  $\text{და}$  ( $da$ ) (and) presented as an independent word, connects only the last two members in the Georgian language.

For the sake of visibility, we will refer to the simplest examples of the Tsovatush language connecting homogenous members expressed by the consonant-based and vowel-based nouns with the above-mentioned vowel suffixes.

For example:

I. Homogenous members, expressed by consonant-base nouns:

1. „ნან- $\bar{a}$ , დად- $\bar{a}$ , ბადერ- $\bar{a}$ , ჰაშ- $\bar{a}$  სანიგო ლათერ“  
( $nan-\bar{a}$ ,  $dad-\bar{a}$ ,  $b\ddot{a}der-\bar{a}$ ,  $h\ddot{a}š-\bar{a}$   $sanigo$   $later$ ) (Mother-and, father-and, child-and, guest-and were standing at the door).

II. Homogenous members, expressed by vowel-base nouns:  
„ნინო, ვანო, ნუნუ, მიშაა, პეტრე სანიგო ლათერ“  
( $nin\bar{o}$ ,  $van\bar{o}$ ,  $nun\bar{u}$ ,  $miš\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ,  $pe\ddot{t}r\bar{e}$   $sanigo$   $later$ ) (Nino-and, Vano-and, Nunu-and, Misha-and, Petre-and were standing at the door).

We have the similar situation in the case of homogenous members expressed by a verb or other parts of speech. The Georgian



translation of the given examples is thorough or an artificial, and natural, Georgian translation will be as follows:

1. „დედა, მამა, შვილი და სტუმარი კარებთან იდგნენ“ (deda, mama, švili da sṭumari ḳarebtan idgnen) (mother, father, child and guest were standing at the door);

2. „ნინო, ვანო, პეტრე, ნუნუ და მიშა კარებთან იდგნენ“ (nino, vano, peṭre, nunū da mišā ḳarebtan idgnen) (Nino, Vano, Petre, Nunu and Misha were standing at the door).

In the natural Georgian translation of these examples, the grouping conjunction და (da) (and) unites only the last two homogenous members, while in the Tsovatush language, the vowel suffix of the same function was observed with all homogenous members. In addition to the above, the difference between these two systems of connection of homogenous members is made by the stress transferred from the first syllable of the homogenous members of the Tsovatush language to the auslaut vowel, which lengthens this vowel and completely changes the intonation of the combined sentence. We can conclude that in the Tsovatush language, we have a completely different system of connecting homogenous members with vowel suffix production from that of the Georgian language.

The simpler the rule of using the conjunction და (da) (and) with homogenous members in the Georgian language, the more difficult and precise the regularity of adapting the vowels ა (ā) and ე (ē) to homogenous members is according to specific situations in the segmented-dismembered Tsovatush language. The great difference in the present case unequivocally indicates the circumstance that the examined peculiar model with the vowel-suffix while connecting the homogenous members is inherently of Tsovatush language and has nothing to do with interferential processes.

With regard to this, the question naturally arises: Today, in the conditions of extremely violent active overbilingualism, against the background of inextricable borrowed conjunctions and simple models of connection of homogenous members of the Georgian language realized through them, what protects the rather complicated Tsovatush archaic model of the connection of the same members?

An unambiguous answer to the question is difficult. We think several factors should be crucial here:

One reason must be a huge systemic difference between these two models of connecting homogenous members, which in all cases complicates the switching process;

The second is that the Tsovatush model of connecting the homogenous members, assembled on short suffixes, creates a simpler intonation model for production of sentences than we have in the case of conjunction და (da) (and) as a separate word with the separating intonation in the Georgian language, which is a great advantage for verbal language;

The third protective factor, as in all other cases, is obviously the tradition of use here as well.

As we have mentioned in the list of conjunctions above, the grouping of homogenous members in the Tsovatush language is done through the conjunction ლე (le) (if) as an independent word. This conjunction unites only two homogenous members, according to which we can already see an exact Georgian model, which, along with its own vowel-suffix system, is clearly the input of the Georgian language in the Tsovatush language.

For comparison:

1. Tsovatush: „სტაკი ლე ფსტუენზ, ყანნი ლე ყონწ – უმასე უდს დარ“ (staki le pštujnǒ, qajni le qonǒ – ũma’ ujs dar);

Georgian: „კაცი თუ ქალი, მოხუცი თუ ახალგაზრდა – ყველა იქ იყო“ (kaci tu kali, moxuci tu axalgazrda – qvela ik iqo);

(a man **or** a woman, old **or** young – everyone was there).

2. Tsovatush: „ჩუჲი ლე ნძაჲცი, ლანგიში ლე ლახუშ ქუდრწლქ ნახ ჳედახკერ“ (čuhī **le** nwa’i, laqiši **le** laxuš kujrčlĕ nax ‘edaxker);

Georgian: „შინ თუ გარეთ, მაღლა თუ დაბლა ქორწილის ხალხი ისხდა“ (šin **tu** garet, mayla **tu** dabla korčilis xalxi isxda) (at home **or** outside, upstairs **or** downstairs, the wedding people were sitting).

The large principal difference that we have between the models of combined sentences created with the participation of the two Tsovatush grouping conjunctions discussed above indicates that we are dealing with the own and borrowed models of grouping of homogenous members.

In the combined sentence of the Tsovatush language, like the Georgian language, a separate group is formed by disjunctive conjunctions. It is interesting that in the conjunctions of this group, there is only one that belongs to the Tsovatush language: ლე-ლე (le-le) (either-or).

For example:

1. „ლე ჰალო თაგდოს ის საქმ, ლე შარნ ვაუვას ესერქ“ (**le** ḥalô tagjos is sakm, **le** šarn vaūvas eserĕ) (I will **either** do this, **or** I will get out of here).

2. „სტაკ ლე დჩუშლო ვეწ ვაგა, ლე დავჩუშლო“ (stak **le** dčujšlo več vagā, **le** davčujšlo) (A man must **either** be with the living **or** with the dead).

3. „ლე დეშ სქ, ლე მამ ხატოგ სოხ“ (**le** deš sĕ, **le** mām xaṭog sox) (**Either** believe me **or** do not ask me anything).

As we have mentioned, we also have conjunctions of the same group translated from Georgian. These are:

მაწყ - მაწყ (maçq - maçq) (now ... now ...), ლეცეჭ - ლეცეჭ (le'eh - le'eh) (even if...), ტყოყ - ტყოყ (tqo'a - tqo'a) (even ... even ...).

As expected, these conjunctions show a complete analogy with the corresponding conjunctions of the Georgian language both etymologically and in terms of usage. For example:

1. „ლეცეჭ ფჭეჭ ხაყ ვახან, ლეცეჭ ქალიქ ლობ“ (le'eh phēh xa' vaxā, le'eh kalik γob) (You can **either** settle in the village, **or** go to the city);

2. „ღრო დიკან ლაწმრეს მაწყ ყაგნო ხეტორ, მაწყ ტელევიზორეგო ჰეჭურ“ (dro jikā laçmres maçq žagnō xetor, maçq televizoregō heçur) (To pass the time, the patient **sometimes** read a book and **sometimes** watched TV);

3. „ტყოყ დამლას გეჩნო ჰათხ ღამდარეგ, ტყოყ ჩარიცხოლას უნივერსიტეტი სტუდენტელ“ (tqo'a jajlas qeçōx hatx 'amdarev, tqo'a čaricxolas universiṭeti ṣṭudēṭey) (I will **even** be ahead of others in my studies, I will **even** enrol as a student at the University).

Despite the abovementioned, cases of repeated untranslated introduction of the same conjunctions are already recorded in the Tsovatush language, which became characteristic of the period of highly developed overbilingualism. Similar disjunctive conjunctions introduced without translation are as follows:

გჭდ - გჭდ (gĩd - gĩd) (whether ... or ...), კიდეც - კიდეც (kidec - kidec) (even ... even ...), თუჭდ - თუჭდ (tũd - tũd) (either ... or ...).

Today, in the speech of young Tsovatush people, one will encounter combined sentences with the same disjunctive conjunctions whether translated or not.

For example:

I. Conjunction is translated

„ტყოყნ ნიფსდოს მუშებადომ დე-ბუდს, ტყოყნ  
დახალოთეს ჯეჩონ ლაზიშვე“ (ტჟო'ა nipsdos mušebadoš dē-bujsā,  
ტჟო'ა jaxālates qečōx γazišxv) (I will **even** spend day and night  
working, and I will **even** live better than others)

II. Conjunction is borrowed without translation

„კიდეც ნიფსდოს მუშებადომ დე-ბუდს, კიდეც  
დახალოთეს ჯეჩონ ლაზიშვე“ (კიდეც nipsdos mušebadoš dē-bujsā,  
კიდეც jaxālates qečōx γazišxv) (I will **even** spend my time working  
day and night, and I will **even** live better than others).

Clearly, the parallelism of translated and borrowed conjunctions without translation is usually followed by prevailing untranslated conjunctions in the combined sentence, unless there has been a complete shift from the Tsovatush language to the Georgian one before. Obviously, foreign influence is observed in both cases of borrowings: when we translate the required conjunction, and when we invariably import it from the source language, but the difference between these two types of borrowings is significant: **in the first case, the prestige of the native language of a bilingual resolves the issue, while in the second case, the prestige of the source language.**

Alternative conjunctions form the III group of conjunctions connecting homogenous members of a combined sentence. This time it is noteworthy that almost all the alternative conjunctions used in the combined sentence of the Tsovatush language are imported from Georgian without any translation. These conjunctions are: მჰ (mā) (but), მაგრამ (magram) (but), ხოლოთ (xolot) (whereas), კი (ki) (as for/even), ოღონდ (oγōd) (only), თუმცა (tumca) (though).

The listed conjunctions, as a rule, oppose homogenous members to each other. The combined sentence assembled with the

mentioned conjunctions has a refined look in the Tsovatush language today and shows a complete analogy with Georgian according to its order.

The most widely used of these alternative conjunctions is the conjunction მს (mā), which is an abbreviated version of the Georgian conjunction მაგრამ (magram) (but). The special frequency of its use and the shortest possible length indicate that its borrowing took place at an early stage of bilingualism; We have, for example:

1. „მადრმეს დუყ მუშებადო, მს ხელფას კაწკოთ ეგობრ“ (majrmes duq mušebado, **mā** xelpas kačqō evobō) (Mariam works hard **but** gets paid little);

2. „ბათწი, მს ლამზურ ბუდს ლათერ ალნი“ (batčī, **mā** lamzur bujsā later alni) (It is a moonless **but** beautiful night in Alvani).

In the last stage of bilingualism, the conjunction მს (mā) (but) has been established in the form of მაგრამ (magram) (but) in the Tsovatush language. We have:

1. „ბათწი, მაგრამ ლამზური ბუდს ლათერ ალნი“ (batčī, **magram** lamzuri bujsā later alni) (It is a moonless **but** beautiful night in Alvani);

2. „ქუდრწლეს დოს, მაგრამ ლეთხა ცო ვალოს“ (kujrčlex γos, **magram** letxā co vayos) (I will go to the wedding **but** I will not dance).

The use of other conjunctions of the same group is quite productive as well in the modern Tsovatush language. For example:

1. „ლადტნას მიხუდნ ვაე დაცოშ, ხოლოთ ბოლოს ნანბადინას“ (lajtnas mixujn qav dacoš, **xolot** bolos nanbadinas) (I helped Mikho to harvest the field, **but** I finally regretted it);

2. „ლაპწათ ეზო, ბადრი, ოლოდ ვაშინ მამ ლაწდოთ“ (lapçat ezo, bādri, oγōd vašin **mām** laçdot) (Children, go play in the yard, **but** do not hurt each other);

3. „ვე ომტიე ქოცუდ დოთათ, ჭაჭე კი ბოჭეკი მობკათ“ (vë ošt'i' kocuj dotat, čaç **ki** bočķi joxkat) Pour the wine into the *kvevri* (a clay jug) again, **and** put the chacha in the barrel);

4. „დე-ბუდსა ნიფსდოს, ბათხან მაჭე ცო თებლმაკ სო“ (dē-bujšā nipsdos, batxax **maič** co teblmaķ sō) (I spend day and night, but the I **still** fail to manage it all).

Consistent discussion-contrasting of conjunction models of different functions of the combined sentence of the modern Tsovatush language with the combined sentences of the appropriate type of the Georgian language shows that **this language has preserved its own archaic model of the combined sentence only in a form of vowel-suffix system; In all other cases, there is a well-borrowed Georgian-language model of connecting homogenous members by means of an independent word.**

Today, at the last stage of bilingualism, when the Georgian connective conjunctions of the sentences or the homogenous members arbitrarily enter and settle in the Tsovatush language without any translation, not a single case of breaking their own archaic vowel suffix system, as well as replacing it with the Georgian one, has been recorded. Here, too, as it has been observed in morphology, the question arises regarding the existing free space in the borrowing language in relation to processes of influence.

## §2. Compound sentence

In the Tsovatush language as well as in Georgian, the compound sentence is either with or without conjunction. The scientific literature has suggested that “connection without conjunction is of an earlier period in languages than connection with conjunction” (Мейе, 1938: 17). It is assumed that in the early stages of development, simple sentences included in the complex sentence one after another were formed in languages without any special linking. The intonation, the tense and the mood of the verb, the substantive interrelationship between the parts of the sentence are crucial when joining the simple sentences without a conjunction.

A complex compound sentence without a conjunction is widely used in both spoken language and written sources of the modern Tsovatush language. There are several typical cases of linking parts of a compound sentence without a conjunction. We have such a linking when the parts of a compound sentence express the sequence of events, or their opposition by content, or even a list of simultaneous events.

For example:

I. We have a sequence of events:

„შარნი დახე სტაბო, შარნი დეჰდალი ა, ოტე ლამზურ დოჰა“  
(šarn jaxē štabō, šarn deḥdalī ‘a, otē lamzur doḥā) (Autumn has passed, winter has passed, a beautiful spring has come).

A given compound sentence without a conjunction consists of three simple sentences and expresses a sequence of events. In the given case of clause coordination, a general regularity is revealed, according to which the correspondence of exact forms of verb tense, aspect and mood in the same simple sentences is characteristic. In our verified example, all verbs have an indicative mood, past tense and screeve – aorist.



## II. We have opposition by content of events:

„უმაჲ ჰალორ ნიონორ სუფრემაქრქე წიხრ ჰაშენ პატვი მღაჲ,  
ცჰა მიქელ ვისნორ ჰალ ცო ნეთუმ“ (uma' halō qitnor supremakrē  
čičō hašen paṭiv jlā, ča mikel visnor ḥal co qetuš) (Everyone stood  
from the table in honour of the new guest, only Mikheil remained  
sitting).

## III. We have a description-listing of simultaneous events:

„წელტი დარ, უმაჲ შუჲ წენბოხ კიფებალარ, შარემაქს  
ცომენ ლელგერ“ (čelṭi dar, uma' šuj čenbōx kipebalar, šaremakāx  
comenā lelger) (It was the New Year, everyone was having fun in  
their homes, no one was walking in the streets anymore).

An interesting situation in terms of foreign language influence is revealed in the combination of simple or combined sentences during the coordination with a conjunction. It is known that complex compound sentences are more often found in spoken or written speech with linking their simple or combined sentences with a conjunction, because in the case of conjunction their content interrelationships are more expressed.

Particular attention is paid to the fact that in the Tsovatash language, as well as in Georgian, the equating of the functional-content relations that we have, on the one hand, between the homogenous members of the combined sentence, and, on the other hand, between the equal simple sentences in the complex compound sentence, is performed with mathematical accuracy. **In this particular case, there is a general linguistic universal of the simplification and equalization of the identical events.**

Exactly this universality explains the fact that the Tsovatash language uses conjunctions of the same three groups – own, translated from Georgian, and borrowed without translation, to connect simple sentences of a compound sentence of equal function, which has already been observed above in relation to some members

of a combined sentence. We have in mind the connective conjunctions of all three groups used in the combined sentence with the above function: grouping, disjunctive, and alternative conjunctions.

For visualization, here, we will invariably present the table of already examined and characterized connective conjunctions of the combined sentence of the modern Tsovatush language, where the conjunctions of this language are provided separately, both own, translated from Georgian or borrowed without translation.

We have:

I. Grouping conjunctions:

1. Own: vowel suffixes ა (ā) and ე (ē) (and);

Separately standing conjunction – ლე (le) (if)

II. Disjunctive conjunctions:

1. Own: ლე – ლე (le – le) (either-or)

2. Translated: მაწყ – მაწყ (maçq – maçq) (now ... now ...),

ლეცეჰ – ლეცეჰ (le'eh – le'eh) (even if...), ტყოცა – ტყოცა (tqo'ā – tqo'ā) (even ... even ...).

3. Borrowed without translation: გჩღ – გჩღ (gčd – gčd)

(whether ... or ...), თუღ – თუღ (tūd – tūd) (either ... or ...),

კიდევაც – კიდევაც (kidevac – kidevac) (even ... even ...).

III. Alternative conjunctions:

1. Borrowed without translation: მა (mā) (but), მაგრამ

(magram) (but), ხოლოთ (xolot) (whereas), კი (ki) (as for/even).

Due to the close resemblance to the connection of homogenous members of a combined sentence with conjunctions, we will not discuss the specific models of the connection of simple

sentences with conjunctions included in the subordinate sentence separately, we will only provide examples. We have:

1. „ვაშას ვორ ლეჭბორ-ჲ, ას კალთი ბეხერას“ (vašas qor lehbor-ē, as kalti bexkras) (The brother was picking apples **and** I was placing them in the basket).

2. „ლე აჰ ჯობ თხა მიდრი ვაე დაცა, ლე ვა ას ქობოს ქორთო“ (**le ah** ობ txa mīdri qav dacā, **le qā** as kotbos kortō) (**Either** you go to the field today to harvest, **or** I will do it tomorrow).

3. „ლეეჲ სო ჩუქბადეხ ის ტარდ, ლეეჲ სე კაწკუეხ დაშენ დისალ“ (**le'eh** sō čukbadeb is ṭard, **le'eh** se kačkujč jašen disāl) (It does not matter, **either** you give me that ring, **or** give it to my sister).

4. „გედ ვადლეშ ალ სოგო ალუენ, გედ კუდლეშ“ (**gīd** vajyeš al' sogō al'ujn, **gīd** kujxyeš) (You can tell me **either** in your own language **or** in Georgian).

5. „მათხორე დე დარ, მა ნჰაჲი ზორადეშ თუელ დარ“ (matxarē de dar, **mā** nwa'i zorajš pšel jar) (It was a sunny day **but** it was very cold outside).

6. „ას ის საქმ ჰალო თაგდოს, ხოლოთ მაჰაგო ხაჲითოთ“ (as is sakm ḥalō tagjos, **xolot** mahāgō xa'itot) (I will do it **but** do not tell anyone else).

Due to the specifics of the compound sentence, a fourth group was added to the three groups of connective conjunctions in Georgian, these are conjunctions that mean similarity: ანუ (anu) (that is), ე. ი. (e. i.) (ie). A sentence joined by these types of conjunctions is a clarification or explanation of the previous simple sentence or sentences.

There are no conjunctions of similarity in the speech of the older Tsovatush people. In the proper situation, the expression adapted to the similarity was used: უმშტ და, მე (uhšt da, mē) (so).

For example:

1. „აჰ ის დავჯო საქმ ვეჩოხ ვალბადმო, უმშტ და, მე სოხ ცო თეშე“ (ah' is jaqō sakm qeçox valbadjo, **uhšt da, me** sox co teše) (You entrust the task to someone else, **so** (i.e.) you do not trust me).

2. „ბადსლეხ ვალუხ წა დაჰ დეხკო, უმშტ და, მე ლატუმენ ცომენა გუღალე“ (bajsles valux ça dah dexkō, **ujšt da, mē** laṭujn comenā gudaḷë) (Basili sells the house due to the debt, **so** that no one turned out to be a helper).

Recently, during the period of Tsovatush-Georgian overbilingualism, both Georgian conjunctions of similarity – ე. ი. (e. i.) (ie) and ანუ (anu) (that is // or) have been established without any changes in the speech of the young Tsovatush generation.

For example:

1. „აჰ ბოლო დროჰ ტელეფონმაქ ცო პადსხებადოგე სო, ე. ი. დროჰეჟე ვეწეს ჰოხი ყასტა“ (ah bolo droḥ, ṭeleponmak co pajsxebadoge sō, **e.i.** droḥe' veçes ḥoxī qastā) (You are no more answering the phone lately, **i.e.** I have to move away).

2. „ზორადე მანო აღზა ჰალო ჯჯალინო, ე. ი. ვადნ ლოუმ ცო ბახმაქ“ (zorajš janō alzā ḥalō jqjalinō, **e. i.** vajn loūm co baxmaḵ) (Alazani has been overflowed, **that is**, we will not be able to ride horses in the mountain).

3. „მთავრბას გადასახადი ოშტიჟ ჰალო დანდი, ანუ ნახი დარდ ცოჰანგჰე ბაე“ (mtavrbaš gadasaxadi ošt'i' ḥalḥ jaqjič, **anu**

naxĩ dard coḥãgḥe bag) (The government has increased taxes again, **that is**, nobody cares about the people any more).

### **§3. The syntax of complex subordinate sentence in terms of interference**

In the Tsovatush language today, two systems of simple sentence subordination operate simultaneously: their own and assimilated from Georgian language. The Georgian system is active among those who speak this language, while their own is forgotten due to the influence of the borrowed system.

The biggest feature of the old Tsovatush system of subordination is that the functional interrelationship of the verb forms of the main and dependent clauses is not determined by the conjunctions presented as separate or independent words, as we have in Georgian language, but by the subordinate suffixes attached to the specific tense form of the verb. In modern Tsovatush language, three types of dependent clauses are organized based on the subordinate suffixes of the mentioned type, such as: the circumstantial dependent clause of time, the circumstantial dependent clause of reason, and the conditional dependent clause.

In the modern Tsovatush language, the ancient model of the subordination of sentences is presented in the form of a circumstantial dependent clause of time, where the predicate expresses not tense but only an aspect. As known, in the verb “the formation of the tense category was preceded by the aspect”

(Tchumburidze, 1986: 3). It is this ancient situation that is preserved in this type of subordinate sentence of the Tsovatush language.

The sentence depending on the circumstantial modifier of time is expressed according to the specific situation by two different suffixes attached to the base of the verb: **-ჩე** (če) and **-ში** (š). From them, **-ჩე** (če) is attached only to fully-perfective forms of the verb and expresses the full aspect of the action without time. Consequently, it can express only two tenses: past and future. Which of the following two tenses is expressed in a particular case of a dependent clause is specified according to the verb tense of the main sentence: if the verb of the main sentence is in the past tense, the tense of the verb of the dependent clause is expected to be in the past tense as well, and when the verb of the main sentence is in future tense, the tense of the verb of the dependent clause is in the future tense as well.

For example, let us compare:

a) „ნიკო ვიქ-ჩე, სო უღს ვარასო“ (nikô **ve'-če**, so ujs varasô) (When Niko came, I was there) (The verb tense is past).

b) „ნიკო ვიქ-ჩე, სო უღს ხილუსო“ (nikô **ve'-če**, so ujs xil'usô) (When Niko comes, I will be there) (The verb tense is future).

In the given examples, the same form of verb ვიქ-ჩე (**ve'-če**) was translated in the first example as past tense and in the second example as future tense.

In the analogous cases, the left open present tense forms of the dependent clauses are produced with the suffix **-ში** (š). The circumstantial suffix **-ში** (š) is attached to only the imperfect aspect stem of the verb, due to which it can express only the present tense, or the imperfect aspect forms of the past tense.

For example, let us compare:

a) „დად სამსოუხრელე ვაღო-შ, ას ჩუჰ ბოარიხოს“ (dad samsou̯xrelē **ვაღო-შ**, as čuḥ bōarixos) (When dad comes home from work, I am at home) (The verb tense is present).

b) „დად სამსოუხრელე ვაღო-შ, ას ჩუჰ ბოარიხრას“ (dad samsou̯xrelē **ვაღო-შ**, as čuḥ bōarixras) (When dad would come home from work, I used to be at home) (The verb tense is past).

We have the same situation in these dependent clauses with -შ (š) suffix in terms of verb tense, which was confirmed in the above dependent clause with -ჩე (če) suffix. In the other two types of dependent clauses, that is, in the dependent propositions with the circumstantial modifiers of purpose and condition, the situation is relatively simple, because the adverbial suffixes here are already attached to ready-made verb forms of a certain tense and it is no longer necessary to compare/equalize the verb tense of the dependent clause with the verb tense of the main clause. In this case, this principal difference in the matter of base of the verb of the dependent sentence clearly shows that there is an event of a relatively late stage in the development of the Tsovatush language.

The subordination of the content of the circumstantial modifier of the cause is already expressed by the suffix -ჩუჲ (čuj) attached to the specific tense form of the verb.

Let us compare:

a) Verb forms of a specific tense without a suffix:

1. Present tense: **მეღო** (mel'ō) (drinks).

2. Future tense: **მაღო** (mal'ō) (will drink).

3. Past tense: **მაღე** (mel'ē) (drank).

b) Forms of the same verbs of specific tense with subordinating suffix:

1. Present tense: **მეღ-ჩუჲ** (mel'-čuj) (because he drinks).

2. Future tense: **მალ-ჩუი** (mal'-čuj) (because he will drink).

3. Past tense: **მალქ-ჩუი** (mel'č -čuj) (because he drank).

For example:

1. „ღუენ ვქ **მალქ-ჩუი**, ილიკრ ზორადში დაჰ ვახი“ (duq vč **mal'č-čuj**, ilikō zorajšī dah vaxī) (Because he drank a lot of wine, Iliko got drunk).

2. „ღუენ ვქ **მელ-ჩუი**, ილიკრ ჰაშელ ცოჰანე ვენი“ (duq vč **mel'-čuj**, ilikō hašey cohanē vexō) (Because he drinks a lot, no one invites Iliko).

We have a similar model of form production in the case of a conditional dependent sentence: the base here again is the specific tense form of the verb, and the subordinating suffixes are **-ჰ**, **-ჰერ** და **-ჩერ** (h, -her and -čher). Each of the listed suffixes expresses a different condition with a certain nuance, which the performance of the action expressed by the verb in the main sentence depends on. If the suffix **-ჰ** (h) equals the **თუ** (tu, provided) (if) conjunction of the Georgian conditional dependent clause, then **-ჰერ** (-her) performs the function of the Georgian conjunction **რომ** (rom) (but, that, while), **-ჩერ** (-čher) is complex and has the function of combined conjunctions **თუ** (tu) (if, provided) and **რომ, თუ რომ** (rom, tu rom) (but, that, while, provided that).

For example:

1. „ნანას დავალბადმო-**ჰ** სოხ, ის საქმე უეჭველათ ჰალბო თაგოს“ (nanas davalbadjo-**h** sox, is saqm uečvelat halō tagjos) (**If** mother gives me a task, I will definitely do it).

2. „ღაზექ ამიღუი დისუ-**ჰერ**, ვენევე მაწო მოსავალ მაღინდარათეაინ“ (γazč amīduj disu-**her**, venqev jaqō mosaval



jal'injaratvajn) (If the weather remained good, the vineyard would give us a great harvest).

3. „ღაზიშ ღამდი-ჩეჰერ, ნინუენ უნივერსიტეტე სტიპენდია დანიშნოდინდარ“ (γaziš ‘amdi-čeher, ninujn universiṭete ṣṭipēdia danišnodjienjar) (Provided Nino had studied well, she would have received a scholarship).

Examining-studying the examples shows that **this is not a fully developed and complete system of subordination, it is a long-standing but unfinished structure of subordination of simple sentences, the further development and expansion of which was prevented by the violent, ready-made, comprehensive system of the Georgian language.**

The refined system established today in the Georgian language has a subordination of sentences, which is fundamentally different from the subordinate system of the Tsovatush language. The shared functions of the conjunction and correlation included in one subordinate suffix of the Tsovatush language are distributed with the mathematical accuracy in the Georgian language between two independently represented words, namely, the conjunction and the correlate member. The Tsovatush language system of subordination of sentences is also somewhat complicated by the forms of the verb aspect that can be specified according to tense.

This complexity of the subordination system of the sentences of the Tsovatush language obviously will not hinder the thinking and speech process of those for whom the language is native and spoken since childhood. For Tsovatush, as a spoken language, the advantage in this case is the fact that in terms of time and energy required to pronounce it, its own system of subordination is much shorter and more compact than Georgian. These are all areas of general theory and have little to do with interferential processes. The facts show that

in the case of long unilateral bilingualism, the grammatical model of the source language always wins in the end.

In this case, the influence of the Georgian language was facilitated by the fact that the process of creating a subordinate system in the Tsovatush language is not over and we have only three types of subordination of sentences, while in the Georgian language this process has long been finished and the number of dependent clause types is 15.

1. Subject-dependent clause;
2. Direct object-dependent clause;
3. Indirect object-dependent clause;
4. Simple object-dependent clause;
5. Attributive-dependent clause;
6. Adverbial modifier of time-dependent clause;
7. Adverbial modifier of place-dependent clause;
8. Adverbial modifier of circumstance-dependent clause;
9. Adverbial modifier of cause-dependent clause;
10. Adverbial modifier of reason-dependent clause;
11. Predicate-dependent clause;
12. Condition-dependent clause;
13. Concessive dependent clause;
14. Consequence-dependent clause;
15. Dependent clause by relation to main clause.

The first eleven types of the given list of dependent clauses play the role of any particular member of the main sentence, or even explain and clarify the general meaning of the member conveyed by the demonstrative pronoun or adverb in the main sentence. As for the subordinate relation of the same dependent clause to the main one, this function is performed by the subordinate conjunctions of these relative pronouns and adverbs.

We have a different situation in the case of the last four types of dependent clauses in this respect. These dependent clauses already

refer not to any particular member of the main clause, but are substantively related to the main clause as a whole, which is why there is no need for correlations in the main clause or relative pronouns or adverbs in the dependent clause. The whole specificity of the subordinate relationship is expressed this time by the special subordinate conjunctions. It is natural that in this case different types of dependent clauses are connected to the main sentences with different subordinate conjunctions, but we have an interesting exception to this general rule in Georgian, that is, a conjunction that is used with all types of dependent clauses – is the conjunction რომ (rom) (that // but). Obviously, for this reason it is the most common subordinate conjunction in this language.

During the long-lasting bilingualism, the Tsovatush language transferred with amazing accuracy the entire Georgian system of subordinating simple sentences in its syntax. Of the more than fifteen types of dependent clauses listed above, all are more or less common in this language today. To do this, based on its own lexical inventory, it translated and carefully adapted its lexical items to the correlations of the subordinate sentence of the Georgian language or to the relative pronouns and adverbs. As for its own subordinate conjunctions, it has only one: ცოჰეჲ (coḥeḥ) (otherwise), all the others are borrowed, these are: რაკი (raḥi) (since/because), თუკი (tuḥi) (if), გიდაც (gīdac) (even if), მითომ (mitom) (as if // as though), სანამ (sanam) (unless/until), მჱ (mā) (რომ) (but // that), მჱ (mē) (if // that), მაგრამ (magram) (but // that).

For visuals, we will name some subordinate sentences of the Tsovatush language with different types of dependencies.

For example:

1. Subject-dependent clause:

„ბაცბილო დაჯოტ ღეფ ლევედოორ, მჲ დადას ბადერ ადრე  
ხაყლორალ“ (bacbilo daqō ‘wep levdor, **mē** dadas bāder ajrḳ  
xa’doralō) (It was considered a great shame in Tusheti **if** a father put  
his son in his lap).

2. Indirect object-dependent clause:

„ას დახოკ ოჯუენ ჩუქბადოს სეჲ ჟაგნო, ჰანჲ დაკრეჲ ხატო  
ჰალ“ (as dačok oqujn čukbados sē žagnō, **hanē** daḳreš xaṭō ḥalō)  
(I will only give my book as a present to someone **who** reads it  
carefully).

3. Circumstantial modifier of place-dependent clause:

„ცომ დაცმაკ ჰო ოსი, მიჩჲ ცომ დივედა“ (cōm dacmaḳ ḥō  
osi, **mičḥē** cōm divēdā) (You cannot reap anything in the place  
**where** you have not planted anything).

4. Predicate-dependent clause:

„ჰო ო ვაჰო, გაჭირბა მჲ ქო ლატდირა სო“ (ḥo o vahō,  
gačirba **mē** ko laṭdira sō) (You are the one **who** helped me in my  
trouble).

5. Condition-dependent clause:

„ზორადჲ ნანბადოჰ, თუკი დენიჲ დრო სწავლენ ცო  
მოგმარბადო“ (zorajš nanbadoh, **tuḳi** deni’ dro sčavlen co  
moqmarbadjo) (You will be very sorry **if** you do not spend all your  
time studying).

In addition to the listed single-subordinate clauses, the cases of consistent subordination in the Georgian language are quite frequent, when the dependent clause of the main clause is followed by its own dependent clause, and that one is followed by another one, etc. There is also a mixed complex sentence in active circulation, where we have both a clause coordination and subordination systems. In this case, the situation is simplified by the fact that in

cases of a simple or of consistent subordination or complex sentence, the cases of simultaneous coordination and subordination systems are governed by the same syntactic laws of simple sentences matching by conjunctions.

As expected, at the last stage of bilingualism in the Tsovatush language we will encounter consistent subordination of simple sentences or complex sentences of mixed type, where we simultaneously have both coordination and subordination.

We have for example:

1. Consistent subordination:

„გაკვირბადმადონო დისქსო, მაცნე ოჯხე ომტყ ნახ ბჟარდახე სო, ჰანხინა ბჟა რიდბალარას, რაკი ოვარხ დუჯ მოსო ოუმ ხაწქლარ სო, ოუხე დაჰ ცოჰანე ლეჭყდოგერ“ (gakvirbadjajlnô jisēsô, macnē oʒxe oštū nax bwardaxē sō, ḥanxinā bōā ridbalaras, raḳi oqarx duq mosī ūm xačēdar sō, ūxē dah coḥanē lečqdoger) (I was surprised when I met people in my family whom I avoided all the time, because I have heard a lot of bad things about them, which no one was hiding anymore).

2. We have a simultaneous coordination-subordination:

„თხა და წყეგეჯე დაწო მდგომარეობე ვად მატგო დახეჯე, მე ყოჩეღმენ ახნაჯ ცო მაკეგეჯე ვადლეშ ამბუჯ და, ჰანხნა მე ვითომ ვეთე ვაწ მოტ, ვეჩნადრათ დუჯ შეცლომი შევებადო“ (txa ja çqege' jačī mdgomareob vaj maḡgo daxē', mē qōčujšn axna' co maḳegē vajyeš ambuj jš, ḥannā mē vitom qetē vaī moḡ, qečnajrat duq šecdomi švebadjo) (Our language is in a very difficult situation today because even half of us can no longer speak our language, and those who pretend to know our language make a lot of mistakes).

In the first example, four dependent clauses are joined to the main clause in a consistent way, while in the second example, we

have two sentences, each accompanied by dependent clause, which are joined through coordination.

Clearly, bringing in such a system of interrelationship of sentences from a foreign language with such precision should have happened through the gradual support of all levels of influence. The lack of writing system in the Tsovatush language does not allow us to specify the duration of this process. The fact that none of the most closely related languages of the Tsovatush language has this system of subordination of sentences gives some idea in this regard.

We think that the subordinate conjunction მჟ (mē) of the Tsovatush language, which, in our opinion, should represent a conjunction რომ (rom) (that // but) borrowed from the Georgian language, should provide some information in this regard. At the earliest stage of development, that is, in the so-called old Georgian (5<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries) it was used in the form of რომელ (romel) (which), in mid Georgian (12<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries) it had the form of რომე (rome), and then in new Georgian (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries), it established in the shortest form რომ (rom) (that // but). We believe that the relevant conjunction მჟ (mē) in the Tsovatush language could only be obtained from რომე (rome) through its abbreviated borrowing, that is, it happened at some point in the XI-XVIII centuries. We have a similar situation here, the language borrowed the conjunction მაგრამ (magram) (but) in the form of მამ (mā).

The need for its loan should have been caused by special activity of the conjunction რომ (rom) (that // but) in the Georgian language. As mentioned above, this can be found in almost every dependent clause of the source language; This is exactly the case in Tsovatush language today, which is why we believe that the Georgian model of the subordinate sentence could have been

established in Tsovatush language based on  $\text{მე}$  ( $m\bar{e}$ ) (that // but) conjunction. It is natural that the origin of such a great interfering novelty, given its number of transitional stages, dates back much earlier than the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

We can conclude that today in the Tsovatush language there are two diametrically different systems of subordination of simple sentences: own and borrowed from Georgian, that is, introduced by interferential processes. The Tsovatush subordination system is based on the special subordinate suffixes, while in Georgian the same system is built on the subordinate conjunctions represented as independent words.

An interesting situation in terms of the depth and scale of interferential processes is revealed by the observation on the age levels of bilinguals in the process of speaking mother tongue according to the frequency of these two different systems of subordination of sentences. An in-depth study of the issue has shown that the so-called elderly or over 50-year-old bilinguals express the above-mentioned subordination of adverbial modifier of time, cause, and condition with only subordinate suffixes, while young people, that is, those under the age of 50, use only Georgian, in other words, an independent conjunctive system.

The fact that recent youth know Georgian much better than their mother tongue has paved the way for Georgian syntax to replace the Tsovatush one. In this regard, we can conclude that such an active, powerful influence of the Georgian language syntax on the proper system of Tsovatush language belongs to the period of overbilinguism, i.e. the last 50 years.

## Conclusions

1) Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism represents an action of sharply expressed one-sided interferential processes: the Georgian language is a source of influence, while the Tsovatush is an object. The majority of the Tsovatush people today know Georgian better than their native language; In many families, Georgian has become the language of the cradle, while Georgians do not know Tsovatush at all. The collective nature of bilingualism, the high level of knowledge of the source language, the high frequency of switching from code to code, the cultural-political prestige of the Georgian language, the inequality in terms of writing system, the extreme contrast in the numerical ratio of the speakers of these languages and forceful mixed families – this is an incomplete list of contributing factors that have determined the nature of a given bilingual situation.

It is difficult to find another more favourable combination of factors governing interferential processes that would create such optimal conditions for one-sided, deeply pervasive and irreversible influence, as we have in the case of the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism. A peculiar miniature model of the global processes of world language contacts is presented in the researched region, the accelerated paces of which provide us with an opportunity to follow the dynamics of the dissemination of individual innovations from the very beginning to an end and give a reasoned answer to a number of controversial questions in general linguistics.

2) Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism has gone through four stages of development:

I – the period of poorly developed individual bilingualism with low level of proficiency of the source language;

II – the period of poorly developed collective bilingualism with low level of proficiency of the source language;



III – the period of universal collective bilingualism that is the ideal bilingualism;

IV – the last period of universal bilingualism that is the extremely developed bilingualism, the so-called overbilingualism, when the knowledge of the source language exceeds the knowledge of the native language.

The nature of bilingualism and the level of knowledge of a foreign language was changing according to the periods of bilingualism, at the same time the processes of foreign language influence became more and more widespread, the scale and depth of interference increased. In the first and second periods, the influence was mainly on the lexical level, and in the third and fourth periods, the interference spread to the whole horizontal section of the Tsovatush language.

3) The influence of the source language, as everywhere, began in the Tsovatush language with lexis. The modest process of borrowing individual words to fill in the gaps or the “white spots” that began in the first period of bilingualism, was replaced in later periods by the unprecedented attack of foreign words. A clear picture of what happened is that almost half of available 5,808 units in the lexical fund of the Tsovatush language in the recent period of bilingualism are Georgian (2143 words) or have entered through the Georgian language.

4) In terms of lexical influence, the 4<sup>th</sup> period, the so-called ‘era of overbilingualism’ is distinguished with special activity. At this time, knowledge of the Georgian language, which is superior to the native language, as well as its high socio-political prestige, has a detrimental effect on the words of the fund of the Tsovatush language. The greatest feature of this period of bilingualism is the intensive referencing of words of the same meaning to the local words of the source language for parallel use. This is the newest peculiar layer of lexical borrowings, and we refer to it as lexical

parallels. Acquiring such a parallel over time leads to the archaism of the local word and means that it is on the path of its inevitable loss. It is noteworthy that out of 3665 Tsovatush words in the Kadagidzes' dictionary, 2565 units with the right of parallel use already have the Georgian word of the same meaning.

5) Significant in terms of language mobility and resilience is the fact that the forceful tendency to replace local words with foreign parallels creates an insurmountable barrier with a rather large layer of the most frequently used words in the main lexical fund of the Tsovatush language. Even now, in the last period of bilingualism, when the irreversible process of switching bilinguals to Georgian has already begun, the 1080 Tsovatush words included in the Kadagidzes' dictionary remain without any lexical parallel. This material from the Tsovatush language once again confirms the well-known statement of general linguistics that "every language has a certain layer of vocabulary that rivals the most enduring elements of phonetics and morphology with its resilience to the borrowing process."

6) The seemingly unmanageable process of borrowing words through lexical parallels demonstrates a certain regularity, which becomes clear when we look at parts of speech in terms of borrowings. At this time, the systematic nature of the lexical fund of the language is clearly observed, which is manifested in the given case by the fact that at different levels of bilingualism, parallelisms adapt different parts of speech with different openness. For example, pronouns and postposition still represent the completely locked systems for the borrowing, while nouns were the earliest and most widely used to initiate their own borrowings and parallelisms.

7) All types of lexical borrowings, which are well known in general linguistics, have been confirmed in the Tsovatush language. We have both classes of borrowed words and substituted borrowings with corresponding subgroups that are created by their own

borrowed words, hybrid borrowings, calques, and extended borrowings. Based on the recent data of Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism, another subgroup of lexical borrowings should be added to the listed subgroups, which can be called “narrowed” borrowings. We refer to quite frequent cases when the meaning of the words of the borrowing language is narrowed and expelled from certain contexts under the influence of the “excess” of the content of the relevant words of the source language. The loss caused by such “excess” is specific in that it is directly related to the structure of the thinking model of the source language and is characteristic only for the high level of bilingualism.

8) Interference develops with precise regularity at all levels of the language hierarchy, and the phonological system makes no exceptions. As long as bilingualism is individual and the level of knowledge of the source language is low, bilinguals change or correct the sound cover of borrowed words according to the phonological model of their own language. Exact correspondence is established between the phonological rules of the Tsovatush language and the rules of adaptation of the sound cover of words borrowed at the initial stage of bilingualism. Significant in this regard is the fact that all the differences that are evidenced in the word patterns and the rules of sound distribution of the two languages have manifested themselves in the process of word borrowing.

The meticulous accuracy with which borrowed words in the early stages of bilingualism are influenced by the phonological model of the words of the borrowing language, suggests that by contrasting the phonological models of the languages in contact, the expected transformations in the sound cover of the borrowed words can be accurately predicted, and on the other hand, according to these transformations, the phonological system of the borrowing language can be restored with sufficient accuracy.

9) It is noteworthy that the sound cover of Georgian words, set on the phonological system of the Tsovatush language, borrowed in the conditions of individual or weakly developed collective bilingualism, changes again according to the phonological system of the source language in terms of contact tightening in the periods of active collective bilingualism or overbilingualism. The change is gradual, and its hierarchical character is clearly observed against the background of fully assimilated, partially assimilated, and unchanged forms of borrowings of the same word at different times. Such forms are sometimes found simultaneously in the Tsovatush language as synonymous and formal parallels of the same word.

10) In the later stages of bilingualism, when the level of foreign language proficiency is equal to, or already exceeds the level of native language proficiency, the evaluation of the sound models of the borrowed words takes place according to the phonological system of the foreign language as follows: If the connection between the basic and adapted forms of the previously borrowed words could have been reduced to almost zero, the urgency for its complete preservation is now on the agenda. Therefore, a somewhat thorough discussion of the issues of the influence of the proper system of the source language based on the phonological system of the borrowing language means referring to all the discussed rules of adaptation of the sound cover of the already borrowed words and bringing up the issue of the regression of each of them. Currently, in the Tsovatush language, almost all the mandatory requirements for the adaptation of borrowed words have already been violated.

11) It is worth to note that the forceful lexical borrowings and the tendency to invariably preserve the sound cover of foreign words during overbilingualism did not have the proper outcomes in the phonological models of the words of the borrowing language. This time in the lexis of the Tsovatush language, two phonological systems operate simultaneously: one belongs to the borrowing

language and functions in its own words to this day, and the other belongs to the source language and is represented in the borrowed words.

12) Interference, which was limited to lexical influence in terms of individual bilingualism, was already observed at high levels of linguistic hierarchy during the collective bilingualism. The “harmless” influence of the source language, which started with borrowing lexical items, has led to an attack on the morphological-syntactic models of the borrowing language under the conditions of overbilingualism. In this case, it is important that the processes of foreign influence in this field of grammar are governed by the same general pattern of reducing to a common denominator of the languages in contact as observed in the field of phonology and lexis: In terms of the number of grammatical categories or their expression in the borrowing language compared to the source language, the existing difference is bridged by filling in the “blanks” or removing the “extra”.

13) Against the background of the morphological system of the Georgian language, the only openness or empty place in the case paradigm of the Tsovatush language is the lack of marked forms of vocative case. The openness is partial in the present case, since it lies only in the external indifference of vocative forms from nominative ones, while in terms of usage they are distinguished from the same nominative forms by a special pause, a strong stress, and a different relation with the members of the sentence. The Tsovatush language already tried to borrow the proper affix from the Georgian language for this case two centuries ago, it was a vowel  $\text{œ}$  (o), which resulted in the formal separation of the vocative case from the rest of the cases. Nonetheless, the language’s own morphological model soon took hold, the addressing forms with  $\text{œ}$  (o) formant were taken to the nominative case, thus, turning the borrowed case sign into a word-forming suffix and terminating the process of borrowing.

14) In the system of declension of nouns of the Tsovatush language, during the confrontation between human and object class nouns by two different ლ (s) and ვ (v) formants of the ergative case, the prevalence is observed in relation to the source language, where this confrontation is removed and the same suffix functions in both cases. Today, in the last period of bilingualism, the peculiarity of the Tsovatush speech of bilinguals of different ages is manifested in the different attitudes towards the mentioned suffix of the ergative case. Due to the fact that conscious activity is the prerogative of personal nouns, the ლ (s) formant of the human class noun extends the scope of action, which is fulfilled through the use of conventional parallel forms. There is a typical case of removing the excess in the morphology of the borrowing language under the influence of the source language.

15) The quantitative ratio of deriving formants of plural number creates a significant difference in the morphology of the nouns of the Georgian and Tsovatush languages, that is, the existing excess on the Tsovatush side: in Georgian this function is performed by one formant, while in the Tsovatush language the number of such formants reaches ten or more in various nouns. In the Tsovatush language, as a regular consequence of such an excess, the only formant of the number ო (i), which the Tsovatush language did not borrow from the source language but which it chose from the own formants, as the simplest and most compatible phonologically, begins to be generalized, while the other formants are gradually forgotten.

16) We have an interesting case of removing the excess in the morphology of nouns of the Tsovatush language in comparison with the source language even when the process of uniting the separate noun classes of man and woman into a new common class has already begun during the period of collective bilingualism. The

change has so far only affected common nouns, and hence only a certain group, in which the enrolment of the remaining common nouns is taking place with remarkable gradual progress. In the present case of interference, the surprisingly limited gradual nature of the establishment of morphological novelty is clearly observed, which strictly adheres to the requirement of the flexibility threshold of the language when introducing the novelty.

17) Regarding the verb of the Tsovatush language, the general linguistic provision on the special closeness-boundedness of this part of speech to interferential processes is fully justified. The only real empty space in relation to the morphological system of the Georgian verb was the lack of a voice category on the side of the Tsovatush verb. All other grammatical categories are common, though differently expressed, in both languages as much as they are related. As expected, in the course of time, the Tsovatush adopted from Georgian, that is, borrowed the entire system of the voice with its well-known subspecies, which are formed by the verbs of the active, passive and middle voices. In this case of assimilation, special attention is paid to the fact that all the formants needed to express a new grammatical category were derived by the Tsovatush language from its own inventory, that is, borrowing is also algebraic in this case.

18) The situation with respect to Georgian can only be conditionally called an empty place in the category of person of the Tsovatush language verb. The Tsovatush language system of expression of subjects or objects in a verb is based on the marks of class according to which the social value of subjects or objects is determined, while in the Georgian language the same morphological category characterizes the same persons according to the identity. The morphological mechanism of the grammatical class is as systematic and orderly as it is in the case of the category of person. Despite this, the Tsovatush language borrowed a new system of

expression of the person of a verb from Georgian during the second period of bilingualism. In this way, the Tsovatush language filled the conditional empty space in the morphological system of its verb with respect to the source language, resulting in a peculiar pleonasm, or a dual Tsovatush-Georgian model of expression of the same category, which even today, in the 4<sup>th</sup> period of bilingualism, is still used only in parallel with its own class system. The Tsovatush language did not bring formants from the source language for the new morphological category; Borrowing is algebraic this time as well.

19) A peculiar interferential novelty was observed in the morphology of the Tsovatush verb in relation to the category of aspect. In the earlier stages of bilingualism, the Tsovatush language incorporated borrowed verbs into its own phonological form and introduced them into its own system of expression of aspect. In the last 4<sup>th</sup> period, the demand for setting a complex phonological model of the borrowings of the Tsovatush language has already disappeared, and the borrowing language has found it difficult to include the aspect of the borrowed verbs in its own model of derivation. For this reason, in the recent period of bilingualism, the Georgian system based on the verb prefixes of the expression of aspect was introduced in the Tsovatush language only for the borrowed verbs.

20) It has been repeatedly stated in the literature that “not all elements of a linguistic system can pervade from one language to another in the same way: it is common, for example, in lexis, quite common in the field of sound system and syntactic constructions, but extremely limited in morphology” (Меџе). The given view on the depth and scale of the pervasion of interferential processes in the field of morphology is completely justified by the materials of Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism. From this point of view, the following circumstance is the most suggestive: only one (verb voice) of the three attempts to fill in the empty spots in the noun and verb



morphology of the Tsovatush language under the influence of the Georgian language has been established to the end, the second category (person category) still enjoys the right of parallelism only with the class category, and borrowing of the third category (vocative case) was soon reconsidered by the language. As for the also limited number of attempts of elimination of the existing excess in the morphology of the borrowing language under the influence of the source language, they still enjoy the right of parallel use only.

21) The special inaccessibility of the morphological system to interferential processes is also indicated by the fact that the Tsovatush language did not borrow a single formant from the source language to express the types of verb voice and person categories borrowed to fill in the empty spots for a long period of bilingualism, the language derived all of them from its own inventory. An interesting exception in this respect was the borrowed vocative case together with morphemes for nouns of certain group. The Tsovatush language soon re-evaluated these forms in terms of necessity, reinterpreted the case mark as a word-forming formant, and transferred the finished forms from vocative to nominative case as independent lexical units, thus ultimately disrupting the process of borrowing formants.

22) In terms of the viability of the language, the fact that the Tsovatush language created a new morphological category for the verbs of the passive voice completely independently during the highly developed overbilingualism, speaks a lot, according to which it becomes clear that the subject is voluntarily involved in the action-inaction process, or vice versa. Equally important is the fact that neither languages, related to the Tsovatush language, nor non-related neighbouring languages have this category of verbs. The main thing is that the Tsovatush language created a new morphological category when it was in real danger of switching to Georgian and the so-called intergenerational gap was already going on among those who spoke

the language. The idea that “language is alive as long as there are two people that speak it” is justified.

23) It is noteworthy that the more difficult the morphological interference is fulfilled in languages (with its long periods of initial, transitional, and final novelty), the faster and more pervasive the syntactic interference is when it comes to connection of sentences and functional load. Today in the Tsovatush language, whose morphology, despite the centuries-long active influence of the Georgian language, is still original and different from the morphology of the Georgian language; In terms of sentence construction and their functional load, almost complete parallelism is observed with the source language.

24) In terms of syntactic influence, a simple sentence creates a certain exception, in which we have only one order of main or second parts, and changes in the structure of the verb at the morphological level cannot change the sentence model. We have a different situation in this respect in combined or complex compound sentence and complex subordinate sentences, where different kinds of peculiarities may manifest themselves in the matter of homogenous members and homogenous simple sentences or a content-form relation of the main and dependent clauses.

25) At the modern level of bilingualism, the interrelationship models of the homogenous members of combined sentence with conjunctions in the Tsovatush language are completely similar in function to the Georgian one, which is why we already have the same three groups of disjunctive, grouping, and alternative conjunctions. From these types of conjunctions, the Tsovatush language has only grouping conjunctions of its own, and typically these conjunctions are completely different from the Georgian ones; In the disjunctive conjunctions, there are more units translated from the Georgian language or that are introduced untranslated, while all alternative conjunctions are Georgian and are introduced

untranslated. This situation provides a basis for considering the past stages of expressing the relationship between the homogenous members of a combined sentence of this language under the foreign influence.

26) When discussing interferential processes in relation to a compound sentence, attention is drawn to the fact that in the Tsovatush language, as well as in Georgian, equalization-equiparation of the functional-content relations is performed with mathematical accuracy, which we have, on the one hand, between homogenous members of a combined sentence, and on the other hand, between simple sentences having equal rights in complex compound sentences. In this particular case, the general linguistic universal of the reduction to a common denominator and simplification of identical events emerges.

The fact that the Tsovatush language uses its own, translated from Georgian or introduced from the Georgian language untranslated conjunctions of the same three groups in order to connect simple sentences of equal function in a compound sentence, which conjunctions have already been observed in relation to homogenous members of a combined sentence, is based on exactly this universal. In the combined or compound sentences of the modern Tsovatush language, two different systems oppose each other in terms of connection of the simple sentences or homogenous members with own and borrowed grouping conjunctions. The Tsovatush system itself is based on suffixes that are attached to a verb, while the Georgian system is based on conjunctions represented as independent words.

27) An interesting situation in terms of the depth and scale of interferential processes is also observed in the field of subordination of sentences, where own and borrowed systems of subordination function independently next to each other. This is not the usual

grammatical parallelism because these systems have sharply demarcated areas of action.

The most distinguished feature of the Tsovatush system of subordination itself is that the functional interrelationship of the verb forms of the main and dependent clauses is not defined by the conjunctions presented as separate or independent words, as it happens in Georgian, but by the subordinate suffixes attached to the specific tense form of the verb. In modern Tsovatush language, three types of dependent clauses are organized based on these subordinate suffixes, such as adverbial modifier of time-dependent clause, adverbial modifier of reason-dependent clause, and condition-dependent clause. Among them, the ancient model of the subordination of sentences is presented in the form of adverbial modifier of time-dependent clause, because here, unlike all other types of dependent clauses, the predicate expresses not tense but only an aspect. As it is well known, historically the tense was preceded by the aspect.

28) The Tsovatush language of the period of collective bilingualism conveyed with remarkable accuracy the models of subordination of sentences in its syntax, which created free spaces on its side in relation to the source language. It is interesting that the interference in this area of language did not end there. During the period of overbilingualism, the Tsovatush language also borrowed the models of subordination with the right of parallel use, which it had in its own inventory. Out of 15 types of sentence subordination functioning in this way in Georgian, more or less all of them are used in this language today. For this purpose, the Tsovatush language translated and carefully adapted its lexical items to the correlations of the subordinate sentence of the Georgian language or to the relative pronouns and adverbs of the same function.

29) Today, at the last stage of bilingualism, when grouping and subordinating conjunctions of various homogenous members or

sentences translated from the Georgian language or introduced directly without any translation arbitrarily enter and settle in the Tsovatush language, not a single case of replacing one's own archaic vowel suffix system with the same function with the Georgian one has been observed. It is reliably preserved by the centuries-old tradition of using and by a significant advantage of verbal language, which, in terms of the time and energy required to pronounce it, a vowel suffix communication system has compared to a conjunctional system presented as independent words.

30) It turns out that language resilience or adaptability to innovation has a certain limit, so it is inadmissible to make all possible changes at once. Only after certain realities have been established or brought into line with the limit of elasticity, as already released from the language, the new process will be involved in the interferential processes. At this point, the individual microsystem behaves as an independent unit in relation to the novelties, and the variable and unchanged parts act within a single microsystem. This is the reason why many independent hearths of interference can appear in a language at the same time. If the Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism continues to the end and at any stage there is no complete shifting of bilinguals to the source language, then the object of interference will gradually become all the differences in the borrowing language with respect to the source language.

31) At any level of the language hierarchy, interferential processes are governed by two requirements:

I) all the "empty" spots of the borrowing language that it has in relation to the source language, must be filled;

II) any "excess" that the borrowing language has in relation to the source language, must be eliminated.

It is this regularity that determines all the changes that have been observed in the lexis, phonology, morphology or syntax of the Tsovatush language in all four periods of bilingualism. In this way,

obviously, the peculiar equalization takes place in the languages in contact. This correlation between these two requirements and the Georgian-influenced changes in the Tsovatush language is so precise that the expected changes in the borrowing language can be predetermined by contrasting grammatical systems of the languages in contact.

32) The expanded or narrowed borrowings observed in the borrowing language at different levels of the language hierarchy show that at a high level of universal bilingualism and knowledge of the source language, two different language systems are understood-equalized in thinking of bilinguals. The main reason for such outcomes of bilingualism seems to be that people cannot think in several ways, just as for example it would be difficult to use different systems of numbers in parallel even for one and the same mathematical procedure. This is why there is an unconscious striving for the unification of languages, and the influence in this direction is as spontaneous and implicit as thinking process itself.

Given the situation in the Tsovatush language, it can be argued that interferential processes can never bring the languages in contact to the point where they can be combined into one language. Overbilingualism has a long way to pass as much as each innovation needs to establish its own tradition of using. Furthermore, according to the strict principle of language comprehension, several simultaneous innovations are inadmissible in the same microsystem. In fact, as evidenced by the recent period of Tsovatush-Georgian bilingualism, with the advent of overbilingualism, bilingual individuals begin to switch to the source language and interferential processes are terminated correspondingly. According to this, the issue of one language of the globalized world is raised differently.

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## Contents

Introduction .....	3
Part I.....	21
Interferential processes in vocabulary and phonology .....	21
Chapter 1.....	21
Processes of word borrowing and loss.....	21
in relation to the stages of bilingualism .....	21
Introduction.....	21
§ 1. Word borrowing and stages of bilingualism.....	22
§2. Parts of speech in terms of borrowings.....	34
§3. Loss of words.....	46
Chapter II.....	53
Types of lexical borrowings .....	53
Introduction.....	53
§1. Specifically Borrowed words.....	55
§2. Hybrid borrowings.....	68
§3. Replaced borrowings, or calques .....	72
§4. Extended borrowings .....	76
Chapter III.....	81
Phonological model of the Tsovatush language words and its reflection in the lexical borrowings .....	81
Introduction.....	81
§1. The word model of the Tsovatush language .....	82
§2. The process of vowel reduction in the Tsovatush language and its reflection in lexical borrowings.....	87
§3. Peculiarities of consonant distribution in Tsovatush language words and their reflection on the borrowings .....	102
Part II .....	113
Interferential processes in morphology and Syntax of Tsovatush language .....	113
Chapter I .....	113
Interferential Processes in morphology of nouns.....	113
Introduction.....	113
§1. Ergative case in terms of interference.....	114
§2. Plural forms of nouns.....	125
§ 3. “White spots” in the paradigm of noun declination .....	132
§4. Innovation in the grammatical class category of a noun..	141

§5. Parallel declination paradigms of.....	147
borrowed adjectives .....	147
Chapter II.....	156
Interferential processes in verb morphology.....	156
Introduction.....	156
§1. Dual Tush-Georgian model of expressing .....	158
the person of the verb.....	158
§2. Novelty in the expression system .....	172
of the perfective of the verb.....	172
§3. Category of voice – novelty in the morphology .....	179
of the Tsovatush verb.....	179
Chapter III.....	194
Tsovatush language syntax in terms of interference.....	194
Introduction.....	194
§1. Compound sentence in terms of interference.....	196
§2. Compound sentence .....	208
§3. The syntax of complex subordinate sentence .....	213
in terms of interference .....	213
Conclusions.....	224
References.....	239
Contents .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>



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