0. PRELIMINARIES

This paper addresses the grammaticalization paths of the prefix ko- in Megrelian.

THE KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES: Georgian, Megrelian, Laz, Svan
DATA USED: [Danelia, C’anava 1991]
CONSULTANTS: Maia Kerzaia (female, Zugdidi, 1980)
              Teona Samušia (female, Lia, 1986)
              Bagrat’ Kvaracxelia (male, Zugdidi, 1985)
              Bačana Šamatava (male, Soxumi, 1982)

The affirmative and negative particles in Megrelian are ko and var, respectively. They may be used as answers to yes-no questions.

(1) ti boš sk’an’i żima reno?

that boy-[NOM] your.SG-NOM brother-NOM S2/3-be-SM-S3SG-QST
Is that boy your brother?

(1a) ko, čkim żima re.

AFF my-[NOM] brother-NOM S2/3-be-SM-S3SG
Yes, he is my brother.

(1b) var, čkim żima vare.

NEG my-[NOM] brother-NOM NEG-S2/3-be-SM-S3SG
No, he is not my brother.

1. MORPHOTACTICS

Figure 1. The Megrelian Verb Template

[Roostvtev-Popiel 2007]

[SLOT -5: “STATUS”
AFF ko- (ko-, ku-, ka-, ko-, ki-, ke-, k-) vs. NEG va- (va-, ve-, vu-) vs. PFV ge- (ge-, ga-, go-)]

(2a) bošik ʔuča mort.

boy-R.EXT-ERG house-TERM PRV-S2/3-walk-[S3SG.PRT]
The boy came home.

(2b) bošik ʔuča kumor.

boy-R.EXT-ERG house-TERM AVF-PRV-S2/3-walk-[S3SG.PRT]
The boy did come home.
The boy did not come home.

[Mak‘ar Xubua 1942]:
The position of the **AFF ko-** is not restricted to the beginning of the word.

The slot -5 affixes never occur in non-finite verbal forms, and thus they are inflectional unlike the slot -4 affixes, namely derivational preverbs that also occur in masdars and participles

[Šerozia 2000]:

**ge-**  PERFECTIVE ASPECT (FUTURE)
**ko-**  AFFIRMATIVITY (PRESENT)
**va-**  NEGATION (PRESENT AND FUTURE)

NB! Co-occurrence of **ko-** and **va-** within a verbal form: the negative assertive question. Conventionalization of the **AFF ko-** already passed.

**vakumortuo?**
**va-ko-**mo-ø-rt-u-o
NEG-**AFF-PRV-S2/3-wall-S1SG.PRT-QST
didn’t X come? [=X unexpectedly came]

### 2. FUNCTIONS OF THE PREFIX **ko-**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>(MORPHOLOGICAL) SEMANTICS</th>
<th>(MORPHOLOGICAL) COUNTERPART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afirmativity</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volitionality</td>
<td>ko-</td>
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<tr>
<td>intentionality</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
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<td>contact</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completivity</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfectivity</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperativity</td>
<td>ko-</td>
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<tr>
<td>focus</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concessive conditionals</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1. AFFIRMATIVITY, VOLITIONALITY, AND INTENTIONALITY

YES-NO QUESTIONS

LAYERING

(6a) *pacxas osurep kumtorenano?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pacxa-s</th>
<th>osur-ep-[i]</th>
<th>ko-mu=to-ø-[o]r-en-an-o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitchen-DAT</td>
<td>woman-PL-[NOM]</td>
<td>AFF-PRV=PRV-Š2/3-be-SM-S3PL-QST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Are the women standing under the kitchen roof?

(6b) *ko, osurep pacxas mutorena.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko</th>
<th>osur-ep-[i]</th>
<th>pacxa-s</th>
<th>mu=to-ø-[o]r-en-a[n]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFF</td>
<td>woman-PL-[NOM]</td>
<td>kitchen-DAT</td>
<td>PRV=PRV-Š2/3-be-SM-S3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yes, the women are standing under the kitchen roof.

REAFFIRMATION OF THE KNOWN INFORMATION

(7) *ti boš sk’anj žima xo ko*?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ti</th>
<th>boš-[i]</th>
<th>skan-i</th>
<th>žima-Ø</th>
<th>xo</th>
<th>ko-Ø-[O]r-e[n]-Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>boy-[NOM]</td>
<td>your-SG-[NOM]</td>
<td>brother-NOM</td>
<td>indeed</td>
<td>AFF-S2/3-be-SM-S3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That guy is your brother, right?..

VOLITIONALITY: *One cannot want to feel terrible.*

(8a) *uareso vorekia uc’u dak.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uares-o</th>
<th>v-or-e[n]-k-i-a</th>
<th>ř-u-e’w-u</th>
<th>da[l]-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>worst-ADV</td>
<td>S1-be-SM-S1/2-SBM-QUOT</td>
<td>S2/3-VER0-tell-S3SG.PRT</td>
<td>sister-ERG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sister told X, ‘I am feeling terrible.’

(8b) *užgušo kuvorekia uc’u dak.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>užguš-o</th>
<th>ko-v-or-e[n]-k-i-a</th>
<th>ř-u-e’w-u</th>
<th>da[l]-k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>best-ADV</td>
<td>AFF-S1-be-SM-S1/2-SBM-QUOT</td>
<td>S2/3-VER0-tell-S3SG.PRT</td>
<td>sister-ERG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sister told X, ‘I am feeling excellent.’

INTENTIONALITY

(9a) *doxvad* (9b) *sadguris kudoxvad*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>do-ø-xvad-[u]</th>
<th>sadgur-i-s</th>
<th>ko-do-ø-xvad-[u]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRV-S2/3-meet-S3SG.PRT</td>
<td>train station-R.EXT-DAT</td>
<td>AFF-PRV-S2/3-meet-S3SG.PRT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X accidentally met Y  
X intentionally met Y at the train station
2.2. CONTACT VS. SEPARATION

[Hewitt 2004: 309]:
AFF ko- marks CONTACT, PRF ge- marks SEPARATION

(10a) \(\text{ušk'uri } \text{gemk'oc'ili!}\)
\[\text{ušk'ur-i } \text{ge-m[i]=k'o=ø-c'il-i}\]
apple-NOM PRF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{23}\)-pluck-IMP
Pluck the apple (off the tree)!

(10b) \(*\text{ušk'uri } \text{kimk'oc'ili!}\)
\[\text{ušk'ur-i } \text{ko-m[i]=k'o=ø-c'il-i}\]
apple-NOM AFF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{23}\)-pluck-IMP

(11a) \text{magidas } \text{kamk'udoxodi.}
\[\text{magida-s } \text{ko-m[i]=k'[o]-w-doxod-i-ø}\]
table-DAT AFF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{1}\)-sit-IND-S\(_{1/2}\)
I sat down to/at the side of the table.

(11b) \(*\text{magidas } \text{gamk'udoxodi.}\)
\[\text{magida-s } \text{ge-m[i]=k'[o]-w-doxod-i-ø}\]
table-DAT PRF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{1}\)-sit-IND-S\(_{1/2}\)

(12a) \text{ok'o } \text{kimk'apurt'inas}
\[\text{ø-o-k'-o[n] } \text{ko-m[i]=k'o-o-purt'in-a-s}\]
O\(_{3}\)-VER\(_{L}\)-хотеть-SM AFF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{23}\)/VER\(_{L}\)-spit-SUBJ-S\(_{3}\)
X must spit all over/around Y

(12b) \text{ok'o } \text{gemk'apurt'inas}
\[\text{ø-o-k'-o[n] } \text{ge-m[i]=k'[o]-w-doxod-i-ø}\]
O\(_{3}\)-VER\(_{L}\)-хотеть-SM PRF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{1}\)-sit-IND-S\(_{1/2}\)
X must spit to the side of (but not on) Y

2.3. COMPLETIVITY, PERFECTIVITY, AND IMPERATIVITY

COMPLETIVITY

(13a) \text{dirtu}
\[\text{ø-dirt-u}\]
S\(_{23}\)-turn-S\(_{3}\)SG.PRT
X (re)turned (and stopped half-turned)

(13b) \text{kidirtu}
\[\text{ko-ø-dirt-u}\]
AFF-S\(_{23}\)-turn-S\(_{3}\)SG.PRT
X turned around Y (i.e. made a full circle)

(14a) \text{odiares mišažan}
\[\text{o-diari-e-s } \text{mi=ša-ø-žan-[u]}\]
NOM\(_{LOC}\)-fodder-NOM\(_{LOC}\)-DAT PRV=PRV-S\(_{23}\)-lie-[S\(_{3}\)SG.PRT]
X is lying in the grass

(14b) \text{odiares kimšažan}
\[\text{o-diari-e-s } \text{ko-m[i]=ša-ø-žan-[u]}\]
NOM\(_{LOC}\)-fodder-NOM\(_{LOC}\)-DAT AFF-PRV=PRV-S\(_{23}\)-lie-[S\(_{3}\)SG.PRT]
X is lying in the grass with his/her head completely covered
PERFECTIVITY
PRESENT VS. FUTURE

(15a)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{sxap'unc} \\
\text{ø-sxap'-un-s} \\
\text{S}^{2\text{/3}} \text{-jump-SM-} S_{3}\text{SG} \\
X \text{ jumps/dances}
\end{array}
\]

(15b)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kosxap'unc} \\
\text{ko-ø-sxap'-un-s} \\
\text{AFF-S}^{2\text{/3}} \text{-jump-SM-} S_{3}\text{SG} \\
X \text{ will jump/dance}
\end{array}
\]

PERFECTIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE

(16a)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ašo mursani, tina gic'ins mudgarens.} \\
\text{ašo mo-ø-wl-s-} \text{ø-ni} \\
\text{hither PRV-S}^{2\text{/3}} \text{-walk-S}^{3}\text{SG-SBM-CMPL} \\
\text{On his/her way here X will tell you something.}
\end{array}
\]

(16b)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{tina gic'ins mudgarens, ašo kumursani.} \\
\text{tina g-i-c'w-in-s} \\
\text{that O}^{2}\text{-VERO-tell-SM-} S_{3}\text{PL} \\
X \text{ will tell you something when s/he comes here.}
\end{array}
\]

SINGLE ACTION VS. MULTIPLE ACTION

(17a)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dak txu muš žimas...} \\
\text{da[l]-k} \\
\text{sister-ERG S}^{2\text{/3}} \text{-ask-} S_{3}\text{SG-PRT} \\
\text{The girl requested X from her brother... (right now)}
\end{array}
\]

(17b)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dak kotxu muš žimas...} \\
\text{da[l]-k} \\
\text{sister-ERG AFF-S}^{2\text{/3}} \text{-ask-} S_{3}\text{SG-PRT} \\
\text{The girl requested X from her brother... (long ago)}
\end{array}
\]

IMPERATIVE VS. PRETERITE

(18a)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{te ambe mic'i.} \\
\text{te ambe-ø} \\
\text{this story-NOM O}^{1}\text{-VERO-tell-IND-} S_{1}\text{/2} \\
\text{You told me this story.}
\end{array}
\]

(18b)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{te ambe komic'i!} \\
\text{te ambe-ø} \\
\text{this story-NOM AFF-O}^{1}\text{-VERO-tell-IMP} \\
\text{Tell me this story!}
\end{array}
\]

2.3. FOCUS
PREDICATION FOCUS

(19a)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ti k'os oze kuwyu.} \\
\text{ti k'o[c]-s} \\
\text{that man-DAT garden-NOM AFF-O}^{3}\text{-VERO-have-SM-IMPF-[S}^{3}\text{SG-PRT]} \\
\text{That man had a garden.}
\end{array}
\]
The garden of that man was 25 meters long and 20 meters wide.

The wise man told him the truth.

Once Giorgi was in Germany, why didn’t he visit your house?

X asked you: ‘Where are you driving?’ (It’s a usual question of a hitch-hiker.)
2.5. **FOCUS REVISITED: THE WH QUESTION CONSTRAINT**

WH-FOCUS VS. PREDICATION FOCUS (THE CASE OF HUMANLIKE ARGUMENTS)

(23a) \(\text{očxoules milare čxou.}\)
\[\text{očxou}[\text{loc}]-\text{e-s} \quad \text{mi=la-ø-[o]-r-e[n]-ø} \quad \text{čxou}[\text{loc}]-\text{ø}\]
\(\text{NOM}_{\text{loc}}\text{-cow-NOM}_{\text{loc}}\text{-DAT} \quad \text{PRV=PRV}\text{-S}_{2/3}\text{-be-SM-S}_{3}\text{SG} \quad \text{cow-NOM}\)

The **cow** is/lives in the cowshed.

(23b) \(\text{ate ḟudes kmilare čkim možgire.}\)
\[\text{ate ḟude-s} \quad \text{ko-[m[i]=la-ø-[o]-r-e[n]-ø} \quad \text{čkim-[i]} \quad \text{mo-ʒgir-e-ø}\]
this **house**-DAT **AFF**-PRV=PRV\text{-S}_{2/3}\text{-be-SM-S}_{3}\text{SG} **my-[NOM]** SUBST-good-SUBST-NOM

My close **friend** lives in this house.

(23c) \(\text{atak mi milare?}\)
\[\text{atak} \quad \text{mi[n]-ø} \quad \text{mi=la-ø-[o]-r-e[n]-ø}\]
over here **who-NOM** PRV=PRV\text{-S}_{2/3}\text{-be-SM-S}_{3}\text{SG}

**Who** lives over here?

WH-FOCUS VS. CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL RULE

(24a) \(\text{mi rekiada mušen vauc’i?}\)
\[\text{mi[n]-ø} \quad \text{ø-[o]-r-e[n]-k-i-a-da} \quad \text{mušen} \quad \text{va-ø-u-c’w-i-ø}\]
who-DAT **S}_{2/3}\text{-be-SM-S}_{1/2}\text{-SBM-QUOT-COND}** why **NEG-O}_{3}\text{-VER}_{0}\text{-tell-IND-S}_{1/2}\)

Once X asked you: ‘Who are you?’ why didn’t you answer?

(24b) \(\text{*mi korekiada mušen vauc’i?}\)
\[\text{mi[n]-ø} \quad \text{ko-[o]-r-e[n]-k-i-a-da} \quad \text{mušen} \quad \text{va-ø-u-c’w-i-ø}\]
who-DAT **AFF-S}_{2/3}\text{-be-SM-S}_{1/2}\text{-SBM-QUOT-COND}** why **NEG-O}_{3}\text{-VER}_{0}\text{-tell-IND-S}_{1/2}\)

3. **GRAMMATICALIZATION PATHS OF THE PREFIX ko-**

**KEY NOTIONS FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION MAPPING: FOCUS AND AFFIRMATIVITY.**

**FIGURE 3. GRAMMATICALIZATION MAPPING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOCUS</th>
<th>COMPLETIVITY</th>
<th>PERFECTIVITY</th>
<th>IMPERATIVES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CONTACT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIRMATIVITY</th>
<th>VOLITIONALITY</th>
<th>INTENTIONALITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALITY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefixed forms develop from analytic constructions of the \(\text{ko + verb}\) type. Such constructions are likely to occur in high focus environments [Klein-Andreu 1990]. For the earlier stages of grammaticalization, forms expressing completion are under emphasis [Bybee et al. 1994: 74]. Development along the regularity scale: compleitives–perfectives–imperatives. Another direction: completivity–contact.
Affirmativity is the source meaning of verbal forms that express volition and intention. Another direction: concessive conditionals reaffirm the fact in the past which results in the reality that goes against speaker’s expectations.

**ETYMOLOGY OF THE AFFIRMATIVE PARTICLE ko-**

GZ *kwe-, GEO k(w)e, MEGR ko, LAZ ko, ‘affirmative particle’

(25) _me ke ver geijke, č emo k’argo,_

GEO _me ke ver ga-v-i-g-e-ø čem-o k’arg-o_

\[\text{I:ERG DP NEG PRV-S1-VER3-(understand)-IND-S1/2 my-VOC good-VOC} \]

**As for me, I couldn’t understand this, my dear,**

_mara bič’ebma k’i geiges._

magram bič’eb-ma k’i ga-o-i-g-es

but boy-PL-ERG indeed PRV-S2/3-VER5-(understand)-S3PL.PRT

but my friends could.

**AFFIRMATIVITY DERIVES HERE FROM FOCUS.**

A case study of the Portuguese word *pois* that passed the following stages of grammaticalization:

[LOCATIVE ADVERB] > TEMPORAL ADVERB/PREPOSITION/CONJUNCTION > CAUSAL ADVERB/CONJUNCTION > DISCOURSE MARKER > AFFIRMATION MARKER > PHATIC MARKER [Lima 2002]

**ETYMOLOGY OF THE SPATIAL TERM ‘DOWN’**

PK *kwe-, GEO kwe- ‘down(wards), below’, SVAN ču- ‘down(wards)’

**THE USE OF THE SVAN PREVERB ču- IN YES-NO QUESTIONS**

(26a) _c’andol’d bepšw čwadmām mo?_

SVAN _c’andol’d bepšw-ø ču=ad-o-mam-e mo _

bedbug-ERG bedbug-NOM PRV=PRV-O3-eat-PRT QST

Did the bedbug sting the child?

(26b) _ču._

SVAN _ču_

PRV

Yes, already.

**4. CONCLUSION**

**FIGURE 4. THE COGNATES OF THE PK *kwe ‘below, down’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PK</th>
<th>LOCATIVE ADVERB</th>
<th>POSTPOSITION</th>
<th>PREVERB</th>
<th>DISCOURSE MARKER</th>
<th>AFFIRMATIVE PARTICLE</th>
<th>INFLectionAL PREFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GZ</td>
<td>*kwe</td>
<td>-ču</td>
<td>ču-</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVAN</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td></td>
<td>ču-</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEO</td>
<td>kwe-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ču-</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ču</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEGR</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>[ko]</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HYPOTHESIS
The semantics of the particle *ko* that grammaticalized into the inflectional prefix and the affirmative semantics of the particle *ko* in Modern Megrelian must not be viewed as one. It was probably the discourse particle that grammaticalized into the focal marker and further resulted in target meanings that we have now in the verb, and there was a different, though a related process of development into the affirmative particle which exists as a separate word in Modern Megrelian—parallel to the inflectional prefix.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbial case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFF</td>
<td>affirmative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMPL</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative case</td>
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<td>DEST</td>
<td>destinative case</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>discourse particle</td>
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<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative case</td>
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<td>EQT</td>
<td>equative (adjectives)</td>
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<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive case</td>
</tr>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
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<td>IMPF</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
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<tr>
<td>INCH.PASS</td>
<td>inchoative passive</td>
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<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>indicative</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPFV.PRV</td>
<td>imperfectivizing preverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSD</td>
<td>masdar, nomen actionis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negation marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM&lt;sub&gt;LOC&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>nomen loci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object person marker</td>
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<td>R</td>
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<td>R.EXT</td>
<td>root extension</td>
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