

Complementation in the Kartvelian Languages¹

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1 General properties of Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages

The Kartvelian languages (KL) include Georgian (Geo), Svan (Svn), Megrelian (Megr) and Chan/Laz. They are spoken mainly in Georgia, but also in the north-eastern part of present day Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan. Megrelian and Chan/Laz² are closely related and considered to be dialects of the Zan language (cf. Chikobava 1936:3). The KL are not mutually intelligible, with the possible exception for Megrelian and Chan/Laz.

Georgian is the only KL that has a standardized literary language, which is used as the common literary language for the Kartvelian peoples in Georgia. Georgian is written with the Georgian script³. The earliest inscriptions known of Old Georgian date back to the 5th century AC. There is a rich literature on the KL. A major part focusses on Old and Modern Georgian and has been published in Georgian. Below we give a short introduction to the KL, for details we refer to some general studies of the different KL – *Old Georgian*: Marr 1925, Schanidze 1982, Fähnrich 1991; *Modern Georgian*: Chikobava 1950, Tschenkéli 1958, Vogt 1971, Shanidze 1980, Harris 1981, Aronson 1982; *Megrelian*: Kipshidze 1914, Chikobava 1938, Kiziria 1967, Harris 1991; *Chan/Laz*: Marr 1910, Chikobava 1936, Holisky 1991; *Svan*: Topuria 1931, 1967, Gudjedjiani & Palmaitis 1986, Schmidt 1991.

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² In this article we do not consider Chan/Laz but limit ourselves to Megrelian.

³ For details about the Georgian script, see Gamqrelidze 1989, Birdsall 1991.

1.2 Main word order patterns

Word order in the KL is relatively free. The main word order pattern is SOV, with SVO as a common alternative order. The order within the NP is predominantly head final (1a-b), with the exception of relative clauses (1c) and clausal attributes.

- (1) a. čkim žimak'oč-iš sum sk'vam dalen-k kumortes
my friend-GEN three beautiful sister.PL-ERG SBJ3PL.come.AOR
'my friend's three beautiful sisters arrived' Megr
- b. čemi megobr-is sami lamazi da čamovida
my friend-GEN three beautiful sister.NOM SBJ3SG.come.AOR
'my friend's three beautiful sisters arrived' Geo
- c. čxomi, namuti šiicode do gut'e
fish.NOM, REL.NOM SBJ2SG.OBJ3.pity.AOR and SBJ2SG.OBJ3.let.go.AOR
ni, ma vordi
that I SBJ1SG.be.IMP
'I was the fish that you felt sorry for and let go off.' Megr
(Kipshidze 1914:11)

Noun phrases with attributes following the head also occur (2), but are marked stylistically as more archaic or poetic. Postposed attributes was more common in Old Georgian (Old Geo) (2b).

- (2) a. sakme sakebi b. saxli mamisa čemisaj
act praiseworthy house.NOM father.GEN my.GEN.NOM
'a praiseworthy act' Geo 'my father's house' Old Geo
(Schanidse 1982:176)

1.3 Nominal and verbal morphology

1.3.1 Nouns

The KL have fairly rich case systems (cf. Table 1), realized on nouns and third person pronouns. The cases nominative, ergative (or narrative) and dative are the syntactic cases, marking subject and objects. We keep the traditional case labels here; nominative, ergative etc. despite that fact that they do not fully correspond to the use in more familiar European languages (cf. section 1.4).

Plural is marked by a suffix preceding the case marker: *nigoz-n-i/nigoz-eb-i* Old Geo ‘walnut-PL-NOM’, *gogo-eb-is* Geo ‘girl-PL-GEN’, *cir-ep-iš* Megr ‘girl-PL-GEN’. Gender is not distinguished morphologically, not even in third person pronouns: *is* ‘he/she/it.NOM’, *man* ‘he/she/it.ERG’, *mas* ‘he/she/it.DAT’ Geo.

Table 1. Cases in (Old) Georgian, Megrelian and Svan

	<i>Old Georgian</i> ‘man’	<i>Georgian</i> ‘man’	<i>Megrelian</i> ‘woman, wife’	<i>Svan</i> ⁴ ‘man’
Base form	k’ac	-	-	-
Nominative/Absolute	k’ac-i	k’ac-i	osur-i	märe-ø
Ergative/Narrative	k’ac-man	k’ac-ma	osur-k	mär-em
Dative	k’ac-s(a)	k’ac-s	osur-s	mar-a
Genitive	k’ac-is(a)	k’ac-is	osur-iš	mär-em
Instrumental	k’ac-it(a)	k’ac-it	osur-it	mar-o-šw
Adverbial/Transformative	k’ac-ad	k’ac-ad	osur-o	mar-a-d
Additive	k’ac-isa	-	-	-
Allative	-	-	osur-iša	-
Ablative	-	-	osur-iše	-
Destinative	-	-	osur-išo(t)	-

1.3.2 Verbs

The morphological structure of the verb is complex. Verb forms in the KL are divided into groups (series), that share certain morphological and syntactic features, involving agreement marking, TAM-affixes and case assignment properties (see section 1.4). Table 2 shows the division into TAM-series of transitive verb forms with third person singular subject and third person object in Modern Georgian (Shanidze 1980:223) and Megrelian (Chumburidze 1986:134-135).

⁴ Lower Bal dialect, declension II, cited from Topuria (1967:80). Svan has a more complicated system than the other KL with four declensions.

Table 2. Tense-aspect-mood (TAM) series

		<i>Georgian</i>	<i>Megrelian</i>
TAM-I	Present	c'ers ('he writes it')	č'aruns ('he writes it')
	Future	dac'ers	doč'aruns
	Future imperf.	-	č'arundas iʔuapu
	Imperfect	c'erda	č'arundu
	Subjunctive pres.	c'erdes	č'arundas
	Subjunctive fut.	dac'erdes	doč'arundas
	Habitual	dac'erda	doč'arundu
	Conditional pres.	-	č'arunduk'o(n) ⁵
	Conditional fut.	-	doč'arunduk'o(n)
	Conditional imperf.	-	č'arunduk'on iʔuapudu
TAM-II	Aorist	dac'era	doč'aru
	Optative	dac'eros	doč'aras
	Conditional II	-	doč'aruk'o(n)
TAM-III	Perfect (Evid. 1)	(da)uc'eria	(du)uč'aru(n)
	Pluperf. (Evid. 2)	(da)ec'era	(du)uč'arudu
	Perfect subj.	(da)ec'eros	(du)uč'arudas
	Conditional III	-	(du)uč'aruduk'o(n)
TAM-IV	Evidential 3	-	noč'arue(n)
	Evidential 4	-	noč'aruedu
	Subjunctive IV	-	noč'aruedas
	Conditional IV	-	noč'arueduk'o(n)

1.3.3 Agreement markers

Georgian and Megrelian have two sets of agreement markers, the 'v-series' and 'm-series' (where *v-* and *m-* stand for the markers of the first person). The *v*-series is primarily associated with the subject and *m*-series with the object(s). Agreement markers are illustrated from Georgian (Table 3).

Agreement markers are used for subjects and objects in the first and second persons and for third person indirect objects before certain consonants *v-h-p'arav* 'I steel it from him', *v-s-txove* 'I asked him it', *mi-v-s-c'ere* 'I wrote it to him'.

Note that the notional subject of transitive verbs is marked by the *m*-series markers in TAM-III (cf. example (7e)).

⁵ The suffix *-k'o*, that is found in the conditional forms has developed from *ok'o* 'must, have to' (Kiziria 1982:127).

Table 3. Agreement markers (Geo)

<i>v-series</i>		<i>m-series</i>	'I paint it' etc.		'he paints me' etc.	
	pl.suff.		pl.suff.	S O	S O	
1SG	v-		m-	1SG 3	v-xat'av	3 1SG m-xat'avs
2SG	ø-, h-, x-, s-		g-	2SG 3	ø-xat'av	3 2SG g-xat'avs
1PL	v- -t		gv-	1PL 3	v-xat'av-t	3 1PL gv-xat'avs
2PL	ø-, h-, x-, s- -t		g- -t	2PL 3	ø-xat'av-t	3 2PL g-xat'av-t

1.3.4 Masdars

A category with both nominal and verbal features is the so-called masdar, or *saxelzmna* 'nounverb' (Shanidze 1980:557-565). Masdars are derived from the present or future form of the verb: *(ga)-v-a-k'et-eb* 'I do (I will do)' gives *(ga)-k'et-eb-a*. Masdars do not include agreement markers, but may include the following markers (examples from Geo): preverbs with aspectual function (*c'era*, *da-c'era* 'writing', writing to a completion', *k'eteba*, *ga-k'eteba* 'doing, doing to a completion'), preverbs with directional function (*mi-svla*, *mo-svla* 'coming here (to 1st or 2nd person), going there (to 3rd person)' *mi-cema*, *mo-cema* 'giving (to 1st or 2nd person), giving (to 3rd person)', causative (*gak'eteba*, *gak'eteb-in-eba* 'doing, cause-doing', *ašeneba*, *ašeneb-in-eba* 'building, cause-building'). A limited number of masdars differentiate intransitive and transitive forms, as *gorva*, *goreba* 'rolling by itself; rolling, being pushed' (Shanidze 1980:560).

In Megrelian masdars are formed by adding the suffixes *-a*, *-ua* etc. to the verbal stem (Kipshidze 1914:93). There is also a second form of masdar, characterized by the circumfix *o-* *-u*. Kiziria (1982:296-297) and Lomtadze (1987:81-82) consider this to be the original masdar in the Zan language. It is possible to derive the two forms from most verbs: *o-gurap-u*, *gurap-a* 'studying', *o-c'amal-u*, *c'amal-ua* 'healing', *o-nadir-u*, *nadirob-a* 'hunting' and *o-k'eteb-u*, *k'eteb-a* 'doing'. The two forms share some features, but also exhibit differences, as discussed below in examples (60a-b).

1.4 Simple clause structure

The KL are well-known for their complex system of case and agreement marking. We will not go into details about the systems here, but refer to Boeder 1979, Anderson 1984, Harris 1985.

Two main factors determine clause structure: verb type and choice of TAM-series. Simplifying the picture, verbs may be divided into (1) transitive and activity verbs (dance, play, sing etc.), (2) emotive and cognition verbs, and (3) other, usually non-active, verbs. In Georgian, verbs of types (2) and (3) follow two different case marking patterns, with the notional subject in the dative (3a) and the nominative (3b), respectively. The patterns are stable across the TAM-series.

- (3) a. nodar-s avic'qdeba / daavic'qda /
 Nodar-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.PRS(I)/ SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.AOR(II)/
 davic'qebia leks-i
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.PERF(III) poem-NOM
 'Nodar forgets/forgot/ has (apparently) forgotten the poem.' Geo
- b. nodar-i rčeba / darča /
 Nodar-NOM SBJ3SG.remain.PRES(I) / SBJ3SG.remain.AOR(II)
 darčenila sopel-ši
 SBJ3SG.remain.PERF(III) village-in
 'Nodar stays / stayed / has (apparently) stayed in the village.' Geo

The case marking associated with verbs of type (1) is more complex, as each TAM-series is characterized by its own pattern. Below the patterns are illustrated with a verb form belonging to each of the three TAM-series (I-III): Georgian (4a-c), Old Georgian (5a-c) and Svan (6a-c). The subject is marked by the nominative (I), ergative (II) and dative (III) cases. The direct object takes the following cases: dative (I) and nominative (II-III). An indirect object is marked by the dative case in I-II. In TAM-III it is not accommodated in the verb form, but is realized as a PP with the postposition *tvis* 'for'.

- (4) a. k'ac-i 3ma-s c'eril-s sc'ers
 man-NOM brother-DAT letter-DAT SBJ3SG.IO3SG.OBJ3.write.PRS(I)
 'The man writes/is writing a letter to his brother.' Geo
- b. k'ac-ma 3ma-s c'eril-i misc'era
 man-ERG brother-DAT letter-NOM SBJ3SG.IO3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR(II)
 'The man wrote a letter to his brother.' Geo
- c. k'ac-s 3m-is(a)-tvis c'eril-i miuc'eria
 man-DAT brother-GEN-for letter-NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.PERF(III)
 '(Apparently) the man has written a letter to his brother.' Geo
- (5) a. mgel-i šešč'ams cxovar-sa
 wolf.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.eat.FUT(I) lamb-DAT
 'The wolf will eat the lamb.' (Schanidse 1982:172) Old Geo

- b. mgel-man šec'ama cxovar-i
 wolf.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.eat.AOR(II) lamb-NOM
 'The wolf ate the lamb.' Old Geo
- c. mgel-s šeuč'amies cxovar-i
 wolf-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.eat.PERF(III) lamb-NOM
 'The wolf has eaten the lamb.' Old Geo
- (6) a. al ma:re kor-s agem
 this man.NOM house-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.build.PRS(I)
 'This man builds a house.' Svn
- b. al ma:ra-d kor adge
 this man-ERG house.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.build.AOR(II)
 'This man built a house.' Svn
- c. al ma:r-a(s) otga kor
 this man-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.build.PERF(III) house.NOM
 'This man has built a house.' (Gudjedjani & Palmaitis 1986:26-27) Svn

Note that there is no ergative pattern of agreement marking in TAM-II. The *v*-series agreement markers are triggered by subjects in both TAM-I and TAM-II (7a, c), and the *m*-series by objects (7b, d). In TAM-III, the notional subject is marked by the dative case (7f) but triggers the *m*-series agreement markers (7e).

- (7) a. (me) nodar-s c'eril-s v-s-c'er
 I Nodar-DAT letter-DAT SBJ1SG-IO3-OBJ3.write.PRS(I)
 'I write a letter to Nodar.' Geo
- b. nodar-i (me) c'eril-s m-c'er-s
 Nodar-NOM I letter-DAT IO1SG-OBJ3.write-SBJ3SG.PRS(I)
 'Nodar writes a letter to me.' Geo
- c. (me) nodar-s c'eril-i mi-v-s-c'er-e
 I Nodar-DAT letter-NOM prev-SBJ1SG-IO3-OBJ3.write-SBJ1.AOR(II)
 'I wrote a letter to Nodar.' Geo
- d. nodar-ma (me) c'eril-i mo-m-c'er-a
 Nodar-ERG I letter-NOM prev-IO1SG-OBJ3.write-SBJ3SG.AOR(II)
 'Nodar wrote a letter to me.' Geo
- e. (me) nodar-is(a)-tvis c'eril-i da-mi-c'er-ia
 I Nodar-GEN-for letter-NOM prev-SBJ1SG-OBJ3.write.PERF(III)
 '(Apparently) I have written a letter to Nodar.' Geo

- f. nodar-s čem-tvis c'eril-i da-u-c'eria
 Nodar-DAT my.GEN-for letter-NOM prev-SBJ3SG-OBJ3.write.PERF(III)
 '(Apparently) Nodar has written a letter to me.' Geo

Megrelian differs from Georgian (including Old Georgian) and Svan in two respects. The (ergative) case marker *-k* has been generalized to be the only (formal) subject case in TAM-II (8b-d), thus markedly departing from the ergative prototype (cf. Chikobava 1948, Klimov 1967). Megrelian distinguishes a fourth TAM-series, which has the same case marking pattern as TAM-I.

- (8) a. omar-i žima-s kayard-s uč'aruns
 Omar-NOM brother-DAT letter-DAT SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.PRS(I)
 'Omar writes a letter to his brother.' Megr
- b. omar-k žima-s kayardə kemeč'aru
 Omar-ERG brother-DAT letter.NOM SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR(II)
 'Omar wrote a letter to his brother.' Megr
- c. omar-k doγuru
 Omar-ERG SBJ3SG.die.AOR(II)
 'Omar died.' Megr
- d. mzia-s keʔoropu⁶ omar-k
 Mzia-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.fall.in.love.AOR(II) Omar-ERG
 'Mzia fell in love with Omar.' Megr
- e. omar-s žima-ša kayardə kemuč'arudu
 Omar-DAT brother-ALL letter.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.PLUP(III)
 '(Apparently) Omar had written a letter to his brother.' Megr
- f. omar-i žima-s / -šo(t) kayard-s
 Omar-NOM brother-DAT / -DEST letter-DAT
 noč'arue
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.EVID3(IV)
 '(Apparently) Omar wrote a letter to his brother.' Megr

1.5 Pro-drop

Non-emphatic personal pronouns – subjects as well as objects – are preferably dropped. Looking at a complement clause in Georgian, as in (9), the subjunctive verb form

⁶ This is a verb of the emotive type, where the notional subject is marked as an indirect object and the notional object as a subject.

includes markers of the subject and, if transitive, also of the object, which means that some reflex of the subject is always present – whether the subject is realized as an overt NP or not.

- (9) (me) v-s-txov (mas), (rom) (man)
 I SBJ1SG-IO3-OBJ3.ask.PRS he.DAT, that (he.ERG)
 eteri saxl-ši gaacilos
 Eteri.NOM home-to SBJ3SG.OBJ3.accompany.OPT
 ‘I ask him to see Eteri home.’ Geo

2 Types of complementation

Subordinate clauses in the KL has been the topic of several studies, among them Abesadze 1963, Martirosovi 1955, Kiziria 1969 and Chkhubianishvili 1972 on Old Georgian; Ertelishvili 1963, Dzidziguri 1969, Kvachadze 1977, Kotinovi 1986, Hewitt 1987, and Vamling 1989 on Modern Georgian; and Abesadze 1965, Vamling and Tchantouria 1991, 1993 on Megrelian.

Complement clauses in the KL may be characterized as predominantly finite, with the predicate of the subordinate clause in indicative (10a-c) or subjunctive (11a-c) forms. Subordinate complement clauses formed by complementisers are found in all the KL – *rom* Geo, *ere* Svn, *namda*, *ni* Megr, *na* Chan ‘that’, *rametu*, *vitarmed*, *vitarmca* (Ertelishvili 1963:270) Old Geo ‘that’.

- (10) a. (ma) b-žers (tik) kayardə
 (I) SBJ1SG-OBJ3.believe.PRS (he.ERG) letter.NOM
 doč’aru-ni
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR-that
 ‘I believe that he wrote the letter.’ Megr
- b. (mi) mažrawa, ere ežnem čwadijre
 (I) SBJ1SG.OBJ3.believe.PRS that he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR
 lājir
 letter.NOM
 ‘I believe that he wrote the letter.’ Svn
- c. mžera, rom (man) c’eril-i
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.believe.PRS that (he.ERG) letter-NOM
 dac’era
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR
 ‘I believe that he wrote the letter.’ Geo

- (11) a. (ma) b-txi tis kayardə
(I) SBJ1SG-IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR he.DAT letter.NOM

doč'aruk'on
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.COND2
'I asked him to write the letter.' Megr
- b. (mi) ka hwähr, ere ežnem läjr
(I) PRT SBJ1SG-IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR that he.ERG letter.NOM
čwatijras
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
'I asked him to write the letter.' Svn
- c. (me) v-s-txove mas, rom c'erili
(I) SBJ1SG-IO3-OBJ3.ask.AOR he.DAT that letter.NOM

daec'era
SBJ3.OBJ3.write.PLUP
'I asked him to write the letter.' Geo

Old Georgian examples with the complementizers *rametu* and *vitarmed* 'that' (cited from Hewitt 1987:231-232; our glosses) are given in (12):

- (12) a. nu hgonebt vitarmed moved mipenad
not SBJ2PL.OBJ3.think.PRS that SBJ1SG.come.AOR spread.INF

mšwidobisa
peace.GEN
'Don't think that I came to spread peace.' Old Geo
- b. moeqsena ..., rametu amistwis it'q'oda
SBJ3SG.OBJ3PL.remember.AOR that this-about SBJ3SG.OBJ3.say.IMP
'They recalled that he used to speak of this.' Old Geo

In earlier stages of Old Georgian a complement type with the modal particle *mca* and the complement verb in the indicative was found (13a). The subjunctive complement type (13b) was also used in parallel and prevails in the later Old Georgian texts.

- (13) a. da zraxva qves mistvis, rajta-mca
and agreement.NOM SBJ3PL.OBJ3.do.AOR he.for to-PRT

c'arc'qmides igi
SBJ3PL.OBJ3.destroy.AOR he.NOM
'... and they agreed to destroy him' (Kotinovi 1986:54) Old Geo

- b. da zraxva qves mistvis, rajta
 and agreement.NOM SBJ3PL.OBJ3.do.AOR he.for to
 c'arc'qmidon igi
 SBJ3PL.OBJ.destroy.OPT he.NOM
 '... and they agreed to destroy him' (Kotinovi 1986:54) Old Geo

Infinitives are lacking in the modern KL. However, in Old Georgian a form with infinitive-like properties was used. The form originates from a masdar in the adverbial case. It is found in Old Georgian texts from the 5th-10th centuries, but gradually disappeared (Martirosovi 1955:45). Example cited from Chkhubianishvili 1972:41.

- (14) umžobes ars čemda micemad igi šenda, vidre micemad
 better be.PRS for.me give.INF she.ABS to.you than give.INF
 igi sxuasa kmarsa
 she.ABS other.DAT man.DAT
 'It's better for me to give her to you, than to another man.' Old Geo

The only non-finite form that occurs in complement clauses in the modern KL is the masdar. The masdar is case marked by the matrix verb as an ordinary noun. In the examples below it functions as the direct object, marked by the dative case when the verb form belongs to TAM-I. In contrast to the Old Georgian infinitive, the object of the masdar is marked by the genitive case (section 3.9).

- (15) a. v-ocaduk kayard-iš č'arua-s
 SBJ1SG-OBJ3.try.PRS letter-GEN writing-DAT
 'I try to write a letter.' Megr
 b. mi žixwiguwše lājriš lijris
 I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.try.FUT letter.GEN writing.DAT
 'I try to write a letter.' Svn
 c. v-cdilob c'eril-is c'era-s
 SBJ1SG-OBJ3.try.PRS letter-GEN writing-DAT
 'I try to write a letter.' Geo

3 Internal structure

3.1 Complementisers

The complementisers *rom* Geo, *ere* Svn and *namda*, *ni* Megr 'that' are found with verbs in both indicative and subjunctive forms. According to Abesadze 1963 both

complementizers *rom* Geo and *namda* Megr ‘that’ are historically derived from the relative pronouns *rom-el* Geo, *namu* Megr ‘which’.

Megrelian differs from the other languages in that it has two complementisers, *namda* and the enclitic complementiser *-ni* (or reduced forms of *-ni*). Kipshidze (1914:140-141) treats *ni* as an enclitic subjunction. The stress is attracted to the end of the host. The final element in the clause is usually a verb, but other parts of speech also occur, illustrated here with a noun (16a) and an adverb (16b).

- (16) a. ešaažinə casə ni kožirə,
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.look.at.AOR sky.NOM when SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR
- muč’oti obris ʔundu ni
 how / that eagle.DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.have.AOR that
 ‘When she looked at the sky, she saw that the eagle had him.’ Megr
 (Kipshidze 1914:39)
- b. kimertə xološa ni, kožirə ndemepi žiri
 SBJ3SG.walk.AOR closer when SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR giant.PL.NOM two
- artiancə kaark’inəna ni
 each other SBJ3PL.OBJ3.fight.PRS that
 ‘When he walked up closer, he saw that two giants were fighting each other.’
 (Kipshidze 1914:82) Megr

Namda is restricted to subordinate clauses following the matrix, whereas *ni* does not show the same restrictions. It is found both in subordinate, mostly adverbial, clauses preceding the matrix clause and in postposed complement clauses (Abesadze 1965:246-250).

- (17) čaismenkə geginočə zožua, namda žimušiercə
 Čaismen.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.issue.AOR order.NOM that žimušier.DAT
- k’vercxi mitinkə va ažirək’o ni
 egg.NOM nobody.ERG not SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.show.COND2 that
 ‘Čaismen issued an order that nobody was to show the egg to žimušier.’
 (Kipshidze 1914:73) Megr

Apart from complement clauses (16a), *ni* occurs in relative clauses (18a) and clefts (b), as well as adverbial clauses: temporal (c), conditional (d) and purpose clauses (e).

- (18) a. *bʒiri ti k'oči t'qaše dišk'a*
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.see.AOR that man.NOM forest.ABL wood
muyudu ni
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.carry.AOR that
 'I saw the man who carried wood from the forest.'
 (also 'I saw the man when he carried wood from the forest.') Megr
- b. *soša re meurkə ni? – k'itxə*
 where.to SBJ3SG.be.PRS SBJ2SG.go.PRS that – SBJ3SG.OBJ3.ask.PRS
p'ap'ak
 priest.ERG
 'Where is it you are going to?' – the priest asked.' (Kipshidze 1914:7) Megr
- c. *maxiolə žima kobʒiri*
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.be.delighted.AOR brother.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.see.AOR
ni
 when/(that)
 'I was delighted when I saw my brother.' Megr
- d. *lexi dosk'idu c'amals*
 sick.person.NOM SBJ3SG.recover.FUT medicine.DAT
kumuyanki n(i)
 SBJ2SG.OBJ3.bring.FUT if/(when)
 'The sick person will recover if you bring him medicine.' Megr
- e. *tik mdinare-ša idu čxomi oč'opasə n(i)*
 he.ERG river-ALL SBJ3SG.go.AOR fish.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.catch.OPT to
 'He went to the river to fish.' Megr

Likewise, Georgian *rom* is not limited to complement clauses. It is used in conditional (19a), purpose (b), temporal (c), and relative clauses (d).

- (19) a. *es rom mcodnoda, dagirek'avdi*
 it.NOM if SBJ1SG.OBJ3.know.PLUP SBJ1SG.IO2SG.call.HAB
 'If I had known about it, I would have called you.' Geo
- b. *c'avida, rom p'uri iqidos*
 SBJ3SG.go.AOR to bread.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.buy.OPT
 'He went to buy bread.' Geo
- c. *es rom dainaxa, ar*
 it.NOM when SBJ3SG.OBJ3.catch sight.AOR not
daižera
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.believe.AOR
 'When he saw it, he didn't believe it.' Geo

3.1.3 Interrogatives

In question formation Megrelian has a marker *o*, that behaves in a similar way to *ni*. It is enclitic, usually to the final element in the clause, and attracts the stress towards the end of the word⁷.

- (23) buduk nodari koziru-o?
 Budu.ERG Nodar.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR-Q
 ‘Did Budu see Nodar?’Megr

When such a question is embedded, *o* may no longer be used, but the complex *do vari* ‘or not’.

- (24) bk’itxi macis buduk nodari
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR Mats.DAT Budu.ERG Nodar.NOM
 kozirədo vari
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR or not
 ‘I asked Mats if Budu had seen Nodar (or not).’Megr

Georgian and Svan use a similar construction in this case: *tu ara* Geo (25a) and *ha modma* Svn (25b) ‘or not’.

- (25) a. minda vicode dac’era
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS SBJ1SG.OBJ3.know.OPT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR

 tu ara vanom c’erili
 or not Vano.ERG letter.NOM
 ‘I want to know if Vano wrote the letter or not.’Geo
- b. mi xekwes mixaldes adjire
 I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.need.PRS SBJ1SG.O3.know.OPT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR

 ha modma ežnem lājɾ
 or not he.ERG letter.NOM
 ‘I need to know if he wrote the letter or not.’Svn

Embedded *wh*-questions (26a) are formed by a *wh*-word and the interrogative clause in the indicative form. In such clauses, *ni* is excluded (26b).

⁷ A third element in this group is the conditional *d*
 paras midəʒyonansə da, davalebas ševasrulenk
 money-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.send.FUT if request.DAT SBJ1SG.OBJ3.fulfill.FUT
 ‘If he sends the money, I will fulfill his request.’

- (26) a. maint'erešebš nodari rodis / sad / rogor
 SBJ3SG.OBJ1SG.interest.PRS Nodar.NOM when / where / how
- gaak'etebš davalebas
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.do.FUT assignment.DAT
 'I wonder when / where / how Nodar will do his assignment.' Geo
- b. bk'itxi datos otari mudros / so / muč'o
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.ask.AOR Dato.DAT Otar.NOM when / where / how
- doc'k'iruns dišk'as
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.chop.FUT wood.DAT
 'I asked Dato when / where / how Otar would chop the wood.' Megr

The corresponding simple questions are given in (27a-b). Here, as in the embedded questions above, the *wh*-word is placed immediately before the verb (cf. Harris 1984).

- (27) a. nodari rodis / sad / rogor gaak'etebš davalebas?
 'When / where / how will Nodar do his assignment?' Geo
- b. otari mudros / so / muč'o doc'k'iruns dišk'as?
 'When / where / how will Otar chop the wood?' Megr

3.2 Indirect speech

Georgian, Svan and Megrelian express indirect speech by an indicative subordinate clause with the usual complementisers *rom* Geo, *ere* Svn and *ni* Megr. Direct speech is indicated in (28-30a) and indirect in (28-30b).

- (28) a. nik'om mitxra: 'c'erili
 Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR: "letter.NOM
- davuc'ere mananas'
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR Manana.DAT
 'Niko told me: 'I wrote a letter to Manana.''' Geo
- b. nik'om mitxra, rom c'erili
 Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR, that letter.NOM
- dauc'era mananas
 SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR Manana.DAT
 'Niko told me that he wrote a letter to Manana.' Geo

- (29) a. vuc'i mumas: 'kayardə
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.say.AOR father.DAT "letter.NOM
 dobč'ari'
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.write.AOR"
 'I told father: 'I have written the letter.'
 Megr
- b. vuc'i mumas kayardə
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.say.AOR father.DAT letter.NOM
 dobč'ari ni
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.write.AOR that
 'I told father that I had written the letter.'
 Megr
- (30) a. mi rekwar: ežnem čwatijre lāj
 I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR: he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR letter.NOM
 'I say: He wrote a letter.'
 Svn
- b. mi rekwar, ere ežnem čwatijre lāj
 I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR that he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR letter.NOM
 'I said that he wrote a letter.'
 Svn

Both Georgian and Megrelian have a construction that might be considered intermediate between direct and indirect speech. A final quotative marker is added (-*metki*, contracted form of *me vtkvi* ‘I said’; *tko* ‘you said’; -*o* ‘s/he said’, Geo). In this construction, the tense form and person of the subject in the direct speech is retained in the quoted speech, as is illustrated in (31-32).

- (31) a. vutxari nik'os: 'xval mivdivar'
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.say.AOR Niko.DAT: "tomorrow SBJ1SG.leave.PRS"
 'I told Niko: 'I am leaving tomorrow.'
 Geo
- b. vutxari nik'os, rom xval
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.say.AOR Niko.DAT, that tomorrow
 mivdivar-metki
 SBJ1SG.leave.PRS-QUOT:1
 'I told Niko that I am leaving tomorrow.'
 Geo
- (32) a. nik'om tkva: 'xval mivdivar'
 Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.say.AOR: "tomorrow SBJ1SG.leave.PRS"
 'Niko said: 'I am leaving tomorrow'.
 Geo
- b. nik'om mitxra, (rom) xval
 Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR, that tomorrow
 mivdivar-o
 SBJ1SG.leave.PRS-QUOT:3
 'Niko told me that he is leaving tomorrow.'
 Geo

(33) a. nik'ok tku: č'ume meur'
Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.say.AOR: “tomorrow SBJ1SG.leave.PRS”
‘Niko said: ‘I am leaving tomorrow’.’

b. nik'ok mic'u, (namda) č'ume
Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.say.AOR, that tomorrow

 meurk-ia
 SBJ1SG.leave.PRS-QUOT:3
 ‘Niko told me that he is leaving tomorrow.’

(34) k'itxə e bošikə ni, uc'iis namda:
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.ask.AOR that boy.ERG when, SBJ3PL.IO3.OBJ3.tell.AOR that
 – višoiāni minuula-ši neba va ren-ia
 – there.to entering-GEN permisson.NOM not is-QUOT3
 'When the boy asked, they told him that entering was not allowed.'
 (Kipshidze 1914:76) Megr

As shown in Table 2 above there are many subjunctive forms in Georgian. The most commonly found in complement clauses are the optative and pluperfect (for examples, see section 4.1). The present subjunctive of TAM-I is mostly used in conditional clauses (35a) but also in complement clauses (35b) with general, indefinite time reference (Papidze 1987). The future subjunctive of TAM-I is often found in wishes and commands but not in complement clauses. The perfect subjunctive of TAM-III is not used in complement clauses and occurs typically with *titkos* ‘as if’ (35c).

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- b. mivxvdi, sasacilo-a, ižde am
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.understand.AOR ridiculous-is SBJ2SG.sit.PRS.SUBJ this
- gamoqruebul raion-ši da k'acobiobis natel momaval-ze
 deserted province-in and mankind.GEN bright future-about
- pikrobde
 SBJ2SG.OBJ3.think.PRS.SUBJ
 'I understood that it was ridiculous to sit in this deserted province and think
 about the bright future of mankind.' (Pandzhikidze, cited by Papidze
 1987:20) Geo
- c. titkos uzarmazari t'virti damegdos,
 as if enormous burden.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.throw.off.PRF.SUBJ
- ise gavimarte mxrebši
 so SBJ1SG.straight.up.AOR shoulder.PL.in
 'I straightend myself up as if I had thrown off an enormous burden.'
 (Dumbadze, cited by Papidze 1987:16) Geo

Megrelian has the richest system of tense/aspect forms of the KL. The series TAM-IV (that is lacking in Georgian and Svan) differs from TAM-III in that it is accompanied by an iterative meaning. The non-indicative forms used in complement clauses in Megrelian are the optative, conditional II and conditional III.

3.4 Special case marking properties within subordinate clauses

Case marking in indicative and subjunctive subordinate clauses in Georgian, Svan and Megrelian does not differ from case marking in the matrix.

The infinitive in Old Georgian is of interest in this context. Direct and indirect objects of the infinitive are marked by the dative or nominative, as do dependents of finite verbs (cf. (5a-c) above). The same alternations between case marking patterns due to the choice of TAM-forms show up in the marking of direct/indirect objects of infinitives, although the infinitive itself does not indicate tense. The direct object of the infinitive is assigned the dative case in (36a; TAM-I) and the nominative in (36b; TAM-II).

- (36) a. titoeuli matgani isc'rapda [tesvad k'actmoquareba-sa]
 everyone of.them SBJ3SG.OBJ3.strive.IMP sow.INF love.of.mankind-DAT
 'Everyone of them strived to sow the love of mankind.'
 (Chkhubianishvili 1972:149) Old Geo

- b. ... isc'rapa ... [aydginebad ek'lesiasa šina sactur-i
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.hasten.AOR revive.INF church.DAT in temptation.NOM
 borot'-i]
 evil-NOM
 '... hastened to revive the evil temptation in the church' Old Geo

It appears as if the tense of the matrix verb has the effect of determining the case marking not only within the finite VP but also in the infinitive phrase, as suggested by Chkhubianishvili 1972. As expected from this assumption, in the examples above the direct object of a transitive verb in TAM-I (imperfect) takes the dative and the direct object in TAM-II takes the nominative – and so does the direct object of an infinitive in these positions.

The observation holds in other positions as well. A verb like *hnebavs*, 'he wants it', marks its subject (experiencer) by the dative case and the object (source) by the nominative. The direct object of an infinitive in the object position of *mnebavs* is, as expected, marked by the nominative:

- (37) a. mnebavs xilvad adgomajca misi
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS see.INF ascension.NOM his
 'I want to see his ascension.' (Chkhubianishvili 1972:87) Old Geo

When looking at verbs like *žer-ars*, 'have to, need to' the position of the complement is marked by the nominative. These verbs are one-valent; if one wants to express for whom it is necessary or needed, an oblique phrase is used, which is not reflected in the verb. In (38) the direct object is marked by the nominative case.

- (38) žer-arsa micemad xark'i k'eisarsa anu ara?
 needed.PRS give.INF tax.NOM emperor.DAT or not
 Is it needed to give tax to the emperor or not?
 (Chkhubianishvili 1972:147) Old Geo

However, even if there appears to be a strong tendency for the matrix verb (in combination with the tense of the matrix verb) to determine the case of the direct object of the infinitive, it does not account for all patterns. There are cases of a direct object of an infinitive being marked by the genitive (39b) or additive case (Chkhubianishvili 1972:80).

- | | | | |
|---------|----------|------------|--|
| (39) a. | ʒal-gica | sasumeli | šesumad
SBJ2SG.OBJ3.can.PRS bowl.NOM drink.INF
'You can "drink the bowl".' |
| | | | Old Georgian |
| b. | giɟlavs | sasumelisa | šesumad
SBJ2SG.OBJ3.can.PRS bowl.GEN drink.INF
'You can "drink the bowl".' |
| | | | Old Georgian |

3.6 Control

Generally only emphatic pronouns are allowed in the ‘controlled’ subject position.

- b. vubrzane nik'os, (rom) (*man*)
SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.order.AOR Niko.DAT that he.ERG

gaak'etos (da ara sxvam)
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.do.OPT Geo
'I ordered Niko to do it (and nobody else) (lit. [...] that *he* should do it).'

In a context where the subject of the complement clause is questioned, the pronoun is obligatory:

Certain control verbs unexpectedly allow disjoint reference. In such cases, it is understood that the matrix subject (42a) or indirect object (42b) acts in such a way that it causes or promotes the action in the complement to take place (cf. Vamling 1989 for some discussion).

- b. me xom gtxove rom man xširad
 I surely SBJ1.IO2SG.OBJ3.ask.AOR that he.ERG often
 c'eros
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
 '(lit) I asked you that he would write it, didn't I?' Geo

3.7 Causatives

The KL have syntactic as well as morphological causative constructions, as illustrated from Georgian. Taking (43a), the non-causative counterpart of (b) as a starting point, it turns out that the former subject (=causee) is realized as an indirect object, the former direct object remains a direct object of the causative and the former indirect object is realized as a postpositional phrase. In (43c) we see a causative matrix verb, which has the 'strongest' causative meaning of the causative constructions.

- (43) a. p'avlem dauc'era c'erili tamars
 Pavle.ERG SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR letter.NOM Tamar.DAT
 'Pavle wrote a letter to Tamar.' Geo
- b. vaxt'angma daac'erina p'avles c'erili
 Vakhtang.ERG SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.CAUS.write.AOR Pavle.DAT letter.NOM
 tamarisatvis
 Tamar.GEN.for
 'Vakhtang made Pavle write a letter to Tamar.' Geo
- c. vaxt'angma aizula p'avle
 Vakhtang.ERG SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.force.AOR Pavle.NOM
 daec'era c'erili tamarisatvis
 SBJ3SG.3OBJ.write.PLUP letter.NOM Tamar.GEN.for
 'Vakhtang forced Pavle to write a letter to Tamar.' Geo

3.8 Potentialis

In Megrelian we find the category potentialis, marked by the suffix *-e*: *malin-e* 'I can go', *mač'k'om-e* 'I can eat it'. It is used particularly often in negated forms *va/ve* 'not': *va-malin-e* 'I can't go', *va-mač'k'om-e* 'I can eat it'. A similar meaning is expressed in the analytic construction with the matrix verb *šemilebu...* 'I can ...'.

- (44) a. bagva-s ve-miačin-e nodar-iša para
 Bagva-DAT NEG-SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.give-POT Nodar-ALL money.NOM
 ‘Bagva can't give Nodar the money (because he has no money).’ Megr
- b. bagva-s ve-šeulebu nodari-s para
 Bagva-DAT NEG-SBJ3SG.OBJ3.can.PRS Nodar-DAT money.NOM
- kemečasə n(i)
 SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.give.OPT that Megr
 ‘Bagva can't give Nodar the money (because he doesn't have the right).’

3.9 Internal structure of masdar clauses

Usually only one argument is realized: the subject in an intransitive or object in a transitive relation. Both instances are marked by the genitive case (45a-b).

- (45) a. gamaxara nino-s mosvla-m /
 SBJ3SG.OBJ1SG.make.happy.AOR Nino-GEN coming-ERG /
- nino-s naxva-m
 Nino-GEN seeing-ERG
 ‘It made me happy that Nino came. / It made me happy seeing Nino.’ Geo
- b. maxiolə nino-š mula-k /
 SBJ3SG.OBJ1SG.make.happy.AOR Nino-GEN coming-ERG /
- nino-š ʒirapa-k
 Nino-GEN seeing-ERG
 ‘It made me happy that Nino came / It made me happy seeing Nino.’ Megr

The verbal noun in Old Georgian and Svan also marks its object by the genitive case, as shown in example (46):

- (46) a. čwen visc’rapit monagebta šek’reba-sa
 we SBJ1PL.OBJ3.strive.PRS property.GEN collection-DAT
 ‘We strive for the collection of property.’
 (Chkhubianishvili 1972:81) Old Geo
- b. mi čwämešdən läjriš lijri
 I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.forget.AOR letter.GEN writing.NOM
 ‘I forgot to write the letter.’ Svn

In the rare cases of subjects of transitive verbal nouns, they are expressed by the postpositions *mier* Geo ‘by’ and *ganiše* Megr ‘from, by’ which govern the genitive case.

- (47) a. sašiši-a cxeñis gataceba kurdis mier
 dangerous-is horse.GEN stealing.NOM thief.GEN by
 ‘It is dangerous that the thief steals the horse.’ Geo
- b. oškuranžie rašiš xirua maxinžiš ganiše
 dangerous.is horse.GEN stealing.NOM thief.GEN by
 ‘It is dangerous that the thief steals the horse.’ Megr

4 External relations

Complement clauses are found in subject and object positions, as shown above. Postpositions do not take clauses as their objects. In such cases the pronoun *imis* (Geo) ‘it’, governed by the postposition, is obligatory.

- (48) is ambobda imis šesaxeb, rom k’argad
 he.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.talk.IMP it.GEN about that well
 imgzavra
 SBJ3SG.travel.AOR
 ‘He talked about that he had a good trip.’ Geo

A number of matrix verbs have experiencer subjects, which correspond to dative marked NPs and agreement markers from the *m*-set, for instance: *m-inda* Geo, *m-ok’o* Megr, *m-akuč* Svn ‘I want it’, *m-žera* Geo, *b-žers* Megr, *m-ažrawa* Svn ‘I believe it’. The source object is marked by the nominative (49) or genitive cases.

- (49) a. m-ok’o kobal-i
 SBJ1SG-OBJ3.want.PRS bread-NOM
 ‘I want (some) bread.’ Megr
- b. m-ok’o irpeli muš dros k’etebul
 SBJ1SG-OBJ3.want.PRS everything.NOM on.time do.PART
 ordasə ni
 SBJ3SG.be.OPT that
 ‘I want everything to be done on time.’ Megr

Both indicative and subjunctive clauses do occur as objects of nouns.

- (50) a. miviyet cnoba, rom mat’arebeli igvianebs
 SBJ1PL.OBJ3.receive.AOR message.NOM that train.NOM SBJ3SG.be.late.PRS
 ‘We received a message that the train was late.’ Geo

- b. miviyet gadac'qvet'ileba, (rom)
 SBJ1PL.OBJ3.receive.AOR offer.NOM (that)
 movac'qot gamopena
 SBJ1PL.OBJ3.arrange.OPT exhibition.NOM
 'We received an offer to organize an exhibition.' Geo

Basic word order is SOV (and frequently SVO) in simple clauses (51a). However, when the object is clausal, it is found in postposition to the matrix verb (51b).

- (51) a. nino megobar-s šexvda / šexvda megobars
 Nino.NOM friend-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.meet.AOR
 'Nino met a friend.' Geo
- b. nino-m dainaxa, [rom movida megobar-i]
 Nino-ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR that SBJ3SG.come.AOR friend-NOM
 'Nino saw that (her) friend arrived.' Geo
- c. *nino-m [rom movida megobar-i] dainaxa
 Nino-ERG that SBJ3SG.come.AOR friend-NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR
 'Nino saw that (her) friend arrived.' Geo

The same situation holds in Megrelian, despite the fact that this language has a clause final complementiser. Clausal subjects usually follow the predicate, as in (52).

- (52) a. k'argi-a, rom olik'o xširad rčeba bebiastan
 good-be.PRS that Olga.DIM often SBJ3SG.stay.PRS grandmother.with
 'It is good that Olga often stays with grandmother.' Geo
- b. žgiri re, olik'o xširas sk'idu bebič'k'əma ni
 good be.PRS Olga.DIM often SBJ3SG.stay.PRS grandmother.with that
 'It is good that Olga often stays with grandmother.' Megr

4.1 Restrictions on the verb form of the complement predicate

When the matrix verb stands in a non-past form in Georgian, the subjunctive complement selects the optative, as in (53b). If a past form is chosen for the matrix verb, the complement predicate is realized as a pluperfect form that functions as a past subjunctive.

- (53) a. vstxov ninos, rom simyera 'sulik'o'
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.PRS Nino.DAT that song.NOM 'Suliko'
 imyeros
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.sing.OPT
 'I asked Nino to sing the song 'Suliko'.' Geo

- b. vstxove ninos, rom simyera ‘sulik’o’
 SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR Nino.DAT that song.NOM ‘Suliko’
 emyera
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.sing.PLUP
 ‘I asked Nino to sing the song ‘Suliko’.’ Geo

Similar restrictions are found in Megrelian. When the matrix verb is a past tense form (54a), then the second conditional is usually chosen for the complement predicate. A non-past form of the matrix verb (54b) motivates the optative of the complement predicate (for details cf. Kiziria 1982:128).

- (54) a. mumas ok’ordə, sk’uas mutuni xeloba
 father.DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.IMP son.DAT some trade.NOM
 kədaaguruk’o ni
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.learn.COND2 that
 ‘Father wanted his son to learn some trade.’ (Kipshidze 1914:9) Megr
- b. mumas ok’o sk’uas mutuni xeloba
 father.DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.PRS son.DAT some trade.NOM
 dagurasə ni
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.learn.OPT that
 ‘Father wants his son to learn some trade.’ Megr

4.2 Syntactic and semantic verb classes

The concepts Truth and Action modality (Ransom 1986) have been found relevant for a classification of complement clauses in Georgian (Vamling 1989), making the major division between indicative (55a) and subjunctive (b-c) complement clauses.

- (55) a. vici, rom givi k’argad myeris
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.know.PRS that Givi.NOM good.ADV SBJ3SG.sing.PRS
 ‘I know that Givi sings well.’ Geo
- b. minda, rom givim es simyera
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS that Givi.ERG this song.NOM
 imyeros
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.sing.OPT
 ‘I want Givi to sing this song.’ Geo
- c. minda (, rom) es simyera vimyero
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS (that) this song.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.sing.OPT
 ‘I want to sing this song.’ Geo

(56) a. gela pikrobs, rom omari moigebs
Gela.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.think.PRS that Omar.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.win.FUT
'Gela thinks that Omar will win.'
Geo

b. vpikrob (, rom) gamopena movac'qo
SBJ1SG.OBJ3.intend.PRS that exhibition.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.arrange.OPT
'I intend to arrange an exhibition.'
Geo

(57) a. mi ka hwähr, ere ežnem lăjr
I PRT SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR that he.ERG letter.NOM
čwatijras
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
'I asked him to write the letter.'

b. mi xek'wes lăjr otijra
I have.to letter.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
'I have to write the letter.'

(58) a. mi čwămešđan eži, ere ežnem c'eril
I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.forget.AOR it that he.ERG letter.NOM
adijre
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR
'I forgot that he wrote the letter.'

b. xoča lasw, ere ežnem čwatijre lăjr
good SBJ3SG.be.IMP that he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR letter.NOM
'It was good that he wrote the letter.'

c. mi mabža, ere ežnem čwatijre lăjr
I SBJ3SG.O1SG.seem.to.PRS that he.ERG SBJ3SG.O3.write.AOR letter.NO
'It seems to me that he has written the letter.'

Masdars are found in complements of a restricted number of verb types. They are particularly common with phasal (59a), desiderative (b), and achievement verbs (c).

- (59) a. bošik dič'qu leksiš gurapa
boy.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.begin.AOR poem.GEN studying.NOM
'The boy began to learn the poem.'

b. osurs ok'o bunebaš xant'ua
woman.DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.PRS landscape.GEN painting.NOM
'The woman wants to paint a landscape.'

c. boši ocadu leksiš gurapas
boy.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.try.PRS poem.GEN studying.DAT
'The boy tries to learn the poem.'

Phasal verbs are the most common type of matrix verb that take masdar complements. Among the two masdars in Megrelian, the *o-* *-u* forms are found only with phasal verbs.

- (60) a. ap'irens *ogurapus / *onadirus / *ok'etebus
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.intend.PRS studying.DAT hunting.DAT doing.DAT
'He intends to study/hunt/do...' Megr
- b. ič'qans ogurapus / onadirus / ok'etebus
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.begin.PRS studying.DAT hunting.DAT doing.DAT
'He begins to study/hunt/do...' Megr

5 Special characteristics of this particular group

The matrix and complement verbs often differ in their case assignment properties, as case assignment depends on which type the verb belongs to and the choice of tense/aspect. For instance, in (61a) the matrix verb assigns the nominative case to its subject, whereas the complement verb assigns the dative to its subject. The case marking patterns of matrix/complement verbs of (61a-b) are schematized in Table 4.

Table 4. Case marking patterns of matrix and complement verbs

		<i>Vb type</i>	<i>TAM</i>	<i>Case: S</i>	<i>Case: DO</i>	<i>Case: IO</i>
a.	<i>pikrobs</i>	think.PRS	(1)	I	NOM	DAT
	<i>unda</i>	want.PRS	(2)	I	DAT	NOM
	<i>stxovos</i>	ask.OPT	(1)	II	ERG	NOM DAT
	<i>gaacilos</i>	acompany.OPT	(1)	II	ERG	NOM
b.	<i>ipikra</i>	think.AOR	(1)	II	ERG	NOM
	<i>undoda</i>	want.IMP	(2)	II	DAT	NOM
	<i>etxova</i>	ask.PLUP	(1)	III	DAT	NOM PP[tvis]
	<i>gaecilebina</i>	accompany.PLUP	(1)	III	DAT	NOM

- (61) a. givi pikrobs rom manana-s
 Givi.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.think.PRS that Manana-DAT
- unda stxovos 3ma-s
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.PRS SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.OPT brother-DAT
- gaacilos eter-i
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.accompany.OPT Eteri-NOM Geo
- ‘Givi thinks that Manana wants to ask (her) brother to accompany Eteri.’
- b. givi-m ipikra rom manana-s
 Givi-ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.think.AOR that Manana-DAT
- undoda etxova 3mi-sa-tvis
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.IMP SBJ3SG.OBJ3.ask.PLUP brother-GEN-for
- gaecilebina eter-i
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.accompany.PLUP Eteri-NOM Geo
- ‘Givi thought that Manana wanted to ask (her) brother to accompany Eteri.’

The two case marking patterns present in one sentence seem to pose a particular problem when a constituent is moved. This occurs in *wh*-questions and topicalisation in Megrelian (62) and Georgian (63), where the moved phrase and the corresponding (non-fronted) NP (64) are assigned different cases. In (62b-c) and (63b-c) the moved constituents have received the same case (dative) as an object of the matrix verb would get, and not the case (nominative) that is assigned by the complement predicate, as in (62a) and (63a).

- (62) a. girčenk te ʔude iʔide ni
 SBJ1SG.IO2SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS this house.NOM SBJ2SG.O3.buy.OPT that
- ‘I advise you to buy this house.’ Megr

- b. muner ?udes mirčenk ipide ni?
 which house.DAT SBJ2SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS SBJ1SG.O3.buy.OPT that
 ‘Which house do you advise me to buy?’ Megr
- c. č’uburiš ?udes girčenk
 chestnut.GEN house.DAT SBJ1SG.IO2SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS
 i?ide ni
 SBJ2SG.OBJ3.buy.OPT that
 ‘A house made out of *chestnut*, I advise you to buy.’ Megr
- (63) a. girčev (rom) iqido šveduri
 SBJ1SG.IO2SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS that SBJ2SG.OBJ3.buy.OPT Swedish
 mankana
 car.NOM
 ‘I advise you to buy a Swedish car.’ Geo
- b. rogor mankanas mirčev rom viqido?
 which car.DAT SBJ2SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS that SBJ1SG.O3.buy.OPT
 ‘Which car do you advise me to buy?’ Geo
- c. švedur mankanas girčev rom
 Swedish car.DAT SBJ1SG.IO2SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS that
 iqido
 SBJ2SG.OBJ3.buy.OPT
 ‘I advise you to buy a *Swedish car*.’ Geo
- (64) a. (si) (ma) mirčenk tes
 (you) (me) SBJ2SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS it.DAT
 ‘lit. You advise me it.’ Megr
- b. (šen) (me) mirčev amas
 (you) (me) SBJ2SG.IO1SG.OBJ3.advise.PRS it.DAT
 ‘lit. You advise me it.’ Geo

6 Summary

It has been shown that the Modern Kartvelian languages share many features in the forms and constructions used in complementation. Complement clauses are generally finite, appearing in different indicative and subjunctive forms with similar case-marking patterns. Among the complementisers used, the polyfunctional enclitic *ni* in Megrelian is of particular interest. Masdars (verbal nouns), assigning genitive case, are the only nonfinite complement predicate. In contrast to Modern Kartvelian languages,

Old Georgian distinguished an infinitive (by origin a masdar in the adverbial case), but it disappeared around the 10th century.

Manipulative, volitional, modal and achievement matrix predicates typically take complements that appear in subjunctive forms, whereas predicates of knowledge, acquisition of knowledge, commentative predicates, and verbs of saying and asking select indicative forms as their complement predicates.

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Glosses and abbreviations

ALL	Allative case
AOR	Aorist
COND	Conditional
DAT	Dative case
DEST	Destinative case
DIM	Diminutive
ERG	Ergative case
EVID	Evidential
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive case
Geo	Georgian
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperfect
INF	Infinitive
IO	Indirect object
KL	Kartvelian languages
Megr	Megrelian
NOM	Nominative case
O, OBJ	Object
OPT	Optative

PART	Participle
PERF	Perfect
PLUP	Pluperfect
PRF.SUBJ	Perfect subjunctive
PRS	Present
PRS.SUBJ	Present subjunctive
Q	Interrogative clitic
QUOT	Quotative
REL	Relative pronoun
S, SBJ	Subject
Svn	Svan
TAM	Tense-aspect-mood (series I-IV)