

Caucasus Studies 5

COMPLEMENTATION
in the Northwest and
South Caucasian
Languages

Edited by Karina Vamling



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Caucasian Languages

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Malmö University
Faculty of Culture and Society
Department of GPS
Sweden

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Complementation in the Northwest and South Caucasian Languages

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Introduction

Karina Vamling

1 The topic of complementation

The two articles¹ in this volume² address the topic of complementation in a number of Caucasian languages: the Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe) languages in the North Caucasus and the Kartvelian languages in the South Caucasus. The study of complementation focuses on various relations between a main clause and main predicate with a clause-like complement, as well as types of main predicates and complements in these complex constructions.

Complementation in the Caucasian languages is of special typological interest, as it differs significantly from predominant complement models of infinitive clauses or finite clauses with complementisers found in most Standard European languages. Common types found in the Caucasian languages have complements with morphologically rich verb forms. This may be illustrated with a Kabardian (Northwest Caucasian) complement predicate including marking of both subject and object (Kumakhov and Vamling 2009:67):

- (1) a. De t-s'əyəps'-a-s' fe fə-q'-je-d-yebleye-n
 we S1PL-forget-PERF-ASSRT you O2PL-DIR-S1PL-invite-INF
 'We forgot to invite you'

The theoretical framework of the two studies primarily relies on Noonan (1985) and Ransom (1986). Noonan studies (1) (semantically based) types of matrix predicates, (2) types of complement predicates and (3) the dependencies between these types. The types of matrix predicates include the following: pretence predicate, propositional attitude predicate, knowledge and acquisition of knowledge predicates, utterance predicates, commentative predicates, predicates of fearing, desiderative predicates, achievement predicates, modal predicates, manipulative predicates, and phasal

¹ The articles in this volume are based on research conducted with support from the Swedish Research Council in the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR). Additional funding was supplied by the Lund University Programme for Cooperation with Eastern Europe and the foundation Lundbergska IDO-fonden.

² Special thanks to Prof. Jean Hudson and Larisa Tupcokova for valuable advice during the preparation of this publication.

- (3) a. *minda, rom givi-m es simyera imyeros*
 S1SG.O3SG.want.PRS that Vano-ERG this song.NOM S3SG.O3SG.sing.OPT
 ‘I want Givi to sing this song.’ (Vamling 1989: 62) Geo
- b. *vpikrob, rom givi k’argad myeris*
 S1SG.O3SG.think.PRS that Givi.NOM well S3SG.sing.PRS
 ‘I think that Givi sings well.’ Geo

2 Background to the study

The two overview articles in this volume share a long history. They were written in 1997 in the thematic sub-project ‘Subordination and Complementation’ within the framework of the typological project *Eurotyp*, which was funded by the European Science Foundation in the 1990s. The ‘Subordination and Complementation’ project produced a number of articles on complementation in different language families of Europe as well as a wide range of theoretical papers on complementation in European languages. The papers were published in the series of working papers of the thematic group, for instance Vamling & Tchantouria (1991a), and also appeared in other publications, such as Vamling & Tchantouria 1991b, 1993; Kumakhov & Vamling 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997. However, the final project volume, where the two overview articles of the current volume were to be included, has not yet been published

Professor Mukhadin Kumakhov and Dr. Revaz Tchantouria, both co-authors of the articles in this volume, participated in several workshops and meetings in the Eurotyp project. Mukhadin Kumakhov (1928–2008) was a prominent specialist on the Northwest Caucasian languages and a native speaker of Kabardian. Revaz Tchantouria has worked extensively on the Kartvelian languages and is a native speaker of Megrelian and Georgian.

3 Outline of the two articles

The two articles follow roughly the same outline. The first part is a sketch of general properties of the language group, such as main word order patterns and simple clause structure, including nominal and verbal morphology with special focus on case, tense, mood forms and agreement marking in the verb. One section is devoted to pro-drop in the languages studied.

The second part deals with complementation. It is divided into two subparts on internal and external aspects of the complement clause. Under internal aspects,

complementisers and word order of the complement clauses are studied. Furthermore, forms of complement predicates, i.e. types of finite and nonfinite forms, are discussed. Interrogative clauses and indirect speech are also dealt with here, and so are morphological causatives and potential forms.

Under external relations, restrictions on the form of the complement predicate imposed by the main predicate are explored. Depending on which types (classes) of predicates are chosen in the main clause, different finite or nonfinite clauses are selected in the complement clause. Case marking, coreference relations and pro-drop are also dealt with in the sections on external relations.

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Complementation in the Northwest Caucasian Languages¹

Mukhadin Kumakhov² and Karina Vamling

The Northwest Caucasian languages (NWCL) include the following languages: Abkhaz, Abaza, Ubykh, Adyghe and Kabardian. Abkhaz (Abkh) and Abaza (Abz) are closely related and may be considered dialects of one language. Adyghe (Adg) and Kabardian (Kbr) are also closely related and mutually intelligible. Adyghe and Kabardian are often referred to as West and East Circassian respectively. The differences between the two branches of the NWCL are considerable at all levels. Ubykh (Ubk) takes an intermediate position between the two branches, but is closer to Adyghe and Kabardian in several respects. Writing systems based on the Cyrillic script exist for all the NWCL languages except Ubykh.

The NWCL are spoken in the Central and Northwestern part of the Caucasus in Russia: Kabardian (The Republics of Kabarda-Balkaria and Karachaevo-Cherkessia³), Adyghe (Adyghe Republic), Abaza (Karachaevo-Cherkessia). One NWCL is spoken on the Black Sea Coast in Georgia: Abkhaz (Abkhazia). The Ubykhs have all been assimilated in Turkey, where they were deported in 1864 from the Caucasian Black Sea Coast (the last speaker of the language died in Turkey in 1992). The NWCL are spoken by a total of 707,000 (1989) in the CIS. Large numbers of speakers are also found in Turkey, Jordan, Syria and USA (due to the Russian expansion and conquest of the Caucasus during the last century). The estimated number of speakers of the NWCL in emigration exceeds the numbers in the Caucasus several times over.

¹ This paper is based on research conducted during the years 1993-1994 and 1994-1995 with support from the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and the Wenner-Gren Foundation respectively.

² Prof. Mukhadin A. Kumakhov passed away in 2008. This article is published in the version that was prepared for publication in 1997 by Prof. M.A. Kumakhov and Prof. K. Vamling, with only minor technical changes.

³ The Kabardians and Besneys living in Karachaevo-Cherkessia figure as Cherkessian in Soviet terminology. The division between Kabardians, Adyghe and Cherkessians is thus a result of the division of the Circassian people between autonomous regions and republics in Soviet times.

For details, we refer to various descriptions of the NWCL: Adyghe (Kumakhov 1967, Paris 1969, Rogava & Kerasheva 1966, Smeets 1984, Kuipers 1960); Kabardian (GK, Jakovlev & Ashkhamaf 1941, Kumakhov 1989); Ubykh (Dumézil 1959, 1975, Kumakhov 1967, Vogt 1963); Abkhaz (Hewitt 1989, Lomtadze 1967) and Abaza (Allen 1956, Genko 1955, Lomtadze 1967). The syntax of the NWCL has been in focus in a smaller number of works, among them: Kerasheva 1984, Zekox 1987 (Adyghe), Kumakhov & Vamling 1993, in prep. (Kabardian), Gecadze 1979, Hewitt 1987 (Abkhaz), Özsoy 1988 (Ubykh).

Kabardian and Adyghe examples used in the paper have been supplied by Mukhadin Kumakhov and Zara Kumakhova. If not indicated otherwise, the Ubykh examples are cited from unpublished field work data on Ubykh collected by M. Kumakhov. Most Abkhaz and Abaza examples have kindly been checked or supplied by Saria Amichba.

1 General properties of Northwest Caucasian Languages

1.1 Morphological type

The dominating morphological type in the NWCL is the agglutinative. Verbal forms are particularly complex and may be characterized as polysynthetic, including up to four agreement markers. Flectional features also occur, in particular in the vowel alternation in verbal roots between transitive and intransitive forms: *də-n* ‘sew something’, *de-n* ‘be engaged in sewing’ (Adg).

The nominal inflection is rather simple, marking of number, definiteness, possession and coordination in all the languages.

The languages are predominantly head marking; the verb includes agreement marking of the subject and various objects. Case marking plays a less prominent role in the NWCL.

1.2 Nominal morphology

Number is marked by suffixes in all the languages, as *-χe* in *s'°əzə*, *s'°əz-χe-r* ‘woman, women’ (Adg). In Abkhaz and Abaza different markers are used for plural human and non-human nouns: *qa*, *qa-c°a* ‘man, men’, *c°la*, *c°la-k°a* ‘tree, trees’ (Abkh). Ubykh does not differentiate number in the absolutive – *č°ə* ‘horse(s)’ – but does express it in the ergative case *č°ə-n*, *č°ə-na* ‘horse, horses’, demonstrative *jə-č°ə*, *jəla-č°ə* ‘this horse, these horses’ and possessive *sə-č°ə*, *sö-č°ə* ‘my horse, my horses’ forms.

Definiteness is marked by prefixes in Abaza *mš°ə*, *a-mš°* ‘a bear, the bear’ and Ubykh *q°a*, *a-q°a* ‘a son, the son’ and suffixes in Adyghe *c°ə*, *c°ə-r* ‘an ox, the ox’ and Kabardian. The Abkhaz prefix *a-* expresses a general meaning and the suffix *-k*’ the indefinite meaning: *a-xac°a* ‘man (in general)’, *xac°a-k*’ ‘a man’.

Possessive is a category shared by all the NWCL. Abkhaz and Abaza distinguish feminine and masculine in the second person singular *wə-c°la* ‘your (masc.) tree’, *bə-c°la* ‘your (fem.) tree’, and masculine, feminine and neuter in the third person *yə-c°la* ‘his tree’, *l-c°la* ‘her tree’, *a-c°la* ‘its tree’. Alienable and unalienable possession is distinguished in Adyghe: *sə-g°* ‘my heart’, *si-wən* ‘my house’ but not in any of the other NWCL. In Ubykh the possessive makers show a singular and plural distinction whereas the noun itself does not, thereby serving the function of number distinction: *wa-lməq* ‘your (SG) bag’, *wäw-lməq* ‘your (PL) bag(s)’.

Coordination is marked by repeated suffixes: *sə-na-la sə-t°a-la* ‘my mother and my father’ (Ubkh).

The syntactic cases ergative and absolutive are found only in Adyghe, Kabardian (Absolutive: *-ə*, *-r*, Ergative: *-m*) and Ubykh (Absolutive *-ə*, Ergative: *-n* (pl. *-na*)). Not all nouns in the Circassian languages and Ubykh are marked for case. Personal pronouns in the first and second person lack case marking. The syntactic cases ergative-absolutive are lacking in Abkhaz and Abaza.

1.3 Verbal morphology

The verbal complex is built up by prefixation and suffixation to a minimal root, typically C, CV. Agreement markers, locational and directional markers, causative and other markers related to the valency of the verb (comitative, benefactive etc.) and non-finite negation, precede the root. Tense (present, perfect, imperfect, pluperfect, aorist and future) and modal (conditional, optative, imperative) markers, finite negation, coordinative, interrogative and assertive markers follow the root.

- (1) *a-ž°-by°a-w-m-ya-k°a-n*
 DO3SG-OBJ1PL-LOC-SBJ2SG-NEG-CAUS-go-PRS.SG
 ‘You do not allow him to defeat (go at) us’ Ubkh

1.4 Grammatical relations, agreement and case marking

The most salient signal coding grammatical relations in the NWCL is the alignment of agreement markers in the verb. Two orderings exist, roughly corresponding to transitive and intransitive verbs. In the transitive verb the direct object marker is found

in initial position, whereas the rightmost agreement prefix marks the subject (2a). Any indirect or oblique object markers are placed between them (2b).

- (2) a. wə-z-bja-w
DO2SG-SBJ1SG-see-FUT1.SG
'I will see you' Ubkh
- b. a-wə-š'-t°-q'an
DO3SG-OBJ2SG-SBJ1PL-give-PF.PL
'we gave him to you' Ubkh

Intransitive verbs may be either monovalent or polyvalent. Here, in contrast to the transitive verb, the subject prefix is found in initial position and markers of any objects follow the subject marker.

- (3) sə-w-pla-n
SBJ1SG-OBJ2SG-look.at-PRS.SG
'I look at you' Ubkh

There is thus an ergative pattern in the alignment of agreement markers: the subject of intransitives and direct object of transitives are placed initially, whereas the subject of the transitive verb occupies the rightmost position among the agreement markers. The same principle of alignment is common to all the NWCL.

Features involved in agreement are person and number in Ubykh and the Circassian languages, and person, gender and number in Abkhaz and Abaza.

In Abkhaz and Abaza the markers occur in three sets of prefixes, corresponding to (I) subjects of intransitives and direct objects of transitives, i.e. the absolutive position, (II) other objects, (III) subjects of transitives; the ergative position. The three sets of prefixes are illustrated from Abkhaz. The differences emerge in the third person.

Table 1. Agreement markers in Abkhaz

		<i>Set I markers [S, P]</i>		<i>Set II</i>	<i>Set III markers [A]</i>
1SG		s(ə)-		s(ə)-	s(ə)-, z-
2SG	Masc.	w(ə)-		w(ə)-	w(ə)-
	Fem.	b(ə)-		b(ə)-	b(ə)-
3SG	Hum.	d(ə)-	Masc.	j(ə)-	j(ə)-
			Fem.	l(ə)-	l(ə)-
	Non hum.	j(ə)-	Non hum.	a-	a-, na-
1PL		h(ə)-		h(ə)-	h(ə)-
2PL		š°(ə)-		š°(ə)-	š°(ə)-
3PL		j(ə)-		r(ə)-	r(ə)-

Prefixes from the three series are illustrated in the transitive verb in (4a) and the intransitive in (4b).

- (4) a. jə-l-b-o-jt'
DO3SG.NHUM-SBJ3SG.FEM-see-DYN-PRS.FIN
'She (III) sees it (I)' Abkh
- b. w-a-š'ta-l-o-jt'
SBJ2SG.MASC-OBJ3SG.NHUM-run after-DYN-PRS.FIN
'You (I) run after it (II)' Abkh

Agreement markers in Adyghe, Kabardian and Ubykh are given in Table 2. The choice between the alternants is a complex interplay between phonological and morphological factors.

Table 2. Agreement markers in Adyghe, Kabardian and Ubykh

	<i>Adyghe</i>	<i>Kabardian</i>	<i>Ubykh</i>
1SG	se-, s(ə)-, z-	se-, s(ə)-, z(e)-	s(ə)-
2SG	we-, w(ə)-, p-	we-, w(ə)-, b-, p-	w(ə)-
3SG	je-, j(ə), ə-, te-, ta-	je-, j(ə), me-, ma-	je-, j(ə), ə-, n(ə)
1PL	te-, t(ə)-, t'-, d-	de-, d(ə)-, t-, t'-	š'(ə)-
2PL	s'°e-, s'°(ə)-, z'°-	fe-, f(ə)-, v-, f'-	s'(ə)-
3PL	ja-, a-, me-, ma-	ja-, a-, me-, ma-	a-, na-

The agreement markers show transparent similarities to pronouns in all the NWCL. Compare, for instance, the system of personal pronouns in Abkhaz (Lomtadze 1967:111) with the agreement prefixes given in Table 1 above. Compare also the possessive prefixes (cf. section 1.2. Nominal morphology).

Table 3. Personal pronouns in Abkhaz

1SG	sara	1PL	hara
2SG	wara (Masc), bara (Fem.)	2PL	š'ara
3SG	jara 'he', lara 'she', jara 'it'	3PL	dara

As expected, the absolutive case marks the subject of intransitive verbs (5a) and direct object of transitive verbs (5b). The ergative case is assigned to subjects of transitive verbs (5b). However, in both the Circassian languages and Ubykh the same marker

also has oblique functions (5a). It marks indirect and oblique objects. Furthermore, the same case also marks the possessor (5c).

- (5) a. S'ak°'e-r mezə-m ma-k°'e
 hunter-ABS forest-ERG SBJ3SG-go.PRS
 'The hunter goes to the forest' Kbr
- b. Tχak°'e-m tχələ-r ə-tχə-γ
 writer-ERG book-ABS SBJ3SG-write-PF
 'The writer wrote a book' Adg
- c. fəzə-m jə-psale
 woman-ERG POSS3SG-word
 'The woman's word' Kbr

As Abkhaz and Abaza lack the opposition between the absolutive and ergative cases, the ergative-absolutive pattern emerges only in the verbal morphology.

1.5 Main word order patterns

Basic word order in the NWCL is SOV (6a). An indirect object immediately follows the subject. Word order is grammatically distinctive in clauses where no case marking is present. This, of course, is particularly important in Abkhaz and Abaza, as the case opposition absolutive-ergative is lacking altogether (6b-c).

- (6) a. A-baz'°ə-n γa-q°a yə-bya-q'a
 DEF-old.man-ERG POSS3SG-son SBJ3SG-see-PF
 'The old man saw his son' Ubkh
- b. Yara a-x°əč''ə də-j-aaγ-o-jt'
 he ART-child DO3SG.HUM-SBJ3SG.MASC-foster-DYN-FIN
 'He raises the child' Abkh
- c. A-x°əč''ə yara də-j-aaγ-o-jt'
 ART-child he DO3SG.HUM-SBJ3SG.MASC-foster-DYN-FIN
 'The child raises him' Abkh

When the NPs are case marked, there is greater freedom of ordering. The orders VSO and SVO do occur but they are stylistically marked. When the subject and the object NPs are proper nouns or other nouns that do not differentiate ergative and absolutive cases (in Adyghe, Kabardian and Ubykh), the word order is fixed SO with bivalent verbs – transitive in (7a) and intransitive in (b). A change of the order SO, is accompanied by a change of the grammatical meaning in (7).

- (7) a. Inal Anzor je-h
Inal Anzor SBJ3SG-carry.PRS
'Inal carries Anzor.' Kbr
- b. Inal Anzor j-o-we
Inal Anzor OBJ3SG-DYN-hit.PRS
'Inal hits Anzor.' Kbr

When the subject is low on the animacy scale and the object denotes a human in clauses with verbs of the type 'kill, burn, suffocate...', the order OSV occurs along with SOV.

- (8) Č'ale-r psə-m ə-thala-γ
boy-ABS water (river)-ERG SBJ3SG-suffocate.TR-PF
'The water suffocated the boy (The boy drowned).' Adg

In the NP qualitative adjectives follow the head noun (9a) and relational adjectives precede it (9b).

- (9) a. čə q'ara
horse black
'black horse' (Abz)
- b. ayxa-t'ə k'arwat
iron-ADJ bed
'iron bed' (Abkh)

In a possessive NP, the possessor always precedes the head noun:

- (10) ax'ə ya-px'a
prince POSS3SG-daughter
'the prince's daughter' Ubkh

A more complex NP illustrates the placement of the possessive prefix initially and the number, case and coordination suffixes added to the final lexical element of the NP. Note that the possessive prefix does not attach to the head noun but to the first element of the NP.

- (11) si-px'e wəne yən daχe-χe-r-əy
POSS1SG-wood house big beautiful-PL-ABS-COORD
'and my big beautiful wooden houses' Adg

1.6 Pro-drop

Pronominal null subjects and objects are common in any position due to the richness of agreement marking including a full specification of person and number of subject and objects.

- (12) a. (Wəy°a) (səy°a) wə-sə-ya-n
 you I SBJ2SG-OBJ1SG-hit-PRS.SG
 ‘You hit me’ Ubkh
- b. (Dara) (bara) bə-r-ga-t’
 they you DO2SG.FEM-SBJ3PL-carry-AOR.FIN
 ‘They carried you (fem.)’ Abz

A third person pronoun may be dropped even if there is no corresponding third person agreement marker in the verb. In such cases the zero position in the verb is related to a marker that presupposes the presence of a direct or oblique object, such as causative, locative, version, comitative and other categories. The verb form in (13) includes a so-called version marker *fe-* (benefactive), which increases the valency with one argument slot.

- (13) (Sə) (wə) (a-š') wə-ø-fe-s-š'a-y
 I you he-ERG DO2SG-(OBJ3SG)-V-SBJ1SG-lead-PF Adg
 ‘I lead you to him (or for him)’

2 Types of complementation

The most characteristic feature of complementation in the NWCL is that it is predominantly non-finite. Complement clauses including complementizers and indicative verbs are very rare. A large number of various non-finite forms occur as complement predicates, including participles, gerunds, conditionals, verbal nouns (masdars) and infinitives. This terminology for the non-finite forms keeps the traditional labels used in descriptions of the NWCL⁴. However, it is important to note that such forms may differ in various respects from the corresponding forms in other European languages. For example, the form called the infinitive in the Circassian languages includes subject and, if transitive, also object agreement marking.

The use and distribution of the forms vary in the different languages. For instance, participles and gerunds occur in complementation in all the NWCL but with varying frequency. Masdar complements are common in Abkhaz and Abaza, less so in Adyghe and Kabardian and are lacking in Ubykh.

Note also that the distinction finite/non-finite differs from the traditional use of the terms. A finite form in the NWCL is able to form a complete sentence, whereas a non-finite form is not. A non-finite form is always dependent on the presence of

⁴ The terms participles and gerunds are here used in the tradition following Lomtadidze, Rogava & Kerasheva 1966 and others.

another (finite) form. A formal difference between them is that negation is marked differently in finite and non-finite forms (by a suffix in finite and a prefix in non-finite forms).

3 Internal structure

Like finite verbs, non-finite forms include agreement markers of subject, direct object, indirect object and various oblique relations. The markers are chosen from the same sets of agreement prefixes as for the finite verbs. An exception is the masdar, which takes a subject marker in the form of the possessive prefix. Among the non-finite forms, the participles and the gerunds distinguish temporal categories (although a reduced set compared to tense forms in finite verbs). The case of the subject and object(s) of the non-finite forms in the Circassian languages and Ubykh is assigned similarly to that of the finite forms. Among the complement predicates participles and masdars are case marked themselves.

3.1 Complementizers

There are very few elements in the NWCL that may be considered complementizers. As noted below (cf. section 3.3.), the particle $h^{\circ}a$ in Abkhaz seems to have such functions. It occurs mostly with non-finite complements but also in indicative complements. The particle $h^{\circ}a$ is found only in Abkhaz. Due to the presence of $ax'\partial$ the particle $h^{\circ}a$ is optional in (14a).

- (14) a. W-ax'ə-m-ca-wa pšʒa-m (h°a)
 SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-NEG-go-DYN.NFIN.PRS beautiful-NEG (that)
- jə-sə-px'aʒa-wa-jt'
 DO3SG.NHUM-SBJ1SG-consider-DYN.FIN.PRS
 'I think that it is not nice that you don't go' Abkh
- b. D-aa-r h°a s-š°a-wa-jt'
 SBJ3SG.HUM-come.here-COND that SBJ1SG-fear-DYN-FIN.PRS
 'I fear that he will come here' Abkh

3.2 Word-order in subordinate clauses

Word-order within the complement follows the neutral SOV arrangement (15a). Whereas considerable variation is allowed in the simple sentence, such as VSO and OVS, this is generally not acceptable in the subordinate clause (15b).

- (15) a. Nəwe-m [ps'as'e-m žane-r (ø)-zer-i-də-ye-r]
 old.woman-ERG girl-ERG shirt-ABS DO3SG-PART-SBJ3SG-sew-PF-ABS
 ə-ʔeɣ°ə-ɣ
 SBJ3SG-see-PF
 'The old woman saw that the girl sewed a shirt' Adg
- b. *Nəwe-m [(ø)-zer-i-də-ye-r ps'as'e-m žane-r] ə-ʔeɣ°ə-ɣ Adg

- (16) ə-də-ɣ ps'as'e-m žane-r
SBJ3SG-sew-PF girl-ERG shirt-ABS
'The girl sewed a shirt'Adg

Indicative complement clauses are very rare in the NWCL, occurring only under certain stylistic, lexical and grammatical conditions and mainly in the present tense. Such forms are found in casual, oral style in Adyghe and Kabardian complements of a limited group of predicates of knowledge and immediate perception – *s'e-n* 'know', *g°arəɬ°e-n* 'understand', *lay°ə-n* 'see' (17a). Similar examples are found in Abkhaz (17b).

Note that the complements are marked by a third person marker in the matrix verb in the Abkhaz example (17b), thus formally being object clauses.

- (18) Wəj də-ca-wa-jt' h°a
 that.one SBJ3SG.HUM-go-DYN-FIN.PRS that
 (ø)-z-dər-wa-jt'
 DO3SG-SBJ1SG-know-DYN-FIN.PRS
 'I know that he is going' (Hewitt 1987:239) Abkh

Complement clauses with the particle *h°a*, may alternatively take participles as complement predicate. The particle *h°a* occurs in complements of different kinds of matrix predicates (see below).

3.4 Participial complement clauses

Participles used as complement predicates are distinguished by certain prefixes in the different languages: *š(ə)-* (Abkh, Abz), *dya-* (Ubkh) and *zer(ə)-* (Adg, Kbr). The prefixes have a meaning corresponding to the indicative complementizer 'that' (glossed as 'PART').

- (19) a. Wə-š-aa-wa z-dər-wa-jt'
 SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-come.here-DYN.PRS SBJ1SG-know-DYN
 'I know, that you come here' Abkh
- b. Jə-šə-z-ba-z wə-h°a-t'
 DO3SG.NHUM-PART-SBJ1SG-see-INFN SBJ2SG.MASC-say-FIN
 'You said that I saw (something)' Abz
- c. A-px'adək°' dya-k°'a-q°'a ə-z-bja-q°'a
 DEF-girl.ABS PART-go-PF DO3SG-SBJ1SG-see-PF
 'I saw that the girl went' Ubkh
- d. (We) wə-qə-zerə-k°'a-ye-r se-s°'e
 (you) SBJ2SG-OR⁵-PART-go-PF-ABS SBJ1SG-know.PRS
 'I know that you came (here)' Adg
- e. Adə-m jə-q°'e-m wəne zər-i-s°'ə-r
 father-ERG POSS3SG-son-ERG house-ABS PART-SBJ3SG-do.PRS-ABS
 zəχ-i-χ-a-s'
 LOC-SBJ3SG-hear-PF-ASRT
 'Father heard that his son is building a house' Kbr

In Abkhaz and Abaza one finds, besides *š(ə)-* (Abkh, Abz), the prefixes *ax'(ə)-* (Abkh), *ʔa-/ax'aʔa-* (Abz). The prefixes are particularly often found in complements of commentative predicates (20b).

⁵ Orientation, usually marking direction of action towards the speaker.

- (20) a. S-a-c°-g°aa-wa-jt'
 SBJ1SG-OBJ3SG.NHUM-NVOL-be.offended-DYN-FIN.PRS
 w-ax'-c°až°a-wa
 SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-talk-DYN-NFIN.PRS
 'I'm offended that you are talking' Abkh
- b. W-ax'ə-m-ca-wa pšža-m
 SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-NEG-go-DYN.NFIN.PRS beautiful-NEG
 'It is not nice that you don't go.' Abkh

Participles in these languages are used in adjectival and relative (21) functions as well.

- (21) sabəj (ø)-p-hə-ye-r
 child.ABS DO3SG-SBJ2SG-carry-PF-ABS
 'the child that you carried' Adg

3.5 Gerundival complement clauses

Gerunds are one of the most productive complement types in the NWCL, here exemplified from the five languages:

- (22) a. Sara d-č°'ə-wa
 Sara SBJ3SG.HUM-cry-DYN.NFIN
 d-a-la-ga-t'
 SBJ3SG.HUM-OBJ3SG.NHUM-LOC-begin-AOR.FIN
 'Sara began to cry' Abz
- b. A-č°k°'ən d-a-s-wa
 ART-boy SBJ3SG.HUM-OBJ3SG.NHUM-hit-DYN.GER
 d-a-laga-jt'
 SBJ3SG.HUM-OBJ3SG.NHUM-begin-FIN.AOR
 'The boy started hitting' Abkh
- c. Wə-k''a-w-n wə-g'ə-n wa-l
 SBJ2SG-go-FIN-GER POSS2SG-heart-ERG LOC-lie.PRS
 'You intend to go' Ubkh
- d. (Te) tə-g°əš'ə?e-w tə-wəbla-γ
 (we) SBJ1PL-talk-GER SBJ1PL-begin-PF
 'We started talking' Adg
- e. (Fe) šə-r f-s'-a-we si-g°əγ-a-s'
 you horse-ABS SBJ2PL-sell-PF-GER POSS1SG-thought-PF-ASRT
 'I thought that you had sold the horse' Kbr

Gerunds have a rich morphology, including, for instance, comitative markers (a) and markers of orientation, reversed action and potentialis (b).

- (23) a. (Səy°a) sə-w-ž'ə-k''a-w-n s-lak''a-w
 (I) SBJ1SG-OBJ2SG-COM-go-FUT-GER SBJ1SG-can-FUT
 'I can go together with you' Ubkh
- b. (We) w-a-q'ə-de-mə-k''e-žə-f-a-we
 (you) SBJ2SG-OBJ3PL-OR-COM-NEG-go-REV-POT-PF-GER
 s-o-bž
 SBJ1SG-DYN-consider.PRS
 'I think, that you couldn't come here together with them' Kbr

In other contexts gerunds have adverbial functions (24).

- (24) a. We tχələ-m w-je-ž-a-we wə-s'ə-s-s'
 you book-ERG SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read-PF-GER SBJ2SG-LOC-sit.PRS-ASRT
 'You are sitting having read the book' Kbr
- b. Se wəne-m s-je-mə-pl-a-we
 I house-ERG SBJ1SG-OBJ3SG-NEG-look.at-PF-GER
 s-o-k''e-ž
 SBJ1SG-DYN-go.PRS-REV
 'I leave without having looked at the house' Kbr

3.6 Infinitival complement clauses

The infinitive is a complement type that is limited to Kabardian and Adyghe among the NWCL. It is marked by the *-n* suffix, which coincides with the future tense marker. The infinitive lacks tense and case but takes, apart from that, a rich set up of markers – subject and object agreement, benefactive, malefactive, causative, comitative, reflexive, negation etc.

- (25) a. (we) wə-čəje-n wə-feja-γ
 (you) SBJ2SG-sleep-INF SBJ2SG-want-PF
 'You wanted to sleep' Adg
- b. (Sə) (we) (a-bə-χe-m)
 (I) (you) (he-ERG-PL-ERG)
 w-a-de-z-ye-k''e-n
 DO2SG-OBJ3PL-COM-SBJ1SG-CAUS-go-INF
 si-g°əye-t
 POSS1SG-thought-IMPF
 'I intended to make you go together with them' Kbr

- c. S'əmaəχ°e-m zə-χ°e-d-ye-hezəə-n χ°ej-a-s'
 winter-ERG REFL-V-SBJ1PL-CAUS-prepare-INF have.to-PF-ASRT
 'We should have prepared ourselves for winter' Kbr

When infinitives occur in complements of phasal verbs, the subject marker is optional (26a). Compare this, for instance, to the infinitival complement of a modal matrix verb (26b), where the subject marker is obligatory.

- (26) a. Te wəne-r (t')-s'ə-n tə-wəble-š't
 we house-ABS (SBJ1PL)-do-INF SBJ1PL-begin-FUT
 'We will begin to build the house' Adg
- b. Te wəne-r *ø/t'-s'ə-n t-łeč'ə-š't
 we house-ABS SBJ1PL-do-INF SBJ1PL-can-FUT
 'We will be able to build the house' Adg

3.7 Masdar (verbal noun) complement clauses

The masdar shows both verbal and nominal features. It is case marked and assigned case by the matrix verb. Other categories are the possessive, coordinative and number.

- (27) a. A-ča-ra wa-lga-t'
 ART-eat-VN SBJ2SG.MASC-finish-FIN.AOR
 'You stopped eating' Abz
- b. A-ca-ra sa-q°c'ə-jt'
 ART-go-VN SBJ1SG-stop-FIN.AOR
 'I stopped going' Abkh
- c. (Te) tχe-nə-r tə-wəble-ž'ə-š'təy
 (we) write-VN-ABS SBJ1PL-begin-REV-IMPF
 'We continued writing' Adg
- d. (Fe) fi-je-ye-žə-nə-r
 (you) POSS2PL-OBJ3SG-CAUS-study-VN-ABS
 s'ə-v-o-žə-ž
 LOC-SBJ2PL-DYN-begin-REV
 'You begin instructing someone (your instruction of someone)' Kbr

If all the other non-finite forms mark the grammatical relations in the same way as it is done in finite clauses, masdars constitute an exception. The subject is marked by a possessive prefix initially in the masdar phrase. The subject is identified as S+A, thus differently from the division in S [ABS] and A [ERG] in finite and other non-finite positions. The direct object is transformed into a noun in attributive position before

(28) a. Se [si-lə šχə-nə-r] sə-wəχ-a-s'
I POSS1SG-meat eat-VN-ABS SBJ1SG-finish-PF-ASRT
'I finished eating the meat' Kbr

b. We [si-žane də-nə-r] b-ye-wvə?-a-s'
you POSS1SG-shirt sew-VN-ABS SBJ2SG-CAUS-stop.ITR-PF-ASRT
'You stopped my sewing the shirt' Kbr

The ‘alternative’ form is used in interrogative complements with polar questions: I wonder *if he does it or not*. It is formed by repeated complement predicates, where the first one takes the interrogative suffix and the second one the negation prefix and the interrogative suffix. The alternative construction is particularly frequent in Adyghe and Kabardian.

- Another interrogative complement type is formed by the suffix *-maj* (Adg, Kbr), which roughly corresponds to ‘if’ (30).

- Participles formed by prefixes marking location, time, direction and other relations are also found in complement clauses. These prefixes have several meanings, depending on the context: *zəš'*- (Adg), *s'*- (Kbr) 'where, when', *zde*- (Adg, Kbr)

‘where, to where’, *zerə-* ‘where, how’ (Adg, Kbr). The participle is marked by the absolutive case in the same way as an ordinary direct object (31).

- (31) a. A-r mezə-m s'ə-k''e-r we w-o-s''e
 he-ABS wood-ERG when-go-ABS you SBJ2SG-DYN-know.PRS
 ‘You know when he goes to the wood’ Kbr
- b. We wə-zere-k''e-re-r se s-s''e-r-ep
 you SBJ2SG-how-go-PART-ABS I SBJ1SG-know-PRS-NEG
 ‘I don’t know how you go.’ Adg
- c. Ps'as'e-r zde-š'əsə-r c''ale-m jə-leŷ°ə-ŷ
 girl-ABS where-sit-ABS boy-ERG SBJ3SG-see-PF
 ‘The boy saw where the girl sits.’ Adg

The corresponding simple question (32a) is formed by *səts'əŷ°e* ‘when’ and the participle including the prefix *s'-* ‘when’. If (31a) is turned into an interrogative clause with an embedded question, the *wh*-word *səts'əŷ°e* ‘when’ is no longer allowed (32b). The interrogative suffix *-re* is added to the matrix verb.

- (32) a. A-r mezə-m səts'əŷ°e s'ə-k''e-r?
 he-ABS wood-ERG when when-go.PRS-ABS
 ‘When does he go to the wood?’ Kbr
- b. A-r mezə-m s'ə-k''e-r we p'-s''e-re
 he-ABS wood-ERG when-go-ABS you SBJ2SG-know.PRS-INT
 ‘Do you know, when he goes to the wood?’ Kbr

3.9 Other types of complement clauses

In this section we look at some minor complement types and constructions occurring in different languages: the conditional, the non-finite form with arbitrary subject reference, the imperative and the obligative construction.

The conditional (33a) and the purposive-conditional (33b) are particularly frequent complement types in Abkhaz and Abaza, marked by the suffixes *-r* and *-rc* respectively.

- (33) a. Jə-s-fa-r s-tax'ə-w-p'
 DO3SG.NHUM-SBJ1SG-eat-COND SBJ1SG-want-FIN-PRS.STAT
 ‘I want to eat (it).’ Abkh
- b. S-ca-rc s-tax'ə-w-p'
 SBJ1SG-go-PCOND SBJ1SG-want-FIN-PRS.STAT
 ‘I want to go.’ Abkh

In Kabardian and Adyghe the conditional is much less frequent, but it does occur with volitional verbs (34).

- (34) (Se) (we) sə-q'e-p-š-a-mə s-f'e-f'-t
(I) (you) DO1SG-OR-SBJ2SG-lead-PF-COND SBJ1SG-V-want-IMPF
'I wanted you to take me here.' Kbr

The non-finite form with arbitrary subject reference is a form of high frequency in Adyghe and Kabardian (for details, see Kumakhov & Vamling 1994). Formally, it is the second person singular prefix *w-* (*p-*) that serves the function of marking arbitrary reference of the subject. This prefix is obligatorily present in such forms. Note that object markers in the third person may be present, keeping their usual functions.

- (35) a. ʔ'eχ°əšχ°e-t tχələ-r p-tχə-n-č'e
important-IMPF book-ABS SUBJ2SG-write-INF-INSTR
'It was important to write the book.' Kbr
- b. Helemet-s' a-bə w-e-pl'ə-n-č'e
interesting-ASRT he/it-ERG SUBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-look.at-INF-INSTR
'It is interesting to look at him (at it)' Kbr

In this form the suffix *-n* occurs, as in infinitives. However, a marked difference from infinitives is that this form usually takes a frozen case suffix – the instrumental *-č'e* in most instances, but also the absolutive *-r* or the adverbial *-w* cases.

- (36) Dey°e-s' nobe zə-b-ɣepsč'ə-n (-ø, -r, -č'e, -w)
nice-ASRT today REFL-SUBJ2SG-bathe-INF (-ø,-ABS,-INSTR,-ADV)
'It's nice to take a swim today.' Kbr

The obligative construction is formed by the participle *χ°əj-a-r* 'have to' (37a) preceded by an infinitive, that exceptionally takes the participial prefix *zerə-* (Kumakhov and Vamling, 1997). Example (37b) illustrates the imperative that is used in certain complements in Abkhaz and Abaza.

- (37) a. (Se) s-s'əɣ°əps'-a-q'əm (fe) fə-zerə-s-ləɣ°ə-n
(I) SBJ1SG-forget-PF-NEG (you) DO2PL-PART-S1SG-see-INF

χ°ej-a-r (=fə-s-ləɣ°ə-n zərə-χ°ej-a-r)
have.to-PF-ABS (DO2PL-SBJ1SG-see-INF PART-have.to-PF-ABS)
'I didn't forget that I had to see you' Kbr
- b. Wə-na-gəl s-h°a-t'
SBJ2SG.MASC-OR-stand.up.IMP SBJ1SG-say-FIN.PRS
'I ordered you to stand up' Abz

- c. Se we a-bə w-je-z-ye-h-a-s'
 I you he-ABS DO2SG-OBJ3SG-SBJ1SG-CAUS-carry-PF-ASRT
 'I made him carry you.' Kbr

In some cases the prefix loses its primary causative meaning and functions as a transitivizing prefix. This results in double causative markers when such verbs combine with the causative prefix 'make, force', as in (42b).

- (42) a. ø-z-ye-z'°a-y
 DO3SG-SBJ1SG-CAUS-become.fried-PF
 'I fry it' Adg
- b. ø-sə-j-ye-ye-z'°a-y
 DO3SG-OBJ1SG-SBJ3SG-CAUS-CAUS-become.fried-PF
 'he made me fry it' Adg

3.11 Potentialis

Potentialis forms are found in all the NWCL. The predicate 'can, be able' is represented by an affix in the verb form.

- (43) a. sə-p-fe-hə-y
 OBJ1SG-SBJ2SG-POT-carry-PF
 'You could carry me' Adg
- b. wə-m-k'°a-fa-n
 SBJ2SG-NEG-go-POT-PRS.SG
 'You couldn't go' Ubkh
- c. s-šχə-s'°ə-š't
 SBJ1SG-eat-POT-FUT
 'I can eat' Adg
- d. də-s-zə-k'°ə-jt'
 OBJ3SG.HUM-SBJ1SG-POT-catch-FIN.PRS
 'I can catch him/her' Abz

Both the morphological causative and potentialis constructions correspond to matrix predicates with similar meanings, as shown by the manipulative matrix verb in (44a) and the modal in (44b).

- (44) a. Se a-r je-z-yez-a-s' a-bə nobe
 I he-ABS DO3SG-SBJ1SG-force-PF-ASRT he-ERG today
 lez'əye-r jə-wəχə-nu
 work-ABS SBJ3SG-finish-INF
 'I forced him to finish the work today' Kbr

- b. Se s-lečə-a-s' a wəne-r s-s''ə-n
 I SBJ1SG-can-PF-ASRT this house-ABS SBJ1SG-do-INF
 'I was able to build this house.' Kbr

4 External relations

Complement clauses are found both in subject and object position. Object clauses occur as direct objects as well as objects of intransitive (45) verbs.

- (45) L'ə-r lə-r jə-šχə-n me-šəne
 man-ABS meat-ABS SBJ3SG-eat.TR-INF SBJ3SG-be.afraid.PRS
 'The man is afraid to eat the meat' Kbr

Clauses in subject position are found with various de-adjectival commentative predicates corresponding to 'easy', 'difficult', 'good', 'bad', 'important' etc. The subject clause is usually postposed, though not necessarily.

- (46) Heləmet-s' [tχələ-r p-tχə-nə-r]
 Interesting.PRS-ASRT book-ABS SBJ2SG-write-INF-ABS
 'It is interesting to write the book.' Kbr

Participial or masdar clauses are found in subject position with another small group of verbs – with the meanings 'worry', 'frighten', 'irritate'. The causative prefix in these verbs has a transitivity function. The participle in subject position is marked by the ergative case, it is placed initially as other subjects and is reflected in the matrix verb by the third person subject marker.

- (47) S'awe-r zere-səmažə-m nə-r jə-ye-q'əməč''ə
 son-ABS PART-be.ill-ERG mother-ABS SBJ3SG-CAUS-worry.PRS
 'It worries mother that her son is ill' Adg

Clauses occurring as complements of postpositions constitute a marginal case, illustrated in (48).

- (48) Se s-o-šəne wə-q'ə-zərə-k''e-nu-m s'heč'e
 I SBJ1SG-DYN-be.afraid.PRS SBJ2SG-OR-PART-go-FUT-ERG for
 'I am afraid that you will come' Kbr

Clauses as complements of nouns are exemplified with the noun *murad* (Kbr) 'intention'. The complement takes the form of an infinitive that assigns the absolutive case to its object in the ordinary way. *Abə* 'he.ERG' is the possessor and is related to

the possessive marker in *jə-muradə-r* ‘intention’. The complement clause is thus embedded in the NP.

- (49) A-bə [maʃəne jə-dəy°ə-nəw] jə-muradə-r
 he-ERG car.ABS SBJ3SG-steal-INF POSS3SG-intention-ABS
 ‘His intention to steal the car...’ Kbr

4.1 Word order

As noted above, word order is rather free, allowing SOV, VSO and SVO. The most neutral order is SOV, in both simple and complex sentences. The object complement clause occurs in medial position, i.e. before the matrix verb.

- (50) a. A-px'adək° a-wax-g'ə my'aw-q'a
 DET-girl.ABS SBJ3SG-cry-PRS.GER begin-PF.SG
 ‘The girl started crying’ Ubkh
- b. Ya-k°abž'a-n [a-davrəšə-n a-məzə-n psa
 POSS3SG-husband-ERG [DET-dervish-ERG DET-child-ERG soul.ABS
 dya-wa-n-l-q'a] mə-c'a-najt'
 PART-LOC-SBJ3SG-put-PF.SG] NEG-know-IMPF.SG
 ‘Her husband didn't know that the dervish had planted his soul into the child’ (Dumézil 1975:207) Ubkh

When the matrix subject is dropped, the complement is usually preposed to the matrix predicate.

- (51) A-š°ah°a-ra wa-q°'əc°ə-jt'
 ART-sing-VN SBJ2SG-stop-FIN.AOR
 ‘You stopped singing’ Abkh

It is possible to move the subject out of the complement to the initial position in the sentence (52a). Again, this is only possible if the two NPs are differentiated by case. If proper nouns are used, this is no longer possible (52b).

- (52) a. L'ə-r s'°əzə-m jə-s'e q'ə-zere-k°'a-ye-r
 man-ABS woman-ERG SBJ3SG-know.PRS OR-PART-go-PF-ABS
 ‘The woman knows that the man came’ Adg
- b. *Anzor Murat jə-s'e q'ə-zere-k°'a-ye-r
 Anzor Murat SBJ3SG-know.PRS OR-PART-go-PF-ABS
 ‘Anzor knows that Murat came’ Adg

(53) Se we p'-s'e-t sə-zero-laz'e-r
I you SBJ2SG-know-IMP F SBJ1SG-PART-work.PRS-ABS
'You knew that I am working' Kbr

Under certain conditions there are alternative assignments of subject case, ergative or absolutive, as in (54).

- The placement of the subject in relation to the complement and matrix predicate is also of importance in allowing ergative or absolutive case marking of the subject. In this case, the subject is typically placed before the complement predicate and thus separated from the matrix predicate (55).

- If the subject is placed before (56a) or after (adjacent to) the matrix predicate (56b), case may be assigned only by the matrix predicate.

- (56) a. (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r l'ə-m/*-r je-s''e-ž
 SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS man-ERG/*-ABS S3SG-know.PRS-REV
 'The man remembers that he is ill' Kbr
- b. (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r je-s''e-ž l'ə-m/*-r
 SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS-REV man-ERG/*-ABS
 'The man remembers that he is ill' Kbr

A further condition that has to hold is coreference between the matrix and complement subjects. However, obligatory subject control is not necessary. In the set of examples below we find matrix verbs with both obligatory subject coreference (57a, b) and with subject coreference without control restrictions (57c). Example (57d) shows the contrast with different subjects, where case may be assigned only by the matrix verb.

- (57) a. L'ə-m/-r šχe-n s''-i-3-a-s'
 man-ERG/-ABS eat.ITER-IMP LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PF-ASRT
 'The man began to eat' Kbr
- b. L'ə-m/-r q'ə-k''e-nu sə-q'-i-yeğ°əy-a-s'
 man-ERG/-ABS OR-go-IMP DO1SG-OR-SBJ3SG-promise-PF-ASRT
 'The man promised me to come' Kbr
- c. L'ə-m/-r (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r je-s''e-ž
 man-ERG/-ABS SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS-REV
 'The man_i remembers (knows) that he_j is ill' Kbr
- d. L'ə-m/*-r (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r je-s''e
 man-ERG/*-ABS SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS
 'The man_i knows that he_j is ill' Kbr

It is not only the question of transitivity vs. intransitivity that determines the case marking. The two examples (58a) and (58b) differ in the presence of the suffix -ž of 'reversed action' in (b) but not in (a), which changes the meaning of the matrix verb. A verb that includes the reversed action marker is in a sense reflexive and presupposes coreference between the matrix and complement subjects.

- (58) a. L'ə-m/*-r (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r je-s''e
 man-ERG/-ABS SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS
 'The man knows that he is ill' Kbr
- b. L'ə-m/-r (ø)-zerə-səmažə-r je-s''e-ž
 man-ERG/-ABS SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS-REV
 'The man remembers that he is ill' Kbr

Finally, we note a case where ergative case marking occurs and absolutive is excluded, despite the intransitivity of the matrix verb (59). In this example the ergative case marking seems to be related to the presence of the possessive marker.

- (59) Je-l'ə-m (*-r) lə-r jə-šχə-n
 POSS3SG-husband-ERG/*ABS meat-ABS SBJ3SG-eat-INF
 me-šə-ne
 SBJ3SG-be.afraid-INF
 'Her husband is afraid to eat the meat' Kbr

Turning now to the problem of pro-drop. As noted above, all non-finite forms (except masdars) have the same slots for agreement marking as do finite verbs. Generally, it is possible to have an NP or overt personal pronoun corresponding to each argument position. However, this does not happen in spontaneous production, as personal pronouns are primarily used for emphatic purposes. Pro-drop is also more common in oral style than in written standard language.

In complementation the occurrence of overt pronouns is further restricted. Under coreference with the matrix subject, an overt complement subject is not allowed to appear (60a). At the same time, if the complement subject is overt, then the matrix subject has to be dropped under coreference (60b).

- (60) a. L'ə-m ø/*a-r šχe-n s''-i-ʒ-a-s'
 man-ERG he-ABS eat.ITER-INF LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PF-ASRT
 'The man began to eat' Kbr
- b. ø/*Abə l'ə-r šχe-n s''-i-ʒ-a-s'
 he-ERG man-ABS eat.ITER-INF LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PF-ASRT
 'The man began to eat' Kbr

In cases of object control, the complement subject is also usually deleted ((61) but cf. also (44a)).

- (61) Zine Anzor je-leʔ°ə-γ ø/*abə pismo
 Zina Anzor OBJ3SG-ask-PF he.ERG letter
 (ø)-q'ə-f-i-tχə-new
 DO3SG-OR-V-SBJ3SG-write-INF
 'Zina asked Anzor to write a letter' Adg

Under disjoint reference the complement subject pronoun is present in most cases.

- (62) A-bə je-lay° we wə-k''e-n
 he-ERG SBJ3SG-see.PRS you SBJ2SG-go-INF
 wə-zerə-χ°ej-r
 SBJ2SG-PART-want-ABS
 'He sees that you want to go' Kbr

4.3 Selectional restrictions with respect to verb classes

4.3.1 Verbs of knowledge, saying and immediate perception

Matrix verbs of knowledge, saying and immediate perception take participial and gerundival complements in all the NWCL, as illustrated below. Such forms are the neutral choice for the complement predicate of matrix predicates in this group. Participles are found in the complements of (63a-c).

- (63) a. Te te-s'e we wə-zere-səmeʒa-ye-r
we SBJ1PL-know.PRS you SBJ2SG-PART-be.ill-PF-ABS
'We know that you were ill' Adg
- b. Sə-š-ca-z wə-h'a-jt'
SBJ1SG-PART-go-INF-PAST SBJ2SG-say-FIN.AOR
'You said that I went away' Abkh
- c. ya-px'a a-tət (ə)-da-dwa-q'a (ə)-bja-q'a
POSS3SG-daughter DEF-man.ABS SBJ3SG-PART-die-PF SBJ3SG-see-PF
'His/her daughter saw that this man died' Ubkh

Examples (64a-c) show complement clauses with gerund predicates.

- (64) a. Š'a-ca-wa-nə h-dər-wa-jt'
SBJ2SG-go-DYN-GER SBJ1PL-know-DYN-FIN.PRS
'We know that you go' Abkh
- b. Ps'as'e-m we tχələ-r qe-p-š'efə-ye-w
girl-ERG you book-ABS OR-SBJ2SG-buy-PF-GER
qə-s-i-ʔ'a-γ
OR-OBJ1SG-SBJ3SG-say-PF
'The girl told me that you bought a book' Adg
- c. S'ałə s'ə-j-k'a-na-g'ə z-bja-q'a
you SBJ2PL-OR-go-PRS.PL-GER SBJ1PL-see-PF
'I have seen that you are coming' Ubkh

Compare also section 3.3., where it is pointed out that indicative complement forms occur with this group of matrix predicates under certain conditions.

A clause reflecting direct speech is given in the indicative, preceded by the matrix subject and followed by the verb ə-ʔ'a-γ 'said'. In indirect speech the complement predicate is changed into a participle or gerund, with appropriate changes of person (speaker first person to reported third person).

- (65) a. S-šəpχ°ə-m “ʔ°efs'ap'e-m se-k°'e” ə-ʔ°a-γ
 POSS1SG-sister-ERG work-ERG SBJ3SG-go.PRS SBJ3SG-say-PF
 ‘My sister said: “I am is going to work” ’ Adg
- b. S-šəpχ°ə-m ʔ°efs'ap'e-m (ø)-k°'e-w ə-ʔ°a-γ
 POSS1SG-sister-ERG work-ERG SBJ3SG-go.PRS-GER SBJ3SG-say-PF
 ‘My sister said that she is going to work’ Adg
- (66) a. S'ak°'e-m “Dəγ°əz'ə-r q'ə-z-wəč'-a-s' ”
 hunter-ERG wolf-ABS OR-SBJ1SG-kill-PF-ASRT
 ž-i-ʔ-a-s'
 LOC-S3SG-say-PF-ASRT
 ‘The hunter said: “I killed the wolf” ’ Kbr
- b. S'ak°'e-m dəγ°əz'ə-r q'ə-zər-i-wəč'-a-r
 hunter-ERG wolf-ABS OR-PART-SBJ3SG-kill-PF-ABS
 ž-i-ʔ-a-s'
 LOC-SBJ3SG-say-PF-ASRT
 ‘The hunter said that he killed the wolf’ Kbr
- (67) a. A-x'ac'a “Lara a-šəq'ə
 ART-man: she ART-book
 d-a-px'a-wa-jt' ”
 SBJ3SG.HUM-OBJ3SG.NHUM-read-DYN-FIN.PRS
 ø-jə-h°a-jt'
 DO3SG-SBJ3SG-say-FIN.AOR
 ‘The man said: “She is reading a book” ’ Abkh
- b. Lara a-šəq'ə
 She ART-book
 də-š-a-px'a-wa-z
 SBJ3SG.HUM-PART-OBJ3SG.NHUM-read-DYN-NFIN.IMPERF
 a-x'ac'a ø-jə-h°a-jt'
 ART-man DO3SG-SBJ3SG-say-FIN.AOR
 ‘The man said that she is reading a book’ Abkh

Among the immediate perception verbs, certain verbs may also function as predicates of knowledge, as in (68a). This is reflected in which temporal categories are allowed in the complement. As an immediate perception verb the time reference of the matrix and complement verb are required to overlap (68b), whereas the time reference of the complement is not determined by the knowledge matrix verb.

- (68) a. A-š' zeχ-je-χə w-je-že-w
 he-ERG LOC-SBJ3SG-hear.PRS SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read.PRS-GER
 (w-je-ža-ye-w, w-je-že-š'te-w)
 SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read-PF-GER, SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read-FUT-GER
 'He hears that you are reading/were reading/will be reading' Adg
- b. A-š' je-ley°ə w-je-že-w
 he-ERG SBJ3SG-see.PRS SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read.PRS-GER
 (*w-je-že-ya-w, *w-je-že-š'te-w)
 SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read-PF-GER, SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read-FUT-GER
 'He sees that you are reading (*were reading, *will be reading)' Adg

4.3.2 Commentative predicates

Commentative predicates and also verbs such as 'pretend', 'remember (that)', 'forget (that)' take participial (but not gerundival) complements (69a-e).

- (69) a. D-ax'ə-š'ta-z bzəja-wp'
 SBJ3SG.HUM-PART-lie-NFIN.PAST good-FIN.PRS.STAT
 'It is good that he was lying' Abkh
- b. Pež-t di-malxe-m mašəne-r
 truth-IMPF POSS3SG-brother.in.law-ERG car.ABS
 q'ə-zer-i-s'eχ°-a-r
 OR-PART-SBJ3SG-buy-PF-ABS
 'It was true that my bother-in-law bought a car' Kbr
- c. A-x'ə a-s'°abla-n (ø)-g'ə-mə-t
 DEF-prince.ABS DEF-country-ERG SBJ3SG-LOC-NEG-be-PART
 (ø)-y°a-najt'
 SBJ3SG-seem-IMPF
 'It seemed to her that the prince was not in that country' Ubkh
- d. We se q'ale-m wə-zerə-s-š-a-r
 you I town-ERG DO2SG-PART-SBJ1SG-take-PF-ABS
 p-s'əy°əps'e-ž-a-s'
 SBJ2SG-forget-REV-PF-ASRT
 'You have already forgotten that I took you to town' Kbr
- e. Də-šə-čmazay°ə-z w-za-jt'
 SBJ3SG.HUM-PART-be.ill-NFIN-PAST SBJ2SG.MASC-hide-FIN.AOR
 'You hid that he was ill' Abkh

4.3.3 Modal verbs

In all the NWCL, modal verbs in a broader sense, corresponding to verbs such as ‘can’, ‘want’, including phasal verbs, select gerundival forms for their complements (70) or nominalized forms (verbal nouns and infinitives) as in (71a-b). The gerund used in complements of this group of matrix predicates differs from gerundival complements of epistemic matrix verbs in that there is no tense marking. The morphologically unmarked gerund used here corresponds to the present form in the temporal paradigm.

- (70) A-məz a-wax-g'ə (ø)-my'a-w-q'a
 DEF-child SBJ3SG-cry-GER SBJ3SG-LOC-begin-PF.SG
 ‘The child began to cry’ Ubkh
- (71) a. Fəzə-m jə-də-nə-r jə-wəχ-a-s'
 woman-ERG POSS3SG-sew-VN-ABS SBJ3SG-finish-PF-ASRT
 ‘The woman finished (her) sewing’ Kbr
- b. A-ga-ra s-a-q'°əc'ə-jt'
 ART-carry-VN SBJ1SG-OBJ3SG.NHUM-stop-FIN.AOR
 ‘I stopped carrying’ Abkh

4.3.4 Manipulative verbs

Verbs in this group select infinitive and masdar complements (72). Quite often the matrix verb itself includes the causative prefix, as in (72b). However, in such cases the causative prefix has lost its strong causative meaning and functions as a transitivizing prefix.

- (72) a. L'ə-m q'ə-z-ž-i-ʔ-a-s'
 man-ERG OR-OBJ1SG-LOC-SBJ3SG-say-PF-ASRT
 məbdejž sə-s'ə-tə-nəw
 here SBJ1SG-LOC-stand-INF
 ‘The man told me to stand here’ Kbr
- b. De fe fə-q'e-d-ye-deʔ°-a-s'
 we you DO2PL-OR-SBJ1PL-CAUS-hear-PF-ASRT
 fi-lez'əye-r nobe fə-wəχə-nəw
 POSS2PL-work-ABS today SBJ2PL-finish-INF
 ‘We persuaded you to finish your work today’ Kbr
- c. Se we sə-we-leʔ° psənč'ew pismo-r
 I you SBJ1SG-OBJ2SG-ask.PRS quickly letter-ABS
 p-tχə-new
 SBJ2SG-write-INF
 ‘I ask you to write a letter’ Adg

4.3.5 Raising verbs

A small number of raising verbs are found in the Circassian languages: *ləten* (Kbr, Adg), *pčən* (Adg), *bzən* (Kbr) ‘consider’, *s’°es’°ən* (Adg), *f’es’°ən* (Kab) ‘seem’.

In (73a) *we* ‘you’ is the subject of the non-finite, stative complement predicate *wəs’ak°ew*, that includes the second person subject marker *wə-*. In (b) the status of *we* ‘you’ has changed; here it is case marked as the object of the matrix predicate, which also includes the corresponding object marker. At the same time, the complement predicate has lost its subject marker.

- (73) a. Fəzə-m we wə-s’ak°e-w jə-ləte-t
 woman-ERG you SBJ2SG-hunter.PRS-ADV SBJ3SG-consider-IMPF
 ‘The woman thinks (considers) that you are a hunter’ Kbr
- b. Fəzə-m we s’ak°e-w wə-j-ləte-t
 woman-ERG you hunter-ADV DO2SG-SBJ3SG-consider-IMPF
 ‘The woman considers you a hunter’ Kbr
- c. Zeč’°e-mə-j s’°e c’əf deγ°e-w s’°-a-ləte
 all-ERG-COORD you person good-ADV DO2PL-SBJ3PL-hear.PRS
 ‘And all consider you good people’ Adg

4.5 Complement types and finite/non-finite features

We have seen that there is a range of complement types in the NWCL with different verbal and nominal features. The forms occurring in complement clauses are predominantly of the dependent type, or non-finite type in traditional Caucasian terminology (i.e. they are always dependent on the presence of some other finite verb form).

To a varying degree, the dependent verb forms are marked for tense, subject and object agreement. Participles encode the same categories as finite verbs, but a smaller set of tense forms compared to the finite forms. Gerunds are split into two types, where one is marked for tense and the other is not. Infinitives do not distinguish tense. They are generally marked for subject person, but allow ‘subject marker’-drop with phasal verbs (see 26a). Finally, in the most nominal of the complement types, the masdar, the subject is marked as an NP possessor. Any direct object is marked as an attributive noun.

In Table 4 the complement types are arranged on a scale ranging from free (non-dependent) forms with full marking of tense, subject and object agreement to reduced specification of these categories. The distribution of the classes of matrix verbs given in the table represents the core cases common to all or a majority of the NWCL.

Table 4. Finite/non-finite features of the complement predicates

<i>Complement type</i>		<i>Classes of matrix verbs</i>
Finite	[+Free, +Tense, +SBJ, +OBJ]	Saying: direct quote
Participle	[-Free, +Tense, +SBJ, +OBJ]	Knowledge, Saying, Perception, Commentative
Gerund1	[-Free, +Tense, +SBJ, +OBJ]	Knowledge, Saying, Perception
Gerund2	[-Free, -Tense, +SBJ, +OBJ]	Modal
Infinitive1	[-Free, -Tense, +SBJ, +OBJ]	Manipulative, Modal
Infinitive2	[-Free, -Tense, -SBJ, +OBJ]	Phasal
Masdar	[-Free, -Tense, POSS.SBJ]	Phasal, Manipulative

Not surprisingly, the complement types which independently express both tense and subject reference in the upper part of the table correlate with matrix verbs used for the least tightly integrated types of situation where the matrix and complement clauses represent separate events (cf. Givon 1990). Towards the lower part of the table are found matrix predicates used in situations that are more tightly integrated, where the matrix and complement clauses represent two merging or overlapping events. Features of merging, i.e. coreference between the complement subject and matrix subject or object and determined time reference (cf. Noonan 1985) correlate here with complement types that lack marking of tense and subject reference.

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Glosses

ABS	Absolutive case
ADV	Adverbial case
AOR	Aorist
ART	Article
ASRT	Assertive
CAUS	Causative
COM	Comitative
COND	Conditional
COORD	Coordinative
DEF	Definite
DO	Direct object
DYN	Dynamic
ERG	Ergative case

FEM	Feminine
FIN	Finite
FUT	Future
GER	Gerund
HUM	Human
IMPF	Imperfect(ive)
INF	Infinitive
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Interrogative
ITR	Intransitive
MASC	Masculine
NEG	Negating
NHUM	Non-human
NVOL	Nonvolitional
OBJ	Object
OR	Oriental
PART	Participial
PCOND	Purposive-conditional
PF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PLUP2	Pluperfect2
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PRS	Present tense
REFL	Reflexive
REV	Reversed action
SBJ	Subject
SG	Singular
STAT	Stative
TR	Transitive
V	Version
VN	Verbal noun (Masdar)

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Complementation in the Kartvelian Languages¹

Karina Vamling and Revaz Tchantouria

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
act praiseworthy
'a praiseworthy act' Geo
- b. saxli mamisa čemisaj
house.NOM father.GEN my.GEN.NOM
'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/Absolutive	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’av
2SG	ø-, h-, x-, s-		g-	2SG	3 ø-xat’av	3	2SG g-xat’av
1PL	v- -t		gv-	1PL	3 v-xat’av-t	3	1PL gv-xat’av
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

The corresponding examples in Megrelian are:

- (33) a. *nik'ok tku: 'č'ume meurk'*
 Niko.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.say.AOR: "tomorrow SBJ1SG.leave.PRS"
 'Niko said: 'I am leaving tomorrow'.'
 Megr
- 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.'
 Megr

Despite the presence of the final quotative marker, the initial complementisers *rom* Geo (31b) and *namda* Megr (34) are usually present in quotative constructions.

- (34) *k'itxə e bošikə ni, uc'iis namda:*
 SBJ3SG.OBJ3.ask.AOR that boy.ERG when, SBJ3PL.IO3.OBJ3.tell.AOR that

– višoiani 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

3.3 Moods occurring in subordinate clauses

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).

- (35) a. *magidis meore mxares rom visxdet, upro*
 table.GEN other side.DAT if SBJ1PL.sit.PRS.SUBJ more

gamioldeboda mdgomareoba
 SBJ3SG.IO1SG.easy.HAB situation.NOM
 'If we had been sitting at the other side of the table, my position had been easier.'
 (Panzhikidze, cited by Papidze 1987:21)
 Geo

- b. mivxvdi, sasacilo-a, ižde am
 SBJ1SG.OBJ3.understand.AOR ridiculous-is SBJ2SG.sit.PRS.SUBJ this
- gamoqruebul raion-ši da k'acabriobis 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. gal-gica sasumeli šesumad
SBJ2SG.OBJ3.can.PRS bowl.NOM drink.INF
‘You can “drink the bowl”.’ Old Geo
- b. giɟlavs sasumelisa šesumad
SBJ2SG.OBJ3.can.PRS bowl.GEN drink.INF
‘You can “drink the bowl”.’ Old Geo

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 zirapa-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 čwämešđan 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.NOM
'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)

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