1  Circassian Clause Structure
   Mukhadin Kumakhov & Karina Vamling

2  Language, History and Cultural Identities in the Caucasus
   Papers from the conference, June 17-19 2005
   Edited by Karina Vamling

3  Conference in the fields of Migration – Society – Language

4  Caucasus Studies: Migration – Society – Language
   Papers from the conference, November 28-30 2008
   Edited by Karina Vamling

5  Complementation in the Northwest and South Caucasian Languages
   Edited by Karina Vamling
COMPLEMENTATION
in the Northwest and South Caucasian Languages

Edited by Karina Vamling

Malmö University
Faculty of Culture and Society
Department of GPS
Sweden
Caucasus Studies 5

Complementation in the Northwest and South Caucasian Languages
Edited by Karina Vamling

Published by Malmö University
Faculty of Culture and Society
Department of Global Political Studies
S-20506 Malmö, www.mau.se

© 2018, Department of Global Political Studies and the authors
Cover illustration: Caucasus Mountains (K. Vamling)
DOI 10.24834/978-91-7104-973-5
Contents

Introduction 7

Complementation in the Northwest Caucasian Languages 11
Mukhadin Kumakhov and Karina Vamling

Complementation in the Kartvelian Languages 45
Karina Vamling and Revaz Tchantouria

Index 80
Contributors

Mukhadin Kumakhov, Professor (d. 2008)
Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, Russia

Revaz Tchantouria, Senior Lecturer, PhD
Caucasus Studies, Department of Gobal Political Studies
Faculty of Culture and Society
Malmö University
Malmö, Sweden

Karina Vamling, Professor
Caucasus Studies, Department of Gobal Political Studies
Faculty of Culture and Society
Malmö University
Malmö, Sweden

Contact: karina.vamling@mau.se
Introduction
Karina Vamling

1 The topic of complementation

The two articles\(^1\) in this volume\(^2\) 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):

\[
\text{(1) a. De t-s'ayaps'-a-s' fe fə-q'-je-d-yebleye-n}
\text{ we S1PL-forget-PERF-ASSRT you O2PL-DIR-S1PL-invite-INF}
\text{ ‘We forgot to invite you’}
\]

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.
predicates. The complement types are distinguished as indicative, subjunctive, infinitival, nominalization, participial. Various types of dependencies between the matrix and complement clauses occur. For instance, the matrix verb try restricts the time reference of the complement clause, whereas a matrix predicate like know does not. The time reference of the action in the complement clause has to follow the time reference of a main clause with try. The matrix predicate know allows different time references (I know that she will come / that she came). Some matrix predicates (such as doubt, believe) may have an impact on the truth-value of the complement, whereas other matrix predicates (regret, be important) imply shared or background knowledge. The matrix predicate may also restrict the identity of the subject of the complement predicate (e.g. force, begin, manage). In view of such dependencies, the morphological repertoire and syntactic possibilities of the various types of complement predicates make them more likely to occur with certain types of matrix predicates than with others. As mentioned above, the complement predicates in the Caucasian languages are morphologically rich and show many differences compared to more well-known European languages. These dependencies are further explored in the articles in this volume. Here, we will only give a few illustrative examples. The complement predicate in (2a) is a subjunctive form with subject and object markers compared to an infinitive in the corresponding English sentence. In the Kabardian example (2b) the complement predicate is realized as a case marked participle with subject and object agreement, whereas we find a finite verb in the corresponding English complement clause.

(2) a. v-exmarebi vano-s, rom man es gaak’etos
S1SG-O3SG.help.PRS Vano-DAT that he.ERG it.NOM S3SG.O3SG.do.OPT
‘I helped Vano to do it.’ (Vamling 1989, 91)

b. (Se) s-o-s’e (wə) (se)
O1SG-OR-PART-S2SG-lead-PERF-ABS
‘I know that you brought me here.’ (Kumakhov & Vamling 2009: 64) Kab

Two concepts that are used in the study originate from Ransom (1986): Truth and Action modality types, that are dependent on the higher predicate. They refer to different interpretations of the complement as being related to the truth of the proposition expressed by the complement clause (Truth modality) or involving the performance of an action (Action modality). These concepts are used in accounting for the distribution of complement types as subjunctive and indicative complements:
(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.

References


Complementation in the Northwest Caucasian Languages

Mukhadin Kumakhov 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 (Ubkh) 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-Cherkessia), 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.

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: do-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 -xe in s’ozə, s’oz-xe-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 – c’ə ‘horse(s)’ – but does express it in the ergative case c’ə-n, c’ə-na ‘horse, horses’, demonstrative ja-c’ə, jola-c’ə ‘this horse, these horses’ and possessive sə-c’ə, sō-c’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 suffixification 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’

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set I markers [S, P]</th>
<th>Set II</th>
<th>Set III markers [A]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>s(ə)-</td>
<td>s(ə)-</td>
<td>s(ə)-, z-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>w(ə)-</td>
<td>w(ə)-</td>
<td>w(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.</td>
<td>b(ə)-</td>
<td>b(ə)-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>d(ə)-</td>
<td>j(ə)-</td>
<td>j(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hum.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non hum.</td>
<td>j(ə)-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-, na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>h(ə)-</td>
<td>h(ə)-</td>
<td>h(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>s˚(ə)-</td>
<td>s˚(ə)-</td>
<td>s˚(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>j(ə)-</td>
<td>r(ə)-</td>
<td>r(ə)-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prefixes from the three series are illustrated in the transitive verb in (4a) and the intransitive in (4b).

(4) a.  jə-l-b-o-ʃt’
   DO3SG.NHUM-SBJ3SG.FEM-see-DYN-PRS.FIN
   ‘She (III) sees it (I)’
   Abkh

b.  w-a-s’ta-l-o-ʃt’
   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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adyghe</th>
<th>Kabardian</th>
<th>Ubykh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>se-, s(ə)-, z-</td>
<td>se-, s(ə)-, z(ə)-</td>
<td>s(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>we-, w(ə)-, p-</td>
<td>we-, w(ə)-, b-, p-</td>
<td>w(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>je-, j(ə), ə-, te-, ta-</td>
<td>je-, j(ə), me-, ma-</td>
<td>je-, j(ə), ə-, n(ə)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>te-, t(ə)-, t’, d-</td>
<td>de-, d(ə)-, t-, t’-</td>
<td>s’(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>s”e-, s”(ə)-, z”-</td>
<td>fə-, f(ə)-, v-, f’-</td>
<td>s’(ə)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>ja-, a-, me-, ma-</td>
<td>ja-, a-, me-, ma-</td>
<td>a-, na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The agreement markers show transparent similarities to pronouns in all the NWCL. Compare, for instance, the system of personal pronouns in Abkhaz (Lomtatidze 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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>sara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>wara (Masc), bara (Fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>jara ‘he’, lara ‘she’, jara ‘it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>hara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>s’ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’

b. T’exμk’’e-m tɕələ-r o-tɕə-ɣ
writer-ERG book-ABS SBJ3SG-write-PF
‘The writer wrote a book’

c. fəzə-m jə-psale
woman-ERG POSS3SG-word
‘The woman’s word’

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’’a-n yə-q’a yə-byə-q’a
DEF-old.man-ERG POSS3SG-son SBJ3SG-see-PF
‘The old man saw his son’

b. Yara a-x’ə’ə də-j-aa3-o-jt’
he ART-child DO3SG.HUM-SBJ3SG.MASC-foster-DYN-FIN
‘He raises the child’

c. A-x’ə’ə yara də-j-aa3-o-jt’
ART-child he DO3SG.HUM-SBJ3SG.MASC-foster-DYN-FIN
‘The child raises him’

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-ɣ
    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 POS3SG-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 dac’xe-č’e-r-əy
    POSS1SG-wood house big beautiful-PL-ABS-C OORD
    ‘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.
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.

\[
(13) \quad (\text{s}a) \quad (\text{w}\text{a}) \quad (a-\text{s}') \quad w\text{a}-\text{fe}-s'\text{a}-\text{y} \\
\text{I you he-ERG DO2SG-(OBJ3SG)-V-SBJ1SG-lead-PF} \quad \text{Adg} \\
\text{‘I lead you to him (or for him)’}
\]

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 NWCL. 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 include 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 Lomtatidze, 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˚a in Abkhaz seems to have such functions. It occurs mostly with non-finite complements but also in indicative complements. The particle h˚a is found only in Abkhaz. Due to the presence of ax’ə-the particle h˚a is optional in (14a).

(14) a. W-ax’ə-m-ca-wa pšə-m (h˚a)
    SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-NEG-go-DYN.NFIN.PRS beautiful-NEG (that)
    jə-sə-px’ə-aʒ-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-ș’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. Nәwe-m [ps'as'e-m ʒane-r (ø)-zer-i-dә-ye-r] old.woman-ERG girl-ERG shirt-ABS DO3SG-PART-SBJ3SG-sew-PF-ABS ə-ɬeγ’ә-γ SBJ3SG-see-PF ‘The old woman saw that the girl sewed a shirt’ Adg

b. *Nәwe-m [(ø)-zer-i-dә-ye-r ps'as'e-m ʒane-r] ə-ɬeγ’ә-γ Adg

Compare (15b) with the corresponding simple sentence (16), where the VSO order is acceptable.

(16) ə-ðә-γ ps'as'e-m ʒane-r SBJ3SG-sew-PF girl-ERG shirt-ABS ‘The girl sewed a shirt’ Adg

3.3 Indicative complement clauses

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’әɾәʔ-e-n ‘understand’, lay’ә-n ‘see’ (17a). Similar examples are found in Abkhaz (17b).

(17) a. De d-o-ɬaγ’ ә-bә tɣәl je-tγ we SBJ1PL-DYN-see.PRS he-ERG book.ABS SBJ3SG-write.PRS ‘We see (that) he writes a book’ Kbr

b. Jә-z-daɾ-wa-ʃt’ DO3SG.NHUM-SBJ1SG-know-DYN-FIN.PRS b-ca-wa-ʃt’ SBJ2SG.FEM-go-DYN-FIN.PRS ‘I know (that) you (woman) are going’ Abkh

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.

Indicative forms are also found in Abkhaz complement clauses with the particle h’a functionally corresponding to a complementizer. Etymologically, it is clearly related to the verb a-h’a-ra ‘say’.
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: $\dot{s}(\sigma)$- (Abkh, Abz), $\dot{d}\dot{y}a$- (Ubkh) and $z\dot{e}r(\sigma)$- (Adg, Kbr). The prefixes have a meaning corresponding to the indicative complementizer ‘that’ (glossed as ‘PART’).

(19) a. Wə-s-aaw-ə-wə-mət' z-dər-wa-jt'  
SBJ2SG.MASC-PART-come-PF  SBJ1SG-know-DYN  
'I know, that you come here’  
Abkh

b. Jə-ʃə-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'dak' də-k'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-zərə-k'q'-ə-yə-r se-s'e  
(you) SBJ2SG-OR-2-PART-go-PF-ABS SBJ1SG-know.PRS  
'I know that you came (here)’  
Adg

e. Adə-əm jə-q'q'e-m wəne ə-z-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 $\dot{s}(\sigma)$- (Abkh, Abz), the prefixes $ax'(\sigma)$- (Abkh), $\dot{q}a$-/ax'ə$\dot{q}a$- (Abz). The prefixes are particularly often found in complements of commentative predicates (20b).

5 Orientation, usually marking direction of action towards the speaker.
Participles in these languages are used in adjectival and relative (21) functions as well.

(21)  
\[ \text{child.ABS DO3SG-SBJ2SG-carry-PF-ABS} \]  
\['the child that you carried' \]  
\[ \text{Adg} \]

### 3.5 Gerundival complement clauses

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

(22)  
\[ \text{Sara d-č''ø-wa} \]  
\['Sara began to cry' \]  
\[ \text{Abz} \]

b.  
\[ \text{A-č’k''an d-a-s-wa} \]  
\['The boy started hitting' \]  
\[ \text{Abkh} \]

c.  
\[ \text{Wə-k’a-w-n wə-g’ə-n wa-l} \]  
\['You intend to go' \]  
\[ \text{Ubkh} \]

d.  
\[ \text{(Te) tə-g’ə’s’e-w tə-wəbla-γ} \]  
\['We started talking’ \]  
\[ \text{Adg} \]

e.  
\[ \text{(Fe) šə-r f-s’a-we si-g’əγ-a-s’} \]  
\['I thought that you had sold the horse’ \]  
\[ \text{Kbr} \]
Gerunds have a rich morphology, including, for instance, comitative markers (a) and markers of orientation, reversed action and potentialis (b).

(23) a. (Səɣ˚a)  sø-w-ʒ’ə-k”-a-w-n  s-lak”-a-w
(1) SBJ1SG-OBJ2SG-COM-go-FUT-GER  SBJ1SG-can-FUT
‘I can go together with you’

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’

In other contexts gerunds have adverbial functions (24).

(24) a. We  tɣʌ-ɬə-m  w-je-ʒ-a-we  wə-s’ə-s-s'
‘You are sitting having read the book’

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’

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-ɣ
(you) SBJ2SG-sleep-INF  SBJ2SG-want-PF
‘You wanted to sleep’

b. (Sə) (we) (a-bə-ɣe-m)
(l) (you) (he-ERG-PL-ERG)
w-a-de-ʒe-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’
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 wone-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 wone-r *ø/t’-s”ə-n t-leč”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) t’xe-na-r tə-wəble-ž’ə-š’əγ
   (we) write-VN-ABS SBJ1PL-begin-REV-IMPF
   ‘We continued writing’
   Adg

d. (Fe) fi-je-γe-že-na-r
   (you) POSS2PL-OBJ3SG-CAUS-study-VN-ABS

   s”ə-v-o-że-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
the masdar. As seen from the examples below, the possessive prefix attaches to this preposed noun (and not to the head noun, cf. also (11)). Both coreference (28a) and disjoint subject reference (28b) are possible here.

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

b. We [si-ʒane də-na-r] b-ye-wəʔ-a-s'  
you POSS1SG-shirt sew-VN-ABS SBJ2SG-CAUS-stop.ITR-PF-ASRT  
‘You stopped my sewing the shirt’  
Kbr

3.8 Interrogative complements

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.

(29) a. (Se) s-s''e-r-ep s''ə-k''e-ra  
(I) SBJ1SG-know-DYN-NEG SBJ2SG-go.PRS-INT  
s''ə-mə-k''e-ra  
SBJ2SG-NEG-go.PRS-INT  
‘I don't know if you go or not’  
Adg

b. (We) wə-q'ə-ze-wəp's''a-ɣat wə-s-leɣ''a-re  
(you) SBJ2SG-OR-OBJ1SG-ask-PLUP2 DO2SG-SBJ1SG-see-PF-INT  
wə-z-mə-leɣ''a-re  
DO2SG-SBJ1SG-NEG-see-PF-INT  
‘You asked me whether I had seen you or not’  
Kbr

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

(30) (Sə) a-r k''e-maj qə-s-s''e-š't  
(I) he-ABS go.PRS-if OR-SBJ1SG-find.out-FUT  
‘I will find out if he goes’  
Adg

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: zəs' (Adg), s' (Kbr) ‘where, when’, zde- (Adg, Kbr)
'where, to where', *zero*- '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 meza-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"e-r-ep
you SBJ2SG-how-go-PART-ABS I SBJ1SG-know-PRS-NEG
‘I don’t know how you go.’ Adg

c. P'sas'ye-r zde-s'asə-r e'ale-m jə-ley'ə-ɣ
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 sats'əy'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 sats'əy'e ‘when’ is no longer allowed (32b). The interrogative suffix -re is added to the matrix verb.

(32) a. A-r meza-m sats'əy'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 meza-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-t
(l) (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. ñ’eχəšχ’e-t tχoɬ-r p-tχo-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) Deɣ’e-s’nobe zə-b-γeps’ə-n (-ə-, -r, -č’e, -w)
nice-ASRT today REFL-SBJ2SG-bathe-INF (-ə-, 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’әps’-a-q’am (fe) fə-zero-s-laɣ’ə-n
(l) SBJ1SG-forget-PF-NEG (you) DO2PL-PART-S1SG-see-INF

χ’əj-a-r (=fə-s-laɣ’ə-n zərə-χ’əj-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. Wa-na-gəɬ s-h’a-t’
SBJ2SG:MASC-OR-stand.up.IMP SBJ1SG-say-FIN.PRS
‘I ordered you to stand up’ Abz
3.10 Causatives

Among the NWCL only Ubykh has an analytic causative construction. The two components of the construction are the complement verb and causative matrix verb with the root -š- ‘do’.

(38)  A-wə-n-t’  yeq-sə-šə-n
      DO3SG-OBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-give Particle-SBJ1SG-do-PRS.SG
‘I made him give him to you’ (Dumézil 1975: 92)  Ubkh

Tense, mood, causative, negating and interrogative markers are found only in the matrix verb, which is placed in postposition to the complement verb.

(39)  A-fa-w’q’  yeq-sə-m-də-šə-n
      DO3SG-LOC-OBJ2SG-cut Particle-SBJ1SG-NEG-CAUS-do-PRS.SG
‘I do not make you cut him’ (Dumézil 1975: 178)  Ubkh

Morphological causatives are found in all NWCL. The causative forms are marked by prefixes before the verbal root: r- (Abkh), rə- (Abz), də- (Ubkh), ɣe- (Adg, Kbr).

(40)  a.  sə-w-da-q’’at”q’a  b.  wə-z-ɣe-k”e-s“t
      DO1SG-SBJ2SG-CAUS-stay-PF.SG  DO2SG-SBJ1SG-CAUS-go-FUT
‘You made me stay’  Ubkh  ‘I make you go’  Adg

c.  wə-l-sə-r-ba-jt’
      DO2SG.MASC-OBJ3SG.FEM-SBJ1SG-CAUS-see-FIN.AOR
‘I made you see her’  Abkh

d.  jə-w-d-ra-fə-jt’
      DO3SG.NHUM-OBJ2SG.MASC-SBJ3PL-CAUS-eat-FIN.PRS
‘They make you (masc.) eat it’  Abz

The subject of the intransitive assumes the grammatical role of direct object of the transitive (41a). This role (=DO) is retained in the causative of the transitive, while the causee becomes an indirect object (41b-c).

(41)  a.  Se  a-r  sə-z-ɣe-t-a-s’
      I  he-ABS  LOC-SBJ1SG-CAUS-stand-PF-ASRT
‘I made him stand.’  Kbr

b.  Wə-s-h-a-s’
      DO2SG-SBJ1SG-carry-PF-ASRT
‘I carried you.’  Kbr
c. Se we a-bə w-je-z-ɣe-h-a-s’
I you he-ABS DO2SG-OBJ3SG-SBJ1SG-CAUS-carry-PF-ASRT
‘I made him carry you.’

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-ɣe-z’a-ɣ
DO3SG-SBJ1SG-CAUS-become.fried-PF
‘I fry it’

b. ø-sə-j-ɣe-ɣe-z’a-ɣ
DO3SG-OBJ1SG-SBJ3SG-CAUS-CAUS-become.fried-PF
‘he made me fry it’

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-ɣ
OBJ1SG-SBJ2SG-POT-carry-PF
‘You could carry me’

b. wə-m-k’a-fa-n
SBJ2SG-NEG-go-POT-PRS.SG
‘You couldn’t go’

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-zɣe-a-s’ a-bə nobe
I he-ABS DO3SG-SBJ1SG-force-PF-ASRT he-ERG today

leẓ’əɣe-r jə-wəɣə-nu
work-ABS SBJ3SG-finish-INF
‘I forced him to finish the work today’

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 la-r jə-šə-ə-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’ [tʃə-lə-r p-tʃə-ə-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 transitivizing 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’awə-r zəre-səməxe-m nə-r je-ye-q’əməe’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) Sə-s-ə-šəne wə-q’ə-zərə-k’u-nə-m s’heé’e
    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 examplified 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 *jo-murad-r* ‘intention’. The complement clause is thus embedded in the NP.

\[(49) \quad \text{A-bə [mašone } \text{jə-ðəɣ’ə-nəw ] } \text{jo-murad-r} \]
\[\text{he-ERG car.ABS SBJ3SG-steal-INF POSS3SG-intention-ABS} \]
\[\quad \text{‘His intention to steal the car…’} \]

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.

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

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

\[(51) \quad \text{A-s’ah’a-ra wa-q’əc’ə-jt’} \]
\[\text{ART-sing-VN SBJ2SG-stop-FIN.AOR} \]
\[\quad \text{‘You stopped singing’} \quad \text{Abkh} \]

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).

\[(52) \quad \text{a. L’ə-r s’əzə-m jə-s’e q’ə-zere-k’ə-ye-r} \]
\[\text{man-ABS woman-ERG SBJ3SG-know.PRS OR-PART-go-PF-ABS} \]
\[\quad \text{‘The woman knows that the man came’} \quad \text{Adg} \]
\[\text{b. *Anzor Murat jə-s’e q’ə-zere-k’ə-ye-r} \]
\[\text{Anzor Murat SBJ3SG-know.PRS OR-PART-go-PF-ABS} \]
\[\quad \text{‘Anzor knows that Murat came’} \quad \text{Adg} \]
First and second personal pronouns also lack the opposition ergative-absolutive. However, this non-distinctness is compensated for by the information given by the overt agreement markers in the matrix and complement predicates.

(53) Se we p’s’e-t sə-zərə-laz’e-r
I you SBJ2SG-know-IMPF SBJ1SG-PART-work.PRS-ABS
‘You knew that I am working’ Kbr

4.2 Case marking, coreference and pro-drop

Subject case assignment and the presence of overt complement subjects are closely related to referential conditions between the matrix subject/object and the complement subject.

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

(54) a. L’ə-m/-r ʂχ-e-n s’i-ʒ-a-s’
man-ERG/-ABS eat. ITR-INF LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PRF-ASRT
‘The man began to eat’ Kbr

b. L’ə-m/-r ɭə-r jə-ʂχ-a-n
man-ERG/-ABS meat-ABS SBJ3SG-eat.TR-INF
me-ʂǝne SBJ3SG-be.afraid. ITR.PRS
‘The man is afraid to eat the meat’ Kbr

The first requirement is, of course, that the matrix and the complement predicate differ in transitivity and hence also in their case assignment properties. In (54a) the matrix predicate is transitive and the complement intransitive. In (54b) the situation is the reverse: the complement predicate is transitive and the matrix is intransitive. In both cases there is a choice between the ergative and absolutive cases for the subject.

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).

(55) L’ə-m/-r (ə)-zərə-səməʒ-e-r je-s’e-ʒ
man-ERG/-ABS SBJ3SG-PART-be.ill.PRS-ABS SBJ3SG-know.PRS-REV
‘The man remembers that he is ill’ Kbr

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

32
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.

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.
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’

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.ITR-INF LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PF-ASRT
‘The man began to eat’

b. ø/*Abø l’ə-r šχe-n s”-i-ʒ-a-s’
he-ERG man-ABS eat.ITR-INF LOC-SBJ3SG-begin.TR-PF-ASRT
‘The man began to eat’

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

(61) Zine Anzor je-leʔ’ə-ɣ ø/*abø 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’

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

(62) A-bo je-lər’ we wə-k*’e-n
he-ERG SBJ3SG-see.PRS you SBJ2SG-go-INF
wə-zero-χɛj-r
SBJ2SG-PART-want-ABS
‘He sees that you want to go’
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. Tē te-s"e we wa-zere-səmeʒa-ye-r
    SBJ1PL-know.PRS you SBJ2SG-PART-be.ill-PF-ABS
    ‘We know that you were ill’
    Adg

b. Sa-š-ca-z wa-h"a-jt’
    SBJ1SG-PART-go-INF-PAST SBJ2SG-say-FIN.AOR
    ‘You said that I went away’
    Abkh

c. ɣa-px’a a-tat (o)-da-dwa-q’a (o)-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-ðər-wa-jt’
    SBJ2SG-go-DYN-GER SBJ1PL-know-DYN-FIN.PRS
    ‘We know that you go’
    Abkh

b. Ps’as’e-m we tʃələ-r qə-p-ʃəfə-ye-w
girl-ERG you book-ABS OR-SBJ2SG-buy-PF-GER
    qə-s-i-ʔa-ɣ
    OR-OBJ1SG-SBJ3SG-say-PF
    ‘The girl told me that you bought a book’
    Adg

c. S’aľa s”ə-j-k’a-na-gə z-bja-q’a
    you SBJ2PL-OR-go-PRT.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 ʔə’ʔa-ɣ ‘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).
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.
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. A-š' zeč-je-χə w-je-ʒe-w
   he-ERG LOC-SBJ3SG-hear.PRS SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read.PRS-GER
   (w-je-ʒa-ye-w, w-je-ʒe-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-ʒe-w
   he-ERG SBJ2SG-see.PRS SBJ2SG-OBJ3SG-read.PRS-GER
   (*w-je-ʒe-ya-w, *w-je-ʒe-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

| Commentative predicates
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Commentative predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69) a. D-ax'a-š'ta-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Pež-t di-malxe-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. A-x'ə a-s”ablə-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. We se  q’ale-m wa-zerə-s-š-a-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Də-šə-čmazay’ə-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69) b. Dax'a-š'ta-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69) c. A-x'ə a-s”ablə-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69) d. We se  q’ale-m wa-zerə-s-š-a-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(69) e. Də-šə-čmazay’ə-z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(69) a. D-ax'a-š'ta-z          
   SBJ3SG.HUM-PART-lie-NFIN.PAST  bzaja-wp’
   ‘It is good that he was lying’      Abkh

   b. Pež-t di-malxe-m           
   truth-IMPF POSS3SG-brother.in.law-ERG car.ABS
   mašone-r
   q’ə-zer-i-s'eχ’-a-r
   OR-PART-SBJ3SG-buy-PF-ABS
   ‘It was true that my brother-in-law bought a car’     Kbr

   c. A-x'ə a-s”ablə-n (ø)-g'ə-mə-t
   DEF-prince.ABS DEF-country-ERG SBJ3SG-LOC-NEG-be-PART
   (ø)-χ’ə-najt’
   SBJ3SG-seem-IMPF
   ‘It seemed to her that the prince was not in that country’  Ubkh

   d. We se  q’ale-m wa-zerə-s-š-a-r
   you 1 town-ERG DO2SG-PART-SBJ1SG-take-PF-ABS
   p-s'əɣ’aps’e-ʒ-a-s’
   SBJ2SG-forget-REV-PF-ASRT
   ‘You have already forgotten that I took you to town’     Kbr

   e. Də-šə-čmazay’ə-z          
   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-мəz a-wax'ə (ə)-myə'a-w-q'ə
DEF-child SBJ3SG-cry-GER SBJ3SG-LOC-begin-PF.SG
‘The child began to cry’ Ubkh

(71) a. Fəzə-m jə-da-na-r jə-wəx'-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-wəx'-ə-nəw
POSS2PL-work-ABS today SBJ2PL-finish-INF
‘We persuaded you to finish your work today’ Kbr

c. Se we sə-we-leʔ’ psən’c’ew pismo-r
I you SBJ1SG-OBJ2SG-ask.PRS quickly letter-ABS
p-təx'-ə-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: ɬəten (Kbr, Adg), pčən (Adg), bzən (Kbr) ‘consider’, s’es’an (Adg), f’es’an (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 ə-wə-s’ak˚’e-w jə-lə-te-t
woman-ERG you SBJ2SG-hunter.PRS-ADV SBJ3SG-consider-IMPF
‘The woman thinks (considers) that you are a hunter’ Kbr

b. Fəzə-m mə-s’ak˚’e-w wə-j-lə-te-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 dəy’e-w s˚’-a-lətə
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

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

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.

References


Lomtatidze (eds). Jazyki narodov SSSR. IV Iberijsko-kavkaskie jazyki, Moskva:
Nauka, pp. 101-122.
University Press, pp. 42-140.
Mythologia comparée. Actes du Colloque international du CNRS, IVe Colloque
Paris, C. 1969. Indicies personels intraverbaux et syntaxe de la phrase minimale dans
les langues du Caucase du nord-ouest. Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de
Rogava, G.V. & Z.I. Kerasheva. 1966: Grammatika adygejskogo jazyka. [=Grammar
of Adyghe]. Krasnodar/Majkop.
Smeets, R. 1984. Studies in West Circassian Phonology and Morphology: Leiden:
The Hakuchi Press.
Spruit A. 1986. Abkhaz studies. Rijksuniversiteit of Leiden (Diss.).
Vogt, H. 1963. Dictionnaire de la Langue Oubykh. The Institute for Comparative
Research in Human Culture, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
syntax]. Majkop.

**Glosses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absolutive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adverbial case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASRT</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORD</td>
<td>Coordinative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DO</td>
<td>Direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42
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  Orientational
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)
Complementation in the Kartvelian Languages
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/Laz\(^2\) 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 script\(^3\). 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, Schanidse 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.

---

\(^1\) This article is 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.

We are most grateful to Dr. Ambako Chkadua for supplying us with Svan examples (Lower Bal dialect) and consulting us on questions in Svan grammar. Valuable comments on the Georgian and Megrelian parts were given by Prof. Amiran Lomtadze and Dr. Manana Kock Kobaidze.

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

\(^3\) For details about the Georgian script, see Gamqrelidze 1989, Birdsell 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 megorb-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 pra
    ‘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: \textit{nigoz-i/nigoz-eb-i} Old Geo \textit{‘walnut-PL-NOM’}, \textit{gogo-eb-is} Geo \textit{‘girl-PL-GEN’}, \textit{cir-ep-iš} Megr \textit{‘girl-PL-GEN’}. Gender is not distinguished morphologically, not even in third person pronouns: \textit{is} ‘he/she/it.NOM’, \textit{man} ‘he/she/it.ERG’, \textit{mas} ‘he/she/it.DAT’ Geo.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Old Georgian ‘man’</th>
<th>Georgian ‘man’</th>
<th>Megrelian ‘woman, wife’</th>
<th>Svan(^4) ‘man’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base form</td>
<td>k’ac</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative/Absolutive</td>
<td>k’ac-i</td>
<td>k’ac-i</td>
<td>osur-i</td>
<td>märe-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Narrative</td>
<td>k’ac-man</td>
<td>k’ac-ma</td>
<td>osur-k</td>
<td>măr-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>k’ac-s(a)</td>
<td>k’ac-s</td>
<td>osur-s</td>
<td>mar-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>k’ac-is(a)</td>
<td>k’ac-is</td>
<td>osur-iš</td>
<td>măr-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>k’ac-it(a)</td>
<td>k’ac-it</td>
<td>osur-it</td>
<td>mar-o-šw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbal/Transformative</td>
<td>k’ac-ad</td>
<td>k’ac-ad</td>
<td>osur-o</td>
<td>mar-a-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additive</td>
<td>k’ac-isa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>osur-iša</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>osur-iše</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destinative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>osur-išo(t)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-I</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Megrelian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>c’ers (‘he writes it’)</td>
<td>č’aruns (‘he writes it’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>dac’ers</td>
<td>doč’aruns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future imperf.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>č’arundas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>c’erda</td>
<td>č’arundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive pres.</td>
<td>c’erdes</td>
<td>č’arundas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive fut.</td>
<td>dac’erdes</td>
<td>doč’arundas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>dac’erda</td>
<td>doč’arundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional pres.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>č’arunduk’o(n)⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional fut.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>doč’arunduk’o(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional imperf.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>č’arunduk’on iʔuapudu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-II</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Megrelian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td>dac’era</td>
<td>doč’ar u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>dac’eros</td>
<td>doč’aras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional II</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>doč’aruk’o(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-III</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Megrelian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfect (Evid. 1)</td>
<td>(da)uc’eria</td>
<td>(du)uč’ar u(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperf. (Evid. 2)</td>
<td>(da)ec’era</td>
<td>(du)uč’aru du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect subj.</td>
<td>(da)ec’eros</td>
<td>(du)uč’arudas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional III</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(du)uč’arunduk’o(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM-IV</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Megrelian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evidential 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>noč’arue(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>noč’aruedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>noč’aruedas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional IV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>noč’arueduk’o(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>v-series</th>
<th>m-series</th>
<th>‘I paint it’ etc.</th>
<th>‘he paints me’ etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl.suff.</td>
<td>pl.suff.</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ø-, h-, x-, s-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ø-, h-, x-, s-</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 / Davic’qebia
   SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.PRS(I) / SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.AOR(II) / SBJ3SG.OBJ3.forget.PERF(III) poem-NOM
   ‘Nodar forgets/forgot/ has (apparently) forgotten the poem.’ Geo

   b. nodar-i rčeba / darča / Darčenia soped-ši
   SBJ3SG.remain.PRES(I) / SBJ3SG.remain.AOR(II) / 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 ʒma-s c’eril-s se’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 ʒma-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 ʒmis(a)-tvis c’eril-i miuc’eria
   man-DAT brother-GEN-for letter-NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.PERF(III)
   ‘(Apparentely) the man has written a letter to his brother.’ Geo

(5) a. mgel-i sës’ams exovar-sa
   wolf-NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.eat.FUT(II) lamb-DAT
   ‘The wolf will eat the lamb.’ (Schanidse 1982:172) Geo
b. mgel-man šeč’ama cxovar-i
  wolf.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.eat.AOR(II) lamb-NOM
  ‘The wolf ate the lamb.’
  Old Geo

c. mgel-s šeč’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.’ (Gudjediani & 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-OI3-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-OI3-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’eria
    I Nodar-GEN-for letter-NOM prev-SBJ1SG-OBJ3.write.PERF(III)
    ‘(Apparently) I have written a letter to Nodar.’
    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.

\[ (8) \]
\[ a. \text{ omar-i } \tilde{\text{z}}\text{ima-s } \text{ka} \text{y} \text{ard-s } \text{u} \text{c'} \text{aruns} \]
\[ \text{Omar-NOM brother-DAT letter-DAT SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.PRS(I)} \]
\[ ‘\text{Omar writes a letter to his brother.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

\[ b. \text{ omar-k } \tilde{\text{z}}\text{ima-s } \text{ka} \text{y} \text{ard} \text{a } \text{keme} \text{c’aru} \]
\[ \text{Omar-ERG brother-DAT letter.NOM SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR(II)} \]
\[ ‘\text{Omar wrote a letter to his brother.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

\[ c. \text{ omar-k } \text{do} \text{y} \text{uru} \]
\[ \text{Omar-ERG SBJ3SG.die.AOR(II)} \]
\[ ‘\text{Omar died.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

\[ d. \text{ mzia-s } \text{ke} \text{ } \text{?} \text{o} \text{ropu}^6 \text{ omar-k} \]
\[ \text{Mzia-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.fall.in.love.AOR(II) Omar-ERG} \]
\[ ‘\text{Mzia fell in love with Omar.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

\[ e. \text{ omar-s } \tilde{\text{z}}\text{ima-} \text{sa } \text{ka} \text{y} \text{ard} \text{a } \text{kemu} \text{c’aru} \text{du} \]
\[ \text{Omar-DAT brother-ALL letter.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.PLUP(III)} \]
\[ ‘(\text{Apparently) Omar had written a letter to his brother.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

\[ f. \text{ omar-i } \tilde{\text{z}}\text{ima-s } / \text{-} \text{so(t)} \text{ } \text{ka} \text{y} \text{ard-s} \]
\[ \text{Omar-NOM brother-DAT / -DEST letter-DAT} \]
\[ \text{no} \text{c’aru} \]
\[ \text{SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.EVID3(IV)} \]
\[ ‘(\text{Apparently) Omar wrote a letter to his brother.’} \]
\[ \text{Megr} \]

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 šaxl-ši gaacilos
Eteri.NOM home-to SBJ3SG.OBJ3.accompany.OPT
‘I ask him to see Eteri home.’

2 Types of complementation


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-ʒers (tik) kayarda
(l) SBJ1SG.OBJ3.believe.PRS (he.ERG) letter.NOM
doč’aru-ni
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR-that
‘I believe that he wrote the letter.’

b. (mi) maʒrawa, ere eʒ nem ěwadijre
(l) SBJ1SG.OBJ3.believe.PRS that he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR
lājr
letter.NOM
‘I believe that he wrote the letter.’

Geo

Svn

c. mʒera, 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 kaŋarda
(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 eʒnem 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 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.OBJ.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) umʒobes 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 kaɣard-iš č’arua-s
SBJ1SG-OBJ3.try.PRS letter-GEN writing-DAT
‘I try to write a letter.’ Megr

b. mi žixwiguwsə läjriš lijris
I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.try.FUT letter-GEN writing.DAT
‘I try to write a letter.’ Svn

c. v-cdílob 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. ešaažina casö 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.’
Megr (Kipshidze 1914:82)

*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 zoʒua, namda žimušiercə
Čaismen.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.issue.AOR order.NOM that žimušier.DAT
k’vercxi mitinkə va əžirək’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.’
Megr (Kipshidze 1914:73)

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 ʒima kobziri
SBJ1SG.OBJ3.be.delighted.AOR brother.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.see.AOR ni
to
‘I was delighted when I saw my brother.’ Megr

(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
daiʒera
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.believe.AOR
‘When he saw it, he didn't believe it.’ Geo
3.1.2 Optionality of complementizers

The complementiser rom Geo is obligatory in non-complement clauses: relative, temporal and purpose clauses, as above. In most cases rom is present in conditional clauses as well. Furthermore, most indicative complements have rom, although cases occur without it. The optionality of rom in subjunctive clauses is noted by Vogt (1971:200). In particular this applies to unmarked control conditions (20a-b), where rom is frequently left out.

(20) a. davap’ire ø /(, rom) dep’eša
   SBJ1SG.OBJ3.intend.AOR (that) telegram.NOM
   gamegzavna
   SBJ1SG.OBJ3.send.PLUP
   ‘I intended to send a telegram.’ Geo

b. vtxov mas ø /(, rom) es
   SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.PRS he.DAT (that) it.NOM
   moamzados
   SBJ3SG.OBJ3.prepare.OPT
   ‘I ask him to prepare it.’ Geo

Under disjoint reference conditions (21a) between the matrix and complement subjects rom is usually present.

(21) a. minda, (ø) / rom gia c’avides
   SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS that Gia.NOM SBJ3SG.go.OPT
   ‘I want Gia to leave.’ Geo

b. minda ø /(, rom) c’avide
   SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS that SBJ1SG.go.OPT
   ‘I want to leave.’ Geo

When subjunctive complements occur in subject position, rom is also optional:

(22) aucilebeli-a (, rom) giam davaleba ſeasrulos
    necessary-is (that) Gia.ERG task.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.complete.OPT
    ‘It is necessary for Gia to complete the task.’ 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 word.

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

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
    koʒirədo vari
    SBJ3SG.OBJ3.see.AOR or not
    ‘I asked Mats if Budu had seen Nodar (or not).’

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
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.’

b. mi xekwes mixaldes adijre
    I SBJ1SG.OBJ3.need.PRS SBJ1SG.OBJ3.know.OPT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR
    ha modma eʒnem läjr
    or not he.ERG letter.NOM
    ‘I need to know if he wrote the letter or not.’

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 midaʒyonansə da, davalebas ševasrulek
money-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.send.FUT if request.DAT SBJ1SG.OBJ3.fulfill.FUT
‘If he sends the money, I will fulfill his request.’
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’etebs 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
    SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.write.AOR Manana.DAT
    ‘Niko told me that he wrote a letter to Manana.’ Geo
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 SBJ1SG.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’.’

   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.’

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 permission.NOM not is-QUOT3
      ‘When the boy asked, they told him that entering was not allowed.’
      (Kipshidze 1914:76)

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)
b. mivxvdi, sasacilo-a, iʒde am SBJ1SG.OBJ3.understand.AOR ridiculous-is SBJ2SG.sit.PRS.SUBJ this gamoqruæbul raion-ści da k’acobiobis natel momaval-ze deserted province-in and mankind.GEN bright future-about

pikrobde SBJ2SG.OBJ3.think.PRS.SUBJ ‘I understood that it was ridiculous to sit in this deserted province and think about the bright future of mankind.’ (Pandzhikidze, cited by Papidze 1987:20)

Geo
c. titkos uzarmazari t’virty damegdos, as if enormous burden.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.throw.off.PRF.SUBJ ise gavimarte mxrebści 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. titœcli 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 … [aɣdginebad 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.’ (Chkhubinanishvili 1972:87) Old Geo

When looking at verbs like ļer-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) ļer-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?
(Chkhubinanishvili 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).
3.6 Control

The problem involved in control constructions in the KL is not so much a matter of identifying the ‘missing’ subject (as the subject person is indicated in the verbform), as to determine the permissible referential interpretation: if it is free or if it is constrained by the matrix verb in some way.

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

(40) a. vap’ireb, (rom) (me) gavak’eto (da ara sxvam)  ‘I intend to do it (and nobody else).’
    Geo

    b. vubrʒane nik’os, (rom) (man) gaak’etos (da ara sxvam)
       SBJ3SG.DOI3.OBJ3.DOI3ORDER.AOR Niko.DAT he.ERG
       ‘I ordered Niko to do it (and nobody else) (lit. [...] that he should do it).’
       Geo

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

(41) vis surs gaak’etos? – vecedebi, rom me gavak’eto
    ‘Who wants to do it? – I try to do it.’
    Geo

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).

(42) a. vcdilob rom es k’aci akidan c’vides
       SBJ1SG.DOI3.OBJ3.DOI3TRY.PRS that this man.NOM here.from SBJ3SG.GO.OPT
       ‘(lit.) I try for this man to go away.’
       Geo
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 tamaris
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
tamarisatvis
tamarisatvis
Vakhtang.ERG SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.CAUS.write.AOR Pavle.DAT letter.NOM
‘Vakhtang made Pavle write a letter to Tamar.’ Geo

c. vaxt’angma aiʒula p’avle
daec’era c’erili tamarisatvis
daecc’era c’erili tamarisatvis
c’erili tamarisatvis
c’erili tamarisatvis
Vakhtang.ERG SBJ3SG.IO3.OBJ3.force.AOR Pavle.NOM
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.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 …’.
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’rapi monegbta 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 čwamešdan 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.
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 koral-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
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 şexvda / şexvda megobars
    Nino.NOM friend-DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.meet.AOR
    ‘Nino met a friend.’

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.’

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.’

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.’

b. ʒgiri re, olik’o xširas sk’idu bebic’k’əma ni
good be.PRS Olga.DIM often SBJ3SG.stay.PRS grandmother.with that
    ‘It is good that Olga often stays with grandmother.’

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. vståxov ninos, rom sim’yera ‘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’.’
b. vstxove ninos, rom simyera ‘sulik’o’
   SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ.ask.AOR Nino.DAT that song.NOM ‘Suliko’

   emyera
   SBJ3SG.OBJ3.sing.PLUP
   ‘I asked Nino to sing the song ‘Suliko’.’

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’orda, sk’uas mutuni xeloba
   father.DAT SBJ3SG.OBJ3.want.IMP son.DAT some trade.NOM
   kadaaguruk’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
   dagurasa 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.’

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.’

c. minda (, rom) es simyera vimyero
   SBJ1SG.OBJ3.want.PRS (that) this song.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.sing.OPT
   ‘I want to sing this song.’
A good illustration of the division is made by the two meanings of the verb *pikrobs* ‘he thinks it’: ‘think something about something’ and ‘intend to do something’. The difference between the two uses of this matrix verb expressed in terms of the categories introduced above is that *pikrobs* takes complements with either a Truth modality (56a) or an Action modality interpretation (b).

(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. vpirobs (, rom) gamopena movac’qo
SBJ1SG.OBJ3.intend.PRS that exhibition.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.arrange.OPT
‘I intend to arrange an exhibition.’ Geo

A similar division seems to apply to Megrelian and Svan. Matrix verbs that typically take subjunctive complements are manipulative, volitional, modal and achievement predicates (57a-b), whereas indicative forms are found with predicates of knowledge, acquisition of knowledge, commentative predicates, and verbs of saying and asking (58a-c).

(57) a. mi ka hwähr,
ere eʒnem läjr
I PRT SBJ1SG.IO3.OBJ3.ask.AOR that he.ERG letter.NOM
cwatiqras
SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
‘I asked him to write the letter.’ Svn

b. mi xek’wes läjr otijra
I have.to letter.NOM SBJ1SG.OBJ3.write.OPT
‘I have to write the letter.’ Svn

(58) a. mi čwamešdon eʒi, ere eʒnem 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.’ Svn

b. xoča lasw, ere eʒnem čwatiqre läjr
good SBJ3SG.be.IMP that he.ERG SBJ3SG.OBJ3.write.AOR letter.NOM
‘It was good that he wrote the letter.’ Svn

c. mi mabža, ere eʒnem čwatiqre läjr
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.’ Svn
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...’

    b. ič’qans ogurapus / onadirus / ok’etebus
    SBJ3SG.OBJ3.begin.PRS studying.DAT hunting.DAT doing.DAT
    ‘He begins to study/hunt/do...’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vb type</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Case: S</th>
<th>Case: DO</th>
<th>Case: IO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. pikrobs</td>
<td>think.PRS</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unda</td>
<td>want.PRS</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stxovos</td>
<td>ask.OPT</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaacilos</td>
<td>accompany.OPT</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ipikra</td>
<td>think.AOR</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undoda</td>
<td>want.IMP</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etxova</td>
<td>ask.PLUP</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaecilebina</td>
<td>accompany.PLUP</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(61) a. givi pikrobs rom manana-s
Givi.NOM SBJ3SG.OBJ3.think.PRS that Manana-DAT
unda stxovos ʒma-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 ʒmi-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.’
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 casemarking 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.

References

Abesadze (Abesaze), N. 1963. Rom k’avširi kartvelur enebši [=The conjunction rom in the Kartvelian languages], Tbilisis universit’et’is šromebi 96:11-20.
— 1965. Hip’ot’aksi c’evr-k’avşirebi da k’avşirebi megrulši [=Subordinating conjunctions in Megrelian], Tbilisis universit’et’is šromebi 114:229-257.
— 1948. ergat’iuli k’onst’rukciis problema iberiel-k’avkasiur enebši I [The problem of the ergative construction in the Ibero-Caucasian languages I]. Tbilisi: Sakartvelos SSR mecnirebata ak’ademiis gamomcemloba.


— 1982. mart’ivi c’inadadebis šedgeniloba kartvelur enebši [=The structure of the simple sentence in the Kartvelian languages]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.


Kotinovi (K’ot’inovi), N. 1986. k’ilos k’at’egoria da sint’aksis zogierti sak’itxi kartulši [=The category mood and some issues of Georgian syntax]. Tbilisi: Ganatleba.

Kvachadze (K’vačaže), L. 1977. tanamedrove kartuli enis sint’aksi. [=The syntax of Modern Georgian]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba


Topuria, V. 1931. svanuri ena, I. zmna [=Svan, I. The verb]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.


**Glosses and abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALL</th>
<th>Allative case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AOR</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEST</td>
<td>Destinative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>Diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo</td>
<td>Georgian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KL</td>
<td>Kartvelian languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megr</td>
<td>Megrelian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O, OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUP</td>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF.SUBJ</td>
<td>Perfect subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS.SUBJ</td>
<td>Present subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Interrogative clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>Quotative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relative pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S, SBJ</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svn</td>
<td>Svan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Tense-aspect-mood (series I-IV)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

A
advise, 73, 74
(be) afraid, 30, 32, 34
ask, 25, 34, 38, 54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 69, 71, 73

B
(be) beautiful, 22
begin, 22, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 72
believe, 53
(be) better, 55

C
can, 24, 65, 67
consider, 19, 23, 39
could, 29

F
fear, 19
find out, 25
finish, 24, 25, 38
forget, 27, 37, 67, 71
frighten, 30

G
(be) good, 37, 69, 71

H
have.to, 24, 27, 71
hear, 21, 37, 38, 39
hide, 37

I
(be) important, 27
intend, 22, 23, 58, 65, 71, 72
(be) interesting, 27, 30
irritate, 30

K
know, 20, 21, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 59, 70

N
(be) necessary, 58
need, 59, 64
(be) nice, 27

O
(be) offended, 22
order, 27, 65

P
persuade, 38
promise, 33

R
remember, 32, 33, 54

S
say, 21, 27, 35, 36, 38, 61, 62
see, 20, 21, 26, 34, 35, 37, 69
seem, 37, 40, 71
stop, 24, 25, 31, 38
strive, 63, 67

T
think, 23, 54, 71, 73
try, 55, 65, 72

U
understand, 63

V, W
want, 23, 26, 34, 58, 59, 64, 68, 70, 72, 73
wonder, 60
worry, 30