# MINGRELIAN[1]

## Alice C. Harris

Mingrelian is spoken in the western part of Georgia, from the Black Sea as far eastward as the river Tskhenistsqali (*Cxenisc'q'ali*). The territory meets that of Svan in the North and that of Laz in the south. Some scholars have argued, on the basis of toponyms and other linguistic evidence, that Mingrelian was once spoken in a much larger portion of western Georgia, extending perhaps into Imereti, Guria, and other regions (ZHGHENTI 1953:7-10 and sources cited there).

Mingrelian is divided into two main dialects, Zugdid-Samurzaqan (*Zugdid-Samurzaq'an*, abbreviated Z-S here), sometimes called the Northwest dialect, and Senak (*Senak'*), sometimes referred to as the Southeast dialect. Within the former, the Dzhvar subdialect is recognized; and within the Senak dialect, are the Martvil-Bandz and Abash subdialects. Even the two main dialects do not differ greatly; among the features that distinguish them, we may list the following: (1) the mid vowel *ə* is much more common in Z-S, (2) long vowels have merged with short ones in most subdialects of Senak, (3) in Z-S the morpheme *-s* becomes *-c* in absolute word-final position, (4) and in the Z-S dialect the noun pluralizer *-ep* usually becomes *-em* before the narrative and dative case markers, while in Senak it usually becomes *-en* in this position. Some other differences between the dialects are a matter of tendency or of frequency.

Research on Mingrelian goes back at least to the nineteenth century, and a good deal is written on it in Russian and in Georgian. Much of this work is comparative in nature, and often synchrony and diachrony are not distinguished. The present article is based on published work but is limited to synchronic description.

Although the number of speakers is not known, we can say with confidence that Mingrelian is a thriving language, not in danger of dying out. Mingrelians consider themselves to be Georgians and view Georgian as their literary language. Although they speak a distinct language, other elements of Mingrelian culture differ from those of other Georgians about as much as cultural elements from various other parts of Georgia differ from each other.

# 1. Phonology

## 1.1. Phonemic System

The Senak dialect has a simple system of five vowels, while the Zugdid-Samurzaqan dialect has a sixth vowel, /ə/.

### Vowel Chart

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i     |         | u    |
|      |       |         | o    |
| Mid  | ε     |         | ə    |
|      |       | a       |      |

Phonetically, none of the vowels of Mingrelian is canonical. *i* is a slightly lowered high front, unrounded vowel. *ε* is generally lax, mid or high-mid, unrounded and is strongly retracted relative to *i*; it is transcribed "*e*" hereafter. *u* is a relatively high, back, rounded vowel. *o* is high-mid, back, and rounded; while *a* is advanced back or central, low, unrounded. /ə/ seems to be phonetically mid, back, and unrounded; but the schwa symbol is used to represent it here, in keeping with convention among Kartvelologists.[2]

In the Z-S dialect there are long vowels; but in Senak, with some subdialectal variation, these have been lost historically. The long vowels are often analyzed as geminate vowels (sequences of two identical vowels).

Vowels may combine with the glides *w* (from underlying *u*) or *y* to form diphthongs: *ye, ey, ew*, etc.

Obstruents are of three PHONATION TYPES: voiced (Vd), voiceless (Vl), and voiceless ejectives (Ej). Voiceless (non-ejective) stops are aspirated.

Consonant Chart

|  | Vd | Vl | Ej | Vd | Vl | Nas | Liq | Gli |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Labio-labial | b | p | p' |  |  | m |  |  |
| Labio-dental |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | v |
| Apico-dental | d | t | t' |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lamino-alveolar | ʒ | c | c' | z | s | n | r | y |
| Lamino-postalveolar | ǯ | č | č' | ž | š |  | l |  |
| Dorso-velar | g | k | k' | ɣ | x |  |  |  |
| Dorso-uvular |  |  | q' |  |  |  |  |  |
| Glottal |  |  | ʔ |  | h |  |  |  |

The stops *b, p, p'* are bilabial.  While the stops *d, t, t'* are formed with the tip of the tongue making a closure at the teeth or at the teeth and the forward part of the alveolar ridge, the affricates *ʒ, c, c'* are formed slightly further back, with the front of the tongue against the upper part of the teeth and alveolar ridge or against the forward part of the alveolar ridge alone.  The affricates *ǯ, č, č'* are formed still further back, with a larger portion of the tongue making closure. The stops *g, k, k'* are formed with the back of the tongue at the juncture of the hard and soft palates.

*r* is a voiced alveolar trill (ZHGHENTI 1965).  *l* is said to be more palatal than the *l* of other Kartvelian languages.  ZHGHENTI (1952:346) has noted that it involves a wider area of closure than does the palatalized *l* of Russian; he has compared Mingrelian *l* to French *l mouille*, which became [y] in the standard dialect.  His palatograms reveal that it involves the laminal area against the upper alveolar ridge and the front of the hard palate.  *n* is formed with the laminal area against the teeth and/or alveolar ridge.

The phoneme /v/ has two allophones: [v] and [w]; according to IMNADZE (1981:19), these are in free variation.  [Except as noted, analysis based on ZHGHENTI 1953 and IMNADZE 1981.]

1.2. Phonotactics

Mingrelian differs from other Kartvelian languages in having very strict and extensive principles governing the internal structure of consonant clusters; while other Kartvelian languages permit some accessive consonant clusters, Mingrelian permits only decessive clusters (ones in which each successive obstruent has a point of articulation further back in the oral cavity).  Clusters may occur in word-initial position, intervocalically, or in word-final position.

The maximum length of the Mingrelian consonant cluster is four; its internal structure within a morpheme is represented as positions **a**, **b**, **c**, and **d**:

General Consonant Sequence Schema

| | |
|---|---|
| Set **a**: *r n* | Liquids |
| Set **b**: *d t' t, ʒ c' c, ǯ č'č, z s, ž š* | Coronal obstruents |
| Set **c**: *g k' k, ɣ x, q'* | Back obstruents |
| Set **d**: *v* | Labiodental |

That is, the maximum cluster consists of one consonant from each set, in the order **a b c d**; two members of any one set may never cooccur in a cluster, and the representatives of the sets may never occur in any other order.  Clusters of fewer than four members similarly may have only one member from a given set, and the sets must still have this order.  Only one juxtaposition of sets may not occur: \***ad**; thus clusters \**rv* and \**nv* do not occur.  Examples of clusters are *ɣvanc'ki* 'cheek' [**cd** and **abc**], *margali* 'Mingrelian (person)'[3] [**ac**], *arčkile* 's/he hears it'[3] [**abc**], *ǯveši* 'old' [**bd**], *marʒɣvani* 'right (side)' [**abcd**].

Obstruents (sets **b** and **c**) are governed by a Homogeneity Principle:  Obstruents in a cluster must both be voiced, or both ejectives, or both non-ejective voiceless consonants.  That is, adjacent obstruents must be of the same phonation type. This principle does not apply to sets **a** and **d**.  Thus we find clusters such as *rsx, skv, nc'q'v, ǯv, xv,* but not \**sɣ, \*zx, \*zkv, \*sgv.*

Bilabial consonants (*m, b, p', p*) are not included in the General Consonant Sequence Schema above.  These consonants do occur in clusters, such as *bž, bz, br, pš, ps, px, pr, p'r, mšv, mʔv, mč, mx, mp, mp', mr, mg, mb*; such clusters fall outside the sequence principle stated in the schema and are referred to here as ACANONICAL.  Note, however, that they do preserve decessive structure and the Homogeneity Principle.

The consonant *l* is not included in the General Consonant Sequence Schema because it never occurs in clusters, except in some recent loan words and infrequently across morpheme boundaries (see §2.2.2 on the latter).

In clusters of four or three consonants of the form **abc(d)** or **abd**, the **b** set may not be represented by a spirant; thus clusters such as *\*ržγv* and *\*nzγv* are ruled out. (There are some exceptions to this generalization.)

There are also principles governing the cooccurrence of consonant clusters in a word. (1) Two non-identical **bc** complexes may not occur in a word; for example, *\*cx...c'q* or *\*tk...sx* would be impossible. (2) A cluster containing *v* (that is, a **bd** or **cd** sequence) may be followed by a non-identical **bc** cluster; for example, *k'varčxi* 'harmful' [**cd...abc**]. (3) If a word contains a **bc** cluster, it is impossible for the same set **b** consonant to occur elsewhere in the word without the same consonant from set **c**; for example, while *č'q'anč'q'ua* 'crush' [**bc...abc**] is possible, *\*č'...nč'q'* [**\*b...abc**] would be impossible.

The principles stated above pertain to morpheme-internal structure; consonant clusters are also formed across morpheme boundaries. Clusters formed with suffixes may be NON-CANONICAL in underlying form, but change to satisfy the principles stated above; the morphophonemic rules that govern these changes are stated below in §1.4.

Clusters formed with prefixes obey a different set of principles. Those clusters formed from a person marker and a consonant-initial root may contain up to five consonants; they tend to obey the principles stated above, but are less strict. The rules governing these alternations, since they pertain only to person markers, are discussed in §2.2.2 (Agreement).

Other clusters are formed when the vowels of verbal prefixes are deleted. The structure of these clusters also has a maximum of four consonants and may be stated in another four-set schema:

Prefixal Consonant Sequence Schema

Set **p-a**: *m, g, d*

Set **p-b**: *n, t, l, š, c', k', d*

Set **p-c**: *m*

Set **p-d**: *v, m, g*

The very different nature of this schema is determined by the consonants actually occurring in verbal prefixes of the various types.  Clusters created in this way undergo very few changes, with the underlying consonant generally remaining.  An exception is the Homogeneity Principle, which may apply; for example the cluster *gšg* may become *kšk*.

[The analysis and examples in this section are based closely on GUDAVA and GAMQRELIDZE 1981 but some material is necessarily omitted.]

1.3. Stress

Although the nature of stress in Mingrelian has not been thoroughly studied, the position of stress in one dialect has been carefully analyzed (GUDAVA 1969).  On this basis, stress in one Senak subdialect is described below.  It must be borne in mind, however, that there is considerable variation in this subdialect, as well as differences between it and other subdialects.

The general rule is that in consonant-final words, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while in vowel-final words it falls on the pre-penultimate syllable (third from the end): $\acute{V}C_0VC_0(V)\#$.  The operation of this rule can be seen in the following contrasts: *p'č'árundi* 'I was writing it' -- *p'č'arúndit* 'we were writing it', *žoɣórepi* 'dogs-Nom' -- *žoɣorépiš* 'dogs-Gen'.

In a certain set of vowel-final words, however, stress falls on the penultimate syllable, contrary to the general rule.  This occurs primarily in verbs, under one of three conditions:  (1) The form is the perfective future of a so-called passive ("markerless" intransitive or *i--u* or *a--u* intransitive, see §2.2.7); for example, *doɣúru* 's/he will die' (a "markerless" intransitive), *d-i-č'ár-u* 'it will be written' (an *i--u* intransitive).  (2) The verb is an aorist form of the type that takes the screeve (paradigm) marker *-e* in the first and second persons; for example, *mevoɣóre* 'I yelled', *mioɣóru* 's/he yelled'.  (3) The verb is one of a specific small set; for example, the verb 'say, tell': *komíc'u* 's/he told me'.  These divergences from the general rule stated above are explained by diachronic changes affecting the number of syllables; these lie outside the scope of this brief synchronic description.

Since a given verb may have stress on the penult or pre-penult, depending on the form, stress itself may distinguish one form from another.  For example, *doɣúru* 's/he will die' has

stress on the penult because it falls under exception (1) above; *dóɣuru* 's/he died' has stress on the pre-penult because it does not fall under any of the exceptions (although aorist, it is not of the type that takes -*e*). Here, and in other examples, it is stress alone that distinguishes one form from another.

Clitics form a phonetic unit with a host, and it is this phonetic unit that determines stress. Examples include the subordinator -*ni* (*komórtu-ni* 'that s/he came') and the conditional marker *da* (*komórtu-da* 'if s/he came'). [The analysis in this section is based closely on GUDAVA 1969, but necessarily omits some material.]

## 1.4. Morphophonemics

Many of the morphophonemic rules of Mingrelian are optional; the dialects or discourse conditions in which they apply have not been thoroughly studied.

1.4.1. Vowels. Verbs may take up to five prefixes, and a number of rules apply to the vowels of these morphemes. The morphemes that may precede the root are summarized in the table below in terms of preradical slots.

Pre-Root Positions in the Finite Verb Form

| -5 | -4 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 0 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Status | PV | Imp | Person | CV | Root |
| | Dir- Loc | prt | prefix | | |
| *ko-* | *me-* +*no-* | *(t)m*V | *v-* | *a-* | |
| *va-* | *go-* +*to-* | | *m-* | *i-* | |
| *ga-* | *do-* +*la-* | | *g-* | *u-* | |
| | +*ša-* | | | *o-* | |
| | +*c'o-* | | | *e-* | |
| | +*k'o-* | | | | |
| | +*da-* | | | | |

Each of these slots is filled independently of the others, except that -3 can only be filled if -4 is filled; elements within a slot are mutually exclusive. It is possible for any number of slots to be filled, from zero to five. The morphemes in these slots are discussed further in §2.2.

The prefix in slot -4, usually called the preverb, is itself composed of two parts written here joined with "+" (see §2.2.3 on the preverb); with few exceptions, each part of the preverb is of the form CV. The prefixes that can occur in the slot immediately before a verb root (-1) are vocalic, and those that immediately precede it (-2) are consonantal. Most other prefixes are of the form CV. All prefixal vowels may optionally delete except the first and the last before the root in a given verb form. Examples are given with their synchronically underlying form in parentheses: *vamc'mgadvine (va-mi+c'o-mo-g-a-dvine)* 'you (Sg) cannot put it in front', *mišgaxune (mi+ša-g-a-xune)* 'you (Sg) can sit down'. The form *mi+c'o-xe* 's/he is sitting in front' cannot undergo deletion, however, because the only prefixal vowels are the first (*i* in *mi+*) and the last before the root (*o* in *+c'o*), and these are specifically excluded from deletion. Note that the consonant clusters that result from vowel deletions conform to the description given in the Prefixal Consonant Sequence Schema.

The preverbs (in slot -4) are composed of a first part (*me-, go-,* or *do-*), which indicate direction, and an optional second part, the local elements (*no-, to-, la-, ša-, c'o-, k'o-,* or *da-*). The vowel of the first part obligatorily becomes *i* (and may delete under the conditions described in the preceding paragraph) if it is followed by one of the local elements; for example, *me-γala* 'taking thither', but *mi+to-γala (me+to-γala)* 'taking under'.

Any one of three morphemes may occupy slot -5: the affirmative *ko-*, the negative *va-*, or *ga-*.[4] If the vowel of the prefix that follows this is *i* or *e*, and if this *i* or *e* vowel deletes according to the rule above, the vowel of the morpheme in slot -5 may become *e*. For example, we find *gamk'olu* or *gemk'olu (ga-mi+k'o-lu)* 's/he fell down here (vertical plane)' *vemc'oxe (va-mi+c'o-xe)* 's/he is not sitting in front'.

The only prefix that may occur in the third slot is the imperfectivizing prefix (§2.2.5). According to GUDAVA and GAMQRELIDZE (1981:234, 240), this prefix is of the form *(t)m*V, and its vowel is a copy of the vowel of the prefix that immediately precedes it, even if that vowel is deleted by the vowel deletion rule discussed above. For example from the underlying form

*mi+la-m*V-*dvans* 's/he places it inside', we get the form *milmadvans*, and from *va-mi+c'o-m*V-*dvans* 's/he does not place it in front' is derived *vamc'modvans*.

When a prefix in slot -1 is immediately preceded by a prefix from slot -3, -4, or -5, all of which have an underlying form ending in a vowel, two vowels are juxtaposed. The resulting vowel cluster may be changed according to the following rules:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *a-a → a* | *e-a → ia* | *o-a → a* |
| *a-i →  e* | *e-i → i* | *o-i → i* |
| *a-u → (a)u* | *e-u → (e)u* | *o-u → u* |
| *a-o → a* | *e-o → io* | *o-o → a* |
| *a-e → e* | | |

The simplified vowel is optionally pronounced as a long vowel. In Z-S, which preserves vowel length, the long vowel is the norm in such instances; in the Senak dialect, the vowel is usually short. Examples of some of these combinations are the following, with the underlying form in parentheses: *milm**a**dvine (mi+la-ma-a-dvine)* 's/he can put it down inside', *gišm**u**č'aruns (gi+ša-ma-u-č'aruns)* 's/he writes it to him', *mic'm**a**dvine (mi+c'o-mo-a-dvine)* 's/he can put it in front', *ve**č**'are (va-i-č'are)* 'it cannot be written', *va**č**'arapu (va-o-č'arapu)* 's/he did not cause another to write it'. Vowel clusters arising from deletion (zero realization) of *v-* of slot -2 (described in §2.2.2) are resolved in the same way. [Analysis above is based closely on GUDAVA and GAMQRELIDZE 1981:235-242, but some material is necessarily omitted.]

In vowel clusters involving *i* or *u*, this vowel may become non-syllabic; for example, *gewʒinank* (from underlying *ge-v-u-ʒinank*, after intervocalic deletion of *v*) 'I will add to it' (GUDAVA 1969:110, ZHGHENTI 1953:52-53).

In the Z-S dialect, a synchronic rule causes morpheme-final *u* to become *ə*; this applies infrequently in Senak. Compare Senak *do-č'k'ir-u* 's/he cut it' with Z-S *do-č'k'ir-ə*. However, application of this rule is blocked under conditions that are incompletely understood (but see MARGVELASHVILI 1984:125-126).

Underlying vowels may delete in word-final position, even when the vowel is itself a morpheme; for example, in the form *gegnvoʔot* 'I threw it out' (KHUBUA 1937:94, 33), the final *-i* has been deleted, though it is the marker of the aorist. On the other hand, words that end

in a consonant in underlying form may add a final vowel *i, u,* or *ə*; for example, in the form *ʔvil-ən-c-ə* (KIPSHIDZE 1914:18, 18), the final *ə* is epenthetic. The conditions under which these two rules apply are incompletely understood.

1.4.2. Consonants

In §1.2 it was noted that the Homogeneity Principle requires that adjacent obstruents be of the same phonation type: voiced, voiceless, or ejective. Regressive assimilation changes the first of two obstruents, so that this principle is satisfied. The assimilating consonant changes in phonation type only, retaining its point of articulation and manner of articulation. In declension this rule applies when a consonant-final root is combined with the narrative case marker, *-k* (see §2.1.1.1 on cases and declension): *ɣeč-k* 'pig-Nar', beside *ɣeʒ-i* 'pig-Nom'; *dut-k* 'head-Nar', beside *dud-i* 'head-Nom'.

Several disparate rules apply to change consonant clusters that span a morpheme boundary so that the cluster will satisfy the General Consonant Sequence Schema (§1.2). Since the clusters *\*v-C* and *\*g-C* are non-canonical (except, in the second instance, where the C is *v*), a group of rules applies to the person markers *v-, g-* of slot -2 (see §1.4.1) and is separately discussed and illustrated in §2.2.2. Special rules are also given there for the acanonical cluster *m-C*.

Since a cluster composed of two non-back (set **b**) consonants is non-canonical, in such a sequence the first consonant deletes; this rule is referred to below as Non-Canonical Cluster Simplification. This situation arises in declension with the dative case marker, *-s*. Examples give the underlying form in parentheses: *ɣe-s (ɣeʒ-s)* 'pig-Dat', *du-s (dud-s)* 'head-Dat', *k'o-s (k'oč-s)* 'man-Dat), *ɣoron-s (ɣoront-s)* 'God-Dat'.

Another way to resolve non-canonical clusters is to insert *i* between the root and the case marker. Parallel to the forms of this word cited above, we have *dud-i̱-k* 'head-Nar', *dud-i̱-s* 'head-Dat'. A partial paradigm of *t'oronǯi* 'dove' illustrates the application of these alternative rules; underlying forms are in parentheses:

|      |                                                    |
|------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Nom  | *t'oronǯ-i*                                         |
| Nar  | *t'oronč-k // t'oronǯ-i-k  (t'oronǯ-k)*             |
| Dat  | *t'oron-s  // t'oronǯ-i-s  (t'oronǯ-s)*            |

Apparently some such stems are being reanalyzed as containing this *i*, and now it can be found in the narrative case forms even when there would be no violation of the Homogeneity Principle or of the General Consonant Sequence Schema.  An alternative, reanalyzed partial declension of *k'oci* 'man' illustrates this, beside the older, still used forms.

|      | Reanalyzed  | Older    |
|------|-------------|----------|
|      |             |          |
| Nom  | *k'oči*     | *k'oč-i* |
| Nar  | *k'oči-k*   | *k'oč-k* |
| Dat  | *k'oči-s*   | *k'o-s*  |

Bilabial consonants (*m, b, p, p'*) become *n* when they immediately precede any consonant across a morpheme boundary.  In declension this rule applies to the plural marker -*ep*, making it -*en* before the narrative case marker -*k* and the dative -*s*, but not before the markers of other cases, which all begin with a vowel.  For example, we find *k'oč-ep-i, k'oč-en-k, k'oč-en-s* 'man-PL-Nom, -Nar, -Dat'.  However, this rule does not apply consistently in all (sub)dialects in this environment (see §2.1.1.2 for some details), and it apparently does not apply at all when its conditions are met in the singular; for example, *čxom-k* 'fish-Nar'.  The rule also applies in conjugation.  With the third person singular subject marker -*s*, we find *č'vi**n**-s* 'it is raining', beside *dočvimu* 'it rained'.  The same rule affects the form of the series markers, a set of verbal suffixes (see §2.2.5).  For example, the series marker -*am* is realized as -*an* in the following examples: *mepč-an-k* 'I give it to another', *meč-an-s* 's/he gives it to another', *mepč-an-t* 'we give it to another'.  Notice that this rule does not apply to the bilabial person markers (slot -2); see §2.2.2.

Since *l* is not permitted in clusters at all, *l* becomes *r* when it immediately precedes any consonant.  This arises in the declension of *l*-final substantives; for example, *tor-k* 'eye-Nar', *tor-s* 'eye-Dat', beside *tol-i* 'eye-Nom'.  (In declension the rule applies optionally.)  The rule also applies to *l*-final verb roots followed by the ending -*s* (third person singular subject), -*k* (first or second person singular subject), or -*t* (plural).  For example, from the base *meul* we get the forms

*meur-s* 's/he goes', *meur-k* 'I go', *meur-t* 'we go'.  The phoneme *l* would also precede a consonant in zero grade forms of ablauting verbs, and here too it becomes *r*; for example, we find zero grade *šurdun* 's/he gets tired' beside normal-grade *šulada* 'getting tired' (GUDAVA 1974:135, DANELIA 1980:171).

In the Z-S dialect, a productive rule causes *s* to become *c* whenever it is immediately preceded by a consonant.  The conditions for this rule are met in the dative case, where we find, for example, *ǯoɣor-c* 'dog-Dat' (compare, Senak *ǯoɣor-s*), *cxen-c* 'horse-Dat', but *dida-s* 'mother-Dat', *k'ot'o-s* 'crock-Dat'.  The same rule applies in the third person singular subject forms when the ending *-s* (see §2.2.2) would be juxtaposed with a stem-final consonant.  For example, we have *č'arun-c* 's/he writes it' (compare, Senak *č'arun-s*), beside *doč'ara-s* 'may s/he write it'.  [Analysis above in this subsection based on GUDAVA and GAMQRELIDZE 1981.]

As in other Kartvelian languages, *r* dissimilates to *l* when preceded at a distance by another *r*.  This occurs in word formation -- for example, *iri-peli* 'nothing', beside *peri* 'thing, kind' (ZHGHENTI 1953:130-135) --, in the reduplication of expressives of noise, motion, or light, such as *dardali, sarsali, varvali*, respectively (KOBALAVA 1979), and in the formation of participles with the endings *-er, -ir, -ar* etc., as in *ɣur-el-i* 'dead', *č'ar-il-i* 'written', *oč'ar-al-i* 'to be written' (DANELIA 1980:171).  See §2.2.5 on this rule in verb inflection.

A rule that is among the most important in understanding Mingrelian morphology is that which deletes *n* is word-final position.  This rule deletes the morpheme *-n*, the third person singular subject marker in forms in some paradigms of certain verb conjugations, and the final *n* of the morphemes *-an* and *-nan*, the third person plural subject markers in certain paradigms (see §2.2.2), as well as other word-final *n*'s.  The presence of word-final *n* is confirmed in forms where the verb is followed by an enclitic such as the question marker, for example *xe-n-o* sit-3.Sg-Ques 'is s/he sitting?' (CHIKOBAVA 1936:97).  (In the present article, most verb forms cited in isolation show this *-n*, but forms used in sentence examples have the *n* deleted if appropriate.)

## 2. Morphology

2.1. Substantives

2.1.1. Nouns

2.1.1.1. Case

Synchronically there are nine cases in Mingrelian: nominative *-i*, narrative *-k*, dative *-s*, genitive *-iš*, allative *-iša*, ablative *-iše*, instrumental *-it*, designative *-išo(t)*, adverbial *-o(t)*. (Nearly every case has variant names in the work of one or another specialist; the names used here are ones commonly used.) After a noun stem ending in a vowel, certain changes are made in the forms of these suffixes. Case markers with initial *i*, including the nominative, drop that vowel after any stem-final vowel. The adverbial case has the form *-o* or *-ot* after stems ending in consonants or the vowels *ə* (Z-S dialect) or *u* (Sen.), *-t* after other vowels. These possibilities are illustrated in the paradigms of *gur-* 'heart', *bircxa* 'fingernail', and *t'u* 'udder'.

| | | | |
|------|------------|--------------|------------|
| Nom | *gur-i* | *bircxa* | *t'u* |
| Nar | *gur-k* | *bircxa-k* | *t'u-k* |
| Dat | *gur-s* | *bircxa-s* | *t'u-s* |
| Gen | *gur-iš* | *bircxa-š* | *t'u-š* |
| All | *gur-iša* | *bircxa-ša* | *t'u-ša* |
| Abl | *gur-iše* | *bircxa-še* | *t'u-še* |
| Inst | *gur-it* | *bircxa-t* | *t'u-t* |
| Des | *gur-išo(t)* | *bircxa-šo(t)* | *t'u-šo(t)* |
| Adv | *gur-o(t)* | *bircxa-t* | *t'u-o(t)* |

The nominative is the unmarked case and is referred to below as the BASE; ROOT or STEM is used here to refer to the form with no affixes.

The dative form has several variants, including *-c* with consonant-final stems in the Z-S dialect (for example, *gur-c* 'heart-Dat') and forms derived with Non-Canonical Cluster Simplification (for example, *k'os* 'man/Dat', compare, *k'oči* 'man/Nom'); see §1.4.

There are three so-called emphatic vowels -- *-i, -ə,* and *-u*, which are found after the markers of the narrative, dative, genitive, and instrumental cases, and occasionally with the adverbial and designative.  In the Sen. dialect, all three vowels occur, though only *-i* is found with the genitive; for example, *ɣvin-k-i* 'wine-Nar-Emph', *osur-iš-i* 'woman-Gen-Emph', *k'oč-k-ə* 'man-Nar-Emph', *k'o-s-u* 'man-Dat-Emph'.  In the Z-S dialect, *-ə* occurs, except in the genitive, where *-i* is found; *k'oč-k-ə* 'man-Nar-Emph', *tuma-s-ə* 'hair-Dat-Emph' *hava-t-ə* 'air-Inst-Emph', *k'ibir-iš-i* 'tooth-Gen-Emph'.

The emphatic vowels are obligatory when the case marker is followed by a postposition or enclitic; for example, *boš-en-k-i-ni* (Sen.) 'boy-Pl-Nar-Emph-Conj', *kvabi-s-i-a* (Z-S) 'pot-Dat-Emph-Quot', *mudga-k-i-(r)en* (Z-S) 'something-Nar-Emph-is'.  Note that in this position the Z-S dialect uses the *-i* variant, even with those cases where it is not otherwise found.  The emphatic vowel is usual with a clause-final noun or a noun occurring immediately before a conjuntion 'and' or 'or'.

(1)     *mažira  dɣas uc'uu  raši-k-ə* (Sen.; Kip. 33, 16)[5]

second  day   he/say steed-Nar-Emph

'The next day the steed said'

(2)     *luri  va  miɣu   dɣa-š-i         do  ser-it* (Z-S; Khub. 321, 13)

sleep not I/have day-Gen-Emph and night-Inst

'I do not have sleep day or night'

In other environments the emphatic vowel is optional (LOMTADZE 1976).  Emphatic vowels are used with pronouns, as well as with nouns.  (After this section, the emphatic vowels are not glossed in most examples.)

Functions of cases are described in sections §3.1 (genitive), §3.2.1 (nominative, narrative, dative), and §3.2.3 (dative, allative, ablative, instrumental, designative, adverbial).


2.1.1.2. Number

Plurality is indicated with the suffix *-ep* immediately following the root; the plural noun is then declined as other consonant stems are.  In the narrative and dative forms the variants *-em*

(Z-S dialect) and *-en* (Sen.) are found.  Root-final *a* deletes before the plural marker, and some qualitative changes in root vowels are also recorded.  Senak forms are illustrated here.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *gur-ep-i* | *bircx-ep-i* | *t'u-ep-i* |
| Nar | *gur-en-k* | *bircx-en-k* | *t'u-en-k* |
| Dat | *gur-en-s* | *bircx-en-s* | *t'u-en-s* |
| Gen | *gur-ep-iš* | *bircx-ep-iš* | *t'u-ep-iš* |
| All | *gur-ep-iša* | *bircx-ep-iša* | *t'u-ep-iša* |
| Abl | *gur-ep-iše* | *bircx-ep-iše* | *t'u-ep-iše* |
| Inst | *gur-ep-it* | *bircx-ep-it* | *t'u-ep-it* |
| Des | *gur-ep-išo(t)* | *bircx-ep-išo(t)* | *t'u-ep-išo(t)* |
| Adv | *gur-ep-o(t)* | *bircx-ep-o(t)* | *t'u-ep-o(t)* |

In Z-S we find instead *gur-em-k* 'heart-Pl-Nar', *gur-em-s* 'heart-Pl-Dat', etc.  In both dialects forms such as *gur-ep-k* and *gur-ep-s* are also found, as well as additional variants.

In the plurals of some nouns, *l* or *y* occurs between the root and the plural marker:

| **Singular** | **Plural** | |
|---|---|---|
| *da* | *da-l-ep-i, da-y-ep-i* | 'sister' |
| *tu* | *tu-l-ep-i, tu-y-ep-i* | 'suckling pig' |
| *žima* | *žima-l-ep-i,  žima-y-ep-i* | 'brother' |
| *t'q'a* | *t'q'a-l-ep-i, t'q'a-y-ep-i* | 'forest' |
| *muma* | *muma-l-ep-i, muma-y-ep-i* | 'father' |

(Data from KIPSHIDZE 1914:025-031, CHIKOBAVA 1936:44-48, 56, 62.)

2.1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives are declined like nouns; agreement is described below in §3.1.

2.1.3. Pronouns

2.1.3.1. Personal pronouns are indicated below, together with their declensions.  These pronouns do not ordinarily occur in the instrumental or adverbial cases.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *ma* | *si* | *mu* |
| Nar | *ma* | *si* | *muk* |
| Dat | *ma* | *si* | *mus* |
| Gen | *čkimi* | *skani* | *muš* |
| All | *čkimda* | *skanda* | *muša* |
| Abl | *čkimde* | *skande* | *muše* |
| Des | *čkimo(t)* | *skano(t)* | *mušo(t)* |
| | 'I' | 'you/Sg' | 'he, she, it' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *čki* | *tkva* | *munepi* |
| Nar | *čki* | *tkva* | *munenk* |
| Dat | *čki* | *tkva* | *munens* |
| Gen | *čkini* | *tkvani* | *munepiši* |
| All | *čkinda* | *tkvanda* | *munepiša* |
| Abl | *čkinde* | *tkvande* | *munepiše* |
| Des | *čkino(t)* | *tkvano(t)* | *munepišot* |
| | 'we' | 'you/Pl' | 'they' |

The *i* of the root vowel in 'we' and in the oblique forms of 'I' is replaced by *ə* in the Z-S dialect. The third person plural narrative and dative forms with *em* and *ep* are also attested (KIPSHIDZE 1914:039-041, CHIKOBAVA 1936:74-77).

2.1.3.2. Demonstratives

Mingrelian expresses a two-way opposition: *tena* 'this' - *tina* 'that'.  According to KIPSHIDZE's analysis, there are simple and complex pronouns, each with a full form and one or

more shortened forms. The shortened forms of the simple pronoun *tena* 'this' are *ena, te* and *e*; the corresponding full complex form is *atena*, with the shortened form *ate*. The shortened forms of the simple pronoun *tina* 'that' are *ina, ti*, and *i*; the corresponding full complex form is *etina*, with the shortened form *eti*.

The forms *te, e, ti, i, ate*, and *eti* occur together with a noun and do not decline or indicate number; for example, *(t)e k'oč-i, (t)e k'oč-iš(i), (t)e k'oč-ep-i* 'this man', *ate ʔude, ate ʔude-š(i), ate ʔude-ep-i* 'this house' (each given in nominative singular, genitive singular, and nominative plural, respectively).

Declension of the remaining forms is given below.

'this one'

| | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-----------|
| Nom | *ena* | *tena* | *atena* |
| Nar | *ek* | *tek* | *atek* |
| Dat | *es* | *tes* | *ates* |
| Gen | *eši* | *teši* | *ateši* |
| All | *eša* | *teša* | *ateša* |
| Abl | *eše* | *teše* | *ateše* |
| Inst | *eti* | *teti* | *ateti* |
| Des | *ešo(t)* | *tešo(t)* | *atešo(t)* |
| Adv | *et* | *tet* | *atet* |

'these'

| | | | |
|------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Nom | *enepi* | *tenepi* | *atenepi* |
| Nar | *enenk* | *tenenk* | *atenenk* |
| Dat | *enens* | *tenens* | *atenens* |
| Gen | *enepiši* | *tenepiši* | *atenepiši* |
| All | *enepiša* | *tenepiša* | *atenepiša* |
| Abl | *enepiše* | *tenepiše* | *atenepiše* |
| Inst | *enepiti* | *tenepiti* | *atenepiti* |
| Des | *enepišot* | *tenepišot* | *atenepišot* |
| Adv | *enepo* | *tenepo* | *atenepo* |

'that one'

| | | | |
|------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| Nom | *ina* | *tina* | *etina* |
| Nar | *ik* | *tik* | *etik* |
| Dat | *is* | *tis* | *etis* |
| Gen | *iši* | *tiši* | *etiši* |
| All | *iša* | *tiša* | *etiša* |
| Abl | *iše* | *tiše* | *etiše* |
| Inst | *iti* | *titi* | *etiti* |
| Des | *išo(t)* | *tišo(t)* | *etišo(t)* |
| Adv | *it* | *tit* | *etit* |

'those'

| Nom | inepi | tinepi | etinepi |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nar | inenk | tinenk | etinenk |
| Dat | inens | tinens | etinens |
| Gen | inepiši | tinepiši | etinepiši |
| All | inepiša | tinepiša | etinepiša |
| Abl | inepiše | tinepiše | etinepiše |
| Inst | inepiti | tinepiti | etinepiti |
| Des | inepišo(t) | tinepišo(t) | etinepišo(t) |
| Adv | inepo | tinepo | etinepo |

The demonstrative pronouns effectively function as third person pronouns, meaning 'he, she, it'; this is illustrated with examples cited by MARTIROSOVI 1964:144:

(3)    *tena      ok'odə   is-ə-ti*  (Kip. 17, 32)

this/Nom he/want that/Dat-Emph-too

'That one also wanted this one' or 'S/he wanted it too.'

(4)    *geeč'opu tina*  (Kip. 21, 31)

he/take    that/Nom

'S/he took it (that one).'

(Data from KIPSHIDZE 1914:042-045, CHIKOBAVA 1936:78-82, MARTIROSOVI 1964: 142-144.)

Derived demonstratives include *te-cali* 'this kind (of), such', *ti-cali* 'that kind (of), such', *te-neri, ate-neri* 'this kind (of)', *ti-neri* 'that kind (of)' *e-peri, e-gvari* 'this kind (of)' *i-peri, i-gvari* 'that kind (of)', *ate-ǯgura, te-ǯgura, e-ǯgura* 'this kind (of)', *ti-ǯgura* 'that kind (of)', *ate-zəma, e-zəma, e-zma* 'this many, this much', *ti-zəma, izma* 'that many, that much', *te-sxi, e-sxi* 'this many, this much', *ti-sxi* 'that many, that much'. Each of these words may be used to modify a head noun or may stand on its own.

(5)  *te-cali    t'q'a-ša   mitoprti ni!*  (Kip. 46, 7)

this-kind woods-in I/go      Conj

'when/if I went into this kind of woods' or '...woods like this'

(6)  *ti-sxi        kiidə*  (Kip. 37, 9)

that-much he/go

'He went that much.'     (MARTIROSOVI 1964:156-159, 160)


## 2.1.3.3. Possessives

The genitive case forms of personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are used without additional inflection to express possession; for example, 'my' does not have the narrative case form: *čkini ǯima-k mortua*, my brother-Nar come-Quot 'My brother came' (Kip. 29, 20) (KIPSHIDZE 1914:046, MARTIROSOVI 1964: 119).


## 2.1.3.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Declension of some of the important interrogative pronouns is illustrated below.  Recall that in Mingrelian *n* is deleted in word-final position; the morpheme-final *n* shows up, however, when it is followed by a suffix or clitic.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nom | *mi(n)* | *mu(y)* | *namu* |
| Nar | *mik* | *muk* | *namuk* |
| Dat | *mis* | *mus* | *namus, naməs* |
| Gen | *miš* | *muš* | *namuš* |
| All | *miša* | *muša* | *namuša* |
| Abl | *miše* | *muše* | *namuše* |
| Inst | *mit* | *mut* | *namut* |
| Des | *mišo(t)* | *mušo(t)* | *namušo(t)* |
| Adv | *mino(t), mit* | *muot, moot, mot, mut* | *namuo, namut* |
| | 'who?' | 'what?' | 'which?' |

The pronouns 'who' and 'which' have plural forms, *min-ep-i* 'who Pl', *namun-ep-i* 'which Pl'; these forms decline regularly.  These plurals are infrequently used, and the pronoun 'what' has no plural form at all.

Other interrogatives include *mu-č'omi, mu-neri, mu-neeri, mu-peri* 'what kind (of)?', *mu-sxi, mu-zuma, mu-zəma* 'how much, how many?' (KIPSHIDZE 1914:047-048, CHIKOBAVA 1936:83-84, MARTIROSOVI 1964:194, 197, 343), and *mu-žans* 'when'.

2.1.3.5. Relative Pronouns

The following relative pronouns are formed on the base of the interrogatives with the addition of the marker *ti*, which otherwise occurs in the meaning 'too, also':  *mi-ti (mitə, mit)* 'who', *mu-ti (mutə, mutu, mut)* 'which', *namu-(ti) (namutə, namut)* 'which', *muzma-ti (muzma, musxi)* 'as many, as much' (MARTIROSOVI 1964:209, 355, ABESADZE 1965:231-238).  Case marking suffixes are added between the pronoun root and the relative marker, *-ti*; for example, *namu-kə-ti* 'which-Nar-Rel', *namu-si-t* 'which-Dat-Rel', *namu-še-ti* 'which-Abl-Rel'.  The pronoun *namuti* 'which' has a plural form, *namunepiti*, but this is not often used and seems to be dying out (ABESADZE 1965:234).  Relative clauses are frequently formed instead by other means (see §3.9.3).

2.1.3.6. Indefinite

The non-specific indefinite pronouns are *mitini (mitine, mintinee)* 'someone, anyone', *mutuni* 'something, anything', *namutini, (namutine)* 'whichever, some, any'.  The specific indefinites are *midga (midəga, migida, midgeni, migdeni)* 'someone', *mudga (mudəga, mudiga, mugida, mudgeni, mugdeni, mugideni)* 'something', *namudga* 'something, whichever'.  All of these are based on the interrogative pronouns described above.  The marker *ti, tu* of the non-specifics is said to be the same as *d, di, də* of the specifics, both related to the morpheme *ti* which occurs in the relative pronouns and which otherwise means 'too, also'.  The marker *ga* is particular to the specific indefinite, while *ni*, found in the non-specific and optionally in the specifics, is said to be the same as the general subordinating conjunction of the same form.  Note

that the relative order of the formatives *d(i)* and *ga* may vary.  Case markers are generally added after all of these suffixes (KIPSHIDZE 1914:049, MARTIROSOVI 1964:243-245, 382-383).

2.1.3.7. Negative

Negative pronouns are likewise based on the interrogative:  *mi-t-a* 'no one', *mu-t-a* 'nothing'; they decline as *a*-stem nouns (KIPSHIDZE 1914:050, MARTIROSOVI 1964:255-256, 386-387).

2.1.3.8. Reciprocal

There are two reciprocal pronouns: *arti-ani* 'each other' is based upon *art-i* 'one', with *ani* or *iani* 'kind of, having (a property)'; case marking follows the whole, for example *artian-sə* 'each other -Dat'.  *arti-mažir-a* 'one another' has the same first element and adds *mažir-* 'second' and *-a*; case marking is added to the full base -- *artimažira-s* 'one another -Dat' (MARTIROSOVI 1964:218, 360).

2.1.3.9. Other Pronouns

The pronouns *arʒo, arʒa* 'every, each, all' and *iri* 'all, everything' are declined regularly when used independently; when modifying another noun their form is invariant.  'Other, another' is expressed with the pronoun *šxva*; this has the plural *šxv-ep-i*, and declines regularly (KIPSHIDZE 1914:049, MARTIROSOVI 1964:228-9, 230-231, 367, 370).

2.2. Verbs

In Mingrelian, as in other Kartvelian languages, verb paradigms, also called SCREEVES, each express a particular tense, aspect, and mood.  For example, the present screeve expresses present tense, imperfective aspect, and indicative mood.  Screeves are grouped in SERIES, on the basis of shared morphological criteria; the screeves of a series also share certain syntactic and semantic characteristics, which are discussed below.

2.2.1. Class

Verbs in Mingrelian are divided into four classes on the basis of morphological criteria, discussed below.[6] Correlated with the morphological characteristics are syntactic and semantic characteristics; the correlations are imperfect, but represent generalizations about the language.

Class 1 verbs are characteristically transitive and active; that is, they are volitional, controllable on the part of the subject. Examples are *doč'aruns* 's/he will write it', *bzimundi* 'I was measuring it', *doʔvilu* 's/he killed it'. Verbs that are transitive but inactive may also belong to this class. Verbs of this class are defined by (1) a consonant-final stem in the present subseries, resulting either from use of a bare consonant-final root as stem, or from suffixation of a series marker of the form -(V)VC (see below), (2) use of the third person singular subject marker -*s* and third plural -*an* in the present, and (3) a Series III stem composed of a preradical vowel *i/(u)*-, the verb root, and the series marker -*u*.

Verbs of Class 2 are, with few exceptions, intransitive. They are generally inactive (not controllable on the part of the subject), but there are exceptions to this generalization. Among these inactive verbs, some are stative (for example, *ren* 's/he is'), others dynamic (for example, *iškvidunan* 'they are drowning'). Many verbs of this class are morphologically related to ones of Class 1; for example, *ʔordun* 'it rots' is related to the Class 1 verb *ʔoriduns* 's/he makes it rot', which is not a causative, in spite of its English gloss. Additional examples of Class 2 verbs are *skidun* 's/he stays', *doɣuru* 's/he died'. Class 2 verbs are defined by the fact that they have (1) a vowel-final stem in the present subseries, (2) third person singular subject marker -*n* and plural -*nan* in the present, and (3) a Series III stem formed with the suffix -*ere/ele*.

Class 3 verbs are active and most are intransitive. Examples are *ilaʔapu* 's/he played', *ibirs* 's/he sings', *ingark* 'you are crying', *mušenan* 'they are working'. Class 3 verbs are defined by (1) a consonant-final stem in the present subseries, (2) use of third person singular subject marker -*s* and plural -*an*, and (3) a Series III stem composed of a preradical vowel *i/(u)*-, the verb root, and the series marker -*u*. Note that by these morphological criteria, Classes 1 and 3 are not distinct. For practical purposes, those that are transitive are treated as Class 1 and those that are intransitive are treated as belonging to Class 3.[7]

Class 4 verbs are stative and may be transitive or intransitive; they are affective verbs, generally expressing perception or feeling. Examples are *uʔors* 's/he loves him/her', *ʔuns* 's/he has [an animate nominal]', *škirens* 's/he is hungry', *gok'on* 'you want it' *moškurun* 'I am afraid of it', *marčkilen* 'I hear it'. Class 4 verbs generally have the morphological characteristics listed above for Class 2 verbs. However, Class 4 is quite irregular, and some verbs that are ordinarily considered to be members of it lack one or more of the defining characteristics. For example, the first three illustrations given above have consonant-final stems in the present subseries, with the second and third using the series markers that are otherwise restricted to Classes 1 and 3 (HARRIS 1985:57, 401-403).

The second defining characteristic stated for each class is dependent upon the first; both are presented in order to provide an additional possible criterion for excluding irregular verbs.

Summary of Morphological-Syntactic-Semantic Correlations

| **Class** | **Morphological** | **Syntactic** | **Semantic** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | C-final stem | Transitive | Active |
|  | *-s. -an* | Inversion in | Telic |
|  | *i* + root + *u-* | Series III |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| 2 | V-final stem | Intransitive | Inactive |
|  | *-n, -nan* | No inversion | Telic |
|  | root + *ere/ele* |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| 3 | C-final stem | Intransitive | Active |
|  | *-s. -an* | Inversion in | Atelic |
|  | *i* + root + *u-* | Series III |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| 4 | V-final stem | Inversion in all | Stative |
|  | *-n, -nan* | series | Affective |

Inversion and transitive/intransitive are discussed below in §2.2.6 and §2.2.7, respectively.

According to these criteria, some verbs that are in Class 2 in Georgian have cognates or related words that are in Class 3 in Mingrelian. For example, the suppletive verb 'go' has all of the characteristics of Class 3: (1) it has a consonant-final stem, *-ur-* (underlyingly *-ul-*), in the

present subseries (*me-ur-k* 'I am going'), (2) it uses the third person singular subject marker *-s* and plural *-an* in the present screeve (*me-ur-s̲* 's/he is going', *me-ul-a̲n̲* 'they are going'), and (3) it has a Series III stem formed with *i-*, the root, and the series marker *-u* (*me-g-i̲-rtum-u̲-n* 'evidently you have gone'). The verb also has the syntactic characteristics that correlate with Class 3 (see §3.2), and appears also to have the semantic characteristics. While this verb seems to have been partly regularized and fits this schema, there are some irregular verbs that cannot be classified by the criteria set out here. For example, the suppletive verb 'sit' uses the root *-xod/xed-* with the series marker *-u* (for example, *komado-xod-u-n-ie* 'he will sit down beside it (he said)' or the root *-x-* with the series marker *-e* (for example, *kimto-x-e-n* 'she is sitting beneath it') in Series I forms, satisfying the criteria of Class 2; but its Series III forms are composed of a preradical vowel *i/(u)-*, the verb root *-xun/xven-*, and the series marker *-u*, which satisfy the characteristics of Class 3 (for example, *kugu-u-xun-u-nan* 'evidently they sat around it'). Thus, this verb falls outside of the classificatory schema and is here considered irregular (examples from MARGVELASHVILI 1982:94-96, 93, 98 and KIPSHIDZE 1914:27).

## 2.2.2. Agreement

The verb indicates person and number agreement with the subject, direct object, and indirect object, although the markers for all three may not actually appear in the verb form. Subject markers are summarized in the table below.

Subject Agreement

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | *v/b/p/p'--(k)* | *v/b/p/p'--t* |
| 2nd | *--(k)* | *--t* |
| 3rd | *--s/c,u/ə,n* | *--an,es,nan* |

The distribution of the allomorphs of the agreement prefixes is determined by the principles that govern consonant clusters, including the Prefixal Consonant Sequence Schema, the Homogeneity Principle, and decessive structure (see §1.2). The allomorphs of the first person prefix are distributed as follows: zero is found before *u*, *v-* precedes other vowels and bilabial consonants (*b, p, p', m*), *b-* occurs before other voiced consonants, *p'-* is used before other ejectives, and *p-* precedes other voiceless consonants. In all instances, *v-* is in free variation with the other allomorph; often *b-*, which is apparently being generalized, is likewise possible. For example, the following are all grammatical: *p̲-tasunk, v̲-tasunk, b̲-tasunk* 'I sow it'.

Before a stem that begins with *ʔ*, the first person subject marker becomes *p'*, and the *ʔ* deletes; for example, *v̲-ʔidulenk → p̲'-idulenk* 'I buy it'.

Before a stem that begins with a sonorant (*r, l, n*) immediately followed by a vowel, the first person subject marker is realized as *v-* or *b-*, in free variation. When a verb stem begins with a consonant cluster consisting of one of these sonorants followed by a obstruent, the realization of the first person subject marker is determined by homogeneity with the obstruent; it becomes *b-* if the obstruent is voiced, *p-* if voiceless *p'-* if ejective. Each of these variants is in free variation with *v-*. The allomorph *m-* is sometimes found before *n*.

The first person subject marker *v-*, when immediately preceding a root beginning with a bilabial consonant and a vowel, may optionally metathesize with this CV sequence. When it immediately precedes the verbal prefix *i-*, *v-* may likewise metathesize with this element. In each instance, the form of the morpheme is determined by the consonant(s) it precedes, according to the rules stated above. For example, **v-mušenk** 'I work' is optionally realized as *mu-**p**-šenk*, and **v-i-rduk** 'I grow' as *i-**v**-rduk, i-**b**-rduk*.

The suffix *-k*, not found in this form in any other Kartvelian language, occurs with first or second person singular subjects, but only in the present, perfective future, and third evidential screeves. *-k* is used with verbs of all classes. ASATIANI 1973 has recorded *-r* in place of *-k* as a relic in some dialects.

The suffixes of the third person singular vary according to screeve and verb class. *-n* occurs in the present, perfective future, first evidential, and third evidential screeves. When *-n* is not followed by an enclitic, it deletes regularly, according to the rule described at the end of §1.4.

(In the present article, verb forms cited in isolation show this -*n*, but forms used in sentence examples have the *n* deleted if appropriate.)   -*u* is used by all verbs in the imperfect, present conditional, imperfective conditional, habitual, future conditional, aorist, conditional II, second evidential, conditional III, fourth evidential, and conditional IV.  -*s* occurs in the present, present subjunctive, imperfective future, perfective future, future subjunctive, subjunctive II, subjunctive III, and subjunctive IV.  In the present and perfective future, -*s* occurs with verb stems ending in a consonant (verbs of classes 1 and 3), while -*n* is used with those ending in a vowel (classes 2 and 4).  The allomorph -*c* is a variant of -*s* when it immediately follows *n* or *r*, in the Z-S dialect (see §1.4).  In the same dialect, -*u* frequently becomes -*ə*.

First and second person plural subjects are marked with the person prefixes (zero for second person) with the plural marker -*t*.

The third person plural subject suffix -*es* is found in the imperfect, present conditional, imperfective conditional, habitual, future conditional, aorist, conditional II, second evidential, conditional III, fourth evidential, and conditional IV.  -*nan* occurs in the present, perfective future, first evidential, and third evidential screeves. -*an* is used in the present, present subjunctive, imperfective future, perfective future, future subjunctive II, subjunctive III, and subjunctive IV.  In the present and perfective future, -*an* is used with verb stems ending in a consonant (verbs of classes 1 and 3), while -*nan* is found with verb stems ending in a vowel (verbs of classes 2 and 4).  The final *n* of both -*an* and -*nan* is deleted regularly unless it is protected by an enclitic.

Object Agreement

| Person | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | *m/b/p/p' --* | *m/b/p/p' -- an,es,t* |
| 2nd | *g/r/Ø --* | *g/r/Ø -- an,es,t* |
| 3rd | *--* | *-- nan,es* |

The first person direct object marker *m-* is found before vowels (for example, *m-ič'aruns* 's/he writes it for me'), with the other allomorphs distributed according to the phonation type of the consonant that immediately follows.  *m-* or *b-*, which is being generalized, may optionally occur before any plosive.  Before a single sonorant consonant

(*r, l, n, m*), there is free variation of *b-* and *m-* (*b-laxuns* ‖ *m-laxuns* 's/he hits me'). Before a cluster consisting of a sonorant and a following obstruent, the realization of the agreement marker depends on the phonation type of the obstruent, as above, with *m-* an optional variant for all types; for example, *m-rčxunk, p-rčxunk* 'you wash me'. Before a bilabial, the first person object is realized as *m-*; for example, *m-poruns* 'it covers me'. Like the first person subject marker, the first person object marker, when it immediately precedes a root beginning with a bilabial consonant and a vowel, may optionally metathesize with this CV sequence. The form it assumes is determined by the consonant(s) it precedes, according to the rules give above. For example, *m-poruns* 'it covers me' may optionally become *po-v-runs* or *po-b-runs*, both also 'it covers me'. Thus, there is partial syncretism of the prefixal markers of the first person subject and object; they remain distinct before vowels and, in part, in their optional variants.

In the second person, *g-* occurs before vowels (*g-ečiebun* 's/he converses with you') but becomes *r-* before single obstruents (*r-bons* 's/he bathes you'); notice that this is an example of a rule that makes an underlying noncanonical cluster accord with the General Consonant Sequence Schema (see §1.2 and §1.4.2). Before a root beginning with *r*, the person marker may be realized as *g-, r-* or zero, and before other sonorants it is *r*; for example *r-laxuns* 's/he hits you'. Before a cluster of *r* and a following obstruent $C_i$, *g-* may remain with any $C_i$ or become *k* or *k'* according to the phonation type of $C_i$; *g-rduns* 's/he raises you', *g-rčxuns* or *k-rčxuns* 's/he washes you', *g-rč'ip'uns* or *k'-rč'ip'uns* 's/he stretches you'. In the position V-__-*i*, the second person object marker may optionally delete; when this occurs, the rules that would ordinarily simplify a vowel cluster (§1.4.1) do not apply (*va-g-iʔors* or *va-iʔors* 'you do not love him/her'). [Analysis and examples based on GUDAVA AND GAMQRELIDZE 1981:219-224.]

The markers of direct and indirect objects are the same in Mingrelian, and both are included in the table above. Although the verb may indicate subject, direct object, and indirect object, generally speaking, no more than one non-null person/number prefix may occur, and not more than one non-null person/number suffix. The rules of combining affixes are incompletely reported in the literature, but ONIANI (1978:72) has noted that if

the subject is first person and an object is second person, the prefix of the former does not appear. Paradigms presented by CHIKOBAVA (1936:160-168) confirm this and show that when a plural suffix is present, the suffix *-k* of the first and second person singular subject is omitted; for example, *ma r-zimun-t tkva* I/Nom 2.Obj-measure-Pl you/Pl/Dat 'I measure you(Pl)'.

The plurality of first and second person objects is marked, but that of third person objects is not. Inverted forms are an exception to this and are separately described below (CHIKOBAVA 1936:98-99). The marker *-t* is used to indicate object plurality when both subject and object are non-third person, while the markers *-es* and *-an* are used when either subject or object or both are third person. *-es* is selected in those screeves where the third person plural subject marker *-es* occurs, as listed above, *-an* is used in remaining screeves (see KIPSHIDZE 1914:076-077, CHIKOBAVA 1936:160-168, ONIANAI 1978:192, KIZIRIA 1982:140-141). Note that this set of rules prevents a situation arising in which *-t* would be conditioned by one nominal and one of the other suffixes by another; thus there is no need for a special convention designating which plural suffix has precedence.

The distribution of third person singular and plural markers is summarized by screeves in the chart below.

Summary of Subject Markers by Screeve

|  | Singular | Plural | Screeves |
|---|---|---|---|
| Set A | *-s* | *-an* | present subjunctive |
|  |  |  | imperfective future |
|  |  |  | future subjunctive |
|  |  |  | subjunctive II |
|  |  |  | subjunctive III |
|  |  |  | subjunctive IV |
| Set B | *-u* | *-es* | imperfect |
|  |  |  | present conditional |
|  |  |  | imperfective conditional |
|  |  |  | habitual |
|  |  |  | future conditional |
|  |  |  | aorist |

|  |  |  | conditional II |
|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  | second evidential |
|  |  |  | conditional III |
|  |  |  | fourth evidential |
|  |  |  | conditional IV |
| Set C | *-n* | *-nan* | first evidential |
|  |  |  | third evidential |
| Set A/C | *-s/-n* | *-an/-nan* | present |
|  |  |  | perfective future |

Each of the sets also contains the first and second person markers described above; these sets are referred to below by the designation given them in the left-hand column.

## 2.2.3. Preverbs, Aspect, and the Affirmative Marker

Mingrelian has has a richer system of preverbs (preradical verbal prefixes of slot -4) than any other Kartvelian language. According to ASATIANI 1953, there are twelve simple preverbs and eighty complex ones, the latter formed by combining simple ones (which typically indicate direction) with additional morphemes, such as *la-* 'inside', *k'o-* 'beside', *c'o-* 'in front of', *ša-* 'between, among', *no-* 'on', *to-* 'under', for example, *mi-c'o-, gi-la, di-no-*. It must be added that the number cited above includes a few that were borrowed from Georgian with specific roots and are used seldom or not at all with inherited words.

Among the preverbs, quite a few are used almost entirely to indicate direction or spatial orientation; for example, *gi-to-ren* 's/he is under', *mi-to-ren* 's/he is among' (examples adapted from KIPSHIDZE 1914:0106). It has been suggested that the preverbs of Mingrelian, which provide rich expression of location and direction, are the functional counterpart of the postpositions of Georgian (CHIKOBAVA 1936:130).

A second function of preverbs is to add some nuance of meaning; these preverbs are not predictable and must be listed in the lexicon. Examples are given below in discussion of the perfective future.

A further function of preverbs is to indicate perfectivity; adding one of the preverbs *še-, do-, o-, ga/go/ge-, mi-, mo-, e-, or i-* usually makes a verb form perfective; for example,

*vč'ari* 'I wrote it (aorist, imperfective)', <u>*do*</u>-*vč'ari* 'I wrote it (aorist, perfective')'. These same preverbs form the future set of screeves, as discussed below.

It must be emphasized that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between perfectivity and the occurrence of a preverb. Some roots are inherently perfective and may or may not (depending upon the verb) permit preverbs; others are inherently imperfective and may or may not take a preverb. Mingrelian has a special device to cancel the perfectivizing role of a preverb; this is a marker *ti*, *ma*, or *tima*, which may occur between the preverb and verb root; for example, *mi-<u>ti</u>-vogoruank* 'I am finding it' (compare, the perfective aorist *kə-mi-vogoree* 'I found it'), *ge-<u>təme</u>-evgonenk* 'I am hearing of it' (compare, the perfective future *ge-evgonenk* 'I will hear of it') (MACHAVARIANI 1974:133, CHUMBURIDZE 1986:36).

Perfective aspect also depends upon screeve and series. There are a few verbs that are perfective in Series II and III, even though they do not take a preverb; for example, *tkuu* 's/he said it', *uc'uu* 's/he told him/her it', *txuu* 's/he requested it', *xuu* 'she bore him, he fathered her', *kiminə* 's/he did it'. These forms do not require, but occur felicitously with, the affirmative marker, *ko*; for example, <u>*ko*</u>-*kiminə* 's/he did it', <u>*ko*</u>-*xuu* 'she bore him, he fathered her'. The affirmative, *ko*, frequently cooccurs with perfectivizing preverbs, and for some verbs it may substitute for a preverb in forming the perfective future (see below) (CHUMBURIDZE 1986:36-37).

2.2.4. The Evidential and the Organization of Series

When the speaker cannot or does not wish to vouch for the correctness of a statement, she uses the EVIDENTIAL category. This is often referred to as the "unseen" and opposes the "seen" or non-evidential. In the Kartvelian languages Series III and (for those that have it) Series IV express the evidential corresponding to Series II and I, respectively. This can be summarized by means of the chart below.

System of Series in Mingrelian

| **SEEN** | **UNSEEN** |
|----------|------------|
| Series I | Series IV |
| Series II | Series III |

Series III may also be used to express the perfect and pluperfect.  [Analysis based on ROGAVA 1953.]

2.2.5. Screeves

Series I is more complex than other series, in that it contains two sets of subseries, the present subseries and the future subseries.  The screeves of the present subseries are the present, the imperfect, the present subjunctive, the present conditional, the imperfective future, and the imperfective conditional.

All screeves of the present subseries are based on a single stem, which we will refer to as the present stem.  The present stem consists minimally of the verb root and a series marker.  Verbs of Classes 1 and 3 use series markers that have the surface forms *-un, -in, -ən, -en, -an, -uan*, or zero; since verb roots are usually consonant-final, verbs of these classes have present stems ending in a consonant even if they take a null series marker. Examples of series markers are *č'ar-un-s* 'she is writing it', *r-txi-in-k* 'I request of you', *i-l-en-s* 'he passes by', *o-rǯgin-an-c-ə* 'he outdoes him', *v-i-puč-uan-k* 'I swear it', *i-bon-t-ə* 'you(Pl) bathe'.  Verbs of classes 2 and 4 have present stems ending in a vowel, generally the series marker *-e̤, -u* or *-u-u*.  Examples include *r-e̤-n* 's/he is', *i-rd-u-u-n* 's/he grows (up)'.  While some specialists consider these vowel suffixes to be formants of the passive voice and/or of the potential category, rather than series markers ("thematic markers"), they are here treated as series markers.  All of these suffixes have in common that they appear in Series I forms and not in Series II (KIPSHIDZE 1914:053-054, 061, CHIKOBAVA 1936:133-135, MARGVELASHVILI 1988).  In the presentation that follows, the

morphologically minimal forms are discussed; in all screeves, additional categories and markers are possible.

The present expresses present tense, imperfective aspect, and indicative mood. It is formed by adding Set A/C subject markers (see Summary of Subject Markers by Screeve, above in §2.2.2), together with the *-k* of the first and second person singular, directly to the present stem; for example, *č'ar-un-s* 's/he is writing it' (Class 1), *ɣur-u-n* 's/he is dying' (Class 2). (Examples here are from the Senak dialect; in the Z-S dialect the *-ən* series marker would occur instead of *-un*.) In the first and second persons singular of the present (and of the perfective future) the final *n-k* may optionally delete; for example, *vipuč-uan-k//vipučua* 'I swear it'.

The imperfect expresses past time, imperfective aspect, and indicative mood. It is formed from the present stem with the addition of the augment *-d* and the screeve marker *-i*. It uses Set B subject markers, and the third person markers *-u/-es* replace (or delete) the screeve marker, as they do in other screeves. An example is *č'ar-un-d-u* 's/he was writing', *ɣur-u-d-u* 's/he was dying'.

The present subjunctive expresses present time, imperfective aspect, and subjunctive mood. It consists of the augmented present stem, together with the screeve marker *-a* and the Set A subject markers; *ɣur-u-d-a-s* 's/he would be dying'.[8] In the first and second persons there are parallel forms in which *-ee* or *-e* is substituted for *-a*; *b-č'ar-un-d-e ‖ b-č'ar-un-d-a* 'I would be writing'.

The present conditional is formed from the imperfect with the addition of the marker *-k'on* 'would, should', perhaps best viewed as an enclitic; for example, *č'ar-un-d-u-k'on* 'if s/he is writing'.

The imperfective future expresses the nuance of probability (KIZIRIA 1982:119); it is formed from the present subjunctive (with its characteristic variations) plus the form *iʔuapu* or *iʔii*. The choice of *iʔuapu, iʔii*, or the shortened forms *iʔi, ii* does not correspond to dialectal distribution, and the forms do not differ in meaning; the last named is enclitic. Sometimes this screeve contains a preverb also. Examples of the screeve are *b-č'ar-un-d-e iʔuapu* 'I will be writing it', *č'ar-un-d-a-s iʔuapu* 's/he will be writing it', *a-k'et-en-d-a-s-ii*

'I will be doing it'. Although the formation described here applies to verbs of all classes, there is a group of verbs, which seem to be stative, which have no perfective/imperfective opposition, and which form this screeve by other means; for example, *ixvenuu* or *ixvenuapu* is the future of *x-e-n* 's/he is sitting'. A further set, which appear to be mostly atelic verbs, have a single form that functions as present and as imperfective future; for example, *ingars* 's/he is crying, s/he will be crying'.

The imperfective conditional consists formally of the present conditional and the form *iʔuapudu* or *iʔidu*, equivalent to the third person singular habitual form of 'be'. An example is *č'ar-un-də-k'on iʔuapudu* 's/he would have been writing'.

The words *iʔuapu, iʔii, iʔi (ii), iʔuapudu, iʔidu*, are referred to as auxiliaries but do not have different forms for different persons and numbers (see examples above); on the other hand, when used independently as the future and habitual respectively of 'be', they do conjugate for different persons and numbers. Because some scholars view these as auxiliaries, they consider the imperfective future and imperfective conditional to be analytic (periphrastic), rather than synthetic. For the same reason, they may perfer not to view these forms as screeves. We might note, however, that since these forms do not conjugate for person and number, they do not qualify as auxiliaries by our definition, and the constructions are not here considered analytic.

The form of present subseries of Series I screeves are summarized in the table below, which refers to the Summary of Subject Markers by Screeve, above in §2.2.2. The tables given here simplify by not representing the variation discussed above.

Summary of the Morphology of Series I Present Subseries Screeves

| | |
|---|---|
| Present | root + SM + Set A/C |
| Imperfect | root + SM + *d* + *i* + Set B |
| Present Subjunctive | root + SM + *d* + *a* + Set A |
| Present Conditional | root + SM + *d* + *i* + Set B + *k'on* |
| Imperfective Future | root + SM + *d* + *a* + Set A  *iʔuapu* |
| Imperfective Conditional | root + SM + *d* + *i* + Set B + *k'on*  *iʔuapudu* |

Verb forms of the future subseries are based on the future stem; it is formed from the present stem in various ways.  (1) Most verbs of Classes 1 and 2 form the future stem by adding a preverb to the present stem.  The ones most often used are *še (‖ši), do (‖da‖de‖di), o, ga (‖go‖ge)*; *mi, mo, e,* and *i* are used less often; for example, *go-t'ax-ən-s* is the future of *t'ax-ən-s* 's/he breaks it'.  The selection of one preverb rather than another is lexically determined, and a single base may take more than one preverb, generally with differences of meaning; for example, *mo-č'k'ir-en-s* 's/he will cut down (tree, wheat)', *gi-no-č'k'ir-ən-s* 's/he will cut through it', *gi-ša-č'k'ir'-ən-s* 's/he will cut it out', all corresponding to the present *č'k'ir-ən-s* 's/he is cutting it'.  The affirmative marker *ko-* is often used together with a preverb; for example, *kə-ge-igens* 's/he will understand, find out about it', *kə-mi-igens* 's/he will win it'.

(2) Verbs that do not take a preverb may form the future stem by adding the affirmative marker *ko* to the present stem; for example, *ki-txiins* 's/he will request it' is the future of *txiins* 's/he requests it'; *ki-ibirs* 's/he will sing' is the future of *ibirs* 's/he is singing'.

(3) As discussed above, some verbs use a morpheme *ti, ma* or *tima* to cancel the perfectivizing effect of the preverb; this occurs usually in the present subseries.  For some verbs the difference between the present and future stems is the presence of this imperfectivizing prefix; for example, present *ši-tmi-(i)-naxu* 's/he saves it' corresponds to the perfective future *ši-inaxu* 's/he will save it', present *gi-tme-gens* 's/he understands, finds out' corresponds to future *gi-(i)gens* 's/he will understand, find out'.

These uses of the affirmative or of the imperfectivizing prefix to form the future in Mingrelian are unlike anything in any other Kartvelian language.

(4) In Class 3 verbs borrowed from Georgian, it is common to form perfective futures by adding the preradical vowel *i-* or, in verbs with an indirect object, *u-*; for example, the present *mušens* 's/he is working' corresponds to the future *i̱-mušens* 's/he will work'.

(5) Still other verbs use some form of substitution to form the future stem from the present. For example they may use a different series marker, often together with a preverb; for example, present *lal-ə̱n-s* '(dog) is barking' corresponds to future *mi̱- o-lal-a̱n-s* '(dog) will bark at someone'. Sometimes more than one substitution is involved; for example, the future *a̱-škur-i̱n-e-n* 's/he will be afraid' replaces both the preradical vowel and the series marker of the present, *o̱-škur-u̱-n* 's/he is afraid', and adds the root extension *-in*. Such substitutions and additions are idiosyncratic and unpredictable.

(6) Lastly, a few verbs have a suppletive relation between the present and future stems; *(o)r-e-n* 's/he is', *iʔuapun* 's/he will be'.

The perfective future expresses future tense, perfective aspect, indicative mood. It is formed from the future stem by adding the subject markers of Set A/C; an example is *do-č'ar-un-s* 's/he will write it'.

The habitual consists of the future stem, the stem augment *d*, and the subject markers of Set B; *do-č'ar-un-d-u* 's/he writes it (regularly)'.

The future subjunctive expresses future tense, perfective aspect, and subjunctive mood. It is formed from the augmented future stem by the addition of the screeve marker *a* and the subject markers of Set A; *do-č'ar-un-d-a-s* 's/he would write it'.

The future conditional consists of the augmented future stem, the screeve marker *i*, the subject markers of Set B, and the marker *k'on*; for example, *do-č'ar-un-d-u-k'on* 'if s/he would write it'.

Thus the formation of the screeves of the future subseries from the future stem is parallel to the formation of the screeves of the present subseries from the present stem. Nearly all future stems, however, resemble the aorist stem, apart from the presence of series markers in the former; for this reason, they are sometimes considered to be derived from the

aorist stem, rather than from the present stem.  The summary chart below refers to only one method of stem formation, (1) above.

Summary of the Morphology of Series I Future Subseries Screeves

| Perfective Future | preverb + root + SM + Set A/C |
| Habitual | preverb + root + SM + *d* + *i* + Set B |
| Future Subjunctive | preverb + root + SM + *d* + *a* + Set A |
| Future Conditional | preverb + root + SM + *d* + *i* + Set B + *k'on* |

[Analysis of Series I screeves based on MARGVELASHVILI 1980 and CHUMBURIDZE 1986:131-146; examples that are otherwise unattributed are from the same sources.]

All Series II screeves are based on the aorist stem, which consists minimally of the verb root.  The aorist stem may also contain a preverb, indicating perfectivity, and other morphemes.  In Series I, the perfective/imperfective contrast distinguishes one screeve from another, since it is correlated with a contrast in tense (present vs. future); but in Series II, the perfective and imperfective are viewed as belonging to a single screeve.  Some Class 3 verbs form the aorist stem, like the future stem, with the preradical vowel *i-*; Class 3 verbs that take the *i-* formant in both the present subseries of Series I and in Series II and verbs that take this formant in neither of these sets of screeves often add the affirmative marker in Series II. For example, *k̲-i-ngar-u* 's/he cried', beside *i-ngar-u* in the same screeve, takes *i-* in all series, while *k̲o-sxap'-u* 's/he danced', beside *sxap'-u* in the same screeve, does not take *i-* in either Series I or Series II.

The aorist screeve expresses past time and indicative mood.  Formally it consists of the aorist stem, together with the screeve marker *-i, -ii, -e, -ee*, (or occasionally both, *-e-i*) and the Set B subject markers.  An example of the imperfective aspect is *č'ar-u* (Class 1), which has the perfective counterpart *do-č'ar-u* 's/he wrote it'; other examples are *i-laʔap-u* (Class 3) 's/he played', *do-ɣur-u* (Class 2) 's/he died'.

The imperative is also expressed with the aorist screeve; there is no morphological difference between an imperative and a second person aorist form. For example, *gor-i* 'look for it', with the root *gor* and the screeve marker *-i*, also serves as an aorist in the meaning 'you (Sg) looked for it'; *oskir-ee* may mean 'dry it' or 'you (Sg) dried it'.

The subjunctive II is made up of the aorist stem, the screeve marker *-a*, and Set A subject markers; for example, *č'ar-a-s* (imperfective, Class 1), *do-č'ar-a-s* (perfective, Class 1) 'may s/he write it', *do-ɣur-a-s* (perfective, Class 2) 'may s/he die'. Alternate endings substitute *-e* or *-ee* for *-a*, as in the present subjunctive.

The conditional II consists of the aorist with the addition of the marker *-k'on*; for example, *č'ar-u-k'on* (imperfective, Class 1), *do-č'ar-u-k'on* (perfective, Class 1) both 'if s/he wrote it'.


Summary of the Morphology of Series II Screeves

| | |
|---|---|
| Aorist | stem + *i/e* + Set B |
| Subjunctive II | stem + *a* + Set A |
| Conditional II | stem + *i/e* + Set B + *k'on* |


For verbs of Class 1, the stem of Series III consists of the preradical vowel *i-*, the root, and the series marker *-u*; the preradical vowel is realized as *u-* in the third person. Some verbs add one of the series markers used in Series I, and preverbs are often present. Verbs of Class 3 follow the same schema, usually without a preverb. Class 1 and 3 verbs of this series are inverted, as explained below. For verbs of Class 2, the Series III stem is composed of the root and the suffix *-ere/ele*. Originally *-ele* was derived from *-ere* by dissimilation after a stem containing *r*. According to ASATIANI 1970, the *-ere* form is (or was at the time of her fieldwork) still used by old people in some subdialects, but the *-ele* form is more widespread and is productive today; this may be shortened to *-e*. Verbs of all classes may be imperfective or perfective within each screeve, just as in Series II.

The first evidential (perfect) consists of the Series III stem and Set C subject markers, together with the *-k* of the first and second persons singular; for example,

*u-č'ar-u-n* (imperfective, Class 1), *du-u-č'ar-u-n* (perfective, Class 1) both 's/he has evidently written it', *u-ragad-u-n* (Class 3) 's/he has evidently talked', *do-škvid-e(le)-n* (perfective, Class 2) 's/he has evidently drowned' (compare, *d-u-škvid-u-ap-u-n* (perfective, Class 1) 's/he has evidently drowned him').

The second evidential (pluperfect) is formed from the Series III stem, the augment *-d*, the screeve marker *-i*, and the markers of Set B; for example, *du-u-č'ar-u-d-u* 's/he had evidently written it', *do-γur-ele-d-u* 's/he had evidently died'.

The subjunctive III (past subjunctive) is made up of the augmented Series III stem, the screeve marker *-a*, and the markers of Set A; for example, *du-u-č'ar-u-d-a-s* 'would that s/he had written it'.

The conditional III consists of the second evidential and the marker *-k'on*; for example, *du-u-č'ar-u-d-u-k'on* 'if s/he had written it'.


Summary of the Morphology of Series III Screeves

| | |
|---|---|
| First Evidential | stem + Set C |
| Second Evidential | stem + *d* + *i* + Set B |
| Subjunctive III | stem + *d* + *a* + Set A |
| Conditional III | stem + *d* + *i* + Set B + *k'on* |


The Series IV stem consists of the prefix *no-* (which is usually considered a preverb because of its position), the root, and the suffix *-u-e*. *-u-e* is treated here as a complex series marker, because of its position and function.

The third evidential consists of the Series IV stem and Set C subject markers (including the *-k* of the first and second person singular); for example, *no-č'ar-u-e-n* 'evidently s/he is writing it'.

The fourth evidential is composed of the Series IV stem, the augment *-d*, the screeve marker *-i*, and the subject markers of Set B; for example, *no-č'ar-u-e-d-u* 'evidently s/he was writing it'.

The subjunctive IV is formed from the augmented Series IV stem, the screeve marker *a*, and the Set A subject markers; for example, *no-č'ar-u-e-d-a-s*.

The conditional IV is made from the fourth evidential by adding the marker *-k'on*; for example, *no-č'ar-u-e-d-u-k'on*.

Summary of the Morphology of Series IV Screeves

|  |  |
|---|---|
| Third Evidential | *no* + root + *ue* + Set C |
| Fourth Evidential | *no* + root + *ue* + *d* + *i* + Set B |
| Subjunctive IV | *no* + root + *ue* + *d* + *a* + Set A |
| Conditional IV | *no* + root + *ue* + *d* + *i* + Set B + *k'on* |

[Analysis of Series II, III, and IV based on CHIKOBAVA 1936:133-148, as modified by ROGAVA 1953, with ASATIANI 1970 and MARGVELASHVILI 1984; examples from CHIKOBAVA 1936:170, CHUMBURIDZE 1986:134-135, and the author's fieldnotes.]

The description above makes generalizations about the forms within a single series; there are also cross-series generalizations to be made. Every series has a screeve in the past tense (imperfect, aorist, second evidential, fourth evidential); each of these uses the screeve marker *i* (in the aorist there is the alternative *e* used by some verbs) and Set B markers. With some exceptions, the third person markers of Set B replace the screeve marker. In each series there is a conditional, which consists of the past tense screeve and the marker *k'on*. In every series there is a subjunctive with the screeve marker *a* and the subject markers of Set A. In every series except Series II, all screeves except the first have the augment *d*.

2.2.6. Inversion

Class 1 and 3 verbs undergo inversion in Series III. The syntax of inversion is described in §3.2.1; morphologically, it is a construction in which the notional subject is the (surface) indirect object. If there is a notional direct object, it is the surface subject; if not, the verb form has default third person singular subject marking. The regular object

agreement markers (§2.2.2) indicate agreement with the surface indirect object, which is the notional subject. As noted above, for verbs of Classes 1 and 3, the Series III stem consists of *i* + root + *u*; the object agreement markers precede the preradical vowel *i*-. In the first and second persons these combine without change, but in the third person we get the special portmanteau form, *u*-, fulfilling the functions both of the zero form of the third person object marker and of the preradical vowel:

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1. person | ***m-i***-*zim-u-n* | 'evidently I measured it' |
| 2. person | ***g-i***-*zim-u-n* | 'evidently you (Sg) measured it' |
| 3. person | ***u***-*zim-u-n* | 'evidently s/he measured it' |

Number agreement works on slightly different principles in inversion. According to CHIKOBAVA (1936:98-99), while plurality is not marked in the verb for third person objects in direct construction, in inversion plurality is marked for surface objects of all three persons.

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1. person | *m-i-zim-u-****nan*** | 'evidently we measured it' |
| 2. person | *g-i-zim-u-****nan*** | 'evidently you(Pl) measured it' |
| 3. person | *u-zim-u-****nan*** | 'evidently they measured it' |

In screeves that take Set A subject agreement markers, *-an* marks object plurality; in screeves that take Set B, *-es* is used; in those that take Set C, *-nan* is used (§2.2.2). The first evidential, illustrated above, takes Set C.

In inversion in Series III, plurality of the third person surface subject is not marked in the verb, according to CHIKOBAVA (1936:98-99) and KIZIRIA (1982:140). This can be seen in the contrast between the two sentences below.

(7)     *k'oč-em-s    d-u-ʔvilu-na(n)        ɣeʒ-i*
        man-Pl-Dat PV-3.Sg.Obj-kill-Pl pig-Nom
        'The men evidently killed a pig.'

(8)     *k'o-s      d-u-ʔvilu-(n)                ɣeʒ-ep-i*
        man-Dat PV-3.Sg.Obj-kill-3.Sg.Subj pig-Pl-Nom
        'The man evidently killed pigs.'

In both sentences the preradical vowel *u-*, the special portmanteau morpheme used in inversion, marks agreement with the third person surface object, 'man, men'. The plurality of this nominal is marked with the suffix *-nan* in the first sentence. But the plural surface subject, *ɣežepi* 'pigs', in the second sentence does not condition any plural marker; instead the verb has the third person singular marker *-n*. Word final *n* deletes (§1.4.2), but it is put in parentheses here for clarity.

Verbs in Class 4 undergo inversion in all series. Their morphology is similar to that described above, but it is highly idiosyncratic and unpredictable; for example, they may have a preradical vowel other than *i-*. Relative potentials, however, are derived Class 4 verbs, and their morphology is more regular. As described below in §2.2.7, they take the preradical vowel *a-*. Preradical vowels other than *i-* do not have portmanteau forms in the third person, and the zero morpheme that represents third person object agreement combines with them without change:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. person | *m-a-tas-e-n* | 'I can sow it' |
| 2. person | *g-a-tas-e-n* | 'you can sow it' |
| 3. person | *a-tas-e-n* | 's/he can sow it' |

According to URIDIA (1960:177), number agreement in inversion in relative potentials is very different from that described above for Series III. In his examples, it is the surface subject, not the surface indirect object, that can condition plural marking, regardless of person.

(9)  *ma       va-v-a-ʔvil-e-k              inen-si*
     me/Nom Neg-1.Subj-*a*-kill-SM-1.Subj they-Dat
     'They cannot kill me.'

(10)  *čki       va-v-a-ʔvil-e-t            inen-s*
     us/Nom Neg-1.Subj-*a*-kill-SM-Pl they-Dat
     'They cannot kill us.'

(11)  *ina       va-a-ʔvil-e                inen-si*
     her/Nom Neg-*a*-kill-SM-(3.Sg.Subj) they-Dat
     'They cannot kill him/her.'

(12)  *inepi*      *va-a-ʔvil-e-na*      *inen-s*

them/Nom Neg-*a*-kill-SM-Pl they-Dat

'They cannot kill them.'

TUITE (1988, Ch. 5) throws doubt on Uridia's general claim, but suggests that there is some evidence of variation by screeve within the relative potential.  There may additionally be variation by dialect.


2.2.7. Transitive/Intransitive

By a TRANSITIVE verb is meant one with a subject and direct object; an INTRANSITIVE verb is one that does not satisfy this criterion.  In Mingrelian, as in other Kartvelian languages, nominals may be omitted if their referents are clear in discourse; omissions under these circumstances do not alter transitivity.  For example,

(13)  *k'oči*      *ɣes*      *ʔviluns*

man/Nom pig/Dat he/kill/it

'The man is killing a pig.'

remains transitive if we omit the object as understood (*k'oči ʔviluns* 'the man is killing it'), or even if we omit both the subject and the object (*ʔviluns* 'he is killing it').  The verb **form** is transitive and cannot be used as an intransitive; likewise, intransitive forms cannot be used as transitive.

Intransitive verbs of Class 2 may be derived in a variety of ways.  Those discussed first are usually referred to in the literature as "passive", but as we shall see, some are true passives, others are mediopassives, and still others are inchoatives.

The "markerless" intransitives have no affix that consistently distinguishes them from the corresponding transitives throughout the full set of screeves.  In Series I the intransitives use the series marker *-u*, while the corresponding transitives use *-un* or some other series marker of Classes 1 and 3 (that is, a series marker of the form -(V)VC).  In addition, in the present third person subject forms the transitive and intransitive forms are distinguished by subject suffix.  These differences are illustrated in the table below, but they do not distinguish between these types in other series.  In Series II-IV, the intransitives are

distinguished from the corresponding transitives in at least one of two ways. First, the "complex" type of markerless intransitive is distinguished from the corresponding transitive by ablaut grade, as illustrated below, with the example *ʔorid-/ʔord-* 's/he rots it'/ 'it rots'.

|  | **Transitive** | **Intransitive** |
|---|---|---|
| Series I |  |  |
| Present | *ʔorid-un-s* | *ʔord-u-n* |
| Imperfect | *ʔorid-un-d-u* | *ʔord-u-d-u* |
| Present Subjunctive | *ʔorid-un-d-a-s* | *ʔord-u-d-a-s* |
| Series II |  |  |
| Aorist | *ʔorid-u* | *ʔord-u* |
| Subjunctive II | *ʔorid-a-s* | *ʔord-a-s* |
| Series III |  |  |
| First Evidential | *u-ʔorid-u-n* | *do-ʔorad-e-n* |
| Series IV |  |  |
| Third Evidential | *no-ʔorid-ue-n* | *no-ʔorad-ue-n* |

As shown in the table, the transitive form is characterized by *i*-grade, while the intransitive form has ∅-grade of the stem in Series I and II and *a*-grade in Series III and IV. Other verbs of this type include *škirit'-/škirt'/škirat'* 's/he puts it out'/ 'it goes out', *dirik'-/dirk'/dirak'* 's/he bends it'/ 'it bends', *čilit/čirt/čilat* 's/he misleads him/her'/ 's/he errs'; but members of the type are not numerous (GUDAVA 1974, DANELIA 1976).

     The "simple" type of markerless intransitive is not distinguished from the corresponding transitive by ablaut, but by a variety of affixes.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *skir-u-n* | 'it dries (off)' | *o-skir-u-an-s* | 's/he dries it (off)' |
| *xom-u-n* | 'it dries (up)' | *o-xom-u-an-s* | 's/he makes it dry (up)' |

Synchronically the transitives of this table must be considered causatives, a category treated more completely below; they are sometimes treated differently from other causatives

because diachronically they replace a simple transitive.  It should be added here that the markerless intransitive is a non-productive category (MACHAVARIANI 1959).

A second type of intransitive makes use of the prefixal formant (character vowel) *i*- or *a*-.  Forms of this type are distinguished from all others by the fact that their present stems are formed with the double series marker *-u-u*.  The prefix *i*- forms ABSOLUTE INTRANSITIVES, which take a derived subject and no object; *a*- is used to form RELATIVE INTRANSITIVES, which take a derived subject and an indirect object.  The following example illustrates the difference between these:  ***i**-ɣup'-u-u-n* 's/he is killed' / *m-**a**-ɣup'-u-u-n* 's/he is killed and this affects me', where 'me' of the latter form is expressed with the indirect object marker *-m*.  (The second form would typically be used if a family member or close friend were killed.)  The ways in which the intransitive forms are distinguished from the transitive in Series I and II are illustrated below.

Series I

Present   *i-č'ar-u(u)-n*  'it is written'        *č'ar-un-s* 's/he writes it'

Series II

Aorist   *i-č'ar-u*       'it was written'       *č'ar-u*    's/he wrote it'

Although the forms in the table lack preverbs, preverbs are usual in the aorist.  Their presence changes the simple structure of the verbs forms as follows: ***do-v-i-č'ar-i*** → ***d-i-v-č'ar-i*** 'I was written'.

There is a small class of "deponent" verbs that has characteristics that combine two or more classes.[9]  Such verbs have in Series I the series marker *-ap*, which is characteristic of Class 1 or 3, and the series marker *-u*, which is characteristic of Class 2 or 4.  They have the prefix *i*- of the intransitive.  In some instances they contrast with simple prefixal intransitives; *v-**i**-xvam-**ap**-**u**-k* 'I bestow blessings (on someone)' / *v-**i**-xvam-**u-u**-k* 'I am blessed (by someone)'.  The meaning of the deponent form may be active, as is characteristic of Class 1; for example, *dus iʔvilapun* self/Dat he/kill 'he kills himself'.  Note that these verbs are exceptions to the class characteristics summarized above in §2.2.1.

A third morphological type is formed with the prefix *o-*.  A subset of this type is stative; for example, *gi-m-o-por-u-n* 'it covers for me', used in the following sentence:

(14)  *du-s      kud-i      gimoporu*  (DANELIA 1976:171)

head-Dat hat-Nom it/covers/me

'The hat covers my head' or 'The hat covers the head for me.'

Other examples, however, appear not to be stative; for example, *v-o-du-u-k* 'I argue with him', *v-o-verd-u-k* 'I implore him'.  (In these examples 'I' is the subject and 'him' is the indirect object.)

A well-defined subtype of the *o*-prefixal intransitives is the "perception" intransitive, always with two arguments (subject and indirect object) and always denominal.  They express the grammatical object's perception of the grammatical subject; for example, *m-o-met'-u-n* 'it seems large, more to me', *m-o-č'ič'ar-u-n* 'it seems small, few to me', *m-o-mʒim-u-n* 'it seems heavy to me', *m-o-nc'ar-u-n* 'it seems bitter to me', where in each example 'me' is grammatical indirect object.  (These might alternatively be translated 'I find it heavy' or 'I consider it heavy'.) One peculiarity of this subtype is that in Series II forms its prefix is *e-*, rather than *o-*; compare *m-e-č'ič'ar-u* 'it seemed small, few to me', *m-e-mʒim-u* 'it seemed heavy to me', *m-e-nc'ar-u* 'it seemed bitter to me'.

Members of a small class of intransitives are formed with the suffix *-d*; most express the inchoative.  Examples are *do-šur-d-u* 's/he got tired', *tan-d-u-n* 'it gets light, it dawns', *šin-d-u-n* 'it swells'.  [Section based on DANELIA 1976.]

All of the intransitives above are usually called "passives", though some are mediopassives (simple unaccusatives), some inchoatives, and others express other special meanings.  All are characterized morphologically by use of the series marker *-u* in the Series I stem.

Potentials constitute a distinct category of intransitives, characterized by the series marker *-e* in Series I.  Like the prefixal intransitives described above, they are formed with the preradical vowels *i-* (absolute) or *a-* (relative).  Absolute forms express the epistemic potential; for example, *i-tas-e-n* 'it is possible for it to be sown, it can be sown', *i-č'k'om-e-n* 'it can be eaten, it is edible'.  Absolute potentials are in Class 2, regardless of the class to

which the corresponding non-potential belongs. Relative forms express the root potential; for example, *a-tas-**e**-n* 's/he can sow it', *a-č'k'om-**e**-n* 's/he can eat it'. Relative potentials are members of Class 4, and, the nominal expressing the one who is able is the grammatical indirect object (initial subject, see inversion in §2.2.6 and §3.2.1). Some potentials have the formant *-in* (occasionally *-ev*) either obligatorily, as in *a-l-**in**-e* 's/he can go away', or optionally, as in *mi-a-č-e // mi-a-č-**in**-e* 's/he can give it'; in verbs that take it, this formant occurs in forms of both Series I and II.

Many roots have both potential and dynamic intransitives formed with the prefixes *i-* and *a-*; in Series I these are kept distinct by their series markers. Compare *i-tas-**u**-n* 'it is sown', *a-tas-**u**-n* 'it is sown for him, his are sown' with the potentials cited above. [Potential forms from CHIKOBAVA 1936:113, SHEROZIA 1980, SHEROZIA 1984, Ch. 3].

The forms discussed above in this section are intransitives of Class 2 or 4, many contrasting with transitives of Class 1 based on the same root; in most instances the Class 2 and 4 forms seem to be derived from the Class 1 forms. Verbs of Class 3 do not participate in some of these morphological oppositions; verbs of this class are overwhelmingly intransitive, though some may take an optional direct object, as illustrated by the pairs below.

(15)    *baɣana-k ilaʔapu ezo-s*
        child-Nar he/play yard-Dat
        'The child played in the yard.'

(16)    *baɣana-k nardi        ilaʔapu*
        child-Nar backgammon-Nom she/play
        'The child played backgammon.'

(17)    *ate k'oč-i    ǯgiro ibirs*
        this man-Nom well  he/sing
        'This man sings well.'

(18)  *ate  k'oč-i      ǯgiro ibirs    diaraš   obir-em-s*
      this man-Nom well  he/sing wedding song-Pl-Dat
      'This man sings the wedding songs well.'

Case marking of subjects and objects is described below in the section on syntax; for the present it is sufficient to note that the nominals 'backgammon' and 'songs' are marked as direct objects.  For verbs of Class 3, unlike those of Class 1, the verb forms in the (a) examples do not imply the presence of a direct object.  Thus, these forms are basically intransitive, as are forms of Class 2; but unlike the latter, Class 3 forms can also be used transitively.

Some verbs of Class 3 are characterized by a preradical vowel *i-* in all forms of Series I and II; ***i**birs* 's/he is singing' (in (17-18)) and ***i**ngars* 's/he is crying' are verbs of this sort. Other verbs of this class have the same prefix in forms of the future subseries and Series II, but not in the present subseries; *ilaʔapu* 's/he played' in the examples above is a verb of this type.  Still other verbs in Class 3 do not use *i-* at all; for example, *vsxap'i* 'I danced', *vragade* 'I spoke', *bɣoree* 'I shouted' (KIPSHIDZE 1914:203, 214, 272, 323-324, 302, 352; compare, NOZADZE 1974:42).

Causatives can be formed from both transitives and intransitives, from at least some verbs of each class.  The regular formant of the causative of verbs of Class 1 is the circumfix *o- -ap-u-*, to which is added in Series I the regular series marker *-an*, producing the following contrasts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *zim-un-s* | 'he measures it' | *o-zim-ap-u-an-s* | 'he has her measure it' |
| *k'vat-un-s* | 'he cuts it' | *o-k'vat-ap-u-an-s* | 'he has her cut it' |
| *tas-un-s* | 'he sows it' | *o-tas-ap-u-an-s* | 'he has her sow it' |
| *xaš-un-s* | 'he boils it' | *o-xaš-ap-u-an-s* | 'he has her boil it' |

(CHIKOBAVA 1936:159)

However, there are some transitives in which *-ap* of this circumfix does not appear; for example, *o-gur-u-an-s* 's/he teaches it' (CHIKOBAVA 1938:267).

Note that it is the root that forms the base of the causative, not the Series I stem.  The prefixal portion of the causative circumfix, *o-*, appears in Series I and II but is replaced by

other obligatory formants in Series III and IV.  The suffixal portion of the circumfix, *--ap-u-*, appears consistently in forms of all screeves, as shown below:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Series I | *o-č'ar-**ap-u**-an-s* | 'he makes him write it' |
| Series II | *o-č'ar-**ap-u**-u* | 'he made him write it' |
| Series III | *u-č'ar-**ap-u**-ap-u-n* | 'he apparently made him write it' |
| Series IV | *no-č'ar-**ap-u**-ap-e-n* | 'he apparently makes him write it' |

<div align="right">(GUDAVA 1984:74)</div>

In the aorist, which illustrates Series II above, the final *-u* suffix is the marker of the third person singular subject; the double *-u-u* (or long *-u:*) is often simplified to a single short vowel, *-u*.  In the first and second persons of the aorist of causative verbs, the attested ending is *-e-e*, likewise often simplified to a single short vowel, *-e*, by a regular process. The first of the *-e* suffixes has the same source as the *-u* of the causative circumfix (GUDAVA 1984, MACHAVARIANI 1988), but it is not clear whether the *-u* is present in the synchronic underlying form.   All causatives (together with other verbs that form the aorist with *-e*) have alternate forms of the third person plural subject form of the aorist:  *-u-es/-ees*, the former preserving this portion of the causative circumfix, for example, *o-č'ar-ap-**u**-es* (GUDAVA 1984:76).  In the subjunctive screeve of Series II, the *-u* of the causative circumfix shows up more clearly; for example, *v-o-gur-**u**-a* 'let me teach it' (MACHAVARIANI 1988:95).

Many of the Class 2 intransitives have corresponding transitives which are not, however, causatives.  It has already been noted here that "simple" markerless intransitives correspond to transitives that must, on morphological grounds, be classified as causatives; for example, *o-skir-**u**-an-s* 's/he dries it (off)', from the Class 2 form *skir-u-n* 'it dries (off)', using the circumfix *o--u*.  Other Class 2 verbs may add the suffix *-in* in forming a causative: *v-o-č'it-**in**-u-an-k* 'I redden it, make it red', *v-o-l-**in**-u-an-k* 'I carry it (lit. make it go)' (MACHAVARIANI 1988:96-97).

Formation of causatives from Classes 3 and 4 has apparently not been studied in detail, but a few examples of causatives of Class 3 verbs can be found:  *v-**o**-laʔ-ap-**u**-**an**-k* 'I

make him/her play' (KIPSHIDZE 1914:058), (compare, *b-laʔ-ap-en-s* 'I play'), *v-o-bir-u-an-k* 'I make him/her sing' (compare, *v-i-bir-k* 'I sing') (KIPSHIDZE 1914:203), *v-o-ngar-u-an-k* 'I make him/her cry' (KIPSHIDZE 1914:214) (compare, the Class 3 form *i-ngar-s* 's/he cries'), *v-o-ragad-u-an-k* 'I make him/her talk' (compare, *v-ragad-an-k* 'I talk') (KIPSHIDZE 1914:302). In these examples, at least, Class 3 verbs form Series I causatives with the circumfix *o--u-an-*; note that this seems to differ from the regular formation of Class 1 (with *o--ap-u-an-*) and to resemble more closely the formation illustrated above for Class 2 verbs.

Causatives can also have potential forms; for example, *va-m-a-ʔvil-ap-e* (causative of Class 1) 'I cannot make her kill him', *va-m-a-ragad-ap-e* (causative of Class 3) 'I cannot make him/her talk' (SHEROZIA 1984:10). Note that most of the causative circumfix is replaced here by the potential prefix, *a-*, and by the series marker of the potential, *-e*, with only *-ap* remaining of the causative marking.

There are also some double causatives, but these are beyond the scope of this sketch. Note that causatives are members of Class 1, regardless of the class to which the source form belongs. Potentials of causatives are members of Class 2 (absolute forms) or 4 (relative forms), as are other potentials. [Analysis of causatives based primarily on CHIKOBAVA 1936, GUDAVA 1984, MACHAVARIANI 1988.]

2.2.8. Positions in the Finite Verb Form

As a way of summarizing what is discussed above and filling in gaps of the topics treated incompletely, the positions in the verb form are summarized below. Those that precede the root are assigned negative numbers, those that follow, positive numbers. This represents a minimum number of positions, and additional positions may be identified in future research, especially in positions +1 and +3. List provided here are not exhaustive.

Positions in the Finite Verb Form

| -5 | -4 | -3 | -2 | -1 | 0 | +1 | +2 | +3 | +4 | +5 | +6 | +7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Status | PV | Impf | Pers | CV | Root | Root | SM | Aug | Scrv | Agrmt | Cond | Aux |
|  | Dir+Loc | prt | pref |  |  | ext |  |  | mrkr | suffix |  |  |
| *ko-* | *me-* *+no-* | *(t)mV* | *v-* | *a-* |  | *-ap-u* | *-un* | *-d* | *-i* | *-k* | *-k'on* | *-ii* |
| *va-* | *go-* *+to-* |  | *m-* | *i-* |  | *-ap* | *-in* |  | *-e* | *-s* |  |  |
| *ga-* | *do-* *+la-* |  | *g-* | *u-* |  | *-u* | *-ən* |  | *-a* | *-u* |  |  |
|  | *+ša-* |  |  | *o-* |  | *-in-u* | *-en* |  |  | *-n* |  |  |
|  | *+c'o-* |  |  | *e-* |  | *-in* | *-an* |  |  | *-t* |  |  |
|  | *+k'o-* |  |  |  |  | *-ev* | *-uan* |  |  | *-an* |  |  |
|  | *+da-* |  |  |  |  |  | *-u(-u)* |  |  | *-es* |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | *-e* |  |  | *-nan* |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | *-ue* |  |  |  |  |  |

Abbreviations are explained below, where positions are referred to by the numbers used above. Except as otherwise stated, each position allows only one morpheme in a given verb form.

-5. The affirmative marker *ko-* and its phonological variants can occur in the position termed here STATUS, as can the negative marker *va-* and its variants. The remaining occupant of this position, *ga-* and its variants, is characterized by ASATIANI (1953:14) as marking aspect or the opposite action. It has been noted that the negative occasionally follows the preverb, rather than preceding it (KIZIRIA 1982:118).

-4. The PREVERB position is really two positions. The preverbs may be simple, consisting of only the first, DIRECTIONAL part, or complex, containing both the directional and LOCATIONAL parts. *no-*, a formant of Series IV stems, is also included here.

-3. The IMPERFECTIVIZING PREFIX *ti, ma* or *tima* occurs in this position. It negates the perfectivity of a preceding preverb and may occur only if slot -4 is occupied.

-2. The PERSON PREFIX position includes the first person subject markers (*v-/b-/p'-/p-*), the first person object markers (*b-/p'-/p-/m-*), and the second person object markers (*g-/r-*).  These do not cooccur.

-1. The CHARACTER VOWEL or preradical vowel position includes the *i-, e-* or *a-* that is a formant of some Class 2 intransitives, the *i-* that occurs with some Class 3 intransitives (in all forms, or just in forms of the future subseries and Series II, depending upon the verb), the *o-* prefixal portion of the causative formant, as well as *o-, i-* that is obligatory with certain lexical items.  It also includes the prefixes that mark version, a category that has not been described here.

0. The ROOT position is obligatory in all forms.

+1. ROOT EXTENSIONS include the causative markers, *-ap-u-, -ap, -u, -in-u*, as well as *-in* (occasionally *-ev*), which occurs in some potential forms and in certain other forms, lexically determined.  Certain other elements occur in this position, but it is not clear whether they are distinct morphemes synchonically (or only diachronically).  Root extensions have in common that they occur in Series II, as well as in the other series.  In addition, the root extensions seem to be derivational in nature, rather than inflectional.

+2. SERIES MARKERS include those used by Class 1 and 3 verbs in Series I and by some of these in Series III (*-en, -in, -an, -ən, -un, -uan*), those used by Class 2 alone (*-e, -u-u*), and the suffixal formant of Series IV (*-ue*).  It also includes *-u*, used by Class 2 verbs in Series I and by verbs of all classes in Series III.  This position may be simple or complex; that is, two markers may cooccur under circumstances discussed in more detail above.

+3. There is only one AUGMENT, *-d*, found in some screeves of all series except Series II.

+4. SCREEVE MARKERS distinguish one screeve from another within a series.  They are limited to *-i, -e, -a*.

+5. The person and number AGREEMENT SUFFIXES include (1) the *-k* of the first and second person singular, which is found in only certain screeves, (2) the third person singular

markers, *-s, -u, -n*, (3) the plural suffix of the first and second person, *-t*, and (4) the third person plural markers, *-an, -es, -nan*.  None of these cooccur.

+6. Position +6 can be occupied only by the marker *-k'on*, which forms CONDITIONALS.

+7. Position +7 is considered a separate word (termed an AUXILIARY) when it is occupied by *iʔuapu, iʔii, iʔi, iʔuapudu,* or *iʔidu*, all formants of the imperfective future or imperfective conditional; only when it is reduced to the form *ii* is it enclitic to the rest of the verbal complex.

Except for the root, 0, there is no particular position that must be filled; a verb root, however, cannot stand alone.  The summary above does not include the quotative, question, or subordinating enclitics (§3.4, §3.9).

3. Syntax

3.1. Internal structure of the Noun Phrase

In Mingrelian modifiers usually precede the head noun, as in the examples below. These phrases illustrate adjectives, participles, quantifiers, pronouns, and nouns as modifiers of a head noun.

(19)  *č'reli          kotomi*            *eӡgua        ӡgiri      osuri*
      multicolored/Base hen/Nom          thiskind/Base good/Base wife/Nom
      'a multicolored hen'               'such a good wife'

      *ɣureli       p'ap'a*              *ekimi          adamia*
      dead/PP/Base priest/Nom            physician/Base Adamia
      'the dead priest'                  'physician Adamia'

      *breli     k'oč-k*                 *k'ilo     xorc-i*
      many/Base man-Nar                  kilo/Base meat-Nom
      'many men'                         'a kilo of meat'

      *sumi      ӡimalepi*               *xenc'pe-š     doxore-ša*
      three/Base brothers/Nom            governor-Gen palace-All
      'three brothers'                   'to the governor's palace'

      *ti       p'ap'a-k*               *ber-iš          ku-s*
      that/Base priest-Nar               old.man-Gen hat-Dat
      'that priest'                      'the old man's hat'

      *iri       k'oč-k*                 *etiš otaxu-š      k'əla*
      every/Base man-Nar                 his   house-Gen key/Nom
      'every man'                        'the key of/to his house'

      *abrešum-iš ӡap-it*               *ser-iš        dud-iše   q'araul-i*
      silk-Gen    thread-Inst            evening-Gen head-Abl watchman-Nom
      'with a silk thread'               'watchman from the beginning of the evening'

          (Examples in (19-20) from KIZIRIA 1982:191, 192, 194, 197, 200, 201, 225;
          LOMTADZE 1954:208, 209.)

Modifiers sometimes follow the head; this is more common in the Z-S dialect.

(20) *muma-skan-i    do muma-čkim-i*         *ʔude  skan-s*
father-your-Nom and father-my-Nom      house your-Dat
'your father and my father'            'to your house'

*k'ar-i    oze-ši*                      *osur-i    muši-s*
gate-Nom yard-Gen                      wife-Nom his-Dat
'the gate to the yard'                 'to his wife'

It is possessive pronouns that most often follow the head.

A modifier that precedes its head is not declined, either for number or for case; a modifier that follows the head is declined, and the head may also be declined or not (KIPSHIDZE 1914:032).

A modifier that is not declined appears in base form (glossed above as "Base"), which is the unmarked form and is identical to the nominative case form (see §2.1.1.). Undeclined adjectives, participles, quantifiers, and pronouns are illustrated in (19) above. Nouns of measurement (weight, length), container (bottle, basket), or title (profession, kinship term) normally precede the head noun and appear in base form, as illustrated above.

In addition to these general rules, there are some specific rules governing the form of preposed modifiers. (1) When a polysyllabic modifier preceding its head has a base form ending in *-u*, that vowel often deletes; for example, *rčin k'o-s* 'old man-Dat' (compare, *rčinu* 'old'), *ǯim c'q'ar-iti* 'salt water' (compare, *ǯimu* 'salt'), *dur čikoba-š ʔude-ša* 'Duru Chikobava-Gen house-All'. (2) When a modifier preceding its head has a base form ending in *-i*, that vowel often deletes. (Base forms end in *-i* when the root is consonant-final; see §2.1.1.) Examples of this deletion are *art vit c'ana-k* 'about ten year-Nar' (literally 'one ten year', compare *art-i* 'one', *vit-i* 'ten' in base form), *obonal otax-əša* 'bathing room-All' (∥ *obonal-i*), *tecal c'ign-i* 'this.kind.of book-Nom' (∥ *te-cal-i*), *skan muma* 'your father' (∥ *skani*). These are instances of the more general deletion of final vowels (§1.4.1).

Nouns that indicate material (for example, 'stone', 'wood'), the whole to which a part belongs, possession, and certain other relations are marked with the genitive case. Ordinarily a

genitive modifier precedes the head and has the emphatic vowel *-i* (see §2.1.1.1): *munep-**iš-i** saxenc'əpo-ša* 'their-Gen-Emph country-All', *xenc'ipe-**š-i** čil-c-ə* 'governor-Gen-Emph wife-Dat-Emph'. This emphatic vowel may, however, be absent: *k'oč-iš guri* 'man-Gen heart', *ʒoɣor-iš skua* 'dog-Gen child'. In a modifier preceding a head noun, the *-š* of the genitive case marker may also weaken to *-y* or delete: *zɣva-**y** ‖ zɣva p'iʒi* 'sea-Gen shore' (‖ *zɣva-š p'iʒi*), *c'q'ar-i ʒga* 'water-[Gen] edge'. This was originally believed to be limited to compounds (KIPSHIDZE 1914:020), but in fact occurs in other syntagmas; for example, *šara p'i-c-y* 'road[Gen] edge-Dat-Emph' (‖ *šara-š-(i)*), *gotana borʒ-is-y* 'dawning[Gen] time-Dat-Emph' (‖ *gotana-š-(i)*).

There is no general phonological rule deleting *-š* in word-final position; only the *-š* of the genitive drops. Note that when *š* deletes completely, the form that remains is isomorphic with the base form, and thus the phrase is structurally the same as the construction used for nouns of measurement and title, as described above.

When adjectives follow the head noun, they are declined: *cira skvam-k* 'girl/Base beautiful-Nar' ‖ *cira-k skvam-k* 'girl-Nar beautiful-Nar', *cir-ep-i skvam-en-k* 'girl-Pl-Base beautiful-Pl-Nar' ‖ *cira-en-k skvam-en-k* 'girl-Pl-Nar beautiful-Pl-Nar'. The adjective here obligatorily shows both number and case; the nominal is obligatorily declined for number, but optionally for case.

Genitive modifiers that follow the head are marked for case, but never for number; the head may decline or not. Examples illustrate this: *ʔude ʒa-š-i* 'house wood-Gen-Emph', i.e. 'house of wood, wooden house', *ʔude ʒa-š-iš-(i)* 'house wood-Gen-Gen-(Emph)', i.e. 'wooden house's', beside *ʔude-š-(i) ʒa-š-iš-(i)* 'house-Gen-(Emph) wood-Gen-Gen-(Emph)' in the same meaning, *ʔude-p-iš ʒa-š-iš* 'house-Pl-Gen wood-Gen-Gen'. Note that in these examples the first genitive marker relates the modifier, 'wood', to the head noun; the second indicates the case of the entire noun phrase (or agrees with the head noun). Number marking is on the head noun only, not on the genitive modifier. [Analysis of modifiers based on LOMTADZE 1954 and KIZIRIA 1982:190-230; examples from the former, except as noted.]

Quantified nouns are usually in the singular form; for example, *sumi skua* 'three child[ren]' (KLUGE 1916:81,16), *breli k'oč-k* 'many man-Nar [men]' (KIZIRIA 1982:194).

Sometimes, however, the plural form is used with a quantifier; *sumi ǯimalepi* 'three brothers' (KHUBUA 1937:117,19).

A conjoined noun phrase is formed by joining nouns, with or without modifiers, using *do* 'and'. In such a conjoined NP, the last conjunct must decline; others may be in the base form: for example, *dida do muma-k* 'mother and father-Nar', *irpeli ǯgiri do skvam-s-ia* 'everything good and beautiful-Dat-Quot', *ɣureli do tel-iš* '[the] dead and [the] living-Gen', *ʒɣabi do boš-o* 'girl and boy-Adv'. These groups have sometimes been considered compounds (URIDIA 1960:173), but TOPURIA (1959:298) has pointed out that the fact that the noun(s) before *do* can also bear case and number seems to indicate that these are not compounds. For example, we find *čil-k do komoč-k* 'wife-Nar and husband-Nar'. KARTOZIA (1971) advances further arguments against the view that these are compound nouns, including the fact that each conjunct may have its own modifiers; for example, *sumi cxenami k'oči do arti cira-k* 'three having.horses man and one girl-Nar', i.e. 'three horsemen and one girl'.

While case may be marked only on the last conjunct, number must be marked independently; for example, *nger-ep-i do mela-t'ur-em-s* 'wolf-Pl-Base and fox-jackal-Pl-Dat', *te osur-ep-i do ʒɣab-ep-iš* 'this woman-Pl-Base and girl-Pl-Gen', i.e. 'these women and girls'. In the first of these two examples, *mela-t'ur* 'fox-jackal' is a true compound. In each example, the first conjunct has the unmarked (base) plural form and the second conjunct is also marked for plurality and bears the case ending appropriate to the context.

Sometimes nouns are conjoined without a conjunction; in such an instance they may or may not all bear cases. An example without cases on the first nouns is given below.

(21)   *gorčkində t'q'a-s    ger-i,    t'ura,    tunti-k*

appear   forest-Dat wolf-Base jackal.Base bear-Nar

'A wolf, a jackal, [and] a bear appeared in the forest.'

[Analysis of conjoining and examples from KARTOZIA 1971.]

We can see that in Mingrelian it is possible to put a case marker at the end of an entire noun phrase, whether that noun phrase consists of noun+noun, modifier+noun, or noun+modifier. In every kind of noun phrase that has been studied from this point of view, it is possible to have a single case marker adjoined to the entire NP. In this respect the Zan languages

differ from the other Kartvelian languages.  However, it remains possible to mark the head noun (or an earlier conjunct) when it is non-final.

Relative clauses, which may also be part of the noun phrase, are discussed below in §3.9.3.

3.2. Basic Clause Structure

3.2.1. Verbs and Their Arguments

Mingrelian is unlike any other Kartvelian language in that within each series all final subjects are marked in one way.  In Series I, III, and IV, all final subjects are marked with the nominative case, and final direct and indirect objects with the dative.  In Series II, all final subjects are marked with the narrative case, final direct objects with the nominative, and final indirect objects with the dative (KIZIRIA 1982: 81-101, 133-145; HARRIS 1985:55-58). Examples below illustrate Series I and II with all verb classes except Class 4, which are dealt with separately under "Inversion" later in this subsection; Series III is also discussed there.

**Series I**

Class 1  (22) *muma        arʒen-s        cxen-s    skua-s*
              father/Nom give-3.Sg.Subj horse-Dat child-Dat
              'The father is giving a horse to his child.'

         (23) *kiičinen-k-o            skani    skua-s?* (Kip. 14, 8)
              know-2.Sg.Subj-Ques your/Sg child-Dat-Emph
              'Will you recognize your son?'

Class 2  (24) *iš  t'erep-i        ǯar-sə    ɣuru* (GUDAVA 1975:264, 8)
              his enemies-Nom grief-Dat die/3.Sg.Subj
              'His enemies are dying with grief.'

         (25) *baɣana      ʔude-s    skidu*
              child/Nom house-Dat stay/3.Sg.Subj
              'The child is staying in the house.'

Class 3  (26)  *k'vinča      č'vit'an-c* (SAMUSHIA 1979:17,1)

siskin/Nom whistle-3.Sg.Subj

'The siskin [a variety of finch] is whistling.'

(27)  *ate   k'očep-i  ʒgiro ibir-a      diara-š    obirem-s*

these men-Nom well  sing-3.Pl.Subj holiday-Gen songs-Dat

'These men sing the holiday songs well.'

**Series II**

Class 1  (28)  *muma-k   cxen-i     kimeč-u       skua-s*

father-Nar horse-Nom give-3.Sg.Subj child-Dat

'The father gave a horse to his child.'

(29)  *uk'ula-ši ʒima-k    gegic'uɣ-u    muma-s   masuma sak'-i*

last-Gen  brother-Nar take-3.Sg.Subj father-Dat  third     sack-Nom

*para* (Kluge 82, 19)

gold/Nom

'The youngest brother took the third sack of gold from the father.'

Class 2  (30)  *te   amšvi k'oči do   maškvita č'abuk'u-s gioskəd-ə      kalaki-k*  (Khub. 241, 32)

this six     man  and seventh   youth-Dat  remain-3.Sg.Subj city-Nar

'The city remained to these six men and (to) the seventh youth.'

(31)  *k'oč-k doɣur-u*

man-Nar die-3.Sg.Subj

'The man died'

Class 3  (32)  *dida    do muma-k   igar-es       breli* (Khub. 94, 3)

mother and father-Nar cry-3.Pl.Subj much

'Mother and father cried a great deal.'

(33)  *ate uk'ulaši ʒima-k-ə          ipirk-ə*  (Kluge 86, 11)

this last      brother-Nar-Emph think-3.Sg.Subj

'This youngest brother thought.'

Case marking is summarized in the table below, according to final grammatical relations.

|              | **Subject** | **Direct Object** | **Indirect Object** |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Series II    | Narrative   | Nominative        | Dative              |
| other series | Nominative  | Dative            | Dative              |

A verb may have either an indirect object, or a direct object, or both. Intransitives of both Class 2 and Class 3 may have final indirect objects, which are in the dative case, regardless of the series.

Class 2   (34) *čkəni γala*      ***misə***     *ašaaskəd-ə....* (Kip. 73, 7)

our    fortune/Nom who/Dat remain-3.Sg.Subj

'[We do not know] to whom our fortune will remain.'

Class 3   (35) *dida*          *ubirs*              *skua-s*

mother/Nom 3.Obj/sing/3.Sg.Subj child-Dat

'The mother sings to (her) child.'

Subjects (nominative-nominals in Series I and IV, narrative-nominals in Series II) condition subject agreement markers (see §2.2.2). Both direct and indirect objects (nominative-nominals in Series II and dative-nominals in Series I, II, and IV) condition object agreement markers (see §2.2.2 and §2.2.6). This is indicated in the examples above. The agreement marker a nominal conditions is thus independent of the case it bears.


Inversion

Inversion is a construction in which the initial (notional) subject becomes indirect object. If there is an initial direct object, it becomes subject through a related process; if not, the verb is given default marking--third person singular subject (see (52) below). In Series I, II, and IV, we find inversion with Class 4 verbs, illustrated in (36-44). Since final subjects are marked with the nominative in Series I and IV, the final (derived) subject bears this case in inversion as well. Since final indirect objects are marked with the dative in Series I and IV, the final indirect object (= initial subject) bears this case in inversion also. Initial subjects of most Class 4 verbs are experiencers and possessors, initial objects their stimuli.

Series I   (36)   *nugzar-s     u-ʔor-s                manana*
　　　　　　　　Nugzar-Dat 3.Obj-love-3.Sg.Subj Manana/Nom
　　　　　　　　'Nugzar loves Manana.'

　　　　　(37)   *arti mapa-s   ʔund               osuri   skua      lexi* (Kluge 80, 9)
　　　　　　　　one  king-Dat  have/3.Sg.Subj female child/Nom ill/Nom
　　　　　　　　'A king had a sick daughter.'

　　　　　(38)   *guram-s     va-ʒer-s                skani    ambe*
　　　　　　　　Guram-Dat Neg-believe-3.Sg.Subj your/Sg news/Nom
　　　　　　　　'Guram does not believe your news.'

Since all subjects are marked with the narrative case in Series II, the final subject (= initial direct object) bears this case in inversion.  Indirect objects are marked with the dative in Series II, just as in other series; thus the final indirect object (= initial subject) bears this case in inversion.

Series II  (39)   *nugzar-s     keʔorop-u         manana-k*
　　　　　　　　Nugzar-Dat love-3.Sg.Subj Manana-Nar
　　　　　　　　'Nugzar fell in love with Manana.'

　　　　　(40)   *namet'ank mu-m-ec'on-u           ate  ʒɣabi-k*
　　　　　　　　much       PV-1.Obj-like-3.Sg.Subj this girl-Nar
　　　　　　　　'I liked this girl very much.'

　　　　　(41)   *boš-is     ʒalamk axiol-ə           e   ambee-kə* (Kip. 23, 34)
　　　　　　　　boy-Dat very    happy-3.Sg.Subj this news-Nar
　　　　　　　　'The boy was very happy at this news.'

　　　　　(42)   *osur-s      mec'onu          te  boši-k* (Khub. 1, 6)
　　　　　　　　woman-Dat 3.Obj/like/3.Subj this boy-Nar
　　　　　　　　'The woman liked this boy.'

Since they have no final direct objects, all inversion constructions are final intransitives, regardless of whether they are transitive or intransitive in initial structure.

　　　　Final subjects (nominative- or narrative-nominals) condition subject agreement, and final indirect objects (dative-nominals) condition object agreement in all series, as illustrated above.

Relative potentials (see §2.2.7) are all Class 4 verbs and govern inversion in all series.

(43)　*k'o-s　gešaanc'q'e　sagan-i*

　　　man-Dat extract/Pot/I　arrow-Nom[10]

　　　'The man can pull out the arrow.'

(44)　*k'o-s　gešaanc'q'u　sagan-k*

　　　man-Dat extract/Pot/II arrow-Nar

　　　'The man could (was able to) pull out the arrow.'

These are readily compared with the non-potential, which shows clearly the grammatical relations and the relative difference between the inverted potential and the non-inverted non-potential.

(45)　*k'oč-i　gišanc'q'uns sagan-s*

　　　man-Nom extract/I　　　arrow-Dat

　　　'The man is pulling out the arrow.'

(46)　*k'oč-k　gišanc'q'u sagan-i*　(Examples (43-46) from URIDIA 1960:169.)

　　　man-Nar extract/II　arrow-Nom

　　　'The man pulled out the arrow.'

Inverted potentials exhibit the same kind of agreement as other inversion examples:

(47)　*m-arčkile　　　　musik'a*

　　　1.Obj-hear/3.Sg.Subj music/Nom

　　　'I hear the music.'

In Series III, inversion applies to all verbs of Classes 1 and 3.  Their initial subjects (= final indirect objects) are marked with the dative and condition object agreement.  Their initial direct objects (= final subjects), if any, are marked with the nominative case and condition subject agreement.  This is illustrated in the examples below.

Class 1 (48) *muma-s    cxen-i        kime-u-čam-u            skua-ša*
father-Dat horse-Nom PV-3.Obj-give-3.Sg.Subj  child-All
'The father has evidently given a horse to his child.'

(49) *si      doyʔvilu (<do-g-iʔvil-u)   γeჳ-i*
you/Sg  PV-2.Obj-kill-3.Sg.Subj   pig-Nom
'You have evidently killed a pig.'

Class 3 (50) *baγana-s   u-laʔapin-u            ezo-s*
child-Dat  3.Obj-play-3.Sg.Subj yard-Dat
'The child has evidently played in the yard.'

(51) *baγana-s nard-i            u-laʔapin-u*
child-Dat backgammon-Nom 3.Obj-play-3.Sg.Subj
'The child has evidently played backgammon.'

(52) *baγana-s u-ngar-u*
child-Dat 3.Obj-cry-3.Sg.Subj
'The child has evidently cried.'

Class 2 verbs do not undergo inversion in Series III; their subjects remain subject, are marked with the nominative case, and condition subject agreement.

Class 2 (53) *baγan-ep-i   ʔude-s      kudoskilade-na*
child-Pl-Nom house-Dat stay-3.Pl.Subj
'The children evidently stayed in the house.'

(54) *k'oč-i      doγure*
man-Nom die/3.Sg.Subj
'Evidently the man died.'

(55) *iripel-i          art-o      doč'vere* (Kip. 14, 4)
everything-Nom one-Adv burn/3.Sg.Subj
'Everything burned up as one.'

Class 4 verbs, which undergo inversion in all series, undergo inversion in Series III as well, but only once. The example below is of a relative potential (from URIDIA 1960:169); compare with (43-44) above.

Class 4   (56)   *k'o-s      gešanc'q'umu   sagan-i*

                man-Dat extract/Pot/III   arrow-Nom

                'The man was evidently able to pull out the arrow.'

Thus, in Series III, verbs of Classes 1, 3, and 4 undergo inversion; verbs of Class 2 do not. All final indirect objects, whether or not they are derived by inversion, are marked with the dative case and condition object agreement (as in all other series). All final subjects, whether or not they are derived, are marked with the nominative case (as in other series except Series II) and condition subject agreement. [Analysis of inversion based upon KIZIRIA 1982:91,97-98, 142 and HARRIS 1985:271-286.]

If a verb that is inverted has an initial indirect object, inversion will displace that indirect object. It is then retired and marked with the allative case; such an object cannot condition agreement. This generalization applies both to the potential of a Class 1 verb (URIDIA 1960:169, SHEROZIA 1984:15) and to a Class 1 verb in Series III (see example (48) above).

(57)   *ve-m(i)-g-a-činə*          *tiša*  (SHEROZIA 1984:15)

      Neg-PV-2.Obj-give/Pot  him/All

      'You cannot give it to him.'

(58)   *rezo-s   vard-ep-(i)   (k)-u-čukeb-u          dida-ša*

      Rezo-Dat flower-Pl-Nom Aff-3.Obj-give-3.Sg.Subj mother-All

      'Rezo apparently gave flowers to (his) mother.'

Retired indirect objects occur in a number of other constructions that cannot be discussed here; in each construction they are marked with the allative (HARRIS 1985:238-240).

3.2.2. Number Agreement

In Mingrelian, formally singular noun phrases generally condition singular verb agreement and formally plural noun phrases generally condition plural verb agreement under the

conditions stated in §2.2.2., but there are many exceptions.  A collective noun that is formally singular, such as *k'ata* 'people', may condition plural verb agreement.

(59)     *...k'ata-k    diič'ar-es*  (Kip. 4, 29)

people-Nar write-3.Pl.Subj

'...The people wrote it.'

The quantifier 'all', formally singular, usually conditions plural verb agreement: *arʒo-kə kədiirule-esə* 'all-Nar fell asleep-3.Pl.Subj'.

A compound noun may condition a singular:

(60)     *e   cira-še-ni       k'itx-ə          dida-muma-k*  (Kip. 46, 20)

this girl-Abl-about asked-3.Sg.Subj mother-father-Nar

'(Her) parents asked about this girl.'

or plural verb form; the former is considered the norm.

(61)     *dida-muma-kə...    ingar-esə* (Kip. 35, 14)

mother-father-Nar cried-3.Pl.Subj

'The parents cried.'

Numbers higher than one that constitute a subject, though formally singular, usually condition plural agreement.

(62)     *sumi-xolo-k     miindom-es     ogurapu-ša ula* (Kip. 7, 14)

three-even-Nar want-3.Pl.Subj study-All    go/Nom

'All three wanted to go to study.'

Quantified nominals condition either singular or plural agreement; both are illustrated in a single sentence below.

(63)     *koʔope-n-ia        sumi ʒima   k'oči;    žiri   unčaši*

be-3.Sg.Subj-Quot three brother man/Nom two   elder

*ʒima-l-ep-i            dindari ʔope-na*...(Kluge 86, 10)

brother-Ext-Pl-Nom rich       be-3.Pl.Subj

'There were three brothers; the two elder brothers were rich.'

In this example, the plural of the head noun, *žima-l-**ep**-i* 'brothers', has been used, and it is this head with which the verb agrees (compare §3.1. above); however, a formally plural head with or without a quantifier may condition a singular verb form:

(64)     *kumortu          žiri boš-en-ki* (Khub. 2, 14)

         come/3.Sg.Subj two boy-Pl-Nar

         'Two boys came.'

(65)     *komort-ə          sumar-**em**-kə* (Kip. 92, 1)

         come/3.Sg.Subj guest-Pl-Nar

         'The guests came.'

         Inanimate plurals usually condition singular verb forms:

(66)     *didi  ža-l-ep-i          kočan-**s*** (Kip. 5, 32)

         big   tree-Ext-Pl-Nom   stand-3.Sg.Subj

         'The big trees stand.'

The form *alepi kočana,* with the verb form in the plural, is also possible. [Analysis of number agreement based on URIDIA 1960:175-178 and KIZIRIA 1982:131.]


3.2.3. Adjuncts

3.2.3.1. Adjuncts Expressed With Oblique Cases Alone

         In addition to marking objects, the dative expresses location ('at', 'on', 'in') and duration.

(67)     *baγan-ep-i **ʔude-s***     *skiduna*

         child-Pl-Nom house-Dat stay

         'The children are staying in/at the house.'

(68)     *gedoxodə te   **cxen-s*** (Khub. 67, 16)

         sit          this horse-Dat

         'He sat on this horse.'

(69)  *gat'q'uria    kinaxunes **sak'-is***  (Khub. 194,7)

deceiver/Nom put        bag-Dat

'They put the deceiver down in a bag.'

(70)  *ʒɣab-i    teli   **dɣa-s**   mušens*

girl-Nom whole day-Dat work

'The girl works all day.'

The allative expresses the endpoint of motion or time; 'to', 'onto', 'into', 'at' (in the sense of French *chez*), and 'until'.

(71)  *diak'on-k   midaraʔ   xoʒ-ep-i     **ɣal-ša***  (Kluge 83, 18)

deacon-Nar drive       ox-Pl-Nom creek-All

'The deacon drove the oxen to the creek.'

(72)  *atenep-i    kiguc'k'ares **urem-iša*** (Khub.  205, 3)

these-Nom put        cart-All

'They put these onto the cart (for him).'

(73)  *boši-k... did-k'oč-uri   **rina-ʔopa-ša***    mišeelu* (Kip. 24, 2-4)

boy-Nar big-man-Adj living-being-All enter

'The boy entered into manhood.'

(74)  *boši-k    minilu muši **da-ša*** (Khub. 50, 31)

boy-Nar enter   his    sister-All

'The boy entered his sister's (place).'

One of the primary functions of the ablative is to express source, location from which action proceeds.

(75)  *gileles   **raš-ep-iše***   (Khub. 28, 4)

come    steed-Pl-Abl

'They got down from the steeds.'

It can express the direction toward which action proceeds.

(76)    **saturko-še**    *p'iž-i*        *urtən-ia* (Khub. 215, 26)

Turkey-Abl  face-Nom turn-Quot

'He had turned his face toward Turkey.'

In addition the ablative is used in the expression of comparison (see below, §3.7) and partitive.

(77)    **skua-l-ep-iše**    *kaɣard-i*              *namutin-s   va   učkədə* (Kip. 7, 8)

child-Ext-Pl-Abl  reading/writing-Nom no.one-Dat neg know

'None of the children knew reading-and-writing.'

[Analysis of functions of the ablative based on LOMTADZE 1973.]

Instrument or means is expressed with the instrumental; 'by', 'with', 'through'.

(78)    *do   duukununa* **nošo-ti** (Kluge 81, 9)

and cover        branch-Inst

'And they covered it with branches.'


The designative indicates the one for whom something is intended; 'for'.

(79)    *ek       iʔu   ir***k'oč-išo***      saxiolo-k* (Khub. 66, 14)

this/Nar be   everyman-Des  joy-Nar

'This was for every man something to enjoy.'

(80)    **čkim-oti** *varti     čili   oʔopiruu, varti skua* (Kip. 4, 27)

me-Des   neither wife  be         nor   child

'For me there is neither wife nor child.'

The adverbial case expresses the role a person plays, often with verbs such as 'works', or the result of a change of state; often it translates into English as 'as' (KIPSHIDZE 1914:0132-0137).

(81)    *zɣva-ši   p'araxod-is*   **k'ap'it'an-o** *rdə   k'oči* (Khub. 42, 2)

sea-Gen transport-Dat captain-Adv  be   man/Nom

'The man was a captain on a ship.'

(82)    *mapa-k   kimeč  tina     mec'amale-s **čil-o**  (Kluge 80, 16)

        king-Nar give    her/Nom doctor-Dat   wife-Adv

        'The king gave her to the doctor as [his] wife.'

(83)    *ӡɣabi-k  **uӡirapu-o**     go-rtu*  (KIZIRIA 1982:126)

        girl-Nar invisible-Adv PV-be

        'The girl became invisible.'

[Analysis of case functions based in part upon KIZIRIA 1982:145-225.]


3.2.3.2. Adjuncts Expressed With Postpositions

        Postpositions include *(c')k'uma/(c')k'ela/(c')k'ala* 'with, at, beside' (for example, *ӡima-c'k'uma* 'with brother', see (102)), *ni* 'about, concerning' which governs the ablative (see (60) above), and *x* 'up to, as far as', which takes the allative.

(84)    *Ɂude-ša-x    kimioč'irinu*  (KIZIRIA 1982:245)

        house-All-to  draw

        'They drew up to the house.'

        Although there are few true postpositions in Mingrelian, some locational nouns can serve in a similar function; for example, *bžaiol gan-iše* 'east side-Abl', i.e. 'on the east side', *šara p'icy* 'road[Gen] edge-Dat-Emph' i.e. 'beside the road', *doxore-š xolo-ša* 'house-Gen near-All'. In Mingrelian, locational nouns differ from postpositions in that they can themselves bear a case and have other properties of nouns.

(85)    *ӡa-š    ӡin-s     gitoxe*  (Khub. 130, 14)

        tree-Gen base-Dat sit

        'S/he is sitting at the base of a tree.'


3.2.3.3. Adverbs

        Adverbs ordinarily have the endings *-i* (usual in Series II, see (32) and (86)) or *-s* (usual in Series I, see (100)).

(86)     *kidnaʔotes didi kua*        ***dini*** (Khub. 3, 8)

      throw        big  rock/Nom inside

      'They threw a big rock inside.'

These are the endings also associated with the nominative and dative cases, respectively;  thus, adverbs usually bear the ending appropriate to the direct object.

    Under certain circumstances, some adverbs have the ending -*k*, otherwise associated with the narrative case; this occurs just in Series II, the series in which the (final) subject is marked with the narrative case.  According to KACHARAVA 1969, the -*k* occurs only with the adverbs *ʒalam-* 'very much, very' (see (41) above), *namet'an-* 'most of all' (see (40)), and *didi-* 'greatly':

(87)     *ek*        *didik   axiolə* (Khub. 193, 26)

      this/Nar greatly pleased

      'S/he was greatly pleased at this.'

KACHARAVA (1969:505-506) likewise notes that this usage occurs only with affective verbs and with two others, all inversion verbs.


3.2.4. Copula Sentences

    The subject of the copula is, like other subjects, in the nominative case in all series except II; in Series II it is in the narrative.  Similarly, predicate nouns, adjectives, and participles are in the nominative, except in Series II, where they are in the narrative.


Series I  (88)    *skual-ep-i,      ma      ɣalieri k'oč-i        vorek* (Kluge 81, 18)

             child-Pl-Nom I/Nom rich     man-Nom I/be

             'Children, I am a rich man.'

   (89)    *inepi        iro      sac'q'al-i     rdu* (Kip. 3, 23)

             they/Nom always pitiable-Nom he/be

             'They were always pitiable.'

Series II (90)    *tina-k    ok'o iʔuas tiši       komonʒ-k* (Khub. 35, 2)

             that-Nar must he/be  that/Gen husband-Nar

             'That one must be her husband.'

[Analysis of Series II copula based on URIDIA 1960:171.]

    In the present screeve the copula *ore* 's/he is' may be shortened to *-re* or *-e* and cliticized to another constituent.

(91)    *čkin ɣalu    cit'    čxom-ep-iti-e    epša* (LOMTADZE 1954:215)

        our   stream hatchling fish-Pl-Inst-it/be full

        'Our stream is full of hatchling fish'

    The copula is a suppletive and irregular verb; it nevertheless meets the morphological definition of a Class 2 verb and has the syntactic and semantic properties of that class.

## 3.2.5. Analytic Constructions

    In constructions making use of auxiliary verbs, the case marking, agreement, and syntax are governed by the auxiliary.  The analytic passive is formed with a past passive participle and the copula and has the characteristics described in §3.2.4.  The participle acts as the predicate nominal.  Below is an example in the aorist, a Series II screeve, showing that the subject and participle are both in the narrative case, as described for the copula in the preceding subsection.

(92)    *surati-k    xant'ir-k    iʔuu* (KIZIRIA 1982:113)

        picture-Nar painted-Nar it/be

        'The picture got painted.'

    There is an analytic perfect, which for Class 1 verbs is formed with the verb 'have' and a past passive participle.  'Have' is an inversion verb, and its initial subject becomes an indirect object, is marked with the dative, and conditions object agreement.  Its initial object becomes subject, is marked with the subject case appropriate to the series, and conditions subject agreement.

(93)    *si    ʔviliri g-apə        te-š    minǯe  k'oč-i-a* (Khub. 92, 16)

        you/Dat killed 2.Obj-have/3.Sg.Subj this.one-Gen master man-Nom-Quot

        'You have killed his master.'

(94)    *te boš-is apə          turme    gagebuli* (Khub. 88, 32)

        this boy-Dat 3.Obj/have/3.Sg.Subj apparently understood

        'This boy has apparently understood it.'

[Analysis of analytic constructions based in part on LOMTATIDZE 1963, KIZIRIA 1982:113, 125.] Note that there are other constructions which are derived historically from an auxiliary verb in an analytic construction but which have been reanalyzed; these are not considered analytic constructions here.

3.3. Reciprocals

Reciprocals can be expressed analytically using one of the two reciprocal pronouns (see §2.1.3.8).

(95)     *teši     raš-ep-i     xolo artian-c        očxup'una* (Khub. 184, 12)

          this/Gen steed-Pl-Nom even each.other-Dat they/fight

          'Even their steeds fought each other.'

(96)     *oxvarǝdat arti-mažia-s* (Kip. 79, 7)

          you/help   one-other-Dat

          'You should help one another.'

3.4. Question Formation

Mingrelian makes use of a question enclitic, *-o* to form simple yes/no questions; the host is generally the finite verb form, as in these examples.

(97)     *cxen-(i)     kimeči-o            skua-s?*

          horse-Nom you/give/it/him-Ques child-Dat

          'Did you give a horse to (your) child?'

(98)     *laʔapenk-o     ezo-s?*

          you/play-Ques yard-Dat

          'Are you playing in the yard?'

In content questions, the Q-word comes immediately before the verb.

(99)     *si     **mu**       gic'uu       ɣoront-kǝ?* (Kluge 89, 14)

          you/Dat what/Nom he/say/it/you God-Nar

          'What did God say to you?'

The question word *mušeni* 'why' is an exception to this generalization; it usually comes at the beginning of its clause.

(100)  **mušeni** *čkimi ǯimalepi brel-cə    va-mušena...?*  (Kluge 87, 8)

       why    my    brothers much-Dat Neg-they/work

       'Why do my brothers not work much...?'

If the Q-word is part of a noun phrase, it is the entire noun phrase that precedes the verb:

(101)  **mu   ambe**-*e* (Kluge 89, 12)

       what news/Nom-it/be

       'What news is there?'

(102)  **mu   sakəme** *giɣu         ɣoronti-c'k'əma?* (Kluge 86, 16)

       what business you/have/it God-with

       'What business do you have with God?'

[Analysis of questions based on Harris 1982.]

       Clefted questions are described in §3.9.4.


3.5. Imperative

       Imperatives have unexpressed second person subjects and use the forms of the aorist screeve (§2.2.5).  This screeve is in Series II, and imperatives have the basic clause structure described above for Series II.

(103)  *ma       komuči        te   par-ep-i* (Kluge 82, 7)

       me/Dat you/give/it/me this gold-Pl-Nom

       'Give me this gold!'

(104)  *milaraʔi     xoǯ-ep-i     ɣal-ša*  (Kluge 83, 17)

       you/drive/it ox-Pl-Nom brook-All

       'Drive the oxen to the brook!'


3.6. Negation

       Clausal negation is expressed with the negative marker, *va(r)*.

(105)  *oxvame*      *šors va-rd* (Kluge 83, 11)

       church/Nom far   Neg-be

       'The church was not far.'

The negative is generally proclitic to the verb (see note 4) and may bear stress; for example, *vámašu* 'I could not drink it' (example from GUDAVA 1969:109).  (In examples cited in the present article, *va(r)* is written as a separate word when the source text has it this way.)

       In the following example, the negative occurs as a separate word, with the enclitic *-ti* 'too, also', negating a particular constituent.

(106)  *mara var-ti   te   ǯma-sə      daaguru      kaɣardi-k* (Kluge 82, 17)

       but    Neg-too this brother-Dat learn/Pot/Aor reading/writing-Nar

       'But this brother could not learn reading-and-writing either.'

In addition, *vart(i)* functions in pairs as 'neither...nor', as in (80).

       A constituent may be negated with a negative pronoun, *mita* 'no one' or *muta* 'nothing'; when a negative pronoun is used, negative *va(r)* does not occur (TOPURIA 1923:103, MARTIROSOVI 1964:387).

(107)  *ma   muta          p'unsən*  (Khub. 221, 37)

       I/Dat nothing/Nom I/have/it

       'I have nothing.'

As an alternative to this, a non-specific indefinite pronoun may be used with proclitic *va(r)*.

(108)  *mitin'*          *va-ardə* (TOPURIA 1923:103)

       someone/Nom Neg-be

       'There wasn't anyone.'

(109)  *mitin-cə*      *ve   mečə* (Kip. 93, 13)

       someone-Dat Neg give

       'S/he did not give it to anyone.'

3.7. Comparative Construction

Comparison is expressed analytically; the object of comparison may be in the ablative case, as in the following examples.

(110) *tekine art-iše    gverdi met'i vorek* (Khub. 29, 5)

there  one-Abl  half    more  I/be

'There I am half more than one', 'I am more than one by half.'

(111) *muhambi-k    iʔuu    muma-še    met'i uʒguš-i    do  umosi gavlenil-k* (Khub. 26, 27)

Muhambi-Nar he/be father-Abl more good-Base and more influential-Nar

'Muhambi became better than his father and more influential.'

Alternatively the object of comparison may be in the genitive:

(112) *č'uman-iš    uʒguš  geɣan-i-e* (Khub. 113, 24)

tomorrow-Gen good day.after.tomorrow-Nom-it/be

'The day-after-tomorrow is better than tomorrow.'

In each example the word order is

OBJECT OF COMPARISON--COMPARATIVE ADJECTIVE.


3.8. Clause Coordination

Clauses may be joined with the conjunctions *do* 'and' or *mara* 'but'.

(113) *mečxome-s    šeecod e    čxom-k  **do** kidnaxunu c'q'ar-s    koni* (Kluge 79, 43)

fisherman-Dat pity    this fish-Nar and put .away  water-Dat back

'The fisherman pitied this fish, and he put it back in the water.'

(114) *gilart breli, **mara** čxom-k  va-a-č'opu* (Kluge 79, 41)

go    much  but    fish-Nar Neg-Pot-catch

'He went a lot, but he could not catch a fish.'

However, clauses may also be joined without a conjunction:

(115) *diak'on-k    molart ʔude-ša    daač'k pirk-i* (Kluge 83, 9)

deacon-Nar go    house-All begin   thinking-Nom

'The deacon went home, [and] he began to think.'

3.9. Subordination

There are two general subordinators, *namuda* and *ni* 'that', which can occur in subordinate clauses of all major types. The complementizer *namuda* introduces a subordinate clause, and *ni* closes a subordinate clause; usually only one of the two occurs. *ni* is generally enclitic to the verb, which itself is usually in clause-final position; there are a few examples, such as (146), with *ni* enclitic to a different constituent in clause-final position.

All three major types of subordinate clause can either precede or follow the matrix clause. According to ABESADZE (1963:14-15), *namuda* is used in dependent clauses that follow the matrix, while *ni* is used in those that precede or are embedded in the main clause. Adverbial clauses using *ni* may occur in any position relative to the matrix (see §3.9.4 for more particulars).

In subsection §3.9.1 sentential subjects and objects are described, in §3.9.2 reported speech, in §3.9.3 relative clauses, with clefts in §3.9.4, and adverbial clauses in §3.9.5.

3.9.1. Clauses as Subject or Direct Object

The complementizer *namuda* may be used to initiate a sentential subject, as in (116), or sentential direct object, as in (117), following the matrix clause:

(116)   *xolo  umoso gasak'viro daaskides ti-k,     namda xečo-ši*
        still   more   surprising   remain    that-Nar Comp  Khecho-Gen
        *guda-s        antasi   puti-ši          umosi ɣvin-k   kenant'irǝ* (Kip. 20, 28)
        wineskin-Dat thousand pood [a measure] more  wine-Nar fit
        'It remained still more surprising, that more than a thousand poods of wine fit into Khecho's wineskin.'

(117)   *meučines, **namuda** muši osuriskua      ate mapa-ši   skua-s*
        announce Comp     his   daughter/Nom this king-Gen child-Dat
        *čilo        kimečasǝ ni* (Kip. 48, 19)
        wife-Adv give       Comp
        'They announced that he would give his daughter to the king's son as his wife.'

Enclitic *ni* can also be used in this function:

(118)   *kuuc'i,   mortas-i*  (ABESADZE 1965:249)

you/say come-Comp

'Say that s/he should come.'

Here the complementizer has been reduced to *-i*.

Clause subordination can be marked by a subjunctive or conditional verb form, as in examples above and *gaasxadas* 'explain' in (119).

(119)   *xenc'əpe-sə   va   ak'o, mu-kə   aɣolə     ni,     gaacxadas-ie* (Kip. 76, 13)

governor-Dat Neg want what-Nar come.over Comp explain/Sbjv-Quot

'The governor does not want to explain what came over him.'

The subjunctive or conditional is used to mark the dependent clause when the matrix clause contains a verb such as *ok'o* 'want', *pikrens* 'thinks', or *gignoč'q'vidu* 'decided'.  In this situation, the screeve of the matrix verb determines which subjunctive will be used, according to the following table (KIZIRIA 1982:127-128):

| Verb of Matrix Clause | Verb of Dependent Clause |
| --- | --- |
| present | subjunctive II |
| imperfect | conditional II |
| aorist | subjunctive II or conditional II |

3.9.2. Reported Speech

Reported speech in Mingrelian generally uses the same pronouns and verb tenses as direct speech; reported speech differs from direct speech in that the former is usually marked by a quotative marker.  The form *-ia, -a* marks speech by a third person, while *-mak* marks speech by the first person, and *-šo* speech by the second person of the speech event.  These may be enclitic to any one of a variety of hosts (see also (147)) in a variety of positions (see ((63)).

(120)   *ates    dənačina    apun-ia    čkinda* (Khub. 72, 26)

he/Dat instructed   have-Quot us-All

'"He has instructed us," he said.'

(121)  *zɣva-ša  gegnvoʔot(i)-mak* (Khub. 94, 33)

sea-All   throw-Quot

'"I threw it into the sea," I said.'

The verb 'say' is used here to translate the quotative, though no such verb appears overtly in these sentences; only the quotative marker suggests speech and indicates the person of the speaker.  Often, however, reported speech is a subordinate clause, the object of an overt verb 'say'.  (In examples outside this section, the quotative is glossed, but not translated.)


3.9.3. Relative Clauses

Typologically Mingrelian permits a variety of relative clauses.  The first major type is formed with the relative pronouns *mi-ti* 'who', *mu-ti* 'what', *namu(-ti)* 'which', and *muzma-ti* 'as many, as much' (see §2.1.3.5 on the morphology).  Relative clauses of this type may follow or precede the head noun.

(122)  *tinepiši ʔude-s     xvalee ate  cira rdə,* **namuti**     *ʒiʒeet    kədeek'inə* (Kip. 50, 13)

their     house-Dat alone   this girl  be/I which/Nom wetnurse bring/II

'In their house was only the girl, whom he had brought as wetnurse.'

(123)  **mu-ti**        *komic'uu č'k'veri k'oč-k,     geemirtə  iripel-k* (Kip. 26, 16)

what/Nom-Rel say/II     wise      man-Nar  fulfill/II  everything-Nar

'Everything which the wise man told me came true.'

Headless relatives are formed with a relative pronoun; like its headed counterpart, the headless relative clause may follow or precede the matrix.

(124)  *gak'ošaq'aruu, mu-ti          tok'epi    koʒədə i    keʔana-sə*[11] (Kip. 65, 3)

gather            what/Nom-Rel ropes/Nom lie       that country-Dat

'He gathered what ropes were in that country.'

(125)  *mi-t          dəmoguruans-ni, ate sak'i     para-s   kuvačukenk* (Kluge 82, 6)

who/Nom-Rel teach/I-Comp     this  bag-Base gold-Dat give/I

'I will give this sack of gold to whoever teaches me [reading and writing].

Examples such as (126) are similar to headless relatives, but have a resumptive pronoun which may be viewed as the head (compare (126) to (125)).

(126)  *mi-t*          *daaskilduans  čkimi osuri   skua-s-ni,*

who/Nom-Rel save/I          my    female child-Dat-Comp

**ti-s**          *čkimi osuri skuas čil-o      kek'uxunuank* (Kluge 80, 10)

that.one-Dat                 wife-Adv give/I

'I will give my daughter as wife to whoever saves her.'

In relative clauses formed with a pronoun, the pronoun generally stands in initial position in its clause, though in the following example it is clause-medial.

(127)  *si         mi-ti        gəgač'q'oruu ni,    tis        ma      goblaxənk-ia* (Kip. 51, 32)

you/Dat who/Nom-Rel angry/I        Comp him/Dat I/Nom beat/I-Quot

'I will beat up that one who is angry with you.'

According to ABESADZE (1965:235, 237), the pronoun must occur before the predicate of its clause.  The complementizer *ni* may appear in relative clauses in addition to the relative pronoun, as in (125-127), or be absent, as in other examples above.

Regarding so-called positions relativizable, the pronouns *namu-ti* 'which', *mi-ti* 'who', and *mu-ti* 'which' can each replace nominals in the relations subject (transitive or intransitive), direct object, or indirect object.  (This generalization is stated with regard to surface grammatical relations and is supported by textual examples of each pronoun cited by ABESADZE 1965.) Regarding oblique relations, the individual pronouns have not been studied for each individual relation; however, ABESADZE (1965:231-237) has provided a variety of textual examples including forms of *namuti* in the genitive, allative, and ablative cases, and with the postposition *c'k'əma* 'with', and forms of *miti* in the genitive.  A sampling of examples follows:

(128)  *tis,     **namu-še-ti**     sinatle     iȝiredu-ni* (Khub. 7, 20)

that/Dat which-Abl-Rel light/Nom show/I-Comp

'that [residence], from which a light showed'

(129)  *ȝɣabi,   (**namu**)-c'k'əma koȝanudə sumi  dɣa do  sumi  ser-s*   (Khub. 134, 12)

girl/Nom which-with       lie/I      three day and three night-Dat

'the girl, with whom he lay for three days and three nights'

(130)  *sadgəmi,* **namu-ši**  *k'əla*  *musu*  *uɣudu* (Kip. 63, 3)

residence which-Gen key/Nom he/Dat have/I/Inv

a residence, of (to) which he had the key'

The second major type of relative clause is formed instead by omitting the relativized noun and marking the clause with the subordinator *ni* 'that'; these are GAPPED relatives.  Such clauses may follow the head noun, as in (131).

(131)  *uc'uu ti  k'oč-k,  mdinare-ši c'q'ar-s*  *šundu*  **ni** (ABESADZE 1965:247)

say/II that man-Nar river-Gen   water-Dat drink/I Comp

'The man that was drinking river water said....'

When the relative clause precedes the head, the head is often a pronoun.

(132)  *uk'uli uc'uu, ešmak'-išot ragadaandu* **ni,**  *ti-k* (Kip. 4, 4)

later   say/II devil-Des    talk         Comp he-Nar

'Later that one that was talking to the devil said....'

In relatives of both major types, the case of the head is generally determined by its grammatical relation within its clause and by the series to which the verb of its clause belongs, while the case of the relative pronoun (if one occurs) is determined by the same factors within its clause.  However, there are examples in which the head noun bears the same case as *namuti* 'which-Rel', as governed by the relative clause; in each such example, a resumptive pronoun follows the relative clause, bearing the case determined by the matrix clause.  In (133) the case governed for *osur-* 'woman' is narrative, since it is subject of a verb in Series II; however, the noun is nominative, as is *namuti* 'which', which immediately follows it.

(133)  *osur-i,*      *namu-ti*     *iriato*     *ɣvarandu do  tvalundu,*

woman-Nom which/Nom-Rel always    wail/I      and lament/I

**tik**      *xolo ʒica*       *dič'q'u* (ABESADZE 1965:233)

she/Nar even laugh/Nom begin/II

'The woman that was ceaselessly wailing and lamenting, she even began to laugh.'

Such resumptive pronouns are not limited to examples where the case of the head noun is determined by the relative clause.

(134) *k'oč-kə, namu-ti c'q'ar-cə oskəruandə, **tik** uc'uu* (Kip. 15, 14)

man-Nar which/Nom-Rel water-Dat dry/I he/Nar say/II

'The man who was drying up the water said....'

There are likewise examples of the head noun bearing the case determined by the relative clause in gapped relatives. In the following example, the head noun is repeated after the subordinate clause, bearing the case determined by its own clause.

(135) *xam-i, naʔvila do goxirili k'oč-iši kora-s*

knife-Nom killed and robbed man-Gen stomach-Dat

*koʒiresə ni, e xam-kə te boš-iši-k iʔuu* (Kip. 24, 26)

see/II Comp this knife-Nar this boy-Gen-Nar be/II

'The knife which they saw in the stomach of the murdered and robbed man became this boy's knife.'


3.9.4. Clefts

Content questions are frequently expressed with a special construction in Mingrelian (KIPSHIDZE 1914:0140-0141, ABESADZE 1965:249).

(136) *so-ša re, meurkə ni?* (Kip. 7, 18)

where-All it/be you/go Comp

'Where is it that you are going?'

(137) *mu ore, sak'-it megiɣu ni?* (Kip. 8, 11)

what/Nom it/be sack-Inst you/take/it Comp

'What is it that you are taking with (in) the sack?'

From the point of view of language universals, these are focus clefts. The matrix clause contains the question word and the copula; the dependent clause, marked with the clause-final subordinator *ni* 'that' contains the remaining constituents. The dependent clause of the cleft construction is formally the same as a gapped relative (§3.9.3).

A peculiarity of this construction in Mingrelian is that the case of the Q-word is not governed by the copula, as it at first appears in the examples above; rather, the case of the Q-word is governed by the verb of the dependent clause, as illustrated below.

(138)  *mu-su    re,    č'aruns    ni?*

       what-Dat it/be he/write/it Comp

       'What is it that he is writing?'

In this example the question word is in the dative, the case governed by *c'aruns* (in this Series I form) for its direct object; subjects and predicate nominals of the copula do not occur in the dative (see §3.2.4).  [Analysis of clefts based on HARRIS (1994).]

3.9.5. Adverbial Clauses

       A wide variety of adverbial clauses may be marked with the clause-final subordinator *ni*; meaning differences among them are indicated in part by the correlate used in the main clause. ABESADZE (1965:248) lists the following types of *ni* adverbial, each with its own correlate:

| | |
|---|---|
| Manner | *taši* 'this way', *teši* 'that way' |
| Cause | *tišeni* 'because of that', *tešeni* 'because of this' |
| Purpose | *tišeni* 'because of that', *tešeni* 'because of this' |
| Place | *tek* 'there', *tak* 'here', *teure* 'thither', *taure*'hither' |
| Time | *timc'k'əma, timc'k'ala* 'then', *xate* 'then immediately' *uk'uli* 'later', etc. |

Conditional clauses with *ni* have no correlate, and adverbials of cause may also occur without a correlate.  (139) illustrates a correlate in a manner adverbial, and (140) the absence of one in an adverbial of cause.  (The verb of the dependent clause in (139) is finite, though it is translated with a nonfinite form in English.)

(139)  *v-eɣu    mutuni    e  k'oč-kə-**ni**,      **teši**    molartu ʔud-ša* (Khub. 25, 8)

       Neg-take something this man-Nar-Comp thatway come     house-All

       'This man came home, having taken nothing.'

(140)  *skani samartal-s  iri   k'oč-i     ockvansə **ni**,   ma-ti skani k'ar-iša*

your  justice-Dat every man-Nom praise    Comp I-too your  door-All

*kəmoprti* (Kip. 44, 22)

come

'Because everyone praises your justice, I too have come to your door.'

It is characteristic of adverbials of time formed with *ni* that they seldom have correlates, and that the dependent clause usually precedes the matrix.

(141)  *mioǯin-**ni**,  koʒir xoǯ-ep-i....*  (Kluge 84, 2)

look-Comp see    ox-PL-Nom

'When he looked, he saw the oxen....'

Purpose adverbials in *ni* differ from cause adverbials, which share the same correlates, in that purpose adverbials mostly follow the main clause and use a subjunctive or conditional form in the dependent clause.

(142)  *ma taki  **tišeni**      moprti, lazut'i komiʔidirədək'o **ni*** (Kip. 2, 26)

I   here  becausethat come   corn   buy            Comp

'I came here so that I might buy corn.'

The complementizer *namuda* can also combine with correlates to form adverbials:

(143)  *ina **teši**     gak'virebuli rdə, **namuda** oč'k'omal-k va   ač'k'omə* (Kip. 22, 7)

s/he thatway surprised    be  Comp    food-Nar   Neg eat/Pot

'He was so surprised that he could not eat food.'

The complementizers *namuda* and *ni* are occasionally used in the same dependent clause.

Conditional clauses may be formed with *da* 'if', which occurs in clause-final position.

(144)  *skua       koʔundu-a **da**, gverdo ɣureli iʔuapudu-a* (Khub. 21, 6)

child/Nom have-Quot if  half   dead   be-Quot

'If he had a child, he would be half dead.'

Such clauses usually precede the main clause, but may follow or be embedded within the matrix.

The question marker, *o*, can be used to mark a dependent clause in the meaning 'when, as soon as'.  Such clauses precede the main clause, and the question marker itself is final in its clause (ABESADZE 1963:18).

(145)  *boši-k    ešelə do  gioǯinu-**o**,   kičinu ʒɣab-i* (Khub. 34, 24)

boy-Nar go    and look-Ques   know girl-Nom

'As soon as the boy went up and looked, he recognized the girl.'

A variety of adverbial clauses can also be formed with a relative adverb, with or without a correlate, and with or without *ni*.  Adverbs of this type include *sondaro* 'until, before', *so(ti)* 'where', *sole* 'whither'; the correlates are generally the same as those listed above.

(146)  ***mužansit** kumort mapa-ša-**ni*** (Kluge 80, 12)

when      come    king-All-Comp

'When he came to the king....'

(147)  *si  **so**    dinəkə **ni**,    tekə  bdinəkə ma-ti-a* (Kip. 63, 16)

you where lose    Comp there lose      I-too-Quot

'Where you get lost, I will get lost (there) too.'

In (146) the complementizer *ni* is enclitic to a constituent other than the verb.  Although this is frequent in adverbial clauses, it is not common in other clause types.  [Analysis of subordination based in part on ABESADZE 1963, 1965; many examples are also from those sources.]

NOTES

[2] The preceding description is based on IMNADZE 1981:5-15 and 75-86, together with comments from John Catford.  IMNADZE's analysis recognizes only two vowel heights and two degrees of tongue advancement, but I have not adhered to this system.  Any mistakes in interpretation are, of course, my own.

[3] Mingrelian does not distinguish animacy or gender in verb agreement markers or in pronouns. In glossing forms in this article, I have used "s/he", "him/her", or "they", "them" in the appropriate function with verbs that usually occur with animates and "it" for ones that usually take an inanimate.  In glossing some examples I have used "him" vs. "her" as an alternative to subscripting.

[4] Although these are included here as prefixes for simplicity, it appears that at least *va(r)* is actually a proclitic; see §3.6.

[5] Frequently cited texts are abbreviated as follows:

> Kip.    texts contained in KIPSHIDZE 1914
>
> Khub.  KHUBUA 1937 (examples from secondary sources have been checked with the original and corrected for this website)
>
> Kluge  KLUGE 1916

Infrequently cited texts (GUDAVA 1975, SAMUSHIA 1979) are referenced in full. Unattributed examples were elicited by the author.

In glosses, hyphens separate meanings that correspond to morphemes separated by hyphens added to the original; slashes separate meanings which cannot be separated in the

original (such as zero morphemes), or which are not separated for some other reason. Transcription of sources is changed to the system used here, including writing double vowels where the original has long vowels.

[6] Classes 2 and 4 are sometimes combined, since they share many properties; for present purposes they are best kept distinct.

[7] Class 3 also includes those verbs that meet the morphological criteria and which are transitive only some of the time, such as *laʔapens* 's/he plays', which may optionally take a direct object, such as 'backgammon' or 'ball'.

[8] For many of the screeves, it is impossible to provide perfectly accurate translations into English.

[9] Although the description here is based on DANELIA 1976:171, I have broadened Danelia's use of the term "deponent".

[10] In some examples, where it is relevant, the series to which a verb form belongs (section §2.2) is marked in the gloss by means of a roman numeral: I-IV.

[11] Commas separate subordinate clauses, and in some sentences these do not occur in the original.

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