Towards a Comparative Syntax of the Kartvelian Languages¹ George Hewitt

When a classicist moves outside his field, it is a comfort to find unrelated languages behaving in a way with which he is familiar. At the same time, it is exciting to be faced with the challenge resulting from encounters with different structures. When the move takes the scholar to the Caucasus, the differences often seem to outweigh the similarities. Both the dedicatee of this volume and the author of this contribution have made this journey, and so it seemed appropriate to make available in a work designed for both Indo-Europeanists and caucasologists some unpublished materials gathered some years ago which present both types of data. This offering could be viewed as a modest expansion of, or supplement to, the wealth of information in Nia Abesadze's 1960 and 1963 papers on subordination in the Kartvelian languages (especially Svan), though her main concerns there were the subordinating elements themselves rather than the overall nature of the hypotactic constructions.

In 1981 I published a study of relative clause formation in Mingrelian, the most widely spoken of the Kartvelian languages after Georgian, subsequently investigating parallel structures in Georgian in at least three publications (viz. 1985; 1987; 1996). The data to be adduced from Svan will help complete the picture for Kartvelian and at the same provide a partial test for Karl Horst Schmidt's 1991 dictum that, apart from speech-reporting², 'The syntactic structure of Svan corresponds to that of Georgian' (p.536).

Among the indigenous Caucasian languages only in the Kartvelian family does one encounter a full complement of subordinate clauses (which is to say sequences containing a finite verb introduced by a conjunction, conjunctional expression, or relative pronoun³). Modern Georgian has the relative pronouns: /vin.ts/, 'who' /ra.ts/ 'which' and /ro(.)meli.ts/ 'who/which'. Old Georgian was in the process of developing a distinction between interrogatives and indefinites, on the one hand, and interrogatives and relatives, on the other; the simple base-form (today's interrogative) had both indefinite (especially but not exclusively in a negated clause) and relative functions, the context determining which role it was playing. Relative function came to be marked either by the suffixation (in its citation-, or Nominative, form) of one of the

¹I gratefully acknowledge the time and effort devoted to answering my questions by my various informants, mostly of years gone by: the Svans Chato Gudzhedzhiani (Upper Bal) and Aleksandre Oniani (Lashkh), and for Mingrelian the late Neli T'orchua, P'ant'e Basilaia, Ek'a Basilaia, Manana Gunia and, latterly, K'akha Gabunia; extra material was provided by my wife, Zaira Khiba. ²For this see Hewitt (1982) and Boeder (2001).

³Bats, a Nakh language, and Udi, a Lezgic language, have developed relative pronouns along with full relative clauses under the influence of neighbouring languages (respectively Georgian and Georgian and/or Armenian).

demonstratives (i.e. with appropriate deixis, mostly 3rd person /igi/ 'that yonder') to a declining pronominal base or by the suffixation to the declining base of the coördinating clitic /-tsa/ (= Modern Georgian /-ts/) — sometimes both suffixes appeared together in the order: coördinating clitic + demonstrative. Relative pronouns in Mingrelian are formed, as in Georgian, by suffixing the coördinating clitic /-t(i)/ to the appropriate case of the interrogative pronoun to give: /mi-t(i)/ 'who', /mu-t(i)/ 'which', /na(.)mu-t(i)/ 'who, which' — N.B. /ti/ is the demonstrative 'that'. Svan relatives are: /jer.wa(:).j/ 'who', /ma(:).j.wa(:).j/ 'which', /xed.wa(:).j/ 'who, which', where the final component derives from /-i/, the coördinating clitic 'and'. If these relative pronouns are employed, the relative clause follows its head, the pronoun stands in the case appropriate to its function within the subordinate clause, and the pronoun typically starts the clause, though this is not always so in Svan. Beginning with a simple intransitive verb in the subordinate clause, we find a straightforward sequence such as the following in Upper Bal (Mulakh variety):

x.ø.o.sgd.isdazuræl.s,xsd(.)wæ.j/jer(.)wæ.j sk'æm.gisgur.øI.X.OV.see.Presthatwoman.Datwho(-Nom).Relchair.onsit.X(-Pres)'I see the woman who is sitting on the chair'[Svan]This correlates directly with Georgian:

v.ø.xed.av i(.)m kal.s, ro(.)mel.i.ts sk'om.ze zi.s [Georgian] I.X.see.TS(-Pres) that woman.Dat who.Nom.Rel chair.on sit.X(-Pres) To complete the picture, compare Mingrelian:

v.ø.o.rts'q's.k	ti	osur.s _.	na(.)mu.t	sk°am(.i).s	χ.ε.ø
I.X.LV.see.Intrans.I(-Pres)	that	woman.Dat	who(-Nom).Rel	chair.Dat	sit.
				Intrans.	X(-Pres)
				[Mii	ngrelian]

Each of the languages has developed a general subordinator: Svan /jear/ $\langle = /jar/$ /who?', Georgian /ro(m)/ $\langle = /ro(.)mel.i/$ which one?', Laz /no/ $\langle = /no(.)mu/$ which one?', and Mingrelian /-ni/ presumably has the same source, though the relationship is not as clear as in its closest relation, Laz. Although subordinate sequences in both Svan and (?older/non-standard) Georgian containing a specific subordinator coupled with their respective general subordinator later in the clause are attested, only in Mingrelian do I have elicited examples where /-ni/ is found in relative clauses introduced by a relative pronoun, so that the verb in the above could be /x.e.g.ni/. Each of the languages allows relative structures to be produced simply by placing their respective general subordinator at its appropriate slot within the subordinate clause without the need for any specific relative pronoun, the resulting clause either preceding or following its

head (with perhaps a preference for the former order). So that the above-examples can also be expressed as:

sk'am.zi je:r sgur.ø, edz zuræl.s x.[x.]o.sgd.i/x.[x.]o.sgd.i edz zuræl.s	[Svan]
sk'am.ze ro(m) zi.s, i(.)m kal.s v.ø.xed.av/v.ø.xed.av i(.)m kal.s	[Georgian]
sk'am(.i).s χε.ø.ni, ti osur.s v.ø.o.rts'q'.ε.k	[Mingrelian]

In Mingrelian relatives formed in such a way, even with no specific head, often have $/p \approx r.i/$, which equates to Georgian /i(.) = (.) = 1.i/ 'such a', in place of the demonstrative, e.g.

ke.je.øxvad.øles lakivli melø.?un.si.ni, per.ki

Aff.Prev.X.meet.Y.Pl(-Aor) pup.Nom Prev.X.take.Y(-Pres).Sub such.Erg

'They came across someone who is taking a pup' [Mingrelian — Khuba.1937] which in Georgian would be:

je.ø.xvd.a.t lek*v.i ro(m) mi.h.q*av.s i(.)s(.)et.i4

Returning to Svan, we note an additional feature when such a subordinate clause is placed after its head — consider:

χ.ø.o.sgd.i odz zurælls o, sk'amlizi jær sgurlø

The long-awaited Svan-Georgian dictionary (Topuria & Kaldani 2000) contains two entries under $/\epsilon/$ (p.200) that might be relevant to an understanding of the extra element here: the first gives this vowel as a reduced form of the complementiser $/\epsilon r(\epsilon)/$ that'; the second has this vowel serving as a reduced form of $/\epsilon d \frac{1}{2}/$ that'. The problem is that in both cases these reductions are cited exclusively for the Lower Bal and Lent'ekh dialects. In the multitude of examples that I elicited from Miss Gudzhedzhiani in Mest'ia the item is present every time that the head-noun precedes the adjective clause (regardless of whether the clause contains a full relative pronoun, and regardless of the position in the clause of this pronoun, initial or internal) but never when the order is reversed. There are two exceptions: the example with which we started, and a structure where the head is not itself accompanied by a demonstrative adjective but is taken up after the clause by an appositional demonstrative pronoun, viz.

tju m.itr.a zuræl al maxra.d jær Aff-Prev me.OV.be-known.Stat-Pres-X woman(-Nom) this man.Erg Sub a.ø.pajwd.ø edza Prev.X.praise.Y(-Aor) that-one(-Nom)

⁴The example is actually quoted from Kadzhaia (20023.94) who gives the Georgian verb as //sxvdrsn/ plus Nominative for the person met, an impossible coupling in Georgian, for the object with this verbform must be Dative. I have kept the Nominative, which corresponds here to the Mingrelian Ergative, and have amended the verb accordingly. Georgian //sxvdrsn/ can, of course, equate to Mingrelian //sxvdrss/, but the person met must then, as in Georgian, stand in the Dative, viz. /psr.s/.

	'I do indeed know the woman whom this man praised'						[Svan]
=	(ke) ⁵	v.ø.i.tsn.ob	kals,	a(.)r	n k'ats.ma	ro(m)	ø.a.k.p,
	Aff	I.X.know.TS(-Pres)	woman.Dat	this	man.Erg	g Sub	X.NV.praise.Y(-
							Aor)
	i(.)mo	l.S					
	that-	one.Dat					[Georgian]
=	ø.i.p.f	finen.k	osur.s _.	ats	k"ot∫.k	ø.o.tsk.u	ıni,
	X.SV	/.I.know.TS.I(-Pres)	woman.Dat	this	man.Erg	X.NV.p	oraise.Y(-Aor).Sub

that-one.Dat⁶

ti.s

[Mingrelian]

It remains to determine if the item in question is optional and what exactly it means. In all but two examples the head-noun is encircled, as above, by the two elements, this complex immediately preceding the qualifying clause; the exceptions are: (a) the head-noun is fronted with its preceding demonstrative, leaving the extra vocalic item stranded immediately before the relative clause, or (b) there is no head-noun as such, for the antecedent is simply the demonstrative pronoun, viz.

eda maras xw.ø.e.ts'd e, xed(.)wæ.j.s/jer(.)wæ.j.s al zuræl that man.Dat I.X.IOV.see(-Aor) ? who.Rel.Dat this woman(-Nom) x.a.sisg.ø X.LV.hate.Y(-Pres) or eda maras xw.ø.e.ts'd e, al zuræl xed(.)wæ.j.s/jer(.)wæ.j.s

that man.Dat I.X.IOV.see(-Aor) ? this woman(-Nom) who.Rel.Dat /jær x.a.sisg.ø that X.LV.hate.Y(-Pres)

'It is the man who/that hates this woman that I saw' [Svan] [Note the possibility of the full relative pronoun occupying the same clause-internal slot normally taken by the General Subordinator]

sgaj tju dz.i.χol.ø εdz ε, im.wa(:).jso you(-Dat) Aff you.OV.be-known.X(-Pres) that(-Nom) ? because-of-which mi alo ø.tj-v-εmn I(-Erg) this(-Nom) it.do-I-do(-Aor)

'You know that because of which (= why) I did this' [Svan] This suggests that what we have here is an Upper Bal usage that combines reduced complementiser at the end of the main clause, even if it precedes an immediately following full relative pronoun. This perhaps surprising interpretation would seem to

⁵This item, cognate to the Svan affirmative-Preverb, is found in the West Georgian dialect of Imeretia. ⁶Cf. the following with the full relative pronoun in Mingrelian:

dzsab.i na(.)mu i.bir.d.u/ə(.ni), tino b.ø.dzir.i

girl.Nom who(.Nom) SV.sing.Ext.she(-Imperf).Sub her(.Nom) I.X.see.Aor 'I saw the girl who was singing'

be borne out by the following example where the same item in the main clause is accompanied by general subordinator in the subordinate clause, even though this time the clause is an adverbial one of manner — note how the vowel of interest merges with a preceding vowel, the combination acquiring length:

zurab	hadur(.)d	sd <u>⊴(.)</u> ʒi	subli	mamo	l.e: (<=	l.i	ະ),
Zurab(-Nom)	absolutely	SO SO	foolish.Agr	father(-Nom)		X.is	?
zuralis	jesr X.a.b	3.a					
woman.Dat that X.LV.suppose.Y(-Stat-Pres) [Svan					van]		
'Zurab is absolutely such a foolish father as the woman thinks' ⁷							

Future investigation must determine why the presence of this extra element, if indeed it is a reduced form of the complementiser, appears to be so critically linked to there being a preceding demonstrative of some sort.

If the final element of /jer.wa(:),j/ and / χ ed.wa(:)j/ is the relative marker, then we see in the last example quoted above of a relative clause a difference with Georgian, for the Dative ending on the relative pronoun in Svan follows the relative marker, whilst in Georgian the order is reversed — the same applies to other case-forms in Svan, so that the relative marker never moves from its fused position in the pronominal stem. Another difference is that the relative pronoun in Georgian always (in my experience, at least) starts its clause. The Georgian translation of the sentence in question would thus be:

i(.)s k'ats.i v.ø.nag.s. ro(.)mel.sa.ts e(.)s kal.i that man.Nom I.X.see.Aor who.Dat.Rel this woman.Nom s.dzul.s/ e(.)s kal.i ro(m) s.dzul.s X.hate.Y(-Pres) [Georgian]

A couple of respects in which Mingrelian, for its part, differs from Georgian is that the adjective clause can simply be placed before the head-noun without any formal marking of subordination at all (though the pattern of intonation needs to be studied in such instances). In Georgian where the relative pronoun is in the Genitive and precedes its possessed noun, the relative marker either attaches to the possessed item or is not used at all; in Mingrelian the relative marker is obligatorily absent. Examples for these two structures would be:

i.bir.d.ə(.ni (per.i)) dzsab.i b.g.dzir.i SV.sing.Ext.X(-Imperf).Sub like.Agr girl.Nom I.X.see.Aor 'I saw the girl who was singing' [Mingrelian]

⁷Replacing the general subordinator by /m.waj.j/ = Georgian /ro.gor.ts/ 'as' produces a less acceptable sentence.

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ø.i.p.t∫insn.k
                             ti.
                                   k"ot∫(.)i.s
                                              mi.fi/na(.)mu.fi fxur.sp.i(*.ti)
   X.SV.I.know.TS.I(-Pres) that man.Dat
                                              who.Gen
                                                             sheep.Pl.Nom
   ø.ø.i.x ir.i(.ni)
   you.X.SV.steal.Aor.Sub
   'I know the man whose sheep you stole'
                                                                        [Mingrelian]
= v.ø.i.tsn.ob
                            i(.)m k'ats.s
                                            ro(.)ml.is tsyvr.eb.i(.ts)
   I.X.SV.know.TS(-Pres) that man.Dat who.Gen sheep.Pl.Nom.Rel
   moløløli.p'ar.s
   Prev.you.X.SV.steal.Aor
                                                                          [Georgian]
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Before we leave the example with which we began, we have to note two further renditions: the first has the head-noun replaced by a demonstrative in the main clause, whilst the relative clause retains the coreferential noun appropriately case-marked, whereas the second variant, which was felt to be somewhat less acceptable, turns the subordinate verb into its participial form, e.g.

sk'am.zi jezr sgur.ø	zuralj	et∫a.s	χ.ø.o.sgd.i	[Svan]
	woman(-N	Nom) that.Dat		
= sk'am.ze ro(m) zi.s	kal.i, i(.)ma.:	s v.ø.xed.av		[Georgian]
= sk"σm(.i).s χ.ε.ni osu	urli, tils vlød	o.rts'q'æ.k		[Mingrelian]
vs(?) sk'am.zi me.sg	wr.s zurad	.s χ.ø.o.sdg.i		[Svan]
sitting	g			
= sk°am.ze m.dzd.om.a	are kalsvjø	:xed.av		[Georgian]
= sk"am(.i).s ma.xv.en	dz.i osur.s v	.ø.rts'q'æ.k		[Mingrelian]

It transpires that there are no restrictions in any of the three languages under scrutiny as to which type of NP can be relativised (sc. in terms of the Keenan-Comrie Case, or Accessibility, Hierarchy). And so, the interest lies in other points of detail. We have already had one example demonstrating that in Svan the full relative pronoun can stand within, rather than at the start of, the relative clause, occupying the same slot, in fact, as the clitic General Subordinator, and this can be confirmed by a further example:

xw.ø.ets'd edg maras e, dafdw xed(.)waij.d/jer(.)waij.d /jer I.X.IOV.see(-Aor) that man.Dat ? bear(-Nom) who.Rel.Erg Sub [a.]ø.a.dgar.ø ?Prev.Y.NV.kill.X(-Aor) 'I saw the man who killed the bear' [Svan] = v.ø.nox e i(.)s k'ots.i, ro(.)melma.ts datv.i mo.ø.k'l.o I.X.see.Aor that man.Nom who.Erg.Rel bear(-Nom) Prev.Y.kill.X(-Aor)

[Georgian]

But, if the variant with head replaced by demonstrative pronoun and coreferential noun retained within the relative clause is employed here, we end up with an ambiguity in both Svan and its Georgian parallel:

dajdw jær [a.]ø.a.dgar.ø mæreld, etjals – xw.ø.ets'd/ edga m.i.ts'w.o that(-Nom) I.OV.see.Perf-? that.Dat [Svan] = k'ats.ma ro(m) datv.i molølk'la, i(.)s v.ø.ngg.s/m.i.ngg.av.s man.Erg Sub bear.Nom Prev.Y.kill.X that(-Nom) I.?.see.Aor/I.OV.see. **TS**.? [Georgian] = k'otj.k tunt.i (do.)ø?vil.u.ni, tina b.ø.dzir.i/m.i.dzir.u [Mingrelian]

'I saw/have seen (a) the bear which the man killed, (b) the man who killed the bear, (c) that the man killed the bear'

The result is, naturally, that this option is avoided where the context does not disambiguate. But there is a way to avoid ambiguity whilst still retaining the coreferential noun within the relative clause, and that is to associate with it in Mingrelian /na(.)mu/ as a relative adjective, as in:

na(.)mu dzsab.i i.bir.d.y/ə.ni	ti(.)na	b.ø.dzir.i
which girl.Nom SV.sing.Ext.X(-Imperf).Sub	that(-Nom)	I.X.see.Aor
'I saw the girl who was singing'		[Mingrelian]
kotom.i na(.)mu osur.kə (do.)ø.?vil.u.n	i	ti.s
chicken.Nom which woman.Erg Prev.Y.kill.	X(-Aor).Sub	X.Dat
ø.i.p.tfinen.k		
X.SV.I.know.TS.I(-Pres)		
'I know the woman who killed the chicken'		[Mingrelian]
osur.k na(.)mu kotom.i (do.)ø?vil.u.ni		ts(.)na. r.s.ø
woman.Erg which chicken.Nom Prev.Y.kill.X	K(-Aor).Sub	this(-Nom) be.
		Intrans.X(-Pres)
'This is the woman who killed the chicken'		[Mingrelian]
ts'ign.i na(.)mu boj(.)i.s me.p.ø.ø.tj.i.ni	S0	r.8,ø
book.Nom which boy.Dat Prev.I.Z.Y.give.Ao	or.Sub where	be.Intrans.X(-
		Pres)
'Where is the boy to whom I gave the book?'		[Mingrelian]
t∫k²id.i na(.)mu osur.i(.)∫o b.ø.t∫∛.	i.ni ^t	ti(.)na
maize-loaf.Nom which woman.Ben I.Y.bak	ke.Aor.Sub	that(-Nom)
amar(.)i r.s.ø		
here be.Intrans.X(-Pres)		

'The woman for whom I baked the maize-loaf is here' [Mingrelian] na(.)mu boj(.)i.ts'kamo mojøi.rt.i..n(i) ti(.)na gos a yesterday which boy.with Prev.you.come.Aor.Sub that(-Nom) b.ø.dzir.i I.X.see.Aor 'I saw the boy with whom you came yesterday' [Mingrelian] ti.k na(.)mu yam.it lom.i (do.)ø.?vil.u.ni (ti yam.i) knife.Inst lion.Nom Prev.Y.kill.X(-Aor).Sub that knife.Nom X.Erg which te(.)na r.e.ø this(-Nom) be.Intrans.Y(-Pres) 'This is the knife with which X killed the lion' [Mingrelian]

In this last example, we see the option of deleting neither the head-noun nor the coreferential noun within the relative clause, and when in Georgian /ro(.)meli/ is used in like manner along with the retained coreferential noun (plus or minus relative suffix), the head-noun is usually present as well, this variant-construction being typically found where emphasis is required. The Georgian equivalent to the last example above would thus be:

rr	nan	ro(.)melli	dan.it(a.ts)	lom.i	da.ø.kil.a,	i(.)s
Х	K(-Erg)	which.Agr	knife.Inst.Rel	lion.Nom	Prev.Y.kill.X(-Aor)	that
d	lano	≎(.)s	a.r.i.s			
k	nife.Noi	m this(-No	om) NV.be.Pr	es.Y		[Georgian]
For a Svan example, compare:						

wsbij	lasw	sdg	ladər	ε,	χed.wec.j/mec.j	lader	
Friday(-Nom)	X.NV.be(-Past)	that	day(-Nom)	?	which	day	
(= Jom.wa.j)	zural	kalek.;	χan(.)ka a.tj	ad.	ø		
when	woman(-Nom)	town.	out-of Pre	ev.g	go.Y(-Aor)		
'Friday was the day when the woman left the town' ⁸					[Svan]		

There is one further particularity to consider with reference to Kartvelian relative clauses, and this is the use within the clause of a resumptive pronoun. This possibility comes into play when the clause is formed by means of the General Subordinator. In Georgian the pronoun is not found when the deleted coreferential NP within the clause functions as subject or direct object, but it is optional when relativisation is on an indirect object and likely to be required when the relativised element functions obliquely, though if the reference is clear without it, it can be omitted. I have no examples of such usage for Mingrelian, but what is the situation in Svan? Svan seems

⁸Of course, the General Subordinator alone, as in Georgian, can convey the sense of 'when' to give as another equivalent: webij lasw edg lades e, zural kalak xan(.)ka atjad g (the Subordinator may alternatively stand immediately after the subject).

not to allow a resumptive pronoun when an indirect object is relativised but otherwise marches in parallel with Georgian as far as oblique usage is concerned, e.g.

	mazre.d jezr lair la.x.ø.wem.ø, ede zurael t∫u
	man.Erg Sub book(-Nom) Prev.Z.Y.give.X(-Aor) that woman(-Nom) Aff
	m.i.tr.o
	me.OV.be-known.Z(-Stat-Pres) [Svan]
=	k'ats.ma ro(m) ((i.)ma.s) ts'ign.i mi.s.ø.ts.a, i(.)m
	man.Erg Sub that.X.Dat book.Nom Prev.Z.Y.give.X(-Aor) that
	kal.s v.ø.i.tsn.ob
	woman.Dat I.X.SV.know.TS(-Pres) [Georgian]
	'I know that woman to whom the man gave the book'
	xw.ø.e.ts°d gat∫.s, marre.d jerr edz.n.o∫ katal
	I.X.IOV.see(-Aor) knife.Dat man.Erg Sub that.Obl.Inst chicken(-Nom)
	ø.a.dzihø _. edza.s ⁹
	Z.NV.kill.Y(-Aor) that.Dat [Svan]
=	v.ø.noxs dana, k°ots.ma ro(m) (i.)m.it da.ø.k°l.a,
	I.X.see.Aor knife(-Nom) man.Erg Sub that.X.Inst Prev.Z.kill.Y(-Aor)
	i(.)sa
	that(-Nom) [Georgian]
	'I saw the knife with which the man killed the chicken'
	χ.a.ts'ad.ø.χ ada moura.s a, zurob.d atj(.)i.tso.χan ts'intsil
	W.IOV.see.X.Pl that man.Dat ? Zurab.Erg that(-Gen).with chick(-Nom)
	adø.kwitø (<= adø.i.kwitø)
	Prev.Y.SV.steal.Z(-Aor) [Svan]
=	ø.nax.es i(.)s k'ats.i, zurab.ma ro(m) (i.)ma.s.tan ert(.)ad
	X.see.they(-Aor) that man.Nom Zurab.Erg Sub that.X.Dat.with together
	ts'its'ilo moleci.p'ar.a
	chick(-Nom) Prev.Z.SV.steal.Y(-Aor) [Georgian]
	'They saw the man with whom Zurab stole the chick'
	anısr.i solz maxıcı (<= maxıs s), al zural
	Prev.come.X(-Pres) that man(-Nom) ? this woman(-Nom)
	jezr (? etf()i.f.zi ¹⁰) ø.gw.imbaw.da.ø
	Subthat.Dat.aboutZ.us.OV.talk.Imperf.Y[Svan]
=	mə.di.s i(.)s k'ats.i, e(.)s kalli rə(m)

⁹This was judged to be preferable to either of the following variants: 1. χ w.ø.ets'd gat/.s, mare.d jær edg.n.of katal ø.a.dzih.ø; 2. χ w.ø.ets'd gat/.s, mare.d jær katal ø.a.dzih.ø, edga.s.

¹⁰Presumably the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative in this basically superfluous resumptive pronoun derives from the alveolar fricative that marks the Dative ending by assimilation with the following first element of the postposition.

Prev.come.X(-Pres) that man.Nom this woman.Nom Sub (i.)ma.ze ølgvlilambobldla that.X(-Dat).about Z.us.OV.talk.Ext(-Imperf).Y [Georgian] 'That man is coming about whom this woman was telling us' tju. m.i.tr.o sdz mars (<= mars e), Aff me.OV.be-known.X(-Stat-Pres) that man(-Nom) ? [Svan] st ∫(.)i. ∫.d pat'an an.ø.[a.](xeb.ø¹¹ αL zuræld jetr this woman.Erg Sub that.Gen.Adv shirt(-Nom) Prev.Z.NV.sew.Y(-Aor) i(.)m k°ats.s, = v.ø.i.tsn.ob a(.)m kalmo ro(m) (i.)m.is.tvis I.X.SV.know.TS(-Pres) that man.Dat this woman.Erg that that.X.Gen.for p'er ang.i (s.ø.k'er.a shirt.Nom Prev.Z.sew.Y(-Aor) [Georgian] 'I know that man for whom this woman sewed the shirt' When relativisation on a Genitive or Object of Comparison was attempted, only the construction with full relative pronoun was judged to be completely acceptable, viz. χw.ø.s.ts'd ed≈ zurœl.s s, $\chi s d(.) w \approx i(f) / j s r(.) w \approx i(f)$ dina I.X.IOV.see(-Aor) that woman.Dat ? who.Rel.Gen daughter(-Nom) (wan s12 an.ə.rd.s:n.ø Prev.SV.rear.Intrans.Y(-Aor) Svanetia.Dat [Svan] 'I saw that woman whose daughter was reared in Svanetia' Compare with this: χ.ø.s.ts'd ed⊴ zuræls s, $\chi c d(.) w c i(f) / j c r(.) w c i(f)$ woman.Dat ? you.X.IOV.see(-Aor) that who.Rel.Gen la.dgar.d OR-M-S (<= O(N) M RS(L)Fut-Ptc.kill.Adv Prev.I.come(-Aor) 'You saw the woman whom I came to kill' [Svan] and note the variants for this, with resumptive pronoun where the non-finite Future Participle is used but without it where the direct object is marked in the finite Pluperfect of the purpose-clause: mi jear o.в-w-с st∫.i:(∫) la.dgar.d I(-Nom) Sub that.Gen am.dagr.æn (<= adm.i.dagr.æn.ø) mi jaar b.B-w-s, srs tí u or ..e, that Prev Prev.I.OV.kill.Intrans.X(-

¹¹Miss Gudzhedzhiani commented that his example was acceptable, though she would avoid it herself. ¹²The variant with General Subordinator was not totally rejected but not really liked either; it reads: ...dima jear an.a.rd.en.g am.ij jwan.s (with the Genitive of the 1st person deictic demonstrative 'of this one' in penultimate position — perhaps the equivalent 3rd person deictic form /stj.ij/ would have improved the judgment on acceptability).

 χ w, g.s.t.s'dsda zur a l.ss, χ sd(.)was.if.d/jer(.)was.if.dalI.X.IOV.see(-Aor) that woman.Dat ? who.Rel.Gen.Advthismairs $\chi(.)s(.)k'lat\chi(.)a$ l.i¹³man(-Nom) tallerY.be(-Pres)'I saw that woman than whom this man is taller'[Svan]

Plup)

For comparative purposes this last example in the sister-languages would be as follows:

ko.b.ø.dzir.i na(.)mu.j(.)s k'otj.i ti. osur.i, u(.)mps(.)i Aff.I.X.see.Aor that woman.Nom whom.Abl man.Nom more masal.i¹⁴ r.s.n.[n]i tall.Nom be.Intrans.Y.Sub [Mingrelian] u(.)pr(.)o v.ø.nog s i(.)s kal.i, ro(.)mel.ze((.)da.ts) k'ats.i I.X.see.Aor that woman.Nom whom.than.Rel man.Nom more masal i.a¹⁵ tall.Nom.is [Georgian]

Another interesting area is protasis-formation. On the basis of a knowledge of typical Indo-European structures, one might expect a single conditional conjunction marking both vivid and vague/counterfactual conditions, with the difference indicated by means of the presence of different tenses and/or moods. Whilst different tenses and/or moods ('screeves' in the Kartvelian canon) are found, the South Caucasian family-members today typically also employ different conjunctions for the two types of protases. Old Georgian, however, basically had /(uk'uɛ.)tu/ as the universal conjunction but added the irrealis element /-mt=o/ to differentiate vague conditions. The item is reminiscent of Ancient Greek's irrealis element a[n, which could combine with the general protasis-marker eij to give ejavn, though the details of the formation of vivid as against vague protases were different in the two languages. Consider these four Old Georgian examples, two each of vivid and vague conditions:

 $^{^{14}\}mbox{The synthetic comparative would be /um at al. i/.$

¹⁵The synthetic comparative would be /umœles.i/.

I have translated in this way to capture the future force (with durative aspect) of the Present Subjunctive, which in Old Georgian shared with the Aorist Subjunctive (for momentary aspect) the functions of the as yet undeveloped Future Indicative; interestingly, the Greek text here employs just the Present Indicative (eij skandalivzei).

borot'.i tu rajme v.ø.tku, ølts'amle evil.Agr if anything.Nom.Indef I.X.say(-Aor) you.be-witness.Aor(-Imper) borotilisa miisitwis evil.Gen the.Agr.for [Old Georgian] 'If I have spoken anything evil, be witness to the evil!' (J.18.23, ms.C) tu.mtsa da.i.ts'er.eb.od.es¹⁶ tito(.)sul(.)ad artsaba Prev.Pass.write.TS.Ext.they(-Imperf) individually not.even.indeed if.Irr vi(.)t(.)ar.mtso sopel.man a(.)ma.n da.ø.i.t.i.o v.hø.gonsbj I.?.X.think.TS(-Pres) that.Irr world.Erg this.Agr Prev.Z.SV.hold.Y(-Aor) da(.)ts'er(.)il.i ts'igneb.i written.Agr [Old Georgian] book.Pl.Nom [...which] if they were to be written, I do not indeed even imagine that this world

would be capacious enough to accommodate the books written' (J.21.25, mss.DE) The Greek text here has eja $\ddot{Y}n$ gravfhtai, which, according to classical norms, produces a vivid future condition; a classical vague future protasis would have taken the form eij gravfoito, with Present Optative replacing the Present Subjunctive + a[n.

v.i.q³v.sn.i.t tu.mtsa tj wen deeto ma.t mamato I.SV.be.Pl.Aor.Pl if.Irr we(-Nom) day.Pl(-Dat) the.Agr father.Pl(-Gen) tj wenta.sa_ aramtso ziar v.i.q³v.sn.it..¹⁷ our.Agr.Dat not.Irr sharing I.SV.be.Pl.Aor.Pl [Old Georgian] 'If we had lived in the days of our (fore)fathers, we would not have taken part...'

(Mt.23.30, ms.C; mss.DE have ukus tumtsa vi.gv.sni.t)

The irrealis marker is no longer attested (apart from in such relic expressions as /ts'q's.ulimts i.q'.o.s/ 'May X be damned!') in standard Modern Georgian, though the word /tu.mtsa/ survives as the conjunction of concession. The reformed system for protasis-formation today has /tu/ + Indicative continuing to mark vivid protases, whilst the post-Old Georgian General Subordinator, which may be omitted, marks vague conditions with Present Subjunctive for present reference, Future Subjunctive

¹⁶Whilst formally identical to Modern Georgian's passive Future Subjunctive with 3rd person singular subject, no such screeve existed in the old language; the passive Present Subjunctive (+ preverb) with 3rd person singular subject in Old Georgian would have been /da.its'er.sb.od.i.s/.

¹⁷This construction with /tu.mtsa/ + Aorist Indicative, here equating to Greek eij + Imperfect Indicative of the copula (usually Aorist Indicative), could also form a vague future protasis (equivalent to Greek eij + Present or Aorist Optative).

for future reference¹⁸, and the Pluperfect Indicative [sic] for past reference; the Pluperfect is related to the Aorist Indicative, and so this last construction simply continues the last illustration for Old Georgian with loss of the irrealis marker, e.g.

tu ts'vim.s,	mindor.i s	vel.d.sb.a		
if rain.X(-Pres)	meadow.Nom w	vet.Pass.TS.Y(-Pres)		
'If it is raining, th	e meadow is gettir	ig wet'	[(Georgian]
tu i.ts"vim.sb.s/i.ts"	Vim.a.	mindor.i	da.svel.d.eb.a	
if SV.rain.TS.X(-Fut)/SV.rain.X(-A	or) meadow.Nom	Prev.wet.Pass.	TS.Y(-
				Fut)
'If it rains, the me	eadow will get wet		[(Georgian]
ga(.)k³vst(.)il.s (ra	m) a/sxlaø.ø.	sts'avl.ob.d.c,	k'	'arg.i
lesson.Dat Su	ıb now you	X.learn.TS.Ext.Subj	(-Pres-Subj) g	ood.Agr
bitj°.i ø.i.kn.sb.od.i				
boy.Nom you.Pa	ass.be.TS.Ext.Indi	c(-Condit)		
'If you were now	learning the lessor	, you'd be a good lad	1' [0	Georgian]
nebals ((rom) molørmitsen	udels,	saxi.	.s
permission.Dat	Sub Prev.Y.me.	give.TS.Ext.Subj.X(-Fut-Subj) hous	se.Dat
motviøtalbruntsbidti	i			
Prev.I.Z.NV.turn	.TS.Ext.Indic(-Cor	ndit)		
'If X were to give	e me permission, I	would turn the house	round' [0	Georgian]
k"vertsxi (rom) ,	øs.tjvsn.sb.in.at,	dzim (sr.i	molk*vd.st	o.pd.a
egg.Nom if	X.IOV.shew.TS.Pl	up.Y.Pl Dzhimsher.	Nom Prev.die.	TS.Ext.Z(-
				Condit)
'If they had shewn	n [him] an egg, Dz	himsher would have	died' [0	Georgian]
A peculiarity is that $/tu/$ is combinable with the Aorist Subjunctive for future reference				
with perhaps again a nuance that is capturable by translating 'if it transpires that', e.g.				
tu jen.i jv((.)il.i ø.ø.itsn.c	,	ts'a.ø.,	r.i.g°vans
if your.Agr ch	ild.Nom you.X.S	V.recognise.Subj(-A	or-Subj) Prev.y	ou.X.SV.
			take.A	or(-Imper)
'If it transpires the	at you recognise y	our child, take her! ¹⁹	[(Georgian]

Mingrelian seems to have borrowed the Georgian conjunction /du/ 'and' for the distinct purpose of marking its real protases (see Hewitt 1991); 'and' in Mingrelian =

¹⁸Alternatively, //u/ + Conditional (Future in the Past/Past in the Future) (cf. one rendition of Job 6.2 as Au a.i.ts'on.sb.od.a/ 'if [my grief] were to be weighed') OR /rom/ + Pluperfect Indicative can convey this sense, so that the Modern Georgian Bible translation has for the last example /rom v.q'.op.ili.q'av.it...ar v.i.kn.sb.od.i.t/.

¹⁹From a fairy-tale, where the parent is removed from the child for a year and is then tasked with recognising her. A few lines later the parent relates the challenge by switching to the Aorist Indicative to give /tu v.ø.i.tsani/ 'if I recognise her'.

 $/d_0/$ — it is impossible to reconstruct for Proto-Kartvelian a single conditional conjunction. As with Georgian, vague conditions are produced by means of the (optionally omissible) General Subordinator, so that the Mingrelian equivalents to the above-examples read as follows (with the past vague equivalent left for discussion till last):

t∫∛ven.s.da, mindor(.i) i. (ol. u.ø rain.X(-Pres).if meadow.Nom Pass.wet.TS.Y(-Pres) 'If it rains, the meadow gets wet' [Mingrelian] do.t/~ven.s.da/do.t/~vem(.u/a).da, mindor(.i) d.i.∫ol.uø Prev.rain.X(-Fut).if/Prev.rain.X(-Aor).if meadow.Nom Prev.Pass.wet.TS.Y(-Fut) 'If it rains, the meadow will get wet' [Mingrelian] a.se (ko.)ø.ø.gurap(u)l.en.d.e(.ni) ga(.)k"vet(.)il.s now Aff.you.X.study.TS.Ext.Subj(-Pres-Subj).Sub lesson.Dat dagir.i bo (.i. ø.i.?.i.d.i good.Agr lad.Nom you.SV.be.TS.Ext.Indic(-Condit) 'If you were now studying the lesson, you would be a good lad' [Mingrelian] nebas ko.mut(.an.d.a.sə.ni (<= ko.mo.øm.t(.an.d.a.s(ə.ni)), permission.Dat Aff.Prev.Y.me.give.TS.Ext.Subj.X(-Fut-Subj).Sub Pudels gam.k'.u.o.rt.in.u.an.k (<= gami.k'o.v.ø.o.rt.in.u.an.k) house.Dat Prev.Prev.Prev.I.Z.NV.turn.Caus.TS.TS.I(-Fut) 'If X were to give me permission, I would turn the house round²⁰ [Mingrelian] k.i.tfin.a.do (<= ko.ø.ø.i.tfin.a.do) skuo skan.i your.Agr child(-Nom) Aff.you.X.SV.recognise.Subj(-Aor-Subj).if mi.d.s.?on.i (\leftarrow mi(.)da.ø.ø.i.?on.i) Prev.you.X.SV.take.Indic(-Imper) 'If it transpires that you recognise your child, take her!' [Mingrelian] vs o(.)k'(.)o mo(.)Lep'one (<= mo(.)la.v.ø.i.?one), Prev.I.X.SV.bring.Subj(-Aor-Subj) must k.i.p.tjin.i.da (<= ko.v.ø.itjin.i.do) Aff.I.X.SV.recognise.Indic(-Aor).if 'I must fetch her away, if I recognise her²¹ [Mingrelian]

²⁰The source is Khubua (1937.26-7).

²¹The source is Q'ipshidze [Kipshidze] (1914.24-5), reprinted with Georgian translation in Danelia & Tsanava (1991.280-1).

This leaves the formation of past unreal conditions in Mingrelian. Mingrelian has (?developed) its own irrealis formant /-k': $((.)n(i))^{2/}$ (see Hewitt 2001 for comments on a possible origin in Abkhaz). This item can be suffixed to the Imperfect Indicative, the Conditional, the Aorist Indicative and the Pluperfect Indicative, and all of them are found, possibly with varying aspectual force, in vague past protases (as well as purpose-clauses), so that in this respect Mingrelian stands close to Old Georgian. In the following example (Q'ipshidze [Kipshidze] 1914.74; Danelia & Tsanava 1991.50-1) the Aorist Indicative is the base:

k^{*}vert*s*x.i k.a.dzires.k^{*}oni (<= ko.ø.ø.o.dzir.es.k^{*}o.ni)²³, egg.Nom Aff.X.Y.LV.see.they(-Aor).Irr.Sub dzimjer.i do.eur.ud.u

Dzhimsher.Nom Prev.die.TS.Ext.Z(-Condit)

'If they had shewn him an egg, Dzhimsher would have died' [Mingrelian] With the Pluperfect as base consider the following, which anticipates a later Svan example and illustrates the peculiarity of inversion, a feature typical of transitive (and Medial) verbs in Series III, though Mingrelian (with, to some extent, Laz and Svan) has it for certain intransitives such as this:

kum[ɔ],ø.u.rt.um.ud.(u/ə.)k'ɔ.(n(i)),	kə.b.ø. dzir.un. d.i
Aff.Prev.X.OV.come.TS.TS.Ext.?Y.Irr.Sub	Aff.I.X.see.TS.Ext.Indic(-Condit)
'If X had come, I'd have seen X'	[Mingrelian]

It remains to take a look at Svan. Abesadze (1960.132) gives three variants for the General Subordinator: /ara/, /ar/ and /a/, and we have already met /jar/. She also gives (138-141) /lag/ as equivalent to Georgian /ram/ 'that' or /tu/ 'if', illustrating variants: /laga/a/ and /alag/. Additionally, she offers /(h)a(i)/ (with variant /ho/) as equivalent solely to Georgian /tu/. We end by quoting a series of vivid vs vague conditions that were translated from Georgian by my Lashkh informant; it will be seen that /a/ appears consistently in the vivid protases, whilst /ar/ is associated with the vague.

- e (daam) aljeslweljø, ilryjen.asl.is /desm ilryjen.asl
- if not ?NV.lighten.Pres.X SV.thunder.Med.Y-too not

'If it is (not) lightning, it also thunders/is not thundering' [Lashkh] Note the coördinating clitic attached to the verb, another feature Svan shares with Old Georgian.

²²Whether the optional /-ni/ is part of the formant or the General Subordinator is a question yet to be decided, for some informants allow /-k'o.ni.ni/, whilst others find the second occurrence of /-ni/ awkward.

 $^{^{23}}$ The final vowel (or nasal-vowel combination) may be omitted, and, at least for some speakers, an extra such combination may be added.

(doom) an.qd.sn.i.ø, mi ka. χw.ø.s.ts'd.sn.i ε. Prev.come.Intrans.Fut.X I(-Nom) Aff²⁴ I.X.IOV.see.Intrans.Fut if not /deam γw.ø.ets'd.en.i not 'If X comes (does not come), I'll (not) see X' [Lashkh] cf. a an.gd.en.i.ø, de∫ doj χw.ø.s.ts'd.sn.i not-Pot not-Pot 'If X can't come, I won't be able to see X' [Lashkh] er (mo:d/dof) an.q.e.s,²⁵ ka. χw.ø.sts'd.sn.αl if not/not-Pot Prev.come.Subj.X(-Aor-Subj) Aff I.X.IOV.see.Intrans.Imperf (-Condit) /(deam/def) χw.ø.s.ts'd.sn.œl not/not-Pot I.X.IOV.see.Intrans.Imperf(-Condit) 'If X were (not/not able) to come, I would (not/not be able to) see X' [Lashkh] s.m. god.stl.ø. ær²⁶, sar (mo:d/do∫) ka χw.ø.s.ts'd.sn.αl if not/not-Pot Prev.Ptc.come.Ptc.X.Cop-Past(-Plup) Aff I.X.IOV.see.Intrans. Imperf(-Condit) /(dem/def) yw.ø.ets'dien.cd not/not-Pot I.X.IOV.see.Intrans.Imperf(-Condit)

'If X had (not/not been able to) come, I would (not/not have been able to see) have seen X' [Lashkh]

If there turns out to be a genetic link between the two conjunctions seen in these protases, then Svan stands closer to Old Georgian, by virtue of having a common conjunctional base for the two types of conditions, than to either of its modern sisters, even though the Svan conjunctions will have followed the same developmental path as the post-Old Georgian complementiser /rom/ and Mingrelian /-ni/. But there is a final surprise in these examples: careful consideration of the negative adverbs reveals that the vowels are different between protasis and apodosis, thus confirming an observation made by Sharadzenidze (1946.310) and taken up by Abesadze

 $^{^{24}}$ Note how this affirmative element is absent when the verb is negated, as with the mutual exclusion of Mingrelian's affirmative /ks/ and its negator.

²⁵Svan has no Future Subjunctive and so employs here the Aorist Subjunctive.

²⁶The final morph here is something of a puzzle, for with such monovalent intransitives, one expects the past participle to be coupled with the past tense of the copula, which would produce the form <code>k.m.ged.slg.os/</code>, as given indeed by Topuria (1967.207). The morph /-an/ is, according to standard analyses, expected only with either transitive or bivalent intransitive pluperfects, as in: /tbilis.ts edg.n.ar on q-w-ed, ere kartu (er) em.ton.or/ I came to Tbilisi in order to learn Georgian' (= Georgian /tbilis.ji im.is.tvis tfamo.ved.j, rem kartul.i fem.e.sts'avl.a/). Of course, since the Pluperfect of transitive verbs arose out of an earlier intransitive stative-resultative, it may well be that it is this morph's historical intransitivity which explains its presence in the patently intransitive form here illustrated. I am grateful to K'akha Gabunia for checking the correctness of this form with some other native speakers of Lashkh and to Elisa Watson for ascertaining from her Lower Bal informants that they would not allow this ending in their dialect.

(1960.144), that the back vowel characterises the subordinate clause, whilst the front vowel partners the main clause²⁷. Of course, Ancient Greek also associated mhv with the protasis vs ouj with the apodosis (unless a prohibition stood in place of the usual apodosis), but such a distinction is not found elsewhere in Kartvelian. The neighbouring North West Caucasian languages do, however, generally distinguish between negation in finite and non-finite verb-forms, the latter typically serving in this family's subordinate clause-substitutes (or pseudo-clauses), e.g.

ø.k^wa.ft.ap vs ømə.k^wa.ftə.r X.go.Fut.not(-Fin) who.not.go.Fut(-N/F).the(-Absol) 'X will not go' vs 'the one who will not go' [West Circassian]

We have, then, seen some parallels and differences between Indo-European and Kartvelian for the constructions examined here, and that, whilst there are clear commonalities across the Kartvelian languages, their structures can differ interestingly in points of detail. South Caucasian is, thus, a good introduction to the Caucasus for those with a background in the classical languages, for one does not suffer the sort of immediate shock to the system that one can experience in the northern families, as may be illustrated by taking one example of a relative phrase (clause-substitute) from Abkhaz:

jə.z.'zə.z.za.wa.z (pronounced [jə'zəzɔz]) it.whom.for.I.knead.Dyn.Non-Fin(-Imperf) 'the one for whom I am kneading it/them'

[Abkhaz]

Abbreviations

²⁷Note also the different basic negative for the different types of condition: /dam/ for real protases vs /moid/ for unreal. Despite its plethora of negative forms, Svan is like Georgian in having a fundamental 3-way distinction between neutral (Georgian /ar/), potential (Georgian /ver/), and prohibitional (Georgian /nu/). For this last consider: /(ka) $\approx x.s.ts'dsni, norma g.g.a.dgar.i/ 'If you see X, don't kill X!' (with Present Indicative). Mingrelian has only the one negative /va/. This last example would thus be /g.g.dzir.un.k.da, va dog.g.?vil.a/ (with Aorist Subjunctive) in Mingrelian and /tu g.g.nax.av, nu mo.g.g.k1.av/ (with Future Indicative) or /.ar mo.g.g.k'l.a/ (with Aorist Subjunctive) in Georgian. Potentiality is expressed as a verbal characteristic in Mingrelian that involves the phenomenon of inversion; consider: /(tino) va mo.ur.s.da, (ti.s) va b.g.dzir.un.k/ 'If X is not coming, I won't see X' vs /(ti.s) va m[].g.a.rt.ins.da, (timo) va m.a.dzir.z/ 'If X can't come, I shan't be able to see X'.$

Abl	Ablative	IOV	Indirect Object
Absol	Absolutive		Version
Adv	Adverbial	Irr	Irrealis
Aff	Affirmative	LV	Locative Version
Agr	Agreement	Med	Medial
Aor	Aorist	N/F	Non-Finite
Ben	Benefactive	Nom	Nominative
Caus	Causative	Obl	Oblique
Condit	Conditional	OV	Objective Version
Сор	Copula	Pass	Passive
Dat	Dative	Perf	Perfect
Erg	Ergative	Pl	Plural
Ext	Extension	Plup	Pluperfect
Fin	Finite	Pot	Potential
Fut	Future	Pres	Present
Gen	Genitive	Prev	Preverb
Imper	Imperative	Ptc	Participle
Imperf	Imperfect	Rel	Relative
Indef	Indefinite	Stat	Stative
Indic	Indicative	Sub	Subordinator
Inst	Instrumental	Subj	Subjunctive
Intrans	Intransitive	SV	Subjective Version
		TS	Thematic Suffix

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