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Laz

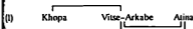
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LAZ

The majority of speakers of Laz live in Turkey, along a narrow strip of land on the Black Sea coast, extending from Sarpi at the Soviet boarder to Pazar (or Atina). Estimates of numbers of Laz speakers in Turkey range from 46,987 (GEIGER, et.al. 1959:14, from a 1945 Turkish census) to ten times that number.

There are not many Laz speakers in the Soviet Union. The largest number, around 5,000, live in the village of Sarpi. There are very small numbers scattered in villages in western Georgia and Abkhazia.

There are three major dialects of Laz: Khopa, Vitse-Arkabe, and Atina (also known as Xopian, Vic'-Arkab, Atinian). Their distribution follows a line along the Black Sea from northeast to southwest. In most respects, Vitse-Arkabe and Atina are similar to each other, and opposed to Khopa, though there are some respects in which Vitse-Arkabe is closer to Khopa, and the two are opposed to Atina. This is represented schematically in (1), where the double line reflects greater similarity.



The dialects do not differ greatly from one another. One major difference involves the present-day reflexes of Common Kartvelian (CK) *q'. In consonant clusters, CK *q' in Khopa and Vitse-Arkabe has been replaced by *k'*, while in Atina, it has been lost (Georgian *c'q'ali* 'water': Khopa-Vitse-Arkabe *c'k'ari*, Atina *c'ari*). CK *q' (outside clusters) remains only in Khopa, where it is restricted to pre-vocalic position; it is lost in the other dialects (Georgian *q'eli* 'throat': Khopa *q'ali*, Vitse-Arkabe-Atina *ali*) (CIIKOBABA 1936: 15-18).

The remaining important phonological differences among the dialects involve the frequency with which a particular phonological process is applied (see 1.4).

There are two major morphological differences involving the formation of the Future and the formation of evidential verb forms (2.5.4). There are numerous lexical differences, the most striking of which can be seen in the pronoun and demonstrative systems (2.3).

There is a large body of published research on the Laz spoken in the Soviet Union. The majority of this is in Georgian and most of it is comparative in nature. Comparatively less work has been done on the dialects spoken in Turkey, leaving many gaps in our information on them.

Although Laz is an unwritten language, we have the benefit of over 20 published collections of texts, spanning a hundred years.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemic System¹

1.1.1 Vowels. Laz has a simple five-vowel system.

Vowel Chart		
	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	ɛ	o
Low		a

The two front vowels and /a/ are unrounded, the remaining back vowels are rounded. The mid front vowel /ɛ/ is lax, but transcribed hereafter "e". All the vowels are monophthongs phonetically and are pronounced with a greater deg of tension than their English counterparts.

When two identical vowels occur together, a long vowel may result. Such sequences arise across morpheme boundaries or because of the loss of an intervocalic consonant (*para* gives *pa:*, pronounced [pa:]) There are no underlying long vowels.

When two different vowels come together, under certain circumstances the higher vowel (or front vowel if both are the same height) is realized as a non-syllabic, creating a diphthong. Non-syllabic front vowels are realized as [y], be vowels as [w] or [v] (/a/ is rarely non-syllabic). (Diphthongs also occur when certain consonants are weakened to [y].) Diphthongs arising because of these phonetic processes are very frequent, but there are no underlying diphthongs.

Finally, fronted allophones of /o/ and /u/ are not uncommon, especially in words borrowed from Turkish which contain /*ö*/ and /*ü*/, e.g. *k^höki* 'root', *g^hüli* 'rose'. The fronted variants occur most often after the velars /k/ and /g/ and seem to be unstable (both *g^höli* and *g^hüli* are found). We often find [*ö*] and [*ü*] in nat Laz verb forms where the preverbs *e* = or *ge* = are followed by the preroot vowels *o* and *u* (underlying /*ge* = *o-lum*] - *u*/ pronounced [gy^hö-lum] - *u*/ 'it became night') (DUMÉZIL 1967.12.10).

1.1.2 Consonants. The consonant system of Laz is by comparison, complex. There are 29 consonant phonemes (30, if we count /h/, occurring only in loans)

The stops show a three-way opposition in terms of phonation: voiceless aspirated, voiced, and glottalized or ejective. Voiced stops are sometimes pronounced without voicing.

	Consonant Chart					
	Obstruents				Resonants	
	Noncontinuants		Continuants		Nas	Liq Glide
	Vl	Vd	Ej	Vl	Vd	
Labio-labial	p	b	p'			m
Labio-dental				(f)		v
Lamino-dental/ alveolar				s	z	n
stops	t	d	t'			
affricates	c	ɟ	c'			
Apico-dental/ alveolar						l r
Lamino-post- alveolar	ʃ	ʒ	ʃ'	ʂ	ʐ	
Dorso-palatal						y
Dorso-velar	k	g	k'			
Dorso-uvular			q'	x	ɣ	
Glottal				h		

ʃ is often realized as a labio-labial, especially following velars (e.g., *nskwa* 'pretty' [mskwa]) (ZHGHEINTI 1953.65, 81). It varies phonetically from a fricative to a glide, but phonologically, there is reason to classify it with the resonants since it patterns in clusters with resonants and not with obstruents (see below).

ʃ may be realized as [f] following voiceless consonants (DUMÉZIL 1967.1).

Phonemic /ʃ/ occurs only in loans (*efendi* 'lord, master'). (Its often-cited occurrence in the Atina word *mofiti* 'I came' is a case of regressive assimilation (ZHGHEINTI 1953.66).)

The dental/alveolar obstruents are articulated with the blade of the tongue in contact with both the upper teeth and the front of the alveolar ridge and thus are neither purely dental nor purely alveolar. The tip of the tongue rests on the lower teeth.

/l/ is more apical than the other dental/alveolar consonants and there is little effect of the following vowel on its articulation. It is articulated with the body of the tongue toward the front of the mouth.

/r/ is an apico-alveolar approximant formed with the tongue tip approaching, but not touching the alveolar ridge; the sides of the tongue rest on the teeth. Laz */r/* does not have the vibration or tension found in Georgian */r/*; it more closely resembles English */r/* (ZIGHIENTI 1953.73-75). Its "weak" phonetic character is seen in the fact that it is frequently realized as [y] or deleted (1.4.2).

/y/ is found frequently in borrowed words; most often phonetic [y] is the realization of some other phoneme. (Note that *y* in texts is often a notation for a preceding palatalized consonant and is sometimes used to denote a fronted allophone of a back vowel.)

/g, k, k'/ are fronted when followed by a front vowel or glide. A following front vowel or glide also conditions truly palatal variants in some subdialects (ZIGHIENTI 1953.105-111) and corresponding postalveolar affricates in *Ašua* (1.4.3) (CHIKOBAVA 1936.26-27).

In the formation of the uvulars */x, ɣ/*, the uvula is bent towards the front of the mouth. Following front vowels cause a fronted articulation.

/q'/ occurs only in Khopa and only prevocally. Khopa *q'ama* 'corn field' corresponds to *ama* in the other dialects. In the formation of *q'*, the back of the tongue makes a closure with the uvula, which is pressed against the back wall of the throat. (KIZIRIA 1980a.35 and other Georgian linguists call this a pharyngeal.)

/š/ (less often */šʰ/*) is occasionally realized as [y]; this happens most often in preverbs (*mešə = lap-a* [meya = lapa] 'it fell over') (KUTELIA 1980.107, ZIGHIENTI 1953.107).

1.2 Phonotactics

All phonemes can occur in initial position in a word, but in word-final position we have only vowels, resonants, and the obstruents *k, x, š, t, p*. In final position the obstruents are almost always grammatical morphemes (*k'uč'i-k* 'man-Narrative', *zop'on-s* 'he talks', *ap* present-stem suffix).

Mono-morphemic syllables may begin with a vowel, a single consonant, or a consonant cluster. In Laz, as in the other Kartvelian languages, initial clusters of two and three consonants are not at all uncommon; the maximum number is

bur. Syllable-final clusters are very rare. Examples of word-final clusters I am aware of are all bimorphemic.

The syllable structure of single morphemes is represented in (2). Only the vowel is obligatory. (Verb roots may be preceded or followed by person markers, leading to larger consonant clusters.)

(2) N C1 C2 V C3 C4

- N is a nasal, *n* or *m*.
- C1 may be a single obstruent or a decessive harmonic cluster.²
- C2 is a resonant, most often *v* when both the previous slots are filled (*nukveri* 'deer').
- No initial cluster can be composed of two sonorants or two fricatives.
- V is a vowel. (Any vowel in word-initial position may be preceded by a glottal stop.)
- It is rare to have a consonant in position C3.
- C4 is may be any consonant, though a resonant is most common word finally.

A much larger number of clusters are permitted morpheme-internally across syllables (e.g. clusters of /r/ + obstruent occur medially, but not initially: *ni* 'one', *korba* 'stomach') (KUTELJA 1979, KIZIRIA 1980b).

Some restrictions on the distribution of individual phonemes:

/h/ occurs mainly in initial position before a vowel and does not enter into any clusters. It is unstable (DUMÉZIL 1967.1).

/q/ does not as a rule occur in clusters.

Geminate consonants are not common and are usually borrowings from Arabic through Turkish (DZIIKIA 1974.127) (*amma* 'but', *illa* 'definitely, absolutely').

1.3 Suprasegmentals

Very little is known about stress in Laz. There is thought to be one (phonetically weak) main stress per word, with stressed vowels slightly longer, louder, and higher in pitch. In two-syllable and three-syllable words, it generally falls on the first syllable. When a verb occurs with a preverb, stress shifts to the preverb (*č'ar-i*, but *dó = č'ar-i* 'write it!'). If the verb is preceded by a negative or prohibitive particle, it receives the stress (*ud č'ar-i* 'you didn't write it').

In words of more than three syllables, a secondary stress occurs on the third syllable (*d̄arkad̄d̄šep̄e* 'companions').

In content questions, the question word usually receives the main stress within the phrase. The intonation of Laz content questions is the same as that of Georgian. The intonation rise begins with the question word, but continues to the end of the phrase, with highest pitch falling on the final syllable.

Yes-No questions formed with the interrogative particle *i*, are characterized by main stress on the particle and a special rising intonation.

1.4 Morphophonemics

Most of the processes discussed below are optional rather than obligatory and there are significant differences between dialects (and between speakers within one dialect) which are not well-understood. The application of some of the rules seems to be lexically determined.

1.4.1 Processes Affecting Vowels. A number of processes affect two vowels in sequence. They apply regularly to sequences composed of the final vowel of a preverb and a preroot vowel and less predictably to vowel sequences which arise from deletion of an intervocallic consonant (see below). (The first two processes occur only in Khopa and are restricted to the preverb-preroot vowel sequences.)

Raising. If the final vowel of the preverb is [+back], it takes on the height of a following [-low] vowel. (Preverbs are followed by ' = '.)

- (3) $go = u- \rightarrow gu-$ (must undergo Reduction)
 $do = i- \rightarrow dui-$ (undergoes Fronting and Reduction)
 $eša = u- \rightarrow ešuu-$ (undergoes Reduction)

(In contrast, in Arkabe we have Lowering, at least of /o/ by /a/ (*m̄o = ad̄veet̄'u* → *maad̄veet̄'u* → [mad̄veet̄'u] (by Reduction, discussed below) 'he was following him'). In Khopa the /o/ of such sequences undergoes Deyyllification (see below).)

Fronting. If the final vowel of the preverb is [+back] it assimilates in backness (and roundness) to a following [-low] vowel. (The /o/ of the preverb-preroot vowel sequence $go = i-$ does NOT undergo this rule, thus maintaining a distinction between the preverb *go* plus *i* → [gui] and the preverb *ge* = plus *i* → [gi]. If *gui* were to undergo Fronting and Reduction, the two would become identical.)

	<u>Raising</u>		<u>Fronting</u>	
do = i-	-->	dui-	-->	dii- (undergoes Reduction)
mo = i-	-->	mui-		mii- (undergoes Reduction)
eša = i-		ešui-		ešii- (undergoes Reduction)

Reduction. Two identical vowels may be reduced to one ($e\check{s}a = o \rightarrow e\check{s}oo \rightarrow [e\check{s}o]$). This process occurs sporadically outside the preverb system.

KUTELJA 1980:118 reports the result of reduction to be a long vowel, though long vowels are not noted in published texts.

Desyllabification. In vowel sequences which do not undergo assimilation and reduction, one of the vowels desyllabifies. We see different tendencies in different dialects.

In Khopa if the first vowel of the sequence is a front vowel, the front vowel desyllabifies, creating a rising diphthong. (If the preverb *ge =* is followed by /i/, the glide may be deleted.)

(5) ge = o-tun	-->		gyotun	'he covers it'	
ge = i-yu	-->	gyi-yu	-->	giyu	'he brought it down'
nalia			nalya	'place for corn'	

In Khopa, if the first vowel is not a front vowel, the higher vowel of the sequence tends to desyllabify ($do = a- \rightarrow [dva-]$). If sequences of identical vowels do not undergo reduction, the first will probably undergo desyllabification. ($goc'a = a- \rightarrow [goc'va-]$).

In Arkabe, on the other hand, we see falling diphthongs ($go = i \rightarrow goy$ or $i = i \rightarrow ey$).

None of the rules above will apply to the preverb *me* because it takes the shape *n* when it is followed by a vowel.

In Khopa the vowel sequences which arise because of the deletion of the first person marker *v* (see below) do not undergo these processes. In Khopa also we find "distant assimilation": In preverbs of two syllables, both vowels undergo Raising and Fronting, which are in the case of the first vowel, no longer restricted to [+back] vowels ($axo = u-\check{s}ku \rightarrow [uxu-\check{s}ku]$ 'he let him loose'; $menda = i-\gamma u \rightarrow [mindiyu]$ 'he took it away').

1.4.2 Processes Affecting Consonants. In Laz we find deletion (of /r/, /v/, and /h/), regressive assimilation of phonation type, and progressive dissimilation of

place of articulation.³ Each can give rise to allophonic as well as allomorphic variation.

R-Deletion. Perhaps the most striking phonological process in Laz is the deletion of /r/, found to varying degrees in all three dialects. In Khopa, where R-Deletion is most wide-spread, deletion of /r/ between vowels is automatic, while deletion before consonants seems to be lexically conditioned. We also find loss of /r/ word-finally.

(6)	berē	--->	bee	'child'
	čumers		čumes	'he looks at it'
	mevur		mevulu	'I'm going'

R-Deletion (at least intervocalically) may not be an all-or-nothing process phonetically speaking. CHIKOBAVA 1936.22 reports that in many cases it is hard to tell whether the /r/ is there or not and ANDERSON 1963.11-15 speaks of r-colored allophones of vowels.

Speakers have some control over this process: When carefully attending speech, a speaker may consciously use forms with /r/, but while speaking rapidly without attention to speech itself, the same speaker may delete them all. The forms with /r/ are perceived by Laz as "more correct" and we find instances of hypercorrection as well (*ambai* 'news' pronounced [ambari], *idi-i* —> [idi-r- 'did you go?'] ZIGHENTI 1953.72- 73, KARTOZIA 1976.126.)

V-Deletion. In Khopa there is a process of intervocallic /v/ deletion, which affects the first person marker *v*. (As noted, the vowel clusters which result do undergo the assimilatory processes discussed in 1.4.1.)

/v/ is also deleted before *u*. (Since *u* is a suffix marking third person singular subject, this process yields variant forms of a number of common verb roots which end in -v: *q'v* 'do', *dv* 'put, place', *tkv* 'say'.)

N-Deletion. In word-final position /n/ may be optionally deleted. It is clear whether this is a general process or a lexically-determined one. This is widespread in Atina, more rare in Khopa.

(7)	man	-->	ma	1 singular pronoun
	sin		si	2 singular pronoun
	sop'oniten		sop'onite	'with soap'
	imt'e-nan		imt'ena	'they are running'

Identical Consonant Deletion. A striking kind of consonant deletion is found in the Khopa subdialect spoken in Sarpi, at least: The first of two identical

nasals may be deleted, if they are separated only by a vowel and the first is preceded by a vowel (KARTOZIA 1968a.135-36).

8) mk'yapu-pe-k	-->	mk'yaupk	'jackal-PL-NAR'
op'č'op-up-t		op'č'oupt	'we'll catch it'
b-γira-minon-ya		bγia-mion-ya	'I will see, he said'
va me = m-i-sibini-na		vaemisibinina	'if you don't listen to me'

Regressive Assimilation for Phonation Type. In all dialects there is a strong tendency towards regressive assimilation for phonation type of adjacent consonants. Most examples involve voicing of a voiceless consonant, though glottalization and devoicing occur as well.

9) mgeis-na	--->	mgeiz-na	'that the wolf ...'
vit k'oč'i		vit' k'oč'i	'ten men'
b-tkvi		p-tkvi	'I said it'

Progressive Dissimilation of /t/. Laz maintains a Kartvelian constraint against two consecutive /t/'s without an intervening /l/. The operation of this rule can be seen most clearly in words with suffixes containing /t/.

10) mexir-eri	-->	mexireli	'stolen'
mord-eri		mordeli	'grown-up, adult'

In forms where intervocallic /t/ is deleted, we nonetheless find dissimilation occurring. That is, Dissimilation must apply before R-Deletion (*me-č'k'ir-eri* 'wounded' --> *meč'k'ir-eli* --> {*meč'k'i-eli*}).

4.3 Minor Processes. There are many other, more minor processes in Laz which we might mention briefly. ZHIGIENTI 1953.105-113 reports sporadic palatalization of consonants from all three dialects, most pronounced in Atina, where the alars alternate with postalveolar affricates.

The nasal of the third person plural suffix *-an*, may cause a preceding *r* to become *n*: *ingar-an* --> *ingan-an* 'they are crying'. (One effect of this process is to make such verbs seem irregular in their choice of plural suffix (see Table 3).)

There is a recent, but rapidly spreading tendency in Laz to lose a final vowel. Truncation of /i/ is especially common in Arkabe and Atina, less so in Ilopa (ZHIGIENTI 1953.173-77).

Many authors point out the sporadic "development" of /n/ (more rarely /m/) preconsonantly in word-initial position (*taro* and *ntaro* 'shelf', *diza* and *ndza* 'clay') (ZHIGIENTI 1953.91-104, among others).

Unstable glottalization, especially in Turkish borrowings, has occasionally been remarked on. For example, both *fuk'ara* and *fukara* 'poor' are found (DUMÉZIL 1967:2, DZHIKIA 1974:124). There seems to be a tendency toward loss of glottalization in clusters as well, especially those with /k'/. DUMÉZIL 1967:1 reports that *šk'* and *šk'* have become *šk* and *šk* in the speech of his informant.

Finally, in Atina we see the opposite tendency: Although Atina has simplified many inherited clusters with /k'/, it has also developed new ones.

	<u>Arkabe</u>	<u>Atina</u>	
Loss of /k'/	c'k'ari	c'ari	'water'
	mc'k'iri	mc'iri	'flea'
Development of /k'/	-škun-	-šk'un-	'know' (verb root)
	tku	t'k'u	'he said'
	tkva(n)	t'k'va	'you-PL'

2. MORPHOLOGY

The lexical classes treated in this section are presented in this order: noun adjectives, pronouns, postpositions, and verbs. At the conclusion of this section are brief discussions of word formation, particles, and numerals.

In Laz the two grammatical categories expressed by nominal inflection are number and case. Nouns, adjectives, and many of the pronouns have singular and plural forms and are inflected for seven cases. There is a two-way system of deixis which will be discussed below in connection with demonstratives. Like all other Kartvelian languages, Laz lacks grammatical gender and class. There are no articles, definite or indefinite.⁴

2.1 Nouns

2.1.1 *Number*. There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural stem is regularly formed by adding *pe* or *epe* to the singular. In words of more than one syllable the three dialects show the same distribution for these suffixes: *epe* is usually used with nouns which end in *i* (the final *i* of the singular is lost) and *pe* used with the others (with no change in the singular stem). In words of one syllable, in Khopa *epe* is used (regardless of final vowel) and in the other dialect *pe* is used. A small number of nouns (ZHGHEHTI 1953a:171-172 lists 14) *idk* synchronically take *lepe*, a suffix otherwise restricted to adjectives, in all dialects.

(11)	buxa	'fingernail'	<u>Plural:</u>	buxa—pe	
	orjo	'chair'		orjo—pe	
	k'at'u	'cat'		k'at'u—pe	
	k'oci	'man'		k'oci—epe	
	JoYori	'dog'		JoYor—epe	
	<u>One-syllable Nouns</u>			<u>Khopa</u>	<u>Vi-Ar-Ai</u>
	gza	'road, way'		gza-epe	gza-pe
	xe	'hand'		xe—epe	xe—pe
	<u>Irregular Plurals</u>				
	da	'sister'		da-lepe	
	kva	'stone'		kva-lepe	

21.2 Case.5 There are seven cases in Laz, realized by the same set of endings with all nouns in the singular and plural:

(12)	<u>Case</u>	<u>Ending</u>
	Nominative	∅
	Narrative	-k
	Dative	-s
	Genitive	-š(i)
	Allative	-ša (some Arkabe subdialects -še)
	Ablative	-šen
	Instrumental	-ten

The *i* of the Genitive frequently undergoes word-final vowel deletion (14.3) when the Genitive precedes its modifier, but not when it is in predicate position.

(13)	(a)	givi-š	pot'lik'a	ye-n	
		Givi-GEN	bottle	be-3SG	'It is Givi's bottle.'
	(b)	pot'lik'a	givi-ši	ye-n	
		bottle	Givi-GEN	be-3SG	'The bottle is Givi's.'

Instead of the expected Allative suffix *ša*, we find *še* in some subdialects of Arkabe (occasionally in Aina) (CHIKOBAVA 1936.48, 60-61, DUMÉZIL 1967.3).⁶

Note that other variations in the form of the case endings are possible because of phonological rules discussed in 1.4. Ablative and Instrumental forms

often undergo N-Deletion, while final vowel deletion (1.4.3) may affect not only Genitive and Allative forms, but also those Ablative and Instrumentals which have undergone N-Deletion (KARTOZIA 1970: 215) (e.g., *k'oč̣i-ten* 'man-INSTR' → *k'oč̣i-te* → [*k'oč̣i-t*]).

In some dialects of Atina, including Artashen, there has been a collapse of the Nominative, Narrative, and Dative cases, the noun stem being used for all three (CHIKOBAVA 1936.63, 181). This is not a matter of individual variation; some speech communities, these cases have been retained, while in others they have undergone syncretism, though the exact distribution of this phenomenon is not known.

Case endings are added directly to the stem of the nominal, which remains unchanged. Paradigms are given below.

(14) Declension of Nouns

	'man'	'road'	'chair'	'short one'
SG NOM	k'oč̣i	gza	orj o	mk'ule
NAR	k'oč̣i-k	gza-k	orj o-k	mk'ule-k
DAT	k'oč̣i-s	gza-s	orj o-s	mk'ule-s
GEN	k'oč̣i-š	gza-š	orj o-š	mk'ule-š
ALL	k'oč̣i-ša	gza-ša	orj o-ša	mk'ule-ša
ABL	k'oč̣i-šen	gza-šen	orj o-šen	mk'ule-šen
INSTR	k'oč̣i-ten	gza-ten	orj o-ten	mk'ule-ten
Pl. NOM	k'oč̣-epe	gza-pe	(Kh gza-epe)	mk'ule-epe
NAR	k'oč̣-epe-k	gza-pe-k	(Kh gza-epe-k)	mk'ule-epe-k
DAT	k'oč̣-epe-s	gza-pe-s	(Kh gza-epe-s)	mk'ule-epe-s

and so on.

2.1.3 Functions of the Cases. The Nominative, when governed by a verb, may be a subject or a direct object, depending on the verb; it is also governed by a small number of prepositions. Ungoverned, it may be used for naming, for predicate nominals, for locative adjuncts, and as a vocative. The Narrative case marks the subject of certain verbs (see 3.2.1) and has no ungoverned functions.

The governed Dative may be an indirect object or a subject. Ungoverned, it functions very frequently as an adverbial adjunct (usually of time or place, either locative or directional) (e.g., *axoi-s amaxu* 'he went home' and *axoi-s ren* 'he is home').

The Genitive case is governed by the majority of postpositions in Laz (see 2.4). It also is used with verbal nouns to mark the direct object of transitives and the subject of intransitives. The Genitive frequently functions as a nominal modifier, expressing possession, part-whole relationships, material (e.g., 'stone house'), extraction (e.g., 'Khopi man'), and so on.

The Allative is used primarily as an adverbial adjunct, expressing the direction or goal of motion or a purpose.

- (15) (a) \check{s} eri- \check{s} a igzal-u
 city-ALL went-3SG 'he went to the city'
- (b) igzal-es bee-pe di \check{s} ka- \check{s} a
 go-3PL child-PL firewood-ALL
 'the children went to get firewood' (Kart I.158.13)?

In a number of special constructions the Allative is used for the expression of the indirect object; these include old Series III forms (2.5.4, 3.2), causatives (3.6), and analytic passives. (See HARRIS 1985:240-242, where these functions are referred to collectively as 'retired indirect objects'.)

The Ablative functions primarily as an adverbial adjunct, expressing direction from a particular location both concretely and metaphorically (e.g., 'he came from the store' or 'I learned it from him'). It is also used to express the object of comparison (3.10).

The Instrumental case expresses the instrument of action or the means by which something is done.

A particularly unusual feature of Laz is that certain case endings, as well as the plural suffix *pe*, may appear on finite verb forms (CHIKODAVA 1936:63-5, KARTOZJA 1968b) (see 3.4).

- (16) na b-igzal-i-t-u-pe- \check{s} i lazut'i hini do=k'orob-ey
 COMP go-1-PL-u-PL-GEN corn they collect-3PL
 'they collected the corn of the we-went's (i.e., those of us who went).'

KARTOZJA 1970.1.8

(The suffix *t* marks plurality of the subject of a finite verb, while *pe* marks plurality of a noun or noun phrase; *u* has no known function other than to separate these markers.)

2.2 Adjectives

There are no morphological differences between attributive and predicative adjectives nor do adjectives have special forms for indicating comparison (which is expressed periphrastically (3.10)). Under some circumstances adjectives may be declined for case and number (2.2.1). Demonstrative and possessive adjectives are treated in the following sections.

2.2.1 Case and Number. Attributive adjectives usually precede the noun they modify and show no agreement with the noun for case or number. Substantivized adjectives, those appearing without a head noun, bear case and number like a noun. Adjectives have the case endings given in (12), but take special plural suffixes: *lepe* is used with all adjectives except for one-syllable adjectives in Khopa, where the variant *elepe* is used. (Occasionally adjectives are used with the noun plural suffixes *epe* and *pe*.) Partial paradigms for substantivized adjectives follow.

(17) Declension of Adjectives

	'big one'		'black one'	
NOM	didi	PL didi-lepe	uča	PL uča-lepe
NAR	didi-k	didi-lepe-k	uča-k	uča-lepe-k
DAT	didi-s	didi-lepe-s	uča-s	uča-lepe-s
GEN	didi-š	didi-lepe-š	uča-š	uča-lepe-š
	and so on.			
Khopa:	xče 'white one'		PL xče--elepe	
	mšve 'old one'		mšve--elepe	

Predicate adjectives are in the Nominative case.

(18)	nia oxori	didi	re-n
	this house-NOM	big-NOM	be-3SG
	'this house is big'		

2.3 Pronouns

Most pronouns in Laz are declined for number and case, generally following the pattern described for nouns in 2.1. They tend to show stem suppletion, however, one stem being used in the Nominative (or Nominative-Narrative-Dative) and a second stem in the oblique cases. Only the demonstratives and their derivatives (which include the third person personal pronouns) show *deicta*. Laz does not have the category inclusive—exclusive.

Discussion of all pronominal forms is seriously complicated by dialect variation, as well as by phonological variation within each dialect. (Common variants are indicated with slashes.)

2.3.1 Personal Pronouns. First and second person pronouns have separate stems for singular versus plural and for Nominative-Narrative-Dative versus oblique. These stems (with variants) are given in (21). (Forms of the third person pronouns are discussed with demonstratives in 2.3.4.)

(21)

		Personal Pronouns			
		NOM-NAR-DAT	OBLIQUE		
SINGULAR	1	Kh-Vi-Ar	man / ma	čkim-	
		Atina	ma	škim- / šk'im-	
	2	Kh-Vi-Ar	sin / si	skan- / sk'an-	
		Atina	si	sk'an- / skan-	
PLURAL	1	Khopa	čkin	čkin-	
		Vi-Ar	čkun / čku	čkun-	
		Atina	šku / šk'u	škun- / šk'un-	
	2	Kh-Vi-Ar	tkvan / tkva	tkvan-	
			Atina	t'k'va	t'k'van-

When declined, the first and second person pronouns do not use the same case endings as nouns. Paradigms are given in (22), using an Arkabe stem and in (23) using an Atina one. Except for the Allative (discussed below), case endings are the same in Khopa and Više-Arkabe. Note that in the Allative and Ablative, Atina endings differ slightly.

(22) Declension of Personal Pronouns—Arkabe

	1 SG	2 SG	1 PL	2 PL
NOM-NAR-DAT	ma	si	čku	tkva
ALL*	čkim-da	skan-da	čkun-da	tkvan-da
	čkim-de	skan-de	čkun-de	tkvan-de
ABL	čkim-den	skan-den	čkun-den	tkvan-den

*The two Allative endings occur only in Arkabe, where one and the same speaker will use both. In Khoqa and Vitse only -da is found.

(23) Declension of Personal Pronouns—Atina

	1 SG	2 SG	1 PL	2 PL
NOM-NAR-DAT	ma	sk'a	šk'u	t'k'va
ALL*	šk'im-da	sk'an-da	šk'un-da	t'k'van-da
	šk'im-inde	šk'un-inde	t'k'van-inde	
ABL	šk'im-inden	sk'an-den	šk'un-den	t'k'van-den

*There is no semantic difference between Allative forms with *da* and those with *inde*.

23.2 Possessive Pronouns. The first and second person possessive pronouns are formed by adding *-i* to the oblique stem of the personal pronouns and thus they show all the variation (within and among dialects) that the personal pronouns do (e.g. in Atina we find both *škuni* and *šk'uni* 'ours'). (Third person possessives are derived from demonstrative pronouns (2.3.4).)

The Nominative and Narrative forms of the possessives are given in (24). They take the same endings that nouns do (see (12)) and their declension is completely regular, so complete paradigms are not given here. (Possessives, like adjectives, will be declined if postposed or if they occur without a head noun.)

(24)		Possessive Pronouns		
		Nominative	Narrative	
SG	1	Kh-Vi-Ar	čkimi	čkimi-k
		Atina	škimi / šk'imi	škimi-k / šk'imi-k
	2		skani / sk'ani	skani-k / sk'ani-k

PL 1	Khopa	čkini	čkini-k
	Vi-Ar	čkuni	čkuni-k
	Atina	škuni / šk'uni	škuni-k / šk'uni-k
2	Kh-Vi-Ar	tkvani	tkvani-k
	Atina	t'k'vani	t'k'vani-k

Independently occurring possessive pronouns agree in number with the unexpressed head noun. In the plural the possessive pronouns usually take the suffix *lepe* (čkuni-*lepe* 'the ones of ours') though occasionally they occur with *k* as well.

2.3.3 Intensive Pronoun. The third person intensive pronoun *muk* is used when the third person pronoun is emphasized or specially stressed (e.g., 'he himself told me'). Its forms are given in (25).

(25)		<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	NOM	muk	mutepe
	NAR	muk	mutepe-k
	DAT	mu-s	mutepe-s
	GEN	mu-š(i)	mutepe-š(i)
	ALL	mu-ša (Ar /še)	mutepe-ša (Ar /-še)
	ABL	mu-šen	mutepe-šen
	INSTR	mu-ten	mutepe-ten

2.3.4 Demonstrative Pronouns. Laz has a rich system of demonstratives, characterized by two-way deixis signaled by vowels: *a* close to the speaker ('this', 'here', 'in this way') and *e* (*i* in Atina) away from the speaker ('that', 'there', 'in that way'). The singular demonstratives show the stem suppletion which is typical for Laz pronouns. The demonstratives are also used as third person pronouns.

(26) Demonstrative Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Nominative</u>		<u>Oblique</u>	
		'this'	'that'	'this'	'that'
	Khopa	aya	ia	amu-	emu-
	Više-Arkabe	haya	hea	hamu-	hemu-
	Više			haya-	hea-
	Atina	ham	him	hamu-	himu-

<u>Plural-NOM</u>	'these'	'those'
<u>Khopa</u>	antepe	entepe
<u>Vitse-Arkabe</u>	hamtepe/hantepe/ hatepe	hemtepe/hentepe/ hetepe
<u>Vitse</u>	hatee	hetee
<u>Atina</u>	hani	hini

Demonstrative pronouns are declined just as nouns are. Partial paradigms are given in (27) for Khopa and Vitse-Arkabe (using one of the plural variants) and in (28) for Atina.

(27) Declension of Demonstrative Pronouns

	<u>Khopa</u>		<u>Vitse-Arkabe</u>		<u>Vitse</u>	
<u>Singular</u>	'this'	'that'	'this'	'that'	'this'	'that'
<u>NOM</u>	aya	ia	haya	hea	haya	hea
<u>NAR</u>	amu-k	emu-k	hamu-k	hemu-k	haya-k	hea-k
<u>DAT</u>	amu-s	emu-s	hamu-s	hemu-s	haya-s	hea-s
<u>GEN</u>	amu-ši	emu-ši	hamu-ši	hemu-ši	haya-ši	hea-ši
and so on.						
<u>Plural</u>	'these'	'those'	'these'	'those'	'these'	'those'
<u>NOM</u>	antepe	entepe	hamtepe	hemtepe	hatee	hetee
<u>NAR</u>	antepe-k	entepe-k	hamtepe-k	hemtepe-k	hatee-k	hetee-k
<u>DAT</u>	antepe-s	entepe-s	hamtepe-s	hemtepe-s	hatee-s	hetee-s
and so on.						

(28) Declension of Demonstrative Pronouns — Atina*

<u>Singular</u>	'this'	'that'
<u>NOM</u>	ham	him
<u>NAR</u>	hamu (hamu-k)	himu (himu-k)
<u>DAT</u>	hamu (hamu-s)	himu (himu-s)
<u>GEN</u>	hamu-ši	himu-ši
and so on.		
<u>Plural</u>	'these'	'those'
<u>NOM</u>	hani	hini
<u>NAR</u>	hani (hani-k)	hini (hini-k)
<u>DAT</u>	hani (hani-s)	hini (hini-s)

*In those Aina subdialects where Nominative, Narrative, and Dative have syncretized, we find an opposition in the singular demonstratives between Nominative *hamthin* and Narrative-Dative *hamuthinu*. The forms *hamuk*, *hamus*, etc. are found in those varieties of Aina which have not undergone syncretization.

Demonstrative and third person possessives. The demonstratives in the Genitive case serve as possessives for both demonstratives and third person pronouns. They are declined when they are postposed or occur independently (without a head noun) and take the same case endings as nouns (see (12)). Partial paradigms are given in (29).

(29) Declension of Third Singular Possessive Pronouns

<u>Singular</u>	'his, hers, its'			
	<u>Khopa</u>	<u>Vitse-Arkabe</u>	<u>Vitse</u>	<u>Aina</u>
NOM	amuš ^v i/temuš ^v i	hamuš ^v i/hemuš ^v i	hayaš ^v i/beaš ^v i	hamuš ^v i/himuš ^v i
NAR	amuš ^v i-k	hamuš ^v i-k	hayaš ^v i-k	hamuš ^v i-k
DAT	amuš ^v i-s	hamuš ^v i-s	hayaš ^v i-s	hamuš ^v i-s

and so on.

<u>Plural</u>	'their, theirs'		
	<u>Khopa</u>	<u>Vitse-Arkabe</u>	<u>Aina</u>
NOM	antepeš ^v i/entepeš ^v i	hamtepeš ^v i/hemtepeš ^v i	haniš ^v i/hiniš ^v i
NAR	antepeš ^v i-k	hamtepeš ^v i-k	haniš ^v i-k

Other Deictic Expressions. Some adjectival and adverbial expressions related to the demonstratives are listed below.

(30) Deictic Expressions

	<u>Khopa</u>	<u>Vitse-Arkabe</u>	<u>Aina</u>
here—there	ak ek	hak hek	hako hiko (/beko)
in this—that way	ašo ešo	hašo hešo	hašo hišo (/bešo)
this much/many— that much/many	ak'o ek'o	hak'o hek'o	hak'u hik'u
this—that kind of a	asteri esteri	hasteri	hesteri

2.3.5 Interrogative Pronouns. Interrogative pronouns show comparatively little dialect variation and are declined regularly. The interrogative *namu/naya* appears

both pronominally (e.g., 'which man?'), in which case it is undeclined, and independently ('which one?'), in which case it is inflected for both case and number.

(1) Declension of Interrogative Pronouns

Singular	'who?'	'what?'		'which (one)?'
NOM	mi / min	mu	muya	namu naya
NAR	mi-k	mu-k	muya-k	namu-k naya-k
DAT	mi-s	mu-s	muya-s	namu-s naya-s
GEN	mi-ši	mu-ši	muya-ši	namu-ši naya-ši
Plural				
NOM	mi-pe	mu-pe	namt-epe	nani
NAR	mi-pe-k	mu-pe-k	namt-epe-k	nani-k
DAT	mi-pe-s	mu-pe-s	namt-epe-s	nani-s

In those Atina subdialects which have syncretized Nominative, Narrative, and Dative cases, the Nominative form has been generalized to cover all three cases.

In Khopa the plural forms for 'who' and 'what' are *mi-epe* and *mu-epe*, following the Khopa rule for plural formation in one-syllable words. (The forms *mi-r-epe*, *mu-r-epe* due to hypocorrection (1.4.2) are quite frequent.)

(The variants *muya* and *nani* are found only in Atina.)

Other common interrogatives are listed in (32). Like all adjectival modifiers *muyaperi* is uninflected if it is pronominal and inflected for case and number (regularly) if it occurs without a head noun. The remaining interrogatives are unchanging.

(32) <i>muyaperi</i>	'what kind of a (noun)/one?'
<i>mundes</i>	'when?'
<i>muč'o</i>	'how?'
<i>mušeni</i>	'why? (lit. 'for what?')
<i>mot</i>	'why?'
<i>muk'o</i>	'how much?'
<i>so</i>	'where, to where?'
<i>solen</i>	'from where?'

23.6 Indefinite Pronouns. In Laz there are two series of indefinite pronouns, which are formed from the interrogatives. The suffixes *ti* and *tu* give a

non-specific indefinite; the suffix *txani*, a specific indefinite. Declension of these pronouns is completely regular and paradigms are not given.

- (33) mi-ti 'someone' (non-specific)
 mu-tu 'something' (non-specific)
 mi-txani 'someone' (specific)
 mu-txani 'something' (specific)

2.3.7 Negative Pronouns. Laz does not have negative pronouns. The non-specific indefinites plus negatives are used, as in (34).

- (34) (a) miii va(r) u-q'onun
 someone not have-3SG 'He has no one.'
 (b) mutu va(r) m-i-čkin
 something not know-1 'I know nothing.'
 (c) mutu mo ikip!
 something don't do-IMP 'Don't do anything!'

Other Quantifiers. Other major quantifiers are given in (35). They are declined if they occur independently (without a head noun).

- (35) iri 'every, everyone'
 niteli 'all, everyone'
 mteli šeri 'everything'
 iri šeri 'everything'
 k'ata / k'atta 'every'
 dido 'many, most'
 bazi 'some'
 kimi 'some (Georgian zog)
 č'it'a 'few'
 čkva 'another'(being replaced by *baška/bašk'a*)
 baška / bašk'a 'another'
 gverdi 'half'

2.3.8 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are formed periphrastically by means of the possessive pronoun plus *ti* 'head' (*č'ikimi ti* 'my head 'myself'). Such expressions do not seem to be particularly natural for Laz, which

uses a special verbal category, version (2.5.6), to depict co-reference. There is no special possessive reflexive.

There are two reciprocal pronouns in Laz: *antik'anti* and *arima^vava*. Both pronouns are declined regularly.

23.9 Relative Pronouns. Relative pronouns are not used with any frequency in Laz, and seem to be a new phenomenon. In texts different ways of forming them are encountered, including specific indefinite pronouns or interrogatives plus particle *ti* (otherwise 'too', Georgian *c*) and pronominal forms plus *na* (e.g., *amuk*) (see 3.4.3).

24 Postpositions

There are 22 postpositions in Laz. Some of these function only as postpositions, which is indicated below by a preceding dash. Others are used both as postpositions and as adverbs. The postposition and its noun are perceived by speakers as a single word and are pronounced as one word.

In construction with nouns, postpositions govern either the stem form or the Genitive. With pronouns, postpositions usually govern the possessive form (oblique stem plus *i*), though one occasionally encounters postpositions with just the oblique stem of a pronoun. Certain postpositions may also take clauses as their objects; they are added directly to clause-final finite verb forms and form subordinate clauses with adverbial function (3.4.3). (Postpositions which have this function are marked with 'Clausal' below.)

(26) Postpositions Governing the Stem

-k'ala	'with, along with' (in Atina this governs the Genitive)
-k'ele	'towards' (Clausal)
-k'o/-k'onari	'as much as, as far as, in the same way as'
-steri	'like' (Clausal meaning 'as soon as')
- ^v saki/ ^v sakis	'until, up to' (Clausal meaning 'until, as long as')
- ^v zeni	'for' (Clausal meaning 'since')

Postpositions Governing the Genitive

aras	'between, among'
doloxe	'inside of, in'
vaxis	'while, during, at the time of'
tude	'under, below'
-k'ap'ulas	'behind, at the back of'
-k'ule, uk'ule	'after, afterwards' (Clausal meaning 'after, when')
mle	'on that side of' (e.g., a river)
met'a	'besides, in addition to'
mole	'on this side of' (e.g., a river)
yanis	'beside, next to'
yanis̄a	'near'
yerine, yeis	'in place of, instead of' (Clausal meaning 'in the place where')
ok'vač̄xe, ok'ač̄xe	'behind'
oγine	'before, in front of'
ž̄in	'on, on top of'
c'ode	'in front of'

2.5 Verbs

The morphology of the verb in Laz is considerably more complex than that of the noun. Verbs are inflected for person and number of the subject and one object, tense-aspect, mood, version, and an evidential category; to the verb may also be added preverbs (which have a number of different functions), an affirmative particle, and a conditional particle.

The order of presentation of verbal morphology is as follows. In the first subsections I will introduce the structure of the verbal complex and morphological markers of voice; in following sections, each of the major categories of inflection is treated: voice, person and number, direct conjugation and conjugation by inversion, tense and mood, preverbs, and version. A few remaining topics in verbal morphology are treated more briefly at the end, viz. aspect, suppletion and formation of non-finite verb forms.⁸

2.5.1 Structure of the Laz Verb. There are fourteen positions in the verb, though not every position is filled in every verb form. The most minimal verb form

consists of a verb root plus a personal suffix (č'k'om-i 'eat-2SG'). Generally only one formant appears in each slot and not all elements co-occur.

(7) Positions in the Laz Verb

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Aff- Pt	Pre- verb	Person- Prefix	Pre- root Vowel	ROOT	Series- Marker	t'- a-	t'- ere-	Person- Suffix	PL-	Future ere/ doren union			

1. The affirmative particle *ko* (2.5.5).
2. A preverb, which may be preceded by the affirmative particle.
3. A personal prefix, marking either a first or second person object (*m* or *g*) or a first person subject (*v*) (2.5.3).
4. A preroot vowel: *i*, *o*, *u* mark version (2.5.6), *i*, *a* mark intransitivity (2.5.2), and *o* marks a causative (2.6.1).
5. The verb root, an obligatory member of the complex.
6. A Series Marker, which appears in tenses and moods of Series I (2.5.4). In Series III there may be a *u* in this position (which may co-occur with a Series Marker).
7. The Imperfect stem formant *t'* (2.5.4).
8. The conjunctive stem formant *a* (2.5.4). It may directly follow the verb root or the Imperfect formant in 7.
9. A *t'* in this position necessarily follows the conjunctive formant in 8, and forms the Conditional III (2.5.4).
10. The morpheme *ere* in this position is found only in Khopa and is used to form evidential verb forms. In certain tenses the formants of positions 7, and 8, follow *ere* (giving *ere-t'*- or *ere-t'-a-*). This formant (with or without markers of 7, and 8,) can only be followed by personal suffixes and the plural marker *t*: it is incompatible with anything in positions 13 and 14.
11. A personal suffix in this position is obligatory. There are three sets which vary with tense and mood (2.5.4).
12. A marker of plurality of a first or second person subject or object. The marker is most often *t*, but under certain circumstances *on* or *ex* is used (2.5.3).
13. A future formant occurs in this position. In Vitse-Arkabe and Aina, an unchanging *ere* (or a variant of it) is used. In Khopa, a fully inflected auxiliary

anon is found. (In so far as *anon* itself is conjugated, we find the personal prefixes and suffixes of 3. and 11. re-occurring within this position.)

14. In final position we find either (a) the unchanging particle *k'on* which is added to certain tense-aspect forms to form a conditional (2.5.4) or (b) one of three unchanging suffixes (*doren*, *dor'un*, *dor'as*) which are used in Vitse-Arkabe and Aiina to form evidential verb forms. These two suffixes do not co-occur.

2.5.2 Voice. A particular Laz verb is either transitive or intransitive (3.2.1). This must be listed lexically, as it is not predictable from either the form or the meaning of the verb. In particular, there is no specific morphological indicator of transitivity (except in the case of derived causatives (2.6.1)).

An intransitive verb may be derived from a transitive by means of a preroot vowel *i* and suffix *e*. (Since the suffix appears only in the Present Series, it is treated here as a Series Marker (2.5.4).) Such derived intransitives have passive meaning or express possibility. Examples are given in (38). (Personal suffixes *r* and *n* indicate agreement with a third person singular subject (2.5.3).)

(38)	<u>Transitive</u>		<u>Intransitive</u>	
	gib-up-s	'he boils it'	i-gib-e-n	'it boils, is boiled, can boil'
	q'vil-up-s	'he kills it'	i-q'vil-e-n	'it is killed'
	č'k'om-u	'he ate it'	i-č'k'om-e-n	'it is eaten'

Non-derived intransitives have a variety of forms. They may have the Series Marker *e* (with or without preroot vowel *i*), the Series Marker *u*, or one of the other Series Markers (including zero).

(39)	x-e-n	'he is sitting'
	skid-u-n	'he stays, remains'
	b-u-n	'it is tied'
	č'alis-ap-s	'he is working'
	me = l-am-s	'it falls'
	i-mgar-s	'he is crying'

Though the presence of a stem-final vowel in Series I is an indication that the verb is intransitive, it cannot be taken as a defining feature of intransitivity, since it is not present in all intransitives. The presence of the preroot vowel *i* is

also not a defining feature, since it is found only with some intransitives and occurs (in another function) with transitives as well (2.5.6).

Two-person intransitive verbs are known as relative intransitives. They are formed by means of the preroot vowel *a* (2.5.6), with the person of the indirect object marked by a personal prefix. In the examples below, *m* marks a first person.

- (40) $kome\check{s}a = m-a-gib-e-n$ 'something of mine boils'
 (do =) $m-a-q'vil-e-n$ 'something of mine is killed'
 (dolo =) $m-a-b-u-n$ 'it is tied to/on me'

2.5.3 Person and Number. A Laz verb can indicate person and number agreement with a subject, direct object, and indirect object, although the markers for all three may not actually appear in the verb form.

Subject Markers. Agreement with a subject in the first or second person is marked by a personal prefix in Position 3 and, if plural, by a number suffix in Position 12. There are, in addition, personal suffixes in Position 11, which vary with tense and mood; these suffixes code first and second person versus third person subject. The forms of these suffixes used in the third person are presented below since they are the only overt markers of agreement with a subject in the third person. (The corresponding first and second person suffixes are given in 2.5.4.)

TABLE 1: SUBJECT MARKERS

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
First	v-			v- -t		
Second	∅			-t		
Third	<u>Present</u>	<u>Modal</u>	<u>Past</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Modal</u>	<u>Past</u>
	-n / -s	-s	-u	-nan / -an	-n	-es

The first person *v* suffers regressive assimilation in all dialects, becoming *b* before voiced consonants, *p* before voiceless, and *p'* before glottalized ones (CHIKOBAVA 1936.87-89). If the consonant itself is a bilabial, the marker is often zero. The *v* is almost always realized as *m* before nasals; if the root nasal is followed by a consonant, the root nasal is deleted. Before vowels, in Vitsë-Arkabe and in some subdialects of Atina *b-* replaces *v-*. The *v* is frequently deleted intervocally in Khopa. Examples:

(41)	v- <i>id-i</i>	'I left'	Vitse-Arkabe	b- <i>id-i</i>
	b- <i>ʒir-i</i>	'I saw it'		
	p- <i>tkv-i</i>	'I said it'		
	p'- <i>č'k'om-i</i>	'I ate it'		
	m- <i>cor-um</i>	'I'm sifting'	(Root <i>ncor</i>)	
	berg- <i>um</i>	'I'm plowing'	(Root <i>berg</i>)	
Kh	do= <i>i-k-ip</i>	'I will do it'	(< -- do= <i>v-i-k-ip</i>)	

In the third person present, the choice of subject marker is conditioned by the previous segment: *n* and *nan* are found after vowels, *s* and *an* after consonants. (In verb forms where *s* is found after a vowel, an underlying consonant has been deleted, e.g., *uc'umer-s* --> *uc'ume-s* 'he says it to him'.)

(42) Paradigms for Subject Markers

Present	1	SG	b- <i>gibup</i>	'I boil it'	PL	b- <i>gibup-t</i>
	2		<i>gibup</i>			<i>gibup-t</i>
	3		<i>gibup-s</i>			<i>gibup-an</i>
Past	1	SG	v- <i>idi</i>	'I left'	PL	v- <i>idi-t</i>
	2		<i>idi</i>			<i>idi-t</i>
	3		<i>id-u</i>			<i>id-es</i>
Modal	1	SG	p'- <i>č'k'oma</i>	'that I eat it'	PL	p'- <i>č'k'oma-t</i>
	2		<i>č'k'oma</i>			<i>č'k'oma-t</i>
	3		<i>č'k'oma-s</i>			<i>č'k'oma-n</i>

Object Markers. Agreement with an object in the first or second person is marked by a personal prefix in Position 3 and, if plural, by a number suffix in Position 12. Agreement with a third person object is not marked in the Laz verb.

TABLE 2: OBJECT MARKERS

	PERSON			PLURAL	
First	m-		-t OR	Non-past	Past
Second	g-			-an	-es

Second person *g* usually undergoes regressive assimilation, giving *k* before aspirated segments and *k'* before glottalized ones.

In the plural, *an* and *es* are used when a plural first or second person object co-occurs with a third person singular subject (*es* with past tense verbs, *an* with non-pasts). In other combinations of subject and object, *t* is used.

(Although there is no agreement with a third person object, when the markers of Table 2 are used in conjugation by inversion to mark the notional subject, to be discussed below, agreement with a third person plural is marked by these same suffixes, *es* with past tense verbs, *an* with non-pasts.)

Marking Conflicts. Person and number markers appear in Positions 3, 11, and 12 in the verbal complex, and at each position only one marker is possible, leading to occasional competition for a slot. For instance, a first person plural subject (*v* in Position 3 and *t* in 12) acting on a second person plural object (*g* in 3 and *t* in 12) gives rise to conflicts in both positions. In addition, the marker of plurality of first or second person *t* does not co-occur with the third person singular subject marker *s* or with any of the third person plural subject markers.

The following rules describe resolution of these conflicts.

A. The plurality of only one argument may be overtly expressed in the verb form and a marker of a plural subject will be expressed at the expense of a marker of a plural object.

B. The third singular subject marker *s* is omitted in the presence of the plural object marker *an*.

C. The singular subject marker *u* is omitted before the plural object marker *an*. (The subject marker *n* is not affected by object markers.)

D. The first person subject marker *v* is omitted before the second person object marker *g*.

(4) Paradigms for Subject and Object Markers. (The alternation of preroot vowel *i* with *u* reflects the category of Version (2.5.6).)

Subject		Object		
3	SG +	1 SG	m-ibiyap-s	'he shaves me'
		1 PL	m-ibiyap-an	us
		2 SG	g-ibiyap-s	you
		2 PL	g-ibiyap-an	you all
		3 SG&PL	ubyap-s	him/them
1	SG +	2 SG	g-ibiyap	'I shave you'
		2 PL	g-ibiyap-t	you all
		3 SG&PL	v-ubyap	him/them

3 PL	+	1 SG&PL	m-ibɣap-an	'they shave me/us'	
			2 SG&PL	g-ibɣap-an	you
			3 SG&PL	ubɣap-an	him/them
2 PL	+	1 SG&PL	m-ibɣap-t	'you all shave me/us'	
			3 SG&PL	ubɣap-t	him/them

Direct Conjugation and Inversion. In direct conjugation, the subject markers of Table 1 indicate agreement with the notional subject, while the object markers of Table 2 agree with the notional object. In conjugation by inversion, on the other hand, agreement with the notional subject is indicated with the object markers. The markers of plurality in the first and second person are extended to indicate plurality in the third person as well (*es* with past tenses and *an* with non-pasts).

In conjugation by inversion, agreement with a notional direct object is indicated by the subject markers, except that plurality of a third person object is not indicated. If the verb lacks a direct object, an "empty" subject marker, the third singular marker appropriate for the tense or mood, will be used.

(44)	Notional	Notional		
	<u>Object</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Present Tense</u>	
	3 SG/PL	1 SG	m-i-yu-n	'I have it/them'
		1 PL	m-i-yu-n-an	we
		2 SG	g-i-yu-n	you
		2 PL	g-i-yu-n-an	you all
		3 SG	u-yu-n	he
		3 PL	u-yu-n-an	they
	<u>Object</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Imperfect Tense</u>	
	3 SG/PL	1 SG	m-i-yu-t'-u	'I had it/them'
		1 PL	m-i-yu-t'-es	we

Conjugation by inversion occurs in old Series III (a set of tenses with evidential meaning (2.5.4)) and with all tense-mood paradigms of inverted potential verbs and Class 4 verbs (3.2.1).

Inverted potential verbs are a special derivation found in Laz. In addition to being conjugated by inversion, inverted potentials are characterized by relative intransitive morphology (2.5.2). They express ability or unintentional action.

(45) Inverted Potential Verbs

va m-a-q'vil-u	'I couldn't kill him'
do = m-a-q'vil-u	'I killed him by accident'
mutu var m-a-č'k'om-e-n-ya	'I can't eat anything, he said' (Chik II.49.8)
va m-a-č'er-e-r-an	'we cannot believe him' (Chik II.88.8)

Class 4 verbs (Indirect Verbs) are a small class of verbs conjugated by inversion. Semantically they are states (a few changes of state) denoting emotion, cognition, or possession, though by no means all verbs with these meanings will be in this class.

(46) Class 4 Verbs (Indirect Verbs)

mo = m---c'andu-n	'I like it'
m-i-no-n	'I want it'
m---č'kiron-s	'I am hungry'
m-a-č'kurin-u	'I was frightened'
m-i-č'ki-n	'I know it'
m-i-yu-n	'I have it' (inanimate)
m-i-q'onu-n	'I have it' (animate)

2.5.4 Tense and Mood. Paradigms for tense and mood in Laz belong formally to three groups, known as Series I, II, and III. The major formal difference between Series I and II is the presence of a special suffix in Series I, a Series Marker (SM). Semantically, most Series I forms are imperfective, while Series II forms are perfective. Some verbs, including the verbs of Class 4, lack Series II forms.

The paradigms of Series III express evidential meaning. Formally, there are two sets of forms, an older set which is characterized by inversion and a newer set which is non-inverted. Some intransitive verbs, including Class 4 verbs, lack the older, inverted Series III forms.

Personal Suffixes. All finite verb forms must have a personal suffix in position 11. These suffixes vary with tense and mood and show agreement with the notional subject (in direct conjugation) or object (in inversion).

There are three sets of personal suffixes: The Present set is used in the Present Tense, the Past set is used in the various past tenses, and the Modal set is used in the Future and various conjunctives. All three sets are also used in

formation of corresponding evidentials. In each set there are three suffixes (sometimes we must speak of a zero suffix). One suffix is used with first and second person, a second suffix with the third person singular, and a third with third person plural. The personal suffixes are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3: PERSONAL SUFFIXES

Present Set	1 & 2		Ø (-r)		
	3	SG	-n/-s	-nan/-an	PL
Past Set	1 & 2		-i		
	3	SG	-u	-es	PL
Modal Set	1 & 2		Ø		
	3	SG	-s	-n	PL

The distribution of *r* as a personal suffix is limited: It occurs only with vowel-stemmed verbs and only in the Present tense itself (not in the other paradigms which call for the Present Set of personal suffixes (see below)). (The conditioning factors for the third person suffixes in the Present Set are given after Table 1.)

Series I. The stem of the four paradigms of Series I consists of the verb root plus one of the Series Marker listed in (47). (The markers with the vowels *u* and *a* are the most frequent.)

- (47)(a) Vitse-Arkabe & Atina -um -am -om -im
 Khopa -up -ap -op -ip
 (b) Intransitives -e -u
 (c) Sporadic -umer (/umel) Ø
 -on -an -in -oem
 -em (/ep in Khopa)

The Present tense is formed by adding the Present Set of suffixes to the Series I stem. The remaining paradigms of Series I are based on the Imperfect stem, formed with *r*. (This *r* frequently conditions regressive assimilation, affecting the *p* of the Khopa Series Marker.) The Imperfect consists of the Imperfect stem plus the Past Set of suffixes. The Conjective I is formed by addition of *a* plus the Modal suffixes. The final paradigm of Series I is an evidential.

There is a major dialect split in terms of formation of evidentials in Laz. In Khopa, evidentials are formed with *ere* in Position 10, followed by personal suffixes. In some varieties of Khopa, including the subdialect of Sarpi, if the

gem-final consonant is *r*, the formant *elere* is used (č'ar-elere 'you apparently wrote it'). The suffix *elere* is also used if the verb ends in a vowel, a situation speakers seem to analyze as arising through loss of intervocalic *r* (KARTOZIA 1976).

In Vitse-Arkabe and Atina, evidentials are formed with *doren* (or variants) in Position 14, which is added to a fully conjugated past tense form. (Structurally these evidentials are periphrastic and not organic; they are presented here along with the other tense-mood paradigms for ease of exposition and comparison.)

The tenses and moods of Series I are summarized in (48). ('SM' stands for 'Series Marker'.) Elements appearing before the root don't change with tense formation and are not indicated here.

(48) Paradigms of Series I

Present	ROOT + SM +	Present Set
Imperfect	ROOT + SM + t' +	Past Set
Conjunctive I	ROOT + SM + t' + a +	Modal Set
Imperfect evidential		
a. Khopa	ROOT + SM + t' + ere +	Present Set
b. Vitse-		
Arkabe-Atina	ROOT + SM + t' +	Past + <i>doren</i> Set (unchanging)

Khopa

Present	b-gor-up-t	'we are looking for it'
Imperfect	b-gor-up-t'-i-t	'we were looking for it'
Conjunctive I	b-gor-up-t'-a-t	'that we look for it'
Imperfect Evidential		
	b-gor-up-t'-ere-t	'we were ...ing apparently'
	gor-up-t'-ere-nan	'they were ...'

Arkabe

Present	zum-um-s	'she measures it'
Imperfect	zum-um-t'-u	'she was measuring it'
Conjunctive I	zum-um-t'-a-s	'that she measure it'
Imperfect Evidential		
	zum-um-t'-u-doren	'she was ...ing apparently'
	zum-um-t'-i-t-doren	'you all were ...'

Series II. The stem of Series II consists of just the verb root. The Aorist is formed by adding the Past Set of personal suffixes to the stem. The Conjunctive II is formed by adding *a* to the Aorist stem, followed by the Modal suffixes.

The Future is formed from the Conjunctive II and involves another major dialect split (KARTOZIA 1961, NOTADZE 1961). In Vitse-Arkabe and Atina, the Future is formed by adding the auxiliary *eren* (*ren* after vowels) to a fully conjugated Conjunctive II form. (Numerous phonetic variants of this formant occur, because of N-Deletion, R-Deletion, and other phonological processes.) (In Arkabe when the verb is third person plural *aren* is used č'ur-an-aren 'they will write it'.)

In Khopa, on the other hand, the Future is formed by adding a fully inflected form of the auxiliary *unon* to a Conjunctive II form inflected for person but not for number. The auxiliary *unon* is conjugated by inversion. (Singular: *minon, ginon, unon*; Plural: *minon-an, ginon-an, unon-an*.) Occasionally third person forms with *i* (*inon, inonan*) are encountered.

In addition, Series II contains two conditional forms. Conditional III is formed from the Conjunctive II by addition of *r'* and the Past suffixes. The Conditional III is rare in Khopa (which also has Conditional IV), more frequent in the other dialects (C'HIKOBAVA 1936.149). The Conditional III is formed differently in Atina, where an unchanging *er'u* (*r'u* following a vowel) is added to a Conjunctive II form inflected for person and number. (Conditionals I and II are periphrastic and are discussed in a section on conditionals below.)

Conditional IV occurs only in Khopa and is formed from the Future using the Imperfect of *unon*.

The tenses and moods of Series II are summarized in (49).

Series III. The third series of tense-mood paradigms in Laz contains two sets of evidential forms—an older set, inherited from Common Kartvelian and characterized by inversion and a newer one, which is not conjugated by inversion (KARTOZIA 1976). They govern different valence patterns (3.2). The new Series III evidentials are extremely common in all three dialects, especially in fairy tales and narratives which take place in the past. They are replacing the older forms, which are used considerably less frequently. One of the older forms, the Conjunctive III, is extremely rare; its function is being taken over by another form, the Inverted Evidential II.

(49) Paradigms of Series II

Aorist	ROOT +	Past Set
Conjunctive II	ROOT + a +	Modal Set
Future		
a. <u>Khopa</u>	ROOT + a +	Modal + unon SG (conjugated)
Conditional IV	ROOT + a +	Modal + unt'u SG (conjugated)
b. <u>Vic'e-</u>		
<u>Arkabe-Atina</u>	ROOT + a +	Modal + (e)re
Conditional III	ROOT + a +	t' + Past Set
<u>Khopa</u>		
Aorist	b-zim-i-t	'we measured it'
Conjunctive II	b-zim-a-t	'we should measure it'
Future	b-zim-a-minon	'I will measure it'
	b-zim-a-minon-an	'we will ...'
	zim-a-s-unon-an	'they ...'
Conditional IV	b-zim-a-mint'u	'if I measured it'
	b-zim-a-mint'es	'we ...'
	zim-a-s-unt'es	'they ...'
Conditional II	b-zim-a-t'-i-t	'if we measured it'
<u>Arkabe</u>		
Aorist	zum-u	'he measured it'
Conjunctive II	zum-a-s	'he should measure it'
Future	b-zum-a-re	'I will measure it'
	b-zum-a-t-cre	'we ...'
	zum-u-s-cre	'he ...'
Conditional III	zum-a-t'-u	'if he measured it'
	zum-a-t'-es	'they ...'
<u>Atina</u>		
Conditional III	zuma--rt'u	'if you measured it'
	zumat-ert'u	'if you all ...'
	zumas-ert'u	'if he ...'
	zuman-crt'u	'if they ...'

(KARTOZJA 1961:417)

The evidentials in the new Series III are formed on the same principle as the Imperfect Evidential of Series I, with the same dialect differences. They are formally related to Series II forms, however. The existence of a rare form like the Conditional Evidential in Khopa, an evidential formed from the Conditional IV, illustrates the Khopa tendency to form evidentials with *ere* from virtually any verb which is formally a past (CHIKOBAYA 1936:150, 152). (As noted above, in some varieties of Khopa the formant *elere* is used with some verbs.)

(50) Paradigms of New Series III (Non-inverted Evidentials)

a. Khopa

Evidential I	ROOT + ere	+ Present Set
Evidential II	ROOT + ere-t'	+ Past Set
Conjunctive IV	ROOT + ere-t'-a	+ Modal Set
Conditional Evidential		
	Conditional IV + ere	+ Present Set

b. Vitse-Arkabe & Atina

Evidential I	Fully conjugated Aorist	+ doren
Evidential II	Fully conjugated Aorist	+ dort'un
Conjunctive IV	Fully conjugated Aorist	+ dort'as

Khopa

Evidential I	b-zim-ere-t zim-ere-nan	'we apparently measured it' 'they ...'
Evidential II	b-zim-ere-t'-i-t zim-ere-t'-es	'we apparently measured it' 'they ...'
Conjunctive IV	b-zim-ere-t'-a-t zim-ere-t'-a-n	'we should have measured it' 'they ...'
Conditional Evidential		
	b-zim-a-mint'-ere zim-a-gint'-ere zim-a--unt'-ere	'if I measured it' you he

Arkabe

Evidential I	b-zum-i-t-doren zum-es-doren	'we apparently measured it' 'they'
Evidential II	zum-es-dort'un	'they apparently ...'
Conjunctive IV	zum-es-dort'as	'they should have ...'

The old Series III contains three paradigms formed from a stem consisting of the verb root plus *u*. A Series Marker occurs between them in some examples, but not in others; it is not necessarily the same Series Marker found in Series I. It is not clear whether this use of the Series Marker varies according to dialect or other factors.

The root is preceded by a preroot vowel (*i* in the first and second persons, *u* in the third person) and the object markers of Table 2, which show agreement with the notional subject. The inverted evidentials have been discussed very little in the literature and details of their formation and use are not known.

(51) Paradigms of Old Series III (Inverted Evidentials)

Inverted Evidential I	ROOT + (SM) + u +	Present
Inverted Evidential II	ROOT + (SM) + u +	t' + Past
Conjunctive III	ROOT + (SM) + u +	t' + a + Modal
Inverted Evidential I	mi-ʒir-(am)-u-n	'I saw it apparently'
	mi-ʒir-(am)-u-n-an	we
	gi-ʒir-(am)-u-n	you
	u-ʒir-(am)-u-n	he
Inverted evidential II	mi-ʒir-(am)-u-t'-u	'I had seen it'
	u-ʒir-(am)-u-t'-u	he
Conjunctive III	mi-ʒir-(am)-u-t'-a-s	'I should have seen it'

Functions of Laz Tenses and Moods. Very little research has been done on the functions of the Laz tenses and moods, but speaking very generally, we can make the following observations.

The Present Tense expresses actions and states taking place at the time of the speech act; it is also used for eternal truths. Sometimes when a preverb or the affirmative particle is added to the Present, a verb with future time reference results.

The Imperfect expresses incompleted action in the past ("was singing"), repeated past imperfective actions ("would go to school every day"), and states in the past. In contrast, the Aorist expresses past completed or perfective actions ("drank the milk" or "died"). (If the Aorist is without a preverb, it may also be used to express past incomplete action.)

The Future is used for future actions and states. Sometimes its meaning is more modal than future, and is translated with English 'should' or 'want to'.

(53) Conditional Verb Forms

Conditional I:	Fully conjugated Imperfect + k'on
	ʒir-um-t'-u-k'on 'if he saw it'
Conditional II:	Fully conjugated Aorist + k'on
	ʒir-u-k'on 'if he saw it'
Conditional V:	Fully conjugated Inverted Evidential II + k'on
	u-č'arap-u-t'u-k'on 'if he had written it'
Conditional III:	Conjunctive II + t' + Past Set (Diachronically, a past form of the -ere Future)
	ʒir-a-t'-u 'if he saw it'
Conditional IIIa:	Conditional III + k'on
	ʒir-a-t'-u-k'on
Conditional IV: (only Khopa)	Conjunctive II + Fully conjugated Imperfect of Auxiliary unon (A past form of the unon Future)
	ʒir-a-unt'u 'if he saw'

There are, not surprisingly, dialect differences. The Conditional II is found in Vise and Atina, but is lacking in Arkabe and Khopa. Conditional III is found in all dialects, but is rare in Khopa, which has Conditional IV.

Imperatives. In Laz a positive imperative is expressed with a second person Aorist form: *doč'ari* 'write it!'. Negative imperatives are expressed with the particle *mo* plus a verb in the Present, Future, or Conjunctive I or II; the particle is always immediately before the verb: *mo ikip!* 'don't do it!', *mo č'arunt'as!* 'he shouldn't write it'.

2.5.5 Preverbs. The 42 preverbs of Laz are listed in Table 4.

In Khopa we find the preverb *ye* instead of *e*. The preverb *ak'na* is used in the first and second persons, with the variant *ak'un* in the third.

A preverb can contribute in three distinct ways to the meaning of the verb form (CHIKOBAVA 1936:117-129, ASATIANI 1953). First of all, preverbs have special meanings when they are used in combination with verbs of motion or position. In such cases, the meaning of the combinations is transparent. Special meanings for the most common preverbs are given in (54).

TABLE 4: LAZ PREVERBS

e =	me =	mo =	ge =	go =	do =	ga =	o =
ek'a =	mek'a =	mok'a =	gek'a =				
ec'a =	mec'a =	moc'a =	gec'a =	goc'a =			
eša =	meša =	moša =	geša =	goša =			
ela =	mela =	mola =	gela =	gola =			
eža =	meža =	moža =	geža =	goža =			
	meda =				dela =		
	/menda =					gama =	oro =
							ok'o =
							ok'na =
ama =	še =	deža =					

(54) Spacial Meanings for Some Laz Preverbs

e =	up
ge =	down
me =	away (from speaker)
mo =	toward (speaker)
gama =	out
ama =	in
dolo =	in
ga =	back and forth
Examples:	
e = vulur	'I'm going up'
ge = vulur	'I'm going down'
me = vulur	'I'm going (away)'
mo = vulur	'I'm coming'
dolo = xtu	'he went down inside'

Secondly, in combination with verbs from other semantic classes, preverbs can alter the lexical meaning of the root in unpredictable ways. It is not possible to predict which preverbs will occur with which verbs and such combinations must be treated as arbitrary (i.e. unmotivated) and listed in the lexicon. Sometimes such lexically specified preverbs give an aspectually perfective form.

- (55) (a) Root *b*
 ge = b-un 'it is hanging'
 ok'o = b-unan 'they fight with one another'
- (b) Root *č*
 me = č-aps 'he gives (it)'
 gama = č-aps 'he sells (it)'
- (c) Root *k'itc*
 a-k'itx-u 'he asked him'
 ge = o-k'itx-u 'he cursed him' —> [gʷok'itxu]

Thirdly, the addition of a preverb sometimes turns an imperfective verb into a perfective, while the lexical meaning remains unchanged. (The preverb *do* is especially frequent in this function.) Often a Present Tense form plus such a purely aspectual preverb gives a form with future time reference.

- (56) (a) v-i-xven-up 'I'm doing this for myself'
 do = v-i-xven-i 'I did this for myself'
- (b) i-bad-en 'he is being born'
 do = i-bad-en 'he will be born'

Affirmative Particle. The affirmative particle *ko*, which appears in initial position, is restricted to positive sentences (**və ko = maxu* 'he didn't come'). It is usually added to a verb with a preverb, though it is occasionally added to one without a preverb. Forms with *ko* are perfective.

There are three allomorphs of the affirmative particle: *k* (before vowels), *ka* (when the direction is towards the speaker (*ko = meša = xt-u* 'he went in' versus *ka = moša = xt-u* 'he came in')), and *ko*, elsewhere.

2.5.6 Preroot Vowels and Version. Version is a grammatical category specific to Kartvelian. Two types have been identified in Laz: (1) Subjective version, which indicates that a relationship exists between the direct object and the subject and (2) objective version, which indicates a relationship between the direct object and the indirect object. Sometimes this relationship is one of possession (CHIKOBAVA 1936.107–108); the direct object is a possession of the subject in subjective version and a possession of the indirect object in objective version. In other cases the subject (resp. indirect object) is the benefactor of the action or is in some way affected by it. Subjective version is frequently used in the absence of an explicit direct object, to express a reflexive, a subject acting on herself.

Subjective version is marked by the preroot vowel *i* in all persons, objective version by *i* in the first and second persons and *u* in the third person; the version vowels co-occur with the object markers of Table 2.

(57) (a)	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Subjective Version</u>
	do = p'-č'k'iri	do = v-i-č'k'iri
	'I cut it'	'I cut it for myself' or 'I cut something of mine' (e.g. my finger)
	<u>Objective Version</u>	<u>Objective Version</u>
	do = g-i-č'k'iri	do = v-u-č'k'iri
	'I cut it for you'	'I cut it for him'
(b)	<u>Subjective Version</u>	<u>Objective Version</u>
	xe do = v-i-boni	xe emus do = v-u-boni
	'I washed my hands'	'I washed his hands'
	<u>Subject Version without Direct Object</u>	
	do = v-i-boni	
	'I washed (myself)'	

The morphology of Objective Version has other functions as well. It is found in the old Series III forms and it occurs with some intransitives to mark the presence of an indirect object.

(58)	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Objective Version (Indirect Object)</u>
(a)	v-i-bir	beres v-u-bir
	'I sing'	'I sing to the child'
(b)	do = v-i-q'uri	emus do = v-u-q'uri
	'I yelled'	'I yelled at him'

The occurrence of the preroot vowel *i* is not necessarily a reflection of the category of version and may not relate to the presence of an indirect object. Sometimes a particular preroot vowel is simply required by a root and adds no special meaning to the verb form.

As noted in 2.5.2, the preroot vowel *i* is also used in the formation of intransitives. In addition to *i* and *u*, the other preroot vowels are *a*, which forms relative intransitives and *o*, used in the formation of causatives (2.6.1).

2.5.7 Aspect. Laz verb forms may be perfective or imperfective, but the relation between verb form and aspect is not a simple or direct one. A verb form may be perfective because of the verb root (certain roots are always perfective), the tense

series (Series I is imperfective while Series II and III are essentially perfective), on the presence of the affirmative particle *ko* or a preverb.

Although the addition of a preverb may give a perfective, this is not always the case; many verb plus preverb combinations are imperfective. Such forms are frequently made perfective by addition of the affirmative particle *ko*. Whether a preverb in combination with a particular verb root will give a perfective form depends on the verb root (and to some extent on the preverb).

2.5.8 Suppletion. Suppletion is very limited in Laz. A few verbs show suppletion for aspect: an imperfective root is used in Series I and a perfective one in Series II (59)(a). A smaller number of pairs show suppletion for the number of the Nominative argument (59)(b) and for an animate versus inanimate Nominative argument (59)(c).

(59) (a)	<u>Series I</u>		<u>Series II</u>
	k-ip	'do'	q'v (Khopa)
	(o)r	'be'	q'v (Khopa)
	zop'on	'say'	tkv
	mzor	'eat'	č'k'om
	ulu	'leave, go'	xI (xI')
	mer	'bring'	γ
(b)	<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>
	zin	'scatter'	by
(c)	<u>Animate</u>		<u>Inanimate</u>
	q'on	'have, carry'	γun
	(n)j'ir	'lay, put'	d(v)

2.5.9 Non-finite Verb Forms. The verbal noun, or *masdar*, is formed with the circumfix *o* ___ *u*, usually in the absence of a Series Marker. Some verbal nouns do have a Series Marker, though not necessarily the same one used in Series I. If the verb has a preverb, the *o* is not used.

(60) <u>Present</u>		<u>Verbal Noun</u>
čališ-ap-s	'he works'	o-čališ-u
č'ar-up-s	'he's writing it'	o-č'ar-u
j'ir-op-s	'he sees it'	o-j'ir-am-u
me = č'am-s	'he gives it'	me = č'am-u

<u>Aorist</u>		<u>Verbal Noun</u>
mex-t-u	'he left'	o-mex-t-im-u
do = berg-u	'he hoed'	do = berg-u
mo = u = č'ar-u	'he wrote to him'	mo = č'ar-u

Verbal nouns are declined like any other noun. On their use, see 3.5.

2.6 Word Formation

There is no rule for forming adverbs from adjectives in Laz; adjectives in the Nominative case function also as adverbs.

2.6.1 Causatives. Laz has a fairly productive means of forming causatives verbs from either one or two person verbs: A preroot vowel *o-* precedes the verb root and usually a Causative stem formant plus a Series Marker follows. (On the syntax of causative formation, see 3.6.)

<u>One-person</u>		<u>Causative</u>	
i-mgar-s	'cry'	o-mgar-inap-s	'cause to cry'
ster-am-s	'play'	o-ster-apap-s	'cause to play'
i-mt'-e-n	'run'	o-mt'-inap-s	'cause to run'
yur-u-n	'die'	o-yur-inap-s	'cause to die'
<u>Two-Person</u>			
i-dušun-s	'think'	o-dušun-apap-s	'cause to think'
i-gur-ap-s	'study'	o-gur-apap-s	'teach'
č'ar-up-s	'write'	o-č'ar-apap-s	'cause to write'

2.6.2 Agentive Nouns. Deverbal nouns which denote the agent or actor, called "active participles," are formed by means of a prefix *m* or *ma* and suffix *u* (occasionally *e*, *ale* or zero) (NADAREISHVILI 1962).

m-exun-u	'advisor'
m-q'orop-u	'lover'
ma-k'vand-e	'beggar'
m-k'id-ale	'builder'

Occasionally the Turkish suffix $\int i$ is used to form agentive nouns (*ma-yaxal-e- $\int i$* 'speaker') (NADAREISHVILI 1962:180).

2.6.3 Past Participles. Past participles are formed with the suffix *er* (*el* in the *cas* of verb roots which end *r* in some subdialects). These can function as adjectives.

gub-er-i	'cooked, boiled'
t'ax-er-i	'broken'
mek'ir-el-i	'bound, tied'
murd-er-i	'raised'

2.6.4 Future Participles. A future participle is formed by means of the prefix *no* or *na* and the suffix *e*. (Occasionally the suffix is zero.) These can function as adjectives.

no-t'ax-e	'to be broken'
na-gor-e	'to be looked for'

2.6.5 Primitives. Primitives are formed with the prefix *u* and suffixes *u* or *el*. If the base is a noun, the final vowel is truncated.

nana	'mother'	u-nan-el-i	'motherless'
bere	'child'	u-ber-el-i	'childless'
nostoni	'taste'	u-noston-e	'tasteless'
gyari	'food'	u-gyar-el-i	'foodless'
gub	'cook'	u-gub-u	'uncooked'

2.6.6 Abstract Nouns. Abstract nouns may be formed with the suffix *lu'yi* (from Turkish) or *oba*. For some nominals, abstract derivatives with both suffixes co-exist.

genʃi	'child'	genʃ-lu'yi / genʃ-oba	'childhood'
askeri	'army'	asker-lu'yi	'army matters'
avʃi	'hunt'	avʃi-lu'yi	'hunting'
badi	'old'	bad-oba	'old age'
p'at'i	'bad'	p'at'-oba	'badness'

2.7 Particles

Laz has two negatives particles, *vu* 'not' and *mo* 'don't'. Both occur preverbally and form a prosodic unit with the verb such that phonological processes like Identical Consonant Deletion (1.4.2) and Diphthongization (1.4.1) may apply (*vu me = m-i-ʃol-u -- > [vaymiʃolu]* 'he didn't help me').

There are other particles which are attached prosodically to the preceding word. These include the conditional particle *k'on* (2.5.4), the question particle *i*, reported speech particles (such as *yuʃ* (see 3.4.2), and *ti*, 'too, also'.

2.8 Numerals

The Laz number system is vigesimal. The basic cardinal numbers are listed below, with dialect differences noted where relevant. Laz has no special forms for counting in the abstract.

	<u>Dialect Variants</u>		
1	ar		
2	ʒur	Atina	ʒur
3	sum		
4	otxo		
5	xut		
6	ans	Vi-Ar-At	asi
7	ʒkvit	Vi-Ar-At	ʒkit
8	ovro		
9	cxoro / cxovro		
10	vit		
11	vit'oar	(vit'var in MARR 1910)	
12	vit'oʒur	Atina	vit'oʒur
13	vit'osum		
14	vit'ootxo	(also: vit'otxo)	
15	vit'oxut		
16	vit'oans	(vit'voši in MARR 1910)	
17	vit'oʒkvit	Vi-Ar-At	vit'oʒkit
18	vit'(o)ovro		
19	vit'o(n)cxoro / vit'o(n)cxovro		
20	eč		
30	ečdovit		
31	ečdovit'oar		
40	ʒurneči	Atina	ʒureči
50	ʒurnečdovit	Atina	ʒurečdovit
60	sumeneči		
70	sumenečdovit		
80	otxeneči		

90	otxenečdovit		
100	oš		
200	žur oš	Atina	žur oš
300	sum oš		
1000	šilya (Kartvelian <i>višči</i> is used, but more rarely)		
10,000	vit šilya		

The cardinal numbers as given above may be used prenominally (see 3.1). When they are used alone, as substantives, the cardinals which do not end in a vowel receive a stem-final *i*, to which the case endings are added (žur-*i* 'two of them', sum-*i-s* 'three of them-DAT', škvit-*i-k* 'seven of them-NAR').

Ordinals are formed with the circumfixes *ma-* ___ -*a* or *ma-* ___ -*ani*:

'first'	ma-art-ani
'second'	ma-žur-a / ma-žur-ani
'third'	ma-sum-a / ma-sum-ani
'fourth'	ma-otx-a / ma-otx-ani
'fifth'	ma-xut-a / ma-xut-ani
'tenth'	ma-vit-a / ma-vit-ani

In some dialects ordinals are also formed from the corresponding cardinal plus *mušči* (e.g. *ar mušči* 'first', *žur mušči* 'second', and so on). These formations are quite limited in use, compared to those given above.

Derivatives from Numerals. Distributives ('one to each', 'two each') are formed via reduplication and expressions 'all x of them' are formed with the suffix *iti*.

ar-ar	'one to each'	žur-iti	'both'
žur-žur	'two to each'	sum-iti	'all three'
sum-sum	'three to each'	xut-iti	'all five'
vit-vit	'ten to each'	vit-iti	'all ten'
oš-oš	'a hundred to each'	oš-iti	'all hundred'

3. SYNTAX

3.1 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase is headed by a noun, a pronoun, or a substantivized adjective, participle, or numeral. Within the noun phrase, the head may be preceded by a determiner, possessive, quantifier, numeral, adjective, or adnominal noun phrase (usually in the Genitive), usually in that order. It is rare to have more than two constituents modifying the same head noun. The head may also be preceded by a restrictive relative clause (3.4.3).

- (61) (a) ham žur arkadaš-epe (DUMÉZIL, 1972:54)
 that two friend-PL-NOM
 'those two friends'
- (b) čkimi maotxa skiri
 my fourth child-NOM
 'my fourth child'
- (c) am k'oč'i-ši mteli didi kitab-epe
 this man-GEN all big book-PL-NOM
 'all the big books of this man'
- (d) ar altuni-ši hemani (Kart I.155.47)
 one gold-GEN bath-NOM
 'one golden bath'
- (e) batumi-ša gza
 Batumi-ALL road-NOM
 'the road to Batumi'

It is rare for anything but a possessive pronoun to follow the head. Though they may be preposed (as in (61)(b)), possessive pronouns are most often postposed. The tendency to postpose possessive pronouns is so strong that occasionally, possessives pronouns may even follow a postposition. (It is rare, but possible for a relative clause to follow its head (3.4.3)).

- (62) (a) da muši-s u-c'umer-s (Kart I.162.111)
 sister his-DAT say-3SG
 'he says to his sister ...'
- (b) ko = goc'i-xun-u bozo oyine-muši (Kart II.173.37)
 sat-3SG girl-NOM before-him
 'he sat the girl in front of himself'

3.2 Basic Clause Structure

3.2.1 Verbs and Their Arguments. The number and cases of the core arguments in a clause are determined by the verb. A verb usually governs only one valence pattern and verbs which govern the same pattern are grouped into classes. There are four verb classes in Laz.¹⁰

(66) Laz Verb Classes and Valence Patterns

	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Direct Object</u>	<u>Indirect Object</u>
Class 1:	Narrative	Nominative	
	Narrative	Nominative	Dative
Class 2:	Nominative		
	Nominative		Dative
Class 3:	Narrative		
	Narrative		Dative
Class 4:	Dative	Nominative	

Examples

Class 1	emu-k 3SG-NAR 'he wrote it'	ia 3SG-NOM	do = č'ar-u write-3SG	
Class 1	k'ulan-epe-s woman-PL-DAT	ar-ar one-one	tane finger	mac'k'ind-epe ring-PL put-3SG (Kart 1.154.41)
	'he put a ring on the finger of each woman'			
Class 2	bere child-NOM	go = ndun-u-n get.lost-3SG		
	'the child will get lost'			
Class 3	bere-k child-NAR	i-mgar-s cry-3SG		
	'the child is crying'			
Class 3	bozo-pe do girl-PL and	bič'-epe-k boy-PL-NAR	xasani-s Xasani-DAT	gy = a-bgar-e cry-3PL
	'the girls and boys cried for Khasan'			
	(ZHGHEHTI 1938.10.5)			
Class 4	emu-s 3SG-DAT	ia 3SG-NOM	u-non want-3SG	
	'he wants it'			

The verbs in Class 1 are transitive; this is a very large class as it contains most of the transitive verbs in the language. Most verbs in Classes 2 and 3 are intransitive. They are fairly large classes, but I have no figures on relative size. There are a few transitive verbs in Class 3, which differ from Class 1 transitives in that the direct object is optional.

- (67) (a) Class 3 bere-k i-ster-s
 child-NAR play-3SG
 'the child is playing'
- (b) bere-k burti i-ster-s
 child-NAR ball-NOM play-3SG
 'the child is playing ball'

As shown in (66), the intransitive verbs of Classes 2 and 3 differ from each other in the case of their subjects. We might note, though, that a few Class 3 verbs occur with subject in either the Nominative or the Narrative (*i-ster-s* 'he plays', *i-bgar-s* 'he cries', *i-njir-s* 'he is lying down', *i-nčvir-s* 'he swims').

Another difference between verbs in Classes 2 and 3 involves Series Markers: Most verbs of Class 2 have an intransitive formant *e* or *u*, which functions like a Series Marker, while most verbs of Class 3 have one of the Series Markers listed in (47)(a) (*umlap*, *amlap*, etc.).

This difference in Series Markers conditions in turn a difference in third person subject markers in the Present, since the distribution of markers depends on the previous segment (2.5.3). A further difference is seen in Series III, for only Class 1 and 3 verbs have inverted forms of the old Series III (2.5.4). A summary of differences between Classes 2 and 3 is given in (68) (following HARRIS 1985:401); examples follow in (69).

(68) Class 2	
Subject Case	Nominative
Present stem	Usually ends in a vowel
Subject Markers	1&2 Present <i>r</i> 3rd SG Present <i>n</i> 3rd PL Present <i>nan</i>
Series III	Lack inverted forms of old Series III

Class 3

Subject Case	Narrative
Present stem	Ends in a consonant
Subject Markers	1&2 Present Ø
	3rd SG Present <i>s</i>
	3rd PL Present <i>an</i>

Series III Have inverted forms of old Series III

(69) (a) Class 2 Verbs (with vowel-final Present Stem)

<i>i-k'id-e-n</i>	'it is/gets built'
<i>i-j'ir-e-r</i>	'you are seen'
<i>i-ċ'ar-e-n</i>	'it is written'
<i>i-ċ'k'ir-e-n</i>	'it is cut'
<i>i-grin-e-n</i>	'it rolls'
<i>i-mi'-e-n</i>	'he flees'
<i>skid-u-r</i>	'you stay, remain'
<i>ɣur-u-r</i>	'you are dying'
<i>m'k'ob-u-r</i>	'you are hiding'

(b) Class 2 Verbs (with consonant-final Present Stem)

<i>bar-s</i>	'it blows (of the wind)'
<i>i-k'anc'un-s</i>	'it shakes'
<i>me = l-am-s</i>	'it falls'
<i>paxal-ap-s</i>	'it flutters'
<i>me = ċan-s</i>	'it hangs'
<i>ʃan-s</i>	'he is sleeping'

(c) Class 3 Verbs

<i>i-bir-s</i>	'he sings'
<i>p'et'el-ap-s</i>	'it (sheep) bleats'
<i>lal-up-s</i>	'it barks'
<i>q'ur-ap-s</i>	'he yells'
<i>bandal-ap-s</i>	'he sways, staggers'
<i>i-ster-s</i>	'he plays'
<i>ċališ-ep-s</i>	'he works'
<i>i-xel-s</i>	'he is happy'

Membership of a particular intransitive verb in Class 2 or Class 3 is not absolutely predictable from its meaning, though there are general tendencies. Considering just translational equivalence in Georgian and English (in the absence of other more reliable evidence internal to Laz), it seems to be the case that most Class 3 verbs are activities semantically (see lists in KIJMOV 1976). Class 2 verbs are more varied, but include statives and passives (derived from transitives), as well as some activities. According to HARRIS 1985:52-55 Class 2 verbs are semantically inactive, while Class 3 verbs are active.

The valence pattern Dative Nominative is governed by a small group of verbs in Class 4, Indirect Verbs (2.5.3). The Dative is identified as the subject on the basis of facts about number agreement, word order, and coordination. Some Class 4 verbs have only one core argument; they govern a Dative subject but no Nominative direct object (though an empty third singular marker is required (2.5.3)) (*m-a-dardaf-e-n* 'I tremble').

This valence pattern is also governed by verbs of other Classes when they occur as inverted potentials (2.5.3) or old Series III forms (inverted evidentials) (2.5.4). As discussed in 2.5, these verbs are conjugated by inversion. We see, then, that a shift in the morphology of verb agreement corresponds to a shift in the case of the core arguments of the verb. (HARRIS 1985:271-325 attributes all three types to the operation a syntactic rule of Inversion, which demotes initial subjects to surface, or final, indirect objects.)

If the verb has an indirect object, normally in the Dative, it appears in the Allative in inverted potential and old Series III forms. These points are illustrated in (70) with old Series III forms.

(70) (a) Class 1

rezo-s	pukir-epe	n = u- ^v cam-u-n	nana- ^v ša
Rezo-DAT	flower-PLNOM	give-IEVID	Nana-ALL
'Rezo (apparently) gave flowers to (his) mother'			

(HARRIS 1985:240)

(b) Class 2

daha p'ot'es	he	kčini-s	va	m = u-xt-im-u-n
more never	that	old.woman-DAT	not	come-IEVID
'that old woman never came again'				

(Kart II.174.11-12)

12.3 Person and Number Agreement. A finite verb shows agreement with the person and number of the subject (with one set of agreement affixes) and the person of the direct or indirect object (with a second set), subject to the constraints discussed in 2.5.3. If both a direct and an indirect object are present, an overt marker of agreement with only one is possible. If one of the two objects is third person, no marking conflict arises, because of the lack of overt agreement with a third person object. But, if both objects are non-third person, there is a conflict, which may be resolved by expressing the direct object with a grammatically third person form using the noun *ti* 'head' (which does not have overt agreement), as in (73).

- (73) baba skani-k man skani ti nosi oġu-šeni mo = m-č-u
 father your-NAR 1 2 head reason teach-for gave-3SG-1
 'your father gave you to me to teach' (Kart 1.165.43)

When the subject is in the third person plural, number agreement is to some degree optional, in that either the third person singular or plural agreement affix may be used (ASATIANI 1974.14, DUMÉZIL 1967.3). This is also the case with conjoined nouns or noun phrases; they usually occur with a plural verb form, but may be used with a singular as well. Though the plural agreement suffixes seem to be preferred, the use of the singular is not considered bad or unacceptable.

- (74) (a) k'uč-epe menda = xt'-u
 man-PL leave-3SG
 'the men left'
- (b) k'alasi-k do mžua-k sin do = g-o-skirin-ap-s-ya
 wind-NAR and sun-NAR you dry-3SG-2-QUOT
 'the wind and the sun will dry you (up)' (Chik 1.75.31)
- (c) mžua do k'alasi ka = gama = xt-es do
 sun and wind come.out-3PL and
 yali mteli do = skirin-es (Chik 1.76.3)
 river all dry-3PL
 'the sun and the wind came out and completely dried up the river'

Semantically plural items, such as collectives and quantifiers, usually occur with a singular verb, but may also occur with a plural one (CIIKOBABA 1936.180).

- (75) telli di-nč'va-ee-nan (DUMÉZIL 1972.6.16)
 all destroy-IEVID-3PL
 'all were (apparently) destroyed'

3.2.4 Adjuncts. Adjuncts (i.e., non-governed clause-level constituents) appear as unchanging adverbs (including "adjectives" in adverb function), postpositional phrases, or noun phrases in any case; a variety of clausal adjuncts is also found. Non-clausal adjuncts may appear in sentence initial position or between any sentence constituents, though most normally they occur somewhere before the verb. (Under some circumstances, e.g., if the verb is in focus and appears earlier in the clause, adjuncts may occur post-verbally). Time adjuncts generally precede place. Clausal adjuncts nearly always precede the main clause (see (3.4.4)).

- (76) (a) iri ndya bitumi c'ana dumani iyer-t'-u
 every day-NOM all year-NOM fog-NOM be-IMPF-3SG
 (DUMÉZIL 1972.6.2)
 'there was fog every day all year'
- (b) ma ac'i dulta va m-a-xon-e-n (ASATTANI 1974.67.1)
 I now thing-NOM not do-1-3SG (inverted potential)
 'I can't do anything now'
- (c) lazitani-s oc'ilu dido zori re-n.
 Lazistan-DAT getting very difficult be-3SG
 married (DUMÉZIL 1937.114.1)
 'in Lazistan it is very difficult to get married'
- (d) xoc'i i-yibe-n morderi č'uk'ani-te
 meat-NOM cook-3SG big pan-INST
 'meat cooks in a big pan' (Chik II.97.35)

3.2.5 Copular Clauses. The verb is obligatory in copular clauses. The subject and the nominal constituent in the predicate (an NP or Adjective Phrase) are both in the Nominative Case. Predicate nouns may optionally agree in number with the subject, while predicate adjectives do not. Unmarked word order in such clauses is subject, predicate nominal, verb; if the predicate nominal stressed or focused, it can be postposed.

- (77) (a) man xezmekyai v-oe (Kart I.169.138)
 I servant-NOM be-1
 'I am a servant'
- (b) ĉkimi bere-pe mteli didi re-nan
 my child-PL-NOM all big be-3PL
 'my children are fully grown up'
- (c) oxori re-n m^yve
 house-NOM be-3SG old
 'the house is old'

1.3 Clause Coordination

It is possible to conjoin two or more finite clauses with the conjunction *do* 'and' (sometimes *edo* or *hoda*). (The form *do* is also used in noun, adjective, and adverb coordination.) If there are more than two clauses, the conjunction may appear between each of them, though it is more common to have it only between the last two. In terms of word order, agreement, and other grammatical phenomena, a conjoined clause is like a single clause.

In most instances, the conjoined clauses share a subject; if the subject is overtly expressed, it appears in the first conjunct, in the case required by the first verb.¹¹ There is no requirement that the verbs in the conjuncts govern the same subject case. In (78)(a), for example the first verb 'sit' governs a Nominative subject and 'drink', a Narrative. Other types of coordination are illustrated in the remaining examples of (78).

- (78)(a) dido k'oč-epe xe-t'-es do ŷum-t'-es
 many man-PL-NOM sit-IMPF-3PL and drink-IMPF-3PL
 'many men were sitting and drinking'

(Kart II.173.30)

- (b) ... muk kama =xt-u oxoi-s edo ho =d=i-n}i-u
 self enter-3SG house-DAT and lay.down-3SG
 '... he went into the house and lay down'

(Kart I.150.14)

(c) hem k'ócí-k-ti id-u do puʃi-š nena-ší gɣay
 that man-NAR-too go-3SG and cow-GEN tongue-GEN food-NOM
 d = u-xen-u do ko = m = u-ɣ-u (Kart II.197.17)
 make-3SG-OV and bring-3SG-OV
 'that man went and made for him a dish of beef tongue and
 brought it to him'

(d) hekol-hakol go = i-c'k'ed-u do xoʃi va re-n
 there-here look-3SG and or not be-3SG
 'he looked all over and there was no ox'

(Kart II.164.33)

There is an additional kind of coordination in Laz, in which the logically and temporally "first" conjunct plus *do* 'and' (S-1 below) occurs after the second conjunct (S-2).

(79) (ngeni) nʃa-s ko = yonč'-u-ki = S-2
 calf-NOM tree-DAT hang-3SG-COMP
 but'k'a č'k'om-a-s-en-ya do = S-1
 leaf-NOM eat-(HCONJ-3SG)-FUTR-QUOT and
 'it will eat leaves (he thinks) and so he hung the calf in the tree'

(Kart II.178.25)

We might note that it is very common to simply string clauses together, with no marker of coordination.

(80) sufra do = xazi-u, ko = do = dg-u, čxomi ko = ge = dg-u sufra-s
 table spread-SG set-3SG fish set-3SG table-DAT
 'he spread the table(?cloth), set it, put fish down on the table'

(Chik I.17.19)

Other coordinating conjunctions include *ya-ya/yada* 'either — or' and *ne* — *ne* 'neither — nor', which appear at the beginning of each conjoined clause, and *amaθama* 'but' and *ok'ule* 'and then', which appear in the first position in the second clause.

(81) ya q'ona-ša i-d-i, ya-da oxoi-s meda = c'k'ed-i
 or field-ALL go-2 or house-DAT look.after-2
 'either go to the field or look after the house'

(Chik I.36.31)

14 Subordination

In this section are treated three types of finite subordinate clauses: Sentential subjects and objects (3.4.1), relative clauses (3.4.3), and adverbial clauses (3.4.4) (HARRIS 1988, CHIKOBAVA 1936.184-6). Reported speech is discussed in 3.4.2. Reduced clauses are treated in 3.5.

14.1 Clauses as Subject or Direct Object. It is very common to have a finite clause as direct object, especially with verbs of saying. Though non-clausal direct objects normally precede the verb, clausal objects most often follow the verb and are marked by the complementizer *ki* (^v*ci* in Atina), which is in final position in the host clause. (This generally, but not necessarily, means that *ki* will follow the main verb.) The particle *ki* is part of the intonation unit of the main clause and is followed by a pause. The internal structure of the object clause (word order, agreement, verb morphology, etc.) is the same as that of a main clause (but see below regarding reported speech).

(82)(a) badi-k uc'-u-ki: do = m-a-c'k'ind-u
old.man-NAR say-3SG-COMP tired-1-3SG (Kart II.173.36)
'the old man said, I have become tired'

(b) uc'-u ^vci'ut'i-ε ngeni ko = gyok'oy-i, m}v-a-s!
say-3SG little-DAT calf tie-3SG graze-3SG-ICONJ
'he said to the little one: tie up the calf so he can graze'
(Kart II.178.23)

(c) mgei-k: amu-s opau lii^v va u-non-ya
for-NAR 3SG-DAT division not want-3SG-QUOT
'the fox (said) he doesn't want to share'

(Kart I.149.8)

The complementizer may be omitted (as in (82)(b)) and in such a case, the verb itself may be omitted (HARRIS 1988), at least when it involves a verb of saying ((82)(c)).

With other verbs clausal direct objects may be marked by a different complementizer, *na*. In this case, the complementizer *na* occurs within the object clause itself, in a position before the verb. Unlike direct objects introduced by *ki*, clauses with *na* precede the verb.

- (83) (a) si-a, ma-na gi-c'um-e, va ognam-i-a? (Chik II.37.15)
 2-QUOT I-COMP speak-1-2 not understand-2-QUES-QUOT
 'don't you understand that I am speaking to you?'
 (b) ama mteli sefilu na t'-u, ko = mi-čkin
 but completely silly COMP be-3SG know-1
 'but I do know that he was completely silly' (Kart II.178.22)

A subordinate clause can also have the form of an indirect question.

- (84) (a) ma m-i-čkin, tkva hašo ti-mečamei mot ye-t.
 I know-1 2.PL so sad why be-2-PL
 'I know why you are so sad' (Kart II.173.9)

Finite clauses may also function as subject, the subordinate status of the clause being marked by the complementizer *na*, which appears in the subject clause prosodically attached to the pre-verbal constituent.

- (85) [iya-na i-gzal-u] kimi-šeni k'ai ye-n
 3SG-COMP go-3SG me-for good be-3SG
 'that he left is good for me'

3.4.2 Reported Speech. Direct object clauses in published Laz narratives are most often reports of the speech of another person. Reported speech in Laz is generally just like direct speech (in terms of choice of shifters and tense use), except for the addition of a final particle. The particle *ju* (a after *i*), occasionally *deri*, is used to render the speech of a third person, *šo* of a second person, and *ma* of a first person (CHIKOBAVA 1936.186).

- (86) (a) tilki-k — nek'na va go = m-anc'k'en-ya! (Chik II.12.5)
 fox-NAR door not open-1-QUOT
 'the fox (said), I can't open the door.'
 (b) Jendyani komoftar-ma do mendegionaten-ma
 day-after- come-1-QUOT and take-1-2-QUOT
 tomorrow (KARTOZIA 1970.22)
 'I will come day after tomorrow and take you, I said'

The particle may be omitted, as in (82)(b).

3.4.3 Relative Clauses. The most productive relative clause construction in Laz consists of a preposed clause with no overt representation of the relativized noun phrase (a pronominal gapping strategy). The complementizer *na* appears pre-

verbally within the relative clause itself and the relativized nominal may fill one of these functions (at least): subject, direct object, instrumental adverbial or locative adverbial (in the Dative) (see HARRIS 1988).

- (87) (a) *padišayi-k d=u-ǰox-u [gyay na u-xenamt'-u] k'oči-s*
 ruler-NAR call-3SG food COMP make-3SG man-DAT
 'the ruler called the man [who made the food for him]'
 (Kart II.197.16)
- (b) *[hac'i na ogn-a-e] šei mcika meseli-s ko=nugam-s*
 now COMP hear-2-FUTR thing little fairy resemble-3SG
 tale-DAT
 'the thing [you will hear now] resembles a little bit
 a fairy tale'
 (Kart II.173.1)
- (c) *va m-a-ǰi-u [na p'-azum-t'-i] yei-s*
 not see-1 COMP chop-1-IMPF place-DAT
 'I can't find it in the place [(where) I was chopping]'
 (Kart II.198.10)

Occasionally, relative clauses with a relative pronoun instead of a gap are found. These clauses follow the head noun and are, I presume, a calque on similar relative clauses in Georgian. The relative pronoun takes several forms: It may consist of the complementizer *na* plus the intensive pronoun or be related to a corresponding interrogative pronoun.

- (88) (a) *ko=goyšin-es he k'čini, [na-muk uškuri me=č-u]*
 remember-3PL that old.woman who-REL apple-NOM gave-3SG
 'they remembered that old woman who gave them the apple'
 (Kart II.173.18)
- (b) *vorsi šei [muya or-t'-u-k'o] ǰiram-s do imxor-s*
 good thing what be-IMPF-3SG-COND see-3SG and eat-3SG
 'he sees and eats good things which might be (available)'
 (QIPSHIDZE 1939.75.33)
- (c) *k'alemi [na-mutxani-ten-ti ma p-č'ar-up] uča re-n*
 pen-NOM which-REL-INSTR I write-1 black be-3SG
 'the pen I'm writing with is black'

HARRIS 1988 has discussed a cleft construction, developed from the relative clause construction, which she dubs a 'top-heavy cleft', because the copula

and the focused noun phrase are not in the main clause as they are in English clefts, but in the subordinate clause. The function of such constructions is to indicate a shift in topic or to introduce a new episode. Examples from HARRIS 1987 are given in (89).

- (89) (a) bee muši na t'-u, a-xel-e-n (ASATIANI 1974.45.27)
 child 3SG-GEN COMP be-3SG happy-3SG
 'as for his child, he became happy'
- (b) arceyi k'ulani na ye-n, ka = gamiq'on-u amu-k
 one girl COMP be-3SG bring-3SG 3SG-NAR
 'as for the girl, he brought her out'
- (ASATIANI 1974.16.37)

Headless Relative Clauses. Headless (or free) relative clauses occur frequently in Laz; they may appear in any noun phrase function (subject, direct object, possessive modifying a noun, indirect object, etc.) and usually have the same form as prenominal, gapped headed relatives minus the head, except that the case ending which the head would bear is attached to the final constituent of the relative clause, usually the finite verb (KARTOZIA 1968b).

Occasionally, instead of a gap, headless relatives have an indefinite or interrogative pronoun, with or without the preverbal complementizer *na*.

In (90) (a) and (b), the clause itself functions as subject of an intransitive and in (90c) as direct object; both functions are in the Nominative, which takes no special ending. In (90)(d) and (e) the clause is subject of a transitive (requiring the Narrative) and indirect object (requiring the Dative), respectively. In (90f), it is the object of postposition *yeis* 'instead of' which governs the Genitive. (See also (16), which contains a headless relative in the Genitive which is an adnominal possessive.)

- (90) (a) [xo]a-k-na it'u-s] doy(r) on-u (Chik II.88.30)
 Khoja-NAR-COMP say-3SG true be-3SG
 '[what the Khoja says] is true'
- (b) [min na muslimani iq'-u] lazistani-s ko = do = stid-u
 who COMP Muslim become-3SG Lazistan-DAT remain-3SG
 '[whoever became Muslim] stayed in Lazistan' (ASATIANI 1974.4.4)

- (c) [na-mu = skid-a-s-en], do = b-t'axum-t (Chik II.80.24)
 COMP-remain-3SG-FUTR break-1-PL
 'we will break [whatever remains]'
- (d) [čkim na t'u-k] ge = m-oktam-s (Kart II.178.34)
 mine COMP be-NAR turn-3SG-1
 '[those (sorrows/affairs) that are mine] keep me busy'.
 = 'my own problems keep me busy'
- (e) arcey -- na-tku-s, mažua -- na-uu}u-s,
 one COMP-say-DAT second COMP-listen-DAT
 ačkva -- čkva orape-s na-uu}asen-s
 other other time-DAT COMP-listen-DAT
 (speaker is distributing apples (as kudos): 'one to him who told it
 (= this story), the second to him who listened, the third to him who
 listens another time' (Kart II.174.14-15))
- (f) padišayi-k uc'-u: ma si henna p'at'i m-i-xen-i-ma
 ruler-NAR say-3SG 1 2 of/all bad make-2-1-QUOT
 na gic'vi-š yeis daha k'ay g'ay mot mixeni-ya?
 COMP say-1-2-GEN instead more good food why make-2-1-QUOT
 'The ruler said, "instead of [I said to you [make me the
 worst of all], I said] why did you make me an even better
 dish?"' = "instead of doing what I told you,
 which was to make me the worst dish of all, why did you
 make me an even better one?" (Kart II.197.22)

It is very interesting that headless relative clauses can also bear the noun plural suffix *pe* which the head would otherwise bear (CIIKOBABA 1936.65, DZIKIA 1967.377). In (91) *pe* is attached to the clause-final finite verb form. (See also (16)).

- (91) [ha-na g-i-c'v-i-pe] do = g-a-xenen-na ... (Chik II.62.27)
 this-COMP say-1-2-PL do-2-COMP
 'if you can do [the things I told you] ...'

14.4 Adverbial Clauses. In Laz most adverbial clauses are marked with clause-final subordinating conjunctions, which have their origin in postpositions or case endings, or with the previously mentioned complementizers *na*, *ki*, and *or'i*. Occasionally other subordinating conjunctions are found. Except for the

presence of the conjunction or complementizer indicating subordinate status, adverbial clauses are structurally like main clauses, with the same word order, agreement morphology, range of tenses, and so on. No constraints on either clause have been observed. Adverbial clauses most often precede the main clause, though they may occasionally follow.

At least four Laz postpositions function as clause-final subordinating conjunctions; they occur frequently with finite clauses as complement, each having a specific adverbial meaning. Temporal adverbial clauses are formed by *steri* 'as soon as, just when', *šakis* 'until, as long as', and *k'ule* 'after, when' and reason adverbials by *šeni* 'since, because'. The suffix *k'ule* 'after' governs the Genitive case; the other three govern the stem and are added directly to the finite verb form. Clauses with *šeni* and *steri* contain a second complementizer, preverbal *ne*; the other adverbial clauses do not.

(92)(a) *oxor* *š*a-na i-d-u-steri kimoli-k i-dušun-u
 wife-COMP leave-3SG-just as husband-NAR think-3SG
 'just as the wife left, the husband thought, ...' (Chik 1.37.1)

(b) *derdi* mo zdim ma sayi bort'a-šakis
 sorrow don't have-2 I alive be-1-ICONJ-until
 'you won't have any problems as long as I am alive'

(QIPSHIDZE 1911.18.2)

(c) *bore* k'itxeri-na t'-u-šeni, ... (Chik 1.19.7)
 child studied-COMP be-3SG-because
 'because the child was educated, ...'

Three other clause-final conjunctions are found, all with temporal meaning: *ši*, *si* (variants *sā*, *s*, *is* (KARTOZIA 1968b)), and *ša*. Their distribution and use varies from dialect to dialect (e.g., in Khopa *ši* is frequent and *si* not used at all). Some authors associate these markers with case endings of the Genitive, Dative, and Allative. KARTOZIA 1968b.867 noting that one of the oldest functions of the Genitive and Dative in Kartvelian was to express time.

(93) (a) *ixi* mo = xta-ši, oxoy dido i-k'anc'un-s
 wind come-COMP house much shake-3SG
 'when the wind blows, the house shakes a lot'

(ZIGHENTI 1938.200.20)

- (b) vit'ootx c'aneri b-or-t'-i-^vša,
 fourteen year be-IMPF-1-COMP
 ŷumadi čkimi-k'ala b-ort'-i (Chik II.23.14)
 uncle my-with be-1
 'until I was 14, I lived with my uncle'

Adverbial clauses can also be formed with the three complementizers discussed in 3.4.1. Adverbial clauses with *ki* and *ot'i* follow the main clause; *ki* occurs in final position in the main clause, while *ot'i* occurs in initial position in the adverbial clause. Adverbial clauses with *na* usually precede the main clause and the complementizer *na* has two positions, corresponding to a semantic difference. When *na* is in preverbal position, it expresses a range of adverbial meanings, but when *na* is enclitic to the verb, the clause is always conditional.

- (94) (a) ŷoberi do=ŷobar, ot'i puŷi mo amitay
 fence close-2 COMP cow don't come/out-3SG
 'close the fence so that the cow can't get in'
 (Chik II.115.30)

- (b) mazvani dya-s-na tan-u, kisel-u oxorŷa
 second day-DAT-COMP dawn-3SG get.up-3SG woman
 'when it dawned on the second day, the woman got up'
 (Chik I.39.19)

- (c) yeri g-i-non-na, ma me=g-čar-e (Chik II.24.5)
 place want-2-COMP I give-1-2-FUTR
 'if you want a place, I will give it to you'

Other subordinating conjunctions are used occasionally, including *oras* 'while', *emušeni* (Vi-Ar-At *hemušeni*) 'because' (more rarely *hun-ki* / *hum-ki* 'because'), *egere-na* 'if'.

Other adverbial clauses contain an adverbial pro-form, composed of the corresponding interrogative pronoun plus either suffixed *na* or *ti* (*so-na* 'where', *mundes-na* or *mundes-ti* 'when').

- (95) (a) [nena-k mundes-ti k'aoba zop'on-s] nostoney re-n
 tongue when-REL goodness say-3SG tasty be-3SG
 'when the tongue says good things, it is tasty'
 (Kart II.197.24-25)

- (b) andya ia oxorja ko = p'-č'op-a-t'-i egere-nu,
 today that woman catch-1-COND-III if
 'if I had caught that woman today, ...'

(Chik 1.7.1)

3.5 Reduced Clauses

The only type of reduced clause in Laz contains a verbal noun (or *masdar*) (2.5.9) in place of a finite verb form. The reduced clause functions as the object of a postposition or of a small number of verbs ('begin', 'want', 'know how to', etc.) and the verbal noun appears in the case required by the postposition or verb. Verbal nouns in appropriate cases (such as Dative, Instrumental, Allative) also function as heads of adverbial adjuncts, appearing most frequently in the Allative Case as head of adverbial purpose clauses.

As for the expression of grammatical relations in reduced clauses with verbal nouns, the direct object of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive verb appear in either the Genitive or the Nominative Case, the indirect object in the Dative. (There is an increasing tendency to use with verbal nouns the same cases that would be used with the corresponding finite form.) The transitive subject cannot be expressed.

- (96) (a) ko = gyo-č'k'-u nja-ši oazu-s (Kart II.198.6)
 begin-3SG wood-GEN cut-MASD-DAT
 'he began to cut wood'
- (b) mcxuli-š oxiu-ša v-i-d-a-t-ya
 pear-GEN steal-MASD-ALL go-II/COND-1-PL-QUOT
 'let's go steal pears, he said' (Chik 1.27.34)
- (c) c'k'ai momalu-ša i-d-u-ši
 water-NOM bring-MASD-ALL go-3SG-COMP
 'when he went to get water' (Chik 1.60.17)

The only possible variation in the form of the verbal noun itself involves the presence or absence of a preverb, thus allowing for expression of those aspectual distinctions carried by the preverb. Other grammatical categories expressed by finite verb forms (agreement, tense, mood, etc.) cannot be expressed in reduced clauses.

3.7 Reflexives and Reciprocals

Virtually nothing has been reported about the syntax of reflexives or reciprocals in Laz. There is no special reflexive pronoun, though MARTIROSOVI 1964:109 and MARR 1910:27 report that *ti* (otherwise, 'head') may occasionally be used as a reflexive, similar to Georgian *lav*. They give no examples or further details and I have not encountered this in texts; an elicited example is given in (98). It is not clear whether such constructions are part of Laz grammar or simply translations from Georgian.

(98) *ti v-i-q'vilup* 'I kill myself'

The lack of a special reflexive can be seen to relate to the fact that another construction in Laz is used to express co-reference between subject and object or between two objects, namely version (2.5.6). There is no special pronoun in Laz for expressing a coreferential possessor, such as Georgian *lavisi*.

Examples of the Laz reciprocal pronoun are given in (99).

(99)(a) *bee-pe-ikvani-k zoi-ten žiy-an artikati-ya*
 child-PL-2PL-NAR difficulty- see-3PL each.other-QUOT
 INSTR (Kart II.173.22)

'your children will only see each other with difficulty'

(b) *monč'va do č'uč'u-lepe artik'ati-s ko = n = u-k-u*
 hen and chick-PL each.other-DAT tie-3SG

'he tied the hen and chicks to each other'

(Chik I.37.2-3)

3.10 Question Formation

Yes-No Questions. A yes-no question may be conveyed by intonation alone or by the question particle *i*. In a constituent containing a verb, the *i* must appear on the verb, though it may appear on another word if used in isolation. The question particle follows most suffixes, but may be followed by the quotative *ya*, if the question is part of the quote. In (100)(b) it is also followed by a clause-final conjunction.

(100)(a) *ngeni-k do = mž'u-i?* (Kart II.178.27)

calf graze-QUES

'did the calf graze?'

- (b) "nana-s xua do = bon-i-i-ya?"-^vsa (Kart II.178.28)
 mother-DAT body wash-2-QUES-QUOT-COMP
 'when (he asked) "did you wash mother?" ...
- (c) didi-i? 'the older one?'
 (as in, e.g., "did you say the older one?")

Laz has a second question formant, *xo^v*, which functions like Georgian *am*, used something like an English tag.

- (101) si xo^v va q'v-i?
 2SG QUES not do-2-QUES
 'you didn't do that, did you?'

Content Questions. When information about a specific constituent is sought, interrogative words particular to the constituent are used (see 2.3.5). The questioned constituent appears immediately before the verb (and negative, if there is one). The question particle *i* and an interrogative word do not co-occur.

Content questions have falling intonation.

- (102)(a) a bič'i-s mušeni atxoz-i? (Kart I.164.24-5)
 this boy-DAT why throw.out-2
 'why did you throw out this boy?'
- (b) mi ye-n e bič'i? (Kart I.164.25)
 who be-3SG this boy-NOM
 'who is this boy?'

2.9 Negation

Clause-level negation is achieved by the negative particle *va* (in Khopa, also *vor*), which appears immediately before the verb, prosodically attached to it. According to KARTOZIA p.c. *va* is considered part of the verb for purposes of application of phonological rules such as Identical Consonant Deletion (1.4.2).

- (103)(a) baba skani va yu-elee-n (Chik I.5.25)
 father your not die-3SG-IEVID
 'your father (apparently) didn't die'
- (b) va me = m-a-č-u --> vaymač'u
 not give-1-3SG
 'I couldn't give it to him'

Prohibitives are expressed with *mo* 'don't', which also appears preverbally. Laz has no negative pronouns. Primitives are discussed in 2.6.5.

- (104) *daha mo g-n-škuynet'-an* (Kart II.174.7)
 more don't be/afraid-2-PL
 'don't be afraid any more'

3.10 Comparative Constructions

Comparatives in Laz are expressed periphrastically. The object of comparison, if expressed, is in the Ablative case. Superlatives are expressed by *henni* 'of all'.

- (105)(a) *aia oxori ia oxori-šen didi re-n*
 this house that house-ABL big be-3SG
 'this house is bigger than that house'
- (b) *daha loca do daha nostoney ive-n* (Kart II.197.25)
 more sweet and more tasty be-3SG
 'it will be more sweet and more tasty'
- (c) *henni nostoney mu re-n, do = m-i-xen-i-ya*
 of.all tasty what be-3SG make-2-1-QUOT
 'make for me what is tastiest of all'

(Kart II.197.17)

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NOTES

1. This section is based on KIZIRIA 1980a, who worked with Khopa speakers from Sarpı. The other dialects may differ in phonetic detail. See also ZHGHENTI 1953.
2. Harmonic clusters are composed of two obstruents of the same phonation type (*bd*, *p'k'* are harmonic and *bt* or *tg* are not). A harmonic cluster is decessive if the place of articulation goes from front to back in the mouth (*bg*, *čk* are decessive harmonic clusters, while *gb*, *kč* are not).
3. ZHGHENTI 1953:121-49 discusses many other examples of assimilation which do not represent regular phonological processes. They are instances of sporadic changes in the forms of words.
4. The numeral *ar* 'one' often functions like an indefinite article (*ar k'oč'i* 'one man', 'a man').
5. Laz declension is discussed in CHIKOBAVA 1936:43-85, KLIMOV 1960, DUMÉZIL 1967:2-6. The analysis here differs from KLIMOV 1960 and CHIKOBAVA 1936:49, who consider stem-final *-i* and some stem-final *-e*'s to be Nominative case markers. Since these vowels are present in all cases, they are considered here as part of the stem.
6. CHIKOBAVA 1936:48 reports that Arkabe lacks an Allative, the Ablative being used in its place. Kartozia, however, informs me that the two cases are kept distinct: Speakers who have an Allative with *-šə*, consistently have an

Ablative in $\bar{3}en$. It is the occasional application of N-Deletion which gives the appearance of collapse of the two forms.

7. Frequently cited texts are abbreviated as follows:

Kart I texts from KARTOZIA 1968a

Kart II texts from KARTOZIA 1972

Chik I texts from CHIKOBAVA 1929

Chik II texts from CHIKOBAVA 1936 (second part)

Infrequently cited texts are referenced in full. Citations refer to page number and line number, except for KARTOZIA 1970 and ASATTANI 1974, which give text number and line number and DUMÉZIL 1972, which gives text number and clause number. Unattributed examples were elicited by the author.

Not all morphemes have been segmented in all examples, though the case marker for nominals and subject marker for verbs are set off with dashes and glossed. (Nouns for which no case is given are Nominative.) Preverbs are set off from the rest of the verb with ' = ', but not glossed. Occasionally information is provided in the gloss line which does not correspond to any particular segmented morpheme (such as the name of the tense-mood form, e.g., ICONJ for Conjunctive I, IICONJ for Conjunctive II, IEVID for the Evidential I, and so on). If more than one argument is marked in a verb, they are given in the gloss in this order: (notional) subject, object. A period in the gloss connects words which are not separated in the original (e.g., the word *badi* is glossed 'old.man').

8. The categories transitive-intransitive and stative-dynamic are not expressed morphologically in Laz. Transitivity must be defined syntactically (verbs with the valence pattern Narrative Nominative), while stative-dynamic is a matter of the meaning of the lexical root. There are no special negative or interrogative verb forms in Laz.
9. Although CHIKOBAVA 1936.69-70 claims that if the modifier is postposed both the modifier and the head are inflected for case, this is certainly not true of many examples of postposed possessives in published texts. Indicative of the tendency for nominal endings to become phrasal affixes, are examples like (i), where both nouns are understood as having plural referents, but there is only one plural marker.

- (i) muslimani do gur³-epe (QIPSHIDZE 1939.73.32)
Muslim and Georgian-PL
'Muslims and Georgians'

10. Laz is unlike the other Kartvelian languages in that a verb governs the same valence pattern in all tense-aspect forms, except for those of the old Series III. Derivatives of the same lexical root may appear in different classes.

11. In the rare case that the subject noun phrase appears in the second conjunct, it will be in the case required by the second verb, as in (i). (The verb 'curse' in Laz governs the Narrative and 'cry', for this speaker, the Nominative.)

- (i) i-bgar-u do xolo meyoč-u oxor³a-k
cry-3SG and again curse-3SG wife-NAR
'the wife cried and cursed again'

(Chik II.17.12-3)

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