

FIGURE 1. Megrelian verbal inflection: maximal model.

SLOT	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7	+8	+9
MARKER	AFF/NEG	PRV	IPFV.PRIV	S/O	VER	R	CAUS	INCH.PASS	SM	IPFV	SUBJ	S	PL	COND	AUX

- (1) *ibd-i-k'oni* 'if I went'      (2) *ibd-a* 'so that I go'      (3) \**ibd-a-k'oni*
- (4) *ø-tk[w]-u* 'X said smth.'      (5) *ku-d[o]-g[o]-o-gur-u-an-d-i-t* 'I would have taught you smth.'
- (-5, -4, -2, -1, 0, +1, +3, +4, +6, +7)

CIRCUMFIXATION: "a prefix and a suffix may attach to a base simultaneously to express a single meaning or category conjointly" [Spencer 1991: 12–13].

**PERSON, -2 (S/O) and +6 (S).**

- (6) *ma/čki b-zirun-k/t tenas* 'I/we see X/snth.'
- (7) *ma arti k'oč-k me-m-[i]-xir-u do mo=la-m-i-?on-u.*  
 I.NOM one man-ERG PRV-O<sub>1</sub>-[VER<sub>0</sub>]-steal-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT and PRV=PRV-O<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-have-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
 'One man kidnapped me and took me away with him.'
- (8) *si mudgaren-s m-i-pul-un-k-i-awa ø-u-c'-u.*  
 you.SG:NOM something-DAT O<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-hide-SM-S<sub>1/2</sub>SG.PRS-PTL-RPRT O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
 'You are hiding something from me,' she said to him.'
- (9) *mi-k me-r-č-u te xam-[i]?*  
 who-ERG PRV-O<sub>2</sub>-give-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT this knife-[NOM]  
 'Who gave you this knife?'

FIGURE 2. Megrelian person and number agreement.

PERSON	SLOT	OBJECT MARKERS	SUBJECT MARKERS							
		-2	-2	0	+6	+7	+6	+7		
						PRS/FUT		PRT		
1SG		<i>m-/b-/p-/p'-</i>	<i>w-/b-/p-/p'-</i>			<i>-k, -ø</i>		<i>-i/-ø, -e</i>		
2SG		<i>g-/k'-/r-</i>	<i>ø-</i>			<i>-k, -ø</i>		<i>-i/-ø, -e</i>		
3SG		<i>ø-</i>	<i>ø-</i>			<i>-s/-c, -ø</i>		<i>-u/-ə/-ø</i>		
1PL		<i>m-/b-/p-/p'-</i>	<i>w-/b-/p-/p'-</i>			<i>-ø</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-i/-ø, -e</i>		<i>-t</i>
2PL		<i>g-/k'-/r-</i>	<i>ø-</i>			<i>-ø</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-i/-ø, -e</i>		<i>-t</i>
3PL		<i>ø-</i>	<i>ø-</i>			<i>-a(n)</i>		<i>-es</i>		

CONFERENCE ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS

- (10a) *w-ore-k* ‘I am’ (10b) *ø-[o]re-k* ‘you.SG are’ (10c) *ø-[o]re-n* ‘X is’  
 (10d) *re-n-a(n)* ‘they are’ (10e) *ø-[o]r-ø-d-u* ‘X was’  
 (11) *ø-a-k’et-en-s* ‘X makes smth.’ (12) *ø-arʒ-en-s* ‘X gives smth. to Y’

FIGURE 3. Georgian-type agreement in the SBNJ paradigm.

- 1SG *i-b-d-a-ø* ‘so that I go’ 1PL *i-b-d-a-ø-t* ‘so that we go’  
 2SG *i-ø-d-a-ø* ‘so that you.SG go’ 2PL *i-ø-d-a-ø-t* ‘so that you.PL go’  
 3SG *i-ø-d-a-s* ‘so that X goes’ 3PL *i-ø-d-a-n* ‘so that they go’

- (4) *ø-tk[w]-u* ‘X said smth.’ (4a) *p-tkw-i* ‘I said smth.’ (4b) *ø-tkw-i* ‘you.SG said smth.’

The correspondence between the prefix and suffix markers is *positive* in intransitives.

- (13a) *b-laʒap-en-k* (13b) *ø-laʒap-en-k*  
 S<sub>1</sub>-play-SM-S<sub>1</sub>SG.PRS S<sub>2</sub>-play-SM-S<sub>2</sub>SG.PRS  
 ‘I play’ ‘you play’

The correspondence between the prefix and suffix markers is *negative* in transitives.

- (14a) *m-arʒ-en-k* (14b) *g-arʒ-en-k*  
 O<sub>1</sub>-give-SM-S<sub>2</sub>SG.PRS O<sub>2</sub>-make-SM-S<sub>1</sub>SG.PRS  
 ‘you give me smth.’ ‘I give you smth.’

FIGURE 4a. The 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> person markers in Megrelian.

PERSON	SG	PL
S <sub>1/2</sub> .PRS	<i>b/ø-č’arun-k</i> ‘I/you.SG write’	<i>b/ø-č’arun-ø-t</i> ‘we/you.PL write’
S <sub>3</sub> .PRS	<i>ø-č’arun-s/-c</i> ‘X writes’	<i>ø-č’arun-a(n)</i> ‘they write’
S <sub>1/2</sub> .PRT	<i>b/ø-č’ar-i, b/ø-k’at-e</i> ‘I/you.SG wrote, gathered’	<i>b/ø-č’ar-i-t, b/ø-k’at-e-t</i> ‘we/you.PL wrote, gathered’
S <sub>3</sub> .PRT	<i>ø-č’ar-u/-ø</i> ‘X wrote’, <i>ø-k’at-u</i> ‘X wrote, gathered’	<i>ø-č’ar-es</i> ‘they wrote’, <i>ø-k’at-es</i> ‘they wrote, gathered’
S <sub>1/2</sub> .INTR	<i>i=b/ø-č’aru-k</i> ‘I/you.SG keep on writing’	<i>i=b/ø-č’aru-ø-t</i> ‘we/you.PL keep on writing’
S <sub>3</sub> .INTR	<i>i=ø-č’aru-ø</i> ‘X keeps on writing’	<i>i=ø-č’arun-a(n)</i> ‘they keep on writing’
S <sub>1/2</sub> .SBJN	<i>b/ø-č’ara-ø</i> ‘so that I/you.SG write’	<i>b/ø-č’ara-ø-t</i> ‘so that we/you.PL write’
S <sub>3</sub> .SBJN	<i>ø-č’ara-s</i> ‘so that X writes’	<i>ø-č’ara-n</i> ‘so that they write’
O <sub>1</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>m=i-ʒor-s</i> ‘I love’, <i>m=i-č’ar-u</i> ‘I have written’	
O <sub>2</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>g=i-ʒor-s</i> ‘you.SG love’, <i>g=i-č’ar-u</i> ‘you.SG have written’	
O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>ø=u-ʒor-s</i> ‘X loves’, <i>ø=u-č’ar-u</i> ‘X has written’	

**FIGURE 4a. The 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> person markers in Georgian.**

PERSON	SG	PL
S <sub>1/2</sub> .PRS	<i>w/ø-c'er-ø, w/ø-targmni-ø</i> 'I/you.SG write', 'I/you.SG translate'	<i>w/ø-c'er-ø-t, w/ø-targmni-ø-t</i> 'we/you.PL write, translate'
S <sub>3</sub> .PRS	<i>ø-c'er-s, ø-targmni-s</i> 'X writes, translates'	<i>ø-c'er-en, ø-targmni-an</i> 'they write, they translate'
S <sub>1/2</sub> .PRT	<i>w/ø-c'er-e, ga-w/ø-ig-e, c'a-w/x-wed-i</i> 'I/you.SG wrote, understood, went away'	<i>w/ø-c'er-e-t, ga-w/ø-ig-e-t, c'a-w/x-wed-i-t</i> 'we/you.PL wrote, understood, went away'
S <sub>3</sub> .PRT	<i>ø-c'er-a, ga-ø-ig-o, c'a-ø-wid-a</i> 'X wrote, understood, went away'	<i>ø-c'er-es, ga-ø-ig-es, c'a-ø-wid-nen</i> 'they wrote, understood, went away'
S <sub>1/2</sub> .INTR	<i>w/ø=ic'ereb-i</i> 'I/you.SG keep on writing'	<i>w/ø=ic'ereb-i-t</i> 'we/you.PL keep on writing'
S <sub>3</sub> .INTR	<i>ø=ic'ereb-a</i> 'X keeps on writing'	<i>ø=ic'ereb-i-ian</i> 'they keep on writing'
S <sub>1/2</sub> .SBJN	<i>w/ø-c'ero-ø</i> 'so that I/you.SG write'	<i>w/ø-c'ero-ø-t</i> 'so that we/you.PL write'
S <sub>3</sub> .SBJN	<i>ø-c'ero-s</i> 'so that X writes'	<i>ø-c'ero-n</i> 'so that they write'
O <sub>1</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>m=i-q'war-s</i> 'I love', <i>m=i-c'eri-a</i> 'I have written', SIC! PL <i>gw=i-q'war-s, gw=i-c'eri-a</i>	
O <sub>2</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>g=i-q'war-s</i> 'you.SG love', <i>g=i-c'eri-a</i> 'you.SG have written'	
O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>0</sub>	<i>ø=u-q'war-s</i> 'X loves', <i>ø=u-c'eri-a</i> 'X has written'	

This consistent morphological opposition gives us sufficient grounds to state that verbal morphology in these languages formally encodes the opposition between the participants and non-participants of the speech act.

**PASSIVE, POTENTIAL, -1 (VER) and +3 (SM): i-/a- -u(n)/-e(n) types.**

(15a) *ø-i-č'ar-u(n)-ø*  
S<sub>3</sub>-PASS<sub>1</sub>-write-PASS<sub>2</sub>-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'it is written'

(16b) *ø-i-č'ar-e(n)-ø*  
S<sub>3</sub>-POT<sub>1</sub>-write-POT<sub>2</sub>-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'it can be written'

(15a) *ø-a-č'ar-u(n)-ø*  
S<sub>3</sub>-R.PASS<sub>1</sub>-write-R.PASS<sub>2</sub>-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'it is written by X'

(16b) *ø-a-č'ar-e(n)-ø*  
S<sub>3</sub>-R.POT<sub>1</sub>-write-R.POT<sub>2</sub>-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'it can be written by X'

(17a) *ø-ø-č'ar-un-s*  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>N</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'X writes smth.'

(17b) *ø-u-č'ar-un-s*  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'X writes smth. to Y'

(17c) *ø-i-č'ar-un-s*  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'X writes smth. to/for oneself'

(17d) *ø-ø-č'ar-an-s (xe-s)*  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS (hand-DAT)  
'X puts one's signature on smth.'

(17e) *gi-ø-ø-č'ar-an-s*  
PRV-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-write-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
'X writes smth. on smth.'

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| (18a) <i>o-č'k'om-ø-u</i> 'X ate smth.'          | (18b) <i>o-č'k'om-un-s</i> 'X will eat smth.'    |
| (19a) <i>u-c'-ø-u</i> 'X told Y smth.'           | (19b) <i>u-c'-in-s</i> 'X will tell Y smth.'     |
| (20a) <i>i-čin-ø-u</i> 'X got acquainted with Y' | (20b) <i>i-čin-en-s</i> 'X is acquainted with Y' |
| (21a) <i>me-č-ø-u</i> 'X gave smth. to Y'        | (21b) <i>me-č-an-s</i> 'X will give smth. to Y'  |
| (22a) <i>ø-i-gur-e(n)-ø</i> 'it can be studied'  | (22b) <i>ø-i-gur-ø-ə</i> 'it could be studied'   |
| (23a) <i>ø-a-l=in-e(n)-ø</i> 'X can go away'     | (23b) <i>ø-a-l=in-ø-ə</i> 'X could go away'      |
- [Sherozia 1984: 11–12].

**CAUSATIVE, -1 (VER) and +1 (CAUS): *o-* *-ap=u* type.**

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|---|---|
| (24a) <u><i>ø-ø-č'ar-un-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>N</sub> -write-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X writes smth.' | (24b) <u><i>ø-o-č'ar-ap=u-an-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -CAUS <sub>1</sub> -write-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y write smth.' |
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| (25a) <u><i>ø-ø-xaš-un-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>N</sub> -boil-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X boils smth.' | (25b) <u><i>ø-o-xaš-ap=u-an-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -CAUS <sub>1</sub> -boil-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y boil smth.' |
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(24b) *o-č'ar-ap=u-an-s* 'X makes/helps Y write smth.'

(24c) *o-č'ar-ap=u-ø-u* 'X made/helped Y write smth.'

(25b) *o-xaš-ap=u-an-s* 'X makes/helps Y boil smth.'

(25c) *o-xaš-ap=u-ø-u* 'X made/helped Y boil smth.'

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| (26a) <u><i>ø-č'r-i-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -cut-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X cuts smth.' | (26b) <u><i>ø-a-č'r-ew=in-eb-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -CAUS <sub>1</sub> -cut-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y cut smth.' |
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| (27a) <u><i>ø-a-k'et-eb-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -VER <sub>N</sub> -make-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes smth.' | (27b) <u><i>ø-a-k'et-eb=in-eb-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> -CAUS <sub>1</sub> -make-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y make smth.' |
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- [Machavariani 1988: 66–67]

**VERSION ALTERNATION IN CAUSATIVES**

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| (28) <u><i>ø=u-č'ar-ap=u-an-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>O</sub> .CAUS <sub>1</sub> -write-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y write smth. for Z' | (29) <u><i>ø=i-č'ar-ap=u-an-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>S</sub> .CAUS <sub>1</sub> -write-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y write smth. for oneself' |
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|---|---|
| (30) <u><i>ø=u-k'et-eb=in-eb-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>S</sub> .CAUS <sub>1</sub> -make-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y make smth. for Z' | (31) <u><i>ø=i-k'et-eb=in-eb-s</i></u><br>O <sub>3</sub> =VER <sub>S</sub> .CAUS <sub>1</sub> -make-CAUS <sub>2</sub> -SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRS<br>'X makes/helps Y make smth. for oneself' |
|---|---|

CAUSATIVE PASSIVE, -1 (VER), +1 (CAUS) and +3 (SM): *a- ap=u-ap=u* type.

- (32)  $\emptyset=e-c'er\text{-in-eb-a}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>=PASS.CAUS<sub>1</sub>-make-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X feel like writing smth.'
- (33)  $\emptyset=e-t'ir\text{-eb=in-eb-a}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>=PASS.CAUS<sub>1</sub>-make-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X cannot help crying'  
 [Uturgaidze 2002: 209]

PASSIVE OF UNINTENTIONAL ACTION

- (34)  $m=e-c'ew\text{-in-eb-a}$   
 O<sub>1</sub>-PASS.CAUS<sub>1</sub>-make-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'I feel like having a smoke (*although I realize that I should not want it*)'
- (35a)  $\emptyset\text{-o-tku=al-ap=u-an-s}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-speak-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X makes/helps Y speak/tell'
- (35b)  $\emptyset\text{-a-tku=al-ap=u-ap=u-}\emptyset$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-write-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PASS-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X cannot help saying/telling'
- (35c)  $\emptyset\text{-a-tku=al-ap=u-ap=u-d-u}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-write-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PASS-IPFV-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
 'X could not help saying/telling'
- (36a)  $\emptyset\text{-o-kimin-ap=u-an-s}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-make-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X makes/helps Y make smth.'
- (36b)  $\emptyset\text{-a-kimin-ap=up-ap=u-}\emptyset$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-make-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PASS-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X feels like making smth.'
- (37a)  $\emptyset\text{-o-pirk=eb-ap=u-an-s}$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-think-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X makes/helps Y think about smth.'
- (37b)  $\emptyset\text{-a-pirk=eb-ap=u-ap=u-}\emptyset$   
 O<sub>3</sub>-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-think-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PASS-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRS  
 'X cannot help thinking about smth.'

FIGURE 5. Megrelian inflectional circumfixes.

FUNCTION	SLOTS	FORMAL REPRESENTATION		
PERSON & NUMBER	-2, +6, +7	$w/b/p/p' -k, -\emptyset-t$	$\emptyset -k, -\emptyset-t$	$\emptyset -s/c, -\emptyset, -a(n)$
		$w/b/p/p' -i, -i-t, -e, -e-t$	$\emptyset -i, -i-t, -e, -e-t$	$\emptyset -u/\partial, -es$
		$m/b/p/p' -k, -\emptyset-t$	$m/b/p/p' -s/c, -\emptyset$	
		$m/b/p/p' -i, -i-t, -e, -e-t$	$m/b/p/p' -u/\partial, -es$	
		$g/k'/r- -k, -\emptyset-t$	$g/k'/r- -s/c, -\emptyset$	
		$g/k'/r- -i, -i-t, -e, -e-t$	$g/k'/r- -u/\partial, -es$	
		$\emptyset -k, -\emptyset-t$	$\emptyset -s/c, -\emptyset, -a(n)$	
		$\emptyset -i, -i-t, -e, -e-t$	$\emptyset -u/\partial, -es$	
PASS	-1, +3	$i- -u(n)$		
R.PASS	-1, +3	$a- -u(n)$		
POT	-1, +3	$i- -e(n)$		
R.POT	-1, +3	$a- -e(n)$		
CAUS	-1, +1	$o- -ap=u$		
CAUS.PASS	-1, +1, +3	$u- -ap=u -ap=u$		

## Abbreviations

AFF	affirmative	POT	potential
AUX	auxiliary verb	PRS	present
CAUS	causative	PRT	preterite
COND	conditional	PRV	preverb
DAT	dative	R	root
ERG	ergative	R.PASS	relative passive
FUT	future	R.POT	relative potential
INCH.PASS	inchoative passive	RPRT	reported speech
INTR	intransitive	S <sub>1</sub>	subject 1 <sup>st</sup> person marker
IPFV	imperfect	S <sub>2</sub>	subject 2 <sup>nd</sup> person marker
IPFV.PR.V	imperfectivizing preverb	S <sub>3</sub>	subject 3 <sup>rd</sup> person marker
NEG	negation	SBJN	subjunctive
NOM	nominative	SG	singular
O <sub>1</sub>	object 1 <sup>st</sup> person marker	SM	series marker
O <sub>2</sub>	object 2 <sup>nd</sup> person marker	VER <sub>L</sub>	locative versionizer
O <sub>3</sub>	object 3 <sup>rd</sup> person marker	VER <sub>N</sub>	neutral versionizer
PASS	passive	VER <sub>O</sub>	object versionizer
PL	plural	VER <sub>S</sub>	subject versionizer

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