

## GRAMMATICALIZATION PATHS OF *ko* ‘YES’ IN MEGRELIAN

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### 0. PRELIMINARIES

This paper addresses the grammaticalization paths of the prefix *ko-* in Megrelian.

THE KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES: Georgian, **Megrelian**, Laz, Svan  
 DATA USED: [Danelia, C’anava 1991]  
 CONSULTANTS: Maia Kerzaia (female, Zugdidi, 1980)  
 Teona Samušia (female, Lia, 1986)  
 Bagrat’ Kvaraxelia (male, Zugdidi, 1985)  
 Bačana Šamatava (male, Soxumi, 1982 )

The affirmative and negative particles in Megrelian are *ko* and *var<sup>i</sup>*, respectively. They may be used as answers to yes-no questions.

(1) *ti boš sk’an<sup>i</sup> žima reno?*

ti	boš-[i]	skan-i	žima- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ -[o]r-en- $\emptyset$ -o
that	boy-[NOM]	your.SG-NOM	brother-NOM	S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG-QST

Is that boy your brother?

(1a) *ko, čkim žima re.*

<b>ko</b>	čkim-[i]	žima- $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$ -[o]r-e[n]- $\emptyset$
<b>AFF</b>	my-[NOM]	brother-NOM	S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG

**Yes**, he is my brother.

(1b) *var<sup>i</sup>, čkim žima vare.*

<b>var</b>	čkim-[i]	žima- $\emptyset$	va- $\emptyset$ -[o]r-e[n]- $\emptyset$
<b>NEG</b>	my-[NOM]	brother-NOM	NEG-S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG

**No**, he is not my brother.

### 1. MORPHOTACTICS

FIGURE 1. THE MEGRELIAN VERB TEMPLATE

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	IMPF	IND/SUBJ	S	PL	COND	AUX

[Rostovtsev-Popiel 2007]

[Harris 1991: 321]:

SLOT -5: “STATUS”

AFF *ko-* (*ko-*, *ku-*, *ka-*, *kə-*, *ki-*, *ke-*, *k-*) vs. NEG *va-* (*va-*, *ve-*, *vu-*) vs. PFV *ge-* (*ge-*, *ga-*, *gə-*)

(2a) *bošik ʔuča mort.*

boš-i-k	ʔud[e]-ša	mo- $\emptyset$ -rt-[u]
boy-R.EXT-ERG	house-TERM	PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -walk-[S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT]

The boy came home.

(2b) *bošik ʔuča **kumort**.*

boš-i-k	ʔud[e]-ša	<b>ko</b> -mo- $\emptyset$ -rt-[u]
boy-R.EXT-ERG	house-TERM	<b>AFF</b> -PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -walk-[S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT]

The boy **did** come home.

(2c) *bošik žuča vamort.*

boš-i-k	žud[e]-ša	va-mo-ø-rt-[u]
boy-R.EXT-ERG	house-TERM	NEG-PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -walk-[S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT]

The boy **did not** come home.

[Mak'ar Xubua 1942]:

The position of the AFF *ko-* is not restricted to the beginning of the word.

(3a) *kimtāgans*

**ko-m**[i]=to-ø-o-g-an-s  
AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-(play)-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X plays on Y

(3b) *mitkāgans*

mi=t[o]-**ko**-ø-o-g-an-s  
PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-AFF-VER<sub>L</sub>-(play)-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X plays on Y

The slot -5 affixes never occur in non-finite verbal forms, and thus they are inflectional unlike the slot -4 affixes, namely derivational preverbs that also occur in masdars and participles

[Šerozia 2000]:

*ge-* PERFECTIVE ASPECT (FUTURE)  
*ko-* AFFIRMATIVITY (PRESENT)  
*va-* NEGATION (PRESENT AND FUTURE)

(4a) *ginok'ilans*

gi=no-ø-k'il-an-s  
PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lock-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X locks/blocks Y

(4b) *kignok'ilans*

**ko-g**[i]=no-ø-k'il-an-s  
AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lock-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X **definitely** locks Y

(4c) *gegnok'ilans*

**ge-g**[i]=no-ø-k'il-an-s  
PRF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lock-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X **will** block Y

(4d) *vegnok'ilans*

**va-g**[i]=no-ø-k'il-an-s  
NEG-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lock-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
X **does not/will not** lock/block Y

NB! Co-occurrence of *ko-* and *va-* within a verbal form: the negative assertive question. Conventionalization of the AFF *ko-* already passed.

(5) *vakumortuo?*

va-**ko**-mo-ø-rt-u-o  
NEG-AFF-PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT-QST  
**didn't** X come? [=X unexpectedly came]

## 2. FUNCTIONS OF THE PREFIX *ko-*

FIGURE 2. OVERVIEW OF THE PREFIX USE TYPES

(MORPHOLOGICAL) SEMANTICS		(MORPHOLOGICAL) COUNTERPART	
affirmativity	<i>ko-</i>	negation	<i>va-</i>
volitionality	<i>ko-</i>		-
intentionality	<i>ko-</i>		-
contact	<i>ko-</i>	separation	<i>ge-</i>
completivity	<i>ko-</i>		-
perfectivity	<i>ko-</i>		-
imperativity	<i>ko-</i>	preterite 2 <sup>nd</sup> person	-
focus	<i>ko-</i>		-
concessive conditionals	<i>ko-</i>		-

evidentiality	<i>ko-</i>		-
humanlike arguments	<i>ko-</i>	non-humanlike arguments	-
transitivity	<i>ko-</i>	intransitivity	-
subjunctive	<i>ko-</i>	indicative	-

## 2.1. AFFIRMATIVITY, VOLITIONALITY, AND INTENTIONALITY

YES-NO QUESTIONS

LAYERING

(6a) *pacxas osurep kumtorenano?*

pacxa-s	osur-ep-[i]	<b>ko</b> -mu=to-ø-[o]r-en-an-o
kitchen-DAT	woman-PL-[NOM]	AFF-PRV=PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> PL-QST

Are the women standing under the kitchen roof?

(6b) *ko, osurep pacxas mutorena.*

<b>ko</b>	osur-ep-[i]	pacxa-s	mu=to-ø-[o]r-en-a[n]
AFF	woman-PL-[NOM]	kitchen-DAT	PRV=PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> PL

**Yes**, the women are standing under the kitchen roof.

REAFFIRMATION OF THE KNOWN INFORMATION

(7) *ti boš sk'anj žima xo kore?..*

ti	boš-[i]	skan-i	žima-ø	xo	<b>ko</b> -ø-[o]r-e[n]-ø
that	boy-[NOM]	your.SG-[NOM]	brother-NOM	indeed	AFF-S <sub>2/3</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG

That guy is your brother, right?..

VOLITIONALITY: *One cannot want to feel terrible.*

(8a) *uareso vorekia uc'u dak.*

uares-o	v-or-e[n]-k-i-a	ø-u-c'w-u	da[l]-k
worst-ADV	S <sub>1</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>1/2</sub> -SBM-QUOT	S <sub>2/3</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -tell-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT	sister-ERG

The sister told X, 'I am feeling terrible.'

(8b) *užgušo kuvorekia uc'u dak.*

užguš-o	<b>ko</b> -v-or-e[n]-k-i-a	ø-u-c'w-u	da[l]-k
best-ADV	AFF-S <sub>1</sub> -be-SM-S <sub>1/2</sub> -SBM-QUOT	S <sub>2/3</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -tell-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT	sister-ERG

The sister told X, 'I am feeling **excellent**.'

INTENTIONALITY

(9a) *doxvad*

do-ø-xvad-[u]  
PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-meet-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
X **accidentally** met Y

(9b) *sadguris kudoxvad*

sadgur-i-s **ko**-do-ø-xvad-[u]  
train station-R.EXT-DAT AFF-PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-meet-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
X **intentionally** met Y at the train station

## 2.2. CONTACT VS. SEPARATION

[Hewitt 2004: 309]:

AFF *ko-* marks CONTACT, PRF *ge-* marks SEPARATION

(10a) *ušk'uri gemk'oc'ili!*

ušk'ur-i      ge-m[i]=k'o=ø-c'il-i  
apple-NOM    PRF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-pluck-IMP  
Pluck the apple (**off** the tree)!

(10b) *\*ušk'uri kimk'oc'ili!*

ušk'ur-i      ko-m[i]=k'o=ø-c'il-i  
apple-NOM    AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-pluck-IMP

(11a) *magidas kamk'udoxodi.*

magida-s      ko-m[i]=k'[o]-[w]-u-doxod-i-ø  
table-DAT    AFF-PRV=PRV-[S<sub>1</sub>]-VER<sub>o</sub>-sit-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>  
I sat down **to/at the side** of the table.

(11b) *\*magidas gamk'udoxodi.*

magida-s      ge-m[i]=k'[o]-[w]-u-doxod-i-ø  
table-DAT    PRF-PRV=PRV-[S<sub>1</sub>]-VER<sub>o</sub>-sit-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>

(12a) *ok'o kimk'apurt'inas*

ø-o-k'-o[n]      ko-m[i]=k'o-ø-o-purt'in-a-s  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-ХОТЕТЬ-SM    AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-spit-SUBJ-S<sub>3</sub>  
X must spit **all over/around** Y

(12b) *ok'o gemk'apurt'inas*

ø-o-k'-o[n]      ge-m[i]=k'[o]-[w]-u-doxod-i-ø  
O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>L</sub>-ХОТЕТЬ-SM    PRF-PRV=PRV-[S<sub>1</sub>]-sit-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>  
X must spit to the side of (but **not on**) Y

## 2.3. COMPLETIVITY, PERFECTIVITY, AND IMPERATIVITY

COMPLETIVITY

(13a) *dirtu*

ø-dirt-u  
S<sub>2/3</sub>-turn-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
X (re)turned (and stopped **half**-turned)

(13b) *kidirtu*

ko-ø-dirt-u  
AFF-S<sub>2/3</sub>-turn-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT  
X turned around Y (i.e. made a **full** circle)

(14a) *odiales mišažan*

o-diar-e-s      mi=ša-ø-žan-[u]  
NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-fodder-NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-DAT    PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lie-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]  
X is lying in the grass

(14b) *odiales kimšažan*

o-diar-e-s      ko-m[i]=ša-ø-žan-[u]  
NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-fodder-NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-DAT    AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-lie-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]  
X is lying in the grass with his/her head **completely** covered

PERFECTIVITY  
PRESENT VS. FUTURE

- |       |   |       |  |
|-------|---|-------|--|
| (15a) | <i>sxap'unc</i>                             | (15b) | <i>kosxap'unc</i>                                  |
|       | ø-sxap'-un-s                                |       | <b>ko-ø-sxap'-un-s</b>                             |
|       | S <sub>2/3</sub> -jump-SM-S <sub>3</sub> SG |       | <b>AFF-S<sub>2/3</sub>-jump-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG</b> |
|       | X jumps/dances                              |       | <b>X will</b> jump/dance                           |

PERFECTIVE VS. PROGRESSIVE

- |       |   |   |      |   |               |
|-------|---|---|------|---|---------------|
| (16a) | <i>ašo mursəni, tina gic'ins mudgarens.</i>           |   |      |   |               |
|       | ašo   | mo-ø-wl-s-ə-ni  | tina | g-i-c'w-in-s  | mudgarens     |
|       | hither  | PRV-S <sub>2/3</sub> -walk-S <sub>3</sub> SG-SBM-CMPL | that | O <sub>2</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -tell-SM-S <sub>3</sub> PL | something-DAT |
|       | <b>On his/her way</b> here X will tell you something. |   |      |   |               |

- |       |   |   |               |        |  |
|-------|---|---|---------------|--------|--|
| (16b) | <i>tina gic'ins mudgarens, ašo kumursəni.</i>   |   |               |        |  |
|       | tina  | g-i-c'w-in-s  | mudgarens     | ašo    | <b>ko-mo-ø-wl-s-ə-ni</b>                                     |
|       | that  | O <sub>2</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -tell-SM-S <sub>3</sub> PL | something-DAT | hither | <b>AFF-PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-S<sub>3</sub>SG-SBM-CMPL</b> |
|       | X will tell you something when s/he comes here. |   |               |        |  |

SINGLE ACTION VS. MULTIPLE ACTION

- |       |  |   |          |             |
|-------|--|---|----------|-------------|
| (17a) | <i>dak txu muš žimas...</i>                          |   |          |             |
|       | da[l]-k  | ø-txw-u                                     | mu-š[i]  | žima-s      |
|       | sister-ERG   | S <sub>2/3</sub> -ask-S <sub>3</sub> SG.PRT | s/he-GEN | brother-DAT |
|       | The girl requested X from her brother... (right now) |   |          |             |

- |       |   |  |          |             |
|-------|---|--|----------|-------------|
| (17b) | <i>dak kotxu muš žimas...</i>                       |  |          |             |
|       | da[l]-k   | <b>ko-ø-txw-u</b>                                  | mu-š[i]  | žima-s      |
|       | sister-ERG  | <b>AFF-S<sub>2/3</sub>-ask-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT</b> | s/he-GEN | brother-DAT |
|       | The girl requested X from her brother... (long ago) |  |          |             |

IMPERATIVE VS. PRETERITE

- |       |                         |           |   |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| (18a) | <i>te ambe mic'i.</i>   |           |   |
|       | te                      | ambe-ø    | m-i-c'w-i-ø   |
|       | this                    | story-NOM | O <sub>1</sub> -VER <sub>0</sub> -tell-IND-S <sub>1/2</sub> |
|       | You told me this story. |           |   |

- |       |                         |           |   |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| (18b) | <i>te ambe komic'i!</i> |           |   |
|       | te                      | ambe-ø    | <b>ko-m-i-c'w-i</b>                               |
|       | this                    | story-NOM | <b>AFF-O<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-IMP</b> |
|       | Tell me this story!     |           |   |

2.3. FOCUS

PREDICATION FOCUS

- |       |                               |          |            |   |
|-------|-------------------------------|----------|------------|---|
| (19a) | <i>ti k'os oze kuyud.</i>     |          |            |   |
|       | ti                            | k'o[č]-s | oze-ø      | <b>k[o]-ø-u-γw-u[n]-d-[u]</b>   |
|       | that                          | man-DAT  | garden-NOM | <b>AFF-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-have-SM-IMPF-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]</b> |
|       | That man <b>had</b> a garden. |          |            |   |

- (19b) *ti k'os uyud oze,*  


---

ti k'o[č]-s ø-u-γw-u[n]-d-[u] oze-ø  
that man-DAT O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-have-SM-IMPF-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT] garden-NOM  
The garden of that man
- ečdoxut met'ra magirza do eč met'ra maganava.*  


---

eč-do-xut met'ra ma-girza-a do eč met'ra ma-ganaw-a  
20-and-5 meter EQT-long-EQT and 20 meter EQT-wide-EQT  
was 25 meters long and 20 meters wide.

#### NOMINAL OBJECT VS. SENTENTIAL OBJECT

- (20a) *č'k'wer k'očik tenas simartle kuc'u.*  


---

č'k'wer k'oč-i-k tena-s simartle-ø **k[o]-ø-u-c'w-u**  
wise man-R.EXT-ERG this-DAT truth-NOM **AFF-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT**  
The wise man told him the truth.
- (20b) *č'k'wer k'očik tenas molartia uc'u.*  


---

č'k'wer k'oč-i-k tena-s mo=la-ø-rt-i-a **k[o]-ø-u-c'w-u**  
wise man-R.EXT-ERG this-DAT PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-IMP-QUOT **AFF-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT**  
The wise man said to him: 'Come with me.'

#### 2.4. CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALITY

##### THE *ko-* *-da* MODEL

- (21) *gio germanias korduda,*  


---

giorgi-ø germania-s **ko-ø-[o]r-d-u-da**  
Giorgi-NOM Germany-DAT **AFF-S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-IMPF-S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT-COND**  
**Once** Giorgi was in Germany,
- sk'anda mušen vamort?*  


---

skan-da mušen va-mo-ø-rt-[u]  
your.SG-TERM why NEG-PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]  
why didn't he visit your house?

#### CONCESSIVE CONDITIONALS VS. DEFOCUSED VERBS WITH SENTENTIAL OBJECTS

- (22a) *soiša meurkia? rk'itx.*  


---

so-i-ša me-ø-wl-k-i-a-da g-k'itx-[u]  
where-SBM-TERM PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-S<sub>1/2</sub>-SBM-QUOT-COND O<sub>2</sub>-ask-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]  
X asked you: 'Where are you driving?' (It's a usual question of a hitch-hiker.)
- (22b) *soiša meurkia? kork'itxuda,*  


---

so-i-ša me-ø-wl-k-i-a-da **ko-g-k'itx-[u]**  
where-SBM-TERM PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-walk-S<sub>1/2</sub>-SBM-QUOT-COND **AFF-O<sub>2</sub>-ask-[S<sub>3</sub>SG.PRT]**  
**Once** X asked you: 'Where are you driving?'
- mušen vaup'asux<sup>i</sup>?*  


---

mušen va-ø-u-p'asux-i-ø  
why NEG-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-answer-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>  
why didn't you answer?

**2.5. FOCUS REVISITED: THE WH QUESTION CONSTRAINT**  
 WH-FOCUS VS. PREDICATION FOCUS (THE CASE OF HUMANLIKE ARGUMENTS)

(23a) *očxoules milare čxou.*  
 o-čxou[l]-e-s                      mi=la-ø-[o]r-e[n]-ø                      čxou[l]-ø  
 NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-COW-NOM<sub>LOC</sub>-DAT      PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG      COW-NOM  
 The **cow** is/lives in the cowshed.

(23b) *ate ʔude-s kımilare čkim možgire.*  
 ate    ʔude-s                      **ko**-m[i]=la-ø-[o]r-e[n]-ø                      čkim-[i]                      mo-žgir-e-ø  
 this   house-DAT                      AFF-PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG                      my-[NOM]                      SUBST-good-SUBST-NOM  
 My close **friend** lives in this house.

(23c) *atak mi milare?*  
 atak                      mi[n]-ø                      mi=la-ø-[o]r-e[n]-ø  
 over here                      who-NOM                      PRV=PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-SM-S<sub>3</sub>SG  
**Who** lives over here?

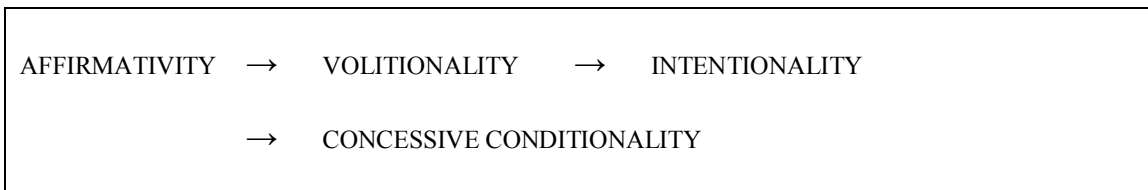
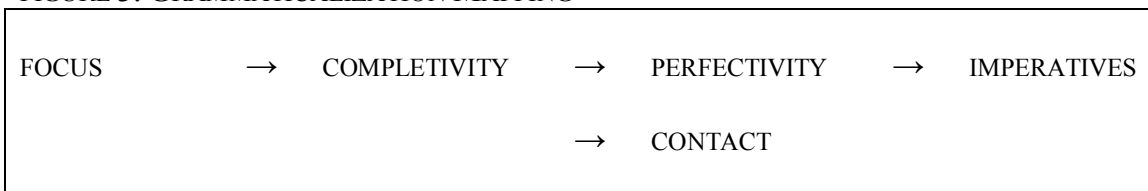
WH-FOCUS VS. CONCESSIVE CONDITIONAL RULE

(24a) *mi rekiada mušen vauc'i?*  
 mi[n]-ø                      ø-[o]r-e[n]-k-i-a-da                      mušen                      va-ø-u-c'w-i-ø  
 who-DAT                      S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-SM-S<sub>1/2</sub>-SBM-QUOT-COND                      why                      NEG-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>  
**Once** X asked you: 'Who are you?' why didn't you answer?

(24b) *\*mi korekiada mušen vauc'i?*  
 mi[n]-ø                      **ko**-ø-[o]r-e[n]-k-i-a-da                      mušen                      va-ø-u-c'w-i-ø  
 who-DAT                      AFF-S<sub>2/3</sub>-be-SM-S<sub>1/2</sub>-SBM-QUOT-COND                      why                      NEG-O<sub>3</sub>-VER<sub>0</sub>-tell-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub>

**3. GRAMMATICALIZATION PATHS OF THE PREFIX *ko*-**  
 KEY NOTIONS FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION MAPPING: FOCUS AND AFFIRMATIVITY.

FIGURE 3. GRAMMATICALIZATION MAPPING



The prefixed forms develop from analytic constructions of the *ko* + *verb* type. Such constructions are likely to occur in high focus environments [Klein-Andreu 1990]. For the earlier stages of grammaticalization, forms expressing completion are under emphasis [Bybee et al. 1994: 74]. Development along the regularity scale: completives–perfectives–imperatives. Another direction: completivity–contact.

Affirmativity is the source meaning of verbal forms that express volition and intention. Another direction: concessive conditionals reaffirm the fact in the past which results in the reality that goes against speaker's expectations.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE AFFIRMATIVE PARTICLE *ko-*  
 [Klimov 1998: 232; Fähnrich, Saržvelaze 2000: 492-493]:  
 GZ \**kwe-*, GEO *k(w)e*, MEGR *ko*, LAZ *ko*, 'affirmative particle'

(25) *me ke ver gevige, čemo k'argo,*  
 GEO me ke ver ga-v-i-g-e-ø čem-o k'arg-o  
 I:ERG DP NEG PRV-S<sub>1</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-(understand)-IND-S<sub>1/2</sub> my-VOC good-VOC  
 As for me, I couldn't understand this, my dear,  
*mara bič'ebma k'i geiges.*  
 magram bič'-eb-ma k'i ga-ø-i-g-es  
 but boy-PL-ERG indeed PRV-S<sub>2/3</sub>-VER<sub>S</sub>-(understand)-S<sub>3</sub>PL.PRT  
 but my friends could.

AFFIRMATIVITY DERIVES HERE FROM FOCUS.

A case study of the Portuguese word *pois* that passed the following stages of grammaticalization:  
 [LOCATIVE ADVERB] > TEMPORAL ADVERB/PREPOSITION/CONJUNCTION > CAUSAL ADVERB/  
 CONJUNCTION > DISCOURSE MARKER > AFFIRMATION MARKER > PHATIC MARKER [Lima 2002]

ETYMOLOGY OF THE SPATIAL TERM 'DOWN'  
 [Klimov 1998: 232; Fähnrich, Saržvelaze 2000: 492-493]:  
 PK \**kwe-*, GEO *kwe-* 'down(wards), below', SVAN *ču-* 'down(wards)'

THE USE OF THE SVAN PREVERB *ču-* IN YES-NO QUESTIONS

(26a) *c'andold bepšw čwadmām mo?*  
 SVAN c'andol-d bepšw-ø ču=ad-ø-mam-e mo  
 bedbug-ERG bedbug-NOM PRV=PRV-O<sub>3</sub>-eat-PRT QST  
 Did the bedbug sting the child?

(26b) *ču.*  
 SVAN ču  
 PRV  
 Yes, already.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

FIGURE 4. THE COGNATES OF THE PK \**kwe* 'below, down'

	LOCATIVE ADVERB	POSTPOSITION	PREVERB	DISCOURSE PARTICLE	AFFIRMATIVE PARTICLE	INFLECTIONAL PREFIX
PK	* <i>kwe</i>			* <i>kwe</i>		
SVAN	<i>ču</i>	- <i>ču</i>	<i>ču-</i>	<i>ču</i>	<i>ču</i>	
GEO	<i>kwe-</i>			<i>ke</i>		
MEGR	<i>ko</i>			[ <i>ko</i> ]	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko-</i>

## HYPOTHESIS

The semantics of the particle *ko* that grammaticalized into the inflectional prefix and the affirmative semantics of the particle *ko* in Modern Megrelian must not be viewed as one. It was probably the discourse particle that grammaticalized into the focal marker and further resulted in target meanings that we have now in the verb, and there was a different, though a related process of development into the affirmative particle which exists as a separate word in Modern Megrelian—parallel to the inflectional prefix.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	adverbial case	PL	plural
AFF	affirmative marker	PRF	perfectivizer
AUX	auxiliary verb	PRT	preterite
CAUS	causative	PRV	preverb
CMPL	complementizer	PRV=PRV	complex preverb
COND	conditional	QST	question marker
DAT	dative case	QUOT	quotative marker
DEST	destinative case	R	root
DP	discourse particle	R.EXT	root extension
ERG	ergative case	S	subject person marker
EQT	equative (adjectives)	SBM	submorph
GEN	genitive case	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SM	series marker
IMPF	imperfect	SUBJ	subjunctive
INCH.PASS	inchoative passive	SUBST	substantivizer
IND	indicative	TERM	terminative case
IPFV.PRV	imperfectivizing preverb	VER <sub>L</sub>	locative versionizer
MSD	masdar, nomen actionis	VER <sub>N</sub>	neutral versionizer
NEG	negation marker	VER <sub>O</sub>	object versionizer
NOM <sub>LOC</sub>	nomen loci	VER <sub>S</sub>	subject versionizer
O	object person marker	VOC	vocative case

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