

Similarities and Differences: some verbal contrasts between Georgian and Mingrelian
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In his seminal book *Das Kharthwelische Verbum* (1930) the German kartvelologist Gerhard Deeters devised a schema to present the general structural framework of the Kartvelian verb. The twelve slots for the morphological elements concerned were these: 1. Preverb(s) (PREV), 2. Personal Prefix(es) (PP), 3. Version Vowel¹ (VV), 4. Root (R), 5. Passive/Inceptive Suffix (/–*ɛn*–/ or /–*d*–/), 6. Causative Suffix(es) (CAUS), 7. Plural Suffix², 8. Thematic Suffix (TS)³, 9. Imperfect Suffix, 10. Mood Vowel (MV), 11. Personal Suffix (PS), 12. Plural Suffix (PL). In what follows I want to examine some correspondences between Georgian (G) and Mingrelian (M) verbs to illustrate how these two closely related but mutually unintelligible languages from the Kartvelian family manifest interesting comparisons and contrasts.

By combining items 2, 11 and 12 from Deeters' list of verbal morphemes, we obtain the following patterns of agreement for (Modern) Georgian verbs:

Georgian Agreement-Affixes of Set A

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	v–	v– –t
2nd person	ø/χ–	ø/χ– –t
3rd person	–s/ɑ/ɔ	–(ɑ/ɛ)n/ɛs/nɛn

Georgian Agreement-Affixes of Set B

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	m–	gv–
2nd person	g–	g– –t
3rd person	ø(/s/h)–	ø(/s/h)– (–t)

The equivalent sets in Mingrelian are:

Mingrelian Agreement-Affixes of Set A

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	v/b/p(?)– (–k)	v/b/p(?)– –t
2nd person	ø– (–k)	ø– –t
3rd person	–(t)ɛ/ʷ/ə/(n)	–n(i)/ɛs/(n.)ɑ(n) ⁴

Mingrelian Agreement-Affixes of Set B

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
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¹ *Charaktervokal*, in Deeters' terminology.

² A feature of Old Georgian verbs.

³ *Präsensstammformans* for Deeters; also known as *Series Marker*.

⁴ In Hewitt (2004.117) these 3rd person plural allomorphs were presented as: –n(i)/ɛs/(n.)ɑ(n), i.e. without brackets enclosing the initial nasal of the final allomorph; this nasal strictly marks the 3rd person (singular) of some verbs. The bracketed final nasal is usually only articulated when a vowel is suffixed to it, such as the yes/no interrogative /–ə/.

1st person	m/b/p(?)-	m/b/p(?)-	-t/n(i)/es/(n.)a(n)
2nd person	g/k'/r/ø-	g/k'/r/ø-	-t/n(i)/es/(n.)a(n)
3rd person	ø-	ø-	-n(i)/es/(n.)a(n)

Each language's 3rd person options in Set A are determined by the 'screeve'⁵ in which they appear. Screeves are traditionally divided into (at least) three Series, because of shared morpho-syntactic features; from Series I we shall investigate the Present Indicative (from the Present Sub-Series) and the Future Indicative (from the Future Sub-Series), whilst from Series II it will be the Aorist Indicative (= Simple Past), and from Series III the Perfect. Kartvelian verbs agree with subjects, direct and indirect objects, but the languages avoid collocations of (non-zero) prefixes⁶.

With these preliminaries out of the way, let us set side by side some paradigms for the verb 'teach'. Verbs are conjugated with shift of subject (viz. in the Present 'I, you, X, we, you-PL, they teach Y (to Z)').

Present Indicative of 'teach X (to Y)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli	v.ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.k ⁷
ø.ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli	ø.ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.k
ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli.s	ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.s
v.ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli.t	v.ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.t
ø.ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli.t	ø.ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.t
ø.(ø.)a.sts'avli.an	ø.(ø.)ø.gur.u(.)an.a(n)

where PP = /v-/ for 1st person subject or /ø-/ for 2nd person subject OR 3rd person direct and indirect object; VV = G /-a-/ ~ M /-ə-/⁸; R = G /-sts'avl-/ ~ M /-gur-/; TS = G /-i-/ ~ M /-u(.)an-/ (?<= /-u(.)ap-/; see the Perfect below); PS = /-s/ for 3rd person singular vs G /-ar/ ~ M /-a(n)/ plural subject, and M /-k/ for 1st/2nd person subject.

Already we see differences: non-cognate roots, the presence in Mingrelian of a PS for the 1st and 2nd person singular, and a Georgian simplex vs Mingrelian complex TS. In fact, this complex TS /-u(.)an-/ is typically associated in Mingrelian with causative forms in combination with the causative formant /-in-/ (e.g.

⁵A term from Georgian /mts'k'riv.i/ 'row' to act as superordinate for the co-hyponyms tense, mood or aspect paradigm-set.

⁶Older Georgian forms like /v.ø.ts'ɛr/ I.X.to-Y.write[-PRES] 'I write (X) to Y' or /g.ɣsd.av.s.t/ you.see.TS.X.PL[-PRES] 'X sees you-PL' would today respectively be: /v.ø.ts'ɛr/ and /g.ɣsd.av.t/, this latter can also mean 'I see you-PL', 'We see you' and 'We see you-PL'. If a 3rd person singular entity is marked by a vocalic suffix, then this can be followed by a pluraliser without difficulty (e.g. G /da.g.i.ts'er.i.a.t/ PREV.you.VV.write.PERF.it.PL 'you-PL have (apparently) written it'; M /p.f.ə/u.n.a(n)/ 1st-person.remember.PRES.X.PL 'we remember X').

⁷There is no standard, literary norm for Mingrelian, and the examples quoted here mainly represent the speech of Mingrelians in Ochamchira (Abkhazia), on the north-western fringe of the Mingrelian-speaking zone; Georgian forms are literary norms. The nasal component of the TS and the 1st/2nd PS may optionally be omitted to give here [vəguruə]/[əguruə].

⁸This represents a regular sound-correspondence between the two languages.

/v.Ø.ə.tʃʰit.in.u(.)ən.k/ 'I redden X'); as 'teach' is semantically causative to 'learn' (to be examined below), the presence of this complex TS is hardly surprising.

Most verbs when shifting from Present to Future Indicative add a preverb, but 'teach' in Georgian is one of those which do not formally distinguish Future from Present. Mingrelian utilises its preverb of affirmation /kə-/, to give:

Future Indicative of 'teach X (to Y)' in Mingrelian

ka.v.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ən.k	= [kəvəguruənk/ku(v)əguruənk]
ka.Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ən.k	= [kəguruənk] ⁹
ka.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ən.s	= [kəguruəns]
ka.v.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ənt	= [kəvəguruənt/ku(v)əguruənt]
ka.Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ənt	= [kəguruənt]
ka.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur.u(.)ən.ə(n)	= [kəguruəna]

In Series II Georgian continues without any preverb, whilst the affirmative preverb is retained in Mingrelian to give:

Aorist Indicative of 'teach X (to Y)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avlə	ka.v.Ø.(Ø).ə.gurs = [kəvəgurs/ku(v)əgurs]
Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avlə	ka.Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.gurs = [kəgurs]
Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avl.ə	ka.Ø.(Ø).ə.gur(u) = [kəgur(u)]
v.Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avl.ət	ka.v.Ø.(Ø).ə.gurs.t = [kəvəgurst/ku(v)əgurst]
Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avl.ət	ka.Ø.Ø.(Ø).ə.gurs.t = [kəgurst]
Ø.(Ø).ə.sts'avl.əs	ka.Ø.(Ø).ə.gurs.s = [kəgurs.s]

In Series III we meet the phenomenon of inversion, whereby the Set A affixes now serve to mark a transitive verb's direct object, whilst it is the Set B affixes which mark the transitive subject; any indirect object will in Georgian be governed by the postposition /-tvis/ 'for' and in Mingrelian be marked by the Allative case (in /-(i)ʃə/) and require no cross-referencing in the verb.

Perfect of 'teach X (to Y)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
m.i.sts'avl.əb.i.ə	ka.m.i.gur.u(.)əp(u.n) = [kəmguruəp(u)]
g.i.sts'avl.əb.i.ə	ka.g.i.gur.u(.)əp(u.n) = [kəiguruəp(u)]
Ø.u.sts'avl.əb.i.ə	ka.Ø.u.gur.u(.)əp(u.n) = [kəguruəp(u)]
gv.i.sts'avl.əb.i.ə	ka.m.i.gur.u(.)əp.u.n.ə(n) = [kəmguruəpuna]
g.i.sts'avl.əb.i.ət	ka.g.i.gur.u(.)əp.u.n.ə(n) = [kəiguruəpuna]
Ø.u.sts'avl.əb.i.ət	ka.Ø.u.gur.u(.)əp.u.n.ə(n) = [kəguruəpuna]

⁹Two consecutive occurrences of /ə/ produce [ə]. The examples amply demonstrate that, whilst Georgian phonetic realisations mirror underlying morphological forms, there is much greater divergence between underlying structure and phonetic realisations in Mingrelian.

Apart from the swapping of affixal sets, there is now a different VV (specifically, we have here the Objective Version), which is /-i-/ in combination with a 1st/2nd person but /-u-/ in combination with a 3rd person entity. G /-i-/ ~ M /-u-/ are the MVs indicating the Perfect, whilst G /-a/ ~ M /-n/ mark the 3rd person direct object. The pluralisers for the transitive subject are the suffixes: G /-t/ ~ M /-a(n)/¹⁰. Whereas Mingrelian retains its complex TS, Georgian inserts the TS /-ɛb-/, which we do not encounter in the Series I or II screeves.

How does the verb 'teach' compare with that meaning 'learn'? The root remains the same, though the TS immediately following Mingrelian's root is the simplex /ap/ and an extra /l/ then accompanies it (cf. the past participle /gur.ap.il.i/ 'learnt'), the whole stem then taking the TS /ɛn/, whilst in the Present (Sub-Series) Georgian resorts to its TS /ɔb/. Neither language has an overt VV:

Present Indicative of 'learn X'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb	b.ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.k
ɔ.ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb	ɔ.ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.k
ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb.s	ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.s
v.ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb.t	b.ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.t
ɔ.ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb.t	ɔ.ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.t
ɔ.sts'ɔvl.ɔb.ɛn	ɔ.gur.ap(.)l.ɛn.a(n)

In the Future (Sub-Series) and in Series II both languages change the VV of the equivalents for 'teach' in the Present or Aorist respectively to the Subjective Version /i/ (to indicate that the verbal action is reflexively directed towards the subject). Only the 1st person is illustrated, and this shews another feature of Mingrelian, namely metathesis of this VV and 1st person PP:

Future Indicative of 'learn X'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ɔ.i.sts'ɔv.li	v.ɔ.i.gur.u(.)a.n.k = [ibguruank]

Aorist Indicative of 'learn X'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ɔ.i.sts'ɔv.lɛ	v.ɔ.i.gur.ɛ = [ibgurɛ]

Finally, here are the Perfect paradigms:

¹⁰This is an example of a significant difference between the two languages. Georgian has developed /m/ vs /gv/ for the 1st person but has generalised the pluraliser /-t/ for the other two persons whereas Mingrelian employs as pluraliser for the prefixed argument whatever suffix would be appropriate to mark the suffixal argument, if that were itself the subject. For example, M /kə.m.(i).dzir.u.n.a(n)/ 'we have seen THEM', where the 3rd person pluraliser pluralises the 1st person subject, vs /kə.m.(i).dzir.ut/ 'we have seen you', where it is the 2nd person object pluraliser that pluralises the same 1st person subject — this latter verb can, of course, also mean 'I have seen you-PL' and 'we have seen you-PL'; in Georgian these four verb-forms would respectively be: /gv.i.nəx.əv.s/, /gv.i.nəx.əv.x.a.r/, /m.i.nəx.əv.x.a.r.t/, and /gv.i.nəx.əv.x.a.r.t/.

Perfect of 'learn X'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
m.i.sts'avl.i.o	m.i.gur.u(.)ap(u(n))
g.i.sts'avl.i.o	g.i.gur.u(.)ap(u(n))
∅.u.sts'avl.i.o	∅.u.gur.u(.)ap(u(n))
gv.i.sts'avl.i.o	m.i.gur.u(.)ap.u.n.σ(n)
g.i.sts'avl.i.at	g.i.gur.u(.)ap.u.n.σ(n)
∅.u.sts'avl.i.at	∅.u.gur.u(.)ap.u.n.σ(n)

Georgian sharply differentiates the Perfect of 'teach' from that of 'learn' by virtue of inserting the TS /sb/ in the former and omitting it from the latter. In Georgian /sb/ is the TS that is associated with the Causative formant /-(∅v/)in-/, and, though neither language actually employs its Causative formant with these verb-forms, as 'teach' is semantically closer to a causative than 'learn', this perhaps explains the presence of /sb/ in the Georgian Perfect. In Mingrelian there is essentially no difference in the Perfects of 'teach' and 'learn', for, although it is not presented here, one can in fact use the affirmative preverb with the forms in this last table. The distinction of meaning is, thus, neutralised in Mingrelian's IIIrd Series. And this is not the only place where this happens. Firstly, note that the Mingrelian verbal noun (Masdar) /gur.ap.σ/ is neutral between 'teaching' and 'learning', whilst in Georgian the former is /sts'avl.sb.σ/ vs the latter /sts'avl.σ/. Mingrelian possesses a IVth Series of verb-forms that are absent from standard Georgian. This is a Series of evidentials, and in the Present Evidential (meaning 'I etc. am/was apparently VERBing') what we find is this:

Present Evidential of 'teach X (to Y)'	Present Evidential of 'learn X'
no.b.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us.k ¹¹	no.b.∅.gur.ap.us.k
no.∅.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us.k	no.∅.∅.gur.ap.us.k
no.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us(n)	no.∅.gur.ap.us(n)
no.b.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us.t	no.b.∅.gur.ap.us.t
no.∅.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us.t	no.∅.∅.gur.ap.us.t
no.∅.(∅).gur.ap.us.n.σ(n)	no.∅.gur.ap.us.n.σ(n)

Despite some morphemic difference in terms of the presence of an extra zero-morph for 'teach', phonetically the two forms are identical, and it is the (syntactic) context that must determine the meaning.

¹¹The final components here relate to the Present of the copula 'I etc. am':

v.σr.s.k	v.σr.s.t
∅.r.s.k	∅.r.s.t
r.s(n)	r.s.n.σ(n)

The VV /s/ is occasionally also found in the 2nd and 3rd person forms too. For comparison, the corresponding Georgian copula is:

v.σr	v.σr.t
χ.σr	χ.σr.t
σ.r.i(σ)	σ.r.i.σn

Parallel patterns are attested with the oppositions: (i) 'put X to sleep' vs 'go to sleep', and (ii) 'wake X up' vs 'awake(n)', the difference being that this time the Future is distinguished from the Present by addition of a preverb. Only the 1st person singular is illustrated:

Present Indicative of 'put X to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ʃ.a.dzin.sɔ	v.ʃ.a.rul.u(.)ɑn.k ¹²

Future Indicative of 'put X to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.v.ʃ.a.dzin.sɔ	(kə.)dɑ.v.ʃ.a.rul.u(.)ɑn.k = [(kə)duvɔruluɑnk]

Aorist Indicative of 'put X to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.v.ʃ.a.dzin.s	(kə.)dɑ.v.ʃ.a.rul.s = [(kə)duvɔruls]

Perfect of 'put X to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.m.i.dzin.sɔ.iɑ	(kə.)dɑ.m.i.rul.u(.)ɑp.u.(n) = [(kə)dɑmruluɑp(u)]

With this sequence of forms compare the equivalents for 'I go etc. to sleep':

Present Indicative of 'go to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ʃ.i.dzin.sɔ	v.ʃ.i.rul.u(.)ɑn.k = [ibruluɑnk ¹³]

Future Indicative of 'go to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.v.ʃ.i.dzin.sɔ	(kə.)dɑ.v.ʃ.i.rul.u(.)ɑn.k = [(ki)dibruluɑnk]

Aorist Indicative of 'go to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.v.ʃ.i.dzin.s	(kə.)dɑ.v.ʃ.i.rul.s = [(ki)dibruls]

Perfect of 'go to sleep'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɑ.m.i.dzin.iɑ	(kə.)dɑ.m.i.rul.u(.)ɑp.u.(n) = [(kə)dɑmruluɑp(u)]

¹²The Present Indicative of 'I etc. am asleep' exhibits, as in Georgian, inversion (with perhaps an internal understood noun 'sleep' representing the absent referent of the Set B affix):

b.lur.s	b.lur.ɑ(n)
r.lur.s	r.lur.ɑ(n)
ʃ.lur.s	ʃ.lur.ɑ(n)

which shews the liquid as root-initial and the rhotic as root-final consonant, whereas the forms in the main body of the text have these metathesised. Q'ipshidze (1914) recognised this fluctuation, whereas in his recent 3-volume dictionary Kadzhaia (2001-2) gives /v.ʃ.a.rul.u(.)ɑn.k/ for 'I put X to sleep' vs /v.ʃ.a.rul.u(.)ɑn.k/ for 'I make X run'.

¹³In both languages the zero PP indicates either an internal or reflexive object that is assumed to be present, motivating both the Subjective Version vowel and the overall transitive morphology of these forms.

So, again, Georgian formally distinguishes the Perfects of 'put to sleep' and 'go to sleep' by employing the TS /ɛb/ for the former, perhaps in recognition of its 'greater' transitivity, achieved by having an overt direct object rather than the covert one postulated for 'go to sleep'. Mingrelian neutralises the verbs in the Perfect, just as it does in its IVth Series Present Evidential, /dɔ.nɔ.rul.ap.u.ɛ(n)/ meaning either 'X is/was apparently putting X to sleep' or 'X is/was apparently going to sleep'. As for the verbal noun, both languages have a neutral form: G /dɑ.dzin.ɛb.ɑ/ = M /rul.ap.ɑ/ or /lur.ap.ɑ/ 'putting/going to sleep'.

The equivalents for 'wake X up' are:

Present Indicative of 'wake X up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ɔ.ɑ.ɛvidzɛb	v.ɔ.ɑ.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑn.k ¹⁴

Future Indicative of 'wake X up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.v.ɔ.ɑ.ɛvidzɛb	gɑ.v.ɔ.ɑ.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑn.k = [gɑk'urtsxinuɑnk]

Aorist Indicative of 'wake X up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.v.ɔ.ɑ.ɛvidzɛ	gɑ.v.ɔ.ɑ.k'urtsx.in.ɛ = [gɑk'urtsxine]

Perfect of 'wake X up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.m.i.ɛvidzɛb.i.ɑ	gɑ.m.i.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑp.u.(n) = [gɑm'urtsxinuɑp(u)]

With this sequence of forms compare the equivalents for 'I wake etc... up':

Present Indicative of 'awake(n)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ɔ.i.ɛvidzɛb	v.ɔ.i.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑn.k = [ibk'urtsxinuɑnk]

Future Indicative of 'awake(n)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.v.ɔ.i.ɛvidzɛb	gɑ.v.ɔ.i.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑn.k = [gibk'urtsxinuɑnk]

Aorist Indicative of 'awake(n)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.v.ɔ.i.ɛvidzɛ	gɑ.v.ɔ.i.k'urtsx.in.ɛ = [gibk'urtsxine]

Perfect of 'awake(n)'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
gɑ.m.i.ɛvidz.(n).i.ɑ ¹⁵	gɑ.m.i.k'urtsx.in.u(.)ɑp.u.(n) = [gɑm'urtsxinuɑp(u)]

¹⁴If one recalls that 'I am awake' is /k'urtsxɛ v.ɑ.r.ɛ.k/, one can see that the verb-form in the body of the text builds on an adjectival root by associating with it the Causative formant /in/. Note that in Georgian 'I am awake' employs an inverted verb-form, patterning like 'I am asleep', namely /m.ɛvidz.ɑv.s/.

¹⁵Note the optional nasal, which occurs in this context with a number of verbs that take the Subjective Version in the Future Sub-Series and the Aorist Series, follow the typically transitive paradigm, but usually take no overt direct object. I would relate this nasal to Georgian's Causative formant and

The neutralised IVth Series Present Evidential is /gɔ.nɔ.kʰurtɕx.in.ɔp.uɕ(n)/ 'X is/was apparently waking X up' or 'X is/was apparently waking up'. Both languages again have a neutral verbal noun: G /gɔ.ɛvidzɕb.ɔ/ = M /kʰurtɕx.in.ɔp.ɔ/ 'waking (X) up'.

The verbs examined thus far have been transitives, even if some lack an overt direct object. Let us now turn our attention to the intransitive pairings: (i) 'lie down' vs 'be prone/prostrate', (ii) 'stand up' vs 'be standing', (iii) 'sit down' vs 'be seated'.

The Georgian root for 'lying (down)' is /tsʰ(v)/ = Mingrelian /(n)dʒ/, and a suffixal expansion appears in the verbal nouns (and elsewhere): G /dɔ.tsʰ.ɔl.ɔ/ 'lying down' vs /tsʰ.ɔl.ɔ/ 'being prone/prostrate' = M /(n)dʒ.ir.ɔ/ 'lying down//being prone/prostrate'. The Present Indicative conjugation for 'I etc. lie down' is:

Present Indicative of 'lie down'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.tsʰvɕb.i	v.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.k = [ɪndʒiruk]
ɔtsʰvɕb.i	ɔ.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.k
tsʰvɕb.ɔ	i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.(n)
v.tsʰvɕb.it	v.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.t = [ɪndʒirut]
ɔtsʰvɕb.it	ɔ.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.t
tsʰvɕb.i.ɔn	i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.n.ɔ(n)

Georgian here follows the so-called 'markerless' intransitive/passive paradigm, whereby there is no special prefix before the root or suffix between root and TS, which here helps to indicate intransitivity, and the final element is the MV. Mingrelian, on the other hand, selects the 'prefixed' pattern (in /i-/) to mark its intransitivity; the root takes its expansion (whatever the origin of this element might have been — was it once a TS?); the /-u/ can, in terms of Deeters' schema, be treated as partly TS and partly MV, but, however one treats it, it is part of the Ist Series intransitive morphology of many verbs in Mingrelian. The Future then simply adds the perfectivising preverb, which is taken over into Series II and III:

Future Indicative of 'lie down'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɔ.v.tsʰvɕb.i	dɔ.v.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u.k = [dimdʒiruk]

Aorist Indicative of 'lie down'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
dɔ.v.tsʰk.il ⁶	dɔ.v.i.ndʒ(.).ir.i = [dimdʒir(i)]
dɔ.ɔ.tsʰk.i	dɔ.ɔ.i.ndʒ(.).ir.i = [dindʒiri]
dɔ.tsʰv.ɔ	dɔ.ɔ.i.ndʒ(.).ir.u = [dindʒir]

identify its role in these Perfects as underlying the verb's essential transitivity, obscured by the lack of an overt argument as object.

¹⁶Also found is the older /dɔ.v.tsʰv.i/, and both alternatives can omit the final vowel; the same possibilities apply to the 2nd person singular too.

da.v.ts'ek.it	do.v.indz(.)ir.i.t = [dimdzir it]
da.ø.ts'ek.it	do.ø.i.ndz(.)ir.i.t = [dindzirit]
da.ts'v.nen	do.ø.i.ndz(.)ir.əs = [dindzires]

Perfect of 'lie down'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
da.v.ts'(.)ol.il.v.a.r	do.m.i.ndz(.)ir.u.(n) = [domdzir(u)]
da.ø.ts'(.)ol.il.x.a.r	do.g.i.ndz(.)ir.u.(n) = [doindziru]
da.ts'(.)ol.il.o	do.ø.u.ndz(.)ir.u.(n) = [d(ə)undzir(u)]
da.v.ts'(.)ol.il.v.a.r.t	do.m.i.ndz(.)ir.u.n.o(n) = [domdziruna]
da.ø.ts'(.)ol.il.x.a.r.t	do.g.i.ndz(.)ir.u.n.o(n) = [doindziruna]
da.ts'(.)ol.il.ən	do.ø.u.ndz(.)ir.u.n.o(n) = [d(ə)undziruna]

The Georgian Perfect conforms to the expected pattern, whereby the past participle /da.ts'(.)ol.il.i/ is fused to the Present Indicative of the copula, and the form is patently monoperosonal (and monovalent). Mingrelian presents an altogether different picture. Whilst Q'ipshidze in 1914 quoted the anticipated correlate /do.v.dz(.)ir.(sl.)ə.k/, no such form was offered by my informants, who produced the inverted pattern presented above. Being inverted, the form is, of course, bipersonal (containing agreement-affixes from both Set A and Set B), though, anglocentrically, this is a prototypical monovalent verb. Might it be that, inversion, being a characteristic in Series III of transitive verbs, is becoming linked to another semantic feature typical of transitives, namely activity (defined as subjects acting voluntarily and in control of their actions), such that it is being extended to 'active' intransitives like the one illustrated here¹⁷? Before we answer this question, let us consider the stative (non-active) counterpart 'be prone/prostrate':

Present Indicative of 'be lying prone/prostrate'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.ts'ev.[v.]a.r	v.ø.o.dz(.)ən.u.k
ø.ts'ev.x.a.r	ø.dz(.)ən.u.k
ts'ev.s	dz(.)ən.u.(n)
v.ts'ev.[v.]a.r.t	v.ø.o.dz(.)ən.ut
ø.ts'ev.x.a.r.t	ø.dz(.)ən.ut
ts'v.ən.ən	dz(.)ən.u.n.o(n)

At least for the first two persons Georgian combines the root with the copula. The reduplicated element /əv/ in the 3rd person plural might have appeared under the influence of /dg.ən.ən/ 'they are standing' (see below). Mingrelian employs a different root-expansion, and in the 1st person my informants at least inserted a VV parallel to the one found in the same person in the copula; though not all speakers employ this

¹⁷The basic verb of motion also forms its IIIrd Series screeves in this way.

VV, having here /b.dʒ(.)an.u.kʰ/, one can logically understand why the Locative Version might be associated with this and similar verbs, as 'lying' implies location 'on something' (represented by the 3rd person Set B prefix) — also note that the presence of the VV serves the useful purpose in the 1st person of separating two consonants, whilst, with no such role to play, it does not appear (or, if originally used, has been dropped) in the other persons.

In the Future Sub-Series and Series II Georgian resorts to the prefixal intransitive formation, which from a simplistically formal viewpoint takes the paradigms presented above for 'lie down', removes the preverb and prefixes the VV /i/¹⁸. Mingrelian, differently from Georgian, has both perfective and imperfective paradigms for the Future Sub-Series, and, as the meaning is here 'will be lying prone/prostrate', it naturally chooses its imperfective conjugation to convey this meaning, and this screeve is produced by associating the Present Subjunctive, suffixed with the general subordinator /-n(i)/ 'that', with the 3rd person singular of the copula, namely /i.ʔ.i(n)/ or /i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)/ 'it will be', to give:

Future Indicative of 'be lying prone/prostrate'

Georgian

Mingrelian

v.itʂʰvəbi

v.ø.ə.dʒ(.)an.u.d.ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)¹⁹

ø.itʂʰvəbi

ø.dʒ(.)an.u.d.ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)

itʂʰvəbɑ

dʒ(.)an.u.d.ɑ.sj/ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)²⁰

v.itʂʰvəbi.t

v.ø.ə.dʒ(.)an.u.d.ɑ.ti/ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)

ø.itʂʰvəbi.t

ø.dʒ(.)an.u.d.ɑ.ti/ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)

itʂʰvəbi.an

dʒ(.)an.u.d.ɑ.nj/ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)

Whilst Georgian has regular prefixal intransitive screeves in Series II, Mingrelian's past tense is formally an Imperfect Indicative, viz. a screeve from the Present Sub-Series of Series I:

Past Indicative of 'be lying prone/prostrate'

Georgian (Aorist)

Mingrelian (Imperfect)

v.itʂʰk.i

v.ø.ə.dʒ(.)an.u.d(i)²¹

ø.itʂʰk.i

ø.dʒ(.)an.u.d.i

itʂʰv.ɑ

dʒ(.)an.u.d(u)

v.itʂʰk.it

v.ø.ə.dʒ(.)an.u.d.it

ø.itʂʰk.it

ø.dʒ(.)an.u.d.it

¹⁸Old Georgian used a subjunctive to convey future meaning but in Series II here the i-prefix was absent (as indeed with the corresponding stative forms for 'be standing' and 'be seated' below) — see relevant examples in Imnaishvili (1949).

¹⁹/b.dʒ(.)an.u.d.ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)/ for those not using the VV.

²⁰Note the change in the subjunctive vowel: /ɜ/ in the first two persons singular vs /ɑ/ elsewhere, which is reminiscent of the restriction of the PS /k/ to the first two persons singular and of a number of similar patterns in Svan.

²¹For those who do not use the VV this form will be /b.dʒ(.)an.u.d(i)/.

i.tsʷ.v.nən

dg(.)an.u.d.əs

When it comes to the Perfect, matters are clearcut only in Georgian, where the dynamic Perfect given above is simply shorn of its preverb. For Mingrelian two alternatives were suggested. First to come into my main informant's head was what is actually a IVth Series form; but the second variant is the more interesting — in a sense, it mirrors Georgian insofar as the preverb is simply dropped from the dynamic member of the pair, but this still leaves this stative (or INactive) form manifesting inversion, which proves that inversion with these seemingly intransitive IIIrd Series forms in Mingrelian cannot be motivated by Active semantics:

Perfect of 'be lying prone/prostrate'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.tsʷ(.)əl.il.v.a.r	no.b.dʒ(.)an.(u).s.k ²² /m.i.ndʒ(.)ir.u(n)
ø.tsʷ(.)əl.il.χ.a.r	no.ø.dʒ(.)an.(u).s.k/g.i.ndʒ(.)ir.u(n)
tsʷ(.)əl.il.ə	no.dʒ(.)an.(u).s(n)/ø.u.ndʒ(.)ir.u(n)
v.tsʷ(.)əl.il.v.a.r.t	no.b.dʒ(.)an.(u).s.t/m.i.ndʒ(.)ir.u.n.ə(n)
ø.tsʷ(.)əl.il.χ.a.r.t	no.ø.dʒ(.)an.(u).s.t/g.i.ndʒ(.)ir.u.n.ə(n)
tsʷ(.)əl.il.ən	no.dʒ(.)an.(u).s.n.ə(n)/ø.u.ndʒ(.)ir.u.n.ə(n)

Moving on to the pair 'stand up' vs 'be standing', we find Georgian using the root /dg/ for both members of the pair, whereas three different roots are required for the Mingrelian correlates, though for the stative paradigm-set it is the copula which provides the root, albeit in association with the preverb /gə/ʷ-²³:

Present Indicative of 'be standing'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.dg.a.v.a.r	g(.)i.v.ø.o.r.s.k
ø.dg.a.χ.a.r	g(.)s.ø.r.s.k
dg.a.s	g(.)s.ø.r.s(n)
v.dg.a.v.a.r.t	g(.)i.v.ø.o.r.s.t
ø.dg.a.χ.a.r.t	g(.)s.ø.r.s.t
dg.an.ən	g(.)s.r.s.n.ə(n)

Is the internal nasal in the 3rd person plural of the Georgian form originally a device to keep the two vowels apart, the reduplicated syllable then being extended, as seen above, to the corresponding stative 'they are lying prone/prostrate'?

Future Indicative of 'be standing'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.i.dg.s.b.i	g(.)i.v.ø.o.r.d.s.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)əp.u(n)

²²For comparison /no.v.ndʒ(.)ir.u.s.k/ [nɔmɔdʒirusk] is the IVth Series Present Evidential 'I am/was evidently lying'.

²³This apparently simplex preverb is possibly in origin complex, being a fusion of /gə-/ + /s-/, the latter being cognate by regular sound-correspondence with the Georgian preverb /w/ 'up'; cf. the Present vs non-Present forms of 'stand up' below. If so, perhaps it is preferable to write it as /g(.)s-/.

Past Indicative of 'be standing'

<u>Georgian (Aorist)</u>	<u>Mingrelian (Imperfect)</u>
v.i.dsk.i	g(.)i.v.ø.o.r.d.i
ø.i.dsk.i	g(.)ø.r.d.i
i.dg.o	g(.)ø.r.d.u/ə
v.i.dsk.it	g(.)i.v.ø.o.r.d.it
ø.i.dsk.it	g(.)ø.r.d.it
i.dg.nən	g(.)ø.r.d.əs

Perfect of 'be standing'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.m.dg.ar.v.a.r	g(.)ə.m.i.r.in.u(n) = [gəmrin(u)]
ø.m.dg.ar.χ.a.r	g(.)ə.g.i.r.in.t(n) = [gəirin(u)]
m.dg.ar.a	g(.)ə.ø.u.r.in.u(n) = [gəurin(u)]
v.m.dg.ar.v.a.r.t	g(.)ə.m.i.r.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gəmrin(u)nɑ]
ø.m.dg.ar.χ.a.r.t	g(.)ə.g.i.r.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gəirin(u)nɑ]
m.dg.ar.ɑn	g(.)ə.ø.u.r.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gəurin(u)nɑ]

The past participle in Georgian here has the shape /m.dg.ar.i/ 'standing'. Again in Mingrelian we see inversion in another INactive Perfect (N.B. /r.in.ɑ/ is the verbal noun of the copula 'being'). Q'ipshidze (1914) quoted a 1st person singular Perfect that correlates directly with the Georgian formula, namely /g(.)ə.v.r.in.(əl.)ə.k/, but this was not offered by my informant(s).

For the corresponding dynamic verb 'stand up' we have the root /dirt/ in Series I and II vs the stem /dg.in/, which combines root /dg/ with TS (or Causative?) /in/, in Series III:

Present Indicative of 'stand up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.dgəb.i	ə.b.dirt.u/ə.k
ø.dgəb.i	ə.ø.dirt.u/ə.k
dg.əb.ɑ	ə.dirt.u/ə(n)
v.dgəb.it	ə.b.dirt.u/ə.t
ø.dgəb.it	ə.ø.dirt.u/ə.t
dg.əb.i.ɑn	ə.dirt.u/ə.n.ɑ(n)

Future Indicative of 'stand up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
ɑ.v.dgəb.i	g(.)ə.b.dirt.u/ə.k

Aorist Indicative of 'stand up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
ɑ.v.dsk.i	g(.)ə.b.dirt.i
ɑ.ø.dsk.i	g(.)ə.ø.dirt.i

a.dg.o	g(.)e.ø.dir(ɥ/ə)
a.v.dsk.it	g(.)e.b.dir.it
a.ø.dsk.it	g(.)e.ø.dir.it
a.dg.nen	g(.)e.ø.dir.es

Perfect of 'stand up'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
a.v.m.dg.ar.v.a.r	g(.)e.m.i.dg.in.u(n) = [gɛmdgin(u)]
a.ø.m.dg.ar.χ.a.r	g(.)e.g.i.dg.in.u(n) = [gɛidgin(u)]
a.m.dg.ar.a	g(.)e.ø.u.dg.in.u(n) = [gɛudgin(u)]
a.v.m.dg.ar.v.a.r.t	g(.)e.m.i.dg.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gɛmdgin(u)nɑ]
a.ø.m.dg.ar.χ.a.r.t	g(.)e.g.i.dg.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gɛidgin(u)nɑ]
a.m.dg.ar.a.n	g(.)e.ø.u.dg.in.u.n.ɑ(n) = [gɛudgin(u)nɑ]

The final pairing to be examined is 'sit down' vs 'be seated'. In Georgian there is a rigidly observed rule of root-suppletion depending on whether the subject is singular (/zi²⁴ in the Present Sub-Series; /dʒd/ or /dʒɛk/ elsewhere) or plural (/sɣ(ɛ)d/). The simplest form of the root in Mingrelian is /χ/, with expanded variants (not determined by plurality of subject): /χ(.)un²⁵, /χ(.)vɛn/, /χ(.)ɔd/. Let us begin with the stative paradigm.

Present Indicative of 'be seated'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.zi.v.a.r	v.ø.ɔ.χ.ɛ.k
ø.zi.χ.a.r	ø.χ.ɛ.k
zi.s	χ.ɛ(n)
v.sɣed.v.a.r.t	v.ø.ɔ.χ.ɛ.t
ø.sɣed.χ.a.r.t	ø.χ.ɛ.t
sɣed.a.n	χ.ɛ.n.ɑ(n)

Again, the 1st person forms were those offered by my Mingrelian informants, but the VV is omissible to give [b/p.χ.ɛ.k/t].

For the (imperfective) Future, Mingrelian this time has a synthetic prefixal intransitive conjugation to rival the analytic patterns seen above:

Future Indicative of 'be seated'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.i.dʒd.ɔ.b.i	v.ø.ɔ.χ.ɛ.d.ɔ.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//v.i.χ(.)vɛn(u(.)ap.)u.k = [ibɣvɛn(uap)uk]
ø.i.dʒd.ɔ.b.i	ø.χ.ɛ.d.ɔ.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//ø.i.χ(.)vɛn(u(.)ap.)u.k
i.dʒd.ɔ.b.ɔ	χ.ɛ.d.ɑ.si/ə.n i.ʔ.i(n)/i.ʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//i.χ(.)vɛn(u(.)ap.)u(n)

²⁴Or is the root just /z/ with the i-vowel playing the same role as the a-vowel in the Present Indicative of 'be standing'?

²⁵The element /un/ carries causative force in some instances, e.g. /zaira tʃil.ɔ s(.)k'iv.ø.i.χ.un.s/ [sk'iibɣunɛ] 'I seated Zaira beside myself as wife' = 'I married Zaira'. Georgian uses an entirely different root, though the construction is the same, viz. /zaira tsol.ɑd ʃɛ.v.ø.i.r.t.ɔ/.

v.i.sxdəb.it v.ø.o.χə.d.ati/ə.n iʔ.i(n)/iʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//v.iχ(.)vən(u.)ap.ut =
[ibχvən(uap)ut]
 ø.i.sxdəb.it ø.χə.d.ati/ə.n iʔ.i(n)/iʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//ø.iχ(.)vən(u.)ap.ut
 i.sxdəb.i.ən χə.d.a.ni/ə.n iʔ.i(n)/iʔ.u(.)ap.u(n)//i.χ(.)vən(u.)ap.u.n.ə(n)

Past Indicative of 'be seated'

<u>Georgian (Aorist)</u>	<u>Mingrelian (Imperfect)</u>
v.i.dʒək.i	v.ø.o.χə.d.i
ø.i.dʒək.i	ø.χə.d.i
i.dʒd.a	χə.d(u)
v.i.sχəd.it	v.ø.o.χə.d.it
ø.i.sχəd.it	ø.χə.d.it
i.sχd.nən	χə.dəs

When it comes to the Perfect, Georgian combines, as expected, preverbless past participle /m.dʒd/sχd.ər.i/ with Present tense of the copula, whilst for Mingrelian the form most widely offered as semantic equivalent is actually the IVth Series Present Evidential²⁶:

Perfect of 'be seated'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
v.m.dʒd.ər.v.ər	no.bχ(u).ə.k
ø.m.dʒd.ər.χ.ər	no.ø.χ(u).ə.k
m.dʒd.ər.ə	no.χ(u).ə(n)
v.m.sχd.ər.v.ər.t	no.bχ(u).ə.t
ø.m.sχd.ər.χ.ər.t	no.ø.χ(u).ə.t
m.sχd.ər.ən	no.χ(u).ə.n.ə(n)

As for the dynamic 'sit down', Georgian behaves in a way that is entirely predictable on the pattern of 'lie down' and 'stand up'. Mingrelian once more has a surprise. Firstly, the preverb /də-/ 'down' is used in the Present Sub-Series, and one immediately wonders how the Future is differentiated. One way is either not to distinguish the two at all, or to add the affirmative preverb, but this is not the method preferred by my informants from Ochamchira. These reduplicate the preverb, but in doing so fuse the instantiation nearer the root with the root, as shewn by the position of the 1st person prefix. The Perfect, as might be anticipated by now, is characterised by inversion:

Present Indicative of 'sit down'

<u>Georgian</u>	<u>Mingrelian</u>
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²⁶The form 'expected' (sc. on the basis of the patterning in Georgian), namely /ti.s ø.u.χ(.)u.n.(ə.l.)u(n)/ 'XDAT (has) apparently sat' (see below), is accepted by some of the speakers I have consulted but not by others. I thank here P'ant'e Basilaia, Neli T'orchua, Manana Gunia, Davit Rapava, and Givi K'archava, all of whom have served as informants over the years.

v.dʒdɛb.i	dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k
ø.dʒdɛb.i	dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k
dʒdɛb.ɔ	dɔ.x(.)ɔd.u/ə(n)
v.sɣdɛb.i.t	dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t
ø.sɣdɛb.i.t	dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t
sɣdɛb.i.ɔn	dɔ.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.n.ɔ(n)

Future Indicative of 'sit down'

Georgian

Mingrelian

da.v.dʒdɛb.i	(ki.)dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k//	(ki.)dɔ.b.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k
da.ø.dʒdɛb.i	(ki.)dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k//	(ki.)dɔ.ø.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.u/ə.k
da.dʒdɛb.ɔ	(ki.)dɔ.x(.)ɔd.u/ə(n)//	(ki.)dɔ.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.u/ə(n)
da.v.sɣdɛb.i.t	(ki.)dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t//	(ki.)dɔ.b.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t
da.ø.sɣdɛb.i.t	(ki.)dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t//	(ki.)dɔ.ø.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.u/ə.t
da.sɣdɛb.i.ɔn	(ki.)dɔ.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.n.ɔ(n)//	(ki.)dɔ.dɔ.x(.)ɔd.u/ə.n.ɔ(n)

Aorist Indicative of 'sit down'

Georgian

Mingrelian

da.v.dʒɛk.i	(ki.)dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.i//	(ki.)dɔ.b.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.i
da.ø.dʒɛk.i	(ki.)dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.i//	(ki.)dɔ.ø.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.i
da.dʒd.ɔ	(ki.)dɔ.x(.)ɔd(u/ə)//	(ki.)dɔ.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd(u/ə)
da.v.sɣɛd.i.t	(ki.)dɔ.b.x(.)ɔd.i.t//	(ki.)dɔ.b.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.i.t
da.ø.sɣɛd.i.t	(ki.)dɔ.ø.x(.)ɔd.i.t//	(ki.)dɔ.ø.dɔ(.)x(.)ɔd.i.t
da.sɣd.nɛn	(ki.)dɔ.x(.)ɔd.es//	(ki.)dɔ.dɔ.x(.)ɔd.es

Perfect of 'sit down'

Georgian

Mingrelian

da.v.m.dʒd.ar.v.a.r	dɔ.m.i.x(.)un.(al)u(n) = [dɔmɣun(al)u]
da.ø.m.dʒd.ar.x.a.r	dɔ.g.i.x(.)un.(al)u(n) = [dɔiɣun(al)u]
da.m.dʒd.ar.ɔ	dɔ.ø.u.x(.)un.(al)u(n) = [d(ə)uɣun(al)u]
da.v.m.sɣd.ar.v.a.r.t	dɔ.m.i.x(.)un.(al)u.n.ɔ(n) = [dɔmɣun(al)u)nɔ]
da.ø.m.sɣd.ar.x.a.r.t	dɔ.g.i.x(.)un.(al)u.n.ɔ(n) = [dɔiɣun(al)u)nɔ]
da.m.sɣd.ar.ɔn	dɔ.ø.u.x(.)un.(al)u.n.ɔ(n) = [d(ə)uɣun(al)u)nɔ]

One possible explanation for the reduplication of the preverb in this common verb-form is to avoid confusion with another, altogether more delicate, paradigm: Present /b.ø.x(.)ɔd.un.k/, Future /dɔ.b.ø.x(.)ɔd.un.k/, Aorist /dɔ.b.ø.x(.)ɔd.i/, Perfect /dɔ.m.i.x(.)ɔd.u/ [dɔmɣɔd(u)], which means 'I fuck etc. X'.

This survey of some verbal morphological oppositions has demonstrated how, within the same general framework, the two languages Georgian and Mingrelian can differ quite radically from each other in a number of ways. We have deliberately not touched upon the question of the nominal syntax associated with these forms in order to keep the article's overall length in manageable proportions, but, if one wishes to

hazard a guess as to why the phenomenon of inversion might be being spread in Series III to forms where, on the evidence of Georgian, it is quite unintended, it might be pertinent to note the following. In Series II the case in /-k/ must originally have paralleled the usage of the Georgian case in /-n(α(n))/, which is characteristic of transitive subjects/agents. And yet today it has been extended to mark the subject of all Series II verbs²⁷, presumably to underscore their subjecthood. Might it be that a similar shift is underway in Series III, possibly starting with 'Active' intransitives (such as the verb of motion, 'stand up', 'sit down', 'lie down', 'return' and some others) because of the active semantics that such intransitive subjects share with transitive subject/agents, then getting extended to verbs devoid of active semantics but closely related morphologically to verb-forms that are so characterised? If Series III inversion is a property of essentially transitive verbs, are the prototypically intransitives that have adopted it in Mingrelian thereby transitivised? I leave this question tantalisingly open.

I hope in passing to have exhibited something of the richness of Mingrelian morphology and to have produced enough evidence, even in such a short sketch, to give the lie to the baseless boast one sometimes hears from Georgians, many of whom believe the old canard that Mingrelian is a Georgian dialect, that all they need is half an hour among Mingrelian speakers to understand everything that is said.

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²⁷With the class of Indirect verbs (sc. those that manifest inversion in ALL screeves, regardless of Series) such as 'I fell in love with X', the case in /-k/ marks the logical object ('X' in the sequence just quoted), but the extension must have taken place when this argument served as the actual subject (presumably for a meaning akin to 'X became the object of love to me').