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VI

TYPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

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TYPES OF VERBAL AFFIXATION IN GEORGIAN

1. The description of Georgian verb forms in terms of position classes or "slots" has a long tradition in Kartvelology. After Finck's (1910, 139-140) short sketch which listed some possible sequences ("eine Reihe möglicher Bildungen"), it was Deeters (1930, 6-7) who set up a chart of the specific relative order of morphemes ("Eine kharthwelische Verbform kann folgende unterschiedliche sinntragenden Elemente enthalten") und explicitly stated some cases of mutual exclusiveness ("von diesen Elementen schließen einander aus ..."), e.g. passive *-d* and causative *-in*. On a more general level, L. Bloomfield's concept of morpheme "ranking" then led to the development of a detailed method of describing morpheme sequence relations in complex words which became popular through Gleason's textbook (1955) and its Russian translation. This framework appealed to people who, like Meri Damenia, had a long experience with problems of automatic language processing, and it is on this basis that the Georgian linguist presented her analysis of the Georgian verb which stands out both for its coverage of possible forms and for the depth of its structuralist discussion of the problem. This article is dedicated to her memory and tries to continue her line of reasoning by resuming some questions raised in her monograph of 1982.

Georgian morphology has become a favourite material that serves to illustrate and test theoretical models of inflection. The following observations, however, have a more modest goal, namely to give a cursory survey of the morphological properties occurring in verbal affixation. It should be noted that my analysis is also far from being complete. For instance, many complexities of the perfect series and many other forms had to be neglected.

I will begin with the description of some properties of the ranking model and its implications for Georgian verb morphology. In particular I will discuss two types of affixation: one that occurs in both derivation and inflection (2.) and which according to some theoretical frameworks is susceptible to a constituent structure interpreta-

tion in the case of derivation (3.); and another type which typically occurs in inflection (4.) and whose rules in various ways refer to non-adjacent units (5.) or to the concept of "slot" (6.). A tentative conclusion shall sum up these preliminary results (7.), which will be followed by a short outlook (8.).

2. The ranking model considers word forms as concatenations of morphological positions or slots that are exclusively characterised by the classes of units that fill them and by their sequential properties. However, forms like (1) and (2) disturb the picture of unique class membership, because one and the same unit occurs twice in the same word form:

- (1) *c'a-v₁-sul-v₂-ar* Preverb-1S₁-gone-1S₂-be 'I have gone away'
- (2) *a-k'et-eb₁-in-eb₂-s* Version-make-TS₁-Caus-TS₂-3SgS 's/he causes him/her to make it'
- (3) *k'et-eb-a* make-TS-Masdar- 'making, to make'
- (4) *k'et-eb₁-in-eb₂-a* make-TS₁-Caus-TS₂-Masdar- 'causing to make, to cause to make'
- (5) *xat'-v-a* paint-TS-Masdar 'painting, to paint'
- (6) *xat'-v-evin-eb-a* paint-TS-Caus-TS-Masdar 'causing to paint'

In (1) Damenia assumes a discontinuous rank filled by two identical instances of the same morph(eme). We will not pursue this issue here. – As for (2), Damenia (p. 48) argues that *k'et-eb-* has to be considered as a lexeme which is the stem of the masdar word-formation in (3). (2), then, seems to contain two stems (or "roots" according to Damenia's terminology): *k'et-* (R) and *k'et-eb₁-* (R'). However, while this description correctly captures the fact that *k'et-eb₁-* (R') is the stem required by causative formation, it disregards other properties of (2) and (4). Firstly, since (4) is as much a masdar as (3), both *k'et-eb-* and *k'et-eb₁-in-eb₂-* should be considered as a result of lexical word formation, and the difference between derivational *-eb* and "inflectional" *-eb* is not valid. Second, this distinction disregards the predominant identity of inflectional theme markers ("rank 2": *-eb*, *-(a)v*, etc. in *v-a-k'et-eb* 'I make it', *v-xat'-av* 'I paint him/her/it') and their derivational counterpart in masdars like (3) and (5). In other words, *k'et-eb-*, *v-xat'-(a)v-* are lexical, derivationally formed stems available for further derivation: *k'et-eb-in-*, *xat'-(a)v-in-*. In this, the-

me markers differ fundamentally from, for instance, the "paradigm marker" *-e* in *v-a-k'et-e* 'I made it', *v-xat'-e* 'I painted it', which is inflectional and not derivational. The ban of two identical morphemes *-eb-* in rank theory, which Damenia saves by assigning them to derivation (lexicon) and inflection, respectively, can be preserved inside lexical derivation: the rule adding *-eb* to a stem refers to the category "verb" of its adjacent stem, but it is "blind to" its internal structure (e.g. the polymorph(em)ic structure of *k'et-eb-in-* in (2) and (4)). Therefore, *-eb* can be added to *k'et-eb-* by the same rule that adds *-eb-* to *k'et-*. (*-eb* should probably be treated as an "elsewhere" option besides zero and *-av*, *-am*, *-ob* etc., whose choice is controlled by inflectional class features in addition to the category feature "verb".) In this sense, the difference between R and R' refers to the derivational history of words, not to their selectional properties: there is no rule that refers to this difference.

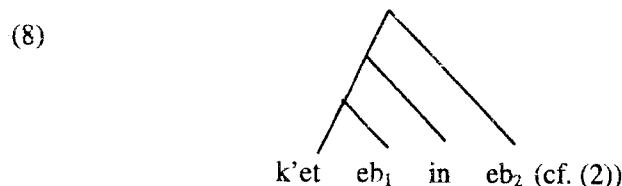
The tacit assumption behind this description is that inflection does not feed derivation: if *-eb₁*, *-in* and *-eb₂* in (4) were inflectional suffixes, the nominal suffix *-a* would derive the masdar from an inflectional form. As a consequence, the passive (inchoative) suffix *-d-* also has to be considered as derivational, since if we consider *-eb-* to be a derivational suffix, *k'et-d-* must be a derived stem in:

- (7) *k'et-d-eb-a* make-Passive-TS-3SgS 'it is being made'

And indeed, for A. Shanidze both causative and passive (voice) are derivational categories (c'armokmna), although traditional grammar tends to classify their markers as inflectional. Classifying thematic suffixes as derivational might look counterintuitive, since thematic suffixes mark "tense series", and tenses are inflectional categories. However, the stem of the "present series" marked by thematic suffixes is nothing but a paradigmatic unit used to form both present series tenses (and partially the perfect) and nominal forms of the verb (masdars and participles), where the oppositions between present, aorist and perfect series and between active and passive are neutralised. While present series forms, perfect forms, masdars and participles may be semantically more or less related to each other, they can hardly be said to share a specific grammatical meaning. Rather, their relationship seems to be "Priscianic" in the sense of P. Matthews: all

these forms can be described as being based on the same stem without inheriting a specific meaning from one of them (e.g. from the present series stem).

3. There is a difference between derivational and inflectional segments of the Georgian verb. According to Damenia and many contemporary morphologists, this difference is connected with a difference of component: derivational rules feed the lexicon, and their output is not the kind of concatenative units that show ranking properties like the ban of morpheme repetition; they are R / R' in Damenia's sense. Indeed, in a seminal analysis of the Iroquoian (Oneida) polysynthetic verb, Lounsbury (1953) points out that besides the linear sequence of inflectional morphemes (which, "when they occur, always occur in the same relative order with respect to the other morphemes"), there are derivational forms "involving constructions within constructions". Whether we conceive of these structures as hierarchical trees in the fashion familiar from syntax:



or as the result of some other type of ordered rule application (as e.g. in word-and-paradigm theories of morphology), their decisive feature is that they are not simply linear and "that the distribution of particular affixes is controlled by sub-categorization statements, and these are prevented in principle from referring to anything other than properties of the affix's immediate sister" (Anderson 1992, 259): the suffixation of *-eb₁*, *-in*, *-eb₂* in (5) only depends on their respective preceding sister constituent, since both instances of *-eb* occur after a class of stems that comprises neither *xat'* 'paint', nor *c'er-* 'write' (which exhibit *-av* or the lack of a thematic marker, respectively, both for present series stem and masdar formation), but a residual class of stems (if our interpretation of *-eb* as an "elsewhere form" is correct). Similarly, causative *-in* occurs after a specific type of stem (after a present series stem). These suffixes, then, fulfil two standard criteria of "layered morphology" (as proposed by Simpson and

Withgott 1986): the adjacency constraint, and the "No Lookahead constraint" (ib. p. 155) which bans reference to more peripheral affixes: neither *-eb* nor *-in* make reference to such a property.

4. Derivation seems to be restricted to this type of affixation, but the reverse is not true. For instance, the allomorphy of the "extension marker" *-d/-od* (imperfect/subjunctive present) depends on properties of its preceding sister constituent and not of its adjacent affix: *-od* occurs after passive and (most) middle verb stems (as in (9)); it is not selected on the basis of a property of its adjacent morpheme *-eb* (with which *-d* occurs in active forms, as in (10)); rather, it is blind to the internal bracketing of the preceding constituent [*xat'*-*eb*] in (9):

(9) *i-xat'-eb-od-a* Version-paint-Passive-Ext-3SgS 'was being painted'

(10) *a-k'et-eb-d-a* Version-make-TS-Ext-3SgS 's/he was making it'

5. Now consider verb-final person and number marking in Georgian: the final "third person" marker does not necessarily depend on an adjacent affix; rather, it depends on the absence of a 1st/2nd person prefix marking. Similarly, the final number marker *-t* occurs with some subject/object prefixes, but not with the 1st person object prefix *gv-*.

Finally, verbal prefixes can refer to non-adjacent or subsequent markers. On the one hand, the objective version marker refers to its immediately preceding position, since *-i* occurs after 1st/2nd person object markers (as in (11)), whereas *-u-* occurs in their absence (as in (12)). *-u-* does not refer to an indirect object in (11), nor is there any 3rd person direct object marker that could trigger the use of *-u-*; there is no reason to stipulate a zero marker before *-u-*, and *-u-* is not a portmanteau morph (contra Boeder 1968, 97).

(11) *ga-g-i-šv-i* Preverb-2O-Version-let.go-PM 'I let him/her go'

(12) *ga-v-u-šv-i* Preverb-1S-Version-let.go-PM 'I let him/her go'

On the other hand, the version slot can "look ahead". Causatives generally require the presence of a version marker, whose specific choice depends on argument structure (with *a-* as the default option).

Another example is the subjunctive marker *-e*, whose absence is triggered by the subsequent 3rd person plural marker *-nen*; compare the contrast of the 3rd person singular imperfect and present subjunctive in (13) with the non-contrast in the corresponding plural form in (14):

- (13) *a-k'et-eb-d-a* (= (10)) vs. *a-k'et-eb-d-e-s* Version-make-TS-Ext-Subj-3SgS 'that s/he make it'
 (14) *a-k'et-eb-d-nen* Version-make-TS-Ext-3SgS 'they were making it' / 'that they make it'

Notice that *-nen* is not a portmanteau marker of subjunctive + 3rd person plural, since it occurs as a 3rd person plural marker both in the imperfect (in one reading of (14)) and in one class of aorist forms (*c'a-vid-nen* Preverb-go-3PIS 'they went away').

6. There is still another sense in which some segments of the Georgian verb require a concept of "slot" that differs from the positions created by stem derivation. These are cases where position classes do not correlate with morphosyntactic properties (cf. Inkelas 1993 §5). Firstly, as was already noted by Deeters (1930, 7), some such properties are coded in different positions, e.g. "person" (in prefixes and suffixes) and tense (in varying combinations of root shapes, personal affixes, thematic suffixes etc.). Second, the same position class can comprise different types of morphosyntactic categories. Let us have a short look at this latter case.

There are several positions that show "slot competition" (Andersen 1986, 8; Zwicky 1990, 221; cf. the concept of "symmetrical blocking" in Inkelas 1993 § 6.1). Specifically, there are rules that refer to "the same slot", and whose interaction "must simply be stipulated as a language-particular fact" (Zwicky ib.), even if it has a functional basis. Like portmanteau morphology (which, as far as I can see, is conspicuously absent from Georgian morphology), slot competition reduces the linear complexity of affix concatenation (as found in Northwest Caucasian languages). Consider the suffixation of aorists in Modern Georgian: the 3rd person markers *-a/o* (whose distribution depends on properties of the preceding adjacent unit) reside in the same position as the "paradigm marker" *-e/i* without being its allomorphs (contra Boeder 1968, 84 note7):

- (15) *ga-v-a-k'et-e* Preverb-1S-Version-make-PM 'I made it'
 (16) *ga-a-k'et-a* Preverb-Version-make-3SgS 'I made it'
 (**ga-ak'et-e-a*)

Similarly, there is only one slot for subject and direct and indirect object person prefixes (Boeder 1968, 86), and its marking follows a slot filling hierarchy (Boeder 1989, 2002, 2004, 28). Furthermore, all version vowels (*a, e, i, u*) occur in the same slot, and again their selection follows a slot filling hierarchy (Boeder 2004, 34-36). Finally, in the last position of the Modern Georgian verb, subject plural suffixes take precedence over object plural suffixes (17), and plural suffixes take precedence over singular suffixes (18):

- (17) *g-xat'-av-en* (**g-xat'-av-en-t* 2O-paint-TS-3PIS) 'they paint you (Singular or Plural)'
 (18) *g-xat'-av-t* (**g-xat'-av-s-t* 2O-TS-3SgS-PIO) 's/he paints you (Plural)'

The properties of preverbs cannot be discussed here, but notice that they offer a specific type of slot competition that refers neither to morphosyntactic categories nor to inflectional classes, but to semantic properties: in contrast to Megrelian, there is only one slot available for non-deictic preverbs, and given corresponding properties of movement, verticality takes precedence over other properties of spatial movement (Boeder 1992).

7. Summing up, we may say that in addition to the concatenative properties of its "ranks", Georgian verbal morphology shows different types of affixation that partially correlate with the distinction of inflection and derivation.

1) The central part of the verb consists of the root and its derivational suffixation: the root and its thematic, causative and passive suffixes form a layered structure in which a suffix is added to its preceding stem whose internal structure is irrelevant to the process. This process is recursive in the sense that causatives which are derived from thematic stems can in turn be marked by the thematic suffix *-eb*.

2) The so-called “extension marker” *-(o)d* is similar to a derivational suffix in that its allomorphs are selected on the basis of the preceding adjacent stem (its sister constituent) and nothing else.

3) The other suffixes and the prefixes have properties that distinguish them from the affixes mentioned so far: they can look back to a non-adjacent unit (for instance, the plural marker *-t* which has to take into account the personal prefixes); instead of “looking back” upon an adjacent unit, they can “look ahead” to a more peripheral unit (for instance, the subjunctive marker *-e* cannot be added before the 3rd person plural marker); and they can compete for the same position (for instance, direct and indirect object person prefixes compete with each other). These are distinctive properties of so-called “template morphology” that are incompatible with “layered structuring”.

4) We can summarise these properties of the Georgian verb utilising the following chart:

prefix slots with template properties (preverb, personal marker, version)	root / derivational stem with a layered structure (thematic, passive, causative, thematic causative stems)	inflectional suffix slots extension slots with marker template properties (paradigm, subjunctive, person, number markers)
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We see that inflection largely correlates with typical template properties (with the exception of an “in between” affix: the extension marker has no specific template property; at the same time it does not seem to belong to the layered structure of the stem).

8. There are many other problems related to the verbal morphology of Georgian that need to be clarified. Among them are the following:

a) The term “slot” has been used here in a pre-theoretical, intuitive sense. It remains to be seen in what sense Georgian verb forms require the concept of “template” used in a theoretical sense (cp. Inkelas 1993, Stump 1996) and if all “slot filling” can be described by disjunctive rule ordering according to the Paninian principle (cp. Anderson 1986).

b) Transcategorical properties of verbs and nouns could not be discussed here. Notice that Old Georgian noun inflection also shows

a “templatic” property: it has only one slot for case and number, where number “wins” the competition (as in the case of plural markers in the verb): *k’ac-is-a* man-Genitive-Emph vs. *k’ac-t-a* man-Pl-Emph (for oblique cases; the nominative plural *k’ac-n-i* and the vocative *k’ac-n-o* cannot be discussed here).

c) Finally, compounds like (19) raise the question if the different forms of truncation found in their first member (Boeder 2004, 45) correlate with the morphological structure of the Georgian verb as outlined above (Arabuli – Boeder, in preparation):

- (19) *gada-v-cem(d)-gad-mo-v-cem-d-i-t*
Preverb-1S-give(Ext)-Preverb-here-1S-give-Ext-PM-PIS
‘we passed it here and there’

Abbreviations

Caus = causative, Emph = “emphatic vowel”, Ext = extension marker, O = object, Pl = plural, PM = paradigm marker, S = subject, Sg = singular, Subj = subjunctive, TS = thematic suffix

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ვინფრიდ ბოდერი
ოლდენბურგის უნივერსიტეტი
(გერმანია)

ზმნური აფიქსაციის ტიპები ქართულში

რეზიუმე

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2) ეგრეთწოდებული “სავრცობი” სუფიქსი -დ/-ოდ დერივაციულ სუფიქსებს ჰგავს იმით, რომ მისი ალომორფები მთელი წინამავალი მომიჯნავე ფუძის (“და” შემადგენლის) და სხვა არაფრის მიხედვით არ გამოირჩევა.

3) სხვა სუფიქსებსა და პრეფიქსებს სპეციფიკური თვისებები აქვს, რომლებითაც ზემოთ აღნიშნული აფიქსებისგან განსხვავდება. ამ აფიქსების გამოყენება შეიძლება დამოკიდებული იყოს როგორც არამომიჯნავე ერთეულებზე (მაგალითად, ობიექტის მრავლობითის -თ სუფიქსის გამოყენება არამომიჯნავე ობიექტის პირის ნიშნებზეა დამოკიდებული, ვინაიდან ის გ-პრეფიქსთან ერთად არ გვხვდება), ისე წინამავალ, უფრო პერიფერიულ ერთეულზე (მაგალითად, იგივე ობიექტის მრავლობითის -თ სუფიქსი “უკან ხედავს” არამომიჯნავე ობიექტის პირის ნიშნებს და ის გ-პრეფიქსთან ერთად არ

გვხვდება); ასევე პრეფიქსს შეუძლია “წინ ხედავდეს” მომდევნო, უფრო პერიფერიულ ერთეულს (მაგალითად, კავშირებითის -*ვ* სუფიქსი არ შეიძლება გაჩნდეს ფუძის მომდევნო მე-3 პირის მრავლობითის -*ნენ* სუფიქსის წინ); დაბოლოს, აფიქსები ერთი და იმავე პოზიციისათვის შეიძლება ეჯიბრებოდეს ერთმანეთს (მაგალითად, ირიბი და პირდაპირი ობიექტის პრეფიქსები ერთი და იმავე პოზიციისთვის ეჯიბრებიან ერთმანეთს). ამ აფიქსებს აქვს ეგრეთწოდებული “შაბლონური მორფოლოგიის” განმასხვავებელი თვისებები, რომლებიც დერივაციის დამახასიათებელ, ე.ი. “წყობიან”, აგებულებას არ ეთავსება.

4) დასკვნის სახით ქართული ზმნის თვისებების შემდეგ ცხრილს მივიღებთ:

პრეფიქსური შაბლონურ-წყობიან-თვისებიანი პოზიციები (ზმნისწინი, პირის წინა, ქცევის წინა)	ძირი/წარმოქმნილ-სტრუქტურაიანი ფუძე (თემის წინა, ენების წინა, კაუზატიური, კაუზატიური თემის წინა ფუძეები)	სუფიქსური ფლექსური პოზიციები	
		საერცობი სუფიქსი	შაბლონურთვისებიანი პოზიციები (მწკრივის, პირის, რიცხვის წინა)

როგორც ვხედავთ, ფლექსიის პოზიციები უმეტესად ტიპურ შაბლონურთვისებიან პოზიციებს შეესაბამება. “გამონაკლისია” ერთი საშუალოდ სუფიქსი: საერცობს დამახასიათებელი შაბლონური თვისებები არ აქვს, ამავე დროს კი, ეტყობა, ფუძის წყობიან სტრუქტურას არ ეკუთვნის.

აღსანიშნავია ისიც, რომ ფლექსიას ტრანსკატეგორიული ხასიათიც ჰქონდა ძველ ქართულში: სახელსაც შაბლონური ტიპის ფლექსია მოეპოვებოდა, რადგან ძველ ქართულში მას მხოლოდ ერთი პოზიცია აქვს ბრუნვისა და რიცხვისთვის, სადაც რიცხვი შეჯიბრში “გამარჯვებული გამოდის”: *კაც-ის-ა* – *კაც-თ-ა* (*კაც-ნი* იმავე ტიპისაა: *-ი* არის ემფატიკური *-ა* ხმოვნის აღმორფი).