Zaal Kikvidze

Akaki Tsereteli State University Kutaisi, Georgia

Georgian Interfixal Ablaut Reduplication: Pattern and Constraints

Georgian, a Kartvelian (South Caucasian) language, abounds in onomatopoeic roots which are ungrammatical. One of the devices of their grammaticalization is reduplication; there are two options: Total Reduplication (TR) and Ablaut Reduplication (AR). If we accept the formulaic representations – [[x]y] for derivation and [[x][y]] for compounding, then the TR pattern will be the following: [[x][y]]-NOM, where \mathbf{x} is Base (represented by a simplex), \mathbf{y} is Reduplicant, and NOM is a nominative case marker; $\mathbf{x} = \mathbf{y}$ (e.g. $\check{c}ak - \check{c}ak - i$ '(horse's) clumsy and repeating waddling gait'). As for the AR pattern, it is represented as follows: [[x]z[y]]-NOM, where \mathbf{x} is Base (represented by a simplex), \mathbf{z} is a linking element (interfix), \mathbf{y} is Reduplicant, and NOM is a nominative case marker; $\mathbf{x} \neq \mathbf{y}$ (e.g. $\check{c}ak - i/a - \check{c}uk - i$ '(horse's) clumsy and repeating/alternating waddling gait'). Thus, if [x] and [y] are identical (TR; hence, $\mathbf{x} = \check{c}ak$, $\mathbf{y} = \check{c}ak$), and \mathbf{z} does not occur; if [y] is an ablaut-based modification of [x] (AR; hence, $\mathbf{x} = \check{c}ak$, $\mathbf{y} = \check{c}uk$), then \mathbf{z} occurs as a linking element (in Georgian this is either -a- or -i-).

In this case, TR and AR are not just options but they can also be conceived of as consequential stages of a single, multi-level process:

- A syllable template (simplex) is fully reduplicated and linked to its C/V slots: [CaC>CaC.CaC]: $\check{c}ak > \check{c}ak.\check{c}ak$
- Ablaut-motivated vowel change occurs from /a/ to /u/ for Reduplicant: [CaC.CaC>CaC.CuC]: čak.čak > čak.čuk
- An interfix (a construction (compound) marker) occurs between Base and Reduplicant: [CaC.LINK.CuC]: čak.a/i.čuk.

There are two related instances which need to be necessarily commented on. The question is whether such instances are exceptions to the aforestated rule or demonstrate its deficiency:

1) Whereas the aforementioned pattern consists of monosyllabic elements, there are a handful of bi-syllabic ablaut-motivated reduplicated compounds in Georgian; e.g.

naq'ar-nuq'ar.i 'junk, rubbish'

nač'am-nuč'am.i 'picked over, (food/leftovers)'

The principal distinction between the two patterns is that the former consists of an onomatopoeic and monosyllabic root while the latter one is bi-syllabic and non-imitative. Therefore, they are neither exceptions nor deviations from the rule.

2) There are a handful of AR compounds with no linking element; e.g.

bax.bux-i

lac'.luc'-i

Such instances are actually exceptions to the rules; they can be assumed as a once occurring transitional pattern.

The constraints for Georgian interfixal ablaut reduplication are the following:

- Monosyllabic simplex: CaC (both consonants can be extended to clusters, maximum three consonants)
- Onomatopoeia
- Ablaut Reduplication (CaC>CuC)
- Compounding