

Affixes Out of Order in Multiple Exponence

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Affixes may occur for a variety of reasons in orders we do not expect. Some of the morphemes we find in an unexpected order are part of multiple exponence (extended exponence), and we can better understand why these occur if we consider their origins. This paper examines how natural historical processes may lead to multiple exponence and to morphemes being out of the order we expect on the basis of scope.

Grammaticalization of auxiliaries may leave agreement or other markers in the middle of a verb, as it does in Pengo, as shown in Table 1.

Second plural	Third plural feminine	process
*hur-t-ader man-n-ader	*hur-t-ik man-n-ik	
hur-t-ader ma-n-ader	hur-t-ik ma-n-ik	Nasal degemination
hur-t-ader-ma-n-ader	hur-t-ik-ma-n-ik	Auxiliary contraction
hur-t-a-ma-n-ader	hur-t-i-ma-n-ik	Affix truncation
hur-t-a-n-ader	hur-t-i-n-ik	Auxiliary verb deletion

Table 1. Development of ME in two forms of the verb ‘see’ in Pengo, adapted from Steever (1988: 81).

In the second plural form, the suffix *-a* is internal, and thus out of its expected position, because it was trapped there during the grammaticalization of an auxiliary as the marker of the present perfect. Similar changes result in verb-internal agreement in Konda (another Dravidian language), in Batsbi (Nakh-Daghestanian), in some Kiranti languages, in Xhosa (Bantu), and in some Yuman languages. Related changes took place via compounds in Hočank, and in other Siouan languages.

Grammaticalization is also involved in changes that resulted in two markers of gender-number concord in some lexemes in a number of languages of different families, such as Avar (Nakh-Daghestanian) *v-ac’xad-a-v* ‘clean, pure’. No marker here is out of its expected position until other changes took place, producing forms such as *hit’in-a-v-a-v* ‘little one (masculine singular)’, where both suffixes of the form *-v* mark masculine singular (examples from Čikobava and Cercvaže 1962).

Analogical extension is responsible for forms in Modern Georgian where the first person singular agreement prefix is out of order. In Old Georgian we find periphrastic forms such as *damalul var* ‘I am hidden, I have hidden’; in historical times the auxiliary *var* ‘I am’ grammaticalized to the main verb, but *v-* also appeared in the position analogous to that found in other verb forms in the language (where it was already out of the expected order), *da-v-malul-var* ‘I have hidden’.

Additional pathways of change account in a natural way for the appearance of instances of multiple exponence in which one or more affixes are out of the expected order.

References

Čikobava, Arnold, and Ilia Cercvaže. 1962. *Xunžuri ena*. [The Avar language.] Tbilisi: Universit’et’i.
Steever, Sanford. 1988. *The serial verb formation in the Dravidian languages*. London: Routledge.