

The Rule-governed Word-order in Georgian Copulative Compounds: Prosodic and Phonotactic Factors

The rule, governing the word-order in Georgian copulative (otherwise termed as coordinating or dvandva) compounds, has been based not on their semantic features but rather on phonetic ones. In general, the rule can be presented in the following way: a preceding word (more exactly, a stem) is shorter than the following one: $P < F$; the rule in question has the following steps:

1. a preceding stem consists of less syllables than the following one;

(1.1) **kartl-k'axet-i**

Kartli-[and]-Kakheti-NOM

(1.2) **p'ur-maril-i**

bread-[and]-salt-NOM

2. if the aforementioned feature (number of syllables) is identical, a stem with less sounds will be preceding:

(2.1) **col-kmar-i**

wife-[and]-husband-NOM

(2.2) **dana-čangal-i**

knife-[and]-fork-NOM

3. if both features coincide, the preceding position is taken by a stem with a final open syllable:

(3.1) **t'q'e-vel-i**

forest-[and]-field-NOM

(3.2) **sve-bed-i**

destiny-[and]-fate-NOM

The presented prosodic factors proved to be in effect in other Kartvelian languages as well, taking over semantic features; viz. the order of stems is not governed by their meanings even in parallel copulative compounds:

Georgian (1.2) p'ur-maril-i bread-[and]-salt-NOM	Zan (1.2.1) jim-kobal-i salt-[and]-bread-NOM
Georgian (1.3) dye-yame-Ø day-[and]-night-NOM	Svan (1.3.1) lēt-ladey night-[and]-day

However, the above-presented rule does not answer the following question: What if all the features coincide? It may lead us to the idea that the rule is not appropriate.

The analyses of the empirical data have demonstrated that the rule in question is quite appropriate, however, deficient; hence, it must be appended with an additional step. In case of the full equality of stems with respect to the already established features, the phonotactic factor is being activated. Thus, the additional step will have the following expression:

4. if all the prosodic features coincide, the phonotactic compatibility of a consonant cluster, emerging at the junction of connected stems, becomes instrumental:

(4.1) **xel-pex-i**

hand-[and]-leg-NOM

(4.2) **q'el-q'ur-i**

throat-[and]-ear-NOM

It should be explained that, in case of the reverse order, there would be ***pex-xel-i** instead of (4.1) and ***q'ur-q'el-i** instead of (4.2). However, as far as the emerged sound clusters ***xx** and ***rq'** are not peculiar to Georgian, the asterisked versions are impossible.

Illustrations abound; however, the presented provisions in no way exclude the probability of the occurrence of semantic factors regulating the order of stems in certain groups of the lexicon.

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