

On the Old and Modern Georgian *Suffixaufnahme* in Possessive Noun Phrases (paper)

The present research is oriented on the *Suffixaufnahme* (Eng. suffix resumption) patterns as described in Plank (1995). The phenomenon has been observed and analysed in the literature on the Georgian language. There is a general agreement that the phenomenon was common in Old Georgian (OG) (Tuite 1999) and is now marginal in Modern Georgian (MG) with the exception of some particular cases in which they systemically appear. Focusing on the Old and Modern Georgian's Possessive Noun Phrases (PNP), I follow the take the assumption that *Suffixaufnahme* reflects the DP internal structure (Larson and Yamakido 2006). The following examples show multiple case markers stacked in OG PNPs:

- (1) tkuenda micemul ars cnob-ad saidumlo-j igi sasupevel-isa
 to=you given is knowing-Adv mystery-Nom Art=Nom kingdom-Gen
 m-is **ymrt-isa-isa-j** (Mk4,11C)
 Art-Gen **god-Gen-Gen-Nom**
'Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God' (Boeder 1995, 174)
 (Litt – Unto you it is given the mystery kingdom-of God-of-of)
- (2) saxel-ita **mam-isa-jta** da **dz-isa-jta** da sul-isa **cmid-isa-jta** (Mt 28,19)
 name-Ins **father-Gen-Ins** and **son-Gen-Ins** and soul-Gen **holy-Gen-Ins**
'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Boeder 1995, 160)
 (Litt – the name father-of-with/by, the son-of-with/by, and of the Holy Ghost-of-with/by)

Boeder argues that the recursive marking is hierarchized: a left NP case-marks its right NPs, and this is recursively done for all embedded NPs. In Boeder's view, *Suffixaufnahme* is a syntactic phenomenon linking all the elements within the higher NP to their governing structures. Agreement is done simultaneously with several controllers c-commanding the lower NP heads, such as in ex (1) – (2) (Mel'čuk 2006, 69). Starting from that analysis, I wish to approach the MG PNPs, where *Suffixaufnahme* is considered a marginal phenomenon, except in cases of ellipsis in (3) and in some archaic dialects (here, Khevsur) in (4):

- (3) vis saxl-s e-a-eb čem-i **amxanag-isa-s**
 whose.DAat house-Dat Pvb-look-3sg my-Gen **comrade-Gen-Dat**
'Whose house are you looking for? My comrade's.' (Boeder 2004, 50)
- (4) sha-x-q'var-d-a im col-s **im-isa-s**
 Pvb-3-love-3sg that.Dat wife-Dat **that/he-Gen-Dat**
'He fell in love with [the other man's] wife.' (Wier 2011, 104)

Where Boeder analysed *Suffixaufnahme* as a phenomenon resulting from a right movement of NPs, I argue that OG case-stacking results from agreement by case-concord (Norris 2014, Pesetsky 2013). Assuming that OG and MG have the same base-generated PNP structure as [NP[PossNP[PossNP]]], I argue that in MG the lower NPs in PNPs move to the closest Spec NP position, then the merged NP moves again to the higher NP in a roll-up fashion. As a result of roll-up of all the DP-internal NPs, the stacking of linking markers is not triggered. These operations are done recursively until the whole DP's internal structure, base-generated as *'The dog of the friend of John'* becomes *'John's friend's dog'* in MG declarative sentences (see Dryer 2005 for cross-linguistic accounts). I argue that the remnant cases of *Suffixaufnahme* in MG and in Khevsur results of the lower NPs remaining *in situ* within the DP.

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