Empirical evidence

Purely inflectional slots
- affirmatives
- preverbs

Purely derivational slots
- causative suffixes (\textit{in, ap})
- preverbs deriving productively locative verb lexemes

Mixed slots
- Usually filled by a valence marker reflecting a derivational operation.
- In some TAM combinations, filled by a lexemically specified thematic suffix.

Conclusions
- In Laz, inflectional and derivational affixes do not cleanly align in separate parts of the word.
- We propose an analysis where:
  - Inflection and derivation rules are of a different nature.
  - Competition between lexemic and inflectional material amounts to a distinction of two modes of expression within the same position class.

The framework

- We use a variant of PFM embedded within an HPSG grammar.
- Main relevant innovation: indexed stems are replaced by an explicit theory of structured paradigm identifiers (\textit{pid}s).

Lexical entries

- \textit{pid} values individuate classes of lexemes with the same inflectional paradigm (a.k.a. ‘inflectemes’ (Fradin and Kerleroux, 2003)).
- Modelled as typed feature structures encompassing inflection class information, descriptions of a stem or stem alternants (Bonami and Boyé, 2006), descriptions of discontinuous stem formats, etc.
- No need for listed paradigm indices (contra Spencer, 2010).

Inflection rules

- Some inflection rules make crucial use of information provided by the \textit{pid}; e.g. in block 2:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vb-pid} & \quad \text{PPV} \rightarrow \quad (x \rightarrow x \circ y) \\
\text{vb-pid} & \quad \text{PRF} \rightarrow \quad (x \rightarrow x \circ y)
\end{align*}
\]

Derivation rules

- Since they create a new lexeme, derivation rules may affect all elements listed under \textit{pid}.
- May affect not only the STEM but also the discontinuous stem formats.

Conclusions
- The analysis is semi-templatel (Simpson and Whitegott, 1986): lexemes come equipped with a template, which relates indirectly to position classes.
- We extend to ‘discontinuous stems’ the use of vectorial representations motivated by the treatment of stem allomorphy (Bonami and Boyé, 2006).
- This constitutes an alternative to the use of rifited morphs (Crysmann, 2002) for the treatment of unusual affix orderings.
References


