

AFFIX CONGLUTINATION AS ALLOSEMY IN A COMPLEX AFFIX

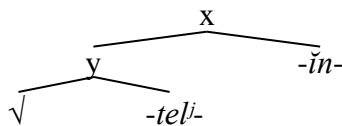
Formation of new affixes can, as argued by Haspelmath 1995, arise from **affix telescoping**: a phenomenon where “a secondary derivate is related by speakers not to its immediate base (the primary derivate), but to the base of the primary derivate”. For example, both the adjectivizing suffix *-in-* (1) and the agentive/instrument suffix *-tel-* (2) are productive in Russian and, while they may be combined with transparent semantics (3), they may also give rise to a semantically transparent derivation missing an intermediate step (4). The same missing-link derivation but when the inner suffix does not contribute any semantics (5) is known as **affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995): “affix reanalysis in which an inner affix and an outer affix are combined [...] Semantically, the new conglutinated affix is not different from the original outer affix”; the same effect in French is known as “postponed suffixation” (Plénat and Roché 2004, Plénat 2005, see also **affix imposition** in Grestenberger and Kastner 2022).

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|-----|----|--|---|-----|--|---|----|--|
| (1) | a. | <i>pilʲ</i> ‘dust’ | | (2) | a. | <i>kompʲúter</i> ‘computer’ | | |
| | b. | <i>pilʲ-in-ij</i> ‘dust-ADJ-MSG’ | | | b. | <i>kompʲúter-in-ij</i> ‘computer-ADJ-MSG’ | | |
| (3) | a. | <i>nablʲuda-tʲ</i>
observe-INF
<i>to observe</i> | → | b. | <i>nablʲuda-telʲ</i>
observe-AGT
<i>observer</i> | → | c. | <i>nablʲuda-telʲ-in-ij</i>
observe-AGT-ADJ-MSG
<i>observant, observational</i> |
| (4) | a. | <i>opravda-tʲ</i>
acquit-INF
<i>to acquit</i> | → | b. | * <i>opravda-telʲ</i>
acquit-AGT | → | c. | <i>opravda-telʲ-in-ij</i>
acquit-AGT-ADJ-MSG
<i>acquitting</i> |
| (5) | a. | <i>poznava-tʲ</i>
cognize-INF
<i>to cognize</i> | → | b. | * <i>poznava-telʲ</i>
cognize-AGT | → | c. | <i>poznava-telʲ-in-ij</i>
cognize-AGT-ADJ-MSG
<i>educational, cognitive</i> |

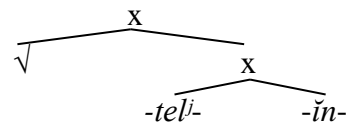
Since in **conglutination** (5) the agentive meaning of the inner suffix is missing from the derived adjective (i.e., it is interpreted as if it were derived directly from the motivating verbal stem), the suffixal complex *-telʲ-in-* can be analyzed as a new unanalyzable suffix (cf. Kiparsky 1975, Itkin and Leont'eva 2019) or as a complex suffix synchronically consisting of two suffixes.

I will argue that a **complex suffix** (6b) can be motivated in the synchronic state of the language as an entity distinct from iterative suffixation (6a), and that the former can diachronically give rise to a new unanalyzable affix and is in fact an obligatory step for such a reanalysis.

(6) a. **iterative affixation**



b. **affixal constituent**



Semantic composition in affix-telescoping and conglutination. As in affix-telescoping (4) the semantics of the suffixal complex (i.e., *-telʲ-in-*) is compositional despite the absence of an intermediate step (and so the adjective is agentive), I propose that affix telescoping involves the structure (6a). Conversely, the structure (6b) is incompatible with a contentful inner suffix: as *-telʲ-* requires a verb (be it s-selection or c-selection), it should not be able to merge with an adjectivizing suffix.

To explain how the suffix *-telʲ-* in (5c) becomes semantically inert I appeal to **allosemy** (i.e., semantic allomorphy, cf. Marantz 2013, Wood 2015): just like an allomorph of a functional morpheme can be phonologically null in a given context, it can also be null semantically. More specifically, I propose that the suffix *-telʲ-* is semantically null in the context of the suffix *-in-* in the structure (6b), deriving the lack of the agentive contribution of *-telʲ-* in the derived adjective in conglutination (5) from its structure (6b). Complex suffix formation thus explains why 458 out of the 701 *-telʲin-* adjectives in Zaliznjak 2010 have no corresponding *-telʲ-* noun and why their interpretation, identical as it is to the “pure categorizer” *-in-*, amounts to “related to √”.

Motivation: Suppose that (5c) involves the iterative structure (6a) and the contextual allosemy (7): *-telʲ-* has no meaning (or its meaning is deleted) in the context of the suffix *-in-* and under

adjacency to certain stems. While this would explain (5), it wouldn't account for (8a), where an intermediate link has an idiomatic interpretation, while the next step is derived not from it, but from the verb itself; (8b) illustrates this with an intermediate step that is non-idiomatic, yet absent from the meaning of the final step. Both are unexpected: as argued in Marantz 2013:105, semantic flip-flopping would violate locality.

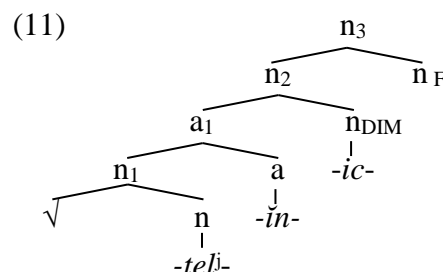
- (7) $[[tel]] = \emptyset$ in the context of $\sqrt{\text{COGNIZE}}$, $\sqrt{\text{ELECT}}...$
AGENTIVE otherwise

- (8) a. *starát'sja* 'to try hard' → *starátel* 'prospector' → *stará-tel'n-ij* 'assiduous'
b. *nosít'* 'to carry, wear, bear' → *nosítel'* 'carrier' (rocket carrier, information bearer)
→ *nosítel'nij* 'wearable, transportable'

Moreover, the intermediate agentive noun may serve as input for feminization (9). The surface string *-nic-* is itself a complex suffix, consisting of the same adjectivizing suffix *-in-* and the general suffix *-ic-*, which can be nominalizing (10a), diminutive (10b), and feminizing (10c). Assuming iterative suffixation (11) incorrectly predicts that the meaning of a feminine [tel'nic] noun (n_2) should depend on the interpretation of the corresponding [tel'n] adjective (a_1).

- (9) *starátel'/starátel'nicá* 'prospector',
učítel'/učítel'nicá 'a teacher', *vodítel'/vodítel'nicá*
'a driver', *voítel'/voítel'nicá* 'a warrior',
rodítel'/rodítel'nicá 'a parent'

- (10) a. *mókrij* 'wet' → *mokr'ica* 'wood-louse'
b. *uxá* 'fish soup' → *uš'ica* 'fish soup.DIM'
c. *máster* 'master' → *master'ica* 'master.F'



Regular semantic composition + lexical gaps. If (4c) has the structure in (6a), its semantics is predictable and the lack of the intermediate noun (4b) can be explained as an accidental gap: the noun is grammatical and can be used but isn't (cf. [–lexical insertion], Halle 1973, Marantz 2023; some such notion is independently required to explain the contrast between **admissal* and *dismissal*, which is not linked to further derivation).

Loan categorizers: I will further argue that the structure in (6b) can account for inherently complex suffixes with borrowing, as in (12), where the outer suffix (X_0) is a native categorizer, and the inner one(s) is/are borrowed and can be argued to have no semantic import.

- (12) a. *gaz-if-ic-ir-ov-a-ti* b. *gaz-if-ik-ac-ij-a* c. *kriminal-iz-ac-ij-a*
 gaz-V-V-V-V₀-TH-INF *gaz-V-V-N-N₀-NOM* *criminal-V-N-N₀-NOM*
 'to gasify' 'gasification' 'criminalization'

More on diachronic development: Semantic composition in a complex affix requires the loss of the specific meaning of the inner affix, but its selectional restrictions, semantic or lexical, can be retained, paving the way for the formation of an idiosyncratic interpretation. I will show how this assumption can explain the historical development of the complex “baby-diminutive” suffix *-ionok-* (Gouskova and Bobaljik 2022) and its link to the adjectivizing suffix *-in-*, which is also restricted to animal names (13).

- (13) a. *gusj/gusjá* 'goose.NOM/GEN'
b. *gus'ionok* 'baby goose'
c. *gus'inij* 'related to geese.MSG'

I will demonstrate that the two suffixes share not only the semantic restriction on the stem but also phonological shape: both of them are accented and dominant. I will show that the historical development of the suffix *-ionok-*, treated by Fufaeva 2016 as the reanalysis of the diminutive suffix *-ũk-* on the basis of Old Russian offspring formation in *-ja-*, should be regarded as the conglutination of the adjectivizing animal suffix *-in-* with the diminutive, and explain how this view accounts for the creation of the idiosyncratic meaning in a complex suffix.