

Prefixation within reduplication: The nature of evaluative marking in two patterns in Bulgarian

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The following set of patterns in Bulgarian displays instances of discontinuous reduplication (DR), defined as a non-prototypical kind of reduplication “where other morphological material may appear between the reduplicant and the base” (Velupillai 2012: 101; Rubino 2005: 17). Their meanings occupy spaces along the intensification – approximation continuum within the cline of evaluative semantics:

- a) X **ta** X, e.g., *tâp ta tâp* [‘stupid and even stupid’, *stupidity itself*]
- b) X **ama** X, e.g., *kisel ama kisel* [‘bitter but bitter’, *extremely bitter*]
- c) X **s** X, e.g., *magare s magare(tata)* [‘a donkey with the donkeys’, *a real donkey*]
- d) X **pre**X, e.g., *patil prepatil* [‘suffered over-suffered’, *having suffered too much*]
- e) X **nedo**X, e.g., *praven nedopraven* [‘done not-finished-done’, *sloppily done*]

All five violate the typological generalization of the interposing element seeming “not [...] to correlate with function, unlike the category of the base” (ibid.: 271).

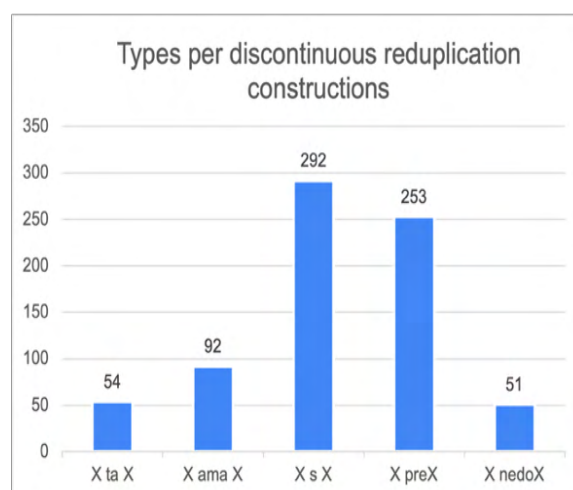
While a) to c) are unproblematic as to process analysis, the latter two contain evaluative prefixes (relative in d) and approximative in e)) and challenge the identification of the cyclicity of the processes of prefixation and reduplication. The first three belong to more syntactically profiled reduplication (Mattiola and Masini 2022: 275-276) and the nature of their interposing constituent conforms to the typologically established categories of conjunction and preposition. In the last two, besides the non-identity of base and copy, both of which exist independently as lexical items, and the untypical nature of the interposing element(s), it is extremely challenging to identify reduplicand and reduplicant. In isolation the second prefixed constituent is already evaluatively marked. It is counterintuitive to posit it as the copy, implicating derivational overmarking, just as it is illogical to consider it the reduplicand evoking deprefixation.

The proposed talk offers a coherent analysis and establishes the constraints that operate within the last two patterns and the unique semantic contribution of each of the processes involved. The analysis is based on data from the Bulgarian National Corpus (895,063,754 words from the categories literature, media and subtitles) summarised in Figures 1 and 2.

Fig. 1 Token per construction



Fig. 2 Types per construction



Keywords: prefixation, reduplication, approximation, process cyclicity

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***Constraints and continua in the morphosemantic reflections
of English synonymous verbs***

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We have developed a multilayered electronic framework for the study of de-verbal families and verbs synonymy. It addresses contemporary and historical *de-verbal paradigms* [Štekauer 2017; Hathout and Namer 2019] and yields completely filled or patchy derivation continua induced by synonymous verbs. The synonyms to primary, secondary and other meanings of polysemous verbs yield an aggregate single model. They can also be presented separately.

The framework makes use of synonymous strings of verbs as given in printed and online thesauruses. It establishes participial, adjectival, substantive and secondary (from participles or adjectives) coinages (together 16 categorial slots) that relate to the corresponding verbs through shared roots. The coinages end in default suffixes as well as in variant formants [cf. Fernández-Domínguez 2024; Renner 2020].

A derived string of a given type includes a coinage from the dominant (headword) and that/those from one or more other verb(s) synonymous to it. A string of verbs can produce single or configured strings of de-verbal coinages.

The vertical plane of the resultant continuum reflects which verb motivates which kind(s) of coinages. And the horizontal one shows the composition of the given morphosemantic types induced by the motivating verbs.

In the framework, we run *continua queries* for configurations of strings by morphosemantic types and their lengths or length ranges regarding each processed thesaurus (now over 20) or the entire database.

Represented on the curves for each string of verb synonyms are the constituents of its morphosemantic paradigm as well as the constraints-caused inventory drops and resultant metric shifts of coinages that are distanced from the headword by the reversal procedure of the thesaurus.

The contemporary filled-in positions in derived strings (cf. the *paradigm cell finding problem* in [Boyé, Schalhli 2019]) had been once empty slots until they got filled by the shared-root derivatives.

We distinguish between same year (acc. to the OED earliest quotations), or eventually looser same-time verb-coinage attestations, natural older-verb-younger-coinage and unintuitive older-coinage-younger-verb (de-affixation) documented sequences. We focus on:

- (1) The rise of strings over time (as regards absolute or relative chronology) in terms of *quantified similarity* matrices;
- (2) The assessment of mean values of expanding similarity for the compared lengths of strings;
- (3) The extents of constituents permutation in present-day strings and their age reconstructions for intact or diachronically floating dominants.

The queries to the framework provide resettable diagrams as well as all the attested exemplars evidence.

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The Interaction of semantics and morphosyntax in English synthetic compounds

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Synthetic compounds, which combine a nominalized verb and its argument, present intriguing challenges due to their structural and semantic properties (Roeper & Siegel 1978, Lieber 2004, Bauer 2008, Lieber 2016, Park & Park 2017, Alexiadou 2023). This study investigates the structure and interpretation of English synthetic compounds with an emphasis on the interaction between nominalization, through affixation or zero-derivation, and compounding.

The research adopts a three-level analytical approach that integrates morphosyntactic, semantic and cognitive perspectives. Approximately 3,500 units are retrieved from COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*) and English Web before attesting their validity in the OED (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

The study first examines the structure of synthetic compounds through a revision of Lieber (2004). Here, the semantic features resulting from the addition of nominalizing affixes, such as *-(a)(t)ion* and *-er*, are examined alongside the influence of left-hand constituents. The semantic characteristics of compound constituents are explored, thus identifying patterns that play a role in meaning construction. Finally, the investigation considers cognitive mechanisms, such as metaphor and metonymy, that may influence the conceptualization of compounds. An example is the analysis proposed for *truck driver*:

[+material ([non-sentient-j])], [+material [sentient-i], dynamic ([+dynamic [sentient-i], [non-sentient-j]])]

<i>truck</i>	<i>-er</i>	<i>drive</i>
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[object]	[agent]	[verb]
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<vehicle>	[the object tends to be a vehicle]
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<large>

<professional drivers>

<to carry goods>

*no cognitive procedures affecting the conceptual interpretation of the compound are taking place.

This approach integrates morphosyntax, semantic representation and cognitive processes, thereby facilitating the analysis of the conceptualization underlying syntactically-driven morphological constructions. My aim is to contribute to the investigation of the interaction between compounding and affixation in shaping the argumental interpretation of English synthetic compounds. Preliminary findings indicate that certain synthetic compounds—and, in particular, specific affixes exhibit resistance to rigid classification, thereby suggesting that the existing models may require refinement to account for the interpretive flexibility characteristic of these

structures.

Keywords: synthetic compounds, lexical-semantics, cognitive linguistics, word-formation, morphosyntax.

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Between low productivity and obsolescence: When does an affix die?

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Morphological productivity is often described as a gradient phenomenon, but the transition from low productivity to obsolescence remains a complex and debated issue. While some affixes, such as *-ness* and *-er*, remain highly productive, others—like *-th* (*length*, *warmth*, *breadth*), *-ly* in adjectives (*friendly*, *cowardly*) and *-en* in verb formation (*widen*, *darken*)—exhibit only residual productivity, raising the question of when an affix should be considered “dead” (Bauer 2023). Theoretical discussions on affixation (Baayen 1992; Bauer 2001: 119-126, 2023; Plag 1999: 201-207; Lieber 2004: 85-92) highlight the challenges in defining affix productivity and obsolescence, particularly when affixes persist in fossilized forms but cease to generate new lexemes in a systematic way.

This study explores the liminal space between low productivity and affixal obsolescence by examining affixes that exhibit sporadic reactivation or are maintained primarily through lexical entrenchment. Using corpus data from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and historical attestations from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the degree to which such affixes remain productive is assessed. While *-th* rarely appears in neologisms (*coolth*) and *-en* remains active in select analogical formations (*blacken*, *redden*), other affixes—such as *-dom* (*kingdom*, *wisdom*)—seem to survive only in a closed set of lexicalized forms.

Building on research in morphology and affix decline (Marchand 1969; Aronoff 1976: 35-43; Dressler & Ladányi 2000: 107-118; Bauer et al. 2013: 198-204, 244-250), the paper discusses factors leading to affix obsolescence, including semantic opacity and competition from alternative derivational strategies. Instances are also considered where affixes have been reanalyzed or revitalized through playful and analogical processes. This study ultimately argues that affix obsolescence is rarely an abrupt event, but rather a gradual phenomenon in which affixes persist as relics, undergo functional shifts or sporadically re-enter productive use.

Keywords: affix obsolescence, derivation, corpus-based, English, morphological productivity.

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On affixization and unexpected derivational meanings

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In a typological survey of derivational morphology, Bauer (2002: 37) notes that there are potentially no limits to the possible derivational meanings that occur in word formation because “[t]here are languages which encode in derivational markers information which is highly idiosyncratic but nonetheless culturally important”. A case in point is the productive Polish suffix *X-ówka*, which means ‘type of vodka made from N’ (Carstairs-MacCarthy 1992: 187).

When approached from the perspective of affixization, this raises the question of what kind of derivational meaning we are entitled to assume on the basis of the empirical evidence available. This is particularly difficult to determine in the case of minority languages, where the evidence is often quite limited. On the other hand, their peculiar character may offer invaluable examples that testify to the richness of possible cases of affixization.

In the paper, I will discuss two examples of affixization from Titsch, a Walser German variety spoken on the linguistic island of Gressoney in northwestern Italy, namely the suffixes *-ral* and *-elò* forming nouns and verbs, respectively (e.g. *fòrcht* ‘fear’ → *fòrchtral* ‘coward’ and *bock* ‘goat’ → *bockelò* ‘to smell like goat’) whose consistency and derivational meaning reveal unusual properties compared to canonical derivational morphology.

Keywords: word-formation, morphologization, suffixation, lexical semantics.

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Word Element *Hyper-* in English Neologisms: Transitional Directionality Between Derivation and Compounding

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The boundary between derivation and compounding is not always clear and can be examined from two perspectives: some forms that were once compounds have come to be considered affixed forms, while certain affixes have developed into independent words (Bauer, 2005). Affixes and combining forms (henceforth, CFs) further illustrate this blurred distinction, as CFs share characteristics with affixes but can also be analyzed from different perspectives (Prčić, 2005, 2008; Amiot & Dugas, 2020).

Adopting the theoretical framework of Transitional Morphology (Mattiello, 2023), this study introduces the concept of *transitional directionality*, which describes the shifting behavior of word elements between derivation and compounding. It aims to explore the transition between affixes and CFs. Specifically, the investigation examines the transitional directionality of *hyper-* in English neologisms, using the NOW English corpora (2012–2022) to collect the targeted data.

The word element *hyper-* may still exhibit its ambiguous nature (Mattiello, 2023: 10). For instance, Warren (1990: 113) suggests that *hyper-* should be considered a prefix in some cases (e.g., *hyperactive*) but a CF in others (e.g., *hypertrophy*). It should be noted that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) classifies *hyper-* as a prefix, even though most elements of Greek and Latin origin (e.g., *auto-*, *micro-*) have already been labeled as CFs.

The analysis shows that the transitional directionality of *hyper-* in English neologisms may still mainly align with prefixal features, which supports the argument for its classification as a prefix by the OED rather than a CF. However, it can also function as a CF in some cases, supporting Warren's arguments (1990). Furthermore, based on the dataset, this study proposes a classification of the lexical density of *hyper-* into three degrees: limited, semi-expansive, and expansive. This gradation serves as a key factor in determining whether *hyper-* should be considered a prefix or a CF, and whether the corresponding neologisms are better categorized as cases of derivation or compounding. When *hyper-* shifts from a prefix to a CF, it may undergo a process of semantic specification, acquiring field-specific meanings in different domains, and gaining greater autonomy and lexical significance in neologism formation. This progression often results in a conceptual innovation within the neologisms it helps to form.

Keywords: *hyper-*, transitional directionality, affixes, combining forms, English neologisms

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From compounding to affixation: *Splinterrific* and *affixoidwise*

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The distinction between compounding and affixation has been widely discussed in the literature (Bauer, 2005; Booij, 2005; Ralli, 2010), revealing their interaction in various ways, both diachronically (e.g., the OE *full* vs the suffix *-ful* in *helpful*) and synchronically (e.g., the suffixoid *-like* in *Godlike*, meaning ‘resembling God in some quality’).

This study aims to clarify the boundaries between affixation proper, splinters, affixoids, and compounding. It starts from the premise that both splinters and affixoids originate from composition, though splinter formation also involves shortening. Specifically, splinters are created from the blending of two source words, with at least one being shortened and potentially undergoing secretion (e.g., *yoga-rific* ← *yoga* + (ter)*rific*, where *-rific* conveys the meaning ‘embodying the qualities denoted by the first element in an excellent way’). Affixoids similarly arise from the combination of two words, but one acquires a more specific meaning than when used in a compound. For instance, in *moneywise* (‘as far as money is concerned’), the suffixoid *-wise* takes on the specific meaning of ‘as regards’. Both splinters and affixoids share the characteristic of boundedness; they require a base to which they can attach. However, while affixoids attach to words, splinters can attach to either words or word parts, the latter being analyzable as blends.

This study questions the status of splinters and affixoids as forms of ‘affixation’, positing that they can be viewed as non-prototypical affixes or as transitional forms between compounding and derivation. What distinguishes them as affix-like elements is their semantics – the secretion process they undergo when they are analogically used to form series of words with similar meanings. By adopting a paradigmatic approach to word-formation (Štekauer, 2014), these non-prototypical forms of affixation will be analyzed. Finally, a broader view of affixation will be proposed to include cases of splinters and affixoids.

Keywords: affix, affixoid, splinter, paradigm, secretion.

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On the hybrid nature of affixoids in French

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Many of the elements traditionally considered (initial) compound elements (or affixoids) in French display in fact a heterogeneous behavior, as they may function both as autonomous lexemes (often derived from a longer one by clipping) and as initial or final, more or less bound, elements:

- (1) télé ('television') télévente ('telesales') émission télé ('TV show')
photo ('photograph') photo-journalisme ('photojournalism') appareil photo ('camera')

Although the same tendency may be observed at a lesser extent in other Romance languages (cf. Italian *videomessaggio* / *messaggio video* 'video-message'), it is pervasive and systematic in French, and can be productively extended to newly emerging affixoids, as exemplified below with the element *crypto(-)* referring to cryptocurrencies (examples are from the frTenTen23 corpus):

- (2) a. Le cours de la crypto AXS enregistrait une progression fulgurante l'été dernier
'AXS cryptocurrency's share price soared last summer'
b. Les ventes sur les cryptomarchés ont augmenté considérablement au fil des ans
'Cryptomarket sales have increased dramatically over the years'
c. Cette situation est la conséquence du ralentissement du marché crypto
'This situation is the consequence of the slowdown in the cryptomarket'

This talk has several goals. First it discusses the mechanisms through which elements like those exemplified above emerge and spread in French. While affixoids are typically seen as the result of the grammaticalization of independent words (cf. Booij & Hüning 2014; Amiot & Dugas 2020; Van Goethem 2016), the example of *crypto(-)* shows that the reverse process is also possible. Second, it argues in favor of a model of morphology where derivational processes are not viewed as discrete classes of phenomena, but rather as points on a continuum that ranges from canonical compounding to canonical affixation. Finally, it proposes a formalization of these phenomena in a Construction Morphology framework (Booij 2010), along with a discussion of the issues they raise.

Keywords: affixoids, compounding vs. derivation, grammaticalization, Construction Morphology.

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Retrieving *be-* from Derivational Morphology: Its Parallelism with Lexical Aspectual Verbs

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This study explores the boundaries and continuum between derivation and compounding by examining the English prefix *be-*, which is often mistakenly regarded as a category-changing prefix, in relation to Japanese lexical aspectual (L-asp) verbs (Kageyama 2016).

Our discussion begins by limiting the function of derivation to changing the syntactic category of an input to form a new lexeme (Naya 2018; cf. Nagano 2013). This distinction effectively differentiates derivation from the other two major morphological processes (Naya 2020): compounding, which expands the meaning of a word by combining it with another word, and inflection, which—despite occasionally exhibiting category-changing functions (Nikolaeva and Spencer 2020)—does not form new lexemes but instead formally adjusts words to satisfy syntactic requirements.

Crucially, applying this distinction strictly to prefixes excludes them from derivation due to their lack of the category-changing ability (Naya 2018). Among prefixes requiring further examination is *be-*, which Nagano (2011) demonstrates does not change the syntactic category of its base but rather attaches to denominal or deadjectival converted verbs (e.g., [*be*-[[*fool*]_N]_V]_V, [*be*-[[*little*]_A]_V]_V). Consequently, *be-* should not be classified under derivation. This raises the question: Does *be-* belong to compounding or inflection? This study argues that *be-* participates in compounding. As an internal prefix (Di Sciullo 1997), *be-* modifies the Aktionsart of the base verb by adding the meaning of completion, thereby consistently forming accomplishment verbs (Nagano 2011: 74)—a process that can be regarded as a semantic expansion of the base verb.

This property parallels that of L-asp verbs in Japanese. For instance, *-ageru* has the aspectual meaning of completion and combines with another verb to form compound verbs like *kaki-ageru* ‘finish writing’ (Kageyama 2016: 297). Thus, L-asp properties are realized word-internally by prefixes in English and by verbs in Japanese.

Keywords: prefixation, lexical aspect, internal prefix, compound verb, English, Japanese

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Morphological conversion in Hittite: some remarks on the boundaries between affixation and conversion in Indo-European studies

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Drawing the boundaries between conversion and affixation is an issue that is not limited to the long-standing question of conversion as zero-derivation (Gaeta 2013) but is also connected to the condition of formal identity when discussing conversion in highly inflectional languages (Manova and Dressler 2005). This problem is particularly evident in the status of thematic vowels in the description of ancient Indo-European languages, due to the status held by affixation with respect to stem formation in Indo-European studies, especially in the context of Proto-language reconstruction (Lindner 2015). Every attempt to provide different morphological descriptions of ancient Indo-European languages, then, must face the comparison with morphological categories that proved to be effective in the framework of historical comparative linguistics.

As a case study for reflecting on the metalinguistic boundaries between morphological processes in the context of Indo-European studies, I will discuss the interpretation of a set of Hittite derivatives that are considered to be formed with a suffix *-a-*. The suffix *-a-* allegedly derived action and result nouns from verbs (Berman 1972, 115–16; Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 54). However, this description presents different issues: a) the suffix forms lexemes that belong to the thematic declension in *-a-*, showing no differences compared to any of the underived nouns of this productive inflectional class (Brosman 2005); b) on the formal side, *-a-* does not resemble any other suffix in Hittite; c) there are some cases of homophony between the input verbal stem and the output nominal stem (for example, *sarra-* ‘to divide’ → *sarra-* ‘part’). I suggest that these derivatives in Hittite are better described as conversions than suffixations. An analysis of these derivatives as conversions allows, on the one hand, to overcome the problem of formal identity with underived nominal *a*-stems. On the other hand, it can provide a unified explanation both for input and output anomalies.

Keywords: Hittite, conversion, thematic vowel, deverbal nouns.

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On the road to *Clutterville* from *Tidytown*: A morphosemantic analysis of evaluative suffixoids *-ville* and *-town* in American English

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In this paper, we discuss how the English toponym-forming morphemes *-town* and *-ville* can be used for the formation of fictitious place names and evaluative words, e.g. *Tidytown* and *Clutterville*. In certain formations, both constituents can be considered suffixoids as they take on a more abstract meaning which is not related to their lexemic ancestor (Mattiello 2022). The constructions $[[X]_i\text{-ville}]_N$ and $[[X]_i\text{-town}]_N$ are associated with different meanings, ranging from fictitious places/communities to attitudes or situations (see examples in Table 1), which is indicative of semantic secretion (cf. see, e.g., Booij & Hüning 2014; Amiot & Dugas 2020; Mattiello 2023). Hence, this paper aims to examine the morphosemantic properties of *-ville* and *-town* while transitioning from the status of autonomous words into that of evaluative suffixoids.

meaning	$[[X]_i\text{-ville}]_N$ $[[X]_i\text{-town}]_N$	example (<i>-ville</i>)	example (<i>-town</i>)
‘community that employs N’	<i>mediaville</i> <i>zoomtown</i>	Well, how do you like it in the world of MEDIAVILLE? Well, it's certainly different from writing books.	[is] a community that experiences a significant population increase as due to an influx of remote workers -definition from Wikipedia s.v. ZOOMTOWN.
‘place where everyone Vs’	<i>reloville</i> <i>wiggletown</i>	The city was anointed the country's No. 1 RELOVILLE by Forbes in 2009.	That's rich: had to go find himself and he finds himself all right - over in WIGGLETOWN
‘attitudes towards N’	<i>vegansville</i> <i>guytown</i>	Trying to figure what lobsters feel, that's the road to vegetarianism. The road to VEGANSVILLE.	Hollywood will keep thinking of comedy as GUYTOWN.
‘a condition or state of being A’	<i>fucked-upville</i> <i>chunkytown</i>	In my world, nights that started strange usually crash-landed in the town of FUCKED-UPVILLE before they were said and done.	ditching your rice-cake diet could be an express ticket back to CHUNKYTOWN.

Table 1: Examples of evaluative $[[X]_i\text{-ville}]_N$ and $[[X]_i\text{-town}]_N$ in CoCA.

For the analysis, we draw on data from CoCA from which we extracted 3,308 word types (see Table 2). Building on the formal apparatus developed within the construction morphology approach (Booij 2010, 2015, 2019) and the transitional morphology model (Mattiello 2022), a grid of semantic descriptors (37 in total) was elaborated and coded to facilitate the annotation and systematization of hapax datasets, e.g. *da2* (< deadjectival) ‘a condition/state of being A’ (cf.

fucked-upville in Table 1). Additionally, the indexes of word types and hapaxes were used to determine the degree of hapax-conditioned productivity (Fernández-Domínguez 2013: n.p.).

suffixoid	word types	hapaxes (ht)
<i>-ville</i>	2,249	428
<i>-town</i>	1,059	333

Table 2: Word types and hapaxes of *-ville* and *-town*, as extracted from CoCA.

Our findings are expected to show how evaluative suffixoids originate in their locative function. Regarding the process of semantic secretion, our preliminary results show that *-ville* has a clear tendency towards evaluative forms, particularly those conveying [+act/result] and [+state/condition], while the suffixoid *-town* relates to a type of secretion that is less detached from the locative meaning. We also noticed that there was a correlation between input and output semantics, where *-ville* appears to have a penchant for bases of negative axiology.

Keywords: suffixoid, semantic secretion, *-ville*, *-town*, transitional morphology.

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The phonological effects of affixation on morphological processing

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There are phonological processes that occur asymmetrically at the edges of affixed words: these processes tend to affect the stem of an affixed word disproportionately. This has consequences for the stem: phonologically, suffixes adhere to the stem more than prefixes, sometimes resulting in significant changes to the stem form. Conversely, the phonological shape of stems in prefixed words generally remains intact. In the Bengali language, when prefixes undergo resyllabification, assimilation, or dissimilation, it is generally progressive with the result being that both prefix and stem changes shape: e.g. [a.ɖor] ~ [ɔ.na.ɖor] ‘respect ~ disrespect’. In suffixed words, changes tend to occur to both the stem and the suffix, e.g. [bʰut̪] ~ [bʰoʊ.t̪ik] ‘ghost ~ ghostly’. The question we ask is: do morphophonological rules affect stem access in the processing of an affixed word?

We present data from two priming experiments (N=64) conducted in Kolkata, India, with a cross-modal (auditory affixed prime ~ visual stem target, e.g. [ɔ.na.ɖor] ~ □□□ *ador*) paradigm. In the first experiment, primes consisted of conditions reflecting key phonological changes that occur in Bengali prefixed words: syllabification, assimilation, and gemination. In our second experiment, we investigated key changes in Bengali suffixed words: resyllabification and stem quality change.

All prefixed words in Experiment 1 primed related stems equally (all $t > 3.4$). In Exp 2, there was significant priming for suffixed words that underwent resyllabification (76 ms, $t=9.50$), but when the stem quality changed (e.g. [bʰut̪] ~ [bʰoʊ.t̪ik]), this **resulted in a much smaller effect** (20 ms, $t= 2.06$). Our findings suggest that, in order to extract the stem from an affixed word, one must undo the intricacies caused by morphophonological alternations. Importantly, due to how these alternations affect the stem, these intricacies are not translated into equal processing effects at the prefix and suffix edges.

Stimuli: Experiment 1 (Prefixed)

	Prime		Target	
Conditions	UNDERLYING	SURFACE	STEM	
Resyllabification	<i>ɔn.-a.ɖor</i>	[ɔ.na.ɖor]	□□□	[a.ɖor]
Assimilation	<i>dur.-kri.ti</i>	[duʃ.kri.ti]	□□□□	[kri.ti]
Initial geminate	<i>ɔ.-ʃot.ʃʰo</i>	[ɔʃ.ʃot.ʃʰo]	বচ্ছ	[ʃot.ʃʰo]

Stimuli: Experiment 2 (Suffixed)

	Prime		Target	
Conditions	UNDERLYING	SURFACE	STEM	
Resyllabification	<i>dam.-i</i>	[da.mi]	দাম	[dam]
Stem quality	<i>bʰut̪.-ik</i>	[bʰoʊ.t̪ik]	ভূত	[bʰut̪]