

Ora Matushansky, SFL (CNRS/Université Paris-8/PLA)
email: ora.matushansky@cnrs.fr
homepage: <http://www.trees-and-lambdas.info/matushansky/>

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1 INTRODUCTION: AFFIXAL COMPLEXES

Stem and affix augmentation often happens in non-native vocabulary:

- (1) a. abolish → abolition, absorb → absorption suffix *-tion-*
- b. truncate + tion → truncation or *-[t]ion-*?
- c. explain → *explaintion, ✓ **explanation**, cf. **explanatory** phonology?
- d. expect → *expectation, ✓ **expectation**, cf. protect/protection

The insertion of *-a[t]-* does not seem to be straightforwardly phonologically motivated and is not limited to one suffix:

- (2) a. event → eventive, expense → expensive, immerse → immersive suffix *-iv-*
- b. provoke → **provocative**, **provocation**; form → **formative**, **formation**

Stump 2019: the English suffix *-at(e)-* has a dual status: as a verbalizer (*saliva/salivate*) and as a creator of a T-stem used in further derivation (*form/*formate*)

Stump 2019: historical basis: some verbs were based on the Latin past participle, nominalizations and adjectives might have been borrowed directly

And sometimes *-a[t]-* is not enough:

- (3) a. classify → **classification**, **classificatory** suffixal complex *-ic-at-[t]ion-*
- b. simplify, gamify, spotify...

What is *-ic-* doing here?

And is it the same *-ic-* as in (4)?

- (4) a. history + ic → historic (important in history), + al → historical (related to history)
- b. electr- + ic → electric (uses electricity), + al → electrical (related to electricity)
- c. meter + ic → metric (using meters as base), metrical (related to poetic meter; involving measurement)
- d. nonsense → *nonsensic, ✓ **nonsensical**
- e. whimsy → whimsical, type → typical

These are very cross-linguistically pervasive phenomena

1.1 French “interfixes”

Plénat & Roché 2004, Plénat 2005: diminutive “interfixes” in French:

- (5) a. tarte ‘cake’ → **tartelette** ‘tartlet’ (cf. boule ‘ball’ → **boulette** ‘meatball, pellet’)
- b. nappe ‘tablecloth’ → **napperon** ‘doily’ (cf. blouse ‘blouse’ → **blouson** ‘jacket’)
- c. brique ‘brick’ → **briquetier** ‘bricklayer’ (cf. pot ‘pot’ → **potier** ‘potter’)

Plénat & Roché 2004: three apparent options:

- augmented suffixes (e.g., *-elette-*)
- unattested intermediate stems (e.g., **tartelle*)
- semantically neutral interfixes

Driving force: **phonological constraints** (result-oriented, lookahead)

NB: all these “interfixes” have a separate life as diminutives or nominalizers

1.2 Russian verbal borrowings

Affix pleonasm (Gardani 2015) in loanword integration: with loanword stems the verbalizing suffix *-ow-* is often preceded by borrowed suffixes (*-iz-*, *-ir-*, etc.), and their combinations:

- (6) a. *kompil-ir-ov-a-tj* ‘to compile’ (in programming)
 b. *social-iz-ir-ov-a-tj* ‘to adapt to society’
 c. *real-iz-ov-a-tj* ‘to implement’
- (7) a. *verif-ic-ir-ov-a-tj* ‘to verify officially’
 b. *tarif-ic-ir-ov-a-tj* ‘to determine the tariffs’

Extremely productive with loan stems

The status of these borrowed suffixes is not the same:

- (8) a. *kompil-ic-ij-a* ‘compilation’
 b. *social-iz-ic-ij-a* ‘socialization’
 c. *verif-ik-ic-ij-a* ‘verification’

Some of them seem to be required by the stem, others, by the outer suffix

1.3 Indonesian circumfixes

Circumfixes are a problem for the binary branching hypothesis:

- (9) a. *berg* ‘mountain’ → *ge-berg-te* ‘mountain range’ Dutch
 b. *boom* ‘tree’ → *ge-boom-te* ‘woodland’

Marušič 2023: circumfixation consists of two independent processes

Connors 2003, Tebay 2025: Indonesian circumfixes cannot be analyzed as a combination of a prefix and a suffix (wrong prosody; combination with phrases):

Indonesian stress is penultimate, and regular suffixes trigger reduplication, while circumfixes don’t

- (10) a. *ke-ada-an* abstract nominalization, Tebay 2025
 NMLZ.A₁-exist-NMLZ.A₁
 ‘situation, state’
- b. *ke-ingin tahu-an*
 NMLZ.A₁-wish know-NMLZ.A₁
 ‘curiosity’

Both parts of this circumfix exist independently, but their composition semantics does not give the required interpretation (nor syntax or prosody):

- (11) a. *ke-dua* ordinal formation, Tebay 2025
 ORD-two
 ‘second’
- b. *minum-an* “concrete nominalization”
 drink-NMLZ
 ‘a/the drink’

Tebay 2025: analysis as two exponents inserted into one head

1.4 Intermediate summary: affixal complexes

There is evidence for derivation involving the addition of more than one morpheme at once

The semantic and/or phonological composition of these affixal complexes may be incompatible with iterative suffixation

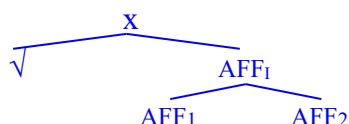
Some affixal complexes correspond to complex affixes

2 PROPOSAL: COMPLEX AFFIXES

Traditional approach: affixes may be complex (*-ation-*, *-ical-*, *-ication-*...)

“**Micromorphology**” (term from Stump 2019; formalizations in Bochner 1993, Soukka 2000, Luís & Spencer 2005, Stump 2017a, b): **affixes may combine without a stem**

(12)



Stump 2017a, b, 2019, 2022: two (Vocabulary Insertion^(DM)) rules may conflate

The outcome of conflation may differ from successive affixation, e.g.,:

- derivatives in *-ian-* may be nouns or adjectives; derivatives in *-ic-ian-* can only be [+human] nouns
- derivatives in *-ist-ic-* may not relate to derivatives in *-ist-*
- derivatives in *-ic-al-* contain stems that neither *-ic-* nor *-al-* alone can combine with

No prior implementations in Distributed Morphology

Am I just translating Stump’s theory into DM? No

DM allows us to determine and/or implement:

- semantic effects of complex affixation: semantic deletion, allosemy and its sources
- phonological effects of complex affixation (Tebay 2025, Matushansky [to appear], but also perhaps Semitic verbal templates, cf. Kastner & Tucker [to appear])

Like rule conflation, addresses potentiation (Aronoff 1976), counter-potentiation (Stump 2022) and **affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995; the fact that the inner affix is semantically null)

Roadmap:

- Russian complex affix *-telʲ-ŭn-*: evidence for complex affix formation
- semantic deletion in complex affixes
- evidence from feminines

Complex affixes are both predicted by the theory and already in use (e.g., Harley 2017)

3 THE MISSING AGENT IN DERIVED ADJECTIVES

Adjectival derivation may (and very often does) appear non-compositional:

- (13)
- a. Darwin → Darwinist/Darwinism → Darwinistic
 - b. capital → capitalist/capitalism → capitalistic
 - c. impressionist →? impressionistic

English adjectives in *-istic* need not be semantically linked to the nouns in *-ist* (sometimes not even to those in *-ism*, see *probabilistic*)

In fact, the loss of agentive meaning in adjectival derivation is very widespread

3.1 Independent pieces: *-tel-* and *-in-*

Adjectivizing suffix *-in-* (surface [en]/[n]): “pure categorizer”, no discernable lexical meaning beyond adjective formation:

- (14) a. *pil* ‘dust’
b. *pil-in-ij* ‘dusty.MSG’
- (15) a. *komp’uter* ‘computer’
b. *komp’uter-in-ij* ‘computer-ADJ-MSG’

Non-deverbal, productive, strongly disprefers [+human] bases (Bobkova 2022)

Vinogradov 1952:346 treats this as a restriction on animates, but notes a few exceptions, such as *konnij* ‘horsed’ or *ribnij* ‘fish’

“Pure categorizer” means the outcome is a “property linked to N”:

- (16) a. *programm-in-ij* ‘programmatic, program’
b. *kul’tur-in-ij* ‘cultural, cultured, cultivated’
c. *vern-in-ij* ‘faithful’ (from *vera* ‘faith, belief’)

- (17) $[-in-] = \lambda x_k . \lambda P . P \text{ has something to do with } x_k$

Agentive suffix *-tel-*: strictly deverbal, strictly subject-oriented (cf. the External Argument Generalization of Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1988 and Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1992):

- (18) a. *lub-i-ti* ‘love-INF’
b. *lub-i-tel* ‘an amateur’
- (19) a. *vikluč’á-ti* ‘turn off.IMPV-INF’
b. *vikluč’á-tel* ‘a light switch’

In productive uses can be restated as “one that Vs”, ambiguous between actor and instrument; this ambiguity seems to be systematic across languages (Rainer 2015)

An agentive noun can serve as a basis for an apparently transparent adjective-formation:

- (20) a. *muči-ti*
torture-INF
to torture
- b. *muči-tel*
torture-AGT
tormentor
- c. *muči-tel-in-ij*
torture-AGT-ADJ-MSG
poignant, agonizing

But some *-tel-in-* adjectives are not agentive:

For the range of their possible meanings see Itkin & Leont’eva 2019 (in Russian)

- (21) a. *primeč’átel’nij* ‘noteworthy, notable’ (from *primeč’áti* ‘to notice, perceive’)
b. *upotrebitel’nij* ‘common, generally used’ (from *upotrebiti* ‘to use’)

And some do not have a corresponding *-tel-* noun at all (in fact, those in (21) don’t)

3.2 Missing intermediate steps

Most *-tel-in-* adjectives lack a corresponding noun (while being semantically transparent)

Sometimes the noun exists but cannot be the base for the adjective:

- (22) a. *izbr’áti/izbir’áti* ‘to select, elect’ PFV/IMPV → *izbir’átel* ‘elector, voter’
b. *izbir’átel’nij* ‘electoral, election (attr.), voting’ ≈ ‘related to voting/election’
c. *izbiratel’nij učastok* ‘polling station’
d. *izbiratel’nij b’ulleten’* ‘voting form’
e. *izbiratel’nij podxod* ‘selective approach’

The suffix *-in-* does not combine with animate nouns

- (23) a. *predoxranitʲ* ‘to protect, preserve’ → *predoxranitelʲ* ‘electrical fuse, safety device’
 b. *predoxranitelʲnij* ‘preservative, preventive, protective’
 c. *predoxranitelʲnie meri* ‘precautions, precautionary measures’

And the resulting *-telʲ-ŋn-* adjective does not have to include an agentive component:

- (24) a. *razdražátʲ* ‘to irritate (IMPF)’ → *razdražitelʲ* ‘irritant’ (from the perfective stem)
razdražitelʲnij ‘irritable’
 b. *nosítʲ* ‘to carry, wear, bear’ → *nositelʲ* ‘carrier’ (rocket carrier, information bearer)
nositelʲnij ‘wearable, transportable’

The adjective is semantically linked to the verb rather than to the intermediate noun:

- (25) $[[\sqrt{-X_{TEL}-Y_{IN}}] = [Y_{IN}]]([\sqrt{ }])$ affix conglutination

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”

Terminology: Stump 2022 calls the cases where the historical change is complete (only the complex is productive, and its former parts are not) **affix telescoping**; Haspelmath 1995 reserves this term for cases where the inner affix is semantically null

The phenomenon of semantically vacuous intermediate suffixes is very widespread

Traditional Russian grammars, Agapova 1974 via Zvezdova & Gou 2013; Haspelmath 1995, citing Kiparsky 1975; Itkin & Leont'eva 2019: new simplex suffix *-telʲn-*:

- (26) a. *osnovátʲ* ‘to found’ → *osnovátelʲ* ‘founder’ → *osnovátelʲnij* ‘substantial’
 b. *starátʲsja* ‘to try hard’ → *starátelʲ* ‘prospector’ → *starátelʲnij* ‘assiduous’

But is it truly reanalyzed as a single morpheme?

3.3 Complex affix formation or reanalysis?

Stump 2022: the suffixes *-let* and *-ling* have been reanalyzed:

- (27) a. booklet, droplet, eyelet, leaflet, piglet, rootlet, streamlet, wavelet -let-
 b. kernel, nozzle, puddle, scrapple -l-
 c. Janet, midget, packet, turret -et-
- (28) a. duckling, gosling, hatchling, nestling, sapling, seedling, weakling, yearling -ling-
 b. fairing ‘present from a fair’, golding ‘gold coin’,
 lording ‘term of address for a lord’, sweeting ‘sweet apple; sweetheart’ -ing-

Neither the inner nor the outer suffixes are productive

Haspelmath 1995, Grestenberger & Kastner 2022: Modern Greek verbalizer *-ev-*, originally derived from the combination of the agentive suffix *-eu-* and the verbalizer **-je/o-*

Conversely, in *-ic-al-*, *-ic-ian-*, *-ist-ic-*, or the Russian *-telʲ-ŋn-* or *-ik-isk-* (surface *-ič-esk-*), both pieces are fully productive

3.4 Where is the agentivity?

Puzzle: the loss of agentivity at the intermediate step appears to be conditioned by both the root and the adjectivizing suffix, other environments retain agentivity:

- (29) a. *stroiti* ‘imagine; present.PFV.INF’
 b. *stroitelj* ‘builder’, *stroitel'nica* ‘builder.F’
 c. *stroitel'nij rabočij* ‘builder’ (lit. *building worker*)
stroitel'nij sezon ‘building season’
stroitel'naja ploščadka ‘building site’
stroitel'nie materiali ‘building materials’
 d. *stroitel'stvo* ‘building, construction’
- (30) a. *predstaviti* ‘imagine; present.PFV.INF’
predstavljati ‘imagine; present; represent.IMP.FV.INF’
predstavljati soboj ‘be.IMP.FV.INF’ (be a representative of)
 b. *predstavitelj* ‘representative’, *predstavitel'nica* ‘representative.F’
 c. *predstavitel'nij* ‘representative; impressive, dignified’
 d. *predstavitel'stvo* ‘representation’

The loss of agentivity at the intermediate step **is not obligatory**

Paykin 2003:181 after Markov 1984: instrument-denoting *-telj-* nouns may combine with the suffix *-ščik-* to yield corresponding agents (e.g., *osvetitelj* ‘lighting appliance, or person in charge of lighting effects’ → *osvetitelščik* ‘person in charge of lighting effects’). Is this another case of *-telj-* bleaching?

The semantically vacuous affix is systematically the inner one

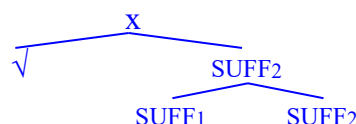
4 COMPLEX AFFIX FORMATION

Proposal: two potential structures for a sequence of suffixes:

- (31) a. **iterative suffixation**



- b. **complex suffix**



The two adjectival interpretations in (22) correspond to the two structures, respectively:

- (32) a. [[*izbira-* *telj-* *nij*] ‘selective’
 (s)elect AGT ADJ
 b. [*izbira-* [*telj-nij*]] ‘polling, electoral’

Complex affix formation is not excluded by DM (it is even expected, if it’s “Syntax All The Way Down”)

However, **this constituency imposes constraints on the interpretation**

- The **agentive suffix** *-telj-* is deverbal and creates agentive nouns
- The adjectivizing suffix *-in-* is strictly denominal and creates adjectives

The constituent formed by the two suffixes is redundant and incoherent:

- redundancy: *-in-* is a pure categorizer returning the property of being related to the base stem (*-telj-* is far more specific, returning the kind characterized as the external argument of the base event)
- incoherence: *-telj-* returns a kind, *-in-*, a property

In the general case, **one suffix in a complex suffix structure must be semantically null**

Two options: actual deletion (a process) or inserting a null allomorph (i.e., semantic allomorph, cf. Marantz 2013, Wood 2015)

My preference is for the former: (a) deletion is a process attested on the PF side; (b) the distribution of semantically null affixes seems to be predictable; (c) the null allomorph would also have to have come from somewhere, (d) too many other suffixes would have to have a null allomorph

Empirically, it is generally the inner suffix that is semantically null

Since *-ĭn-* is a pure categorizer, *-teli-ĭn-* will also be one, no motivation for semantic constraints on the base

But the c-selectional conditions of *-teli-* remain: the complex suffix is purely deverbal

5 INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

The agentive semantics of the suffix *-teli-* can be lost in adjectival derivation (Haspelmath's affix conglutination, which is a type of Stump's rule conflation)

This loss is not obligatory, there exist doublets, as in (22), (29–30):

Though such doublets can always be attributed to polysemy, either of the base stem or of the derivate

- (33) a. *predstavitel'niĭ* 'representative'
b. *predstavitel'niĭ* 'impressive, dignified'

Proposal: formation of a complex suffix and obligatory semantic deletion inside it

Agentive and non-agentive readings of *-teli-ĭn-* adjectives correspond to different structures

Additional benefits: **counterpotentiation** (Haspelmath 1995, Stump 2022, 2023):

- (34) a. *cyclic, historic*
b. **whimsic, *nonsensic*
c. *whimsical, nonsensical*

In the suffixal complex *-teli-ĭn-* the inner suffix (*-teli-*) overcomes the selectional restrictions of the suffix *-ĭn-* (which cannot combine with verbal stems)

6 FEMINITIVES AND AFFIX DECOMPOSITION

How do we know if it is one suffix or two? Or a complex suffix?

- (35) a. *slóvnik* 'glossary' (cf. *slóvo* 'word', **slovnij*)
b. *plavnik* 'fin' (cf. *plávat'* 'to swim', *#plavniĭ* 'smooth, flowing')
c. *učébnik* 'textbook' (*uč'óba* 'studies', *učébnij* 'study-related, educational')

The intermediate adjectival step can be missing or have an unrelated meaning

Kiparsky 1975 via Haspelmath 1995, Itkin 2007:169: *-nik-* (underlying representation: *-ĭnik-*) historically arose from suffix stacking (the adjectivizer *-ĭn-* and the nominalizer *-ik-*)

Luschützky 2011: very **little evidence for the independent nominalizer *-ik-*** in OCS

Shaky evidence for a synchronic nominalizer *-ik-*:

- (36) a. *bol'shev^{ik}* 'bolshevik' (from *bólšij* 'bigger') native
b. *alkogól^{ik}* 'alcoholic' loanword

Semi-productive with borrowings and **forms part of another nominalizer** (a purely agentive one, forming actors and instruments):

- (37) a. *plazmenščik* ‘physicist who studies plazma’ ← *plazm-enn-yj* ‘plasma’_{ADJ} -ščik-
 b. *bombardirovščik* ‘bomber/bomber pilot’ ← *bombardirov-a-tj* ‘to bomb’
 c. *svadebščik* ‘a wedding professional’ ← *svad’b-a* ‘a wedding’
 d. *tral’ščik* ‘trawler, mine-sweeper’ ← *tral-i-tj* ‘to trawl’, *tral* ‘trawl’

Historically, -ščik (allomorph -čik-) is complex:

- Kiparsky 1975: -ščik- is derived from the combination of the adjectivizer -jšk- and the nominalizer -ik-
- Vaillant 1964 via Witkowski 1981: -ščik- is derived from the combination of the Turkic suffix -čĭ- and the nominalizer -ik-

Productive, yields semantically transparent derivatives

Both nominalizers have **feminine counterparts subject to the same allomorphy**:

The k2c palatalization is morphologically triggered in Russian

- (38) a. *piárščik/piárščica* ‘PR administrator.M/F’
 b. *animéšnik/animéšnica* ‘animé lover.M/F’

Unlike the feminine -jščic-, the feminine -jnic- can form inanimate nouns, too:

- (39) a. *bol’nica* ‘hospital’ (cf. *bolj* ‘pain’, *bol’nój* ‘sick; a patient’)
 b. *pérečnica* ‘pepper box’ (cf. *pérec* ‘pepper’, *pérečnij* ‘peppery’)
 c. *bojnica* ‘gun-slot’ (cf. *boj* ‘battle’, **bojnój*/**bójnij*)

And functions as a feminitive suffix for -teli-:

- (40) *učitel’/učitel’nica* ‘a teacher’, *voditel’/voditel’nica* ‘a driver’, *voitel’/voitel’nica* ‘a warrior’, *roditel’/roditel’nica* ‘a parent’

The feminizer -ic- is independently motivated:

With some caveats related to its accentual properties: it is accentually dominant when independent

- (41) a. *tigr/tigr’ica* ‘tiger’
 b. *máster/master’ica* ‘master’

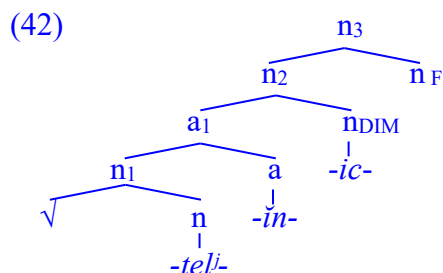
Hence -jnik- at least seems synchronically complex:

- the putative intermediate step can be missing or have an unrelated meaning
- consists of independently motivated pieces (shared with other complex suffixes and subject to the same allomorphy)

Which necessarily entails that its feminine counterpart -jnic- is also complex

If -jnic- still contains the adjectival -jn-, complex affix formation is the only possible analysis

Suppose only iterative suffixation is available:



How is -teli- interpreted in this structure?

The interpretation of feminine [telⁿnic] nouns is expected to depend on the interpretation of the corresponding [telⁿ] adjective

Contrary to fact, of course

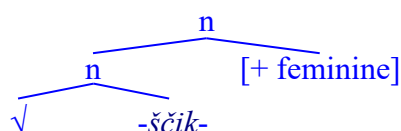
6.1 On the inner structure of *-nic-* and *-ščik-*

The two feminitive suffixes may correspond to different structures:

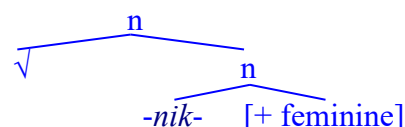
- only *-nic-* can derive inanimates
- only *-nic-* can function as a feminitive for a suffix other than *-nik-*

Component parts (minimum): stem (√) + nominalizer (*-nik-/ščik-*) + [+ feminine]

(43) a. **iterative suffixation**



b. **complex suffix**



Assuming (43b) for *-nik-* accounts for the systematically missing *-telⁿ-nik-* link

But the structure in (43a) is problematic

6.2 How is gender changed in Russian?

In Romance languages, feminization of a noun is done by changing its inflection class (i.e., by adding the final [a] in the nominative):

- (44) a. *muchacho* ‘boy’/*muchacha* ‘girl’ Spanish, Harris 1991
b. *sirviente/sirvienta* ‘servant.M/F’

This reasonably corresponds to adding the feature [+ feminine] (see Percus 2011, Kramer 2009, 2015, 2016, Pesetsky 2013, etc.):

- (45) → *muchacha*

In contemporary Russian, null-derived deadjectival nouns can change their gender by changing their inflection:

- (46) a. *zavédujuščij/zavédujuščaja* ‘manager’
b. *rússkij/rússkaja* ‘a Russian’

Otherwise only the few nouns in (47) and some first names (*Evgénij/Evgénija*, *Valérij/Valérija*, *Aleksánder/Aleksándra*...) distinguish gender by declension class:

- (47) a. *vóron/voróna* ‘raven/crow’, *lis/lisá* ‘he-fox/fox’, *žiráf/žiráfa* ‘giraffe/giraffe’
b. *kum/kumá* ‘godparent (not in relation to the child)’, *suprúg/suprúga* ‘spouse’,
rab/rabá ‘slave’
c. *rebiónok* ‘child’ → *rebiónka* ‘female child’ (highly colloquial)

Productive feminization in Russian is done by adding a suffix or by substituting one:

- (48) a. *sekretárša* ‘secretary’, *generálša* ‘general’s wife’, *blógersa* ‘blogger’
 b. *laborántka* ‘lab assistant’, *zemliáčka* ‘compatriot’
 c. *baronéssa* ‘baroness’, *kritikéssa* ‘critic’
 d. *masteríca* ‘master’, *tigríca* ‘tigress’
 e. *knáginá* ‘princess’, *filologíná* ‘philologist’
 f. *trusíxa* ‘coward’, *borčíxa* ‘wrestler’, *zajčíxa* ‘hare’
- (49) a. *piárščik/piárščica* ‘PR administrator.M/F’
 b. *animéšnik/animéšnica* ‘animé lover.M/F’

The “Romance option” used to be available in Russian (⁰ indicates obsolete forms, see Fufaeva 2020):

- (50) a. ⁰*sudomój/sudomója* ‘dish washer.M/F’, ⁰*vorožěj/vorožejá* ‘magician.M/F’
 b. ⁰*guvernánt/°guvernánta* (modern *guvernór/guvernántka*) ‘tutor/governess’

None of these words are currently paired

The Russian feminizer cannot attach to stems

Which means that complex affixation is unavoidable (and this is good, because feminines in Russian can be overtly complex, too)

But also, that *-ščic-* also involves a complex affix rather than the structure in (43a)

7 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

The DM approach to complex affix formation predicts the semantic inertness of the inner affix
 The fact that it is the inner one is probably extralinguistic, it’s historical

Complex affixes are useful for:

- **affix conglutination** (Haspelmath 1995): systematic optional semantic deletion of one suffix in the context of another
 semantic deletion would be obligatory in such a structure due to type clashes and incoherence; surface ambiguity can be explained by the simultaneous availability of two structures
- **semantic enrichment and new affix formation**: complex affix structure creates an environment for allosemy

Complex affixes *per se* are expected to happen, the novelty is in the semantic deletion

Complex affix formation can be driven by selectional restrictions, ambiguity avoidance (e.g., in feminines), reanalysis, prosodic considerations, etc.

This is a clear lookahead (result-orientation), but I don’t see how it can be avoided

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