

## Prefixes and suffixes in Adyghe polysynthetic wordform: Types of interactions

Adyghe, a polysynthetic language of West Caucasian family, has a rich system of verbal prefixes and suffixes (Smeets 1984). While prefixes mainly encode valency-changing derivations and person/number of arguments, suffixes express a variety of aspectual, modal and temporal meanings. However, some valency-related meanings (e.g. antipassive) are coded by suffixes, too.

The two zones are organized differently: while the order of prefixes follows a rigid and semantically opaque morphological template, suffixes may appear in various orders depending on relative scope (Korotkova, Lander 2008).

We will focus on possible interactions between prefixes and suffixes, which are often non-trivial. We distinguish three types of interaction:

1) Morphological constraints. Thus, the ‘unintentional action’ prefix **ʔeç'e-** requires the antipassive suffix **-e**: *wəç'ən* ‘kill’ ~ **ʔeç'e-wəç'-e-n** ‘kill unintentionally’ (cf. ungrammatical **\*ʔeç'e-wəç'ə-n** without the antipassive), while the reciprocal prefix **zere-** and the reflexive/reciprocal prefix **ze-** optionally require the repetitive suffix **-ž'ə**.

2) Scope restrictions. For instance, antipassives can be causativized (**šx-e-n** ‘eat (antipassive)’ ~ **ʔe-šx-e-n** ‘feed smb.’), but causatives cannot form antipassives: **ʔežen** ‘bake’ (transitive) cannot be used intransitively.

3) No restrictions, when any relative scope is possible for a given combination of prefix and suffix. For example, when causative prefix **ʔe-** and repetitive suffix **-ž'ə** co-occur in a wordform, either of them can scope over the other one.

Our preliminary conclusion is that in a polysynthetic language there is no single mechanism deriving the morphological make-up of the word: prefixal and suffixal sections of the verbal form may be organized by quite different principles, and interact with each other in not always predictable ways.

Korotkova N., Lander Yu. 2008: Deriving suffixes in polysynthesis: Evidence from Adyghe. Paper at the *Workshop on Affix Ordering*, Vienna.

Smeets R. 1984: *Studies in West Circassian Phonology and Morphology*. Leiden: Hakuchi.