On the Phonological Structure of Infixes:
Could they have a phonological template?

The present study aims to introduce a templatic approach to infixation, which is one of the controversial topics of the phonology-morphology interface (McCarthy&Prince, 1993; Yu, 2003; Blevins, 2014). Consider the infixation examples (1a-f) from Tagolog, Alabama and Huave respectively (cited in Yu, 2003).

(1) Perfective infixation in Tagalog

a. prenúhan	'brake'	pr-**in**-enúhan	'braked'
b. gradúhan	'grade'	g-**in**-radúhan	'graded'

(Avery&Lamontagne, 1995)

Mediopassive in Alabama

c. takco	'rope (v.)'	ta-**li**-kco	'be roped'
d.hocca	'shoot'	ho-**li**-cca	'be shot'

(Martin&Munro, 1994)

Indefinite actor in Huave

e. haw	'to know'	a-ha-**ra**-w	'someone knows it'
f. ndok	'to fish'	a-ndo-**ro**-k	'somebody fishes it'

(Stairs&Hollenbach, 1969)

In the literature, there are some diachronic and synchronic approaches to the origins and placement of infixes focusing on their allomorphic diversity and asymmetric distribution as given in (1a-f). In his hybrid model, Yu (2003, 2007) claims that infixes were either a prefix or suffix historically. Yu (2007) also refers to the synchronically existing pivots, which are potential zones within the stem that attract infixes (2a-b).

(2) a. Edge pivots: Leftmost consonant, vowel, or syllable; rightmost vowel or syllable.
b. Prominence pivots: Stressed vowel, syllable, or foot.

In the present study, we assume that the affixes listed in the lexicon are encoded with their own phonological templates, which let certain morphological categories such as base (root/stem), prefix, and suffix be visible to phonology without any extra-phonological tools (3a-c).

(3)

a.	Onset Nucleus … Onset	Base Template	(ON…O)
b.	Nucleus … Onset	Suffix Template	(N…O)
c.	Onset … Nucleus	Prefix Template	(O…N)

By following Yu's (2007) hybrid model of infixes, we propose that infixes have either a prefix or suffix template depending on their original version (prefix or suffix?) as well as the stem they attach to since the affixation domain must be available for infixes in the stem as Yu (2007) suggests. For instance, the perfective infix in Tagalog {-in-} given in (1a-b) could be assumed to have been a prefix before since it is close to the left edge of the stem. Therefore, we propose a prefix template for {-in-} (4a) but a suffix template for the indefinite actor in Huave {-ro-} (1f) as in (4b), which is positioned near to the right edge.

(4)

a.
```
O  N  O  N
   |  |
   x  x
   i  n
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b.
```
N  O  N  O
   |  |
   x  x
   r  o
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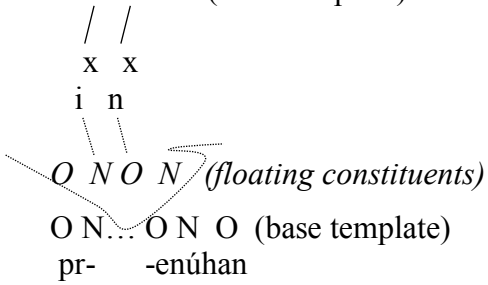
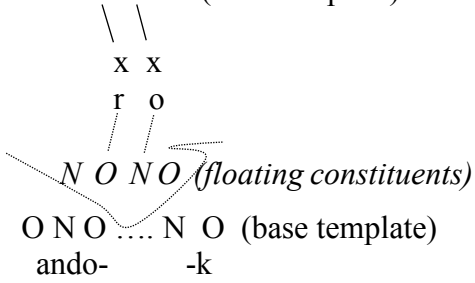
Also, following Yu (2007:11), who claims that the infixes were trapped between an outer morpheme and the stem, we argue that the trace of that fossilized affix remains on the constituent structure thanks to the floating constituents even in the absence of the infix. The key point is the match between the infix template and the floating constituents on the structure, which create special flexibility for the bases to invite infixes (5a-b).

(5) a. O N O N (infix template)



b. N O N O (infix template)



In (5a), for instance, as the historical reminiscent of the affix in the stem, the floating constituents ONON match with the infix template. Then infixation appears. The same is valid for (5b), as well. The existence of the floating constituents on the structure given in (5a-b) could explain why infixation is not available in every single language and construction: infixation could be possible only in the languages which have floating constituents and pivots on the stem. Also, the match between the infix template and floating constituents implies the existence of a link between the stem and infix in the lexicon that makes the stem and infix lexically connected to each other, which is different from regular (productive) suffixation and prefixation processes.

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