THE COMPARATIVE IN UKRAINIAN: SUFFIXES, AUGMENTS, AND ROOT SIZES

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Outline

Comparative suffixes in Slavic

Proto-Slavic	Old Church Sl.
*-ejьs	-ejьš
*-jьs	-jьš

Lunt(2001), Bevzenko(1960)

Ukrainian	Polish	Czech	Slovak
-iš	-ejsz	-ĕjš	-ejš
-š	-sz	-š	-š

It's <u>not</u> about phonology

1) certain adjectives can take both *-š* and *-iš*

	POS	CMPR *-š*	CMPR *-iš*	translation
a.	bahat-yj	bahat-**š**-yj	bahat-**iš**-yj	rich
b.	hrub-yj	hrub-**š**-yj	hrub-**iš**-yj	rude
c.	zdorov-yj	zdorov-**š**-yj	zdorov-**iš**-yj	healthy

It's <u>not</u> about phonology

2) the comparative marker can follow roots that have similar phonological environment, and still can differ

	POS	CMPR -š	CMPR -iš	translation
a.	deše**v**-yj	dešev-**š**-yj	*dešev-iš-yj	cheap
	važly**v**-yj	*važlyv-š-yj	važlyv-**iš**-yj	important
b.	du**ž**-yj	duž-**č**-yj	*duž-iš-yj	strong
	svi**ž**-yj	*sviž-č-yj	sviž-**iš**-yj	fresh

2. Comparative patterns

patterns	examples	translation	number
losing -(o)k	slab-<u>k</u>-yj — slab-**š**-yj	weak — weaker	15
	korot-<u>k</u>-yj — korot-**š**-yj	short — shorter	
	hlyb-<u>ok</u>-yj — hlyb-**š**-yj	deep — deeper	
keeping -(o)k	bryd-<u>k</u>-yj — bryd-<u>k</u>-**iš**-yj	ugly — uglier	50
	dzvin-<u>k</u>-yj — dzvin-<u>k</u>-**iš**-yj	voiced — more voiced	
	žorst-<u>ok</u>-yj — žorst-<u>ok</u>-**iš**-yj	cruel — more cruel	

Ukrainian national corpus MOVA

2. Comparative patterns

nr	POS	CMPR	examples	translation
1.	root	root-**š**	dešev-yj — dešev-**š**-yj	cheap — cheaper
2.	root	root-**iš**	čyst-yj — čyst-**iš**-yj	clean — cleaner
3.	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-**š**	korot-<u>k</u>-yj — korot-**š**-yj	short — shorter
4.	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-<u>AUG</u>-**iš**	dzvin-<u>k</u>-yj — dzvin-<u>k</u>-**iš**-yj	voiced — more voiced
5.	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-**iš**	*unattested*	*unattested*
6.	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-<u>AUG</u>-**š**	*unattested*	*unattested*

3. Theoretical prerequisites:

○ Functional heads in adjectival domain

○ Submorphemic syntax, phrasal spell-out
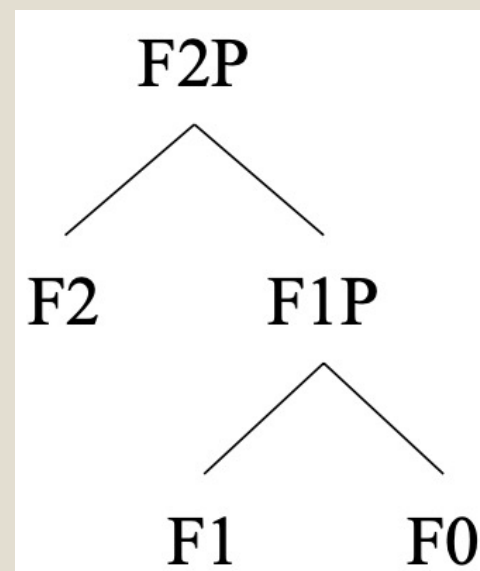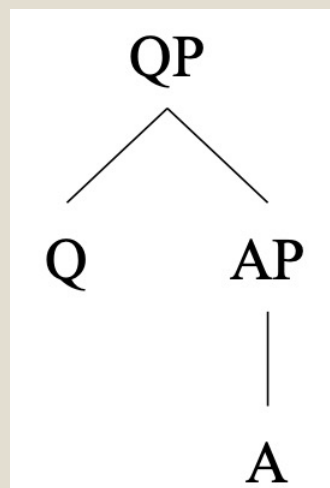
Functional heads in adjectival domain
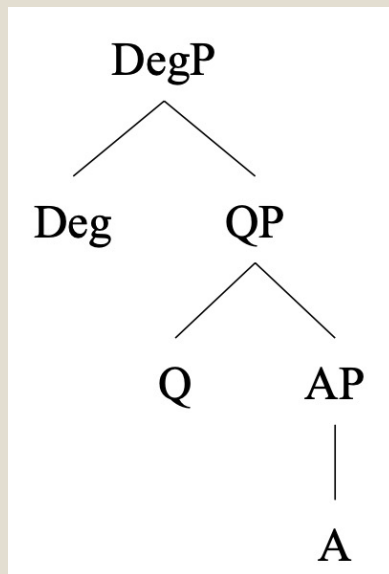
Corver 1997
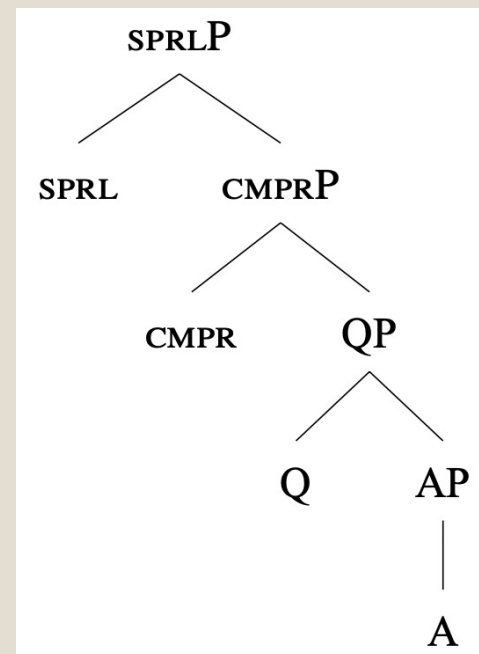
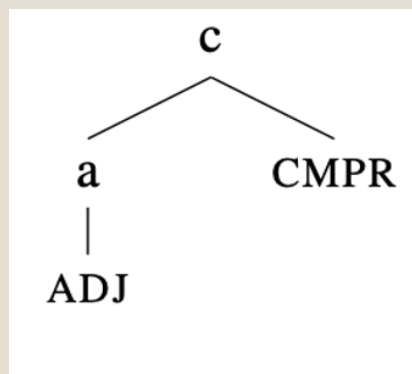De Clercq et al.2021
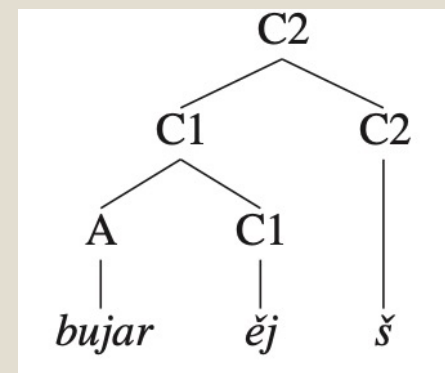(based on Bobaljik 2012)

Functional heads in adjectival domain

Functional heads in adjectival domain

a. [C1P C1] ⇔ /ěj/
b. [C2P C2] ⇔ /š/

Bobaljik 2012

Caha et al. 2019

Submorphemic syntax

Based on the observation that there are more featural distinctions than there are morphs available (a one-to-many relationship between morphs and features), and these features are syntactically represented.

Phrasal spell-out

"If these heads are submorphemic and multiple heads make up a single morph, then it must be possible for spellout to target phrases (XPs) and not just heads".
(Baunaz et al. 2018: 16)
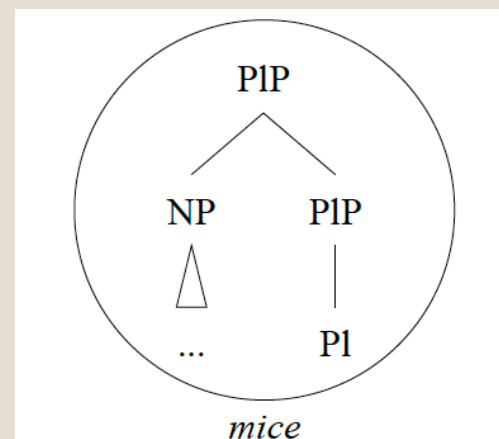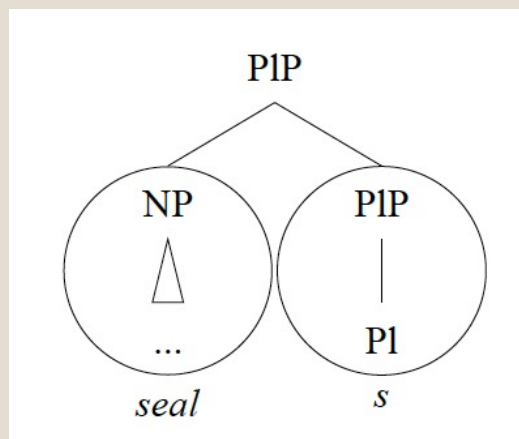
"Once lexical items are not confined into terminals anymore, they can be of different syntactic sizes - i.e. different lexical items may correspond to different amounts of syntactic structure".

Starke (2009:2)

4. Root sizes

Caha et al. (2019) and Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2020) develop an idea that there are <u>different root sizes</u> in Czech and Slovak. It is built on the notions of submorphemic syntax and phrasal spell-out.

Small (S) roots

S-roots are of size F1P. Such adjectives are 'small', they need C1P and C2P to be spelled out by an additional morphology. Thus, they take an augment in the positive, and both the suffix *-iš* and an augment in the comparative.
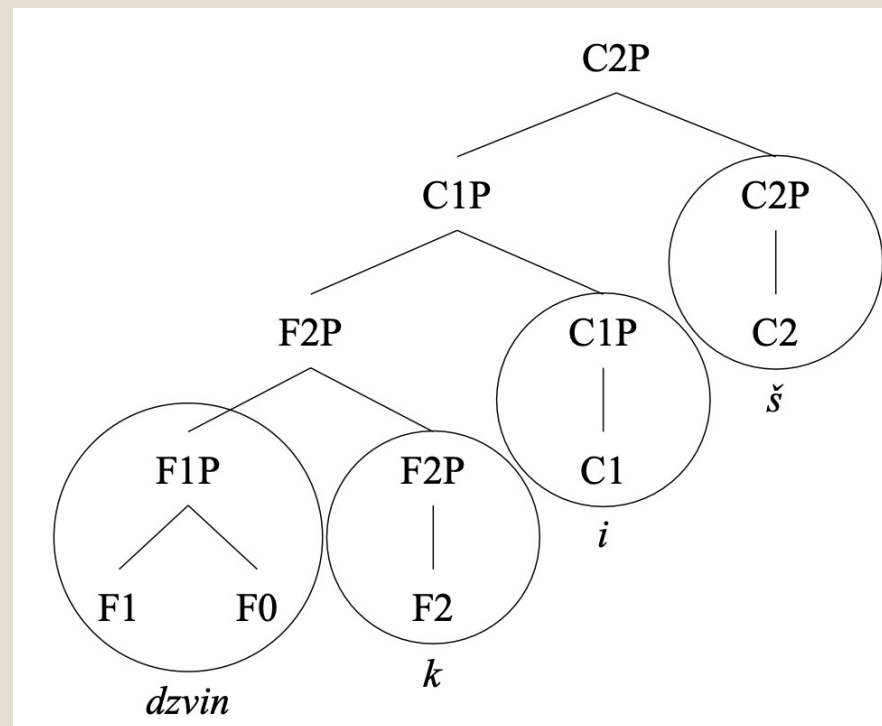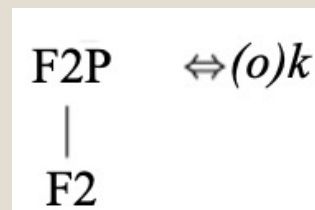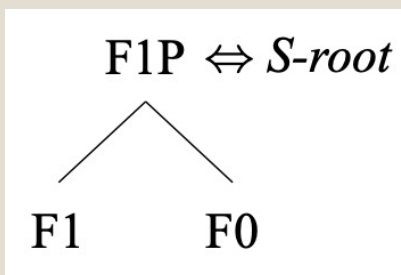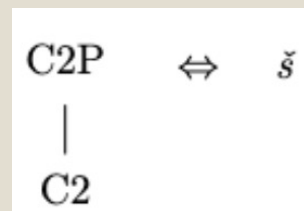
Medium (M) roots
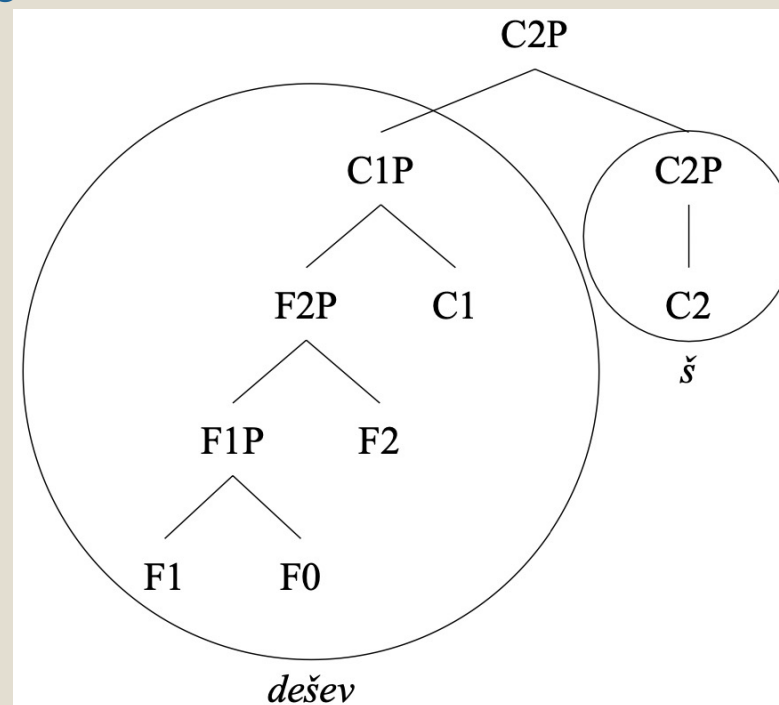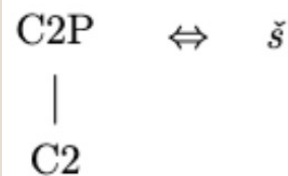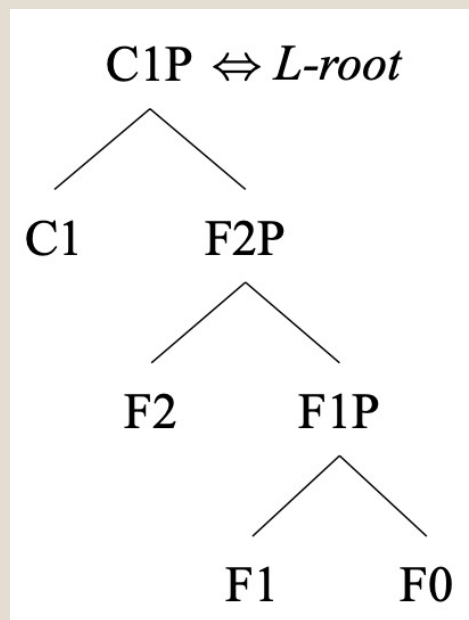
M-roots are of size F2P. Such adjectives are 'medium', they need both C1 and C2 to be spelled out by an additional morphology. They take only the suffix *-iš* in the comparative. No augments in POS or CMPR.
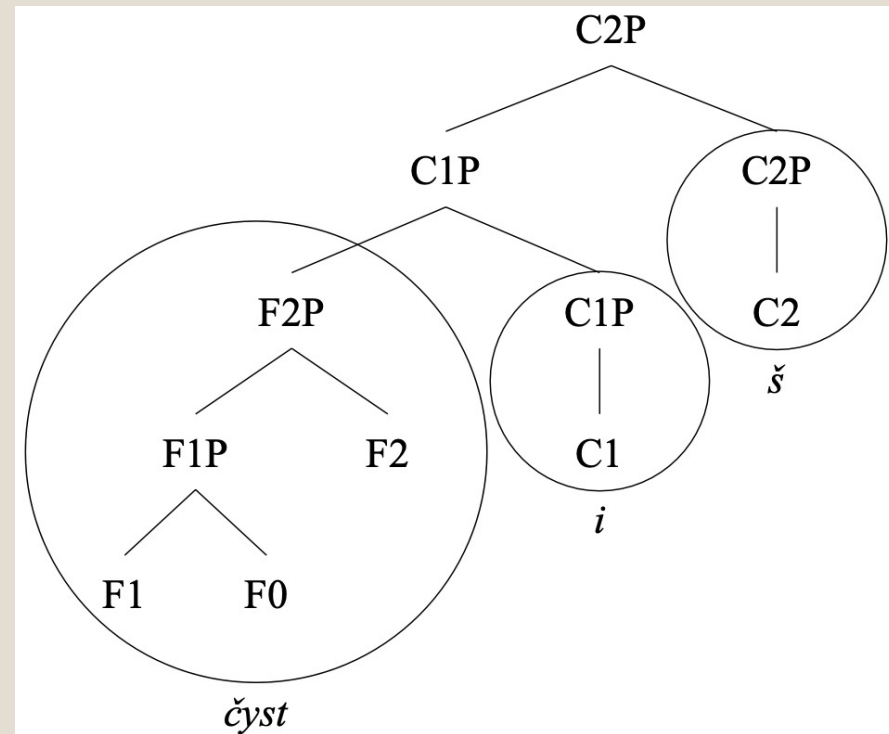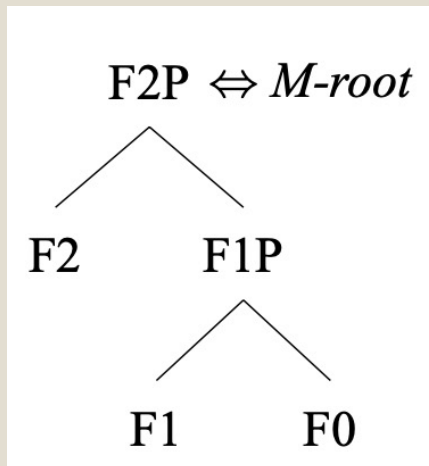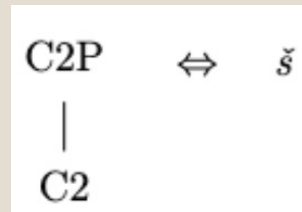
Large (L) roots

L-roots are of size C1P. They are bigger still, as they need only -š to spell out C2. Thus, they take the suffix -š in the comparative. No augments in POS or CMPR.

Comparative patterns

nr	POS	CMPR	examples	translation
1.	root	root-**š**	dešev-yj — dešev-**š**-yj	cheap — cheaper
2.	root	root-**iš**	čyst-yj — čyst-**iš**-yj	clean — cleaner
3.	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-<u>AUG</u>-**iš**	dzvin-<u>k</u>-yj — dzvin-<u>k</u>-**iš**-yj	voiced — more voiced
4.	root-AUG	root-**š**	korot-<u>k</u>-yj — korot-**š**-yj	short — shorter

L' root

i. C1P ⟺ *korot*

```
        C1P
       /    \
     F1P    C1P
     / \    /  \
   F1  F0 C1  F2P
                |
               F2
```

ii. F2P ⟺ *k*

```
  F2P
   |
  F2
```

```
              C2P
         _____
        /           \
      C1P            C2P
      / \             |
    F1P  C1P          C2
    /\   /  \           š
  F1 F0 C1  F2P
             |
            F2
        korot
```

L' root: positive

i. C1P $\Leftrightarrow$ *korot*

```
        C1P
       /   \
     F1P    C1P
    /  \   /   \
  F1  F0 C1   F2P
                |
               F2
```

ii. F2P $\Leftrightarrow k$

```
  F2P
   |
  F2
```

F1P

```
   F1P
   /  \
  F1   F0
```

!F2P!

```
   F2P
   /  \
  F2   F1P
       /  \
      F1   F0
```

F2P

```
      F1P          F2P
     /  \           |
    F1   F0        F2
   korot            k
```
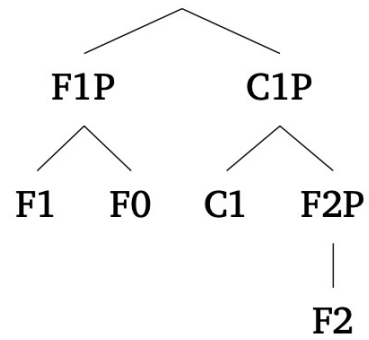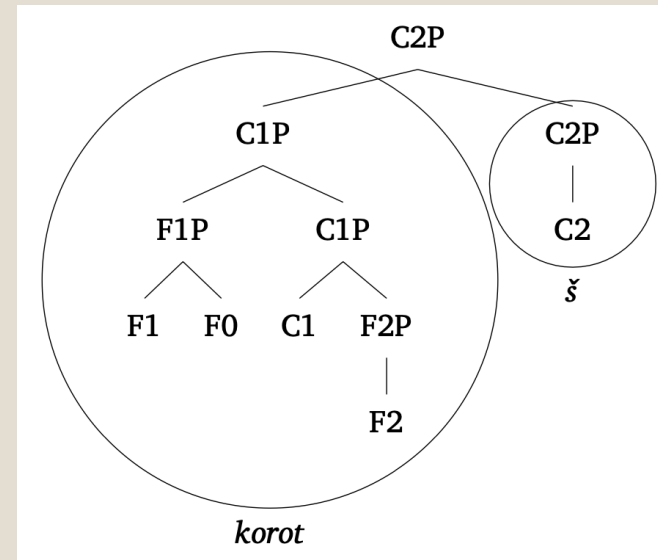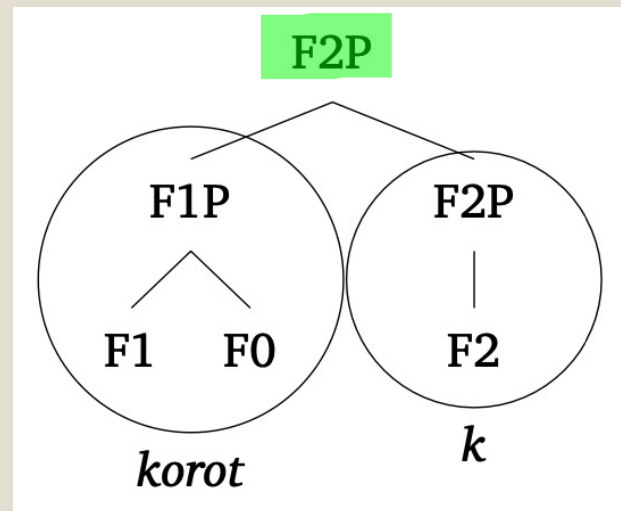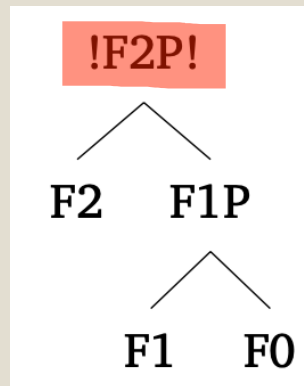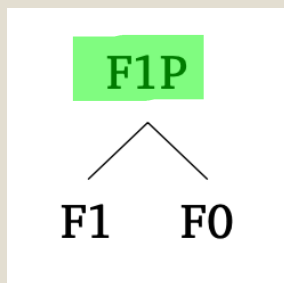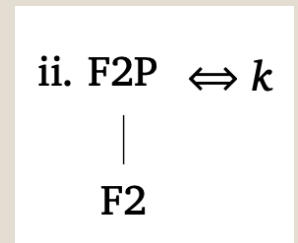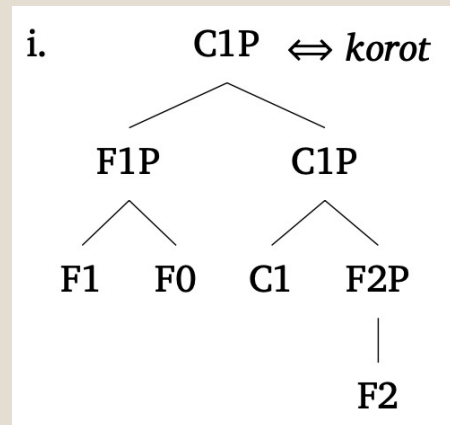
L' root: comparative

L' root: comparative

i.
```
         C1P        ⟺ korot
        /   \
     F1P     C1P
     / \     /  \
   F1  F0  C1   F2P
                 |
                 F2
```

ii. F2P ⟺ k
```
   |
   F2
```

!C2P!
```
  /\
C2   C1P
     / \
   F1P   C1P
   / \   /  \
 F1  F0 C1  F2P
             |
             F2
```
korot

C2P
```
     C1P              C2P
     / \               |
  F1P   C1P            C2
  / \   /  \           š
F1  F0 C1  F2P
            |
            F2
```
korot
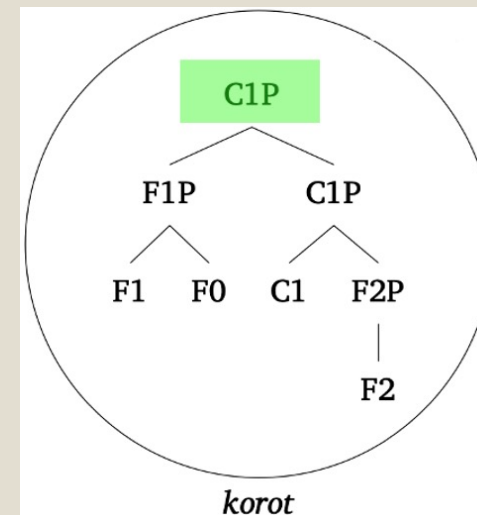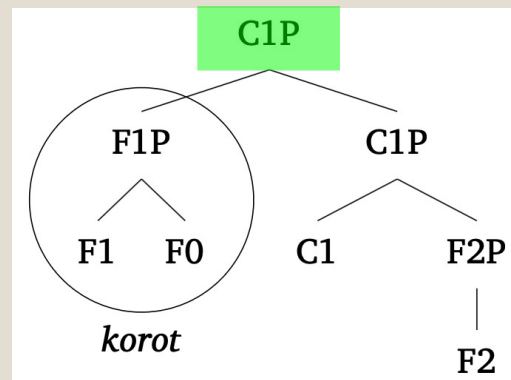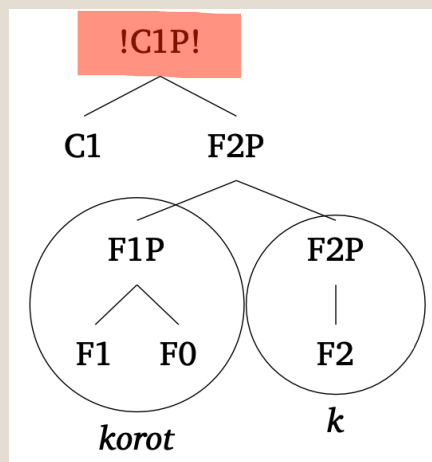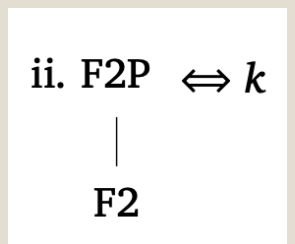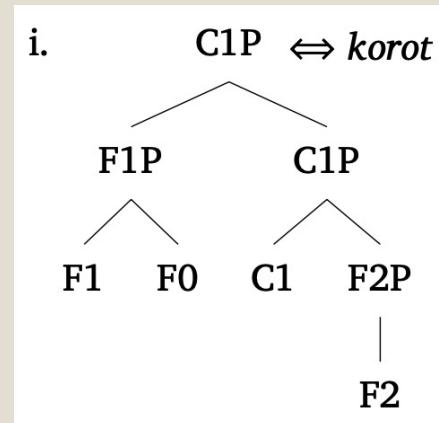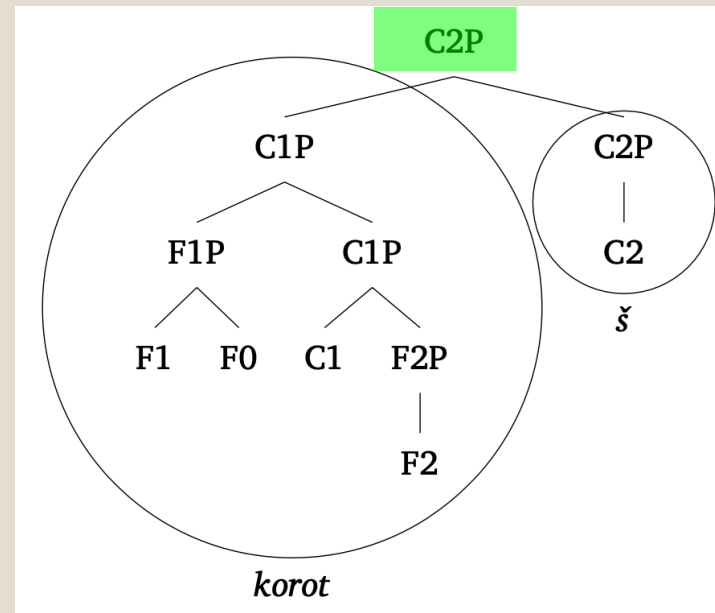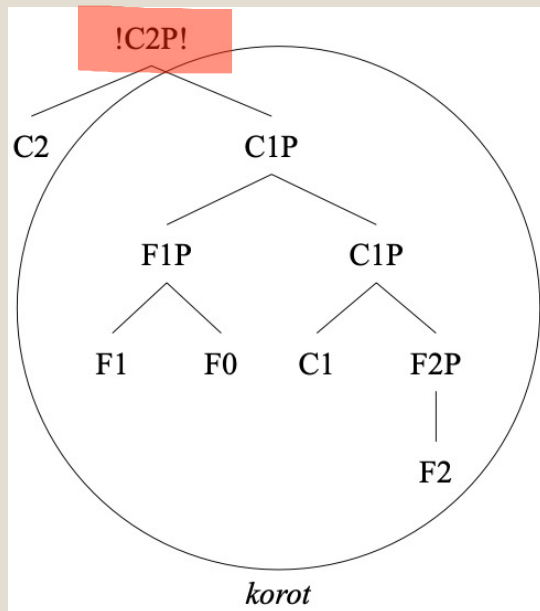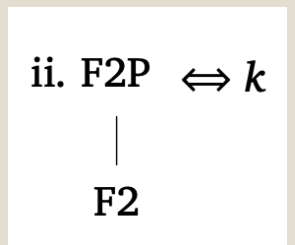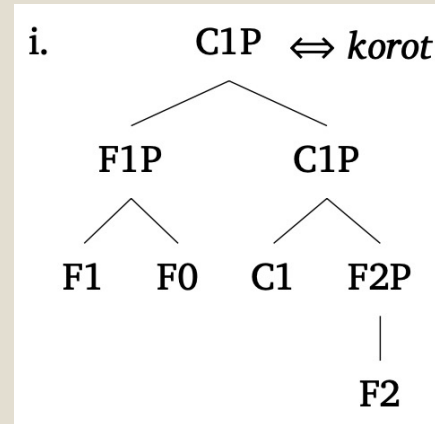
There are four types of roots.

◦ S roots are of size F1P, they need -*k*, to spell out F2P, -*i* to spell out C1P and -*š* to spell out C2P.

◦ M roots are of size F2P, and they need both -*i* to spell out C1P and -*š* to spell out C2P.

◦ L roots are of size C1P, they need only -*š* for spelling out C2P.

◦ L'roots are of size C1P, but they undergo movement, as a result losing the augment in CMPR.

type	POS	CMPR	examples	translation
S	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-<u>AUG</u>-**i-š**	dzvin-<u>k</u>-yj — dzvin-<u>k</u>-**i-š**-yj	voiced — more voiced
M	root	root-**i-š**	čyst-yj — čyst-**i-š**-yj	clean — cleaner
L	root	root-**š**	dešev-yj — dešev-**š**-yj	cheap — cheaper
L'	root-<u>AUG</u>	root-**š**	korot-<u>k</u>-yj — korot-**š**-yj	short — shorter

S-root
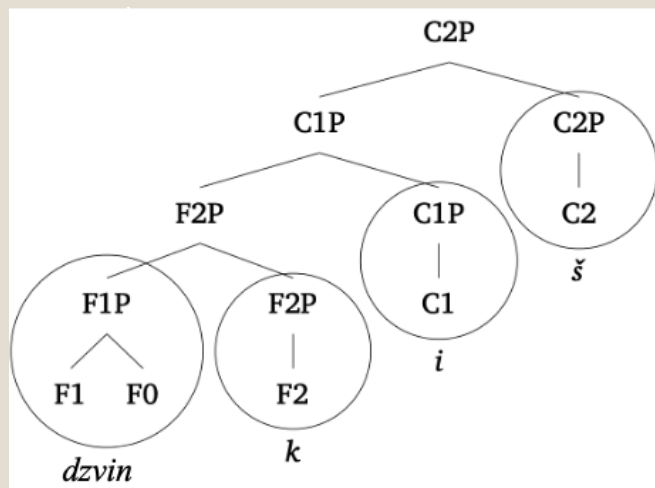
M-root
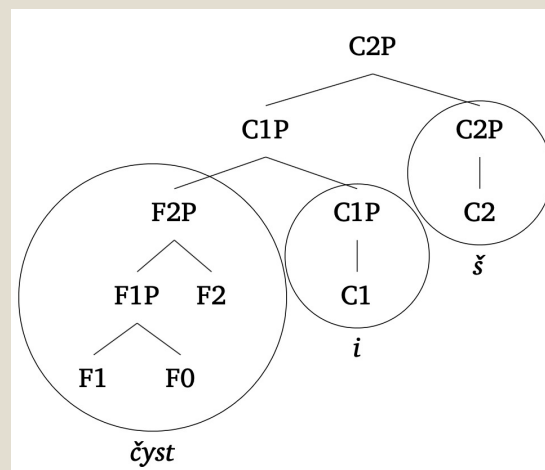
L-root
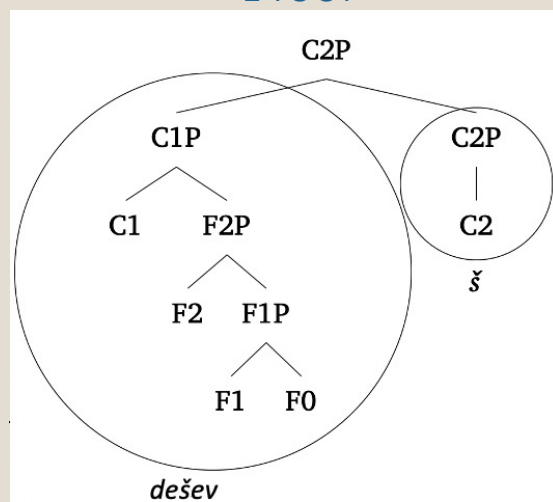
L'-root
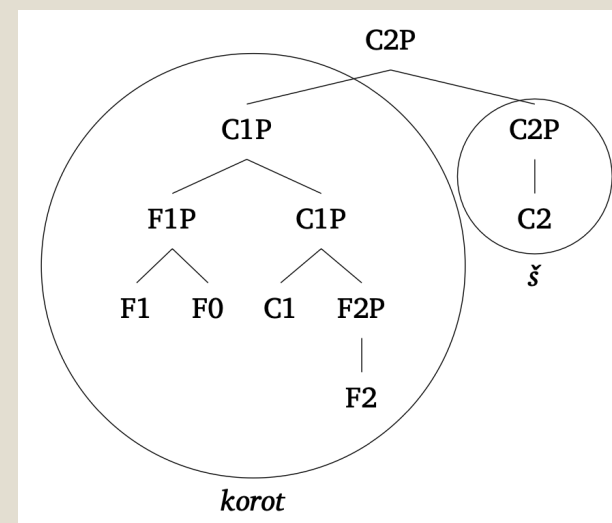
Unattested patterns

POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root-<u>AUG</u>	root-**iš**	*unattested*	*unattested*
root-<u>AUG</u>	root-<u>AUG</u>-**š**	*unattested*	*unattested*

5. Suppletion

◦ There are only four suppletive adjectives in Ukrainian.

◦ All of them <u>only take the suffix -š</u>.

◦ The surface suffix -č is the result of assimilation and dissimilation.

	POS	CMPR	translation
a.	velyk-yj	bil'-**š**-yj	big
b.	mal-yj	men-**š**-yj	small
c.	pohan-yj	hir-**š**-yj	bad
d.	dobr-yj	lip-**š**-yj	good
		kraš-**č**-yj	good

5. Suppletion

Pointers make a reference within a lexical entry to another lexical entry.
lip can only take the suffix -*š* in the comparative, as it is of size C1P.

the lexical entry for *lip* makes a reference to *dobr* and overwrites it with *lip*.
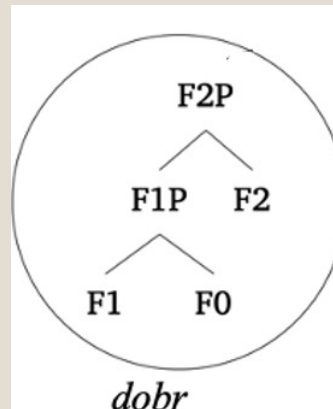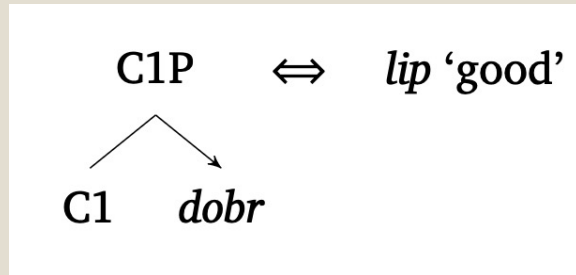
Suppletion requires that each root lexicalises a slightly different structure. Such a difference only exists in the -š class, and hence, only the -š class shows suppletion. In the -ejš class, suppletion is predicted to be impossible.

(De Clercq et al. 2021: 34-35)

	POS	CMPR -š	CMPR -iš	translation
a.	velyk-yj	bil'-**š**-yj	*bil'-i**š**-yj	big
b.	mal-yj	men-**š**-yj	*men-i**š**-yj	small
c.	pohan-yj	hir-**š**-yj	*hir-i**š**-yj	bad
d.	dobr-yj	lip-**š**-yj	*lip-i**š**-yj	good
		kraš-**č**-yj	*kraš-i**š**-yj	good

	POS	CMPR regular	CMPR suppletive	translation
a.	velyk-yj	*unattested*	bil'-**š**-yj	big
b.	mal-yj	*unattested*	men-**š**-yj	small
c.	pohan-yj	pohan-**iš**-yj	hir-**š**-yj	bad
d.	dobr-yj	dobr-**iš**-yj	lip-**š**-yj	good
			kraš-**č**-yj	good
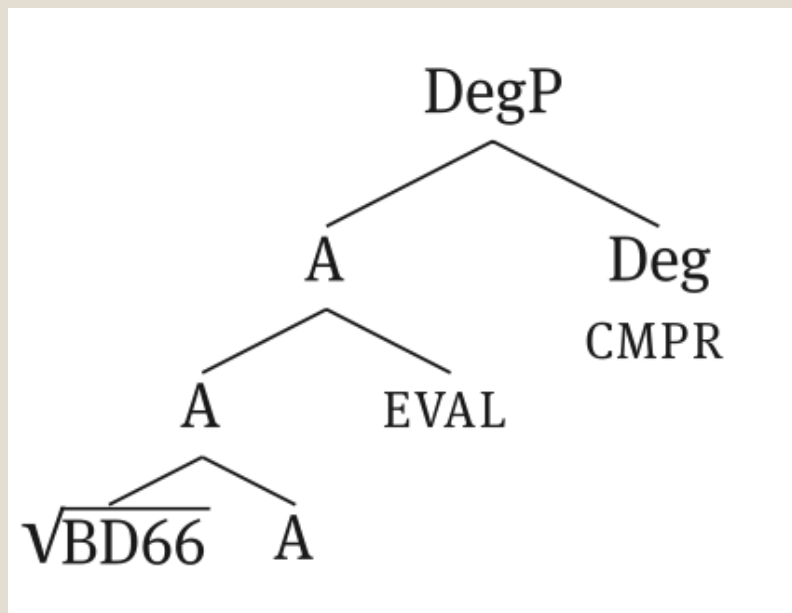
Arregi & Nevins (2014: 323)
badder and *baddest* are 'disuppletive'.
They observe that these forms have a
positive evaluation, and suggest that
"the conditions on local suppletion are
disrupted by the additional evaluative
head".

6. Conclusions

○ there are two comparative suffixes in Ukrainian: *-iš* and -š;

○ this distribution is regulated by morphosyntax:

- the suffix *-iš* is to be decomposed into two morphemes *-i* and -š;
- the size of the root determines which root is taken in the comparative;
- there are four root sizes in Ukrainian comparative adjectives;
- suppletive adjectives are 'big' in size, so they only take the suffix -š.

References

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◦ Bobaljik, J. 2012. *Universals In Comparative Morphology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

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◦ Starke, M. 2009. "Nanosyntax: A short primer to a new approach to language". *Nordlyd*, 36, 1–6

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Appendix:
Assimilation and dissimilation

	suffixation	assimilation	dissimilation	translation
a.	vah-**š**-yj	va**ž-š**-yj	važ-**č**-yj	heavier
b.	kras-**š**-yj	kra**š-š**-yj	kra**š-č**-yj	better

Bevzenko (1960)