

# The comparative in Ukrainian: suffixes, augments, and root sizes

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# Outline

Introduction

Theoretical prerequisites

Root sizes

Suppletion

Conclusion

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# Comparative suffixes in Slavic

a.	PROTO-SLAVIC	*-ejьs	*-jьs
b.	OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC	-ejьš	-jьš
c.	POLISH	-ejsz	-sz
d.	CZECH	-ějš	-š
e.	SLOVAK	-ejš	-š

# Comparative suffixes in Slavic

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d.	CZECH	-ějš	-š
e.	SLOVAK	-ejš	-š
f.	UKRAINIAN	-iš	-š

# It's not about phonology

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

	POS	CMPR <i>-š</i>	CMPR <i>-iš</i>	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 not about phonology

(2) different roots in similar phonological environment

	POS	CMPR -š	CMPR -iš	translation
a.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	*dešev-iš-yj	cheap
	važlyv-yj	*važlyv-š-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	important
b.	duž-yj	duž-č-yj	*duž-iš-yj	strong
	sviž-yj	*sviž-č-yj	sviž-iš-yj	fresh

## Comparative patterns

patterns	examples	translation	N
losing <i>-(o)k</i>	slab- <b>k</b> -yj — slab- <b>š</b> -yj	weak	15
	korot- <b>k</b> -yj — korot- <b>š</b> -yj	short	
	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj — hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep	



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keeping <i>-(o)k</i>	bryd- <b>k</b> -yj — bryd- <b>k-iš</b> -yj	ugly	50
	dzvin- <b>k</b> -yj — dzvin- <b>k-iš</b> -yj	voiced	
	žorst- <b>ok</b> -yj — žorst- <b>ok-iš</b> -yj	cruel	

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Ukrainian national corpus MOVA

POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	'cheap'

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root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	'cheap'
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root-AUG	root-š	korot-k-yj — korot-š-yj	'short'

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root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

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root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
root-AUG	root-AUG-š	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>



# Outline

Introduction

Theoretical prerequisites

Root sizes

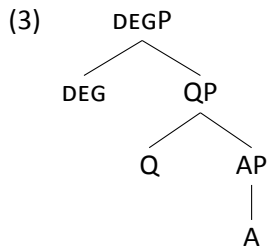
Suppletion

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# Theoretical prerequisites

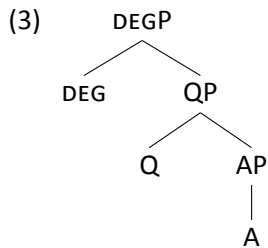
- ▶ Functional heads in the adjectival domain
- ▶ Submorphemic syntax
- ▶ Phrasal spell-out

## Functional heads in the adjectival domain

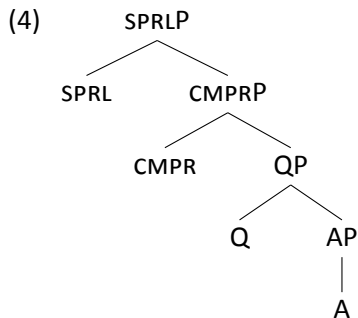


Corver (1997)

## Functional heads in the adjectival domain

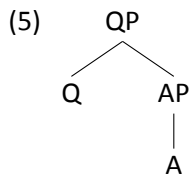


Corver (1997)

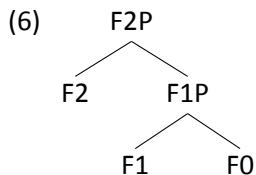
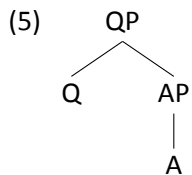


De Clercq et al. (2022)  
(based on Bobaljik 2012)

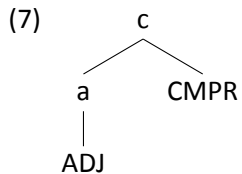
## Functional heads in adjectival domain



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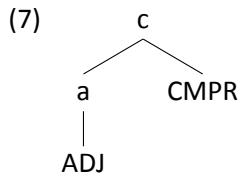


## Functional heads in adjectival domain

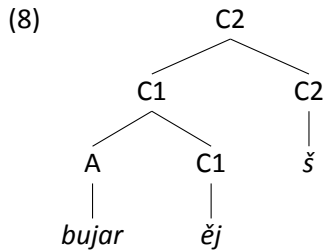


Bobaljik (2012)

## Functional heads in adjectival domain



Bobaljik (2012)



Caha et al. (2019)



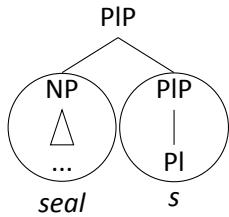
# Submorphemic syntax

- ▶ There are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available: there is a one-to-many relationship between morphemes and features
- ▶ these features are syntactically represented.

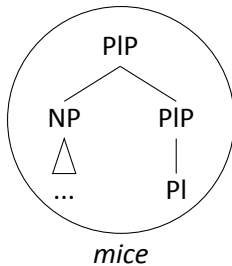
## Phrasal spell-out

“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)

(9)



(10)



“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)

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Introduction

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**Root sizes**

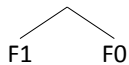
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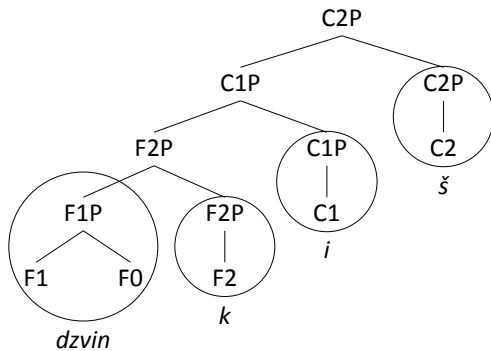
Caha et al. (2019) and Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2020) develop an idea that there are different root sizes in Czech and Slovak. It is built on the notions of submorphemic syntax and phrasal spell-out.

## Small (S) roots

(11) F1P  $\leftrightarrow$  S-root

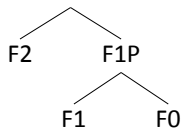


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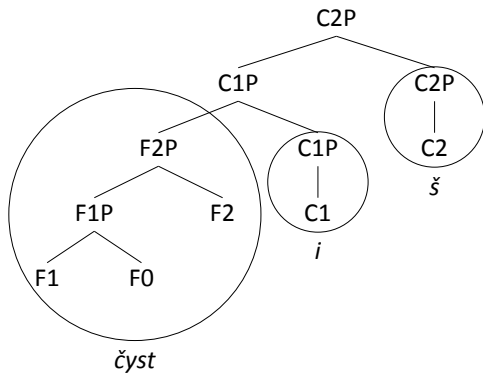


## Medium (M) roots

(13) F2P  $\Leftrightarrow$  M-root



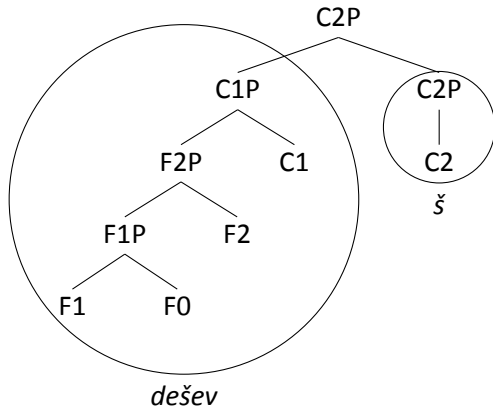
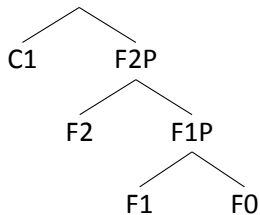
(14)





# Large (L) roots

(15) C1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  L-root (16)



## Comparative patterns

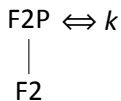
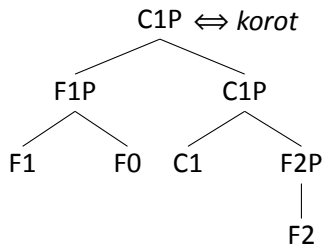
type	POS	CMPR	examples	translation
S	root-AUG	root-AUG-i-š	dzvin-k-yj — dzvin-k-i-š-yj	voiced
M	root	root-i-š	čyst-yj — čyst-i-š-yj	clean
L	root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap

## Comparative patterns

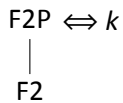
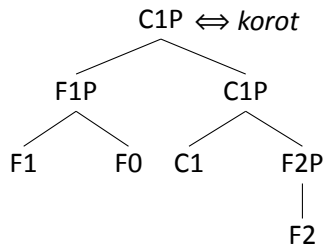
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L	root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap
	root-AUG	root-š	korot-k-yj — korot-š-yj	short

## L' roots: lexical items

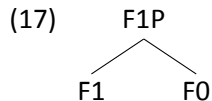
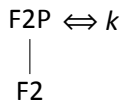
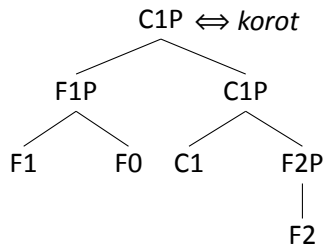
Movement containing trees (Pavel Caha's 2021 seminars)



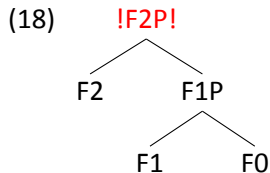
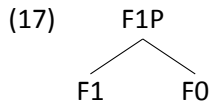
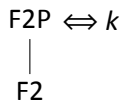
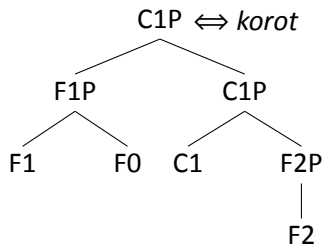
## L' roots: positive



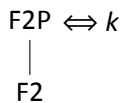
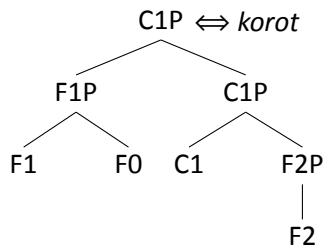
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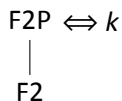
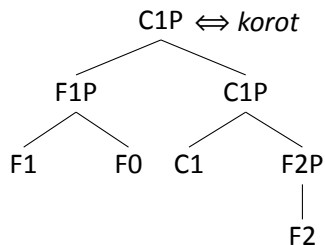


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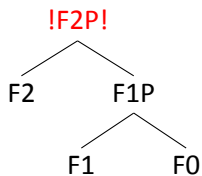




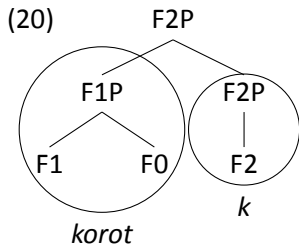
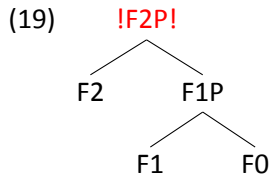
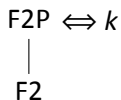
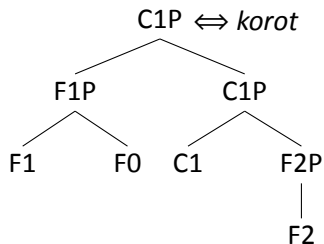
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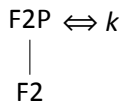
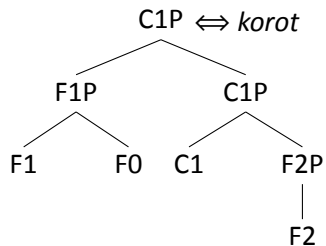
(19)



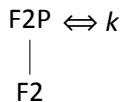
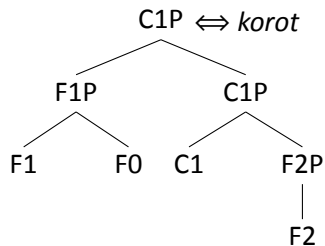
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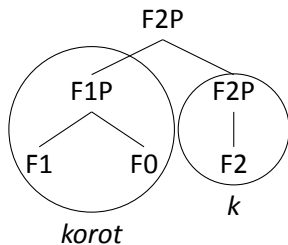
## L' roots: comparative



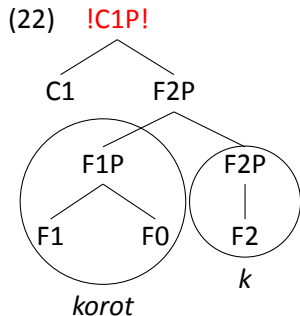
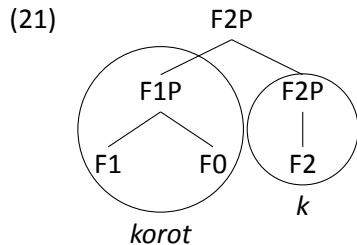
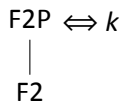
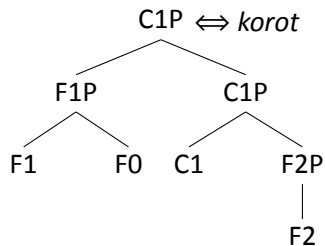
## L' roots: comparative



(21)



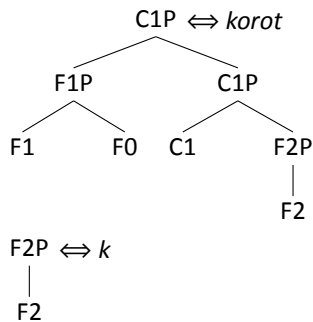
# L' roots: comparative



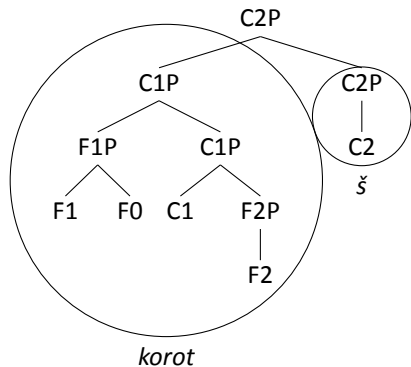




# L' roots: comparative

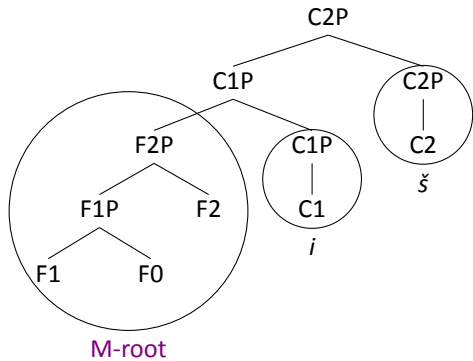
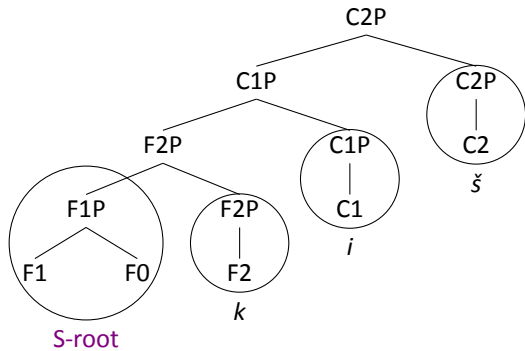


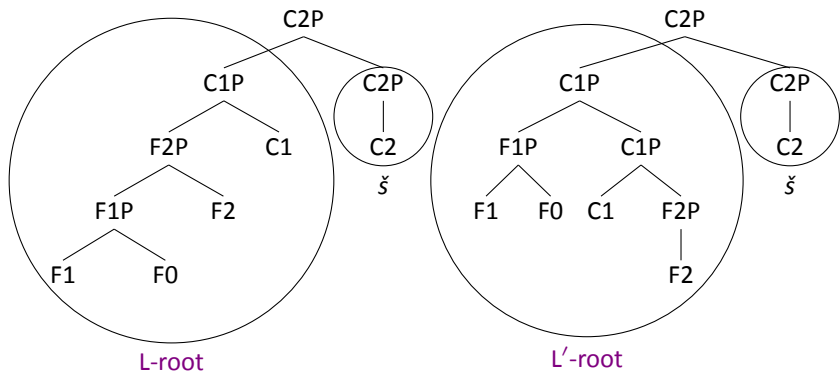
(25)





# Root sizes: overview





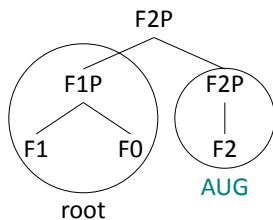
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L'	root-AUG	root-š	korot-k-yj — korot-š-yj	short

# Unattested patterns

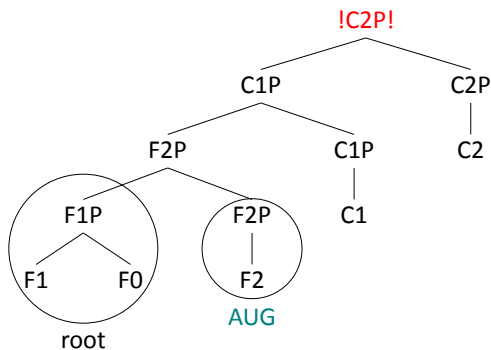
POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root-AUG	root-AUG-š	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

# Unattested patterns: root-AUG - root-AUG-š

(26)

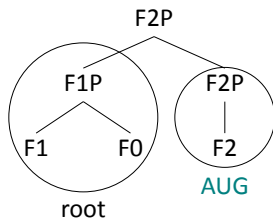


(27)

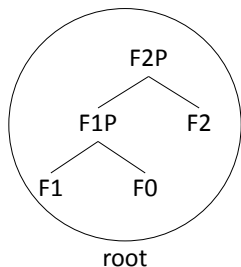


## Unattested patterns: root-AUG - root-iš

(28)



(29)



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Root sizes

**Suppletion**

Conclusion

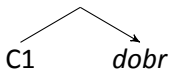


- ▶ There are only four suppletive adjectives in Ukrainian.
- ▶ All of them only take the suffix -š.
- ▶ The surface suffix -č is the result of assimilation and dissimilation.

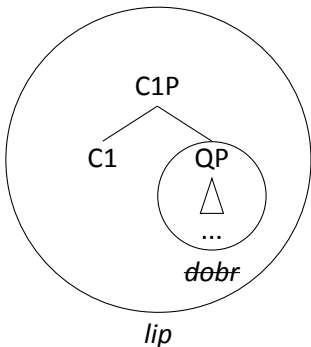
(30)	POS	CMPR	translation
1.	velyk-yj	bil-š-yj	big
2.	mal-yj	men-š-yj	small
3.	pohan-yj	hir-š-yj	bad
4.	dobr-yj	lip-š-yj kraš-č-yj	good

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. Lexical entry for *lip* makes a reference to *dobr* and overwrites it with *lip*.

(31) C1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  *lip* 'good'



(32)



“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”. (Caha and DeClercq 2021: 34-35)

(33)	POS	CMPR <i>-š</i>	CMPR <i>-iš</i>	translation
1.	velyk-yj	bil-š-yj	*bil-iš-yj	big
2.	mal-yj	men-š-yj	*men-iš-yj	small
3.	pohan-yj	hir-š-yj	*hir-iš-yj	bad
4.	dobr-yj	lip-š-yj	*lip-iš-yj	good
		kraš-č-yj	*kraš-iš-yj	

# Outline

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Theoretical prerequisites

Root sizes

Suppletion

Conclusion

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- ▶ 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*.

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