

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

Anastasiia Vyshnevskia

KU Leuven, CRISSP

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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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b.	OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC	-ejъš	-jъš
c.	POLISH	-ejsz	-sz
d.	CZECH	-ějš	-š
e.	SLOVAK	-ejš	-š
f.	UKRAINIAN	-iš	-š

## 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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	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj — hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep	
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

POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap
root	root-iš	čyst-yj — čyst-iš-yj	clean

POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap
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root-AUG	root-AUG-iš	dzvin-k-yj — dzvin-k-iš-yj	voiced

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root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap
root	root-iš	čyst-yj — čyst-iš-yj	clean
root-AUG	root-AUG-iš	dzvin-k-yj — dzvin-k-iš-yj	voiced
root-AUG	root-š	korot-k-yj — korot-š-yj	short
root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap
root	root-iš	čyst-yj — čyst-iš-yj	clean
root-AUG	root-AUG-iš	dzvin-k-yj — dzvin-k-iš-yj	voiced
root-AUG	root-š	korot-k-yj — korot-š-yj	short
root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
root-AUG	root-AUG-š	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

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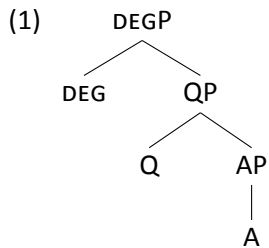
Conclusion

# Theoretical prerequisites

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

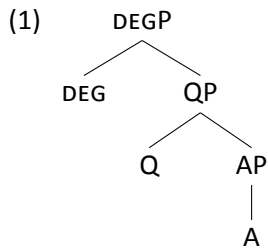


## Functional heads in the adjectival domain

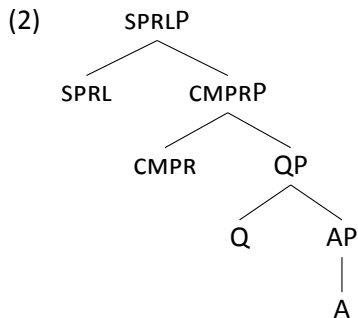


Corver (1997)

## Functional heads in the adjectival domain

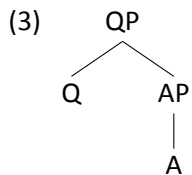


Corver (1997)

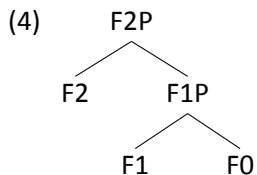
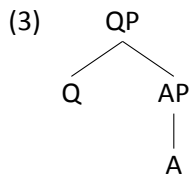


De Clercq et al. (2022)  
(based on Bobaljik 2012)

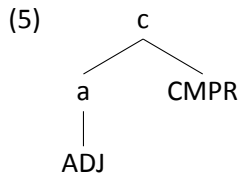
## Functional heads in adjectival domain



## Functional heads in adjectival domain

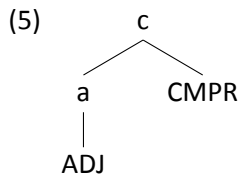


## Functional heads in adjectival domain

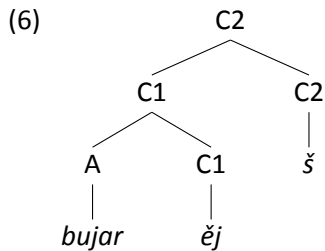


Bobaljik (2012)

## Functional heads in adjectival domain



Bobaljik (2012)



Caha et al. (2019)

## Submorphemic syntax

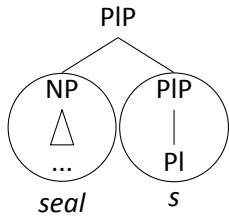
- ▶ There are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available: there is a one-to-many relationship between morphemes and features
- ▶ these features are syntactically represented.

## Phrasal spell-out

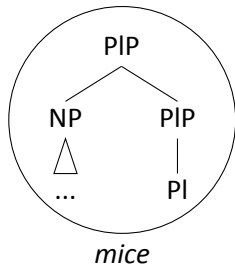
“If these heads are submorphemic and multiple heads make up a single morph, then it must be possible for spellout to target phrases (XPs) and not just heads”. (Baunaz et al. 2018: 16)



(7)



(8)



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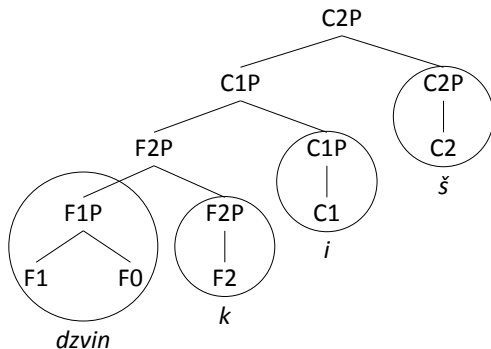
Caha et al. (2019) and Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2020) develop an idea that there are different root sizes in Czech and Slovak. It is built on the notions of submorphemic syntax and phrasal spell-out.

## Small (S) roots

(9) F1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  S-root

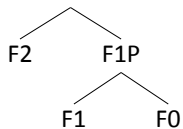
F1      F0

(10)

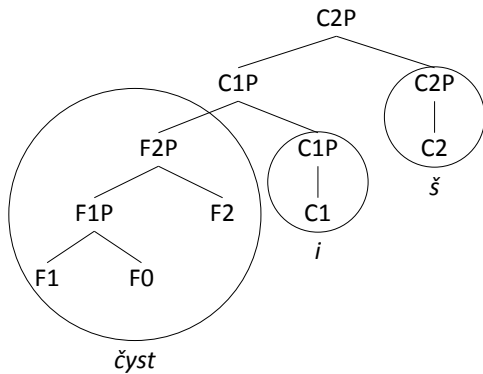


## Medium (M) roots

(11) F2P  $\Leftrightarrow$  M-root

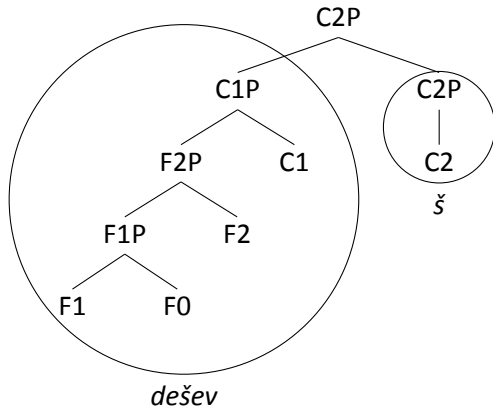
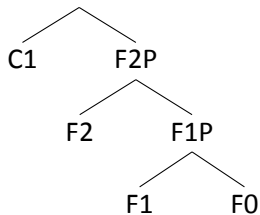


(12)



# Large (L) roots

(13) C1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  L-root (14)



	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR		dešev		-š



	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR		dešev		-š
cheap, POS		dešev		

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR		dešev		-š
cheap, POS		dešev		
clean, CMPR		čyst	-i	-š

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR		dešev		-š
cheap, POS		dešev		
clean, CMPR		čyst	-i	-š
clean, POS		čyst		

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			
voiced , CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR		dešev		-š
cheap, POS		dešev		
clean, CMPR		čyst	-i	-š
clean, POS		čyst		
voiced , CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š
voiced , POS	dzvin	k		

## Comparative patterns

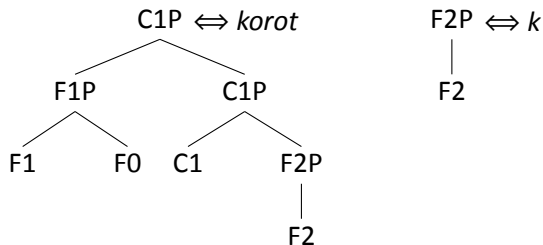
type	POS	CMPR	examples	translation
S	root-AUG	root-AUG-i-š	dzvin-k-yj — dzvin-k-i-š-yj	voiced
M	root	root-i-š	čyst-yj — čyst-i-š-yj	clean
L	root	root-š	dešev-yj — dešev-š-yj	cheap

## Comparative patterns

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

## L' roots: lexical items

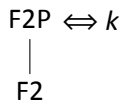
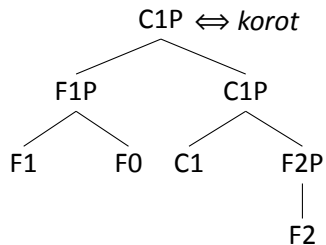
Movement containing trees (Pavel Caha's 2021 seminars)



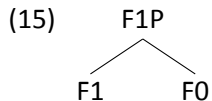
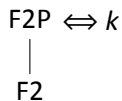
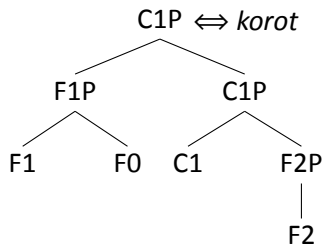
- Merge F and spell out FP
  - If (a) fails, move the spec of the complement of F and spell out FP
  - If (b) fails, move the complement of F and spell out FP
- (Starke 2018)



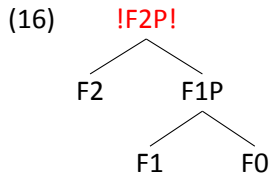
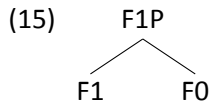
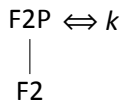
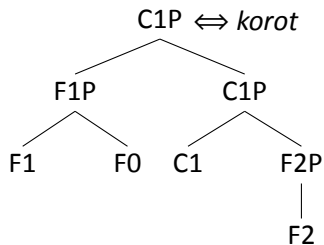
## L' roots: positive



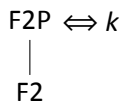
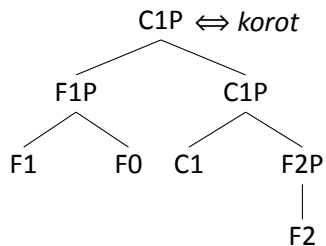
## L' roots: positive



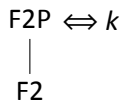
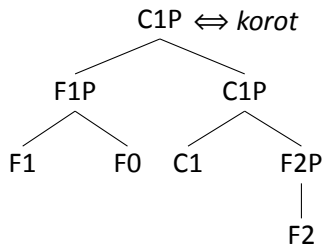
# L' roots: positive



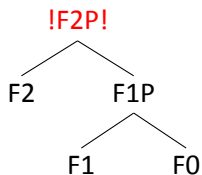
## L' roots: positive



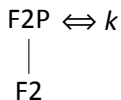
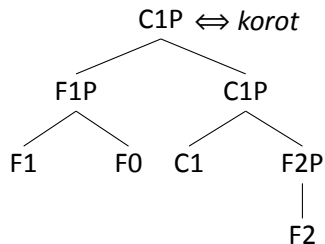
## L' roots: positive



(17)

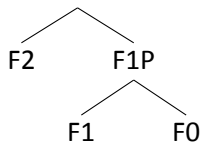


# L' roots: positive

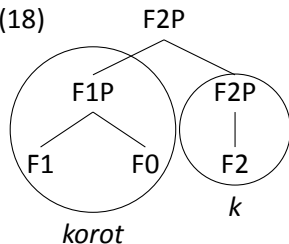


(17)

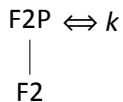
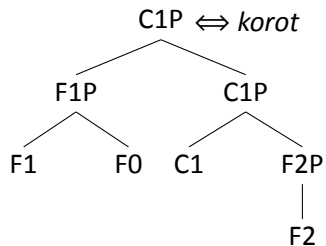
**!F2P!**



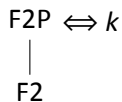
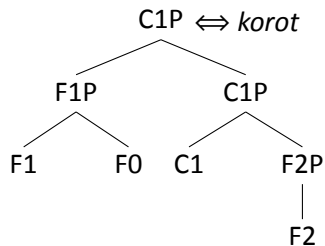
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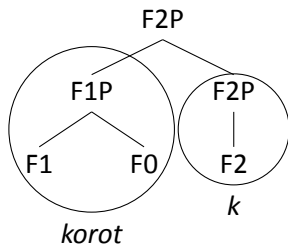
## L' roots: comparative



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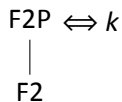
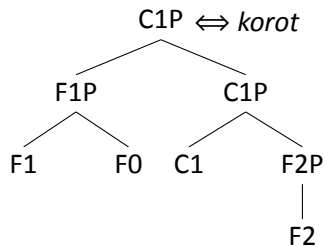


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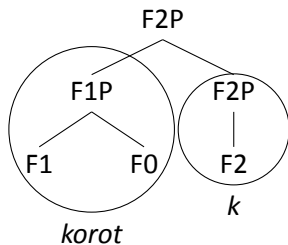




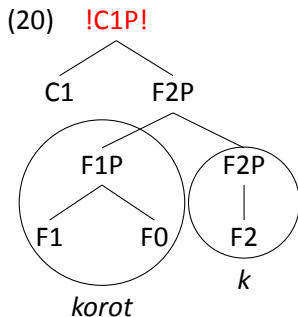
# L' roots: comparative



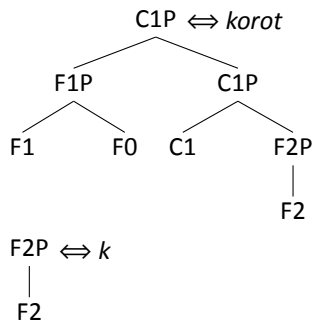
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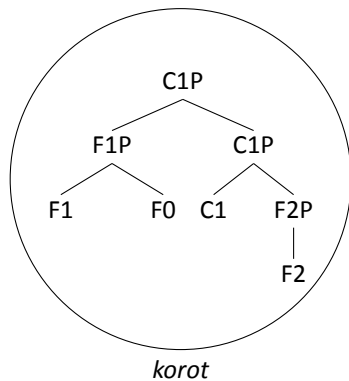
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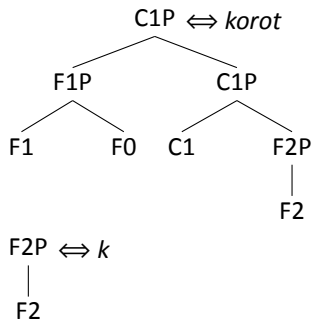
## L' roots: comparative



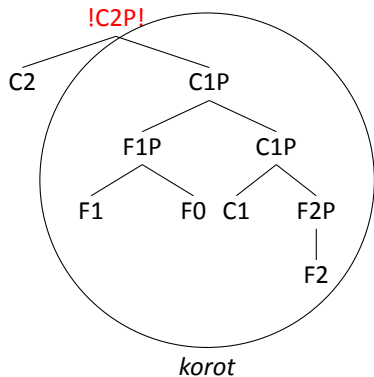
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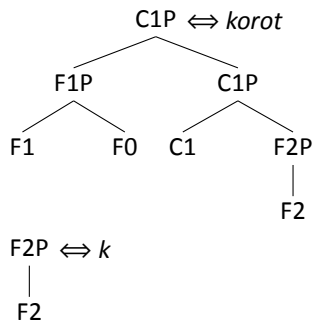
# L' roots: comparative



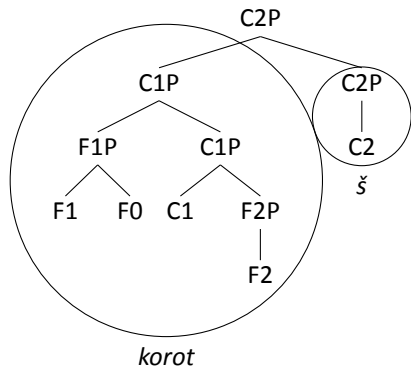
(22)



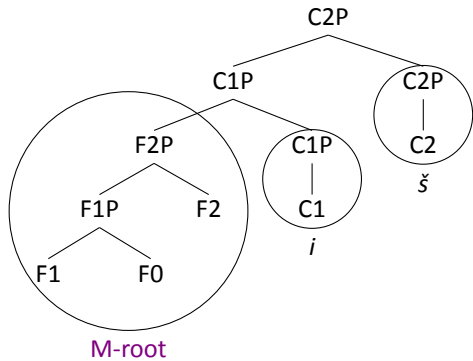
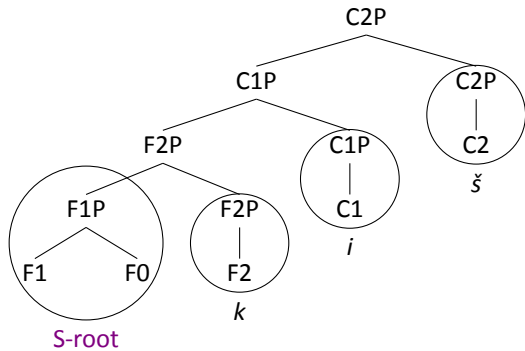
# L' roots: comparative

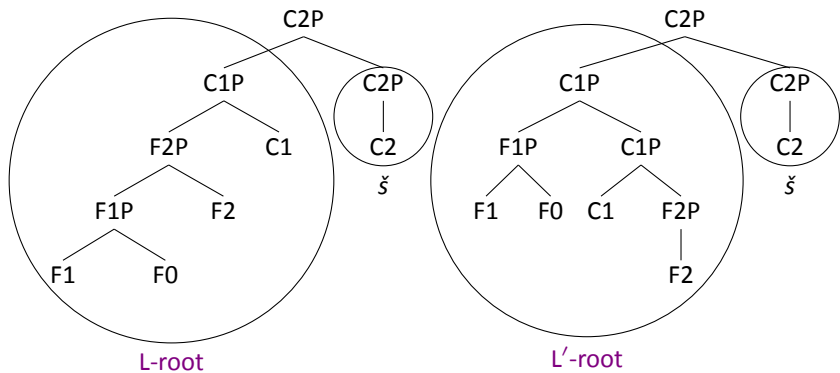


(23)



# Root sizes: overview





	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š



	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			
voiced, CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			
voiced, CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š
voiced, POS	dzvin	k		

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			
voiced, CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š
voiced, POS	dzvin	k		
short, CMPR	korot			-š

	F1	F2	C1	C2
cheap, CMPR	dešev			-š
cheap, POS	dešev			
clean, CMPR	čyst		-i	-š
clean, POS	čyst			
voiced, CMPR	dzvin	k	-i	-š
voiced, POS	dzvin	k		
short, CMPR	korot			-š
short, POS	korot	k		

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

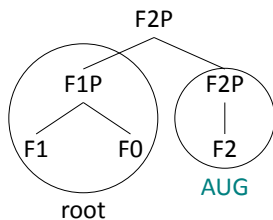


# Unattested patterns

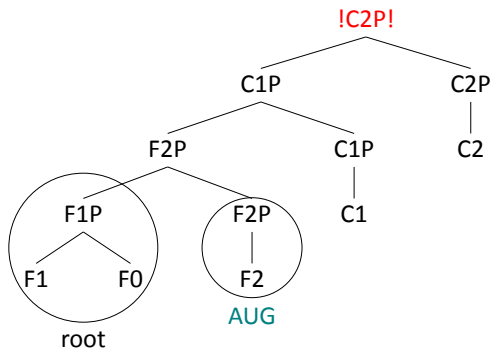
POS	CMPR	examples	translation
root-AUG	root-AUG-š	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
root-AUG	root-iš	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

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

(24)

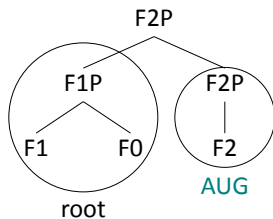


(25)

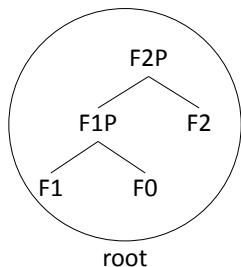


## Unattested patterns: root-AUG - root-iš

(26)



(27)



# Outline

Introduction

Theoretical prerequisites

Root sizes

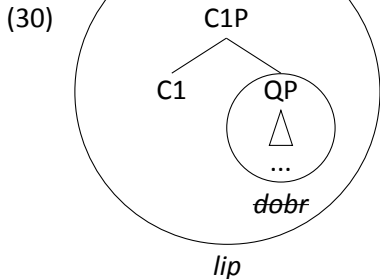
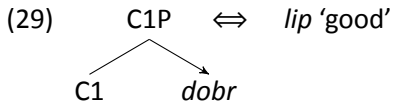
**Suppletion**

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.

(28)	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*.



“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)

(31)	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	

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# Conclusion

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

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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

# Conclusion

- ▶ 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, they only take the suffix *-š*.

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(32) 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



(33) 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