Allomorphy without context specification: A case study of Czech n

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Outline

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Two classes of adjectives

- Positive-degree adjectives in Czech often correspond to a root directly followed by agreement

(1) mlad- ý
young AGR
'young'

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- Positive-degree adjectives in Czech often correspond to a root directly followed by agreement

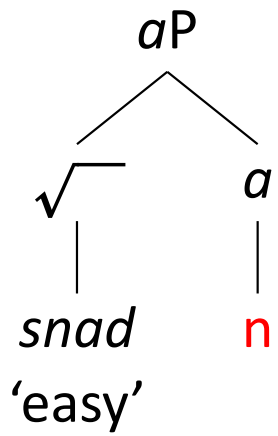
(1) mlad- ý
young AGR
'young'

- However, there is a sizeable class of adjectives that require the 'augment' n

(2) snad- n- ý
eas- AUG AGR
'easy'

Decomposing the adjective

(3) a.



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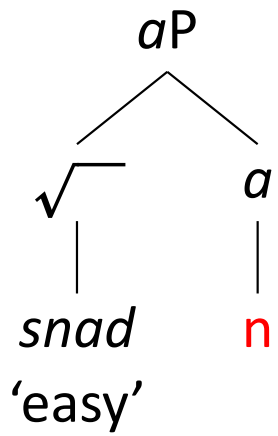
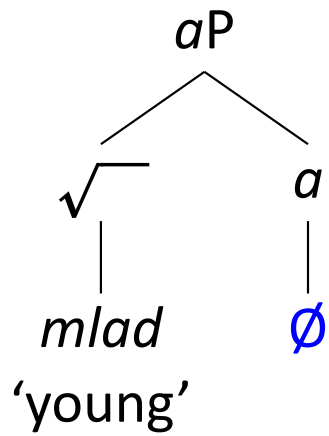
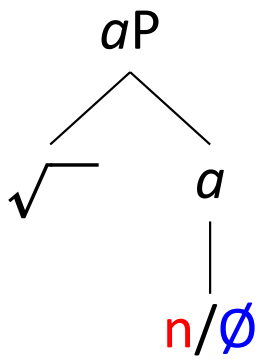


b.



Comparing two approaches to allomorphy

(4)



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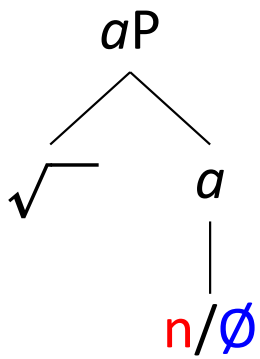

(5) Context-sensitive rules

a. $[a] \Leftrightarrow$ n

b. $[a] \Leftrightarrow$ Ø / $\sqrt{\text{CLEAN}}$ __

(6)

	$\sqrt{\ }$	*a*
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*n*
CLEAN	*čist*	*Ø*

Comparing two approaches to allomorphy

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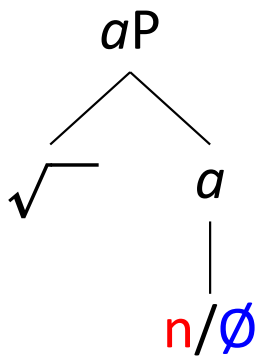

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(7) Portmanteau realisation

a. $[a] \Leftrightarrow$ n

b. $\sqrt{\text{CLEAN}}$+*a* $\Leftrightarrow$ *čist*

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Comparing two approaches to allomorphy

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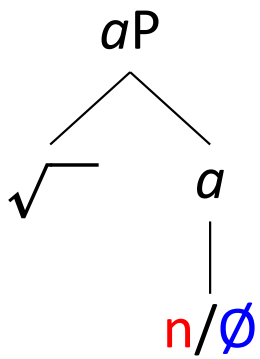

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- Czech adjectival stem-marker n represents a case that favours portmanteau realisation

Outline

The distribution is not governed by phonology

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- There are homonymous roots, which in one meaning take n, in another meaning they don't

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(9) **lev**- Ø- á noha
left AGR leg
'(the) left leg'

(10) **lev**- n- á noha
cheap AUG AGR leg
'(the) cheap leg'

The distribution is not governed by semantics

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- There are synonymous roots, where one root takes n, the other doesn't

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- There are synonymous roots, where one root takes n, the other doesn't

(11) hrub- Ø- á pokožka
rough AGR skin
'a rough skin'

(12) drs- n- á pokožka
rough AUG AGR skin
'a rough skin'

The distribution is not governed by the morphological category of the base (I)

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- Some *n* adjectives appear to be derived from nouns, but not all of them are

(13) a. čest- n- ý
honest AUG AGR
'honest'

b. čest
honour

The distribution is not governed by the morphological category of the base (I)

- Some *n* adjectives appear to be derived from nouns, but not all of them are

(13) a. čest- n- ý
honest AUG AGR
'honest'

b. čest
honour

(14) a. skrom- n- ý
modest AUG AGR
'modest'

b. *skrom
Int: 'modesty'

The distribution is not governed by the morphological category of the base (II)

- Nouns can become adjectives with or without n

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(15) a. stříbr- o
silver NOM.NEUT.SG
'silver (metal)'

b. stříbr- n- ý
silver AUG AGR
'silver (color/material)'

The distribution is not governed by the morphological category of the base (II)

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(15) a. stříbr- o
silver NOM.NEUT.SG
'silver (metal)'

b. stříbr- n- ý
silver AUG AGR
'silver (color/material)'

(16) a. zlat- o
gold NOM.NEUT.SG
'gold (metal)'

b. zlat- Ø- ý
gold AGR
'golden (color/material)'

Interim conclusion

- The presence/absence of the augment n is an arbitrary property of the root

Outline

	POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	GLOSS
Class I	pěk-n-ý	pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’

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Class I	pěk-n-ý	pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class II	žádouc-ø-í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘desirable’

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Class III	a.	čir-ø-ý	čiř-ø-**ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’

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	b.	star-ø-ý	star-ø -**š**-í	‘old’

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	b.	star-ø-ý	star-ø -**š**-í	‘old’
Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í	pozd-ø-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’

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Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í	pozd-ø-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’
	b.	snad-n-ý	snaz-ø -**š**-í	‘easy’

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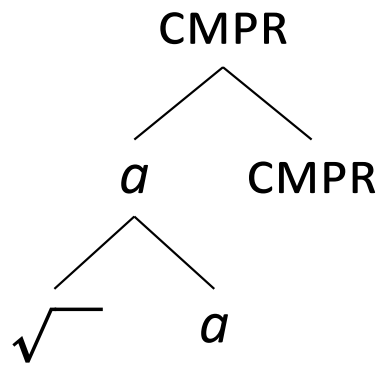
	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

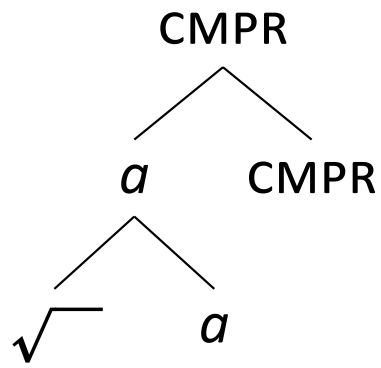
(17)



Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)

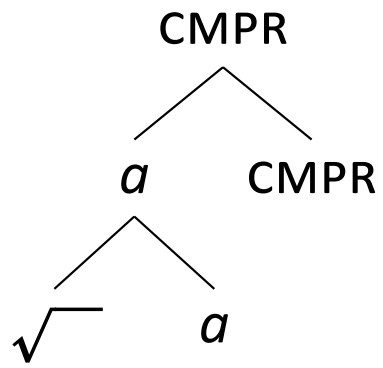


(18) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)



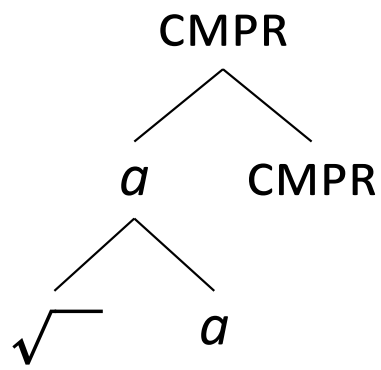
(18) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n

b. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class III __

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)



(18) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n

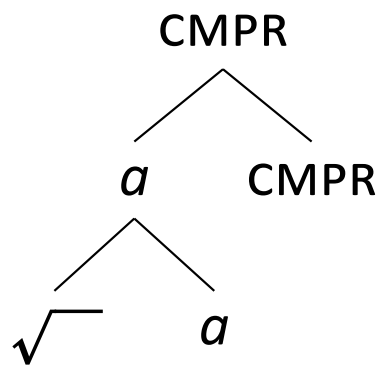
b. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class III __

c. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class IV __] CMPR

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)



(18) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n

b. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class III __

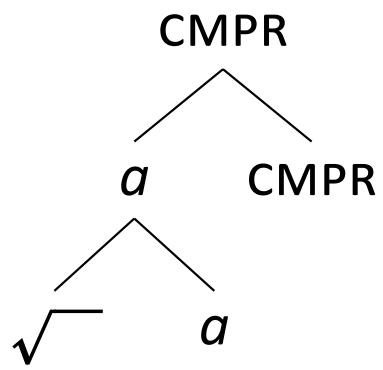
c. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class IV __] CMPR

d. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class II __] in the absence of CMPR

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)



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$a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class II __] POS

Context-sensitive rules: n as default

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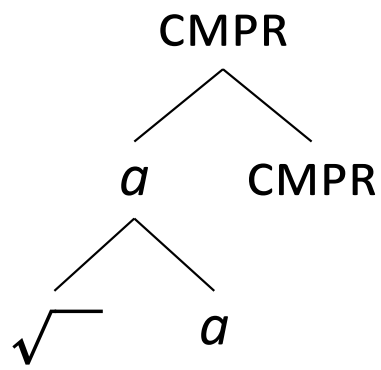
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(17)



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d. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class II __] in the absence of CMPR

$a \Leftrightarrow$ ø / Class II __] POS

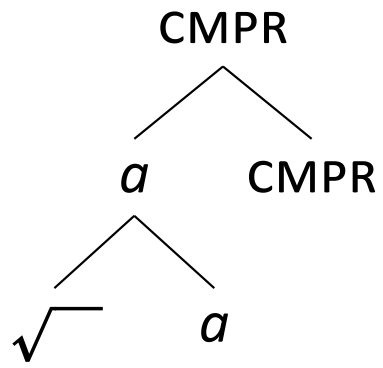
System requires

- disjunctive rules
- non-containment structures

Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(16)

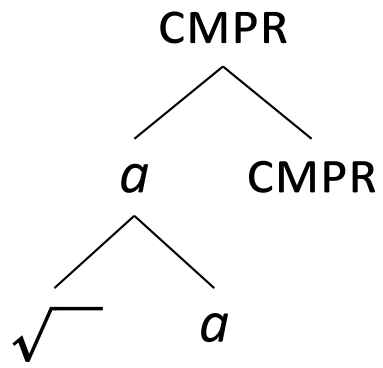


Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(19) a. $a \Longleftrightarrow$ ø

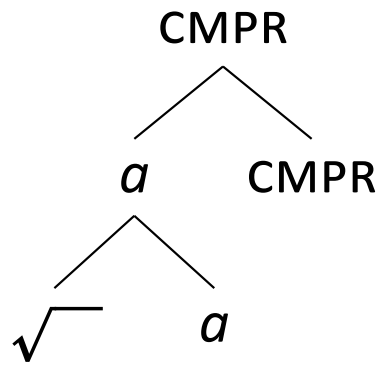
(16)



Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(16)



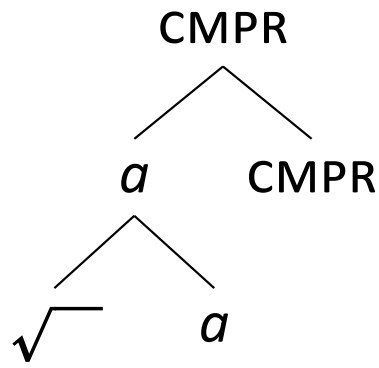
(19) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø

b. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class I __

Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(16)



(19) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø

b. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class I __

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II	ø	n
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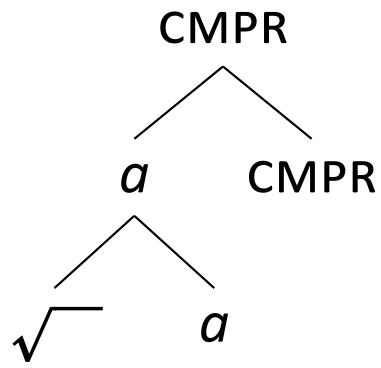
IV	n	ø

(16)



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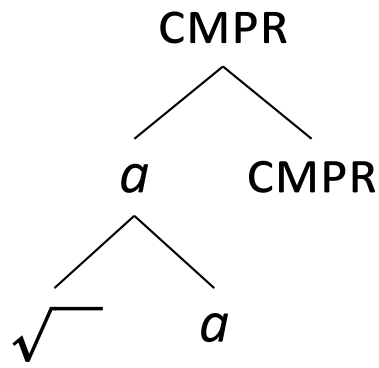
c. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class II __] CMPR

d. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class IV __] in the absence of CMPR

Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(16)



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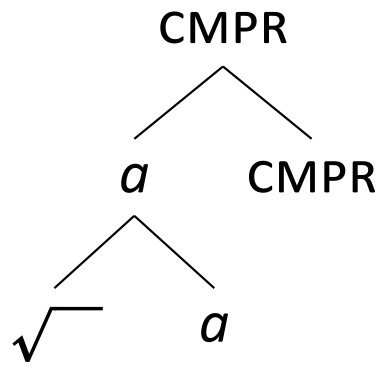
$a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class IV __] POS

Context-sensitive rules: Ø as default

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

(16)



(19) a. $a \Leftrightarrow$ ø

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c. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class II __] CMPR

d. $a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class IV __] in the absence of CMPR

$a \Leftrightarrow$ n / Class IV __] POS

System requires

- disjunctive rules
- non-containment structures

Christopoulos and Zompí (2022: 11):
‘… admitting [disjunctive] rules […] (without anything else restricting possible disjunctions) opens the door to describing any type of exponent distribution under any theory of features by simply listing the contexts in which each exponent appears’

Our claim

A portmanteau system based on phrasal spellout (Nanosyntax, Starke 2018) can generate the distribution of n without assuming

- disjunctive rules, or
- noncontainment structures

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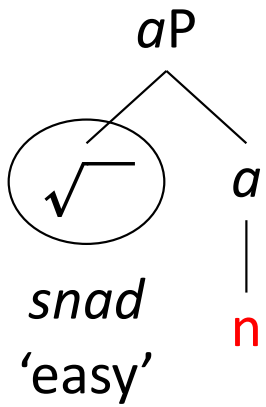
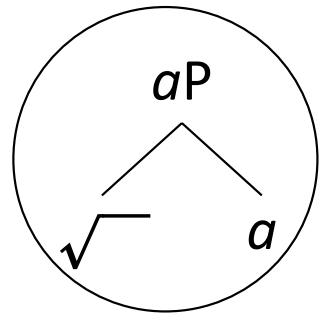
Two classes of adjectives

(20) a.



snad
'easy'

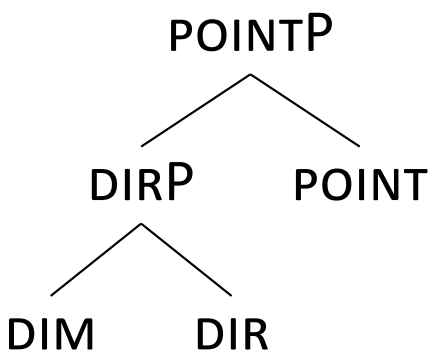
b.



mlad
'young'

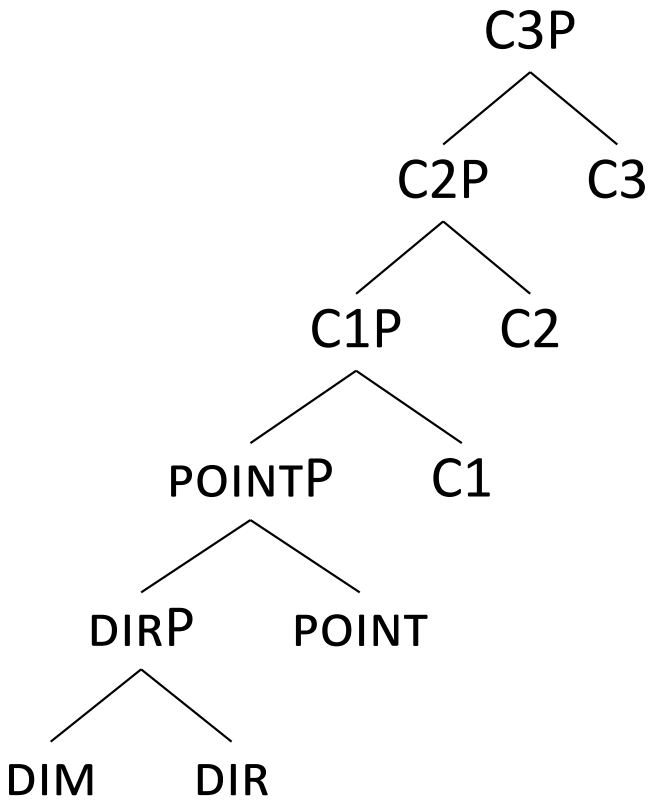
The structure of the positive

(21)



The structure of the comparative

(22)



Augment distribution follows root size

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n-ěj-š
II	ø	n-ěj-š
IIIa	ø	ø-ěj-š
IIIb	ø	ø-š
IVa	n	ø-ěj-š
IVb	n	ø-š

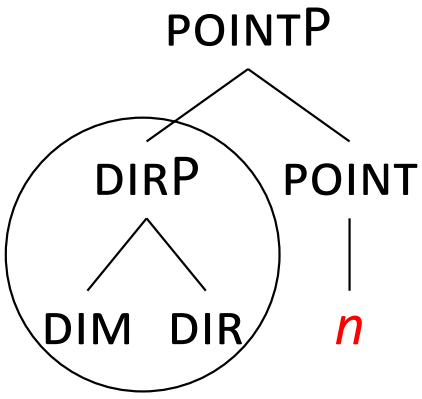
Outline

Class I (DIRP)

(23) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

Class I (DIRP)

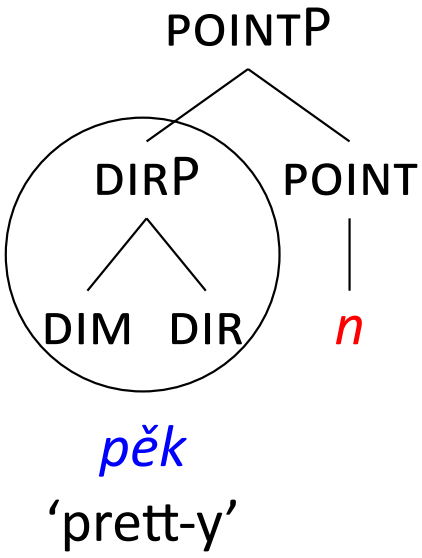
(23) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

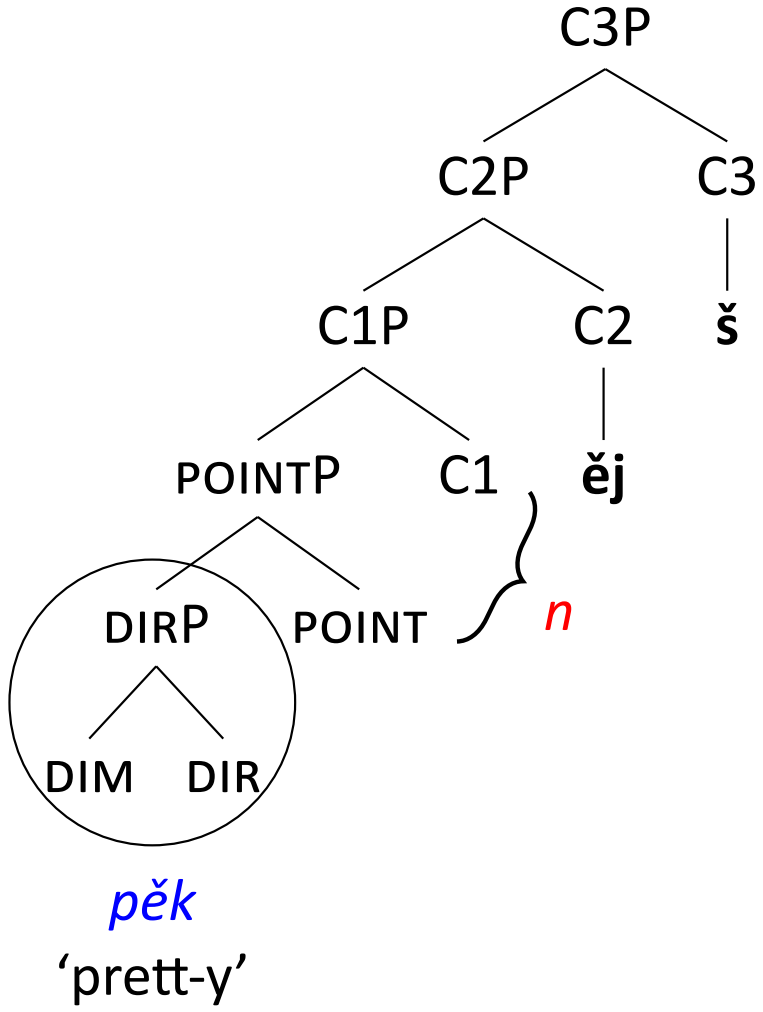


pěk
'prett-y'

Class I (DIRP)

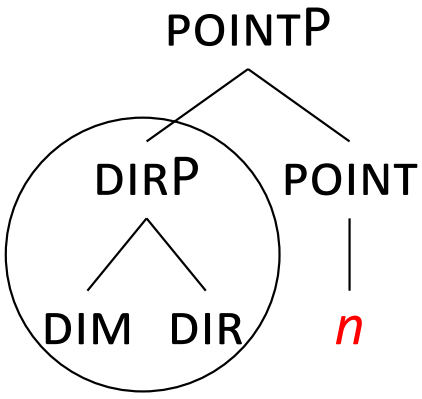
(23) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR





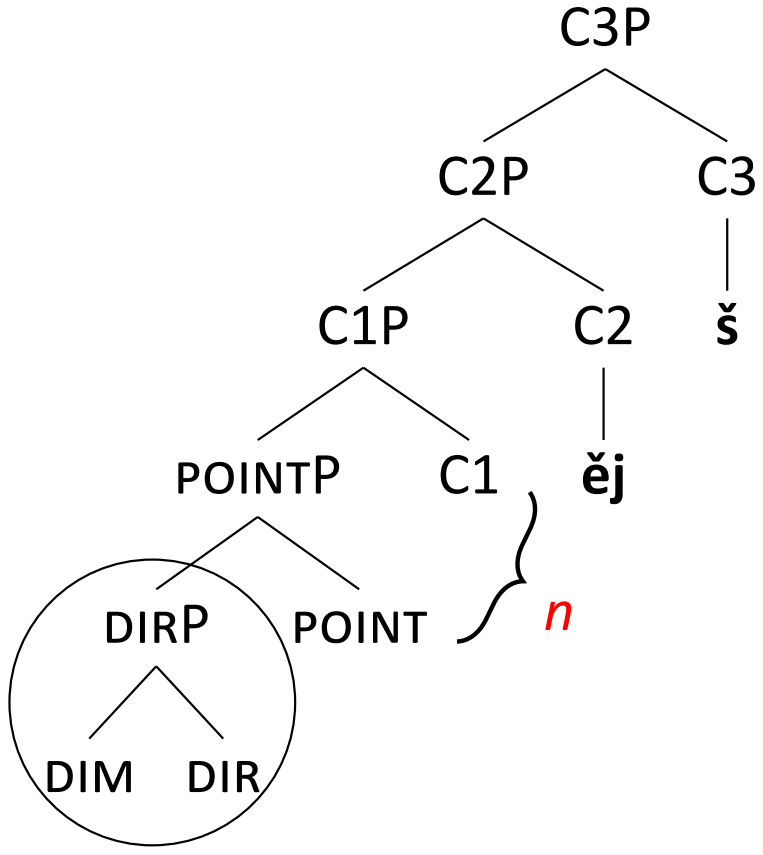
Class I (DIRP)

(23) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



pěk
'prett-y'

(24) *The Superset Principle*
L can spell out subsets of its specification.



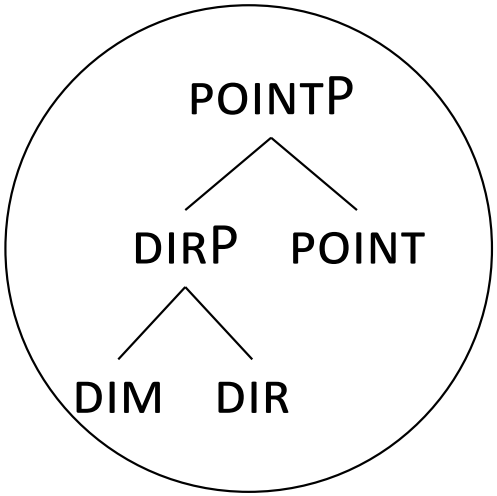
pěk
'prett-y'

Class II (PointP)

(25) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'

Class II (PointP)

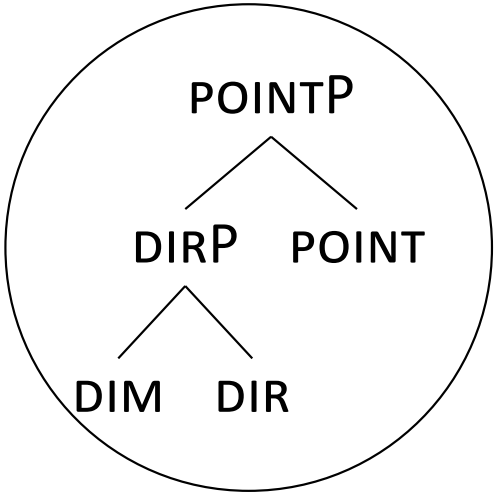
(25) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'



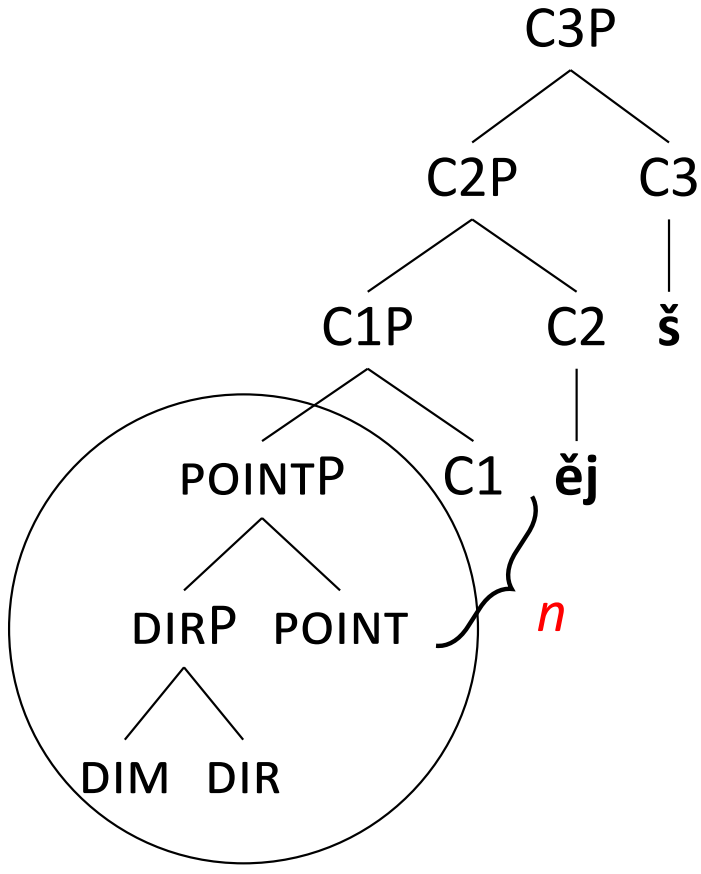
žádouc
'desirable'

Class II (POINTP)

(25) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'



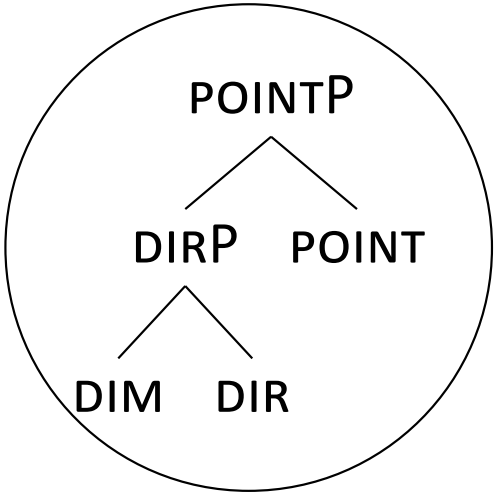
žádouc
'desirable'



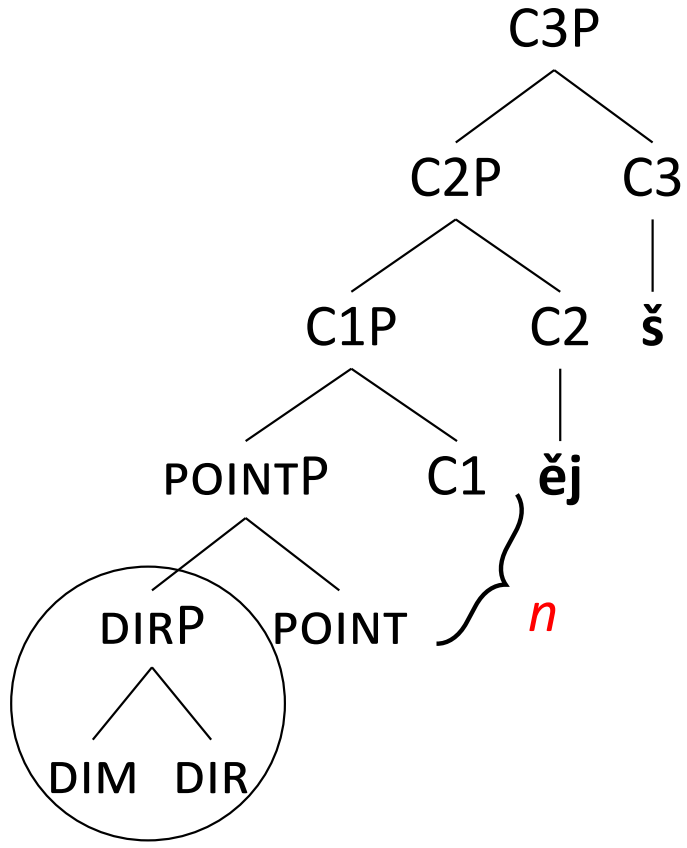
žádouc
'desirable'

Class II (POINTP)

(26) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'



žádouc
'desirable'



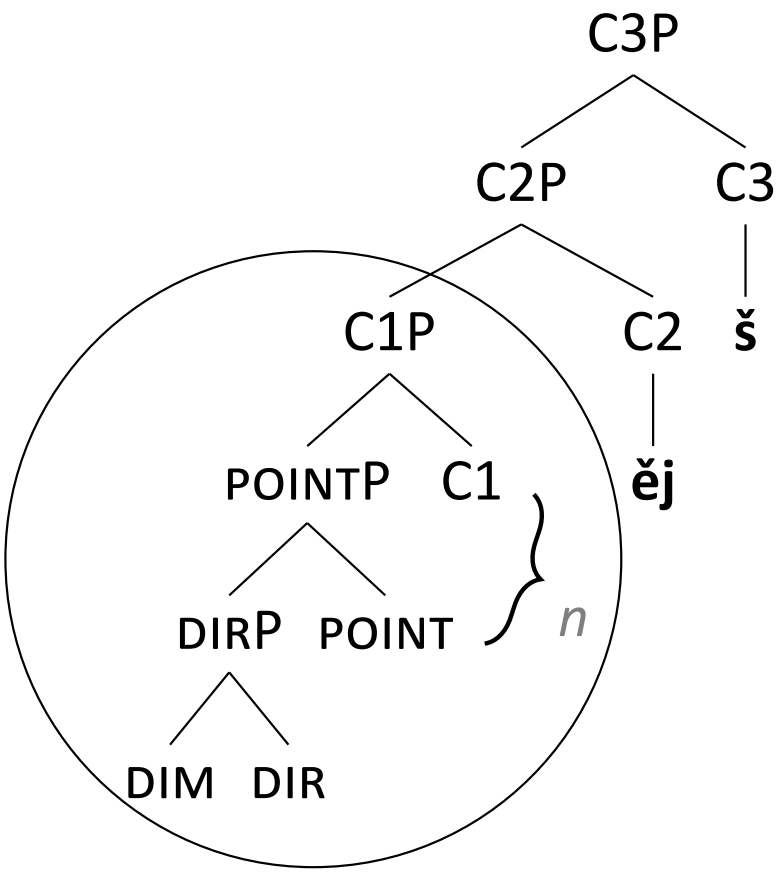
žádouc
'desirable'

Class IIIa (C1P)

(26) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š-**í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
‘pure ∼ purer’

Class IIIa (C1P)

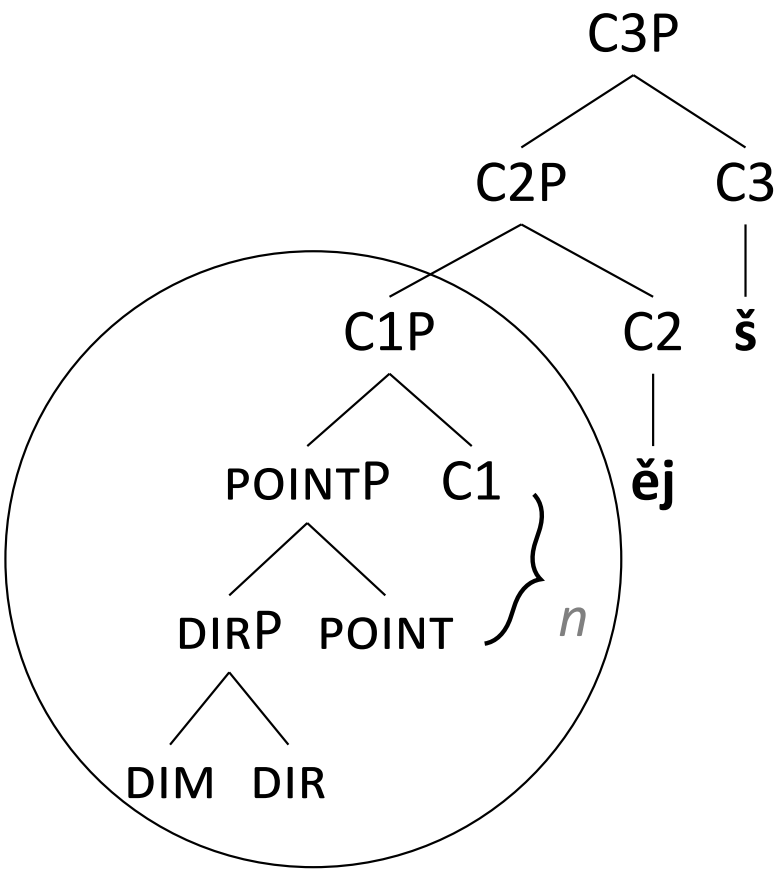
(26) čir-ý ∼ čiř -**ěj**-**š**-í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'pure ∼ purer'

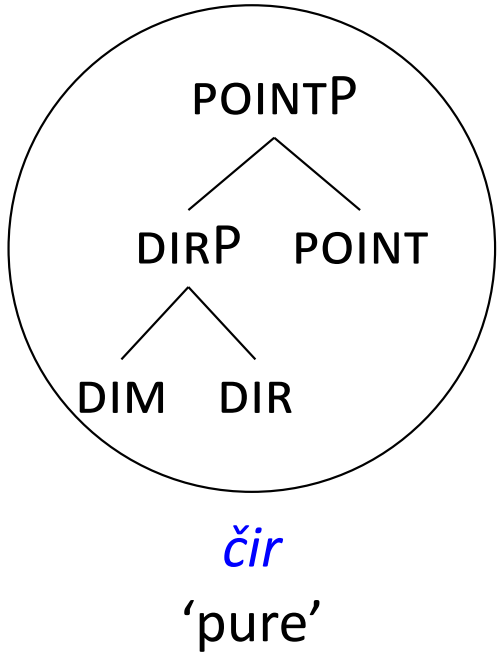


'pure'

Class IIIa (C1P)

(26) čir-ý ∼ čiř -**ěj**-**š**-í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'pure ∼ purer'



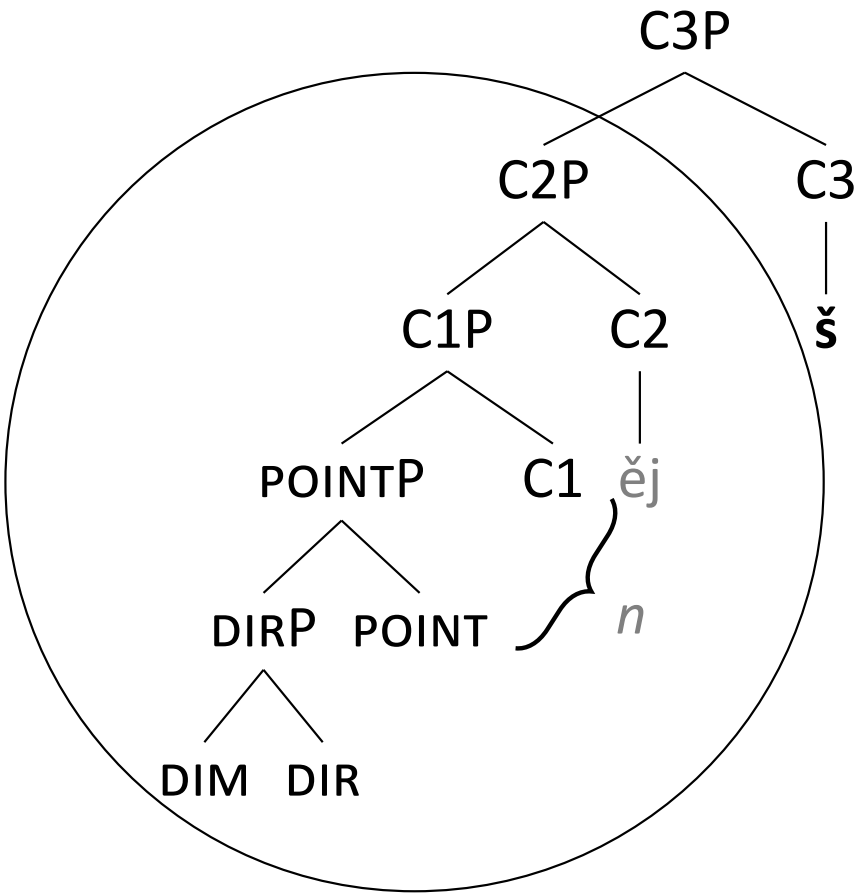


Class IIIb (C2P)

(27) star-ý ∼ star **-š**-í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
'old ∼ older'

Class IIIb (C2P)

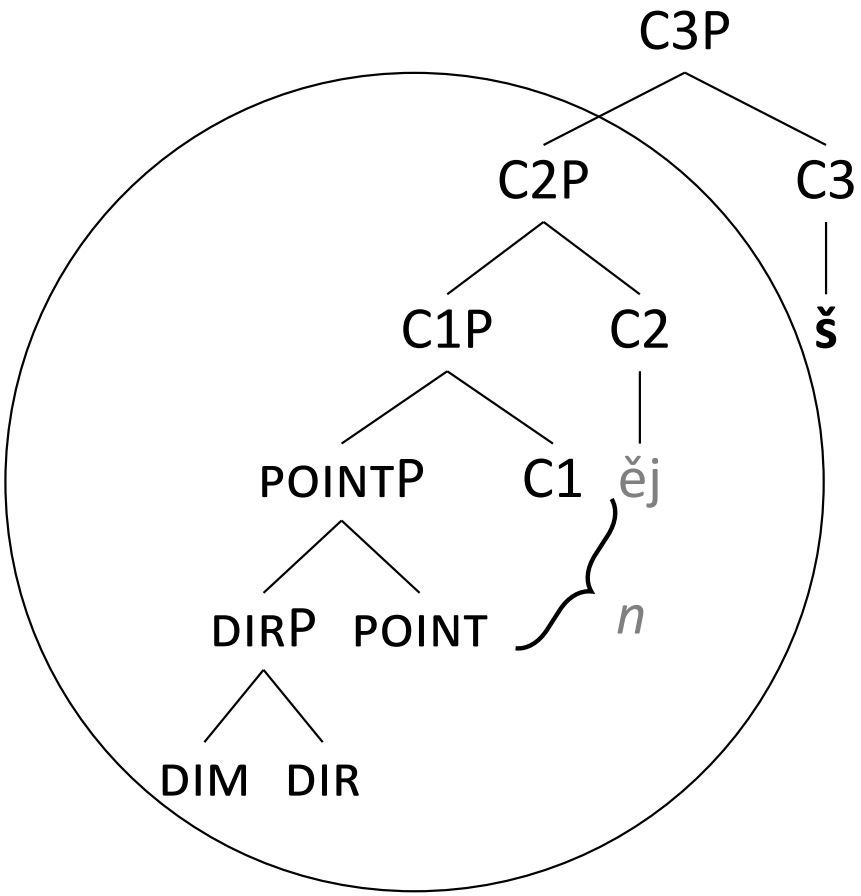
(27) star-ý ∼ star -**š**-í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
'old ∼ older'



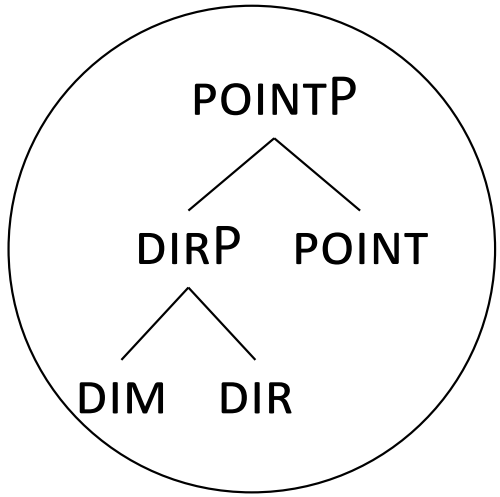
star
'old'

Class IIIb (C2P)

(27) star-ý ∼ star -**š**-í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
'old ∼ older'



star
'old'



star
'old'

Outline

Class IV

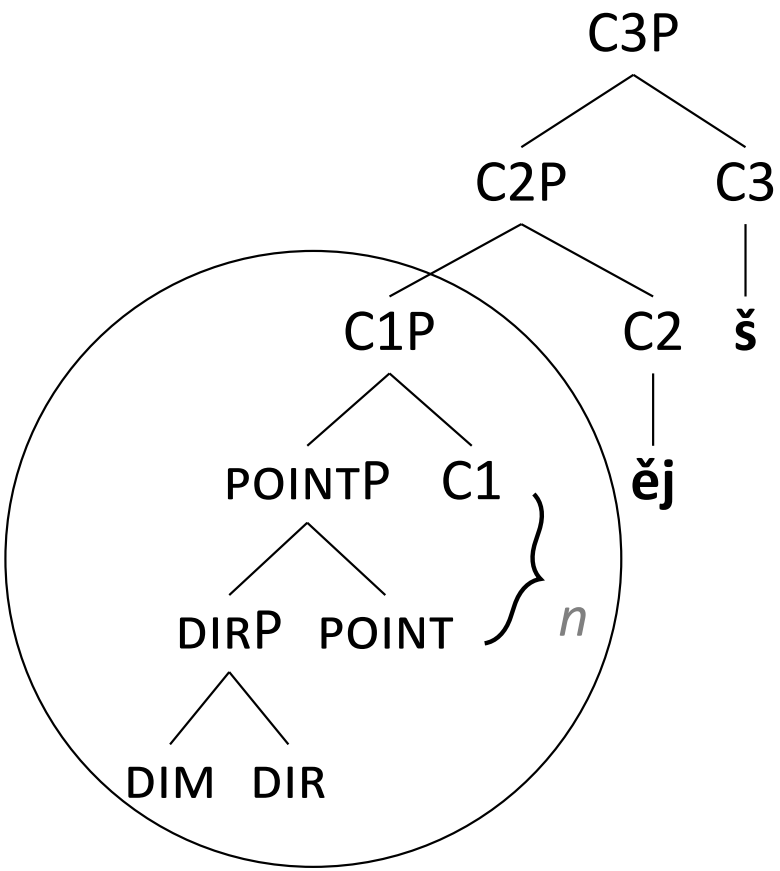
	POS	CMPR
I	n	n-ěj-š
II	ø	n-ěj-š
IIIa	ø	ø-ěj-š
IIIb	ø	ø-š
IVa	n	ø-ěj-š
IVb	n	ø-š

Class IVa

(28) pozd-n-í ~ pozd **-ěj-š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR
'late ~ later'

Class IVa

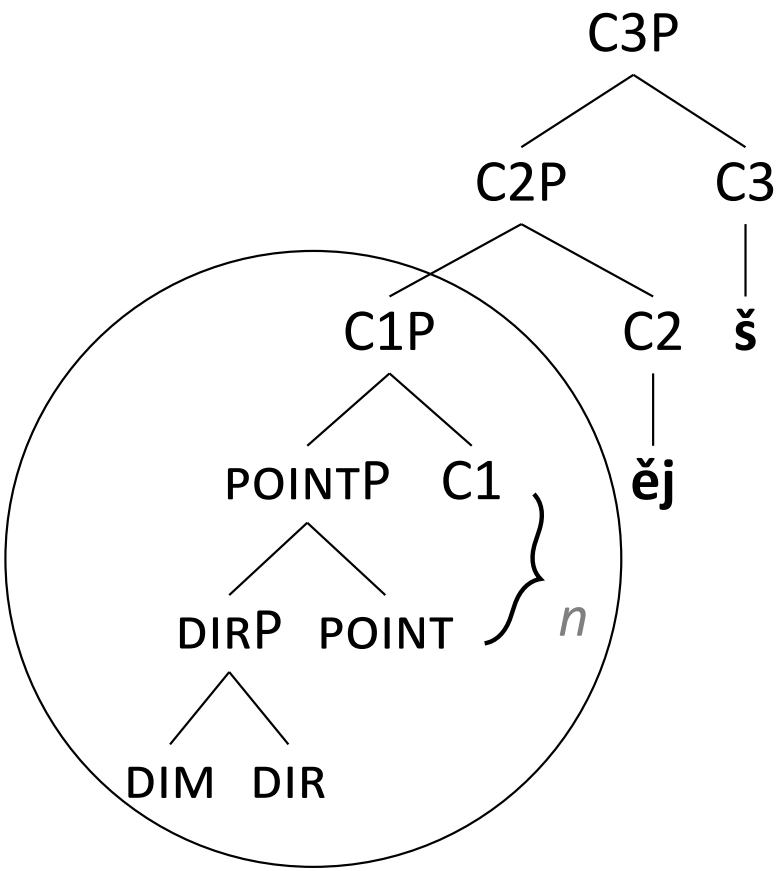
(28) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR
'late ~ later'



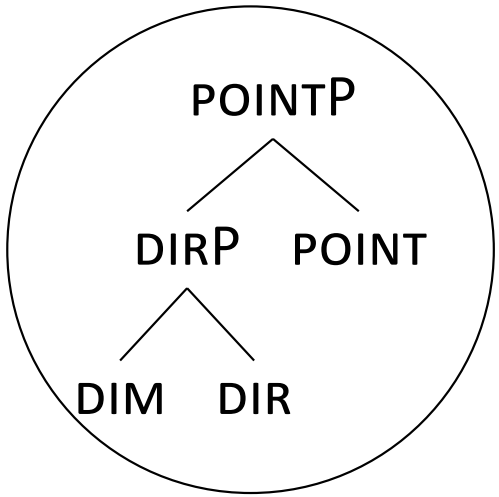
'late'

Class IVa

(28) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR
'late ~ later'



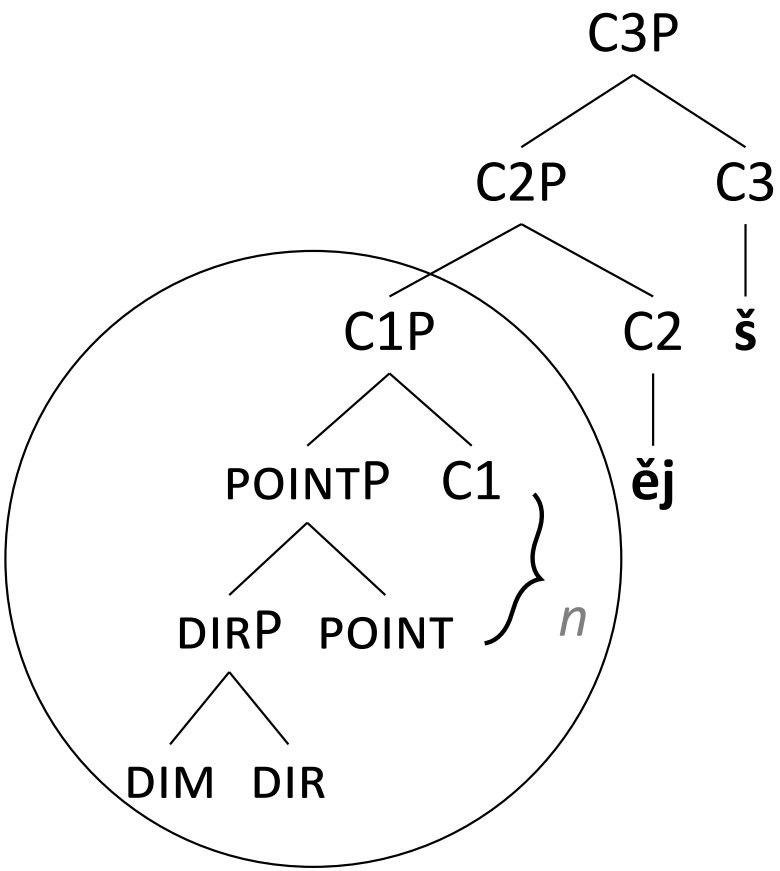
pozd
'late'



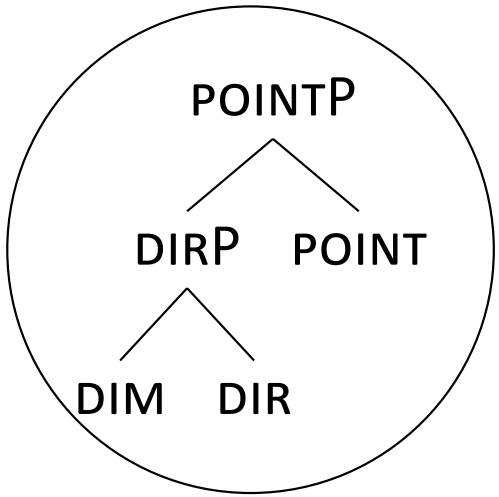
**pozd*
'late'

Class IVa

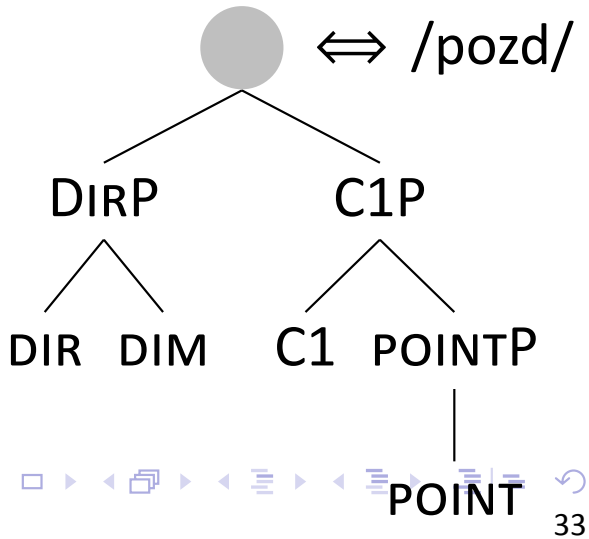
(28) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR
'late ~ later'



pozd
'late'



**pozd*
'late'



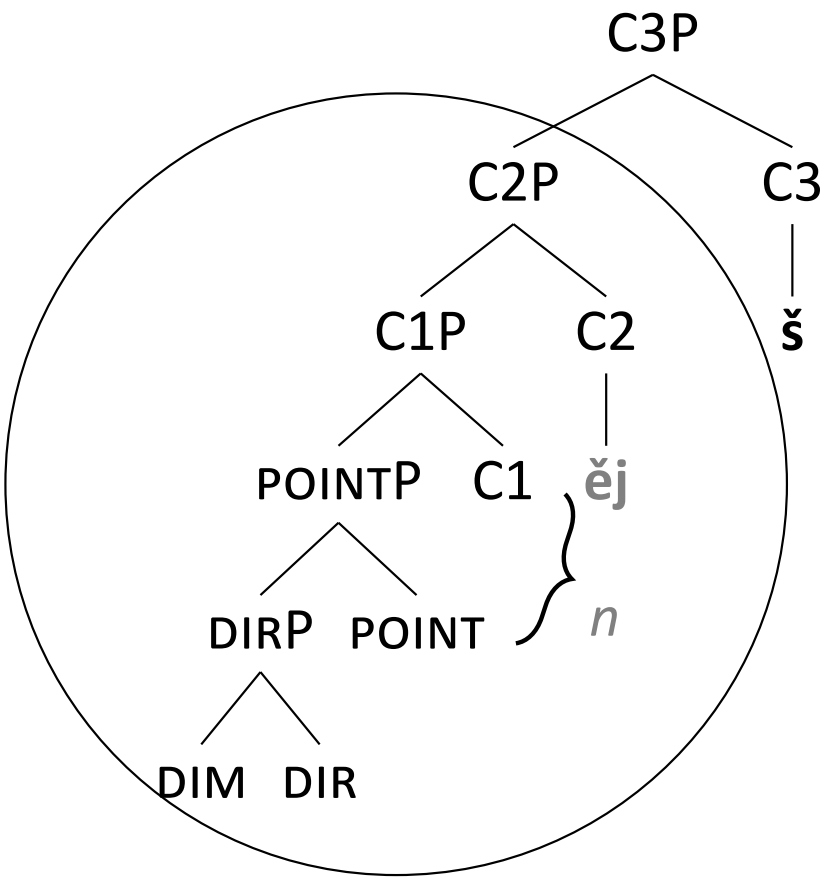
Class IVb

(29)

snad-n-ý	∼	snaz	**-š**-í
easy-N-AGR		easy-CMPR-AGR	
‘easy ∼ easier’			

Class IVb

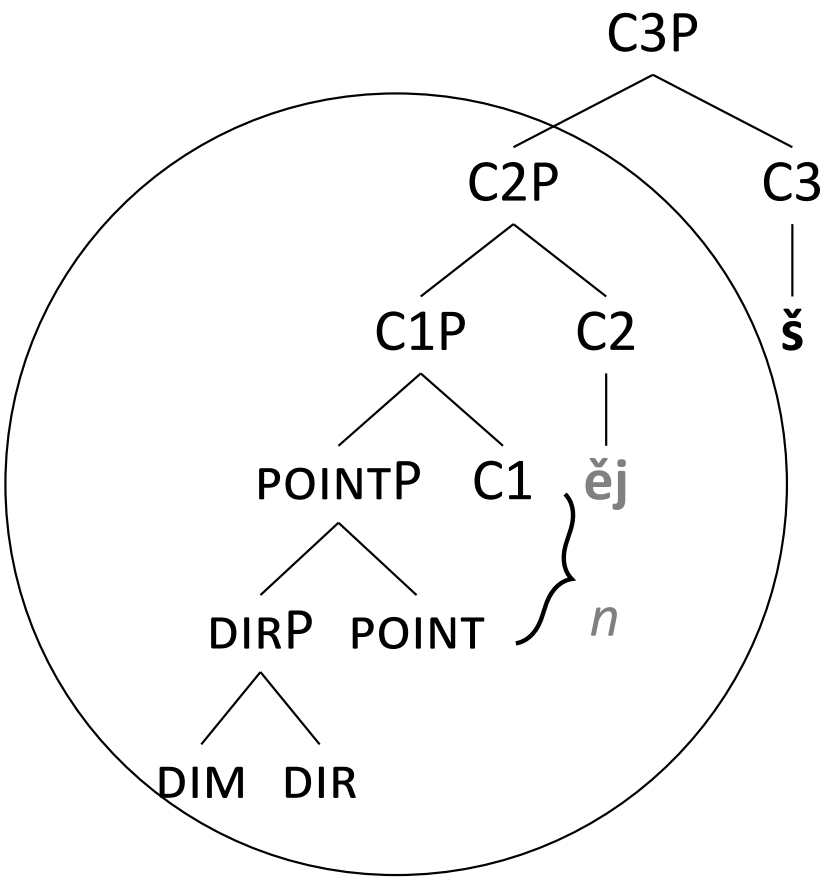
(29) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



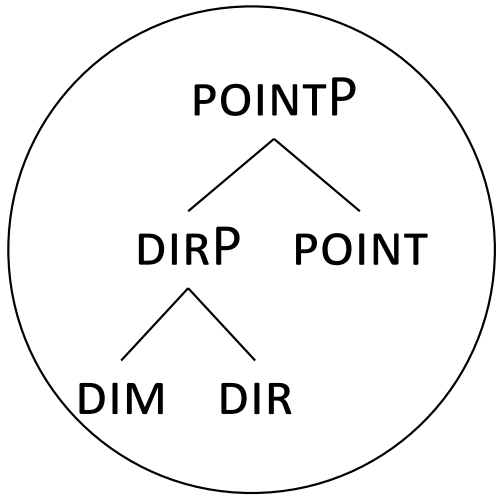
snaz
'easy'

Class IVb

(29) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



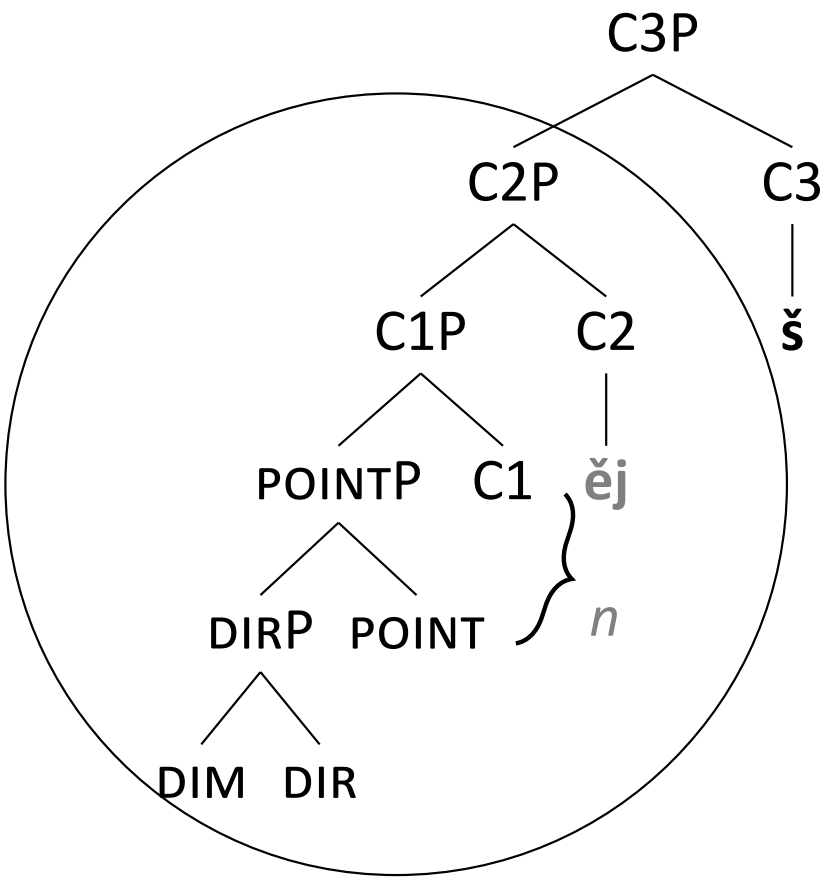
snaz
'easy'



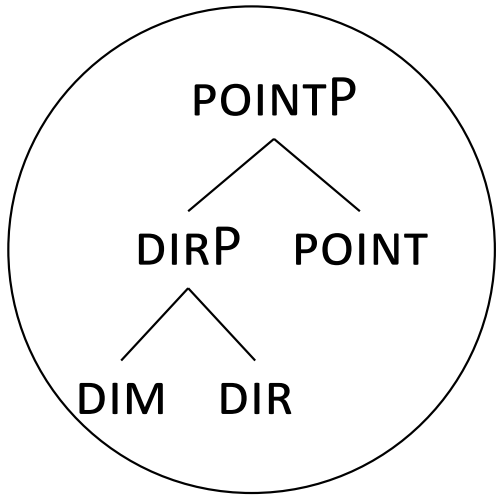
**snad*
'easy'

Class IVb

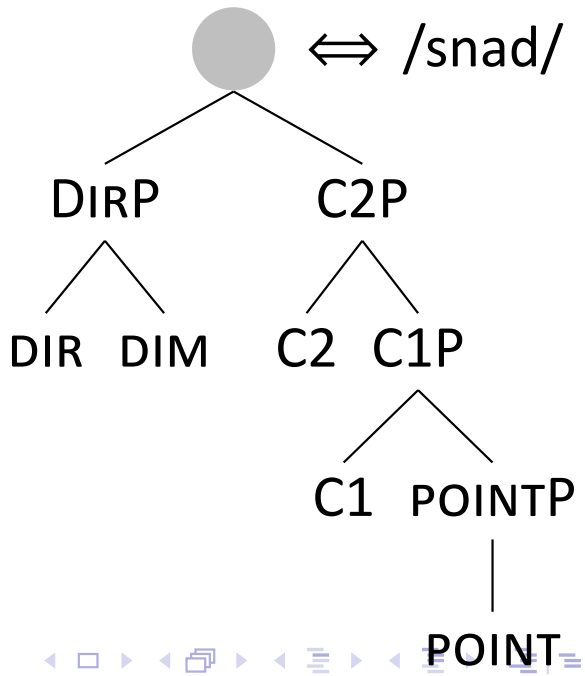
(29) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -š-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



snaz
'easy'



**snad*
'easy'



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(30) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

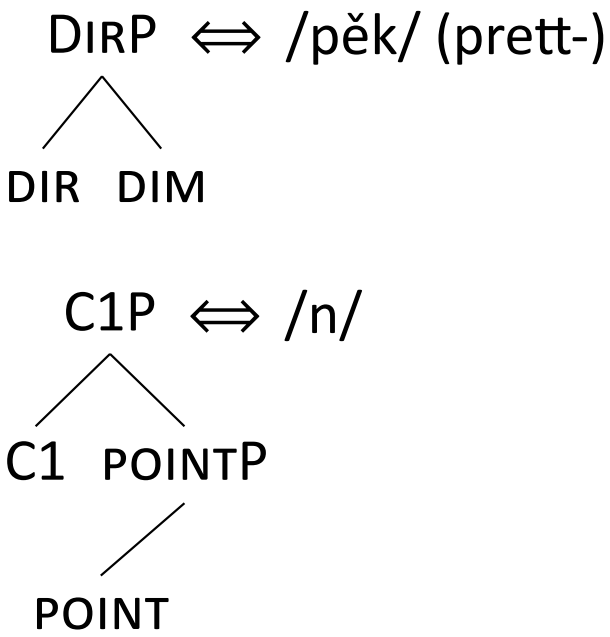
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(30) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIRP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

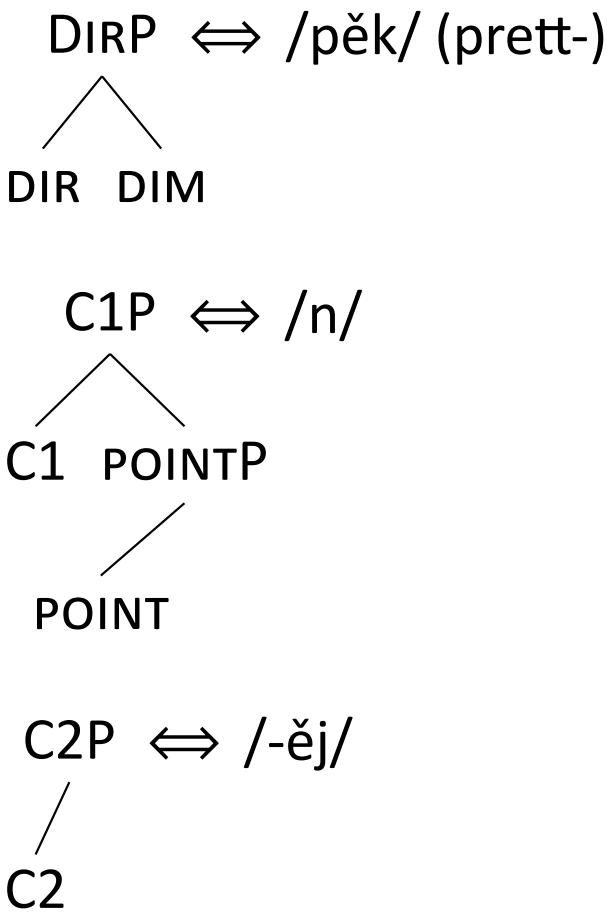
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(30) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



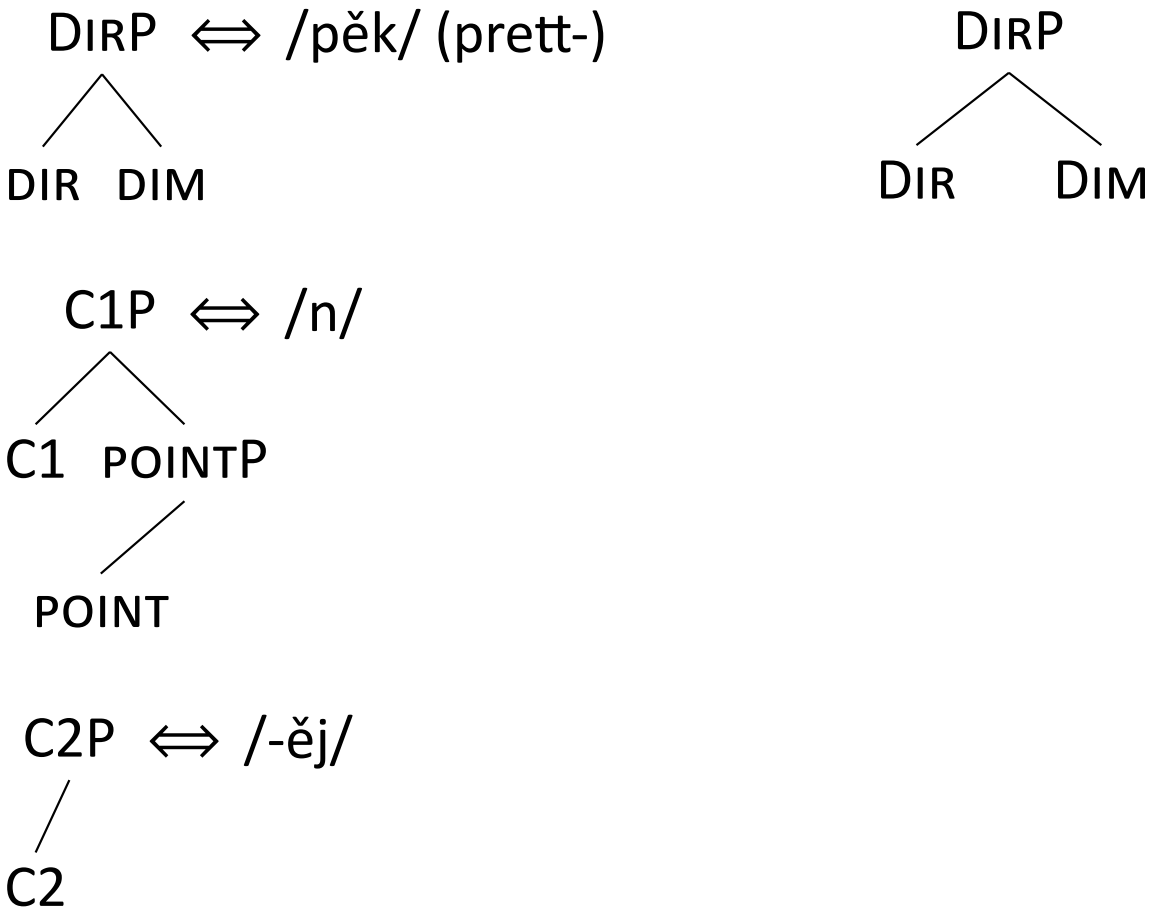
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(30) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



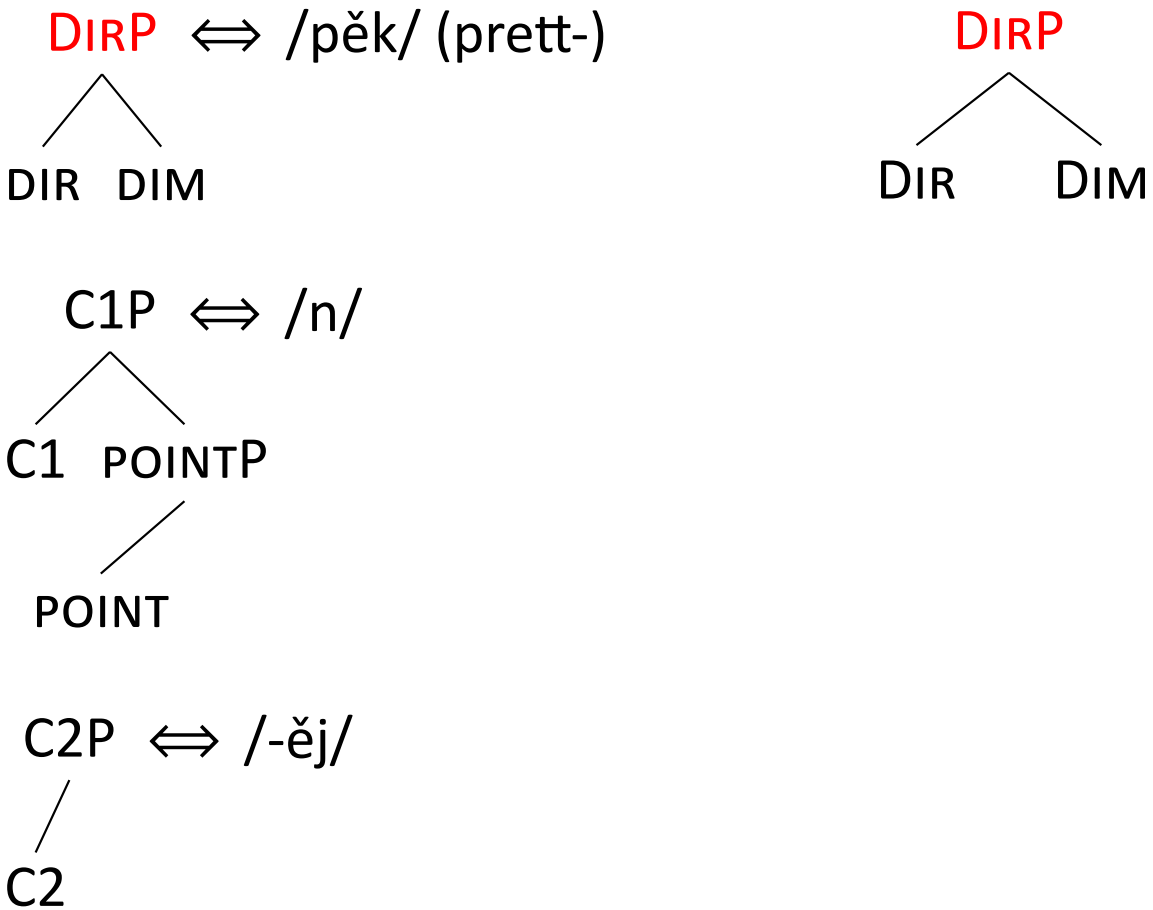
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(30) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



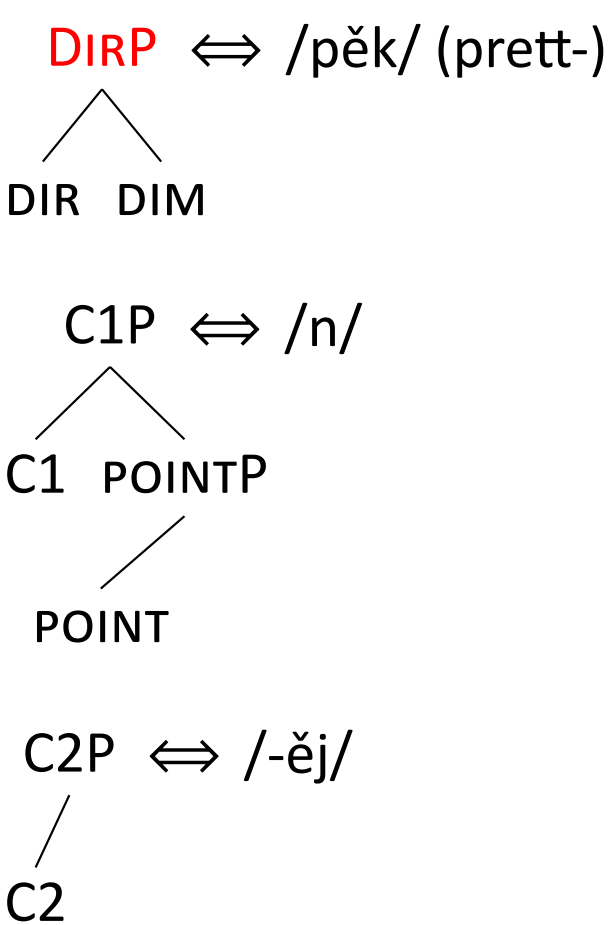
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

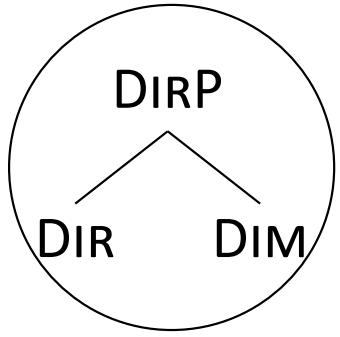
(27) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

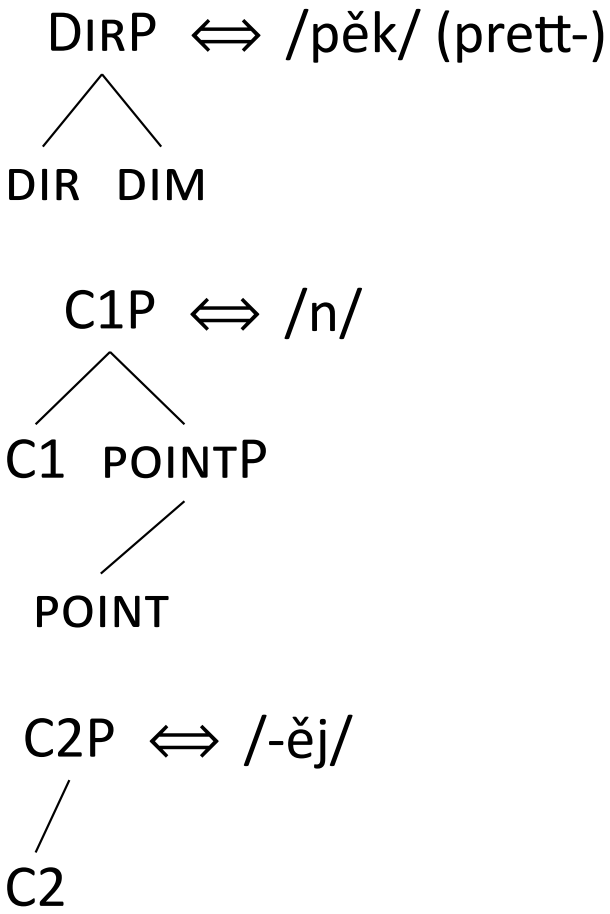


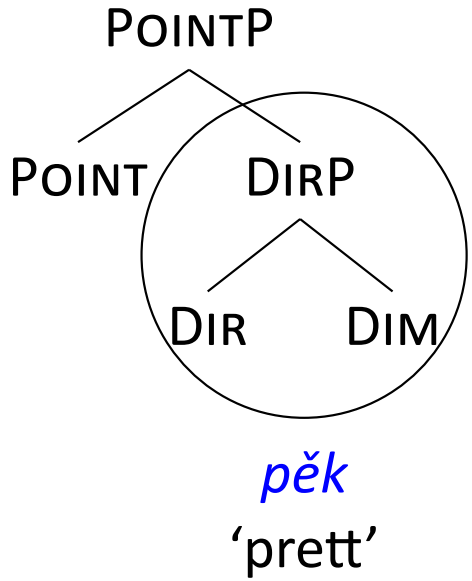


pěk
'prett'

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

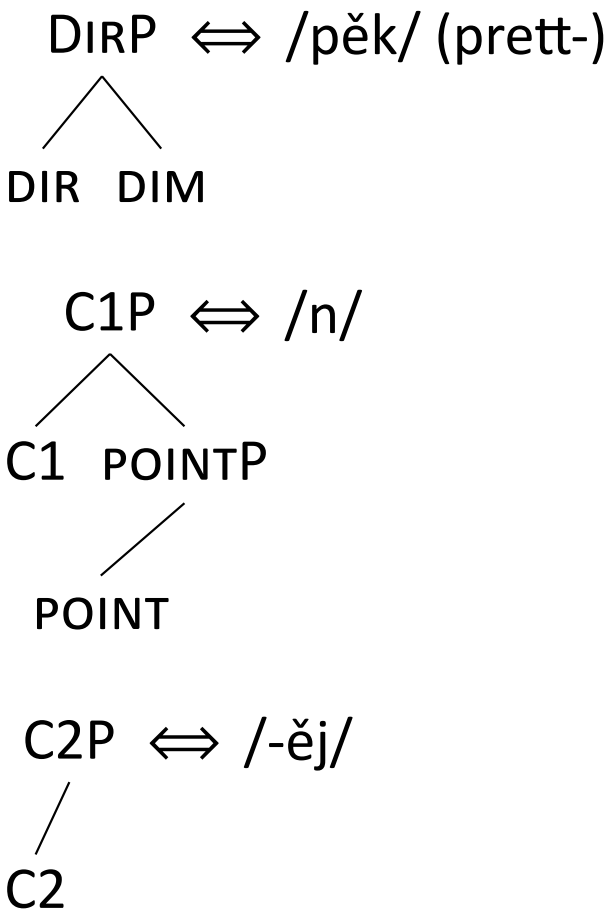
(27) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

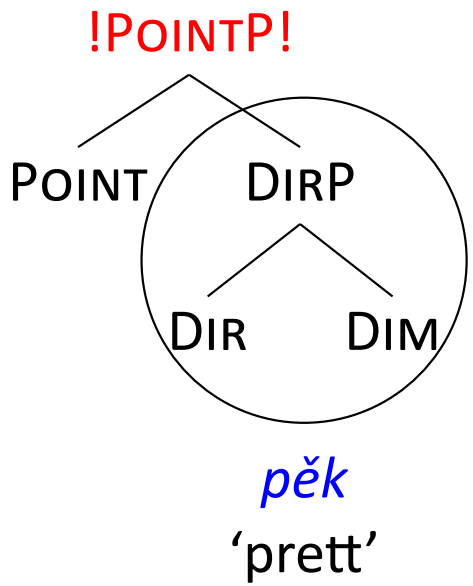




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

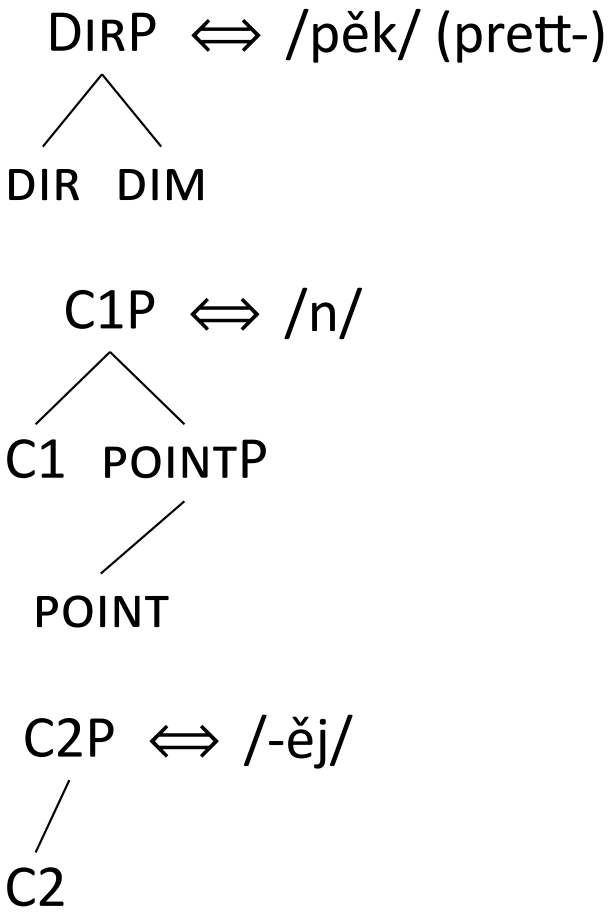
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

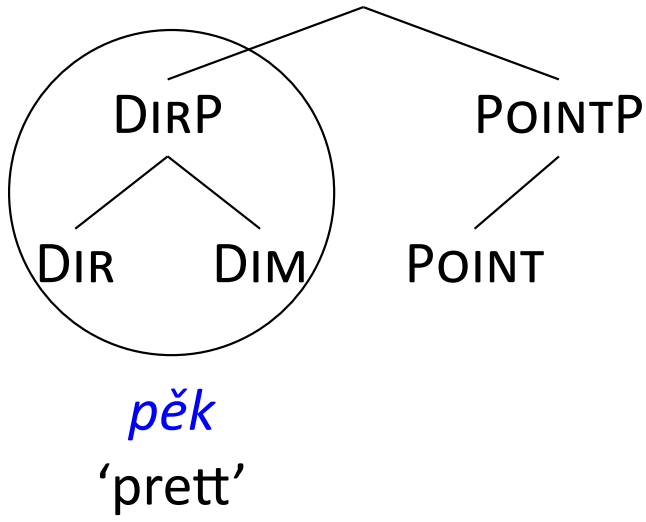




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

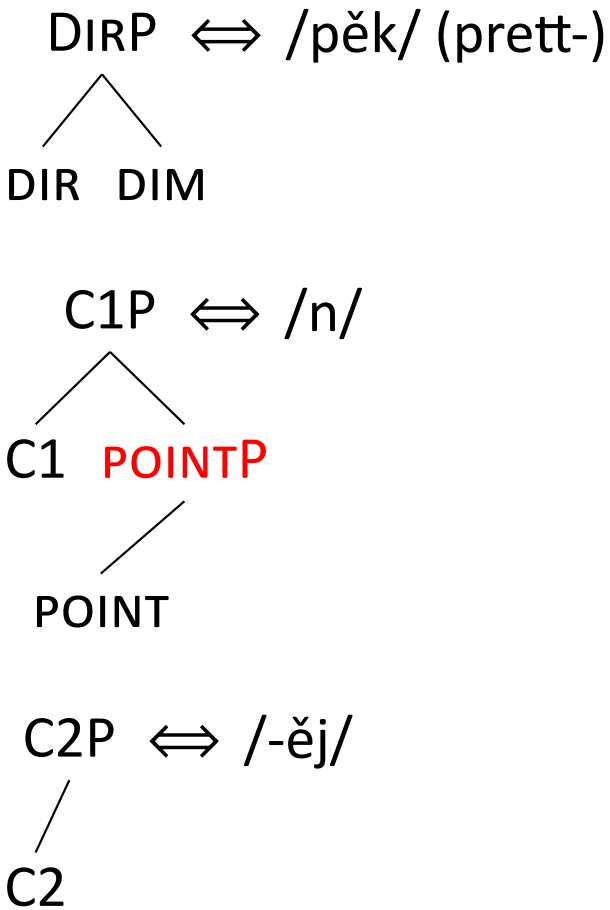
(27) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

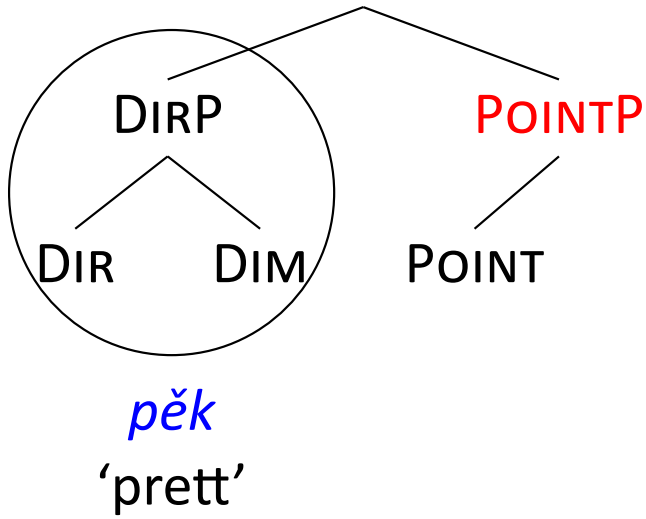




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

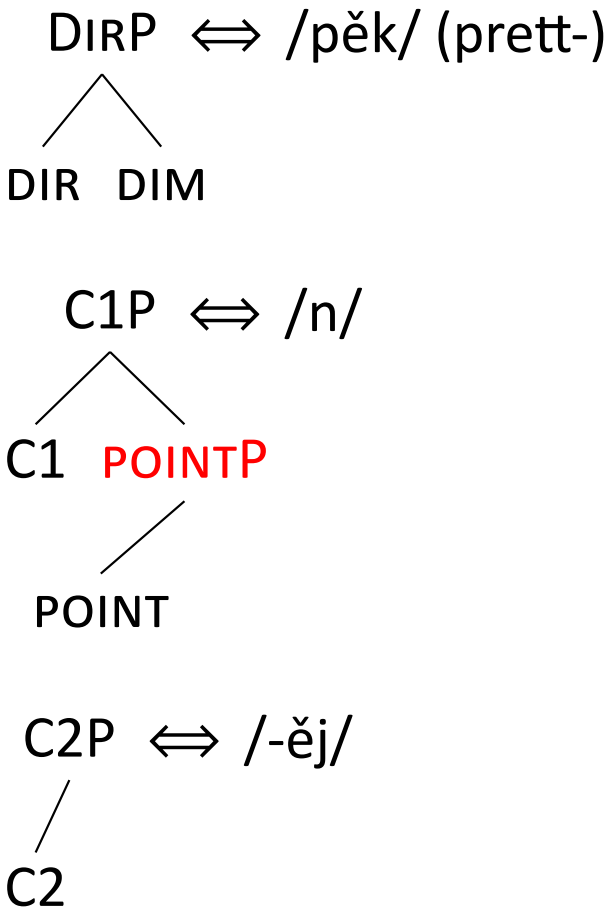
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

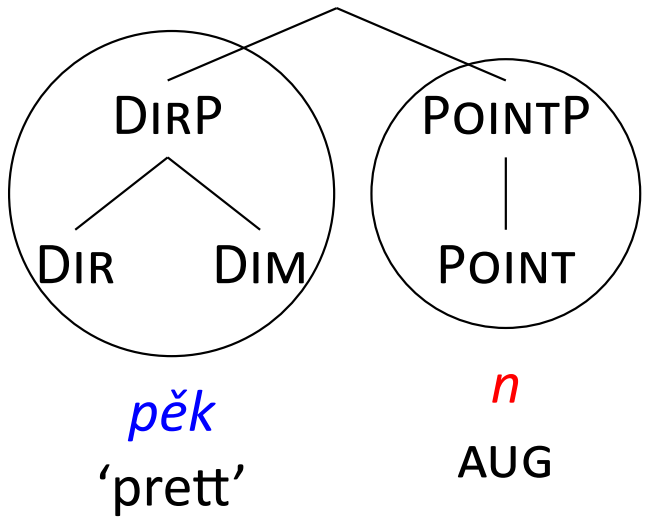




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

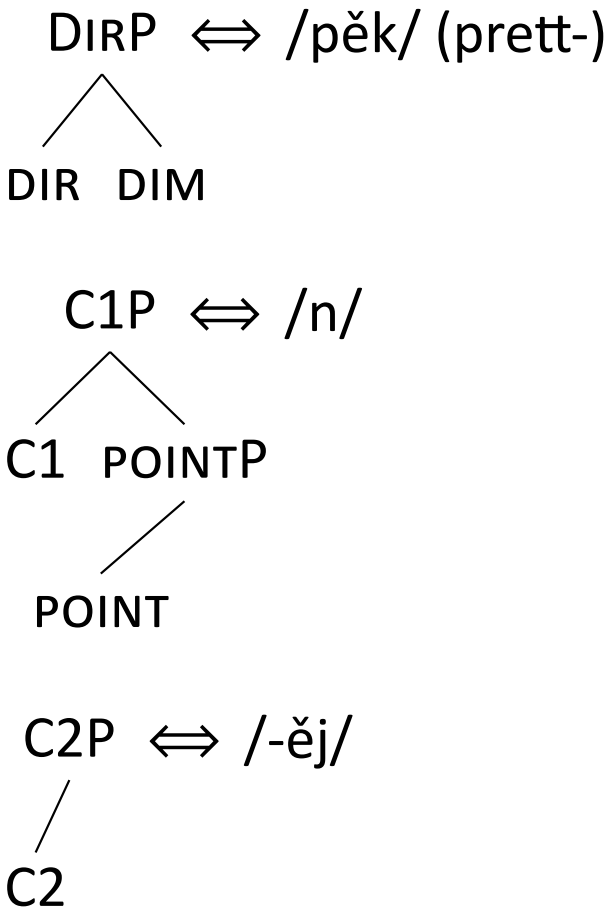
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

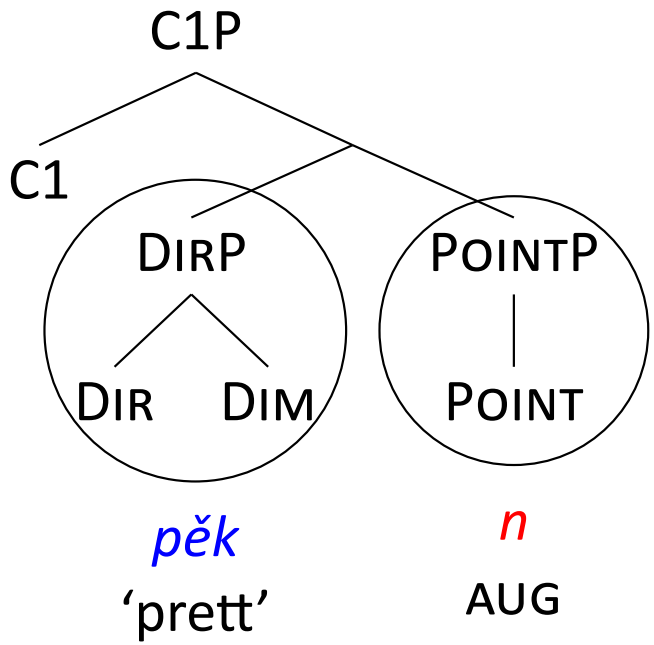




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

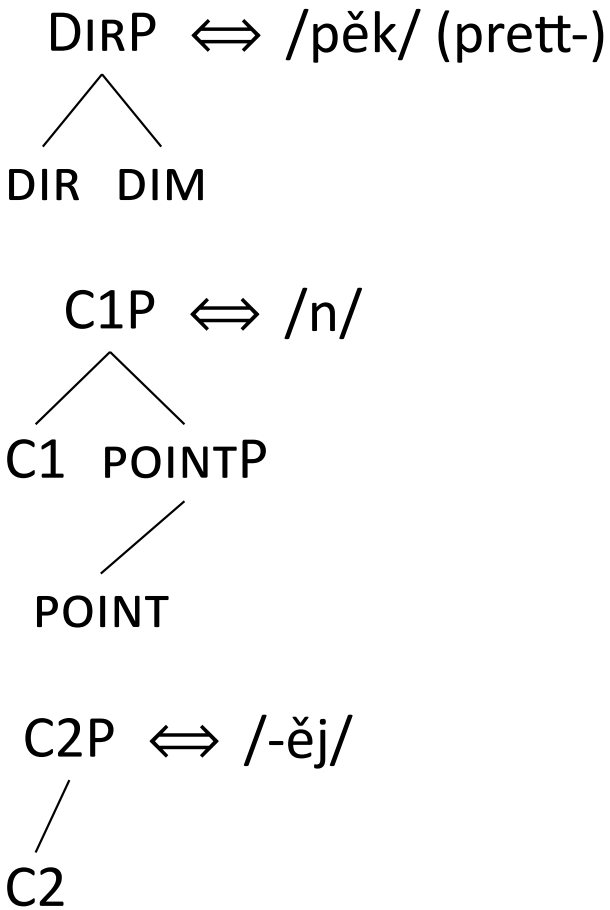
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

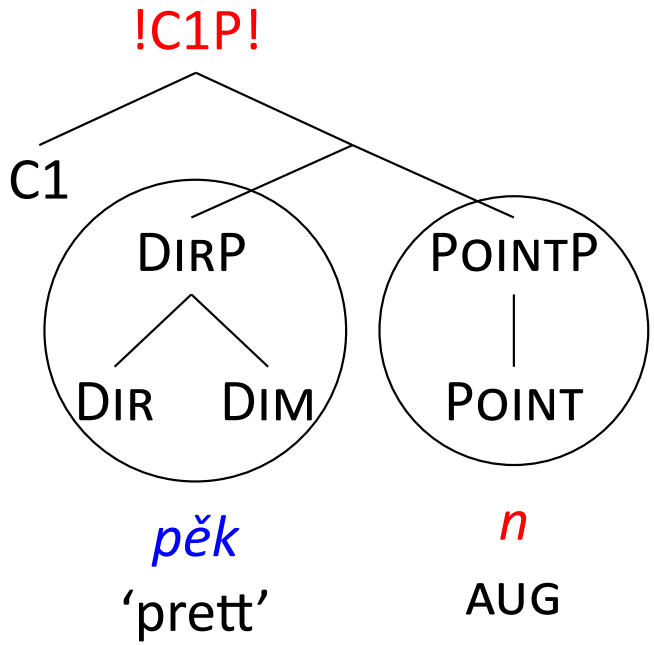




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

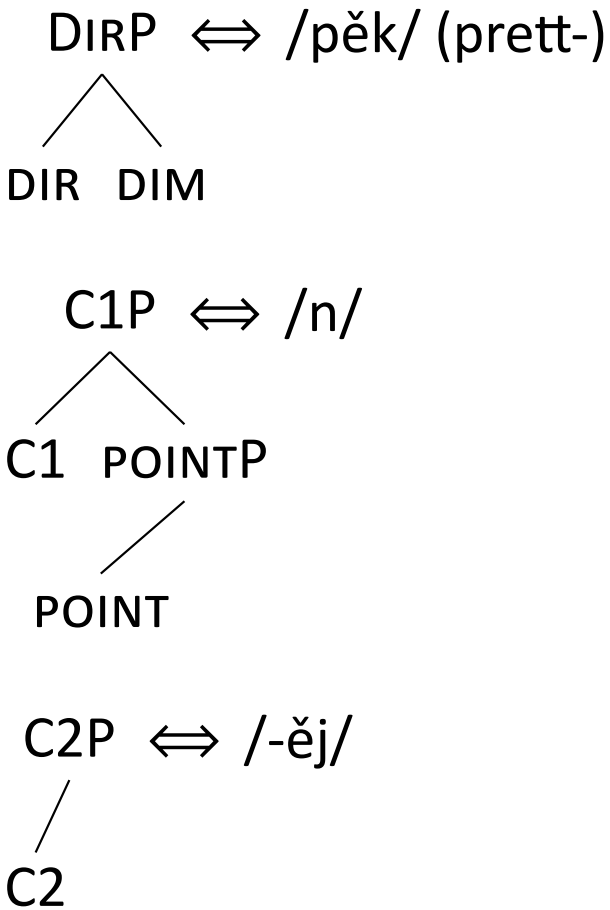
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

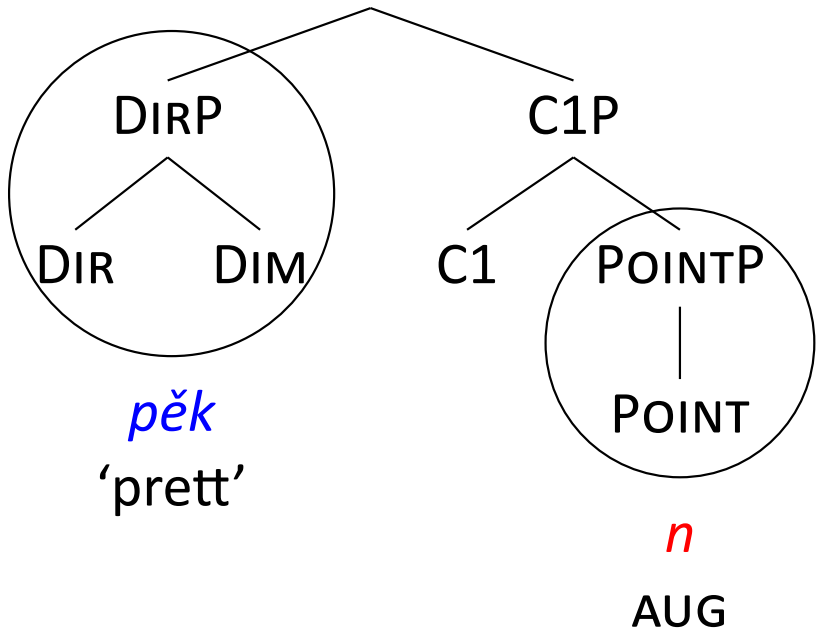




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

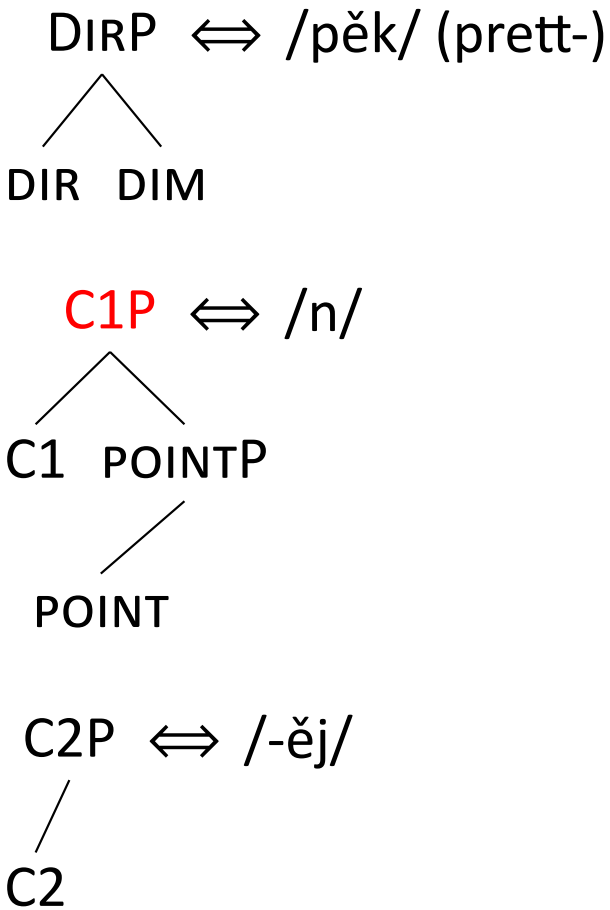
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

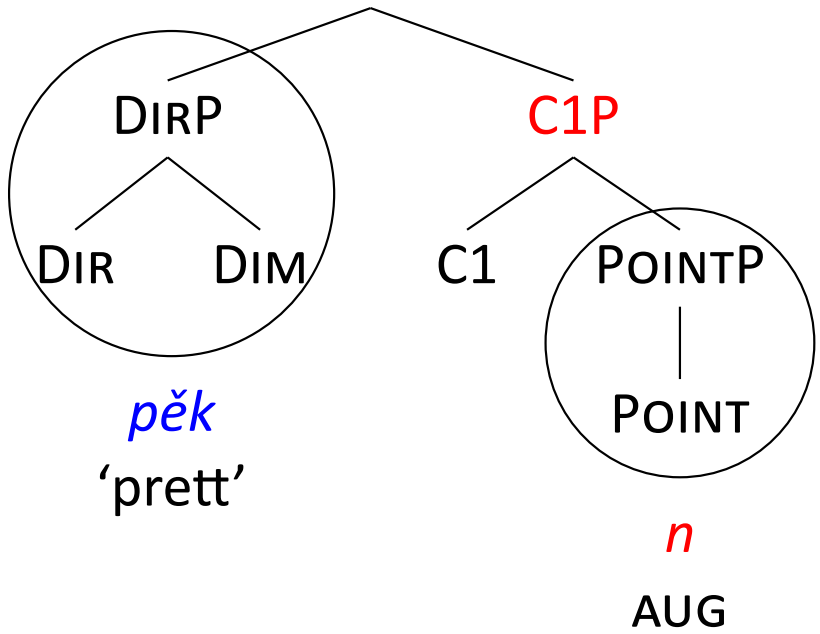




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

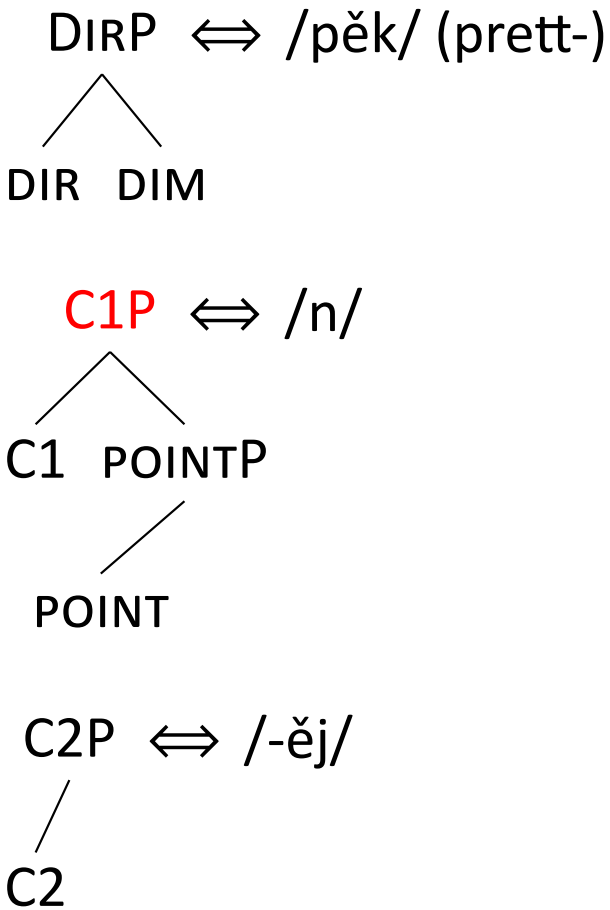
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

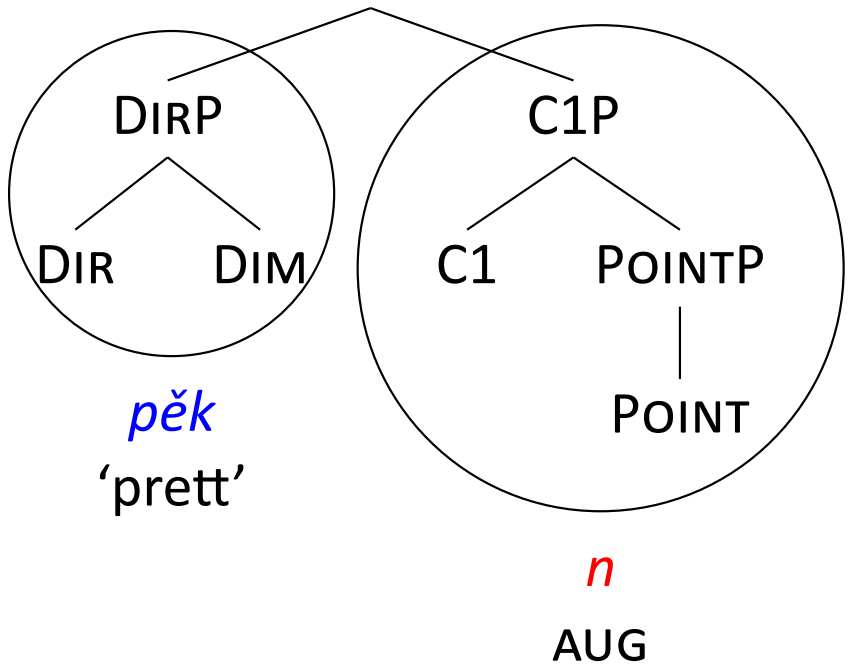




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

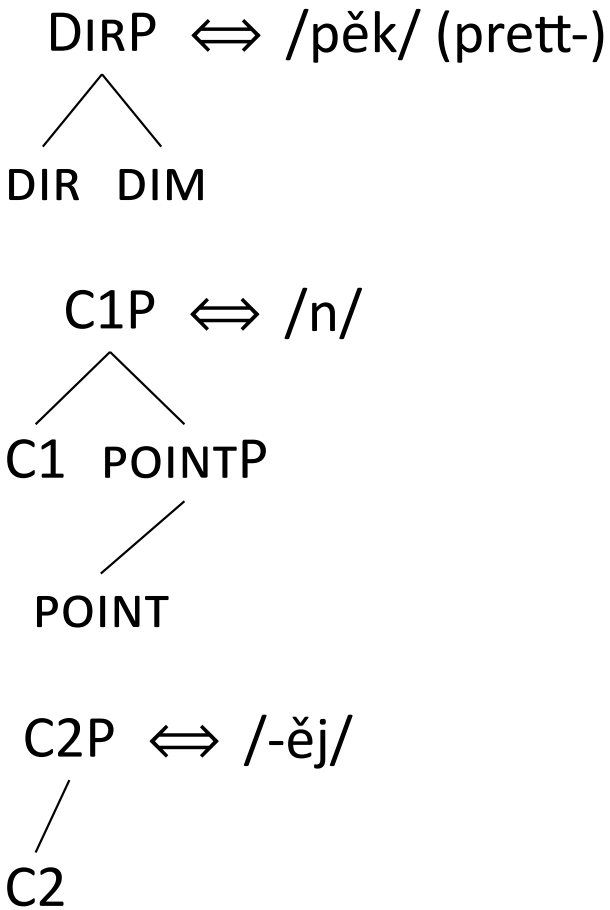
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

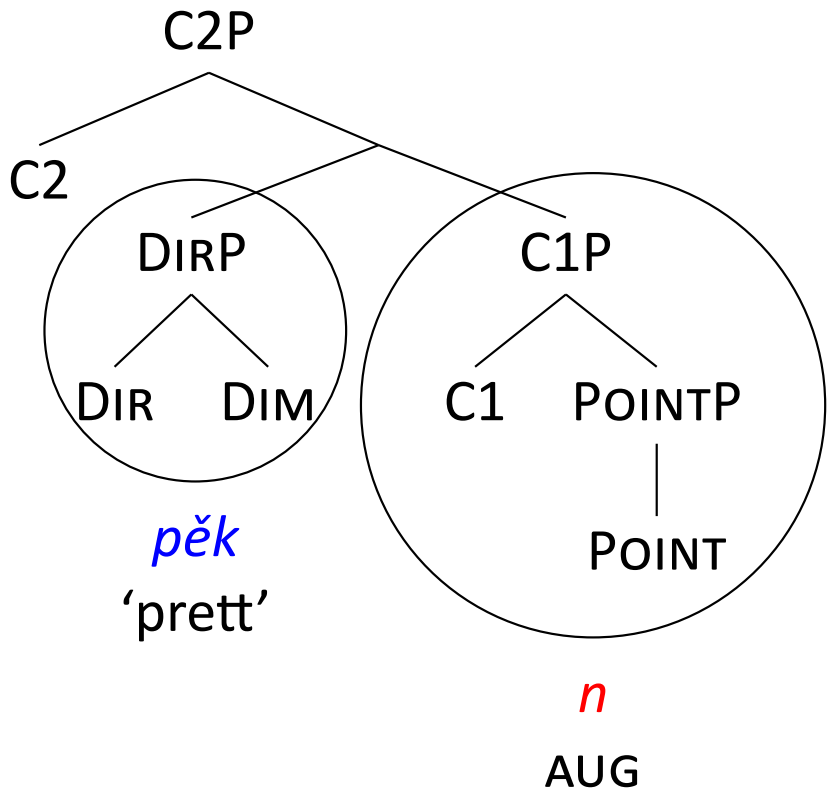




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

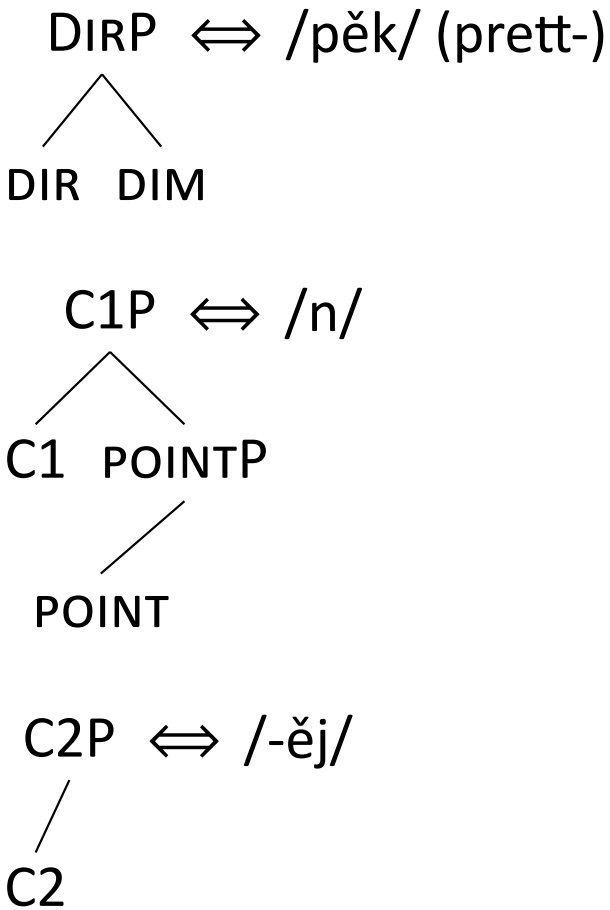
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

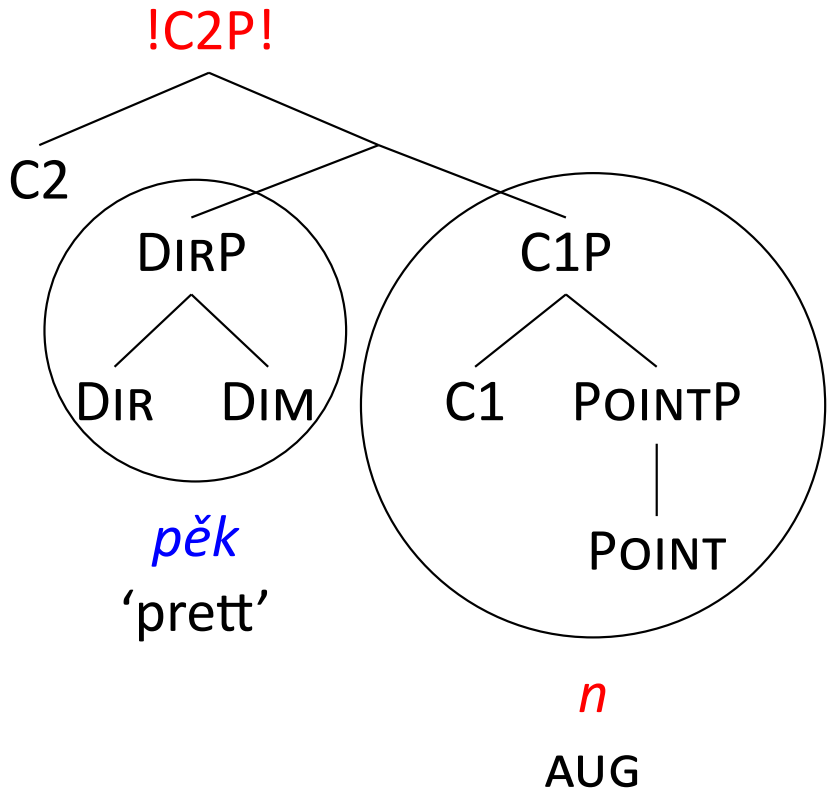




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

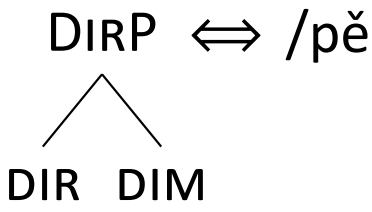
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

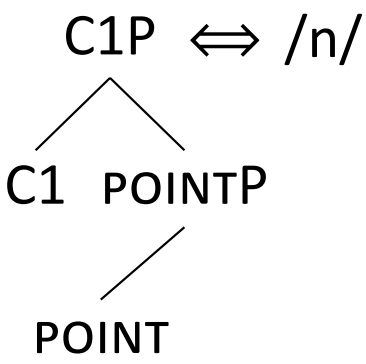


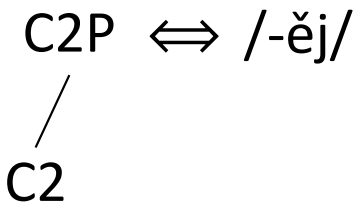


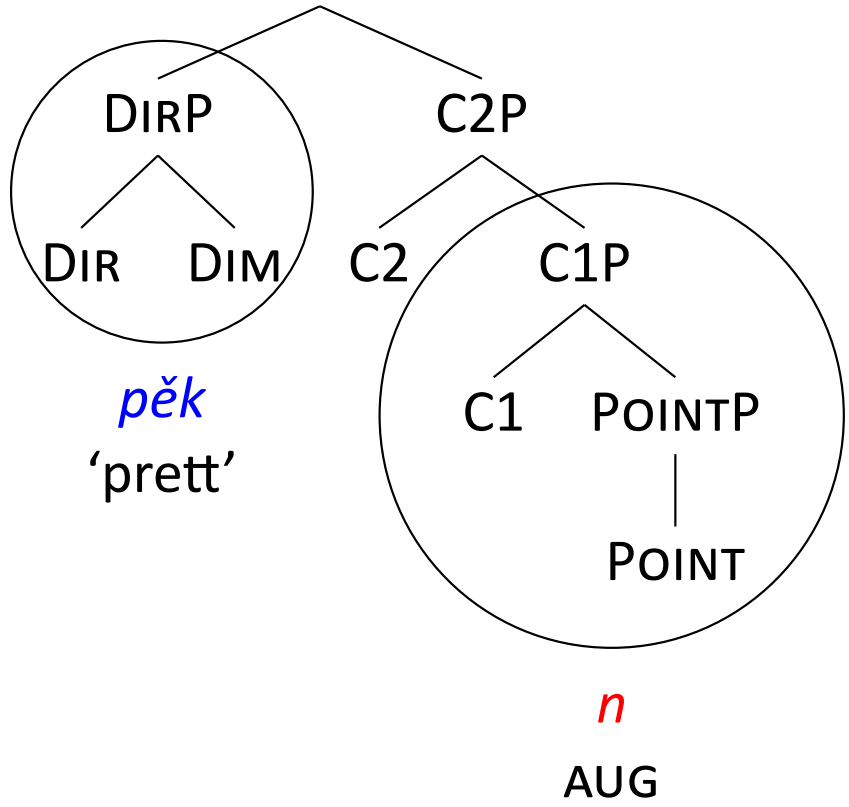
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



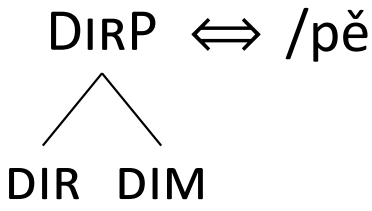


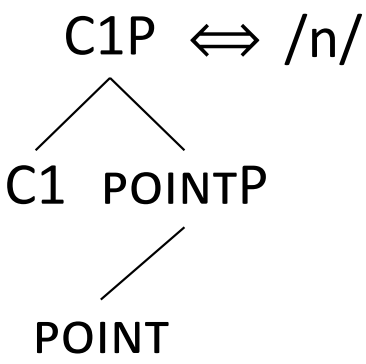


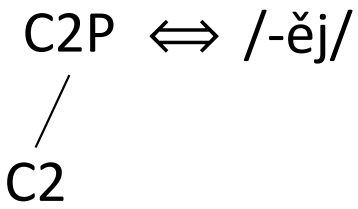


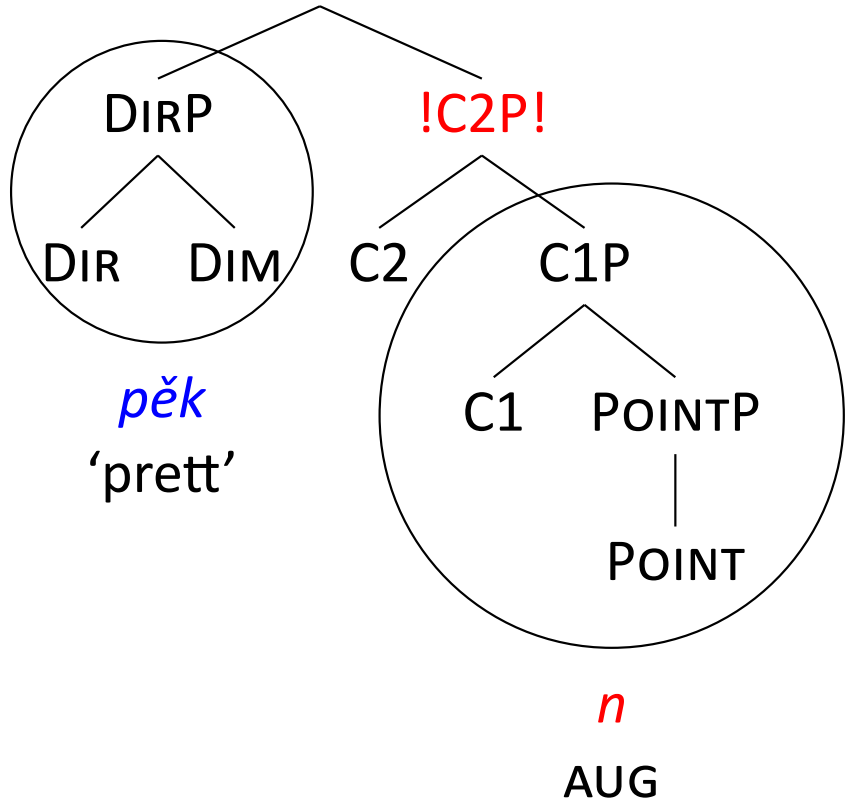
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



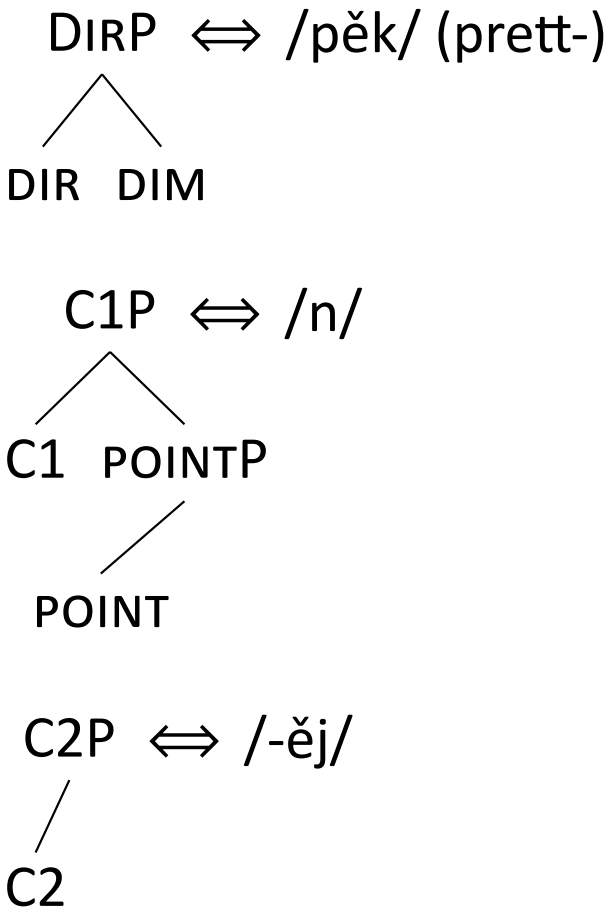


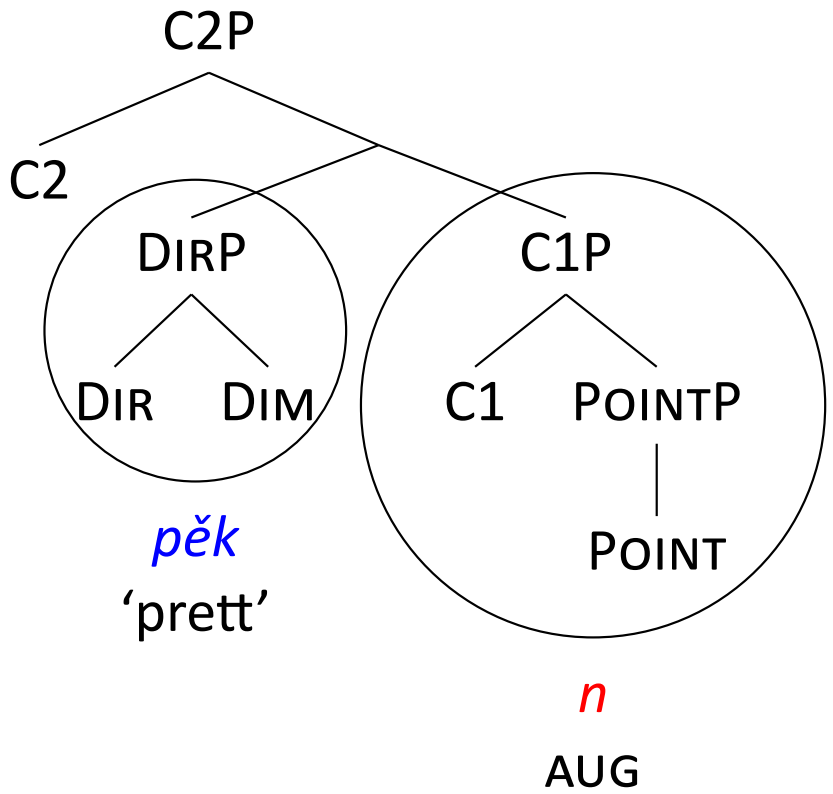




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

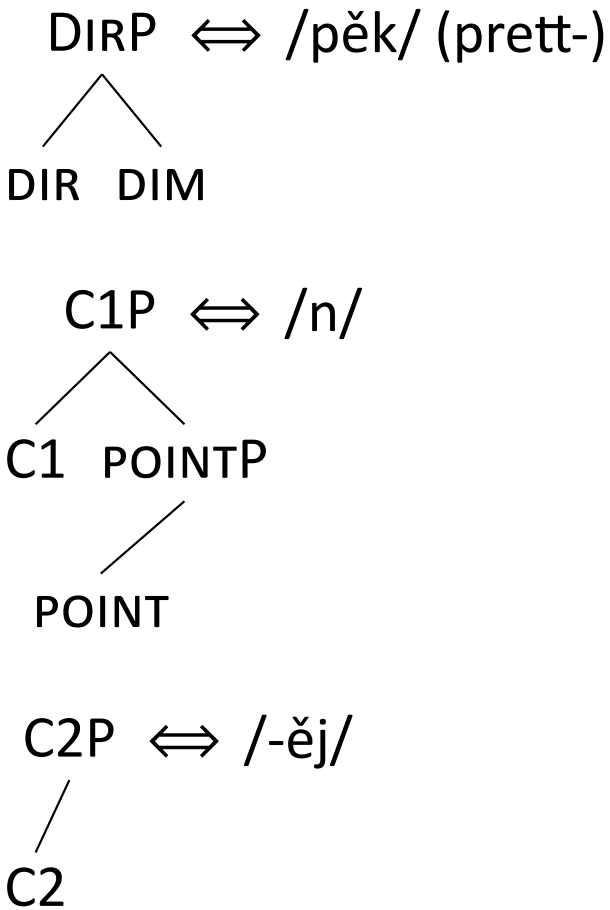
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

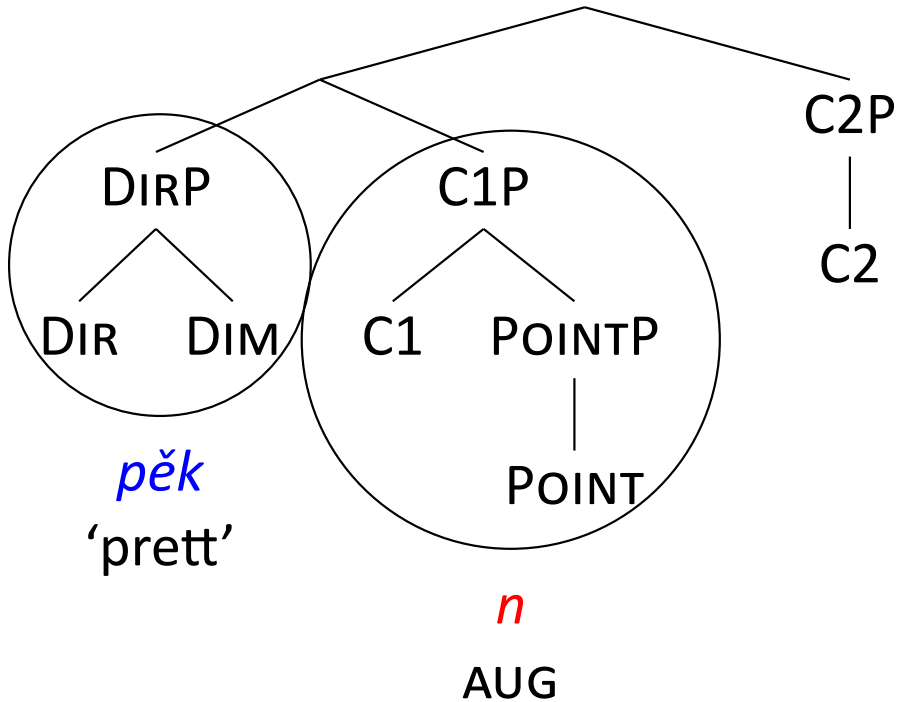




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

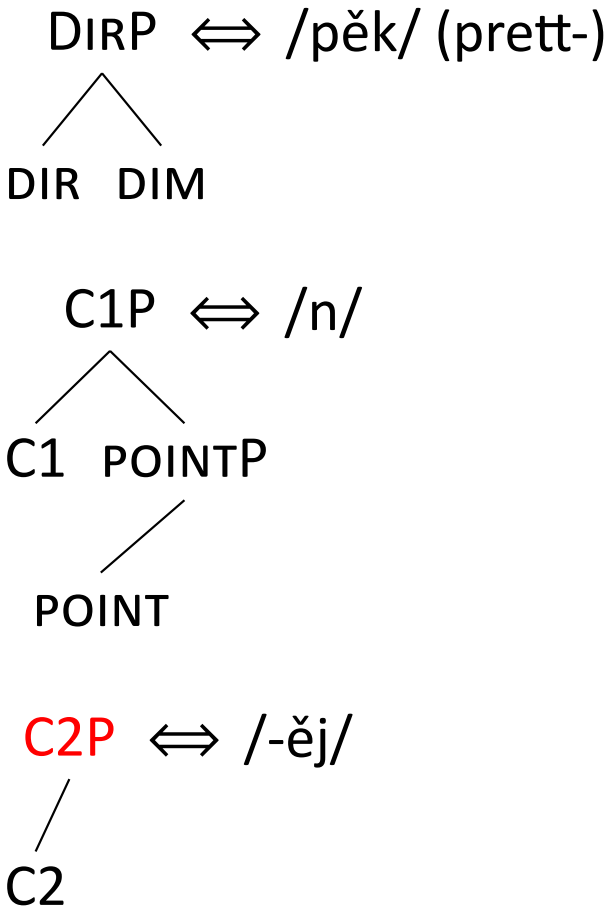
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

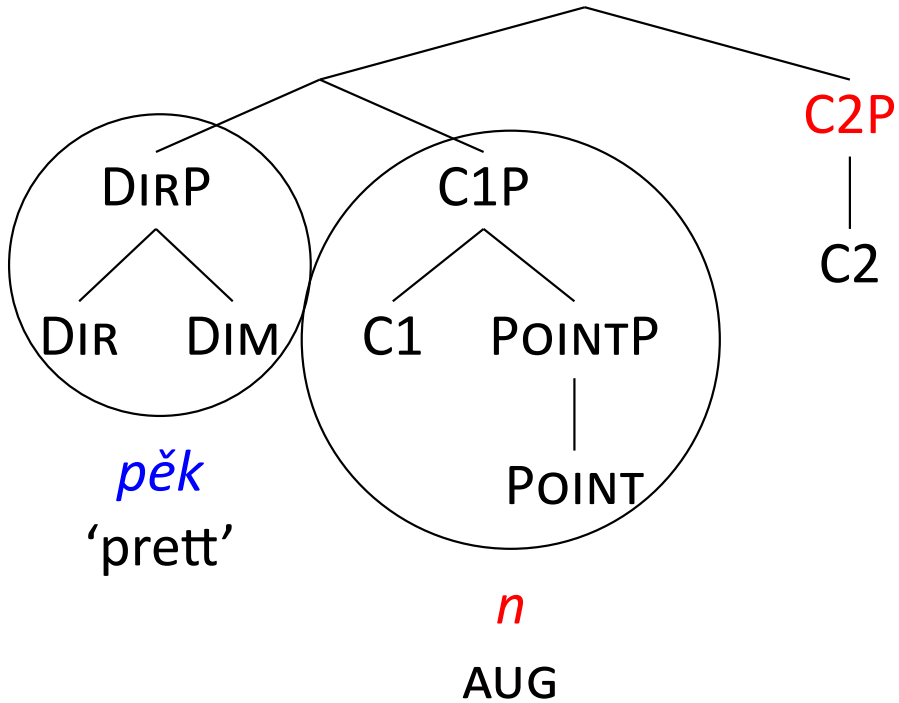




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

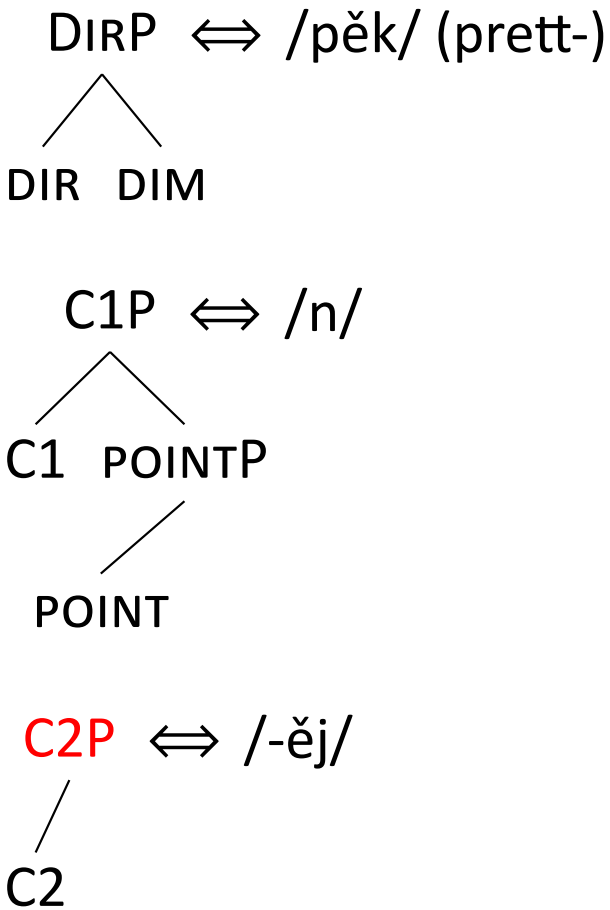
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

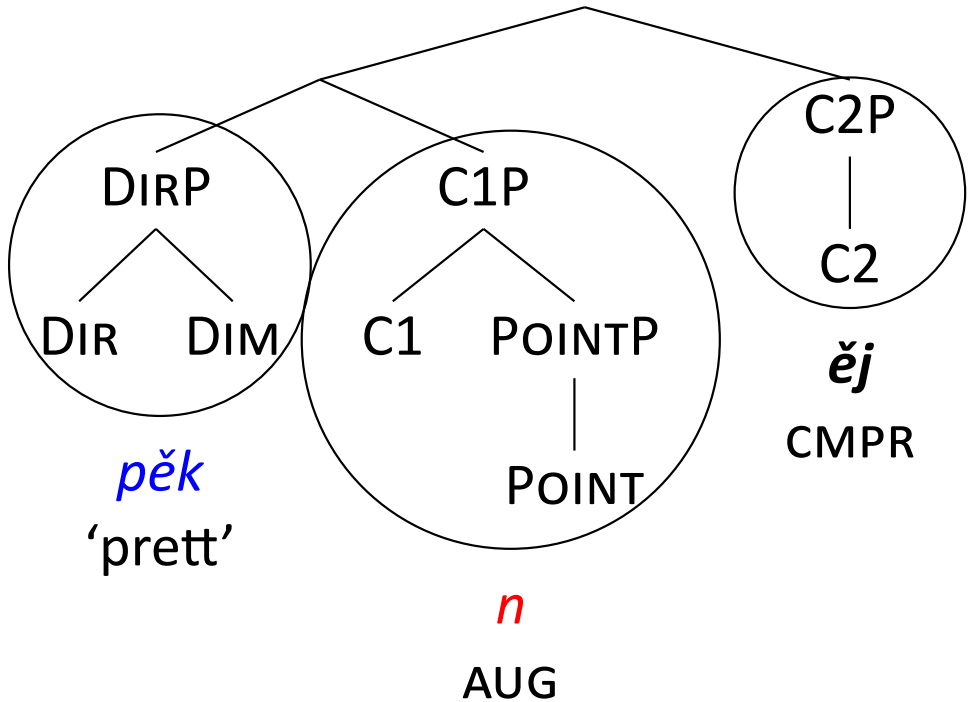




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

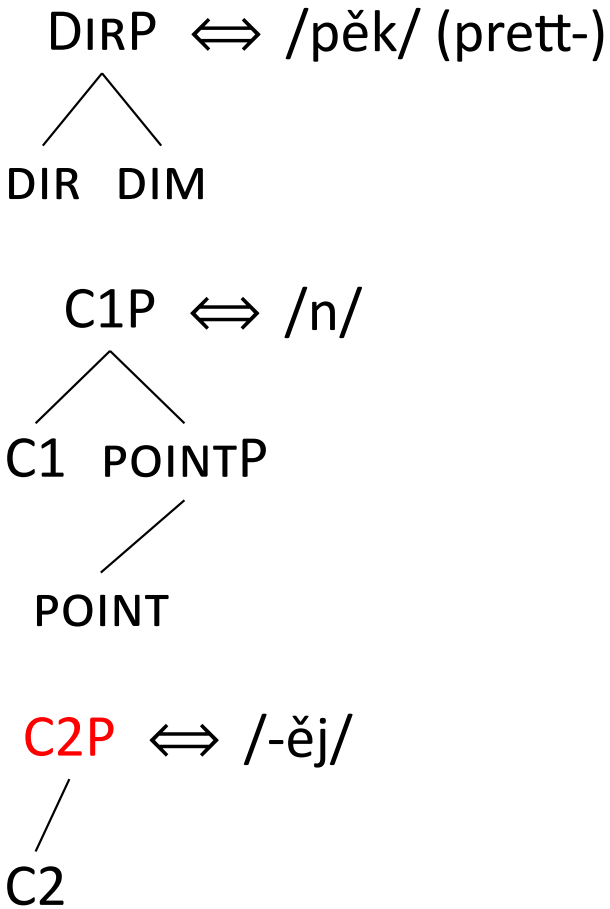
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

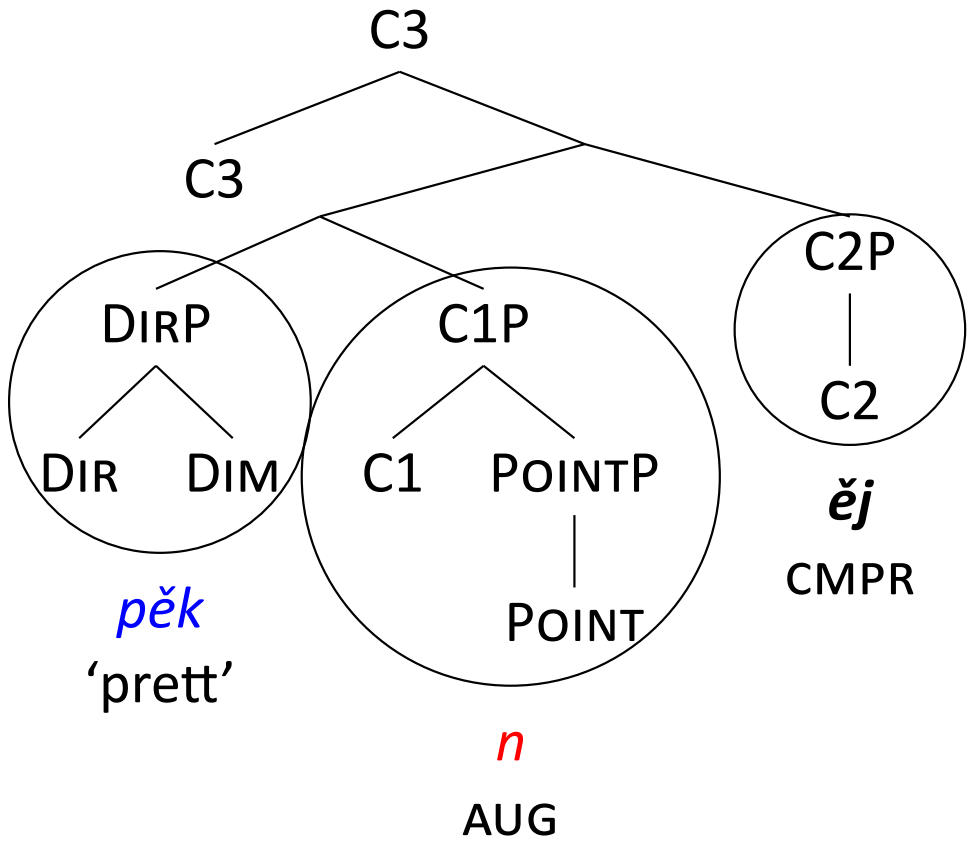




Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



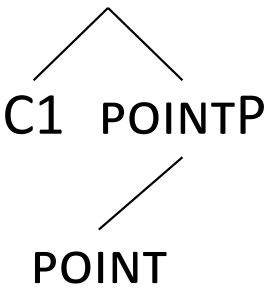


Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

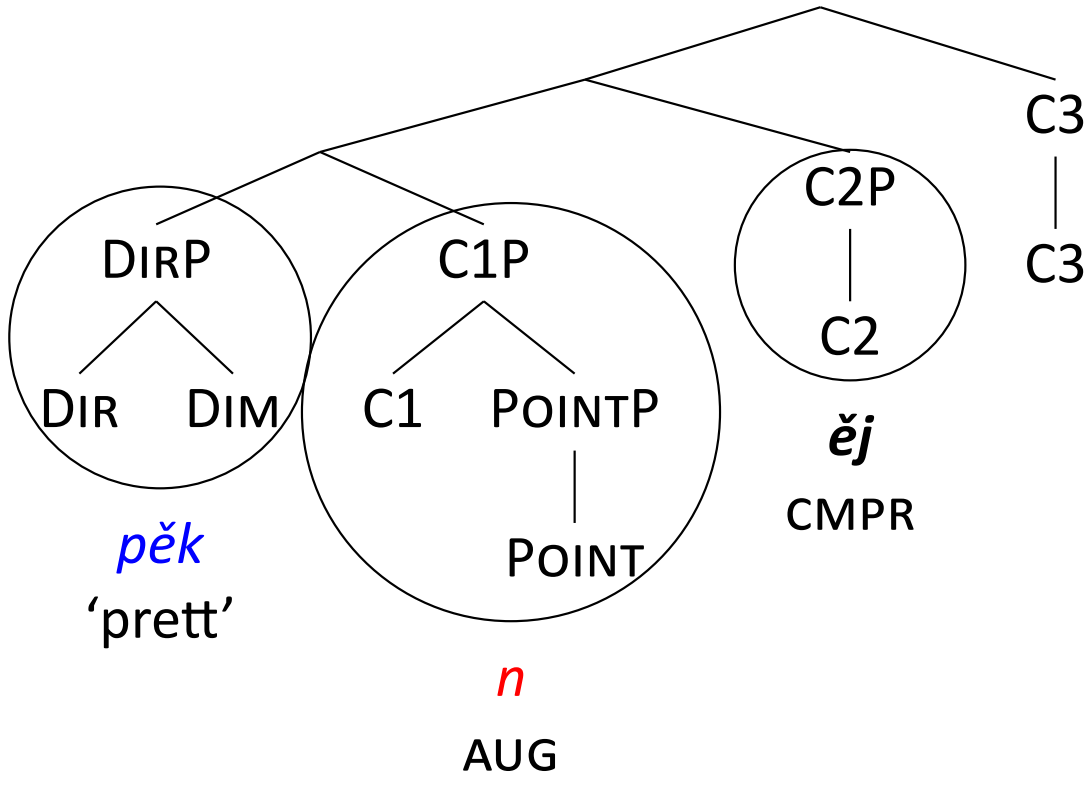
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIRP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

C1P ⟺ /n/



C2P ⟺ /-ěj/

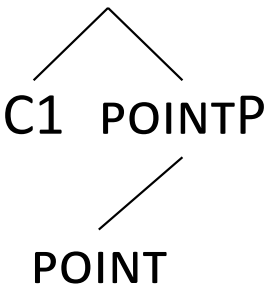


Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

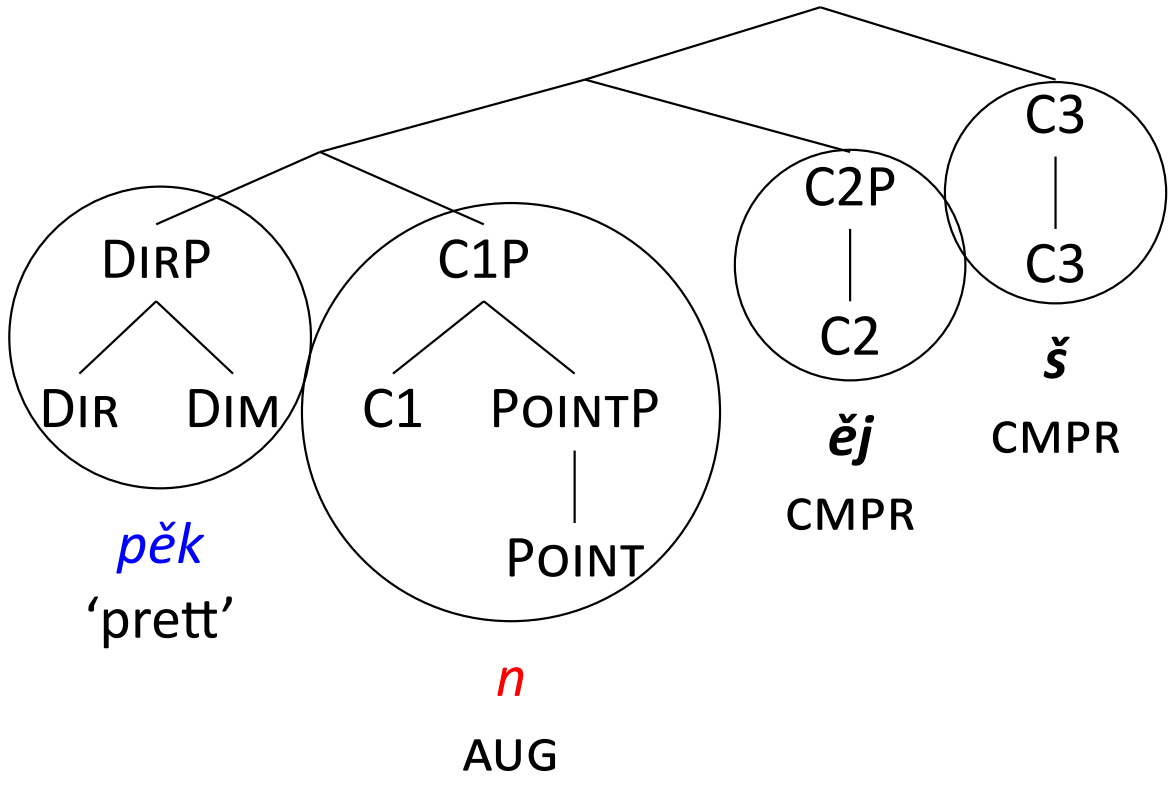
(27) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIRP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

C1P ⟺ /n/

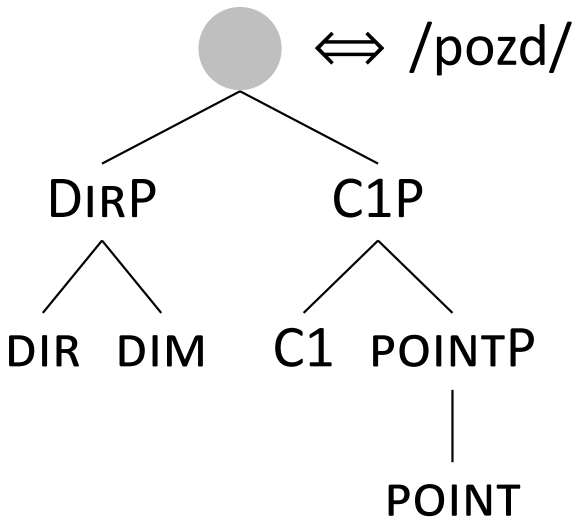


C2P ⟺ /-ěj/



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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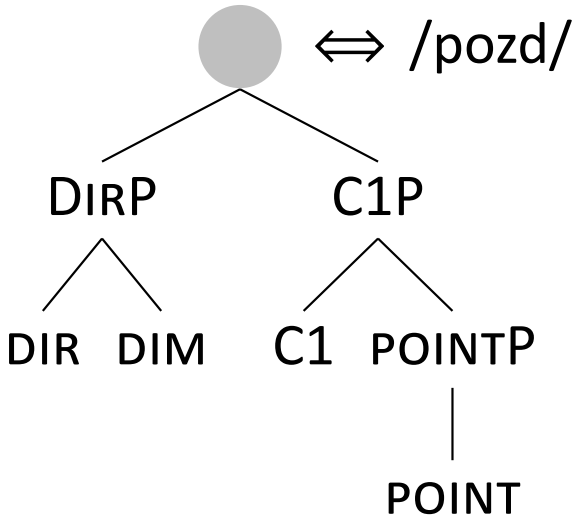

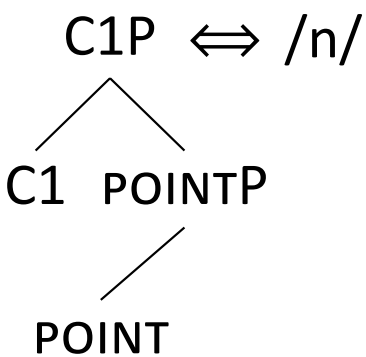

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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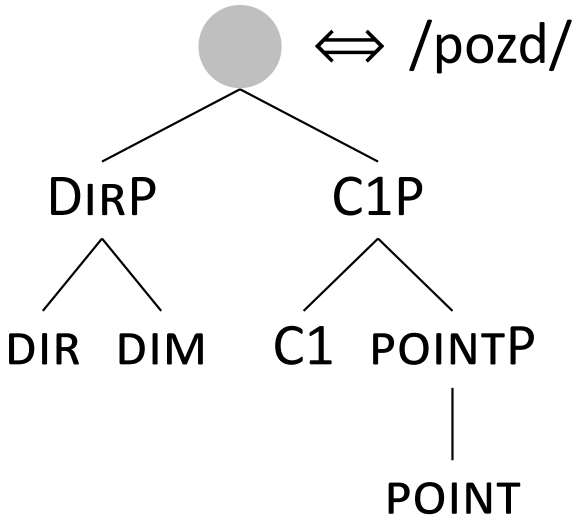

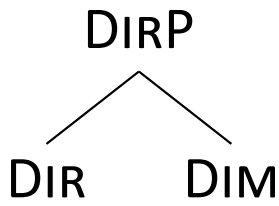

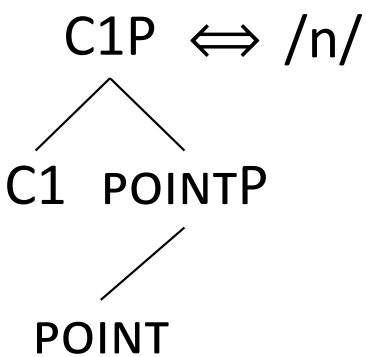

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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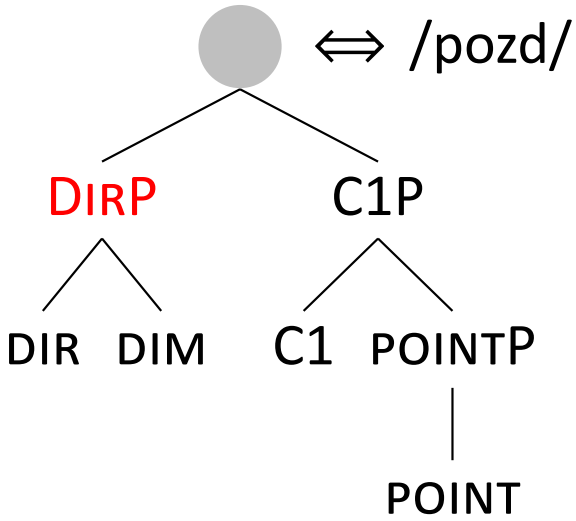

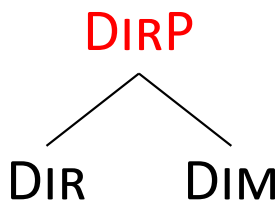

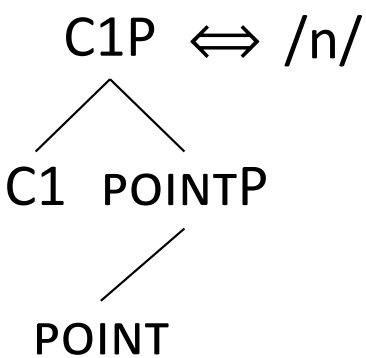

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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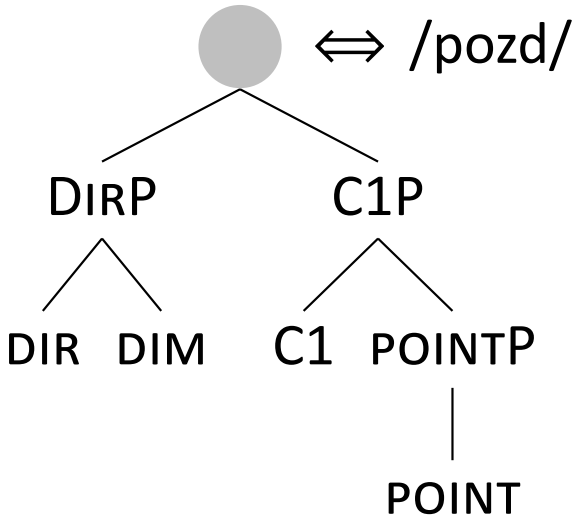
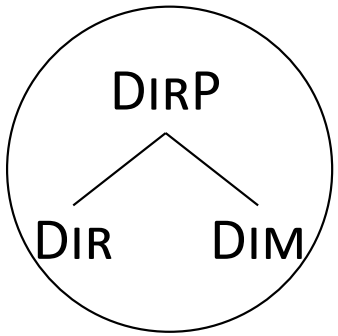
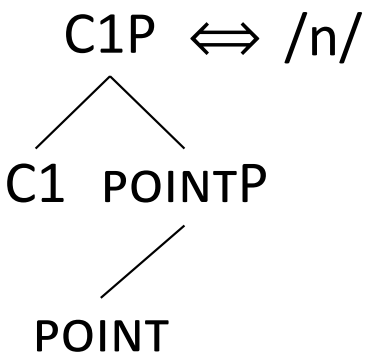




pozd
'late'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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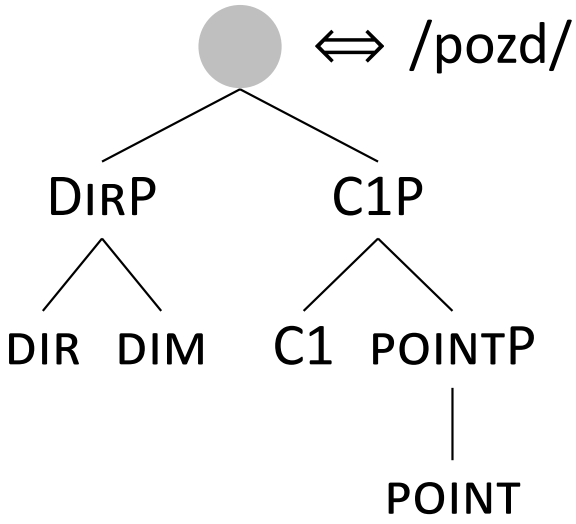
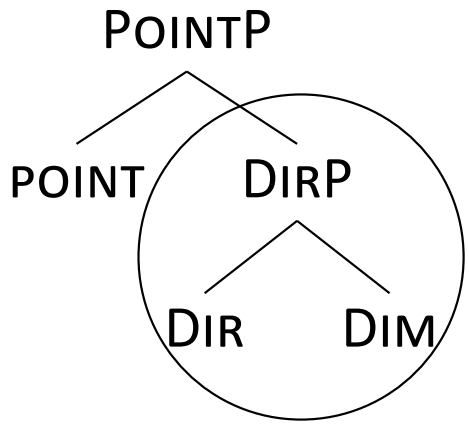
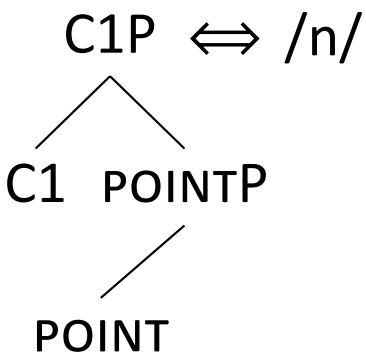


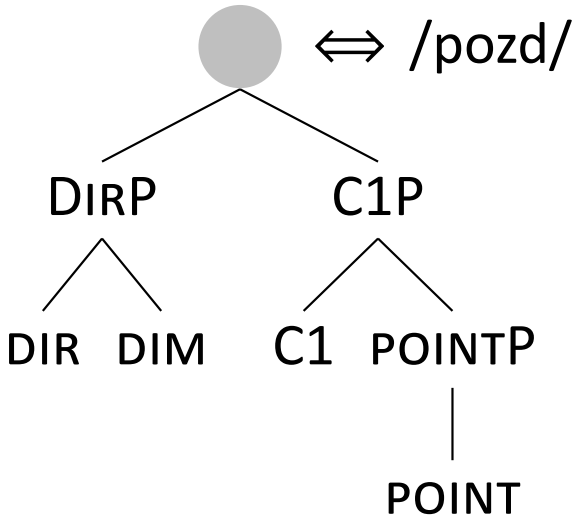


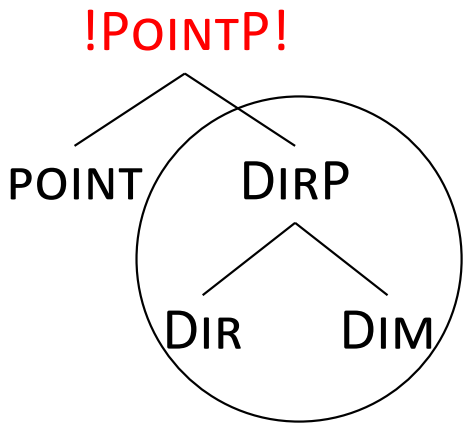
pozd
'late'



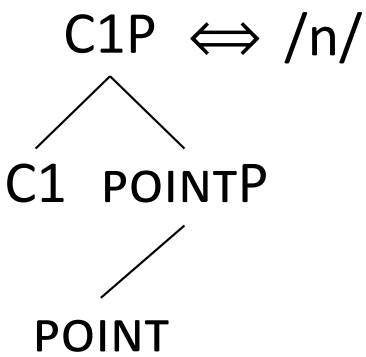
Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'





pozd
'late'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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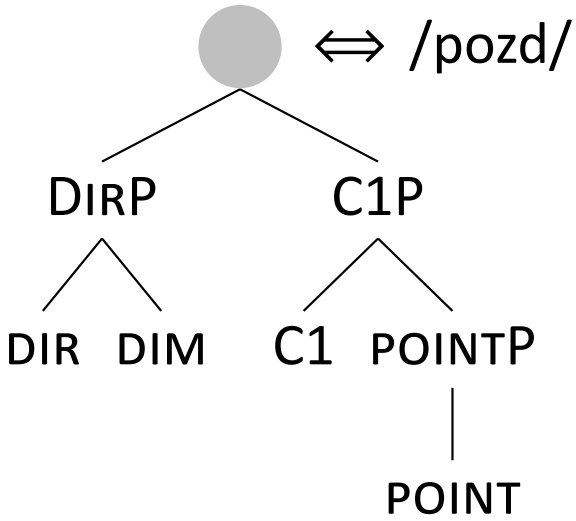
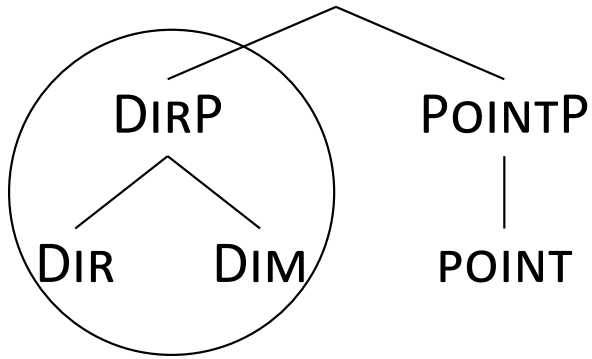
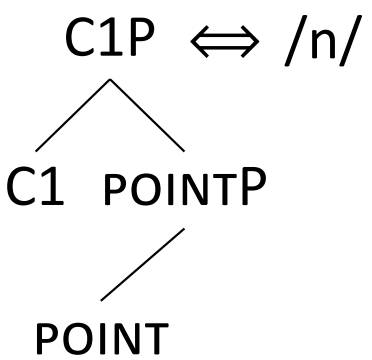




pozd
'late'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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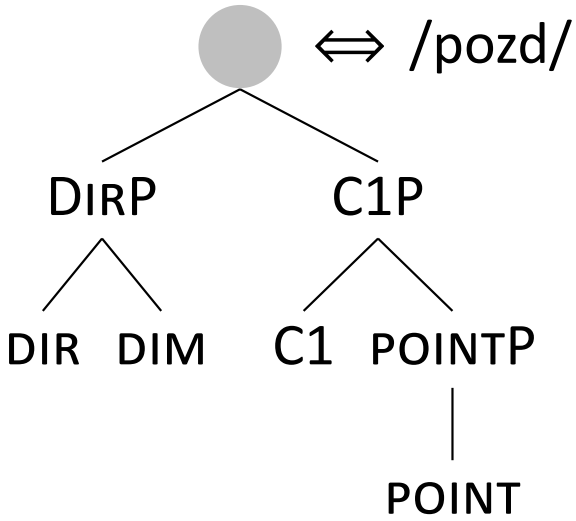
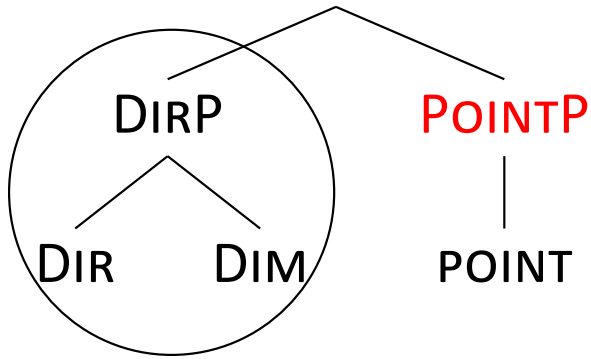
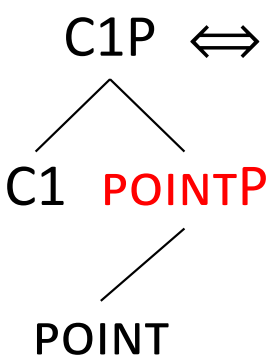
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'



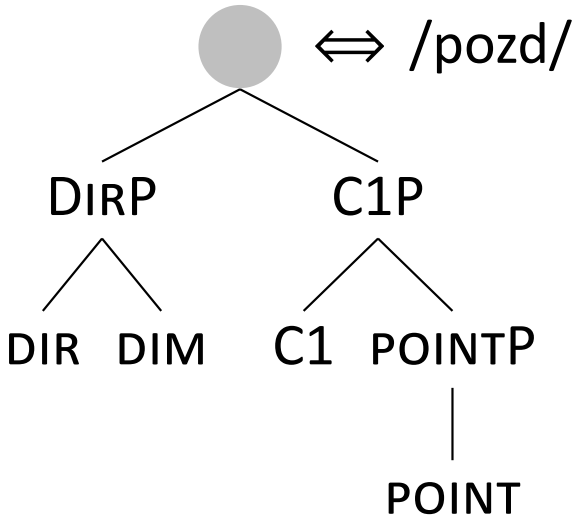


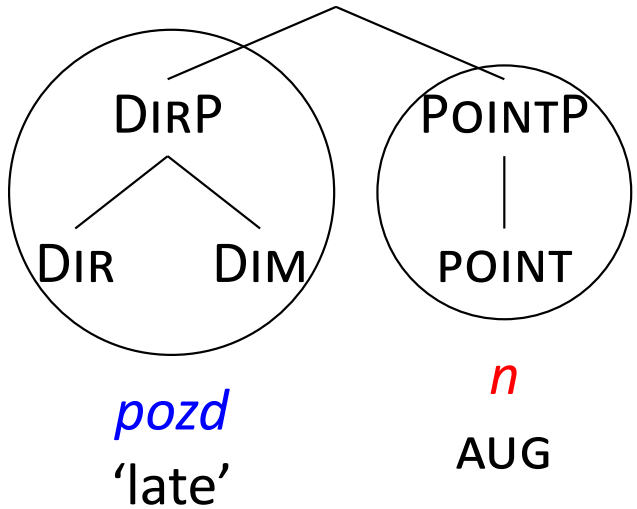
pozd
'late'

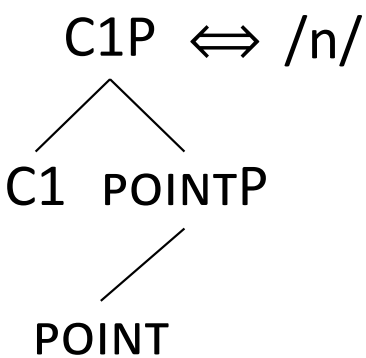


Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'







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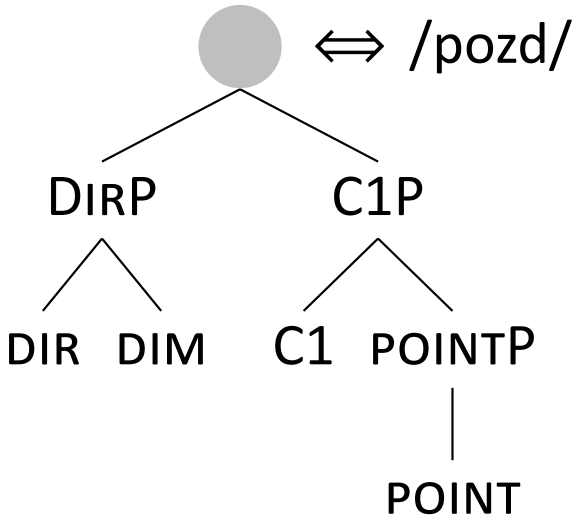

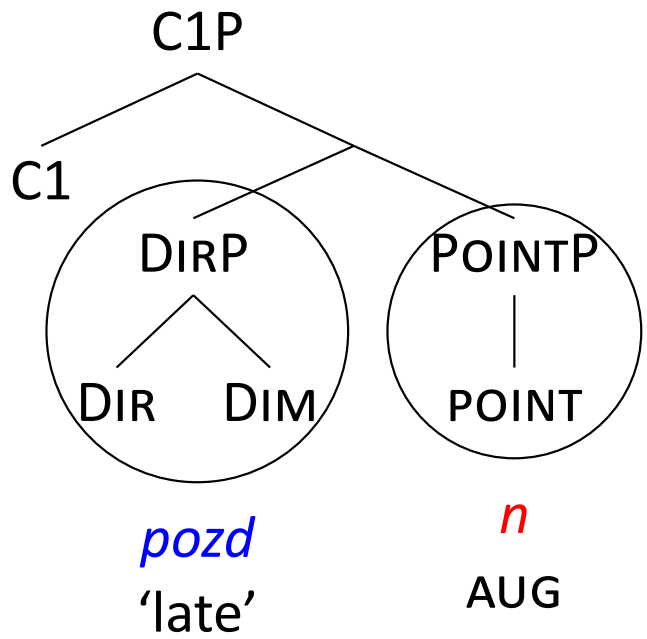

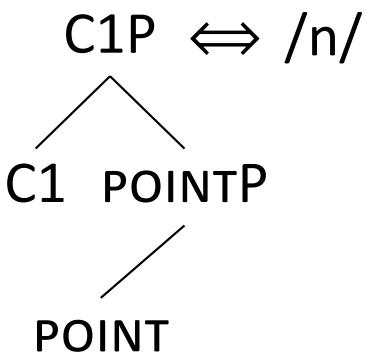

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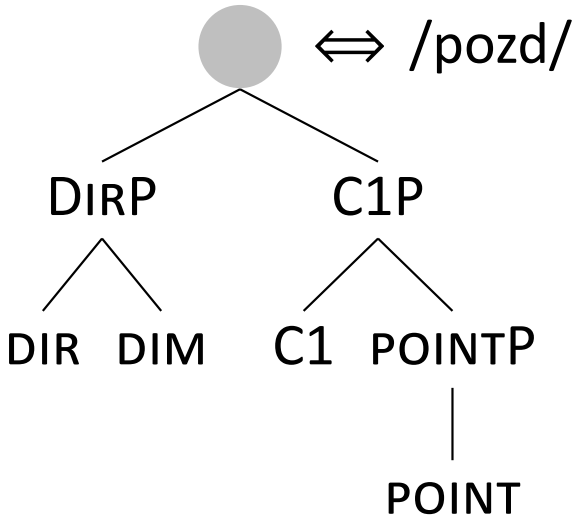

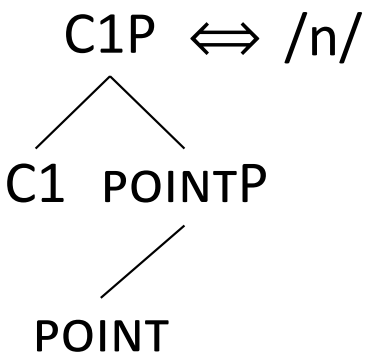

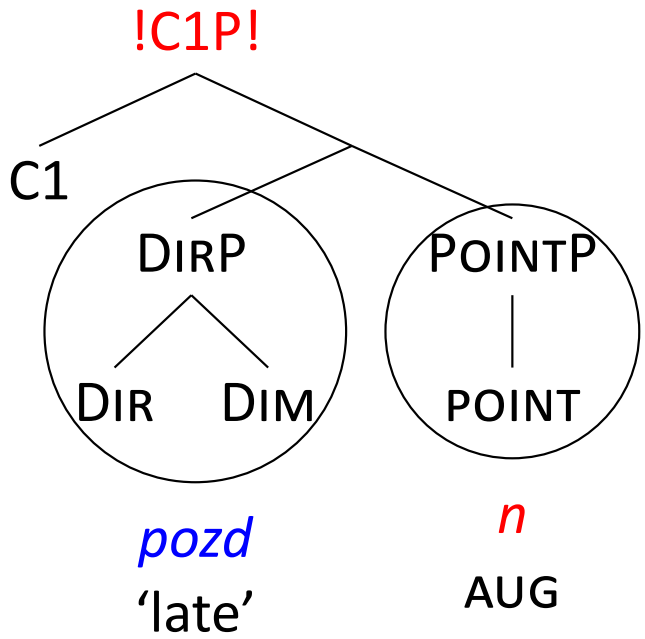

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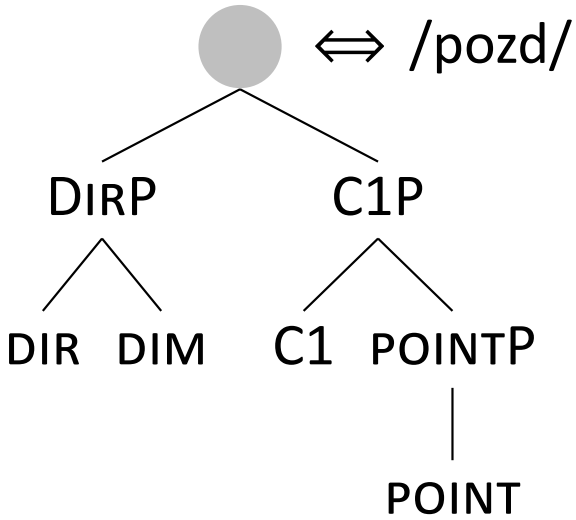

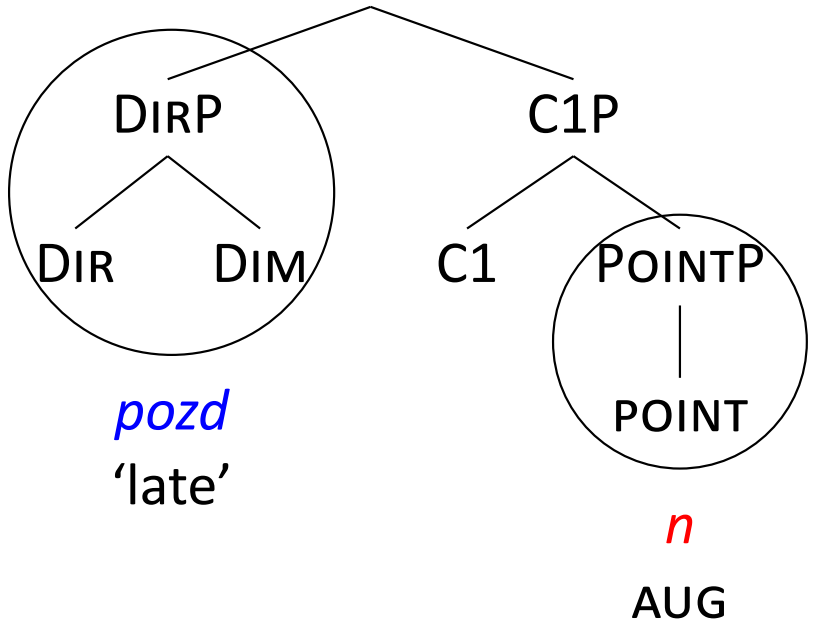

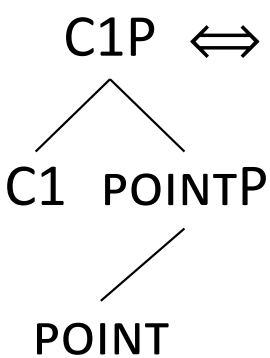

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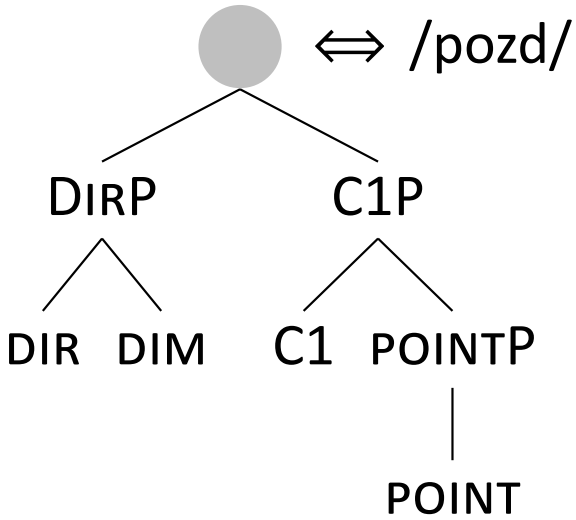

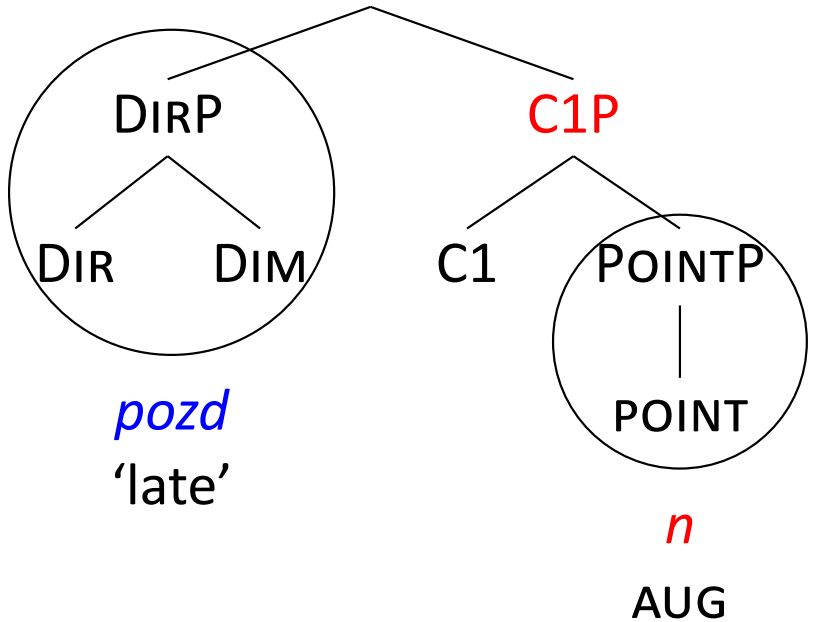

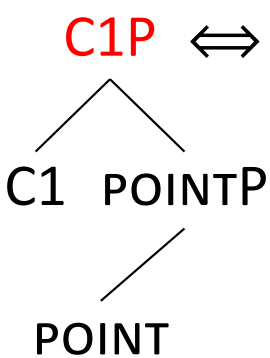

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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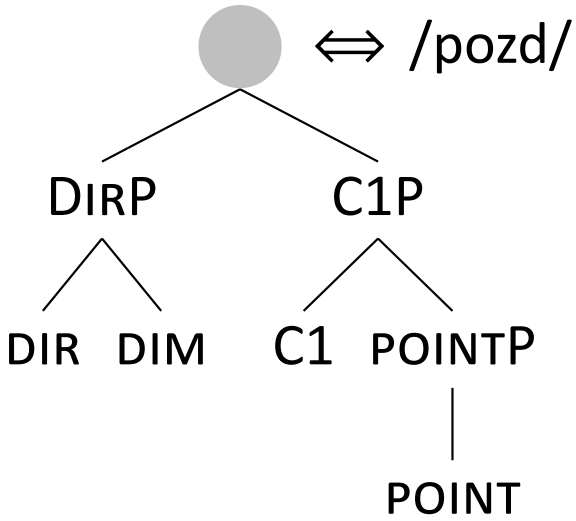

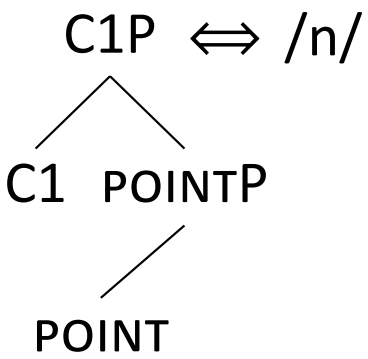

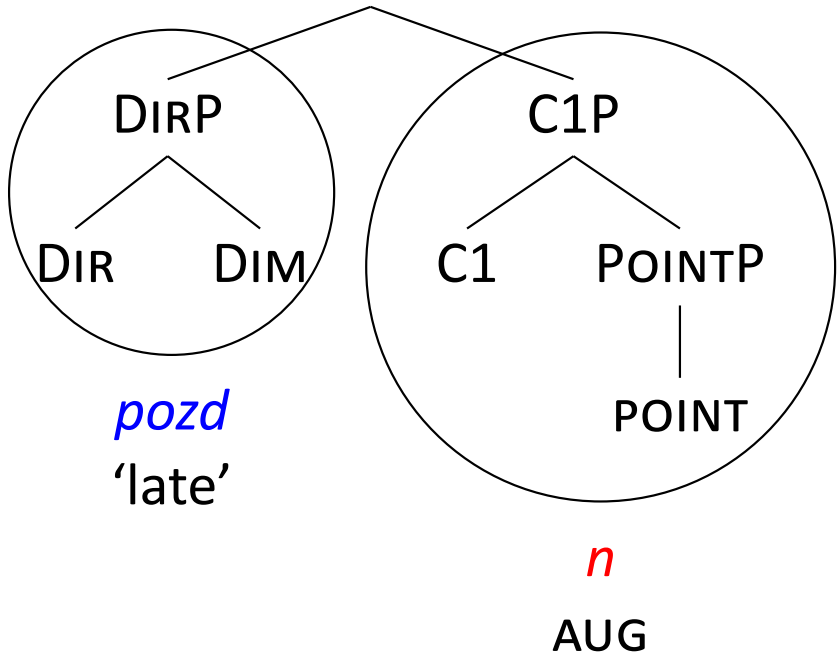

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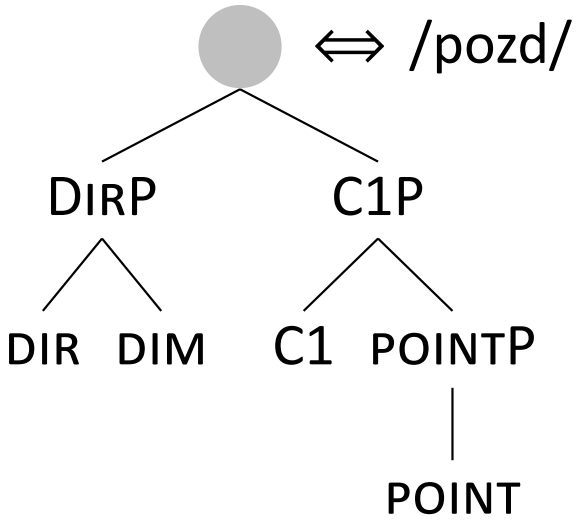

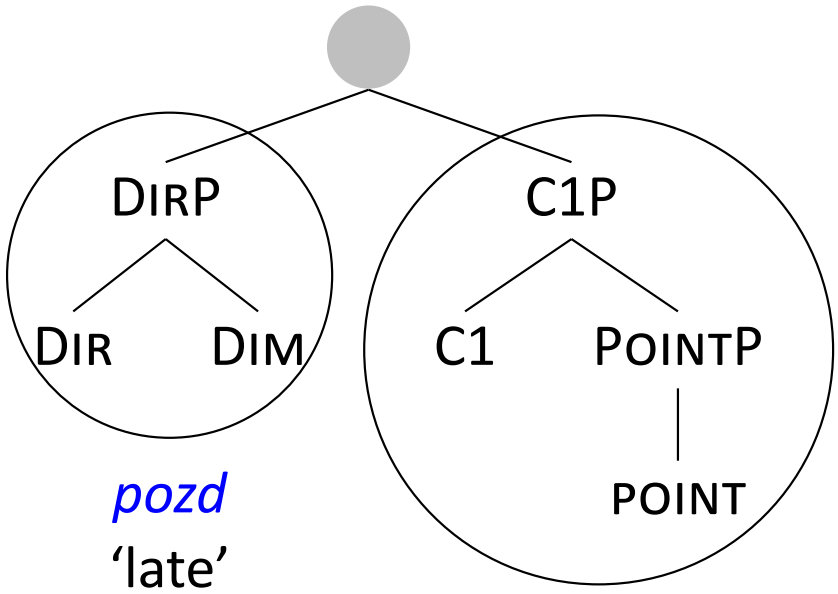

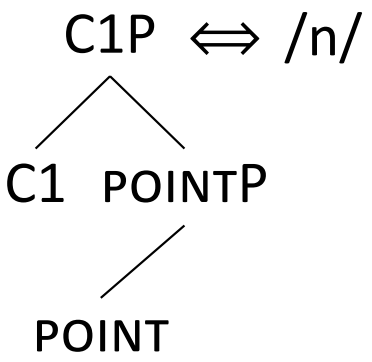

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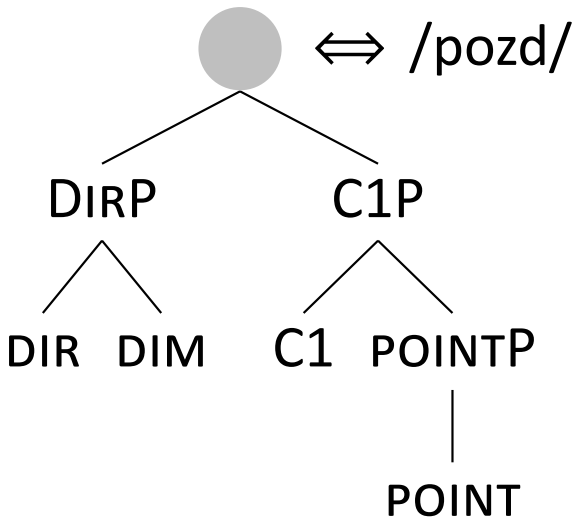

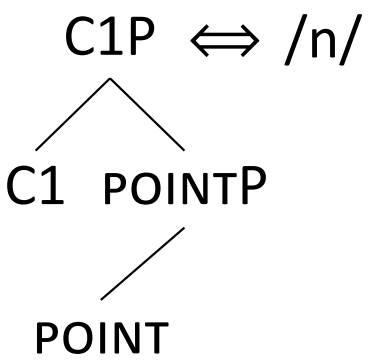

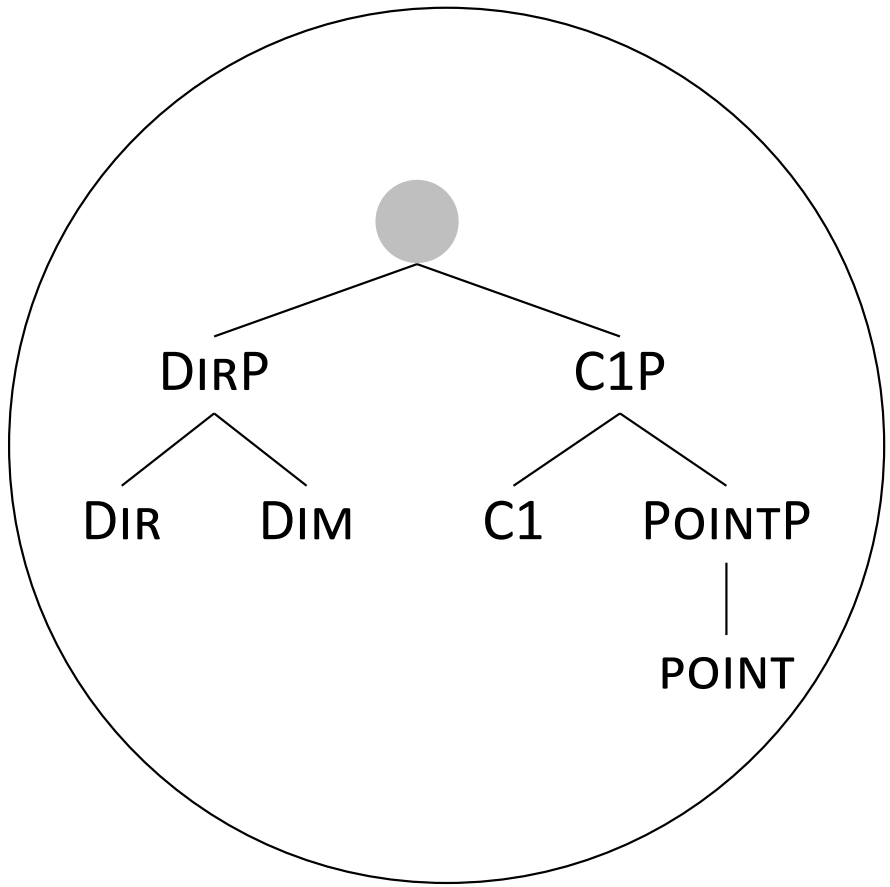

pozd
'late'

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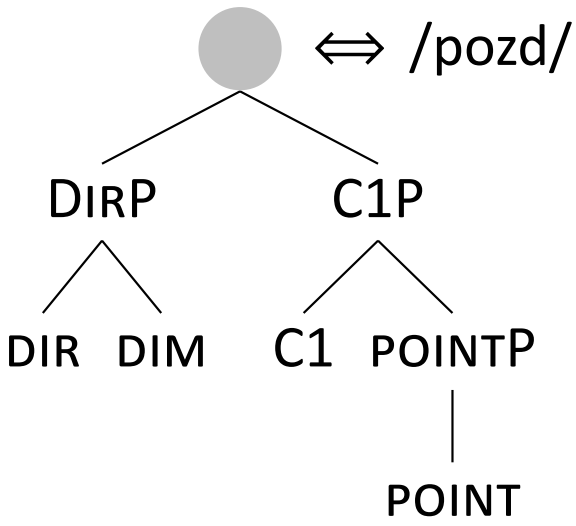

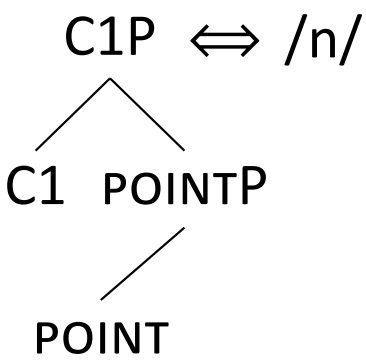

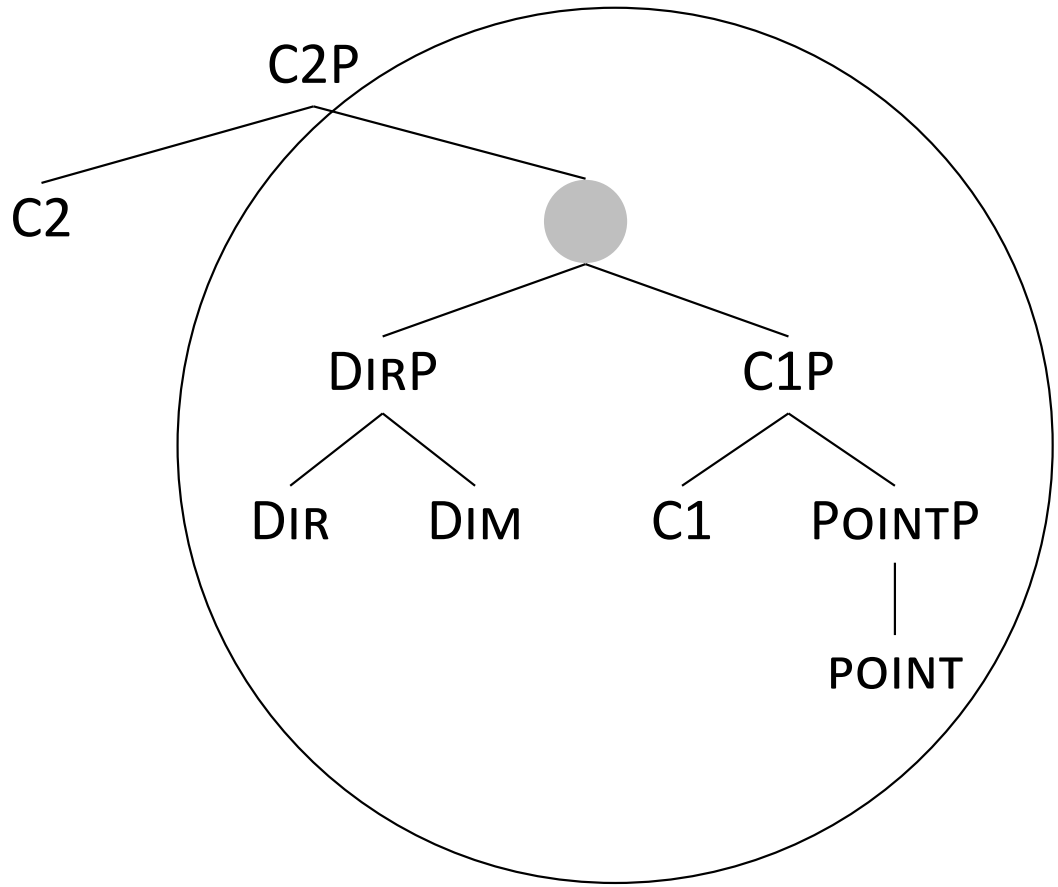

pozd
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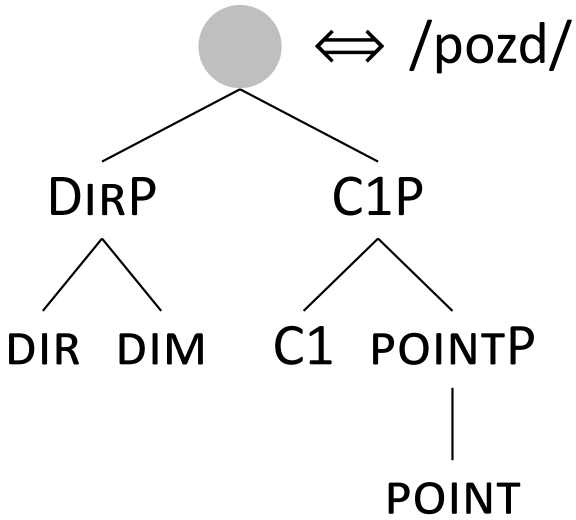

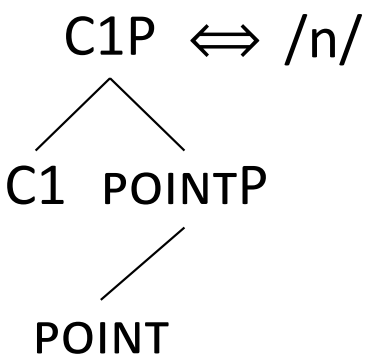

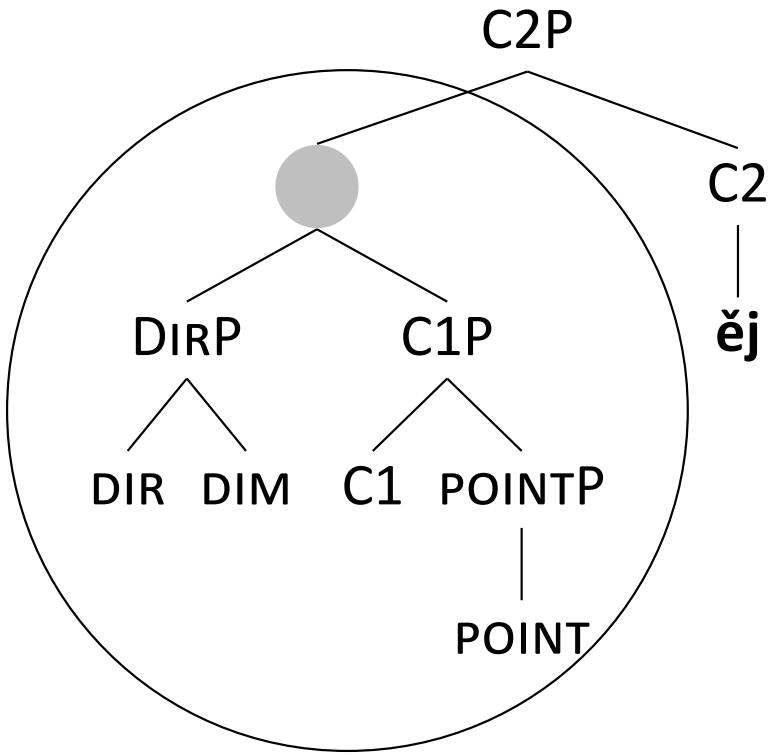

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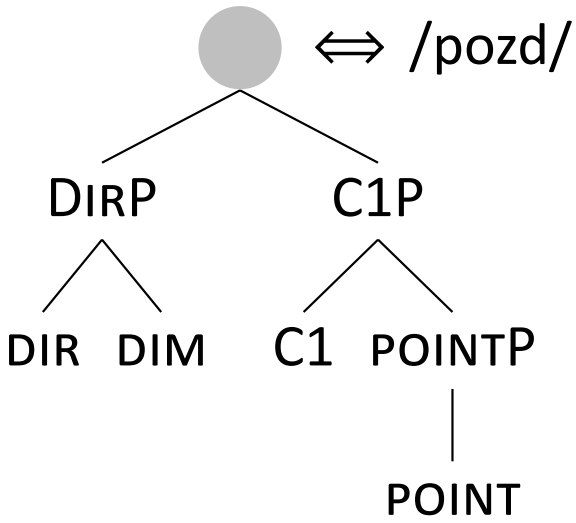

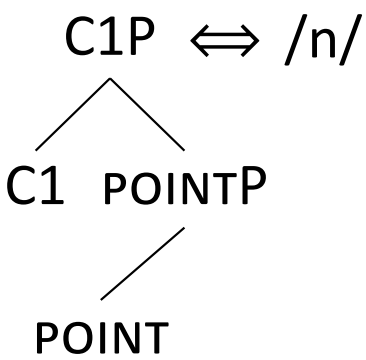

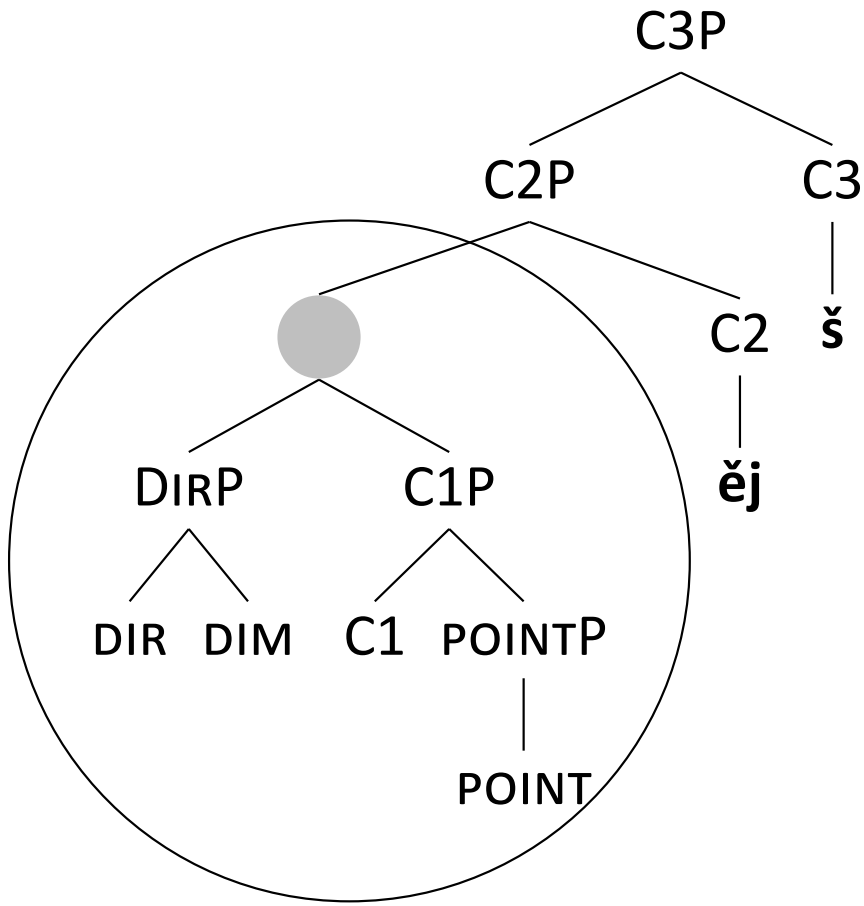

pozd
'late'

Outline

Conclusions

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

Conclusions

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

- Adopting containment structures and disallowing disjunctive rules, this pattern is impossible to capture by context-sensitive rules

Conclusions

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

- Adopting containment structures and disallowing disjunctive rules, this pattern is impossible to capture by context-sensitive rules
- The pattern can be captured by invoking portmanteau realisation (zeroes arise due to the fact that the relevant projections are realised by the root)

Conclusions

	POS	CMPR
I	n	n
II	ø	n
III	ø	ø
IV	n	ø

- Adopting containment structures and disallowing disjunctive rules, this pattern is impossible to capture by context-sensitive rules
- The pattern can be captured by invoking portmanteau realisation (zeroes arise due to the fact that the relevant projections are realised by the root)
- Generalising, portmanteau realisation has (in some cases) a greater generative power than context-sensitive rules

Thank you!

References

Blix, H. (2021). Phrasal spellout and partial overwrite: On an alternative to backtracking. *Glossa 6*(1), 62.1–17.

Christopoulos, C. and S. Zompí (2022). Taking the nominative (back) out of the accusative. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*.

Starke, M. (2018). Complex left branches, spellout, and prefixes. In L. Baunaz, K. De Clercq, L. Haegeman, and E. Lander (Eds.), *Exploring Nanosyntax*, pp. 239–249. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Outline

The Ø class and the -n class

POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS
bíl-Ø-ý	‘white’	slab-Ø-ý	‘weak’	cen-n-ý	‘valuable’	sluš-n-ý	‘kind’
blb-Ø-ý	‘stupid’	slep-Ø-ý	‘blind’	čer-n-ý	‘black’	skrom-n-ý	‘modest’
bos-Ø-ý	‘barefoot’	star-Ø-ý	‘old’	čest-n-ý	‘honest’	smut-n-ý	‘sad’
čast-Ø-ý	‘frequent’	tepl-Ø-ý	‘warm’	děs-n-ý	‘horrible’	snad-n-ý	‘easy’
čil-Ø-ý	‘lively’	such-Ø-ý	‘dry’	div-n-ý	‘strange’	straš-n-ý	‘terrible’
čir-Ø-ý	‘pure’	tich-Ø-ý	‘quiet’	drob-n-ý	‘tiny’	špat-n-ý	‘bad’
čist-Ø-ý	‘clean’	tup-Ø-ý	‘blunt’	drs-n-ý	‘rough’	šťast-n-ý	‘happy’
dlouh-Ø-ý	‘long’	tvrd-Ø-ý	‘hard’	hluč-n-ý	‘noisy’	tuč-n-ý	‘fat’
dobr-Ø-ý	‘good’	zdrav-Ø-ý	‘heathy’	hnus-n-ý	‘disgusting’	vol-n-ý	‘free’
drah-Ø-ý	‘expensive’	zl-Ø-ý	‘evil’	hod-n-ý	‘kind’	vliv-n-ý	‘influential’
drz-Ø-ý	‘cheeky’	zlat-Ø-ý	‘golden’	hroz-n-ý	‘horrible’	vtip-n-ý	‘funny’
hloup-Ø-ý	‘stupid’	živ-Ø-ý	‘living’	jas-n-ý	‘clear’	zálud-n-ý	‘wicked’
hněd-Ø-ý	‘brown’	žlut-Ø-ý	‘yellow’	jem-n-ý	‘smooth’	zrád-n-ý	‘trecherous’
hol-Ø-ý	‘naked’			klid-n-ý	‘calm’		
hust-Ø-ý	‘dense’			krás-n-ý	‘beautiful’		
chab-Ø-ý	‘weak’			lev-n-ý	‘cheap’		
chud-Ø-ý	‘poor’			mast-n-ý	‘fatty’		
chor-Ø-ý	‘sick’			mír-n-ý	‘peaceful’		
jist-Ø-ý	‘secure’			moc-n-ý	‘powerful’		
krut-Ø-ý	‘cruel’			mož-n-ý	‘possible’		
mal-Ø-ý	‘small’			nemoc-n-ý	‘sick’		
mil-Ø-ý	‘lovely’			něž-n-ý	‘tender’		
mlad-Ø-ý	‘young’			pěk-n-ý	‘pretty’		
modr-Ø-ý	‘blue’			pev-n-ý	‘firm’		
nah-Ø-ý	‘naked’			pl-n-ý	‘full’		
nov-Ø-ý	‘new’			prázd-n-ý	‘empty’		
plach-Ø-ý	‘timid’			rov-n-ý	‘straight’		
ploch-Ø-ý	‘flat’			sil-n-ý	‘strong’		
pust-Ø-ý	‘barren’			sla-n-ý	‘salty’		
rychl-Ø-ý	‘fast’			slav-n-ý	‘famous’		

Our structures

(31) *intelligent* = up on the scale from the standard

Our structures

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———————————>

—————[$_{std}$]—————>

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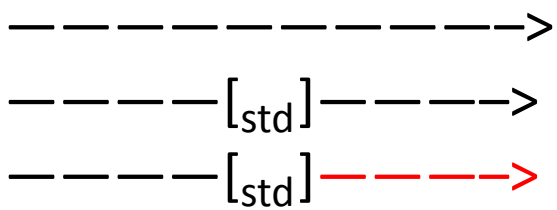

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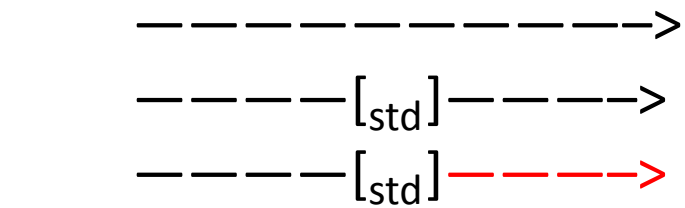

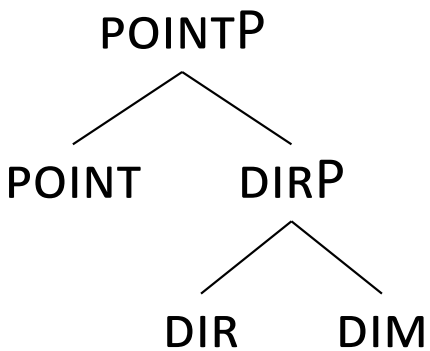

Our structures

(32) *more/less intelligent than X*
= construct a new scale in the same/opposite direction from X's intelligence

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—————[$_X$]—————>

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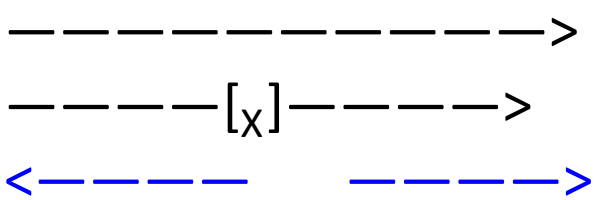

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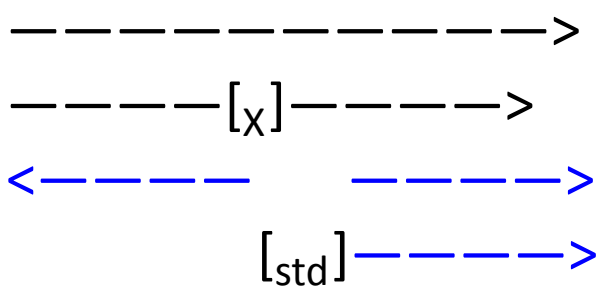

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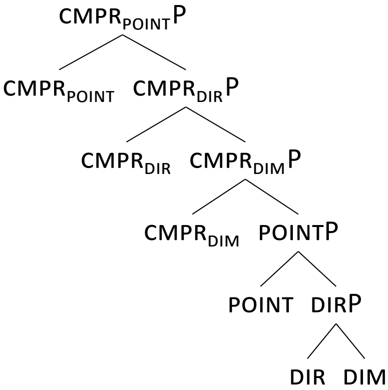
————[$_X$]—————>

<————   —————>

[$_{std}$]—————>



Generalising n vs. Ø to A vs. B

(33)

	√	*a*
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*n*
CLEAN	*čist*	

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(34)

	√	*a*	X

Generalising n vs. Ø to A vs. B

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	√	*a*
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*n*
CLEAN	*čist*	

(34)

	√	*a*	X
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*A*	

Generalising n vs. Ø to A vs. B

(33)

	√	*a*
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*n*
CLEAN	*čist*	

(34)

	√	*a*	X
HAPP-Y	*šťast*	*A*	
CLEAN	*čist*		B

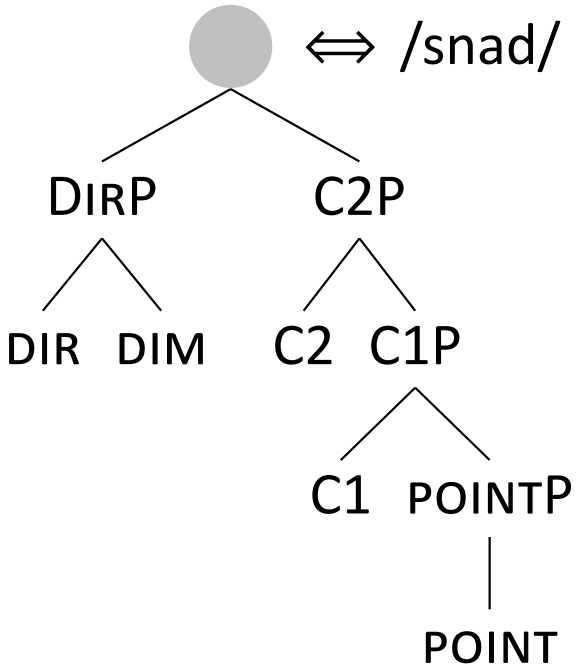
Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(35)

snad-n-ý	∼	snaz	**-š**-í
easy-N-AGR		easy-CMPR-AGR	
‘easy ∼ easier’			

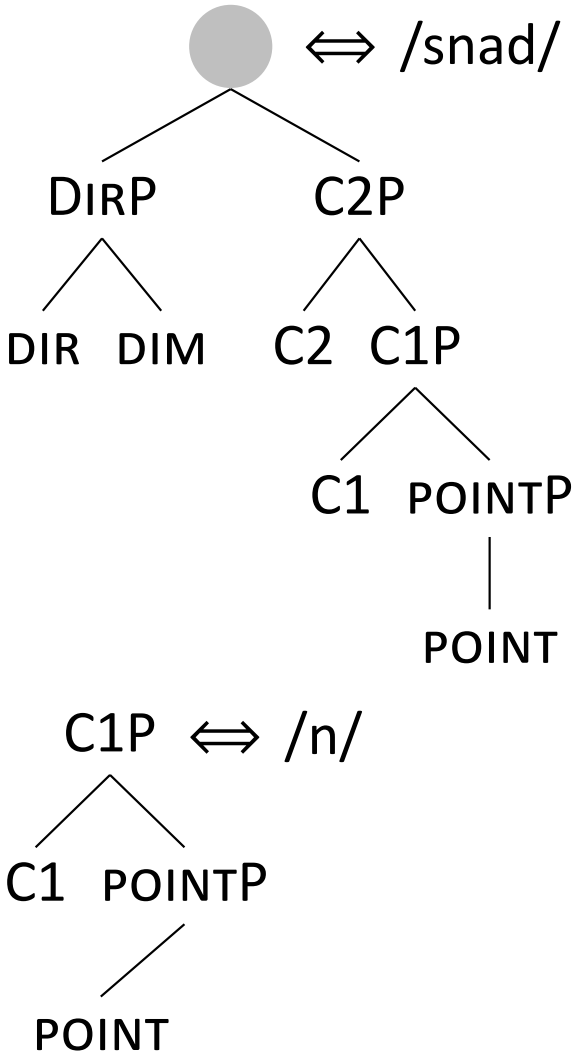
Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(35) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(35) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(35) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
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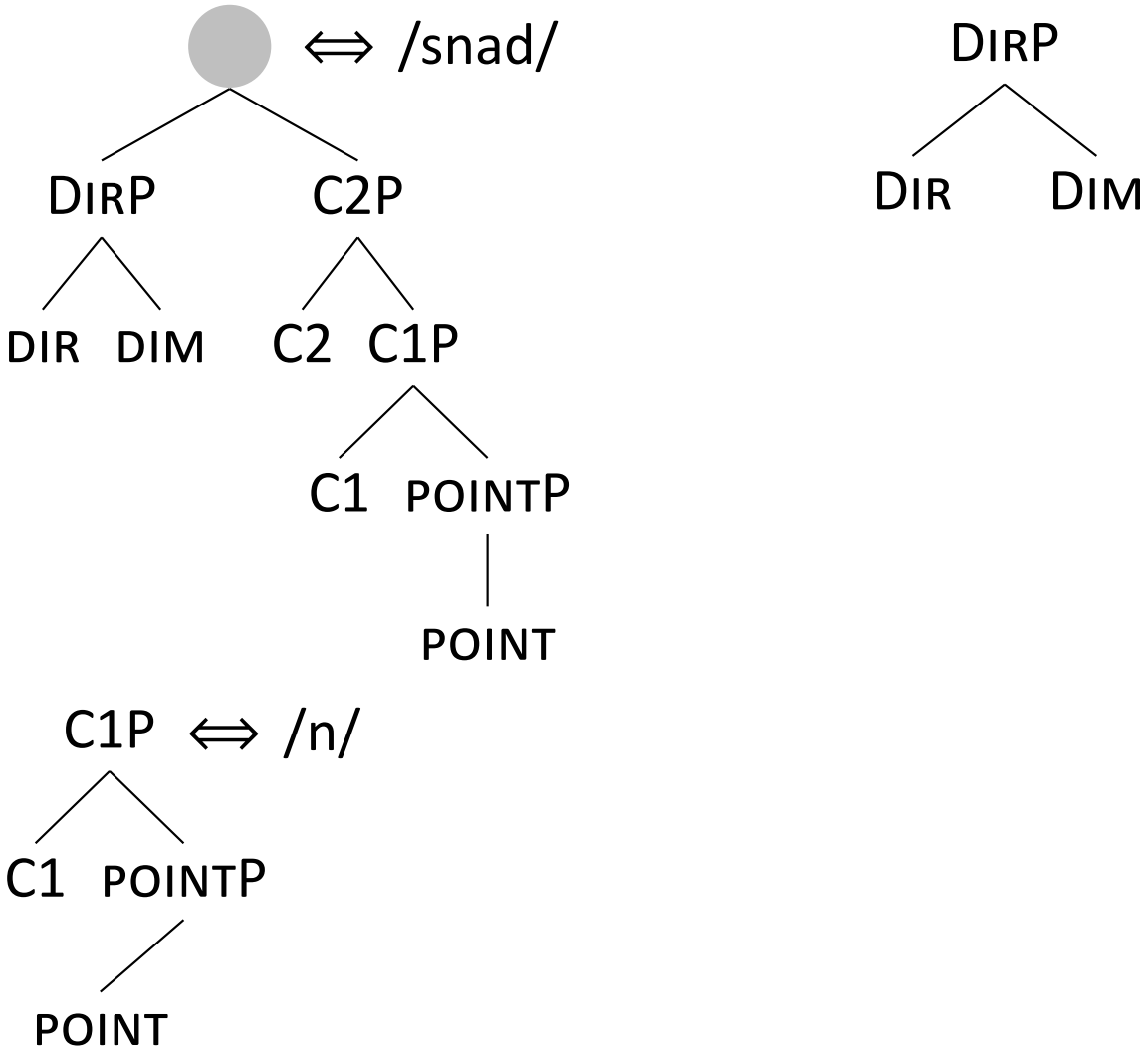
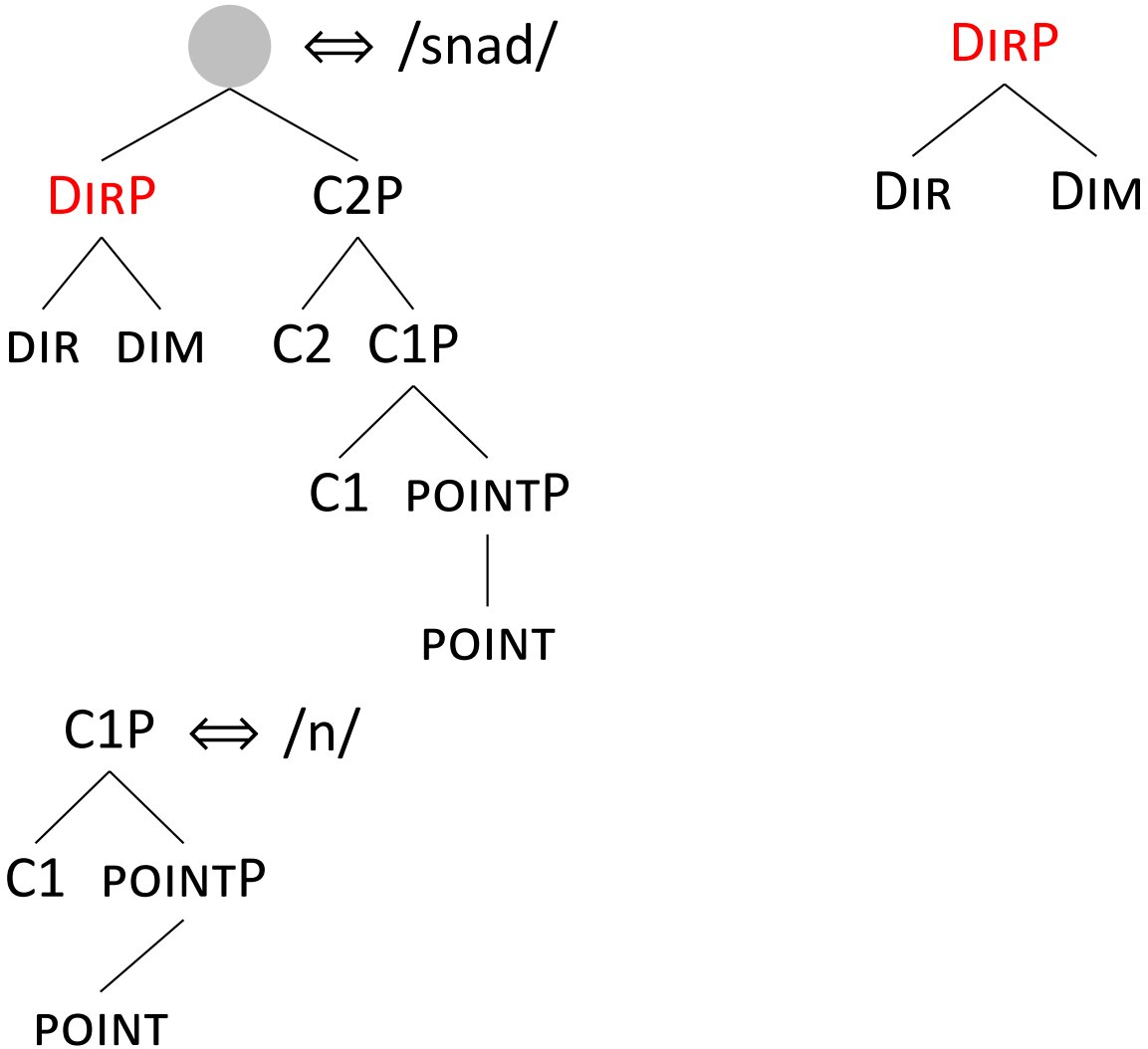


Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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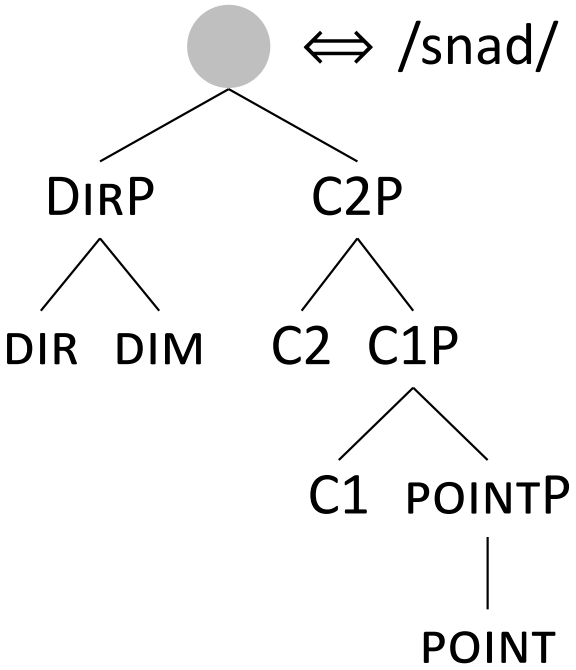
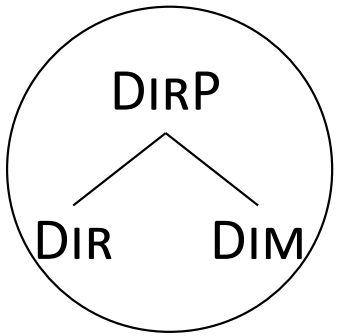
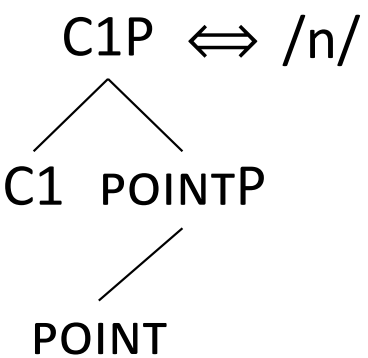




snad
'easy'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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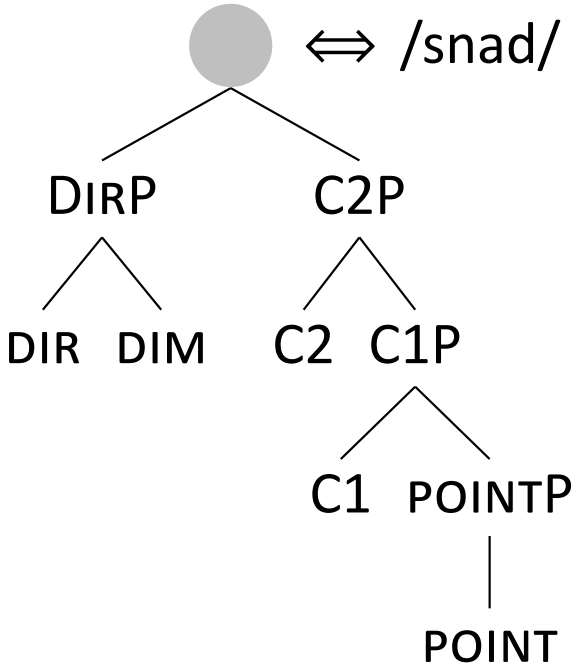
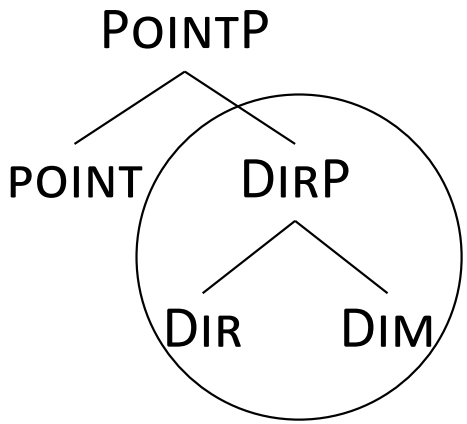
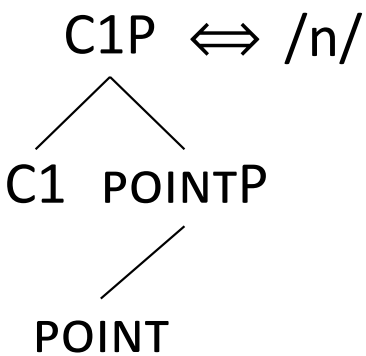
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'





snad
'easy'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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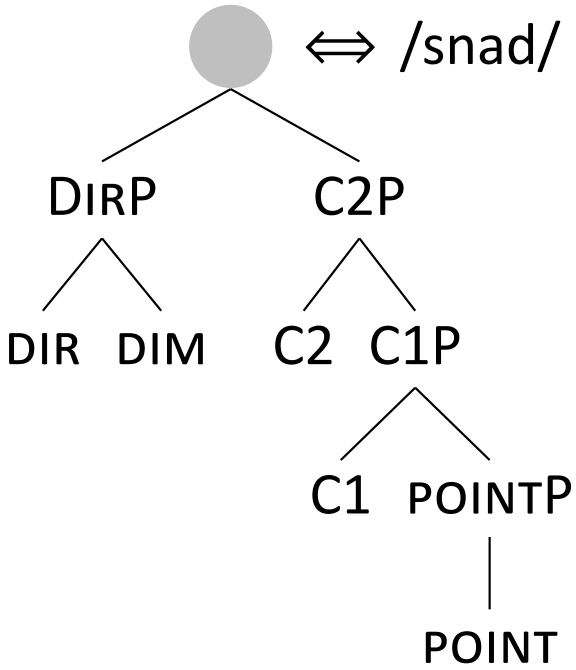
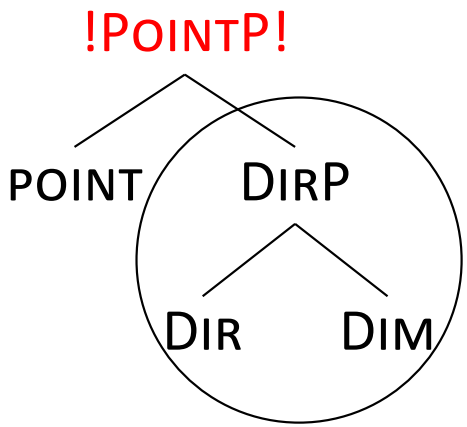
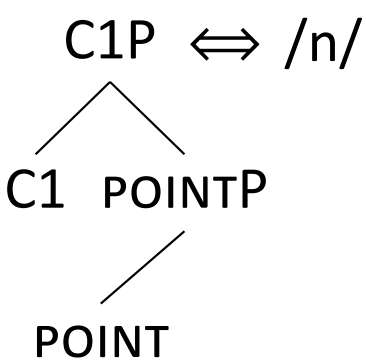




snad
'easy'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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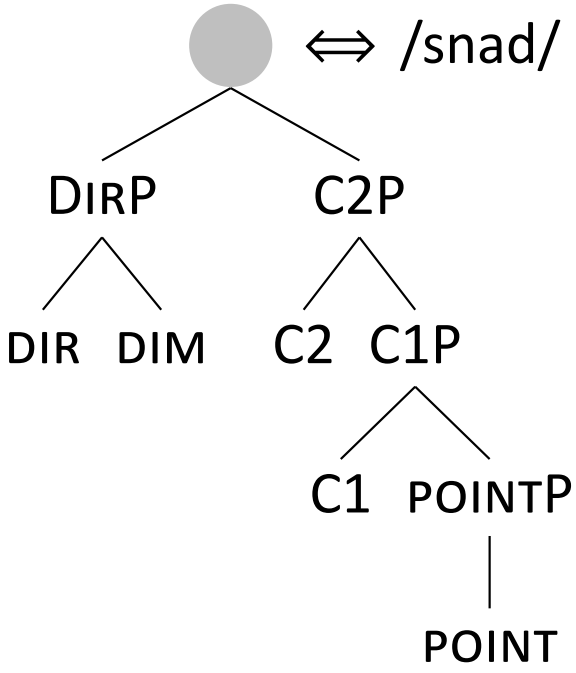

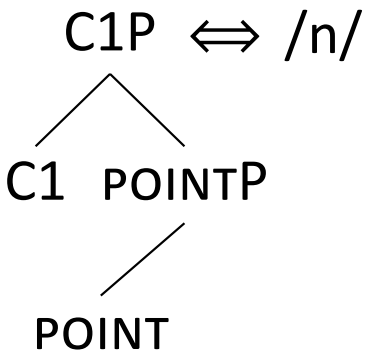

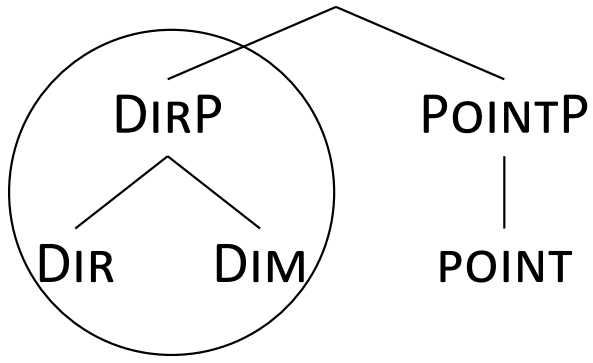

snad
'easy'

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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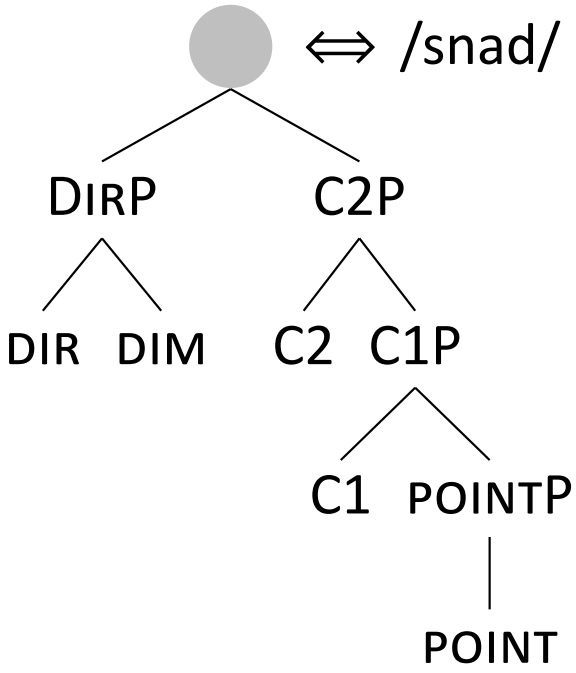

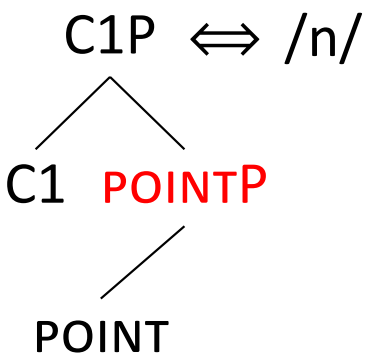

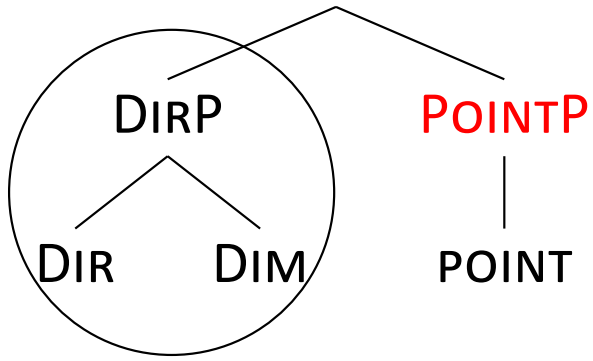

snad
'easy'

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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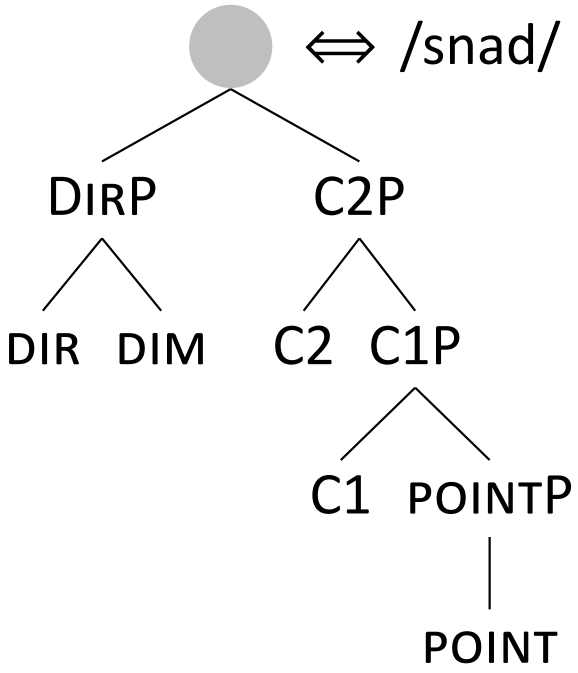

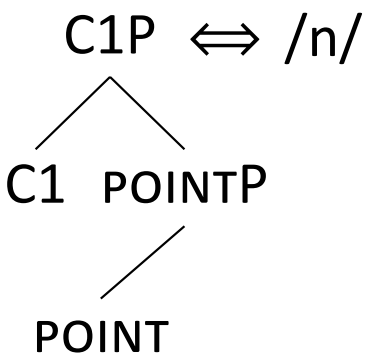

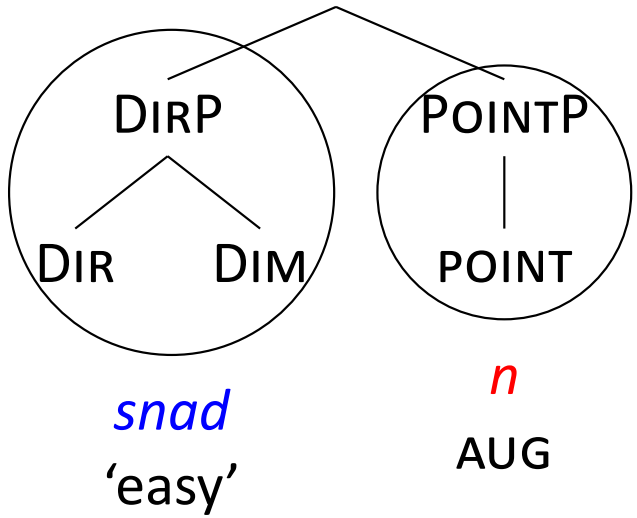

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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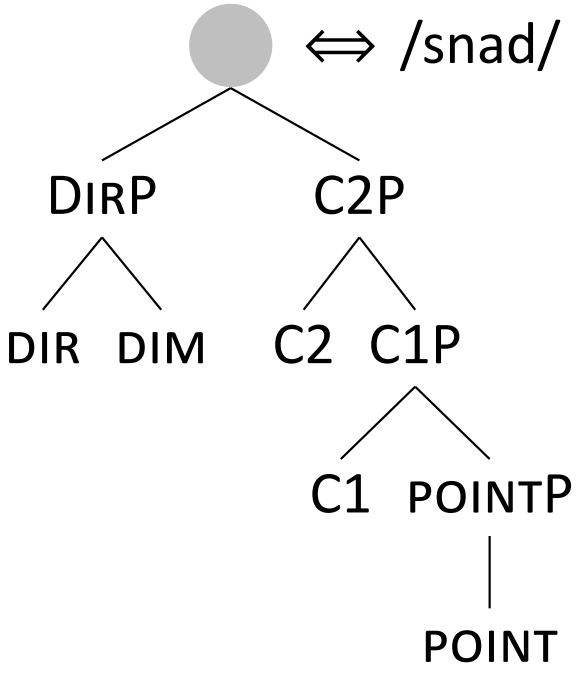

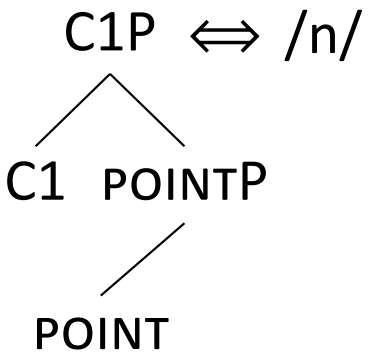

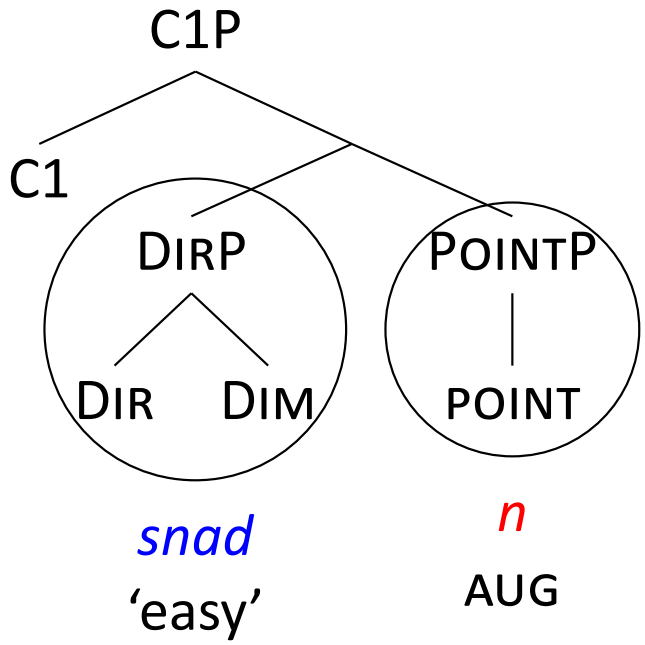

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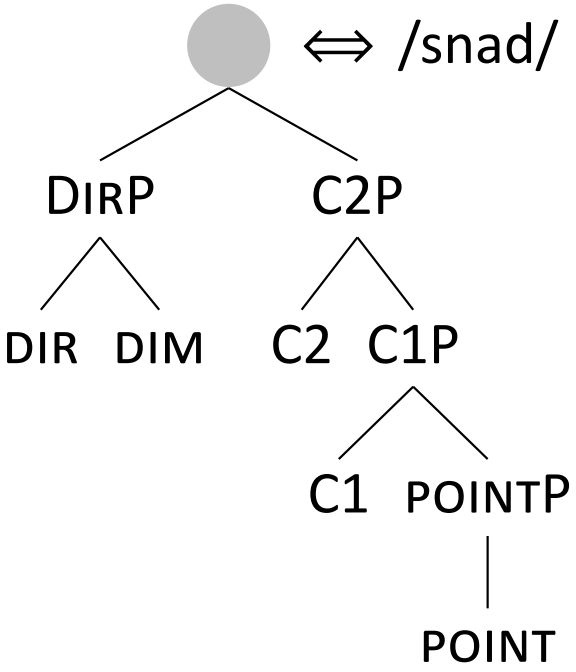

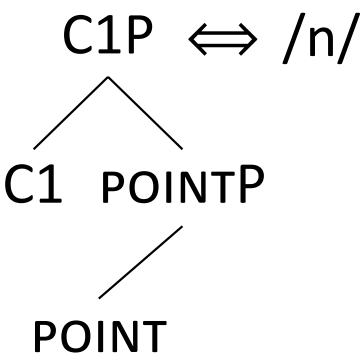

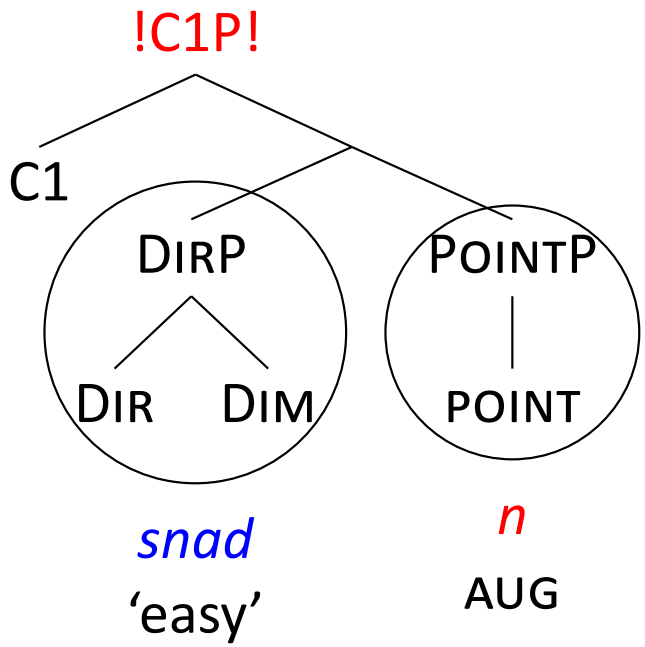

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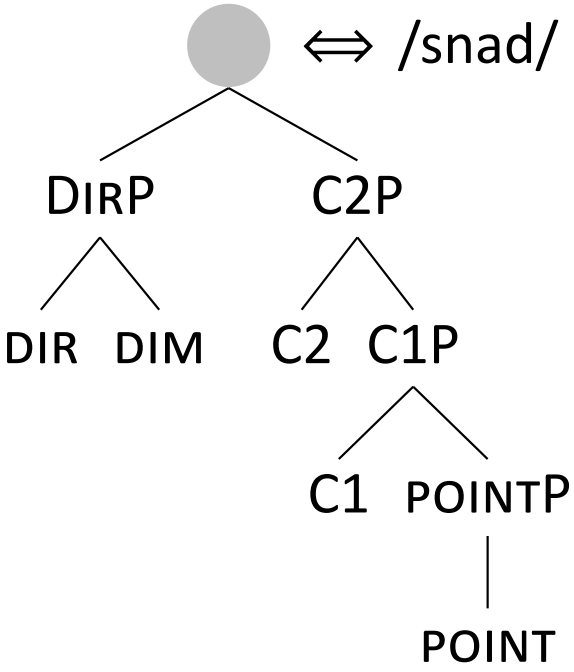

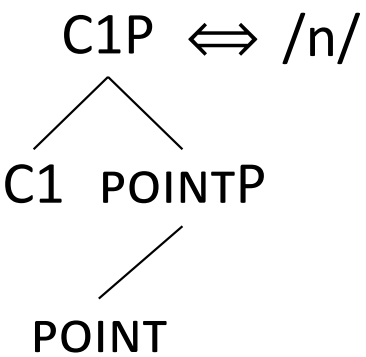

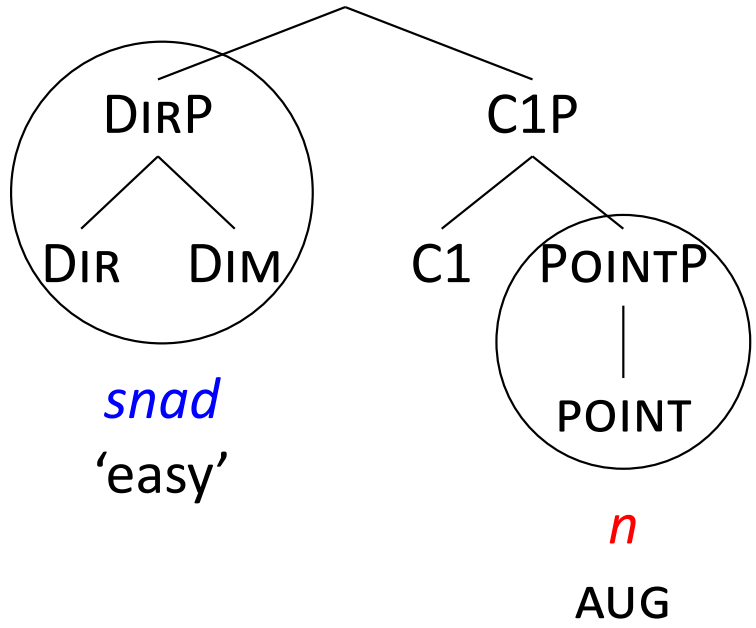

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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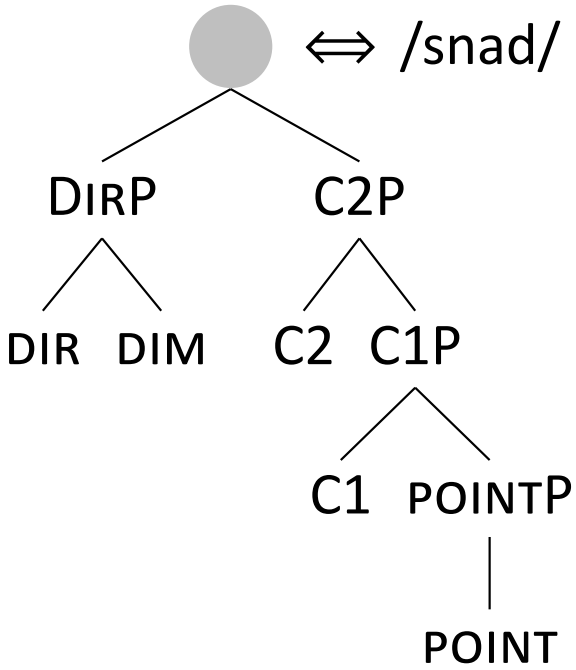

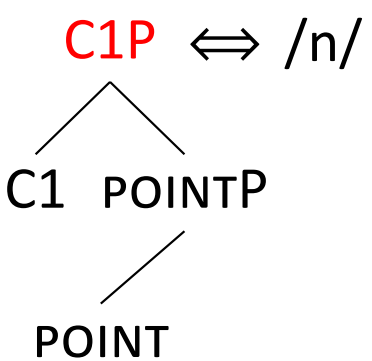

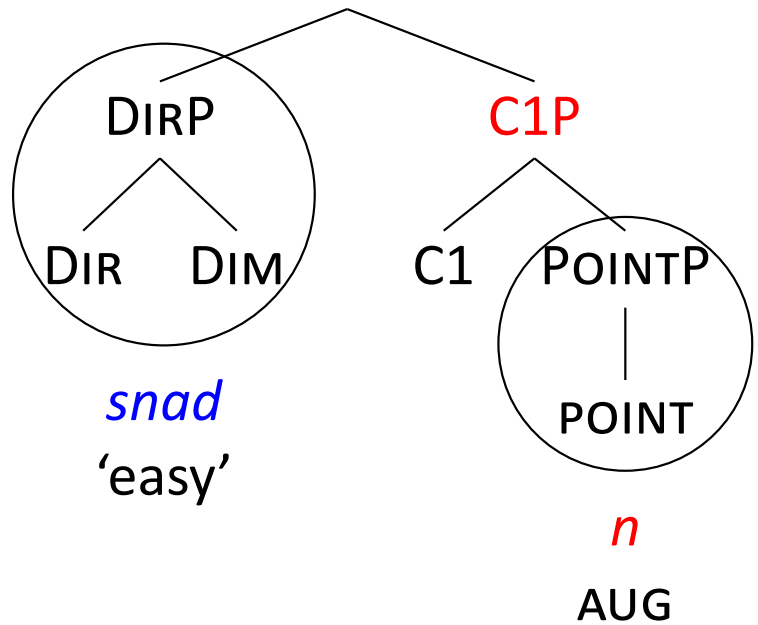

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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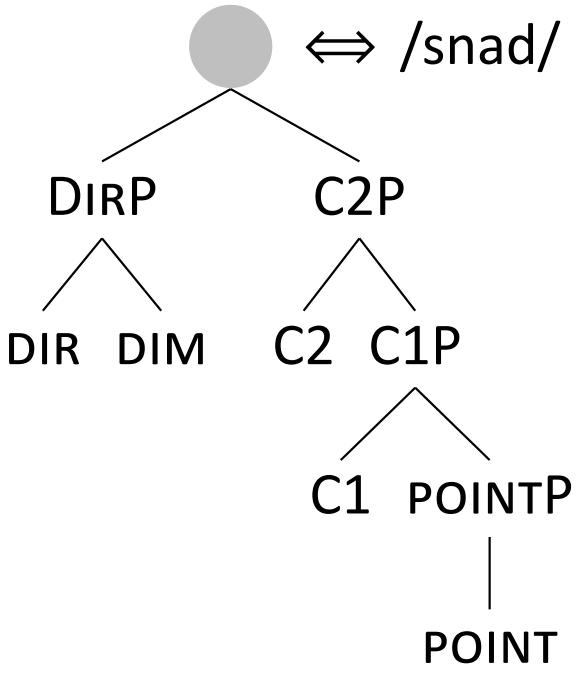

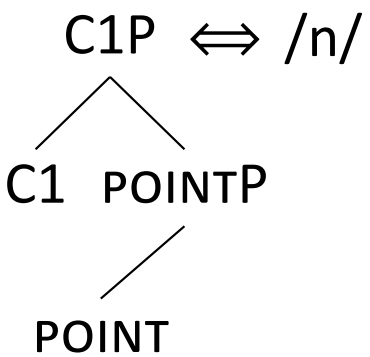

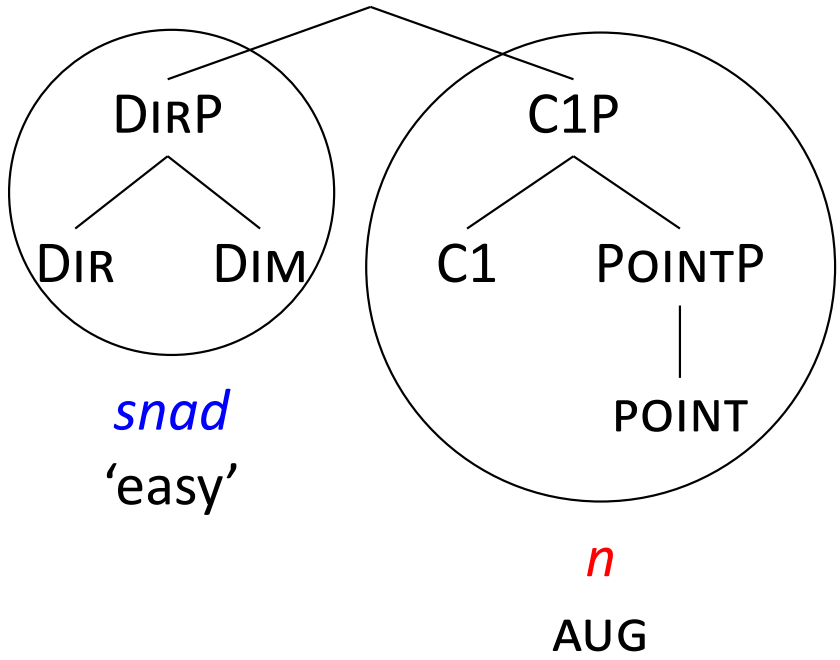

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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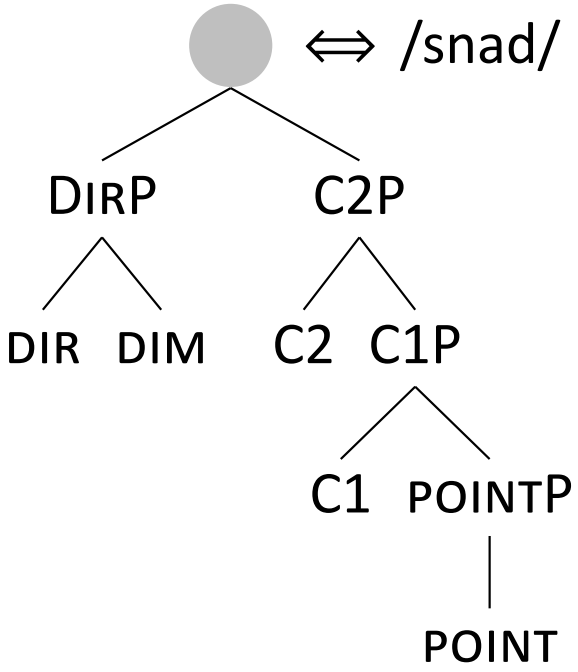

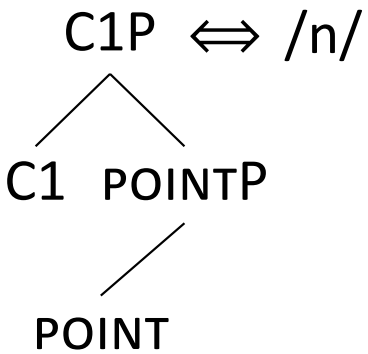

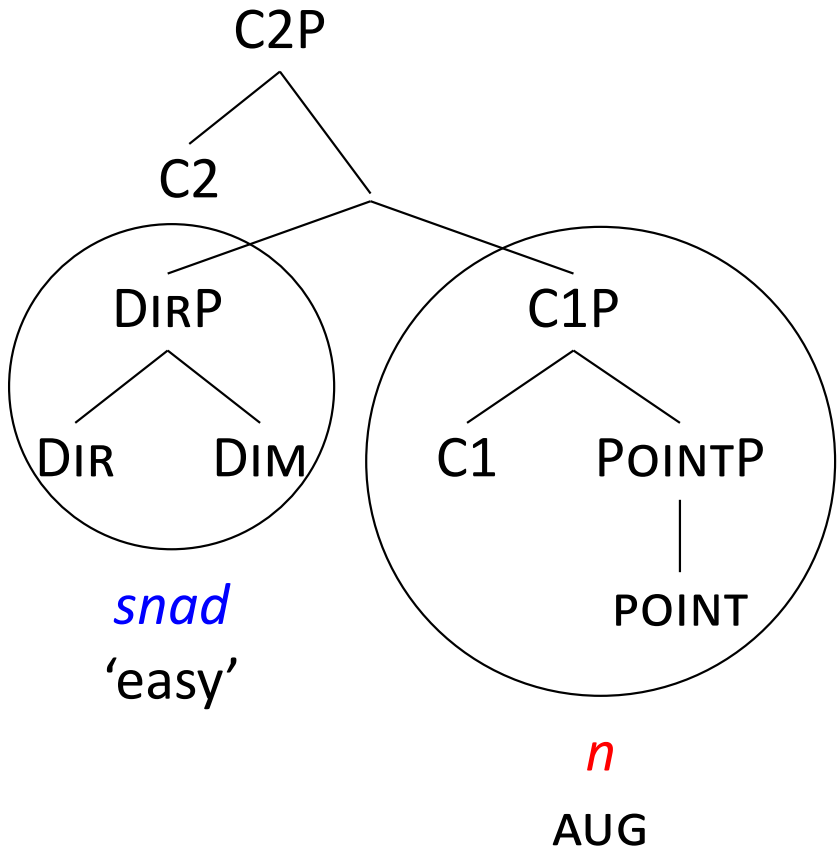

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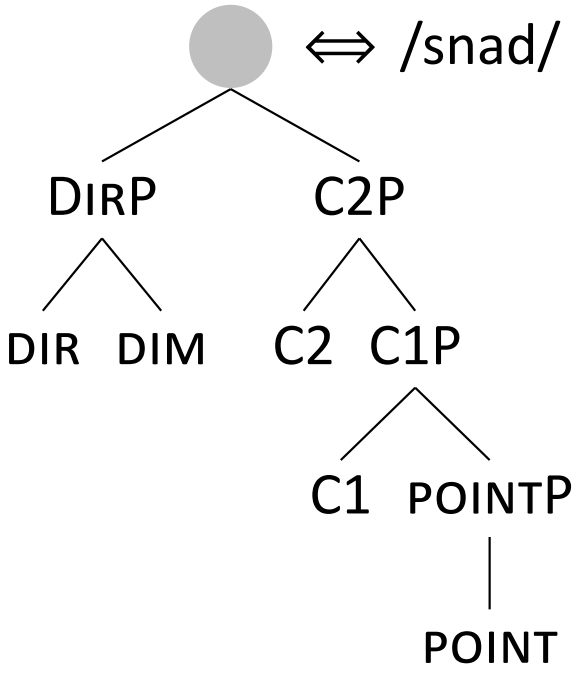

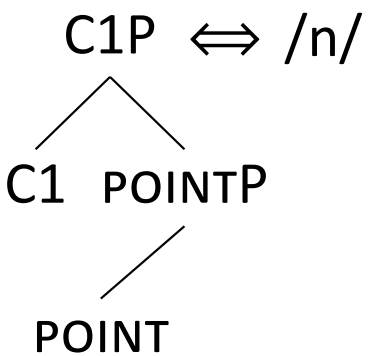

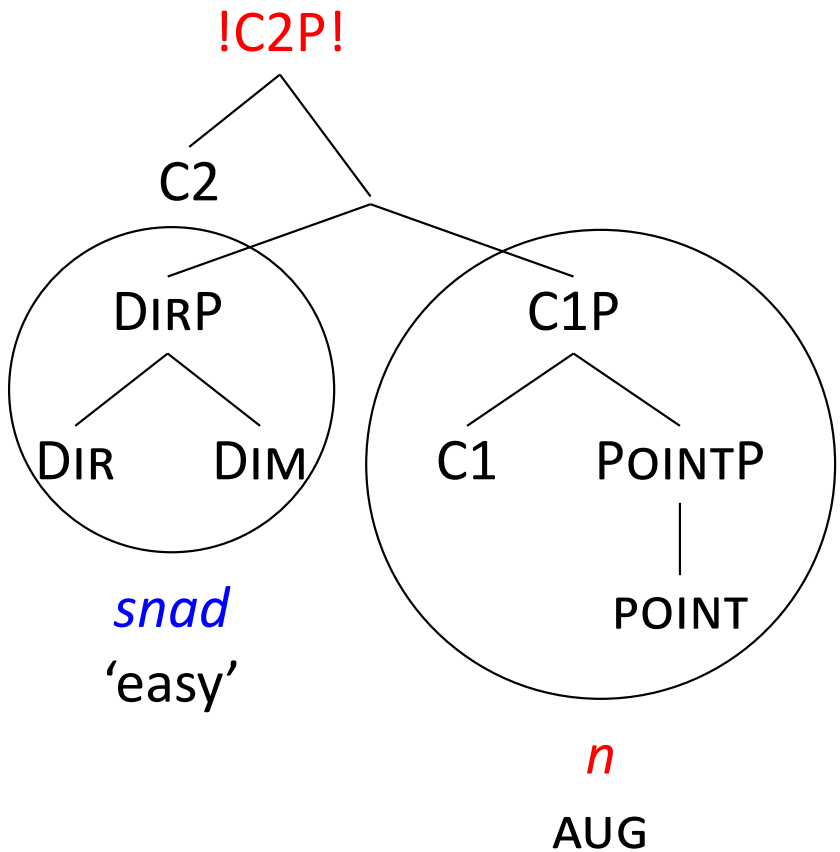

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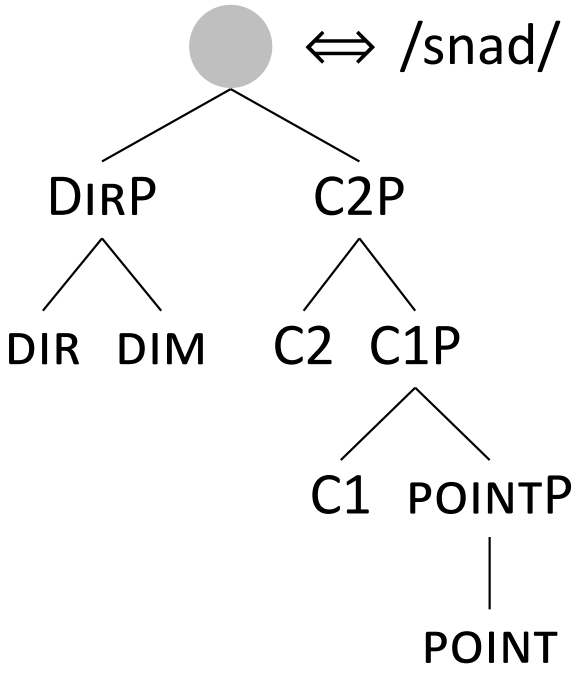

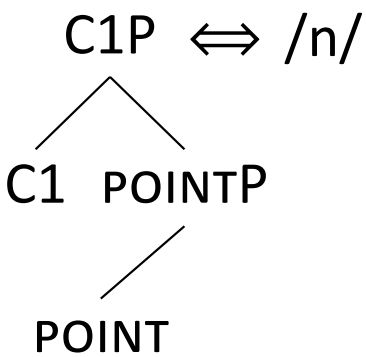

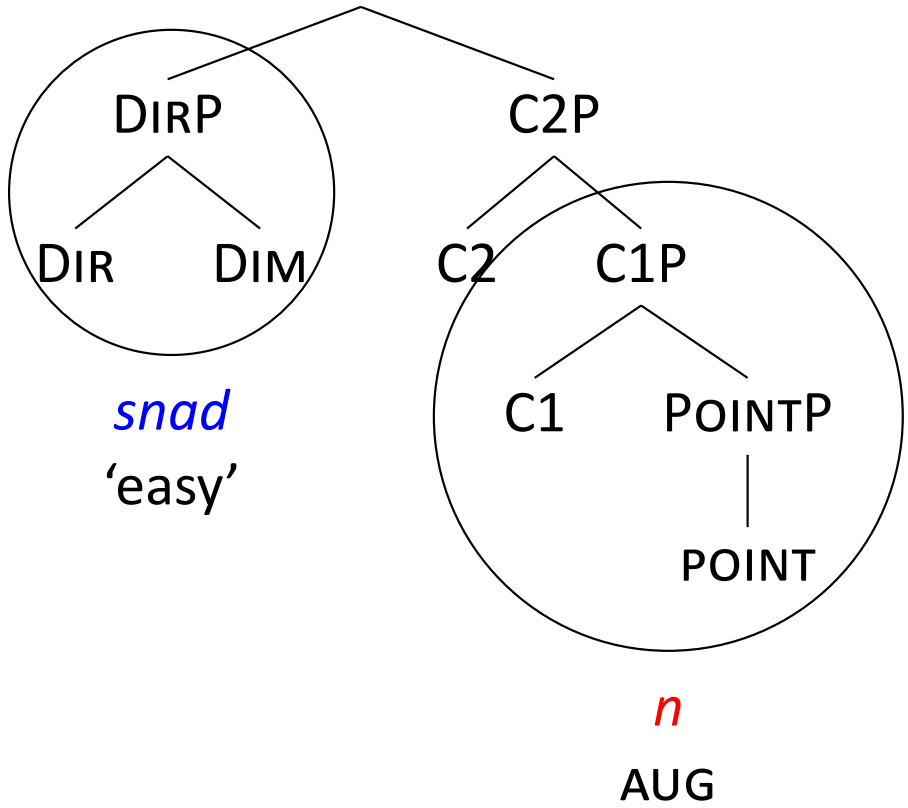

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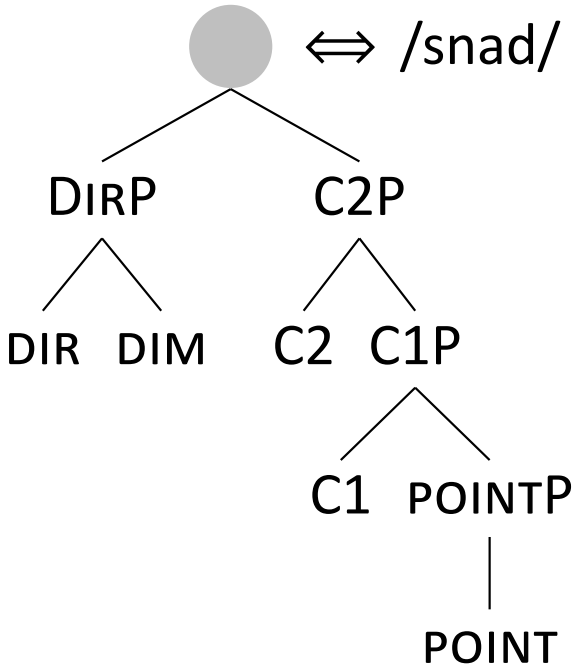

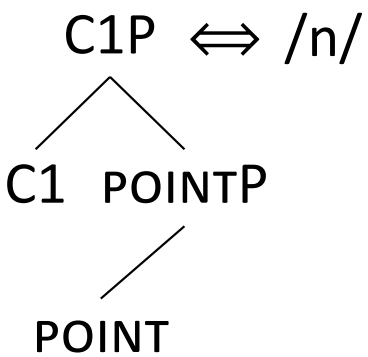

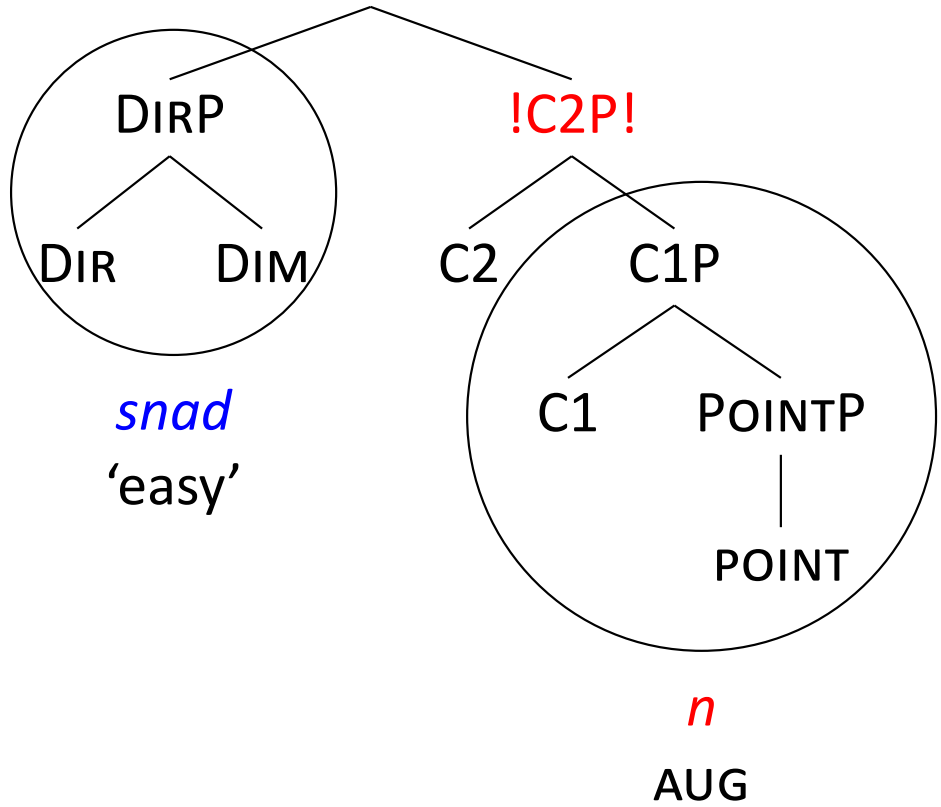

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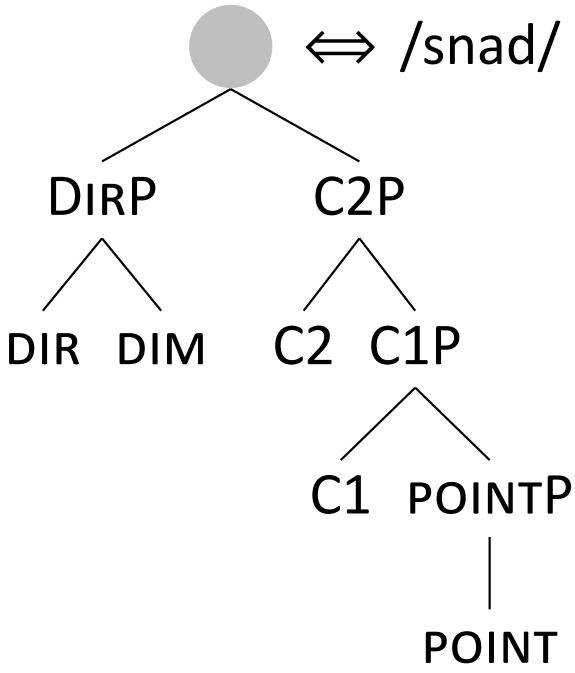

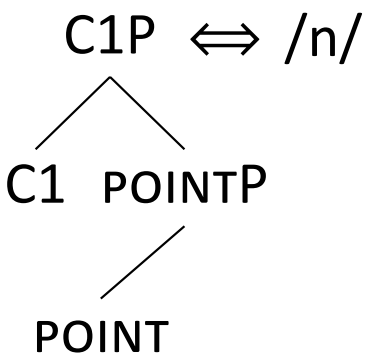

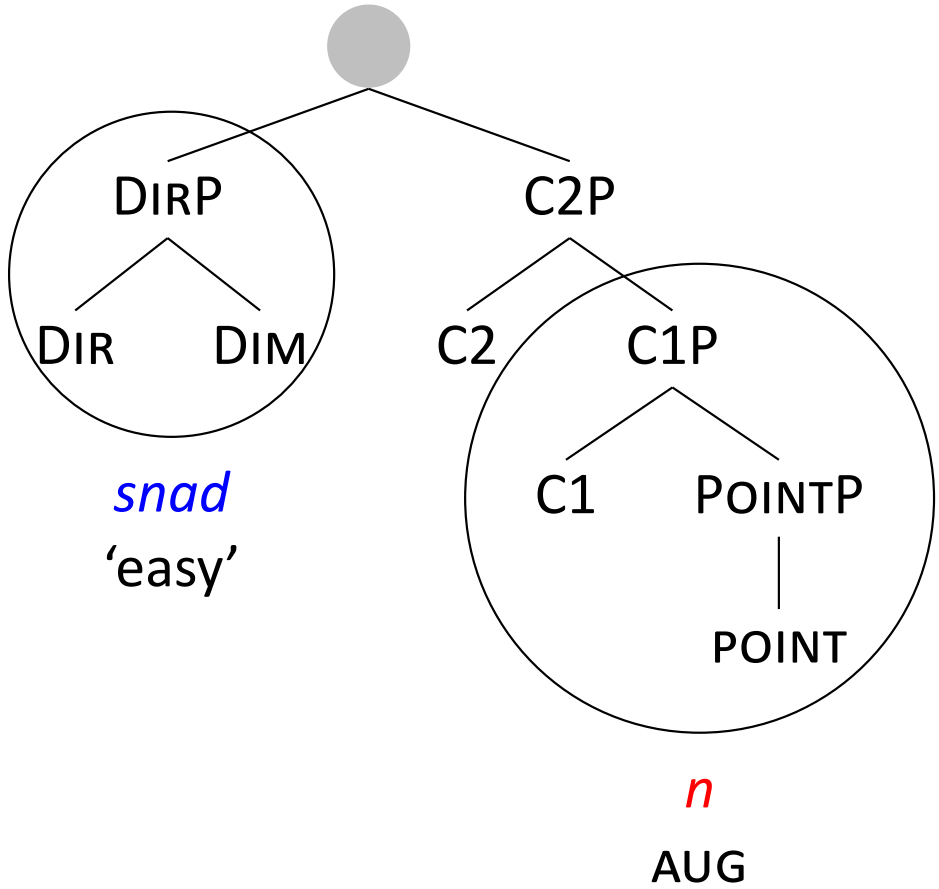

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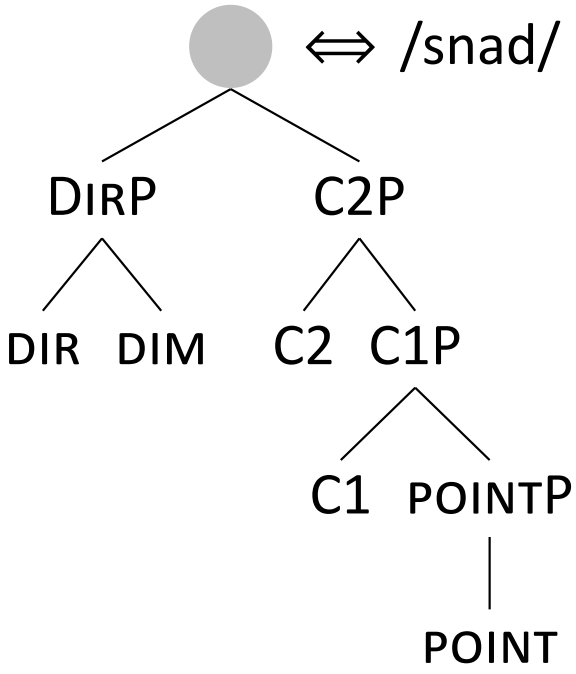
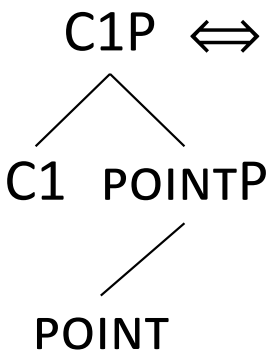
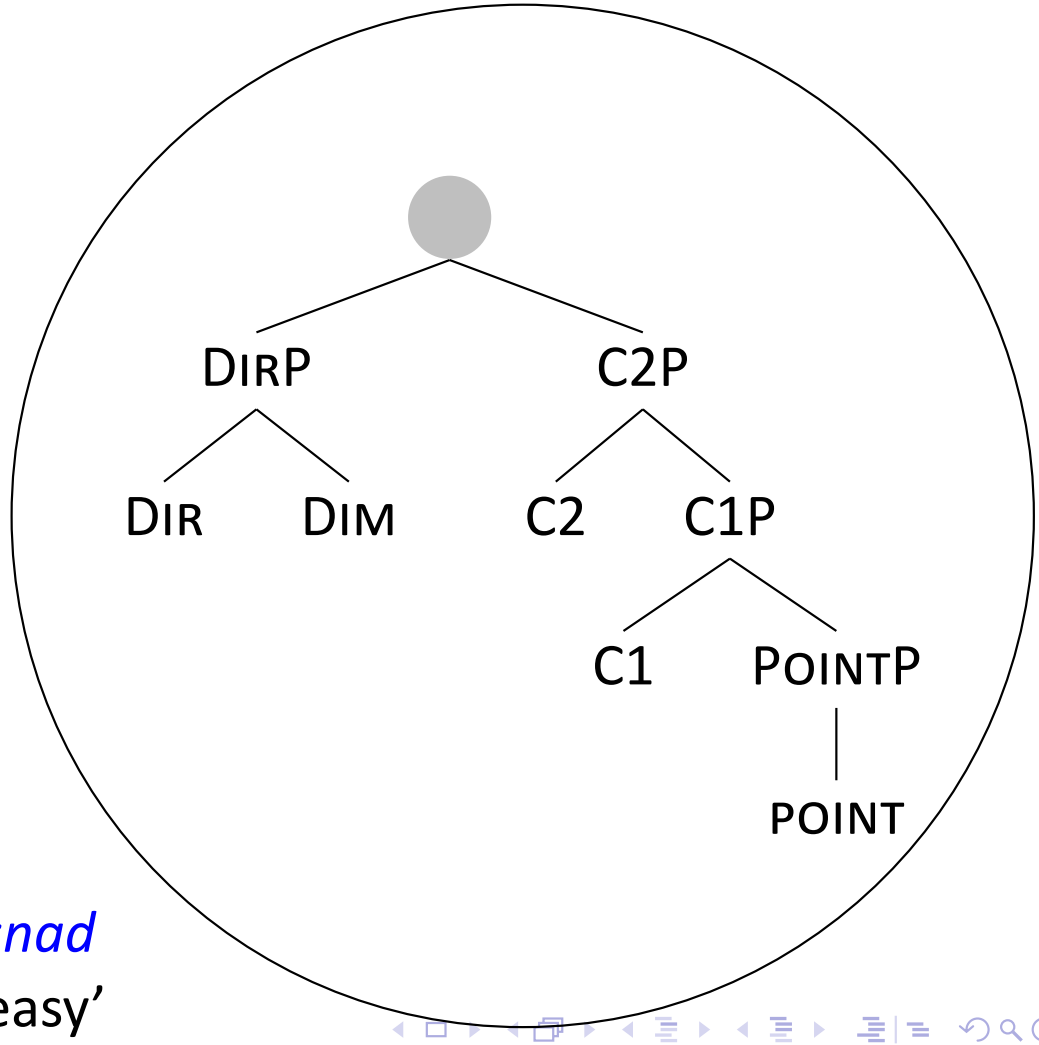


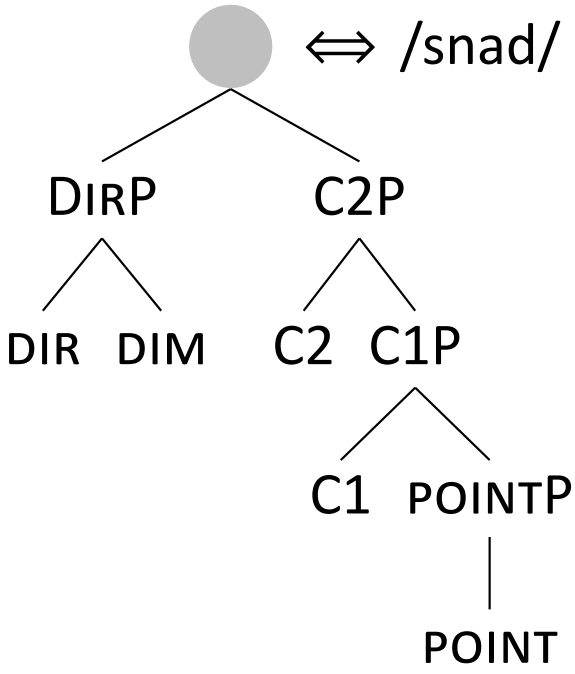


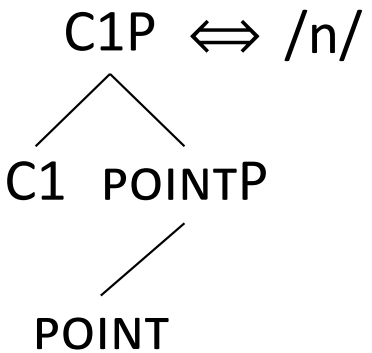


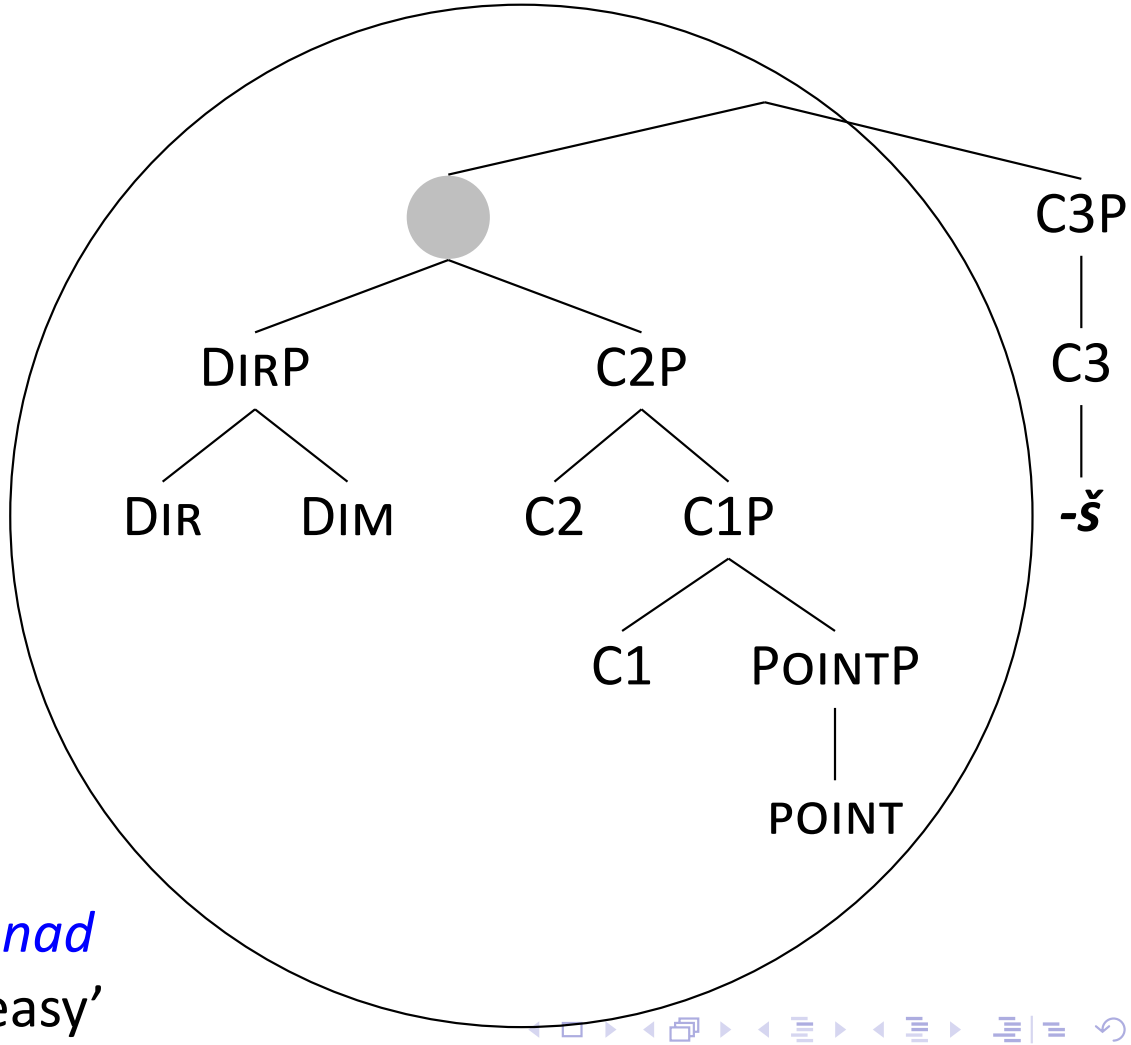
snad
'easy'

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(32) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR
'easy ~ easier'







snad
'easy'